The Politics of Migration

Note: This is a preliminary syllabus!

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Office hours: after class and by appointment
Time: Wednesdays, 4:00–5:30pm
Room: IBW 3.40

1. Course Description

This course examines the political economy of international migration. We begin with the economics of migration: why people leave their home countries, how different forms of migration can be distinguished (refugees, economic and labor migrants; regular and irregular migration), and what economic effects migration produces in both origin and destination countries. In the second part of the course we turn to the politics of migration. We study how migrant inflows affect political outcomes, the role political parties play in politicizing and responding to migration, the determinants of public opinion toward migration, and the relationship between migration and the populist radical right. We then turn to global trends, with a particular focus on the current migration-related challenges facing Europe. Throughout the course, we discuss cutting-edge empirical studies in political science and economics. By the end of the course, students will be able to critically assess theoretical arguments and empirical evidence on the causes and consequences of migration and its political effects.

2. Participation Requirements

This is an advanced Bachelor-level course. There are no formal prerequisites for participation. Students should have basic knowledge of comparative politics and political economy. Foundational knowledge of quantitative methods (linear regression, statistical inference, causal reasoning) is desirable but not required. Taking the course on research design beforehand is highly recommended.

3. Assessment

The final grade is composed of two elements:

- Presentation: up to 20 points
- Final paper: up to 80 points

Grade	Points
1.0	95–100
1.3	90–94
1.7	85–89
2.0	80–84
2.3	75–79
2.7	70–74
3.0	65–69
3.3	60–64
3.7	55–59
4.0	50–54
5.0	< 50

Presentation: Each student gives a presentation that summarizes and critically engages with the assigned reading(s) for a given session. The presentation should lay out the central question and argument, the theoretical framework, the empirical strategy and evidence, and an assessment of the work's strengths and limitations. A short discussion in the plenum follows.

Final paper: Each student writes a final paper of no more than 5,000 words +/- 5% (excluding cover page, references, and statutory declaration) on a topic related to the course. The paper should pose a clear and relevant research question, motivate it, derive one hypothesis, engage critically with the relevant literature, conduct a short empirical analysis.

Formatting: 12pt, 1.5 line spacing, 2cm margins (top, bottom, left, and right), justified text, page numbers, Harvard citation style (Harvard citation guide).

4. Learning Objectives

The learning objectives of the course are as follows. Students will...

- understand why people migrate and know the main theories of migration.
- be able to distinguish different forms of migration (refugees, economic and labor migrants; regular and irregular migration).
- know the economic effects of migration in origin and destination countries.
- understand how migrant inflows affect political outcomes and the role of political parties.
- be able to compare economic and cultural explanations of public opinion toward migration.
- understand the relationship between migration and the populist radical right.
- be able to critically assess theoretical arguments and empirical evidence on migration.

5. Academic Integrity

Plagiarism, deception, falsification of data, and other forms of academic misconduct constitute violations of academic integrity. Such violations result in failing the course.

6. Resources

The Department of Political Science at the University of Cologne provides information and recommendations on academic writing, good scientific practice, plagiarism, and assessment criteria. See: cccp.uni-koeln.de/de/teaching/information-for-students.

The University offers several services that support students in various areas (e.g., general study advice, administration, discrimination, sexualized violence, and bullying). For an overview see: wiso.uni-koeln.de/en/studies/service-wiso-faculty/central-guidance-services.

The WiSo Student Service Point (WiSSPo) is the first, central point of contact for questions relating to studying at the WiSo faculty. See: wiso.uni-koeln.de/en/studies/service-wiso-faculty.

7. Schedule and Course Readings

The seminar meets weekly on Wednesdays, 4:00–5:30pm, in room IBW 3.40, starting on 14 October 2026. There is no class during the Christmas break (23 December 2026 – 6 January 2027). The reading assignments for each session are listed below.

