

The background of the cover is a monochromatic, blue-tinted image of the Statue of Liberty. The statue is shown from the waist up, holding the torch in her right hand and the tablet in her left. The crown with its seven spikes is prominent. The sky is filled with soft, white clouds.

PEREGRINE

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

ZERO ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION?

IN THIS ISSUE

Theresa Cardinal Brown

Scott Sumner

Michael A. Clemens

Tim Kane



PEREGRINE

(adj.) 1. foreign; alien; coming from abroad. 2. wandering, traveling, or migrating.
Origin: Latin peregrīnus foreign, derivative of peregrē abroad.

What is the goal of immigration policy? The state of public debate and media coverage would lead you to believe that the United States has a broken immigration system and that the remedy should focus on securing the southern border to achieve zero illegal immigration. But is that a wise approach if the ultimate goals are to grow the US economy and strengthen national security? What if zero illegal immigration can only be achieved at great cost to the economy and no benefit to security?

Although I tend to think that zero illegal immigration is an appropriate goal, many thoughtful scholars disagree.

This issue of *Peregrine* intended to focus on this question, but two recent events demand our attention. First, the presidential election of 2016 began with two record-setting debates whose main topic of discussion was immigration reform. One candidate suggested that if he were not a candidate no one would be talking about immigration. We must note, however, that the tone of these debates is markedly different than four, eight, or twelve years ago, with many fewer mentions of a comprehensive approach and a greater emphasis on incremental progress and priorities. That's a win for policy over politics.

The second shocking event is the Syrian refugee crisis, a consequence of a multifront civil war that has displaced more than half the citizens of Syria. More than four million refugees have fled the country, with nearly two million in Turkey and thousands fleeing to Europe. Thousands more are fleeing Iraq, Libya, and elsewhere, putting tremendous pressures on the Middle East and the European Union.

Although the United States accepts roughly seventy thousand refugees and asylum seekers a year, President Obama has declared that an additional ten thousand from Syria will be welcome. Because US law requires refugees to apply for permanent residency within the first year, I wondered if US citizens might be open to granting temporary residency. This month's survey asks questions along those lines.

Ultimately, our laws, policies, and administrative goals reflect common values expressed through democracy but that involve trade-offs. Can we still be a nation of immigrants if birthright citizenship is repealed from the Constitution? Is lowering income inequality such a high priority that it justifies keeping out poor migrants and refugees?

Tim Kane
Editor

MAIN ESSAY

Immigration Enforcement: Is Zero Illegal Immigration Possible?
by Theresa Cardinal Brown

BASIC FACTS

Zero Illegal Immigration
by Tom Church

NEW IDEAS

Immigration Will Make America More Unequal, and That's a Good Thing
by Scott Sumner

Zero Illegal Immigration: A Thought Experiment (with Time Travel)
by Michael A. Clemens

SURVEY RESULTS

Immigration Policy: The Survey on the Treatment of Refugees and Reducing Illegal Immigration
by Tim Kane

EDITORIAL BOARD

Tim Kane
Edward Lazear
Tom Church

Immigration Enforcement: Is Zero Illegal Immigration Possible?

by Theresa Cardinal Brown

As the 2016 presidential campaign kicks into high gear, voters are hearing calls from many candidates to step up immigration enforcement and secure the border. Such calls are not new, and the suggested methods for doing so—border walls, employment verification, and even increased deportations—have been part of the debate over immigration for decades. Most of these calls for action, however, are short on metrics. A secure border is usually demanded as a prerequisite of any discussion of what to do about the eleven million or so unauthorized immigrants currently living in the United States; but the meaning of a “secure border” goes undefined, and the question of whether the goal of enforcement is preventing all future illegal immigration goes unanswered.

The Bipartisan Policy Center recently published a report on enforcement metrics, noting that the government has never consistently published metrics on the success of its current enforcement efforts against unauthorized migration. The report suggests a specific set of metrics that would allow all sides in the immigration debate to be on the same page regarding the current state of border security and interior enforcement.

That report, however, does not call for a specific goal of zero illegal immigration. In fact, the report notes that there has never been anywhere a fully secure border. Even East Germany, at the height of the Cold War, with thirty thousand soldiers, shoot-to-kill orders, and perpetual surveillance of the population by secret police, could only prevent 95 percent of the attempts to get to West Germany. Although I do not have empirical evidence, I think one would be hard-pressed to find any border, enforcement, or regulatory system of any kind created by any government that has been 100 percent successful in preventing or deterring unlawful activity.

So if getting to zero illegal immigration is unrealistic, what level of enforcement is realistic?

