

The Harvard Globalization Survey

Economic and Political Responses to Global Markets

Michael J. Hiscox
Harvard University
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PROJECT BACKGROUND

I. Introduction

The dramatic growth in international trade, investment, and immigration in recent years has intensified the political debate over the costs and benefits of globalization. Recent controversies have centered on outsourcing of jobs to foreign locales, massive bilateral trade imbalances, the effects of NAFTA and other preferential trade agreements. Violent protests and demonstrations have disrupted meetings of the World Trade Organization. Many of the concerns raised about globalization have focused on whether, or to what extent, international economic integration has contributed to increasing inequality while also impairing the ability of governments to address environmental and human rights problems and to provide social insurance programs that protect their poorest citizens from risks associated with market fluctuations. Summing up many of these concerns, Rodrik (1997, 2) has argued that globalization “is exposing a deep fault line between groups that have the skills and mobility to flourish in global markets and those who either don’t have these advantages or perceive the expansion of unregulated markets as inimical to social stability and deeply held norms.”

Just how strong is the political backlash against globalization? To what extent are firms in different industries responding to new international economic pressures by lobbying their governments for more protection and support, and how are they altering their investment, hiring, and training practices? Has globalization changed the way workers regard job training or their willingness to change jobs and occupations? How are trade associations and labor unions responding to the new and diverse needs of their memberships? Does continued globalization require an increased role for the government in providing social insurance and adjustment assistance? Are labor and environmental standards becoming more critical issues for firms or less? And how are policymakers responding to the competing demands made by winners and losers?

These are critical questions at a time when multilateral trade negotiations have stalled, controversy about the outsourcing has come to dominate media coverage of the trade issue, and new restrictions on immigration are being adopted by a growing number of governments. At the same time, governments in many advanced industrial societies appear increasingly to be less capable of, or willing to, sustain welfare programs that provide safety nets for those workers and communities disadvantaged by the integration of global markets. If a major political battle over globalization is looming, we want to know what the battle lines will be, and whether the backlash might be strong enough to end the current era of economic openness in much the same way the first great era of globalization was reversed by political pressures that surfaced in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Our project aims to address these questions by gathering detailed data on the policy preferences and political and economic activities of a large sample of firms, workers, organizations, and policymakers in a variety of nations. Currently available data from national and international public opinion surveys and official censuses are unable to answer these research questions – in most cases they do not ask the right questions, they do not survey firms, organizations, and policymakers, and they do not provide cross-nationally comparable measures of critical variables. The project will fill the void by administering surveys to firm managers, workers, and representatives of industry trade associations and labor unions in several nations, coupling these with surveys of legislators in each country. The countries targeted for inclusion in the study include Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Germany, France, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, and the United States.

The project aims to make some major contributions to ongoing research in several fields of political economy. In particular, it will provide new measures of firm and individual-level preferences over a range of economic policies, along with new indicators of the industry and firm specificity of physical and human capital, a new set of data on the political activities of firms and workers, a detailed investigation of principal-agent relations between firms and trade associations and between workers and labor unions, and data on the types and sources of information that firms, individuals, and policymakers rely upon when formulating policy preferences and making critical decisions. A distinguishing feature of this project, compared to existing international surveys, is its multi-layered design: we will carefully match micro-level data (on firms and workers) with sectoral data (on trade associations and labor unions) and legislature/district-level data on policymakers, gathering information on the political interactions between actors at all the different levels. Such a broad range of cross-nationally comparable, micro-level economic and political data has never before been assembled, and we believe it would have a major impact on future research.

II. Existing Political Economy Research on Globalization

Here we spend some time and effort outlining the key theoretical debates about the determinants and effects of globalization among scholars and the constraints faced by these scholars due to current unavailability of certain types of data about firms, workers, organizations, and policymakers. We argue that our new project play a major role by providing this missing data. Readers should feel free to skim liberally.

A. Key Theoretical Debates

Two sets of scholarly literatures, developing almost independently of each other, address the political economy of globalization in distinctive ways. Scholars of international political economy (hereafter referred to as IPE) have been mainly been interested in the distributive effects of trade openness, immigration, and international investment flows, and how these effects have shaped policy outcomes in different nations. Central debates among IPE scholars are whether globalization creates broad class-based divisions in politics in all countries, or whether it leads to a more complicated array of industry-based coalitions that lobby policymakers for particular types of policies that confer industry-specific rewards. Scholars of comparative political economy (CPE) have generally pursued very different questions. They have generally looked at a wider range of policy responses to globalization, examining industrial policy, business regulation, labor laws, welfare policies, and various other types of spending and taxation. Theoretical discussions in CPE have generally been more sensitive to institutional and organizational contexts and how these differ across nations. Central debates among CPE scholars are whether institutional and

organizational differences among countries create different political cleavages or coalitions and policy responses; or whether globalization has pressured governments in different nations to converge on a similar array of market-oriented policies. We will briefly review these core theoretical debates below.

Theoretical debates in IPE have centered on delineating the policy preferences of individuals and firms in the economy and the process by which these preferences are aggregated by governments to produce economic policies. The first step requires economic analysis. How different people are affected by the global economy, and thus what types of policies they prefer to manage international trade, immigration, investment, and exchange rates, depends on how they make their living. Of critical importance here are the types of assets that individuals own and how the income earned from those assets is affected by different policy choices. According to the Stolper-Samuelson (1941) theorem, trade benefits those who own the factors of production with which the economy is relatively well endowed and trade hurts owners of scarce factors. The reasoning is straightforward: by encouraging specialization in each economy in export-oriented types of production, trade increases the demand for locally abundant factors (and bids up the earnings of those who own those factors), while reducing demand for locally scarce factors (and lowering the earnings of owners of such factors). In land abundant economies like Australia and Canada, the theorem suggests that landowners should benefit most from trade, while workers can expect lower real wages as a consequence of increased imports of labor-intensive goods. In Europe, Japan, and the United States, the theorem predicts a fairly simple class division over trade: the trade issue should benefit owners of capital and skills at the expense of low-skilled workers. The converse should hold in relatively labor-abundant (and capital and skill-scarce) developing economies like India, where trade will raise the wages of low skilled workers relative to the returns earned by local owners of physical and human capital. The Stolper-Samuelson theorem thus provides a neat way to map the policy preferences of individuals in each economy. In each nation, owners of locally abundant factors should support greater trade openness, while owners of locally scarce factors should be protectionist. There is a good deal of evidence in the histories of political conflict over trade in a variety of nations that fits with this simple prediction (see Rogowski 1989). And recent studies of public opinion polls indicate some support (Scheve and Slaughter 2001b; Mayda and Rodrik 2004), although there is still considerable debate about how this survey evidence should be interpreted (see Hainmueller and Hiscox 2006).¹

On the other hand, political divisions and coalitions in trade politics often appear to contradict this simple model of preferences. It is quite common to see workers and owners in the same industry banding together to lobby for protective import barriers, for instance, in contemporary debates about policy in Europe and the United States, even though the Stolper-Samuelson theorem tells us that capital and labor are supposed to have directly opposing views (see Magee 1980; Hiscox 2002a). The theorem is derived by assuming that factors of production are highly mobile between different industries in each economy. An alternative approach to mapping the effects of trade on incomes, often referred to as the “specific factors” model, allows instead that it can be quite costly to move some factors of production between different sectors in the economy.²

¹ Note that there are ongoing debates about whether trade liberalization is actually accountable for significant change in income inequality in different economies. In these debates the critical issue has been the magnitude of the effects of trade on the wages (or employment prospects) for low-skilled workers in high-income economies, when compared with the impact of other forces: skill-biased changes in production technology, regressive shifts in tax and welfare policies. Freeman’s (1995) review of the various empirical studies is perhaps still the best available.

