
The Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

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Executive Summary

Background

In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was signed into law. It represented a new approach on the part of the United States to control immigration, especially illegal immigration. While IRCA is best known for its amnesty and employer sanctions provisions, it also contains a number of other provisions, including major reporting requirements on the implementation and impact of the new law. The most comprehensive of these is a triennial report on immigration, mandated in Section 401. Each report must provide the following for the preceding 3-year period and project it for the succeeding 5-year period:

- The number and classification of aliens admitted (whether as immediate relatives, special immigrants, refugees [under the preference classification], or as nonimmigrants), paroled, or granted asylum during the relevant period.
- A reasonable estimate of the number of aliens who entered the United States during the period without visas or who became deportable during the period under Section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA).
- A description of the effect of admissions and other entries of immigrants, refugees, asylees, and parolees into the United States during the reporting period on the economy, labor, and housing markets; the education system; social services; foreign policy; environmental quality and resources; the rate, size, and distribution of population growth in the United States; and the effect on specific States and local units of Government with high rates of immigration resettlement.

The report may also include recommendations on changes in numerical limitations or other policies under Title II of the INA bearing on the admission and entry of aliens to the United States.

Responsibility for the Triennial Report

The lead responsibility for the development and production of the report was given to the Attorney General in coordination with the Secretary of Labor by Executive Order on February 10, 1992. On behalf of the Attorney General, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) contacted 10 other Federal agencies whose responsibilities fall in the areas to be addressed in the report. Most of them were able to submit relevant material, although their focus on immigration and their ability to provide information regarding the effect of immigration on their program areas varies widely. The INS prepared a section on the number, categories, and location of aliens in the United States. The INS also compiled the sections contributed by the other agencies and used material on the foreign-born population from the 1990 Census of Population to prepare additional material, including introductions to selected sections.

The report includes five parts.

Part I, Population Impacts: Migration and Population Change. This section addresses the effect of immigration on the population of the United States. Chapter 1, International Migration to the United States, which was prepared by the INS, summarizes information on the flow of migrants to the country. The primary focus is on lawful permanent migration, but material is also presented on temporary migration and on other categories. Estimates of the population residing illegally in the United States and of emigration are included.

Legal immigration (the admission of foreign-born persons for lawful permanent residence) grew substantially during the period covered by the report. During the 1988-1990 period, legal migration averaged 637,000 yearly (excluding persons legalizing under the provisions of IRCA), and by the 1992-1994 period, it averaged

830,000. Much of this increase was because of the Immigration Act of 1990, which began to take effect in 1992. That law more than doubled the number of visas available to persons who qualify for employment-based immigration. Other special provisions included the transition to a system of allocating some visas to achieve greater diversity in the immigrant population and a 3-year allocation of visas to the spouses and children of legalized aliens. In addition, 2.676 million persons gained lawful permanent residence as a direct result of IRCA. Most of them had been in residence since before January 1, 1982, and the others had worked in agriculture in the United States during the mid-1980's. Legal immigration is projected to continue increasing to an average of about 900,000 yearly by the late 1990's, as persons who legalized under IRCA become citizens and are able to petition for their immediate relatives.

In other categories, the number of temporary visitors (nonimmigrants) to the United States grew from 14.6 million in 1988 to 22.1 million in 1994. The typical visitor is a tourist, but millions of others arrive as visitors on business, as students or exchange visitors, and in a number of other categories. Nonimmigrant admissions are projected to exceed 30 million by the late 1990's. As of October 1996, the INS estimated the number of aliens residing illegally in the United States at 5 million, with a net annual inflow of 275,000 during the 1992-1996 period. Emigration from the United States is estimated to have been 1.6 million during the 1980's. The limited data available on emigration indicate that current levels of emigration could be more than 200,000 annually.

Chapter 2, Immigration and Population Change in the United States, was prepared by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. It presents data on the total population and its foreign-born component based on the decennial census and the Current Population Survey. The 1990 census showed 19.8 million foreign-born persons, or 7.9 percent of the resident population. (Because the Census Bureau attempts to count everyone living in the United States, these figures include long-term nonimmigrants and persons without lawful status as well as legal immigrants.) Net migration from abroad (immigration minus emigration) was estimated to have added 3.966 million persons to the population between April 1, 1990, and July 1, 1995, and is projected to add another 4.113 million between July 1, 1995, and July 1, 2000. Census data demonstrate the uneven effect of immigration: About three-fourths of the foreign-born population have settled in just six States.

Part II, Economic Impacts: The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Labor Market. This section contains four chapters authored by the U.S. Department of Labor, summarizing the recent research in light of public concern about the assimilation of foreign-born persons into the labor market. Suggestions for additional reading are included. Chapter 3, The Labor Market Integration of Immigrants, indicates that successive cohorts of persons arriving from certain countries over the past three decades appear to have experienced slower wage assimilation than their conationals who arrived earlier. This decrease has been associated with a clear, observable decline in the level of schooling and quality of jobs held by persons born in those countries. The precise reasons for this shift are subject to dispute. They may include changes in both the immigrants themselves and the character of the U.S. labor market. Many of the analyses are based on census data, which do not differentiate illegal residents and refugees from legal immigrants. The number of highly skilled immigrants has increased. Because of limitations in the data available for studying this issue, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions, but it appears that across-the-board statements about declining "immigrant quality" are unwarranted.

Chapter 4 highlights the macroeconomic findings on "Immigration's Impact on the Labor Market Outcomes of Natives." The overall conclusion is that, at the national level, the net effect of foreign-born workers on the earnings and employment of U.S. workers is rather small. Most of these studies show very little net effect on native-born workers, of any race or ethnicity, either positive or negative. They find a slight negative effect of immigrants on the foreign-born population already in residence. The risks of adverse effects are proportionately greater for those living or working in areas of high foreign-born concentration.

Chapter 5 presents case-study research on "The Impact of Immigrants on Low-Wage Earners." Two competing hypotheses have been invoked to explain observations on this topic. The "successive ethnic niche" hypothesis maintains that immigrants do not usually drive native workers out of the labor market but rather they enter the market as natives move up to better jobs. Furthermore, new groups form ethnic niches in the

open economy from which they can help their coethnics gain access to opportunities for advancement. Conversely, the “successive ethnic displacement” hypothesis maintains that migrant networks are often unable to form self-sufficient enclaves fostering ethnic advancement. Instead, many migrants find themselves continuously taken advantage of by employers, often aided by middlemen from that ethnic group seeking to exploit their labor. Case studies show that both scenarios can and do occur.

Chapter 6 examines “Professional Labor Markets and Immigration.” Highly skilled immigrants enter the U.S. labor market with relative ease. Institutions that employ them contend that there is a compelling need for giving them such access. However, a growing number of native-born scientists and engineers argue that their own job opportunities have been reduced by the competition from these immigrants.

Part III, Education and Social Services Impacts. This section contains material from four Federal agencies that are responsible for education and social services programs. Particular attention is paid to programs that are targeted at defined immigrant populations or that, by their nature, are likely to serve these populations. Where available, data are presented on the extent to which the foreign-born population used mainstream programs.

The U.S. Department of Education (DOEd) contributed Chapter 7, Impact of Immigrant Students on the U.S. Educational System. It summarizes programs that may serve recent immigrants. Most are based on the students’ education or financial need. Only the Immigrant Education program provides assistance on the basis of immigration status. In 1995, roughly \$1.6 billion in DOEd funding supported services that benefited about 4.2 million students with limited English proficiency.

Chapter 8, Immigration and Social Services, incorporates material from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the Social Security Administration (SSA), and the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s (USDA) Food and Consumer Service program. All three agencies administer programs designed to provide income support for needy persons or to alleviate the effects of poverty in other ways. Many of these programs compile data on the immigration status or country of birth of their service populations, making it possible to estimate the extent to which foreign-born persons are served. Other programs have provided a more general range of services and, during the reporting period, did not maintain records on immigration status. (Limitations on the access of noncitizens to many of these programs under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 were not in effect during the period covered by this report.) HHS reports that in 1994, about 5.8 percent of recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children were immigrants, of whom about one-third had arrived as refugees. HHS, through its Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), also administers a program of services designed to help recently arrived refugees become resettled and find jobs. During the early 1990’s, ORR’s budget averaged about \$400 million yearly. The SSA reports substantial growth in the number of aliens receiving benefits under its Supplemental Security Income program, from 320,000 in 1988 to 738,000 in 1994. The USDA reports that 1.9 million aliens were living in households receiving food stamps in 1994.

Part IV, State Impacts. Chapter 9, Immigrants in Selected States, addresses the requirement in the law for a description of the effect of immigrants on specific States. The seven States with the largest foreign-born populations according to the 1990 census were selected: California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, and Massachusetts. These states contained 41.4 percent of the total U.S. population in 1990 but 75.8 percent of the foreign-born population. Data are also presented for the “balance of the United States.” Tabulation of selected characteristics of the foreign-born population (labor force participation rate, unemployment rate, educational attainment, income and poverty levels, school enrollment, and English-speaking ability) shows wide variability among that population, distributed unevenly among the States. This indicates one reason why no national consensus exists regarding the effect of immigration. For example, in California and Texas, the foreign-born population had relatively little formal education and a higher than average unemployment rate. Even though foreign-born persons in those two States were more likely to be in the labor force and earning wages than the national average, they were also more likely to be

living in poverty and be disadvantaged in other ways.¹ On the other hand, the foreign-born population in New Jersey was well educated, with high labor force participation and low unemployment. Foreign-born persons in the “balance of the United States” are much more like those in New Jersey than those in California and Texas.

Part V, International Impacts. The chapters in this section place migration to the United States in an international context. Chapter 10, Selected Economic Impacts of International Migration, was contributed by the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce. This chapter presents estimates of four categories of international transactions related to nonimmigrant and immigrant flows: travel expenditures in the United States by foreign visitors, their related passenger fares paid to U.S. carriers, education services to foreign students, and personal remittances by foreign-born residents in the United States to persons abroad. The first three are major components of rapidly expanding exports of U.S. services, while the fourth is a major component of private unilateral transfers.

Chapter 11, The Foreign Policy Impact of Immigration, was authored by the U.S. Department of State. Immigration issues continue to play an important role in the foreign relations of the United States. U.S. immigration laws have traditionally been generous, and the United States has long been the favored destination of large numbers of immigrants. Their participation in the fabric of American life has strengthened the relationships between their native countries and the United States. Many foreign governments pay close attention to U.S. immigration law and policy and often lobby for liberal immigration benefits for their nationals.

Recommendations

This report does not make recommendations on changes in numerical limitations or other policies under Title II of the INA bearing on the admission and entry of aliens to the United States.

¹ The apparent paradox of a high unemployment rate coexisting with a high labor force participation rate in California and Texas indicates that many foreign-born persons residing there were actively seeking work but were not employed at the time of the census.

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Introduction

In November 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 was signed into law. This legislation represented a new approach on the part of the United States to control immigration, particularly illegal immigration. To deter illegal migration, the Act authorized an increase in border enforcement and made it illegal for an employer to knowingly hire an alien who does not have permission to work in this country. These enforcement measures were balanced with programs that legalized the status of illegal aliens who entered the country prior to January 1, 1982, or who worked as agricultural laborers for at least 90 days in specific perishable commodities during the May 1985 through May 1986 period.

While IRCA is best known for these measures dealing with illegal immigration, it contained a number of other provisions, including major reporting requirements on the implementation and impact of IRCA and other aspects of immigration. The most comprehensive of these requirements is a triennial report on immigration mandated in Section 401. Beginning in January 1989 and continuing every third year thereafter, a comprehensive report on the impact of immigration is required to be submitted to the Congress. Each report must provide the following for the preceding 3-year period and project it for the succeeding 5-year period:

1. The number and classification of aliens admitted (whether as immediate relatives, special immigrants, refugees, under the preference classification, or as nonimmigrants), paroled, or granted asylum during the relevant period.
2. A reasonable estimate of the number of aliens who entered the United States during the period without visas or who became deportable during the period under Section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA).
3. A description of the impact of admissions and other entries of immigrants, refugees, asylees, and parolees into the United States during the reporting period on the economy, labor, and housing markets; the education system; social services; foreign policy; environmental quality and resources; the rate, size, and distribution of population growth in the United States; and the impact on specific States and local units of government with high rates of immigration resettlement.

The report may also include recommendations on changes in numerical limitation or other policies under Title II of INA bearing on the admission and entry of aliens to the United States.

The inclusion of Section 401 within IRCA reflects the belief on the part of Congress in the need to examine, comprehensively and on a regular basis, the increasingly complex issue of the effect of immigration on the United States.

Responsibility for Triennial Report

The lead responsibility for the development and production of the report was given to the Attorney General in coordination with the Secretary of Labor by Executive Order on February 10, 1992. On behalf of the Attorney General, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) contacted the other Federal agencies whose responsibilities fall in the areas to be addressed in this report. The Departments of State (DOS), Labor (DOL), Health and Human Services (DHHS), Agriculture (USDA), Education (DOEd), Commerce (DOC), and Housing and Urban Development (HUD), as well as the Social Security Administration (SSA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) were requested to prepare sections for the report.

These agencies differ widely in their responsibility for immigration matters, and their ability to provide information concerning the impact of immigration on their program areas also varies. This edition of the Triennial Report includes sections discussing the impact of immigration on labor markets and the economy (DOL and DOC), the education system (DOEd), social services (DHHS, SSA, and USDA), foreign policy (DOS), and the population of the United States (Bureau of the Census). The INS prepared a section on the number, categories, and location of aliens in the United States. The INS also compiled the sections contributed by the other agencies and used material on the foreign-born population from the 1990 Census of

Population to prepare additional material, including introductions to selected sections and a discussion of immigrants in seven major States.

Coverage, Content, and Organization of the Triennial Report

This comprehensive report on immigration contains, as required, information on all major categories of immigration and material addressing the effect of immigration on a wide variety of subject areas. The material is organized by subject matter area into the following five parts:

Part I, Population Impacts: Migration and Population Change, addresses population impacts of immigration and contains material prepared by the INS and the Bureau of the Census. Chapter 1, International Migration to the United States, defines and examines various immigrant and nonimmigrant categories. Included are projected immigration levels by category for fiscal years (FYs) 1995-1999, along with data on the number of immigrants and those in other significant categories who entered the country during FYs 1988-1994. The primary focus of this chapter is on lawful, permanent legal migration but it also includes estimates of the number of aliens who enter without visas or who arrive with nonimmigrant visas and fail to depart before the visa expires. Estimates of the rate of emigration of legal permanent residents from the United States are also included. Chapter 2, Immigration and Population Change in the United States, prepared by the Bureau of the Census, presents data on the growth of the total U.S. population and its foreign-born component between the 1980 and 1990 censuses, updated through 1995, and projections of growth through 2000. The updates and projections employed data from the Current Population Survey.

Part II, Economic Impacts: The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Labor Market, addresses labor force impacts and consists of Chapter 3, The Labor Market Integration of Immigrants, through Chapter 6, Professional Labor Markets and Immigration, which were prepared by DOL and cover the general and specific effects of immigration. Each chapter has a suggested bibliography for further reading.

Part III, Education and Social Services Impacts, describes social service programs emphasizing the extent to which they serve immigrants; with chapters prepared by DOEd, DHHS, SSA, and the USDA. Introductory descriptive material for Chapter 7, Impact of Immigrant Students on the U.S. Educational System, and Chapter 8, Immigration and Social Services, was prepared by INS staff using data from the 1990 census.

Part IV, State Impacts (Chapter 9, Immigrants in Selected States) presents data on selected measurable aspects of the effect of immigration on the seven States with the largest numbers of foreign-born residents. It was also prepared by INS staff with data from the 1990 census made available by the Bureau of the Census.

Part V, International Impacts, addresses the international impact of immigration, with Chapter 10, Selected Economic Impacts of International Migration, prepared by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (DOC) and Chapter 11, The Foreign Policy Impact of Immigration, by the DOS.

For the issue areas of the housing market and environmental quality, no specific material is included because insufficient information is available to support such a discussion. Letters to this effect from the appropriate Federal agencies are appended.

Each major section of the report is introduced by a cover page that contains an abstract of the material presented, as well as the name and mailing address of the agency responsible for the preparation of the section. Detailed tables of contents are provided for the larger sections: Chapter 1, Part II (Chapters 3 through 6), and Chapter 8.

As mentioned previously, 5-year projections have been included for expected immigration as well as for the total U.S. population. However, for topic areas such as foreign policy, education, and social services, 5-year projections could not reliably be made. In addition, the 1996 amendments to the immigration and welfare laws are expected to have significant effects on the use by immigrants of social services and possibly on

immigration trends as well. The period covered by this report does not encompass these changes, and it was not possible to take them into account in constructing the projections.

The report does not examine in detail the special programs created by the enactment of IRCA or the specific impacts of those programs. These programs have been discussed and analyzed in other reports mandated by IRCA, including state legalization impact assistance grants, the legalization and special agricultural worker programs, and employer sanctions.

Finally, where appropriate, the report includes discussions regarding promising avenues for future research and data collection. Recommendations regarding changes to Title II of the INA are not made in this report.

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Part I

Population Impacts:

Migration And Population Change

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International Migration to the United States

Abstract

Aliens can be admitted legally to the United States in a variety of ways: as immigrants, nonimmigrants, refugees, asylees, and parolees. Some of these statuses confer a right to remain permanently, and some are temporary. Because an alien entering in one category can change status to another, these categories are not mutually exclusive. This chapter presents and analyzes data on the various types of aliens admitted to the United States from 1988-1994 and projects admissions for the period of 1995-1999. In addition, this chapter provides estimates of the emigration of persons residing in the United States and of the resident illegal alien population.

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Legal Immigrants

Introduction

During fiscal years (FYs) 1988-1994, a total of 7.8 million immigrants were granted permanent legal resident status in the United States.¹ This statistic represents an annual average rate of about 4.5 immigrants per 1,000 residents, the highest since the decade ending in 1920, but less than one-half the rate of 10.4 that occurred during the peak immigration period of 1901-1910.

About 5.1 million of the 7.8 million aliens were admitted under the general provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), the basic law that defines who may enter the United States. These statistics are depicted in Table 1. About one-third (2.7 million) of the total were legalized under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 that permitted many illegal resident aliens to adjust to legal status. IRCA legalization, concentrated in FYs 1989-1992, led to a record high in legal immigration in 1991. By 1993, legal immigration had fallen to about one-half the 1991 level.

TABLE 1.—Immigrant Admissions: FYs 1988-1994

Year	Total	IRCA	Exc. IRCA
1988	643,025	—	643,025
1989	1,090,924	478,814	612,110
1990	1,536,483	880,372	656,111
1991	1,827,167	1,123,162	704,005
1992	973,977	163,342	810,635
1993	904,292	24,278	880,014
1994	804,416	6,022	798,394
Total	7,780,284	2,675,990	5,104,294

Immigration, excluding IRCA, increased during the 1988-1994 period, reflecting changes in the INA and continuing a long-term trend since the end of World War II. In 1994, nearly 800,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States, approximately one-quarter more than in FY 1988. (The Projections section provides a discussion of future trends on legal immigration.)

This section is subdivided into two subsections. The first summarizes the INA and revisions to it that affected legal immigration during the 1988-1994 period. In addition to IRCA, the Immigration Act of 1990 (IMMACT90) brought about changes in the preference system governing legal immigration and increased the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States. The second examines selected characteristics of legal immigrants, including admission category, intended State of residence and metropolitan destination, age and gender, and country of birth.

¹ All data presented in Chapter 1 can be found in the *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, various years, unless otherwise noted.

I: Immigration Law

Immigration Defined

For the purposes of this report, immigrants are persons admitted to the United States for permanent residence, who either have immigrant visas issued overseas or adjust their status in the United States to permanent residence. Included as immigrants are persons entering the United States for the first time with immigrant visas, persons adjusting their status from temporary nonimmigrant categories to permanent resident status, and refugees and asylees who have fulfilled their residency requirements and are becoming permanent residents.

Data on immigration included in this section were obtained from Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) administrative records. These data provide information on the flow of aliens who become legal permanent residents during a year or other specified time period.² The year of admission or adjustment to legal permanent residence is generally not the same as the year of entry for aliens who live in the United States some time before becoming legal residents (for example, refugees, asylees, or students and temporary workers who obtain permanent jobs and adjust their status under an employment category).

Immigration Law: FYs1988-1991

U.S. law authorizes the granting of immigrant status in three broad categories: family reunification, employment, and humanitarian reasons. Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens are admitted to the United States without numerical limitation. Other relatives of U.S. citizens, relatives of legal permanent residents, and aliens with certain job skills are admitted subject to annual numerical limits under a preference system. Still other aliens are admitted under temporary or time-limited provisions.

Immigrants Exempt From Limitation

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens were admitted exempt from any numerical limitation during FYs1988-1991. The three types of immediate relatives were:

- **Spouses of U.S. citizens**—Spouses of native-born or naturalized U.S. citizens².
- **Children of U.S. citizens**—Children (including adopted orphans) of native-born or naturalized U.S. citizens³.
- **Parents of U.S. citizens**—Parents of native-born or naturalized U.S. citizens where the petitioning citizen was at least 21 years of age.

² The Census Bureau provides information on the total foreign-born population at one point in time. Census data distinguish citizens from noncitizens but make no distinction between legal and illegal residents.

³ Included in this group are “conditional immigrants” who, because of the passage of the Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendments of 1986, are either the spouses of U.S. citizens or the children of such spouses who are immigrating based on marriages of less than 2 years. After the second anniversary of acquiring lawful permanent resident status, these family members of U.S. citizens are required to apply to have the conditions on their permanent resident status removed.

Immigrants Subject to Limitation: Preference Immigrants

Under the provisions of the INA, in effect until 1992, a worldwide maximum of 270,000 visas were available under a preference system to persons wishing to immigrate to the United States (see Table 2). The preference system consisted of seven categories. Four were family preferences with a total limit of 216,000. About one-half of the family preferences were designated for the spouses and offspring of legal permanent residents and the brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens ages 21 and older. There were 2 employment preferences with a limit of 54,000 visas divided between professional and unskilled occupations.⁴ The seventh, or nonpreference, category—available if applications for family or employment preference visas fell below the limits—had not been used since FY1978 except for the following special classes added in FYs 1988-1991:

- **Nationals of adversely affected countries**—Natives of 36 countries that were determined to be “adversely affected” by the INA (where the annual average rate of immigration was higher between 1953-65 than 1966-85). The number of visas issued to persons entering under this category was limited to 5,000 in 1988 and 15,000 a year during the period 1989-1991.
- **Nationals of under-represented countries**—Natives of countries that used less than 25 percent of the per-country limit of 20,000 visas allocated under the preference system in 1988 (Natives of only 13 countries were exempt from this program. The number of visas issued to persons entering under this category were limited to 10,000 a year in 1990 and 1991. Selection for this category and natives of adversely affected countries was determined by lottery systems.)

Country limits were imposed on the preference system. No more than 20,000 could be issued to nationals of any 1 independent country and no more than 5,000 to a dependency.

Immigrants Subject to Other Limits

The remaining immigrants were not subject to the preference limit of 270,000, but were subject to a variety of other limits. Many of these categories involved a fixed number of immigrants because they were either temporary or had time-limited provisions. Still other categories, such as refugees and asylees, were permanent provisions of the INA but were subject to their own limit. These categories included the following:

- **Refugee adjustments**—Refugees who had resided in the United States for at least 1 year. The number of refugee adjustments to permanent resident status is not limited in number. However, the number of individuals who are granted refugee status and arrive in the United States is limited and is determined annually by the President in consultation with Congress.
- **Asylee adjustments**—Asylees who had resided in the United States for at least 1 year. No more than 5,000 asylees were allowed to adjust to permanent resident status in FYs1988-1990. Beginning in FY1991, the limit on asylees was increased to 10,000; exempt from any limitation were asylees who had applied for adjustment before June 1, 1990.⁵
- **Amerasians**—Beginning in FY1988, Vietnamese persons born between January 1, 1962, and January 1, 1976, who were fathered by U.S. citizens. (Their spouses, children, mothers, or guardians could accompany them as immigrants.)
- **Cuban/Haitian entrants**—Certain Cubans and Haitians who entered the United States before 1982 during the time of the Mariel Boatlift.

⁴ Note that the limits apply to the number of immigrants visas issued in a fiscal year. Because a visa is valid for 4 months, (6 months effective October 1, 1997) the number of immigrants admitted will differ from the specified limitation in any particular year.

⁵ One of the provisions of IMMACT90 that became effective before FY1992.

- **Parolees, (Soviet and Indochinese)**—Aliens born in Indochina or the republics of the former Soviet Union who were denied refugee status abroad and paroled into the United States between August 15, 1988, and September 30, 1994 (later extended).
- **Special immigrants**—Certain ministers of religion, employees of the U.S. government abroad, naturalized aliens who lost their U.S. citizenship, foreign medical graduates, and retired employees of specific international organizations.
- **Registered nurses**—Certain registered nurses who were in the United States as of September 1, 1989, as H-1 temporary workers.
- **Registry aliens**—Aliens with continuous residence in the United States in an unlawful status since January 1, 1972, were eligible to have a record of admission created for permanent residence immediately upon approval of their application.
- **Suspension of deportation**—Under the law in effect during FYs1988-1991, aliens granted suspension of deportation must have been continuously residing in the United States for 7 years or more before filing for adjustment of status except for those who served in the Armed Forces and received an honorable discharge or those whose absence from the United States was brief, casual, and innocent.

IRCA Legalization—The major goal of IRCA (Public Law 99-603) was to decrease the number of illegal aliens in the United States by creating sanctions against employers who knowingly, or in some cases negligently, hired them. IRCA also allowed the following two groups of illegal aliens to become temporary and then permanent residents:

- **Legalized aliens**—Aliens who continuously resided illegally in the United States before January 1, 1982, were eligible to apply for temporary resident status between May 5, 1987, and May 4, 1988. After 1 year of temporary residence, aliens could become permanent residents if they had continuously resided in the United States since the acquisition of temporary resident status, were admissible as immigrants and had not been convicted of any felony or three misdemeanors in the United States, and demonstrated basic citizenship skills.
- **Special Agricultural Workers (SAWs)**—Aliens who could prove that they performed field labor in a qualified perishable agricultural commodity for at least 90 days during the year ending May 1, 1986, were eligible for temporary resident status. Permanent resident status under the SAW program was conferred without additional qualifying requirements.

Immigration Law: FYs1992-1994

IMMACT90 (Public Law 101-649) represented a major revision of the INA. Under IMMACT90, admissions to the United States continued to be based primarily on a family relationship with a legal permanent resident or U.S. citizen (family-sponsored) and secondarily on job skills (employment-based). Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens continued to be exempt from prespecified annual limits. The Act, however, significantly increased the limit on preference immigrants with most of the increase allocated to employment-based visas, as shown in Table 2. The Act also expanded the two-tier preference system to include a permanent diversity program subject to numerical limit for aliens from under-represented countries. The major provisions of IMMACT90 affecting legal immigration levels became effective in FY1992. The permanent diversity program did not become effective until FY1995. During the transition years from 1992-1994, visas were allotted for diversity immigrants and dependents of IRCA legalization immigrants.

IMMACT90 increased the level of immigration subject to numerical limit from 270,000 for FYs1988-1991 to a worldwide flexible cap of 700,000 for FYs1992-1994. Beginning in FY1992, a floor of 226,000 visas was established for family-based preference immigrants. However, the limit could increase to a maximum of 465,000 if immediate relative admissions in the previous year fell below a specified level. Beginning in FY1995, the worldwide cap was reduced to 675,000.

TABLE 2.—Legal Immigration Levels and Limits

	FYs1988-1991	FYs1992-1994	FY1995-
Not Subject to Numerical Limits			
Immediate Relatives of U.S. Citizens	No Limit	No Limit	No Limit
Subject to Numerical Limits			
Family-sponsored preferences	216,000	226,000 ²	226,000 ²
Employment-based preferences	54,000	140,000 ²	140,000 ²
Diversity	-	-	55,000
Diversity Transition	-	40,000	-
IRCA legalization dependents	-	55,000 ¹	-
Nationals of adversely affected countries	1988 - 5,000 1989-91 - 15,000	-	-
Nationals of under-represented countries	1990-91 - 10,000	-	-
Subject to Other Limits			
Refugees	Admission Limits	Admission Limits	Admission Limits
Asylee adjustments	1988-90 - 5,000 1991 - 10,000	10,000	10,000
IRCA Legalization	Potential adjustments limited to persons granted temporary residence under IRCA	Potential adjustments limited to persons granted temporary residence under IRCA	Potential adjustments limited to persons granted temporary residence under IRCA
Certain categories involving small numbers of immigrants (see pages 7-8)	Various Limits	Various Limits	Various Limits
Worldwide Level	270,000	700,000	675,000

¹ Maximum limit

² Minimum limit

Changes in Immigrants Exempt from Limitation

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens continue to be exempt from limitation under IMMACT90. Beginning in 1992, however, widows or widowers of U.S. citizens were allowed to immigrate as immediate relatives if they remained unmarried and applied to enter no more than 2 years after the death of their spouse.

Changes in Immigrants Subject to Limitation: Preference Immigrants and Transition

Limits on the total number of preference immigrants (family- and employment-based) increased from 270,000 during FYs1988-1991 to a minimum of 366,000 during FYs1992-1994. There also were two new transitional categories added with a combined maximum limit of 95,000.

Family-Sponsored Immigrants

The minimum limit for family-sponsored preferences was increased slightly from 216,000 to a minimum of 226,000 in FYs1992-1994. For FYs1992-1994, the maximum was set at 465,000 minus the amount by which admissions of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens in the previous year exceeded 239,000.⁶ For FY1995 and beyond the maximum was increased to 480,000, raising the threshold for immediate relative admissions to 254,000.

Most of the changes in the family-sponsored preferences mandated by IMMACT90 were in the second preference category. (See Table 3.) This category includes spouses, minor children (under 21 years old), and unmarried sons and daughters (21 years old or more) of legal permanent residents. The total number of available visas increased from 70,000 to 114,200 under IMMACT90.⁷ In addition, 77 percent of the second preference visas were reserved for spouses and minor children and 75 percent of these visas were exempt from the country-specific limitation.

The number of first-preference visas (unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) declined from 54,000 to 23,400 under IMMACT90. Third- (previously fourth-) preference visas (married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) declined slightly from 27,000 to 23,400. The number of fourth- (previously fifth-) preference visas available remained near 65,000.

Employment-Based Immigrants

While the family-based preference categories were not revised greatly by IMMACT90, the employment-based categories were completely redefined and expanded with the intention of attracting more skilled immigrants. IMMACT90 increased the annual limit on employment-based visas from 54,000 to 140,000 beginning in 1992. The number of preference categories was also expanded. Under IMMACT90, first-preference admissions are designated for priority workers, including aliens with extraordinary abilities, outstanding professors or researchers, and multinational executives or managers. Second-preference admissions are reserved for professionals with advanced degrees. Third-preference admissions includes skilled and unskilled workers. Fourth-preference admissions for special immigrants includes ministers, religious workers, and former U.S. Government employees among others. Fifth-preference admissions is a new category under IMMACT90 for “employment creation” immigrants, or investors.

IMMACT90 also allotted a higher proportion of visas to highly skilled immigrants and their families. Before the Act, 27,000 visas were issued to highly skilled immigrants and their family members, and 27,000 were issued to skilled and unskilled workers and their family members. Under IMMACT90, approximately 110,000 visas were made available to highly skilled immigrants (first- and second-preference categories, and 30,000 of the 40,000 in the third-preference category) and only 10,000 to unskilled workers (third-preference visas). The remaining 20,000 visas were provided to special immigrants and immigrant investors who create jobs in the United States.

In addition, within the overall (minimum) limitation of 366,000 family-sponsored and employment-based visas, the per-country limit was also calculated annually and was limited to 7 percent of the annual total; the limit for dependent areas was limited to 2 percent of the annual total.

Transitional Categories

Under IMMACT90, two major new categories of aliens were allotted visas during the transitional period from 1992-1994: legalization dependents and diversity immigrants (See Table 2).

⁵ Minus children born subsequent to the issuance of a visa to an accompanying parent and children born abroad to lawful permanent residents on temporary trips abroad plus certain unused preferences in the previous fiscal year.

⁷ Plus, under both provisions, any unused visas in higher preferences.

TABLE 3.—Worldwide Levels of Immigration: Preference System Limits FYs1988-1994

FY1988-FY1991			FY1992-FY1994		
Preference	Provision	Allocation	Preference	Provision	Allocation
Family-based preferences			Family-based preferences		
First	Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens ⁵	20% or 54,000	First	Same as FY1988-FY1991	23,400 ¹
Second	Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens ⁵	26% or 70,200 ³	Second	Same as FY1988-FY1991	114,200 ²
Fourth	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens ⁶	10% or 27,000 ³	Third	Same as fourth in FY1988-FY1991	23,400 ³
Fifth	Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens (21 years or older) ⁶	24% or 64,800 ³	Fourth	Same as fifth in FY1988-FY1991	65,000 ³
Subtotal		216,000	Subtotal		226,000
Employment-based preferences			Employment-based preferences		
Third	Members of the professions of exceptional ability ⁶	10% or 27,000	First	Priority workers ⁶	28.6% or 40,400 ⁴
Sixth	Workers in skilled/unskilled occupations in short supply ⁶	10% or 27,000	Second	Professionals with advanced degrees or aliens of exceptional ability ⁶	28.6% or 40,400 ³
			Third	Skilled workers, professionals, needed unskilled workers (limited to 10,000) ⁶	28.6% or 40,400 ³
			Fourth	Special immigrants	7.1% or 9,940
			Fifth	Employment creation ("Investors")	7.1% or 9,940
Subtotal		54,000	Subtotal		140,000
Total		270,000	Total		366,000

Note: For 1988-1991, numbers that were not used in higher preferences could be used in lower preferences.

¹ Plus the number of unused family fourth-preference visas

² Plus the number of visas by which the worldwide level exceeds 226,000; plus unused first-preference family visas

³ Plus the number of unused visas from higher preferences

⁴ Plus the number of visas from the employment fourth- and fifth-preferences

⁵ And their children

⁶ And their spouses and children

Legalization Dependents

Up to 55,000 spouses and minor children of aliens legalized under the provisions of IRCA were allowed to immigrate to the United States during FYs1992-1994. The number of visas issued each year was limited to 55,000 minus the amount that immediate relative immigrants exceeded 239,000 in the previous year.

Diversity Immigrants

Up to 40,000 aliens from countries “adversely affected” by the INA were allowed to immigrate as diversity immigrants, replacing the earlier categories for nationals of adversely affected or under-represented countries (p.7). Natives of 34 countries were identified as eligible for the program in 1992 as evidenced by a decrease in total immigration after the 1965 amendments went into effect.⁸ A minimum of 40 percent of the 120,000 diversity visas issued over the 3-year period from 1992-1994 were reserved for natives of Ireland.

In 1995, the diversity transition provision was replaced by a permanent diversity program providing 55,000 visas annually to natives of countries that had not had high levels of immigration in the preceding 5 years.

Changes for Immigrants Subject to Other Limits

IMMACT90 increased the numerical limit on asylee adjustments to legal resident status from 5,000 to 10,000 annually in FY1991 and exempted asylees who had applied for adjustment before June 1, 1990, from any limitation.⁹

⁸ Natives of Canada were eligible for participation in the program in 1993.

⁹ For further discussion of refugee and asylee admissions, see the Refugees and Asylees section in this chapter .

II: Immigrant Characteristics

Category of Admission

Of the total 7.8 million aliens admitted as legal immigrants during FYs1988-1994, 40 percent (3.1 million) were family sponsored either as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens exempt from numerical limits or family preferences subject to limit, as shown in Table 4. IRCA legalization accounted for the next largest group of immigrants (2.7 million), followed by refugees and asylees (.8 million), and employment-based preference immigrants (.6 million). These categories combined accounted for 93 percent of all legal immigration during the period.

TABLE 4.—Admission Category by Size: FYs1988-1994

	Million	Percent ¹
Total immigration 1988-1994	7.8	100
Family-sponsored	3.1	40
Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens	1.6	21
Family-based preferences	1.5	19
IRCA legalization	2.7	35
Refugees and asylees	0.8	10
Employment-based preferences	0.6	8
Other	0.6	7

¹May not add to 100 percent because of rounding.

The preference system accounted for a smaller proportion of immigrants during FYs1988-1994 than in previous years. Preference immigrants accounted for 48 percent of all admissions during FYs1980-1987 and 42 percent during FYs1988-1994, excluding IRCA. Including IRCA, preference immigrants represented only a little more than one-quarter (27 percent) of all immigrants during the 1988-1994 period.

Family-Sponsored Immigrants

The number of aliens granted permanent residence between 1988 and 1994 was fairly evenly divided between immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (1.6 million) and family-preference immigrants (1.5 million), as shown in Table 5. If there were no numerical limits, admissions under the family-preference category would have been much higher. The immediate family figure represents the totality of petitions because that group is not subject to an annual numerical limit. The preference figure, by contrast, represents only a portion of petitions filed because the number of visas granted (and therefore admissions) is governed under the annual limits in the INA.

Immediate Relatives of U.S. Citizens

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens accounted for 21 percent of all immigrants during FYs1988-1994, making this the second largest single category after IRCA legalization. Annual admissions of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens increased during this period to nearly 250,000 in FY1994, up 14 percent from 1988. Immigration of immediate relatives is expected to grow as naturalization increases and the new citizens sponsor their relatives (see Projections section).

TABLE 5.—Immigrants Admitted by Major Categories of Admission: FYs1988-1994

Category of Admission	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All immigrants, total	643,025	100	1,090,924	100	1,536,483	100	1,827,167	100	973,977	100	904,292	100	804,416	100	7,780,284	100
Non-IRCA immigrants, total	643,025	100	612,110	56.1	656,111	42.7	704,005	38.5	810,635	83.2	880,014	97.3	798,394	99.3	5,104,294	65.6
Immed. rel. of U.S. citizens	219,340	34.1	217,514	19.9	231,680	15.1	237,103	13.0	235,484	24.2	255,059	28.2	249,764	31.0	1,645,944	21.2
Spouses	130,977	20.4	125,744	11.5	125,426	8.2	125,397	6.9	128,396	13.2	145,843	16.1	145,247	18.1	927,030	11.9
Parents	47,500	7.4	50,494	4.6	60,189	3.9	63,576	3.5	64,764	6.6	62,428	6.9	56,370	7.0	405,321	5.2
Children	40,863	6.4	41,276	3.8	40,065	3.0	48,130	2.6	42,324	4.3	46,788	5.2	48,147	6.0	313,593	4.0
Preference immigrants	259,499	40.4	274,833	25.2	272,742	17.8	275,613	15.1	329,321	33.8	373,788	41.3	335,252	41.7	2,121,048	27.3
Family-sponsored	200,772	31.2	217,092	19.9	214,550	14.0	216,088	11.8	213,123	21.9	226,776	25.1	211,961	26.3	1,500,362	19.3
Unmarr. s/d of U.S. citizens	12,107	1.9	13,259	1.2	15,861	1.0	15,385	0.8	12,486	1.3	12,819	1.4	13,181	1.6	95,098	1.2
Spouses of alien residents	102,777	16.0	112,771	10.3	107,686	7.0	110,126	6.0	118,247	12.1	128,308	14.2	115,000	14.3	794,915	10.2
Married s/d of U.S. citizens	21,940	3.4	26,975	2.5	26,751	1.7	27,115	1.5	22,195	2.3	23,385	2.6	22,191	2.8	170,552	2.2
Siblings of U.S. citizens	63,948	9.9	64,087	5.9	64,252	4.2	63,462	3.5	60,195	6.2	62,264	6.9	61,589	7.7	439,797	5.7
Employment-based	58,727	9.1	57,741	5.3	58,192	3.8	59,525	3.3	116,198	11.9	147,012	16.3	123,291	15.3	620,686	8.0
Priority workers	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	5,456	0.6	21,114	2.3	21,053	2.6	47,623	0.6
Prof. Adv. Deg., except. Abil.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	58,401	6.0	29,468	3.3	14,432	1.8	102,301	1.3
Skilled workers, profess.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	47,568	4.9	87,689	9.7	76,956	9.6	212,213	2.7
Special immigrants	5,120	0.8	4,986	0.5	4,463	0.3	4,576	0.3	4,063	0.4	8,158	0.9	10,406	1.3	41,772	0.5
Employment creation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	59	0.0	583	0.1	444	0.1	1,086	0.0
Pre-1992	53,607	8.3	52,755	4.8	53,729	3.5	54,949	3.0	651	0.1	x	x	x	x	215,691	2.8
Transition	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	86,183	8.8	88,812	9.8	75,130	9.3	250,125	3.2
Diversity	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	33,911	3.5	33,468	3.7	41,056	5.1	108,435	1.4
Legalization dependents	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	52,272	5.4	55,344	6.1	34,074	4.2	141,690	1.8
Refugees and Asylees	81,719	12.7	84,288	7.7	97,364	6.3	139,079	7.6	117,037	12.0	127,343	14.1	121,434	15.1	768,264	9.9
Refugee adjustments	76,274	11.9	79,143	7.3	92,427	6.0	116,415	6.4	106,379	10.9	115,539	12.8	115,451	14.4	701,628	9.0
Asylee adjustments	5,445	0.8	5,145	0.5	4,937	0.3	22,664	1.2	10,658	1.1	11,804	1.3	5,983	0.7	66,636	0.9

TABLE 5.—Immigrants Admitted by Major Categories of Admission: FYs1988-1994 (continued)

Category of Admission	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Other	82,467	12.8	35,475	3.3	54,325	3.5	52,210	2.9	42,610	4.4	35,012	3.9	16,814	2.1	318,913	4.1
Amerasians	319	0.0	8,589	0.8	13,059	0.8	16,010	0.9	17,253	1.8	11,116	1.2	2,822	0.4	69,168	0.9
Child. brn abrd to alien res.	2,997	0.5	2,740	0.3	2,410	0.2	2,224	0.1	2,116	0.2	2,030	0.2	1,883	0.2	16,400	0.2
Cuban/Haitian entrants	29,002	4.5	2,816	0.3	710	0.0	213	0.0	99	0.0	62	0.0	47	0.0	32,949	0.4
Nationals advrs. countries	6,029	0.9	7,068	0.6	20,371	1.3	12,268	0.7	1,557	0.2	10	0.0	x	x	47,303	0.6
Natives of underrep. cntrys	x	x	x	x	8,790	0.6	9,802	0.5	880	0.1	2	0.0	x	x	19,474	0.3
Parolees, Soviet, Indchns	x	x	x	x	x	x	4,998	0.3	13,661	1.4	15,772	1.7	8,253	1.0	42,684	0.5
Registered nurses	x	x	x	x	2,954	0.2	3,069	0.2	3,572	0.4	2,178	0.2	304	0.0	12,077	0.2
Registry, ent. Before 1/1/72	39,999	6.2	10,570	1.0	4,633	0.3	2,282	0.1	1,293	0.1	938	0.1	667	0.1	60,382	0.8
Suspension of deportation	3,772	0.6	3,384	0.3	889	0.1	782	0.0	1,013	0.1	1,468	0.2	2,220	0.3	13,528	0.2
Other	349	0.1	308	0.0	509	0.0	562	0.0	1,166	0.1	1,436	0.2	618	0.1	4,948	0.1
IRCA immigrants, total	x	x	478,814	43.9	880,372	57.3	1,123,162	61.5	163,342	16.8	24,278	2.7	6,022	0.7	2,675,990	34.4
Residents since 1982	x	x	478,814	43.9	823,704	53.6	214,003	11.7	46,962	4.8	18,717	2.1	4,436	0.6	1,586,636	20.4
Special agr. workers	x	x	x	x	56,668	3.7	909,159	49.8	116,380	11.9	5,561	0.6	1,586	0.2	1,089,354	14.0

Spouses accounted for slightly more than one-half of immediate relatives, followed by parents, and minor children. In 1994, spouses and children in the immediate relative category were more likely than other immigrants to have been born in North American countries, especially Mexico and the Dominican Republic. More than one-half of the parents admitted were born in Asian countries, including the Philippines, China, and India.

Family Preferences

Demand for family-preference visas exceeded the available supply during the period. As a result, admissions closely tracked the limit of 216,000 during 1988-1991 and 226,000 in 1992-1994.

Demand varied by preference category. Most of the relatives awaiting a visa during the period were either second-preference immigrants (spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of legal permanent residents) or fourth-preference (fifth in 1988-91) immigrants (brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens).

The second-preference category, with nearly 800,000 admissions in FYs1988-1994, accounted for about one-half of all family-preference immigrants. More than one-half of those admitted during FYs1992-1994 were exempt from the per-country limits under a special provision of IMMACT90. This provision allowed higher levels of immigration from Mexico and the Dominican Republic than would otherwise have been possible and also reduced waiting time for visas. Nonetheless, in January 1994, the waiting list for second-preference visas was 1.5 million aliens; 54 percent were from Mexico.¹⁰

The fourth-preference (sibling) category, with nearly 440,000 admissions in FYs1988-1994, represented more than one-quarter of all family-preference admissions during the period. The fourth-preference category had the longest waiting list for immigrant visas with 1.6 million applicants in January 1994. The countries with the largest numbers of applicants were the Philippines, India, and China.¹¹

Third preference admissions (married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) totaled 170,000 during the period. Demand for visas for this preference also exceeded the supply. More than one-half of aliens on the waiting list in January 1994 were from the Philippines.¹²

The first-preference category (unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) totaled 95,000 during FYs1988-1994. Visas under this preference were immediately available in January 1994 except to residents of Mexico or the Philippines.¹³

Employment-Based Immigrants

The annual average number of employment-based admissions more than doubled between FYs1988-1991 (58,000) and FYs1992-1994 (129,000). This was primarily because of the increase in the annual limit from 54,000 to 140,000.

During FYs1992-1994, admissions for most preferences were below the limits. Both first- (priority workers) and second- (professionals with advanced degrees) preference admissions were below the 40,000 limit with an annual average of 16,000 and 34,000 admissions, respectively. The use of second-preference visas would have been even lower except that applicants awaiting visas under third-preference admissions in the pre-1992 system (professionals of exceptional ability) were automatically converted to second-preference admissions. Most second-preference conversions occurred during FY1992.

¹⁰ Report of the Visa Office 1994, Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State, July 1996, pp. 160. Excludes spouses and children of legalization beneficiaries.

¹¹ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 162.

¹² Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 161.

¹³ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 160.

Admissions for third-preference immigrants (skilled workers, professionals, and needed unskilled workers) exceeded the annual 40,000 limit and averaged 71,000 annually in FYs1992-1994. This amount reflected the use of previously unused visas from higher preference categories and the Chinese Student Protection Act (CPSA) of 1992. CPSA allowed close to 50,000 Chinese nationals residing in the United States to adjust to permanent resident status under third-preference visas during 1993 and 1994. Demand for third-preference visas for unskilled workers exceeded the available supply (10,000 annually); the waiting list totaled 94,000 in January 1994 led by applicants from El Salvador (17 percent) and Korea (12 percent).¹⁴

Fourth- (special immigrants) and fifth- (employment creation) preference admissions were below the 10,000 annual limits during FYs1992-1994. Fourth-preference admissions averaged 8,000 admissions annually and fifth-preference admissions averaged less than 1,000.

Refugees and Asylees

An average of nearly 110,000 refugees and asylees adjusted to permanent resident status during FYs1988-1994. Refugees accounted for more than 90 percent of the admissions. Most of the refugees adjusting status were natives of the former republics of the Soviet Union and Vietnam (See Refugee section). The leading country of birth for asylees during FYs1988-1994 was Nicaragua.

IRCA

Nearly 1.6 million of the total 2.7 million aliens who became legal permanent residents under IRCA had been residing in the United States since 1982. More than 80 percent of this group adjusted status in FY1989 or FY1990. Most (80 percent) of the 1 million SAWs adjusted to legal status in FY1991. IRCA legalization immigrants accounted for more than one-half of all aliens granted permanent residence in 1990 and 1991. Immigration under IRCA was nearly completed at the close of FY1994 as 97 percent of all eligible aliens had been legalized.

Transition Categories

Diversity

The number of aliens admitted under diversity transition totaled more than 108,000 during FYs1992-1994. This amount was close to the limit of approximately 120,000 visas (40,000 per year) available during the period. Most of the aliens admitted during the transition period were born in either Poland (39 percent) or Ireland (36 percent).

Legalization Dependents

Approximately 142,000 immigrants were admitted between FY1992 and FY1994 as spouses and children of IRCA legalized aliens. Visa demand exceeded the limit in 1992 and 1993 (55,000) and 1994 (32,776).¹⁵ More than 70 percent of these immigrants were born in Mexico.

Other

Amerasians

Nearly 70,000 persons arrived under the Amerasian program between 1988 and 1994, with the peak flow coming in 1991 and 1992. Most of the eligible persons had arrived by the end of FY1994.

Cuban/Haitian Entrants

The number of Cuban/Haitian entrants has decreased over time because only a limited number of individuals are eligible and most have already gained permanent resident status. Adjustments to permanent resident status peaked in 1988. Most aliens admitted under the program were born in Haiti.

¹⁴ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 163.

¹⁵ Equal to 55,000 minus 22,224 (the amount by which immediate relatives admitted in 1993 [261,224] exceeded 239,000).

Adversely Affected Countries/Under-Represented Countries

Nearly 68,000 immigrants arrived under these two programs in the late 1980's and early 1990's. These programs are no longer in effect.

Soviet and Indochinese Parolees

Approximately 43,000 people adjusted their status from parolee to permanent resident status under this program from 1991-1994.

Registry

With the extension of the registry date to 1972 under IRCA, the number of aliens adjusting status peaked at almost 40,000 in 1988 and decreased in subsequent years as the eligible population declined.

Suspension of Deportation

Fewer than 4,000 aliens were admitted each year under this category during the period 1988-1994.

Geographic Residence of Immigrants

Immigration remained highly selective in terms of both State and metropolitan area of intended residence during FYs1988-1994.

Intended State of Residence

All Immigrants

Six States, the residence of 39 percent of the U.S. population in 1991, were the intended residence of 78 percent of all immigrants admitted during FYs1988-1994.¹⁶ These six States, the same top six States of intended residence of immigrants since 1971, were California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, and Illinois. (See Table 6.)

California was the intended destination of 34 percent of all immigrants admitted into the United States during FYs1988-1994. The 2.7 million immigrants during the period who expected to live in California represented 9 percent of the State's population in 1991.¹⁷ In 1995, an estimated one-quarter (24 percent) of California's population were foreign-born persons; 19 percent were not U.S. citizens.¹⁸

New York was the next most popular immigrant destination, the intended residence of nearly 1 million (12 percent) of the immigrants during the period. During FYs1988-1994, immigrants intending to live in New York accounted for 5 percent of the State's residents in 1991.¹⁹ An estimated one-sixth (16 percent) of the population of New York were foreign-born persons in 1995; 11 percent were not U.S. citizens.²⁰

Texas followed as a destination for immigrants, accounting for almost 700,000 (9 percent) of the aliens granted permanent residence during FYs1988-1994. More than 1 in 10 Texans were foreign-born persons in 1995.²¹

Florida was the fourth most popular intended State of residence during FYs1988-1994. It was the destination of nearly 450,000 (6 percent) of all immigrants. These recent immigrants represented less than 3 percent of Florida's population in 1991.²² One in seven (14 percent) Floridians in 1995, however, were foreign-born persons primarily because of the large influx of Cuban immigrants in earlier decades.²³

¹⁶ Statistical Abstract of the United States 1995, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, September 1995, p. 28. Estimates are assumed to be the average for the 1988 to 1994 period.

¹⁷ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28.

¹⁸ Kristin A. Hansen, "Profile of the Foreign-Born Population in 1995: What the CPS Nativity Data Tell Us," Bureau of the Census, presented at the Population Association of America Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, May 1996, Table 4.

¹⁹ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28.

²⁰ Hansen, "Profile of Foreign-Born Population," Table 4.

²¹ Hansen, "Profile of Foreign-Born Population," Table 4.

²² Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28

²³ Hansen, "Profile of Foreign-Born Population," Table 4.

IRCA vs. non-IRCA

During each of the peak years of IRCA immigration, 1989-1992, more than 40 percent of all immigrants intended to reside in California. More than two-thirds of all IRCA immigrants intended to live in either California (53 percent) or Texas (15 percent).

Intended Metropolitan Area of Residence

Metropolitan areas, the residence of 80 percent of the U.S. population, were the intended residence of more than 90 percent of immigrants during FYs1988-1994.²⁴ (See Table 7.) Fifteen metropolitan areas accounted for the intended destination of nearly 58 percent of immigrants. The U.S. population was much more dispersed, with the largest 15 metropolitan areas accounting for the residence of only 25 percent of the population in 1991.²⁵

The leading MSA destinations for immigrants during FYs1988-1994 were: Los Angeles, California, with 1.3 million (17 percent) of all admissions and New York, New York, with .9 million (12 percent) of the total. Immigrant admissions during FYs1988-1994 represented 14 percent of the population of Los Angeles, California, in 1991 and 11 percent of the New York, New York, area population.²⁶

More than one-half (55 percent) of the immigrants intending to live in Los Angeles, California, during FYs1988-1994 were IRCA legalization aliens. With IRCA legalization nearly at an end in FY1993, New York, New York, regained its position as the leading metropolitan destination of immigrants, followed by Los Angeles, California. Other top destinations included Chicago, Illinois; Miami-Hialeah, Florida; Washington, DC/Maryland/Virginia; Boston, Massachusetts; San Francisco, California; Houston, Texas; San Jose, California; and Orange County, California.

Four of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States—Detroit, Michigan; Atlanta, Georgia; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Cleveland, Ohio—were not among the top 15 destinations for immigrants.

Age and Gender of Immigrants

Immigrant populations have traditionally been younger and more heavily female than the total U.S. resident population. FYs1988-1994 followed the traditional age pattern. During the period, more than one-half (53 percent) of all immigrants granted legal permanent residence were between the ages of 15 and 34 compared with 31 percent for the total U.S. population in 1991.²⁷ (See Table 8.) A smaller proportion of immigrants than U.S. resident population were ages 65 and over (4 percent versus 13 percent).

More than one-half (53 percent) of the immigrants during FYs1988-1994 were male, largely because the IRCA population was dominated by males. During 1993 and 1994 as IRCA legalization was ending, the majority of immigrants were once again female.

More than six-tenths (63 percent) of IRCA legalization immigrants were ages 15-34. Few were under age 15 (4 percent) or older than 64 (1 percent). Two-thirds (66 percent) were male.

²⁴ Metropolitan population in 1992 from Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 39, and metropolitan immigration from Statistical Yearbook of Immigration and Naturalization Service, selected years 1988-1994, Table 19.

²⁵ Calculated from Statistical Abstract 1995, pp. 40-42.

²⁶ Statistical Abstract 1995, pp. 40-41.

²⁷ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 15.

TABLE 6.—Immigrants Admitted by Top Six States of Intended Residence: FYs1988-1994

State of Intended Residence	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All immigrants	643,025	100	1,090,924	100	1,536,483	100	1,827,167	100	973,977	100	904,292	100	804,416	100	7,780,284	100
California	188,696	29.3	457,417	41.9	682,979	44.5	732,735	40.1	336,663	34.6	260,090	28.8	208,498	25.9	2,678,382	34.4
New York	109,259	17.0	134,766	12.4	189,589	12.3	188,104	10.3	149,399	15.3	151,209	16.7	144,354	17.9	957,421	12.3
Texas	43,271	6.7	112,927	10.4	174,132	11.3	212,600	11.6	75,533	7.8	67,380	7.5	56,158	7.0	698,730	9.0
Florida	65,418	10.2	48,474	4.4	71,603	4.7	141,068	7.7	61,127	6.3	61,423	6.8	58,093	7.2	441,788	5.7
Illinois	32,724	5.1	69,263	6.3	83,858	5.5	73,388	4.0	43,532	4.5	46,953	5.2	42,400	5.3	359,394	4.6
New Jersey	27,726	4.3	42,187	3.9	52,670	3.4	56,164	3.1	48,314	5.0	50,285	5.6	44,083	5.5	293,703	3.8
Other States	175,931	27.4	225,890	20.7	281,652	18.3	423,108	23.2	259,409	26.6	266,952	29.5	250,830	31.2	1,707,841	22.0
Total, nonlegalization	643,025	100	612,110	100	656,111	100	704,005	100	810,635	100	880,014	100	798,394	100	4,461,269	100
California	188,696	29.3	180,935	29.6	186,225	28.4	194,317	27.6	238,281	29.4	247,253	28.1	205,873	25.8	1,252,884	28.1
New York	109,259	17.0	113,392	18.5	127,948	19.5	135,707	19.3	141,296	17.4	149,564	17.0	143,813	18.0	811,720	18.2
Florida	65,418	10.2	35,036	5.7	46,225	7.0	50,897	7.2	49,634	6.1	60,325	6.9	57,934	7.3	300,051	6.7
Texas	43,271	6.7	37,826	6.2	40,105	6.1	42,030	6.0	57,506	7.1	62,777	7.1	54,603	6.8	294,847	6.6
New Jersey	32,724	5.1	37,124	6.1	38,003	5.8	38,529	5.5	46,281	5.7	49,936	5.7	44,034	5.5	253,907	5.7
Illinois	27,726	4.3	27,290	4.5	28,019	4.3	31,633	4.5	40,500	5.0	46,277	5.3	42,209	5.3	215,928	4.8
Other States	175,931	27.4	180,507	29.5	189,586	28.9	210,892	30.0	237,137	29.3	263,882	30.0	249,928	31.3	1,331,932	29.9
IRCA Immigrants	x	x	478,814	100	880,372	100	1,123,162	100	163,342	100	24,278	100	6,022	100	2,675,990	100
California	x	x	276,482	57.7	496,754	56.4	538,418	47.9	98,382	60.2	12,837	52.9	2,625	43.6	1,425,498	53.3
Texas	x	x	75,101	15.7	134,027	15.2	170,570	15.2	18,027	11.0	4,603	19.0	1,555	25.8	403,883	15.1
New York	x	x	21,374	4.5	61,641	7.0	52,397	4.7	8,103	5.0	1,645	6.8	541	9.0	145,701	5.4
Illinois	x	x	41,973	8.8	55,839	6.3	41,755	3.7	3,032	1.9	467	1.9	191	3.2	143,257	5.4
Florida	x	x	13,438	2.8	25,378	2.9	90,171	8.0	11,493	7.0	1,098	4.5	159	2.6	141,737	5.3
Arizona	x	x	5,002	1.0	16,977	1.9	34,168	3.0	8,021	4.9	676	2.8	88	1.5	64,932	2.4
Other States	x	x	45,444	9.5	89,756	10.2	195,368	17.4	16,284	10.0	2,952	12.2	863	14.3	350,982	13.1

Region and Country of Birth of Immigrants

During FYs1988-1994, North America was the leading source continent for aliens admitted to the United States, accounting for 51 percent of all admissions, as shown in Table 9. This occurred primarily because of the admission of 2.38 million IRCA legalized aliens who accounted for 60 percent of total immigration from North America.

The leading country of birth during the period was Mexico with 2.6 million immigrants, or 33 percent of all admissions. IRCA legalization accounted for 2.0 million, or 77 percent, of all Mexican immigrants. By 1994, Mexico's share of admissions (14 percent) had receded to the pre-IRCA 1988 level. The next largest North American source countries during the period were: the Dominican Republic (276,000), El Salvador (268,000) with 57 percent of admissions attributable to IRCA legalization, Haiti (151,000), and Jamaica (145,000).

Excluding the years of concentrated IRCA immigration (1989-1992), the leading source region for immigration to the United States was Asia. Immigration from Asia increased after the enactment of the INA and eliminated country-specific immigration quotas, while the number of immigrants entering from Europe decreased. From 1978-1994 (excluding the IRCA period), immigration to the United States was greater from Asia than from any other region. Part of the increase in Asian admissions occurred because Indochinese refugees who were paroled into the United States were allowed to adjust to permanent resident status beginning in 1978. The leading Asian source countries during the 1988-1994 period were: the Philippines (413,000), Vietnam (346,000), China (285,000), India (245,000), and Korea (181,000).

The region with the greatest percentage increase in admissions during the 1988-1994 period was Europe. Its share of the total doubled from 10 percent (65,000) in 1988 to 20 percent (161,000) in 1994 because of increasing immigration of aliens born in the former Soviet Union and Poland.

Fewer than 10 percent of immigrants admitted during FYs1988-1994 were born in countries on the remaining continents. South America accounted for 5 percent of immigrants, Africa for 3 percent, and Oceania for less than 1 percent.

Summary and Conclusions

During FYs1988-1994, U.S. immigration policy continued to promote admission based on family reunification, employment, and humanitarian interest. IRCA granted legal permanent residence to certain former illegal aliens beginning in FY1989. Under IMMACT90, the number of visas made available through the preference system for family-sponsored and employment-based immigrants increased from a worldwide limit of 270,000 during FYs1988-1991 to 366,000 in FYs1992-1994 (including the 226,000 family-based and 140,000 employment-based preferences). The bulk of the increase in visas was designated for employment-based immigrants. A diversity program effective in 1995, with temporary provisions in effect in FYs1992-1994, was also established for admission of aliens from under-represented countries.

A total of 7.8 million aliens were granted legal resident status during FYs1988-1994. The largest group was family-sponsored immigrants (40 percent) divided nearly evenly between immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and family-preference immigrants. The next largest category was IRCA legalization immigrants (35 percent), followed by refugees (10 percent), and employment-based immigrants (8 percent).

Future growth in immigration levels may be expected to come primarily from family-sponsored aliens since the end of IRCA legalization; refugee admissions constitute a small proportion of the total and fluctuate annually depending on international political events, and demand for employment-based visas has not recently exceeded the supply. During the 1988-1994 period, demand for family-preference visas greatly exceeded the supply, and admissions increased for immediate relatives who are exempt from numerical limit. These trends are likely to lead to higher levels of family-sponsored immigration especially as permanent residents naturalize and become eligible to sponsor immediate relatives or relatives in the preference categories for admission as legal permanent residents in the United States.

