

**LEGAL FOREIGN IMMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA:
SIZE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FLOW
ACCORDING TO THE INS STATISTICS
FOR 1993**

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Executive Summary

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) admitted nearly one quarter of a million legal immigrants into the United States who had upon entry expressed an intention to reside in the state of California during Federal Fiscal Year 1993¹. This is an increase of 10,000, or 4.1 percent from the preceding fiscal year, and corresponds to a rate of 7.8 legal foreign immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. It is the tenth consecutive year that California was the intended state of residence for more than a quarter of all legal immigrants.

Legal foreign immigrants came to California from more than ninety different countries. Over half of the immigrants were from Asia, a third from North America, an eighth from Europe, and the remainder from elsewhere. Just five countries - Mexico, the Philippines, Vietnam, China, and El Salvador contributed over half of all the legal foreign immigrants. Mexico alone was responsible for every fifth immigrant. The immigrant flow was predominantly (55 percent) female. Women also outnumbered men in every age group except from ages 5-17. The immigrant flow into California was relatively youthful, having a median age 4 years younger than that of the population of the state. Compared with the state's population, the flow of immigrants was concentrated more in the younger working ages, and less in the very youngest and oldest age groups. Amongst the immigrants, a larger proportion of those in the marriageable ages (age 15 and older) were married than amongst the Californians. This holds true for both sexes, and for all ages 18 and older. Nearly one-third of the immigrants came from a country where Spanish was the predominant native language, and another ten percent of the immigrants each came from countries where Tagalog, Vietnamese, or Chinese predominated.

Family-sponsored immigrants formed the largest category of admission for permanent residency, making up nearly half of all legal immigration. Mexico provided the most immigrants in this category, accounting for 22 percent of all family-sponsored immigrants and over half of all the immigrants from Mexico. Half of all the immigrant adoptees came from Asia, with Korea and the Philippines providing the largest numbers. The Philippines provided by far the largest number of fiancé(e) immigrants, while Mexico was the leading country of birth for spousal immigrants. California received 31 percent of the national total of refugees and asylees. Among the immigrant principals arriving under employment-based visas, the largest number were from Taiwan, followed by those from China, India, and the Philippines. Executives and engineers were the two most common occupations filled by this type of immigrant, accounting for 40 percent of those admitted under employment-based visas. Four out of the top five most numerous ZIP Codes of intended residence for employment-based immigrants were located in Silicon Valley, suggesting that the computer industry draws on talent not only from within the state, but from all over the globe.

Some areas of the state tended to attract more immigrants than did other areas. Not only that, but different nationalities tended to focus on different areas, sometimes with only a relatively small number of areas receiving sizable proportions of some nationalities. Among California's largest cities, Los Angeles received the largest number of immigrants - more than 32,000 but San Francisco had the highest rate of immigration, with 17.7 legal foreign immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. The eight largest cities, with one-quarter of the state's population, received one-third of the legal immigrants.

¹ This figure is exclusive of foreign legal immigrants admitted under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). Not omitting this particular immigrant would add twelve thousand immigrants to the State's total of legal foreign migrants for FY 1993. They are not included here because 1) they are not included on the INS data tape, and 2) they have been residing in the US since 1986 or earlier, and so are hardly "immigrants" as the term is usually understood.

I. Introduction

California's population grew from 20 million in 1970 to an estimated 32 million people in 1995. Net migration to the state accounted for more than half of the increase in population during most of those years. Migration to the state has been the main engine of population growth for much of California's recent past, with both migrants and their future children increasing California's population to levels higher than would have prevailed otherwise if there had been no net in-migration. The stream of migrants differs in significant ways from the native resident population, and so a detailed description of the immigrant stream into California is necessary for understanding both the current and the possible future impacts that such a migrational stream has on the population and economy of the state.

The net migration flow into California comes from three sources: in-migration by US citizens from other states; undocumented or illegal immigration by non-resident aliens; and legal foreign immigration. All three sources play important roles in the growth of the state's population, but this report concerns itself with only the last of the three, legal foreign migration. A brief description of the data follows to provide a better understanding of the numbers within the larger context of all types of migration.

II. Data and Sources

The data describing legal immigration into the United States in this report are provided by the US Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Immigration data are collected continuously by the INS, and made available for each federal fiscal year. The data are primarily a combination of two sources of registered migration into the US: the number of valid immigrant visas issued by the US Department of State to aliens for legal permanent residence (form OF-155), and the number of aliens already in the US on a temporary status who are granted a change of status to become legal permanent residents (form I-181). This means that the INS definition of "immigrant" encompasses not only those who are newly arrived within the fiscal year and granted legal residency, but also persons who may have been here for some time but were not considered immigrants in the legal sense until their visa status was adjusted. Refugees, for example, must live in the US for one year before they can have their visa status adjusted. Prior to their adjustment they are not "immigrants", despite their presence here². In summary, of the 247,253 legal foreign immigrants to California in 1993, 153,767 (62 percent) were classified as new arrivals, 53,970 (22 percent) were aliens turned legal permanent residents through adjustments in visa status, and 39,516 (16 percent) were refugees granted legal permanent residence.

The INS collects the following information on immigrants upon issuance of their permanent residency visa: port of admission; type or class of admission; countries of birth and last residence; nationality; age, sex, and marital status; occupation; original year of entry for those adjusting from temporary to permanent residence; and the state and ZIP Code of the immigrant's intended residence. In this report, the immigrants' state of intended residence and actual state of residence are considered to be identical, although there is no way of knowing whether immigrants actually do end up residing in their intended state. It is likely that at least as many legal immigrants end up residing here as the number that express an intention to do so, if not more, given that California has so many immigrant communities which have attracted legal immigrants of many nationalities from other states.

The INS immigration data suffer from several limitations that keep it from being an absolutely accurate count of the number of immigrants entering the United States for permanent residence. The

² 39% of all non-refugee adjustments and 19% of all refugee-adjustments were for persons who had arrived in the US in calendar 1990 or earlier.

number of immigrant adjustments in residency are for the year in which the adjustments occurred, not the years in which the immigrants entered the US. Some types of what are essentially permanent immigrants such as refugees and asylees are not necessarily counted as legal permanent residents, even if they have been permanently residing in the US since their arrival. No data are available on emigration, and thus return-to-country-of-origin by legal immigrants is unrecorded. Some immigrants who entered on temporary status under the Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendments of 1986 (P.L. 99-639) have their status revoked. Most importantly of all, non-legal immigrants are not recorded by the INS. The effect of these limitations on the overall annual estimate of net in-migration to California by immigrants is minor, with the exceptions of the lack of data on return emigration data and on the quantity of undocumented immigration. The former would tend to reduce the estimates of legal immigration by an unknown but small amount, while undocumented immigration by immigrants taking up residency would increase the estimate of the total of foreign in-migration by an unknown, but much larger amount. This last source of error would add more uncertainty to the accuracy of the INS data than would any of the other previously mentioned reasons for discrepancy between the actual and INS figures for immigration. The estimation of immigration into California by illegal immigrants is beyond the scope of this report. In 1994, however, the INS estimated that in 1992 California had the largest number of resident illegal aliens of any state, with 1.4 million -- 43 percent of the estimated national total. Readers interested in learning more about the INS' data are encouraged to consult any of the books in their annual series Statistical Yearbook of Immigration and Naturalization Service, published annually by the US Government Printing Office in Washington, DC.

