

MIGRATION AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT

(PSCI-7110-301)

Prof. Guy Grossman

Fall 2025

Date updated: 09/17/2025

Class Hours: Tuesday 1:45-4:44 p.m

Class Room: Fisher - Bennett Hall (BENN), room 140

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2-3 & by appt.

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Blurb

This is a graduate-level seminar on the political economy of immigration and forced displacement. The course covers some seminal work, but mostly cutting-edge research on the political and economic aspects of the “movement of people” across (and, at times, within) 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, communities, and households?

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 more broadly, explore the determinants of public attitudes toward 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 explore the human rights aspects of displacement, including the relationship between migration and conflict, as well as climate migration. Students will be exposed to a wide range of literature focused on both developed and developing countries.

Course Requirements

1. Class attendance: 10%

- This seminar will rely largely on class discussions. Class attendance is thus required to do well in the course. Attendance will be recorded for each class meeting and will constitute a portion of your final grade. You can miss one class, no questions asked, with no penalty. In the absence of exceptional circumstances, all subsequent missed classes will be reflected in your attendance score.

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 × 10 points each)

- To facilitate student professionalization and increase engagement, students will choose two readings to present to the class during the semester. Presenting students will introduce the research question, theoretical argument, and core empirical findings and offer an original critique of the reading. Presentations should be no longer than 20 minutes.

4. Final Paper: 60%

- Students will complete a final 20-30 pages (double-spaced) research paper (50% of grade). **Deadline:** December 15.
- Students will be expected to present their final project on the last day of class (10% of grade).

Logistics

Office Hours

Please sign up to office hours using calendly.com/ggros. Outside of office hours, I will be busy doing other parts of my job (directing PDRI-DevLab, 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 could help clear up any confusion you might have on a topic.

Communication

I will communicate with the class via Canvas and email. In general, I prefer that course-related communication takes place using Canvas. Please ensure that your UPenn email address is one you check regularly. To ensure my ability to respond to all student emails in a timely fashion, please be sure to check the course syllabus and Canvas thoroughly for answers to any questions.

I respond to emails during normal university work hours, and students can typically expect a response to an email inquiry within 2-3 working days. I do not typically respond to emails in the evenings, on weekends, or on statutory holidays. I do not respond to unprofessional or rude emails.

Grade policy

- The grade you earn is the grade you will receive in this course. Grades are not negotiable, and I do not award points based on 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 appeal memo. Re-grade requests will only be accepted within a week after the return of graded work.
- Late submission of the final paper will be penalized 1/10 of the grade every day, including the date the assignment is submitted. For example, if you submit your final paper on 12/18 (deadline: Dec 15th; total points: 40) and receive a grade of 35/40, it will register as a 24.5/40 when calculating your final grade (subtracting 10.5 points total, or 3.5 points for 12/16, 12/17, and 12/18).

Etiquette

Please be considerate of your fellow students: arrive at class on time, and do not leave the session early unless absolutely necessary. Turn off cell phones during class.

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 ongoing conditions. For more information on the services that you are entitled to, please refer to the following [guide](#).

Accommodating tiny children

Tiny children are great. If you are breastfeeding or can't find childcare (or honestly, any other reason), feel free to bring your baby to class. We'll make it work.

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 Penn's Policy on Religious Holidays.

Policy on Academic Misconduct

Academic honesty is critical in this class. As stated in the Student Handbook, things like “cheating” and “plagiarism” are serious violations and will lead to strict consequences. If you’re found to have done either, you may get a zero on the assignment or exam, and in some cases, an “F” for the entire course, depending on how serious it is.