TABLE 7.—Immigrants Admitted by Leading Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) of Intended Residence, Total and IRCA Legalization: FYs1988-1994

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total	
								Number	%
All Immigrants: Metropolitan Area¹ (Ranked by Total 1988-94)									
Total	643,025	1,090,924	1,536,483	1,827,167	973,977	904,292	804,416	7,780,284	100.0
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	88,211	262,805	374,773	257,160	129,669	106,703	77,112	1,296,433	16.7
New York, NY	93,106	116,598	164,330	163,006	127,881	128,434	124,423	917,788	11.8
Chicago, IL	21,183	60,336	73,107	60,590	37,435	44,121	40,081	336,853	4.3
Miami-Hialeah, FL	38,259	24,569	37,677	58,918	31,630	30,464	29,108	250,625	3.2
Orange Co. (Anaheim), CA	14,078	36,597	65,367	59,015	34,523	24,921	15,502	250,003	3.2
Houston, TX	11,131	34,682	58,208	53,690	27,101	22,634	17,600	225,046	2.9
Washington, DC-MD-VA	18,032	26,695	32,705	36,370	27,718	27,427	25,021	193,968	2.5
San Diego, CA	13,351	23,233	37,208	59,329	24,459	16,931	14,212	188,723	2.4
San Francisco, CA	16,100	22,754	29,144	29,989	21,327	21,054	18,641	159,009	2.0
San Jose, CA	12,146	19,891	26,250	28,942	23,642	19,473	16,207	146,551	1.9
Boston, MA ²	11,990	17,160	20,776	21,922	18,263	20,414	18,709	129,234	1.7
Oakland, CA	11,001	15,843	20,894	24,416	17,229	16,087	13,701	119,171	1.5
Newark, NJ	10,041	12,436	16,089	16,909	13,763	13,551	12,040	94,829	1.2
Philadelphia, PA	8,975	10,427	11,440	15,009	11,887	12,842	11,535	82,115	1.1
Bergen-Passaic, NJ	8,219	10,527	13,144	12,816	12,463	12,931	11,606	81,706	1.1
Total Top 15 MSAs	375,823	694,553	981,112	898,081	558,990	517,987	445,498	4,472,044	
Percent of Total	58.4%	63.7%	63.9%	49.2%	57.4%	57.3%	55.4%	57.5%	

¹MSAs defined by the Office of Federal Statistical Policy, Office of Management and Budget

²Included Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Plymouth, and Suffolk counties

TABLE 7.—Immigrants Admitted by Leading Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) of Intended Residence, Total and IRCA Legalization:
FYs 1988-1994 (continued)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total	
								Number	%
IRCA Immigrants: Metropolitan Area¹ (Ranked by Total 1988-94)									
Total	x	478,814	880,372	1,123,162	163,342	24,278	6,022	2,675,990	100.0
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	x	184,373	298,806	180,687	36,501	7,353	1,505	709,225	26.5
New York, NY	x	19,374	54,733	46,606	7,285	1,488	481	129,967	4.9
Chicago, IL	x	36,995	49,002	33,186	2,945	455	189	122,772	4.6
Orange Co. (Anaheim), CA	x	20,838	48,902	42,867	8,303	1,354	248	122,512	4.6
Houston, TX	x	23,916	47,166	41,640	5,849	1,441	479	120,491	4.5
Riverside-San Bernadino, CA	x	14,384	28,456	43,131	7,661	1,043	205	94,880	3.5
San Diego, CA	x	10,958	22,882	44,779	8,179	738	171	87,707	3.3
Dallas, TX	x	9,609	21,499	31,863	3,273	790	297	67,331	2.5
Miami-Hialeah, FL	x	6,939	13,490	30,699	5,854	546	68	57,596	2.2
Fresno, CA	x	4,574	8,020	29,119	4,915	218	67	46,913	1.8
Total Top 10 MSAs	x	331,960	592,956	524,577	90,765	15,426	3,710	1,559,394	
Percent of Total	x	69.3%	67.4%	46.7%	55.6%	63.5%	61.6%	58.3%	

¹MSAs defined by the Office of Federal Statistical Policy, Office of Management and Budget

TABLE 8.—Immigrants Admitted by Sex and Age: FYs1988-1994

All Immigrants	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total
Age								
Number	643,025	1,090,924	1,536,483	1,827,167	973,977	904,292	804,416	7,780,284
Percent of Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under 15	18	15	12	8	17	20	21	14
15-24	21	19	20	25	22	21	21	22
25-34	27	31	34	36	28	26	24	31
35-44	16	19	19	17	15	15	15	17
45-54	8	8	8	7	8	8	8	8
55-64	6	5	5	4	5	6	6	5
65-74	3	2	2	2	3	3	4	3
75 and over	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gender (Percent of Total)								
Male	51	50	53	66	51	47	46	54
Female	50	50	47	34	49	53	54	46

TABLE 8.—Immigrants Admitted by Sex and Age: FYs1988-1994 (continued)

IRCA Immigrants	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total
Age								
Number	x	478,814	880,372	1,123,162	163,342	24,278	6,022	2,675,990
Percent of Total	x	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under 15	x	9	6	1	1	1	1	4
15-24	x	16	19	28	21	17	13	22
25-34	x	36	40	43	46	46	46	41
35-44	x	25	22	18	21	24	27	21
45-54	x	9	8	7	8	8	9	8
55-64	x	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
65-74	x	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
75 and over	x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender (Percent of Total)								
Male	x	52	57	78	74	68	69	66
Female	x	48	43	22	26	32	31	34

TABLE 9.—Immigrants Admitted to the United States by Region and Leading Country of Birth, Total and Legalization Immigrants: FYs1988-1994

All Immigrants Region of Birth	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	643,025	100	1,090,924	100	1,536,483	100	1,827,167	100	973,977	100	904,292	100	804,416	100	7,780,284	100
Europe	64,797	10.1	82,891	7.6	112,401	7.3	135,234	7.4	145,392	14.9	158,254	17.5	160,916	20.0	859,885	11.1
Poland	9,507	1.5	15,101	1.4	20,537	1.3	19,199	1.1	25,504	2.6	27,846	3.1	28,048	3.5	145,742	1.9
Soviet Union, former	2,949	0.5	11,128	1.0	25,524	1.7	56,980	3.1	43,614	4.5	58,571	6.5	63,420	7.9	262,186	3.4
United Kingdom	13,228	2.1	14,090	1.3	15,928	1.0	13,903	0.8	19,973	2.1	18,783	2.1	16,326	2.0	112,231	1.4
Asia	264,465	41.1	312,149	28.6	338,581	22.0	358,533	19.6	356,955	36.6	358,049	39.6	292,589	36.4	2,281,321	29.3
China, Mainland	28,717	4.5	32,272	3.0	31,815	2.1	33,025	1.8	38,907	4.0	65,578	7.3	53,985	6.7	284,299	3.7
India	26,268	4.1	31,175	2.9	30,667	2.0	45,064	2.5	36,755	3.8	40,121	4.4	34,921	4.3	244,971	3.1
Korea	34,703	5.4	34,222	3.1	32,301	2.1	26,518	1.5	19,359	2.0	18,026	2.0	16,011	2.0	181,140	2.3
Phillippines	50,697	7.9	57,034	5.2	63,756	4.1	63,596	3.5	61,022	6.3	63,457	7.0	53,535	6.7	413,097	5.3
Vietnam	25,789	4.0	37,739	3.5	48,792	3.2	55,307	3.0	77,735	8.0	59,614	6.6	41,345	5.1	346,321	4.5
Africa	18,882	2.9	25,166	2.3	35,893	2.3	36,179	2.0	27,086	2.8	27,783	3.1	26,712	3.3	197,701	2.5
Oceania	3,839	0.6	4,360	0.4	6,182	0.4	6,236	0.3	5,169	0.5	4,900	0.5	4,592	0.6	35,278	0.5
North America	250,009	38.9	607,398	55.7	957,558	62.3	1,210,981	66.3	384,047	39.4	301,380	33.3	272,226	33.8	3,983,599	51.2
Canada	11,783	1.8	12,151	1.1	16,812	1.1	13,504	0.7	15,205	1.6	17,156	1.9	16,068	2.0	102,679	1.3
Mexico	95,039	14.8	405,172	37.1	679,068	44.2	946,167	51.8	213,802	22.0	126,561	14.0	111,398	13.8	2,577,207	33.1
Caribbean	112,357	17.5	88,932	8.2	115,351	7.5	140,139	7.7	97,413	10.0	99,438	11.0	104,804	13.0	758,434	9.7
Dominican Republic	27,189	4.2	26,723	2.4	42,195	2.7	41,405	2.3	41,969	4.3	45,420	5.0	51,189	6.4	276,090	3.5
Haiti	34,806	5.4	13,658	1.3	20,324	1.3	47,527	2.6	11,002	1.1	10,094	1.1	13,333	1.7	150,744	1.9
Jamaica	20,966	3.3	24,523	2.2	25,013	1.6	23,828	1.3	18,915	1.9	17,241	1.9	14,349	1.8	144,835	1.9
Central America	30,715	4.8	101,034	9.3	146,202	9.5	111,093	6.1	57,558	5.9	58,162	6.4	39,908	5.0	544,672	7.0
El Salvador	12,045	1.9	57,878	5.3	80,173	5.2	47,351	2.6	26,191	2.7	26,818	3.0	17,644	2.2	268,100	3.4
Guatemala	5,723	0.9	19,049	1.7	32,303	2.1	25,527	1.4	10,521	1.1	11,870	1.3	7,389	0.9	112,382	1.4
South America	41,007	6.4	58,926	5.4	85,819	5.6	79,934	4.4	55,308	5.7	53,921	6.0	47,377	5.9	422,292	5.4
Colombia	10,322	1.6	15,214	1.4	24,189	1.6	19,702	1.1	13,201	1.4	12,819	1.4	10,847	1.3	106,294	1.4
Not Reported	26	0.0	34	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.0	5	0.0	4	0.0	89	0.0

TABLE 9.—Immigrants Admitted to the United States by Region and Leading Country of Birth, Total and Legalization Immigrants: FYs1988-1994 (continued)

IRCA Immigrants Region of Birth	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	x	x	478,814	100	880,372	100	1,123,162	100	163,342	100	24,278	100	6,022	100	2,675,990	100
Europe	x	x	9,270	1.9	15,293	1.7	8,049	0.7	1,663	1.0	334	1.4	96	1.6	34,705	1.3
Poland	x	x	5,491	1.1	7,203	0.8	2,588	0.2	667	0.4	117	0.5	28	0.5	16,094	0.6
Asia	x	x	31,181	6.5	35,364	4.0	52,100	4.6	8,402	5.1	1,008	4.2	269	4.5	128,324	4.8
India	x	x	2,658	0.6	1,988	0.2	13,899	1.2	2,126	1.3	100	0.4	48	0.8	20,819	0.8
Iran	x	x	4,088	0.9	6,946	0.8	1,550	0.1	425	0.3	141	0.6	38	0.6	13,188	0.5
Pakistan	x	x	1,744	0.4	2,184	0.2	11,846	1.1	1,229	0.8	98	0.4	50	0.8	17,151	0.6
Phillippines	x	x	7,285	1.5	8,849	1.0	8,220	0.7	1,843	1.1	268	1.1	34	0.6	26,499	1.0
Africa	x	x	6,716	1.4	16,369	1.9	13,661	1.2	2,260	1.4	379	1.6	103	1.7	39,488	1.5
Oceania	x	x	464	0.1	1,915	0.2	2,156	0.2	684	0.4	96	0.4	15	0.2	5,330	0.2
North America	x	x	416,984	87.1	771,875	87.7	1,014,346	90.3	145,495	89.1	21,571	88.8	5,354	88.9	2,375,625	88.8
Mexico	x	x	338,727	70.7	622,519	70.7	893,301	79.5	122,470	75.0	17,534	72.2	4,403	73.1	1,998,954	74.7
Caribbean	x	x	9,584	2.0	30,467	3.5	56,851	5.1	12,873	7.9	1,595	6.6	377	6.3	111,747	4.2
Dominican Republic	x	x	1,101	0.2	10,131	1.2	11,228	1.0	1,129	0.7	534	2.2	142	2.4	24,265	0.9
Haiti	x	x	3,958	0.8	8,462	1.0	35,191	3.1	8,591	5.3	498	2.1	133	2.2	56,833	2.1
Jamaica	x	x	2,532	0.5	6,185	0.7	5,803	0.5	2,095	1.3	272	1.1	54	0.9	16,941	0.6
Central America	x	x	67,130	14.0	115,784	13.2	62,873	5.6	9,904	6.1	2,365	9.7	554	9.2	258,610	9.7
El Salvador	x	x	44,293	9.3	69,611	7.9	32,479	2.9	5,081	3.1	1,301	5.4	291	4.8	153,056	5.7
Guatemala	x	x	13,394	2.8	27,095	3.1	19,374	1.7	3,081	1.9	601	2.5	154	2.6	63,699	2.4
Honduras	x	x	2,489	0.5	6,747	0.8	5,817	0.5	852	0.5	172	0.7	60	1.0	16,137	0.6
Nicaragua	x	x	4,976	1.0	7,286	0.8	2,460	0.2	472	0.3	144	0.6	15	0.2	15,353	0.6
South America	x	x	14,173	3.0	39,507	4.5	32,782	2.9	4,820	3.0	885	3.6	183	3.0	92,350	3.5
Colombia	x	x	4,636	1.0	14,311	1.6	10,073	0.9	1,357	0.8	307	1.3	47	0.8	30,731	1.1
Ecuador	x	x	2,511	0.5	7,616	0.9	3,991	0.4	500	0.3	145	0.6	43	0.7	14,806	0.6
Peru	x	x	2,416	0.5	6,784	0.8	7,364	0.7	984	0.6	171	0.7	31	0.5	17,750	0.7
Not Reported	x	x	26	0.0	49	0.0	68	0.0	18	0.0	5	0.0	2	0.0	25	0.0

Immigrant Projections: FYs1995-1999

Introduction

Immigration is projected to increase from 720,461 in 1995 to approximately 920,000 in 1996 and then to decline slightly to an annual average of 900,000 during FYs1997-1999. (These projections were developed in January 1997 based on preliminary data for fiscal year 1996 immigration and final counts of fiscal year 1995 immigration.) Excluding immigrants admitted under the legalization provisions of IRCA, the average annual number of immigrants admitted during the 1992-1994 time period was 830,000, while 866,000 immigrants are projected to be admitted annually during the 1995-1999 period, an increase of 4 percent, as shown in Table 10. See pp. 31-32 for a discussion of recent legislation that is likely to affect immigration levels during the projection period.

TABLE 10.—Immigrant Admissions: FYs1992-1994 and Immigrant Projections: FYs1995-1999

Year	Total	IRCA	Excluding IRCA
Reference Period:			
1992	973,977	163,342	810,635
1993	904,292	24,278	880,014
1994	804,416	6,022	798,394
Average 1992-94	894,228	64,547	829,681
Projection Period:			
1995	720,461	4,267	716,194
1996	921,350	4,000	917,350
1997	904,850	3,000	901,850
1998	915,400	2,000	913,400
1999	882,425	2,000	880,425
Average 1995-99	868,897	3,053	865,844
Change	-25,331	-61,494	36,163
Percent Change	-2.8	-95.3	4.4

Note: Projections were developed by INS.

Overall immigration is projected to decrease slightly during the reference and projection periods because most of the persons eligible to adjust to permanent residence status under the IRCA legalization provisions did so in relatively high levels before FY1994. The number of persons granted permanent residence under the legalization provisions of IRCA reached a high of 1.1 million in FY1991 and declined to 6,000 in FY1994. Despite the near completion of the legalization program, immigrants who have been admitted as legalized aliens will continue to have a significant impact on the number of legal immigrant admissions as they naturalize and begin to sponsor their immediate relatives.

Nearly all the 2.7 million aliens who gained immigrant status under the legalization provisions of IRCA are eligible to naturalize. For those who elect to naturalize, their spouses, minor children, and parents may gain immigrant status exempt from any annual limitation. The number of immigrants admitted annually as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens are projected to increase by 39 percent in the FY1995-1999 time period

as compared with FYs1992-1994. More than half of the increase is projected to occur as aliens legalized under the provisions of IRCA naturalize and sponsor their immediate relatives.

Immigration Law

Immigration Limits

The limits on immigration during the 1988-1991 period and the 1992-1994 reference period were described in the previous section on Legal Immigrants. IMMACT90 revised the annual limits in 1992 and 1995, the first year of the projection period. The worldwide flexible cap of was reduced slightly in 1995 from 700,000 to 675,000, as shown in Table 11. The immigrants subject to the 675,000 limit consist of 480,000 family-sponsored immigrants, 140,000 employment-based preference immigrants, and 55,000 diversity immigrants.

TABLE 11.—Legal Immigration Limits: FYs1992-1995

Category	1992-1994	1995-
Family-sponsored immigrants	465,000 ¹	480,000 ¹
Family-sponsored preferences	226,000 ²	226,000 ²
Employment preferences	140,000 ²	140,000 ²
Diversity	N/A	55,000
Diversity transition	40,000	N/A
IRCA Legalization dependents	55,000 ¹	N/A
Total Limited	700,000	675,000
Exempt from Limits: (Major categories)		
Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens		
Refugee and asylee adjustments		

¹ Maximum limit

² Minimum limit

N/A - Not Applicable

Although the limit on the number of family-sponsored immigrants increased from 465,000 to 480,000 in 1995, the minimum limit on family-sponsored preference immigration remained at 226,000 a year. The other group of immigrants included in the family-sponsored category are immediate relatives of U.S. citizens. The number of immediate relative admissions is only used to determine the annual limit for family-sponsored preference immigration—the number of immediate relatives that can enter in any year is unlimited. The limit for family-sponsored preference immigrants is calculated annually by subtracting the number of immediate relatives admitted in the preceding year from 480,000. The 480,000 annual cap can be exceeded if the number of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens admitted is more than 254,000, which when added to the 226,000 minimum for family preference visas would exceed the 480,000 cap.

Employment-based preference immigration increased from 54,000 in 1991 to 140,000 in 1992, and remained at that level in 1995. The program for transitional diversity immigrants, which was limited to 40,000 a year in FYs1992-1994, was replaced in 1995 with the permanent diversity program with an annual limit of 55,000 visas.

A maximum of 55,000 visas were available annually in 1992-94 for spouses and children of aliens legalized under the IRCA legalization provisions. Even though the provision ended in 1995, spouses and minor

children of IRCA legalized immigrants will still be eligible to immigrate under the family second preference, or as an immediate relative if their sponsor naturalizes.

Relationship Between Limits and Projections

The limits as defined under the immigration law are critical for determining the projected number of immigrants. The U.S. Department of State (DOS) regulates the number of immigrants that may enter the United States each year by issuing visas to eligible aliens until the annual limits are reached. The number of immigrants admitted by the INS, and these projections, refer to the number of persons granted permanent residence in a year. While the annual numbers of visas issued and admissions are usually similar, the two numbers can vary because an immigrant can use a visa up to 4 months after it is issued.²⁸

The projections for some immigrant categories are set to the annual limits because the demand for visas is greater than the number of available visas. There are two major exceptions: employment-based preference immigrants and immediate relative of U.S. citizens. Recently, the demand for employment-based visas has been lower than the annual limit of 140,000 and it is projected to remain below the limit in the FY1995-1999 period. By contrast, immediate relatives of U.S. citizens are admitted without limitation even though their numbers are used to set the family-sponsored preference limit. Immediate relatives are expected to account for the largest increases in immigration during the next 5 years.

Recent Legislation Affecting Immigration Levels

Effect of Section 245(i)

Approximately 720,000 immigrants were admitted in FY1995, which was lower than the 804,000 immigrants admitted in FY1994 and lower than the 925,000 immigrants projected for FY1996. FY1995 immigration levels are lower than in adjacent years partly because of delays in processing as a result of a change in immigration visa application procedures at the beginning of 1995.

At the beginning of 1995, Section 245(i) was added to the Immigration and Nationality Act allowing many residents who were eligible for immigrant status (who previously would have been barred from adjusting their status in the United States) to remain in the United States and to adjust to permanent resident status by applying at an INS office and paying a penalty fee.²⁹ Before FY1995, most of these aliens were required to leave the United States and acquire a visa abroad from DOS. This change in procedures transferred a large portion of the visa processing workload from DOS to the INS.

Before the change in Section 245(i), the INS received nearly 203,000 applications for adjustment to permanent resident status in 1994.³⁰ The number of requests for adjustment increased to more than 470,000 in 1995 because an additional 224,000 requests were filed under Section 245(i). The INS increased its resources and personnel to process the applications toward the end of FY1995. Nevertheless, there were temporary delays in processing the applications. Before 1995, the normal working backlog of applications for adjustment was approximately 100,000. By the end of 1995 the backlog had increased to 288,000.

Aliens may apply for adjustment only after an immigrant visa is immediately available to them; historically, more than 90 percent of the applications for adjustment have been approved. Therefore, most of the 288,000 persons awaiting a decision at the end of FY1995 will be allowed to adjust status in later years. For those immigrants subject to numerical limitation, the increase in adjustments will be offset by a decrease in the number of visas issued abroad by DOS. This will occur because DOS regulates the number of visas processed so that actual issuances match the annual limits. Just as DOS will decrease the overseas visa issuances in 1996, the visa issuances in 1995 were increased to reach the annual limits.

²⁸ This time limit was changed to six months as of October 1, 1997.

²⁹ Section 245(l) was repealed effective January 15, 1998.

³⁰ Excluding refugee and asylee adjustments.

The effect of Section 245(i) processing in 1995 has been concentrated in categories not subject to limitation, such as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens. The number of immediate relative admissions is likely to increase in 1996 as the INS continues to work on eliminating the backlog.

The processing changes may have also affected employment-based immigration because immigrant workers typically are already in the United States and must apply for adjustment with the INS. Because of the increased workload in the INS offices generally, all decisions on adjustments of status may have been subject to delays in FY1995, regardless of whether they were filed under Section 245(i) or not. Conversely, the number of admissions in FY1996 may overstate the demand for employment-based visas as the INS works to eliminate the backlogs of applications filed in previous years (see section on Employment-based Preference Immigrants).

Welfare Reform and IIRIRA

Some variations between the projected admissions expected and actual admissions can be anticipated for several reasons. First, effects of changes in the welfare and immigration laws in 1996 have not been taken into account, except in a few limited instances. Many of the provisions of the Personal Responsibility And Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (Welfare Reform) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 had not been fully implemented at the time these projections were developed and it is difficult to estimate their impact.

Most of the provisions of the two laws do not directly affect the immigration limits and categories, although some provisions could have potentially a large impact on immigration levels. Section 301 of IIRIRA, for example, establishes that an alien who was unlawfully present in the United States for more than 180 days but less than a year is inadmissible for 3 years. An alien present in the United States unlawfully for 1 year or more is inadmissible for 10 years. This provision is likely to reduce the number of immigrant admissions, especially in the family-sponsored immigrant categories where family members are likely to be living in the United States illegally.

Second, immigrant processing times will continue to fluctuate and may affect the number of annual admissions in any year. Besides increases in applications for immigrant status, the INS has received record numbers of applications for naturalizations. Applications for naturalization are expected to continue to increase with the changes in welfare reform. Because more than half of the increase in immediate relative immigration is due to projected increases in naturalization, the actual entry of an immigrant will be based on how long it takes to process a naturalization application.

Immigrant Projections

The number of immigrants admitted in FY1995 was 720,461. Immigration is projected to increase to approximately 921,000 in FY1996 and to average approximately 906,000 during the 1997-1999 period. The annual projections for the major categories of immigrants are shown in Table 12. The average annual number of admissions during the 5-year projection period of 1995-1999 and the 3-year reference period are shown in Table 13. Overall, average annual admissions are projected to decrease by 25,300 between the 1992-1994 time period and the 1995-1999 time period, or by 3 percent.

The immigration categories that are expected to increase during the next 5 years are as follows:

- Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (96,800, 39 percent).
- Family-sponsored preference immigrants (26,700, 12 percent).
- Diversity programs (15,900, 43 percent).

The categories with projected decreases are as follows:

- Refugee and asylee adjustments (-14,100, -12 percent).

- Employment-based preference immigrants (-21,000, -16 percent).
- Other categories, including IRCA legalization (-129,700, -92 percent).

TABLE 12.—Projected Immigration by Category and Year: FYs1995-1999

Category	FY1995	FY1996	FY1997	FY1998	FY1999
Total	720,461	921,350	904,850	915,400	882,425
Family-sponsored preference level	253,721	311,819	226,000	226,000	226,000
Total	238,122	294,000	239,800	224,000	224,000
1. Unmarried sons/dtrs of U.S. ctzns	15,182	21,000	23,000	23,000	23,000
2. Spouses and children of LPRs	144,535	183,000	128,800	113,000	113,000
3. Married sons/dtrs of U.S. citizens	20,876	25,000	23,000	23,000	23,000
4. Siblings of U.S. citizens	57,529	65,000	65,000	65,000	65,000
Employment-based preference level	140,000	140,000	140,000	140,000	140,000
Total	85,336	117,900	113,000	112,000	111,000
1. Priority workers	17,339	27,500	25,500	25,500	25,500
2. Professionals w/adv. degrees	10,475	18,500	16,500	16,500	16,500
3. Skilled, professionals, other wkrs	50,245	63,000	62,000	62,000	62,000
4. Special immigrants	6,737	8,000	8,000	7,000	6,000
5. Employment creation	540	900	1,000	1,000	1,000
Immediate relatives	222,254	308,300	388,000	418,200	391,300
Spouses ¹	123,238	171,600	201,700	217,300	212,500
of naturalized legalized aliens	0	10,000	33,700	42,600	30,800
Parents ¹	48,382	66,900	80,500	80,300	72,900
of naturalized legalized aliens	0	10,100	23,700	23,500	16,100
Children ¹	48,740	68,100	104,200	119,100	104,400
of naturalized legalized aliens	0	14,500	48,500	61,200	44,200
Children born abroad to LPRs	1,894	1,700	1,600	1,500	1,500
Diversity programs	47,245	58,500	53,000	53,000	53,000
Diversity transition	6,944	500	0	0	0
Diversity	40,301	58,000	53,000	53,000	53,000
Refugees and asylee adjustments	114,664	128,500	101,000	100,000	95,000
Refugees	106,827	118,500	91,000	90,000	85,000
Asylees	7,837	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Other categories	12,840	14,150	10,050	8,200	8,125
Amerasians (Vietnam)	939	950	500	100	0
Suspension of deportation	3,168	5,800	4,000	4,000	4,000
Parolees, Soviet and Indochinese	3,086	2,300	1,500	1,000	1,000
IRCA legalization	4,267	4,000	3,000	2,000	2,000
Legalization of dependants	277	0	0	0	0
Other total	1,103	1,100	1,050	1,100	1,125

Note: Projections were developed by INS. LPRs = Legal Permanent Residents.

¹Includes immigrants sponsored by IRCA-legalized aliens who have naturalized

TABLE 13.—Average Annual Immigration by Category and Period: Actual FYs1992-1995 and Projected: FYs1995-1999

Category	FYs1995-1999		FYs1992-1994		Change	
	Average	%	Average	%	Number	%
Total	868,900	100	894,200	100	-25,300	-3
Family-sponsored preference level	248,700		226,000		22,700	
Total	244,000	28	217,300	24	26,700	12
1. Unmarried sons/dtrs of U.S. ctzns	21,000	2	12,800	1	8,200	64
2. Spouses and children of LPRs	136,500	16	120,500	13	16,000	13
3. Married sons/dtrs of U.S. citizens	23,000	3	22,600	3	400	2
4. Siblings of U.S. citizens	63,500	7	61,300	7	2,200	4
Employment-based preference level	140,000		148,100		-8,100	-5
Total	107,800	12	128,800	14	-21,000	-16
1. Priority workers	24,300	3	15,900	2	8,400	53
2. Professionals w/adv. degrees	15,700	2	34,100	4	-18,400	-54
3. Skilled, professionals, other wkrs	59,800	7	70,700	8	-10,900	-15
4. Special immigrants	7,100	1	7,500	1	-400	-5
5. Employment creation	900	0	400	0	500	125
Pre-1992 preference	0	0	200	0	-200	-100
Immediate relatives	345,600	40	248,800	28	96,800	39
Spouses ¹	185,300	21	139,800	16	45,500	33
of naturalized legalized aliens	23,400	3	0	0	23,400	NA
Parents ¹	69,800	8	61,200	7	8,600	14
of naturalized legalized aliens	14,700	2	0	0	14,700	NA
Children ¹	88,900	10	45,800	5	43,100	94
of naturalized legalized aliens	33,700	4	0	0	33,700	NA
Children born abroad to LPRs	1,600	0	2,000	0	-400	-20
Diversity programs	52,900	6	37,000	4	15,900	43
Diversity transition	1,500	0	36,100	4	-34,600	-96
Diversity	51,500	6	0	0	51,500	NA
Other	0	0	800	0	-800	-100
Refugees and asylee adjustments	107,800	12	121,900	14	-14,100	-12
Refugees	98,300	11	112,500	13	-14,200	-13
Asylees	9,600	1	9,500	1	100	1
Other categories	10,700	1	140,400	16	-129,700	-92
Amerasians (Vietnam)	500	0	10,400	1	-9,900	-95
Suspension of deportation	4,200	0	1,600	0	2,600	163
Parolees, Soviet and Indochinese	1,800	0	12,600	1	-10,800	-86
IRCA legalization	3,100	0	64,500	7	-61,400	-95
Legalization of dependants	100	0	47,200	5	-47,100	-100
Other total	1,100	0	4,100	0	-3,000	-73

Note: Projections were developed by INS. LPRs = Legal Permanent Residents.

¹Includes immigrants sponsored by IRCA-legalized aliens who have naturalized

Family-Sponsored Immigrants

Immediate Relatives of U.S. Citizens

The annual number of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens admitted is projected to increase from 222,000 in FY1995 to 418,000 in FY1998, before decreasing to 391,000 in FY1999. This represents an average annual increase of 96,800 compared with admissions during FYs1992-1994. The number of spouses and children of U.S. citizens has increased at an average annual rate of 4 percent over the past 25 years. In addition to a continuation of this trend, the number of spouses and children are expected to increase as the 2.7 million aliens who gained immigrant status under the legalization provisions of IRCA begin to naturalize and sponsor their relatives.

Approximately 80 percent of the 1.1 million spouses and children of permanent resident aliens awaiting a family second-preference visa as of January 1995 are estimated to be relatives of IRCA legalized aliens.³¹ While some of these persons will enter under the family second-preference category, many will be eligible to enter as an immediate relative if and when their sponsor naturalizes. As of September 1994, approximately 600,000 legalized aliens had become eligible to apply for naturalization. The number of legalized aliens eligible to naturalize increased to 1.46 million by September 1995 and to 2.58 million by September 1996. If a legalized alien or any other immigrant naturalizes and they have a spouse or child waiting for a second-preference visa, then the spouse or child is automatically eligible to enter as an immediate relative.

Approximately 21 percent of the immediate relatives of U.S. citizens admitted during FYs1995-1999 are projected to be relatives of legalized aliens who have obtained U.S. citizenship through naturalization: spouses (23,400 annual average), children (33,700 annual average), and parents (14,700 annual average). The relatives of legalized aliens account for three-fourths of the annual increase between the reference and projections periods. A detailed explanation of the methods used to make these estimates is found in Appendix A, Immediate Relative Projections. No increase in immigration is projected for parents of U.S. citizens, other than for the parents of naturalized aliens admitted under the IRCA provisions. The number of parents who have immigrated in recent years has leveled off, and this trend is projected to continue through 1999.

The number of immediate relatives is projected to peak at 418,000 in 1998, but that timing may change depending on the processing time for naturalization and the time it takes to convert to immigrant status, both of which are difficult to project given the historic increases projected for naturalizations and immediate relative admissions. Also, many of the spouses and children of legalized aliens are likely to have already set up a household in the United States. If they are here unlawfully, then they may not be able to enter as an immigrant for at least 3 years or, in some cases 10 years, under Section 301 of IIRIRA. The regulation implementing this new addition has not been announced at the time these projections were made, so it has not been taken into account in the projections. Potentially, most of the increases in projected immediate relative immigration could be postponed for 3 years, 10 years, or reduced if aliens opt not to apply for immigrant status.

Family-Sponsored Preference Immigrants

Family-sponsored immigration is expected to average 244,000 during the 1995-1999 period, an increase of 12 percent above the 1992-1994 level (see Table 13). As of January 1995, more than 3.5 million persons were qualified and waiting to receive a family-sponsored preference visa.³² Because the annual limit on family-sponsored preference visas is much lower than the demand, the number of persons that will gain admission depends on the annual limit.

³¹ *1995 Report of the Visa Office*, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs, February 1997, page 190.

³² *Ibid.*, page 187.

The annual limits on family-sponsored preference immigration were above the minimum of limit 226,000 in FYs1995-1996, but are expected to return to 226,000 in 1997 and the following years. The family-sponsored preference limit can be above 226,000 if the number of immediate relatives visas used in the previous year is lower than 254,000 or if there were unused employment-based visas. The annual limits for family-preference visas were 253,721 in 1995 and 311,819 in 1996.³³ The increases in immediate relative immigration are expected to force the limit back to 226,000 in the FY1997-1999 time period, even if there are remaining employment-based visas in those years.

The limit on the unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens is 23,400 a year, and admissions is projected to approach that total by FY1997. Immigration is expected to increase in this category because of the naturalization of legal permanent residents who have an unmarried son or daughter waiting for a visa under the second-preference category. Once the sponsors naturalize, their sons and daughters should be able to receive their first-preference visas sooner than would have been possible under the second-preference category. After 1996, worldwide backlogs and increased waiting times will develop for first-preference visas.

Any increase in the family-sponsored preference limit above 226,000 is reserved for second-preference immigrants: spouses, children, and unmarried sons and daughters of legal permanent residents. Because the limit is projected to be highest in 1996, the number of second-preference immigrants will be highest in that year. Second-preference immigration is projected to average 136,500 during the projection period, 13 percent higher than in FYs1992-1994.

Immigration under the third- and fourth-preference categories is expected to remain at their limits for the foreseeable future because the demand for visas is higher the number available each year. Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens are limited to 23,400 a year, while brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens are limited to 65,000 a year.

Employment-Based Preference Immigrants

The average number of employment-based preference immigrants is projected to decrease from an average of 128,800 during FYs1992-1994 to 107,800 during FYs1995-1999. The actual number of workers and their families who will be admitted depends largely on U.S. employers' demand for skilled workers and on the extent to which these workers are unavailable in the United States. If the demand for foreign workers increases during FYs1995-1999, a maximum of 140,000 foreign workers and their families will be allowed to enter each year.

The number of employment-based immigrants admitted during FYs1992-1994 overstated the actual demand for foreign workers during that period and misrepresented the mix by preference category. The increase in the employment-based limit from 54,000 to 140,000 in 1992 allowed for elimination of the backlog for skilled workers that had existed before 1992. Professionals of exceptional ability who were waiting for a visa before 1992 were automatically converted to a second-preference visa and allowed to immigrate. The number of second-preference immigrants totaled more than 58,000 in 1992, 29,000 in 1993, and 14,000 in 1994, as the number of persons entering with the converted visas decreased. At the same time, the number of persons entering under the first-preference category as priority workers increased from 5,400 in 1992 to 21,000 in 1994. The figures for 1994 are the most accurate reflection of the demand for workers by preference category because some of the persons who entered with converted visas probably would have been qualified for a first-preference visa if they had been made to reapply.

³³ The annual family-sponsored preference limit is calculated by subtracting the number of immediate relatives (and some other smaller categories) in the preceding year from 480,000 and then adding the number of unused employment-based preference visas in the preceding year. If the resulting number is lower than or equal to 226,000, then limit is set to 226,000. If the number is higher than 226,000, then the limit is set to that number. The limit in 1995 was 253,721 (480,000 - 255,709 immediate relative visas in 1994 + 29,430 unused employment-based visas in 1994). The limit in 1996 was 311,819 (480,000 - 226,875 immediate relative visas in 1995 + 58,694 unused employment-based visas in 1995).

Immigrants admitted under Chinese Student Protection Act (CSPA) also affected the number and mix of immigrants in FYs1992-1994. An average of 16,000 Chinese students and other temporary residents who had formerly been provided temporary safe haven in the wake of the Tiananmen Square incident in the spring of 1989 were allowed to adjust to permanent resident status in 1993 and 1994. These persons were all admitted under the employment third-preference category.

Most of the projected decreases during FYs1995-1999 are not because of any measurable reduction in the demand for workers. Initial information during the projection period indicates that the number of approved worker petitions increased by 14 percent between 1995 and 1996.³⁴ The projections in the first-, second-, and third-preference categories for FYs1997-1999 assume that the immigration will increase 14 percent above the average immigration levels for 1995 and 1996. The average level over the 2-year period was used because the number of employment immigrants admitted may have been lower than demand in 1995 and higher than demand in 1996 because of delays in processing all adjustments with increased workloads under Section 245(i).

The number of workers and their families admitted under the first-preference category as priority workers is projected to increase from an average of 15,900 during the FY1992-1994 time period to 24,300 during the FYs1995-1999. Professionals with advanced degrees or aliens of exceptional ability are admitted under the second-preference category. The annual number of immigrants is projected to be 15,700, which is 54 percent below the FY1992-1994 level. As discussed earlier, many of the second-preference immigrants admitted in FYs1992-1994 were persons who had been on the waiting list before 1992.

The third-preference category includes skilled workers, professionals, and other unskilled workers. Other workers are limited to 10,000 a year, and the number of admissions is projected to equal that number each year because there is a long waiting list for these visas. The overall number of visas is expected to decrease from 70,700 in the FY1992-1994 time period to 59,800 in the FY1995-1999 time period. Approximately 16,000 persons were admitted under CSPA during FYs1992-1994 and very few are expected to enter in the next 5 years.

The number of special immigrants admitted under the fourth-preference category is expected to total 7,100 during FYs1995-1999, or about the same as during the reference period. The number of special immigrants is expected to begin to decline in FY1998 because the provision for the immigration of religious workers and their families will be discontinued at the end of FY1997.

The number of employment creation immigrants admitted under the fifth-preference category is expected to increase from an average of 400 to 900 during FYs1995-1999. This program began slowly with only 59 immigrants in FY1992. About 500 were admitted in FYs1993-1995, and preliminary data indicate that 900 were admitted in FY1996.

Diversity Immigrants

The number of immigrants admitted under the transitional and permanent diversity programs is projected to increase from an annual average of 37,000 in the FY1992-1994 time period to 52,900 in the FY1995-1999 time period.

The annual limit on the number of persons admitted under the permanent diversity program is 55,000 visas. Approximately 6.5 million persons applied for these visas in FY1995, the first year of the program, so the number of visas issued each year should equal 55,000. However, the number of persons admitted under the diversity programs in FY1995 totaled only 47,000—7,000 under the transitional program and 40,000 under

³⁴ The number of approved I-140 Immigrant Worker petitions was 47,082 in FY1994, 48,482 in 1995, and 55,482 in 1996. Persons with an approved I-140 petition are eligible to immigrate to the United States under the employment-preference categories.

the permanent program. Most persons admitted under the transitional program in FY1995 were issued visas in FY1994. Although all of the 55,000 permanent diversity visas were issued in FY1995, many were issued toward the end of the fiscal year, resulting in only 40,000 persons entering in FY1995. The number of diversity immigrants admitted in FY1996 is expected to reach 58,000 because persons issued visas late in FY1995 will enter in FY1996 sometime before their 4-month visa expires. The number of immigrants entering in FYs1997-1999 is projected to be 53,000.³⁵

Refugee and Asylee Adjustments

The number of refugee adjustments is projected to decrease from an average of 112,500 during the FY1992-1994 time period to 98,300 in the FY1995-1999 time period. The number of refugees admitted could increase in response to worldwide refugee situations, but the authorized level of refugee admissions have declined in recent years, and they are projected to continue to decrease.

The number of refugees to be admitted each year are determined through consultations with the President and Congress. This process was developed in order to respond quickly to refugee crises around the world, so the number of future admissions could be significantly different from recent levels if a crisis occurs. Refugees are eligible to apply for immigrant status 1 year after they arrive in the United States; therefore, there is a lag between their arrival and adjustment to permanent resident status. The President and Congress set a limit on the number of refugees who may enter the United States each year, but there is no limit on the number who may adjust in any year.

The number of asylees who may adjust to permanent resident status is set to 10,000 a year. Asylees may apply for immigrant status 1 year after they have been granted asylum status. The number of asylees is expected to reach the 10,000 limit in FY1996 and also in following years because the number of persons granted asylum has exceeded 10,000 every year since 1994.

Other Immigrants

Most of the decrease in immigration between the projected and reference periods is in miscellaneous categories, many of which are special programs that are nearing completion or that ended in FY1994. These miscellaneous categories are projected to account for an annual average of 10,700 immigrants during FYs1995-1999, compared with 140,400 during the preceding 3 years.

The number of persons granted permanent residence under the legalization provisions of IRCA is projected to decrease from an average of 64,500 to only 3,100 during FYs1995-1999. The number of persons granted permanent residence under the legalization provisions of IRCA reached a high of 1.1 million in FY1991 and then declined to 163,000 in FY1992, 24,000 in FY1993, and 6,000 in FY1994. The annual number of admissions has declined each year because the pool of persons eligible for adjustment is fixed and consequently decreases as time passes. All the legalized aliens entered the United States before 1987 even though most of them were officially counted as immigrants in the 1990's.

The second largest contributor to the decrease during FYs1995-1999 is the elimination of the category for dependents of legalized aliens. These spouses and children were allotted up to 55,000 visas a year during FYs1992-1994. The special program ended in 1995; however, these spouses and children are still entitled to enter under the family second-preference or possibly as an immediate relative if their sponsor naturalizes. The average number admitted during the reference period was 47,100, but fewer than 300 entered in FY1995.

Two other special programs are nearing completion during the FY1995-1999 period. The number of Soviet and Indochinese parolees is projected to decline from 12,600 to 1,800 a year. This category refers to aliens

³⁵ Admissions are projected to be lower than visa issuances because the number of persons entering under the diversity programs have historically been lower than the number visas issued.

born in Indochina or the republics of the former Soviet Union who were denied refugee status abroad and paroled in the United States between 1988 and 1997. The number of Amerasians is expected to decline from 10,400 a year during FYs1992-1994 to an average of 500 a year during FYs1995-1999. Most Amerasians who were fathered by U.S. citizens in Vietnam have already migrated to the United States.

The only miscellaneous category with an increase in the number of projected admissions is for persons granted suspension of deportation. Section 304 of IIRIRA places a limit of 4,000 adjustments a year for persons granted suspension of deportation beginning in FY1997.

Refugees and Asylees

The Refugee Act of 1980, which added Sections 207 and 208 to the INA, established the definition of a refugee in U.S. law and set out refugee and asylum policy. As defined in U.S. law, persons who cannot return to their home country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion are considered to be “refugees.” The INA states that aliens who are still within their home country and who face persecution for any of these reasons also may be designated as refugees by the President after appropriate consultation with the Judiciary Committees of Congress. The President sets a ceiling annually for the admission of refugees after consideration of the need for resettlement of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States and after consultation with Congress. The ceiling may be adjusted throughout the year in emergency situations.

Several related but distinct sets of numbers are commonly used to describe refugee admissions to the United States. Refugees apply and are approved overseas under the program established in the annual consultation and under the limits of the ceiling. Actual annual arrivals of refugees always lag the number approved because of the arrangements that must be made for resettlement of refugees. Finally, 1 year after admission to the United States, refugees are eligible to apply to adjust their status to that of permanent resident alien. Each concept describes a different stage in refugee processing, and although closely related, they are not equivalent. In addition, the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 remains in effect. Under its provisions, Cuban nationals who enter the United States in something other than refugee status may adjust status after 1 year to become permanent resident aliens.

An asylum applicant must meet the definition of a refugee. The distinction between a refugee and an asylee is the location where they make application. The refugee applies overseas to enter the United States, while the potential asylee applies within the United States or at a port-of-entry (POE). No numerical limits are imposed on grants of asylum. An asylee may apply to adjust status to that of permanent resident alien after 1 year in asylee status. There is no limit on the number of refugees who may adjust status in a year, but the law does place a ceiling on the number of asylees who may become permanent resident aliens in a year. That ceiling was 5,000 yearly from 1980-1990. The enactment of IMMACT90 raised the ceiling to 10,000 yearly.

Refugee Approvals

The number of persons approved overseas for refugee status increased from 80,000 in 1988 to more than 115,000 in 1992 before declining to 105,000 in 1994. These statistics are depicted in Table 14. A relaxation of emigration controls in the former Soviet Union during this time enabled an increasing number of Soviet citizens to apply for and be granted refugee status. East Asia also continued to be the source of a high proportion of the arriving refugees. The number of refugees from Africa grew during the period but remained no more than 7 percent of the total. Refugee approvals for Latin America and the Near East did not change greatly over the period.

TABLE 14.—Refugee Approvals by Geographic Area of Chargeability: FYs1988-1994

Geographic Area of Chargeability	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total	80,282	95,505	99,697	107,962	115,330	106,026	105,137
Africa	1,304	1,825	3,318	4,430	5,667	6,813	5,748
East Asia	41,450	35,196	30,613	35,560	31,751	38,314	40,639
Eastern Europe and Soviet Union	26,645	48,620	58,951	62,582	68,131	52,090	48,963
Latin America and Caribbean	2,452	2,848	1,863	2,263	4,121	3,991	2,513
Near East	8,431	7,016	4,952	5,127	5,660	4,818	7,229
Not Reported	0	0	0	0	0	0	45

The annual number of refugees who adjust status to become permanent resident aliens is closely linked to the number of refugee arrivals in immediately preceding years. From 1988-1991, the number of refugee adjustments increased slowly at first and then rapidly, from 76,000 to 116,000. It dropped to 106,000 in 1992 but rose back to 115,000 in 1993 and 1994. (See Table 5.) This trend was caused almost entirely by the increase in arrivals of refugees from the former Soviet Union. From a prevailing level of less than 1,000 yearly in the mid-1980's, Soviet arrivals began to increase in 1987 and reached 50,000 in 1990, while arrivals from other parts of the world were relatively constant. Soviet arrivals dropped in 1991 but rebounded in 1992 before beginning a gradual decline. This pattern is mirrored with a lag of about 1 year in the trend of adjustments of status of refugees.

The Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 provides a vehicle for adjustment to permanent resident alien status of Cubans outside the context of the Refugee Act. The number of Cubans adjusting status under this law was almost 11,000 in 1988 but averaged between 5,000 and 6,000 yearly from 1989-1992. It rose in 1993 and 1994, reaching more than 8,000 in 1994.

Asylum Applications and Approvals

The annual number of persons claiming asylum in the United States has fluctuated greatly since 1980, when the law governing asylum was enacted, but the trend has been sharply upward through 1994. The total number of cases filed in 1991, more than 56,000, was lower than the 60,736 cases filed in 1988, but the total of 101,679 filed in 1989 was the highest on record at that time, as shown in Table 15. Beginning in 1992, the numbers increased again each year, reaching 146,468 cases filed in 1994. From 1988 to 1990, well over half of all asylum applicants were from Central America. In subsequent years that percentage has fallen somewhat, but the number of applicants from Central America remained at about 40 percent of the total in 1993 and 1994. A sharp decline in cases filed by Nicaraguans was offset by a sharp increase from Guatemalans. The number of cases filed by nationals of El Salvador fell abruptly and then rose somewhat. The overall trend reflects increases in claims from many areas of the world, including Haiti, Mexico, Peru, China, the Indian subcontinent, the Philippines, the former Soviet Union, and the former Yugoslavia. In a few cases, such as Iran and Poland, fewer claims were filed in the later years.

TABLE 15.—Asylum Cases Received by the INS and Individuals Granted Asylum by Selected Nationality:
FYs1988-1994¹

Nationality	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Asylum Cases Received by the INS							
Total	60,736	101,679	73,637	56,310	103,964	144,166	146,468
Bangladesh	23	3	9	158	1,044	3,776	3,682
China	205	561	1,287	895	3,464	14,465	10,871
Cuba	1,683	3,154	3,925	1,306	2,376	2,699	3,209
El Salvador	27,048	29,680	22,271	10,244	6,781	14,616	18,600
Ethiopia ¹	900	1,004	1,532	1,455	1,003	1,227	897
Guatemala	6,384	15,521	12,234	14,774	43,915	34,198	34,433
Haiti	314	678	425	387	5,374	10,908	9,499
Honduras	524	5,994	1,097	808	1,127	2,805	4,385
India	25	39	43	666	3,224	5,698	4,508
Iran	1,742	1,113	1,550	770	692	578	553
Liberia	38	27	1,572	2,513	1,378	877	799
Mexico	91	66	122	188	614	6,397	9,323
Nicaragua	16,170	35,431	18,304	2,219	2,075	3,180	4,682
Pakistan	82	49	98	498	3,348	4,536	3,323
Peru	84	237	251	437	1,148	3,150	2,885
Philippines	91	143	334	1,268	4,022	3,986	2,384
Poland	2,487	1,801	731	604	461	853	1,048
Romania	641	777	1,593	2,412	2,097	1,138	1,078
Soviet Union ¹	92	243	1,043	3,832	5,856	5,955	4,592
Yugoslavia ¹	185	252	355	1,224	2,331	2,774	1,866
Other Countries	1,927	4,906	4,861	9,652	11,634	20,350	23,851
Individuals Granted Asylum							
Total	7,340	9,229	5,672	2,908	3,959	7,464	11,764
China	90	150	679	348	277	336	414
Cuba	36	107	229	124	214	319	494
El Salvador	149	443	260	185	110	74	187
Ethiopia ¹	570	517	382	405	347	352	672
Guatemala	42	102	65	49	94	172	373
Haiti	8	11	3	1	120	636	1,060
Honduras	12	18	5	5	19	32	92
India	4	4	0	13	78	357	584
Iran	1,107	723	256	232	231	347	638
Lebanon	73	76	86	67	81	65	91
Liberia	5	20	10	53	209	247	305
Nicaragua	3,725	5,092	2,277	703	341	291	520
Peru	1	24	27	20	113	241	470
Poland	488	329	39	6	2	58	3
Romania	398	650	204	50	156	258	184
Somalia	79	128	204	117	122	121	150
Soviet Union ¹	47	127	264	142	442	923	1,175
Sudan	0	0	8	31	73	133	248
Syria	36	28	63	9	16	638	1,032
Yugoslavia ¹	6	4	14	3	78	496	906
Other Countries	464	676	597	345	836	1,368	2,166

¹For comparability, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia are represented throughout as they were constituted in 1988.

The number of claims for asylum granted each year varies within a much narrower range than the number filed because a relatively small proportion of the claims are successful. Approximately one-fourth of the adjudicated cases are approved.³⁶ While a large proportion of those granted in the late 1980's were from Nicaragua and Iran, no single country has dominated in recent years. When an asylum case is granted, the applicant's spouse and minor children are also eligible for asylum status, whether they are already in the United States or waiting outside the country to join the asylee. Analysis of the number of persons per case shows an average case size of 1.4 at the time asylum is granted and 1.6 at the time of adjustment of status. In other words, when 10 cases are granted asylum, 4 additional persons receive asylum at the same time and 2 more arrive later from abroad, for a total of 16 asylees adjusting to permanent resident alien status 1 year or more later. These average case sizes have remained constant since 1980.

From 1980-1990, the annual number of asylees who adjusted to permanent resident alien status was limited by the statutory cap of 5,000 (refer to Table 5). By the late 1980's, more persons had been granted asylum than this cap could accommodate, and the backlog of eligible applicants for adjustment of status was large and still growing. IMMACT90 set a new annual cap of 10,000 and waived the limit for persons whose applications had been filed before June 1, 1990. This provision allowed a record number of 22,664 asylees to adjust their status in 1991, and the total number of asylee status adjustments also exceeded 10,000 in 1992 and 1993. By 1994, the backlog was cleared, and only 6,000 asylees adjusted status. Because more than 10,000 persons were granted asylum in 1994, the cap on adjustment of status is expected to be reached again in future years.

From 1988-1991, the number of persons granted asylum increased from 7,340 in 1988 to 9,229 in 1989 and then dropped to a low of approximately 2,900 in 1991 before rising to nearly 12,000 in 1994 (refer to Table 15). This trend was heavily influenced by the reorganization of INS processing of asylum applications. In 1987, the Supreme Court ruled in *INS v. Cardoza-Fonseca* that the Government had followed too strict a standard in determining an alien's eligibility for asylum. The Court ruled that the proper standard for qualifying for asylum is a well-founded fear of persecution, rather than the clear probability of persecution standard used in determining withholding of deportation. Also in 1987, the Attorney General issued instructions concerning Nicaraguan asylum seekers living in the United States. These instructions were issued to ensure that, with limited exceptions, no Nicaraguan with a well-founded fear of persecution would be deported. To that end, a special program was established to provide an extra level of review for Nicaraguans whose asylum applications had been denied. In addition, Nicaraguans who had been denied asylum were encouraged to reopen their immigration proceedings in light of the *Cardoza-Fonseca* decision. During this time, Nicaraguans were granted work authorization so that they could support themselves pending final resolution of their claims.

In the aftermath of these developments, the number of asylum applications from Nicaraguans did increase dramatically, peaking at more than 35,000 in 1989. The number of Nicaraguans granted asylum also increased; they led all other nationalities in the number of persons granted asylum from 1988-1991 (as shown in Table 15), and accounted for more than half of the successful applications in 1988 and 1989.

In July 1990, the Department of Justice published regulations establishing within the INS a corps of asylum officers to adjudicate asylum claims. The first 6 months of FY1991 saw a transition during which the new Asylum Officer Corps (AOC) assumed responsibility from the district offices for their existing asylum caseload on April 2, 1991. Because of difficulties in transferring that caseload, fewer claims were completed in FY1991 than would normally have been done. This transition is responsible for the decline in the number of claims granted as well as a drop in the number denied.

³⁶ Data on asylum are tabulated by both cases and persons. Standard analytical practice calls for calculation of trends in asylum filing and approval rates based on cases. However, analysis of the population granted asylum, including the number subject to the cap on adjustment of status, requires data on persons given asylum status.

The data reported herein on asylum applicants cover only the casework of the INS District Directors and, beginning in FY1991, of the INS AOC. These figures do not include those cases filed by apprehended aliens in deportation proceedings or the cases denied by the INS that later are renewed with immigration judges, who are part of the Executive Office of Immigration Review in the Department of Justice. However, the statistics on adjustments to permanent resident status cover all aliens previously granted asylum (including spouses and children), whether the grant was by INS officials or immigration judges.

Refugee Projections: FYs1995-1999

Trends in the number of refugees admitted to the United States are among the most difficult to predict of all categories of immigration because they are dependent on political events worldwide as well as on U.S. response to those events. Based on expected refugee ceilings for the next several years, refugee admissions are projected to continue declining gradually from the peak of 115,000 reached in 1992. This trend would return refugee admissions to a level approaching that of the mid-1980's. More than 70 percent of the refugee admissions in 1988-1994 were nationals of the former Soviet Union and Vietnam. Political developments in these two regions will have a strong effect on the U.S. refugee flow in the 1995-1999 period.

Adjustments to permanent resident alien status under the Refugee Act will continue to follow the trend in refugee arrivals, lagging admissions by slightly more than 1 year. This trend is expected to result in an average of about 100,000 refugees adjusting status under the Refugee Act in 1995 and 1996, and then a decline to an annual average of 75,000 or less if trends in refugee admissions develop as projected. Adjustments of status under the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 are expected to continue their recent rise and reach 10,000 in 1995 and 13,000 in 1996. They could reach 20,000 yearly by 1999. This calculation assumes that significant numbers will continue to be generated under the terms of the 1994 Migration Agreement with Cuba. Therefore, total adjustments of status under the two Acts are expected to peak at about 118,000 in 1996 and then decline to about 85,000 in 1999.

Asylum Projections: FYs1995-1999

Trends in the number of asylum applicants are even more volatile and difficult to project than trends in refugee admissions because they are not subject to overseas control, and they respond more quickly to world events. From 1988-1994, asylum applications from natives of Central America dominated the caseload. New filings by Nicaraguans were lower in the 1990's than in the 1980's, and in the absence of further changes, a significant increase is not anticipated. In 1991 a settlement was reached in a class action suit, *American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh*. Under its terms, many nationals of El Salvador and Guatemala were allowed to refile their claims for asylum. Moreover, 187,000 Salvadorans who had registered for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 1991 became eligible to file for asylum at the expiration of their TPS period in 1992. They were then given additional time by grants of deferred enforced departure, which expired on December 31, 1994. These legal developments were responsible for the trends in applications by Salvadorans and Guatemalans, the two largest groups of applicants from 1991-1994. However, even with these two countries removed from the calculation, the number of asylum cases filed nearly tripled from 1991-1994.

In March 1994, the INS published proposed regulations designed to streamline the asylum decision process, discourage frivolous claims, and integrate the work of the AOC with the work of the immigration judges. These regulations took effect on January 4, 1995, and were expected to reduce the number of new non-ABC claims.

The number of projected asylum claims for the years 1995-1999 are shown in Table 16. The projections of 150,000 claims in 1995 and 130,000 claims in 1996 include ABC claims. Thereafter, 54,000 new cases yearly are projected. This estimate is slightly less than the average of typical recent years, on the assumption that the new asylum regulations will have the desired effect of discouraging frivolous claims. The number of persons granted asylum is projected to be 17,500 in 1995 and 19,000 in 1996. These increased numbers are expected to result from the ability of the AOC to complete more cases, with more personnel and procedures permitting deserving cases to be identified and granted more promptly. It is assumed that the AOC will continue to adjudicate approximately 62,000 cases annually and that the approval rate will remain at 22 percent, with the mean case size at 1.4 persons. Based on these assumptions, an average of 19,000 persons granted asylum per year is projected through 1999.

TABLE 16.—Projected Asylum Cases Filed With the INS and Individuals Granted Asylum: FYs1995-1999

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Asylum cases filed with the INS	150,000	130,000	54,000	54,000	54,000
Individuals granted asylum	17,500	19,000	19,000	19,000	19,000

Note: Projections were developed by INS.

Parolees

A parolee is an applicant for admission to the United States who is allowed to enter the United States for urgent humanitarian reasons or because the entry is thought to convey some significant public benefit. Parole does not constitute admission to the United States, and it normally allows the alien to remain in the country for only a brief, temporary period of time. The INA requires parolees to leave the country when the conditions on which their parole is based cease to exist.

Through FY1991, data available on parolees were divided into the following three categories:

Humanitarian parolees—Aliens paroled for a specific or an indefinite amount of time because special conditions warranted such treatment. These aliens generally were paroled for public interest purposes and may have remained in the United States while awaiting immigrant visas. This was the one category of parole that may have allowed long-term presence in the United States.

Deferred inspections—Aliens, usually with appropriate documentation, who were granted parole because they appeared, upon preliminary examination, not to be clearly admissible. Upon completion of inspection, some of them were admitted in regular immigration categories.

Medical or legal parolees—Medical parolees were granted parole to receive treatment for a serious medical condition in the United States or because a severe medical condition made detention or deportation inappropriate. Legal parolees came into the United States to serve as witnesses in legal proceedings or to be prosecuted under U.S. law.

Beginning in 1992, new categories were adopted to classify grants of parole. The old humanitarian parole category was divided into humanitarian parole, public interest parole, and overseas parole. The overseas parole category was developed for use where a decision was made to offer parole to people from selected countries who were denied admission as refugees. Again, this parole category was the only one in which many aliens were expected to remain for a long period of time. The use of humanitarian and public interest parole is controlled by the INS Office of International Affairs. Humanitarian parole is now meant for use primarily in medical situations, while public interest parole is intended to apply to what were previously called legal parolees. The deferred inspections category remains unchanged. Additional types of parole are now included in the category of “District Office parole” because the decisions on them are made at that level. This category is used in a wide variety of situations, often where a person has been issued documents authorizing admission but is not carrying them when he or she arrives at the port.

Parole Grants

Grants of parole may fluctuate from year to year based on many factors. From 1988-1991, an average of more than 100,000 parolees arrived yearly, as shown in Table 17. The greatest growth was in the humanitarian parole category, which increased from 11,500 in 1988 to 28,900 in 1991. This trend was caused by the decision to grant long-term parole to a number of aliens from the former Soviet Union and Vietnam. Under a special provision of the law, parolees from Indochina and the former Soviet Union who were denied refugee status were eligible to adjust to permanent resident alien status after 1 year. Mexico was the third largest country for grants of humanitarian parole as defined in the 1988-1991 period.

The other parole categories, deferred inspections and medical/legal parolees, increased gradually from 1988-1991. Deferred inspections make up less than 20 percent of the total grants in these categories. Mexican nationals were the most likely to be granted deferred inspection. Medical and legal parolees were the largest component of parole grants, accounting for more than 68 percent in FY1988, but dropping to about 58

percent in FY1990 and rising to nearly 60 percent in FY1991. Again, persons from Mexico accounted for the highest number of grants in this category.

Parole grants reached a high of 137,000 in 1992 (see Tables 17 and 18) because of the large number of grants in the new humanitarian/public interest/overseas parole categories. Those from Vietnam accounted for much of this increase. In 1993 and 1994, fewer persons were paroled from Vietnam and the former Soviet Union, but this trend was partially offset by the increase in persons paroled from Cuba. Deferred inspections continued to be granted at the rate of slightly more than 20,000 per year, or around 20 percent of the total. The District Offices were responsible for slightly more than half of all parole grants in FYs1992-1994.