Basic economics would postulate that a certain “natural” level of immigration would be expected at a given level of enforcement activity. Enforcement agencies (and policy makers) would need to determine whether that level is acceptable and whether the marginal cost of attempting to reduce the level is worth it. To make such

by Tom Church

The Pew Research Center estimates that there were about 11.3 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States in 2014, down from a high of 12.2 million in 2007. After falling by about one million after the Great Recession, the number of unauthorized immigrants has stabilized, as net inflows have been close to zero for several years. That stabilization comes after decades of increases in the unauthorized population.

The illegal immigration population hasn't always been large; back in the 1950s and 1960s, the United States operated the Bracero program, which offered visas to tens of thousands of temporary workers from Mexico. Only after the program was ended in the mid-1960s did the number of illegal immigrants begin its forty-year climb.

The median duration of residence in the United States has risen from eight years in 2005 to 12.7 years in 2012, further evidence that the stabilization of the total unauthorized immigrant population also represents a stable presence of individuals making up that population. In 2009, it was estimated that half had been in America for over ten years; that estimate climbed to 61 percent. Meanwhile, only around one in six have resided in the United States for fewer than five years.

There are several reasons why net illegal immigration has fallen to around zero: lower economic growth in the United States, stronger economic growth in home countries, higher penalties for being caught attempting to enter the country illegally, and a lower probability of making it past the border.

judgments, however, one needs to know how much enforcement effect the current level of spending and resources has achieved. So we are back to metrics.

Assuming that we did have the metrics with which to make such decisions, and assuming that some unlawful migration will not be prevented, deterred, or detected by enforcement, how should the government determine where to focus its enforcement resources? This is the foundation for a discussion of “prosecutorial discretion,” meaning is any specific unlawful activity of sufficient severity to be worth the cost to the government to go after it? As a broad policy measure, this requires setting priorities on which are the most important activities to prevent or deter. In general, the government tends to place threats to life, property, and national security at the top of that list.

Also to be considered is enforcement that protects the integrity of the system, that is, enforcement aimed at having a deterrent effect on the overall level of unlawful activity. When it comes to immigration, however, determining what enforcement activities can successfully deter unauthorized migration is tricky.

As our metrics paper explains, migration flows are based on various incentives and the cost-benefit determinations of millions of individuals across the globe. Whether the enforcement efforts of a government to prevent such migration factor into those determinations is also individualized. The incentives for immigration, lawful or unlawful, vary by individual but have historically included such factors as economic opportunity, family reunification, and improved safety and security. In other words, home country conditions and expectations for improvement in those conditions are a large factor, as are the chances of improving those conditions by migrating to the receiving country. The costs of migration are weighed against those incentives. The costs in this case include both the actual monetary costs of making the migration journey (transportation costs, document costs, facilitator costs) and the potential risks to the individual along the way. The chance of successfully entering the new country is also a part of the equation.

The choice between lawful or unlawful migration is also part of the decision. The factors in this choice include the chances of obtaining a legal visa (meeting requirements and qualifications, cost to apply, length of the process) versus the dangers and costs of unlawful migration and the chances of successfully crossing the border. In general, those who are able to migrate lawfully would normally choose that route. Those who are unable to do so because they cannot qualify under the legal migration scheme or cannot afford the costs may consider unlawfully migrating if the other incentives are high enough.

Increased spending and staffing of the border patrol has vastly lowered the probability of successfully immigrating illegally. The number of border patrol agents almost doubled from fiscal years 2005 to 2014, going from eleven thousand to twenty one thousand agents. More numerous patrols meant a higher probability of being caught attempting to cross the border.

Since the cost of crossing has risen, the number of apprehensions has actually fallen dramatically. In the late 1990s, there were around 1.5 million apprehensions a year. That number fell to about one million in the mid-2000s and has since fallen to under 500,000 in 2014. Lower apprehensions and attempted crossings has a multiplier effect of pushing the probability of a successful crossing down even further, since border patrol agents have fewer individuals to deal with.

While fewer individuals are crossing the border illegally, recent estimates suggest that around 40 percent of current illegal immigrants arrived in the United States legally, only to overstay their visas, leading to further calls for a national E-Verify system and better tracking of temporary visa holders through a biometric entry/exit system.

Two notable recent trends are also changing, namely where migrants are coming from and where they are going to. Pew reports that more non-Mexicans were apprehended at the southern border than Mexicans in 2014. And rather than settling in the southwestern United States, where the illegal population is stable, migrants are heading largely to the northeast.

Note that the chances of apprehension are only one of the many factors involved in the migration decision. In our paper, we note that the deterrent effect of apprehension is not linear. In other words, to the migrant, the chance of apprehension has to be high (well more than 80 percent) before the number of attempts necessary for success is higher than a handful. Thus the costs to the government of achieving higher rates of apprehension are likely to be much higher than the costs to the migrant of additional attempts, meaning the cost of achieving more deterrence, especially in the face of strong factors, is likely to be high.

