

MICHAEL AHN PAARLBERG

CONTACT INFORMATION

Department of Political Science
Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, VA 23284

Email: mapaarlberg@vcu.edu
Web: www.michaelpaarlberg.org

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia 2018 - present
Associate professor of political science

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 2017 - 2018
Postdoctoral fellow, Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race, and Immigration

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

Bernie Sanders for President 2020 campaign 2019 - 2020
Chief foreign policy adviser for Latin America

Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC 2016 - present
Associate fellow

Organization of American States
Election monitor and coordinator (Brazil, El Salvador, Colombia) 2014 - present

The Guardian 2009 - 2019
Contributing columnist, labor and immigration policy

Washington City Paper 2009 - 2019
Contributing writer

Center for American Progress, Washington, DC 2008 - 2009
Consultant and researcher, American Worker Project

Service Employees International Union, Washington, DC 2003 - 2007
Research analyst, Health Systems Division

EDUCATION

Georgetown University, Washington, DC 2017
Ph.D., Political Science
Dissertation: *Diaspora Outreach by Latin American Parties*

M.P.P., Public Policy 2009
Thesis: *Labor Policy in New Democracies*

Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts 2002
B.A., Political Science with honors

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS: JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Sanctuary Policies and the Influence of Local Demographics and Partnership.” with Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien and Loren Collingwood. OnlineFirst in *Urban Affairs Review* (2023)

“Transnational Gangs and Criminal Remittances: A Conceptual Framework.” *Comparative Migration Studies* Vol. 10, no. 24 (2022)

“Hometown Associations and Parties as Vehicles for Mexican Electoral Campaigns in the US.” *Representation* (2020)

“Competing for the Diaspora’s Influence at Home: Party Structure and Transnational

Campaign Activity in Latin America.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 45, no. 4 (2019)

- Republished in Délano Alonso, Alexandra and Harris Mylonas, *The Microfoundations of Diaspora Politics*. Routledge (2021)

“Transnational Militancy: Diaspora Influence over Electoral Activity in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* Vol. 49, no. 4 (2017)

- Honorable mention, best journal article, American Political Science Association Migration and Citizenship section 2018

**ACADEMIC
PUBLICATIONS:
CHAPTERS, EDITED
VOLUMES**

“Central America’s Maras: A Negative Case of DTO Evolution.” Forthcoming in Cutrona, Sebastian and Rosen, Jonathan, eds. *Cocaine: Criminals, Routes, and Markets*. University of New Mexico Press (2024)

“Turcos and Chilestinos: Latin American Palestinian Diaspora Nationalism in a Comparative Context.” In Alkazemi, Mariam, and C. E. Youakim, eds. *Arab Worlds Beyond the Middle East and North Africa*. Lexington (2021)

“Anti-Party Skew and Variation in Diaspora Outreach by Mexican Parties.” In Kernalegenn, Tudi and Emilie van Haute, eds. *Political Parties Abroad: A New Arena for Party Politics*. Routledge (2020)

“Day Laborers and Low-Wage Immigrant Workers.” In Huerta, Iglesias-Prieto, and Brown, eds. *Contemporary Issues for People of Color in the U.S. Today: Immigration*. Greenwood (2016)

**PROFESSIONAL
PUBLICATIONS**

“Demystifying the Border Crisis.” VCU Institute for Democracy, Pluralism and Community Empowerment 2024

“Venezuela’s People, Not Government, Deserve Solidarity.” Center for International Policy 2024

“The Emerging Gang State in El Salvador.” Global Americans 2022

“Gang Membership in Central America: More Complex Than Meets the Eye.” Migration Policy Institute 2021

“EEUU, una presidencia pandémica en un año de elecciones.” Barcelona Centre for International Affairs *Anuario Internacional 2020* 2020

“Mexico’s Diaspora Electorate.” Wilson Center 2018

“Cómo se corteja el voto de la diáspora salvadoreña.” El Faro Académico 2018

Agricultural Cooperatives: Opportunities and Challenges for African American Women in the South, Institute for Policy Studies 2018