TABLE 17.—Parole Grants by Category for Top Five Countries of Citizenship: FYs1988-1991

Category of Grant	1988	1989	1990	1991
Total parolees	94,918	106,857	90,265	127,146
Humanitarian parolees	11,522	18,475	20,975	28,938
Soviet Union	35	4,146	6,784	9,225
Vietnam	10	753	5,242	7,971
Mexico	2,364	2,627	1,079	1,301
United Kingdom	833	1,073	626	737
Canada	773	868	519	640
Other	7,507	9,008	6,725	9,064
Deferred inspections	18,182	18,740	17,158	22,267
Mexico	3,972	4,871	4,342	4,597
Philippines	792	979	851	2,357
India	403	459	406	1,698
Canada	1,217	1,120	1,051	1,035
United Kingdom	1,090	951	817	756
Other	10,708	10,360	9,691	11,824
Medical/legal parolees	65,214	69,642	52,132	75,941
Mexico	32,936	32,656	22,370	16,364
Philippines	1,708	1,870	1,798	6,292
China, Mainland	568	675	714	5,381
Canada	4,243	4,370	4,129	4,048
United Kingdom	2,706	3,661	1,508	1,677
Other	23,053	26,410	21,613	42,179

TABLE 18.—Parole Grants by Category for Top Five Countries of Citizenship: FYs1992-1994

Category of Grant	1992	1993	1994
Total parolees	137,478	123,490	111,403
Humanitarian/public interest/overseas parolees	47,571	32,323	28,837
Cuba	1,600	3,220	9,149
Mexico	4,585	5,068	4,974
Vietnam	16,998	7,585	4,824
Soviet Union	5,426	2,270	1,909
Canada	1,700	1,677	1,807
Other	17,262	12,503	6,174
Deferred inspections	18,970	27,819	23,742
Mexico	5,568	6,340	6,255
El Salvador	548	7,893	4,893
Canada	1,046	1,017	884
United Kingdom	661	686	555
Philippines	546	641	524
Other	10,601	11,242	10,631
District Office parolees	70,937	63,348	58,824
Mexico	12,244	11,548	11,761
Cuba	1,617	1,402	3,998
Philippines	8,078	4,916	3,664
Canada	3,412	3,288	2,754
United Kingdom	2,403	2,195	1,918
Other	43,183	39,999	34,729

Parole Projections: FYs1995-1999

During the 5-year period from 1995-1999, grants of parole are expected to level off at about 117,000 yearly, as shown in Table 19. Grants in the overseas parole category are expected to remain at historically high levels because of the migration agreement with Cuba, which states that at least 20,000 Cubans will be accepted each year, many of them as parolees. The deferred inspections and District Office parolee categories are expected to remain at the average levels of the past few years.

TABLE 19.—Projected Parole Grants by Category of Grant: FYs1995-1999

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Total parolees	113,500	117,000	117,000	117,000	117,000
Humanitarian/public interest/overseas parolees	43,200	37,000	37,000	37,000	37,000
Deferred inspections	9,300	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
District Office parolees	61,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000

Note: Projections were developed by INS.

Nonimmigrants

A nonimmigrant is an alien admitted to the United States for a specified temporary period but not for permanent residence.

Temporary Visitors to the United States

While the typical nonimmigrant is a tourist who visits for a few days to several months, there are numerous classes of nonimmigrant admission. These classes include business travelers, students, ambassadors, representatives to international organizations, temporary workers, exchange visitors, treaty traders and investors, and intracompany transferees. A number of classes of admission allow nonimmigrants to enter the United States for temporary employment purposes: workers with specialty occupations; with extraordinary ability or achievement in the sciences, arts, education, business, or athletics; and to perform services or labor when unemployed persons capable of performing such tasks cannot be found in the United States. Authorization to work in this country also may be granted to exchange visitors who enter temporarily to study, teach, or conduct research; intracompany transferees who enter to provide temporary managerial or executive services in the United States to international firms or corporations; and industrial trainees. Although not considered as employed in the United States, treaty traders and treaty investors enter temporarily to conduct trade or to invest substantially in enterprises under the provisions of treaties of commerce and navigation between the United States and foreign states.

Nonimmigrant Admission Levels

During the 1980's, nonimmigrant admissions have fluctuated from 11.8 million in FY1981 and FY1982 to a low of 9.3 million in FY1984. Since 1984, nonimmigrant admissions have increased each year, to more than 22 million in FY1994 (see Table 20). For the 7-year period of 1988-1994, nonimmigrant admissions have increased by nearly 52 percent.

Visitors for pleasure (tourists) are the class of admission with the largest number of entries, generally constituting approximately three-quarters of nonimmigrant admissions. Temporary visitors for business, the second largest class of nonimmigrant admission, when combined with visitors for pleasure, constitute more than 90 percent of all nonimmigrant admissions. Temporary workers and trainees and their families had the largest percentage increase over the 1988-1994 period (95 percent). Visitors for pleasure had a 59 percent increase for this period, followed by intracompany transferees and their families (52 percent), visitors for business (33 percent), exchange visitors and their families (28 percent), students and their families (27 percent), and treaty traders, treaty investors and their families (12 percent).

More than half of all nonimmigrants entering the United States in 1994 were citizens of five countries: Japan, the United Kingdom, Germany, Mexico, and France (see Table 21). These five countries were the leading countries for the entire 1988-1994 period, although the ranking has varied somewhat, with Germany and Mexico trading third and fourth place within the period. For each of these countries, tourists outnumbered all other classes of entry. The largest number of tourists were from Japan, which also had the highest percentage of tourists among its visitors in 1994 (89 percent). In contrast, the percentage of tourists of total nonimmigrant admissions from China was 62 percent. Generally, more than 8 out of 10 nonimmigrants from the top 10 countries were tourists. This statistic represents a growing percentage of tourists among all nonimmigrant admissions, from 74 percent in 1988 to 78 percent in 1994.

TABLE 20.—Nonimmigrant Admissions by Major Classes of Admission: FYs1988-1994

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Change 1988-1994	
								Number	%
All Classes	14,591,735	16,144,576	17,574,055	18,920,045	20,910,880	21,566,404	22,118,706	7,526,971	51.6
Temporary visitors	13,196,729	14,667,303	16,079,666	17,234,400	19,229,066	19,879,443	20,318,933	7,122,204	54.0
Business	2,375,565	2,552,719	2,661,338	2,616,335	2,788,069	2,961,092	3,164,099	788,534	33.2
Pleasure	10,821,164	12,114,584	13,418,328	14,618,065	16,440,997	16,918,351	17,154,834	6,333,670	58.5
Treaty traders/investors and families	125,555	139,949	147,536	155,049	152,385	144,644	141,030	15,475	12.3
Students and families	337,903	360,771	355,207	374,420	401,287	403,273	427,721	89,818	26.6
Temporary workers, trainees, and families ¹	133,097	165,327	174,161	203,417	217,073	221,676	260,065	126,968	95.4
Exchange visitors and families	202,926	217,458	214,644	233,430	231,292	239,405	259,171	56,245	27.7
Intracompany transferees and families	101,695	100,725	102,555	113,034	120,779	132,143	154,237	52,542	51.7
Other ²	493,830	493,043	500,286	616,295	558,998	545,820	557,549	63,719	12.9

¹ Includes workers, spouses, and children under the U.S.-Canada Free-Trade Agreement, beginning January 1989 and ending December 1993, and the North American Free-Trade Agreement, beginning January 1994

² Approximately 60 percent of the "other" category is composed of transit aliens.

TABLE 21.—Nonimmigrant Admissions by Selected Class of Admission for Top 10 Countries of Citizenship: FYs1988-1994 (Numbers in Thousands)

Country of citizenship	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994	
	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure	All Classes	Visitors for pleasure
All countries	14,592	10,821	16,145	12,115	17,574	13,418	18,920	14,618	20,911	16,441	21,566	16,918	22,119	17,155
Japan	2,703	2,243	2,986	2,477	3,359	2,845	3,422	2,927	3,963	3,480	3,632	3,185	3,974	3,524
United Kingdom	1,955	1,473	2,362	1,869	2,490	1,990	2,681	2,208	2,998	2,494	3,178	2,656	3,116	2,550
Germany ¹	1,175	938	1,136	896	1,214	981	1,437	1,211	1,713	1,477	1,894	1,651	1,709	1,445
Mexico	992	786	1,218	959	1,301	1,020	1,406	1,098	1,539	1,193	1,575	1,214	1,659	1,276
France	682	486	708	511	780	590	836	654	869	685	902	719	907	718
Brazil	290	224	333	261	377	286	490	371	489	366	552	432	622	492
China ²	258	119	307	153	363	208	411	234	477	277	566	318	615	383
Italy	407	289	408	296	438	335	518	419	648	544	634	530	614	502
Korea	151	53	215	98	279	148	356	213	400	251	441	290	581	395
Netherlands	282	194	304	210	334	240	372	281	401	306	438	342	462	355
Other	5,697	4,018	6,172	4,388	6,646	4,780	6,991	5,002	7,414	5,368	8,701	6,390	7,024	5,515

¹ Before FY1991, includes East and West Germany

² Includes People's Republic of China and Taiwan

Note: Rankings for countries based on admissions for FY1994

Data on nonimmigrant admissions to the United States are based on their arrival as recorded by the collection of Form I-94, Arrival/Departure Record. These data represent each arrival event during the year rather than the actual number of individuals admitted. Nonimmigrants in several classes of admission, especially students and visitors for business, often make multiple entries to the United States in any given year. Additionally, the nonimmigrant data do not include counts of permanent resident aliens returning after short visits abroad, nor do the data include most of the millions of citizens of Canada and Mexico who cross the border for brief periods of time.

Projected Nonimmigrant Flows: FYs1995-1999

During the 5-year period from 1995-1999, nonimmigrant admissions are expected to increase at approximately the same rates as during the previous several years—although at lower rates than observed between 1986-1988 (see Table 22). Because approximately 75 percent of nonimmigrant admissions are tourists, future changes in nonimmigrants admitted to the United States will be greatly influenced by factors that affect tourists. The Visa Waiver Pilot program was initiated during FY1988 to facilitate and encourage tourist and business travel to the United States from qualifying countries. This program has been expanded greatly throughout the 1988-1994 period. Continued expansion should result in growing numbers of entries in the tourist and business classes of nonimmigrant admission. Other types of nonimmigrant admissions also are expected to increase during the 1995-1998 period. The leading countries for nonimmigrants (Japan, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Germany, and France) are expected to continue to hold these positions in the future.

As already noted, although millions of nonimmigrants are admitted to the United States each fiscal year, they do not remain in the country. Nonimmigrants are admitted for a temporary period of time and are to depart at the end of that period. Each year, some nonimmigrants adjust to permanent resident status under various provisions of the INA. In recent years, approximately 20 percent of the immigrants admitted in any fiscal year originally entered the United States as nonimmigrants. However, the vast majority of nonimmigrants depart the United States as required under the terms of their visas.³⁷

TABLE 22.—Projected Nonimmigrant Admissions by Selected Class of Admissions: FYs1995-1999

Class of Admission	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Total	22,641,000	24,884,000	26,613,000	28,463,000	30,442,000
Temporary visitors	20,887,000	22,918,000	24,568,000	26,336,000	28,232,000
Business	3,275,000	3,767,000	3,993,000	4,233,000	4,488,000
Pleasure	17,612,000	19,150,000	20,581,000	22,119,000	23,772,000
Treaty traders, investors, and families	132,000	138,000	140,000	142,000	143,000
Students and families	395,000	466,000	486,000	507,000	529,000
Temporary workers, trainees, and families	274,000	315,000	352,000	392,000	438,000
Exchange visitors and families	240,000	257,000	265,000	273,000	282,000
Intracompany transferees and families	174,000	213,000	234,000	257,000	283,000
Other ¹	538,000	577,000	592,000	607,000	622,000

Note: Projections were developed by INS.
¹ "Other" consists primarily of transit aliens.

³⁷ Nonimmigrant rates of overstay will be discussed in a following chapter on illegal immigration.

Emigration

The collection of statistics on emigration from the United States was discontinued in 1957; no direct measure of emigration has been available since then. Estimates compiled in this country and statistics collected in other countries indicate that emigration from the United States has increased steadily since the 1950s, exceeding 100,000 per year since 1970. These figures are consistent with U.S. historical experience; between 1900 and 1990, approximately 38 million immigrants were admitted and an estimated 12 million foreign-born persons emigrated.³⁸ That is, for every 100 immigrants admitted, approximately 30 returned home, as shown in Table 23.

TABLE 23.—Immigration and Emigration by Decade: 1901-1990

Period	Immigrants to the U.S. (Thousands)	Emigrants from the U.S. (Thousands)	Net Immigration (Thousands)	Ratio: Emigration/Immigration
Total, 1901-90	37,869	11,882	25,987	0.31
1901-10	8,795	3,008	5,787	0.34
1911-20	5,736	2,157	3,579	0.38
1921-30	4,107	1,685	2,422	0.41
1931-40	528	649	-121	1.23
1941-50	1,035	281	754	0.27
1951-60	2,515	425	2,090	0.17
1961-70	3,322	900	2,422	0.27
1971-80	4,493	1,176	3,317	0.26
1981-90	7,338	1,600	5,738	0.22

Source: 1992 *Statistical Yearbook*, Table 1; Warren, Robert and Ellen Percy Kraly, 1985, *The Elusive Exodus: Emigration From the United States*, Population Trends and Public Policy Occasional Paper No. 8, March, Population Reference Bureau; Washington, DC

During the time period of this report, the U.S. Bureau of the Census used an annual emigration figure of 222,000, which includes both citizens and aliens, for computing national population estimates.³⁹ Statistics on U.S. residents migrating to other countries published by the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Europe indicate that emigration from the United States could be substantially above 200,000 annually.

Accurate, detailed, and timely estimates of emigration are needed to develop and evaluate U.S. immigration policy, to derive accurate national and local population estimates (including estimates of illegal immigration), and to measure coverage of the decennial censuses. The sketchy data that are available indicate that emigration is a large and growing component of U.S. population change. However, partly because of inherent methodological difficulties, data on emigration from the United States are not being collected.

³⁸ These estimates were updated during and after FY1995, and they became available just before this year's Statistical Yearbook went into print.

³⁹ *U.S. Population Estimates by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1996*; U.S. Bureau of the Census, March, 1997.

Illegal Migration

Background

In 1994, the INS released detailed estimates of the undocumented immigrant population residing in the United States as of October 1992.⁴⁰ Those estimates were useful for a variety of purposes, including planning and policy development at the national and State level, evaluating the effects of proposed legislation, and assessing the fiscal impacts of undocumented immigration.

Over the past 2 years, the INS has revised those estimates and updated them to October 1996. The estimates presented here incorporate new data on the foreign-born population collected by the Census Bureau, improvements in the methodology recommended by the Government Accounting Office (GAO), suggestions provided by outside reviewers, and further analyses of the INS' data sources and estimation procedures. Revised and updated estimates of the undocumented population have been computed for each State of residence and for nearly 100 countries of origin.

Methodology

The estimates were constructed by combining detailed statistics, by year of entry, for each component of change that contributes to the undocumented immigrant population residing in the United States. For most countries of the world, the typical way of entering the undocumented population in the United States is to arrive as a nonimmigrant and stay beyond the specified period of admission. This segment of the population, referred to here as "nonimmigrant overstays," constitutes approximately 40 percent of the undocumented immigrant population residing in the United States. The rest of the population, more widely publicized, enter surreptitiously across land borders, usually between official POEs. This part of the population, often referred to as "entered without inspection" (EWIs), includes persons from nearly every country, but a large majority of them are from Mexico; most of the rest are natives of Central American countries.

Primary Sets of Data

The figures presented here were constructed from five primary sets of data. Each following data set was compiled separately for 99 countries and each continent of origin.

- Entered before 1982—Estimates (as of October 1988) of the undocumented immigrant population who established residence in the United States before 1982 and did not legalize under IRCA. The assumption used to estimate this part of the population is based on estimates developed by the Census Bureau using data from the June 1988 Current Population Study (CPS).
- Net overstays—Estimates for 1982-1996 of the net number of nonimmigrant overstays, for 99 countries of origin, derived from INS databases. Estimates were derived by using the following methods:
 - Matching INS I-94 arrival/departure records.
 - Adjusting for the incomplete collection of departure forms.
 - Subtracting the number of nonimmigrant overstays who subsequently either departed or adjusted to legal resident status.

⁴⁰ Warren, Robert, 1994, *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States, by Country of Origin and State of Residence: October 1992*, Unpublished paper, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

- Net EWIs—Estimates of the number from each country who EWI and established residence here between 1982 and 1996. A very large majority of all EWIs are from Mexico. Average annual estimates of Mexican EWIs were derived by using the following methods:
 - Adjusting the CPS count of the Mexican-born population for underenumeration.
 - Subtracting the estimated legally resident population counted in the CPS.
 - Subtracting the estimated number of net overstays.
- Mortality—Estimates of the annual number of deaths to the resident undocumented immigrant population. The estimates were derived using an annual crude death rate of 3.9 per 1,000, which was computed using a modified age distribution of IRCA applicants and age-specific death rates of the foreign-born population.
- Emigration—Estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants who resided here at the beginning of a period (either October 1988 or October 1992), and who emigrated from the United States in the following 4-year period. Estimates of emigration are based on statistics published by the Census Bureau in Technical Paper No. 9.

Construction of the Estimates

Estimates of the undocumented immigrant population were derived for October 1988, October 1992, and October 1996 for 99 individual countries and for each continent of origin. The calculations were carried out separately for overstays and EWIs.

Estimates by State of Residence

In the earlier estimates for October 1992, the State distribution of the undocumented population was based on the U.S. residence pattern of each country's applicants for legalization under IRCA; the results were totaled to obtain State totals. This equation assumed that, for each country of origin, undocumented immigrants who resided in the United States in October 1992 had the same U.S. residence pattern as IRCA applicants from that country. The revised and updated estimates presented here incorporate the same assumption for the October 1988 undocumented population. However, it was necessary to develop new methods of deriving State estimates for October 1992 and 1996 that would reflect more recent patterns of geographic settlement.

As noted, the estimates of the undocumented population were constructed separately for overstays and EWIs. This separation permitted the distribution of the overstay and EWI populations to States using data most appropriate for the type of population. For overstays, the cohorts that arrived in the 1988-1992 and 1992-1996 periods were distributed to State of residence based on annual estimates of overstays by State of destination for 1986-1989. For EWIs who entered during these periods, the totals were distributed to State of residence using INS statistics for the early 1990's on the destination of the beneficiaries of aliens who legalized under IRCA.

Limitations

Estimating the size of a hidden population is inherently difficult. Overall, the figures presented here generally reflect the size, origin, and geographic distribution of the undocumented immigrant population residing in the United States during the mid-1990's. The estimates probably reduce the range of error for the total population to a few hundred thousand rather than a few million, which was the error range during the late 1970's and into the 1980's. The estimates for most countries should be fairly precise because they were constructed primarily from data on nonimmigrant arrivals, departures, and adjustments of status that have relatively small margins of error.

Although the estimates are based on the most reliable information available, they clearly have limitations. For example, the estimates make no allowance for students or other long-term nonimmigrants, and the estimates for some countries could be underestimated because of special circumstances (for example, Dominicans entering illegally via Puerto Rico, ships arriving undetected from China, etc.).

The figures for some countries overstate the actual undocumented population. In general, the net nonimmigrant overstay figures are more likely to be overestimates than underestimates because the collection of departure forms for long-term overstays who depart probably is less complete than for those who depart within the first year.

The estimates include a large number of persons who have not been admitted for lawful permanent residence, but are permitted to remain in the United States pending the determination of their status or until conditions improve in their country of origin. This category includes many of the undocumented immigrants from El Salvador, aliens from other countries in a status referred to as “deferred enforced departure,” and IRCA applicants whose cases have not been finally resolved.

In a few cases, the estimates appear to be too high, but there is no basis for making downward adjustments. For example, the estimates for the Bahamas appear to be much too large because they imply that a relatively large proportion of the population is residing illegally in the United States, whereas large-scale undocumented immigration from the Bahamas has not been observed previously. In addition, undocumented immigration from Dominica is considerably higher than would be expected based on the number of IRCA applicants from Dominica. This overstatement could have occurred because of processing problems with I-94 arrival/ departure documents, with the result that overstays from Dominica are overestimated and those from the Dominican Republic underestimated.

The number of EWIs is the most difficult component to estimate with precision, and errors in this component have the largest effect on the estimated undocumented population from Mexico. In particular, the shortage of information about two components (emigration of legally resident immigrants and the undercount in the CPS) makes it difficult to derive acceptable residual estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants counted in the CPS.

The estimates presented here are based on the most extensive array of figures ever compiled for the purpose; nevertheless, they should be used with caution because of the inherent limitations in the data available for estimating the undocumented immigrant population. This uncertainty was addressed by using alternative assumptions to produce “high” and “low” population estimates for October 1996. In the following discussion of the estimates, the midrange population figures are used for simplicity of presentation.

Results

National Estimates

The total number of undocumented immigrants residing in the United States in October 1996 is estimated to be 5 million (see Table 24), with a range of about 4.6 to 5.4 million, depending upon the assumptions used. The estimate for October 1996 is about 1.1 million higher than the revised estimate of 3.9 million for October 1992; this estimate implies that the population grew by approximately 275,000 annually during the 1992-1996 period, about the same as the annual growth of 281,000 estimated for the previous period. The original INS estimates for October 1992 and October 1988, released in 1994, showed average annual growth of 300,000.

The undocumented population grows at varying levels from year to year, but the data available to make these estimates do not permit the derivation of annual figures to measure year-to-year changes. However, the similar levels of growth for the 1988-1992 and 1992-1996 periods, 281,000 and 275,000, respectively, suggest that the overall level of growth has been fairly constant over the past decade. These data also indicate that the rate of growth of the undocumented resident population has declined since 1988.

TABLE 24.—Estimated Illegal Immigrant Population for Top 20 Countries of Origin and Top 20 States of Residence:
October 1996

Rank	Country of Origin	Population	Rank	State of Residence	Population
	All Countries	5,000,000		All States	5,000,000
1.	Mexico	2,700,000	1.	California	2,000,000
2.	El Salvador	335,000	2.	Texas	700,000
3.	Guatemala	165,000	3.	New York	540,000
4.	Canada	120,000	4.	Florida	350,000
5.	Haiti	105,000	5.	Illinois	290,000
6.	Philippines	95,000	6.	New Jersey	135,000
7.	Honduras	90,000	7.	Arizona	115,000
8.	Dominican Republic	75,000	8.	Massachusetts	85,000
9.	Poland	70,000	9.	Virginia	55,000
10.	Nicaragua	70,000	10.	Washington	52,000
11.	Bahamas	70,000	11.	Colorado	45,000
12.	Colombia	65,000	12.	Maryland	44,000
13.	Ecuador	55,000	13.	Michigan	37,000
14.	Trinidad & Tobago	50,000	14.	Pennsylvania	37,000
15.	Jamaica	50,000	15.	New Mexico	37,000
16.	Pakistan	41,000	16.	Oregon	33,000
17.	India	33,000	17.	Georgia	32,000
18.	Ireland	30,000	18.	District of Columbia	30,000
19.	Peru	30,000	19.	Connecticut	29,000
20.	Korea	30,000	20.	Nevada	24,000
	Other	721,000		Other	330,000

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1996*, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., 1997, p.198.

State of Residence

The estimates for States reflect the well established pattern of geographic concentration of undocumented immigrants in the United States. As expected, California was the leading State of residence, with 2 million (40 percent) of the total number of undocumented residents in October 1996. Seven States—California (2 million), Texas (700,000), New York (540,000), Florida (350,000), Illinois (290,000), New Jersey (135,000), and Arizona (115,000)—accounted for 83 percent of the population in October 1996, as shown in Table 23.

The estimated undocumented population of California has grown by an average of about 100,000 annually since the end of the IRCA legalization program in 1988. More than 83 percent of total growth of the undocumented population since 1988 has occurred in the top seven States. With the exception of Massachusetts (6,000), none of the remaining 43 States grew by more than 3,000 undocumented residents annually. In 27 States, the undocumented population grew by an average of 1,000 or less each year.

Country of Origin

Mexico is the leading source country of undocumented immigration to the United States. In October 1996 an estimated 2.7 million undocumented immigrants from Mexico had established residence here, as shown in Table 23. Mexican undocumented immigrants constituted about 54 percent of the total undocumented population. The estimated population from Mexico increased by just over 150,000 annually in both the 1988-1992 and 1992-1996 periods.

The estimated number of Mexican undocumented immigrants who arrived between 1990 and 1996 is based on a comparison of INS administrative data with data on country of birth and year of immigration collected by the Census Bureau in the March 1994, 1995, and 1996 CPSs.⁴¹ Demographic analysis by INS of the CPS data indicates that approximately 230,000 undocumented Mexican immigrants established residence annually between 1990 and 1996. This amount is the net annual addition of undocumented Mexicans who arrived during the period. Note that it does not reflect the average annual growth of the Mexican undocumented population. To compute average annual growth, it is necessary to subtract the number of undocumented Mexicans who lived here in January 1990 and who emigrated, died, or adjusted to legal permanent resident status during the 1990-1996 period. This last step produces the estimate cited above of just over 150,000 annual growth of the Mexican undocumented population since 1988.

In October 1996, 15 countries were each the source of 50,000 or more undocumented immigrants, shown in Table 23. The top five countries are geographically close to the United States—Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Canada, and Haiti. Of the top 15 countries, only the Philippines and Poland are outside the Western Hemisphere. The estimated undocumented population from Poland has declined by more than 25 percent (from 95,000 to 70,000) since 1988, possibly reflecting changed conditions in that country over the last several years.

Although undocumented immigrants come to the United States from all countries of the world, relatively few countries add substantially to the population. The annual growth of the undocumented population can be grouped into four disparate categories: 1) Mexico, with more than half of the annual growth, adds just over 150,000 undocumented residents each year; 2) 6 countries—El Salvador, Guatemala, Canada, Haiti, Honduras, and the Bahamas—each add between 6,000 and 12,000 annually; 3) 13 countries each add about 2,000 to 4,000 annually; and 4) the remaining approximately 200 other countries add a total of about 30,000 undocumented residents each year (see Table 23). A large majority of the additions each year, more than 80 percent, are from countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Summary

Approximately 5 million undocumented immigrants were residing in the United States in October 1996, with a range of about 4.6 to 5.4 million. The population was estimated to be growing by about 275,000 each year, which is about 25,000 lower than the annual level of growth estimated by the INS in 1994.⁴²

California is the leading State of residence with 2 million, or 40 percent, of the undocumented population. The 7 States with the largest estimated numbers of undocumented immigrants—California (2 million), Texas (700,000), New York (540,000), Florida (350,000), Illinois (290,000), New Jersey (135,000), and Arizona (115,000)—accounted for 83 percent of the total population in October 1996.

The 5 million undocumented immigrants made up about 1.9 percent of the total U.S. population, with the highest percentages in California, the District of Columbia, and Texas. In the majority of States, undocumented residents comprise less than 1 percent of the population.

Mexico is the leading country of origin with 2.7 million, or 54 percent, of the population. The Mexican undocumented population has grown at an average annual level of just over 150,000 since 1988. The 15 countries with 50,000 or more undocumented immigrants in 1996 accounted for 82 percent of the total population. The large majority, over 80 percent, of all undocumented immigrants are from countries in the Western Hemisphere.

⁴¹ The Census Bureau does not collect information on immigration status in the CPS or in the census.

⁴² Compare the Census Bureau estimate (p.79) of 225,000 per year. The two sets of estimates are prepared using different approaches and pertain to slightly different time periods.

About 2.1 million, or 41 percent, of the total undocumented population in 1996 are nonimmigrant overstays. That is, they entered legally on a temporary basis and failed to depart. The proportion of the undocumented population who are overstays varies considerably by country of origin. About 16 percent of the Mexican undocumented population are nonimmigrant overstays, compared with 26 percent of those from Central America, and 91 percent from all other countries.

Appendix A:

Immediate Relative Projections

Nearly 2.7 million aliens gained permanent resident status under the legalization provisions of IRCA. Most of them were officially admitted as immigrants in FYs1989-1991, and as new immigrants, they became eligible to file immigrant petitions for their spouses and unmarried children under the family second-preference category. Many did petition for their relatives, and DOS estimates that approximately 80 percent of the family second-preference backlog as of January 1995 (about 900,000 persons) were spouses and children of legalized aliens.

Almost all the legalized aliens have become eligible to naturalize during the past 3 years. If the sponsor of a person on the second-preference waiting list naturalizes, then the spouse or minor child is automatically converted to an immediate relative of a U.S. citizen, and they may enter without limitation. More than half of the projected increases in immediate relative admissions during the FY1995-1999 period are based on this conversion process. The four assumptions used to determine the number of immediate relatives that would be admitted each year are listed below. Much information on the legalized aliens' family size and their characteristics is derived from a series of reports that surveyed Section 245A legalized aliens. The first survey was conducted in 1989 and was sponsored by the INS.⁴³ The second survey was conducted in 1992 and was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.⁴⁴ Most of the estimates are based on tabulations published in a report by Karen Woodrow-Lafield using the 1992 survey results.⁴⁵

1. The estimated naturalization rate 15 years after immigration will be 45 percent for legalized aliens admitted under Section 245A of the INA and 30 percent for legalized aliens admitted under Section 210 (SAWs) of the INA.

Section 245A allowed illegal aliens who had resided in the United States for a minimum of 5 years prior to 1986 to apply for immigrant status. Section 210 allowed aliens who had performed qualifying agricultural work prior to 1986 to gain immigrant status.

Nearly 70 percent of Section 245A aliens and more than 81 percent of Section 210 aliens were Mexican. Historically, Asians and Africans have had the highest rates of naturalization, while Mexicans have had lower rates. As of 1995, for example, 22 percent of the Mexicans who immigrated in 1977 had naturalized, compared with the 48 percent of the immigrants from all other countries who had naturalized.⁴⁶ The naturalization rate for immigrants from all countries was 46 percent as of 1995.

⁴³ *Immigration Reform and Control Act: Report on the Legalized Alien Population*, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, March 1992

⁴⁴ *Characteristics and Labor Market Behavior of the Legalized Population Five Years Following Legalization*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, May 1996.

⁴⁵ *Potential Sponsorship by IRCA-Legalized Immigrants*, Karen A. Woodrow-Lafield, U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, Summer 1994.

⁴⁶ *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1995*, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, DC, forthcoming, page 160.

The projected naturalization rate is closer to the historical level of all U.S. immigrants than the level of Mexican immigrants. It was assumed that 45 percent of any group of Section 245A legalized aliens that becomes eligible in any given year will naturalize during a 10-year period. This higher rate was used as the basis for the projections for several reasons. First, most legalized aliens have already passed their English and civics requirements for naturalization as a condition for permanent residence. As a group of long-term residents, they are also less likely than newly arrived immigrants to leave the United States before they become citizens (half of Section 245A immigrants entered the United States before 1979). Naturalization rates, even among long-resident populations, have also increased recently because of widespread discussions of changes in public policy, such as welfare reform and eligibility of legal immigrants for certain programs. Finally, the INS is reengineering the naturalization process to keep pace with this increased demand and, while maintaining the appropriate standards, will accelerate the rate at which immigrants become U.S. citizens.

The naturalization rate for SAWs was assumed to be two-thirds of the Section 245A immigrants rate, or 30 percent. SAWs were not long-term U.S. residents when they gained permanent resident status and because they were primarily male migrant workers, some may have returned home. Additionally, SAWs did not have to pass an English or civics test to gain permanent resident status.

Although the assumed naturalization rates are higher than historical rates for Mexicans, they are less than the stated intentions of the Section 245A applicants. When 4,012 Section 245A immigrants were asked in the 1992 survey of legalized aliens whether they intended to naturalize, nearly half responded “definitely yes,” and about a quarter responded “probably yes.”⁴⁷

2. Nearly half of those who will eventually naturalize will do so in their first 2 years of eligibility.

The naturalization patterns of the 1977 and 1982 legal immigrant cohorts were used to estimate when the IRCA legalized aliens would naturalize during the 10-year period following their 5 years of residence as an immigrant. The projected annual naturalization rates by year are shown in Chart 1. About 12 percent of 245A immigrants, for example, are projected to naturalize in their sixth year of residence, but only 3 percent will naturalize in their 10th year of residence.

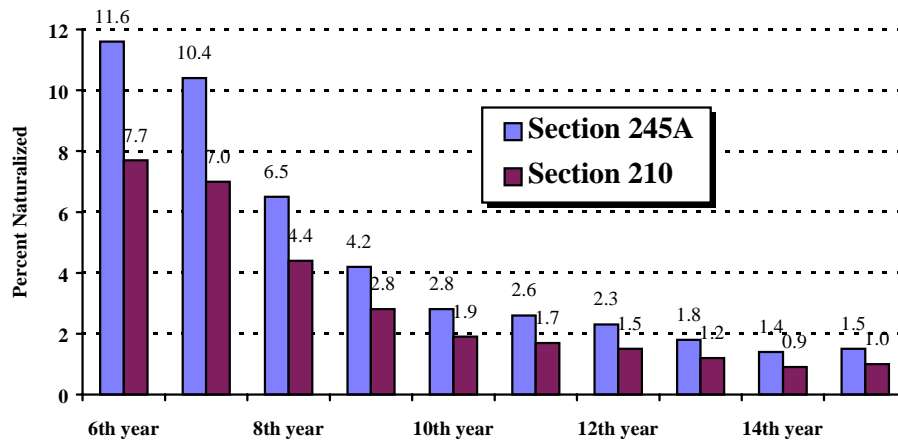
A lag of 18 months was added between the date of eligibility for naturalization and the date the immediate relative would be admitted to allow for processing of the naturalization and immigration applications. The first year of eligibility for naturalization for most Section 245A legalized aliens was 1995; therefore, their relatives are estimated to first arrive late in 1996. The first immediate relatives of SAWs were expected to enter 1 year later in 1997 because most of the SAWs became eligible for naturalization in December 1995.

3. The number of spouses, minor children, and parents admitted for each naturalized legalized alien is shown as follows:

	Total	Spouses	Minor Children	Parents
Section 245A	.37	.11	.16	.11
Section 210 (SAWs)	.96	.35	.50	.11

⁴⁷ *Characteristics and Labor Market Behavior of the Legalized Population Five Years Following Legalization*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, May 1996, page xvii.

CHART 1.—Projected Naturalization Pattern by Years Since Gaining Permanent Resident Status



The number of relatives who are likely to enter the United States was based on data gathered in the 1992 survey of Section 245A immigrants. The survey asked legalized aliens how many relatives they had living with them, what was their relationship, how many were living outside of the United States, and how many of those living outside the United States were intending to immigrate. Unfortunately, no information of this nature is available for SAW immigrants.

Information on other characteristics of the Section 245A and SAW applicants are available from their application records filed in 1987 and 1988. These two groups had similar marriage rates at the time of their application—41 percent of 245A applicants were married compared with 42 percent of SAW applicants. The Section 245A applicants were about 2 years older than SAW applicants, 29 and 27 years, respectively. The major difference between the two groups was that 57 percent of 245A applicants were male compared with 82 percent of SAWs. Given their similar marriage rates, and in the absence of any data on the number of relatives of SAW immigrants, it was assumed that the Section 245A and SAW immigrants had the same number of spouses, children, and parents per person.

The number of relatives who will be sponsored per SAW immigrant is about 2.5 times higher than for Section 245A immigrants because the Section 245A applicants were assumed to more likely have spouses or children who were legalized on their own or who were U.S. citizens by birth. Nearly half of the Section 245A aliens interviewed in the 1989 survey of legalized aliens were living with a spouse or an unmarried partner. Of those spouses or partners, 45 percent legalized on their own and 22 percent were U.S. citizens. In 1992, only about 10 percent of Section 245A aliens' spouses were living outside the United States. The 245A aliens had an average of 1.25 children living in their households in 1989. Of this total, 18 percent had legalized on their own and 63 percent were U.S. citizens. More than 22 percent of their children were living outside the United States in 1992.

Because of the seasonal nature of agricultural work, most of the spouses and children of SAWs were assumed to be living outside the United States. It was assumed that 35 percent of the SAWs who naturalize will bring in a spouse and that 50 percent will sponsor a minor child, both about 3 times the rate for Section 245A immigrants. Despite a marriage rate of 41 percent in 1989, and the likelihood that some have married in the subsequent years, only 35 percent of SAWs who naturalize are projected to bring in their spouses. The reason for choosing a figure lower than the marriage rate is that some spouses could have been legalized aliens on their own or were already U.S. citizens, although the exact number is unknown.

More than 90 percent of the parents of legalized aliens were living outside the United States in 1992. It was assumed that only two out of three parents who intended to enter would eventually immigrate because of the likelihood that persons would overstate their intention to sponsor parents.

4. The number of spouses and children of U.S. citizens (other than naturalized legalized aliens) was assumed to increase by 4 percent a year.

The number of immigrants admitted as spouses and children of U.S. citizens has generally increased each year. In addition to the expected increase because of relatives of legalized aliens, spouses and children of U.S. citizens were assumed to increase by 4 percent a year, the average percent increase from FYs1970-1994. Although parents of U.S. citizens have also increased since 1970, recently the number of parents admitted has leveled off and was not projected to increase.

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Immigration and Population Change in the United States

Abstract

Between 1980 and 1990, the number of foreign-born persons residing in the United States grew by more than 40 percent. From 1990-1995, the foreign-born population increased by another 4 million persons. These new arrivals have an uneven impact on State population trends. About three-fourths of them settled in just six States during the 1980's and the first half of the 1990's. During the next 5 years, the net contribution to population growth by migration from abroad will be approximately 4.1 million persons.

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Introduction

Immigration continues to be a key element in the evolution of the population of the United States. Different analytical methods and data sources provide varying images, but all evidence to date indicates that the size, composition, and distribution of both the nation's and the States' population have been vitally affected by the dual processes of international and internal migration. Changes in the determinants and consequences of these processes will involve many factors, including policy decisions; however, current patterns are likely to persist for the remainder of the 20th century.¹

Censuses of 1980 and 1990: Counts of the Foreign-Born Population

The 1990 census count of 19.8 million foreign-born persons was an increase of 40.4 percent in the foreign-born population since 1980. Almost 8.7 million, or 43.8 percent, of the foreign-born population enumerated in 1990, indicated they had entered the United States between 1980 and 1990. The emigration of some foreign-born persons, and high mortality of the older foreign-born population left a residual change between 1980 and 1990 of 5.7 million persons, shown in Table 1.

State foreign-born populations changed in many different ways between 1980 and 1990. All States received some new immigrants, but 17 States recorded net losses in the foreign-born population.² Because of lower foreign-born mortality and higher levels of immigration, California experienced about half (50.6 percent, or 2.9 million) of the increase in the foreign-born population. Of the foreign-born persons who entered the United States between 1980 and 1990 and remained until April 1990, 37.6 percent (3.3 million) were counted in California. Nevada experienced the highest positive change rate, increasing its foreign-born population by 94.9 percent during the decade. Georgia placed second in foreign-born population growth at 89.3 percent, and California third at 80.4 percent. Relatively higher levels of mortality led to a foreign-born population loss in North Dakota (-36.6 percent), West Virginia (-28.5 percent), and Montana (-24.8 percent).

Three-fourths of the newly arrived foreign-born population lived in 1 of 6 States: California (3.3 million), Florida (660,000), Illinois (371,000), New Jersey (385,000), New York (1.2 million), and Texas (718,000). Five other States housed another 9 percent of the recent arrivals: Maryland (148,000), Massachusetts (223,000), Pennsylvania (116,000), Virginia (159,000), and Washington (129,000). More than 4 of every 5 foreign-born persons, or about 85 percent of the foreign-born population, who said they entered the country between 1980 and 1990, resided in 1 of these 11 States.

¹. Statistics for this report were derived from: 1) 1980 Census of Population; 2) 1990 Census of Population; 3) Estimates of the resident population of States, July 1, 1990, to July 1, 1995; 4) Projections of the resident population of States for 1995 to 2020. Full citations are listed at the end of the text. For more information about obtaining these sources, contact the U.S. Bureau of the Census Population Statistical Information Staff on (202) 457-2422 or e-mail pop@census.gov. Note that the Census Bureau data include foreign-born persons in other than legal permanent resident status, such as executives of multinational corporations, refugees, students, and undocumented aliens.

². The 17 States were: Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Population Estimates and Projections

Population Estimates: Immigration Between 1990 and 1995

A net total of 4 million immigrants entered and remained in the United States between 1990 and 1995. About 1.6 million came between 1990 and 1992, and another 2.3 million migrated between 1993 and 1995. See Tables 2 and 3.

Population Estimates: Immigration and the States

A degree of complexity is added when subnational population change is examined because States exchange migrants with each other.³ There are two kinds of migration, domestic and international (from abroad).⁴ Between 1990 and 1995, every State experienced a positive net flow of international migrants. However, the pattern across individual States is not uniform. California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas received the largest share of immigrants. Between 1990 and 1995, a little more than 75 percent of the migrants from abroad settled in these six States. (Compare the INS data on legal immigrants. pp.17-21.)

Table 4 indicates that between census day in 1990 and July 1, 1995, four of the six States gaining the largest shares of foreign migrants also sustained notable losses of domestic migrants. For example, although California gained a net 1.4 million international migrants, it lost almost 1.6 million domestic migrants. Without migration from abroad, and other factors being equal, between 1992 and 1995 California would have experienced a net loss in population because its natural increase of approximately 1.1 million (the excess of births over deaths) did not offset its 1.2 million domestic migration loss.

³ For a discussion of the methodology used to allocate international migration flow to States and internal migration flows between States, see the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Estimates and Projections Technical Working Paper Series* (1992).

⁴ Note that all domestic migration sums to zero at the national level.

TABLE 1.—Resident Population Census Counts and Population Change, April 1, 1980, and April 1, 1990
(Thousands)

State	1980 Census of Population			1990 Census of Population			Population Change 1980 to 1990				Foreign Born Who Entered the U.S. 1980-1990 ¹	
	Total Pop.	Foreign Born		Total Pop.	Foreign Born		Total Population		Foreign Born		Number	%
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
United States	226,546	14,080	6.2	248,718	19,767	7.9	22,173	9.8	5,687	40.4	8,664	43.8
Alabama	3,894	39	1.0	4,040	44	1.1	147	3.8	5	11.6	18	40.6
Alaska	402	16	4.0	550	25	4.5	148	36.9	9	53.0	11	43.6
Arizona	2,718	163	6.0	3,665	278	7.6	947	34.8	115	70.9	117	42.2
Arkansas	2,286	22	1.0	2,351	25	1.1	64	2.8	2	11.2	10	42.0
California	23,668	3,580	15.1	29,758	6,459	21.7	6,090	25.7	2,879	80.4	3,256	50.4
Colorado	2,890	114	3.9	3,294	142	4.3	405	14.0	28	24.8	57	40.0
Connecticut	3,108	268	8.6	3,287	279	8.5	180	5.8	12	4.3	90	32.0
Delaware	594	19	3.2	666	22	3.3	72	12.1	3	18.3	7	33.1
Dist. of Columbia	638	41	6.4	607	59	9.7	(31)	-4.9	18	45.2	34	57.6
Florida	9,746	1,059	10.9	12,938	1,663	12.9	3,192	32.7	604	57.0	660	39.7
Georgia	5,463	91	1.7	6,478	173	2.7	1,015	18.6	82	89.3	90	52.0
Hawaii	965	137	14.2	1,108	163	14.7	144	14.9	26	18.7	67	41.0
Idaho	944	23	2.5	1,007	29	2.9	63	6.7	6	23.5	13	45.1
Illinois	11,427	824	7.2	11,431	952	8.3	4	0.0	129	15.6	371	39.0
Indiana	5,490	102	1.9	5,544	94	1.7	54	1.0	(8)	-7.4	31	32.4
Iowa	2,914	48	1.6	2,777	43	1.6	(137)	-4.7	(4)	-9.1	19	44.5
Kansas	2,364	48	2.0	2,478	63	2.5	114	4.8	15	31.2	31	49.2
Kentucky	3,661	35	0.9	3,687	34	0.9	26	0.7	0	-1.3	14	40.4
Louisiana	4,206	86	2.0	4,220	87	2.1	14	0.3	2	2.2	35	39.8
Maine	1,125	43	3.9	1,228	36	3.0	103	9.2	(7)	-16.4	7	19.5
Maryland	4,217	196	4.6	4,781	313	6.6	564	13.4	118	60.3	148	47.2
Massachusetts	5,737	501	8.7	6,016	574	9.5	279	4.9	73	14.5	223	38.9
Michigan	9,262	417	4.5	9,295	355	3.8	33	0.4	(62)	-14.8	94	26.3
Minnesota	4,076	107	2.6	4,376	113	2.6	300	7.4	6	5.2	51	45.6
Mississippi	2,521	24	0.9	2,575	20	0.8	55	2.2	(3)	-13.4	8	40.3
Missouri	4,917	86	1.7	5,117	84	1.6	200	4.1	(2)	-2.3	30	35.4
Montana	787	18	2.3	799	14	1.7	12	1.6	(5)	-24.8	3	24.1
Nebraska	1,570	31	2.0	1,578	28	1.8	9	0.5	(3)	-9.0	10	37.2
Nevada	800	54	6.7	1,202	105	8.7	401	50.1	51	94.9	48	45.5
New Hampshire	921	41	4.4	1,109	41	3.7	189	20.5	0	0.6	10	24.7
New Jersey	7,365	758	10.3	7,730	967	12.5	365	5.0	209	27.6	385	39.8
New Mexico	1,303	52	4.0	1,515	81	5.3	212	16.3	28	53.6	31	38.6
New York	17,558	2,389	13.6	17,991	2,852	15.9	433	2.5	463	19.4	1,190	41.7
North Carolina	5,882	78	1.3	6,632	115	1.7	751	12.8	37	46.9	52	45.3
North Dakota	653	15	2.3	639	9	1.5	(14)	-2.1	(5)	-36.6	3	31.1
Ohio	10,798	302	2.8	10,847	260	2.4	49	0.5	(43)	-14.1	71	27.2
Oklahoma	3,025	56	1.9	3,146	65	2.1	120	4.0	9	16.3	30	45.5
Oregon	2,633	108	4.1	2,842	139	4.9	209	7.9	32	29.2	61	43.7
Pennsylvania	11,864	401	3.4	11,883	369	3.1	19	0.2	(32)	-7.9	116	31.5
Rhode Island	947	84	8.9	1,003	95	9.5	56	5.9	11	13.2	35	36.9
South Carolina	3,122	46	1.5	3,486	50	1.4	364	11.7	4	8.4	18	36.3
South Dakota	691	10	1.4	696	8	1.1	5	0.8	(2)	-19.5	2	32.2

TABLE 1.—Resident Population Census Counts and Population Change, April 1, 1980, and April 1, 1990 (Thousands) (continued)

State	1980 Census of Population			1990 Census of Population			Population Change 1980 to 1990				Foreign Born Who Entered the U.S. 1980-1990 ¹	
	Total Pop.	Foreign Born		Total Pop.	Foreign Born		Total Population		Foreign Born		Number	%
		Number	%		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
Tennessee	4,591	48	1.1	4,877	59	1.2	286	6.2	11	22.2	26	43.4
Texas	14,229	856	6.0	16,986	1,524	9.0	2,757	19.4	668	78.0	718	47.1
Utah	1,461	50	3.5	1,723	59	3.4	262	17.9	8	16.2	26	44.2
Vermont	511	21	4.1	563	18	3.1	51	10.0	(3)	-16.4	3	19.3
Virginia	5,347	177	3.3	6,189	312	5.0	842	15.8	134	75.8	159	50.8
Washington	4,132	239	5.8	4,867	322	6.6	735	17.8	83	34.8	129	39.9
West Virginia	1,950	22	1.1	1,793	16	0.9	(156)	-8.0	(6)	-28.5	4	27.2
Wisconsin	4,706	125	2.7	4,892	122	2.5	186	4.0	(4)	-3.0	41	33.7
Wyoming	470	10	2.0	454	8	1.7	(16)	-3.4	(2)	-20.4	2	31.7

¹Data in this column provide a snapshot of the composition of the foreign born population in 1990. Numbers derived from 1990 census questions that ask place of birth, citizenship status, and year of entry. The numerator of the fraction is the number shown on the left. The denominator is the total count of foreign born enumerated in 1990.

TABLE 2.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change:
April 1, 1990 to July 1, 1992 (Thousands)

State	Pop. Count April 1, 1990	Pop. Est. July 1, 1990	Pop. Est. July 1, 1991	Pop. Est. July 1, 1992	Change for 3-year period from April 1, 1990, to July 1, 1992, due to:			
					All Components		Net Migration	
					Number	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹
United States	248,718	249,403	252,138	255,039	6,320	2.5	0	1,676
Alabama	4,040	4,048	4,087	4,131	90	2.2	34	3
Alaska	550	553	569	587	37	6.8	10	2
Arizona	3,665	3,679	3,747	3,835	170	4.6	57	20
Arkansas	2,351	3,354	2,371	2,395	45	1.9	19	1
California	29,758	29,904	30,416	30,914	1,156	3.9	(364)	590
Colorado	3,294	3,304	3,371	3,465	171	5.2	81	11
Connecticut	3,287	3,289	3,291	3,279	(8)	(0.2)	(73)	17
Delaware	666	669	680	690	23	3.5	9	2
Dist. of Columbia	607	604	594	586	(21)	(3.5)	(39)	7
Florida	12,938	13,019	13,294	13,512	574	4.4	317	108
Georgia	6,478	6,506	6,624	6,764	286	4.4	127	17
Hawaii	1,108	1,113	1,134	1,153	45	4.0	(7)	15
Idaho	1,007	1,012	1,039	1,066	59	5.9	35	3
Illinois	11,431	11,448	11,525	11,611	181	1.6	(119)	91
Indiana	5,544	5,555	5,604	5,653	108	2.0	22	6
Iowa	2,777	2,780	2,791	2,808	31	1.1	0	3
Kansas	2,478	2,481	2,491	2,515	37	1.5	(7)	5
Kentucky	3,687	3,693	3,715	3,752	65	1.8	17	3
Louisiana	4,220	4,217	4,241	4,273	53	1.3	(33)	6
Maine	1,228	1,231	1,236	1,236	8	0.7	(7)	2
Maryland	4,781	4,798	4,859	4,909	129	2.7	3	27
Massachusetts	6,016	6,019	6,001	5,999	(18)	(0.3)	(136)	34
Michigan	9,295	9,311	9,369	9,422	127	1.4	(59)	25
Minnesota	4,376	4,387	4,429	4,474	98	2.2	14	10
Mississippi	2,575	2,577	2,592	2,612	37	1.4	(6)	1
Missouri	5,117	5,126	5,157	5,192	75	1.5	3	7
Montana	799	800	808	823	24	3.0	12	1
Nebraska	1,578	1,581	1,591	1,604	25	1.6	(0)	3
Nevada	1,202	1,219	1,285	1,333	131	10.9	93	8
New Hampshire	1,109	1,112	1,108	1,114	5	0.5	(16)	2
New Jersey	7,730	7,740	7,766	7,811	81	1.1	(121)	83
New Mexico	1,515	1,520	1,547	1,581	66	4.4	19	7
New York	17,991	18,002	18,039	18,094	103	0.6	(445)	255
North Carolina	6,632	6,657	6,751	6,837	205	3.1	80	9
North Dakota	639	637	634	635	(4)	(0.6)	(13)	1
Ohio	10,847	10,862	10,931	11,002	155	1.4	(9)	15
Oklahoma	3,146	3,147	3,168	3,207	61	1.9	13	5
Oregon	2,842	2,858	2,919	2,974	132	4.6	80	11
Pennsylvania	11,883	11,896	11,947	11,990	107	0.9	(25)	28
Rhode Island	1,003	1,005	1,004	1,001	(2)	(0.2)	(18)	3
South Carolina	3,486	3,499	3,555	3,594	108	3.1	35	3
South Dakota	696	697	702	709	13	1.9	2	1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *State Population Estimates 1990-1995*. [STCOM95.FIN]

TABLE 2.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change:
April 1, 1990 to July 1, 1992 (Thousands) (continued)

State	Pop. Count April 1, 1990	Pop. Est. July 1, 1990	Pop. Est. July 1, 1991	Pop. Est. July 1, 1992	Change for 3-year period from April 1, 1990, to July 1, 1992, due to:			
					All Components		Net Migration	
					Number	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹
Tennessee	4,877	4,891	4,950	5,020	142	2.9	72	5
Texas	16,986	17,046	17,362	17,687	701	4.1	102	150
Utah	1,723	1,730	1,767	1,811	88	5.1	21	5
Vermont	563	565	569	572	9	1.6	(0)	1
Virginia	6,189	6,214	6,287	6,389	200	3.2	33	32
Washington	4,867	4,901	5,018	5,146	279	5.7	149	25
West Virginia	1,793	1,792	1,799	1,807	14	0.8	6	1
Wisconsin	4,892	4,902	4,949	4,997	105	2.1	31	7
Wyoming	454	453	458	464	10	2.3	1	1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *State Population Estimates 1990-1995*. [STCOM95.FIN]

¹Federal civilian movement is excluded. "Emigration" is subtracted indirectly, as these estimates reflect the U.S. Resident Population.

TABLE 3.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change: July 1, 1992, to July 1, 1995 (Thousands)

State	Pop. Est. July 1, 1992	Pop. Est. July 1, 1993	Pop. Est. July 1, 1994	Pop. Est. July 1, 1995	Change for 3-year period from July 1, 1992, to July 1, 1995, due to:			
					All Components		Net Migration	
					Number	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹
United States	255,039	257,800	260,350	262,755	7,717	3.0	0	2,290
Alabama	4,131	4,181	4,220	4,253	122	3.0	50	4
Alaska	587	598	603	604	16	2.7	(18)	3
Arizona	3,835	3,944	4,079	4,218	383	10.0	236	31
Arkansas	2,395	2,425	2,453	2,484	89	3.7	60	2
California	30,914	31,220	31,408	31,589	675	2.2	(1,184)	790
Colorado	3,465	3,568	3,662	3,747	282	8.1	165	18
Connecticut	3,279	3,278	3,275	3,275	(5)	(0.1)	(76)	20
Delaware	690	699	708	717	28	4.0	11	2
Dist. of Columbia	586	578	567	554	(32)	(5.4)	(50)	8
Florida	13,512	13,722	13,958	14,166	653	4.8	354	148
Georgia	6,764	6,901	7,058	7,201	437	6.5	230	24
Hawaii	1,153	1,166	1,178	1,187	34	2.9	(31)	18
Idaho	1,066	1,101	1,134	1,163	97	9.1	64	5
Illinois	11,611	11,690	11,759	11,830	218	1.9	(180)	140
Indiana	5,653	5,707	5,755	5,803	151	2.7	44	9
Iowa	2,808	2,822	2,831	2,842	34	1.2	0	5
Kansas	2,515	2,532	2,551	2,565	50	2.0	(3)	7
Kentucky	3,752	3,793	3,828	3,860	108	2.9	47	5
Louisiana	4,273	4,289	4,316	4,342	69	1.6	(35)	6
Maine	1,236	1,239	1,239	1,241	5	0.4	(8)	2
Maryland	4,909	4,952	5,000	5,042	133	2.7	(17)	38
Massachusetts	5,999	6,018	6,041	6,047	75	1.3	(59)	49
Michigan	9,422	9,457	9,492	9,549	127	1.4	(80)	35
Minnesota	4,474	4,524	4,568	4,610	136	3.0	39	14
Mississippi	2,612	2,639	2,670	2,697	85	3.3	29	2
Missouri	5,192	5,235	5,279	5,324	131	2.5	55	12
Montana	823	841	856	870	47	5.7	33	1
Nebraska	1,604	1,614	1,624	1,637	33	2.1	3	4
Nevada	1,333	1,385	1,462	1,530	197	14.8	147	12
New Hampshire	1,114	1,123	1,135	1,148	34	3.0	12	3
New Jersey	7,811	7,859	7,903	7,945	134	1.7	(113)	111
New Mexico	1,581	1,616	1,655	1,685	104	6.6	41	11
New York	18,094	18,153	18,153	18,136	42	0.2	(608)	320
North Carolina	6,837	6,953	7,070	7,195	358	5.2	203	15
North Dakota	635	637	639	641	6	1.0	(5)	1
Ohio	11,002	11,061	11,104	11,151	148	1.3	(43)	20
Oklahoma	3,207	3,232	3,257	3,278	71	2.2	15	6
Oregon	2,974	3,035	3,087	3,141	166	5.6	107	17
Pennsylvania	11,990	12,031	12,062	12,072	82	0.7	(50)	35
Rhode Island	1,001	999	994	990	(12)	(1.2)	(29)	4
South Carolina	3,594	3,627	3,643	3,673	79	2.2	(0)	4
South Dakota	709	717	723	729	20	2.8	6	1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *State Population Estimates 1990-1995*. [STCOM95.FIN]

TABLE 3.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change: July 1, 1992, to July 1, 1995 (Thousands) (continued)

State	Pop. Est. July 1, 1992	Pop. Est. July 1, 1993	Pop. Est. July 1, 1994	Pop. Est. July 1, 1995	Change for 3-year period from July 1, 1992, to July 1, 1995, due to:				
					All Components		Net Migration		
					Number	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹	
Tennessee	5,020	5,093	5,176	5,256	236	4.7	151	9	
Texas	17,687	18,049	18,413	18,724	1,037	5.9	219	222	
Utah	1,811	1,860	1,909	1,951	140	7.7	49	7	
Vermont	572	576	580	585	13	2.3	4	2	
Virginia	6,389	6,475	6,551	6,618	229	3.6	28	39	
Washington	5,146	5,255	5,338	5,431	285	5.5	128	39	
West Virginia	1,807	1,818	1,824	1,828	21	1.2	13	1	
Wisconsin	4,997	5,044	5,083	5,123	126	2.5	40	11	
Wyoming	464	470	476	480	16	3.5	5	1	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *State Population Estimates 1990-1995*. [STCOM95.FIN]

¹Federal civilian movement is excluded. "Emigration" is subtracted indirectly, as these estimates reflect the U.S. Resident Population.

TABLE 4.—Components of Population Change for the Six Major International Migration Destination States, April 1, 1990, to July 1, 1995 (Thousands)

State	Pop. Change	Births	Deaths	Domestic Migration	Foreign Migration	Residual Change
California	1,830,940	3,116,085	1,147,804	(1,548,226)	1,379,703	31,182
Florida	1,227,499	1,016,673	746,113	671,616	256,114	29,209
Illinois	399,338	1,009,613	553,423	(298,458)	231,211	10,395
New Jersey	215,110	624,993	374,972	(234,568)	194,298	5,359
New York	145,303	1,503,415	874,424	(1,052,535)	575,012	(6,165)
Texas	1,737,656	1,686,062	688,265	320,770	371,648	47,441

A similar migration pattern is reflected in the numbers for New York for the 1990-1995 period. The State gained more than a half million foreign migrants but lost more than 1 million domestic migrants. Between 1990 and 1995, more domestic migrants left than entered Illinois, a mirror image of the net inward movement of foreign migrants. The natural increase in Illinois offset the net migration loss. Similarly, New Jersey sustained a net loss of domestic migrants and a smaller net gain of foreign migrants for a combined net migration loss that was nullified by the natural increase.

Florida and Texas amassed disproportionate shares of foreign migrants between 1980 and 1990, and again between 1990 and 1995. These States are unique because—in tandem with several other Southern and Western States—they also received large numbers of domestic migrants. Florida's cumulative domestic and foreign net migration total for the 5-year period following the census was almost 1 million. During this same period, the Texas population netted almost 700,000 migrants. Between 1990 and 1995, about one-fifth of the national growth occurred in Florida and Texas. New York received more migrants from abroad than Texas, but its domestic migration losses allowed Texas to move into the number two position in population size.

Population Projections: Immigration Between 1995 and 2000

The population of the United States is expected to be about 275 million persons by the year 2000. The change between 1995 and 2000 from all components will be about 11.9 million persons. The net contribution to population growth of migration from abroad will be about 4.1 million, roughly a contribution of about 1.6 percent to the 1995 population. See Table 5.

During the last half of the decade, the same six States will continue to function as the primary destinations for migrants from abroad. Studies indicate that California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Florida will receive about 72 percent of the foreign migrant population. California alone will probably accommodate more than one-third of the new additions (1.5 million). However, immigration from abroad is not expected to match the outward movement of domestic migrants (-2.2 million) from California.

Methodology

Methodology—Census Data

Every 10 years the Census Bureau conducts a census of the U.S. population, collecting information about persons residing in the States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and outlying areas. Census questionnaires are sent to every housing unit. Residents of occupied housing units, or households, are counted and included in the total population count, along with residents of group quarters, such as college dormitories, prisons, and nursing homes. The military population is counted either in barracks where they live, or in housing where they reside off base.⁵

The numbers appearing in Table 1 reflect the resident population of the United States in 1980 and 1990.⁶ Persons from foreign countries and citizens from U.S. territories, including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, are counted as members of the U.S. resident population if they lived in the 50 States or the District of Columbia on census day.

The count of the foreign-born population is determined from answers to several census questions. First, a count of persons born abroad is derived from responses to a nativity question that asks, "Where were you born?" The Census Bureau does not classify every person born outside the 50 States and the District of Columbia as a foreign-born person. For example, a child born in Germany of U.S. parents or a child born in Puerto Rico is a U.S. citizen at birth. To determine the count of foreign-born persons, the Census Bureau combines information from the "born abroad" and citizenship questions. The 1990 count of the foreign-born population in Table 1 is the sum of those persons residing in the 50 States and the District of Columbia, on April 1, 1990, who indicated they were born outside the United States and its territories, and answered "Not a Citizen" or a "Naturalized Citizen" to the citizenship question.⁷

⁵ In 1990, certain segments of the overseas population (U.S. Armed Forces personnel, civilian U.S. Federal employees, and dependents in both groups) were allocated to their home States, and included in the populations of those States for apportionment purposes only. For a brief description of the apportionment process see, "Population Trends and Congressional Apportionment." *1990 Census Profile*. March 1991.

⁶ These census numbers exclude the U.S. population living in places other than the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

⁷ Respondents indicating they were born outside the United States are not asked if they entered the country "legally."

