

"YOU'RE IN AND YOU'RE OUT!"

IMMIGRATION AND RACE

PAST & PRESENT



Overview

- U.S. Immigration
- Resistance to Immigration
- Immigration: Race and Ethnicity
- When Does Immigration Becomes Salient?
- Immigration in the U.S. Today
- Public Opinion



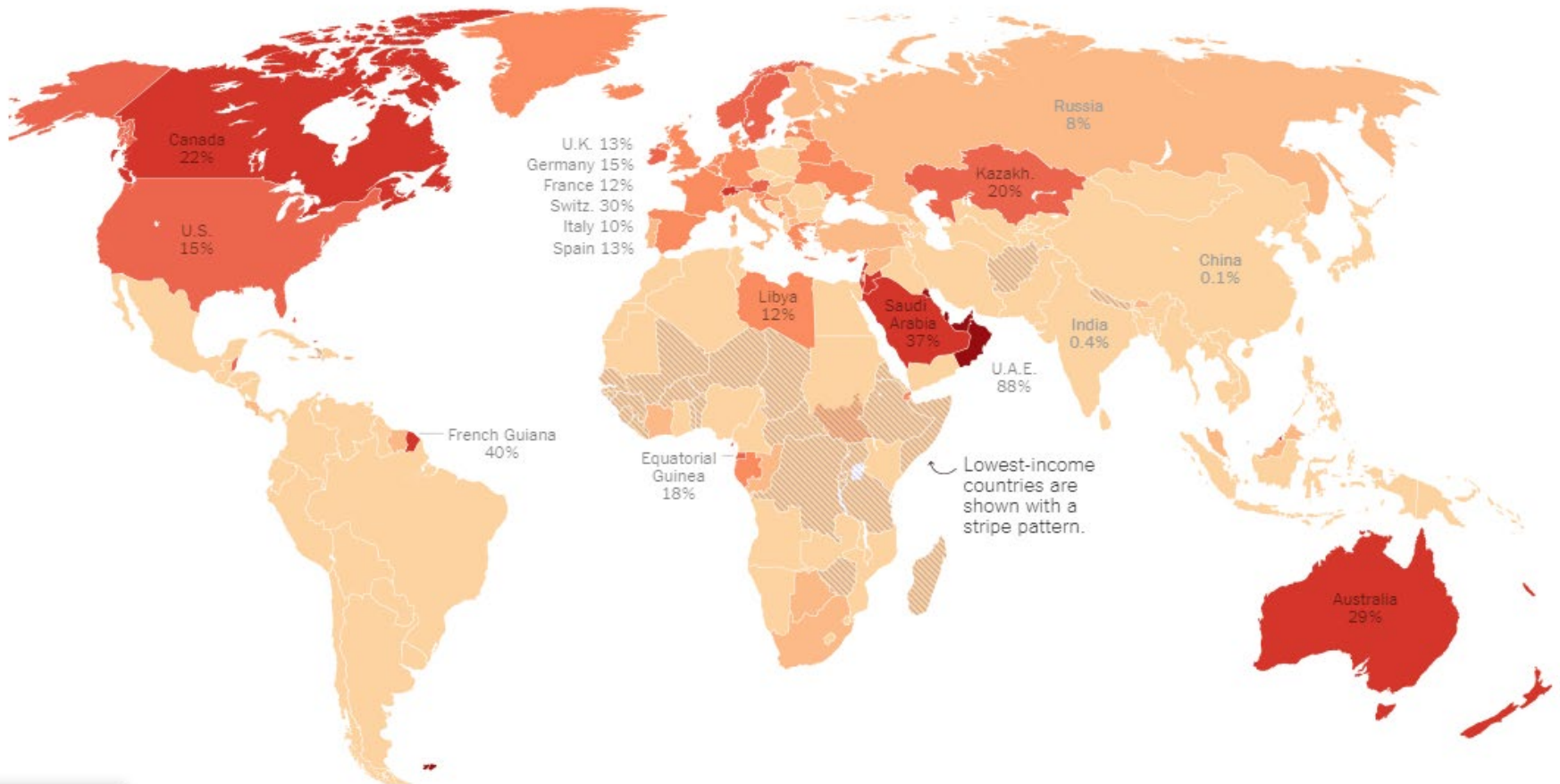
U.S. IMMIGRATION



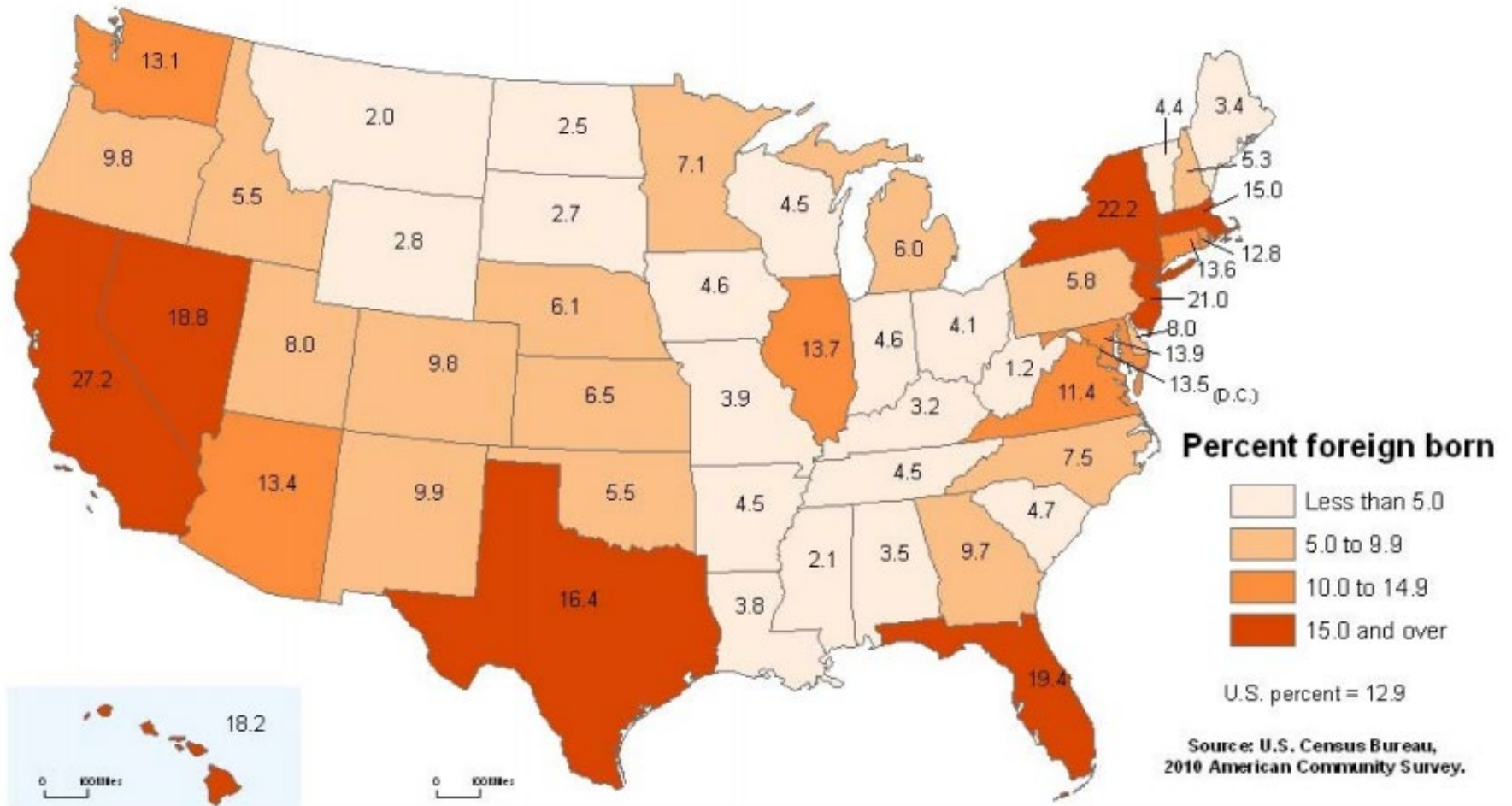
A GLOBAL PHENOMENON



Share of population who are immigrants



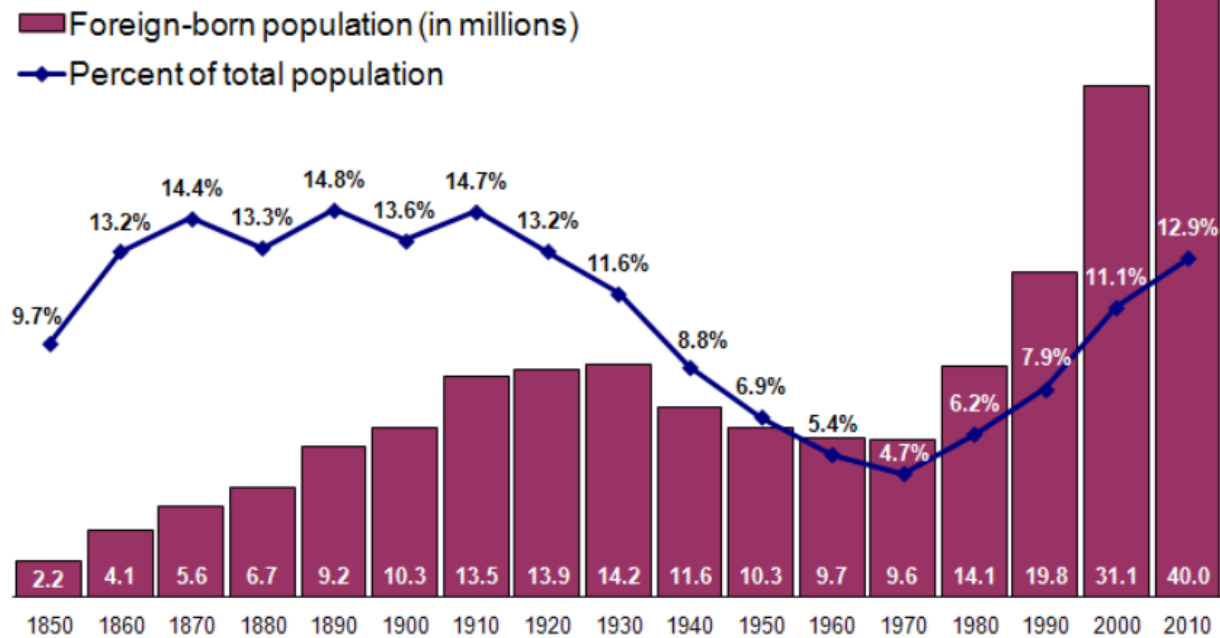
FOREIGN BORN POPULATION 2010



U.S. IMMIGRATION TRENDS

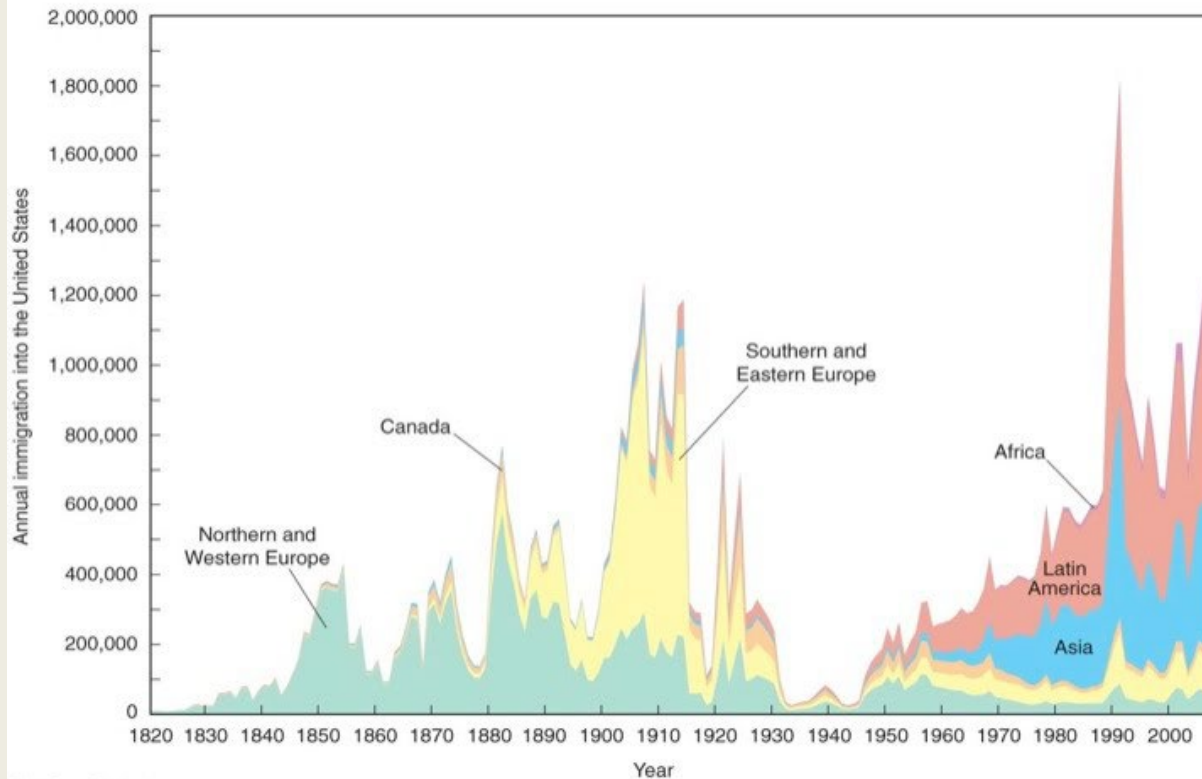


Foreign-Born Population and Percentage of Total Population, for the United States: 1850 to 2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1850 to 2000, and the American Community Survey, 2010.

