

# Political Economy of International Migration

POSC 218 | Spring 2021 | Mon. 9:00 – 11:50 AM | Classroom: Online

*Preliminary Draft*

Steven Liao

## *Contact Information*

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## *Office Hours*

Wed.  
3:30–5:30pm  
(Email to set up Zoom meeting)

## Description

This course is a PhD-level introduction to the International Political Economy (IPE) of migration. The primary objective of the course is to teach students to conduct original research on IPE-related topics. To that end the course covers basic theories and reviews cutting-edge research. The course is organized by substantive topic area. The first half of the course covers the politics of immigration in the receiving country. The second half examines the effects and politics of emigration for sending countries. We will also cover topics about the human rights aspects of migration—refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented immigrants. Overall, the course covers the most prominent areas of IPE research in migration, leaving other, equally interesting topics, for students to pursue in other courses and independently in their research projects.

## Prerequisite

Students are expected to have taken (or be concurrently taking) an introductory methods courses, and have a basic familiarity with economics (at the level of an undergraduate introductory economics course).

## COVID-19 Adjustments

All meetings will take place on Zoom this quarter. Please click on [this link](#) for the Zoom meeting and check “Announcements” in iLearn for the current passcode. To join the Zoom meeting, students are required to sign into Zoom with the UCR account.

## Requirements and Evaluation

**Research Design Paper (50%), Presentation (10%), Comments (10%)**

The is the most important component of the course. The goal is to help students develop a proposal that can lead to a high-quality publishable paper.

- Each student will write one 12–15 page (double-spaced) paper, due on *June 7 (11:59pm)*. The paper needs to clearly articulate an original research question, synthesize existing related research, present theoretically-grounded testable hypotheses, describe plausible empirical strategies, and show some preliminary data. When writing the paper, you should constantly ask yourself the following questions: Who is your audience? Why should they care? Can your project convince them to change their way of thinking?
- Beginning the week of May 3rd, each student will receive 30–45 minutes of class time to discuss their proposal. Prior to the presentation the presenter will circulate a draft proposal. These need to be emailed to the class by the *Wednesday (11:59pm) before the presentation*. Students will prepare a formal 15-minute presentation of their project and class members will ask questions and give feedback for the remainder of the time.
- To ensure presenters receive adequate feedback, each student will send written comments (minimum 2-page double-spaced) to presenters and all class members by the *Sunday (11:59pm) before presentations*.

### **Critical Review Papers (10% each)**

Each student will complete two critical review papers (5-page double-spaced). Papers should be distributed to all class members via e-mail by *the Sunday (11:59pm) before class*. The papers should synthesize the week's readings, distilling them down their main arguments and findings. They will also identify shortcomings, omissions, and give constructive suggestions for how the literature can be improved. You may choose which weeks to write papers with the conditions that at least one paper must be written during Session 1–6.

### **Participation (10%)**

In addition to seminar participation, each student will lead one seminar discussions during the course. The discussion leader will circulate a minimum of three discussion questions that draw out significant unifying themes among the readings and/or contrast with previous weeks. Again, discussion questions should be distributed to all class members via e-mail by *the Sunday (11:59pm) before class*.

We will coordinate presentation slots, critical review papers, and discussion leaderships during the first meeting.

### **Grading Policy**

All late work will be penalized at the rate of one letter grade per day, including weekends.

### **Readings**

All readings are available online through standard online journal databases unless otherwise noted.

### **Non-Discrimination Policy**

The ultimate goal of this seminar is to use it as an opportunity to help each other improve their research. All participants should treat each other with respect. Comments and feedback should

always be constructive. I will not tolerate any discriminatory speech or behavior.

## Accommodation

Every effort will be made to accommodate students with disabilities. Please contact me as early as possible about your needs, and I will treat the matter confidentially, within university policy, and with the resources provided by Student Special Services (<http://specialservices.ucr.edu/disabilities/>).

## Meeting and Reading Schedule

### Session 1: Introduction (March 29)

#### *Required:*

Frieden, Jeffry, and Lisa Martin. 2002. "International Political Economy: Global and Domestic Interactions." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner. 118-46. New York: W.W. Norton.