Policy on the Use of Generative AI Tools

The release of ChatGPT in November 2022 marked a significant moment in how we work with technology. Tools like ChatGPT and other generative AI are already becoming important for many careers, not just in the future, but right now. At the same time, universities (and society more generally) are still figuring out when and how it’s okay to use these tools. Here are a few things to keep in mind:

1. AI-generated work may not count as your original work. These tools build on existing texts, usually without citing where that information came from.
2. AI tools can reflect bias or errors found in their training data. They often repeat what they’ve seen, rather than question or improve on it.
3. AI is not perfect. Currently, these tools cannot reason or make informed judgments independently. They can be impressive, but they lack the capacity for deep or critical thinking.

Please keep these points in mind when using large language models (LLMs) like ChatGPT. That said, I know these tools are here to stay, and I want to approach their use thoughtfully and realistically. So I’m adding the following expectations for using AI tools in this course:

1. If you use an AI tool, you must say so clearly in your work. Please include the name of the tool and how you used it. For example: *ChatGPT-4o. (YYYY, Month DD of query). “Exact text of your prompt.”*
2. Do not use AI in a way that violates copyright or counts as plagiarism. If you’re not sure whether something is okay, ask first.

Using AI in ways that break these rules will be treated as academic misconduct under the University of Pennsylvania’s policies. That could mean a lower grade, failing an assignment, or failing the course. Finally, it’s your responsibility to follow these guidelines. If you’re ever unsure about whether your use of AI is appropriate, please talk to me. We’re all learning how to use these tools responsibly, and I’m happy to help.

Where do I find the readings?

All class readings, including book chapters, papers, and magazine articles, are available electronically through the class website on Canvas.

Course material

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

Class Schedule

Week 1: Course Introduction (August 26)

Learning objectives:

- Set course expectations / go over the syllabus
- Historical and recent trends in movements of people across borders
- Grapple with the distinction between “refugees” and “migrants.” Should “refugees” deserve greater protection than “migrants”?

Required readings:

1. World Development Report 2023: chapter 2: 43–65.
2. World Development Report 2023: chapter 3: **but only until page 77.**
3. UNHCR global trends 2024 at <https://www.unhcr.org/global-trends-report-2024>
4. FitzGerald, David Scott, and Rawan Arar. (2018). "The Sociology of Refugee Migration." *Annual Review of Sociology*, **but only until page 393.**

Suggested readings:

- Fransen, Sonja, and Hein De Haas. (2022). "Trends and Patterns of Global Refugee Migration." *Population and Development Review* 48(1): 97–128.
- Betts, Alexander. (2011). *Protection by persuasion: International cooperation in the refugee regime*. Cornell University Press (Introduction chapter).
- Van Hear, Nicholas, Rebecca Brubaker, and Thais Bessa. (2009). "Managing mobility for human development: The growing salience of mixed migration."
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Hamlin, Rebecca. 2021. "The Migrant/Refugee Binary" in *Crossing: How we label and react to people on the move*, chapter 1:1–24.

Source countries

Week 2: Economic and social theories of migration (September 2)

Learning objectives:

- Why do people choose to migrate? What do we know about who migrates?
- At what level — individual or household — does migration choice take place?
- What is the relationship between household wealth and migration choice? Understanding the crucial role of liquidity constraints.
- Aspiration vs. ability in 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. World Development Report 2023: chapter 4: 95–108.
3. Bazzi, Samuel. (2017) "Wealth heterogeneity and the income elasticity of migration." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9(2): 219–55.
4. Dustmann, Christian, Francesco Fasani, Xin Meng, and Luigi Minale. (2023). "Risk attitudes and household migration decisions." *Journal of Human Resources* 58(1): 112–145.
5. Carling, Jørgen, and Kerilyn Schewel. (2018). "Revisiting aspiration and ability in international migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(6): 945–963.
6. Leblang, David, and Benjamin Helms. (2023). *The ties that bind: immigration and the global political economy*, chapter 2: 16–45.

