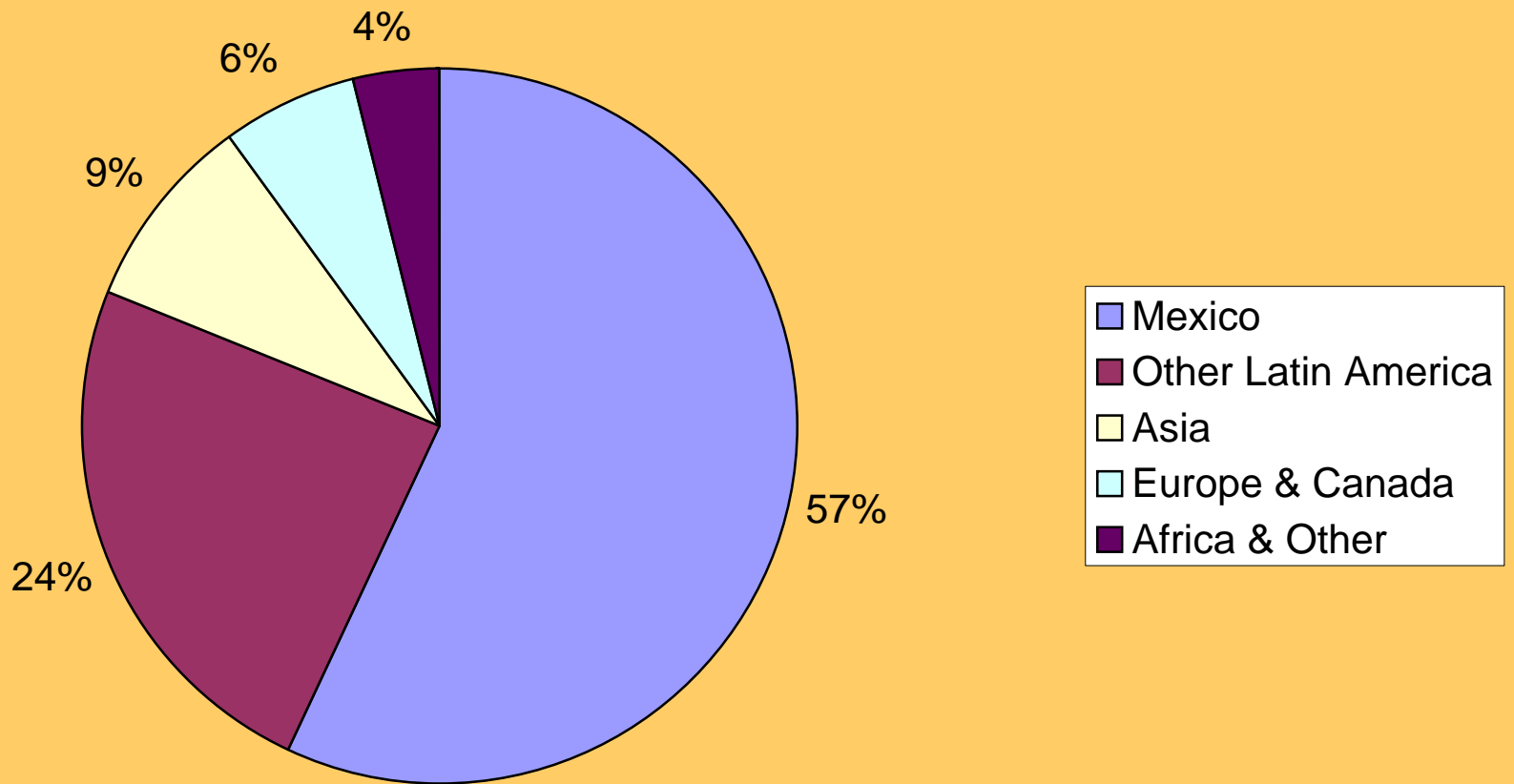


# Understanding America's 'Immigration Crisis'

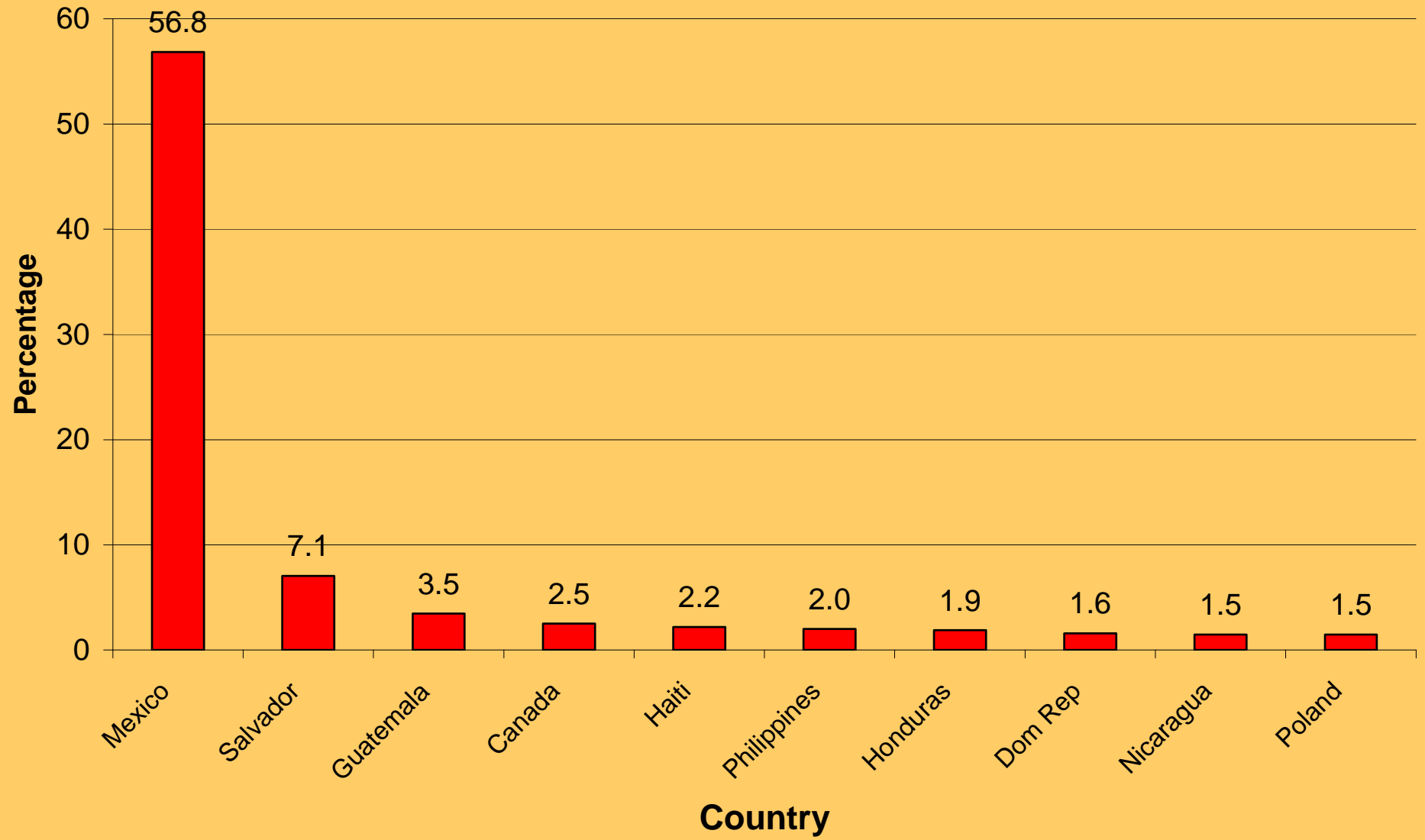
Douglas S. Massey

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs  
Princeton University

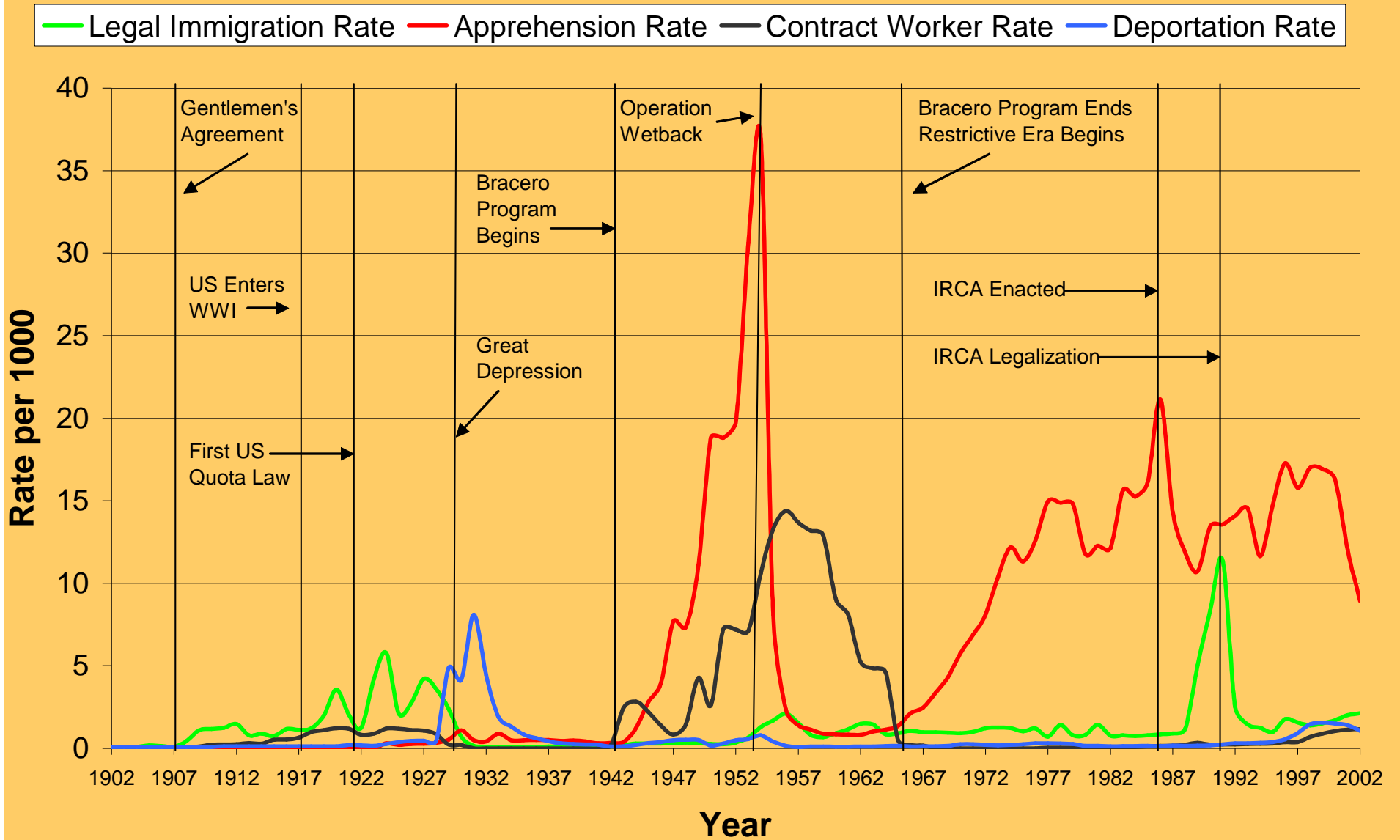
## Regional Origins of Undocumented Migrants



