

International migration

Ernesto F. L. Amaral

**November 20–December 02, 2024
Population and Society (SOCI 312)**

www.ernestoamaral.com



**TEXAS A&M
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Outline

- Definition and concepts
- Patterns of world immigration over time
- Immigration to the United States
- Undocumented immigration
- Proposed Southern border wall
- Economic effects of immigration
- Simulation of U.S. point system



Definitions and concepts

- International migration is a geographical movement involving a change in residence that crosses the boundaries of two or more countries
- International migration has both positive and negative impacts upon the areas of origin and destination

Immigration and emigration

- **Immigration** refers to the movement of people to a new country for the purpose of establishing permanent residence
 - An **immigrant** is a person who crosses an international boundary with the intention to live permanently in a new country
- **Emigration** refers to the permanent departure of people from a country
 - An **emigrant** is a person who moves away from a country with the intention of establishing a permanent residence elsewhere



Long-term immigration

- In every international migration, a migrant is simultaneously an immigrant and an emigrant
- **Long-term immigration**
 - The residence establishment in the destination country is usually at least one year
 - Long-term immigrants comprised around 3.2% of the world's population in 2013
- In recent decades, the number of long-term immigrants has increased dramatically
 - 75 million in 1964
 - 120 million in 1990
 - 190 million in 2006
 - 232 million in 2013



Remigration: return migration

- **Remigration** refers to the return of international migrants back to their countries of origin
- A **remigrant** is an international migrant who returns back to re-establish permanent residence in his/her original country of residence

Four broad immigrant groups

- A **refugee/asylee** is someone who involuntarily emigrates from his/her native country to a (often neighboring) new country due to persecution, violence, or deprivation
- A **migrant from a former colony** is someone who moves from a decolonized country to its former imperial country seeking better living conditions
- An **economic migrant** is someone who voluntarily moves to live in a destination country for economic reasons
- An “**ethnic privileged**” **migrant** is someone, who is a descendent of a nation’s ethnic core group, living outside of the mother-country for generations



Definition of “generations”

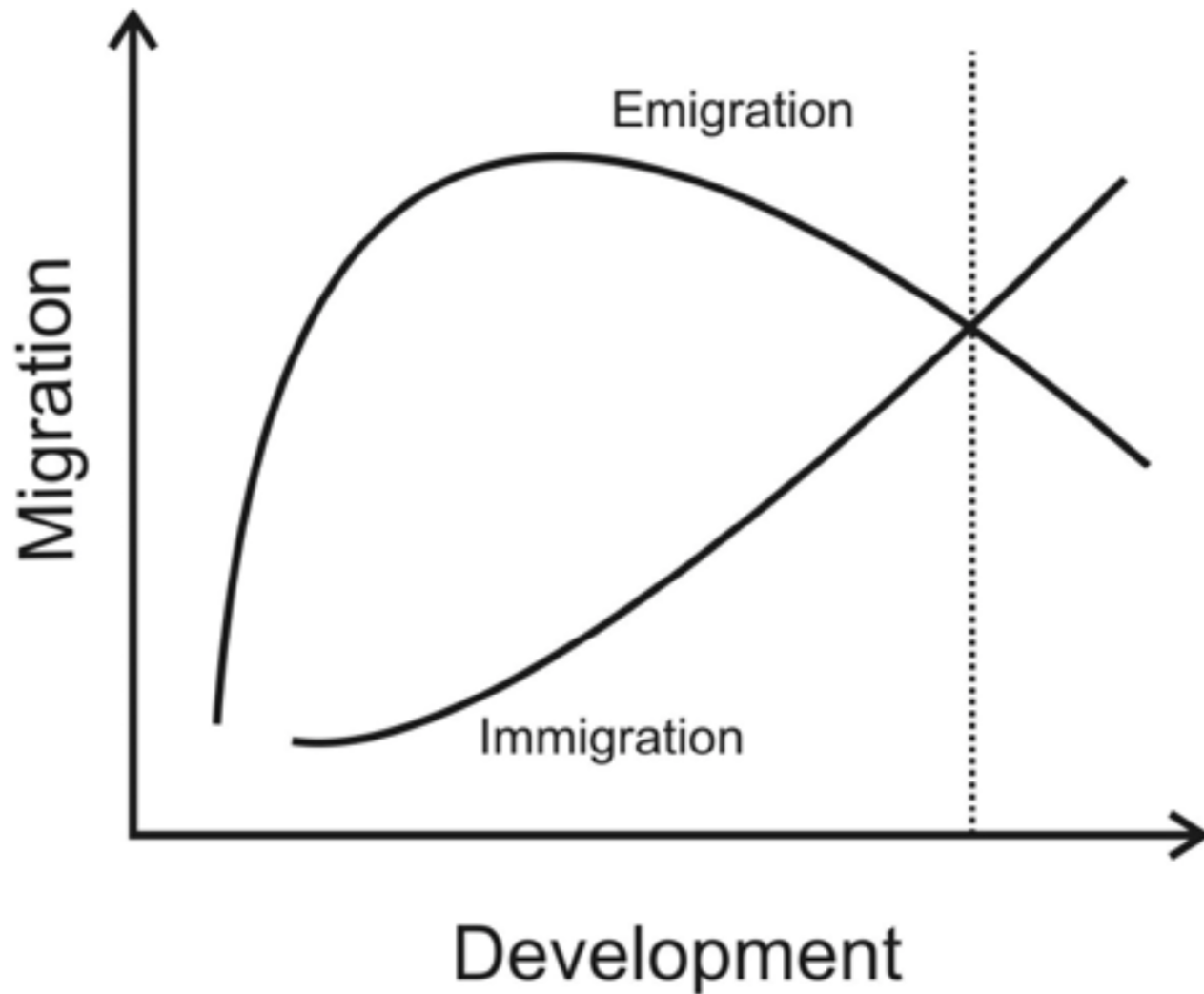
- 1st generation
 - Born outside the U.S.
- 1.5th generation
 - Born outside the U.S., immigrated at age ≤ 12
 - This group can be disaggregated
 - 1.25 generation: Those who came from ages 13–18
 - 1.5 generation: Those who came from ages of 6–12
 - 1.75 generation: Those who came from infancy to age 5
- 2nd generation
 - Born in the U.S., parents' born outside the U.S.
 - 2.0 generation: Both parents' born outside the U.S.
 - 2.5 generation: One foreign-born parent and one U.S.-born parent
- 3rd generation
 - Born in the U.S., parents' born in the U.S.



Development and migration

- Structuralism (neo-Marxist, center-periphery) criticizes functionalist theory (neo-classical, push-pull)
 - Functionalist assumes socioeconomic forces tend towards equilibrium through migration
 - Structuralism sees a general pattern of disruptions, dislocations, and migrations intrinsic to capitalism
- However, they share these assumptions
 - More development leads to less emigration
 - Higher development differences across areas (spatial disequilibrium) leads to more migration

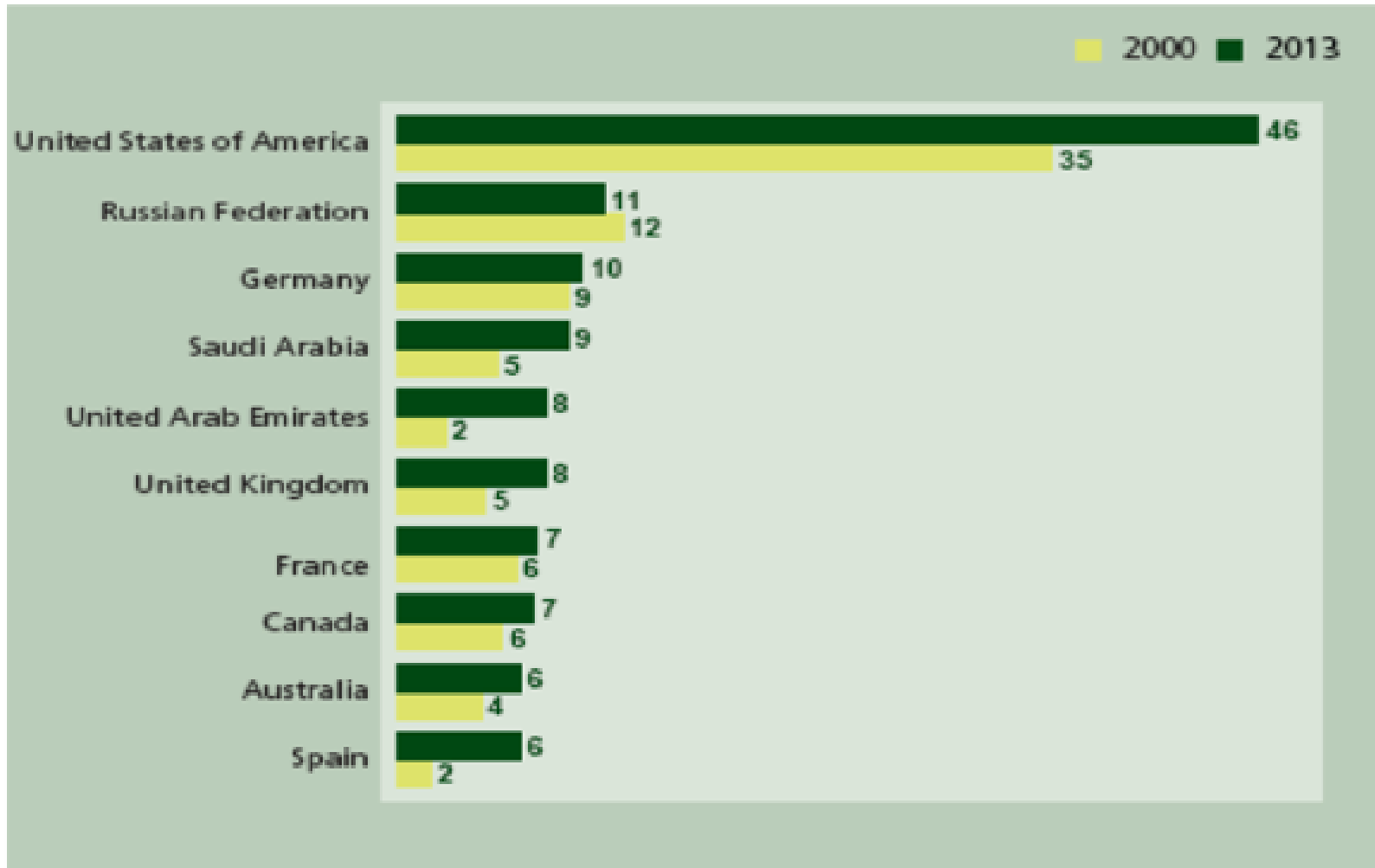
Migration transition theory



Source: de Haas (2010).

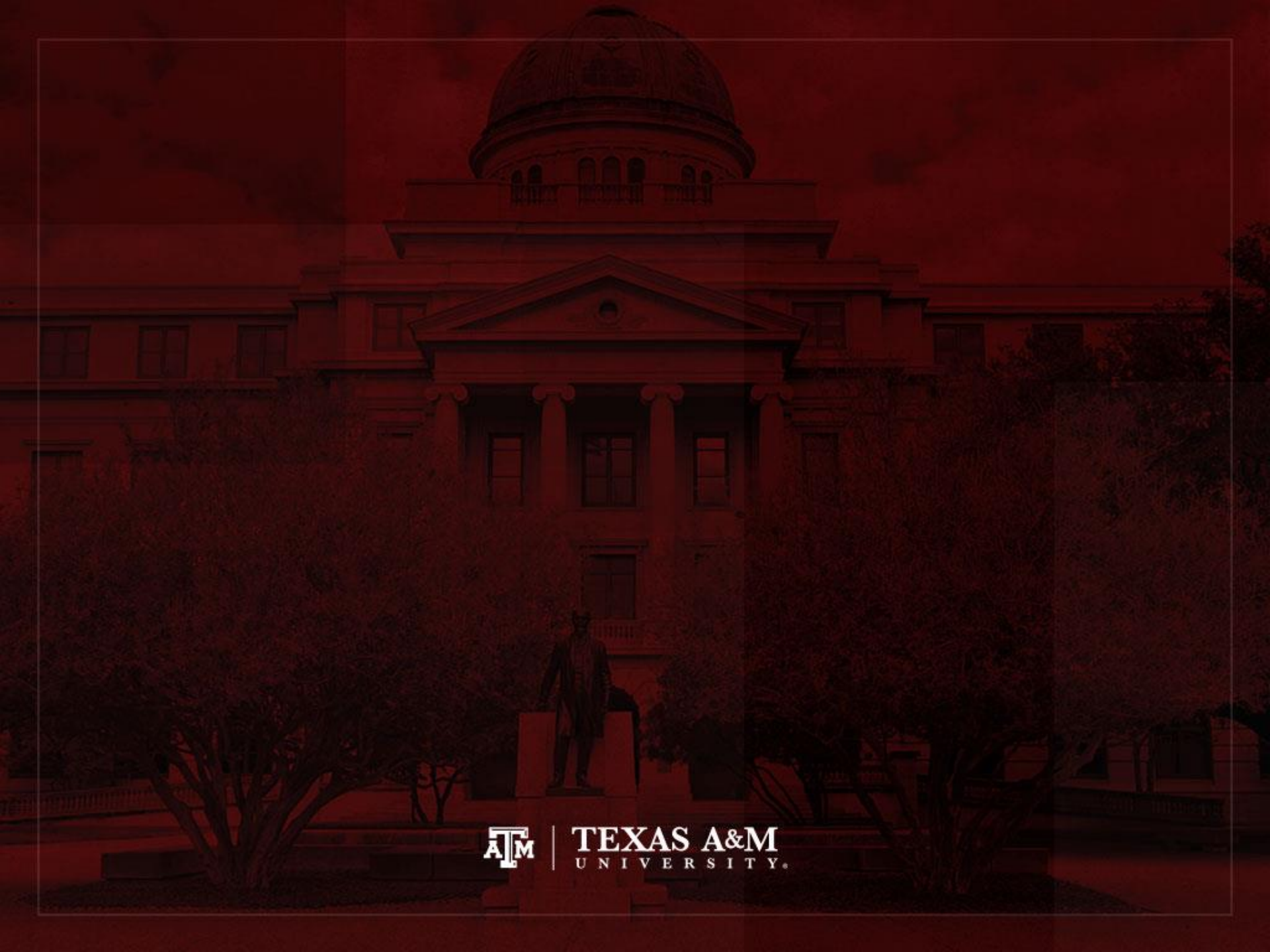


In 2013, more than 50% of the international migrants in the world resided in just 10 countries (in millions)



Source: United Nations, 2013c.





