

Business as (Un)usual Immigrant Entrepreneurship and Native Backlash

Martin Devaux

Department of Political Science, Columbia University

IPES Annual Conference

October 18th, 2025

Motivation

- Millions of immigrant businesses across Western democracies.

(Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Kerr & Mandorff, 2020; Azoulay et al., 2022)

→ We know nothing of their political impact.

Motivation

- Millions of immigrant businesses across Western democracies.
(Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Kerr & Mandorff, 2020; Azoulay et al., 2022)
 - ⇒ We know nothing of their political impact.
- The far right usually depicts immigrants as an economic threat.
(Golder, 2016; Berman, 2021)
 - ⇒ What happens when they show clear signs of economic integration.

Motivation

- Millions of immigrant businesses across Western democracies.

(Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Kerr & Mandorff, 2020; Azoulay et al., 2022)

⇒ We know nothing of their political impact.

- The far right usually depicts immigrants as an economic threat.

(Golder, 2016; Berman, 2021)

⇒ What happens when they show clear signs of economic integration.

- Ambiguous Expectations:

- ▶ **Economic:** produce goods, tax revenue, and employment.
- ▶ **Cultural:** key symbols of cultural differences.

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

⇒ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

⇒ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

- **Data:** universe of French businesses + ML-classified origin.

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

⇒ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

- **Data:** universe of French businesses + ML-classified origin.
- **Identification:** IV approach leveraging industrial specialization.

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

↪ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

- **Data:** universe of French businesses + ML-classified origin.
- **Identification:** IV approach leveraging industrial specialization.
- **Result:** exposure to immigrant businesses → increase in RN vote.

Preview

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

↪ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

- **Data:** universe of French businesses + ML-classified origin.
- **Identification:** IV approach leveraging industrial specialization.
- **Result:** exposure to immigrant businesses → increase in RN vote.
 - ▶ Not explained by observable economic harm to natives.

Question: do immigrant businesses affect support for the far right?

↪ perceived immigrants: non-white + across generations

- **Data:** universe of French businesses + ML-classified origin.
- **Identification:** IV approach leveraging industrial specialization.
- **Result:** exposure to immigrant businesses → increase in RN vote.
 - ▶ Not explained by observable economic harm to natives.
 - ▶ Instead: driven by visual effect of visible Muslim businesses.

How Do Immigrant Businesses Affect Native Voters?

Above and beyond the presence of immigrants:

How Do Immigrant Businesses Affect Native Voters?

Above and beyond the presence of immigrants:

- ① **Symbols**: signal presence and cultural differences, and modify space.
(Stokes, 2016; Faury, 2024)

How Do Immigrant Businesses Affect Native Voters?

Above and beyond the presence of immigrants:

- 1 **Symbols:** signal presence and cultural differences, and modify space.
(Stokes, 2016; Faury, 2024)
- 2 **Producers:** contribute goods and compete with native producers.
(Kerr & Mandorff, 2020)

How Do Immigrant Businesses Affect Native Voters?

Above and beyond the presence of immigrants:

- 1 **Symbols**: signal presence and cultural differences, and modify space.
(Stokes, 2016; Faury, 2024)
- 2 **Producers**: contribute goods and compete with native producers.
(Kerr & Mandorff, 2020)
- 3 **Employers**: create jobs and pay taxes.
(Scheve & Slaughter, 2001; Hanson et al., 2007)

How Do Immigrant Businesses Affect Native Voters?

Above and beyond the presence of immigrants:

- ➊ **Symbols:** signal presence and cultural differences, and modify space.
(Stokes, 2016; Faury, 2024)
- ➋ **Producers:** contribute goods and compete with native producers.
(Kerr & Mandorff, 2020)
- ➌ **Employers:** create jobs and pay taxes.
(Scheve & Slaughter, 2001; Hanson et al., 2007)
- ➍ **Spaces:** foster within- or between-group contact.
(Allport, 1954; Nathan & Sands, 2023)

New Spatial Dataset on Immigrant Businesses

Businesses:

- National Registry: universe of French companies.
- Geocoded based on registered business addresses.
- With opening and closing dates.
- With industry codes. I keep only *storefront* businesses.

New Spatial Dataset on Immigrant Businesses

Businesses:

- National Registry: universe of French companies.
- Geocoded based on registered business addresses.
- With opening and closing dates.
- With industry codes. I keep only *storefront* businesses.

Ownership:

New Spatial Dataset on Immigrant Businesses

Businesses:

- National Registry: universe of French companies.
- Geocoded based on registered business addresses.
- With opening and closing dates.
- With industry codes. I keep only *storefront* businesses.

Ownership:

- Collection of ethnicity or origin data prohibited in France.

New Spatial Dataset on Immigrant Businesses

Businesses:

- National Registry: universe of French companies.
- Geocoded based on registered business addresses.
- With opening and closing dates.
- With industry codes. I keep only *storefront* businesses.

Ownership:

- Collection of ethnicity or origin data prohibited in France.
 ↪ Country of origin predicted based on first and last name.

New Spatial Dataset on Immigrant Businesses

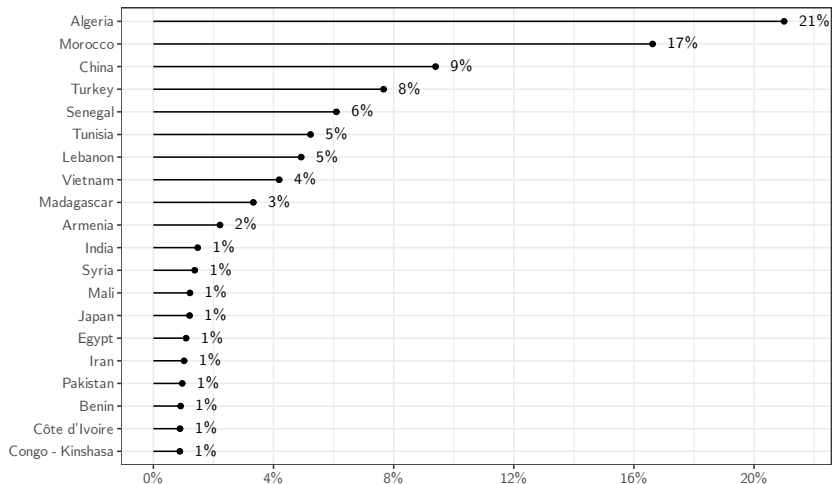
Businesses:

- National Registry: universe of French companies.
- Geocoded based on registered business addresses.
- With opening and closing dates.
- With industry codes. I keep only *storefront* businesses.

