

**C**udall  
Center  
for studies in  
public policy  
The University of Arizona



---

# **(Illegal) Immigration:**

*Global and National Context  
and Prospects for Reform*

*Presented by*

*Judith Gans*

*Immigration Policy Project Director*

# Topics

---

- Global and national context
  
  - Illegal Immigration
    - Economic impacts
    - Fiscal Costs and contributions
    - National security
  
  - Policy debates and prospects for reform
-

# Immigration: A World-Wide Phenomenon

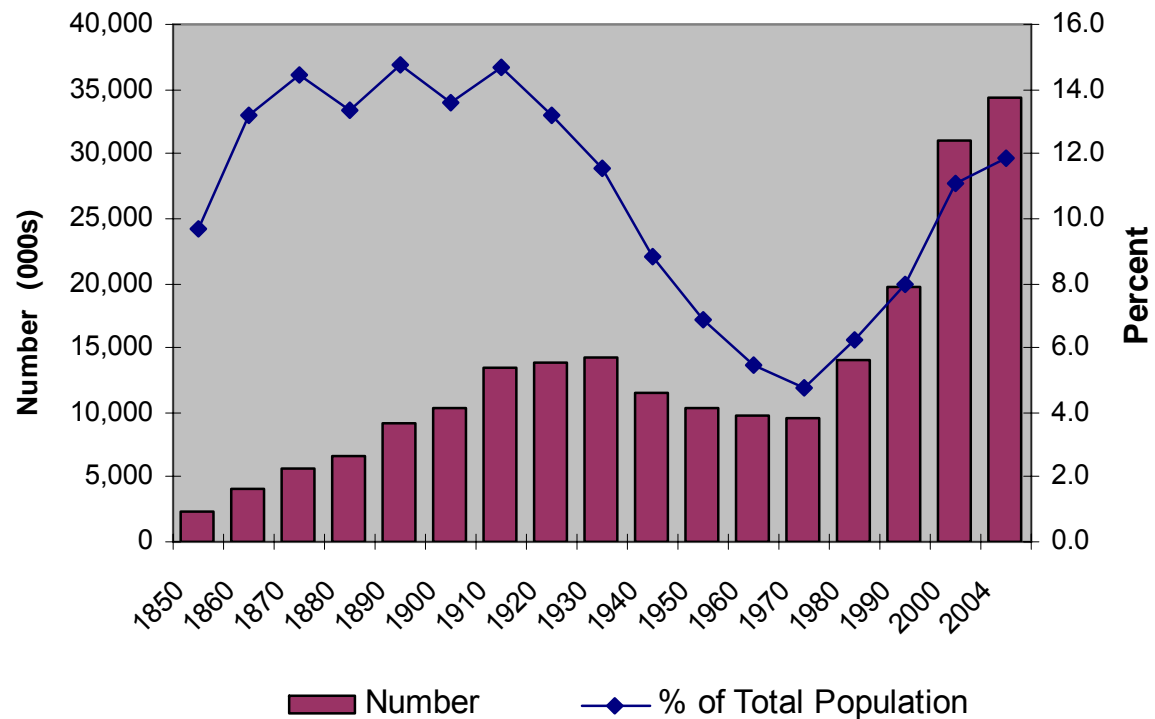
---

- Cause *and* consequence of global economic integration
- UN estimates 190 to 200 million immigrants ...  
≈ **3.3% of the world's population**
- Global remittances estimated at **\$150 billion** per year

Source: Papademetriou, Demetrios G., *"The Global Struggle with Illegal Immigration: No End in Sight"*, Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, September 1, 2005.