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Patterns of world immigration over time

- The first modern humans began in sub-Saharan Africa about 195,000 years ago
 - First international migration is believed to have happened about 60,000 years ago
 - By 35,000 years ago, humans were found at opposite ends of Eurasia, from France to Southeast Asia and even Australia
 - How humans colonized different environments in 160,000 years is one of the greatest untold stories in the history of humankind (Goebel, 2007)



First international migration

- About 50,000 to 60,000 years ago, humans began to migrate out of Africa
 - First to southern Asia, China, Java
 - Later to Europe
- Around 14,000 years ago, they began migrating to the Americas
- Movements were often through land areas and short sea routes



Army invasion and forced migration

- After first migrants, population flows were usually preceded by army invasion
 - Scandinavian pirates (Vikings) in England, Ireland, and France between 800–1066 AD
- International migrations and invasions also involved the enslavement and forced migration of the defeated peoples
 - Athens had 75,000–150,000 slaves from Africa and Asia (25% to 35% of Athens' population)



Transoceanic migrations

- After the 14th century, international migrations and invasions became transoceanic
- Territorial exploration led by large naval expeditions played a role in the dynamics of human migration to other parts of the unknown world
- European emigrants as a share of the world population
 - 1750: 3%
 - 1930: 16%



Intercontinental migration

- The largest period of European overseas migration occurred between 1840 and 1930
 - 52 million people emigrating primarily to North America
- Before World War II, intercontinental migration from Asia was smaller in scale
 - Asian Indians emigrated to British Guiana, East Africa, Fiji, Mauritius, and Trinidad
 - Japanese and Filipino migrants moved to Hawaii
 - Japanese to Brazil
 - Chinese to the United States



Slave migration

- The largest intercontinental slave migration in recorded human history occurred between 1650 and the 1800s
 - Around 9.6 million enslaved Africans were brought to the American continent involuntarily
 - 11 million if we count those who died during the journeys
- World consequences of these large migrations
 - Geographic redistribution of the global population
 - Pressures of the population on land and resources in Europe were relieved
 - Birth and death rates were delayed in European countries with large emigration, while birth rates were high in the destination countries in Americas



World War II

- Displacement of millions during and after WWII
 - Holocaust survivors, ethnic Germans
 - Those fleeing Soviet advances in Eastern Europe
- Between Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s and the end of World War II
 - 20 million Eastern and Central Europeans were uprooted from their homelands
- When WWII ended, about 3 million Japanese were returned by decree to Japan from other Asian nations



Post-WWII reconstruction and refugees

- **Formation of international refugee systems**
 - Creation of the **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)** in 1950
 - Adoption of the **1951 Refugee Convention**, defining refugee rights and state responsibilities
- **Cold War dynamics**
 - Refugees fleeing communist regimes (e.g., Hungary, Vietnam) often given preferential asylum in Western countries



Decolonization and migration

- **Migration from former colonies to colonial powers**
 - **UK:** Migration from India, Pakistan, the Caribbean, and Africa following British colonial withdrawal
 - **France:** Influx of Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians after independence in North Africa
 - **Netherlands:** Migrants from Indonesia and Suriname
- **Return of colonial settlers**
 - **Pieds-noirs** (European settlers) leaving Algeria for France after Algerian independence in 1962
 - Portuguese settlers leaving Angola and Mozambique during the 1970s



Economic migration and guest workers

- **Labor shortages in Post-War Europe**
 - European countries initiated guest worker programs to address labor shortages during reconstruction
 - Example: Germany's recruitment of Turkish workers through bilateral agreements (1961–1973)
- **Migration to oil-rich Gulf states**
 - Massive influx of South Asian, Southeast Asian, and African workers to Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries during the oil boom of the 1970s



Globalization and migration networks

- **Role of globalization**

- Reduction in travel and communication costs facilitated migration across continents
- Transnationalism emerged as migrants maintained ties with home and host countries

- **Network theory**

- Family and community networks reduced migration risks and costs, sustaining long-term flows
 - Example: Mexican migration to the US



Political and economic crises

- **Migration due to conflicts**
 - Post-Vietnam War: Vietnamese fleeing persecution
 - Yugoslav Wars: Refugees from Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo in the 1990s
 - Ongoing crises in the Middle East (e.g., Syrian Civil War) and Africa (e.g., Somali Civil War)
- **Economic push factors let to increased migration**
 - Economic collapse in Latin America
 - Example: During the 1980s debt crisis
 - Sub-Saharan Africa



Feminization of migration

- **Shifting gender dynamics**
 - Increasing numbers of women migrating independently for work, rather than as dependents
 - Common sectors: Domestic labor, caregiving, and healthcare in countries such as the U.S., Canada, and the Gulf States
- **Vulnerabilities of migrant women**
 - Greater exposure to exploitation, trafficking, and legal precarity in host countries



Immigration policies and border control

- **Shift toward restrictive policies**
 - Western countries imposed stricter immigration controls since the 1970s due to economic downturns and political pressures
 - Example: Termination of guest worker programs in Europe after the 1973 oil crisis
- **Growth of unauthorized migration**
 - Tighter policies led to an increase in undocumented migrants
 - Human smuggling and trafficking networks expanded
- **Fortified borders**
 - US-Mexico border, European Union's external borders, and Australia's maritime interdiction policies



Brain drain and skilled migration

- **Outflow of talent**

- Developing countries experienced "brain drain" as skilled workers moved to developed countries seeking better opportunities
- Example: Indian doctors and engineers migrating to the US and UK

- **Emergence of skilled migration programs**

- Countries like the US, Canada, and Australia introduced point-based systems to attract highly skilled migrants



Climate change and migration

- **Environmental drivers**

- Rising sea levels

- Example: Pacific Island nations

- Desertification and droughts

- Example: Sub-Saharan Africa

- Natural disasters

- Example: Typhoons, floods in South Asia

- **Challenges**

- Lack of legal frameworks to address climate-induced displacement

- These migrants are often excluded from refugee definitions



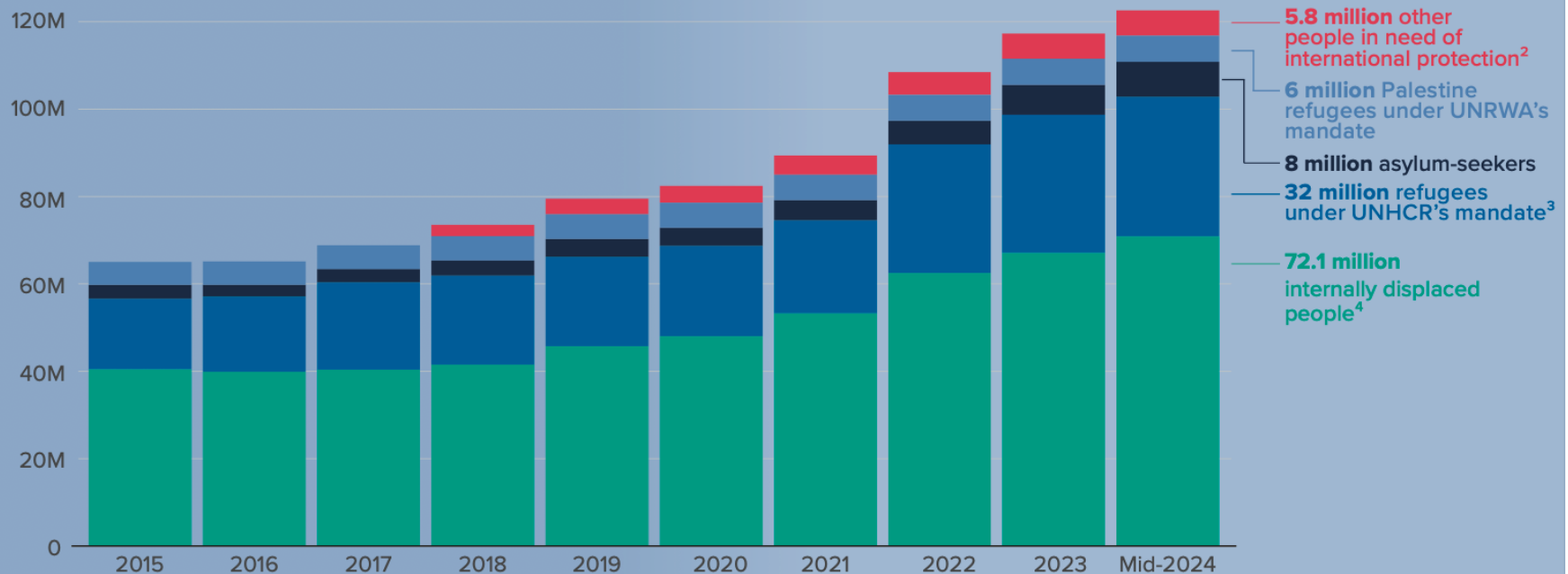
Regional migration trends

- **North-South migration**
 - Movement from developing countries to developed nations, driven by economic opportunities
 - Latin America to the US, Africa to Europe
- **South-South migration**
 - Increasing migration within the Global South
 - African migrants moving to South Africa
 - Venezuelan migrants relocating to Colombia and Peru
- **Circular and temporary migration**
 - Seasonal and temporary migration
 - Southeast Asia: Indonesian workers in Malaysia



122.6 MILLION FORCIBLY DISPLACED WORLDWIDE¹

At the end of June as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations or events seriously disturbing public order.

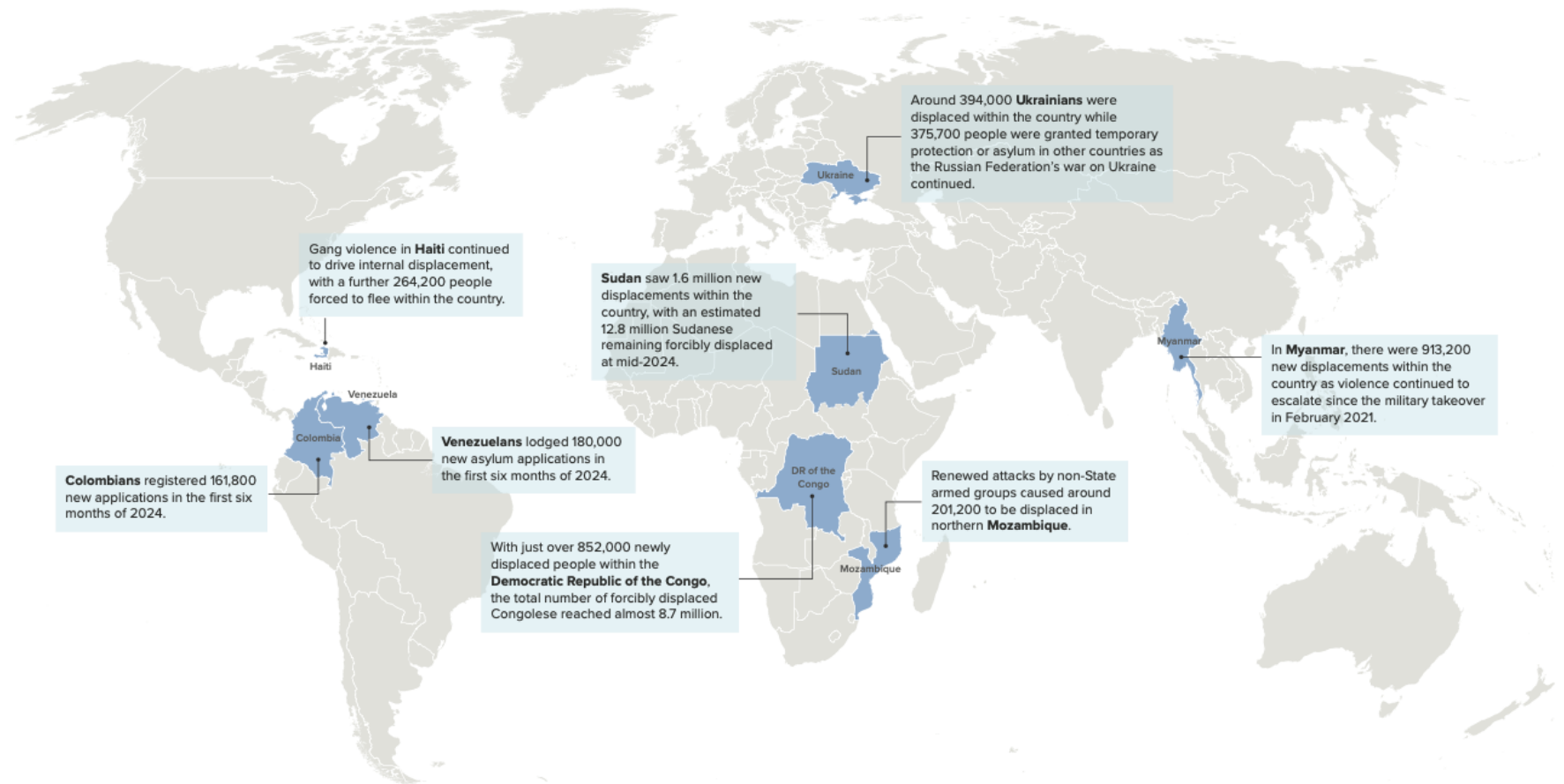


- Total refugees: 43.8 million at mid-2024
 - Refugees: 32 million
 - 26.6 million + 5.4 million in refugee-like situation
 - Palestine refugees: 6 million
 - Other people in need of protection: 5.8 million



