

Beyond Access: Rethinking US Immigrant Policy through Selectivity and Support

Carolina M. Florez, Dr. Changwok Ju

Montrose School

Abstract

This paper examines the hypothesis that selective immigration policies, when combined with institutional support, lead to better immigrant integration and success than broadly inclusive, less selective approaches. While most of the existing literature emphasizes legal access as the key to immigrant integration, this study distinguishes between access and actual integration, arguing that integration depends heavily on having both admission criteria and enforcement for immigrants but also having institutional support for immigrants when admitted. Original data from three state pairs in the U.S., Colorado vs. Washington, Virginia vs. Maryland, and Georgia vs. North Carolina, was used to analyze the impact of state-level policy selectivity and support on immigrant outcomes such as employment, income, naturalization, and education as measures of integration. These states were chosen for their similarity overall but variance in immigration policy selectivity and support. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression results demonstrate that although both selectivity and support positively affect immigrant integration outcomes, support has a stronger impact overall. These findings challenge the previous assumption that openness alone leads to integration, suggesting instead that strategic selectivity paired with substantive support is more effective. The paper contributes a new empirical

framework and policy implications for designing immigration policy that promote both immigrant success and social acceptance.

Introduction

Motivation

In various countries throughout the world with immigration policies, there seems to be an uprising of xenophobia and anti-immigrant backlash. Examples include Canada, Germany, and the Netherlands, all of which have traditionally had open immigration policies that have led to backlash from citizens of those countries. This intense backlash can lead to minimized integration for immigrants and less favorable outcomes for them in the long term.

In addition, in the literature on immigration policy and its effects on immigrants, there is a wide consensus that less restrictive policies, such as less border restrictions and easier pathways to citizenship, ameliorate the lives of immigrants and natives alike. Scholars primarily discuss the benefits of open immigration policies and frame them as the best way to balance the interests of natives and immigrants. However, there are some discrepancies in scholarly opinions as to whether some authors talk about how selective immigration policy yields better economic outcomes. Constant and Zimmermann (2005), for example, argue that selective immigration policies are better for citizens of the host country. These different results in the literature invite a renewed examination of the relationship between restrictive immigration policies and the integration of immigrants.

Research Question

Given these gaps in scholarship and reality, a key question remains: Do restrictive immigration policies counterintuitively lead to better immigrant integration and success? This

question has significant relevance to contemporary immigration politics because it challenges the commonly accepted idea that openness is the best way to achieve success and that less restrictive policies foster integration. It is also important because it highlights the distinction between access—the legal and procedural capacity for immigrants to enter and reside in a country—and integration—the sociocultural and economic processes that enable them to participate successfully in society. Answering the question could prove that having more selective policies and investing more in integration can be more beneficial than having less selective policies and admitting more immigrants. This also raises an ethical question on what is better: conditional integration or unconditional openness that may lead to marginalization.

Summary of Argument

This paper argues that restrictive immigration policies lead to greater immigrant performance. De jure access to resources and living in a country does not necessarily guarantee immigrant integration and success. Selective immigration policies tailored to immigrants' skills and public opinion are more effective for immigrant integration and success in a host country, as those immigrants have been admitted since their abilities dovetail with the society. Just allowing immigrants access without practical support is not helpful and can lead to native backlash. For these reasons, an immigration policy that combines selectivity and comprehensive support is vital for effective immigrant integration.

Research Design and Analysis

Data was collected on the selectivity and support level of immigration policies and integration outcomes of immigrants in three pairs of states in the United States: Colorado (CO) and Washington (WA), Virginia (VA) and Maryland (MD), and Georgia (GA) and North

Carolina (NC). These states were selected because they exhibit variations in selectivity and support levels in their immigration policies, but are similar in other key characteristics such as geographic location or population demographics. The selectivity and support data were measured on a scale from 1–5 based on the policies those states have had since 2010. The integration outcome variables were education attainment, labor market success, and civic participation, which were measured by high school graduation rate, median household income and employment rate, and naturalization rate, respectively. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions were then used to estimate the effects of immigration policy selectivity and support levels on different factors operationalizing immigrants' integration and success.

