PROPERTY, WEALTH AND INEQUALITY THROUGH THE LENS OF GLOBALIZATION: LESSONS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

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INTRODUCTION

Virtually all of the presentations at the Association of American Law Schools (AALS) Workshop on Property, Wealth and Inequality and the papers in this special edition situate their discussions within a United States context. This reflects the fact that most United States’ legal academics and activists who are concerned about inequality tend to think of redistribution within a domestic framework.

I am not suggesting that persons working in these fields are United States’ chauvinists. Indeed, quite the opposite is true. My experience is that those most integrally involved with issues of inequality are also quite concerned about the extreme poverty in much of the world. However, in our legal work, we tend to restrict the scope of our inquiry, assuming the viability of an analysis within a nation-state context.

In this Article, I argue that a national focus is not sustainable within a globalized economy. Of course, the extreme wealth and income disparities among nations is increasing exponentially, with the vast majority of wealth and income concentrated within a very few nations. But in an era of globalization of finance and trade production, it is shortsighted to operate from the perspective that the issue of inequality among nations does not have ramifications pertinent to any attempt to address poverty concerns within the United States. Particularly, by failing to understand the centrality of connections among the fields of social welfare policy, low-wage work, immigration and international economic organization, persons working in the cause of redistribution of income have often operated in analytical/theoretical vacuums. I posit that a specialized and isolated analysis often results in less than fully sophisticated political analyses and missed opportunities to develop effective poverty policies both within a domestic context and within a globalized economy. This AALS session sought to provide a forum for a more knowledgeable interchange among social welfare, low-wage work, immigration and global economic discourses, and began to draw threads among these fields, particularly focusing on ways in which U.S. policies connect to Mexico.

I first set out the reality of global inequality and the ways in which a failure to engage with global income and wealth disparity ignores critical issues within which any poverty analysis must be situated. I then look to the United States and Mexico, countries with a 2000-mile common border, as an example of the way

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in which multiple legal discourses should be analyzed through a cross-border perspective. Initially, I explore two historical contexts: long-standing labor and immigration ties between the United States and Mexico, and the creation of a false dichotomy within the United States of those in wage work and single parent families receiving social assistance benefits. I then focus on recent changes in U.S. social welfare policy toward single mothers, many of whom are in low wage work, and legal immigrants, the largest number of whom are from Mexico. I juxtapose these two groups to the single mothers employed in the Mexican maquiladoras and the women- and children-only villages in Mexico whose men are often undocumented immigrants in the United States. By exposing the artificiality of national borders vis-à-vis nationality and electoral voice, I pose the question of redistribution as a cross-border issue. Ultimately, my hope is that by bringing together seemingly disparate legal areas, scholars and activists can produce a more nuanced and comprehensive poverty strategy.

I. INEQUALITY THROUGH A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Of course, extreme poverty exists in many countries of the world. But advocates and policy makers often do not focus on international poverty when dealing with income imbalances within the United States. Almost one-half of the world’s population lives on less than two dollars a day and one-fifth live on less than one dollar a day. Individuals in the richest twenty countries have an average income that is thirty-seven times that of the poorest twenty countries, and this gap has doubled in the past forty years. This cannot be explained away through arguing that wealthier nations simply have higher standards of living. Social indicators such as infant mortality and malnutrition are manifestations of this great discrepancy in wealth.

In rich countries fewer than 1 child in 100 does not reach its fifth birthday, while in the poorest countries as many as a fifth of children do not. And while in rich countries fewer than 5 percent of all children under 5 are malnourished, in poor countries as many as 50 percent are.

Relying on such data, one could develop a strong argument that richer nations,

which have often been instrumental in colonial exploitation, have a moral imperative to take responsibility for the extreme poverty in much of the world. Yet, quite apart from any ethical necessity, if legal academics and advocates take the national context for granted in developing redistributive policy, we are often, in ostrich-like fashion, hiding our heads in the sand in a time of increasing global economic integration.

