

The background of the slide is a photograph of the Statue of Liberty in New York City. The statue is shown from a low angle, standing on its pedestal. The sky is filled with soft, golden clouds, suggesting a sunset or sunrise. The lighting is warm and atmospheric.

# Understanding Immigration

**How can the US achieve a fair, humane policy for accepting and integrating immigrants?**

**Speakers:** Mary Waters, Harvard University  
Doug Massey, Princeton University

Thursday, February 8, 6-8pm, E62-276

# Mens et Manus America

The Mens et Manus America Initiative is sponsored by the MIT School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences and the MIT Sloan School of Management. This session on “Understanding Immigration” is also brought to you in partnership with the Sloan Hispanic Business Club.

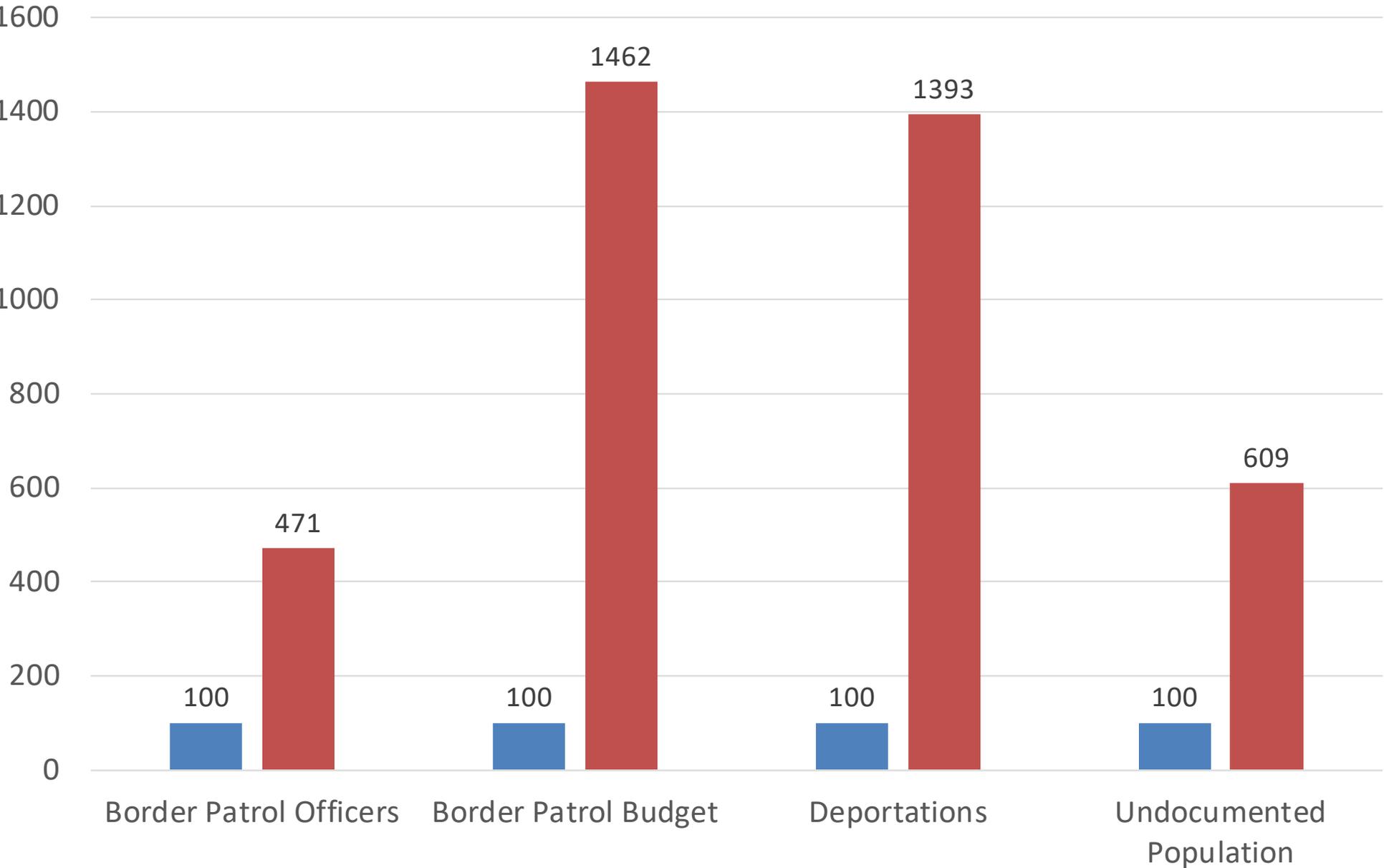


# Train Wreck: US immigration and Border Policy 1965-2010

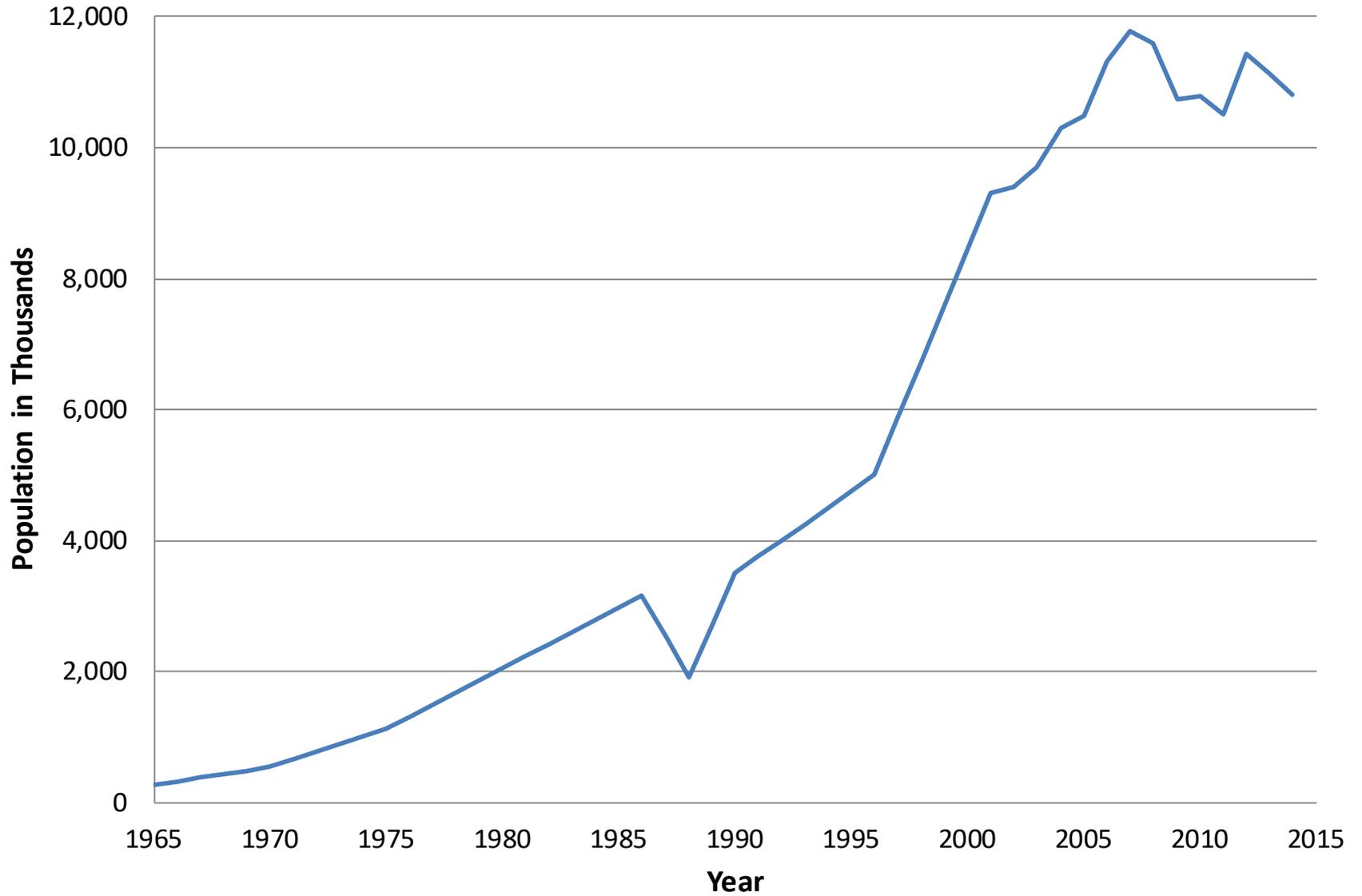


# Indicators of Enforcement and Immigration (1988=100)

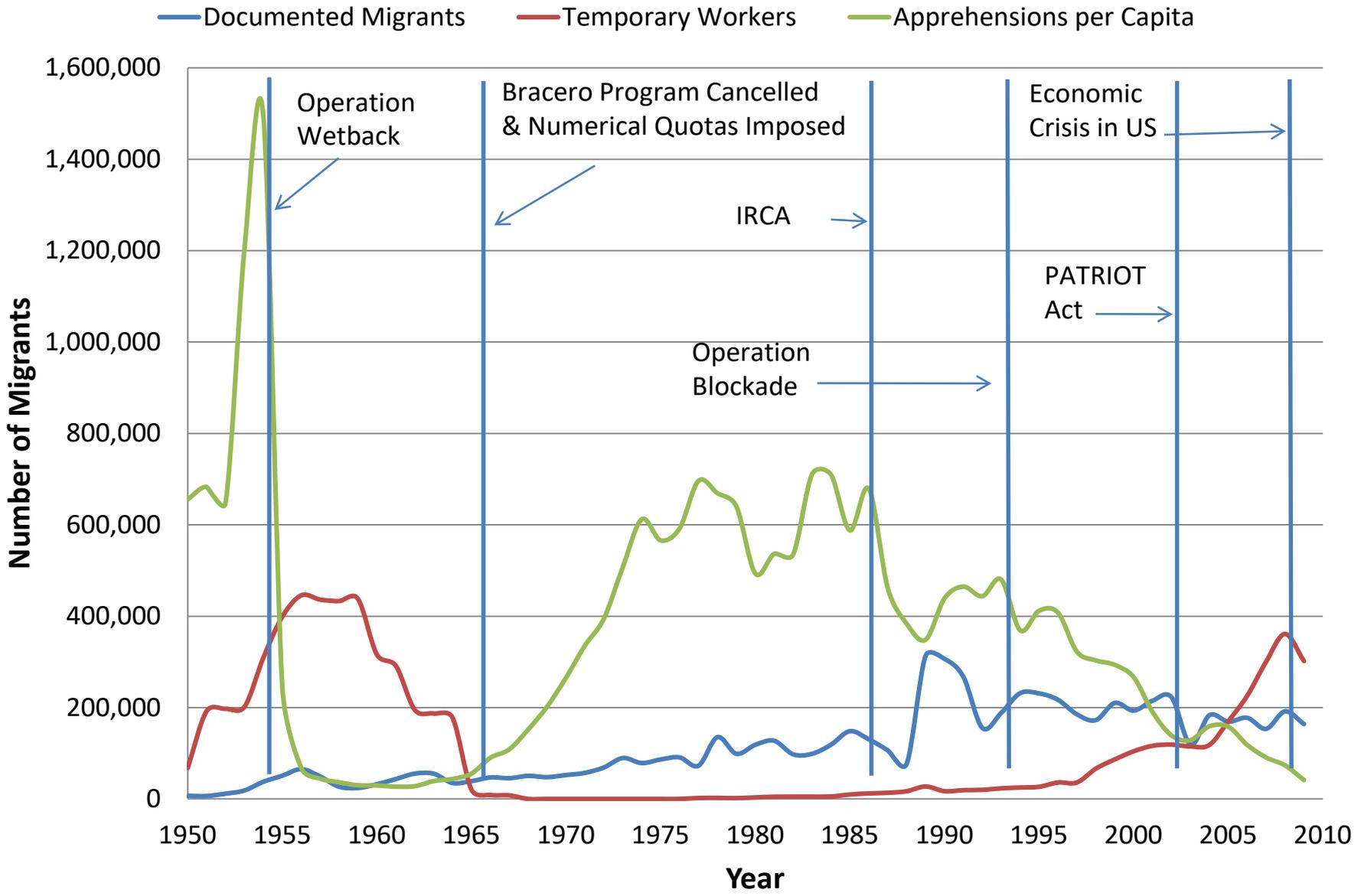
■ 1988 ■ 2008



**Estimated Size of Undocumented Population 1965-2015**



# Mexican Migration Flows to the United States: Official Statistics



# Mentions of Immigration Crisis, Flood, or Invasion in Leading U.S. Newspapers: 3-Year Moving Average

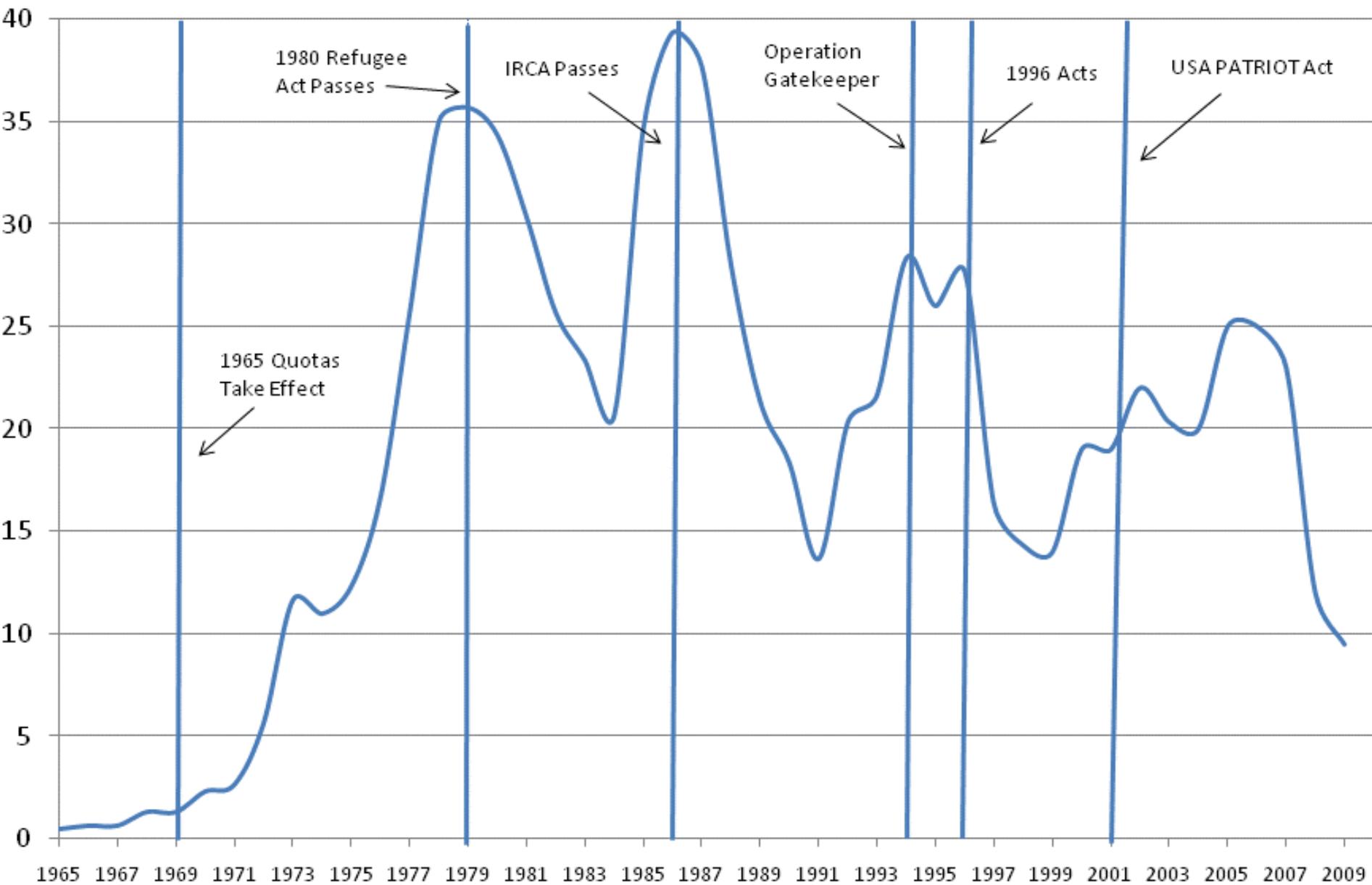
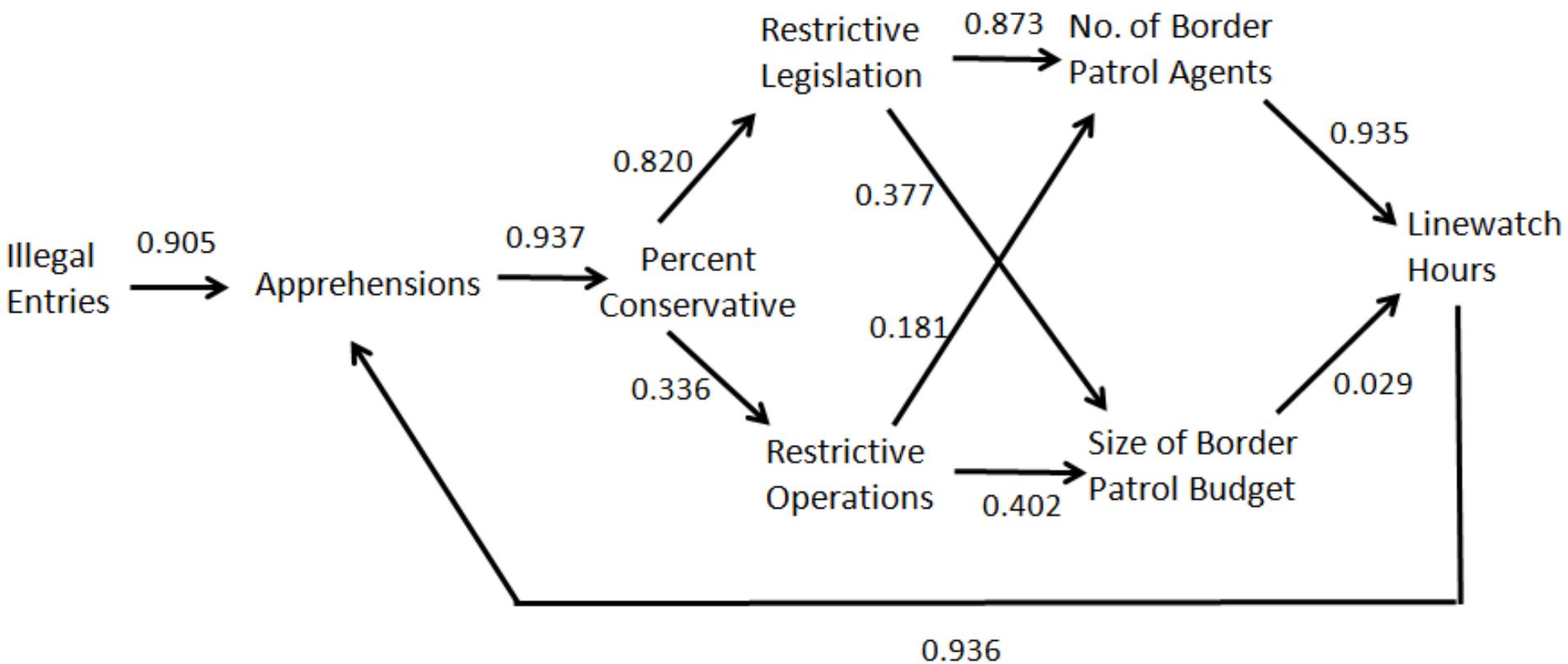


