



## Projecting the U.S. Population to 2050: Four Immigration Scenarios

#### **Executive Summary**

Depending on what Congress decides to do about immigration – curtail it, expand it – the United States is facing a future population just 45 years away that could vary by more than 135 million residents. Our population is going to be growing in any case, largely because of immigrants who have arrived in the past few generations, but that growth could be limited to about 72 million persons (a 24.6% increase) if we effectively combat illegal immigration and pare back legal immigration to a moderate level. Alternatively, if current proposals to increase immigration, give legal status to those currently here illegally, and create a new guest worker program were adopted, we likely will be facing the prospect of a population in 2050 of half a billion people. That would be about 200 million more persons than today (a 67% increase). If our policy makers pursue the latter course, our projection is that the country will be on a course to reaching about one billion people by the end of the century.

If Congress should end up ducking the issue of immigration reform and maintaining the status quo of mass legal and illegal immigration, our population is projected to still continue its rapid growth. Our projection is for a population of between 445 and 462 million residents depending on the assumptions used.

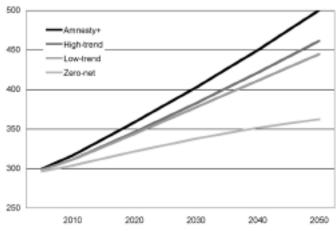
The difference between the highest and the lowest of the scenarios represents the population size issue that Congress and the administration should be focused on as the debate on immigration policy develops this year. Depending on the policy decisions that are made, our children and their children could be forced to grapple with the problems caused by a skyrocketing population that is more than 130 million more people than would be the case under a true immigration reform agenda.

The country's environment will be impacted very differently depending on the immigration decisions made today. The implications are enormous for our dependency on energy imports, the shift from being a net food exporter to a net food importer, the over-consumption and growing constraints of freshwater resources, aggravating urban sprawl and over-crowding, traffic congestion, greenhouse emissions, growing income inequality, and a myriad of other social issues.

We do not attempt in this report to describe in detail all of the implications of adding an additional 130 million people on top of an already fast growing population. That is a challenge for environmental, civic and other groups. But it is clear that those voices need to be heard by Congress,

#### United States Population Projection 2005–2050





not just the voices of business interests that seek access to additional foreign workers and ethnic advocacy groups that seek to increase the flow of co-ethnic immigrants.

The effects of immigration impact different areas of the country and states differently. To assist our members across the country and their elected representatives in assessing the effects on their state from potential immigration changes, our projections show the different population size that would likely result under the different scenarios for each state.

#### Introduction

The population of the United States is growing and changing rapidly. This trend is largely because of the current massive flow of immigrants – both legal and illegal. With proposals now on the table from the Bush Administration and members of Congress to further increase immigration, it is important to consider the implications of those proposed changes for our nation.

The American public recently has been reminded of looming problems associated with resource limitations. For example, we are now warned that today's high gasoline prices may continue and may go still higher because of our dependence on imports and greater international competition for dwindling reserves.

We also face the prospect of increasing competition for access to fresh water resources as our population increases. These and other national environmental concerns such as urban sprawl, unhealthy air quality, traffic congestion and diminishing wetlands add to the need for Americans to stop and think about population issues.

To assist in an informed consideration of the issues related to policies that would result from immigration policy changes currently being proposed, we offer below a 45-year projection of the United States population based on current demographic trends. We also offer alternative immigration scenarios that demonstrate the differences in the rate of population change that could result from different public policy decisions. These population projections have been developed for each state individually and then aggregated for the country as a whole.

If there is no major change in immigration law or enforcement, we project that by 2050 the country will have a population of 445 to 462 million people – 147 to 163 million more people than in 2005. This projection also indicates that about 33 million of the increase will come from people who were in the country in 1970 and their descendants. Another 32 million of this increase will be from post-1970 immigrants who are already in the country and the children born to them after their arrival. That leaves the majority of the increase resulting from the post-2005 continuing

legal and illegal immigration – 50 to 62.5 million additional legal residents and 32.6 to 36.7 million additional illegal residents respectively.<sup>2</sup>

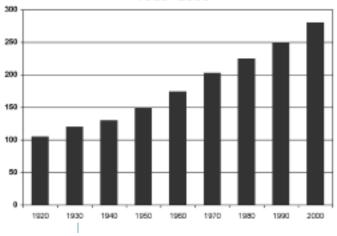
If the current proposals for some form of amnesty for illegal aliens, a new guest worker program and an increased level of immigration were adopted, our rate of population increase would be still higher, i.e., adding a further 39 million residents by 2050.

If, on the other hand, effective measures to deter illegal immigration are adopted and legal immigration categories and/or limits are reduced to a moderate level, the rate of population increase could be slowed, and, over time, population stability could be achieved.

"I read articles about water and energy shortages or traffic congestion, and they miss the underlying driving force of population growth." 1

> -Bill Elder, Ph.D., Director Office of Social and Economic Data Analysis, University of Missouri-St. Louis

U.S. Population 1920-2000



"The most powerful engine of ethno-racial diversification in the history of any nation, this law [the 1965 Immigration Act] constitutes one of the great turning points of American history."

> -Peter Schuck, Yale Law Professor Managing Diversity, 2003

In this population projection discussion, we will not go into the position of some environmental scientists that the United States is already over-populated from the perspective of the long-term 'carrying capacity' of our natural heritage. That perspective argues for policies aimed not at stabilizing the U.S. population but, rather, at policies that would allow a declining population until it reached a level that would be sustainable over the long term.

It is a mistake to assume that population change is immutable. The level of immigrant admissions has been steadily increased since 1965 by various legislative measures. As an example of the changing population dynamics, the average number of babies born to women during their reproductive years, i.e., the total fertility rate (TFR), has decreased as the United States has become more urban and women have entered the workforce in greater numbers. Just since 1950 the TFR has decreased from 3.0 to 1.8 in 1980 and has risen again to about 2.1 in 2000. This current level would mean that the U.S. population would be near stabilization if it were not for the addition to the population from immigration. Immigration – both legal and illegal – is subject to public policy, i.e., the limits on legal immigration can be changed by law, and immigration law enforcement can be lessened or increased.

#### The Past as Prologue

The United States has gone through cycles of high immigration and low immigration. During the first two decades of the past century, immigrant admissions averaged nearly 727,000 new 'green card' holders each year. As a reaction to and rejection of this high level of immigration, the country adopted in the early 1920s a more restrictive admissions policy based on national quotas. The average level of immigration for the half century between 1920 and 1970 was just slightly higher than 230,000 persons per year.

The current massive wave of immigrant admissions began as the result of the Immigration Act of 1965 that ended the national quotas system. Since the 1965 change took place, immigration has steadily grown to nearly a million persons per year. And, that does not count the illegal immigration that currently adds an additional about half a million persons to our population each year. Contributing to this current wave of immigration have been increased ceilings adopted in 1990, a major increase in refugee and other humanitarian admissions, and the adoption of a broad amnesty for illegal aliens in 1986 and other mini-amnesties for Cubans, Haitians, Central Americans and others.

The significance of the 1965 Immigration Act is not just that it launched a new surge in immigrant admissions but also that it radically changed the composition of legal immigration to allow a shift of the flow from European immigrants to immigrants from Asian and Latin American countries. This shift is important to a focus on future trends in the U.S. population to the extent that depending on where they come from, immigrants have different impacts on the population depending on their average family size. In general, immigrants tend to have larger families than the native-born population, but this varies by country of origin.

A recent report by the Center for Immigration Studies found that immigrant women from the top ten source countries of current immigration have an average of 2.9 children, which is not only half-again higher than the average for native-born women, it is also nearly a quarter higher than average birth rates in their native countries. In part, this higher birth rate is accentuated as a result of illegal immigration. Women illegally present in the United States have an average of 3.1 children, whereas legal immigrant women have an average of 2.6 children.<sup>3</sup>

#### Current Demographic Dynamics

At present, immigration and births to immigrants after their arrival account for about four-fifths of the country's annual population increase. This estimate is derived from a calculation that new immigration and births to immigrants already here account for about 2.3 million of the estimated annual average increase in our population since 2000 of about 2.87 million persons.<sup>4</sup> Because immigration is the largest factor in population dynamics and is discretionary, it is the primary factor to be focused on in any examination of population policy.

As may be seen in a data display that disaggregates our current population into those who are foreign-born, those who are other immigrant stock<sup>5</sup> (meaning U.S.-born offspring of immigrants), and other native-born Americans, both of the immigration-related population components are growing rapidly while the non-stock, native-born population is leveling off.<sup>6</sup> This demonstrates the major impact that immigration has had on population change through 2000.

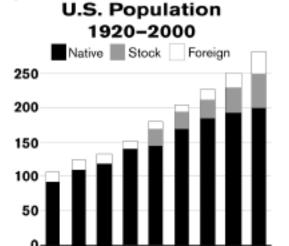
In 1969, President Nixon made a major address on population in which he noted, "Only recently has it come to be seen that pressing problems are also posed for advanced industrial countries when their populations increase at the rate that the United States, for example, must now anticipate. Food supplies may be ample in such nations, but social supplies — the capacity to educate youth, to provide privacy and living space, to maintain the processes of open, democratic government — may be grievously strained." This message presaged the development of societal effects of crowding that, inter alia, have led to the coining of terms such as "road rage," "smog" and "urban sprawl."

In 1972, a two-year study by a joint presidential-congressional commission with representatives of major corporations, unions, environmental organizations, and urban, ethnic, and women's groups recommended freezing immigration at its then-current level of about 400,000 a year as part of a national population policy.

The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, chaired by the late Barbara Jordan, a former member of Congress from Texas and a law school professor, recommended in the mid 1990s that legal immigration be significantly restructured and reduced and that extensive measures be adopted to diminish illegal immigration. Though illegal immigration recommendations were acted on in 1996, the recommended reforms to legal immigration were largely shelved, and have been left to gather dust.

"We disagree with those who would label efforts to control immigration as being inherently anti-immigrant. Rather, it is both a right and a responsibility of a democratic society to manage immigration so it serves the national interest."

-Barbara Jordan, former Congresswoman, constitutional law professor and Chair, U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform<sup>8</sup>



"We have looked for, and have not found, any convincing economic argument for continued population growth. The health of our country does not depend on it, nor does the vitality of business nor the welfare of the average person."

> -Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972

"This is a sensitive issue, but reducing immigration levels is a necessary part of population stabilization and the drive toward sustainability."

-President's Council on Sustainable Development, 1996<sup>11</sup>

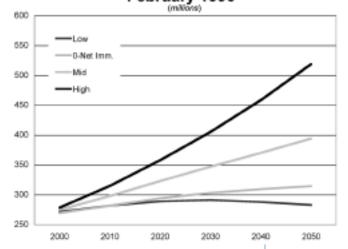
Now, rather than acting to reduce immigration, as public opinion polls have shown to be desired by a strong majority of Americans,<sup>9</sup> President Bush has proposed increasing immigration as well as increasing the number of guest workers admitted to take American jobs each year.<sup>10</sup> Legislation has been introduced in Congress to not only increase legal immigration and guest workers, but also to offer legal work status or permanent residence – amnesty – to those now residing illegally in the country.

Advocates of increased immigration include national ethnic groups that have seen the size of their co-ethnic population increase dramatically since the pivotal change in the immigrant admissions system adopted in 1965. Since 1970 the Asian population has soared from 2.9 million to 10.5 million residents. During that period, 7.4 million immigrants from Asia were admitted for legal residence, accounting for virtually all of the increase. During the same period, the population identifying itself as Hispanic increased from 8.7 million to 35.3 million, and, in the process, surpassed blacks as the nation's largest minority. During that period, immigration from the Western Hemisphere other than Canada (including

Mexico, all of Central and South America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic as well as a few non-Hispanic countries, such as Haiti, Jamaica and Guyana) totaled about 9.7 million admissions.<sup>12</sup> Thus legal immigration during this period represented about 35 percent of the increase in the Hispanic population. Illegal immigration from these same countries contributed nearly as large a share of the increase, so that the combined immigration effect explains most of the increase in the Hispanic population.

During the three decades from 1970 to 2000, the U.S. population increased by 39 percent. Over the same period the Asian population increased by 236 percent and the Hispanic population increased by 305 percent. Besides legal and illegal immigration, the rapid rise of these populations also results from the higher birth rates noted above.

#### Census Bureau Projection February 1996



"It's difficult to make predictions — particularly about the future."

- Yogi Berra

#### A Questionable Future

As our focus shifts to future population trends, we note that population projections depend upon the assumptions that underlie them. The Census Bureau issued a population projection in February 1996 that included a low, middle, and high projection. The three projections each incorporated different assumptions regarding fertility, life expectancy and net immigration. The middle scenario used an assumption of net immigration at 820,000 additions per year, while the low and high projections used assumptions of 300,000 and 1,370,000 per year respectively. There were also different assumptions regarding fertility and life expectancy for each of the alternative projections. The high 2050 projection was for a population of 518.9 million residents; the low projection was for 282.5 million people; and the middle projection – the one considered most likely – was for 393.9 million persons.

