Post-truth Migration Policy Making in the US

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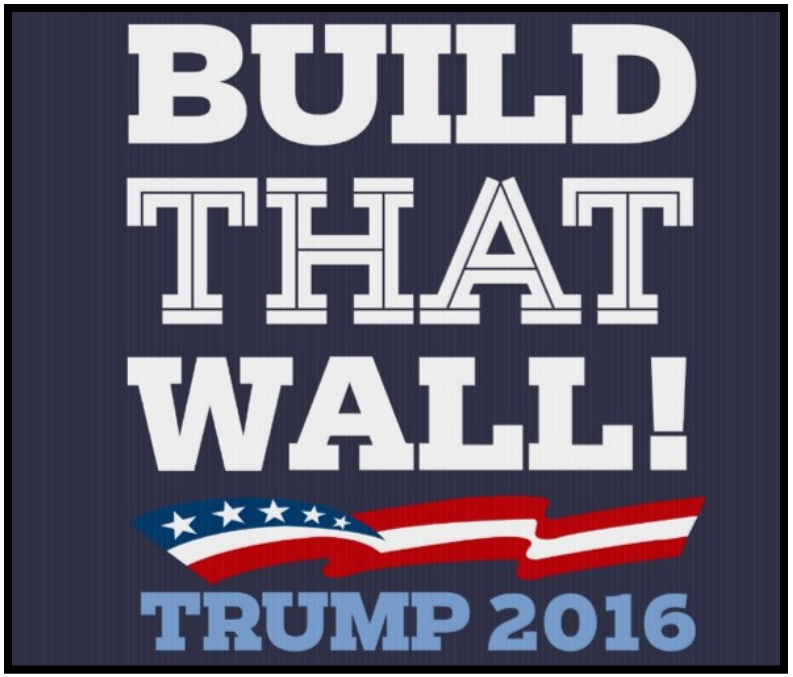
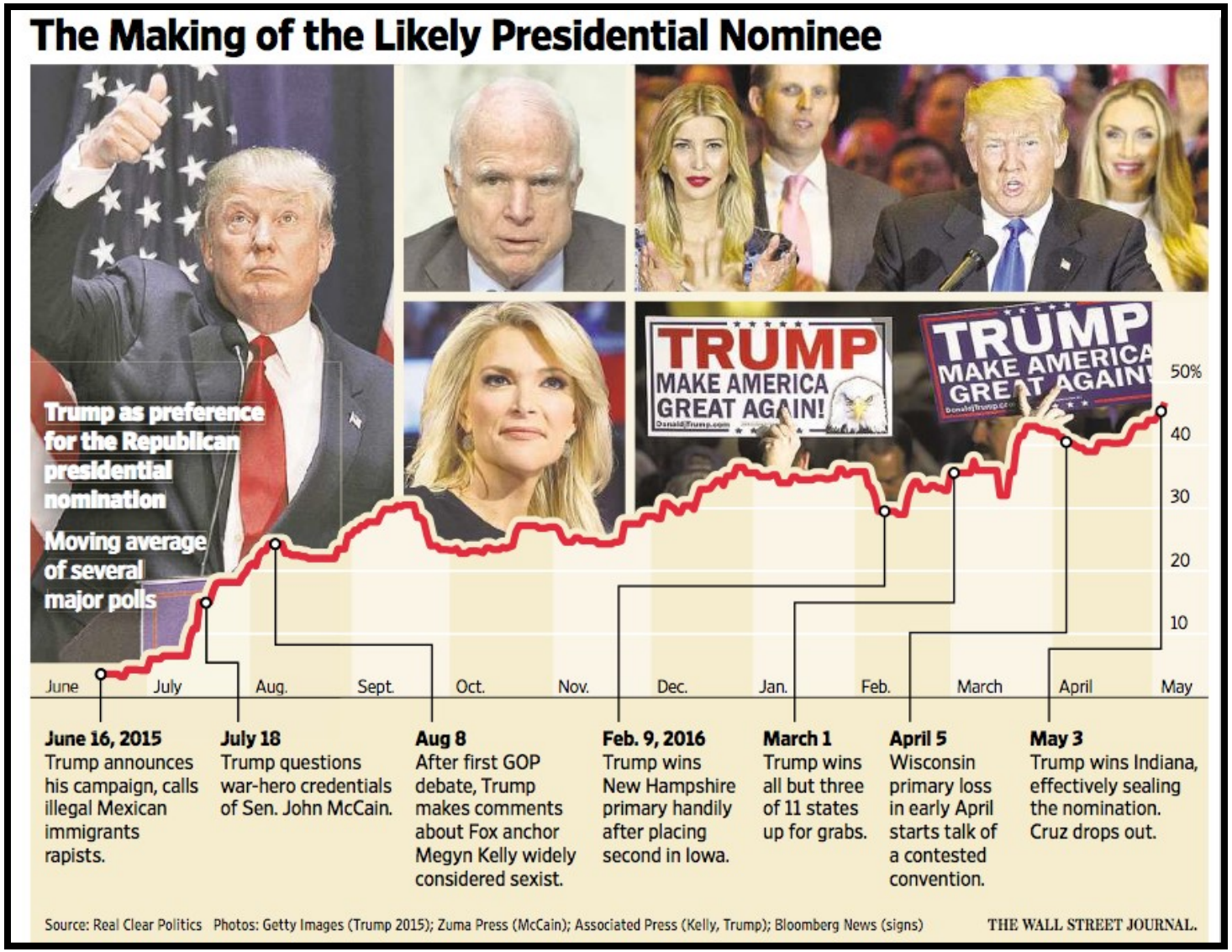


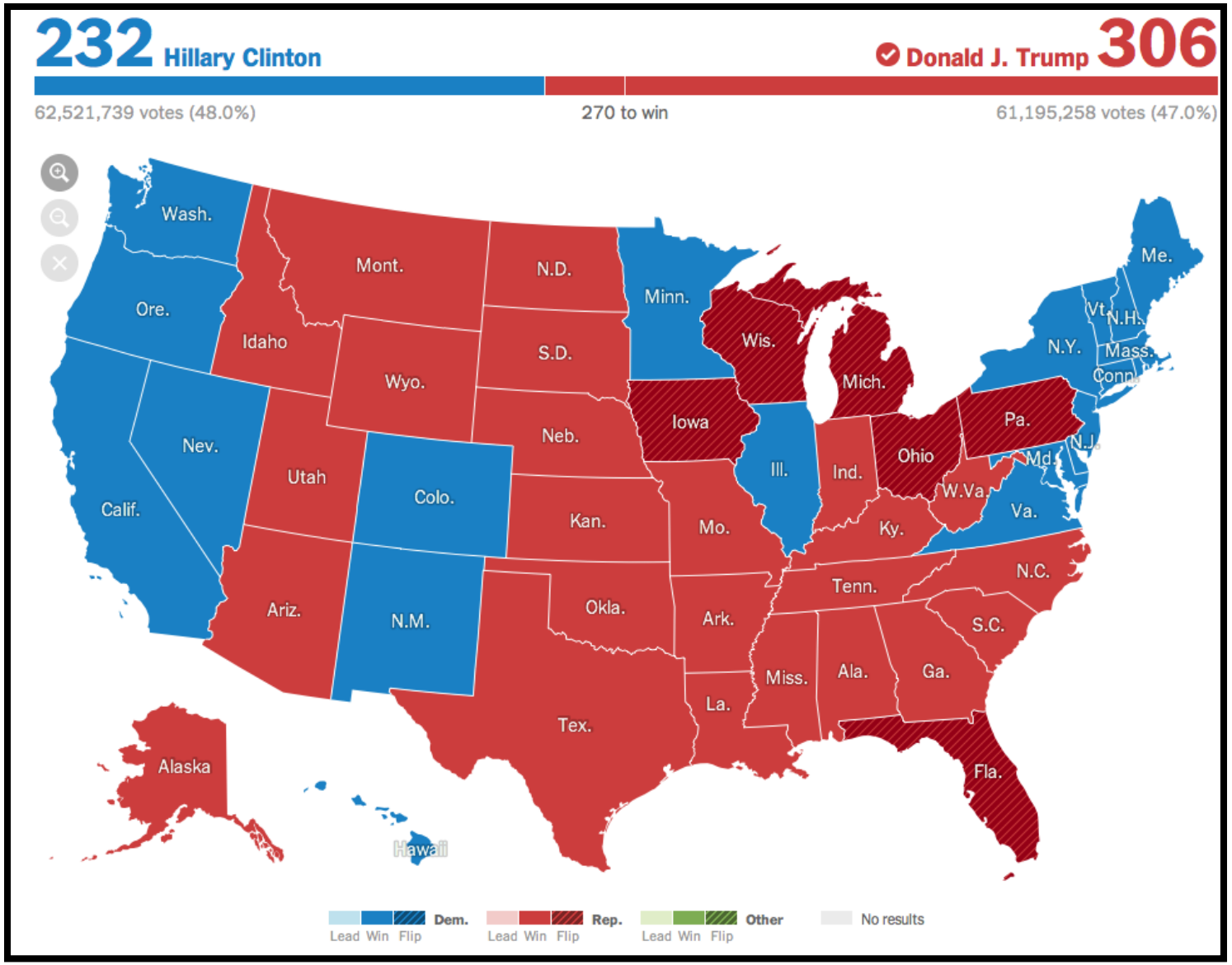
Highlights

- Trump: **Make America Great Again** with border wall & removing unauthorized
- 11 million unauthorized; 8 million or 5% of US workers: 1.5 million each in hospitality & bus services, 1 million each construction & ag
- Research studies
  - Agreement on # unauthorized & characteristics, not socio-economic impacts
  - Advocates publicize research they support; See author name, know conclusions
  - Research: Trump changes are not necessary

