



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

November 2, 1998

The Honorable Jacob J. Lew
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Mr. Lew:

Enclosed is a draft of the "President's Triennial Report on Immigration." This report to Congress is required by section 401 of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1996 and includes material submitted by a number of federal agencies. Executive Order No. 12789 (February 10, 1992) delegated the authority to prepare this report to the Attorney General, in coordination with the Secretary of Labor. The final report is to be submitted to Congress by the Attorney General.

We are submitting the draft report for final interagency coordination. At a minimum, the draft report should be circulated to: the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, State, Education, and Health and Human Services, and the Social Security Administration. We request that any comments on the draft report be furnished to us by November 23, 1998.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely,

L. Anthony Sutin
Acting Assistant Attorney General

The President's 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. 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.

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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 aspect 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 DOE, 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 (DOE) 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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Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

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. 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 FY1988. (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.

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.¹ 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. citizens².
- **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.

¹ 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.

² 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.³ 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, 1990.⁴
- **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.

³ Note that the limits apply to the number of immigrants visas issued in a fiscal year. Because a visa is valid for 4 months, the number of immigrants admitted will differ from the specified limitation in any particular year.

⁴ 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.
- **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 239,000.⁵ 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 IMMACT90.⁶ 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.

⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸

⁷ Natives of Canada were eligible for participation in the program in 1993.

⁸ 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*
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

* May 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

	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		Total	
Category of Admission	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	235,059	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	405,321	5.2
Children	40,863	6.4	41,276	3.8	40,065	3	48,130	2.6	42,324	4.3	46,788	5.2	48,147	6	313,593	4
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	.8	12,486	1.3	12,819	1.4	13,181	1.6	95,198	1.3
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
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	583	0	444	0	1,086	0
Pre-1992	53,607	8.3	52,739	4.8	53,729	3.5	54,949	3	651	0	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	43,056	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	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	116,415	6.4	106,379	10.9	115,539	12.8	115,451	14.4	701,628	9
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: FYs 1988-1994 (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	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	213	0	99	0	62	0	47	0	32,949	0.4
Nationals advers. countries	6,029	0.9	7,068	0.6	20,371	1.3	12,268	0.7	1,557	0.2	10	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	2	0	x	x	19,474	0.2
Parolees, Soviet, Indchns	x	x	x	x	x	x	4,998	0.3	13,661	1.4	15,772	1.7	8,253	1	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	12,077	0.2
Registry, ent. Before 1/1/72	39,999	6.2	10,570	1	4,633	0.3	2,282	0.1	1,293	0.1	938	0.1	667	0	60,382	0.8
Suspension of deportation	3,772	0.6	3,384	0.3	889	0	782	0	1,013	0.1	1,468	0.2	2,220	0.3	13,528	0.2
Other	349	0	308	0	509	0	562	0	1,166	0.1	1,436	0.2	618	0	4,948	0.1
IRCA Immigrants, total	x	0	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	0	478,814	43.9	823,704	53.6	214,000	11.7	46,962	4.8	18,717	2.1	4,436	0.6	1,586,636	20.4
Special agr. workers	x	0	x	0	56,668	3.7	909,159	49.8	116,380	11.9	5,561	0.6	1,586	0.2	1,089,354	14

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.⁹

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.¹⁰

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.¹¹

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.¹²

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.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 162.

¹¹ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 161.

¹² 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).¹³

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).¹⁴ 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.

¹³ Report of the Visa Office 1994, p. 163.

¹⁴ 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 FYs1988-1994.¹⁵ 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 1991.¹⁶ In 1995, an estimated one-quarter (24 percent) of California's population were foreign-born persons; 19 percent were not U.S. citizens.¹⁷

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 1991.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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 1995.²⁰

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 1991.²¹ 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.²²

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28.

¹⁹ Hansen, "Profile of Foreign-Born Population," Table 4.

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

²¹ Statistical Abstract 1995, p. 28.

²² 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 FYs1988-1994.²³ (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 1991.²⁴

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.²⁵

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 1991.²⁶ (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.

²³ 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.

²⁴ Calculated from Statistical Abstract 1995, pp. 40-42.

²⁵ Statistical Abstract 1995, pp. 40-41.