The 1996 projection also included an immigration stability projection (zero-net immigration) that used the mid-range assumptions for fertility and for life expectancy but with immigration balancing emigration for a zero-net increase to the population from immigration. The difference between the Census Bureau's current trend projection and the zero-net projection in 2050 was 79.8 million fewer residents if immigration were not fueling the increase.

In January 2000 – before the 2000 Census data were collected – the Census Bureau released a new projection for a full century in the future. That projection offered a vast range from a high of nearly 1.2 billion residents in 2100 to a low of about 283 million. The mid-level projection was for a population in 2100 of 571 million persons. The difference was, naturally, a result of the difference in the assumptions used. The highest projection used an increasing total fertility (from 2.059 to

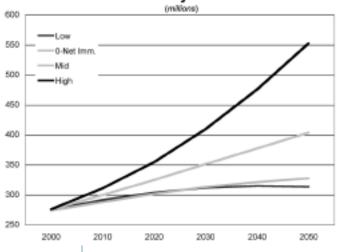
2.737) and an increasing average life expectancy (from 74.1 years for men and 79.8 years for women to 92.3 years for men and 95.2 years for women). The immigration assumptions were for a net addition from about 1.2 million to over 3 million persons each year. The mid-range projections were for fertility to increase moderately, and the low projection had fertility decreasing. The mid-range life expectancy had the average for males increasing to 88 years and to 91.8 years for women, while in the low projection average male life expectancy also increased, but to 85 years and for females to 89.3 years. The immigration assumptions in the mid-range projection were for a varying rate that began at 954,000 per year, decreased to 912,000 by 2025, then increased to 984,000 by 2050, and then decreased again to 926,000 per year to 2100. The low projection had a major drop-off in immigration from 739,000 at the start to 183,000 followed by 169,000, and 117,000 net additions per year.

This projection also included an immigration stability projection (zero-net) in which it was assumed that immigration would match emigration. The assumption also used the mid-range assumptions for fertility and life expectancy. The resulting projection was for a significantly lower population than the mid-range projection, but not as low as the low projection because of the latter's assumptions of much lower fertility and life expectancy.

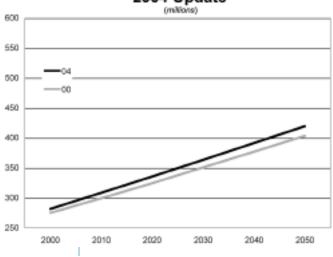
We show the 2000 projection only out as far as the year 2050 because that is the range of our new projection, but it should be kept in mind that it is not inconceivable that our population could reach one billion residents as early as 2090, if the assumed immigration levels and other high assumptions were to occur.

What should be learned from this projection is that the difference in population in 2050 between the mid-level and the immigration stability projections is 76.1 million residents. Remember that the immigration stability projection is not based on zero

#### Census Bureau Projection January 2000



#### Census Bureau Projection 2004 Update



"The environmental messes we see all around us are only symptoms of the real cause way too many people in many parts of the country, and a looming tidal wave of overpopulation that threatens to swamp any hope that our greatgrandchildren will enjoy the kind of outdoors pursuits we do. ... Do you think we could continue to maintain the kind of wildlife habitat we have now if the demand for living space for people were to double? Do you think the best efforts at controlling air and water pollution can do more than slow the rate of degradation?"

-Eric Sharp, sports columnist, "Overpopulation is the real culprit," Detroit Free Press, January 21, 2006

immigration but, rather, on having immigration at a low level where it balances emigration.

The 2000 Census Bureau projection was updated in March 2004 because the 2000 Census revealed that the assumed size of the 2000 U.S. population – upon which the projection had been based – was underestimated by about 6.8 million persons. A minimal revision was issued for the mid-level projection that raised the population starting point for the findings of the 2000 Census. This projection update also slightly decreased the fertility assumption and slightly increased the immigration assumption (from 912,000 to 996,000 in 2025 rising in 2050 from 984,000 to 1,097,000).

The resulting mid-level projection for 2050 by the Census Bureau is for a population of 419.9 million residents. This projection raises the mid-level population projection in 2050 by 17.6 million people from the projection four years earlier.

The Census Bureau has often underestimated the rate of increase in the U.S. population in the mid-level projection, and subsequent projections have adjusted the projection higher. If this pattern holds true, we can expect the next projection of the Census Bureau to reflect a still higher mid-range projection for 2050 than the 420 million residents projected in 2004.

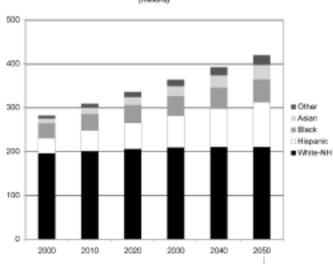
#### Why it Matters: Less Space, More Diversity

In the 2000 Census, more than 13 million residents said they had arrived to live in the United States since 1990 – an average increase of more than 1.3 million per year. Those who avoided being counted because they were here in violation of the law would add additional millions. Nearly 18 percent of those who were counted said they spoke a language other than English at home, and nearly half of them acknowledged that they spoke English "less than very well."

As the immigrant population surges, income inequality increases with both the well-off and the poor increasing and the middle-class shrinking.<sup>13</sup> Increasingly, low-skilled American workers are losing jobs to foreign workers willing to work for lower wages, and wage rates are falling or stagnating in those sectors of the economy so that American workers become less able to support a family.<sup>14</sup>

In 2005, the United States may have become a net food importer for the first time in 44 years.<sup>15</sup> As the population expands and food needs increase, the country is steadily paving over productive crop lands to provide housing, schools, hospitals, job sites, retail outlets and for other uses. We are already dependent on imports of petroleum to keep our cars running, our factories humming and for producing the fertilizers that produce our crops. Every year as our population increases and our imports grow to keep up, we become more dependent on foreign suppliers.

#### Census Bureau 2004 Projection



#### AN ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

From an environmental perspective, the addition of 135 million people to today's U.S. population of some 300 million over the next 45 years would be extremely destructive because population size is the major determinant of environmental impact.

It would be of more than just domestic concern because U.S. population size and consumption have a larger global effect than that of people anywhere else, an impact currently greater than that of China and India combined! Our cars and industrial processes cause some 30 percent of all greenhouse gases responsible for global warming, climate change and increasingly-destructive weather events. And the U.S. is the major contributor of the gases which cause thinning of the protective stratospheric ozone layer.

Up close, considering "environment" as our immediate surroundings, it's obvious that the increase would bring more congestion, delays, crowding, public expenditure for additional needed infrastructure and faster depletion of finite resources like coal, oil, gas and mineral commodities which would affect people through higher prices.

While humans can adapt to change relatively quickly, plants and animals generally cannot. So, the impact on ecosystems and even on inanimate systems like glaciers would be far greater than the impact on people.

But a 45% increase in U.S. population, within a timeframe about three-fifths of an average U.S. lifetime, is so large and so fast that, even for humans, adjustment would not be easy.

While our concerns are global, an environmental focus on the U.S. makes sense.

1.) The U.S. is our habitat. We want to maintain its natural endowments for future generations. 2.) U.S. population is growing, albeit needlessly, at a far faster rate than that of any other large industrialized nation. 3.) The U.S. is looked upon as an example by many Third World nations whose citizens equate our population growth with economic success.

Our population growth impacts other species mainly through competition for habitat and food. It impacts inanimate Nature through increasing use of topsoil, pasture, forest and waters, often in irreversible ways like wind- and water-erosion, salinization, coastal salt-water intrusion, desertification and pre-empting of lands and waters through paving, mining, drilling, damming, overpumping of ground- and surface-water sources, draining of wetlands, siltation and air and water pollution, particularly toxic pollution.

The environmental impact of a rapid 45% increase in U.S. population, today due mainly to a continuing Immigration Boom, the highest numbers in American history, would be greater than the considerable impact of the post-WWII Baby Boom, a 65% jump over a 40-year span, occurring when our population was some 125 million, less than half today's.

That earlier population surge had an enormous impact on urbanization, growth in energy demand, and in expansion of highways and other infrastructure, encouraging sprawl. It ushered in new concerns about pollution, smog, acid rain and nuclear accidents.

Today the Boom would be starting from not only a much larger U.S. population number but also a much-depleted natural base. U.S. population is already so large that many water supplies are no longer being renewed naturally at a sustainable rate. Air pollution is endemic in urban and industrial areas and downwind from them. Even Grand Canyon, Great Smoky and other National Parks are impacted! Less than half of America's waters are fishable and swimmable. Even the Great Lakes are seriously polluted, particularly from heavily-populated areas like many others where expenditure for sewage treatment and overflow-prevention facilities have not kept up with population growth. In efforts to meet the demand for fossil fuel, minerals and timber, natural areas are increasingly encroached upon and exploited. Our overpopulation has put some 1,000 U.S. plant and animal species on the threatened and endangered list. Some of them have already been rendered extinct.

Today's unsustainable U.S. population growth is mainly the result of adoption by Congress and the Administration of outdated 19th Century-era mass immigration, pre-environmental-preservation policies. These policies, among other effects, subsidize and encourage larger than replacement family size. They are the antithesis of an environmental perspective that recognizes that long-term sustainable population size is limited by the essential ecosystem services that Nature can provide renewably. Our population growth has exceeded that limit since the 1950s. Therefore, government policies which directly or indirectly encourage further increase in U.S. population are irresponsible, rob the future, and must be rejected.

-Alan Kuper, Ph.D., is an environmental commentator, founder and President of CUSP (Comprehensive Sustainable U.S. Population), and a member of the FAIR Board of Advisors. Our leaders have gotten the nation on a dangerous treadmill. As our population surges – fueled by immigration – the real estate industry insists it needs more foreign workers to build homes for the growing population, more schools have to be built to accommodate the children who are increasingly the children of immigrants, shortages of teachers and nurses – especially ones who speak foreign languages – are asserted as a reason to hire additional foreign workers. And these additional foreign workers need places to live, so the treadmill grinds inexorably onward.

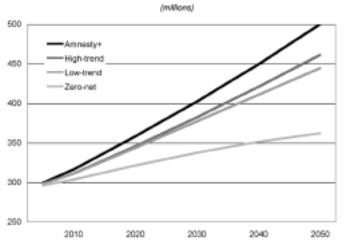
#### The Changing Composition of the Population

Although the current Census Bureau projection is out of date, its findings are worth noting as a prelude to describing the results of our projection. As noted above, the racial/ethnic composition of the population is undergoing rapid change as the population increases. This change is due both to the effects of immigration and larger average family size. Another effect on the population is in the age structure, as a result of the fact that the largest share of immigrants entering the country are already adults.

The Census Bureau's 2004 mid-level projection indicates the white (non-

Hispanic) population will account for a decreasing share of the population increase over the 50-year period. From constituting one-fifth (20.1%) of the increase between 2000 and 2010, the share steadily drops to zero for the 2040-50 period. The Hispanic population has a steadily rising share of the population increase: from 45.5 percent of the 2000-10 population increase to more than half of the increase (53.6%) at the end of the projection. Blacks have a fairly constant population share, accounting for 13.4 percent at first and ending up with 12.9 percent in 2050. Asians, like Hispanics, have a steadily rising share of the projected population change: from 13.1 percent at first, then rising to 19.3 percent for 2040-50. Finally, persons in the "Other" category, which includes American Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, and those who assert multiple race, rise from 7.8 percent of the population to 14.3 percent, largely due to increased multiple race identification.

#### United States Population Projection 2005–2050



In 2050, according to this Census Bureau projection, whites (non-Hispanic) will constitute just barely over half (50.1%) of the population, Hispanics will constitute nearly one-quarter (24.4%), and non-Hispanic blacks will be half the size of the Hispanic population (12.2%), while Asians will be 8 percent and others will constitute 5.3 percent. These changes in the relative size of the different racial/ethnic groups are a factor of both different rates of immigration and different rates of fertility. When either or both of these factors change, the relative change between the races/ethnic groups is also subject to change.

#### Population Effects of Immigration

FAIR's projection of the nation's population between now and 2050 is designed to demonstrate the relationship between immigration and its effect on population change at a time when Congress is considering a major change in immigration policy.

A description of the population effects of continuity or change in immigration policy at the national level follows. Then we provide projections for the states and for the District of Columbia. In developing the national projection, we have simply summed the separate projections for the states and the District of Columbia. In brief, the following effects may be seen from the state projections.

If the U.S. continues its current trend of immigration-fueled rapid population increase, two states – Nevada and Arizona – are projected to more than double their population over the next 45 years – nearly tripling in the case of Nevada. Another 16 states are projected to experience a more than 50 percent increase in population. Those states, in order of largest to smallest change, are: California, Texas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Utah, Idaho, Washington, New Jersey, Oregon, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Mexico, Delaware and Virginia. Washington, D.C. also falls in this category. An additional 21 states are projected to have an increase of more than 20 percent in their population by 2050. That would leave just 11 states with moderate population change.

If, on top of the current trend, proposals for a new guest worker program and amnesty for current illegal alien workers were adopted along with an increase in immigration, Nevada is projected to more than triple its population (242%), and an additional two states would be added to those having more than a doubling in population, i.e., California and Texas. Three additional states would move into the ranks of those projected to have more than a 20 percent increase in population, i.e., lowa, Vermont and Mississippi. This would shrink the remaining number of states with moderate population growth to 8.