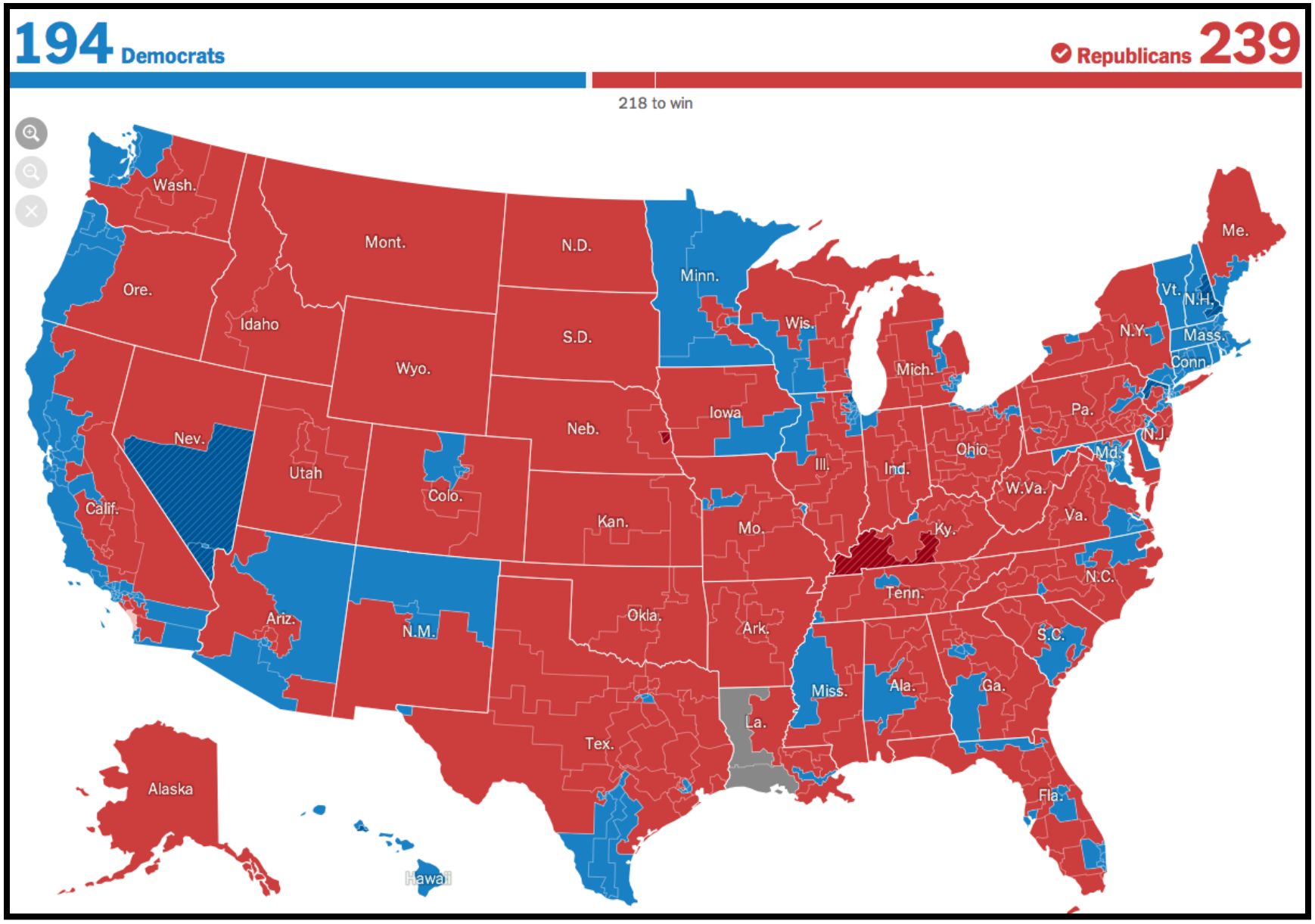
Post-truth: call Mexicans rapists, sexist comments, support up
Is support for Trump because *or* despite what he says?
Employers: support Trump for anti-reg, not anti-migrant



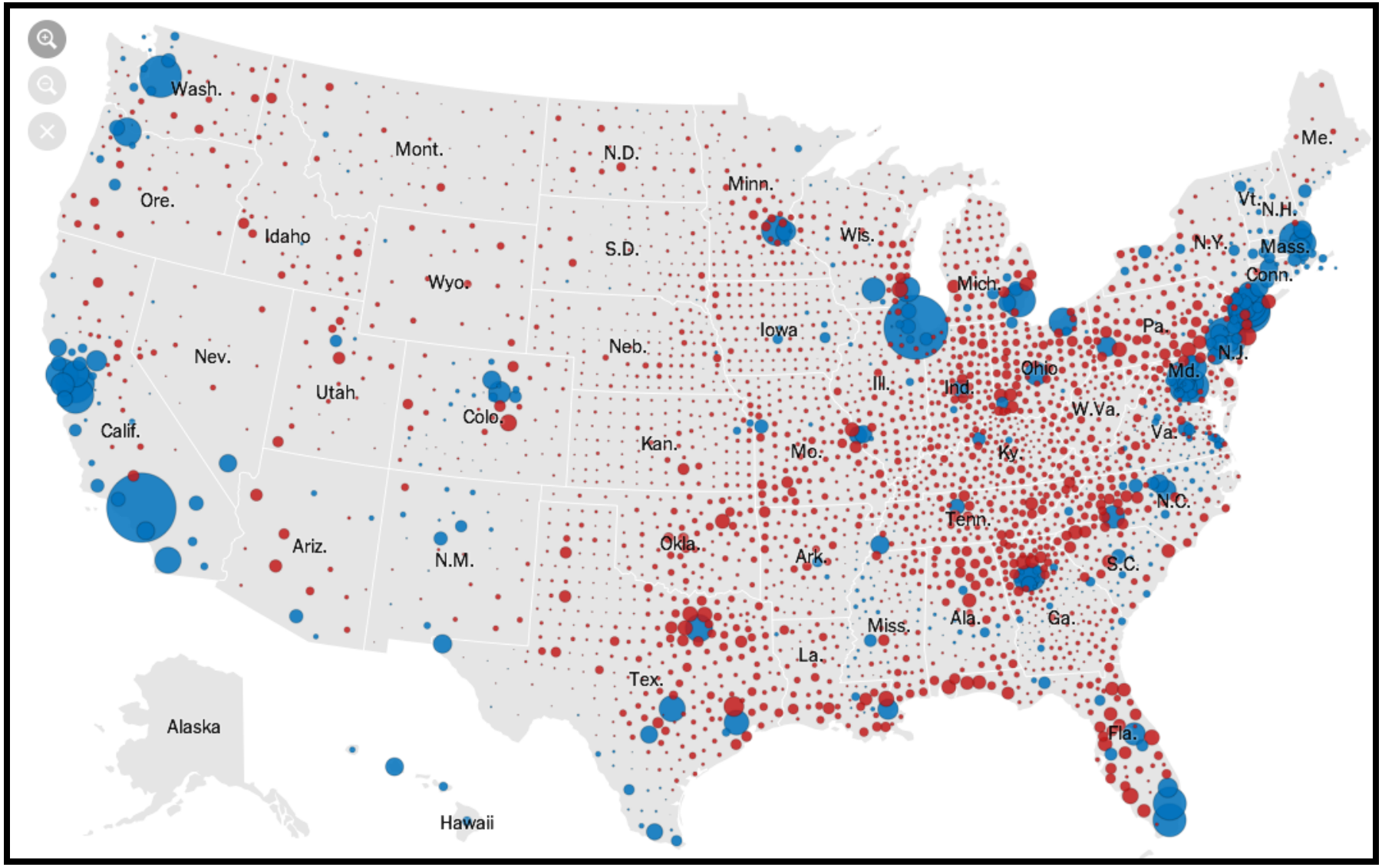
Trump: won 6 states that voted for Obama in 2012 (dark red)