²⁶ 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	13,4766	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	698,730	9
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	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	3.3	48,314	5	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
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	113,392	18.5	127,948	19.5	135,707	19.3	141,296	17.4	149,564	17	143,813	18	811,720	18.2
Florida	65,418	10.2	35,036	5.7	46,225	7	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	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	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	237,137	29.3	263,882	30	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	1,425,990	53.3
Texas	x	x	75,101	15.7	134,027	15.2	170,570	15.2	18,027	11	4,603	19	1,555	25.8	403,883	15.1
New York	x	x	21,374	4.5	61,641	7	52,397	4.7	8,103	5	1,645	6.8	541	9	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	11,493	7	1,098	4.5	159	2.6	141,737	5.3
Arizona	x	x	5,002	1	16,977	1.9	43,168	3	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	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 Area* (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
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**	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%	

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

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

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

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total	
								Number	%
IRCA Immigrants: Metropolitan Area* (Ranked by Total 1988-94)									
Total	x	478,814	880,372	1,123,162	163,342	24,278	6,022	2,675,990	100
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%	

* MSAs 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	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								
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	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								
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	0.5	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	1.5	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	64,457	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	347,321	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	55,309	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	0.0	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	10,173	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 FYs1997-1999.²⁷ 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.

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

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.

²⁷ These projections were developed in January 1997 based on preliminary data for fiscal year 1996 immigration and final counts of fiscal year 1995 immigration.

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.

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. 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 1994.²⁸ 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.

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.

²⁸Excluding refugee and asylee adjustments.

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	128,000	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

1 Includes 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	3	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

1 Includes 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.

²⁹ 1995 Report of the Visa Office, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs, February 1997, page 190.

³⁰ 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 1996.³¹ 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.

³¹ 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 1996.³² 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

³² 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 53,000.³³

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.

³³ 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.

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 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: FYs 1988-1994

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:
FYs1988-1994***

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*	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*	92	243	1,043	3,832	5,856	5,955	4,592
Yugoslavia*	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*	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*	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*	6	4	14	3	78	496	906
Other Countries	464	676	597	345	836	1,368	2,166

*For 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.³⁴ 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.

³⁴ 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: FYs 1995-1999

	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

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

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.³⁵

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

¹ Other consists primarily of transit aliens.

³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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

The U.S. Bureau of the Census currently uses an annual emigration figure of 222,000, which includes both citizens and aliens, for computing national population estimates. 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.

³⁶ These estimates were updated during and after FY1995, and they became available just before this year's Statistical Yearbook went into print.

Illegal Migration

Background

In 1994, the INS released detailed estimates of the undocumented immigrant population residing in the United States as of October 1992.³⁷ 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 overstay," 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 overstay—Estimates for 1982-1996 of the net number of nonimmigrant overstay, 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 overstay who subsequently either departed or adjusted to legal resident status.

³⁷ 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. 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.	Poland	70,000	8.	Massachusetts	85,000
9.	Nicaragua	70,000	9.	Virginia	55,000
10.	Bahamas	70,000	10.	Washington	52,000
11.	Colombia	65,000	11.	Colorado	45,000
12.	Ecuador	55,000	12.	Maryland	44,000
13.	Dominican Republic	50,000	13.	Michigan	37,000
14.	Trinidad & Tobago	50,000	14.	Pennsylvania	37,000
15.	Jamaica	41,000	15.	New Mexico	37,000
16.	Pakistan	33,000	16.	Oregon	33,000
17.	India	32,000	17.	Georgia	32,000
18.	Dominica	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	744,000		Other	330,000

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 data on country of birth and year of immigration collected by the Census Bureau in the March 1994, 1995, and 1996 CPSs. Demographic analysis 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 1994.³⁸

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.

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

³⁸ 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.

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 FYs 1989-1991, 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 FY 1995-1999 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.³⁹ The second survey was conducted in 1992 and was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor.⁴⁰ Most of the estimates are based on tabulations published in a report by Karen Woodrow-Lafield using the 1992 survey results.⁴¹

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.⁴² The naturalization rate for immigrants from all countries was 46 percent as of 1995.

³⁹ *Immigration Reform and Control Act: Report on the Legalized Alien Population*, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, March 1992.

⁴⁰ *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.

⁴¹ *Potential Sponsorship by IRCA-Legalized Immigrants*, Karen A. Woodrow-Lafield, U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, Summer 1994.

⁴² *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."⁴³

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.

