

ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM VS. BORDER CONTROL: RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENTS' IMMIGRATION POLICIES ON SKILLED AND UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

Rawaid Hussain Siddiqui

Master of Laws (LLM) in Immigration Law, Master in Diplomacy and International Relations, Vytautas Magnus University

ABSTRACT : This study explores how right-wing governments, particularly those led by Republicans in the U.S., shape immigration policies with a specific focus on skilled and undocumented migrants. Employing Economic Migration Theory and Selective Migration Theory, we examine the immigration policies under Donald Trump's administration and the potential future impact of similar governance. In parallel, we analyze the evolution of Germany's refugee policies, influenced by the rise of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party. Using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, including surveys of refugees and skilled migrants in the U.S. and Germany, the study reveals a consistent pattern: right-wing governments tend to favor skilled migrants while imposing harsher restrictions on undocumented migrants. Data analyzed using SPSS indicate that Republican-led administrations, and similarly right-wing influences in Germany, promote selective immigration policies aimed at bolstering economic growth while enhancing border control.

Keywords: *Right-Wing Governments, Skilled Migrants, Undocumented Migrants, Immigration Policy, Refugee Policy, Migration Policy Impact, Political Influence on Immigration, Germany, USA, AfD, Republicans*

I. INTRODUCTION

Right-wing governments tend to exhibit a distinctive approach to immigration, focusing on attracting skilled migrants for economic growth while enforcing stricter policies on undocumented migrants and refugees. This paper investigates how such immigration policies are shaped by economic and political ideologies, emphasizing their differential effects on skilled and undocumented migrants.

1.1 Economic and Political Context

Economic Migration Theory suggests that right-wing governments prioritize skilled migrants to address labor shortages and enhance economic competitiveness. Historically, the U.S. has valued skilled migration for its contributions to technology and innovation. During Donald Trump's administration (2017–2021), the "Buy American, Hire American" executive order aimed to protect U.S. workers by reforming the H-1B visa program, which primarily targets skilled migrants. According to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), H-1B visa denial rates increased by 15% between 2017 and 2019, reflecting more stringent requirements for skilled migrants.

Conversely, Trump's administration implemented strict policies on undocumented migrants. Deportations rose by 20% between 2017 and 2019, and the notorious "zero tolerance" policy resulted in the separation of thousands of families at the U.S.-Mexico border. These policies underscore a common trend under right-wing governance—economic pragmatism encouraging skilled labor, coupled with rigid border controls targeting undocumented migrants.

1.2 Germany's Policy Shift

Germany presents a contrasting yet complementary case. Known for its open refugee policies, Germany's stance shifted following the rise of the Alternative for Germany (AfD), a far-right party that advocates stricter border controls. In response to the 2015 refugee crisis, Germany initially welcomed over 890,000 asylum seekers in one year alone. However, political pressure from the AfD has led to significant changes. By 2020, asylum applications had decreased, while deportations rose by 16%, illustrating a growing resistance to refugee intake under right-wing influence.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between immigration policy and right-wing political ideology unveils a complex landscape where economic imperatives often coexist with restrictive immigration measures. This literature review integrates Economic Migration Theory and Selective Migration Theory to analyze how right-wing policies impact skilled and undocumented migrants, offering insights into the broader socio-political and economic implications.

2.1 Economic Migration Theory

Economic Migration Theory suggests that governments prioritize skilled migrants due to their potential to address labor shortages, boost innovation, and enhance national competitiveness. Right-wing administrations often embrace this approach, viewing skilled migrants as essential assets for economic development. For instance, during Donald Trump's presidency, the H-1B visa program, which is primarily used to bring skilled foreign workers to the U.S., underwent significant reforms. Between 2017 and 2019, H-1B approval rates fell by 25%, reflecting the administration's emphasis on more stringent scrutiny of visa applications to favor highly skilled candidates (*National Foundation for American Policy*, 2020). These policies aligned with Trump's broader agenda to prioritize domestic economic growth over broader immigration concerns, placing a premium on high-skilled labor while limiting the inflow of less skilled workers.

Germany's *Blue Card* program, designed to attract highly qualified professionals from non-EU countries, represents another example of Economic Migration Theory in practice. Research by *Brücker et al. (2021)* highlights the success of the program in attracting skilled professionals, especially in STEM fields, aligning with Germany's labor market needs. In 2024, Germany further reformed its skilled migration policies by introducing the "*Chancenkarte*" (*Opportunity Card*), a points-based immigration system that aims to streamline the process for high-skilled migrants, improving the country's ability to compete for global talent (*German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs*, 2024).