However, if legislation were adopted to effectively combat illegal immigration and to reduce legal immigration to more moderate levels, the number of states projected to experience huge population increases would decrease. Nevada would still more than double its population (136%), but it would be the only state with hyper-growth. The only other state that would still have more than a 50 percent growth rate would be Arizona. There would still be 20 states projected to have more than a 20 percent increase in population, but in all cases a much lower level than without immigration reduction. In descending order of increase, they are: Idaho, Colorado, Texas, Utah, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, California, Delaware, Washington, Oregon, New Mexico, Alaska, Tennessee, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Virginia and New Hampshire. That would leave 28 states with moderate growth or near population stability. Most importantly, the groundwork would be in place for a gradual slowing of national population growth to a stable level.

First we provide summary data for each decade, beginning with 2010. Following the sections describing the national and the state projections is an appendix that describes in detail the methodology used in arriving at these projections.

"The ecosystem doesn't need another 300 million consuming Americans. I'm just appalled that the environmental movement, in its political correctness, doesn't take on this question of how big we want to be."

-Dick Lamm, former Colorado Governor dailycamera.com Jan. 23, 2006.

#### Total Population by Cohort

The United States population in mid-2005 stood at about 295 million. If illegal immigration were effectively curbed and legal immigration were reduced to a moderate level, our population would increase to about 362 million persons in the year 2050. This is our immigration stability or zeronet scenario.

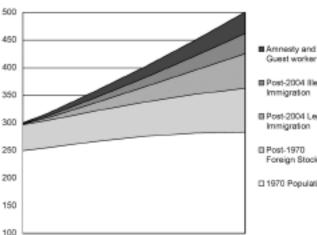
With legal and illegal immigration continuing at current levels, the 2050 population would increase to between 445 and 462 million persons, depending on the assumptions used. That constitutes an increase of 49 to 55 percent above the 2005 population.

Adoption of proposed immigration changes for an amnesty, new guest worker program and increases in legal immigrant admissions would push the projected population up to slightly more than 500 million residents.

The wedge diagram to the left shows the dramatic effect on population of post-1965 immigration and its continuation for the first half of the century.

> This chart is based on the high assumption for continuing legal and illegal immigration and the increase currently being proposed.

#### U.S. Population Projection Cohorts 2005-2050



■ Post-2004 Illegal Immigration

■ Post-2004 Legal Immigration

Foreign Stock

☐ 1970 Population

The great failure of the environmental movement of the early 1970s was the failure to induce U.S. policy makers to follow the recommendation of leading environmentalists by reducing net immigration to a level close to zero. Had immigration been reduced in 1970 to a replacement level,17 the total population would be fewer than 250 million residents in 2050 - 47 million fewer than today. The population would still be rising, but the rate of increase would be decreasing toward leveling off. That would lead to population stability. But, as a result of immigration since 1970, our population in 2005 is 47 million higher than it would have been without mass immigration, and, because of the higher fertility rate of the post-1970 immigrant population, that cohort is projected to continue to add another nearly 34 million residents over the next 45 years.

If legal immigration continues at its current rate of increase, it is projected to add nearly an additional 63 million residents to our population over the next 45 years - including the children born to those immigrants. Continuing illegal immigration is projected to add about an additional 37 million residents over the next 45 years, including the children born to those illegal immigrants.

Finally, the projection shows the combined population effects of current proposals for an amnesty for illegal alien residents, a new guest worker program, and increased admission levels for legal immigrants. Those measures are projected to add a further nearly 39 million people to the country's population by 2050.

#### Change in Ethnic Composition

The ethnic composition of the United States has rapidly changed as a result of the 1965 changes in immigration policy. It will continue to be rapidly changed by the continuation of that policy, and, if immigration is increased, as currently proposed, the U.S. population will be even more rapidly altered.

The chart to the right shows the close to replacement level fertility of non-Hispanic whites. This population segment is projected to increase slightly (10%) over the next 45 years assuming continuing legal and illegal immigration and an amnesty/guest worker augmentation of population growth.

The Mexican immigrant and heritage segment of the population shows the greatest increase (by 345%). This increase is fueled by ongoing legal and illegal immigration, the effects of an amnesty/guest worker program, and by the larger family size of Mexican immigrants.

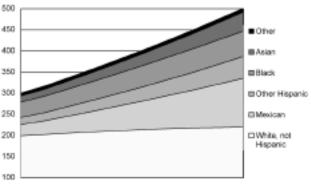
Other Hispanic immigrants and their offspring are projected to rise over the next 45 years by 206 percent – from about 17 million to about 52 million residents. The rapid increase in this population segment also is fueled by amnesty, illegal immigration, family size and continuing legal immigration.

The black population, whose size is less influenced by immigration, is projected to increase by almost 66 percent. The difference in the rate of increase between blacks and non-Hispanic whites is largely a factor of different fertility rates.

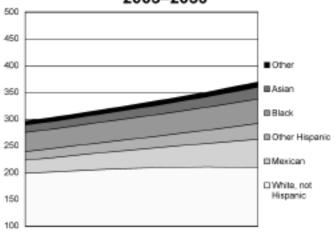
The Asian population is projected to also increase rapidly over the next 45 years, i.e., from 14.4 million to nearly 45 million. That would be an increase of 213 percent. Most of that increase would result from continuing large-scale legal immigration from Asian countries, but some of the increase also results from illegal immigration and higher fertility rates among some nationality groups in the Asian immigrant population.

While our focus is on the size of the population increase resulting from immigration, it should be noted that the social capital of the immigrants is also an issue of concern. All studies of the characteristics of recent immigrants note a difference between legal immigrants, refugees and illegal immigrants. Illegal immigrants tend in general to have lower levels of education and skills than all but high school dropouts among native-born Americans. As a result they tend to compete for jobs with our most vulnerable citizens. As a result of the large number of amnestied illegal aliens in our society, some of whom obtain U.S. citizenship, under our current immigration law we may expect an increasing flow of family sponsored immigrants who have similarly low levels of education and skills.

#### U.S. Population Projection Race/Ethnicity 2005–2050



#### U.S. Population Projection Zero-Net Scenario 2005–2050



The amnesty proposal currently being urged on Congress would incorporate 11-13 million illegal aliens who generally are poorly skilled and put them on the path to becoming able to sponsor extended family members for immigration. Similarly, a new guest worker program, besides creating additional competition with American workers for low-end jobs, would tend to bring into the country persons with many of the same characteristics as today's influx of illegal immigrants.

So, beyond focusing on the number of immigrants being proposed for admission as permanent members of our society, policy makers should also give careful thought to the long-term effects on social cohesion, the workforce of tomorrow and the likelihood that many of these guest workers are unlikely to go home at the end of a supposedly temporary period of work in our country.

By contrast, if an immigration stability (net-zero) policy were adopted, the results would be very different. This policy, which FAIR advocates, is often described by Hispanic activists as discriminatory against Hispanics because Hispanics currently constitute the largest share of both illegal and legal immigration and would proportionately be reduced the most in a curtailment of legal and illegal immigration. However, the adoption of the stability policy would not change the fact that the Mexican origin and other Hispanic populations would continue to grow rapidly as may be seen in the zero-migration graphic.

The Mexican ethnic population would still more than double (108%) over the next 45 years. The other Hispanic population would increase by 84 percent and the Asian ethnic population would increase by 25 percent. The black population would increase by 45 percent and the white population by 6 percent.

Part of this continuing increase would result from the greater than replacement level fertility of these population segments, part would come from continuing legal immigration, and part would result from the fact that the policies to brake illegal immigration and reduce legal immigration would take time to become wholly operational. Beyond 2050, the trend lines would be expected to level off towards population stability.

#### The Need for a National Population Policy

The United States has no population policy. The closest it comes to such a policy is an income tax structure that encourages larger families through reduced obligations for persons with dependent children, educational and child-care deductions. Child support, welfare programs and school feeding programs for needy children – although aimed at benefiting children – also have the effect of reducing the consequences of out-of-wedlock births. Similarly, an immigration policy that admits newcomers in numbers that cause the population to expand is, in effect, a form of de facto population policy. But, these are ad hoc components of a non-policy, and there is no over-arching framework within which these programs have been adopted.

"If you can look into the seeds of time, And say which grain will grow, and which will not, Speak then to me."

-William Shakespeare, "Macbeth"

Given the advent of ever-growing resource constraints as a real aspect of America's future, the nation needs a population policy that considers the components that relate to population size and structure and provides specific guidelines to shape the country's long-term interests. It should be clear that a population policy must incorporate an immigration policy that focuses on the overall size and composition of the flow of immigrants.

By the middle of this century, our projection shows that the population of the United States could be half a billion residents, a size once associated only with densely populated India and China. The current Census Bureau estimate of 420 million residents by the year 2050 is outdated because of the effects of immigration. That underestimate will obviously become more pronounced if currently proposed amnesty provisions are adopted.

If the current trend in immigration is unchanged, or if it is increased, the incremental impact on the environment and resources will be magnified. The implications of those effects on the quality of life, standard of living, increased income inequality, the potential for social conflict, and the potential erosion of traditional American liberties must be a cause for concern for all Americans.

Indeed, the concern should be of such urgency as to lead to a sea change in current policy. The need for strict border control, interior enforcement and an immigration moratorium as part of designing a rational population/immigration policy should be obvious to all who are not wearing blinders.

#### The Significance of the Projections

It is clearly difficult to second-guess what the nation's policy makers are likely to decide with regard to immigration policy. It is, therefore, difficult to identify the most likely scenario for the nation's population future at a time when Congress is contemplating a major immigration policy change. Nevertheless, it is an abdication of responsibility by the administration not to use the expertise of its demographic experts to chart the population alternatives that may flow from decisions that lawmakers are being asked to consider at the present time. FAIR, with this population projection study, is addressing this void.

The implications of immigration policy changes are profound not only on the United States, but also for countries that are the source of large migration flows into our country. Mexico is the chief example. Mexico is the primary source by a large margin of current legal and illegal immigration. Mexico accounted for more than 18 percent of the legal immigrant admissions between FY 1993-2002 – about two-and-a-half times as many as from India, the second largest source of immigrants over this period. Mexico also accounts for more than two-thirds of the illegal alien population. Recent polling in Mexico reported by the Pew Hispanic Center indicates that 40% of its population, i.e., more than 42 million persons, would like to migrate to the United States, and half of those respondents said they were prepared to do so illegally.<sup>18</sup> Add the fact that the poll presumably was of adults, and the number of uninvited migrants would be still

"In our every deliberation we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations."

-Iroquois Confederacy Wisdom

higher because of the children they would bring with them. Mexico, like poorer countries to its south, has increasingly counted on remittances from illegal aliens in the United States as a balance of payments asset and resource that assists impoverished communities.

If the United States were to adopt an immigration stability (zero-net) policy, the results would be beneficial to our country in beginning a process that would reverse the trend in growing social, environmental and fiscal burden of illegal immigration, and at the same time reverse the growing reliance of migrant source countries on the social and economic benefits to them from the export of their citizens. It should be noted that the effects of the change would be both short term, in reducing legal and illegal entry into the United States, and long term, in decreasing immigration opportunities through chain migration and in pressuring the current illegal alien population to return to their home countries.

If, on the other hand, the United States were to adopt an amnesty and an increase in immigrant and guest worker admissions, the results would heighten the environmental, social and fiscal burden on our country while at the same time accommodating the ability of Mexico and other countries to alleviate the population pressures from their faster growing populations and obtain greater benefit from the flow of remittances. The two-edged sword of remittances is that while they benefit the home countries of the migrants to the United States, they are earnings removed from our economy to its detriment.

Those who tout the idea of a new amnesty/guest worker program claim it would reduce illegal immigration. But the fact is there are already legal guest worker programs, i.e., those for agricultural workers (H-2A visas) and for unskilled workers (H-2B visas), and those programs have had little, if any, impact on illegal immigration. This is because hiring illegal workers involves less paperwork for employers, avoidance of protections related to housing and return travel, and because the illegal workers are prepared to work for less. There is no reason to expect any different result in deterring the hiring of illegal workers from another guest worker program. In addition, the issue of guest workers is tied into the issue of amnesty. Proposals for a new guest worker program include a provision for them to gain the ability to apply for permanent residence outside of current limits after several years working as supposedly temporary workers.<sup>19</sup> That obviously would increase legal immigration.

A guest worker program that is truly temporary would have a population effect equal to the number of new entrants – beyond what is already authorized – times the number of years they could stay. Current proposals in Congress would confer guest worker status on already present illegal workers. Because they are already in the country, the population impact could in theory be nil, but practical considerations belie that potentiality. No country that has experience with guest worker programs, including the United States, has found that most guest workers after a number of years earning higher salaries and becoming used to a more affluent society willingly return to their home country. Instead, they regularly

become illegal residents and await permanent residence through some form of amnesty. Considering that those who are currently being proposed for guest worker status are living and working here illegally, it defies logic to anticipate that they would voluntarily leave the country after additional years of residence here. Rather, they would likely simply resume illegal residence.