## Percentage of Undocumented Migrants

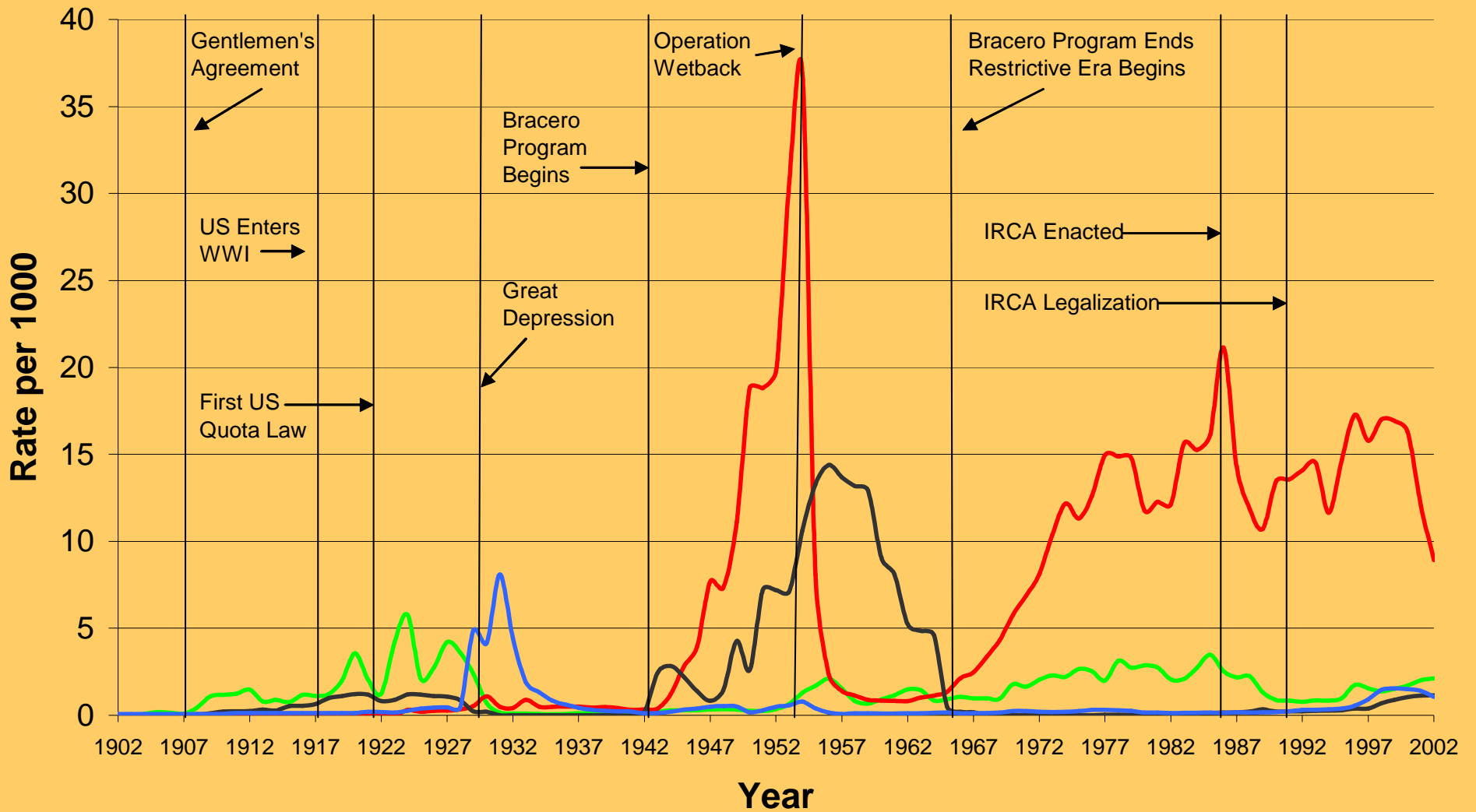


## Rate of Mexican migration to the US in different categories



## Rate of Mexican migration to the US in different categories

— Legal Immigration Rate 
 — Apprehension Rate 
 — Contract Worker Rate 
 — Deportation Rate



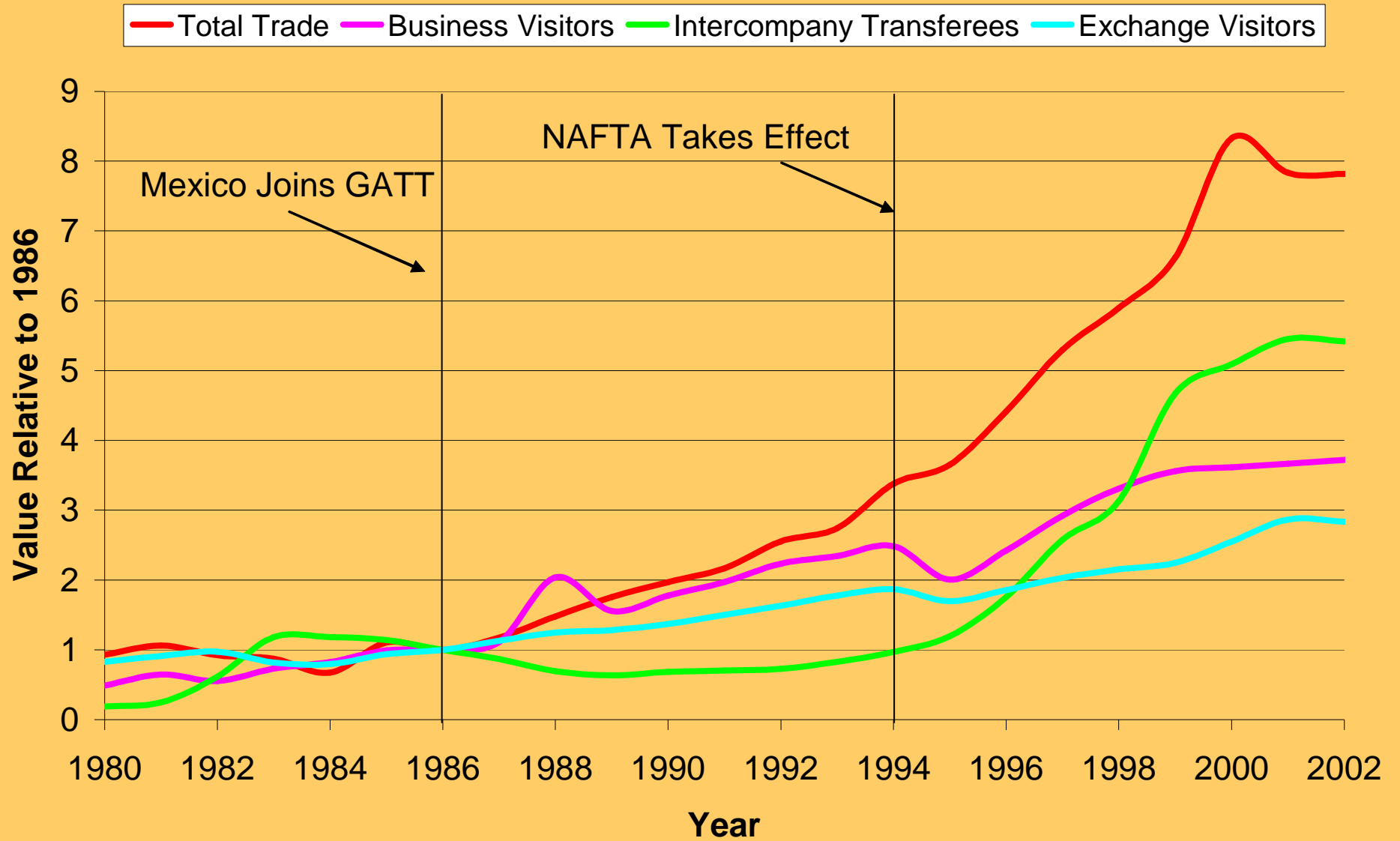
# Six Eras of Mexican Migration

- Recruitment 1907-1919
- Floodtide 1920-1929
- Deportations 1930-1941
- Bracero 1942-1964
- Undocumented 1965-1985
- Contradiction 1986-2007

# Two Critical Dates in New Era

- 1986
  - Under pressure from U.S. Mexico Joins GATT
    - Opens Economy to Global Trade and Investment
  - U.S. Congress Passes IRCA
    - Grants Legal Status to 2.3 Million Mexicans
    - Criminalizes Undocumented Hiring
    - Begins Militarization of Border
- 1994
  - Mexico and US Join Together in NAFTA
    - Lowers barriers to cross-border movements of goods, capital, resources, information, services, and certain classes of people
  - US Launches Operation Gatekeeper in San Diego
    - All-out Effort to Stop the Inflow of Mexican labor
    - Erects Steel Wall from Pacific Ocean to Sierra Madre Mountains