2.2 Selective Migration Theory

Selective Migration Theory extends this discussion by suggesting that governments, especially under right-wing leadership, create policies that favor economically beneficial migrants while excluding those perceived as less valuable, such as undocumented migrants and refugees. Right-wing administrations are particularly inclined to use immigration as a tool to balance economic growth with concerns about social cohesion and security.

Research by *Joppke (2005)* illustrates how selective migration policies are often influenced by a combination of economic pragmatism and concerns about national identity. For example, the Trump administration's emphasis on merit-based immigration reforms aligns with Selective Migration Theory. The administration introduced increased scrutiny and stricter rejection rates for visa applications from lower-skilled sectors, ensuring that only the most economically beneficial migrants were admitted (*Miller*, 2018).

Similarly, Germany's shift toward more restrictive asylum policies, particularly under the pressure of the *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* party, highlights how political ideology shapes immigration strategies. The rise of the AfD, a far-right political force, has led to significant changes in Germany's refugee policy, reducing acceptance rates and imposing stricter border controls. Research by *Gebhardt et al. (2020)* demonstrates how right-wing influence, such as that exerted by the AfD, has pushed for more selective asylum procedures, reflecting concerns about national security and social integration over humanitarian obligations.

2.3 Impact on Skilled Migrants and Refugees

The impact of right-wing immigration policies on different migrant groups is well-documented. Studies indicate that right-wing administrations tend to create favorable conditions for skilled migrants while erecting barriers for undocumented migrants and refugees. For example, Australia's *Global Talent Visa*, explored by *Collins and Houghton (2020)*, mirrors similar trends seen in other countries. This visa aims to attract top talent by offering streamlined processes and opportunities for high-skilled migrants, highlighting the economic priorities of right-wing governments in fostering innovation and development.

In contrast, the treatment of undocumented migrants often reflects punitive measures. *De Genova's (2018)* research on the U.S. immigration system under the Trump administration sheds light on how harsh policies, such as the "*zero tolerance*" strategy, disproportionately targeted undocumented migrants. This approach, characterized by increased deportations and family separations at the U.S.-Mexico border, underscores how right-wing policies address undocumented immigration through enforcement rather than integration.

2.4 Comparative Studies

Comparative studies provide a broader perspective on how right-wing policies shape immigration landscapes across different countries. Research by *Czaika and de Haas (2013)* highlights a global trend among right-wing governments to favor skilled migrants while tightening controls on refugees. Their analysis of various political regimes demonstrates that selective immigration policies are used not only to enhance economic growth but also to address perceived social and security risks associated with undocumented migrants and refugees.

Similarly, *Vargas-Silva and Pritchard's (2019)* comparative analysis of the U.S. labor market under right-wing policies reveals that skilled migrants benefit from favorable conditions, such as improved job security and immigration pathways, while undocumented workers face increasing job insecurity and legal challenges. These findings underscore how right-wing immigration strategies tend to prioritize the economic contributions of skilled migrants while marginalizing other migrant groups.

The literature reveals a consistent pattern in right-wing immigration policies: they aim to maximize economic benefits through the selective admission of skilled migrants, while imposing restrictive measures on undocumented migrants and refugees. This dual approach reflects a broader ideological and economic calculus, wherein right-wing governments seek to balance national economic growth with concerns about security and social cohesion. The integration of Economic Migration Theory and Selective Migration Theory provides a useful framework for understanding how political ideologies shape the immigration landscape, both in terms of policy design and its socio-economic impacts on different migrant groups.

2.5 Comparative Analysis

A comparative analysis of right-wing immigration policies in the U.S. and Germany highlights a clear dichotomy: while skilled migrants receive preferential treatment due to their perceived economic contributions, undocumented migrants and refugees face stringent controls. This dual approach is rooted in economic pragmatism and political ideologies that prioritize national security and border control.

Right-wing governments, such as those led by Donald Trump in the U.S. and influenced by the AfD in Germany, adopt immigration policies that reflect a balance between economic interests and border security. Skilled migrants are welcomed for their potential to drive innovation and economic growth, while undocumented migrants and refugees encounter increasing restrictions. This study underscores the need for future research into how political ideologies shape the evolving landscape of global migration.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative and quantitative research techniques to comprehensively explore the impact of right-wing governments on skilled migrants and undocumented refugees. The methodology is structured to provide a detailed understanding of immigration policies and their effects in the U.S. and Germany.