Figure 4. Feedback loop between apprehensions and border enforcement 1965-1995

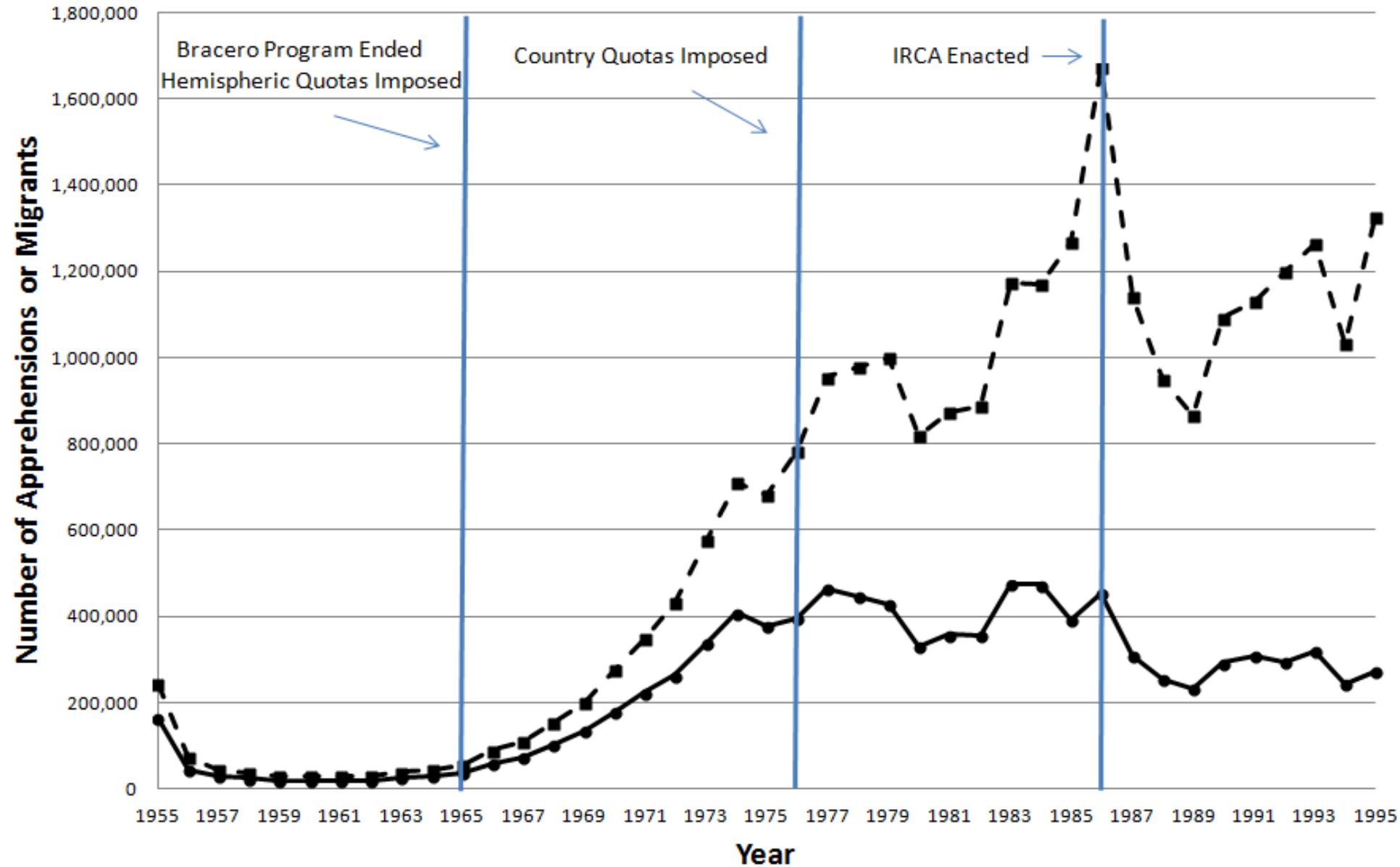


Direct Effect of Entries on Percent Conservative Via Apprehensions: 0.848

Indirect Effect Through Enforcement Feedbacks: 0.691

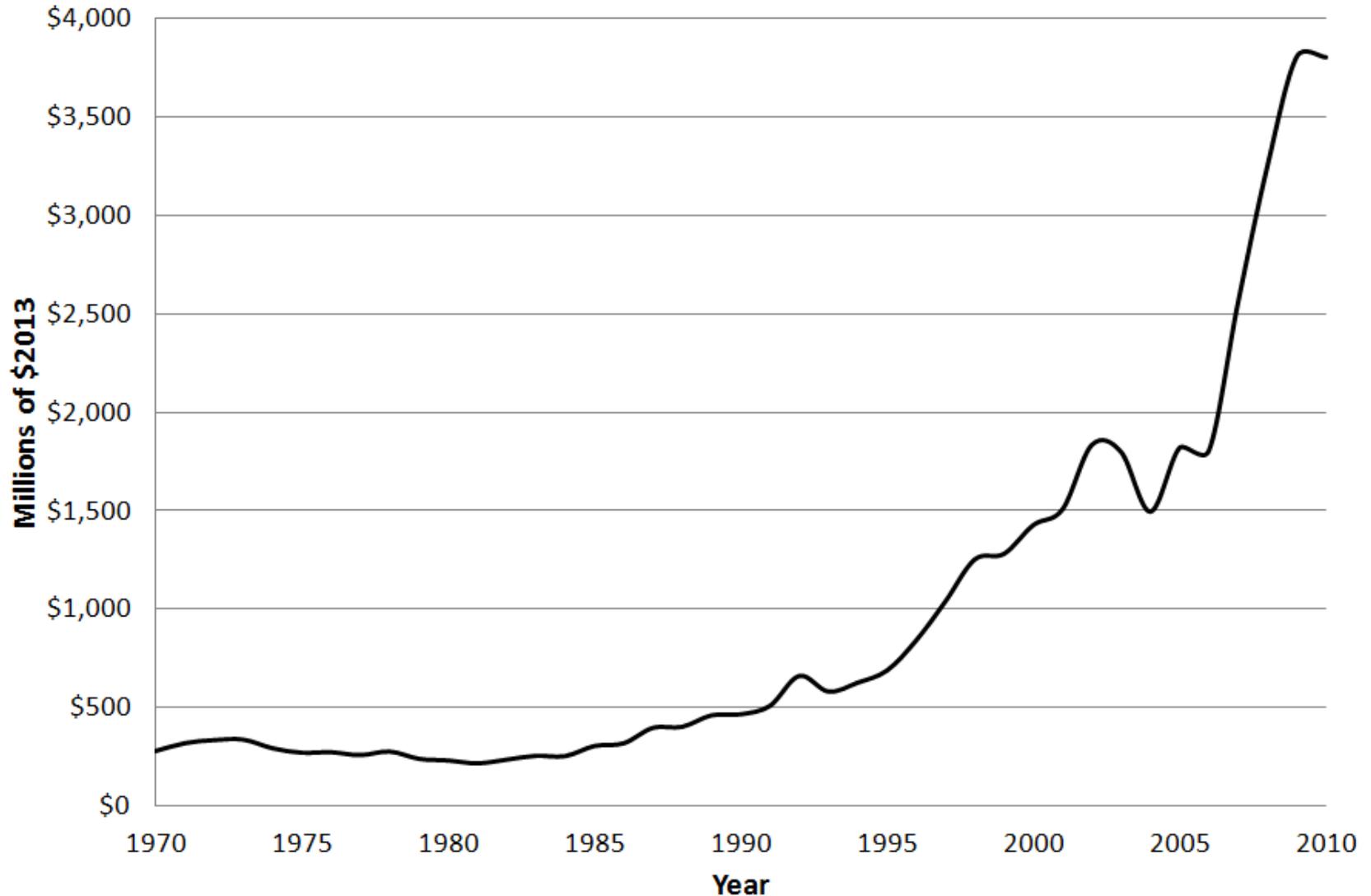
Annual number of apprehensions and illegal migrants 1955-1995.

—●— Illegal Migrants    -■- Apprehensions



# Militarization of the Border 1986-2010

Figure 1. Border Patrol budget in millions of 2013 dollars



- Effects of militarization on **border outcomes**
  - Transformed the geography of border crossing
  - Increased use of coyotes (border smugglers)
  - Increased cost of using coyotes
  - No effect on probability of border apprehension
  - Increased risk of death during border crossing
- Effects of militarization on **migrant behavior**
  - No effect on likelihood of first undocumented trip
  - Decreased likelihood of return from first trip
  - Decreased likelihood of additional undocumented trip
  - Decreased likelihood of returning from additional trip



# MMP

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[mmp-lamp@princeton.edu](mailto:mmp-lamp@princeton.edu)
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## What's the MMP?

The Mexican Migration Project (MMP) was created in 1982 by an interdisciplinary team of researchers to further our understanding of the complex process of Mexican migration to the United States. The project is a binational research effort co-directed by Jorge Durand, professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Guadalajara (Mexico), and Douglas S. Massey, professor of Sociology and Public Affairs at Princeton University (US).

Since its inception, the MMP's main focus has been to gather social as well as economic information on Mexican-US migration. The data collected has been compiled in a comprehensive database that is available to the public free of charge for research and educational purposes through this web-site.

The MMP is a unique source of data that enables researchers to track patterns and processes of contemporary Mexican immigration to the United States. The project is a multi-disciplinary research effort that generates public use data on the characteristics and behavior of Mexican migrants.

## Aims and Scope of the Project

- To gather and maintain high quality data on the characteristics and behavior of documented and undocumented Mexican migrants to the United States.
- To make the collected data available to the public for research and educational purposes, while maintaining the confidentiality of our respondents.
- To continue to investigate the evolving nature of transnational migration between Mexico and the United States.

## What's New



On May 29, 2014, we updated our [COMMUN143 file](#). This file now contains yearly homicides rates by municipio from 1990 to 2012. ♦The MMP has a new email: [mmp-lamp@princeton.edu](mailto:mmp-lamp@princeton.edu) ♦ [MMP143 datasets are now available!](#) The new release features 9 new comunites: 5 from Queretaro and 4 from Tabasco. The [SELECTED RESULTS](#) using our latest database MMP143 has been updated. ♦ Professor Jorge Durand on the conference [Reforma migratoria en tiempos de crisis](#) on March 11, 2013 (Spanish only). ♦

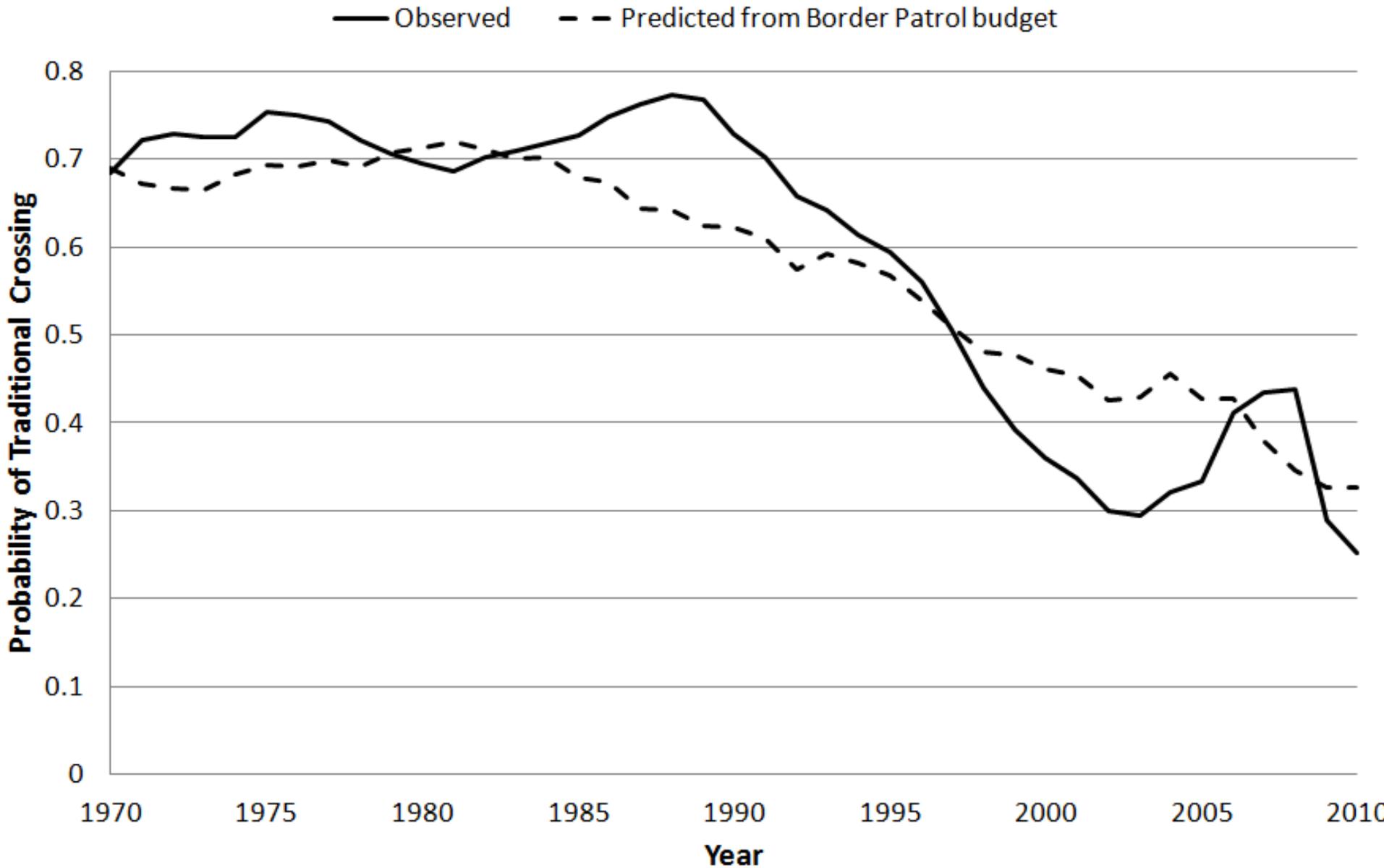
## Related Sites

LAMP - Latin American Migration Project

<b>U.S. Context</b>	
	Log of Border Patrol Instrument
	Rate of Employment Growth
	Residence / Work Visas (000)
	US Minimum Daily Wage
<b>Mexican Context</b>	
	Crude Birth Rate
	Rate of GDP Growth
	Homicide Rate
	Mexican Minimum Daily Wage