Suggested readings:

- McKenzie, David. (2024). "Fears and Tears: Should More People Be Moving within and from Developing Countries, and What Stops This Movement?" *The World Bank Research Observer* 39(1): 75–96
- Bauernschuster, Stefan, Oliver Falck, Stephan Heblisch, 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
- Docquier, Frédéric, Giovanni Peri, and Ilse Ruyssen. (2014). "The cross-country determinants of potential and actual migration." *International Migration Review* 48(1): 37–99.
- Clemens, Michael A., and Mariapia Mendola. (2024). "Migration from developing countries: Selection, income elasticity, and Simpson's paradox." *Journal of Development Economics* 171: 103359.

Week 3: Migration drivers / push factors (September 9)**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?
- Is climate change inducing displacement? If so – how and why?

Required readings:

1. Orozco-Aleman, Sandra, and Heriberto González-Lozano. (2018) "Drug violence and migration flows: lessons from the Mexican drug war." *Journal of Human Resources* 53(3): 717–749.
2. Lichtenheld, Adam G. (2020). "Explaining population displacement strategies in civil wars: a cross-national analysis." *International Organization* 74(2): 253–294.
3. 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.
4. World Development Report 2023: chapter 3 ("The Outlook: Changing patterns, needs, and risks"), **only pages 78–83**.
5. Cattaneo, Cristina, et al. (2019). Human migration in the era of climate change. *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 13(2): 189–206.
6. Petrova, Kristina. (2021). "Natural hazards, internal migration and protests in Bangladesh." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(1): 33–49.

Suggested readings: conflict

- FitzGerald, David Scott, and Rawan Arar. (2018). "The Sociology of Refugee Migration." *Annual Review of Sociology*, **but only 394–397**.
- Czaika, Mathias, and Constantin Reinprecht. (2020). "Drivers of migration: A synthesis of knowledge." *IMI Working Paper Series* 163: 1–45.
- Müller Funk, Lea. (2019). Adapting to staying, or imagining futures elsewhere: Migration decision-making of Syrian refugees in Turkey."
- 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.
- Uzonyi, Gary. (2014). "Unpacking the effects of genocide and politicide on forced migration." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31(3): 225–243.
- Bohra-Mishra, Pratikshya, and Douglas S. Massey. (2011). "Individual decisions to migrate during civil conflict." *Demography* 48(2): 401–424.

- Adhikari, Prakash. (2013) "Conflict-induced displacement, understanding the causes of flight." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 82–89.
- Clemens, Michael A. (2021). "Violence, development, and migration waves: Evidence from Central American child migrant apprehensions." *Journal of Urban Economics* 124: 103355.
- 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.
- Weber, Sigrid. (2025). "Controlling a moving world: Territorial control, displacement and the spread of civilian targeting in Iraq." *Journal of Peace Research* 62(2): 211–229.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. (2015). "Population resettlement in war: Theory and evidence from Soviet archives." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1155–1185.

Suggested readings: climate change

- 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.
- Abel, Guy J., Michael Brottrager, Jesús 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. (2021). "The Geography of Climate Migration." *Journal of Demographic Economics* 87(3): 345–381.
- Cattaneo, Cristina, and Giovanni Peri. (2016). "The migration response to increasing temperatures." *Journal of Development Economics* 122: 127–146.
- 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.
- Mukherjee, Manisha, and Sonja Fransen. (2024). "Exploring migration decision-making and agricultural adaptation in the context of climate change: A systematic review." *World Development* 179: 106600.

Week 4: Destination choice, migration networks (September 16)

Learning objectives:

- How do migrants and refugees decide *if, where* to go?
- How and why networks matter in migration decisions, including destination choice?

Required readings:

1. Leblang, David, and Benjamin Helms. (2023). *The ties that bind: immigration and the global political economy*, chapter 3: 58–83.
2. 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.
3. Buch, Tanja, Carola Burkert, Stefan Hell, Annekatrin Niebuhr, and Anette Haas. (2025). "Do xenophobic attitudes influence migrant workers' regional location choice?" *PloS one* 20(2): e0316627.
4. Manchin, Miriam, and Sultan Orazbayev. (2018). "Social networks and the intention to migrate." *World Development* 109: 360–374.
5. Blumenstock, Joshua E., Guanghua Chi, and Xu Tan. (2025). "Migration and the value of social networks." *Review of Economic Studies* 92(1): 97–128.

