

# Migration and politics

Day 4, Session 3

Andy Eggers



Civil Service Learning  
Executive Master  
of Public Policy

Institute of Public Affairs

Executive Master of  
Public Administration



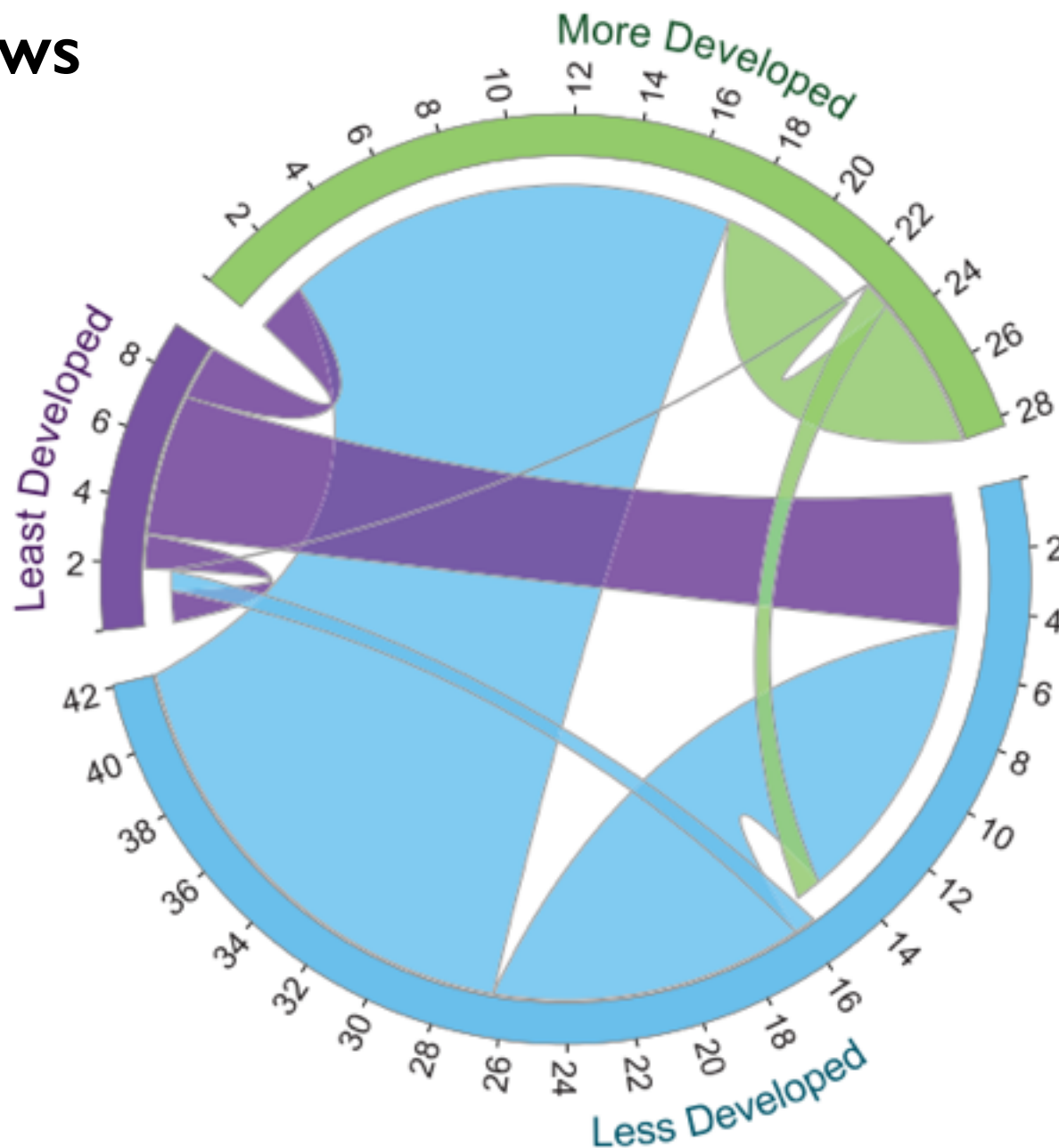
“EU to Propose  
Relocation of  
40,000 Syrians,  
Eritreans From  
Italy and Greece”,  
*Wall Street Journal*,  
25 May 2015

“Hungary closes  
Serbian border  
crossing as  
refugees make for  
Austria on foot”,  
*The Guardian*, 4  
Sept 2015

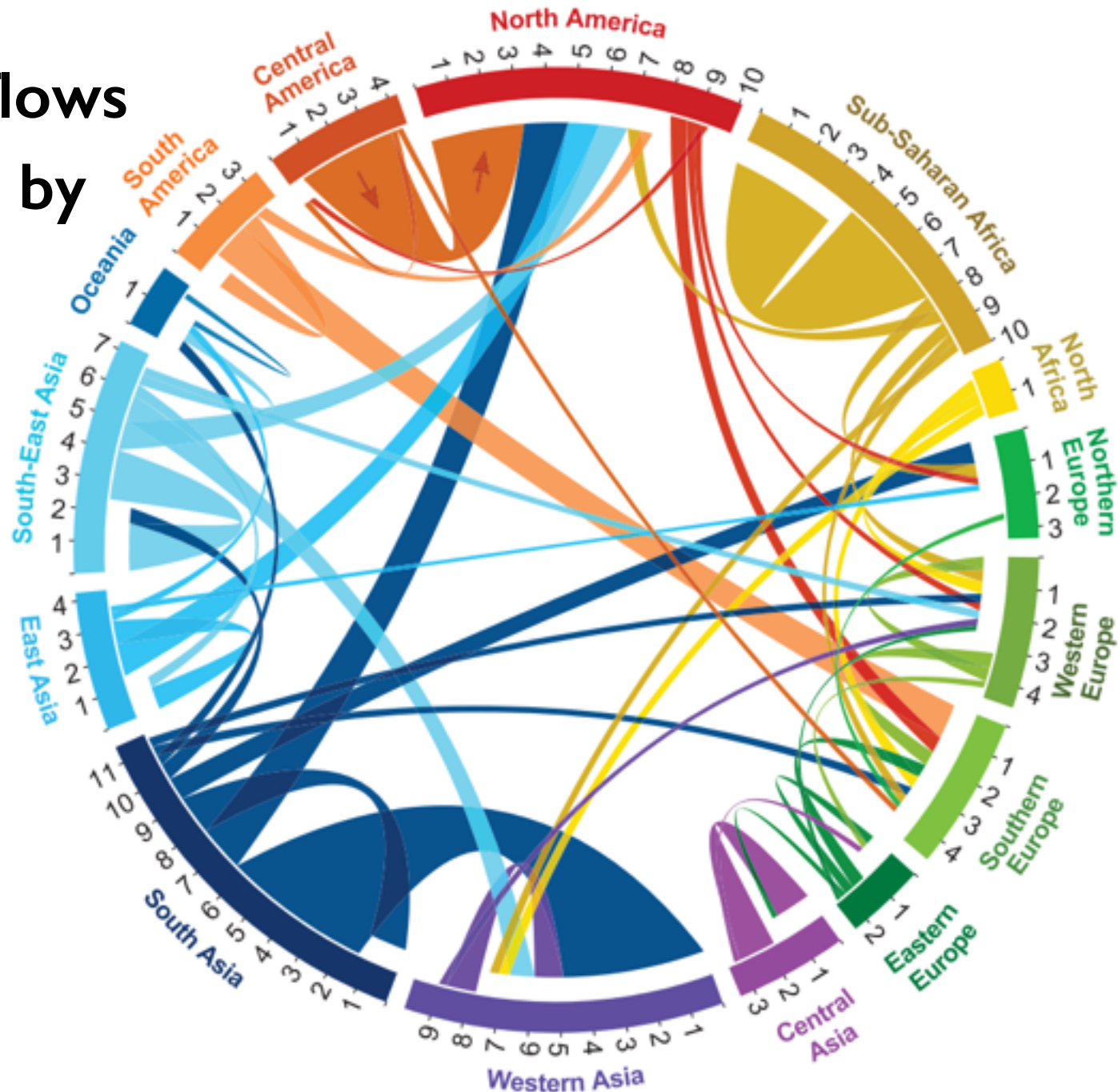


# Migration flows 2005-2010

Estimated from  
UN stock tables.  
See Abel and  
Sander (2014)  
“Quantifying global  
international  
migration flows”  
Science