Lake, David. 2009. "Open Economy Politics: A Critical Review." *The Review of International Organizations* 4 (3): 219-44.

#### *Optional:*

Cohen, Benjamin J. 2008. *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Oatley, Thomas. 2011. "The Reductionist Gamble: Open Economy Politics in the Global Economy," *International Organization* 65 (2): 311-41.

### Session 2: Why/Where do People Move? (April 5)

#### *Required:*

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.

Fitzgerald, Jennifer, David Leblang, and Jessica Teets. 2014. "Defying the Law of Gravity: The Political Economy of International Migration." *World Politics* 66(3), 406-445.

Neumayer, Eric. 2005. "Bogus Refugees? The Determinants of Asylum Migration to Western Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 389-410.

Holland, Alisha, and Peters, Margaret. 2020. "Explaining Migration Timing: Political Information and Opportunities." *International Organization* 74(3), 560-583.

#### *Optional:*

Clark, Ximena, Timothy J. Hatton, and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2007. "Explaining US Immigration, 1971-1998." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 89(2): 359-373.

### Session 3: Domestic Opposition/Support for Immigration (April 12)

#### *Background Information: Economic Effects of Immigration*

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. 2017. *The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. Introduction, 17–32; Part II: Economic Impacts, especially p. 197–317; Part III: Fiscal Impacts, especially 323–463.

Hunt, Jennifer. 2018. “Do Economists Agree on the Impact of Immigration? (VIDEO)” *Econofact*.

#### *Required:*

Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2015. “The Hidden American Immigration Consensus: A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes toward Immigrants.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 529–548.

Pardos-Prado, Sergi and Xena, Carla. 2019. “Skill Specificity and Attitudes toward Immigration.” *American Journal of Political Science* 63: 286–304.

Hanson, Gordon, Kenneth Scheve, Matthew J. Slaughter. 2007. “Public Finance and Individual Preferences Over Globalization Strategies.” *Economics & Politics* 19: 1–33.

Dancygier, Rafaela, and Egami, Naoki, and Jamal, Amaney, and Rischke, Ramona. 2021. “Hate Crimes and Gender Imbalances: Fears over Mate Competition and Violence against Refugees.” *American Journal of Political Science*.

Williamson, Scott, and Adida, Claire L., and Lo, Adeline, and Platas, Melina R., and Prather, Lauren, and Werfel, Seth H. 2020. “Family Matters: How Immigrant Histories Can Promote Inclusion”. *American Political Science Review*, 1–8.

#### *Optional:*

Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Mark Prior. 2004. “Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities.” *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35–49.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2007. “Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe.” *International Organization* 61(2): 399–442.

Hainmueller, Jens and Michael Hiscox. 2010. “Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment.” *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 61–84.

Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. “Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition.” *American Political Science Review* 104(01): 40–60.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. “Who Gets A Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination.” *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 159–87.

Malhotra, Neil, Yotam Margalit, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2013. “Economic Explanations for Opposition to Immigration: Distinguishing between Prevalence and Conditional Impact.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 391–410.

Dancygier, Rafaela M., and Michael J. Donnelly. 2013. "Sectoral Economies, Economic Contexts, and Attitudes toward Immigration" *Journal of Politics* 75(01): 17–35.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225–49.

Goldstein, Judith L., and Peters, Margaret E. 2014. "Nativism or Economic Threat: Attitudes Toward Immigrants During the Great Recession." *International Interactions* 40(3): 376–401.

Peterson, Brenton D., Sonal S. Pandya, and David Leblang. 2014. "Doctors with Borders: Occupational Licensing as an Implicit Barrier to High Skill Migration." *Public Choice* 160(1-2): 45–63.

Wright, Matthew, Morris Levy, and Jack Citrin. 2016. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy Across the Legal/Illegal Divide: The Role of Categorical and Attribute-Based Decision-Making." *Journal of Political Behavior* 38(1): 229–253.

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. 2017. "Economic and Cultural Drivers of Immigrant Support Worldwide". *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-26.

Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. "Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?" *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), 456–474.

#### **Session 4: Immigration and the Politics of Housing Markets (April 19)**

##### *Required:*

Saiz, Albert. 2007. "Immigration and Housing Rents in American Cities." *Journal of Urban Economics* 61(2): 345–371.

