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***Obama's Policy Challenges and the
Future of U.S Immigration***

Oxford University
Astor Lecture
March 5, 2009

Why is immigration currently a big deal?

Failure of the federal government to overhaul laws

Historically rapid growth of the immigrant population

A new geography of immigrant settlement, including many areas with little recent history of immigration

National context is important for understanding some of the changes across the country

Many new areas, with little recent history of immigration have fast growing foreign-born populations

Anxiety about the role of immigrants in the US economy and society

A range of approaches around immigration and immigrants at the state and local level

Immigration Reform: The International Context

The Global Context of Migration

Three percent of the world's population lives outside their country of birth.

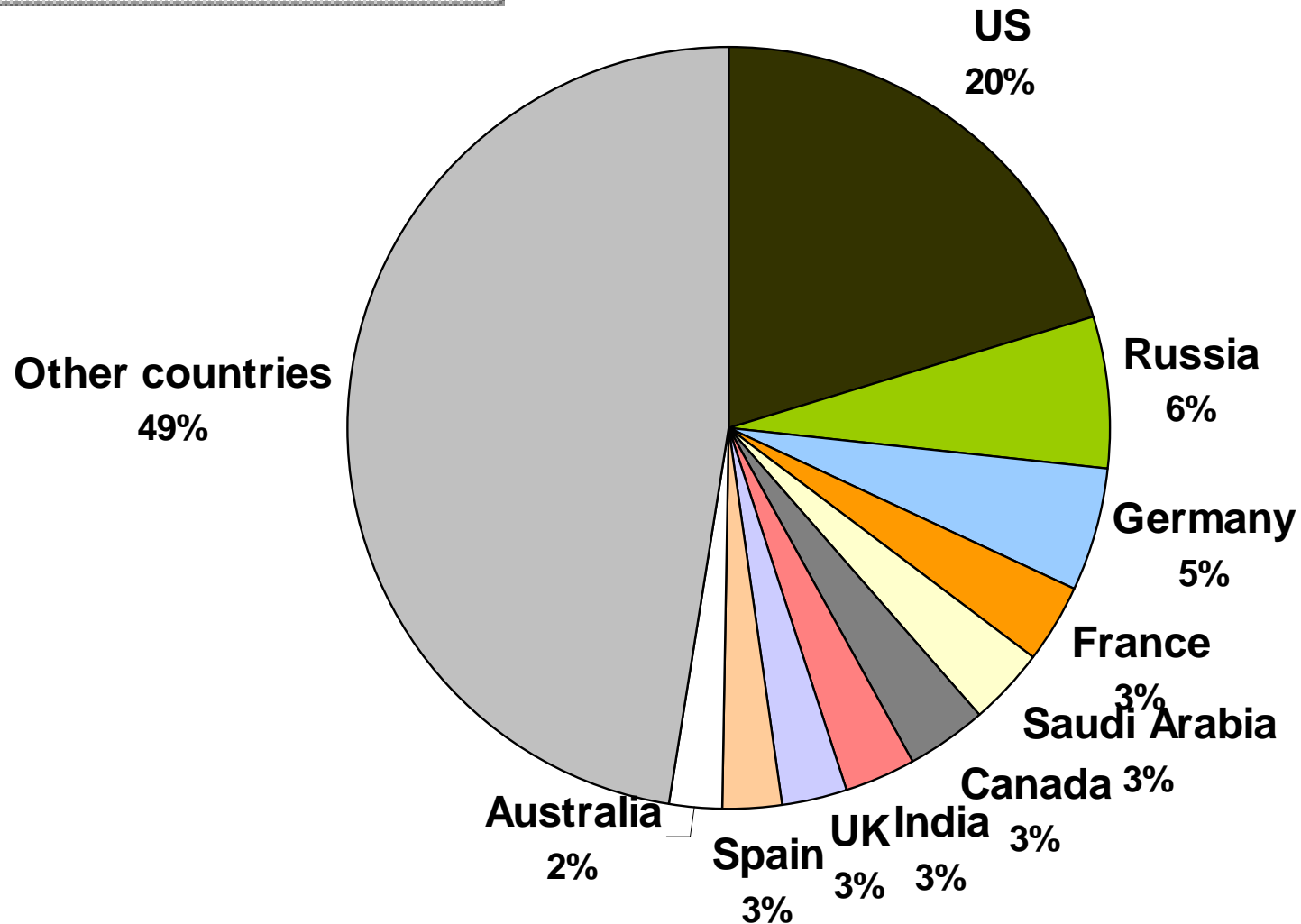
Sixty percent of international migrants live in more developed countries.

Ten countries host more than half of the world's international migrants.

One fifth of the world's migrants are in the US

WORLD: 190,633,564

Top Ten: 52% of the world's total



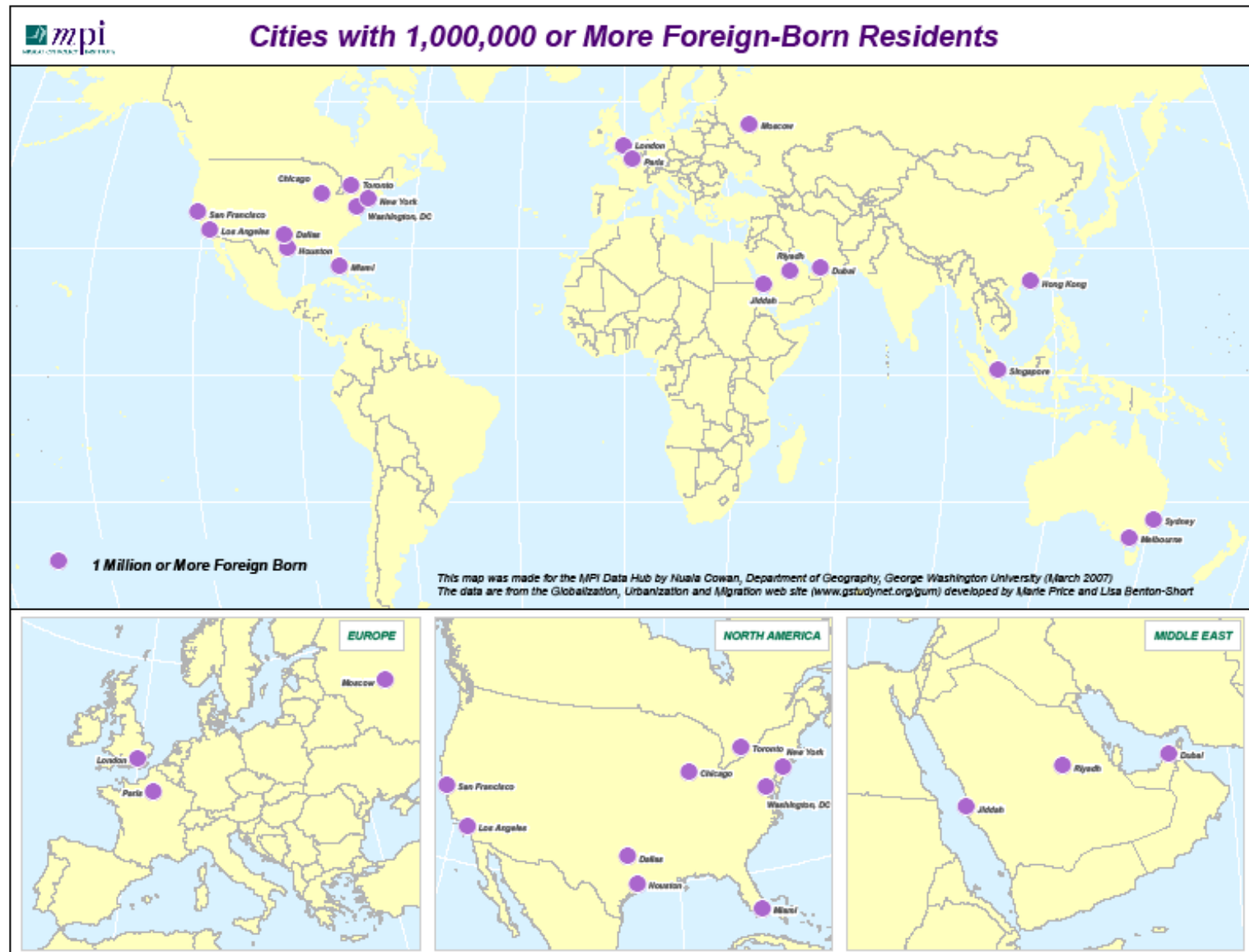
The United States receives more immigrants than any other country

Immigrant Stock and Percent Foreign Born, Selected Countries, circa 2005

	Immigrant Stock (millions)	% Foreign Born
Australia	4.1	20.3%
United Kingdom	5.4	9.1%
Canada	6.1	18.9%
France	6.5	10.7%
Germany	10.1	12.4%
USA	38.0	12.6%

Source: United Nations, 2006

Nearly half of the world's metropolitan areas with more than 1M migrants are in the US