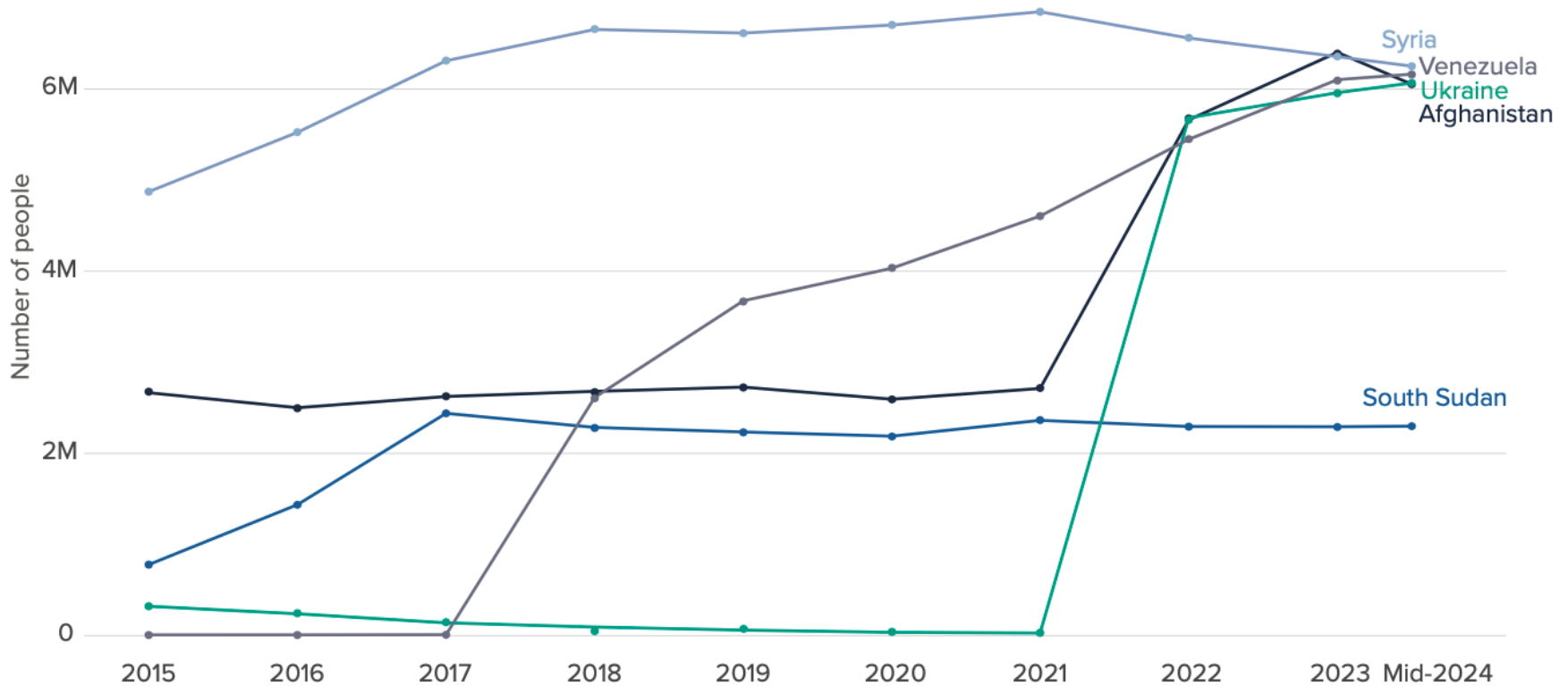
New displacements

Map 1 | New displacements | January-June 2024



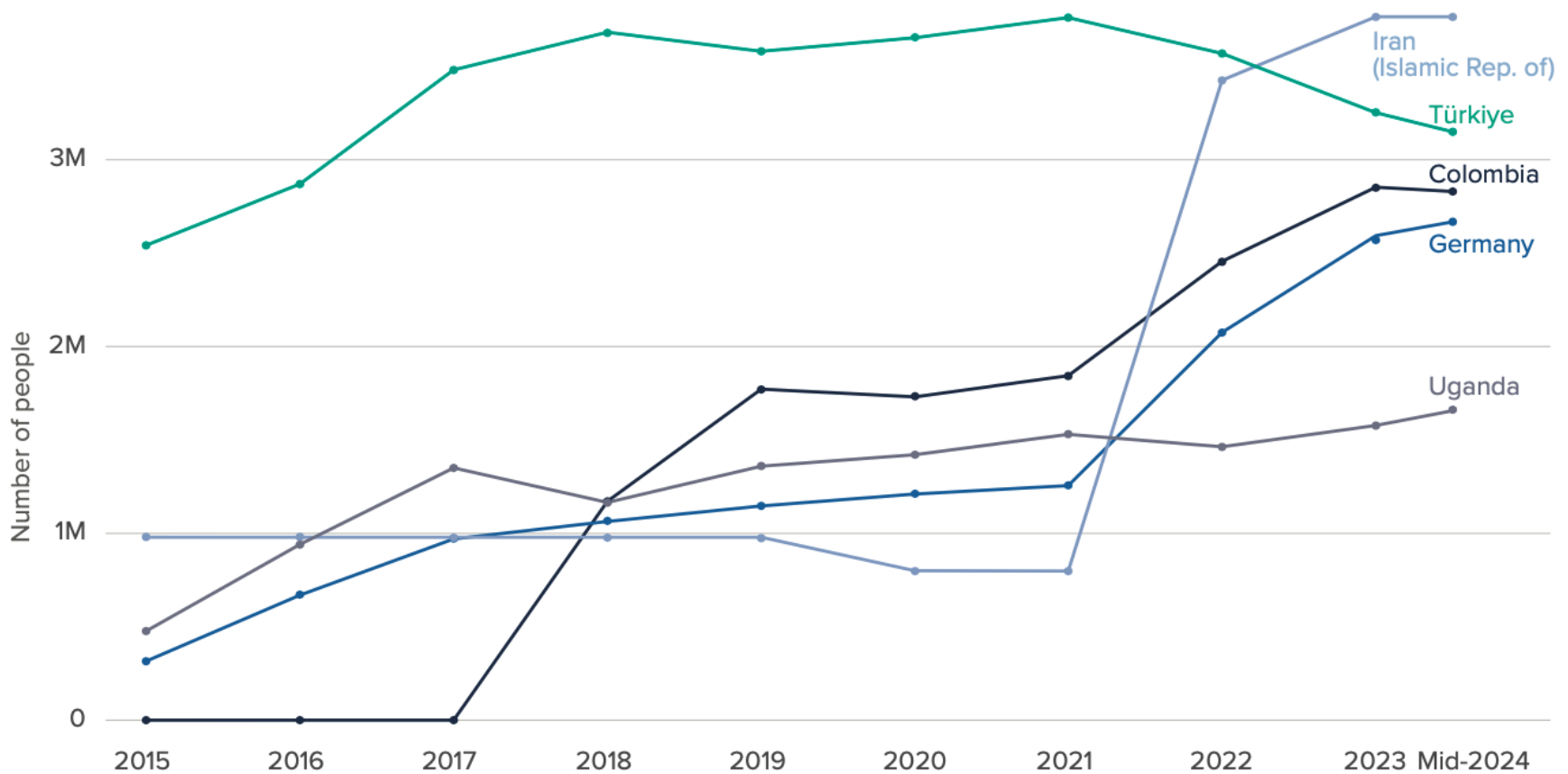
Country of origin

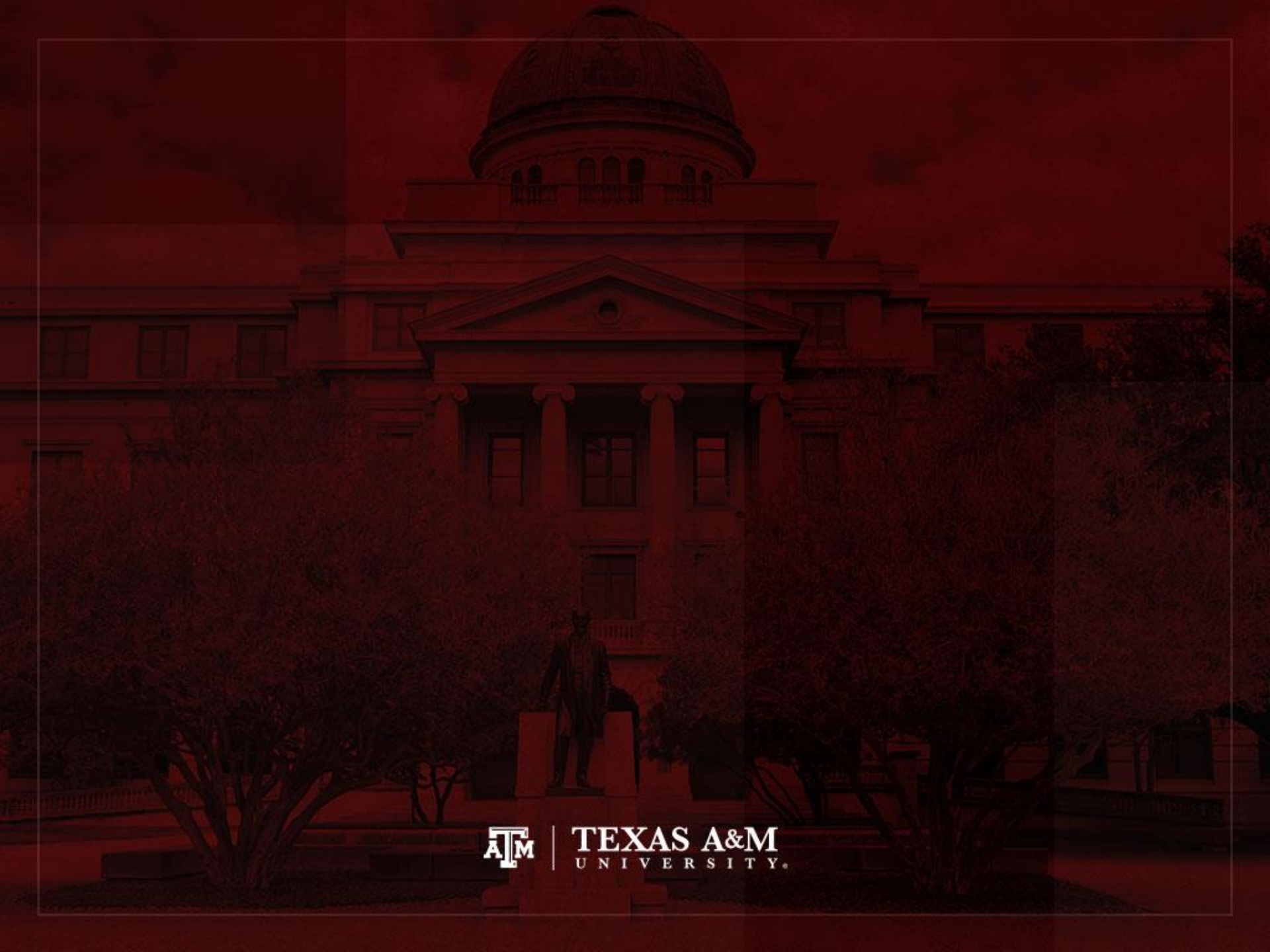
Figure 3 | Refugees, people in a refugee-like situation and other people in need of international protection by major country of origin | 2015 – mid-2024



Country of asylum

Figure 5 | Refugees, people in a refugee-like situation and other people in need of international protection by major country of asylum | 2015 – mid-2024





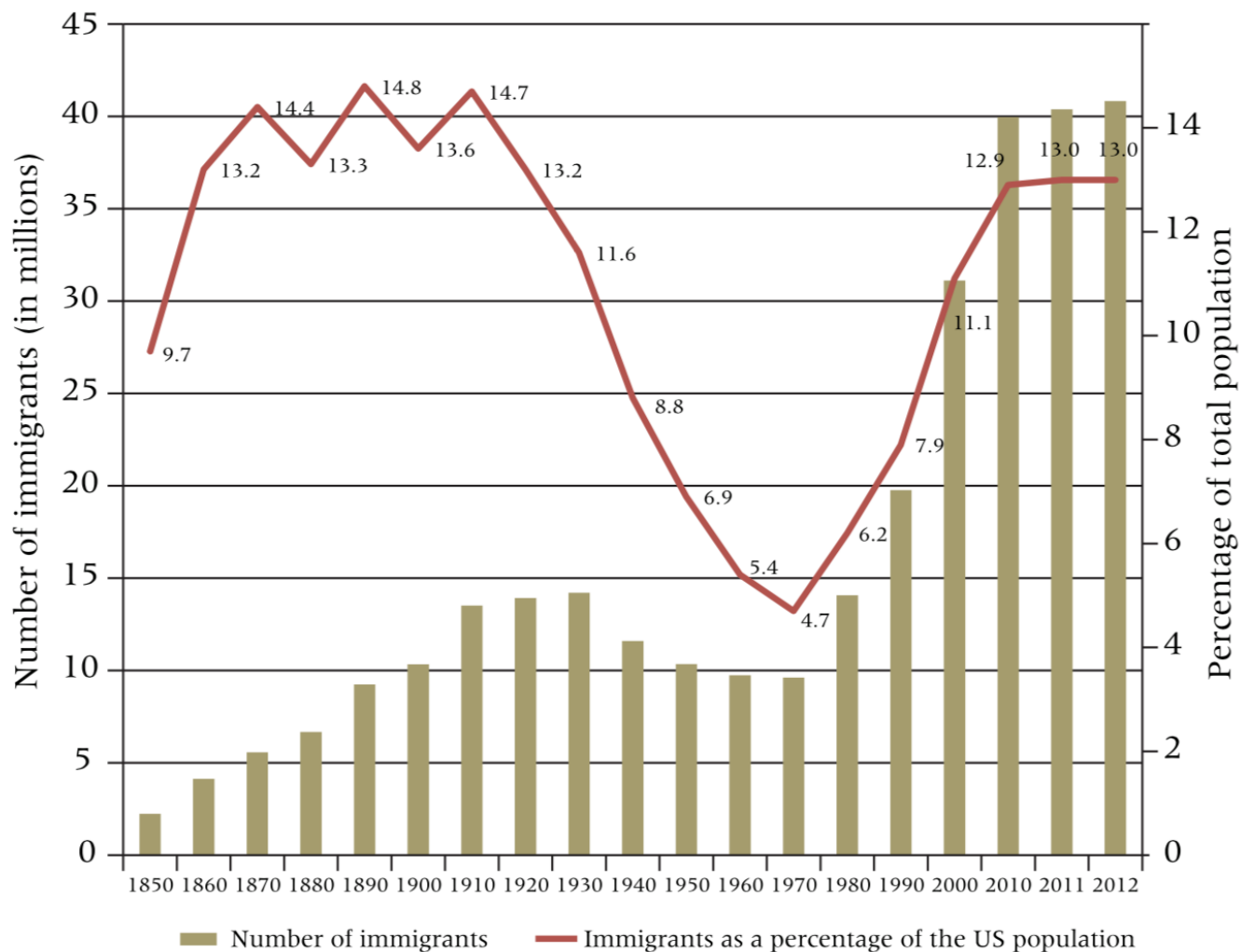
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Immigration to the United States

- Around 98.5% of U.S. residents are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants
 - In 2010, about 1.5% (4.2 million) did not self-identify as immigrants or descendants of immigrants
 - American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians
- Immigrants of other countries are mostly migrant workers and rarely become citizens
 - United Arab Emirates: 84% foreign born, migrants have restrictive rights, rarely become permanent immigrants
- U.S. receives most immigrants of all the countries in the world: 46 million
 - 14% of U.S. population: This fraction is smaller than other countries (UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia)



FIGURE 1 Number of immigrants and immigrants as percentage of the US population, 1850 to 2013



SOURCE: Original figure based on U.S. Census Bureau data.

Source: Waters, Pineau 2016.



Country of birth of immigrants

- The character of US immigration has changed since the mid-1800s
- The origin locations of immigrants to the U.S. have changed dramatically
- In 1960, 75% of the US foreign-born were born in Europe
- In 2010, this percentage declined to 12%

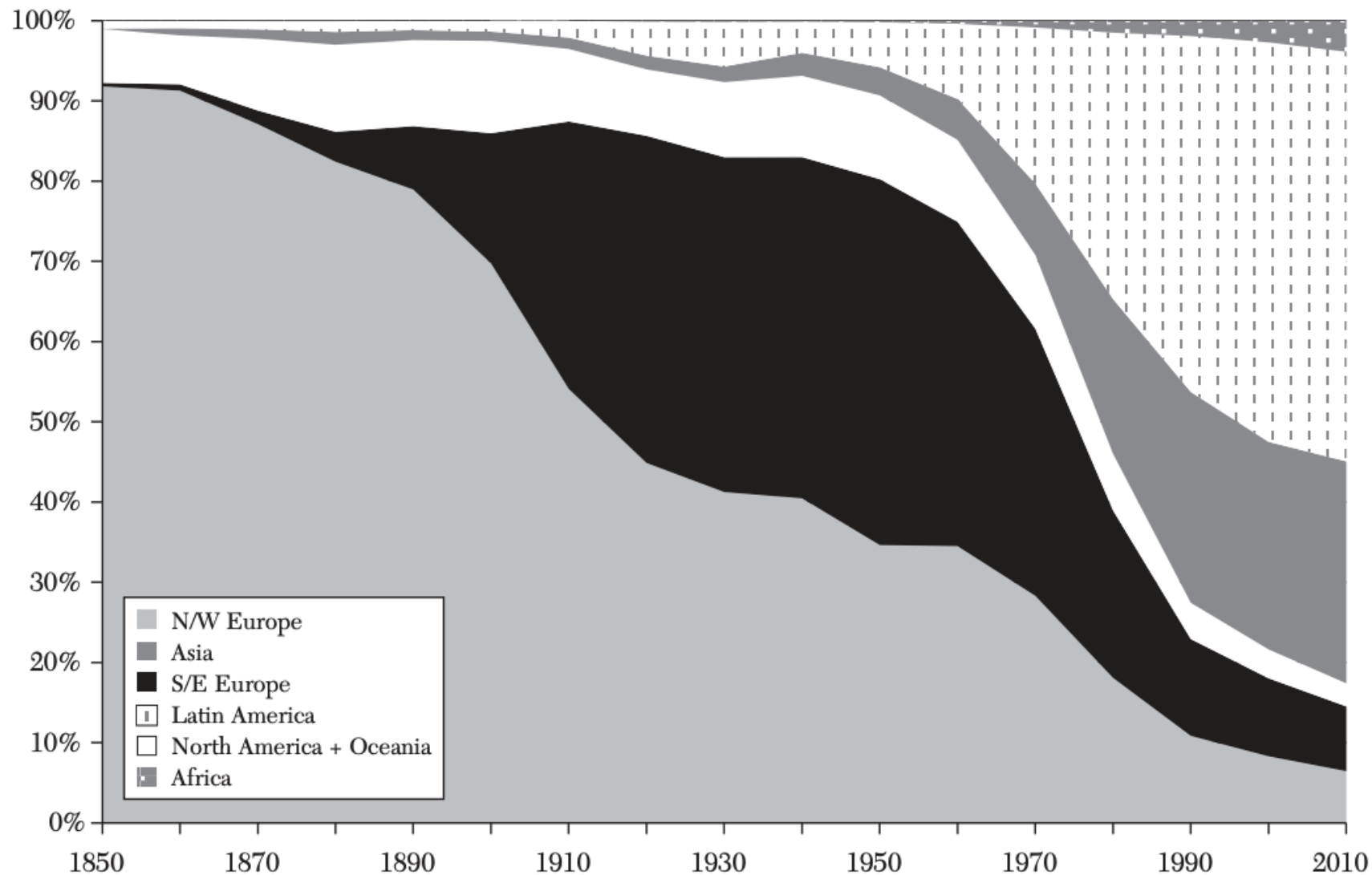


Origins of immigrant to the U.S.