Summary of Contributions

This article makes three key contributions to the literature on US immigration policy and performance. First, it provides the first analytical framework that examines why and how selective and supportive immigration policies are more helpful for immigrant integration than indiscriminate policies, both theoretically and empirically. This advances our understanding of contemporary immigration policy by demonstrating the significance of incorporating both selectivity and support into legislation. Second, it contributes systematic empirical data and analysis to substantiate the central claim. In doing so, it provides a sturdier ground that can be used by future scholars when researching what should be prioritized in immigration policy. Third, it provides additional evidence for the fact that while both selectivity and support count toward immigrants, it is substantive support that primarily drives the positive impact; therefore, support must be given a priority in policies of immigration.

Literature Review

Scholars across political science and public policy disciplines have studied how selective immigration policies, state-level politics, and integration processes influence both immigrants' labor market outcomes and long-term socio-cultural integration (Constant & Zimmermann, 2005; Fouka, 2024; Filindra et al., 2011; Alesina & Tabellini, 2024). The central consensus from this body of work is that while many immigration policies aim to maximize economic efficiency and minimize political resistance, they often mistake legal admission for successful integration.

A foundational perspective in this literature holds that selective immigration policies, especially those emphasizing capital, improve labor market performance for both immigrants and host countries (Constant & Zimmermann, 2005). Drawing on longitudinal data from Germany and Denmark (1984–2002), Constant and Zimmermann (2005) categorize immigrants based on their entry pathway: employment, family, or asylum. Their findings show that immigrants admitted for employment reasons perform better in terms of full-time work and income, while asylum seekers and family-based immigrants lag behind in these categories. They argue that a hybrid approach, combining economic selectivity with inclusive support, could generate better outcomes.

However, this argument is predicated on two assumptions that are challenged by later work. First, it presumes that legal entry categories are directly connected with immigrants' integration potential, and this overlooks heterogeneity within groups. Highly educated asylum seekers, for example, may face labor market exclusion due to social or legal barriers rather than ability. It also assumes that selection based on observable traits, such as education, guarantees integration, which overlooks structural issues like differential credential recognition in

immigration settings, discrimination, and restricted access to certain professions (Constant & Zimmermann, 2005).

More recent contributions challenge the emphasis on economic selection by looking at the political consequences of immigration. Alesina and Tabellini (2024) contend that native responses to immigration are less about economic competition and more about cultural differences. Using survey and historical data, they demonstrate that political backlash is most pronounced when immigrants are religiously or linguistically distant from the host population, even if their economic contributions are positive. These findings suggest that non-restrictive immigration policies that grant access leniently may do little to help immigrants achieve genuine integration if the policies fail to consider cultural dynamics or native prejudice.

On the other hand, scholars studying state-level variation in integration outcomes have examined what happens after immigrants are admitted. Filindra, Blanding, and Coll (2011) scrutinize how US state policies shape the educational attainment of children of immigrants. They find that inclusive welfare policies are associated with higher graduation rates, while states that adopt multicultural policies without material support tend to see larger performance gaps. It is thus argued that symbolic inclusion without substantive investment can hinder integration, however, either by reinforcing stereotypes or by weakening incentives for cultural adaptation.

In contrast, Fouka (2024) offers a typology of immigration policies to explain immigrant integration, categorizing interventions as cost reducers, access incentives, or conditional requirements. Her work shows that policies that lower the cost of effort, like language programs or credential supports, are more likely to foster integration. However, Fouka (2024) notes that incentive-based policies, like those tying access to performance, produce more ambiguous

outcomes, particularly when symbolic effects generate backlash from either immigrants or natives. She also emphasizes the importance of immigrant heterogeneity shaping policy ineffectiveness.

Although each of these studies contributes significantly to our understanding of integration, they fall short as they do not clearly distinguish between access to entry and capacity for integration. Policies aimed at selecting immigrants based on economic potential (Constant & Zimmermann, 2005) or restricting entry to minimize backlash (Alesina & Tabellini, 2024) often assume that the act of admission is synonymous with the process of immigrant integration. Similarly, studies of policy effects (Fouka, 2024; Filindra et al., 2011) often treat access as the primary independent variable, without attending to how different groups actually experience the process of integration once admitted.

This conflation of access and integration leads to two problems. First, it can justify overly restrictive policies on the grounds of efficiency or assimilation, when in fact it is the lack of integration support, such as asymmetric credential recognition, indifference to discrimination, or improper legal work authorization, that explains underperformance. Second, it encourages conditional inclusion, like multicultural policies or performance-based benefits, without accounting for how structural inequality, group heterogeneity, and insufficient policy design shape actual integration outcomes.