This means policy makers need to look at options to affect other parts of the migration decision. Employment verification would reduce the likelihood of getting unlawful employment. The availability of jobs outside the legal labor market, however, would mitigate that impact, requiring additional resources to ensure the enforcement of the employment verification regime. Additional interior enforcement to decrease the likelihood of establishing residence could also affect the migration decision, but with more than eleven million unauthorized currently resident, the costs of such enforcement would be in the billions of dollars.

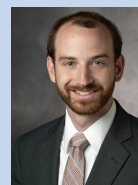
Setting aside the moral and macroeconomic considerations of such high levels of enforcement, with sufficient incentives, a certain number of individuals will attempt to enter the United States unlawfully, and some portion of those will succeed. Policy makers must determine how many dollars they want to allocate to immigration enforcement versus other government priorities given that we can, in reality, never get to zero illegal immigration.

The states with the highest portion of their population as illegal immigrants are Nevada, California, Texas, New Jersey, Florida, Arizona, Maryland, Georgia, and New York. Over 10 percent of Nevada's labor force is comprised of unauthorized immigrants, followed by California (9.4%), Texas (8.9%), and New Jersey (8.2%). A total of 8.1 million unauthorized immigrants are in the labor force.



Theresa Cardinal Brown

Brown joined the Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) in 2014 as Director of Immigration Policy, where she coordinates and supports the work of BPC's Immigration Task Force, co-chaired by former governors Haley Barbour and Ed Rendell and former Secretaries Henry Cisneros and Condoleezza Rice. Ms. Brown joined BPC from her own consulting firm, Cardinal North Strategies, LLC.



Tom Church

Research Fellow,
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Immigration Will Make America More Unequal, and That's a Good Thing

by Scott Sumner



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In recent years, Asia has overtaken Latin America as the largest source of immigration to the United States. Here's a recent example of that trend:

"Mexicans still dominate the overall composition of immigrants in the U.S., accounting for more than a quarter of the foreign-born people. But of the 1.2 million newly arrived immigrants here legally and illegally counted in 2013 numbers, China led with 147,000, followed by India with 129,000 and Mexico with 125,000. It's a sharp contrast to the year 2000, when there were 402,000 from Mexico and no more than 84,000 each from India and China. Experts say part of the reason for the decrease in Mexican immigrants is a dramatic plunge in illegal immigration."

There is substantial evidence that the immigrants from Asia tend to include a disproportionate number of highly skilled scientists, doctors, and engineers. According to the Census Bureau, Indian Americans now have the highest average incomes among any ethnic group, with an average family income of \$86,135 compared to the national average of \$51,914. If we look at Asians as a whole, their average income is \$68,088, well above the \$54,857 for white Americans. Thus it's worth thinking about how America might be changed by a few decades of rapid immigration from Asia. I'll argue that this will make America both a better place and a more unequal society.

One of the reasons why the United States is more unequal than a place like Germany, especially at the very top, is that the United States is host to high-skilled agglomerations such as Wall Street, Silicon Valley, and

Hollywood. In recent years, you could add fracking to the list of distinctively American success stories. There's no particular reason why continental Europe couldn't have its own Wall Street, Silicon Valley, Hollywood, or fracking industry, but they don't. Britain has "the City" which is a sort of Wall Street of Europe, and that adds to inequality in Britain. But Europe failed to attract the other engines of wealth creation and inequality to anywhere near the same extent as the US examples cited above. Europe's industries tend to be less of the boom/bust variety that often lead to great wealth, although they certainly have their share of billionaires.

The fracking industry is unlikely to ever take root in Western Europe due to that region's environmental lobbying. Europe is more left wing and more densely populated, similar to areas of the United States (New York, California) that are inhospitable to new extractive industries. The other failures may have had more to do with other factors, such as regulation and taxes. And I would add ethnic diversity to that mix of other factors. The United States hosts a larger proportion of high-achieving immigrants than most European nations, immigrants who have come from all over the world. One early example is the Jewish scientists who fled Europe in the 1930s. More than 70 percent of the world's Jews who live outside of Israel now reside in the United States, where they are disproportionately represented in high-skilled professions. And this migration of high-skilled individuals to the United States is still happening today. Elon Musk is from South Africa. Peter Theil is from Germany. Of course, many highly skilled people have recently been arriving from Asia (and more than you might assume from Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East).

Even if these high skilled immigrant groups form a relatively low overall share of the US population, they can have a disproportionate impact on the sectors that create great fortunes, such as finance, technology, and the media. Fracking might be the one exception, and presumably Germany with all its engineering talent would now have a thriving fracking industry if not for environmental restrictions. But in the other cases, immigration very likely played an important role in the success of the US economy.

