

Implementing Immigration Policy:

States and Provinces in Comparative Perspective

Presentation at the

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Outline of Presentation

1. CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS – INTEGRATION
2. COMPARATIVE LOOK AT CANADA AND U.S.
IMMIGRATION POLICY – NATIONAL AND
SUBNATIONAL
3. QUEBEC AND GEORGIA AS CASES +
4. MIPEX APPROACH – MEASURING INTEGRATION
5. INTEGRATION SUCCESS (NATURALIZATION)
6. IMMIGRATION REFORM – POLICY ASSESSMENT
7. CONCLUSIONS –
8. QUESTIONS

IMMIGRATION POLICY

- WHY IS IMMIGRATION SO IMPORTANT?
- DEMOGRAPHICS AS DESTINY
- A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE,
- THE VALUES, CULTURE AND ECONOMIES OF QUEBEC AND GEORGIA?, CANADA, PROVINCES THE U.S., STATES?
- NEED TO LOOK AT IMMIGRATION FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

CANADIAN EXCEPTIONALISM?

(Bloemraad, 2012)

Canadians are more favorably disposed to immigrants than are the citizens of almost any other country in the world

“Europeans display negative attitudes towards immigrants in general and to immigration in particular.” (Davidov & Meuleman, 2012)

U.S. ?

KEY ASSUMPTIONS:

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL GOAL OF IMMIGRATION POLICY IS “INTEGRATION”

(ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND NATIONAL)

2. MOST INTEGRATION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION TAKES PLACE BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE AT THE “MESO” (INTERMEDIATE) AND LOCAL LEVELS

THESIS –

The success of immigration policy depends on the nature and quality of the legal and political framework within which other aspects of integration occur.” (MIPEX)

WHY CENTER ON THESE TWO CASES –



QUEBEC

POPULATION – 7.9 MILLION

ONE DOMINANT METRO – MONTREAL
(87% OF IMMIGRANTS)

EXTENSIVE TRADE & INVESTMENT
BETWEEN THEM
HIGH TECH INDUSTRIES

FOREIGN BORN 11%

ANNUAL DOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION
- >50,000 2nd in Canada

UNDOCUMENTED TOTAL 25,000



GEORGIA

POPULATION – 9.7 MILLION

ONE DOMINANT METRO – ATLANTA
(82% OF IMMIGRANTS)

EXTENSIVE TRADE & INVESTMENT
BETWEEN THEM
HIGH TECH INDUSTRIES

FOREIGN BORN 10%

ANNUAL DOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION
- 28,000 among top 10 States
7th largest Undocumented pop. In U.S.
UNDOCUMENTED TOTAL 450,000,
45,000/yr

IMMIGRATION AS INTEGRATION? THE HUMAN COSTS

THE SAGA OF JESSICA COLOTL

"I'm just trying to live the American dream
and finish my education,"



SIMILARITIES IN HISTORIC ROOTS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

- U.S. AND CANADA - “RESTRICTIONIST” GOALS AND APPROACHES UP TO THE MID 1960s
 - Preference for Northern Europeans
 - COUNTRY QUOTAS IN U.S.
 - Limits on Southern Europeans, Jews...
 - Exclusion then Restrictions on Asians
- **Removal of Race based quotas -1965 (U.S.) and 1967 (Canada – point system –world’s first)**

CANADA GOALS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY (CIC)

- CANADA GOALS—ECONOMIC GROWTH, **INTEGRATION**, REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION –
- QUEBEC GOALS – COMMON VALUES, LANGUAGE, **INTEGRATION (FRANCIZATION)**, ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION, “NATIONAL IDENTITY”
- ONTARIO GOALS – STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY, SUCCESS = **INTEGRATION**), ># PROVINCIAL NOMINEES, >% ECONOMIC IMMIGRANTS (FROM 52-70%)
- SASKATCHEWAN GOALS – SUSTAIN GROWTH, ATTRACT AND RETAIN SKILLED HUMAN RESOURCES, **INTEGRATION**, INVESTMENT

Quebec Priorities – insure integration

Quebec Ministry of Immigration goals for the 2012-2015 Plan

- > economic qualifications (65%),
- >relative youth (65-75% under the age of 35),
- >representation of diverse world regions,

Quebec experience

- >ability to speak or some experience with and understanding of French (at least 50%). + ">francization"

>PQ – QUEBEC CITIZENSHIP?