In summary, the literature tends to treat immigration as a sorting mechanism, where selection equals success, rather than as a complex, multi-stage process in which both admission criteria and post-entry conditions jointly determine long-term integration. This paper addresses

that gap by re-theorizing integration as a separate and non-automatic process from access, one that demands not just selection or inclusion, but sustained structural investment.

Theory and Hypothesis

Immigration scholars typically emphasize the legal extension of rights and resources to immigrants as the best way to achieve successful integration. However, the fundamental premise that giving access to immigrants leads to tangible positive consequences often falls short of integrating them into society. That is, *de jure* immigrant access may obscure some of the most poignant barriers immigrants confront. Therefore, being reasonably selective in the design and implementation of immigration policies in the first place would achieve both substantive access and immigrant output.

To clarify, the theoretical construct of interest in this article is immigrants' integration outcomes, whether they be through positive labor market performance, education, or social cohesion. The primary explanatory angle concerns the type of immigration policy, and this article distinguishes selective/restrictive policy from broad/open policy. Throughout the theoretical and empirical frameworks herein, secondary variables such as immigrant education, language ability, host-country public opinion, and economic cycles are also considered.

While much of the literature on immigration theory emphasizes inclusive policy for the integration of immigrants into the host country, some scholars have opposing views. Czaika and de Haas (2013) argue that immigration policies frequently fall short of their intended outcomes due to weak design and implementation and feedback loops between policy outcomes and policies. This suggests that broad-based access may offer symbolic inclusion without building the institutional base necessary for actual integration.

Similarly, Fouka (2024) finds that state variation in education policy implementation plays a large role in the educational performance of immigrants' children in the United States, even when access to schools is already legally guaranteed. This demonstrates that the way policies are implemented, not just legal coverage, is key to outcome variation. Thus, while access might seem to be sufficient for integration, real-world integration depends on how policies are enacted.

In addition, public opinion constitutes a key contextual variable that shapes immigrant integration. Alesina and Tabellini (2024) assert that both economic and cultural anxieties about immigrants, especially in countries with large immigrant inflows, condition public attitudes in ways that could affect immigration policies. This suggests that overly inclusive immigration policies may provoke native backlash, weakening their effectiveness and sustainability. Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) also maintain that public support for policies is increased when immigration is portrayed as selective or merit-based, indicating that more selective policies foster public legitimacy, thus leading to more successful integration.

Other explanations would attribute immigration integration outcomes to ex-ante immigrant characteristics, such as skills or cultural proximity, suggesting that integration is a function of immigrant demographics that arrive rather than how policies affect them once they enter the host country. This alternative explanation has merit but is not mutually exclusive with the paper's central argument. As Constant and Zimmermann (2005) show, selective immigration policies are correlated with better immigration performance, particularly in labor markets. However, it is not only the initial selection that matters, but also the alignment between selection criteria and policy infrastructure that can help sustain the immigrants' full integration into the

society over the long haul. Selectivity upon entry and also support design generate conditions under which immigrants are more likely to succeed.

One possible counterargument is that selective immigration policy may reduce fairness, undermine refugee protections, or exacerbate inequality by privileging certain immigrant groups over others. However, selectivity need not be synonymous with exclusion. Rather, selective design can mean differentiated supports that reflect immigrant needs and local capacities—rather than uniform access regardless of context. Dancygier and Laitin (2014) argue that indiscriminate immigration inflows, especially into environments that lack the infrastructure to accommodate immigrants, increase the risk of labor market displacement and social tension. Targeted selectivity, therefore, serves both integrative and political stability functions.

In summary, this paper argues that integrating immigrants into society demands more than extending legal inclusion; it requires strategic immigration policies that reflect selectivity in both admittance and institutional support. Selective immigration policies, especially when aligned with labor market needs, educational systems, and political capacities, not only enhance immigrant performance (Constant & Zimmermann, 2005) but also foster political legitimacy, public trust, and long-lasting social cohesion (Alesina & Tabellini, 2024; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). When access is granted indiscriminately without a clear strategy for society–immigrant alignment, it can lead to political backlash, suppress immigrant potential, and lead to an unintentional cover for inequality. The preceding discussion yields the central hypothesis: Selective immigration policies lead to greater immigrant success and integration.

