

Part 1 – Global Migration

Text 1 - A new wave of mass migration has begun

What does it mean for rich-world economies?

The Economist, May 28th 2023

Last year 1.2m people moved to Britain—almost certainly the most ever. Net migration (ie, immigrants minus emigrants) to Australia is currently twice the rate before the covid-19 pandemic. Spain’s equivalent figure recently hit an all-time high. Nearly 1.4m people on net are expected to move to America this year, one-third more than before the pandemic. In 2022 net migration to Canada was more than double the previous record. In Germany it was even higher than during the “migration crisis” of 2015. **The rich world as a whole is in the middle of an unprecedented migration boom. Its foreign-born population is rising faster than at any point in history** (see chart 1).



The Economist

15 **What does this mean for the global economy?** Not long ago it seemed as if many wealthy countries had turned decisively against mass migration. In 2016 Britons voted for Brexit and then Americans for Donald Trump—both political projects had a strong anti-20 migrant streak. In the global wave of populism that followed, politicians from Australia to Hungary promised to crack down on migration. **Then covid closed borders. Migration came to a standstill, or even went into reverse, as people decided to return** 25 **home.** Between 2019 and 2021 the populations of Kuwait and Singapore, countries that typically receive lots of migrants, fell by 4%. In 2021 the number of

emigrants from Australia exceeded the number of immigrants to the country for the first time since the 30 1940s.

◆ **In some places the surge in migration has brought back a sense of normality.** Singapore’s foreign workforce recently returned to its pre-pandemic level. **In other places it feels like a drastic change.** 35 Consider **Newfoundland** and Labrador, Canada’s second-smallest province by population. Long home to people of Irish-Catholic descent—with accents to match—net migration to the province is running at more than 20 times the pre-pandemic norm. St John’s, the 40 capital, once fairly homogeneous, feels more like Toronto every time you visit. Heart’s Delight, a small rural village, now has a Ukrainian bakery, Borsch. The provincial government is setting up an office in Bangalore to help recruit nurses.

45 **The new arrivals in Newfoundland are a microcosm of those elsewhere in the rich world.** Many hundreds of **Ukrainians** have arrived on the island—a tiny share of the millions who have left the country since Russia invaded. **Indians** and **Nigerians** 50 also appear to be on the move in large numbers. Many speak English. And many already have familial connections in richer countries, in particular Britain and Canada.

Some of the surge in migration is because people 55 **are making up for lost time.** Many migrants acquired visas in 2020 or 2021, but only made the trip once covid restrictions loosened. Yet the rich world’s foreign-born population—at well over 100m—is now above its pre-crisis trend, suggesting something else is going on.

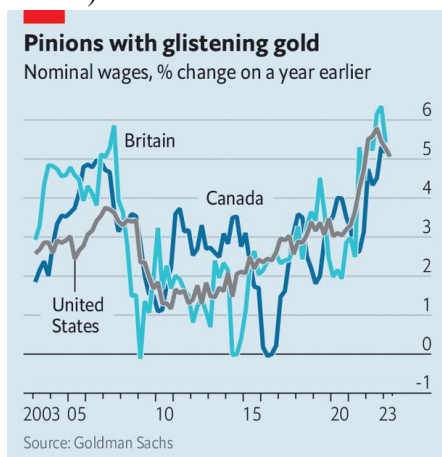
60 **The nature of the post-pandemic economy is a big part of the explanation.** Unemployment in the rich world, at 4.8%, has not been so low in decades. Bosses are desperate for staff, with vacancies near an all-time high. People from abroad thus have good reason to 65 travel. Currency movements may be another factor. A British pound buys more than 100 Indian rupees, compared with 90 in 2019. Since the beginning of 2021 the average emerging-market currency has depreciated

by about 4% against the dollar. This enables migrants to 70 send more money home than before.

Many governments are also trying to attract more people. Canada has an explicit target to welcome 1.5m new residents in 2023-25. Germany and India recently signed an agreement to allow more Indians to 75 work and study in Germany. Australia is increasing the time period some students can work after graduating from two to four years. Britain has welcomed Hong Kongers looking to flee Chinese oppression—well over 100,000 have arrived. Many countries have made it easy 80 for Ukrainians to enter. Even those countries hitherto hostile to migration, including Japan and South Korea, are looking more favourably on outsiders as they seek to counteract the impact of ageing populations.

◆**Economies that welcome lots of migrants tend to benefit in the long run.** Just look at America. Foreign folk bring new ideas with them. In America immigrants are about 80% likelier than native-born folk to found a firm, according to a recent paper by Pierre Azoulay of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 90 and colleagues. Research suggests that migrants also help to build trading and investment links between their home country and the receiving one. A slug of young workers also helps generate more tax revenue.

Some economists also hope that the wave of migration will have more immediate benefits. “High immigration is helpful for the Fed as it tries to cool down the labour market and slow down inflation,” says Torsten Slok of Apollo Global Management, an asset manager, expressing a common view. Such arguments 100 may be a little too optimistic. Having more people does increase the supply of labour, which all else equal reduces wage growth. But the effect is pretty small. There is little sign that the countries receiving the most migrants have the loosest labour markets. In Canada, for 105 instance, pay is still rising by about 5% year on year (see chart 2).



The Economist

Migrants also increase demand for goods and services, which can raise inflation. In Britain new 110 arrivals appear to be pushing up rents in London, which already had a constrained supply of housing. A similar effect is noticeable in Australia. Estimates published by Goldman Sachs, a bank, imply that Australia’s current annualised net migration rate of 500,000 people is 115 raising rents by around 5%. Higher rents feed into a higher overall consumer-price index. Demand from migrants may also explain why, despite higher mortgage rates, house prices in many rich countries have not fallen by much.

120 **Over the next year or so migration may come down a bit. The post-pandemic “catch-up” will end; rich-world labour markets are slowly loosening. Yet there is reason to believe that historically high levels of new arrivals will remain raised for some time.** 125 **More welcoming government policy is one factor. More important, migration today begets migration tomorrow, as new arrivals bring over children and partners. Before long the rich world’s anti-immigrant turn of the late 2010s will seem like an** 130 **aberration.**

Opinion: Climate change is worsening the world’s refugee crisis. Here’s one way leaders can help

BY RWAIDA GHARIB *Los Angeles Times*, JULY 7, 2023

Refugees bring very little across borders, but they cling to their stories. These days they mostly want to talk about the weather.

The refugees I work with often say the same thing: It got hot. Then hotter. Then the jobs dried up and eventually the food did too. Add in political, racial or religious tensions, or a natural disaster that was the final straw. It all led to the same conclusion: There is no future here.

And these are from the “lucky ones” who made it out.

Today there are millions of climate refugees — people who have fled their homes because changes in the local environment made living conditions unsustainable — and estimates suggest that there will be more than 1 one billion by 2050. Despite this, no nation in the world offers asylum on the grounds of fleeing environmental or climate emergencies.

Worsening climate conditions make increased migration inevitable. Research shows that as global temperatures rise, so do asylum applications, and those from the world’s so-called hot spots are the first to try to leave. World governments need to adapt to meet this humanitarian crisis.

Most nations that offer asylum and international organizations aiding migrants adhere to guidelines set at **the 1951 Refugee Convention**, which offers protection to only those who are fleeing because of race, religion, nationality or affiliation with a particular social group or political opinion.

Yet more than 80% of refugees today are fleeing countries severely affected by climate change and where treacherous conflicts are exacerbated by catastrophic events such as floods, droughts and earthquakes. Last year there were 32.6 million new displacements triggered by natural disasters, the highest number in a decade and 41% higher than the annual average over the last 10 years.

Given that climate is increasingly a key driver of migration, or one of the many compounding reasons that could force a family to leave their home, the guidelines for asylum should be updated and a formal definition for climate refugees must be determined.

If an official definition for climate refugees is developed, funding support for these migrants could also increase. Budgets now earmarked strictly for climate could help support the millions in need.

Better legal frameworks at the national and international levels to protect and assist refugees, asylum seekers and vulnerable migrants are also needed. If leaders continue to avoid the problem, those seeking asylum from climate emergencies are left with, at best, temporary solutions.

Despite the difficult living situations and impossible regulations that migrants face, I have seen their incredible resilience and optimism over more than a decade, in refugee camps in Kenya, Turkey, Greece and Bangladesh.

Once, in 2017 on the Somali border, I interviewed families who had fled drought and famine for not much better conditions in neighboring Kenya. The refugee complex, consisting of three camps, housed just over 270,000 people at the time — almost twice the population of Pasadena. The average temperature was in the high 90s, drinking water was limited, and food rations were insufficient. Volatile religious and racial tensions had followed the migrants into the camp. And yet they were hopeful.

I sat with one young man who had been born in the camp, giving him no passport or birth certificate to enter Somalia or refugee status to enter Kenya. But he showed me a pixelated stock photo of a turquoise sea and stated, “One day I will go to the ocean.”

We need a formal climate asylum status so that he and the millions like him can find security and paths to a better life.

Rwaida Gharib is a Yale Public Voices Fellow on the Climate Crisis. She will begin graduate work in environmental resources at Stanford in the fall.

TEXT 3

Refugees and displaced people from climate frontlines call for greater inclusion at COP28

The climate crisis is taking a disproportionate toll on forcibly displaced people, but their experiences and solutions have rarely been given a platform at global climate discussions. Refugee activists at COP28 are trying to change that.

By **UNHCR staff, Hunhcr.com**, 05 December 2023

Also available in: [Français](#) [Español](#) [عربي](#) Here <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/refugees-and-displaced-people-climate-frontlines-call-greater-inclusion-cop28>

At this year's UN climate change conference in Dubai – COP28 – forcibly displaced climate activists have been speaking up on behalf of millions of other refugees and internally displaced people who are being disproportionately impacted by our changing climate.