Murphy, Ryan H., and Nowrasteh, Alex. 2017. "US Immigration Levels, Urban Housing Values, and their Implications for Capital Share." *Economic Affairs* 37: 411–421.

Ansell Ben W., J. Lawrence Broz, and Thomas Flaherty. 2018. "Global Capital Markets, Housing Prices, and Partisan Fiscal Policies." *Economics & Politics* 30: 307–339.

Liao, Steven, Neil Malhotra, and Benjamin J. Newman. 2020. "Local Economic Benefits Increase Positivity Toward Foreigners." *Nature Human Behaviour* 4, 481–488.

Larsen, Martin Vinæs, Frederik Hjorth, Peter Thisted Dinesen, and Kim Mannemar Sønderskov. 2019. "When Do Citizens Respond Politically to the Local Economy? Evidence from Registry Data on Local Housing Markets." *American Political Science Review* 113(2), 499–516.

##### *Optional:*

Ansell, Ben. 2014. "The Political Economy of Ownership: Housing Markets and the Welfare State." *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 383–402.

Sá, Filipa. 2015. "Immigration and House Prices in the UK." *Economic Journal* 125: 1393–1424.

## Session 5: Causes & Effects of Immigration Policy (April 26)

### Required:

Peters, Margaret E. 2017. *Trading Barriers: Immigration and the Remaking of Globalization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1–2.

Bearce, David, and Hart, Andrew F. 2017. “International Labor Mobility and the Variety of Democratic Political Institutions.” *International Organization* 71(1), 65–95.

de Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. 2016. “Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies.” *International Migration Review* Fall:1–44.

Clemens, Michael A., Ethan G. Lewis, and Hannah M. Postel. 2018. “Immigration Restrictions as Active Labor Market Policy: Evidence from the Mexican Bracero Exclusion.” *American Economic Review* 108(6): 1468–87.

### Optional:

Freeman, Gary P. 1995. “Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States.” *International Migration Review* 29(4): 881–902.

Ruhs, Martin. 2013. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Czaika, Mathias, and Hein De Haas. 2013. “The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies.” *Population and Development Review* 39(3): 487–508.

Shin, Adrian J., 2016. “Tyrants and Migrants Authoritarian Immigration Policy.” *Comparative Political Studies*

Peters, Margaret E. 2014. “Trade, Foreign Direct Investment, and Immigration Policy Making in the United States.” *International Organization* 68(04): 811–844.

Peters, Margaret E. 2015. “Open Trade, Closed Borders Immigration in the Era of Globalization.” *World Politics* 67(1): 114–54.

## Session 6: Citizenship and Political Integration (May 3)

### Required:

Weil, Patrick. 2001. “Access to Citizenship: A Comparison of Twenty-Five Nationality Laws.” In *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*. Edited by Aleinikoff T. Alexander and Klusmeyer Douglas. p.17–35.

Howard, Marc Morjé. 2006. “Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research.” *Perspectives on Politics* 4(3): 443–55.

Earnest, David C. 2006. “Neither Citizen nor Stranger: Why States Enfranchise Resident Aliens.” *World Politics* 58(2): 242–75.

Dancygier, Rafaela M., Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson, and Kåre Vernby. 2015. “Why Are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden.” *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 703–24.

*Optional:*

Goodman, Sara W., 2012. “Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe.” *World Politics* 64(04): 659–698.

Vernby, Kåre. 2013. “Inclusion and public policy: Evidence from Sweden’s Introduction of Noncitizen suffrage.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 15–29.

## **Session 7: Emigration and Development (May 10)**

*Background Information:*

Docquier, Frédéric, and Hillel Rapoport. 2012. “Globalization, Brain Drain, and Development.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 50(3): 681–730.

Gibson, John, and David McKenzie. 2011. “Eight Questions about Brain Drain.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25(3): 107–128.

Kapur, Devesh. 2003. “Remittances: The New Development Mantra.” G-24 Discussion Papers 29, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

*Required:*

Ahmed, Faisal Z. 2012. “The Perils of Unearned Foreign Income: Aid, Remittances, and Government Survival.” *The American Political Science Review* 106(1): 146–65.

