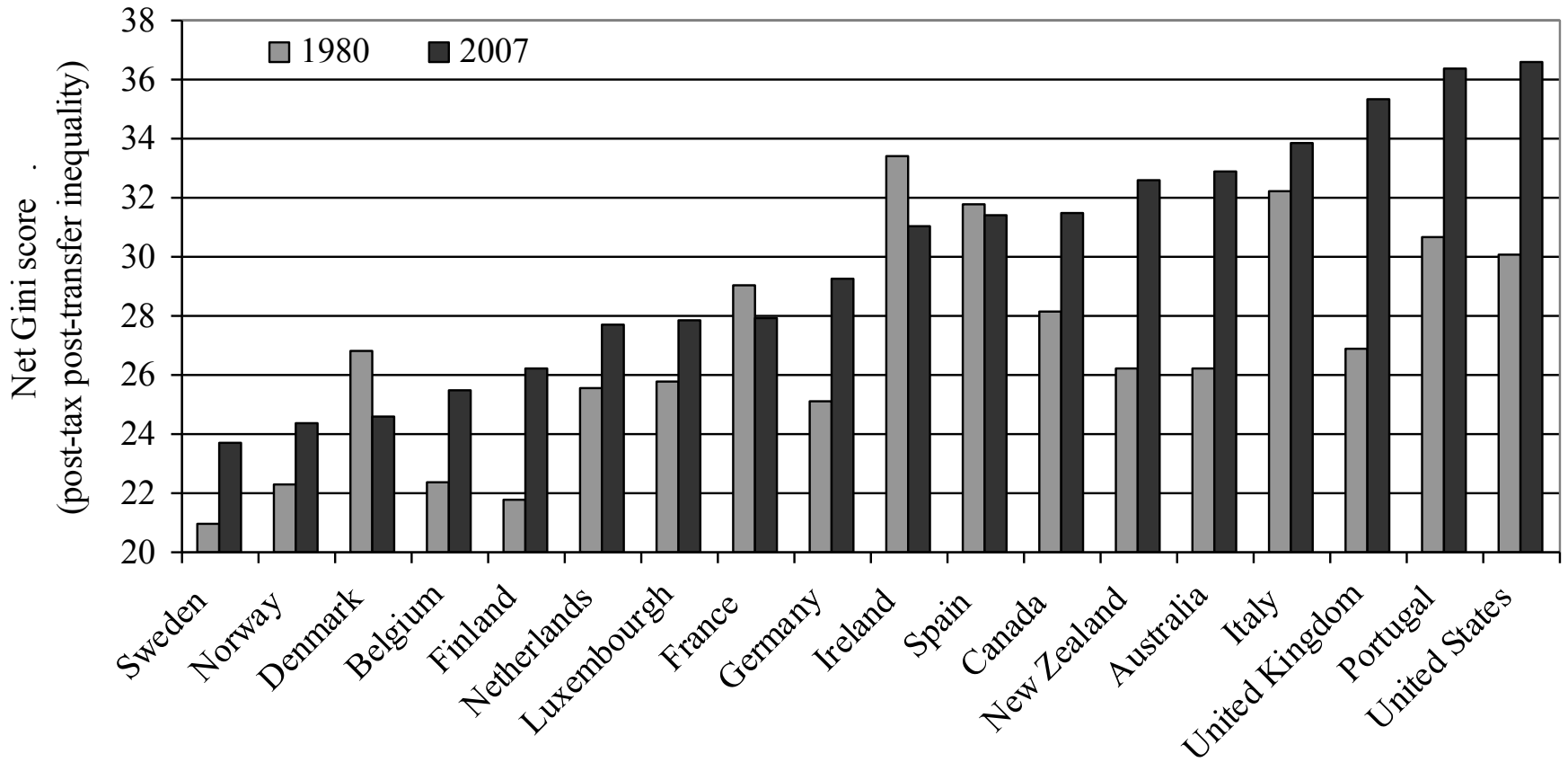


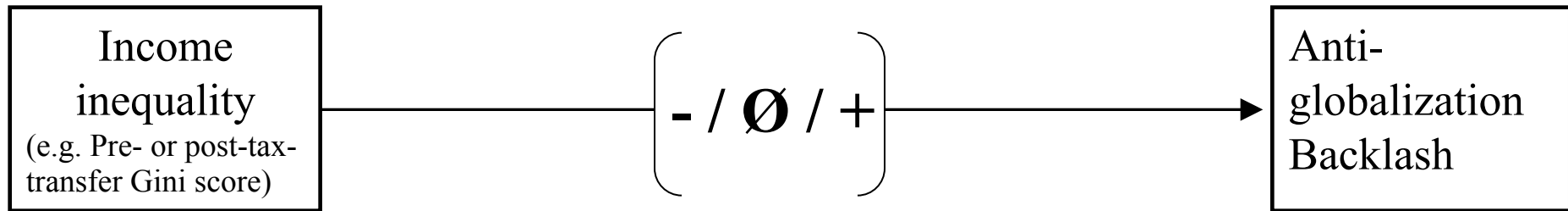
# Inequality and Anti-globalization Backlash by Political Parties