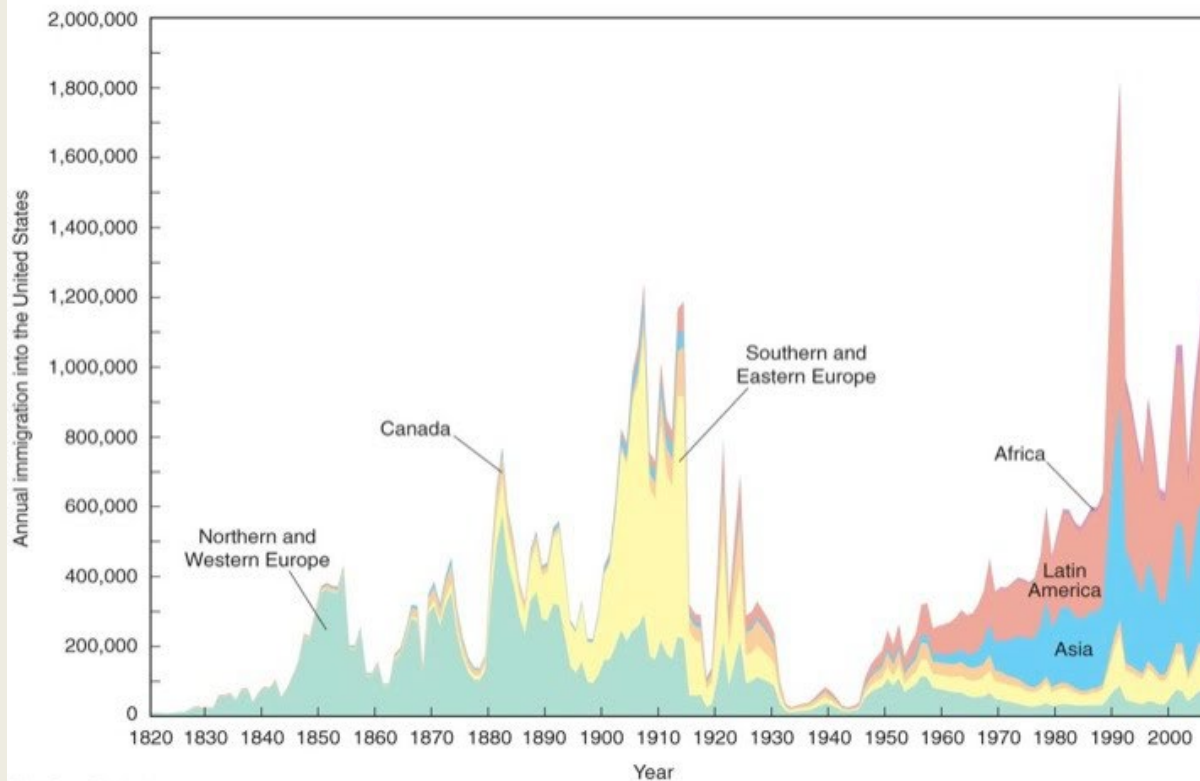
IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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- 1607-1820 First migrant settlers – steady flow of immigration from England, Scotland, Wales with some Germans and Dutch

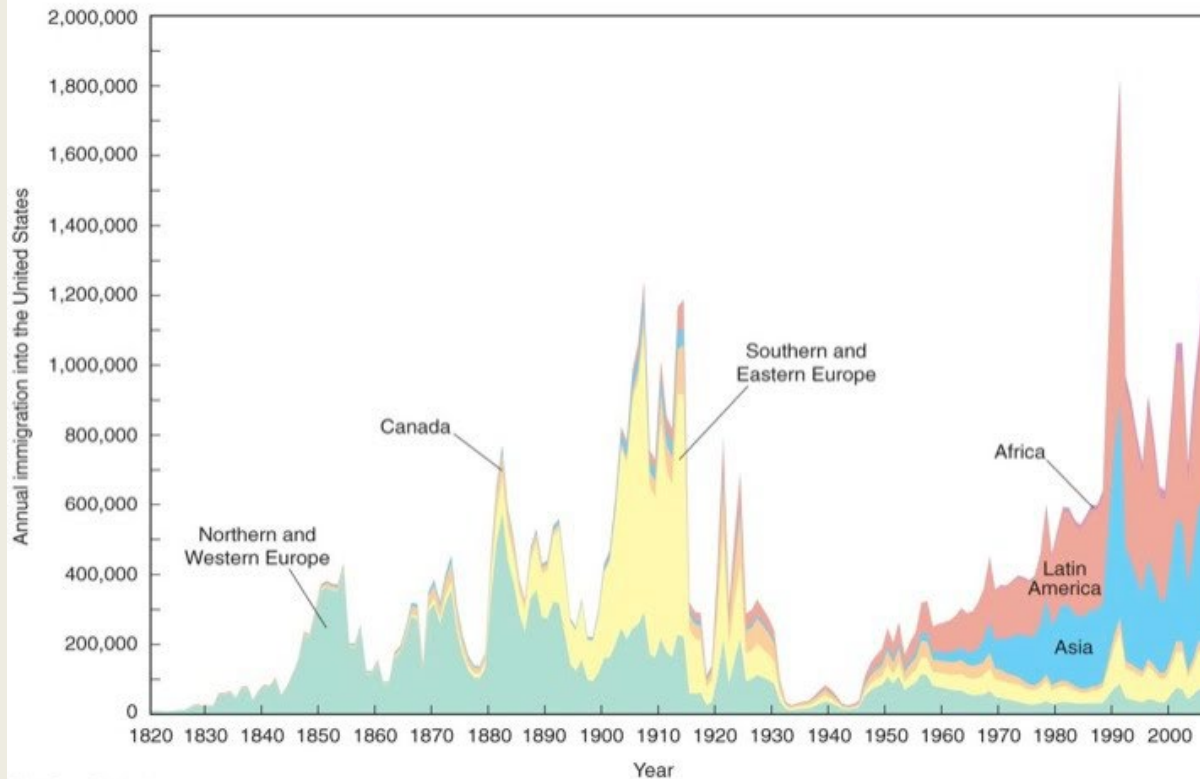
IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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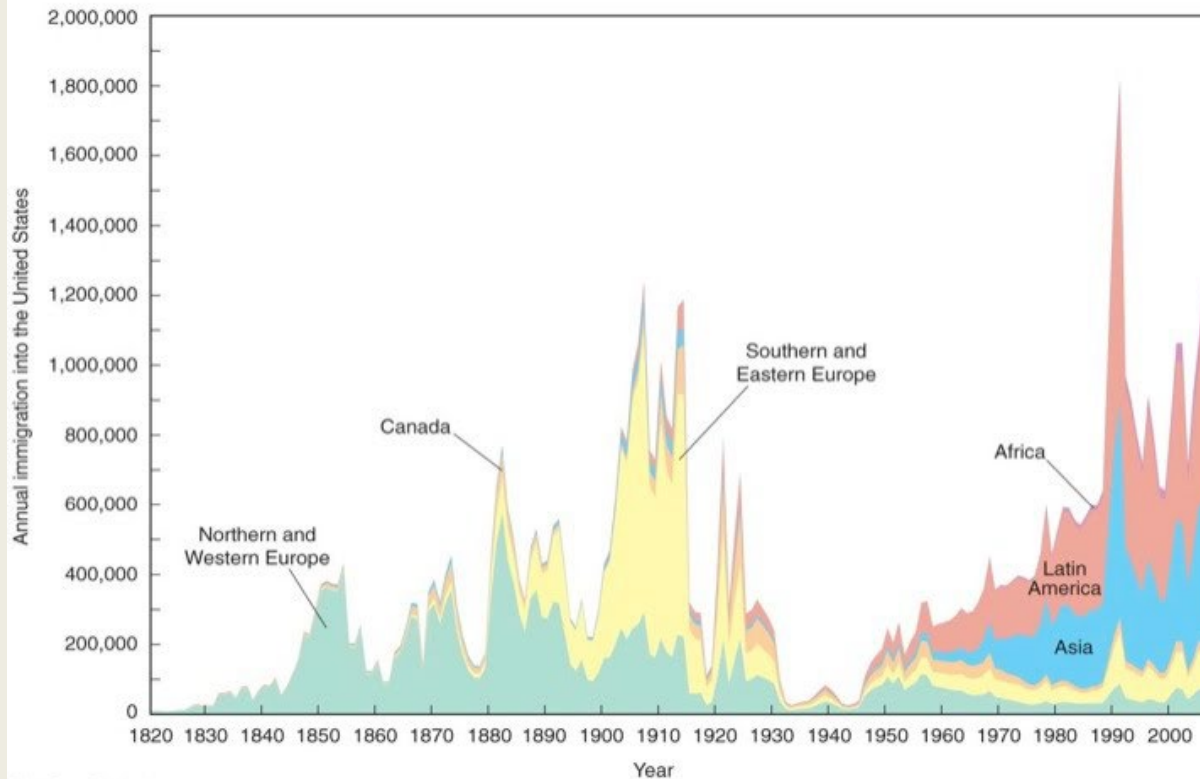
- 1619-1808 (1865) African slave trade – ultimately forcing more than 600,000 people to migrate and enslaving millions

IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



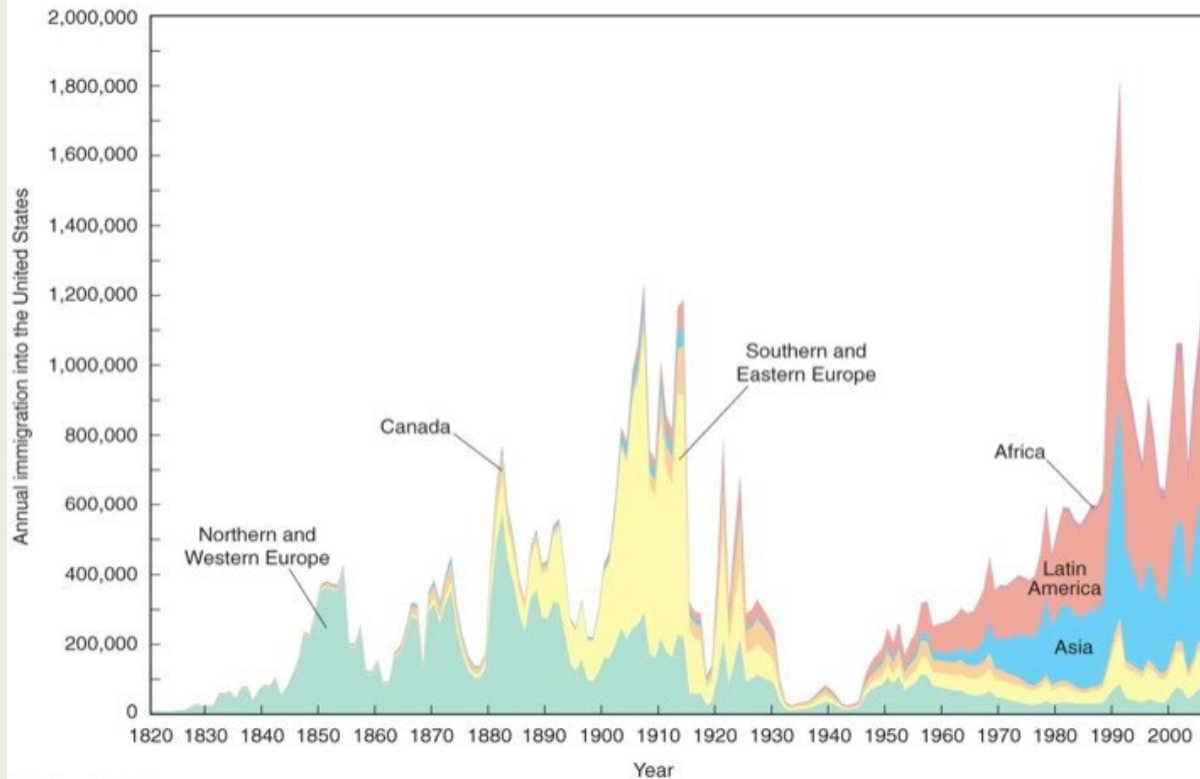
- 1820s-1870s German and Irish migrants – over 7 million migrants (1/3 Irish, 1/3 German)

IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



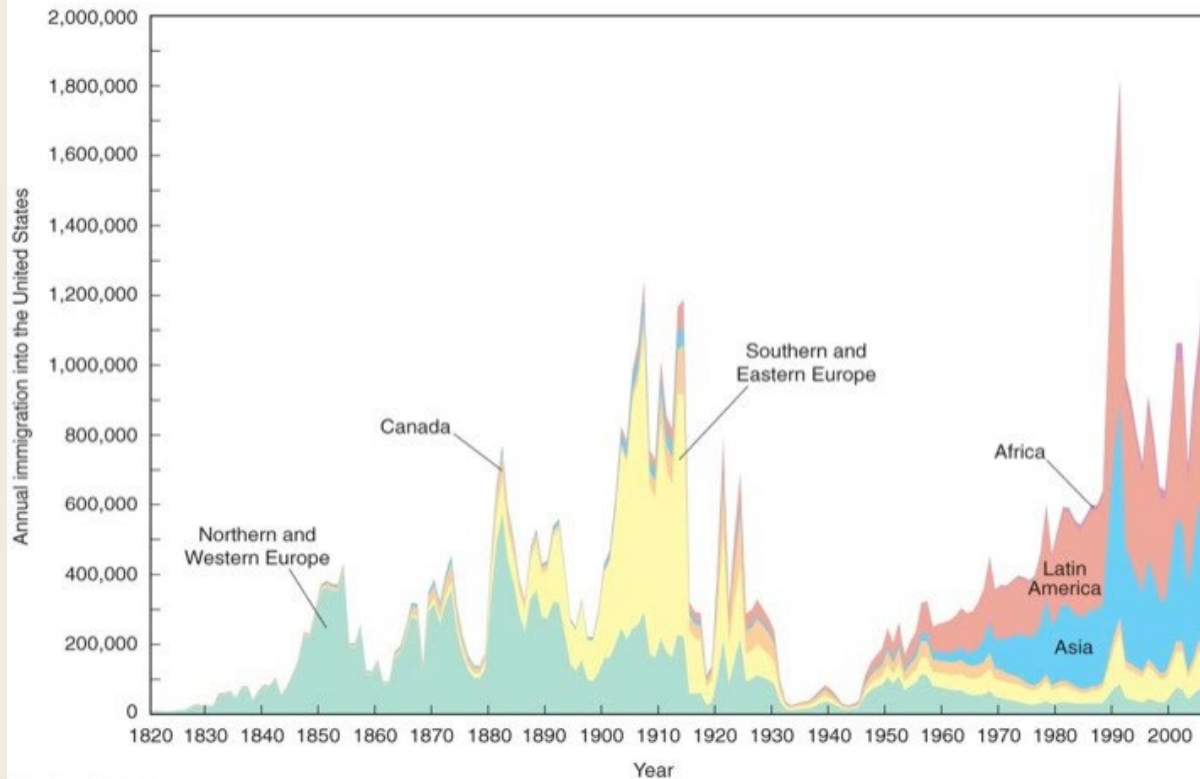
- 1850s-1880 Immigration of primarily Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos to Hawaii and the West Coast

IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



- 1880s-1920s Eastern and southern European migrants – over 24 million migrants (Russians, Jews, Poles, Italian, and others)