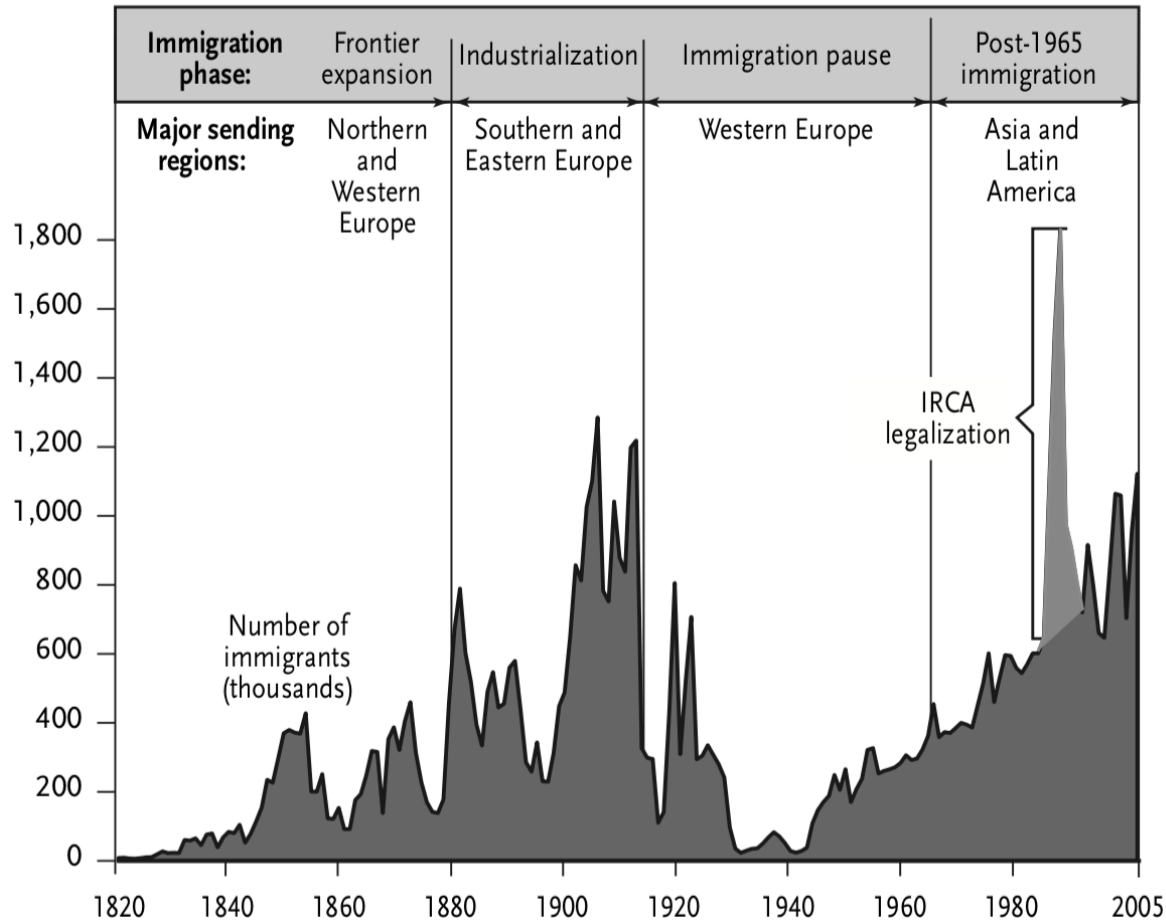
Period	Total Immigrants	Region of Origin:						% Foreign born
		N/W Europe	S/E Europe	Latin America	Asia	Africa	Elsewhere	
1820 to 1829	128,502	95,945	3,327	4,297	34	15	24,884	
1830 to 1839	538,381	416,981	5,790	8,238	55	50	107,267	
1840 to 1849	1,427,337	1,364,950	4,309	4,428	121	61	53,468	9.7
1850 to 1859	2,814,554	2,599,397	20,283	7,527	36,080	84	151,183	13.2
1860 to 1869	2,081,261	1,851,833	25,893	3,563	54,408	407	145,157	14.4
1870 to 1879	2,742,137	2,078,952	172,926	6,415	134,128	371	349,345	13.3
1880 to 1889	5,248,568	3,802,722	835,955	4,638	71,151	763	533,339	14.8
1890 to 1899	3,694,294	1,825,897	1,750,514	2,772	61,285	432	53,394	13.6
1900 to 1909	8,202,388	1,811,556	5,761,013	53,782	299,836	6,326	269,875	14.7
1910 to 1919	6,347,380	1,112,638	3,872,773	240,964	269,736	8,867	842,402	13.2
1920 to 1929	4,295,510	1,273,297	1,287,043	558,481	126,740	6,362	1,043,587	11.6
1930 to 1939	699,375	257,592	186,807	49,539	19,231	2,120	184,086	8.8
1940 to 1949	856,608	362,084	110,440	95,955	34,532	6,720	246,877	6.9
1950 to 1959	2,499,268	1,008,223	396,750	392,466	135,844	13,016	552,969	5.4
1960 to 1969	3,213,749	627,297	506,146	791,138	358,605	23,780	906,783	4.7
1970 to 1979	4,248,203	287,127	538,463	1,015,200	1,406,544	71,408	929,461	6.2
1980 to 1989	6,244,379	339,038	329,828	1,748,824	2,391,356	141,990	1,293,343	7.9
1990 to 1999	9,775,398	405,922	942,690	3,938,231	2,859,899	346,416	1,282,240	11.1
2000 to 2009	10,299,430	418,743	930,866	4,205,180	3,470,835	759,734	514,072	12.9



Sending regions of the US foreign-born population, 1850–2010



Legal Immigration to the United States, 1820–2005



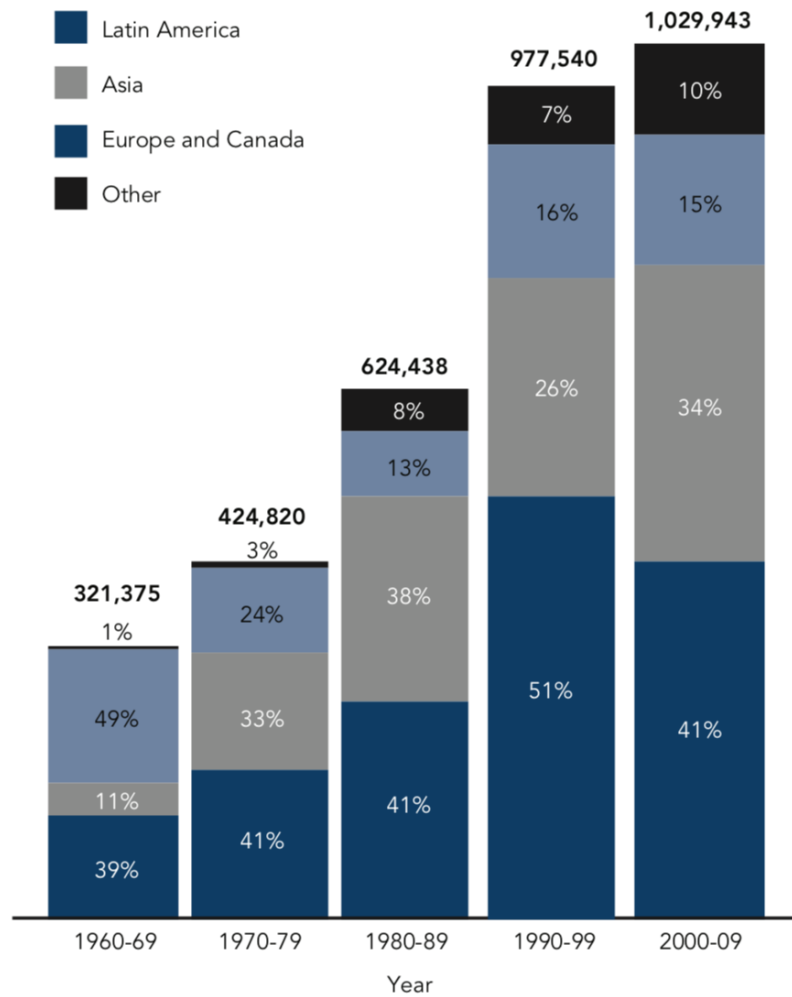
Note: IRCA adjustments refer to the amnesty provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, under which 2.7 million undocumented foreign U.S. residents obtained legal immigrant status.

Source: DHS, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2005* (www.dhs.gov, accessed Oct. 12, 2006): table 1.

Source: Martin, Midgley 2006.



Annual Number of Legal U.S. Immigrants by Decade and Region of Origin, 1960-2009



Note: Numbers may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Source: Department of Homeland Security Immigration Statistics.

Audiocast: Listen to Philip Martin discuss the data on the changing geographic makeup of immigrants over the past 50 years. www.prb.org/PopulationBulletins/2010/immigration1.aspx

Source: Martin, Midgley 2010.



Policies shaped immigration

(Massey, Pren 2012)

- **Bracero Program**

- Temporary labor program that admitted short-term foreign workers in the country. Created in 1942. Expanded in 2nd half of 1950s. Terminated in 1968.

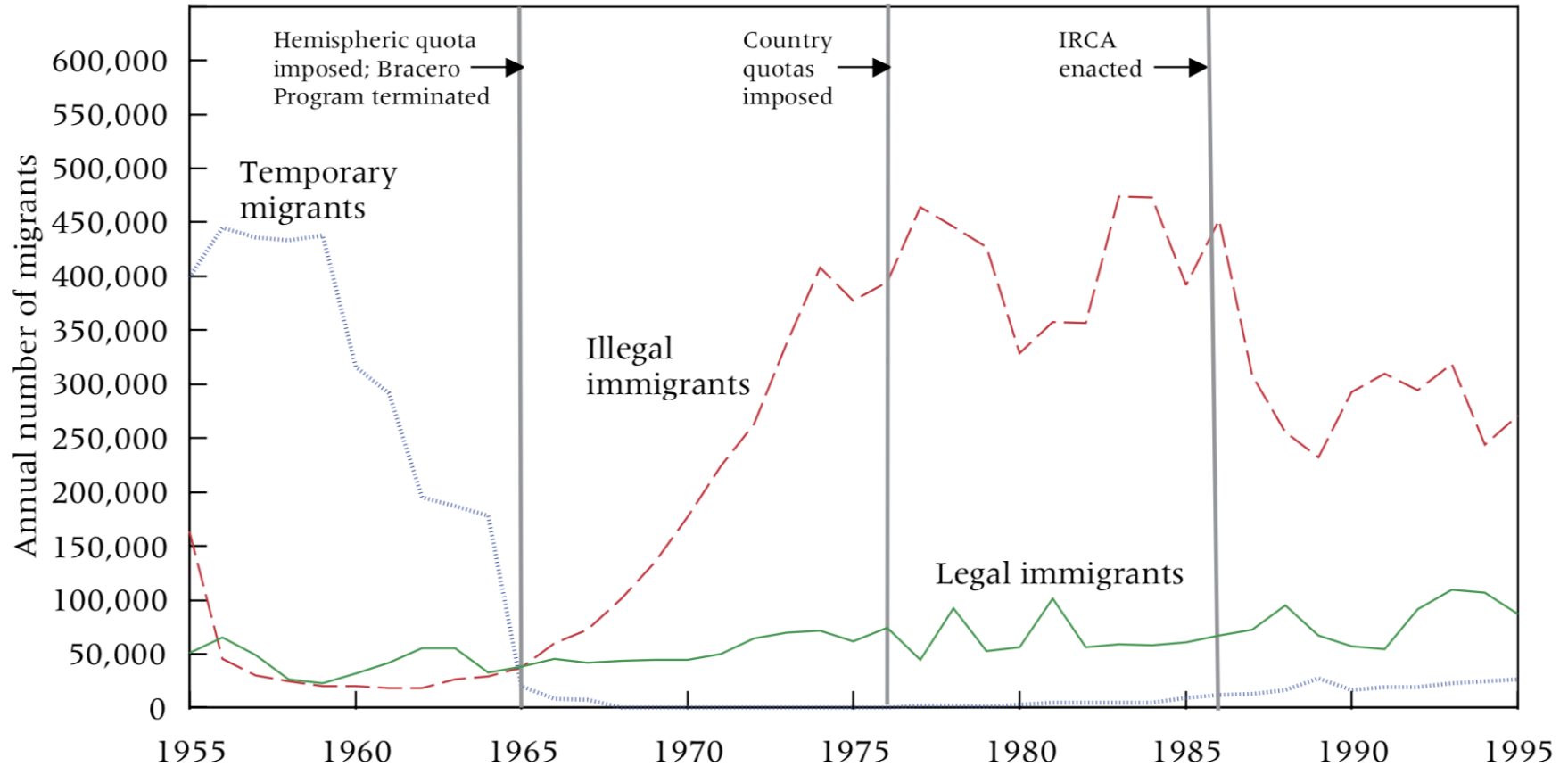
- Undocumented immigration increased after this period, not because of an unexpected surge in Mexican migration

- The end of this labor program and limitations on the number of available permanent resident visas made it impossible to accommodate the previously established inflows of migrants



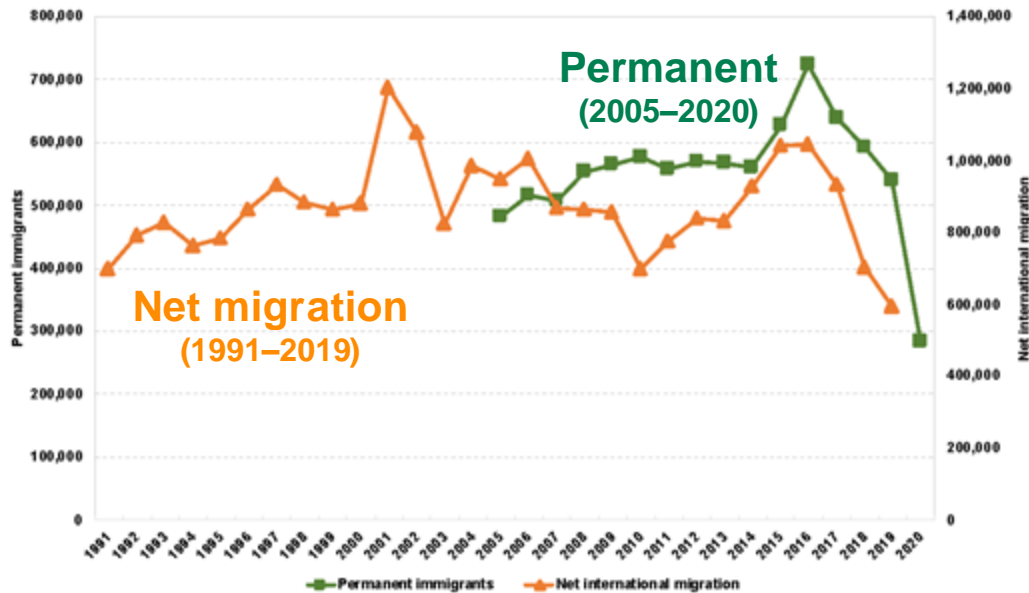
Mexican immigration to the U.S.

FIGURE 1 Mexican immigration to the United States in three categories, 1955–95



SOURCE: US Department of Homeland Security (2012). See text and Table A1.

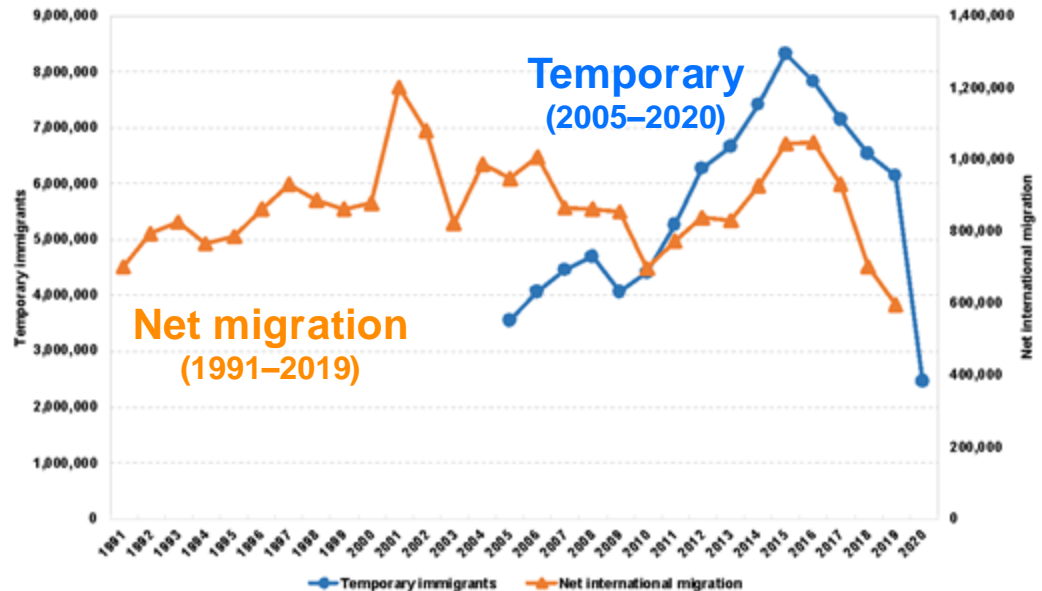
Flows of immigrants



– **Permanent immigrants:** People admitted with Green Cards, including family, employment, refugees, and asylum seekers.

– We did not include in this graph those who “adjust status” to Green Card holders (e.g., H-1Bs who get Green Cards).

– **Temporary immigrants:** Non-skilled temporary work visas for people working in non-agricultural jobs (H-2B), students, and tourists/business visitors.



