

# THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

EVIDENCE FROM THE FRENCH ALGERIANS' REPATRIATION

CAMILLE REMIGEREAU

BERLIN SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
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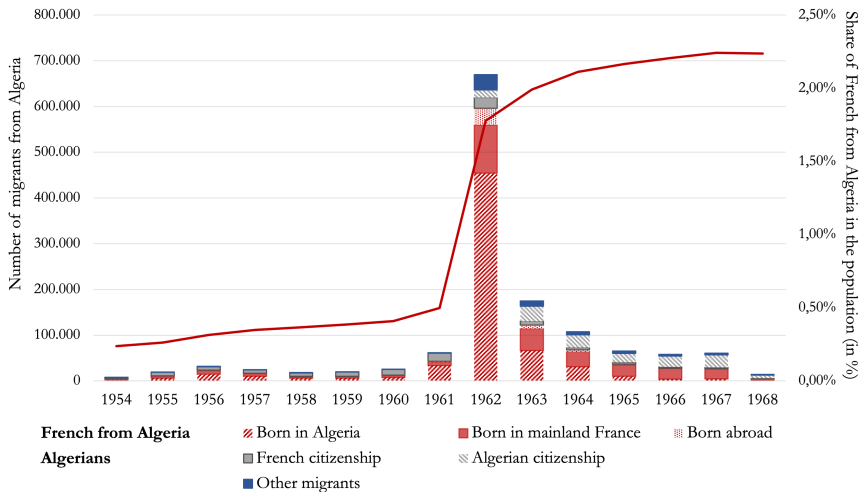
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- At the end of 2021, there were 59.1 million internally displaced people across the world as a result of conflict, violence, or disasters (IDMC, 2022).
- According to the UNHCR, an internally displaced person (IDP) is *"someone who is forced to leave their home but who remains within their country's borders"*.
- In this paper, I investigate the impact of the political preferences of IDPs on the political landscape of the regions they settled in.



**Figure:** Inflows from Algeria in mainland France by Year of Arrival



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968.



**Table:** Voting intentions in the 1st round of the 2012 presidential election

| Candidates' political orientation | Repatriates (*) | Non-repatriates aged more than 50 | Children of repatriates | Non-repatriates |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Far-left                          | 5%              | 12.5%                             | 13.5%                   | 13%             |
| Left-wing                         | 23.5%           | 31%                               | 28%                     | 31%             |
| Moderate                          | 7%              | 9.5%                              | 9%                      | 9%              |
| Right-wing                        | 42%             | 32%                               | 29%                     | 29%             |
| Far-right                         | 21,5%           | 14%                               | 20%                     | 18%             |

(\*) Repatriates arrived before 1962 were aged 50 or more in 2012

Source: IFOP/CEVIPOF 2012 and IFOP 2012.

Pieds-Noirs 2002



The project contributes to several strands of literature.

- 1 Drivers of populism** (e.g. Dustmann, Damm and Vasiljeva, 2018; Edo et al., 2019; Autor et al., 2020)  
⇒ **Persistent far-right voting**
- 2 Persistence of political opinions and preferences** (e.g. Cantoni, Hagemeister and Westcott, 2019; Schindler and Westcott, 2020)  
⇒ **"Import" of those preferences**
- 3 Political change brought by migrants** (e.g. Chevalier et al., 2018; Menon, 2020; Cefalà, 2021; Ochsner and Roesel, 2020; Calderon et al., 2021)  
⇒ **Mechanisms behind the persistent far-right voting in high-inflow regions**



I use a unique dataset that includes:

- 1962 and 1968 Census data

- ① 1962 census took place right before the mass exodus in the 1962 summer
- ② 1962 and 1968 census allow exact identification of repatriates from Algeria

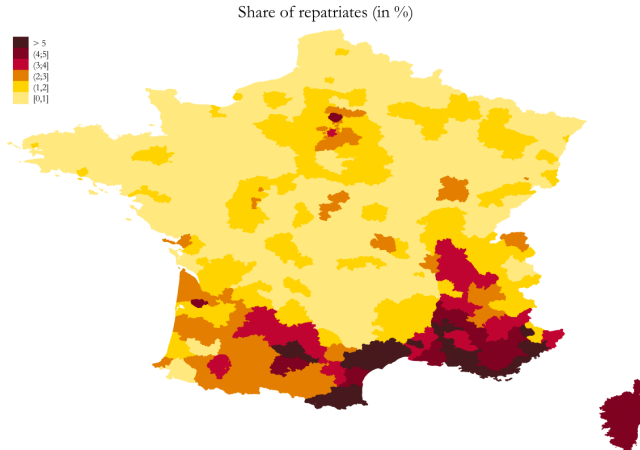
- Parliamentary election data (16 elections)

- ① 1956 from the *Liste des candidats aux élections législatives*
- ② 1958 - 1988 from the CDSP (Sciences Po)
- ③ 1993 - 2022 from the French Interior Ministry

- Presidential election data (11 elections)

- ① 1965 - 1988 from the CDSP (Sciences Po)
- ② 1995 - 2022 from the French Interior Ministry

I observe **371** electoral districts over more than 60 years.