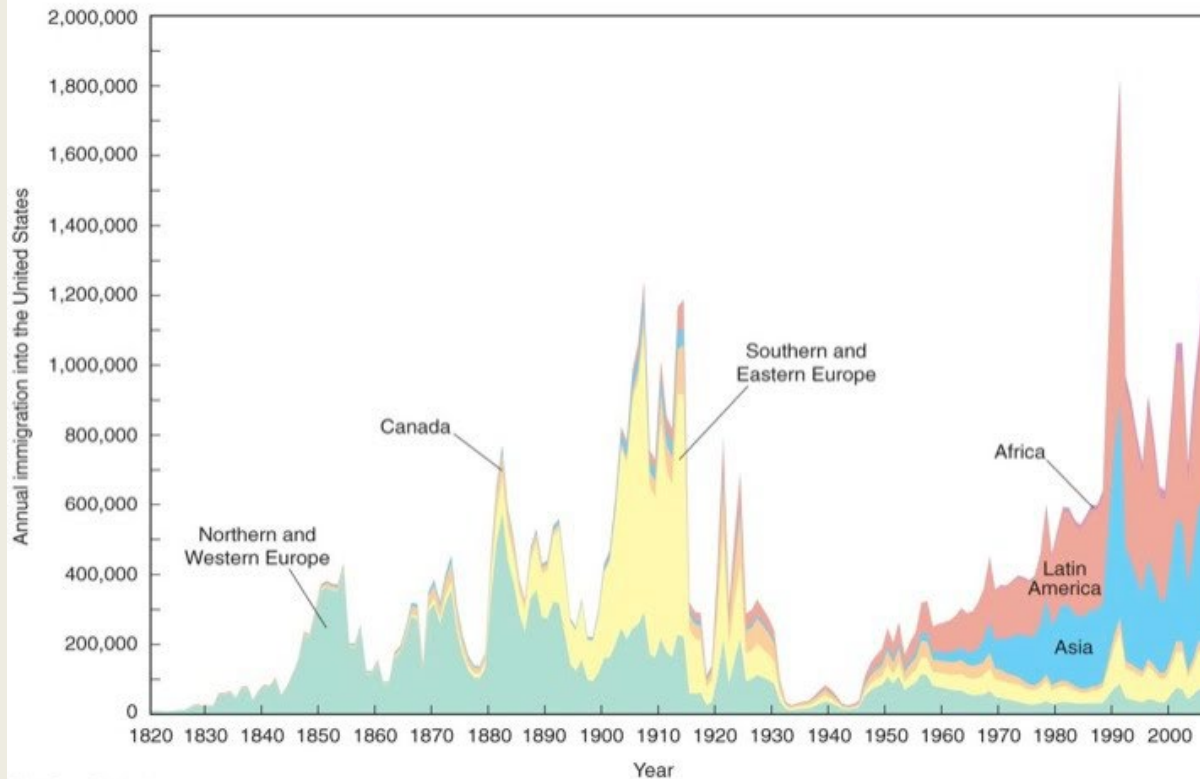
IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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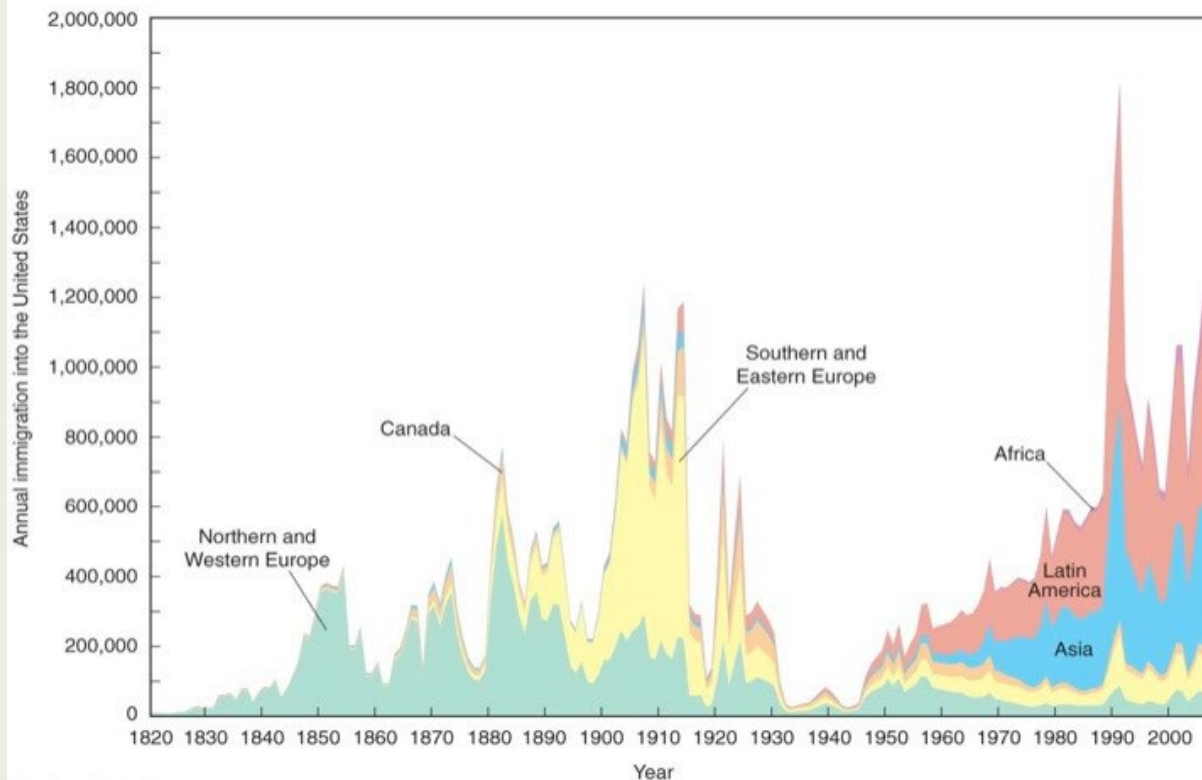
- 1930s-1940s Pause in migration – restrictive laws, the Great Depression, and World War II practically stop immigration

IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



- 1942-1964 Bracero Program – brings hundreds of thousands of temporary guest workers to the U.S. annually

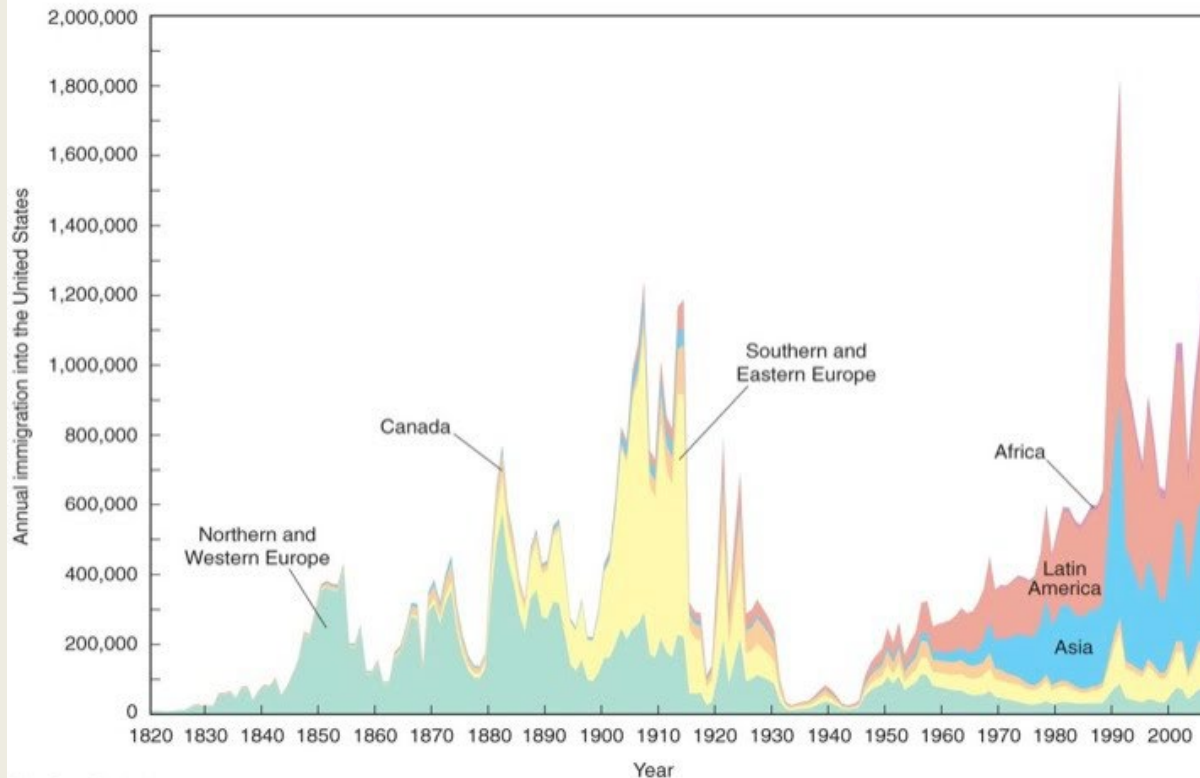
IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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- 1950s-1965 Restrictions lead to small number – abolishment of most race considerations, country quotas, skill and family

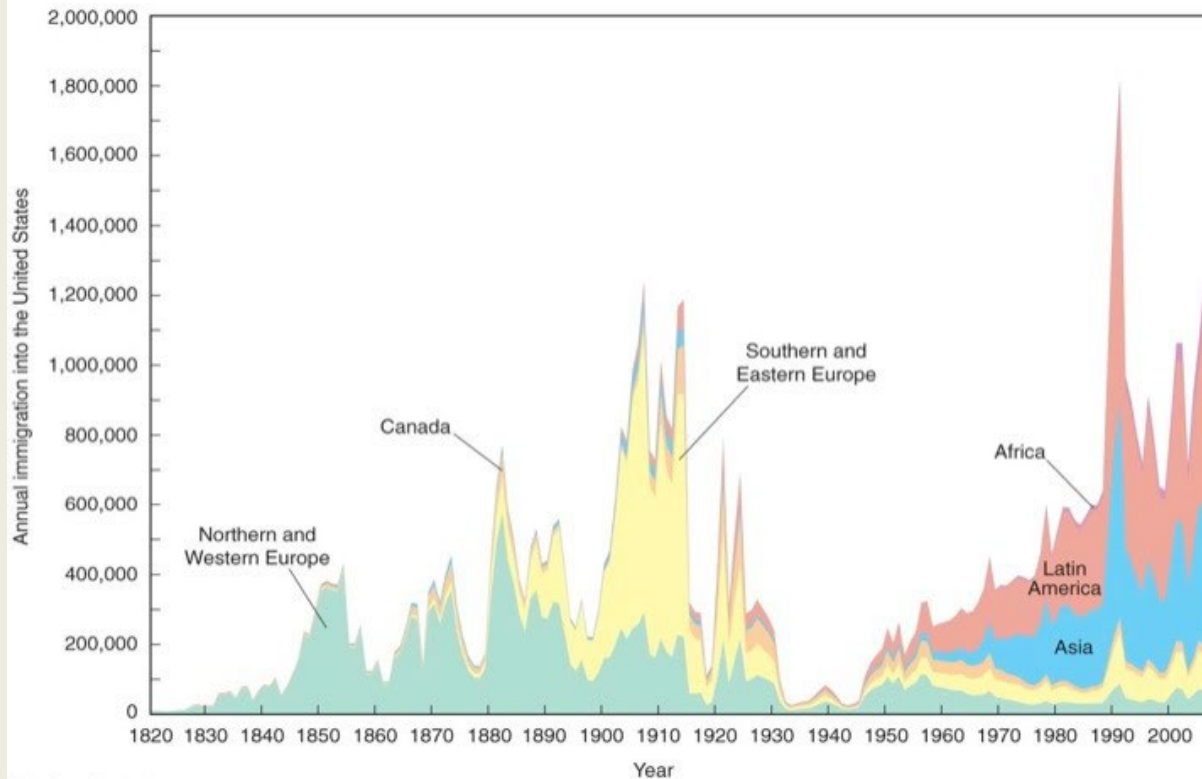
IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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- 1965-1980s Mexican and other Latin American migrants – current system, no quotas, skill & family, visa increase, amnesty

IMMIGRATION FLOWS TO U.S.



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- 1990s-2016 Diversification, detention, deportations – further criminalization, DHS and ICE, border security/fence, DACA

RESISTANCE TO IMMIGRATION



NATIVISM IN EARLY AMERICA

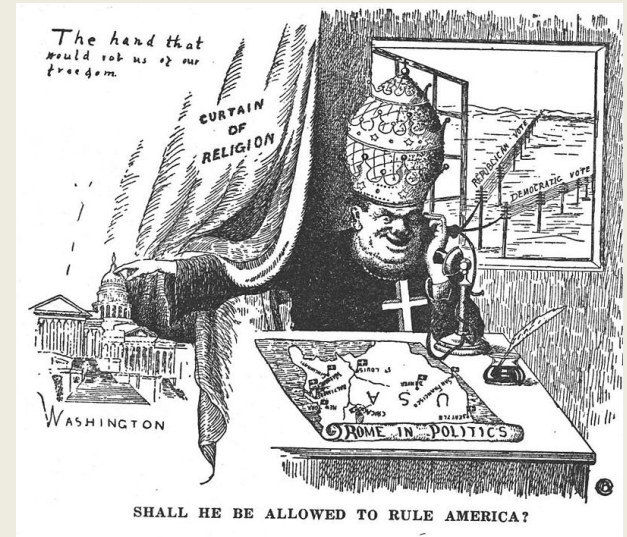


- Rise of nativism in the early republic
 - Fear of foreign radicals/reactionaries and security threat
 - Opposition to immigration from G and F (Quasi-War 1798-1800)
 - Alien and Sedition Acts 1798
- Nativism in the 19th century
 - Term nativism first used in 1844
 - Natives = descendants of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies
 - Know Nothing or American Party of the 1850s
 - Anti-Catholic (Irish and German), xenophobic, and hostile to immigration
 - Millard Fillmore runs for POTUS in 1856 and wins 21.5% (8 EV)

NATIVISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY



- Anti-Asian movements in the West
 - Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882
 - “Gentlemen’s Agreement” with Japan of 1907
- Anti-German nativism in the East & Midwest
 - Anti-German sentiment from Franklin to WWII
 - Bennett Law (WI) 1889 – instruction language



NATIVISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY



- Immigration restrictions around the turn of the 20th century
 - Immigration Restriction League of the 1890s
 - Legislation against “racially inferior” groups from southern and eastern Europe
 - Threatening American way of life, bringing in poverty and organized crime
 - Increase Anglo-Saxon immigration
 - Asiatic Exclusion League 1905
 - Stop immigration of Asians – expansion of the Chinese Exclusion Act
 - Association of 67 labor unions
- Comprehensive and restrictive regulation in the interwar years
 - Labor unions especially lobby for immigration limits and restrictions
 - Immigration Act of 1917/24 – literacy tests, Asian exclusion, quotas, limits
 - Pause in immigration: 236,000 in 1929 to 23,000 in 1933
 - 1929-1936 Mexican Repatriation 400,000 – 2,000,000 (ethnic cleansing)