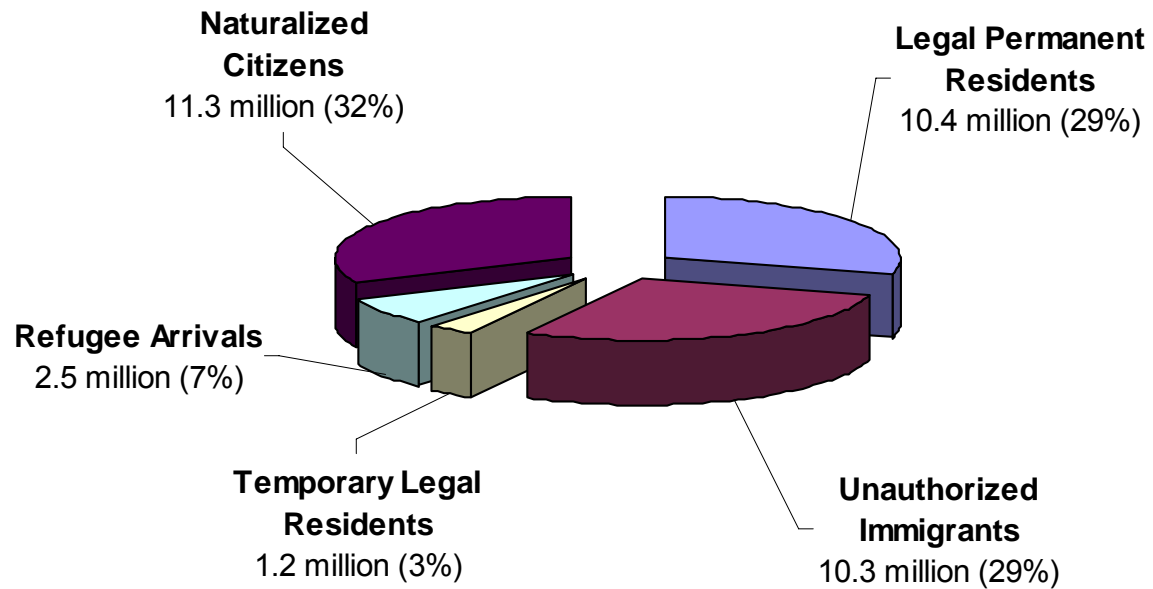
---

# Foreign-Born Population



# Categories of Foreign Born (2004)

---



\* Estimates based on 2004 Current Population Survey. Published in Passel, Jeffrey, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics", Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, DC, June 2005. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org)

---

# U.S. Laws Limit Economic Migration

---

- Architecture of family reunification
  - Economic migration laws seek to:
    - Minimize competition with U.S. workers
    - Provide for scarce labor
-

# Demographic Realities

---

- ❑ Native-born population growing slowly and ageing
  - ❑ 20% of U.S. births occur to foreign-born mothers
  - ❑ Directly and indirectly, immigration accounts for  $\approx$  60% of U.S. population growth
  - ❑ Between 1990-2004, immigrants accounted for **over 50% of growth** in the civilian labor force
-

# Demographic Realities

---

Example:

Between 1996 and 2000 (Economic boom)

- U.S. economy generated 14.3 million new jobs
- U.S. population increased by 12.3 million people  
*including immigration*

Strong 'pull' factor

---



---

# Political Challenge

*'Immigration'*  
increasingly equated with  
*'Illegal Immigration'*

---

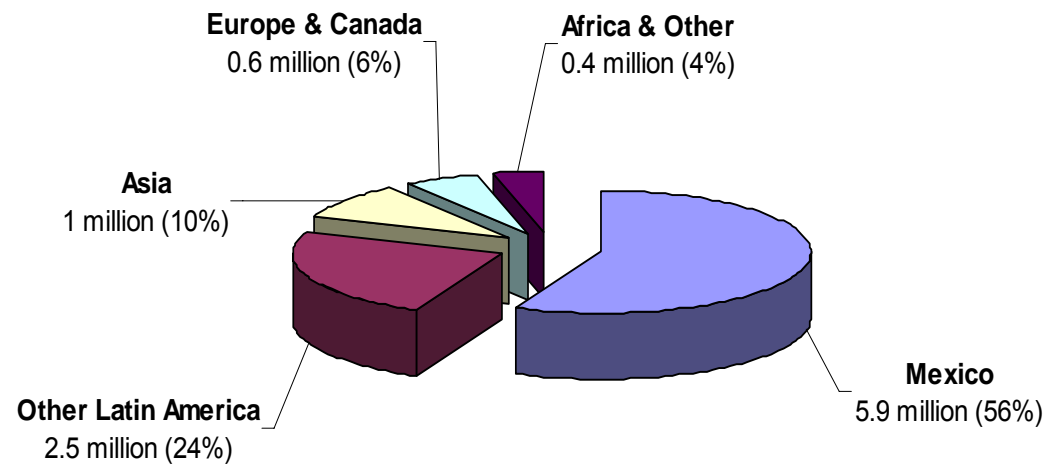
# Causes of Illegal Immigration...