#### Conclusion

The enormous difference between the amnesty/guest worker scenario and the immigration stability scenario highlights the importance of the decisions Congress is currently considering as it grapples with immigration reform legislation. The prospect of continuing mass immigration and speeding toward a population of 445 to 462 million in 2050 – or accelerating that rate of increase by an amnesty/guest worker plan and adding a further 38 to 55 million residents – is one that should be at the top of the agenda of every group in the country that is concerned about the impact of population on the environment and our society.

Sadly, however, the groups that are most actively lobbying Congress on the issue of an amnesty/guest worker program appear to be largely business interests – that have become increasingly dependent on low-wage labor – and a segment of the union movement that seeks to reverse falling membership with recruitment of low-wage foreign workers. They are joined by the political extremes of the civil libertarians on the left and the libertarians on the right, both of whom advocate more open borders. The voice of the American public, which has for decades consistently expressed in public opinion polls opposition to immigration increases, is being fiercely challenged by these narrow interests.

Because Congress and the Administration have ignored the population impact of various immigration reform proposals, Congress is, in effect, working in the dark. Not only is it working in the dark, it is groping toward dealing with short-range interests rather than focusing on long-range impacts.

Our population projection is intended to shed light on the relationship between immigration policy and population change. Our objective is to empower Congress, environmentalists and the American public in general to address the population impact issues that flow from immigration policy changes and do so in an informed fashion. The environmental, economic and social health of the country that we leave to our children, grandchildren and continuing generations thereafter will be enormously affected by immigration policy decisions made now.

#### **Endnotes**

- 1 Montavalli, Jim, "Can we save the cities? "E", September 1, 2005.
- We do not mean that the population of illegal residents will be that size. Rather, this is the population increase that will result from new illegal residents plus their children born after their arrival. The estimate of legal entrants does not mean that all of these persons will come into the country legally. Many will enter illegally and be converted to legal residents through provisions such as for Cubans or asylum applicants or other amnesty-type provisions.
- 3 Camarota, Steven, "Birth Rates Among Immigrants in America: A Comparison of Fertility Between Immigrants in the U.S. and Their Home Countries," Center for Immigration Studies, October 2005.
- 4 The estimate of an annual increase of 2.3 million people is from the above cited CIS study, and the 2.87 million is an estimate of the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau estimate attributes 42.6 % of the increase to net international migration.
- The term "immigrant stock" as used by the U.S. Census Bureau refers to the foreign-born population and residents with one or more parents who are foreign-born. In the chart that accompanies this discussion the immigrant stock is shown from 1960 separated into the foreign born and those born to immigrants, who are identified in shortened form as "stock".
- 6 See Fogel, Lee, Martin, "Immigrant Stock's Share of U.S. Population Growth 1970-2004," FAIR, February 2005.
- 7 "Special Message to the Congress on Problems of Population Growth," July 18, 1969.
- 8 U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, 1994 Report to Congress.
- A March 2003 national survey by Roper that asked what the "desirable" level of immigration would be found 76 percent gave an answer that was below the current level of one million a year. A Zogby International poll of May 2002 found that 58 percent of the respondents agreed that the U.S. should "admit fewer immigrants each year."
- 10 The factsheet on President Bush's January 7, 2003 proposal states, "A reasonable increase in the annual limit of legal immigrants will benefit those who follow the lawful path to citizenship." (Fact Sheet: Fair and Secure Immigration Reform, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/01/20040107-1.html).
- 11 President's Council on Sustainable Development. 1996. *Population and Consumption Task Force Report*. Washington, D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office. Executive Summary, p. iv.
- 12 Immigrant admissions data are reported by country and region in the annual Statistical Yearbooks (formerly of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and now of the Dept. of Homeland Security).
- 13 Martin, Jack, Immigration and Income Inequality, FAIR, April 2004.
- 14 See FAIR Issue Brief "Immigration and Job Displacement," (http://www.fairus.org/site/PageServer?pagename≕iic\_immigrationissuecentersd1fb).
- 15 On Nov. 22, 2004, the U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service released an estimate that 2005 will be the first year in nearly 50 that America will not have an agricultural trade surplus. See the Peoria Journal Star, December 7, 2004. The USDA has since hedged this conclusion, now saying they expect the net deficit to happen during this decade. See also "Economists: U.S. on Verge of Becoming Net Agricultural Importer," by Phillip Paarlberg and Phillip Abbott, News Release, University News Service, Purdue University, September 19, 2003.
- 16 The District of Columbia would also have a projected increase of more than 50 percent.
- 17 Replacement level immigration over the long-term is assumed to be a quarter to a third of a million persons.
- Suro, Roberto, "Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy: Surveys among Latinos in the U.S. and in Mexico," Pew Hispanic Center, August 2005.
- 19 While experience with current guest worker programs shows that it is improbable that a new program would have the effect of ending illegal immigration, as suggested by the backers of that policy option, that is not to say that it would have no effect. The likelihood probably lies somewhere between having no effect on illegal immigration, and, therefore, being totally additive to the population, and reducing illegal immigration to zero, and, therefore, being population neutral.

## **Appendix A State Population Projections**

#### STATE POPULATION PROJECTIONS

We provide below tables that show the projected population change for each state by:

#### ■ Scenario

- zero-net, or immigration stability
- low trend (current amount of change)
- high trend (current rate of change)
- amnesty/guest worker/increased immigration (current proposals)

#### Component

- 1970 population
- Post-1970 immigration
- Post-2005 legal immigration
- Post-2005 illegal immigration
- amnesty/guest worker/increased immigration (current proposals)

#### ■ Ethnic/Racial composition of change

- White (not-Hispanic)
- Mexican
- Other Hispanic
- Black
- Asian
- Other (includes multiple identification, American Indians, etc.)

In addition, we offer examples of how these data influence the population projection for selected states. Those described below are Illinois, New Mexico, North Carolina and Oregon. These four have been selected for representing different areas of the country, having neither extremely high nor low population projections, and reflecting differing immigration influences. Two of the states (Illinois and New Mexico) have less than 50 percent projected population increases in all scenarios except the amnesty/guest worker and high trend scenarios, whereas the other two (Oregon and North Carolina) have greater than 50 percent population increases in all scenarios except the population stability (zero net) scenario. Similar descriptive data will be made available for each state on our website at www.fairus.org in the research section.

As will be seen in the map on the right, the region of most heavily impacted states in 2050 in the amnesty/guest worker scenario (more than 100% population increase), as might be expected, is located largely in the Southwest with its high concentration of illegal immigrants. The second largest collection of heavily impacted states (50% to 99% increase) is also concentrated in the Southwest and in the southeastern coastal states, but stretching north to include Oregon, Washington and Idaho in the West and Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Massachusetts in the East. The third impacted tier of eight states (20% to 49% population increase) expands into the center of the country





by including Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana, among others.

Under the immigration stability (net-zero) scenario, the 20 states that have projected population increases in the range of 20 to 49 percent have an average increase of 31.6 percent. Those same 20 states have average population increases of 70.5 percent in the amnesty/guest worker scenario.

#### Illinois

**Recent trend:** Illinois' population tended to stagnate from 1970 to 1990 and would have declined because of out-

migration had it not been for the influx of immigrants. Immigrant settlement was high enough from 1990 to 2000 that the population again rose significantly, i.e., by nearly one million residents, or 8.n6 percent. The increase in foreign-born newcomers – not including their children born after their arrival – over that decade accounted for most (about 58%) of that increase.

The Census Bureau currently estimates that the increase in the state's population from net international migration (immigrants arriving less those leaving) since 2000 has averaged more than 69,200 per year. This is more than 94 percent of the Census Bureau's estimate of overall population change in the state.

**Projection scenarios:** Absent any change in immigration policy, i.e., with the current trend in large-scale legal and illegal immigration, the state's population is likely to increase from today's about 12.8 million residents to 18.1 to 18.7 million in 2050. That would be an increase of 41 to 47 percent.

1900-2000

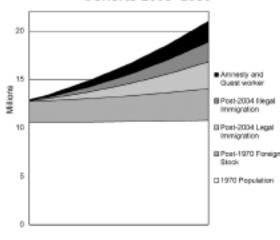
If, however, measures were adopted to curb illegal immigration and reduce legal immigration to a more moderate level, the population would increase by less than 1.6 million residents (about 13%) over the next 45 years.

On the other hand, if policies that would accommodate today's illegal alien population, allow a new stream of guest workers and increase legal immigration were adopted, the projected population would become more than 21 million residents (an increase of 63%). The difference in Illinois' projected population in 2050 between these two scenarios is more than 7 million residents.

**Cohorts:** The projection indicates that the pre-1970 population – that was already in the country in 1970 before the effects of the 1965 major change in immigration law began to usher in large immigration increases – may be expected to increase by about 210,000 persons (2%) over the next 45 years – from 10.55 million to 10.76 million residents.

# Illinois Population Projection 2005- 2050 Amnestyt High-trend Low-trend — Zero-net

#### Illinois Population Projection Cohorts 2005–2050



The immigrant cohort that entered the U.S. after 1970, however, is projected to continue to grow by more than one million people over the 45-year period. At the beginning of the projection, this cohort already accounted for nearly 2.2 million residents, and they are projected to increase to 3.26 million by 2050. The continued growth of this post-1970 immigrant cohort is due to the fact that these immigrants and their offspring have on average larger than replacement level families.

Illinois has had an average of more than 39,100 legal immigrant admissions per year from 1994 to 2003. More than 25 percent of those admissions have been Mexican. With immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries, about 35 percent are presumed to be Hispanic. The next largest share of Illinois' new immigrants is Asian (32%), with India, Philippines and China leading source countries. About 31 percent of Illinois' immigrants are presumed to be white, as

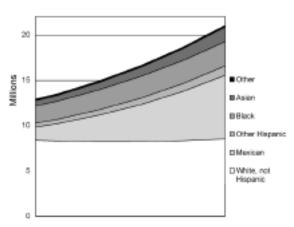
they come from countries such as Poland, former Yugoslavia,—and former USSR. Slightly more than two percent of recent immigrants have come from countries with black populations in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. We project that all of these new immigrants and their children will add nearly 2.8 million persons to the state's population over the next 45 years.

Illegal immigration to Illinois is dominated by Mexicans, adding more than seven-eighths of an annual addition of more than 40,000 residents. We estimate that Illinois' illegal alien population now numbers more than 600,000 persons. We project that, absent changes in immigration enforcement, the Mexican illegal alien population will continue to grow by more than 35,000 persons per year. The continued increase of the illegal alien population over the next 45 years is projected to add nearly 2.1 million persons to the population.

Finally, we project a further nearly 2.2 million persons will be added to the state's population over the next 45 years if any form of amnesty is adopted that provides legal status for current illegal residents. These persons are already in the country, but the increase will occur because they will bring additional family members to live in the United States, the amnesty will not diminish illegal immigration, and there will be increased legal immigration and an additional increase in foreigners living long-term in the country through a new guest worker program.

**Demographic change:** The rate of population change for the various scenarios depends on the racial/ethnic composition of the influx of continuing and additional immigrants because they represent different trends in family size. That is true for the post-70 immigrant cohort as well as for new immigrant populations. Illinois' 1970 population

#### Illinois Population Projection Race/Ethnicity 2005–2050



was predominantly non-Hispanic white, which has a slightly less than replacement level fertility. Thus, the projection for non-Hispanic whites between 2005 and 2050 is for a generally stabilized number – and shrinking share – of the population.

Because a large share of the post-70 immigrant population as well as continuing immigration and amnesty beneficiaries is assumed to be heavily influenced by Mexicans, and this population has a much higher than replacement fertility rate, this cohort of the population is projected to rise significantly. The Mexican-born and Mexican heritage population is projected to rise from about 1.5 million in 2005 to more than 7 million in 2050 (379%) under the amnesty/guest worker scenario. Other Hispanics are projected to rise from about 420,000 to more than 1 million (142%) over the 45 years. Asians are projected to grow less rapidly – from about 580,000 now to about

1.6 million in 2050 (179%). The black and non-Hispanic white populations would have lower rates of increase (42% and 1.7% respectively).

#### **New Mexico**

**Recent trend:** The rate of growth of New Mexico's population has increased rapidly in recent decades, in part due to large scale immigration – both legal and illegal. From 1990 to 2000, the state added 304,000 residents – an increase of 20.1 percent. By comparison, the foreign-born population of the state increased by about 86 percent between the 1990 and 2000 censuses – to about 150,000 persons. In 2005, the Census Bureau estimates the state's population at about 1.9 million.

The Census Bureau also estimates that since the 2000 census, net international migration (arriving immigrants minus departing immigrants) has added an average of more than 13,200 residents each year.

**Projection scenarios:** New Mexico's projected population in 2050 could range anywhere from less than 2.5 million to over 3.2 million. The about three-fourths of a million resident difference between these extremes depends on whether policies aimed at immigration stability are adopted or, instead, currently advocated policies that would accommodate today's illegal alien population, allow a new stream of guest workers and increase legal immigration are adopted.