Methodology—Population Estimates

The Census Bureau produces postcensal estimates of the population by employing a “components of change” methodology. The resident population enumerated in the 1990 census, (see Table 2,) forms the base of the postcensal population estimates for the 1990s. To this census base, for each estimate period, the births that occurred to U.S. resident women have been added, the deaths of U.S. residents subtracted, and then the net international migration and the net movement of U.S. Armed Forces and civilian citizens to the United States are added. The estimates of international migration are based on administrative records sources. The INS supplies the Census Bureau with information on legal immigrants. The Office of Refugee Resettlement supplies the Census Bureau with data on persons admitted to the United States as refugees.⁸

Two important types of international migration for which reliably accurate and current data are unavailable are undocumented immigration and emigration, and the permanent emigration of legal residents. Undocumented immigrants are persons who either 1) engage in unauthorized movement across the national frontier or 2) overstay a visitor permit or other nonimmigrant visa.⁹ Since 1990, the Census Bureau has added 225,000 persons per year to its annual population estimates to account for undocumented population growth.¹⁰ Also, 222,000 persons per year (195,000 foreign-born and 27,000 native-born) have been subtracted to cover the emigration of legal residents.¹¹

Most demographers calculate the contribution of migration to population change as a proportion, with net migration in the numerator and the sum of net change ([births minus deaths] plus [in-migration minus out-migration]) in the denominator. To calculate the contribution of international migration between 1990 and 1995, divide 4.0 million (“From Abroad” totals from Tables 2 and 3.) by 14.0 million (“All Components” totals from Tables 2 and 3), and multiply the result by 100, to arrive at about 29 percent.

A few demographers argue that this approach is flawed. First, the components are not mutually exclusive. Some immigrants die within a year of entering the country, and some newborn babies emigrate within a year of their birth. Second, if net immigration is negative, but population change is positive (excess of births over deaths and net negative immigration) as it was in the 1930s, the contribution of immigration with the traditional method cannot be assessed. In this instance, the numerator is a negative immigration number, and the denominator is excess births (the residual after deaths and net immigration loss are subtracted).

Another approach that can be used to assess the contribution of immigration to population change is to compute a proportion, where immigration is in the numerator and births and immigration (the two components that add population) are in the denominator. This approach currently produces a result of about 20 percent per annum at the national level, as each year the population adds about one immigrant for every four births.¹² The results of applying this method, and the traditional method suggest that immigration probably contributed between 20 and 29 percent to the net population growth between 1990 and 1995.

⁸ A more complete discussion of the procedures used to develop postcensal population estimates can be found in several sources listed at the end of this review, including U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).

⁹ And therefore have no paperwork associated with their movement, unless they are detained by the INS.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the basic methodological approach, and recent modifications see: 1) U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995); 2) Robinson, J.G., Internal Memorandum dated November 5, 1994, “Clarification and Documentation of Estimates of Emigration and Undocumented Immigration;” 3) Passel, J. and K. Woodrow (1987); Woodrow, K. (1992); Woodrow, K. et al. (1987).

¹¹ See U.S. Bureau of the Census 1994b.

¹² See B. Warren (1994), J. Passel (1994).

TABLE 5.—Projections of the Resident Populations of States and Components of Change:
July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000 (Thousands)

State	Pop. Est. July 1, 1995	Change for 5-year period from July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000, due to:				
		All Components			Net Migration	
		Pop. Projection July 1, 2000	Change	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹
United States	262,755	274,634	11,879	4.5	0	4,113
Alabama	4,253	4,451	198	4.6	104	12
Alaska	604	653	50	7.9	--	5
Arizona	4,218	4,798	580	13.7	351	51
Arkansas	2,484	2,631	148	5.9	106	5
California	31,589	32,521	932	2.9	(2,188)	1,459
Colorado	3,747	4,168	422	11.1	253	24
Connecticut	3,275	3,284	10	0.3	(121)	55
Delaware	717	768	50	7.0	27	4
Dist. of Columbia	554	523	(31)	(5.5)	(65)	22
Florida	14,166	15,233	1,068	7.5	590	296
Georgia	7,201	7,875	674	9.3	371	52
Hawaii	1,187	1,257	71	5.7	(15)	31
Idaho	1,163	1,347	183	15.7	131	6
Illinois	11,830	12,051	221	1.9	(310)	175
Indiana	5,803	6,045	241	4.2	85	19
Iowa	2,842	2,900	58	2.0	--	13
Kansas	2,565	2,668	103	4.0	18	17
Kentucky	3,860	3,995	134	3.5	56	11
Louisiana	4,342	4,425	82	1.9	(65)	15
Maine	1,241	1,259	18	1.4	(4)	3
Maryland	5,042	5,275	232	4.6	(23)	97
Massachusetts	6,074	6,199	125	2.1	(148)	136
Michigan	9,549	9,679	130	1.4	(187)	51
Minnesota	4,610	4,830	220	4.8	54	31
Mississippi	2,697	2,816	119	4.4	46	4
Missouri	5,324	5,540	217	4.1	96	17
Montana	870	950	79	9.1	57	2
Nebraska	1,637	1,705	68	4.2	24	5
Nevada	1,530	1,871	341	22.2	266	19
New Hampshire	1,148	1,224	76	6.6	37	5
New Jersey	7,945	8,178	233	2.9	(151)	198
New Mexico	1,685	1,860	175	10.3	94	5
New York	18,136	18,146	10	0.1	(1,069)	622
North Carolina	7,195	7,777	582	8.0	382	33
North Dakota	641	662	20	3.1	4	2
Ohio	11,151	11,319	168	1.5	(113)	41
Oklahoma	3,278	3,373	95	2.9	18	15
Oregon	3,141	3,397	257	8.2	156	34
Pennsylvania	12,072	12,202	130	1.1	(64)	66
Rhode Island	990	998	8	0.8	(30)	18
South Carolina	3,673	3,858	185	5.0	77	10
South Dakota	729	777	48	6.5	27	1

TABLE 5.—Projections of the Resident Populations of States and Components of Change: July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000 (Thousands) (continued)

State	Pop. Est. July 1, 1995	Change for 3-year period from July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000, due to:				
		All Components			Net Migration	
		Pop. Projection July 1, 2000	Change	%	Domestic Migration	From Abroad ¹
Tennessee	5,256	5,657	401	7.6	278	16
Texas	18,724	20,119	1,395	7.4	350	199
Utah	1,951	2,207	256	13.1	106	14
Vermont	585	617	32	5.5	17	1
Virginia	6,618	6,997	379	5.6	85	100
Washington	5,431	5,858	427	7.8	182	67
West Virginia	1,828	1,841	13	0.7	10	2
Wisconsin	5,123	5,326	203	4.0	64	22
Wyoming	480	525	44	9.2	27	1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *State Population Projections 1995-2025, Series A*.

¹Federal civilian movement is excluded.

The 1990 population includes the immigrants who entered before 1990 and all their progeny.¹³ Some demographers contend that to measure the effect of immigration on population change, one must consider the fertility of immigrants. In sum, various measures produce different results, and it is essential to consider policy context when assessing the contribution of immigration to population change.

Methodology—Population Projections

The Census Bureau developed a series of national and State population projections based on an array of assumptions about the components of change: fertility, life expectancy, and net immigration. The middle series of these projections is sometimes called the preferred series. Table 5 shows data based on the middle or preferred series.¹⁴

In the middle series, it is assumed that, at the national level, net migration will remain constant throughout the projections period at about 820,000 persons per year (about 1,043,000 legal immigrants and 222,000 legal emigrants) and 225,000 net undocumented immigrants. These numbers reflect 1990 immigration law changes and current knowledge of emigration, undocumented migration, and movement to and from Puerto Rico.

Comparisons of the Native and Foreign-Born Populations in the United States in 1995

Immigration has always been an important source of population growth and change in the United States. In recent years, the increased flow of persons from abroad has renewed interest in the immigration process and the growth of the foreign-born population.¹⁵

¹³ Recent immigrants counted in the 1990 census were primarily from non-European countries. Country of origin changes are producing compositional changes in the population base. This topic is covered in U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) and (1990).

¹⁴ See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996b), (1994a). The population projections data we have used in this report are found in (1996a).

¹⁵ See C. De Vita (1996); P. Martin and E. Midgley (1994).

In this comparison, data from the March 1995 Current Population Survey are used to describe the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of native- and foreign-born populations in the United States at mid-decade. Foreign-born naturalized citizens and foreign-born noncitizens are compared, and their attributes with those of native-born citizens are contrasted. Specifically, differences and similarities in the age, sex, race, Hispanic origin, residence, tenure, marital status, educational attainment, labor force participation, poverty, and social program usage of persons, and the type, size, and income of households are noted.¹⁶

The findings suggest that the native and foreign-born populations in the United States are, in many ways, dissimilar population groups. However, their differences range from complex to superficial. The foreign-born population is not a homogeneous entity. Many distinctions exist among and between the various subgroups of the foreign-born population, particularly between naturalized citizens and noncitizens. Quite often, the characteristics of the native-born population are similar to those of one or more of various foreign-born subgroups. In other words, native-born citizens and naturalized citizens are alike in some ways; native-born citizens and noncitizens are alike in some ways; and sometimes all three citizen groups are different.

Highlights

Demographic Characteristics

In March 1995, one-third of the 23 million foreign-born population in the United States were naturalized citizens and two-thirds were noncitizens. The median age of noncitizens was 32.8, not statistically different from the median age of native-born citizens (33.2). Naturalized citizens were 15 years older on average (48.3), than either noncitizens or native-born citizens. About 28.5 percent of the native-born population was under the age of 18, compared with 2.7 percent of the naturalized citizen population and 14.2 percent of the foreign-born noncitizen population. Most of the foreign-born population were White (68.1 percent). Asian and Pacific Islanders formed the second largest foreign-born race group (18.3 percent). About 46.4 percent of the foreign-born population was Hispanic origin persons (who may be of any race). In 1995, 95 percent of the foreign-born population lived in metropolitan areas compared with 78.4 percent of the native-born population.

Social Characteristics

In 1995, 1 of every 11 households in the United States was headed by a foreign-born person (9.3 million). Forty percent of these households were headed by naturalized citizens (3.7 million), and the other 60 percent were headed by noncitizens (5.6 million). About 25 percent of the noncitizen households contained five or more members. In comparison, 15.3 percent of the households headed by naturalized citizens and 9.2 percent of those headed by native-born citizens had five or more members. Both naturalized citizens (73.8 percent) and foreign-born noncitizens (78.5 percent) were more likely to live in family households than native-born citizens (69.3 percent). Foreign-born noncitizens (14.5 percent) were more likely to live in female-headed family households, than naturalized citizens (11.2 percent) or native-born citizens (12.2 percent). Foreign-born noncitizens (9.5 percent) were less likely to live in female-headed nonfamily households than naturalized citizens (16.6 percent) or native-born citizens (17.2 percent). Naturalized citizens ages 15 and older were more likely to be currently married (65.9 percent) than either foreign-born noncitizens (57.7 percent) or native-born citizens (54.6 percent). Naturalized citizens (14 percent) were less likely to have never married than foreign-born noncitizens (29.9 percent) or native-born citizens (27.4 percent). Naturalized citizens ages

¹⁶ A few points regarding the citizenship classification: 1) The population has been grouped into distinct citizen categories at the person level, many households contain a mixture of persons with differing citizenship statuses. The households have been classified by the citizenship status of the household head; 2) One should not use the terms naturalized and noncitizen interchangeably with "legal" and "illegal immigrant." In 1995, a large proportion of the legally admitted foreign-born population was in a noncitizen status (refugee and/or in the country less than 5 years and therefore not yet eligible for application for citizenship, or in a nonimmigrant status, that is, student, diplomat, etc.). Furthermore, some noncitizens who are also legal immigrants may never seek U.S. citizenship; 3) The CPS does not ask questions about the legal status of foreign-born persons.

25 and older (28.3 percent) were more likely to have a college or professional degree than foreign-born noncitizens (18.8 percent) or native-born citizens (23 percent) of the same ages.

Economic Characteristics

Male foreign-born noncitizens age 16 and older (79.2 percent) were more likely to be in the labor force than male naturalized citizens (72.1 percent) or native-born citizens (73.3 percent) of the same ages. Female native-born citizens (59.6 percent) ages 16 and older were more likely to be labor force participants than female naturalized citizens (52.7 percent) or female foreign-born noncitizens (48.9 percent). Households headed by naturalized citizens had a higher median household income in 1994 (\$35,152) than those headed by either foreign-born noncitizens (\$23,488) or native-born citizens (\$32,793). In 1995, about 28.4 percent of the foreign-born noncitizen population was in poverty compared with 9.4 percent of the naturalized citizen population, and 13.7 percent of the native-born citizen population. About 46.8 percent of the foreign-born noncitizen population under age 18 was in poverty compared with 12 percent of the naturalized citizen population and 21 percent of the native-born citizen population of the same ages. Foreign-born noncitizens were more likely to use Medicaid (16 percent) and/or food stamps (16.5 percent) than either naturalized citizens (6.5 percent and 5.6 percent) or native-born citizens (12 percent and 11 percent).

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The Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

Part II

Economic Impacts:

The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Labor Market

U.S. Department of Labor
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Executive Summary

Background

This section of the Triennial Report examines the effect of immigrants on the U.S. labor market. In the current economic environment, there is substantial public concern regarding competition from immigrants for U.S. employment opportunities. Moreover, many immigrants are low-skilled, and there has been a debate, fueled by economic research, about whether or not the newest waves of immigrants have fewer skills and are less productive.

Labor Market Assimilation

Successful economic integration sustains the strength of immigrant communities and that of the wider U.S. economy. Research is increasingly exploring which factors contribute to immigrant integration.

English and Community Context

Education is one of the more important factors contributing to a person's earning potential because it determines the type of job for which a person can qualify. English proficiency is also a critical determinant of immigrant earnings, although measuring the appropriate dimensions of English ability is difficult. It is clear, nonetheless, that the need for English skills varies by where the immigrant works and lives.

Research only recently has begun to explore the influence of community context. It remains an open question whether a concentration of immigrants in a labor market helps, hinders, or has no bearing on, the earnings assimilation of other immigrants. Certain authors have concluded that new waves of immigrants tend to compete with older and settled immigrants. If this finding is correct, then the size and composition of future immigrant cohorts could directly affect the economic progress of others already resident in the United States.

Admission Status

Recent research indicates that, whatever initial earnings advantage employment-based immigrants may have over other immigrants, it is small and short-lived. With time, the earnings of family-based immigrants converge toward, and may catch up with, those of employment-based entrants. If, on average, refugees do not perform as well as other legally admitted immigrants, this shortfall is to be anticipated because the purpose of this category is humanitarian rather than economic. On the other hand, unauthorized workers appear to fill jobs at the lower end of the job market and, legalization notwithstanding, their earnings growth is relatively slow.

Declining Immigrant Integration?

Successive cohorts of immigrants arriving from certain countries over the past three decades appear to have experienced slower wage assimilation than their conationals who arrived earlier. This decrease has been associated with a clear, observable decline in the level of schooling and quality of jobs held by the immigrants from those countries. The precise reasons for this shift are subject to dispute. They may include changes in both the immigrants themselves and the character of the U.S. labor market. Because of methodological problems and a simultaneous growth in high-skilled immigration, it is difficult to draw conclusions about "vintage" effects. However, it appears that across-the-board statements about declining immigrant "quality" are unwarranted.

Immigration's Labor Market Impact

The overall conclusion of macroeconomic research is that, at the national level, the net impact of immigration on the earnings and employment of U.S. workers is rather small. Most of these studies show very little net effect on native-born workers, of any race or ethnicity, either positive or negative. They find a somewhat greater negative effect of immigrants on the already resident foreign-born population.

Although the work lives of most Americans do not appear to have been adversely affected by immigration, the risks are proportionately greater for those living or working in areas of high-immigrant concentration. A few quantitative studies have found that during the 1980's, a period of intense economic restructuring, certain low-skilled workers did experience adverse wage effects. While immigration and restructuring continue unabated, comparable assessment of the net effects of recent immigration (that is, during the 1990's), will require data from the U.S. Census for the year 2000. Until that time, bold generalizations about the positive and negative effects of immigration remain unsupported by existing quantitative research.

Case Studies on Immigration and Low-Wage Labor Markets

To avoid sweeping statements, it is sometimes useful to adopt a case study approach that relies on in-depth interviews of the people involved. Case studies point to a variety of different dynamics that may develop and suggest seemingly contradictory hypotheses.

The "successive ethnic niche" hypothesis maintains that immigrants do not usually drive native workers out of the labor market but rather they enter the market as natives move up to better jobs. Through ethnic succession, new immigrant arrivals subsequently replace earlier immigrant groups who are voluntarily departing as they too experience upward mobility. Ethnic loyalty induces skilled immigrant workers to form ethnic niches in the open economy from which they can help their coethnics gain access to opportunities for advancement.

Conversely, the "successive ethnic displacement" hypothesis maintains that immigrant networks are often unable to form self-sufficient enclaves fostering ethnic advancement. Instead, many migrants find themselves continuously taken advantage of by employers, often aided by middlemen from that ethnic group seeking to exploit their labor.

Case studies provide ample evidence that both situations can, and often do, occur. Immigration policy and labor policy are improved by a better understanding of these different types of immigrant networks and how each affects the larger labor market. Information about those groups who may be adversely affected by immigration provides insights that can be valuable in improving worker protections and enforcement within these labor markets, as well as retraining and reemploying displaced workers.

Immigration and Professional Labor Markets

Labor attestation/certification requirements and certain annual numerical limits notwithstanding, highly skilled aliens have relatively little difficulty entering the U.S. labor market. Various nonimmigrant visas enable thousands of well-educated aliens to enter this country or complete the transition from academic to professional life in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1990 (IMMACT90) significantly increased the annual numerical limitation for employment-based permanent immigration and at the same time tipped the scale further toward professional entries.

The effects of these developments are perceived differently by those who employ and those who seek employment. Universities, research institutions, and the business community contend there is a compelling need for such access. The technical skills, determination, and strong work ethic of foreign-born students and professionals are often highly esteemed. Nonetheless, a growing number of highly trained native scientists and engineers contend that ready access to foreign professionals has reduced their own job opportunities, slowed job placement, increased average time spent in postdoctoral positions, and/or forced them to leave the field for which they spent both years and considerable financial resources in training.

Conclusions

Today there are mounting pressures for new policies on immigrant admissions. The setting in which these policies must operate has grown increasingly complex. Globalization and the reduced costs of travel have increased the sheer number and variety of immigrant groups. This profusion of groups may create more issues and points of potential conflict. Public opposition to immigration typically peaks during recessions and diminishes with economic recovery. However, the prolonged restructuring of today's nonrecessionary economy also has undercut many jobs in ways that may fuel claims of unfair competition.

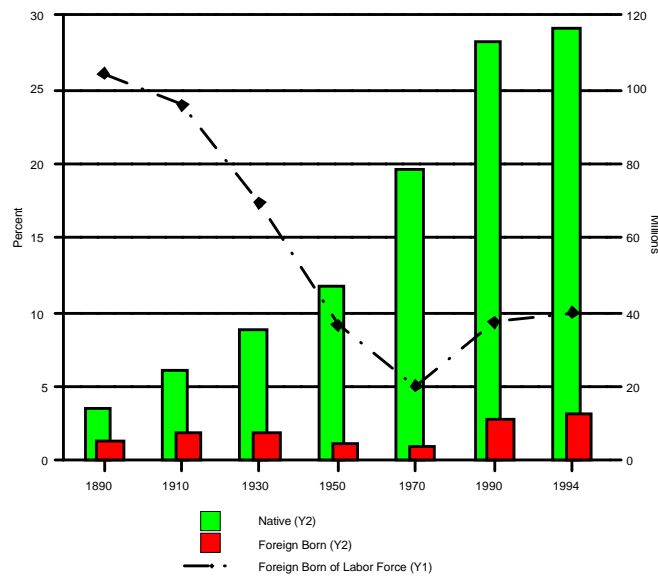
Consensus on the effects of immigration is difficult to achieve because of the lack of detailed data, variations in disciplinary emphasis, constant refinements in methods of analysis, disagreements about the appropriate level of analysis, philosophical differences, and the intrusion of noneconomic concerns. While there has been unprecedented interest in immigration, the situation has not changed much since the last Comprehensive Report on Immigration: Any single, simple, and definitive answer to the questions posed by immigration continues to remain "essentially elusive."

Introduction

Although there has been an increase in the level of immigration to the United States in recent decades, it is important to view the absolute levels of immigrant admissions in the context of the growing U.S. population and economy. From FYs1988-1994, the years covered in this report, the total number of immigrants admitted to the United States averaged 729,000 per year.¹ However, during the first decade of the 20th century, immigrant admissions averaged about 880,000 per year. The current total U.S. population is about three times larger than it was at the turn of the century, and the foreign-born persons' share of the total population is significantly less than it was at that time. The country now also hosts a growing number of temporary foreign entrants, many of whom—like permanent immigrants—play an important role in today's labor market. Nonetheless, it seems unlikely, given the powerful economic dynamics of both U.S. and international economies, that the effects of immigration today match those experienced by this nation a century ago.

Graph 1 shows that rising immigrant entries in the 1970's and 1980's translate into a growing share of foreign-born workers in the U.S. labor force, although today's share is nowhere near the U.S. record. In 1890, 5.1 million foreign-born workers made up fully 26.1 percent of the labor force. In 1990, 11.6 million foreign-born workers made up 9.3 percent of the labor force. As of 1994, the 12.0 million foreign-born workers accounted for 10.0 percent of the U.S. labor force.

GRAPH 1.—The U.S. Labor Force and Percentage of Foreign-Born Workers, 1890-1994



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Source: 1850-1980: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population*; 1990: U.S. DOC, Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population. The Foreign-Born Population in the United States (1990 CP-3-1)*, 1993. 1994: U.S. DOC, Bureau of the Census, *The Foreign-Born Population: 1994 (P20-486)*, 1995.

¹ Excludes those persons receiving immigrant status under the legalization programs of IRCA.

Both the skill composition of migrants and their relative contribution to year-to-year changes in labor supply are just as important as their absolute numbers. Given the maturation of the postwar baby boom and the slowing growth in female labor force participation, the increased number of migrants over the past two decades has resulted in immigration becoming an increasing component of year-to-year labor force growth. Immigrants contributed more than one-quarter to the labor force growth during the 1980's, double their contribution in the 1970's, and Urban Institute demographers project that under current immigration law (and absent any significant changes in employer demand for the labor inputs of migrants), immigration will account for approximately one-third of the labor force growth during the 1990's.²

Today's immigration to the United States has been accompanied by a renewal of interest in, and debate over, immigration on the part of policymakers, scholars, and the American public. This interest and resulting debate encompasses a variety of economic, social, cultural, and foreign-policy issues. Informed public decisions concerning these issues require a base of theoretical and factual knowledge regarding the effects of immigration on the American economy, society, and political institutions.

Recognizing the need for this information, Congress mandated, in the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, a series of comprehensive Presidential reports on the impact of immigration. Section 401(b)(3) of IRCA requires that these reports include "a description of the impact of admissions and other entries of immigrants, refugees, asylees, and parolees during the period on the economy, labor and housing markets, the educational system, social services, foreign policy, environmental quality and resources, the rate, size, and distribution of population growth in the United States, and the impact on specific States and local units of government of high rates of immigration resettlement." This section of the report focuses on the effects of immigration on the U.S. labor market.

The U.S. Admission System and Immigrant Type

Three categories of migrants are legally admitted³ into the United States: (1) immigrants, who receive legal permanent resident status; (2) refugees and asylees (most of whom later adjust to immigrant status); and (3) nonimmigrants, aliens admitted temporarily to the United States for specific purposes. Only a limited number of migrants are admitted for the specific purpose of performing a particular kind of work or meeting a particular skill need.

Immigrants are admitted for legal permanent residence in the United States. They generally become eligible for U.S. citizenship after 5 years of residence in this country. All immigrants are authorized to work in the United States. Following are two types of immigrants:

- Family-based immigrants include the relatives of U.S. citizens or of permanent resident aliens. There are no numerical limitations on the admission of immediate relatives (that is, spouses, children, and parents) of U.S. citizens. Admissions of other family-based immigrants are numerically limited.
- Employment-based immigrants are generally admitted based on their high level of knowledge or skill, or to fill jobs that U.S. employers have been unable to fill with U.S. workers. Most of these immigrants are subject to a preadmission labor certification procedure, conducted under the auspices of the Department of Labor (DOL). Employers seeking to hire a particular foreign worker must show that they have unsuccessfully attempted to recruit U.S. workers for the job in question and that they will pay the foreign worker at least the prevailing wage for the job.

² D.G. Papademetriou, et al., 1989, *The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Economy and Labor Market*. Division of Immigration Policy and Research, Report 1. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, and Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel, 1994, *Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight*, Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

³ Admission is a legal concept that is not synonymous with arrival in the United States. Although many of the immigrants admitted in any given year are new arrivals, some adjusted their status having already been in the United States as temporary migrants, while others (chiefly those legalized under IRCA) were previously in this country illegally.

Refugees and asylees are persons who demonstrate that they are unwilling or unable to return to their countries of nationality because they face persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The difference between refugees and asylees is based on the location of the alien at the time of application. Asylees are already in the United States or at a port-of-entry; and refugees are outside the United States. Refugees may adjust to immigrant status after 1 year in the United States and are permitted to work.

An approved asylee must reside in the United States for 1 year following his or her approval to be eligible to apply for adjustment to immigrant status. Asylum applicants are not permitted to work until asylum is granted or until a claim remains pending for 180 days.

Nonimmigrants are individuals admitted temporarily to the United States for specific purposes: for example, tourism, business, temporary employment, or study. Some of these nonimmigrant categories authorize work in the United States. Although most nonimmigrants remain in the United States for a limited period of time, there is a continual flow of new arrivals. Therefore, nonimmigrants as a group are a permanent feature of the United States economy, and nonimmigrants who are legally allowed to work in the United States have become a permanent feature of our labor market.

Illegal aliens are those persons who entered the United States illegally or who overstayed or otherwise violated the terms of their nonimmigrant visas. These migrants are not authorized to work within the United States. While many illegal migrants may enter the United States each year, the majority return to their countries of origin after a relatively brief sojourn in the United States. Despite the majority of illegal migrants leaving the United States, it is estimated that the resident illegal alien population still grew by an annual average of about 300,000 persons from October 1988 to October 1992.⁴

Immigration Policy in the Late 1980's and Early 1990's

Several major pieces of immigration legislation have been enacted since the mid-1980's, including IRCA, IMMACT90, and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). IRCA, enacted in 1986, was intended to reduce the numbers of illegal migrants in the United States by means of a combination of (1) the legalization of certain unauthorized migrants present in the United States, (2) enhanced border interdiction, and (3) a prohibition against, and fines for, the hiring of aliens who are not authorized to work in the United States.

While IRCA was directed at the problem of illegal immigration, IMMACT90 reformed the U.S. legal immigration system. IMMACT90 made extensive changes in the categories of legal admission and the numerical limits on admissions. Among the most important of these, from the perspective of labor market impact, were the following.

- IMMACT90 increased the employment-based immigration limit from 54,000 to 140,000 persons per year. This increase was driven by projections that the U.S. labor market was facing, or would in the future face, shortages of skilled workers that could not readily be alleviated by our system of education and training. It also recognized the demand for specialized labor in an increasingly competitive and global economy.
- IMMACT90 created several new nonimmigrant visa categories to accommodate perceived U.S. needs for several classes of temporary foreign workers. These classes include performing artists and entertainers, religious workers, workers admitted as participants in international cultural exchange programs, and aliens of extraordinary ability in the sciences, arts, education, business, or athletics.

⁴ Jeffrey S. Passel, "Recent Efforts to Control Illegal Immigration to the United States," paper presented to the Hoover Institution, October 1996, in Stanford, California.

- IMMACT90 placed an annual numerical ceiling of 65,000 on admissions of temporary “specialty occupation” workers (aliens entering under the H-1B nonimmigrant visa to fill jobs requiring a baccalaureate degree or equivalent work experience). It also required employers seeking to hire these workers to attest to DOL that, among other things, the workers would be paid the prevailing wage, that their working conditions would not adversely affect the working conditions of other similarly employed workers, and that no strike or lockout was in progress in the relevant occupation and workplace.

IMMACT90 was debated and enacted in an economic environment of macroeconomic expansion combined with substantial industrial restructuring. The relative decline in manufacturing, the growth in the service sector, and the decline in union representation—all of which began before the 1980’s—continued and intensified during that decade.

Despite economic restructuring, the dominant influence on immigration policy in the late 1980’s and, in particular, the dominant influence on the employment-based immigration provisions of IMMACT90, was the macroeconomic expansion that lasted from 1983-1990. This long period of sustained economic growth fueled perceptions that the United States would need higher levels of employment-based immigration to alleviate future labor shortages, especially in highly skilled occupations.

Beginning with the 1990-1991 recession, the economic environment changed considerably from that in which IMMACT90 was passed. The close of the Cold War accelerated downsizing of the defense industry nationwide. This downsizing, together with a wave of corporate mergers, eliminated thousands of professional and managerial jobs. For the first time in several decades, not only production workers but professionals and managers faced rising unemployment.⁵ The economic restructuring that began during the 1980’s continued into the 1990’s and spread to additional sectors of the economy. The early stages of recovery from this recession were characterized by relatively slow job growth.

In this environment, initial concern that increased immigration might be needed to alleviate shortages of skilled labor turned to concern regarding immigrant-native competition for jobs and social services. This concern has been greatest for low-skilled U.S. workers who have been most adversely affected by the restructuring economy. Many immigrants are also low-skilled, and there has been a debate, fueled by economic research, about whether or not the newest waves of immigrants have fewer skills and are less productive than earlier waves of immigrants. In addition, some observers have raised concerns regarding the effect of highly skilled foreign-born workers on professional labor markets. This report examines recent research findings on the integration of immigrants in the labor market and the effects of immigrants on U.S. workers.

Organization of Part II

The following four chapters taken together, provide a review of the current research findings on the effects of immigration to the U.S. labor market. These chapters survey the recent analytical and quantitative literature on the impact of the foreign-born population. The survey does not aim to exhaustively cover the many recent studies dealing with the foreign-born population’s relationship with the labor market. Apparent research convergences are identified, and the major research themes and debates are illustrated. Within that perspective, the chapters provide a description of the major means by which immigration can affect the U.S. labor market.

⁵ See, e.g., Jennifer M. Gardner, “Worker Displacement: A Decade of Change,” *Monthly Labor Review* 118, no. 4 (April 1995): 45-57.

Chapter 3, *The Labor Market Integration of Immigrants*, reviews the literature on the economic progress of immigrants in the U.S. labor market. Chapter 4, *Immigration's Impact on the Labor Market Outcomes of Natives*, deals with the effect of immigration on the wages and employment opportunities of native workers. The analysis in the first two chapters is cast mainly at the national level and highlights the results of the recent econometric studies of immigrant assimilation and the sensitivity of native-born residents' labor market outcomes and behavior to increased immigration. Chapter 5, *The Impact of Immigrants on Low-Wage Earners: The Case Study Research*, provides a brief overview of the case study literature on the foreign-born worker's role and impact on low-wage U.S. labor markets. Chapter 6, *Professional Labor Markets and Immigration*, highlights the growing literature on the role of highly skilled immigrants in selected professional labor markets as well as the program abuses in some of the admission classes heavily used by employers seeking highly skilled foreign-born workers.

The Labor Market Integration of Immigrants

How well do immigrants fare once in the United States? Are they able to support themselves economically? Are they as productive as natives? Traditional economics has examined these questions from the vantage of earnings assimilation and asks if immigrants, over time in the United States, reach earnings equity with similarly skilled natives.

Of course, earnings assimilation is only one aspect of a broader process of immigrant adaptation to institutions such as the labor market. The overall economic success of new arrivals is at once a benchmark of the promise of opportunity, as well an indirect gauge of their influence on the prosperity of those residents already here. Successful economic integration sustains the strength of immigrant communities and that of the wider U.S. economy.

In fact, it is widely accepted that today's immigrants earn more the longer they remain in the United States. However, there is an ongoing debate regarding if the earnings of the newest waves of immigrants will ever catch up to the earnings of natives. While much evidence suggests that recent immigrants' wages, compared with those arriving in the 1960's, take longer to catch up to natives' wages, there is considerable uncertainty about how much longer and for which groups. There are also questions regarding how skills, such as English-speaking and reading ability, serve to integrate immigrants. And how do admission statuses affect earnings outcomes?

English Ability and Community Effects

The earnings of newly arrived immigrants are often low compared with the earnings of natives. One of the most important reasons for this difference is that schooling and skills from abroad are not entirely transferable to the United States. Research has examined standard human capital variables, such as schooling and English language ability, as determinants of immigrants' earnings. It has also looked into the community context of integration.

For example, researchers have asked if the country where the education took place is important. Some research finds that schooling completed abroad is significantly less valuable than that received in the United States (Schoeni, 1996), but other studies find little or no wage differences by education abroad or in the United States (Kossoudji, 1989 and Reimers, 1984). While the literature is unclear if foreign or U.S. schooling is more advantageous, it does show that instruction in the English language facilitates the transfer of education received abroad to the U.S. labor market.

The inability to speak English appears to be confined to the foreign-born population. Carliner (1995) reports on the prevalence of spoken English proficiency among native-born Americans. In 1990, more than 98 percent of native adults were fluent, the principal exception being certain native adolescents. "Even among ethnic groups who have come to the U.S. in large numbers within the last generation, lack of English fluency does not seem to be a significant problem for teenage or adult natives" (p. 11).

Research supports the theory that English-speaking ability plays a key role in labor market success, although it affects some foreign-born groups more than others. For example, English proficiency increases the wages of Hispanics and Asians proportionately more than it does for the European foreign-born population. Foreign-born Hispanic males who lack English skills earn 23 percent less than similar Hispanics who speak English well (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). English appears to play a role in which type of job individuals are hired,

that is, poor ability may lead to lower-skilled work and thus lower wages. At the same time, certain lower-skilled occupations may not require fluency.

Furthermore, researchers have recognized that “language capital” is not unidimensional but includes the skills of reading and writing as well as spoken English. Chiswick (1991) examines the influence of reading and speaking English on earnings among a sample of 800 apprehended illegal aliens in Los Angeles. He finds that “reading fluency is more important than speaking fluency as a determinant of earnings” (p. 149).

Over time immigrants tend to improve their English on the job, but their incentive to learn the language may be less if they reside in non-English-speaking communities. A number of studies show that English skills are less important to immigrants if they work in areas or occupations where persons of the same language group are concentrated. Some researchers speculate that employment in ethnic-dominated communities can provide a “bridging” environment that facilitates earnings assimilation.

In part, the effect of a community on earnings varies according to the opportunities that the community offers. Ethnic communities that develop beyond simple population concentrations to encompass many economically integrated business enterprises are known as “ethnic enclaves.” The prevalence of ethnic entrepreneurs in certain locales may create job opportunities for coethnics, that is, persons of the same ethnic background. Enclaves apparently can create sizable internal labor markets that foster upward mobility. However, recent research suggests that some members of the dominant language group may not share the benefits of this ethnic economy. In Miami, the labor market prospects of Spanish-speaking Mexicans do not appear to have been enhanced by access to the larger Cuban economy (Zsembick, 1996). Moreover, there are relatively few full-scale ethnic enclaves in the United States. Hence, they do not represent a dominant pathway for the economic progress of individual immigrants.

Finally, certain authors have concluded that new waves of immigrants tend to compete with older and settled immigrants. If this finding is correct, then the size and composition of future immigrant cohorts could directly affect the economic progress of others already resident in the United States.

Summary of English and Community Context

Education is one of the more important factors contributing to better earnings because it determines the type of job for which a person can qualify. English proficiency is also a critical determinant of immigrant earnings, although measuring the right kind of English ability is difficult. It is clear, nonetheless, that the need for English skills varies by where the immigrant works and lives.

Research has only recently begun to explore the influence of community context. It remains an open question whether concentrations of immigrants in a labor market help, hinder, or have no bearing on their earnings assimilation.

Differences by Admission Status

The literature on economic integration only has begun to examine if the earnings of migrants differ by their admission status. This serious problem should be kept in mind when casual reference is made regarding the progress of immigrants. While the term immigrant is defined in U.S. immigration law as those persons granted lawful permanent resident status, it is often used by others to refer to, or to include, other populations such as legal temporary workers and/or illegal aliens. Aggregate data typically do not identify these statuses. Given that the earnings patterns may differ across groups, this nomenclature can result in misleading conclusions about immigrants.

Hidden Information in Census Data

Broadly speaking, arriving foreign nationals are classed under one of the following admission statuses:

- Family-based immigrants reunifying with relatives.
- Employment-based immigrants admitted for skills or upon petition by a U.S. employer.
- Refugees or asylees fleeing persecution.
- Temporary-legal workers, students, or visitors (that is, nonimmigrants).
- Illegal aliens with no official status.

In Census data, all these statuses are initially grouped under noncitizen aliens, until such time as individuals become naturalized U.S. citizens. However, the skills of individuals in one admission status can vary markedly from those in the next. In particular, refugees and unauthorized migrants often have fewer skills and earn less than other entry groups.

Although neither the Census nor other major data sources collect information on admission status, the data they provide form the basis for public debates on immigration policy. Earnings estimates from these sources cover the entire foreign-born population. The inclusion of illegal migrants and refugees lowers the estimated average wage. Legal permanent entrants usually have higher skills and earnings. Therefore, the standard classifications of the Census do not permit the direct evaluation of the relationship between U.S. policy on admissions and the subsequent earnings of foreign-born workers.

The misleading effects of averaging admission statuses can be inferred by using proxies for various admission types (Fix and Passel, 1994).¹ If all immigrants entering during the 1980's are grouped together it appears that, of those 25 years and older, fully 41 percent had not completed high school.

Yet, if characteristics (such as nationality) are used as a proxy for admission status, the following conclusions are reached:

- 75 percent of the proxy-illegal entrants had not completed high school.
- 46 percent of the proxy-refugee entrants had not completed high school.
- 27 percent of the remaining entrants (proxy-nonrefugee legal) had not completed high school.

In fact, 33 percent of the proxy-nonrefugee legal entrants had completed a college degree, 10 percentage points higher than the native population. Likewise, this exercise demonstrates substantial income differences between these entry categories, with legal entrants (excluding refugees) performing better on average than natives. Thus, the aggregate Census data on the foreign-born population most likely under-represent the human capital characteristics of those persons entering the United States as family-based and employment-based immigrants.

Employment- and Family-Based Entrants

The widespread assumption that employment-based immigrants have greater success in the labor market than family-based immigrants has received remarkably little study. The occupations of employment- and family-based immigrants do not differ as markedly as sometimes imagined. Only the principal employment-based immigrant must meet the requirements of the generally highly skilled employment-based visa. Often, the accompanying beneficiaries, that is, spouse and children, tend to be less skilled. Family-based immigrants, who are sponsored by related U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents, may or may not possess labor

¹ The proxies are based upon 1990 Census data for immigrants who arrived during the 1980's. Comparing INS legal entry records with the Census data suggests that about two-thirds of recent immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala are illegal entrants. Those from 11 selected countries are likely to have entered as refugees. The balance most likely entered under one of the family/employment or temporary categories.

market skills. Regardless, family-based immigrants are likely to have the benefit of close ties to family and community in the United States, which can provide valuable resources upon arrival.

Recent research suggests that if employment-based immigrants enjoy an earnings advantage initially, it is small and diminishes over time. A study of Koreans and Filipinos found that while family-based immigrants do not perform as well initially, the employment-based immigrants also experienced problems in transferring their skills to the U.S. labor market. A study linking Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records with Social Security earnings records as of 1980 found that the occupational and earnings advantages of employment-based individuals are not particularly sizable (Sorensen et. al., 1992).

One study using indirect measures of admission status finds that the initial earnings disadvantage of family-based immigration decreases because of their faster earnings growth over time (Duleep and Regets, 1992). In fact, family-based immigrants appear likely to catch up with the earnings of their employment-based peers. Another study concluded that “the distinction between family-reunification immigration and immigration based on labor market needs in terms of the contributions of immigrants to the economy may be less important than is commonly thought” (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1995: 109).

Refugees

With certain clear exceptions, refugees tend to have less education than either family- or employment-based immigrants. They also may have more difficulty finding appropriate employment, either because they arrived hurriedly, without first undertaking a job search, or because their skills are not readily transferable. Even skilled refugees are at risk of doing poorly when they first arrive. Limited research suggests that, at arrival, refugees experience greater downward occupational mobility than do other immigrants.

The composition of refugee influx from a given country may vary over time, often evolving from affluent to less affluent groups. When this variation happens, the labor market achievements of successive cohorts may differ substantially. For instance, the initial cohorts of Cuban arrivals are known to have had higher levels of education and occupational attainment than those arriving in the 1980's, who were often from the lower-skilled sectors of the Cuban economy. Such variation (sometimes referred to as “vintage effects”) can create differences in how well refugee groups adapt. The availability of training programs, strong refugee communities, and access to welfare can also have marked impacts on how well refugee groups progress economically. Overall, each refugee population is unique.

Illegal Migrants and Work Authorization

Although, on average, illegal migrants have low levels of education, the assumption that these workers earn less than lawfully admitted workers with otherwise identical characteristics is not uniformly supported by research. Many studies find that, without controlling for other determinants, illegal workers have lower average earnings. However, once other factors are controlled for, most quantitative studies suggest either that legal status has no independent role or that legal status affects earnings by changing the manner in which experience is accumulated (Tienda and Singer, 1995).

Following IRCA, the introduction of work authorization requirements may have reduced the labor market prospects of illegal workers. Studies show that since IRCA, illegal migrants have experienced significantly lower wages and a deterioration in working conditions (Donato and Massey, 1993). The Act also appears to have lengthened job search time for illegal workers. Conversely, there is some evidence that IRCA may have led to subsequent increases in the demand for, and earnings of, legal workers (Papademetriou et al., 1991).

Under IRCA, close to 3 million formerly illegal workers were legalized. There is dispute over whether or not they had economically benefited from this change in status. It was anticipated that legalization would give newly authorized workers greater opportunities in the workplace and lead to increased wages. Recent research suggests, however, that 5 years after legalization, few of these workers had yet experienced notable occupational or wage mobility (Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark, 1996; Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji, 1996; Smith, et

al., 1996). Those who enter illegally may find it difficult to escape the labor market niches to which they were recruited: for example, farm labor, meat packing, poultry processing, or the garment industry.

Summary of Admission Types

Recent research indicates that, despite the presumed superior skills of employment-based immigrants, family-based immigrants may catch up to the earnings of the employment-based immigrants after several years. If refugees do not, on average, perform as well as other legally admitted immigrants, this shortfall is to be anticipated because the purpose of this category is humanitarian rather than economic. On the other hand, unauthorized workers appear to fill jobs at the lower end of the job market and, legalization notwithstanding, their earnings growth is relatively slow.

Changes in Immigrant Cohorts and Assimilation

Over time, immigrants acquire skills and human capital relevant to the U.S. labor market. As U.S.-specific human capital is accumulated, immigrants' earnings rise also, and may even surpass those of natives with similar socioeconomic characteristics. Some believe that immigrants may be favorably selected from their national-origin populations in the sense that they have greater innate ability and motivation.

Skills and motivation, for which immigrants are often under compensated when they first arrive in this country, may eventually lead to an unusually high rate of earnings growth. This accelerated growth rate of immigrant earnings is referred to as the "immigrant premium" and has been demonstrated with U.S. Census data: "On average, labor market assimilation is an important feature of the immigrant experience in the United States" (Borjas, 1990: 108).

New Vintage Immigrants: Declining Labor Market Performance?

The general process of economic integration, that of low wages at entry followed by a higher rate of earnings growth relative to natives, continues to describe the immigrant experience. But will immigrants arriving today do as well over their lifetimes as immigrants who arrived three decades ago? Do new immigrants of the 1970's and 1980's perform as well as those who came in the 1950's and 1960's? Will they equal the earnings of similar natives within their working lifetime?

A body of work by Borjas (1995) suggests a vintage effect whereby earlier cohorts possess higher wages relative to natives than more recent cohorts at any point of the immigrants' stay in the United States (that is, for the same number of years in the United States, earlier immigrant cohorts generally did better relative to natives than later cohorts). The immigrant premium appears to yield increased earnings growth over time for those who entered before 1965 and a declining premium for each successive cohort. Borjas describes this change in earnings growth as a decline in the "quality" of recent immigrant cohorts to the United States. In fact, his research on the 1970, 1980, and 1990 Censuses suggests that "it is likely that the relative wages of post-1970 immigrants will remain about 15-20 percentage points below those of natives throughout much of their working life" (Borjas, 1995: 239).

Other studies lend some support to the observation that the labor market performance of immigrant cohorts, relative to natives, has fallen over the postwar period. Borjas (1992) shows that the mean years of the immigrants' schooling on arrival has decreased relative to the natives. Fry (1996) uses Census data to detail the labor market activities of working-age immigrants and natives throughout the postwar period. The data reveal that, after the same number of years in the United States, 1980's immigrants are more likely to be institutionalized (that is, be incarcerated or in a drug treatment or mental health facility), relative to natives, than immigrants that arrived in the 1950's. In addition, 1980's immigrants are more likely to remain persistently outside the labor market than earlier immigrant arrivals.

As to whether today's immigrants will ever catch up to the earnings of natives, Schoeni (1996) demonstrates the tremendous diversity in the rates of economic progress across sending countries and education levels: "Europeans have entered with relatively high wages and have earned wages comparable to natives over their life course. Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese have entered with lower wages but have quickly caught up with native-born workers. Mexicans, on the other hand, have entered with low wages, and the wage gap between themselves and native born workers has not shrunk. Central Americans have had a somewhat similar experience as Mexicans." (p. 27).

Problems With Vintage or "Quality"

The contention that recent immigrant cohorts do not adapt as readily as earlier cohorts has been challenged on a number of grounds. Research has uncovered some methodological problems that complicate the "quality" inference based on Census data. These methodological problems are briefly discussed in the subsequent sections.

Age-At-Arrival

There is evidence that immigrants who migrate as children or receive U.S. education have a labor market experience more like that of U.S. natives than do adult immigrants. Thus, failing to account for age-at-arrival may lead to biased observations. Friedberg (1992) finds that, controlling for age-at-arrival, the earnings trajectories of earlier and more recent immigrant cohorts are less dissimilar. Once age-at-arrival is taken into account, Friedberg finds no evidence of a decline in the earnings trajectory of immigrant cohorts from Mexico or East Asia, but some evidence of decreasing cohort earnings by other Hispanics and Europeans.

Lowest-Wage Catch Up

In exploring the "elusive concept of immigrant quality," Duleep and Regets (1996) find that those immigrants who earn the least upon arrival tend to experience the greatest incremental increase in earnings over time. What causes the poorest paid immigrants to lessen the gap with their better-off compatriots is not fully known, but with time these immigrants may learn skills necessary to enter higher-paying occupations. In fact, because lower initial earnings are associated with more rapid earnings growth, future Census data may discover that recent cohorts do better than currently projected.

Which Comparison Group?

Most research has generally compared immigrants with native whites, or with natives of the same race/ethnic group. There is debate against which standard immigrant earnings should be measured. Naturally, an appropriate comparison requires that immigrants and the base group be similarly affected by changes in the larger economy. It is well known that relative wage growth since the 1970's has favored better-educated workers in the United States. Research involving comparisons to base groups with relatively stable earnings indicate that there has been little change in immigrant "quality" since the 1960's (LaLonde and Topel, 1992).

Changing Rates of Census Coverage

The comparability of data collected under different censuses may be questioned. For example, some research indicates that the illegal population was not well counted in 1970, but by 1980 perhaps two-thirds or more were enumerated. Research by Lindstrom and Massey (1994) indicates that comparisons of earlier data (under-representing illegal migrants) with later data (including more illegal migrants) misrepresents the true earnings trajectory of Mexican immigrants.

Selective Emigration

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, compositional changes occur in any cohort over time. The original foreign-born cohort counted in one census is represented in any subsequent census only by those who remain. If successful and high-income members of a cohort emigrate, the cohort may appear to have made little progress on average, even if the low-income members have progressed substantially. Conversely, outmigration of the unsuccessful would lead to an overestimate of the economic progress achieved by the

cohort. Estimates suggest that at least one-third of all immigrants return to their home countries. Given such high rates of emigration, the observed earnings differentials might be because of differences between immigrants who stayed and those who left. Little research exists on this issue and, ultimately, longitudinal data may be required.²

Summary of the Vintage Debate

Successive cohorts of immigrants arriving from certain countries over the past three decades appear to have experienced slower wage assimilation than their conationals who arrived earlier. This distinction has been associated with a clear, observable decline in the level of schooling and quality of jobs held by the immigrants from those countries. The precise reasons for this shift are subject to dispute. It is important to recognize that during the period in question, the character of the U.S. labor market has also changed markedly. As manufacturing demand has weakened, demand for service workers has grown. Also, the number of workers from these countries has expanded significantly over time. Moreover, there has been a corresponding rise in admissions of highly skilled aliens. These factors, together with the methodological problems already enumerated, make it difficult to draw conclusions about vintage effects. However, it appears that generalized statements about declining immigrant “quality” are unwarranted.

Conclusions

The literature on economic assimilation is growing increasingly sophisticated and answers to some key questions now appear closer at hand. Certainly, much more is known today about the major factors responsible for the diversity of immigrants’ integration into the labor market. Future research must address several methodological problems: for example, the lack of information on immigrant admission status and the need for robust measures of changes in the earnings of cohorts over time. However, comparable assessment of the net effects of recent immigration—that is, during the 1990’s—will require data from the U.S. Census for the year 2000.

Nonetheless, certain intermediate conclusions can be drawn regarding the major policy-relevant aspects of immigrant labor market integration today. Summary conclusions regarding the declining labor market attainments of immigrants over the postwar period are that: (1) immigrants arriving in the 1970’s and 1980’s have had lower skill levels and lower starting wages relative to natives than those observed in earlier cohorts of immigrants; (2) the degree of this decline has been associated with some lessening of the assimilation premium—that is, the tendency for immigrants to increase their earnings faster than similar natives; (3) new research implies that the degree of declining “quality” is not truly significant for many immigrant groups and that there is substantial variation according to the community context in which immigrants find themselves; and (4) simply increasing the relative share of employment-based immigrants may not significantly enhance the labor market integration of the foreign-born population.

² One study of Mexican immigrants and emigrants found no significant bias caused by selective emigration in a single cross-section of 1990 Census data (Lindstrom and Massey, 1994). However, a study with at least two censuses, and/or with other origin groups, would appreciably strengthen this finding.

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Immigration's Impact on the Labor Market Outcomes of Natives: Macroeconomic Findings

One of the most fundamental and divisive debates concerning immigration has centered on its impact on the U.S. labor market. Do immigrants compete with U.S. workers, reducing domestic wages and displacing workers from jobs? Conversely, do they supply a valuable source of labor and consumption demand that benefits everyone? One conclusion is certain: There are no casual and simple answers to these questions.

The debate must be finely nuanced by complications of place, industry, occupation, economic cycle, legal status, country of origin, and a host of other important qualifiers. Yet, because most immigrants can earn more here than they did in their home countries, many observers argue that immigrants will work for lower wages and compete unfairly with residents already here. Still other observers note that the immigrants' drive for economic attainment is such that they work hard and that the entire nation profits from the immigrants' productivity.

These issues have been addressed primarily with studies that measure the direct effects of immigrants on the earnings of other workers. The results are in agreement regarding the small national-level impact of immigrant groups on native workers. Still more recent research raises the issue of whether or not geographic displacement occurs and, if so, whether it interferes with the measurement of national-level wage effects. Research is required concerning the net effects of multiple economic impacts, for various groups, at both the national and local levels.

Production Theory and Research on All Immigrants

The customary approach to studying the economic consequences of immigration has been that of production theory. As economic actors, how do employers mix various combinations of workers and capital to produce goods and services for sale? Do immigrants "complement" U.S. workers and raise their average wage, or are immigrants "substituted" for natives, thereby decreasing native wages?

Wage Impacts as of 1980

The bulk of available research has been conducted using 1980 Census data and, therefore, taps the initial effects of increasing immigration in a restructuring U.S. economy. Because of the retrospective nature of this type of analysis, even data from the 1990 Census—which is reviewed later in this chapter—reflects what occurred during the 1980's. While immigration and restructuring have accelerated since that time, a full analysis of immigration's effect during the 1990's will not become available until data from the 2000 Census are examined.

Most studies (reviewed by Borjas, 1994 and Friedberg and Hunt, 1995) reveal only small national-level effects of all immigrants on the wages of U.S. residents in 1980. As of that date, immigrants' greatest wage impact had been to decrease the wages of the foreign-born population already in the United States. Because workers tend to compete with others having similar skills, immigrants tended to compete most directly with other immigrants.

This situation was replicated in six metropolitan areas with high concentrations of foreign-born persons: Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, and San Francisco. Whether considering all natives or young blacks and Hispanics separately, workers in these cities did not experience a strong impact of immigration in the 1970's. The largest impact was on new immigrants themselves and "a sustained doubling of the rate of new immigration may reduce relative earnings of new immigrants by about 3 percent" (LaLonde and Topel, 1991:190).

One study has measured impact by considering the skill composition of immigrant and native groups, simulating wage effects by varying their relative supply of skills to the labor market (Rivera-Batiz and Sechzer, 1991). Twenty-one native and 12 immigrant groups were examined using 1980 data. The overall results indicate small effects of immigrants on natives. For example, it was estimated that at that time a 10-percent increase in Latin American immigrants would reduce the wages of white, black, and Mexican Americans by approximately one-half of one percent. Although the largest impacts on native wages appeared to come from Mexican immigrants, a 10-percent increase in immigration of this group would reduce the wages of Mexican and black Americans and Puerto Ricans by less than 1 percent. These general results held through the decade of the 1980's (Enchautegui, 1994).

Wage Impacts as of 1990

A growing empirical literature is examining what occurred during the 1980's. Research tends to use successive censuses to gauge changes over the period. The available national-level studies indicate that immigration's net impact did not increase between 1980 and 1990. On average, natives in areas of medium to high immigration actually experienced increases in real wages. "Between 1980 and 1990, there were no significant changes in the effects of immigration on natives. Moreover, immigration had no negative effects on natives in either year. This suggests that no reduction in the capacity to absorb immigrants has occurred." (Enchautegui, 1995).

Many observers have begun to look beyond aggregate impacts to examine the effects on workers with various levels of education. During the 1980's the number of foreign-born workers increased by about 4.1 million, or 63 percent. Although the fraction of workers that are foreign-born persons increased among all schooling groups during the 1980's, the increase was particularly pronounced among the immigrants with the least amount of schooling. As of 1990, foreign-born workers increased the stock of workers lacking a high school diploma by about 25 percent, whereas foreign-born workers raised the number of workers with college diplomas by 11 percent, and that of other workers by about 7 percent. As of 1990, 21 percent of workers lacking a high school diploma were foreign-born persons, as compared with only 11 percent in 1980 (Jaeger, 1996: Table 1). These declines in the educational levels of the most recent immigrant streams have led some to believe that immigrants have contributed to wage losses of low-skilled natives.

Schoeni (1996) employs the conventional cross-metropolitan area methodology to examine the impact of immigration during the 1970's and 1980's on the labor market outcomes of 16 native demographic/schooling groups of workers. In regard to the impact of immigration during the 1980's, he concludes "there is little evidence that immigrants affected the wages of any native workers in the 1980's" (p. 25). Among schooling groups, natives with more than a high school degree have not been substantially adversely affected with regard to either wages or employment. However, Schoeni did find that non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic black native males who have dropped out of high school experienced substantive employment declines in areas of greater immigration.

Jaeger (1996) examines the impact of the large relative increase in the supplies of immigrant workers on both the absolute and relative wages of various native skill groups in the 50 largest metropolitan areas of the United States. He finds that, in the aggregate, immigration during the 1980's had a "relatively small" impact on the wages of natives: "Immigration accounts for only 4 to 9 percent of the increase in the college-high school wage gap during the decade, and had comparatively small effects on the [absolute] wage levels of natives with a high school education or more" (p. 23). However, he does find that immigration substantially affected the wage levels of high school dropouts, with immigration accounting for about half the decline in their wage

level during the 1980's; that is, immigration accounted for a 3- to 5-percentage point decline. This effect is not surprising, given that foreign-born adults are about three times more heavily concentrated in the population that did not complete high school than in the total population. In 1994, foreign-born adults made up nearly 33 percent of the non-high school graduate population in the United States whereas they accounted for only 11 percent of the overall adult population (USDOL, 1996, pages 2-3).

Impacts by Race/Ethnicity and Legal Status

Restricting the analysis to specific groups may uncover impacts that are obscured when all immigrants and all natives are examined. Narrowly defined subclasses of immigrant workers, especially by legal status, can have markedly different skill characteristics and may have varied impacts. Likewise, subclasses of natives may experience differential impacts from immigration.

Race/Ethnic Impacts

Several studies have examined the impact of various immigrant groups on the major racial and ethnic groups of U.S. workers. It is noteworthy that only minor impacts, if any, were found even when the population is broken down by racial and ethnic groups. The one exception, was the finding of negative impacts of newly-arriving immigrants on the wages of earlier-arriving cohorts. From these studies, the general finding is that immigrants have had little or no impact on the black native-born population, a finding that runs counter to some popular impressions.

Bean et al. (1996) examine the impact of concentrations of Western Hemisphere immigrants (who are mostly Latino) on the employment outcomes of African Americans. The results for both 1980 and 1990 indicate that Western Hemisphere immigrants do not have an adverse impact on the unemployment or labor force participation of African-American men.

Illegal Migrants

Because of their low skill levels and their incentive to work, even for low wages, the illegal alien population is oftentimes thought to have the greatest adverse wage impacts. In fact, while the case study literature (see Chapter 5, *The Impact of Immigrants on Low Wage Earners: The Case Study Research*) frequently finds negative impacts, national-level studies find only small effects.

Demographic estimates of the unauthorized population have been made using the 1980 Census count of all aliens and INS counts of legal aliens. Many believe that unauthorized workers may adversely affect women, blacks, and U.S. workers of Mexican descent who are thought to work in the same sectors of the labor market. Yet, when 1980 Census counts of the undocumented are used to infer the link between undocumented migration and native earnings, econometric models suggest that the wages of these native groups have not been adversely affected in any consequential way (Bean et. al., 1987). Similar data are unavailable to replicate this analysis for 1990.

Growth of the unauthorized population through the 1980's and 1990's may mean that their impact differs today and that particular subgroups may now be more affected by illegal migration. However, some 2.7 million undocumented migrants have recently achieved legal status as a result of IRCA's legalization programs, an "accounting shift" that may complicate future comparisons of the wages of legal and illegal migrants.

Family- and Employment-Based Immigrants

Even legal immigrants vary by their skill levels and in the type of employment they find. Different entry groups may impact the economy differently. Only one research effort to date has analyzed this possibility using a unique 1980 database that permits estimates of the metropolitan populations of employment- and

family-based immigrants and of naturalized foreign-born citizens (Sorensen et al., 1992). The findings indicate that family-based aliens increased the earnings of U.S. workers, whereas employment-based aliens decrease the earnings of U.S. workers. Only over time and the transition to naturalized citizenship, do all foreign-born workers compete directly with U.S. workers.¹ All effects are small.

Summary of Group Wage Impacts

The various studies described above have attempted to control for many of the variables influencing impacts: for example, country of immigrant origin, legal status of the migrants, and specific groups of native workers affected. Overall, the studies suggested that the measured adverse wage effects on the aggregate U.S. population were rather small. However, most of the studies were based on data for the 1980's. Therefore, it remains to be seen if this impact will remain throughout the 1990's given the significant levels of immigration in recent years, combined with the continued restructuring of the U.S. economy that places certain native groups and localities at greater risks.

Immigrants and the Internal Migration of Natives

Workers are often highly mobile and move between labor markets. If immigrants increase unemployment or reduce wages in certain labor markets, domestic workers might choose to leave. What evidence of this phenomenon exists, how convincing is it, and what are its implications?

Migration and Job Creation: Chicken or the Egg?

Do people follow jobs, or do jobs follow people? A few studies have estimated the number of migrants attracted by local employment creation and, concurrently, the number of jobs induced by an additional migrant to a labor market. Although the relationships may differ by region and over time, research indicates that the opening of 100 new jobs in a given locality leads to the employment of 40 to 70 migrants (native and foreign) from other localities, with the balance of the job openings going to local residents. Conversely, the employment of 100 in-migrants (native and foreign) brings with it increased demand that translates into 100, or slightly more, additional jobs (Greenwood and Hunt, 1984).

Only one study has explored the separate employment effects of immigrants and native migrants (Enchautegui, 1992). It uses cross-sectional 1980 U.S. county data on population and employment. County-level results indicate that during the 1970's, on average, 100 native in-migrants created 124 additional jobs, while 100 foreign immigrants created 150 additional jobs. While the magnitude of these estimates seem to conform with the general literature, this research needs to be replicated with better and more recent data. Still, it appears most likely that immigrants moving into an area did not diminish native employment opportunities, but rather they created enough jobs to employ themselves as well as others.

Research on Immigration and Internal Migration

There is a yet more subtle possibility. If immigrants directly compete with U.S. workers, the movement of immigrants to a locality could place downward pressure on wages and might lead natives to move elsewhere. Research on the 1980 Census appears to support this hypothesis, especially for lower-skilled workers: at that time, 100 immigrants were associated with a net out-migration of 14 native blue-collar workers (Walker et al., 1992).

¹ It may be that employment-based immigrants, in part because their admission depends on links to U.S. employers, may find work in the more formal and competitive sectors of the labor market. Conversely, the jobs that are initially filled by family-based immigrants, because they are not as tightly linked to the primary labor market, may mean that family-based immigrants compete less with U.S. workers. Over time immigrants may increase their integration into the primary market and, as marked by the act of naturalization, come into greater competition with U.S. residents.

There is evidence that immigrant and native migration patterns have continued to flow in opposite directions during the past decade. Frey (1994) has analyzed 1990 U.S. Census data and examined mobility patterns for many metropolitan areas and major States. His general findings show that high immigration areas have high rates of native out-migration, particularly among low and middle income groups and noncollege graduates. However, better educated interstate migrants do not appear to be deterred from moving to high-immigrant States.

