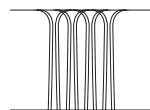

The Backlash against Globalization: What's Next?

A Report from the Niehaus Center
for Globalization & Governance

Princeton School of Public and International Affairs,
Princeton University

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Niehaus Center
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How South-South Migration Affects Welfare State Politics

Nikhar Gaikwad, Kolby Hanson, and Aliz Tóth

Scholarly work on the political impacts of migration has largely focused attention on receiving communities in advanced industrialized economies, both by analyzing political responses to migrants and social reactions to their presence. However, we know comparatively little about how migration impacts the economic outlooks, political behavior, and policy preferences of migrants and those in sending communities. Sending community effects are particularly important because migration is increasingly dominated by labor movement flows between countries in the Global South, with labor migrants typically maintaining citizenship and social ties to their home countries and returning home after employment stints overseas.

In 2017, more international migrants from developing countries had resettled in other developing regions than in industrialized nations; migration within Asia and the Middle East now comprises the largest regional migration corridor in the world (United Nations 2017, 1-3). South-South remittances equaled \$207 billion, just short of the \$224 billion remitted from industrialized economies to developing, in 2013 (World Bank 2013, 11). Developing country policymakers actively promote emigration to open economic prospects for individuals excluded from domestic markets.

How does migration shape the political preferences of those who may gain economically from it and, in turn, sculpt welfare state politics in sending regions? A vast body of literature across the social sciences has examined how exposure to the global economy shapes support for taxation and redistribution, with some arguing that globalization creates pressures for an expanded welfare state and others claiming just the opposite (Cameron 1978; Margalit 2011; Rodrik 1998; Linardi and Rudra 2020; Rudra 2008; Adida and Girod 2011; Acevedo 2020). Missing in this debate are analyses of how migration shapes the political preferences of those who move across national borders.

A Randomized Controlled Trial on South-South Migration. To study how migration shapes political preferences, we designed an experiment that facilitated the placement of individuals from India

in hospitality sector jobs in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (Gaikwad, Hanson, and Tóth 2022a; Gaikwad, Hanson, and Tóth 2022b). The location of the study was Mizoram, a geographically-isolated state in India with low levels of outmigration. Working with the state government and a local NGO, we recruited 392 relatively young, well-educated, but under-employed individuals seeking GCC employment. Half of the recruits (196 individuals) were randomly chosen to receive a free training program that combined basic hospitality job training with recruitment for overseas jobs. Random selection into the program enables clean, causal identification of the impact of overseas migration because the group that was selected for the intervention and the one that was not are on average similar on a host of characteristics, both observable (age, education, employment, etc.) and not.

During the course of the program, selected participants had the chance to attend classroom and practical training related to restaurant service, food and beverage preparation, and housekeeping as well as coaching on resume preparation and interviewing. At the end of the program, participants were invited to interview with vetted overseas employers (Pizza Hut, Costa Coffee, Mandarin Oriental, etc.). If they were successful in securing a job, participants also received assistance with immigration paperwork. The costs of visas and airfares were covered by the employer.

We measured various attitudes and outcomes through three sets of surveys: baseline (before selection into the program), midline (after program completion, before recruitment for overseas jobs), and endline (after migration). These surveys were conducted over the phone, with the exception of the in-person baseline survey, and included questions on migration status, employment, wages, and preferences regarding government policies.

The intervention resulted in a sharp increase in overseas migration. Subjects in the treatment group were 20 percentage points more likely to migrate than those in the control group. The opportunity to migrate, in turn, significantly affected both the economic standing and the political preferences of Mizo subjects in the program.

On the economic side, the opportunity to move overseas had a dramatic effect on the economic position of program participants. Two years after the program began, individuals in the treatment group overall were earning more than double the wages of those in the control group (see Figure 1). These gains, moreover, came from the small minority who ended up migrating for work. Only one in four treatment individuals (23%) took jobs in the Gulf Region, but those individuals were earning more than 40,000 INR (USD 540) per month, approximately triple the average income of those who stayed back in Mizoram. The migrants in our study, moreover, sent nearly half of their earnings home to family, significantly boosting family incomes and household resources.

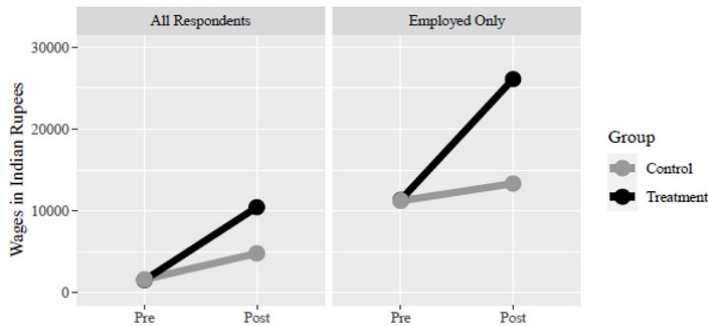


Figure 1: Baseline and Endline Wages in the Control and Treatment Groups

Meanwhile, those who received the opportunity to migrate and earn these higher incomes became significantly less supportive of state-led taxation and redistribution. Those who received the opportunity to move abroad were nearly ten percentage points more likely to say that the government should not focus on reducing income differences, that the government should not raise taxes to fund social programs, and that poor people can work their way out of poverty without the government. Even more surprisingly, migrants largely changed their views before they took jobs or moved abroad, and even those who were unlikely to migrate shifted their views after being selected for the program.