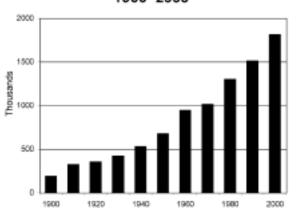
Without any change in immigration policy or enforcement, i.e., with the current trend in large-scale legal and illegal immigration and lax enforcement, the state's population is likely to increase from today's about 1.9 million residents to nearly 2.9 to 3 million in 2050 – an increase of 49 to 53 percent.

The largest difference from the current trend comes in comparison with a zero-net immigration scenario (when arriving immigrants balance those who are departing). In that case, the population would still grow, but more modestly by about 30 percent. However, if the currently proposed immigration expansionist and illegal alien accommodationist policies were adopted, the increase in the projected population over the next 45 years would be 66 percent.

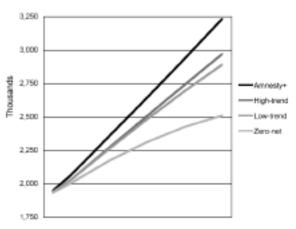
**Cohorts:** The projection indicates that the population that was already in the country in 1970 – before the effects of the 1965 major change in immigration law – will continue to rise steadily. This is in part due to migration of members of this cohort to New Mexico from other states and in part because the already large Latino segment of this population has greater than replacement level fertility. This cohort is projected to have a 21.5 percent increase by 2050.

Post-1970 immigrants are projected to be growing more rapidly – by nearly 72 percent. The higher rate of growth is influenced by the larger average family size of the largely Mexican immigrants. At the

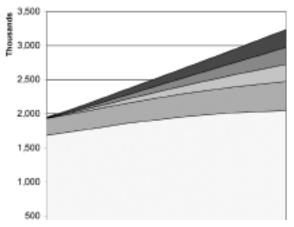
New Mexico Population 1900–2000



New Mexico Population Projection 2005–2050



New Mexico Population Project Cohort 2005–2050



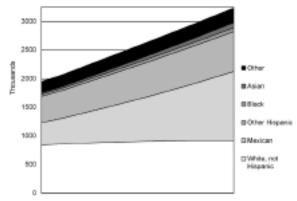
beginning of the projection, this post-1970 immigrant cohort already accounted for about 248,000 residents. By 2050, this cohort is projected to rise to about 426,000 residents.

Without any change in the immigration laws, current mass immigration will continue. New Mexico has had an average of nearly 3,400 legal immigrant admissions per year between 1994 and 2003. About 65 percent of those admissions have been Mexicans. Mexicans combined with immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries constitute more than 82 percent of the new arrivals. Immigration from Asian countries has amounted to about one-in-eight immigrants, leaving immigration from countries with predominantly white populations at about 5 percent, and less than 1 percent from countries with black populations in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. We project that new immigrants and their children from all sources will add about 253,000 people to the state's population over the next 45 years.

Illegal immigration, like legal immigration to New Mexico, is dominated by Mexicans. We estimate that New Mexico's illegal alien population now numbers about 73,300 persons, and Mexicans constitute about four-fifths of the influx of about 5,000 persons per year. This continued addition of illegal immigrants over the next 45 years, assuming it continues, is projected to add about a quarter of a million persons to the population.

Finally, we project that proposals for amnesty and other provisions that are currently being advocated, if adopted, would add a further 262,000 persons to the state's population over the next 45 years. This would result from the family members of amnesty recipients, increased legal immigration and increased long-term guest worker residents.

#### New Mexico Population Projection Race/Ethnicity 2005–2050



**Demographic change:** The rate of population change for the various scenarios depends on the demographic composition of the influx of continuing and additional immigrants because they represent different trends in family size. That is true for the post-70 immigrant cohort as well as for new immigrant populations. New Mexico's 1970 population was predominantly white, but also with significant Hispanic and American Indian populations. The non-Hispanic white population is projected to increase only slightly between 2005 and 2050, influenced by persons arriving from other states.

Because a large share of the pre-70 and post-70 immigrant population as well as continuing immigration and potential amnesty beneficiaries is Mexican or of Mexican ancestry, and this population has on average larger than replacement family size,<sup>1</sup> this population segment is

projected to rise rapidly. The Mexican-born and Mexican heritage population is projected to rise by about 820,000 to about 1.2 million in 2050 under the amnesty/guest worker scenario – nearly 211 percent. Other Hispanics are projected to rise by about 240,000 to about 700,000 – about a 52 percent increase.

Unlike in most other states, the "other population" is significant in New Mexico. This is due to the American Indian population, as well as persons who chose the multiple race option in the census. This population segment numbers 196,000 now, and is projected to increase about 30 percent to about 254,000 in 2050. The rate of increase for blacks and non-Hispanic whites is projected to be 89 percent and 9 percent respectively.

#### **North Carolina**

**Recent trend:** North Carolina's population growth has been accelerating since the immigration change of 1965. From 1990 to 2000 the population of the state grew by about 1.4 million residents (21.4%). The foreign-born population over that decade grew much faster (273.7%) and accounted for more than 22 percent of the increase without taking into consideration their children born after their arrival. The rate of increase in North Carolina's foreign-born population for this decade was the highest in the country.

The Census Bureau currently estimates that the increase in the population from net international migration

(immigrants arriving less those leaving) has averaged nearly 33,000 per year since 2000. This is nearly 27 percent of the Census Bureau's estimate of overall population change in the state.

**Projection scenarios:** Absent any change in immigration policy, i.e., with the current trend in large-scale legal and illegal immigration, the state's population is projected to increase rapidly from nearly 8.8 million residents to 13.4 to 13.8 million in 2050. That would be an increase of 54 to 57 percent.

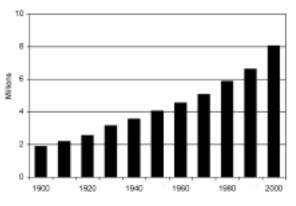
If, however, measures were adopted to curb illegal immigration and reduce legal immigration to a more moderate level, the population would increase by about 3.1 million residents over the next 45 years (35%). On the other hand, if currently advocated policies are adopted that accommodate today's illegal alien population, allow a new stream of guest workers and increase legal immigration, the projected population would be more than 15.2 million residents (a 73% increase). The difference in North Carolina's projected population in 2050 between these two scenarios is about 3.6 million residents.

**Cohorts:** The projection indicates that the population that was already in the country in 1970 – before the effects of the 1965 major change in immigration law began to usher in mass immigration increases – could rise by nearly 2.2 million persons over the next 45 years – from 8 million to 10.2 million residents (a 27% increase). This includes migration of persons in this cohort into the state.

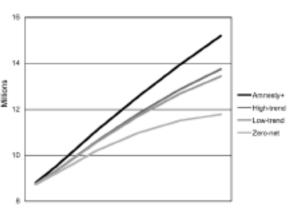
Post-1970 immigrants are also projected to be continuously growing throughout the 45-year period. At the beginning of the projection, this cohort already accounted for about 660,000 residents, and it is projected to increase to 1.3 million by 2050 (by 103%).

North Carolina has had an average of more than 8,200 legal immigrant admissions per year between 1994 to 2003. The largest share (44%) is from Asian countries, with India, Vietnam and China leading source countries. Mexico accounted for 13 percent of those admissions, and, with immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries, about 26 percent of continuing immigrants are presumed to be Hispanic. About 25 percent of North Carolina's immigrants are presumed to be white, as they come from countries such as Canada, Germany and former USSR. Slightly less than 5 percent of recent immigrants have come from countries with black populations in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. We project that all of this continuing immigration and their children will add more than 790,000 persons to the state's population over the next 45 years.

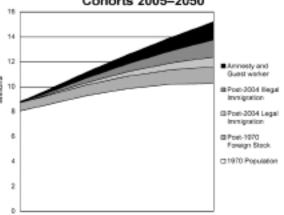
#### North Carolina Population 1900–2000



#### North Carolina Population Projection 2005–2050



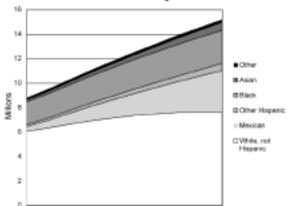
#### North Carolina Population Projection Cohorts 2005–2050



Illegal immigration to North Carolina is dominated by Mexicans – adding more than seven-eighths of an annual increase of more than 28,000 residents. We estimate that North Carolina's illegal alien population now numbers more than 405,000 persons, and, absent changes in immigration enforcement, illegal immigration will continue to grow. We project it will add nearly 1.4 million persons to the population over the next 45 years – from both the illegal immigrants and their children born here.

Lastly, we project that nearly an additional more than 1.4 million persons will be added to the state's population over the next 45 years if any form of amnesty is adopted that provides legal status for illegal residents. We project that this cohort will bring additional family members to live in the United States. The other measures that will contribute to this increase is continuing illegal immigration, which we project will not diminish, an additional increase in foreigners living long-term in the country through a new guest worker program, and a major increase in legal immigrant admissions.

#### North Carolina Population Projection Race/Ethnicity 2005–2050



**Demographic change:** The rate of population change for the various scenarios depends on the racial/ethnic composition of the continuing influx of immigrants, because they represent different trends in family size. That is true for all of the population cohorts.

North Carolina's 1970 population was predominantly white and black. The white population has about replacement level fertility, so the projection for whites between 2005 and 2050 is an increase of 26 percent. Blacks have a higher average fertility, so that population is projected to continue to rise by about 45 percent – from about 1.9 million to about 2.7 million residents.

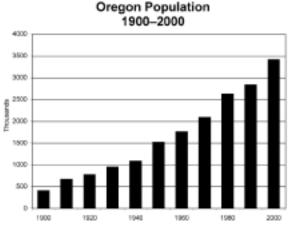
Because continuing illegal immigration and amnesty beneficiaries are assumed to be heavily influenced by Mexicans, and this population has

a significantly higher than replacement fertility level, that cohort of the populations is projected to rise rapidly from about 390,000 to 3.4 million (by 765%). Other Hispanics are projected to rise less dramatically, from about 155,000 to about 584,000 persons (by 276%). The share of Asians is also projected to grow rapidly – from about 155,000 now to about 648,000 in 2050 (by 318%).

#### **Oregon**

**Recent trend:** The rate of growth of Oregon's population has increased in recent decades, in part due to large scale immigration – both legal and illegal. From 1990 to 2000, the state added nearly 580,000 residents – an increase of 20.4 percent. By comparison, the foreign-born population of the state increased by 108 percent between the 1990 and 2000 censuses. In 2005, the Census Bureau estimates the state's population at nearly 3.6 million.

The Census Bureau estimates that since the 2000 census, net international migration (arriving immigrants minus departing immigrants) has added an average of more than 13,200 residents each year.



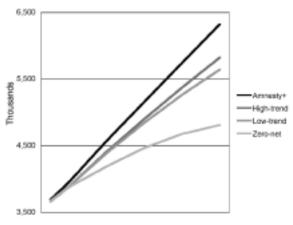
**Projection scenarios:** The difference in Oregon's projected population in 2050 is about 1.6 million residents depending upon whether policies aimed at immigration stability are adopted or, instead, currently advocated policies that would accommodate today's illegal alien population, allow a new stream of guest workers and increase legal immigration are adopted. Absent either such change, but with continuing large-scale legal and illegal immigration, the state's population is projected to increase from about 3.6 million residents to 5.6 to 5.8 million in 2050.

The largest difference from the current trend comes in comparison with a zero-net immigration scenario (this is not zero immigration, but rather is when arriving immigrants balance those departing and dying). In that case, the population would still grow, but to a more modest 4.8 million residents – a 31.5 percent increase. However, if the currently proposed expansionist immigration policies were adopted, the projected population increase over the next 45 years would be by 71 percent to more than 6.3 million people.

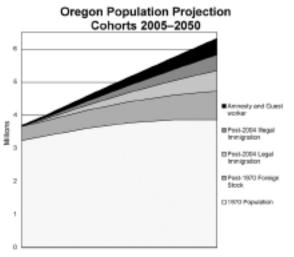
**Cohorts:** The projection indicates that the population that was already in the country in 1970 – before the effects of the 1965 major change in immigration law began to usher in mass immigration increases – would increase by about 19 percent and be near stability in about 2040. This indicates replacement level, i.e., where deaths are balanced by births.

Post-1970 immigrants, however, are projected to be continuously growing throughout the 45-year period. At the beginning of the projection, this cohort already accounted for about 420,000 residents. By 2050, this cohort is projected to rise to about 867,000 residents, an increase of 107 percent. The continued rapid growth of this immigrant population compared to the stabilized pre-1970 population is due to the fact that the immigrants and their offspring have larger families. Our assumption is that with succeeding generations the fertility level of this cohort will trend toward the level of the pre-1970 population, but it will take several generations to see this segment of the population also begin to move toward population stability.