The downside of this trend of high-skill migration is that it increases income inequality in the United States. That doesn't hurt lower income Americans, just

the opposite. Many California public programs that benefit Hispanic immigrants (higher education, medical programs, etc.) are made possible by taxing the enormous incomes earned by the top 1 percent in California. If Silicon Valley and Hollywood moved to Germany, then tax revenues would plunge, and California state spending would look more like Mississippi. The money that Hispanics spend on movies and software would also go to Europe, not the United States, where it can be taxed. The same is true for Wall Street and New York State. Even liberal New York politicians understand the importance of Wall Street to the broader New York economy. And if the City of London financial firms moved to Paris, Britain would be more equal, but the working class in Leeds or Liverpool would be worse off.

In New York, Mayor Bill de Blasio is trying to implement affirmative action programs for non-Asians. That's because 70 percent of students at elite public high schools like Stuyvesant are now Asian. Many are from families poor enough to qualify for free lunches. But even with that, de Blasio won't stop the progress of Asians, as education is mostly about signaling. Make it tougher for Asian students via quotas and discrimination, and whatever success they do have will look all the more impressive to potential employers.

Of course, all of these generalizations have exceptions. Chinese immigrants include scientists (like my wife) as well as illegals from Fujian who wash dishes in Chinatown and sleep eight to a room. But the number

of high achievers among the Chinese immigrants (and even more so among Indian immigrants) is greatly disproportionate to their overall numbers in the US population, just as with earlier groups such as Jewish immigrants. Even black African immigrants do considerably better than native-born blacks.

Some might view these trends with alarm, noting that ethnically homogeneous states like Utah, New Hampshire, and Iowa tend to have much more equal income distributions than ethnically diverse states like New York, Massachusetts, and California. I think that's a mistake. Instead of focusing on the relative incomes of groups like blacks and Hispanics, it makes more sense to focus on their absolute income with and without these high-achieving immigrant groups. The centers of wealth creation that high-achieving minorities help to create partly explains why per capita GDP in the United States is higher than in Europe, indeed much higher than in even wealthy European countries such as Germany.

Yes, immigration of several million high achieving Asians will make America a more unequal place, but we'll also become a richer, more diverse, and more interesting place to live. The phrase "more unequal" can go hand in hand with "higher living standards for America's poor."

Zero Illegal Immigration: A Thought Experiment (with Time Travel)

by Michael A. Clemens



Michael Clemens is a senior fellow and research manager at the Center for Global Development (CGD), a Washington DC-based think tank, where he leads the Migration and Development initiative and serves as CGD's Research Manager.

No one wants more illegal immigration. So isn't zero illegal immigration a good idea?

We could think through problems like this in at least three ways: a moral argument, a national interest argument, and an economic argument.

Take these three arguments for a test drive with this thought experiment. Right after World War II people were lamenting the problem of miscegenation: interracial marriage. They ask you what you think of their policy proposal: zero illegal miscegenation.

You might want to know whether there is popular support for eliminating miscegenation. At that time, miscegenation was illegal almost everywhere in the United States. More than 96 percent of Americans polled thought miscegenation was wrong.

So eliminating miscegenation must be a legitimate policy goal: both morally right and in the national interest, no? This is a democratic country.

First, the moral argument falls flat because it is vile and morally repugnant for state agents to block blacks and whites from marrying. It didn't, however, suddenly become morally repugnant in 1996, when a majority finally decided that interracial marriage was okay. Majority opinion and existing law don't guide us in deciding whether zero illegal miscegenation is a moral goal.

Second, you would know that getting miscegenation down to zero was not in the US national interest, no matter how popular it may have been. Looking back, we know that there isn't one iota of objective evidence

that our nation was made stronger by forcing whites and blacks not to marry. Those who feel that creating "a mongrel breed of citizens" harms the national interest are now an extremist fringe, with no credible evidence to support their repugnant cause. Once again majority opinion and existing law don't guide us in deciding whether zero illegal miscegenation is in the national interest.

A third way to think this through is using economic reasoning. Rather than look to existing law or popular opinion, use evidence objectively to measure the costs and benefits of enforcing zero illegal miscegenation. Consider the objective national interest based on evidence to ask what level of regulation on miscegenation serves that interest.

This strategy works. There is obvious harm to interracial couples from prosecuting our way to zero illegal miscegenation with no credible evidence of an objective social benefit. This is what the US Supreme Court did in 1967, mocking the idea that, for the United States, "preserving the racial integrity of its citizens" constituted any kind of benefit. The costs of eliminating miscegenation vastly exceeded that nonexistent benefit, so the Court wiped all antimiscegenation laws off the books.