Source: Globalization, Urbanization, and Migration (GUM) project

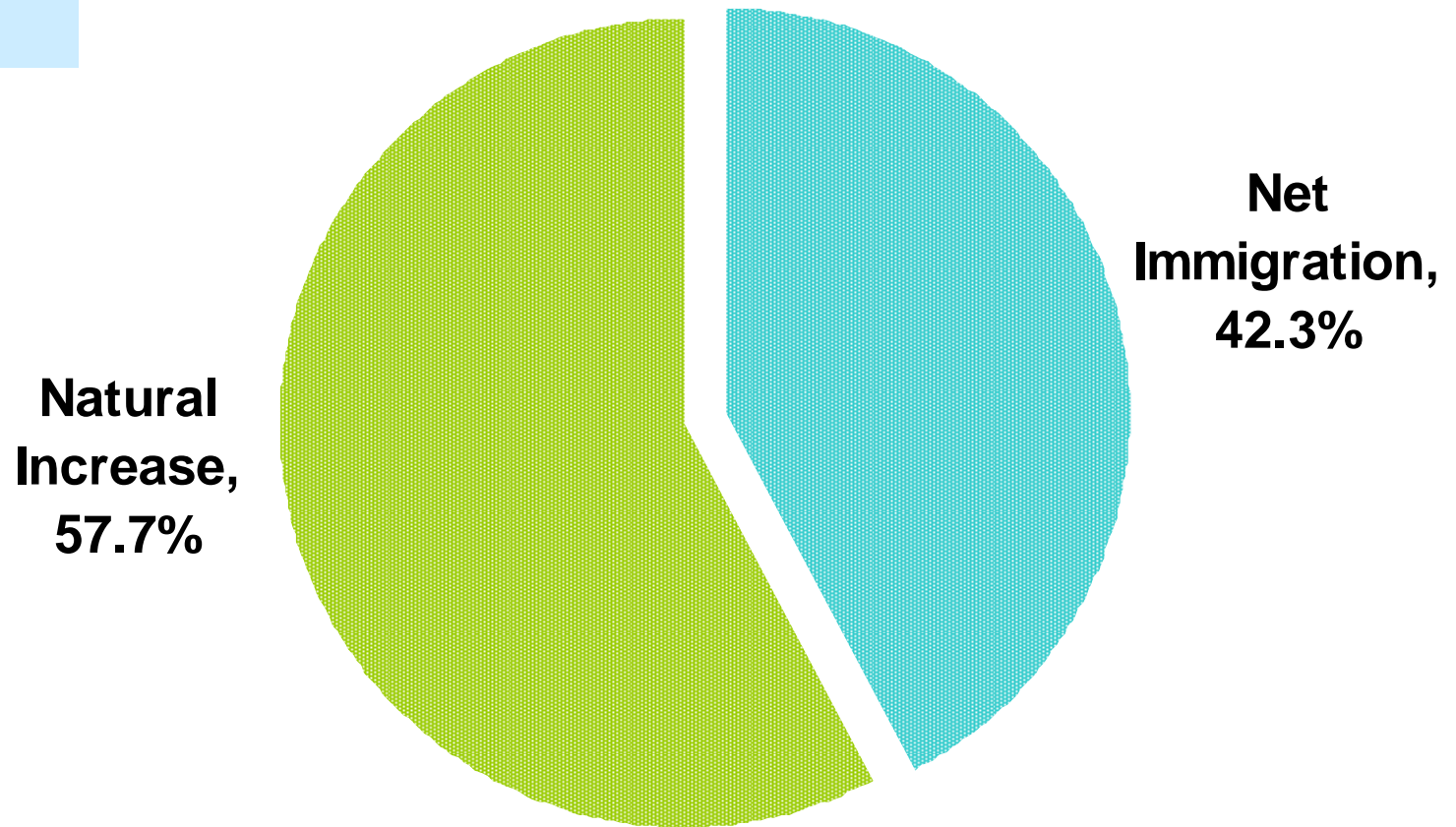
Immigration Reform: The National Context



Mexico-US border near San Diego, CA

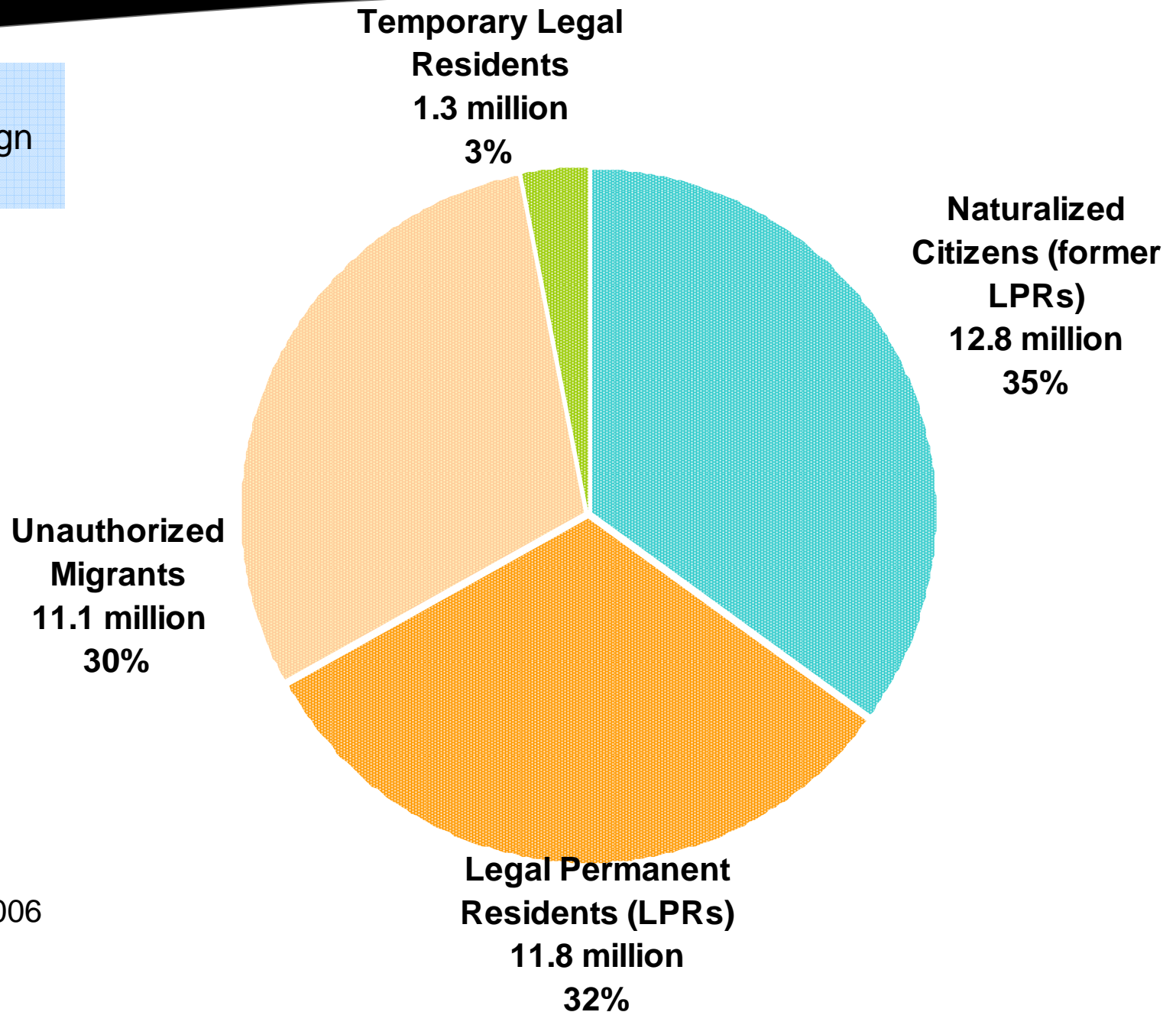
Currently forty-two percent of US population growth comes from immigration

**Components of
population change,
2000-2005**



An estimated 30 percent of immigrants in the US are unauthorized

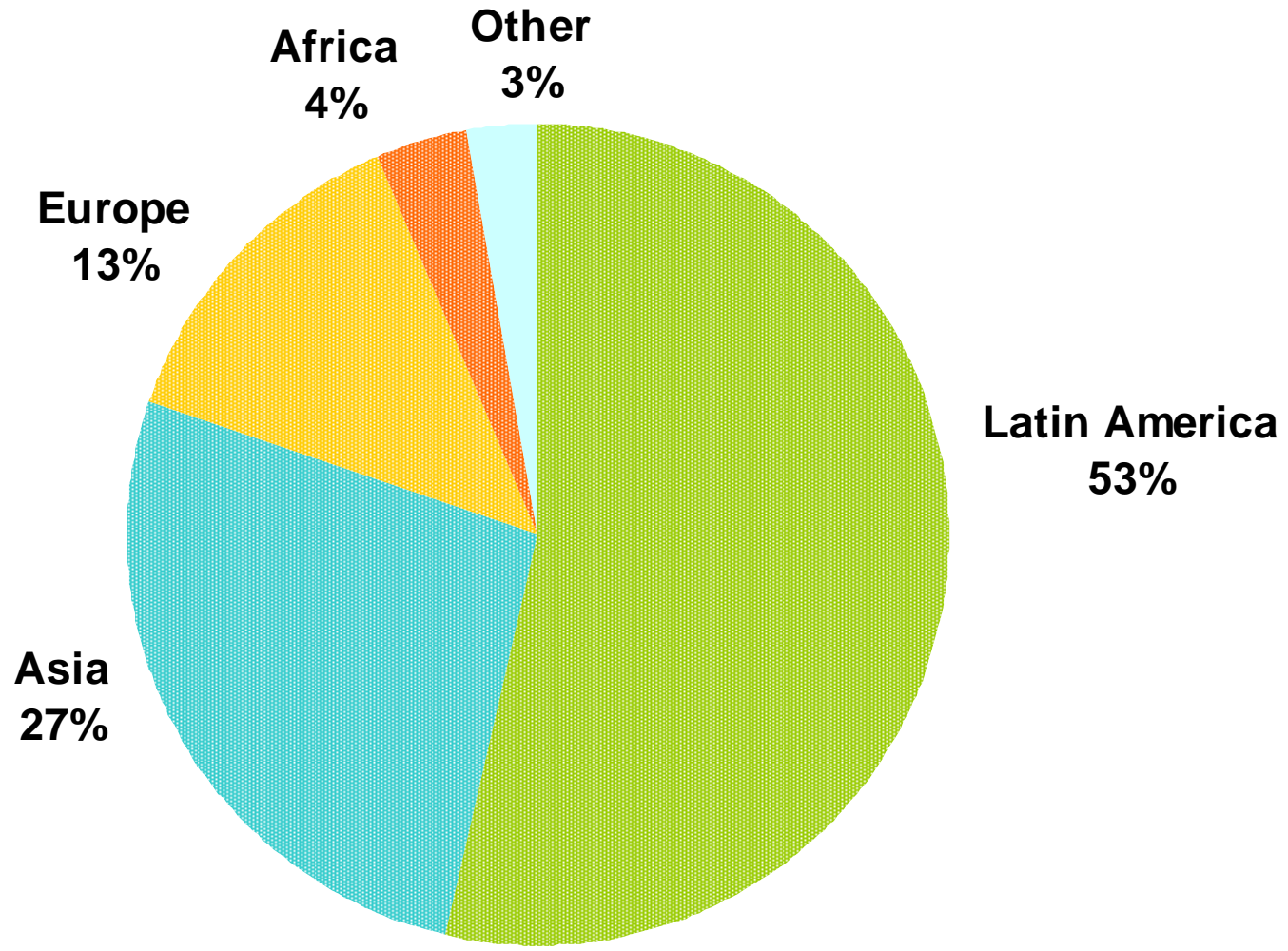
Estimated legal status of the foreign born, 2005