² The original model was introduced by Jones (1971) and Samuelson (1971) independently – the former christened it the “specific-factors” model, while the latter named it the “Ricardo-Viner” model.

In the specific factors model, the real incomes of different individuals are tied very closely to the fortunes of the particular industries in which they make their living. Individuals employed or invested in export industries benefit from trade according to this model, while those who are attached to import-competing industries are harmed (see Jones 1971; Mussa 1974). In the advanced economies of Europe and the United States, the implication is that owners and employees in export-oriented industries like aerospace, pharmaceuticals, computer software, construction equipment, and financial services, should be much more supportive of trade than their counterparts in, say, the steel, textiles, and footwear industries, which face intense pressure from import competition. There is much evidence supporting these predictions in the real world of trade politics, especially in the debates over trade in the most advanced economies where technologies (and the skills that complement them) have become increasingly specialized (see Hiscox 2002a).³ In the recent debates over regional and multilateral trade agreements in the United States, for instance, some of the most vociferous opposition to removing barriers to trade has come from owners and workers aligned together in the steel and textile industries. Much of the leading theoretical work on the political economy of trade now assumes that the specific factors approach is the most appropriate way to think about trade policy preferences, at least in the contemporary context in the advanced economies (see Grossman and Helpman 1994; Rodrik 1995), but this core debate is far from settled.⁴

Standard economic models of the income effects of immigration and international investment also emphasize the importance of the different types of productive factors people own. What is critical in this respect is the impact that immigration has on relative supplies of factors of production in the local economy. In the most commonly analyzed immigration scenario, it is assumed that immigrants have relatively low skill levels when compared with native workers. Immigration thus increases the supply of low-skilled labor relative to other factors (land, capital, and high-skilled labor). In a simple closed-economy model in which new (low-skilled) immigrants can only price themselves into employment by lowering the wages of native low-skilled workers; as more low-skilled labor is applied to fixed amounts of the other factors, the real wages of the less skilled will decline while the earnings of owners of land, capital, and skills will rise.⁵ This model of the impact of immigration is often referred to as “factor-proportions” (FP) analysis (see Borjas et al. 1996, 1997; Borjas 1999a). It renders the distributive effects of inflows of low-skilled immigrants in stark terms: native low-skilled workers are clearly the economic losers. Of course, if immigrants were *high*-skilled (rather than low-skilled) workers the effect of

³ Survey based studies have indicated mixed results again: Scheve and Slaughter (2001b) find no evidence for industry-based effects on attitudes toward trade, Mayda and Rodrik (2004) find some significant effects consistent with the specific-factors approach, and Hiscox (2006a) finds large effects.

⁴ This bifurcation is considered unproblematic in the trade theory literature: specific-factors effects are regarded as important in the short term but not the long term. See Mussa 1974; Krugman and Obstfeld 2000, 81. It is simply assumed that, over time, all factors are perfectly mobile. But this does not resolve the dilemma with regard to politics: in the political-economy of trade, factor owners do not just choose between accepting returns in one industry and moving to another, they can also lobby to influence policy (and hence returns). The real issue then is whether (or under what circumstances) short-term gains from lobbying to preserve or increase industry rents are a more important consideration than long-term distributional effects.

⁵ Standard models assume full employment and wage flexibility, so that the distributional effects are reflected in wages. In models that permit labor market imperfections, these effects can also take the form of changes in local unemployment rates (see Razin and Sadka 1995; Angrist and Kugler 2002). Alternative models also allow for geographic differences within national labor markets so that the wage and employment effects of immigration may be concentrated in “gateway communities” where immigrants tend to settle in large numbers (see Borjas 1999a, 10-11).

the inflows would be to lower real wages for native *high*-skilled workers and to raise real earnings for all others (including low-skilled workers).

But more sophisticated economic models are actually quite equivocal about whether immigrants will have an adverse impact on the wages or employment opportunities of local workers with similar skills (see Friedberg and Hunt 1995). In an open-economy Heckscher-Ohlin (HO) model, trade can offset the impact of immigration as an economy adjusts to any change in factor supplies by importing less of the goods that can now be produced locally at a lower cost. Again assuming low-skilled immigrants, it is possible that an economy can absorb new workers simply by altering the mix of output of tradable goods, increasing production of low-skill-intensive goods and decreasing production of other goods (in line with the Rybcynski theorem). Wages will not change at all if the local economy is small enough that a change in its output mix has no effect on world prices – a result known as “factor price insensitivity” (Leamer and Levinsohn 1995).⁶ The theoretical picture looks no clearer if we allow that the skills of workers can be highly “specific” to particular industries. If all goods are traded, so that prices are fixed in world markets, it can be shown that inflows of low-skilled workers will indeed lower real wages for low-skilled natives, while raising real wages for high-skilled workers in all industries (the latter benefits will be larger for high-skilled workers in sectors that use low-skilled labor more intensively). On the flip side, inflows of *any* type of high-skilled workers will raise real wages for low-skilled workers while lowering real wages for *all* high-skilled workers (the latter losses being larger for those who own the very same specific skills as the immigrants). While these distributive effects match the predictions generated by the simple closed-economy FP model, they are overturned with the inclusion of non-traded goods in the model. If immigration can lead to a reduction in the price of non-traded goods (i.e., if it raises the output of such goods more rapidly than it raises aggregate demand for them), it is unclear whether native workers with skills similar to those of immigrants will be worse off in real terms (the outcome will depend in part on their consumption tastes). And the effects of immigration inflows on real earnings are similarly ambiguous in the specific-factors model when the country in question is large relative to world markets.⁷

All these same theoretical issues attend the analysis of international investment when considered, like immigration, as an international factor flow. In particular, the inclusion of non-traded goods in the general equilibrium model with industry specific factors can upset predictions from a simple factor-proportions model. Much more theoretical attention has been focused, however, in the relationship between investment and trade politics. In particular, considerable attention has thus been devoted to the analysis of “tariff-jumping” investment (e.g., Brecher and Diaz-Alejandro 1977; Hamada 1974), and recent theoretical work has suggested that capital flows

⁶ There are two possible exceptions. If the local economy is very large relative to the rest of the world, the change in output mix can produce a decline in the world prices of low skill-intensive goods and a subsequent decline in the real wages of low-skilled labor. Alternatively, if the inflow of immigration is itself very large, it might induce a change in the set of tradable products that the local economy produces, thus causing a decline in the real wages of low-skilled labor.

⁷ Note that, while we have concentrated on the labor-market effects here, there is also considerable debate over the impact of immigration on government spending and tax revenues. One common concern is that low-skilled immigrants, since they tend to earn less and thus pay less in taxes than native, and since they are more likely to draw unemployment and other welfare benefits from government, are a net drain on government coffers. Economists are divided on whether this is actually the case (see Krugman and Obstfeld 2000: 166). Notice, however, that to the extent it *is* true, since the added tax burden of immigration would fall disproportionately upon richer, more highly skilled native workers, these distributional effects would run counter to the types of distributional wage effects emphasized in closed-economy FP models of labor market competition.

might not only jump newly-imposed tariffs *post facto*, but might also anticipate political pressure for tariffs and defuse it ahead of time by substituting for exports — so-called “quid pro quo foreign investment” (see Bhagwati et al 1987; Dinopoulos 1989). In general, then, firms should have less incentive to lobby their governments for trade protection as capital becomes more internationally mobile (that is, as investment flows can serve more effectively as substitutes for trade flows). Empirical studies in this area have reported findings that do seem consistent with this general idea. There does appear to be evidence, for instance, that foreign firms increase direct investment in the United States in response to heightened protectionist threats, and that these new investments lead subsequently to a decline in protectionist demands by U.S. firms (see Blonigen and Feenstra 1996; Belderbos 1997; Blonigen and Ohno 1998). In addition, it seems clear that the firms engaging most actively in foreign direct investment are among the most ardent supporters of trade liberalization in general (see Helleiner 1977; Milner 1988). However, as Hiscox (2004a) points out, such effects are more complicated in a general equilibrium model with specific factors: in particular, if capital is highly industry-specific, greater international mobility among *some* types of specific capital may increase lobbying incentives for owners of *other* specific factors.