5 Nearly 60 per cent of the world's displaced are living in countries that are the most vulnerable to climate change. After fleeing war and persecution, they are being confronted with droughts, floods and extreme temperatures. Despite this double burden and lived experience, they have struggled to make their voices heard at annual UN climate change conferences.

10 Nhial Deng, a South Sudanese refugee, youth advocate and community activist, is among those trying to change this at COP28. "The climate crisis is a human crisis," he said. "We need to listen to the voices of communities who are on the frontline; we need to see them as experts."

15 Deng was speaking at one of several sessions in recent days that have put a spotlight on climate action and solutions led by forcibly displaced people. Speakers from South Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have been sharing their stories of fleeing first from conflict and then from climate disasters, as well as speaking about the work they are doing in their communities to restore the environment and adapt to the changing climate.

"Now more than ever, decision makers at COP need to understand the perspectives of such communities on the climate frontlines, and to hear their calls to action," said Andrew Harper, the UN Refugee Agency's Special Advisor for Climate Action. "Millions of refugees live on increasingly uninhabitable land, exposed to some of the most hazardous climate impacts. Decision makers can learn from their dreams, aspirations and solutions."

20 Eman Al-Hamali from Yemen leads a group of 10 women, all of them internally displaced, who run a solar microgrid that delivers affordable, clean energy to households in Abs District in Yemen's northwest Hajjah governorate. It is an area heavily impacted by both conflict and climate extremes, where livelihoods dependant on agriculture have been hard hit by increasingly scarce rains.

25 The success of the project Eman leads has inspired 12 additional solar plants benefiting over 44,000 people, but challenges remain. "We lack funding to meet the growing needs of the community for renewable energy, in addition to lacking trained personnel in the field of solar energy who are aware of climate mitigation strategies," she told delegates.

30 UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi added his voice to calls for greater inclusion of forcibly displaced people in both discussions at COP28 and in national climate action plans. "The inclusion of those most affected is vital to our discussions and responses. The experiences and solutions of displaced communities deserve a significant place in the global climate discussion."

Poet, former refugee, and UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador Emi Mahmoud has been advocating for greater inclusion of refugees and displaced people in responses to the climate crisis since she attended her first COP in Glasgow in 2021.

35 At an event at COP28 on Sunday, she performed her poem "The Song of the Earth" – a lament for our ailing planet that also carries a hopeful message about the possibility for a more sustainable future.

40 She drew inspiration for her participation at COP from a recent visit to Minawao refugee camp in the Far North region of Cameroon, where she met Nigerian refugees taking climate action, including planting thousands of trees to restore the environment in and around the camp and to combat desertification. "I got to see the real work that everyone is doing and the innovation that happens in real time on the ground," she said. "Refugees are not just on the frontlines of climate change, they're also at the forefront of combating climate change."

no one leaves home unless
home is the mouth of a shark
you only run for the border
when you see the whole city running as well

your neighbors running faster than you

breath bloody in their throats
the boy you went to school with
who kissed you dizzy behind the old tin factory
is holding a gun bigger than his body
you only leave home
when home won't let you stay.

no one leaves home unless home chases you
fire under feet
hot blood in your belly
it's not something you ever thought of doing
until the blade burnt threats into
your neck
and even then you carried the anthem under
your breath
only tearing up your passport in an airport toilet
sobbing as each mouthful of paper
made it clear that you wouldn't be going back.

you have to understand,
that no one puts their children in a boat
unless the water is safer than the land
no one burns their palms
under trains
beneath carriages
no one spends days and nights in the stomach of a
truck
feeding on newspaper unless the miles travelled
means something more than journey.
no one crawls under fences
no one wants to be beaten
pitied

no one chooses refugee camps
or strip searches where your
body is left aching
or prison,
because prison is safer
than a city of fire
and one prison guard
in the night
is better than a truckload
of men who look like your father
no one could take it
no one could stomach it
no one skin would be tough enough

the
go home blacks
refugees
dirty immigrants
asylum seekers
sucking our country dry
niggers with their hands out
they smell strange
savage
messed up their country and now they want
to mess ours up
how do the words
the dirty looks
roll off your backs
maybe because the blow is softer
than a limb torn off

or the words are more tender
than fourteen men between
your legs
or the insults are easier
to swallow
than rubble
than bone
than your child body
in pieces.
i want to go home,
but home is the mouth of a shark
home is the barrel of the gun
and no one would leave home
unless home chased you to the shore
unless home told you
to quicken your legs
leave your clothes behind
crawl through the desert
wade through the oceans
drown
save
be hunger
beg
forget pride
your survival is more important

no one leaves home until home is a sweaty voice in
your ear
saying-
leave,
run away from me now
i dont know what i've become
but i know that anywhere
is safer than here

See Also

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/climate-environment/opinion/climate-refugee-crisis-has-landed-on-europes-shores-and-we-are-far-from-ready/>

● Here is a very long report from the Guardian

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/aug/18/century-climate-crisis-migration-why-we-need-plan-great-upheaval>

And here is the audio Podcast version

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/aug/18/century-climate-crisis-migration-why-we-need-plan-great-upheaval>

● ON REMITTANCES watch this video

<https://www.npr.org/2023/12/13/1218935981/republican-candidates-immigration>

Part 2 – The United Kingdom

● Home Secretaries

Theresa May – 12 May 2010 – 13 July 2016

Amber Rudd – 13 July 2016 – 29 April 2018

Sajid Javid – 30 April 2018 – 24 July 2019

Priti Patel – 24 July 2019 – 6 September 2022

Suella Braverman – 6 September 2022 – 19 October 2022

Grant Shapps – 19 October 2022 – 25 October 2022

Suella Braverman – 25 October 2022 – 13 November 2023

James Cleverly – 13 November 2023

● Key Policies and References

Take back control

“Go Home” vans

The “tens of thousands” target

The “hostile environment Policy”

The Windrush Generation – The Windrush Scandal

“Stop the Boats”

The Illegal Migration Act 2023

The Rwanda Asylum Plan

If you're interested, key Figures and data to be found here:



● Migrants in the UK: An Overview- 02 AUG 2022

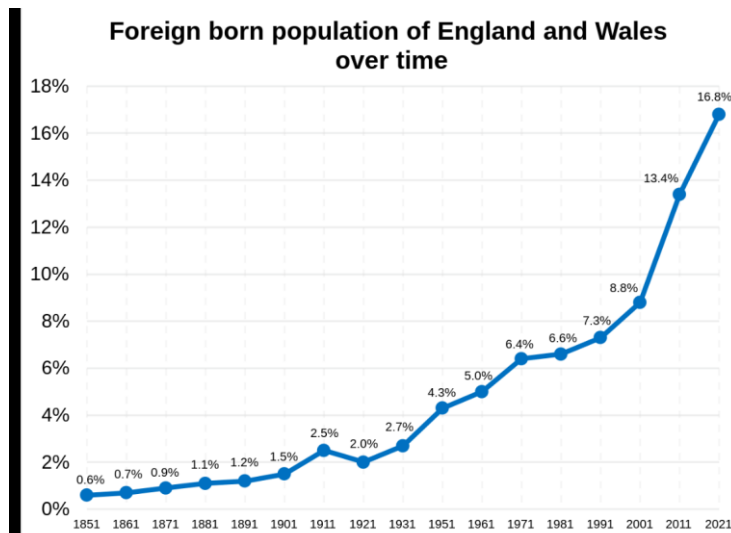
<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/>

● E.U. migration to and from the UK – 20 NOV 2023

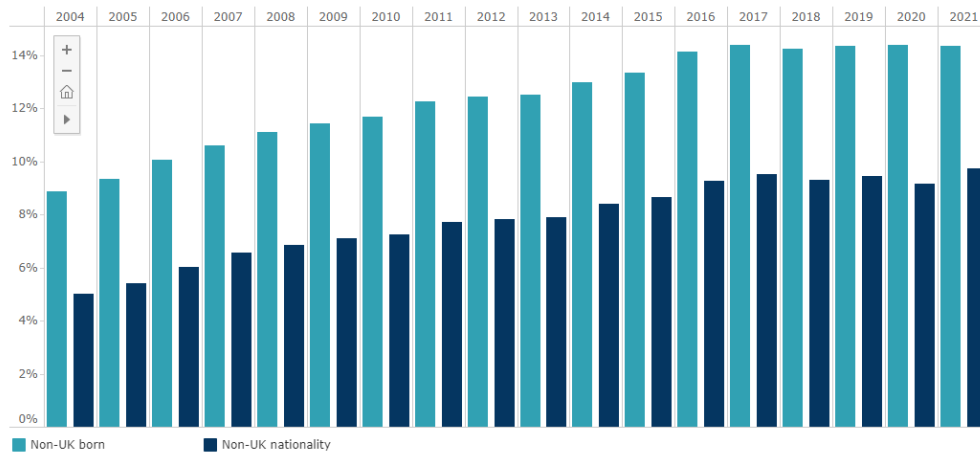
<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/eu-migration-to-and-from-the-uk/>

● Migrants in the U.K. labour market: an overview

<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-labour-market-an-overview/>