Source: Passel, 2006

Source: Passel, 2006

More than half of all immigrants are from Latin America; Asian immigrants represent about one-quarter



Nationally, Mexican immigrants dominate; diverse origins round out the top ten countries

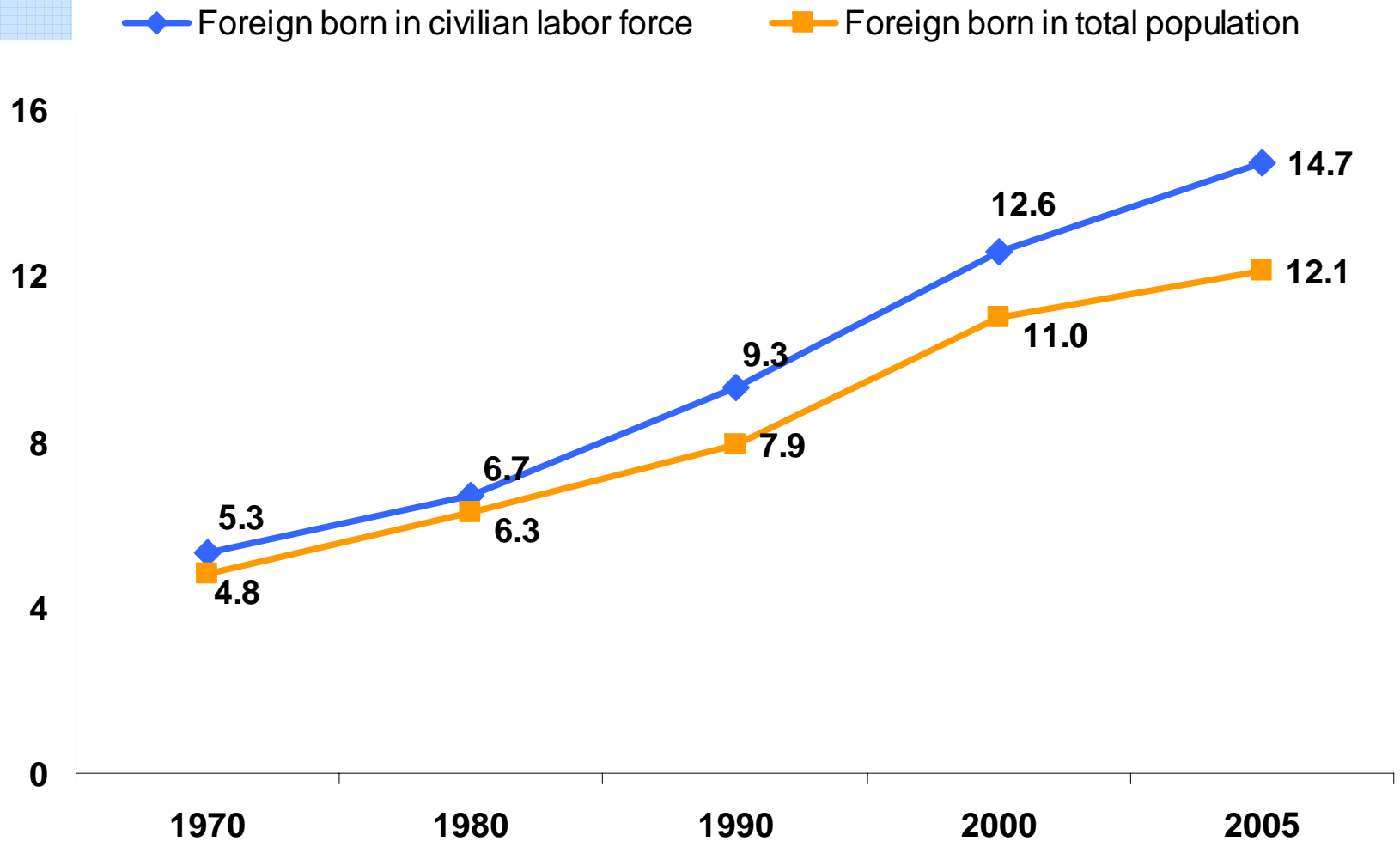
Foreign-born
Persons Residing
in the U.S. 2006

1	Mexico	11,541,404
2	Philippines	1,638,413
3	India	1,519,157
4	China	1,334,079
5	Vietnam	1,117,800
6	El Salvador	1,047,124
7	Korea	1,023,956
8	Cuba	935,865
9	Canada	846,913
10	Dominican Republic	766,570

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2006

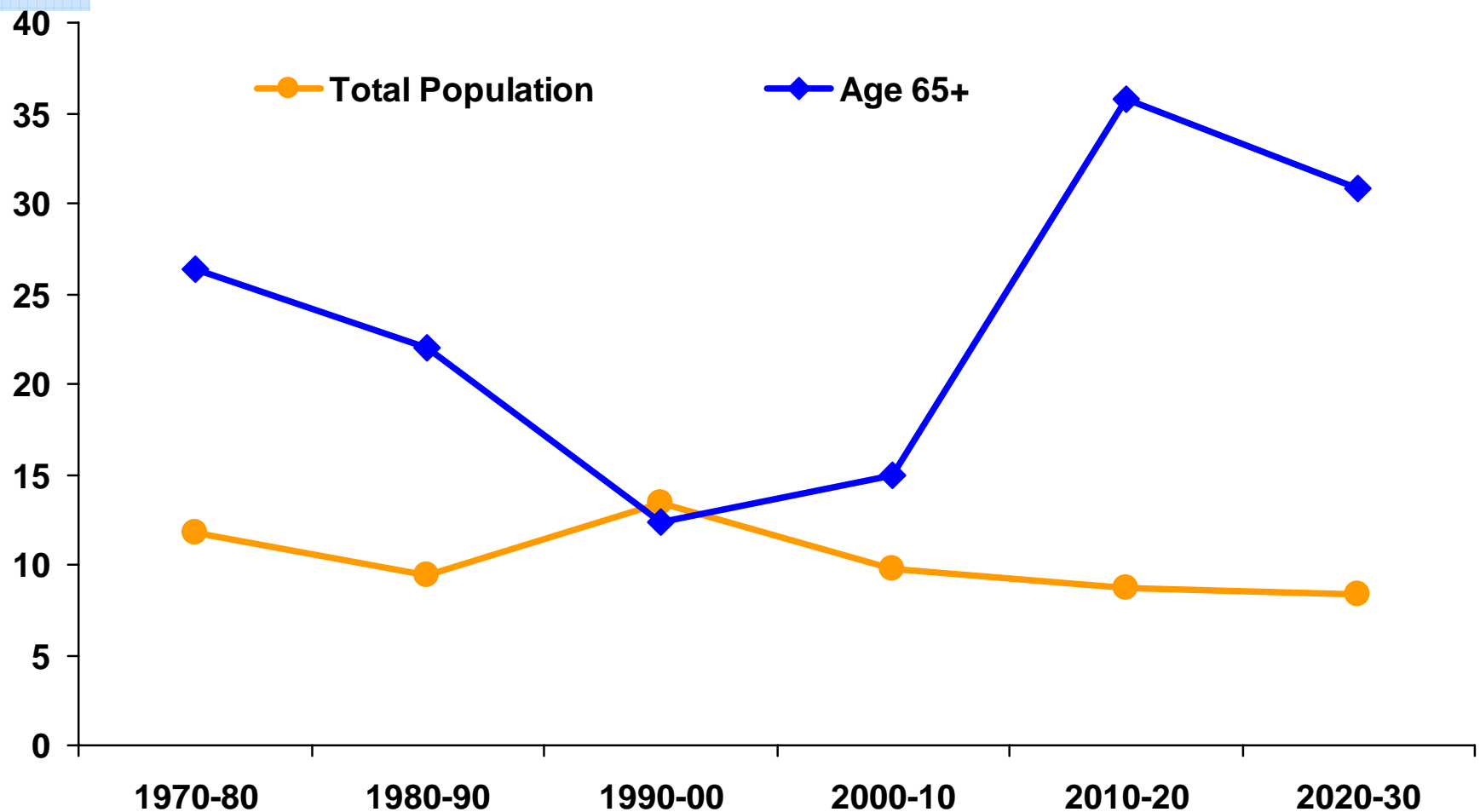
Immigrant workers are a growing part of the U.S. labor force