U.S. GOALS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

- U.S. GOALS – **SECURITY**, **INTEGRATION**, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, ECONOMIC , DIVERSITY
- GEORGIA GOALS – HIGHLY POLITICIZED, SOMETIMES INCOMPATIBLE GOALS,
- CONTROL UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION,
- SECURE LABOR FORCE,
- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, **INTEGRATION**

U.S. Immigration Agencies

ALL UNDER HOMELAND SECURITY SINCE 2003
BROKE UP INS

- 1. ICE - IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT –
\$18 billion
287g (>16,000 deported from GA since 2006,
now replaced by Secure Communities Program
- 2. CPB –CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION AGENCY
- 3. CIS – CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION SERVICES –
LEGAL IMMIGRATION PROCESS –
- 4. NO STATE LEVEL “MINISTRIES OF IMMIGRATION”

IMMIGRATION CATEGORIES IN THE U.S. ABOUT 1 MILLION ANNUALLY

1. FAMILY SPONSORED – >500,000
2. EMPLOYMENT BASED (EB1-5)– 120-140,000 YR.
(12-14%)
3. DIVERSITY LOTTERY– 50,000/YR.
4. REFUGEES – 70,000
5. ASYLUM –OPEN

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO IMMIGRATION SELECTION, INTEGRATION AND MANAGEMENT

U.S. AND STATES – CENTRALIZED, FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY, NO STATE ROLE IN SELECTION, MINIMAL SHARING, LAISSEZ-FAIRE ON INTEGRATION EXCEPT FOR REFUGEES

· **VS**

CANADA AND PROVINCES - SHARED RESPONSIBILITY, RELATIVELY DECENTRALIZED, DEEP INVOLVEMENT IN INTEGRATION, SOME ROLE IN SELECTION

CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

U.S. - Constitution explicitly mentions immigration - Article 1, Section 8 assigns the “naturalization” of citizens (and hence immigration) to the Federal Government (White, 2012)

Canada - Section 95 of the Constitution Act - the sharing of authority regarding immigration

Quebec - Gérin-Lajoie doctrine (1965)

Timeline of Quebec's Involvement in Immigration Policy

YEAR	ACCORD OR ACTION
1968	Québec established its own department of immigration
1971	The first Canada-Québec immigration agreement was signed (Lang/Cloutier): allowed Québec to have representatives in Canadian embassies and to do counseling abroad
1975	The Andras/Bienvenue agreement gave Québec a part in the selection process: allowed Québec to do interviews and to make recommendations to visa officers
1978	The Cullen/Couture agreement gave Québec a say in the selection of immigrants abroad: allowed Québec to define its own selection criteria
1991	Gagnon-Tremblay, Rémillard /McDougall Accord builds on this mutual commitment – the first agreement to give Québec selection powers in Canada
Source:	http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/laws-policy/agreements/quebec/can-que-guide.asp

KEY IMMIGRATION LAWS IN GA.

	TABLE #	KEY GEORGIA ANTI-IMMIGRATION LAWS
Year	Law/Agreement	Description
2006	Georgia Security and Immigration Compliance Act	6-percent state withholding tax for 1099 employees who cannot provide a taxpayer ID number,
		required citizenship verification of state employees and employers with state contracts and subcontracts.
		Citizenship verification to establish eligibility for individuals over 18 years of age seeking state services
2007	MOU with ICE for 287(g)	Permits local law enforcement agencies to perform immigration enforcement functions in collaboration with ICE , 4 Georgia County Sheriffs plus Georgia Dept. of Public Safety participate, 3 private jails in Georgia house detainees
2009	SB20	Prohibits "sanctuary" policies by county and municipal governments and agencies ("catch and release"), must determine lawful presence in the U.S. of those stopped for violations
2011	Immigration Reform and Enforcement Act (HB87)	Several provisions similar to Arizona law (SB1070) Establishes Immigration Enforcement Review Board to investigate complaints about non enforcement by state and local officials, several provisions disallowed by courts (recruitment, transport, show me your papers), upheld checks on those stopped or arrested for other issues

MEASURING IMMIGRATION POLICY?

Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX 1,2,3)
(www.mipex.eu)

MIPEX designed to measure and compare immigration policies that contribute to integration of immigrants

UNIT OF ANALYSIS IS THE SOVEREIGN STATE

MIPEX MAJOR POLICY AREAS INCLUDED;

1. Labor Market Mobility,
2. Family Reunification,
3. Education,
4. Political Participation,
5. Long Term Residence,
6. Access to nationality
7. Anti-discrimination.

THE KEY DEPENDENT VARIABLE IS INTEGRATION –
correlation access to nationality with naturalization rate
 $r=.5$

**Implementation of many of those functions is under the
purview of or at least shared with intermediary and
local governments**

Rankings for 31 MIPEx III Countries

(based on 148 indicators)

(Rank - Country –Score)

<u>1 Sweden 83</u>	<u>11 Luxembourg 59</u>	<u>21 Hungary 45</u>
<u>2 Portugal 79</u>	<u>12 Germany 57</u>	<u>Romania 45</u>
<u>3 Canada 72</u>	<u>U. K. 57</u>	<u>23 Switzerland 43</u>
<u>4 Finland 69</u>	<u>14 Denmark 53</u>	<u>24 Austria 42</u>
<u>5 Netherlands</u>	<u>15 France 51</u>	<u>Poland 42</u>
<u>68</u>	<u>16 Greece 49</u>	<u>26 Bulgaria 41</u>
<u>6 Belgium 67</u>	<u>Ireland 49</u>	<u>27 Lithuania 40</u>
<u>7 Norway 66</u>	<u>Slovenia 49</u>	<u>28 Malta 37</u>
<u>8 Spain 63</u>	<u>19 Czech Rep. 46</u>	<u>29 Slovakia 36</u>
<u>9 USA 62</u>	<u>Estonia 46</u>	<u>30 Cyprus 35</u>
<u>10 Italy 60</u>		<u>31 Latvia 31</u>

ENVIRONMENT FOR INTEGRATION

- PUBLIC OPINION

- 1. MEASURING ATTITUDES - KEY ISSUES
- 2. CANADA AND QUEBEC AS OUTLIERS
- 3. "NATION OF IMMIGRANTS"?
- 4. MOST USED QUESTIONS - "INCREASE, STAY THE SAME, DECREASE" LEVEL OF IMMIGRATION, IMMIGRATION GOOD OR BAD FOR THE COUNTRY?
- 5. ALTERNATE PERSPECTIVES
 - A. MULTICULTURALISM - INTERCULTURALISM
 - B. "REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION"
 - C. "MELTING POT"
 - D. "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS"

"IMMIGRATION HAS A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE COUNTRY" %

- BELGIUM 72%
- U.K. 64
- ITALY 56
- SPAIN 55
- USA 51
- SWEDEN 37
- CANADA 35%

IS IMMIGRATION A SALIENT ISSUE IN CANADA? ...IN THE U.S.?

- IMMIGRATION LEVELS (HIGH, ABOUT RIGHT, LOW?)
 - ECONOMIC IMPACT?
 - REFUGEE STATUS – LEGITIMACY?
 - INTEGRATION - VALUES
 - YET <2% OF CANADIANS LIST IT AS A POLICY
PRIORIT FOR THE COUNTRY –
 - NOT ON LIST OF TOP 19 ISSUES (2-3% IN U.S. LIST
AS TOP PRIORITY)
-
- ENVIRONICS 2010, NANOS 2012, GALLUP, 2012-13

ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION IN THE U.S. AND CANADA*

(Angus Reid Jan. 2012 for Canada AND January 2013 for U.S.)

