The Economics of Immigration: bridges or walls?

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Fordham University, June 10th 2016

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http://www.npr.org/sections/money/2015/09/30/444800350/episode-654-when-the-boats-arrive



Part I: Remittances as disaster insurance and emergency relief...

- 1) Haiti earthquake and floods Migration TPS (not H-2 visas) as "free" disaster aid
- 2) Remittances & post-conflict recovery: UNDP BCPR excellent report 2008
- 3) Do refugees return? Somalia's new President Mohamed A Mohamed: SUNY Buffalo graduate...
- 4) IFAD conference on remittances June 16th 2017

Part 2: Refugee integration..

- 1) How do large migrations affect wages, employment & growth in receiving countries especially Germany and USA
- 2) Backlash in EU, Austria, USA...BREXIT?
- 3) long vs. short term costs & benefits
- 4) Example: California since 1994 (Prop 187)
- 5) Refugee/human rights to migrate...

Part 3: Economics of Migration debate...

- 1) Harvard-Oxford George Borjas & Paul Collier vs. UCB-UCD David Card and Giovanni Peri
- 2) Do immigrants reduce wages and employment of natives?

http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/31/untangling-the-immigration-debate

3) Mass immigration a threat to the welfare state, social trust & capital.

The Mariel Boatlift: a natural experiment? (wonderful podcast from NPR)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r-Nw7HbaeWY

PODCAST

Episode 654: When The Boats Arrive

September 30, 2015 · 6:25 PM ET





Dan Kitwood-Getty Images

Migrants cross into Hungary as they walk over railroad tracks at the Serbian border with Hungary. Horgas, Serbia. Sept. 7, 2015. Since the beginning of 2015 the number of migrants using the so-called "Balkans route" has exploded with migrants arriving in Greece from Turkey and then travelling on through Macedonia and Serbia before entering... MORE

SHARE

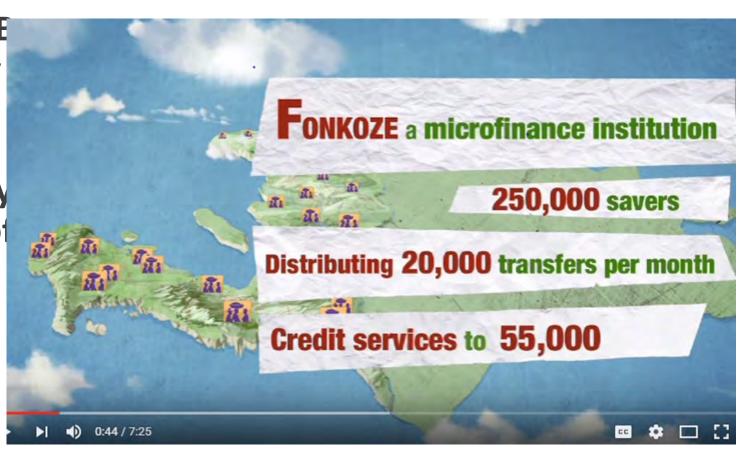
29 of 102
FULL SCREEN 23





Remittances as Haiti disaster relief ...

Within ten days following the January 2010 earthquake, the IDE **Multilateral Investment Factility** approved Haiti Emergency **Spending Allocation Request** (HESAR) Program investing nearly US\$3 million in the resumption of economic activity of 16 of the MIF's local partners, which enabled them disburse remittances and loans 338,000 clients and beneficiaries.



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rs-5YsRXfAQ

TPS & H-2 visas "costless" aid to Haitians?

- 1) Michael Clemens et al at CGDEV proposed 2000 H-2 visas for Haiti (got them on list)
- 2) Haitians Temporary Protected Status (work permits as with DACA or DAPA)
- 3) 8 of 10 Haitians who have escaped poverty did so via immigration or remittances
- 4) Other Haiti Aid program (\$6B) problematic

CRISIS PREVENTION AND RECOVERY REPORT 2008



Remittances as post conflict relief drawing on & cultivating local ingenuity

Post-Conflict Economic Recovery

Enabling Local Ingenuity



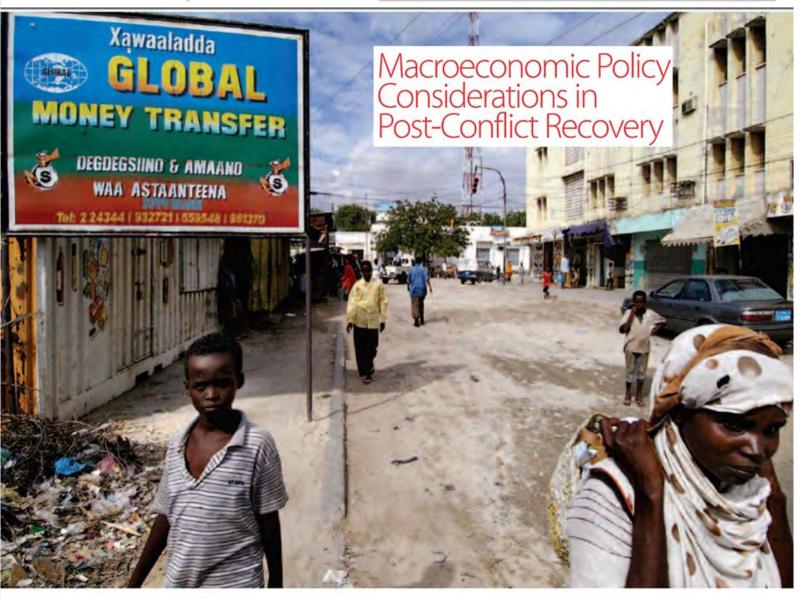
BOX 3.4 USE AND EFFECTS OF REMITTANCES: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Several studies on the use and effects of remittances have been undertaken. Adams used a household data set from Guatemala to analyse how remittances affect the spending behaviour of households. His results show that recipients of remittances spent marginally more on education, health and housing than on items such as food. For instance,

BOX 3.6 HAWALA MONEY TRANSFERS 246

In the absence of formal money transfer systems provided by commercial banks or enterprises—or simply because formal systems are unwieldy or expensive—remittances are often transmitted through informal money transfer systems, including the famous hawala system in countries like Somalia. This is a trust-based money transfer system that moves as much as US\$1 billion into Somalia every year. The remitter gives a hawala agent in London, for example, the sum in cash, paying a commission of perhaps five percent. The agent deposits the cash in a local bank account to be transferred to the hawala company bank account in Djibouti or Dubai. The agent then alerts the clearing house in a regional Somali capital (or, most often, Mogadishu). The clearing house, in turn, passes the details (probably by cellphone) on to whichever agent is geographically closest to the intended recipient. Usually the recipient will already have been contacted directly by the remitter to let them know the money is coming, and will then contact the agent. The agent cannot rely on official identity papers in Somalia, so will quiz the recipient about clan lineage and other questions provided by the

