

# MIGRATION AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT (PSCI-799-1302)

Prof. Guy Grossman

Fall 2022

Date updated: 08/17/2022

Class Hours: Fridays 1:45-4:45p

Class Room: Fisher - Bennett Hall, room 222

Office Hours: Mondays 2-3 & by appt.

Office: Perelman Center for Political Science and Economics #434

Office Hours Sign-Up: [calendly.com/ggros](https://calendly.com/ggros)

E-mail: [ggros@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:ggros@sas.upenn.edu)

url: <https://guygrossman.com>

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## Blurb

This is a graduate level course on the political economy of immigration and forced displacement. The course covers some seminal work, but mostly cutting edge research on the political and economics aspects of the “movement of people” across borders. The course is split into two main sections. The first section covers the political economy of migration in sending countries. Here we ask questions such as, why do people migrate? If migration is beneficial, why don’t more people do it? Who migrates? How do migrants choose a destination? What is the evidence of climate migration? And, what are the effects of migration on sending countries and communities?

The second section examines the political economy of migration in destination countries. Here we will analyze potential pull factors (including asylum and refugee policies), survey theories of integration and assimilation, and more broadly, explore the determinants of public opinion with respect to migrants and refugees. We will also explore natives’ behavior toward migrants (including hate crime and hate speech), and whether voting is sensitive to ‘migrant exposure.’

While a political economy approach anchors the course theoretically, we will also touch upon human rights aspects of displacement, including the relationship between migration and conflict as well as human trafficking. Students will be exposed to a wide range of literature focused on both developed and developing countries.

## Course Requirements

### 1. **Class attendance:** 5%

- You are expected to attend all seminar sessions. Though I naturally understand that students may miss 1-2 classes due to traveling, illness, important errands, etc., I will not pass a student who misses 4 sessions, or more.

### 2. **Active participation and preparedness:** 10%

- The Syllabus lists required reading that we will go over in class. You will be expected to have completed all the required readings before class to the point where you can be called on to critique or defend any reading.

### 3. **Presentations:** 20% (2 × 5 points each)

- To further facilitate participation, students will choose 2 reading to present to the class during the semester. Presenting students will introduce the reading's puzzle (if there is one), theory, and empirics and offer 1-2 critiques of the reading.

### 4. **Reading response reports:** 15% (3 × 5 points each)

- Each student will be required to write three short reading response reports (no longer than 4-5 pages) over the course of the term. These papers should engage the debates presented in at least one (but preferably more than one) of the readings for the week. The response notes should be thought pieces and will be used to help structure class discussions. All reports must be emailed to me by 4p, the day before our seminar meets. Responses should summarize in an opening paragraph the core arguments and findings of the discussed paper(s) and then critique key aspects of the theoretical argument and/or empirical results. Ideally, a good response note should also identify possible extensions for future work and how the discussed papers complement each other. Reports are important part of your professionalization, as they mimic journal reviews. You cannot write a response on a paper you are anyway presenting.

### 5. **Final Paper:** 50%

- Students will complete a final 20-25 pages (double spaced) research paper.
- Alternatively students can submit a research proposal in the style of an NSF dissertation improvement grant (40%). The proposal should clearly define the research question and why it is important; discuss the relevant literature; outline the core argument; provide preliminary evidence and discuss a research plan for testing the argument.
- Students will be expected to present their final project (10%). They will do an APSA style (15-minutes) presentation and then the class will provide them feedback and ask questions for 10 minutes. Students will be strongly encouraged to incorporate feedback from the presentation in their final paper / research proposal.

## Logistics

### Office Hours

Please sign up to office hours (in-person or over Zoom). Outside of office hours, I will be busy doing other parts of my job (writing scientific papers, applying for grants, supervising graduate students, serving on faculty committees, writing tenure assessment letters etc.). Office hours are the time I have set aside to focus on you personally. Even if you don't have specific questions, the interactions generated during a good office hour discussion should help clear up any confusion you might have on a topic. To sign up for office hours, please use [calendly.com/ggros](https://calendly.com/ggros).

### Communication

I will communicate with the class via Slack, Canvas and email. I will be setting up a Slack workspace where students can communicate more easily (with me and with each other), share papers and related newspaper articles, etc. As for email, I prefer that course related communication takes place from within Canvas. Please be certain that your UPenn email address is an email address you check on a frequent basis. Please consult the syllabus and Canvas before contacting me; the odds are good that any question about deadlines, grades, or class assignments are already answered in the syllabus, or on the course Canvas website.