Brian Burgoon  
University of Amsterdam

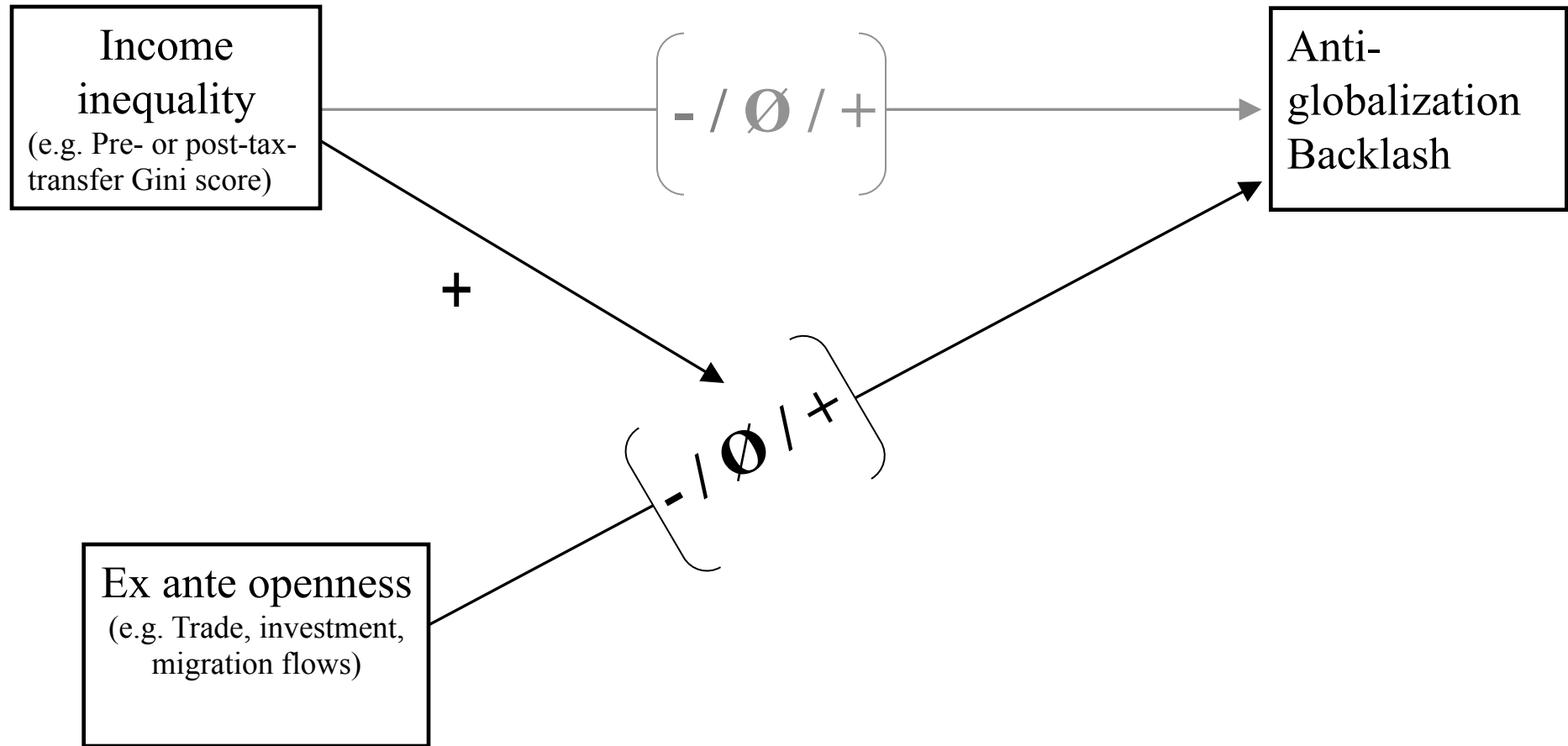
4 June, 2013  
Final GINI conference



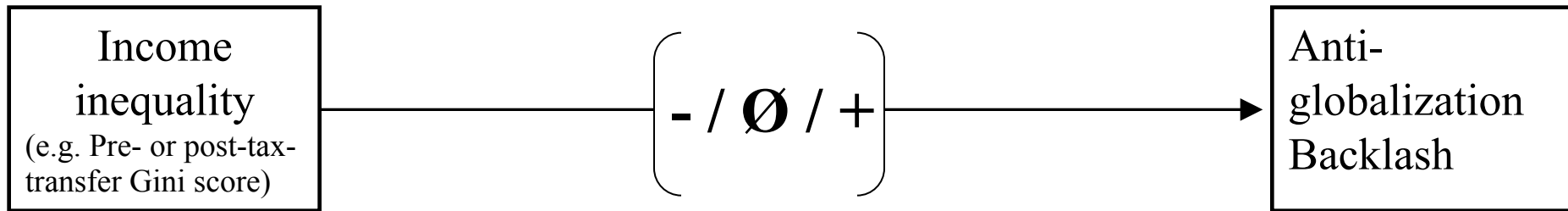
# Does domestic income inequality affect anti-globalization backlash among political parties?



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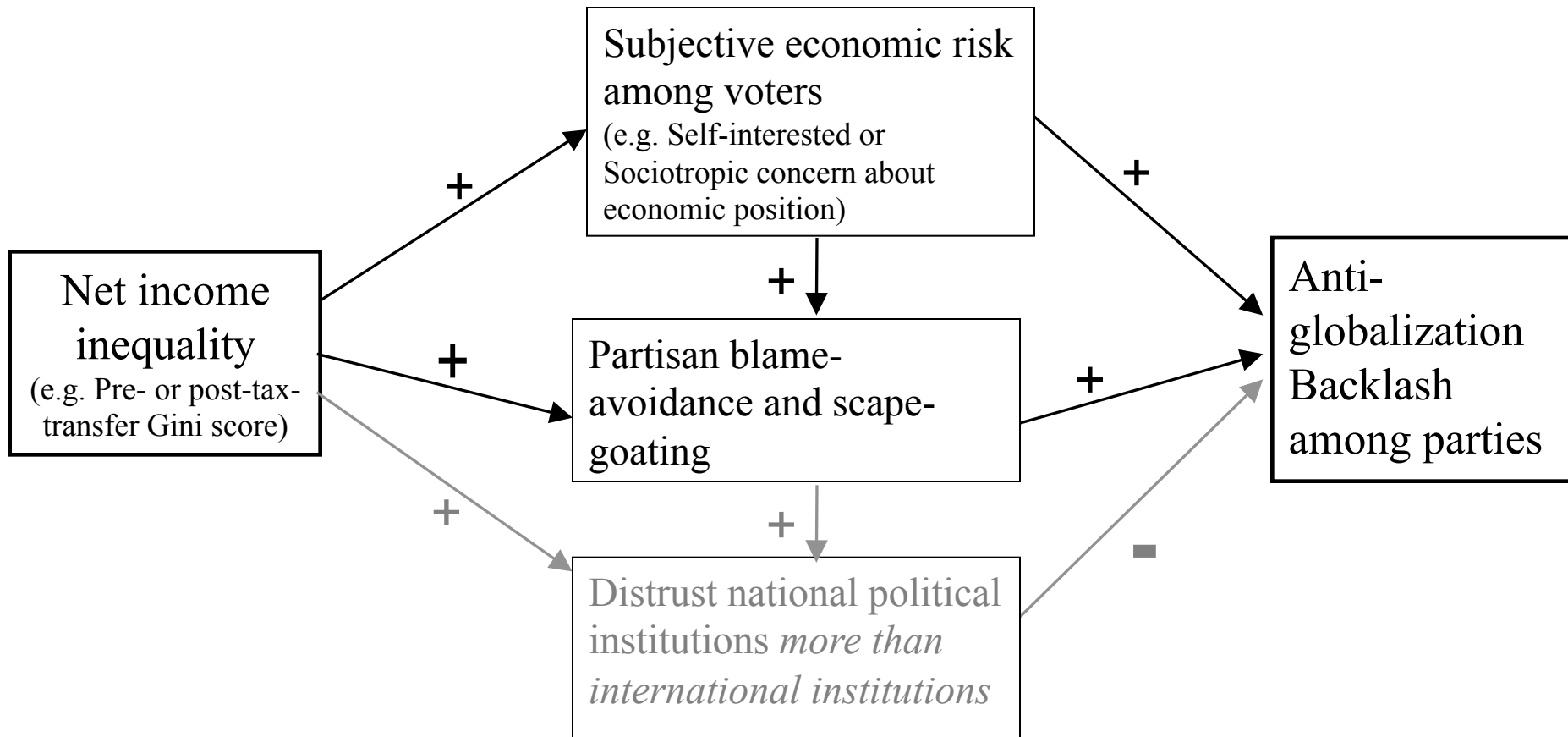


Does domestic income inequality affect anti-globalization backlash among political parties?



## Hypothesis 1:

*Higher income inequality should, all other things equal, spark scape-goating of out-groups that includes anti-globalization position-taking among political parties.*

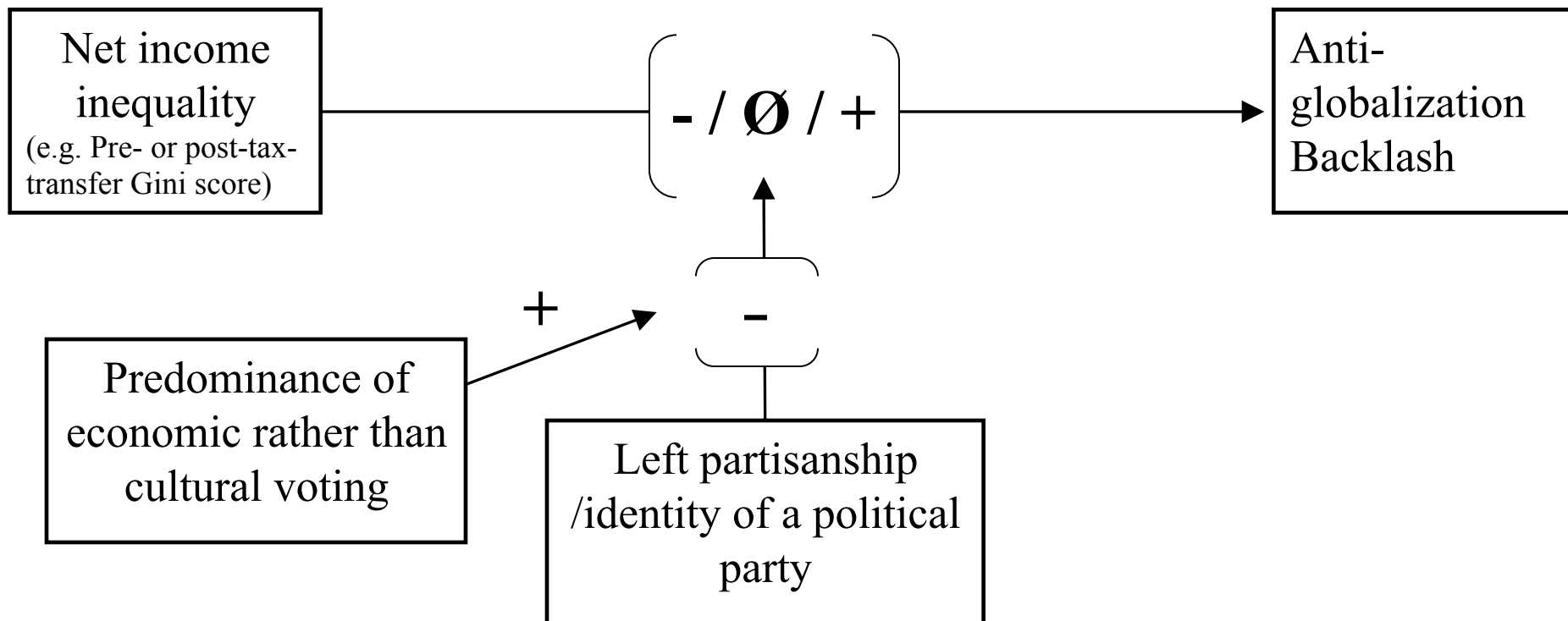


## Hypothesis 2a:

*Higher income inequality should, all other things equal, spark stronger anti-globalization position-taking among Left political parties than among non-Left parties.*