There has been a good deal of research on public attitudes toward immigration that has looked for signs that economic concerns related to job security do lie behind anti-immigrant sentiments, with mixed results (e.g., Studlar 1977; Harwood 1986; Simon 1987; Gang and Rivera-Batiz 1994b; Citrin et al. 1997; Burns and Gimpel 2000; Fetzer 2000; Dustmann and Preston 2001). Several recent studies have found stronger evidence that a fear of lower wages induces low-skilled individuals, in particular, to oppose immigration (Scheve and Slaughter 2001a; Mayda 2004), although significant questions have been raised about the interpretations given to that evidence (see Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007).⁸ We are not aware of any scholarly work that examines survey data on attitudes toward foreign investment in a similar fashion, in large part because there appears to be virtually no such data available for the advanced industrial economies.

There are other predictors of policy preferences besides the standard economic variables, of course, although the theoretical underpinnings for these are typically less clear. Various types of self-expressed values appear to have a strong impact on individuals’ preferences when it comes to trade and immigration; in particular, strong attachments to neighborhood and community, feelings of national pride, and distrust of foreigners are all positively associated with support for trade protection (see O’Rourke and Sinnott 2002; Mayda and Rodrik 2004); and divisions among individuals over immigration policy are strongly related to fundamental differences in cultural values associated with ethnic and racial tolerance and cosmopolitanism (e.g., Espenshade and Calhoun 1993; Citrin et al. 1997; McLaren 2001). In addition to these types of concerns, trade and foreign investment have also been linked increasingly in political debates to environmental issues and questions about human rights. In particular, many groups of citizens appear to have grown concerned that competition among developing countries to attract new investments from multinational firms may produce a “race to the bottom” in environmental and labor standards. Coalitions of labor unions and human rights groups have waged campaigns to persuade American and European corporations to adhere to strict codes of conduct abroad and to convince policymakers to include provisions for minimum environmental and labor standards in future trade agreements (see Elliott and Freeman 2003; Destler and Balint 1998). Environmentalists and human rights activists have also expressed grave concerns about the behavior of multinational firms in developing nations, with much of the focus being on whether these large corporations are

⁸ Again, there is also debate among economists over the magnitude of the actual wage and employment effects attributable to immigration flows: see Bhagwati 2000, 2002; Friedberg and Hunt 1995.

moving production to areas in which they can pollute and otherwise damage the environment, or run “sweatshop” factories in which they mistreat and underpay workers, avoiding the regulatory supervision that would prevent such behavior in their home countries. Without better data on the importance voters place upon all these concerns when evaluating various aspects of globalization, it is difficult to assess whether or how they affect predictions about policy preferences derived from simple policy-economy models. To a large degree, the empirical jury is still “out” when it comes to the race-to-the-bottom thesis about foreign investment: empirical analysis to date reveals no clear evidence supporting the charge that foreign investment is actually attracted to countries with low labor standards, for example.⁹ Gathering better data on the activities and location decisions made by firms when investing abroad would also shed much more light on these issues.

There is a whole other set of theoretical debates in IPE that involve the question of how the competing policy preferences of different individuals and groups are reconciled by the political institutions that govern policymaking. How groups organize to lobby or otherwise influence politicians, and how policies are proposed, debated, and passed in legislatures, all depends on the structure of political institutions. Several scholars have suggested that in parliamentary systems in which legislative seats are apportioned among parties according to the proportion of votes they receive (“proportional representation”), narrowly organized groups have far less impact on policy-making in general than they do in electoral systems in which individual seats are decided by plurality rule (see Rogowski 1987). Parliamentary systems with proportional representation tend to encourage the formation of strong, cohesive political parties, which appeal to a national constituency and have less to gain in electoral terms by responding to localized and particularistic demands (McGillivray 1997). Other types of systems, in contrast, tend to encourage intra-party competition among individual politicians and the development of a “personal vote” in each particular electoral district and thus appear to be more conducive to interest group lobbying. The implications for foreign economic policies are usually spelled out in very clear terms: we expect that proportional representation systems with strong political parties (e.g., Sweden) will typically produce lower levels of trade protection and other restrictions than alternative types of electoral systems in which particular local and regional interests have a greater influence (e.g., Britain, the United States).

But other aspects of electoral institutions may play more important roles in shaping policy outcomes. In general, smaller electoral districts in plurality systems may be expected to increase the influence of sectoral or particularistic groups over elected representatives and thus lead to higher levels of protection (Rogowski 1987; Alt and Gilligan 1994). In larger districts, political representatives will be forced to balance the interests of a greater variety of industry groups when making decisions about policies and so may be less affected by the demands of any one industry lobby, and a larger share of the costs of any tariff or restriction will be “internalized” among voters within the district. From this perspective, upper chambers of parliaments, which typically allocate seats among representatives of much larger electoral districts than lower chambers, tend to be less inclined toward trade protection and other types of restrictive foreign economic policies. But constituency size may be less critical than composition. In legislative chambers in which seats are defined along political-geographic lines without regard for population (e.g. in the U.S. Senate), agricultural and mining interests in under-populated areas typically gain a great deal more influence over policy-making than they can wield in chambers (e.g. the U.S. House) where legislative seats are defined based upon the number of voters in each district. To date, empirical research on these issues has made very little progress, finding mixed results when looking for the

⁹ See OECD 1996, 2000; Rodrik 1996. For a review of all the existing empirical studies, see Elliott and Freeman 2003, 20-21.

effects of different types of institutional variation using crude, cross-national indicators of trade protection (see Mansfield and Busch 1995).

The rules that govern the way national legislatures go about making laws can also have profound effects on the way the preferences of individuals and groups are aggregated into different types of foreign economic policies. These rules determine the way new policies are proposed, considered, amended, and voted upon. They structure the interactions among different legislative and executive bodies and they establish which branches have what types of agenda-setting and veto power over policy. Most of the recent research on the impact of legislative institutions on foreign economic policies has been focused on American trade policy, with the point of departure the infamous Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 (see Destler 1995; Lohmann and O'Halloran 1996). The core of the legislative problem, as many see it, is the possibility for "logrolling" or vote trading between protectionist interests. The benefits of any tariff or trade restriction often go to an import-competing industry located almost entirely in one electoral district, with the costs born generally by individuals in the rest of the economy. In such cases, lobbying pressure by these industries can generate a protectionist logroll when tariffs are being set by voting among members of a legislature (see Weingast et al. 1981). According to the conventional wisdom, the Smoot-Hawley tariff was just such a logrolling disaster, and Congress reacted to it by redesigning the rules governing the way trade policy was made, delegating to the executive branch the authority to alter U.S. trade policy by negotiating reciprocal trade agreements with other countries (a practice continued since 1934). By delegating authority over policy to the president, who would presumably set trade policy to benefit all individuals within the one, *national* electoral district, this innovation arguably eliminated the specter of protectionist logrolling altogether and ensured that the costs of trade protection were fully "internalized" by a decision maker accountable to all voters. In addition, by empowering the president to negotiate trade agreements that elicited reciprocal tariff reductions from other countries, the change may have helped to mobilize support for trade liberalization among export interests who could now expect improved sales abroad as a result of tariff reductions at home (see Gilligan 1997a). The lessons taken from this case are almost certainly overdrawn, and the conventional account has some gaping inconsistencies (see Hiscox 1999; Schneitz 1994). Moreover, it is not at all clear that protectionist logrolls have been an otherwise unsolvable problem for tariff legislation in the U.S. Congress (or elsewhere) – plenty of *liberalizing* bills have been passed by legislatures in the absence of such delegation. Political parties typically play critical roles in controlling the legislative agenda, and so what matters most are the preferences of voters in the core electoral constituencies of these parties (often defined in regional or economic terms).

