

A MIGRATION SYSTEM IN THE MAKING

Demographic dynamics and migration policies in North America and the Northern Triangle of Central-America

Highlights:

We need to rethink the migration system.

Emerging flows, increasing return migration, and new places of origin and destination are reshaping the regional migratory dynamic.

Demographic indicators are converging in the region.

Declining fertility and population growth anticipate that South to North migration will not reach the historical peaks.

Differences in age structure result in distinctive migration dynamics.

The rapid aging process within the region, specially in North America, will drive the need for care-work and other services, creating incentives for certain types of migration.

There is a mismatch between migration dynamics and policy responses.

Current immigration policies are not in line with historical and emerging patterns in the three main destinations, Canada, US, and Mexico, regarding management, control, and integration.

Current population dynamics of this migration system offer a unique opportunity to manage migration efficiently.

Migration within the region will influence how the six countries fare economically, politically and socially. To capitalize the potential benefits of migration we need a strategy that integrates an approach based on shared responsibilities.

Authors:

Silvia E. Giorguli-Saucedo
Víctor M. García-Guerrero
Claudia Masferrer

FOREWORD

One year ago, the two of us were discussing the rise of North America. It is an issue increasingly on people's minds, and it's increasingly important to the lives of everyday citizens. Having long held an interest in the relationship between our two countries, and with Canada, we thought it would be particularly helpful at this moment to have a paper that lays out the plain facts on Mexican migration to the United States. We knew that the Pew Research Center and others have claimed, for example, that the net migration rate in recent years has basically been zero or even negative. But this was clearly not the case 20 or 25 years ago, when net migration levels from Mexico to the United States were enormous, so it was important to confirm the facts.

Second, we wanted to recognize the importance of the southern border of Mexico with Central America, which is really the southern border of North America. We know there are major challenges there, we know that there are ongoing changes, and we know that there are more migrants coming across it than 20 years ago. But just how relevant is it? And what role are regional demographics playing?

So that was our goal. We went out to find the best demographers in the region and asked them to carry out a neutral study, which is what you see before you. Preliminary results from this were first presented at a specially convened workshop at the Hoover Institution in the summer of 2016, and then again during the 12th meeting of the North American Forum held in the Mayan Riviera in Mexico in order to receive comments from the assembled experts and businessmen who lead the public and private sectors of the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

George likes to put it this way: If you set out to buy a house, of course you look at the house, but you ask right away, what about the neighborhood? Are there good schools for my children, is it safe, and so on—you find that the neighborhood has as much to do with your experience of living there as

the house itself. We live in the neighborhood of North America—it is very interactive, but it is not just about trade. There are all sorts of things we share, and what one party does affects the other, so we have to be very conscious of our neighborhood. For example, today there is an atmosphere of change and uncertainty and fear in Mexico, particularly regarding the medium-term future of the bilateral relationship with the United States. But if you look back, the most amazing modernization of Mexico has occurred in the last thirty years, and that is reflected in the striking changes in the demographics of its people as detailed in this study.

We think that the emergence of North America—the concept of it, and the reality of it as brought about by the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and other efforts—is important for our people, for our security, and for our economies. And one of the secrets of North America is that it has developed in such a way that appeals to each country's own interests and does not challenge the others' sovereignties. Instead, opportunities are presented, and people react to them, which is a system that basically works. We are lucky that this region is really an oasis compared to so many other troubled parts of the world. It is getting challenged, but we have to remind ourselves of the importance of the region as this is our neighborhood, and to keep working at it as times change to get it right. So let us go.

Pedro Aspe and George P. Shultz

Mr Aspe is the former secretary of finance of the United Mexican States. Mr Shultz is former United States secretary of labor, director of the Office of Management and Budget, secretary of the Treasury, and secretary of state. They were founding co-chairmen of the North American Forum.

1. RETHINKING THE MIGRATION SYSTEM.

Since the last century, the three countries in North America (Canada, the United States and Mexico) and the three in the Northern Triangle of Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras) have experienced large human mobility within the region. The sustained, multi-directional nature of the flows, together with other economic and cultural ties, have created a migratory system.

Traditionally dominated by South-North migration, with the US and Canada as the main destinations, this migration system is now more complex as it includes new flows, places of origin and destinations. A brief overview of the current movements is given below:

1. A sharp drop in migration from Mexico to the US since 2007; flows have remained at a historically low level.
2. An increase in North-South flows, which includes approximately one million US-born persons who have mainly moved to Mexico.
3. The emergence of Mexico as a place of destination for US and Central American outmigration.
4. Socioeconomic transformations in traditional places of origin are underway and will continue. This trend may translate into changes in the composition of the flows. Participation in the migration flows of urban population with higher educational attainment from Mexico and the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) has increased.
5. Traditionally thought of as labor-driven migration with a large undocumented component, mobility

within the region has also changed. Migration for family reasons persists within this flow while the number of migrants with temporary working visas in the main destinations has increased.

6. A large, unauthorized population in the United States is the result of historical migration patterns. However, this is not the case in Canada or Mexico.

These changes within the migratory system are related to the socioeconomic and demographic dynamics in the sending and receiving countries and the migration policies in the three main destinations. Emerging trends are mixed, with longer lasting processes, such as the formation of large communities of foreign-born population in the main destinations (Table 1), which have remained connected to their sending contexts in different ways. Geographical proximity coupled with sustained historical, cultural and social ties within the region are some of the reasons why the migration system remains dynamic and multi-directional.

A key point in the general discussion of the future of the six countries analyzed in this paper is the role international migration may play within each context. To what extent can we expect migration flows between and within North America and the NTCA to be sustained in the short term and what changes in migrants' profile will we see in the future? Are national migration policies responding to this emerging scenario? What political responses do we need to manage migration efficiently and capitalize the potential benefits of international migration? The following sections of this paper focus on the first two questions.

Table 1. Foreign-born population in North America and the Northern Triangle of Central America

Country	"Total population ¹ (thousands)"		Total foreign-born population ² (thousands)		Percentage of total population		% Change (2000-2015)
	2000	2015	2000	2015	2000	2015	
Canada	30,702	35,940	5,512	7,836	18.0	21.8	42.2
US	282,896	321,774	34,814	46,627	12.3	14.5	33.9
Mexico	102,809	127,017	538	1,193	0.5	0.9	121.7
Guatemala	11,689	16,343	48	76	0.4	0.5	58.3
El Salvador	5,812	6,127	32	42	0.6	0.7	31.3
Honduras	6,243	8,075	29	28	0.5	0.3	-3.4

Source: ¹UN, World Population Prospects, 2015 revision.

²UN, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin, 2015"

2. DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS ARE CONVERGING IN THE REGION.

Migration is largely driven by population dynamics. Compared to mortality and fertility, it is the most difficult of the three demographic processes to project or predict. Nonetheless, the size and expected changes in population composition suggest the ways in which migration within the region will be modified. On the one hand, high population growth rates create demographic pressure on the labor market. The growth of national labor markets may not suffice to incorporate young job-seekers, thereby creating an incentive to migrate. On the other hand, an aging population may regard immigration as a way of slowing down the increase in dependency ratios and of meeting the growing demand for certain types of jobs, such as care work.

Within the migration system formed by North America and the NTCA, there are significant differences both as regards size and the demographic processes. With over 320 million inhabitants, the US is by far the largest country in the region (Table 1). The combined population of the three NTCA countries is barely 30 million, which is still below the total population of Canada.

Along with the differences in size, the participation of foreign-born population as a percentage of the total is also quite different. With more than seven million immigrants, one in every five persons in Canada is foreign-born, making it one of the countries with the highest migration rates worldwide. Population projections suggest that by 2050, one in every four will have been born outside Canada. In the US, with over 45 million people born outside the country, less than 15 percent were foreign-born in 2013. In both cases, the percentage change in the foreign-born population as a share of total population has continued to rise.

Mexico experienced a sharp increase in its foreign-born population (more than 110 per cent) between 2000 and 2013, from approximately half a million to above 1.1 million, although this is still a small percentage of the total population (less than one percent). This increase has mainly been driven by US-born minors, most of whom are relatives of Mexican returnees.

Convergence in fertility rates suggests lower demographic pressure and fewer incentives to migrate in the short term.

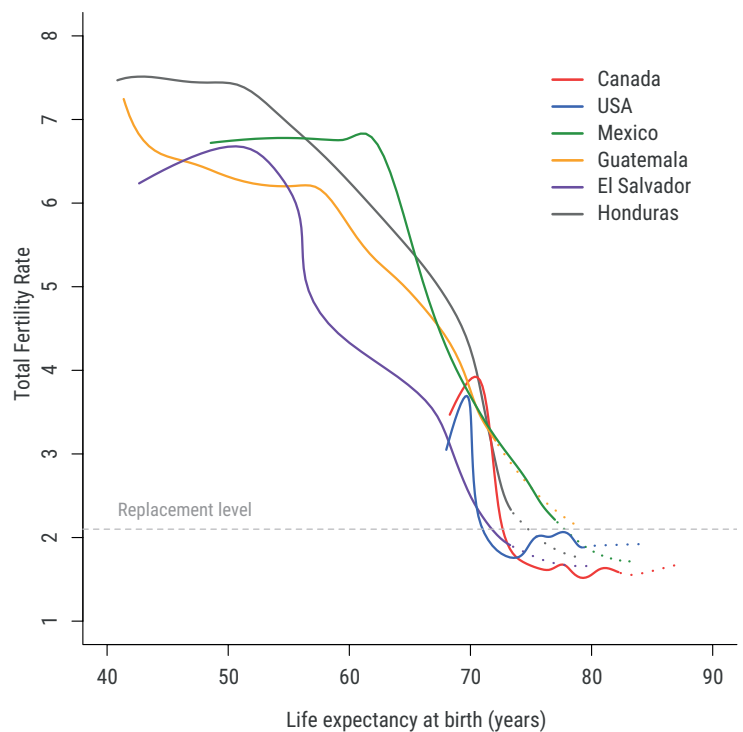
Since the 1950s, the six countries in the region have shown a downward trend in the average number of children per woman together with a sustained increase in average life expectancy at birth. By 2050, all six countries will have

low fertility and high life expectancy (Figure 1). These two factors combined with a change in the age structure of the populations will accelerate the aging process in all the countries in the region.

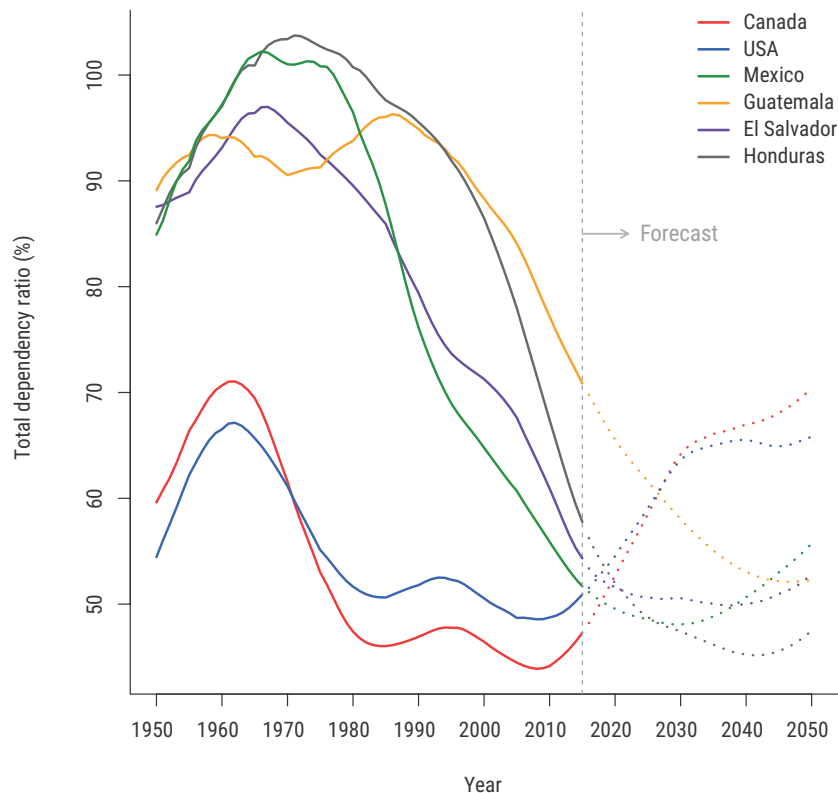
Canada and the US experienced a decrease in women's parity (Total Fertility Rate) and a rapid rise in Life Expectancy at Birth earlier. In 1950, these two countries had a Life Expectancy at Birth of approximately 70, whereas in Mexico and the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) it was approximately 20 years lower. By 2050, the population of Canada, the US, Mexico, and El Salvador is expected to live to over 80, with Guatemala and Honduras close behind. That means that within a century, the six countries will achieve demographic convergence in terms of survivorship.

