

# Political Economy of International Migration

POSC 218 | Spring 2023 | Mon. 2:00 – 4:50 PM | Chair’s Office (April) & WAT 2145 (afterwards)

Steven Liao

## *Contact Information*

Office: 2207 Watkins Hall  
Phone: 951-827-7977  
[steven.liao@ucr.edu](mailto:steven.liao@ucr.edu)  
<http://www.stevenliao.org>

## *Office Hours*

Wed.  
1–3 PM  
(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) introductory methods courses, and have a basic familiarity with economics (at the level of an undergraduate introductory economics course).

## Requirements and Evaluation

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

This 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 10-page (double-spaced) paper, due on *June 12 (11:59 PM)*. 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 in Session 6, each student will receive 30 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 (11:59 PM) 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 provide written comments (around one page long, bullet points are fine) to *two* presenters over the course. The comments should be sent to the entire class by the *Saturday (11:59 PM) 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 Saturday (11:59 PM) before class*. The papers should synthesize the week's readings, distilling them into their main arguments and findings. Importantly, they will also identify shortcomings and omissions and give constructive suggestions for how to improve the literature. You may choose which weeks to write papers with the condition that at least one paper must be written by Session 5.

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

In addition to seminar participation, each student will lead one seminar discussion during the course. The discussion leader will circulate a least 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 Saturday (11:59 PM) before class*.

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

### **Readings**

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

### **COVID-19 Adjustments**

If you are encountering any challenges during the pandemic (e.g., the need for remote participation, deadline extensions, etc.), please do not hesitate to let me know so that I can help.

### **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 (April 3)

#### *Required:*

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

#### *Optional:*

Frieden, Jeffrey, 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.

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 10)

#### *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.

Helms, Benjamin and Leblang, David. 2019. "Global Migration: Causes and Consequences." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

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.

Ferwerda, J., Marbach, M. and Hangartner, D. 2023. "Do Immigrants Move to Welfare? Subnational Evidence from Switzerland." *American Journal of Political Science*.

### Session 3: Domestic Opposition/Support for Immigration (April 17)

#### *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.

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.

#### *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.

Williamson, Scott, and Adida, Claire L., and Lo, Adeline, and Platas, Melina R., and Prather, Lauren, and Werfel, Seth H. 2021. "Family Matters: How Immigrant Histories Can Promote Inclusion". *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), 686–693.

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* 66(2): 501–515.

Helms, Benjamin. 2023. "Global Economic Integration and Nativist Politics in Emerging Economies." *American Journal of Political Science*.

#### **Session 4: Immigration and the Politics of Housing Markets (April 24)**

##### *Background Information:*

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

##### *Required:*

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 Vinaes, 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.

Liao, Steven. 2023. "Chinese Foreign Real Estate Investment and Local Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections." Forthcoming. *International Studies Quarterly*.

*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.

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

Hankison, Michael. 2018. "When Do Renters Behave Like Homeowners? High Rent, Price Anxiety, and NIMBYism." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 473–493.

**Session 5: Causes & Effects of Immigration Policy (May 1)**

*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.

Liao, Steven. 2022. "The Effect of Firm Lobbying on High-Skilled Visa Adjudication." Forthcoming. *The Journal of Politics*.

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.

Facchini, Giovanni, Anna M. Mayda, and Prachi Mishra. 2011. "Do Interest Groups Affect US Immigration Policy?" *Journal of International Economics* 85(1), 114–128.

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.

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

Kerr, William R., William F. Lincoln, and Prachi Mishra. 2014. "The Dynamics of Firm Lobbying." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 6(4), 343–379.

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

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

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.

## Session 6: Citizenship and Political Integration (May 8)

### *Required:*

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

Hainmueller, Jens, Domink Hangartner, and Giuseppe Pietrantuono. 2017. “Catalyst or Crown: Does Naturalization Promote the Long-Term Social Integration of Immigrants?” *American Political Science Review* 111(2): 256–276.

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:*

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.

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

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.

Goodman, Sara W. 2023. “Citizenship Studies: Policy Causes and Consequences.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 26:1.

## Session 7: Emigration and Development (May 15)

### *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.

*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.

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

## **Session 8: Regulating Emigration and Diaspora Engagement (May 22)**

*Required:*

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:*

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

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.



## Memorial Day (May 29) — NO CLASS

### Session 9: Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Climate Migrants (June 5)

#### *Required:*

Bansak, Kirk., Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. “How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers.” *Science* 354(6309): 217–222.

Sabrina B. Arias and Christopher W. Blair. 2022. “Changing Tides: Public Attitudes on Climate Migration.” *The Journal of Politics* 84(1): 560–567.

Zhou, Yang-Yang and Andrew Shaver. 2021. “Reexamining the Effect of Refugees on Civil Conflict: A Global Subnational Analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 115(4): 1175–1196.

#### *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.

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 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.

Blair, Christopher W., Guy Grossman, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2022. “Forced Displacement and Asylum Policy in the Developing World.” *International Organization* 76(2): 337–378.

Zhou, Yang-Yang, Guy Grossman, and Shuning Ge. 2023. “Inclusive refugee-hosting can improve local development and prevent public backlash.” *World Development* 166: 106203.

### Session 10: Final Exam Week (June 12)

Research design paper due by 11:59 PM.

## Additional Topics

### Linkages Between Migration, 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.

Leblang, David and Margaret E. Peters. 2022. “Immigration and Globalization (and Deglobalization)” *Annual Review of Political Science* 25(1): 377–399.

Zeitz, Alexandra O. and David A. Leblang. 2021. “Migrants as Engines of Financial Globalization: The Case of Global Banking.” *International Studies Quarterly* 65(2): 360–374.