See chapts 3&4: UNDP BCPR, 2008

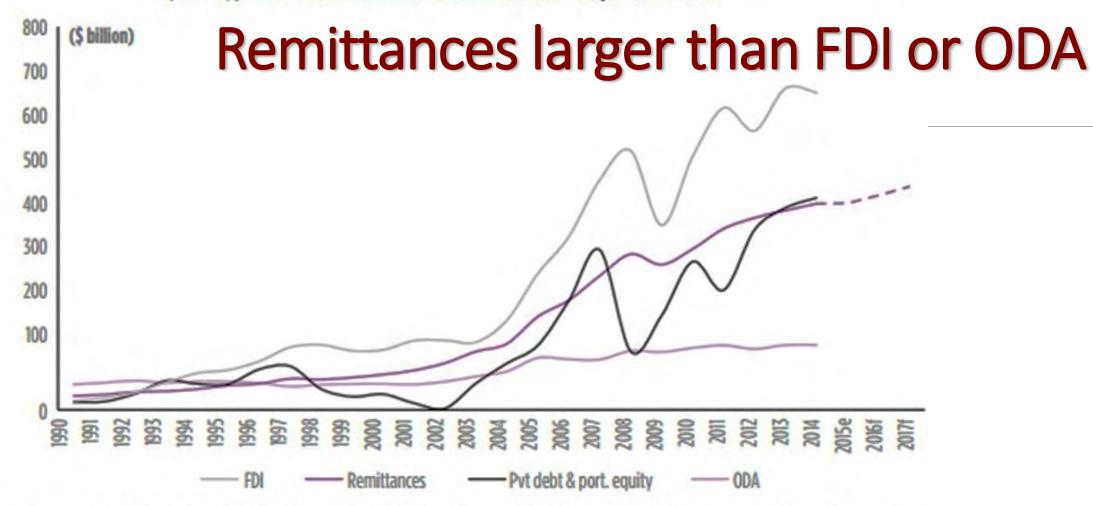


Billboard advertising an international money transfer company, Mogadishu, Somalia, October 2004
(Svan Tordan/Panos, Pictures)

Remittances debate: tempt others to migrate

- ☐ Exchange rate appreciates, rents rise: El Salvador, Senegal yes, DR and Ghana... doing fine SSA Ok too...
- ☐ Not invested, consumed or spent on empty houses:
- ☐ Moral Hazard, people don't work (see many IMF studies on remittances)
- ☐ Considerable evidence remittance are spent on health and education (see Cuecuecha, 2016)

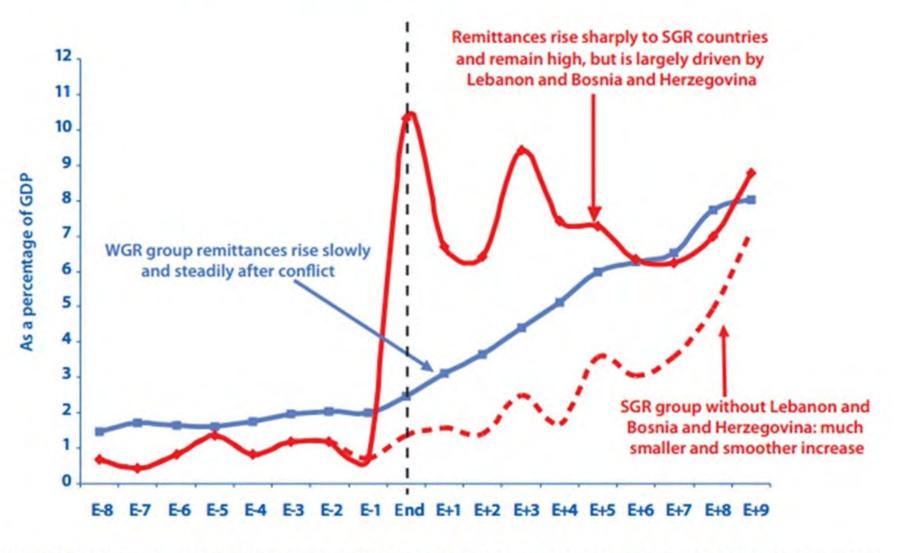
FIGURE 5 Remittance Flows Are Larger than Official Development Assistance (ODA), and More Stable than Private Capital Flows



Sources: World Bank Staff calculations, World Development Indicators, OECD. Private debt includes international bonds and borrowing through commercial banks.

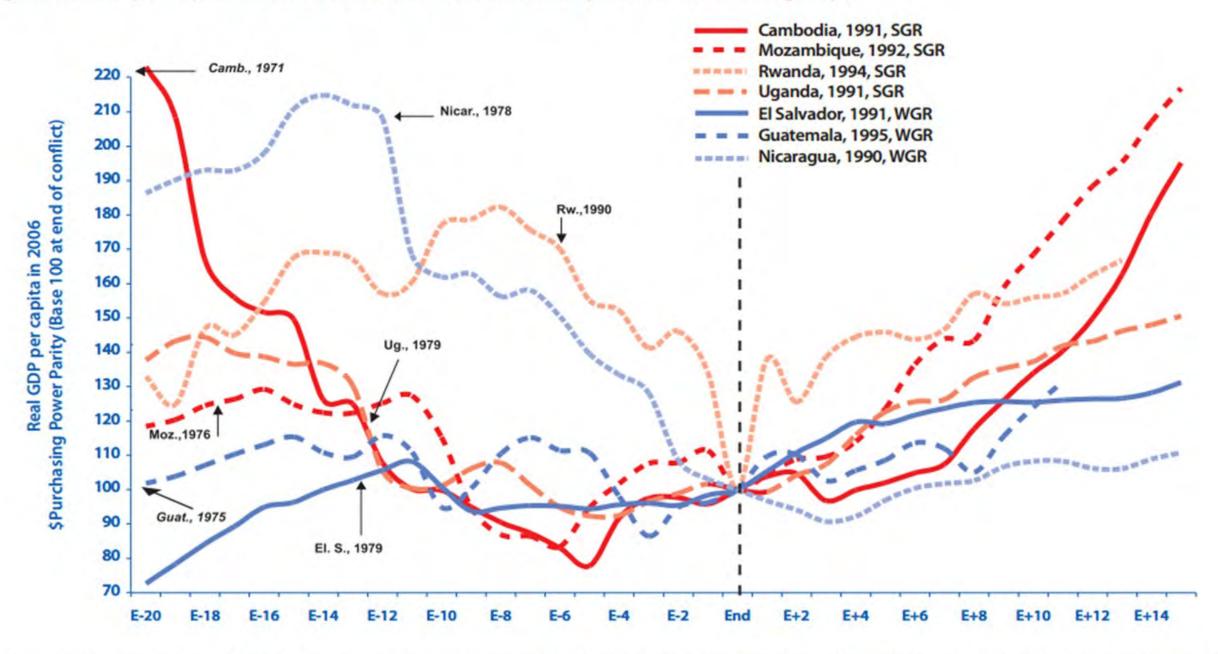
Figure 3.17 Workers' remittances: SGR versus WGR countries

During and post conflict remittances relief that enables local ingenuity



Note: The SGR group does not include Afghanistan and Liberia and the WGR group does not include Burundi and the Republic of Congo.

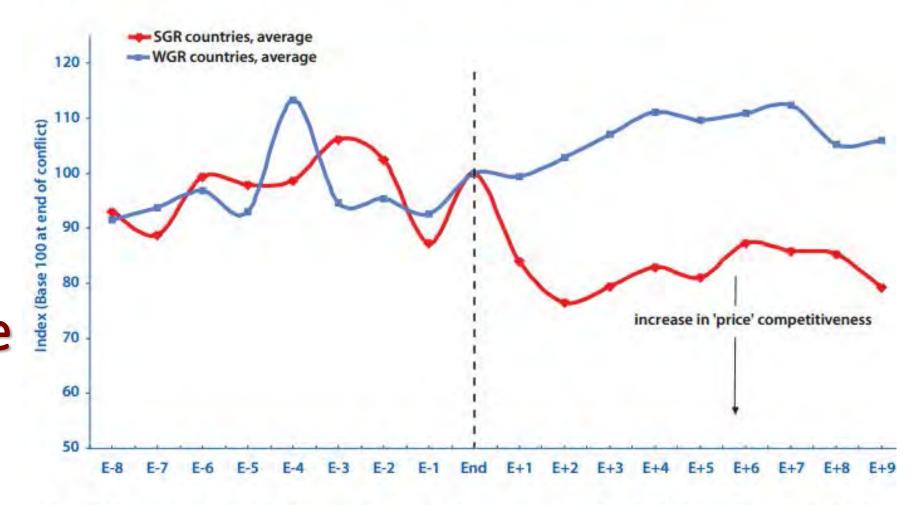
Figure 4.2 GDP per capita in selected SGR and WGR countries (year conflict ended, group)



Note: Arrows point to starting year of conflict, unless where conflict is ongoing over the entire period covered (Cambodia, Guatemala), in which case the arrow points to the first year of the series.