Ownership:

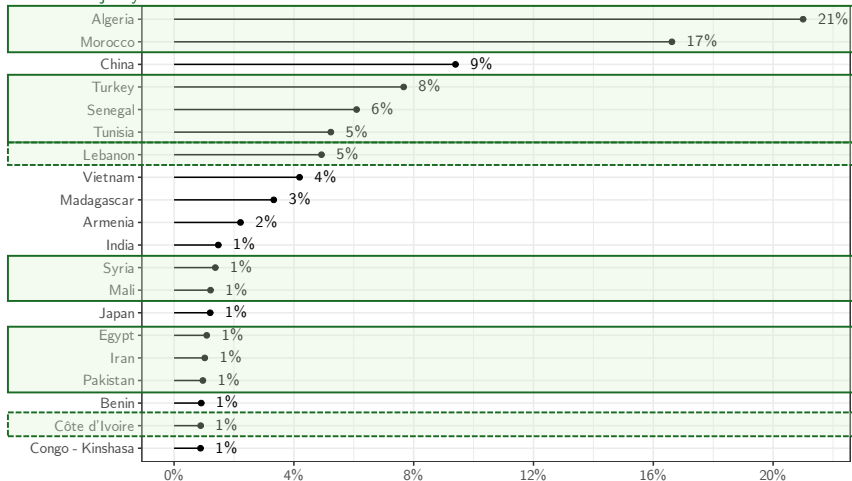
- Collection of ethnicity or origin data prohibited in France.
 ↪ Country of origin predicted based on first and last name.
- “Immigrant” if $\geq 50\%$ from outside Europe and North America.

Data: Most Represented Countries

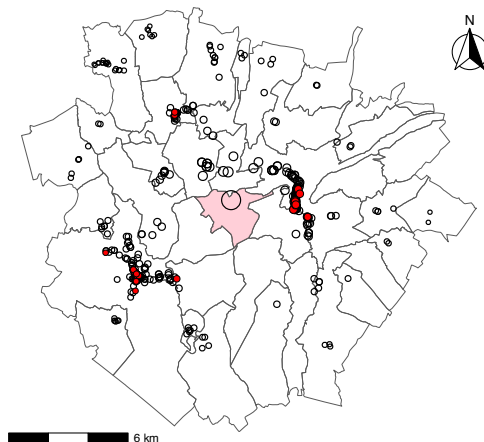


Data: Most Represented Countries

Muslim-majority countries



Measurement: Exposure to Immigrant Businesses



$$\text{Exp}_m = \log \left[\sum_{i=1}^K w_{m,i} \mathbb{1} \{G_i = 1\} \right] \quad \text{where} \quad w_{m,i} = \frac{1}{1 + d_{m,i}}$$

Identification: Shift-Share Instrument

The instrument relies on two economic intuitions:

- Immigrants tend to enter different industries than natives.
(Bonacich, 1973; Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Kerr & Mandorff, 2020)
- Businesses in the same industry tend to agglomerate spatially.
(Hotelling, 1929; Ellison & Glaeser, 1997; Glaeser et al., 2010; Combes & Gobillon, 2014)

Shift-share Instrumental Variable Estimation

	Δ RN Vote Share		
	Reduced Form	OLS	2SLS
Instrument	0.041*** (0.010)		
Δ Exposure (log)		0.001*** (0.000)	0.073*** (0.026)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)			45.4
Outcome Mean	0.210	0.210	0.210
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

Shift-share Instrumental Variable Estimation

	Δ RN Vote Share		
	Reduced Form	OLS	2SLS
Instrument	0.041*** (0.010)		
Δ Exposure (log)		0.001*** (0.000)	0.073*** (0.026)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)			45.4
Outcome Mean	0.210	0.210	0.210
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

↪ Doubling the number of businesses between 2009 and 2019
⇒ 5 percentage point increase in RN vote.

Shift-share Instrumental Variable Estimation

	Δ RN Vote Share		
	Reduced Form	OLS	2SLS
Instrument	0.041*** (0.010)		
Δ Exposure (log)		0.001*** (0.000)	0.073*** (0.026)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)			45.4
Outcome Mean	0.210	0.210	0.210
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

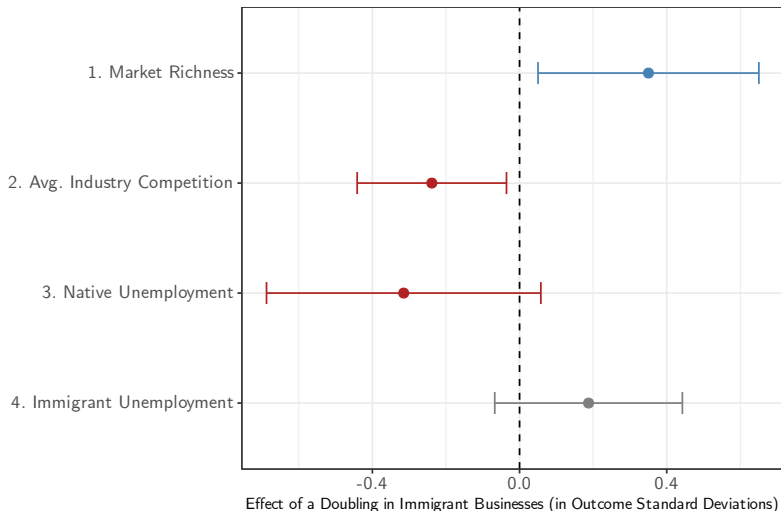
-  Doubling the number of businesses between 2009 and 2019
 $\Rightarrow$ 5 percentage point increase in RN vote.
-  Nationally: 1/4 to 1/3 of total change in RN support.

Mechanisms

- 1 Is the effect driven by a negative economic impact?
- 2 Is it due to a visual, symbolic impact?

Mechanisms: Economic Channels

Mechanisms: Economic Channels

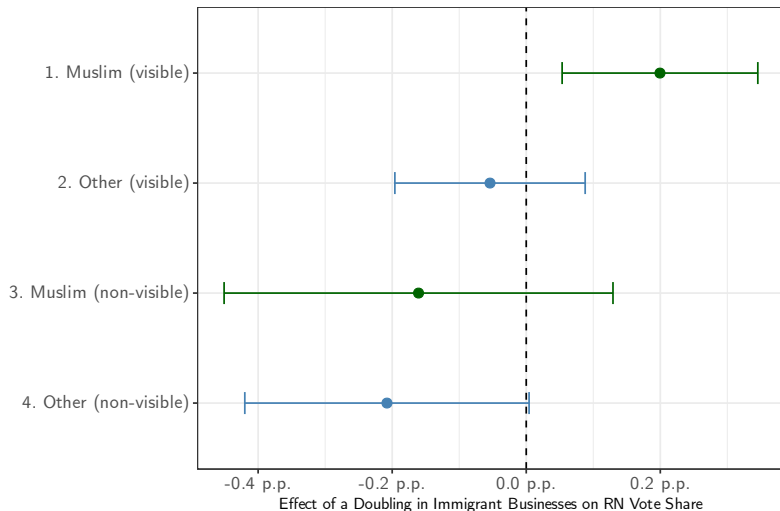


Mechanisms

- 1 Is the effect driven by a negative economic impact?
- 2 Is it due to a visual, symbolic impact?