Many, particularly in the labor and welfare areas, have understandably focused attention on their domestic scene in light of the crisis of declining union power and the intensity of assaults on the welfare state. However, in so doing, our rhetoric often reflects a nostalgia for isolationism. A nation-state focus rests on several increasingly problematical assumptions, including, e.g., that nation-states can control the impact of capital flight and currency fluctuations; that immigration can be regulated through border enforcement of legal prohibitions established by nation-states; and that union density, even within a nation-state, will reach worker-majority levels and incorporate waged workers not currently included within any collective bargaining framework, so that vertical redistribution (from management to labor) through collective bargaining poses only limited risks of exacerbating horizontal inequalities (between higher paid unionized and non-unionized, low-wage workers).

Although perhaps some of these assumptions were plausible in the postwar years, current social reality is rapidly pushing in a different direction. Labor and welfare law cannot be viewed as "domestic issues" within any nation-state. In light of currently unfolding trends toward global economic integration, the concept of citizenship anchored solely in the nation-state is anachronistic. The expansion and liberalization of trade, mobility of capital and financing, breakdown of the Bretton Woods mechanisms for currency control, portability of many production techniques and equipment and emergence of third world manufacturing sharply call into question the assumption that employment and social policy can be made within a nation-state framework. All of this is in addition to the moral and political imperative for people in the developed world to accept responsibility for addressing the gross maldistribution of wealth and resources on a world scale.

Thus we cannot discuss redistribution within a domestic labor market as if the United States has no links to the rest of the world. Economic life in the United States involves massive cross-border capital and labor flows and integrated, cross-border production chains. Changes in, for example, labor and welfare laws in other countries often have important ramifications in the United States (and vice-versa), whether in the form of human migration, capital migration, or rising naturalizations of legal immigrants. More restrictive immigration policy, rather than reducing migration, may produce more undocumented immigrants, creating a quite different impact on U.S. low-wage labor markets than that produced by legal immigration. Progressive lawyers attempting to develop new institutional mechanisms for redistribution must grapple carefully with the tension between capital mobility and restrictions on the free movement of persons.

The relationship between the United States and Mexico highlights the implications of cross-border labor, welfare, immigration, and trade interactions,
particularly the impact of anti-NAFTA and anti-immigrant rhetoric on U.S. welfare policy, naturalizations, and the artificiality of borders vis-à-vis citizenship.

II. A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MEXICAN/U.S. LABOR INTERACTION

The Mexican/U.S. border was largely open until 1965. There were no immigration quotas based on nationality as there were for most other countries, but there were certain categories of people who were excluded from admission to the United States, such as prostitutes, and, interestingly enough, "contract laborers." However, this last exception was often honored in the breach.

Beginning in World War II, the Mexican and U.S. governments implemented a "guest-worker" program, the Bracero Program, under which Mexican men were transported into the United States to do agricultural or field work, often in deplorable conditions. This program was unilaterally terminated by the United States in 1964, in part because of U.S. union opposition and because of increased mechanization. Although officially defunct, the Bracero Program laid the groundwork for geographical patterns and social ties that later supported undocumented immigration.

One year later, in 1965, partially in response to the Mexican government's statements of their reliance on the Bracero Program for job creation, the United States and Mexico collaboratively created the Mexican Border Industrialization Program, or Maquila program. This created a twenty-kilometer strip in Mexico along the Mexican/U.S. border to which U.S. firms could import finished, ready-to-assemble components and raw materials and hire low-wage Mexicans to assemble the finished products. As long as the finished products were re-exported to the United States, the firms were not subject to Mexican import restrictions or duties and only paid a U.S. tariff on the value added by the assembly in Mexico. The program expanded rapidly, hiring a different population than that employed by the Bracero Program—primarily young single women, including single mothers.

That same year, for the first time, Congress enacted immigration quotas for the Western Hemisphere under the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act. While individual countries had no limits on the number of visas that would be granted, the law was later amended to establish an overall