Empirical research to date has addressed these types of theoretical issues largely by examining voting patterns on trade legislation in the U.S. Congress (see Baldwin and Magee 2001; Gilligan 1997a; Hiscox 2002b). A great deal of evidence indicates that individual members of Congress are strongly affected by campaign contributions from interest groups when voting on trade bills. It is less clear whether the trade preferences of voters in their districts matters much, in general, for legislators voting decisions, since the trade issue (and immigration, investment, and exchange rate issues) are rarely critical points of debate in campaigns for congressional seats. Better data on the calculations being made by policymakers when taking positions on these policy issues, and when interacting with organized groups and with voters, would shed far more light on these questions. In the benchmark model of lobbying and trade policy developed by Grossman and Helpman (1994), each organized industry group presents the policymaker (there is only one in the model) with a "contribution schedule" which maps how much it is willing to give in financial contributions as a function of group welfare (and how it is improved by a particular alteration in tariffs). The policymaker is then simply assumed to weigh the utility from these contributions from groups against the welfare effects that policy decisions have for the broader

economy. Data on the preferences and behavior of individual legislators would allow new tests of this model and indicate whether and how the story is complicated by the presence of the legislative parties and by the constraints imposed by legislative rules.

The theoretical debates about in the CPE literature we will review much more briefly here. The core debate involving globalization has really centered on whether greater economic openness (and especially exposure to more integrated capital markets) would lead to policy convergence among governments in different western nations (and particularly to a general decline in the provision of social welfare). The basic logic to the arguments about convergence mirrored that of the fears of the race-to-the-bottom discussed in the IPE literature: that is, in order to attract investment capital, which was now free to go wherever it could earn the highest (after tax) returns, governments would be forced to cut spending on programs that firms did not care about (including social welfare). But this simple logic has been attacked from a variety of different angles (see Garrett 1997a,b). Several scholars made the case that greater trade openness might drive citizens to demand that governments increase spending in order to offset the added volatility in incomes that would otherwise befall them due to greater exposure to the vicissitudes of world markets (see Cameron 1978; Katzenstein 1985; Rodrik 1997, 1998). From this perspective, trade protection and government spending (on social welfare programs in particular) are regarded as substitutes not complements. In recent years, debates over how and why economic openness might either spur or constrain welfare provision have been replaced by discussions of mediating conditions (e.g., Garrett 1998; Swank 2000, 2001; Adsera and Boix 2002; Burgoon 2002; Rudra 2002).¹⁰ Much of the debate turns on questions of under what conditions, and to what extent, groups made vulnerable by economic openness demand particular types of insurance or compensation and are able to influence policy outcomes.

New theoretical work on the so-called “varieties of capitalism” has been focused on complementarities between the various regulations and institutions that govern markets for labor and capital in these nations and different types of policies adopted in areas such as social welfare and education (Hall and Soskice 2001). This perspective neatly brings together insights on complementarities between different policies and institutions governing the relationships between economic agents in markets for products, labor, and capital. Regulations that limit firms from firing workers during recessions, for instance, are more feasible if the financial system does not tie firm credit so closely to short-term profitability (Hall and Soskice 2001, 18). That certain combinations of regulations and institutions may work more efficiently than others suggests that, in equilibrium, nations will be drawn towards these combinations. Indeed, proponents of this theoretical approach argue that the advanced economies tend to cluster into two distinct types: *liberal market economies* (LMEs) and *coordinated market economies* (CMEs). In LME’s — identified as Australia, Britain, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United States — economic activities are governed largely by competitive market forces and relationships between actors are characterized by the arms-length exchange of goods or services. In CME’s — Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland — activities are coordinated more by relational contracting between firms and other actors engaged in long-term collaborative agreements.¹¹

¹⁰ The list of mediating conditions includes Garrett’s (1998) combination of strong, centralized labor unions and Left party strength mediating whether openness spurs (with strong Left-Labor power) or constrains (with weak power) welfare spending (see also Rudra 2002). Swank (2001) focuses on a range of political, market, and welfare institutions and how they mediate the political voice and incentives of vulnerable groups. Adsera and Boix (2002) emphasize how the simultaneous choice of openness and welfare is conditioned by level of democracy.

¹¹ France and Italy (along with Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey) are classified as ambiguous cases.

Here, as in many of the theoretical work in the IPE literature, asset or factor specificity assumes a critical role. It is actually treated here as a key defining characteristic of each type of economy, shaping the preferences of workers and firms over major policy dimensions — including the size of the welfare state — and determining how (and how rapidly) each economy adjusts to exogenous shifts in world markets and technology by reallocating productive inputs between industries. Hall and Soskice (2001, 17) argue explicitly that firms and workers in CMEs “should be more willing to invest in ‘specific and co-specific’ assets (assets that cannot readily be turned to another purpose and assets whose returns depend heavily on the active cooperation of others), while those in LMEs invest more extensively in ‘switchable’ assets (assets whose value can be realized if diverted to other purposes).” Indeed, the distinction is thought to be so clear that Iversen and Soskice (2001a,b), in related work, have actually preferred to simply categorize CMEs and LMEs as, respectively, “specific asset” and “general asset” economies. They claim it is “not simply industry interests and industrial policies that are affected by the asset specificity of investment. Mass politics and virtually every economic and political institution shape, and are shaped by, the nature of asset investments” (Iversen and Soskice 2001a, 1).

While factor specificity is obviously assigned a critical analytical role here, it is not altogether clear whether specificity is regarded as exogenous or endogenous with respect to regulations and institutions. Hall and Soskice (2001, 17) depict specificity in part as a product of the institutional environment. They argue that firms and workers in CMEs are given more institutional support for investing in specific assets, in the form of industry-based vocational training and collaborative research and development programs for instance, while economic actors in LMEs are given more institutional freedom to move assets between alternative uses and are thus encouraged to acquire more adaptable types of skills and technologies. The relative organizational strength of trade unions and employer associations in CMEs is key since it makes cooperation, in the management of apprenticeship programs, for instance, and wage bargaining, much more feasible than in LMEs (Hall and Gingerich 2001, 4-5). For Estevez-Abe, Iversen, and Soskice (1999) and Iversen and Soskice (2001a), the specificity of labor skills is regarded as being mutually, simultaneously determined with policies that provide for “social protection” (e.g., employment protection regulations, unemployment benefits, wage guarantees). In their account, firms and workers in CME economies negotiate a bargain in which firms support various forms of social protections so that workers will be willing to invest in the acquisition of specific skills that boost productivity.