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968.

$$AlgRepShare_{et} = \frac{\text{Repatriates from Algeria}_{e,1968}}{\text{pre-existing mainland-born population}_{e,1968}}$$



Specification by Moser et al. (2014) and Chevalier et al. (2018) :

$$FarRight_{et} = \sum_{t \neq 1956}^T \beta_t (AlgRepShare_{et} \cdot \tau_t) + \sum_{t \neq 1956}^T \gamma_t (X_{e,1962} \cdot \tau_t) + \lambda_e + \tau_t + \epsilon_{et} \quad (1)$$

with

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| $FarRight_{et}$     | Standardized share of votes for far-right parties  |
| $AlgRepShare_{et}$  | Share of repatriates from Algeria  |
| $X_{e,1962}$        | Share of immigrants in the native population, the shares of (skilled and unskilled) workers in the working population, the share of high educated French nationals and the native unemployment rate. |
| $\lambda_e, \tau_t$ | Electoral districts and time fixed effects   |





## Idea

past settlement of migrants can predict subsequent flows across locations, whereas past immigrant concentrations should be uncorrelated with current unobserved shocks.

I use the distribution of French Algerians in France in 1954 to impute the number of repatriates in each electoral district  $e$  (Edo, 2020):

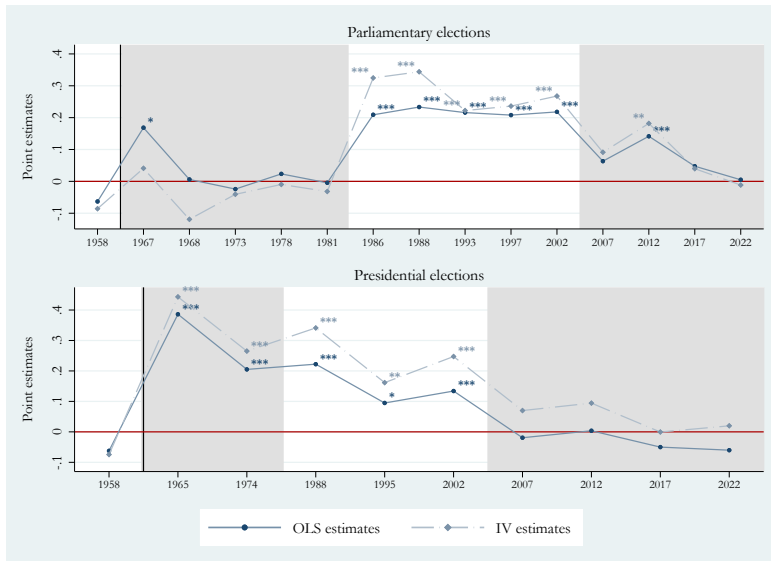
$$\widehat{\text{Repatriates}}_{e,1968} = \frac{\text{French from Algeria}_{e,1954}}{\text{French from Algeria}_{1954}} \cdot \text{Repatriates}_{1968}$$

and generate the following shift share instrument:

$$\text{Instrument}_{et} = \frac{\widehat{\text{Repatriates}}_{e,1968}}{\text{Pre-existing population}_{e,1968}}$$



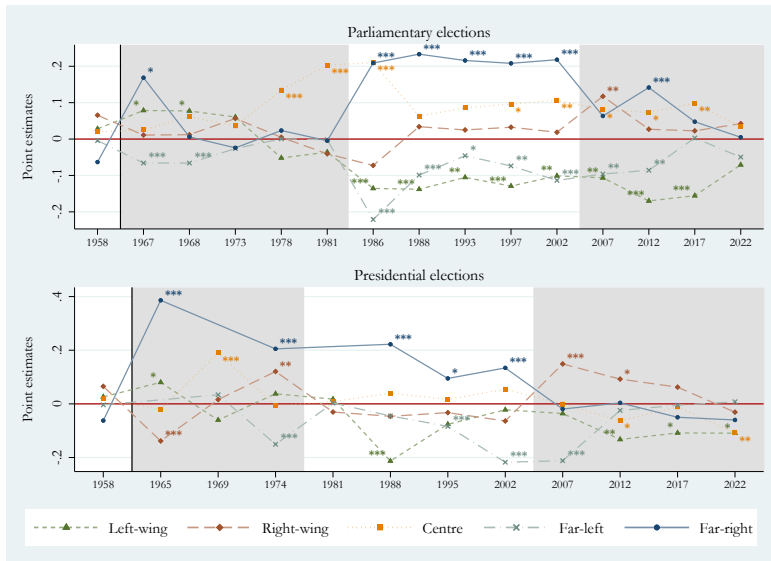
**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on far-right vote shares