COLD WAR REFORMS



- Displaced Persons Act 1948

- Immigration and Nationality Act 1952
 - Restriction on communists
 - Abolishment of most race-based (Asian) restrictions
 - National origin quotas with a limit of 170,000
 - Preference system based on skill set and family reunification
 - 85% of visas go to western and northern Europeans

- Immigration and Nationality Act 1965
 - Abolishment of national origin quota system
 - 290,000 limit with per country of origin quota of 7%
 - Family reunification and professionals/specialized skills, special immigrants
 - Western hemisphere limits introduced

REFORMS CONTINUE



- Plyler v. Doe 1982 – undocumented immigrant children education
- Immigration Reform and Control Act 1986
 - Legal status for undocumented immigrants
 - lived in the U.S. 4 years, no criminal record, proficiencies in English & civics
 - illegal to recruit or hire undocumented workers
 - approx. 3 million gain legal permanent status
- Immigration Act 1990
 - Increase in legal migration from 500,000 to 700,000
 - Diversity Visa Program (Green Card Lottery) 50,000
 - Removal of homosexuality as grounds for refusal
 - Introduction of Temporary Protected Status

RENEWED NATIVISM



- Operation Gatekeeper 1994

- Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act 1996
 - 10-year ban
 - Increase in detentions and deportations

- House Immigration Reform Caucus 1999
 - Strict immigration restrictions
 - Predominantly focused on the immigration of undocumented migrants

- Reform of immigration enforcement after 9/11
 - Department of Homeland Security
 - Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)
 - Secure Fence Act 2006 – \$1.2 billion, 700 miles

IMMIGRATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY



- Secure Communities Program 2009
 - Deport undocumented immigrants if they commit a crime
 - 2008-2012: 1.5 million deportations, record high in 2012 of over 400,000
 - Obama “deporter in chief”
- Tea Party movement
 - In 2014, shift from economic issues, spending, and Obamacare to immigration
 - Opposition to pro-immigration Republicans
 - “Amnesty for millions, tyranny for all”
- Election of Trump
 - Travel ban for Muslims
 - Wall against undocumented migrants
 - Trying to turn the GOP into a populist nativist party

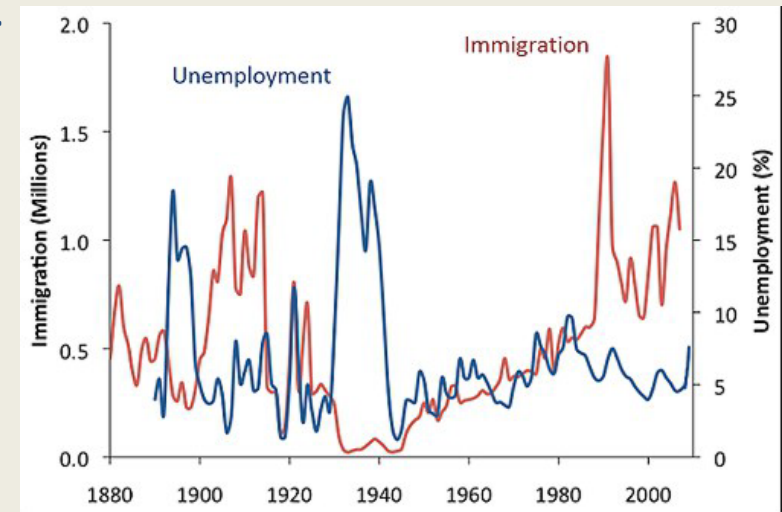


NATIVIST ARGUMENTS



Immigrants

- lead to government deficits through heavy use of the welfare system.
- are a threat to security through the introduction of disease and crime, and in times of war (draft).
- increase competition or take away job from natives, create an oversupply of labor, and depress wages.
- increase the consumption of scarce resources and pollution; use space.
- damage a sense of community and nationality through lack of commitment to American values and constitutional principles.



NATIVIST ARGUMENTS



Immigrants

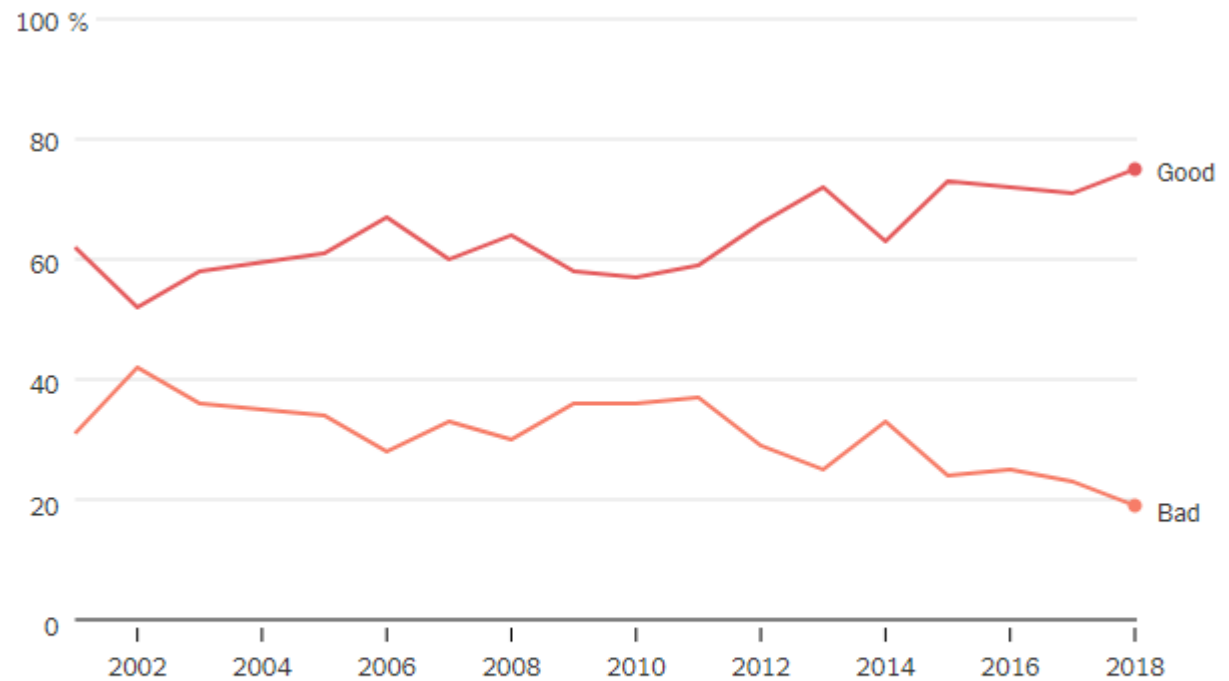
- lead to overpopulation and reduce housing vacancies and increase rents.
- isolate themselves in their own communities and refuse to learn English.
- will delude native population and replace Anglo-American culture with their own.
- will replace the white majority and change the national identity.
- should not migrate: danger, traffickers, cost to home country, not long-term solution.



SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION



- A record-high 75% of Americans say immigration, in general, is a “good thing” for the country today.
- 85% Democrats
- 65% Republicans



Source: Gallup

IMMIGRATION: RACE AND ETHNICITY



IMMIGRATION AND RACE



- Racial nation and nationalism
 - Membership in nation determined by belonging to a particular race. Usually also includes ethnic lineage, shared vernacular culture, common language and often faith as secondary dimensions.
 - Bans on immigration and interracial marriage, “one drop rule”
 - Racial homogeneity and segregation desired
- Australia, New Zealand, Germany, South Africa, Canada

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY



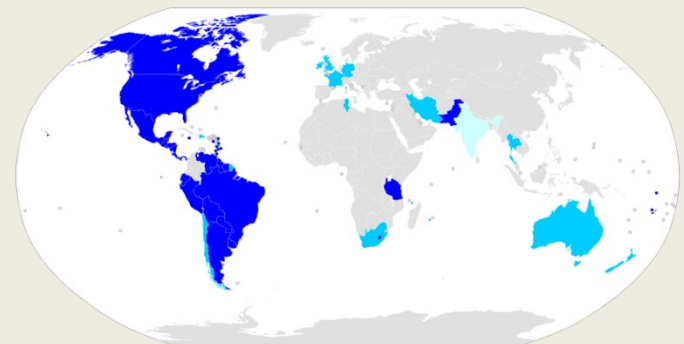
- Ethnic nation and nationalism
 - Closely related to or similar determination of membership as in a nation based on race
 - Membership in nation determined by immutable inherited characteristics based on ethnic lineage, shared vernacular culture, common language and often faith
 - Limited and selective immigration, *jus sanguinis*, permanent residency vs citizenship, complete assimilation, language requirements
- *Jus sanguinis*: China, Germany, Haiti, India, Iran, Japan, Philippines, Tunisia
- *Leges sanguinis*: Afghanistan, Croatia, Greece, Liberia, Rwanda, Turkey

**Nacionalizam ubija.
Nacionalizam ubija.
Национализам убија.**

INCLUSIVE CIVIC NATIONALISM



- Civic nation and nationalism
 - Often seen as contrasting with racial or ethnic nationalism.
 - Conceives of the nation-state and one's membership in and loyalty to it in terms of citizenship, common laws, political participation regardless of ethnicity and lineage.
 - Commitment to civic duties and constitution, *jus soli*, citizenship test, merit-based immigration criteria, potentially most inclusive
- Brazil, Cambodia, Egypt, El Salvador, Jamaica, Morocco, Pakistan, South Africa, Venezuela



UNITED STATES



Racial Nationalism

- Exclusion of Indigenous People from citizenship to 1924
14th Amendment (1868)
- Enslavement and forced migration of Africans
Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857)
- Prohibition of immigrants from Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries
- Immigration Act of 1924
- Trump administration

Ethnic Nationalism

- Against Germans, Jews, Irish, Italians, Russian, Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs
- Immigration Act of 1924
- *Jus sanguinis* aspects of U.S. immigration laws
- Trump administration

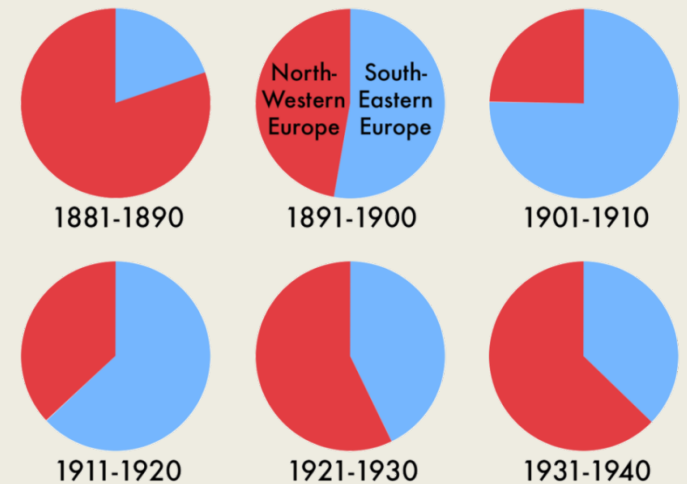
Civic Nationalism

- *E Pluribus Unum*
- Birthright Citizenship in Naturalization Act 1790
- 14th Amendment 1868
- United States v. Wong Kim Ark 1898
- Good character – residence
- Oath of allegiance on the Constitution

THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1924



- Country quota system based on proportion (2%) of current population in U.S.
- Exclusion of most Asians and others not considered white (Indian, Arab)
- Limits migrants from S and E Europe, Catholic majority countries, Jews
- Encouragement of W/N European immigration
- No restriction on Latin America
- After WWII decline, North Africans, Arabs, Persians, and East Indians are reclassified as white and limited immigration is allowed
- President Calvin Coolidge: “Biological laws tell us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides.”



WHEN DOES IMMIGRATION
BECOME SALIENT?



Voters in both parties cite immigration as an issue they want to hear discussed

What one issue would you most like to hear the candidates in your state or district talk about this fall?
[OPEN END]

	All voters	Rep/Lean Rep	Dem/Lean Dem
Immigration	19	21	18
Health care	13	8	16
Politicians/Govt. system	8	6	8
Education	9	5	11
Economy/Economic issues	7	10	6
Guns/Gun control/Gun laws	8	8	9
Jobs/Employment	6	5	7
Taxation	6	8	5
Environment	4	3	5
Balanced budget	4	5	3
Drugs	3	4	2
Racism/Equality	3	*	5
NET: Economic	18	21	16
NET: Foreign policy	6	5	6

Notes: Based on registered voters. See topline for all mentions and full trend.