A few studies have constructed panel or time-series data. These models are preferable for estimating the potentially countervailing flows of immigrants and internal migrants. Research on the 1970's does not "find much evidence for the substitution hypothesis" (White and Imai, 1994:202). While immigration may reduce native in-migration marginally, the result is not statistically significant. The studies indicate no real impact of foreign immigration on out-migration. Time-series models on States for the 1980's likewise find very small associations between immigration and native internal mobility.

Critique of Migration Studies

Taken together, the migration impact research does not offer strong support for the hypothesis that immigrant/native job competition is a prominent cause for natives to out-migrate. Concern regarding labor market competition should focus on measures of employment creation rather than on indirect inferences from migration. In fact, available research on employment creation does not appear to be consistent with the notion that native out-migrants were first displaced by foreign immigrants.

Additionally, the most robust analyses have found that immigration has a small association, either absolutely or relative to other causal factors, with native internal migration. The results may be sensitive to which metropolitan areas are included in the mobility analysis. Except in the cases of New York City, Los Angeles, and Miami, "native in-migration flows during the 1980's were actually positively correlated with inflows of recent immigrants" (Butcher and Card, 1991).

Some economists argue that a migration impact offsets our ability to measure substantial wage effects: Displaced workers might spread effects thinly across the country "arbitrating" or obscuring wage impacts. But immigration has been substantial and concentrated on certain areas for more than two decades. Are markets so efficient as to dissipate those effects more or less immediately? Many regional studies indicate that adjustments occur over a number of years and, therefore, the "small wage impacts" finding of the literature reviewed above should be reliable.

Additional Channels of Immigrant Influence

One of the major problems with many of the studies described above is their focus on a single channel of immigrant influence. They evaluate only the direct effects of immigrants on other workers in the production process or infer employment relationships from migration patterns. However, there are a number of other mechanisms through which immigrants can have indirect and cumulative effects on the domestic labor force.

Among other channels of influence are local demand for final goods and services (including demand generated by immigrant wealth), indirect and induced demands for factors of production, demand for fixed capital (for example, housing) and land, technological change, scale and agglomeration economies, unemployment, labor force participation, inflation, balance of payments, regional and national net exports, internal migration, remittances, public goods and services, externalities, and fertility patterns.

Only one study to date has estimated the net effect of immigrants on natives' wages and labor market outcomes through multiple channels of influence using 1980 Census data (Greenwood and Hunt, 1991). It incorporates several channels through which immigrants may affect natives, including production theory,

local demand (involving immigrant demand separately), net export demand, labor force participation, and migration. Both capital and labor are assumed to be mobile.

After estimating all parameters in their model, various simulations are performed allowing each channel of influence to operate one at a time. The results indicate that immigrants and natives are, in fact, substitutes in production; that is, immigrants lower native wages. However, when other channels of influence are taken into account, the negative effects stemming from substitutability in production are substantially mitigated. Moreover, under certain conditions the effects on native wages and employment are actually positive, which in turn leads to a positive correlation between native internal-migration and immigration.

These results are important because they demonstrate how cumulative effects on the labor market can produce a net result that is different from impacts in the production process alone. This observation should be kept in mind when evaluating the findings of studies that estimate immigration's direct impact on single outcomes, such as wages, unemployment, employment creation, or internal migration.

Conclusions

The overall conclusion of macroeconomic research is that, at the national level, the net impact of immigration on the earnings and employment of U.S. workers is rather small. Most macroeconomic studies show very little net effect on native-born workers, of any race or ethnicity, either positive or negative. They find a somewhat greater negative effect of immigrants on the already-resident foreign-born population.

However, the effects of immigration are most palpable in the communities and industries where the entrants settle. The pace of immigration, and therefore the size of the immigrant population, has been growing for several decades. Because of the geographic and industrial concentration of immigrants and the simultaneous changes in the structure of the U.S. economy, some native groups and certain localities now find themselves particularly vulnerable to immigrant impacts.

Macroeconomic studies do not always detect localized effects. Greenwood and Hunt have demonstrated that while immigration does have adverse effects on certain workers, those effects are frequently mitigated (in a statistical sense) by corresponding positive effects. Statistical models that quantify net effects necessarily understate the magnitude of both negative and positive consequences. For a closer examination of these consequences, it is therefore useful to review the case study literature.

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The Impact of Immigrants on Low-Wage Earners: The Case Study Research

Case study research on the impacts of low-wage immigrants is distinguished from other approaches by its local focus and by its eclectic methods. Case study researchers investigate the influence of immigrants on a circumscribed environment and normally study the role of immigrants in one industrial sector in one location at a time. The most distinguishing characteristic of this research is its reliance on in-depth interviews with all parties involved, including the employed immigrants, similarly employed U.S. workers, employers, participants in ancillary activities, trade unions, and employer associations. Usually the work uses quotes from the economic actors to highlight its points.¹

The case study approach suffers from many limitations. Its main problem is the difficulty of generalizing findings to a societywide level from individual cases.² Also, competition among groups participating in a sector is easier to observe in a case study while complementary interactions may be hidden because they occur throughout a community. It is hard to determine with precision who gains and loses as a result of immigrant incorporation into the studied labor market because researchers normally cannot follow up on those who depart the subsector of employment. The only certain losers are observed workers who stay behind at depressed conditions after immigrants enter a labor market. Nor can case studies usually identify the ripple effects beyond the sector under study. Even in cases where wage depression can be unequivocally demonstrated within a sector, the impact on other participants outside the immediate labor market is not clear. Impacts on workers in ancillary occupations who are affected by the production level and costs of the sector under study (for example, wholesalers, packers, and truck drivers associated with the production of fruits) are not usually adequately reported by the case studies.

On the other hand, case studies have many advantages in studying immigrant impacts on low-wage sectors. The mechanisms of group interaction and processes of incorporation can be probed by talking to the actual participants, who can explain from their point of view the role of immigrants in the evolution of the sectoral labor market. These interested parties can identify with precision the mechanisms of ethnic replacement and succession, and they provide insight into what actions resulted in some groups benefiting while others did not. The researcher, of course, must be able to balance the often contrasting views of people with distinct interests in order to leave readers with a balanced perspective (Waldinger, 1996).

One unique advantage of this close-up, fine-grained approach is that powerful hypotheses emerge, which help analyze the impacts of immigrants on low-wage sectors. The first step is to be conversant with these hypotheses if the case study approach is to be beneficial. The hypotheses focus on the basic issue of this chapter: whether or not, with all else being equal, immigrants have a negative or positive effect on the principal groups at risk (that is, low-skilled Americans and previously arrived legal immigrants). This chapter begins with a hypothesis that stresses the positive or neutral role of immigrants and then turns to one that focuses on the more negative side.

¹ There are four main sources of these case studies. The University of California at San Diego, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, did a series of case studies in its Government Interventions Project in 1982-1985. Roger Waldinger and Thomas Bailey studied various sectors in New York City throughout the 1980's; Waldinger has continued doing case studies in Los Angeles in the 1990's. The Commission on Agricultural Workers sponsored a series of case studies on farmworkers in 1992. And, finally the U.S. Department of Labor's International Labor Affairs Bureau sponsored industrial sector case studies in the 1987-1988 period. Many of them are summarized in U.S. General Accounting Office (1988) and U.S. Department of Labor (1989).

² A case study can pinpoint a negatively affected group such as unskilled black janitors in Los Angeles. However, it cannot tell if immigration's overall effect on blacks in Los Angeles was negative. Any economic expansion that may have resulted from immigration could have indirectly opened up many public service jobs (which are often barred to immigrants) for blacks.

Hypotheses on Immigrants and Low-Wage Sectors

The Successive Ethnic Niche Hypothesis³

First, under this proposition, there is not direct substitutability between immigrants and natives. Although foreign and domestic labor groups may share some common traits—for example, their low skill level—differences in their expectations and work objectives outweigh these apparent similarities. Second, the newcomers do not usually drive native workers out of the labor market, but rather, they enter as the natives move up to better jobs. Through ethnic succession, the immigrants replace earlier immigrant groups who are voluntarily departing. Third, some immigrant groups establish potent ethnic markets through the development of culture-specific autonomous ethnic enclaves or by forming subgroups in the open economy.

For some groups within these economic enclaves and subgroups, both entry and the acquisition of skills are largely restricted to coethnics. The immigrant groups under this model are socially closed and complete: Families immigrate with adequate numbers of “leadership” individuals possessing human and financial capital. These better-off individuals in the ethnic group form an entrepreneurial elite that hires later arriving coethnics and provides them with skills. This process allows unskilled members of immigrant ethnic groups to achieve occupational mobility and form small firms of their own.⁴

Under this model, when long-resident ethnic groups such as Irish, Italians, and Jews leave low-wage job slots, the new immigrant groups succeed in filling the openings. However, this immigrant incorporation does not constitute a displacement of groups of native Americans because these latter groups either were never dominant in, or voluntarily departed from, the now immigrant-reliant sectors.

The Successive Ethnic Displacement Hypothesis⁵

Under this model, labor markets are undermined by successive waves of newcomers. The ethnic groups in this situation are better characterized as job-seeking networks dependent on the larger overall labor market than as self-sufficient groups that provide newcomers opportunities for learning skills and opening small businesses. The community networks are not complete groups that include members with high skills and financial resources. Rather, they are truncated networks consisting of predominantly unskilled, poor immigrants in which solo males are a significant and constantly replenished subgroup.⁶ Moreover, the networks are often transnational in character. For example, a large proportion of farmworkers who do seasonal jobs go back and forth to the United States from their foreign base or home community.⁷

Often the larger economy uses middlemen of the same ethnic group to mediate the transactions with the unskilled newcomers. Individual sending communities mature over time, first sending male pioneers to the United States. After time, some of these earlier arrivals get decent jobs, bring their families, and set up settlement communities. The settled family migrants, although their skill levels remain low, have more familiarity with U.S. labor customs than the recently arrived migrants. As a result, over time the settled immigrants make demands on employers to improve wages and working conditions. But these demands often backfire on the settled immigrants because the ethnic middlemen have access to more recently arrived migrants whom they use to replace the incumbent workers.

³ The contributors to this formulation are Roger Waldinger (1996), Thomas Bailey (1987), and Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach (1985).

⁴ The best examples of these successful ethnic niches are Jews, Japanese, Cubans, and recently Koreans (Portes and Bach, 1985:268).

⁵ This hypothesis can be found in Zabin et al. (1993:91), Mines and Avina (1992), and Mines and Anzaldúa (1982). The national groups most closely associated with this type of network are Mexicans and Salvadorans.

⁶ In agriculture, one of the sectors most cited by the proponents of this model, about 64 percent of the workers are unaccompanied workers (U.S. DOL's National Agricultural Workers Survey).

⁷ About 46 percent of foreign-born farmworkers return abroad each year (Gabbard et al., 1994:17).

Evidence for Hypotheses on Immigrants and Low-Wage Sectors

Evidence for the Successive Ethnic Niche Hypothesis

Thomas Bailey and Roger Waldinger conducted a series of case studies in the 1980's in New York City that provide support for the first hypothesis of successive ethnic niches. Despite appearances to the contrary,⁸ African-American New Yorkers were not displaced by foreigners. Waldinger demonstrates clearly that the white ethnic groups in New York City who left low-skilled employment in the period after 1950, and especially after 1970, did so voluntarily (Waldinger, 1996:93). Although the low-wage sectors shrank somewhat as education requirements for employment increased and industries left the inner city, the demand for low-skilled workers remained strong in New York City. However, in the manufacturing sector, construction, hotels, and restaurants—where the immigrants entered in large numbers—blacks had never had a large presence. As a result, there was no direct displacement of blacks, just the replacement of whites.

Waldinger presents evidence that the main barrier to blacks becoming the replacement group instead of the immigrants was the lack of upwardly mobile jobs in these sectors.⁹ According to Waldinger, opportunity for upward mobility would have drawn blacks into these sectors; however, African Americans, as second- and third-generation immigrants from the South, were not interested in essentially dead-end menial jobs. In the garment industry, the unions and incumbent workers of white ethnic groups made it difficult for African Americans to gain access to the skilled positions (Waldinger, 1996:108). In construction, despite extensive protest and pressure, trade unionists were able to keep African Americans away from most of the skilled trades. Finally, in hotels and restaurants, the front-of-the-house jobs (like waiters and receptionists) which often lead to skill acquisition opportunities, were difficult for African Americans to obtain. While blocked from numerous upwardly mobile private-sector jobs, many blacks, especially the educated, began to build their own labor market niches in government and large companies. Similarly, many of the low-paid immigrants established ethnic niches and advanced as a group through skill acquisition and small business activity.¹⁰

Waldinger (1992) compares hotel workers in Philadelphia, a city with a low concentration of immigrants, with New York City where immigrants are numerous. Despite there being a greater presence of immigrants in the hotel industry in New York City, hotel wages in that city are higher. This demonstrates that the presence of immigrants by itself may not have a negative impact on wages. Moreover, immigrant hotel workers in New York have not been limited to the menial tasks, but have moved up in a hotel environment that has allowed them to refer their coethnics to better job slots.¹¹

Meanwhile, the native minority workers have not broken the barriers to upward mobility in the industry. Waldinger identifies discrimination as a contributing factor. In his surveys of hotel managers, he finds that they tend to stereotype African Americans and demonstrate a preference for immigrants. Moreover, front-of-the-house jobs tend to be monopolized by whites. Hotels actively recruit in colleges to fill these positions. At best, African Americans find themselves competing against immigrants for jobs in the lower-wage, less prestigious back-of-the-house management slots. For all these reasons, native minority workers, seeing no

⁸ The immigrants took over many of the niches in low-wage employment in New York City at a time when black employment, especially for the unskilled, was dropping. Native African-American employment in New York City for men aged 25-64 fell from 81 percent to 66 percent between 1970 and 1990 according to the Census (Waldinger, 1996:54).

⁹ The arguments regarding the reasons that African-Americans did not occupy the economic niches being vacated by whites (which are principally attributed to anti-black discrimination) are developed in Waldinger's recent book (Waldinger, 1996). These arguments were not part of the original hypothesis developed by Waldinger and Bailey in the 1980's and are not a necessary part of the successive ethnic niche hypothesis presented here.

¹⁰ In the 1970's and 1980's, overall garment production in New York City fell, while the Chinese manufacturing niche in this sector grew. Small Chinese firms were able to bring skilled opportunities to their coethnics. However, native workers referred by the Employment Service complained that they could not obtain these skilled jobs. The Chinese owners claimed that it was not worth their time to train the natives because they knew they would not last (Waldinger, 1996:265).

¹¹ These include cooks, maitre d's, food service managers, and cleaning managers.

chance for meaningful mobility in the hotel industry, tend not be attracted to entry-level jobs like room cleaners, which are increasingly being occupied by immigrants.

The main difference Waldinger finds between the two cities is a faster exit rate of whites from the hotel industry in New York than in Philadelphia. The need for replacement of these exiting white ethnic workers gave the immigrants their opportunity in New York, of which they took advantage (Waldinger, 1992:112).

Bailey (1987), in a case study on New York City restaurants, presents evidence that immigrants are occupying niches peculiarly suited to them. However, the fast-food industry is an exception because American teenagers can tolerate part-time, short-term employment, thus making good recruits for these enterprises. In fact, this fast expanding sector has absorbed few immigrants while offering many job opportunities to U.S. workers. Furthermore, in the fast food sector, corporations offer chances for job mobility for domestic workers by offering training programs for managers.

On the other hand, in the full service (white tablecloth) and ethnic food sector, the back-of-the-house jobs are dominated by immigrant ethnic workers. Bailey argues that immigrant job objectives are more consistent with the conditions and opportunities in this sector than is the case for domestic workers. The firms are small, and the job ladders are limited. The back-of-the-house workers who begin as dishwashers may have to wait years before a job such as sous-chef becomes available. Moreover, there are limited opportunities for back-of-the-house immigrant workers (and native minorities) to take bartender and waiter jobs that require direct contact with the public.¹² The immigrants, who are often target earners trying to save either to return home or start a business, are willing to tolerate the long and erratic hours of tedious work in the kitchen. Domestic workers who dislike the long hours and the lack of near-term upward mobility believe they have better options than these back-of-the-house jobs. As a result, restaurant owners experience higher turnover rates with domestic workers and develop a preference for immigrants. At the same time, opportunities for advancement for immigrants exist because those immigrants who have the patience to learn the back-of-the-house skills are well positioned to take skilled jobs or open their own restaurant, after they gain several years of experience.¹³

This presentation of the restaurant industry example points out the complementarity of immigrant and domestic workers' labor. According to Bailey, if the supply of immigrants were lessened, there would have to be a shift away from full-service restaurants either to fast food restaurants or to grocery stores. This transition would occur because higher worker turnover would make the full-menu, labor-intensive service more expensive and demand for such service would necessarily decline. Whether such a change benefited fast food establishments or grocery stores, employment for native youth (and some fast food managers) would probably increase. However, employment of front-of-the-house workers in the full-service restaurant, largely well-paid Americans, would decline. In other words, under this scenario, a reduction in immigration would benefit low-wage Americans at the expense of higher-wage Americans.

There is another pair of case studies that tend to give support to the successive ethnic niche hypothesis. The first is the Los Angeles shoe industry. As the white workers in this sector left in the 1950's, a group of skilled shoe workers entered the industry from Guanajuato, Mexico. As a result, the Los Angeles industry was able to maintain its employment level relative to other areas where imports have made greater inroads. However, the wage levels of the workforce fell below that of shoe workers elsewhere in the United States (Runsten, 1985). The second case is the textile industry in Lowell, Massachusetts. This sector began to hire skilled loom fixers from Medellin, Colombia, when the number of domestic artisans in this field dwindled. The skilled Colombians occupied a minority of the slots in the industry but were viewed as vital to its survival (Glassel-Brown, 1988).

¹² This limitation does not apply to immigrants in the ethnic restaurant sector where front-of-the-house jobs sometimes go to coethnics.

¹³ It should be noted that restaurants, especially ethnic ones, absorbed immigrants as the sector expanded. Obviously, no direct displacement of domestic workers occurs in that part of the sector that expanded.

Evidence for the Successive Ethnic Displacement

The critical potential negative impacts of immigrants are displacement of incumbent worker groups from their jobs and wage depression for those who remain in the affected sectors. These negative outcomes sometimes occur as a result of intentional employer actions, while at other times they evolve without a precise employer decision. The most basic approach is for the employer simply to switch from current workers to newcomer networks. Unless the employer speaks the language of the immigrant group, hiring is often done by a bilingual intermediary, either a current employee or a hired middleman. Because the employer is working through the middleman and does not deal directly with the labor force, the employer may not even know that new workers are replacing incumbents.

Another strategy involves immigrant-using low-cost firms underbidding high-cost firms that use a lower proportion of recently immigrated workers. A closely related practice is to subcontract out activity to immigrant-using firms, which leads to the laying off of domestic or incumbent immigrant workers in the primary job-site of the firm. Other firms reorganize their production or technology in a way that tends to exclude or put competitive pressure on U.S. workers. Finally, some firms move geographically to take advantage of low-wage immigrants while others use immigrants to weaken unions. Below, the case study evidence is reviewed to provide historical examples of these practices and the negative outcomes for incumbent workers.

Direct Changing of Networks

The most current case study example of this practice involves Mixtec farmworkers in California and Oregon. The Mixtecs are a minority indigenous non-Spanish-speaking group from the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, who entered the United States in the early 1980's. Because of their lack of education, inability to speak Spanish well, and their ethnic minority status in Mexico, they have come to occupy the bottom rung of the employment ladder in western U.S. agriculture. Estimates have put them at about 10 percent of California farmworkers (Zabin, et al., 1993). The workers being replaced are primarily Mestizos from sending areas in North Central Mexico, whose mother tongue is Spanish.

A case study was held of Mixtec workers in the raisin grape industry of California. The labor force in this crop has several segments. At the bottom are the workers employed by farm labor contractors (FLCs) who sometimes charge for obligatory services such as rides. Above that rung are workers who can get short-term seasonal jobs directly from the grower. Finally, there is full-time work for workers who maintain the vineyards year round.

The Mixtec tend to enter at the lowest rung of the job ladder and many remain there. Evidence from the case study demonstrates that the Mixtec crews are less expensive for the FLC than Mestizo crews. Their labor cost is about 85 percent of that of a Mestizo crew (Zabin, et al., 1993:107). The FLCs who use Mixtecs tend to increase their market share because they can offer the grower the same service for less cost. The result is that the incumbent Mestizo workers lose work. It may be that some of these Mestizos are leaving voluntarily not only because they do not like the depressed wages but also because they have better alternatives. However, growers studied by the case study researchers were turning to direct hires of Mixtecs (without intermediaries). The study provides proof of the direct layoff of Mestizos to make room for the less costly Mixtecs. The study observes that the Mixtecs "have driven the Mestizo workers out of the market" (Zabin et al, 1993:113).

The story of group displacement in California agriculture is not unique to Mixtecs in the raisin grape harvest. Another case of clear displacement occurred among tomato pickers in San Diego County in the early 1980's. A group of unionized legal border crossers who lived in Tijuana picked the "fresh market" tomato crop for many years in San Diego County. They were making \$4.00 per hour by 1980. However, in the early 1980's, growers switched to an unauthorized crew of workers and lowered the wage to \$3.35 (Nalven and Fredrickson, 1982; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1988:38). Almost all the veteran workers who were unwilling to work at the reduced rate disappeared from San Diego County's tomato fields.

There are many other examples of switching to newcomer workers in agriculture from the case study literature. Hispanic migrants have replaced the native African-American peach workers in South Carolina and Georgia. Usually, the newcomer migrants take over the harvest tasks first and only later replace the native workers in the preharvest and packing shed jobs (Amendola, et al., 1993). The same phenomenon also has occurred in Michigan where recent Mexican immigrants have replaced incumbent migrant workers from Texas (Kissam and Garcia, 1993). Although there is no proof from these case studies that incumbent workers were forced out of farmwork for they may have been departing for reasons unrelated to the new entrants, accounts of stagnant wages and surplus labor of newcomers were reported in 9 out of 10 case studies conducted for the Commission on Agricultural Workers (1993). These conditions may contribute to native workers' decisions to leave these labor markets.

The Underbidding of Competitors and the Use of Subcontractors

The organized janitorial workers of Los Angeles had achieved favorable Service Employees International Union (SEIU) contracts by the early 1980's. The labor force in the downtown high-rise office buildings was a stable group of native African Americans who were paid \$12 per hour, including benefits. At that time, new firms were formed that hired a labor force of new arrivals from Mexico and El Salvador and paid these newcomers the then minimum wage of \$3.35 per hour. Because janitorial work does not require much training, employers were able to reorganize the work by using roaming crews of workers rather than the previous system of stationing janitors in each building. This new labor process was made possible because the new migrants provided an ample and easily replenishable workforce that accepted these much lower wages and less desirable working conditions.

Some of these new firms were run by the previous managers of the unionized firms who were familiar with the required level of service and had contacts with the building managers. In a period of 2 years, the union firms had been displaced by the new firms. The incumbent native-born workers lost their jobs as recent immigrants filled those positions. The going wage for janitors in the large office buildings had been reduced to a fraction of what it was before (Mines and Avina, 1992). The displaced African Americans did not find other work. According to a black business representative, "a very small percentage of these worker(s) have found jobs. They are unskilled people; they don't know anything but janitorial..."(Mines and Avina, 1992:440).

A similar scenario occurred in Ventura County citrus in the late 1970's and early 1980's. A group of harvesting associations had, since the end of the Bracero Program in 1965, opted for a stabilized Mexican labor force. In effect, the associations legalized the former Mexican Bracero workers and their relatives. The settled workers, after adapting to life in the United States, grew to expect improved conditions and eventually became protected by a union contract. But, after conditions improved for the workers, alternatives to the grower associations began to appear in the form of FLCs using recently arrived immigrants. In the space of a couple of years, the grower associations had dissolved themselves, and the union lost all its contracts. The workers either worked for the new contractors with greatly reduced wages and benefits or they left the industry (Mines and Anzaldua, 1982).

In a more recent example, Los Angeles hospitals have been switching to subcontractors to do janitorial tasks (Lichter and Waldinger, 1996). African Americans make up many of the regular hospital employees who are being put at risk by this development. The subcontractors are paying \$4.50 per hour instead of the \$7.90 going rate for in-house workers. "The result is the likely replacement of many long-term hospital workers, especially African Americans" (Lichter and Waldinger, 1996:50). Even if native-born blacks wanted to work at the reduced wage, they do not have access to the jobs because the work is controlled by Spanish-speaking crew leaders. African Americans have had greater success obtaining work in large firms or in the government where there are formal hiring structures. In the smaller firms and in the subcontractor environment, those workers connected to ethnic networks have a better chance.

Reorganizing the Production Process, Geographic Relocation, and the Weakening of Unions

Over the past 20 years, the meat-packing industry reorganized its production techniques to shift much of the cutting and packaging of meat from unionized butchers in grocery stores to lower cost packing houses. This move was accompanied by geographic shifts of production from Midwestern cities to small towns in rural areas of the Midwest and High Plains region (Stanley, 1988). The management was willing to take the risk because networks of immigrants—first Southeast Asian refugees and later Mexican immigrants—were available to perform this work (Lamphere et. al., 1994). IBP, the nation's leading meat packer, recruits Mexican workers directly from Mexico and along the border. The gains for the company in reduced labor costs and increased speed of production have been remarkable. Both the proportion of the labor force protected by union contracts and the proportion of domestic workers involved in cutting meat have been greatly reduced (Grey, 1995).

Another example of geographic shift occurred in the Northern California furniture industry in the 1980's. The competition of low-cost labor plants in Southern California forced the closing of some plants, while others moved from the unionized San Francisco Bay Area to California's Central Valley. Before the geographic shift, wages were well above those of Southern California, and the Northern firms had a mixed workforce with many U.S. born and long-settled immigrants (Mines, 1985a).

The melon industry in Northern California in the early 1980's changed its production process without any apparent efficiency advantage. It greatly reduced its fully mechanized packing house activities and moved its melon packing to the field. In the sheds, a unionized crew of mostly U.S.-born workers was eliminated while the predominantly Mexican field crews earning much lower wages were assigned the extra work (Runsten and Archibald, 1992).

Unions have also been weakened directly by the use of recent immigrants. The Mission Foods tortilla factory strike of 1982 saw management first lower wages by 40 percent. Then, when the U.S.-born and settled immigrant workforce went on strike, the Mexican managers intentionally brought in recently arrived strikebreakers and defeated the strike. Some of the former workers returned to work at the reduced rate but most left (Mines, 1985b). Another example of manipulation of unions with the use of immigrants occurred in the Los Angeles hotel industry in the early 1980's. To lower costs, management switched from a Teamsters union local made up mostly of native black crews to Seafarers Local whose members were mostly recent immigrant crews (Mines and Runsten, 1985). Despite these case study findings, the immigrant status of workers cannot always be used to weaken union strength. In a case study of undocumented workers in a waterbed factory in Los Angeles in the late 1980's, Delgado (1993) relates how a successful union campaign was launched, and a contract was won.

Conclusions

Case study work does not support a single summary conclusion. In fact, its practitioners have formulated two seemingly contradictory hypotheses from their work. The effects of immigration may well vary significantly with the attributes of the workers—both native and foreign—involved, and the context into which immigrants move.

Waldinger illustrates that labor market reconfiguration is a dynamic process. At a given point in time, specific ethnic groups (native or foreign) may dominate particular labor markets. But forces such as domestic and international migration, differential population growth, and the aging of the dominant group gradually alter the composition of the incoming labor supply. As this happens, control of those markets may pass voluntarily from one subgroup to the next.

Immigrant groups that are well endowed with human and financial capital are often able to form self-help mechanisms, allowing them to defend themselves well in the new environment. The entrepreneurial class

within such groups can provide employment and training opportunities to its coethnics. Ethnic loyalty allows merchants a natural market for its unique products. This same loyalty leads to schemes of rotating credit that can permit skilled but resource-scarce immigrants a chance to start their own businesses. The ethnic loyalty also induces skilled workers to form ethnic niches in the open economy from which they can help their coethnics gain access to opportunities for advancement.

However, some immigrant networks operate without the benefit of their religious and business leaders. These groups are often characterized by a constantly replenished influx of solo male newcomers, particularly in the agricultural sector. This type of flow is unable to form a self-sufficient enclave from which ethnic advancement can occur. Instead, the migrants find themselves continuously taken advantage of by employers aided by coethnic middlemen. Many of the immigrants in these networks cannot achieve mobility out of depressed work environments.

There is ample evidence that both types of networks, completely integrated communities and solo immigrant recruitment, exist. The ethnic succession and ethnic displacement hypotheses are not necessarily contradictory. Instead, they help explain the different roles played by immigrant networks in different circumstances. Both the make-up of the network itself—namely its cohesiveness, educational level, and resources—and the outside environment in which it finds itself determine the immigrant group's ability to advance and its affect on competing or complementary population groups.

Immigration policy and labor policy can be improved by better understanding the distinct behavior of different types of immigrant networks. Information about those groups who may be adversely affected by immigration provides insights that can be valuable in improving worker protections and enforcement within these labor markets, as well as retraining and reemploying displaced workers.

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Professional Labor Markets and Immigration

The changes brought about by immigration may have both positive and negative repercussions. For example, to the extent that immigrants agree to wage offerings deemed unacceptable by similarly employed natives, producers and even consumers may perceive the impact as positive: that is, lower costs. If, however, those competing natives subsequently experience eroding wages and working conditions, they will perceive the impact as decidedly negative during the period of adjustment. The ripple effects of cost reduction may be felt by consumers thousands of miles from the site of immigrant concentration. Eroding wages and working conditions will presumably be most palpable to natives living near, and competing with, immigrant workers that have a lower reservation wage. Whether or not increased immigration affects the broader aggregate outcomes in a labor market, a comprehensive assessment of the labor market impacts of immigration must also emphasize the effects on resident workers in the particular locality, industry, and/or set of occupations.

Econometric studies employ relatively large data sets, such as the decennial census or major national surveys. Although such sources distinguish between citizen and noncitizen aliens, lawful permanent residents cannot be distinguished from temporary entrants, let alone those in specific categories of entry.¹ Sensitivity to the impacts of specific entry groups—the basic building blocks of immigration law—requires greater precision. This requirement necessitates data on the actual stock of entrants in specific geographic, industrial, and occupational labor markets, as well as the terms under which those entrants were admitted to participate in U.S. labor markets and if those terms are being met.

Regrettably, the existing Federal data system is not designed to monitor the stocks of foreign workers resident in this country who are permanent resident aliens or temporary nonimmigrants. This data gap is significant and seriously constrains quantitative analysis of migratory impacts.

Despite this dearth of key information, interest in the numbers and potential impacts of various immigrant groups has continued to grow. The passage of IMMACT90 turned the spotlight on a group whose entry had previously gone largely unchallenged: immigrant professionals. A decade ago, it was widely believed that this nation faced an impending shortage of scientific personnel (Hudson Institute, 1987; National Research Council, 1984; National Research Council, 1988). Leading scientists' projections helped persuade Congress to enact the 1990 legislation.² IMMACT90 altered the terms of admission for temporary professional workers under the H-1B visa covering persons in "specialty occupations"—defined as occupations requiring a baccalaureate degree—and increased the number of skilled, permanent, immigrant workers admissible each year. Immigration researchers have recently become more interested in the role of high-skilled immigrants in the U.S. economy. This new inquiry concerns the number and characteristics of workers in affected professional labor markets and, in some instances, how those labor markets have performed since the enactment of IMMACT90.

¹ Empirical researchers do attempt to impute entry-status (see Chapter 2), but such procedures are inferior to information on admissions class.

² Hearing before the Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, July 31, 1990.

Recent Literature on Foreign Professionals

Despite the well-documented link between higher education and job quality, college graduates cannot be assured of finding college-level jobs. In 1992, 23 percent of all workers whose highest degree was a BA held noncollege level jobs (Hecker, 1995). Fully 20 percent of those with bachelor's degrees, 11 percent of those with master's degrees, and 7 percent of those with doctorates earned less than the median earnings reported by high school graduates. Recent studies suggest that in some professional fields, job prospects for new graduates may fall short of expectations and that one factor contributing to potential job uncertainty may be immigration.

Employment within universities and research institutions has been a subject of many recent studies (Casals and Associates, 1996; National Academy of Sciences, 1995; Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology, 1995; Finn et.al., 1995; North, 1995). Because the number of immigrants and nonimmigrants in this sector is both large and growing, the scholars contributing to this literature are often, themselves, interested parties. Given their training, networks of communication within and across disciplines, contractual relationships with private industry and government, and their celebrated penchant for writing, academics have much to contribute to the immigration policy debate. The fields they represent often recruit both nationally and internationally and conduct annual surveys that have become a source of "new" data on trends in immigrant stocks and flows. In some instances, their analyses resemble statistical case studies of national labor markets.

Nativity of U.S. Professionals

One study that provides a useful baseline is that of Bouvier and Simcox (1994), which explored 1990 Census data regarding the nativity of professionals in various fields. Although the authors could not identify categories of entry or immigrant status, they did look closely at the infusion of foreign talent into specific areas of potential impact. They found that within the professional population, broadly defined, only 8.2 percent of workers were foreign-born persons. Yet, immigrants held a disproportionate share of certain highly coveted professional jobs. For example, in 1990, more than 20 percent of U.S. physicians were foreign-born persons. Bouvier and Simcox concluded from census data that, in many of the professions studied, immigrants had completed more years of schooling and had far more technical training than did their native counterparts.

A sample of 215,000 of the individuals first studied by Bouvier and Simcox have since been tracked by the National Science Foundation's (NSF) National Survey of College Graduates (NSCG). The NSCG sample follows the educational and labor market experiences of persons whose 1990 Census response indicated they had a college or higher degree. Like the census, this survey enumerates population stocks without differentiating by class of entry or immigrant status. However, it brings the profile of foreign-born professionals substantially closer to the present.

NSCG data reveal that, as of April 1993, two out of three foreign-born persons in the United States who held doctorates in sciences and engineering (S&E) had attained them in the United States (NSF, 1995a). Just 9.8 percent of all S&E bachelor's degrees, 18 percent of all master's degrees, and fully 23 percent of all doctorates were held by the foreign-born persons. The percentage of Ph.D.s who were foreign-born persons varied tremendously across fields as the following figures show: nonscientific fields and medicine (12.4), social sciences (13.1), life sciences (21.3), physical sciences (25.9), mathematics and computer sciences (33.6), and engineering (40.3). Slightly more than half (50.6) of the nation's civil engineers at that time were foreign-born persons.

Because the Ph.D. is essentially a teaching and research degree, NSCG examined the share of all Ph.D. scientists and engineers engaged in research and development activities. It showed that in 1993—in every major field of S&E—immigrants were more likely than natives to be engaged in research and development. Just 44.8 percent of native S&E doctorates, as compared with 58.4 percent of the foreign-born doctorates (and 62.4 percent of the foreign-born persons who had received Ph.D.s from U.S. universities), were engaged in research and development activities in 1993.

Such statistics are frequently cited as evidence of the vigor of U.S. educational institutions and the fact that the “best and brightest” scientists and engineers are frequently foreign-born persons. A growing share of all new U.S. doctorates in a wide range of science and engineering fields are, in fact, foreign-born persons. The reasons for this phenomenon, and its labor market implications, are the subject of numerous studies (National Research Council, 1988; North, 1995; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1995).

While there is evidence that many educators intentionally favor native over foreign students (North, 1995), the opposite may be true in certain important labor markets. Employers, including some administrators of academic and research programs, often willingly discuss what they consider to be their justifiable preference for foreign-born applicants over native job candidates (Casals and Associates, 1996). Academicians and researchers often criticize native scientists and engineers for their “weak” technical backgrounds. Employers in private industry sometimes view native candidates as overly specialized (NAS, 1995). There are also complaints that native workers expect higher wages for a given job than do their foreign-born peers. The lower wage demand of a foreign worker is hardly surprising; however, if an implicit part of the compensation package is the highly prized but nonpecuniary benefit—the prospect of U.S. citizenship.

Many employers who petition on behalf of foreign candidates say they do so to obtain quick access to technical skills. In fields such as software development, technology is changing so rapidly that specific skills quickly become obsolete. Employers often see their international competitiveness as being dependent on timely access to recent graduates in those fields—whatever their national origin. They also see employment of foreign workers as a means of enlarging foreign markets and enhancing cultural diversity in the workplace.

Flows of Immigrants Within the Professional Workforce

The stock of workers in any discipline is dynamic. While new graduates, immigrant admissions, and nonimmigrant entries continually add to the total, growth is slowed by emigration, retirements, and death. A number of recent studies have looked into specific aspects of this process.

NSF’s annual report, *Immigrant Scientists, Engineers, and Technicians*, looks at the attributes of scientists and engineers who immigrate to the United States on permanent immigrant visas each year (NSF, 1995b). Admissions of scientists and engineers, as defined by the INS, increased by 62 percent between 1991 and 1992, a change NSF attributed in part to IMMACT90. More than two-thirds of all S&E permanent admissions in 1992 were engineers. Another 14.8 percent were mathematicians, while natural and social scientists accounted for the remaining 12.2 and 4.8 percent, respectively.

The contribution of nonimmigrants to the stock of professionals is considerably more difficult to measure. The data are weak, often counting the number of individual entries into the United States rather than the number of individuals having nonimmigrant visas.

The lack of information on nonimmigrants makes their overall impact difficult to assess. One prime example is the H-1B category covering workers in specialty occupations. Assumptions about the share of the Labor Condition Application-requested temporary workers who actually fill jobs, the length of their stays in that status (whether on each visit or in the aggregate), and the number of entries per individual can lead to quite different conclusions about the stock of H-1Bs resident at any time.

Classifications by job title only adds to the quantification problem. For example, estimates of the impact of immigrants within the software development and information technology fields—a highly contested area—will depend on whether or not the researcher considers the potentially affected occupations to include all engineers, electrical engineers, software engineers, computer scientists, computer systems analysts, and/or computer programmers.³

One unpublished analysis, by the Software Professionals Political Action Committee (SOFTPAC), considers migrants in the software industry to adversely affect engineers—the term being broadly defined (SOFTPAC, 1995). SOFTPAC concluded that 30,000 foreign-born temporary engineering workers entered the U.S. workforce in 1993 and that “the entire demand for engineers in the 1990-1993 period could have been met by new college graduates, and still left over 75,000 unemployed engineers” (p. 7). Citing a recent decline in college engineering enrollments as evidence that new students realize job prospects in that field are eroding, SOFTPAC warns that “the Immigration Act of 1990 may, in the end, create the very skill shortage it was designed to address” (p. 8).

The international mobility of nonimmigrant aliens is especially difficult to measure. The INS recently published new estimates of duration of stay based on departure records of nonimmigrants in various visa categories (U.S. INS, 1996). Two analytical limitations of these data result from the way they are collected. The published means and medians (1) measure periods of U.S. residence between international trips rather than over the lifetime of the visa and (2) they do not take into consideration residential durations of aliens who remain continuously resident in the United States. Therefore, estimates of the length of time aliens remain in this country on a particular type of visa are downwardly biased.

Finn, et al. (1995) have calculated “stay rates” of foreign-born science and engineering Ph.D.s following graduation from U.S. universities. Looking at Social Security records of members of the class of 1984, they found that, of the S&E graduates who received Ph.D.s while on temporary visas, about 42 percent held jobs in the United States in 1992. In the physical and engineering sciences, the stay rate was even higher (46 and 48 percent, respectively).

Another approach was taken by the General Accounting Office (GAO), which in 1992 looked at the permanence of jobs for which nonimmigrants workers were requested (U.S. GAO, 1992). One question at issue in this study was the extent to which employers petitioned for temporary alien skilled workers to fill permanent jobs—a practice that is permissible under the law. Based on pre-IMMACT90 data (October 1988-March 1990), GAO determined that about half of the jobs filled by nonimmigrants holding H-1 visas (the precursor to the H-1B) were permanent jobs. Of the 1,647 H-1 nonimmigrants sampled within the telecommunications industry, all held permanent jobs.

There has been little or no research concerning nativity differentials in retirement and death. Nonetheless, the relative youth of international migrants, when coupled with the growing pace of international entries, suggests that in the near future the incidence of retirement and death will fall heaviest on native-born professionals, further increasing the share of foreign-born workers in these fields.

Disciplinary Introspection

The prominence of foreign-born professionals in their ranks is frequently cited as evidence that U.S. universities, research institutions, and the business community need, and should therefore be granted, free access to the world’s “best and brightest” minds. However, other observers point to the repercussions for this country’s own best and brightest, and their conclusions are considerably less optimistic.

³ Also at issue is if petitioners list job titles incorrectly on labor condition applications, or if these titles really connote entirely different functions.

The Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology (CPST), a private nonprofit organization whose primary mission is to collect and disseminate data, recently examined trends in the labor market conditions confronting young researchers. Their study tapped data from three important surveys: the annual Survey of Earned Doctorates (SED),⁴ the biennial Survey of Doctorate Recipients (SDR), and the annual Survey of Graduate Students and Postdoctorates in Science and Engineering⁵ (CPST, 1995).

At the time of graduation, new Ph.D.s are asked about their plans for the immediate future. These studies show that between 1973 and 1993 there has been a decline in the share of S&E doctoral recipients having commitments to work coupled with a rise in the share having commitments to further study: for example, in postdoctoral positions. While the share of permanent resident aliens planning to remain in the United States has changed little (from 85 to 90 percent), there has been a substantial increase in the share of nonimmigrant graduates with similar plans (from 31 to 55 percent). Although the Commission encountered considerable interest in the link between immigration and employment prospects in these fields, it was unable to examine this link directly because of a shortage of pertinent immigration statistics.

Findings of surveys conducted by six major professional societies were included in the CPST report. These studies noted the following indications of slack labor markets for young professionals:

- **The American Chemical Society** determined that 38 percent of the Ph.D. graduates in the class of 1994 had found full-time employment by the fall following their graduation (down from 40 percent in 1993). The share holding full-time jobs outside their field at that point was 2.3 percent (up from 1.7 percent in 1993). The share of new Ph.D. chemical engineers taking postdoctoral positions increased from 8 percent in 1991 to 15 percent in 1992, to 16.7 percent in 1993, and to 40 percent in 1994.
- **The Computer Research Association** found that the share of new Ph.D.s employed in academia had declined from 39 percent in 1990-91 to 36 percent in 1993. Of the 36 percent with academic jobs, 8 percent were in departments other than computer science or computer engineering.
- **The American Geological Institute** national survey revealed that total employment of geoscientists has decreased from 83,469 in 1988 to 70,245 in 1991.
- **The American Mathematical Society** found that U.S. citizens, who accounted for 76 percent of total Ph.D.s graduating from mathematics program in 1976-77, accounted for just 44 percent of the total in 1994. The percentage of doctorates still seeking jobs in the fall following their graduation rose steadily from 2 percent in 1990, to 5 percent in 1991, to 6.7 percent in 1992, and to 8.9 percent in 1993. For the fourth consecutive year, there was a decrease in recruitment of faculty.
- **The American Institute of Physics** reported that, largely because of the increase in foreign students receiving graduate degrees, the number of new physics Ph.D.s grew by 60 percent between 1982 and 1994. Between 1980 and 1993, the number of new Ph.D.s finding permanent positions dropped by almost half. Of those working full-time 6 months after graduation, the share who had taken less than 6 months to find jobs dropped from 94 to just 77 percent. Also, the number of first-year graduate students in physics dropped by 20 percent over the last 3 years of this period.
- **The American Psychological Association** reported that in 1993 doctoral unemployment was relatively low, and there had been no significant rise in time required to locate employment following graduation. More than half of the Ph.D.s. graduating in 1993 had found jobs before graduation and another 15 percent did so within 6 months. However, in some subfields the share occupying postdoctoral positions had risen substantially between 1986 and 1993.

Because it attracts relatively few immigrant scientists (just 1 percent of all S&E permanent immigrants in 1992), the field of psychology is an interesting control. These data illustrate the complexity of the issue. Increases in lower-paying postdoctoral activity appear to be occurring even in markets with relatively few foreign entrants.

⁴ Funded by the National Research Council.

⁵ Sponsored jointly by the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health.

Certain unique features of the educational system, together with immigration policy, may enable universities to expand without regard to local (U.S.) market conditions. For example, the number of graduating native-born Ph.D. physicists has remained fairly constant at about 700 per year for most of the 1982-1994 period. However, the number of foreign degrees increased from approximately 200 to 700 during this period (Czujko, 1996). This ballooning supply of Ph.D. physicists has likely contributed to the destabilization of employment prospects for new graduates.

These reports of recent graduates having longer and less successful job searches may indicate that supply is beginning to exceed demand. Given the large proportion of foreign students who express intentions to remain in the United States, their growing numbers may lead to weak labor markets and wage stagnation, making these fields less attractive for U.S. students to enter.

In recent years, Congress has publicly questioned the motives of some of IMMACT90s most ardent academic supporters.⁶ Federal programs, expert panels, and individual researchers alike are evaluating U.S. immigration policies designed to admit a growing number of foreign professionals as nonimmigrant and/or immigrant workers (U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, 1995; NAS, 1995; CPST, 1995; North, 1995).

Among analysts detecting deterioration in the employment prospects for natives in the S&E fields, reasons put forward to explain the destabilization of the S&E job market are varied. Some analysts fault antidiscrimination regulations and affirmative action for tipping the balance in favor of foreign applicants (Robb, 1995). Others cite evidence that funding mechanisms require U.S. natives to incur more educational debt than their foreign-born classmates, a disincentive to native graduate enrollment (U.S. GAO, 1995; North, 1995). As the result of the growing graduate enrollment of foreign students in the fields of science and engineering, the pool of qualified candidates is increasingly comprised of foreign-born persons. NAS' Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy (NAS, 1995) found that:

"The increase in foreign graduate students with temporary visas accounted for 65.5% of the net increase in annual science and engineering Ph.D. awards 1986 to 1993, and an increase in the number of foreign-citizen Ph.D.s with permanent visas contributed almost another 11% to the increase. Foreign citizens achieved a majority of science and engineering postdoctoral appointments in the United States in 1991." (p. 69)

"...If graduate programs are filled with foreigners, the programs do not have to make adjustments in enrollments or in content to make them more relevant to U.S. students. Nor do businesses have to increase salaries to increase their supply of American students" (p. 71).

Other observers trace the avowed destabilization to the longstanding "special handling" provisions of immigration law⁷ that can place natives at a disadvantage relative to equally qualified foreign-born applicants when competing for teaching positions in colleges and universities (Weinstein, 1996).

⁶ Hearing before the Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Second Congress, April 8, 1992.

⁷ Section 212(a)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The final rule implementing this provision States "In most occupations, U.S. workers are considered available for the job opportunity if they are able, willing, and at least minimally qualified for the job offered to the alien. In the cases of job opportunities as college and university teachers, U.S. workers must be at least as qualified or more qualified than the alien..." *Federal Register*, December 19, 1980, p. 83931 (emphasis added).

Most significantly, in recent years, the three principal sites of employment for Ph.D. scientists and engineers—colleges and universities, private industry, and government—have undergone simultaneous downsizing. Stagnation or cutbacks in recruitment for tenure-track positions have occurred even as the number of graduating Ph.D.s in these fields rises (Czujko, 1996; McClure, 1995). Downsizing of private industry has forced recent graduates into competition with experienced S&E professionals, to their mutual disadvantage (Czujko, 1996). Federal downsizing has had both direct employment and indirect contracting implications.

Although the relative importance of these individual factors is subject to dispute, expert panels have weighed their collective implications. NAS (1995) has concluded that:

“Although many recent graduates are frustrated by their inability to find basic-research positions, it appears that the growth in nonresearch and applied research and development positions is large enough to absorb most graduates” (p. 3).

The CPST (1995) sees the implications as more serious.

“The current labor market for researchers recently granted their doctorates has deteriorated over the past 5 years. It is taking new doctorates longer to find permanent positions and a growing number are taking temporary, low-paying post-doctoral positions for some number of years while they await an opening. This trend should be of concern for three major reasons.

First, as a nation we make substantial investments in the education and training of these doctorates through government support to both individuals and universities. Second, as individuals, these doctorates make substantial personal investments... While these doctorates will eventually find employment, it may not be the employment they had expected. ...Third, the “shelf” or “half” life of knowledge in these fields is likely to introduce additional difficulties for scientists who are out of the lab for relatively long periods of time. They may at some point cease to be employable in their fields” (p. 23).

The Administration is aware of this growing body of literature and the many arguments presented in favor of, and against, restricting admissions of certain foreign-born professionals. The issues are complex and deserve close and continuing scrutiny. In particular, attention needs to be paid to permanent employment-based immigration and the temporary nonimmigrant worker programs.

Evidence of Abuse Within the H-1B Nonimmigrant and Permanent Labor Certification Programs

While the vast majority of those employers using the H-1B program do not misuse it, there have been several documented cases of abuse. Evidence of such abuse has been gathered by investigators of the Employment Standards Administration’s Wage and Hour Division (ESA/WHD) and auditors of DOL’s Office of the Inspector General (OIG).

WHD investigators have identified several situations in which employment of H-1B nonimmigrants has occurred at the expense of comparable U.S. workers. Two particularly egregious cases illustrate this point.

Syntel, Inc., a company in Troy, Michigan, providing computer personnel and services on contract to other companies, had a workforce of more than 80 percent H-1B immigrants, most of whom were computer analysts from India. Syntel had entered into a contract with American International Group, Inc. (AIG), a large insurance company headquartered in Livingston, New Jersey, to provide AIG with computer services. Consequently, nearly 250 of AIG's U.S. workers were then laid off. Some of these U.S. workers charged that they were required to train their H-1B nonimmigrant replacements during their last few weeks of employment. Such displacement is, incidentally, perfectly legal under current U.S. immigration law.

In its effort to cut costs, however, Syntel went still further, violating the already quite permissive terms of this law. Syntel management had attested in writing that the company would pay its H-1B workers the prevailing wage—a requirement established to protect U.S. workers' wages from erosion. WHD found that Syntel, in its operations in New Jersey, had willfully paid its Indian computer programmers \$34,000 per year rather than the prevailing rate of \$41,000 required by law—underpayment of nearly 20 percent. As a result, Syntel agreed to pay nearly \$78,000 in back wages to 40 H-1B employees and to take other steps to develop U.S. workers to reduce its dependence on nonimmigrant workers.

To date, WHD has handled 24 such cases involving H-1B workers in computer-related occupations. Underpayment of the 89 H-1B nonimmigrant workers in these cases, most of whom worked for contractors, amount to more than \$200,000.

In the healthcare field, Rehab One, another Michigan company, went into business providing temporary physical therapists—in this case exclusively from Poland—to health care facilities, most of which were in Texas. Following WHD's investigation of a complaint against Rehab One, the company agreed to pay back wages of more than \$460,000 to 54 therapist employees. Although it was required to pay a prevailing wage of as much as \$2,800 per month, in certain periods the company had actually paid its Polish therapists as little as \$500 per month.

To date, WHD has handled 13 such cases involving employers of H-1B physical and occupational therapists, nearly all of them contractors. Together, these companies owed more than \$885,000 in back wages to 242 temporary foreign workers in physical and occupational therapy, evidence that these H-1B workers were being used to exert downward pressure on the prevailing wage in this occupation.

Altogether, WHD investigators have identified 87 cases in which a total of 397 H-1B workers have been underpaid a collective sum of \$1,800,000.

OIG's audit (U.S. DOL, 1996) tracked the outcome of cases in which DOL has issued Permanent Labor Certifications (PLC) or accepted temporary H-1B Labor Condition Applications (LCA) during FY1993. OIG auditors had the authority to check the veracity of statements made in the initial applications, examine the actual behavior of petitioning employers and employees, and consider other issues over which DOL has little or no authority. Their findings pertain exclusively to successful applicants: that is, those whose applications for PLCs or LCAs were approved by DOL during FY1993 and subsequently led to admission, adjustment of status, or INS approval for their H-1B job petition. These included 24,184 permanent resident aliens and 61,250 H-1B workers.

This audit revealed several disquieting facts about the H-1B program. During the survey period, the OIG found that 75 percent of the H-1B aliens studied worked for employers that did not adequately document that the wage specified on the labor condition application was the appropriate prevailing wage. In cases where the H-1B worker's actual wage could be determined, 19 percent were being paid below the wage specified on the LCA. Four percent of H-1B workers studied did not appear to be employees of the petitioning employer. Some were being paid as independent contractors; others, for whom colleges or universities had petitioned, were actually on postdoctoral fellowships.

OIG determined that “the LCA program has become a stepping stone to obtain permanent resident status not only for the ‘best and brightest’ specialists but also for students, relatives and friends” (p. 3).

OIG’s investigation of the permanent certification program likewise revealed a number of disquieting facts. OIG found that at the time employers applied for labor certification on behalf of the perspective immigrant, 99 percent of the aliens in question were already living in the United States, 74 percent were already working for the sponsoring employer, and 16 percent were working out of status (p. 2).

Employers had signed sworn statements indicating that no U.S. worker could be found to fill the job in question and that they had to offer permanent residence to ensure the alien’s availability. Yet when OIG auditors examined company records after the aliens had received permanent residence, they found that 4 percent of the alien employees had terminated their jobs with the petitioning employer even before adjusting status, another 11 percent never worked for the petitioning employer after receipt of permanent residence, 17 percent left the petitioning employer within 6 months of status adjustment, and 7 percent never worked for the employer who petitioned on their behalf (p. 16).

At the time OIG auditors spoke with petitioning employers, 41 percent of the certified immigrants had already left the jobs for which they had been granted lawful permanent residence to fill. Of the jobs thus vacated, 57 percent had not been refilled, 39 percent had been refilled—3 out of 4 by U.S. citizens—and information was lacking on the status of the remaining 4 percent.

The elaborate “labor market test” associated with the permanent certification program was found to be severely flawed. In the last 6 months of 1994, the State Employment Security Agencies referred 28,682 U.S. workers to employers to be considered for the jobs they were petitioning to fill with permanent resident aliens. Only 5 Americans were actually placed—a 0.02 percent hire rate.

In sum, OIG found that the permanent labor certification program “is being used to satisfy the needs of the aliens—the attainment of the green card—rather than to provide employers access to foreign labor where sufficient U.S. workers are not available” (p. 16).

Conclusions

The international mobility of skilled professionals has grown apace with educational opportunities, international trade, high-speed communications, and low-cost transportation. Hundreds of thousands of foreign students now enter U.S. universities each year, most pursuing professional degrees, particularly in S&E. In addition to tuition, these students give their host universities a well prepared student body, cultural diversity, academic strength, and a cadre of low-cost teaching and research assistants. After completing their initial degrees, many remain to pursue additional degrees and/or postdoctoral or academic appointments. Others move into the world of business, where their technical skills, determination, and strong work ethic are often highly esteemed. Access to the world’s best and brightest talent has become a mainstay of the U.S. academic and business communities. Many businesses now contend that without this access they would lose their competitive edge and be forced to move operations, as well as thousands of jobs, abroad.

Labor certification/attestation requirements and certain annual numerical limits notwithstanding, highly skilled aliens have relatively little difficulty entering the U.S. labor market. Various nonimmigrant visas enable thousands of well educated aliens to enter this country and/or complete the transition from academic to professional life in the United States. IMMACT90 significantly increased the annual numerical limitation for employment-based permanent immigration, at the same time tipping the scale further toward professional entries.

The effects of these developments are perceived differently by those who employ and those who seek employment. Universities, research institutions, and the business community contend there is a compelling need for such access. The technical skills, determination, and strong work ethic of foreign-born students and professionals are often highly esteemed. Nonetheless, a growing number of highly trained native scientists and engineers contend that ready access to foreign professionals has reduced their own job opportunities, slowed job placement, increased average time spent in postdoctoral positions, and/or forced them to leave the field for which they spent both years and considerable financial resources in training.

The literature on this issue is still largely deductive. A number of factors have helped slow the growth of demand for scientists and engineers, an erosion whose magnitude is itself subject to dispute. Nonetheless, review of the available employment statistics from a wide range of fields suggests that job-search problems have been particularly acute in fields that attract large numbers of foreign professionals: that is, engineering, mathematics, computer, and physical sciences. Given the “shelf life” of technical knowledge in these fields, lengthy periods of unemployment or underemployment may permanently derail the career paths of native Ph.D.s who are unable to apply and continually enhance their training.

DOL’s WHD has identified numerous violations of labor and immigration law involving college-educated temporary foreign workers, particularly in the fields of computer science and physical therapy. Many of these involve illegal employment practices of job contractors. DOL’s OIG has likewise found evidence of widespread abuse within the H-1B temporary and DOL’s PLC programs. Therefore, it is no longer appropriate to assume that high-skilled immigration has entirely beneficial or, at worst, innocuous effects. The implications of such entries must be closely monitored.

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Conclusion to Part II

The number of immigrant admissions to the United States has fluctuated widely during the 20th century. At both the beginning and end of this century, this country has admitted more foreign nationals than at any other time in its history, while the immigration policies and poor economic conditions of the 1930's and 1940's resulted in near-record lows. For Americans who have lived through this period, perceptions of immigrant impact must be particularly vivid. It is important to recognize that despite their size, today's immigrant population and workforce play a much smaller role relative to overall population and employment than was the case a century ago.

Nonetheless, the demographic and labor market implications of immigration for the 21st century are likely to be impressive. Demographers at the Urban Institute project that, under current immigration law, roughly 70 million post-1990 immigrants and their offspring will be added to the U.S. population by 2040 (Fix and Passel, 1994). They project that the U.S. population will grow from 249 million in 1990 to 355 million by 2040, with post-1990 immigrants and their children accounting for almost two-thirds of the net population growth over this period. Under these projections, the foreign-born population will account for about 14 percent of the population by 2040 (from about 9 percent today) and more than one in four U.S. residents is projected to be either an immigrant or the child of an immigrant as of 2040.

Based on these population projections and present labor force participation behavior, these demographers predict that an additional 6 million new immigrants will join the labor force during the 1990's and another 6 million in the first decade of the 21st century. Immigration's contribution to labor force growth is thereby projected to be one-third of the labor force expansion over these decades, up from about one-quarter during the 1980's.

This report addresses the need for an ongoing evaluation of U.S. immigration policy. Both public and private sectors have long recognized the value of social impact assessment and program evaluation. Yet, the profusion of new temporary entry categories, multiple entries by nonimmigrants on one visa, and the rapid pace at which laws have changed challenge the validity of existing concepts, data systems, and research methods. Systematic and cumulative research on immigration is just beginning to keep pace with the growth and diversity of the immigration flow itself. A body of literature is now accumulating that employs increasingly sophisticated methods to explore a variety of new and pressing issues.

One simple conclusion that can be drawn from the macroeconomic literature to date is that, at the national level, the net effects of immigrants on U.S. workers are small. This synopsis echoes that of Friedberg and Hunt's (1995) conclusion:

"Despite the popular belief that immigrants have a large adverse impact on the wages and employment opportunities of the native-born population, the literature on this question does not provide much support for this conclusion. Economic theory is equivocal, and empirical estimates in a variety of settings and using a variety of approaches have shown that the effect of immigration on the labor market outcomes of natives is small...Even those natives who should be the closest substitutes with immigrant labor have not been found to suffer significantly as a result of increased immigration." (p. 42)

At the same time, several case studies, as well as simple observations, indicate that immigrants have real and sometimes substantial impacts at the State and local levels. But case studies do not necessarily show the net effects on the larger economy. We must also examine the extent to which industries, occupations, States and/or localities experience adverse labor market impacts as a result of immigration.¹ Clearly, there remains a need for empirical work with quantitative data and field observation on this question. Local studies will need to take into account unique selectivity patterns and regional effects. Detailed and systematic research is sorely lacking for specific skill and race/ethnic groupings and in particular industries and regions.

In conclusion, today there are mounting pressures for new policies on immigrant admissions. The setting in which these policies must operate has grown increasingly complex. Globalization and the reduced costs of travel have increased the sheer number and variety of immigrant groups. This profusion of groups may create more issues and points of potential conflict. Public opposition to immigration typically peaks during recessions and diminishes with economic recovery. However, the prolonged restructuring of today's nonrecessionary economy also has undercut many jobs in ways that may fuel claims of unfair competition.

Consensus on the impacts of immigration is difficult to come by given the lack of detailed data, variations in disciplinary emphasis, constant refinements in methods of analysis, disagreements about the appropriate level of analysis, philosophical differences, and the intrusion of noneconomic concerns. While there has been unprecedented interest in immigration, the situation has not changed much since the last Comprehensive Report on Immigration. Any single, simple and definitive answer to the questions posed by immigration continues to remain "essentially elusive."

¹ It is wrong to assume that effects will be adverse wherever immigrants concentrate. Research on immigrants has uncovered favorable effects as well under these conditions.

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The Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

Part III

Education and Social Services Impacts

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Immigration and the U.S. Educational System

Abstract

The Department of Education (DOEd) administers a variety of programs that may serve recent immigrants. Most are based on the students' education or financial need. Only the Immigrant Education program provides assistance on the basis of immigration status. In 1995, roughly \$1.6 billion in DOEd funding supported services that benefited students with limited English proficiency, many of whom are immigrants.

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Introduction prepared by:
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services
Office of Policy and Planning

From data furnished by:
U.S. Bureau of the Census
Population Division

Introduction

The impact of immigration on the nation's education system is usually discussed in terms of the growth of school enrollments, the need to provide special services for schoolchildren whose native language is not English, and the need for English language instruction for adults. The 1990 Census provides some information on all these subjects, for both the foreign-born population and the total resident population. That information is summarized here to serve as a background and introduction to the program descriptions and data provided by DOEd throughout this chapter. All population data are presented in rounded form, but the percentages have been calculated from unrounded data.

School Enrollment

In 1990, foreign-born persons aged 3 and older accounted for 6.4 percent of total enrollment in "regular" schools at all levels, from preprimary through college. At the elementary and high school level, they numbered 2.2 million or 5.1 percent of the total enrollment of 42.6 million. There were 1.9 million foreign-born students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, or 10.9 percent of the total. However, this number includes a significant number of individuals who were temporarily in the country on student visas. "Regular" schools include private and public schools; they encompass preprimary and elementary schools and schooling that would lead to a high school diploma or a college degree. Census data are not collected on enrollment in specialized programs such as vocational or technical training and English-language instruction that might serve significant numbers of foreign-born adults.

