

Immigration Shocks and Politicians' Rhetoric

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April 17, 2024

Political Effects of Immigration

- Immigration has political effects (Alesina & Tabellini, 2024)

Political Effects of Immigration

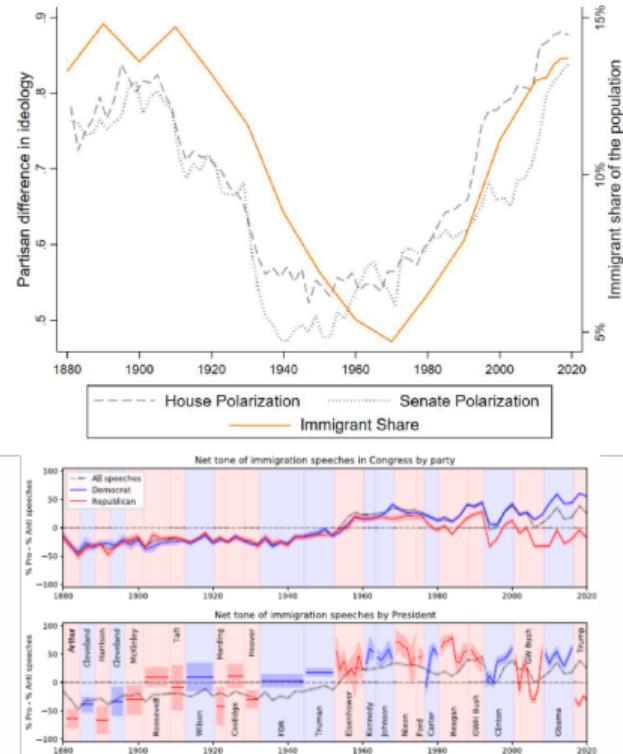
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- Changes in the vote: Immigration $\Rightarrow \uparrow$ support to the right-wing

Political Effects of Immigration

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- Changes in the vote: Immigration $\Rightarrow \uparrow$ support to the right-wing
- What happens with parties/politicians?

Polarization and Immigration

Figure 1. Immigration and Political Polarization in US History

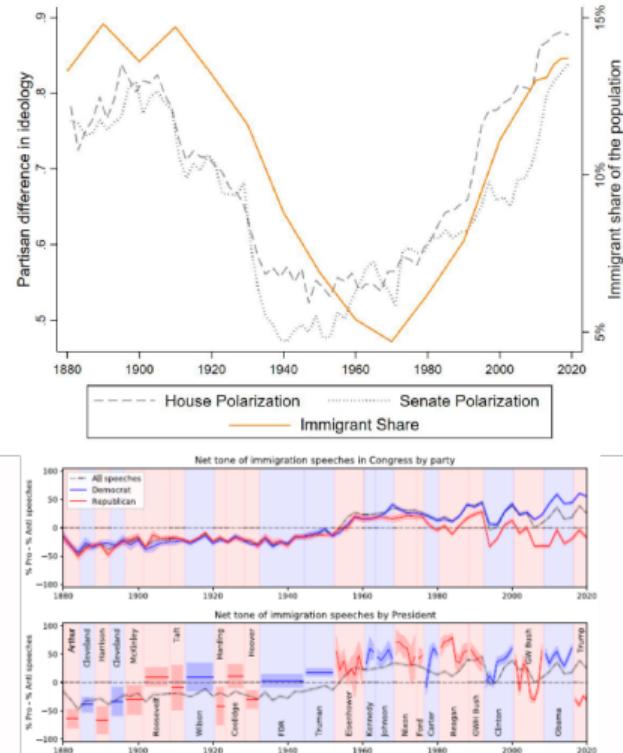


Alesina and Tabellini (2024)

Card et al. (2022)

Polarization and Immigration

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How does an immigration shock shape politicians rhetoric?

Immigration in Developing Countries

Recently, this has been mostly studied in Europe and the US.

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2. Developed Economies

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- Contribution: Analyze the political effects of immigration on developing economies without a recent history of immigration.

Immigration in Developing Countries

Recently, this has been mostly studied in Europe and the US.

1. Recent history of immigration.
 2. Developed Economies
-
- Contribution: Analyze the political effects of immigration on developing economies without a recent history of immigration.
 - 6th largest refugee crisis measured by the number of displaced people: Venezuelan Refugee Crisis.

This paper



This paper



- Right-wing presidents pro-immigration .
 1. Which members of Congress talk more about immigration?

This paper



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- 1. Which members of Congress talk more about immigration? [Left v. Right.](#)

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- The role of representation.
 3. What is the role of representation in explaining the divergence?