Foreign-born
Proportion of US
Labor Force and
Total Population,
1970-2005



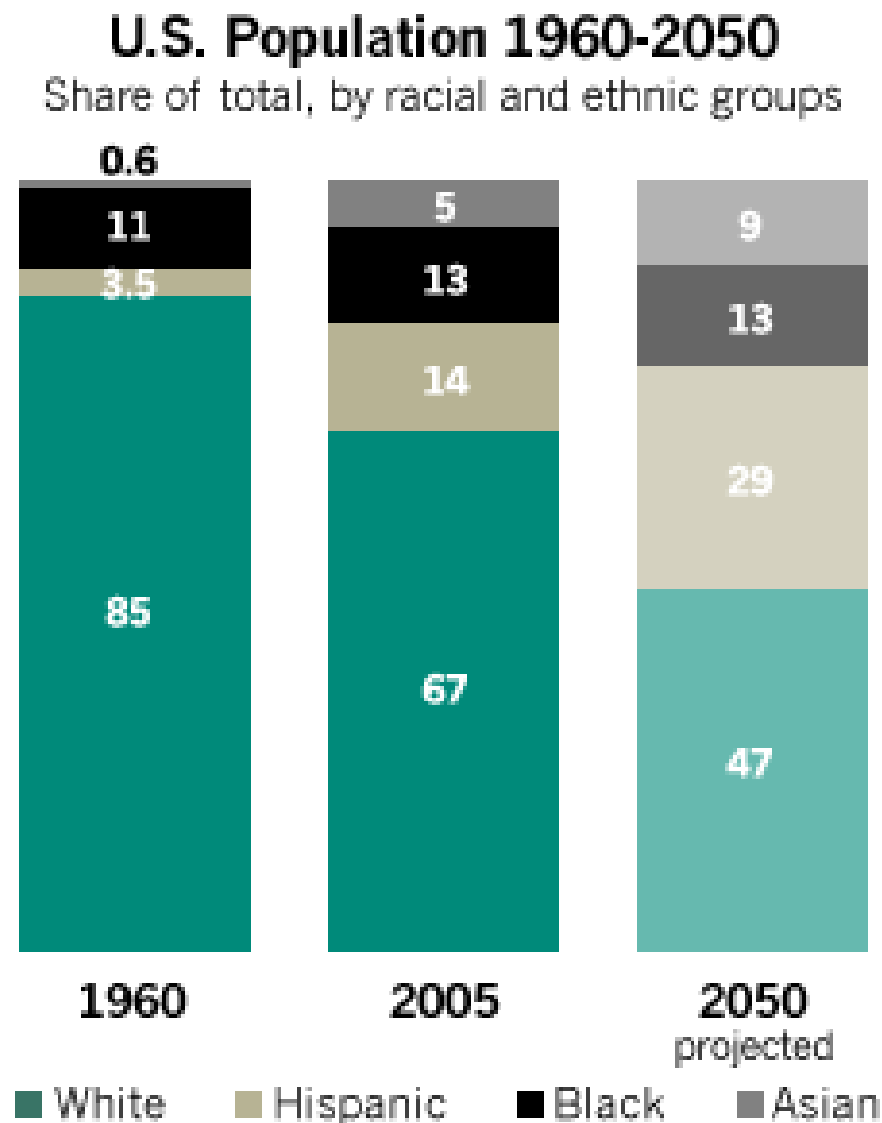
The U.S. population 65 and over is projected to spike in the next few decades

Total population
and age 65+
growth, 1970-
2030



Source: William H. Frey analysis

The Latino population will triple in size and account for most of the population growth, 2005-2050

