HOLY COW! RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE, CATTLE MARKETS AND SOCIAL COSTS IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

- We study how religious violence breaks down markets in India
- Rise in Hindu nationalism coincided with violence in the last decade
 Cow-vigilante groups attacked people (mostly Muslims) suspected of trading cattle for slaughter, or eating beef
- We establish the links between (1) violence and cattle market disruption and (2) market disruption and rural households' abandoning cattle, and (3) document the social costs of violence: human deaths and externalities
- Using the geographical and temporal variation in violence, we show that in the affected regions:
- 1. Violence caused more than 10% fall in household cattle holdings
- 2. Increased cattle abandonment caused an alarming 200% increase in road accidents due to stray cattle
- 3. Farmers self-report extensive crop loss from marauding stray cattle

COW AND RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE IN INDIA

- Members of the Hindu community, the majority religion, hold cows sacred
- Cattle slaughter laws vary across states. India is the 3^{rd} largest beef exporter and hosts a robust informal (but illegal) cattle trade market
- Recent rise in Hindu cow-vigilante violence to "protect cows" from slaughter
- Persons suspected of cattle trade, slaughter, and eating beef attacked
- Cow-vigilante violence reported in newspapers (data by Indiaspend.com)
 133 incidents in 101 districts; 44 people killed out of which 39 are Muslims

RISE AND SPREAD OF VIOLENCE



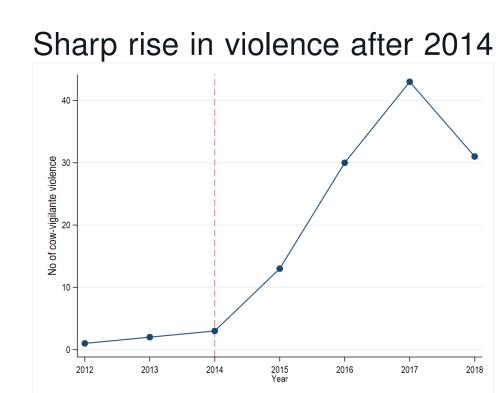
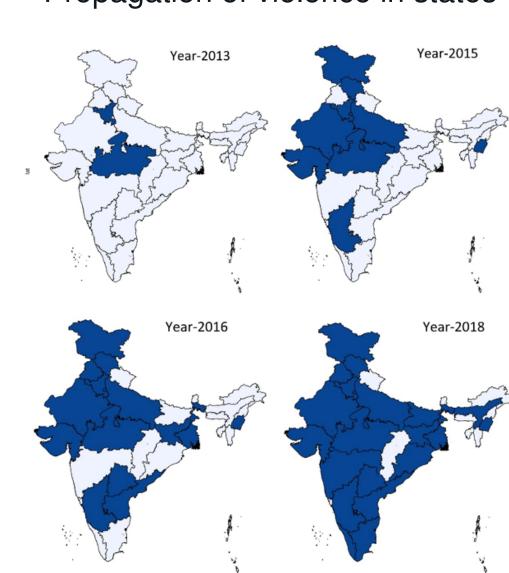


Figure on the right: Blue color depicts states experiencing violence before the specified year



VIOLENCE DISRUPTS CATTLE MARKETS

- Due to fear of violence households and traders unable to trade unproductive cattle \Rightarrow breakdown of cattle market. We statistically test three relationships
- 1. Households will abandon the unproductive cattle \Rightarrow rise in stray cattle
- 2. Loss in value of cows \Rightarrow decrease in stock of cattle owned by HH
- 3. Stray cattle and associated rural externalities (crop losses)