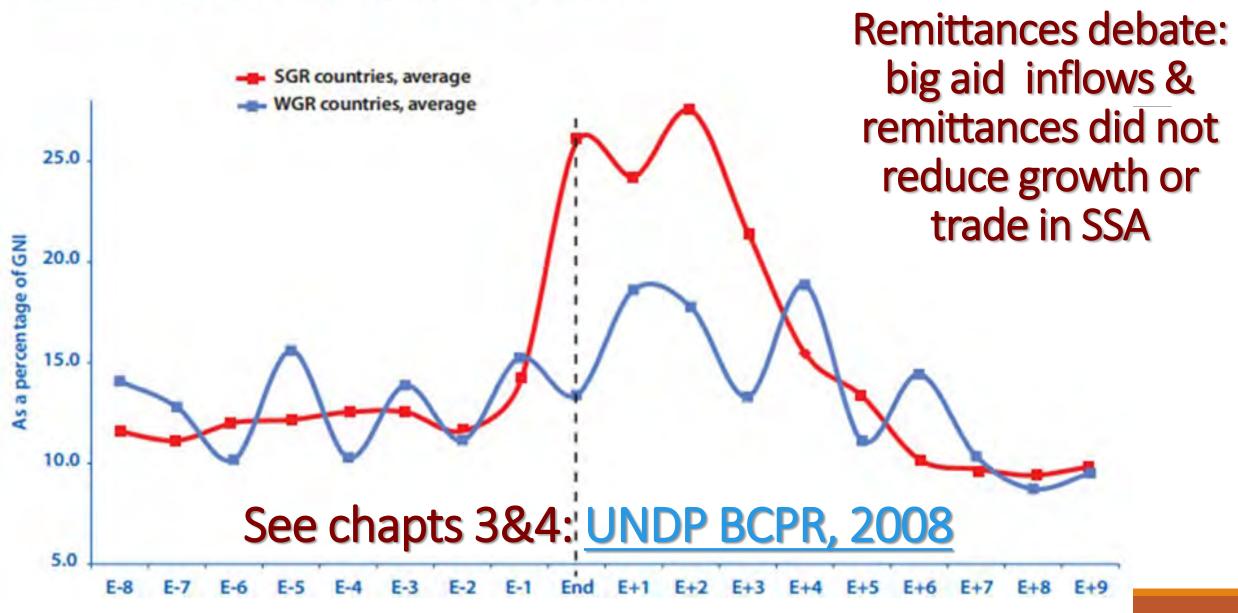
Figure 4.11 Trade competitiveness index: SGR versus WGR countries⁵²

Remittances debate: big aid inflows & remittances did not reduce growth or trade in SSA



Note: This is the trade weight real exchange rate computed as domestic consumer prices divided by a trade weighted index of whole prices of trading partners (a fall is a depreciation of the real exchange rate).

Figure 4.15 ODA flows: SGR versus WGR countries



IFAD-GMSA



Sending money home

Posted by Beate Stalsett Wednesday, June 15, 2016

On International Day of Family Remittances we celebrate the incredible potential that remittances – money migrant workers send home to their families – have in providing crucial financial support for millions of people in developing countries.

Popular posts

Conservation
Agriculture:
Overcoming the
challenges to
adoption and
scaling-up
Written by: Larissa

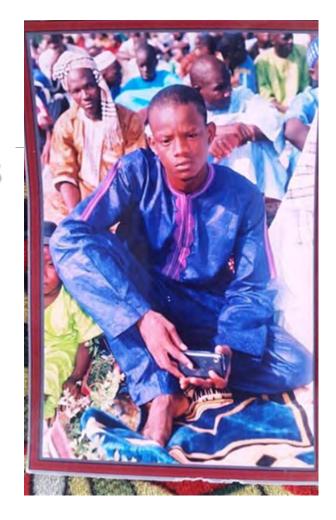
Remittances tempt others to Migrate at great risk



A migrant's typical path on the more than 3,300-mile journey from West Africa

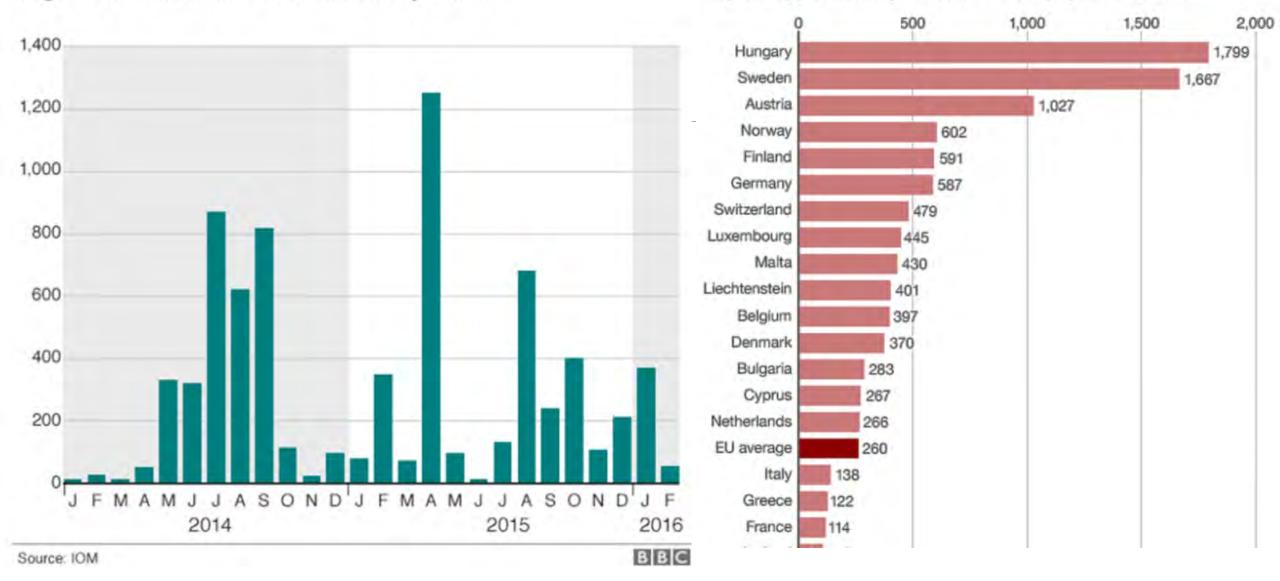


Remittances tempt others to Migrate at great risk: Ibrahima Ba is believed to have drowned April with 700 immigrants between Italy and Libya, his mother said "he wanted to have his own means" WSJ, 2015





Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015



Pope Francis on Climate Refugees:

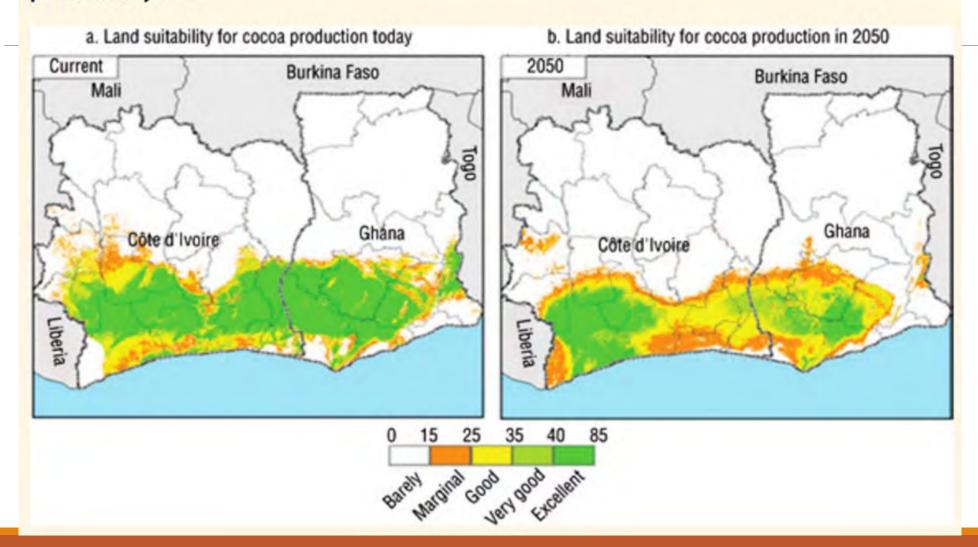
"There has been a tragic rise in the number of migrants seeking to flee from the growing poverty caused by environmental degradation. They are not recognized by international conventions as refugees; they bear the loss of the lives they have left behind, without enjoying any legal protection whatsoever"

POPE FRANCIS, 2015 ENCYCLICAL LETTER LAUDATO SI'OF THE HOLY FATHER FRANCIS—ON CARE FOR OUR COMMON FUTURE (2015).