Suggested readings:

- 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.
- Peters, Margaret, and Alisha Holland. (2020). "Political Information, Opportunities, and Migration Timing." *International Organization* 74(3): 560–583.
- 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.
- 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.
- Turkoglu, Oguzhan, and Sigrid Weber. (2023) "When to go? A conjoint experiment on social networks, violence, and forced migration decisions in eastern and southeastern Turkey." *International Studies Quarterly* 67(2): sqad033.
- Bertoli, Simone, and Ilse Ruyssen. (2018). "Networks and migrants' intended destination." *Journal of Economic Geography* 18(4): 705–728.
- Munshi, Kaivan. (2020). "Social Networks and Migration." *Annual Review of Economics* 12: 503–524.

Week 5: Migration effect on sending countries and communities (September 23)

Learning objectives:

- Social and economic remittances.
- What are the social, economic, and political effects on the migrants themselves?

Required readings:

1. World Development Report 2023: chapter 5: 127–143.
2. Krejcova, Eva, Filip Kostelka, Nicolas Sauger. (2025). "Change in migrants' political attitudes: Acculturation and cosmopolitanization" *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.
3. Gaikwad, Nikhar, Kolby Hanson, and Aliz Tóth. (2025). "How International Migration Opportunities Shape Economic Standing and Political Preferences," *International Organization*.
4. Tuccio, Michele, Jackline Wahba, and Bachir Hamdouch. (2019). "International migration as a driver of political and social change: evidence from Morocco." *Journal of Population Economics* 32(4): 1171–1203.
5. Escribà-Folch, Abel, Covadonga Meseguer, and Joseph Wright. (2022). "Migration and democracy: How remittances undermine dictatorships," chapter 1: 1–25.
6. Lim, Junghyun. (2023). "The Electoral Consequences of International Migration in Sending Countries: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 56(1): 36–64.

Suggested readings:

- Batista, Catia, Daniel Han, Johannes Haushofer, Gaurav Khanna, David McKenzie, Ahmed Moshfiq Mobarak, Caroline Theoharides, and Dean Yang. "Brain drain or brain gain? Effects of high-skilled international emigration on origin countries." (2025). *Science* 388(6749): eadr8861.
- Docquier, Frederic, Elisabetta Lodigiani, Hillel Rapoport and Maurice Schiff. (2016). "Emigration and Democracy." *Journal of Development Economics* 120: 209–223.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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."

Week 6: Returnees (September 30)**Learning objectives:**

- Under what conditions do displaced persons return to their home country?
- What are the social and political dynamics post-return?

Required readings:

1. Alrababa'h, Ala, Daniel Masterson, Marine Casalis, Dominik Hangartner, and Jeremy Weinstein. (2023). "The Dynamics of Refugee Return: Syrian Refugees and Their Migration Intentions." *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(4): 1108–1131.
2. Weber, Sigrid, and Alexandra Hartman. (2025). "Property rights and post-conflict recovery: Theory and evidence from IDP return movements in Iraq." *working paper*.
3. Sviatschi, Maria Micaela. "Spreading gangs: Exporting US criminal capital to El Salvador." *American Economic Review* 112.6 (2022): 1985-2024.
4. Blair, Christopher W., Benjamin Krick, and Austin L. Wright. (2025). "Refugee Repatriation and Conflict: Evidence from the Maximum Pressure Sanctions." *Working paper*.
5. Blair, Christopher W., and Austin L. Wright. (2025). "Refugee Return and Conflict: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Working paper*.

Suggested readings:

- 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.
- 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.
- Crisp, Jeff. (2019). "Repatriation principles under pressure." *Forced Migration Review* (62):19–23.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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*.