The impact of immigration on school enrollment is greater than that implied by the numbers of foreign-born children and youth because immigrants give birth to children in the United States, who then enter the school system. Direct measurement of this impact is not possible from the 1990 Census because a question on place of birth of parents was not asked. An alternative estimate is possible by comparing the number of (native-born and foreign-born) persons aged 5 to 17 who speak a language other than English at home and are reported not to speak English "very well" with the total enrollment in elementary and high schools. This comparison indicates that the 2.4 million such persons would account for 5.6 percent of elementary and high school enrollment. By assuming that all limited-English speakers aged 5 to 17 are enrolled in school, this calculation is biased in an upward direction. Of course, some immigrants arrive from countries where English is commonly spoken, so their effect on school enrollment is not captured by this estimation method.

Children and Youth With Limited Proficiency in English

According to the census, 6.3 million persons aged 5 to 17 speak a language other than English at home; fully 74.8 percent, or 4.7 million, of them are native-born citizens. The 6.3 million figure may be the best indicator of the indirect impact of immigration on school enrollments, although not all these young people are necessarily the first generation born to immigrant parents, and it excludes immigrants from homes where English is spoken. The fact that a language other than English is spoken in the home does not mean that all these children need special instruction at school. Most of them are bilingual. Only 37.8 percent of them (2.4 million) are characterized as not speaking English very well. Again, a majority (65.6 percent or 1.6 million) were born in the United States, leaving only 820,000 foreign-born persons aged 5 to 17 who do not speak English very well. This core population is of school age immigrants who may need special services; 87.3 percent of them live in "linguistically isolated" households, defined as households in which no one speaks English very well.

Adults With Limited Proficiency in English

The 1990 Census reports that 25.5 million people aged 18 and over speak a language other than English at home. More than half of them are foreign-born persons (54.2 percent or 13.8 million people). As with the children, most of them (54.6 percent) are bilingual. Considering only the 11.6 million adults who are reported as not speaking English very well, 8.3 million, or 72.0 percent, are foreign-born. This population of 11.6 million foreign-born and native-born adults might be treated as a measure of the potential need for English language classes for adults, although not all such persons seek formal language training. The Census does not collect data on enrollment in language classes or other training outside the regular academic curriculum, so no direct calculation is possible from this source of the impact of immigration on adult education.

U.S. Department of Education

Impact of Immigrant Students on the U.S. Educational System

For more than 200 years, the United States has been highly successful in welcoming new immigrants and providing them with the opportunity to prosper and make a contribution to the growth of this country. Our greatness, in no small share, is the product of the blood, sweat, tears, and wisdom of these immigrants. Today, the challenge of providing new immigrants with the opportunity they seek is greater than ever before. The basic educational requirements for meaningful employment have increased enormously over the last 50 years. Quality employment now requires a sophistication with the English language and a range of technical competencies that were unnecessary just a few decades ago. This challenge is further heightened by the current rate of immigration. During the decade of the 1980's, immigration reached its highest point since the decade beginning in 1905. The magnitude of this latest wave of immigration has had the greatest impact on the educational systems of the six States where 76 percent of new immigrants reside—California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois.

While most of these immigrants entered the United States legally, a small but significant number were undocumented. Recently Congress debated legislation to permit States to deny education to students who are not legally present in this country. President Clinton strongly opposed this legislation because it would punish innocent children for the actions of their parents. Such a measure is also shortsighted because it would not help solve the illegal immigration problem; instead, it would create a new class of illiterate children in America by pushing them out of the schoolhouse and into the streets.

High rates of immigration create a significant burden, particularly on the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. The cost of providing public education is underwritten by local property tax revenues and, to a lesser extent, by State and Federal funds. Recent immigrants frequently earn low wages and, in the short run, contribute less than established residents to the cost of instructing their children. However, a number of Federal programs assist local school districts in meeting this challenge. For example, the Immigrant Education program provides assistance to local educational agencies with concentrations of recent immigrant students. For FY1996 and again in FY1997, the Administration sought to double the appropriation for this program from \$50 million to \$100 million, a request that the Congress accepted for 1997. Similarly, the Department requested increases in other programs—such as the Title I, Education for the Disadvantaged program—that serve large numbers of disadvantaged students, many of whom are recent immigrants.

The subsequent sections provide more detailed information on programs that DOEd administers, which serve significant numbers of immigrant students.

Federally Funded Educational Services for Immigrant Students

The vast majority of educational programs administered by DOEd serve students on the basis of educational or financial need. Many of these programs serve significant numbers of recent immigrant students who are not yet proficient in English and are consequently classified as limited English proficient (LEP). At the elementary and secondary level, immigrant students are served under the Title I (Education for the Disadvantaged) Grants to Local Educational Agencies program; the Title I Migrant Education program; and the Bilingual Education program. Many older immigrants are served under the Adult Education program and the Vocational Education Basic State Grants program. At the postsecondary level, federally funded student financial assistance is available to certain noncitizens who intend to become citizens or permanent residents. However, of all the programs administered by the Department, only the Immigrant Education program provides assistance on the basis of immigration status.

Elementary and Secondary Education

In the case of elementary and secondary education programs, educational need is typically defined in terms of academic achievement. For example, in 1995 Title I Grants to Local Educational Agencies served an estimated 6 to 8 million low-achieving students, from prekindergarten through grade 12. These students received supplemental instruction to assist them in achieving to the same high standards as all other children. In 1995, an estimated 1.2 million students who received these services were LEP. While some of these students were born in the United States, many were immigrants.

Another program authorized by the Title I legislation provides grants to State educational agencies for educational services for students who are children of migrant agricultural workers and fishermen. In 1995, an estimated 137,000 of some 610,000 students served were identified as LEP. It is likely that many of these students were immigrants.

The Bilingual Education program is the primary program within the Department designed to address the needs of LEP children. In addition, the Immigrant Education program provides services for LEP students who are recent immigrants.

In 1995, the Bilingual Education program served almost 440,000 students. This program provides instructional services to assist students in learning English and achieving to high standards in the academic curriculum. Based on 1991-92 data from a descriptive study of services provided to LEP students, DOEd estimates that about 60 percent of the students served by this program were born outside the United States.

As previously mentioned, DOEd also administers the Immigrant Education program, which provides grants for supplementary educational services and costs to local educational agencies enrolling substantial numbers of recent immigrants. Immigrant students may be counted for formula allocations under this program only if they have been enrolled in U.S. schools for less than 3 academic years. Participation is limited to districts with at least 500 such students or where immigrant children represent at least 3 percent of the enrollment. Funds are channeled through State educational agencies, which award subgrants to school districts on the basis of the number of immigrant students enrolled. Beginning in FY1996, States could also distribute these funds to local educational agencies through competitive grants. In FY1993, a total of 935 local educational agencies, enrolling more than 798,000 eligible immigrant students, qualified for subgrants under this program. Forty-one percent of these students were enrolled in California schools, while New York schools enrolled 19 percent, and Texas schools enrolled 7 percent. According to State educational agency reports for school year 1993-94, nearly two-thirds of these students were from just 10 countries: Mexico, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the former Soviet Union, El Salvador, the Philippines, China, Jamaica, Korea, and Haiti. Table 1 lists the numbers of immigrant students reported by participating States for the period 1992-1996.

Table 2 lists elementary and secondary programs, among others, funded by the Department, that serve large numbers of LEP persons. It also provides data on the estimated number of such persons served and the funds estimated to be used for these services.

Adult and Vocational Education

The FY1995 appropriation for the Vocational Education State Grants program was almost \$973 million. Basic State Grants assist States and outlying areas in expanding and improving their programs of vocational education and provide equal access in vocational education to “special-needs” populations. The populations assisted by Basic State Grants range from adults who need retraining to adapt to changing technological and labor market conditions, to LEP secondary school students. Grant recipients are required by law to make special efforts to ensure that special-needs students (including LEP students, many of whom are likely to be immigrants) have full access to the complete range of vocational education programs and services.

In FY1995, the budget for the Department’s Adult Education Grants to States program was more than \$252 million, which supported services to approximately 3.9 million persons. Under this program, adult literacy and high school equivalency instruction is provided through public schools, community colleges, community-based organizations, private businesses, churches, libraries, and labor unions. The Department estimates that 33 percent of the participants in federally funded adult education classes are LEP. It is likely that the great majority of these participants are immigrants.

Table 2 lists adult and vocational programs, among others, funded by the Department, that serve large numbers of LEP persons. It also provides data on the number of such persons served and the funds estimated to be used for these services.

Approximately \$1.6 billion in 1995 funds supported services that benefited about 4.2 million LEP students. These figures do not include student financial aid.

Higher Education

In FY1995, 92 percent of the Department’s appropriation for postsecondary education was for student financial aid. The student financial assistance programs authorized by Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, provide student financial aid to needy students who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents.

During the 1995-1996 academic year, about 4.1 percent (709,000) of all students enrolled in institutions of postsecondary education were eligible noncitizens. During the same period, about 410,000 eligible noncitizens received assistance under the Department’s Title IV student financial assistance programs.

Any student aid applicant who is a permanent resident or has other eligible noncitizen status must provide documentation of that status to receive Title IV student financial aid. Such documentation may be provided automatically through the results of a computer match of information from the financial aid application form and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records. If this process fails to confirm the student’s status, the institution of higher education must collect additional documentation from the student to verify the student’s immigration status.

U.S. Department of Education Programs Serving Limited English Proficient Persons

DOEd operates a variety of programs designed to meet the special instructional needs of LEP children and adults. Approximately \$1.6 billion in 1995 funds supported services that benefited LEP students. These figures do not include student financial aid.

The Bilingual Education program is the primary program within the Department designed to address the needs of LEP children. In addition, the Immigrant Education program provides services for LEP students who are recent immigrants.

Other programs also serve significant numbers of LEP students. This lists the major programs that served LEP students in 1995, estimated numbers of such persons, and the estimated amount of funding used to serve them.

TABLE 1.—Students Counted Under the Immigrant Education Program: FYs1992-1996

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Arizona	16,001	16,985	18,150	19,463	26,312
California	348,142	338,480	317,174	277,232	251,307
Colorado	3,594	4,114	4,370	5,062	6,631
Connecticut	4,929	4,422	4,331	4,522	3,906
District of Columbia	6,485	4,211	4,306	4,097	3,368
Florida	33,275	43,130	47,034	65,705	97,657
Georgia	4,215	4,659	6,543	6,638	9,518
Hawaii	3,162	3,489	3,720	3,418	3,102
Idaho	1,380	2,009	2,778	3,109	3,686
Illinois	39,074	42,718	45,595	59,764	61,585
Iowa	786	1,244	1,212	1,410	2,430
Kansas	2,195	2,180	2,254	3,542	4,653
Louisiana	3,387	2,897	2,336	2,555	2,499
Maine	255	311	297	349	443
Maryland	13,268	13,201	11,593	11,460	8,643
Massachusetts	17,074	16,342	17,294	16,606	18,717
Michigan	3,618	3,984	4,677	6,121	6,379
Minnesota	2,997	3,530	3,528	3,533	4,192
Missouri	2,174	1,804	1,996	1,900	2,380
Montana	155	162	237	173	191
Nebraska	291	1,045	1,209	2,044	2,370
Nevada	0	2,511	5,884	3,932	4,794
New Jersey	23,592	23,850	26,618	28,679	28,344
New Mexico	5,392	7,155	7,890	8,183	9,487
New York	139,626	158,767	146,664	147,840	149,932
North Carolina ¹	0	0	0	0	286
North Dakota	320	544	327	380	363
Ohio	1,975	1,885	2,074	2,046	1,983
Oklahoma	1,032	1,278	1,265	1,592	1,857
Oregon	5,369	5,169	5,091	5,436	5,782
Pennsylvania	4,255	4,463	3,799	4,631	4,605
Puerto Rico	3,528	3,500	3,292	3,515	3,625
Rhode Island	7,933	8,727	8,891	9,128	9,279
Tennessee	1,718	1,620	1,749	2,109	2,179
Texas	41,332	55,911	54,390	60,422	83,935
Utah	8,148	8,909	9,278	8,653	8,580

TABLE 1.—Students Counted Under the Immigrant Education Program: FYs1992-1996 (continued)

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Vermont	161	169	168	34	155
Virginia	11,898	12,404	11,413	11,408	10,990
Washington	13,565	14,669	16,017	16,142	16,824
Wisconsin	1,285	1,089	1,426	2,147	2,068
Virgin Islands	0	2,449	2,412	1,947	1,712
Territories	922	0	0	5,157	7,854
Total	778,508	825,986	809,282	822,084	874,603

¹ North Carolina did not apply for the Immigrant Education Program until FY 1996.

TABLE 2.—Major Programs That Served LEP Students in FY1995

	Estimated Number of LEP Students Served	Estimated FY1995 Funds (\$000)
I. Programs with the primary purpose of serving LEP students		
Bilingual Education	441,000	\$156,700
The Bilingual Education program is designed to build local capacity to provide appropriate instructional services to LEP students so that these programs will continue once Federal funds are reduced or no longer available. Grants assist school districts to establish, operate, or improve educational programs for LEP students. Awards to institutions of higher education and others support teacher training. The estimates above represent all LEP students served by the Bilingual Education program and are based on data from 1992 grantees.		
Immigrant Education	822,000	\$50,000
This program provides formula grants to States for subgrants to school districts that enroll substantial numbers of recent immigrant students. Virtually all these students are LEP persons. The student estimate is the total number of eligible immigrants reported by States in their 1995 applications.		
II. Other programs that devote significant resources to serving LEP students		
Title I Grants to LEAs	1,156,000	\$1,144,000
This program supports supplementary education services, provided by local school districts to children who are failing, or most at risk of failing, to meet State academic standards. A significant number of children served have limited proficiency in English. The dollar and child estimates are derived from 1993 program data.		
Title I Migrant Program	137,000	\$76,000
This program provides funds to States for compensatory education services to children of migrant agricultural workers and fishermen. Nearly 75 percent of all the program's participants are Hispanic and a significant number lack English proficiency. Estimates of LEP funding and of the number of LEP children served are derived from program data.		

TABLE 2.—Major Programs That Served LEP Students in FY1995 (continued)

	Estimated Number of LEP Students Served	Estimated FY1995 Funds (\$000)
Individuals With Disabilities Education Act Grants	109,100	\$46,458
<p>This program provides funds to States for the education of children with disabilities. Approximately 2 percent of the children served lack proficiency in English; this estimate is based on data provided in the 1990 Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey and State data for the 1992-93 school year.</p>		
Vocational Rehabilitation Migratory Workers Program	1,400	\$650
<p>The Migratory Workers program makes comprehensive vocational rehabilitation services available to migrant or seasonal farmworkers with vocational disabilities. Emphasis is given to outreach, specialized bilingual rehabilitation counseling, and coordination of vocational rehabilitation services with services from other sources. Most projects supported under this program serve LEP adults.</p>		
Vocational Education Basic State Grants	332,250	\$19,003
<p>This program assists States to expand and improve their programs of vocational education and provide equal access in vocational education to “special-needs” populations. Estimates of the number of LEP adults served are derived from State data collected by the Office of Vocational and Adult Education.</p>		
Adult Education State Programs	1,300,000	\$84,500
<p>This activity provides formula grants to States to assist educationally disadvantaged adults in developing basic literacy skills and achieving certification of high school equivalency. States are required to give special attention to the needs of LEP adults. Estimates of the number of LEP adults served are derived from State data collected by the Office of Vocational and Adult Education.</p>		
Total All Programs	4,196,289	\$1,570,889

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Immigration and Social Services

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Introduction

The impact of immigration on social services in the United States is commonly discussed in fiscal terms: What proportion of the cost of social programs is attributable to the participation of immigrants in those programs? Most of the Federal social programs that serve immigrants are administered by the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), the Social Security Administration (SSA), and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). They include mainstream programs such as Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), food stamps, and programs targeted at special populations, such as migrant farmworkers or recently arrived refugees. The program descriptions in this chapter were contributed by the departments responsible for them. The descriptions include any provisions that encouraged or limited participation by immigrants during the time periods covered. The program descriptions pertain to a time period before the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996, which made major changes in immigrant eligibility for those programs.

Many of the programs were designed to provide income support for needy persons or to alleviate poverty in other ways. Programs that provide direct benefits to individuals or households usually have eligibility criteria that disqualify persons who are not present legally in the United States. Many of these programs compile data on the immigration status or country of birth of their service populations, making it possible to estimate the cost of benefits paid to noncitizens or to foreign-born persons. Other programs provide a more general range of social services and have not maintained records on the immigration status of persons benefiting from the services.

The 1990 Census contains information regarding the eligibility for, and participation of, foreign-born persons, both citizens and noncitizens, in some social service programs. Census data are available on the sources of household income, including public assistance payments. The Census also provides information on income levels and the prevalence of poverty among foreign-born persons, which provides a measure of eligibility for income-support programs and a context for the program information. That information is summarized here. Table 1 presents several measures of the income of the foreign-born population. For comparison, similar data are displayed for the total U.S. population.

The incomes of foreign-born persons differ greatly by two related measures that may serve as indicators of assimilation: length of time in the United States and citizenship status. For this reason, the tabulations emphasize the contrasts within the foreign-born population. Part of the contrast has to do with age; the median age in 1990 of the foreign-born citizens and of persons who arrived before 1980 was nearly 47 years, while the median age of noncitizens was 32.2 and of persons who arrived during the 1980's was 29.2. The observed income differences, in part, reflect these age differences.

Income Levels

The per capita income of the foreign-born population that entered before 1980 was \$19,423, more than twice that of persons who arrived during the 1980's and substantially higher than the \$14,420 per capita income of the total U.S. population. The contrast is not as great for the median household and family incomes, but the earlier-arriving foreign-born households still maintain an advantage over those who arrived later and a slight advantage over the total population. Immigrants who are not citizens, and especially those who arrived in the 1980's, have particularly low incomes relative to other residents.

Household income distributions give an impression consistent with the average income levels. Looking at households whose income in 1989 was less than \$5,000, only 5.7 percent of households headed by a person who immigrated before 1980 fell into this category, compared with 6.2 percent of all U.S. households and 10.5 percent of households headed by more recent arrivals. At the upper end of the income distribution, 12.2 percent of households headed by a person who arrived before 1980 had incomes in 1989 of \$75,000 or more,

compared with 9.5 percent of all U.S. households and 6.6 percent of households headed by recent immigrants. The analysis by citizenship status gives similar results.

Poverty Status

In 1989, according to Census figures, 13.1 percent of persons living in the United States, and 10 percent of families, had incomes below the poverty level. (Poverty status is determined through a combination of income, family size, and composition.) Persons who immigrated before 1980 were less likely to be impoverished than the general population (12 percent), but families headed by such persons had a slightly higher poverty rate (11 percent). Immigrants and their families who arrived in the 1980's had poverty rates more than double the national average. Again, the analysis by citizenship status yields similar results, except that foreign-born citizens as individuals and as families are less likely to be in poverty than the population as a whole.

Public Assistance Income

The tabulation of sources of household income according to four categories (earnings, social security, public assistance, and retirement income) helps to describe past and present economic activity by different types of households, including their receipt of income transfer payments from social programs. Households headed by foreign-born persons who arrived before 1980 are slightly less likely to have earnings from current wages and more likely to be receiving social security payments than all U.S. households. This and their receipt of retirement income in addition to social security reflects their age structure, with a median age 14 years above that of the general population. These households receive public assistance at a rate slightly higher than that of the general population, 8.9 percent compared with 7.5 percent.

The median age of persons who immigrated during the 1980's is only 3.7 years younger than that of the overall U.S. population, at 29.2, but the income structure of the households they head is in sharp contrast to that of earlier immigrants and the general population. These households are more likely to have earned income and very unlikely to receive social security or retirement income. Despite their earned income, they are also slightly more likely to receive public assistance, at a rate of 9.7 percent. They are slightly less likely than the U.S. population as a whole to have the family structure associated with a propensity to use public assistance: the female householder with no husband present and with children under 18 years of age. Again, the findings by citizenship status are similar to those by period of arrival, except that the income profile of households headed by noncitizens is more consistent with that of an older population with many retired persons.

One possible measure of the impact of immigration on social service programs is the amount of benefits paid to immigrants. In the 1990 Census, households headed by foreign-born persons reported public assistance income in 1989 of \$3.679 billion in the aggregate. Of this amount, \$2.254 billion was paid to households headed by noncitizens. Such income includes payments from the AFDC program, general assistance payments, and SSI payments, but it does not include payments for medical services or the value of food stamps received by the household.

The use of public assistance at these levels by recent immigrants is somewhat unexpected, given the restrictions at the time on access to public assistance by most persons during their first 3 to 5 years in the United States. An analysis of patterns of use of public assistance by immigrants who arrived during the 1980's based on the 1990 census provides some insight into how this situation can occur. The findings are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 1.—Characteristics of Foreign-Born Persons and All Persons in 1990 Census, by Time of Entry and Citizenship

Characteristics	Foreign-Born Population		Total U.S. Population
	Entered 1980's	Entered Pre 1980	
Income/Poverty Measures			
Per capita income	\$9,408	\$19,423	\$14,420
Median household ¹ income	\$24,136	\$30,553	\$30,056
Median family ¹ income	\$24,493	\$35,733	\$35,225
Households with income (%):			
Less than \$5,000	10.5%	5.7%	6.2%
\$75,000 or more	6.6%	12.2%	9.5%
Income below poverty level (%):			
Persons	26.3%	12.0%	13.1%
Families	23.4%	11.0%	10.0%
Households with (%):			
Earnings	89.4%	78.5%	80.3%
Social Security income	4.2%	29.0%	26.3%
Public assistance income	9.7%	8.9%	7.5%
Retirement income	2.5%	13.6%	15.6%
Demographic Measures			
Median age (years)	28.3	46.5	32.9
Female householder, no husband present, with own child(ren) under 18 years (% of families):	9.1%	7.4%	9.3%

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990; SSTF 1.*

¹ A "foreign-born household" is defined as one in which the householder is a foreign-born person, so a foreign-born household or family may contain one or more native-born persons.

TABLE 1.—Characteristics of Foreign-Born Persons and All Persons in 1990 Census, by Time of Entry and Citizenship (continued)

Characteristics	Foreign-Born Population		Total U.S. Population
	Non-citizens	Citizens	
Income/Poverty Measures			
Per capita income	\$11,293	\$20,538	\$14,420
Median household ¹ income	\$25,503	\$31,046	\$30,056
Median family ¹ income	\$26,518	\$37,340	\$35,225
Households with income (%):			
Less than \$5,000	9.0%	5.2%	6.2%
\$75,000 or more	7.4%	13.5%	9.5%
Income below poverty level (%):			
Persons	23.3%	10.8%	13.1%
Families	20.7%	8.7%	10.0%
Households with (%):			
Earnings	87.6%	76.0%	80.3%
Social Security income	10.0%	32.8%	26.3%
Public assistance income	10.6%	7.7%	7.5%
Retirement income	4.8%	15.6%	15.6%
Demographic Measures			
Median age (years)	32.2	46.9	32.9
Female householder, no husband present, with own child(ren) under 18 years (% of families):	9.6%	6.1%	9.3%

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990; SSTF 1*.

¹ A "foreign-born household" is defined as one in which the householder is a foreign-born person, so a foreign-born household or family may contain one or more native-born persons.

The 1990 Census data available for this analysis separate the immigrants who arrived during the 1980's into four arrival periods of approximately 2 or 3 years each. Table 2 shows that most of the immigrant households receiving public assistance, 68.1 percent, are headed by persons who arrived before 1980. The percentage of each arrival cohort receiving public assistance does not vary greatly from the overall average of 9.1 percent. The immigrants who arrived in 1980 and 1981 are most likely to receive public assistance, at a level of 11.7 percent. Of the households who arrived in the 1987-1990 period, 8.5 percent received public assistance. These levels of use of public assistance alleviate only part of the poverty among the foreign-born population. Table 2 shows that about one-third of those who arrived in the 1987-1990 period were classified as being in poverty. This proportion dropped for those with longer periods of residence, to a level comparable with that of the total U.S. population, as noted above.

A substantial minority of the householders who arrived during the 1980's and were receiving public assistance are likely to have arrived as refugees, who are exempt from the bar on receiving assistance soon after arrival in the United States. (The census does not ascertain the immigration status of noncitizens, so refugee status is inferred if the householder was born in a country from which most immigrants in the 1980's were first admitted in refugee status. These countries are Cambodia, Cuba, Laos, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam.) More than 45 percent of the foreign-born householders who arrived in the 1987-1990 period or the 1980-1981 period and were receiving public assistance were from these refugee-producing countries. That figure was about 31 percent for similar persons who arrived in the mid-1980's and 15 percent for those who arrived before 1980. Because refugees are admitted for humanitarian reasons and are not required to meet the usual criterion of self-support before being allowed to enter, their reliance on public assistance programs in the early years should not be unexpected.

TABLE 2.—Receipt of Public Assistance Income by Arrival Cohorts of Foreign-Born Households in the 1990 Census

Item	Total	Arrival Period				
		1987-90	1985-86	1982-84	1980-81	pre-1980
Foreign-born households ¹ (thousands)	7,746.5	593.3	453.2	571.2	699.2	5,429.5
Number with public assistance income (thousands)	706.0	50.4	37.0	55.7	82.0	480.9
Percent with public assistance income	9.1%	8.5%	8.2%	9.8%	11.7%	8.9%
Percent of recipient households from refugee ² countries	23.0%	45.4%	31.2%	31.5%	45.6%	15.2%
Income below the poverty level, percent of:						
Persons	18.2%	34.3%	24.0%	20.2%	21.1%	12.0%
Families	14.9%	31.7%	22.1%	19.7%	21.1%	11.0%

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990; SSTF 1.*

¹A "foreign-born household" is defined as one in which the householder is a foreign-born person, so a foreign-born household or family may contain one or more native-born persons. The arrival period is that of the householder.

²Refugee countries are those from which most immigrants since 1980 were first admitted in refugee status.

Other points should be considered in interpreting these data. Because a foreign-born household is defined as one in which the head of the household is a foreign-born person, such a household may contain a mix of foreign- and native-born persons. A household may include more than one family unit, and if any subfamily within it receives public assistance, the entire household will be classified as having public assistance income. In a complex household, it is entirely possible for some members to be eligible for and receiving such assistance while others are not. These data impart an upward bias to the measurement of "households receiving public assistance."

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Summary of Immigration's Impact on HHS Programs

HHS is responsible for providing or financing a wide range of health and social services to individuals residing within the United States. Before passage of PRWORA on August 22, 1996, immigrants were generally eligible for many of these services. Except in a limited number of programs (for example, AFDC and Medicaid), eligibility for most health and social services funded by this department was based primarily on an individual's need for such services regardless of immigrant status. Therefore, reliable data that would allow determination of immigration's impact on HHS administered programs were not ordinarily collected. For example, community health centers provide preventive and primary health care to anyone in need of such services. Because these centers are located in areas that contain medically underserved and disadvantaged populations, they undoubtedly also serve immigrants. However, because receipt of center services has never been based on an individual's immigrant status, the centers do not record or retain information regarding the number of immigrants served. Nevertheless, by providing adequate care, including immunizations, these centers play a significant role in ensuring the health of immigrant communities, as well as maintaining the overall public health.

With the significant exceptions of AFDC, Medicaid, and Medicare, most HHS programs are "closed ended" appropriations. Therefore, in most programs the number of immigrants served has no effect on overall spending levels, which are fixed. Use of services by additional immigrants would generally have no budget impact.

HHS has four notable organizational components that provide services to both citizens and immigrants: the Administration for Children and Families (ACF), the Public Health Service (PHS) agencies, the Administration on Aging (AoA) and the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA). ACF funds a vast array of programs that provide numerous health and social services. For example, Head Start provides comprehensive educational, health, social, nutritional, and other services to low-income, preschool-age children and their families. The Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and AFDC are two of the major programs administered by ACF and have particular relevance to immigrants.

ORR provides cash, medical assistance, social services, and care for unaccompanied minors to persons who have been admitted into the United States as refugees, political asylees, and Cuban and Haitian entrants. In FY1994, ORR's expenditures for cash and medical assistance totaled approximately \$191.4 million. According to a 1994 survey of recent refugees, entrants, and Amerasian immigrants conducted by ORR, almost one-third of refugee households were self-supporting. Conversely, slightly more than one-third of such households completely depended on public assistance. Other findings concluded that employment increases with length of U.S. residence and use of public assistance by refugees declines as they enter the paid labor force.

Unlike most other HHS programs, eligibility for AFDC, which was the major cash welfare program for low-income families with children before the enactment of PRWORA, is conditional based on legal immigrant status. Undocumented, or illegal, immigrants were not eligible for these welfare benefits. Similarly, sponsored legal immigrants had their eligibility determined by counting some portion of their sponsors' income and resources as being available to them in a procedure known as "sponsor-to-alien deeming." According to administrative data, or "quality control" data, the welfare reciprocity rate for legal immigrants was 5.8 percent of all AFDC recipients in 1994. In addition, according to the 1995 General Accounting Office (GAO) report *Welfare Reform: Implications of Proposals on Legal Immigrants' Benefits*, most households that receive AFDC and include immigrant recipients also include citizen recipients.

ACF also provides services to immigrants through a variety of block grants and programs. Among other ACF programs that are relevant to immigrants are the Community Services Block Grant (CSBG), which funds community-based entities such as migrant and seasonal farm-worker organizations and the Social Services Block Grant (SSBG), which funds a variety of social service activities. With the enactment of PRWORA, States have been given the option of denying SSBG services to certain categories of immigrants. As mentioned above, most of ACF's programs do not gather and maintain specific information on immigrant use of their services, but it is reasonable to assume that immigrants, in addition to citizens, benefit from these services.

Among the agencies that comprise the PHS, three major agencies provide services to immigrants, as well as citizens: the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA). With the exception of the Refugee Mental Health Program and the Refugee Health Assessment Program, eligibility for the other services funded by these PHS organizations is not conditional based on an individual's immigrant status. Accordingly, there is little program information on the use of these services by immigrants, although it is reasonable to assume that immigrants, like citizens, benefit from these services. SAMHSA administers several mental health programs, as well as block grants and demonstration programs, which fund or provide substance abuse and mental health services. CDC funds State and local health departments that provide services, such as various preventive health activities, to individuals. The only criteria for receipt of CDC benefits is the need for health care. The programs supported by HRSA target underserved and disadvantaged populations and fund organizations that provide preventive and primary health care to children and families. Similarly, the only requirement for receiving these services is the need for health care.

AoA is the Federal focal point and advocacy agency for older persons. It works with a nationwide network of offices and agencies to coordinate and develop systems of services for older persons and their caregivers. Among the services its programs provide are: access services, in-home care, community services, and caregiver services. Eligibility for AoA programs and services is not conditional based on immigration status.

HCFA reimburses providers for health services provided to eligible individuals through the Medicare and Medicaid programs. Medicare is a Federal health insurance program for most people age 65 or older and certain people with disabilities. In 1994, Medicare provided more than 38 million individuals with access to health services. Medicare eligibility is based solely on age or disability and past contributions to the Medicare trust fund. HCFA has not collected information regarding citizenship or immigrant status of Medicare recipients because it is generally not relevant to program eligibility or participation. Any individual who does not meet the contribution requirement for Medicare, but does meet the age or disability requirements, may purchase Medicare coverage at an actuarially determined price. Legal immigrants must also satisfy a 5-year residency requirement before being eligible to purchase Medicare coverage. Finally, to the extent Medicare is financed through Medicare tax and premium payments, the payroll taxes paid by younger, first-generation immigrants help support retirees under this system.

Medicaid is a Federal- and State-financed entitlement program that purchases medical assistance for certain low-income families and persons who are aged, blind, or have a disability. Similar to AFDC, eligibility for Medicaid benefits is conditional based on legal immigrant status. Undocumented immigrants are not eligible for Medicaid benefits, except for emergency services. But legal immigrants who otherwise meet the Medicaid eligibility requirements are eligible on the same basis as citizens. In 1994, an estimated 35.1 million individuals were enrolled in Medicaid. However, the Federal Government has never required States to submit data regarding the number of legal immigrants enrolled. Therefore, HCFA administrative data can not provide us with reliable estimates of the number of immigrants receiving Medicaid. However, the Urban Institute, under contract with HHS, used Medicaid Quality Control data in conjunction with Social Security Administration data to estimate the number of immigrants receiving Medicaid in 1994. They estimated that 3.2 million immigrants were enrolled in Medicaid, representing 7.5 percent of the total caseload. According to the 1996 Current Population Survey, immigrants represent 12.6 percent of the population under poverty and so the proportion of immigrants using Medicaid in 1994, when there were no restrictions on access by legal immigrants, was smaller than might be expected.

HHS provides or funds a wide array of social and health services to promote the public health and well being of millions of individuals and families residing in the United States. HHS programs have been crucial in improving the overall quality of life of families and communities over the last several decades. Many HHS programs and services have been available to children, families, the elderly, and the disabled who have been in need of various types of assistance without regard to their citizenship or immigrant status. Because of the lack of quantitative data on program participation of immigrants or the demand for services among this population, it is difficult to determine immigration's impact on HHS programs and services over the past 7 years. However, as indicated above, and based on the limited data available, immigrants do not appear to substantially affect HHS program spending levels.

The enactment of welfare reform on August 22, 1996, significantly changed the status of legal immigrants and their eligibility for certain major assistance programs. For the first time legal immigrants will be treated much differently than citizens when it comes to eligibility for assistance under certain cash, health, and social services programs. For example, most legal immigrants will be ineligible for the Food Stamp Program (FSP), which is administered by the USDA, solely because of their immigrant status. The need for nutritional assistance is no longer sufficient for Federal assistance.

In addition, AFDC, which was once a joint Federal and State cash entitlement program for low-income children and families administered by HHS, is now being transformed into a capped block grant program providing funds to States, which now have the flexibility to determine how assistance will be provided for, and to which, needy families. This new block grant program is called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). The new welfare law allows States to determine whether or not to provide TANF assistance to most legal immigrants, known as qualified aliens. States also have the option to determine if qualified aliens are eligible for services under the Medicaid program and the SSBG program. Although aliens already receiving assistance on August 22, 1996, continue to be eligible for assistance until January 1, 1997, States have the authority to deny assistance under these three programs to most qualified aliens after January 1, 1997.

Under PRWORA, most immigrants arriving after August 22, 1996 are banned from receiving "Federal Means-Tested Public Benefits" for their first five years in the United States. This ban does not apply to Refugees, Asylees, aliens whose deportation is being withheld, Amerasians, Cuban/Haitian entrants, Veterans, and members of the military on active duty, their spouses and unmarried dependent children. On August 26, 1997, HHS published a notice in the Federal Register interpreting the term "Federal Means-Tested Benefit" which stated that Medicaid and TANF were the only HHS programs providing such benefits. Subsequently the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) was created by Congress and it was determined to also constitute a "Federal Means-Tested Benefit."

PRWORA also denies "Federal Public Benefits"¹ to non-qualified aliens, primarily undocumented aliens and non-immigrants (e.g., students, tourists, etc.), and requires that agencies providing such benefits implement procedures to verify the citizenship and immigration status of all applicants. On August 4, 1998, HHS published a notice in the Federal Register interpreting the term "Federal Public Benefit" which stated that 31 HHS programs provide such benefits and therefore must verify the citizenship and immigration status of

¹ The HHS programs which provide "Federal Public Benefits" according to the August 4, 1998 interpretation are: Adoption Assistance, Administration on Developmental Disabilities (ADD) – State Developmental Disabilities, Councils (direct services only), ADD – Special Projects (direct services only), ADD – University Affiliated Programs (clinical disability assessment services only), Adult Programs/Payment to Territories, Agency for Health Care Policy and Research Dissertation Grants, Child Care and Development Fund, Clinical Training Grant for Faculty Development in Alcohol & Drug Abuse, Foster Care, Health Profession Education and Training Assistance, Independent Living Program, Job Opportunities for Low Income Individuals (JOLI), Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), Medicare, Medicaid (except assistance for an emergency medical condition), Mental Health Clinical Training Grants, Native Hawaiian Loan Program, Refugee Cash Assistance, Refugee Medical Assistance, Refugee Preventive Health Services Program, Refugee Social Services Formula and Discretionary Program, Refugee Targeted Assistance Formula and Discretionary Program, Refugee Unaccompanied Minors Program, Refugee Voluntary Agency Matching Grant Program, Repatriation Program, Residential Energy Assistance Challenge Option (REACH), Social Services Block Grant (SSBG), State Child Health Insurance Program (CHIP), and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF).

applicants in order to deny benefits to non-qualified aliens. HHS is currently reviewing the public comments on this notice and will subsequently issue a final notice of interpretation.

These new rules that ban most noncitizens from certain Federal assistance programs and allow States to deny other forms of assistance to individuals based solely on their immigrant status represent a significant change in the way legal immigrants have been treated. According to the aforementioned GAO report, quantifying how immigrants will be affected by welfare reform will be difficult, especially because these policy changes may have some effect on immigrants' behavior. Because the law was just enacted, it is too early to determine what those effects may be on immigrants' behavior, and what impacts it will have on HHS programs. Therefore, no attempt to provide statistical estimates will be made at this time. While the effect of these changes on programs is unclear and the number of immigrants that will be affected cannot be quantified precisely, these changes should have a significant impact on needy immigrants, including children, elderly, and the disabled.

The Urban Institute is conducting a study, funded by HHS, INS, and the Department of Agriculture, which will gather information on the health and economic status of immigrants, their families, and their communities in New York City and Los Angeles. It is also designed to gather — to the extent possible — information on the effects of welfare reform on immigrants and their communities. The study consists of several parts: (1) 1650 household interviews in each city, with in-depth follow-ups of 150 households in each city; (2) interviews with community organizations (both governmental and non-governmental); and (3) analyses of several existing data sets (e.g., CPS, NHIS, etc.), including administrative data sets. These data and analyses are intended to provide an accurate profile of immigrants and their communities in order to make valid comparisons with citizens, and to identify relevant trends and indicators with respect to immigrants and their communities.

Administration for Children and Families

Office of Refugee Resettlement

The Federal Government, through ORR, funds and administers programs for persons who have been admitted into the United States with refugee status, for those who have been granted political asylum, and for Cuban and Haitian entrants. (Refugees, asylees, and entrants are collectively called refugees in the subsequent program descriptions.) The primary objective of these programs is to help refugees become self-sufficient as quickly as possible after their arrival in the United States. Because refugees, by definition, are legal residents, their use of benefits and services, as described below, will have an impact on Federal social service programs.

Agency Summary

Federal resettlement assistance to refugees is provided primarily through a State-administered refugee resettlement program. States are responsible for planning, administering, and coordinating refugee resettlement activities. Services and activities available to refugees include cash and medical assistance, social services, and care of unaccompanied minors. More detailed information on ORR programs appears in the Report to the Congress on the Refugee Resettlement Program, which is published annually.

Cash and Medical Assistance

Many working-age refugees from all parts of the world are able to find employment soon after arrival in their new communities. For those who need services before placement in jobs, short-term financial support may be available through the local resettlement agency. However, when refugees require additional time, assistance, and training beyond short-term support, they may apply for help from the State-administered cash and medical assistance programs, which are supported with Federal funds.

Refugees are eligible to apply for cash assistance benefits under Title IV-A of the Social Security Act or the SSI programs and may participate as long as they continue to meet program eligibility requirements. Refugees who qualify for AFDC or SSI also become eligible for Medicaid benefits. Refugees also may be eligible for the Medicaid medically needy program if they have incomes slightly above that required for AFDC and SSI eligibility and incur medical expenses that bring their net income down to the State Medicaid eligibility level.

The Refugee Act of 1980, as codified in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), permits ORR to reimburse States for Title IV-A payments made to refugees, for Medicaid costs incurred on a refugee's behalf, and for refugee SSI costs in those States that supplement Federal SSI payments. This reimbursement period, originally limited to 36 months, was reduced to 31 months in 1986, 24 months in 1988, and 4 months in 1990. Since 1990, ORR appropriations have not been sufficient to continue reimbursing States for these costs.

Some refugees do not qualify for cash assistance under the Title IV-A or SSI programs because they do not meet the categorical eligibility criteria. These refugees may receive special cash assistance called Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA), which is provided at the same level as AFDC. As with the previously programs, the original period of eligibility was limited to 36 months after entry into the United States. The period of eligibility was reduced to 18 months in FY1982, 12 months in FY1989, and 8 months in FY1992. The RCA eligibility period has remained stable at 8 months.

In all States, refugees eligible for RCA are also eligible for Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) for the same period as RCA. Refugees also may be eligible for RMA alone if they have incomes slightly above that required for cash assistance eligibility and incur medical expenses that bring their net income down to the Medicaid eligibility level. States are reimbursed for RMA costs.

After the period of eligibility for RCA and RMA has expired, refugees who continue to be ineligible for Title IV-A, SSI, or Medicaid may qualify for State- or locally-funded General Assistance (GA) programs on the same basis as other residents of the locality in which they reside. Similarly, refugees not eligible for Medicaid or no longer eligible for RMA may be eligible for State- or locally-funded General Medical Assistance (GMA) programs. The Federal Government previously reimbursed States for their GA and GMA costs for a period of months after entry into the United States but, since 1990, appropriations have not been sufficient to allow ORR to provide such reimbursement.

In FY 1994, the cash and medical assistance expenditures were approximately \$191.4 million. Table 3 provides information on funds appropriated for ORR programs, refugee admissions, time-eligible populations, and period of eligibility for FY 1981 through FY 1995.

TABLE 3.—Refugee Appropriations, Admissions, Time-Eligible Population, and Period of Eligibility (Months): FYs1981 to 1995

Fiscal Year	Appropriation (dollars)	Admissions Actual ¹	36-Month Population ²	AFDC/SSI Medicaid ³	RCA RMA ³	GA GMA ³
1981	901,652,000	159,252	477,731	1-36	1-36	0
1982	689,747,000	97,355	474,003	1-36	1-18	19-36
1983	585,000,000	60,036	316,898	1-36	1-18	19-36
1984	541,761,000	70,601	228,966	1-36	1-18	19-36
1985	444,372,000	67,167	200,203	1-36	1-18	19-36
1986	315,812,000	60,544	198,322	1-31	1-18	19-31
1987	339,597,000	58,857	186,578	1-31	1-18	19-31
1988	346,933,000	76,919	196,330	1-31	1-18	19-31
1989	382,356,000	106,886	242,662	1-24	1-12	13-24
1990	389,758,000	122,939	306,744	1-4	1-12	0
1991	410,623,000	113,989	343,814	0	1-12	0
1992	410,630,000	131,767	368,695	0	1-8	0
1993	381,481,000	119,084	364,840	0	1-8	0
1994	389,218,000	112,136	362,987	0	1-8	0
1995	413,786,000	110,000	341,220	0	1-8	0

¹ Includes Amerasians and their accompanying family members; entry for FY1994 is the admission ceiling

² Refugees and Amerasians residing in the United States 36 months or less

³ Months of ORR reimbursement after arrival in the United States

⁴ Admissions and 36-month population for FY1995 are estimates based on FY1995 admission ceiling

Unaccompanied Minors

Resettlement of unaccompanied minor refugees who require foster care upon their arrival in the United States is provided through two national voluntary agencies, the United States Catholic Conference (USCC) and the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS). These agencies place the refugee children in licensed child welfare programs operated by their local affiliates.

Unaccompanied minor refugees are eligible for the same general range of child welfare benefits available to nonrefugee children in the State. They are placed in home foster care, group care, independent living, or residential treatment. States receive Federal reimbursement for costs incurred on their behalf until the month after the 18th birthday or such higher age as is permitted under the State's child welfare plan (Title IV-B of the Social Security Act).

Social Services

Federal funding is available to States for a broad range of social services to refugees. Currently, about 85 percent of the social service funds are allocated directly to States according to their proportion of all refugees who arrived in the United States during the 3 previous fiscal years. States with small refugee populations receive at least \$75,000 in social service funds.

States use most of their social service funds for employment-related services, such as English language training, employment counseling, job placement, and vocational training. States may also provide services identified in a State's program under Title XX of the Social Security Act and certain services listed in ORR policy instructions to States, such as orientation, translation, social adjustment, transportation, and daycare.

Discretionary Projects

The remaining social service funds are used for a variety of initiatives and individual projects intended to contribute to the effectiveness and efficiency of refugee resettlement service delivery. During FYs 1991-1994, major discretionary projects included the following:

- A special initiative that targets refugees in five States and two California counties with high refugee welfare dependency rates or large numbers of refugees on welfare. ORR provides financial support to enable the States to implement individualized plans to change the service delivery system to increase employment and reduce welfare dependency among targeted populations in selected communities.
- The Microenterprise Development Initiative assists refugees in starting or expanding small businesses through training in business skills, access to credit, and individualized business technical assistance.
- The Planned Secondary Resettlement program helps unemployed refugees relocate from areas of high welfare dependency to communities with favorable employment prospects.
- The Preferred Communities program assists national voluntary agencies to defray the costs associated with resettling arriving refugees in communities with good job opportunities and with reducing the number of refugees placed in high-impact sites.
- Grants for specialized services are awarded to the almost 71,000 Amerasian youths and their accompanying family members who have arrived in the United States since 1988.
- The Community and Family Strengthening program supports services to strengthen communities and families. These grants offer increased services to women, crime prevention services for refugee youth, parent-child literacy, in-home counseling services for spousal and child abuse, services to victims of domestic violence, and the establishment of local community centers.
- The Unanticipated Arrivals program enables communities to respond to the arrival of new ethnic populations of refugees and entrants, particularly where the existing services systems do not have appropriate bilingual capacity or cannot respond adequately because available funds have already been obligated.

Targeted Assistance

This program provides employment services to refugees and entrants who reside in counties with unusually large concentrations of refugees and entrants and a high use of public assistance. The substantial need of these populations for services has necessitated supplementation of local service resources.

In addition to the county-targeted assistance program, Florida has received funds to provide health care to eligible Cuban/Haitian entrants and to the Dade County public school system to support education for entrant children.

Voluntary Agency Matching Grant Program

This program provides an alternative to the federally funded, State-administered programs. Federal funds of up to \$1,000 per refugee are available, on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis, to voluntary agencies participating in the program. The goal is to help refugees attain self-sufficiency within 4 months after arrival. Matching grants fund a range of activities, including case management, employment services, maintenance assistance, and support services, such as English language training and health services.

Because of significant increases in the numbers of arriving Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union who are traditionally served by this program, matching grant appropriations have increased substantially in recent years, from \$5.8 million in FY1987 to \$32.6 million in FY1994.

Refugee Preventive Health

Refugees often have health problems resulting from poor living conditions and a lack of medical care in their countries of origin or during their flight and wait for resettlement. Health care services are available to refugees in first-asylum camps, refugee processing centers, and after a refugee's arrival in the United States.

Medical and other volunteers treat refugee health problems and work to improve the general health conditions in refugee camps. Public health advisors from CDC are stationed in Southeast Asia and Europe to monitor the quality of health screening for U.S.-bound refugees. At U.S. ports-of-entry, refugees and their medical records are inspected by PHS Quarantine Officers who also notify the appropriate State and local health departments of the refugees' arrival.

The medical problems of refugees, while not necessarily constituting a public health hazard, might adversely affect their successful resettlement and employment. CDC awards grants to State and local health agencies to medically screen and identify health problems of newly arriving refugees that might impair their effective resettlement, employability, and eventual self-sufficiency and to refer refugees with such problems for treatment.

Impact of Immigration on ORR Programs

Although a person may meet the criteria for admission into the United States as a refugee, the existence of the U.S. refugee admissions program does not automatically entitle that individual to enter the United States. The annual admissions program is a legal mechanism for admitting an applicant who is among those persons for whom the United States has a special concern and otherwise is eligible. The need for resettlement, not the desire of a refugee to enter the United States, is a governing principle in the management of the U.S. refugee program.

Refugees arrive through a highly regulated process. Although crisis events that increase the flow of refugees may be unpredictable, refugees are admitted to the United States through a procedure that balances foreign policy considerations against perceived domestic concerns, such as unemployment and housing shortages. The refugee resettlement process is considerably more controlled than the arrival of immigrants, who have outnumbered refugee arrivals in recent years by a magnitude of seven or eight to one, because a high proportion of immigrants are immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and not regulated by the immigration quota system.

From FYs1992-1994, the United States admitted approximately 394,979 refugees, Amerasian immigrants and Cuban/Haitian entrants, compared with 343,831 in the previous 3-year period (FYs1989-1991). These persons came from more than 30 countries, with the largest number arriving from the republics of the former Soviet Union. In FY 1994, about 43,125 Soviet refugees arrived, down by about one-third from the peak year of FY 1992 (61,018), but far above the low of 743 refugee arrivals in FY 1986.

In FY1994, Vietnamese arrivals (including Amerasian immigrants) decreased to about 36,995 from 42,500 the year before. Also declining significantly were arrivals from Ethiopia whose nearly 297 arrivals in FY1994 were only one-tenth of the annual arrivals in the early 1990's. Similarly, Iranian arrivals in FY1994 (859) measured only one-eighth of the peak of 6,624 in FY1987.

Offsetting these declines are significant gains from other countries. From FYs1983-1991, Somalian, Sudanese, and Liberian arrivals together numbered 277. During the latest 3-year period (FYs1992-1994), refugees from these African nations soared to 11,555. Iraqi arrivals rose 13-fold to 13,000 from the previous 3-year period (FYs1989-1991). Arrivals from the republics of the former Yugoslavia rose to approximately 7,400 in FY1994, compared with only 3 in FY1992.

The largest increase in arrivals were recorded from the Caribbean region. Haitian arrivals, primarily entrants, soared to 17,500, compared with only 1 in the previous 3-year period (FYs1989-1991). Cuban arrivals, also primarily entrants, doubled to over 29,000 during the past 3 years (FYs1992-1994).

Because of these developments, the trend in refugee arrivals has been upward during the 3-year period from FYs1992-1994. However, the FY1994 arrivals of 126,475 are low compared with the peak year of 1980, when 166,727 refugees arrived. Table 4 illustrates the trends in admissions from different parts of the world from FYs1983-1995.

Refugees arriving in the United States are placed in all 50 States, the District of Columbia, and several territories. The placement process manages to spread the impact of refugees around the country. Refugees are generally not placed in a location that already has a high refugee population unless they have a close relative residing in the area. Because most recent refugees have been joining relatives who became established earlier, their distribution still does not parallel that of the overall U.S. population.

Table 5 shows the number of refugees and Amerasian immigrants resettled in each State during FY1994 and Table 6 shows the initial resettlement of Cuban and Haitian entrants from FYs1992-1995. From FYs1992-1994, California received 23 percent of all new arrivals, and New York ranked second with 18 percent. From FYs1989-1991, these two States received 28 percent and 17 percent of arrivals, respectively. Also in the earlier period, Florida received 5 percent of all arrivals. From FYs1992-1994, its numbers soared to almost 40,250, and its proportion doubled to 10 percent of all arrivals. Arrivals to Florida rose sharply again in FY1995 to more than 30,700, almost 23 percent of all arrivals to the United States.

The nationality composition of the refugee population arriving in each State varies considerably, depending, in part, on the residence patterns established by earlier refugees and immigrants. While most States have received a majority of Southeast Asians recently, some States have received mostly refugees from other countries. The example of the Cuban refugees in Florida is well known. New York, California, and Illinois receive many Soviet and Eastern European refugees; Michigan receives large numbers of refugees from Eastern Europe and the Near East, and several small States have received a predominance of refugees from one or two countries.

TABLE 4.—Refugee, Entrant, and Amerasian Arrivals by Country of Citizenship: FYs1983-1995

Country	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	83-95
Afghanistan	2,790	2,021	2,200	2,418	3,161	2,211	1,741	1,595	1,443	1,465	1,234	24	13	22,316
Albania	56	42	44	82	47	74	42	104	1,339	1,168	397	159	49	3,603
Bulgaria	137	129	125	151	108	149	105	345	563	102	23	26	6	1,969
Cambodia	13,041	19,727	19,175	9,845	1,786	2,897	2,162	2,328	179	162	61	15	6	71,384
Cuba	617	87	180	143	292	3,365	4,170	4,706	4,188	6,654	6,870	15,468	37,037	83,777
Czechoslovakia	1,227	822	948	1,427	1,031	661	910	331	153	16	1	3	0	7,530
Ethiopia	2,544	2,517	1,739	1,265	1,800	1,447	1,723	3,144	4,085	2,927	2,710	297	192	26,360
Haiti	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	10,440	1,945	5,043	2,551	19,984
Hungary	644	544	520	653	664	771	1,054	259	12	2	0	1	0	5,124
Iran	902	2,862	3,421	3,203	6,624	6,235	4,835	3,100	2,650	1,964	1,155	859	973	38,783
Iraq	1,583	161	232	305	196	40	103	66	822	3,375	4,560	4,930	3,475	19,848
Laos	2,907	7,218	5,195	12,313	13,394	14,597	12,560	8,715	9,232	7,285	6,945	6,211	3,682	110,254
Liberia	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	620	946	590	55	2,217
Libya	0	0	5	1	2	2	1	1	344	1	0	0	0	357
Nicaragua	0	0	0	0	36	201	341	634	194	18	60	13	13	1,510
Poland	5,508	4,300	2,822	3,577	3,406	3,308	3,576	1,629	371	165	52	43	23	28,780
Romania	3,741	4,293	4,456	2,588	2,999	2,833	3,276	4,071	4,533	1,510	230	81	32	34,643
Somalia	0	1	0	0	2	6	45	17	119	1,528	2,695	3,508	2,526	10,447
Sudan	4	0	3	0	2	1	6	59	6	126	253	1,289	1,694	3,443
USSR	1,371	730	647	793	3,458	20,020	39,387	49,742	38,496	61,018	48,354	43,125	35,509	342,650
Vietnam ¹	22,819	24,856	25,222	21,703	19,661	17,571	21,924	27,796	28,385	26,856	31,405	34,107	32,250	334,555
Amerasian ²	0	0	0	0	3	363	8,720	13,916	16,580	17,140	11,220	2,888	948	71,778
Yugoslavia	10	25	22	2	2	2	3	2	1	3	1,877	7,418	9,872	19,239
Zaire	11	31	30	11	9	7	20	70	39	63	199	83	115	688
Other ³	124	235	181	77	179	152	200	339	251	350	354	294	283	3,019
Total	60,036	70,601	67,167	60,557	58,862	76,921	106,906	122,939	113,986	144,958	123,546	126,475	131,304	1,264,258

¹ Refugees only; Amerasians and accompanying family members listed separately

² Thirteen Amerasians listed their country of citizenship as Cambodia in 1991, and another eight Amerasians listed their country of citizenship as Cambodia in 1992. All 21 were assigned to the category of Amerasian.

³ Includes countries with fewer than 100 arrivals in any year

TABLE 5.—Refugee, Entrant, and Amerasian Arrivals by Country of Citizenship and State of Initial Resettlement: FY1994

State	Amer. ¹	Vietnam	Laos	Cuba ²	Haiti ²	Iran	Iraq	Ethiopia	Liberia	Somalia	Sudan	USSR ³	Yugo. ⁴	Total
Alabama	54	35	0	3	63	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	8	194
Alaska	6	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	15	72
Arizona	117	336	0	127	53	12	146	3	0	36	4	157	281	1,284
Arkansas	0	95	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	106
California	358	13,611	3,140	386	79	496	866	80	9	845	91	6,950	638	27,629
Colorado	25	402	29	4	55	4	12	0	0	30	28	539	70	1,202
Conn.	62	190	0	63	106	0	34	2	0	0	2	508	98	1,091
Delaware	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	9	42
Dist. Col.	95	286	0	4	32	15	102	18	18	63	1	0	14	693
Florida	106	760	0	11,207	1,954	11	66	5	0	4	10	574	338	15,080
Georgia	164	1,875	11	49	9	8	39	6	29	308	20	485	336	3,349
Hawaii	14	265	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	283
Idaho	5	96	0	11	44	0	41	0	0	0	0	67	93	373
Illinois	74	580	5	45	53	14	401	13	10	50	24	2,180	932	4,456
Indiana	0	68	0	6	28	2	28	5	0	0	0	138	55	360
Iowa	74	342	3	0	9	0	41	2	0	11	157	34	246	932
Kansas	15	401	10	1	6	2	21	0	2	28	2	123	25	636
Kentucky	84	226	0	15	22	6	82	0	0	34	0	138	195	804
Louisiana	85	520	3	55	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	28	734
Maine	11	0	0	0	0	19	11	2	0	67	44	25	24	204
Maryland	35	400	0	30	135	15	33	2	82	67	30	948	54	1,837
Massach.	11	996	45	23	211	2	97	2	26	174	0	1,565	191	3,373
Michigan	64	368	208	9	153	26	978	0	19	29	0	693	248	2,822
Minnesota	17	550	1,060	12	37	0	21	19	59	140	15	593	107	2,656
Mississippi	0	50	0	8	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
Missouri	115	430	0	85	206	8	217	6	10	59	39	326	360	1,872
Montana	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	28	6	41
Nebraska	24	364	0	0	3	0	85	0	0	0	0	82	35	593
Nevada	0	23	0	346	0	0	6	5	0	12	31	4	39	469
New Hamp.	4	202	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	13	23	252
New Jersey	33	345	0	523	421	4	50	5	44	10	3	982	155	2,599
New Mexico	7	100	0	496	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	20	4	666
New York	128	618	1	241	409	107	207	9	60	137	111	18,080	927	21,139

TABLE 5.—Refugee, Entrant, and Amerasian Arrivals by Country of Citizenship and State of Initial Resettlement: FY1994 (continued)

State	Amer. ¹	Vietnam	Laos	Cuba ²	Haiti ²	Iran	Iraq	Ethiopia	Liberia	Somalia	Sudan	USSR ³	Yugo. ⁴	Total
N. Carolina	112	343	30	9	12	5	5	3	6	59	15	69	111	785
N. Dakota	41	28	0	0	61	0	69	0	0	2	14	35	124	375
Ohio	15	190	40	7	2	7	85	2	7	2	0	1,222	80	1,666
Oklahoma	13	359	0	2	0	2	5	0	12	0	0	0	7	409
Oregon	22	830	9	20	45	4	28	4	0	50	3	848	80	1,962
Penn.	107	475	8	89	215	2	232	19	67	38	12	2,073	221	3,570
R.I.	0	15	41	0	0	0	7	0	53	0	0	142	1	260
S. Carolina	9	113	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	37	9	177
S. Dakota	3	8	0	0	0	0	13	6	0	0	197	38	21	286
Tennessee	100	273	0	0	159	17	183	10	8	148	74	106	102	1,196
Texas	382	3,647	23	416	120	52	286	47	27	206	294	262	432	6,223
Utah	46	242	0	0	0	0	44	0	0	24	40	123	98	620
Vermont	64	73	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	10	110	275
Virginia	68	833	0	7	94	13	59	4	34	593	22	219	139	2,096
Wash.	110	2,084	106	33	134	4	262	18	0	247	6	2,255	263	5,547
W. Virginia	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	1	17
Wis.	1	22	1,438	3	0	0	0	0	0	35	0	361	58	1,921
Other ⁵	0	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	98
Total	2,888	34,110	6,211	14,434	4,974	859	4,930	297	590	3,508	1,289	43,140	7,418	125,391

¹ This tabulation includes infants born in the Refugee Processing Center in the Philippines who have been granted Amerasian status retroactively by legislation enacted November 5, 1990.

² Includes entrants

³ Includes refugees from the republics of the former Soviet Union, primarily from Russia

⁴ Includes refugees from the republics of the former Yugoslavia, primarily from Bosnia-Herzegovina

⁵ Includes territories and unknown States

TABLE 6.—Cuban and Haitian Entrant Arrivals by State of Initial Resettlement: FYs1992-1995 ¹

State	Cuba					Haiti				
	1992	1993	1994	1995	92-95	1992	1993	1994	1995	92-95
Alabama	0	1	4	49	54	18	0	0	9	27
Alaska	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona	29	12	117	280	438	1	0	1	7	9
Arkansas	0	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	0
California	137	78	263	613	1,091	218	0	2	1	221
Colorado	0	0	3	9	12	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	2	53	151	206	68	2	5	3	78
Delaware	0	0	0	2	2	9	3	0	0	12
District of Columbia	2	0	0	10	12	1	0	0	0	1
Florida	2,183	3,198	10,488	25,222	41,091	8,397	567	1,419	659	11,042
Georgia	5	2	39	152	198	40	0	0	0	40
Hawaii	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Idaho	1	3	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois	22	16	34	219	291	70	0	0	0	70
Indiana	3	0	6	6	15	3	0	0	0	3
Iowa	2	0	0	4	6	0	0	0	0	0
Kansas	0	2	1	8	11	1	0	0	0	1
Kentucky	4	1	12	151	168	10	0	0	3	13
Louisiana	2	7	53	164	226	47	0	1	4	52
Maine	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	2	0	5	109	116	63	6	5	16	90
Massachusetts	10	8	23	39	80	260	15	40	38	353
Michigan	6	10	9	140	165	15	0	0	27	42
Minnesota	0	0	1	18	19	0	1	0	0	1
Mississippi	0	0	8	13	21	0	0	1	11	12
Missouri	0	1	10	14	25	8	0	0	0	8

TABLE 6.—Cuban and Haitian Entrant Arrivals by State of Initial Resettlement: FYs1992-1995¹ (continued)

State	Cuba					Haiti				
	1992	1993	1994	1995	92-95	1992	1993	1994	1995	92-95
Montana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	70	87	298	362	817	18	1	0	0	19
New Hampshire	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	92	62	309	791	1,254	297	8	13	4	322
New Mexico	105	135	378	417	1,035	0	0	0	0	0
New York	38	48	184	718	988	590	70	74	29	763
North Carolina	6	0	4	17	27	13	0	0	0	13
North Dakota	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	3
Ohio	0	0	8	12	20	38	0	0	0	38
Oklahoma	0	1	2	10	13	0	0	0	0	0
Oregon	0	1	22	219	242	54	3	11	19	87
Pennsylvania	4	5	19	89	117	72	5	2	20	99
Rhode Island	0	0	0	3	3	11	0	0	0	11
South Carolina	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0
South Dakota	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	2	7	0	53	62	16	5	0	0	21
Texas	73	62	367	505	1,007	22	4	0	0	26
Utah	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vermont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	0	1	8	154	163	19	2	2	9	32
Washington	0	1	0	21	22	0	0	0	0	0
West Virginia	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	1	0	4	9	14	0	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown ²	10	21	48	150	229	4	1	1	0	6
Total	2,811	3,772	12,781	30,920	50,284	10,383	693	1,577	862	13,515

¹ Does not include Cuban and Haitian arrivals with refugee status

² Includes unknown States

Demographic Impact

Although refugees constitute a small portion of total immigration, to the extent that refugees differ from immigrants in their characteristics, their impact can be substantially different. Most refugee groups in recent years have been considerably younger than the resident population of the United States and younger than other immigrants as well. The median age of arriving Southeast Asian refugees has generally been between 16 and 24 years of age. Other recent refugee groups average from early to midtwenties, with the exception of Soviet refugees. The average age of refugees from the former Soviet Union has been in the early thirties.