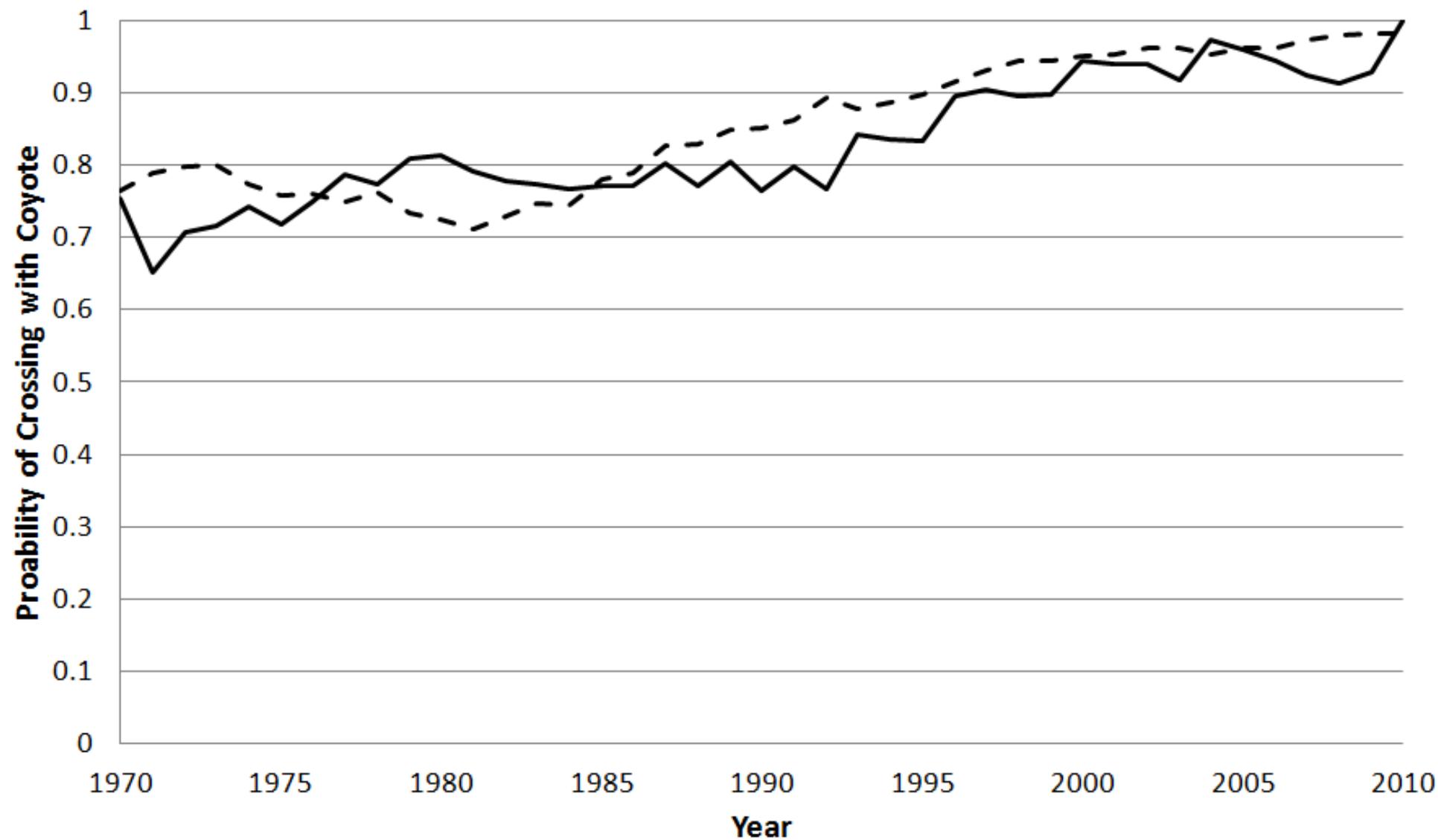
<b>Demographic Background</b>	
	Age
	Age-squared
	Female
	Married
	No. of minors in household
<b>Human Capital</b>	
	Labor force experience
	Education
	Cumulative U.S. experience (months)
	No of previous U.S. trips
	Unskilled job
	Skilled job
<b>Social Capital</b>	
	Parent a U.S. Migrant
	No of U.S. migrant siblings
	Spouse a U.S. migrant
	No. of U.S. migrant children
	No. of U.S. born children
	Prop U.S. Migrants in Community
<b>Physical Capital</b>	
	Land
	Home
	Business
<b>Region of Origin</b>	
	Historical
<b>Community size</b>	
	Small Cities (10,000-99,999)
	Town (2,501-9,999)
	Rural Villages (<=2500)

**Figure 2. Observed probability of crossing at a traditional location and probability predicted from Border Patrol budget**



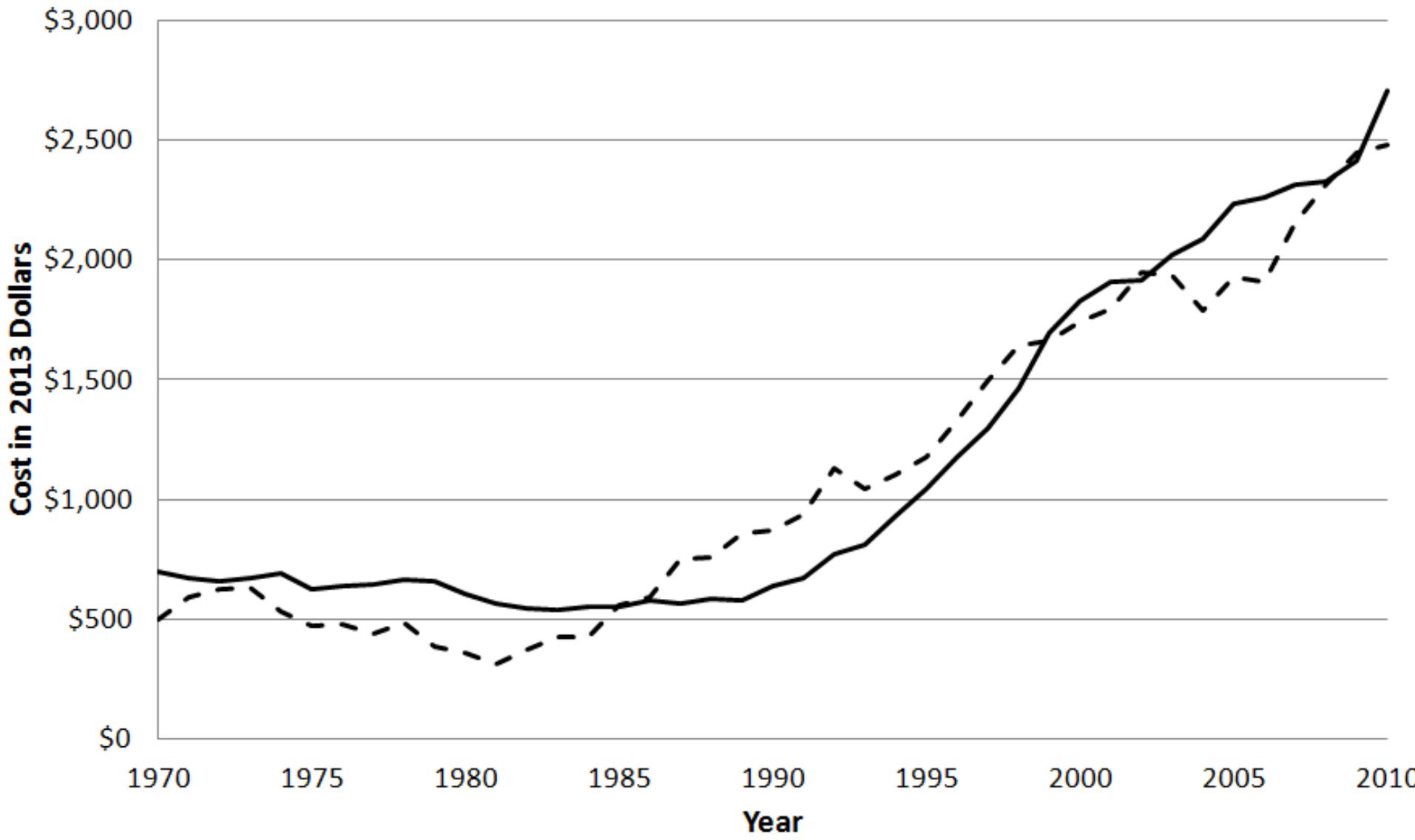
**Figure 3. Observed probability of crossing with a coyote and probability predicted from Border Patrol budget**

— Observed    - - Predicted from Border Patrol budget



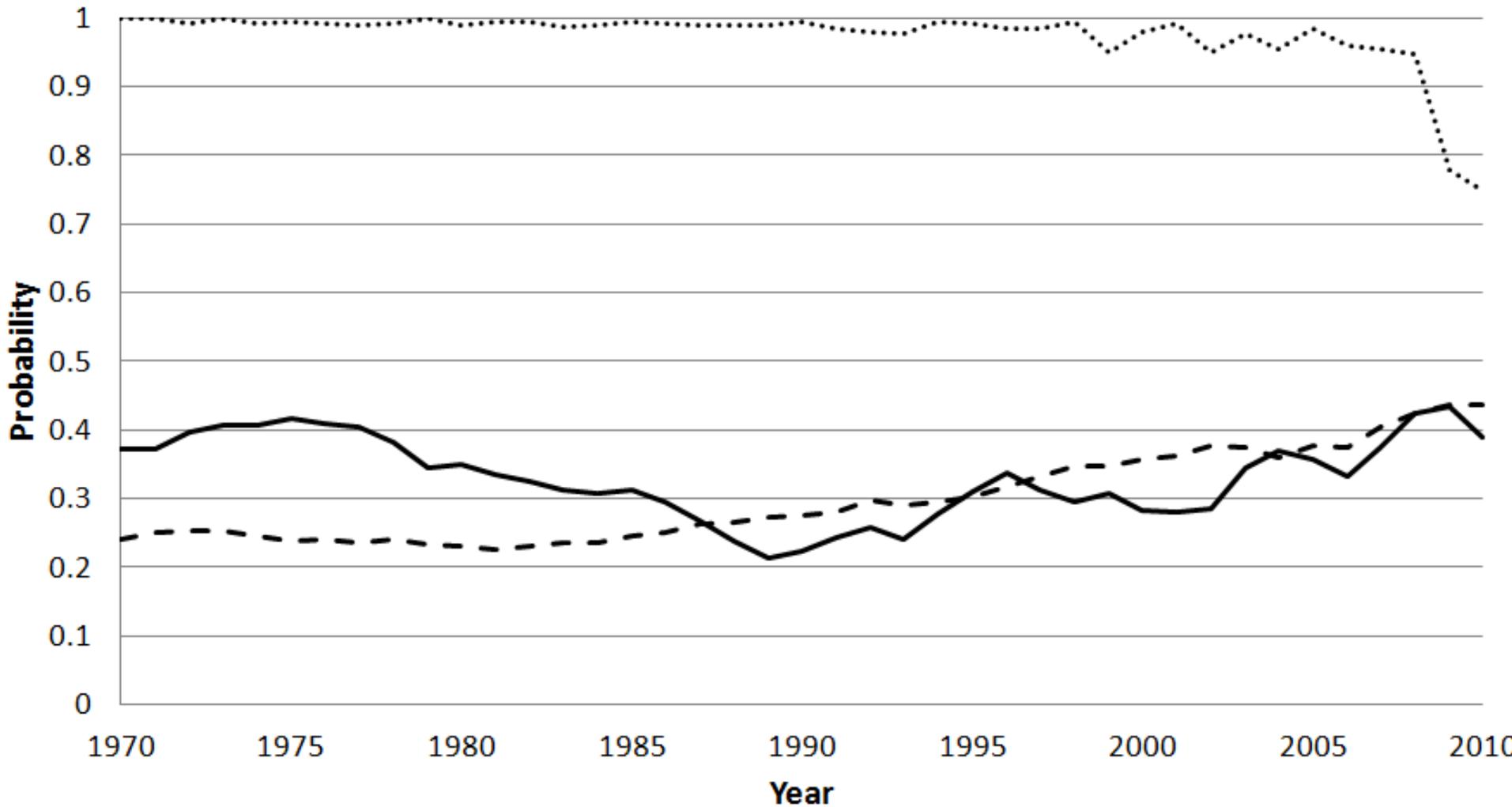
**Figure 4. Observed trend in coyote costs and costs predicted from Border Patrol budget and place of crossing**

— Observed      - - - Predicted from Border Patrol budget and place of crossing

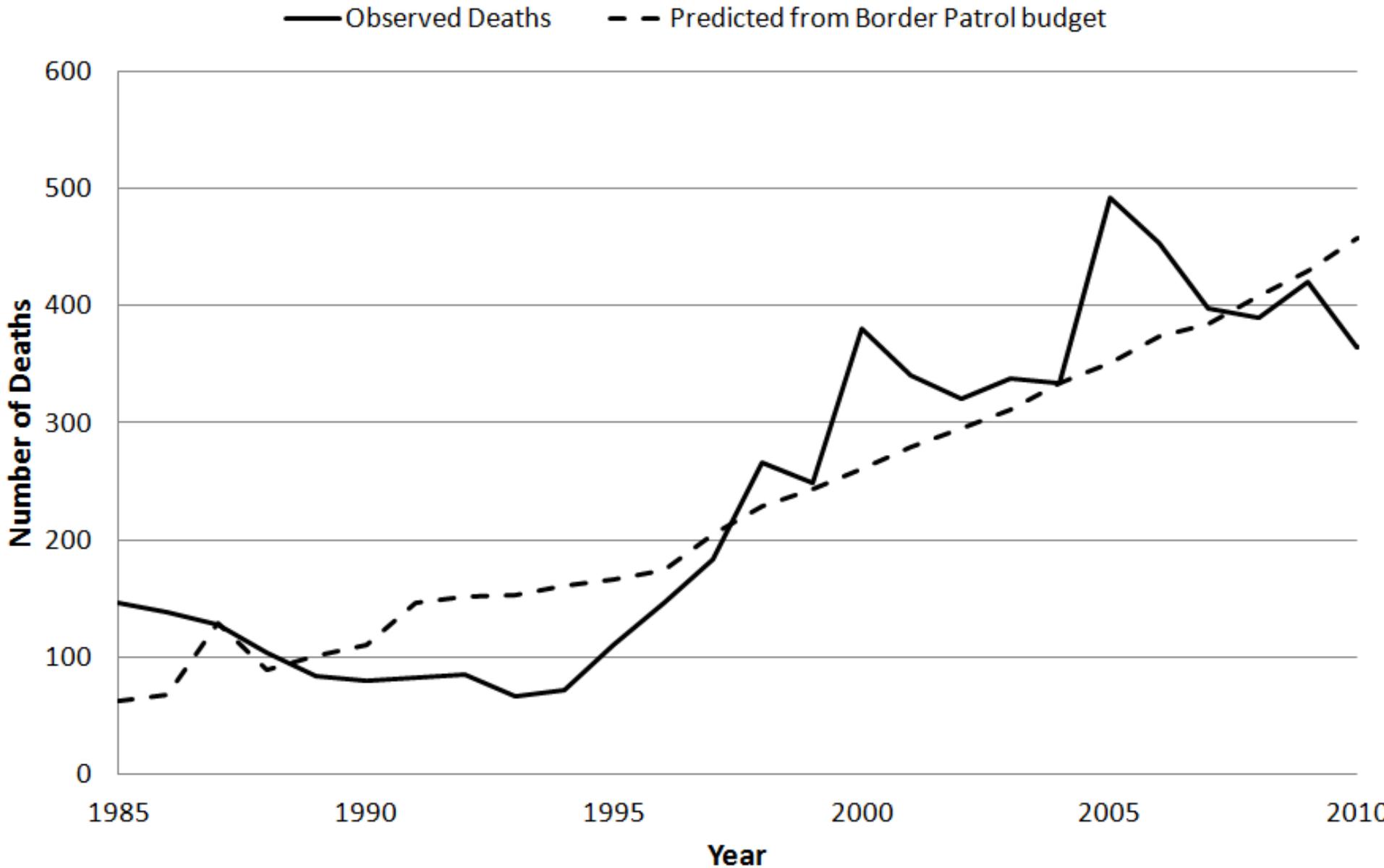


**Figure 5. Observed probabilities of apprehension on first attempt and eventual entry and apprehension probability predicted from trend in Border Patrol budget**