#### Oregon Population Projection 2005–2050



Without any change in the immigration laws, mass immigration will continue. Oregon has had an average of more than 7,500 legal immigrant admissions per year between 1994 and 2003. The largest share of Oregon's new immigrants is from Asia (37%), with Vietnam and China leading the list of source countries. About 26 percent of the admissions have been Mexican. When immigrants from Mexico are added to those from other Spanish-speaking countries, more than 35 percent of continuing immigrant arrivals are presumed to be Hispanic. About 27 percent of Oregon's immigrants are presumed to be white, as they come from former Yugoslavia, former USSR and countries such as Germany, Canada and the United Kingdom. Less than one percent of recent immigrants have come from countries with black populations in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. We project that continuing immigration from all sources and the children born



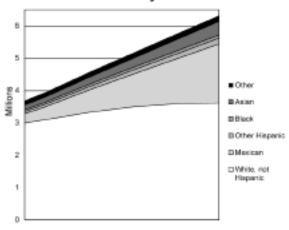
after their arrival will add about 627,000 people to the state's population over the next 45 years.

Illegal immigration into Oregon is dominated by Mexicans. We estimate that Oregon's illegal alien population now numbers more than 100,000 persons, and Mexicans constitute nearly all of that population. We project that, absent changes in immigration enforcement, the Mexican illegal alien population will continue to grow by about 9,500 persons per year. This continued increase over the next 45 years is projected to add nearly 474,000 persons to the population.

Finally, we project a further nearly half million persons added to the state's population over the next 45 years if currently advocated proposals for some form of amnesty are adopted that provide legal status for illegal residents. Most of these persons are already counted as part of the population, but we project that an amnesty would attract others, will bring additional family members to live in the United States, and will increase the number of foreigners living long-term in the country through a new guest worker program. In addition, current proposals also include a major increase in legal immigrant admissions.

**Demographic change:** The rates of population change for the various scenarios depend on the racial/ethnic composition of the influx of continuing and additional immigrants because they represent different trends in family

#### Oregon Population Projection Race/Ethnicity 2005–2050



size. That is true for the post-70 immigrant cohort as well as for new immigrant populations. Oregon's 1970 population was predominantly non-Hispanic white, which has a slightly less than replacement level fertility. However, Oregon is receiving migration of pre-1970 residents from other states, and this results in a projection that non-Hispanic whites between 2005 and 2050 will increase by about 21 percent and have a gradually stabilizing number – but shrinking share – of the population.

Because a large share of the post-70 immigrant population as well as continuing immigration and potential amnesty beneficiaries is assumed to be Mexican, and this population has a much higher fertility rate, the Mexican and Mexican-ancestry population is projected to rise rapidly from less than 290,000 in 2005 to more than 1.8 million in 2050 (by 532%) under the amnesty/guest worker scenario. Asians, because of their large share of legal immigration admissions in

Oregon, are also projected to grow rapidly – from about 145,000 now to more than 426,000 in 2050 (by 195%). Blacks and Hispanics (other than Mexicans) have smaller population shares and are projected to rise less rapidly (71% and 160% respectively).

#### **General Trends**

What each of these state projections has in common is that the population will continue to grow, regardless of the scenario. Even if illegal and legal immigration are significantly curtailed in the near term, the population will continue to increase, in part because of the momentum from post-1970 immigration, and in part because reductions in legal and illegal immigration will not take effect immediately.

Only states with significant out migration to other states are projected to have a declining post-1970 population over the 45 year period of this projection.

Yet, it is also clear that there is a great difference in the population effect of the different scenarios depending on what immigration policies are adopted. The differences may be seen both in the size of the population and also in its demographic composition.

In the absence of any change in immigration policy or enforcement, the nation's population will remain on the path of rapid increase. The immigration stability scenario demonstrates that a very large share of that increase could be curbed by a change in policy and enforcement. It also shows that a transition to demographic stability cannot be achieved overnight. By acting now to set in motion policies to restore moderation to our immigration policies, we would only be approaching immigration stability in 2050.

The other extreme – the amnesty/guest worker scenario – shows how today's already rapid population increase would be further boosted if changes were made in the near-term that accommodated today's illegal residents and invited in still more foreigners in new immigration and guest worker programs.

#### **STATE DATA TABLES**

#### I. 2050 Scenarios

	Amnesty+	High-trend	Low-trend	Zero-net
Alabama	5,766,597	5,578,559	5,529,547	5,285,581
Alaska	981,925	959,172	938,222	853,682
Arizona	14,292,225	12,530,505	12,138,233	10,093,654
Arkansas	3,782,770	3,606,016	3,555,320	3,308,559
California	82,183,113	72,324,403	67,837,211	47,863,458
Colorado	9,419,955	8,473,159	8,214,532	6,941,169
Connecticut	5,154,414	4,961,811	4,803,021	4,157,192
Delaware	1,356,612	1,285,875	1,255,169	1,117,721
D.C.	1,113,687	1,078,921	1,037,857	873,794
Florida	33,455,308	31,498,757	30,164,814	24,569,009
Georgia	16,811,180	15,227,338	14,832,343	12,844,243
Hawaii	1,812,670	1,802,126	1,724,713	1,433,411
Idaho	2,511,192	2,388,634	2,347,657	2,155,256
Illinois	21,044,748	18,861,138	18,064,790	14,403,350
Indiana	8,072,680	7,734,653	7,618,549	7,077,194
lowa	3,671,635	3,532,528	3,456,432	3,130,827
Kansas	3,800,814	3,529,017	3,444,085	3,038,253
Kentucky	5,272,842	5,173,850	5,109,917	4,842,751
Louisiana	5,257,391	5,200,353	5,152,886	4,957,955
Maine	1,488,008	1,476,442	1,460,641	1,399,445
Maryland	8,977,520	8,662,784	8,344,187	7,063,005
Mass.	10,663,863	10,130,251	9,718,408	8,029,083
Michigan	13,124,190	12,682,215	12,387,757	11,162,205
Minnesota	7,609,543	7,174,675	6,983,529	6,137,090
Miss.	3,528,137	3,475,552	3,455,626	3,363,917
Missouri	7,263,865	7,086,906	6,970,523	6,485,934
Montana	1,139,676	1,128,111	1,121,089	1,091,800
Nebraska	2,421,479	2,279,833	2,217,910	1,941,147
Nevada	8,688,545	7,434,079	7,182,940	5,830,466
N.H.	1,810,013	1,784,371	1,749,519	1,614,020
N.J.	15,543,405	14,287,532	13,442,516	9,901,152
N.M.	3,231,327	2,969,205	2,890,576	2,509,903
New York	29,301,275	27,033,475	25,377,912	18,525,625
N.C.	15,205,799	13,753,948	13,437,982	11,785,485
N.D.	684,758	662,681	653,341	612,199
Ohio	13,307,806	13,048,361	12,853,895	12,055,868
Oklahoma	4,688,819	4,392,549	4,315,010	3,928,304
Oregon	6,322,147	5,822,965	5,642,281	4,809,169
Penn.	14,547,975	14,262,384	13,989,146	12,892,717

	Amnesty+	High-trend	Low-trend	Zero-net
R.I.	1,677,169	1,604,331	1,558,837	1,366,197
S.C.	6,373,401	6,101,385	6,038,085	5,713,628
S.D.	898,333	886,438	876,415	836,018
Tenn.	8,451,765	8,155,376	8,056,227	7,591,673
Texas	49,036,997	43,229,146	41,560,904	33,413,044
Utah	4,515,303	4,127,976	4,027,676	3,527,864
Vermont	758,012	746,446	734,605	688,289
Virginia	12,147,984	11,477,767	11,080,176	9,383,833
Washington	11,045,211	10,305,297	9,933,414	8,320,317
W.V.	1,880,541	1,851,445	1,840,134	1,788,730
Wisconsin	7,474,785	7,167,566	7,049,816	6,514,039
Wyoming	607,562	595,594	590,533	568,064
U.S.	500,176,977	461,543,905	444,766,908	369,797,289

#### II. 2050 Cohorts

	1970 Pop.	Post-'70 Stock	Legal Post-'04	Illegal Post-'04	Amnesty+
Alabama	4,977,136	280,183	142,630	178,611	188,038
Alaska	746,352	100,261	90,875	21,684	22,753
Arizona	7,475,854	2,368,363	1,013,579	1,672,710	1,761,720
Arkansas	3,044,145	236,538	157,509	167,824	176,755
California	22,503,817	23,387,301	17,058,179	9,375,106	9,858,710
Colorado	5,788,356	1,007,112	778,732	898,959	946,796
Connecticut	3,122,487	979,565	676,404	183,354	192,602
Delaware	968,709	135,382	114,526	67,257	70,737
D.C.	721,196	139,332	185,265	33,127	34,767
Florida	16,902,028	7,166,269	5,568,406	1,862,053	1,956,552
Georgia	10,926,044	1,684,970	1,111,257	1,505,067	1,583,842
Hawaii	1,069,537	343,314	379,255	10,020	10,544
Idaho	1,907,550	226,951	137,766	116,367	122,558
Illinois	10,762,814	3,257,095	2,767,025	2,074,204	2,183,610
Indiana	6,626,552	392,878	394,275	320,948	338,027
lowa	2,902,087	198,174	300,166	132,101	139,107
Kansas	2,650,191	343,434	277,326	•	271,798
Kentucky	4,569,726	248,895	261,239	93,990	98,992
Louisiana	4,751,993	189,202	204,928	54,230	57,039
Maine	1,337,448	,	70,714	11,028	11,566
Maryland	5,850,890		1,406,068	•	314,736
Mass.	5,566,036	2,317,187	1,738,321	508,707	533,612
Michigan	10,156,737	895,918	1,209,357	420,203	441,975
Minnesota	5,393,151	660,119	707,868	413,538	434,868
Miss.	3,260,574	93,874	71,177	49,928	52,585
Missouri	6,155,273	287,139	476,302	•	176,958
Montana	1,062,298	26,839	27,946	11,028	11,566
Nebraska	1,728,769	184,684	231,890	134,489	141,646
Nevada	3,702,283	1,958,483	580,383	· ·	1,254,466
N.H.	1,467,360	136,089	156,495	24,427	25,642
N.J.	6,548,812		3,507,323	·	1,255,873
N.M.	2,042,015	425,577	252,531	249,083	262,122

	1970 Pop.	Post-'70 Stock	Legal Post-'04	Illegal Post-'04	Amnesty+
New York	12,005,354	5,918,845	6,950,338	2,158,938	2,267,800
N.C.	10,238,691	1,344,276	791,767	1,379,214	1,451,851
N.D.	585,773	22,396	33,472	21,039	22,077
Ohio	11,426,133	560,380	814,906	246,943	259,444
Oklahoma	3,488,652	394,839	227,660	281,397	296,271
Oregon	3,854,763	866,792	627,449	473,961	499,182
Penn.	11,805,641	996,061	1,188,764	271,918	285,591
R.I.	893,621	455,066	186,239	69,406	72,838
S.C.	5,138,779	535,963	168,205	258,439	272,016
S.D.	806,148	26,483	42,499	11,309	11,895
Tenn.	7,052,019	489,711	332,232	281,414	296,389
Texas	22,547,707	9,946,581	5,218,516	5,516,342	5,807,851
Utah	3,054,198	415,538	290,482	367,758	387,327
Vermont	647,026	37,498	50,895	11,028	11,566
Virginia	7,874,798	1,352,922	1,611,568	638,479	670,217
Washington	6,511,378	1,654,281	1,436,538	703,101	739,914
W.V.	1,751,467	32,015	40,242	27,721	29,096
Wisconsin	5,983,123	475,553	417,120	291,770	307,219
Wyoming	544,398	21,410	18,420	11,367	11,968
U.S.	282,897,889	79,416,601	62,503,030	36,726,385	38,633,072

#### III. 2050 Race/Ethnicity (amnesty scenario)

	White, not Hispanic	Mexican	Other Hispanic	Black	Asian	Other
Alabama	3,439,877	519,702	116,830	1,477,633	135,041	77,515
Alaska	484,514	50,362	65,083	53,831	119,023	209,111
Arizona	5,614,049	6,677,928	509,522	361,540	461,449	667,738
Arkansas	2,465,087	583,927	73,691	506,631	88,852	64,582
California	14,337,998	36,846,173	10,375,782	4,775,625	14,566,810	1,280,726
Colorado	4,798,025	3,155,080	532,178	340,342	420,901	173,430
Connecticut	2,558,811	269,169	1,211,980	638,199	405,936	70,319
Delaware	689,200	155,229	100,178	294,014	101,077	16,914
D.C.	164,712	22,788	165,453	656,951	92,676	11,108
Florida	13,853,101	2,725,039	8,913,066	5,668,622	1,808,334	487,147
Georgia	7,014,788	3,469,590	761,088	4,394,703	1,007,257	163,755
Hawaii	272,421	63,873	141,766	35,459	1,090,838	208,313
Idaho	1,784,044	555,219	55,920	11,011	50,109	54,889
Illinois	8,495,380	7,041,455	1,022,752	2,684,763	1,617,930	182,467
Indiana	5,812,239	1,041,656	121,661	733,950	262,240	100,934
lowa	2,833,181	463,361	60,144	102,749	174,041	38,158
Kansas	2,297,026	950,202	83,853	211,718	179,049	78,967
Kentucky	4,192,912	346,351	129,991	382,687	158,158	62,744
Louisiana	2,787,362	123,024	158,098	1,921,322	191,222	76,363
Maine	1,361,171	6,410	28,364	14,997	50,811	26,255
Maryland	3,432,412	281,606	829,114	3,195,294	1,117,731	121,364
Mass.	5,148,885	184,729	2,969,510	894,846	1,303,070	162,823
Michigan	8,247,263	1,128,291	377,574	2,133,413	976,897	260,752
Minnesota	5,077,741	860,272	•	566,276	623,735	156,817
Miss.	1,930,026	162,713	40,217	1,292,715	70,140	32,325