A young refugee population has a disproportionate impact on certain institutions, such as local school systems. In areas where refugees settle in large numbers, many children from homes where English is not used enter the public school system. This enrollment creates a need for special teaching approaches and, where the numbers are particularly high, for extra classrooms and teachers. Many young refugee adults seek English language training in community colleges or similar programs, and Federal refugee social services grants often fund this type of training.

The youthfulness of the refugee population at time of arrival may actually facilitate their successful labor market incorporation. The contraction of the domestic supply of teenagers and young adults has made it possible for many local labor markets to accommodate growing numbers of young refugee workers. Evidence suggests that adjustment to a host labor market may also be easiest when it occurs early in one's working life.

At the other end of the age spectrum, the small number of elderly refugees means that this population currently makes few demands on major programs for retirees, such as Social Security and Medicare. While about 1 out of 8 Americans is currently aged 65 or older, only about 1 out of 14 arriving refugees is in that age group. By the time most of today's refugees are ready to retire, they will have contributed for years to the nation's Social Security, Medicare, and other pension systems.

Economic Impact

The economic impact of refugee arrivals depends on many factors, such as their work skills and English language ability, the labor markets in the areas in which they are resettled, and the availability of special programs to ease their transition into the U.S. labor force. Refugees settling in regions of low unemployment may find the labor market fairly receptive to their skills. However, some refugees settle in labor-surplus areas, such as California's Central Valley. In this case, their economic impact may not be positive.

In the short term, the primary question is if refugees are obtaining employment that enables them to become self-sufficient. ORR conducts an annual native-language survey of refugees, entrants, and Amerasian immigrants who have come to the United States during the 5 previous years. The most recently published survey, conducted in October 1994 includes interviews with 1,751 refugee households. Survey results reveal the following:

- Employment increases with length of residence in the United States.
- Use of public assistance varies widely among refugee households.

Results from the 1994 survey indicate that the employment-to-population ratio (EPR) of refugees 16 or older who have come to the United States during the 5 previous years was 35.4 percent, compared with an equivalent rate of 63.2 percent for the overall U.S. population. As in previous years, the EPR rose with length of residence in the United States. The survey reported an EPR of 28.3 percent for refugees in the United States equal to or less than 12 months and an EPR of 43.7 percent for refugees in the United States more than 4 years.

The 1994 survey also indicates that 30.5 percent of refugee households were self-supporting, although often at low income levels. About 12.7 percent of households were among the ranks of the working poor, having some earned income, but still qualifying for public assistance. Slightly more than one-third (34.4 percent) of

the refugee households had no earned income and depended entirely on public assistance. The remaining refugee households received neither assistance nor earned income in the month of the survey. Household receipt of public assistance reflects not only problems in finding employment, but also differences in need and ability. Assistance-only households are significantly larger than nonrecipient households (4.3 vs. 3.8 individuals) and also have fewer wage earners and fewer fluent English speakers than such households. Of the sampled households with no earned income, 59.9 percent had at least one child under 16 years of age.

Refugees often are responsible for improving economic conditions in communities where they settle. Miami's economic rebirth is usually credited to the Cuban refugees who arrived beginning in the early 1960's. More recently, the Vietnamese refugees who began arriving in 1975 have revitalized commercial neighborhoods in many cities by establishing restaurants, specialty shops, and other businesses. Precise measures of the economic contributions of refugees are not available.

Geographic Distribution

Just as arriving immigrants in past years tended to concentrate and form ethnic communities in certain areas, so have recent refugees. About three-quarters of all Southeast Asian refugees since 1975 have resettled in just 10 States. Thirty percent reside in California alone. The size of current refugee communities will continue to grow with admission of additional family members because of reunification cases.

The more than 767,000 refugees from areas outside Southeast Asia who have arrived since 1975 have resettlement patterns more spread out than the Indochinese. This trend has tended to diffuse the impact of refugee arrivals upon local communities. Large numbers of the non-Indochinese refugees have resettled in cities in the Northeast and the Midwest. Of the non-Indochinese refugees who arrived from FYs1975-1994, New York received the largest number, about 145,000, with California in second place with around 124,000, and Florida third with about 58,000.

The ethnic composition of States' refugee populations varies widely. Sixty-one percent of the arrivals since 1975 have been Indochinese. Nine States resettled a population of more than 90 percent Indochinese, while only four States resettled a refugee population composed of more than 50 percent non-Indochinese. New York had the highest proportion of non-Indochinese refugee arrivals (77 percent), followed by Florida (69 percent), New Jersey (58 percent), and Maryland (53 percent).

As the ethnic composition of the arriving refugee population shifts in response to new needs, so will the geographic placement patterns of these new arrivals. During FYs1992-1994, 36.5 percent of arrivals were Southeast Asian, compared with 44 percent from FYs1989-1991 and 65 percent during the previous 5 years. The increase in refugees from Cuba, Haiti, Iraq, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, and the former Soviet Union has been especially strong. If this trend continues, States that already have concentrations of refugees from those areas should expect increases in their share of total arrivals.

The impact of refugees should be placed in the context of total legal immigration. Nationwide in FY1987, there were 10 persons admitted as immigrants for every 1 person newly arriving as a refugee. Since FY1987, refugee admissions have risen sharply, from 58,862 in FY1987 to 126,475 in FY1994. Legal immigration has also risen, so that the proportion of legal immigrants to refugees throughout this period was seven or eight to one, excluding persons legalized under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. California and New York, the top two refugee resettlement States, are also the top two States of destination for immigrants. Refugees are most likely to have a notable impact when States of small or medium size become a favored resettlement site for a particular refugee group, as in the case of Laotian Hmong refugees in Wisconsin.

Local Impact

The effects that refugees may have on the localities in which they resettle depend not only on numbers, employment, and culture but also on the characteristics of the receiving communities. Likewise the perception as to whether refugees are having positive or negative, limited or major effects on the localities is conditioned by the perspectives of those affected. At the arrival levels that have prevailed in recent years, the growth of most refugee communities is slow compared with the overall size of those communities, and the impact of the new arrivals may not be discernible. ORR sponsored an examination of the issue of refugee impact in the early 1980's (Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement at the Local Level: The Role of the Ethnic Community and the Nature of Refugee Impact). This study focused on the period around 1980 when the flow of refugees from Southeast Asia was at its peak. However, its insights can be generalized to other refugee situations and, with care, to many other immigrant communities as well.

The analysis suggests a distinction between the actual effects that refugees have on the localities in which they settle and the public perceptions of their perceived impact. The study indicates that refugees do have important effects, some positive and some negative, some short term and some long term. These effects must be analyzed separately in areas such as education, housing, employment, and community services.

However, the public perception that refugees have a negative impact does not necessarily correspond to their actual effects. In analyzing refugee ethnic communities, the study notes both their role in providing very concrete and tangible support to refugees and perhaps their more important role in providing the kinds of intangible social, cultural, emotional, and even political support to their members that is virtually unavailable from other sources. The precise structure of these ethnic communities varies among the different ethnic groups, among the study's sites, and over time. The study concludes that economic development is also a key element in the general strength of the ethnic community.

Office of Community Services

Community Services Block Grant Program

Program Summary

CSBGs are awarded to States which, in turn, provide grants and contracts to a network of public and private community based organizations (including Community Action Agencies and migrant and seasonal farm-worker organizations) to provide services and undertake activities to ameliorate the causes and conditions of poverty in local communities. CSBG funds also are made available to Indian Tribes who apply directly to the Office of Community Services (OCS). In FY1994, \$397 million was appropriated to carry out the purposes of the CSBG program.

Recipients of CSBG funds are required to provide a range of services and activities to address the following needs: employment, education, making better use of available income, housing, nutrition, emergency services, and health. States and Indian Tribes have the flexibility to provide, consistent with the statute, such services and activities that they determine best meet the needs of low-income individuals and families.

Impact of Immigration on CSBG Program

Federal data regarding which immigrants can, and do, access CSBG programs are unavailable. There has been no statutory or regulatory requirement to collect such information either on the part of OCS or the States or tribes receiving CSBG funds. Because the CSBG budget is not calculated based on the number of individuals served, there is no impact directly attributable to immigrant or citizen use.

Discretionary Grants Program

Program Summary

In FY1994, the CSBG Discretionary Grants program provided \$50.6 million in assistance to programs of national and regional significance. Assistance is available on a competitive basis to the following entities: private, locally initiated community development corporations that sponsor enterprises providing

employment, training, and business development opportunities for low-income residents; public and private nonprofit agencies that provide activities benefiting migrants and seasonal farmworkers; public and private organizations that carry out programs in rural housing and community facilities development; and private, nonprofit organizations that provide recreational activities for low-income youth.

Impact of Immigration on Discretionary Grants Program

Funding is provided for the development of projects to aid low-income individuals in general and does not focus on any particular needy population, such as immigrants or refugees. Eligible organizations representing such groups must compete with all other applicants for funding. Immigrants and refugees probably receive services from projects funded under the Discretionary Grants Program, particularly from projects directed toward serving migrants and seasonal farmworkers, but there are no data available indicating the number and location of such users. There are no restrictions on serving immigrants in projects funded under this program.

Community Food and Nutrition Program

Program Summary

The Community Food and Nutrition Program in FY1994 provided \$7.9 million in assistance to public and private agencies at the community-based, State, and national levels for the purposes of coordinating existing food assistance resources; assisting in identifying sponsors of child nutrition programs and initiating new programs in underserved and unserved areas; and developing innovative approaches at the State and local levels to meet the nutritional needs of low-income people. Funding for this program is provided on a competitive basis as well as distributed to States on a formula basis.

Impact of Immigration on Community Food and Nutrition Program

The impact of immigration on this program is similar to that of the Discretionary Grants Program. While there are no data available on the extent to which this program serves immigrants; it is reasonable to assume that immigrants who are served by this program benefit to the same extent as citizens who also are served.

Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP)

Program Summary

LIHEAP helps low-income people meet the costs of heating and cooling their homes. In FY1994, \$1.4 billion was appropriated for the regular program, and an additional \$300 million in contingency funds was released to meet energy emergency need. Recipients of funding in FY1994 were the States, the District of Columbia, Indian Tribes and tribal organizations, and U.S. territories.

Impact of Immigration on LIHEAP

There is no Federal information on the extent to which immigrants can, and do, access LIHEAP. The LIHEAP statute does not specify immigrants as a target group for assistance. Also, because the budget for LIHEAP is not determined by the number of persons who access its services, there is no effect on its budgetary total attributable to immigrant access.

Social Services Block Grant

Program Summary

SSBG (Title XX of the Social Security Act) is the major source of Federal funding for social services programs in the States. SSBG provides formula grants directly to the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and eligible territories and commonwealths.

Under SSBG, Federal funds are available without a matching requirement. In FY1994, States received a total allotment of \$2.8 billion. Within the specific limitations in the law, each State has the flexibility to determine what services will be provided, who is eligible to receive services, and how funds are distributed among the

various services offered. State and local Title XX agencies (that is, county, city and regional offices) may provide these services directly or purchase them from qualified agencies and individuals.

Also, in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993, Congress amended Title XX of the Social Security Act to provide a one-time set-aside amount of grant funds totaling \$1 billion for localities designated as Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC). EZ/EC SSBG funds are separate and distinct from the regular Title XX Social Services Block Grant in both the flexible program uses for the funds and the decision-making authority for determining those uses.

Specifically, Title XX was amended to permit a greatly expanded range of programmatic activities that can be financed with EZ/EC SSBG monies, as opposed to the more limited options for regular SSBG funds, including economic and community development and infrastructure projects. Furthermore, all decision-making authority for using EZ/EC SSBG funds to finance particular activities is vested in the local EZ/EC lead entity and community-based governance process, as opposed to the State under the regular Title XX Social Services Block Grant; in the EZ/EC program, the State primarily functions as a “pass-through” funding conduit for the EZ/EC SSBG award.

EZ/EC SSBG funds were provided to 6 urban and 3 rural Empowerment Zones and 95 Enterprise Communities to assist those localities in addressing their specific needs. Among the programs that the EZ/ECs identified as relevant to their communities are: programs to train and employ zone residents in the construction and rehabilitation of public infrastructure and affordable housing; after-school programs to keep schools open during the evenings and on weekends; and drug and alcohol prevention and treatment programs that provide comprehensive services for pregnant women, mothers, and their children.

Impact of Immigration on SSBG Programs

Each State must submit a preexpenditure report to the Secretary of HHS on the intended use of SSBG funds. The only requirement in the statute is that the report include information regarding the type of activities to be funded and the characteristics of the individuals to be served. While there is no specific information available in these reports on the social services provided to immigrants and refugees, a State has the flexibility to offer the same services under SSBG to these groups that are available to other residents of the State. With the enactment of PRWORA, States have the option to deny SSBG assistance to legal immigrants beginning January 1, 1997. Because the budgets for SSBG programs are not based on the number of individuals that use their services, immigrant use has no effect on the budget outlays.

Although many of the 104 EZ/EC localities receiving EZ/EC SSBG funds may include immigrant populations, the size and configuration of those designated areas prohibits a valid assessment of that population and the services they currently may be receiving. It is unclear if EZ/EC SSBG funds, with their unique characteristics distinct from regular SSBG monies, will be affected directly by PRWORA.

Head Start

Program Summary

Head Start is a national program that provides comprehensive educational, medical, health, nutritional, social, and other services to primarily low-income preschool children and their families. In FY1994, about 740,000 children received Head Start services. Up to 10 percent of Head Start’s enrollment may be reserved for preschool children from families above the Federal poverty level (FPL). Also 10 percent of enrollment must be reserved for preschool children with disabilities (currently, about 13 percent of Head Start’s national enrollment are children with disabilities). In addition, Head Start funds programs for Indian and migrant children. While these programs generally serve children from ages 3 or 4 to the age of compulsory school attendance, some are authorized to serve children from birth onward. In FY1994, there were 1,405 Head Start grantees and approximately 600 delegate agencies in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and eligible territories and commonwealths.

Impact of Immigration on the Head Start Program

There are no data on the number of immigrants being served by the Head Start program. As far as the budget is concerned, because Head Start's budget is not based on the number of children and families served, immigrant access to this program does not affect it.

Office of Family Assistance

Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC)

As indicated before, AFDC is being replaced by TANF with the enactment of PRWORA on August 22, 1996.

Program Summary

The AFDC program (Title IV-A of the Social Security Act) is a federally funded program administered by States and certain territories. In the AFDC program, States make assistance payments to needy families with dependent children deprived of parental support or care because of a parent's absence, death, incapacity, or the unemployment of a parent who is the principal earner.

To become eligible for AFDC payments, the individual must be a citizen or lawfully admitted for permanent residence or otherwise permanently residing in the United States under color of law. However, provisions included in IRCA disqualified newly legalized immigrants from participation in the AFDC program for a period of 5 years from the date of receipt of their legalized status; the only exceptions to this disqualification are Cuban and Haitian entrants.

A sponsored alien, not otherwise disqualified under IRCA, who applies for AFDC within 3 years of his or her entry into the United States will be evaluated by having the sponsor's income and resources deemed available to the alien according to a prescribed formula for a period not to exceed 3 years from the alien applicant's date of entry.

In FY1994, total State and Federal expenditures for the AFDC program were \$26.2 billion.

Impact of Immigration on AFDC

Table 7 shows the AFDC reciprocity rates for legal immigrants from 1990-1994, not including recipients of emergency assistance.² According to this table, the legal immigrant proportion of all AFDC recipients has remained relatively modest, between 4 and 6 percent of the total AFDC population. There has been an increase from 1990-1994, from 4.2 percent to 5.8 percent, with most of the increase occurring from 1992-1994 and attributable primarily to increased use by refugees and legal immigrants legalized under IRCA who began to be eligible for AFDC around 1992.

TABLE 7.—AFDC Reciprocity Rates for Legal Immigrants

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
# of Legal Immigrant (L.I.) Recipients	484,917	544,211	634,233	722,814	823,318
# of All AFDC Recipients	11,518,748	12,657,236	13,596,518	14,045,207	14,246,450
% of L.I. AFDC Recipients	4.2	4.3	4.7	5.1	5.8

¹ These figures are based on the AFDC Quality Control File, a sample of State administrative data that was used to study the trends in immigrant usage of AFDC. Quality Control data is drawn from monthly samples provided by each State and is used to determine errors in payments to recipients. Some potential problems with the AFDC Quality Control data include an insufficient number of sample immigrant cases in some States and problems relating to the proper coding of citizenship status in some States.

In addition, according to the aforementioned GAO report, most AFDC households that included legal immigrants also contained citizen recipients. Moreover, the report confirms that nearly one-third of immigrants receiving AFDC are refugees.

Emergency Assistance (EA)

Program Summary

EA is a State-administered optional program that provides temporary financial assistance and services to needy families with children to prevent destitution and provide shelter. The Federal Government shares 50 percent of the costs of these benefits with the States. If a State elects to operate an EA program, it must provide assistance to any family member, otherwise eligible for AFDC, including one who is a citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence or otherwise residing in the United States under color of law. States also have the option to provide EA to undocumented immigrants.

States have flexibility in defining what constitutes an emergency and the type and amount of assistance that they will provide. Assistance may be in the form of cash, services, or items a family needs, such as food, clothing, and furniture. Federal matching funds are available only for emergency assistance that the State authorizes during one 30-day period in any 12 consecutive months. Funds may be available to meet needs that arose before the 30-day period or that extend beyond the 30-day period.

In FY1994, total Federal/State expenditures for the EA program were approximately \$1.56 billion.

Impact of Immigration on EA Program

There is no Federal information available on the impact of immigration on the EA program.

Office of Child Support Enforcement

Program Summary

Established in 1975, the Child Support Enforcement (CSE) program is a joint Federal and State effort (Title IV-D of the Social Security Act). Its goals are to ensure that children are supported financially by their parents, to foster family responsibility, and to reduce welfare costs.

Impact of Immigration on CSE Program

Data on immigrants' use of CSE services are not available. CSE cases fall into four categories: AFDC, non-AFDC, Medicaid only, and foster care. There are no restrictions or limitations on use of services by immigrants. However, it is known that in FY1994, approximately 5.8 percent of AFDC recipients were non-U.S. citizens. It can be projected that the AFDC portion of the CSE caseload probably has a similar percentage of non-U.S. citizens.

Administration of Developmental Disabilities (ADD)

Program Summary

ADD administers the programs authorized under the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act, as amended. The goal of these programs is to ensure that individuals with developmental disabilities and their families participate in the design of and access to, culturally competent services, supports, and other assistance and opportunities that promote independence, productivity, integration, and inclusion into the community. The ADD programs work in partnership with individuals with developmental disabilities and their families, State governments, local communities, and the private sector to address such issues as prevention, diagnosis, early intervention, therapy, education, training, employment, leisure opportunities, and community and institutional living.

Many services supported by ADD and provided by State and local communities are available to immigrants and refugees with disabilities and their families. The ADD program comprises the following four programs:

- State Developmental Disabilities Councils, which promote capacity building and advocacy, the development of a consumer- and family-centered comprehensive system, and a coordinated array of supports, and other assistance designed to help people with developmental disabilities.
- The Protection and Advocacy (P&A) program, which provides for the protection and advocacy of legal and human rights through formula grants to States.
- University Affiliated Programs (UAP), which provide interdisciplinary training, exemplary service, technical assistance, and information dissemination activities through a grant program.
- Projects of National Significance (PNS) are awards to innovative public or private nonprofit institutions that seek to enhance the independence, productivity, integration, and inclusion into the community of people with developmental disabilities. Monies also support the development of national and State policy.

Impact of Immigration on ADD

The impact of immigration on local ADD-supported programs is unknown and difficult to assess, because eligibility for ADD-related programs is not based on immigration status. However, it is reasonable to assume that some immigrants benefit from ADD programs and services. Because the budgets for ADD's programs are not calculated based on the number of individuals served, immigrant use has no effect on the total budget.

Public Health Service

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA)

Agency Summary

SAMHSA (1992-1994) and its predecessor, the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA) (1988-1991), administers several programs that might be affected by immigration into the United States: the Refugee Mental Health Program; two SAMHSA-administered block grants established in 1992 and their ADAMHA-administered precursor; a program providing assistance to homeless individuals with serious mental illness; a program providing comprehensive community-based services for children with serious emotional disturbance; a program providing protection and advocacy for individuals with serious mental illness; a program that provides assistance to communities in developing resources to prevent substance abuse; and several demonstration programs. Descriptions of these programs are included in Appendix A, Additional Information on SAMHSA Programs.

Refugee Mental Health Program

Program Summary

From 1988-1991, ADAMHA supported between 110 and 150 beds at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, DC, which were allocated for mental health assessment and treatment of Cuban refugees and other persons from abroad. ADAMHA also had cooperative agreements that provided a range of 132 to 152 beds for community mental health care in halfway house settings. The Department of Justice provided funding ranging between \$12 million to \$14 million annually for this program. In October 1992, in conjunction with the reorganization of ADAMHA, the activities of the Refugee Mental Health Program were transferred to the Refugee Mental Health Branch, Center for Mental Health Services (CMHS), SAMHSA. In addition to the Cuban/Haitian activities, the Branch develops other consultative activities with Federal agencies, in particular

ORR. These activities are supported by ORR, through an interagency agreement that transferred funds to CMHS for support of these activities.³

Impact of Immigration on the Refugee Mental Health Program

Immigration policies that potentially affect mass migrations or repatriations (for example, from Cuba or Haiti) have a significant impact on the Refugee Mental Health Program's service delivery systems.

Block Grants

Program Summaries

The Community Mental Health Services block grant provides funds to the States and territories to enable them to carry out the States' plans for providing comprehensive community mental health services to adults with serious mental illness and to children with a serious emotional disturbance; evaluate programs and services carried out under the plan; and conduct planning, administration, and educational activities related to providing services under the plan.

The Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) block grant provides funds directly to States to provide substance abuse prevention and treatment services based on State needs assessments and State plans.

Before the establishment of SAMHSA in 1992, ADAMHA administered the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Services (ADMS) block grant, which provided financial assistance to States and territories to support programs and activities involving the prevention and treatment of alcohol and drug abuse; and to support community mental health centers for the provision of services for individuals with mental illness and children and adolescents with serious emotional disturbance.

Impact of Immigration on Block Grant Programs

Because the funding mechanisms for the SAMHSA and ADAMHA block grants are primarily based on population-driven formulas for determining State allotments, a significant increase in a State's population caused by immigration would require an increase in the State's allotment. Other States' allotments would decrease correspondingly. However, receipt of services from these programs has not been dependent on citizenship or immigrant status, and there is no information available regarding the immigrants' use of these services.

Assistance to Homeless Individuals With Mental Illness

Program Summary

SAMHSA (and from 1988-1991, ADAMHA) supports a program to assist homeless persons with severe mental illness, initially through the Mental Health Services to the Homeless (MHS) block grant, and then through the Projects for Assistance in Transition from Homelessness (PATH) formula grant program. Both the MHS block grant and the PATH program have provided outreach and mental health treatment programs to homeless persons with serious mental illness and, under the PATH program, to those individuals at risk of homelessness.

² In September 1995, the Cuban/Haitian activities of the Refugee Mental Health Branch were transferred to the Department of Justice. At the same time, the consultative activities, funded by ORR, were transferred to the Special Programs Development Branch, CMHS, and SAMHSA. Since September 1995, Special Programs Development Branch staff, through an interagency agreement with ORR, provide consultation and technical assistance, to Federal, State, and local agencies, and ORR-funded programs, on refugee mental health. These activities include onsite and phone consultation on program development and implementation; development and dissemination of technical assistance documents; and development and provision of workshops and training to resettlement and mental health agency staff.

Impact of Immigration on Assistance to Homeless Individuals with Mental Illness Program

Eligibility for this program has not been dependent on citizenship or immigrant status. Therefore, no information is available regarding the immigrants' use of these services.

Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services for Children and Their Families Program

Program Summary

The Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services for Children and Their Families program was authorized in 1992 in the ADAMHA Reorganization Act to provide grants to States, political subdivisions, Native American reservations, and tribal organizations for provision of an array of community-based services organized into a system of care for children with serious emotional, behavioral, or mental disorders, and their families.

Impact of Immigration on Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services for Children and Their Families Program

Eligibility for this program's services is not conditional based on immigrant status. There is no information available regarding the immigrants' use of these services.

Protection and Advocacy for Individuals With Mental Illness (PAIMI)

Program Summary

The PAIMI Act of 1986 authorizes formula grant allotments to be awarded to P&A systems that have been designated by the Governor in each State to protect the rights of and advocate for individuals with disabilities. The allotments are to be used to pursue administrative, legal, and other appropriate remedies to redress complaints of abuse, neglect, and rights violations and to protect and advocate the rights of individuals with mental illness through activities to ensure the enforcement of the Constitution and Federal and State statutes.

Impact of Immigration on PAIMI

Receipt of services from this program has not been dependent on citizenship or immigrant status, and information is not available regarding the immigrants' use of these services.

Demonstration Grant Programs

Program Summaries

The Community Partnership program, initiated in 1990, heralds a new approach for substance abuse prevention in the Nation. The program is predicated on the concept that empowered communities can marshal their resources to solve their own problems, such as substance abuse, violence, the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), drunk driving, school failure, and delinquency. Community Partnership grants permit representatives from government, business, health, religion, academia, schools, criminal justice, and other individuals to join together to assess, design, and implement communitywide prevention efforts.

SAMHSA, and its predecessor ADAMHA, supports several additional demonstration programs designed to expand services and knowledge concerning effective delivery of substance abuse and mental health services in distinct settings and to distinct groups of individuals with addictive and mental disorders. These programs have included the Capacity Expansion, Target Cities, Critical Populations, Criminal Justice, Treatment Campus, HIV/AIDS Outreach, Women and Children, and National Capital Area Demonstration and the DC Initiatives programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Substance Abuse Treatment; the High Risk Youth and Pregnant and Postpartum Women and Infants programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Substance Abuse Prevention; and the Access to Community Care and Effective Services and Support and Community Support; and AIDS demonstration programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Mental Health Services.

Impact of Immigration on Demonstration Programs

Eligibility for services from SAMHSA's demonstration programs are not conditional based on citizenship or immigrant status. Consequently, there is no information available regarding the immigrants' use of these services. However, because the programs' budgets are not determined by the number of persons accessing their services, immigrant access would not affect the total budget.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)

Agency Summary

The mission of CDC is to prevent unnecessary illness and premature death. CDC strives to achieve national prevention objectives by accomplishing the following:

- Conducting surveillance, epidemiological investigation, and laboratory research.
- Serving as national and international reference laboratories.
- Providing assistance, including grants, to State and local health departments.
- Disseminating findings through partners in academic institutions, medical care settings, and business and labor groups.

Services funded by CDC and provided by State and local health departments are available to immigrants and refugees. For example, CDC's Preventive Health and Health Services block grant is designed to give States flexibility to fund priority prevention programs tailored to specific needs. This block grant funds a wide variety of preventive health services. CDC also funds State-level activities in immunization, tuberculosis control, sexually transmitted disease prevention and control, HIV/AIDS prevention and education, health education, and health promotion. In addition, CDC manages a national program for control of infectious diseases. Through the Refugee Health Assessment Program, CDC grant funds are used to supplement local, State, and other Federal resources for providing initial health screening for infectious disease and referral services to refugees.

Impact of Immigration on CDC Programs

The impact of immigration on local preventive health services supported by CDC grant funds is unknown and difficult to assess. Eligibility for CDC-supported services is not based on immigration status, and national data on the immigration status of recipients is not maintained. However, it is reasonable to assume that immigrants benefit from CDC services. Therefore, changes in immigration and program eligibility could affect the local operation of CDC programs substantially, particularly in communities with high concentrations of immigrants. These programs are not based on the number of individuals served; therefore, immigrant use has no effect on the budget totals.

Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA)

Agency Summary

The programs administered by HRSA are designed to improve the health of the Nation by accomplishing the following:

- Ensuring that quality health care is available to underserved and vulnerable populations.
- Promoting primary care education and practice.

HRSA, in providing national leadership in health care and public health, works to ensure that health care is available, independent of cultural and linguistic factors or economic circumstances. The diversity of programs supported by HRSA reflects this philosophy and unity of purpose.

HRSA administers preventive and primary health care programs, which address the needs of disadvantaged and underserved populations. These programs include the following:

- Community and Migrant Health Centers.

- Maternal and Child Health Care services, including pediatric emergency medical services.
- Health services for the homeless and residents of public housing.
- Ryan White grants for the provision of HIV/AIDS services.

Program descriptions for these programs are in Appendix B, Additional Information on HRSA Programs.

Impact of Immigration on HRSA Programs

Because HRSA supports programs located in areas most accessible to underserved and disadvantaged populations, it can be assumed that these programs serve immigrants, particularly the Community and Migrant Health Centers. However, data that are collected on recipients do not identify which of the recipients are immigrants.

Approximately 600 Community and Migrant Health Centers across the United States provide primary health care for more than 6 million persons with a culturally sensitive, family-oriented focus. Appropriated funds for the community health centers in FY1994 was \$603.7 million; for the migrant health centers the amount was \$59.0 million. Among services that may specifically benefit immigrants are the provision of the following:

- Medical documents that may serve as proof of residence in the United States.
- Physician examinations in connection with immigration and refugee processes requiring follow-up care when medical problems have been identified.

Because the budgets for HRSA programs are not based on the number of persons served, immigrant access to these programs has no effect on the total budget.

Administration On Aging (AoA)

Agency Summary

There are 44 million people in America age 60 or older. Some of these older individuals are at risk of losing their independence, including 4 million people over age 85, those living alone without a caregiver, members of minority groups, older persons with physical or mental impairments, low-income older persons, and those who are abused, neglected, or exploited.

AoA was established by the Older Americans Act of 1965 to meet the diverse needs of the growing number of older people. AoA is the Federal focal point and advocacy agency for older persons. It works closely with its nationwide network of regional offices, State units on aging, area agencies on aging, and tribal organizations to plan, coordinate, and develop community-level systems of services designed to meet the unique needs of older persons and their caregivers. It funds supportive in-home and community services, including access services (for example, information and referral, transportation, and case management), in-home services (for example, home repair, home-delivered meals, personal care, homemaker-home health aide), community services (for example, senior centers, congregate meals, day care, nursing home ombudsmen, health promotion, etc.), and care-giver services (for example, respite, counseling, and education).

Impact of Immigration on the AoA

The effect of immigration on local AoA supported services is unknown and difficult to assess because AoA programs do not collect information on immigration status. However, it is reasonable to assume that immigrants benefit from AoA programs and services, particularly in communities with high concentrations of older immigrants. As for the budget, immigrant use of AoA programs would not affect the total budget because it is not calculated based on the number of persons accessing those programs.

Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA)

Medicaid

Program Summary

The Medicaid program is a Federal- and State-financed entitlement program that purchases medical assistance for certain low-income families and persons who are aged, blind, or have disability. In FY1994, 35.1 million individuals were enrolled in the program, and Medicaid benefits (Federal portion) totaled \$78.8 billion.

Table 8 shows the following categories of recipients that make up the 35.1 million Medicaid enrollees in FY1994.

TABLE 8.—Medicaid Enrollees, FY1994

	# (millions)	%
Total	35.1	100.0
Aged	4.0	11.4
Blind/Disabled	5.6	16.0
AFDC-Children	16.9	48.1
AFDC-Adults	7.7	21.9
Other	0.8	2.3

Impact of Immigration on the Medicaid Program

Generally, Title XIX of the Social Security Act permits full Medicaid eligibility to the following groups of immigrants: lawful permanent residents and persons permanently residing in the United States under color of law. Immigrants not listed above include: immigrants lawfully admitted for a temporary period, such as students and visitors; persons who entered the country legally whose visas have expired; and persons who have entered the country illegally, who have not been apprehended by the INS and have no immigration status of any kind. These undocumented immigrants are eligible for emergency services only under Medicaid, if all other requirements for Medicaid eligibility are met. Emergency services include any emergency medical condition that puts the immigrants' health in serious jeopardy (including labor and delivery).

Because HCFA does not require States to submit data on the percentage of alien Medicaid recipients and States have not voluntarily reported such information, it is difficult to determine how many of these are legal or illegal immigrants. However, it is assumed that under the AFDC-based eligibility categories, participation by immigrants may have been similar to the 5.8 percent welfare reciprocity rate in 1994 (disclosed earlier in this report).

Medicare

Program Summary

The Medicare program is a Federal health insurance program for most people age 65 or older and certain people with disabilities. The Medicare program has two parts; Hospital Insurance (Part A) and Supplemental Medical Insurance (Part B). Generally, most people age 65 and older have access to Medicare Part A benefits, based on their own or their spouse's employment, without having to pay a premium. Medicare Part A is "premium-free" for individuals who meet the age requirement and for whom any of the following three statements is true:

- They receive benefits under the Social Security or Railroad Retirement system.
- They could receive benefits under the Social Security or Railroad Retirement system but have not filed for them.

- The individual or their spouse had Medicare-covered government employment.

Individuals under 65 years of age also can get premium-free Medicare Part A benefits if they have been a disabled beneficiary under Social Security or the Railroad Retirement Board for more than 24 months. For example, an individual who receives Social Security disability insurance (SSDI) benefits for more than 24 months automatically becomes eligible for Medicare. To the extent that welfare reform changes the SSI eligibility criteria for immigrants, such changes consequently will affect disabled immigrant access to Medicare.

Part B benefits are available to almost all resident citizens 65 years of age or over; to certain aliens 65 years of age or over (even those who are not entitled to Part A); and to disabled beneficiaries entitled to Medicare Part A. Most Medicare Part B enrollees are eligible for Part B because they are eligible for premium-free Medicare Part A benefits based on the work described previously. All Medicare Part B enrollees pay premiums; presently this amount is 25 percent of the cost of the Medicare benefit.

Table 9 shows the number of individuals enrolled in Medicare on July 1, 1994, and Benefit Payments made during FY1994.

TABLE 9.—Medicare Enrollees (Millions) and Benefit Payments (\$ in Billions)

	Medicare Enrollees, July 1, 1994	Benefit Payments, FY1994
Hospital Insurance (Part A)	36.5	\$101.3
Aged	32.4	89.6
Disabled	4.1	11.7
Supplemental Medical Insurance (Part B)	35.2 ¹	58.0
Aged	31.4	50.2
Disabled	3.7	7.8

¹Numbers do not sum to total because of rounding.

Impact of Immigration on the Medicare Program

Legal immigrants and citizens who are not otherwise eligible may opt to buy in to the Medicare program if they meet certain eligibility criteria. They must be over age 65 and must meet a 5-year U.S. residency requirement before becoming eligible to purchase Medicare Part B. While eligibility for Part A benefits is not explicitly conditioned on such a requirement, purchasers of Part A must be eligible for Part B, effectively requiring all individuals who exercise this option to meet the 5-year residency requirement for both Parts A and B.

The Medicare buy-in option is one way immigrants may enroll in Medicare. While data on the number of immigrants who have used this option are not available, there is general information on the number of individuals who have bought into Medicare and the proportion of that group to the total Medicare population. In 1994, less than 1 percent of all Medicare Part A enrollees (approximately 334,000 persons) paid a premium for this coverage. While this percentage is small, it still represents twice as many people who paid premiums in 1990 (approximately 166,000 individuals).

Other than this residency requirement, Medicare does not have any special eligibility requirements for noncitizens or nonresidents. Any individual, meeting the residency requirement, may enroll in Medicare if he or she meets the enrollment requirements related primarily to age and contributions or may purchase it if contributions are not sufficient. In addition, because immigrants are younger than the general population and generally attached to the workforce, new immigrants represent a positive contribution to the Medicare Trust Funds and help support the system.

Social Security Administration

Social Security Retirement, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (RSDI)

Program Summary

The RSDI program is designed to partially replace the income that is lost by a worker and/or his or her family when the worker retires in old age, becomes severely disabled before retirement age, or dies. About 97 percent of the jobs in paid employment and all self-employment are covered under Social Security.

The RSDI program generally treats aliens the same as U.S. citizens. There are two exceptions, as follows:

- Under the alien nonpayment provision, a beneficiary who is not a citizen or national of the United States and has been outside the United States for 6 consecutive calendar months may not be paid benefits beginning with the seventh month of absence. Benefits resume when the beneficiary returns to the United States and remains for 1 full calendar month. Certain exceptions in the law to this general rule allow many aliens to receive their benefits outside the United States without interruption. These exceptions are based, for the most part, on the citizenship of the individual.
- Entitled aliens who are deported for certain reasons under INA may not be paid benefits. Benefits may again be payable if the deported alien is subsequently admitted for permanent residence by the INS.

TABLE 10.—Aliens not Paid RSDI Benefits Under Nonpayment Provisions,
By Selected Month

Month	Nonpayment After 6-Month Absence	Nonpayment Due to Disportation
December 1989	10,157	635
December 1990	11,006	778
March 1991	11,570	776
March 1992	13,103	762
March 1995	16,689	951

Note: Figures are not available for 1993 or 1994.

Some aliens enter the United States illegally. Others enter legally but lose their status because they remain in the United States beyond the period of their authorized stay. Many of these aliens work in the United States long enough to become insured for RSDI benefits.

For claims filed before December 1, 1996, individuals in the United States meeting RSDI eligibility requirements are paid benefits without regard to citizenship or alien status. However, effective with applications filed December 1, 1996, or later, an alien must be lawfully present in the United States, as defined by the Attorney General, to receive RSDI benefits in the United States.

Impact of Immigration on RSDI Program

No Federal information on the impact of immigration is available.

Enumeration Process (Issuing Social Security Numbers)

The nine-digit Social Security number (SSN) was originally intended only to keep track of the earnings of people who worked in jobs covered under the Social Security program. By the early 1970's the use of the number expanded as the government and private sector increasingly used it as a multipurpose identifier. Because of the fraud and widespread use of the SSN and the SSN card, Congress enacted legislation requiring all applicants for SSNs to provide evidence to establish age, identity, and citizenship or alien status.

An individual, whether citizen or alien, needs an SSN to obtain a job, pay taxes, or receive benefits under many government benefit programs. SSA issues SSN cards to those aliens admitted for permanent residence and those admitted on a temporary basis, with or without work authority.

Aliens, like all applicants, must meet certain requirements to obtain SSNs. In addition to providing evidence of age, identity, and alien status, applicants age 18 and older applying for original SSN cards must appear for a personal interview. Lawful aliens who want SSN cards for work purposes must prove they are authorized to work, usually by showing their INS documents. SSA issues unrestricted SSN cards to permanent resident aliens and refugees. In September 1992, SSA began issuing SSN cards with the legend "VALID FOR WORK ONLY WITH INS AUTHORIZATION" to aliens lawfully admitted to the United States with temporary work authorization. SSA issues SSN cards with the legend "NOT VALID FOR EMPLOYMENT" to lawful aliens not authorized to work who need an SSN for nonwork purposes (for example, to obtain a driver's license in a State that requires an SSN for that purpose). In February 1996, SSA began defining a valid nonwork reason as a Federal, State, or local statute or regulation that requires the individual to provide an SSN to obtain the benefit or service. SSA issues SSN cards to illegal aliens only when they will be paid benefits under a program financed in whole or in part from Federal funds. They receive cards annotated "NOT VALID FOR EMPLOYMENT."

Impact of Immigration on SSN Issuance

In FY1995, SSA issued about 6 million original SSN cards and about 11.2 million replacement SSN cards. Of the original cards issued, about 1.5 million (about 25 percent) were to aliens (about 63 percent of whom were allowed to work). Of the replacement cards, about 795,000 (about 7 percent) were issued to aliens (about 93 percent of whom were allowed to work).

In FY1994, SSA issued about 6 million original SSN cards and about 10.4 million replacement SSN cards. Of the original cards issued, about 1.4 million (23 percent) were to aliens (about 62 percent of whom were allowed to work). Of the replacement cards, about 790,000 (8 percent) were to aliens (about 93 percent of whom were allowed to work).

In FY1993, SSA issued about 6.2 million original SSN cards and about 10.7 million replacement SSN cards. Of the original cards issued, about 1.5 million (24 percent) were to aliens (about 73 percent of whom were allowed to work). Of the replacement cards, about 800,000 (7 percent) were to aliens (about 92 percent of whom were allowed to work).

In FY1992, SSA issued about 7 million original SSN cards and about 10.7 million replacement SSN cards. Of the original cards issued, about 1.6 million (23 percent) were to aliens (about 74 percent of whom were allowed to work). Of the replacement cards, about 765,000 (7 percent) were issued to aliens (about 91 percent of whom were allowed to work).

In FY1991, SSA issued about 7.5 million original SSN cards and about 10.5 million replacement cards. Of the original SSN cards issued, about 1.7 million cards (23 percent) were issued to aliens (about 75 percent of whom were allowed to work). Of the replacement cards, about 730,000 (7 percent) were issued to aliens (about 88 percent of whom were allowed to work).

The totals for FY1992 through 1995 are shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11.—Original and Replacement SSN Cards Issued: FYs1992-1995

Year	Total Issued	Total Issued to Aliens	% of Total Cards Issued Which Were Issued to Aliens	% of Cards Issued to Aliens Who Were Work Authorized
Original SSN Cards				
1992	7 million	1.6 million	23	74
1993	6.2 million	1.5 million	24	73
1994	6 million	1.4 million	23	62
1995	6 million	1.5 million	25	63
Replacement SSN Cards				
1992	10.7 million	.765 million	7	91
1993	10.7 million	.800 million	7	92
1994	10.4 million	.790 million	8	93
1995	11.2 million	.795 million	7	91

Supplemental Security Income

Program Summary

The SSI program provides cash assistance directly to aged, blind, and disabled persons to help bring their incomes up to a federally established minimum level. SSA administers SSI payments nationwide. Eligibility has been limited to individuals (and their eligible spouses) who are age 65 and over, blind, or disabled; are U.S. citizens or certain aliens; and whose countable income and resources fall below federally established levels.

SSI operates as a program of last resort. Applicants are required to apply for all other benefits for which they may be eligible before evaluation for SSI eligibility. The SSI program then provides monthly payments to make up any difference between countable income and the minimum income floor established by statute. The minimum income in calendar year 1994 was \$446 a month for individuals and \$669 a month for individuals with an eligible spouse. In all but 12 States, SSI recipients are automatically eligible for Medicaid. In 12 States with more restrictive rules, Medicaid eligibility is determined by the State.

Eligibility of Various Categories of Aliens in the SSI Program

Prior to August 22, 1996, to be eligible for SSI benefits, an individual had to be a U.S. citizen or national, an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or an alien who was a permanent resident under color of law (PRUCOL).

Legislation enacted on August 22, 1996 (and subsequently amended), eliminated the PRUCOL category. Under current law, to be SSI-eligible an alien must be in a "qualified" status and meet one of the exceptions to the general bar on eligibility that applies to qualified aliens.

Qualified aliens include: Lawfully admitted permanent residents (LAPRs); refugees admitted to the United States pursuant to Section 207 of the INA; asylees pursuant to Section 208; parolees under Section 212(d)(5) for a period of at least 1 year; an alien whose deportation has been withheld under Section 243(h) as in effect prior to April 1, 1997, or whose removal has been withheld under Section 241(b)(3); an alien granted conditional entry pursuant to Section 203(a)(7) as in effect prior to April 1, 1980; certain Cuban and Haitian entrants; and certain aliens who have been battered or subjected to extreme cruelty or whose children or parents have been so treated.

Exceptions that permit qualified aliens to receive SSI include (but are not limited to): LAPRs who can be credited with 40 qualifying quarters of work, qualified aliens with U.S. military active duty or veteran status, and qualified aliens who were lawfully residing in the United States on August 22, 1996, and are blind or disabled.

Program Size

Table 12 shows the appropriated Federal funds for FYs1988-1994; the total number of recipients (citizens and aliens) of SSI program benefits in December of each year; and, in addition to Federal funds, State supplementation paid to SSI recipients.

TABLE 12.—Size of Total SSI Program, 1988-1994

Month	Persons Served (millions)		
December 1988	4.5		
December 1989	4.7		
December 1990	4.9		
December 1991	5.2		
December 1992	5.6		
December 1993	6.1		
December 1994	6.4		
Fiscal Year	Appropriated Funds (billions)	Other Resources Available to Program (billions)	
		Federally Administered	State Administered
1988	\$12,300,384	\$2.7	\$0.4
1989	\$12,473,953	\$3.0	\$0.4
1990	\$12,034,758	\$3.2	\$0.5
1991	\$17,391,170	\$3.2	\$0.5
1992	\$17,479,491	\$3.4	\$0.6
1993	\$21,237,675	\$3.3	\$0.6
1994	\$27,322,866	\$3.1	\$0.6

Note: Program data cover all U.S. citizens and aliens.

Number of Aliens in SSI Population

The number of aliens in the SSI population in December of each year from FYs1988-1994 is shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13.—Aliens in the SSI Population, 1988-1994

Month	Aliens Receiving SSI Benefits
December 1988	320,300
December 1989	370,300
December 1990	435,600
December 1991	519,660
December 1992	601,455
December 1993	683,178
December 1994	738,140

Impact of Immigration on SSI Program

Aliens made up 12 percent of the SSI recipients in December 1994.

Alien Participation in the Food Stamp Program

Introduction

The USDA, through FCS, administers the following 13 domestic food assistance programs:

- FSP
- Special Milk Program
- Summer Food Service Program (SFSP)
- National School Lunch Program (NSLP)
- Nutrition Assistance Program in Puerto Rico
- Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations
- Nutrition Assistance Program in the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands
- School Breakfast Program (SBP)
- Commodity Supplemental Food Program
- The Emergency Food Assistance Program
- Farmers Market Nutrition Program
- Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP)
- Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)

Four programs (FSP, the Nutrition Assistance Program in Puerto Rico, the Nutrition Assistance Program in the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, and the Food Distribution on Indian Reservations) help meet the basic needs of low-income families and individuals. The remaining programs provide supplemental benefits to groups with special needs, especially those at different developmental stages: infants, children, child-bearing women, and the elderly.

FSP is the cornerstone of domestic food assistance, accounting for more than 2 out of every \$3 spent in FY1995, which is the most recent year of complete data. It provides a monthly benefit to anyone with low income and few assets in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. The Nutrition Assistance Program in Puerto Rico, the Nutrition Assistance Program in the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, and the Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations serve a similar function in Puerto Rico and on Indian reservations and the trust territories, respectively. In FY1995, food stamp recipients received \$22.8 billion in benefits. In an average month, 26.6 million people received food stamps.

NSLP serves children in schools and residential institutions. It is available to 98 percent of public school children and more than 90 percent of all school children. SBP serves the same group but is not as widely available. It is most frequently found in schools serving high proportions of lower-income students. The Special Milk Program primarily serves children in schools not participating in other child-nutrition programs. CACFP serves children and functionally impaired or elderly adults cared for in daycare centers, family daycare homes, and adult daycare programs. SFSP provides meals to school children in needy areas throughout summer vacation.

WIC serves low-income infants, children and child-bearing women who are found to be at nutritional risk. WIC provides nutritious supplementary food, nutrition education, and referrals to health care services. The Commodity Supplemental Food Program serves essentially the same group and, in addition, provides benefits to the elderly in certain areas.

The Emergency Food Assistance Program provides commodities for home consumption through food banks and other charitable institutions. Commodities for Charitable Institutions provides commodities to soup kitchens and similar organizations to support meal service to needy recipients. The Nutrition Program for the Elderly supplements other programs for the elderly with cash and commodities for meals in senior citizen centers and similar settings.

Four programs (FSP, WIC, NSLP, and the Nutrition Assistance Program in Puerto Rico) paid out more than \$34 billion in benefits to program participants in FY1995, 91 percent of all food assistance benefits. FSP alone provided \$22.8 billion in benefits to participants, nearly 68 percent of all food assistance benefits in FY1995.

Among the domestic food assistance programs administered by the USDA, FSP is by far the largest and is the only program with explicit Federal statutory restrictions on the eligibility and participation of aliens. Consequently, this discussion focuses exclusively on the extent of participation by aliens in FSP.

What follows is a brief description of FSP, eligible alien categories, a system for verifying eligible alien status, the most recent data available on alien participation in FSP, and current studies on the effect of IRCA on FSP.

The Food Stamp Program

Program Description

FSP is a nationwide program that helps low-income families and individuals buy the food they need to maintain a nutritious diet. In an average month in FY1995, about 26.6 million people received food stamp benefits at an annual cost of \$22.8 billion.

The Food Stamp Act of 1977, as amended, defines the group of people who constitute a household for food stamp purposes and sets uniform criteria for their eligibility. These include a gross and net income limit, a resource limit, and a variety of nonfinancial criteria.

To be eligible for food stamps, the gross monthly income of most households must be at or below 130 percent of the Federal poverty guidelines (\$20,280 annually for a family of four effective October 1, 1996) and net income—after allowable deductions—must be at or below 100 percent of the guidelines. Households with an elderly or disabled member are subject only to the net income restriction. Gross income includes all cash payments to the household with a few exceptions, including nonrecurring lump sum payments and reimbursement of certain expenses. Deductions subtracted from the household's gross monthly income to determine its net income include: a standard deduction, an earned income deduction, a dependent care deduction, an excess shelter expense deduction, a special medical deduction (for elderly or disabled persons), and a child support deduction for court-ordered payments to another household.

The value of a household's assets is also accounted for in determining program eligibility. Most households are permitted up to \$2,000 in countable resources. Households with at least one person age 60 years or older are allowed up to \$3,000.

People can qualify for benefits only as part of a "food stamp household." In general, a food stamp household consists of an individual who lives alone or who lives with others but usually purchases and prepares food separately; and groups of individuals who live, purchase food, and prepare meals together.

FSP includes several provisions to encourage able-bodied participants to seek and hold jobs. With certain exceptions, physically and mentally fit food stamp participants must apply for and accept suitable employment.

The maximum amount of food stamps a household can receive is set according to 100 percent of the June cost of the Thrifty Food Plan (TFP) for a reference family of four, adjusted for household size. (TFP is the least-costly food plan developed by the Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion at USDA, which suggests the amounts of food that could be consumed by males and females of different ages to meet dietary standards). The maximum allotments are revised periodically to reflect changes in the cost of foods included in the TFP. The food stamp benefit issued to each household is based on the number of people in the household and the amount of net income available after subtracting the allowable deductions. Monthly benefits are equal to the maximum allotment for that household less 30 percent of its net income.

Eligibility of Aliens in the Food Stamp Program

Under current regulations, an individual applying for food stamps who is not a citizen of the United States must provide acceptable documentation that verifies that he or she is an eligible alien (the exception is for those applying for disaster assistance benefits).

Before the enactment of PRWORA, the following groups of aliens were considered “eligible aliens”:

- Those admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by INA.
- Those who qualify for conditional entry or are granted asylum under INA.
- Those who are lawfully present in the United States as a result of a grant of parole or an exercise of discretion by the Attorney General for emergency reasons.
- Those for whom the Attorney General has withheld deportation.
- Those who resided continuously in the United States since before January 1, 1972, and are otherwise eligible for lawful permanent resident status (Section 249 of INA) (effective November 6, 1986).
- Those granted lawful permanent residence as a result of the legalization program and are aged, blind, or disabled (Section 245A(b)(1) of INA and 1614 (a) (I) of the Social Security Act) (effective November 7, 1988).
- Those granted lawful residence (temporary or permanent) as a special agricultural worker (Section 210(a) of INA) (effective June 1, 1987).
- Those who will be granted lawful residence (temporary or permanent) as an additional special agricultural worker in FYs1990-1993 (Section 210A(d)) (effective October 1, 1989).
- Those granted temporary resident status who subsequently gained permanent resident status but were prohibited from participating in FSP for 5 years from the date they originally gained temporary status (Sections 245A(a), 245A(b) (I) and 245A(h) (iii)) (applicants could apply for temporary status beginning May 5, 1987, and become eligible to participate in FSP beginning May 6, 1992).

PRWORA dramatically altered the eligibility of aliens for Federal means-tested programs, including FSP. Aliens legally in the United States became ineligible for food stamps unless they belonged to one of the following groups:

- Refugees, asylees, or have had their deportation withheld and were admitted within the last 5 years.
- Active-duty military personnel, honorably discharged veterans, and their spouses and dependent children.
- Those with 40 or more quarters of earnings and no public assistance receipt.

PRWORA provided that those aliens receiving benefits as of August 22, 1996, were allowed to continue receiving benefits until the first of either their recertification date or August 22, 1997. For new applicants, the alien restrictions generally became effective upon enactment of PRWORA. Section 510 of P.L. 104-208, the Department of Defense Appropriations Act of 1997, allowed aliens currently receiving benefits to continue on the caseload until the first recertification after April 1, 1997, or until August 22, 1997.

Alien Verification in the Food Stamp Program

IRCA established the Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements (SAVE) program, a two-level verification system developed and maintained by the INS. Between October 1, 1988, and August 22, 1996, agencies administering FSP were required to validate the documentation of an alien applicant's status by accessing the INS database or by submitting manual verification requests to the INS. However, PRWORA made the use of SAVE optional.

Alien Participation in the Food Stamp Program

The most recent data available on the extent of participation by lawful aliens in FSP are based on data from the food stamp quality control system. The quality control system is an ongoing review of a sample of food stamp households to determine if they are eligible to participate and receive the correct benefit. FCS uses this sample—consisting of approximately 51,000 participating households during the year—to provide detailed information on the characteristics of participants, including alien status. Aliens are defined as all recipients who are not U.S. citizens; however, because undocumented aliens are not permitted to receive food stamps, almost all aliens are legal permanent residents, refugees, those granted asylum, or individuals who have been granted a stay of deportation.

As shown in Table 14, aliens make up a relatively small proportion of the total food stamp caseload and receive a small fraction of the total benefits. In FY1994, the most recent year for which information on the citizenship status of participants is available, 1.9 million aliens living in 1.1 million households received food stamps. Noncitizens represented 6.7 percent of all food stamp recipients. They received 6.5 percent of all food stamp benefits in that year. The overwhelming majority of alien recipients were legalized permanent residents; other aliens represented less than 25 percent of the alien caseload and only 1.5 percent of all food stamp recipients.

In the general population, resident aliens predominately live in a small number of States (California, Texas, New York, and Florida). Consistent with this pattern, the quality control sample data suggest that alien participation in FSP is highly localized. In 1994, 611,000 alien recipients lived California, 307,000 lived in Texas, 302,000 lived in New York, and 157,000 lived in Florida. These four States accounted for nearly 75 percent of all aliens receiving food stamps. However, because the sample size used to estimate alien participation is relatively small, these estimates should be interpreted with care.

TABLE 14.—Citizenship Status of Food Stamp Recipients: FYs1991-1994

Citizenship Type	1991	1992	1993	1994
Native-born citizen	21,654,000	24,296,000	23,512,000	25,882,000
Naturalized citizen	170,000	187,000	193,000	248,000
Permanent resident	824,000	972,000	1,184,000	1,453,000
Refugee	285,000	288,000	343,000	385,000
Other alien	56,000	31,000	41,000	52,000
Alien subtotal	1,164,000	1,292,000	1,567,000	1,880,000
Foreign-born subtotal	1,334,000	1,479,000	1,760,000	2,127,000
All participants	22,988,000	25,775,000	25,752,000	28,009,000

Note: The following notes apply to the above table:

Figures are based on the Integrated Quality Control System (IQCS) full-year data for FYs1991-1994. Because the IQCS data are based on a sample and are weighted by household size, the total number of participants is slightly higher than the actual number of participants.

Because of rounding, numbers may not sum exactly to their totals.

Permanent residents include those coded as having obtained legal status through the IRCA's amnesty provisions.

Refugees include those granted asylum.

Other aliens include aliens granted a stay of deportation, nonimmigrants admitted for a specified period, Mexican citizens with "border" cards, undocumented aliens, and noncitizens whose exact status is unknown.

FCS Studies on the Effect of Immigration Reform on the Food Stamp Program

FCS estimates that IRCA's impact on food stamp participation is modest. More than 1.5 million persons received legal permanent residence under IRCA. The majority of these aliens were barred from receiving many public assistance benefits, including food stamps, for 5 years after applying for legalization. The vast majority of this group applied for legalization between May 5, 1987, and May 4, 1988; thus, the 5-year waiting period ended between May 1992 and May 1993. FCS undertook two studies on this population to examine the economic circumstances of this population and to assess how quickly they applied for food stamps after the 5-year waiting period expanded.

FCS partially funded the *Second Legalized Persons Survey (LPS2)*, which was a follow-up survey of persons granted permanent residency under IRCA who had participated in a 1989 survey. Between April and August 1992, more than 4,000 legalized aliens were interviewed for the follow-up survey, which included questions on family composition, income sources, and asset holdings. The survey data were used to describe the income and financial situations of this immigration group and to estimate the proportion of persons legalized under IRCA who meet the income and asset eligibility guidelines for food stamps. The data became available to the public in February 1996.

A second study funded by FCS, *The Effects of the Immigration Reform and Control Act on the Food Stamp Program*, examined data from LPS2 to estimate the proportion of newly legalized immigrants who qualified for food stamps and also examined State caseload data to estimate the number who receiving food stamps in 1994 and the value of those benefits received. The study results were released in September 1995.

The study found that in 1994 more than a quarter of newly legalized aliens (about 396,000) were eligible for food stamps based on their income and assets, and of these, 190,000 received food stamps. They represented less than 1 percent of the food stamp caseload. They received an estimated \$135 million in benefits in FY1994, representing 0.6 percent of all benefits.

Those eligible for food stamps participated at the same rate as the overall Hispanic population. They were twice as likely to live in households with earnings as other food stamp recipients and about as likely to receive AFDC benefits. They tended to live in large households, often containing U.S.-born children.

Appendix A:

Additional Information on SAMHSA⁴ Programs

Refugee Mental Health Program

In addition to SAMHSA's authorization, refugee-related activities are authorized under Section 501(c) of the Refugee Educational Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law No. 96-422). The program mandate is (1) to serve as a focal point for Cuban/Haitian entrant and refugee mental health issues, including liaison with other federal agencies, and (2) to develop, implement, and oversee mental health inpatient and outpatient programs to provide mental health treatment and to enable independent living in the United States.

This program was established in response to the arrival of nearly 125,000 Cubans on the South Florida shores from the Cuban Port of Mariel in 1980. Many of the Cubans had preexisting psychiatric problems. An inpatient mental health treatment facility was established at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, DC, in October 1980 by the INS and PHS. It has been continuously operated since that time. Once stabilized, patients are generally discharged to community-based halfway house programs. The community-based halfway house program was developed to facilitate the community adjustment of Mariel Cuban entrants who were mentally and/or developmentally disabled and who also often had criminal and/or antisocial histories and substance abuse problems. In addition, the program has been involved in interagency consultation and technical assistance with the Department of Justice's Community Relations Service and Bureau of Prisons.

Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) Block Grant

The SAPT block grant provides financial assistance to States and territories to support projects for the development and implementation of prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation activities directed to the diseases of alcohol and drug abuse. Funds may be used at the discretion of the States to achieve the statutory objectives, including the fulfillment of certain requirements. Not less than 20 percent of the funds shall be spent for programs for individuals who do not require treatment for substance abuse but to educate and counsel such individuals and to provide for activities to reduce the risk of abuse by developing community-based strategies for prevention of such abuse, including the use of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products by individuals to whom it is unlawful to sell or distribute such beverages or products. In FY1993, States were required to expend not less than 5 percent of the grant to increase (relative to FY1992) the availability of treatment services designed for pregnant women and women with dependent children (either by establishing new programs or expanding the capacity of existing programs). A similar requirement existed for FY1994 relative to FY1993 levels. States must require programs of treatment for intravenous drug abuse to admit individuals into treatment within 14 days after they make such a request, or 120 days of a request, if interim services are made available within 48 hours. States provide, directly or through arrangements with other public or nonprofit entities, tuberculosis services such as counseling, testing, treatment, and early intervention services for substance abusers at risk for the HIV disease. Other statutory requirements also apply.

Community Mental Health Services Block Grant

The Community Mental Health Services block grant provides financial assistance to States and territories to enable them to carry out the State's plan for providing comprehensive community mental health services to adults with a serious mental illness and to children with a serious emotional disturbance; to evaluate programs

³ The ADAMHA Reorganization Act of 1992, Public Law 102-321 (July 10, 1992), created SAMHSA. The research components of ADAMHA were transferred to the National Institutes of Health, and its services components (the Centers for Substance Abuse Prevention and Substance Abuse Treatment and the new Center for Mental Health Services), with the Office of the Administrator, became the new SAMHSA.

and services carried out under the plan; and to conduct planning, administrative, and educational activities related to providing services under the plan.

