

International migration

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April 07, 2020
Social Demography (SOCI 622)

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Outline

- Definition and concepts
- Patterns of world immigration over time
- Immigration to the United States
- Undocumented immigration
- Economic effects of immigration



Definitions and concepts

- The first international migration of humans are believed to have occurred about 60,000 years ago
- 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

Tourists

- **Tourists** and visitors are different from international migrants
- Their visits to another country is usually short-term
- Their visits do not involve establishing permanent residence in the destination country

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: foreign-born population (immigrants)
- 1.5 generation: distinction for those who came as children
 - Those who arrived up to age 12
 - Or they 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: U.S.-born children of immigrants
 - 2.0 generation: no U.S.-born (native-born) parents
 - 2.5 generation: one U.S.-born parent and one foreign-born parent
- 3rd generation: grandchildren of immigrants
 - U.S.-born and two native-born parents



Massey's laws of international migration

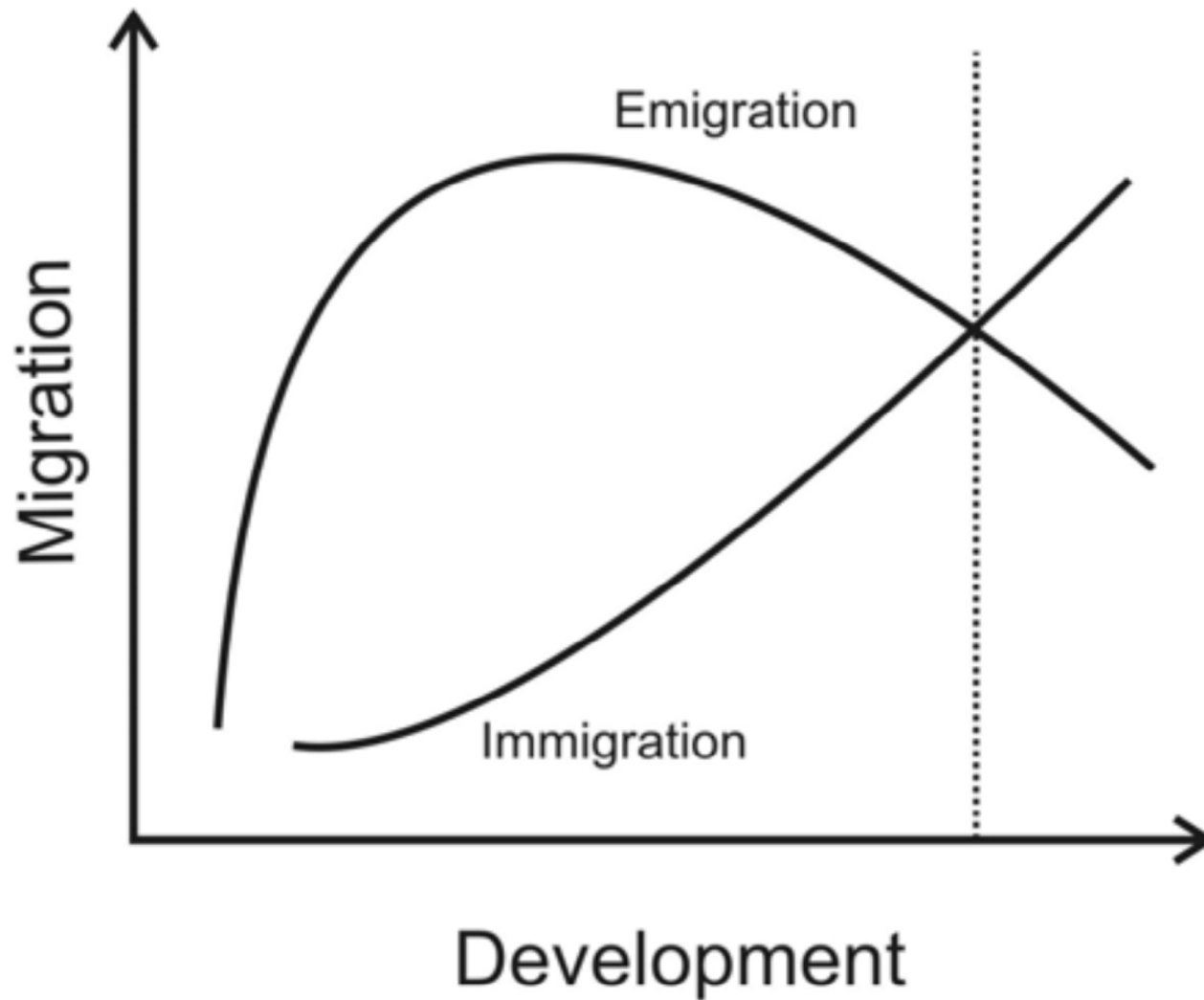
- Immigration is a lot easier to start than it is to stop
- Actions taken to restrict immigration often have the opposite effect
- The fundamental causes of immigration may be outside the control of policymakers
- Immigrants understand immigration better than politicians and academicians
- Because they understand immigration better than policymakers, immigrants are often able to circumvent policies aimed at stopping them



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

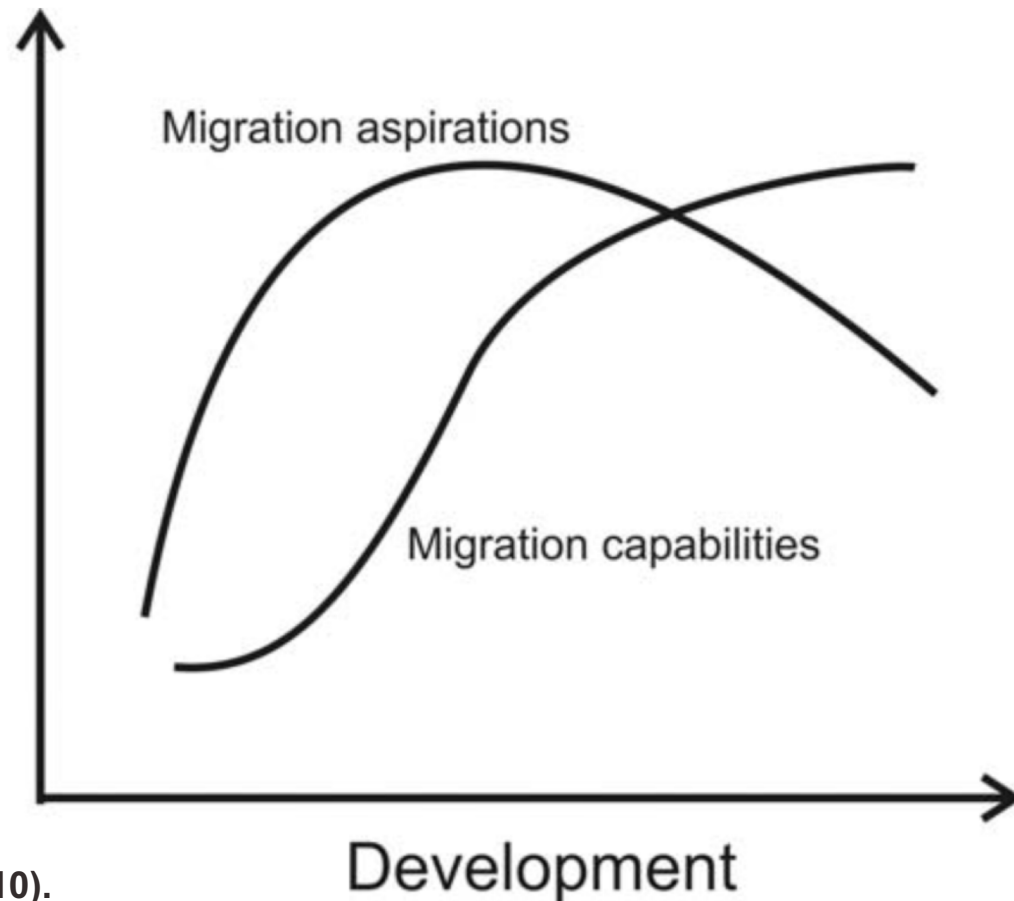


Source: de Haas (2010).

Capabilities and aspirations

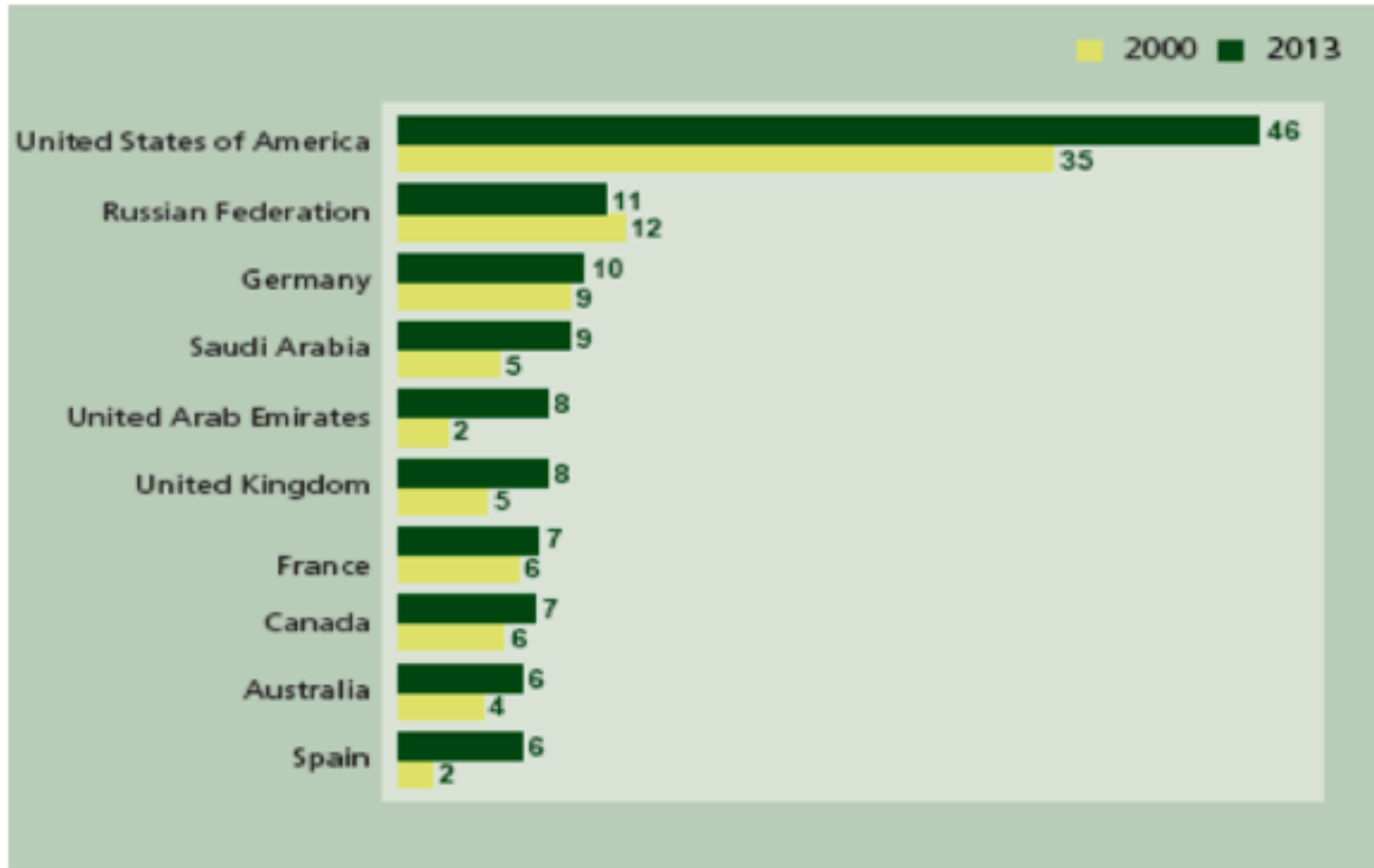
- Migration theory should include structural constraints and independent choices (agency)
- We can incorporate notions of structure and agency in migration theory by conceptualizing migration at the micro-level as a function of...
 - **Migration capabilities:** individuals mobilize human, social, and material capital in order to migrate
 - **Migration aspirations** for personal, social, economic, and political opportunities, which vary for different people, based on their education, information, and social networks

Hypothesized effect of human development on migration capabilities and aspirations



Source: de Haas (2010).

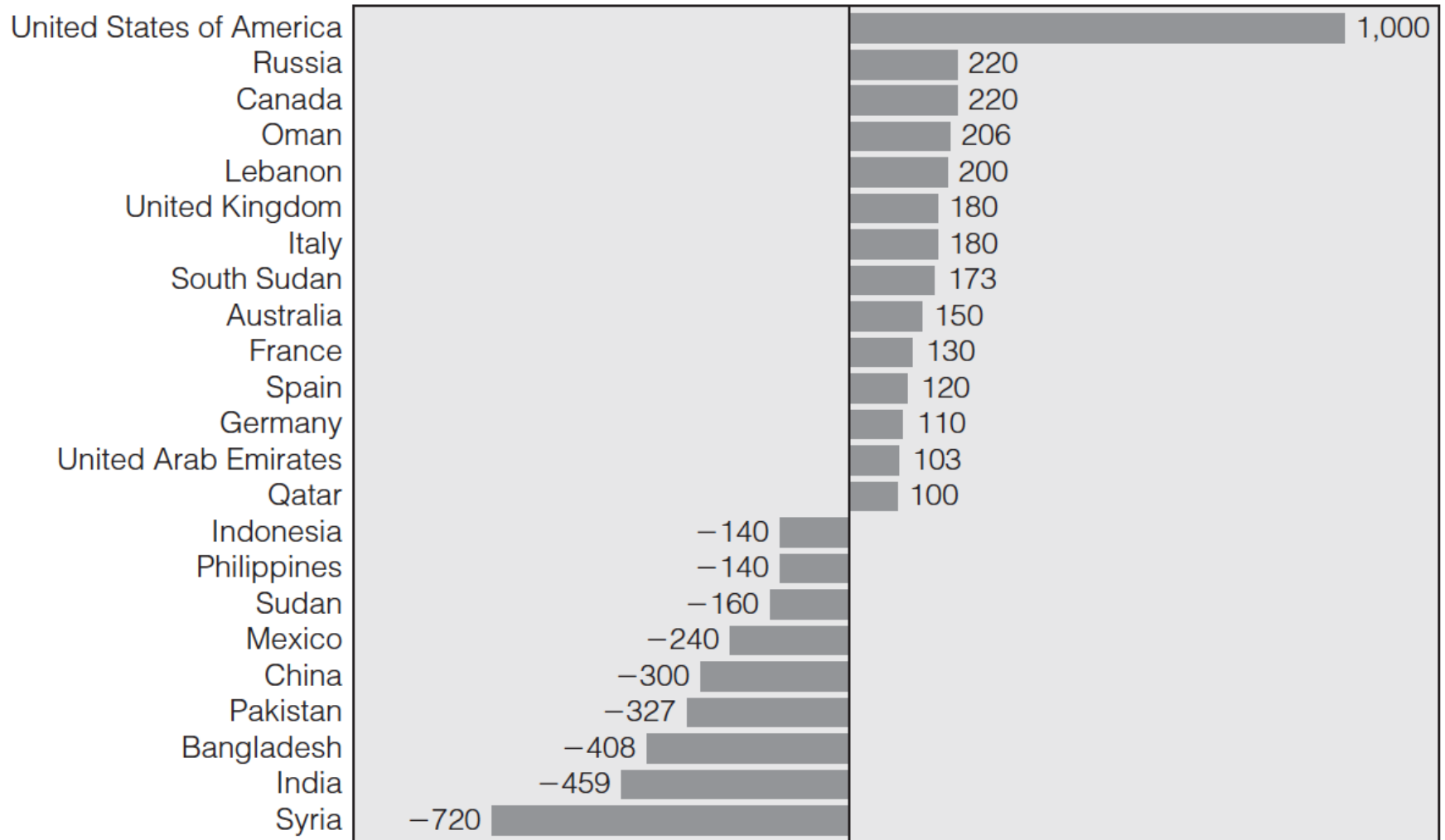
In 2013, more than 50% of the international migrants in the world resided in just 10 countries (in millions)



Source: United Nations, 2013c.