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- The role of representation.
 3. What is the role of representation in explaining the divergence? [Size of the immigrant population](#).

Background

- 7.7 million Venezuelans have flown out of their country during the last years

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(© Ariana Cubillos/AP Images)

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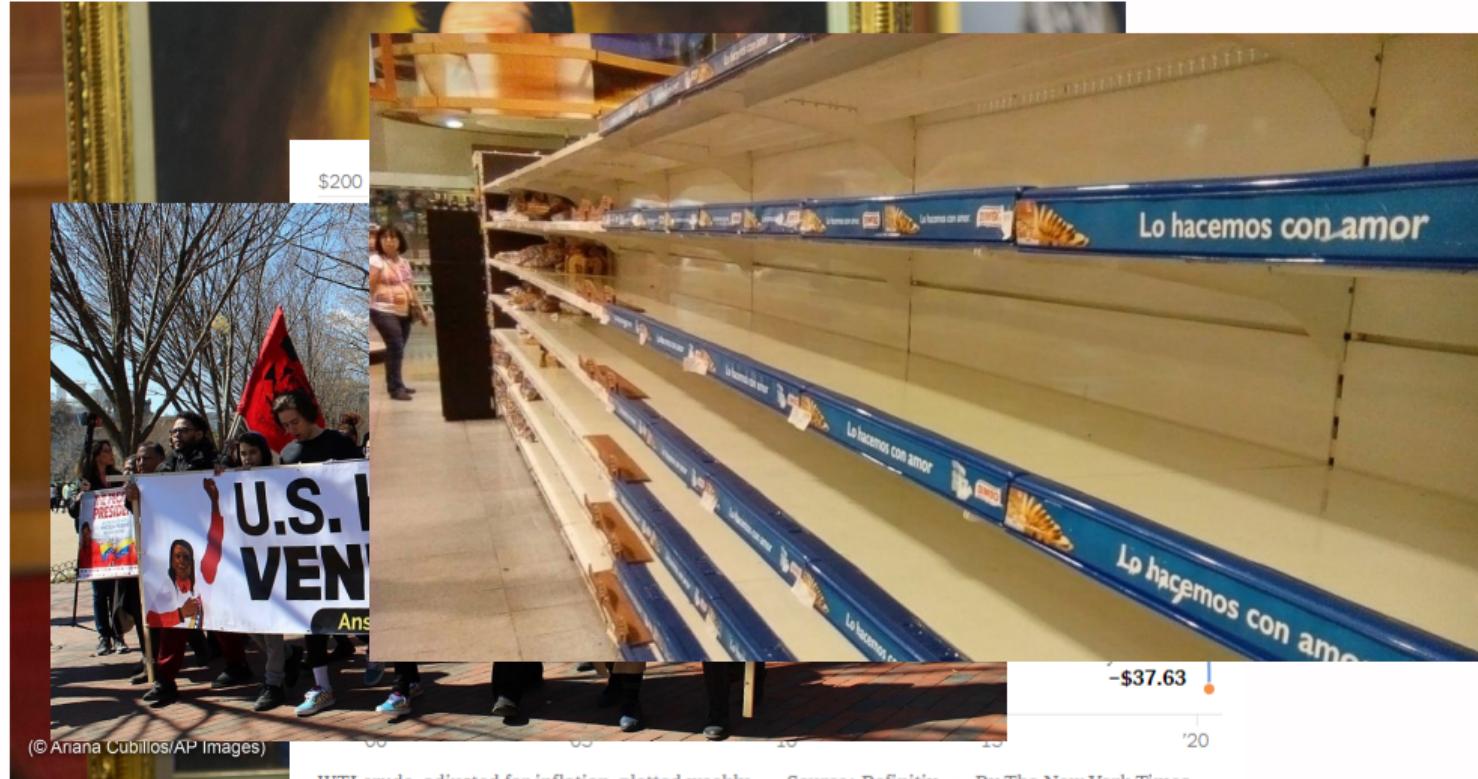
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WTI crude, adjusted for inflation, plotted weekly • Source: Refinitiv • By The New York Times