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on voting behaviors



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



- The repatriates and immigration
  - ▶ High-inflows regions appear to be receptive to anti-immigration messages [here](#)
  - ▶ The Algerian immigration in high-inflow regions intensified far-right voting in the 1980s [here](#)
- The results are robust to the following specifications:
  - ▶ Including of region dummies [here](#)
    - Migration shock [here](#)
    - Unemployment shock [here](#)
  - ▶ Leave one out analysis [here](#)
  - ▶ Spatially correlated standard errors
  - ▶ Generating a treatment dummy instead of  $AlgRepShare_{et}$  (Callaway et al, 2021) [here](#)



- What are the forces driving the persistent political impact of the repatriates?
- Trajectory and Origins Survey (TeO) from 2007
  - ▶ information on country of birth and repatriate status  
⇒ allows to distinguish repatriates from mainland natives
  - ▶ information on country of birth and repatriate status *of the parents*  
⇒ allows to identify **185** children of repatriates in the sample
  - ▶ information on political preferences  
*Rank your political position on the following scale:*

|                   |           |        |            |                    |                                 |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1)               | (2)       | (3)    | (4)        | (5)                | (6)                             |
| Very<br>left-wing | Left-wing | Centre | Right-wing | Very<br>right-wing | Neither right,<br>nor left-wing |



I estimate  $\beta$  in the following specification:

$$PoliticalOpinion_i = \alpha + \beta RepatriateChild_i + \delta X_i^{indiv} + \gamma X_i^{par} + u_i \quad (2)$$

**Table:** Political differences between children of repatriates from Algeria and children of mainland natives

| VARIABLES                          | Political position<br>(1) | Right-wing<br>(2)  | Centre<br>(3)      | Left-wing<br>(4)      | Neither right, nor left-wing<br>(5) |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>RepatriateChild<sub>i</sub></i> | 0.1832*<br>(0.110)        | -0.000<br>(0.0393) | 0.0115<br>(0.0284) | -0.0779**<br>(0.0365) | 0.0665<br>(0.0409)                  |
| Observations                       | 1,817                     | 2,710              | 2,710              | 2,710                 | 2,710                               |
| Adjusted $R^2$                     | 0.0864                    | 0.0775             | 0.0166             | 0.0193                | 0.0874                              |

Source: Trajectory and Origin Survey (TeO).

Notes: The table shows the estimated coefficients  $\beta$  from specification (2). I control for age, education, socio-professional category, employment status, *département* of birth as well as parents' education and religion. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote significance at the 1 percent, 5 percent, and 10 percent level, respectively.



## Main takeaways:

- Persistent political impact of the repatriates
  - ▶ high-inflow districts have experienced a higher far-right vote shares than low-inflow districts
  - ▶ vote shares for the moderate left-wing were lower in districts that received more repatriates
- One potential persistence channel:
  - ▶ children of repatriates are, on average, less likely to position themselves on the left of the political scale



**Table:** Distribution of the French from Algeria along the political scale (self-reported)

| Political scale                        | Far-left |     |     |     |     |     | Far-right | No answer |      |
|--|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|------|
|  | 1        | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7         |           |      |
| <b>(i) Born before 1947</b>            |          |     |     |     |     |     |           |           |      |
| French from Algeria                    | 1%       | 1%  | 7%  | 23% | 25% | 16% | 8%        | 19%       | 100% |
| All French                             | 8%       | 11% | 16% | 18% | 20% | 9%  | 4%        | 14%       | 100% |
| <b>(ii) Born between 1947 and 1962</b> |          |     |     |     |     |     |           |           |      |
| Children of French from Algeria        | 2%       | 4%  | 16% | 24% | 23% | 11% | 6%        | 14%       | 100% |
| All French                             | 11%      | 16% | 20% | 18% | 15% | 6%  | 4%        | 10%       | 100% |
| <b>(iii) Total</b>                     |          |     |     |     |     |     |           |           |      |
| French from Algeria and their children | 1%       | 2%  | 9%  | 23% | 24% | 15% | 8%        | 18%       | 100% |
| All French born in 1962 and earlier    | 9%       | 13% | 18% | 18% | 18% | 8%  | 4%        | 12%       | 100% |

Source: "Pieds-Noirs 2002" survey and 2007 French Electoral Panel. Replication and translation from Comtat (2009).