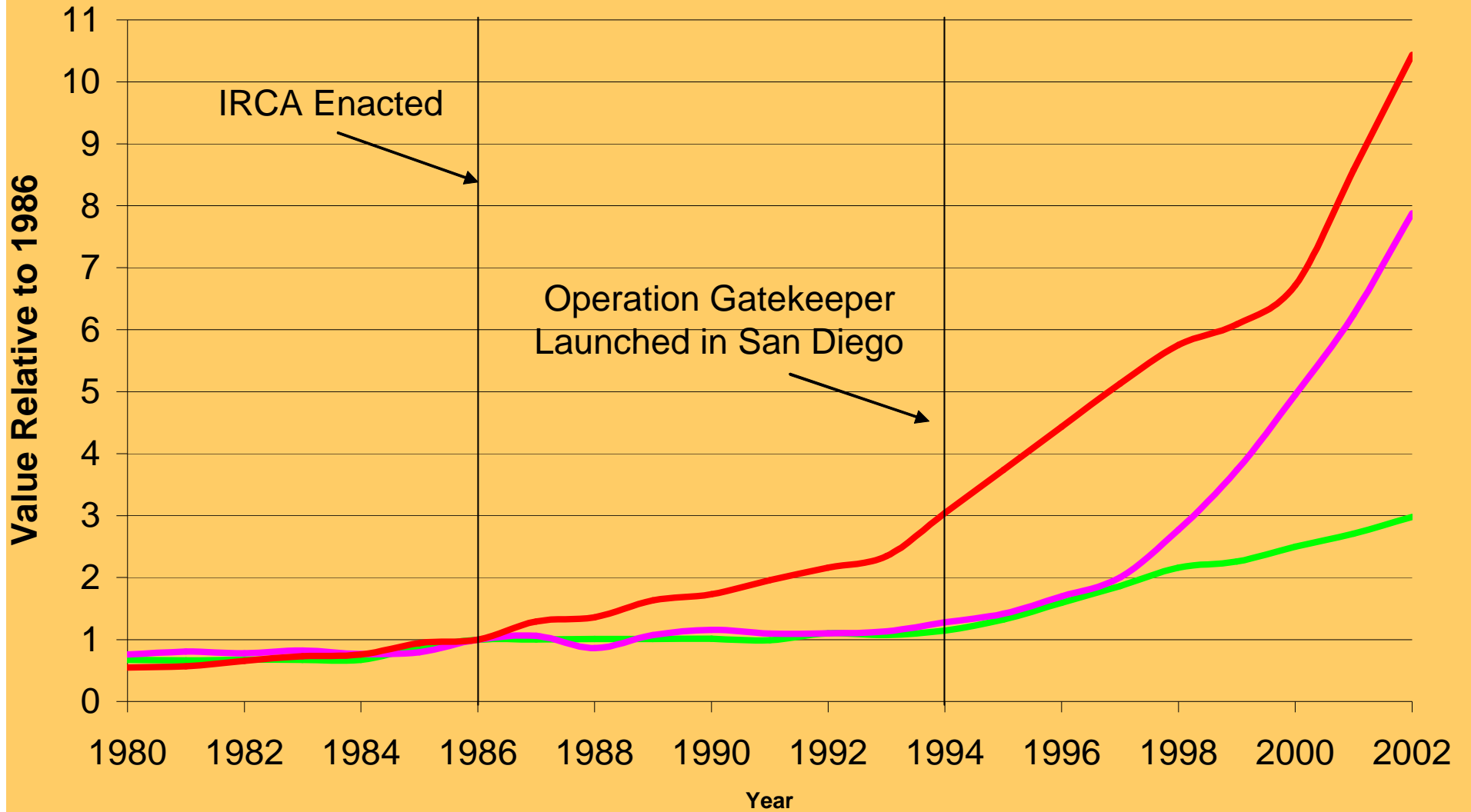
## Indicators of Cross-Border Economic Integration





## Indicators of Border Enforcement 1980-2002

Border Patrol Officers    Linewatch Hours    Border Patrol Budget



# Costs of Contradiction

- Transforms Mexican Immigration from a Regional to a National Phenomenon
- Raises Death Rate Among Border Crossers
- Lowers the Probability of Border Apprehension
- Reduces Rate of Return Migration
- Increases the Rate of Settlement
- Increase Net Rate of Undocumented Migration
- Shifts Composition from Workers to Families
- Puts Downward Pressure on US Wages and Undermines Working Conditions for US Workers



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and

**Douglas S. Massey**

Princeton University

<http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/>



# Current MMP Sample

93 Binational Communities

Surveyed 1982-2002

15,992 Households

837 in U.S.

Sample Yields Basic Data on:

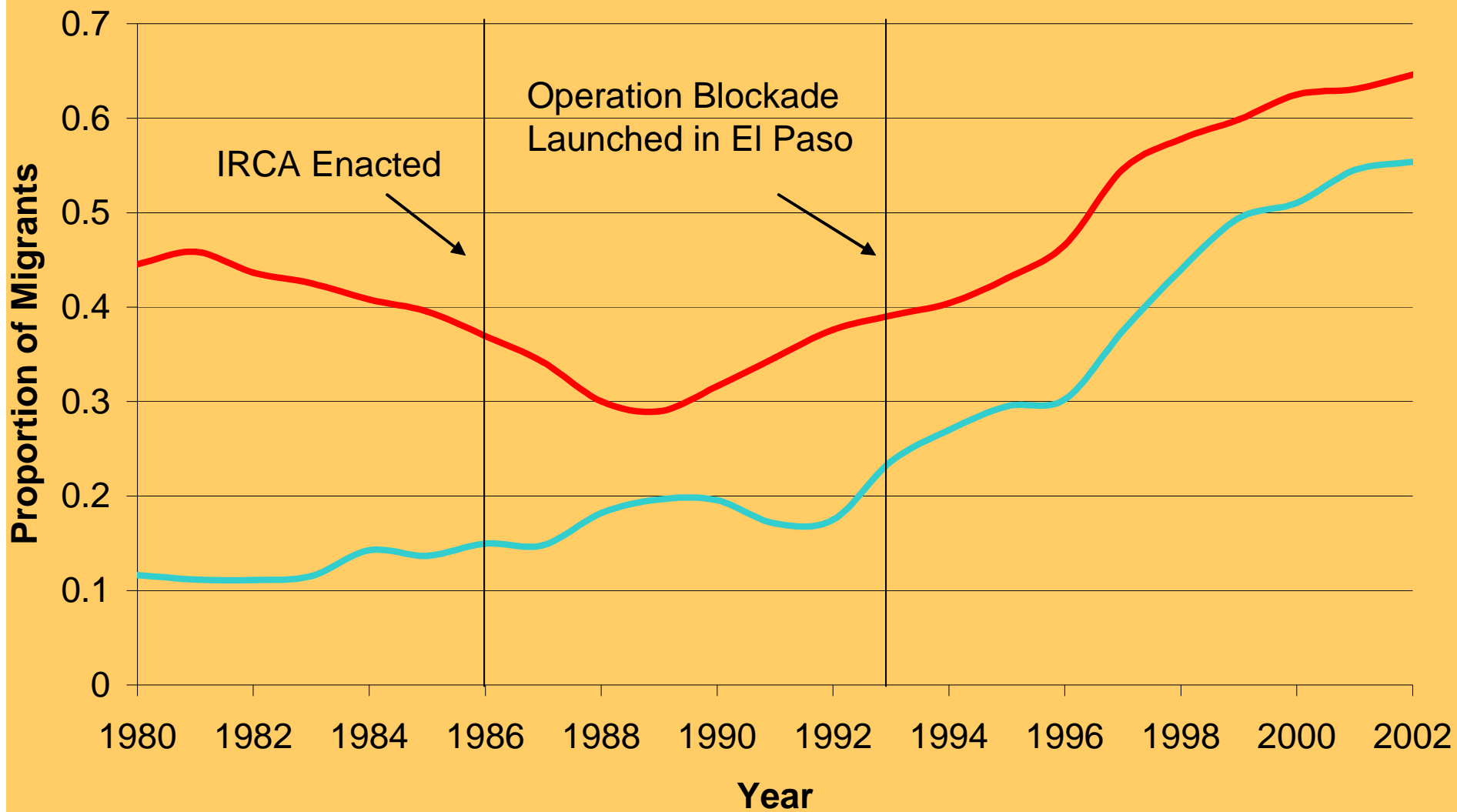
19,850 U.S. Migrants

12,089 Undocumented Migrants

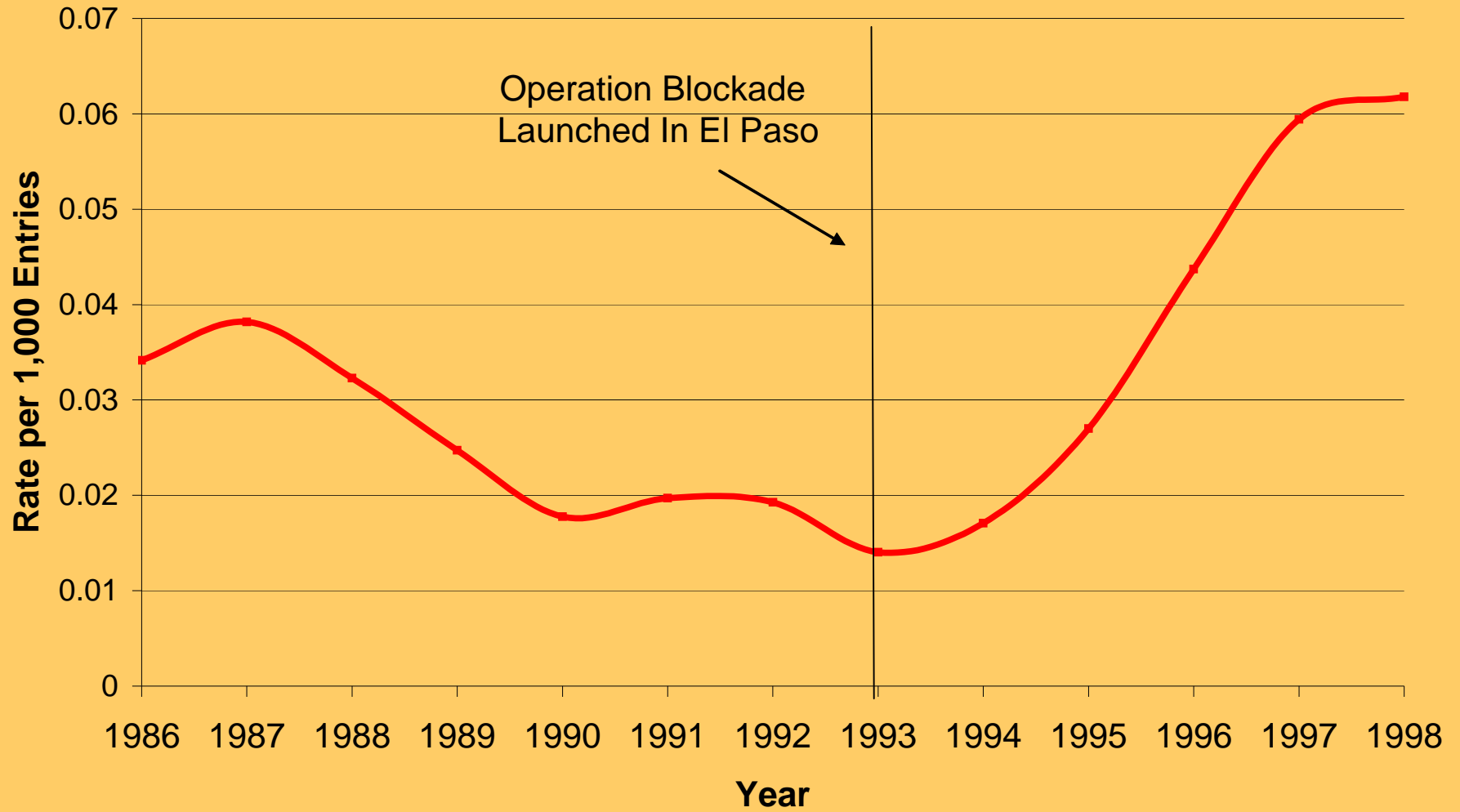
6,209 Complete Life Histories

# Proportion Going to New Crossing Points and Destinations

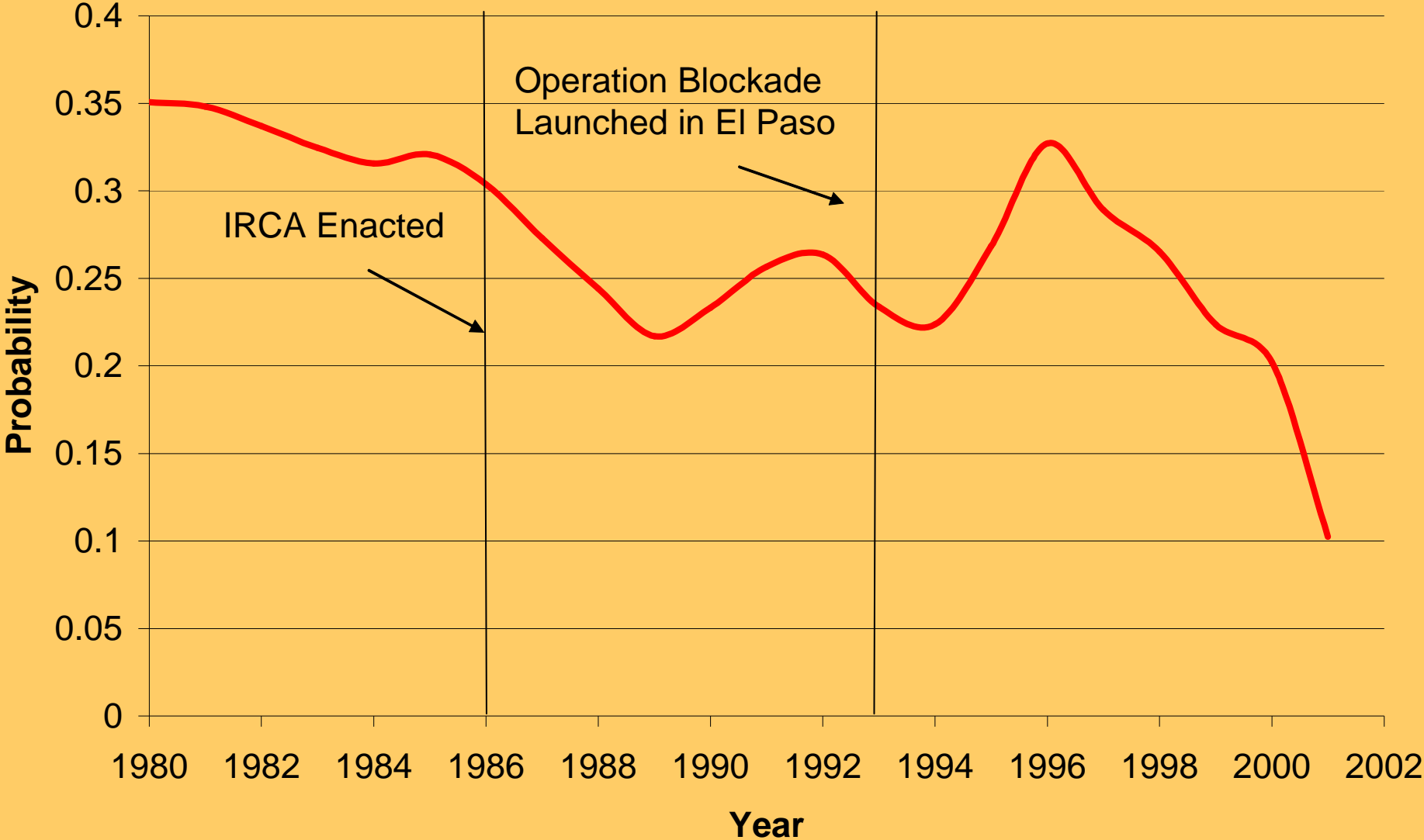
— New Destination — New Crossing



### Death rate from suffocation, drowning, heat exhaustion, exposure, and unknown causes along border 1986-98

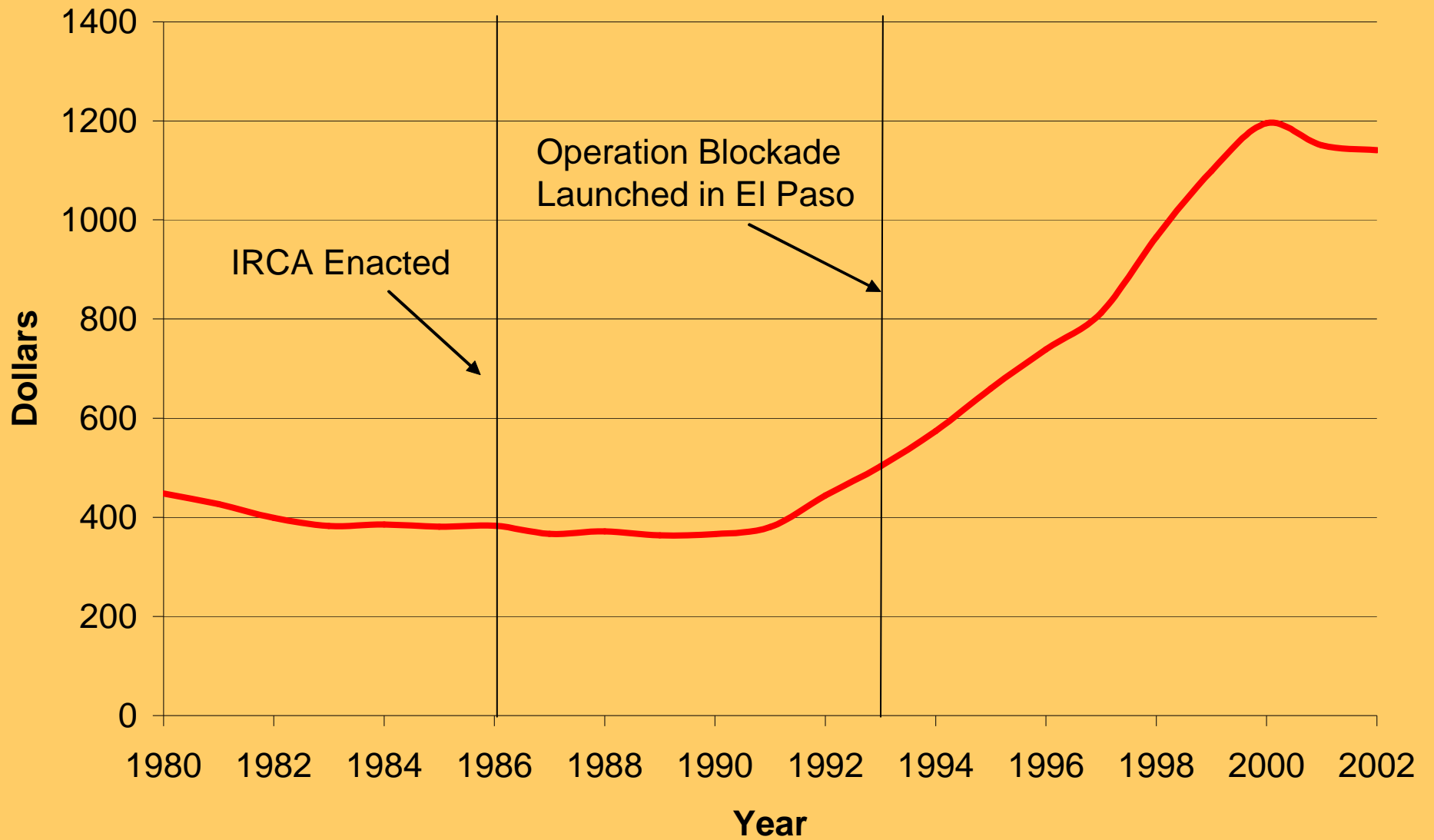


# Probability of Apprehension 1980-2001



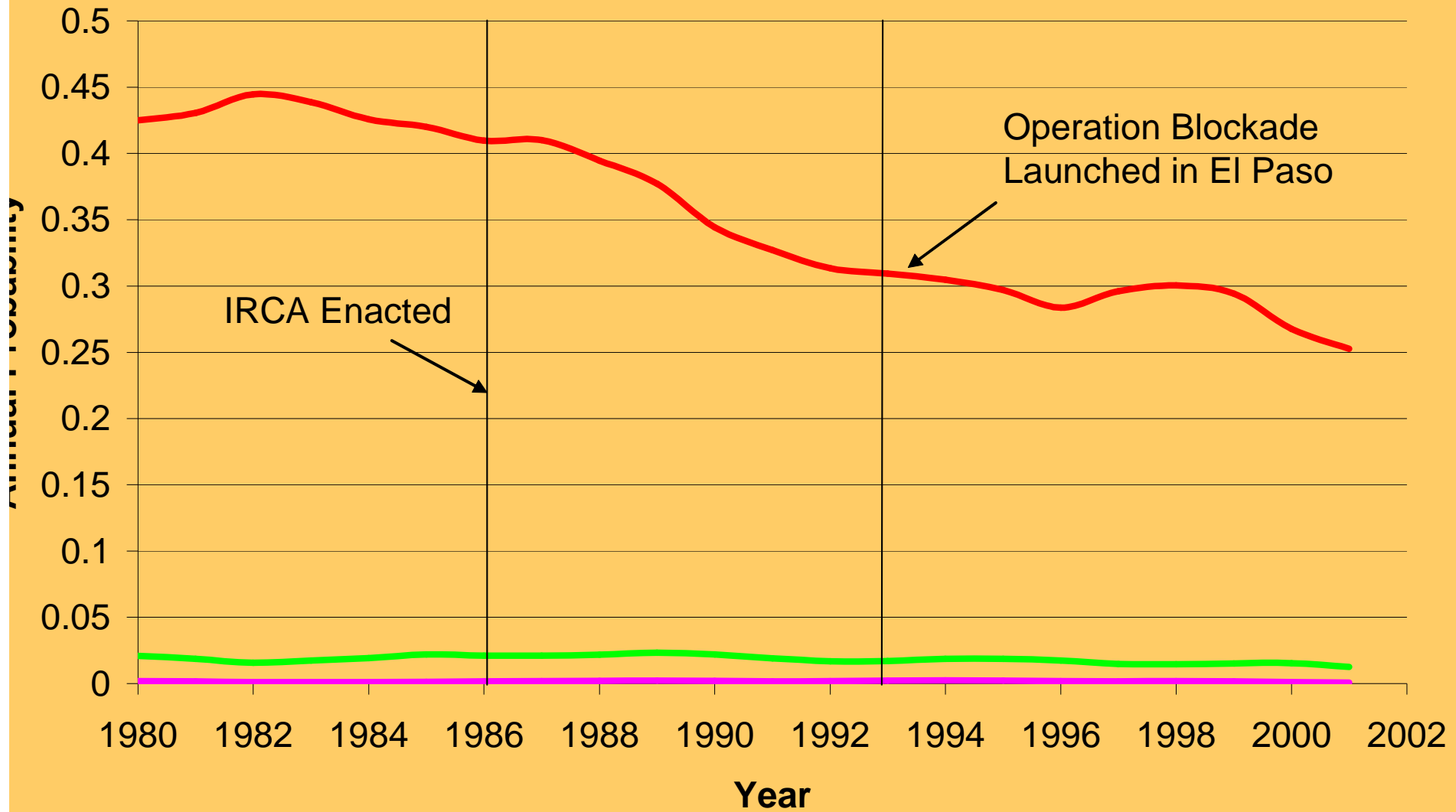


## Average Cost of Hiring a Coyote

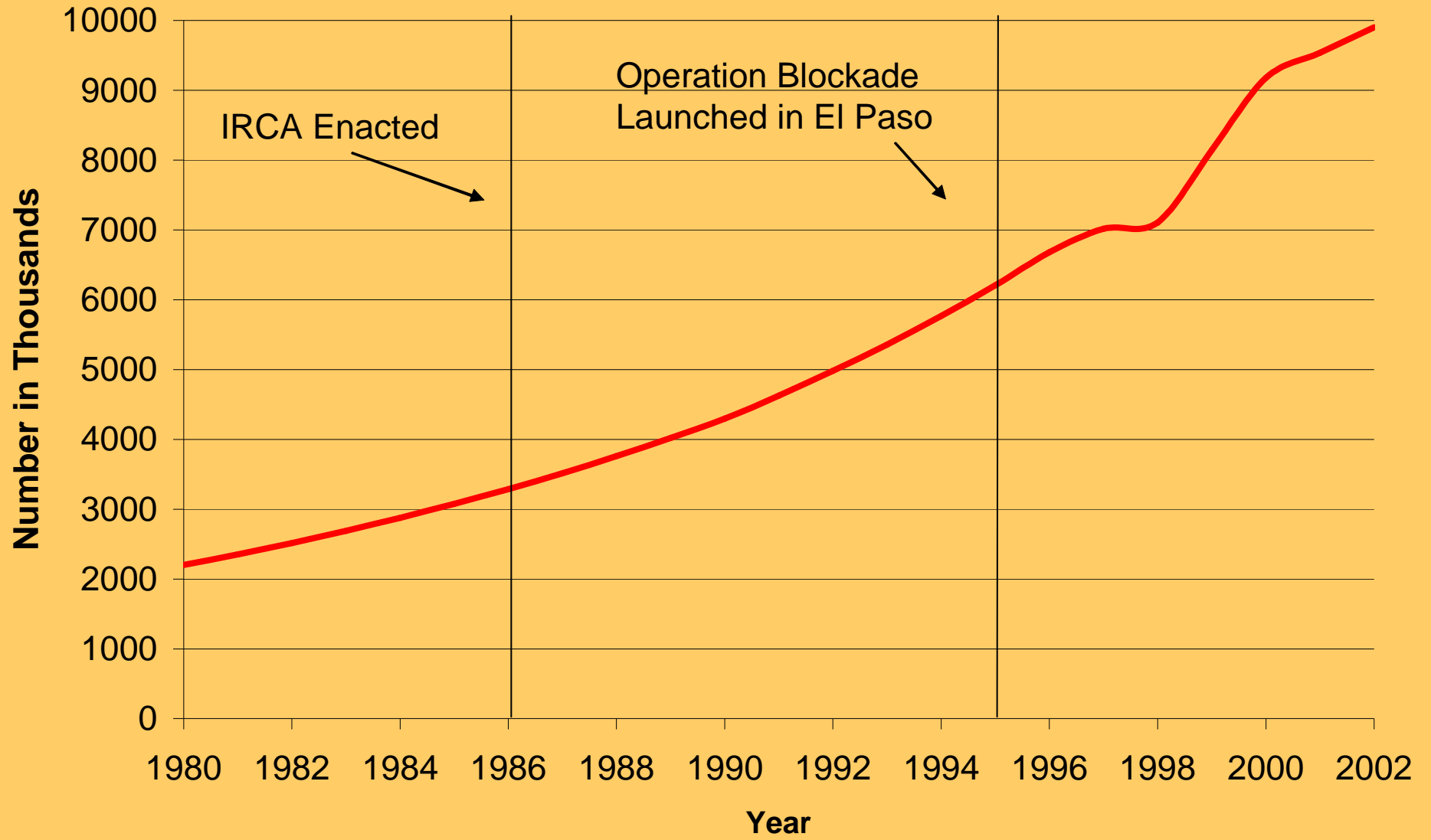


# Probability of First Undocumented Migration and Return 1980-2001

Males Females Return

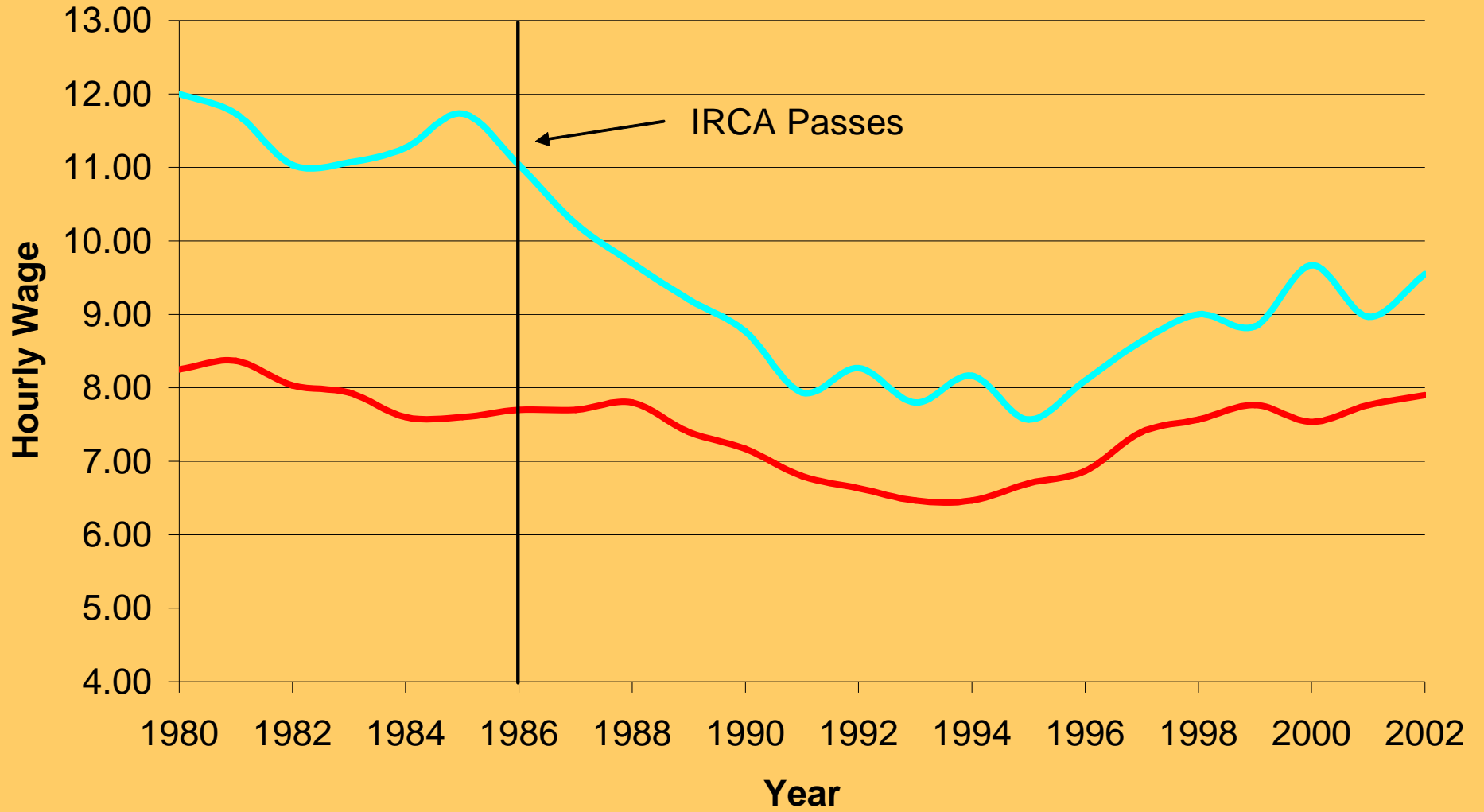


## Number of Mexicans in the United States 1980-2002



# Average Wages Earned by Mexican Migrants to US

— Undocumented — Documented



# Summary

- Strategy of Finessing Contradiction Through Border Militarization Has Not Worked
- On the Contrary, It Has Backfired:
  - Transformed a circular flow of workers going to 3 states into a settled population of families in 50 states
  - Doubled net undocumented migration to U.S.
  - Lowered probability of apprehension
  - Caused hundreds of needless deaths per year
  - Reduced wages of legal workers and citizens
  - All at great cost to taxpayers

# From Border Enforcement to Immigration Management

- New philosophy of immigration control
  - Rather than viewing Mexican immigration as a pathological condition to be suppressed by police actions along the border
  - See it as a natural outgrowth of economic integration in North America and work to *manage* in ways that benefit of all parties
- Take lesson from the European Union
  - Canada & U.S. should treat Mexico in same way that Northern Europe when it brought Spain into the E.U.