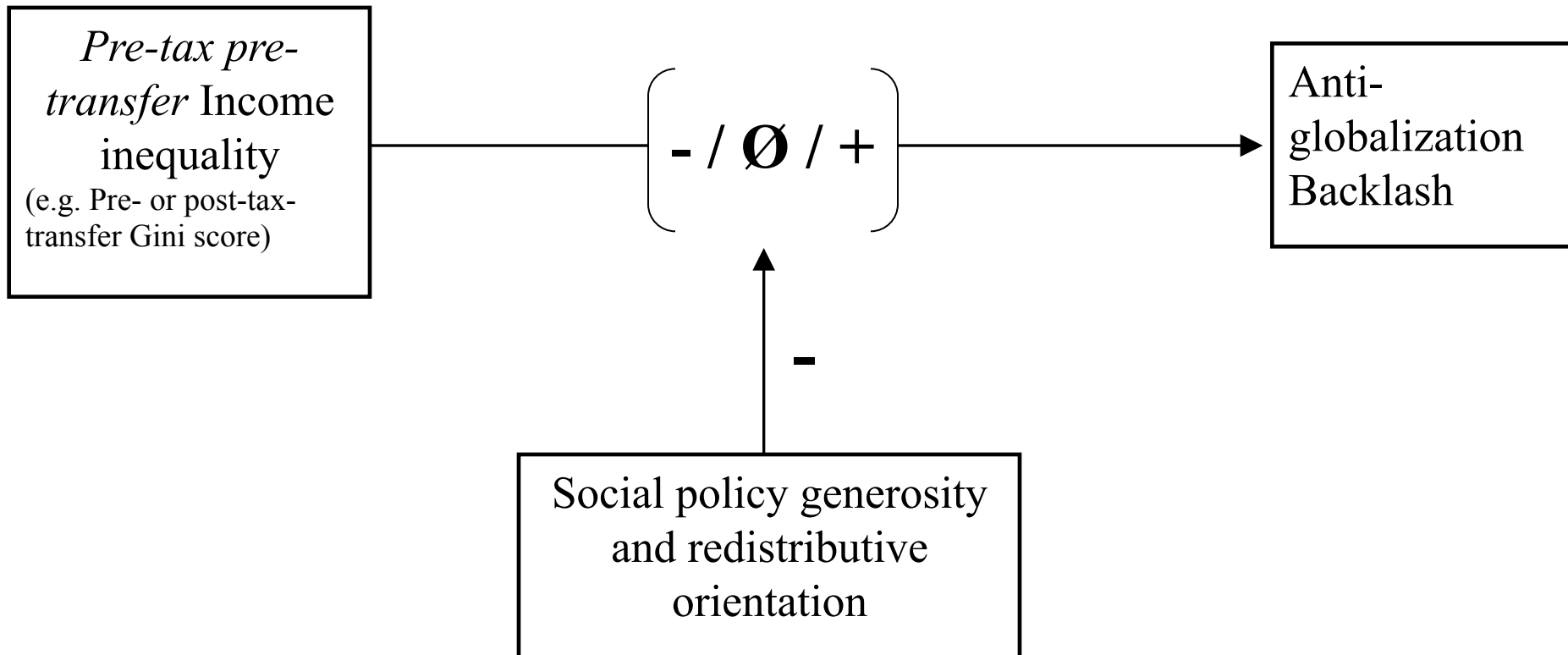
## Hypothesis 2b:

*Higher income inequality should, all other things equal, spark stronger anti-globalization position-taking among Right political parties compared to non-Right parties.*



### Hypothesis 3a:

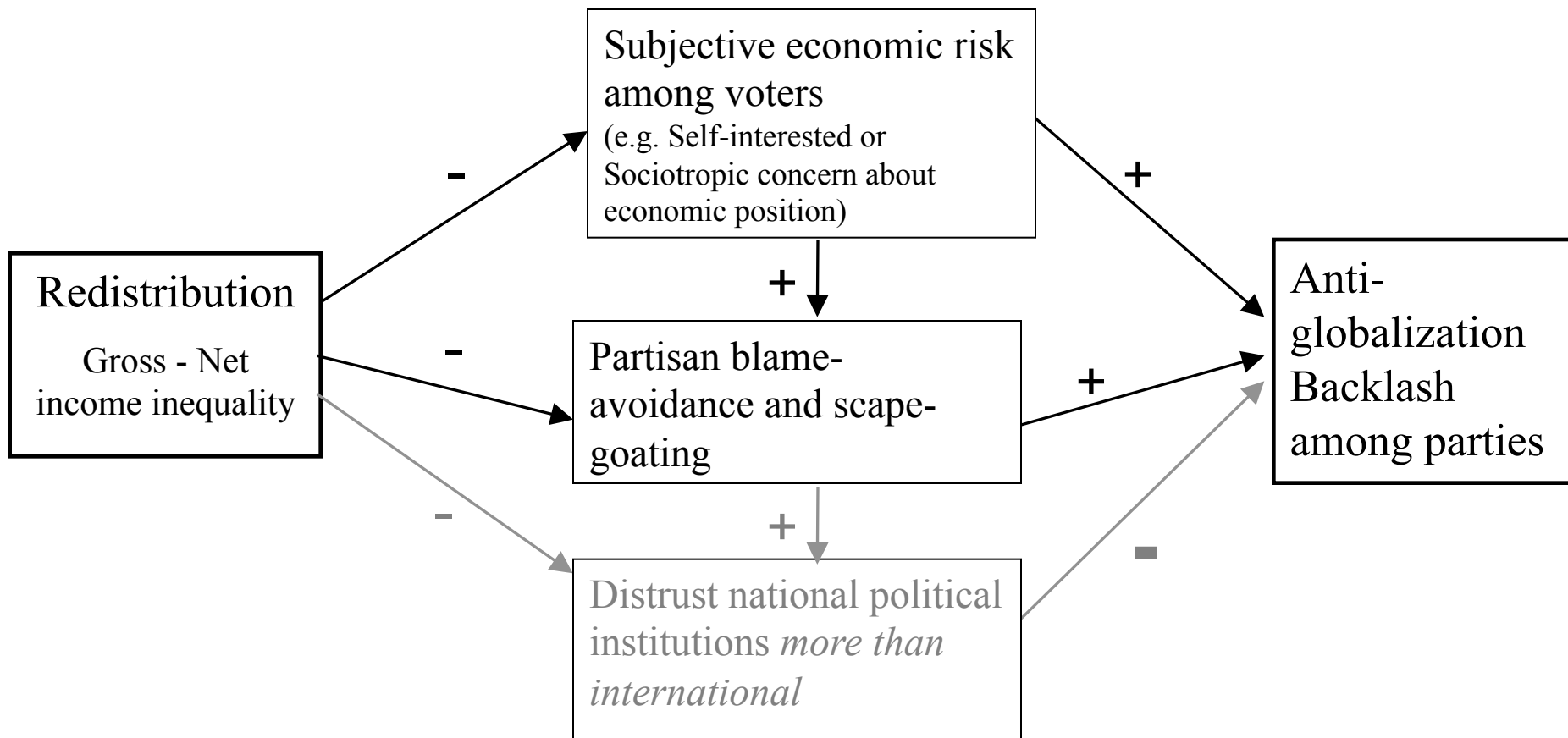
*Pre-tax, pre-transfer income inequality should, all other things equal, spark less anti-globalization position-taking to the extent that tax-transfer social policies and taxation systems are generous and redistributive.*





## Hypothesis 3b:

*Greater redistribution, as shown by the difference between pre- and post-tax-and-transfer income inequality, should, all other things equal, diminish anti-globalization position-taking.*



# Party Manifestos (22 countries, 1960-2008):

## Anti-globalization position-taking

### (+) per406 *Protectionism: Positive*

Favourable mentions of extension or maintenance of tariffs to protect internal markets; other domestic economic protectionism such as quota restrictions.