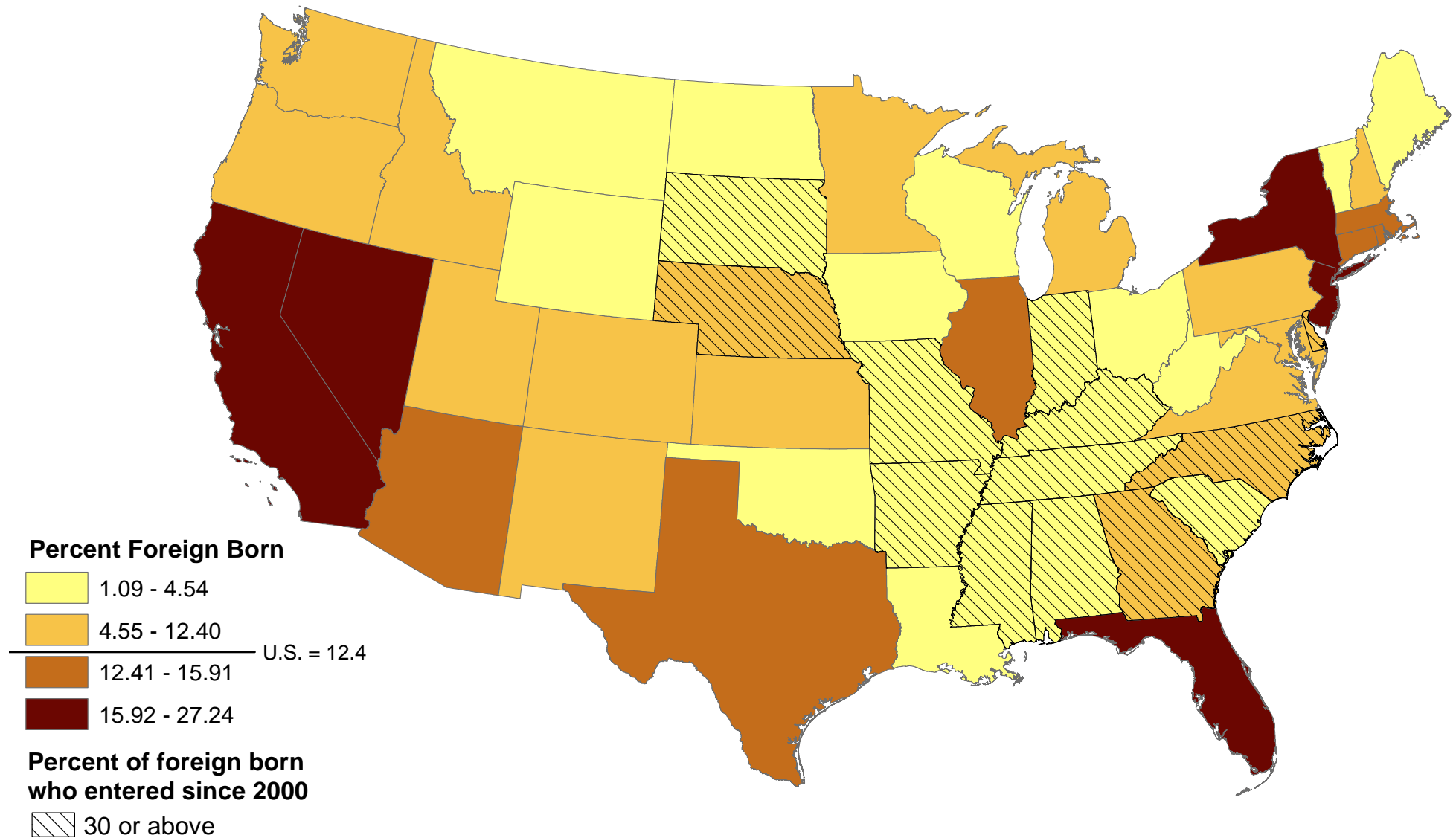




The New Geography of Immigration

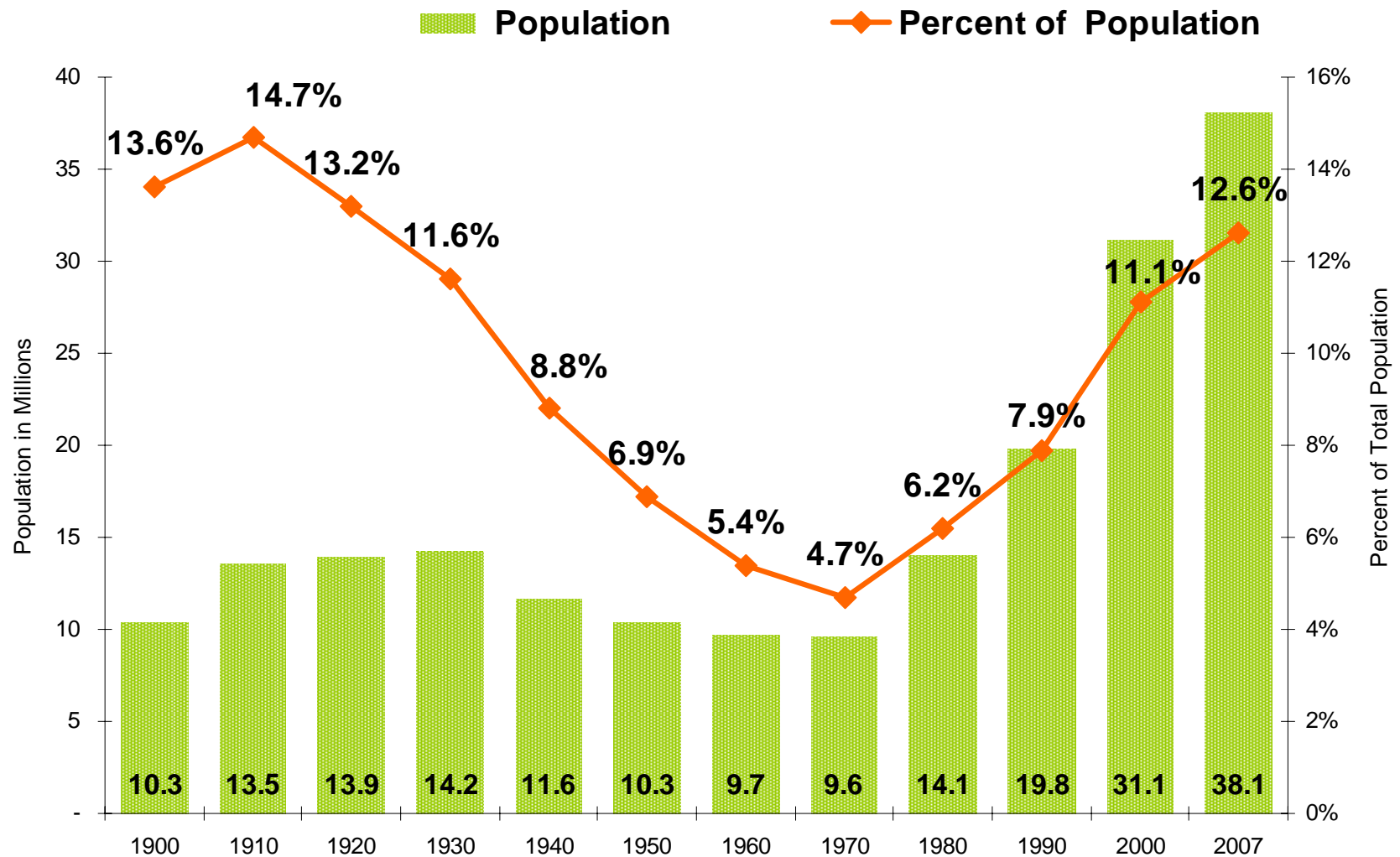
Public Library, Montgomery County, MD

Places with the fastest growing foreign-born populations have little experience with immigration



Immigration trends are approaching the peak years in the early 20th century

Total Foreign Born and Share Foreign Born in the United States, 1900-2005



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Few cities have maintained their status as gateways throughout the 20th century

1900

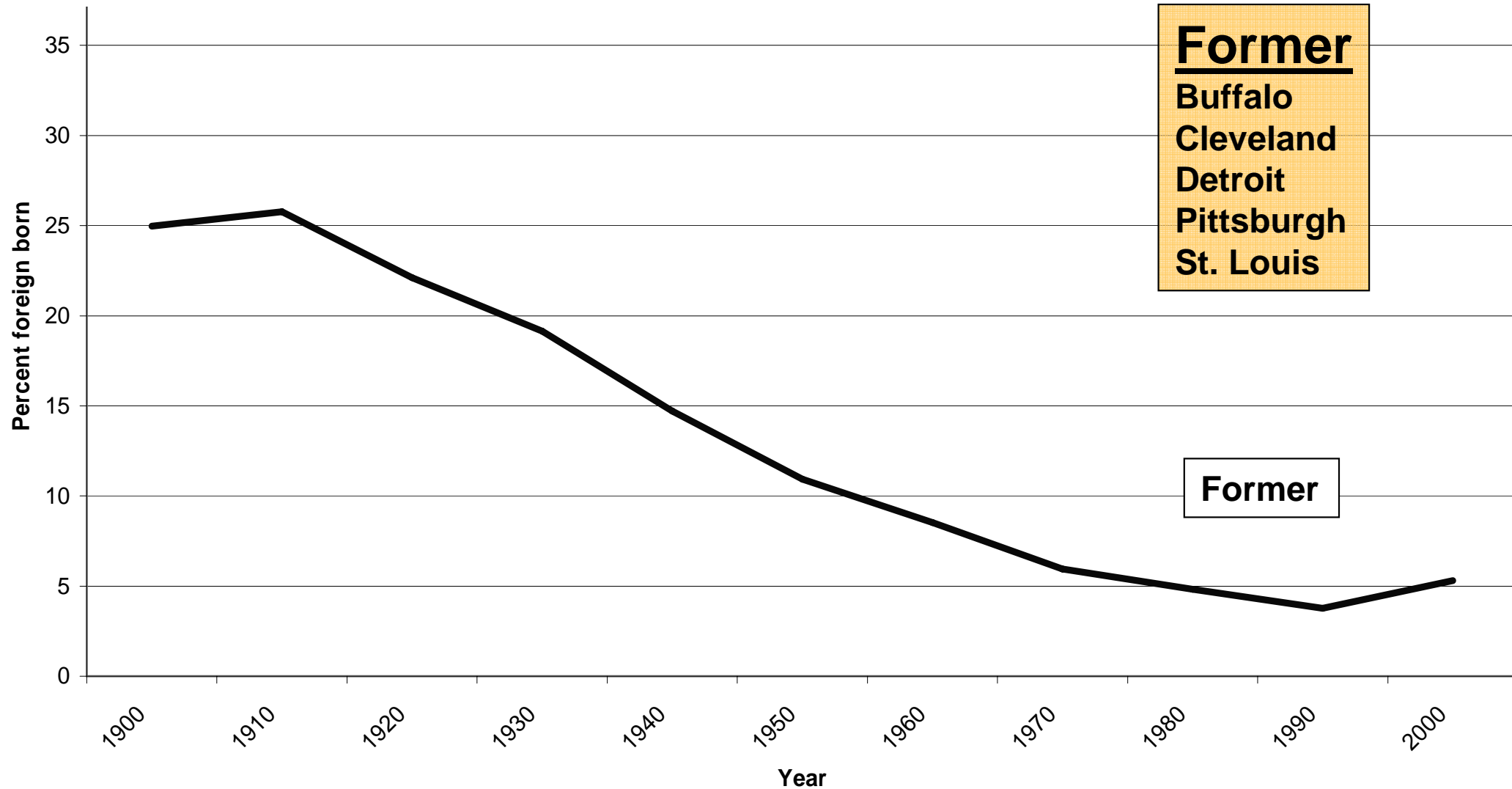
New York	1,270,080	37.0
Chicago	587,112	34.6
<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>295,340</i>	<i>22.8</i>
<i>Boston</i>	<i>197,129</i>	<i>35.1</i>
<i>Cleveland</i>	<i>124,631</i>	<i>32.6</i>
San Francisco	116,885	34.1
<i>St. Louis</i>	<i>111,356</i>	<i>19.4</i>
<i>Buffalo</i>	<i>104,252</i>	<i>29.6</i>
<i>Detroit</i>	<i>96,503</i>	<i>33.8</i>
<i>Milwaukee</i>	<i>88,991</i>	<i>31.2</i>

2007

New York	3,047,676	36.8
<i>Los Angeles</i>	<i>1,517,179</i>	<i>39.9</i>
Chicago	590,633	21.6
<i>Houston</i>	<i>569,061</i>	<i>27.8</i>
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>388,958</i>	<i>25.7</i>
<i>San Jose</i>	<i>367,562</i>	<i>25.7</i>
<i>Dallas</i>	<i>325,674</i>	<i>26.3</i>
<i>San Diego</i>	<i>322,777</i>	<i>25.3</i>
San Francisco	270,072	35.3
<i>Miami</i>	<i>204,201</i>	<i>58.5</i>