# Migration flows 2005-2010, by region

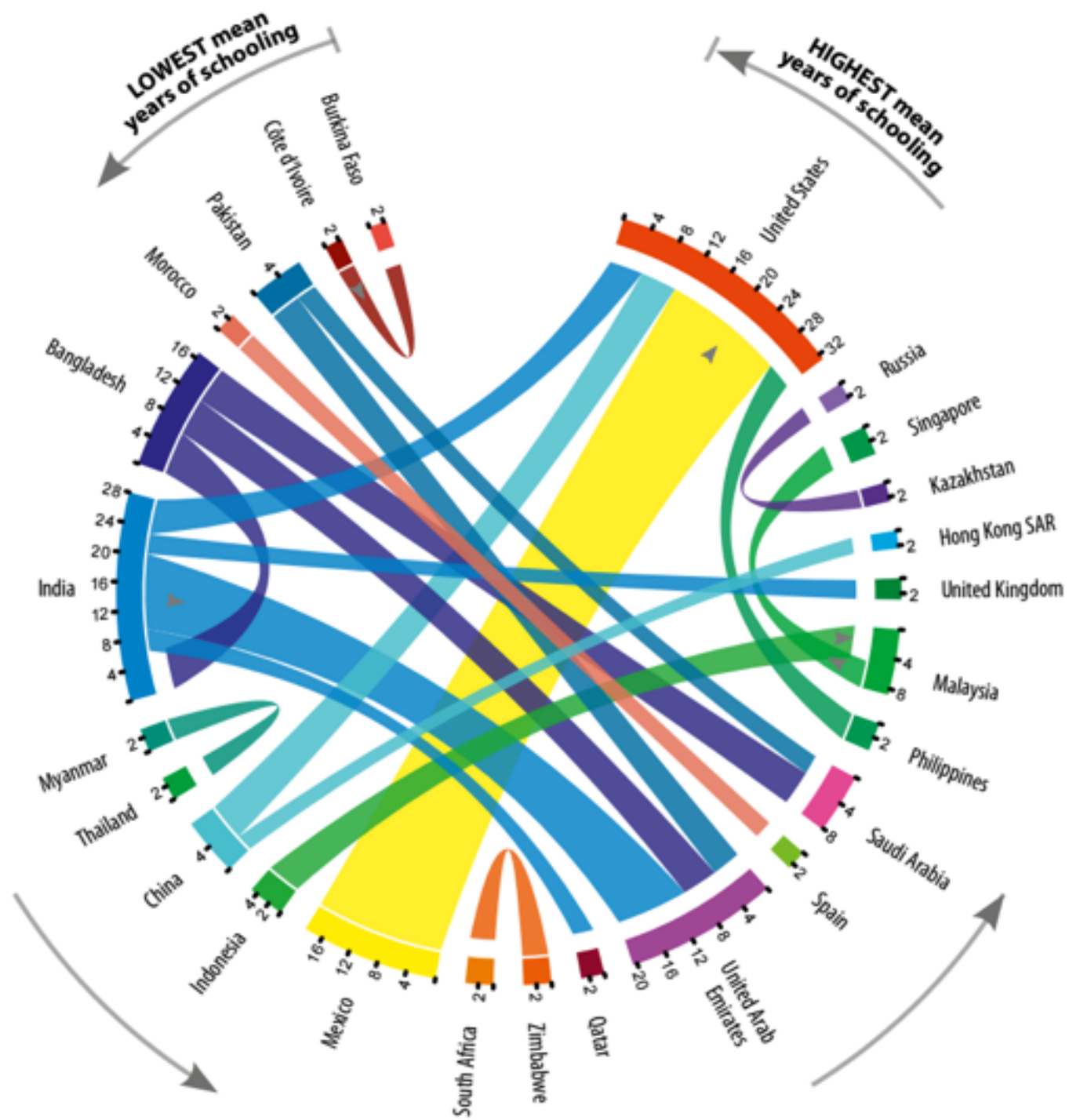


Estimated from UN  
stock tables. See  
Abel and Sander  
(2014) "Quantifying  
global international  
migration flows"  
Science



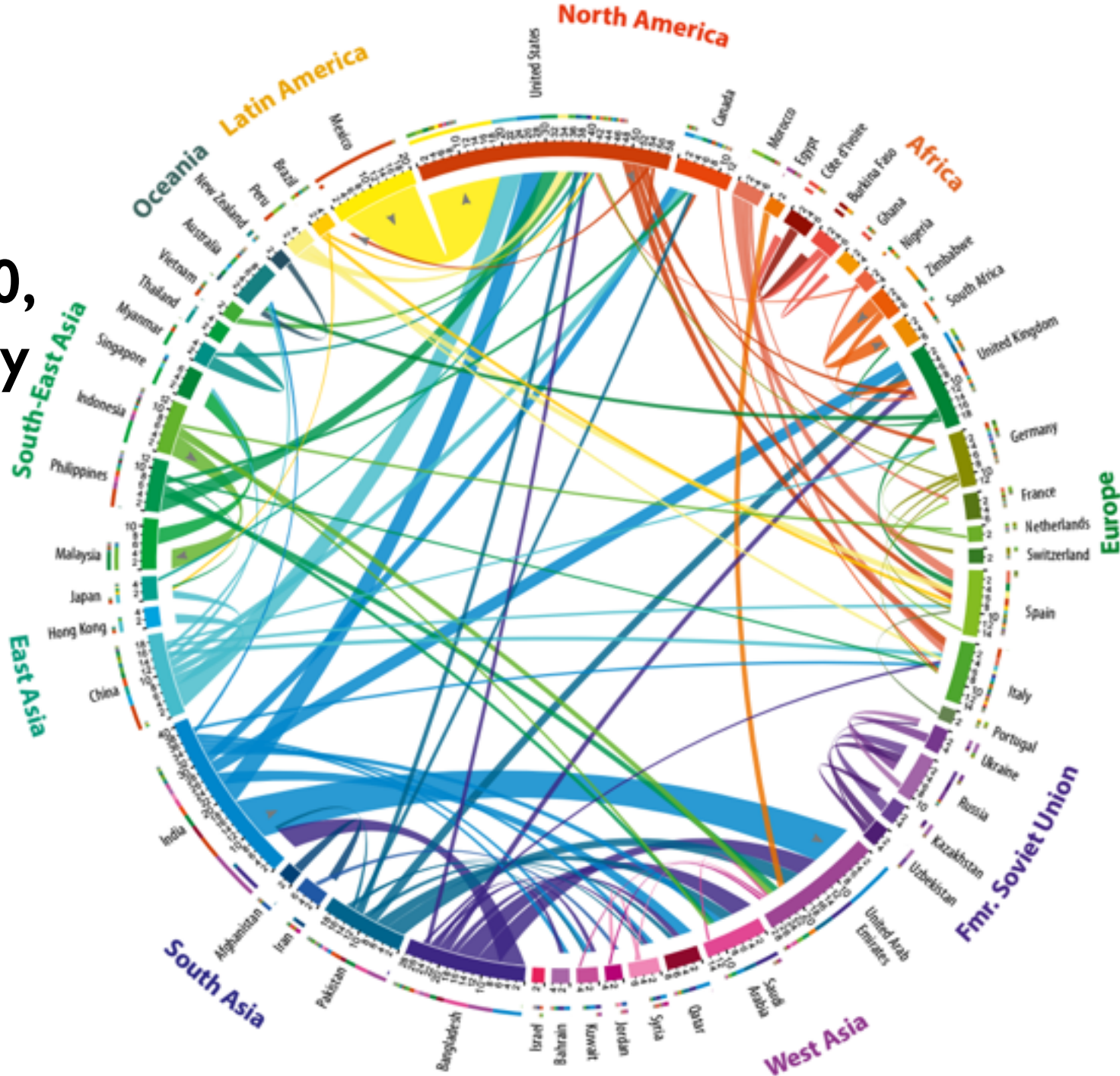
Twenty largest migration flows  
2005-2010, w.  
countries  
arranged by  
education

“[Global  
migration  
datasheet](#)”  
2005-2010



# Migration flows 2005-2010, by country

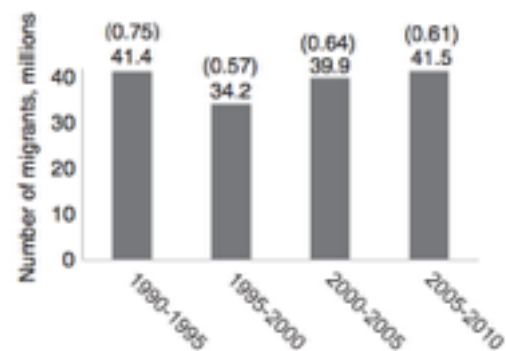
“[Global migration datasheet](#)”  
2005-2010



# Migration flows over time

Total amount of migration fairly steady over 20 years (Abel and Sander, 2014) ...