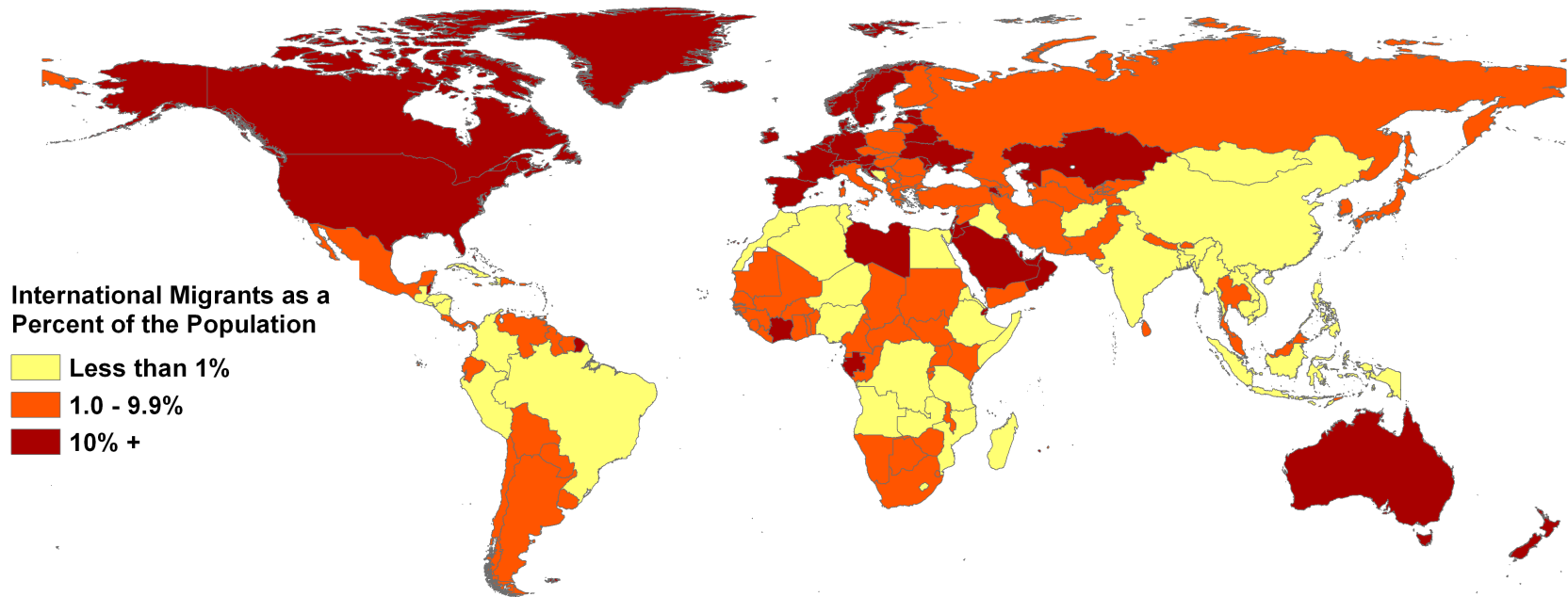


Major origins and destinations of international migrants, 2010–2015



Annual Net Migrants 2010–2015 (thousands)

Percent that is foreign (stock), 2013





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Patterns of world immigration over time

- The first modern humans began in sub-Saharan Africa about 195,000 years ago
- By 35,000 years ago, humans were found at opposite ends of Eurasia, from France to Southeast Asia and even Australia
- How modern humans went about colonizing “these and other drastically different environments during the intervening 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, and later to Europe
- Then, they began migrating to the Americas around 14,000 years ago
- Movements were often through land areas and short sea routes

Migration by army invasion

- After first migrants, population flows to a new territory were usually preceded by an invasion of armies
- An example could be found in the raiding activities by the Scandinavian pirates (the Norse or Vikings) in England, Ireland, and France between 800 and 1066 AD

Forced migration

- International migrations/invasions could also involve the enslavement and **forced migration** of the defeated peoples to the land of the conquerors
- For example, during the 5th century BC, Athens had about 75,000 to 150,000 slaves from both Africa and Asia
 - They represented about 25% to 35% of Athens' population

Transoceanic migrations

- After the 14th century, international migrations/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
 - 3% in 1750
 - 16% in 1930

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 (11 million if we count those who died during the sea voyages) enslaved Africans were brought to the New World involuntarily
- World consequences of these large migrations
 - Geographic redistribution of the global population
 - Pressures of the population on land and resources in the Old World 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

Geographic distribution

- The geographic distribution of races has also changed dramatically
- By 1930
 - About 1/3 of all whites no longer lived in Europe
 - More than 1/5 of all blacks no longer lived in Africa
- Since the 1930s, there have been several major international migration movements
 - Most migrants being refugees and asylum seekers

World War II

- Large numbers of Jews and political refugees fled Germany
- 20 million Eastern and Central Europeans were uprooted from their homelands between Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s and the end of World War II
- When WWII ended, about 3 million Japanese were returned by decree to Japan from other Asian nations

Other migrations in the 1940s

- After the partitioning of India in 1947 into India and Pakistan
- More than 7 million Muslims fled from India to Pakistan
- A comparable number of Hindus moved from Pakistan to India
- In 1948, thousands of Palestinians were displaced from the territory that is now Israel



Southeast Asian

- In the 1970s, millions of Southeast Asians were uprooted owing to political and economic disruptions
 - This resulted in one of the largest and most tragic refugee migrations in history
 - Ten million refugees migrated from what had been East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to northern India in 1971
 - Subsequently, millions of Asians escaped from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos into Thailand and elsewhere



Afghanistan

- The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan generated massive numbers of refugees
- There were about 6.5 million Afghan refugees between 1988 and 1991
- Another 5 million refugees left Afghanistan from the early 1990s to 2000
- By the early 2000s, about one in four Afghans were refugees



Modern refugee era

- The modern refugee era began at the end of the Cold War around 1991
- Many developing countries were still engaged in violent conflicts after losing support from their superpower backers
- Around 2001, there were 3.6 million Afghans found in Pakistan and Iran
- In 2003, several million refugees fled Iraq due to the invasion by the United States



UNHCR

- The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated there were 46.3 million refugees in the world in 2014
- Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan sent out the largest numbers of refugees
- Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Turkey, and Jordan are the countries receiving the largest numbers



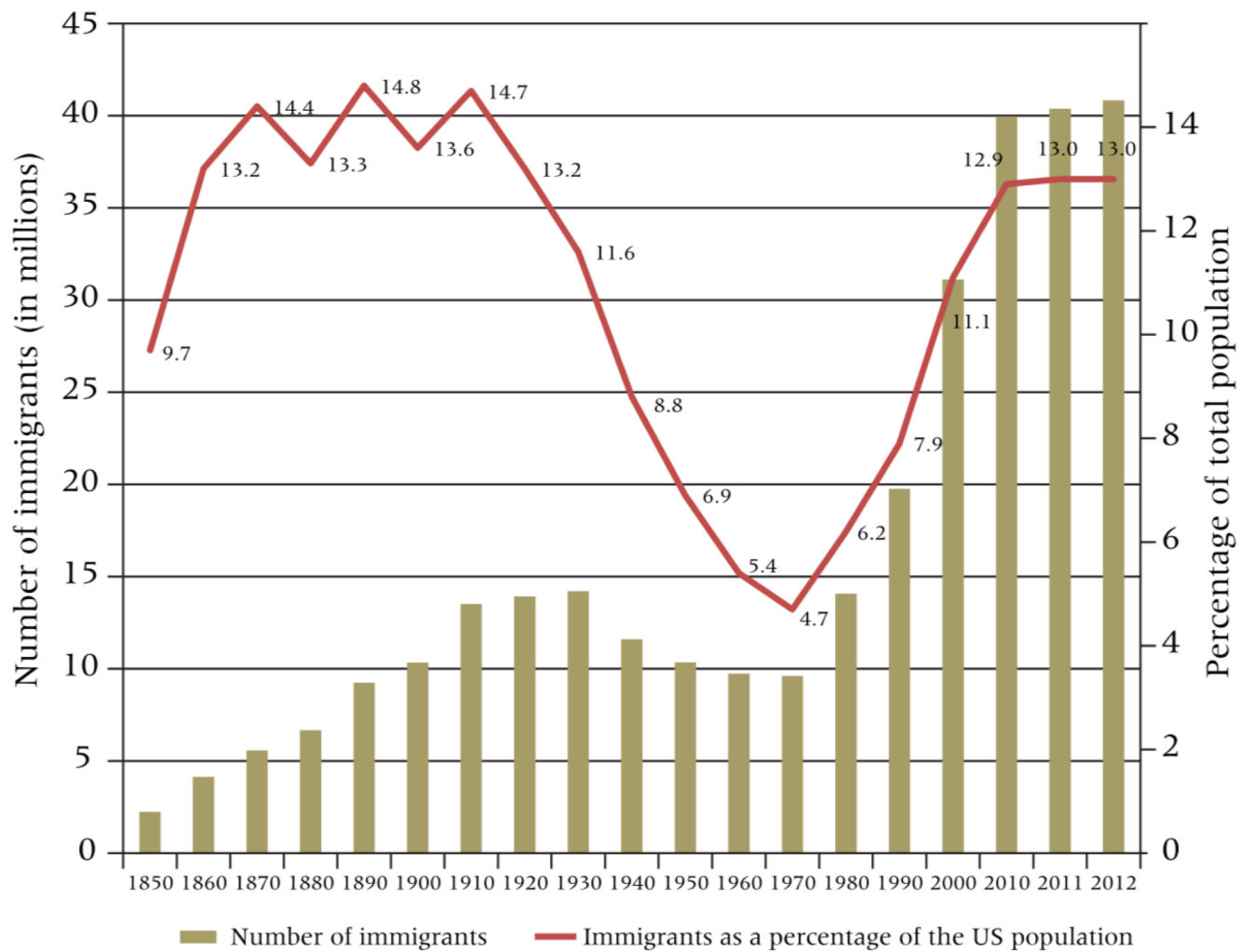
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Immigration to the United States

- 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



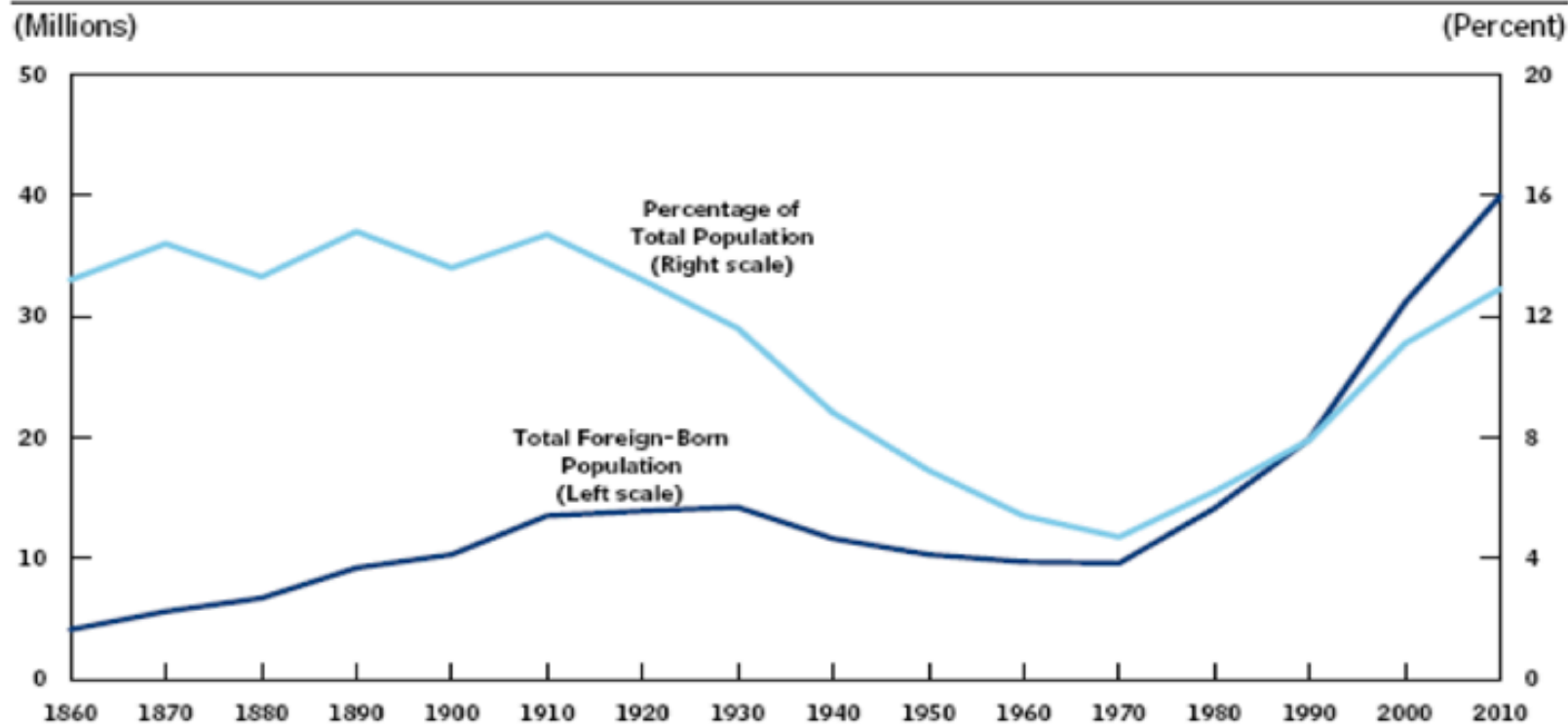
SOURCE: Original figure based on U.S. Census Bureau data.

Source: Waters, Pineau 2016.



Figure 9.2

Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 1860 to 2010



Source: Congressional Budget Office, 2013.

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.