Question	United States %	Canada %	Quebec %	Georgia %	Ontario %
Immigration in the country should be decreased	39	41	44	48	44
Immigration in the country should be maintained at present levels	33	37	36	32	36
Immigration in the country should be increased	20	15	11	11	15
Immigration has a positive effect on the Country	26	39	44		35
Immigration has a negative effect on the country	51	39	32		42
Not sure of the effect of immigration on the country	24	22	24		22

SASKATCHEWAN IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES

("TAKING THE PULSE" – U OF SASKATCHEWAN, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH LABORATORY 2012)

NEW IMMIGRANTS MAKE A VALUABLE
CONTRIBUTION TO PROVINCE 87% AGREE

ANNUAL LEVEL OF IMMIGRATION (7,500 IN 2010)

TOO HIGH 28.3%

ABOUT RIGHT 54.2%

TOO LOW 12.8%

ACTUAL LEVEL IS 2.7% OF CANADA IMMIGRANTS IN
2010, RETENTION RATE?, NATURALIZATION
RATE? (3.6% 2012)

ACCESS TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

- QUEBEC - K- CEGEP-UNIVERSITY, CEGEP IN FRENCH ONLY FOR IMMIGRANTS
- GEORGIA - K-12, UNIVERSITY, UNDOCUMENTED DENIED ACCESS TO ELITE SCHOOLS, PAY OUT OF STATE TUITION AT OTHERS, NO PUBLIC FINANCIAL AID

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

POLITICAL PARTIES -

- QUEBEC ...PQ, CAQ, PLQ - SOME VARIATION IN SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION BUT ALL GENERALLY POSITIVE
- (SAME FOR ONTARIO PARTIES, SASKATCHEWAN?)
- GEORGIA ...RPG -TEA PARTY INFLUENCE, DPG- favor reform – Nationally Democrats and Independents are more favorable to reform – SOME CHANGES IN REPUBLICANS' VIEWS

SOME MEASURES OF INTEGRATION

CANADA AND THE U.S.

- 1.SOCIAL CAPITAL,
- 2.EDUCATION,
- 3.INCOME AND UNEMPLOYMENT,
- 4.RESIDENCE,
- 5.LEVEL AND RATE OF CITIZENSHIP
- 6.SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH HOST COMMUNITY
- 7.POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
- 8.LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

U.S.--- 2-3 GENERATION PROCESS – LIKE
HISTORICAL PROCESS – LITTLE POLICY
INVOLVEMENT

COMPARATIVE COST EFFECTIVENESS OF INTEGRATION PROGRAMS – CANADA VS. U.S., AND PROVINCIAL DIFFERENCES

COST PER IMMIGRANT WHO STAYS?

RATE (%) OF IMMIGRANTS WHO REMAIN?

IMMIGRANT TO CITIZENSHIP RATES OVER TIME

COST PER IMMIGRANT PUBLIC VS PRIVATE INTEGRATION
PROGRAM (SUBSIDIZED OR NGO/PVO)?

COST PER IMMIGRANT - CENTRALIZED VS
DECENTRALIZED PROGRAM? TRANSFER PAYMENTS
TO QUEBEC, B.C. AND MANITOBA FOR INTEGRATION

APPLY ABOVE CRITERIA TO TYPE OF IMMIGRANT

Citizenship rates among immigrants aged 25 or over, United States and Canada*

(Garnett Picot and Feng Hou 2011)

	A	B	C	A-C (B-C)
YEAR	U.S.	U.S. (-) MEXICO & CENTRAL AMERICA	CANADA	U.S. - CANADA
	percent			
1970/1971	69.5	75.9	66.4	3.1 (9.5)
1980/1981	56.7	65.6	73.7	-17.0 (-8.1)
1990/1991	46.5	56.3	73.9	-27.4 (-17.6)
2000/2001	48.1	57.8	78.1	-30.0 (-20.3)
2006	46.4	58.7	78.9	-32.5 (-20.2)

IMMIGRANT TO CITIZENSHIP RATES CANADA VS. U.S

RESIDENTS CHOOSE TO BECOME CITIZENS IN
CANADA MUCH MORE QUICKLY THAN IN THE U.S

6-10 YR. NATURALIZATION RATE –

CANADA 71% U.S. 24%

>20 YR. NATURALIZATION RATE –

CANADA 89% U.S. 74%

IN 2008 >1MILLION NATURALIZED IN U.S.,
WHILE 8 MILLION LPRs ELIGIBLE

STATUS OF FOREIGN BORN IN THE U.S.*

43% NATURALIZED

33% LPR (LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENTS) –
13.1 million in 2011 – 8.5 million eligible to
naturalize