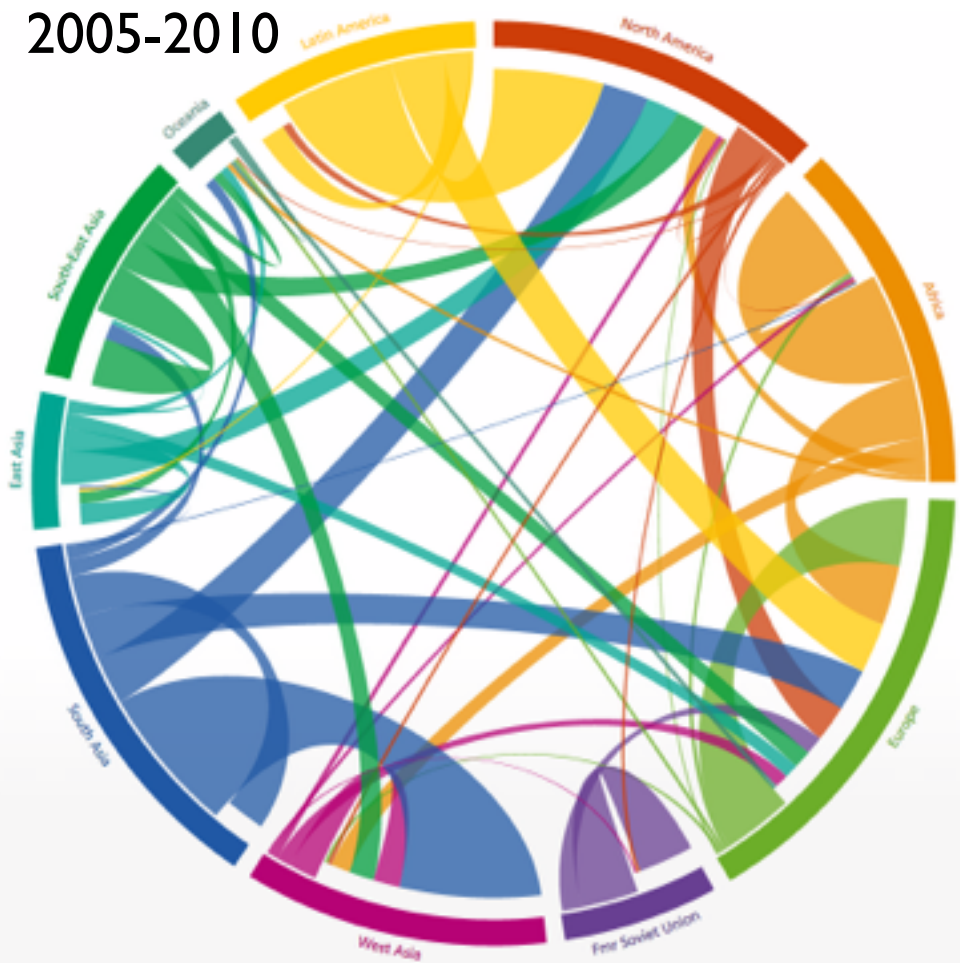
(Share of global pop in parens)



1990-1995



2005-2010





# The politics of immigration

Immigration touches on multiple dimensions of politics:

- **Economic:** supply of labor to businesses; labor market competition; fiscal burden
- **Cultural:** language, race/ethnicity, religion, values
- **International:** supranational governance (e.g. EU, UNHCR); security; humanitarian assistance





# Immigration policy elements

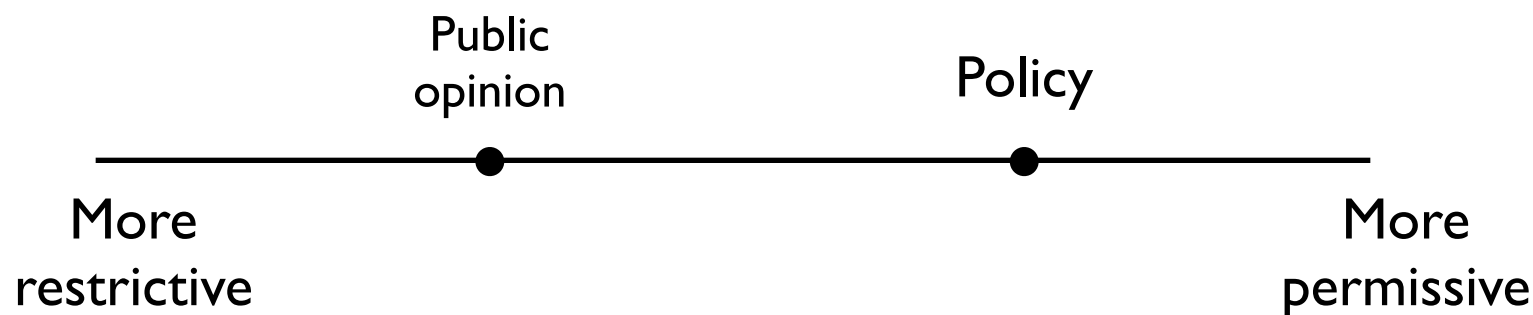
- **Admission:** Who is admitted, and under what terms
  - Employer sponsorship, points systems, hybrids
  - Family unification
  - National origin
  - Humanitarian visas
- **Integration:** language classes; integration & anti-discrimination programs
- **Enforcement:** border control, deportation (where?) vs. amnesty, access to state resources

International component.

# The “gap” thesis



Big puzzle in immigration policy (in liberal democracies) is gap between public policy and public opinion:



How would Olson explain this?

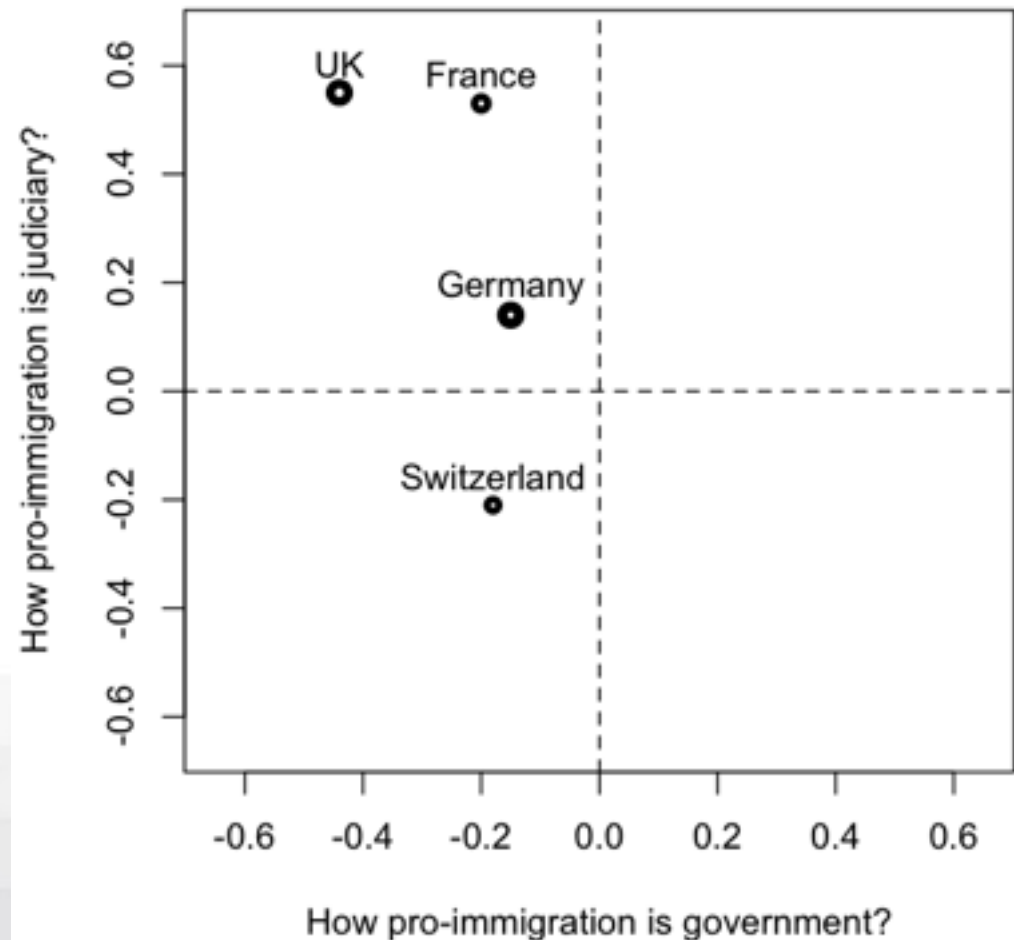
Other explanations?