The qualitative analysis involves a thorough review of policy documents and political discourse. Policy document analysis will include a systematic examination of immigration laws, executive orders, and legislative texts from both the Trump administration in the U.S. and the German government. This approach aims to identify key policy shifts and legislative intents influenced by right-wing ideologies. Additionally, political discourse analysis will focus on speeches, interviews, and public statements from right-wing politicians, using discourse analysis to interpret how immigration issues are framed and justified. This will reveal the underlying political narratives driving policy decisions.

The quantitative component consists of a survey administered to 80 participants, divided equally among skilled migrants and refugees in both the U.S. and Germany. The survey collected data on perceptions of immigration policies, ease of migration, and experiences with government regulations. The questionnaire included Likert-scale, multiple-choice, and open-ended questions designed to capture both quantitative and qualitative responses. Participants were recruited through outreach to migrant support organizations and community groups, with the survey conducted online to ensure accessibility and confidentiality. Data analysis utilized SPSS, employing descriptive statistics, inferential tests, and correlation analyses to identify trends and relationships.

Integration of qualitative and quantitative findings offered a comprehensive view of how right-wing policies impact different migrant groups. The qualitative insights provided context for the quantitative data, enhancing the interpretation of policy effects and personal experiences. Ethical considerations, including informed consent, confidentiality, and institutional review board approval, guided the study to ensure ethical rigor and protect participants' rights. This mixed-methods approach was aimed to deliver a nuanced understanding of immigration policy impacts under right-wing governance.

IV. CASE STUDY

4.1 *Donald Trump's Administration and Future Prospects*

During Donald Trump's presidency, his administration's immigration policies revealed a clear dichotomy between the treatment of skilled migrants and undocumented individuals. Central to this approach was the reform of the H-1B visa program, designed to favor highly skilled workers, particularly those in technology and other high-demand sectors. By tightening visa requirements and prioritizing applicants with advanced qualifications, the administration aimed to boost U.S. economic growth by attracting top global talent. As noted by the *National Foundation for American Policy* (2020), approval rates for H-1B visas dropped by 25% between 2017 and 2019, reflecting the administration's selective approach to skilled migration.

Conversely, the Trump administration's approach to undocumented immigration was far more stringent. A hallmark of this policy was the "zero tolerance" policy toward undocumented migrants, which involved aggressive enforcement actions, including family separations at the U.S.-Mexico border. Deportations rose by 20% between 2017 and 2019, reflecting a sharp increase in the administration's enforcement of immigration laws (*U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services*, 2019). Public discourse during Trump's presidency frequently highlighted the perceived economic and social threats posed by undocumented migrants, reinforcing the administration's justification for stricter border controls. Trump and key officials repeatedly framed these policies as necessary for ensuring national security and economic protection (*Miller*, 2018).

Should Trump be re-elected, it is anticipated that his administration would likely continue these policies. Statements from his prior term and future campaign rhetoric indicate a persistent focus on promoting skilled migration through incentives and reforms while maintaining stringent controls on undocumented migrants. As *Vargas-Silva and Pritchard* (2019) highlight, this dual approach reflects a consistent theme in right-wing immigration policies: maximizing economic benefits while fortifying border security to curb undocumented migration.

4.2 *Germany's Policy Shift*

Germany's immigration policy has undergone a significant transformation, heavily influenced by the rise of the far-right *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* party. Historically recognized for its open-door policy toward refugees, particularly during the 2015 refugee crisis, Germany's stance shifted toward a more restrictive approach as the AfD gained political influence (*Federal Office for Migration and Refugees*, 2015). The AfD's rise has led to more stringent asylum procedures, including enhanced border controls and reduced acceptance rates for asylum seekers, with the notable exception of those from Ukraine. By 2020, the number of deportations in Germany had increased by 16%, marking a clear departure from its earlier humanitarian stance (*Gebhardt et al.*, 2020).

Public discourse surrounding these changes has increasingly focused on national security and growing public sentiment against high levels of immigration. AfD leaders have frequently underscored the perceived threats posed by refugees, advocating for stricter immigration controls to preserve social stability. The AfD's platform emphasizes that while they support skilled migration, they oppose undocumented migration, framing it as a threat to both the economy and social cohesion (*Fargues*, 2018). Policy documents from the German government reflect these priorities, outlining more rigorous asylum criteria and measures to limit refugee entry.

Despite this shift, Germany has maintained relatively open policies for skilled migrants. The *Blue Card* program, which facilitated the entry of highly qualified professionals from outside the EU, continued to attract skilled workers to Germany (*Brücker et al.*, 2021) until May 2024. In June 2024, Germany introduced the *Chancenkarte* (Opportunity Card), a points-based system that streamlines the immigration process for high-skilled professionals, further enhancing Germany's attractiveness for skilled migration (*German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs*, 2024).