Mechanisms: Symbolic Channel

Mechanisms: Symbolic Channel



Contributions

① Immigration and far-right support

(Hopkins, 2010; Pupaza & Wehner, 2023; Alrababah et al., 2024; Margalit et al., 2024)

- ▶ Visibility is a key variable.

Contributions

① Immigration and far-right support

(Hopkins, 2010; Pupaza & Wehner, 2023; Alrababah et al., 2024; Margalit et al., 2024)

- ▶ Visibility is a key variable.

② Economic versus cultural explanations of attitudes

(Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Tabellini, 2020; Alesina et al., 2023)

- ▶ Even economic contributions can cause cultural backlash.

Contributions

① Immigration and far-right support

(Hopkins, 2010; Pupaza & Wehner, 2023; Alrababah et al., 2024; Margalit et al., 2024)

- ▶ Visibility is a key variable.

② Economic versus cultural explanations of attitudes

(Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Tabellini, 2020; Alesina et al., 2023)

- ▶ Even economic contributions can cause cultural backlash.

③ Contact theory and demographic change

(Allport, 1954; Enos, 2014; Hangartner et al., 2019; Nathan & Sands, 2023)

- ▶ Broader conception of exposure: individuals interact with symbols.

Thanks

Martin Devaux
msd2202@columbia.edu
www.martindevaux.com

Supplementary Slides

- Data and Measurement

Business Registration Growth Rates

Immigrant Businesses, 2024 Map

Data Structure MR and AIC

- Classification

Validation Industry Differences

Examples

- Instrumental Variable

Presentation 1st Stage 2nd Stage

Industry Trends Industrial Composition

Other Parties Economic Outcomes Taxes

Turnout Jackknife Other weights

Shift, explained Agglomeration Evidence

- Robustness Tests

Obs. 1st Stage Obs. 2nd Stage

Placebo Period Bootstrap

Monotonicity Leave-One-Out

- Other Models

TWFE by Origin TWFE Inputed

TWFE Proportions TWFE Segregation

- Survey Experiment

Control Article Treatment Article

Results - Identity Results - Economy

- Google Maps Reviews

Reviewers Ratings

Main Contents

1 Introduction

2 Theory

3 Data

4 Identification

5 Results

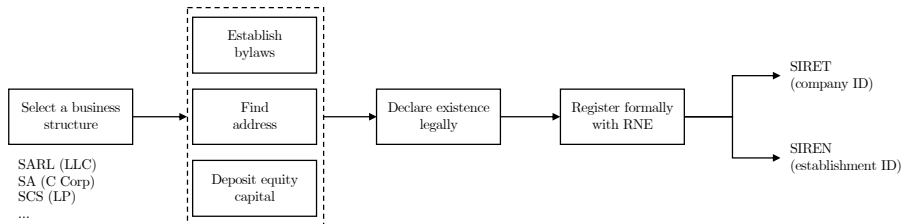
6 Mechanisms

7 Takeaways

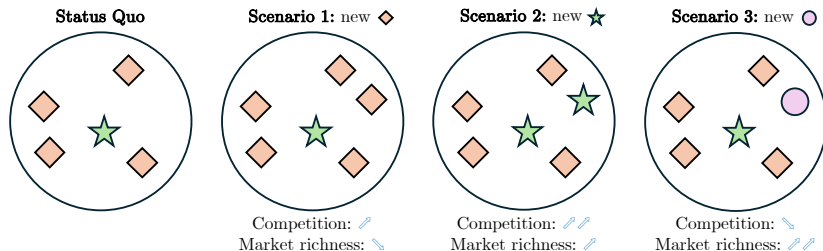
Examples of Namsor Classification

First names	Last name	Origin	Score	Alternative origins
Yannick	Rousse	French	0.94	Flemish, Jewish, Walloon,...
Florent	Piard	French	0.95	Flemish, Swiss, Italian,...
Edwige; Marie; Denise	Pelissier	French	0.96	Flemish, Jewish, German,...
Georges	Jorge De Figueiredo	Portuguese	0.81	Jewish, French, German,...
Niyazi	Karslioglu	Turkish	0.96	Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian,...
Clement; Michel; Yves	Caurier	French	0.96	Flemish, Jewish, British,...
Patrick	Crochet	French	0.96	Jewish, Flemish, British,...
Cyril	Rabasa	Filipino	0.43	French, Hispanic, Jewish,...
Olivier; Simon; Jacques	Deray	French	0.91	Flemish, Jewish, British,...
Thierry	Gordillo	Hispanic	0.75	Italian, French, Jewish,...

Business Creation Process



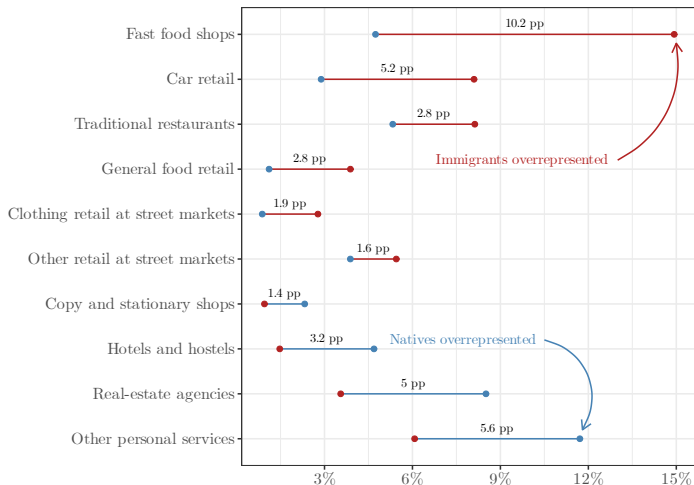
Economic Outcome Measures



$$AIC_m = 1 - \left\{ \sum_{j=1}^J W_j \times \frac{1}{n_j^2} \right\}$$

$$MR_m = 1 - \sum_{j=1}^J \left(\frac{\sum_{i \in j} w_{m,i}}{\sum_i^{K_m} w_{m,i}} \right)^2$$

Data: Industry Differences between Natives and Immigrants



Validation of the Classification

- I test how predictive the algorithm is of the birth countries of people deceased since 1962 (Algerian Independence).
- Country correctly corrected in 44% of cases.
- Country (outside Europe and North America) correctly corrected in 55% of cases.
- Region correctly corrected in 82% of cases.
- Whether from Europe or North America: 87% of cases.
- Whether from Muslim-majority country: in 94% of cases.