See work of Gary P. Freeman. See also Statham and Geddes 2006 on UK case for critiques.

# Role of the judiciary

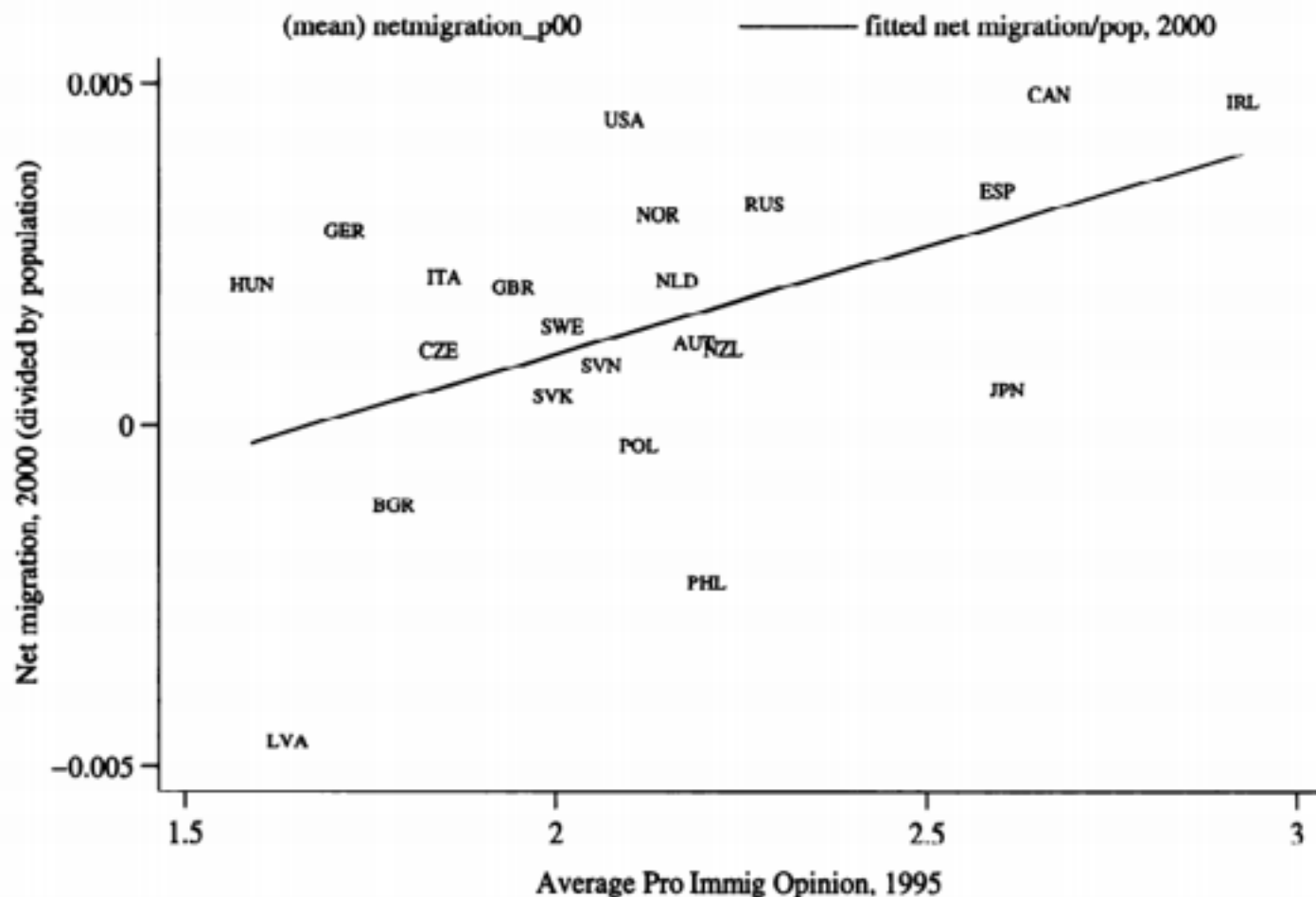
In some cases  
judiciary is more  
pro-immigration  
than governments  
(and public).

Statham and  
Geddes (2006)  
analysis of  
immigration  
policymaking in four  
countries.





# Immigration is related to public opinion



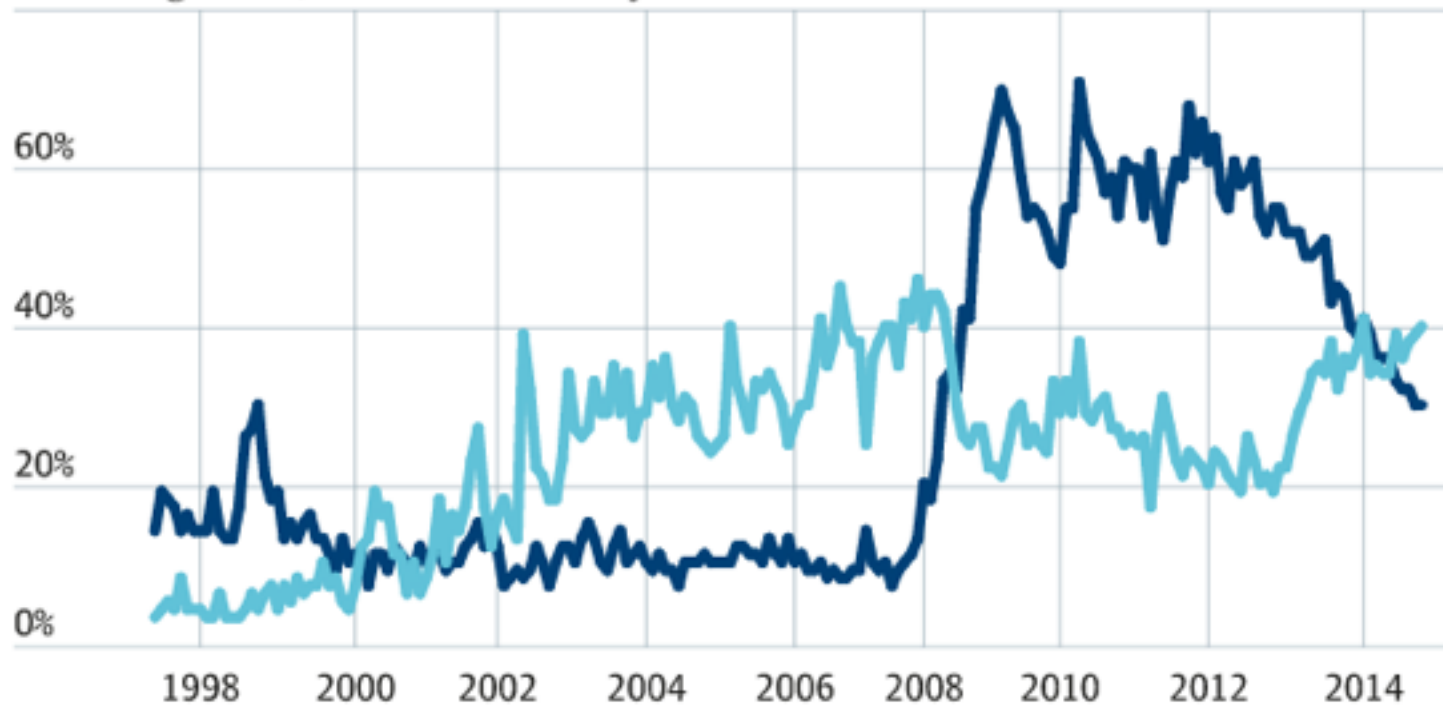
**Figure 8. The impact of individual attitudes towards immigrants on migration inflows (ISSP 1995)**

# Importance of immigration as a political issue

## Immigration v economy

What do you see as the most important issue facing Britain today?