On the other hand, factor specificity also seems to be assigned some exogenous component that feeds back into the determination of institutions and regulations. Hall and Soskice (2001, 22) write that since “firms in coordinated market economies employ production strategies that rely on a highly-skilled labor force” they need industrial relations institutions capable of resolving the problems that often hinder skill acquisition. Their logic here is rooted in the notion that firms in different economies have different innate “core competencies or dynamic capabilities” that affect the types of production they choose (Hall and Soskice 2001, 6). Estevez-Abe, Iversen, and Soskice (1999) make the explicit assumption that firms in CME economies are wedded to “production strategies” requiring high levels of specific skills. The assumptions about production strategies and core competencies seem to be standing in for assumptions about past levels of factor specificity but in a manner that is not fully clear. There are other theoretical concerns with the treatment of specificity, and its origins, in this framework: it seems to be assumed, for instance, that the risks involved in investments in specific assets automatically deter such investments even if the expected (after tax) returns might rise with risk (see Hiscox and Rickard 2002; Hiscox 2007a).

It is important to note that the specificity of productive factors to particular types of economic activities is crucial to theoretical discussions in both IPE and CPE. Depending upon whether factors are assumed to be highly specific to different types of production or highly mobile between them, general equilibrium models can generate very different predictions about the distributional implications of increased trade, immigration, and investment, or indeed any change in policy that affects relative commodity prices. Factor specificity is thus crucial for understanding the political-economic origins of a wide range of policies, since the motivations of economic actors who enter the political arena to influence such policies will be shaped by their ability to shift assets between different types of activities (see Grossman and Levinsohn 1989; also Frieden 1991; Alt and Gilligan 1996; Alt et al 1998; Hiscox 2002a). Put crudely, the stakes that individuals have in policies that affect the industry or firm in which they are employed or invested will vary greatly depending upon how easy it is for them to move their assets elsewhere. Factor specificity has also now assumed a crucial role in comparative political economy research that examines a broader range of economic policies and institutions in the advanced industrial nations.

Despite success in generating an interesting new set of hypotheses about cross-national divergence in policies and institutions, in the face of globalization, this new framework has not been treated to extensive testing. Full-fledged cross-national empirical studies that examine factor specificity and production profiles among firms and workers in different countries, and how institutional and organizational differences interact to determine policy responses to globalization, have been very rare. Existing comparative studies tend to focus on aggregate variables such as union density, trade openness measured at the national level and overall government social spending. Micro-level data on firm decisions about training workers and investing in specific forms of technology and specific types of business relationships are simply not available, so testing these features of the newest CPE theories has been virtually impossible. For the most part tests of the “varieties of capitalism” approach have relied upon a set of stylized facts about the ways in which different labor and financial-market regulations and institutions affect factor specificity by making it more costly for firms to fire employees, for instance, or by sponsoring vocational training for workers. Clearly, better micro-level data on the industry and firm specificity of the assets owned by firms and the skills acquired by workers in various countries would provide the empirical measures needed to further these theoretical discussions.

B. Current Data Constraints

To resolve theoretical debates and make advances in these various fields of research requires detailed and cross-national data on the policy preferences and behaviors of the main political and economic actors: firms, workers, organizations, and policymakers. Currently available data from national and international public opinion surveys and official censuses are inadequate. In most cases they do not ask the right (i.e. theoretically motivated) questions, they rarely survey firms, organizations, and policymakers, they do not match micro-level data on individuals and firms with sector-level data on political organizations, and they do not provide cross-nationally comparable measures of critical variables.

Perhaps the most prominent and widely used source of national-level survey data is the U.S. National Elections Study (NES), a collection of surveys fielded around the time of presidential elections and designed to gather data on Americans’ social backgrounds, political predispositions, opinions on questions of public policy, and participation in political life.¹² The most recent NES

¹² For details see Miller et al 1992; Rosenstone 1996. See also: <http://www.umich.edu/~nes/>

surveys are based on a multi-stage area probability sample of U.S. citizens (of voting age) and provide information at the individual level on some 2,500 respondents obtained from either telephone or (mostly) face-to-face interviews. In 1992, for the first time, the NES included a question that asked respondents about their attitudes toward international trade and immigration. The NES data have been used in several studies of individual attitudes towards trade and immigration (e.g., Scheve and Slaughter 2001a, 2001b; Busch and Reinhardt 2001). Similarly organized survey projects gather election-time data in several other nations and these have been used to examine individual-levels responses to different aspects of globalization. For instance, Balistreri (1997) and Beaulieu (2002) have examined data from the Canadian National Election Study to examine attitudes toward trade in Canada, and Goot (2003) has examined views about immigration using responses to questions included in the Australian Elections Study in recent years.

These national surveys have traditionally focused on campaign and election dynamics, however, and domestic political issues, and so provide minimal or no data on attitudes toward many of the key policy issues that are related to globalization (trade, immigration, foreign investment, social insurance programs, employment regulations, and environmental and labor standards at home and abroad). They almost never ask about linkages between policy issues, nor do they ask about issue salience or whether preferences on any of these dimensions are likely to affect voting behavior or other types of political activities. They typically gather very little economic information about survey respondents, asking very few (if any) questions about employment experience, for instance, training levels, skill specificity, and willingness and perceived ability to re-train and re-locate to find new jobs. And, of course all of these national surveys suffer the limitation that the data they gather is country-specific.

Multi-country surveys offer a solution to the latter problem, at least. The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) has compiled a variety of datasets that have been used extensively in recent years. The ISSP collects cross-national data by coordinating and combining national surveys on a variety of topics. The 1995 “National Identity” module of the ISSP posed a variety of questions about national identity, patriotism, attachments to local communities, feelings about foreigners, and attitudes towards foreign trade and immigration.¹³ It provides information on some 28,500 respondents from 23 countries, including the United States, Canada, Japan, many Western and Eastern European countries, and one developing country (the Philippines).¹⁴ The survey aims to be representative of adults (18 years of age and over) in the mass publics of the 23 countries; both national random and quota sampling were utilized.¹⁵ In ten of the nations the survey was administered by written questionnaires that were mailed to survey households; in the other thirteen nations, face-to-face interviews with respondents were conducted.¹⁶ These data have been employed by in several studies of attitudes toward trade in recent years (e.g., Mayda and Rodrik 2004; O’Rourke and Sinnott 2002; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2006).

Among other cross-national surveys, the third wave of the World Values Survey (WVS) carried out in 1995-1997, has perhaps received the most scholarly attention. The WVS provides information on some 68,500 respondents drawn in stratified samples from 54 countries.¹⁷ It

¹³ For details, see ISSP 1995. See also: <http://www.issp.org/>

¹⁴ The specific countries are West Germany, East Germany, Great Britain, United States, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Bulgaria, Russia, New Zealand, Canada, Philippines, Japan, Spain, Latvia, and Slovak Republic.

¹⁵ Four countries actually used a lower age cutoff points of 16 and 17, and two included people under 16.

¹⁶ See Park and Jowell 1995.

¹⁷ See Inglehart et al 1999. See also: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

includes questions asking respondents about their attitudes toward restrictions in imports of foreign goods and limitations on immigration (see Mayda 2004; Mayda and Rodrik 2004). There is also the recently administered *European Social Survey* (ESS).¹⁸ The survey covers 22 European countries,¹⁹ and consists of answers of up to 42,000 respondents to an hour-long questionnaire, with an average country sample of about 2,000 respondents.²⁰ The questionnaire consists of a “core” module that contains a large range of socio-economic and demographic questions and several rotating, topic-specific modules, one of which focuses on the issue of immigration. And there is the Global Attitudes Project (GAP) survey first administered by Pew in 2003 (and recently repeated). The original GAP survey provided information on 38,300 respondents drawn from stratified random samples in 44 nations.²¹ It asked respondents in each country a series of questions about whether they thought “growing trade and business ties” between their own country and other nations was good or bad for themselves and their families, and their countries in general (see Hainmueller and Hiscox 2006).