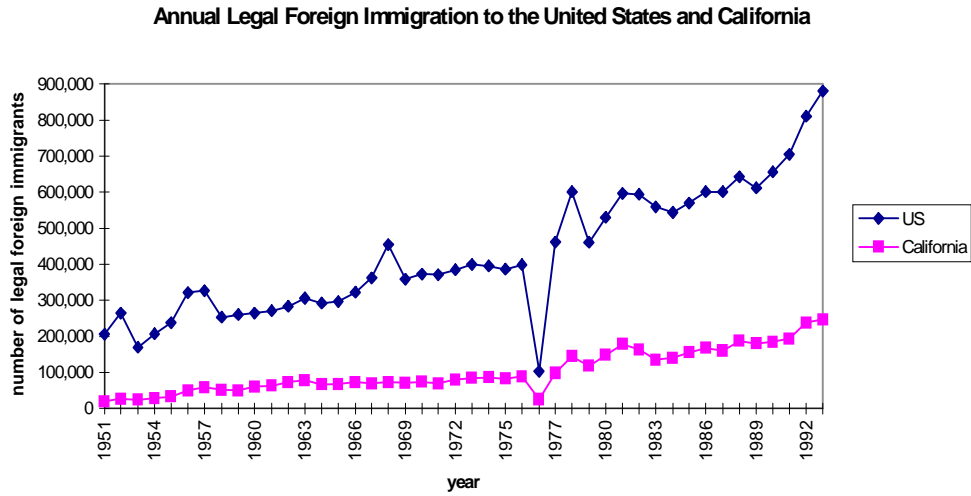
Data describing population characteristics for cities, counties, states, and the entire US are taken from the US Bureau of the Census' publications of 1990 census data, unless otherwise noted. Readers interested in learning more about the 1990 census should consult 1990 Census of the Population, Social and Economic Characteristics: United States (1990 CP-2-1).

III. Legal Foreign Migration: Size of the Flow and the Size of the Foreign-Born Population

In Federal Fiscal Year 1993 (FY1993), the most recent year for which the INS data is available, California was the intended state of residence for 247,253 of the immigrants granted legal residency in the United States, an increase of 4.11 percent over the previous year. The annual number of legal immigrants for both the US as a whole, and for California, covering the period 1951 through 1993 are presented in Figure 1³.

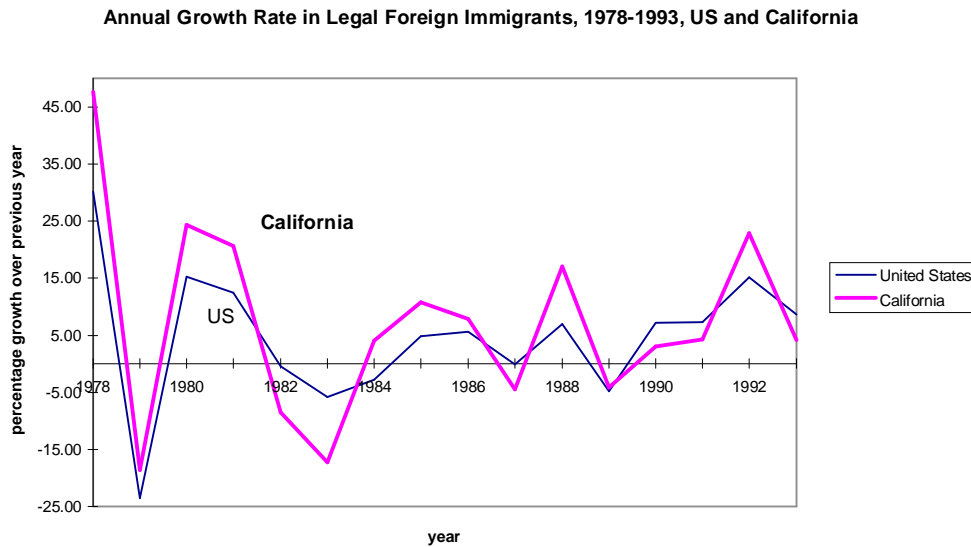
³ The discontinuity in Figure 1 between 1976-1977 is an artifact due to a transitional quarter in the data when the Federal government changed the beginning of its fiscal year from July 1 to October 1.

Figure 1



Although in absolute numbers legal immigrants to the US grew faster than for California, the annual growth rate in the number of legal immigrants has been about the same for both, particularly over the last decade (see Figure 2).

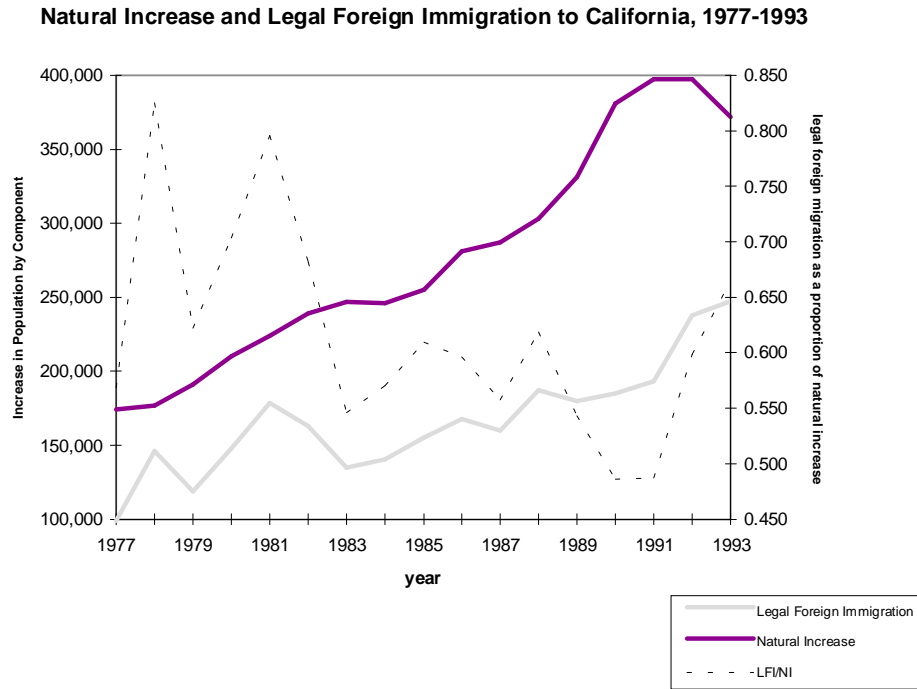
Figure 2



California has long been the favorite intended state of residence for legal immigrants, with the state's share of this type of immigration having climbed steadily from 10 percent of the national total in 1951 to more than 25 percent during the 1980's. Since 1979, California has consistently received more than a quarter of the total number of legal immigrants to the US, despite having had less than an eighth of the country's population. In other words, legal foreign immigrants are choosing California as a destination at more than twice the rate that would be expected if the immigrant stream were proportional to the state's population size.

The size of the legal immigrant flow into California can be put in perspective by comparing it with another major source of population growth, natural increase. Figure 3 shows the annual amounts of legal immigration and natural increase for the period 1977-1993, as well as how the former compares proportionately with the latter.

Figure 3

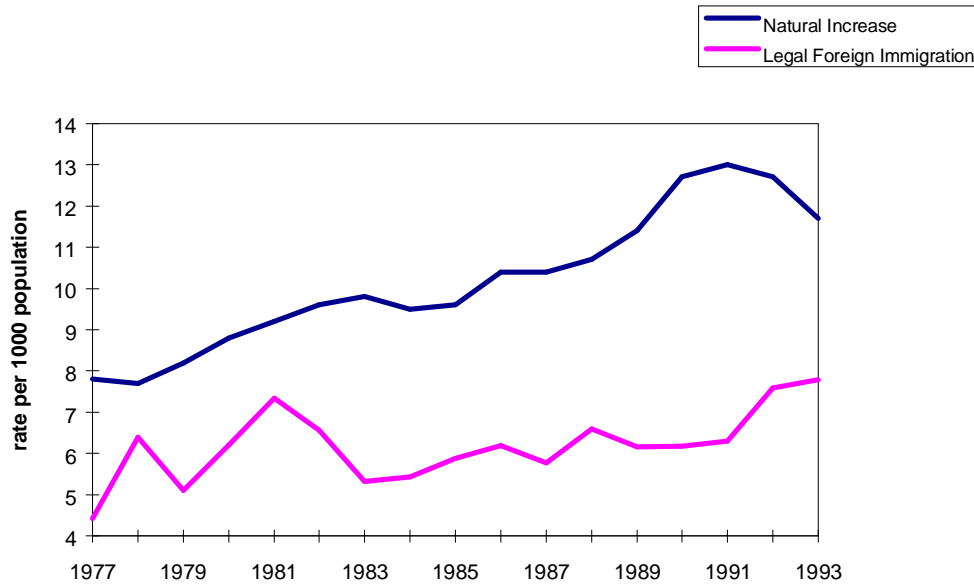


The amount of natural increase grew from 175,000 per year in the earlier part of the period to around 375,000 per year at the end of the period, as a result of both an increase in the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and a decrease in the Crude Death Rate (CDR) over the period, as well as an increasing base population size. Over the same period, the amount of legal immigration increased as well, from around 100,000 in 1977 to nearly 250,000 in 1993, reflecting both the increased amount of legal immigration into the US, and the increased popularity of California as a destination for those immigrants. Throughout the period, legal immigration fluctuated between 50 to 85 percent of the size of the state's natural increase. The lower proportions occurred mostly later in the period because the rate of natural increase grew while the rate of legal foreign migration increased relatively little. In other words, although the amounts of natural increase and legal immigration into the state have increased greatly over the last 17 years, the rate of immigration to the state, expressed relative to the population, has not changed much, fluctuating mostly between 5-7 new legal immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants per year (see Figure 4). While the rate of legal immigration to California has increased slightly over the last decade, its effect on total population growth has decreased relative to that of natural increase⁴.