Migrants as a share of the UK population, 2004-2021



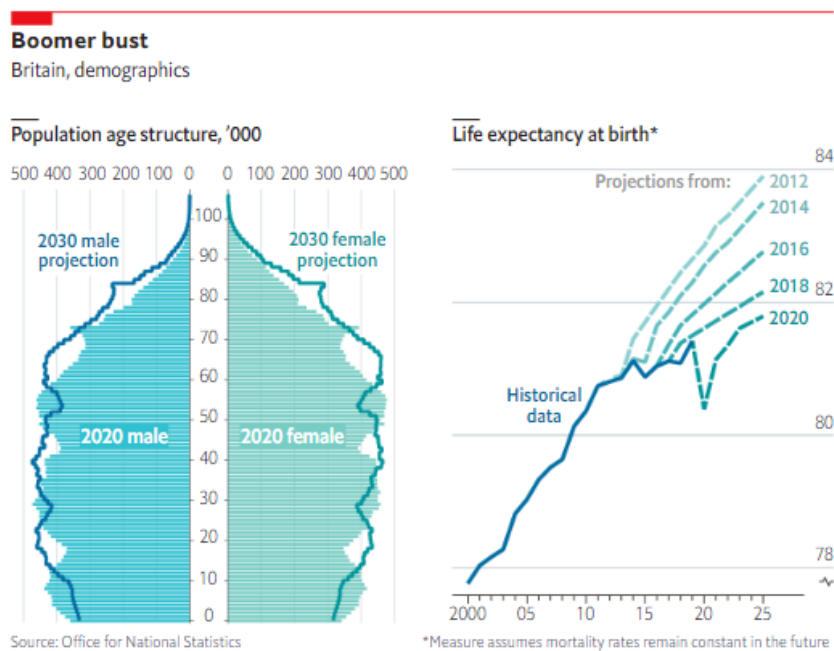
Source: 2004-2020: ONS Population by Country of Birth and Nationality, Table 1.1. and 1.2.; 2021: Migration Observatory analysis of Annual Population Survey, 2021.



Text 5 - Why Britain needs more migrants

It cannot fix its population-growth slowdown without them

[Graphic detail](#) | Daily chart - *The Economist*, Jan 14th 2022



Britain's population statistics paint a stark picture. The fertility rate, which can be thought of as the number of children a woman will have during her lifetime, stands at just 1.65. Life-expectancy projections are increasingly pessimistic, too. Interim data published on January 12th by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) estimate that the population will increase by just 3% in the decade to 2030. In the decade to 2020 it grew by 7%. Meanwhile, the number of people aged 85 and over will rise sharply (see chart). In mid-2020 fewer than 2m were in that age bracket. Projections suggest that by 2045 the figure will be more than 3m.

As in other rich countries, women are having fewer children: after the sharp peak that followed the second world war, fertility rates have declined. And the big baby-boom generation is affecting demographics in Britain and beyond. In Japan, the *dankai no sedai*—those born between 1947 and 1949—have contributed to the country's rapid ageing: almost 30% of the population are aged over 65. The slowdown in life-expectancy increase is also weighing on Britain's population growth. Projections made since 2012 (see chart 2) have steadily revised down period life

expectancy at birth (a measure of the average number of years people will live beyond their current age). For someone born in 2025, the latest projected life expectancy is 2.1 years lower than the projection made in 2012.

This slow-growing, ageing population will come at a cost. The number of adults of pensionable age for every 1,000 working-age people is projected to increase from 280 in mid-2020 to 341 by mid-2045. Other rich countries face even worse ratios. The European Union average for the same measure is projected to increase from 340 in 2019 to 590 in 2070.

However reluctant they may be to do so, countries with ageing populations will have to look beyond their borders. Migration has been a key source of population growth in Britain for decades but Ridhi Kashyap, a demographer at the University of Oxford, believes it will play an even more important role in the future. “Given the grim mortality scenario and the revised downward estimates for fertility, migration is just becoming more salient,” she says. All of this means anti-immigration governments are storing up trouble for the future.

Text 6 - Migration to Britain hits a record high – Why?

The country is remarkably comfortable with it. So far

The Economist, May 25th 2023

Nearly seven years have passed since the Brexit referendum in 2016. The desire to “take back control” of Britain’s borders and end free movement of labour from the European Union was what motivated many to vote Leave. In the three years before 2016, long-term net migration—immigration minus emigration—had averaged 285,000. Few would have expected that after Brexit still more people would come. Yet in 2022 net migration, according to eagerly awaited official statistics published on May 25th, rose to 606,000, a record for a calendar year. Perhaps surprisingly, Britons appear pretty comfortable with higher numbers, even if their politicians don’t.

Since Britain formally left the E.U. in January 2020, non-EU nationals have accounted for nearly all net migration. Four-fifths of the 1.2m people who arrived in Britain in 2022 were citizens of non-EU countries, according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The contribution of EU citizens, which was nearly half of net migration between 2010 and 2019, has fallen steadily since the Brexit vote. It turned net-negative in 2020, and last year departures exceeded arrivals by 51,000. The comings and goings of Britons are a rounding error (on balance, 4,000 left last year).

There are three reasons for the steep increase in non-EU migrants. **First**, after studying remotely during the pandemic, **students have returned in droves.** They account for one-third of last year’s non-EU figure. But they tend not to stay. Although they can apply for a two-year visa on graduation, the ONS reckons that about three-fifths then leave. Universities UK, a representative body, estimates that international students contribute about £40bn (\$49bn) a year to the economy (counting indirect effects as well as merely their fees); they also cross-subsidise British students.

The government is now concerned that some are taking advantage of its desire to attract students. Last year 85,000 people arrived as dependants of students, double the number in 2021. On May 23rd Suella Braverman, the home secretary, announced that students, unless on post-graduate research courses, may no longer sponsor dependants from January 2024 and promised to “clamp down on unscrupulous education agents”.

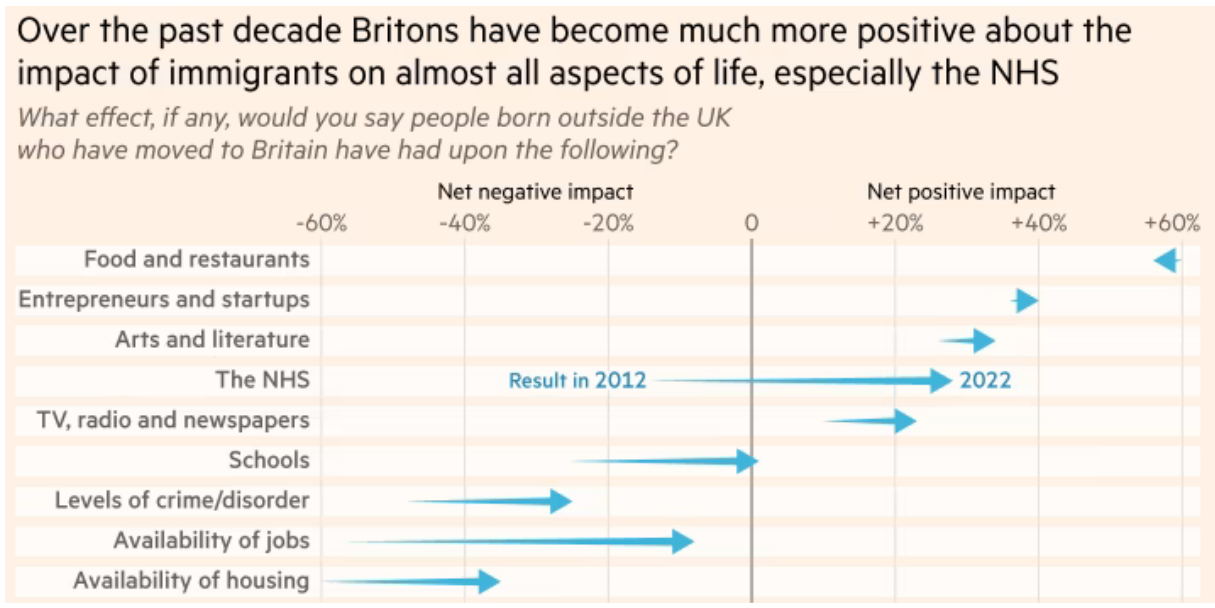
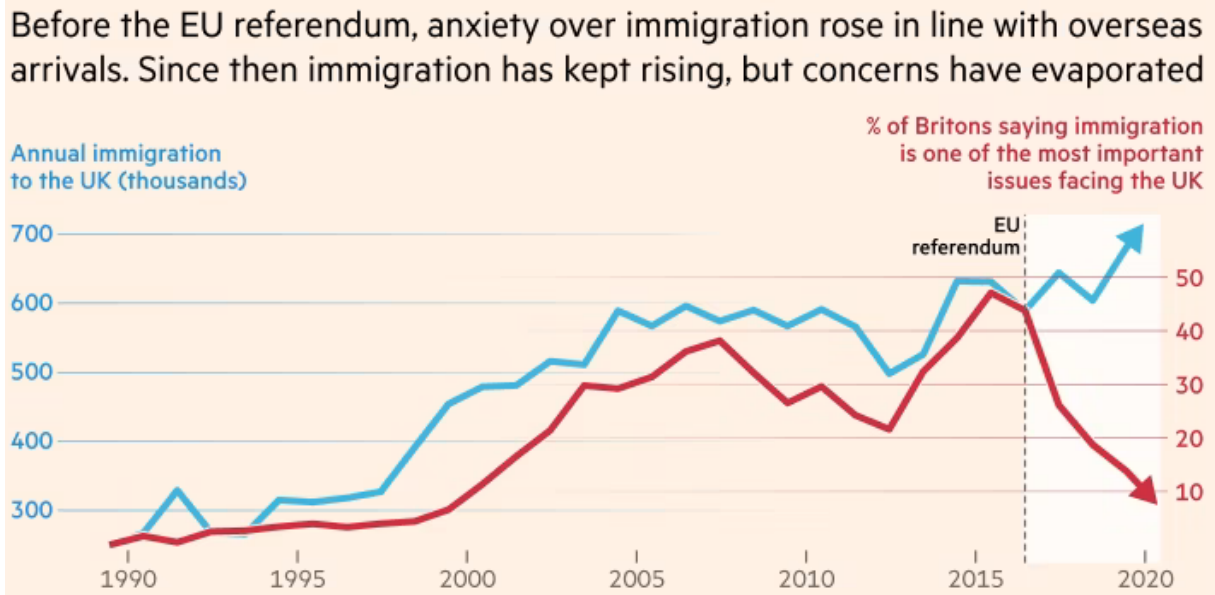
Second, **immigration has been boosted by threats to life and liberty abroad.** A total of 114,000 Ukrainians arrived in Britain last year on special visas after Russia’s invasion in February 2022. Around 90,000 **Hong Kongers** have settled over the past two years. And **73,000 asylum-seekers**—often arriving by clandestine means, such as in small boats crossing the English Channel—have been included for the first time. The ONS assumes that all these groups will stay for 12 months or more, though some may leave sooner.