We can try out the same three strategies to think through zero illegal immigration. The moral argument fails: No matter how unpopular illegal immigration is, many clearly moral things have also been unpopular in the past. The national interest argument fails too. Many things that ran directly against the national interest have been legal and popular, such as arresting women who wanted the vote.

Try the third way: Take the economic approach, and compare the costs and benefits of regulating illegal immigration to zero. Thinking in this way, we would rapidly reach the conclusion that extreme and draconian enforcement of zero lawbreaking has more costs than benefits. This is why we don't have mandatory jail time for speeding, why we don't execute people for petty theft, and why we no longer jail people for adultery. Extraordinary punishments might reduce those activities, but never to zero, and the effects of overzealous enforcement would loom larger than the original harm.

Illegal migration is no different. Regardless of what one thinks of the benefits of enforcement against illegal migration, its vast costs rise with the enforcement level. The degrading human cost is that hundreds of people die at the southwest US border every year trying to evade capture. US immigration detention camps are brutal places, overflowing with children and their often desperately poor families. The fiscal cost is enormous. The US government spends more money now on federal immigration enforcement than on all other federal criminal law enforcement combined. Thus any benefit of additional enforcement is crushed by the additional cost.

It would only be desirable to achieve zero illegal immigration by ending all regulation (as the United States tried reached zero illegal miscegenation) if we were certain that migration regulations convey no social benefit. But nations have a compelling objective

interest in regulating migration. They have a security interest in knowing who is entering and who is leaving a country and a fiscal interest in knowing how long people have been in a country, for things such as doling out Social Security benefits. These things are impossible with no regulation at all.

It is futile to ask whether zero illegal immigration is good or bad. The inevitable answer is that in no circumstance is zero illegal immigration desirable (or zero illegal anything else).

A more fruitful question is, What degree and kind of migration regulation serves the objective national interest? If "enforce the law" is your only answer and the only thing you demand of your representatives, I can only say that I am glad that those who shared views like yours about antimiscegenation laws were made irrelevant by the great American system.

Immigration Policy: The Survey on the Treatment of Refugees and Reducing Illegal Immigration

Albert Einstein immigrated to the United States as a refugee from Nazi Germany. This year, millions of Syrians are seeking refuge in neighboring countries in the Middle East and Europe. It has been noted that the biological father of Steve Jobs, founder and CEO of Apple Computer, was an immigrant from Syria. These stories are compelling, but do experts support maintaining and perhaps expanding the traditional American openness to nearly one hundred thousand refugees per year?

We asked a panel of thirty-two immigration policy experts to assess two distinct immigration policy issues: the treatment of refugees and reducing illegal immigration. Notably, most respondents are independent scholars, but those who are affiliated with a political party are split roughly 50-50 between Republican and Democrat.

QUESTION: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IDEAS DO YOU AGREE WOULD BE GOOD FOR US IMMIGRATION POLICY? (THE PERCENTAGES OF EXPERTS THAT AGREE ARE NOTED NEXT TO EACH ACTION).

78% INCREASE US REFUGEE LIMIT

The Obama administration recently announced it will increase the annual refugee limit by 30,000 (to 100,000 refugees). This is larger than initially proposed as a response to the millions of Syrian refugees entering Europe, but the United States could raise the limit further.

41% DECOUPLE REFUGEE STATUS FROM PERMANENT RESIDENCY

Refugees allowed into the United States are required to file paperwork for permanent residency within one year, which often leads to eventual US citizenship. A policy change granting only temporary residency would decouple refugee status from permanent residency. Is that trade-off worthwhile if it increased popular acceptance of more refugees?

38% INCREASE PENALTY FOR REPEATED ILLEGAL ENTRIES

One impediment to reducing illegal immigration is the frequency of recidivism. Should penalties for repeated apprehensions of the same individual be increased, to include revoking future visa and residency opportunities as a means of changing behavioral incentives?

16% END BIRTHRIGHT CITIZENSHIP

The Constitution of the United States grants citizenship to any person born on US soil. This policy is uncommon among nations, and appears to open to abuse by foreign migrants and travelers. Ending the policy outright would grant automatic citizenship only to the children of US citizens and green card holders.