Escribà-Folch, Abel, Covadonga Meseguer, and Joseph Wright. 2015. “Remittances and Democratization.” *International Studies Quarterly* 59(3): 571–586.

Escribà-Folch, Abel, Meseguer, Covadonga, and Wright, Joseph. 2018. “Remittances and Protest in Dictatorships.” *American Journal of Political Science* 62: 889–904.

Clemens, Michael A. and David McKenzie. 2018. “Why Don’t Remittances Appear to Affect Growth?” *Economic Journal* 128(612): F179–F209.

*Optional:*

Levitt, Peggy. 1998. “Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion.” *The International Migration Review* 32(4): 926–948.

Yang, Dean. 2011. “Migrant Remittances.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25(3): 129–152.

Ambler, Kate, Diego Aycinena, and Dean Yang. 2015. “Channeling Remittances to Education: A Field Experiment among Migrants from El Salvador.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 7(2): 207–32.

Kapur, Devesh. 2014. “Political Effects of International Migration.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 479–502.



## Session 8: Regulating Emigration and Diaspora Engagement (May 17)

### Required:

Hirschman, Albert O. 1978. "Exit, Voice, and the State." *World Politics* 31(1): 90–107.

Miller, Michael K., and Margaret E. Peters. 2020. "Restraining the Huddled Masses: Migration Policy and Autocratic Survival." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(2), 403–433.

Leblang, David. 2017. "Harnessing the Diaspora." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(1): 75–101.

Wellman, Elizabeth. 2021. "Emigrant Inclusion in Home Country Elections: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review* 115(1), 82–96.

### Optional:

Gamlen, Alan. 2008. "The Emigration State and the Modern Geopolitical Imagination." *Political Geography* 27(8): 840–856.

Hannah M. Alarian and Sara Wallace Goodman. 2017. "Dual Citizenship Allowance and Migration Flow: An Origin Story." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(1): 133–167.

Gamlen, Alan. 2018. "Diaspora Institutions and Diaspora Governance." *International Migration Review* 48(1): 180–217.

## Session 9: Refugees and Asylum Seekers (May 24)

### Required:

Salehyan, Idean, and Marc R. Rosenblum. 2008. "International Relations, Domestic Politics, and Asylum Admissions in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(1): 104–21.

Bansak, Kirk., Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers." *Science*.

Hangartner, Dominik, and Dinas, Elias, and Moritz, Marbach, and Matakos, Konstantinos, and Xefteris, Dimitrios. 2019. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?" *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), 442–455.

Bansak, Kirk and Ferwerda, Jeremy and Hainmueller, Jens and Dillon, Andrea and Hangartner, Dominik and Lawrence, Duncan and Weinstein, Jeremy. 2018. "Improving Refugee Integration Through Data-driven Algorithmic Assignment." *Science* 359:6373: 325–329.

### Optional:

Gibney, Matthew J. 2004. *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neumayer, Eric. 2005. "Asylum Recognition Rates in Western Europe: Their Determinants, Variation, and Lack of Convergence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 43–66.



Memorial Day (May 31) — NO CLASS

Session 10: Final Exam Week (June 7)

Research design paper due by 11:59pm.

## Additional Topics

### Effects of Migration on Trade and Capital Flows

*Required:*

Gould, David M. 1994. “Immigrant Links to the Home Country: Empirical Implications for U.S. Bilateral Trade Flows.” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 76(2): 302-16.

Leblang, David. 2010. “Familiarity Breeds Investment: Diaspora Networks and International Investment.” *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 584–600.

Singer, David A. 2010. “Migrant Remittances and Exchange Rate Regimes in the Developing World.” *American Political Science Review* 104(2): 307–23.

Bermeo, Sarah Blodgett and David Leblang. 2015. “Migration and Foreign Aid.” *International Organization* 69(3): 627–57.

Carter, David, and Poast, Paul. 2020. “Barriers to Trade: How Border Walls Affect Trade Relations.” *International Organization*, 74(1), 165–185.

*Optional:*

O’Rourke, Kevin H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 1999. *Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hatton, Timothy J. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2005. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chen, Bo and David S. Jacks. 2012. “Trade, Variety and Immigration.” *Economics Letters* 117(1): 243–246.