Third, **Britain’s new “points-based” workplace visa has buoyed the numbers.** A net 98,000 people arrived to work last year, plus 81,000 dependants. Many have jobs in health and social care, where staff are in short supply. The National Health Service has 40,000 vacancies for nurses, or one post in ten. (...)

Meanwhile the figure of 606,000 will be fodder for the tabloids and a headache for ministers. The Conservative Party’s general-election manifesto in 2019 promised that “overall numbers [of migrants] will come down”. Rishi Sunak, the prime minister since October, has hitherto focused on stopping people crossing the Channel in small boats. More recently he has said that overall migration numbers need to fall, but not by how much.

Voters seem less bothered than politicians. Britons have become considerably more welcoming in recent 35 years. Just 21% of respondents to the British Social Attitudes survey in 2013 thought immigrants were good for the economy. In 2021 50% did. Nearly half said they “enriched” Britain’s cultural life, up from 27% in 2013. That shift has put Britain among the most pro-migrant countries in the long-running and widely used World Values Survey, according to Bobby Duffy of King’s College London.

For most, inflation, the precarious state of the economy and health care are bigger problems. With an ageing 40 population and a tight labour market, it makes sense to admit more foreigners. Britons may come to accept that



From: Sebastian Payne, “Brexit voters may not be happy with what immigration ‘control’ looks like”, *The Financial Times*, 26 April 2022.

Illegal Migration Act 2023

These documents relate to the Illegal Migration Act which received Royal Assent on 20 July 2023.

[Home Office](#), 8 March 2023

The Illegal Migration Act changes the law so that those who arrive in the UK illegally will not be able to stay here and will instead be detained and then promptly removed, either to their home country or a safe third country.

The act aims to:

- put a stop to illegal migration into the UK by removing the incentive to make dangerous small boat crossings
- speed up the removal of those with no right to be here - in turn this will free up capacity so that the UK can better support those in genuine need of asylum through safe and legal routes
- prevent people who come to the UK through illegal and dangerous journeys from misusing modern slavery safeguards to block their removal
- ensure that the UK continues to support those in genuine need by committing to resettle a specific number of the most vulnerable refugees in the UK every year

[Explainer](#)

Text 7 - What does the UK government's bill on illegal immigration propose?

Ministers say the bill will stop people crossing the Channel in small boats but critics say the plans are unworkable

The Guardian, Tue 7 Mar 2023

In 2022, 45,755 men, women and children crossed the Channel in small boats to reach the UK, most of whom then claimed asylum. Nearly 3,000 people have already made the crossing this year, with official 5 estimates expecting more than 80,000 this year.

Rishi Sunak has promised to end the small boats once and for all, by introducing the illegal immigration bill. Critics including former Tory ministers have claimed it is doomed to be halted by challenges in the 10 European court of human rights and will be used as an issue to attack Labour in a general election campaign.

How does the bill fit in with existing human rights legislation and will it be challenged?

Suella Braverman on Tuesday was unable to confirm if 15 the bill is compatible with the European convention on human rights. But the government inserted what is called a section 19(1)(b) statement into the bill, which indicates that the government intends to proceed.

Alexander Horne, a former parliamentary lawyer, 20 described such a statement as a "big red flashing light". He said: "Let's say that this bill gets on the statute book and is found to be problematic. What you're eventually doing is saying, well, the domestic courts will issue a declaration of incompatibility saying that this isn't 25 compatible with our convention rights but because it's primary legislation they can't overrule it, they just have to go along with it.

"So it will then go to Strasbourg because you've exhausted your domestic remedies and you're

30 effectively giving quite strong signalling to Strasbourg saying read the convention in this way or if you don't, tonight, you're setting up a conflict with the UK."

Horne said the right to family life (article 8) was the most likely convention right to be the subject of a 35 challenge but others were also possible such as the prohibition of degrading, inhuman treatment (article 3). Charlie Whelton, policy and campaigns officer at Liberty, said the fact that in the past the government had not resorted to 19(1)(b) in the past "flags up that this 40 will absolutely without any doubt whatsoever be challenged".

But there remains the suspicion among lawyers that the government is setting up a confrontation with "lefty lawyers" and Strasbourg, who they can then blame for 45 failure to implement the measures. Horne said it was highly unlikely to be on the statute books before the next election. "If you ask me, and this isn't a legal opinion, it's entirely a sort of political view, he [Rishi Sunak] is doing this to generate headlines," he said. "I think the 50 government thinks that banging on about Strasbourg is a new version of banging on about Europe."

What routes are open to those seeking asylum in the UK?

Braverman's aides have said that the bill leaves the way 55 open to a new "global route" administered by the UNHCR.

Details remain scarce, but Braverman told MPs that an annual cap, to be determined by parliament, on the

number of refugees the UK will resettle via safe and 60 legal routes will be determined “once we’ve stopped the boats”. “This will ensure an orderly system, considering local authority capacity for housing, public services, and support,” she said.

To apply for asylum in the UK, applicants must be 65 physically in the country under the current system.

In 2022, 1,185 refugees were resettled to the UK – 75% fewer than in 2019. Only 22 refugees came to the UK on the Afghan citizens resettlement scheme. There were also 4,473 refugee family reunion visas issued, down 70 40% on pre-Covid levels.

In comparison, in the last year more than 210,000 visas have been issued to people from Ukraine to travel to the UK. There are no Ukrainians recorded as having crossed the channel in a small boat.

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Where would those who come by boat be detained?

The new law says that everyone who arrives in the UK via an irregular route – ie via small boats across the Channel or in the back of a lorry – will be detained for 80 28 days. Ministers are planning to convert a former RAF base in Essex and, according to the Times, another one in Lincolnshire.

But two new bases will not cope with the numbers of people who would be detained in the UK if this bill is 85 enacted. Currently, people can be detained within the immigration system for the purposes of identification or when it’s going to be possible to remove them in a reasonable timeframe.

In 2022, a total of 20,446 people were detained at some 90 point. Official statistics show that 47% were detained for seven days or less. The current detention capacity in the UK is about 2,286, according to estimates by the Refugee Council, so detaining everyone crossing in a small boat for 28 days would require extra capacity.

95 It would also be very expensive – it costs about £120 to detain someone for one day so detaining 65,000 people for 28 days would cost £219m a year, and that’s before the additional costs of building more detention centres.

Where would they be sent by the government under 100 the new laws?

The bill, if enacted, will mean that anyone who arrives on a small boat will have their asylum claim deemed “inadmissible” – the Home Office won’t even consider

someone’s claim, even if they’re from a war-torn 105 country such as Afghanistan or Syria or if they face persecution such as women from Iran.

Instead, those people will be removed either to their own country or a “safe third country” if that’s not possible. What hasn’t been answered yet is where the 110 tens of thousands of people who cross the Channel will be sent.

Half of the people who crossed the channel last year came from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iran, Sudan or Syria. At least 80% of asylum claims from those countries are 115 currently granted. For Afghanistan, Eritrea and Syria the figure is 98%.

Government aides say that at present, they plan to send a majority of those arriving by small boat to Rwanda, even though that scheme is being challenged in the 120 courts. But even if it does start, it is only expected that about 200 people will be able to be transferred. There are no returns deals with France or the EU since the UK left the European Union.

What would happen to those people who can’t be 125 removed?

The current process, which was introduced two years ago, states that a person’s asylum claim can only be deemed inadmissible if they could have or did claim asylum in another place, and the Home Office has been 130 able to secure their removal to another country.

Of the 12,286 times the Home Office has tried to deem a claim inadmissible through that process, they’ve only been able to establish inadmissibility 83 times. That’s a “success” rate of just 0.7%.

135 If 65,000 people were to cross the channel once this new legislation was in place and all their claims were deemed inadmissible, that could mean 455 people would be removed on their current track record, according to figures from the Refugee Council.

140 That would leave 64,545 people stuck in limbo – unable to be removed, their asylum claims not being processed in the UK, unable to work or access support. The government has not yet said what would happen to them.

145 Government aides argue that there will not be thousands of people stuck in limbo because they predict an immediate drop in the numbers crossing the Channel if people are swiftly removed.

Text 8 - UK visas: How does the points-based immigration system work?

BBC News, November 24, 2022

Downing Street insists that Prime Minister Rishi Sunak wants to bring overall immigration levels down.

How many migrants come to the UK?

In the year ending June 2022, an estimated 1.1m came to the UK and 560,000 departed.

That means net migration (the difference between people arriving and leaving) stood at an estimated **504,000**.

This represents a record high and an increase of 331,000 on the previous year (ending June 2021).

The Office for National Statistics (ONS), which compiles the figures, said the rise was driven by non-EU migrants, specifically students, and the resumption of post-pandemic travel.