### Grade policy

Your course grade is determined according to the following scale:

A+ (4.0): 96-100	C (2.0): 69-71
A (4.0): 91-95	C- (1.7): 66-68
A- (3.7): 86-90	D+ (1.3): 65-67
B+ (3.3): 81-85	D (1.0): 62-64
B (3.0): 78-80	D- (0.7): 60-61
B- (2.7): 75-77	F (0): below 60
C+ (2.3): 72-74	

- The grade you earn is the grade you will receive in this course. Grades are not negotiable and I do not award points on the basis of your intention to do well. The only thing that matters in determining your grade is your performance in the course.
- Every effort will be made to grade fairly and impartially; however, mistakes sometimes occur. If you have a serious reservation about how you have been graded, write a comprehensive description of the mistake as you see it. Re-grade requests will only be accepted within a week after the return of the graded work.

### Etiquette

Please be considerate of your fellow students: arrive to class on time, take notes of what has been discussed, and do not leave the session early unless absolutely necessary. Turn off cell phones during lectures.

## **Accommodation for students with disabilities**

The University of Pennsylvania encourages the full participation of students with disabilities. Students with disabilities are encouraged to discuss special accommodations that may be needed for successful participation in this course. Specifically, the University accommodates students with disabilities who have registered with the [Office of Student Disabilities Service](#). Students must register with the Student Disabilities Services (SDS) to be granted special accommodations for any on-going conditions. For more information on the services that you are entitled to, please refer to the following [guide](#).

## **Policy on Children in Class (adopted from Dr. Melissa Cheyney's Syllabus)**

Currently, the university does not have a formal policy on children in the classroom. The policy described here is thus, a reflection of my own beliefs and commitments to students who happen to also be parents.

1. Babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary to support feeding relationship (breast-feeding or via bottle). Because not all people/parents can pump sufficient milk, and not all babies will take a bottle reliably, I never want students to feel like they have to choose between feeding their baby and continuing their education. You and your baby are welcome in class anytime.
2. For older children and babies, I understand that minor illnesses and unforeseen disruptions in childcare often put parents in the position of having to choose between missing class to stay home with a child and leaving them with someone you or the child does not feel comfortable with. While this is not meant to be a long-term childcare solution, occasionally bringing a child to class in order to cover gaps in care is perfectly acceptable.
3. I ask that all students work with me to create a welcoming environment that is respectful of all forms of diversity, including diversity in parenting status.
4. In all cases where babies and children come to class, I ask that you sit close to the door so that if your little one needs special attention and is disrupting learning for other students, you may step outside until their need has been met. Non-parents in the class, please reserve seats near the door for your parenting classmates.
5. Finally, I understand that often the largest barrier to completing your coursework once you become a parent is the tiredness many parents feel in the evening once children have finally gone to sleep. The struggles of balancing school and childcare are exhausting! I hope that you will feel comfortable disclosing your student-parent status to me. This is the first step in me being able to accommodate any special needs that arise. While I maintain the same high expectations for all students in my classes regardless of parenting status, I am happy to problem solve with you in a way that makes you feel supported as you strive for school-parenting balance.

## **Religious Accommodation**

The University accommodates students whose religious obligations conflict with attendance, submitting assignments, or completing scheduled tests and examinations. Please notify me in the

first week of class if you will require any accommodation on these grounds. For more information, please refer to the Penn's Policy on Religious Holidays.

### **Policy on Academic Misconduct**

Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. As outlined in the Student Handbook, "cheating" and "plagiarism" will result in severe disciplinary action. Either offense will be grounds for receiving a failing grade (zero points) on the assignment or examination and possibly an "F" for the course, depending on the severity of the offense.

### **Course material**

Class readings are available electronically through the class website on Canvas.

## Class Schedule

### Lecture 1: Course Introduction (Sep 2, 2022)

#### Learning objectives:

- Set course expectations / go over the syllabus
- Migration definitions and historical and recent trends
- Legal obligations of states, and the institutional makeup of the refugee regime
- Grapple with the distinction between “refugees” and “migrants.” Should “refugees” be more deserving of protection than “migrants”?

#### Required readings:

1. Crawley, Heaven, and Dimitris Skleparis. (2018). “Refugees, migrants, neither, both: Categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe’s ‘migration crisis’.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(1): 48-64.
2. Abramitzky, Ran and Leah Platt Boustan (2022). “Streets of Gold: America’s Untold story of Immigrant Success,” chapter 1, pp. 1–16.
3. McKenzie, David (2022). “Fears and Tears: Should More People Be Moving within and from Developing Countries, and What Stops This Movement?” *World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper* 10128.
4. Fransen, Sonja, and Hein De Haas. (2022). “Trends and Patterns of Global Refugee Migration.” *Population and Development Review* 48(1): 97-128.

#### Suggested readings:

- UNHCR global trends 2020 at <https://bit.ly/3PWstVL>
- Betts, Alexander. (2011). *Protection by persuasion: International cooperation in the refugee regime*. Cornell University Press (Introduction chapter).
- Bakewell, Oliver. (2011). “Conceptualising displacement and migration: Processes, conditions, and categories.” *The migration-displacement nexus: Patterns, processes, and policies* 32:14.
- Erdal, Marta Bivand, and Ceri Oeppen. (2018). “Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6): 981-998.
- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. (2014). “The international law of refugee protection.” *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies*, pages 36-47.
- Mourad, Lama, and Kelsey P. Norman. (2020). “Transforming refugees into migrants: institutional change and the politics of international protection.” *European Journal of International Relations* 26(3): 687-713.