On the other hand, Canada and US also achieved a low average number of children per woman earlier. By 1950, women's parity in the two countries was 3.5 and 3 children respectively, whereas in Mexico and the NTCA countries it was twice this. Despite the differences in timing, all the countries in the region are converging in terms of the number of children per women and by 2050, they will have a Total Fertility Rate approaching replacement levels.

Figure 1. Evolution of life expectancy at birth vs. total fertility rate between 1950 and 2050



Source: UN World Population Prospects, 2015 Revision

Figure 2. Estimated and projected total dependencies ratios.

Source: UN World Population Prospects 2015 Revision

As mentioned earlier, one of the main implications of the reduction of fertility and population growth within the region is that the working age population will stop growing, thereby reducing the demographic incentive to migrate. Before 2050, most of the main sending countries (Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras) will have achieved their largest cohort of young population (ages 15 to 30).

3. DIFFERENT AGE STRUCTURES ARE LINKED TO DIFFERENT MIGRATION PATTERNS.

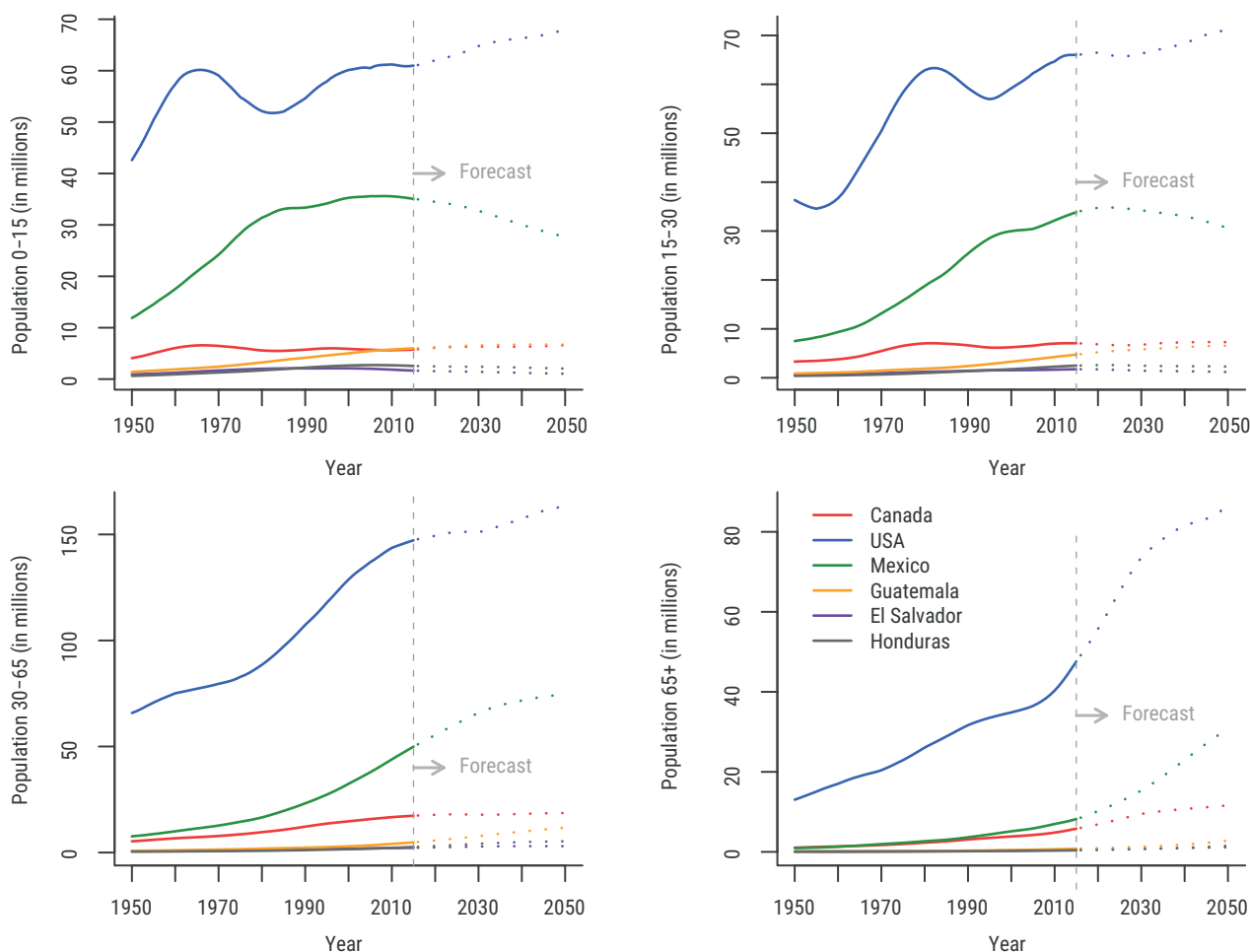
The demographic transition in the six countries has ushered in changes in the age structure. At different rates and times, this trend begins with a shift from a large concentration of the population at younger ages towards a greater presence of older age groups, with an in-between period where there is a concentration of the population of working age. Accordingly, dependency ratios in the six countries are also changing (Figure 2).

Except for Guatemala, which began the demographic transition later, all the countries in the region will converge

on low dependency ratios during this decade. For Mexico and the NTCA countries, the decrease in dependency ratios also heralds lower demographic pressure and incentives to migrate.

Another way of looking at the interaction between demographic dynamics and international migration is to analyze the changes by age group. All the countries except for Guatemala and US have reached their largest cohort of young population (0 to 15) (Figure 3). The US, whose youngest population nearly doubles that of Mexico and is almost six times larger than that of Canada and the NTCA, will continue to have a significant demand for care and economic support for this age group. First-time migrants are usually ages 15 to 30, an age group that is already decreasing in Mexico, Honduras and El Salvador. It is stagnant in Canada but will continue to grow for the next decade in US and Guatemala. Given the size of the populations and the decrease in this age group for the main sending countries within the region, it is hard to imagine that international migration will reach the historical peak observed in the past decade.

Figure 3. Estimated and projected population by four age-groups, 0-15, 15-30, 30-65 and 65 and over. North America and Northern Triangle of Central America, 1950-2050



Source: UN World Population Prospects 2015 Revision

Lastly, as will be shown below, all countries are experiencing rapid growth of the population above 65. This growth will also have a strong effect on migration patterns in the medium term.

Demographic change parallels the increase in educational attainment in traditional sending countries within the migration system

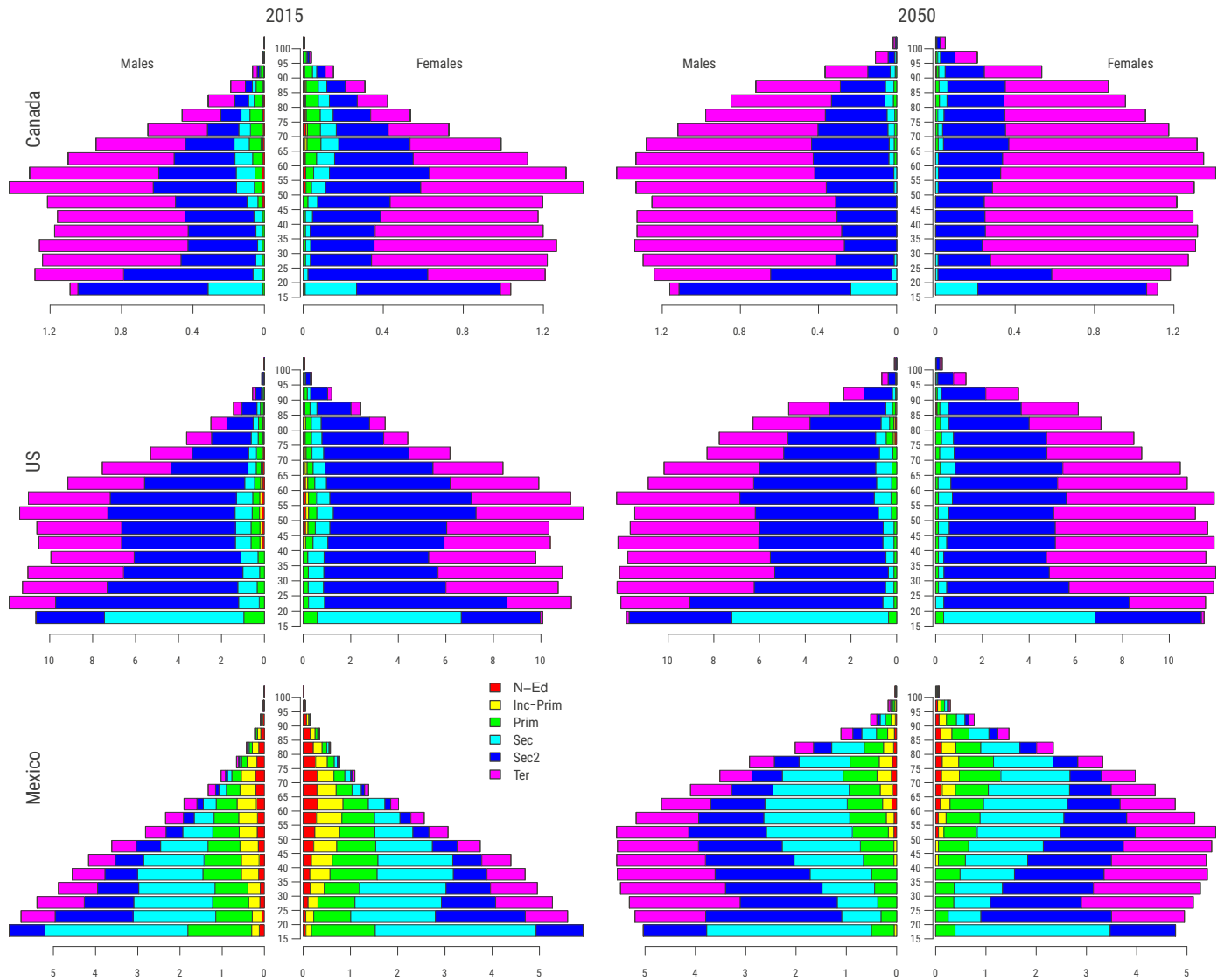
In Mexico and the NTCA, demographic change has taken place in conjunction with other major social transformations such as the growth of urban populations and the expansion of the educational system. As a result, these countries are also experiencing an educational transition at different rates.

Outmigration is occurring within this transition while migrants' profile, in terms of their educational attainment and skills, is also changing.

In this respect, we are far from reaching the convergence seen in demographic indicators. Canada and US are expected to eliminate illiteracy by 2050 (Figure 4). That same year, the majority of the young population in Mexico will have completed high school and tertiary education.

The NTCA will still lag behind. Nonetheless, educational gains during this period are expected to be significant (Figure 5). The proportion of people with middle, high school and tertiary education will increase in all three countries.

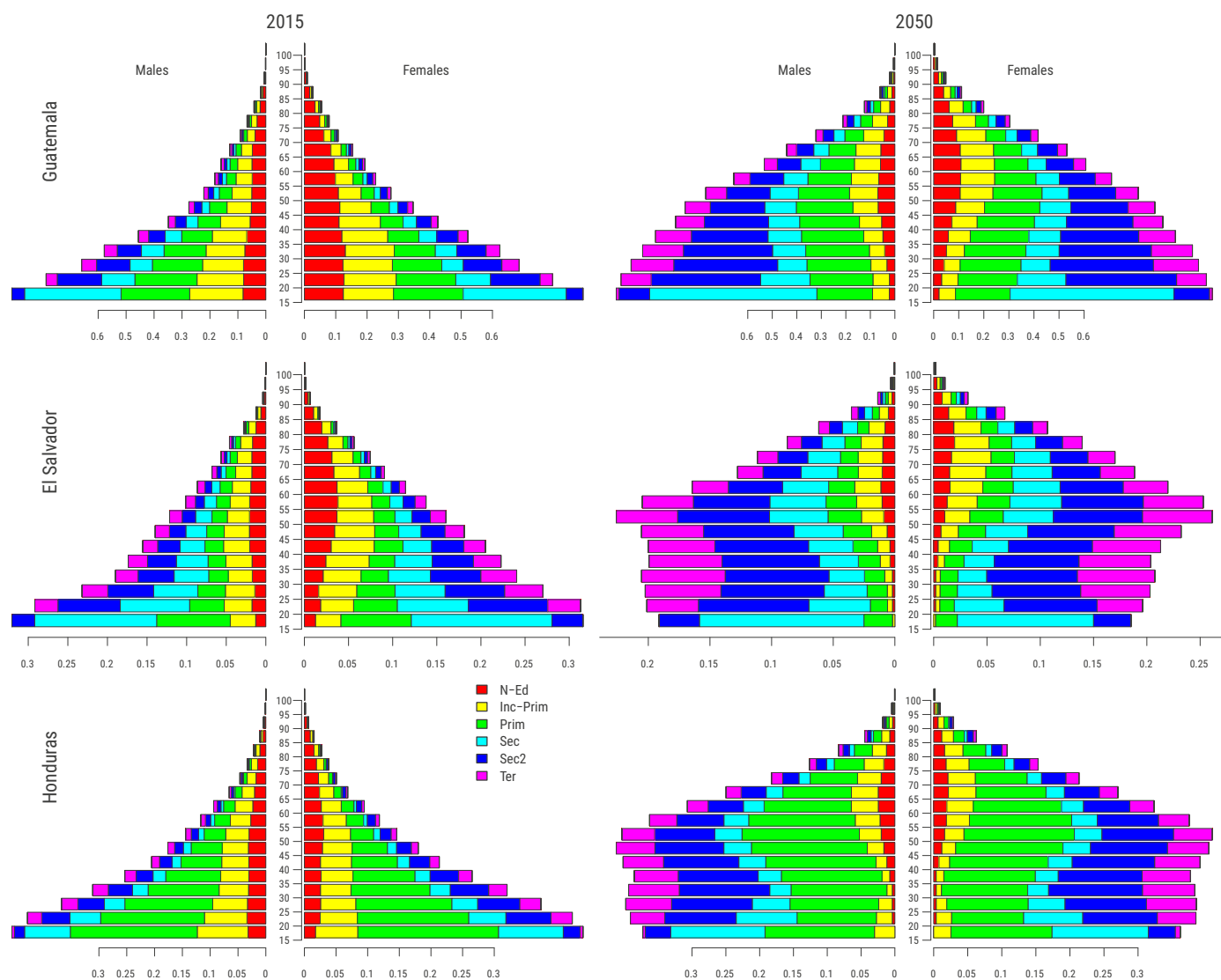
Figure 4. Distribution of educational attainment by age group. Canada, US and Mexico, 2015 and 2050.¹



Source: UN World Population Prospects 2015 Revision and WCDGHC, 2015

¹ N-Ed = Non educated, Inc-Elem = Incomplete elementary, Prim = Completed elementary, Sec = Middle school (Junior High School), Sec2 = High School, Ter = Tertiary education.