HTTP://W2.VATICAN.V A/CONTENT/FRANCES CO/EN/ENCYCLICALS/ DOCUMENTS/PAPA-FRANCESCO_2015052 4_ENCICLICA-LAUDATO-SI.HTML

Climate change affects SSA near the equator

MAP B2.1.1 Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire could experience a loss of area suitable for cocoa production by 2050



Jobs in Burkina Faso, Senegal & the Sahel...?

- ✓ <u>Fair trade food shipped</u> Fresh produce shipped to Tesco France & Germany during off season (free corn and tomatoes... <u>bill gates & Burkina Faso like chickens...</u>
- ✓ Land reform and Mango trees... new farmers...
- ✓ Irrigate rice production... drought resistant seeds?
- ✓ Ethiopian/EGS aid financed reclamation
- ✓ Dutch seawalls in Nigeria, migration?

Part 2: longer term immigration..

- 1) Impact on native wages & employment, receiving countries especially USA
- 2) Backlash in EU, Austria, USA, BREXIT?
- 3) long vs. short term costs & benefits
- 4) Policies; California model
- 5) Refugee/human rights to migrate...

Long term Refugee settlement..

- 1) Immigration a costly investment for families, aid agencies and countries (they should be able to spend the returns on that investment)
- 2) Skilled vs. unskilled immigrants...
- 3) Fiscal impacts: see California model
- 4) Right to migrate trumps economics...

Borjas on immigration's cost

- 1) New immigrants not assimilating costly benefit programs (review of his book by Peri & Card)
- 2) Drive down native wages and take jobs from less and most skilled groups...
- 3) Benefit employers not native workers or students.
- 4) "We wanted workers..." (Borjas' next book)

Collier's "Exodus" critique...

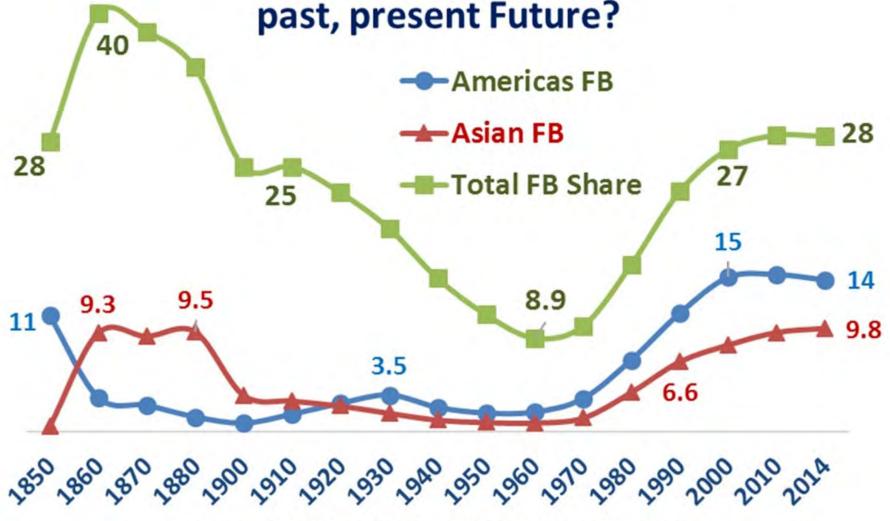
- 1) New immigrants not assimilating costly benefit programs (Manchester then and now)
- 2) Migration loses economic rationale when Diasporas get large too much of a good thing...
- 3) Excess immigration undermines community, social capital, undermines welfare state, Robert Putnam's "Bowling alone"

David Card and Giovanni Peri UCB/UCD

- 1) Immigrants complement natives, raise wages and create employment activities
- 2) Diversity spurs innovation, raises wages & growth
- 3) Falling wages encourage investment, STEM students stimulate innovation...
- 4) Use natural experiments, Mariel boatlift, 9-11 visas; see point by point

Figure 3: California Share Foreign Born: past, present Future?

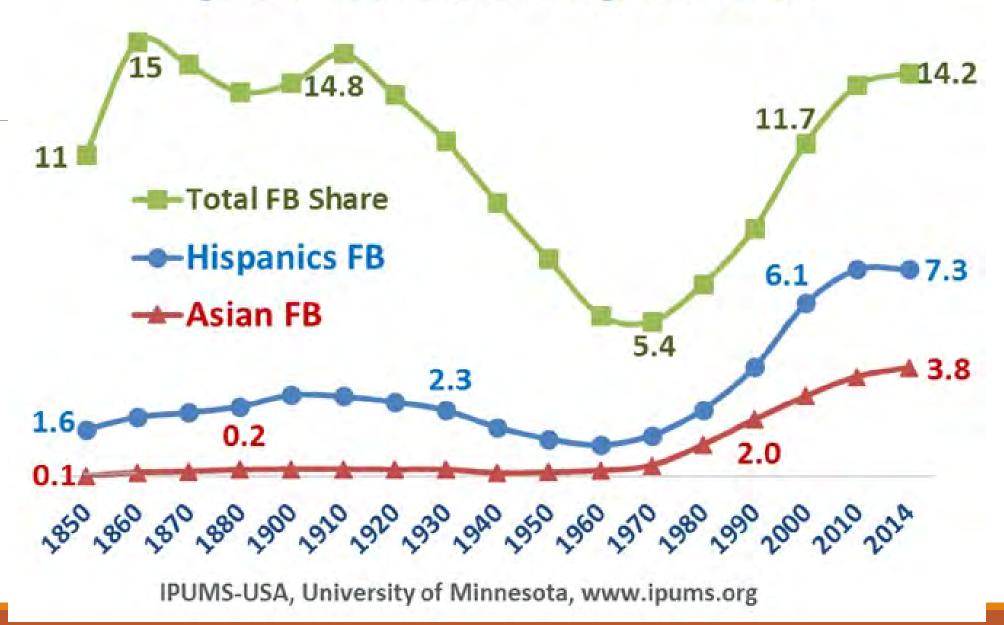
That Card & Peri are from California is no accident



IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota, www.ipums.org

Figure 3A: USA Share Foreign Born Share

That Card & Peri are from California is no accident



Borjas always presents a simple clear argument: supply & demand... though this is the labor market...see Borjas JEL 2015