Session 1 — Introduction
The introductory session will provide students with an overview of different explanations for migration decisions. In this context, we will focus on the workhorse model of migration decision-making in economics, the Roy–Borjas self-selection framework, and discuss its limitations and potential extensions and alternatives. We will also discuss different typologies of migrants and their implications.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Munshi, Kaivan. 2020. "Social Networks and Migration." Annual Review of Economics 12 (Volume 12, 2020): 503–24. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-082019-031419.
- de Haas, Hein, Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller. 2020. "The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World", London/New York/Dublin: Bloomsbury Publishing, 6th edition, chapter 2, pp. 21–41.

Suggested further reading(s):

- de Haas, Hein. 2021. "A Theory of Migration: The Aspirations-Capabilities Framework." Comparative Migration Studies 9 (1): 8. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00210-4.
- Aksoy, Cevat Giray, and Panu Poutvaara. 2021. "Refugees' and Irregular Migrants' Self-Selection into Europe." Journal of Development Economics 152 (September): 102681. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2021.102681.
- Clemens, Michael A. 2022. "Migration on the Rise, a Paradigm in Decline: The Last Half-Century of Global Mobility." AEA Papers and Proceedings 112 (May): 257–61.

https://doi.org/10.1257/pandp.20221050.

- Chiswick, Barry. 1999. "Are Immigrants Favorably Self-Selected?" American Economic Review 89 (2): 181–85. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.89.2.181.
- Borjas, George J. 1987. "Self-Selection and the Earnings of Immigrants." The American Economic Review 77 (4): 531–53.
- Bender, Felix. 2024. "Morality in the Refugee Regime? Arguing for More (Political) Realism in Admitting Refugees." Perspectives on Politics 22 (4): 961–74. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724000860.
- Song, Sarah. 2018. "Political Theories of Migration." Annual Review of Political Science 21 (Volume 21, 2018): 385–402. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-082317-093019.

Session 2 — Drivers of migration decision-making
In the second session, we will discuss several drivers of migration decisions, e.g., risk attitudes, perceptions, and various push and pull factors.
Mandatory reading(s):

- See first session.

Presentation reading(s):

- Cattaneo, Cristina, and Giovanni Peri. 2016. "The Migration Response to Increasing Temperatures." Journal of Development Economics 122 (September): 127–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2016.05.004.
- Ferwerda, Jeremy, Moritz Marbach, and Dominik Hangartner. 2024. "Do Immigrants Move to Welfare? Subnational Evidence from Switzerland." American Journal of Political Science 68 (3): 874–90. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12766.
- McKenzie, David, John Gibson, and Steven Stillman. 2013. "A Land of Milk and Honey with Streets Paved with Gold: Do Emigrants Have over-Optimistic Expectations about Incomes Abroad?" Journal of Development Economics, Migration and Development, vol. 102 (May): 116–27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2012.01.001.
- Dustmann, Christian, Francesco Fasani, Xin Meng, and Luigi Minale. 2023. "Risk Attitudes and Household Migration Decisions." Journal of Human Resources 58 (1): 112–45. https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.58.3.1019-10513R1.
- Mesplé-Somps, Sandrine, and Björn Nilsson. 2023. "Role Models, Aspirations and Desire to Migrate." Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization 212 (August): 819–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2023.06.013.
- Shrestha, Maheshwor. 2019. "Death Scares: How Potential Work-Migrants Infer Mortality Rates from Migrant Deaths." Journal of Development Economics 141 (November): 102368. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2019.07.001.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Cham, Omar N. n.d. "'Even If I Am Going to Die, I Must Go': Understanding the Influence of Predestination Thinking on Migration Decision-Making in the Gambia." International Migration n/a (n/a). https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.13317.

Session 3 — Economic effects of immigration
This session discusses the potential economic effects of immigration on destination countries. We will examine effects on labor markets, overall welfare effects, and fiscal implications.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Card, David, and Giovanni Peri. 2016. "Immigration Economics by George J. Borjas: A Review Essay." Journal of Economic Literature 54 (4): 1333–49. https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20151248.
- 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/Revue Canadienne d'économique 53 (4): 1365–403. https://doi.org/10.1111/caje.12482.