10. See PASTOR & CASTÁÑEDA, supra note 7, at 289-90. From 1974 to 1982, eighty-seven percent of the maquiladora workforce was female. As shifts in production occurred that required more managers to work with high technology equipment, more men were hired. See Dan La Botz, MASK OF DEMOCRACY: LABOR SUPPRESSION IN MEXICO TODAY 164 (1992). However, in 1990, of the 371,780 workers in 1990 maquiladoras, sixty-one percent, or 226,483 were still women. See id. at 163. Recent estimates indicate that there are between 4000 and 4500 maquiladoras operating in Mexico. See Arriola, supra note 9, at 762 (4235 as of April 1999); Alarm That 'Maquiladoras' May Up and Go, LATIN AMERICAN NEWSLETTERS, July 6, 1999, at 306 (4079) (citing the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI)); Julie Licht, Engendering Change: The Long, Slow Road to Organizing Women Maquiladora Workers, June 26, 1999, at http://www.corpwatch.org/feature/border/women/engendering.html; Dan La Botz, Women in Mexican Society, the Workforce, and the Labor Movement, MEXICAN LABOR NEWS & ANALYSIS, vol. IV, no. 9, May 16, 1999, available at http://www.igc.org/unitedetect/vol4n9.html. Of the estimated one million plus employees in the Maquiladora industry, women workers make up fifty-six percent of the work force, a declining percentage but an increase in overall numbers. See id. Pay is often less that one dollar per hour, a far cry from the minimum wage in the United States. See Arriola, supra note 9, at 766-69. Although maquiladoras traditionally targeted women between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four and required routine pregnancy tests to avoid paying for legally mandated pregnancy benefits, many of the female workers are single parents. See La Botz, supra, at 176-77; Susan Tiano, PATRIARCHY ON THE LINE 87, 89, 92, 123, 137 (1994).

ceiling of 120,000 visas per year for the entire Western Hemisphere.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus, long before the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)\textsuperscript{13} was ratified in 1994, the two countries had strong labor market ties, albeit largely driven by U.S. corporate interests. For many years, there had been mobility of labor from Mexico to the United States that had an impact on low-wage workers in both countries.\textsuperscript{14} It is within this historical context that the NAFTA and U.S. immigration policy was and continues to be debated.

III. TRADITIONAL U.S. SOCIAL WELFARE FOR POOR SINGLE MOTHERS

A critical parallel legal field that interacts with immigration and international trade law is that of social protection programs in the United States, particularly as they relate to expectations of participation in wage work. U.S. social welfare policy, set against the backdrop of the concept of rugged individualism, has always reflected an ambivalence about poverty, with certain groups (such as those legally defined as wage laborers) carved out for special treatment. As part of the Social Security Act enacted in 1935,\textsuperscript{15} both Unemployment Insurance (UI) and a program called Aid to Dependent Children (later called Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC)), were established. The U.I. program was an acknowledgment that the United States was not a full-employment society, and that there would always be both frictional and structural unemployment. AFDC was designed to provide a less than subsistence amount for the children of single parents (predominantly women) and later the single parents themselves.\textsuperscript{16}

However, the two programs were always viewed very differently. UI was "worthy" because it was tied to wage labor, and AFDC was "the dole" because it was not tied to wage work, but to parenting. This bifurcation of social programs allowed society to construct a false dichotomy between wage workers and welfare recipients. People who advocated for higher wages, better labor standards, and more expansive unemployment insurance benefits as a social safety net routinely distanced themselves from programs like AFDC that were needs-based programs for which eligibility was not directly connected to wage work.

The method of data collection and presentation regarding the number and percentage of welfare recipients who were connected to wage work reinforced this dichotomy. If one used "point in time" data, that is counting the percentage of those on a given day who are both receiving welfare and participating in wage work, there appeared to be very little overlap, as the data showed that only about seven percent of welfare recipients were also in paid labor.\textsuperscript{17} But this type of data collection did not take into account the "cyclical welfare/work population," the many who rotate between welfare and wage work on a regular basis.

Large numbers of people cycle between low-wage work and welfare programs. Not until the 1990s (immediately preceding the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996)\textsuperscript{18} did studies begin to record participation of welfare recipients in wage work over a longer period, usually two years. These studies documented welfare and wage work as inextricably intertwined, thereby challenging the widely held assumption that welfare recipients are a category separate and distinct from paid workers. A majority of women receiving welfare moved in and out of low-wage work on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{19} The problem, by and large, was not in lack of work-effort, but the conditions of low-wage labor markets in the United States.