Week 7: Deterrence and securitization (October 7)**Learning objectives:**

- What tools do destination countries use to affect migration flows?
- Do 'Development-at-place' programs, and aid reduce migration?
- What are the effects of other deterrence and securitization policies?

Required readings:

1. Murat, Marina. (2020). "Foreign aid, bilateral asylum immigration, and development." *Journal of Population Economics* 33(1): 79–114.
2. Avdan, Nazli, Andrew S. Rosenberg, and Christopher F. Gelpi. (2025). "Where there's a will, there's a way: Border walls and refugees." *Journal of Peace Research* 62(2): 375–389.
3. Czaika, Mathias, and Mogens Hobolth. (2016). "Do restrictive asylum and visa policies increase irregular migration into Europe?." *European Union Politics* 17(3): 345–365.
4. Mesnard, Alice, Filip Savatic, Jean-noël Senne, and Hélène Thiollet. (2024). "Revolving Doors: How Externalization Policies Block Refugees and Deflect Other Migrants across Migration Routes." *Population and Development Review* 50(3): 607–642.
5. Battiston, Giacomo, Lucia Corno, and Eliana La Ferrara. (2024). "Informing Risky Migration: Evidence from a field experiment in Guinea." *Working Paper*.

Suggested readings:

- Bermeo, Sarah Blodgett, and David Leblang. (2015). "Migration and foreign aid." *International Organization* 69(3): 627–657.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, and Sarah Langlotz. (2019). "The effects of foreign aid on refugee flows." *European Economic Review* 112: 127–147.
- 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.
- Briggs, Ryan C., and Omer Solodoch. (2024). "Changes in perceptions of border security influence desired levels of immigration." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 68(6): 1252–1275.
- Flores, Fernanda Martanez. (2020). "The Effects of Enhanced Enforcement at Mexico's Southern Border: Evidence from Central American Deportees." *Demography* 57: 1597–1623.
- Helbling, Marc, and Leblang, David. (2019). "Controlling immigration? How regulations affect migration flows." *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(1): 248–269.
- Beber, Bernd, and Alexandra Scacco. (2025). "The Myth of the Misinformed Irregular Migrant? Survey Insights from Nigeria's Irregular Migration Epicenter." *Working Paper*.

Host / Destination Countries

Week 8: Security Implications of Refugee Flows (October 14)

Learning objectives:

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

Required readings:

1. Shaver, Andrew, et al. (2025). "The causes and consequences of refugee flows: A contemporary reanalysis." *American Political Science Review* 119(1): 526–534.
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. Knight, Brian, and Ana Tribin. (2023). "Immigration and violent crime: Evidence from the Colombia-Venezuela border." *Journal of Development Economics* 162: 103039.
4. Savun, Burcu, and Christian Gineste. (2019). "From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 88–102.
5. Helbling, Marc, and Daniel Meierrieks. (2022). "Terrorism and migration: An overview." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 977–996.

Suggested readings:

- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. (2003). "Collateral damage: Humanitarian assistance as a cause of conflict." *International Security* 28(1): 79–109.
- Salehyan, Idean, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. (2006). "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization* 60(2): 335–366.
- Rüegger, Seraina. (2019). "Refugees, ethnic power relations, and civil conflict in the country of asylum." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 42–57.
- Kathman, Jacob D. (2010). "Civil war contagion and neighboring interventions." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(4): 989–1012.
- 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.
- Kayaoglu, Aysegul. (2022). "Do refugees cause crime?" *World Development* 154: 105858.
- Choi, Seung-Whan, and Idean Salehyan. (2013). "No good deed goes unpunished: Refugees, humanitarian aid, and terrorism." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30(1): 53–75.
- Bove, Vincenzo, and Tobias Bohmelt. (2016). "Does Immigration Induce Terrorism?" *Journal of Politics* 78(2): 572–588.

Week 9: Economic Implications of In-Migration Flows (October 21)

Learning objectives:

- What are the economic effects of migrants on receiving/host countries?