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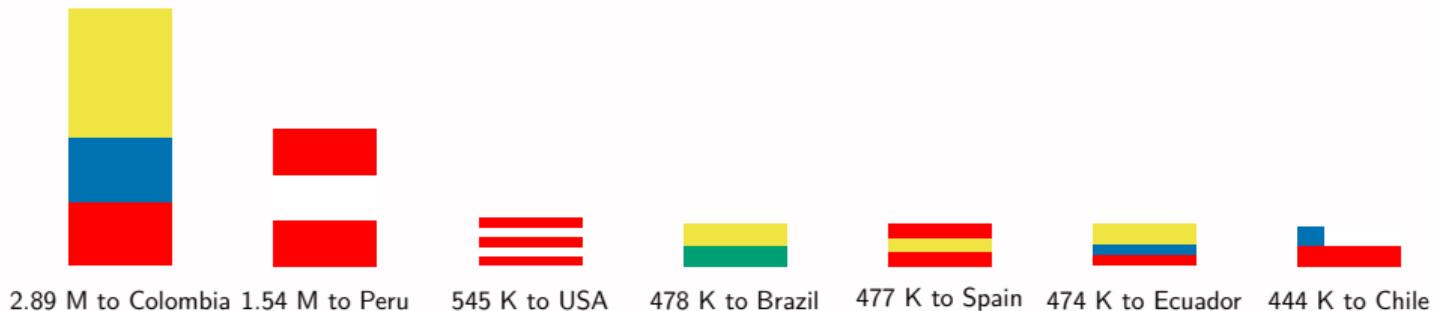
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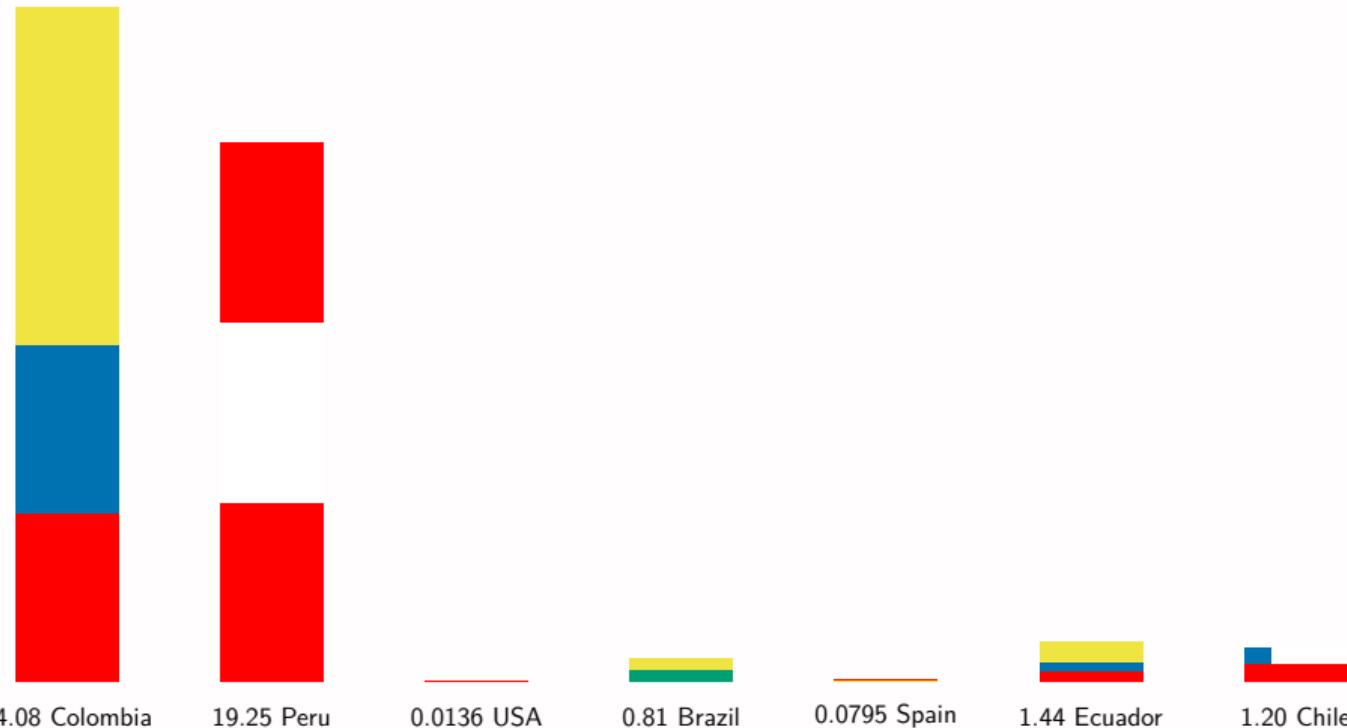