### (-) per407 *Protectionism: Negative*

Support for the concept of free trade; otherwise as 406, but negative.

### (-) per107 *Internationalism: Positive*

Need for international co-operation; co-operation with specific countries other than those coded in 101; need for aid to developing countries; need for world planning of resources; need for international courts; support for any international goal or world state; support for UN.

### (+) per109 *Internationalism: Negative*

Favourable mentions of national independence and sovereignty as opposed to internationalism; otherwise as 107, but negative.

### (-) per108 *European Community: Positive*

Favourable mentions of European Community/European Union in general; desirability of expanding the European Community/European Union and/or of increasing its competence; desirability of the manifesto country joining or remaining a member.

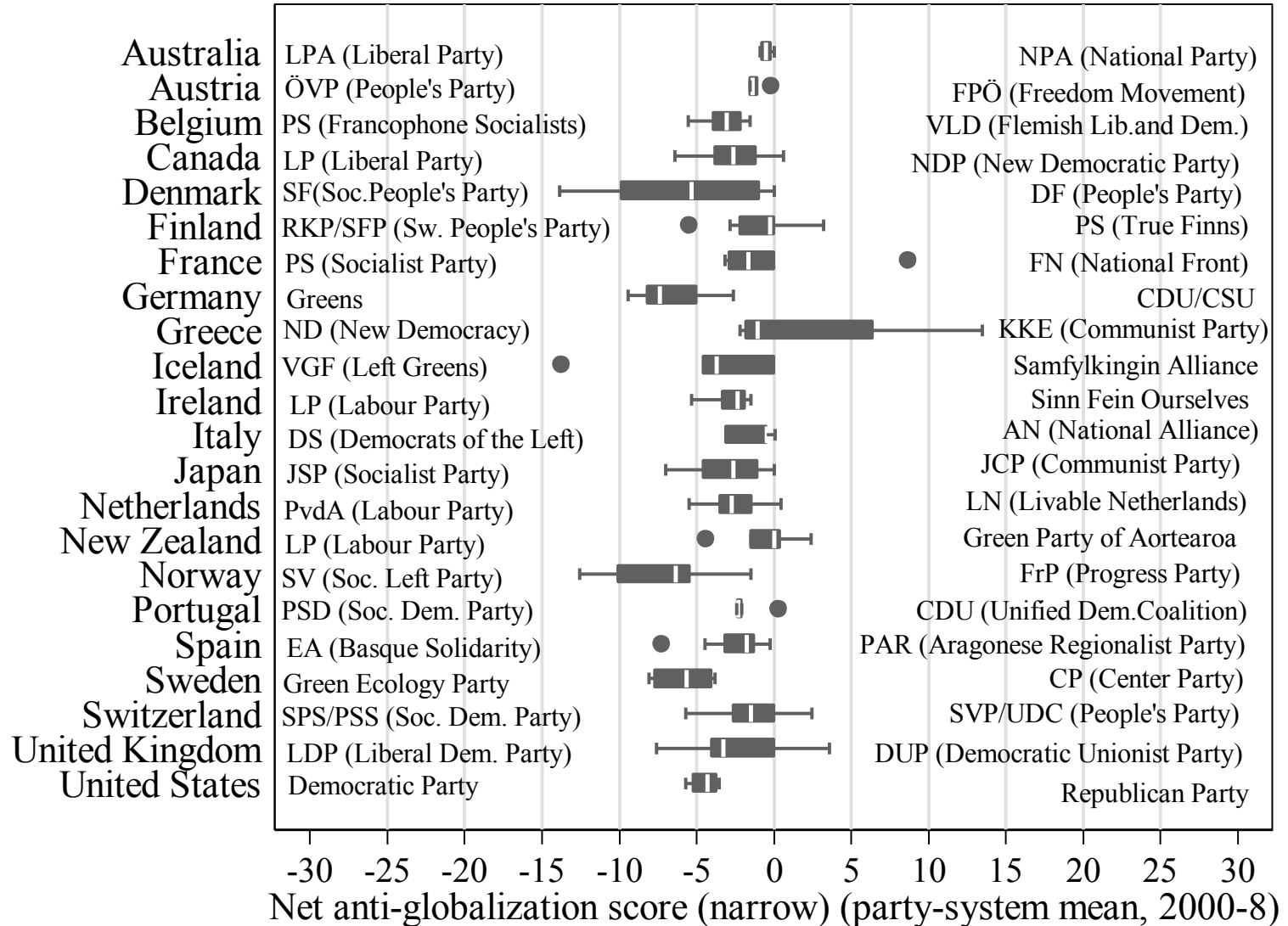
### (+) per110 *European Community: Negative*

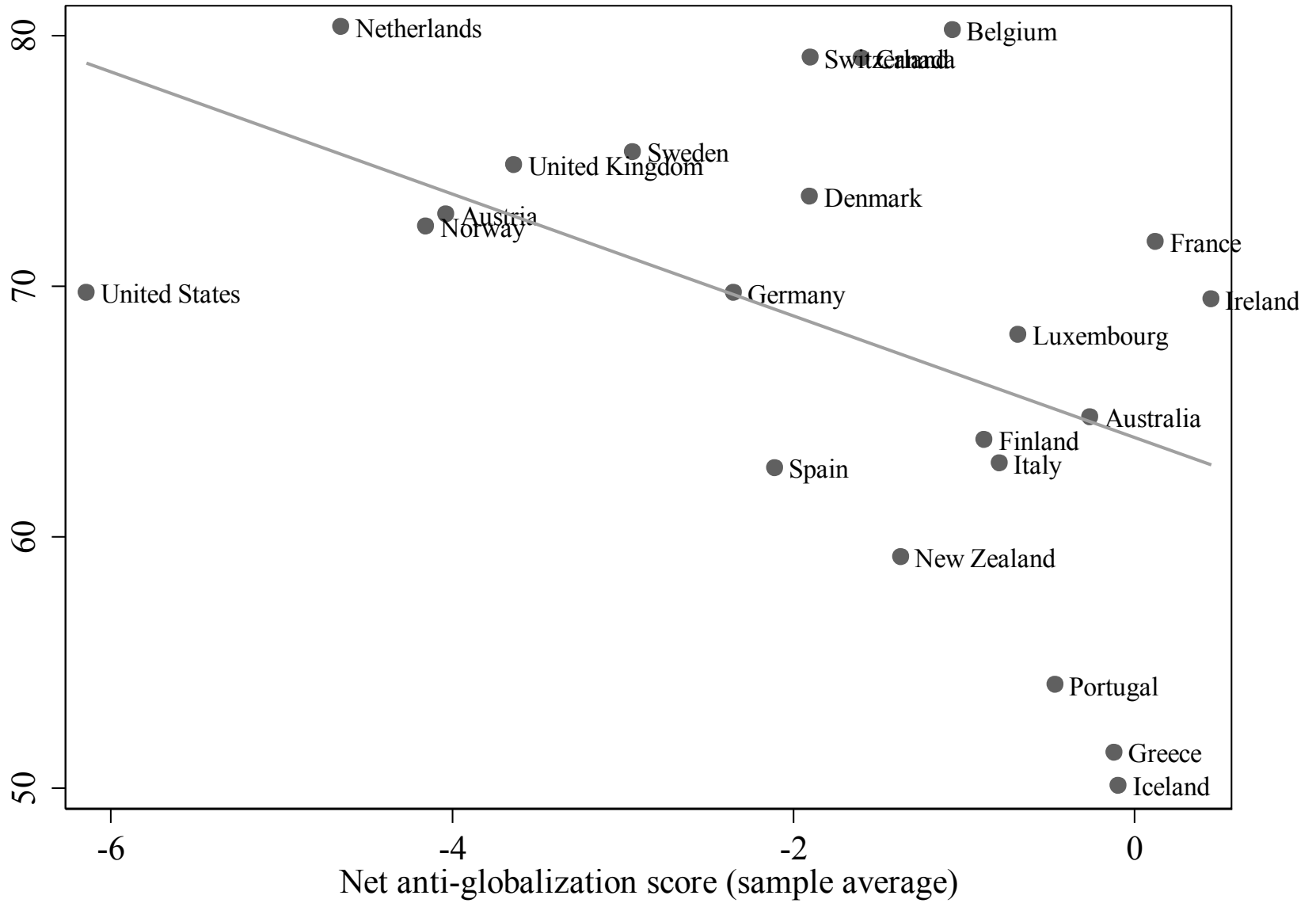
Hostile mentions of the European Community/European Union; opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; otherwise as 108, but negative.

