This basic indexing theory leads to two different versions of a first hypothesis, one imply- ing a direct effect and the other implying an indirect effect. Mass media may have an indirect effect on how individuals attribute blame for national problems, by informing individuals of objective problems pertaining to economic openness (merely transmitting information about objectively constraining realities pertaining to economic openness). The stronger version of this argument is that mass media may have a direct effect on how individuals attribute blame for national problems, uniquely diffusing responsibility in their perception of national problems above and beyond its effect of making individuals more aware of the problems of economic openness per se.4

Hypothesis 1: Individuals more exposed to mass media are more likely to blame interna- tional forces for national problems than individuals less exposed to mass media. This effect is expected directly (by diffusing political responsbility in general, controlling for perceptions of openness as a problem) and indirectly (by increasing awareness of openness as politically problematic).

Hypothesis 2 captures implications of previous research suggesting that perceptions of a policymaker’s “room to maneuver” affect how individuals evaluate government performance. If the effect of economic perceptions on vote choice weakens because increasing economic openness shifts blame attributions toward the global economy and away from governments, then blame attributions should be associated with evaluations of government economic per- formance. Thus, I hypothesize that individuals who blame international forces for national economic problems should be more favorable toward incumbent governments than those who blame the government.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals who blame international forces for national problems evalu-

4It stands to reason that various individual-level factors might condition this general expectation. Po- litical partisanship, political interest and/or knowledge, economic anxiety, and various other factors might deserve to be included not only as control variables (as they are here, data permitting) but as interaction terms capturing the heterogeneity of effects. While a great number of additional complicating factors are plausible, no general argument linking media to the globalization-welfare nexus has yet been established in the literature. Therefore I only seek to theorize and test one set of general causal links, in order that future research may then investigate various plausible forms of causal complexity within the general arguments and evidence presented here.

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ate incumbent governments more favorably than individuals who blame the government for national problems.

To assess how mass media enters into models of the globalization-welfare nexus, consider Adserà and Boix (2002, 231-236) as a baseline. The model explicates the conditions under which national policymakers must provide welfare compensation to protectionist interests in order to secure political support for opening the domestic economy. Adserà and Boix consider an economy of three groups of identical individuals with distinct trade interests. Groups C, P, and O are groups that can be thought of as classified by factor endowment, sector, or firm. C is a group that prefers a closed economy, with utility decreasing in a linear fashion as the economy opens. O is a group that prefers an open economy, with utility increasing in a linear fashion as the economy opens. P is a group the preferences of which are contingent on the state of the international business cycle but, other things equal, the expected return of a closed economy is greater than that of an open economy. Groups C, P , and O choose one of two parties at a national election. A protectionist party, Σ, receives the votes of C and a pro-trade party, Ω, receives the votes of O. Neither C nor O represent a majority of voters, so P is the median and swing vote. Both parties, Σ and Ω , credibly commit to a level of openness, λ, and a publicly-funded compensation package, α, for P in cases of international recession.

Voters then vote. In this model, to open the domestic economy under competitive elec- tions, a pro-trade political party must offer domestic spending to compensate P for the increased risks of international openness (Adserà and Boix 2002, 236). P voters vote for the pro-trade party, Ω, if the expected value of an open economy plus the compensation package promised by Ω is greater than the the expected value of a closed economy plus the compensation package offered by Σ. Because P ’s gains from trade are always lower than the expected gains from a closed economy ex ante, the pro-trade party Ω always offers a compensation package sufficient to draw P voters (Adserà and Boix 2002, 236). Because this model assumes full and equal participation of voters, as Adserà and Boix point out in a

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footnote, if turnout varies across domestic groups then the incentives driving the provision of compensation should change. Intuitively, the incentives for pro-trade party Ω to offer a compensation package decrease as the voter turnout of either C or P decreases, because the opposition of these groups only matters for the policy outcome if that opposition has electoral salience for them; Ω is required to provide compensation to P only to the degree that C and P would vote against Ω because of its position on trade policy. If mass media increases the perception that economic liberalization is a process occurring external to do- mestic policymakers and is therefore domestically blameless, the effect would be to reduce the electoral salience of liberalization for those otherwise opposed to it. This is functionally equivalent to reducing the voter turnout of C and P around trade policy. Insofar as mass media tend to diffuse blame attributions for the negative effects of economic liberalization, this decreases the incentives for harmed groups to oppose liberalization by voting, and thus should have an effect equivalent to decreasing their turnout in this electoral game. Therefore the provision of compensatory public spending in response to economic openness should be conditional on levels of mass media. The final hypothesis encapsulates this implication.

Hypothesis 3: At the state level, the interaction of economic globalization and mass media penetration will be associated with lower levels of domestic welfare spending than predicted by the level of economic globalization alone.

3 Data and Method

Given the individual-level and state-level implications of the theory, data is gathered from both levels of analysis.5 The individual-level data come from a Legidoscope survey of public opinion in France between 1992 and 1993 (Chrique 1997). The survey asks respondents several questions tapping blame attribution, media exposure, and political mobilization.6

5Full summary statistics for both datasets can be found in Supplementary Information. 6See Supplementary Information for the text of the survey questions.

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