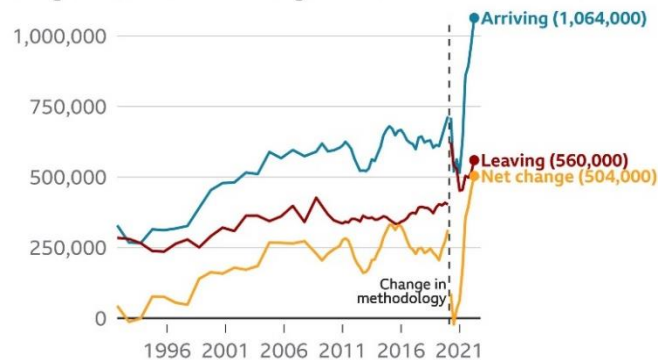
It also said the war in Ukraine, the resettlement of Afghans and the new visa route for Hong Kong British nationals had all contributed.

Home Secretary Suella Braverman says she wants to reduce net migration to the "tens of thousands".

Official immigration data gathering was disrupted during the Covid-19 pandemic. Estimates from June 2020 are based on different data sets and are not comparable with earlier years.

UK migration in the year to June 2022

Long-term international migration estimates in the UK



Source: Office for National Statistics

BBC

What impact has Brexit had on immigration?

Before Brexit, European Union and UK citizens had the freedom to live and work in any other EU country without needing a work visa.

However, freedom of movement between the two came to an end on 1 January 2021.

In the year ending June 2022, net EU migration was -51,000. This means more EU nationals left the UK than

arrived. Net migration of non-EU nationals, on the other hand, was +509,000.

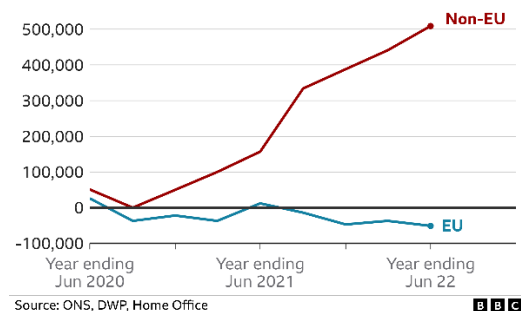
There was a net increase of +45,000 British nationals. The ONS said this figure included some British nationals arriving from Hong Kong as well as those returning during the pandemic.

Many Brexit supporters - including Ms Braverman - say leaving the EU has given the UK more control over migration policy.

Sir Keir Starmer has ruled out restoring freedom of movement and says the UK must wean itself off "immigration dependency".

However, the CBI - the UK's biggest business group - says immigration is needed to solve worker shortages and boost economic growth.

Net migration from non-EU countries has risen



Source: ONS, DWP, Home Office

BBC

What are the current visa rules for economic migrants?

Most people wanting to work in the UK have to apply for a visa through a points-based system (PBS).

A points system was first adopted by the Labour government in 2008 and applied to migrants from non-EU countries. It was then overhauled by the Conservatives after the Brexit vote.

The current PBS - which covers EU and non-EU migrants - was launched at the end of 2020.

How does the point-based system work?

Applicants need enough points to qualify for a skilled worker visa.

A total of 70 points is required. Attributes like: English skills; qualifications; and being under 26 all count towards the total.

Having an offer of a skilled job from an approved employer and being able to speak English would give 50 points for example.

A further 20 points would also be awarded if the applicant's job pays at least £25,600 a year.






There are some exceptions. Certain jobs in health or education, for example, will still award 20 points even if the salary is less than £25,600.

The standard fee for a skilled visa is usually between £625 and £1,423.

If granted, the visa will last for up to five years before it needs renewing.

How to get to 70 points?

Example: a university researcher

	20 points: Job offer
+	
	20 points: Job at appropriate skill level
+	
	10 points: Speaks English
+	
	20 points: Relevant PhD in a STEM subject
+	
	0 points: Salary of £22,000
=	
TOTAL: 70 points	

Source: BBC research



What is the 'shortage occupation list'?

A "shortage occupation list" exists to help employers fill certain roles. These jobs have a lower salary threshold, making it easier for applicants to gain the required number of points.

Jobs currently on the list include:

- care workers
- graphic designers
- nurses
- vets

The government updates the list based on advice from an independent group of experts - called the Migration Advisory Committee.

What about seasonal workers?

Temporary work, like fruit picking, is covered by a seasonal worker visa.

Up to 40,000 of these visas are issued each year. However, the National Farmers' Union argues this number is too small and needs to increase to 70,000.

Workers who are granted a visa must be paid at least £10.10 an hour.

Can students and graduates come to the UK?

There is no limit on international students coming to the UK under the student visa application system. However, Ms Braverman has suggested she wants to reduce the number of partners and children who come to the UK with students.

Students who have already completed their degree can stay in the UK for two years under a graduate visa.

NEW RULES ADDED IN EARLY DECEMBER

The government has unveiled a package of measures to reduce the number of people coming to the UK.

Home Secretary James Cleverly said the changes, which are due to take effect from next spring, would deliver the biggest ever cut in net migration.

•It comes after net migration - the difference between the number of people coming to live in the UK and those leaving - reached a record 745,000 last year.

•**Minimum salary for UK skilled worker visa to increase**

To be eligible for a skilled worker visa to come to the UK, your job offer must meet a minimum salary requirement.

At the moment this is whichever is highest out of £26,200 per year, £10.75 per hour or the "going rate" for your job. From next spring, this will rise to £38,700 per year.

However, crucially health and care workers - who account for almost half of people on work visas - will be exempt from the increase.

People on national pay scales, such as teachers, will also be exempt.

The Migration Observatory says the main impact is likely to be on middle-skilled jobs like butchers or chefs, where pay tends to be less than £30,000.

•**Minimum income requirement for family visa to rise**

The minimum income required for British citizens who want to bring a foreign family member or partner to live with them in the UK is rising from £18,600 to £38,700 a year.

An estimated 70,000 people came to the UK on family visas in the year ending June 2023.

As the change affects those on lower incomes, it will have a bigger impact on groups who tend to earn less, such as women, younger people and those living outside London and south-east England.

•**Ban on care workers bringing family dependants to the UK**

Overseas care workers will no longer be able to bring their partner or children with them to the UK.

Home Office data suggest health and care workers are more likely to be joined by family members than people on other work visas.

In the year to September, more than 101,000 visas were issued to care workers, with an estimated 120,000 visas granted to associated dependants.

Care companies are worried the ban on dependants will put off potential recruits from coming to the UK, making staff shortages worse.

But the government says it believes there will still be high demand from overseas workers for care roles in the UK, even if individuals cannot bring family members with them.

TEXT 9

International students are the ‘ideal migrant’. Even that can’t save them from the UK’s cruelty

Nesrine Malik, *The Guardian*, Sun 28 May 2023

Given how much the subject of immigration dominates British political life, it is remarkable how little people know about what it actually takes to come to this country. Immigrants are spoken of as if they simply purchase a ticket and stroll in, against the wishes and efforts of the government. (...) For now, let me reassure you: the UK is very much in control of its borders.

As a veteran of visa applications, I can tell you that the average UK visa process is as probing, extensive and invasive as it gets. But this doesn’t stop the Home Office from regularly introducing a new requirement and presenting it to the public as the supposed closing of a loophole (...). Last week, it was time for international students to feel the heat.

From next year, with a few exceptions, students coming from overseas will be barred from bringing their dependants with them when they come to study in the UK. Last year, almost 500,000 visas were issued to international students – a category that now includes both EU and non-EU, though the vast majority are the latter – to study in the UK. Along with them came just over 135,000 immediate family members – a figure that the government sees as a nice, meaty number to hack at. What they don’t see are women with small children, families without child-supporting networks back home, and students who – reasonably – would not like to be separated from their partners for a long time. It is a mark of the government’s inability to be honest about the country’s need for immigrants that it is scrambling around for some numbers to cut, and in so doing, targeting a cohort of people that brings in huge amounts of revenue, pay into the NHS, and prove in advance that they will not be a “burden” on the state.

Before even being allowed into the UK, international students must demonstrate that they have a place at an accredited British academic institution and have enough funds to cover their course, plus an additional sum to cover living expenses. Dependants have to be able to prove that they have the funds to sustain themselves – £845 a month for up to nine months for courses in London or £680 a month for courses outside London. All applicants, students and their dependants pay an NHS surcharge; a master’s student with one partner and one child needs to pay £1,410 in advance of setting foot in the UK. (...)

The reality is that international students, particularly non-EU ones, are playing a massive role in financing the country’s higher education system while being a net contributor to the economy. Research from 2021 shows that just 10 non-EU students studying in the UK will generate £1m of economic impact during their studies in terms of fees, consumer spending and job creation – and that’s *after* their use of public services has been accounted for.

Non-EU student fees made up 17% of UK universities’ income in 2020-21 – in effect, cross-subsidising the education of domestic students. The fees they pay are astonishingly high, averaging some £22,000 a year. So high, in fact, and scandalously divorced from the actual cost of delivery are these fees, that the director of Soas University of London recently said that such students are being exploited in a “morally problematic” higher education system that has become reliant on overseas students. That system, he said, would “collapse” if just China and India were to “close the taps”.

Well, Suella Braverman is here to help: introducing a policy that will punish and turn away what is, by government standards, the ideal migrant. (...)

The tragedy is that so much of what we were told Brexit was about – pivoting away from Europe towards the Commonwealth and the rest of the world; investing in our “world-beating” homegrown industries – is personified in the international student. They have a cultural affinity with the UK, recognise the prestige of degrees from British universities and the value of being here to their careers and global relevance. But all the government can see in them is a useful number to cull – economic units to be stripped of relationships, choice and humanity. (694 words)

Text 11 - Unpacking the Supreme Court's Rwanda Decision

By Dr Joelle Grogan, Senior Researcher, UK in a Changing Europe, 16 Nov 2023

On 15 November 2023, the UK Supreme Court (UKSC) unanimously upheld the Court of Appeal's judgment and found that the government's 'Rwanda Policy' is unlawful.