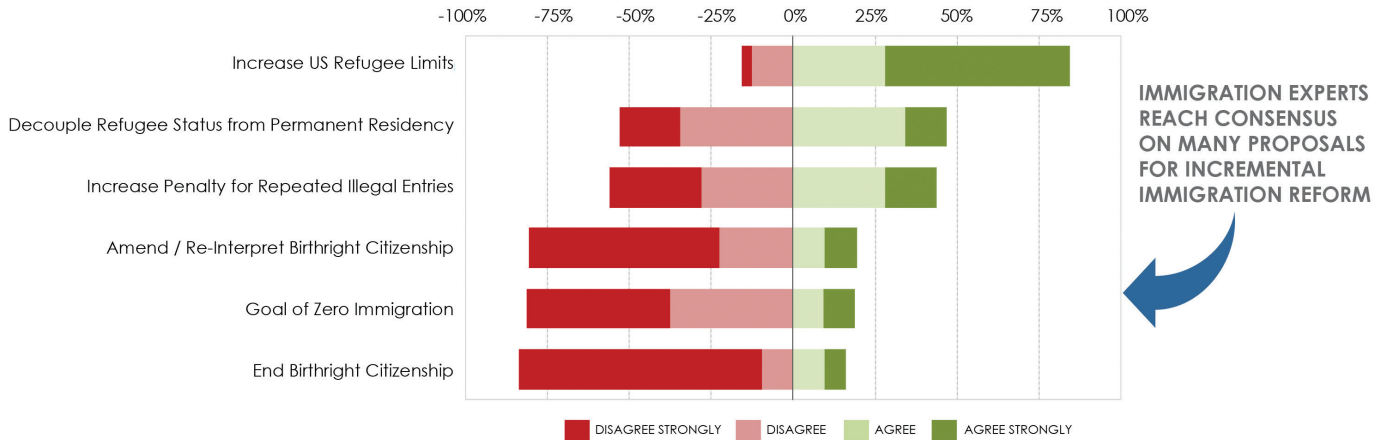
16% AMEN/REINTERPRET BIRTHRIGHT CITIZENSHIP

Preserve the fundamental right for children of foreign mothers legally visiting the United States, but not for immigrants in the United States illegally. Some believe this interpretation, which has never been adjudicated by the Supreme Court, is the proper reading of the 14th Amendment.

13% GOAL OF ZERO ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

The US federal government should enforce laws against illegal immigration with a goal of reducing it to zero. Even if achieving the goal is impractical, having the goal is necessary.

DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING IDEAS FOR REFORM OF US IMMIGRATION POLICY?



Only one policy idea was supported by a majority of our panelists, which is to increase the annual limit on refugees accepted into the United States. We did not specify the number, but did note that the current refugee ceiling was set at 70,000 which President Obama has proposed increasing by 30,000.

A September 2015 YouGov poll of public opinion found that a majority of Americans think the United States should provide refuge to people fleeing war or oppression (52% support, 21% oppose), but are less willing to accept more refugees or be more lenient. Indeed, a plurality of YouGov respondents think the United States should accept more than one thousand Syrian refugees. The immigration experts in the *Peregrine* panel are, in contrast, much more supportive of increasing the refugee ceiling. Perhaps Americans are less disposed to welcoming immigrants from the Middle East knowing that so many refugees from Haiti and Central America are, in a sense, competing for those precious spots and that Middle Eastern refugees are closer to refuge in Europe and elsewhere in their own region. I was curious if experts would support a compromise solution—a temporary refugee status that did not essentially guarantee eventual citizenship. A majority of experts oppose this idea, albeit by just 53-47 percent.