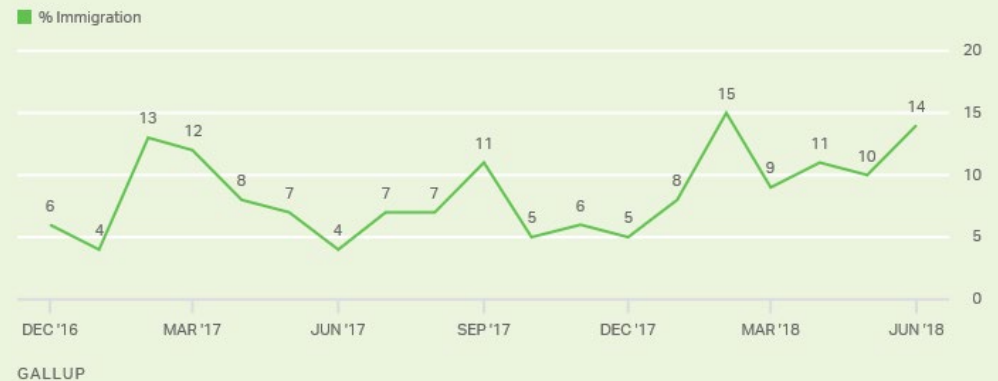
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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Importance of Immigration for midterm elections

Americans Citing Immigration as the Top Problem Facing the U.S. Since December 2016

What do you think is the top problem facing this country today? [open-ended]



SALIENCY FACTORS



- Size of migrant flows
- Economic situation
- Foreign policy and security
- Composition of immigrant group
- Strength of nativist groups
- Role of elites

IMMIGRATION IN THE U.S. TODAY



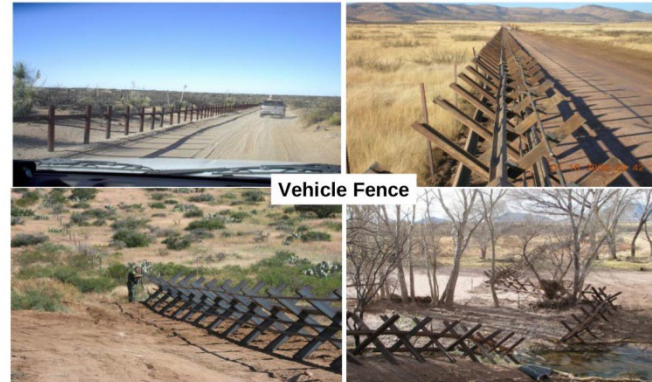
BORDER ENFORCEMENT



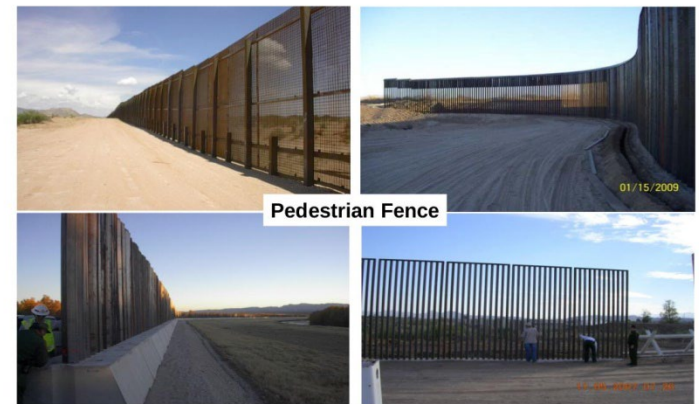
- Operation Gatekeeper 1994
 - Increase border patrols in densely populated, accessible areas (San Diego)
 - Drive immigrants into more dangerous parts of the border
- Increased border security spending since the 1990s
 - Fencing for hundreds of miles
 - High-tech enforcement
 - Border wall
- Establishment of ICE 2002
 - Help focus Border Patrol just on border patrol
 - Deterrent and increased deportations



Fence and Gates



Fence and Gates



BORDER FENCE

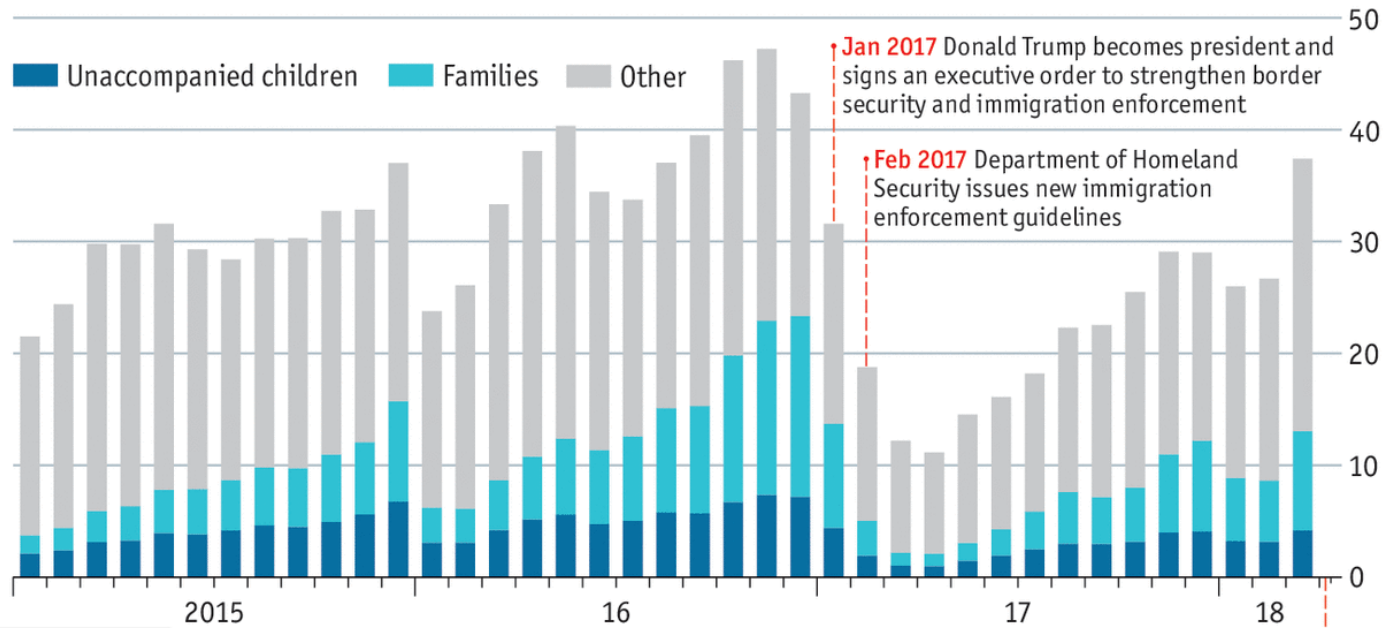


APPREHENSIONS



Bouncing back

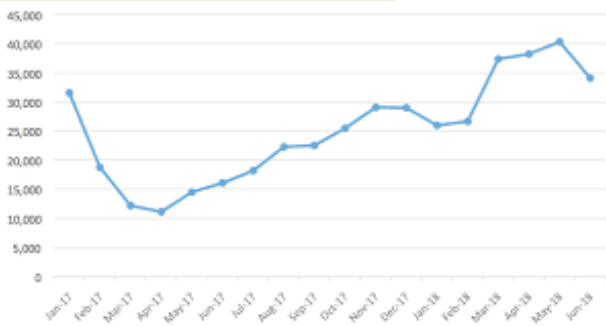
United States, apprehensions of illegal immigrants at southern border, '000



Jan 2017 Donald Trump becomes president and signs an executive order to strengthen border security and immigration enforcement

Feb 2017 Department of Homeland Security issues new immigration enforcement guidelines

Apr 2018 Trump orders end to "catch and release" policy

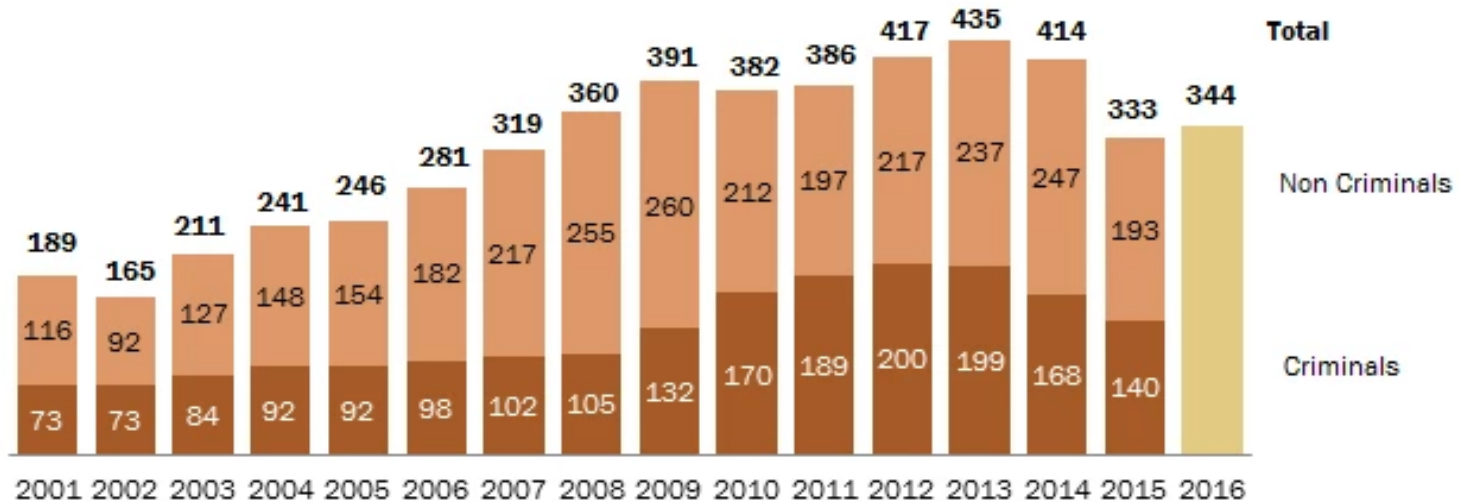


DEPORTATIONS



U.S. deportations of immigrants slightly up in 2016

In thousands, by fiscal year



Note: For fiscal year 2016, deportation data by criminal status not yet available. Data refer to removals by U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

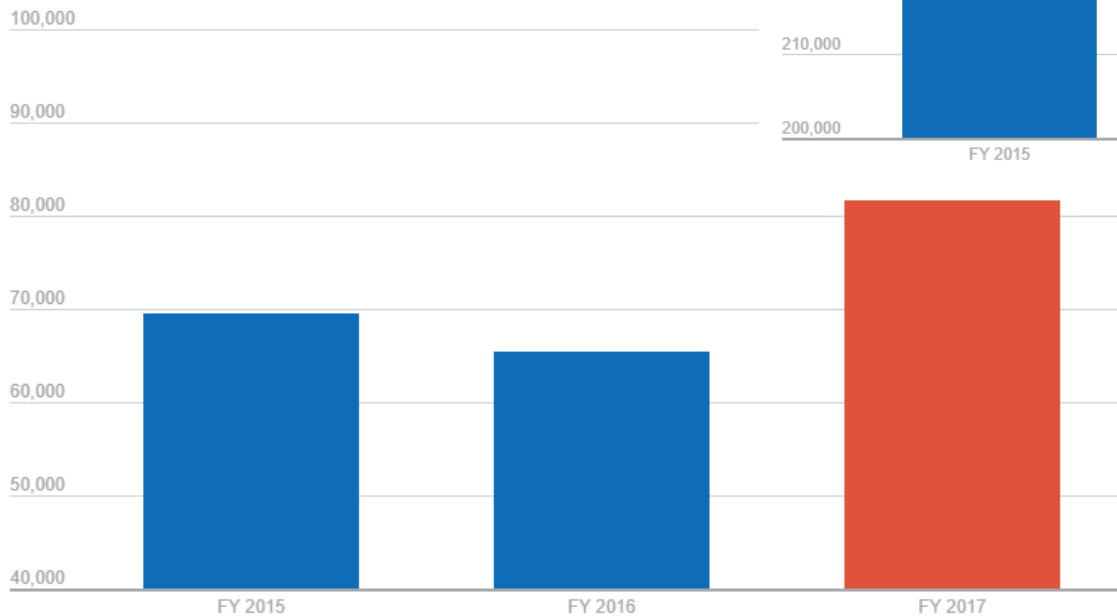
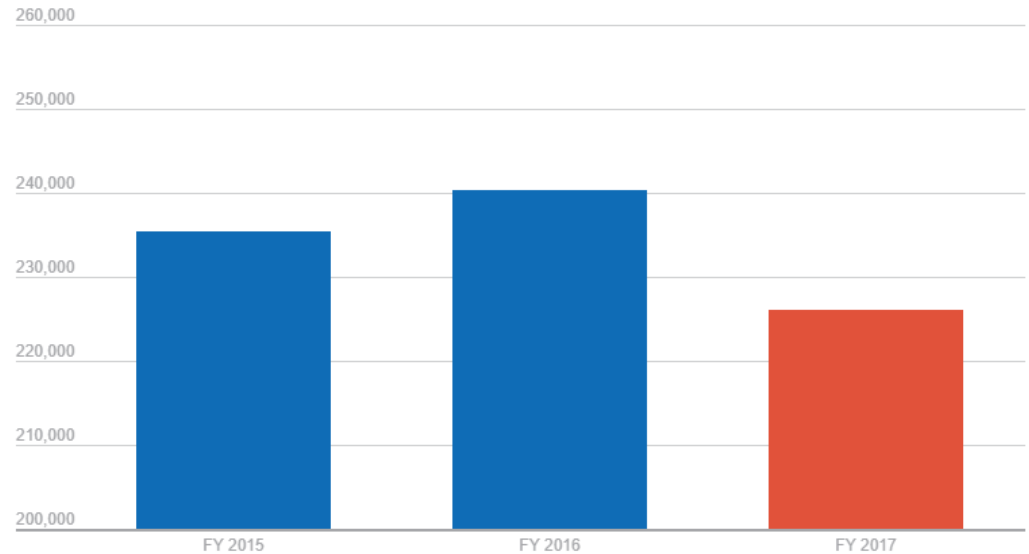
Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security publications. Data for 2001-2004: "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2010." Data for 2005-2014: "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2014." Data for 2015: "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2015." Data for 2016: "End of Year Fiscal 2016 Statistics."