“New York’s Experience after the Tipped Minimum Wage Increase,” with Teófilo L. Reyes, Institute for Policy Studies and Restaurant Opportunities Centers United 2018

The Human Trafficking of Domestic Workers in the United States. with Sameera Hafiz, Institute for Policy Studies and National Domestic Workers Alliance 2017

Unpredictable, Unsustainable: The Impact of Employers’ Scheduling Practices in D.C.. With Ari Schwartz, Michael Wasser, and Merrit Gillard, DC Jobs with Justice 2015

	<i>Making Contracting Work for the United States.</i> with David Madland, Center for American Progress	2008
BOOK REVIEWS	“Migration and Democracy: How Remittances Undermine Dictatorships.” <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics</i> 2022	
BOOK PROJECT	<i>Diaspora Democracy: Migrants, Parties, and Transnational Elections from Latin America to the U.S.</i> under revise & resubmit with Oxford University Press	
WORKING PAPERS	<p>“The Prior Socialization of Mexican Immigrants and their Political Participation in the United States.” with Michael Jones-Correa (under review)</p> <p>“Much Ado About Nothing? Local Immigration Policy and the MS-13 ‘Threat.’” with Loren Collingwood (under review)</p> <p>“Why Do Emigrants Vote? Evidence from a Transnational Voter Mobilization Experiment.” with Elizabeth Iams Wellman</p> <p>“Cross-party Transnational Voting in the Turkish Diaspora.” with Gulcan Saglam</p>	
COURSES TAUGHT	<p>Virginia Commonwealth University: Assistant professor Political Science 109: Comparative Politics Political Science 320: Research Methods Political Science 353: Latin American Politics and Government Political Science 391: Politics of Immigration</p> <p>Georgetown University: Instructor Government 340: Latin America’s Turn to the Left</p> <p>Georgetown University School of Foreign Service: Teaching assistant Masters of Science in Foreign Service 527: Statistical and Analytical Skills International Politics 320: Quantitative Methods for International Politics</p>	<p>2018 - present</p> <p>2012</p> <p>2009 - 2011</p>
SELECTED OP-EDS	<p>“Latin America’s Pink Tide Is an Opportunity for Washington.” Foreign Policy Nov. 11, 2022.</p> <p>“Why El Salvador’s Mass Arrests Won’t Lower the Murder Rate.” The Washington Post July 11, 2022.</p> <p>“Why Is America Cooperating with Militaries Running Criminal Rackets?” Foreign Policy Aug. 3, 2021.</p> <p>“Want to Counter Authoritarianism in Central America? Follow the Money.” Foreign Policy June 21, 2021.</p> <p>“The US Approach to El Salvador’s Authoritarianism Must Be Bold.” Univision May 10, 2021.</p> <p>“The Elections in El Salvador Could Make or Break Biden’s Central America Policy.” The Washington Post Feb. 25, 2021.</p> <p>“China was already winning over the US’s neighbors. Trump’s COVID-19 response just makes Beijing’s job easier.” Business Insider Aug. 27, 2020.</p> <p>“El Salvador’s President Sent Troops to Occupy the Legislature. Here’s What’s Going On.” The Washington Post Feb. 17, 2020</p>	

“It’s Not Just a Coup: Bolivia’s Democracy Is in Meltdown” [The Washington Post](#) Nov. 13, 2019

“Paying Tipped Workers Better Wouldn’t Lead to Fewer Restaurant Jobs” [The Washington Post](#) Jan. 16, 2018

“Don’t Believe the Trump Admin: MS-13 Is Not Ravaging the U.S.” [The Washington Post](#) Oct. 11, 2017

“The Pinochet Myth is Alive and Well Among Pundits Who Write About Egypt” [The New Republic](#) Mar. 2, 2014