Venezuelan Immigration Statistics

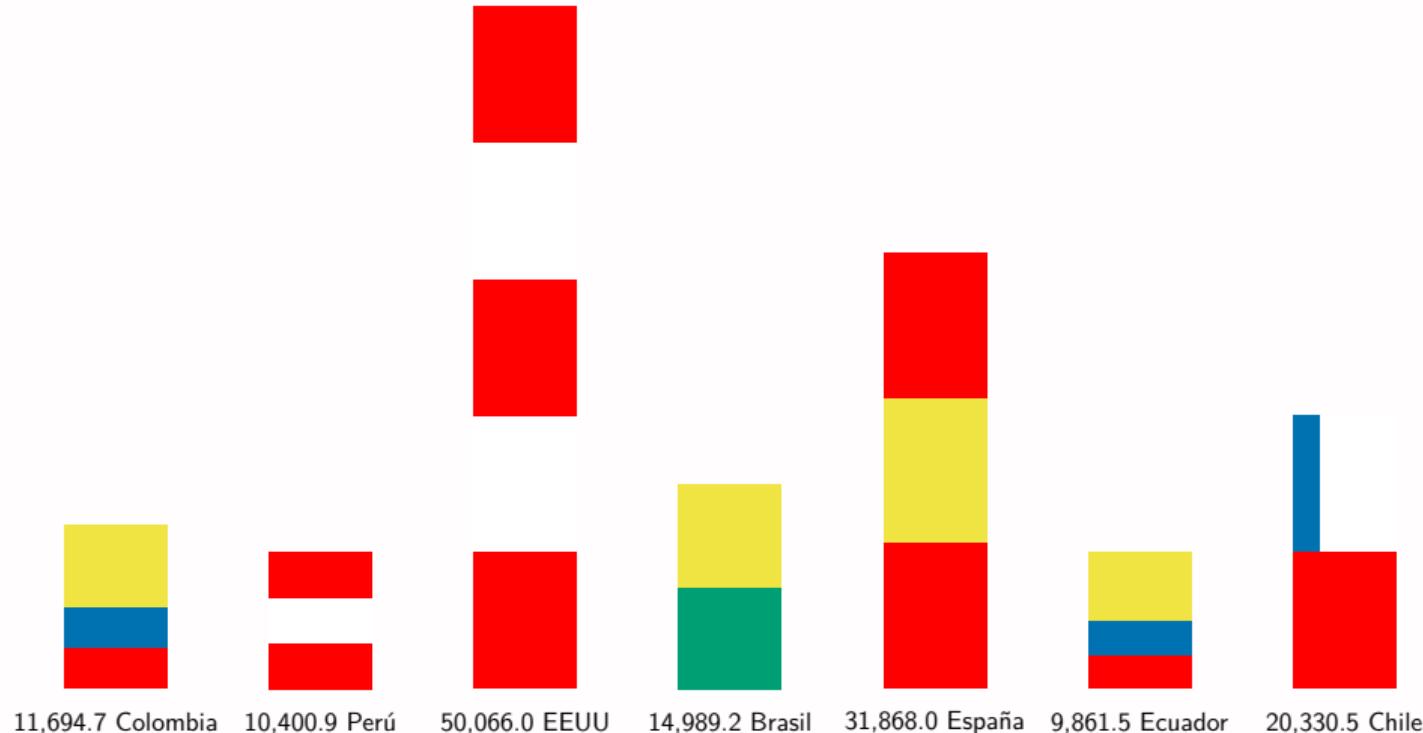
7.7 million Venezuelans left



Relative to Immigrant Population (2010) (ratio)



GDP per Capita (2010)



What do we Know?

- Political Effects
 - Halla, Wagner, and Zweimüller (2017): inflow of immigrants received by Austrian municipalities explains vote to FPO. Driven by unskilled immigrants.
 - Steinmayr (2021): Length of stay also matters.
 - Dustmann, Vasiljeva, and Piil Damm (2019): Far-right and center-right increased thanks to the inflow of refugees. In largest municipalities, left-wing increased.
 - Tabellini (2020): Immigration increases support for anti-immigrant congress members and their vote in favor of immigration quotas. It also affects preferences for redistribution.
- Effects of immigration shocks in South America
 - Crime or crime perception (Ajzenman, Dominguez, & Undurraga, 2023; Anatol & Kangalee, 2021; Knight & Tribin, 2020)
 - Labor market, by decreasing informal wages (Caruso, Canon, & Mueller, 2021)
 - Housing market (Forero-Vargas & Iturra, 2022; Undurraga & Gonzalez-Navarro, 2023)
 - Education (Martínez & Martínez Heredia, 2023)

Data: Tweets

Collected all legislators' tweets from 2018-2020 for the Chilean 2018 Congress and Peruvian 2016 congress.