● Immigration/race ● Economy



GUARDIAN GRAPHIC

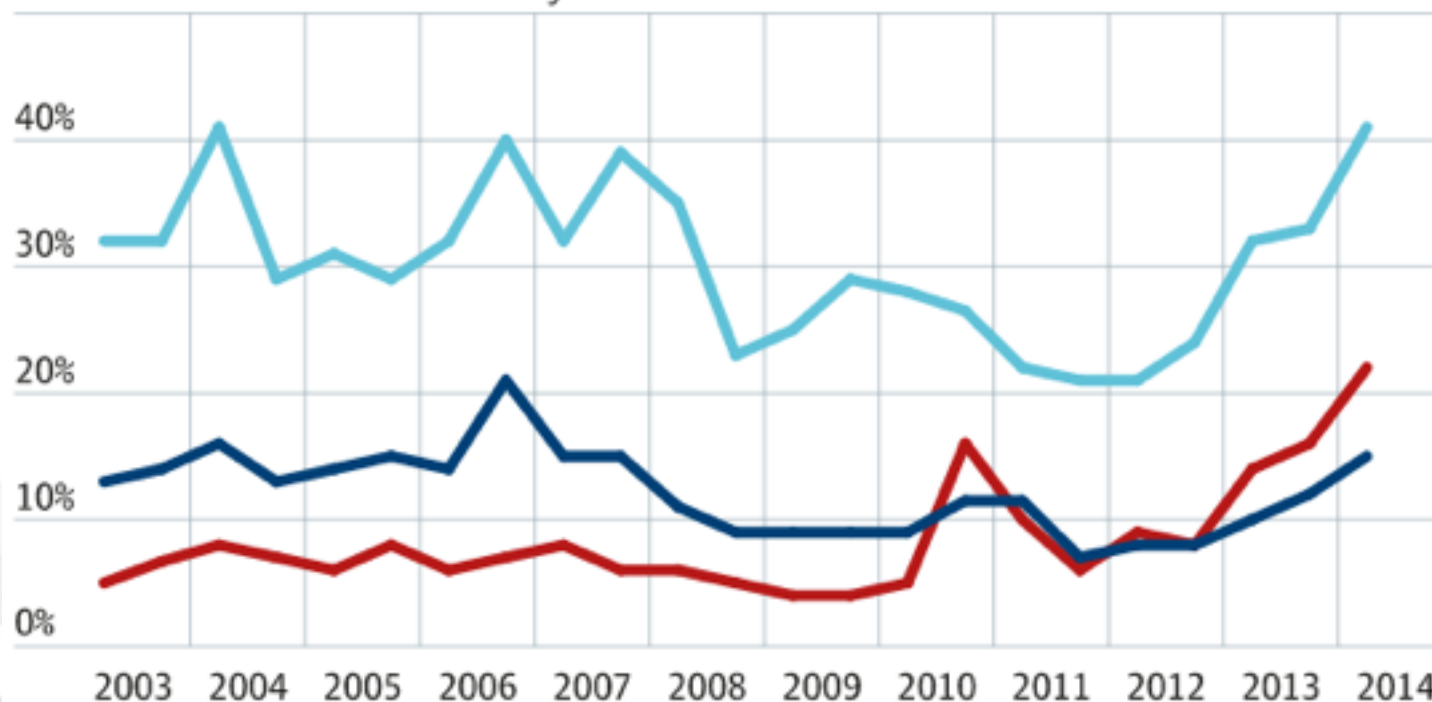
SOURCE: IPSOS MORI

# Importance of immigration as a political issue

## Immigration The European view

What do you think are the two most important issues facing your country at the moment? (Answer given as immigration)

● Britain ● EU ● Germany



GUARDIAN GRAPHIC

SOURCE: EUROBAROMETER



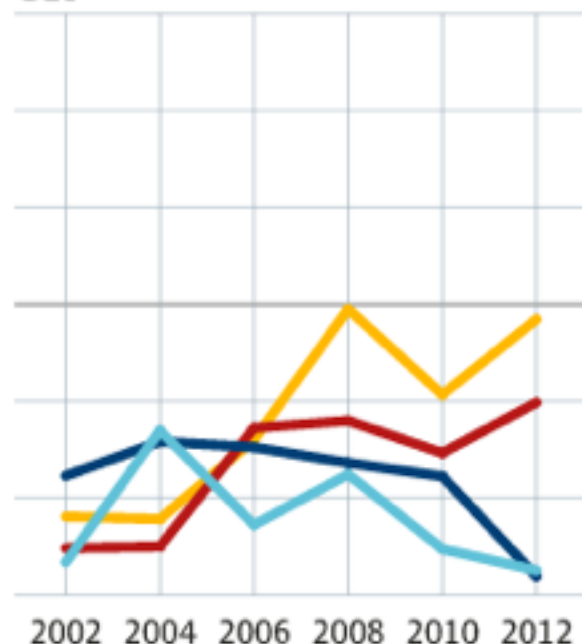
# Benefits of immigration?

## Immigration Good for the economy?

Is immigration bad or good for country's economy? Net 'good' score

- Born pre war (before 1945)
- Baby boomers (1945-65)
- Generation X (before 1966-79)
- Generation Y (1980-2000)

### UK



GUARDIAN GRAPHIC

### Germany

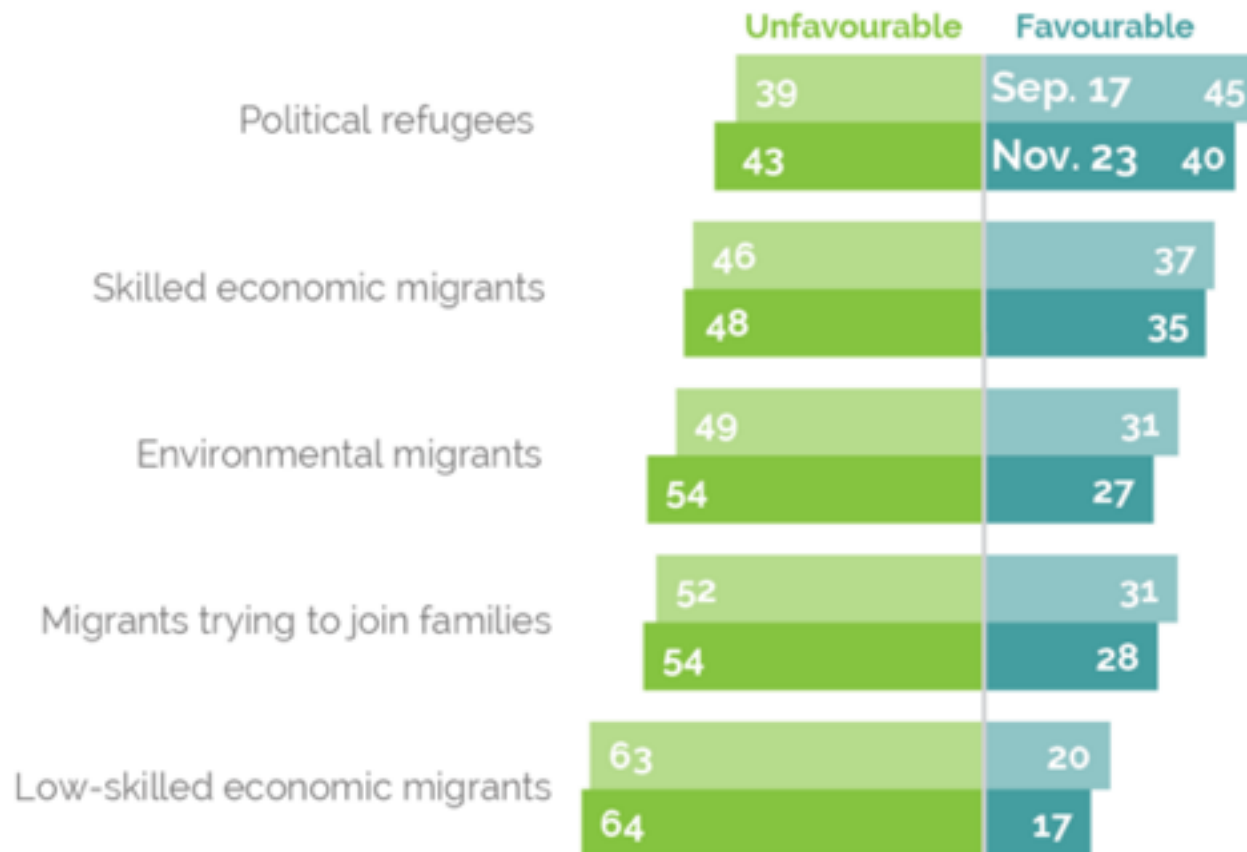


SOURCE: EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY

# Recent attitudes in France

## French attitudes to migration, before and after Paris

How favourable are you to France allowing in more of the following categories of migrants – of all religions, coming from Africa, eg Eritrea, and the middle east, eg Syria and Iraq? Representative sample of 1006 French adults (%)