1.1 GRANULAR DATA AND EVENT STUDY DESIGN

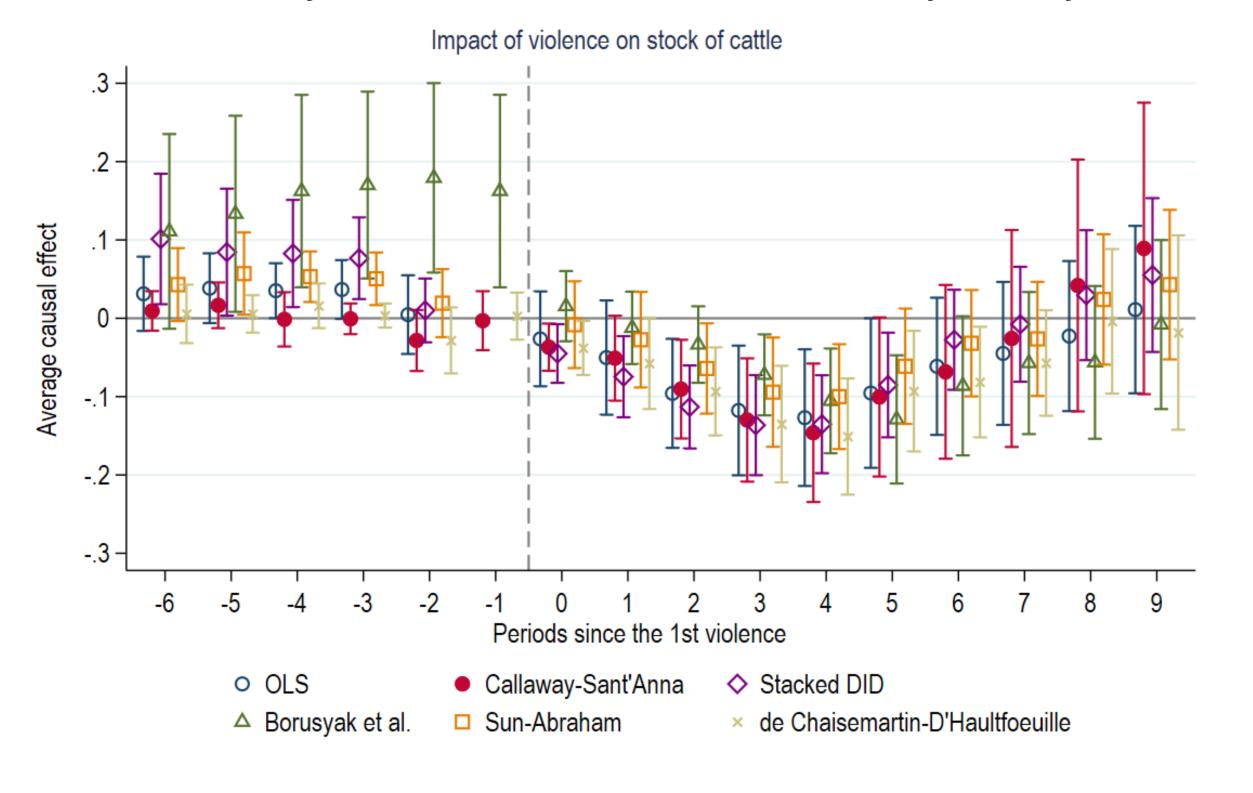
- Data: Consumer Pyramid Household panel (CPHS) survey
 - Representative panel survey of more than 1.5 lacs HHs across India
 - Each HH surveyed three times in a year with a gap of 4 months
 - We use 18 waves (periods) from January-2014 to December-2019
 - Half of the rural HH's are in the violence experiencing regions
- Empirical specification: Two-way fixed effects estimation

$$y_{ijt} = \alpha_i + \beta_t + \sum_{\tau = -K}^{L} \gamma_{\tau} D_{jt}^{\tau} + \epsilon_{ijt}$$

 y_{ijt} : no. of cattle owned by the household i in HR j and wave t (in logs). $\tau=0$ is the period of 1^{st} violence and D_{jt}^{τ} is a dummy for τ waves from HR j's treatment. α_i and β_t : HH and wave FE

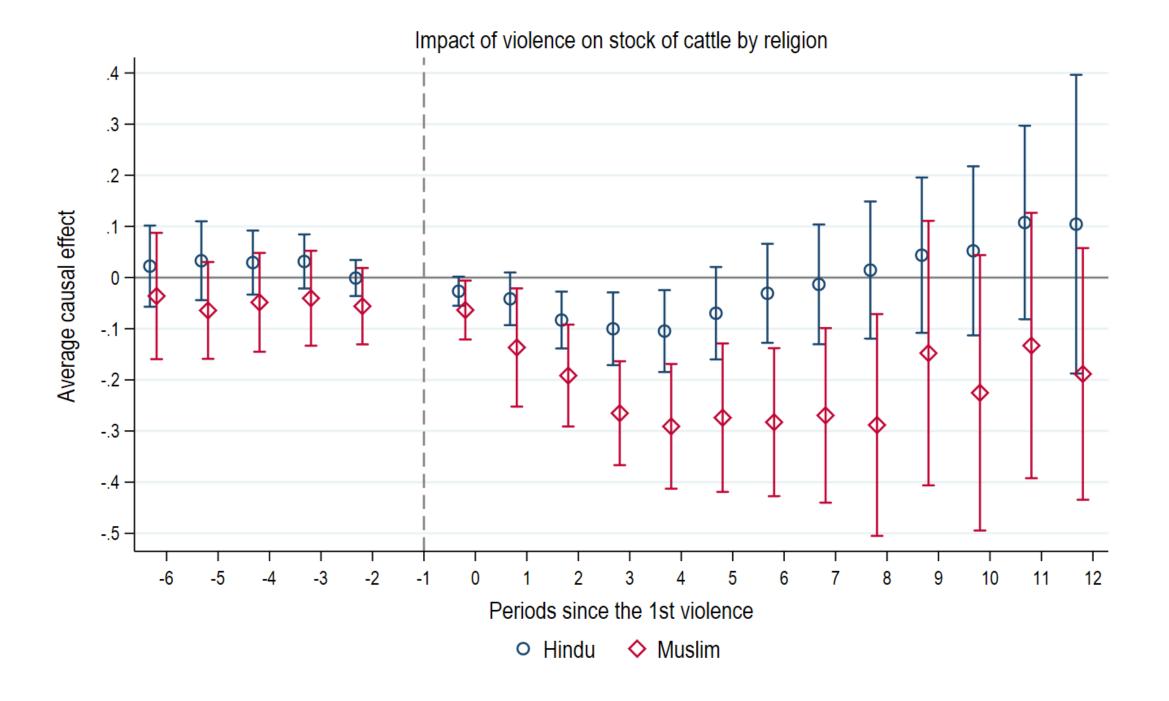
1.2 VIOLENCE CAUSED FALL IN CATTLE STOCKS