[back](#)



**Table:** Comparison between French Algerian repatriates and mainland natives in 1968

| VARIABLES                                    | Mean               |                | Difference       |
|--|--------------------|----------------|------------------|
|  | Repatriates<br>(1) | Natives<br>(2) | (1) - (2)<br>(3) |
| Female                                       | 0.5035             | 0.5195         | -0.0160***       |
| Age  | 31.07              | 24.98          | -3.91***         |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 192,526            | 10,939,341     |                  |
| High Qualification                           | 0.1189             | 0.0611         | 0.0577***        |
| Med. Qualification                           | 0.1319             | 0.0666         | 0.0652***        |
| Low Qualification                            | 0.3723             | 0.4000         | -0.0277***       |
| Missing Qualification                        | 0.3718             | 0.4692         | -0.0974***       |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 108,845            | 6,474,387      |                  |
| Unemployed                                   | 0.0243             | 0.0105         | 0.0138***        |
| Out of the labor force                       | 0.3033             | 0.2539         | 0.0494***        |
| Student                                      | 0.0504             | 0.0353         | 0.0151***        |
| Retired                                      | 0.0981             | 0.1451         | -0.0470***       |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 127,284            | 7,708,693      |                  |
| Farmer                                       | 0.0206             | 0.1430         | -0.1223***       |
| Business Owner                               | 0.0811             | 0.1145         | -0.0334***       |
| Higher managerial and intellectual position* | 0.0945             | 0.0507         | 0.0437***        |
| Middle managers                              | 0.1845             | 0.1091         | 0.0754***        |
| Employee                                     | 0.1950             | 0.1358         | 0.0592***        |
| Worker                                       | 0.2303             | 0.3154         | -0.0851***       |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 58,688             | 3,375,161      |                  |
| Worked in public administration              | 0.2879             | 0.0949         | 0.1930***        |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 66,715             | 4,360,232      |                  |
| Lives in the South                           | 0.6230             | 0.3316         | 0.2915***        |
| <i>Observations</i>                          | 192,526            | 10,939,341     |                  |

**Table:** First stage results

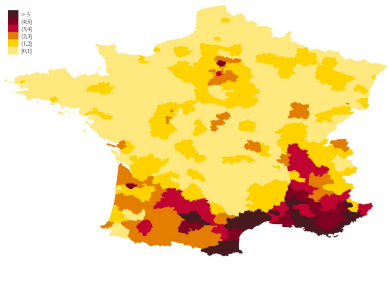
|   | Share of repatriates  |
|---|-----------------------|
| Predicted share of repatriates (Instrument) | 0.5624***<br>(0.0675) |
| Montiel-Pflueger F-statistic                | 69.35                 |
| Observations                                | 371                   |

Note: This table presents the first stage results of the two stages least square estimation (2SLS). I control for the share of immigrants in the native population, the shares of (skilled and unskilled) workers in the working population as well as the share of high educated French nationals, the population density, the unemployment rate, in 1962. I use the distribution of the French Algerians in 1954 to predict the share of repatriates in 1968. The regression was run in the parliamentary election sample. The results are unchanged in the presidential election sample. Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote significance at the 1 percent, 5 percent, and 10 percent level, respectively.

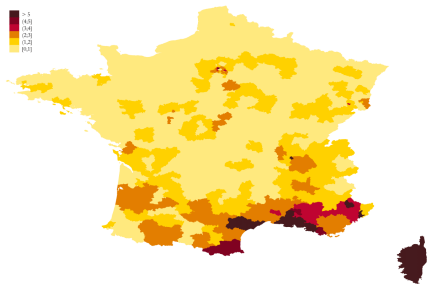
# COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ACTUAL AND PREDICTED SHARE OF REPATRIATES



**Figure:** Share of repatriates (in %)



**Figure:** Predicted share of repatriates (in %)

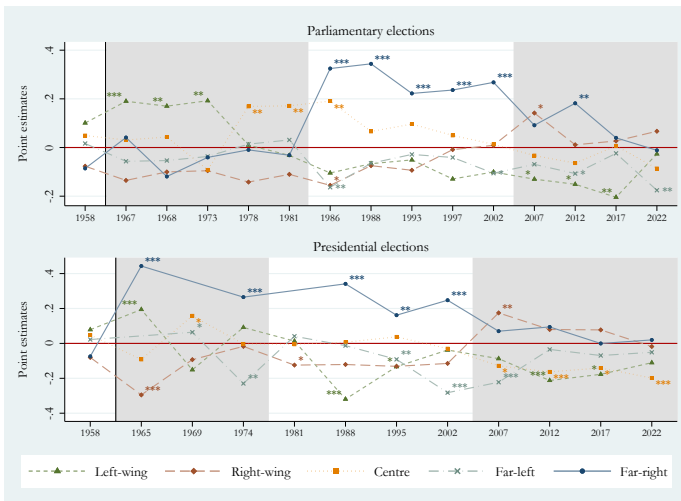


Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.

# INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLE ESTIMATION



**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on political outcomes



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.

# TIMELINE OF THE FRENCH FAR-RIGHT (1956 - 2017)

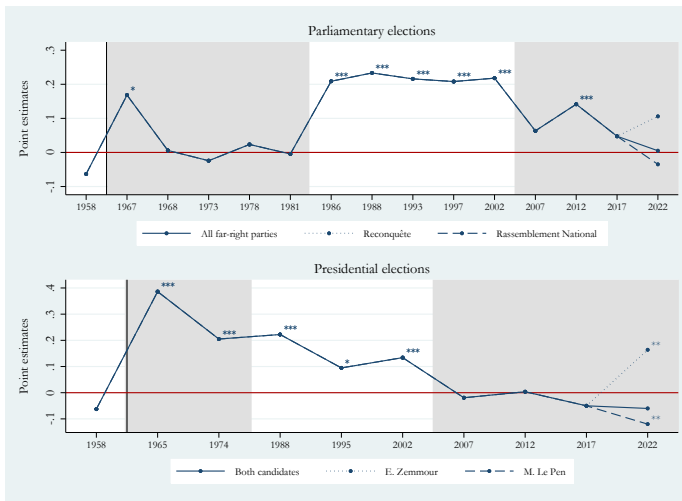


| Year | Number of electoral districts | Parliamentary elections      |   | Presidential elections       |                                |
|------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|      |                               | Far-right vote shares (in %) | Number of districts with at least one far-right candidate | Far-right vote shares (in %) | Number of far-right candidates |
| 1956 | 465                           | 11.83                        | 438   |                              |                                |
| 1958 | 465                           | 2.50                         | 208   |                              |                                |
| 1965 | 473                           |                              |   | 4.87                         | 1                              |
| 1967 | 473                           | 0.54                         | 68  |                              |                                |
| 1968 | 473                           | 0.08                         | 9   |                              |                                |
| 1969 | 473                           |                              |   | 0                            | 0                              |
| 1973 | 473                           | 0.61                         | 135   |                              |                                |
| 1974 | 473                           |                              |   | 0.72                         | 1                              |
| 1978 | 474                           | 0.75                         | 222   |                              |                                |
| 1981 | 474                           | 0.31                         | 109   | 0                            | 0                              |
| 1986 | 555                           | 9.47                         |   |                              |                                |
| 1988 | 555                           | 9.64                         | 546   | 13.82                        | 1                              |
| 1993 | 555                           | 12.28                        | 555   |                              |                                |
| 1995 | 555                           |                              |   | 15.97                        | 2                              |
| 1997 | 555                           | 14.60                        | 555   |                              |                                |
| 2002 | 555                           | 12.39                        | 555   | 18.71                        | 2                              |
| 2007 | 555                           | 4.70                         | 554   | 10.96                        | 2                              |
| 2012 | 539                           | 13.97                        | 539   | 18.52                        | 2                              |
| 2017 | 539                           | 14.77                        | 538   | 22.13                        | 2                              |
| 2022 | 539                           |                              |   | 32.28                        | 3                              |

Source: Own calculations. CDSP and French Ministry of the Interior.



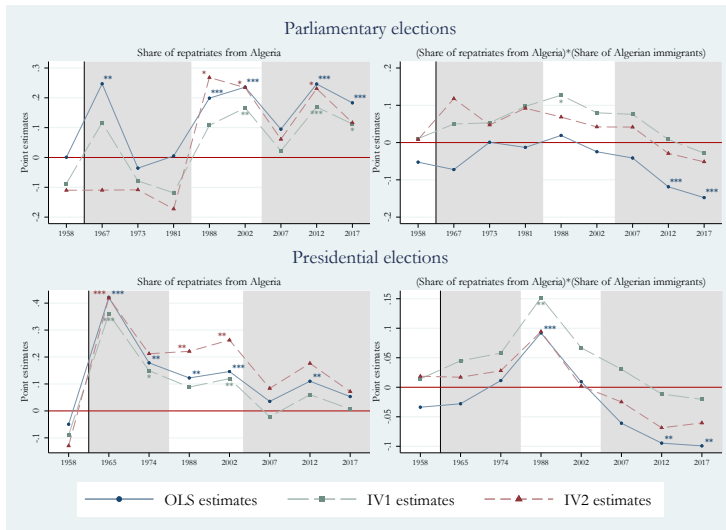
**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on vote shares for far-right presidential candidates



