

# Economic issues of human smuggling in sri lanka



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Human smuggling is one of fast growing illegal activity in the world. It is explain as many of peoples are moving from developing countries to developed countries using illegal method for the find better living conditions. This is more unsecured way for the find a betterment of life because while the they transport in unsafe and they have risk in be victim of human trafficking, or mental and physical abuse. Human trafficking involves sexual exploitation or labor exploitation of woman, child as well as adult.

The English word slave derives through Old French and Medieval Latin from the medieval word for the Slavic people of Central and Eastern Europe in 14th century

Definition:- Human smuggling are define as facilitation, transportation or attempted to transportation in illegally entre of persons in across the intentional border. It causes to violate the one or more countries law using fraudulent documents. it is mainly involve in financial or material gains for the smuggler.

The human smuggling has two type.

a) Human smuggling

b) Human trafficking

a) Human smuggling – It is illegal migration though the international border and the migrant have freedom leave and change job in the new country. Human smuggle are co operating process and they are not necessary victim of the crime of smuggling.

b) human trafficking – They are element of force , fraud or coercion. They have no freedom and become victims. They have enslaved or limited movements. It can be happen in same community or after the human smuggling. Many times these are victims of physically or mentally. They become victim of sexual abuse of physical abused. It may happen in child, woman of adult. The victims are found in sweatshops, domestic work, restaurant work, agricultural labor, prostitution and sex entertainment.

These two types are more interrelated. Many of human smuggling may be a human trafficking. The both system are common the elements of fraud, force, or coercion. Both are illegal and violated the one or two countries law. It may be costly for one or two countries.

## **2. Historical background**

Human smuggle has long history. In the ancient Mesopotamian and Mediterranean civilization, Egypt , Akkadian empire, Assyria, ancient Greece and Rome have a human salve systems. The rich families have two salves for a servants and land lord have more than hundred of salves. Salve are become by the punishment for crime, enslavement of prisoners of war, child abundance and birth child of slave. Salve population is 25 percent of the total populations of Rome. The salves are more importance factor of the Rome economy.

Trafficking in persons (TIP) is another name of modern day form of slavery. It is the exploitation of people through force, coercion, threat, and deception. It also includes human rights abuses such as debt bondage, deprivation of liberty, and lack of control over freedom and labor.

Slavery system peoples are treated as property , slaves lose their will from they captured, purchase or birth and deprived of right. Number of slaves are smallest proportion in the world as 12 to 27 million. Most of them are debt slaves in south Asia.

Slavery has long history and engaged with human culture. In prehistoric graves in 8000BC found in lower Egypt used a Libyan people enslaved a San tribe. Slavery began after the Neolithic revolution about 11,000 years ago. The Bible says slavery is an established institution.

## **Ancient**

Slavery was known in almost every ancient civilization, such as Ancient Egypt, Ancient China, the Akkadian Empire, Assyria, Ancient India, Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the Islamic Caliphate, and the pre-Columbian civilizations of the Americas. These institutions were composed of debt-slavery, punishment for crime, the enslavement of prisoners of war, child abandonment, and the birth of slave children to slaves. Slavery in Ancient Greece started from Mycenaean Greece. Twenty percent of the population of Classical Athens were slaves. The men who became slaves by nature are called natural slavery, it is accepted by Aristotle. After the Roman Republic expanding outward, the enslaved became prominent; these consisted of Europe and the Mediterranean. Greeks, Illyrians, Berbers, Germans, Britons, Thracians, Gauls, Jews, Arabs, and many more were slaves used not only for labour, but also for amusement. The late Republican era, slavery had become a vital economic pillar in the wealth of Rome and a very significant part of Roman society. Over 25% of the population of Ancient Rome was enslaved. During the emergence of the Roman Empire to its eventual

decline, at least 100 million people were captured or sold as slaves throughout the Mediterranean and its hinterlands.

## **Medieval**

The early medieval slave trade the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim world were the destinations, the important sources are pagan Central and Eastern Europe, along with the Caucasus and Tartary. Viking, Arab, Greek and Jewish merchants were all involved in the slave trade.

From the 11th to the 19th century, North African Barbary Pirates engaged in capture Christian slaves and sell at slave markets in places such as Algeria and Morocco. In 1086, nearly 10% of the English population were slaves.