Presentation reading(s):

- Dustmann, Christian, and Tommaso Frattini. 2014. "The Fiscal Effects of Immigration to the UK." The Economic Journal 124 (580): F593–643. https://doi.org/10.1111/ecoj.12181.
- Card, David. 1990. "The Impact of the Mariel Boatlift on the Miami Labor Market." ILR Review 43 (2): 245–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/001979399004300205.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Borjas, George J. 2014. "Immigration Economics." Harvard University Press.
- Peri, Giovanni. 2016. "Immigrants, Productivity, and Labor Markets." Journal of Economic Perspectives 30 (4): 3–30. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.30.4.3.
- Dustmann, Christian, Uta Schönberg, and Jan Stuhler. 2016. "The Impact of Immigration: Why Do Studies Reach Such Different Results?" Journal of Economic Perspectives 30 (4): 31–56. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.30.4.31.
- Foged, Mette, and Giovanni Peri. 2016. "Immigrants' Effect on Native Workers: New Analysis on Longitudinal Data." American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 8 (2): 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20150114.

Session 4 — Migration and economic development
In this session, we will first discuss how emigration affects development outcomes in origin countries through remittances, return migration, and differential selection into migration. In the second part, we will focus on the reverse effect of how economic development affects

migration. In this context, we will also focus on the potential effects of development policy on migration.

Mandatory reading(s):

- Yang, Dean. 2026. "International Migration and Economic Development." Annual Review of Economics, April 16. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-081525-021320.
- De Haas, Hein. 2007. "Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration." Development and Change 38 (5): 819–41. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2007.00435.x.

Presentation reading(s):

- Bucheli, José R., and Matías Fontenla. 2025. "The Impact of Return Migration on Economic Development." The Review of Economics and Statistics 107 (2): 393–407. https://doi.org/10.1162/rest_a_01273.
- Heidland, Tobias, Andreas Fuchs, Andre Groeger, and Lukas Wellner. 2023. "The Effect of Foreign Aid on Migration: Global Micro-Evidence from World Bank Projects." Kiel Working Papers 2257 (October). https://www.ifw-kiel.de/publications/the-effect-of-foreign-aid-on-migration-global-micro-evidence-from-world-bank-projects-32087/.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Batista, Catia, Daniel Han, Johannes Haushofer, et al. 2025. "Brain Drain or Brain Gain? Effects of High-Skilled International Emigration on Origin Countries." Science 388 (6749): eadr8861. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.adr8861.
- Bazzi, Samuel, Arya Gaduh, Alexander D. Rothenberg, and Maisy Wong. 2016. "Skill Transferability, Migration, and Development: Evidence from Population Resettlement in Indonesia." American Economic Review 106 (9): 2658–98. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20141781.
- Clemens, Michael A. 2011. "Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk?" Journal of Economic Perspectives 25 (3): 83–106. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.25.3.83.
- Clemens, Michael A., and Hannah M. Postel. 2018. "Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries." Population and Development Review 44 (4): 667–93. https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12184.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, and Sarah Langlotz. 2019. "The Effects of Foreign Aid on Refugee Flows." European Economic Review 112 (February): 127–47. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2018.12.001.

- Dustmann, Christian, and Ian P. Preston. 2019. "Free Movement, Open Borders, and the Global Gains from Labor Mobility." Annual Review of Economics 11 (Volume 11, 2019): 783–808. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-080218-025843.

Session 5 — Integration and integration policies
In the fifth session, we will study integration and integration policies, both in terms of labor market integration and in terms of integration more broadly understood.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Brell, Courtney, Christian Dustmann, and Ian Preston. 2020. "The Labor Market Integration of Refugee Migrants in High-Income Countries." Journal of Economic Perspectives 34 (1): 94–121. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.1.94.
- Fouka, Vasiliki. 2024. "State Policy and Immigrant Integration." Annual Review of Political Science 27 (Volume 27, 2024): 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051921-102651.