Immigrant integration

(Waters, Pineau 2015)

- Many migrants from Mexico and Central America enter the U.S. with low educational levels and little English proficiency
 - Children of migrants are seen to have converged substantially to native-born averages in a broad array of domains
 - Education, earnings, occupation, poverty, residential integration, language
- However, integration also produced declines in well-being
 - Health, crime, family stability
- Integration with native-born non-Hispanic whites is
 - Fastest for Asian immigrants
 - Slower for Latino immigrants
 - Slowest for black immigrants
 - Especially difficult for undocumented individuals





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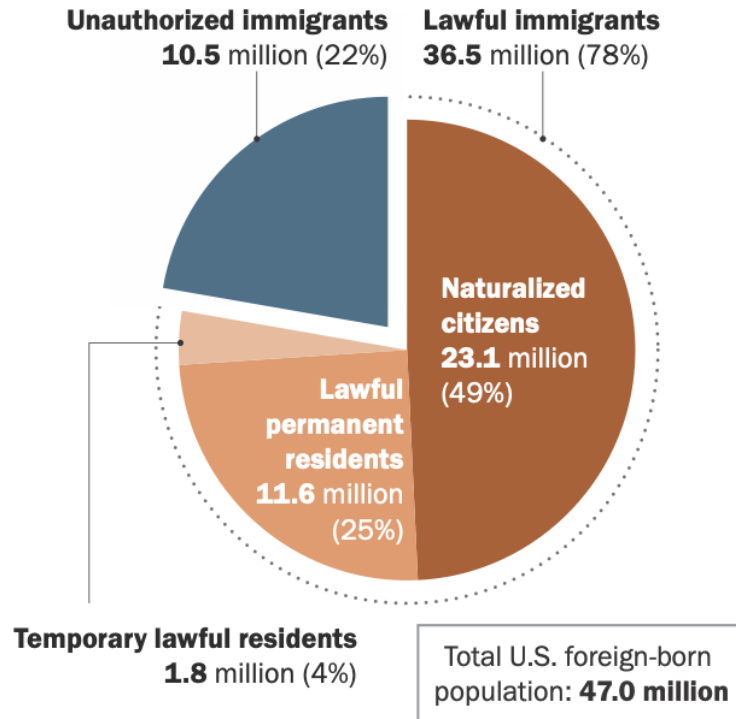
Undocumented immigration

- International migrants are often categorized as either documented or undocumented
- An unauthorized (or undocumented) immigrant is a person who immigrates into a host country through irregular or extralegal channels



Unauthorized immigrants were 22% of the U.S. foreign-born population in 2021

Foreign-born population estimates, 2021



Note: Some figures differ from published U.S. Census Bureau totals because they are adjusted to account for population undercount. The unauthorized immigrant population includes those with temporary protection from deportation under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Temporary Protected Status (TPS), as well as pending asylum claims.

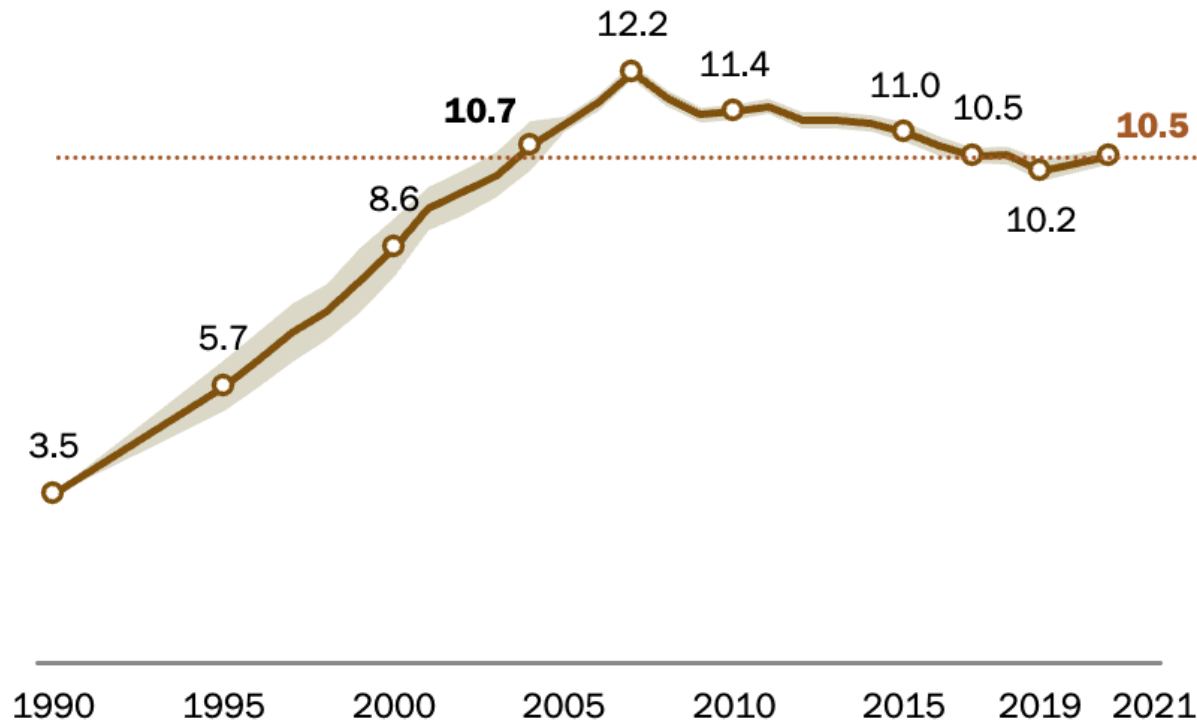
Source: Pew Research Center estimates based on augmented U.S. Census Bureau data (IPUMS).

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The number of unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. remained mostly stable from 2017 to 2021

Unauthorized immigrant population in the United States, in millions



Note: Shading shows range of estimated 90% confidence interval.

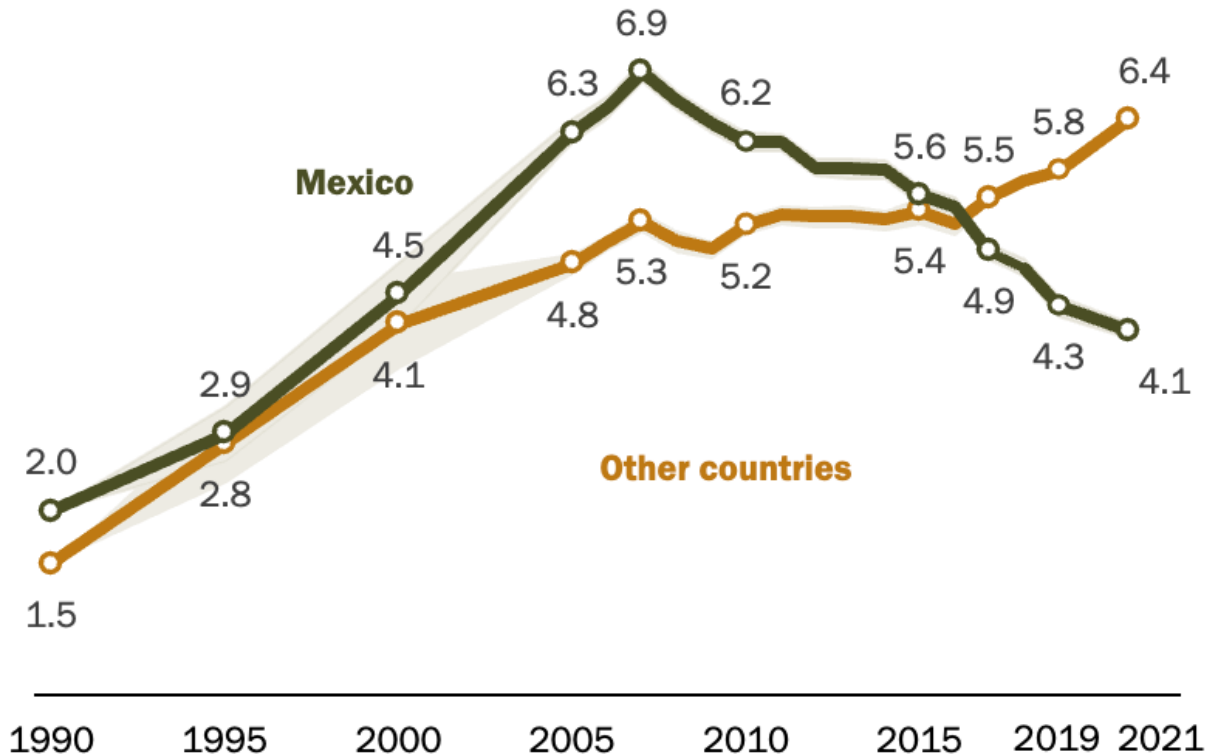
Source: Pew Research Center estimates based on augmented U.S. Census Bureau data.

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Mexicans are no longer a majority of unauthorized immigrants living in the U.S.

Unauthorized immigrant population in the United States by country of birth, in millions



Note: Shading shows range of estimated 90% confidence interval.

Source: Pew Research Center estimates based on augmented U.S. Census Bureau data.

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Types of unauthorized immigrants

- Entries without inspection (EWI)
 - During the process of migrating to the host country, the person avoided inspection by crossing borders clandestinely or traveled with fraudulent documents
- Visa overstayers or visa overstays
 - Migrant overstayed the time limit of a legally obtained non-immigrant temporary visa



Figure 1. Undocumented Population in 2014, by Year and Mode of Entry (rounded to 5,000s)

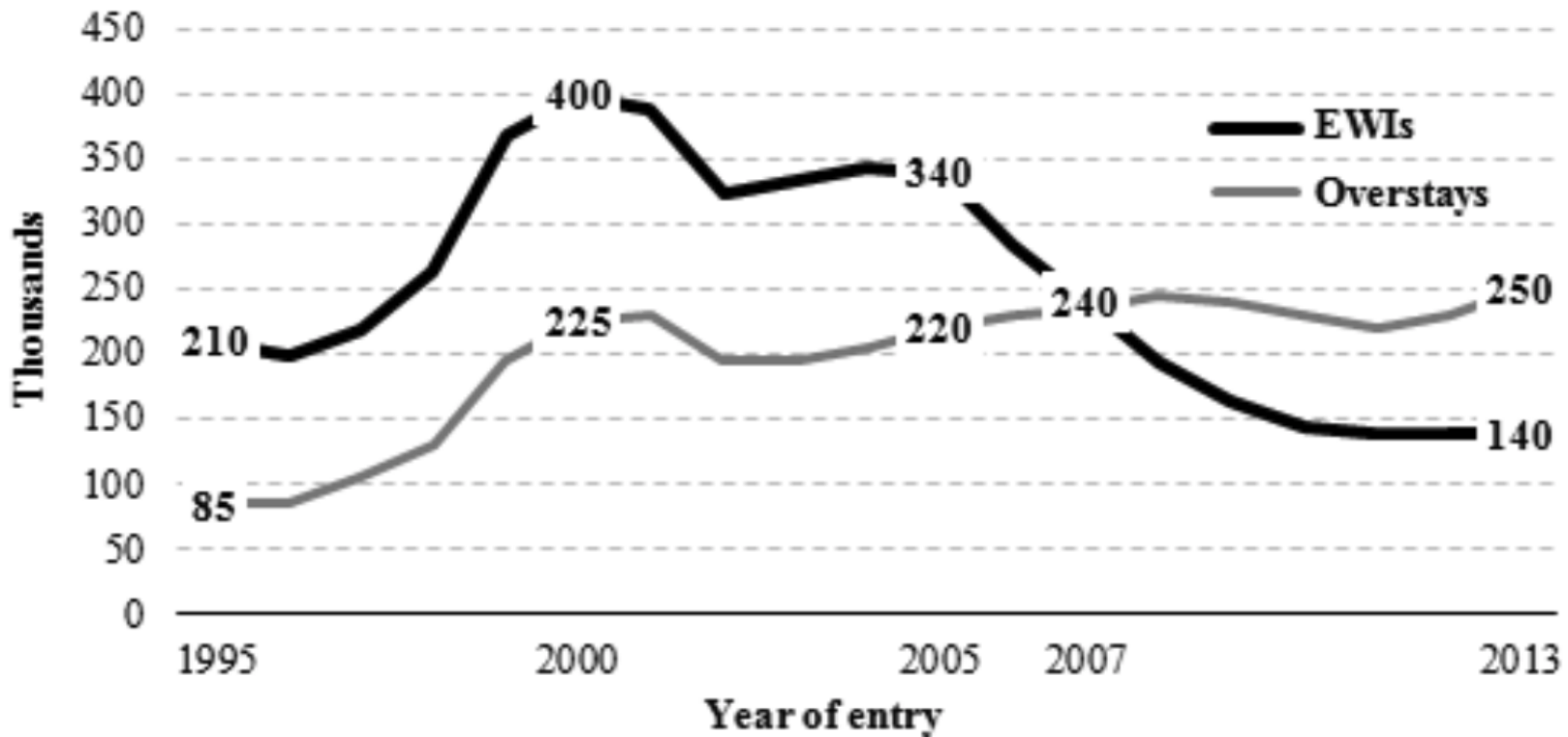
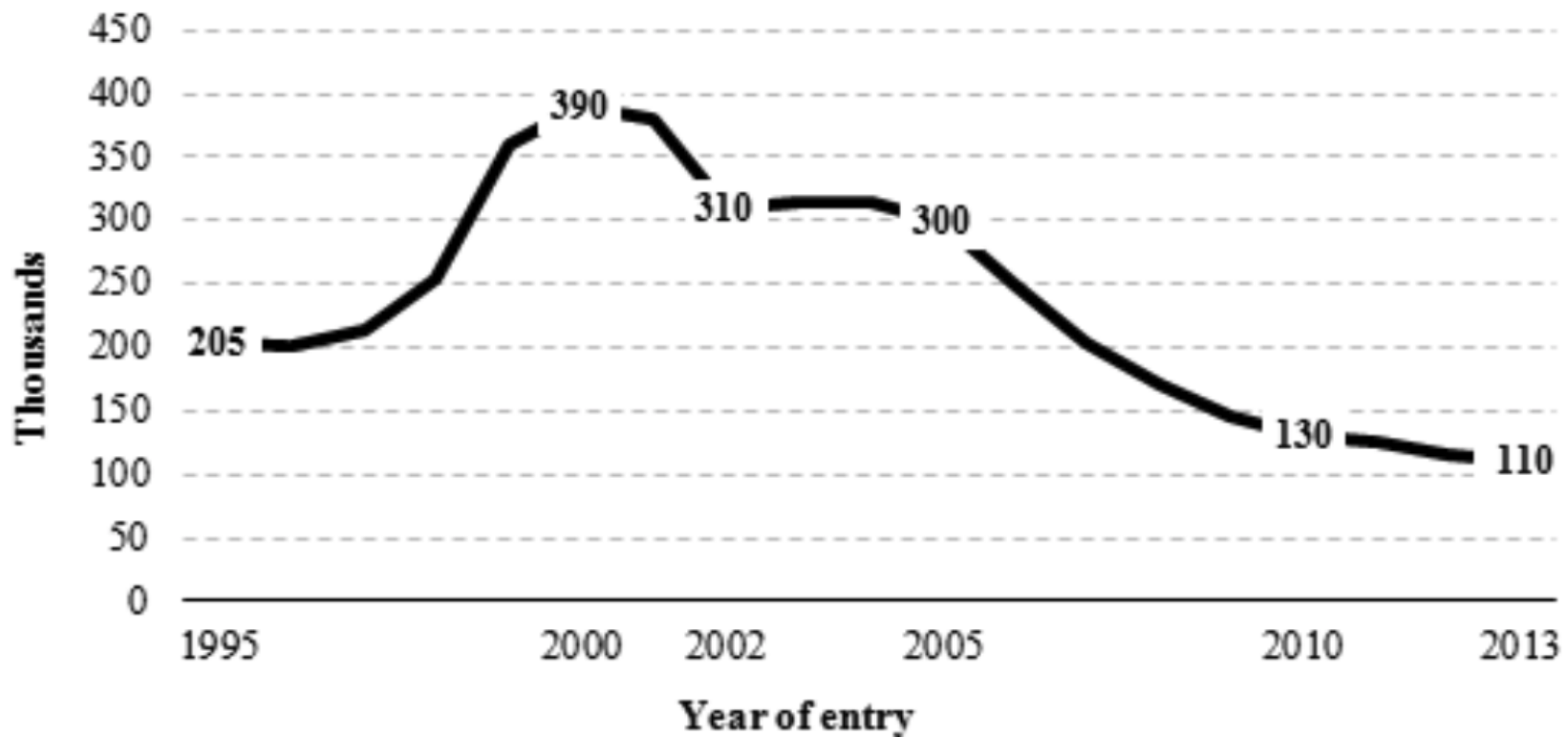
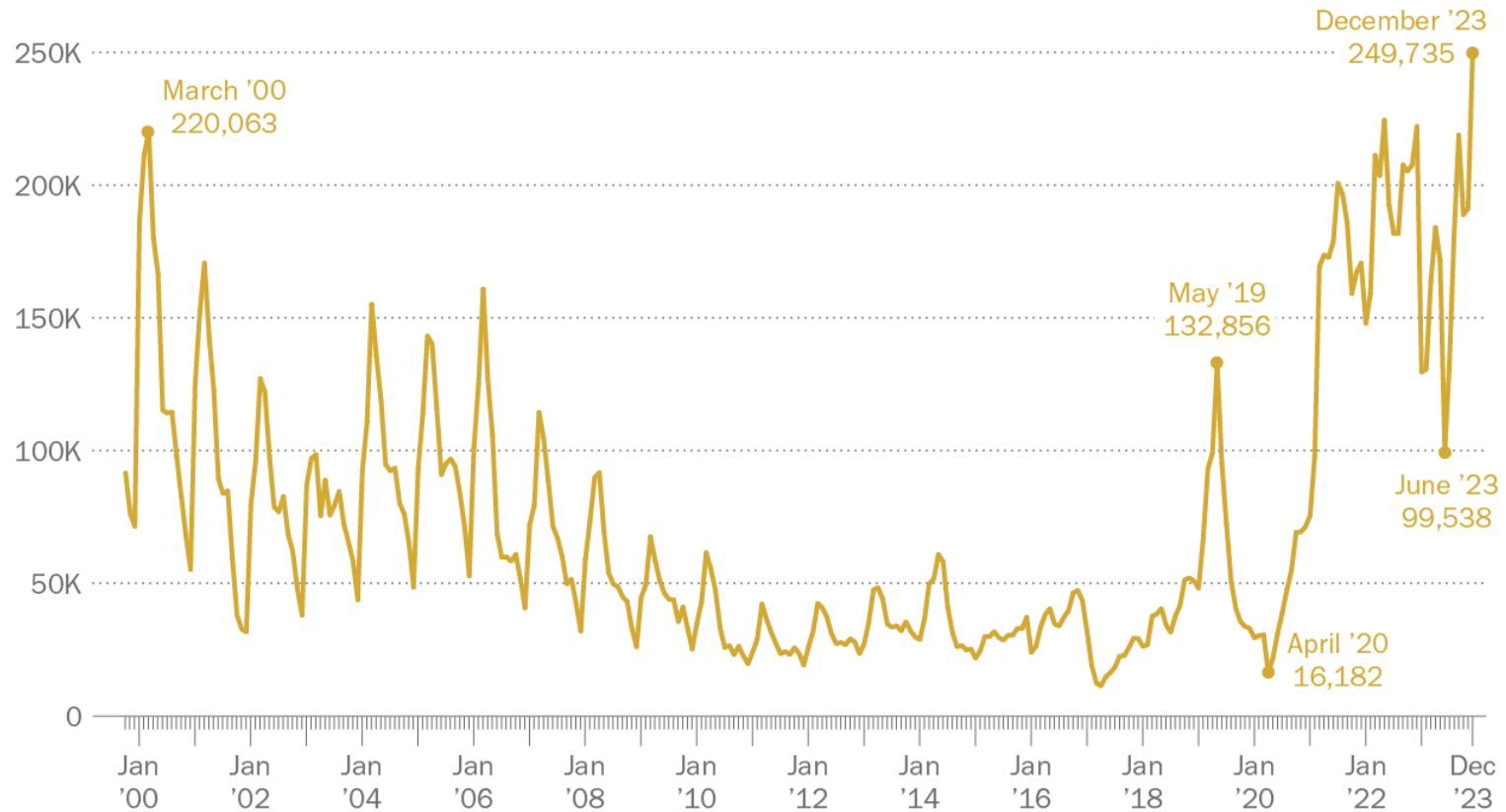