Figure 5. Distribution of educational attainment by age group. Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.²



Source: UN World Population Prospects 2015 Revision and WCDGHC, 2015

² N-Ed = Non educated, Inc-Elem = Incomplete elementary, Prim = Completed elementary, Sec = Middle school education (Junior High School), Sec2 = High School, Ter = Tertiary education

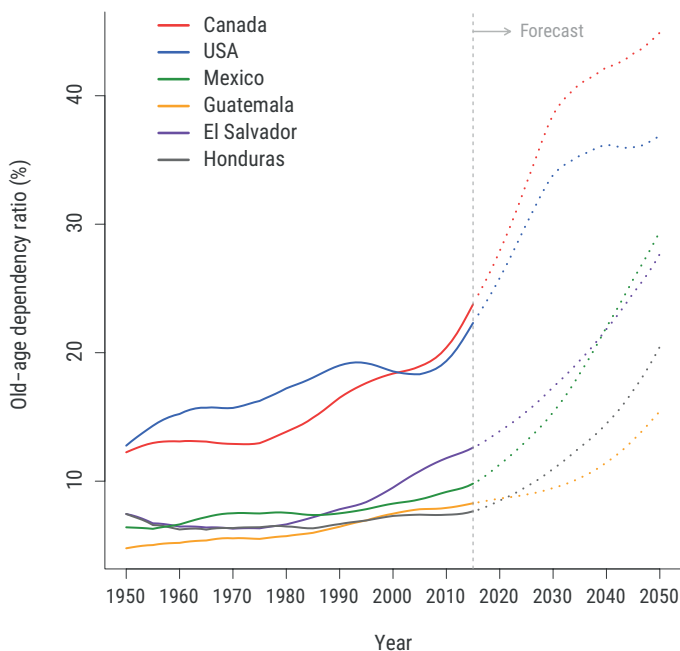
A generalized aging process in the region will drive the need for care work and other services

As mentioned earlier, all the countries in the region are experiencing a rapid increase in the elderly population (Figure 3). Accordingly, old-age dependency ratios will rise in the next decades (Figure 6). Canada is at a more advanced stage of the aging process with regard to the other five countries, followed by the US and then El Salvador (until 2040).

How is the aging process linked to international migration? International migration—specifically the entry of young, working-age migrants—delayed the increase in dependency ratios in Canada and the US. Moreover, the next few years will see a decrease in the potential supply of migrants from Mexico and the NTCA, countries which are also experiencing rapid growth of their old-age dependency ratios.

In the medium term, the interaction between aging and international migration will be framed more in terms of the profile than the number of migrants. There will be a greater need for care work and other types of services that a more highly skilled labor force in the region will be able to satisfy.

Figure 6. Estimated and projected old-age dependency ratios



Source: UN World Population Prospects 2015 Revision

4. THERE IS A MISMATCH BETWEEN MIGRATION DYNAMICS AND POLICY RESPONSES.

Emigration from Mexico and the Northern Triangle of Central America is explained by economic, social, political, and environmental factors

The Mexico-US border is one of the busiest, longest borders in the world. This large-scale movement across borders has been motivated by economic factors including income differentials, historical factors, and very strong social and family ties. Political instability and economic hardship due to civil wars, armed conflicts, dictatorships and coup d'états, gang- and drug-related violence, as well as natural disasters such as hurricanes and earthquakes have shaped the emigration context in the Northern Triangle of Central America since the mid-1950s (see Table 2).

These historical ties have led to sustained flows and the formation of migrant communities in the three main destinations of this system. These migration processes have been mediated by immigration policies, which have determined the volume and characteristics of the flows.

Differences in the size of migrant communities in Canada, the United States, and Mexico

A comparison of selected socio-demographic indicators for the foreign-born population of North America and the NTCA in the three destinations (see Table 3) highlights the differences in the volume of the stocks, and their gender, age, and educational composition. At present, approximately 11.5 million Mexicans, 1 million Canadians and Guatemalans, 1.3 million Salvadorans, and over half a million Hondurans live in the United States. Together, they account for about a third of the foreign-born population.

These numbers contrast sharply with those in Canada and Mexico. In Canada, over 316,000 residents in 2011 were born in the United States, 86,000 in Mexico, and approximately 70,000 in the NTCA. Together, they account for about 7 percent of the foreign-born population. In Mexico, over 700,000 people (more than 75 percent of the foreign-born population) were born in the United States. Two-thirds of the US migrant stock includes minors aged 15 and under. This age structure differs sharply from that of all the groups in the three destinations. NTCA nationals in Mexico total approximately 67,000, whereas fewer than 10,000 Canadians lived in Mexico in 2015.

Table 2. Key events and immigration policies

Year / Period	Country(ies)	Event
1940s	El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras	Fall of dictatorships who had come to power in the early 1930s
1952	El Salvador	First law managing migration in the country. Included complex control (updated in 1993 and 2004)
1954	Guatemala	Guatemalan Coup d'état (June 18) by Carlos Castillo Armas with support from the CIA, who became president in July 7th
1964	U.S.	End of the Bracero Program
1965	U.S.	Immigration and Nationality Act. Creation of permanent immigration preference system favoring family reunification and only allowing labor-related migration
1967	Canada	Immigration Act removed all explicitly racially discriminatory rules and implemented a points system to select immigrants in terms of their skills, work experience, and demographic characteristics
1969	Honduras and El Salvador	Migration from El Salvador to Honduras increased creating border tensions. Four day "Soccer War"
1971	Canada	Canada is proclaimed officially a multicultural nation that promotes and celebrates ethnic diversity
1974	Canada and Mexico	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program signed to allow Canadian farmers to hire workers on temporary visas
1980	Honduras and El Salvador	Peace treaty
1982	Mexico	Economic crisis
1983	Guatemala	Return of democracy
1983	Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia	Meeting in Contadora Island to draft regional peace plan.
1983-1986	Canada	Canadian consulates in the US issued visas to Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan refugees facing deportation from the United States
1986	U.S.	Passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act, (backbone of the current immigration enforcement system), 3 million migrants were regularized
1986-1987	El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica	The Esquipulas process: A plan for reconciliation, democratization, and economic cooperation within the region was signed
1989	Mexico	Short-term multiple-entry visitor visas put in place that allowed Guatemalans residing in border regions to enter Mexico's Southern border
1989	5 Central American countries, Mexico and Belize	International Conference on Central American Refugees (CIREFCA) where refugee rights, repatriation and integration, and assistance were discussed
1990	Mexico	Refugee status is introduced as an immigration category in the General Population Law
1991	U.S.	Settlement of American Baptist Churches v. Thornburg case, allowing Salvadoran and Guatemalan irregular migrants to reapply for asylum after their cases had been previously quickly dismissed
1991-1992	El Salvador	Negotiation between government and guerrillas. Political violence, disappearance, and violations of human rights continued
1993	Mexico	Creation of the Mexican Office of Migration Affairs (Instituto Nacional de Migración) to manage and control migration
1994	Mexico, US, Canada	North American Free Trade Agreement came into force January 1st creating a trilateral trade block
1996	Guatemala	End of the Civil War with a peace accord negotiated by the UN between the government and the guerrillas. Return of Guatemalan refugees
1996	U.S.	Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act passed. Increased burden of proof for asylum cases and lower bar for deportation
1997	Mexico	Short-term multiple-entry visitor visas program was expanded to include agricultural workers

1997	U.S.	Nicaraguan and Central American Adjustment Act (NACARA) passed. Granted effective "amnesty" to Nicaraguans and Cubans arriving before 1995, and allowing Guatemalans and Salvadorans to reapply for asylum
1998	Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador	Hurricane Mitch brought historic rainfall and catastrophic flooding in the region
2001	El Salvador	A 7.7 earthquake on January was followed by a 6.6 earthquake on February, producing significant damage in the country
2005	Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras	Hurricane Stan hits Central America, with most of its fatalities and damage in Guatemala
2008	Canada	Canadian Experience Class program signed to facilitate the transition from temporary to permanent status. Capped at 8,000 applications per year
2009	Canada and Mexico	Canada imposes visa to Mexican nationals
2009	Honduras	Coup d'état creates a general climate of social and political violence
2011	Mexico	Migration Law signed in response to increasing settlement and transit migration
2014	Mexico	Southern Border Plan is launched to protect migrants who enter Mexico and to manage the ports of entry
2016	Canada and Mexico	Canada announces end of visa for Mexican nationals starting December 2016

Source: Based on "Chronology of key events and policy milestones" (CANAMID, 2015, p. 6-7).

Table 3. Selected socio-demographic indicators for foreign-born population by country of residence and country of birth