---

1. Global economic integration
  2. Inadequate provision for *legal* economic immigration
  3. Failure to sanction employers for hiring unauthorized immigrants due to:
    - i. No reliable means for verifying employment eligibility
    - ii. Limited funding of interior enforcement;
    - iii. Limited political will due to U.S. labor needs
-

# Most Unauthorized Immigrants From Latin America

(Share of estimated 10.3 unauthorized immigrants)



\* Estimates based on 2004 Current Population Survey. Published in Passel, Jeffrey, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics", Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, DC, June 2005. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org)

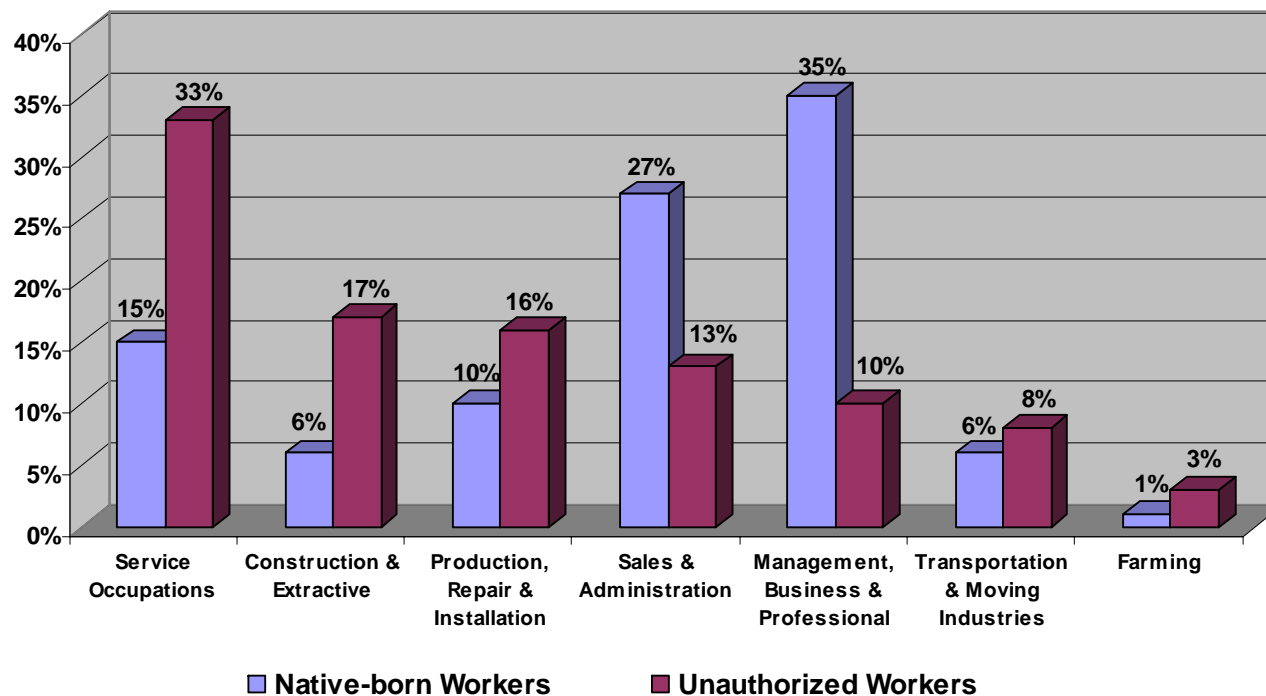
---

# **Illegal Immigration Matters...**

- To immigrants themselves
  - To the United States
-

# Immigration Status Matters to Employment

---

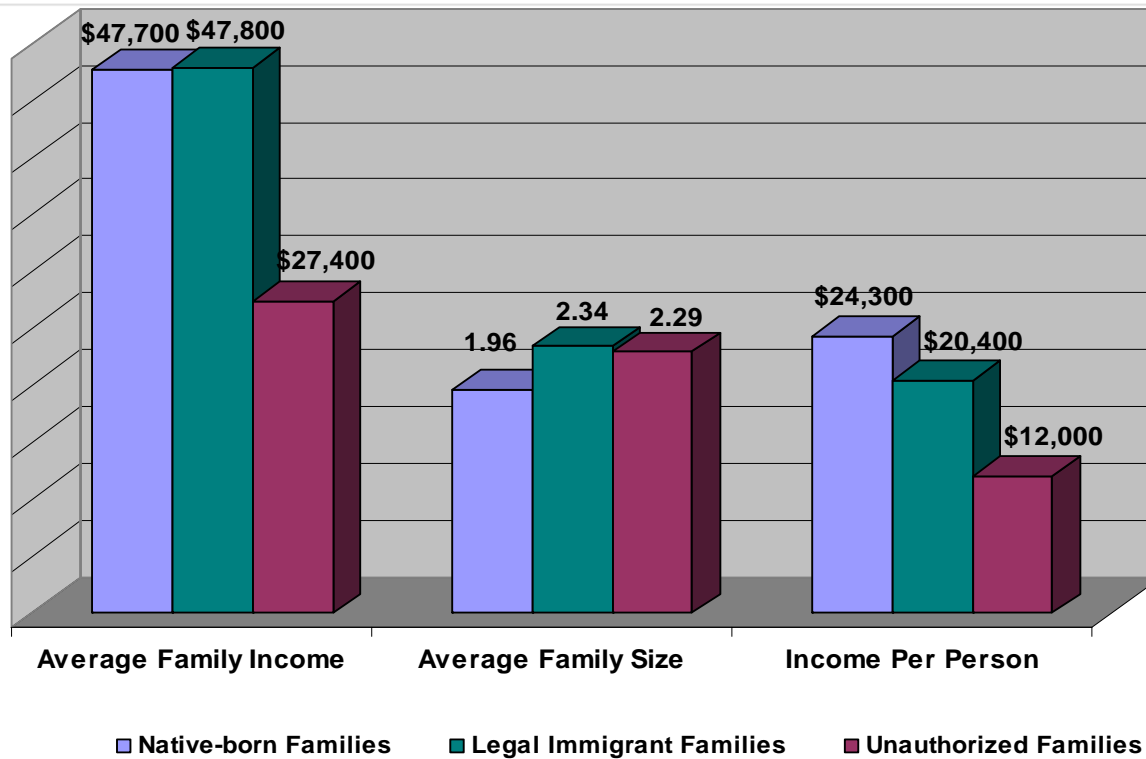


Estimates based on 2004 Current Population Survey. Published in Passel, Jeffrey, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics", Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, DC, June 2005. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org)