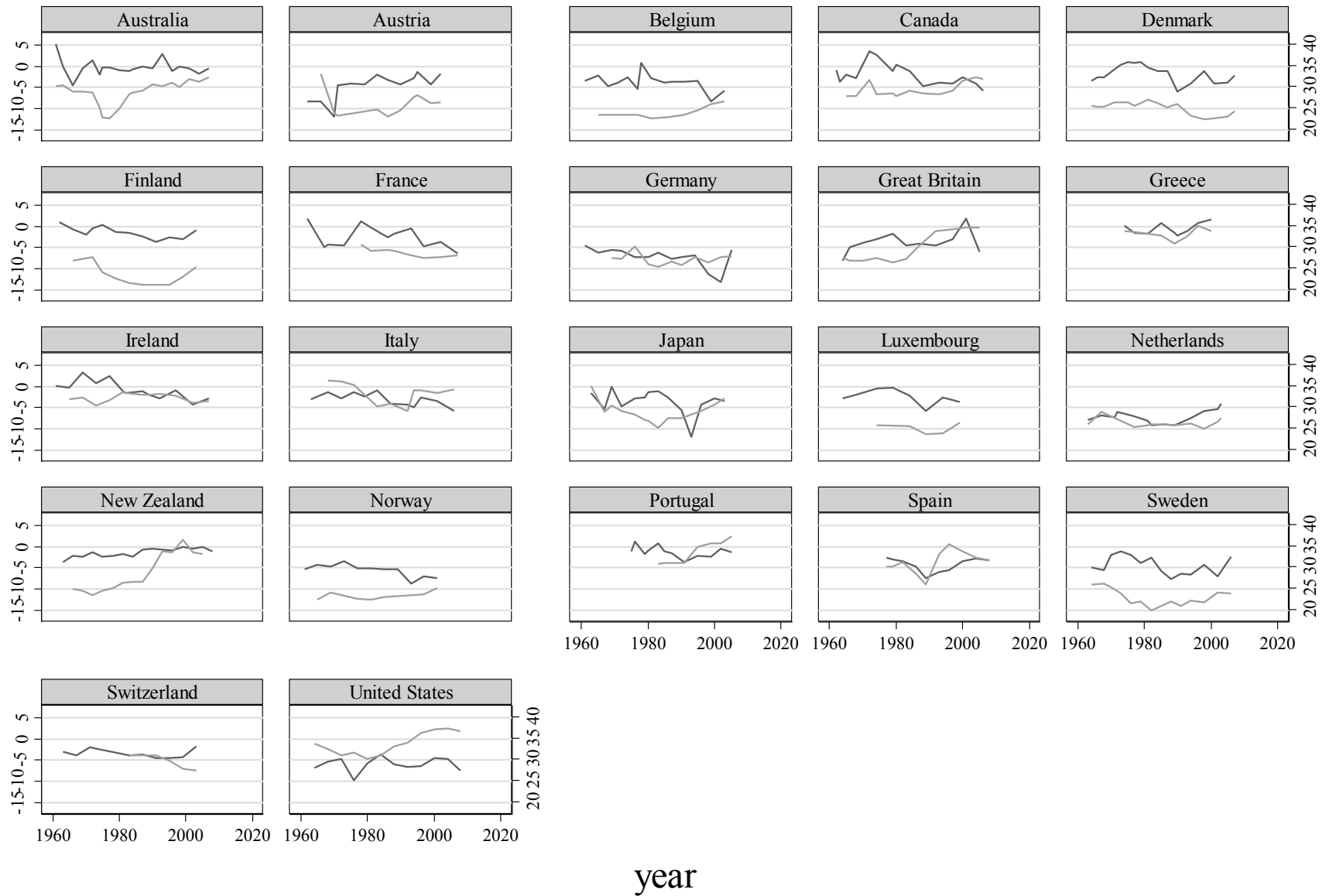
***Net anti-globalization (broad) = (per109+ per406+per110) - (per107+ per407+per108)***

Figure One:

Anti-globalization positions (national distributions, 2000-2008)

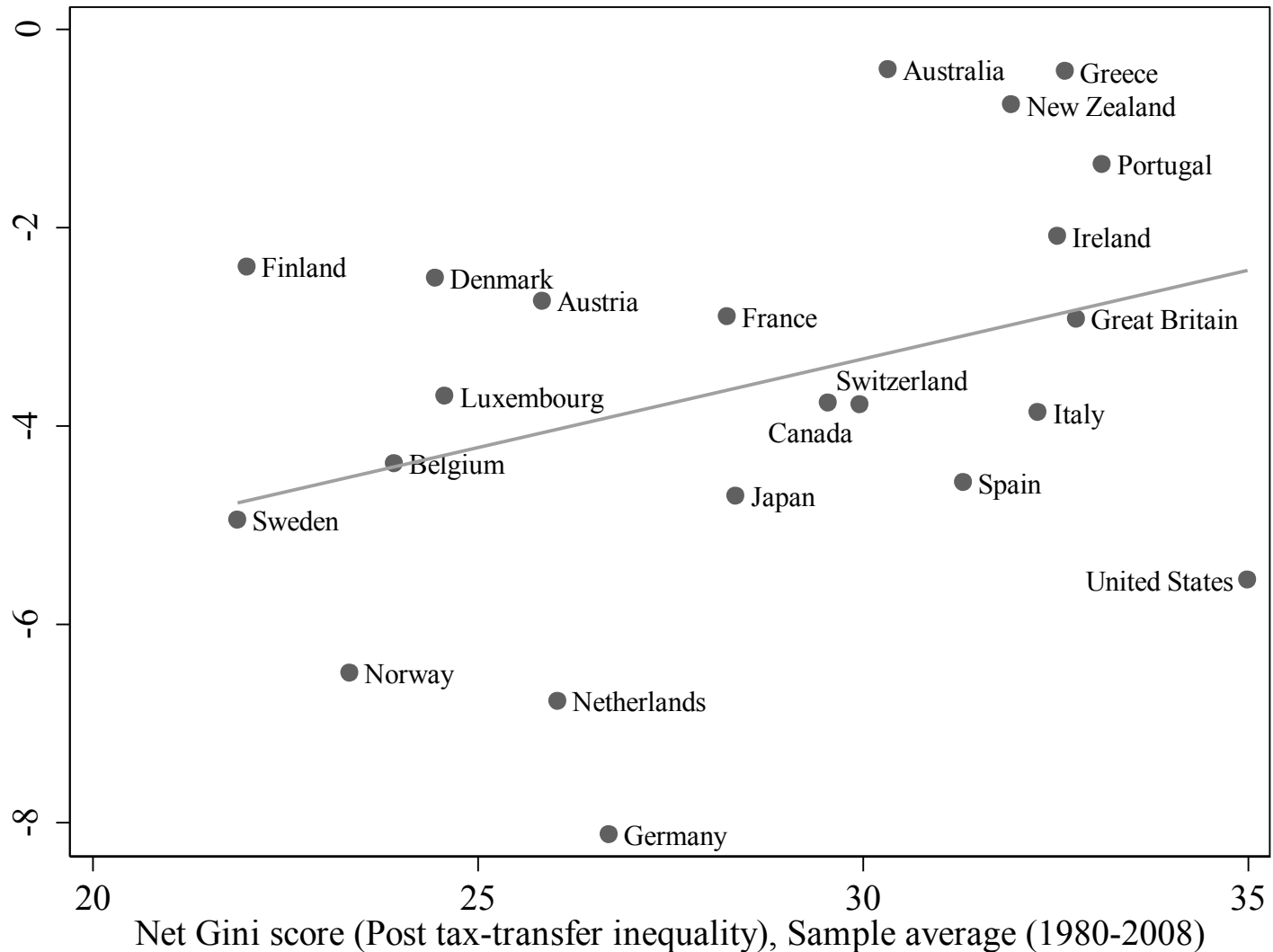






— Net anti-globalization (mean) — Net gini score (post-tax-transfer ineq.)