Required readings:

1. World Development Report (2023): chapter 6: **but only until page 173.**
2. Caiumi, Alessandro, and Giovanni Peri. (2024). "Immigration's Effect on US Wages and Employment Redux." *National Bureau of Economic Research No. w32389.*
3. Zhou, Yang-Yang, Guy Grossman, and Shuning Ge. (2023). "Inclusive refugee-hosting can improve local development and prevent public backlash." *World Development* 166: 106203.
4. Taylor, J. Edward, Mateusz J. Filipski, Mohamad Alloush, Anubhab Gupta, Ruben Irvin Rojas Valdes, and Ernesto Gonzalez-Estrada. (2016). "Economic impact of refugees." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113(27): 7449–7453.
5. Verme, Paolo, and Kirsten Schuettler. (2021). "The impact of forced displacement on host communities: A review of the empirical literature in economics." *Journal of Development Economics* 150: 102606.

Suggested readings:

- Hernández, Exequiel (Zeke). (2024). *The truth about immigration: why successful societies welcome newcomers.*
- Peri, Giovanni, Derek Rury, and Justin C. Wiltshire. (2024) "The Economic Impact of Migrants from Hurricane Maria." *Journal of Human Resources* 59(6): 1795–1829.
- Koczan, Zsoka, Giovanni Peri, Magali Pinat, and Dmitriy Rozhkov. (2021). "The impact of international migration on inclusive growth: A review." *IMF Working Paper.*
- Edo, Anthony, Lionel Ragot, Hillel Rapoport, Sulin Sardoschau, Andreas Steinmayr, and Arthur Sweetman. (2020). "An introduction to the economics of immigration in OECD countries." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 53(4): 1365–1403.
- Ruiz, Isabel, and Carlos Vargas-Silva. (2013). "The Economics of Forced Migration." *The Journal of Development Studies* 49(6): 772–784.
- Altındağ, Onur, Ozan Bakış, and Sandra V. Rozo. (2020). "Blessing or burden? Impacts of refugees on businesses and the informal economy." *Journal of Development Economics* 146: 102490.
- Rozo, Sandra V., and Micaela Sviatschi. (2021). "Is a refugee crisis a housing crisis? Only if housing supply is unresponsive." *Journal of Development Economics* 148: 102563.
- Fallah, Belal, Caroline Krafft, and Jackline Wahba. (2019). "The impact of refugees on employment and wages in Jordan." *Journal of Development Economics* 139: 203–216.

Week 10: Political Implications of In-Migration (October 28)

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. Alrababah, Ala, Andreas Beerli, Dominik Hangartner, and Dalston Ward. (2025). "The free movement of people and the success of far-right parties: Evidence from Switzerland's border liberalization." *American Political Science Review* 119(3):1426–1445.
2. Dinas, Elias, Konstantinos Matakos, Dimitrios Xefteris, and Dominik Hangartner. (2019). "Waking up the golden dawn: does exposure to the refugee crisis increase support for extreme-right parties?" *Political Analysis* 27(2): 244–254.
3. Cavaille, Charlotte, and Jeremy Ferwerda. (2023). "How distributional conflict over in-kind benefits generates support for far-right parties." *The Journal of Politics* 85(1): 19-33.
4. Baseler, Travis, Thomas Ginn, Robert Hakiza, Helidah Ogude-Chambert, and Olivia Woldemikael. (2025). "Can redistribution change policy views? Aid and attitudes toward refugees." *Journal of Political Economy* 133(9).
5. Zhou, Yang-Yang, Naijia Liu, Shuning Ge and Guy Grossman. (2025). "Liberalizing Refugee Hosting Policies without Losing the Vote." *Working paper*.