⁴ The situation is actually a little more complex. Natural increase adds to the base of the population pyramid (and those infants will not reproduce for nearly three decades on average), while immigration's net effect on future population growth is less certain. Immigrants are distributed into the population across all age groups, and some of the immigrants will bear children, thus making the effective increase in population through immigration greater over the near term than would have an equivalent number of native births.

Figure 4

**Rates of Natural Increase and Legal Foreign Immigration,
California, 1977-1993**

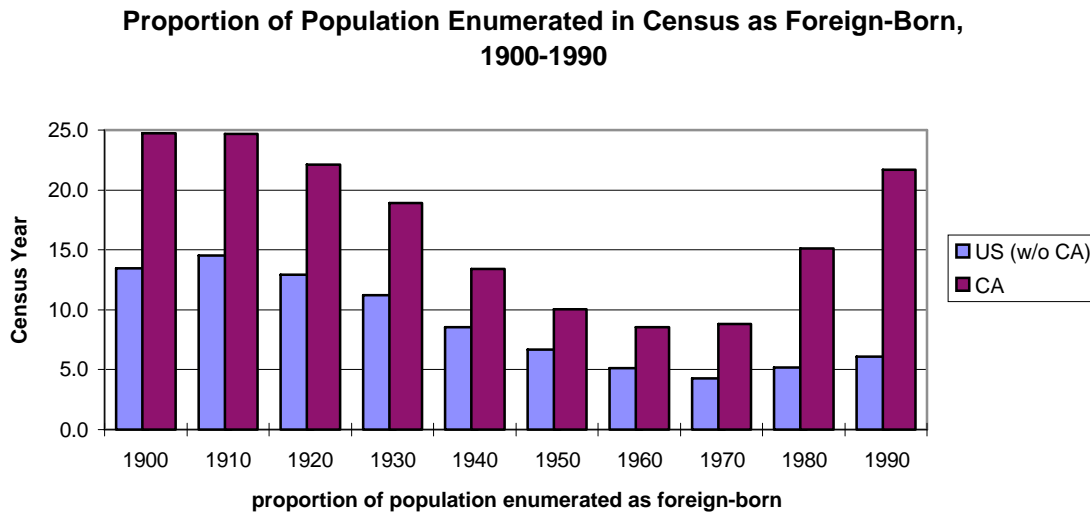


Both past and current trends in foreign immigration into the US and California are reflected in the decennial census data. Figure 5 charts over the course of the 20th Century for both the US and California the proportion of the resident population enumerated as being foreign-born. The proportion of the population in a given year that is foreign-born reflects not only recent trends in immigration, but also the levels as long as 70 or 80 years ago, as the stock of the foreign-born in the population contains both those that have recently arrived as well as those who immigrated long ago and were still alive at the time of enumeration. Hence, the 1990 enumeration of foreign-born no doubt contains some people who immigrated into the US during the first peak in immigration that occurred towards the end of the first decade of this century. But these people would be among the relatively few survivors of that peak in immigration, and they would now be heavily outnumbered by the younger and more recent arrivals to this country, even if the later arrivals came in smaller numbers than did their predecessors⁵. Even though a trough in net foreign immigration lasted from the early 1930's through to the end of the Second World War, the proportion of the population that was foreign-born did not reach its lowest point until some years later. For California the lowest proportion was enumerated in 1960, and for the US as a whole in 1970. This two-decade lag between the low points in immigration and the proportion of foreign-born reflects the tremendous numbers of immigrants that arrived into the country in the early part of this century, as well as the fall in fertility that occurred after that during the 1930's. Here history portends the future: even if the present number of immigrants were held steady at current levels for well into the future, the next two censuses would likely see further increases in the proportion of the foreign-born population, as cohorts born during the

⁵ The first peak in immigration brought more than 1.28 million people in 1907, while during some years during the 1930's the US actually experienced negative net foreign immigration.

immigration trough will be dying, while successive age cohorts will contain larger proportions of foreign-born⁶.

Figure 5



Historically, California has always had a much higher proportion of foreign-born residents than the rest of the country. According to the 1990 Census, California's proportion of foreign-born as a part of the state's population is higher than that of any other state. This is not surprising, as the state has historically been seen by citizens of other states and foreign immigrants alike as a magnet of opportunity, as the Gold Rush and succeeding economic booms (in oranges, aerospace, and microchips, for example), attracted migrants from across the country and the globe. California will continue to have a much higher proportion of foreign-born in its population well into the future, both because of the large number of immigrants living in the state now, and because current US immigration policy favors immigrants with family ties to the US, which ensures that the state will continue to attract a larger proportion of foreign immigrants than would otherwise be expected.

IV. Characteristics of the Flow of Legal Foreign Immigrants

The impact of the flow of legal immigrants on the state's population can be better understood by comparing the characteristics of the immigrant flow and California's population. The relevant characteristics of the legal immigrants that are examined here include their country of birth, sex, marital status, occupation, destination of immigration as represented by the ZIP Code of intended residence, visa category of admission, and the age structure of the immigrant flow. These variables add depth to the description of the flow, and make it possible to predict how they will change the composition of California's population over the course of time.

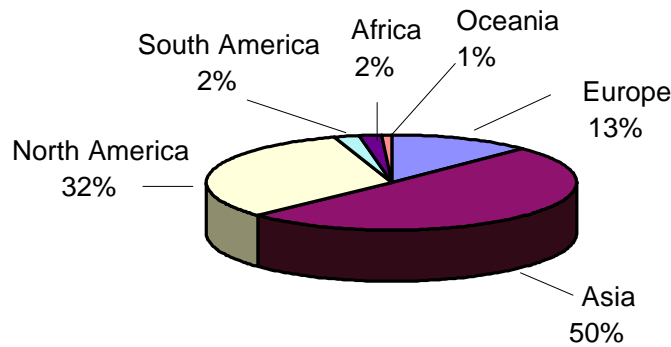
⁶ The case is even more complicated, as the proportion foreign-born in each age cohort is not only a function of the size of the native birth cohort and of the past age-specific net immigration rates, but also possible differences in the mortality rates between the foreign-born and natives within each age cohort.

A: Where Are They From?

Overall, half of all the legal foreign immigrants to California came from Asia, one-third came from North America, one-eighth from Europe, and the remaining five percent from South America, Africa, and Oceania combined (see Figure 6).

Figure 6

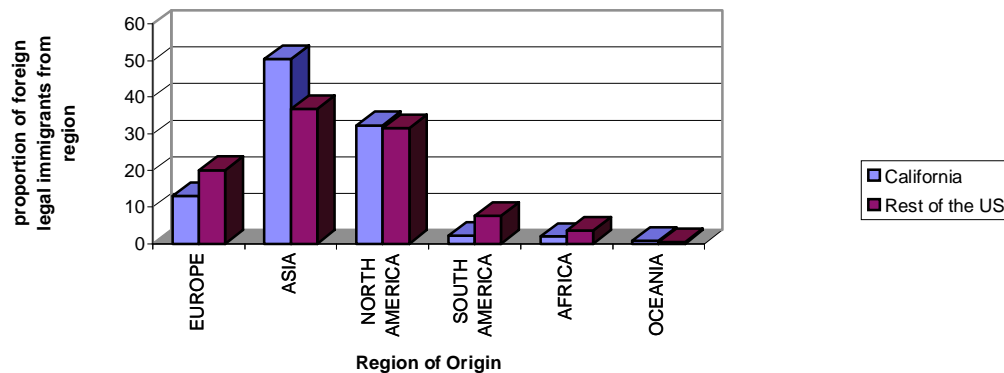
Legal Immigrants to California by Region of Birth: 1993



These proportions are roughly similar to the legal immigrant flow for the rest of the US (exclusive of California), except that the flow of immigrants into California has a much higher proportion of immigrants from Asia (51 percent versus 36 percent for the rest of the US), while the flow to the rest of the US has larger proportions of Europeans (20 percent versus California's 12 percent) and South Americans (6 percent versus California's 2 percent) (see Figure 7).