Methods

To test this hypothesis, new data was collected on the selectivity and support level of immigration policies and integration outcomes of immigrants in three pairs of states in the United States: CO and WA, VA and MD, and GA and NC. These states were selected because they displayed variations in their immigration policies and regularly publish relevant statements, but at the same time, they exhibit reasonable comparability across key characteristics. Hence, the differences in outcomes can be attributable to the changes in the independent variable. Below, the key quantities of interest and the estimation strategy are outlined.

Case Selection

Washington vs Colorado

The cases of Washington and Colorado were selected as they are similar in geography, politics, and demographics. They are both in the western region of the United States and hold significant mountain ranges, the Cascades and the Rockies, respectively. They are also both Democratic-leaning states with progressive politics. Demographically, both states have young populations, turning cities in both states, such as Seattle and Denver, into technology and innovation hubs.

These states were also chosen as their immigration policy varies. Colorado emphasizes high-skilled immigration through policies that incentivize skilled professionals in the areas of technology and healthcare. Its economic structure and reliance on these areas have led the state to prioritize immigrants that meet labor market needs (Macaluso, 2022). In addition, Colorado has implemented programs that enhance support for immigrants, such as healthcare coverage for undocumented residents. This has resulted in efforts to support certain immigrant groups,

primarily focusing on vulnerable populations while still applying selectivity criteria based on residency status (Steenland et al., 2023). Colorado's legislative practices also often demonstrate a proactive stance in addressing immigration through local approaches, which include community-based initiatives and collaborations between local governments and immigrant advocacy groups. This support allows upward mobility for immigrant populations, which better their integration (Tian et al., 2021).

Washington, on the other hand, has enacted policies that are less selective for undocumented immigrants. For instance, Washington allows undocumented residents to obtain driver's licenses, reflecting a more inclusive attitude towards immigrants (Mann et al., 2016). The social atmosphere is also less selective, supporting policies aimed at creating a "sanctuary" atmosphere rather than enforcement of immigration laws (Boushey & Luedtke, 2011).

Virginia vs Maryland

The states of Virginia and Maryland share many similarities, including geographical, economic, and demographic factors. They are both located on the Chesapeake Bay on the eastern coast of the United States, with the Potomac River being significant for transportation. Additionally, the demographics are similar as they are both influenced significantly by the presence of Washington, D.C. This results in a concentration of professionals in metropolitan areas (Alrimawi et al., 2024). Economically, both states have seen growth in technology and biotechnology sectors, and their closeness to Washington, D.C. has led to both Virginia and Maryland being involved in the federal contracting sector, where a large part of the economy focuses on providing services to the government (Cuddy, 2008). Additionally, agriculture plays a large role in both states' economies (Seiter et al., 2008).

Virginia is more selective than Maryland in terms of immigration policy but also exhibits support for immigrants within the state. Virginia implements programs aimed at attracting skilled workers, which demonstrates a strategy to enhance workforce quality in industries of high demand, such as a STEM-based immigration initiative, which focuses on recruiting and retaining skilled professionals in these critical fields. (Macaluso, 2022). Virginia also cooperates with federal immigration enforcement, an example being the 287(g) program, which deputizes Virginia State Police and local sheriff's offices to enforce federal immigration laws, and by directing the Virginia Department of Corrections to share information and honor ICE detainees (Executive Order No. 47, 2025). At the same time, it's supportive of immigrants through programs, such as the Virginia Refugee Resettlement Program, which aims to assist refugees in adjusting to life in Virginia. This program provides essential services such as job training, English language classes, and access to healthcare (Virginia Department of Social Services [VDSS], 2021). Maryland tends to be less selective with immigrants as it has adopted sanctuary policies that protect undocumented immigrants from being reported to federal authorities (Walker & Leitner, 2011). It also extends public insurance coverage to undocumented immigrants for prenatal care and recently documented immigrants for other types of healthcare (Steenland et al. 2023).