Presentation reading(s):

- Dustmann, Christian, Rasmus Landersø, and Lars Højsgaard Andersen. 2024. "Refugee Benefit Cuts." American Economic Journal: Economic Policy 16 (2): 406–41. https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.20220062.
- 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): 707–23. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000106.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Bansak, Kirk, Jeremy Ferwerda, Jens Hainmueller, et al. 2018. "Improving Refugee Integration through Data-Driven Algorithmic Assignment." Science 359 (6373): 325–29. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao4408.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. 2019. "Does Direct Democracy Hurt Immigrant Minorities? Evidence from Naturalization Decisions in Switzerland." American Journal of Political Science 63 (3): 530–47.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Moritz Marbach, Dominik Hangartner, Niklas Harder, and Ehsan Vallizadeh. 2026. "Refugee Labor Market Integration at Scale: Evidence from Germany's Fast-Track Employment Program." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 123 (14): e2513863123. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2513863123.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Elisa Cascardi, Michael Hotard, et al. 2026. "The Socioeconomic Returns to Citizenship: A Randomized Controlled Trial." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 123 (5): e2516178123. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2516178123.

- 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. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000494.
- Alizade, Jeyhun, Rafaela Dancygier, and Ruth K. Ditlmann. 2021. "National Penalties Reversed: The Local Politics of Citizenship and Politician Responsiveness to Immigrants." The Journal of Politics 83 (3): 867–83. https://doi.org/10.1086/711056.
- 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): 405–22. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000017.

Session 6 — Public attitudes toward immigrants I: Economic and cultural determinants
The next three sessions will focus on the determinants of public attitudes toward immigration. In this first session, we will discuss explanations centered on economic considerations. In this context, we will examine potential drivers of immigration preferences such as labor market competition or concerns about fiscal costs.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." Annual Review of Political Science 17 (1): 225–49. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-102512-194818.
- Ward, Dalston G. 2019. "Public Attitudes toward Young Immigrant Men." American Political Science Review 113 (1): 264–69. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000710.

Presentation reading(s):

- 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 (2): 391–410. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12012.
- Hopkins, Daniel J., Yotam Margalit, and Omer Solodoch. 2024. "Personal Economic Shocks and Public Opposition to Unauthorized Immigration." British Journal of Political Science 54 (3): 928–36. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123423000261.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2010. "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." American Political Science Review 104 (1): 61–84. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409990372.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Michael J. Hiscox, and Yotam Margalit. 2015. "Do Concerns about Labor Market Competition Shape Attitudes toward Immigration? New Evidence." Journal of International Economics 97 (1): 193–207. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jinteco.2014.12.010.

- Haaland, Ingar, and Christopher Roth. 2020. "Labor Market Concerns and Support for Immigration." Journal of Public Economics 191 (November): 104256. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104256.
- Cohen, Denis, and Sergi Pardos-Prado. 2025. "Regional Labor Markets, Residential Mobility, and Anti-Immigration Sentiment." British Journal of Political Science 55 (January): e157. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123425101038.
- Kustov, Alexander, Dillon Laaker, and Cassidy Reller. 2021. "The Stability of Immigration Attitudes: Evidence and Implications." The Journal of Politics 83 (4): 1478–94. https://doi.org/10.1086/715061.
- Bousquet, Julie, Anna Gasten, Mark Marvin Kadigo, Jean-François Maystadt, and Colette Salemi. 2025. "Does Perceived Labor Market Competition Increase Prejudice between Refugees and Their Local Hosts? Evidence from Uganda and Ethiopia." Journal of Development Economics 175 (June): 103481. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2025.103481.