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



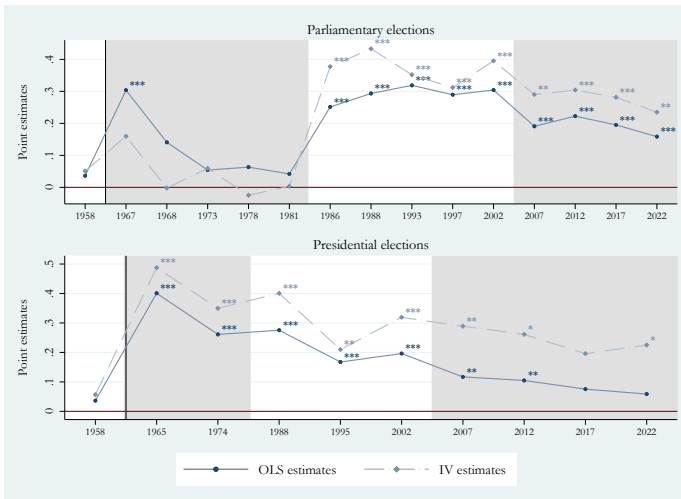
**Figure:** Effect of Algerian immigration and repatriation on far-right voting



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on far-right vote shares with regional dummies

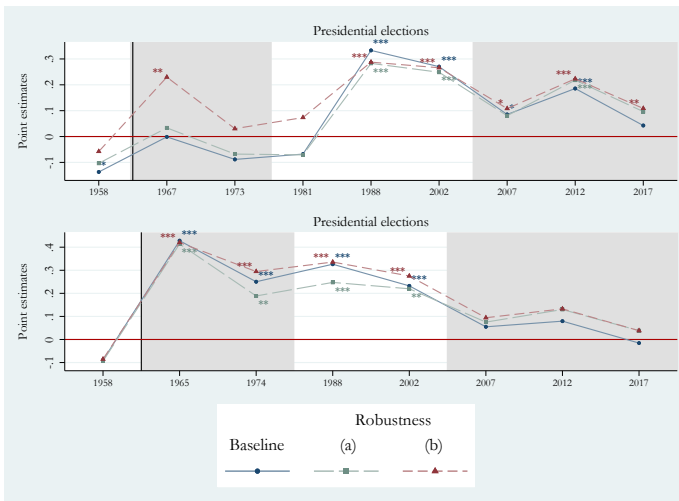


Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.





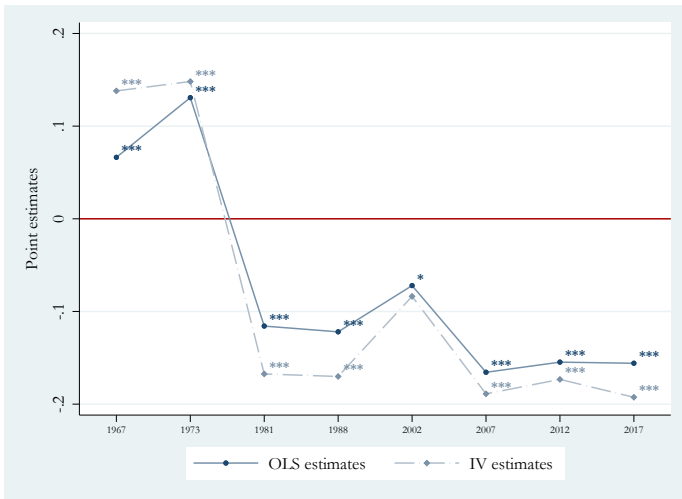
**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on far-right vote shares controlling for migration



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



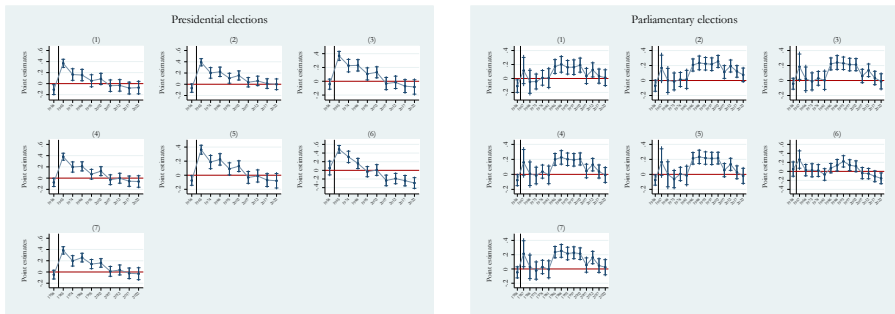
**Figure:** Correlation between the share of repatriate and native unemployment rate



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry.