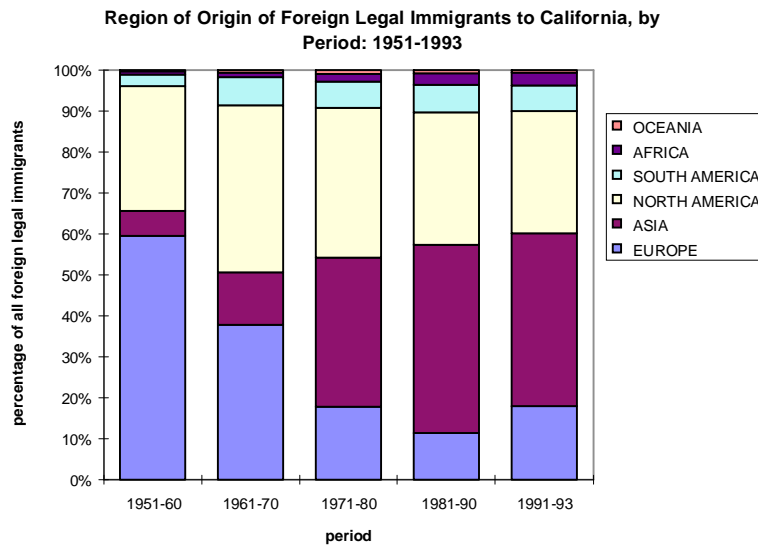
Figure 7

Proportion of Foreign Legal Immigrants by Region of Origin, for CA and US (without CA), FY 1993



Since the 1950's, there have been two major shifts in the proportions of continent of origin (see Figure 8). The most notable is the large increase in the proportion of immigrants from Asia, which resulted from the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965. The other is the large decrease in the proportion of immigrants from Europe from the 1950's through the end of the 1980's, followed by a smaller increase during the 1990's. The decrease in this proportion is the result of a relatively small drop in the absolute numbers of European immigrants coupled with a large increase in the number of Asian immigrants over that period. The smaller increase in the proportion of European immigrants during the 1990's is the result of the increased amount of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe that resulted from the political reforms and deterioration of economic conditions in the countries of that region.

Figure 8



Nearly one quarter of a million people from more than 90 countries immigrated into California in 1993. Just five countries - Mexico, the Philippines, Vietnam, China, and El Salvador - contributed more than half of the overall total. Mexico sent by the largest share of legal immigrants by far - more than a fifth of all the legal immigrants overall - and nearly twice as many as the country with the second largest number of immigrants, the Philippines. Mexico has long been the leading country of origin of legal immigrants to California, and is likely to continue to be so into the foreseeable future, both due to its common border with California, and also the large numbers of Mexican-born American citizens already residing in the state. The 20 most common countries of birth, as listed in Table 1 below, were the origin⁷ for 82 percent of all the legal immigrants to California.

⁷The INS recorded three variables for each immigrant which could define their origin: country of last permanent residence, place of birth, and country of chargeability. The term "country of chargeability" refers to the country whose quota the immigrant's entrance is charged against, and is generally the same as the country of birth, although in cases where the immigrant holds more than one citizenship it may differ. Because country of chargeability and country of last permanent residence are not absolute, this report uses country of birth to describe immigrants' origins.

Table 1
The 20 Most Frequent Countries of Birth of Legal Foreign Immigrants to California: 1993

Country of Birth	Number of Immigrants to CA, 1993	Percent of Immigrants to CA	Number of Immigrants to the US, 1993	California's proportion of US total (%)
Mexico	52,848	21.4	109,059	48
Philippines	27,404	11.1	63,189	43
Vietnam	25,428	10.3	59,613	43
China	13,690	5.5	65,552	21
El Salvador	12,892	5.2	25,517	51
Iran	8,730	3.5	14,836	59
India	8,622	3.5	40,021	22
Taiwan	7,143	2.9	14,309	50
Guatemala	6,115	2.5	11,269	54
Armenia	5,938	2.4	6,287	94
Korea	5,913	2.4	17,949	33
Ukraine	4,125	1.7	18,316	23
United Kingdom	3,979	1.6	18,712	21
Hong Kong	3,880	1.6	9,150	42
Laos⁸	3,650	1.5	7,285	50
Thailand	3,311	1.3	6,627	50
Canada	2,496	1.0	17,081	15
Japan	2,437	1.0	6,883	35
Russia	2,368	1.0	12,079	20

Immigrants from some countries tended to favor California as a destination more than those from other countries. California was by far the most popular amongst Armenian immigrants, as 93 percent of the total number of immigrants from Armenia to the United States intended to reside in California. But California also was very popular among the immigrants from most of the countries that sent sizable numbers of immigrants to the US. Half of the immigrants from Iran, Guatemala, El Salvador, Laos, Thailand, Taiwan, and Mexico all chose California as their intended state of residence. Among the 15 countries that sent the most legal immigrants to the US in FY1993, only immigrants from Poland, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica came to California in much less than expected numbers, as California received less than 3 percent of the immigrants from these countries.

B: Sex

Overall, there were more female than male legal immigrants to California, with women making up 55 percent of the total. This reflects the national trend of females immigrants outnumbering males, as more

⁸ Many of the immigrants from Laos and Thailand are ethnic *Hmong*, and have entered the US as refugees, after having lived in refugee camps in Thailand for a number of years. Many of the Hmong born in Laos had their children born in the camps in Thailand. Hence, their children appear in the table as coming from Thailand, while the parents are entered under the entry for Laos. For some purposes, it would be better to think of the migrant streams from both countries as effectively being one stream, particularly since 87% of the immigrants born in Laos had Thailand as their country of last permanent residence, while 86% of the immigrants born in Thailand were listed as stateless (i.e. refugee) in their country of chargeability (meaning they were not Thai citizens.) The stream of migrants from both countries combined would be the ninth largest to the State.

women than men have been legally immigrating to the US at least since the 1960's⁹. Table 2 below presents the sex composition of the flow of legal foreign immigrants into California in 1993, as well as the 1990 census figures for the populations of California and the US for comparison. The proportion of women in the immigrant flow is clearly higher than either the resident population of the state or the country.