Unfortunately, these various multi-country surveys have not provided data useful for resolving the core theoretical debates discussed above. The questions they have posed to survey respondents have generally not been focused on attitudes toward globalization and related policy issues, and when they have been so directed they are often poorly worded, biasing responses dramatically in one direction – this is a major problem, for instance, with the ISSP survey.²² Again, these surveys never ask about linkages between policy issues, issue salience, information about the issues, or effects on voting behavior. The economic information they gather on survey respondents is even more limited than the data gathered in national surveys – no multi-country polls to date have included identifiers for the specific industries in which respondents are employed, educational and occupational codes are rarely cross-nationally comparable, and there

¹⁸ See Stoop et al. 2002. See also: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>.

¹⁹ Austria, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Britain, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Israel, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

²⁰ The majority (55%) of the questionnaires were administered in face-to-face interviews. For a full discussion of the EES methodology, see Stoop et al. 2002.

²¹ See Pew 2003. Also see: <http://people-press.org/pgap/>. The nations included in the GAP survey are: Angola, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Ivory Coast, Czech Republic, Egypt, France, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Kenya, South Korea, Mali, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Senegal, Slovak Republic, South Africa, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, Great Britain, Ukraine, US, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Lebanon, and Jordan.

²² For a discussion, see Hiscox (2006a, 8); Mayda and Rodrik (2004, 8). Of course, top-of-the-head responses to pollsters by the public can be strongly influenced by the specific wording of the questions posed and how these words “frame” particular issues. Powerful framing effects have been discovered across a range of policy issues in experimental studies that present subjects with choices that are logically equivalent but differ in whether some purportedly relevant information is presented in various ways (see Jacoby 2000; Nelson and Kinder 2000; Druckman 2001a,b,c). Surveys of attitudes toward trade seem especially open to framing effects since trade, like other aspects of foreign and economic policy, is a complex issue about which many voters are notoriously uninformed, and about which various emotions – such as national pride – are often invoked (see Bauer, Pool, and Dexter 1972, 81-84; Destler 1995, 180). It is not just problematic that respondents’ views *in general* are influenced by question framing, it also matters if some groups or types of individuals tend to be more susceptible to question wording than others – one would not want to mistake a sensitivity to framing effects among some group of individuals for genuine antipathy (or sympathy) towards trade. For results from a survey experiment that measures the effects of framing on stated attitudes toward international trade, see Hiscox 2006a.

is virtually no data in the surveys on employment histories and experience, skill specificity, assets owned, and so on.²³

Separate data on individual labor market behavior is available from existing panel survey studies of individuals in particular countries – e.g., from the U.S. Panel Study of Income Dynamics and the German Socio-Economic Panel – which track income, employment history, and job and occupational changes. And the 1997 “Work Orientations” module of the multi-country ISSP contains questions to respondents about job tenure and employment status, along with questions about their attitudes towards work, leisure, employers, job security, and retirement.²⁴ But, in each case, these are entirely separate surveys that are not concerned at all with political preferences or political behaviors. Thus, they provide no way to test the theories that relate individual economic characteristics with individual political outcomes. And none of these studies has attempted to match survey data from individual employees with survey data from employers in order to develop a more detailed and accurate assessment of employment conditions and prospects, training, benefits, and the effects of various government regulations and unionization.

In general, the data available from surveys of firms is especially limited. Various national statistical offices take regular censuses of business firms and administer annual surveys to gather a range of core data on total employment, production, input costs, and investment. The U.S. Department of Commerce conducts a *Census of Manufacturing* every five years, for instance, supplemented by its *Annual Survey of Manufactures*; the Department also administers separate surveys to foreign affiliates of U.S. firms abroad and U.S. affiliates of foreign firms on an annual basis, which provide data on international investment positions.²⁵ But these data are available only to the public (and scholars) as aggregates for whole industry categories, since firms provide the data under the condition that their anonymity will be guaranteed. Basic data have been compiled for publicly traded companies from annual reports (e.g., Standard and Poor’s, COMPUSTAT), but these data are extremely limited in terms of their description of business activities. None of these data provide any direct measures of the firm or industry specificity of firms’ assets.

Data on the political activities of individual firms are virtually non-existent. The most widely used data of this sort is the information available on the financial contributions made by firms to the political campaigns of members of Congress in the United States. A growing body of research has made use of this data to investigate lobbying patterns – and to explain congressional behavior and votes on a range of issues (including trade policy).²⁶ The United States’ Federal Election Commission reports data on all campaign contributions made by firms and their political action committees (PACs) to individual political candidates in each election cycle. Coding individual corporate PACs according to the standard industry classifications is an enormous task, however, and previous research that has examined the relationship between corporate contributions and the

²³ The data available from the *Eurobarometer* and *Latinobarometer* suffer from the same weaknesses. For studies that examine data from these sources on attitudes toward trade and economic integration, see Gabel (1998) and Baker (2003).

²⁴ See PSID 1991 (and also: <http://psidonline.isr.umich.edu/>); and SOEP 2003 (<http://www.diw-berlin.de/english/sop/index.html>).

²⁵ See the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, *Foreign Direct Investment in the United States* (various years), and *Direct Investment Abroad* (various years). See Graham and Krugman (1994, pp.179-190) for an extensive discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of this data.

²⁶ See Gopoian 1984; Poole and Romer 1985; Langbein 1986; Evans 1988; Grenzke 1989; Wright 1989 and 1990; Hall and Wayman 1990; Snyder 1990; Stratmann 1991; Romer and Snyder 1994; Grier, Munger, and Roberts 1994; and Hansen and Mitchell 2000.

characteristics of different industries has been based on data from relatively small samples of firms (e.g., Pittman 1977; Boies 1989).²⁷ As far as we are aware, no matching data on political contributions (at the firm or industry levels) are available in other countries.²⁸

There are two other types of data that appear to be available only for American firms, and pertain only to lobbying targeted towards the trade issue. One of these is the number of complaints filed by firms with the U.S. International Trade Commission requesting anti-dumping or countervailing duties. The petitions have become a standard first step for industries seeking protection in the United States (see Horlick and Oliver 1989).²⁹ A growing number of studies have now used the ITC data to investigate different theories about the demand for protection either in the aggregate (e.g., Takacs 1981; Feigenbaum and Willett 1985; Coughlin Terza, and Khalifah 1989) or across different industries (e.g., Hiscox 2004a; Blonigen and Feenstra 1996; Gilligan 1997b). Another second type of data is the number of appearances made by firms or their industry associations to provide testimony to congressional committees debating passage of trade legislation (see Magee 1980; Hiscox 2002, 2004b, 2007b). Again, this is a very crude measure of political activity, limited to one dimension of policy, and relevant only for studies of politics in the United States.