— Observed probability of apprehension ..... Probability of eventual entry  
- - Predicted from Border Patrol budget

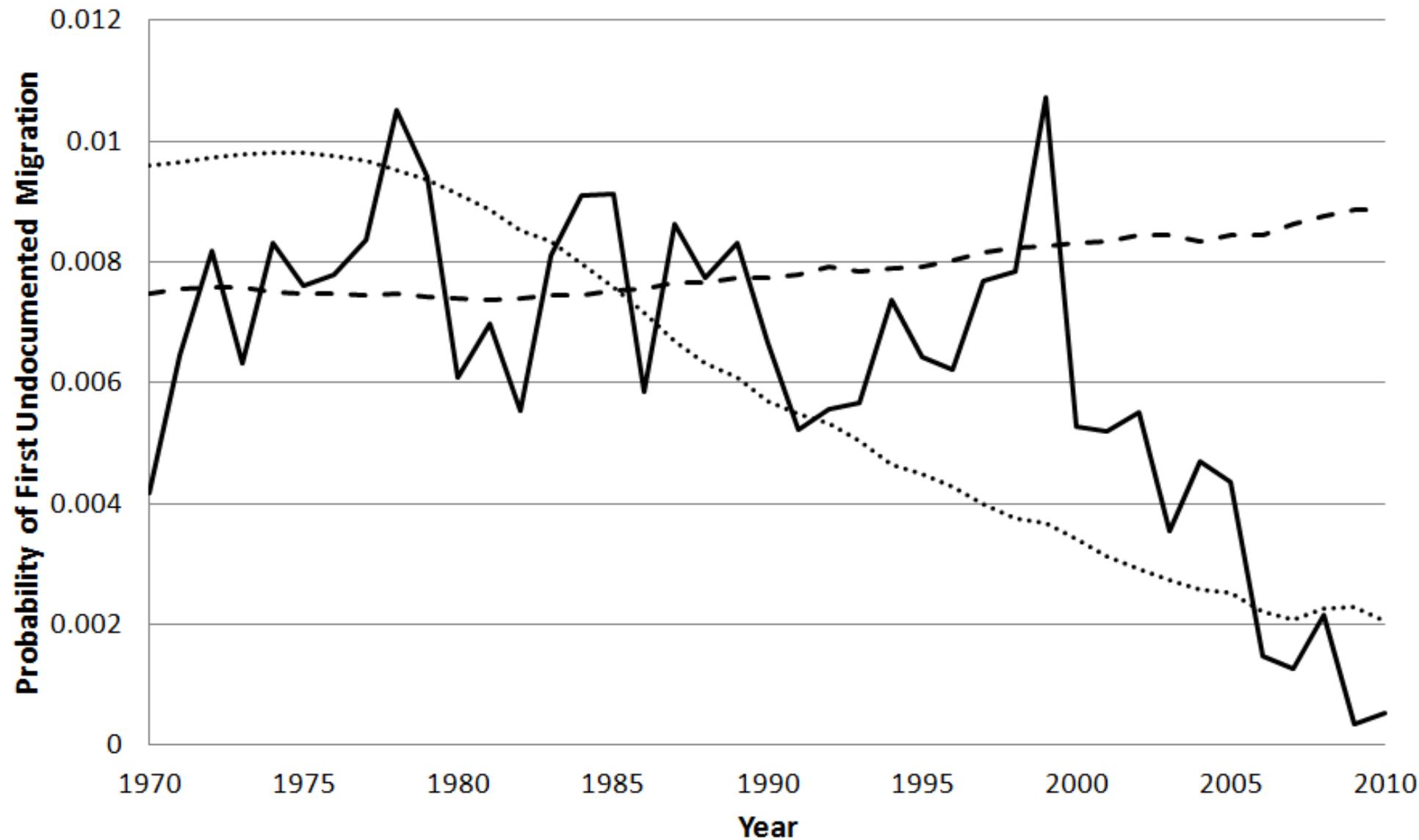


**Figure 6. Observed deaths at the border and deaths predicted by trend in Border Patrol budget**



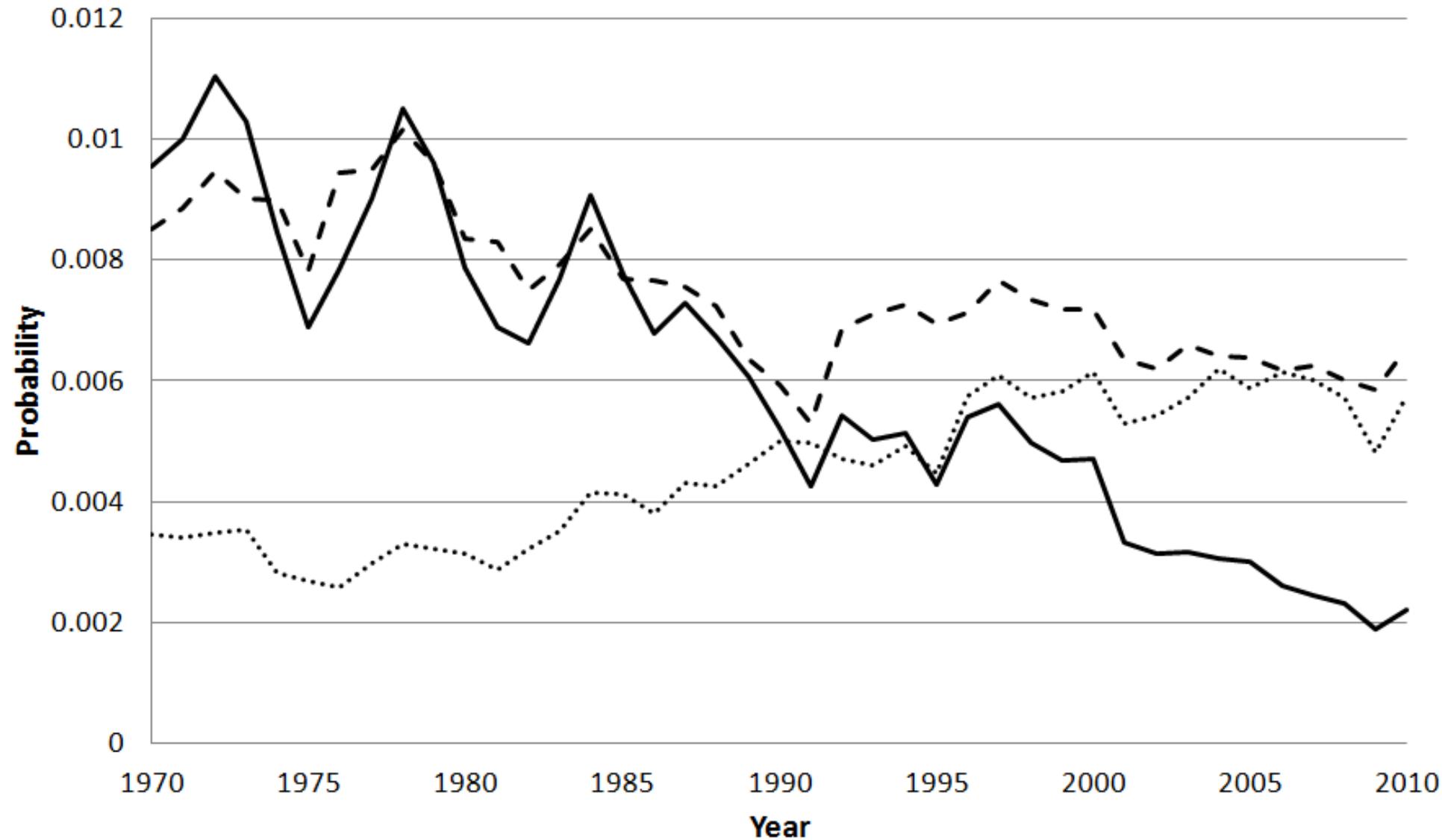
**Figure 7. Observed probability of first undocumented migration and probabilities predicted from trends in Border Patrol budget and average age**

— Observed    - - Predicted from Border Patrol budget    ..... Predicted from average age



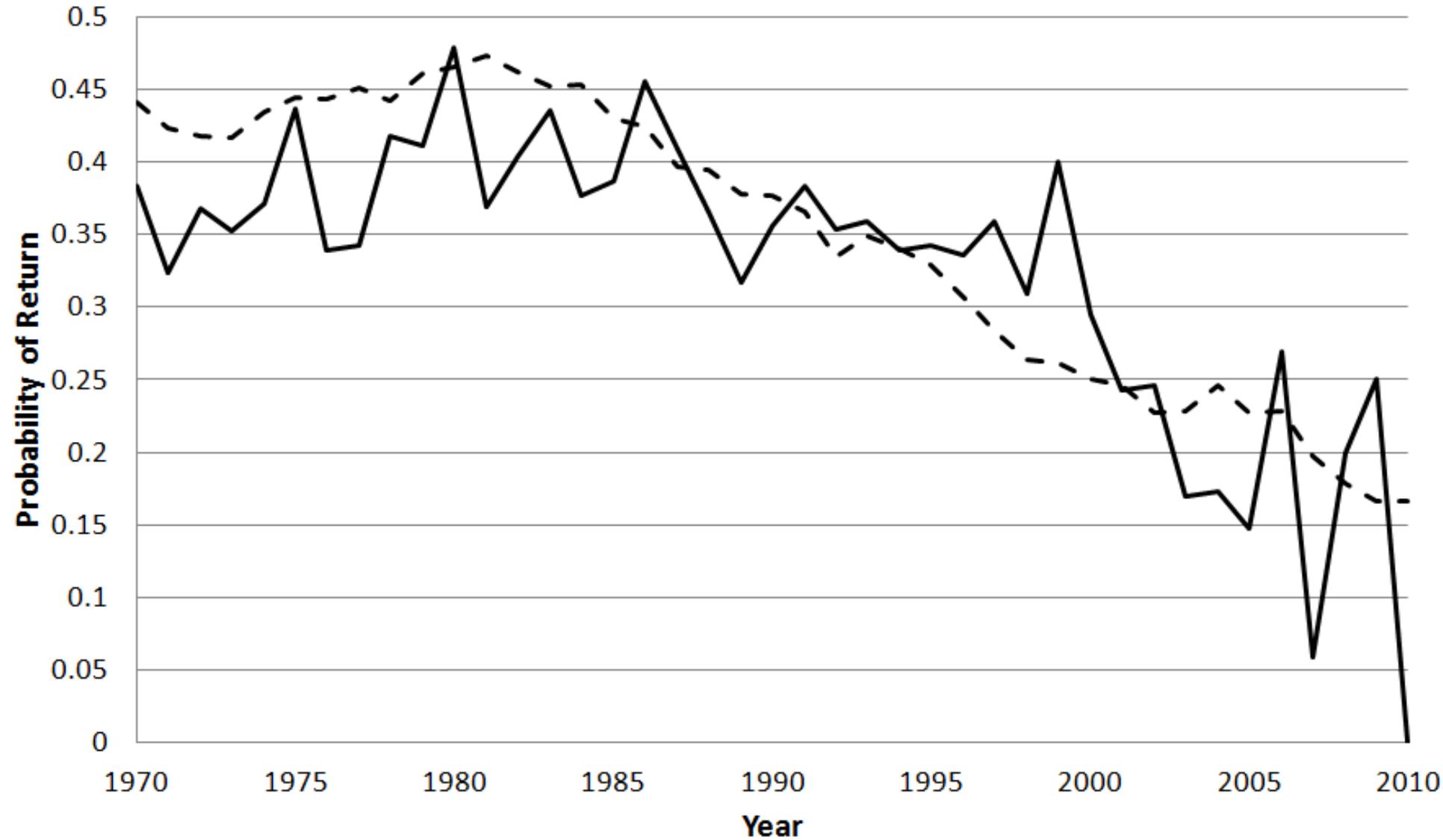
**Figure 7a. Probability of first undocumented migration predicted from U.S. fundamentals, Mexican fundamentals, and all factors combined**

--- US Fundamentals    ..... Mexican Fundamentals    — Combined



**Figure 8. Observed probability of return within 12 months of first undocumented trip and probability predicted from Border Patrol budget**

— Observed    - - Predicted from Border Patrol budget



# Conclusions

- From 1986-2010 the U.S. spent \$34.6 billion in border enforcement and in doing so:
  - Transformed what had been a circular flow of male workers going to three states into a settled population of families living in 50 states
  - Reduced out-migration while leaving in-migration unchanged to double the net rate of undocumented migration and population growth
  - Created a population of 11 million undocumented U.S. residents: 60% of Mexican immigrants and two-thirds of all Central American immigrants
  - All while attempting to end an undocumented flow that would have ended of its own accord after 2000