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DEPORTATIONS



- 2018 a 9% increase in border apprehension deportations



- 2018 additional 17% increase in interior deportations

ENDING OF TPS



- Currently under Temporary Protective Status

- Somalia extended through 2020
- South Sudan extended through 2019
- Syria extended through 2020
- Yemen extended through 2020

- Currently expiring

- El Salvador 09/2019
- Haiti 07/2019
- Honduras 11/2019
- Nepal 06/2019
- Nicaragua 01/2019
- Sudan 11/2018



- Previous TPS: Kuwait, Lebanon, Bosnia, Rwanda, Montserrat, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Angola, Guinea, Liberia

CHANGES TO LEGAL MIGRATION



- Trump administration has expressed their desire to reduce legal immigration into the United States
 - family-based status
 - diversity-based green cards
- Denial of status if public services were used by migrant or household member
 - Obamacare
 - Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)
 - Unemployment Insurance

TRAVEL BAN AND REFUGEES



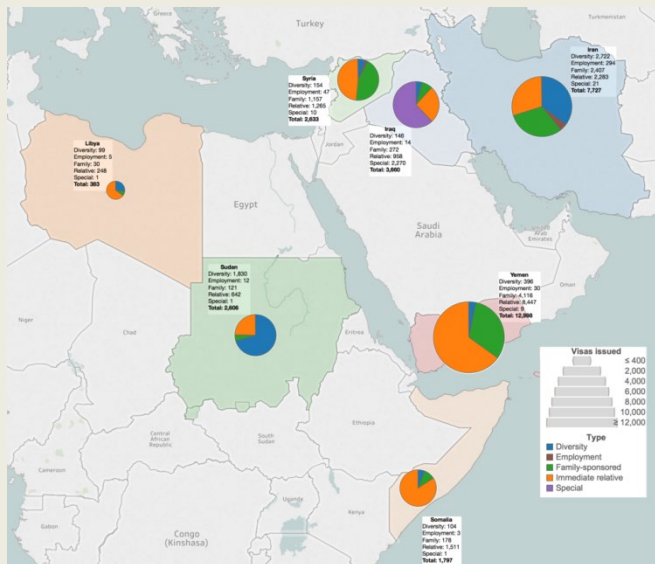
■ 2017 Travel ban

Iran, Libya, North Korea,
Syria, Yemen, Somalia
Venezuela

■ 2018 cap 45,000

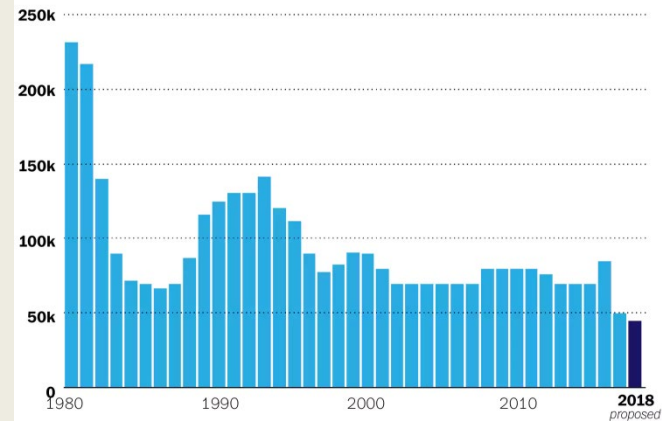
admitted 22,491

■ 2019 cap 30,000



Proposed refugee cap is lowest since 1980

Annual refugee resettlement ceiling by fiscal year



WAPO.ST/WONKBLOG

Source: Migration Policy Institute

PUBLIC OPINION

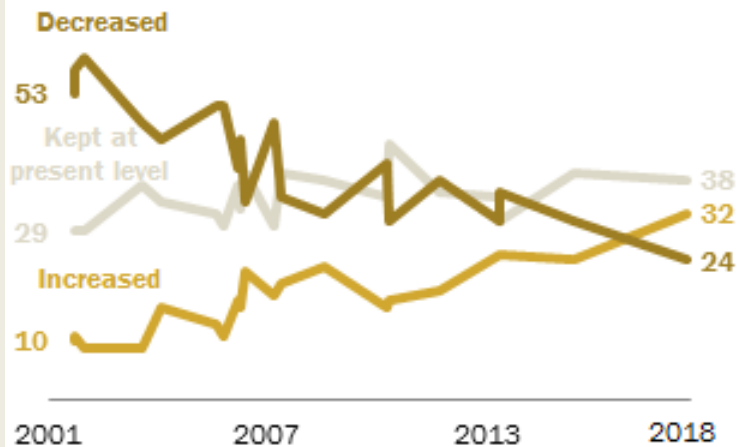


LEGAL IMMIGRATION



Since 2001, decline in the share saying legal immigration should be decreased

% who say that legal immigration into the United States should be ...

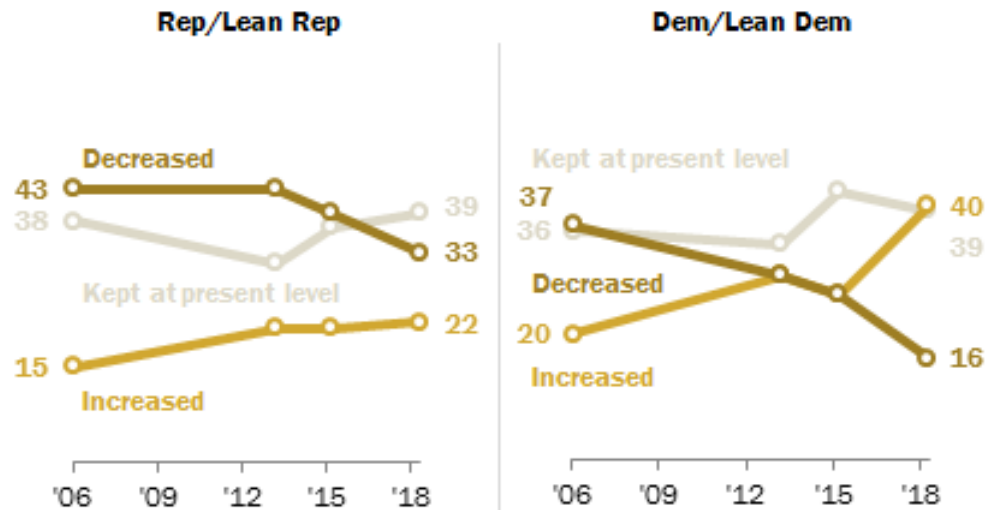


Notes: Don't know responses not shown. Trend data includes surveys conducted by CBS/New York Times; see topline for details. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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Growing share of Democrats support increased legal immigration into the U.S.

% who say that legal immigration into the United States should be ...

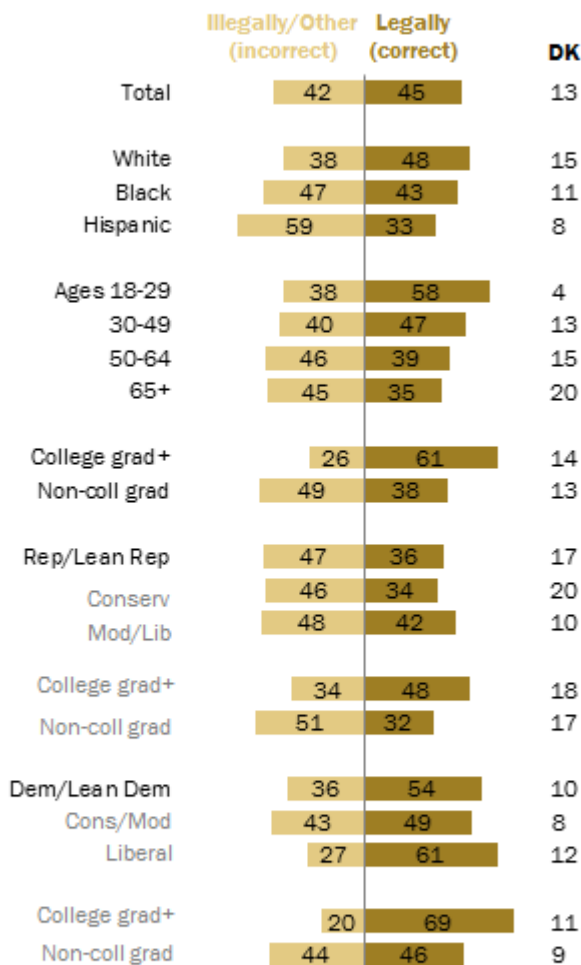


Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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Fewer than half know that most immigrants in the U.S. are here legally

% who think most of the immigrants who are now living in the U.S. are here ...



Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. 'Illegally/Other' includes 35% who say that most immigrants in the U.S. are here illegally and 6% who volunteer that about half of are in the U.S. illegally and half legally. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

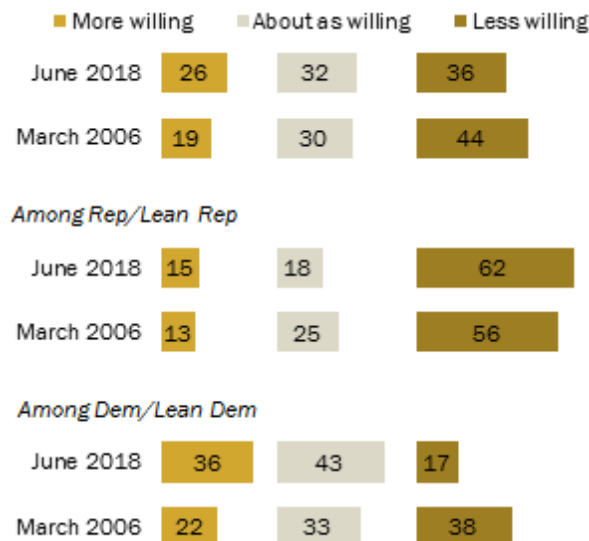
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MISINFORMATION



Wider partisan gap on willingness of immigrants to adapt to U.S. way of life

% who say that compared to the immigrants of the early 1900s, today's immigrants are ___ willing to adapt to the American way of life

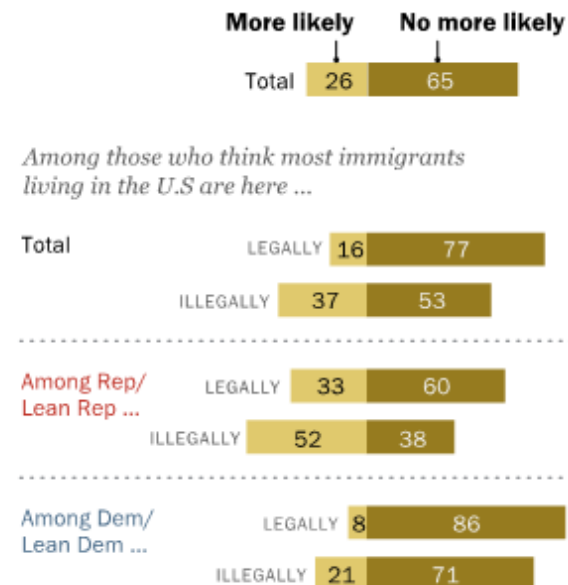


Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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Views of undocumented immigrants and crime linked to knowledge about the immigrant population

% who say undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. are ___ than U.S. citizens to commit serious crimes



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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SKILL-LEVEL



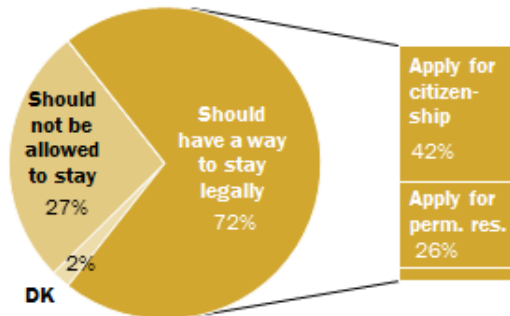
- According to the labor market competition model, citizens oppose immigrants with the same skill levels who are perceived as competitors on the job market.
 - All groups prefer highly skilled migrants
- According to the welfare state model, wealthy people oppose low-skilled immigrants' use of public services because it is disproportionately higher than their contribution to tax revenues contrary to high-skilled immigrants.
 - All groups prefer highly skilled migrants with a stronger preference among the wealthy
 - Lower-skilled workers worry more about access and overcrowding

LEGAL STATUS



Most Support Path to Legal Status for Undocumented Immigrants in U.S.

Undocumented immigrants in the U.S. who meet certain requirements ...



% saying there should be a way for undocumented immigrants to stay in country, if requirements are met

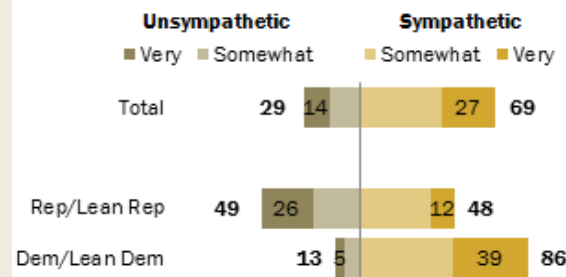


Survey conducted May 12-18, 2015.

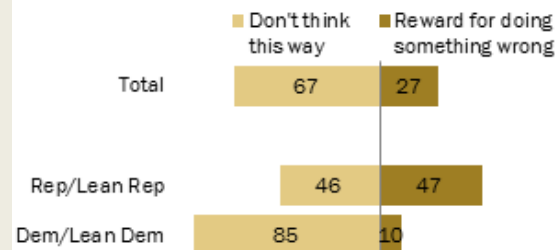
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Republicans are split in their views of undocumented immigrants

% who say they feel ___ toward undocumented immigrants in the United States



Giving way to legal status for those who came to the U.S. illegally like a reward for doing something wrong? (%)



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 5-12, 2018.

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Tea Party Supporters Oppose Citizenship for Children of Illegal Immigrants

Change constitution to bar citizenship for children of illegal immigrants...

	Change Constitution	Leave as is	DK
	%	%	%
Total	39	57	4=100
White	43	52	5=100
Black	38	59	3=100
Hispanic	23	73	4=100
18-29	25	73	2=100
30-49	39	57	4=100
50-64	45	50	5=100
65+	45	48	7=100
Republican	47	49	4=100
Democrat	32	66	3=100
Independent	39	56	5=100
Tea Party			
Agree	57	38	5=100
Disagree/No opinion	34	62	4=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb 2-7, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

RACE AND ETHNICITY



- American voters are positive on immigration, saying:
 - 89 - 7 percent that legal immigration is good for the country;
 - 78 - 12 percent that immigration from diverse countries makes the U.S. better;
 - 76 - 16 percent that country of origin shouldn't matter in whether immigrants deserve to come to the U.S.
- "While Washington roils over what formula will bring sense to the raucous and ugly immigration debate, voters put it simply: Dreamers should be allowed to live the dream," said Tim Malloy, assistant director of the Quinnipiac University Poll.

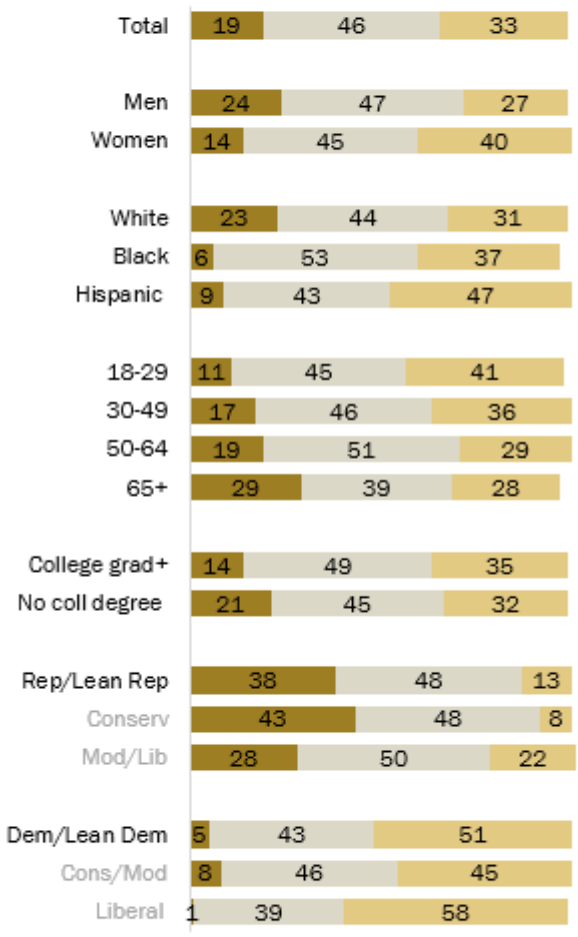
"Where you come from is irrelevant, says a welcoming nation that sees immigrants as assets, not liabilities, for a country built on people looking for a better life."

Quinnipiac University – Jan 2018

On immigration priorities, divides between and within parties

% who say the priority for dealing with illegal immigration in the U.S. should be ...