The central question before the Court was whether Rwanda is a safe country for asylum-seekers to be sent to have their claim processed and, if their claim were successful, to stay. Both sides agreed on the legal rule that refugees must not be returned to a country if their life or freedom would be threatened in that country (e.g. non-refoulement), nor can they be sent to a third country where there is a 'substantial risk' of their being returned to a country where they would face such a threat.

The Court underlined that non-refoulement is part of several international covenants and treaties to which the UK is bound, including the UN Refugee Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 and the European Convention on Human Rights. The Court also listed the Acts of Parliament that embed the principle in the UK's own national law.

The Court concluded that non-refoulement is 'core principle of international law, to which the United Kingdom government has repeatedly committed itself on the international stage, consistently with this country's reputation for developing and upholding the rule of law.'

In deciding that Rwanda was not safe, and asylum-seekers would be at risk of refoulement, the Supreme Court relied heavily on the UN's evidence on the ground in Rwanda. The evidence pointed to Rwanda's poor human rights record, and highlighted the fact that UK police had to warn Rwandan nationals living in the UK of threats to their life from the Rwandan government.

The systemic issues in the Rwandan legal system were particularly concerning to the Court. Judges may not be independent of political influence, lawyers may not be provided, and despite a right of appeal – there were none on record.

The Court also underlined concerns that some asylum-seekers would not be fairly processed: citizens of certain warzone countries had a 100% rejection rate in Rwanda, while the same nationalities were nearly always recognised as refugees in the UK (for example, Afghanistan has 98%, and Syria 99% approval rate for asylum claims).

The UKSC was also not convinced by the Rwandan government's assurances, even if they were 'in good faith'. The UN documented 100 cases of refoulement, including after the agreement with the UK had been reached. The Court cast doubt on Rwanda's commitment to its own international obligations, pointing to a similar agreement it had reached with Israel between 2013-2018.

On the weight of evidence that the country was not safe, the Court held that it would be unlawful for the UK to send people to Rwanda.

It should be underlined that the judgment does not make the policy of removing asylum-seekers to a third country where their claims are processed unlawful, only that Rwanda is not currently a safe country to do so.

While the court emphasised that they considered only the legal question – is Rwanda a safe third country – they implicitly tackled the ongoing political debate about whether the UK should leave the ECHR spearheaded by former Home Secretary, Suella Braverman.

By emphasising that the ECHR is not the *only* source of protection against removal to an unsafe country, the Court implicitly indicated that leaving the ECHR won't end the obligations from other international treaties (and the UK's own domestic law) to guarantee asylum-seekers wouldn't be sent back to a country where it is unsafe for them.

What, then, is next? The new Home Secretary, James Cleverly announced that the current agreement with Rwanda would be upgraded to a new treaty addressing concerns. This treaty would 'make clear that those sent there cannot be sent to another country than the UK' leading to some suggestion that that asylum-seekers rejected by Rwanda would return to the UK. Under current UK law, however, it is not possible for those sent to a third country to return to the UK.

The Prime Minister also responded to the judgment stating he would introduce emergency legislation declaring Rwanda is a safe country, and that the policy would not be stopped by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The Supreme Court (or any court, including the ECtHR) cannot strike down an Act of Parliament.

The challenge for the government is whether such an act would become law before the next general election. Even if the government's current Commons majority passed the bill quickly, the government does not control the Lords' timetable who are likely to closely scrutinise or even delay the passing of such an act.

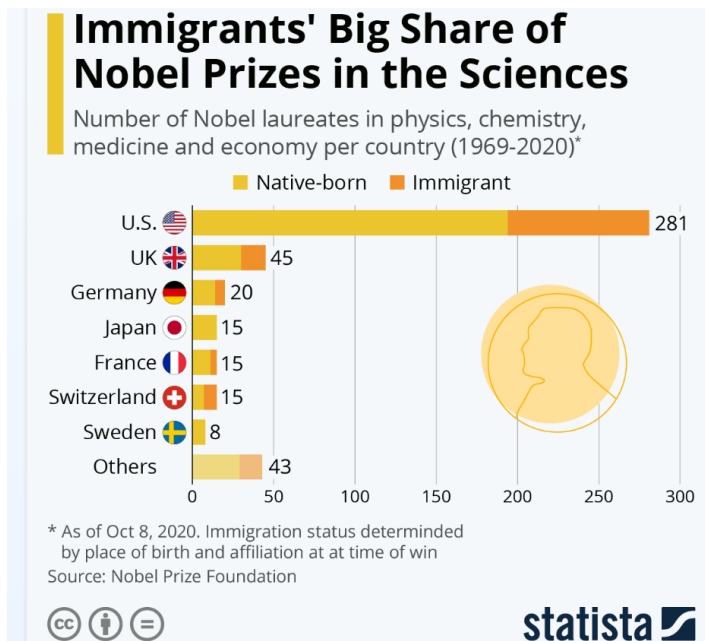
An act declaring that Rwanda is safe would also not end the UK's obligations under international law. The UK and Strasbourg courts could still find that such a law violated human rights. However, this would not change the legal effect of the law. The real consequence would be damage to the UK's strong human rights record, and reputation for upholding its international obligations.

The only short-term alternative would be for the UK to reach agreement with a country that is safe (as likely it is already trying to do). The **Illegal Migration Act** lists 56 other countries (8 for men only) that are considered safe – however, as of yet, the UK has only managed to reach an agreement with one: Rwanda. Most countries on the list are facing their own migration challenges, and are not likely to accept claims and refugees from the UK. For the moment – no Rwanda, no removals.

Glossary and references

ICE
 CBP
 USCIS
 Department of homeland security
 DACA
 Title 42
 H -1B / H-2B visas
 Visa lottery

Green card / Permanent resident Card
 Temporary resident status
 Temporary worker
 Naturalization
 An asylee
 To deport
 A port of entry



TEXT 10 - Immigrant Nobel Prize Winners Continue To Impress

Stuart Anderson Senior Contributor, *Forbes*, Oct 5, 2023,

In 2023, four of the six U.S. recipients of Nobel Prizes in medicine, chemistry and physics came to America as immigrants. New research shows immigrants have contributed substantially to America in 5 scientific fields, particularly in the past two decades. “Immigrants have been awarded 40%, or 45 of 112, of the Nobel Prizes won by Americans in chemistry, medicine and physics since 2000,” according to an analysis by the National Foundation for American 10 Policy (NFAP). “Between 1901 and 2023, immigrants have been awarded 36%, or 115 of 319, of the Nobel Prizes won by Americans in chemistry, medicine and physics.”

Katalin Karikó And mRNA

15 In 2023, Katalin Karikó and Drew Weissman shared the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine “for their discoveries concerning nucleoside base modifications

that enabled the development of effective mRNA vaccines against COVID-19.”

20 Karikó earned a Ph.D. in Hungary but did not want to raise a family or work under communist rule. She came to the United States but faced an uncertain career path, first as a postdoctoral researcher. Her story shows why ignoring an immigrant’s drive and potential closes the 25 door to outstanding individuals.

“It is a story that began three decades ago, with a little-known scientist who refused to quit,” writes Damian Garde of *STAT*. “Before messenger RNA was a multibillion-dollar idea, it was a scientific backwater. 30 And for the Hungarian-born scientist behind a key mRNA discovery, it was a career dead-end. Katalin Karikó spent the 1990s collecting rejections. Her work, attempting to harness the power of mRNA to fight disease, was too far-fetched for government grants,

35 corporate funding and even support from her own colleagues.”

At the University of Pennsylvania, Karikó collaborated with Drew Weissman and solved the problem plaguing mRNA by stopping the body from fighting the new
40 chemical after an injection. “Karikó and Weissman [created] . . . a hybrid mRNA that could sneak its way into cells without alerting the body’s defenses,” writes Garde. “And even though the studies by Karikó and Weissman went unnoticed by some, they caught the
45 attention of two key scientists—one in the United States, another abroad—who would later help found Moderna [Rossi] and Pfizer’s future partner, BioNTech.”

Karikó, who lives and works in America, is a senior vice
50 president at German-based BioNTech, the company that worked with Pfizer to develop an mRNA Covid-19 vaccine.

In the coming years, medical experts expect mRNA to treat cancer. Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center
55 has opened a phase 2 clinical trial to test an mRNA vaccine to treat pancreatic cancer.

Immigrants Win Nobel Prizes In Chemistry And Physics

Two immigrants—Moungi G. Bawendi (born in France)
60 and Alexei I. Ekimov (born in the former USSR)—shared with Louis E. Brus (born in the U.S.) the 2023 Nobel Prize in chemistry. “The Nobel Prize in chemistry 2023 rewards the discovery and development of *quantum dots*, nanoparticles so tiny that their size
65 determines their properties,” writes the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. “These smallest components of nanotechnology now spread their light from televisions and LED lamps, and can also guide surgeons when they remove tumor tissue, among many other things.”

70 Bawendi is an MIT professor, Brus is a professor at Columbia University and Ekimov works at Nanocrystals Technology Inc. in New York.

“Quantum dots now illuminate computer monitors and television screens based on QLED technology,”
75 according to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. “They also add nuance to the light of some LED lamps, and biochemists and doctors use them to map biological tissue. Quantum dots are thus bringing the greatest benefit to humankind.”