31% UNAUTHORIZED

EXCLUDING UNAUTHORIZED

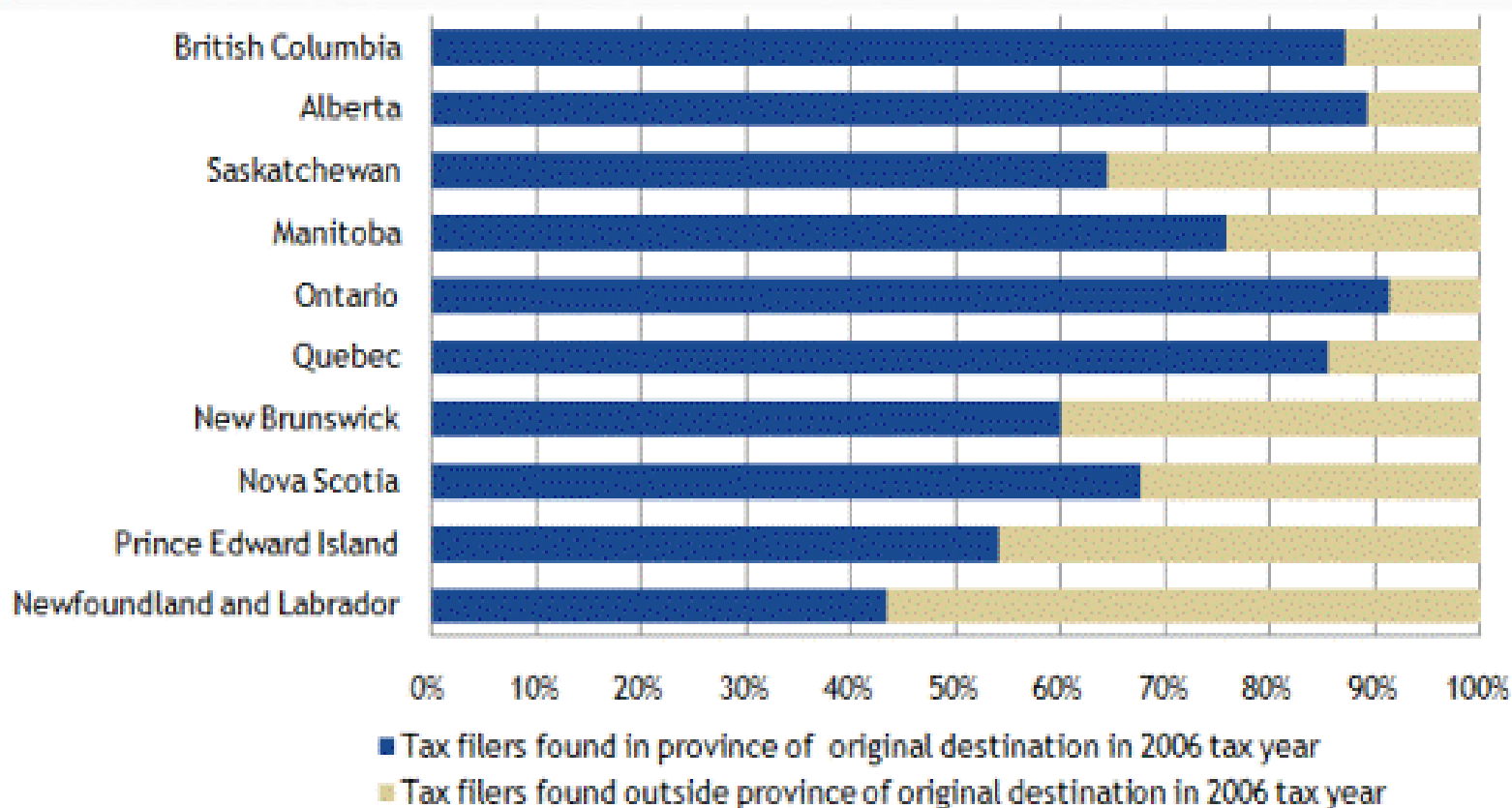
56.5% NATURALIZED

43.4% LPR

MEXICO = 16% OF FOREIGN BORN, 27% OF LPRs,
55% OF UNAUTHORIZED

* source T.Jiminez 2011, MPI

IMMIGRANT RETENTION RATES BY PROVINCE



Source: Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB).