Figure Two:  
Anti-globalization positions and Income Inequality (national means, 1980-2008)



# Appendix: Summary Statistics

Variable name	Obs.	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Net protection	1481	0.148	1.315	-8.5	27.9
Net anti-internationalism	1481	-2.345	3.264	-26.829	42.631
Net anti-EU	1481	-0.984	2.881	-25.698	32.500
Net anti-globalization (narrow)	1481	-2.198	3.501	-21.951	42.758
Net anti-globalization (broad)	1481	-3.182	4.795	-28.492	40.291
Gini index (post-tax post-transfer)	1481	27.937	4.105	19.7	37.24769
Nationalist-right	1481	0.057	0.231	0	1
Conservative	1481	0.146	0.353	0	1
Liberal	1481	0.131	0.338	0	1
Christian Democratic	1481	0.122	0.328	0	1
Social Democratic	1481	0.232	0.422	0	1
Green	1481	0.053	0.225	0	1
(Former) Communist	1481	0.127	0.333	0	1
Trade openness $t_{-1}$	1478	64.895	33.976	9.309	238.561
Social transfers $t_{-1}$	1481	13.575	4.262	3.7	27.286
Unemployment $t_{-1}$	1477	6.503	4.470	0.084	22.964
GDP Growth $t_{-1}$	1481	2.826	2.184	-3.9	12.8
Dependent population $t_{-1}$	1481	0.341	0.023	0.300	0.424
Seats $t_{-1}$	1479	0.168	0.172	0	0.748
Women in Parliament $t_{-1}$	1481	16.806	11.770	0	47.3
Effective number of parties $t_{-1}$	1481	4.524	1.662	1.967	10.289
Service employment $t_{-1}$	1481	0.605	0.096	0.362	0.795
Percent uncoded	1481	11.824	23.384	0	99
Total sentences (log)	1481	5.689	1.271	2.485	9.210
Year	1481	1987.353	11.925	1961	2008
Gini uncertainty	1481	0.634	0.691	0.008	9.834

Table One:

## Net anti-globalization position-taking and Net Income Inequality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Net anti-EU	Net trade protection	Net anti-int'lism	Anti-glob. Narrow (1)+(2)	Anti-glob. Broad (1)+(2)+(3)	Anti-glob. Broad (1)+(2)+(3)
Gini index	<b>0.067**</b>	<b>0.026*</b>	<b>0.116***</b>	<b>0.157***</b>	<b>0.221***</b>	<b>0.179***</b>
(post-tax post-transfer)	<b>(0.031)</b>	<b>(0.014)</b>	<b>(0.037)</b>	<b>(0.040)</b>	<b>(0.052)</b>	<b>(0.062)</b>
Nationalist-right	1.338***	0.215	0.932**	1.167***	2.508***	2.108***
	(0.337)	(0.167)	(0.388)	(0.412)	(0.556)	(0.584)
Conservative	-1.056***	-0.234*	-0.218	-0.429	-1.533***	-1.854***
	(0.273)	(0.137)	(0.313)	(0.333)	(0.451)	(0.541)
Liberal	-1.302***	-0.254**	-1.089***	-1.293***	-2.624***	-3.187***
	(0.259)	(0.129)	(0.298)	(0.316)	(0.428)	(0.473)
Christian Democratic	-1.145***	-0.043	-1.240***	-1.258***	-2.420***	-2.912***
	(0.281)	(0.140)	(0.323)	(0.343)	(0.464)	(0.512)
Social Democratic	-0.785***	0.020	-1.157***	-1.117***	-1.925***	-2.364***
	(0.250)	(0.125)	(0.288)	(0.306)	(0.414)	(0.497)
Green	0.380	-0.099	-1.837***	-1.927***	-1.553***	-2.077***
	(0.351)	(0.175)	(0.403)	(0.429)	(0.579)	(0.629)
(Former) Communist	1.375***	0.045	-0.149	-0.085	1.282***	0.876*
	(0.268)	(0.133)	(0.308)	(0.328)	(0.443)	(0.487)
-----						
Log-likelihood	-3446.5	-2430.4	-3652.7	-3744.6	-4185.3	-3406.2
Observations	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,190
Number of groups	22	22	22	22	22	17

All models: Maximum-likelihood random-intercept model grouped by country (two-level).

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



Figure Two:  
Anti-globalization positions and Income Inequality (predicted values)

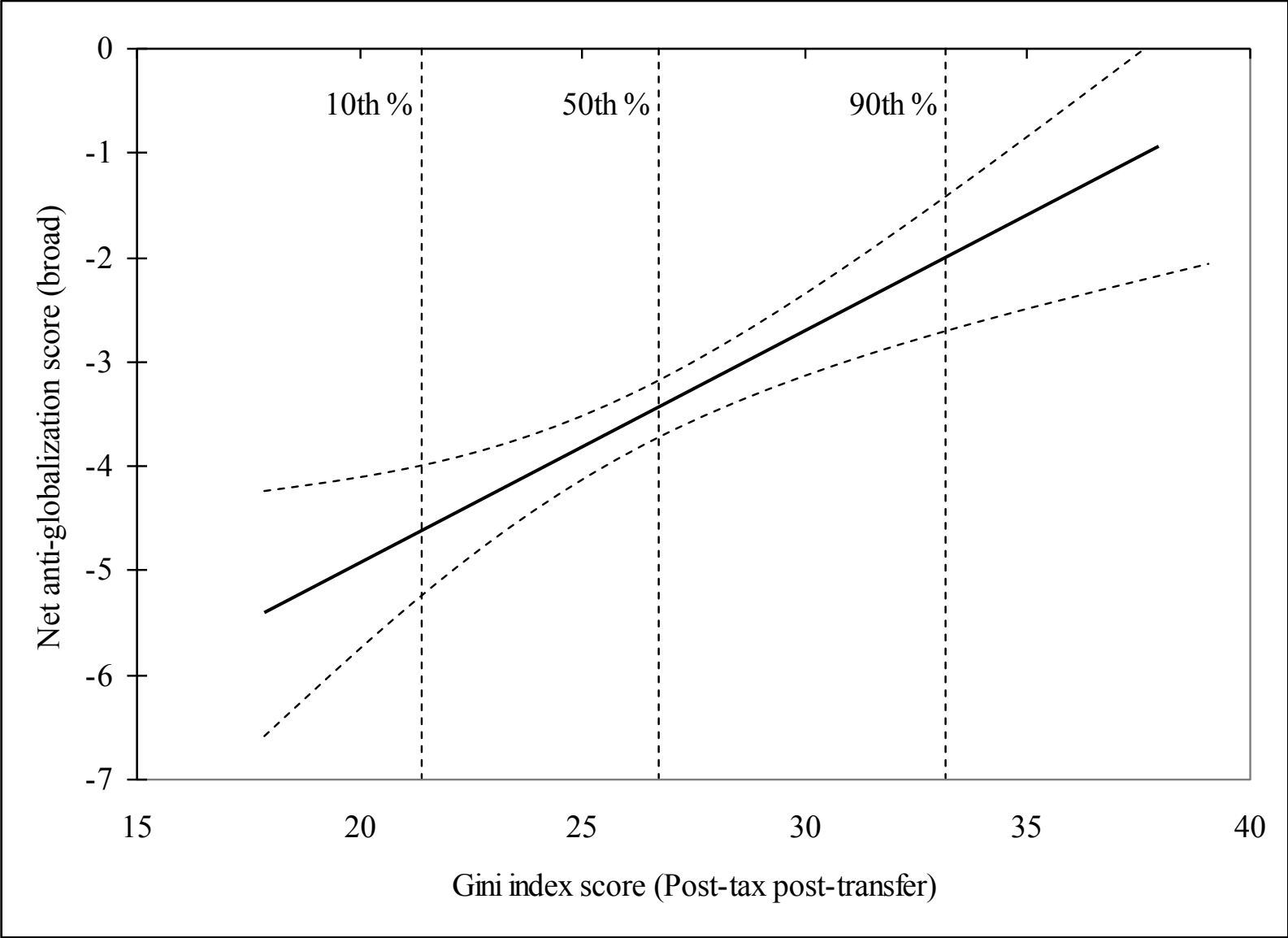


Table Two:  
Net anti-globalization position-taking (broad) and Inequality-Partisanship interaction