*Table 2
Number and Proportion of Males and Females for Legal Immigrants to California, and California and US Resident
1990 Populations: 1993*

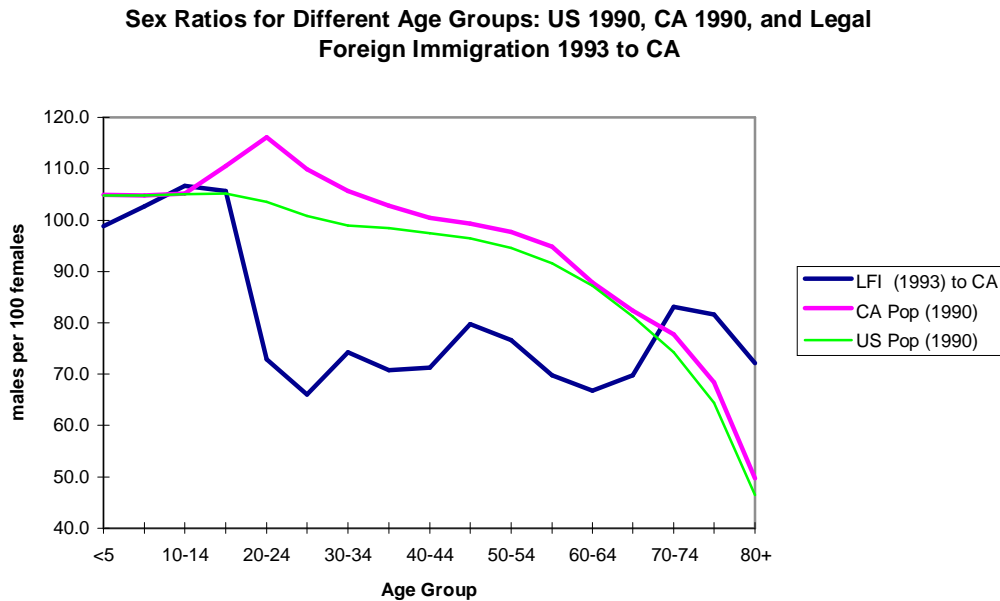
	Number			Proportion (%)		
	Males	Females	Total	Male	Female	Total
Legal Immigrants to CA (1993)	111,115	136,138	247,253	44.9	55.1	100.0
California (1990)	14,897,627	14,862,394	29,760,021	50.1	49.9	100.0
United States (1990)	121,239,418	127,470,455	248,709,873	48.7	51.3	100.0

The predominance of women in the flow was not a product of one or a handful of countries sending mostly male immigrants. Of the top 20 sending countries of birth, the United Kingdom and Armenia were the only ones that had more males than females coming to California. Even their flows, however, were only just barely predominantly male, at 52 percent and 50 percent male respectively. On the other hand, the countries with the three highest proportions of females in their immigrant stream to California were Japan, Mexico, and the Philippines, with 62 percent, 59 percent, and 58 percent respectively. The latter two were the top contributors of legal immigrants in 1993, together accounting for more than one third of all female immigrants. This means that in 1993, one of every three female legal immigrants to California were either from Mexico or the Philippines. Any factors in immigration which cause the predominance of females are not limited to only a few countries; the larger number of females in the immigrant stream is not unique to California (or even the US as a whole) as areas of net in-migration, nor is the larger number of female migrants limited to only a few sending countries.

Not only did women comprise a majority of the immigrant stream to California in 1993; they also predominated in almost all the age groups that make up the flow of immigrants. One tool that demographers use when analyzing the sex composition of a population is the *sex ratio*, which is conventionally expressed as the number of males per hundred females in a given population. A sex ratio greater than 100 would indicate more males than females, while less than 100 would indicate the opposite. Figure 9 presents the sex ratios for both the 1993 legal immigrant flow into California, and for the 1990 California and US populations as well. The main difference between the immigrant flow and both populations is that the immigrant flow becomes predominantly female by age 20, much earlier and to a greater extent than for either California or the US. During the main working ages, from age 20 until age 65, there are only about 70 males for each 100 female legal foreign immigrants in each age group. The predominance of females in the legal flow of immigrants stands in contrast to the flow of illegal immigrants, which is predominantly male, at least based upon apprehensions by the INS.

⁹ Not including IRCA immigrants. If these were included, then from 1988 onwards, the flow was predominantly male for several years, as the IRCA immigrants (who had been illegal immigrants) were predominantly male.

Figure 9



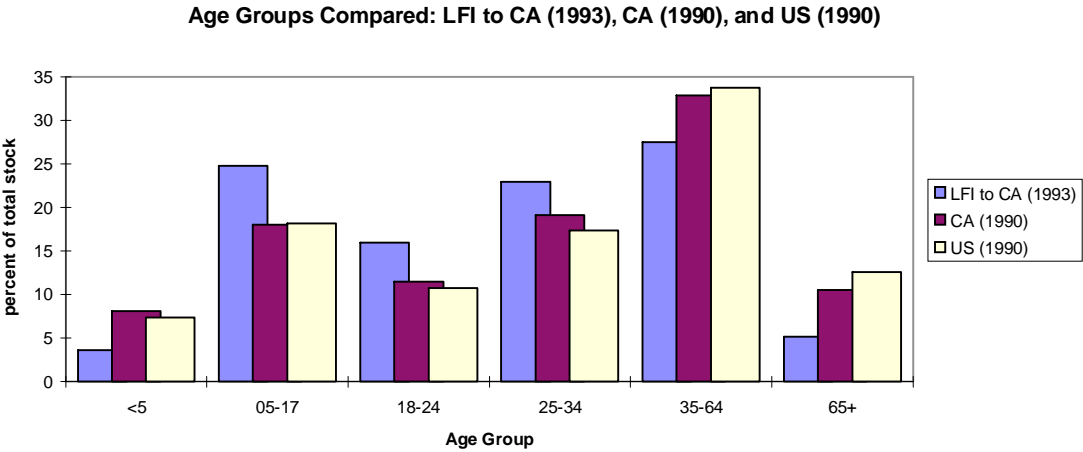
Two other features of the immigrant flow in Figure 9 merit attention. The first is that the sex ratio is lower than would otherwise be expected for the age group of children younger than five years old. There were only 98 males for every 100 females. This is abnormal because in most populations there are ordinarily about 104-106 males born for every 100 females. Although in most countries male infants and young children do experience higher mortality rates than females of the same age, their mortality rates even under the worst of conditions are not high enough to bring about parity in the numbers of each sex until adulthood. This 7-8 percent shortfall of male infants and children is mysterious. Normally, immigrant children of that age arrive as part of their family - clearly at this age the children are not migrating by themselves. Yet it seems unlikely that families would be more likely to leave behind their young male children than their young female children. Whether this imbalance in the sex ratio at such a young age is really a surplus of girls or a shortfall of boys will be cleared up later on.

The other peculiarity in the sex ratios of the immigrants is that at age 70 and older there are even more men than might otherwise be expected. By the elderly ages, the preceding life-long higher male mortality rates make it such that usually there are somewhat less than 70 men per 100 women in the elderly ages, with the ratio declining even further at the most advanced ages. Yet the immigrants in these age groups still had more than 70 men per 100 women. One possible explanation is that this probably results from a selection bias in the population of migrants coming here. The act of migration to a foreign country requires a certain level of both health and economic resources. This means that men who do migrate are likelier to be better off than the males that do not. Another possible explanation for the greater than expected number of males may be that US immigration policy is designed to foster family reunification. Because men tend to lose their spouses at later ages than women, elderly migrants who come to the US to reunite with their children (which almost all of them do, given that most are not being employed and are unlikely to have even older relatives) are more likely to be men than would otherwise be expected. Other explanations for the higher-than-expected proportion of men in the older age groups in the immigrant stream are also possible, but without any more data further explanations are speculative.