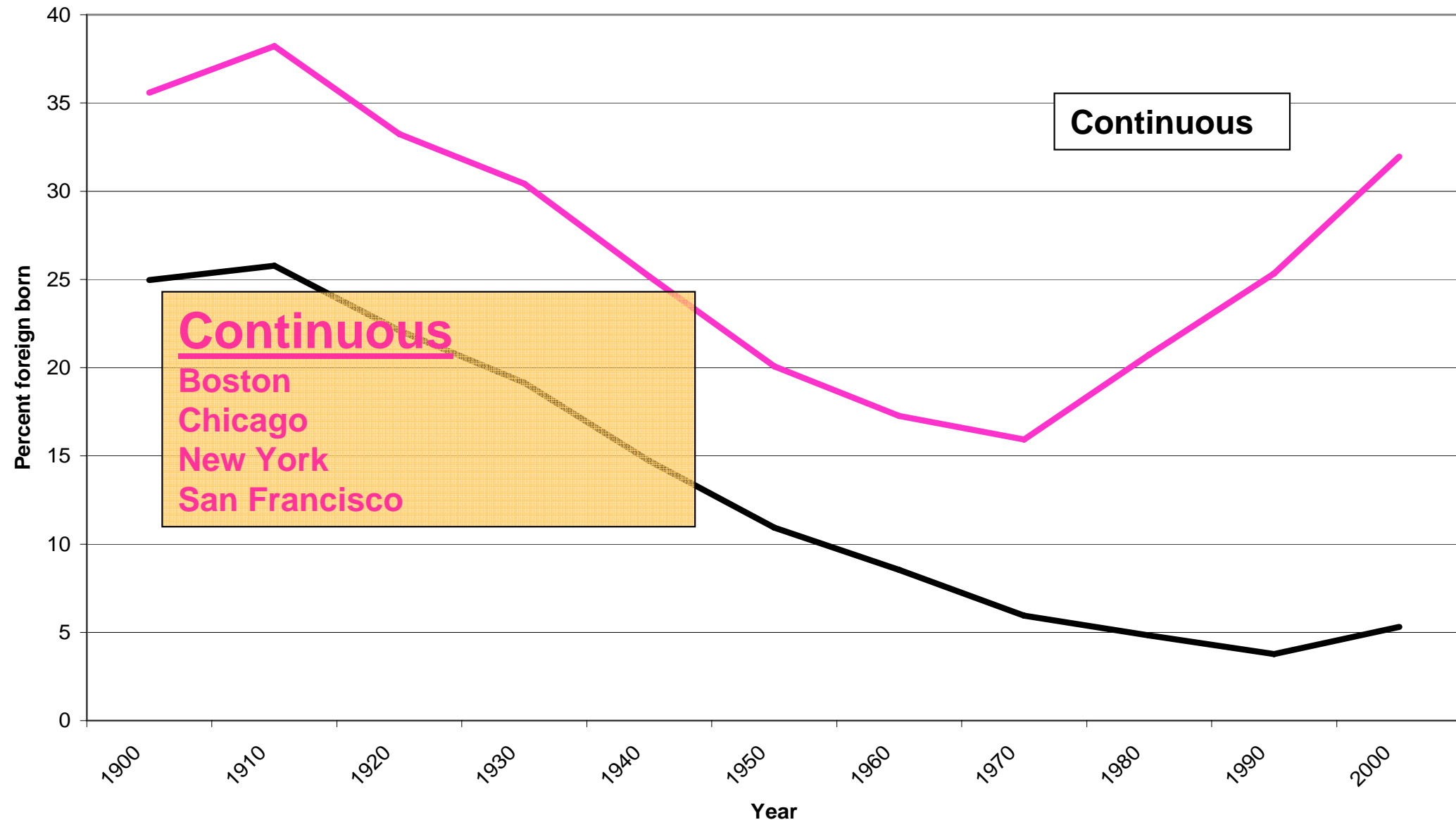
Former gateways are no longer major destinations

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



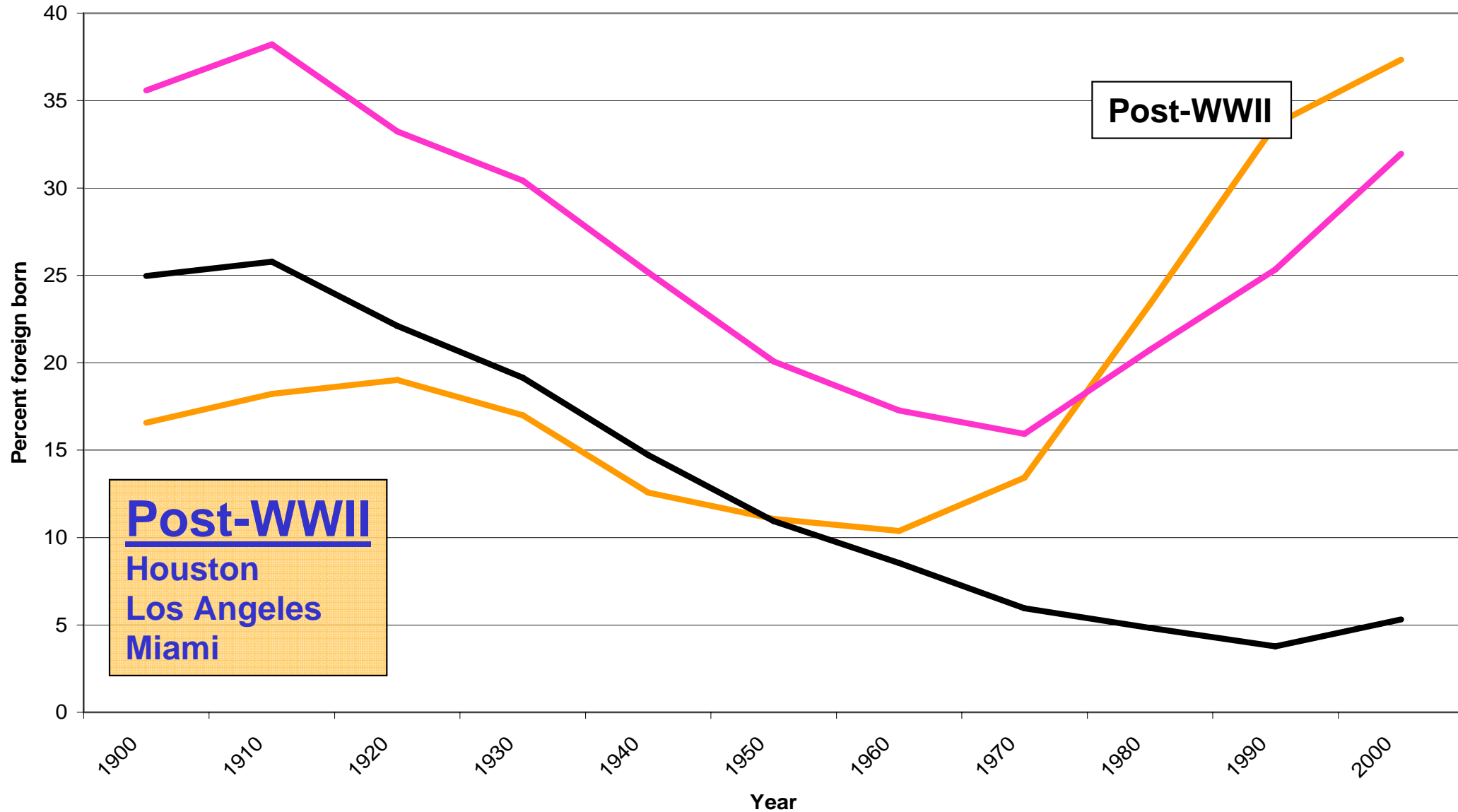
Continuous gateways have always attracted more than their fair share of immigrants

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



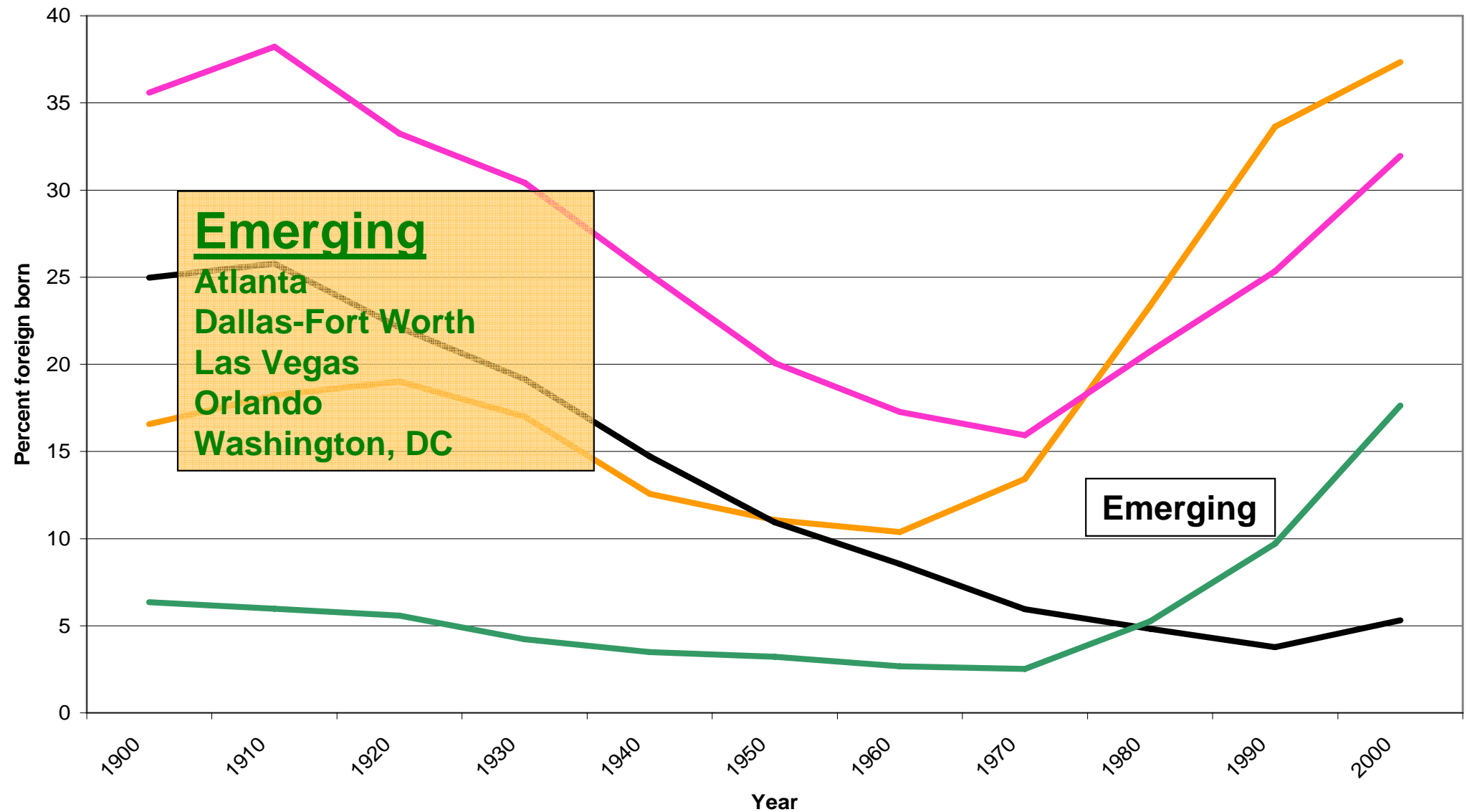
Post-WWII gateways became destinations during the past 50 years