---

# Immigration Status Matters to Income

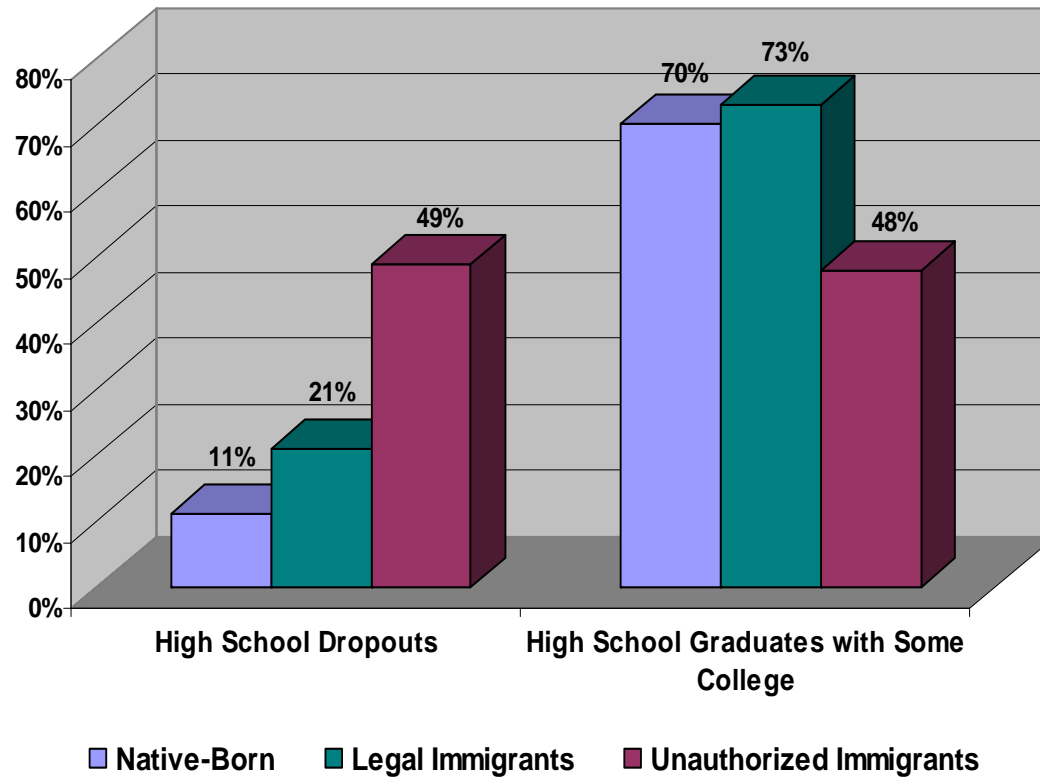
(Incomes, 2003 Family Size 2004)



Estimates based on 2004 Current Population Survey. Published in Passel, Jeffrey, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics", Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, DC, June 2005. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org)

# Immigration Status Matters to Educational Attainment of Children

(Share of each group's 18-24 year old population, 2004)



Estimates based on 2004 Current Population Survey. Published in Passel, Jeffrey, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics", Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, DC, June 2005. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org)

# Immigration Status Matters to Net Fiscal Impacts

---

- Illegal immigrants tend to be low-skilled
  - Low-skilled immigrants:
    - Earn relatively low wages
    - Contribute relatively little in taxes
  - Net fiscal impacts depend *both* on:
    - Size and mix of immigrant population
    - Generosity of state public services
  - *Illegal status compounds impacts*
-