Figure 1. Openness of Spanish economy 1954-2004

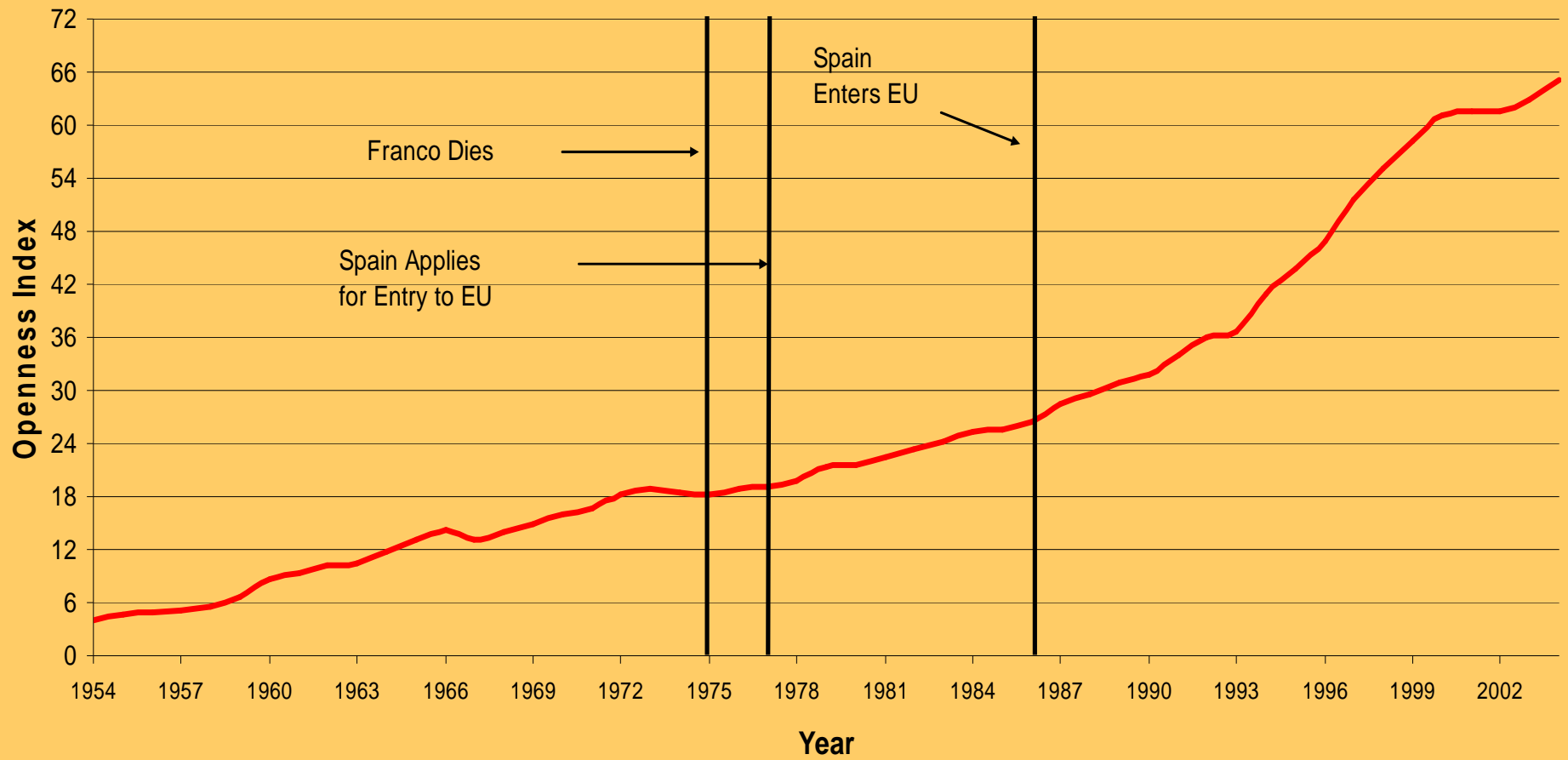


Figure 2. Real GDP per capita in Spain and Northern Europe 1954-2004.