Detail of First Stage Estimates

	First Stage	Placebo	
	Δ Exposure (log)	Δ Nat. Bus. (log)	Δ Foreign Pop. (log)
Instrument	0.570*** (0.150)	-0.061 (0.042)	0.346 (0.213)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.016*** (0.006)	-0.009*** (0.002)	0.000 (0.005)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.090*** (0.018)	-0.152*** (0.012)	0.002 (0.034)
Foreign pop. in mun. (log, 2009)	0.011** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.677*** (0.014)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.007 (0.011)	0.014*** (0.004)	0.029 (0.018)
Population (log, 2009)	0.034* (0.020)	0.093*** (0.012)	0.908*** (0.037)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.026 (0.018)	0.003 (0.007)	0.065 (0.053)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	-1.249*** (0.370)	-0.202** (0.079)	5.098*** (0.663)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.159 (0.107)	0.427*** (0.070)	-0.505** (0.210)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	0.228 (0.281)	0.808*** (0.091)	-0.231 (0.539)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	33721	33721	33721
R ²	0.059	0.468	0.325
Adj. R ²	0.056	0.466	0.323

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

Detail of Second Stage Estimates

	Δ RN Vote Share		
	Reduced Form	OLS	2SLS
Instrument	0.041*** (0.010)		
Δ Exposure (log)		0.001*** (0.000)	0.073*** (0.026)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Population (log, 2009)	0.002* (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.002)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.004*** (0.002)	0.004*** (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.181* (0.094)	0.179* (0.095)	0.272*** (0.099)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.349*** (0.049)	-0.350*** (0.049)	-0.338*** (0.054)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.166*** (0.044)	-0.167*** (0.044)	-0.183*** (0.054)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.013*** (0.002)	-0.005 (0.003)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.001** (0.001)	-0.001** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)			45.4
Outcome Mean	0.210	0.210	0.210
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

Second Stage for Other Parties

	2SLS			
	Far Left	Green Party	Socialists	Republicans
Δ Exposure (log)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Dist. to highway (log)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Native businesses (2009)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Population (log, 2009)	0.01* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Population around (log, 2009)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.19*** (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.04)	0.51*** (0.06)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)	0.16*** (0.01)	-0.10** (0.04)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)	47.9	47.9	47.9	47.9
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

Bootstrap Estimates

	First Stage	Second Stage
	Δ Exposure (log)	Δ RN Vote Share
Instrument	0.53*** (0.15)	
Δ Exposure (log)		0.08*** (0.02)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)
Foreign pop. in mun. (log, 2009)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Population (log, 2009)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	-1.24*** (0.31)	0.29*** (0.07)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.34*** (0.01)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	0.19 (0.21)	-0.18*** (0.03)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	33756	33756

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Bootstrap Standard Errors.

“Observed” First Stage

	First Stage	Placebo	
	Δ Exposure (log)	Δ Nat. Bus. (log)	Δ Foreign Pop. (log)
Instrument	0.49** (0.20)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.19 (0.36)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.03)
Foreign pop. in mun. (log, 2009)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.54*** (0.01)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)
Population (log, 2009)	0.01 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.74*** (0.03)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	-0.48** (0.23)	-0.06 (0.07)	4.23*** (0.53)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.24*** (0.03)	-0.29* (0.17)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.01 (0.20)	0.31*** (0.05)	-0.77 (0.47)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	33727	33727	33727
R ²	0.04	0.25	0.27
Adj. R ²	0.03	0.25	0.27

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

“Observed” Second Stage

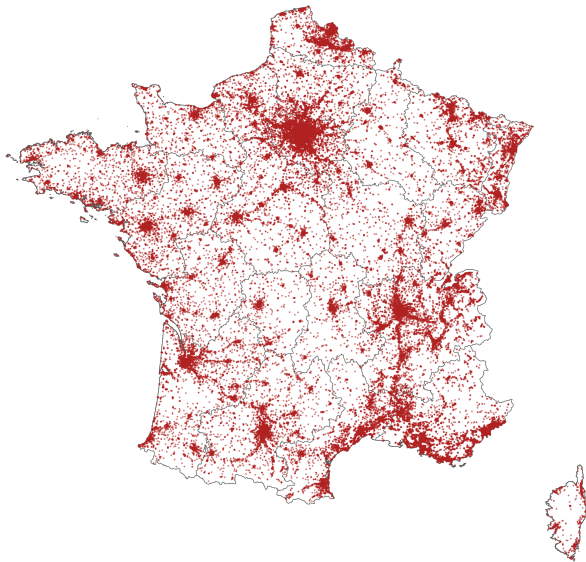
	Δ RN Vote Share			
	Reduced Form	OLS	2SLS	2SLS
Instrument	0.01*** (0.00)			
Δ Exposure (log)		0.00*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Population (log, 2009)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.19** (0.09)	0.18* (0.09)	0.26*** (0.09)	0.26*** (0.09)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.35*** (0.05)	-0.35*** (0.05)	-0.34*** (0.05)	-0.34*** (0.06)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)
Δ Native bus. (log)				-0.00 (0.00)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Outcome Mean	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.21
Num. obs.	33720	33720	33720	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

Placebo Period

	Placebo First Stage
	Δ Exposure (log, 2001 - 2009)
Instrument	-0.03 (0.18)
Dist. to highway (log)	0.01 (0.01)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.02 (0.02)
Foreign pop. in mun. (log, 2009)	-0.00 (0.00)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Population (log, 2009)	0.00 (0.02)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.06*** (0.02)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.06 (0.47)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.28** (0.11)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	0.02 (0.33)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes
Department FE	Yes
Num. obs.	33721
R ²	0.06
Adj. R ²	0.06
*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).	