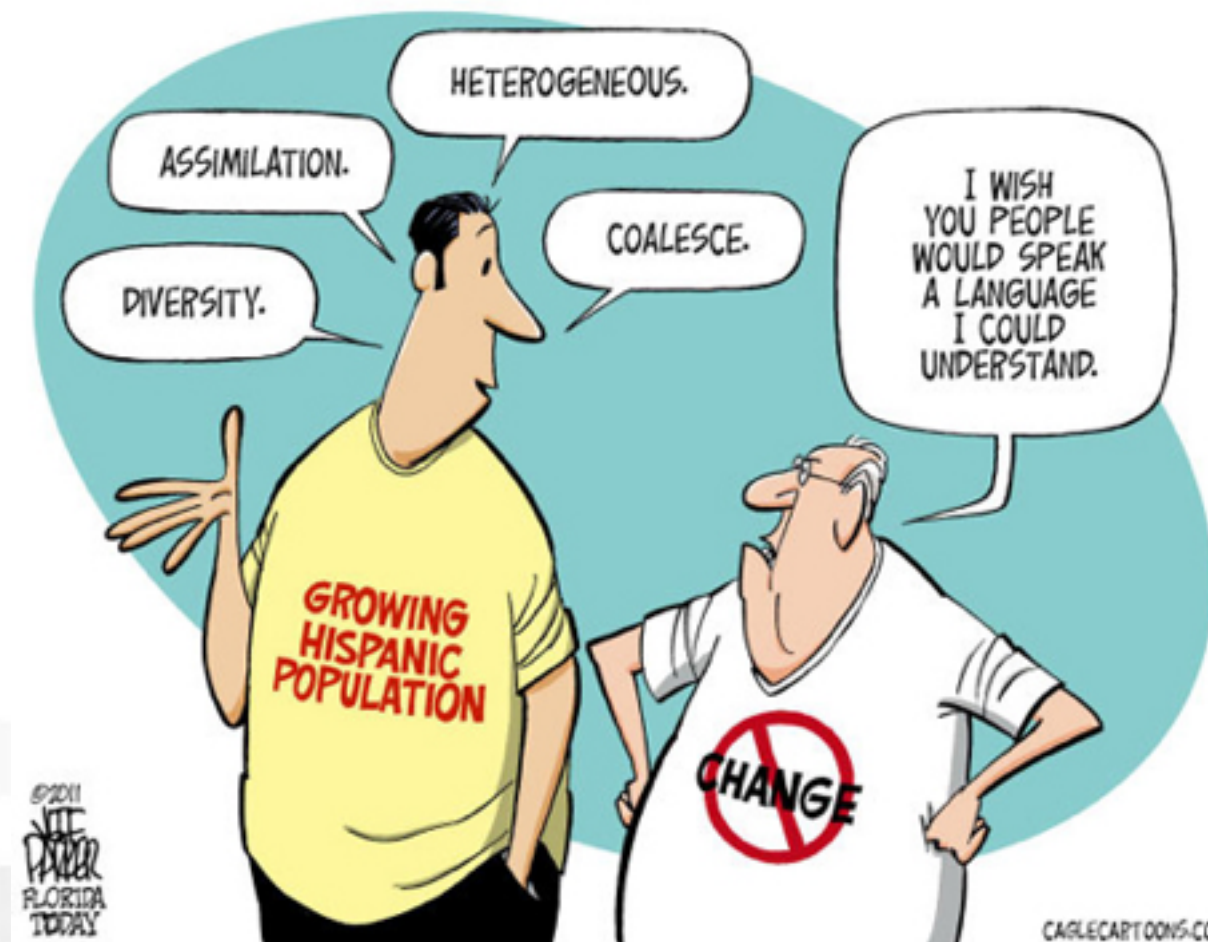
What explains/influences preferences toward immigrants?



Labor market competition?



# What explains/influences preferences toward immigrants?



## Beliefs about social impacts?

# Some evidence from U.S. surveys



Scheve & Slaughter (2001): respondents with lower wages & less education are more opposed to immigration.

Can this be explained by:

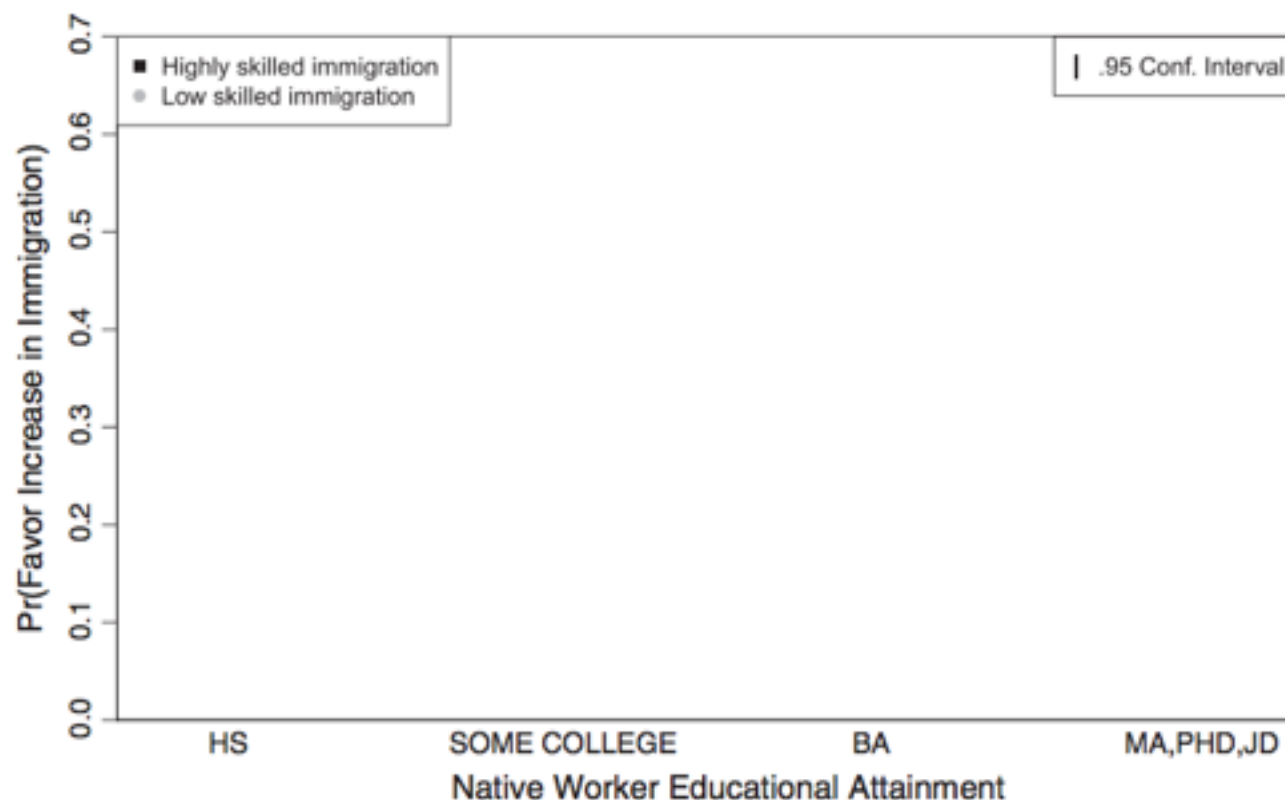
- labor market competition?
- differing beliefs about social impacts?

# Some evidence from U.S. surveys



What if we ask separately about low-skilled and high-skilled immigrants?