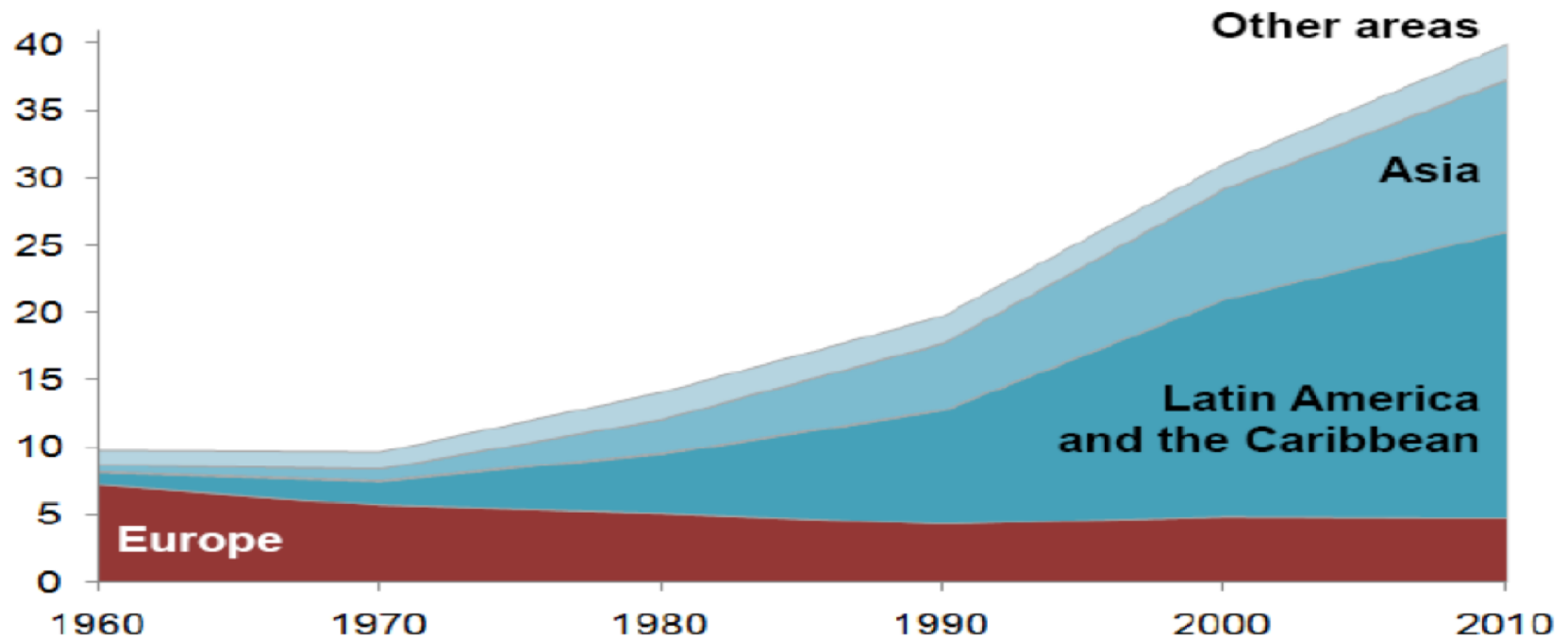
Period	Total Immigrants	Region of Origin:						% Foreign born
		N/W Europe	S/E Europe	Latin America	Asia	Africa	Elsewhere	
1820 to 1829	128,502	95,945	3,327	4,297	34	15	24,884	
1830 to 1839	538,381	416,981	5,790	8,238	55	50	107,267	
1840 to 1849	1,427,337	1,364,950	4,309	4,428	121	61	53,468	9.7
1850 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



Figure 9.4

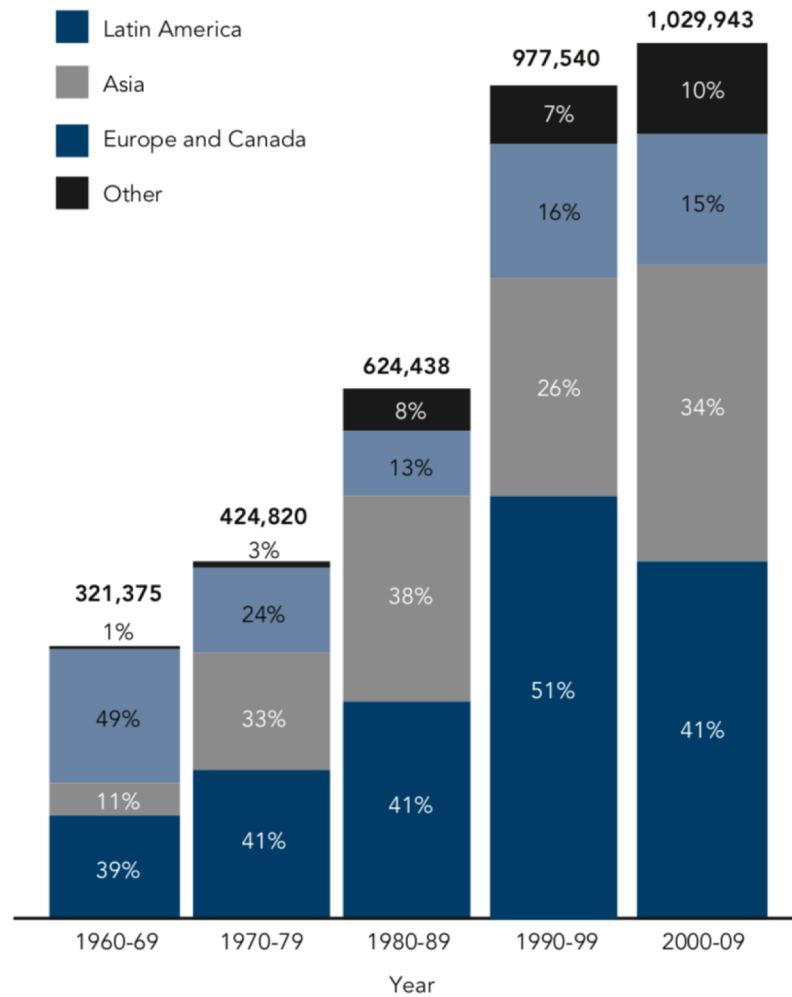
Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth: 1960 to 2010

(Numbers in millions)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, http://www.census.gov/newsroom/pdf/cspan_fb_slides.pdf (accessed June 14, 2015)

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.

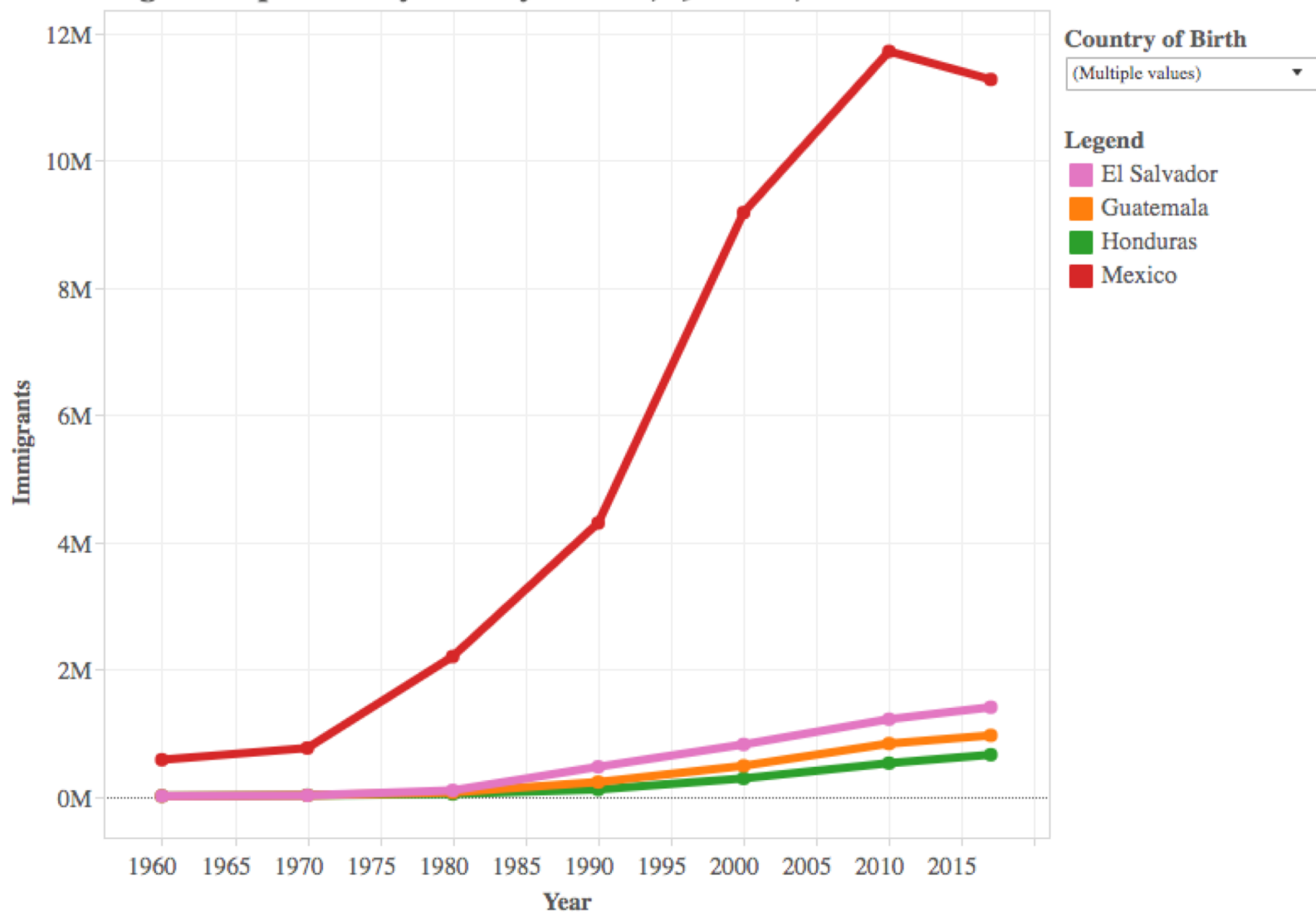
Source: Department of Homeland Security Immigration Statistics.

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.



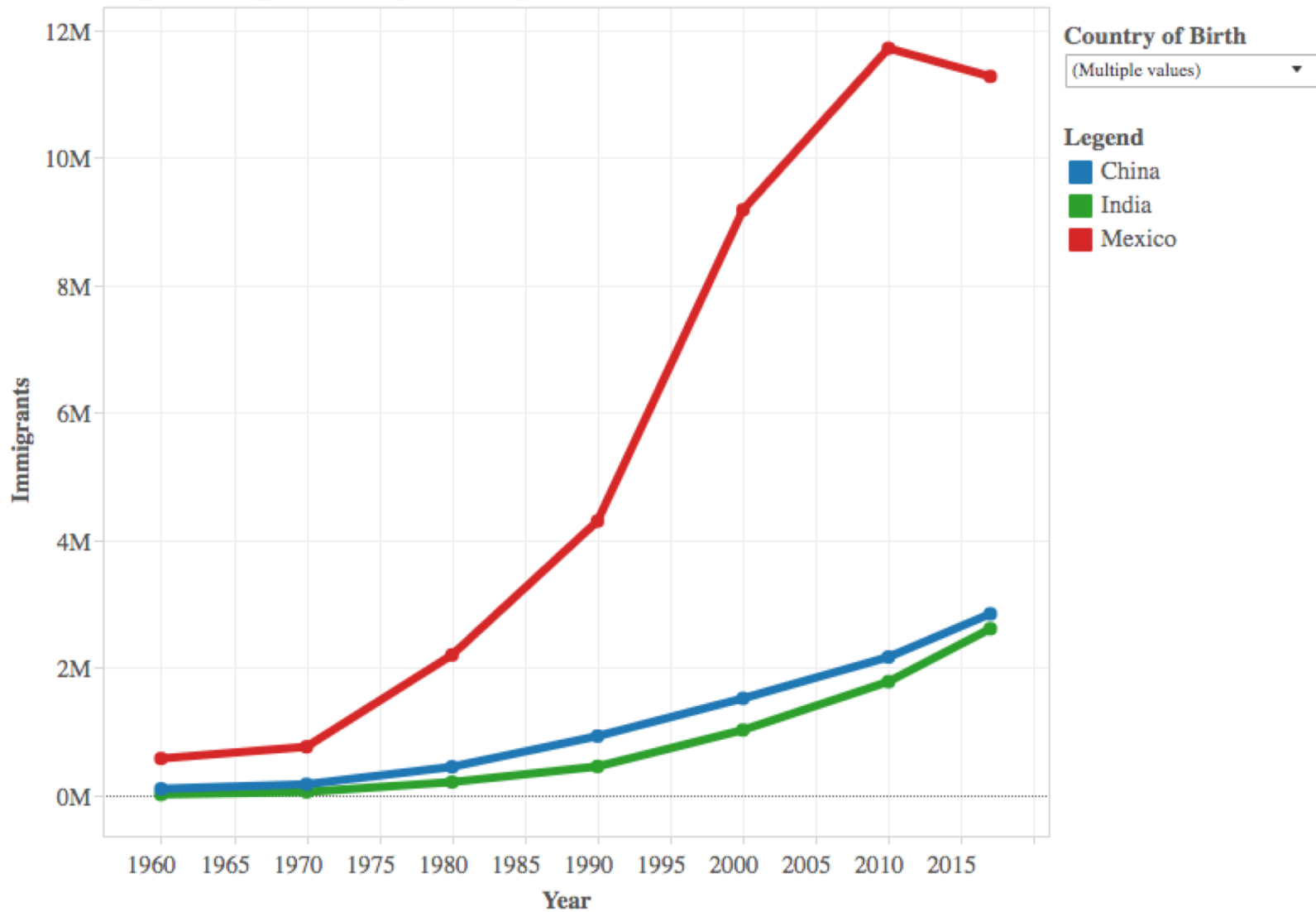
U.S. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1960-2017



Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub
<http://migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub>



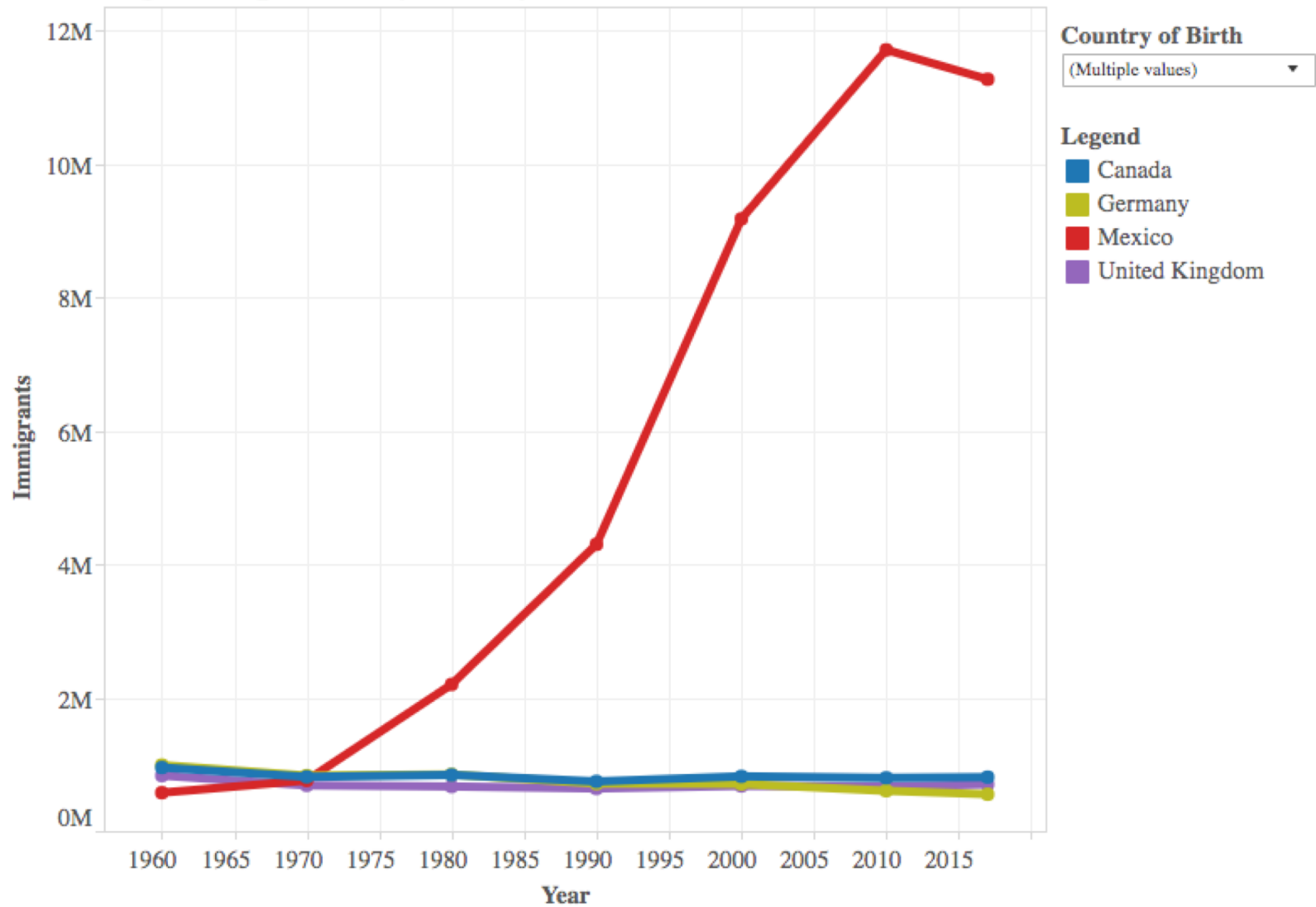
U.S. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1960-2017