All Immigrant-Owned Businesses, January 2024

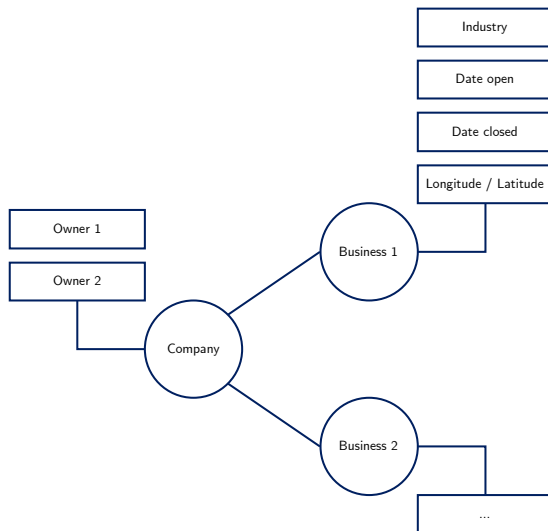


Second Stage: Economic Outcomes

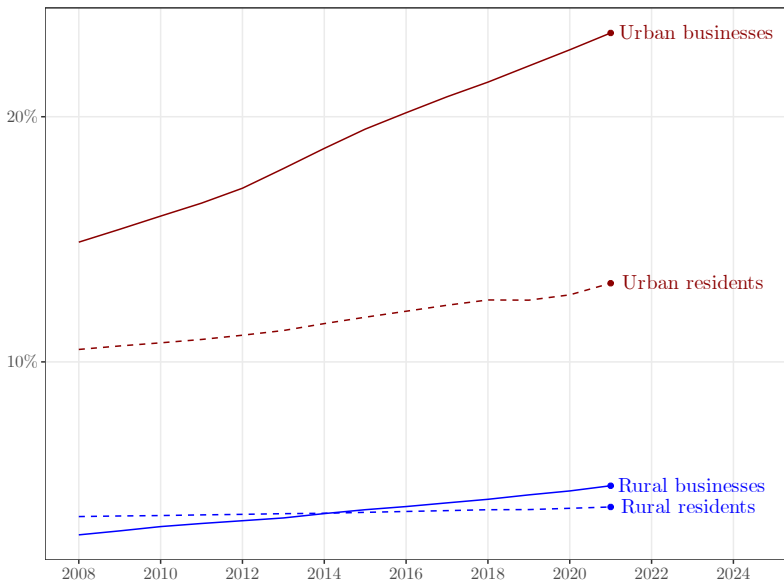
	2SLS			
	Δ MC	Δ AIC	Δ Nat. unemp.	Δ Immig. unemp.
Δ Exposure (log)	0.03** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Population (log, 2009)	-0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Population around (log, 2009)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.05)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.04* (0.03)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	0.00* (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Dist. to highway (log)	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)	45.4	45.4	48.0	41.6
Outcome Mean	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01
Num. obs.	33721	33721	33721	31122

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

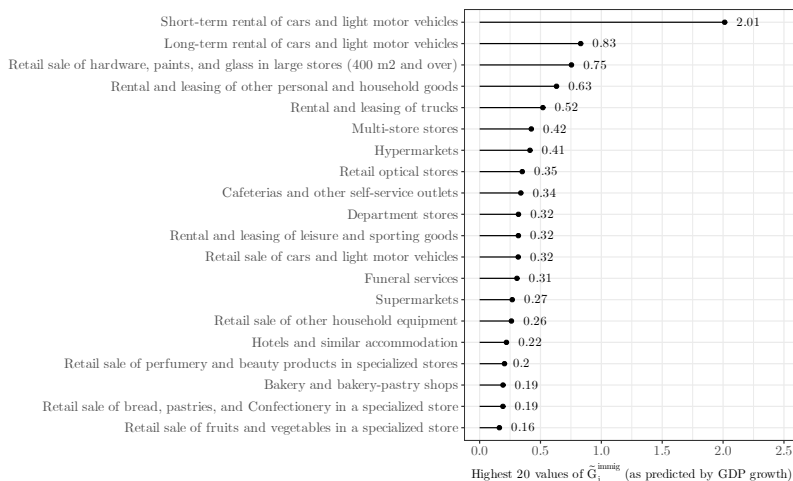
Business Data Structure



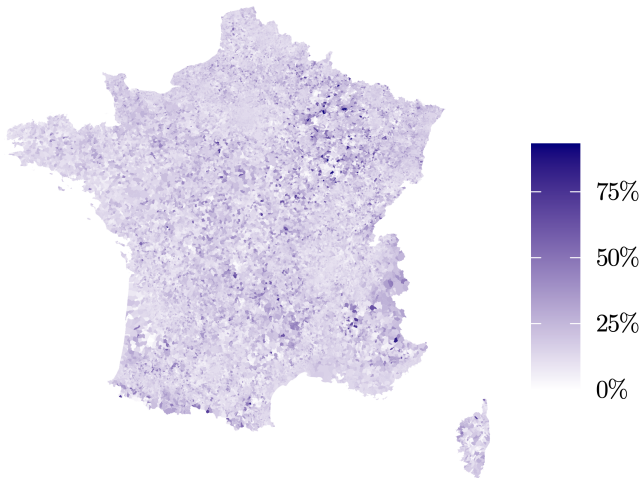
Immigrant Business Creation



Shift-Share Instrument: Industry Trends



Shift-Share Instrument: Industrial Composition



Estimation of Industry Trends with GDP Growth

- For industry j and countries $c \in C$, I calculate the Growth Mix:

$$GM_j = \sum_{c \in j} \omega_c \text{GDP Growth}_c$$

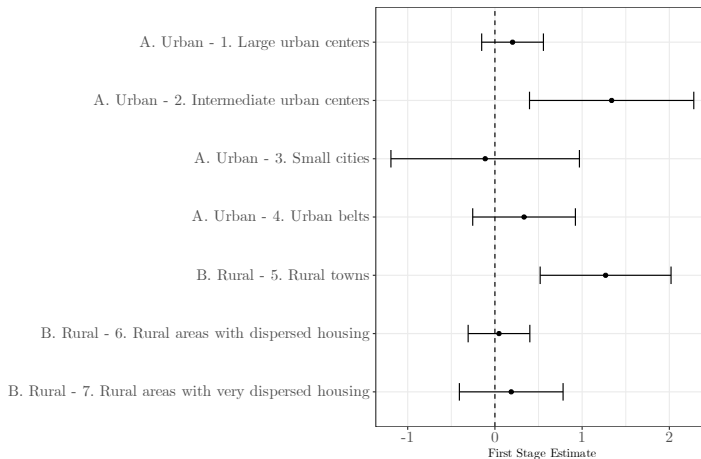
- I then estimate growth in the number of immigrant businesses in that industry:

$$G_j^{immig} = \eta + \zeta GM_j + \xi_j$$

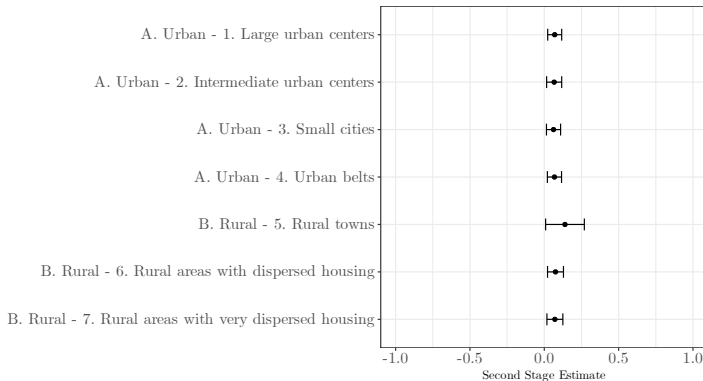
Residual Growth in Im. Businesses (2009-2019)	
Constant	1.31** (0.59)
Weighted Average of GDP Growth	-2.69** (1.16)
R ²	0.06
Adj. R ²	0.05
Num. obs.	87