	White, not Hispanic	Mexican	Other Hispanic	Black	Asian	Other
Missouri	5,337,078	457,067	140,935	855,629	347,686	125,470
Montana	975,463	23,873	25,596	6,982	24,375	83,387
Nebraska	1,578,470	516,861	62,772	107,352	119,391	36,633
Nevada	2,827,315	3,300,829	1,028,781	646,839	686,554	198,227
N.H.	1,504,534	34,314	97,151	30,912	117,316	25,786
N.J.	5,490,576	1,085,830	3,917,568	2,307,460	2,595,610	146,361
N.M.	914,918	1,208,735	696,433	67,846	88,936	254,459
New York	10,633,069	2,134,226	6,700,692	5,297,523	4,232,027	303,739
N.C.	7,612,976	3,405,384	584,214	2,702,727	648,365	252,134
N.D.	557,961	19,656	30,412	11,843	26,927	37,959
Ohio	9,730,199	420,972	436,392	1,825,072	697,547	197,624
Oklahoma	2,550,020	963,109	133,866	381,518	184,923	475,383
Oregon	3,615,663	1,825,279	175,132	98,128	426,177	181,767
Penn.	10,214,671	447,559	1,114,617	1,623,555	1,007,116	140,457
R.I.	810,859	55,096	578,721	99,326	100,176	32,990
S.C.	3,368,248	786,424	244,680	1,739,408	172,233	62,408
S.D.	738,852	34,151	15,134	9,302	24,703	76,192
Tenn.	5,677,308	901,567	149,852	1,353,529	268,931	100,578
Texas	13,111,053	24,843,453	4,033,417	4,116,714	2,497,275	435,084
Utah	2,896,689	1,143,084	151,265	32,994	188,630	102,642
Vermont	672,108	2,805	20,898	12,181	36,023	13,998
Virginia	5,882,099	545,398	1,539,632	2,366,661	1,618,962	195,233
Washington	5,930,971	2,480,458	452,364	446,481	1,345,708	389,229
W.V.	1,681,167	22,594	41,126	60,636	52,533	22,485
Wisconsin	5,240,328	1,000,113	179,234	646,168	290,521	118,421
Wyoming	495,097	56,363	16,514	4,056	12,688	22,844
U.S.	219,139,917	115,399,345	51,735,915	60,200,136	44,884,659	8,817,005

#### **Endnotes**

Replacement level fertility is approximately 2.1 children per woman.

A leveling off of the population in this scenario would not begin until after 2050 because of the momentum already resulting from post-1970 immigration and the fact that reduction in both legal and illegal immigration would be incremental rather than achieved in the short term.

# **Appendix B Assumptions**

#### **ASSUMPTIONS**

**Family Reunification:** Because of the effects of chain-migration, i.e., the current U.S. immigration system that empowers an immigrant both as a legal resident and as a naturalized citizen to directly and indirectly sponsor immediate family and extended family members, it is our assumption that as currently provided in our immigration law the chain is theoretically never-ending as long as the rest of the world continues to provide additional migrants. That is especially true as long as new chains are created by immigrants coming into the country for employment, refugee/asylum, lottery, etc. There are four strands of family reunification:

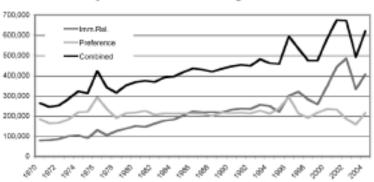
- 1. Immediate relatives of immigrants who become naturalized United States citizens and U.S.-born citizens which currently has no limit;
- 2. Nuclear family members of non-citizen immigrants who currently are subject to an annual limit of 114,200 visas;
- 3. Family members of persons admitted to the United States as refugees/asylees following to join. This strand is part of the overall refugee admissions ceiling which is subject to a limit set by the administration and Congress each year currently at 70,000 for fiscal year 2005; and
- 4. Illegal aliens who are judged non-deportable because of hardship to their U.S. spouse or other family member this currently has a separate annual limit of 4,000 visas.

Just as overall immigration levels have steadily increased since the current immigration system was enacted in 1965, so too has family reunification immigration. The numerically-limited, family-sponsored immigration preference category has remained fairly constant at around 200,000 per year since 1970, but the unlimited immediate relative category has steadily increased (see chart below). In 1970, immediate relative immigrant admissions were less than 100,000 per year. This number has steadily risen over the years to about 400,000 at present, and that does not include the family members of amnestied illegal aliens allowed to get green cards in a special visa program.

The rate of increase has been an average of about 10,000 per year, or 100,000 per decade.

Under our immigration stability scenario, we assume that chain migration is ended by restricting entitlement to immigrant visas to only the spouse and minor children of an immigrant or a U.S. citizen. We also assume ending unneeded immigrant flows for programs such as the visa lottery and for unskilled aliens. We further assume a continuing refugee resettlement program at a ceiling of 50,000 per year (compared to the current ceiling of 70,000 that allows us to accept more refugees than the rest of the world combined).

#### Family Reunification Immigrant Admissions



Nuclear family reunification is related to the size of the influx of new immigrants. As the size is reduced, we assume that immediate family reunification visas will also fall. For the 2005-10 period, we have assumed family reunification visas at 250,000 per year (plus refugees). For each succeeding decade we have assumed a drop in nuclear family reunification by 25,000 fewer immigrant visas per year. By the 2041-50 decade, family reunification would be at 150,000 per year, and the total with refugee admissions would be 200,000 new immigrants. That level of immigration would conform to a net-zero level in which emigration balanced immigration.

The low-trend scenario is based on an assumption of continued entry of an average of 800,000 immigrants per year after reducing it by 200,000 for emigration. This is approximately the current level when adjusted for the effects of processing the current immigrant visa backlog.

The high-trend scenario starts at the same point for 2005, but instead, assumes that rather than maintaining a constant rate of admissions, the trend of steadily rising immigrant admissions described above continues for the next 45 years. That increase is assumed to be an increase of 100,000 per decade above the level of the previous decade. The amnesty/guest worker scenario also uses the high-trend assumption of increasing immigrant admissions, and it also adds the effects of expanded immigrant admissions contemplated in the McCain-Kennedy and other legislation and in the nebulous proposal by President Bush. First, an amnesty is assumed to add an additional 3 million people in the first 4 years and 1 million in the next 4 years.

It is not higher than that because most illegal aliens are already included in the U.S. population as residents (albeit illegal residents). Our estimate of the additional impact on the U.S. population from proposed amnesty/guest worker proposals is based on three factors. First, we allow for illegal aliens currently not included in official population estimates coming forward in order to benefit from the amnesty. Second, we assume that the amnesty provisions would provide for family members of illegal aliens who are currently not here to qualify for entry as permanent residents. Third, the change in the law would exempt some family reunification immigration from current limits, which we estimate would increase immigrant visas by an average of 400,000 immigrants per year<sup>1</sup>

The combined effect of these assumptions is that average annual immigration in the amnesty/guest worker scenario would be 1,900,000 for the period 2005-10. After the initial amnesty surge, legal admissions would drop back before resuming the historical climb. The assumption is for annual immigration for the four decades following 2010 to average 1,650,000 (2011-20), 1,500,000 (2021-30), 1,600,000 (2031-40), and 1,700,000 (2041-50). Part of this immigration would, of course, be offset by emigration.

**Illegal Aliens:** Without a new comprehensive immigration law enforcement effort, there is no reason to expect other than a continuation of the trend in increased employment of illegal aliens, which has grown from about 2 million – after the amnesty in 1987 – to 11-13 million today. Our assumption is that there are currently about 11 million illegal aliens in the country who are included in the base population for 2005 that marks the start of the population projections. We assume that there are at least another 2 million illegal aliens in the population who are not included in the base population, but would be eligible for an amnesty. In addition, we estimate that as many as an additional million aliens would likely enter the country subsequent to the adoption of an amnesty seeking to fraudulently qualify for the terms of the amnesty. There are estimates by others of the illegal alien population that are significantly higher.<sup>2</sup>

Because the illegal alien population is different from the U.S. population in its racial/ethnic makeup, and will, therefore, affect population growth rates differently, we have estimated the composition of that population for each state on the basis of the countries from which they come. For example, illegal aliens from Mexico and El Salvador, etc., are presumed to be Hispanic. Illegal aliens from China and India, etc., are presumed to be Asian. Illegal aliens from Haiti and Nigeria, etc., are presumed to be black. And, illegal aliens from Canada and Ireland, etc., are presumed to be white. Our projection uses official estimates of country sources of the illegal alien population in 2000³ and allocates the "other" nationalities on the basis of the distribution of the illegal aliens from other countries who applied for the 1986 amnesty.<sup>4</sup>

This calculation results in an estimate that the illegal alien population is 85.2 percent Hispanic, 7.8 percent Asian, 5.2 percent black, and 1.8 percent white. This ratio is held constant over the period of the projection. Data are not available that would allow for this percentage to be tailored specifically by state, which, in theory, will vary depending on the sources of the illegal aliens in that state. However, the preponderance of the illegal alien population for all states consistently will be Hispanic even though the major flow varies by source country. For example, the bulk of the illegal alien population is from Mexico in California, Arizona, Texas and Illinois, and from Cuba in Florida, and from the Dominican Republic in New York and New Jersey, and from El Salvador in the District of Columbia.

For the different scenarios we use different assumptions regarding the illegal alien population. For the immigration stability projection we assume that by more effective interior and border enforcement new illegal immigration can be

increasingly deterred and border control can be rapidly enhanced. From an initial level of a net addition of 500,000 illegal residents added to our population each year, we project a rapid decrease in new illegal entrants and overstayers and some increased departure of illegal aliens from the country. The result is a projected halving of the current influx during the 2005-10 period, i.e., an addition of 1,250,000 illegal aliens. Over the following decade, we project net illegal alien settlement being further reduced to a residual of 100,000 per year as a result of more effective deterrence and increased voluntary or enforced removal from the country. We assume zero-net illegal immigration to the country being achieved by 2021. That is not to say that there will be no illegal entrants or overstayers, but rather that enforcement will be able to keep pace with the residual influx, and removals will balance illegal newcomers.

In the low-trend scenario, we assume the continuation of the current level of a net addition of half a million illegal aliens each year added to our population. Illegal immigration will fluctuate somewhat on the basis of the economy and enforcement strategies, but the trend has been for the flow of illegal immigrants to adapt to the impediments and resume its flow.

The difference between the low-trend scenario and the high-trend scenario is that the latter assumes that the historical pattern of rising illegal immigration will continue its climb despite current deterrence strategies. Our assumption is that illegal immigration will climb at an average rate of a net increase of 25,000 more illegal aliens each year than during the previous decade.

In the amnesty/guest worker scenario, we use the same assumption for illegal immigration as with the high-trend scenario. Advocates for an amnesty and new guest worker program argue that these provisions would end illegal immigration because the new guest worker program would allow those who would come in illegally to enter in a legal program. This argument ignores the continued build-up of illegal immigration despite the already existing guest worker programs. As long as employers are able to hire unskilled workers outside of a regulated program of guest workers at lower wages and evade minimum employment standards with relative impunity, some will continue to do so. In addition, the adoption of an amnesty for illegal aliens will further encourage potential illegal aliens abroad to believe that the United States is not serious about enforcing its immigration laws, and that periodic amnesties will accommodate those who continue to violate our immigration laws. A new amnesty provision could actually increase the trend in illegal immigration more than the assumption that we have used.

**Guest worker Program:** Our assumptions regarding a new guest worker program impact only the amnesty/guest worker scenario. Under the immigration stability scenario and the two current trend scenarios no change from the present use of guest worker programs is contemplated. However, it could be that under the immigration stability scenario an increasing shortage of illegal alien workers would result in a greater recourse to guest workers. Nevertheless, we assume in the stability scenario that guest worker visas will become restricted to admit foreign workers only if wage offers in a sector of the economy indicate a true worker shortage by rising after adjusting for inflation. That supply/demand test, in our view, would limit guest worker increases. Even if there were some increase in guest workers, our assumption is that the population effect would be short lived as those guest workers return home and are replaced.

The amnesty/guest worker scenario assumes an addition of 100,000 resident guest workers per year, i.e., 500,000 from 2005 to 2010 and one million per decade thereafter. This is necessarily an arbitrary estimate. It is also possible that initial increases in guest worker admissions would be higher but fall off later as the labor market became saturated with foreign workers. Practice would depend not just on the economy but also on employer preference/recruitment of foreign workers as well as political pressure to curb the program because of rising unemployment and/or dropping real wage rates.