C: Age Structure

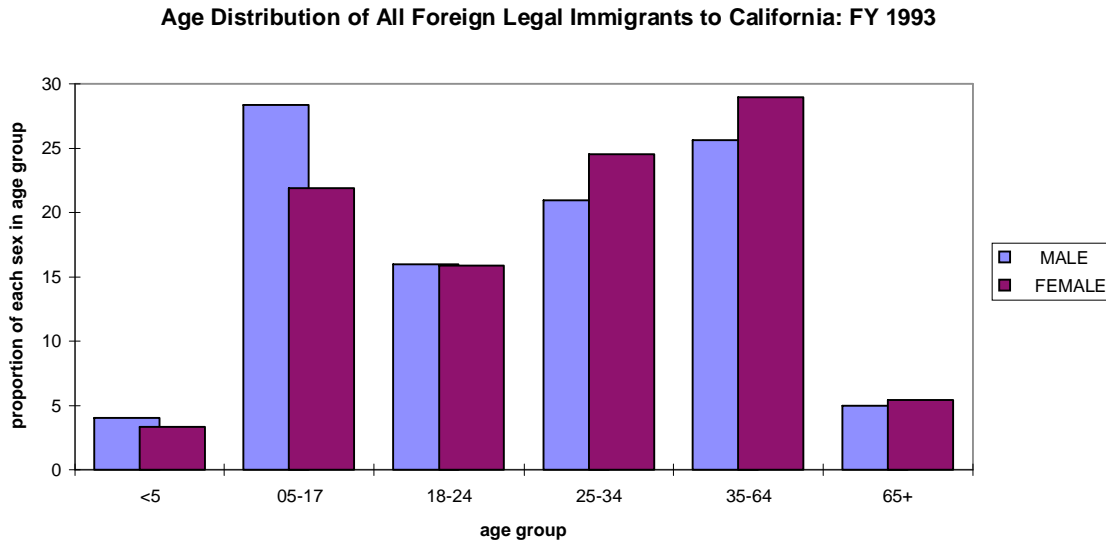
The age structure of the stream of legal immigrants to California in 1993 was somewhat younger than that of the state's population. The median age of the state population in 1990 was 31.4 years (32.9 years for the US overall), while the median age for the immigrants was 27 years. The immigrant stream has relatively fewer young children and senior citizens than California's native population, and has more people concentrated in the working ages, particularly the ages 18 to 35. This accounts for the relative youth of the immigrant flow. Figure 10 presents a comparison of the age structure of the 1993 legal immigrant stream to California and the enumerated 1990 populations of California and the United States. The stream of immigrants into California is younger on average than the resident population of the state, with a higher proportion being the younger working ages of 18-34 (38 percent of the immigrants versus only 28 percent for California). On the other hand, the immigrant flow is not as heavily weighted at the youngest and oldest ages, having only half of the proportion of California for children less than 5 years old and for those age 65 and older. The lack of younger children relative to older children in the immigrant stream probably reflects the difficulties of immigrating with very young children, as either childcare costs or the need to care for them would make it more difficult to secure employment. The relative lack of retirement age immigrants probably reflects the high cost of living in California relative to the countries of origins of the immigrants. Those of retirement age who do immigrate to California probably already have family here with whom they can reside.

Figure 10



The age structure of the 1993 legal immigrant flow to California are shown by sex in Figure 11. Women are more heavily concentrated in the later working years than are men. This relatively heavier concentration in the post-age 25 working years may be because younger women stay in their home countries to have children during their earlier reproductive years, or it may be that the males are more concentrated in the younger working years because such a large number of single males come to the US for work. Yet immigrant women outnumber immigrant men most during their prime reproductive years, ages 18-34. Nearly 14,000, or one-third more, immigrant women than men in these ages entered California. The mean age for the male and female legal immigrants to California was 25 and 28, respectively, compared with the slightly older mean ages of 27.8 and 28.7 for male and female legal immigrants to the US. The difference in mean ages is probably because California gets such a large proportion of the legal immigrants from Central America, who are on average younger than immigrants from other parts of the world.

Figure 11



The age distribution of the legal immigrant flow into California differed between sending countries. Among all sending countries that sent at least 250 legal immigrants of each sex to California in 1993, for men the lowest and highest median ages were 8 and 56 years, from Thailand¹⁰ and Turkey, respectively. For women the lowest and highest median ages were 10 and 61 years, also from the same countries. Among only the top 20 sending countries, the median age for male immigrants ranged from 17 for immigrants from Mexico to 39 for immigrants from China, while for female immigrants the range was from 20 for El Salvadorans to 37 for women from China. The median and mean ages for the top 20 countries of birth are shown in Table 3 below.

¹⁰ The reason the median age for both sexes is so strikingly low for Thailand, relative to any of the other countries, is that most of the Hmong refugees who were born in Laos had lived in Thailand in refugee camps for a number of years, and had borne their children there. Consequently, the Laotian migrant stream, as defined by country of birth, had very few children younger than 10 years of age, as the parents had borne their children in Thailand. And so the migrant stream from Thailand was on average much younger than it otherwise would have been, as it contains both children born in Thailand of parents born in Thailand, plus children born in Thailand of parents born in Laos.

Table 3

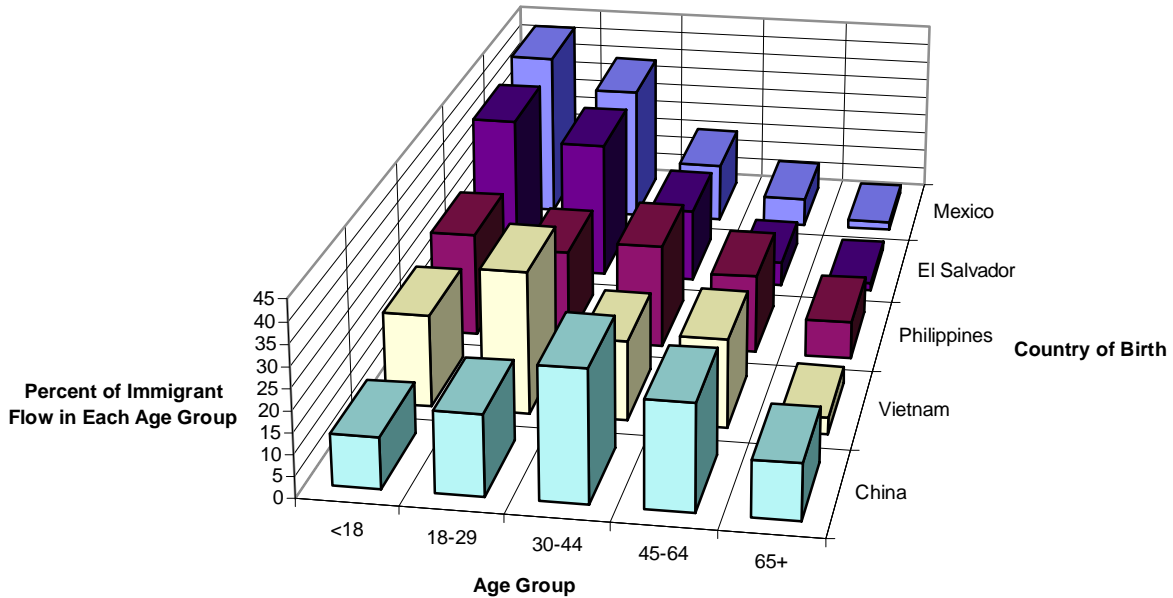
Number, Median- and Mean Age of Male and Female Legal Immigrants to California, by Country of Birth: 1993

Country	Males			Females		
	Number	Median Age	Mean Age	Number	Median Age	Mean Age
Thailand	1,491	8	12.2	1,818	10	16.2
Mexico	22,117	17	19.7	30,731	23	24.8
Guatemala	2,740	18	21.7	3,375	22	25.2
El Salvador	5,776	19	22.6	7,116	20	25.5
Armenia	2,983	20	22.8	2,955	23	23.7
Nicaragua	996	24	26.5	1,127	27	28.8
Vietnam	11,877	25	30.4	13,545	28	31.8
Hong Kong	1,822	27	26.5	2,058	28	27.4
Laos	1,823	27	29.8	1,825	27	31.0
Philippines	11,228	28	30.5	16,176	32	35.5
Canada	1,203	29	27.3	1,293	28	26.8
India	3,981	29	31.5	4,641	27	31.5
United Kingdom	2,084	30	30.1	1,895	29	28.2
Taiwan	3,141	31	29.4	4,002	31	31.2
Korea	2,590	31	31.1	2,590	32	33.1
Japan	937	32	31.5	1,500	30	30.7
Russia	1,061	32	32.4	1,307	32	33.1
Ukraine	1,933	36	37.7	2,192	37	38.6
Iran	4,115	37	38.9	4,612	36	38.6
China	6,331	39	41.0	7,353	37	39.4

The age distributions of the immigrants from each of the top five sending countries are depicted in Figure 11, arranged in front-to-back order from the least to the most youthful age distribution. Mexico and El Salvador clearly have a much higher proportion of their migrant stream in the youngest ages. This is probably due to relatively high fertility, or a greater propensity to migrate as family units, or both. The relative scarcity of children among the immigrants from China is probably due to that country's extremely low fertility rate that resulted from the one-child-per-couple policy of 1981. The relatively high proportion in the age group 30-44 in the flow of immigrants from China also may be a result of the Chinese Student Protection Act, as it encouraged Chinese university students (typically graduate students) to obtain permanent residency.