Suggested readings:

- Alesina, Alberto, and Marco Tabellini. (2024). "The Political Effects of Immigration: Culture or Economics?" *Journal of Economic Literature* 62(1): 5–46.
- Altindag, Onur, and Neeraj Kaushal. (2021). "Do refugees impact voting behavior in the host country? Evidence from Syrian refugee inflows to Turkey." *Public Choice* 186(1): 149–178.
- 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.
- Calderon, Alvaro, Vasiliki Fouka, and Marco Tabellini. (2023). "Racial diversity and racial policy preferences: the great migration and civil rights." *The Review of Economic Studies* 90(1): 165–200.
- Campo, Francesco, Sara Giunti, and Mariapia Mendola. (2024). "Refugee crisis and right-wing populism: Evidence from the Italian Dispersal Policy." *European Economic Review* 168: 104826

- Cools, Sara, Henning Finseraas, and Ole Rogeberg. (2021). "Local immigration and support for anti-immigration parties: A meta-analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(4): 988–1006.
- Dustmann, Christian, Kristine Vasiljeva, and Anna Piil Damm. (2019). "Refugee Migration and Electoral Outcomes." *The Review of Economic Studies* 86(5): 2035–2091.
- Edo, Anthony, Yvonne Giesing, Jonathan Öztunc, and Panu Poutvaara. (2019). "Immigration and electoral support for the far-left and the far-right." *European Economic Review* 115: 99-143.
- 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.
- Konstantinou, Panagiotis Th, and Costas Roumanias. (2024). "From the Fringe to the front-stage. European immigration and the Far-Right vote: An IV approach." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 98: 101925.
- Margalit, Yotam, and Omer Solodoch. (2022). "Against the Flow: Differentiating Between Public Opposition to the Immigration Stock and Flow." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 1055–1075.
- Mendez, Ildefonso, and Isabel M. Cutillas. (2014). "Has immigration affected Spanish presidential election results?" *Journal of Population Economics* 27(1): 135-171.
- Rozo, 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. (2023) "Dismantling the 'Jungle': Migrant Relocation and Extreme Voting in France." *Political Science Research and Methods* 11(1): 129–143.

Week 11: November 4 — No Class

Week 12: Migration Policies (November 11)**Learning objectives:**

- Why do some countries have restrictive and others more inclusive migration policies?

Required readings:

1. Peters, Margaret E. (2017). *Trading Barriers: Immigration and the Remaking of Globalization*. Chapters 2–3.
2. Rayp, Glenn, Ilse Ruyssen, and Samuel Standaert. (2017). "Measuring and Explaining Cross-Country Immigration Policies." *World Development* 95: 141-163.
3. Blair, Christopher, Guy Grossman, and Jeremy Weinstein. (2022). "Forced Displacement and Asylum Policy in the Developing World" *International Organization* 76 (2): 337-378.
4. Natter, Katharina. (2018). "Rethinking immigration policy theory beyond 'Western liberal democracies'." *Comparative migration studies* 6(1): 4.
5. Salehyan, Idean, and Burcu Savun. (2024). "Strategic humanitarianism: host states and refugee policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 27: 107–125.

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.
- De Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. (2018). "Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies." *International Migration Review* 52(2): 324–367.
- 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.
- Helbling, Marc, and Dorina Kalkum. (2018). "Migration policy trends in OECD countries." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(12): 1779–1797.
- Razin, Assaf. (2020). "Migration and Fiscal Externality: US vs. Europe." *National Bureau of Economic Research*, No. w28126.
- Ruhs, Martin. (2018). "Labor immigration policies in high-income countries: Variations across political regimes and varieties of capitalism." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 47(1): 89–127.
- Shin, Adrian J. (2016). "Tyrants and Migrants: Authoritarian Immigration Policy." *Comparative Political Studies*. 50(1): 14-40.

Week 13: Native-born behavior toward immigrants (November 18)**Learning objectives:**

- The determinants of anti-immigrants' violence, hate crime, and hate speech
- Prejudice reduction policies and strategies.