Session 7 — Public attitudes toward immigrants II: Refugees and exposure to immigrants
In the second session on the determinants of public attitudes toward immigrants, we will study the determinants of preferences over refugees. We will focus on economic and humanitarian concerns, as well as how exposure to refugees itself may affect these attitudes.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes toward Asylum Seekers." Science 354 (6309): 217–22. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aag2147.
- Hatton, Timothy J. 2020. "Asylum Migration to the Developed World: Persecution, Incentives, and Policy." Journal of Economic Perspectives 34 (1): 75–93. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.1.75.

Presentation reading(s):

- 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): 442–55. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000813.
- Hager, Anselm, Hanno Hilbig, and Sascha Riaz. 2023. "Refugee Labor Market Access Increases Support for Immigration." Comparative Political Studies, ahead of print, May 25. Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA. https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231178733.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2023. "Europeans' Support for Refugees of Varying Background Is Stable over Time." Nature 620 (7975): 7975. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-06417-6.

- Ajzenman, Nicolás, Cevat Giray Aksoy, and Sergei Guriev. 2022. "Exposure to Transit Migration: Public Attitudes and Entrepreneurship." Journal of Development Economics 158 (September): 102899. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2022.102899.
- Dinas, Elias, Vasiliki Fouka, and Alain Schläpfer. 2021. "Family History and Attitudes toward Out-Groups: Evidence from the European Refugee Crisis." The Journal of Politics 83 (2): 647–61. https://doi.org/10.1086/710016.
- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2023. "Hate Crime Supporters Are Found across Age, Gender, and Income Groups and Are Susceptible to Violent Political Appeals." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 120 (7): e2212757120. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2212757120.
- Kustov, Alexander. 2021. "Borders of Compassion: Immigration Preferences and Parochial Altruism." Comparative Political Studies 54 (3–4): 445–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020938087.

Session 8 — Public attitudes toward immigrants III: Contact hypothesis
In this session, we will discuss the contact hypothesis, i.e., the idea that direct contact between natives and immigrants can reduce prejudice, and the conditions under which it holds.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1998. "Intergroup Contact Theory." Annual Review of Psychology 49 (Volume 49, 1998): 65–85. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65.

Presentation reading(s):

- Steinmayr, Andreas. 2021. "Contact versus Exposure: Refugee Presence and Voting for the Far Right." The Review of Economics and Statistics 103 (2): 310–27. https://doi.org/10.1162/rest_a_00922.
- Alrababa'h, Ala', William Marble, Salma Mousa, and Alexandra A. Siegel. 2021. "Can Exposure to Celebrities Reduce Prejudice? The Effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic Behaviors and Attitudes." American Political Science Review 115 (4): 1111–28. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000423.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Carrell, Scott E., Mark Hoekstra, and James E. West. 2015. "The Impact of Intergroup Contact on Racial Attitudes and Revealed Preferences." Working Paper No. 20940. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research, February. https://doi.org/10.3386/w20940.
- Corno, Lucia, Eliana La Ferrara, and Justine Burns. 2022. "Interaction, Stereotypes, and Performance: Evidence from South Africa." American Economic Review 112 (12): 3848–75. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20181805.
- Bursztyn, Leonardo, Thomas Chaney, Tarek A. Hassan, and Aakaash Rao. 2024. "The Immigrant Next Door." American Economic Review 114 (2): 348–84. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20220376.

- 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): 654–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000151.
- Fouka, Vasiliki, and Marco Tabellini. 2022. "Changing In-Group Boundaries: The Effect of Immigration on Race Relations in the United States." American Political Science Review 116 (3): 968–84. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421001350.
- Enos, Ryan D. 2014. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 111 (10): 3699–704. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1317670111.

Session 9 — The political consequences of migration
In this session, we will examine how immigration shapes political outcomes in destination countries, with a particular focus on electoral outcomes and support for the far right.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Alesina, Alberto, and Marco Tabellini. n.d. "The Political Effects of Immigration: Culture or Economics?" Journal of Economic Literature. https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20221643.