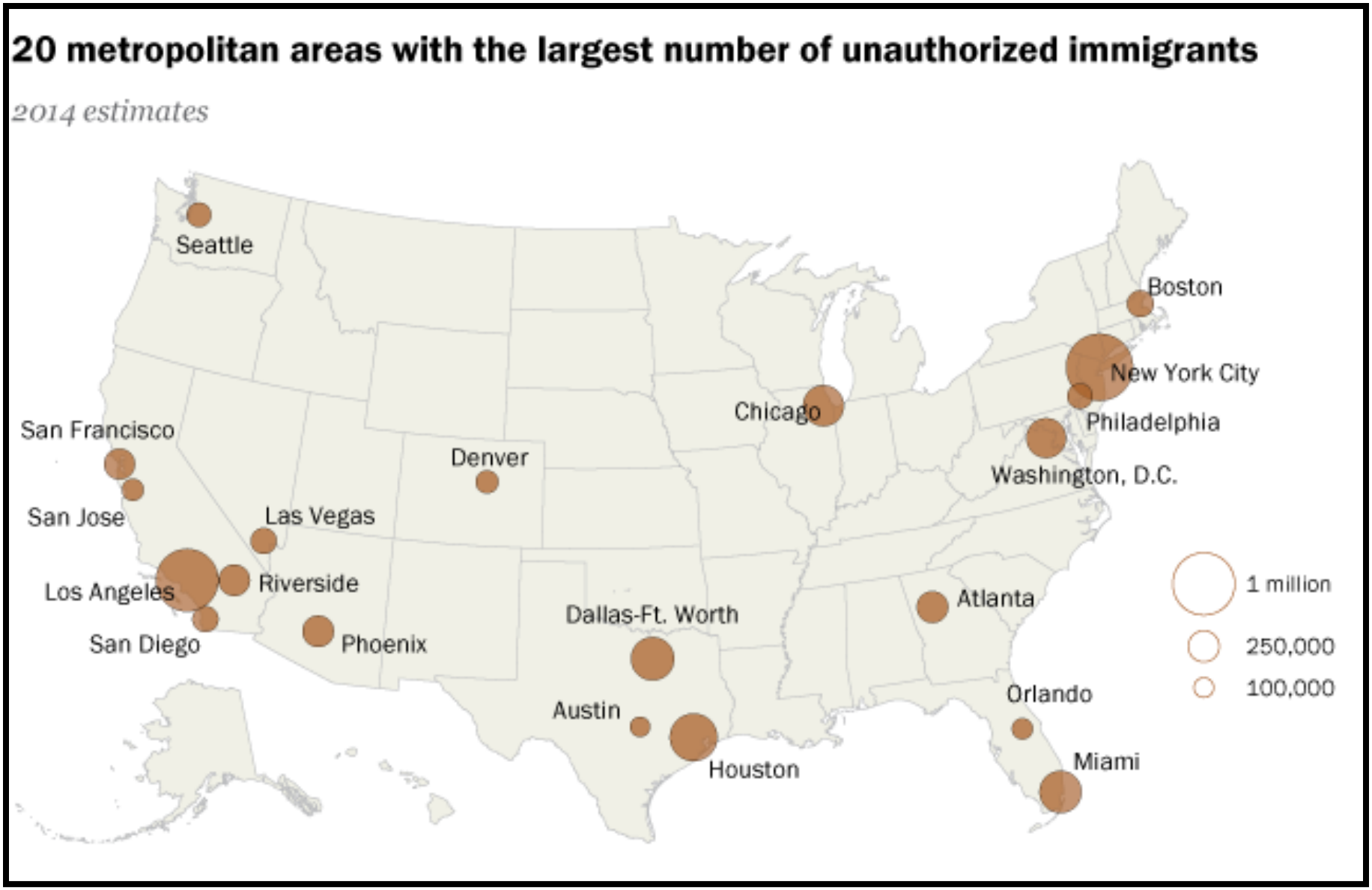
Red USA: each House member represents 735,000 people



Blue cities, red suburbs & rural areas (2/3 of cities = Dems)



35% of US residents in 20 largest metros; 65% of unauthorized



Immigrants in US = Work

- 26 million immigrant (FB) workers,17% of US labor force of 156 million in 2015; 50% = Hispanic; 25% = Asian
- 65% of FB in labor force, 62% of US-born; FB men LFPR **higher** than US
- FB unemployment rate LOWER than US born: 4.9% in 2015 vs 5.3% for US-born
- FB earn 80% as much as US-born—average $680 a week in 2015 vs $835 for US-born
- FB with college degrees earn = or more than US-born with college

Research & Policy

- Research: to *inform* policy makers or *legitimize* policy positions they already have?
  - Role of research: technical (drugs, science) versus democratic (people decide: guns, abortion, migration)
  - Policy makers: symbolic versus real outcomes
- Contrast migration and climate change: *what will happen in the future?*
  - Research: no data from the future: make assumptions, build models based on past data, project future impacts
  - Researchers get tagged; advocates publicize conclusions of researchers whose results support their positions
  - Peer review on grants and articles can break down: “everyone knows”whose project or paper
  - Policy makers pick & choose research results

Nation of Immigrants: e pluribus unum, from many, one

4 Waves of Immigrants to the US 1

- 1st wave: pre-1820, when ship captains began to report # immigrants. Pre-1820: 60% British, thus English and British common law
- 2nd wave 1820-60: Irish and German Catholics, Protestant Know-Nothing anti-Catholic reaction; 1861-65 Civil War stopped immigration
- 3rd wave: 1880-1914; southern and eastern Europe to Ellis Island; 1m/year when US had 75m residents; anti-immigrant backlash & national origins quotas of 1921 & 24 (quota = % in US in 1890)
- Immigration pause: 1921-1965—more emigration than immigration in the 1930s

4 Waves of Immigrants to the US 2

- 4th wave: 1965-present:
  - selection changed from national origins (W Europe) to family unification
  - origins shifted from W Europe to Latin America (55%) and Asia (25%)
- 1980-2010: Mexico-US migration hump
  - 1970: 50 million people born in Mexico, and 750,000 or 1.5% were in US
  - 2010: 120 million people born in Mexico, and 12 million or 10% were in US
  - Most Mexicans in the US (1) arrived after 1990 & (2) are unauthorized

Policy: Facilitate, Qualitative, Quantitative Caps

- Until 1880s: **Laissez-faire or encourage immigration** by giving land to those who built infrastructure. Canal and railroad builders recruited immigrant workers
- Since 1880s: **qualitative restrictions**, no numerical limits, but no prostitutes, no Chinese: 30 categories
- Since 1920s: **quantitative restrictions**, annual limits
- Today:
  - 70% of 1.1 million immigrants each year arrive because US relatives sponsor their admission
  - 70% of immigrants are already in the US when

Trump: US immigration & trade systems are broken

Feb 20, 2017: Plan for $21 billion wall on border

Secretary
U.S. Department of Homeland Security
Washington, DC 20528

Homeland Security

February 20, 2017

MEMORANDUM FOR:
Kevin McAleenan
Acting Commissioner
U.S. Customs and Border Protection

Thomas D. Homan
Acting Director
U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement

Lori Scialabba
Acting Director
U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services