# Immigration Status Matters to National Security

---

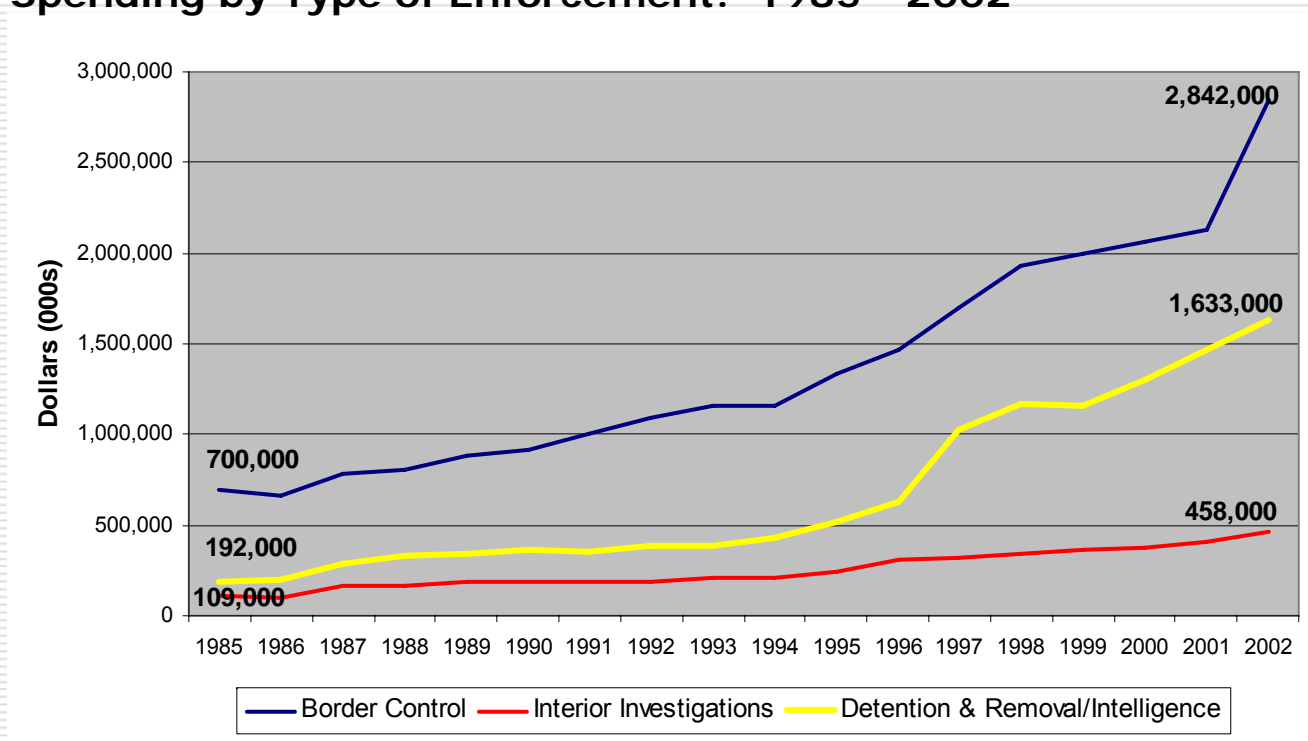
- Failure to control borders:
  - Undermines sovereignty & rule of law
  - Creates national security risks
  - Undermines formulation of coherent policy
  - Makes the border a dangerous place

**“It is difficult to open the front door without closing the back door.”**

---

# Enforcement Has Focused on the Border

Spending by Type of Enforcement: 1985 - 2002



Source: Migration Policy Institute analysis of data from US Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Budget Requests to Congress, 1985-2002*; and *Budget of the United States Government, Appendix, 1985-2003*.

# Enforcement Challenge

---

- Ambivalence about enforcement
    - Focus at border while interior enforcement is minimal
    - No reliable system for verifying immigration
  
  - Ambivalence about controlling immigration
    - control modulated through
      - Limits to **visible** categories
      - Adjustments to numbers of temporary visas
      - Adjustments to enforcement intensity
-

# Politics of Reform

---

- System understood to be broken
  
  - Political stalemate:
    - “Enforcement before reform” vs. “Reform in order to enforce”
  
  - What to do with 11 million unauthorized immigrants?
    - “Earned regularization” vs. “Amnesty”
-

# Temporary Worker Program

---

- ❑ One mechanism for economic immigration
  - ❑ Debates over existing unauthorized population
  - ❑ Limited provision for *permanent* economic immigration
-

# 'Importing' Temporary Labor is Complicated

---

- Workers vs. citizens
  - Facilitates:
    - Limiting rights
    - Social divisions
    - Inherent power imbalance
-

# Politics of Immigration Debates

		<i>Immigrant Admission Should Be</i>	
<i>Immigrant Rights Should Be</i>		<i>Expanded or Maintained</i>	<i>Restricted</i>
<i>Expansive</i>	<b>Cosmopolitans</b> Edward Kennedy (D-MA)	<b>Nationalist Egalitarians</b> Diane Feinstein (D-CA)	
<i>Restrictive</i>	<b>Free-Market Expansionists</b> Jeff Flake (R-AZ)	<b>Classic Exclusionists</b> Tom Tancredo (R-CO)	

\*From Tichenor, Daniel, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton University, 2002.

## Major Themes and Conclusions

---

- ❑ Today's immigration reflects a global economy
  - ❑ Economic and fiscal impacts are complex
  - ❑ Current laws reflects complex political cross-currents and interests
  - ❑ Reform will be difficult and political voice is uneven
-