80 **Pierre Agostini** immigrated to America from France. He came to Ohio State in 2005 and is now professor emeritus of physics. **Agostini shared the Nobel Prize in physics with two French scientists.**

“Scientists Pierre Agostini, Ferenc Krausz and Anne
85 L’Huillier won the 2023 Nobel Prize in physics for creating ultra-short pulses of light that can give a

snapshot of changes within atoms, potentially leading to better detection of disease,” according to Reuters.

Not An Easy Path

90 Nobel Prize winners rarely come to the United States on the cusp of winning a prestigious award. Katalin Karikó and many other recipients traveled a difficult path. Rainer Weiss was born in Germany and came to America as a teenager. He shared the 2017 Nobel Prize
95 in physics with two other Americans, Kip S. Thorne and Barry C. Barish. Moungi G. Bawendi also immigrated to America as a child.

Dr. Ardem Patapoutian, an immigrant from Lebanon, shared the 2021 Nobel Prize in medicine with David
100 Julius for “groundbreaking research that solved a long-standing mystery of how the body senses touch and other mechanical stimuli.”

“Dr. Patapoutian, who is of Armenian origin, grew up in Lebanon during the country’s long and calamitous civil
105 war before fleeing to the United States with his brother in 1986 at age 18,” reported the *New York Times*. “Needing to establish residency in California so that he could afford college, Dr. Patapoutian worked eclectic jobs for a year, delivering pizzas and writing the weekly
110 horoscopes for an Armenian newspaper.”

He left Lebanon after what Dr. Patapoutian describes as a harrowing experience. “The conflict continued to escalate, and one fateful and terrifying morning, I was captured and held by armed militants. A few months
115 later, I moved to Los Angeles. This first year in LA was a different kind of struggle to adapt, perhaps as challenging a year as a young adult as any I had experienced as a child in Beirut. . . . What a relief it was to gain admission to UCLA to resume my student life.”

Immigration Laws Make A Difference

The report notes that two laws helped America attract outstanding talent. In 1965, ending the discriminatory national origin quotas allowed immigrants from Asia and elsewhere to study and live
125 in the United States. **The Immigration Act of 1990** raised employment-based green card numbers, although more than three decades later, the increase has proven insufficient.

**Still, a greater openness to immigration has drawn
130 researchers to the United States from across the globe.** “One can see the increasing influence and importance of immigrants on science in America reflected in Nobel Prize winners,” the research found. “Between 1901 and 1959, immigrants won 22 Nobel
135 Prizes in chemistry, medicine and physics but won 93 prizes in these fields—more than four times as many—between 1960 and 2023.”

Since 1901, immigrants have been awarded 38% of the U.S. Nobel Prizes in physics, 37% in chemistry and 34% in medicine.

In 2021, three of the four U.S. winners of Nobel Prizes in medicine, chemistry and physics were immigrants to America. In 2016, all 6 American recipients of the

Nobel Prize in economics and scientific fields were 145 immigrants.

The study found, “Being open to immigration has allowed America to attract talented and ambitious individuals and benefit from scientific and technological innovation.”

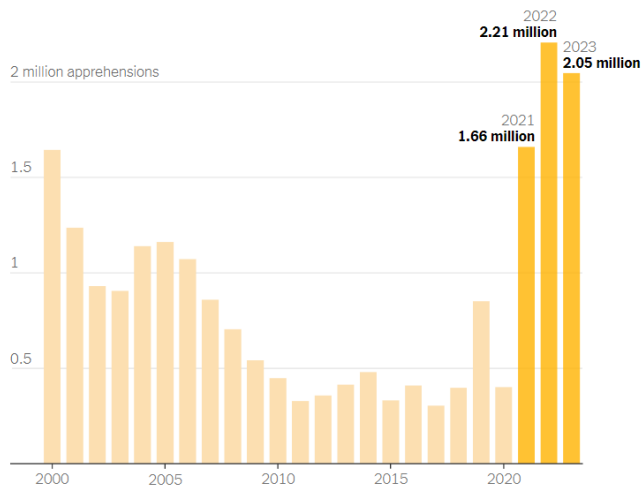
See also <https://theconversation.com/americas-nobel-success-is-the-story-of-immigrants-67219>

TEXT 11 - Why Illegal Border Crossings Are at Sustained Highs

By Ashley Wu , *The New York Times*, Oct. 29, 2023

For the second year in a row, the number of illegal crossings at the U.S.-Mexico border surpassed two million, according to government data released this month.

Annual southwestern border apprehensions



Source: U.S. Customs and Border Protection · Note: Only encounters between ports of entry are shown.

The 2022 fiscal year set a record of 2.2 million illegal border crossings. These numbers do not include crossings at official checkpoints. Including those, migrant crossings in the 2023 fiscal year hit a record high.

Immigration is a major issue for President Biden. Republicans say his immigration policies are too weak to reduce numbers at the border. Members of his own party — like the mayors of Chicago and New York — have said their cities do not have enough resources to provide shelter and other assistance to the growing number of migrants.

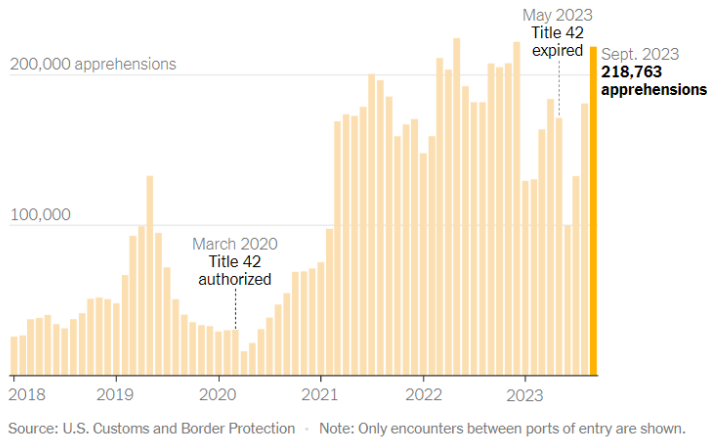
Shifting U.S. policies, global migration patterns and changing migrant demographics all factor into the high levels of illegal border crossings of the past few years.

U.S. Policy Changes

Title 42, a pandemic-era immigration policy, had been used for more than three years to quickly expel migrants who have tried to cross the border illegally, on the grounds of public health. It was enacted by former President Donald J. Trump in March 2020 and expanded under the Biden administration.

The policy expired in May, and the number of border apprehensions dropped by more than 40 percent in June. Since then, the number of illegal border crossings has increased every month, and border patrol agents made nearly 220,000 apprehensions in September alone.

Monthly southwestern border apprehensions



Before Title 42 expired, the Biden administration had created more legal pathways of entry for migrants. At the same time, harsher punishments were established for crossing illegally. Government officials say this drove unlawful crossings down in May and June, as more migrants were using the new and expanded legal pathways. But experts say they never expected the drop to last.

“Every time we see changes in the border policies, we see a sort of a lull while everybody figures it out, and then we see increased numbers after that,” said Denise Gilman, a professor and director at the University of Texas at Austin’s Immigration Clinic.

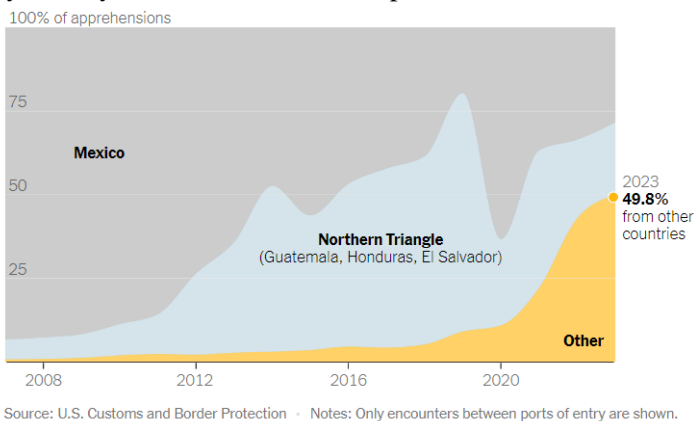
Global Migration

Patterns of global migration contributed to the recent rise in illegal border crossings. For example, Venezuela’s economy crumbled about a decade ago, leading to a massive outflow of the country’s population. Gang violence in Central America has forced many to flee. Economic shock, violence and political forces have displaced millions and sent more people to the United States to seek refuge.

Historically, most migrants have come to the United States from Mexico, with growing numbers in the last decade from the Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador). But more recently, migrants from other countries have accounted for nearly half of illegal border crossings.

Share of southwestern border apprehensions by migrants’ countries of origin

By fiscal year, from October to September



For years, the United States and Mexico have had a diplomatic arrangement under which Mexico has agreed to accept Mexican migrants deported by the United States. Such an agreement is generally in place before the United States deports or expels migrants back to their home countries. When Title 42 was enacted, Mexico also agreed to accept expelled migrants from the Northern Triangle.

Migrants from other countries that lack these diplomatic relationships have taken their chances at the border, hoping to be released, at least temporarily, into the United States. In particular, hundreds of thousands of Venezuelans have shown up at the southern border since the beginning of the pandemic. They accounted for the third-most illegal border crossings in the past year, after Mexicans and Guatemalans.

Mexico later agreed to accept some migrants from Venezuela, Cuba, Haiti and Nicaragua. This month, the Biden administration began to deport migrants back to Venezuela, after its president agreed to accept them.