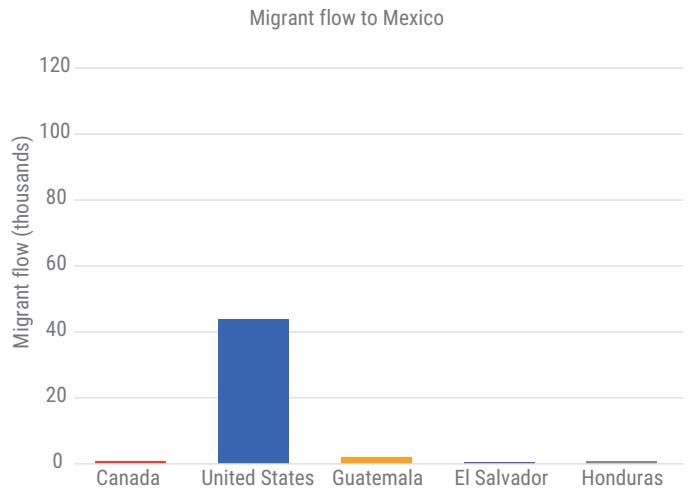
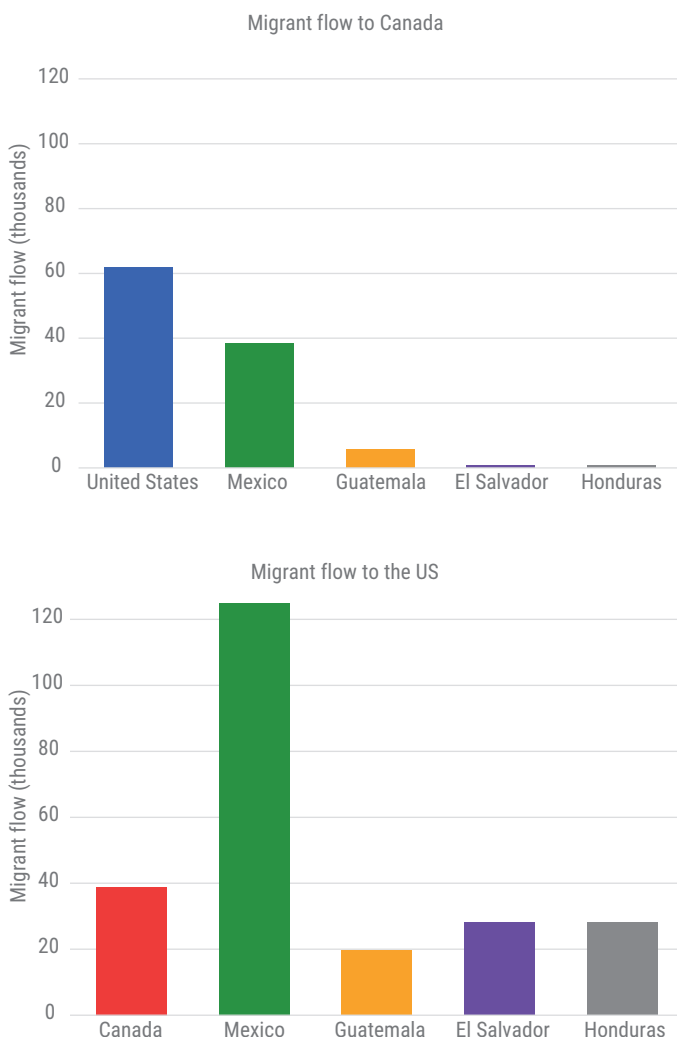
Country of residence	Socio-demographic indicator	Country of birth					
		Canada	US	Mexico	Guatemala	El Salvador	Honduras
Canada (2011)	Percentage women		54.6	51.4	48.8	49.5	51.3
	Age group						
	15 and younger		17.3	11.9	5.1	2.8	7.4
	16-64 years		65.9	84.1	87.9	90.8	88.5
	65 and older		16.8	4.0	7.1	6.4	4.1
	Total		100	100	100	100	100
	Educational attainment*		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	N		316,165	86,175	16,170	44,800	6,525
	Percentage women	54.5		47.5	43.2	47.8	48.3
	Age group						
15 and younger	4.6		3.8	6.5	3.6	6.2	
16-64 years	68.1		88.2	88.5	90.1	89.4	
65 and older	27.3		8.0	5.0	6.4	4.4	
Total	100		100	100	100	100	
Educational attainment*							
Less than High School	8.3		57.1	56.3	52.2	49.0	
High School	18.4		24.4	22.3	26.2	26.9	
More than High School	73.2		18.5	21.4	21.6	24.0	
Total	100		100	100	100	100	
N		933,792		12,006,290	934,628	1,341,218	583,189
Mexico (2015)	Percentage women	48.9	49.6		54.0	48.7	54.3
	Age group						
	15 and younger	30.1	67.3		12.0	5.1	8.7
	16-64 years	48.8	29.9		82.6	88.1	89.6
	65 and older	21.1	2.8		5.3	6.8	1.7
	Total	100	100		100	100	100
	Educational attainment*						
	Less than High School	8.3	27.7		88.0	64.1	77.3
	High School	16.5	26.3		5.1	18.3	12.3
	More than High School	75.2	46.0		6.9	17.5	10.4
Total	100	100		100	100	100	
N		9,816	739,168		42,874	10,594	14,544

Source: Estimations by the authors using Mexican Intercensal Survey (2015), American Community Survey (2014) for the US; and Statistics Canada (2011) National Household Survey data, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011026. "Citizenship (5), Place of Birth (236), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11), Age Groups (10) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households". *Population 25 years or older. NA: Not Available

Stocks are the result of flows over time. Today, migration remains a dynamic system.

Although current migrant flows within the North America–NTCA system are dominated by Mexico–US migration, data on recent flows show that exchanges between the other countries also occur (see Figure 7). Within this system, flows to the three main destinations are mostly from neighboring countries. In 2015, over 60,000 recent arrivals in Canada were from the United States. Between 2013 and 2014, approximately 125,000 Mexicans arrived in the United States, together with 40,000 Canadians. An estimated 44,000 US nationals and 2,000 Guatemalans moved to Mexico between 2014 and 2015. Flows from the NTCA to the United States between 2013 and 2014 were reflected in the arrivals of 28,000 Hondurans and Salvadorans, and nearly 20,000 Guatemalans.

Figure 7. Migrant flows arriving during the previous year period.



Source: Own estimates using data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Facts and Figures, 2016), American Community Survey 2014, and 2015 Mexican Intercensal Survey.

Immigration policy plays a key role in determining who can migrate, with whom, how, and when.

Immigration policy creates legal and bureaucratic channels for people to move, determines who can migrate with whom, and when can they do so. In addition to regulating the entry of new arrivals, it creates an institutional context for helping or hindering integration and social cohesion. Until the mid-20th century, immigration policy in the US and Canada was similar in its explicitly exclusive nature which sought to avoid altering the country’s demographic-ethnic composition. However, the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act and the 1967 Canadian Immigration Act marked turning points in both countries as they removed explicitly racial discriminatory rules and abolished national-origin quotas. White European immigrants were replaced by those from other regions, who were ethnically distinct, with different languages, religions and cultures. Although they adopted different types of selection policies, migration flows in the 1980s and policy changes in 1986 produced similar outcomes: a diversification of origins and an increase of arrivals from Asia and Latin America. However, one of the main differences between both countries is the undocumented immigrant population in the US, practically non-existent in Canada.

Central American migration during the political turmoil of the 1980s and 1990s to the United States and Canada was the result of limited options closer to home. Although UN Refugee Agency camps were installed in Mexico during the early 1980s to receive Guatemalans and Salvadorans, budgetary and bureaucratic constraints on

managing the large number of asylum claims resulted in a limited number of applications for refugee status being approved. As a result of the limited legal options in Mexico, some migrants moved to the United States while others continued to Canada, when the US provided no legal options for them to stay. The decision of where to settle was partly determined by migrant social and family networks. Salvadorans who comprised a larger share of highly educated urban migrants were more likely to move to Canada than Guatemalans, the majority of whom were from rural areas and of indigenous origin.

Is there a mismatch? Immigration policies and historical and emerging migration patterns in the three destinations

This section focuses on the discussion of the trends and the legal nature of the flows to three destinations: Canada, the US, and Mexico. For each destination, we briefly review the main characteristics of immigration policy for each country, with a special focus on specific events and policies that are relevant for migrants in this migration system. For each destination, we review the flows and stocks from the other five countries in the North America-Central America migration system.

Canada post-1967: legal options for permanent and temporary residence

The 1967 Immigration Act removed all the explicitly racially discriminatory rules and implemented a points system to select immigrants on the basis of their skills, work experience and demographic characteristics. The emphasis on skills and education was not an open door, since it indirectly excluded most immigrants from developing countries and the family sponsorship category only considered a limited range of relatives. This changed over the years as more family members were allowed to be sponsored and the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) came into force. However, immigrants are not only accepted into Canada as permanent residents on the basis of economic considerations linked to labor market and provincial needs, but also for humanitarian reasons and family reunification. In the past ten years, approximately 26% of new immigrants have been family class, 60% economic migrants, 11% refugees and 3% other immigrants.

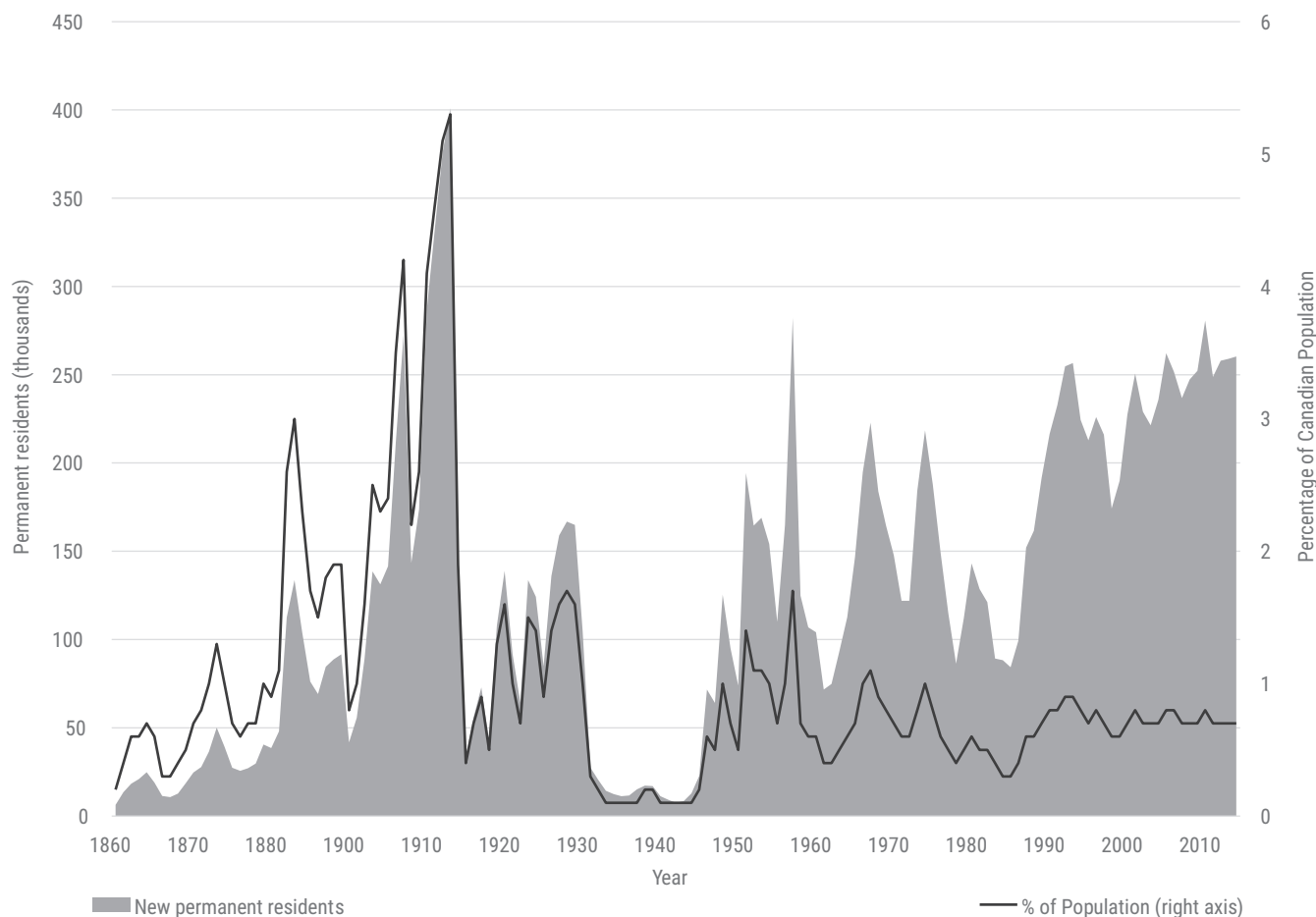
Canada has been an attractive destination for migrants, not only because of its economic situation and high standards of living but also because the country has actively engaged in developing an immigration policy and programs

to promote itself as an attractive destination. In addition to selection, immigration policy in Canada emphasizes integration. This is coherent with the view of migrants as long-term residents, most of who arrived in Canada with permanent resident status without having previously lived in the country. Within this logic, policies are designed to integrate them as successful citizens. The 1974 Multiculturalism Act sought to promote diversity and provide an institutional framework to integrate immigrants. Although many think that the actual differences from the US model have been overestimated, Canada assigns budgets for explicitly facilitating integration processes, such as official language courses, while seeking to reduce discrimination in the labor market, and promoting racial and ethnic diversity in everyday life. Today, many Canadians define multiculturalism as *the* Canadian value.

Since the 1980s, the Canadian government has explicitly sought to increase the population by admitting an annual number of new immigrants equivalent to 1% of the population. As a result, there has been a continuous inflow of permanent residents in the past three decades and since 2000, the annual average of new permanent residents has been 250,000. This is far from the peak in the early 20th century, when annual arrivals totaled 400,000, equivalent to over 5% of the population (see Figure 8). In 2015, however, as a result of the global refugee crisis, Canada accepted more than 30,000 Syrian refugees, registering a record number of new arrivals not seen since 1910, accepting 320,000 new permanent residents.

Migrants may also obtain temporary residence in Canada through work or study permits, or while they apply for asylum or refugee status. In 1974, Canada signed the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Program (SAWP) with Mexico, which was subsequently expanded to include Guatemala and the Caribbean countries. It is intended to allow Canadian farmers to hire workers through temporary visas during the planting and harvesting seasons. In recent years, other temporary foreign workers' programs have been implemented to enable employers outside the agricultural sector to hire foreigners.

The Canadian Experience Class (CEC) program was introduced in 2008 to facilitate the transition from temporary to permanent status. Before this program (currently capped at 8,000 applications per year), this transition was fairly small. Today, approximately 13% of new immigrants were previously in Canada under temporary status. In other words, the vast majority of foreign-born nationals arrive from abroad with permanent residence status. This contrasts dramatically with the US, where permanent residence is usually acquired after spending time in the

Figure 8. Number of new permanent residents by year and permanent residents as a percentage of Canada's population, 1860-2014.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts & Figures 2014

country. Another significant difference between immigration policy in both countries that helps explain the increase in arrivals from Central America to Canada, making it the second top destination for NTCA nationals, is the support Central Americans received in the 1980s as a result of the political context in the region. For example, Canadian embassies provided support for Central Americans facing the risk of deportation from the United States post-IRCA.