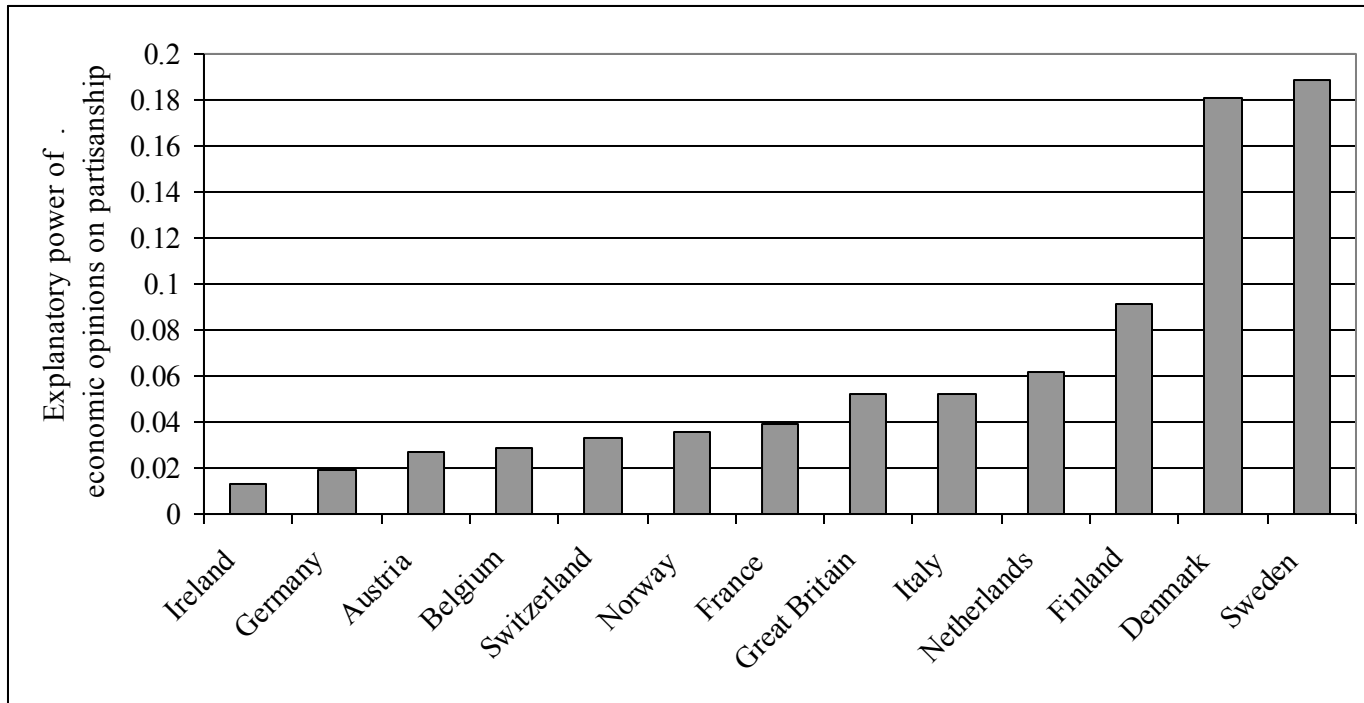
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Gini index	0.225***	0.178***	0.202***	0.210***	0.227***	0.210***	0.205***	0.221***	0.196***
(post-tax post-transfer)	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.059)	(0.067)
Nationalist-right	5.462								
	(3.514)								
Conservative		-5.149**							
		(2.369)							
Liberal			-3.037						
			(2.427)						
Christian Democratic				-1.183					
				(2.408)					
Social Democratic					1.228				
					(1.936)				
Green						1.390			
						(3.479)			
(Former) Communist							1.916		
							(2.246)		
Left parties (Soc.Dem., Green, Communist)								1.612	
								(1.611)	
Right partisanship (L-R)									-0.077*
									(0.043)
Gini × Party measure.	-0.072	0.174**	0.047	-0.010	-0.072	-0.081	0.023	-0.037	0.003**
	(0.126)	(0.082)	(0.089)	(0.086)	(0.068)	(0.126)	(0.079)	(0.059)	(0.002)

Dependent variable: *Net anti-globalization (broad)*

All models: All non-partisan controls identical to those in Table One (results not shown). Maximum-likelihood random-intercept model grouped by country (two-level).

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## Importance of economic factors in voting on parties\*



Source: Henjak 2010

\* Pseudo-R-squares for explanatory power of economic issues (government versus individual responsibility for economic fortunes; value of competition; regulation of firms) in multinomial logit models of party choices of EVS/WVS respondents

## Appendix Five:

### Net anti-globalization position-taking (broad) as a function of Economic-voting system, Partisanship, and Inequality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Gini index	0.193***	0.155**	0.209***	0.185**	0.169**	0.182**	0.175**	0.159**	0.166**
(post-tax post-transfer)	-0.075	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.078)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.080)	(0.075)
Nationalist-right	3.344								
	(3.977)								
Conservative		-6.995*							
		(4.086)							
Liberal			3.456						
			(3.090)						
Christian Democratic				-0.144					
				(3.194)					
Social Democratic					-2.152				
					(2.919)				
Green						-2.591			
						(4.887)			
(Former) Communist							2.582		
							(3.604)		
Left (SocDem,Green, Comm.)								-1.698	
								(2.476)	
Right partisanship (L-R)									-0.044
									(0.055)
Economic-voting system.	10.440	10.645	14.272	9.962	8.866	8.234	6.539	4.539	9.374
	(8.711)	(8.964)	(8.864)	(8.774)	(8.775)	(9.014)	(8.913)	(9.010)	(9.112)
Gini× Party measure.	-0.033	0.236*	-0.130	-0.026	0.023	0.010	-0.054	0.020	0.004**
	(0.137)	(0.132)	(0.109)	(0.112)	(0.100)	(0.171)	(0.118)	(0.084)	(0.002)
Gini × Party measure. × Economic-voting system	0.766**	-0.031	-0.876***	-0.377	0.113	1.374**	0.414	0.63***	-0.017***
	(0.385)	(0.362)	(0.248)	(0.330)	(0.261)	(0.597)	(0.300)	(0.215)	(0.004)
Constant	121.03***	108.7***	117.7***	104.5***	112.5***	106.7***	104.97***	104.***	111.33***
	(27.394)	(28.023)	(27.651)	(27.930)	(27.963)	(28.244)	(27.737)	(27.986)	(27.686)
Observations	985	985	985	985	985	985	985	985	985
Number of countries	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13

All models: All non-partisan controls not shown. Maximum-likelihood random-intercept model grouped by country (two-level).