**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on far-right voting leaving one region at a time

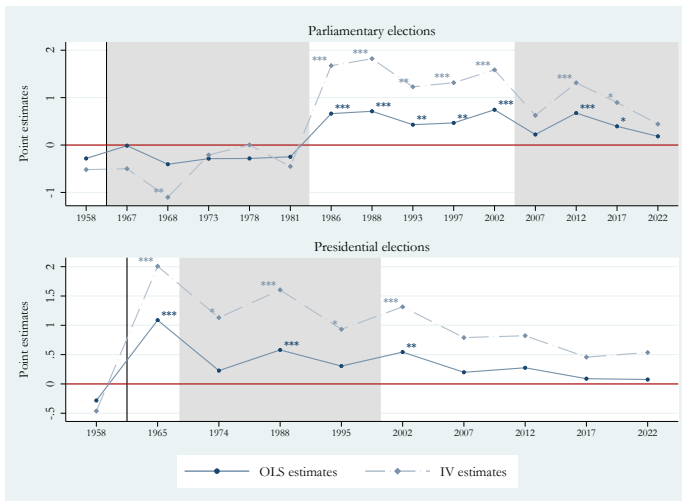


Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSF and the Interior Ministry.

# RESULTS WITH TREATMENT DUMMY



**Figure:** Effect of the 1968 settlement of repatriates from Algeria on vote shares for far-right presidential candidates



Sources: French censuses from 1962 and 1968. Electoral data from the CDSP and the Interior Ministry. The treatment dummies equals 1 if the share of repatriates in bigger than 3 percent.



**Table:** Opinions on the financial help to the repatriates by the French State

Since 1962, the French State has spent approximately 1,600 billion Francs to facilitate the resettlement of repatriates in France. This sum corresponds to approximately 10% of the French budget for this year. In your opinion, the State has made ...

|                          | ... too much ... | ... a sufficient ...<br>... financial effort for the repatriates. | ... an insufficient ... | No opinion |
|--------------------------|------------------|---|-------------------------|------------|
| Total                    | 18%              | 48%   | 16%                     | 18%        |
| <i>Political opinion</i> |                  |   |                         |            |
| Far left                 | 26%              | 42%   | 17%                     | 15%        |
| Left                     | 23%              | 49%   | 13%                     | 15%        |
| Centre                   | 15%              | 56%   | 19%                     | 10%        |
| Right                    | 13%              | 56%   | 16%                     | 15%        |
| Far right                | 19%              | 40%   | 19%                     | 22%        |
| No political opinion     | 16%              | 44%   | 16%                     | 24%        |

**Many repatriates abandoned their property in the territories they had to leave. In your opinion, what should the French State do?**

|                          | Fully compensate<br>all owners<br>of these assets. | Do not compensate anyone but<br>help repatriates to obtain<br>compensation from the countries<br>where they were living in. | Prioritize and fully compensate<br>help repatriates deprived<br>repatriates, while compensating<br>the others later and only partly. | Only compensate<br>the most<br>disadvantaged<br>repatriates. | No opinion |
|--------------------------|--|---|--|--|------------|
| Total                    | 7%   | 22%   | 23%  | 37%  | 11%        |
| <i>Political opinion</i> |  |   |  |  |            |
| Far left                 | 6%   | 19%   | 22%  | 48%  | 5%         |
| Left                     | 7%   | 19%   | 26%  | 43%  | 5%         |
| Centre                   | 6%   | 27%   | 37%  | 30%  | 0%         |
| Right                    | 9%   | 20%   | 24%  | 34%  | 13%        |
| Far right                | 14%  | 34%   | 17%  | 17%  | 18%        |
| No political opinion     | 6%   | 25%   | 19%  | 33%  | 17%        |

Source: Replication and translation from a Sofres survey carried out between May 6 and May 14, 1970 with a national sample of 1000 people - men and women - aged 21 and over.



**Table:** Effect of unemployment on far-right vote shares in 1956 and 1958

| VARIABLES                        | Far right vote shares |                     |                     |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                  | (1)                   | (2)                 | (3)                 |
| Unemployment rate                | -0.0206<br>(0.0143)   | -0.0140<br>(0.0157) | -0.0180<br>(0.0176) |
| Electoral district fixed effects | Yes                   | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Time fixed effects               | Yes                   | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Control variables                | No                    | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Area fixed effects               | No                    | No                  | Yes                 |
| Observations                     | 741                   | 741                 | 741                 |

Sources: 1954 and 1962 French censuses. 1956 election data digitalised from the *Liste des candidats aux élections législatives, 23-30 novembre 1958*. 1958 election data from the CDSP.