Figure 2. Undocumented Population from Mexico in 2014, by Year of Entry (rounded to 5000s)



2023 ended with more migrant encounters at U.S.-Mexico border than any month on record

Monthly migrant encounters by U.S. Border Patrol at U.S.-Mexico border



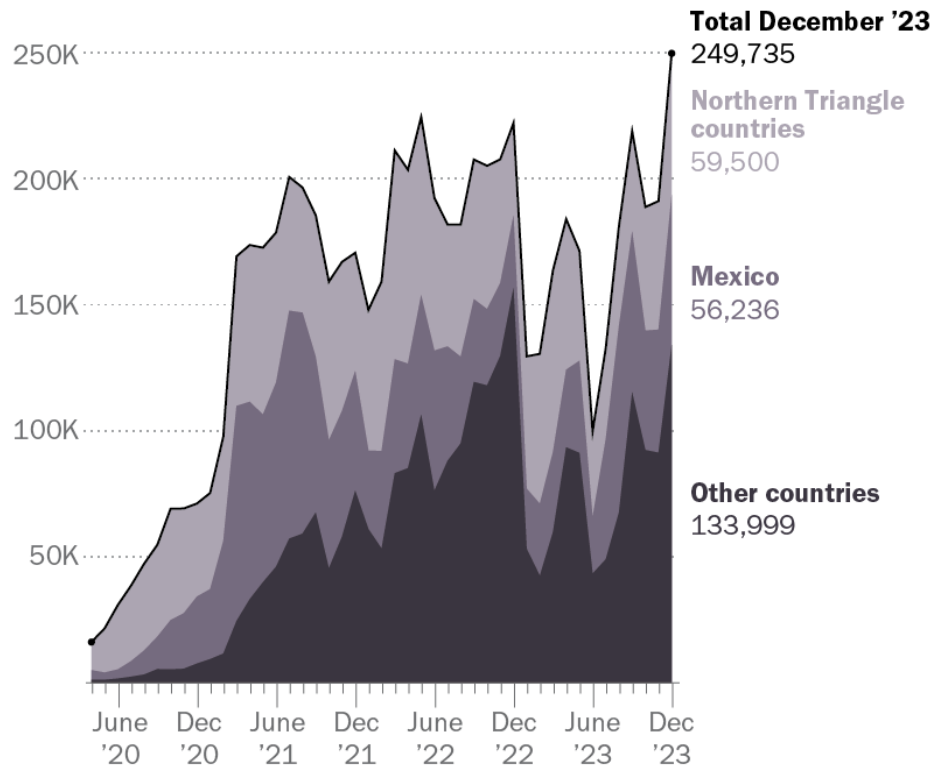
Note: Beginning in March 2020, monthly totals combine apprehensions and expulsions into a new category known as encounters. Monthly totals before March 2020 include apprehensions only. Some migrants are encountered more than once.

Source: U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

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Most border encounters now involve people from countries other than Mexico and Northern Triangle

Monthly migrant encounters by U.S. Border Patrol at U.S.-Mexico border involving citizens of ...



Note: The Northern Triangle countries are El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Migrant encounters include apprehensions and expulsions; some migrants are encountered more than once.

Source: U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

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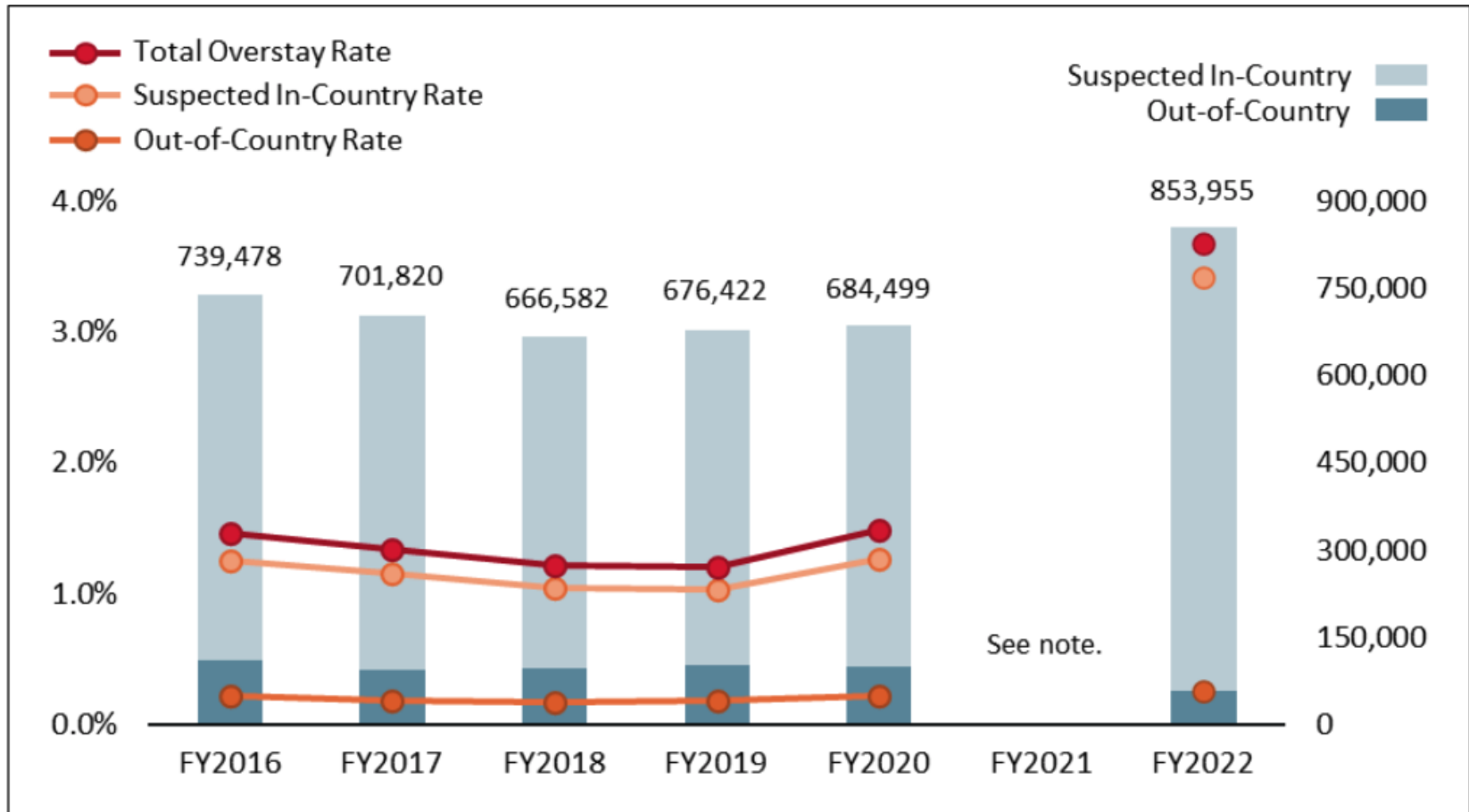
Types of visa overstays

- Suspected in-country overstays
 - Nonimmigrant's authorized period of admission expires and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has no record of departure or change in status
 - Nonimmigrant may still be in the U.S. or may have departed without DHS recording it
- Out-of-country overstays
 - DHS records a nonimmigrant departure after the authorized period of admission expired



Figure 3. Total Overstays: Numbers and Rates

FY2016-FY2020, FY2022



Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Entry/Exit Overstay Reports for FY2016 through FY2022, <https://www.dhs.gov/publication/entryexit-overstay-report>.

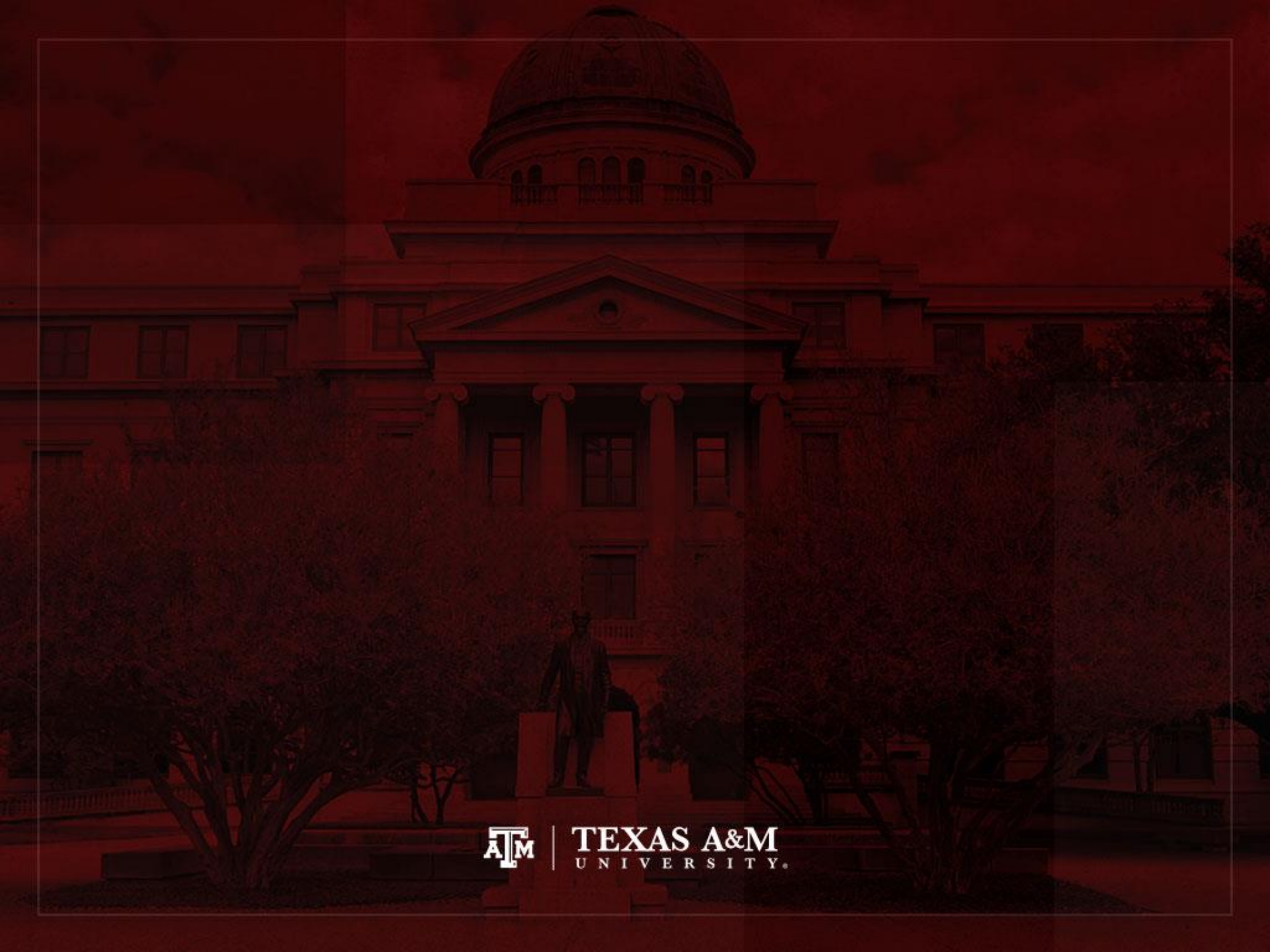
Notes: DHS did not release an FY2021-specific report, instead including the relevant numbers as an appendix to the FY2022 report. DHS specified in this appendix that the accuracy of the FY2021 reported data was impacted by temporary COVID-19-related travel policies. For this reason, FY2021 data are omitted from this figure.