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

First Stage by Type of Municipality



Leave-One-Out: Robustness to Dropping Subgroups



Linear-Models: By Origin and Type of Business

	RN Vote Share		
	A. Aggregate	B. By origin	C. By type of space
All exposure (storefront, log)	0.002** (0.001)		0.002** (0.001)
All exposure (hidden, log)	-0.005 (0.003)		-0.005 (0.003)
Exposure - Muslim (storefront, log)		0.003*** (0.001)	
Exposure - other (storefront, log)		-0.001 (0.001)	
Exposure - Muslim (hidden, log)		-0.002 (0.002)	
Exposure - other (hidden, log)		-0.003* (0.002)	
Prop. of Social Spaces			0.004 (0.010)
Exposure × Prop. Soc. Spaces			0.001 (0.002)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	434048	434048	434048
Adj. R ² (full model)	0.847	0.847	0.847
Adj. R ² (proj model)	0.059	0.059	0.059

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

Linear Models: Controlling for Imputed Immigration Presence

	RN Vote Share		
	A. Aggregate	B. By origin	C. By type of space
All exposure (storefront, log)	0.003** (0.001)		0.001 (0.001)
All exposure (hidden, log)	-0.001 (0.003)		-0.004 (0.003)
Exposure - Muslim (storefront, log)		0.002** (0.001)	
Exposure - other (storefront, log)		-0.001 (0.001)	
Exposure - Muslim (hidden, log)		-0.002 (0.002)	
Exposure - other (hidden, log)		-0.003** (0.001)	
Exposure $\times$ Prop. Soc. Spaces			0.002 (0.003)
Imputed foreign pop. (prop.)	-0.165*** (0.050)	-0.229*** (0.058)	-0.230*** (0.059)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	413200	413200	413200
Adj. R ² (full model)	0.848	0.847	0.847
Adj. R ² (proj model)	0.061	0.052	0.051

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

Linear Models: As Proportions of All Businesses

	RN Vote Share	
	A. Aggregate	B. By origin
Prop. immigrant businesses (storefront)	-0.241*** (0.066)	
Prop. immigrant businesses (hidden)	-0.134 (0.095)	
Prop. Muslim businesses (storefront)		1.198*** (0.326)
Prop. other businesses (storefront)		-0.896*** (0.216)
Prop. Muslim businesses (hidden)		-0.022 (0.124)
Prop. other businesses (hidden)		-0.534*** (0.207)
Year FE	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	413200	413200
Adj. R ² (full model)	0.845	0.846
Adj. R ² (proj model)	0.068	0.075

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

Local Business Tax as an Outcome

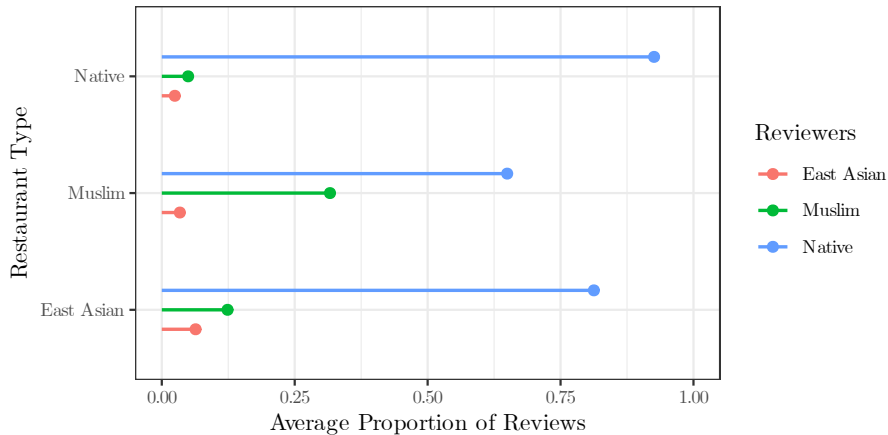
	2SLS
	Δ Local Corporate Tax Rate
Δ Exposure (log)	3.13* (1.61)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes
Department FE	Yes
F (first stage)	45.5
Outcome Mean	12.08
Num. obs.	33719
*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)	

Linear Models: Interactions with Segregation

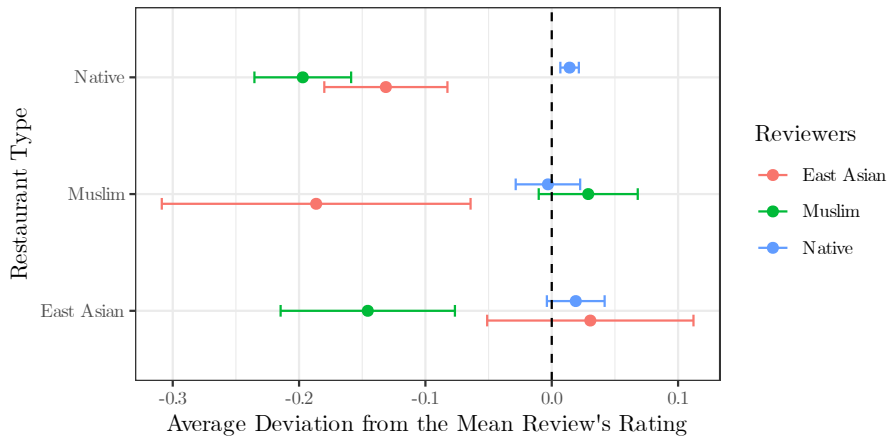
	OLS	
	RN Vote Share	RN Vote Share
Exposure (storefront, log)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)
Dissimilarity Index	-0.206 (0.149)	
Relative Diversity Index		-0.018 (0.040)
Exposure × Diss. Index	0.048*** (0.016)	
Exposure × Relative Div. Index		0.036*** (0.008)
Year FE	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	413200	413200
Adj. R ² (full model)	0.849	0.848
Adj. R ² (proj model)	0.062	0.056

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km).

Google Maps: Reviewer Groups



Google Maps: Average Ratings by Groups



Survey Experiment Article: Control

In Perpignan, the bakery-pastry shop is leaving the Halles Vauban for good: find out what concept will replace it

Published on 11/05/2024 at 5:48 PM

By Diane Sabouraud

The Halles Vauban pastry shop ceased all operations on October 31st. Within its walls, a brasserie project is being spearheaded by two young Catalan entrepreneurs.