Data: Tweets

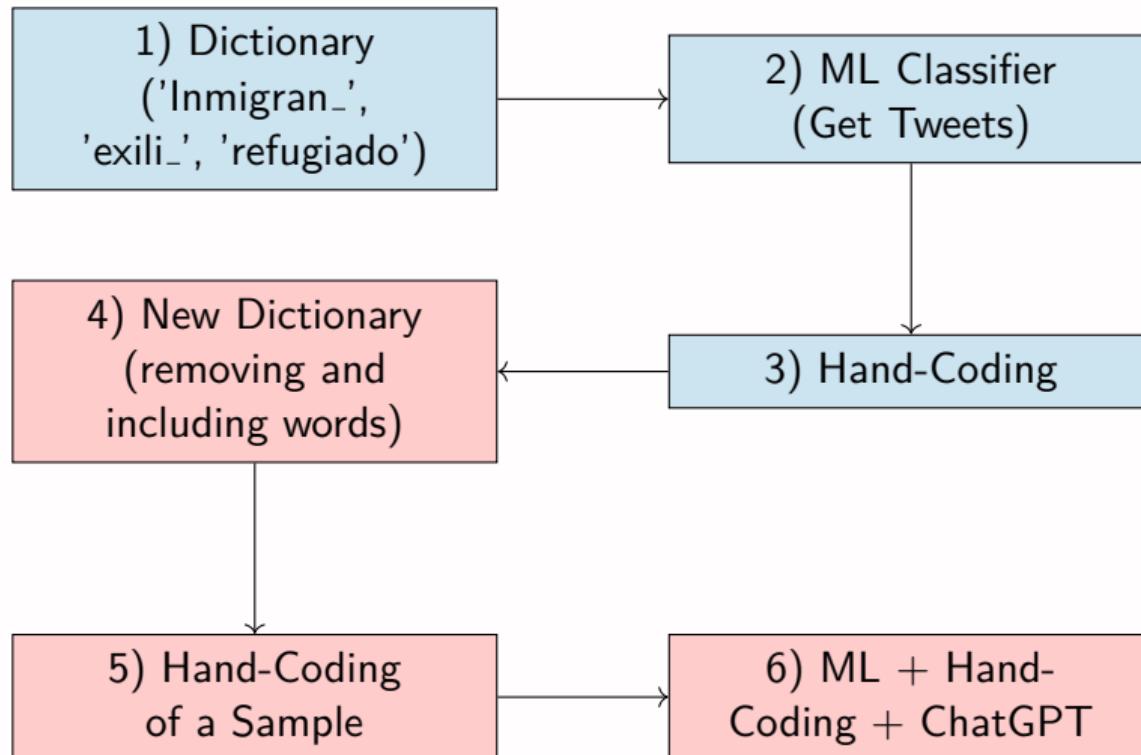
Collected all legislators' tweets from 2018-2020 for the Chilean 2018 Congress and Peruvian 2016 congress.

133 (out of 155) and **110** (out of 130) tweeted in 2018-2020.

Table: Descriptives for Tweets 2018-2020

	Tweets	Imm (% of Tweets)	Pro-Imm (% of Imm)	Anti-Imm (% of Imm)	Venezuela (% of Imm)	Socialism (% of Imm)
	457294	0.47%	74.93%	12.72%	13.41%	1.90%
	319998	0.21%	63.07%	21.17%	46.86%	4.23%
Total	777292	0.37%	72.15%	14.73%	21.40%	2.45%

Immigration Analysis Workflow



Blue blocks:

