#### Global Economic Integration and Nativist Politics in India

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### What explains the global success of nativist political movements?

#### Is Globalization a Culprit?

In advanced economies: Yes.

- $\blacksquare$  Import competition  $\rightarrow$  dislocation and status threat
- Result: nativist backlash
- In emerging economies: No.
  - Global economic integration  $\rightarrow \uparrow$  employment and wages
  - Why should globalization → nativist backlash?

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#### Liberalization creates concentrations of opportunity

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#### Labor mobility fuels nativist grievances

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- Nativist sentiment is widespread
- Politicians appeal to nativism for electoral gain

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- Focus: textiles and apparel
- Majority of textile and apparel workers are interstate migrants
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#### Protectionist multilateral agreement on textiles and apparel

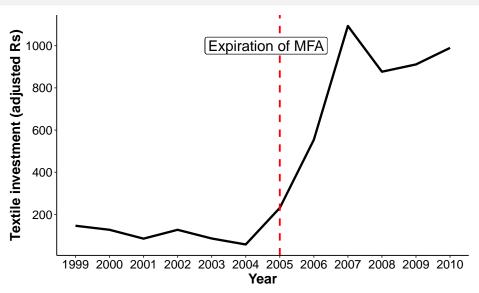
- Plan: gradual phaseout, 1995-2005
- But in India: 40% of production relieved of quotas overnight
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#### Post-Liberalization, Textile Investment Surges



#### Difference-in-differences research design

- Indian administrative districts, 1999-2010
- Heterogeneous exposure to post-liberalization shock
- Hypothesis: exposure to shock  $\rightarrow$  nativist violence
  - Mechanism: exposure to shock ↑ immigration

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#### Measurement

#### Nativist violence: reported rioting crimes

- Liberalization exposure: pre-treatment textile employment
- Migration: district-level immigration in 2001-2005 and 2006-2010

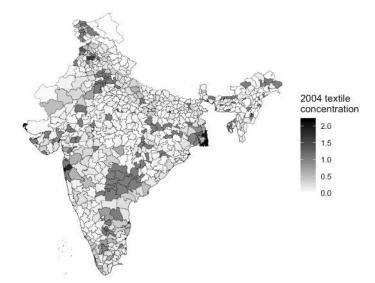
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#### Geography of Textile and Apparel Production



# $\begin{aligned} \textit{Riots}_{it} &= \textit{TextileEmployment}_{i2004} * \textit{PostLiberalization} + \\ \textit{Population}_{i2001} * \kappa_t + \textit{Employment}_{i2001} * \kappa_t + \\ \textit{Literacy}_{i2001} * \kappa_t + \textit{ScheduledCaste}_{i2001} * \kappa_t + \theta_i + \kappa_t \end{aligned}$

 $\theta_i = \text{district fixed effects}$ 

 $\kappa_t =$  year fixed effects

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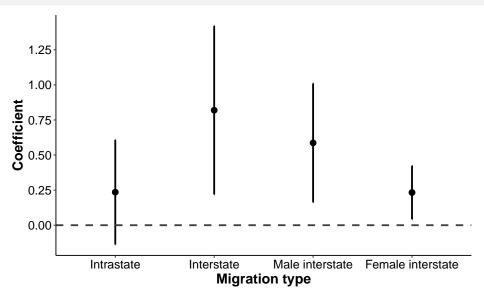
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# Liberalization Exposure Increases Rioting

	Dependent variable:		
	Riots	log(riots)	
	(1)	(2)	
$TextileEmp_{i2004} * Post_t$	0.250***	0.214**	
	(0.066)	(0.097)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	6,440	6,040	
Number of districts	537	537	
Estimation	PPML	OLS	

\**p* <0.1; \*\**p* <0.05; \*\*\**p* <0.01.

## Liberalization Exposure Increases Internal Migration



# Riots Increase More in Higher-Immigration Districts

	Dependent variable:		
	Riots	log(riots)	
	(1)	(2)	
$TextileEmp_{i2004} * Post_t *$	0.051*	0.072*	
ImmigrationRate <sub>it</sub>	(0.031)	(0.039)	
$TextileEmp_{i2004} * Post_t$	0.219**	0.135	
	(0.099)	(0.126)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	6,416	6,021	
Number of districts	535	535	
Estimation	PPML	OLS	

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## Liberalization and Nativist Electoral Politics

#### ■ Does ↑ nativism extend to the ballot box?

- Focus: Maharashtra's legislative assembly elections
  - 2004, 2009, 2014
- Outcome: constituency-level vote share for nativist parties
  - Shiv Sena (SS)
  - Maharashtran Navnirman Sena (MNS)

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## Liberalization Exposure Increases Nativist Party Support

	<i>Dependent variable:</i> Nativist vote share
	(1)
<i>TextileEmp<sub>i2004</sub> * Post<sub>t</sub></i>	5.860** (2.752)
Controls	$\checkmark$
Observations	861
Number of districts	34

 $^{*}p < 0.1; \ ^{**}p < 0.05; \ ^{***}p < 0.01.$  OLS.