The U.S. legal rules concerning eligibility for benefits under the UI system reinforce the false dichotomy between wage workers and welfare recipients. Although low-wage workers contribute to the UI benefit-pool in the sense that employers pay payroll taxes onto them in the form of lower wages, UI rules exclude many low-waged workers, particularly women and people of color, from the definition of "employee."\textsuperscript{20} Most of the single mothers who moved from

\textsuperscript{12} Id. (amended 1978).
\textsuperscript{14} See PASTOR & CASTAÑEDA, supra note 7, at 288-89, 315, 348-49.
\textsuperscript{17} See STAFF OF HOUSE COMM. ON WAYS & MEANS, 104TH CONG., BACKGROUND MATERIAL AND DATA ON PROGRAMS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS 474 (1996).
\textsuperscript{18} See infra notes 22-30 and accompanying text.
\textsuperscript{19} One study found that of the sixty-four percent of women on welfare for the first time who left the rolls within two years, almost one-half left for work. But three-fourths of those who left welfare eventually returned, and forty-five percent returned within a year. See LaDonna Pavetti, The Dynamics of Welfare and Work: Exploring the Process by Which Young Women Work Their Way Off Welfare (1993) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, JFK School of Government, Harvard University) (on file with author). Another study found that seventy percent of welfare recipients participated in some way in the labor force over a two year period: twenty percent combined work and welfare, twenty-three percent worked intermittently and were on welfare between jobs, seven percent worked limited hours and looked for work, and twenty-three percent unsuccessfully looked for work. The women in this study held an average of 1.7 jobs over the two-year period and spent an average of sixteen weeks looking for work. See ROBERTA SLATER-ROTH, MAKING WORK PAY: THE REAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF SINGLE MOTHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE AFDC PROGRAM (1994).
\textsuperscript{20} For example, UI coverage requires not just a connection to waged work, but a sufficient connection. States set a minimum amount that the employee must earn within a designated period, thus disadvantaging low-wage and contingent workers. To meet monetary eligibility minimums, low-wage workers must work more hours than higher paid workers. See ADVISORY COUNCIL ON UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION, REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS 17 (1995). In nine states, a half-time, full-year (i.e., 1040 hours of work) worker earning minimum wage is completely ineligible for benefits, while the worker who earns eight dollars an hour for the same hours of work is eligible. Likewise, a two-day a week, full-year worker earning minimum wage is ineligible in twenty-nine states, but the same worker earning eight dollars an hour is eligible in all but two states.
AFDC to wage labor and then lost their jobs were ineligible for the "worthy" UI Program. Thus they returned to AFDC as their "unemployment insurance" and were viewed as shiftless "non-workers."

IV. RECENT SHIFT IN U.S. SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY VIS-À-VIS LOW-WAGE LABOR AND IMMIGRANTS

This brief history sets the critical context necessary to understand the recent dismantling of social protection in the United States. In 1996, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) rescinded the AFDC program, and created Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) as a "block grant" with wide state discretion. Although there are few federal mandates in the new statute, two are central to the rhetoric of the new policy: 1) parents can only receive TANF for a maximum of five years in their lifetime, and 2) states must have a fixed percentage of recipients in wage work and/or "workfare" (i.e., working off their TANF grant) at certain points in time. Thus the focus moves away from income support for poor women and children, and onto short term receipt of social welfare benefits with an assumed permanent transition into wage work.

This work requirement is pushing and will continue to push millions of new people into low-wage labor markets with little social welfare protection. Over two million single parents, mostly women, many with little education and skill level, are relying on low-wage labor or some source of income other than TANF. Of the 2.3 million families still on the rolls, many will reach the mandatory lifetime limit within the next few years and will be terminated regardless of whether they have any reasonable opportunity to obtain paid labor or have any other source of income. Many poor mothers in the United States who previously moved in and out of low-wage work, recycling onto AFDC as their "unemployment insurance" can no longer do this due to the TANF time limits. They no longer have either AFDC or UI as a social safety net; thus many of them will be in a position in which they will have to accept paid labor with whatever conditions and wages they can get. If they cannot find paid labor,
they will be ineligible for further public assistance and therefore will be entirely dependent on private charity for survival.