Red blocks: &

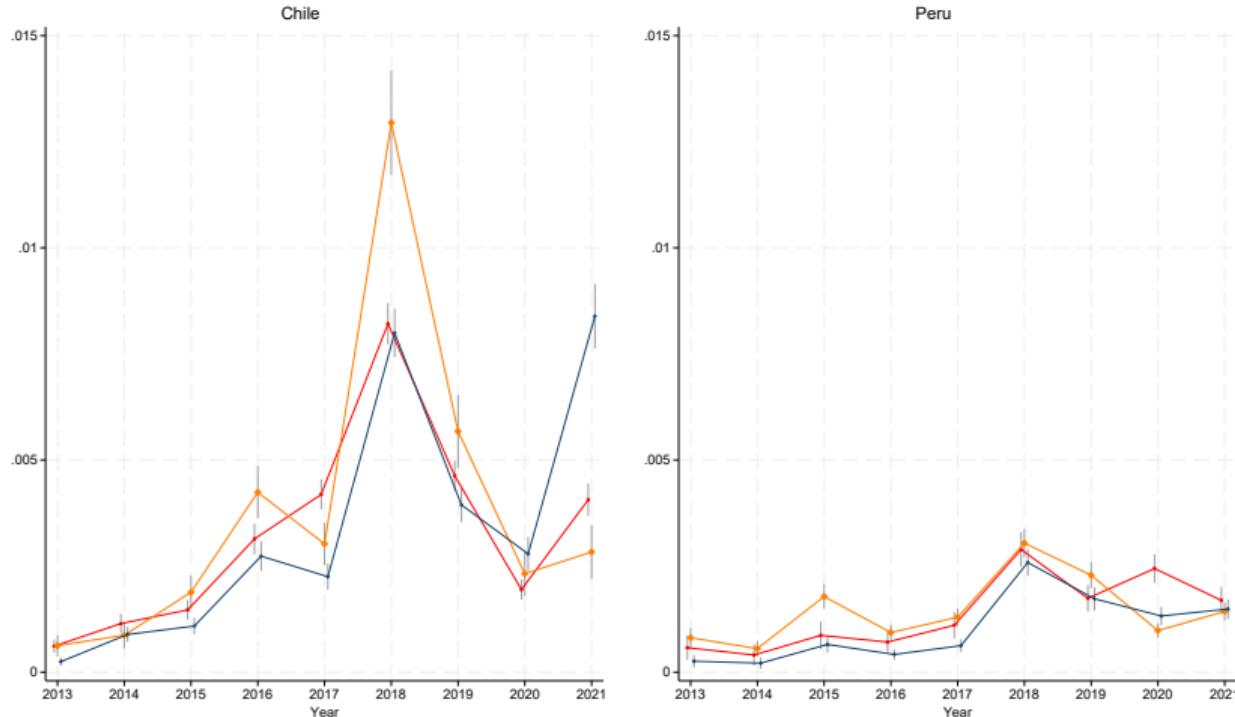


Figure: Tweets about Immigration (%). Red: Left, Orange: Center, Blue: Right

Pro and Anti-Immigration

- We asked OpenAI's API (Chat GPT 3.5) to classify tweets as pro and anti-immigration.
- We used 2 RA's to check 1,376 tweets about immigration.
- Accuracy: 70%

Data: Immigration

- Chile:
 - Census 2002
 - Individual-level data: visas + permanent residence permits.
 - Census 2017
- Peru:
 - Census 2007
 - Census 2017
- Data on bilateral flows of international migrants for 45 countries (UN Population Division migration)
- Following Ajzenman et al. (2023)