## Source countries

### Lecture 2: Economic and social theories of migration (Sep 9, 2022)

#### Learning objectives:

- Why do people choose to migrate? What do we know about who migrates?
- What is the relationship between household wealth and migration choice?

#### Required readings:

1. Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. (1993) "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.
2. Docquier, Frédéric, Giovanni Peri, and Ilse Ruysen. (2014). "The cross-country determinants of potential and actual migration." *International Migration Review* 48(1): 37-99.
3. Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. (2012). "Europe's tired, poor, huddled masses: Self-selection and economic outcomes in the age of mass migration." *American Economic Review* 102(5): 1832-56.
4. Bazzi, Samuel. (2017) "Wealth heterogeneity and the income elasticity of migration." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9(2): 219-55.

#### Suggested readings:

- Bauernschuster, Stefan, Oliver Falck, Stephan Heblich, Jens Suedekum, and Alfred Lameli. (2014). "Why are educated and risk-loving persons more mobile across regions?." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 98: 56-69.
- Borjas, George J. (1989). "Economic theory and international migration." *International Migration Review*, 23(3): 457-485
- Borjas, George J. (2014). *Immigration Economics*, Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Clemens, Michael A. (2020). "The Emigration Life Cycle: How Development Shapes Emigration from Poor Countries", *CGD Working Paper* 540.
- Clemens, Michael A. and Mariapia Mendola. (2020) "Migration from Developing Countries: Selection, Income Elasticity and Simpson's Paradox." *Centro Studi Luca d'Agliano Development Studies Working Paper* 465 .
- Docquier, Frederic, and Hillel Rapoport. (2012). Globalization, brain drain, and development." *Journal of Economic Literature* 50(3): 681-730.
- Dustmann, Christian, and Joseph-Simon Görlach. (2016). "The economics of temporary migrations." *Journal of Economic Literature* 54(1): 98-136.
- Grogger, Jeffrey, and Gordon H. Hanson. (2011). "Income maximization and the selection and sorting of international migrants." *Journal of Development Economics* 95(1): 42-57.
- Hatton, Timothy J. and Jeffrey G. Williamson (2005). "Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance."

### Lecture 3: Migration drivers I: Climate (Sept 16, 2022)

#### Learning objectives:

- how do migration-driving factors operate in time and space?
- Is climate change inducing displacement? If so – how and why?

#### Required readings:

1. Czaika, Mathias, and Constantin Reinprecht. (2020). "Drivers of migration: A synthesis of knowledge." *IMI Working Paper Series* 163: 1-45.
2. Cattaneo, Cristina, et al. (2019). Human migration in the era of climate change. *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 13(2): 189-206.
3. Hoffmann, Roman, Barbora Šedová, and Kira Vinke. (2021). "Improving the evidence base: A methodological review of the quantitative climate migration literature." *Global Environmental Change* 71: 102367.
4. Petrova, Kristina. (2021). "Natural hazards, internal migration and protests in Bangladesh." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(1): 33-49.

#### Suggested readings:

- Abel, Guy J., Michael Brottrager, Jesus Crespo Cuaresma, and Raya Muttarak. (2019). "Climate, conflict and forced migration." *Global Environmental Change* 54: 239-249.
- Bohra-Mishra, Pratikshya, Michael Oppenheimer, and Solomon M. Hsiang. (2014). "Non-linear permanent migration response to climatic variations but minimal response to disasters." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(27): 9780-9785.
- Burzynski, Michal, Frederic Docquier, and Hendrik Scheewel. (2020). "The Geography of Climate Migration." *Working Paper*.
- Cattaneo, Cristina, and Giovanni Peri. (2016). "The migration response to increasing temperatures." *Journal of Development Economics* 122: 127-146.
- Mach, Katharine J., Caroline M. Kraan, W. Neil Adger, Halvard Buhaug, Marshall Burke, James D. Fearon, Christopher B. Field, Cullen S. Hendrix, Jean-Francois Maystadt, John O'Loughlin, Philip Roessler, Jurgen Scheffran, Kenneth A. Schultz and Nina von Uexkull. (2019). "Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict." *Nature* 571(7764): 193-197.
- Koubi, Vally, Quynh Nguyen, Gabriele Spilker, and Tobias Bohmelt. (2021). "Environmental migrants and social-movement participation." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(1): 18-32.
- Spitzer, Yannay, Gaspare Tortorici, and Ariell Zimran. (2020) "International Migration Responses to Natural Disasters: Evidence from Modern Europe's Deadliest Earthquake." *National Bureau of Economic Research* No. w27506.
- Swapan, Mohammad Shahidul Hasan, and Saalem Sadeque. (2021). "Place attachment in natural hazard-prone areas and decision to relocate: Research review and agenda for developing countries." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 52: 101937.