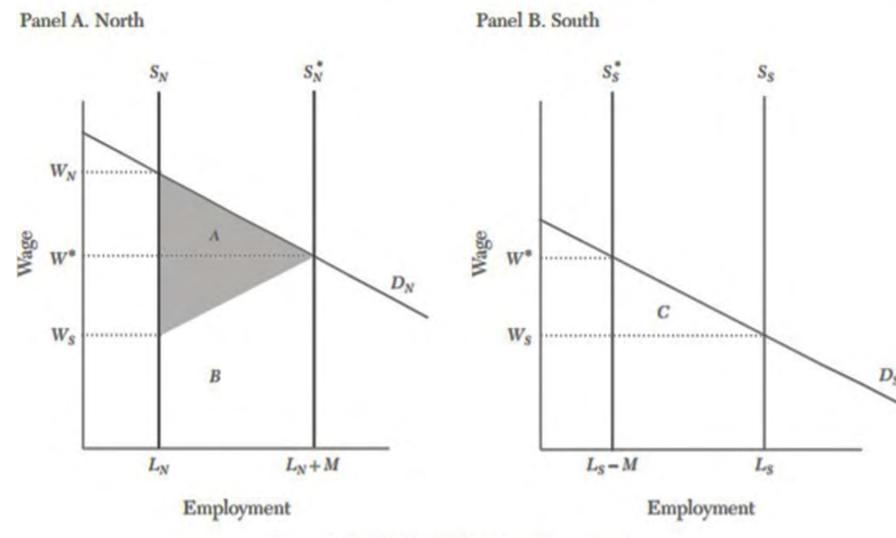


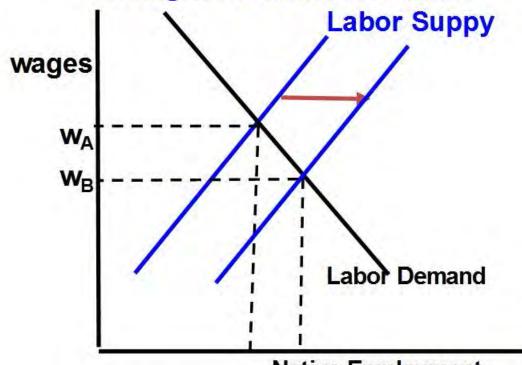
Figure 1. The Global Gains from Open Borders

Enter David Card and Peri UCB/UCD

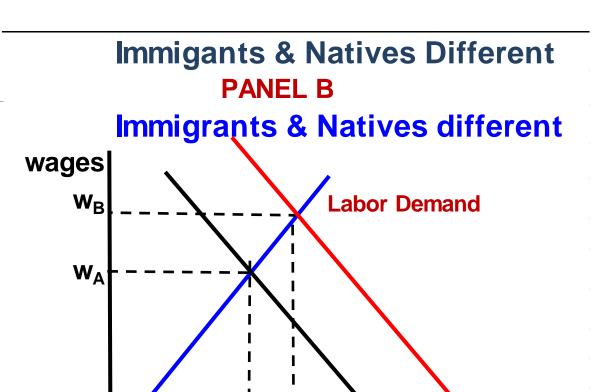
- 1) California absorbed huge increase in immigrants, many highly educated, 45% if PhDs foreign born.. Many unskilled (from Mexico)
- 2) Propostion 187 denied education and medical services: Federal court ended but backlash continues
- 3) Fast growth fiscal surpluses, effective single party government (Republican Party not in running...)

Immigrants are substitutes PANEL A

Immigrants & Natives similar



Native Employment
Migrants drive down native wages



Native Employment

Migrants raise native wages

Complementarity effect: Specialization by skill within firms raise wages & productivity see Giovanni Peri, 2010, FRSB Economic Letter

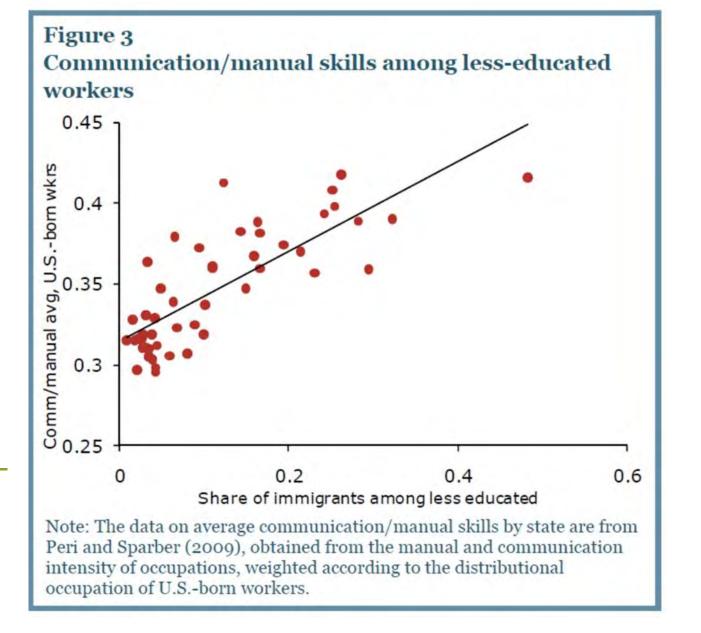
FRBSF ECONOMIC LETTER

2010-26

August 30, 2010

The Effect of Immigrants on U.S. Employment and Productivity

BY GIOVANNI PERI



IIHA LECTURE JUNE 9TH 2017

Collier uses Putnam's bowling alone argument...? That is the widely held view that immigration and diversity undermines the social contract... see Krugman and Delong on lower U.S. savings...

Replication by Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015* using Putnam's original date reinterprets Putnam's (2007) finding as inequality not Diversity...

Putnam, Robert D. (2007) "E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian political studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 137-174. cited 3003 ti

Love Thy Neighbor? Ethno-racial Diversity and Trust Reexamined Author(s): Maria Abascal and Delia Baldassarri Source: American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 121, No. 3 (November 2015), pp. 722-782 Published by: The University of Chicago Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/683144.

Robert Putham in 2015 in the fact of Texas Supreme court decision disowns his "bowling alone" as being short term thinking, in the long run diversity is an advantage

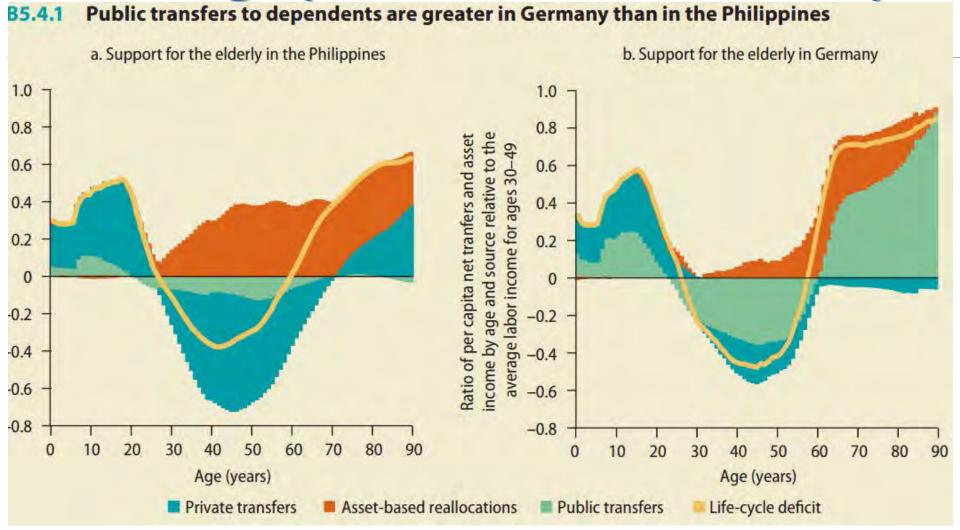
Putnam's Amicus brief

"The evidence that Dr. Putnam reviewed in his essay demonstrated that increased diversity in the United States and other advanced nations is inevitable and that, while this fact may present challenges in the short to medium term, increased diversity can benefit society in the medium to long term by including a broader range of groups within what it means to be, for example, an American. First, "[i]ncreased immigration and diversity are not only inevitable, but over the long run they are also desirable. Ethnic diversity is, on balance, an important social asset, as the history of [the United States] demonstrates." Id. at 138. Second, "[i]n the short to medium run, however, immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibit social capital." Id. Third, "[i]n the medium to long run, on the other hand, successful immigrant societies create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities." Id. at 138-39. Accordingly, "the central challenge for modern, diversifying societies is to create a new, broader sense of 'we.' p. 5 Putnam also cites Scott E. Page, The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools and Societies (2007). http://nyti.ms/1XFQdh3

Critical demographic bonus for Germany & Japan?