These findings suggest that the economic “exit option” of migration, by strengthening bargaining power vis-a-vis domestic employers, can shift political views even if individuals eventually choose not to migrate.

Implications. Labor migration, in other words, appears to transform the economic and political lives of those in low-income communities in two somewhat contradictory ways.

On one hand, labor migration can be an immense source of economic gains for low-income communities in the Global South. Labor migration provides lucrative economic opportunities for those with few options in the domestic economy, allowing young people to earn higher incomes overseas or to parlay their exit option into higher wages and better treatment at home. These benefits may be particularly valuable to members of marginalized groups like the Mizos (a Scheduled Tribe community in India) in our study, for whom migration offers an escape from the discrimination and labor market constraints in the domestic economy. This also means that migration opportunities can serve as a highly-cost effective development program. Our program spent approximately \$200 per program participant, but generated more than \$900 per year in wages, even when it is averaged across the many who did not end up migrating.

On the other hand, these economic opportunities may undercut support for the welfare state that provides economic security to these same low-income communities. Importantly, changes in political preferences do not just affect migrants, but the much larger pool of potential migrants who have not yet, and may never, move overseas for work. Therefore, our study illustrates how migration in the global economy plays a complex role in reshaping welfare state politics in sending regions in developing countries.

Like other types of globalization, such as trade and foreign direct investment, migration can reap considerable material welfare gains for migrants and their communities. Yet as our study documents with clear experimental evidence, globalization undercuts support for the welfare state among its economic winners, a finding that is in line with Linardi and Rudra (2020) and goes contrary to seminal work in the domain of international trade (Cameron 1978; Rodrik 1998). Our study therefore contributes to a body of evidence showing that an unintended consequence of policies promoting greater global integration is rising inequality in the wake of a shrinking welfare state.

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Papers presented at

“The Backlash: What’s Next?”

Niehaus Center for Globalization & Governance,
Princeton University,
May 13-14, 2022

Paolo Agnolin, Italo Colantone, Piero Stanig, “Globalization Backlash: Economic Roots of Cultural Shifts?”

Leonardo Baccini, Costin M. V. Ciobanu and Krzysztof Pelc, “Offshoring, Automation, and the Demand for Radical Political Action.”

Cameron Ballard-Rosa, Judith Goldstein and Nita Rudra, “Trade as Villain: The Fading American Dream and Declining Support for Globalization.”

Sarah M. Brooks and Soohyun Cho, “Reconsidering Globalization: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa.”

Richard T. Clark, Roza Khoban and Noah Zucker, “Breadwinner Backlash: The Gendered Political Consequences of Industrial Decline.”

William Roberts Clark, Pablo M. Pinto and Keigo Tanabe, “The Perils of Privilege: Manufacturing Wages, Educational Attainment, and the Populist Response to the China Shock”

Nyron Crawford, Alexandra Guisinger and Katja Kleinberg, “Foreign Policy in a Diverse Society.”

Nikhil Gaikwad, Kolby Hanson and Aliz Toth, “How Overseas Opportunities Shape Political Preferences: A Field Experiment on International Migration.”

Aycan Katitas and Yunus Emre Orhan, “Affective Polarization and The Electoral Salience of Globalization Policies: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Turkey.”

Ze Han, Helen V. Milner and Kris Mitchener, “Anti-Globalization and the Persistence of U.S. Populism.”

Junghyun Lim, “Nationalist Backlash and Return Migration.”

Edward D. Mansfield and Diana C. Mutz, “The Myth of Accountability: Comparing Anti-Globalization Sentiment in the United States and the United Kingdom.”

Diana C. Mutz, “Mass Opinion on Globalization in the Trump Era.”

Megumi Naoi, “How Embedded Liberalism Failed – Stimulus Resentment and the Rise of Protectionism in the United States.”

Nina Obermeier, “Right-Wing Populism and the Rise of Internationalism in Europe.”

Erica Owen, “Political Economy in an Age of Global Production and Automation.”

B. Peter Rosendorff and James H. Bisbee, “Anti-Globalization Sentiment: Exposure and Specificity.”

Kenneth Scheve and Theo Serlin, “Trains, Trade and Transformation: A Spatial Rogowski Theory of America’s 19th Century Protectionism.”

Erik Voeten, “The Energy Transition and Voting for the Radical Populist Right: Evidence from the Netherlands.”

Ryan M. Weldzius, James Raymond Vreeland and James H. Bisbee, “Political Cleavages and Exposure to the Financial Crisis.”