## Lecture 4: Migration drivers II: Conflict (Sept 23, 2021)

### Learning objectives:

- How and why does conflict induce displacement?
- What explains variation in displacement patterns following civil wars?
- Does gang violence contribute to forced displacement?

### Required readings:

1. Müller Funk, Lea. (2019). Adapting to staying, or imagining futures elsewhere: Migration decision-making of Syrian refugees in Turkey."
2. Clemens, Michael A. (2021). "Violence, development, and migration waves: Evidence from Central American child migrant apprehensions." *Journal of Urban Economics* 124: 103355.
3. Lichtenheld, Adam G. (2020). "Explaining population displacement strategies in civil wars: a cross-national analysis." *International Organization* 74(2): 253-294.
4. Balcells, Laia, and Abbey Steele. (2016). "Warfare, political identities, and displacement in Spain and Colombia." *Political Geography* 51: 15-29.

### Suggested readings:

- Adhikari, Prakash. (2013) "Conflict-induced displacement, understanding the causes of flight." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 82-89.
- Basu, Sukanya, and Sarah Pearlman. (2017). "Violence and migration: evidence from Mexico's drug war." *IZA Journal of Development and Migration* 7(1): 1-29.
- Bohra-Mishra, Pratikshya, and Douglas S. Massey. (2011). "Individual decisions to migrate during civil conflict." *Demography* 48(2): 401-424.
- Davenport, Christian, Will Moore, and Steven Poe. (2003). "Sometimes you just have to leave: Domestic threats and forced migration, 1964-1989." *International Interactions* 29(1): 27-55.
- Shellman, Stephen M., and Brandon M. Stewart. (2007). "Predicting risk factors associated with forced migration: An early warning model of Haitian flight." *Civil Wars* 9(2): 174-199.
- Tai, Xiao Hui, Shikhar Mehra, and Joshua E. Blumenstock. (2022). "Mobile phone data reveal the effects of violence on internal displacement in Afghanistan." *Nature Human Behaviour* 6(5): 624-634.
- Orozco-Aleman, Sandra, and Heriberto Gonzalez-Lozano. (2018) "Drug violence and migration flows lessons from the Mexican drug war." *Journal of Human Resources* 53(3): 717-749.
- Uzonyi, Gary. (2014). "Unpacking the effects of genocide and politicide on forced migration." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31(3): 225-243.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. (2015). "Population resettlement in war: Theory and evidence from Soviet archives." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1155-1185.

**Lecture 5: Destination choice, migration timing, and immobility (Sept 30, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- How do migrants and refugees decide *if*, *where*, and *when* to go?
- How and why networks play in destination choice?

**Required readings:**

1. Schewel, Kerilyn. (2020). "Understanding immobility: Moving beyond the mobility bias in migration studies." *International Migration Review* 54(2):328–355.
2. Peters, Margaret and Alisha Holland. (2020). "Political Information, Opportunities, and Migration Timing." *International Organization* 74(3): 560–583.
3. Fitzgerald, Jennifer, David Leblang and Jessica C. Teets. (2014). "Defying the Law of Gravity: The Political Economy of International Migration." *World Politics* 66(3):406–445.
4. Blair, Christopher W., Guy Grossman and Jeremy Weinstein. (2022). "Liberal Displacement Policies Attract Forced Migrants in the Global South." *American Political Science Review* 116(1): 351–358.
5. Blumenstock, Joshua Evan, Guanghua Chi, and Xu Tan. (2021). "Migration and the value of social networks." *Review of Economic Studies* (forthcoming).

**Suggested readings:**

- Bertoli, Simone, and Ilse Ruysen. (2018). "Networks and migrants? intended destination." *Journal of Economic Geography* 18(4): 705–728.
- Czaika, Mathias, and Constantin Reinprecht. (2022). "Why do people stay put in environmentally stressful regions? Cognitive bias and heuristics in migration decision-making." *Regional Environmental Change* 22(3): 1-12.
- Freibel, Guido, Juan Miguel Gallego and Mariapia Mendola. (2013). "Xenophobic attacks, migration intentions, and networks: evidence from the South of Africa." *Journal of Population Economics* 26(2):555–591.
- Mayda, Anna Maria. (2010). "International migration: A panel data analysis of the determinants of bilateral flows." *Journal of Population Economics* 23(4): 1249–1274.
- Laughlin, Benjamin. (2019). "Cell Phones, Rumors, and Internal Displacement in Civil War." *Working Paper*.
- Ruegger, Seraina and Heidrun Bohnet. (2018). "The Ethnicity of Refugees: A new dataset for understanding flight patterns." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35(1):65–88.
- Moore, Will H., and Stephen M. Shellman. (2007). "Whither will they go? A global study of refugees' destinations, 1965–1995." *International Studies Quarterly* 51(4): 811-834.
- Munshi, Kaivan. (2020). "Social Networks and Migration." *Annual Review of Economics* 12: 503-524.