# CORRELATION BETWEEN THE 1968 REPATRIATION SHOCK AND NON-REPATRIATES' POLITICAL OPINIONS IN 2007



| VARIABLES                           | (1)<br>Political position | (2)<br>Far-right    | (3)<br>Right-wing   | (4)<br>Centre       | (5)<br>Left-wing    | (6)<br>Far-left    | (7)<br>Neither right, nor left-wing |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>AlgRepShare<sub>d,1968</sub></i> | 0.0075<br>(0.0091)        | -0.0005<br>(0.0006) | 0.0045*<br>(0.0025) | -0.0020<br>(0.0016) | -0.0031<br>(0.0026) | 0.0009<br>(0.0020) | 0.0002<br>(0.0026)                  |
| Observations                        | 7,368                     | 10,915              | 10,915              | 10,915              | 10,915              | 10,915             | 10,915                              |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>             | 0.035                     | 0.001               | 0.033               | 0.009               | 0.011               | 0.002              | 0.042                               |

Source: 1956 parliamentary election results, 1968 census and Teo survey.

Note: This table presents the estimated  $\beta$  from the following model:  $y_i = \alpha + \beta \text{AlgRepShare}_{d,1968} + \delta X_i^{\text{indiv}} + u_i$  where  $y_i$  is the interviewee's self-reported position on the political scale.  $X_i^{\text{indiv}}$  includes dummies for age, education, socio-professional category and employment status. I only include active voters in the sample, i.e. individuals who indicated having voted at the last election. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote significance at the 1 percent, 5 percent, and 10 percent level, respectively. The TeO has a clustered survey design. The sample is made up of persons residing in a municipality in the master sample and identified in the 2007 annual census survey (EAR). Throughout the analysis, I account for a potential dependence of observations within the same sampling units by clustering the standard errors accordingly. Since sampling districts are very small, there are several hundred clusters.



- I compare the electoral results in the
  - ▶ 1956 parliamentary elections and
  - ▶ the answers of the non-repatriate voters to the TeO political opinion question in 2007
 at the regional level.
- I estimate  $\beta$  in the following specification:

$$y_{rt} = \beta \text{AlgRepShare}_{rt} + \gamma X_{r,1962} + \lambda_r + \tau_t + \epsilon_{rt} \quad (3)$$

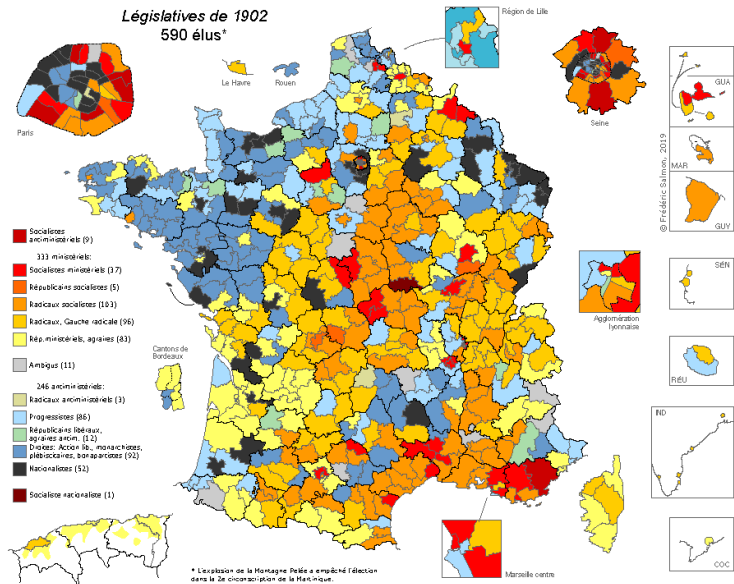
**Table:** Impact of the repatriation shock on non-repatriates' political opinions

| VARIABLES                       | Far-right<br>(1)  | Right-wing<br>(2)   | Centre<br>(3)      | Left-wing<br>(4)  | Far-left<br>(5)   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| OLS estimates                   |                   |                     |                    |                   |                   |
| <i>AlgRepShare<sub>rt</sub></i> | -0.010<br>(0.013) | 0.116***<br>(0.030) | -0.056*<br>(0.032) | -0.018<br>(0.034) | -0.002<br>(0.025) |
| IV estimates                    |                   |                     |                    |                   |                   |
| <i>AlgRepShare<sub>rt</sub></i> | -0.012<br>(0.013) | 0.113***<br>(0.032) | -0.057*<br>(0.034) | -0.011<br>(0.055) | -0.000<br>(0.026) |
| Observations                    | 42                |                     |                    |                   |                   |
| Number of regions               | 21                |                     |                    |                   |                   |
| Kleibergen-Papp F-statistic     | 23.92             |                     |                    |                   |                   |

Source: 1956 parliamentary election results, 1968 census and Teo survey.



# RESULTS OF THE 1902 PARLIAMETARY ELECTION



Source: Frédéric Salmon.