Figure 12

Age Distribution of Legal Immigrants to California by Country of Birth: 1993



D: Marital Status

The marital status of the immigrants by sex and age for those age 15 and older is given in Table 4, along with the same for the California population for comparison. The proportion of the population that is married tends to be higher in every age group for immigrants than for Californians. Without better data, it is difficult to explain the higher proportion married amongst immigrants, but it is likely to be due to a lower incidence of divorce, a higher rate of marriage or remarriage, or a selection effect wherein married people are more likely to immigrate than single or divorced persons. Put differently, immigration itself is a selective process. More legal immigrants came to California with family-sponsored visas than any other kind of visa, and it is married people who are likelier to have more of the type of familial ties that qualify for residency under this classification (e.g. spouses, children, etc.)

Table 4
Proportions Married of Legal Immigrants to California and California Resident Population (1990), by Sex and Age: 1993

Age Group	Legal Immigrants to California				Proportion Married California, 1990	
	Males	Proportion Married	Females	Proportion Married	Males (%)	Females (%)
15-17	14	.2	93	1.1	.9	2.2
18-19	99	1.4	667	9.9	3.6	9.7
20-24	2,976	27.5	8,392	56.5	17.5	29.8
25-29	7,172	59.1	14,680	79.9	41.0	52.5
30-34	7,854	70.4	12,491	83.1	56.8	62.7
35-44	11,487	83.8	16,544	85.6	66.5	65.4
45-54	7,807	92.0	9,108	84.1	73.3	65.8
55-59	3,038	92.4	3,724	79.0	77.1	64.8
60-64	2,818	92.6	3,226	70.9	77.5	61.3
65 and older	4,764	86.2	3,792	51.6	74.3	39.9
Total, age 15 and older	48,029	57.1	72,717	66.0	52.9	50.8

The proportion married varied by sex, age group, and country of birth of the immigrant. A higher proportion of women than men were married in any given age group between ages 15-44 for immigrants from nearly all countries, and for Californians as well. Although age at marriage for the immigrant was not recorded (only age and marital status), it is likely that in most countries the higher proportions married for females at each age is the result of women getting married earlier on average than men. Whether a higher proportion of men than women ultimately marry is debatable, as it would seem that for a number of countries the proportion of women married starts decreasing by the 45-54 age group. This decrease may be the result of increased rates of widowhood as women start reaching older ages (due to women marrying older men), or a result of an increased number of divorces or decreased re-marriage rates. Or it could even be a cohort-effect due to lower rates of marriage in the past. The answer may be a combination of any of these factors, but the data on immigrants do indicate that a higher proportion of females than males are married up until middle age, and it is only at the older ages that both sexes are near parity in the proportion left single. But because women lose their spouses at an earlier age, on average, a higher proportion of the men remain married at advanced ages.

Figures 13 and 14 depict the proportion married by sex and age group for immigrants from selected sending countries. The extremes in proportions married are illustrated by immigrants from Laos and Ireland, who had the largest and smallest proportions married overall. The groups depicted here can be divided into "early" and "late" marriers, with the "early" marriers defined as when half or more of the immigrants from a particular country were married by age 25. For males, immigrants from Laos and Mexico married early, while immigrants in the late-marrying group were from Vietnam, Ireland, and the Philippines, as well as California. For females, immigrants from Laos, the Philippines, and Mexico were part of the early-marrying group, while those from Ireland and Vietnam, as well as California, were part of the later-marrying group. That the Irish had the lowest proportions married by age is no surprise - the country has long been known (amongst demographers, at least) for having a late average age at marriage

and a high proportion of never-marrying. But the low proportion married by age amongst the Vietnamese relative to the other countries is unexpected, particularly because most Asian countries have an earlier age average at marriage and higher proportions ever-marrying. The result here is probably a selection effect - the immigration process selected more unmarried Vietnamese than would have been likely based upon their population back home. One likely way for this to have happened is if many of the Vietnamese immigrants entered under family-sponsored preferences, as these preferences favor unmarried children of alien residents over married children of alien residents.

Figure 13

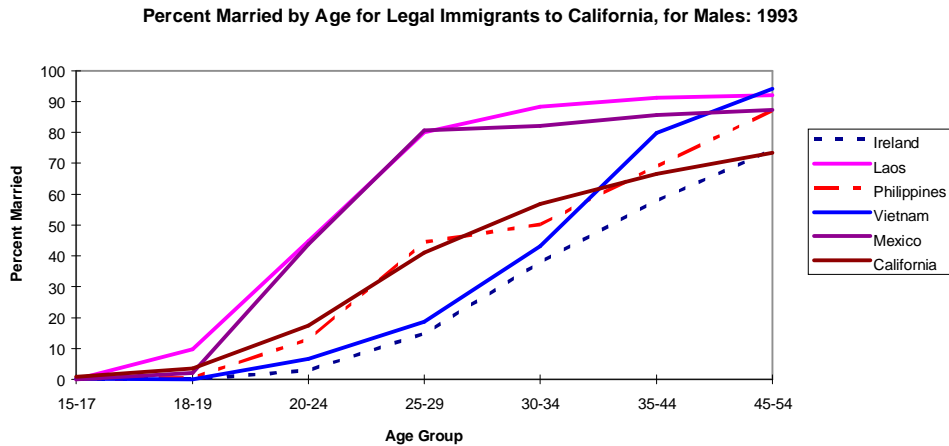
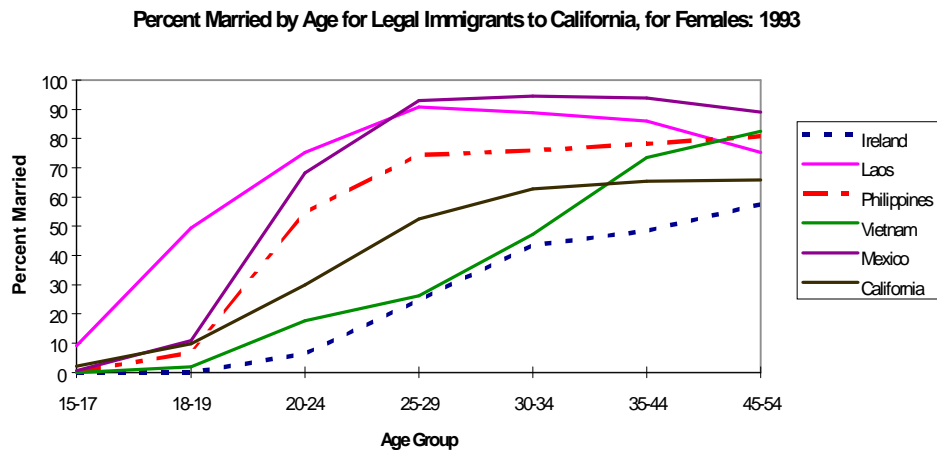


Figure 14



E. Language

Although the native language spoken by the immigrants was not recorded by the INS, it is possible to make reasonable estimates of the total number of immigrant speakers for the major language groups, based upon the country of birth of the immigrants. This approach, however, does have several weaknesses: immigrants may not actually speak the language they are assumed to based upon their country of birth; the approach says nothing about their English-language proficiency, and the assumed native language designation is broad and ignores potentially large differences between spoken dialects within the language, e.g. Chinese. For most purposes,

however, the data concerning the languages spoken by the immigrants are adequate for providing a good overall picture as to the linguistic makeup of the flow of legal immigrants¹¹.

Spanish was the most common native language among the legal immigrants who immigrated to California, with 81,000, or nearly one-third, of the immigrants coming from a country where Spanish is the predominant language. The next three most common native languages were Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Chinese, each having 25,000 speakers. The remaining 35 percent of the immigrants came from countries where languages other than the above were predominant.

The flow of Spanish-speaking immigrants was proportionately younger than were the immigrants from the other three major language groups, with 48 percent of all the immigrants from Spanish-speaking areas being younger than age 20, while less than 30 percent were younger than that from the Tagalog,- Vietnamese-, or Chinese-speaking areas.