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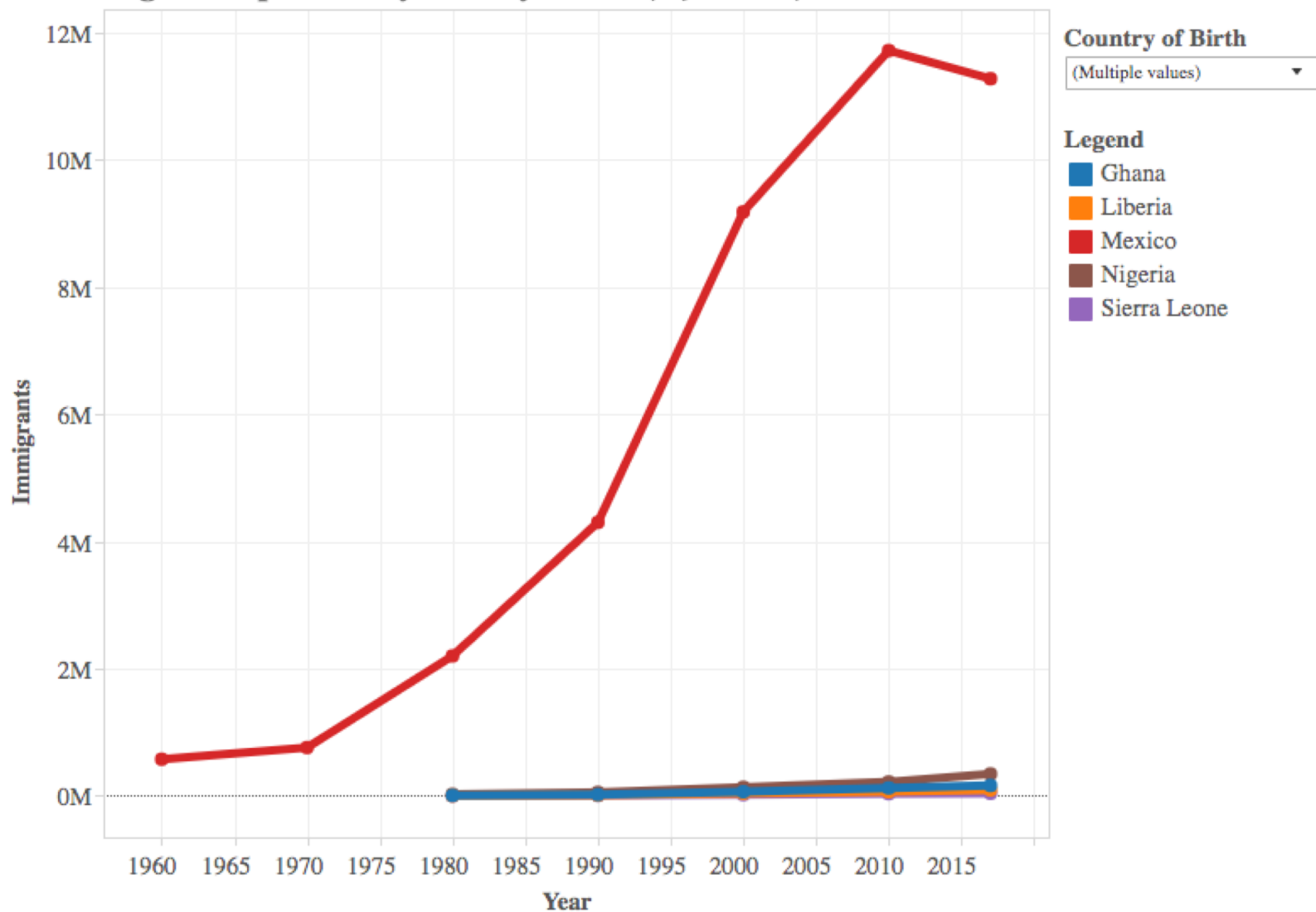
U.S. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1960-2017



Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub
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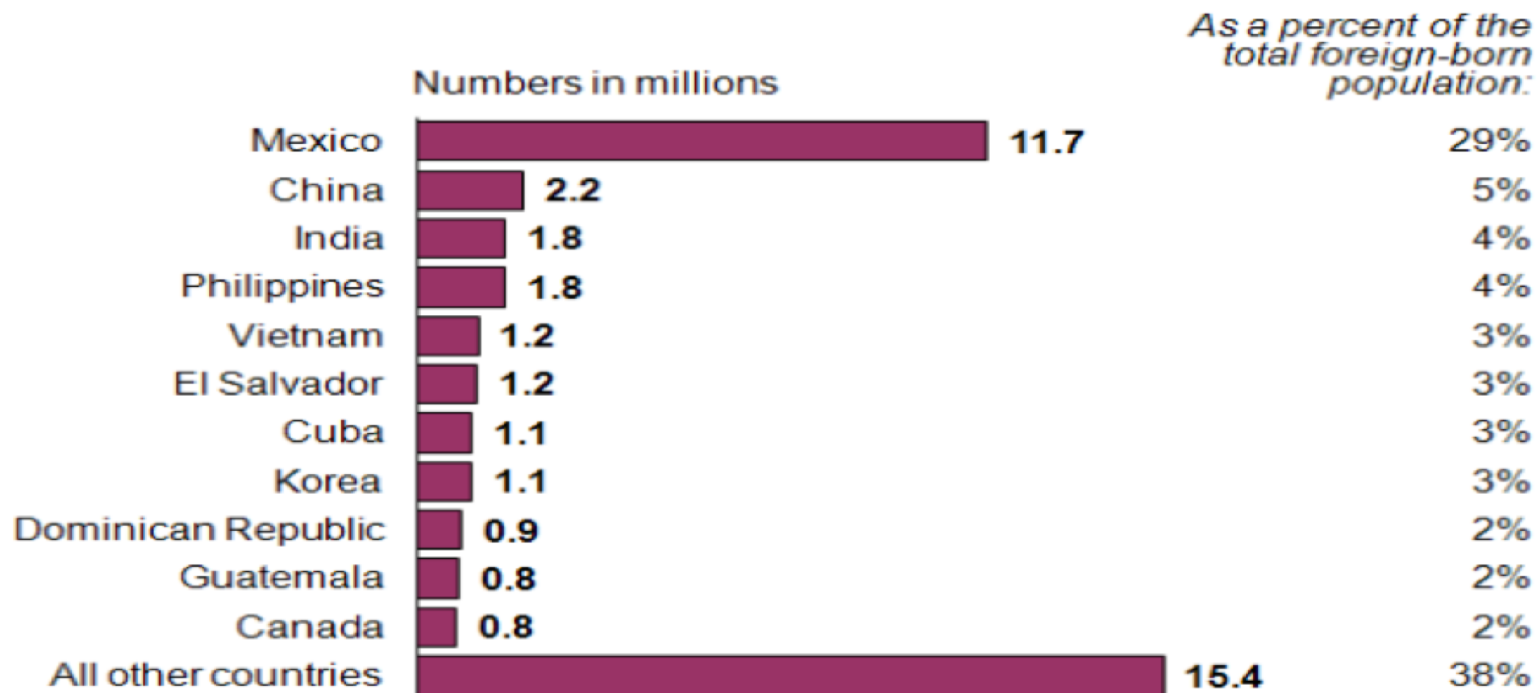
U.S. Immigrant Population by Country of Birth, 1960-2017



Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub
<http://migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub>



Foreign-Born Population by Country of Birth: 2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, http://www.census.gov/newsroom/pdf/cspan_fb_slides.pdf (accessed June 14, 2015)

Immigration and U.S. population

- Immigration has a major effect on the size, distribution, and composition of the U.S. population
- Fertility and mortality are relatively low in the United States
- Immigration's role in the growth of the population has increased
- Immigration contributed to around 30% of the total population increase between 1980 and 2000
- The number of foreign-born U.S. residents rose from 14 million in 1980 to 36 million in 2005



Increase in the U.S.-Born and Foreign-Born Population, 1980 to 2005

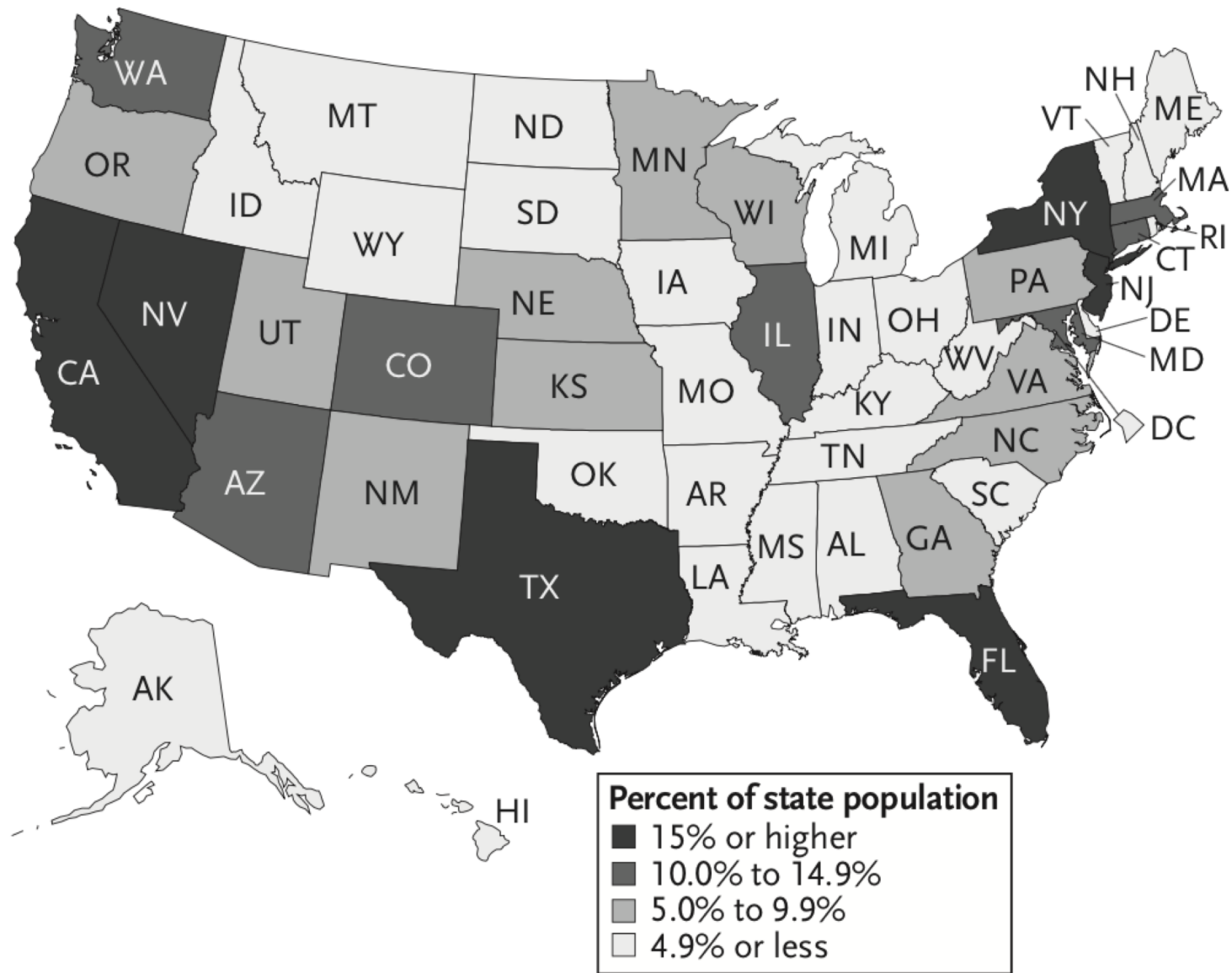
	<u>Total</u>	<u>U.S.-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born (FB)</u>
Number (millions)			
1980	227	213	14
1990	249	229	20
2000	281	250	31
2005	288	253	36
Percent increase			
1980–1990	9.8	7.7	40.4
1990–2000	13.2	9.3	55.4
FB share of increase			
1980–2000	100.0	68.9	30.4

Note: The 2005 estimates are not strictly comparable because they exclude people living in group homes or institutions.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2006* (www.census.gov, accessed Nov. 21, 2006); table HS-10; and Pew Hispanic Center, *Foreign Born Population at Mid-Decade* (2006, www.pewhispanic.org, accessed Oct. 24, 2006).