Finally, what (if any) systematic data are available on the preferences and behavior of industry trade associations, labor unions, and individual policymakers? We are aware of no general survey studies of leaders of trade associations or labor unions, in the United States or elsewhere. No scholars, it seems, have attempted to improve upon on the data gathered by Bauer, Pool, and Dexter (1972) from their informal discussions with association leaders in the 1950s (see below). This is a major constraint, making it impossible to explore and rigorously test theoretical propositions about the roles of these political organizations and their impact on the politics of globalization. In addition, very little systematic information has been compiled on individual policymakers. Most quantitative analysis of policymaker behavior has been focused on legislative activities (e.g., committee assignments, bill sponsoring, and voting) and how these activities are related to the characteristics of each legislators electoral constituency, party affiliation, and dependence on campaign contributions from particular types of lobbying groups (for examples involving trade politics, see Baldwin and Magee 2001; Gilligan 1997a; Hiscox 2002b). Surveys have been conducted of candidates for legislative seats – for instance, the British and Australian “Candidate Studies” of recent years – but the questions asked in these (typically focused on how the candidates conduct their campaigns) have not been useful for addressing the core theoretical debates relevant to the discussions of globalization.

²⁷ Grier, Munger, and Roberts (1994), which merged data on firms listed in the Standard & Poor’s COMPUSTAT data base on publicly traded companies with data on PAC contributions for the 1978-86 elections, appears to be an exception – although this set still only accounted for 50-60% of corporate PACs according to the authors. McKeown and Fordham (2001) have recently completed coding all corporate PAC campaign contributions between 1981 and 1990 by two-digit SIC categories, but this broad categorization is a long way from firm-level data.

²⁸ Perhaps the closest to the U.S. contributions data is that provided in a one-off survey of firms conducted in Norway in the 1990s, which asked firms to report the frequency of their political “contacting” with politicians. See Alt et al 1998.

²⁹ Even for firms aiming to influence trade policy-making in Congress or the White House, filing these petitions serves a necessary political function by demonstrating that they have exhausted all “ordinary” avenues for redressing their grievances before they have addressed demands directly to lawmakers.

C. An Old Model for a New Project

The concept for our new project owes much to one older, academic study. In 1963, Raymond Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis Anthony Dexter published a famous study of American trade politics, called *American Business and Public Policy*, which gathered a wealth of data from surveys and interviews conducted with American business managers and policymakers in the 1950s. The study focused in particular upon firms' policy preferences and lobbying activities, and the sources of information about trade issues which business executives and politicians relied upon most heavily. The core data for the study came from a survey of 903 business executives from U.S. firms, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 1954. An initial questionnaire was administered by telephone. This was supplemented with a written (self-administered) questionnaire that was mailed to respondents by NORC in 1955. The sample was chosen from a list of firms with over 100 employees. The sample was structured to provide for an overrepresentation of large firms (it included 166 of the 200 largest U.S. corporations in 1954), and to provide variation across a range of different types of industries and regions (across which views on trade were expected to diverge). Interviews were conducted with the highest-ranking firm representative willing to participate in the survey.

The questions Bauer, Pool, and Dexter posed to businessmen were designed to gather data on four critical issues:

1. The attitudes of these business leaders towards foreign trade
2. The perceived stakes held by their firms in foreign trade
3. Their sources of information on the trade issue (e.g., newspaper readership)
4. The extent of their political activities (e.g., communications with trade associations, their representatives in Congress, and officials at government agencies)

The authors also conducted over 500 separate (and less formal) interviews with trade association representatives, leaders of trade unions, other lobbyists active on the trade issue, members of Congress and their staffs, government officials in related agencies, and journalists. The evidence gathered from these additional interviews was used for separate case studies of politics in 8 communities, for a discussion of the national activities of several trade associations and organized groups, and for an analysis of the behavior of members of Congress in dealing with trade legislation.

The general conclusions Bauer, Poole, and Dexter drew from all this evidence amounted to a wholesale critique of simple "economic determinism" and related models of pressure politics for understanding public policymaking in the United States (and on the trade issue specifically). The authors argued that such approaches ignored the critical roles played by the information available to individuals and firms and the processes of issue framing and political communication that were inherent in the political process. More specifically, they concluded that larger firms were more informed about the trade issue than smaller firms, and received more of their information from specialized sources (e.g., trade associations and other industry representatives) than did smaller firms. Larger firms, and firms with protectionist leanings, were also much more likely to have recently contacted a member of Congress on a trade-related matter than were smaller counterparts. They found that the prospect of losses associated with import competition appeared to be a much more powerful stimulus to political action among firms than the prospect of gain via expanded imports. Meanwhile, the evidence on trade associations indicated that the largest and most organized groups were typically so heterogeneous on the tariff issue that they took no stand at all. In addition, these associations were often severely constrained by lack of funds, skilled personnel, and specialized knowledge on trade-related issues.

As path-breaking as it was at the time, and as fascinating as it remains today, the Bauer, Pool, and Dexter study was limited in many fundamental ways: it focused upon firms but ignored workers; the information that was gathered on trade associations and policymakers was not gathered in a systematic (survey) fashion, but was instead garnered from informal interviews with a nonrandom sample of individuals; the questions posed were limited, and a large proportion of these were directed towards discovering the types and sources of information that firms and policymakers relied upon; the study only examined business firms in manufacturing industries in the United States; and the survey was administered at the very height of the postwar boom in American manufacturing when the trade issue was far less politically controversial in American politics than it has been since (and than it had been at any time previously).

To our knowledge, there has been no attempt to update and improve upon that classic study, or expand it to cover a broader set of theoretical and substantive issues and variety of different nations.

III. The HGS Project

A. Objectives

As the political debates about globalization intensify, it is unsettling to realize that we actually know very little about how different actors and groups are responding to globalization, why, and with what effect. The project is aimed at providing systematic, micro-level evidence on the preferences and behaviors of the main economic and political actors – firms, workers, organizations, and policymakers.

We believe the new project will make major contributions to research and theoretical debates in several fields of political economy concerned with the determinants and effects of globalization. The critical, theoretical issues on which we think the new cross-national, micro-level data will be particularly important for advancing scholarly research include:

- **Policy preferences.** All theories in political economy begin with assumptions about the policy preferences of individuals and firms or derive these deductively from standard utility functions. The project would provide new measures of individual preferences over a range of policies and policy bundles, including combinations of approaches to regulating international trade, investment, and immigration, along with employment regulations, adjustment assistance, and welfare policies. Existing data on these preferences are very limited, rarely examine preferences over combinations of policies, and do not allow for ready cross-national comparisons. The data we will compile will permit rigorous tests of core political economy models that predict policy preferences of firms and individuals based upon factor ownership, factor specificity, industry characteristics, and relative factor endowments.
- **Investments in new technologies and skills and asset specificity.** Formal political-economy models link policy preferences closely to the industry or firm specificity of the particular productive assets owned by individuals, and research in the CPE literature suggest that investments in new technologies and skills also depend upon the specificity of those forms of physical and human capital. But existing measures of asset specificity are notoriously indirect and inadequate. The study would provide new indicators of the industry and firm specificity of the productive assets owned by individuals and firms and their perceptions of the risks associated with investments in new technologies and skills.

New indicators of specificity would be based upon individuals' own perceptions of the costs of moving between firms and industries, detailed data on worker training, rates of job change, search costs, firm investments in specific technologies, and sales of capital equipment.

