Movers and Shakers

Globalization and U.S. Domestic Politics

Tom Ogorzalek, Northwestern Political Science
Talking points

• “Globalization divide” between cities and rural areas is longstanding
  • On trade and immigration
• Democratic rust belt losses about human mobility (out, or within) as much as persuasion/conversion
• Destination places/global cities have new racial dynamics
• Spatial institutions will not keep pace with social change
Political Geography

- Globalization and Urban-Rural divide
  - Longstanding conflict
  - Economic disruption
  - New patterns of diversity
- Mid-range Dynamics of out-flow places and in-flow places
  - Rotten Boroughs: Population loss
  - Global Cities: Newcomer friction?
  - Institutional lag
Political Geography

• Globalization and Urban-Rural divide
  • Longstanding conflict
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• Mid-range Dynamics of out-flow places and in-flow places
  • Rotten Boroughs: Population loss
  • Global Cities: Newcomer friction?
  • Institutional lag
Place and American Politics

• Is the Midwest the nation?
• Is the rural Midwest the Midwest?
• What counts as rural or urban?
2016 was an ordinary election, not a realignment

County Vote Shift, 2012-2016

Larry Bartels, in WaPo
The Urban-Rural Divide is still Growing

- More than other demographic factors
- Has nationalized
- Heightens polarization
- Present in other Western democracies

Urban–Rural Divide in 20th Century Presidential Elections

(Roosevelt 1932)

(Kennedy 1960)

(Obama 2008)

(Clinton 2016)

(Ogorzalek 2018)
Urban–Rural Divide, 1960

Urban–Rural Divide, 2016

(Log of) Population Density

%Dem − %Repub

AL AZ CA CO FL

IL LA MA MD MI

MN MO MS NC NE

NJ NY OH OR PA

TN TX VA WA WI

(Log of) Population Density

(Ogorzalek 2018)
Adding it up: Votes and Institutions

• Counterfactual 1: 4 counties
Adding it up: Votes and Institutions

• Counterfactual 2: NW Territory/Chicago “suburbs extended”
Center vs. periphery: the Economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>GOP</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>2397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% GDP</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>2584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% GDP</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
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</tbody>
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Source: Brookings Analysis of Moody's Analytics estimates

Brookings
Rust Belt Areas Growing Slowly (or not at all)

Select Rust Belt States and City Population Change, 1990-2016
Places are becoming more unequal

County Real Per-capita Income, 1980-2010

1980 1990 2000 2010
Place Inequality ➔ Class Ambiguity

Local Income Position by Absolute Income Groups

National Income Percentile

Local income percentile
Place Inequality $\rightarrow$ Class Ambiguity

Support for DJT Among Whites

**Absolute Income**

**Local Income**
Clinton’s losses were especially big in counties that are losing people.
...and this was driven largely by departures.

Graphs by group (stusab)

CCES2008, 2016
Is this a new phenomenon?
Is this a new phenomenon? No.
“The coal industry in West Virginia is experiencing major shutdowns and layoffs because we are still allowing a tremendous amount of oil to be imported from South America and used as a ‘sword of Damocles’ to threaten and depress the market for American-produced coal and other combustibles.” Arch Moore (R-WV)

“In an economic sense, northern Michigan is geographically well located for the establishment of plywood plants because of the great forests which it possesses. On the other hand, our somewhat distant does not give [us] the opportunity to compare and to produce articles of other substance, bearing in mind the high freight costs to bring in the raw materials to manufacture, and to return the manufactured articles to the Nation’s consuming markets. Victor Knox (R-MI)
RTTA Renewal, 1958

- Split Both Parties
- Leadership of both parties was pro-free trade
Dimension 2: What about where people are going?
Urban-Rural Immigration Divide, 1924.

Predictors of Support for Pro-Immigration Position, 1924

- GOP
- South
- Urban

Voteview, CSR
Destination Places!

New arrivals in Metro Areas

• Gentrifiers
• New suburbanites
New local dynamics in unequal communities

Predictors of Support for Redistribution in Gentrifying Areas

- White
- City Diversity
- Homeowner
- Rel. Local Income

○ DJT  ◇ GOP7  □ Redistibution
The rapidly diversifying metropolitan periphery

• Then

• Now

(I) Rep. Raja Krishnamoorthy (D) Jitendra Diganvker (R)
Fragmentation or Polarization?
Past as Prologue?

AMERICA OF THE MELTING POT COMES TO END
Effects of New Immigration Legislation Described by Senate Sponsor of Bill—Chief Aim, He States, Is to Preserve Racial Type as It Exists Here Today

HOW NEW LEGISLATION WILL CHANGE THE FLOW OF IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE TO THE UNITED STATES

FLOW UNDER THE PRESENT LAW
(Under Which 175,651 Immigrants Are Admitted).

FLOW UNDER THE PROPOSED LAW
(Under the House Bill 165,000 Would Be Admitted).
Past as Prologue?

Bill Thompson

Anton Cermak
• Institutions will lag behind social change/movement
• Place matters to understand “class”
• Periphery coalition longstanding