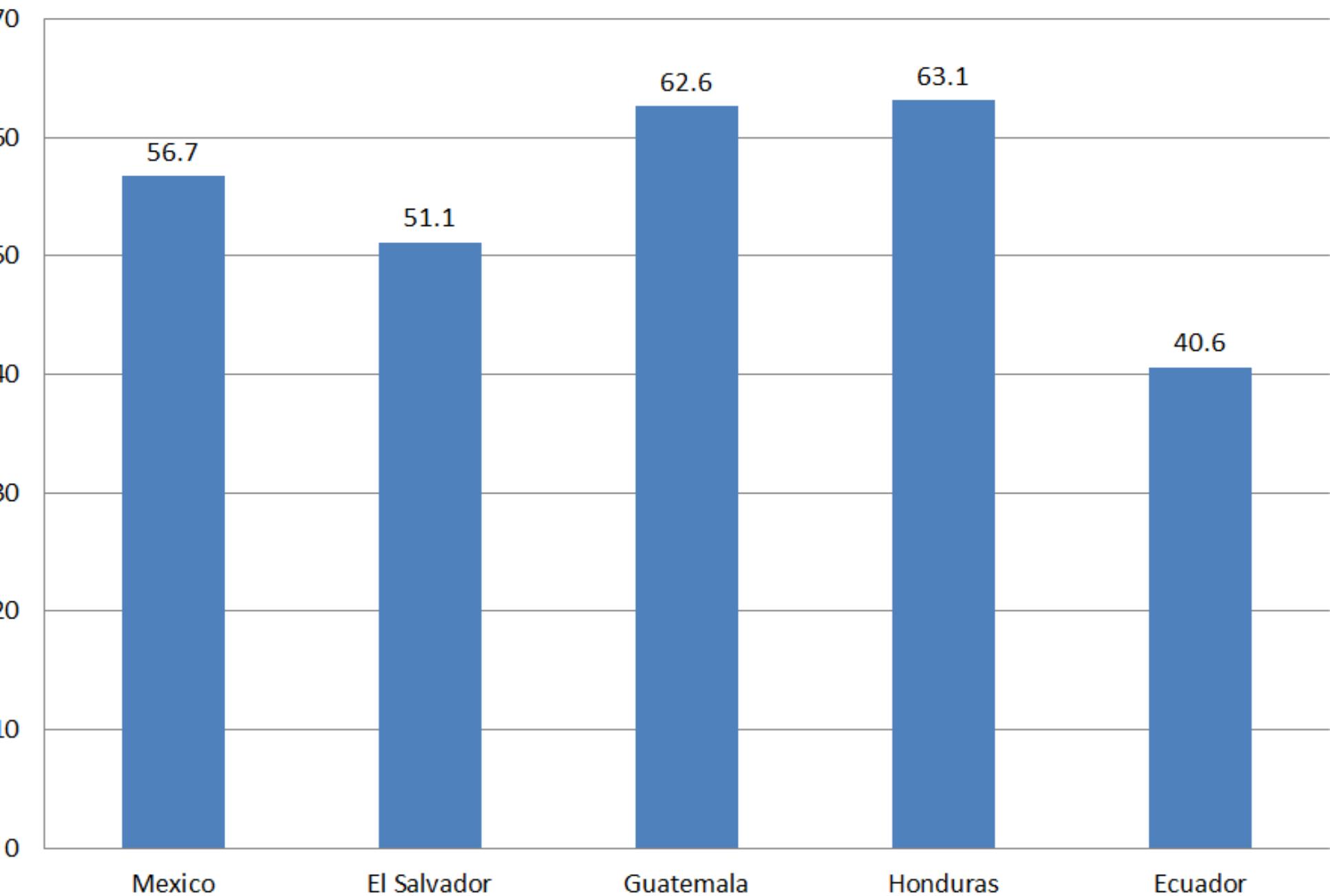
Genaro  
Lopez

S.O.S.  
Se están yendo las  
empresas de Tijuana

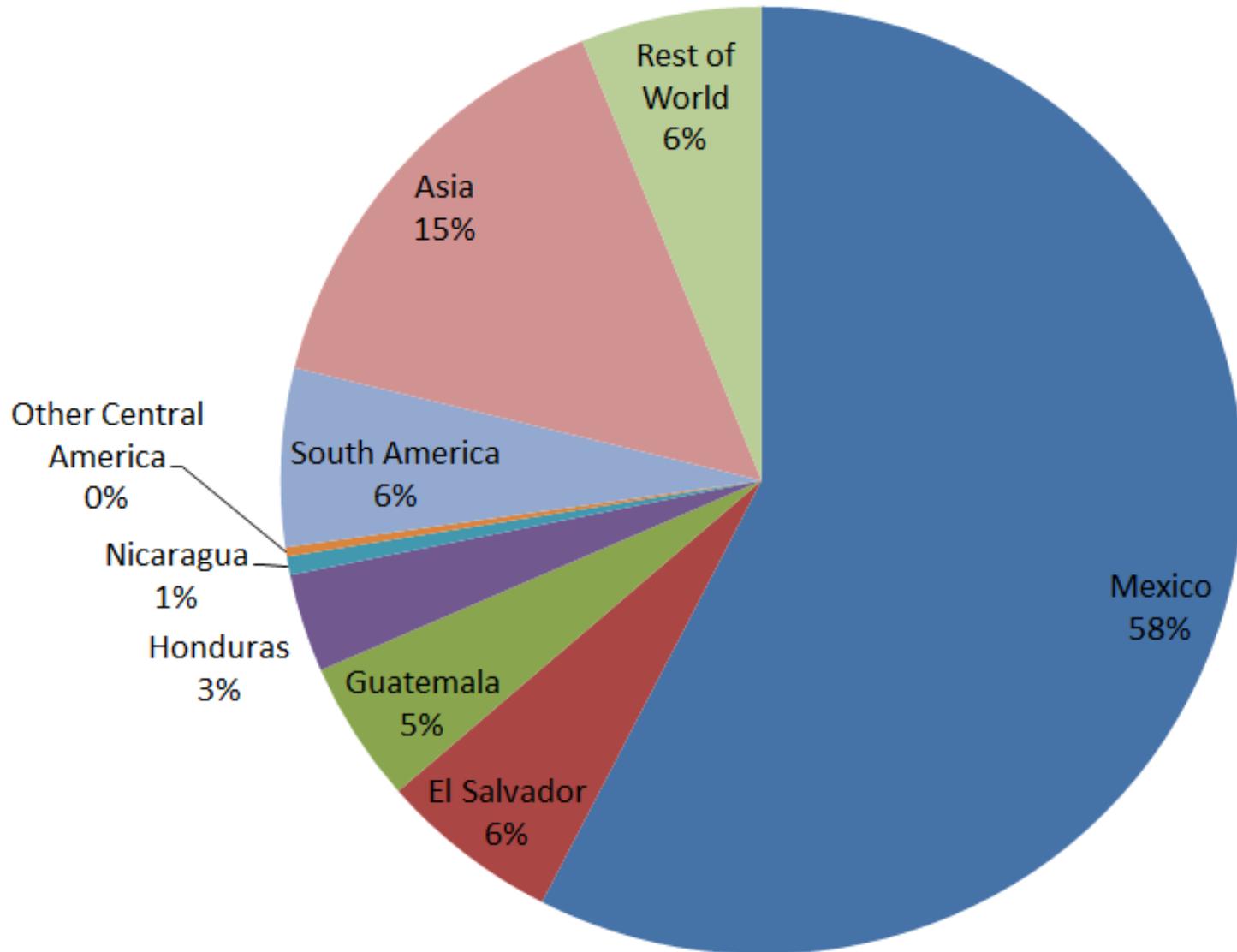
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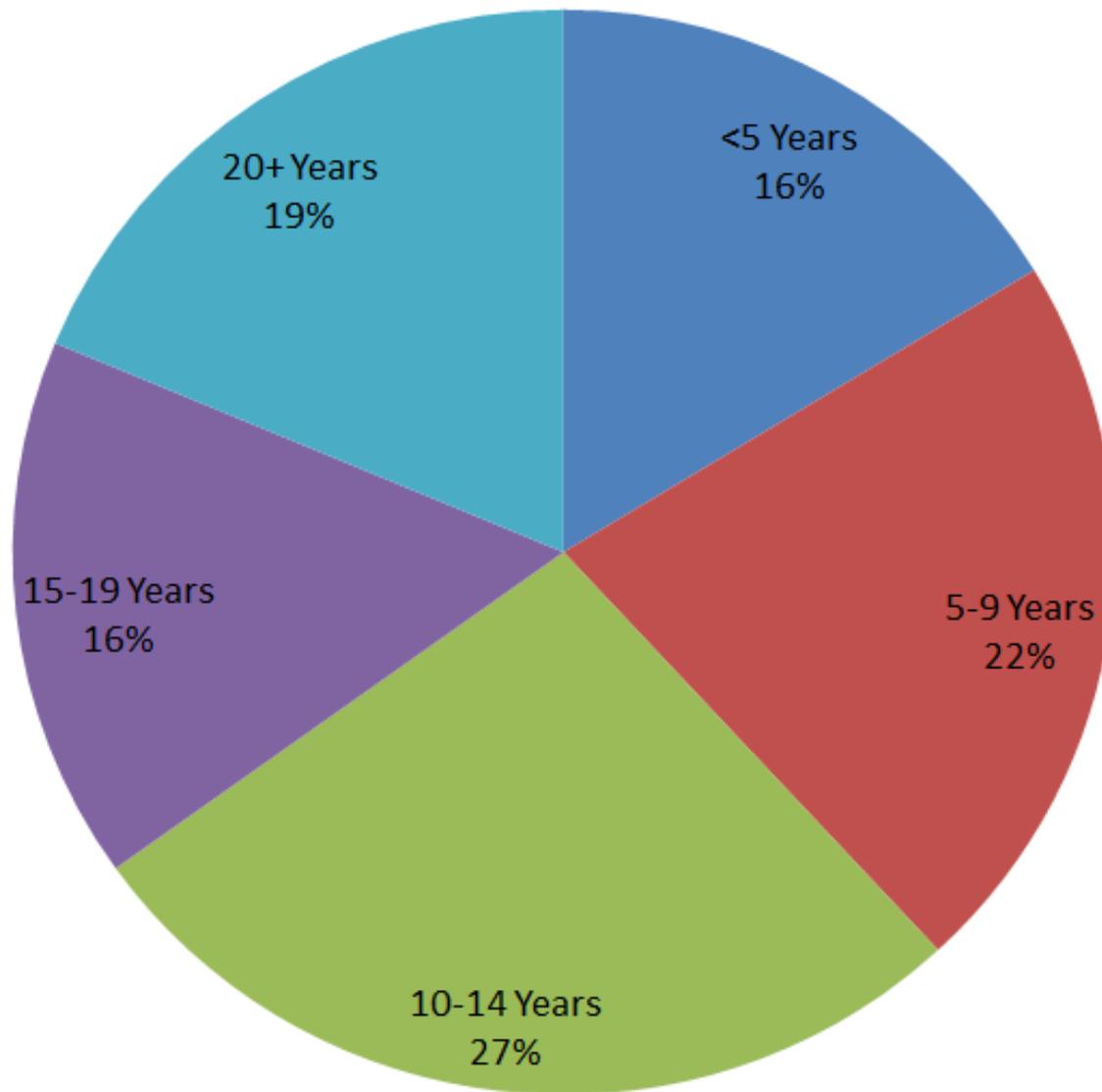
**Percent Undocumented by Place of Origin 2010**



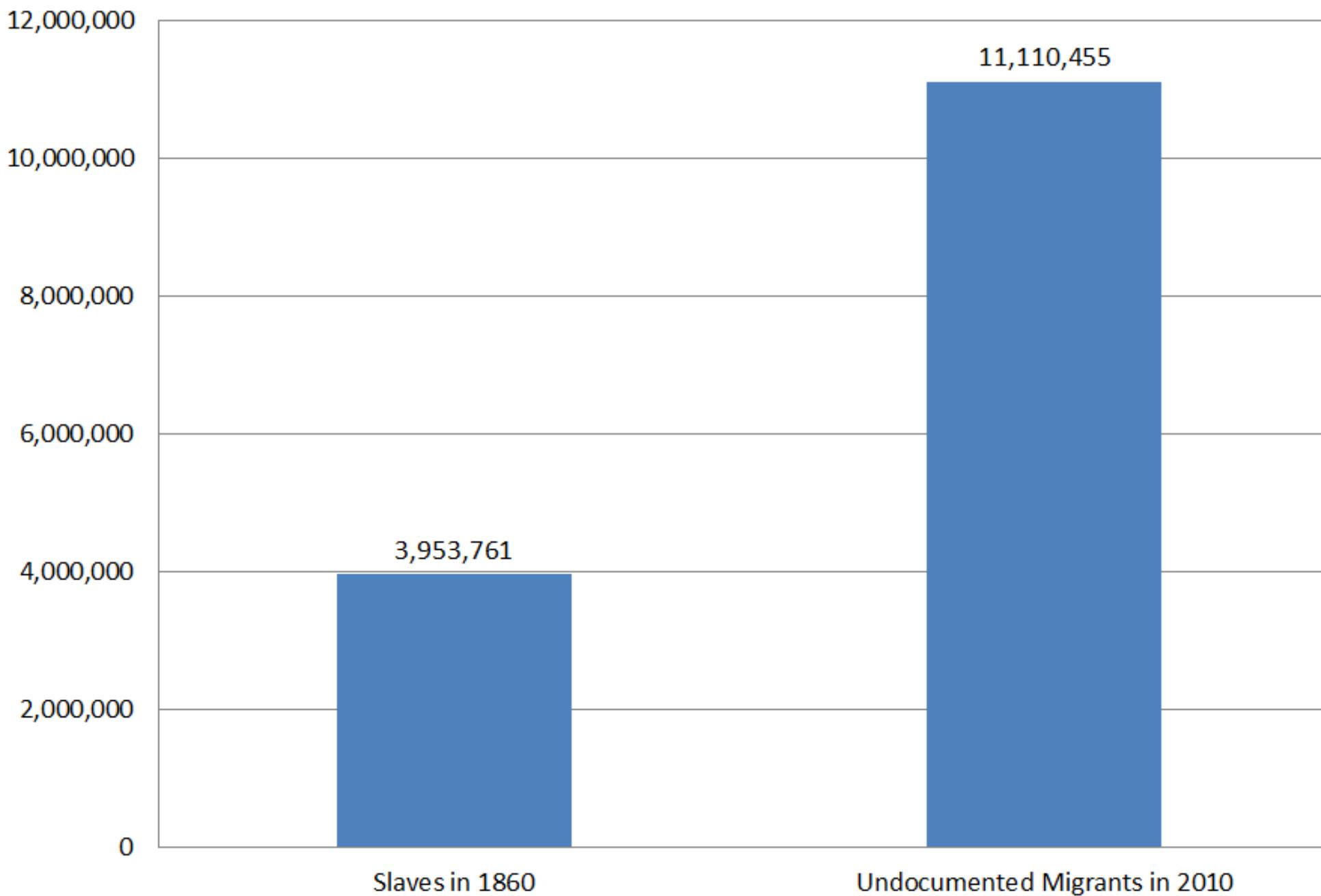
## Origins of Undocumented Migrants 2014



## Duration of U.S. Residence of Undocumented Migrants 2014



## Population of US Residents Lacking Social, Economic, and Civil Rights



# The Border as a Political Symbol

- In theory: Renato Rosaldo (1997):
  - “The U.S.-Mexico border has become theater, and border theater has become social violence. Actual violence has become inseparable from symbolic ritual on the border—crossings, invasions, lines of defense, high-tech surveillance, and more.”
- In practice: Rep. Beto O’Rourke (D) of Texas
  - “There’s a longstanding history in this country of projecting whatever fears we have onto the border. In the absence of understanding the border, they insert their fears. Before it was Iran and Al Queda. Now it’s ISIS. They just reach the conclusion that invasion is imminent, and it never is.”

## • Ronald Reagan (1985)

- “Terrorists and subversives are just two days driving time from [the border crossing at] Harlingen, Texas”
- Communist agents will “feed on the anger and frustration of recent Central and South American immigrants who will not realize their own version of the American dream”



*Red Dawn is a 1984 American war film directed by John Milius and co-written by Milius and Kevin Reynolds. It stars Patrick Swayze, C. Thomas Howell, Lea Thompson, Charlie Sheen, and Jennifer Grey. The film is set in an alternate 1980s in which the United States is invaded by the Soviet Union and its Cuban and Nicaraguan allies. The story follows a group of American high school students who resist the occupation with guerrilla warfare, calling themselves Wolverines, after their high school mascot.*

- **Samuel P. Huntington (2004)**
  - “Unlike past immigrant groups, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated into mainstream U.S. culture, forming instead their own political and linguistic enclaves—from Los Angeles to Miami—and rejecting the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream.”
  - “The United States ignores this challenge at its peril.”
- **Lou Dobbs (2006)**
  - “invasion of illegal aliens” part of a “war on the middle class.”
- **Patrick Buchanan (2006)**
  - Illegal immigration part of “Aztlan Plot” hatched by Mexicans seeking to recapture lost lands
  - If we do not get control of our borders and stop this greatest invasion in history, I see the dissolution of the U.S. and the loss of the American southwest—culturally and linguistically, if not politically—to Mexico.” (Time, August 28, 2006, p. 6)

- **Texas Congressman Louie Gohmert, R-Tyler**
  - said on C-SPAN's "Washington Journal" April 17, 2013: "We know al Qaeda has camps over with the drug cartels on the other side of the Mexican border. We know that people are now being trained to come in and act like Hispanic when they're radical Islamists. We know these things are happening and... it's just insane not to protect ourselves."

- **Texas Governor Rick Perry**

- It's a "very real possibility" that individuals with the extremist group ISIS may have crossed into the United States at the southern border.
- "Individuals from ISIS or other terrorist states could be taking advantage of the situation. I think it's a very real possibility that they may have already used [the border for entry]."

- **Rep. Jeff Duncan (R) of South Carolina**

- "Wake up, America," Mr. Duncan said before storming out of the hearing. "With a porous southern border we have no idea who's in our country."

- **Senate Candidate Warns of Ebola Crossing Mexican Border**
  - Scott Brown said Thursday that he doesn't want undocumented immigrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border because they might be carrying Ebola. "People coming in through normal channels—can you imagine what they can do through our porous borders?" the New Hampshire senate candidate said in a radio interview.
- **U.S. General Warns Ebola Could Cross U.S. Southern Border**
  - Marine Corps Gen. John F. Kelly, commander of U.S. Southern Command, said he was in Costa Rica last week and encountered an embassy employee who'd run across a handful of Liberian men preparing to be smuggled into the U.S. as illegal immigrants. "If Ebola breaks out in Haiti or in Central America, I think it is literally 'Katie bar the door' in terms of the mass migration of Central Americans into the United States," the general said.