10 countries with highest overstays

FY2022

Venezuela	176,316	43.1%
Mexico	131,120	3.6%
Colombia	64,869	5.5%
China	31,819	7.2%
Spain	29,164	5.2%
India	28,478	3.6%
Dominican Republic	27,911	6.6%
Canada	20,127	0.7%
Brazil	19,820	4.1%
Jamaica	19,548	9.9%





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Proposed Southern border wall

- 44 million foreign-born people in 2018
 - 10.7 million undocumented immigrants
 - 4.5 million are visa overstayers
 - ~6 million persons entered without inspection (EWIs)
- Southern border wall would cost over \$21.6 billion
- Why would the Southern border wall not work?
 - Historical evidence
 - Visa overstayers
 - Selectivity of migration
- Foreign-born people have lower crime rates
- EWIs don't take jobs from locals



Historical evidence

- Virtually all the famous walls in the world did not or do not work
- China's Great Wall took almost 2,000 years to build at a cost of hundreds of thousands of lives
 - Actually it consists of a series of walls
- China's walls did not keep out foreigners
 - Mongols entered China and ruled China in the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368)
 - The Manchu entered China and ruled China in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911)



Visa overstayers

- The majority of undocumented immigrants enter the country with a valid visa
 - They overstay the time limit
 - They don't come through the Southern border
- A biometric entry/exit system would monitor people entering and exiting the U.S.
 - It would reduce the number of visa overstayers
- The Congress mandated an electronic entry-exit system more than 20 years ago
 - But it has not been implemented because of objections from the tourism industry and other groups

Selectivity of migration

- “Exceptional America” (Seymour Martin Lipset)
- International migrants are positively self-selected
- They are usually more highly (economically) motivated than the average population of their origin countries



Selectivity and Southern border

- Only the strongest and most advantaged people attempt crossing the Southern border
- A wall will make the journey to the U.S. more dangerous
 - Many migrants will fail
 - But eventually most will succeed
- A wall will cause immigrants to settle and stay in the U.S., and not return to their home countries

(Massey, Durand, Pren, 2016)



Increase in border enforcement

- Surge in border enforcement after 1986 (Massey 2015; Massey, Durand, Pren 2016)
 - Massive policy intervention
 - Undertaken for domestic political purposes
 - Not based on analysis of forces driving migration
- Politicians, pundits, and bureaucrats continue to call for more border enforcement
 - However, since 2008, net undocumented migration has been zero or negative



Policies not based on evidence

(Massey, Pren 2012)

- Even when policies respond to changes in immigration, they are usually not based on understanding the driving forces of international migration
- These policies are usually shaped by economic circumstances, political ideologies, and symbolic significance of immigrants presented by the media, politicians, and legislators



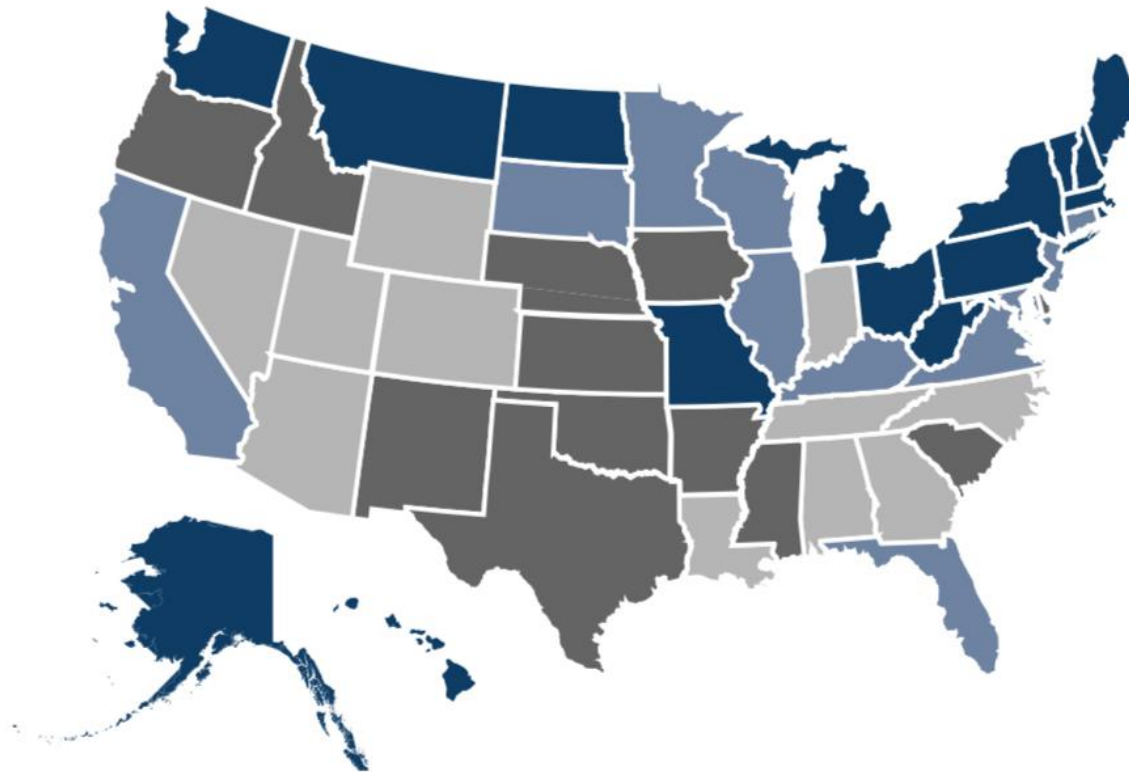
The contradictory U.S. policy

(Massey 2015, Massey, Durand, Pren 2016)

- Restrictions on work permits turn legal migrants into unauthorized migrants
 - However, family preference systems prevail, which encourage non-workers to migrate
- Increasing border controls affected the behavior of unauthorized migration from Mexico
 - Border enforcement discourages circularity
 - Undocumented immigrants are encouraged to stay
 - Immigration change
 - From a circular flow of male workers going to three states (CA, TX, IL)
 - To 11 million people living in settled families in the nation



Unauthorized Immigrants as Share of Foreign-Born by State, 2008



(US=30%)

Light Gray: Highest % undocumented (45-80% of foreign-born)

Dark Gray: High % undocumented (35-45%)

Medium Blue: Lower % undocumented (25-35%)

Dark Blue: Lowest % undocumented (<25%)



Crime and drugs

- Foreign-born people have considerably lower crime rates than do the U.S.-born
- Most illicit drugs don't enter the U.S. via EWIs
 - Most drugs smuggled into the U.S. do not arrive on the backs of those who cross undocumented
- In 2015, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration reported
 - Mexican drug cartels bring most drugs over the southern border through ports of entry via trucks, passenger vehicles, and tractor-trailers



Crime data vs. public discourse

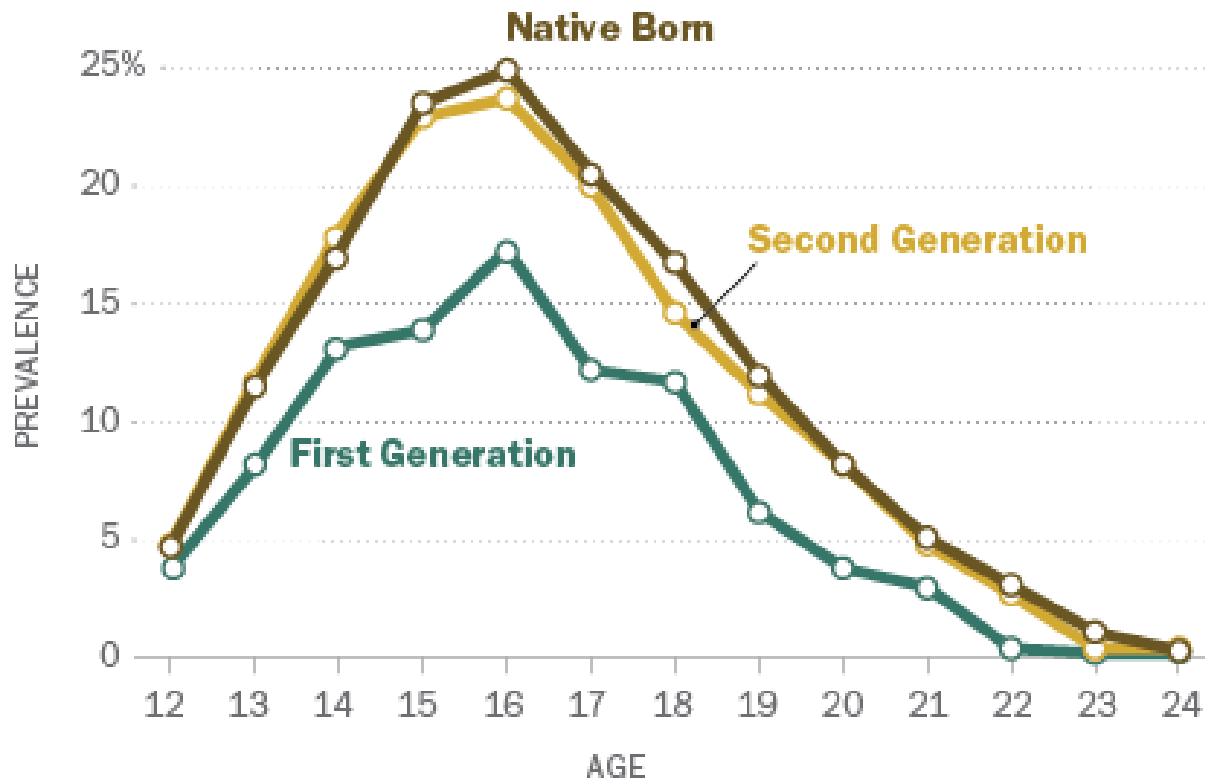
- Legal and undocumented international migrants to the U.S. are less likely to commit serious crimes and to be imprisoned, compared to the native U.S.-born population
- Yet, immigrants have been perceived as “threats” in political and public discourse



Crime

First and Second Generation Immigrant Offending Trajectories

Prevalence of each group involved in at least 1 crime in the previous 12 months



Source: Pew Research Center, 2013.

(<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/10/15/crime-rises-among-second-generation-immigrants-as-they-assimilate/>)



Public attitudes toward immigration

- Public attitudes/perceptions toward immigration and questions about the social and economic impacts of immigrants are linked
- The fortunes of immigrants, and their effects on the economy, political system, schools, and society shape public opinion on additional immigration
- Discourse typically links undocumented immigrants to terrorism
 - Terrorist attacks have not been committed by undocumented immigrants

Immigrants and terrorism

Lawful Entry or Residence	Carrying Concealed Explosives	Visa Overstay Violations	Undocumented Entry
World Trade Center 1993 Attackers	Millennium Bomber	Some of the 9/11 Hijackers	
Oklahoma City Bombers	Shoe Bomber		
Anthrax Attacker	Liquid-Explosives Bombers		
D.C. Snipers	Underwear Bomber		
Fort Dix Six	Boston Marathon Bombers		
			San Bernardino Shooters

Source: Scott Savitz (RAND presentation, 2016).

EWIs don't take jobs from locals

- EWIs don't take jobs from U.S.-born Americans
 - Almost all EWIs perform work Americans don't want to do
 - Little evidence that EWIs harm or suppress the employment or wages of local people
 - See extra readings in course website and next section of this lecture
- About half of EWIs pay taxes
 - In 2015, the IRS received more than 4 million tax returns from workers without Social Security numbers, and many of them are EWIs
 - They paid almost \$24 billion in income taxes
 - They won't get any of it back in Social Security and Medicare payments





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Economic effects of immigration

- Immigration raises concerns that U.S.-born workers might experience negative impacts on earnings and employment
 - Mainly those with lower levels of education
 - These natives might experience an increasing competition for low-paying jobs with immigrants and refugees
- Does an increase in labor supply, due to immigration, have negative effects on labor outcomes of competing low-skilled native workers?
 - There are no definitive answers, because numerous and concurrent effects are related to economic outcomes
(Waters, Pineau 2015)

Report funded by the National Academies of Sciences (2015)

(<https://www.nap.edu/catalog/21746/the-integration-of-immigrants-into-american-society>)



Different results

- Immigration reduces the wage and labor supply of competing native workers (Borjas 2003, 2016)
 - Wages of natives decreased by almost 4% when there was a 10% increase in the labor supply of immigrants
- Immigration had a small effect on the wages of native workers with no high school degree between 1990 and 2006 (Ottaviano, Peri 2012)
 - Immigration had a small positive effect on average native wages
 - But had a substantial negative effect on wages of previous immigrants in the long run

Different methodologies

(Card 2012)

- Assumption about immigrants increase demand for more production in the labor market
 - If studies consider that companies will not invest more capital: negative effects of immigration on labor outcomes
 - If studies consider that companies will adjust production for increasing demand: effect of immigration is approximately zero
- Education groups
 - If four groups (dropouts, high school, some college, college)
 - Immigrant dropouts lower relative wages of native dropouts
 - If two groups (high-school equivalents, college equivalents)
 - Earnings have been largely unaffected by immigration
- Immigrants and natives with low levels of education
 - If equal competition is assumed: negative effects on wages
 - If natives having advantages is assumed (e.g. language proficiency, broader social networks): positive effects on outcomes of natives



Natives adapt to immigration

- Natives experience occupational upgrading and specialization, as an adjustment to immigration flows (Foged, Peri 2015)
- While immigrants tend to concentrate on manual jobs, due to language and cultural limitations, natives leave their previous occupations to work on more complex jobs
- This pattern generates improvements in natives' wages and mobility, without negative effects on unemployment for unskilled natives



Immigration policies and natives

- Countries with larger immigrant competition experience a move of native workers to more sophisticated skills with higher incomes, which require higher education levels
(Cattaneo, Fiorio, Peri 2013)
- Natives engage in entrepreneurial activities in response to larger immigrant competition
- Open immigration policies tend to generate better career opportunities for natives, when combined with flexible labor markets (Peri 2014)



Maribel boatlift: natural experiment

- For few months in 1980, 125,000 mostly low-skill immigrants entered Miami from Mariel Bay, Cuba
 - Fidel Castro briefly lifted Cuba's ban on emigration
- The workforce of Miami rose by 8%
 - Normal immigration to the US increases the nationwide workforce by about 0.3% per year
- If immigrants compete with native workers
 - Miami in the 1980s is exactly where you should see natives' wages drop



Source: Clemens, 2017.

[https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/6/23/15855342/immigrants-wages-trump-economics-mariel-boatlift-hispanic-cuban.](https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/6/23/15855342/immigrants-wages-trump-economics-mariel-boatlift-hispanic-cuban)

David Card (UC Berkeley)

- In 1990, David Card found no difference in wage or employment trends between Miami and other cities
 - This was true for workers even at the bottom of the skills ladder
 - Mariel immigration had essentially no effect on the wages or employment outcomes of non-Cuban workers in the Miami labor market

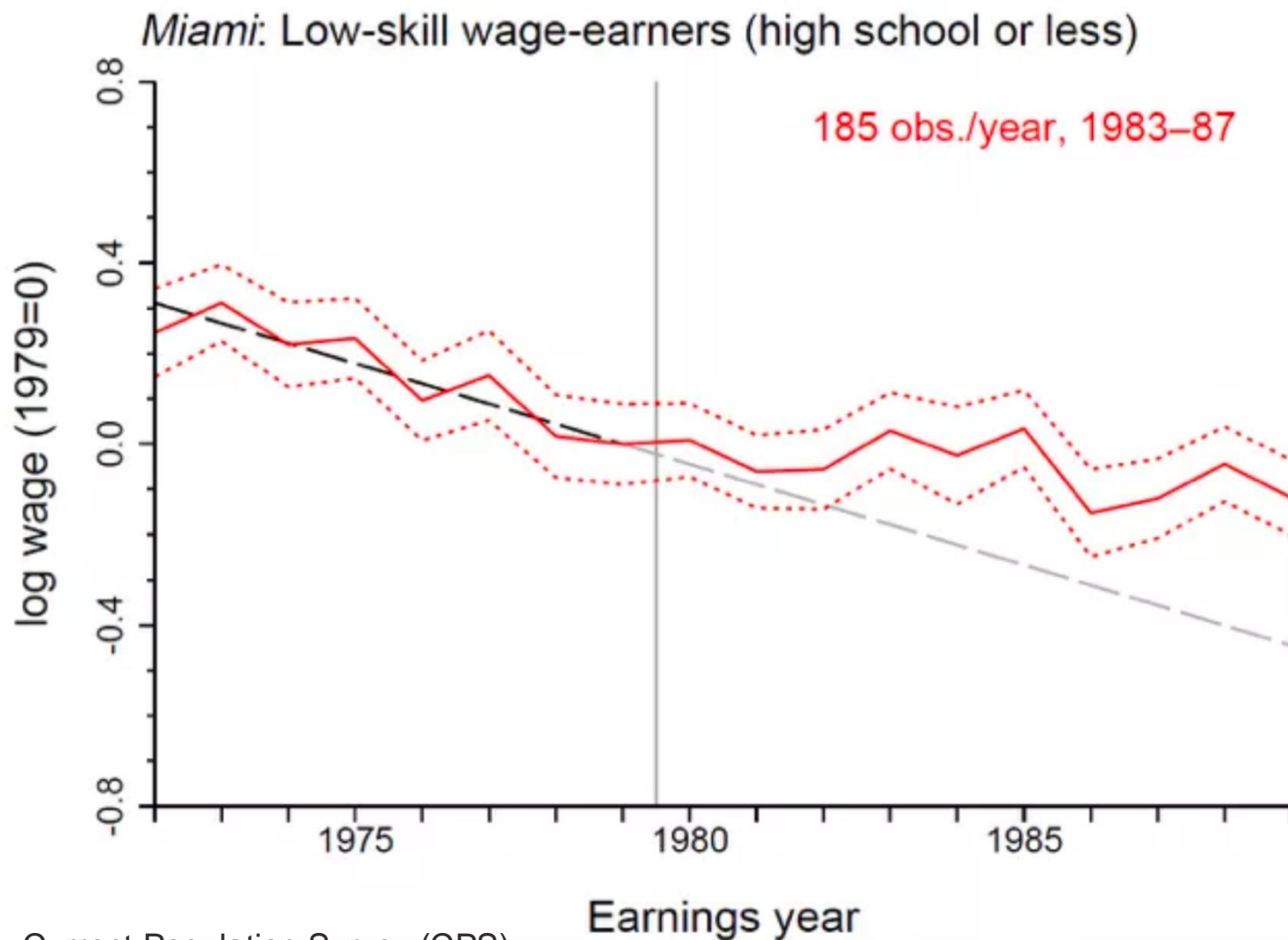


George Borjas (Harvard)