**Lecture 6: Deterrence (October 14, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- What tools destination countries' use to affect migration flows?
- Do 'Development-at-place', and aid reduce migration?

**Required readings:**

1. Kent, Jonathan, Kelsey P. Norman, and Katherine H. Tennis. (2020). "Changing motivations or capabilities? Migration deterrence in the global context." *International Studies Review* 22(4): 853-878.
2. Czaika, Mathias, and Mogens Hobolth. (2016). "Do restrictive asylum and visa policies increase irregular migration into Europe?." *European Union Politics* 17(3): 345–365.
3. Schon, Justin, and David Leblang. (2021). "Why physical barriers backfire: How immigration enforcement deters return and increases asylum applications." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(14): 2611-2652.
4. Murat, Marina. (2020). "Foreign aid, bilateral asylum immigration and development." *Journal of Population Economics* 33(1): 79–114.

**Suggested readings:**

- Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, and Thitima Puttitanun. (2016). "DACA and the Surge in Unaccompanied Minors at the US–Mexico Border." *International Migration* 54(4): 102-117.
- Bermeo, Sarah Blodgett, and David Leblang. (2015). "Migration and foreign aid." *International Organization* 69(3): 627-657.
- Clemens, Michael and Hannah Postal. (2018). "Deterring emigration with foreign aid: an overview of evidence from low-income countries" *Population and Development Review* 44(4): 667–693.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, and Sarah Langlotz. (2019). "The effects of foreign aid on refugee flows." *European Economic Review* 112: 127-147.
- De Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. (2016). "Growing restrictiveness or changing selection? The nature and evolution of migration policies." *International Migration Review*.
- Flores, Fernanda Martanez. (2020). "The Effects of Enhanced Enforcement at Mexico's Southern Border: Evidence from Central American Deportees." *Demography* 57: 1597–1623.
- Hatton, Timothy J. (2009). "The rise and fall of asylum: What happened and why?" *The Economic Journal* 119(535): F183-F213.
- Helbling, Marc, and Leblang, David. (2019). "Controlling immigration? How regulations affect migration flows." *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(1): 248–269.

**Lecture 7: Migration effect on sending communities (October 21, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- What are the social, economic and political effects on sending countries and communities?

**Required readings:**

1. Joseph, George, Qiao Wang, Gnanaraj Chellaraj, Emcet O. Tas, Luis Alberto Andres, Syed Usman Javaid, and Irudaya S. Rajan. (2022). "Beyond Money: Does Migration Experience Transfer Gender Norms? Empirical Evidence from Kerala, India."
2. Docquier, Frederic, Elisabetta Lodigiani, Hillel Rapoport and Maurice Schiff. (2016). "Emigration and Democracy." *Journal of Development Economics* 120: 209–223.
3. Peters, Margaret E., and Michael K. Miller. (2022). "Emigration and Political Contestation." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1): sqab088.
4. Lim, Junghyun. (2022). "The Electoral Consequences of International Migration in Sending Countries: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*.

**Suggested readings:**

- Batista, Catia, Julia Seither, and Pedro C. Vicente. (2019). "Do migrant social networks shape political attitudes and behavior at home?." *World Development* 117: 328-343.
- Barsbai, Toman, Hillel Rapoport, Andreas Steinmayr, and Christoph Trebesch. (2017). "The effect of labor migration on the diffusion of democracy: evidence from a former Soviet Republic." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9(3): 36-69.
- Escriba-Folch, Abel, Covadonga Meseguer, and Joseph Wright. (2018). "Remittances and protest in dictatorships." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(4): 889-904.
- Dinkelman, Taryn, and Martine Mariotti. (2016). "The long-run effects of labor migration on human capital formation in communities of origin." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 8(4): 1–35.
- Ivlevs, Artjoms, Milena Nikolova, and Carol Graham. (2019). "Emigration, remittances, and the subjective well-being of those staying behind." *Journal of Population Economics* 32(1): 113–151.
- Krawatzek, Félix, and Lea Müller-Funk. (2020). "Two centuries of flows between 'here' and 'there': Political remittances and their transformative potential." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46(6): 1003-1024.
- Murard, Elie. (2019). "The impact of migration on family left behind: estimation in presence of intra-household selection of migrants." *Working Paper*.
- Perez-Armendariz, Clarisa, and David Crow. (2010). "Do migrants remit democracy? International migration, political beliefs, and behavior in Mexico." *Comparative political studies* 43(1): 119-148.