Joseph B. Maher
Acting General Counsel

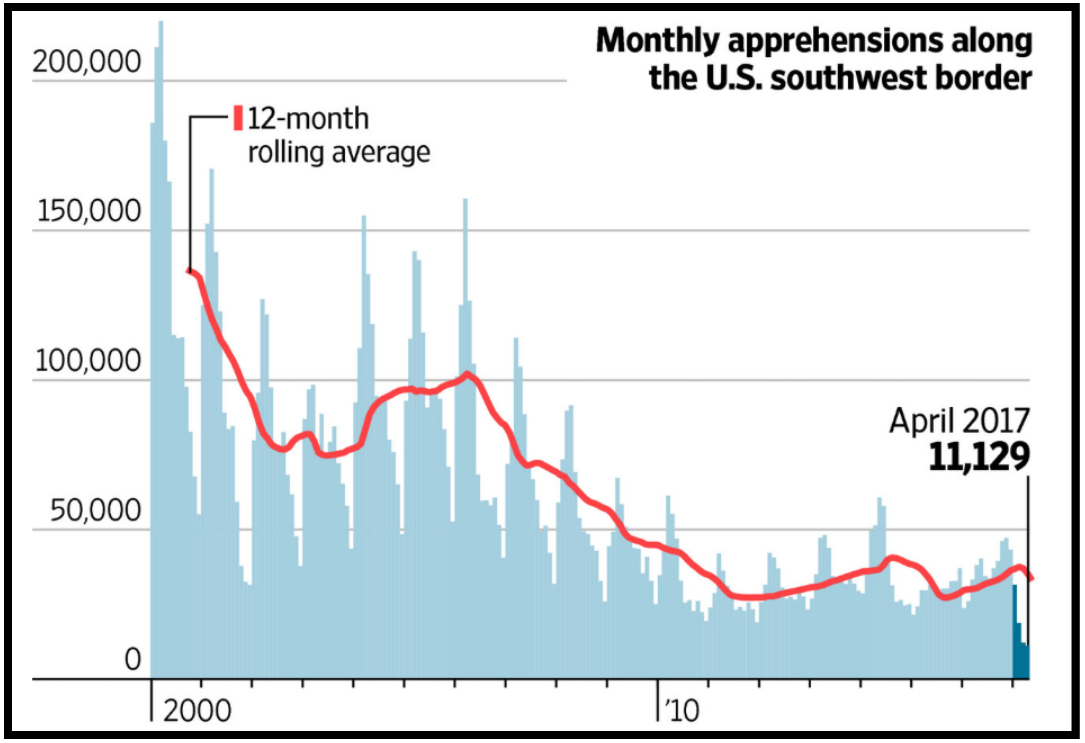
Dimple Shah
Acting Assistant Secretary for International Affairs

Chip Fulghum
Acting Undersecretary for Management

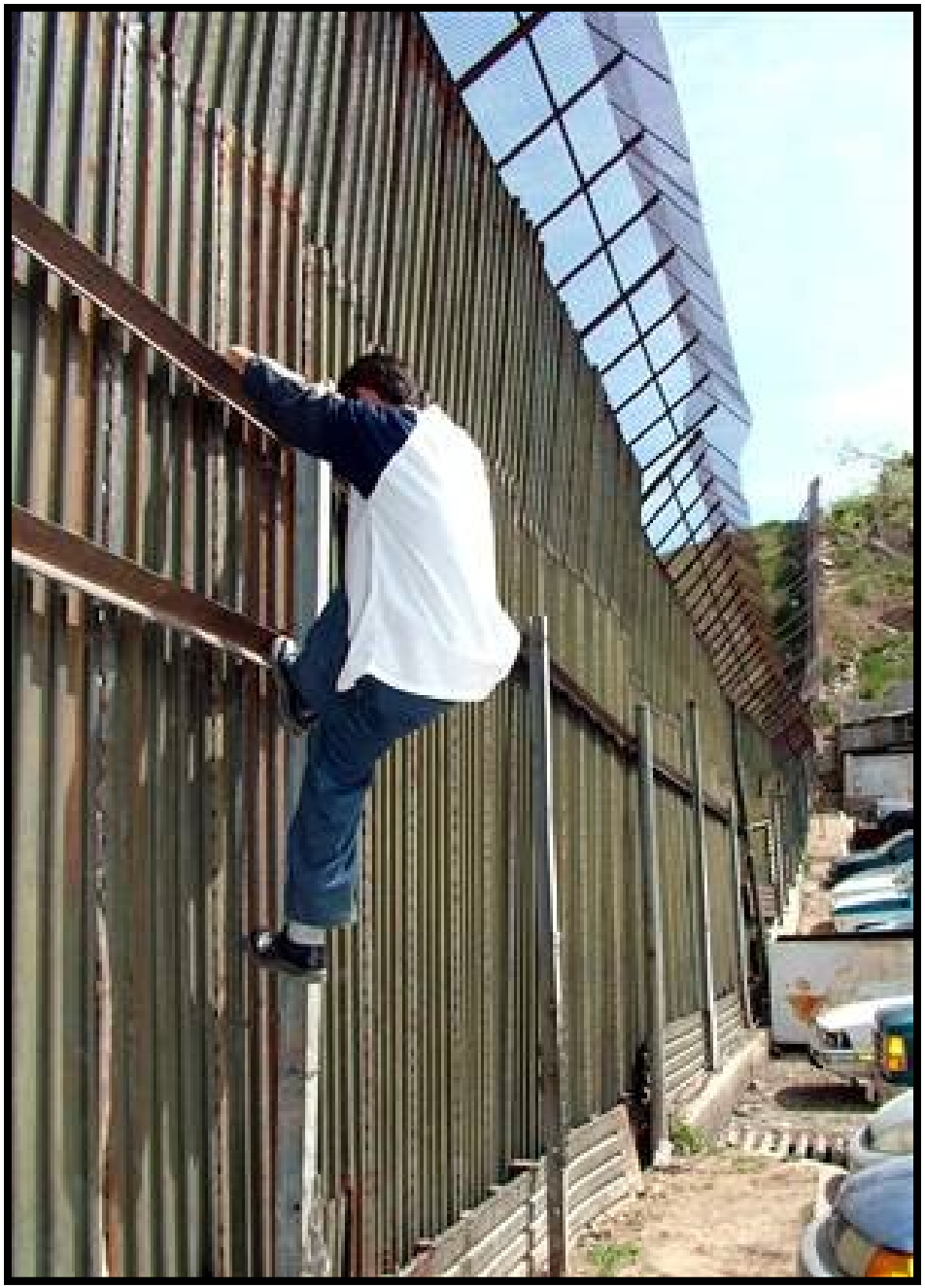
FROM:
John Kelly
Secretary

SUBJECT:
Implementing the President's Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements Policies

This memorandum implements the Executive Order entitled "Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements," issued by the President on January 25, 2017, which establishes the President's policy regarding effective border security and immigration enforcement through faithful execution of the laws of the United States. It implements new policies designed to stem illegal immigration and facilitate the detection, apprehension, detention, and removal of aliens who have no lawful basis to enter or remain in the United States. It constitutes guidance to all Department personnel, and supersedes all existing conflicting policy, directives, memoranda, and other guidance regarding this subject matter—to the extent of the conflict—except as otherwise expressly stated in this memorandum.



With unauthorized Mex-US migration down, is wall needed? Peak at over 200,000/ month, now 11,000/month



Border Patrol: from 21,000 to 26,000 agents. Cost: $200,000/yr

Feb 20, 2017: Interior enforcement

Secretary
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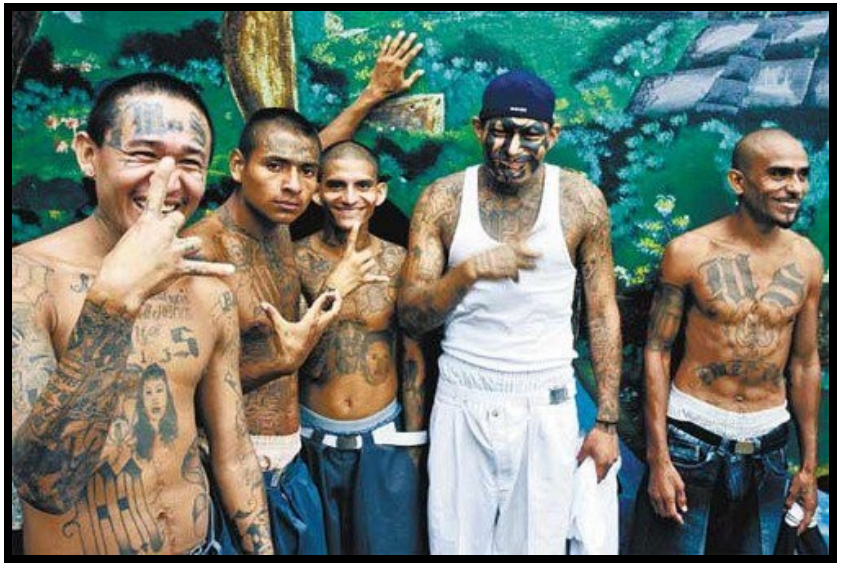
FROM:
John Kelly
Secretary

SUBJECT:
Enforcement of the Immigration Laws to Serve the National Interest

This memorandum implements the Executive Order entitled "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," issued by the President on January 25, 2017. It constitutes guidance for all Department personnel regarding the enforcement of the immigration laws of the United States, and is applicable to the activities of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). As such, it should inform enforcement and removal activities, detention decisions, administrative litigation, budget requests and execution, and strategic planning.