- In 2016, George Borjas (Harvard) found that this influx of immigrants in Miami
 - Dramatically reduced the wages of native workers
 - Immigration critics argued that the debate was settled



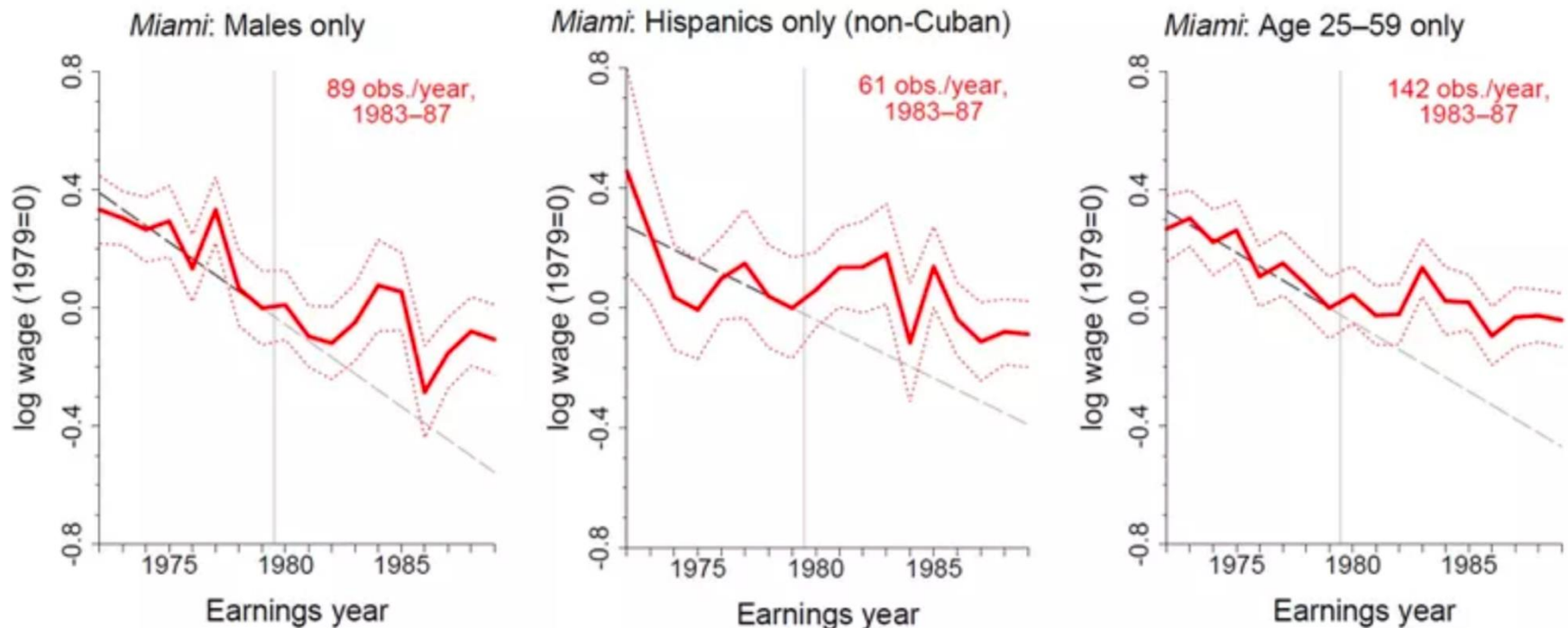
No sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages after the huge arrival of low-skill Cubans in 1980



Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).



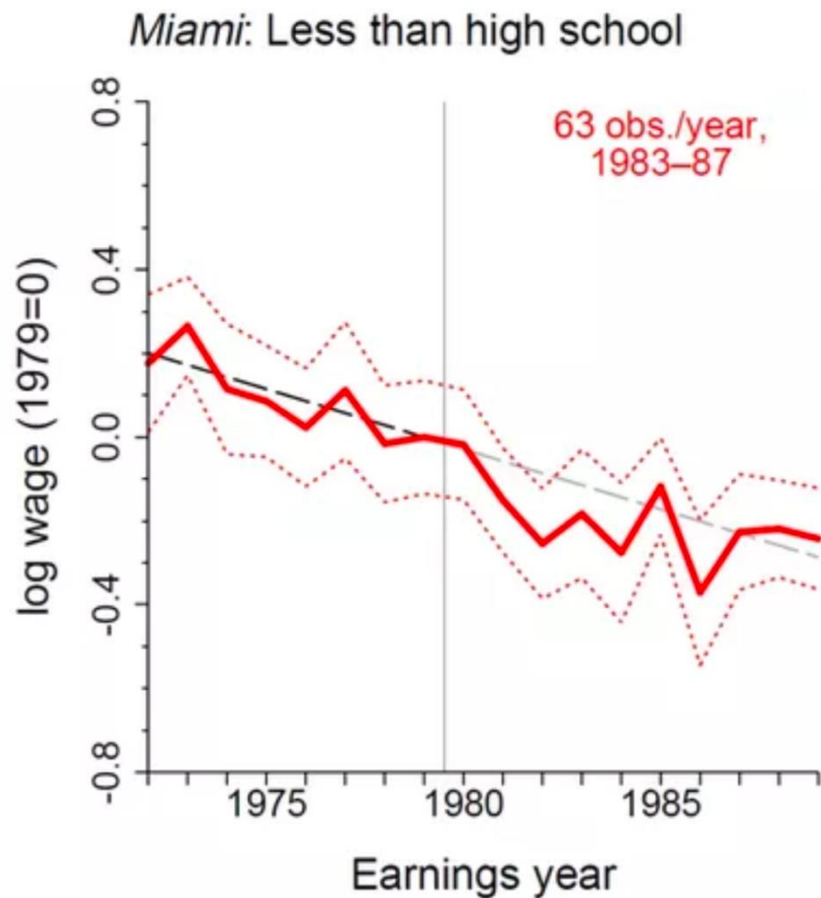
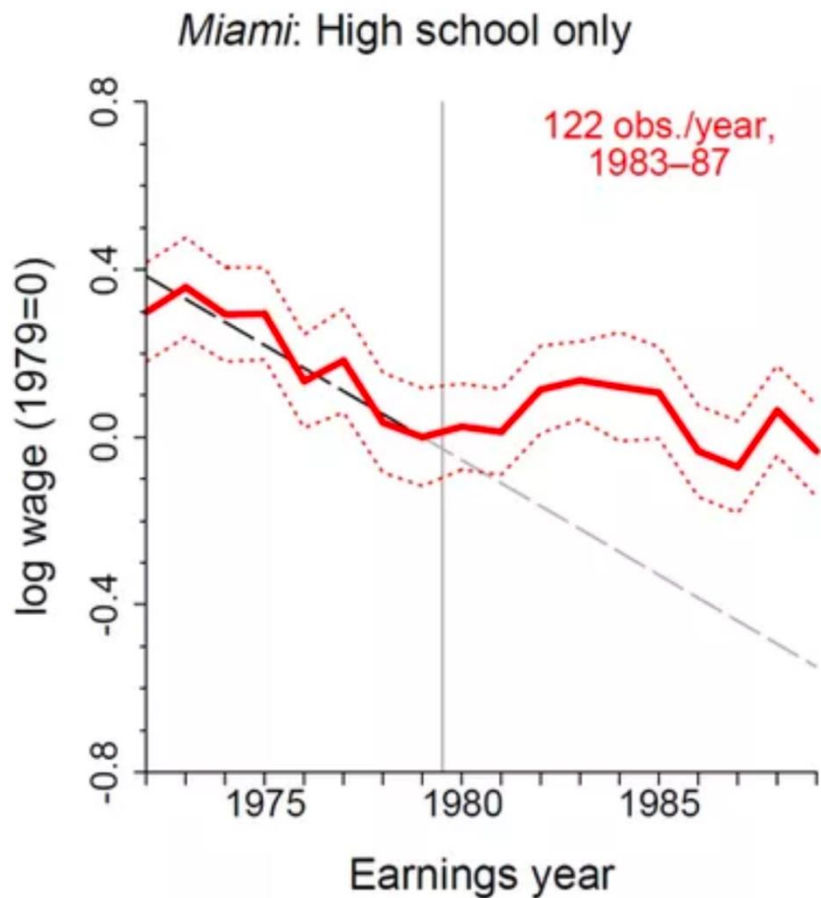
No sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages for subgroups of workers



Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).



No sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages even when divide workers on HS or less than HS

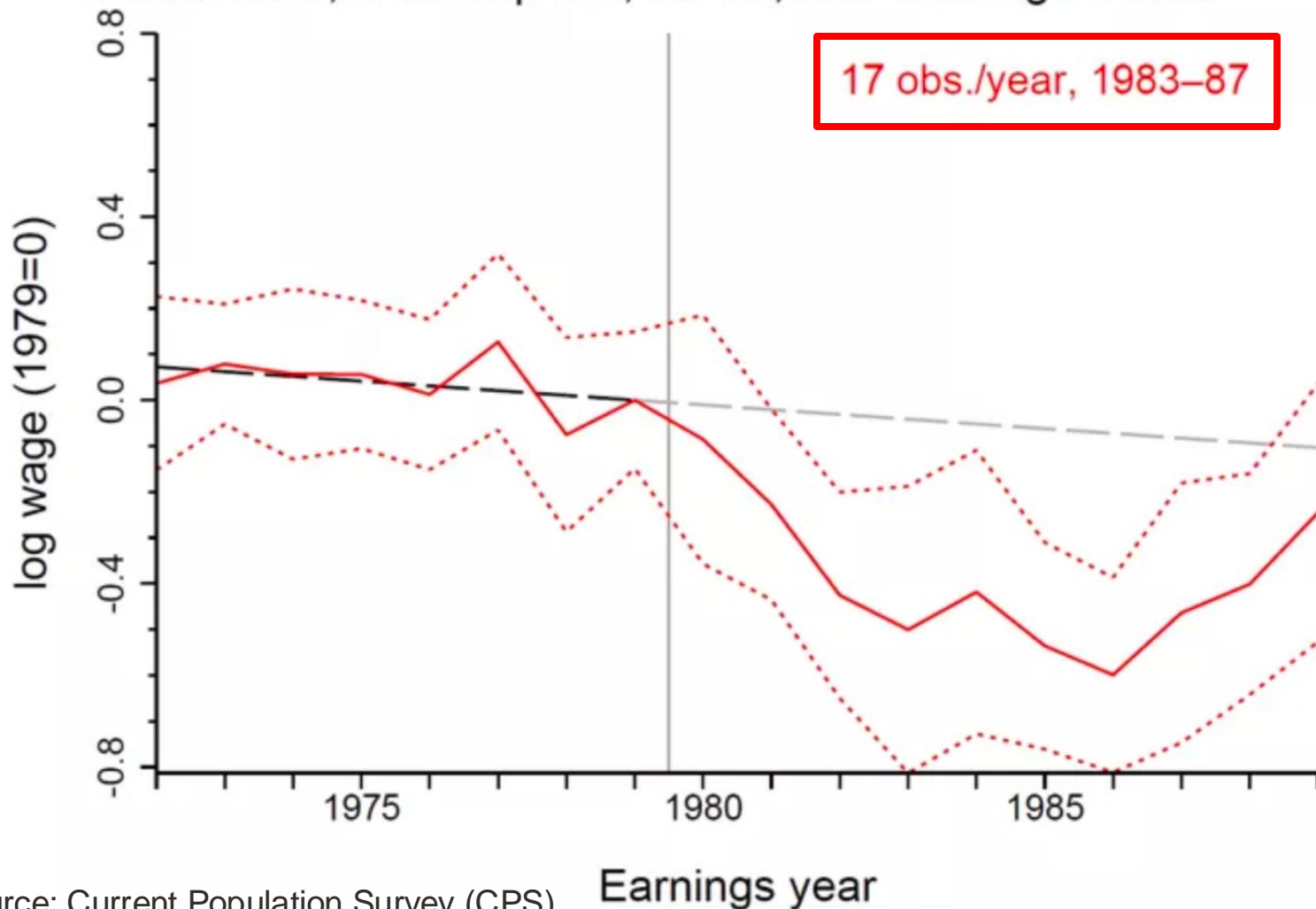


Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).



Sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages only when throw out 91% of the data (Borjas)

Miami: Male, Non-Hispanic, 25–59, less than high school



Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).

Earnings year





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Simulation of U.S. point system

- A criticism of the U.S. immigration policy
 - Admissions are not based on a selection of the “best and brightest”
 - More high-skilled immigration is needed to raise educational attainment of the labor force
- This logic is not sustained when we consider
 - Educational mobility among children of immigrants
 - Relatively small number of immigrants compared with the population as a whole (Van Hook et al. 2020)



United States and Canada

- The U.S. system does not select immigrants primarily on their education or skills
 - Family ties to Americans
 - Fleeing political persecution
 - Winners of the “Green Card lottery”
 - Unauthorized workers
- Canadian’s point system
 - It gives priority to highly educated immigrants
 - ~60% of Canadian immigrants have a college degree
 - ~30% of U.S. immigrants have a college degree



Propositions for the U.S.

- U.S. policymakers have debated implementing a point system as in Canada
- RAISE Act of 2017 would have
 - Eliminated certain family categories
 - Ended lottery program
 - Required employment-based immigrants to enter either
 - With a combination of high levels of education, English proficiency, and earnings
 - Or with extraordinary accomplishments or wealth



Some questions

- How much the educational attainment of the working-age population would change over the next few decades
 - If U.S. immigrants were as educated as Canadian immigrants?
 - If unauthorized immigration or family and diversity admission categories were eliminated?



Microsimulation model

- The model accounts for the ways Americans live their lives over time and across generations from 2015 to 2065
- It simulates immigration scenarios while assuming that other aspects of life in America will continue similar to current conditions
 - Educational mobility
 - Immigrant assimilation
 - Racial inequality



U.S. immigrant education

- Current policy
 - 52% of immigrants and their descendants age 25–64 would have a college degree by 2065
- Simulation under the Canadian model
 - Percentage would increase to 67% in the U.S.
- This should not be surprising because Canada explicitly selects immigrants on education



Unauthorized and categories

- Eliminating all unauthorized migration
 - Increase the share with a college degree by just 3%
- Eliminating family and diversity immigrants
 - Increase this share by 1%
- Family-based and diversity immigrants are nearly as educated as employment-based immigrants



Educational mobility

- Even if immigrants arrive with little education, their children tend to go much further in school
- Opposite occurs with high-skilled immigrants
 - 73% of immigrants and their descendants would have college degree in 2065 if they retained parents' education
 - It drops to 67% when we account for downward mobility
- Educational attainments of descendants of immigrants tend to drift toward the average attainments of the native population



Relative number of immigrants

- Does the U.S. receive enough immigrants to change the entire U.S. labor force?
 - Immigrants and their descendants makes up only 20% of the projected 2065 population
 - This proportion is too small to have an overall impact
 - Younger people, who tend to have more education, will replace older less-educated workers
 - Impacts of eliminating unauthorized immigration or family reunification and diversity categories on the entire working-age population would be virtually zero

Limits of immigration

- Immigration shapes American society
 - Racial-ethnic composition and culture
- But impact on education composition is muted
 - Education is similar across existing classes of immigrants
 - Mobility among children of immigrants means that their education drifts toward population averages (upward and downward mobility)
 - Migration represents a small annual net flow relative to the total population



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