The AfD's official campaigns have claimed not to oppose skilled migration but to strongly reject undocumented migration, framing their stance as one that protects the German economy while maintaining strict border controls. As public statements from German officials emphasize the economic benefits of skilled migration, policy documents also underscore the selective immigration strategy, which balances the need for skilled labor with increasing restrictions on asylum seekers.

In both the U.S. and Germany, immigration policies under right-wing governance demonstrate a clear dichotomy between the treatment of skilled migrants and undocumented individuals. The Trump administration's reforms of the H-1B visa program and zero-tolerance stance on undocumented migrants, alongside Germany's shift toward stricter asylum procedures under AfD influence, reflect a broader pattern in right-wing immigration policies. While economic pragmatism drives favorable conditions for skilled migrants, concerns about national security and social stability motivate stricter controls on undocumented migrants. The integration of policy documents and public discourse reveals how political ideologies shape immigration practices, underscoring the selective and strategic nature of right-wing governance on immigration.

V. SURVEY RESULTS AND DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Descriptive Statistics:

A total of 80 participants were surveyed, equally distributed among skilled migrants and refugees in Germany and the U.S. Specifically, the sample included 20 skilled migrants and 20 refugees from each country. The demographic profile of the participants showed an age range of 25 to 45 years. Gender distribution varied between the groups: in Germany, skilled migrants were evenly split between males and females (50% each), while refugees were predominantly male (60%) compared to female (40%). In the U.S., a similar trend was observed with skilled migrants (55% male, 45% female) and refugees (65% male, 35% female).

5.2 Perceptions of Immigration Policies

Ease of Migration: Skilled migrants in Germany reported a mean perception score of 4.2 (SD = 0.8), indicating a relatively favorable view of immigration policies. In contrast, refugees in Germany had a significantly lower mean score of 2.5 (SD = 1.1), reflecting greater difficulties in navigating immigration processes. In the U.S., skilled migrants had a higher mean score of 4.5 (SD = 0.7), suggesting a more positive perception of policy ease. Refugees in the U.S. reported a mean score of 3.0 (SD = 1.2), which, while higher than their German counterparts, still indicated challenges in policy navigation.

Satisfaction with Immigration Support: Regarding satisfaction with immigration support, skilled migrants in Germany reported a mean score of 4.0 (SD = 0.9), whereas refugees reported a lower mean of 2.8 (SD = 1.0). In the U.S., skilled migrants' satisfaction was slightly higher at a mean of 4.3 (SD = 0.8), compared to refugees who had a mean satisfaction score of 3.2 (SD = 1.1). These results suggest that skilled migrants generally express higher levels of satisfaction with immigration support services compared to refugees.

Statistical Comparisons: An ANOVA test was conducted to assess differences in perceptions of policy ease among the four groups (skilled migrants and refugees in Germany and the U.S.). The results indicated a significant overall difference, with an F-value of 15.42 ($p < 0.01$). Post-hoc analysis revealed significant differences between skilled migrants and refugees in both countries, with skilled migrants perceiving immigration policies as more favorable.

T-tests were performed to evaluate satisfaction levels with immigration support. In Germany, the T-test result of 8.21 ($p < 0.01$) and in the U.S., a T-test result of 6.78 ($p < 0.01$) demonstrated that skilled migrants reported significantly higher satisfaction compared to refugees in both contexts.

VI. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The comparative analysis underscores a clear trend in both the U.S. and Germany, where right-wing governments exhibit a pronounced preference for skilled migrants while enforcing stringent regulations on undocumented migrants. In the United States, Donald Trump's administration implemented policies designed to attract skilled migrants, aligning with Economic Migration Theory. This theory emphasizes that skilled migrants are valuable assets due to their potential contributions to the labor market and economic growth. For example, reforms to the H-1B visa program under Trump's presidency prioritized highly skilled individuals in fields such as technology, enhancing the U.S.'s competitiveness in global markets (*National Foundation for American Policy*, 2020).

At the same time, the Trump administration adopted strict measures against undocumented immigration, implementing a "zero tolerance" policy that led to increased deportations and family separations at the U.S.-Mexico border (*U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services*, 2019). These policies reflect a selective migration approach, focusing on economic gains from skilled migrants while addressing perceived social and security risks associated with undocumented migrants (*Miller*, 2018).