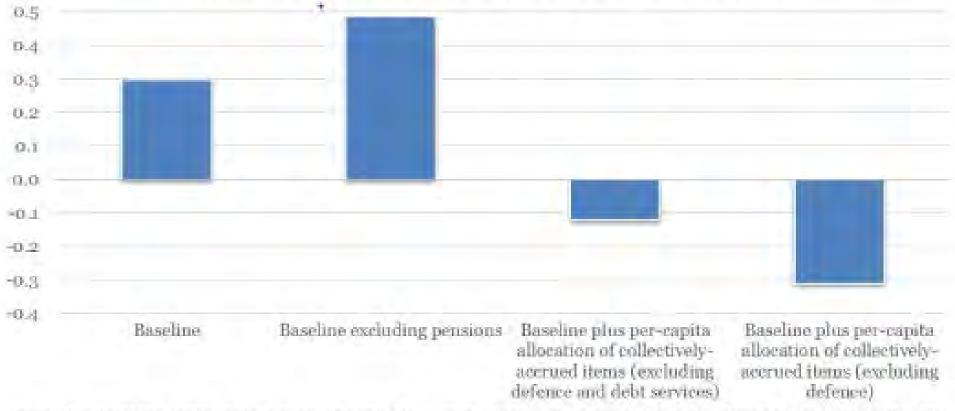
World Bank-IMF (2016) "Without migration, the working age population of the 28 EU countries is expected to decline by more than 11 million by 2020 (80 million by 2050). Under this scenario, the working-age population in Germany, Italy, and Poland will shrink by more than 1.5 million by 2020."

Critical demographic bonus for Germany & Japan?



OECD, 2014 Fiscal impacts positive:

Estimated net fiscal impact of immigrants, with and without the pension system and per-capita allocation of collectively accrued revenue and expenditure items



Note: The "baseline" calculations include estimates for indirect taxes as well as expenditure on education, health and active labour market policy.

Source: Liebig and Mo (2013).

UCLA-NAID Forham CIPS migration survey shows large income gains for migrants from Mexico in New York City:

- ☐ Migration raises income from \$1600 per year to about \$12,000 that is from \$130/month to about \$1000/month for each breadwinner with less than 9 years of education from poorest Municipios in Puebla and Guererro raises...1/
- Remittances sent to Mexico raise incomes for those left behind from \$130/month to \$230/month in "high poverty and severe Municipios" (data from ENIGH)
- □Going to college pays in New York City (compared to LA and Durham, NC) earnings for Mexican immigrants in U.S. for less than 10 years go from \$26,000 to \$36,000/year abou 50% higher than in LA or Durham, NC.

1/ We asked everyone of the over 100 immigrants we interviewed where they were from (what Municipio in Mexico). All but two were from rural areas of Puebla and Guerrero, the estimate of \$130 a month is for the poorest Municipios (based on Mexico's national household expenditure survey). The \$12,000 earnings are for immigrants living in New York from Mexico for less than ten years, as computed using the combined 2005-2009 ACS for NYC, this is also roughly equal to expenditures per employed worker in the households in our survey.

Coming to NYC generates large gains for migrants from Puebla/Guerrero direct and via remittances

(2008 ENIGH household expenditure survey)

Table 2.4: Comparisons of current consumption spending by remittance and no-remittance receiving households in Guerrero, Oaxaca and Puebla Municipios classified by CONAPO Marginalization Index

(2000 Ethici Household experiately)									
	current pesos			Dollars (11.2/dollar)		In U.S. prices \$ppp		Annual	
_	w/o Remit	w/ remit	diff	w/o Remit	w/ remit	w/o Remitt	w/ remitt	Remittance	
Low-Med Pov	28606	32888	15%	2554	2936	3269	3759	1340	
High Poverty	19604	21955	12%	1750	1960	2241	2509	2792	
Very High	13940	15891	14%	1245	1419	1593	1816	1144	
Spending on Education Spending on health and education						1			
•	w/o Remit	w/ remit	Diff	w/o Remit	w/ remit	Diff.	As a % of R	Remittance_	
Low-Med Pov	626	654	-4.3%	947	595	-37%	44	1%	

Source: INEGI 2008 National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (ENIGH). In order to control for factors that may vary across municipalities (villages) these comparisons only include the 57 Municipios and 234 households that receive more than \$10 a month in remittances as shown in Table 2.3.

486

247

649

204

34%

-17%

23%

18%

High Poverty

Very High

299

100

479

134

60%

34%

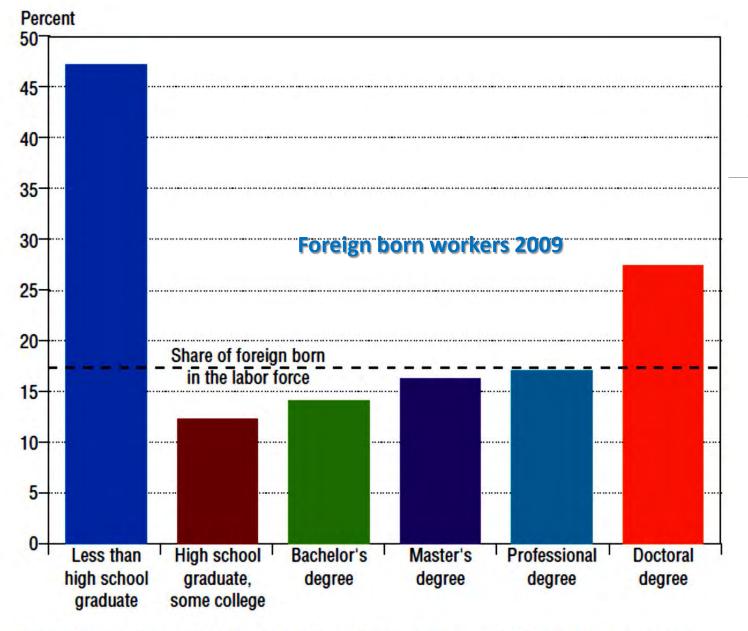
Large income gains from U.S. to Mexico migration

Table 1: Gain in annual income from migrating from Mexico to the US

Income measure	Source	Value
US-Mexico difference in per capita GDP	World Development Indicators	\$24,800
US-Mexico difference in average annual earnings of 28 to 32 year old males with 11 years of education	9- Hanson (2006)	\$10,600
Estimated gain in annual earnings from US migration for a 35 year-old urban Mexica male with 9-12 years of education	Clemons, an Montenegro, and Pritchett (2008)	\$9,200
Average gain in income for a legal immigran from Mexico with 9-12 years of education	Rosenzweig (2007)	\$15,900

Source: Hanson, G. 2009 International Migration and Human Rights

All figures are in 2000 US dollars and adjusted for PPP. Source: Hanson (2009).



NOTE: Percentage of foreign workers age 25 and over in the U.S. labor force by education.

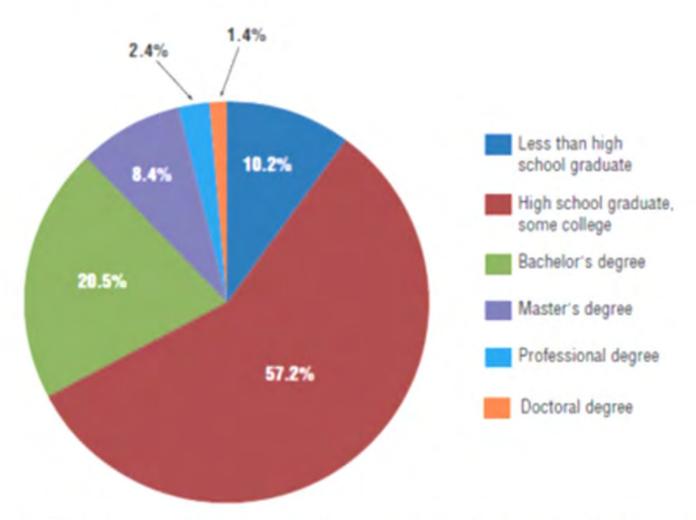
SOURCE: 2009 American Community Survey.