Importantly from a labor law perspective, while the statute contains language prohibiting states from displacing regular employees with mothers in workfare job slots, it eliminated language in the prior statute which protected regular employees against "partial displacement." In other words, regularly paid employees can receive a reduction in their overtime hours or benefits, or can be cut from a full-time to a part-time job, and the work they had previously done for pay may then be performed without pay by workfare workers. Employers can also fill established vacancies and openings created by attrition with workfare participants. The impact of the full and partial job displacement that will be caused by workfare requirements on currently employed workers is, of course, likely to increase substantially as the United States moves into the predicted recession.34 Importanty, it is not inconsequential that most of those who will be displaced are unionized.35

At the same time as the United States was rescinding its communal commitment to income support for single parent families, social protection law of low-skilled women by 2.2%, Hilary W. Hoyes, Displacement and Wage Effects of Welfare Reform, in FINDING JOBS: WORK AND WELFARE REFORM, David E. Card & Rebecca M. Blank Eds., 2000 (wages for female high school dropouts will be reduced from five to 14.5% depending on elasticities of labor demand); Robert J. Lerman & Caroline Ratcliffe, Did Metropolitana Areas Absorb Welfare Recipients Without Displacing Other Workers, Urban Institute Discussion Paper, Series A, No. A-45 (Nov. 2000) (finding no current wage erosion, but recognizing that a serious recession "certainly weakens the wage and employment picture").

34. One early study, focused on New York City, predicted that the likely result from placing 30,000 workfare participants in public sector slots would be to displace 20,000 other workers and reduce wages for the bottom one-third of entire New York City workforce (public and private) by nine percent. See CHRIS TILLY, WORKFARE'S IMPACT ON THE NEW YORK CITY LABOR MARKET: LOWER WAGES AND WORKER DISPLACEMENT 2 (1996). Indeed, a recent study confirms that as the number of employees in New York's Department of Parks and Recreation has declined from 4285 to 2025 between 1991-2000, the number of full time equivalent workfare workers increased from 182 to 2237. See USE OF WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION, INSIDE THE BUDGET, Nov. 2, 2000.
35. In addition to the impact on wages and displacement in low-wage labor markets in general in the United States, working conditions may also be affected. For example, welfare recipients have been assigned to workfare jobs with no toilets or drinking water, jobs removing rotting and insect-infected animal carcasses with no gloves, jobs requiring the use of acidic-spray cleaning fluid without safety equipment—in other words, jobs that violate existing health and safety laws and that existing wage workers would refuse to take without improved conditions. See, e.g., Capers v. Giuliani, 677 N.Y.S.2d 353 (App. Div. 1998). Plaintiff's affidavits in this case were printed in Welfare as They Know It, HARPER'S MAG., Nov. 1, 1997, at 24. Compare to the much discussed conditions of employment for single women in the maquiladoras. See Arriola, supra note 9, at 765-94.

was also altering the inclusion and identity of immigrants. The PRWORA rescinded eligibility of legal immigrants, including low-wage workers, for virtually all social welfare programs designed to assist the poor, including TANF, Food Stamps and Social Security Insurance.36 While some of the social protection benefits have been restored, the restorations are almost exclusively for immigrants who were in the United States when the PRWORA was enacted in August 1996.37 Therefore, the huge influx of legal immigrants who enter the country each year after 1996 are still ineligible for the majority of social protection programs not connected to high wages or long-term labor-market participation.38 The connection between these immigrant provisions of the PRWORA and the NAFTA is critical to a cross-border poverty analysis. Mexicans are by far the largest group of legal immigrants who have chosen not to naturalize as U.S. citizens.39 Indeed, in spite of the long Mexico-United States history of border exchange and guest worker programs, there has also been a societal perception that Mexicans did not have to assimilate because they were in the United States only as "temporary workers."

Two years prior to the passage of the PRWORA, the U.S. Congress ratified the NAFTA over the adamant opposition of virtually all U.S. labor unions. One bone that Congress threw to U.S. labor was the NAFTA-Transitional Adjustment Assistance Program that provided additional weeks of UI for retraining "workers" (excluding workers not covered by UI laws, i.e., many welfare recipients) who lose their jobs due to increased imports or capital flight generated by the NAFTA.40 The result of these complex and often isolated legal revisions is that U.S. taxpayers are funding both extended UI benefits and the retraining of "workers" dislocated by U.S. trade policy, at the same time as they are defunding many social welfare benefits to low-wage workers who are welfare recipients and legal, often Mexican, immigrants.41