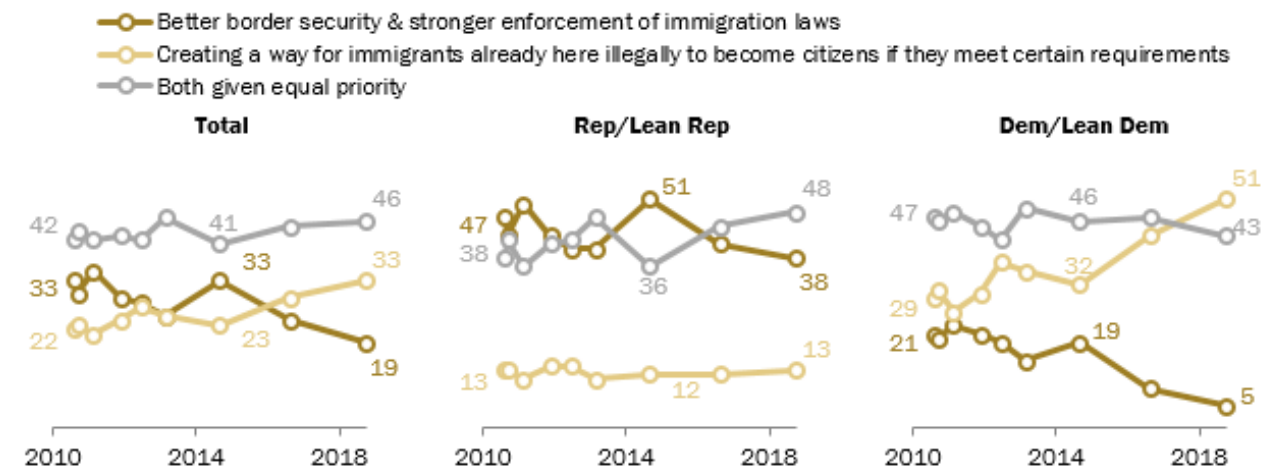
Better border security, stronger law enforcement **Both equal priority** **Create way for immigrants here illegally to become citizens**



PARTY AFFILIATION

More Democrats say the priority for immigration policy should be a path to citizenship for those here illegally

% who say the priority for dealing with illegal immigration in the U.S. should be ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Based on general population. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 18-24, 2018.

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Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 18-24, 2018.

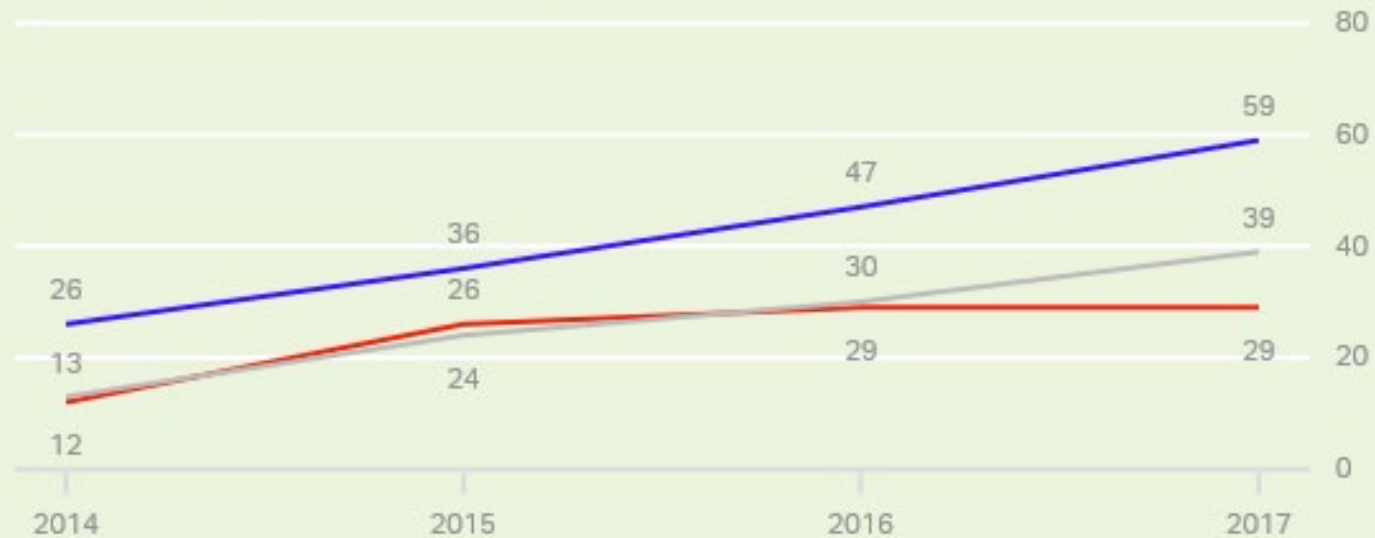
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RACE RELATION WORRIES



Americans Who Say They Worry a "Great Deal" About Race Relations in U.S., by Political Party

■ % Republicans ■ % Independents ■ % Democrats



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Crossings: Borders, Communities, and Lives

Faculty-led Travel Course to the
Northern and Southern Borders of the
United States:
Montreal, New York City, San Diego and Tijuana

Winter and Spring 2020

For Information email Michael Popovic
popovimj@Potsdam.edu



QUESTIONS?

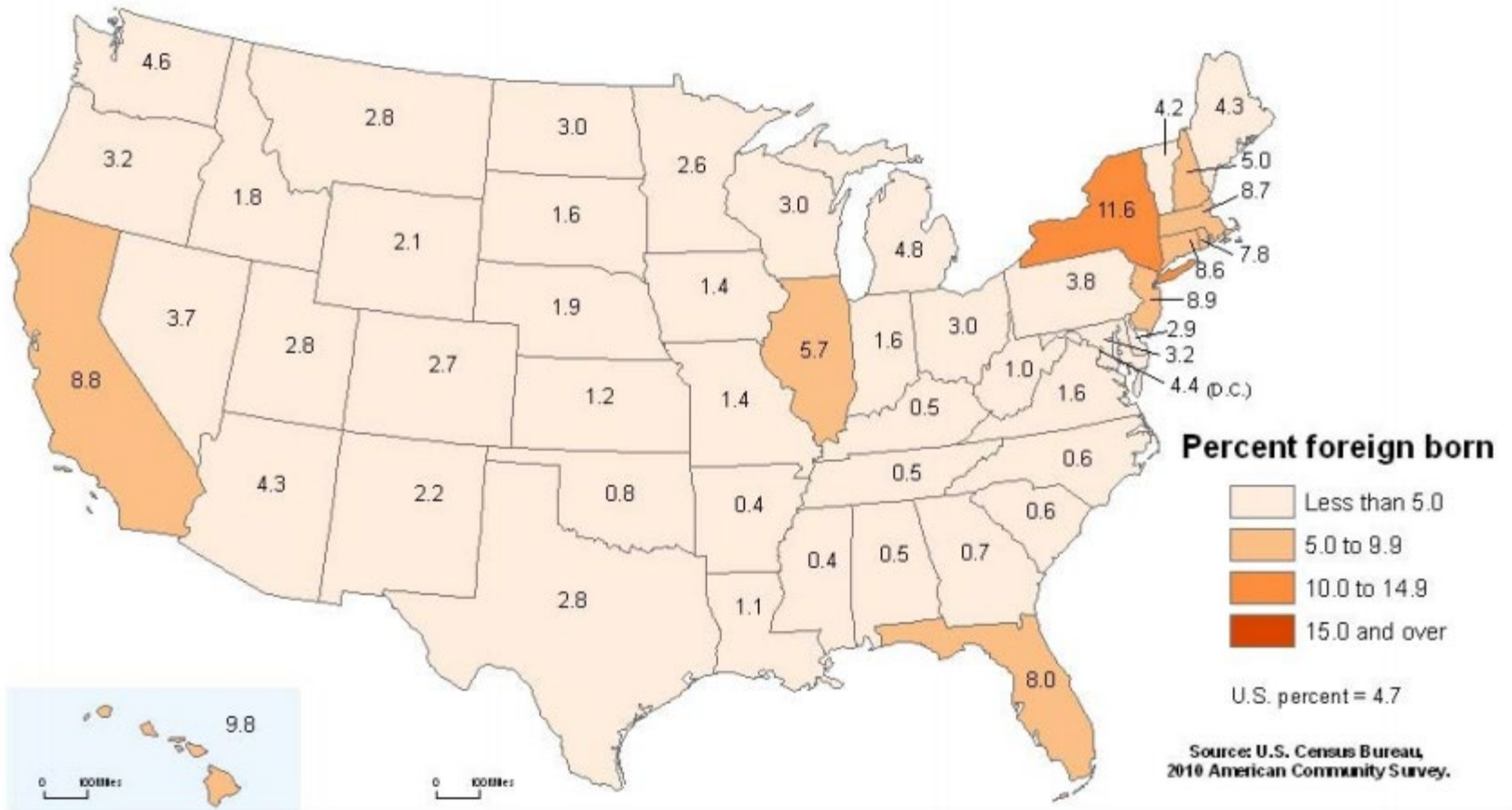


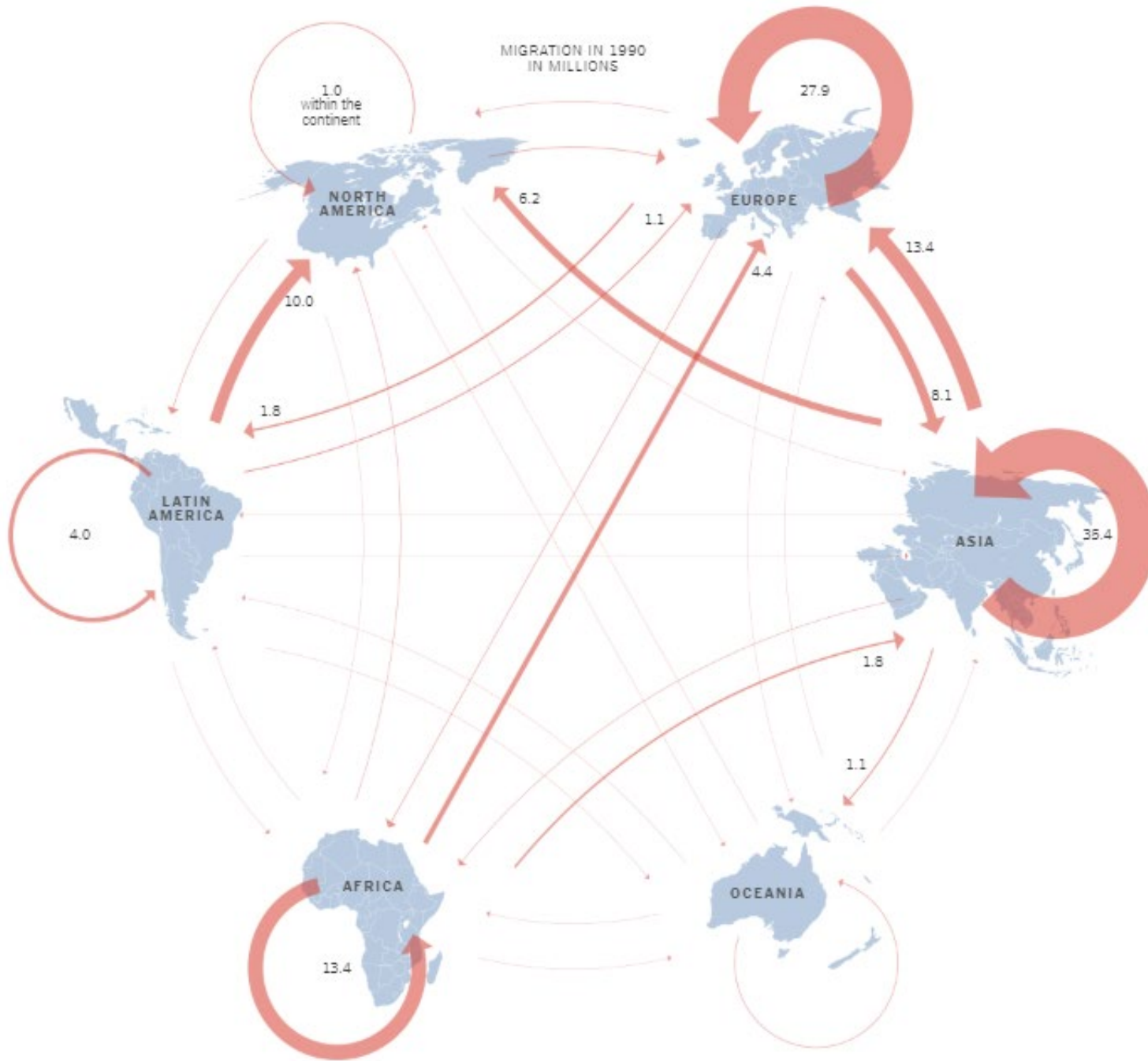
- We are not immigration lawyers.
- We cannot give you legal advice.
- We can discuss questions based on our research and experience with the topic.
- Depending on the case, we may be able to put you in contact with an immigration lawyer for more concrete help.