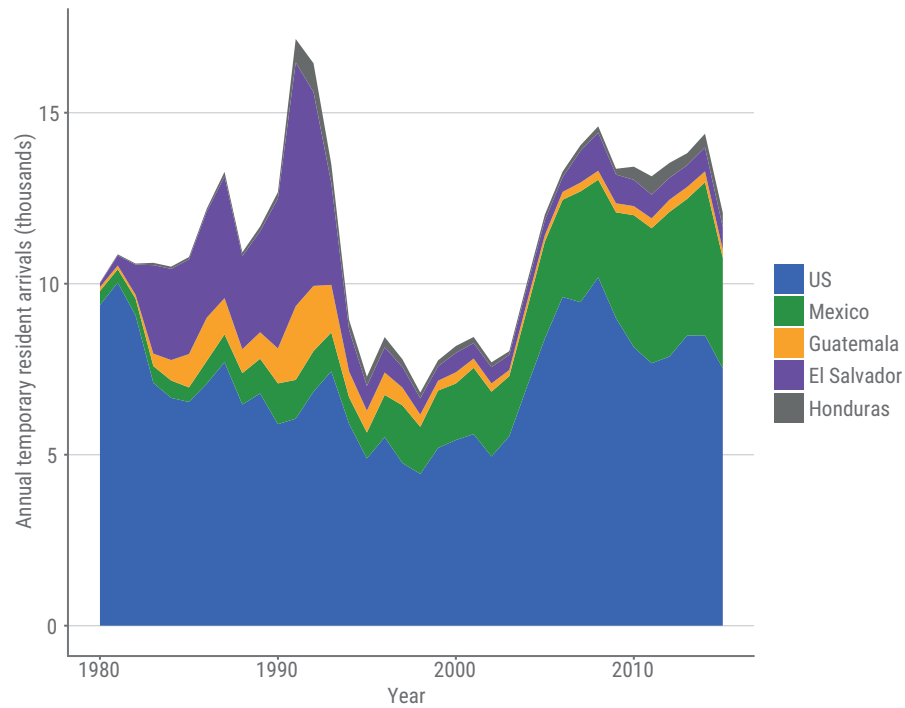
Canada: migration trends and patterns from the United States, Mexico, and the NTCA

Canada has a largely documented flow of both temporary and permanent residents. Overall, immigration policy provides legal options for Mexico and the NTCA, not only through temporary workers' programs but in particular, by

granting refugee status and allowing family reunification procedures. Contrary to what is observed in the US, the flows from Mexico and the NTCA are increasing but in an orderly fashion.

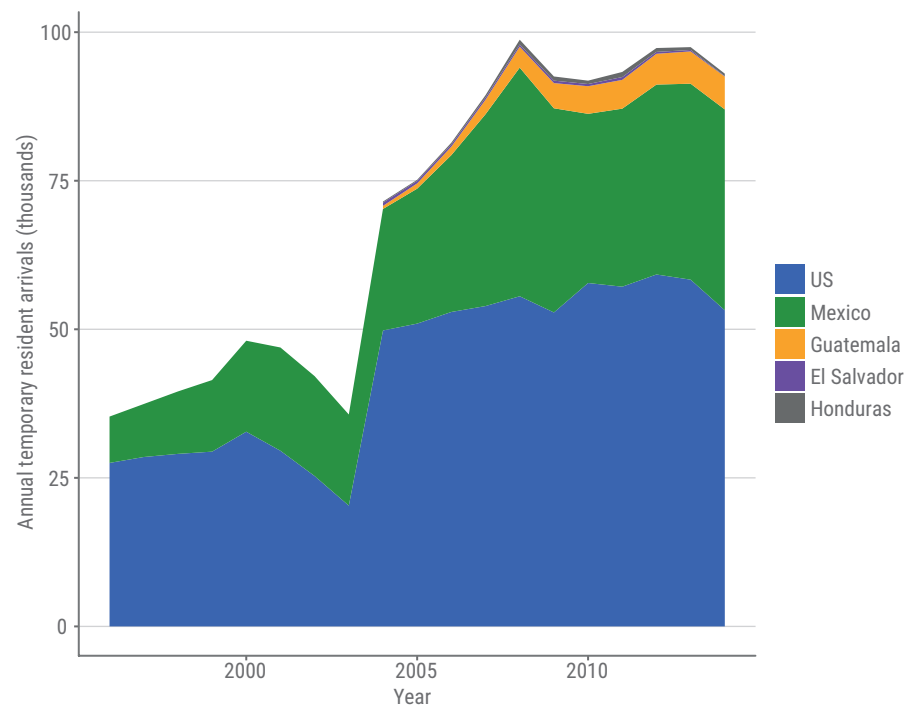
Among the five countries, for many decades, the United States has been the main country of origin of new annual permanent and temporary residents (see Figures 9 and 10, respectively). Although this fact tends to go unnoticed, it reflects the social ties and economic activities between neighboring countries. Whereas the arrival of Salvadorans mainly occurred in the 1980s, the arrival of Mexicans increased post-1994 as a result of the post-NAFTA increase in bilateral relations and the sociopolitical context in Mexico. The number of refugee claimants and asylum seekers from Mexico rose sharply. By 2005, Mexico was the top country of refugee claimants and by 2009, the number of

Figure 9. Annual permanent resident arrivals from Mexico and the NTCA to Canada

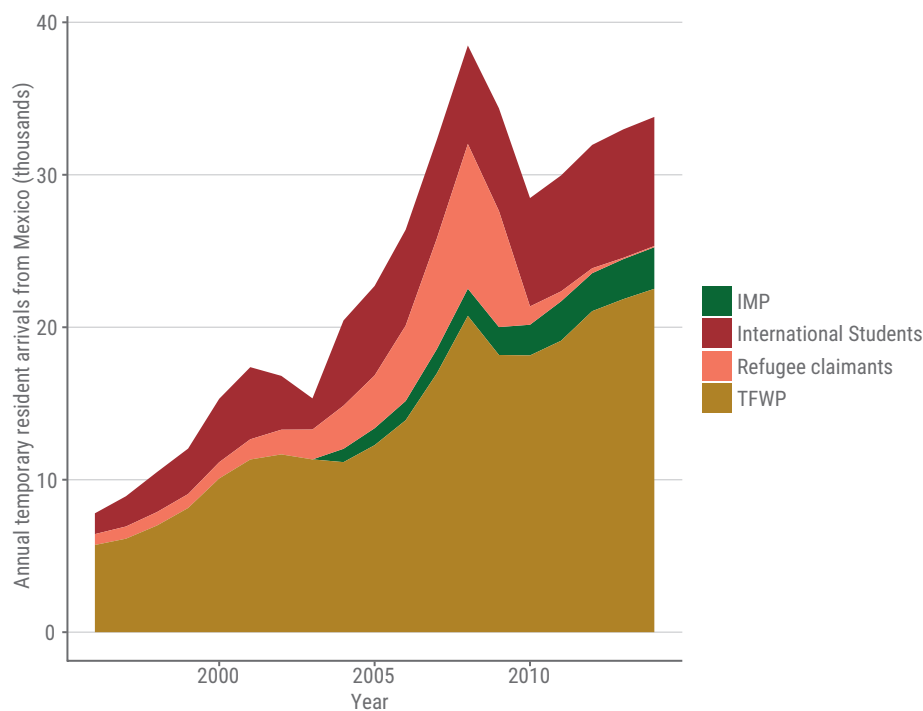


Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures (2016)

Figure 10. Annual temporary residents to Canada from the US, Mexico, and the NTCA



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures (2016)

Figure 11. Annual temporary resident arrivals from Mexico by type of permit

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures (2014; 2014)

Notes: TFWP refers to Temporary Worker Programs and IMP refers to International Mobility Program.

claims had reached 9,400. That year, Canada imposed a visa requirement for Mexican nationals, citing the large number of “bogus” refugee claimants, many of who were not granted status and deported. In December 1st, 2016, the visa requirement will be lifted. However, over time, the arrival of workers under the Temporary Foreign Workers’ Program has driven the increase of temporary residents from Mexico (Figure 11).

The Canadian model represents an option for migration management, for both temporary and permanent flows. Undocumented flows are almost non-existent. Moreover, its assertive integration policies, coupled with a multicultural approach, have created an environment where the benefits of migration have been capitalized by both the host society and migrant groups. Still, challenges to integration remain. These are mainly related to the economic integration of high-skilled migrants due to the barriers to translating experience and expertise for the Canadian labor market. Recognition of foreign credentials is the most common barrier. In addition, the length of processing times for permanent resident applications received under schemes where certain occupations were in high demand created a mismatch between the points system and the actual needs of the labor market.

The current migration scenario poses several challenges in the North America–NTCA migration system. First, the advanced stage in the aging process Canada has reached means that there will be a continuous demand for skilled and semi-skilled care work. The North America–NTCA system provides a unique opportunity to fulfill this need since educational attainment in the region is increasing. Second, Canadian labor market needs, not only in agriculture but beyond, may be met by temporary migrant workers. It remains uncertain whether the current framework for temporary work will be sufficient for this new context. Third, the Canadian Experience Class program has facilitated the transition from temporary to permanent status. However, it remains unclear whether the annual cap will be sufficient for current demand. Fourth, Canada has acknowledged the need to provide protection to refugees from all over the world. The visa requirement for Mexican nationals was imposed when the number of drug-related violence and homicides began to increase sharply. A potential mismatch may also occur between the number of persons in need of protection, and actual refugee claims, given the current socio-political conditions in Mexico and the NTCA.

United States post-1965: limited legal options, enforcement, and control led to a population of 11 million unauthorized migrants

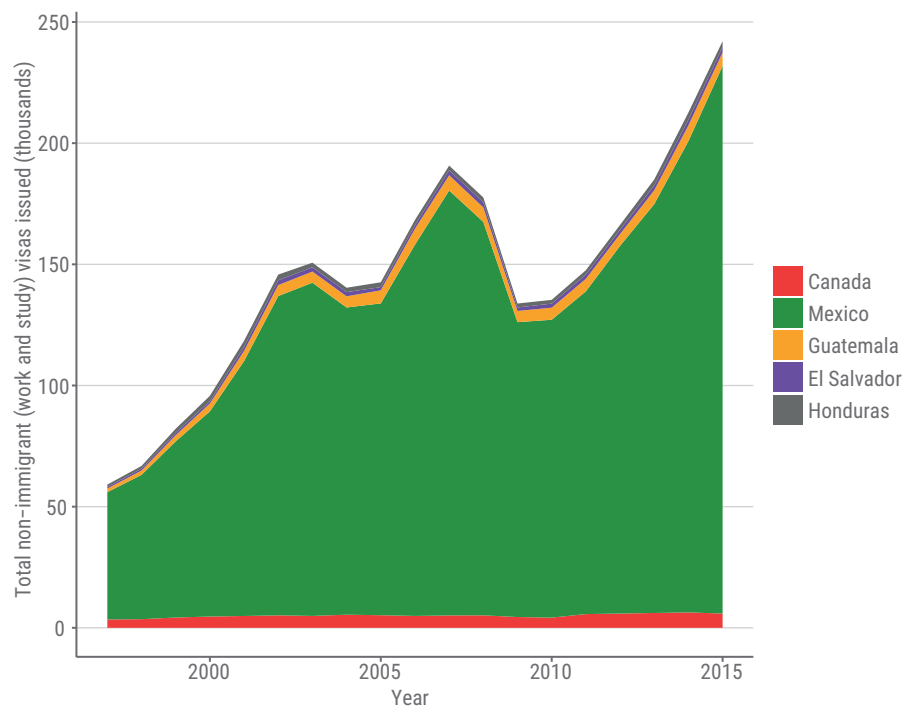
In response to the growing demand for unskilled labor in agriculture and other emerging sectors in the 1940s and 1950s, the US government designed a mechanism that would enable it to respond quickly to various needs through legal channels. Between 1942 and 1964, the Bracero Program hired approximately 4.7 million temporary Mexican workers. Over time, the demand for labor exceeded the program, creating a flow of undocumented migrants, almost as large as the number of braceros. In 1965, the focus of US immigration policy shifted to family reunification, eliminating almost all the other options for temporary legal entries. Specifically for Mexicans, the 1965 Immigration Act did not translate into a large number of migrants arriving under family reunification procedures as the backlog quickly formed. The demand for labor continued to increase, creating a large, undocumented, circular flow. Political turmoil in Central America drove migration while limited refugee options

led to an increase in the undocumented population from the region.

Although the 1986 U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) allowed many Mexicans and Central Americans to regularize their status, it also imposed control and immigration enforcement. As a result, many who sought to engage in circular migration were deterred from doing so and undocumented population continued to increase. Enforcement and control remained the center of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and deportations began to increase. The anti-immigrant policy has lasted for twenty years, been reinforced by state legislation, and no comprehensive migration strategy has been designed to meet the demands of the current economic, political and social context.