37. See 8 U.S.C. § 1611(b)(5)(2000) (restoring Supplemental Security Income and Medicaid eligibility to certain immigrants, termed "not qualified" immigrants, who were receiving assistance on August 22, 1996); see also id. § 1612(a)(2)(F) (restoring Supplemental Security Income and Food Stamps to "qualified" blind or disabled immigrants residing in the United States on August 22, 1996).
38. In addition, there are other connections between migration and social protection benefits. For example, in 1997, certain legal residents were being stopped at the U.S. border because the Immigration Service had received information from a state that the immigrant had received Medicaid, or health care, benefits. The immigrants were denied reentry unless they agreed to reimburse the State for the past Medicaid received, although receipt of Medicaid does not create a legal debt. See Settlement Reached in Medi-Cal "Debt" Reimbursement Case, IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS UPDATE, Sept. 16, 1998, at 8.
39. See PASTOR & CASTANEDA, supra note 10, at 323.
V. INTERACTION BETWEEN TANF RECIPIENTS AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN LOW-WAGE LABOR

These factors highlight a major tension between the expectation that the U.S. low-wage labor force can and must absorb all welfare recipients, and the understanding of the close connection of the United States with Mexican immigrants. Because of prior “guest worker” programs, proximity, economic disparity, large common border and numbers of Mexicans already in the United States. In particular, many in the U.S. labor movement and many left and progressive academics and advocates have taken an anti-immigration position because of an assumption that immigration reduces the power of particularly unskilled low-wage U.S. workers to negotiate higher wages and better working conditions.

Although studies on the impact of immigrants on the U.S. economy and labor conditions reach widely divergent conclusions, 43 often finding positive economic effects 44 and no negative effect on wages and labor conditions, the claim that immigration of unskilled workers reduces wages and conditions is still frequently touted as “truth.” Thus immigrants and prior TANF recipients are being rhetorically pitted against one another.

The cumulative effect of these policies creates racist hierarchies within racist hierarchies. The rhetoric of social assistance portrays United States citizens receiving welfare as lazy women of color. The PRWORA “rehabilitated” them by removing any social safety net after five years and exchanging dependence on AFDC or TANF for dependence on low-wage employers. These U.S. citizens are, on occasion, perceived as in competition with legal immigrants, who have summarily lost eligibility for social assistance programs, and undocumented immigrants—both groups that have sent significant remittances to impoverished families in their countries of origin. 45 Having convinced the United States public

that poverty is primarily a problem of work-effort, policymakers have created a situation that outwears the plight of former welfare recipients and fails to recognize the presence and impact of cross-border poverty.

A number of other factors make the relationship between immigration policy, TANF, and low-wage labor even more complex. Often policymakers, scholars, and activists across political persuasions have ignored the fact that, for certain industries, particularly those with high labor costs and geographical flexibility, capital is much more mobile across borders than humans. An anti-immigration policy which does not provide a supply of low-wage workers within our current economic structure may result in migration of certain job-sites entirely and, thus, even further diminution of U.S. labor conditions.

The reverse of this equation is reflected in an implicit assumption when the NAFTA was ratified that the flow of goods and finances from Mexico to the United States would be substituted for the flow of people, an assumption that required a pervasive economic development/job creation program in Mexico.47 However, working at odds with such economic development in Mexico is the reduction (mandated by the International Monetary Fund structural macroeconomic adjustments) of agriculture subsidies that had benefitted both large- and small-scale farmers in rural areas.48 The resulting agricultural crisis has resulted in both farm foreclosures (with resulting dislocation) and reduced economic activity in urban areas situated near prosperous agricultural areas.49

Contrary to the assumption that NAFTA would reduce undocumented immigration, Census 2000 data indicate the opposite. The number of undocumented residents appears to be nine to eleven million rather than the six million that was predicted.50 Economists are crediting this increased immigrant population, many working in low-wage unskilled jobs, with reducing pressures for wage increases, thus fostering a “full employment labor market environment without generating any additional wage inflationary pressures.”51 Importantly, the majority of undocumented Mexican immigrants are men who leave behind their families, creating whole villages populated with only women, children and the elderly.52

Finally, immigrant workers are not necessarily substitutes who displace existing workers or increase labor supply to the point of reduced wages and labor conditions. Rather a poverty/lowlage policy could be envisioned that juxtaposes each group of unskilled workers as complements.53 Under that analysis, one might argue for a pro-education and training policy for TANF mothers to move them into a position to complement rather than compete with unskilled immigrants.