#### Methodology

In brief, there are two general methods used to make projections of future population. A component method is used when detailed forecasts of population structure are needed. The mathematical method, a less time consuming and

less resource intensive methodology, gives satisfactory results for population totals at specific points in time, provided reasonable assumptions regarding growth rates are used.<sup>5</sup> Our study uses a mathematical model.

The components used in our model are: first, current trends in the segment of the population that was native-born in 1970 (before the major effects unleashed by the 1965 Immigration Act kicked in); second, the trend for post-1970 immigrant stock (new immigrants and their children), and third, demographic effects of new immigrants during the projection period. The alternative projections based on different assumptions include: 1. the population effects that could be expected if, as is currently proposed, an amnesty for illegal immigrants were adopted, a new guest worker program were launched and current immigration levels were increased; 2. the status quo assuming (a) continuation of the current numerical increase in legal and illegal immigration, and (b) continuation of the trend in growth in both legal and illegal immigration, and 3. the population effects if immigration were reduced to replacement level, i.e., between a fourth and a third of a million persons per year.

Unlike the Census Bureau's projection, we have not done a high-assumption projection that combines higher fertility, longer lifetimes and higher immigration than currently proposed, nor have we projected a low scenario based on a combination of dropping fertility and shortening average lifetimes. Nevertheless, we believe that our projections based on differing immigration assumptions will be within the bounds of whatever new projection is done by the Census Bureau to reflect the findings of the 2000 Census.

The usefulness of a population projection is not in describing what the population size and its composition will be at some point in the future, but rather in describing what it might be given certain circumstances. Public policies and private decisions shape our population for better or worse. By projecting population trends based on varying assumptions, public policy makers are provided an opportunity to consider the possible outcomes and consider changes in policy that can change the outcome.

#### **State Distribution of Immigration**

To arrive at the state projections it was necessary to calculate the distribution of both legal and illegal immigration for each state. And to include a different rate of population growth for each of the racial/ethnic components of legal and illegal immigration, an effort to differentiate the immigration flows of each stream of residents was undertaken. For legal immigration, the distribution is derived from 10-year legal admissions data for each state of persons from the top 31 country sources of immigrants. Immigrants from those countries have been arbitrarily divided by the predominant racial/ethnic group in that country.

Mexican admissions were used separately. Admissions from Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru were treated as Other Hispanic immigrants. Bangladesh, China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Philippines and Vietnam were aggregated as sources of Asian immigrants. Countries that were aggregated as sending black immigrants were Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Nigeria and Trinidad & Tobago. Admissions from Canada, Germany, Ireland, Poland, former Soviet Union (Russia, etc.), United Kingdom, and former Yugoslavia were treated as sources of white immigrants. These groups of countries constitute 75-85 percent of the immigrant admissions for most states, so the percentages derived from the data are likely to be fairly representative.

Nationally, the distribution of legal immigration was 40.4 percent Hispanic (including 22.4% Mexican), 35.2 percent Asian, 7.7 percent black, and 16.8 percent white. These shares can of course change over time based on such factors as refugee flows or simply backlog reduction, but there are no known reasons to expect them to change significantly over the next 45 years, unless as a deliberate act of policy makers.<sup>6</sup>

For the illegal alien population, this level of separation of the flow did not prove to be feasible, because state breakdowns by race/ethnicity or by nationality are not available. However, government estimates are available for the distribution of the Mexican illegal immigrant population by state. Therefore, we assumed a continuation of the distribution of the estimated Mexican illegal population by state in the projection and allocated the balance of the estimated illegal alien population in each state based on common shares by ethnicity of the nationwide illegal alien population. This estimation procedure is less precise than the one used for legal immigration, but, because Mexican illegal immigration represents a much larger share of the overall flow of illegal immigration than Mexican legal immigration does in overall legal admissions, any possible distortion will be moderated.

The factors that influence population change for the country include births, deaths, longevity, and immigration (inmigration) and emigration (out-migration). We have chosen in this study to focus on immigration, although differences in the other demographic factors are included to the extent that they have influenced the varying demographic trends in each state from 1970 to the present.

In this population projection, our focus on immigration leads to the development of four scenarios designed to highlight a broad range of possible outcomes depending on policy decisions made today. These four alternative projections are: 1. immigration stability, 2. low-trend immigration, 3. high-trend immigration, and 4. a surge in immigration from an amnesty/guest worker policy. Those four are described briefly below:

- Immigration stability scenario If policy makers act in the current Congress to curb illegal immigration with comprehensive reforms that remove the incentive for illegal immigration and reduce legal immigration to nuclear family reunification and refugees as proposed in the TRUE enforcement bill (H.R.4313) over the period of this projection the level of immigration could be brought into balance with emigration (out-migration) currently estimated at about 300,000 per year. This would be a significant reduction from immigration today at nearly a million per year. Immigration stability would end the role of immigration in driving the nation's current rapid population increase. A significant portion of the population increase resulting from immigration results from the children born to immigrants after their arrival. This would lessen gradually over time with the reduction in the volume of new immigration.
- Low-trend immigration scenario Current immigration is not low; it is massive by any standard, but, if it continues at the same average numerical level of increase as at present, that would constitute a lower impact on our future population than if the pattern of increasing levels of immigration over the past three decades were to continue. This scenario contemplates no increase in legal or illegal immigration from today's level.
- **High-trend immigration scenario** Unlike the low-trend scenario described above, this scenario focuses on the trend toward both illegal and legal immigration increasing over time, and it incorporates a continuation of that upward trend.<sup>7</sup> This scenario assumes no change in law and with border enforcement against illegal immigration continuing to be hit and miss and interior enforcement largely non-existent. It also assumes that legal immigration will continue to grow in categories that are not numerically limited.
- Amnesty/Guest worker scenario The projection of the highest population in 2050 results from adding the effects of new immigration provisions to the high-trend scenario. The assumptions regarding new provisions are derived from the new immigration measures outlined by President Bush and those introduced in the 109th Congress. These measures include granting legal presence to the illegal aliens already residing in the United States, i.e., an amnesty, adoption of a new guest worker program and increases in authorized legal immigration.

An amnesty measure, whether it is called that or by some deceptive euphemism such as "earned legalization," theoretically would not have a population effect in terms of moving those already here from illegal resident status to legal status. But, in fact, there would be significant effects resulting from empowering the illegal alien population to immediately bring family members into the country and eventually sponsor extended family members for immigration. Other effects would result from a likely surge of aliens entering the country illegally in an attempt to fraudulently benefit from the amnesty opportunity.

Our assumption is that a new amnesty would not decrease illegal immigration. The 1986 amnesty actually ushered in a period of increasing illegal immigration. Similarly, our assumption is that a new guest worker program would have no more effect on illegal immigration than did the adoption of the current guest worker programs for agricultural workers and other unskilled workers, i.e., none. Finally, proposed increases for legal immigration that would significantly increase both family-reunification and employer-sponsored immigration also affect the amnesty/guest worker scenario.

When these scenarios are developed into projections, each one has different effects in each state based on the different distribution of the existing racial/ethnic composition of the population and the assumed changes to it. This, in turn, has some effect on future population change because of the age structure and different fertility/longevity trends among the racial/ethnic groups. For example, the current Hispanic preponderance among illegal immigrants causes further population increase because this population, on average, is disproportionately of reproductive age and tends to have larger family size than the overall population. In each projection the assumption regarding both legal and illegal immigration is an annual net change, which means the number of arriving immigrants is discounted to account for emigration.

The divergent results from the four scenarios depict a range of opportunity for policy makers to shape the population dynamics for future generations. As may be seen in the projections, demographic change is not achieved overnight. It entails foresight and long-term advanced planning. It is precisely for this reason that a focus on the nation's population future must not be deferred for political expediency.

FAIR's policy position is in favor of the immigration stability scenario. The reason for this position is grounded in the effects of population growth on the national environment and society. These effects include a very broad range of aspects from sprawl to non-renewable resource depletion, shrinking fresh water supplies, greenhouse emissions, income inequality, poverty, wages and working conditions, assimilation and many other issues that are explained at length on our website (www.fairus.org) and will not be expounded on here.

#### Assumptions related to Growth Rates by Race/Ethnicity

The Census Bureau in its population projections has used differing assumptions on total fertility rates and longevity for different segments of the population. By contrast, our projection uses different assumptions regarding population growth rates by different segments of the population for each state on the basis of the historical pattern of change for that segment. Those rates vary for each state on the basis of a combination of factors involving fertility and longevity as well as the net immigration and domestic migration patterns.

In applying past patterns of change to the future it has been necessary to make assumptions as to how those patterns may change over time. Our assumption, based on past trends, is that the pre-1970 non-Hispanic white (NHW) population will continue to display the lowest rate of growth, dipping slightly into negative growth after 2040. From 2020-40 the annual rate of growth diminishes to .00043 (.043%), i.e., nearly a zero rate of growth. The NHW post-1970 immigrant population is assumed to grow at .002074 (.2074%) after 2040. This rate also applies to the NHW population included in the amnesty population.

For Asians in the post-1970 immigrant cohort, the same rate of growth through 2020 is used as for the NHW population. Beginning in 2020, the Asian and "other" post-1970 immigrant cohorts are assumed to have the same rate of growth as they had during the 1960-80 period.

Hispanics, including Mexicans, in the post-1970 immigrant population are assumed to have the same rate of growth as they exhibited during the 1960-2004 period. The same is true for blacks in the post-1970 immigrant population, except the 2040 rate is .01028 (1.028%).

For post-2005 immigrants the assumed rates of growth vary by race/ethnicity. For the NHW population, the rate is

.00543 (.543%). It is .015822 (1.582%) for Hispanics including Mexicans. For Asians and "others," the rate is .014821 per year (1.4821%). For blacks in this post-2005 cohort, the assumed rate of increase is .012007 (1.2007%).

These rates are derived from the 1960-2004 experience for each racial/ethnic group except for Asians and "others" for whom the 1960-80 historical trend is used because of later data inconsistencies.

Although these population growth estimates are not dependent upon separate assumptions regarding fertility, as that is built into the growth rate assumptions, at the national level, because there is no intra-state migration, approximate fertility assumptions may be imputed from the prevailing growth rates. The following table indicates those rates by cohort and by race/ethnicity.

Cohort	White, not Hispanic	Mexican	Other Hispanic	Black	Asian	Other
1970 Population	2.19	2.82	2.82	2.66	2.45	2.30
Post-1970 Foreign Stock	2.34	3.42	2.82	2.87	2.34	2.96
Post-2004 Immigration	2.44	3.30	3.30	2.97	3.21	3.20

#### **Endnotes**

- The Kennedy-McCain current proposal in Congress would increase family reunification immigration by removing from the ceiling the siblings, stepchildren and grandchildren of naturalized immigrants and U.S.-born sponsors. This could add as many as 400,000 additional family reunification admissions each year. This should be factored in as an increase in an amnesty/guest worker scenario.)
- Justich, Robert and Betty Ng, "The Underground Labor Force Is Rising To The Surface," Bear Stearns, January 2005. This analysis concluded that, "The number of illegal immigrants in the United States may be as high as 20 million people...".
- Office of Immigration Statistics, Department of Homeland Security, "2002 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics," October 2003 (p. 214).
- 4 Immigration and Naturalization Service, "1989 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service", September 1990 (pp. 46-47).
- <sup>5</sup> Hinde, Andrew, *Demographic Methods*, Arnold Publishers, London, 1998, p. 199.
- 6 Changed policies would be required to achieve the immigration stability (zero-net) scenario, and those changes could reshape the flow of legal immigrants over time, but not radically as long as family reunification remained a major component of that policy.
- Immigrant admissions were an annual average of 449,000 during the 1970s, 598,000 during the 1980s, and 779,000 during the 1990s, and the average from 2000 to 2004 was 945,000. The illegal immigrant population was estimated to be 2.775 million in 1988, 3.9 million in 1992, 5 million in 1996, and 7 million in 2000. This suggests that at the end of the 1990s illegal immigration was adding a net increase of about half a million persons per year to our population compared to less than 300,000 per year earlier. These numbers are net increases after accounting for illegal aliens who have gained legal status through some form of amnesty or sponsorship, those who have returned home and those who have died. Some demographers believe that the influx of illegal aliens dropped somewhat since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, perhaps as a result of increased border security or a downturn in the economy. However, our assessment is that even if this estimate is correct, it is ephemeral, and without significantly increased enforcement measures the upward trend will continue. In fact, it may already have again increased as a result of the administration's announced support for a form of two-step amnesty, the upturn in the economy, and the job opportunities resulting from Hurricane Katrina and other natural disasters.

#### **About FAIR**

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) is a national, nonprofit, public-interest, membership organization of concerned citizens who share a common belief that our nation's immigration policies must be reformed to serve the national interest.

FAIR seeks to improve border security, to stop illegal immigration, and to promote immigration levels consistent with the national interest-more traditional rates of about 300,000 a year.

With more than 198,000 members and supporters nationwide, FAIR is a non-partisan group whose membership runs the gamut from liberal to conservative. Our grassroots networks help concerned citizens use their voices to speak up for effective, sensible immigration policies that work for America's best interests.

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If you have any questions or would like to receive membership information, please contact Melissa Bradley-Wilson: (202) 328-7004.



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