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



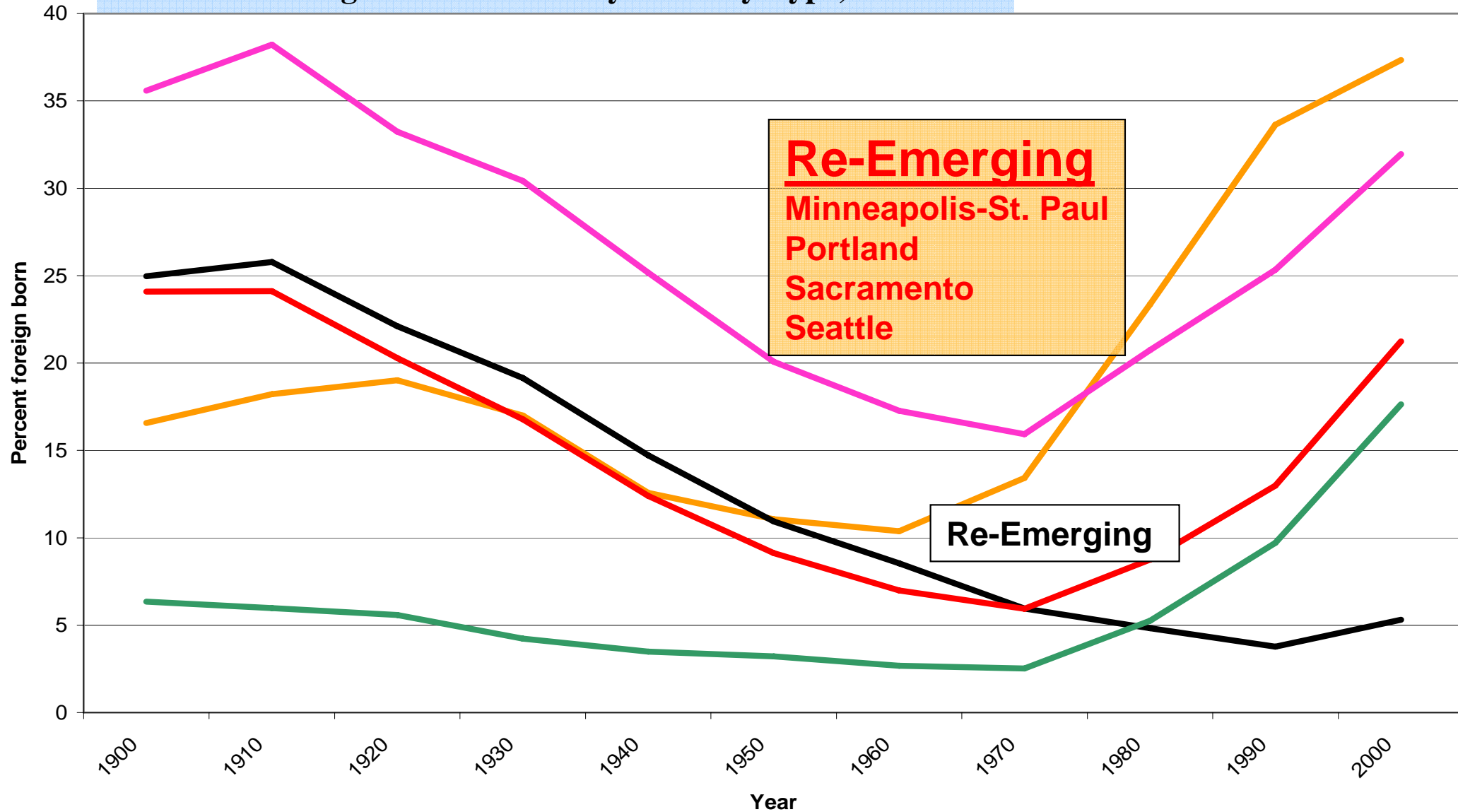
Emerging gateways experienced very recent and rapid growth in their foreign-born population

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



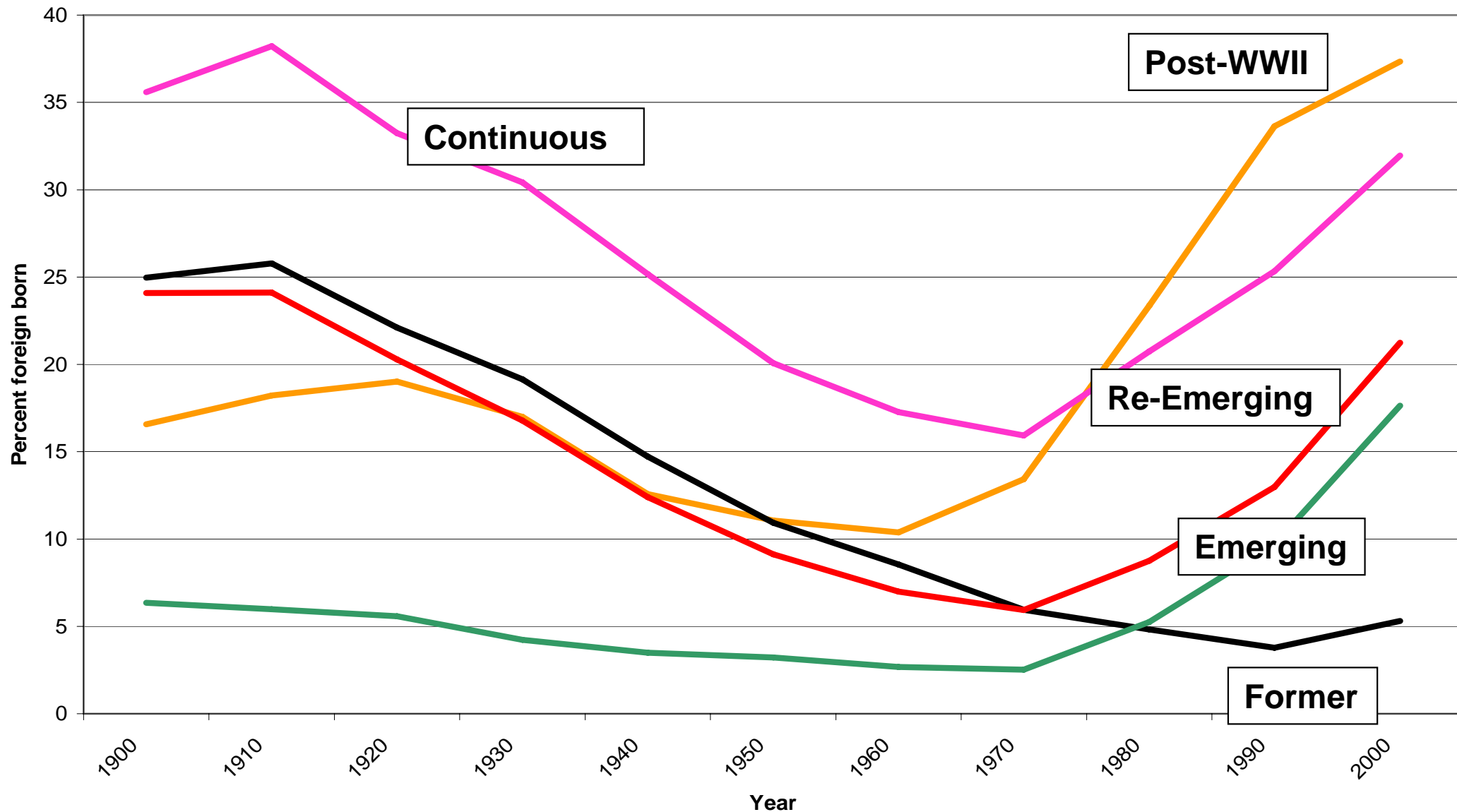
Re-Emerging gateways are once again major destinations for immigrants