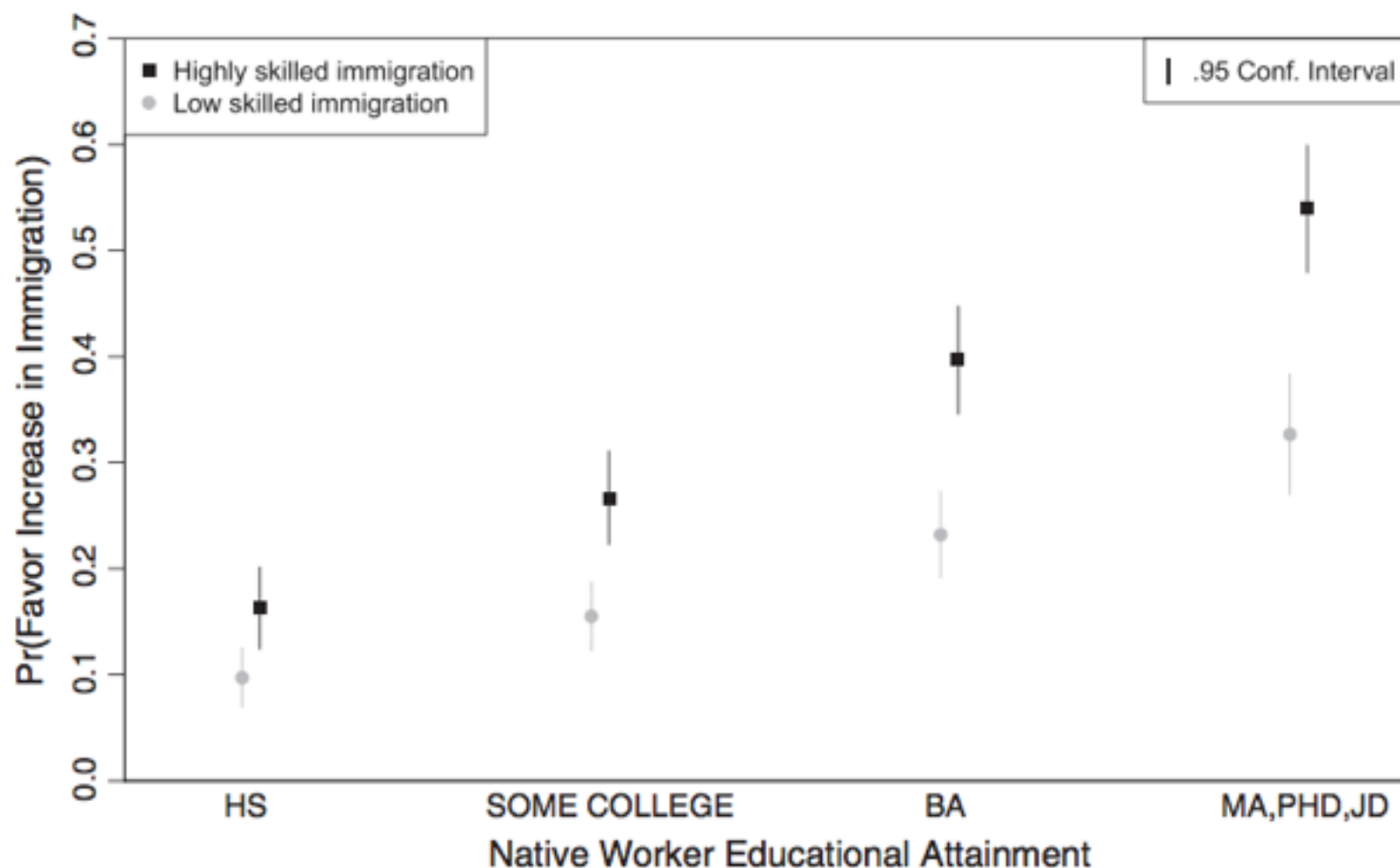
Suppose labor market competition is key determinant. What support for low-skilled and high-skilled immigration should we expect at each educational level?





# Some evidence from U.S. surveys

*J. Hainmueller et al. / Journal of International Economics 97 (2015) 193–207*



# “Who gets a Swiss passport?”

Until 2003, some Swiss municipalities handled naturalization applications by referendum via secret ballot.

C'////G'////, italienische Staatsangehörige,  
Gerliswilstrasse 26, 6020 Emmenbrücke



Geburtsort: Pietrelcina (I)  
Geburtsdatum: 9. Dezember 1939  
Zivilstand: geschieden  
Ausbildung: Volksschule  
Bisherige Tätigkeiten: Mitarbeit auf elterlichem Bauerngut,  
Lingerie-Mitarbeiterin in Hotels  
Jetzige Tätigkeit: IV-Rentnerin seit 1997  
Arbeitgeber: –  
Einreise in die Schweiz: 15. Oktober 1962  
Zuzug nach Emmen: 23. September 1970  
Hobbys: –  
Steuern: Steuerbares Einkommen Fr. 33 900.–  
Steuerbares Vermögen Fr. 28 000.–  
Kinder: –  
Einbürgerungstaxe: Fr. 123.–  
Einbürgerungsgebühr: Fr. 500.–

D'////J'////, ungarischer Staatsangehöriger, Ghürschweg 13,  
6020 Emmenbrücke



Geburtsort: Bucsa (H)  
Geburtsdatum: 14. Mai 1936  
Zivilstand: geschieden  
Ausbildung: Volksschule, Lehre als Mineur und Sprengmeister,  
Zusatzausbildung als Maler  
Bisherige Tätigkeiten: Bau-Hilfsarbeiter, selbstständiger Maler  
Jetzige Tätigkeit: IV-Rentner seit 1987 (Verkehrsunfall)  
Arbeitgeber: –  
Einreise in die Schweiz: 17. November 1956  
Zuzug nach Emmen: 26. Juni 1991  
Hobbys: Fischen, Pilze sammeln, Modellflugzeuge basteln  
Steuern: Steuerbares Einkommen Fr. 28 400.–  
Steuerbares Vermögen Fr. 0.–  
Kinder: –  
Einbürgerungstaxe: Fr. 100.–  
Einbürgerungsgebühr: Fr. 500.–

# “Who gets a Swiss passport?” (2)



What features predict the proportion of “no” votes?

**FIGURE 2. Effect of Applicant Characteristics on Opposition to Naturalization Requests**

## Sociodemographics:

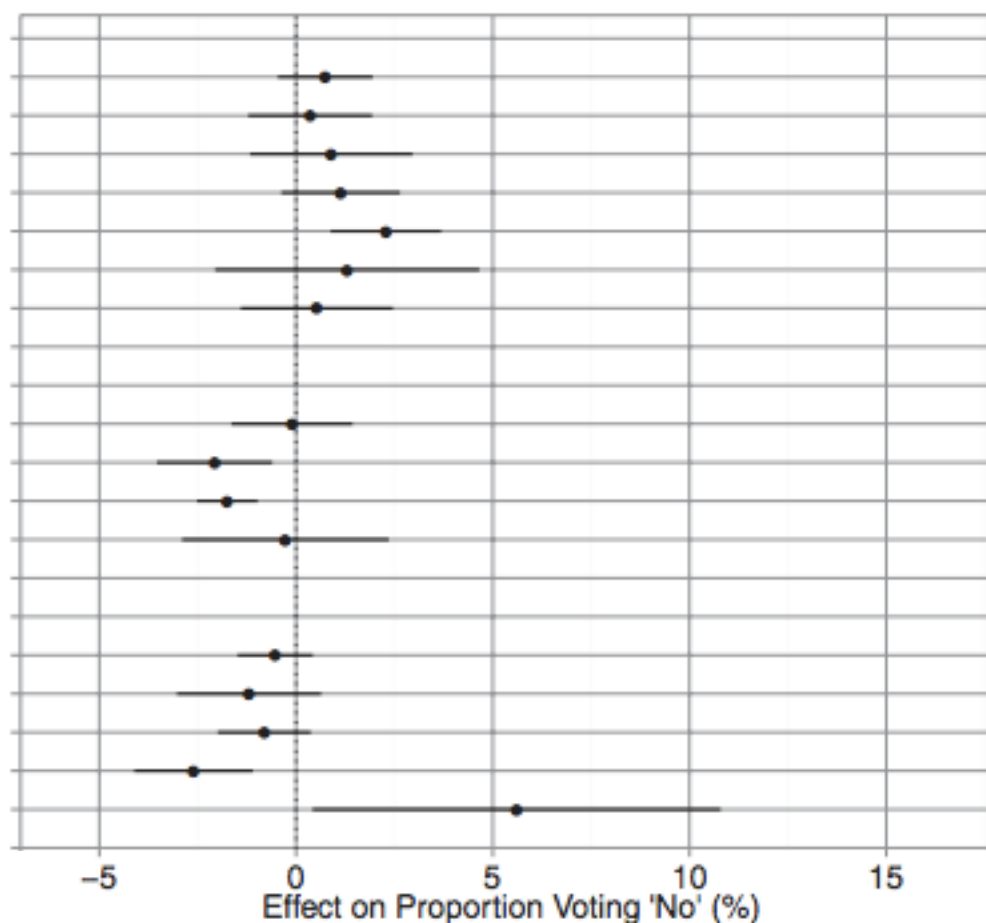
- Male (0/1)
- Married (0/1)
- Children (0/1)
- Age: 21–40 Years (0/1)
- Age: 41–60 Years (0/1)
- Age: 60+ Years (0/1)
- Attractive (0/1)

## Immigration History:

- Applications (#)
- Born in Switzerland (0/1)
- Years since Arrival (#/10)
- Refugee (0/1)

## Economic Credentials:

- Education: Middle (0/1)
- Education: High (0/1)
- Skill: Middle (0/1)
- Skill: High (0/1)
- Unemployment (0/1)



(continued)