Complementarity effect:

skills/degree mismatch of foreign born vs. native workers

Foreign born workers overrepresented at the extremes, less than HS Education or higher (PhD degrees)

Most Workers Have High School but Not College Degree (Labor force by education)



NOTE: Percentage of foreign and native workers age 25 and over in the U.S. labor force by education.

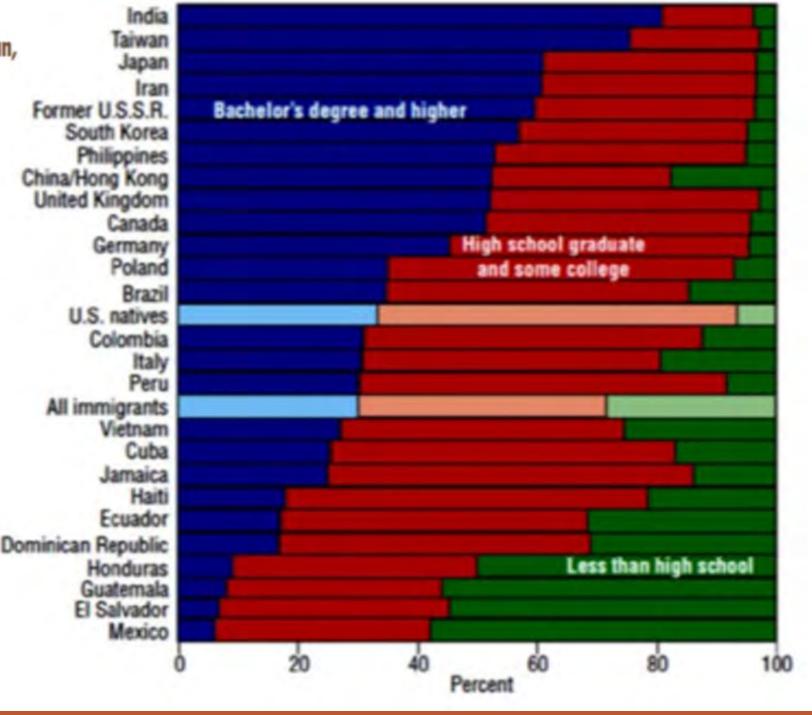
SOURCE: 2009 American Community Survey.

Most Native workers had HS degree some college (13.4 years)

Complementarity effect: skills/degree mismatch of foreign born vs. native workers Chart 5
Highest-Educated Immigrants Are From Asia, Iran,
Former U.S.S.R.

Complementarity effect:

skills/degree mismatch of foreign born vs. native workers



Diversity as end in itself: race based quota system relaxed in 1965 U.S. immigration shifted quietly but decisively

1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, aka. the Hart-Cellar Act (signed by with little fanfare by President

Johnson initiated by President & Attorney General Kennedy and Rep. Emmanuel Cellar of Brooklyn)

1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, (IRCA or Simpson-Mazzoli Act)

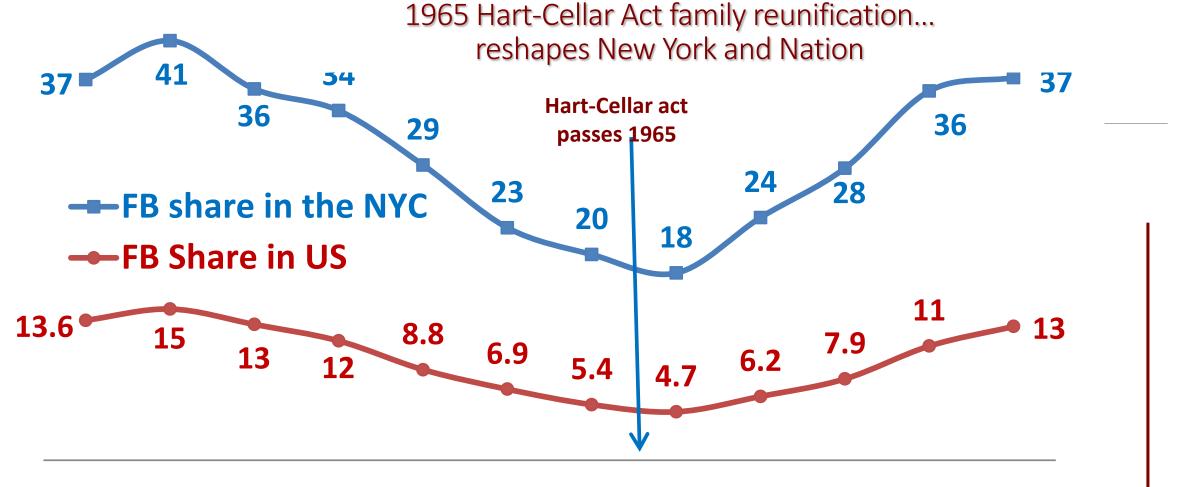
-required employers to verify employees' immigration status. -made it illegal to knowingly hire unauthorized immigrants. - granted amnesty to about 3 million immigrants who entered the US before January 1, 1982 and resided here continuously.

DACA: Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

set the stage for immigration reform 2013, focus on family reunification, children of immigrants



Figure FB-1 NYC Foreign born back to 1900 share

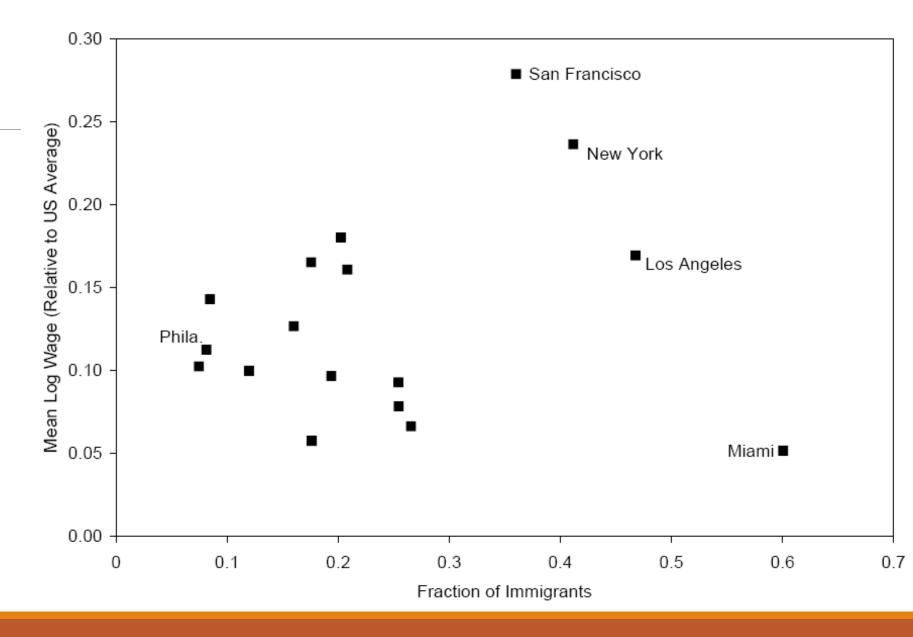


1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2011

Source: page 10 Tab le 2.2 New York Dept of City Planning (2013) *The Newest New Yorkers, 2013 Edition*, NYC DCP-13-10, December NY. http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/pdf/census/nny2013/nny_2013.pdf

Figure 6: Immigrant Presence and Average Native Wages

Complementarity effect: skills of immigrants raise wages & productivity of Natives (Card, 2007)



Waters et al 2015 find new immigrant cohorts integrate the same as old... Borjas & Collier wrong

"outcomes of educational attainment, income, occupational distribution, living above the poverty line, residential integration, and language ability, immigrants" ... "become more similar to the native-born and improve their situation over time." as did cohorts before them...) see page 3 "Panel on the Integration of immigrants into American Society, National Academies

Press... Mary Waters and Marisa Gerstein Pineau, eds. http://www.nap.edu/21746)



Integration equality and continuity does not rule out bad outcomes....