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



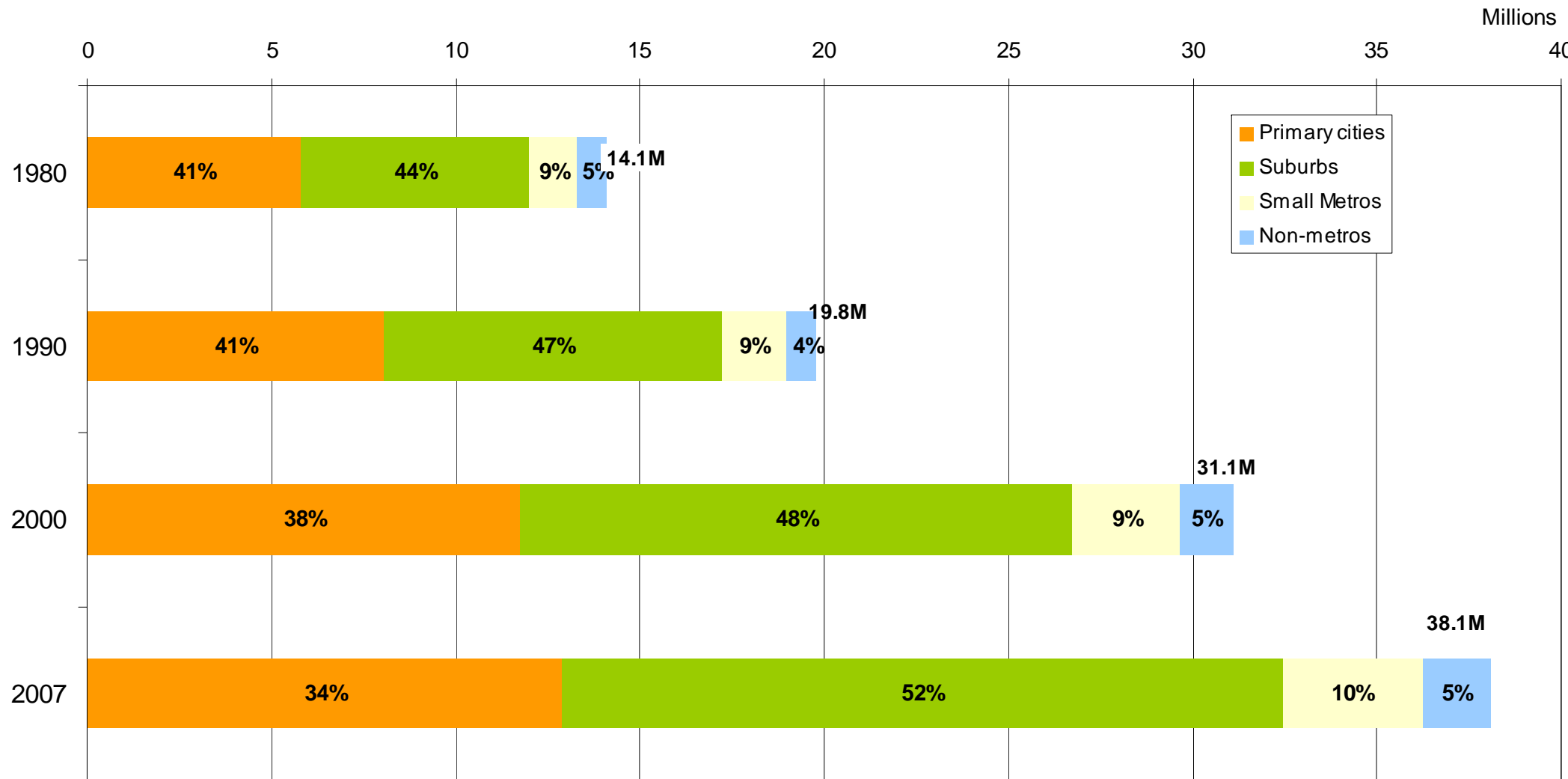
Emerging gateways represent a new context for immigrant integration

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



Dramatic shifts in settlement patterns among the foreign-born toward the suburbs

Size and Share of Foreign-Born Population by Location, 1980-2007



State and Local Response

Outside a tax preparation shop, Herndon, VA



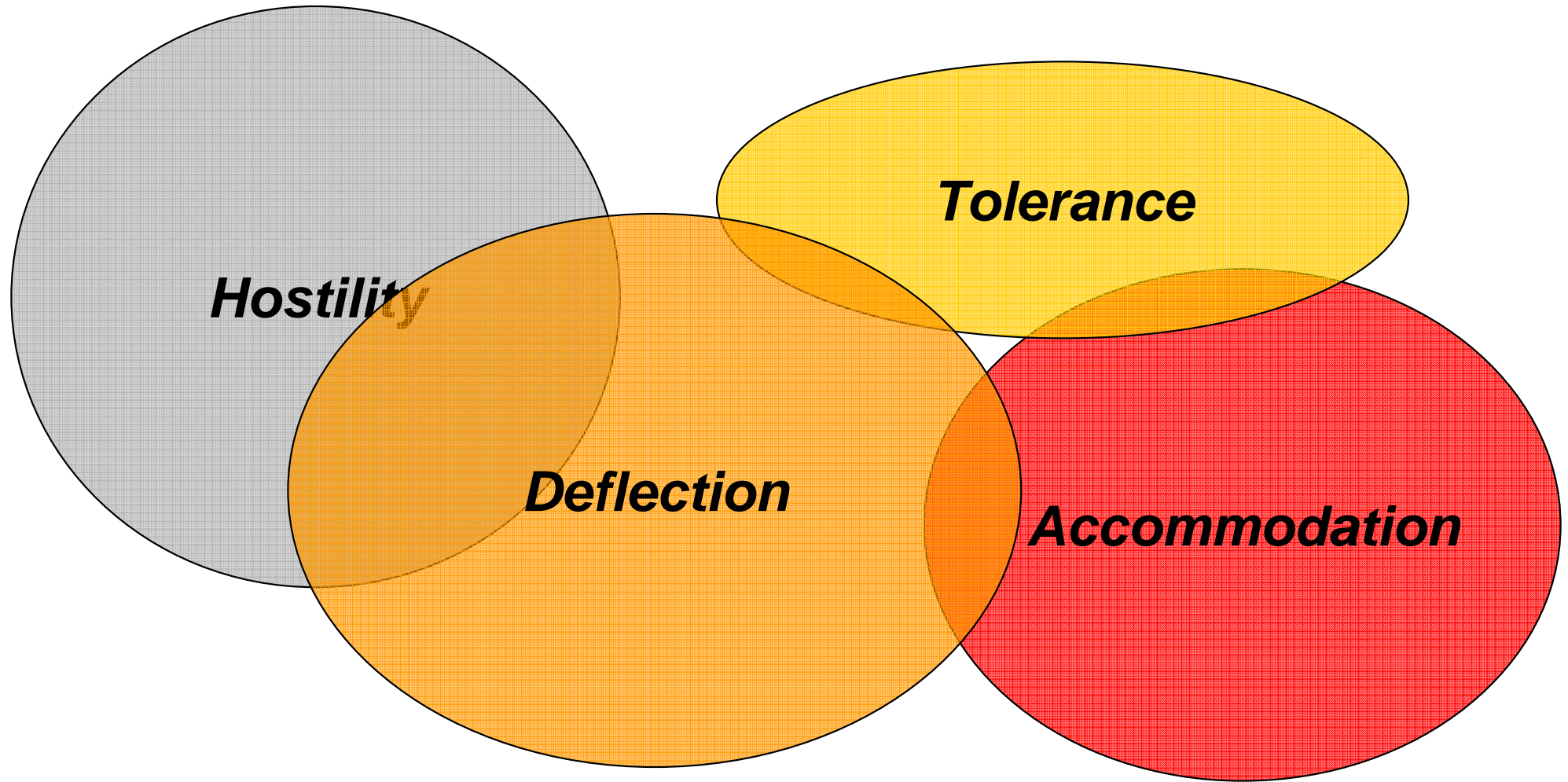
State- and local-level reforms

National Conference of State Legislatures reports more than 1300 state laws were introduced in 2008 that are immigrant and immigration-related

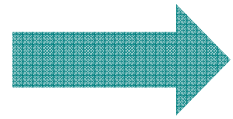
206 became law in 41 states

Countless local jurisdictions across the country have introduced local laws

Local response and legislation varies in the absence of federal immigration reform



THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS: The Policy Context for Localities



No uniform set of policies and programs to aid in the social, economic, and political incorporation of immigrants



Local action, i.e., day labor, language policies, occupancy policies, local police enforcement offer fragmented response



Local efforts may be compounded by the large number of recent arrivals and local governance structure



Immigrant integration operates at the local level

Va. Republican Bill Would Bar Illegal Immigrants From College

STATE

By TIM CRAIG
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND, Aug. 29 — Virginia Republicans announced legislation Wednesday that would prohibit public colleges and universities from accepting illegal immigrants even if they attended a public high school and were brought to the United States at an early age by their parents.

GOP leaders, who control both houses of the legislature, suggested that some Virginia residents are being denied access to college because too many slots. **NATIONAL** e taking available

■ **Business, labor oppose immigration crackdown.** | A4

"If a legal Virginia resident is applying to schools, should they be admitted? Or should that slot be set aside for someone who has arrived here illegally?" asked James K. "Jay" O'Brien Jr. (R-Fairfax), the sponsor of the proposal.

The Republican proposal would also require city and county jails to check a defendant's immigration status and to have at least one person on duty who has been certified by the federal government to detain illegal immigrants until deportation proceedings. It would also routinely deny bail for illegal immigrants charged in a

See IMMIGR **LOCAL** ol. 4

■ **Setback for Herndon's day-laborer crackdown.** | B1

The Current Debate and Legislative Choices

The Elements of Reform

Border security

**Internal enforcement through the
worksite**

Legalization program

**Future flow (permanent and temporary
admissions)**

What's Next: Administrative down payments?

Worksite raids

The construction of the border fence

Social security “no-match” letters

The Dream Act

Immigration: Challenges for the Obama Administration

I

Overcoming political paralysis to reform
US immigration policy

II

Implementing a new immigration plan

III

Socially, civically, and economically
integrating immigrants who are already in
the United States

Consensus: immigration system is “broken” and needs to be “fixed”

Politics: failed congressional action followed by, Presidential campaign season
—*when will there be movement?*

Public opinion: (easily stoked by talk radio and national anti-immigrant groups)

Implementing a new immigration plan

Border security and enforcement of existing laws comes first

Backlogs and bureaucracy

A new set of policies need to be convincingly fair, reliable, “do-able”

III

Integrating immigrants already in the U. S.

The new geography of immigration means that many new places are now dealing with immigration

Need to ensure the next generation is equipped for the global labor market

A “New Americans Initiative?”

www.brookings.edu/metro