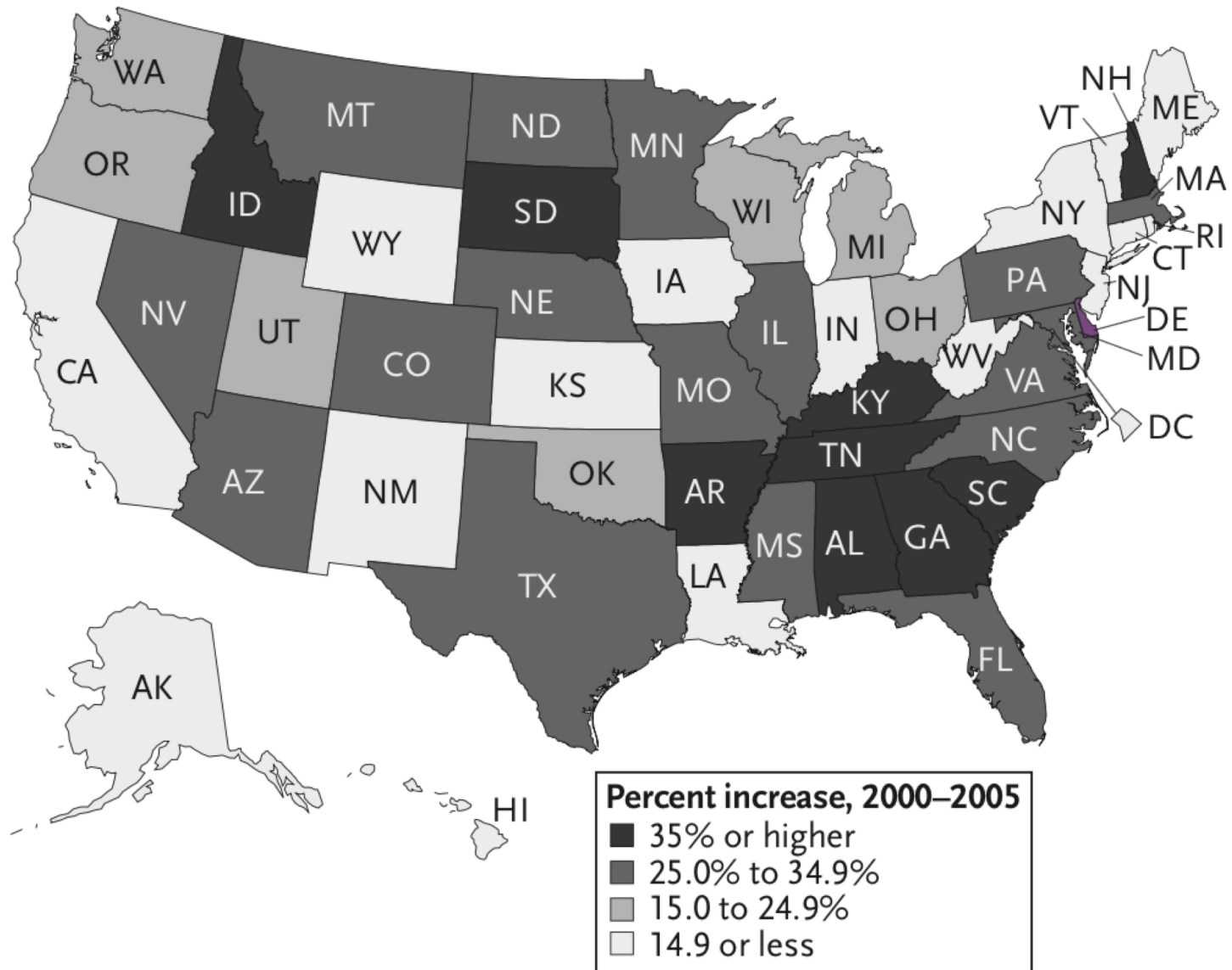


The Foreign-Born Population by State, 2005

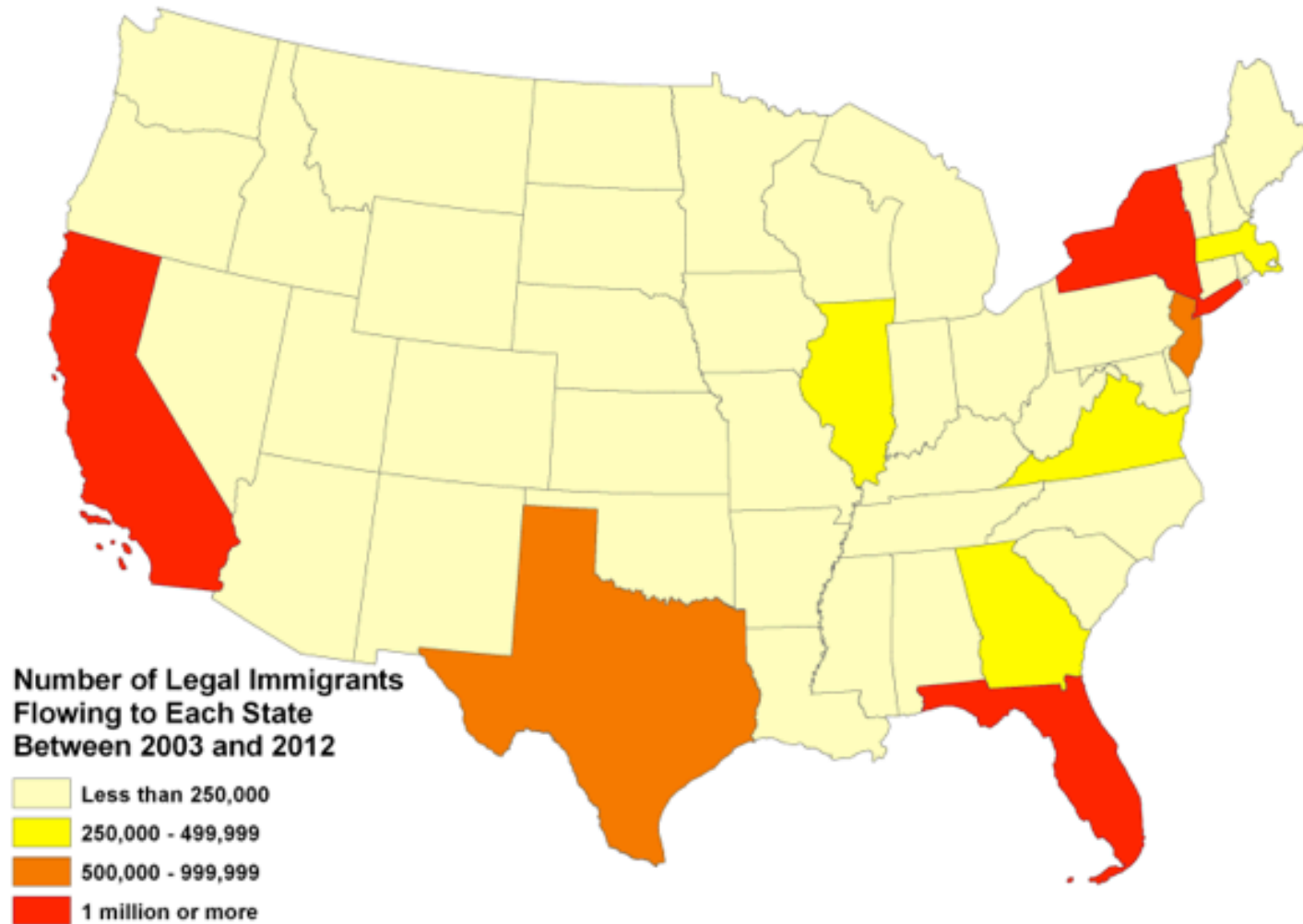


Source: Martin, Midgley 2006.

Percent Growth in Foreign-Born Population, 2000–2005



Migration flow, 2003–2012



Percent of Population That is Foreign-Born

- less than 5
- 5 - 9
- 10 - 19
- 20 +



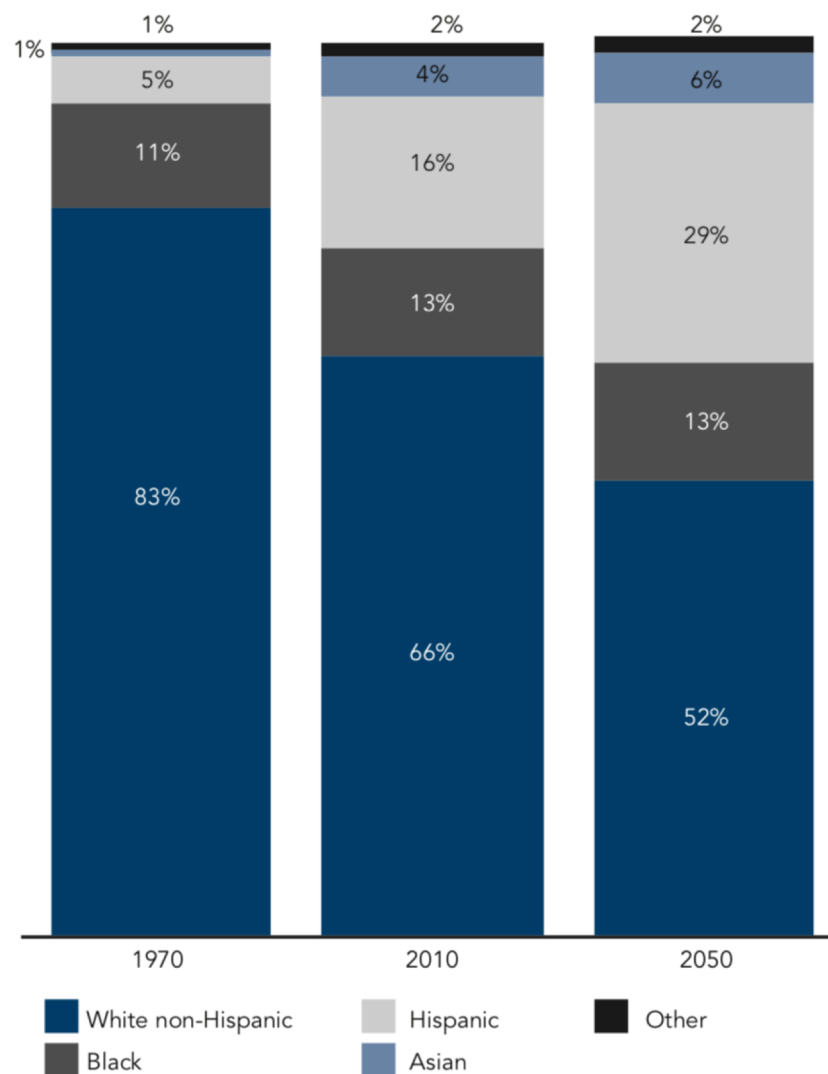
Projections

(Waters, Pineau 2016)

- Census Bureau projections point to continuing increases in foreign-born population in the next decades
 - By 2060, the foreign-born proportion will reach nearly 20% of the population
- Non-Hispanic whites will have fallen to less than 50% of the population (majority-minority)
 - Most immigrants are from Latin America and Asia
- An estimated 11 million persons (about 25% of the current foreign-born total) are undocumented
 - Annual deportations from this group have approached or exceeded 400,000



U.S. Population by Race and Ethnic Group, 1970, 2010, and 2050



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

Source: U.S. Census Projections With Constant Net International Migration, accessed at www.census.gov/population/www/projections/2009cnmsSumTabs.html, on June 7, 2010.



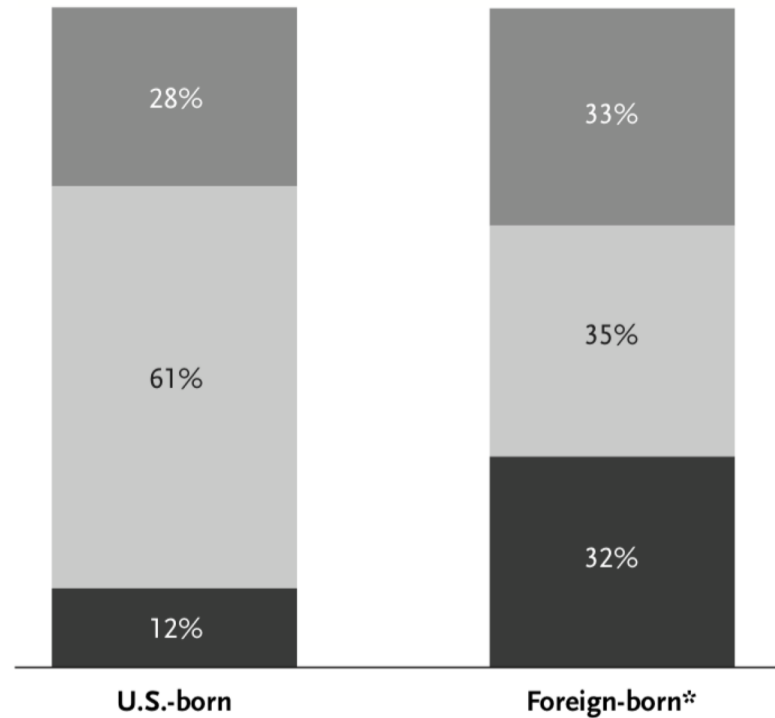
Immigrant integration

(Waters, Pineau 2016)




- 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



U.S.-Born and Recently Arrived Foreign-Born Americans by Education, 2005



Percent of population age 25 or older with

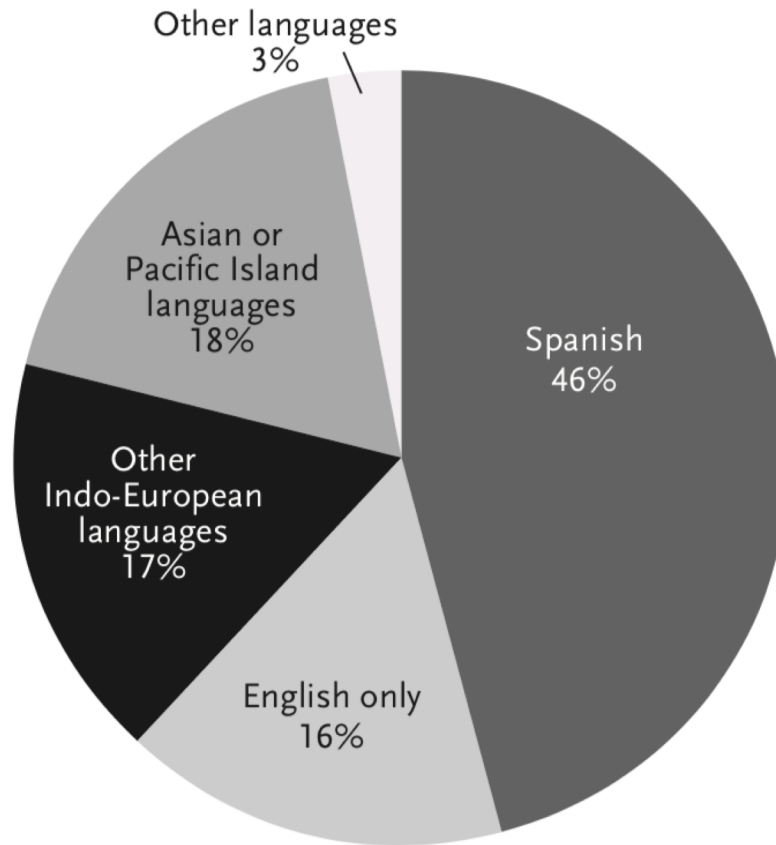
-  Bachelor's degree or higher
-  High school graduate/some college
-  Less than high school

* Entered the United States after 1999.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Educational Attainment in the United States: 2005* (www.census.gov, accessed Nov. 3, 2006): table 10.



Language Spoken at Home by the U.S. Foreign-Born Population, 2005



Note: Refers to people age 5 or older. Excludes people living in military barracks, college dormitories, or other group quarters. These data represent the midpoint of a range of estimates derived from the American Community Survey.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 *American Community Survey* (factfinder.census.gov, accessed Oct. 17, 2006): table C16005.





TEXAS A&M
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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

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

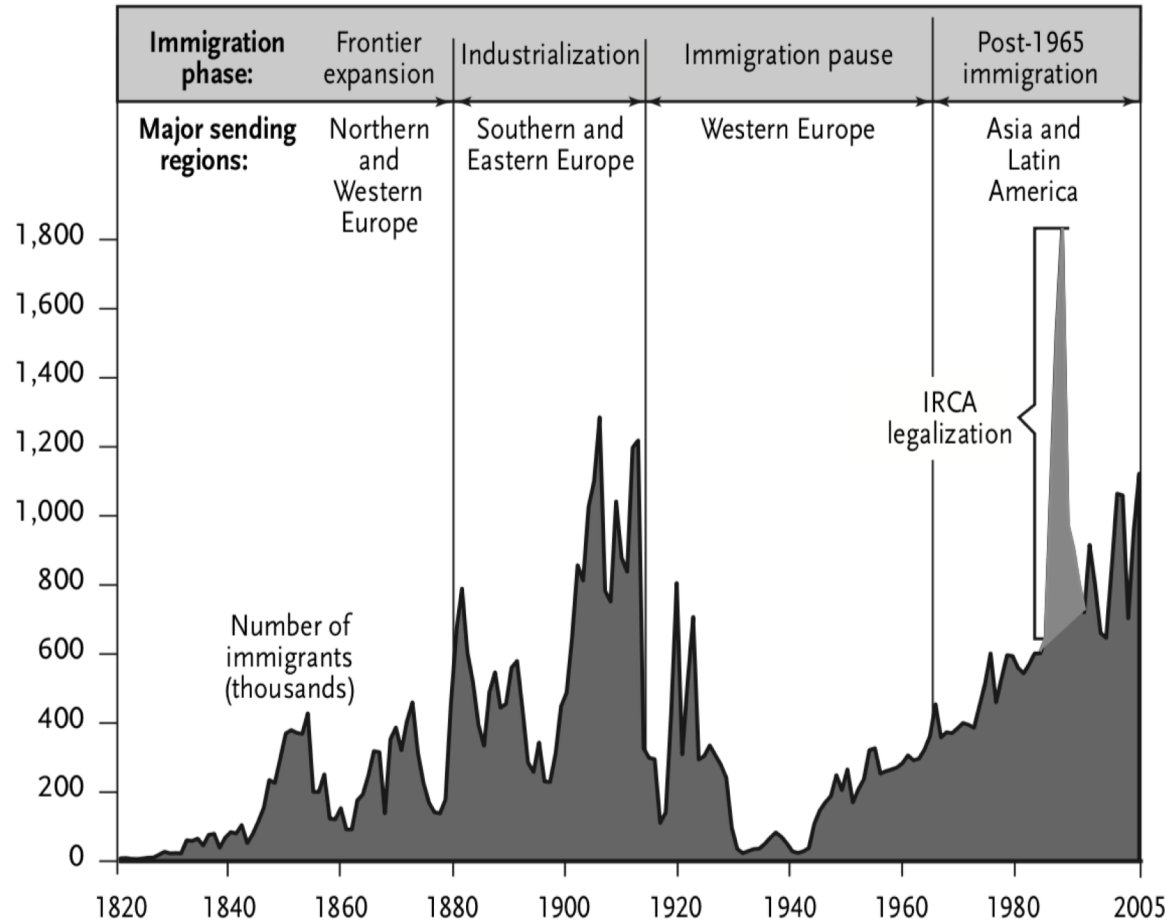
Immigrants shape America

(Martin, Midgley 2006, 2010)

- Millions of foreigners enter the United States each day
- 14.5 million immigrants were accepted as permanent legal U.S. residents between 1990–2005
 - An average of almost a million a year
- The recent waves of immigrants have brought greater diversity to the U.S. population
 - Europe was the source of most immigrants throughout our history
 - Most immigrants now come from Latin America and Asia
- Undocumented immigration began rising in the 1970s



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.