**Lecture 8: Diaspora and returnees (October 28, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- What are the political implications of returnees, if at all?
- Does the diaspora export back ideas, practices, skills, and identities?
- The politics of enfranchising the diaspora

**Required readings:**

1. Alrababa'h, Ala, Daniel Masterson, Marine Casalis, Dominik Hangartner, and Jeremy Weinstein. (2022). The Dynamics of Refugee Return: Syrian Refugees and Their Migration Intentions." *Working paper*.
2. Ghosn, Faten, Tiffany S. Chu, Miranda Simon, Alex Braithwaite, Michael Frith, and Joanna Jandali. (2021). "The journey home: Violence, anchoring, and refugee decisions to return." *American Political Science Review* 115(3): 982-998.
3. Blair, Christopher and Wright, Austin L., Refugee (2022). "Refugee Return and Conflict: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Working paper*.
4. Wellman, Elizabeth Iams. (2021). "Emigrant Inclusion in Home Country Elections: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review* 115(1): 82-96.

**Suggested readings:**

- Arias, María Alejandra, Ana María Ibáñez, and Pablo Querubin. (2014). "The desire to return during civil war: Evidence for internally displaced populations in Colombia." *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 20(1): 209-233.
- Beaman, Lori, Harun Onder, and Stefanie Onder. (2022). "When do refugees return home? Evidence from Syrian displacement in Mashreq." *Journal of Development Economics* 155: 102802.
- Camarena, Kara Ross and Nils Hagerdal. (2020). "When Do Displaced Persons Return? Postwar Migration among Christians in Mount Lebanon." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(2):223-239.
- Crisp, Jeff. (2019). "Repatriation principles under pressure." *Forced Migration Review* (62):19-23.
- Fang, Tony and Alex Wells (2022). "Diaspora Economics." *IZA DP No.* 15334.
- Schwartz, Stephanie. (2019). "Home, Again: Refugee Return and Post-Conflict Violence in Burundi." *International Security* 44(2): 110-145.
- Weber, Sigrid and Alexandra Hartman. (2022). "Property Rights and Post-Conflict Recovery: Theory and Evidence from IDP Return Movements in Iraq." *Working paper*.

## Host / Destination Countries

### Lecture 9: Public Opinion and voting (November 4, 2022)

#### Learning objectives:

- What factors affect attitudes toward migrants and refugees in host countries?
- Specifically, does proximity and contact increase or reduce support?

#### Required readings:

1. Alesina, Alberto, and Marco Tabellini. (2022). "The Political Effects of Immigration: Culture or Economics?" *Journal of Economic Literature* (forthcoming).
2. Hangartner, Dominik, Elias Dinas, Moritz Marbach, Konstantinos Matakos, and Dimitrios Xefteris. (2019). "Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?" *American Political Science Review* 113(2) : 442-455.
3. Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D. (2016). How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science* 354(6309): 217–222.
4. Zhou, Yang-Yang and Guy Grossman. (2022). "When Refugee Exposure Increases Incumbent Support through Development: Evidence from Uganda." *Working paper*.
5. Solodoch, Omer. (2021). "Regaining control? The political impact of policy responses to refugee crises." *International Organization* 75(3): 735-768.

#### Suggested readings:

- Alvaro Calderon, Vicky Fouka and Marco Tabellini. (2020). "Racial Diversity, Electoral Preferences, and the Supply of Policy: The Great Migration and Civil Rights." *Working paper*.
- Bedasso, Biniam E., and Pascal Jaupart. (2020). "South-South migration and elections: evidence from post-apartheid South Africa." *IZA Journal of Development and Migration* 11(1): 1–47.
- Barone, Guglielmo, Alessio D'Ignazio, Guido de Blasio, and Paolo Naticchioni. (2016). "Mr. Rossi, Mr. Hu and politics." The role of immigration in shaping natives' voting behavior." *Journal of Public Economics* 136: 1-13.
- Burszty, Leonardo, Thomas Chaney, Tarek Alexander Hassan, and Aakaash Rao. (2021). "The immigrant next door: Exposure, prejudice, and altruism." *National Bureau of Economic Research* No. w28448.
- Cavaille, Charlotte and Jeremy Ferwerda. (2022). "How Distributional Conflict over In-Kind Benefits Generates Support for Far-Right Parties *The Journal of Politics* (forthcoming).