Georgia vs North Carolina

Georgia and North Carolina share similarities when it comes to geographical location, economics, and demographics. Both are located in the South of the United States and on the East Coast, sharing a seventy-mile border. They are economically similar as both states have strong agricultural sectors that are key players in the production of various crops. Both states also have

technology and manufacturing sectors, and this diverse economy attracts immigrants (Duncan & Trejo, 2012). Both states have experienced significant increases in their immigrant populations over recent decades. Demographically, both states have recently experienced growth in their immigrant populations, especially the Latino and Hispanic communities. The Latino population in North Carolina increased by 111% from 2000 to 2010, demonstrating the growing significance of this demographic within the state (Zerden et al. 2013).

However, Georgia is more selective when it comes to immigration policy. There is a heavy ICE presence in Georgia and sanctuary laws are not permitted. Selective laws have been passed, like House Bill 87 in 2011, which mandated local law enforcement to verify immigration status, and the prohibition of sanctuary cities (Sabia, 2010). Additionally, the implementation of the 287(g) program in Georgia allows local law enforcement agencies to enter into agreements with federal immigration enforcement (Sabia, 2010). At the same time, it does have resources that support immigrant integration. It has established strong refugee resettlement programs and some inclusive local programs for legal immigrants and naturalized citizens, such as English learning and job placement aid, such as the International Rescue Committee (Vu et al., 2022).

North Carolina has a much less selective legislative environment than Georgia. It does not have explicit anti-sanctuary laws statewide or laws as aggressive as HB 87. It also allows undocumented immigrants public benefits, like programs that allow undocumented children to attend public schools and potentially access in-state tuition policy for undocumented students who graduate from state high schools (National College Attainment Network, 2023).

Dependent Variables

The outcome variables are indicators of immigrant integration. Integration will be measured through three channels: labor market outcomes, civic participation, and educational attainment. Labor market integration is measured by employment rate and median income, all of which can be found in the US Census database. Civic participation is measured by the naturalization rate of immigrants, also drawn from the US Census database. Educational attainment can be measured through high school completion rates.

Independent Variable

Selective immigration policy is defined as an immigration governance framework characterized by the following two criteria.

Selectivity

The immigration policy employs selectivity through the form of immigrant law enforcement to ensure that the immigrants present exhibit explicit admission criteria—such as skills, education, language proficiency, cultural proximity, or other attributes—to determine immigrants' eligibility for entry, thereby differentiating among potential immigrants. The Immigration Policy Climate (IPC) dataset was used to verify the selectivity of immigration policy in each state.

Substantive Post-Admission Support

The policy ensures sustained and meaningful integration support for admitted immigrants, including access to sociocultural training, employment access, and social services.

Estimation

Ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions are used to estimate the effects of immigration policy selectivity and support level on different outcomes outlined above. First, two independent variables are estimated in isolation; that is, the effect of immigration policy selectivity on outcomes and the effect of immigration support level on outcomes is estimated. Second, these two independent variables are aggregated into one scale to determine whether the combination of selectivity and substantive support leads to substantially better immigration outcomes.

Analysis and Results

The results of the ordinary least square regression are shown in Table 1. Selective policies (e.g., skill-based visas) and supportive measures (e.g., job training) both significantly improve immigrant employment outcomes. A one-unit increase in selectivity is associated with a 1.74 percentage-point increase in immigrant employment rate, and a one-unit increase in support is associated with a 1.59 percentage-point increase. Supportive policies have a stronger effect on median household income than selectivity, possibly by helping immigrants access better jobs or validate foreign credentials. A one-unit increase in selectivity and support is positively associated with median household income by \$7,046 and \$19,403, respectively. Supportive policies (e.g., legal aid, civic education) have a strong and significant impact on immigrants' likelihood to naturalize. Selectivity also matters, but less so. A one-unit increase in selectivity raises naturalization rates by 2.89 percentage points; an equivalent change in support does it by 7.58 percentage points. Supportive policies are key to improving educational attainment (high school completion rates) among immigrants. Selectivity plays a smaller role here. Selectivity is marginally significant, increasing college education rates by 1.89 points; support increases it by 4.69 points.

In order to illustrate the positive relationships found in Table 1, the four strongest relationships are plotted. The first graph demonstrates that as the selectivity of a state's immigration policy increases by 1 point, the employment rate of immigrants in that state increases by 1.74 percentage points, demonstrating a statistically significant positive correlation. The second graph demonstrates how a 1-point increase in support leads to a \$19,403 increase in median household income. In the third graph, it is demonstrated that as support increases by one point, the naturalization rate of citizens increases by 7.58 percentage points. Finally, the fourth graph reveals a 2.69 percentage-point increase in high school graduation rates of immigrants per point increase in support.