For further questions, please contact:

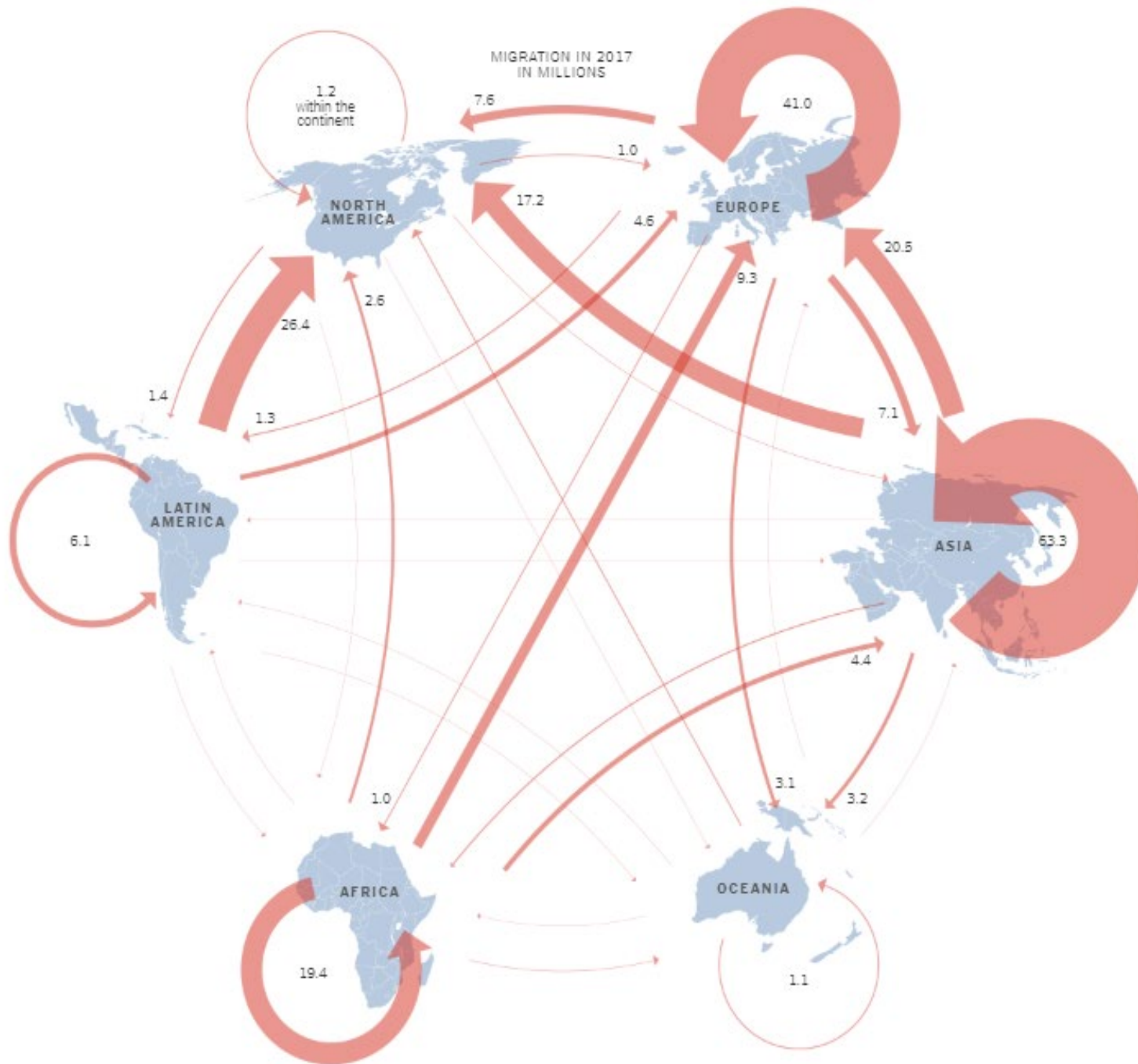
Michael Popovic popovimj@potdam.edu

FOREIGN BORN POPULATION 1970





World
Migration
in Millions
in 1990
by Continent



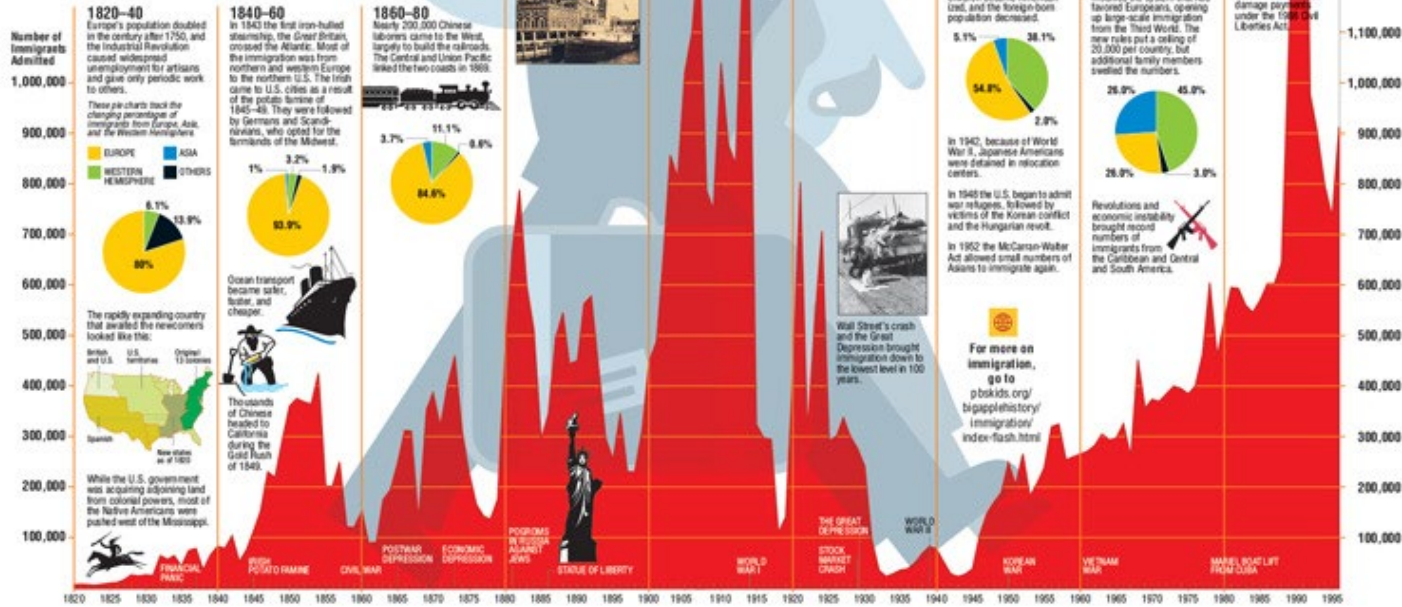
World
Migration
in Millions
in 2017
by Continent



Waves of Immigrants

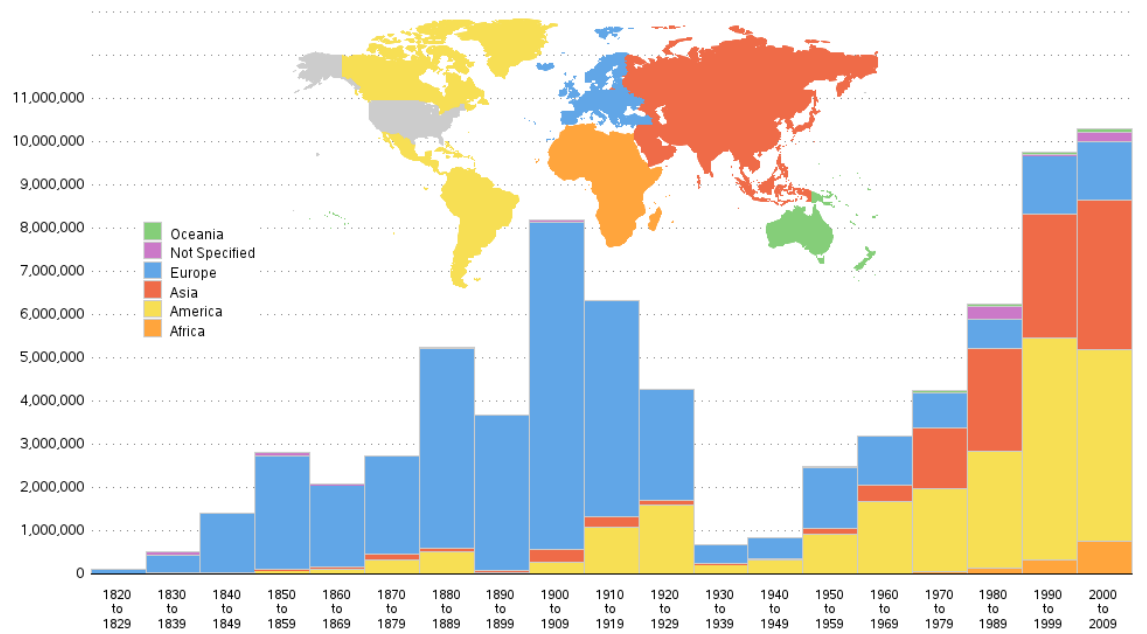
This chart shows the waves of immigrants who have arrived since 1820, when the U.S. started keeping records. Before 1880, most immigrants were northern Europeans—English, Scandinavians, Germans, and Irish. Between 1880 and 1920,

when the greatest numbers arrived, the vast majority were from southern and eastern Europe—Italians and Slavs. In the latter half of the 20th century, Latin Americans and Asians have been the largest immigrant groups.



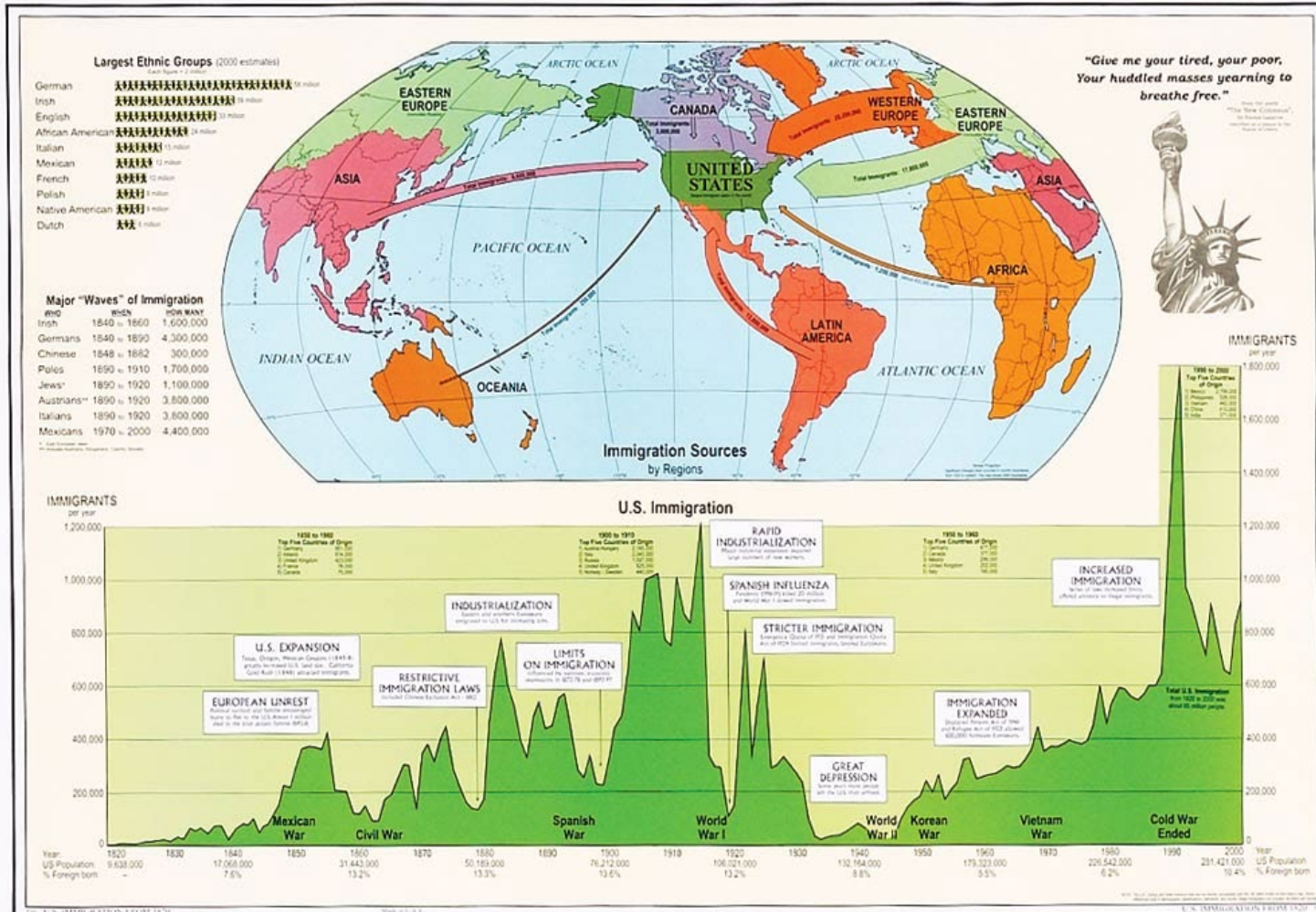


US Legal Immigration History





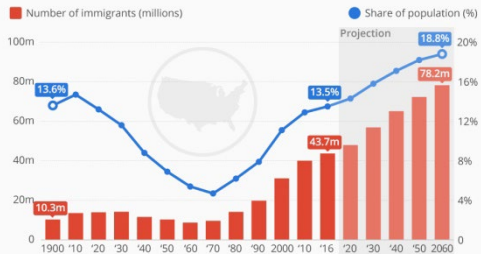
U.S. IMMIGRATION FROM 1820





U.S. Immigrant Population Hit Record 43.7 Million In 2016

Number of immigrants in the U.S. and share of population

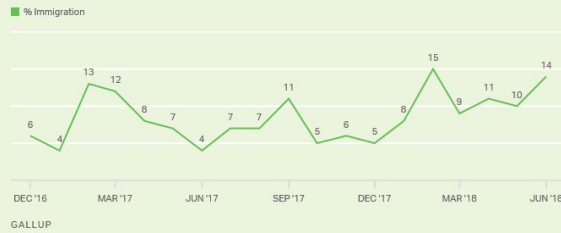


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

statista

Americans Citing Immigration as the Top Problem Facing the U.S. Since December 2016

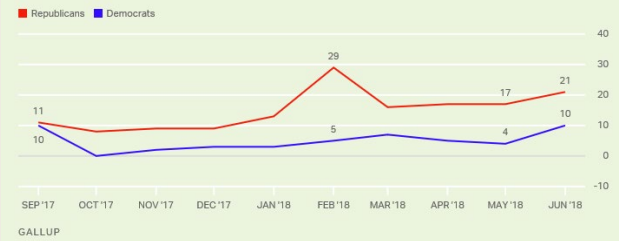
What do you think is the top problem facing this country today? (open-ended)



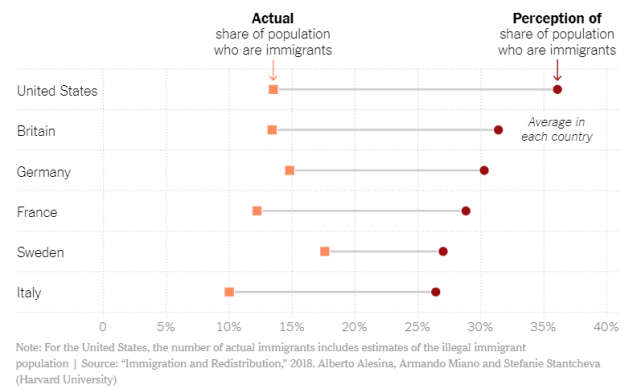
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Republicans and Democrats Who Cite Immigration as the Most Important U.S. Problem

% Mentioning immigration as most important



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Note: For the United States, the number of actual immigrants includes estimates of the illegal immigrant population | Source: "Immigration and Redistribution," 2018. Alberto Alesina, Armando Miano and Stefanie Stantcheva (Harvard University)