“A Recent Study Says Unionized Companies Actually Pay Less. The Truth Is a Bit More Complex.” [In These Times](#) Feb. 19, 2015

**SELECTED MEDIA
APPEARANCES**

“Is Venezuela Changing How the Left Responds to the Dictatorial Left?” [WLRN](#) Sept. 6, 2024

“Is Nicaragua’s Dictatorship Nearing Its End?” [Foreign Policy](#) August 25, 2024

“Michael Paarlberg, exasesor de Sanders para América Latina: ‘El Gobierno de Maduro es un lastre para la izquierda.’” [El Diario](#) August 6, 2024

“How Four U.S. Presidents Unleashed Economic Warfare Across the Globe.” [Washington Post](#) July 25, 2024

“War on Gangs Forges New El Salvador. But the Price Is Steep.” [Associated Press](#) March 22, 2023.

“Amid Surge in Migrants to US, Where Are They Coming From?” [Miami Herald](#) Sept. 21, 2022.

“Chaos Rules.” [Frank News](#) May 17, 2022.

“The 10,000 Ukrainians Just Processed at the Border Show the US Government Can Do Better.” [Mother Jones](#) Apr. 14, 2022.

“Why Kamala Harris’ Cozy Relationship with Corporations Is Worrying.” [MSNBC](#) Dec. 30, 2021.

“Análisis sobre El Salvador y los efectos de la presidencia de Nayib Bukele.” [IQ Latino](#) Nov. 12, 2021.

“Postura de Bukele ante la Lista Engel podría provocar más sancines.” [La Prensa Gráfica](#) July 3, 2021.

“Las relaciones entre EEUU y El Salvador son las peores desde la guerra civil.” [El Mundo](#) May 21, 2021.

“Pandemic Spending Immunity Deepens El Salvador Corruption Concerns.” [Insight Crime](#) May 10, 2021.

“In El Salvador a New Security Minister with a Dubious Past.” [Insight Crime](#) Apr. 2, 2021.

“Ulloa usa lobista para protestar por artículo.” [La Prensa Gráfica](#) Mar. 3, 2021.

“Los congresistas que envían cartas a Bukele tienen más poder de lo que él admite.” [El Faro](#) Feb. 10, 2021.

“Bernie’s Approach to Latin America’s Socialist Leaders Wouldn’t Be That Radical.” [Huffington Post](#) March 17, 2020.

“Migration Likely to Top Agenda When Trump Meets El Salvador’s Bukele.” [New York Times](#) Sept. 25, 2019.

“New Study Shows NY Restaurant Jobs Increase Despite Tipped Minimum Wage Hike.” [Eater](#) Nov. 20, 2018

“A New Economic Model for the South: Ditch Corporate Welfare and Fund Agricultural Co-ops.” [In These Times](#) Nov. 16, 2018

“Adios al mito: Pinochet no mejoró la economía chilena.” [La República](#) (Peru) Sept. 22, 2018

“Académico estadounidense derrumba el mito de que Pinochet mejoró la economía chilena.” [CNN Chile](#) Sept. 13, 2018

“Is Raising Wages for Tipped Workers Worth It?” [US News and World Report](#) June 21, 2018

“SCOTUS Hears Arguments in Case That Could Upend Unions.” [KPFK Los Angeles, KPFA Berkeley, & Free Speech TV](#) June 22, 2018

Debate: Child migrant detentions. Sky News (UK) June 18, 2018

“MS-13 gang brutality grabs headlines while its influence in Houston and the U.S. may be waning.” [Houston Chronicle](#) Jan. 5, 2018

“The Gangs of Nantucket: Fear and Politics.” [WGBH Boston](#) Nov. 15, 2017

“Comienza la era Trump.” [Telam](#) (Argentina) Jan. 20, 2017

“La Cuba americana di Marco.” [Radiotelevisione Svizzera Italiana](#) (Switzerland) Mar. 15, 2016

INVITED LECTURES

“The Bukele Model of Security and State Management of Criminal Gangs in El Salvador.” Universidad Central de Chile, Universidad Diego Portales, and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile May 8 – 10, 2024

“State Responses to Gangs and Criminal Violence.” University of Oklahoma March 24, 2023.