VI. THE POLITICAL FLUIDITY OF THE BORDER

Both U.S. social protection reductions and political democratization in Mexico appear to be catalyzing Mexicans living in the United States into a central position that further explores the concept of nation-state boundaries. In fact, the result of the welfare disqualifications of legal immigrants may be exactly the opposite of that intended by many of its proponents, i.e., to reduce the number of legal immigrants or to decrease the number of legal immigrants on the “public dole.”

One major result of denying virtually all social assistance programs to legal immigrants was a startling surge in U.S. naturalizations, particularly among Mexicans. The denial of benefits to legal immigrants, and other recent anti-immigrant political actions, resulted in a new consciousness among long-term legal Mexican immigrants that they must be a part of the electorate, i.e., that they must become naturalized United States citizens that can vote.54 Until 1994, the number of naturalizations by Mexicans legally residing in the United States was fairly stable. There were 17,564 naturalizations in 1990, 22,066 in 1991, 12,880 in 1992, and 23,630 in 1993.55 In 1994, the year that Californians adopted “Proposition 187” (barring undocumented immigrants from receiving publicly

47. See Arriola, supra note 9, at 805; Monica L. Heppel & Luis R. Torres, Mexican Immigration to the United States After NAFTA, FLETCHER F. WORLD AFF., Fall 1996, at 51.
48. See TIANO, supra note 10, at 21.
50. See D’Vera Cohn, Illegal Residents Exceed Estimate, WASH. POST, Mar. 18, 2001, at A1. The initial count tallied 281.4 million U.S. residents as opposed to the expected 275 million. The number of Hispanics, two-thirds of whom are Mexican, was 35.3 million rather than the estimated 32.5 million. See id.; see also D’Vera Cohn & Darryl Fears, Hispanics Draw Even with Blacks in New Census, WASH. POST, Mar. 7, 2001, at A1.
51. ANDREW SUM ET AL., AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRELIMINARY 2000 CENSUS ESTIMATES OF THE
funded education and most social services and health care, and directing local law enforcement authorities, school administrators, social workers and health-care aides to report suspected undocumented immigrants and, in some cases, legal immigrants, the number of naturalizations surged to 46,186, and in 1995 to 79,614. Most dramatically in 1996 (the year the PRWORA was being debated and enacted), Mexico was the leading country-of-birth of persons naturalizing, with 217,418 or twenty-one percent of total naturalizations.

Once they become U.S. citizens, Mexican-Americans have greatly expanded legal rights that allow them to bring family members into the United States. Thus, the ironic end result of anti-immigrant politics may be that even greater numbers of Mexican immigrants will settle in the United States, naturalize and vote. Questions arise about the effect of this potential increase in family-member legal immigrants on the low-wage labor force, and the interplay between that population and the influx of welfare recipients possibly competing for the same jobs.

Juxtapose these developments to recent dramatic changes in Mexican laws relating to dual citizenship and the ability of non-residents to vote in Mexican elections. Mexican non-residents are now allowed to maintain dual nationality in Mexico and in the country of their residence. This means Mexican immigrants who are naturalized U.S. citizens are now permitted to reclaim their Mexican nationality. Mexico's constitution was modified to allow non-resident Mexican citizens to vote in Mexican elections without returning to Mexico. Although not yet implemented at the time of the 2000 elections in which the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was defeated for the first time since 1920 by the National Action Party (PAN), almost ten million Mexicans more or less permanently residing in the United States could be eligible to vote in Mexican elections. They are expected to support either the PAN or the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), both of which are Mexican political parties advocating the democratization of labor unions in Mexico.

Thus the huge increase in U.S. naturalizations by Mexicans (in turn opening the door for further immigration by family members) and the breaking open, or democratization, of Mexican political parties and unions could have broad implications for social protection and low-wage labor in both the United States and Mexico. The construction of dual nationality and dual voting privileges exposes the artificiality of protectionism and fixed borders which seems entrenched in social protection, low-wage labor, and immigration discourse.

CONCLUSION

The myriad of issues discussed above are not designed to yield a single coherent poverty policy, but rather to challenge us to frame new questions about strategies to address poverty, wealth and inequality within an increasingly globalized economy.