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.

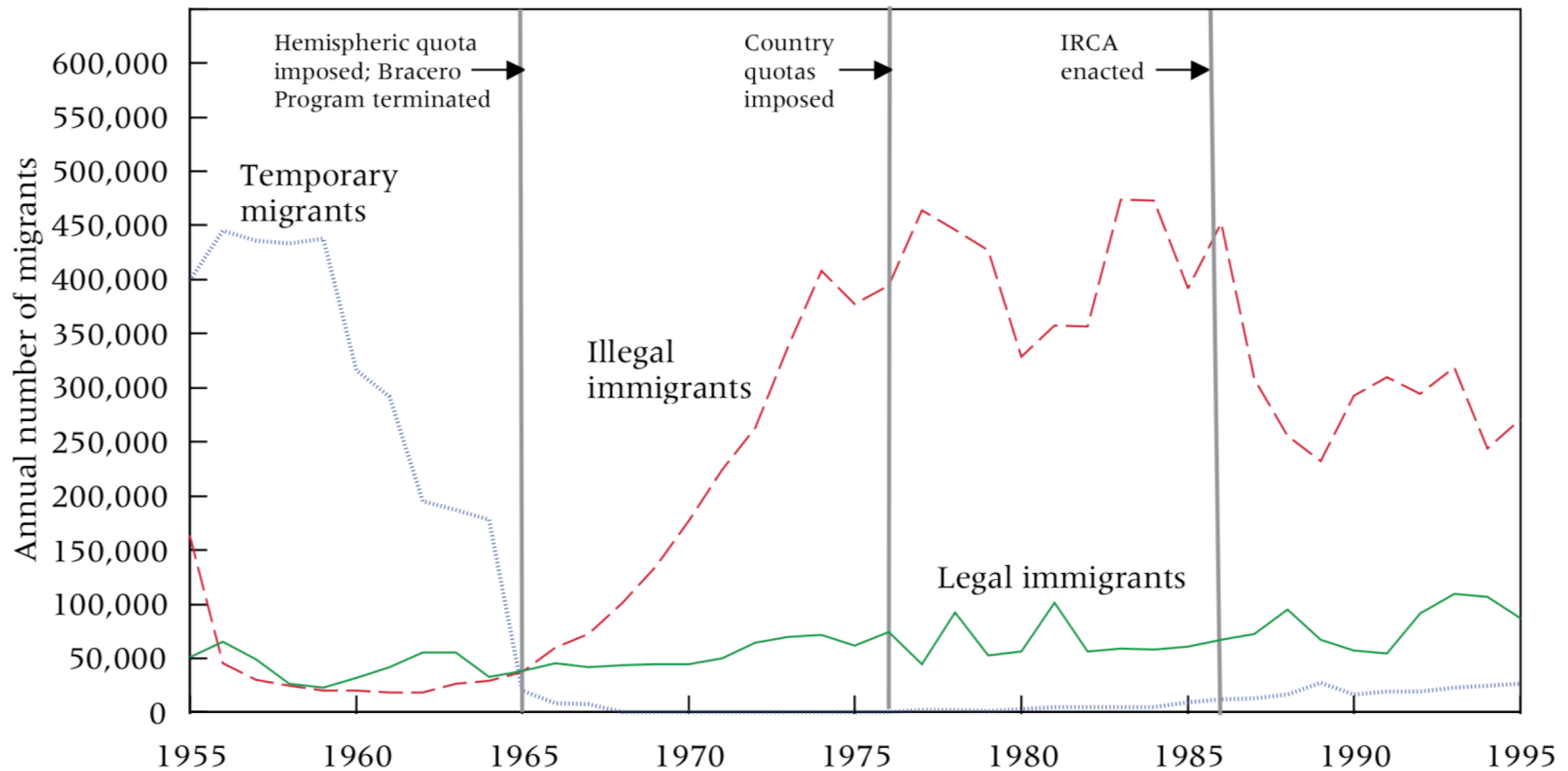
- Undocumented immigration increased after this period, not because of an unexpected surge in Mexican migration

- 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.

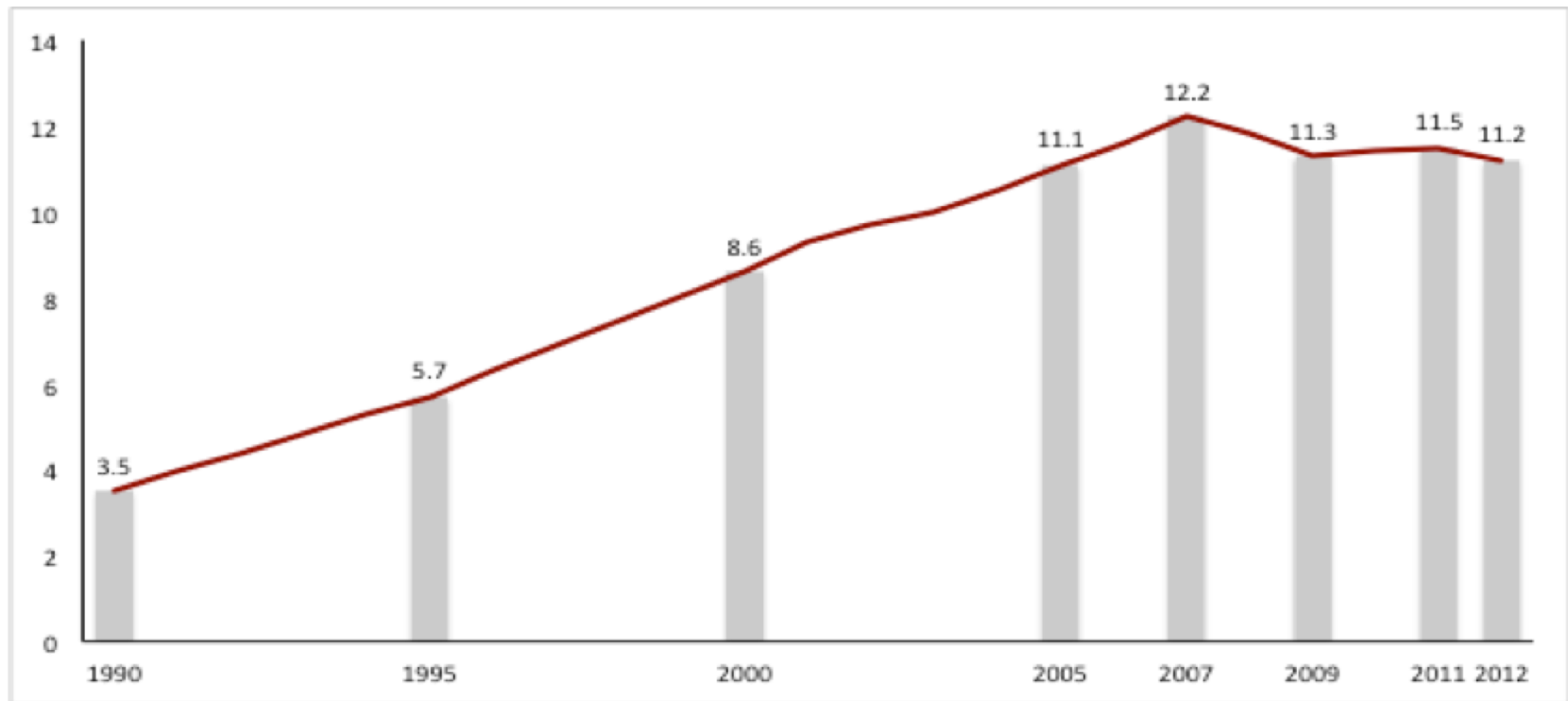
FIGURE 1 Mexican immigration to the United States in three categories, 1955–95



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

Figure 9.5

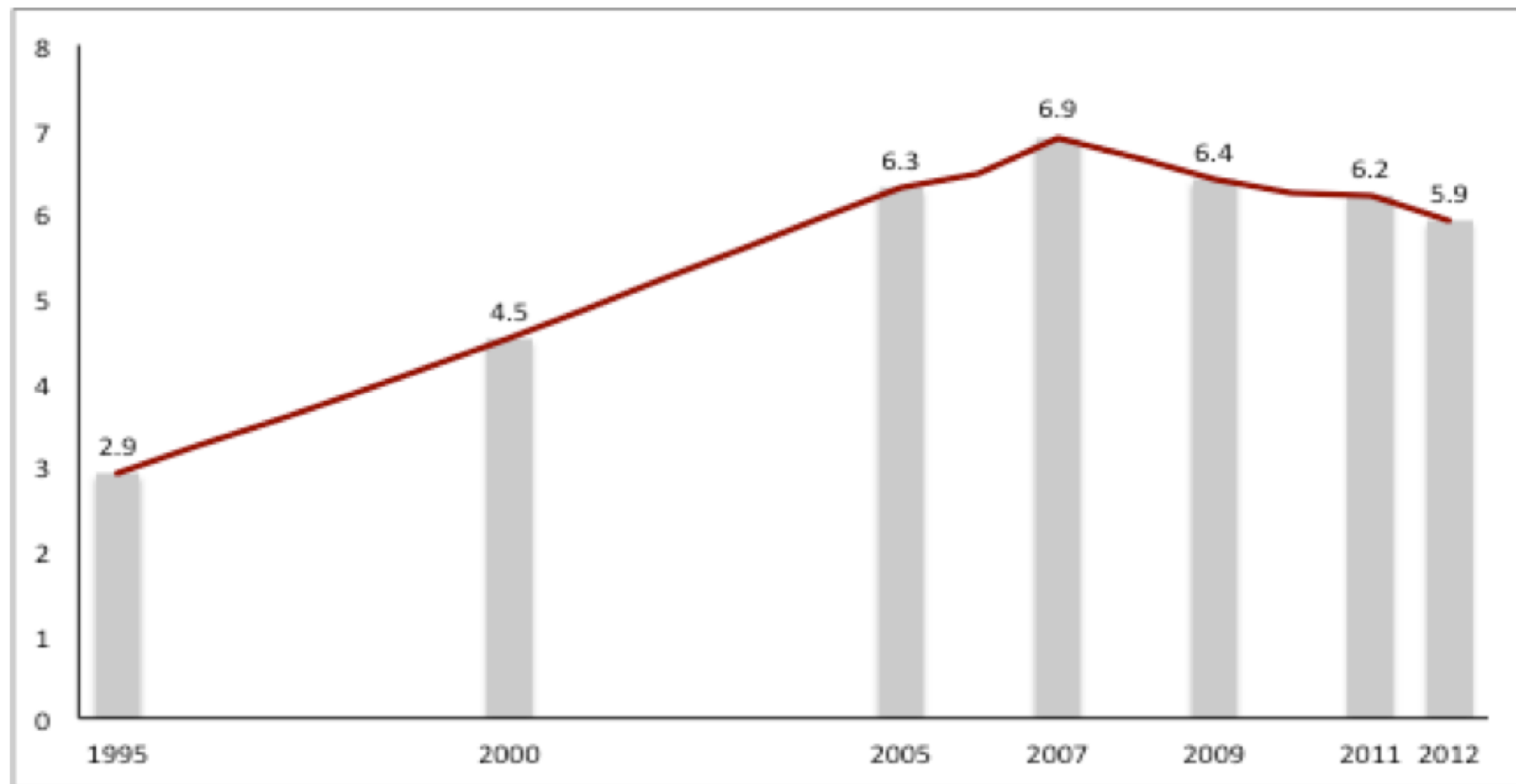
Unauthorized Immigrant Population in the United States (in millions), 1990 to 2012



Source: Passel and Cohn, 2014: 13. Figure prepared by Huanjun Zhang and DLP.

Figure 9.6

Unauthorized Immigrant Population in the United States from Mexico (in millions), 1995 to 2012



Foreigners Entering the United States or Gaining Residency Status, 2003–2005, by Selected Categories

Category	Numbers in thousands			Annual average,
	2003	2004	2005	2003–2005
Legal immigrants	704	958	1,122	928
New arrivals	358	374	384	372
Adjustment of status*	347	584	738	556
Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens	331	418	436	395
Other family-sponsored immigrants	159	214	213	195
Employment-based	82	155	247	161
Refugees and asylees	45	71	143	86
Diversity immigrants	46	50	46	48
Legal temporary migrants **	27,849	30,781	32,003	30,211
Visitors for pleasure	20,143	22,803	23,815	22,253
Foreign students and families	655	649	654	653
Temporary foreign workers/families	797	832	884	837
Unauthorized foreigners (estimate)	525	525	525	525

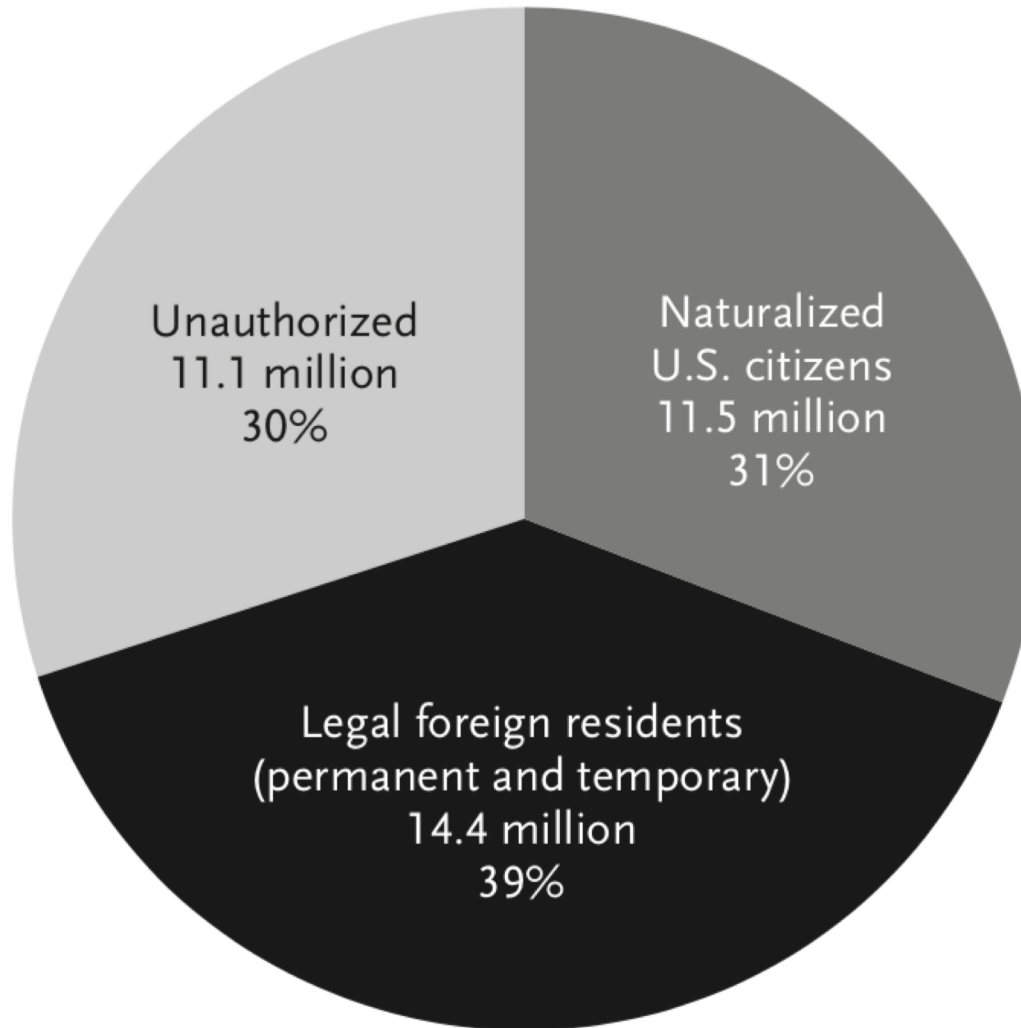
*Includes people already in the United States legally who gained legal permanent resident status in that year.