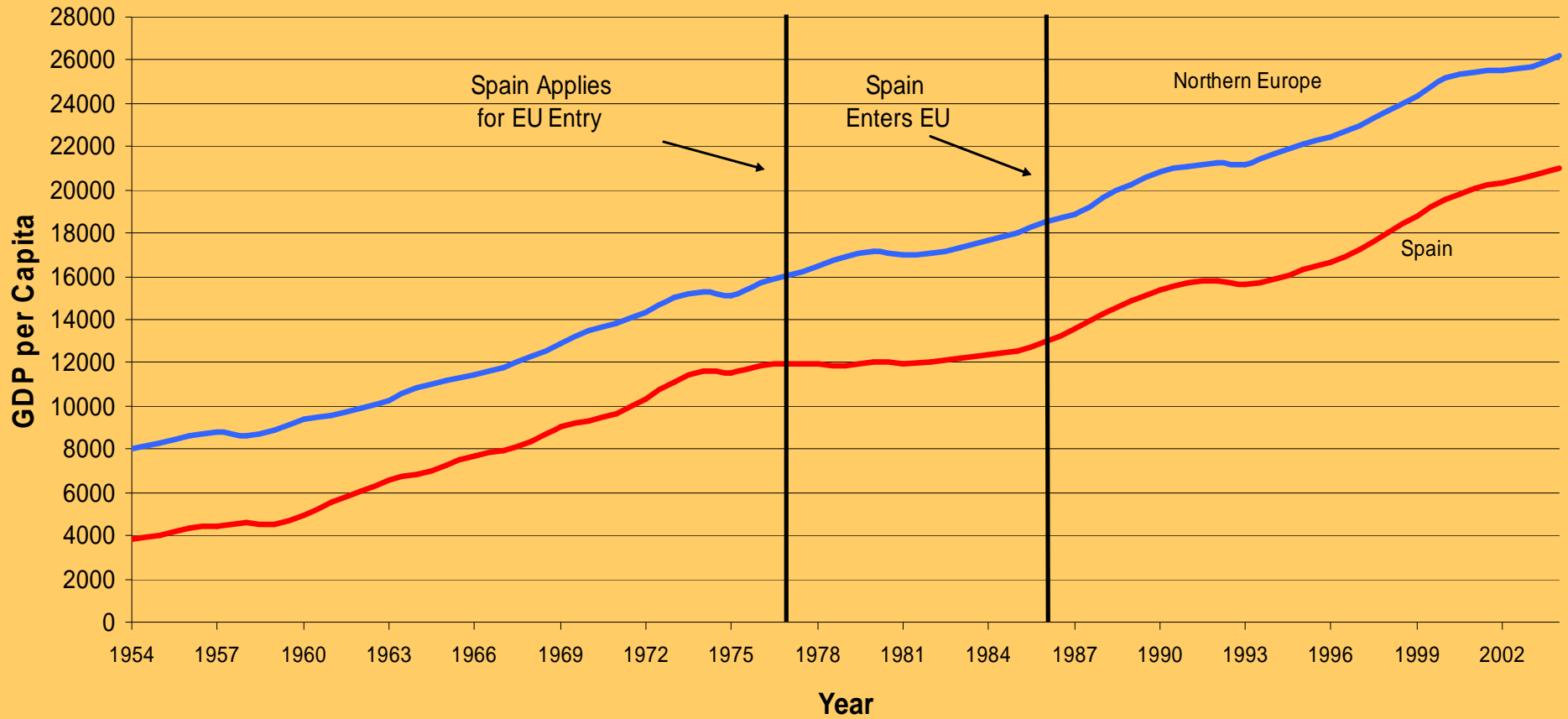




Figure 3. Spain's transition to EU membership: migration, income, and openness

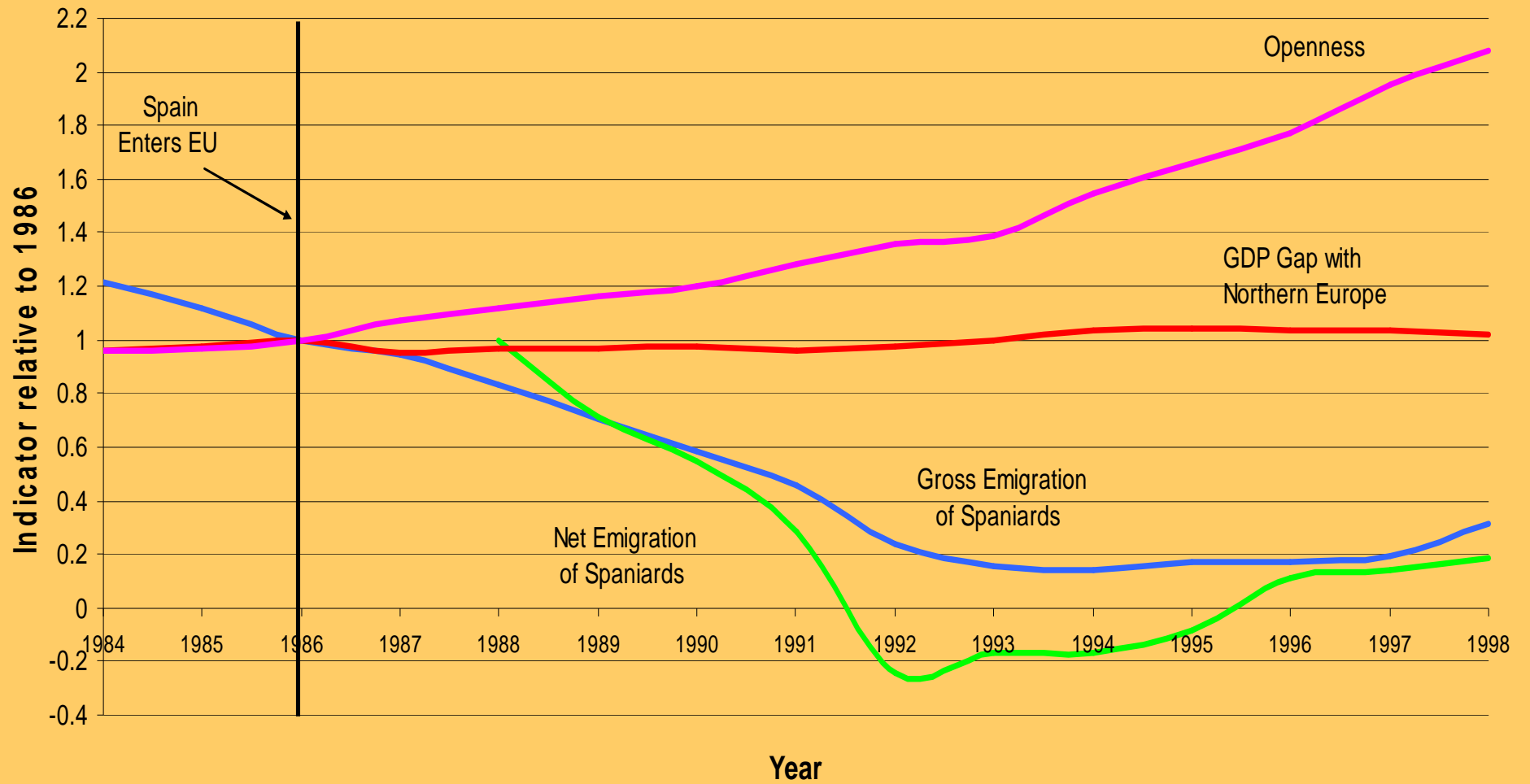


Figure 4. Structural adjustment funds transferred from EU to Spain 1986-1999

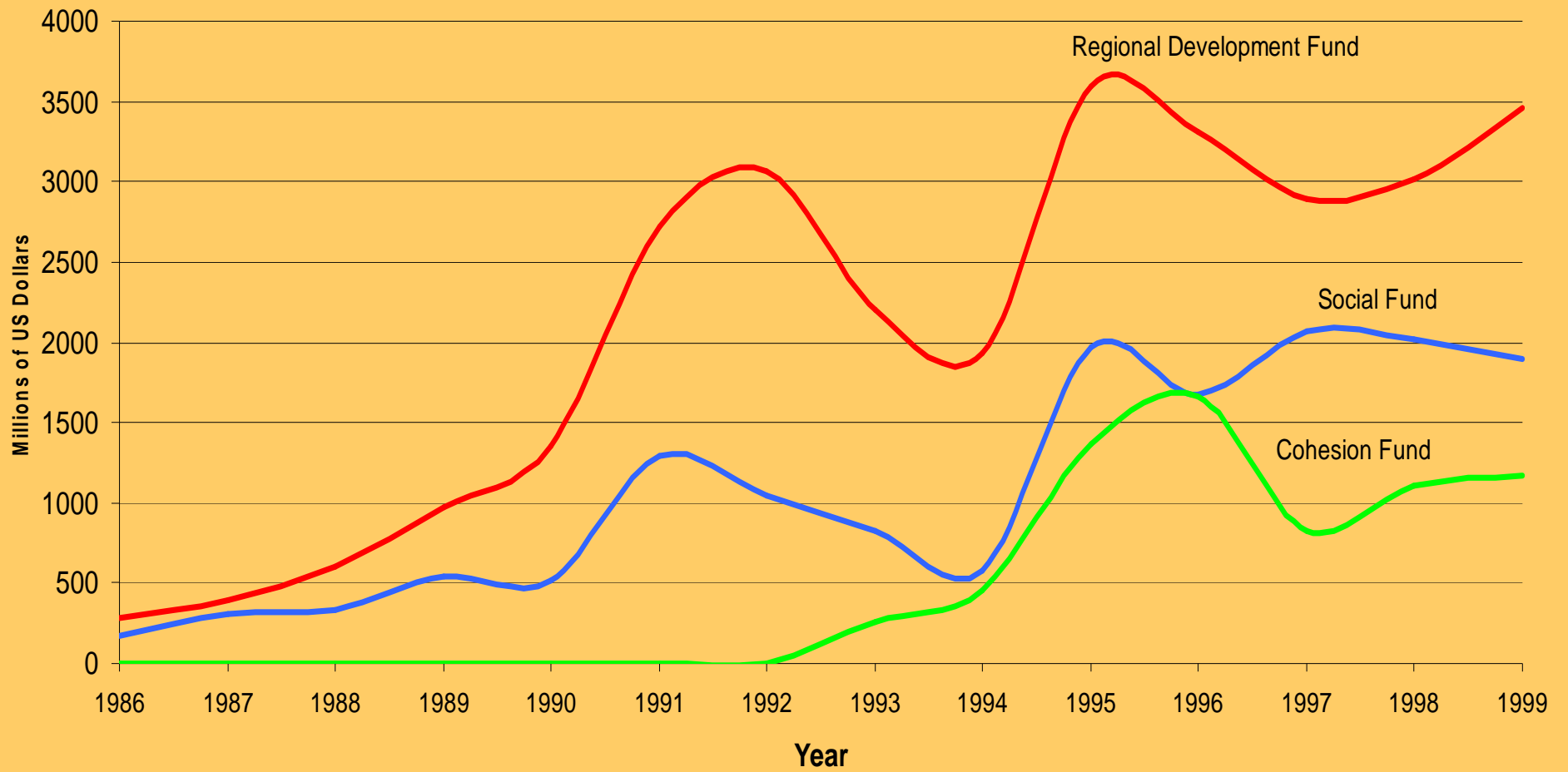


Figure 5. Openness of Mexican versus Spanish economy 1954-2004.