The Integration of Immigrants into American Society (2015)

"Still, the well-being of immigrants and their descendants is highly dependent on immigrant starting points and on the segment of American society—the racial and ethnic groups, the legal status, the social class, and the geographic area—into which they integrate." Waters, et al. 2015

Different legal Pathways used by newly admitted NYC immigrants (see Chapt 6 of Newest New Yorkers)

- Dominicans & Guyanese use 1990 family preferences
- Chinese, Ukrainians (& Cubans) get refugee status
- Mexicans use employment preferences
- Colombians 70% immediate relatives
- DACA/DAPA provide TPS (we hope)
- See NYC Planning, Newest New Yorkers, Chapt 5 & 6

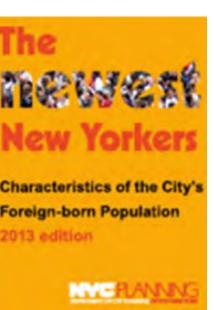
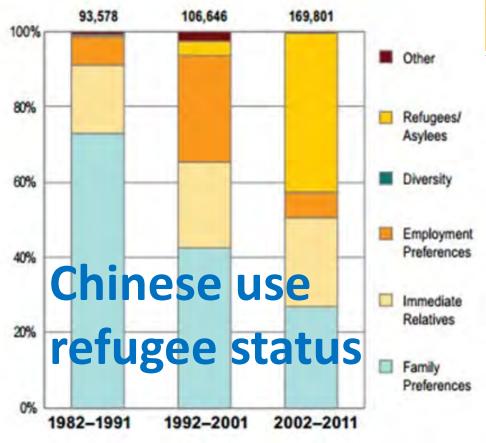


Figure 6-6
Immigrants Admitted from China by Class of Admission
New York City, 1982–1991, 1992–2001, and 2002–2011



Sources:

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics; 1982–2001 Annual Year Immigrant Tape Files, 2002–2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, and Special Tabulations for New York City, Fiscal Years 2002–2011 Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

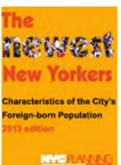
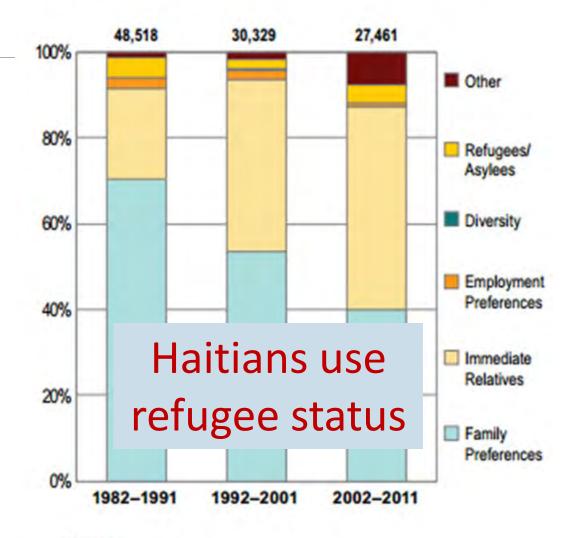


Figure 6-15
Immigrants Admitted from Haiti by Class of Admission
New York City, 1982–1991, 1992–2001, and 2002–2011



Sources:

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics;

New York City potential benefits better path to citizenship and financial inclusion tied to NYC ID card e.g New Economy Proj and NYSYLC DACA loans

The Economics of Mexican Migration

Keynote Address: Antonio Villaraigosa, 41st Mayor of Los Angeles

Friday, May 9, 2014

8:45am - 6:00pm

Borough of Manhattan Community College

Richard Harris Terrace

199 Chambers St., New York, NY 10007

Organized by the CUNY Institute of Mexican Studies and the Cross Cultural Approaches to Latin@ Studies Faculty Interest Group at Borough of Manhattan Community College. Supported by Dr. Antonio Pérez, President of Borough of Manhattan Community College; CUNY Vice Chancellor for University Relations, Jay Hershenson; Dr. Ricardo Fernández, President of Lehman College; and the Chancellor's Latino Faculty Initiative.

http://lehman.edu/cuny-mexican-studies-institute















Maps: Financial Services in NYC Neighborhoods



CSII Publications







Citizen Cities

September

The Center Partnership the Study of "Citizenship economic, a cities.

> "Ame and s and i

Research strategy phase III: exogenous immigration shocks..

- 1) Cubans similar to other Hispanic & Caribbean groups arriving in U.S. (Mariel boatlift?)
- 2) IRCA and the 1965 Hart Cellar Act
- 3) Sanctuary cities/states "the Calif Package": 3 dream acts, DL-ID SS#, e-verify

State of <u>California replicates "citizenship"</u> are working New York does not now...

- ☐ No use of E-Verify, driver's licenses, medical care
- Three Dream Acts scholarships
- ☐ Santa Clara University targets undocumented in HS
- Many scholarship funds and industry based groups supporting
- Pete Wilson warns about Donald Trump...

New Controversies new Directions... the case for new limits on immigration

- Borjas and Collier: immigration is "too costly"
- Diaporas can become "too large"
- Large diasporas undermine trust and social capital
- Example: Mexicans in California during the 1990s: their diaspora dispersed through U.S. push and pull see Tienda and Fuentes, 2014.

References

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Card and Peri (2016) Immigration Economics: A Review

Immigration Economics: A Review

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April, 2016

Abstract

We review Immigration Economics (IE) by George J. Borjas, published in 2014 by Harvard

References on Putnam, 2007

Replication by Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015* using his original data and Putnam (2012) revises much of Putnam's (2007) E Pluribus Unum (out of many, one) article cited by Collier to argue immigration reduces social capital by increasing diversity and reducing trust (for which he cites Robert Putnam as in Bowling Alone). This article says they used the same data Putnam's dataset putnam did to show that the causal link is not from diversity to lack of trust, but from cultural and SES factors to a lack of trust... the Putnam, 2012 says diversity has ST costs but is "inevitable and beneficial" long run benefits... though he also said this in 2007, less forcefully... Read about their replication here,

Love Thy Neighbor? Ethnoracial Diversity and Trust Reexamined Author(s): Maria Abascal and Delia Baldassarri Source: American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 121, No. 3 (November 2015), pp. 722-782 Published by: The University of Chicago Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/683144.

quotes from Putnam's Amicus brief "The evidence that Dr. Putnam reviewed in his essay demonstrated that increased diversity in the United States and other advanced nations is inevitable and that, while this fact may present challenges in the short to medium term, increased diversity can benefit society in the medium to long term by including a broader range of groups within what it means to be, for example, an American. Page Brief Of Dr. Robert D. Putnam As Amicus Curiae In Support Of Respondents (see link in NY Times or url below) First, "[i]ncreased immigration and diversity are not only inevitable, but over the long run they are also desirable. Ethnic diversity is, on balance, an important social asset, as the history of [the United States] demonstrates." Id. at 138. Second, "[i]n the short to medium run, however, immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibit social capital." Id. Third, "[i]n the medium to long run, on the other hand, successful immigrant societies create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities." Id. at 138-39. Accordingly, "the central challenge for modern, diversifying societies is to create a new, broader sense of 'we.' page 5 Putnam cites also (have not read) Scott E. Page, The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools and Societies (2007). http://nyti.ms/1XFQdh3

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