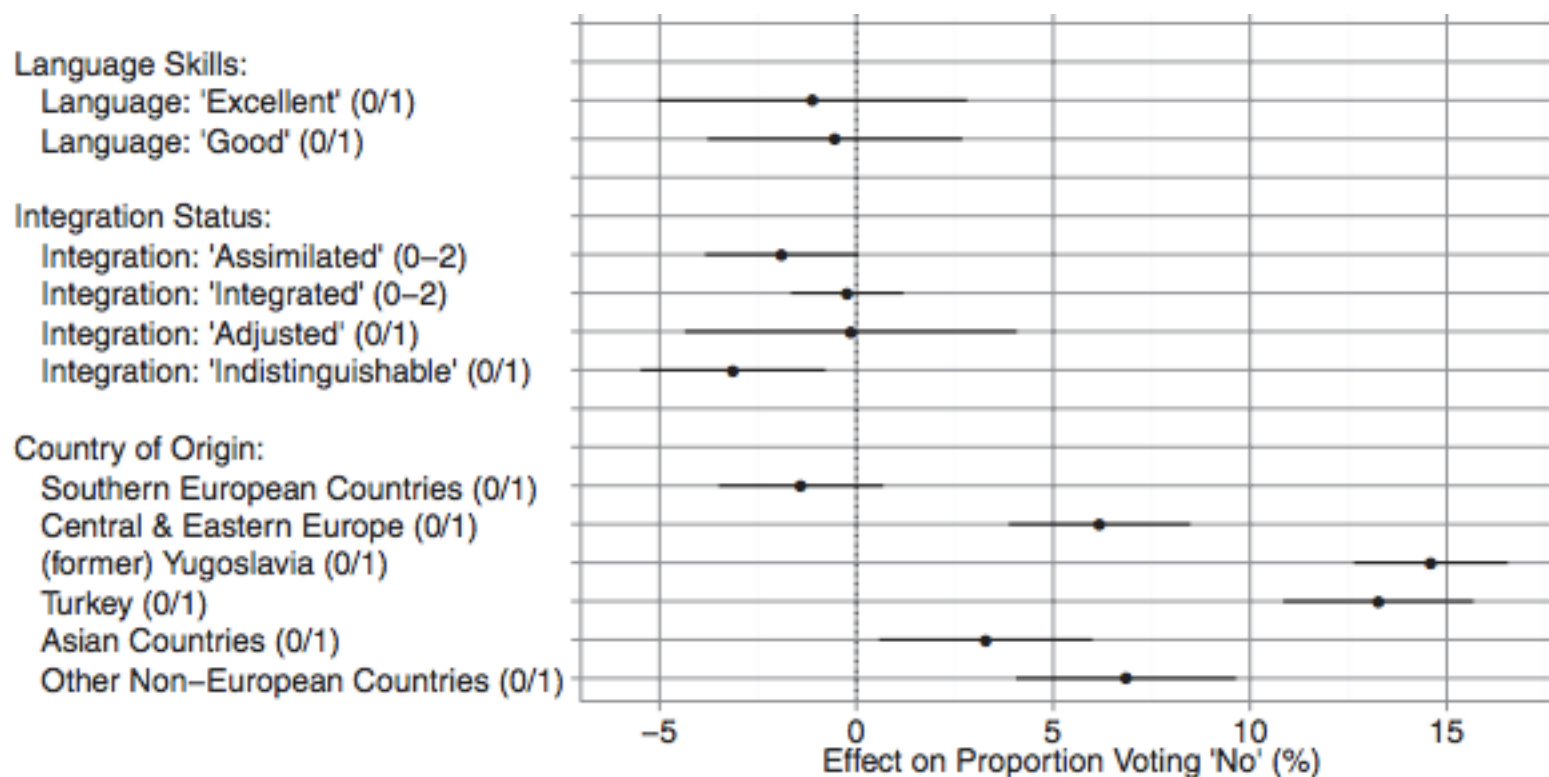
# “Who gets a Swiss passport?” (3)



What features predict the proportion of “no” votes?

**FIGURE 2. Effect of Applicant Characteristics on Opposition to Naturalization Requests**

(continued)



# “Who gets a Swiss passport?” (4)



What explains this bias?

- Some evidence for **statistical discrimination**: applicant's education and skill level more predictive of result for applicants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia
- Some evidence for **taste-based discrimination**: applicant being from Turkey/former Yugoslavia more predictive of result in municipalities that were more supportive of 1982 anti-immigration referendum

*D///J///, ungarischer Staatsangehöriger, Ghürschweg 13,  
6020 Emmenbrücke*



Geburtsort:	Bucsa (H)
Geburtsdatum:	14. Mai 1936
Zivilstand:	geschieden
Ausbildung:	Volksschule, Lehre als Mineur und Sprengmeister, Zusatzausbildung als Maler
Bisherige Tätigkeiten:	Bau-Hilfsarbeiter, selbstständiger Maler
Jetzige Tätigkeit:	IV-Rentner seit 1987 (Verkehrsunfall)
Arbeitgeber:	–
Einreise in die Schweiz:	17. November 1956
Zuzug nach Emmen:	26. Juni 1991
Hobbys:	Fischen, Pilze sammeln, Modellflugzeuge basteln
Steuern:	Steuerbares Einkommen Fr. 28 400.– Steuerbares Vermögen Fr. 0.–
Kinder:	–
Einbürgerungstaxe:	Fr. 100.–
Einbürgerungsgebühr:	Fr. 500.–



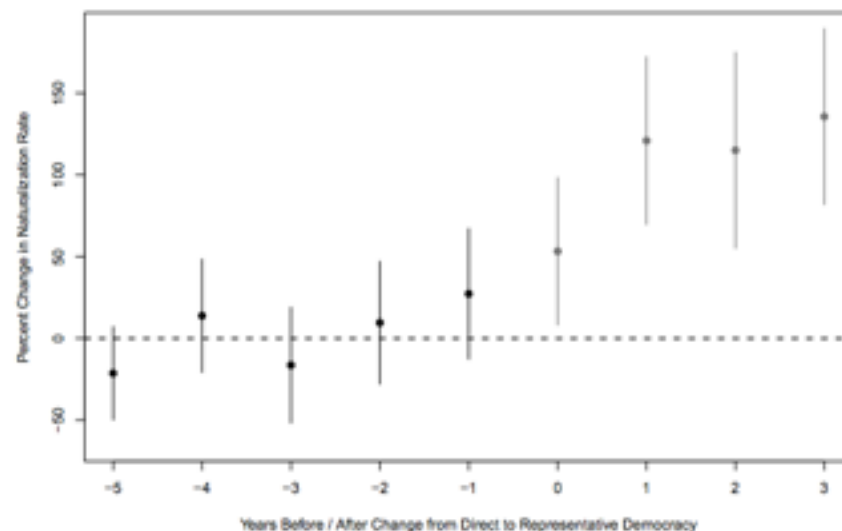
# “Who gets a Swiss passport?” (5)



Naturalization rates higher, and discrimination lower, when decisions are made by representative councils rather than popular referendum.

...especially for applicants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Insight into sources of the “gap”?

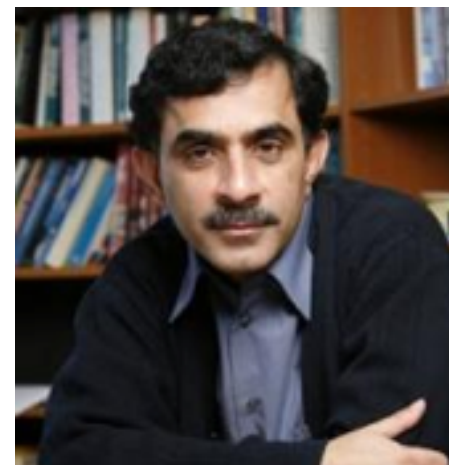


# Effects of migration on country of origin



Four channels for effects (Kapur, 2010):

- **prospective:** how does prospect of leaving affect choices? e.g. education
- **absence:** do departures affect wages? political pressures/stability?
- **diaspora:** remittances of money, but also ideas
- **return:** bringing back education, expectations, ideas



Devesh Kapur, University of Pennsylvania

# Kapur (2010) on effect of out-migration in India



Major episodes of emigration from India:

- to UK following WWII: unskilled & semi-skilled; sometimes via Africa
- to the Middle East from late 1960s: (mostly) unskilled & semi-skilled
- to the US from 1965: highly skilled & students, later IT workers

Positive impacts:

- strengthened commitment to liberal politics in India
- gave elites an “escape hatch”, which made them more amenable to the inclusion of marginalized social groups (“silent social revolution”)

But nationalist diaspora also blamed for inflaming religious conflict.

# Summing up



Immigration politics has it all!

- what determines policy?
- what determines preferences?
- what is the impact on political competition?

Challenging public policy issue for the future; important feature of political debate/realignments.