Double the number of ICE agents from 10,000 to 20,000

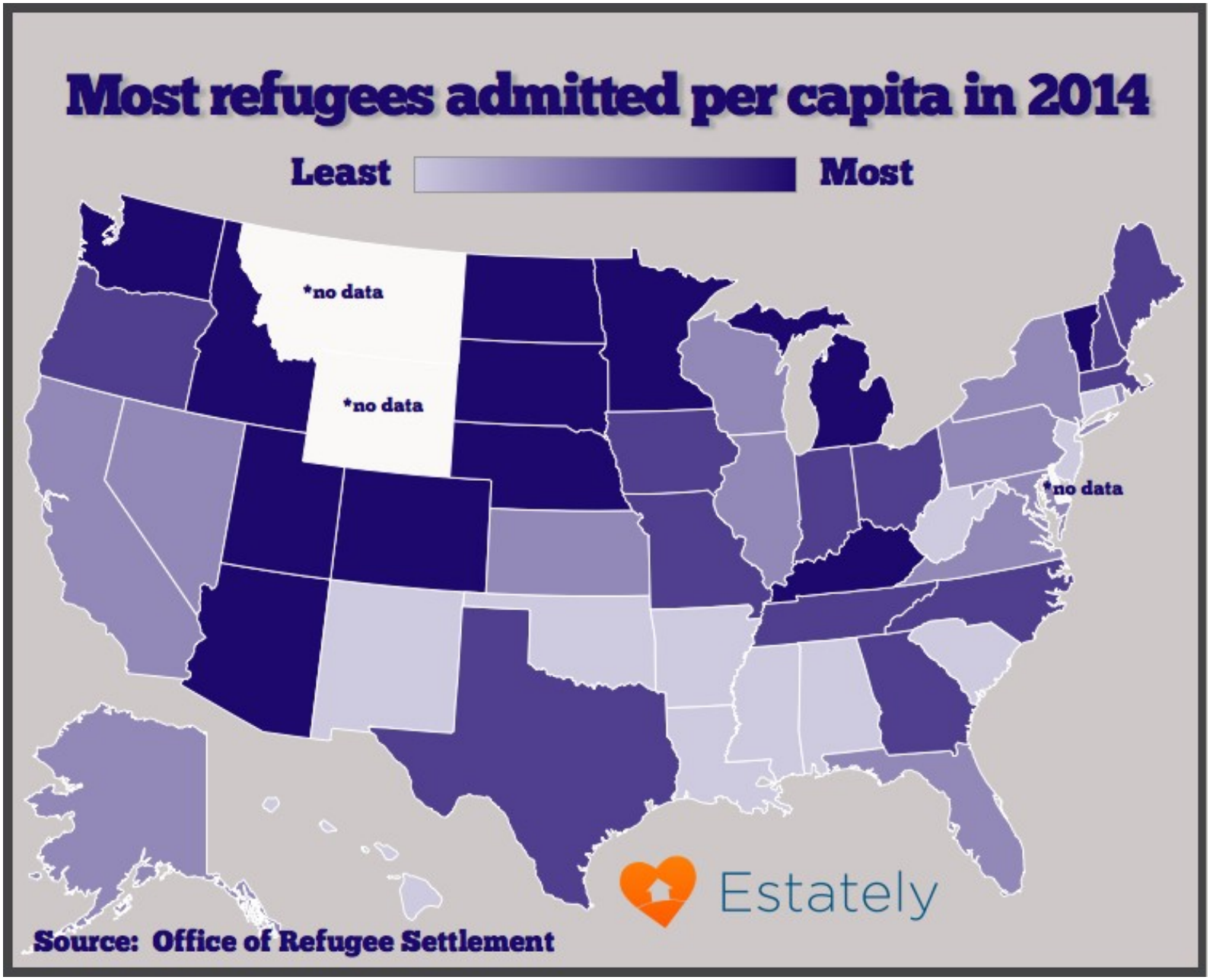
2 million unauthorized foreigners convicted of US crimes
Trump: bad hombres. Remembrance project



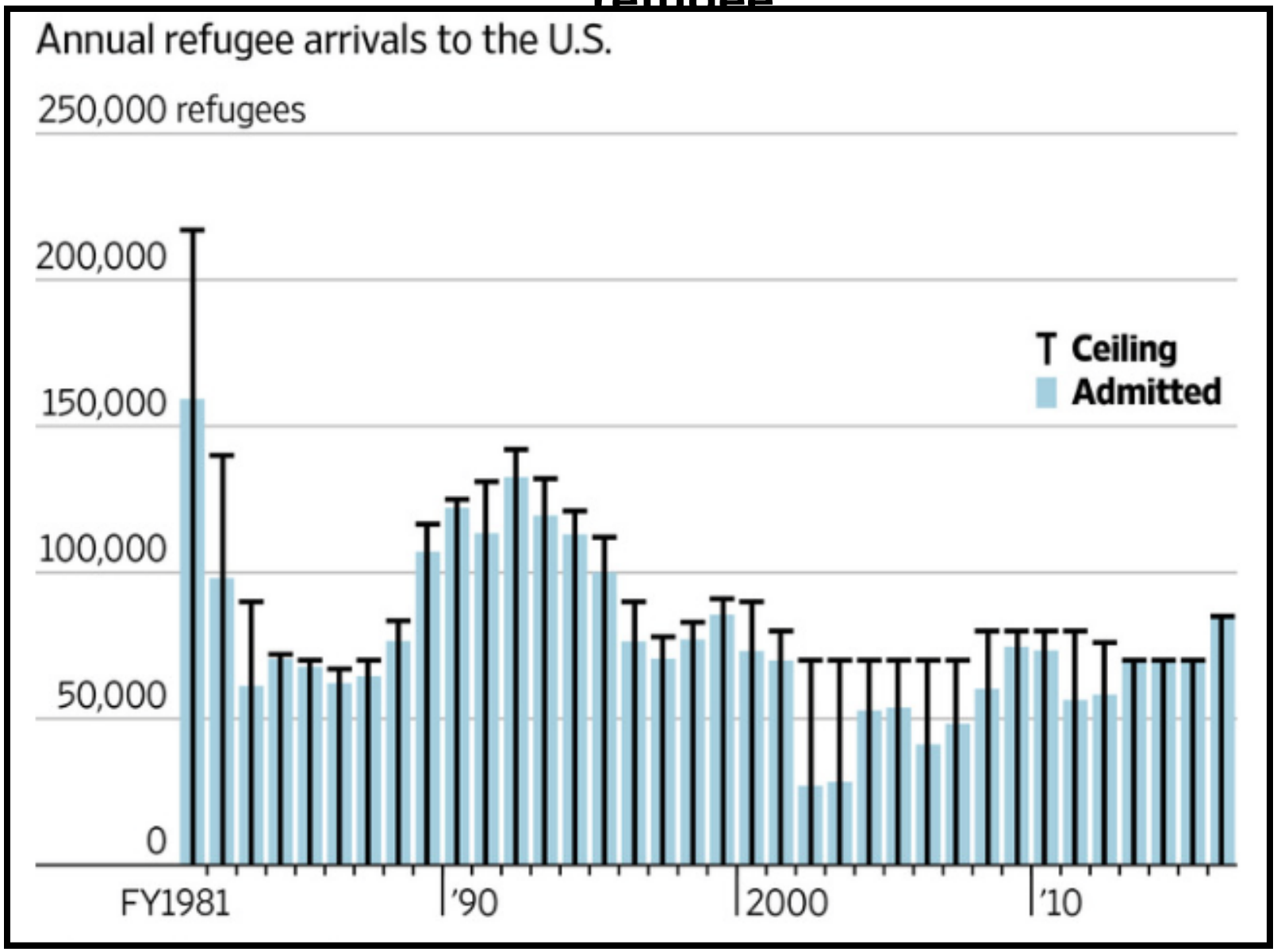
Refugees down to 50,000/year; ban entries from 7 nations

Reaction: Protests at airports, judge blocks implementation

Most refugees admitted per capita in 2014



President sets refugee ceiling: USG provides $6,500 per refugee



March 6: ban on NEW entries from 6 nations; blocked again
US Supreme Court 6/17: DHS MAY block first timers

Buy American and Hire American

the WHITE HOUSE PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

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The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release April 18, 2017