Lastly, it would be unfair not to acknowledge that, although undocumented flows have dominated the migration scenario, legal options have not been totally eliminated. During the 1990s, several temporary work visas were implemented for Mexican and NTCA nationals. Post-1994, with the passage of NAFTA, the arrival of professionals from Mexico and Canada was eased by the creation

Figure 12. Non-immigrant visas issued.



Source: US visas, US Department of State, 2016

Notes: Excludes short-term visitor visas.

of TN visas. Unlike the Bracero Program, in these types of work visas, the governments of the sending countries and the United States do not participate in the hiring process, or the supervision of working conditions.

United States: flows from Canada, Mexico, and the NTCA

The US remains the main country of destination within the migration system. Between 2013 and 2014, over 250,000 foreign-born individuals from Canada (40,000), Mexico (125,000) and the NTCA (76,000) moved to the US from their countries of origin. These numbers include both legal and undocumented arrivals.

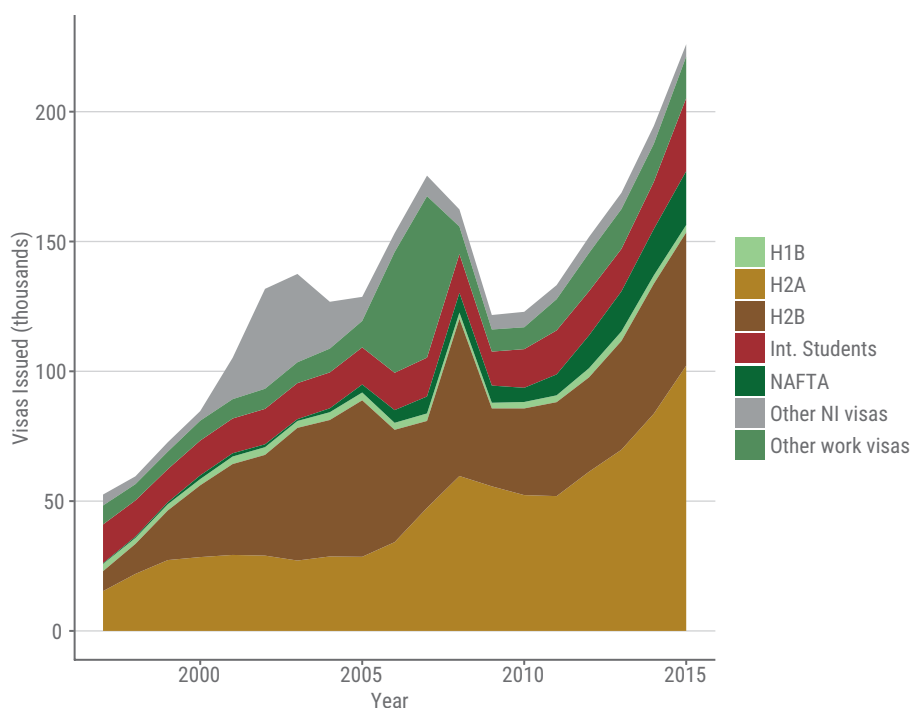
Despite of the large component of undocumented migration in the annual flows, legal entry options have rapidly increased since 1997. The number of non-immigrant visas issued rose from 100,000 in 1997 to over 1.4 million in 2015. Of this total, more than 200,000 were granted to Mexico, Canada and NTCA nationals (see Figure 12). Within the migration system, Mexico is the main recipient of the visas issued. After the most recent economic crises, the number of visas granted rose more quickly, suggesting a silent strategy

to increase legal options for temporary labor migration and respond to the needs of the US labor market. For Mexico, although the number of all types of non-immigrant visas grew, the rapid increase since 2009 can largely be explained by the volume of H2A and H2B visas (see Figure 13).

Undocumented flows are more difficult to count. Nonetheless, there are estimates of the number of undocumented migrants residing in the US. Data from the Pew Research Center show that the US unauthorized immigrant population has remained stable at 11.1 million since 2009, with a decline in the number of Mexicans (from 6.9 to 5.8 million) and an increase in those from elsewhere (from 5 to 5.3 million). The increase in the non-Mexican unauthorized population in the last years has been driven by the rise in arrivals from Central America, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa.

The stagnation in the number of undocumented migrants is the result of a sharp fall in recent immigration flows from Mexico since 2009 and the forced and voluntary return migration to the country. The number of apprehensions at the border can be used as a proxy for undocumented annual entries. Today, data from the Department

Figure 13. Non-immigrant visas issued to Mexicans



Source: US visas, US Department of State, 2016

Notes: International Students do not include the visas for Canadian and Mexican commuter students, "Other work visas" includes E1, E2, H1A, H1B1, H1C, H2R, H3, L1, L2, O1, O2, O3, R1, R2 visas, while Other NI visas includes the G1-G5, H4, K, NATO1-N9, S, T, U, V visas.

of Homeland Security show that the number of apprehensions of Mexicans in 2015, approximately 188,000, has reached its lowest point since 1969, in sharp contrast with the 1.6 million registered in 2000. This is consistent with data from a Mexican survey (EMIF) measuring unauthorized northbound flows, showing that they have continued to drop in the past few years. In addition, the number of total apprehensions (including border apprehensions and forced removals) remains high.

Together, these numbers show that unauthorized migrants are not predominantly recent arrivals. Data from the Pew Research Center show that fewer than 15% of unauthorized adults have been in the country less than 5 years, whereas approximately 30 percent have been there for 10 to 14 years, and approximately 35% 15 years or more. This population defines the US as home, has established social and family ties, but fears the risk of deportation in everyday life.

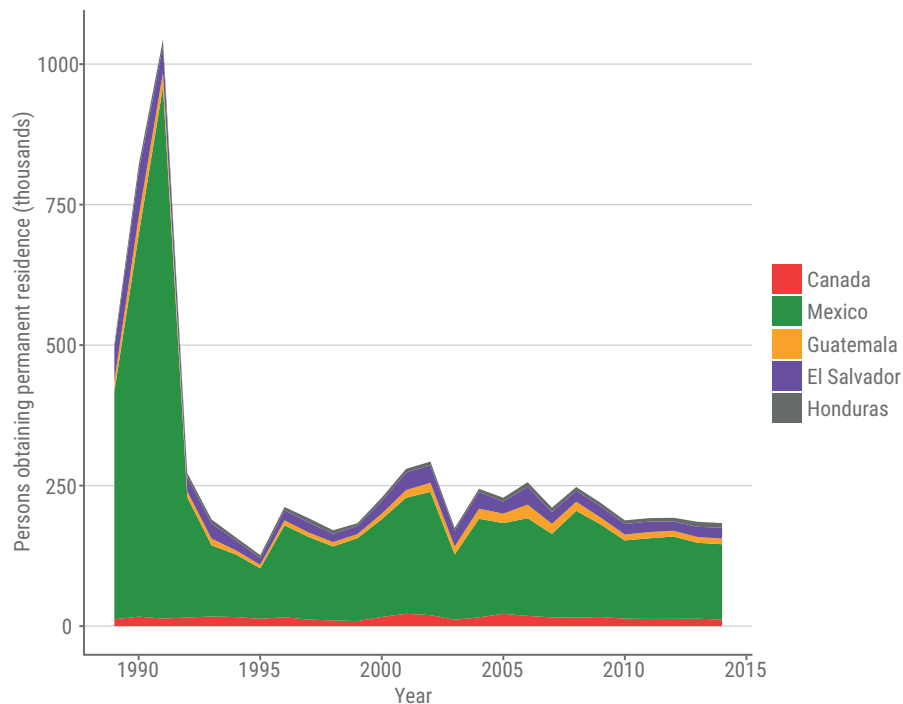
Some unauthorized migrants and non-immigrant recipients obtain permanent residence after arrival. The number of individuals granted permanent residence status from Canada, Mexico and the NTCA is currently 200,000 per year. From these countries, Mexico is the top country with approximately 175,000 per year (see Figure 14).

Considering the volume of the Mexican, Canadian, and NTCA population living in the United States, the number of new permanent residents is extremely low.

The current migration scenario poses several challenges. First, as regards undocumented migration, we need to separate the urgency related to annual entries from the challenge of integrating unauthorized migrants who have lived, worked and raised their families in the US for over a decade. As mentioned earlier, unauthorized flows from Mexico have fallen while the legal options for entry via working visas have increased. Even if we add the remaining unauthorized flow from Mexico and the sustained flow from the NTCA, demographic dynamics suggest that we will not observe the historical peaks of the last decade. In the near future, temporary non-immigrant visas might be a better alternative for achieving a more rational, efficient management of the flows.

For long-time unauthorized migrants and their families in the US, as well as for the US and sending countries, the negative effects of deportation could outweigh the expected benefits of mass deportations. The definition of a national strategy should consider these negative consequences. An integration policy might be a better option in the medium and long term.

Figure 14. Permanent residence visas granted to US immigrants from Canada, Mexico and the NTCA



Source: Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2004 and 2014

Secondly, restricting legal labor mobility in North America contradicts the economic integration of the region resulting from NAFTA. For example, NAFTA visas (TN visas) for skilled migrants have not been used to their full potential. Incorporating labor mobility—extended to the NTCA countries—into the trade and economic integration policies of the region could enhance comparative advantages in an increasingly competitive global economy. Lastly, further analysis is required to explore whether the current system, with its documented and undocumented flows, makes it possible to efficiently meet the needs of a rapidly changing labor market.

Mexico: From a policy of no-policy to the protection of Mexicans abroad and immigrant control

For decades, Mexico was regarded by others and itself as a country of emigration. Thus, immigration policy was not a priority, and most of the programs implemented were reactions to specific situations and focused on protecting Mexicans migrating to the US. That would be the case of the first program for returnees in the 1920s, when a large-scale deportation of Mexican migrants occurred, and more recently (in the early 1990s), when several programs were designed to facilitate the return to Mexico or protect the human rights of migrants on their journey to the US. More recently, the policy of protecting Mexicans abroad was expanded to facilitate their labor and social integration into the US. The Reform that allowed Dual Citizenship (1998) and the creation of the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (2003) were designed to support the Mexican community in the US. Throughout the country's history, there have been no real efforts to intervene directly and reduce the size of migration flows.

As a sending country, Mexico has very limited options for defining policies that could benefit Mexican nationals abroad. Nonetheless, it has played a role in the hiring process and the supervision of the labor conditions of Mexican migrant workers participating in the Bracero Program with the US and the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Program (SAWP). In the first case, the scope of the program exceeded the capacity of the Mexican government and, over time, the extent of its participation was unclear. For better or for worse, in the current context of temporary working visas to the US, Mexican officials have no say or participation in the process.

In the recent decades, in-transit migration and immigration to Mexico have increased. In response to the political conflict in Guatemala, Mexico signed its first general law on asylum in 1990. In the context of preparing

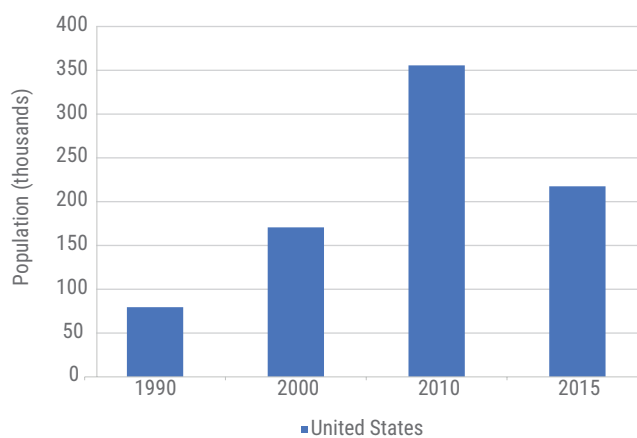
for the signature of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mexico created the National Migration Institute in 1993 and since then, it has created mechanisms to manage and control the arrival of immigrants. As a response to the vulnerability of Central Americans crossing Mexico or moving to the country, Mexico enacted the 2011 Immigration Law and created a special program to control the border (2014 Southern Border Plan).