IMMIGRANT/NATIVE BORN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN THE U.S.

Uneven Pain

January unemployment rates,
not seasonally adjusted

Native-born men

12.3%

Foreign-born men

12.7%

Native-born women

8.2%

Foreign-born women

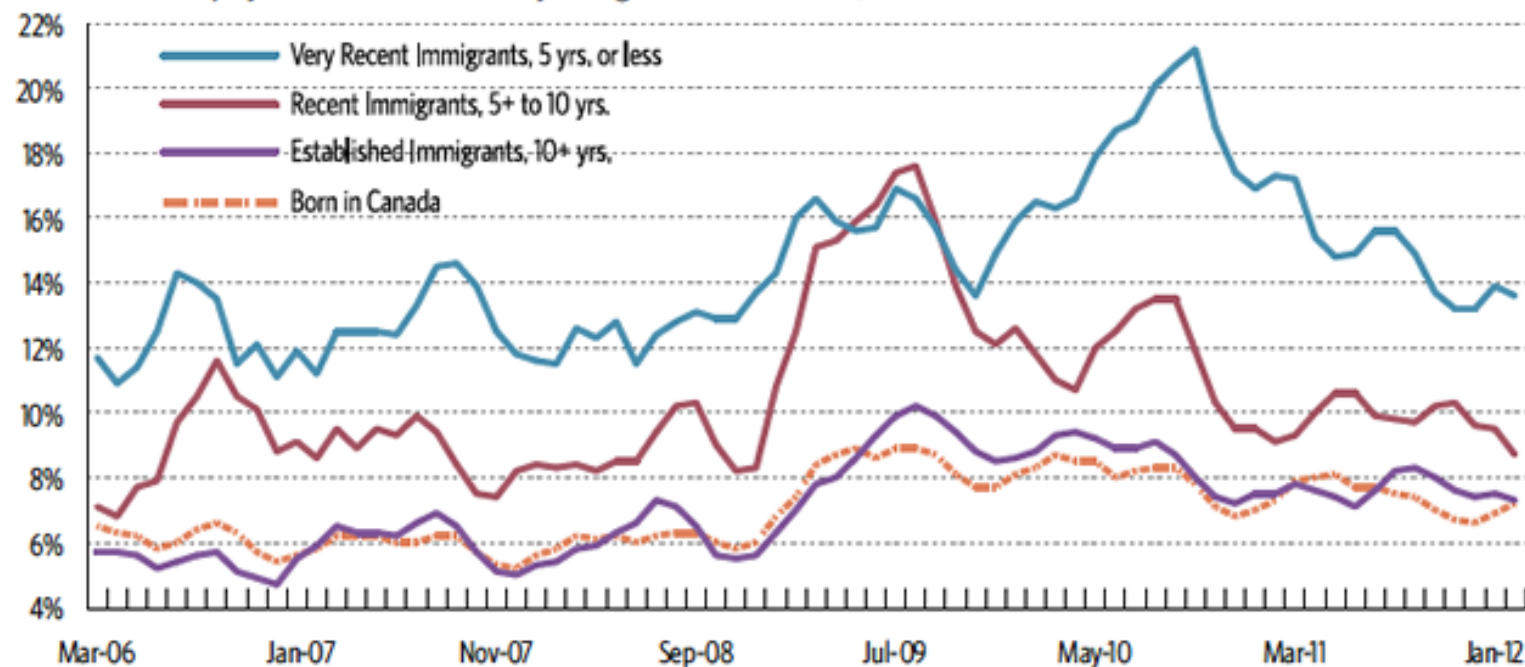
10.6%

Source: Labor Department

BLS ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

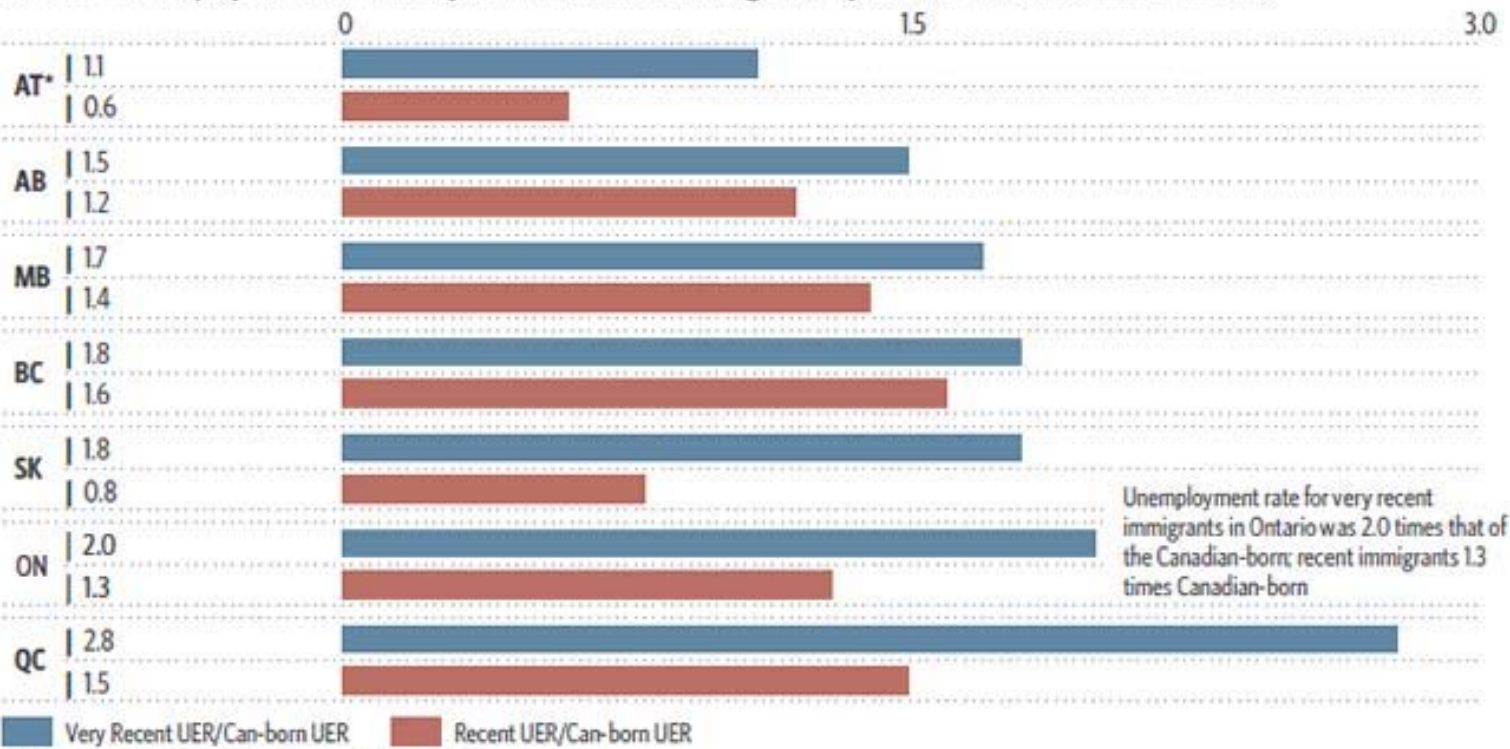
YEAR	IMMIGRANTS	NATIVE BORN
2006	4.6	5.2
2007	4.0	4.7
2008	4.3	4.7
2009	5.8	5.8
2010	9.7	9.2
2011	9.8	9.6
2012	9.1	8.9

FIGURE 6 Unemployment Rate in Ontario, by Immigrant Arrival Period (2006-2012)



Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, January 2012.

FIGURE 5 Unemployment Rate for Very Recent and Recent Immigrants, by Province (AVG. Mar 2011-Feb 2012)



Unemployment rate for very recent immigrants in Ontario was 2.0 times that of the Canadian-born; recent immigrants 1.3 times Canadian-born

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, February 2012.
* AT = Atlantic Canada