Similarly, Germany has experienced a significant shift in immigration policy, heavily influenced by the rise of the *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* party. This policy shift aligns with Selective Migration Theory, which prioritizes the economic contributions of skilled migrants over the humanitarian aspects of refugee assistance (*Gebhardt et al.*, 2020). The AfD's influence has led to more stringent asylum procedures, including enhanced border controls and reduced acceptance rates for refugees, with notable exceptions for Ukrainian asylum seekers. Despite these restrictive measures, Germany continues to foster favorable conditions for skilled migrants, which is essential for addressing its labor market needs (*German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs*, 2024).

VII. DISCUSSION

The comparative analysis highlights a clear trend in right-wing governments' preference for skilled migrants while imposing stringent measures on undocumented migrants. This trend is driven by economic pragmatism, where skilled migrants are seen as essential for economic growth, and political ideologies that emphasize border control and security.

In the U.S., the focus on attracting skilled migrants aligns with Economic Migration Theory, which views skilled migrants as valuable assets for economic development. Conversely, strict border controls for undocumented migrants reflect policies aimed at addressing perceived economic and social risks. In Germany, the rise of the AfD party has led to a more restrictive approach toward refugees while maintaining favorable conditions for skilled migrants, reflecting a similar selective approach.

Survey results reinforce these observations, showing that skilled migrants report higher levels of policy satisfaction and perceive fewer barriers compared to refugees. This disparity highlights the need for immigration policies that not only address economic demands but also ensure equitable treatment for all migrant groups, including refugees and undocumented migrants.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, several recommendations are proposed for policymakers and stakeholders involved in immigration and migration policy:

- i. **Balanced Policy Approaches:** Policymakers should strive for a more balanced approach that not only supports skilled migration to address labor market needs but also considers the humanitarian aspects of immigration. This could involve creating pathways for refugees that allow them to contribute economically while receiving adequate social and legal support.
- ii. **Enhanced Support Systems:** For skilled migrants, streamlined processes and support systems are essential for facilitating their integration into the labor market. Policies could also focus on providing legal pathways to regularization for undocumented migrants, improving access to basic services, and addressing the root causes of irregular migration.
- iii. **Informed Public Discourse:** Fostering informed public discourse around immigration is crucial. Separating economic considerations from humanitarian concerns can help mitigate misconceptions and reduce polarization regarding immigration policies. Public awareness campaigns and educational initiatives can play a significant role in shaping more balanced perceptions.
- iv. **Data-Driven Policy Making:** Policymakers should rely on comprehensive data and research to inform their decisions. Continuous monitoring and evaluation of immigration policies will help identify areas for improvement and ensure that policies effectively address both economic and humanitarian needs.

IX. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Future research should build upon the findings of this study to further explore the complexities of immigration policies under different political contexts. Potential areas for future research include:

- i. **Longitudinal Studies:** Investigate how immigration policies and their impacts evolve over time, particularly under changing political climates and administrations. Longitudinal studies could provide insights into the long-term effects of right-wing policies on both skilled and undocumented migrants.
- ii. **Comparative International Analysis:** Expand the comparative analysis to include other countries with right-wing governments, such as Italy and Hungary. This broader perspective could reveal common patterns and differences in how right-wing policies affect skilled migrants and undocumented refugees across various political and economic contexts.
- iii. **Impact of Public Perception:** Examine how public perceptions and media portrayals of immigration influence policy decisions and the treatment of different migrant groups. Research could explore the role of media in shaping public opinion and its subsequent impact on policy formulation.
- iv. **Policy Effectiveness and Integration:** Evaluate the effectiveness of existing immigration policies in achieving their intended outcomes, such as economic growth and humanitarian support. Studies could focus on the integration experiences of both skilled migrants and refugees to assess how well policies support their successful inclusion into society.

X. CONCLUSION

The findings indicate a clear preference for skilled migrants, driven by their economic benefits, while imposing stricter regulations on undocumented migrants. This trend aligns with both Economic Migration Theory and Selective Migration Theory, highlighting how political ideologies and economic considerations shape immigration policies.

The comparative analysis of the U.S. and Germany reveals that right-wing governments prioritize skilled migration as a means to boost economic growth, while stringent measures against undocumented

migrants reflect concerns about social and security issues. Survey data support these findings, demonstrating higher satisfaction and perceived ease of navigating policies among skilled migrants compared to refugees.

The recommendations emphasize the need for balanced and data-driven policy approaches that address both economic and humanitarian aspects of immigration. Future research directions suggest further exploration into the long-term effects of immigration policies, comparative international analyses, and the impact of public perceptions on policy outcomes. Understanding the dynamics of immigration policies under right-wing governments is crucial for developing comprehensive and effective strategies that promote economic growth while addressing humanitarian needs.

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