The Byzantine-Ottoman wars and the Ottoman wars in Europe brought large numbers of slaves into the Islamic world. The Ottoman devÅŸirme-janissary system enslaved and forcibly converted to Islam an estimated 500, 000 to one million non-Muslim adolescent males.

## **Middle East**

The Islamic world is become a centre of ancient slave trade, it is centre of collection slave and distribution them to central asia and Europe. Zanzibar was once East Africa's main slave-trading port, and under Omani Arabs in the 19th century as many as 50, 000 slaves were passing through the city each year. between 11 and 18 million African slaves crossed the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and Sahara Desert from 650 AD to 1900 AD.

## **Europe**

Approximately 10-20% of the rural population of Carolingian Europe consisted of slaves. The trade of slaves in England was made illegal in 1102. Slavery in Poland was forbidden in the 15th century; in Lithuania, slavery was formally abolished in 1588; they were replaced by the second serfdom.

According to Robert Davis between 1 million and 1.25 million Europeans were captured by Barbary pirates and sold as slaves in North Africa and Ottoman Empire between the 16th and 19th centuries. There was also an extensive trade in Christian slaves in the Black Sea region for several centuries until the Crimean Khanate was destroyed by the Russian Empire in 1783

## **Africa**

In early Islamic states of the western Sudan, Ghana, Mali, Segou and Songhai about a third of the population were slaves. In, between 1300 and 1900, close to one-third of the Senegambia population was enslaved. In the 19th century about half of the Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, the Kongo, and Angola population consisted of slaves. Between 65% to 90% population of Arab-Swahili Zanzibar was enslaved. Roughly half the population of Madagascar was enslaved. approximately 2 million to 2.5 million people there were slaves. The Anti-Slavery Society estimated there were 2 million slaves in Ethiopia in the early 1930s out of an estimated population of between 8 and 16 million.

## **Asia**

in 1908, women slaves were still sold in the Ottoman Empire. A slave market for captured Russian and Persian slaves was centred in the Central Asian khanate of Khiva. there were an estimated 8 million or 9 million slaves in India in 1841. Slavery was abolished in both Hindu and Muslim India by the Indian Slavery Act V. of 1843. In Istanbul about one-fifth of the population consisted of slaves.[83]

abolished slavery in China in 1906, and the law became effective in 1910. Slave rebellion in China at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century was so extensive that owners eventually converted the institution into a female-dominated one. The Nangzan in Tibetan history were, according to Chinese sources, hereditary household slaves.

Indigenous slaves existed in Korea. During the Joseon Dynasty about 30% to 50% of the Korean population were slaves.

In Southeast Asia, a quarter to a third of the population of some areas of Thailand and Burma were slaves.

## **Americas**

the Mercado de Escravos, the first slave market created in Portugal for the sale of imported African slaves opened in 1444. in 1552 up to 10 percent of the population of Lisbon consist of black African slaves. In the second half of the 16th century, European trade in African slaves shifted from import to Europe to slave transports directly to tropical colonies in the Americas.

Spain had wider Atlantic slave trade. The Spanish colonies were the earliest Europeans to use African slaves in the New World on islands such as Cuba and Hispaniola, The first African slaves arrived in Hispaniola in 1501. England played a prominent role in the Atlantic slave trade. the profits of the slave trade and of West Indian plantations amounted to 5% of the British economy at the time of the Industrial Revolution.

The Transatlantic slave trade peaked in the late 18th century, when the largest number of slaves were captured on raiding expeditions into the interior of West Africa. These expeditions were typically carried out by African kingdoms, such as the Oyo empire , the Ashanti Empire, the kingdom of Dahomey, and the Aro Confederacy. Europeans rarely entered the interior of Africa, due to fierce African resistance. The slaves were brought to coastal outposts where they were traded for goods.

An estimated 12 million Africans arrived in the Americas from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

An estimated 645, 000 were brought to what is now the United States. The usual estimate is that about 15 per cent of slaves died during the voyage, with mortality rates considerably higher in Africa itself in the process of capturing and transporting indigenous peoples to the ships.

The largest number of slaves were shipped to Brazil.

Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade ended shortly after the American Revolution, slavery remained a central economic institution in the Southern states. By 1860, 500, 000 slaves had grown to 4 million.



The plantation system, based on tobacco growing in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, and rice in South Carolina, expanded into lush new cotton lands in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi-and needed more slaves. But slave importation became illegal in 1808. Although complete statistics are lacking, it is estimated that 1, 000, 000 slaves moved west from the Old South between 1790 and 1860. Most of the slaves were moved from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Michael Tadman, in a 1989 book *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*, indicates that 60-70% of interregional migrations were the result of the sale of slaves. In 1820 a child in the Upper South had a 30% chance to be sold south by 1860.

ultimately the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in December 1865, which ended legalized slavery in the United States.

## **Contemporary slavery**

Conditions that can be considered slavery include debt bondage, indentured servitude, serfdom, domestic servants kept in captivity, adoption in which children are effectively forced to work as slaves, child soldiers, and forced marriage.

## **Current situation**

Slavery still exists, although in theory it has now been outlawed in all countries. Mauritania abolished it in law in 1981 and was the last country to do so – see Abolition of slavery timeline.

Enslavement is also taking place in parts of Africa, in the Middle East, and in South Asia. In June and July 2007, 570 people who had been enslaved by brick manufacturers in Shanxi and Henan were freed by the Chinese

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government. Among those rescued were 69 children. In 2008, the Nepalese government abolished the Haliya system of forced labour, freeing about 20,000 people. An estimated 40 million people in India, most of them Dalits or “untouchables”, are bonded workers, working in slave-like conditions in order to pay off debts. In Brazil more than 5,000 slaves were rescued by authorities in 2008 as part of a government initiative to eradicate slavery.

In Mauritania alone, it is estimated that up to 600,000 men, women and children, or 20% of the population, are enslaved with many used as bonded labour. Slavery in Mauritania was criminalized in August 2007. In Niger, slavery is also a current phenomenon. A Nigerian study has found that more than 800,000 people are enslaved, almost 8% of the population. According to the U. S. Department of State, more than 109,000 children were working on cocoa farms alone in Côte d’Ivoire (Ivory Coast) in “the worst forms of child labor” in 2002. Poverty has forced at least 225,000 children in Haiti’s cities into slavery as unpaid household servants, called ‘reste avec’ (French: ‘stay with’).

In 2005, the International Labour Organization provided an estimate of 12.3 million forced labourers in the world,. Siddharth Kara has also provided an estimate of 28.4 million slaves at the end of 2006 divided into the following three categories: bonded labour/debt bondage (18.1 million), forced labour (7.6 million), and trafficked slaves (2.7 million).[164] Kara provides a dynamic model to calculate the number of slaves in the world each year, with an estimated 29.2 million at the end of 2009.

## **Abolitionism**

The Slave Trade Act was passed by the British Parliament on 25 March 1807, making the slave trade illegal throughout the British Empire, and the Slavery Abolition Act 1833.

Between 1808 and 1860, the British West Africa Squadron seized approximately 1,600 slave ships and freed 150,000 Africans who were aboard. In 1833 the British Parliament decreed an end to slavery throughout the British Empire, and on August 1, 1834, the British Emancipation Act came into effect.

After January 1, 1808, the importation of slaves into the United States was prohibited, but not the internal slave trade, nor involvement in the international slave trade externally. Legal slavery persisted; and those slaves already in the U. S. would not be legally emancipated for nearly 60 years. The American Civil War, beginning in 1861, led to the end of slavery in the United States.

In 1863 Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves held in the Confederate States; the 13th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution (1865) prohibited slavery throughout the country.

On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declared freedom from slavery is an internationally recognized human right.

## **Human trafficking**

Trafficking in human beings is one method of obtaining slaves. Victims are typically recruited through deceit or trickery sale by family members, recruitment by former slaves, or outright abduction. Victims are forced into a “debt slavery” situation by coercion, deception, fraud, intimidation, isolation, threat, physical force, debt bondage or even force-feeding with drugs of abuse to control their victims.

In last decade every government in the world are taken various steps to controlling human smuggling and trafficking. In 2000, united states introduce trafficking victim protection act (TVPA) for the protection of children and woman. according to the Palermo protocol focus to the global community combating the human trafficking.