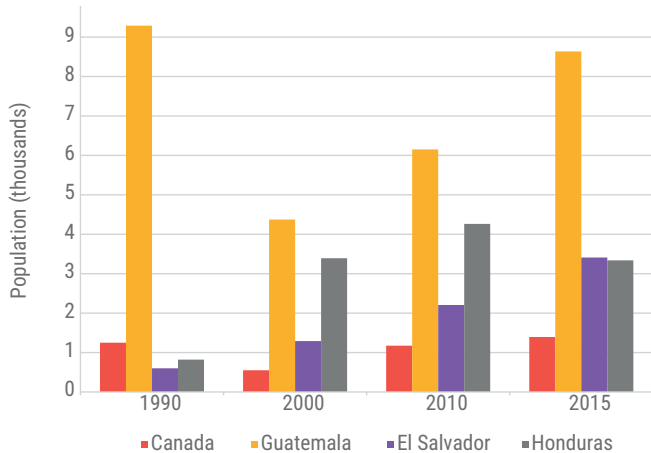
Mexico: flows indicate its transformation from a country of emigration to a country of return and immigration

Mexico has transformed itself from a country of predominant outmigration to a country of immigration due to the increase in returns and foreign-born arrivals. The recent migrant population has increased over time; between 2000 and 2010, the foreign-born population doubled. Nonetheless, it accounts for less than 1 percent of the total population. US flows are by far the largest, representing the largest North to South migration flow. Between 2005 and 2010, the number of US-born arrivals reached a historical peak of more than 350,000 (see Figure 15a). Guatemalans are by far the second largest group arriving in Mexico, and one that is steadily growing (see Figure 15b).

The majority of the US-born population is under 15. They are mostly minors joining their parent(s) who returned to Mexico, likely to be dual citizens and any may re-emigrate to the US later in life. As foreigners in a country with no integration policies, they face an adverse scenario in terms of their incorporation into the school system and

Figure 15. Population from the US (a), Canada, and the NTCA (b) living in Mexico who resided in their country of origin five years prior.





Source: Own estimations using the 1990, 2000, and 2010 Mexican Censuses and the 2015 Mexican Intercensal Survey.

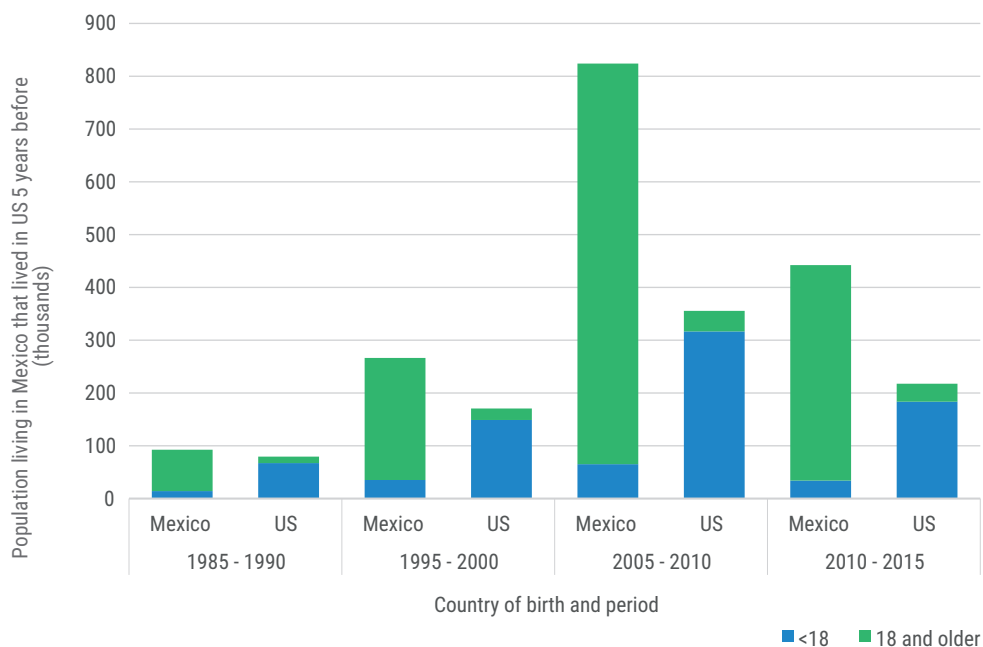
their access to social programs and services. The increase in the southbound flow to Mexico (comprising Mexican returnees, as well as the US-born population) has resulted in zero—probably even positive-net migration rates (see Figure 16). Transit migration through Mexico has also increased over time, especially due to the irregular flow of

NTCA nationals. Given its clandestine nature, NTCA transit migration through Mexico is difficult to measure, although recent estimates suggest that it may be above 100,000 per year.

The changing scenario for Mexico poses different challenges that require policy responses. First, Mexico should adopt a dynamic approach that considers both its nature as a sending country and its increasing participation as a receiving one. The most recent Migration Law concentrates on managing entry but is unclear in terms of possible integration paths for the foreign-born population living in Mexico. Moreover, despite the various initiatives designed to address the exposure to violence and organized crime and violations for human rights of NTCA migrants, these have continued.

Second, Mexico has not defined a clear position about its nature as a sending country. Today, there are two different strategies for labor migration. On the one hand, the program with Canada requires the participation of the Mexican government for the best interests’ of migrant workers. On the other, Mexico has no say in the definition of the number of visas or the hiring conditions of those admitted under temporary workers’ visas in the US. Despite the desirability of moving towards the shared responsibility observed in the

Figure 16. Population living in the United States five years prior who is currently living in Mexico, by country of birth and age.



Source: Own estimations using the 1990, 2000, and 2010 Mexican Censuses and the 2015 Mexican Intercensal Survey.

program with Canada, this case would require a different approach, given the amount of temporary worker visas granted to Mexican nationals by the US (almost ten times those granted by Canada).

Future discussion should analyze whether Mexico's government should design specific policies to keep potential migrants in the country and whether it could give potential migrants better tools for integration (skills, transferable credentials, legal options, knowledge of the language).

The biggest challenge facing Mexico is probably to move from a reactive migration policy approach to a more assertive strategy focused on harnessing the potential benefits of international migration for the sending communities and the country as a whole.

5. CURRENT POPULATION DYNAMICS OF THIS MIGRATION SYSTEM OFFER A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO MANAGE MIGRATION EFFICIENTLY.

Looking together at the migration scenarios and the policy responses in the three main destinations—Canada, US, and Mexico—allows us to anticipate future challenges, learn from the different experiences, and inform a discussion that may lead towards a more efficient and humanitarian management of migration. We located North America as a region of destination, taking into account flows within the region and from the neighboring Northern Triangle of Central America. This broader regional perspective acknowledges existing social and economic ties, as well as existing transnational communities in all countries.

We discussed in the prior section a series of challenges within this migration system. When looking at the six countries included in this paper jointly, demography may be operating in favor. On the one hand, the population dynamics described earlier suggests that migration will not reach the peaks observed in earlier periods. The decrease in population growth and, thus, in the demographic pressure in the main sending regions may represent a unique opportunity to plan in advance with a regional perspective about the management of migration flows. On the other hand, there is evidence that the growth of the economies and the demand for migrant labor in Canada and the US will continue in the future and may even rise for particular occupations and sectors of the labor market, as the aging process advances in both countries.

We assume that capitalizing the potential benefits of migration requires a comprehensive strategy based on the shared responsibilities of the sending, receiving and in-transit contexts. Based on the diagnose presented along this paper, we conclude with the following recommendations.

1. Anticipate and generate a synergy between the labor market needs and migration flows.

Thinking about the management of labor-driven migration within a regional perspective will require linking the changes in the labor market within each country to the potential flows. For example, the emergence of new occupations as a result of technological change and the increase in the demand for care workers will define the requirements in terms of skills and education. Moreover, the educational transition in the main sending countries suggests that the profile of migrants in terms of their educational credentials will also change—faster in Mexico and El Salvador, at a more moderate pace in Honduras and Guatemala.

Legal options for labor mobility are the way to create a synergy between labor market needs at the destinations, socioeconomic changes in sending regions and the migrant flows. There are already different mechanisms and options to orient legal migration that have proved to be successful. Some of them may need to be reassessed to see to what extent they respond and will respond to the migration scenarios. For example, NAFTA visas (TN visas) give a legal channel to increase the labor mobility in the region. These visas have no fiscal year limits or annual caps. However, the need of a baccalaureate degree and the list of specialty professions for which it applies so far may not be in line in this current demographic context. This suggests the need to make it more flexible; for example, to include semi-skilled workers, especially those trained in care work or other related services. The reduced number of TN visas between Mexico, Canada and US invites for further analysis on both, the requirements and occupations included and the procedure for the application and granting of this type of visas.

Temporary foreign worker's programs have also proven to be a good option for the efficient management of migration in the region. Issues opened to future discussion around these programs or types of visa are: the inclusion of new occupations (semi-skilled jobs and in services, for example), the transition from temporary to permanent residency and the participation of national authorities in the process of hiring and supervising the labor conditions of temporary workers. For example, those currently under NAFTA visas or participating at the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program do not have the option to transition from temporary to permanent resident status in US or Canada, respectively.

Also, based on the US experience, the revision and possible creation or expansion of the temporary foreign workers' programs or visas should be made within a broader

framework of international mobility that takes into account what is needed for migrants to contribute to their full potential. In particular, the conditions under which workers are joined by family members need to be considered. For example, currently, the US has stronger work restrictions for spouses and unmarried children that join visa holders, whereas joining family members of work permit holders in Canada are allowed to work and also contribute actively to the economy.

Finally, while thinking about how to better adapt to the rapid changes in the labor market, sending and destination countries need to evaluate how to take advantage of the educational transition that origin countries will continue to experience in the following years. Investing in education in sending regions as part of a larger strategy of cooperation for development is one promising alternative. Focused specifically on labor-driven migration, there are other immediate actions for the development of specific skills of potential and actual migrants such as increasing the language proficiency (particularly in English), implementing continuous training programs for certain occupations and designing training options at the workplace.

2. Moving from reactive measures to policy responses that anticipate and consider the new migration scenarios.

As mentioned earlier, there has been an increase in non-labor driven migration, specifically that for family reasons, due to environmental events and with the movement of asylum seekers and refugees. The current frameworks in the three destinations studied need considering these particular conditions and how to better respond to emergencies. Specifically, we suggest reviewing the procedures for claiming asylum and granting refugee status. From a humanitarian perspective, procedures assuring non-refoulement—in other words, not forcing refugees to return to places where their lives are liable to be threatened—need to be considered. So far, the legal frameworks for migration are mostly driven by labor demands and family reunification. However, violence in Central America and increasingly in Mexico

is a driver for outmigration. The current scenario suggests that the current legal frameworks in the three main destinations would be unable to respond to a potential increase in violence-driven migration.

Regarding undocumented migration, border enforcement in the United States and US immigration policy of the last couple of decades had unexpected consequences. They led to an initial increase in the flows when first implemented, a later loss of circularity, a rise in the number of deaths, and the overlap between migration and organized crime. This experience calls for the rethinking of the strategy of migration management, border enforcement, and control.

Finally, immigration policy based solely on efficient migration flow management will not suffice without policies to facilitate integration. Of particular importance for the United States is the integration of long-term undocumented migrants. This is key not only for the migrants themselves, but also for the migrant second generation and other family members currently living in mixed-status families. In the case of Mexico, the large flows from the US, both of returnees and US-born family members, require the most attention. Migrant integration plays a key role in how a country fares economically, politically, and socially.

3. Revise bureaucratic procedures and access to legal options for migration.

There are other specific actions that can be more readily implemented and that can contribute to a more efficient management of migration flows. Many of them are related to the application and processing procedures for migrants and their families. One common to the three countries in North America have to do with the processing times and the existing backlogs. To better manage the arrival of migrants, bureaucratic procedures can be revised and made more efficient; for example, with the reduction of processing times. Another example of concrete measures that have an impact on the economic integration of migrants have to do with the revision of the mechanisms for foreign-credential recognition, as well as, for the transferability of skills and the recognition of previous work experience.

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GLOSSARY

Age-sex structure: The composition of a population is determined by the number or proportion of males and females in each age category. Information on the age-sex composition is essential for the description and analysis of many other types of demographic data.

Aging of population: The aging of population (also known as demographic aging and population aging) is the phrase used to describe shifts in the age distribution (age structure) of a population toward people of older ages.

Baby boom: A baby boom, as a generic concept, is a large increase in the number of births relative to a previous year or average. This term usually refers to a dramatic increase in fertility rates and in the absolute number of births in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand during the period following World War II (1947–1961).

Bracero Program: The Bracero Program was another name for the Mexican Agricultural Labor Program (1951–1964), a guest worker program through which millions of Mexican workers went to the US on short-term and mainly agricultural labor.

Canadian Experience Class: An immigration category that enables foreign workers or recently graduated international students working in Canada to apply for permanent residence.

Child dependency ratio: The child dependency ratio is the ratio of the population ages 0–14 to the population ages 15–64. This ratio usually is presented as number of dependents per 100 persons of working age (15–64).

Circular (or repeat) migration: The temporary, usually repetitive movement of a migrant between home and host areas, typically for the purpose of employment.

Demographic transition: A model that describes population change over time. The process whereby a country moves from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates, accompanied by a set of other transitions, including migration transition, age transition, urban transition, and family and household transition.

Deportation (or removal): The act and process of formally removing foreign nationals from one country and returning them to their country of origin.

Emigration: The process of leaving one country to take up permanent or semipermanent residence in another.

Emigration Rate: The number of emigrants departing from an area of origin per 1,000 population in that area of origin in a given year or time period.