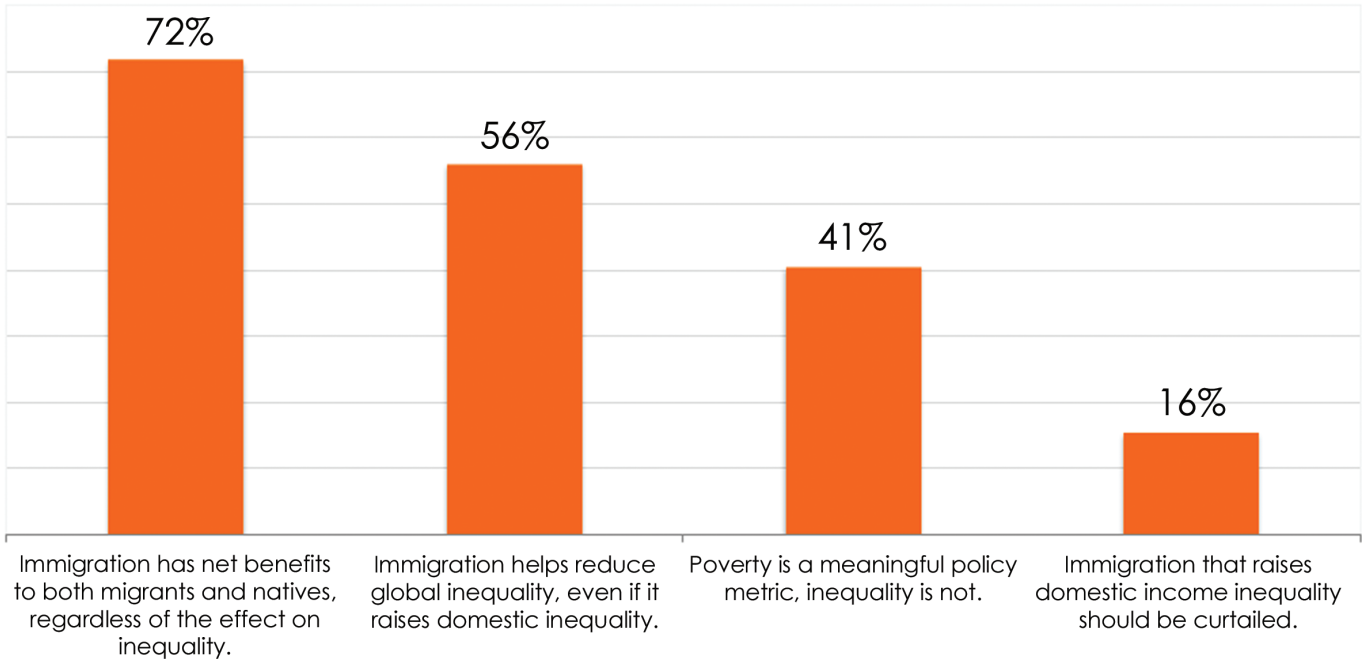
A number of presidential candidates have suggested curtailing the traditional right to citizenship granted to children born on US soil. Ending this birthright was likely to be unpopular, so we also asked a question about limiting, rather than ending, the policy. Surprisingly, ending and amending birthright citizenship had the same level of support—16 percent of the panel. However, 75 percent of respondents felt strongly about ending the policy, compared to just under 60 percent who felt strongly against amending it.

66%	41%	34%	31%	19%	16%
ZERO ILLEGAL CROSSINGS IMPRACTICAL	REDUCING ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A WORTHWHILE GOAL	ECONOMIC IMMIGRATION SHOULD NEVER BE ILLEGAL	AN INCREASE IN PENALTIES WILL REDUCE ILLEGALS	INCREASED APPREHENSION NEEDED TO REDUCE IMMIGRATION	SECURE BORDER MUST PRECEDE OTHER REFORMS

QUESTION: WHICH STATEMENTS DESCRIBE YOUR VIEWS ON ACHIEVING ZERO ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION?

Most experts think the goal of zero illegal immigration is misguided (only 41% think the goal is worthwhile), and two-thirds think the focus should be on more specific, higher-priority goals such as fighting cross-border crime and terrorism. But mixed into these six statements is one that has arguably the most relevance to the political debate—the notion that border security is a prerequisite for other reforms. Only 16 percent of respondents agree with that premise, which hints that a vast majority of experts believe reform is better achieved by considering multiple, incremental policy changes.

To reduce illegal immigration, a slightly higher proportion of experts believe that innovative penalties are more necessary than increased apprehension rates, but both statements had fewer than one-third of panelists in support. Perhaps the reason is that increased penalties and enforcement efforts have been already made in the past decade.



QUESTION: MIGRATION OFTEN INCREASES DOMESTIC MEASURES OF INCOME INEQUALITY BECAUSE OF THE INFLUX OF SO MANY LOW-SKILL MIGRANTS. THE SAME EFFECT RESULTS FROM HIGH-SKILL (AND HIGH-ACHIEVING) MIGRANTS. WHAT SHOULD BE THE BALANCE BETWEEN IMMIGRATION AND INEQUALITY?

One of the paradoxes of politics is that many of the people who support increased immigration also worry about income inequality, with little apparent awareness that immigration tends to exacerbate inequality. If one had to choose between these two causes, which would, and should win? Only 16 percent of our experts favor restrictions on immigration that raise domestic income inequality. The majority of respondents believe that immigration tends to reduce global inequality, even if it raises domestic inequality.

Is fighting inequality a valid policy goal? Two out of five think that poverty is a valid goal but inequality is not. Presumably, some experts think neither fight is a priority, while others believe the two are linked or at least equally valid. And nearly three in four experts believe that immigration has net benefits for immigrants and native-born citizens, regardless of the impact on inequality.

WHAT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY AND PROPER POLICY RESPONSE OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS?



We can and should do more than whatever we probably end up doing.

– ADAM OZIMEK



Take in more refugees and encourage EU and Middle Eastern countries to do the same.

– ROBERT LITAN



Let them in.