Table 1

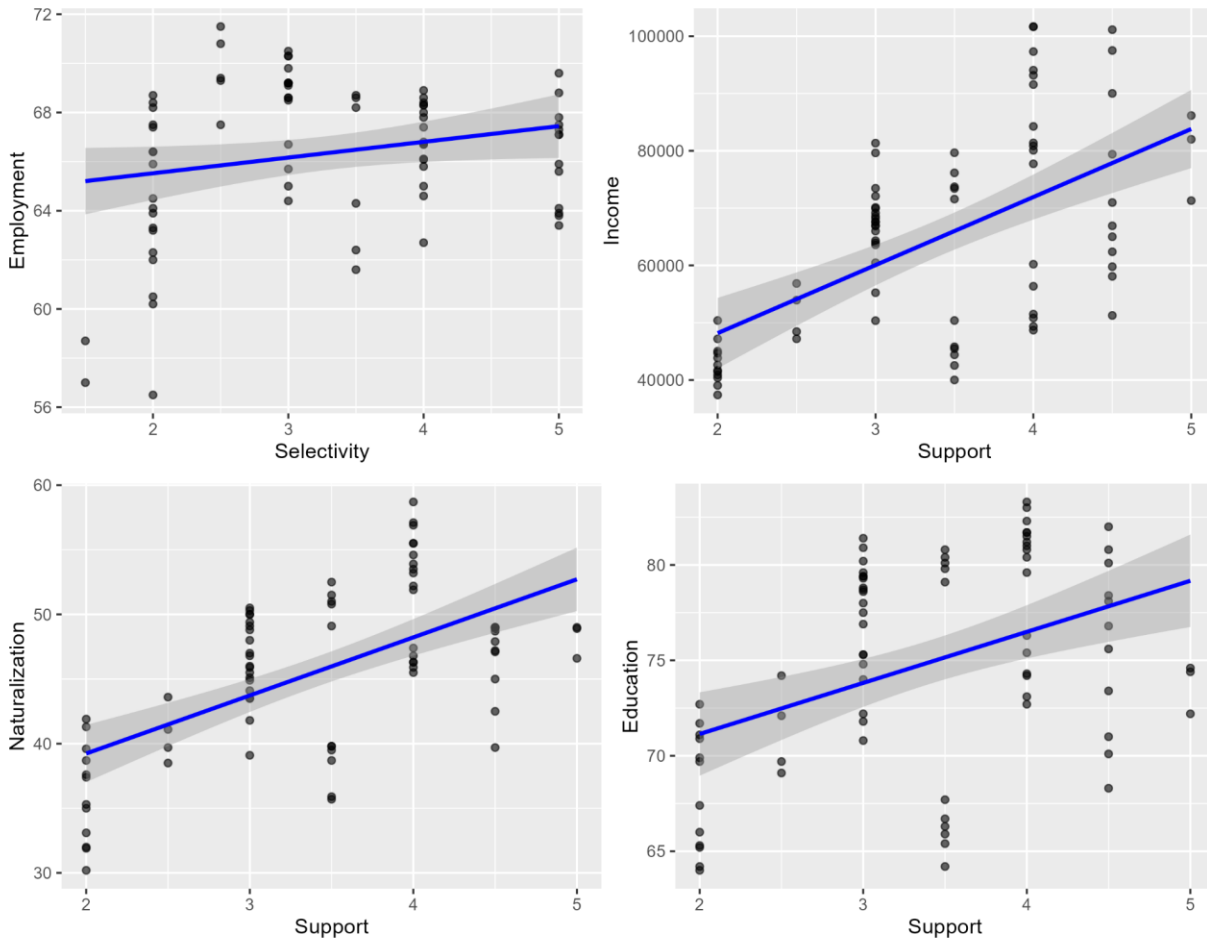
The Impact of Immigration Policy Selectivity and Support on Immigrant Outcomes