Immigrants in Chile

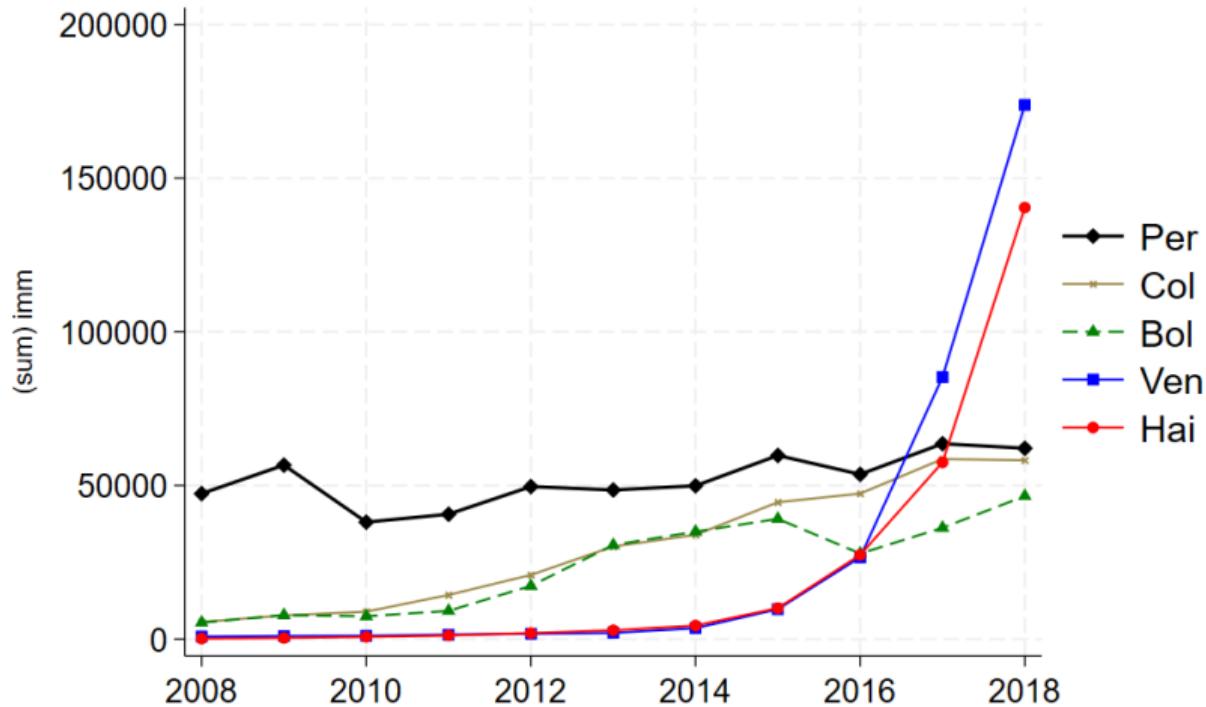


Figure: Number of Immigrants in Chile per Origin Country

Left v. Right

Results: Left v Right

$$Y_p = \alpha + \beta \text{left}_p + \gamma X_p \quad (1)$$

Results: Left v Right

$$Y_p = \alpha + \beta left_p + \gamma X_p \quad (1)$$

VARIABLES	(1) Immigration	(2) Socialism + Imm	(3) Venezuela + Imm	(4) Pro-Imm	(5) Anti-Imm	(6) Net
left	0.058 (0.091)	-3.287* (1.700)	-5.071 (4.388)	13.603** (5.304)	-14.286*** (3.919)	27.889*** (8.367)
Observations	243	189	189	189	189	189
R-squared	0.296	0.370	0.440	0.326	0.349	0.342
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Denominator	Total	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration

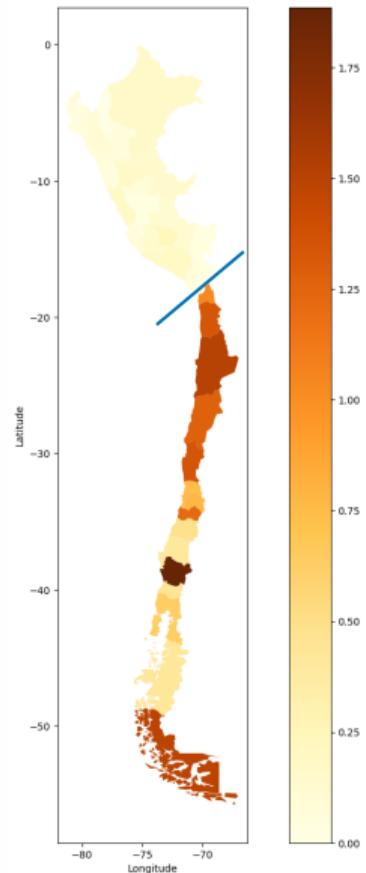
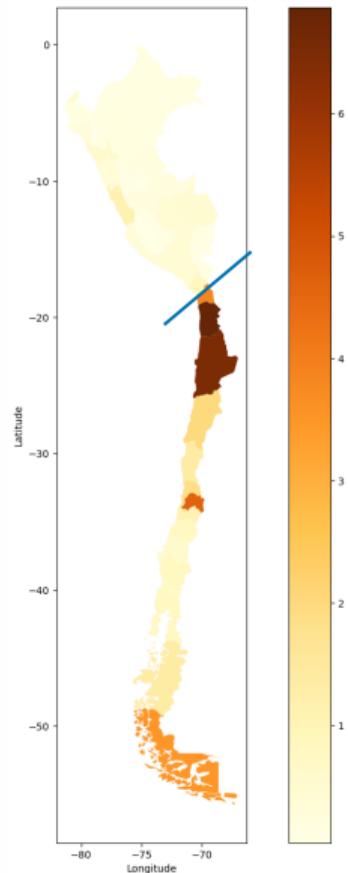
Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Role of Immigrant Population

Role of Representation

New immigrants
12-17



Share of tweets
discussing
immigration

Empirical Strategy

- Shift-Share instrument

$$Y_{p,18-20} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta imm_{p,12-17} + \gamma X_{pt} + \varepsilon_{pt} \quad (2)$$

where $\Delta imm_p = \frac{NewImmigrants_p}{Population_p}$

$$\widehat{\Delta imm}_{p,12-17} = \sum_n \theta_{p,07}^n \times \Delta \log(imm)_{10-17}^n \quad (3)$$

where $\Delta \log(imm)_{10-17}^n$ is the flow of people from top-sources (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Haiti/Japan, Peru, Spain, the United States, and Venezuela) to other LAC countries.