Presidential Executive Order on Buy American and Hire American

EXECUTIVE ORDER

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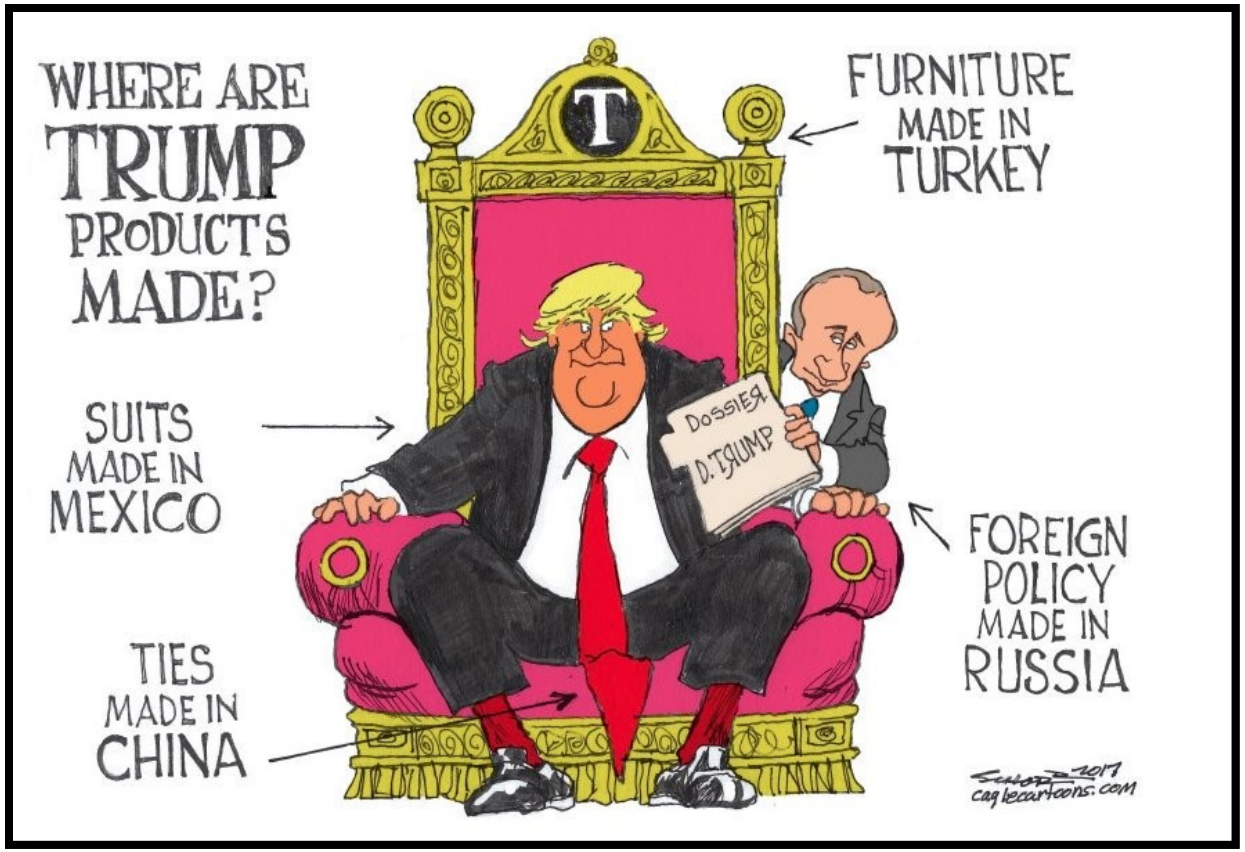
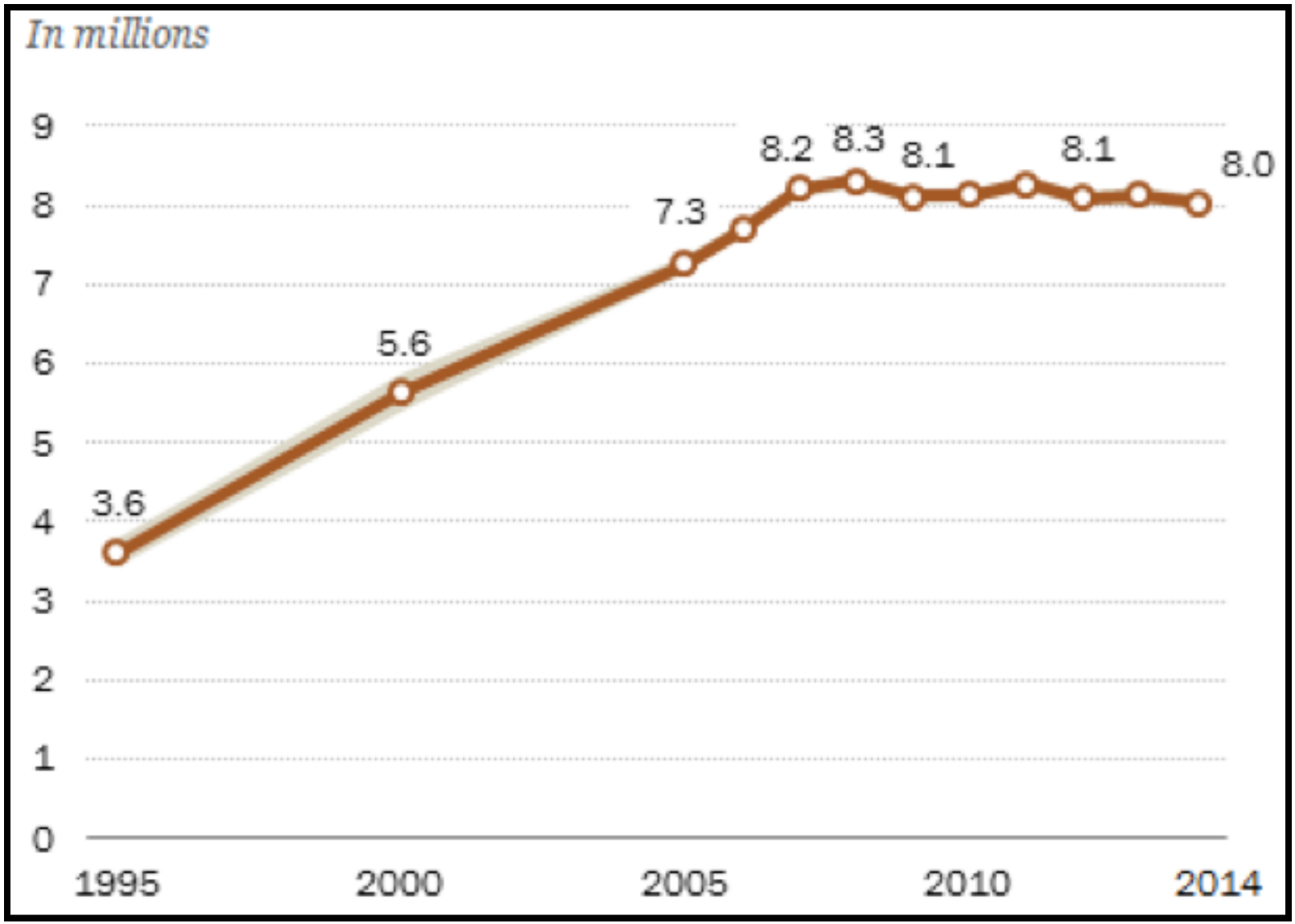
Will reducing imports increase US jobs?