Required readings:

1. Riaz, Sascha, Daniel Bischof, and Markus Wagner. (2024). "Out-group threat and xenophobic hate crimes: Evidence of local intergroup conflict dynamics between immigrants and natives." *The Journal of Politics* 86(4): 1146–1161.
2. Dippoppa, Gemma, Guy Grossman, and Stephanie Zonszein. (2023). "Locked Down, Lashing Out: COVID-19 Effects on Asian Hate Crimes in Italy." *The Journal of Politics* 85(2): 389–404.
3. Zonszein, Stephanie, and Guy Grossman. (2025). "Voted In, Standing Out: Public Response to Immigrants' Political Accession." *American Journal of Political Science* 69(2): 718–733.
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.
6. 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.

Suggested readings: hate crime

- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D. (2016). How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science* 354(6309): 217–222.
- Bursztyn, 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.
- 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.
- Entorf, Horst, and Martin Lange. (2023). "Refugees welcome? Understanding the regional heterogeneity of anti-foreigner hate crimes in Germany." *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 101: 103913.

- 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.
- 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.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. (2014). "Public attitudes toward immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225-249.
- 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.
- Grewal, Sharan, and Shadi Hamid. (2024). "Discrimination, inclusion, and anti-system attitudes among Muslims in Germany." *American Journal of Political Science* 68(2): 511–528.
- Romarri, Alessio. (2022). "Strongmen in power are not without consequences: far-right mayors and hate crimes." *Working paper*.

Suggested readings: prejudice reduction

- Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, and Melina R. Platas. (2018). "Perspective taking can promote short-term inclusionary behavior toward Syrian refugees." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(38): 9521-9526.
 - Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, Melina Platas, Lauren Prather, and Scott Williamson. (2025). "When hearts meet minds: complementary effects of perspective-getting and information on refugee inclusion." *Political Science Research and Methods* (firstview).
 - Mousa, Salma. (2020). "Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq." *Science* 369(6505): 866–870.
 - Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Roni Porat, Chelsey S. Clark, and Donald P. Green. (2021). "Prejudice Reduction: Progress and Challenges." *Annual Review of Psychology* 72(1): 533–560.
 - Scacco, Alexandra, and Shana S. Warren. (2018). "Can social contact reduce prejudice and discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 654–677.
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Week 14: November 25 — Thanksgiving week, No Class

Week 14: Integration and assimilation (December 2)

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. Zonszein, Stephanie (2024). "Turn On, Tune In, Turn Out: Ethnic Radio and Immigrants' Political Engagement." *American Journal of Political Science* 69(3): 1128–1146.
4. Ibáñez, Ana María, Andrés Moya, María Adelaida Ortega, Sandra V. Rozo, and María José Urbina. (2025). "Life out of the shadows: the impacts of regularization programs on the lives of forced migrants." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 23(3): 941–982.
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:

- Adida, Claire L. and Amanda Lea Robinson (2023). "Why (some) immigrants resist assimilation: US racism and the African immigrant experience." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*: Vol18(3): 295–338.
- 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. (2022). "From immigrants to Americans: Race and assimilation during the Great Migration." *The Review of Economic Studies* 89(2): 811–842.
- Fouka, Vasiliki. (2024). "State policy and immigrant integration." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 27: 25–46.
- Fransen, Sonja, Anja Werntges, Alexander Hunns, Mikhail Sirenko, and Tina Comes. (2024). "Refugee settlements are highly exposed to extreme weather conditions." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 121(3): e2206189120.

- 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.
- 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.
- Hilbig, Hanno, and Sascha Riaz. (2022). "Freedom of movement restrictions inhibit the psychological integration of refugees." *The Journal of Politics* 84(4): 2288-2293.
- Strang, Alison, and Alastair Ager. (2010). "Refugee Integration: Emerging Trends and Remaining Agendas." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4):589-607.
- Zonszein, Stephanie. (2025). "Taking Part without Blending In: Legalization Policies and the Integration of Immigrants." *Working paper*.