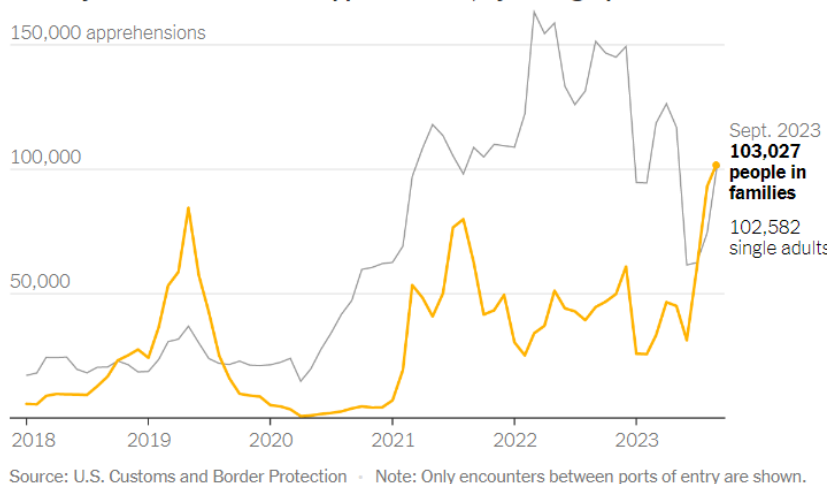
More Families

Single adults have previously accounted for a majority of border apprehensions. But U.S. border officials apprehended more family members trying to cross the border from June to September than in any previous full fiscal year.

It can be more difficult for border agents to detain, deport or otherwise enforce punishments on families than on single adults. There is a legal limit on how long children can be held, and the Biden administration ended the practice of detaining families in 2021.

Families may be responding to this, showing up at the border instead of waiting for an appointment at an official checkpoint or through a humanitarian program. From January to May, people in families crossing the border made up about a fifth of total border apprehensions. In both August and September, that share rose to about half.

Monthly southwestern border apprehensions, by demographic



Experts say the U.S. policies of trying to deter people from crossing cannot work long term. They say that although people want to be safe and follow the rules, legal pathways have limited capacity, location restrictions and long wait times. This leaves many migrants to try and enter the country whether or not they legally fit into the current policies.

“We have yet to see any restrictive border policy work in terms of actually keeping the numbers down at the border,” Ms. Gilman said. “It just doesn’t work that way because people are fleeing extremely dangerous situations.”

TEXT 12 - No, Immigrants Aren’t ‘Poisoning the Blood of Our Country’

The New York Times, Nov. 13, 2023, By [Paul Krugman](#) - Opinion Columnist

Does Donald Trump ever visit Queens, the land of his youth? If he did, he would presumably be horrified. According to the census, Queens is the most racially and ethnically diverse county in the continental United States; it’s hard to think of a nationality or culture that isn’t represented there. Immigrants are almost half the borough’s population and more than half its work force.

5 And I think that’s great. When I, say, take a stroll around Jackson Heights I see the essence of America as it was supposed to be, a magnet for people around the world seeking freedom and opportunity — people like my own grandparents.

And no, Queens isn’t an urban hellscape. It may not be leafy and green, but it has less serious crime per capita than the rest of New York City, and New York, although nobody will believe it, is one of the safest places in America. It’s
10 also relatively healthy, with life expectancy around three years higher than that of the United States as a whole.

But Trump has declared that migrants are “poisoning the blood of our country” — a phrase that, to steal from the late, great Molly Ivins, might sound better in the original German. Look, I know there’s a debate over whether the MAGA movement fully meets the classic criteria for fascism, but can we at least agree that its language is increasingly fascist-adjacent?

15 And so are its policies.

On Saturday *The Times* reported that Trump, if returned to office, intends to pursue drastic anti-immigration policies — scouring the country for undocumented immigrants and building huge camps to, um, concentrate them before deporting them by the millions. Suspected members of drug cartels and gangs would be expelled without due process. Suspected by whom, on what grounds? Good question. (...)

20 Given all this anti-democratic rhetoric, it seems almost crass to point out that a Trumpian war on immigrants would also be an economic disaster. But it would.

That’s apparently not what the Trumpists believe. That *Times* article quotes Stephen Miller, who headed anti-immigrant operations when Trump was in the White House, as claiming that mass deportations will be “celebrated by American workers, who will now be offered higher wages with better benefits to fill these jobs.”

25 Very few economists would agree. (...)

It seems to be the view that America has a limited number of jobs to offer and that immigrants take those jobs away from the native-born. In reality, however, except during recessions, the number of jobs, and hence the economy’s growth, is limited by the available work force rather than the other way around.

And the contribution of immigrants to America’s long-term growth is startlingly large. Since 2007, according to 30 the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the U.S. labor force has increased by 14.6 million. Of these additional workers, 7.8 million — more than half — were foreign born.

Oh, and if these immigrants are taking away American jobs, how can the unemployment rate be near a 50-year low? In fact, we desperately need these workers, among other things because they will help us cope with the needs of an aging population. (...)

35 And let’s not forget that Trump officials tried to choke off the supply of skilled foreign workers to the U.S. technology sector, apparently believing that this would reserve good jobs for Americans — when in reality it would simply undermine our technological edge.

None of this is to deny that sudden surges of migrants can place a burden on local communities and that we need policies to mitigate these impacts. But that’s very different from a sweeping rejection of immigration, which is as 40 American as apple pie, not to mention pizza and bagels — foods brought by earlier immigrants who were, in their day, the targets of just as much prejudice and hatred as the immigrants of today.

America doesn’t need to be made great again, because it’s already great. But if you wanted to destroy that greatness, the two most important things you would do would be to reject its commitment to freedom and close its doors to people seeking a better life. Unfortunately, if Trump returns to office, he seems determined to do both of these things. (695 45 words)

TEXT 13 - The Cost of Inaction on Immigration

The New York Times, Oct. 7, 2023

By [The Editorial Board](#)

The editorial board is a group of opinion journalists whose views are informed by expertise, research, debate and certain longstanding values. It is separate from the newsroom.

It is difficult to find an issue that more exemplifies the dysfunction of American government today than immigration.

In the past year, more than a million people have entered the United States through the southern border, overflowing shelters and straining public services. Most of the newcomers claim asylum, a status that allows them 5 to be in the country legally but leaves them in limbo. They often must wait years for their cases to be heard, and it can be a lengthy process to obtain legal permission to work.

This nation has long drawn strength from immigration, and providing asylum is an important expression of America’s national values. But Congress has failed to provide the necessary resources to welcome those who are eligible and to turn away those who are not. Instead, overwhelmed immigration officials allow nearly everyone to 10 stay temporarily, imposing enormous short-term costs on states and cities that the federal government hasn’t done enough to mitigate.

Vice President Kamala Harris and others have correctly identified corruption and instability in Central and South America as reasons many people continue to flee their homes, and the United States should do what it can to help

15 countries with these challenges. But that is not an answer to the disruption that this recent wave of people is causing in American communities right now.

The federal government's negligence is fueling anger against immigrants and stoking divisions. The question is whether Congress, mired in dysfunction, can stir itself to enact sensible changes so the nation can reap the benefits of immigration.

20 Neither party has come up with a solution that is both practical and compassionate. Many in the Republican Party want to return to the Trump-era policies of strictly curtailing refugee and asylum admissions and requiring many people to stay in Mexico while their asylum cases are heard. Some Republicans still embrace the fiction that building a huge wall would solve everything, despite abundant evidence that it would be ineffective in stopping people from coming to the border. On Thursday the Biden administration moved to expand that wall as well.

25 Some lawmakers on the left have tried to ignore or downplay the extent of this challenge. Illegal border crossings by families, while they are a small portion of the total number of people entering the United States, are rising. The consequences of allowing huge numbers of asylum seekers to enter without sufficiently providing for them are real. The result is not only relentless pressure on the immigration system at the border and elsewhere but also a devastating failure to protect people from smugglers, who have made sneaking people into the United States a big business, or from exploitation after they arrive.

30 Congress can raise the level of legal immigration — by increasing the quotas for employment visas and other categories that allow people to come to the United States legally and have the chance to become permanent residents and then citizens. Those targets have been too low for too long, particularly for people who can fill gaps in the labor market. In July there were more than two million open positions, for example, in construction, hospitality and retail, and the current system keeps out many engineers, computer programmers and scientists. To change that, Congress would need to act and to establish new quotas that more accurately reflect the level of immigration that Americans want and can reasonably accept.

40 The country has already seen the consequences of keeping legal immigration artificially low. The Trump administration, even before the pandemic, dramatically decreased its annual quota for refugees and made many other forms of legal immigration much harder to get. Even worse, the administration removed children from their parents in a cruel attempt at deterrence. That inhumane policy also didn't work, as people continued to travel north to present themselves at the border to make asylum claims. (...)

While the Biden administration has mostly ended the policy of family separation, it has been slow in resettling refugees, has not pushed for raising quotas for most other forms of legal immigration and has offered no sustainable, long-term solution to the challenge of illegal immigration. (...)

45 Other Republican leaders have stepped up to offer help. Gov. Spencer Cox of Utah and Gov. Eric Holcomb of Indiana wrote an essay in *The Washington Post* in February offering to sponsor immigrants, citing more than 300,000 job vacancies between the two states. "In meaningful ways, every U.S. state shares a border with the rest of the world, and all of them need investment, markets and workers from abroad," they wrote. "That border can remain an embarrassment, or it can become a big asset to us once again."

50 For that to happen, leaders in Congress will have to do their part. It's been a decade since Congress has seriously considered immigration reform. Both parties have missed opportunities to do so. (...) The future of DACA, a program for those who were brought to the United States as children, is also in doubt, despite its broad public support.

The White House is limited in the actions it can take; Mr. Biden may have exhausted what he can do through his executive authority. Until Congress decides to take meaningful action, America will continue to pay a price.

(870 words)

See also

<https://www.npr.org/2023/12/13/1218935981/republican-candidates-immigration>