The Halles pastry shop has closed its doors for good. It's the most visible brand at the Halles Vauban, as it was the first to introduce the twenty or so corners located in the former eponymous passageway. It's therefore difficult to walk past without noticing that the stalls have been emptied of their delicacies, the breads from their baskets, and the coffees from their cups, which still sit proudly on the back counter. However, the establishment ceased all operations on the evening of Thursday, October 31, 2024.

"They've been trying to sell for months, as business hasn't been going as planned," they say at the Halles Vauban.

But such a location obviously doesn't stay on the market for long. According to information from L'Indépendant, a buyer is already in the running. While they wish to remain discreet while the administrative process is finalized, two young entrepreneurs have launched procedures to take over the business. But they will completely change the nature of the place. Out with the pastry shop, in with a brasserie. The project requires major renovations to redesign the premises. Ultimately, 60 to 70 seats are expected inside and around 40 on the terrace.

...

A new bakery coming soon?

We'll have to wait a while before discovering this new culinary offering in town. While the transaction is finalized and the renovations are completed, the opening is not expected to take place before the end of the year.

Survey Experiment Article: Treatment

Perpignan City Council: The establishment of "halal restaurants" on Rue de la Cloche-d'Or raises eyebrows among Louis Aliot and the opposition

Published on 06/22/2022 at 6:52 PM, updated on 06/23/2022 at 10:34 AM

By Diane Sabouraud

During the city council meeting this Wednesday, June 22, Louis Aliot returned to the issue of the purchase of the eleven empty businesses on Rue de la Cloche d'Or. He asserted, among other things, that the buyers were companies specializing in halal catering. And he protested.

...

In the Perpignan assembly, the RN mayor, Louis Aliot, raised the issue before beginning the agenda. For the record, [lindependant.fr](https://www.lindependant.fr) revealed the day before that the eleven businesses purchased by entrepreneur Abi-Nader Chukri in October 2020 to create a gourmet street had been resold. The buyer is believed to be a group of investors, represented by a spokesperson. "This is a rather serious matter," Louis Aliot announced solemnly. "Our services have received a declaration of intent to sell (DIA) concerning these eleven businesses. We met with the selling owner this morning, who confirmed our concerns. He plans to sell to companies that share the common goal of providing halal restaurants."

...

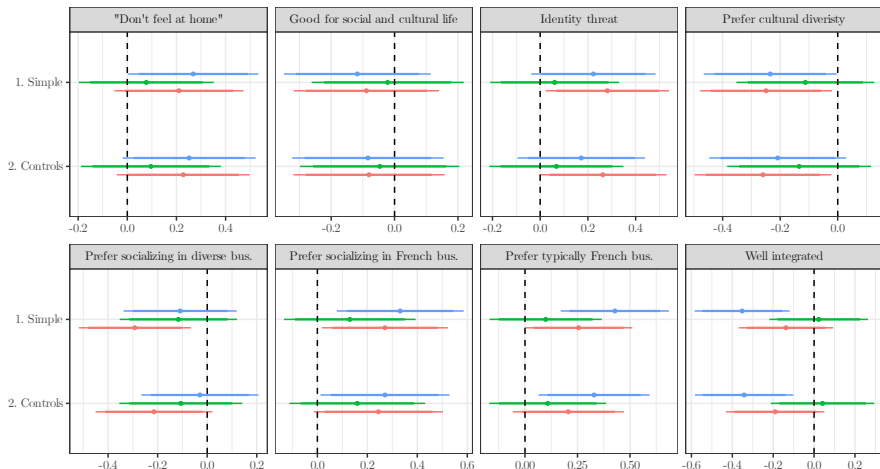
"This also raises a question of overall identity."

The RN mayor insists that this plan for halal restaurants is in "total opposition to our plan for the city center, which is to make it a high-quality commercial hub. And this also raises a question of overall identity."

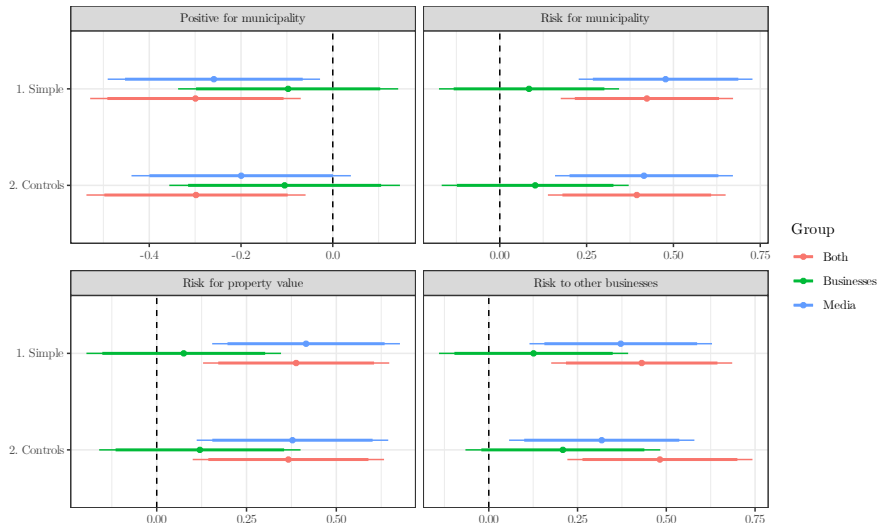
Two proposals were submitted to the city council: buying back the businesses or preempting them. On behalf of the opposition LR party, Pierre Parrat advocated for preemption, assuring that "given the state of the shops, it won't cost you a lot. And whatever the cost, you must act. We share your concerns and, in this regard, we will be fully in line with the mayor's decision."

Survey Results: Socio-Cultural Questions

Group — Both — Businesses — Media



Survey Results: Economic Questions



Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

$$Z_m =$$

Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

- **Shift:** national trends in immigrant business creation by industry (2009-2019).

$$Z_m = G_j^{immig}$$

Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

- **Shift:** national trends in immigrant business creation by industry (2009-2019).
 - ▶ Estimated using GDP growth in immigrants' countries of origin.

$$Z_m = G_j^{immig} \text{ using } G_j^{immig} = \eta + \zeta \text{GDP Growth}_j$$

Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

- **Shift:** national trends in immigrant business creation by industry (2009-2019).
 - ▶ Estimated using GDP growth in immigrants' countries of origin.
 - ▶ Residualized to partial out similar trends among natives.

$$Z_m = \tilde{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{using} \quad G_j^{immig} = \eta + \zeta \text{GDP Growth}_j$$

$$\tilde{G}_j^{immig} = G_j^{immig} - \hat{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{where} \quad \hat{G}_j^{immig} = \alpha + \hat{\beta} G_j^{native}$$

Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

- **Shift:** national trends in immigrant business creation by industry (2009-2019).
 - ▶ Estimated using GDP growth in immigrants' countries of origin.
 - ▶ Residualized to partial out similar trends among natives.
- **Share:** pre-period (2005) industrial composition of the municipality.

$$Z_m = S_{m,j} \tilde{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{using} \quad G_j^{immig} = \eta + \zeta \text{GDP Growth}_j$$

$$\tilde{G}_j^{immig} = G_j^{immig} - \hat{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{where} \quad \hat{G}_j^{immig} = \alpha + \hat{\beta} G_j^{native}$$

Shift-Share Instrumental Variable

To get a municipality-level instrument, I combine:

- **Shift**: national trends in immigrant business creation by industry (2009-2019).
 - ▶ Estimated using GDP growth in immigrants' countries of origin.
 - ▶ Residualized to partial out similar trends among natives.
 - **Share**: pre-period (2005) industrial composition of the municipality.
- ↪ **Shift-share**: weighted sum of these trends.

$$Z_m = \sum_{j=1}^J S_{m,j} \times \tilde{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{using} \quad G_j^{immig} = \eta + \zeta \text{GDP Growth}_j$$

$$\tilde{G}_j^{immig} = G_j^{immig} - \hat{G}_j^{immig} \quad \text{where} \quad \hat{G}_j^{immig} = \alpha + \hat{\beta} G_j^{native}$$

Second Stage: Turnout

Table: Second-Stage Stage Estimates, Other Voting Outcomes

	2SLS	
	Δ RN Prop. of Reg. Voters	Δ Turnout
Δ Exposure (log)	0.03*	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.00***	-0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Population (log, 2009)	-0.00**	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.01	-0.04
	(0.07)	(0.06)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.13***	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.08***	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes
F (first stage)	45.5	45.5
Outcome Mean	0.12	0.11
Num. obs.	34775	34775

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

IV: Jackknifed Version

Table: Statistical models

	Δ RN Vote Share
	2SLS (distance in km)
Δ Exposure (log)	0.053** (0.025)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.002 (0.001)
Population (log, 2009)	-0.000 (0.002)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.003** (0.002)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.190 (0.123)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.329*** (0.053)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.181*** (0.050)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	-0.007** (0.003)
Dist. to highway (log)	0.000 (0.000)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes
Department FE	Yes
F (first stage)	26.1
Outcome Mean	0.210
Num. obs.	34775

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

IV: Presidential Elections

Table: 2SLS with (Presidential Elections)

	Δ Exposure (log)	Δ RN Vote Share
	First Stage	Second Stage
Instrument	0.461*** (0.140)	
Δ Exposure (log)		0.075** (0.031)
Foreign pop. (log, 2008)	0.010** (0.004)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2008)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.001)
Population (log, 2008)	0.033* (0.018)	0.002 (0.003)
Population around (log, 2008)	0.029* (0.016)	0.001 (0.002)
Prop. unemployed (2008)	-1.547*** (0.417)	0.102 (0.102)
Prop. college graduate (2008)	-0.286*** (0.087)	-0.210*** (0.037)
Prop. HS graduate (2008)	0.355 (0.271)	-0.038 (0.043)
Native businesses (log, 2008)	-0.084*** (0.018)	-0.008** (0.003)
Dist. to highway (log)	-0.006*** (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	34777	34409

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

IV: Other Weights (1000)

Table: Second Stage with Larger Distance for Weights

	Δ RN Vote Share
	2SLS (distance in km)
Δ Exposure (log)	0.184*** (0.070)
Foreign pop. (log, 2009)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Foreign pop. around (log, 2009)	-0.003 (0.002)
Population (log, 2009)	-0.007** (0.003)
Population around (log, 2009)	0.002 (0.003)
Prop. unemployed (2009)	0.332** (0.146)
Prop. college graduate (2009)	-0.369*** (0.070)
Prop. HS graduate (2009)	-0.233*** (0.067)
Native businesses (log, 2009)	0.014 (0.011)
Dist. to highway (log)	0.002 (0.002)
Urban/Rural controls	Yes
Department FE	Yes
F (first stage)	26.1
Outcome Mean	0.210
Num. obs.	33720

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Conley Standard errors (50 km)

Exogenous “Shift”: National Specialization (2009-2019)



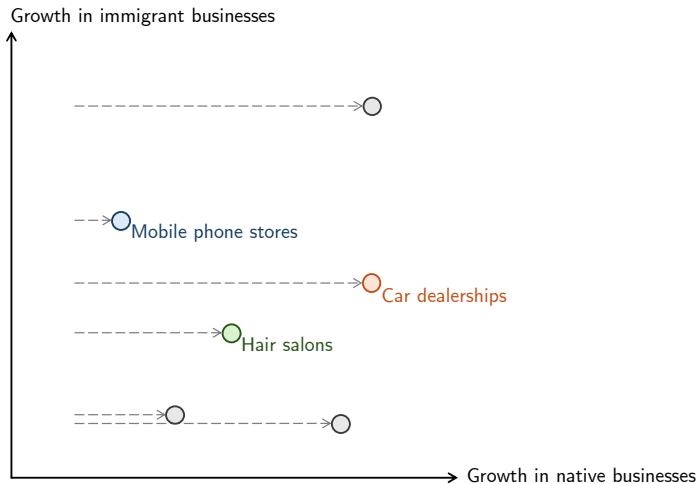
Exogenous “Shift”: National Specialization (2009-2019)



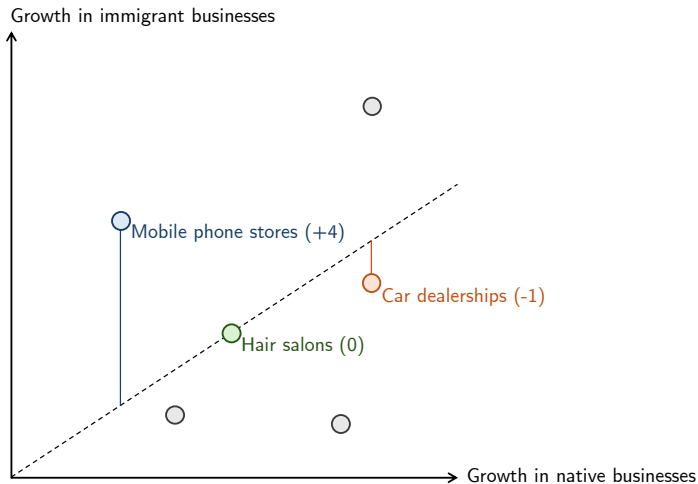
Exogenous “Shift”: National Specialization (2009-2019)



Exogenous “Shift”: National Specialization (2009-2019)



Exogenous “Shift”: National Specialization (2009-2019)



Industrial Agglomeration