Funds may be used at the discretion of the State to achieve the described objectives except for certain requirements and prescribed criteria. Services under the plan can be provided only through appropriate, qualified community programs (which may include community mental health centers, child mental health programs, psychosocial rehabilitation programs, mental health peer-support programs, and mental health primary consumer-directed programs). Services under the plan will be provided through community mental health centers only if the centers meet prescribed criteria. For FY1994, the State must expend not less than 10 percent of the grant to increase (relative to FY1993) funding for such centers and for any subsequent fiscal year, the State must expend for such centers not less than an amount equal to the amount expended by the State for FY1994. Up to 5 percent of grant funds may be used for administering the funds. In general, any amount paid to a State under the program shall be available for obligation until the end of the fiscal year for which the amounts were paid and if obligated by the end of such year, shall remain available for expenditure until the end of the succeeding fiscal year. Funds may not be used to provide inpatient services; to make cash payments to intended recipients of health services; to purchase or improve land; to purchase, construct, or permanently improve (other than minor remodeling) any building or other facility, or purchase major medical equipment; to satisfy any requirement for the expenditure of non-Federal funds as a condition for the receipt of Federal funds; or to provide financial assistance to any entity other than a public or nonprofit private entity.

Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Services (ADMS) Block Grants

The objectives of the ADMS block grant, which was replaced by the SAPT block grant and Community Mental Health Services block grant with the creation of SAMHSA in 1992, is to provide financial assistance to States and territories to support projects for the development of more effective prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation programs and activities to deal with alcohol and drug abuse; and to support community mental health centers for the provision of services for chronically mentally ill individuals, severely mentally disturbed children and adolescents, mentally ill elderly individuals, and for coordination of mental health and health care services provided within health care centers. Each State allotment under the ADMS block grant is available for obligation during the fiscal year it is allotted, and all such obligations must be expended by the end of the subsequent fiscal year. Funds are used at the discretion of each State to achieve the described objectives except for certain requirements. Ninety percent of the total State allotment must be used for mental health and substance abuse services in accordance with an intra-State distribution formula. Not less than 10 percent of the total allotment must be used for alcohol and drug abuse programs and services for women (especially pregnant women and women with dependent children) and demonstration projects for the provision of residential treatment services to pregnant women. Not less than 10 percent of the amount allotted for mental health services must be used to provide services and programs for seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents.

Projects for Assistance in Transition from Homelessness and Mental Health Services to the Homeless Block Grant

The MHSH block grant program was authorized under the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987. This program was designed to provide funds to each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories to support services to individuals who are chronically mentally ill and homeless. In 1990, Congress enacted the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Amendments Act, which revised certain features of the program and authorized it under a new name, the PATH formula grant program. The PATH program was implemented in FY1991. PATH is designed to provide funds to each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories to support services to individuals with severe mental illness, as well as individuals with both severe mental illness and substance use disorders, who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless. Eligible services funded under PATH include screening and diagnostic treatment; outreach; habilitation and rehabilitation; community mental health; alcohol or drug treatment (for individuals with co-occurring mental illness and substance abuse disorders); staff training; case management; supportive

and supervisory services in residential settings; and referrals for primary health care, job training, and education.

Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services Program for Children and Their Families Program

The Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services for Children and Their Families program was authorized in 1992 in the ADAMHA Reorganization Act to provide grants to States, political subdivisions, Native American reservations, and tribal organizations for the provision of an array of community-based services organized into a system of care for children with serious emotional, behavioral, or mental disorders and their families. Funded initially at a level of \$4.9 million in FY1993, the appropriation was increased in FY1994 to \$35 million and to \$60 million in FY1995 and FY1996. FY1997 funding has been increased to approximately \$70 million. The purpose of the program is to plan, develop, and implement systems of care that are comprehensive, community-based, coordinated, family-focused, and culturally competent.

The individuals served by these systems of care are persons from birth to age 18, who currently or at any time during the past year, have had a diagnosable mental, behavioral, or emotional disorder of sufficient duration to meet the diagnostic criteria specified within DSM-IV, that resulted in functional disturbances. Approximately 14 to 20 percent (8 to 13 million) of all American children experience mental and emotional disturbances. Included in this group are approximately 3.5 million youngsters (5 percent of the child and adolescent population) who have serious emotional disturbances.

The Comprehensive Community Mental Health Services for Children and Their Families program currently supports 22 grants to eligible entities. Communities are developing local systems of care, highlighting service collaboration among mental health, child welfare, education, juvenile justice, and other appropriate agencies. The program is ensuring that services that are currently underdeveloped or nonexistent in most communities, such as respite care; day treatment; therapeutic foster care; intensive home-, school-, or clinic-based services; emergency services; therapeutic case management; and diagnostic and evaluation services, are funded. Each child served through the program is receiving an individualized service plan developed with participation of the family (and where appropriate, the child). Each individualized plan designates a case manager to assist the child and family.

Protection and Advocacy Program for Individuals With Serious Mental Illness

The PAIMI Act of 1986 authorizes formula allotments to be awarded to P&A systems that have been designated by the Governor in each State to protect the rights of and advocate for individuals with disabilities. The allotments are to be used to pursue administrative, legal, and other appropriate remedies to redress complaints of abuse, neglect, and rights violations and to protect and advocate the rights of individuals with mental illness through activities to ensure the enforcement of the Constitution and Federal and State statutes.

The PAIMI programs have the authority to: (1) protect and advocate for the rights of persons with mental illness and (2) investigate reports of abuse and neglect in facilities that care for, or treat, individuals with mental illness. PAIMI programs may also address issues that arise during transportation to, admission to, or 90 days after discharge from, such facilities. Individuals eligible for services are those who have a significant mental illness or emotional impairment and who live in residential facilities. These facilities, which may be public or private, include hospitals, nursing homes, semi-independent or supervised community facilities, homeless shelters, jails, and prisons. P&As have special legal authority to access public and private facilities, meet with residents and clients, and maintain records for the purpose of conducting independent investigations of incidents of abuse and neglect.

Each P&A has a governing authority or board of directors with members who broadly represent and are knowledgeable about the needs of its clients. Also, they each have an Advisory Council to advise the P&A system on policies and priorities to be carried out in protecting and advocating the rights of individuals with

mental illness. Sixty percent of the council is composed of recipients or former recipients of mental health services or families of such persons.

Demonstration Grant Programs

The Community Partnership program, initiated in 1990, heralded a new approach for substance abuse prevention in the Nation. The program is predicated on the concept that empowered communities can marshal their resources to solve their own problems, such as substance abuse, violence, HIV/AIDS, drunk driving, school failure, and delinquency. Community Partnership grants permit representatives from government, business, health, religion, academia, schools, criminal justice, and other individuals to join together to assess, design, and implement communitywide prevention efforts. More than 30,000 nonprofit organizations and businesses have become associated with the 250 partnerships that have been funded. Partnership activities have resulted in a wide variety of policy and legislative change—from those that restrict access to substances to those that bring law enforcement closer to the community. Additional partnership accomplishments are many and include such outcomes as a decline in cases of Hepatitis B linked to intravenous drug use and a decline in alcohol-related boating deaths (Gloucester Prevention Network, Maine), a decline in drug-related misdemeanors (Southeast Queens Community Partnership), and closing of drug dealing locations (Tacoma Community Partnership, Washington; and Miami Coalition for a Drug Free Community, Florida). Many CSAP partnerships have become fully established in their communities, with stable organizational structures, self-sustaining funding sources, and representation and involvement from all sectors of the community.

Additional Demonstration Programs

SAMHSA (1992-1994) and its predecessor ADAMHA (1988-1991) supported several additional demonstration programs designed to expand services and knowledge about effective delivery of substance abuse and mental health services in distinct settings and to distinct groups of individuals with addictive and mental disorders. These programs included the Capacity Expansion, Target Cities, Critical Populations, Criminal Justice, Treatment Campus, HIV/AIDS Outreach, Women and Children, and National Capital Area Demonstration, and the DC Initiatives programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Substance Abuse Treatment; the High Risk Youth and Pregnant and Postpartum Women and Infants programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Substance Abuse Prevention; and the Access to Community Care and Effective Services and Support, Community Support, and AIDS demonstration programs funded by SAMHSA's Center for Mental Health Services.

Appendix B:

Additional Information on HRSA Programs

Community and Migrant Health Centers

These centers provide culturally sensitive, family-oriented preventive and primary health care services. They also provide essential ancillary services such as dental, laboratory test, x-ray, and pharmacy services. In addition, many centers provide other health and community services, such as transportation, nutrition, and health education. Health center services are tailored to meet the specific needs of the communities they serve, including the needs of special population groups (for example, the homeless, HIV-positive, and substance abusers).

Approximately 625 centers across the United States and its territories provide primary health care for approximately 7.0 million persons. For FY1994, the Community Health Centers program was appropriated \$603.7 million; the Migrant Health Centers program was appropriated \$59.0 million. Most centers also receive funding from State and local governments, Medicaid reimbursements, and other sources.

Maternal and Child Health Block Grant

The Maternal and Child Health (MCH) block grant program is a Federal and State partnership program designed to improve the health of mothers, children, and adolescents consistent with the National Health Objectives for the year 2000. The population served by these grants are primarily low-income, disadvantaged mothers and infant children. Services provided include the diagnosis and treatment of specific diseases or conditions, nutrition, periodic screening, and immunization services for children. The program provides health services for more than 11.6 million women, infants, and children with special health care needs.

A special set-aside of the block grant funds special projects of regional and national significance (SPRANS), by providing support for research in such areas as genetic diseases and hemophilia, and training for providers of such services.

Another maternal and child health-oriented program is the Emergency Medical Services (EMS) for Children program. The objectives of this program are to enhance and expand delivery of emergency medical services to acutely ill and seriously injured children. The goal is to reduce child and youth mortality and morbidity sustained as a result of severe acute illness or trauma.

In FY1994, the MCH block grant program was appropriated \$687.0 million. Of this amount, \$101.4 million was set aside for SPRANS projects. The EMS for Children program was appropriated \$7.5 million for FY1994.

Ryan White AIDS Services

Title XXVI, Part A, of the PHS Act authorizes grants for outpatient and ambulatory health and support services to metropolitan areas with a specified cumulative total of reported cases of AIDS or a specified per capita incidence of AIDS. Grantees are required to establish HIV health services planning councils to establish priorities for the allocation of funds within the eligible area, to develop a comprehensive plan for the organization and delivery of health services, and to assess the efficiency of the administrative mechanism in rapidly allocating funds to areas of greatest need within the eligible area.

Title XXVI of the Public Health Service Act, Part B, authorizes grants for States and territories in support of systems of health care services for people with HIV infection. The State and territories programs provide services through service delivery consortia in the localities most affected by HIV/AIDS. Services include

home- and community-based care for individuals, continuation of health insurance coverage for low-income persons, and treatments that have been determined to prolong life or prevent serious deterioration of health.

This title (Part C) also authorizes the Early Intervention Services grants, which provide assessment and health services for mothers and their children infected with the HIV virus and uninfected siblings.

In FY1994, \$325.5 million was appropriated for Part A (metropolitan area grants), \$183.9 million was appropriated for Part B programs (State and territory grants), and \$48.0 million was appropriated for Part C (Early Intervention Services grants).

Health Care for the Homeless (HCH) Services

The HCH program provides access for homeless individuals to comprehensive, family-oriented primary care services, including immunizations and substance abuse services. Under this project grant program, all homeless individuals, including immigrants, are eligible for services. In FY1994, the HCH program was appropriated \$63.0 million. During the 1994 calendar year, HCH services were provided to approximately 450,000 homeless individuals.

Health Services for Residents of Public Housing

The Health Services for Residents of Public Housing program awards grants to local communities for the delivery of comprehensive, accessible, and affordable primary care services to public housing residents. The program was established through a cooperative effort with HUD and other appropriate Federal, State, and local organizations. In FY1994, the program was appropriated \$8.9 million. During calendar year 1992, 7 projects provided health care services to 18,017 individuals.

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The Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

Part IV

State Impacts

Prepared by:
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service
Office of Policy and Planning

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Immigrants in Selected States

Most of the discussion in this Triennial Report has treated immigration at the national level: the volume of immigration nationwide, the contribution of immigration to total population growth, the impact of immigrants on the labor force, the extent to which immigrants participate in social service programs, and the cost of these services to the extent known. This is a necessary first approach to assessing the impact of immigration on the United States. Beyond this aspect, a full understanding of the topic requires consideration of the effects of immigration as they are experienced at the State and local level. Data on the social and economic characteristics of the foreign-born population are collected for small geographic areas in the decennial Census. This chapter presents data on that population for the seven States with the largest foreign-born populations in 1990. A review of the immigrants' characteristics at that time begins to indicate the likely nature of their impact on the communities in which they settle.

The seven States selected for this presentation are California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Texas. They contain the largest numbers of persons who arrived in the 1980's as well as the largest total foreign-born populations. In 1990, they contained 41.4 percent of the total U.S. population, but they accounted for 75.8 percent of the foreign-born population and 78.5 percent of those who had arrived during the previous decade. Table 1 repeats the basic information from the 1990 Census on the foreign-born population in those States.

TABLE 1.—Total and Foreign-Born Population for the Seven States (Thousands)

State	1990 Census				1980 Census Total Population	Total Population Change 1980-90
	Total Population	Foreign-Born Population		Entered 1980-90		
		Number	Percent			
U.S. Total	248,718	19,767	7.9%	8,664	226,546	22,173
California	29,758	6,459	21.7%	3,256	23,668	6,090
New York	17,991	2,852	15.9%	1,190	17,558	433
Florida	12,938	1,663	12.9%	660	9,746	3,192
Texas	16,986	1,524	9.0%	718	14,229	2,757
New Jersey	7,730	967	12.5%	385	7,365	365
Illinois	11,431	952	8.3%	371	11,427	4
Massachusetts	6,016	574	9.5%	223	5,737	279
Balance of U.S.	145,868	4,776	3.3%	1,861	136,816	9,053
Seven States as percent of total	41.4%	75.8%		78.5%		

Source: Chapter 2, Table 1.

The analysis contributed by the Census Bureau in Chapter 2, Immigration and Population Change in the United States, indicates that the effect of immigration on the population growth of States is not distributed equally, and these States illustrate the point. Those in the Sun Belt (California, Florida, and Texas) grew rapidly during the 1980's, and arrivals from abroad were an important component of that growth. The other four States grew slowly or hardly at all, and Illinois, New Jersey, and New York would have experienced net losses in population if not for immigration. In most other States, the number of foreign-born persons and their proportion in the population is considerably smaller than in these seven. (In 1990, 14.7 percent of Hawaii's population consisted of foreign-born persons; however, this number represented relatively few persons compared with the seven States selected for this discussion. No other State's foreign-born population reached even 10 percent.) The impact of immigration—even at low levels—on a State with a small population can be significant, but in general, the greatest impact is felt where the largest number of foreign-born persons reside.

The material reviewed in the previous chapters has demonstrated the considerable diversity to be found within the immigrant population. The United States provides a great variety of contexts into which immigrants may settle, and immigrants with varying skills find appropriate places to live according to where their talents and resources are in demand. Often they settle among people who came earlier from the same country or the same part of the world, and who help the newer arrivals find jobs and places to live. Ethnic enclaves are created and grow in a way that can have a distinct impact on their communities once they reach a certain size. The characteristics of the immigrants living in a community will help to determine the nature of their impact. Because of the way immigrant communities grow, these characteristics are not distributed evenly.

In the important area of employment, foreign-born persons enumerated in the 1990 Census had a labor force participation rate of 64.3 percent, compared with 65.4 percent for the native-born population. In four of the seven selected States (Illinois, New Jersey, California, and Texas), the labor force participation rate of the foreign-born population was higher than the 64.3 percent average, while it was lower in Florida, Massachusetts, New York, and the balance of the United States. The unemployment rate among the foreign-born population was higher than the national average of 7.8 percent in Texas, California, Massachusetts, and New York, while it was lower in the other three States and in the balance of the country. The apparent paradox of a high unemployment rate coexisting with a high labor force participation rate in California and Texas indicates that many foreign-born persons residing there were actively seeking work but were not employed at the time of the census. This information is summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—Labor Force Participation Rate and Unemployment Rate for Foreign-Born Persons Aged 16 and Over in the United States and Selected States: 1990

Rate	State								Balance of U.S.
	Total U.S.	CA	FL	IL	MA	NJ	NY	TX	
Labor force participation rate ¹	64.3%	66.8%	60.9%	67.9%	62.3%	67.5%	62.7%	65.1%	61.7%
Unemployment rate (civilian)	7.8%	8.9%	7.4%	7.0%	8.4%	6.8%	8.1%	9.4%	6.0%

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990: SSTF 1*.

¹Includes persons serving in the Armed Forces.

Some of these differences in the labor force participation and employment patterns of immigrants may lie in the differing qualifications they bring to the labor markets in the places where they settle. The amount of formal education presented by foreign-born persons living in the different States varies greatly, as shown in Table 3. The national average of immigrants who have less than a 9th grade education is 26.3 percent. This figure is considerably higher in Texas (43.1 percent) and California (31.3 percent) and slightly higher in Illinois (28.0 percent). In the other large States immigrants were less likely to have only a grade school education than the national average, and the figure for the small States comprising the balance of the United States was the most favorable, at 20.1 percent.

TABLE 3.—Educational Attainment of the Foreign-Born Population Aged 25 and Over in the United States and Selected States: 1990

Education Level	State								Balance of U.S.
	Total U.S.	CA	FL	IL	MA	NJ	NY	TX	
Percent with education of:									
Less than 9 th grade:	26.3	31.3	22.3	28.0	26.1	21.5	22.1	43.1	20.1
At least high school:	58.8	53.8	59.4	58.3	59.0	64.1	60.9	43.3	66.7
College degree or more:	20.4	18.4	15.4	21.3	21.9	24.5	19.6	15.2	25.2

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990: SSTF 1*.

The statistical profile for the States of residence of the best educated immigrants is consistent with the distribution of those with the least amount of education. In the country as a whole, 20.4 percent of the foreign-born persons enumerated in 1990 had a college degree or an even higher level of education. The percentage for most of the seven large States was below that level or slightly above it, with Texas being the lowest at 15.2 percent. New Jersey had the highest proportion of well-educated immigrants, with 24.5 percent, and in the balance of the country, 25.2 percent of the immigrants had at least a college education.

These differences in the education levels of foreign-born persons are generally reflected in their income levels by State, as shown in Table 4. Nationwide, the per capita income level of immigrants as measured in the 1990 Census was \$15,033. Texas, California, and Florida had the lowest per capita income of foreign-born persons in the large States, at \$10,537, \$13,596, and \$14,119 respectively. Per capita income was highest among the large States in New Jersey, at \$19,995. The picture differs slightly when household income is used as the measure. The median household income of foreign-born persons nationwide was \$28,320, and the median in Texas was the lowest at \$19,537. Household income was also low in Florida at \$24,010, but the median household income in California was above the national figure, at \$30,333. This indicates a larger than average household size among immigrants in California. New Jersey again showed the highest income level at \$37,628. Consistently, New Jersey was only half as likely as the national average to have foreign-born persons or families with incomes below the poverty level. In Texas, 32.2 percent of foreign-born persons and 30.5 percent of their families were living in poverty, compared with the national averages of 18.2 percent and 14.9 percent. Immigrants in California were slightly more likely to have poverty-level incomes than the national average.

A tabulation of the sources of household income of the foreign-born population as reported in the 1990 Census provides some insight into these income differentials by State. Nationwide, 81.7 percent of all households headed by immigrants reported having income from earnings (which could be wages from salaried employment or self-employment or both). In Texas and California, 88.5 percent and 86.1 percent respectively had income from earnings, indicating that the lower average incomes observed there were not because of a lack of employment. Relatively few immigrant households in Texas and California received Social Security or retirement income, consistent with the picture of a young, employed population. Florida and Massachusetts had the highest percentage of immigrant households receiving Social Security or retirement income.

TABLE 4.—Measures of Income and Poverty of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States and Selected States: 1990

Characteristic	State								Balance of U.S.
	Total U.S.	CA	FL	IL	MA	NJ	NY	TX	
Income:									
Per capita	\$15,033	\$13,596	\$14,119	\$16,764	\$16,844	\$19,995	\$17,026	\$10,537	\$16,264
Median household ¹	\$28,320	\$30,333	\$24,010	\$31,667	\$30,514	\$37,628	\$29,668	\$19,537	N/A
Households (%):									
<\$5,000	7.1	5.5	11.2	6.0	6.7	4.5	7.4	11.5	7.5
\$75,000+	10.5	11.1	6.8	10.6	11.2	16.8	11.8	5.0	10.6
Income below poverty level (%):									
Persons	18.2	20.0	15.6	13.6	13.9	9.2	15.9	32.2	16.9
Families	14.9	16.4	13.8	10.4	10.0	7.0	13.4	30.5	12.3
Households with (%):									
Earnings	81.7	86.1	75.6	84.2	76.2	83.7	78.6	88.5	78.9
Social Security income	21.6	15.3	29.3	21.0	28.8	23.3	24.5	13.1	25.4
Public assistance income	9.1	12.1	8.7	5.7	10.2	5.7	10.1	10.0	6.4
Retirement income	10.3	8.3	11.8	9.1	12.2	11.0	10.8	4.9	13.1

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990: SSTF 1*.

¹The Census Bureau defines a household as "foreign-born" if the householder or reference person is foreign born.

Nationwide, 9.1 percent of immigrant households were reported in the Census to be receiving income from public assistance programs, which could include Aid to Families with Dependent Children, General Assistance, or Supplemental Security Income (but not food stamps or Medicaid). In California, fully 12.1 percent of such households reported receiving this type of assistance, the highest of the large States. Use of public assistance at the rate of 10 percent or higher was also reported by households in Massachusetts, New York, and Texas. Reliance on these public programs was lowest in Illinois and New Jersey, at 5.7 percent, and was only 6.4 percent in the smaller States represented by the balance of the United States.

An important aspect of the impact of immigration on local communities is its impact on schools. Immigrant children and children born into immigrant families need classroom space, and depending on their language ability and their level of preparation, they may need special services before entering into the ongoing instructional program. Table 5 summarizes the information available from the Census that might provide a measure of the impact of immigration on the schools in the selected States.

Nationwide, 6.4 percent of children aged 5 to 17 and reported in the Census to be enrolled in either public or private school were born outside the United States. In California, the proportion was nearly three times as large, at 18.8 percent; New York was second among the large States at 11.8 percent. Outside the seven large States, only 2.6 percent of school enrollment consisted of foreign-born children. These figures document a large imbalance in the impact of immigration on the schools, and disaggregation of the data below the State level would no doubt show even greater contrasts at the level of the community and the school district.

Not all immigrant children are limited in their English ability, particularly after several years in the United States, and not all native-born children are fluent English speakers. The proportion of school enrollment that is limited in English ability, without regard to place of birth, generally follows the same pattern as the proportion of the foreign-born population but at a slightly lower level (see Table 5). The exception is Texas, where 7.1 percent of the school enrollment is foreign-born persons, and 11.9 percent is limited in English ability. The school enrollment percentage of both foreign-born persons and those limited in English ability is rather small nationwide (1.9 percent), but it is 7.5 percent in California. The contrast with the small States that make up the balance of the United States is substantial; in those States, only 0.6 percent of school enrollment is foreign born and limited in English ability.

This review of a few immigrant characteristics as they were distributed in 1990 among seven major States indicates one reason why no consensus exists regarding the impact of immigration: It varies in different locations, depending in part on the characteristics of the immigrants. For example, in California and Texas, the immigrant population has relatively little formal education and a higher than average unemployment rate. Despite immigrants in those two States being more likely to participate in the labor force and earn incomes than the national average, they are also more likely to be living in poverty and collecting public assistance payments. Schools in these States have a disproportionate enrollment of students whose English ability is limited. With these indicators, the impression of the impact of immigration gained from looking only at California and Texas is likely to be negative.

The impression from analyzing the immigrant population in a State such as New Jersey is entirely different. There, one-fourth of the adult immigrants have at least a college degree. Their labor force participation is high, and their unemployment is low. They are only half as likely to be in poverty as the average immigrant, and few receive public assistance. At 6.4 percent, the proportion of New Jersey's school enrollment that is limited in English ability is slightly higher than the national average of 5.6 percent. Overall, immigration appears in a favorable light if the judgment is based on the characteristics of immigrants living in New Jersey. In most of the small States, as shown in the Balance of the United States column in these tables, the characteristics of the immigrant population are more like those in New Jersey than those in California or Texas, and the numbers and proportion of the population are much smaller. The impact of immigration in most of the United States, then, is likely to be negligible and perceived as favorable to the extent that it is an issue.

TABLE 5.—School Enrollment and English Language Ability¹ of Persons Aged 5 to 17 in the United States and Selected States: 1990

Characteristic	Total U.S.	State							Balance of U.S.
		CA	FL	IL	MA	NJ	NY	TX	
Percentage of school enrollment that is foreign-born and limited in English ability:	1.9	7.5	2.4	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.9	2.5	0.6
Percentage of school enrollment that is limited in English ability:	5.6	15.3	6.0	5.2	5.8	6.4	8.6	11.9	2.4
Percentage of school enrollment that are foreign-born persons	6.4	18.8	9.9	5.9	7.4	8.7	11.8	7.1	2.6
Percentage of college enrollment that are foreign-born persons (of any age):	10.8	24.2	16.2	10.4	11.8	14.9	19.0	10.7	5.4

Source: Calculated by INS from U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990: SSTF 1*.

¹School enrollment figures cover all persons reported in the 1990 Census to be enrolled in elementary or high schools. College students may be of any age. Having limited English ability is defined as living in a home where a language other than English is spoken and not speaking English "very well."

The Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

Part V

International Impacts

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CHAPTER

10

Selected Economic Impacts of International Migration

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Introduction

The Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) prepares estimates of four categories of international transactions (see Table 1) related to nonimmigrant and immigrant flows: travel expenditures in the United States by foreign visitors, their related passenger fares paid to U.S. carriers, education services to foreign students, and personal remittances by foreign-born residents in the United States to persons abroad. Travel, passenger fares, and education are major components of rapidly expanding exports of U.S. services, collectively accounting for more than 40 percent of the annual totals in FYs1990-1995. Personal remittances abroad by the foreign-born population in the United States are a major component of private unilateral transfers. BEA does not project economic activity for future years.

TABLE 1.—Selected U.S. International Accounts and Components¹ (millions of dollars)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
U.S. service exports	147,477	163,810	177,305	186,119	195,839	210,590
Travel exports	43,007	48,385	54,742	57,875	58,417	61,137
Passenger fares - exports	15,298	15,854	16,618	16,611	17,083	18,534
Other private services - exports	39,193	46,598	49,291	53,436	59,071	61,724
Education	5,126	5,679	6,186	6,738	7,175	7,517
Private remittances and other transfers, net	14,602	15,920	15,696	16,736	19,506	20,696
Personal remittances from the United States	8,395	9,051	9,437	10,190	10,934	11,846

¹ Account estimates appear in Table 1 of the international transactions presentation in the July 1996 issue of the Survey of Current Business: Services-line 3; Travel-line 5; Passenger fares-line 6; Other private sectors-line 9; and Private remittances and other transfers, net-line 32.

Travel and Passenger Fare Exports

Travel exports include aggregate purchases of goods (food and gifts) and services (lodging, recreation/entertainment, and local transportation) by foreign residents visiting the United States for less than 1 year for business or personal reasons. Expenditures by Canadian and Mexican visitors include border transactions that often involve short stays (some less than 24 hours). Passenger fare exports are fares received by U.S. operators for transporting foreign residents between the United States and a foreign country and between two foreign countries.

The method for estimating both travel and passenger fare exports combines data on the number of foreign travelers to the United States as provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), with average expenditures/passenger fares developed from the travel surveys conducted by the Tourism Industries Office of the International Trade Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Travel exports increased from \$43.0 billion in 1990 to \$61.1 billion in 1995. Passenger fare exports increased from \$15.3 billion in 1990 to \$18.5 billion in 1995. The three countries with the largest number of visitors to the United States in 1995 were Japan, the United Kingdom, and Canada.

Education Exports

Foreign students are defined as individuals enrolled in institutions of higher education in the United States who are not U.S. citizens, immigrants, or refugees. The value of these students' tuition, room and board, and living expenses are recorded as private service exports. Population totals and characteristics are obtained from annual surveys of accredited U.S. institutions conducted by the Institute for International Education. These data are matched with average tuition/room/board expenditures compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, to arrive at estimates of total education exports.

Education exports increased from \$5.1 billion in 1990 to \$7.5 billion in 1995. Students from Japan, China, Taiwan, and South Korea accounted for approximately 35 percent of the foreign student population in the United States during the 1990-1995 time period. Foreign students from India and Canada were also significant during this period.

Personal Remittances Abroad of the Foreign-Born Population

Personal remittances abroad by the foreign-born population in the United States are a major component of private unilateral transfers in U.S. international accounts. Remittance estimation is the aggregated product of three variables that are specified by country of nativity and duration of stay in the United States: population (converted to family units), average family income, and income propensity to remit abroad.

Foreign-born population levels and associated socioeconomic characteristics are obtained from the decennial censuses of 1980 and 1990, which identify population totals, family totals, and average family incomes by country of nativity and by duration of U.S. residency (in 5-year intervals). Annual interdecennial flows are based on data from the INS and the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. These data are combined with remittance/income relationships of the foreign-born population (arrayed by country of nativity and 5-year intervals of U.S. residency) that were estimated from income and remittance questions on a sample survey of legalized aliens conducted by the INS for 1987 activity and a follow-up survey of the same sample conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor for 1991 activity. The source data and survey results support the following broad conclusions: a significant number of families do not remit, even for recent immigrants; the proportion of income remitted is significantly higher for persons from developing countries than from developed countries; the proportion of income remitted is highest in the initial years of U.S. residency and drops sharply thereafter; and the proportion of income remitted is higher for single foreign-born persons than for foreign-born persons with family in the United States.

Remittances increased from \$8.4 billion in 1990 to \$11.8 billion in 1995. More than 60 percent of remittances went to the countries of Central America, the Caribbean, and South America, but the influx of immigrants from Asia, the former Soviet Union, and Oceania increased remittances significantly to these areas during the period from 1990-1995.

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The Foreign Policy Impact of Immigration

Abstract

Immigration issues continue to play an important role in the foreign relations of the United States. U.S. immigration laws have traditionally been generous, supporting family unification and providing a source of skilled laborers. Because of its democratic style of government and sound economic opportunities, the United States has long been the favored destination of large numbers of immigrants, and their participation in the fabric of American life has strengthened the relationships between their native countries and the United States.

Many countries strongly support a generous U.S. immigration policy, which provides an outlet for workers and professionals unable to find employment at home. Immigrants to the United States tend to send a portion of their earnings to family members at home, thereby providing an important source of foreign exchange as well as a stimulus to the growth of the local economies. As a result, many foreign governments pay close attention to U.S. immigration law and policy, and often lobby aggressively for liberal immigration benefits.

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Western Hemisphere

The United States continues to be a magnet for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere. The relative geographic proximity and increasingly close economic relationships between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors have continued to promote immigration in recent years. The Western Hemisphere consistently accounts for the largest volume of immigration, by far, from any region of the world.

Civil unrest, weak economies, and occasional official or unofficial local government encouragement to emigrate help lengthen the immigration queues, especially from Latin America and the Caribbean. The growth of immigrant communities in the United States coupled with family-based immigration categories further increases the attractiveness of the United States as a destination country. Emigration serves as a safety valve to reduce social pressures in certain sending countries. Remittances to their homelands from legal and illegal immigrants are a significant source of foreign exchange for many home economies.

In the 1980's, between one-quarter and one-third of foreign adoptions by American citizens originated in the Western Hemisphere. Volume peaked at more than 40 percent in 1990 but has since declined both in actual numbers and as a percentage of the world total. Those numbers are expected to decline further in the foreseeable future as adoptions increase in other parts of the world.

The employment-based immigration categories established by the 1990 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) provide for the admission of greater numbers of skilled workers and smaller numbers of unskilled workers than previously. Persistent economic difficulties throughout our hemisphere that pressure workers, especially unskilled ones, to seek more promising employment opportunities in the United States sustain a tension between our immigration policies and the emigration interests of our neighbors. If public support of immigration wanes, as now seems likely, this tension may well increase, moving immigration higher on our bilateral agendas with several countries.

Mexico

Mexico, with a population of 90 million and an annual growth rate of nearly 2 percent, provides more legal and illegal immigrants to the United States than any other nation. More than a third of its population is less than 15 years of age and 80 percent is less than 40. Nearly 1 million Mexicans are awaiting authorization for immigrant visas in numerically limited categories that are over subscribed. So long as significant disparities in wages and job opportunities remain among the U.S. and Mexican labor markets, permanent or seasonal migration to the United States will continue to have strong appeal to Mexicans. Naturally enough, most illegal aliens from Central and South America, and increasingly from other countries as well, enter the United States from Mexico.

Immigration is a key bilateral issue between our two countries. While the United States seeks greater cooperation from Mexico in curbing the flow of illegal migrants, Mexico would like the United States to increase immigration numbers for Mexicans. Passage of Proposition 187 in California, which sought to limit benefits to illegal immigrants, struck a raw nerve in Mexico. The passage of Proposition 187 came at a particularly awkward time for the Mexican government, which presided over a severe slump in the Mexican economy.

The U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission is a cabinet-level body that meets annually to address issues of concern to both sides of the border. Its Working Group on Migration and Consular Affairs maintains a regular dialogue on immigration issues. A Border Liaison Mechanism was recently established to encourage regular, working-level contacts between U.S. and Mexican consuls and other government officials along the border to manage potential friction points before they become major problems.

The Immigration Act of 1990 (IMMACT90) spurred a major increase in immigrant visa demand by Mexicans. The Act provided immigrant visa authorizations for spouses and minor children of persons who benefited from the legalization programs of the 1980's, most of whom were Mexican.

Haiti

Immigration has long been an important issue in our bilateral relationship with Haiti, the most impoverished nation in the hemisphere. After the military coup in 1991, the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince ceased issuing immigrant visas for a year. In-country refugee processing was initiated in February 1992 for Haitians who claimed political persecution. Immigrant visa operations were once again halted in August/September 1994 when all international flights to and from Haiti were suspended as part of the U.N. sanctions against Haiti. At various times, thousands of Haitians risked their lives in unsafe seacraft in attempts to sail to Florida.

The United States moved to stem the flow of migrants and to save lives on the high seas by rescuing migrants who refused return to Haiti and providing them with a safe haven at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station. At the same time, the use of U.S. visas by members of the regime was prohibited under Section 212(f) of INA. The subsequent U.S. military intervention, resulting in President Aristide's ultimate return to power, ended the exodus. Since the resumption of immigrant visa issuance in October of 1994, residents of Haiti have once again been offered the opportunity for safe and legal emigration.

Dominican Republic

Immigration to the United States by Dominicans has grown to record levels. In a nation of just 7 million inhabitants, nearly 40,000 receive immigrant visas each year. Unknown thousands more come to the United States illegally. In a May 1992 poll, 65 percent of Dominicans said they would leave their homeland if the trip did not risk their lives. Forty-two percent said they desired to leave the Dominican Republic regardless of the risk. The younger and poorer the respondent, the more likely the will to emigrate. The vast majority of Dominicans coming to stay in the United States join a thriving, if poor, Dominican community located primarily in the northeastern United States.

The growth in migration and the involvement of some immigrants in illegal activities have caused increasing concern over immigration patterns from the Dominican Republic to New York and Puerto Rico. The presence of Dominican narcotics traffickers in the United States has influenced our bilateral relationship; we have sought the cooperation of Dominican authorities to help control the movements of traffickers and illicit narcotics revenues between our two countries.

Cuba

Immigration is one of the few areas in which the U.S. government and the Cuban government have a formal bilateral agreement. The original agreement was signed in 1984 in the wake of the Mariel Boatlift. Since that time, immigrant visa and refugee processing at the U.S. Interests Section at Havana (USINT) has frequently been affected by the overall state of U.S.-Cuba relations. The Castro regime has alternated between obstruction and facilitation and has not hesitated to play the "migration card." In the summer of 1994, the Cubans stopped enforcing restrictions on departures. The resulting outflow of rafters into the Florida straits led to a new agreement that guaranteed that a total of 20,000 immigrant visa, refugee, and parole applicants would be processed at Havana and admitted to the United States each year and resulted in a new U.S. policy of returning rafters to Cuba (after asylum screening).

The issuance of immigrant visas averaged fewer than 2,000 per year from 1988-1994. The in-country refugee program, which had been expanded from the original program for long-term political prisoners to include human rights activists, members of persecuted religions, and others with a well-founded fear of persecution, processed 3,000 refugees in 1994. Under the 1994 agreement, immigrant visa and refugee cases will be augmented by parolees, some of which will be selected in a special lottery to reach the 20,000 annual minimum.

Before 1990, few Cubans were able to apply for nonimmigrant visas. That year, the Cuban government began easing restrictions on foreign travel. The result was a sharp increase in the number of nonimmigrant visa applications at USINT. Because many Cubans attempt to use the nonimmigrant visa as means of permanent entry into the United States, the nonimmigrant visa refusal rate is quite high.

Canada

Canadian and U.S. immigration officials have a history of close cooperation on immigration problems. Like the United States, Canada is a major immigrant and refugee resettlement country that also faces the serious problem of controlling the entry of an unprecedented wave of illegal immigrants and individuals seeking asylum, many with spurious claims. Recently, the Canadian government passed new comprehensive legislation that reforms Canadian immigration policy. In particular, the new legislation streamlines asylum processing. The Canadians have been very interested in European efforts to standardize asylum policies and have suggested similar efforts be made in North America. Canada and the United States have a continuing dialogue on asylum and immigration issues of mutual concern, particularly the question of how to reduce “asylum shopping.”

Europe

Portugal

Since Portugal’s inclusion in the European Union (EU), the Portuguese economy has made impressive gains and unemployment has held steady at just over 4 percent. Emigration from mainland Portugal has remained flat while emigration from the Azores has declined. However, immigration is still a significant issue in our relations.

Although an EU member, it appears unlikely that Azoreans will immigrate in any large numbers to Europe in the foreseeable future; family connections to the United States continue to be strong. While Azorean regional officials have discussed their concerns about immigration with members of the U.S. Congress, national-level officials rarely broach the subject in formal conversations. Portuguese officials raised questions regarding Portugal’s exclusion from the AA-1 program. However, Portugal does participate in the successor immigration lottery program, the Diversity Visa (DV) Lottery.

As a member of the EU, Portugal is sensitive that it does not, as yet, qualify for the Visa Waiver Pilot Program. The nonimmigrant visa refusal rate remains too high for Portugal’s inclusion.

Poland

Immigration issues have long been of major concern in Poland because of strong family ties with the Polish community in the United States. The elimination of travel restrictions in the post-Communist era, coupled with continuing difficult economic conditions as the country works to convert to a market-based economy, have kept demand for immigration to the United States high.

Poland benefited from the NP-5 lottery program and was a major beneficiary of the AA-1 transition diversity program, second only to Ireland in the number of visas issued. Beginning in FY1995, the AA-1 program is being replaced by the DV program, and Poland is a major beneficiary of the 55,000 visas authorized annually under the program. There was a great deal of interest in DV both in Poland and in the Polish community in the United States, even though the law limits each country to a maximum of 3,850 visas. However, if present immigration trends from Poland continue, Poland will no longer be eligible to participate in the DV program. Continuing Polish interest in immigration is also reflected in the high refusal rates for nonimmigrant visa applications at our posts in Poland.

Ireland

Developments in U.S. immigration law are of major importance to both the Irish government and public, and are a frequent topic in official discussions and parliamentary debate. Emigration patterns have been closely linked to Irish economic conditions. Legal immigration to the United States increased from 902 in 1981 to more than 10,000 in 1990, and the trend has continued upward. It is likely to decline somewhat with the end of the AA-1 program.

Ireland has benefited from several programs designed to increase diversity among the immigrant population to the United States. During the NP-5 program, which ran from FYs1987-1991, Ireland received 18,563 of the total of 52,239 visa numbers allocated under the program. Under the AA-1 program, which ran in FYs1992-1994, Ireland was allocated 40 percent of the 40,000 annual total of visas allocated. Under the new DV program, Ireland did not receive any preferential treatment, but demand is expected to remain strong.

Illegal Irish immigration also has been heavy and attracts high public interest in Ireland. The amnesty provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 enabled very few Irish residents to legalize because most did not enter the United States until the late 1980's. However, many Irish illegals were able to take advantage of the NP-5 and AA-1 programs.

Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, increased freedom of travel has become standard in most Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries. The number of Russian visa applicants has risen dramatically, yielding long lines at our Embassy and Consulates. Because of the uncertainty of the economic and political situation in Russia, many applicants are unable to qualify for visas. This has resulted in a number of complaints from the Government of Russia.

In the CIS countries, visa demand remains relatively low, though it will likely begin to increase as the political situation becomes more stable, and the economies begin to prosper.

The United States continues to operate a major refugee resettlement program from the former Soviet Union (up to 45,000 admissions from the former Soviet Union in FY1994) in categories of religious minorities prescribed by statute and other individuals of concern.

Bosnia

A Bosnian refugee admissions program was established in FY1993 for Bosnians of special humanitarian concern to the United States. Those eligible are vulnerable Bosnian Muslims referred for resettlement by United Nations' High Commission on Refugees, such as former detainees, torture victims, and women victims of violence, as well as Bosnian Muslim relatives of U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, asylees, or refugees. Up to 10,000 Bosnians were expected to be admitted to the United States as refugees in FY1994.

Middle East

Immigration to the United States from the Gulf States is limited, primarily involving expatriate guest workers and professionals whose immigration to the United States has no bearing on U.S.-Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) bilateral relations. In the wake of the Gulf War, most GCC countries reduced the numbers of guest workers from other Arab states and repatriated many of those from countries that had either supported Iraq outright or were considered sympathetic to Baghdad.

In Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt, depressed economies continued to create pressures for emigration, particularly to the United States. The return home of Egyptian, Jordanian, and Palestinian guest workers from the Gulf further added to this impetus. The exodus of Lebanese during the 16-year civil war continued to

have derivative effects, as family members joined “anchors” already in the United States. Iraq’s lifting of a 10-year travel ban on its citizens allowed Iraqis who had long since qualified for immigrant status to process their cases.

Terrorism by radical Islamic groups, especially the World Trade Center bombing in New York, and concerns about the potential for future acts of terrorism resulted in stricter security measures in the screening of immigrants worldwide. These measures included improved name check capabilities at overseas U.S. missions.

Israel faced problems integrating the huge influx of immigrants from the former Soviet Union into Israeli society. Many have subsequently sought onward emigration to the United States, to the concern of the Government of Israel.

The number of Iranian refugees has declined, with only about 800 admissions in FY1994. Post-Gulf War refugee processing for Iraqis continued in Turkey and processing posts in Europe, and from camps in Saudi Arabia. The ceiling for the Middle East/South Asia region for FY1994 was 6,000.

South Asia

Emigration from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh continues at high levels. While many immigrants from South Asia arrive bearing family- or employment-based visas, illegal immigration through identity or document fraud remains significant.

In India, explosive economic growth in certain sectors, especially the computer industry, has sparked an ever-rising demand for employment-related nonimmigrant visas as the Indian computer sector develops links with its U.S. counterpart. Although such visas do not immediately bestow U.S. permanent residence on the bearer, in practice, many such visa holders subsequently adjust status to U.S. permanent residence and eventually become U.S. citizens. Large numbers of Indian students coming to the United States for university education also eventually adjust to U.S. permanent resident status. The movement of Indian computer experts and students comes in addition to well established immigration patterns generated by natives of India already in the United States, thus maintaining immigration from India at significant levels.

Similarly, immigration from Pakistan continues unabated. Nearly all classes of Pakistani society, from the wealthiest landlords and cash-rich businessmen to upper middle class professionals and those with any marketable employment skills at all, think in terms of emigrating from Pakistan. Children of some of Pakistan’s most influential political families live abroad, and some high-ranking civil servants have U.S. or British permanent resident status. Moreover, there are large numbers of unemployed and underemployed young men and women in Pakistan, even those with some technical and professional skills, who are eager to seek better prospects outside Pakistan.

The admissions program for Afghan refugees ended in FY1993.

East Asia

China

In the wake of the June 1989 events in Tiananmen Square, President Bush issued Executive Order 12711 on April 11, 1990. That order allowed Peoples Republic of China nationals who were present in the United States on or after June 5, 1989, through April 11, 1990, to remain in the United States and not be forced to return to China against their will before January 1, 1994. The Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992 permitted approximately 54,000 Chinese nationals to apply for adjustment to permanent resident alien

status during a 12-month period beginning July 1, 1993. That law accorded beneficiaries status in the employment third-preference classification (for skilled workers) and subjected them to the statutory worldwide numerical limit on immigrants in that preference.

Before June 1989, Chinese students had already become the largest foreign student population in the United States. The experience of our Embassy in Beijing and consulates general in Guangzhou, Shanghai, Chengdu, and Shenyang is that Chinese students generally prolong their stay in the United States as long as possible, first exhausting all educational opportunities and then seeking legal means to adjust status.

China posts are seeing a dramatic increase in fraudulent employment-based nonimmigrant visa applications. Guangzhou reports that many applications in this visa category are based on fraudulent or nonexistent businesses, fraudulent job offers, or are from applicants who do not have the requisite experience for the petitioned employment.

The link of Chinese organized crime to Chinese alien smuggling has been of particular concern to a number of government agencies. Efforts to engage the Chinese government and other countries with known staging areas for smuggling Chinese into the United States have increased significantly since 1990.

Changes in Chinese adoption law in 1991 and 1992 resulted in a steadily increasing number of Americans traveling to China to adopt infants. Initial disagreements among Chinese ministries fighting for the lead in adoption issues tangled many adoptive parents in bureaucratic red tape. The Chinese government finally shut off foreign adoptions completely while they worked out internal disputes. Foreign adoptions have resumed, and Guangzhou now issues more adoption visas than any other post worldwide.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong reverted to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997. A special immigrant visa program established by Section 124 of IMMACT90 provided immigration opportunities for Hong Kong-based employees of U.S. firms. The law was to permit applicants to use the visas as a safety net, requiring them to have immigrated before January 1, 2002. Unexpectedly, the program did not generate the interest its drafters had anticipated. With 36,000 visas available during the 3-year period, only 7,626 of these special immigrant visas were issued.

Indochina

The protection and resettlement of Indochinese refugees remains a significant concern of U.S. policy toward East Asia. The United States is working closely with both first asylum and resettlement nations and with the UNHCR to resolve the situation of the remaining Indochinese refugees in the first asylum countries in Southeast Asia and Hong Kong. Under the Comprehensive Plan of Action adopted by the 1989 International Conference on Indochinese refugees, the United States and other resettlement countries have pledged to resettle newly arriving asylum seekers who are determined to be bona fide refugees. The Comprehensive Plan has been successful in dramatically reducing new arrivals and facilitating voluntary repatriation. Most of the U.S. caseload of Vietnamese refugees in the first asylum camps of Southeast Asia and Hong Kong will have been admitted by the end of FY1994, leaving only a small residual caseload to be completed in 1995. The U.S. Orderly Departure Program (ODP) from Vietnam is a major area of cooperation between our two countries, allowing for the processing of former reeducation camp prisoners, former U.S. Government employees, former employees of private U.S. organizations, and Amerasian refugees, for resettlement in the United States. Immigrant visa beneficiaries are also processed under the ODP. Up to 45,000 Vietnamese were expected to be admitted as refugees in FY1994.

If the United States and Vietnam normalize relations, the resulting business and trade will continue the flow of Vietnamese immigrants at a lower but steady rate. The large Vietnamese American community presents an opportunity for business contacts. It also represents a continued impetus for immigration as Vietnamese Americans seek to bring their relatives to this country. One can also expect some Vietnamese Americans traveling to Vietnam to marry Vietnamese citizens and start a new round of immigration for their spouses and

eventually in-laws. These two trends of immigration and business, each contributing to the other, will tie the two nations closer together and make each a more significant concern for the other's foreign policy.

Africa

Although immigration to the United States from Africa has risen somewhat in recent years, Africa nevertheless accounts for a relatively small percentage of immigrants to the United States. Just three countries—Nigeria, Ghana, and Ethiopia—are the source of more than two-thirds of all immigrants from Africa. There has also been considerable interest from these countries in the DV program.

Political upheavals throughout the continent have created large populations of displaced persons who are eager to take advantage of available opportunities to emigrate to the United States, whether through family-based immigrant visa petitions or through refugee or asylee status. In addition, government officials and rebel leaders from several African countries have strong family connections in the United States, sometimes causing friction as immigration benefits gained through family relationships come into conflict with U.S. foreign policy considerations.

U.S. refugee admissions for Africa have remained at about 7,000 a year. These are primarily Somalis, Sudanese, Liberians, and Ethiopians. Most of the processing is carried out in Kenya.

Acronyms and Glossary

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Acronyms

ABC	American Baptist Churches
ACF	Administration for Children and Families
ADAMHA	Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration
ADD	Administration of Developmental Disabilities
ADMS	Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Services
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
AIG	American International Group
AoA	Administration on Aging
BEA	Bureau of Economic Analysis
CACFP	Child and Adult Care Food Program
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMHS	Center for Mental Health Services
CPS	Current Population Survey
CSPA	Chinese Student Protection Act
CPST	Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology
CSBG	Community Services Block Grant
CSE	Child Support Enforcement
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services
DOC	Department of Commerce
DOEd	Department of Education
DOL	Department of Labor
DOS	Department of State
DV	Diversity Visa
EA	Emergency Assistance
EC	Enterprise Communities
EMS	Emergency Medical Services
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EPR	employment-to-population ratio
ESA	Employment Standards Administration
EU	European Union
EWI	entries without inspection
EZ	Empowerment Zones
FCS	Food and Consumer Service
FLCs	farm labor contractors
FPL	Federal poverty level
FSP	Food Stamp Program
FY	fiscal year
GA	General Assistance
GAO	General Accounting Office
GCC	U.S.-Gulf Cooperation Council
GMA	General Medical Assistance
HCFA	Health Care Financing Administration
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
HRSA	Health Resources and Services Administration
HUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
IMMACT90	Immigration Act of 1990
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
IQCS	Integrated Quality Control System

LCA	Labor Condition Application
LEP	limited English proficient
LIHEAP	Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program
LIRS	Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
LPS2	Second Legalized Persons Survey
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MHSH	Mental Health Services to the Homeless
MSA	Metropolitan Statistical Area
NAS	National Academy of Sciences
NSCG	National Survey of College Graduates
NSLP	National School Lunch Program
NSF	National Science Foundation
OCS	Office of Community Services
ODP	U.S. Orderly Departure Program
OIG	Office of the Inspector General
ORR	Office of Refugee Resettlement
P&A	Protection and Advocacy
PAIMI	Protection and Advocacy for Individuals with Mental Illness
PATH	Projects for Assistance in Transition from Homelessness
PHS	Public Health Service
PLC	Permanent Labor Certification
PNS	Projects of National Significance
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRUCOL	permanently residing in the United States under color of law
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
RCA	Refugee Cash Assistance
RMA	Refugee Medical Assistance
RSDI	Social Security Retirement, Survivors, and Disability Insurance
S&E	science and engineering
SAMHSA	Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration
SAPT	Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment
SAVE	Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements
SAW	Special Agricultural Worker
SBP	School Breakfast Program
SDR	Survey of Doctorate Recipients
SED	Survey of Earned Doctorates
SEIU	Service Employees International Union
SFSP	Summer Food Service Program
SOFTPAC	Software Professionals Political Action Committee
SPRANS	special projects of regional and national significance
SSA	Social Security Administration
SSBG	Social Services Block Grant
SSDI	Social Security disability insurance
SSI	Supplemental Security Income
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
TFP	Thrifty Food Plan
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
UAP	University Affiliated Programs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
USCC	United States Catholic Conference
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
USINT	U.S. Interests Section
WHD	Wage and Hour Division
WIC	Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children

Glossary

Adjustment to Immigrant Status—Procedure allowing certain aliens already in the United States to apply for immigrant status. Aliens admitted to the United States in a nonimmigrant or other category may have their status changed to that of lawful permanent resident if they are eligible to receive an immigrant visa and one is immediately available. In such cases, the alien is counted as an immigrant as of the date of adjustment, even though the alien may have been in the United States for an extended period of time.

Agricultural Workers—As a nonimmigrant class of admission, an alien coming temporarily to the United States to perform agricultural labor or services, as defined by the Secretary of Labor. This nonimmigrant category was established as a separate class of admission by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Alien—Any person not a citizen or national of the United States.

Amerasian (Vietnam)—Immigrant visas are issued to Amerasians under Public Law 100-202 (Act of December 22, 1987), which provides for the admission of aliens born in Vietnam between January 1, 1962, and January 1, 1976, if the alien was fathered by a U.S. citizen. Spouses, children, and parents or guardians may accompany the alien.

Asylee—An alien in the United States or at a port-of-entry unable or unwilling to return to his or her country of nationality, or to seek the protection of that country because of persecution or a well founded fear of persecution. Persecution or the fear thereof may be based on the alien's race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. For persons with no nationality, the country of nationality is considered to be the country in which the alien last habitually resided. Asylees are eligible to adjust to lawful permanent resident status after 1 year of continuous presence in the United States. These immigrants are limited to 10,000 adjustments per fiscal year.

Cuban/Haitian Entrant—Status accorded 1) Cubans who entered the United States illegally between April 15, 1980, and October 10, 1980, and 2) Haitians who entered the country illegally before January 1, 1981. Cubans and Haitians meeting these criteria who have continuously resided in the United States since before January 1, 1982, and who were known to the INS before that date, may adjust to permanent residence under a provision of the Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986.

Diversity Transition—A transition toward the permanent diversity program in FY1995, allocating 40,000 visas annually during the period 1992 to 1994 to nationals of certain countries identified as having been "adversely affected" by the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965 (P.L. 89-236). At least 40 percent of the visas must be allocated to natives of Ireland.

Immediate Relatives—Certain immigrants who because of their close relationship to U.S. citizens are exempt from the numerical limitations imposed on immigration to the United States. Immediate relatives are: spouses of citizens, children (under 21 years of age) of citizens, parents of citizens 21 years of age or older, and orphans adopted by citizens who are at least 21 years of age.

Immigrant—An alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Immigrants are those persons lawfully accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States. They may be issued immigrant visas by the Department of State overseas or adjusted to permanent resident status by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the United States.

Immigration Act of 1990—Public Law 101-649 (Act of November 29, 1990), which increased total immigration to the United States under an overall flexible cap, revised all grounds for exclusion and deportation, authorized temporary protected status to aliens of designated countries, revised and established new nonimmigrant admission categories; revised and extended the Visa Waiver Pilot Program; and revised naturalization authority and requirements.

Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendments of 1986—Public Law 99-639 (Act of November 10, 1986), which was passed in order to deter immigration-related marriage fraud. Its major provision stipulates that aliens deriving their immigrant status based on a marriage of less than 2 years are conditional immigrants. To remove their conditional status the immigrants must apply at an Immigration and Naturalization Service office during the 90-day period before their second-year anniversary of receiving conditional status. If the aliens cannot show that the marriage through which the status was obtained was and is a valid one, their conditional immigrant status is terminated and they become deportable.

Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986—Public Law 99-603 (Act of November 6, 1986), which was passed in order to control and deter illegal immigration to the United States. Its major provisions stipulate legalization of undocumented aliens, legalization of certain agricultural workers, sanctions for employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers, and increased enforcement at U.S. borders.

Immigration and Nationality Act—The Act, which along with other immigration laws, treaties, and conventions of the United States, relates to the immigration, exclusion, deportation, or expulsion of aliens.

Intracompany Transferee—An alien, employed by an international firm or corporation, who seeks to enter the United States temporarily in order to continue to work for the same employer, or a subsidiary or affiliate, in a capacity that is primarily managerial, executive, or involves specialized knowledge.

National—A person owing permanent allegiance to a State.

Naturalization—The conferring, by any means, of citizenship upon a person after birth.

Nonimmigrant—An alien who seeks temporary entry to the United States for a specific purpose. The alien must have a permanent residence abroad (for most classes of admission) and qualify for the nonimmigrant classification sought. The nonimmigrant classifications are: foreign government officials, visitors for business and for pleasure, aliens in transit through the United States, treaty traders and investors, students, international representatives, temporary workers and trainees, representatives of foreign information media, exchange visitors, fiance(e)s of U.S. citizens, intracompany transferees, and NATO officials. Most nonimmigrants can be accompanied or joined by spouses and unmarried minor (or dependent) children.

Nonpreference Category—Nonpreference visas were available to qualified applicants not entitled to one under the other preferences until the category was eliminated by the Immigration Act of 1990. Nonpreference visas for persons not entitled to the other preferences had not been available since September 1978 because of high demand in the preference categories. An additional 5,000 nonpreference visas were available in each of FY1987 and 1988 under a provision of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. This program was extended into 1989, 1990, and 1991 with 15,000 visas issued each year. Aliens born in countries from which immigration was adversely affected by the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89-236) were eligible for the special nonpreference visas.

Parolee—An alien, appearing to be inadmissible to the inspecting officer, allowed to enter the United States under emergency (humanitarian) conditions or when that alien's entry is determined to be in the public interest. Parole does not constitute a formal admission to the United States and confers temporary admission status only, requiring parolees to leave when the conditions supporting their parole cease to exist. Types of parolees since 1992 include the following:

- 1) Deferred inspection—Parole may be granted to an alien who appears not to be clearly admissible to the inspecting officer. An appointment will be made for the alien's appearance at another Service office where more information is available and the inspection can be completed.
- 2) Advance parole—Authorized at an INS District office in advance of alien's arrival.
- 3) Port of entry parole—Authorized at the port upon alien's arrival.
- 4) Humanitarian parole—Authorized at INS headquarters, for example, granted to an alien who has a serious medical condition which would make detention or immediate return inappropriate.
- 5) Public interest parole—Authorized at INS headquarters, for example, granted to an alien who is a witness in legal proceedings or is subject to prosecution in the United States.
- 6) Overseas parole—Authorized at an INS District or suboffice while the alien is still overseas.

Per-Country Limit—The maximum number of family-sponsored and employment-based preference visas that can be issued to any country in a fiscal year. The limits are calculated each fiscal year depending on the total number of family-sponsored and employment-based visas available. No more than 7 percent of the visas may be issued to natives of an independent country in a fiscal year; dependencies of independent countries cannot exceed 2 percent. The per-country limit does not indicate, however, that a country is entitled to the maximum number of visas each year, just that it cannot receive more than that number. Because of the combined workings of the preference system and per-country limits, most countries do not reach this level of visa issuance.

Permanent Resident Alien—See Immigrant.

Port of Entry—Any location in the United States or its territories which is designated as a point of entry for aliens and U.S. citizens. All INS district offices are also considered ports because they become locations of entry for aliens adjusting to immigrant status.

Preference System (before FY1992)—The 6 categories among which 270,000 immigrant visa numbers are distributed each year during the period 1981-91. This preference system was amended by the Immigration Act of 1990, effective FY1992. (See Preference System (Immigration Act of 1990).) The six categories were: unmarried sons and daughters (over 21 years of age) of U.S. citizens (20 percent); spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence (26 percent); members of the professions or persons of exceptional ability in the sciences and arts (10 percent); married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens (10 percent); brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens over 21 years of age (24 percent); and needed skilled or unskilled workers (10 percent). A nonpreference category, historically open to immigrants not entitled to a visa number under one of the six preferences just listed, had no numbers available beginning in September 1978.

Preference System (Immigration Act of 1990)—The nine categories since FY1992 among which the family-sponsored and employment-based immigrant preference visas are distributed. The family-sponsored preferences are: 1) unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; 2) spouses, children, and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens; 3) married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; 4) brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. The employment-based preferences are: 1) priority workers (persons of extraordinary ability, outstanding professors and researchers, and certain multinational executives and managers); 2) professionals with advanced degrees or aliens with exceptional ability; 3) skilled workers, professionals (without advanced degrees), and needed unskilled workers; 4) special immigrants; and 5) employment creation immigrants (investors).

Refugee—Any person who is outside his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return to that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution. Persecution or the fear thereof may be based on the alien's race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. People with no nationality must be outside their country of last habitual residence to qualify as a refugee. Refugees are exempt from numerical limitation (though worldwide ceilings by geographic area are set annually by the President) and are eligible to adjust to lawful permanent residence after one year of continuous presence in the United States.

Refugee Approvals—The number of refugees approved for admission to the United States during a fiscal year. Refugee approvals are made by Immigration and Naturalization Service officers in overseas offices.

Refugee Arrivals—The number of refugees the Immigration and Naturalization Service initially admits to the United States through ports of entry during a fiscal year.

Special Immigrants—Certain categories of immigrants who were exempt from numerical limitation before fiscal year 1992 and subject to limitation under the employment-based fourth preference beginning in 1992: persons who lost citizenship by marriage; persons who lost citizenship by serving in foreign armed forces; ministers of religion, their spouses and children; certain employees and former employees of the U.S. Government abroad, their spouses and children; Panama Canal Act immigrants; certain foreign medical school graduates, their spouses and children; certain retired employees of international organizations, their spouses and children; juvenile court dependents; certain aliens serving in the U.S. Armed Forces, their spouses and children; and religious workers, their spouses and children.

Student—As a nonimmigrant class of admission, an alien coming temporarily to the United States to pursue a full course of study in an approved program in either an academic (college, university, seminary, conservatory, academic high school, elementary school, other institution, or language training program) or a vocational or other recognized nonacademic institution.

Suspension of Deportation—A discretionary benefit adjusting an alien's status from that of deportable alien to one lawfully admitted for permanent residence. Application for suspension of deportation is made during the course of a deportation hearing before an immigration judge.

Treaty Trader or Investor—As a nonimmigrant class of admission, an alien coming temporarily to the United States, under the provisions of a treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and the foreign state of such alien, to carry on substantial trade or to direct the operations of an enterprise in which he has invested a substantial amount of capital, and the alien's spouse and unmarried minor (or dependent) children.

Worldwide Ceiling—The numerical limit imposed on immigration visa issuance worldwide beginning in FY1979 and ending in FY1991. The ceiling in 1991 was 270,000 visa numbers. Prior to enactment of Public Law 96-212 on March 17, 1980, the worldwide ceiling was 290,000.

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