Did the U.S. labor anti-NAFTA position, albeit inadvertently, feed into a racist, anti-Mexican and anti-immigration policy, which then fueled the anti-immigrant backlash in U.S. welfare policy?

If one effect of social welfare cuts to U.S. legal immigrants is a surge in naturalizations with a subsequent increased flow of family members migrating to the United States, will this additional supply of wage workers entice certain plants to remain in the United States rather than relocate cross-border? How do these new immigrants correlate with those who would have obtained jobs if plants had moved to Mexico?

If immigration can expand or preserve certain industries in the United States, creating new jobs for complementary skill holders, should an effective U.S. poverty policy focus on increasing human capital of U.S. unskilled workers so that they might be able to take advantage of those new jobs? Could or should U.S. progressives support such a policy with its implications for further constructing and supporting racial hierarchies?

What is the connection, within both a class and gender analysis, of the single mothers in the maquiladoras, the TANF mothers, and the women-and-children-only towns? Men are involved in each setting in different ways, but there is little


57. STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, supra note 53, at 170.

58. Id. Of course, there were other legal changes which factored into this increase, most specifically the numbers of undocumented persons allowed to naturalize pursuant to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. 8 U.S.C. § 1101 nt. (1986). In subsequent years, the number has declined (134,494 in 1997 and 109,065 in 1998), but the percentage of persons from Mexico naturalizing has remained over twenty percent of the total naturalizations, and in fact increased (22.5% in 1996 and 23.6% in 1997). STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, supra note 53.

59. See CONSTITUCION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS, art. 37 (amended 1997). Note the nuances between nationality and citizenship that are beyond the scope of this Article.

60. James F. Smith, Vote Denied to Mexicans Living Abroad, L.A. TIMES, July 2, 1999, at A1. Although the Chamber of Deputies approved a package implementing this election reform, the Senate (controlled by the PRI) allowed the measure to die in July 1999.


62. See generally LA BOTZ, supra note 10. The Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party or PRI), the political party that had been in power in Mexico since 1920, had held continuous office longer than any other party in the world. It has controlled the union structure by having an officially recognized union, the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (Confederation of Mexican Workers, or CTM). CTM leaders routinely were not democratically elected by membership, were bought off by the government and failed to represent their members to enforce, what on the books, is an excellent Mexican labor law.
discussion among lawyers dealing with child support and those aware of the huge remittances being sent back to Mexico.

What do we expect and who do we value in wage work? Why are we so concerned about ensuring that U.S. welfare recipients are in wage work, without acknowledging that many of them are and addressing both the ways in which low-income labor conditions and legal definitions construct their identities as non-workers? Conversely, why are we so derisive (within our rhetoric of "rugged individualism") of undocumented immigrants in U.S. wage labor who send critical remittances back to the women-and-children-only towns?

How do we begin to connect U.S. social welfare cuts and IMF structural macroeconomic adjustment policies, and analyze their impact on low-wage labor markets cross-border?

Finally and most fundamentally, how do we develop a cross-border poverty redistributive strategy? An ongoing tension in poverty debate is that between improving or maintaining living standards for low-wage workers and job creation for the unemployed poor. While often discussed as a policy question internal to a nation-state, the same issues are raised in cross-border poverty discourse. Where does a nation-state draw the line between its own citizens being in such poverty that it must protect their labor conditions through attempting to restrict migration of humans and its economy being solid enough and its citizens’ living conditions sufficiently adequate that restrictive immigration may not be the priority? Can nations, in a time of the breakdown of borders through global economic integration, coherently establish that line? If a nation-state sets up an initial structure of attempted restrictive human mobility, will it ever reach a point of acknowledging that its internal poverty/unemployment is low enough that the country can focus on cross-border poverty? In other words, can an effective poverty policy be based on a protectionist position?

These are only initial questions and may not frame the most important interconnections. But if those committed to a redistributive poverty strategy do not struggle to engage in a complex cross-disciplinary, cross-border analysis of the interaction of low-wage labor, globalization, social welfare policy and immigration—if we do not begin to formulate the questions—we are missing an important opportunity to begin to provide answers that will contribute to the development of a more sophisticated and transformative redistributive policy.