- Supply-push component of immigration by nationality.
- Control Vars: Parties, Gender, Number of Reps in that Electoral District, Total number of Tweets.

Results: Tweets and Topics About Immigration

	Immigration Tweets (%)	Total Tweets	Venezuela	Socialism
Share Imm	0.052 (0.033)	-84.024 (130.034)	0.200 (1.414)	-0.353 (0.283)
Observations	242	242	189	189
R-squared	0.213	0.183	0.345	0.240
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-stat	20.93	21.14	64.82	64.82
Denominator	Total Tweets	-	Immigration	Immigration

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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Results: Pro and Anti

VARIABLES	(1) Pro-Imm	(2) Anti-Imm	(3) Net
Share Imm	3.847*** (1.400)	-1.038 (1.314)	4.885* (2.576)
Observations	189	189	189
R-squared	0.244	0.203	0.240
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Denominator	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration
F-Stat	64.82	64.82	64.82

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Left v. Right + Role of Immigrant Population

Results

VARIABLES	(1) Immigration	(2) Pro-Imm	(3) Anti-Imm	(4) Net	(5) Venezuela	(6) Socialism
Right*share Imm	0.036 (0.026)	1.748 (1.792)	0.367 (1.859)	1.381 (3.521)	0.386 (1.429)	-0.197 (0.300)
Left*share Imm	0.001 (0.036)	4.142** (1.819)	-1.139 (0.891)	5.280** (2.508)	-0.044 (1.901)	0.104 (0.240)
left	0.100 (0.141)	11.624 (7.469)	-11.920** (5.907)	23.544* (12.129)	-7.494 (5.239)	-2.950** (1.501)
Observations	243	189	189	189	189	189
R-squared	0.109	0.078	0.095	0.100	0.245	0.025
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Denominator	Total	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration	Immigration
F-Stat	21.87	22.04	22.04	22.04	22.04	22.04

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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Summary of the Results

- Immigration is a divisive issue
- Right-wing is more anti-immigration even though their presidents were welcoming immigrants publicly.
- Representation of Shocked districts plays a role: different to Tabellini (2020).
- It also plays a role in the left-right divergence.
- Within the left wing, having more immigrants makes them tweet more positive remarks.

Final Remarks: Future Steps

- Improve Chat-GPT classification and Better Framing Classification (e.g., BERTopic).
- Other measures of ideological Polarization
- More years?
- Robustness.
- Use immigrants' sociodemographic data.

Thank you!

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Reactions



Reactions



Support for Immigration

According to an Ipsos and Espacio P blico poll in 2018:

- 53% agrees with “Migration is beneficial for the country because it contributes diversity and other benefits social” (62% L; 52% right)
- 43% agrees with “Migration is harmful to country because they increase social problems” (35% L; 46% right)

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- In March 2018:
 - Q: “Will you continue receiving Venezuelans in Chile?”
 - Pi era: “We are going to continue receiving Venezuelans in Chile because we have a duty of solidarity.”
 - In 2022 it was 30% pro, 67% anti.

Left v. Right

Chile				Peru				
Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4	Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4	
personas	pais	chile	antofagasta	maduro	migratoria	machismo	paises	
nuestro	contra	piñera	niños	como	sobre	campaña	derecho	
este	chilenos	expulsion	senador	esta	millones	todos	alemania	
inmigracion	millones	trump	esta	venezuela	miles	discriminacion	como	
derechos	refugiados	diputado	gobierno	migrantes	unidos	como	acnur	
como	dictadura	para	crisis	pais	estados	para	campo	
pais	maduro	sobre	nueva	para	politica	belmont	niños	
migracion	venezuela	pais	sobre	peruanos	donald	racismo	migrantes	
para	chile	ilegales	politica	peru	trump	contra	para	
migrantes	venezolanos	inmigrantes	migratoria	venezolanos	inmigrantes	xenofobia	refugiados	
%	48.5	17.7	14.6	19.2	60.9	12.8	12.9	13.3
Left (%)	50.0	18.8	12.7	18.5	53.6	13.0	15.4	18.0
Center (%)	48.5	20.1	17.9	13.5	53.4	16.1	16.7	13.9
Right (%)	46.0	14.9	15.8	23.2	78.1	8.3	5.8	7.8
Distance L-R	4.0	3.9	-3.1	-4.8	-24.4	4.6	9.6	10.2

Table 2: Topic Analysis - NMF 4 clusters regarding Immigration statements

Relative to their Population %