### **3. Organizational spread**

Human smuggling has various form of organize way and various with individual effort to internationally organized manner.

### **Reasons for human smuggling**

human smuggling is due to the various reasons are embedded. In generally extreme poverty, lack of economic opportunity, civil unrest and political uncertainty are the core determinant of human smuggling.

### **Poverty**

The poor living condition and poor income lead to the illegal migration. the economic unrest and propoverty group are willig to illigale migration. in 1994 economic crisis in Mexico, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was associated with widespread poverty and a lower valuation for <https://assignbuster.com/economic-issues-of-human-smuggling-in-sri-lanka/>

the peso relative to the dollar. It led to the start of a massive Mexican emigration, in which net illegal migration to the US increased every year from the mid-1990s until the mid 2000s.

## **Overpopulation**

overpopulation is a Population growth that exceeds the carrying capacity of an area. it cause problems such as pollution, water crisis, and poverty. World population has grown from 1. 6 billion in 1900 to an estimated 6. 7 billion today. In Mexico alone, population has grown from 13. 6 million in 1900 to 107 million in 2007. it is cause to the increase of emigration.

## **Family reunification**

Some illegal immigrants seek to live with loved ones, such as a spouse or other family members. Family reunification visas may be applied for by legal residents or naturalized citizens to bring their family members into a destination state legally, but these visas may be limited in number and subject to yearly quotas. This may force their family members to enter illegally to reunify. Mexican national to emigrate illegally to the US increases dramatically if they have one or more family members already residing in the United States, legally or illegally.

## **Wars and asylum**

Illegal immigration may be prompted by the desire to escape civil war or repression in the country of origin. Non-economic push factors include persecution, frequent abuse, bullying, oppression, and genocide, and risks to civilians during war. Political motives traditionally motivate refugee flows – to escape dictatorship for instance.

According to its estimates, the number of unauthorized Colombian residents in the United States almost tripled from 51, 000 in 1990 to 141, 000 in 2000.

According to the US Census Bureau, the number of authorized Colombian immigrants in the United States in 2000 was 801, 363.

El Salvador is another country which experienced substantial emigration as a result of civil war and repression. The largest per-capita source of immigrants to the United States comes from El Salvador.

## **Types of human smuggling**

human smuggling are classified in various ways. It can be

### **Border crossing**

Immigrants from nations that do not have automatic visa agreements, or who would not otherwise qualify for a visa, often cross the borders illegally in some areas like the United States-Mexico border, the Mona Channel between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, the Strait of Gibraltar, Fuerteventura, and the Strait of Otranto.

Because these methods are illegal, they are often dangerous. Would-be immigrants have been known to suffocate in shipping containers, boxcars, and trucks, sink in shipwrecks caused by unseaworthy vessels, die of dehydration or exposure during long walks without water. An official estimate puts the number of people who died in illegal crossings across the U. S.-Mexican border between 1998 and 2004 at 1, 954

Human smuggling is the practice of intermediaries aiding illegal immigrants in crossing over international borders in financial gain, often in large groups.

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Human smuggling differs from, but is sometimes associated with, human trafficking. A human smuggler will facilitate illegal entry into a country for a fee, but on arrival at their destination, the smuggled person is usually free. Trafficking involves a process of using physical force, fraud, or deception to obtain and transport people.

## **Overstaying a visa**

Some illegal immigrants enter a country legally and then overstay or violate their visa. For example, most of the estimated 200, 000 illegal immigrants in Canada are refugee claimants whose refugee applications were rejected but who have not yet been ejected from the country.

A related way of becoming an illegal immigrant is through bureaucratic means. For example, a person can be allowed to remain in a country – or be protected from expulsion – because he/she needs special pension for a medical condition, deep love for a native, or even to avoid being tried for a crime in his/her native country, without being able to regularize his/her situation and obtain a work and/or residency permit, let alone naturalization. Hence, categories of people being neither “ illegal” immigrants nor legal citizens are created, living in a judicial “ no man’s land”.

Trafficking is a profitable and the fastest growing criminal industry in the world. It is the second largest criminal activity, following the drug trade.