Presentation reading(s):

- Alesina, Alberto, Armando Miano, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2023. "Immigration and Redistribution." The Review of Economic Studies 90 (1): 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdac011.
- Dustmann, Christian, Kristine Vasiljeva, and Anna Piil Damm. 2019. "Refugee Migration and Electoral Outcomes." The Review of Economic Studies 86 (5): 2035–91. https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdy047.

Suggested further reading(s):

- 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): 1426–45. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424001151.
- Halla, Martin, Alexander F. Wagner, and Josef Zweimüller. 2017. "Immigration and Voting for the Far Right." Journal of the European Economic Association 15 (6): 1341–85. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeea/jvx003.
- Gennaro, Gloria. 2026. "Immigration, Public Housing, and Support for the French National Front." The Journal of Politics 88 (3): 1011–26. https://doi.org/10.1086/736361.
- Dancygier, Rafaela, Sirus H. Dehdari, David D. Laitin, Moritz Marbach, and Kåre Vernby. 2024. "Emigration and Radical Right Populism." American Journal of Political Science n/a (n/a). https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12852.

- Kapur, Devesh. 2014. "Political Effects of International Migration." Annual Review of Political Science 17 (Volume 17, 2014): 479–502. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-043010-095807.
- 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 (June): 99–143. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2019.03.001.
- Bratti, Massimiliano, Claudio Deiana, Enkelejda Havari, Gianluca Mazzarella, and Elena Claudia Meroni. 2020. "Geographical Proximity to Refugee Reception Centres and Voting." Journal of Urban Economics 120 (November): 103290. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2020.103290.

Session 10 — Parties, elites, and migration (policy)
This session focuses on the role of political parties and elites in politicizing migration and in shaping immigration policy.
Mandatory reading(s):

- Dancygier, Rafaela, and Yotam Margalit. 2020. "The Evolution of the Immigration Debate: Evidence from a New Dataset of Party Positions Over the Last Half-Century." Comparative Political Studies 53 (5): 734–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019858936.

Presentation reading(s):

- 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): 1426–45. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424001151.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2016. "Political and Institutional Determinants of Immigration Policies." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 42 (13): 2087–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1166938.

Suggested further reading(s):

- Helbling, Marc. 2014. "Framing Immigration in Western Europe." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 40 (1): 21–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830888.
- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2024. "The Future of Multiracial Democracy: Liberal Democracy in an Age of Immigration." Journal of Democracy 35 (4): 63–77.
- Dancygier, Rafaela, Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Pär Nyman, and Kåre Vernby. 2021. "Candidate Supply Is Not a Barrier to Immigrant Representation: A Case–Control Study." American Journal of Political Science 65 (3): 683–98. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12553.
- 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. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055415000404.

Session 11 — Immigration policy preferences
In this session, we will study public preferences over immigration policy, i.e., which immigration and asylum policies citizens support and under what conditions.

- Helbling, Marc, Rahsaan Maxwell, and Richard Traunmüller. 2023. "Numbers, Selectivity, and Rights: The Conditional Nature of Immigration Policy Preferences." Comparative Political Studies, May 30, 00104140231178737. https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140231178737.
- Vrânceanu, Alina, Elias Dinas, Tobias Heidland, and Martin Ruhs. 2023. "The European Refugee Crisis and Public Support for the Externalisation of Migration Management." European Journal of Political Research 62 (4): 1146–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12565.
- Jeannet, Anne-Marie, Tobias Heidland, and Martin Ruhs. 2021. "What Asylum and Refugee Policies Do Europeans Want? Evidence from a Cross-National Conjoint Experiment." European Union Politics 22 (3): 353–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165211006838.
- Kustov, Alexander, and Michelangelo Landgrave. 2025. "Immigration Is Difficult?! Informing Voters about Immigration Policy Fosters pro-Immigration Views." Journal of Experimental Political Science, January 6, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2024.21.
- Kustov, Alexander. 2024. "Beyond Changing Minds: Raising the Issue Importance of Expanding Legal Immigration." Perspectives on Politics, November 7, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724001117.
- Chinoy, Sahil, Nathan Nunn, Sandra Sequeira, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2023. "Zero-Sum Thinking and the Roots of U.S. Political Divides." SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 4574633. Rochester, NY, September 1. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4574633.