# Recent Trends in Immigrant Integration

Mary C. Waters  
Harvard University  
February 8, 2018



The Integration  
of Immigrants  
into  
**AMERICAN  
SOCIETY**

*The National Academies of*  
SCIENCES • ENGINEERING • MEDICINE

# Integration

- Immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble each other.
  - Two-way exchange
- Measured across time and intergenerationally
- Effects on well-being

# Quick Summary

- Immigrants and their children (the second generation) represent one of every four U.S. residents.
- The US is assimilating immigrants quickly and effectively, even though they are non white, some are very poor, and we have no national integration policy. A lot of social mobility between parents and the second generation.
- On the whole, integration increases the well-being of immigrants and their descendants, e.g., in schooling, labor-market position, and residential situation. However, this is not true in every domain. Exceptions include health, crime and family form.

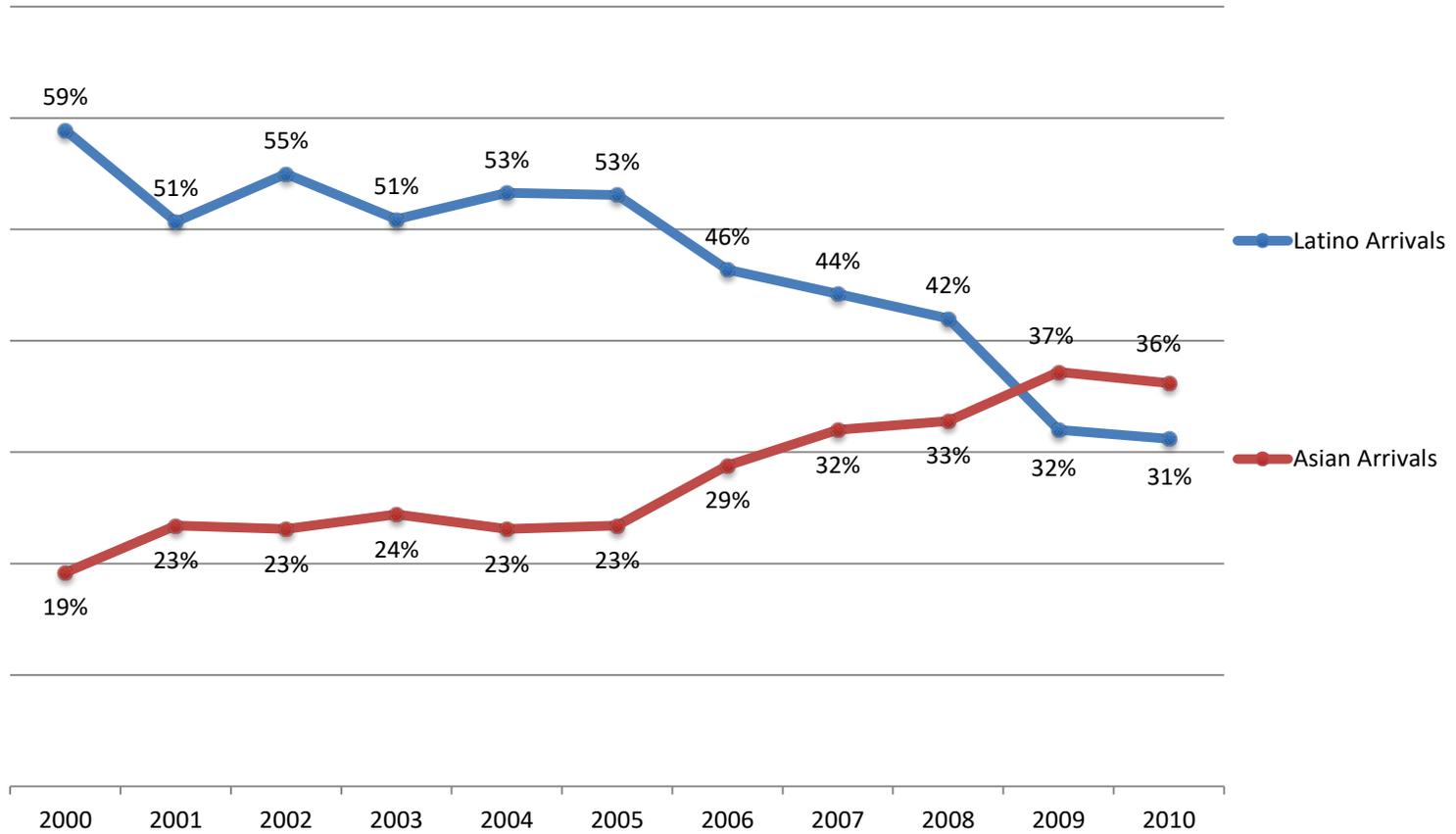
# One Large Exception

- The exception: the undocumented and the children of the undocumented.
- We actually have a non-integration policy directed towards them.

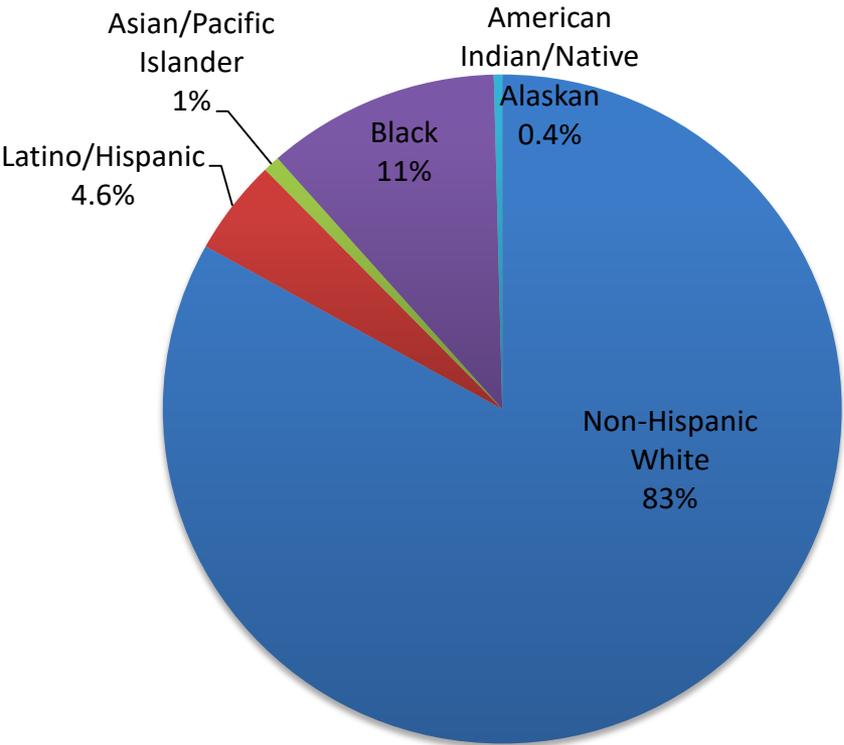
# Integration across Dimensions

- Socioeconomic
  - Education
  - Occupation
  - Income
  - Poverty
- Political
  - Naturalization
  - Civic Participation
- Sociocultural
  - Language
  - Crime
  - Religion
  - Attitudes
  - Intermarriage
- Spatial
- Familial
- Health

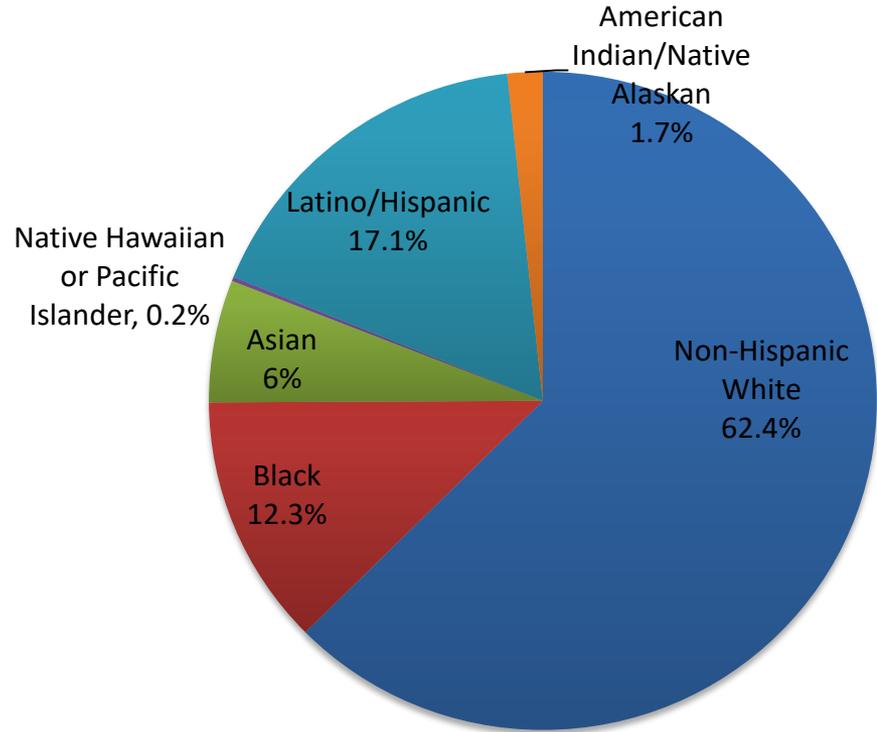
# Recent Shift in Immigrant Flows



# Effects of Immigration on Society: Demographic Change

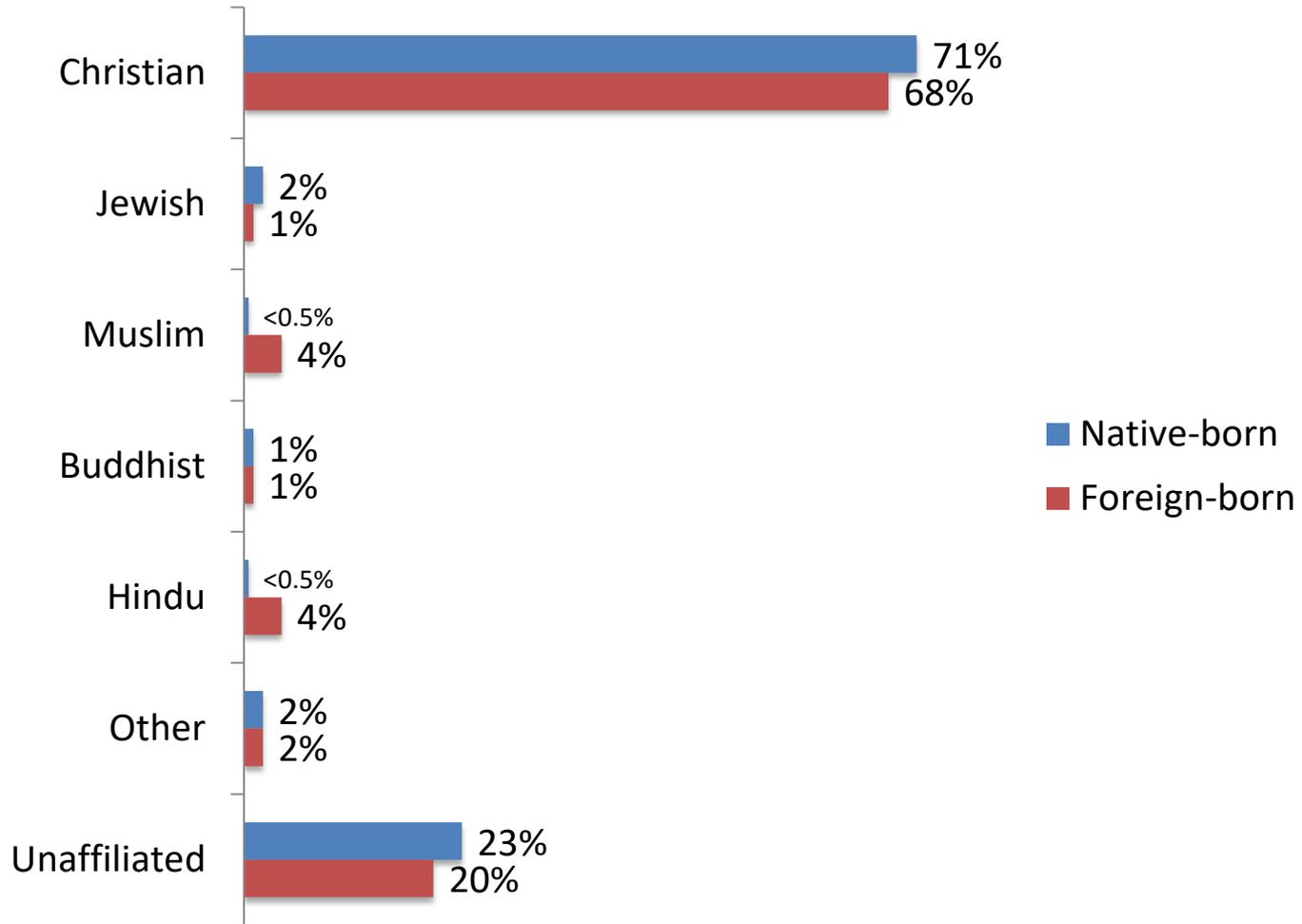


1970



2013

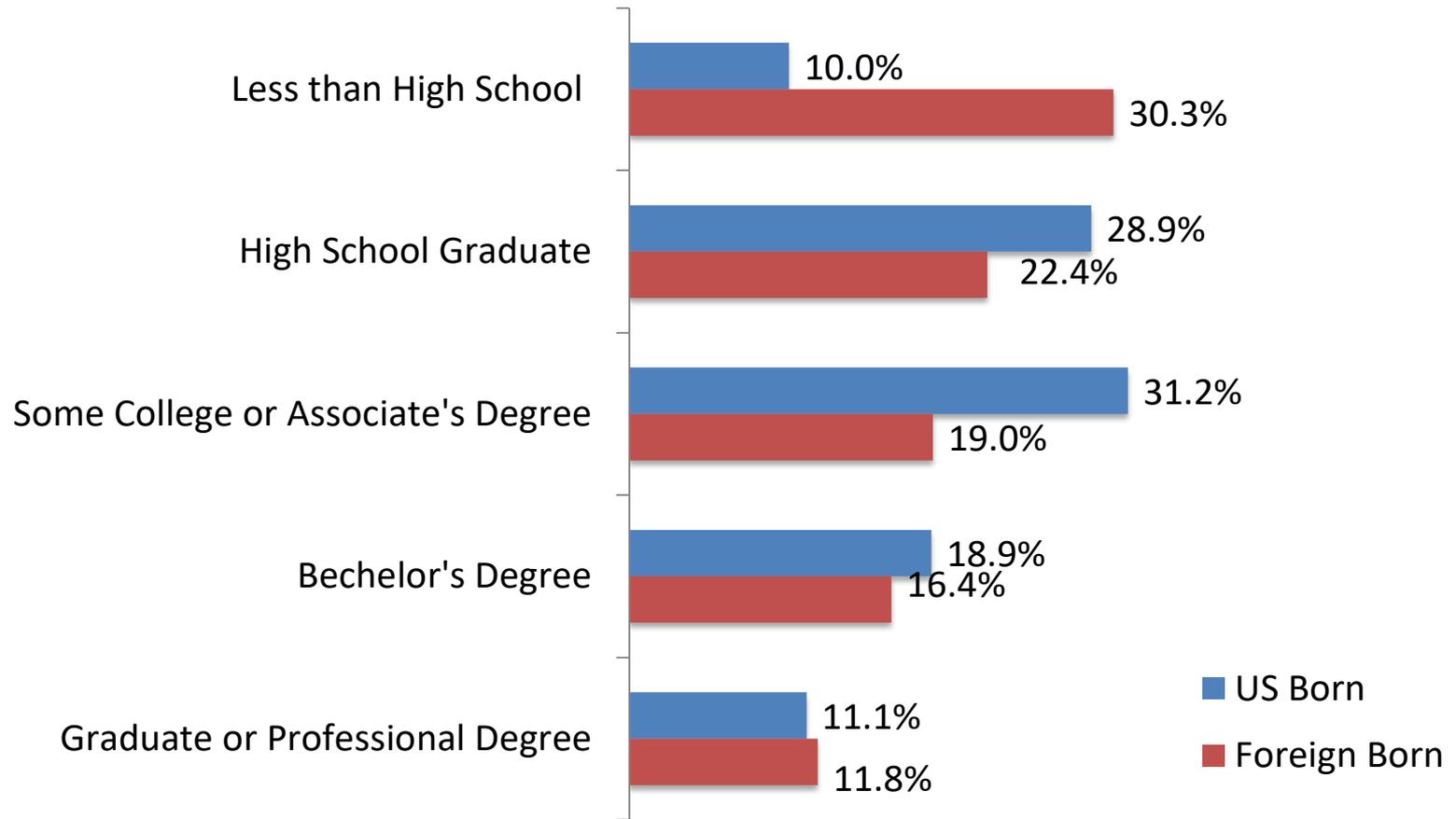
# Religion



# Intermarriage

- Native-born and immigrant marriages increasing
- 1 in 7 marriages today interracial/interethnic
- More mixed race children
- Changing racial & social boundaries

# Educational Attainment (age 25+), 2013



# Education

- Despite large differences in starting points among the first generation, there is strong intergenerational progress in educational attainment. Second generation members of most contemporary immigrant groups meet or exceed the schooling level of typical third- and higher-generation native-born Americans.
- Among Mexican American men for instance, the first generation has slightly more than 8 years of education, the second generation, 12.5 years.