Bonded labor- it is known labor trafficking today and the most widely used method of enslaving people. Victims become bonded laborers for repayment for a loan or service. the terms and conditions have not been defined or in which the value of the victims’ services as reasonably assessed is not

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applied toward the liquidation of the debt. The value of their work is greater than the original sum of money “ borrowed.”

Forced labor- victims are forced to work against their own will, under the threat of violence or some other form of punishment, their freedom is restricted and a degree of ownership is exerted. Men are at risk of being trafficked for unskilled work, which globally generates \$31bn according to the International Labor Organization. Forms of forced labor can include domestic servitude; agricultural labor; sweatshop factory labor; janitorial, food service and other service industry labor; and begging.

Sex trafficking- victims are found in dire circumstances and easily targeted by traffickers. Individuals, circumstances, and situations vulnerable to traffickers include homeless individuals, runaway teens, displaced homemakers, refugees, and drug addicts. Trafficked people are the most vulnerable and powerless minorities in a region. victims are consistently exploited from any ethnic and social background.

Traffickers, also known as pimps or madams, exploit vulnerabilities and lack of opportunities, while offering promises of marriage, employment, education, and/or an overall better life. However, in the end, traffickers force the victims to become prostitutes or work in the sex industry. Various work in the sex industry includes prostitution, dancing in strip clubs, performing in pornographic films and pornography, and other forms of involuntary servitude.

Child labor -it is likely to be hazardous to the physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development of children and can interfere with their

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education. The International Labor Organization estimates worldwide that there are 246 million exploited children aged between 5 and 17 involved in debt bondage, forced recruitment for armed conflict, prostitution, pornography, the illegal drug trade, the illegal arms trade, and other illicit activities around the world.

#### **4. Present status**

According to U. S. Government estimates, 600, 000 to 800, 000 victims are trafficked worldwide every year and 14, 500 to 17, 500 are trafficked into the United States. Women and children are became largest group of victims. Trafficking victims are frequently physically and psychologically abused.

#### **Global human trafficking rates Source:-International organization for migration 1996**

#### **5. Issues**

human smuggling has a multidimensional effect on the society. It has individual impact as well as social impact. It have effect on original country as well as migrated country.

#### **Slavery**

After the end of the legal international slave trade by the European nations and the United States in the early 19th century, the illegal importation of slaves has continued. Although not as common as in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, some women are undoubtedly smuggled into the United States and Canada.

People have been kidnapped or tricked into slavery to work as laborers in factories. Those trafficked in this manner often face additional barriers to

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escaping slavery, since their status as illegal immigrants makes it difficult for them to gain access to help or services. Burmese women trafficked into Thailand and forced to work in factories or as prostitutes may not speak the language and may be vulnerable to abuse by police due to their illegal immigrant status.

Some people forced into sexual slavery face challenges of charges of illegal immigration.

Each year there are several hundred illegal Immigrant deaths along the U. S.-Mexico border. Death by exposure occurs in the deserts of Southwestern United States during the hot summer season.

### **a). Social cultural impact on human smuggling**

The flows of the illegal migration are common in the migration happen in low social economic condition area to well socio economic condition area. That is commonly in developing countries to developed countries in international arena. It is mainly due the peoples are expected well socio economic condition and living opportunities in the new migrant area.

According to the U. S. Department of State in a 2008 research, approximately 800, 000 people are trafficked across national borders, which does not include millions trafficked within their own countries. Approximately 80 percent of transnational victims are women and girls and up to 50 percent are minors.

While the majority of victims are women, and sometimes children, who are forced into prostitution victims also include men, women and children who

are forced into manual labour. Due to the illegal nature of human trafficking, its exact extent is unknown. A U. S. Government report published in 2005, estimates that 600, 000 to 800, 000 people worldwide are trafficked across borders each year. This figure does not include those who are trafficked internally. Another research effort revealed that between 1. 5 million and 1. 8 million individuals are trafficked either internally or internationally each year. sex trafficking victims are 500, 000 to 600, 000 in each year.