** Excludes about 150 million admissions annually of certain Canadian tourists and business visitors exempt from visas, along with Mexicans with multiple-entry visas or border crossing cards. These numbers refer to admissions rather than people, which means that many foreigners are counted more than once.

Sources: DHS, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2005* (www.dhs.gov, accessed Nov. 21, 2006): tables 6 and 26; and J.S. Passel, *The Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S.* (2006).



Status of Foreign-Born U.S. Residents, 2005



Source: J.S. Passel, *The Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S.* (2006).



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 will cost over \$21.6 billion
- Why will 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

- 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

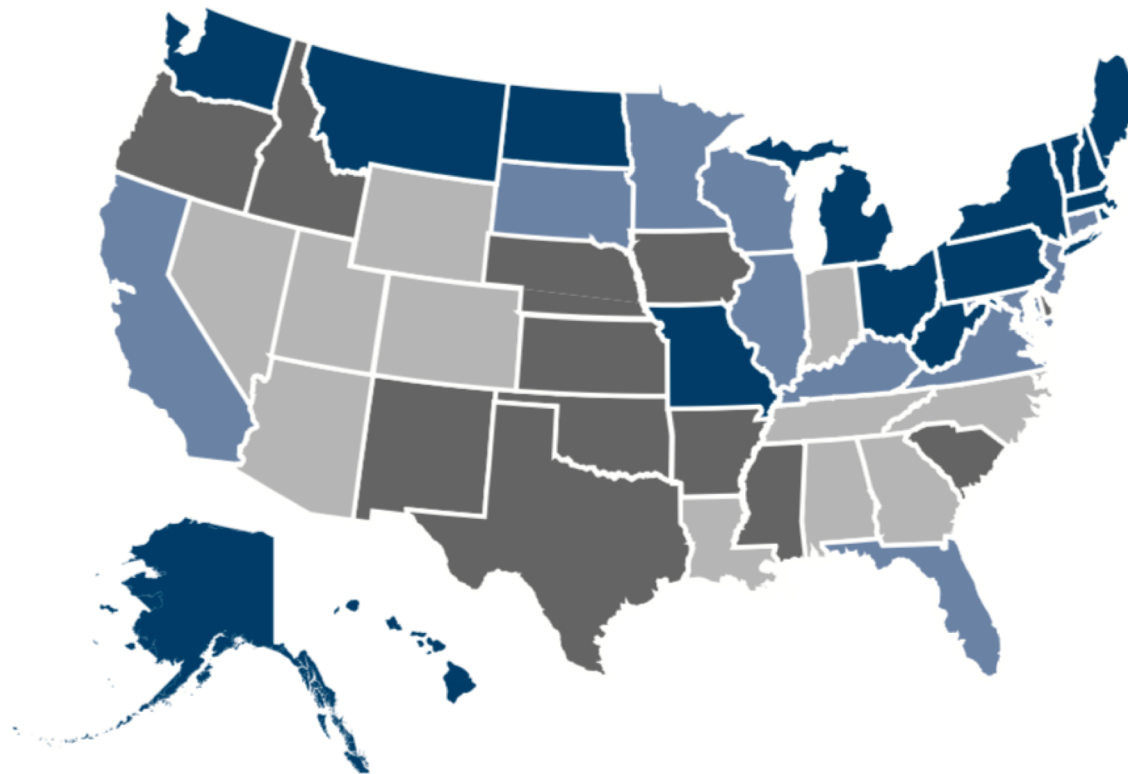
The contradictory U.S. policy

(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
 - From a circular flow of male workers going to three states (CA, TX, IL)
 - To 11 million people living in settled families throughout the nation



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



(US=30%)

-  Highest % undocumented (45-80% of foreign-born)
-  High % undocumented (35-45%)
-  Lower % undocumented (25-35%)
-  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



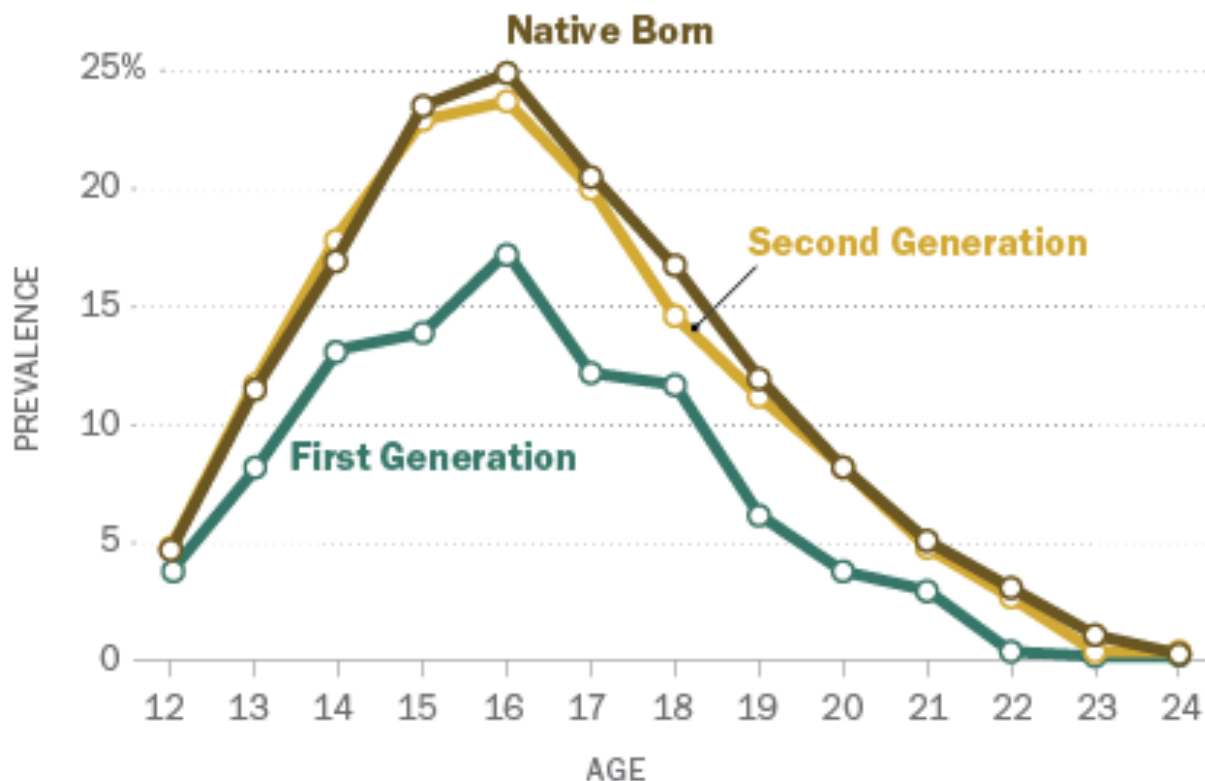
Crime data vs. public discourse

- 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

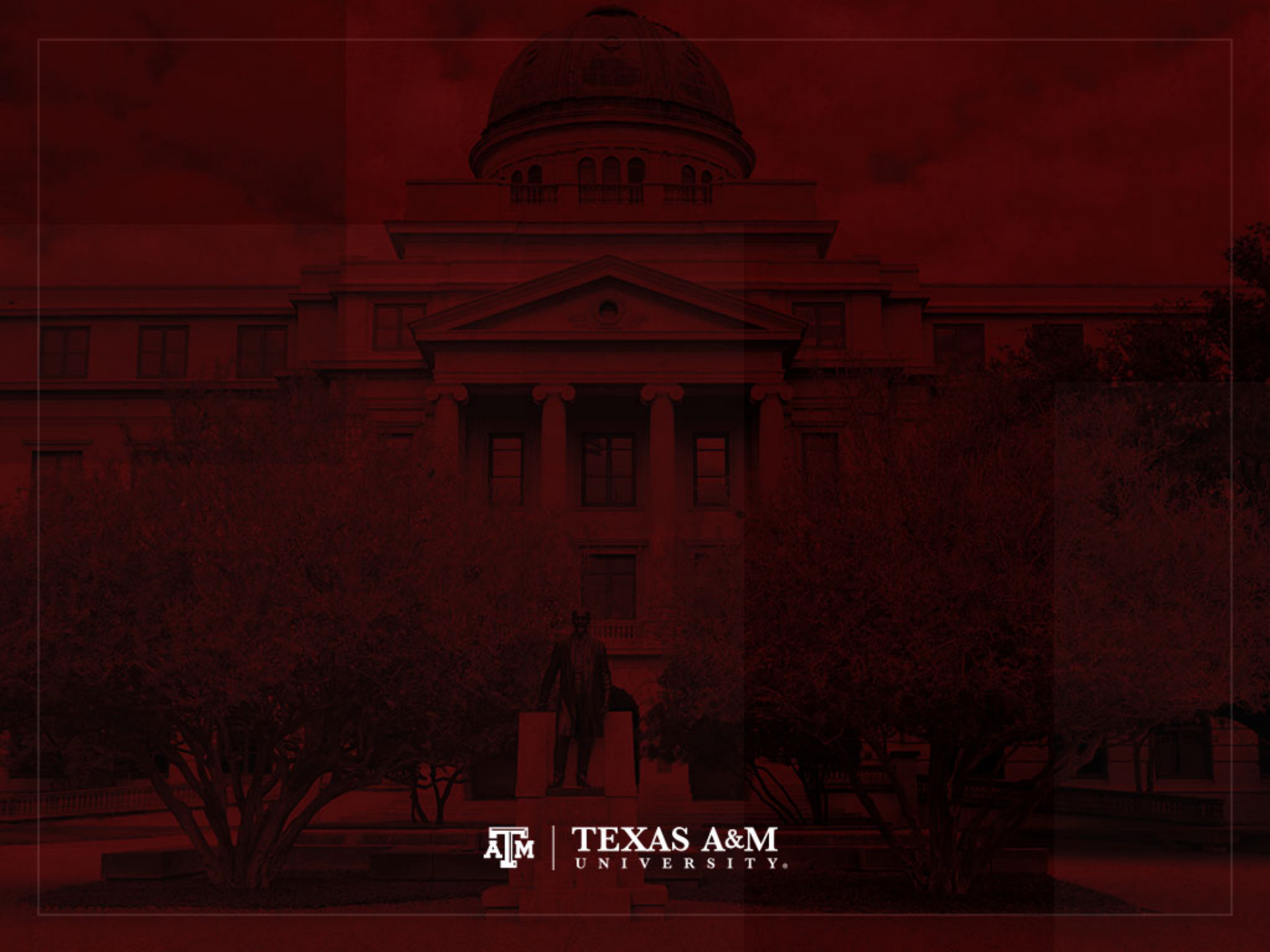
Lawful Entry or Residence		Carrying Concealed Explosives	Visa Overstay Violations	Undocumented Entry
World Trade Center 1993 Attackers	Would-be NYC Subway Bombers	Millennium Bomber	Some of the 9/11 Hijackers	
Oklahoma City Bombers	Times Square Bomber	Shoe Bomber		
Anthrax Attacker	Fort Hood Shooter	Liquid-Explosives Bombers		
D.C. Snipers	Boston Marathon Bombers	Underwear Bomber		
Fort Dix Six	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 approaches

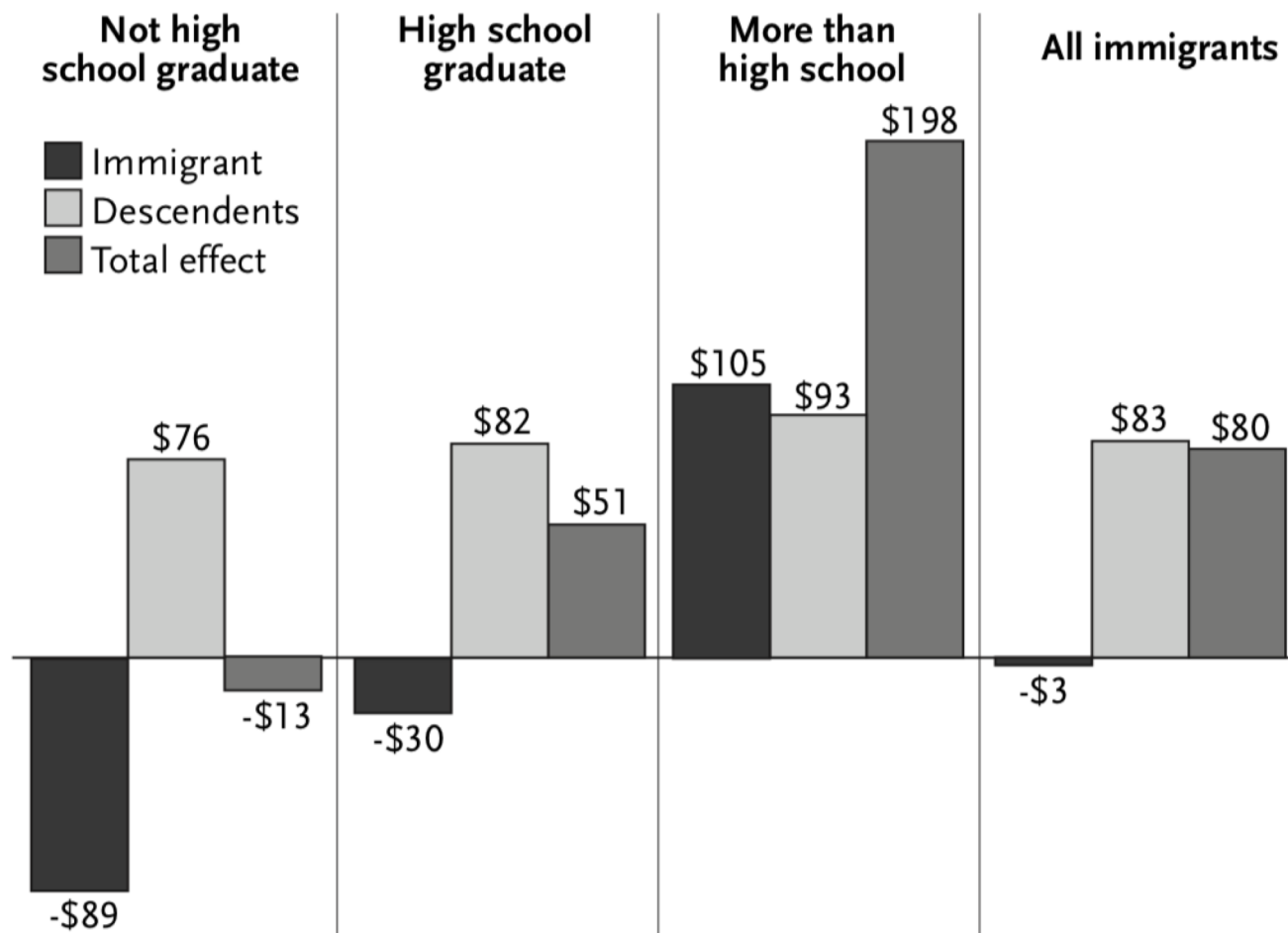
(Card 2012)

- 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



The Long-Term Fiscal Impact of One Immigrant

Amount in U.S. dollars (thousands)



Source: J.P. Smith and B. Edmonston, eds., *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration* (1997): table 7-5.