Forced migrant: Someone who has been forced to leave their home country because of a real or perceived threat to life and well-being.

Human capital: Investments in individuals that can improve their

economic productivity and thus their overall standard of living; including aspects such as education and job-training, and often enhanced by migration.

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA): A public law enacted in 1996 “that includes increases in criminal penalties for immigration-related offenses, authorization for increases in enforcement personnel, and enhanced enforcement authority”. It broadened restrictions of eligibility of aliens for public benefits and adds new requirements on sponsors of alien relatives

Immigrant: A person who moves into a country of which he or she is not a native for the purpose of taking up permanent or semipermanent residence.

Immigration: The process of entering one country from another to take up permanent or semipermanent residence.

Immigrant class of entry: Immigrants may enter Canada as permanent residents under one of these categories:

- a) Family class: includes any family members sponsored to go to Canada by a Canadian citizen or permanent resident.
- b) Economic class: immigrants selected for their skills and ability to contribute to Canada’s economy. Includes skilled workers, provincial and territorial nominees, business immigrants, Quebec skilled workers and Canadian Experience Class members, and their spouses and dependents.
- c) Refugees and other humanitarian population: Includes permanent residents who applied for and received permanent resident status in Canada after their refugee claim was accepted, privately sponsored refugees, self-supporting refugees, as well as those arriving under the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program. Other humanitarian population includes those who applied on humanitarian and compassionate grounds.

Immigration document: An official document that can be an immigrant visa and record of landing, confirmation of permanence residence, permanent resident card, visitor record, work permit, study permit or temporary resident permit.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA): A public law designed to control and deter illegal immigration to the United States. It called for the legalization of undocumented aliens who had been unlawfully in the country continuously since 1982, legalized certain agricultural workers, imposed sanctions for employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers and increased border enforcement.

Immigration rate: The number of immigrants arriving at a destination per 1,000 population at that destination in a given year.

Internal migration: A change in permanent residence, typically of a year or more in duration, within the boundaries of a country.

International migrant stock: An estimate of the number of foreign-born people living in a specific country or area other than that in which they were born.

International migration: A change of residence involving movement from one country to another.

International Mobility Program: A Canadian program that allows employers to hire or bring in foreign workers without requiring a Labor Market Impact Assessment (LMIA). Exemptions from the LMIA process are available where there are reciprocal benefits for Canadians and other competitive advantages for Canada. It includes international students who have graduated from a Canadian school; persons authorized to work in Canada temporarily due to free trade agreements, such as NAFTA, and spouses of highly-skilled foreign workers.

International/foreign student: A temporary resident legally authorized to study on a temporary basis. With few exceptions, foreign students must obtain a study permit if they are taking a course of studies that will last for over six months.

Life expectancy: The average number of additional years that people of certain age would live under the mortality conditions prevailing at the time. In particular, life expectancy at birth is defined as the number of years a newborn infant can be expected to live under the mortality conditions existing at the time of its birth.

Migrant: A person who makes a permanent change of residence substantial enough in distance to involve a shift in that individual's round of social activities.

Migrant stock: The number of people in a region who have migrated there from elsewhere.

Migration: The movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new or semi-permanent residence. Divided into international and national.

Migration flow: The movement of people between regions.

Migration ratio: The ratio of the net number of migrants (in-migrants minus out-migrants) to the difference between the number of births and deaths, measuring the contribution migration makes to overall population growth.

Migration transition: The shift of people from rural to urban areas, and the shift to higher levels of international migration.

Migration turnover rate: The total migration rate divided by the crude net migration rate.

Natural increase: The surplus (or deficit) of births over deaths in a population in a given time period.

Net migration: The difference between those who move in and out of a particular region in a given period of time.

Net migration rate: Number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants over a period, divided by the person-years lived by

the population of the receiving country over that period. It is expressed as net number of migrants per 1,000 population.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA): An agreement signed by Canada, the United States and Mexico. It allows citizens of one of these three countries to enter the others more easily for business. NAFTA visas apply to four types of business people: business visitors, professionals, intracompany transferees to work in Canada, and traders and investors.

Old-age dependency ratio: The old-age dependency ratio is the ratio of the population aged 65 and older to the population ages 15–64. This ratio is usually presented as the number of dependents per 100 persons of working age (15–64).

Permanent resident: A person who has been allowed to live permanently in Canada and who is not yet a Canadian citizen, who may have come to the country as an immigrant or a refugee.

Points system: The scoring system used to assess federal skilled workers and Business Class immigrants. Points are assigned on the basis of six different factors: education, English and/or French proficiency, work experience, age, arranged employment in Canada, and adaptability. It is necessary to have a minimum of points in each category to classify.

Population growth: The surplus (or deficit) of births and immigrants over deaths and emigrants in a population in a given time period.

Population projection: Calculation of future changes in population numbers, based on certain assumptions about future trends regarding fertility, mortality, and migration rates. Demographers often issue low, medium, and high projections of the same population, based on different assumptions of how these rates will change in the future.

Population pyramid: A bar chart of the number (or percentage) of people in a population distributed by age and sex.

Post-graduation work permit: A document that allows eligible foreign students who have graduated from an approved program of study in an eligible post-secondary Canadian institution that participates in the Post-Graduation Work Permit Program.

Protected person: A person who has been determined to be a Convention refugee or person in similar circumstances by a Canadian visa officer outside Canada, a person whom the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada has determined to be a Convention refugee or in need of protection in Canada, or a person who has had a positive pre-removal risk assessment.

Push-pull theory: A theory of migration that says some people move because they are pushed out of their former location, whereas other move because they have been pulled or attracted to another location.

Refugee: A person who has been forced to cross national boundaries and who cannot return home safely. Such a person may be called an asylum seeker until granted refugee status by the contracting state or the UNCHR if they formally make a claim of asylum.

Repatriation: The process of returning a person – voluntarily or forcibly – to their place of origin of citizenship.

Return migration: The movement of a person returning to their country of origin or habitual residence. This return may or may not be voluntary.

Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP): A guest worker program for short-term, agricultural contracts for workers from the Caribbean and Mexico.

Study permit: A document that allows a foreign national to study at a host institution.

Temporary Foreign Worker Program: This program allows employers to hire foreign workers to fill short-term labor and skill shortages when no Canadians are available to do the job. A Labor Market Impact Assessment is needed to hire through this program.

Temporary resident: A person who is in Canada legally for a short period and may be a student, a foreign worker or a visitor.

Total dependency ratio: Also known as dependency ratio, the ratio of the economically dependent part of the population to the productive part, arbitrarily defined as the ratio of the elderly (ages 65 and older) plus children (under 15) to the working-age population (15-64).

Total fertility rate: The average number of children who would be born alive to a woman (or group of women) during her lifetime if she were to undergo her childbearing years in keeping with the age-specific fertility rates of a given year. This rate is sometimes stated as the number of children born to women today.

Unauthorized (or undocumented) migration: Unauthorized migration is the international movement of people through irregular or extralegal channels. At their destinations, these people are often termed “illegal” or “undocumented” immigrants. Migration is deemed unauthorized if: (1) the migrants in question avoided inspection by crossing borders clandestinely or if they traveled with fraudulent documents; (2) if migrants have overstayed the time limit of a legally obtained nonimmigrant temporary visa; or (3) if they have violated explicit visa conditions.

United States visas: Generally, a citizen of a foreign country who wishes to enter the United States must first obtain a visa, either a nonimmigrant visa for a temporary stay, or an immigrant visa for permanent residence.

Immigrant visa: This includes three categories:

Nonimmigrant Visas:

Immediate Relative & Family Sponsored	Includes immediate relatives (spouse, unmarried children under 21 years of age, orphan adopted, orphan to be adopted and parent) and family preference categories of a U.S. citizen.
Employment Sponsored	Visas for workers (priority workers; professionals holding advanced degrees; skilled, professionals and unskilled workers; certain special immigrants; immigrant investors) and under certain circumstances spouses and children that may accompany employment-based immigrants.
Other immigrants	These include visas petitioned by U.S. citizens for fiancés to be married in the USA, orphans adopted, special types of workers, and also diversity visas.

Nonimmigrant visas:

Employment	
E (E-1/E-2/E-2C/E-3/E-3/E-3D/E-3R)	Treaty trader/treaty investor for citizens of countries with which the United States maintains treaties of commerce and navigation. It includes also CNMI only investor, Australian professional specialty)
H-1A H-1C	Visa for registered nurses. First H-1A was enabled from 1989 to 1995. Then H-1C was authorized from 1999 to 2005.
H-1B	Person in a specialty occupation, which requires a higher education degree or its equivalent.
H-2A	Temporary Agricultural Worker for temporary or seasonal agricultural work, limited to citizens of designated countries.
H-2B	Temporary Non-agricultural Worker for temporary non-agricultural work, limited to citizens or nations of designated countries.
H-2R	Workers who have possessed an H2 visa in the previous three fiscal years, and are returning to the United States to work. Visa holder has the same privileges and subject to the same restrictions as other H2 TWV holders.
H-3	Trainee to receive training in any field other than graduate medical education or Special Education.
H-4	Family members of the H1-B workers (spouse or children under 21). Valid for the same period for which the principal family member is admitted. Not allowed to work.
L (L-1A/L-1B/L-2)	Intracompany transferees (executives and managers; specialists in a certain area of knowledge or spouses and dependents.

A MIGRATION SYSTEM IN THE MAKING

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O (O-1A/O-1B/O-2/O-3)	Individuals with Extraordinary Ability or Achievement in several fields, or performers, aides and family.
P (P-1/P-2/P-3/P-4)	Individual or team member to perform at an athletic competition, artist or entertainer, an artist or entertainer to perform, teach or coach under a program that is culturally unique or a traditional ethnic, folk, cultural, musical or artistic performance, and spouse or child of the previous visa holders.
NAFTA professionals (TN/TD)	Visa for qualified Canadian and Mexican citizens (TN) to seek temporary entry (up to 3 years) into the US to engage in business activities at a professional level (accountants, engineers, lawyers, pharmacists, scientists, and teachers), and their spouses and children under 21 (TD).

Study and exchange

J (J-1/J-2)	Exchange visitor visas for individuals approved to participate in exchange visitor programs in the US and their dependents.
F (F-1/F-2)	Student visa for academic type of studies and spouses and children under 21 of visa holders.
M (M-1/M-2)	Vocational Students (M-1), dependents (M-2).
Q	Participant in an international cultural exchange program.

Business, tourism and visit

B -1	Persons who want to enter the USA temporarily for business (amateur or professional athlete competing for prize money only, business visitor), domestic employee or nanny.
B1/B-2/BCC	Visitor visa for temporary tourism, personal treatment, pleasure or visiting, or a combination of both purposes and citizens and residents of Mexico who wish to enter the US temporarily for a combination of purposes (business, tourism, pleasure or visiting) (BCC).

Other visas nonimmigrant visas

C (C-1/C-1D/C-2/C-3)	Transit visa.
D/D-CREW	Crewmember visa (pilot or flight attendant, captain, engineer on a sea vessel, lifeguard, cook, waiter, trainee on board a training vessel).
A (A-1/A-2/A-3)	Diplomat or foreign government official that engage solely in official duties or activities on behalf of their national government.
G (G1 to G5) NATO officials (NATO1 to NATO6)	Employees of International Organizations (diplomats, government officials, and employees who work in international organizations) and family members.
R(R-1/R-2)	Temporary religious workers (F-1) and dependents (R-2).
S (S-5 to S-7)	Criminal and Terrorist Informants.

T (T-1 to T-5) U (U-1 to U-5)	Victim of a severe form of trafficking in persons (T) and other certain crimes who have suffered mental or physical abuse (U) that are helpful to law enforcement or government officials in investigations of criminal activity.
V (V-1/V-2/V-3)	Visa to allow families to stay together while waiting for the processing of immigrant visas.

Visa: An official document that shows that this person can be admitted as a temporary resident (visitor, student or worker).

Work permit: A document that allows a person to work legally in Canada. It establishes the type of work the permit holder can do, the employer for whom the permit holder may work, the places of work allowed, and the duration for which they may work. Open work permits are those through which a person may work for any employer in Canada.



THE NORTH AMERICAN FORUM

Founded in 2005, the North American Forum (NAF) is a community of Canadian, Mexican, and American thought leaders, whose purpose is to advance a shared vision of North America and to contribute to improved relations among the three neighbors. They come together annually to explore the interactions among the mutually reinforcing goals of security, prosperity, and enhanced quality of life.

The purpose of the NAF is to create the political and conceptual basis for increased cooperation among countries and across sectors. The NAF identifies actions that governments and private actors can take to help build societal resilience so that the three countries can avoid shocks when possible—be they natural or man-made—and withstand and rebound from shocks when necessary. NAF members are selected based on their commitment to the NAF's goals and their ability to effect positive change.

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Hoover Institution
1399 New York Avenue NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20005
202-760-3200

northamericanforum@stanford.edu
<http://www.northamericanforum.org>

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