“El Salvador: Democratic Challenges in an Emerging One-Party State.” University of Nevada Las Vegas Sept. 22, 2021.

“Campaigning Abroad: Transnational Elections and Diaspora Influence in Latin America.” Boston University, Boston, MA. Mar. 22, 2018

“Campaigning Abroad: Transnational Elections and Diaspora Influence in Latin America.” Amherst College, Amherst, MA. Mar. 20, 2018

**CONFERENCE
PRESENTATIONS**

“Transnational Democratic Backsliding: El Salvador’s Diasporic Mobilization.” American Political Science Association annual meeting, Philadelphia 2024

“Persistence of Values of Failed Integration: Why do Turks in the EU (still) Support Erdogan?” International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion annual conference, Lisbon 2024

“Data Driven Approaches to Global Conflict.” Hosted by State Department Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, Alliance for Peacebuilding, and VCU Political Science, Richmond 2022

“MS-13 and the Criminalization of Central American Migration.” Southern Political Science Association annual meeting, San Juan 2020

“Local Immigration Policy and the MS-13 ‘Threat’” (with Loren Collingwood). American Political Science Association annual meeting, Washington, DC 2019

“Transnational Remittances of Organized Crime from Migrant-Receiving to Migrant-Sending States: The Cases of MS-13 and Satudarah.” International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion annual conference, Malmö 2019

“Latin American Asylum in the US: Expert Witnessing in the Age of Trump.” Latin American Studies Association, Boston 2019

“The Transnationalization of Migrant Gangs.” International Conference of Europeanists, Madrid 2019

“The Prior Socialization of Immigrants and Their Political Participation in the United States” (with Michael Jones-Correa). American Political Science Association annual meeting, Boston 2018

“Transnational Campaigning within a Skewed Diaspora: Mexican Parties in the U.S.” Latin American Studies Association annual congress, Barcelona 2018

“Partisan Skew and Infrastructure: Historical Legacies of Migration on Diaspora Outreach by Latin American Parties.” Political Parties Abroad: A New Arena for Citizenship? conference, Université Catholique de Louvain 2018

“Emigrant Engagement in Homeland Elections: A Survey of the Dominican Diaspora Electorate in New York” (with Elizabeth I. Wellman). International Studies Association annual conference, Baltimore 2017

“Partisan Consensus and Diaspora Electoral Participation: A Case Study of the Dominican Republic.” Advances in the Comparative Study of Emigrant Policies workshop, German Institute of Global and Area Studies Hamburg 2016

“Diaspora Outreach and Anti-Party Sentiment in Mexico.” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago 2016

“Party Motivations for Diaspora Campaigning: A Case Study of El Salvador.” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago 2015

“Diaspora Influence over Voter Preference in Latin America.” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago 2014

“Diaspora Partisan Political Strategies in El Salvador and Latin America.” International Political Science Association world congress, Madrid 2012

**GRANTS AND
SCHOLARSHIPS**

Georgetown University: Jill Hopper Memorial Fellowship, Herbert Roback scholarship, US Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies scholarship, Korean American Scholarship Foundation fellowship

**PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE**

Expert witness in hearings for asylum seekers on Latin America security conditions

Faculty sponsor, VCU UndocuRams

Program co-chair, APSA 2020, Migration and Citizenship section

Council member, LASA Expert Witness section

Associate editor, *Frontiers in Political Science*

Reviewer, *Journal of Politics*, *World Development*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Journal of Latin American Geography*, *Migration Studies*, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*

LANGUAGES

English and Spanish (fluent), Portuguese (proficient), Korean (intermediate)

SOFTWARE

R, Stata, SAS, SPSS, GIS, LaTeX