- Dancygier, Rafaela M., and Michael J. Donnelly. (2013). "Sectoral Economies, Economic Contexts, and Attitudes toward Immigration." *The Journal of Politics* 75(1): 17-35.
- Dustmann, Christian, Kristine Vasiljeva, and Anna Piil Damm. (2019). "Refugee Migration and Electoral Outcomes." *The Review of Economic Studies* 86(5): 2035-2091.
- Fouka, Vasiliki, and Marco Tabellini. (2021). Changing In-Group Boundaries: The Effect of Immigration on Race Relations in the United States. *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming).
- Garand, James C., Ping Xu, and Belinda C. Davis. (2017). "Immigration attitudes and support for the welfare state in the American mass public." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1): 146-162.
- Hager, Anselm, Hanno Hilbig, and Sascha Riaz. (2021). "Refugee Labor Market Access Increases Support for Migration." *Working paper*.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. (2014). "Public attitudes toward immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225-249.
- Halla, Martin, Alexander F. Wagner, and Josef Zweimuller. (2017). "Immigration and Voting for the Far Right." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 15(6): 1341-1385.
- Malhotra, Neil, Yotam Margalit, and Cecilia H. Mo. (2013). "Economic Explanations for Opposition to Immigration: Distinguishing between Prevalence and Conditional Impact." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 391-410.
- Margalit, Yotam, and Omer Solodoch. (2021). "Against the Flow: Differentiating Between Public Opposition to the Immigration Stock and Flow." *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).
- Roza, Sandra, and Juan F. Vargas. (2021). "Brothers or invaders? How crisis-driven migrants shape voting behavior." *Journal of Development Economics* 150: 102636.
- Steinmayr, Andreas. (2021). "Contact versus exposure: Refugee presence and voting for the far-right." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 103(2): 310-327.
- Tabellini, Marco. (2020). "Gifts of the immigrants, woes of the natives: Lessons from the age of mass migration." *The Review of Economic Studies* 87(1): 454-486.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Stuart N. Soroka, Shanto Iyengar, Toril Aalberg, Raymond Duch, Marta Fraile, Kyu S. Hahn, Kasper M. Hansen, Allison Harell, Marc Helbling, Simon D. Jackman, and Tetsuro Kobayashi. (2019). "Economic and cultural drivers of immigrant support worldwide." *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 1201-1226.
- Vertier, Paul, and Max Viskanic. (2019) "Dismantling the 'Jungle': Migrant Relocation and Extreme Voting in France." *Working Paper*.

**Lecture 10: Native-born behavior toward immigrants (November 11, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- The determinants of anti-immigrants' violence, hate crime and hate speech

**Required readings:**

1. Gamalerio, Matteo, Mario Luca, and Max Viskanic. (2020). "Is this the real life or just fantasy? Refugee reception, extreme-right voting, and broadband internet."
2. Dancygier, Rafaela, Naoki Egami, Amaney Jamal and Ramona Rischke. (2022). "Hate Crimes and Gender Imbalances: Fears over Mate Competition and Violence against Refugees." *American Journal of Political Science* 66(2): 501-515.
3. Grossman, Guy and Stephanie Zonszein. (2022). "Voted In, Standing Out: Public Response to Immigrants' Political Accession." *Working paper*.
4. Lehmann, M. Christian, and Daniel TR Masterson. (2020). "Does Aid Reduce Anti-refugee Violence? Evidence from Syrian Refugees in Lebanon." *American Political Science Review* 114(4): 1335–1342.
5. Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. (2020). "Reducing exclusionary attitudes through interpersonal conversation: Evidence from three field experiments." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 410-425.

**Suggested readings:**

- Alrababah, Ala, William Marble, Salma Mousa, and Alexandra Siegel. (2021). "Can exposure to celebrities reduce prejudice? The effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic behaviors and attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 115(4): 1111-1128.
- Dippopa, Gemma, Guy Grossman, and Stephanie Zonszein. (2022). "Locked Down, Lashing Out: COVID-19 Effects on Asian Hate Crimes in Italy." *The Journal of Politics* (forthcoming).
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. (2013). "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *American political Science Review* 107(1): 159-187.
- Entorf, Horst, and Martin Lange. (2019). "Refugees welcome? Understanding the regional heterogeneity of anti-foreigner hate crimes in Germany."
- Romarri, Alessio. (2020). "Do far-right mayors increase the probability of hate crimes? Evidence from Italy."
- Riaz, Sascha, Daniel Bischof and Markus Wagner (2021). "Out-group Threat and Xenophobic Hate Crimes: Evidence of Local Intergroup Conflict Dynamics between Immigrants and Natives." *Working Paper*.
- Williamson, Scott, Claire Adida, Adeline Lo, Melina Platas, Lauren Prather, and Seth H. Werfel (2021). "Priming Empathy through Family History to Increase Support for Immigrants and Immigration." *American Political Science Review*.



**Lecture 11: Integration and assimilation (November 18, 2022)****Learning objectives:**

- The determinants of integration and assimilation choice
- Barriers to assimilation: discrimination and representation

**Required readings:**

1. Abdelgadir, Aala, and Vasiliki Fouka. (2020). "Political secularism and Muslim integration in the West: Assessing the effects of the French headscarf ban." *American Political Science Review* 114(3): 707-723.
2. Fouka, Vasiliki. (2019) "How do Immigrants Respond to Discrimination? The Case of Germans in the US during World War I," *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 405-422
3. Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Giuseppe Pietrantuono. (2015). "Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(41): 12651-12656.
4. Adida, Claire L. and Amanda Lea Robinson (2022). "Why (some) immigrants resist assimilation: US racism and the African immigrant experience."
5. Bansak, Kirk, Jeremy Ferwerda, Jens Hainmueller, Andrea Dillon, Dominik Hangartner, Duncan Lawrence, and Jeremy Weinstein. (2018). "Improving Refugee Integration through Data-Driven Algorithmic Assignment." *Science* 359: 325-29.