– ILYA SOMIN



*Legalize evacuation. Welcome immigrants *before* tragedy makes them refugees.*

– BRYAN CAPLAN



A global system of sharing responsibility for refugee assistance can turn it from a burden into an investment.

– MICHAEL CLEMENS



Recognize the consequences of abruptly disengaging US troops from Iraq, making empty red line threats in Syria, and sowing chaos in Libya. Witness the power vacuum. Turn 180. Lead.

– TIM KANE



The United States should do its part to assist in this humanitarian crisis and take in more Syrian refugees.

– PIA ORRENIUS



The US has a responsibility to help the effort to protect these people and provide safe refuge.

– DEAN BAKER



The US should increase the ceiling on the number of refugees admitted to the country. It is the right thing to do.

– FRANCISCO RIVERA-BATIZ



The United States should be a leader in addressing the crisis, not repeat history of recognizing the need too late.

– THERESA BROWN



We helped create the mess that has driven these people from their homelands, and they are high-quality immigrants. Take them in.

– MEGAN MCARDLE



The US bears substantial responsibility for the Syrian refugee crisis, and America should accept a proportional share of Syrian refugees.

– MARK ROSENBLUM



FACTS ON IMMIGRATION

With Congress considering taking up immigration reform, workable policies can best be advanced with facts and data that confirm the many benefits immigration provides our country and the economy. This fact sheet offers unbiased information to inform a constructive dialogue about policy reform.

A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS



1 in 8

residents of the United States were born in **another country**



Immigrants make up **13% of the US Population**
~ 40 million people



1 in 2

immigrants in the United States **are citizens**

88% of employment-based green card holders live in the US



VS



38% of family-based green card holders live in the US

ECONOMIC BENEFITS



In an area where **1** high-skilled visa holder is hired, an average of **2.8** native-born Americans are also hired.



In an area where **1** low-skilled visa holder is hired, an average of **4.6** native-born Americans are also hired.



A foreign born graduate with a STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) degree is associated with an additional **2.6 jobs** for native-born Americans.

IMPACT ON BUSINESS



Immigrants are **2x** more likely than natives to start businesses.

During the decade 1995-2005, American companies founded by immigrants:

- ➔ **Employed 450,000 workers in the United States**
- ➔ **Generated \$52 Billion in sales**



50%

of Silicon Valley startups are **founded by immigrants**

REFORM IS ESSENTIAL

6% of American green cards are employment-based vs **50-70%** of European green cards.
America's future prosperity depends on continued immigration.

Employment-based immigration



↑ **Increase** real GDP by **3.2%**

↓ **Reduce** the Federal deficit by **\$150 billion** over the next decade

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ABOUT *PEREGRINE*

Peregrine is an online journal about US immigration policy that provides background facts, surveys, and opinion essays by scholars from a variety of perspectives. Each issue of *Peregrine* addresses a different aspect of immigration, looking to educate as well as identify areas of agreement among experts and the public on incremental policy changes. This free publication will be published online and in print and will also be available as a downloadable PDF.

The starting point for *Peregrine* is an awareness of America's unique status as a nation of immigrants. From pilgrims to pioneers to huddled masses yearning to breathe free, Americans are a peregrine people. The country's pathway to citizenship has been open for centuries and even now welcomes more than one million foreigners as permanent, legal residents every year. The United States is also a nation of laws, balancing natural rights with sovereign democracy. To maintain America's strengths as a nation of immigrants and a democracy of laws, *Peregrine* provides an arena in which the best reform ideas will be published, discussed, and analyzed.

Peregrine is led by Tim Kane, editor, and Tom Church, managing editor, as part of the Hoover Institution Conte Initiative on Immigration Reform. The journal relies on contributions from the membership of Hoover's Working Group on Immigration Reform, co-chaired by Edward Lazear and Tim Kane.

CONTE INITIATIVE ON IMMIGRATION REFORM

The Hoover Institution's Conte Initiative on Immigration Reform is the result of significant scholarly workshops and conversations among academics, politicians, and Hoover fellows who are concerned with America's current immigration system.

The current system is complicated, restrictive, and badly in need of reform. It is ineffective at its stated goals of allowing sufficient immigration and punishing transgressors who overstay their visas or cross our borders illegally. A working group has been formed under this initiative that aims to improve immigration law by providing innovative ideas and clear improvements to every part of the system—from border security to green cards to temporary work visas. Our efforts are provided by Hoover scholars and leading affiliated thinkers and reformers from both sides of the aisle. Our membership is united by only one common theme: Our current system is broken and needs to be reformed.

Edward Lazear and Tim Kane co-chair the project as part of Conte Initiative on Immigration Reform with management and research support from Tom Church. For more information about the Conte Immigration Initiative, visit us online at www.hoover.org/research-teams/immigration-reform.



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