# Employment

- Immigrant men have higher employment rates than native born; immigrant women lower
- Least educated immigrants much more likely to be employed than comparable native born men
- Second + generation employment rates vary by race/ethnicity and gender

# Changes in Earnings

- Positive trajectories in immigrant earnings over time
- Considerably slower growth for Hispanics
- Asians see growth over time but lag whites when education is controlled.

# Occupation

- Similar positive trajectories as employment and earnings
- The groups concentrated in low-status occupations in the first generation improve their position greatly but don't reach parity.
- Second-gen women narrowing gap faster than men
- U.S. workforce welcoming immigrants and second-gen across occupational spectrum
- 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Mexican men
  - 22% in professional or managerial positions. Move out of agricultural sector.
  - Less likely to be informal sector, more likely to have benefits

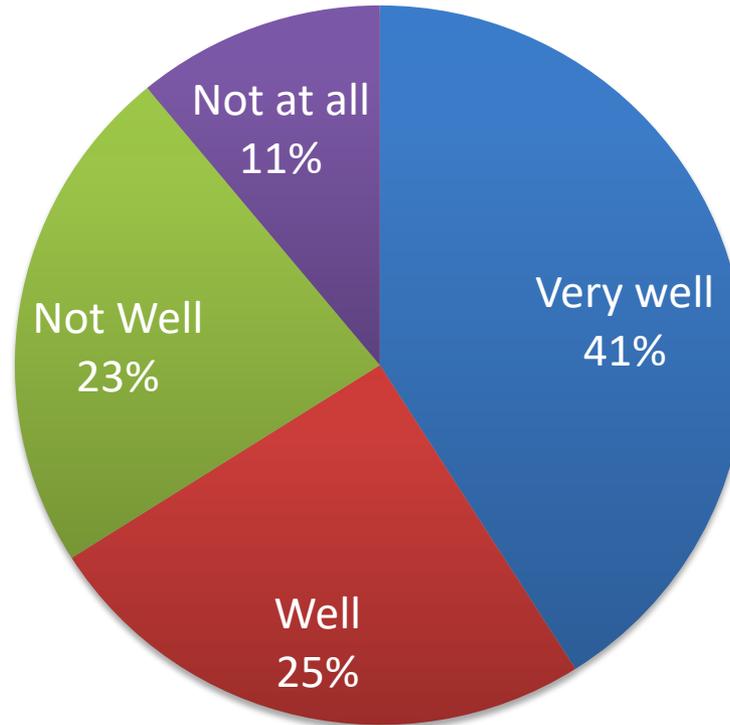
# Poverty

- Poverty rates higher for foreign-born
- Poverty generally declines over generations, 18%→13.6→11.5
- Racial & ethnic disparities are large:
  - First-gen Hispanics highest rates but progress between first & second-gens
  - Rise in black poverty between immigrants and native born
  - Asian poverty is lower than the overall U.S. rate

# Language Diversity

- 85% of first-generation immigrants speak another language (62% Spanish)
- But two thirds report speaking English “well” or “very well”

# Language



English Speaking Ability of the Foreign-born Who Speak Language Other Than English at Home, 2012

# Language Acquisition

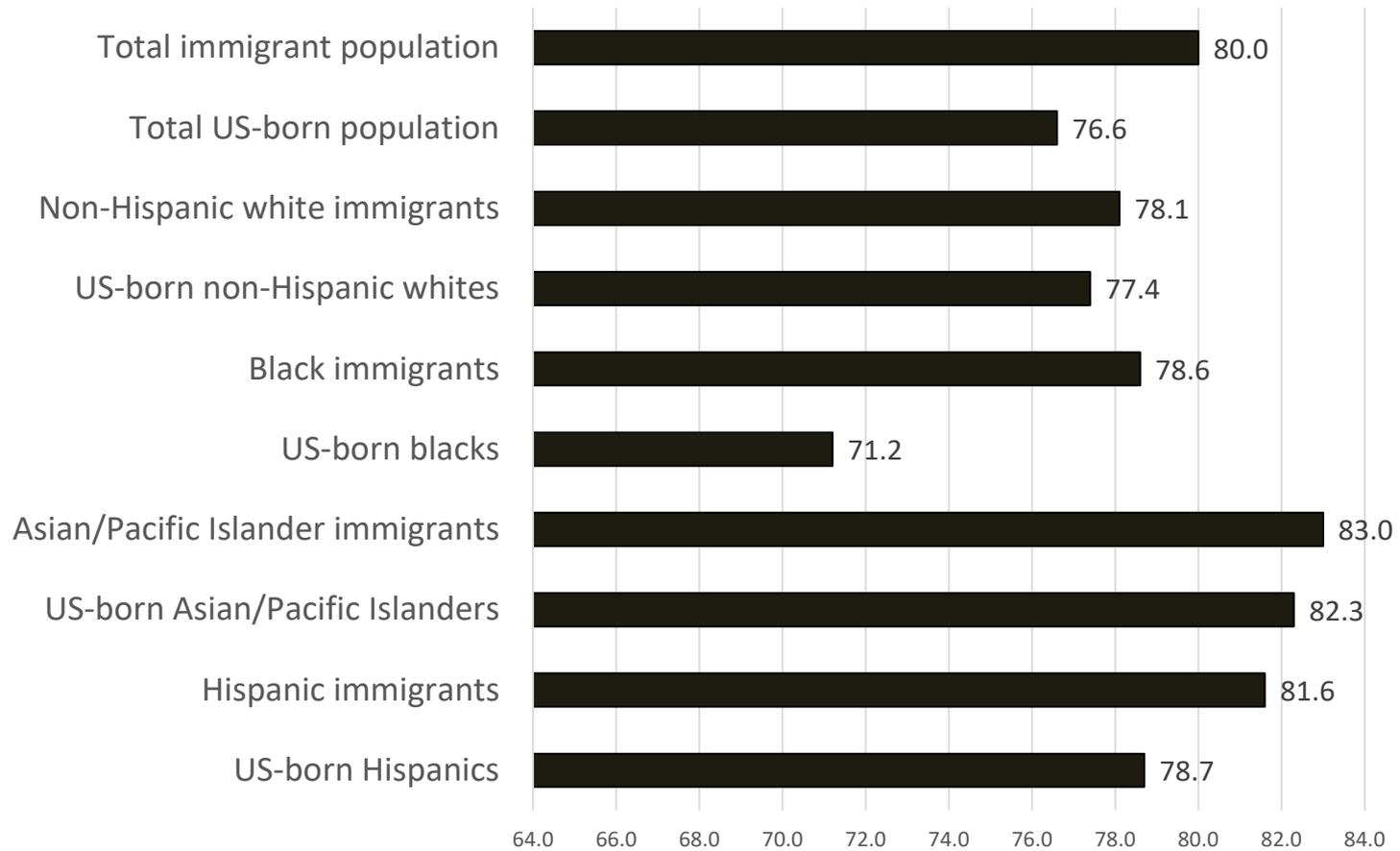
- Children of immigrants (the second generation) and later generations are acquiring English and losing their ancestors' language at roughly the same rates as past immigrant waves; the transition to speaking solely English usually occurs within three generations.
- Spanish is the one language that persists into the third generation, but the great majority of that generation is English dominant if not monolingual.

# Declines in Well-Being: Health

- **Health**

- Immigrants have better health outcomes, but less access to health care & insurance
- Immigrants are less likely to die from cardiovascular disease and all cancers combined.
- They have better health behaviors, less obesity, depression, alcohol and drug abuse.
- Over time these advantages decline and their health status converges with the native born. A decline also occurs between the first and second generations.

# Life Expectancy at Birth (Average Lifetime in Years) by Race/Ethnicity and Immigrant Status



Data from the US National Vital Statistics System, 1989-2001. (Singh et al., 2013)

# Declines in well being: crime

- ALL the evidence indicates that immigrants commit LESS crime than the native born (aside from immigration-law infractions).
  - Among men aged 18-39, they are incarcerated at a fraction of rate of the native born.
- Moreover, neighborhoods with more immigrants have lower crime rates.
- However, in the commission of crime, the second and third generations converge with native born.

# Declines in well being:Families

- Children of immigrants are much more likely to grow up with both parents than natives.
- Immigrants have lower out of wedlock births and lower divorce rates than natives.
- Over time the second generation resembles the native born and the percentage of children growing up with a single parent rises.

# Areas of Concern

- Racial and ethnic disparities
- Naturalization Rates
- Legal Status

# Racial & Ethnic Disparities

- Immigrant integration shaped by race & ethnicity
- Black immigrants & their children integrating more slowly with non-Hispanic whites despite higher human capital
- Some evidence of discrimination impeding Latino integration
  - Racial discrimination or Undocumented status?

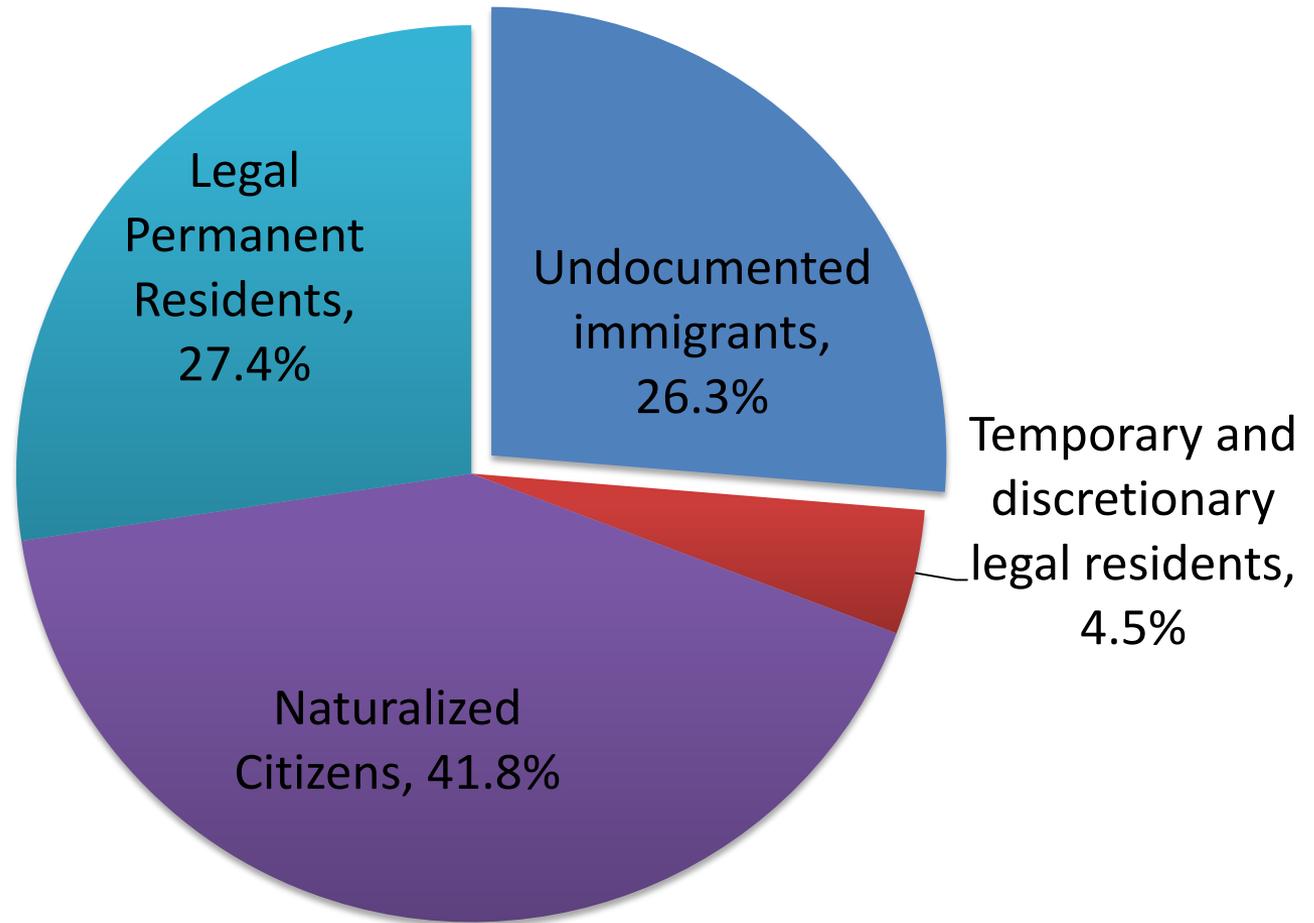
# Naturalization & Citizenship

- Citizenship rate in *US 50%* vs. *61% OECD*
- Adjusting for undocumented population, US still well below Canada, Australia, Sweden
- Most immigrants want to naturalize
- Birthright citizenship is a powerful mechanism of integration
- Major barrier to political integration

# Legal Status

- Key factor in integration trajectory
- Many statuses are transitional and temporary
- Disproportionately impacts certain immigrant groups (52% of undocumented are Mexican).
- Undocumented status slows but does not fully impede integration
- Variation from state-to-state

# Proportions in each general legal category, 2012

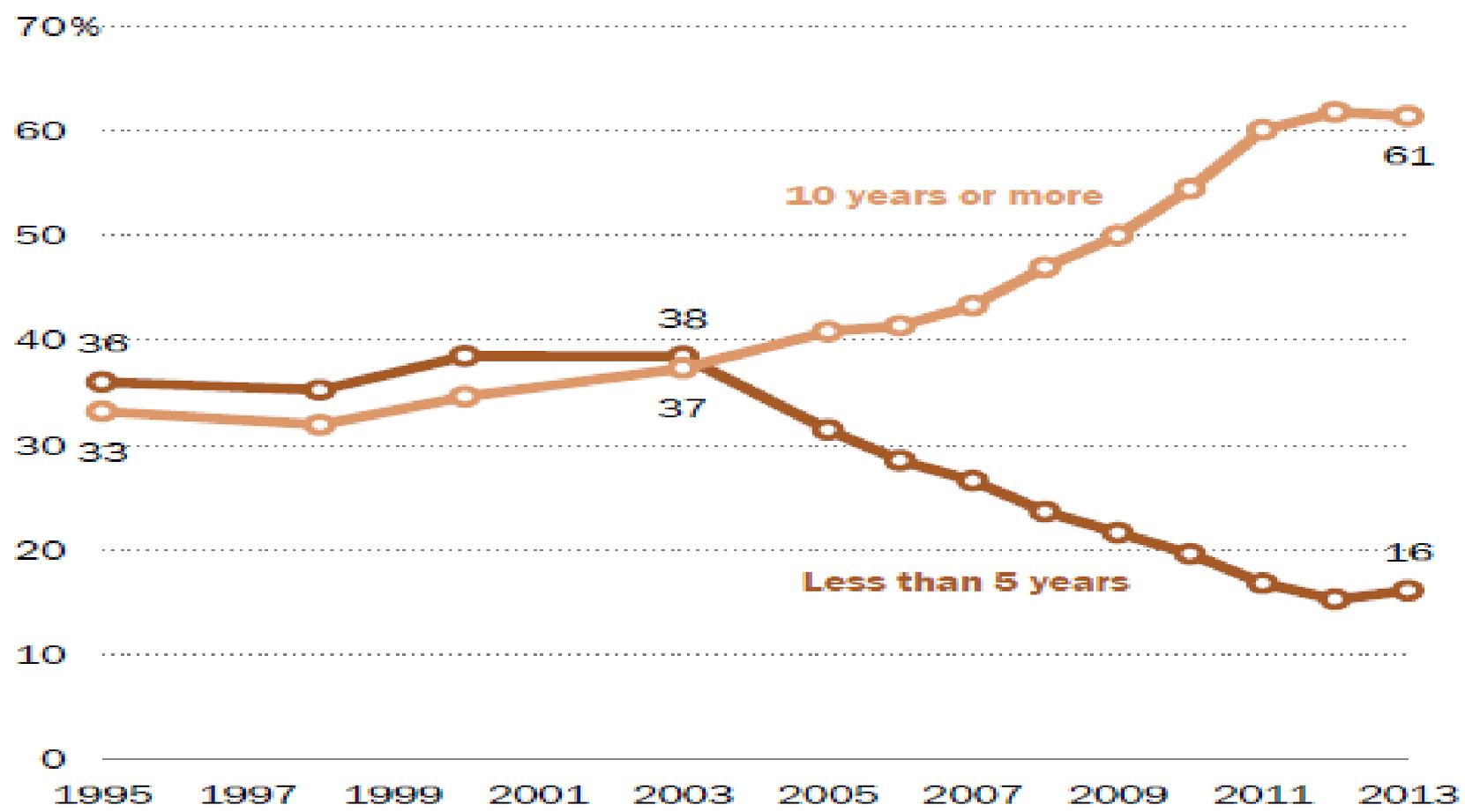


# Growth of Settled Families

- Border enforcement reduced the rate of return migration turning a circular migration process into settled migration.
- Migrants crossed at new, more dangerous points in Arizona, and then settled throughout the U.S.
- 61% of the undocumented people in the US have now lived here for a decade or more.