**Suggested readings:**

- Bratsberg, Bernt, Jeremy Ferwerda, Henning Finseraas, and Andreas Kotsadam. (2021). "How settlement locations and local networks influence immigrant political integration." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(3): 551-565.
- Dancygier, Rafaela M., Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson, and Kare Vernby. (2015). "Why are immigrants underrepresented in politics? Evidence from Sweden." *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 703-724.
- Fouka, Vasiliki, Soumyajit Mazumder, and Marco Tabellini. (2020). From Immigrants to Americans: Race and Assimilation during the Great Migration." *Working Paper*.
- Goodman, Sara Wallace. (2010). "Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5): 753-772.
- Strang, Alison, and Alastair Ager. (2010). "Refugee Integration: Emerging Trends and Remaining Agendas." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4):589-607.
- Zonszein, Stephanie. (2019). "Taking Part without Blending In: Legalization Policies and the Integration of Immigrants." *Working paper*.
- Zonszein, Stephanie (2019). "Turn On, Tune In, Turn Out: Ethnic Radio and Immigrants? Political Engagement." *Working paper*.

## Lecture 12: Security Implications of Refugee Flows (April 15, 2022)

### Learning objectives:

- Do cross-border flows of refugees also contribute to an increased risk of both civil war in receiving countries?
- Refugees as security threat vs. victims of violence.

### Required readings:

1. Rüegger, Seraina. (2019). "Refugees, ethnic power relations, and civil conflict in the country of asylum." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 42-57.
2. Shaver, Andrew and Yang-Yang Zhou. (2021.) "Reexamining the Effect of Refugees on Civil Conflict: A Global Subnational Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 115(4): 1175-1196
3. Savun, Burcu, and Christian Gineste. (2019). "From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 88-102.
4. Bove, Vincenzo, and Tobias Bohmelt. (2016). "Does Immigration Induce Terrorism?." *Journal of Politics* 78(2): 572-588.
5. Kayaoglu, Aysegul. (2022). "Do refugees cause crime?." *World Development* 154: 105858.

### Suggested readings:

- Bohmelt, Tobias, Vincenzo Bove, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2019). "Blame the victims? Refugees, state capacity, and non-state actor violence." *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1): 73-87.
- Kathman, Jacob D. (2010). "Civil war contagion and neighboring interventions." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(4): 989-1012.
- Knight, Brian G., and Ana Tribin. (2020). "Immigration and violent crime: Evidence from the Colombia-Venezuela border." *NBER Working Paper Series* No. w27620.
- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. (2003). "Collateral damage: Humanitarian assistance as a cause of conflict." *International Security* 28(1): 79-109.
- Masterson, Daniel, and M. Christian Lehmann. (2020). "Refugees, Mobilization, and Humanitarian Aid: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(5): 817-843.
- Milton, Daniel, Megan Spencer and Michael Findley. (2013). "Radicalism of the hopeless: Refugee Flows and Transnational Terrorism." *International Interactions*, 39(5): 621-645.
- Salehyan, Idean, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. (2006). "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization* 60(2): 335-366.

**Lecture 13: Migration policy regimes (March 18, 2021)****Learning objectives:**

- Why some countries have restrictive and other more liberal migration policies?

**Required readings:**

1. Rayp, Glenn, Ilse Ruysen, and Samuel Standaert. (2017). "Measuring and explaining cross-country immigration policies." *World Development* 95: 141-163.
2. Peters, Margaret E. (2017). *Trading Barriers: Immigration and the Remaking of Globalization*. Chapters 2–3.
3. Blair, Christopher, Guy Grossman and Jeremy Weinstein. (2022). "Forced Displacement and Asylum Policy in the Developing World" *International Organization* 76 (2): 337-378.

**Suggested readings:**

- Beine, Michel, et al. (2016). "Comparing immigration policies: An overview from the IMPALA database." *International Migration Review* 50(4): 827-863.
- De Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. (2015). "Conceptualizing and measuring migration policy change." *Comparative Migration Studies* 3(1): 15.
- Ellermann, Antje. (2021). *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States*. Cambridge University Press.
- Goodman, Sara Wallace. (2019). "Indexing immigration and integration policy: Lessons from Europe." *Policy Studies Journal* 47(3): 572-604.
- Razin, Assaf. (2020). "Migration and Fiscal Externality: US vs. Europe." *National Bureau of Economic Research*, No. w28126.
- Shin, Adrian J. (2016). "Tyrants and Migrants Authoritarian Immigration Policy." *Comparative Political Studies*. 50(1): 14-40.

**Lecture 14: Student presentations (April 29, 2022)**