### **b). Economic impact,**

The weighted average global sales price of a slave is calculated to be approximately \$340, with a high of \$1, 895 for the average trafficked sex slave, and a low of \$40 to \$50 for debt bondage slaves in part of Asia and Africa. Worldwide slavery is a criminal offense but slave owners can get very high returns for their risk. According to researcher Siddharth Kara, the profits generated worldwide by all forms of slavery in 2007 were \$91. 2 billion. That is second only to drug trafficking in terms of global criminal enterprises. The weighted average annual profits generated by a slave in 2007 was \$3, 175, with a low of an average \$950 for bonded labor and \$29, 210 for a trafficked sex slave. Approximately forty percent of all slave profits each year are generated by trafficked sex slaves, representing slightly more than 4 percent of the world's 29 million slaves.

Economists have attempted to model during which circumstances slavery appear and disappear. One observation is that slavery becomes more desirable for land owners when land is abundant but labour is not, so paid workers can demand high wage. The maintains slavery was a profitable

method of production, especially on bigger plantations growing cotton that fetched high prices in the world market..

Slavery is more common when the labour done is relatively simple and thus easy to supervise, such as large scale growing of a single crop.

It is much more difficult and costly to check that slaves are doing their best and with good quality when they are doing complex tasks.

Therefore, slavery was seen as the most efficient method of production for large scale crops like sugar and cotton, whose output was based on economies of scale.

The total annual revenue for trafficking in persons is estimated to be between USD\$5 billion and \$9 billion. The Council of Europe states, “ People trafficking has reached epidemic proportions over the past decade, with a global annual market of about \$42. 5 billion.” The United Nations estimates nearly 2. 5 million people from 127 different countries are being trafficked around the world.

## **Economic model**

Under the basic cost/benefit argument for illegal immigration, potential immigrants believe the probability and benefits of successfully migrating to the destination country are greater than the costs. These costs may include restrictions living as an illegal immigrant in the destination country, leaving family and ways of life behind, and the probability of being caught and resulting sanctions. Proposed economic models, based on a cost/benefit framework, have varying considerations and degrees of complexity.

## **Neoclassical model**

The neoclassical economic model looks only at the probability of success in immigrating and finding employment, and the increase in real income an illegal immigrant can expect. This explanation would account for the economies of the two states, including how much of a “ pull” the destination country has in terms of better-paying jobs and improvements in quality of life. It also describes a “ push” that comes from negative conditions in the home country like lack of employment or economic mobility.

Neoclassical theory also accounts for the probability of successful illegal emigration. Factors that affect this include as geographic proximity, border enforcement, probability and consequences of arrest, ease of illegal employment, and chances of future legalization. This model concludes that in the destination country, illegal workers tend to add to and compete with the pool of unskilled laborers. Illegal workers in this model are successful in finding employment by being willing to be paid lower wages than native-born workers are, sometimes below the minimum wage. Economist George Borjas supports aspects of this model, calculating that real wages of US workers without a high school degree declined by 9% due to competition from illegal immigrant workers. Gordon Hanson and Douglas Massey have criticized the model for being oversimplified and not accounting for contradictory evidence.

## **Trade liberalization**

In recent years, developing states are pursuing the benefits of globalization by joining decline to liberalize trade. But rapid opening of domestic markets may lead to displacement of large numbers of agricultural or unskilled

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workers, who are more likely to seek employment and a higher quality of life by illegal emigration.

This is a frequently cited argument to explain how the North American Free Trade Association may have impoverished Mexican farmers who were unable to compete with the higher productivity of US subsidized agriculture, especially for corn.

NAFTA may have also unexpectedly raised educational requirements for industrial jobs in Mexico,

### **Structural demand in developed states**

Douglas Massey argues that a bifurcating labor market in developed nations creates a structural demand for unskilled immigrant labor to fill undesirable jobs that native-born citizens do not take, regardless of wages.

This theory states that postindustrial economies have a widening gap between well-paying, white-collar jobs that require ever higher levels of education and “human capital”, which native-born citizens and legal immigrants can qualify to take, and bottom-tier jobs that are stigmatized and require no education.

These “underclass” jobs include harvesting crops, unskilled labor in landscaping and construction, house-cleaning, and maid and busboy work in hotels and restaurants, all of which have a disproportionate number of illegal workers.

Since the decline of middle-class blue-collar jobs in manufacturing and industry, younger native-born generations have chosen to acquire higher

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degrees now that there are no longer “ respectable” blue-collar careers that a worker