- Lobbying and political influence. The study will generate a completely new set of data on the political activity of firms and workers, gathering data on communications with political representatives and lobby groups, contributions to electoral campaigns, and data on whether particular issues affect voting patterns among individuals. This data would be supplemented with measures of the political activities of trade associations and labor unions, with attention to the institutional channels via which firms and organized groups attempt to influence policymakers in different nations. Since existing research on lobbying and rent seeking tend to rely almost entirely on indirect measures of political activity (often using policy outcomes themselves as measures of political behavior), this would be a major contribution to political science research.
- Political organizations and representation. Existing theories argue that political organizations are critical intermediaries affecting the way individual preferences are translated into policy via political activity. In the IPE literature, industry trade associations and labor unions feature in many qualitative accounts of lobbying, and political parties are also assigned roles (often in the translation of voter preferences into policy), but the principal-agent linkages remain unexplored. The project will provide a detailed investigation of principal-agent relations between firms and trade associations and workers and labor unions, focusing in particular on flows of information and preference formation and aggregation.
- Policymakers and political institutions. The project will provide a detailed investigation of legislators and their relationships with lobby groups and voters and how these linkages affect their decisions about which types of policies to support and oppose. Existing theories make very different assumptions about the ways in which legislators make policy decisions and the importance of information about voters' preferences, campaign contributions, and partisan competition in different institutional contexts. By gathering new data on communications between firms and organized groups and particular legislators, the information they have about the policy preferences of voters in their electoral districts, partisan concerns, and data on the policy decisions they make, the study will provide invaluable new empirical evidence for research on policymaking.
- Information and political communication. There is a growing debate in the fields of economics, political communication, and political psychology over the importance of issue-framing and the susceptibility of individuals to elite manipulation of information, yet research on the determinants of economic policies has largely ignored the issue and has paid very little attention to informational issues in general. Given the growing work in the field of behavioral economics and the obvious gap in the IPE literature, information and communication may well become key research topics in the near future. The study could explore the way in which policy preferences are formed and altered, evaluating the types and sources of information that individuals and firms rely upon most when formulating policy preferences and choosing behaviors, and testing the degree to which issue-framing affects these processes.

B. Design

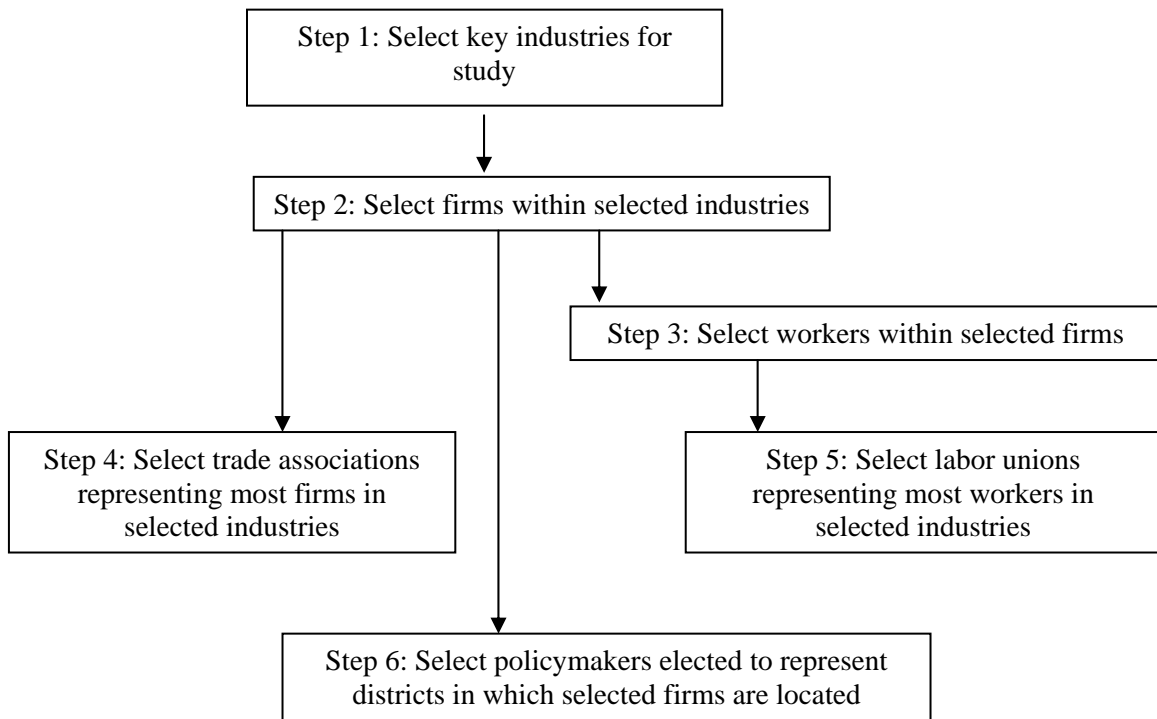
The HGS project will implement a coordinated set of surveys to gather evidence to answer these types of questions. The project consists of surveys of a large sample of firms and employees in a number of key industries, matched with surveys of trade associations and labor unions in the same industries and with surveys of legislators representing electoral districts in which those industries are heavily concentrated. The surveys will collect detailed data on the policy preferences and political and economic activities of firms, workers, organizations, and policymakers. Initial surveys administered in the United States will be followed by similar surveys in other nations (on the current shortlist: Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Germany, France, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Spain).

A distinguishing feature of the project is its multi-layered design: micro-level data (on firms and workers) is matched with sector-level data on trade associations and labor unions, and with legislature/district-level data on policymakers.³⁰ The design allows specifically for the analysis of the political interactions between actors at all the different levels.

The chart and table below outline the design and the describe each of the 5 main components or modules.

³⁰ The only previous study to employ this type of approach was the classic, *American Business and Public Policy*, published by Raymond Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis Dexter in 1963. See “Project Background” for a detailed discussion.

DESIGN OUTLINE: NESTED SAMPLE SELECTION



DESIGN OUTLINE: MODULES

	Sample	U.S. Examples:		
Survey Module	For each selected industry:	Motor vehicles and parts (SIC 371)	Steel mills, iron and steel (SIC 331-2)	Telecommunications (SIC 481)
1 Firms	Sample of businesses in selected industries (200+ employees)	Ford; General Motors	US Steel; Gallatin Steel	Verizon; T-Mobile
2 Workers	Sample of employees in selected firms	Dearborn, MI 48126; Warren, MI 48088	Braddock, PA 15104; Ghent, KY 41045	Irving, TX 75015; Bellevue, WA 98015
3 Trade Associations	Major business group representing firms	Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers	American Iron and Steel Institute	Telecommunications Industry Association
4 Labor Unions	Major labor union representing workers	United Auto Workers	United Steelworkers	Communications Workers of America
5 Policymakers	Elected representatives in districts matching firm locations	Sen MI: Levin (D); Stabenow (D) Rep Dearborn MI (Dist 14,15): Conyers (D); Dingall (D); Rep Warren MI (Dist 12): Levin (D)	Sen PA: Specter (R); Casey (D); Sen KY: McConnell (R); Bunning (R) Rep Braddock PA (Dist 14): Doyle (D); Rep Ghent KY (Dist 4): David (R)	Sen TX: Hutchison (R); Cornyn (R); Sen WA: Murray (D); Cantwell (D) Rep Irving TX (Dists 24, 32): Marchant (R); Sessions (R); Rep Bellevue WA (Dist 8): Reichert (R)

C. Products

The project will provide 5 linked data sets for each country included in the study, providing detailed information on firms, workers, trade associations, labor unions, and policymakers. Identifying codes in each data set will allow them to be easily linked and merged, matching firms with surveyed workers who are their employees, for instance, the surveyed trade associations of which they are members, and the surveyed policymakers representing districts in which they are located. All the data sets will be made available to scholars in a publicly accessible online archive.

We plan to produce a book-length, co-authored report, describing the new data in detail, providing a clear guide to using the data, and reporting the most important results from our initial analysis.

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