#### Globalization can fuel nativism via its economic benefits

- New mechanism: liberalization-induced internal migration
- Nativism can limit the returns to globalization for workers
- Marginalized groups attracted by global opportunity
- Yet may face anti-immigrant discrimination

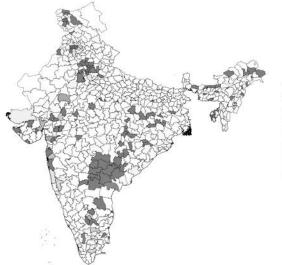
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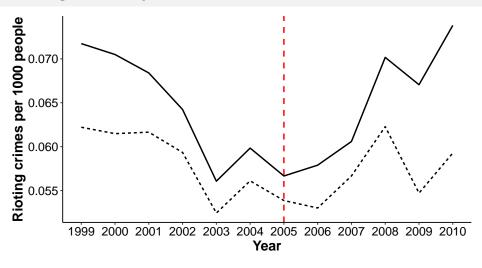
# Geography of Post-Liberalization Textile Investment



Textile investments, 2005-2010

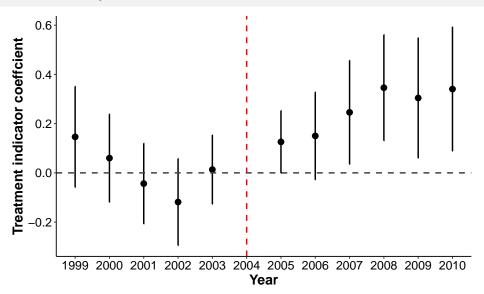
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# Rioting Crimes by Textile Concentration Size, 1999-2010



Textile concentration size - Above average -- Below average

# Event Study Model



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#### Robustness to Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

Dependent variable: log(riots)
(1)
0.90** (0.438)
$\checkmark$
491

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

#### Liberalization Exposure Does Not Increase Murders

	Dependent variable:		
	Murders	log(murders)	
	(1)	(2)	
TextileEmp <sub>i2004</sub> * Post <sub>t</sub>	-0.019	-0.028	
	(0.045)	(0.058)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	6,545	6,518	
Number of districts	546	546	
Estimation	PPML	OLS	

 $^{*}p < 0.1; ^{**}p < 0.05; ^{***}p < 0.01.$ 

# Results Robust to Exclusion of Low-Riot Districts

	Dependent variable:		
	Riots	log(riots)	
	(1)	(2)	
TextileEmp <sub>i2004</sub> * Post <sub>t</sub>	0.250***	0.232**	
	(0.066)	(0.010)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	5,876	5,838	
Number of districts	537	546	
Estimation	PPML	OLS	

\**p* <0.1; \*\**p* <0.05; \*\*\**p* <0.01.

# Liberalization Exposure Increases Textile Investment

	Dependent variable:		
	log(value) log(project		
	(1)	(2)	
TextileEmp <sub>i2004</sub> * Post <sub>t</sub>	0.346** (0.141)	0.125** (0.054)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	6,516	6,545	
Number of districts	546	546	

 $^{*}p < 0.1$ ;  $^{**}p < 0.05$ ;  $^{***}p < 0.01$ . OLS.

# Liberalization Doesn't Increase Investment in Other Sectors

	Dependent variable: log(projects)						
-	Machinery	Auto.	Metals	Chemicals	Pharmaceut.	Food	Furnit.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
TextileEmp <sub>i2004</sub> * Post <sub>t</sub>	0.006 (0.016)	0.011 (0.021)	0.012 (0.014)	0.006 (0.016)	0.057** (0.025)	0.012 (0.017)	0.0002 (0.011)
Controls Observations No. of districts	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546	√ 6,545 546

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#### Liberalization Does Not Increase Imports

- Alternative explanation: imports of raw/intermediate goods drive import competition
- World Bank Enterprise Surveys
  - Identifies Indian exporting textile firms
  - Asks % of inputs sourced locally vs. via imports
- Exporters source >90% of inputs locally, pre- and post-liberalization
- No evidence of rising import competition in exposed districts

# Nativist Vote Share - Splitting SS and MNS

	Dependent variable:		
	(1) SS vote share	(2) MNS vote share	
TextileEmp <sub>i2004</sub> * Post <sub>t</sub>	1.493 (2.160)	4.367** (1.739)	
Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Observations	861	861	
Number of districts	34	34	

\*p <0.1; \*\*p <0.05; \*\*\*p <0.01. OLS.