Session 12 — Global trends
In this session, we will take a global and long-run perspective and discuss how demographic change and economic development shape current and future migration pressures.

- Hanson, Gordon, and Craig McIntosh. 2016. "Is the Mediterranean the New Rio Grande? US and EU Immigration Pressures in the Long Run." Journal of Economic Perspectives 30 (4): 57–82. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.30.4.57.
- Pritchett, Lant. 2026. "Global Labor Mobility between Shrinking and Growing Labor Forces." Journal of Economic Perspectives 40 (1): 71–92. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.20251461.
- Hanson, Gordon H., and Craig McIntosh. 2012. "Birth Rates and Border Crossings:

Latin American Migration to the US, Canada, Spain and the UK." The Economic Journal 122 (561): 707–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2012.02509.x.

- Hatton, Timothy J. 2016. "Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Policy in OECD Countries." American Economic Review 106 (5): 441–45. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.p20161062.

Session 13 — Irregular migration and smuggling
This session focuses on irregular migration and the market for human smuggling: why people migrate irregularly, what the humanitarian costs are, and how policy shapes both.

- Auriol, Emmanuelle, Alice Mesnard, and Tiffanie Perrault. 2023. "Temporary Foreign Work Permits: Honing the Tools to Defeat Human Smuggling." European Economic Review 160 (November): 104614. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2023.104614.
- Gathmann, Christina. 2008. "Effects of Enforcement on Illegal Markets: Evidence from Migrant Smuggling along the Southwestern Border." Journal of Public Economics 92 (10): 1926–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2008.04.006.
- Ethier, Wilfred J. 1986. "Illegal Immigration: The Host-Country Problem." The American Economic Review 76 (1): 56–71.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 2001. "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy." Population and Development Review 27 (4): 661–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2001.00661.x.
- Zambiasi, Diego, and Emanuele Albarosa. 2024. "Externalizing Rescue Operations at Sea: The Migration Deal between Italy and Libya." Journal of Economic Geography 25 (1): 41–58. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbae022.
- Bah, Tijan, Catia Batista, Flore Gubert, and David McKenzie. 2023. "Can Information and Alternatives to Irregular Migration Reduce 'Backway' Migration from The Gambia?" Journal of Development Economics 165 (October): 103153. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2023.103153.

Session 14 — Border enforcement policies and migration management
In the final session, we will discuss border enforcement and migration management policies and their intended and unintended consequences.

- Helbling, Marc, and David Leblang. 2019. "Controlling Immigration? How Regulations Affect Migration Flows." European Journal of Political Research 58 (1): 248–69. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12279.
- Tjaden, Jasper, and Tobias Heidland. n.d. "Did Merkel's 2015 Decision Attract More Migration to Germany?" European Journal of Political Research n/a (n/a). https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12669.
- Shrestha, Maheshwor, Heidi Kaila, Narcisse Cha'ngom, and Samik Adhikari. 2026. "Do

Bilateral Labor Agreements Increase Migration? Global Evidence from 1960 to 2020." Journal of Development Economics 179 (February): 103673. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2025.103673.

- Simon, Miranda, Cassilde Schwartz, and David Hudson. n.d. "Can Foreign Aid Reduce the Desire to Emigrate? Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial." American Journal of Political Science n/a (n/a). https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12927.
- Hanson, Gordon H., and Antonio Spilimbergo. 1999. "Illegal Immigration, Border Enforcement, and Relative Wages: Evidence from Apprehensions at the U.S.-Mexico Border." The American Economic Review 89 (5): 1337–57.