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)

Immigration models

- Models should take into account skills of workers and capital to assess the effect of immigration on the wages of native workers in the long run
 - Reduced-form (e.g., only skills) does not give complete information about the wage effect of immigration
 - These partial estimates are only the effect of direct competition
 - Total wage effect is also determined by indirect complementarities among different types of immigrants and natives
- Immigration to the U.S. had a modest negative long-run effect on real wages of the least educated natives in 1990–2006
 - Effect was between -2.1% and $+1.7\%$



Mariel 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

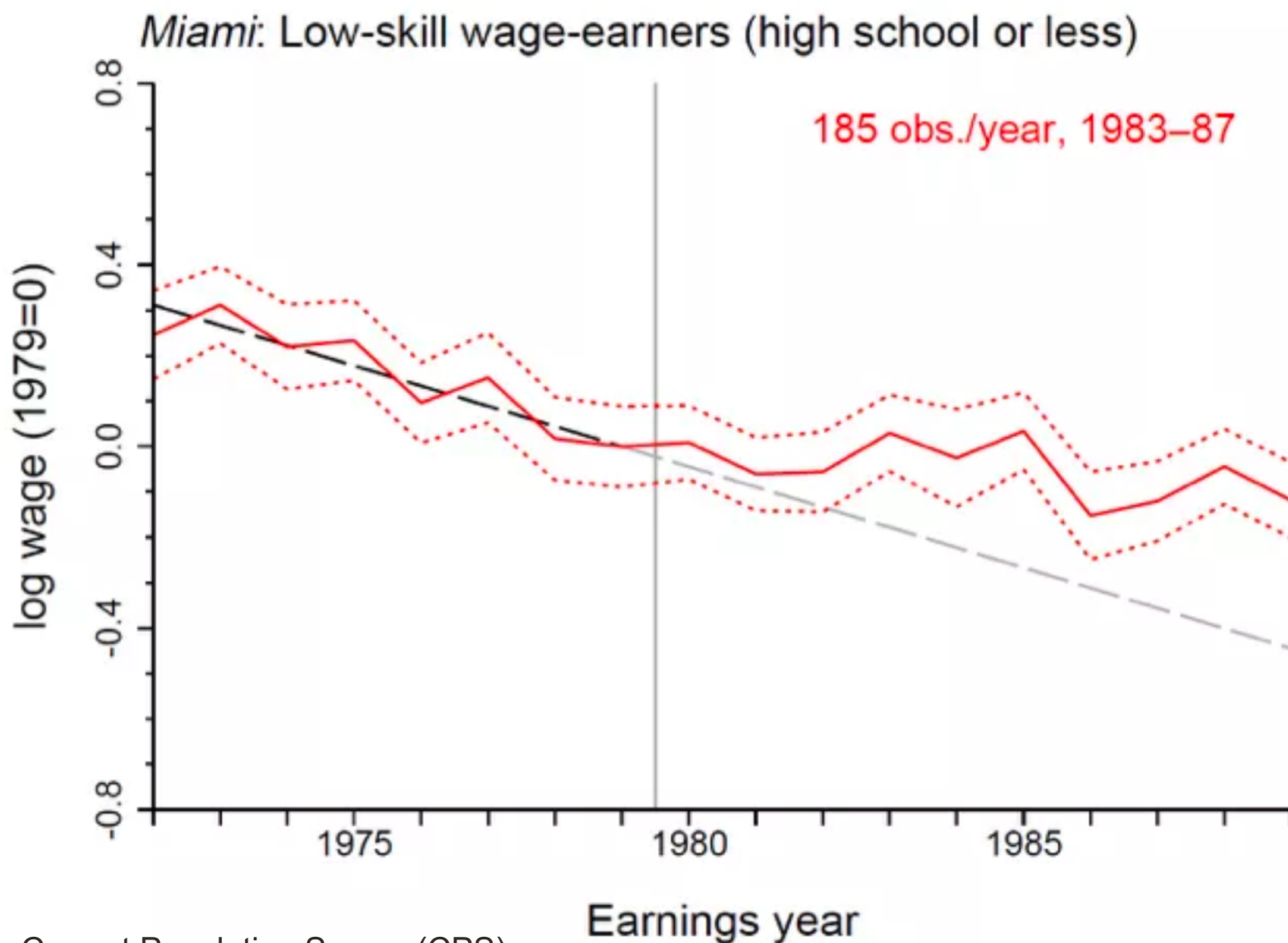


George Borjas (Harvard)

- 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



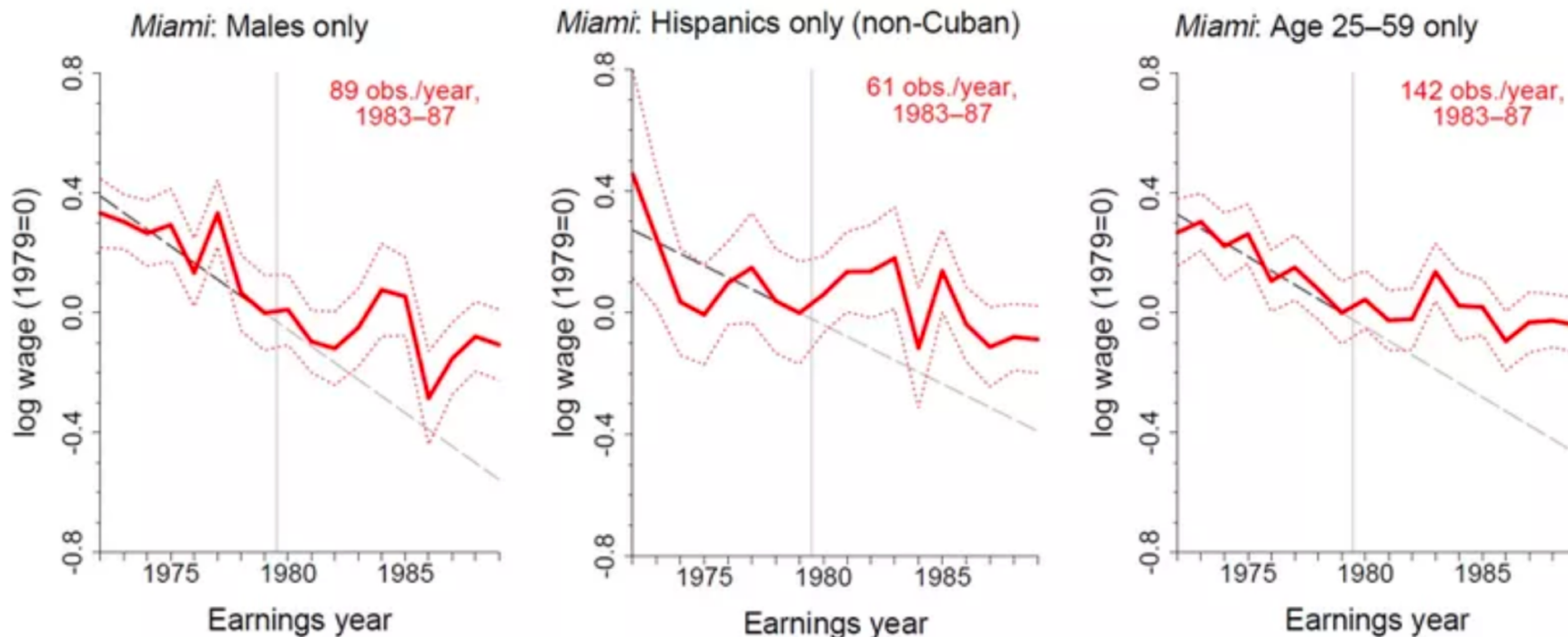
No sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages after the huge arrival of low-skill Cubans in 1980



Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).



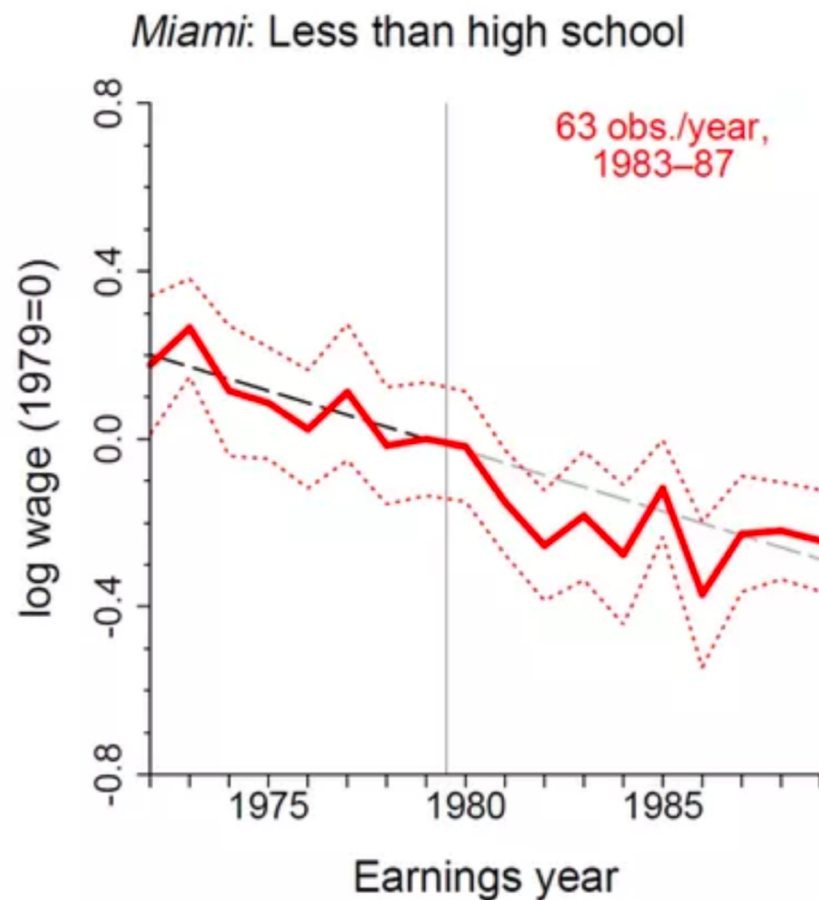
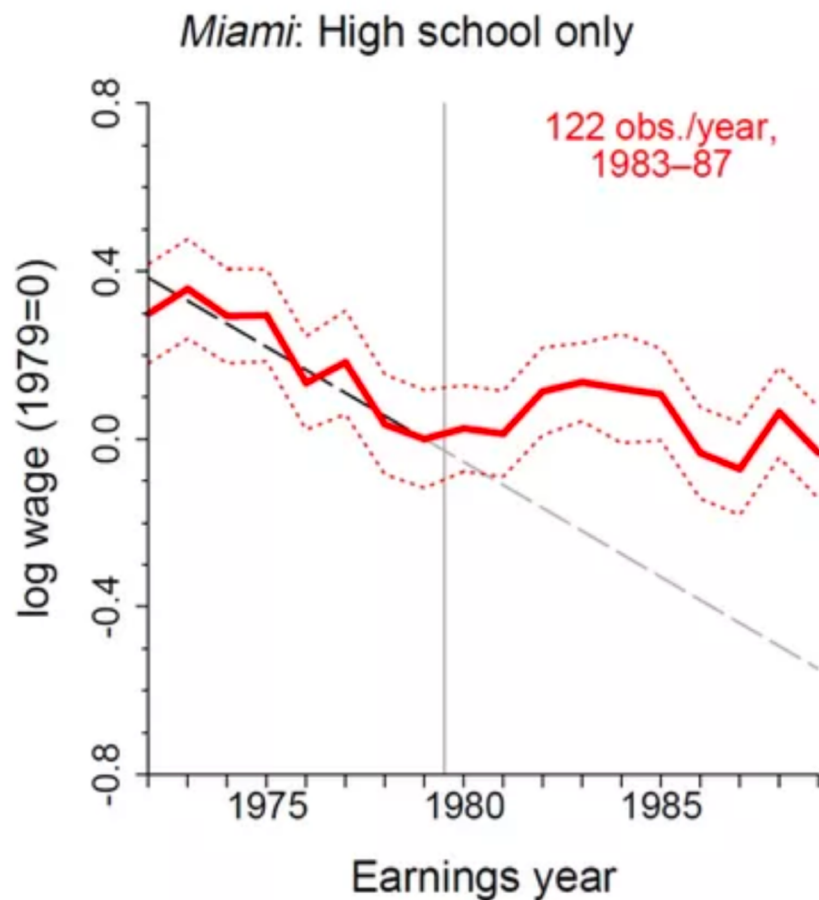
No sign of a dip in low-skill Miami wages for subgroups of workers



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

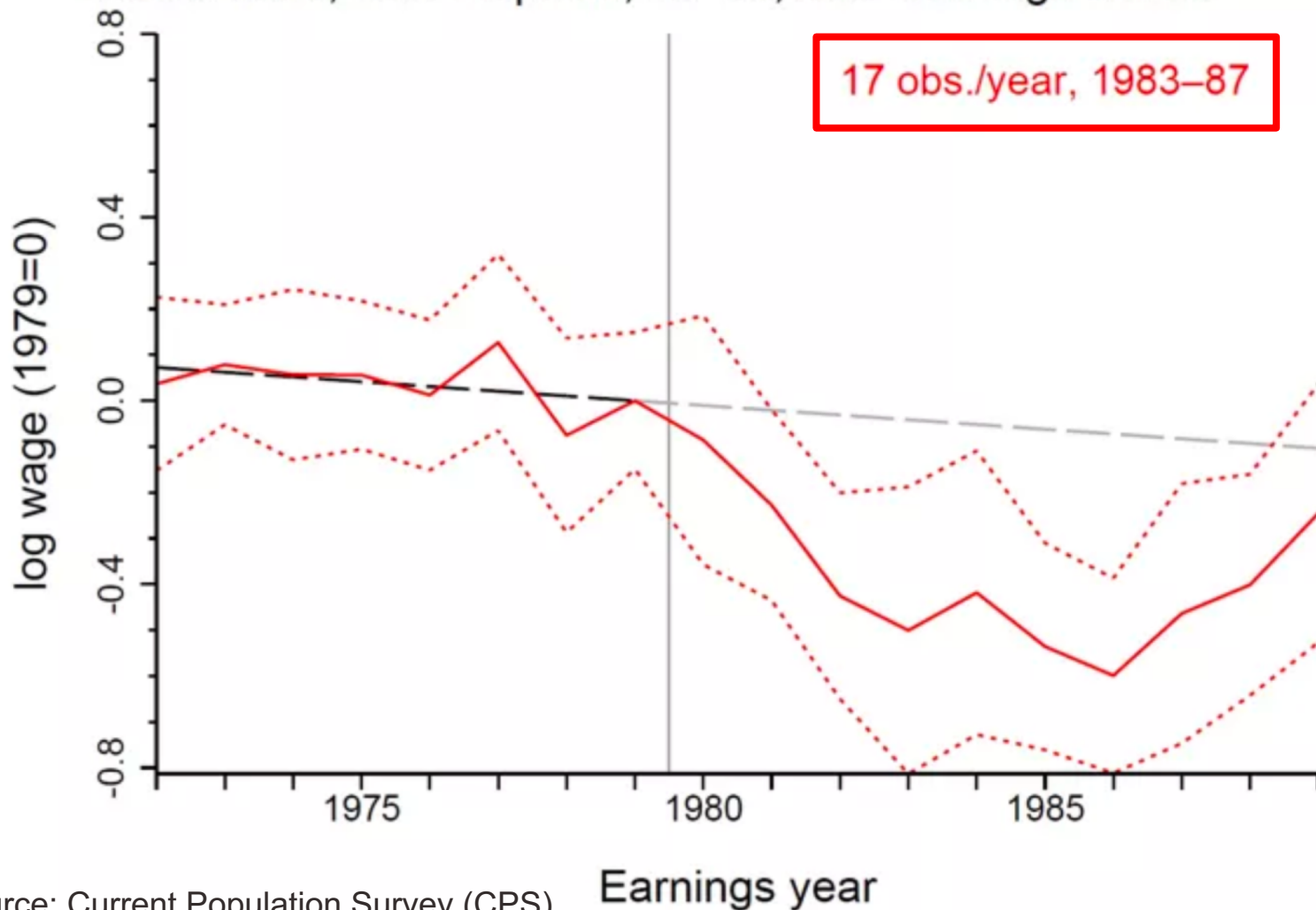


Source: Current Population Survey (CPS).



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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