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table Three:

## Net anti-globalization position-taking (broad) and Social policy Redistribution

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gini index	0.200**	0.198**	0.175***	
(pre-tax pre-transfer)	(0.088)	(0.099)	(0.062)	
Social transfers $t_{-1}$	0.446*			
	(0.258)			
Gini× Social transfers	-0.013**			
	(0.006)			
UI+ALMP $t_{-1}$		2.495**		
		(1.244)		
Gini× UIALMP		-0.064**		
		(0.028)		
Vocational trainees $t_{-1}$			0.183**	
			(0.080)	
Gini× Vocational trainees			-0.006***	
			(0.002)	
Redistribution $t_{-1}$				-0.065***
(Reduction in Gross Gini)				(0.025)
Observations	1,472	832	1,239	1,136
Number of groups	22	22	19	21

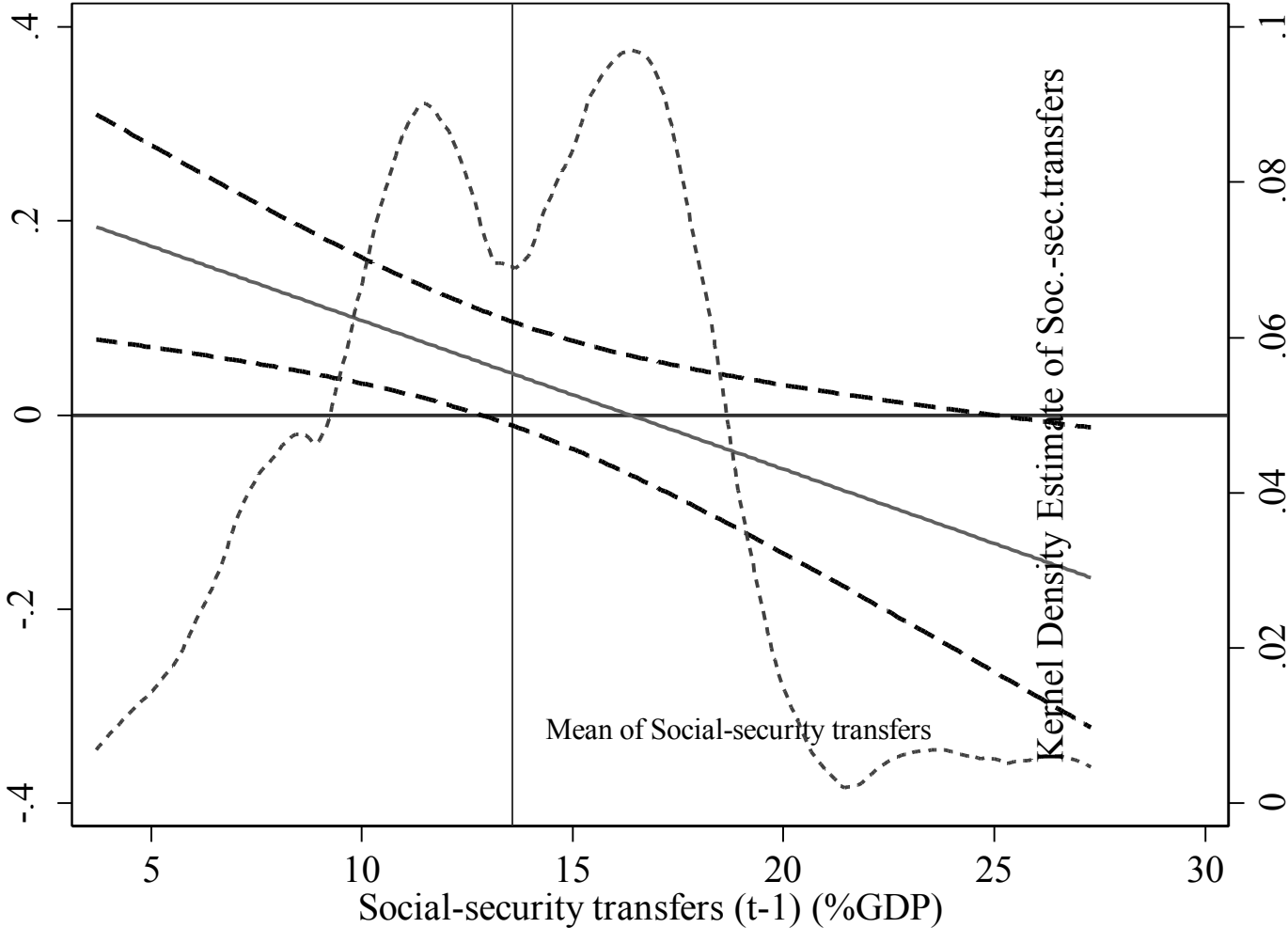
Dependent variable: *Net anti-globalization (broad)*

All models: All non-social-policy controls identical to those in Table One (results not shown).

Maximum-likelihood random-intercept model grouped by country (two-level).

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

Figure Three:  
 How Social-security transfers reduce the effect of Gross Inequality on Anti-globalization



Thick dashed lines give 90% confidence interval.  
 Thin dashed line is a kernel density estimate of social-security transfers

# Inequality and Anti-globalization Backlash by Political Parties

Brian Burgoon  
University of Amsterdam

4 June, 2013  
Final GINI conference

**Table One:**  
**Net anti-globalization position-taking and Net Income Inequality**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Net anti-EU	Net trade protection	Net anti-int'lsm	Anti-glob. Narrow (1)+(2)	Anti-glob. Broad (1)+(2)+(3)	Anti-glob. Broad (1)+(2)+(3)
Gini index (post-tax post-transfer)	<b>0.067**</b>	<b>0.026*</b>	<b>0.116***</b>	<b>0.157***</b>	<b>0.221***</b>	<b>0.179***</b>
Nationalist-right	<b>(0.031)</b>	<b>(0.014)</b>	<b>(0.037)</b>	<b>(0.040)</b>	<b>(0.052)</b>	<b>(0.062)</b>
Conservative	1.338***	0.215	0.932**	1.167***	2.508***	2.108***
	(0.337)	(0.167)	(0.388)	(0.412)	(0.556)	(0.584)
Liberal	-1.056***	-0.234*	-0.218	-0.429	-1.533***	-1.854***
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Social Democratic	-1.145***	-0.043	-1.240***	-1.258***	-2.420***	-2.912***
	(0.281)	(0.140)	(0.323)	(0.343)	(0.464)	(0.512)
Green	-0.785***	0.020	-1.157***	-1.117***	-1.925***	-2.364***
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(Former) Communist	0.380	-0.099	-1.837***	-1.927***	-1.553***	-2.077***
	(0.351)	(0.175)	(0.403)	(0.429)	(0.579)	(0.629)
Trade openness <sub>t-1</sub>	1.375***	0.045	-0.149	-0.085	1.282***	0.876*
	(0.268)	(0.133)	(0.308)	(0.328)	(0.443)	(0.487)
Social transfers <sub>t-1</sub>	0.000	-0.002	0.015**	0.011	0.013	0.009
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.002	-0.000	-0.036	-0.031	-0.019	-0.031
	(0.029)	(0.014)	(0.035)	(0.037)	(0.049)	(0.054)
GDP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.091***	-0.013	0.053	0.023	-0.052	-0.071
	(0.027)	(0.012)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.045)	(0.048)
Dependent population <sub>t-1</sub>	0.053	0.025	-0.015	0.008	0.059	-0.018
	(0.036)	(0.018)	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.059)	(0.070)
Seats <sub>t-1</sub>	-1.001	5.625***	8.423	15.426***	12.099	9.817
	(4.619)	(2.109)	(5.527)	(5.943)	(7.753)	(8.943)
Women in Parliament <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.447	-0.736***	-0.179	-0.861	-1.341	-1.168
	(0.496)	(0.248)	(0.569)	(0.605)	(0.819)	(1.033)
Effective number of parties <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.020	-0.015***	0.001	-0.010	-0.035	-0.056**
	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.028)
Service employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.084	0.011	-0.240**	-0.241**	-0.258*	-0.149
	(0.080)	(0.034)	(0.099)	(0.107)	(0.136)	(0.147)
Percent uncoded	5.807**	2.253**	1.456	8.377**	8.032*	1.726
	(2.464)	(0.912)	(3.402)	(3.841)	(4.355)	(5.147)
Total sentences (log)	0.002	-0.002	0.012**	0.012**	0.012*	0.017**
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Year	-0.321***	-0.085**	-0.341***	-0.416***	-0.739***	-0.779***
	(0.076)	(0.036)	(0.089)	(0.095)	(0.126)	(0.144)
Gini uncertainty	-0.023	-0.008	-0.028	-0.065**	-0.054	0.012
	(0.019)	(0.008)	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.038)
Constant	-0.110	-0.072	-0.300**	-0.387***	-0.498**	-0.514**
	(0.121)	(0.059)	(0.140)	(0.149)	(0.200)	(0.212)
Log-likelihood	42.709	12.255	48.269	117.104**	94.930	-28.665
	(36.801)	(15.575)	(47.695)	(52.938)	(63.421)	(73.577)
Observations	-3446.5	-2430.4	-3652.7	-3744.6	-4185.3	-3406.2
Number of groups	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,472	1,190
	22	22	22	22	22	17

All models: Maximum-likelihood random-intercept model grouped by country (two-level).

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