	Employment	Income	Naturalization	Education
Selectivity	1.74**	7046.17*	2.89**	1.89+
	(0.62)	(2886.23)	(1.03)	(1.04)
Support	1.59*	19403.18***	7.58***	4.69***
	(0.77)	(3584.02)	(1.27)	(1.29)
(Intercept)	55.18***	-24405.79	10.25	52.72***
	(4.53)	(21003.39)	(7.47)	(7.58)
N	78	78	78	78
R ²	0.10	0.39	0.43	0.21

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Figure 1

Strongest Positive Relationships



Concluding Remarks

The analysis reveals that both selectivity and support in immigration policy significantly enhance immigrant outcomes in the United States. More selective policies—those that prioritize skilled or educated immigrants—are associated with higher employment rates, greater income, increased likelihood of naturalization, and higher educational attainment. Supportive policies, such as integration programs and legal assistance, show even stronger and more consistent

effects across all domains. Combining selectivity with robust support mechanisms should therefore create a synergistic effect, enabling immigrants not only to arrive with strong human capital but also to fully realize their potential through access to institutional resources and opportunities. These findings underscore the importance of a balanced policy approach that values both strategic selection and meaningful support.

Conclusion

Argument Summary

This paper argued that simply giving immigrants access to residency in the United States does not improve integration outcomes for immigrants. Instead, selectivity in admittance followed by substantive support creates a more conducive environment under which immigrants can integrate themselves into society effectively. De jure access is not beneficial for integration because, if admitted immigrants do not fit naturally into the society of the host country, it can lead to strains and social pressure. Conversely, selective policies that are framed as merit-based gain public trust and ensure that public opinion does not work against immigrant integration while also leading to better labor market outcomes.

Theoretical Implications

The results displayed in this paper are important for contemporary immigration politics in the United States and beyond. There has been an ongoing debate in America over immigration policy and balancing the interests of immigrants with those of natives. The results from the data analysis support the idea that access does not guarantee integration. This means that allowing immigrants de jure access to residency in the United States is unlikely to help them fully

integrate into American society, as it can lead to socioeconomic tensions in the labor market and/or with native populations.

Policy Implications

The results also carry key policy implications. The fact that states with selective policies correlate with better employment results demonstrates the necessity to prioritize the labor market potential to some degree when choosing which immigrants to admit. If there is a policy emphasis on attracting workers that fit into the economy of the state, there will be better employment outcomes for those immigrants and public trust will be maintained by ensuring that the quality of immigrants is high.

In addition, the importance of support as part of immigration policy is emphasized by the results. Comprehensive support for immigrants had an even larger effect on their integration, especially in categories such as education, income, and naturalization. Because of this, making sure benefits for admitted immigrants, such as education and healthcare, are incorporated into policies is vital for the success of immigrants in America.

Contributions

This article filled the gap in the existing literature on the subject of immigration policy by spotlighting how selectivity and substantive support matter for immigrants' outcomes. The literature largely theorized how selective policies could have more favorable economic and social outcomes for countries, but there were no studies on the effects of selective policies on immigrant thriving. In addition, this paper extends the existing insights on immigration policies and outcomes rendered in European contexts to the American context in a highly volatile U.S. political climate.

Theoretically, this article contributed a lot by refining preexisting thoughts. In the vast literature on immigration politics, there is a large consensus that giving immigrants access to residency in a country is the most effective policy avenue and that it is better not to prioritize certain immigrants over others. There is also a consensus that immigrants rarely hurt the labor market and economy of a country. This article debunks the fact that access is the best way for immigrants to successfully integrate by demonstrating that immigrants in U.S. states that favor access over selectivity do not perform as well.

Finally, this article constructs original data analysis to support the idea that selective and supportive immigration policies are an impactful way to ensure immigrant integration. Data collected on the median household income, high school graduation rates, employment rates, and naturalization rates of immigrants in various states supports the claim/ concrete data were analyzed to show a positive connection between these factors and selectivity and support in immigration policy.

Future Directions

Scholarship on this subject could consider conducting research on what forms of support are key to integration. Support can range from English language classes to healthcare access, and the data analysis clearly demonstrated the positive correlation between the level of support and immigrant success in the United States. Therefore, it is important to know which elements of substantive support might work best, so that targeted and focused policy recommendations can be prescribed.

In addition, future studies could focus on testing this hypothesis in other country settings. Because the bulk of extant literature on selective immigration policy comes from European

contexts, it may be worthwhile to test this theory in some of those European countries that have been facing acute immigration-related issues.

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