Trump-branded items often imported

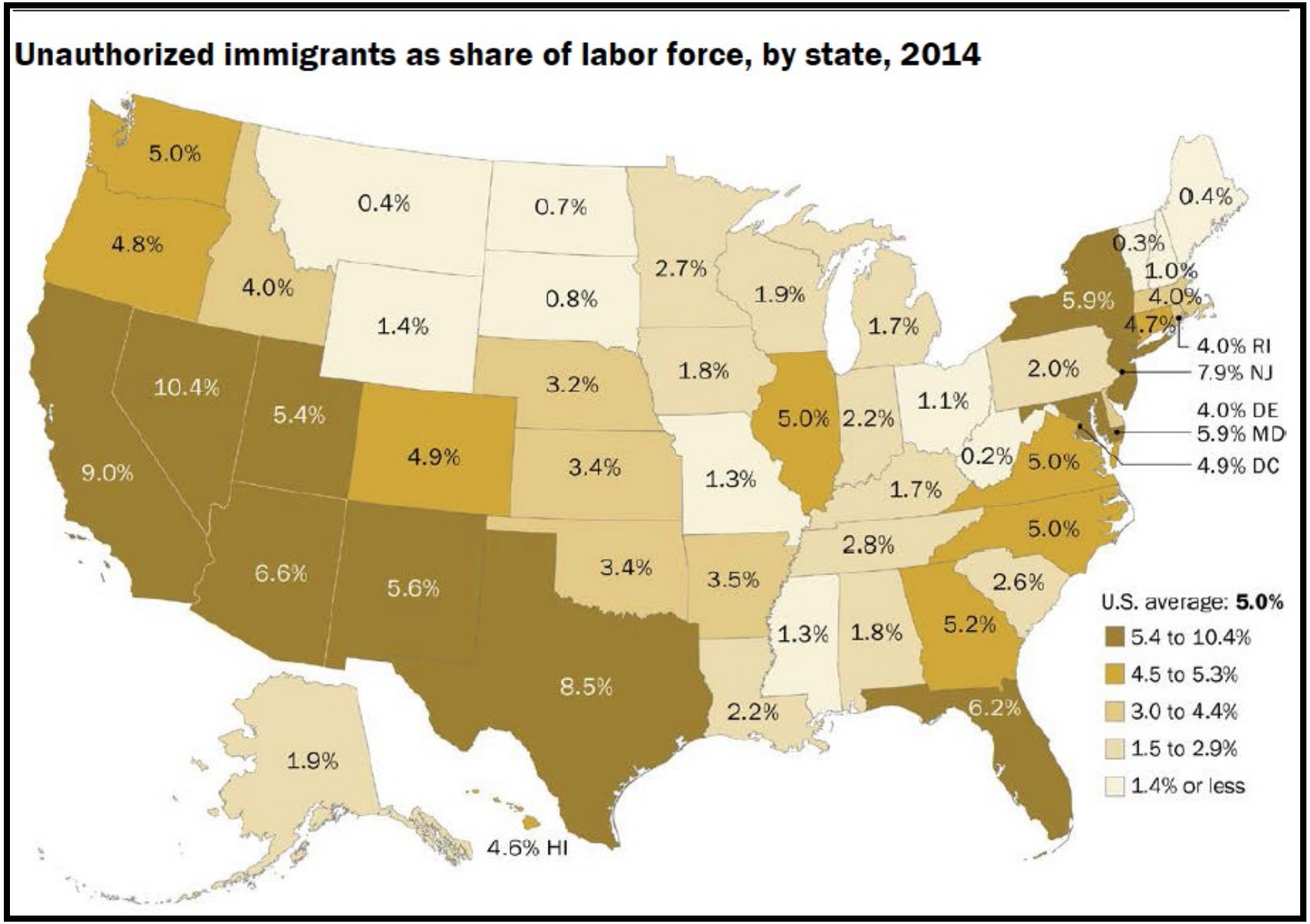


Unauthorized workers down: 8.3 to 8 million or -4%



8 million unauthorized associated with hard work

Nevada: 10% of all workers unauthorized, CA 9%, TX 8%



Business services: janitors

1.5 million unauthorized

Hospitality and hotels: 1.5 million

Construction: 1 million

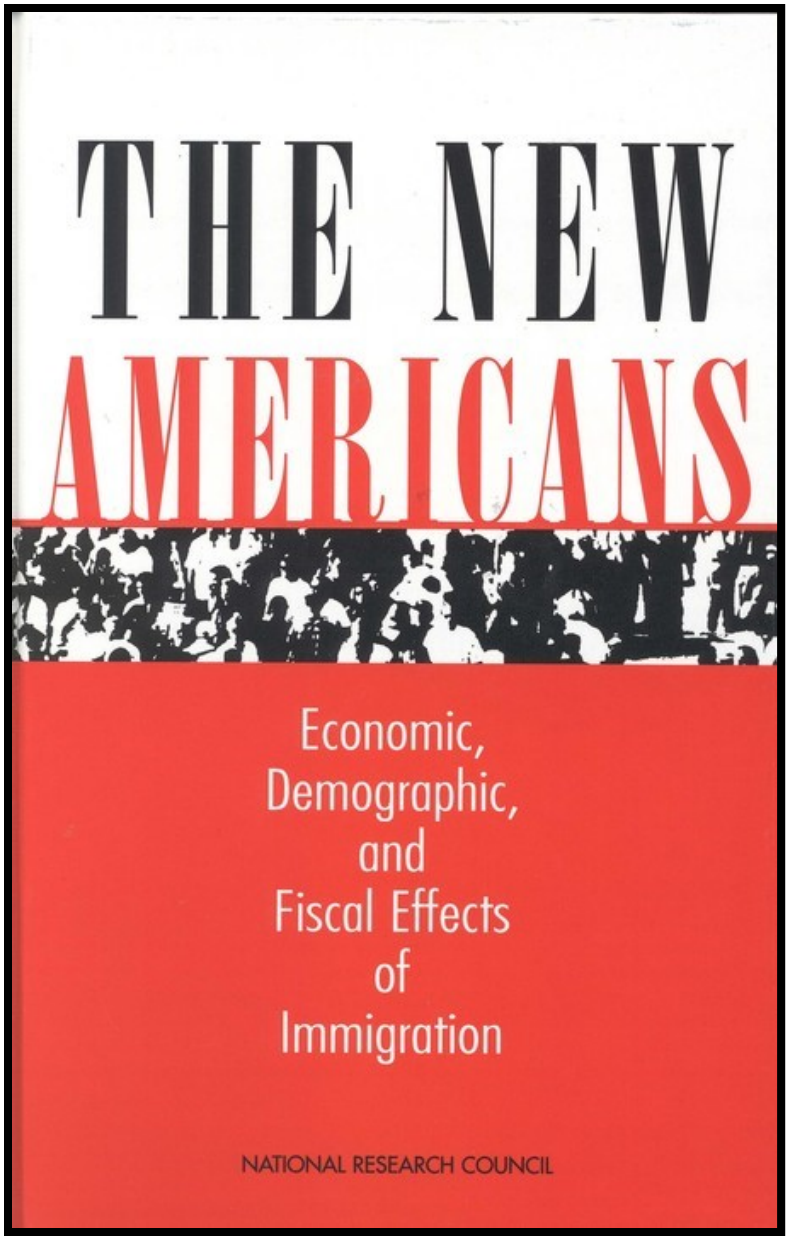
Agriculture: 1 million

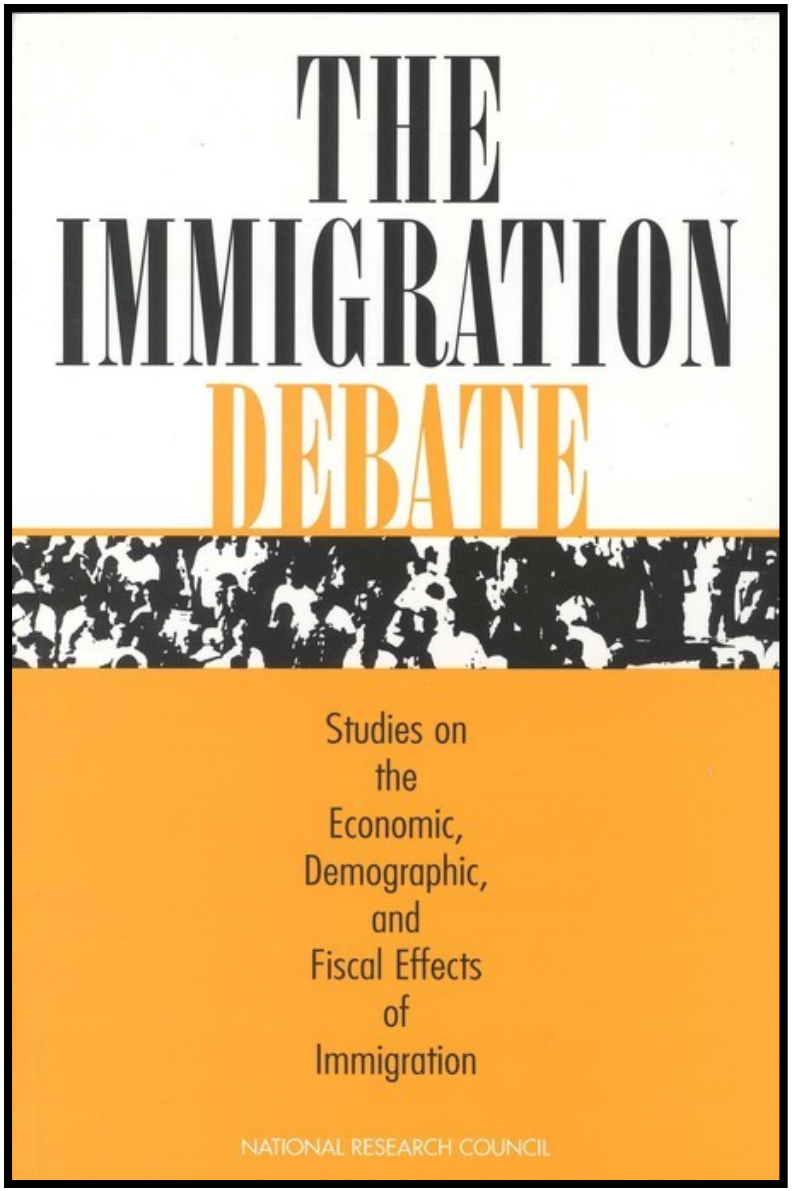
Effects of migrants: Mariel boatlift: April-October 1980; 125,000 Cubans to Miami; Miami LF up 7%
Why no measurable effects on native Blacks? Card: more labor-intensive methods to absorb extra workers

A Cuban refugee boat going to the US during the Mariel Boatlift crisis.