Cattle stocks fall by 10-15% after the violence with a recovery in later years



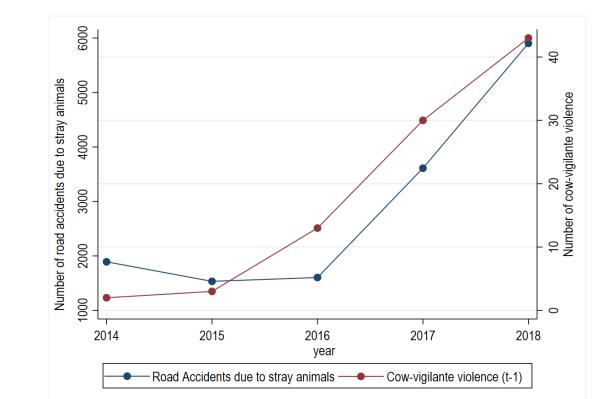
1.3 ADVERSE EFFECT ON MUSLIMS

Persistent and larger negative effect on Muslims (compared to Hindus)



2.1 SOCIAL COSTS: ROAD ACCIDENTS

Steep rise in violence precedes rise in accidents with stray animals



- We use road accidents due to collision with stray animals as a proxy for stray cattle
- Road accidents due to stray animals increased three times between 2014-2018
- → increased stray cattle; other road accidents falling

2.2 STRAY CATTLE: DATA & METHOD

- Datasets: (1) Annual state level road accidents reports 2014-18 (2) Historical Hindu-Muslim violence (1950-2000)
- Empirical Strategy:

$$y_{st} = \alpha + \beta violence_{s,t-1} + \gamma_s + \tau_t + \epsilon_{st}$$

 y_{st} : Number of accidents due to collision with stray animals, state s & year t. γ_s and τ_t : State & Year FE. $violence_{st}$: vigilante violence in state s & year t.

• Identification using a **Bartik instrument** (historical Hindu-Muslim violence)

2.3 ROAD ACCIDENTS, DEATHS & INJURIES

Violence cause increased road accidents, human deaths and injuries

Accidents	Death	Death + Injury	Accidents	Death	Death + Injury
IV estimates					
150.9***	70.14***	184.9***			
(52.85)	(27.05)	(71.66)			
Violence in t -1(dummy)	,	, ,	482.2**	261.5**	689.1**
			(226.6)	(123.2)	(329.4)
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
178	178	178	178	178	178
	150.9*** (52.85)	(52.85) (27.05) Yes Yes	IV esting 150.9*** 70.14*** 184.9*** (52.85) (27.05) (71.66) Yes Yes Yes	IV estimates 150.9*** 70.14*** 184.9*** (52.85) (27.05) (71.66) 482.2** (226.6) Yes Yes Yes Yes	IV estimates 150.9*** 70.14*** 184.9*** (52.85) (27.05) (71.66) 482.2** 261.5** (226.6) (123.2) Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes

3. CROP LOSSES FOR FARMERS

- We conducted a primary survey in parts of rural Rajasthan
- 211 farming households in 23 villages of 5 districts
- Large reported economic costs in affected regions (compared to control)
 - 1. 44% higher reported risk of crop loss due to stray cattle
- 2. Twice the number of precautionary measures to protect crops
- 3. Higher monetary cost of precautions to protect the crops

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