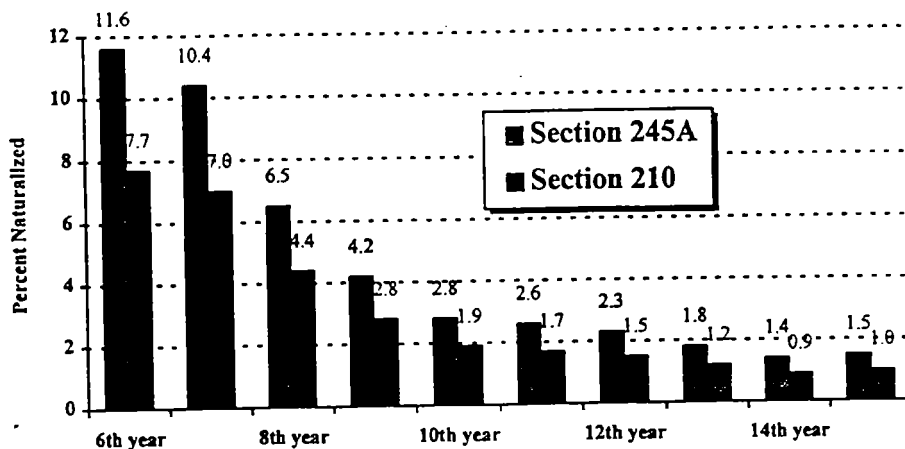
A lag of 18 months was added between the date of eligibility for naturalization and the date the immediate relative would be admitted to allow for processing of the naturalization and immigration applications. The first year of eligibility for naturalization for most Section 245A legalized aliens was 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

⁴³ *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 FYs 1970-1994. 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.

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

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	10.0	(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	3,376	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	1,730	967	12.5	365	5.0	209	27.6	385	39.8
New Mexico	1,303	52	4.0	1,515	81	3.5	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	12.2	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	2.0	(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 (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	4,887	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	17	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

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

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)	(113)	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. [STOOM95.PIN]

TABLE 2.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change:
April 1, 1990 to July 1, 1992 (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. [STOOM95.PIN]

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

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	4,552	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	5,236	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. [STOOM95.PIN]

TABLE 3.—Estimates of the Resident Population of States and Components of Change: July 1, 1992, to July 1, 1995 (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. [STOOM95.PIN]

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 3-year period from July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000, due to:				
		All Components			Net Migration	
		Pop. Projection July 1, 2000	Number	%	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	Pop. Projection July 1, 2000	Change for 3-year period from July 1, 1995, to July 1, 2000, due to:			
			All Components		Net Migration	
			Number	%	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	716	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

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

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.

percent). Naturalized citizens ages 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 President's Triennial Comprehensive Report on Immigration

Part II

Economic Impacts:

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

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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.

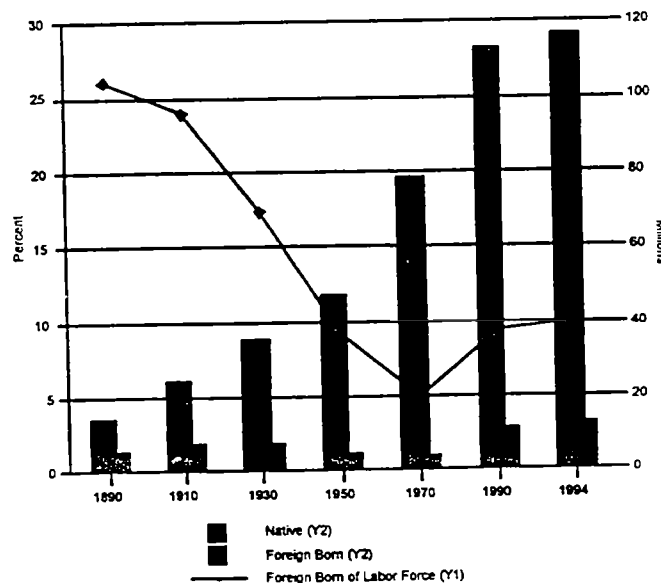
Consensus on the effects of immigration is difficult to achieve because of the lack of detailed data, variations in disciplinary emphasis, constant refinements in methods of analysis, disagreements about the appropriate level of analysis, philosophical differences, and the intrusion of noneconomic concerns. 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



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 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 be 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 lead 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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