Map of the trip from Mariel to Florida.

What assumptions to estimate long-run migrant impacts?





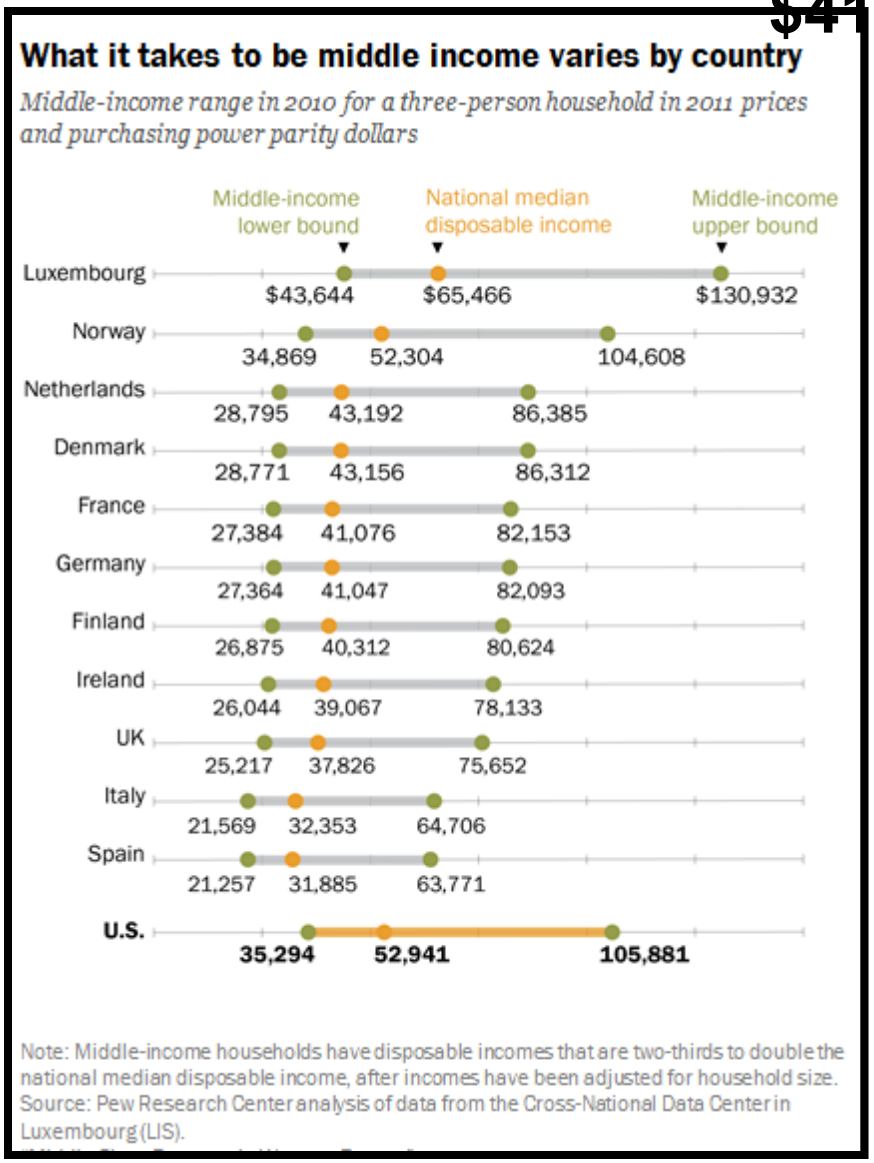
Net Present Value of Typical Immigrant: +$80,000

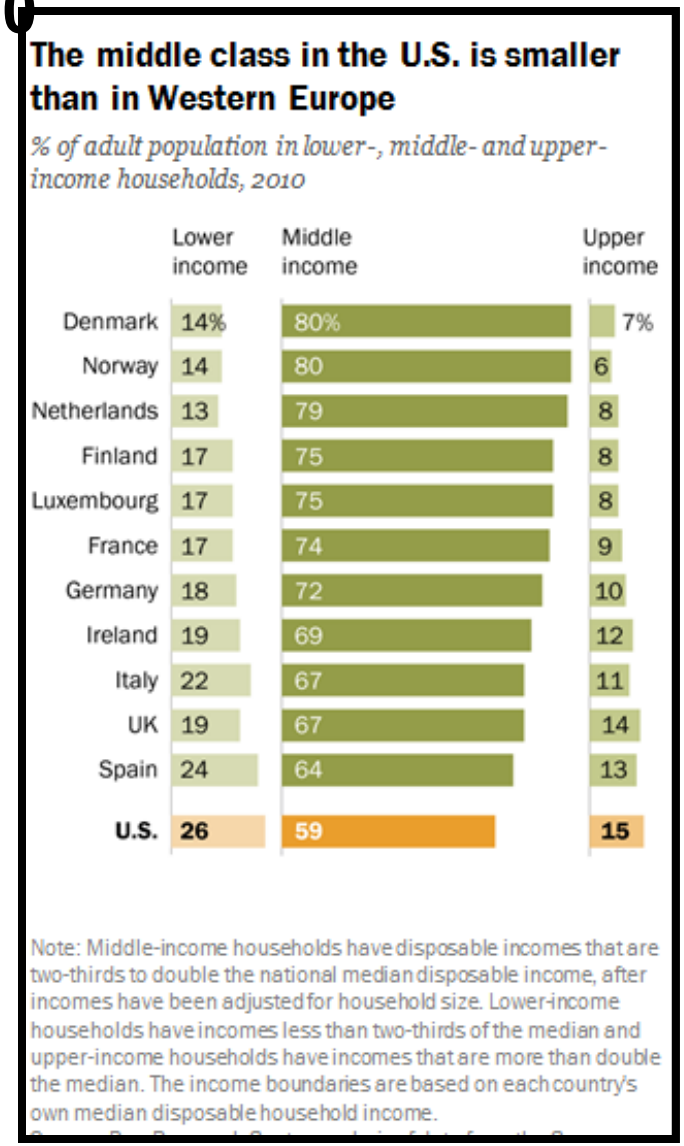
- Upon entry, immigrants get more benefits than they pay in taxes. Why? Younger & more children
- What is the NPV of a newcomer in 1996? Project his/her taxes paid and tax-supported benefits received for **300 years**
- **Assumptions:** immigrant earnings catch up to similar US-born in 20 years; US-born children of immigrants same as children of natives; govt raises taxes and reduces benefits for all in 2016
- **Results:** after 25 years, NPV = -$18,000. But ever-longer time horizon means higher NPV
  - If govt does not raise taxes & lower benefits, NPV of a typical immigrant = -$15,000 even after 300 years

Admissionists vs Restrictionists

- **Admissionists:** accept more immigrants and refugees, legalize unauthorized in the US
- **Restrictionists:** reduce legal immigration and deport unauthorized foreigners
- **Politics:** Hispanics & Asians are over 80% of migrants;they vote 2-1 for Democrats. Republicans reluctant to endorse path to US citizenship for unauthorized
- No significant negative effects of migrants on US workers. Does this mean no impacts *or* hard to measure impacts? **Does absence of evidence mean evidence of absence, that is, no negative effects?**
- US-born *more likely* to commit crimes than similar FB. How to evaluate crime by unauthorized?

Fears: immigration & inequality. Middle class = those with incomes that are 67-200% of median: US$53,000, Ger $41,000





CAUTION
International Border
Frontera Internacional
1¼ mi | 2 km

CAUTION
DREAMER$

EMERGENCY ROOMS MAKE FOR THE BEST DOCTORS OFFICES
...AND WE DON'T HAVE TO PAY! SUCKERS!
FORGET THOSE FARM JOBS I'M UNDERCUTTING CONSTRUCTION WAGES
WOO HOO, TAX FREE JOBS
YEAH, IT'S THE LAW! YOU HAVE A GREAT ROLE MODEL DAD!
NO AMNESTY!
SECURE THE BORDERS!
DEPORT ILLEGALS!

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