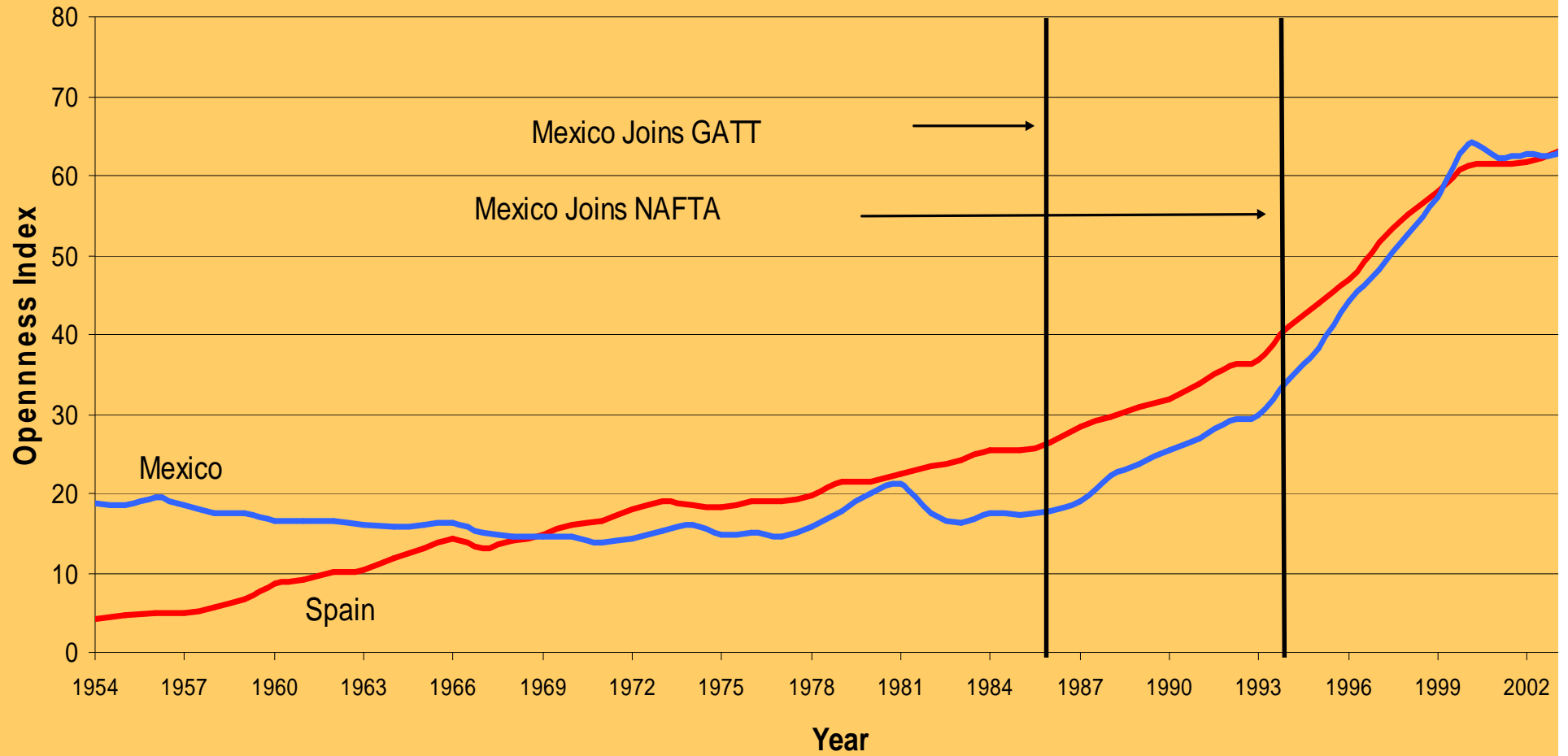


Figure 8. Real GDP per capita in Canada and the United States versus Mexico

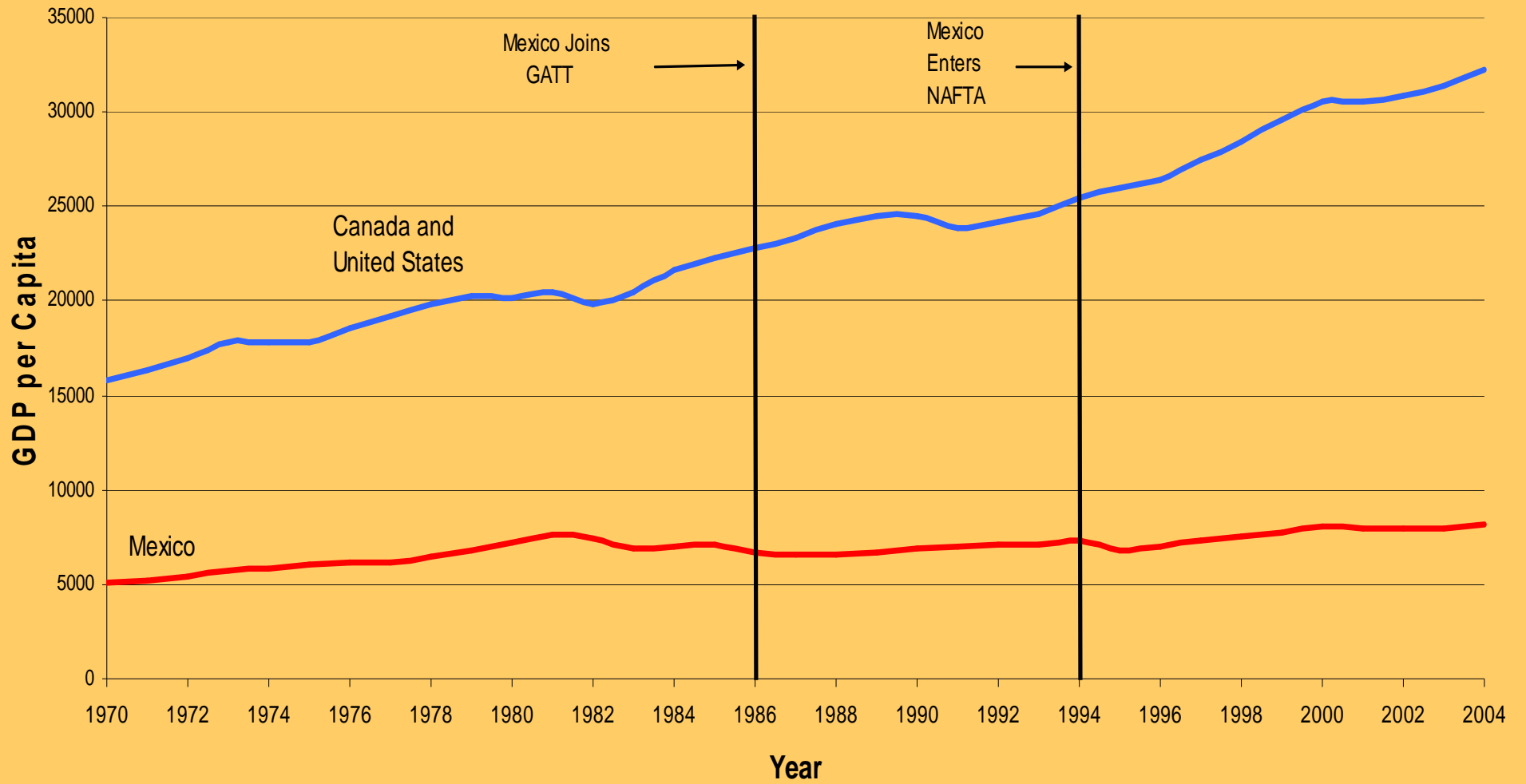


Figure 9. Mexico's entry into NAFTA: migration, income, and openness

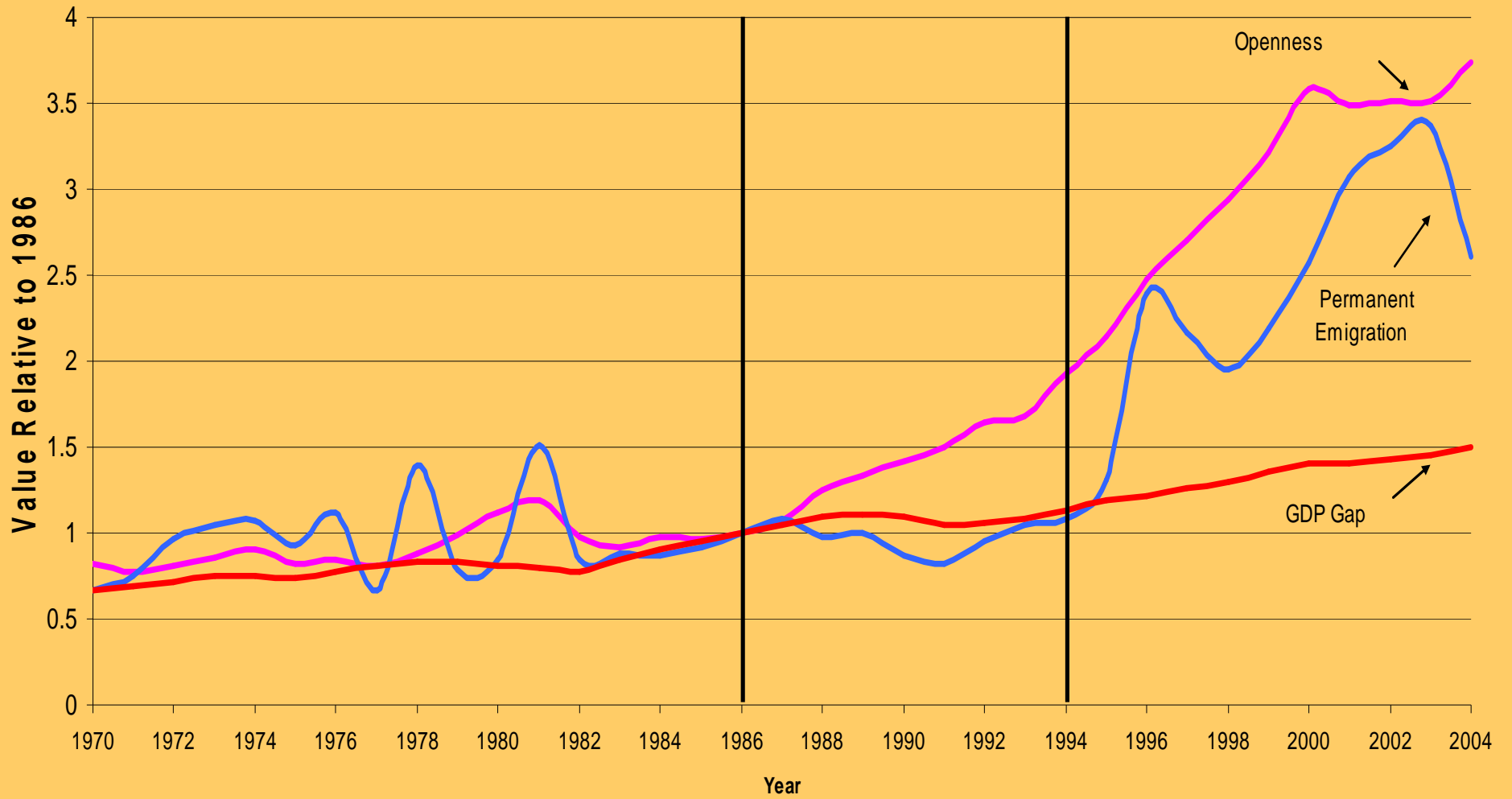
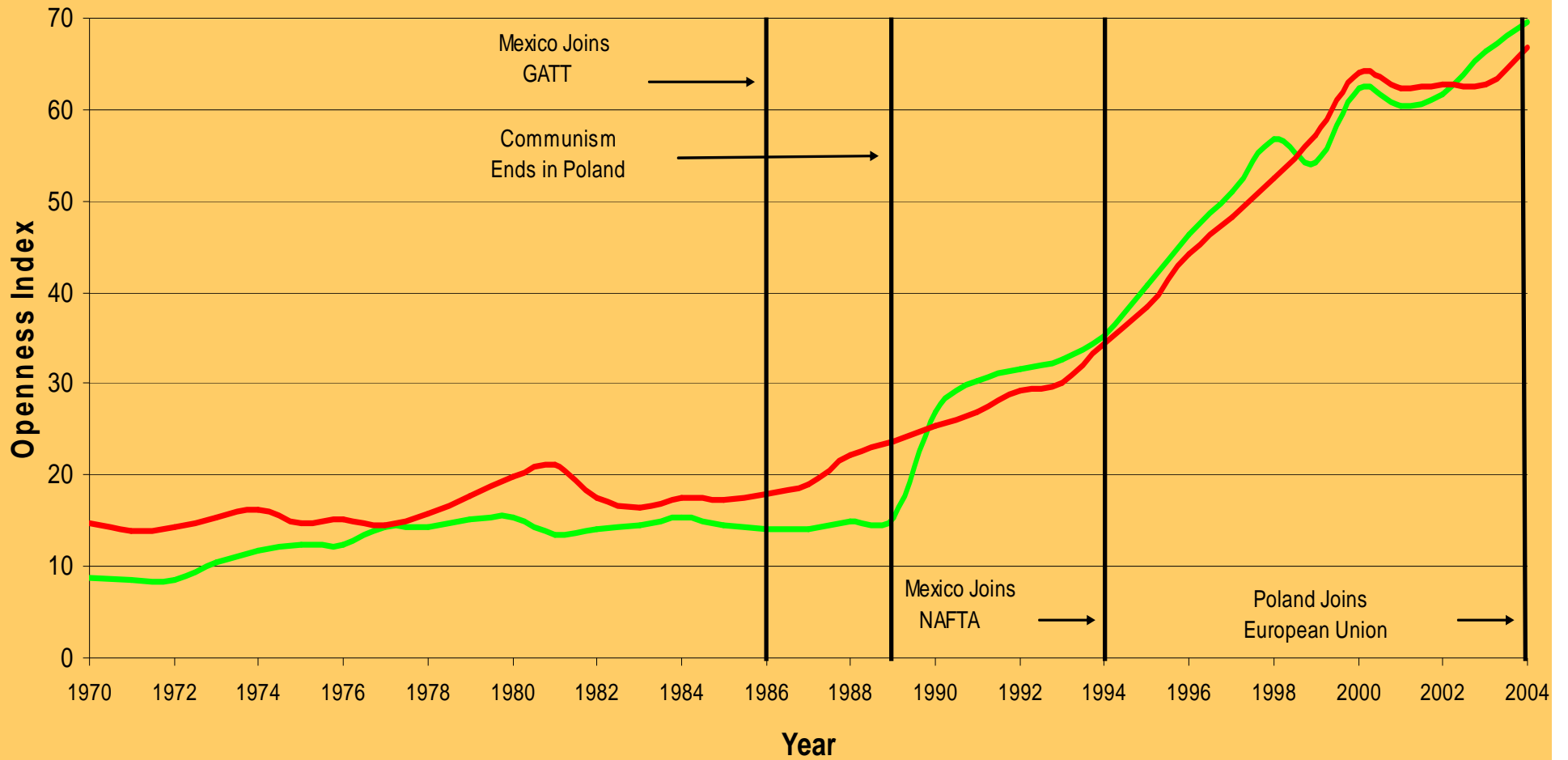


Figure 11. Openness of Polish versus Mexican economy 1970-2004



# Agenda for Reform

- Increase Quotas for Mexico and Canada
- Re-establish Guestworker Program
  - Visas to workers rather than employers
- Issue National ID to All Legal Workers
- Structural Adjustment Fund Instead of Walls
- Legalize Undocumented Population
  - Amnesty for those who entered as minors
  - Guestworker visa for recent arrivals
  - Earned legalization for long-term residents