# Share of Long-Term Unauthorized Immigrants Surpasses Share of Short-Term Immigrants

*% of unauthorized adult immigrants, by duration of U.S. residence*



Note: 2013 estimates are preliminary. Data labels are for 1995, 2003 and 2013.

Source: Table A1, derived from Pew Research Center estimates based on residual methodology, applied to March Supplements of the Current Population Survey for 1995-2003 and 2013, and the American Community Survey for 2005-2012.

# Children of the Undocumented

- 5.2 million children have an undocumented parent; 4.5 million are citizens.
- Children with undocumented parents constitute nearly one-third of all immigrant origin children and about 8 percent of all U.S.-born children. (7% of all K-12 kids in US)

# Children of the Undocumented

- Children of the undocumented have lower levels cognitive development in early and middle childhood, greater mental health issues in adolescence.
- Adult children of undocumented achieve 1.25 years of schooling less than comparable children with parents who have gotten legal status.

# Rising Legal Penalties

- Overstaying visa: civil violation, not a criminal act (about half of population of 11.3 million)
- Entry without inspection: misdemeanor
- After 1996: Illegal re-entry after removal: felony
- Employing undocumented became illegal in the 1990's— law never vigorously enforced.

# Criminalizing Aliens

- After 1996 automatic deportation for anyone convicted of an aggravated felony.
  - Includes anyone who is a non citizen, even people with green cards.
  - Retroactive, No recourse for false convictions or plea bargains.
  - Permanently inadmissible.
- An “aggravated felony” is any one of 50 crimes, including filing a false tax return or failing to appear in court

# Immigration Enforcement

- \$187 billion for immigration enforcement since 1986.
- 2012: \$18 billion on immigration enforcement—approximately 24 percent higher than spending for all other federal enforcement **combined**: the FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration, Secret Service, U.S. Marshals Service and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives.

# Crimmigration

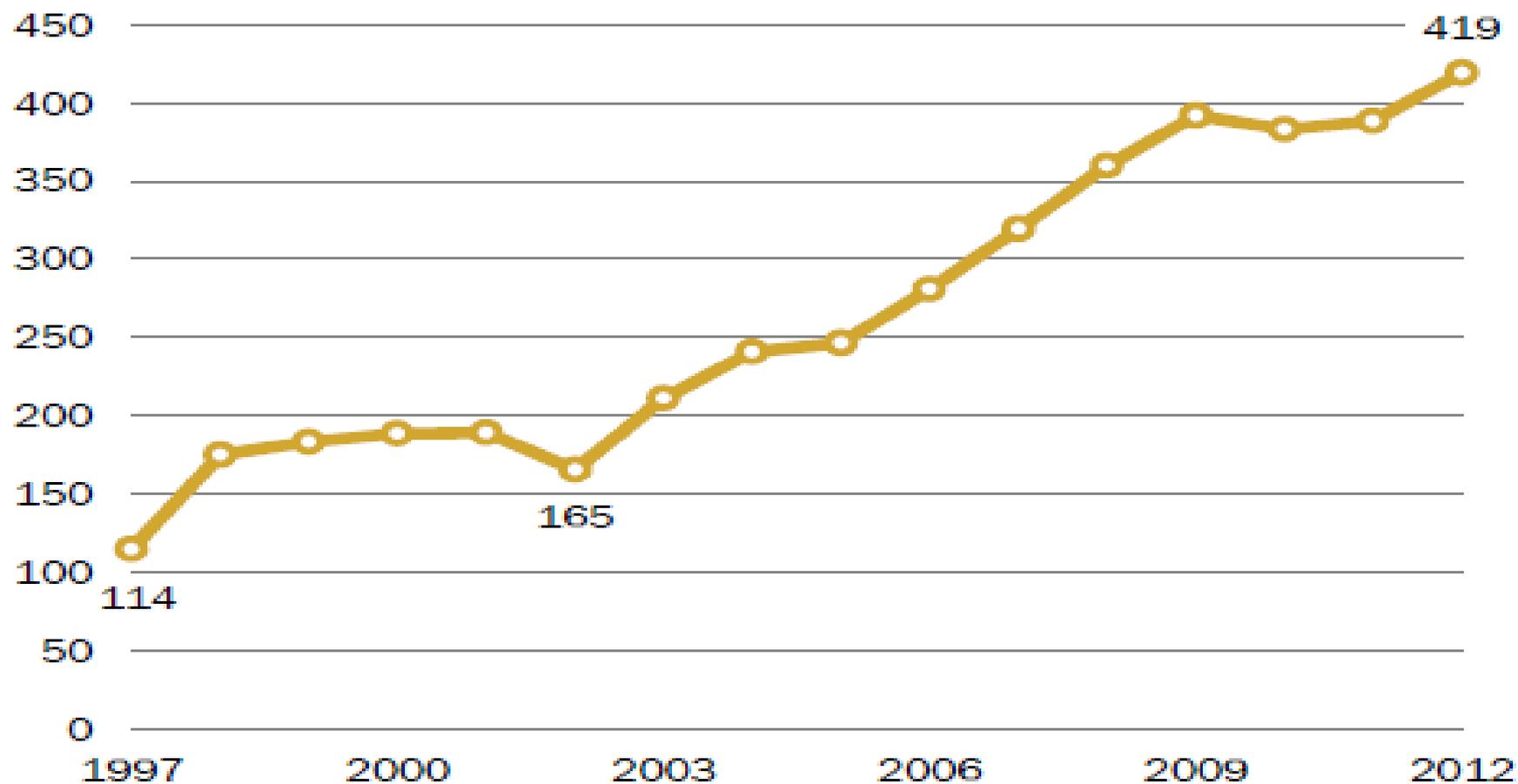
- Immigration is now over half the federal criminal workload.
- Immigration laws empower criminal prosecutions without criminal constitutional protections. (Eagly 2010)
  - Detention without bond. (ICE holds)
  - Interrogation without Miranda.
  - Arrest without probable cause of crime.
  - Sentencing without probation.
  - No right to an attorney in deportation proceedings.

# Immigrant Detention

- ICE has a mandated quota of 34,000 beds per day.
- In 2013, the US detained 441,000 people
- 67% are held in private detention facilities, the rest in local jails, state prisons and federal facilities. Federal government pays state and local prisons for the detention.
- 3 family detention centers, average age of kids is 9 years old. Apply for day care center license. Average stay 22 days, some over a year.

# Total Removals by U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 1997-2012

*In thousands*



Note: Years are fiscal years. Data labels are for 1997, 2002 and 2012.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, [Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2012](#)

# Terror of Deportation

- “It can be risky, for example, simply to live in an immigrant neighborhood in a house or apartment where a previous tenant may have had an old deportation order. Immigration agents may show up at the door with a photograph of someone who hasn’t lived there for years, roust people from bed to demand papers and take away in handcuffs anyone who cannot produce the right documents. In the aftermath of such raids, relatives, employers, even lawyers have to struggle to find out where those detained are being held.” (New York Times 2011:29)

# Long Run Consequences of these draconian policies

- Studies of stress in childhood and growing up in violent and unsafe neighborhoods shows lifelong and intergenerational negative consequences.
- We are damaging the citizen children and grandchildren of undocumented parents through this campaign of terror.
- “Waking up to a Nightmare” (Gonzales).

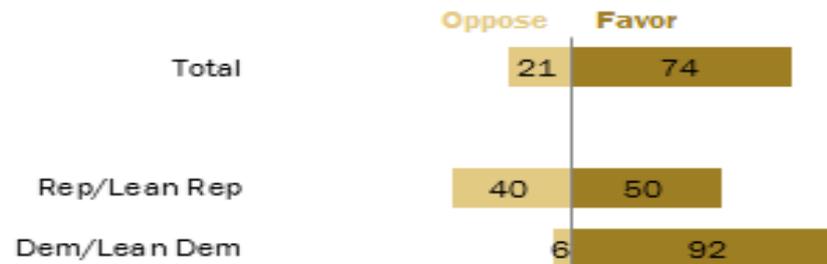
# The gloves are off

- Arrests and deportations are up.
- Immigrants are “detained” in detention centers, but also in state and local prisons.
- Obama had prioritized criminals. Trump administration arrests any undocumented person.
- 2/3 of Americans live within the border zone!!!
- ICE can set up checkpoints, stop people without warrants or probable cause.

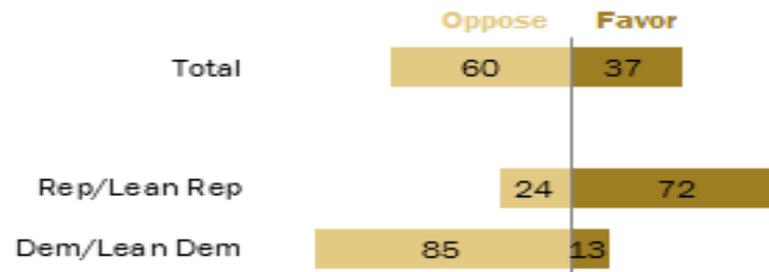
# Americans support Dreamers and oppose the wall

## Support for legal status for immigrants brought to U.S. illegally as children; opposition to expanded border wall

*% who \_\_\_ granting permanent legal status to immigrants who came to the U.S. illegally when they were children*



*% who \_\_\_ substantially expanding the wall along the U.S. border with Mexico*

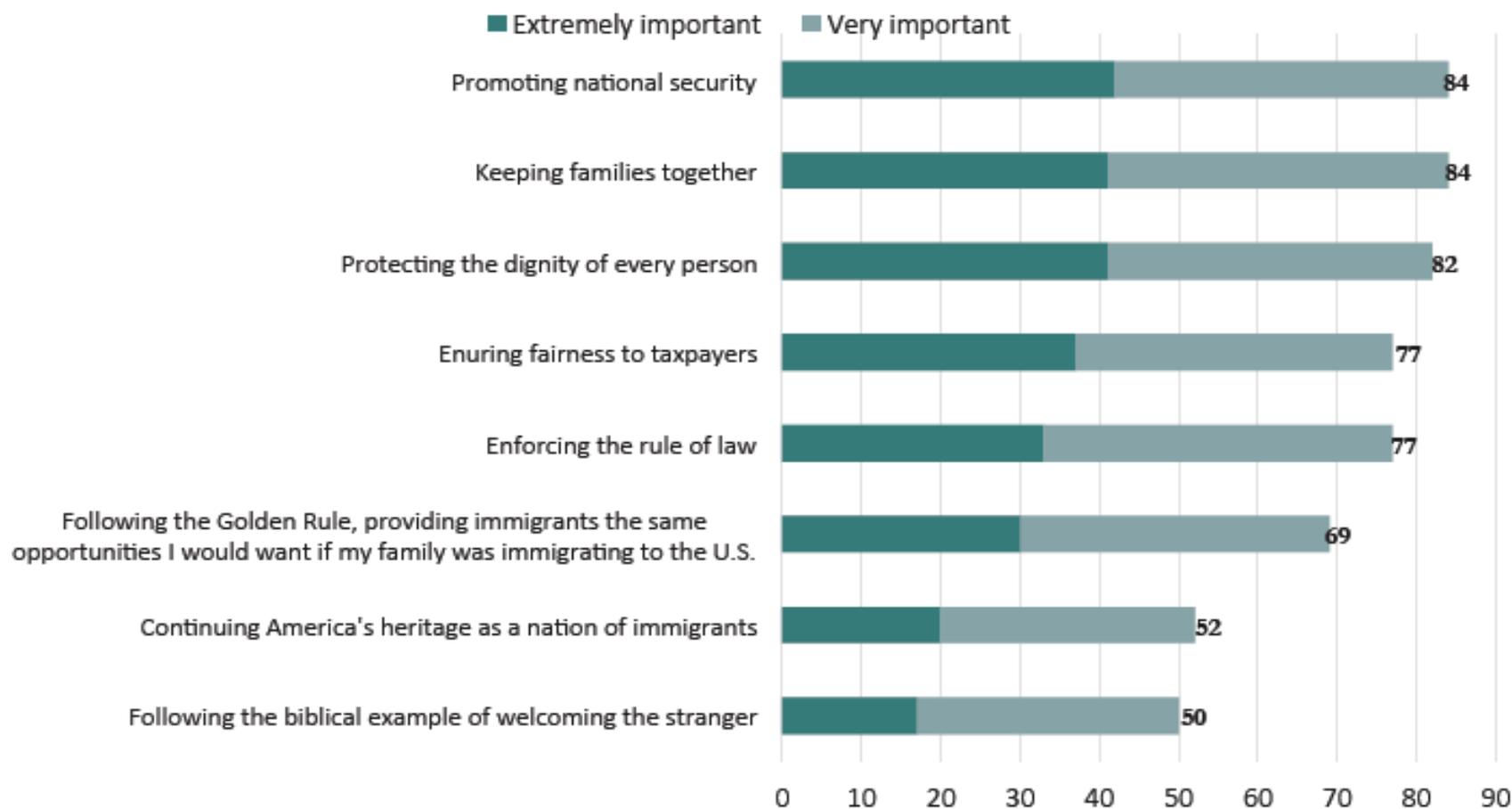


Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 10-15, 2018.

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# Values as Moral Guides to Immigration Reform



Source: PRRI/Brookings, Religion, Values, and Immigration Reform Survey, March 2013

# Restriction Bills

- H.R. 4760 would reduce the number of legal immigrants by 420,000 or 38% in 2019. Then further in subsequent years.
- S. 1720 would reduce the entry of legal immigrants by more than 470,000 or 43%
- Both would end diversity lottery and end all family reunification except spouses and children. Senate would change age of eligible children from 21 to 18.
- Both bills would cancel applications of people in line.

Type and Class of Admission		Existing Law FY 2018 <sup>a</sup>	Securing America's Future Act H.R. 4760	RAISE Act S. 1720
Family-Sponsored	Unmarried Adult Children of U.S. Citizens	22,072	eliminated	eliminated
	Spouses, Children, and Adult Children of Lawful Permanent Residents	121,267	0	0
	Married Adult Children of U.S. Citizens	27,392	eliminated	eliminated
	Siblings of U.S. Citizens	67,356	eliminated	eliminated
	Parents of U.S. Citizens	173,854	eliminated	eliminated
	Spouses of U.S. Citizens	304,358	304,358	304,358
	Children of U.S. Citizens	88,494	88,494	75,220
Employment-based preferences		137,893	195,000	140,000
Diversity		49,865	eliminated	eliminated
Refugees		45,000	45,000	45,000
Asylees		37,209	18,605	37,209
Other		33,529	33,529	33,529
TOTAL		1,108,289	684,986	635,316
<b>Number of Fewer Legal Immigrants Admitted in 2019</b>		—	<b>-423,303</b>	<b>-472,973</b>
<b>Percentage Decrease</b>		—	<b>-38%</b>	<b>-43%</b>

Source: CATO Institute

<https://www.cato.org/blog/house-gop-proposes-largest-restriction-legal-immigrants-1920s>

# Mens et Manus America

The Mens et Manus America Initiative is sponsored by the MIT School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences and the MIT Sloan School of Management. This session on “Understanding Immigration” is also brought to you in partnership with the Sloan Hispanic Business Club.



# Mens et Manus America

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<http://bit.ly/mit-mens-et-manus-america>

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