V. Love, Money, or Politics? Why do they come here?

The class of admission is the type of visa under which the immigrant is entitled to become a permanent resident of the US. An examination of the types of visas under which the immigrants are admitted reveals some interesting facts about California's immigrants, because it provides insight as to who they are and what their motivations are for coming here. It is simplistic to paint immigration as the product of only a single motive, but the system of visas is structured such that the motives for migration are unrecorded, and so must be inferred from the visa category under which the immigrant gained permanent residency. Although the visa categories can be fairly specific with regard to a number of things, they are essentially unidimensional when it comes to describing an immigrants' motivation. For example, an immigrant who comes to the US on an employment-based visa is clearly here for economic reasons. But are those the immigrant's only reason for coming here? It is impossible to say, and one can only infer so much from the class of visa. Without further information, one can only presume from the data on visa types that the motivations for immigrating to California are simply love, money, or politics. Simplistic as this categorization is, it does have the advantage of being both conceptually simple and not inaccurate, at least as much as can be expected given that the INS data are not designed for in-depth research.

The US controls the legal admission of immigrants through a series of categories which are defined by Congress and administered by the INS. Immigrants fall into either a class that is subject to the numerical cap set by Congress, or one that is not. Subject to the numerical cap are those immigrants entering under family-sponsored or employment-based preferences, immigrants arriving under the auspices of the laws concerning "Diversity Transition", and the legalization of dependents. In the non-capped classes are immigrants who are refugees and asylees having their status adjusted after arrival in previous years, as well as a number of other diverse groups that have been exempted by law from the numerical limitations on immigrant visas. Within the numerically-limited classes, both the family-sponsored and employment-based classes of admission are further subdivided into a series of preferences. These preferences reflect either a degree of relationship to the family or relative importance or scarcity to the economy, respectively. Both the numerically-limited and the uncapped categories of immigration are subdivided into a series of mutually-exclusive classifications, and most classifications have further refinements indicating whether the immigrant is newly arrived or has an adjustment of prior status, and whether the visa holder is a principal or an accompanying spouse or child. Each immigrant attains permanent residency within only one classification of the more than 210 possible permanent residency visa classifications.

¹¹ The assumption of native language based upon country of birth was done as follows. Immigrants born in Vietnam were assumed to speak Vietnamese, and immigrants from the Philippines were assumed to speak Tagalog. Immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong were assumed to speak Chinese (any dialect). Immigrants from Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Spain were presumed to have Spanish as their native language.

The table below sets forth the numbers of immigrants who came to California in 1993 for each of the major types of immigration. Each of these categories are discussed in turn.

*Table 5
Number of Legal Immigrants to California by Type of Immigration: 1993*

<u>Type of Immigration</u>	<u>Number Admitted</u>	<u>Proportion of Total (%)</u>
Family- Sponsored	122,347	49.5
Non-Capped Admissions	55,589	22.5
Employment-Based	38,143	15.4
Legalization of Dependents	27,634	11.2
Diversity Transition	3,540	1.4
Total	247,253	100.0

A. Family-Sponsored Migration

The largest of the general categories was the family-sponsored set of admissions. The family-sponsored immigration preferences were designated for the purpose of family reunification. They are subdivided into four degrees of preference (denoting familial ties by degree of closeness) plus two additional categories, one for the most immediate relatives of US citizens, and the other for children born abroad to alien residents. The state received a total of 122,347 family-related legal immigrants in 1993. Nearly half of California's legal immigrants for the year, and one-quarter of the national amount of all family-sponsored legal immigrants.

Of the basic classes of admission that make up the family-sponsored category, the largest was that for the immediate relatives of US citizens, with 60,025 (49.1 percent) of the total. This was followed by the four family preferences, receiving 3,100 (2.5 percent), 38,110 (31.1 percent), 5,350 (4.4 percent), and 15,197 (12.4 percent) respectively. The classification of children born to alien residents trailed the others, with less than one percent of the total. The following table presents the number of immigrants within each class of admission of family-sponsored immigration, along with a brief description of the principals in that class.

Table 6
Family-sponsored Immigrants to California, by Category of Admission: 1993

<u>Category of Admission</u>	<u>Description of Principals in Category</u>	<u>Number Admitted</u>	<u>Proportion of Total (%)</u>
Immediate Relatives	Spouses, Fiancé(e)s, Widow(er)s of US Citizens; Children of US Citizens; Orphans; Parents of US Citizens	60,025	49.1
Family, 1st Preference	Unmarried Adult Children of US Citizens	3,100	2.5
Family, 2nd Preference	Spouses , Children, and Unmarried Adult Children of Alien Residents	38,110	31.1
Family, 3rd Preference	Married Adult Children of US Citizens	5,350	4.4
Family 4th Preference	Siblings of US Citizens	15,197	12.4
Children Born Abroad to Alien Residents	Children Born Abroad to Alien Residents	565	0.5
Total, Family-Sponsored Immigrants	All of the above.	122,347	100.0

Slightly more than half of the family-sponsored immigrants were from Asia, 36 percent were born in North America, 5 percent were born in Europe, and the remainder were from elsewhere. The largest stream of immigrants from any one country was from Mexico, with 27,304 (22 percent). The second largest stream was from the Philippines, with 23,326 (19 percent) of the category. The third largest stream was from China, with 8,940 (7 percent) of the category, followed by El Salvador with 8,058 (7 percent), and Vietnam with 5,363 immigrants (4 percent).

There were more female than male family-sponsored immigrants, with 70,680 (58 percent) females and 50,956 (42 percent) males. The median age in this group was 26 years for males, and 29 for females.

There is a saying that one can choose one's friends, but not one's relatives. This is certainly true, as far as the saying goes, but there are indeed some instances where choice does enter the matter, i.e. when getting married or adopting a child. Californians turned abroad to do both of these, by adopting 550 orphans from abroad, as well as becoming engaged to or marrying 31,000 spouses or potential spouses from abroad.

1. Orphan Adoptee Immigrants

The flow of orphan adoptees is a tiny (.2 percent) but interesting part of the immigrant stream to California. This includes both those who were adopted abroad, and those brought into this country to be adopted. This kind of immigration stands in contrast to most other types, in that the immigrants themselves play virtually no role in their decision to migrate or in their choice of destinations. Put differently, this type of immigration reflects rather a demand on the part of the adoptive parents, rather than any kind of desire on the part of the immigrants. Unlike most other of the other types of immigrants, California's share was smaller than would be expected, as California's 550 adoptee immigrants were only 7 percent of the national total. One should hesitate to conclude that this means that Californians adopt at a lower rate than the rest of the country, or that adoptive parents in California are able to meet their demand for adoptees domestically, however, as there are difficulties in comparing the various types of adoptions at the state and national levels. What can be said, though, is that the 550 immigrant adoptees are about 9 percent of the approximately 6,400 adoptions in California in 1993¹².

¹² The number of adoptions for 1993 was estimated by summing the data provided by the Adoptions Branch: 3,669 agency (relinquishment) placements + 2,170 independent adoptions recommended by approval court reports + 230 intercountry adoption placements + 335 intercountry adopt abroad homes approved. These figures are for Federal Fiscal Year 1993.

About half of California's 550 immigrant adoptees were born in Asia. Korea (71), the Philippines (65), and China (55) together provided more than one third of the total. The adoptees were mostly young children or infants, with over three-quarters of them younger than 5 years at the time of granting permanent residency, and 57 percent of them age 0 or 1.

One peculiarity of the flow of immigrant adoptees into California is that 63 percent of them were female. This is a higher proportion than would otherwise be expected, and probably reflects the greater availability of female children available for adoption in many parts of the world rather than a preference for females by the adoptive parents. For domestic-born adoptees in California the proportion that are male is much closer to the expected amount. Data from the Adoptions Branch of the Child and Family Services Division of the California State Department of Social Services for California Fiscal Year 1992/93 show that 52 percent of the independent adoptions were male. The greater-than-expected numbers of females amongst the immigrants was not limited to any particular continent of birth, as all continents sent more females than males. The female surplus did not originate from only one country, as nine of the top ten sending countries sent more females than males for adoption. China stands out among the major sending countries, however, with 53 of 55 adoptee children from China being female (see Table 7 below).

*Table 7
Orphan Adoptee Immigrants to California, by Sex and Country of Birth: 1993*

Country of Birth	Number of Orphan Adoptee Immigrants			Proportion (%)	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Korea	33	38	71	46	54
Philippines	33	32	65	51	49
Russia	25	38	63	40	60
China	2	53	55	4	96
Guatemala	12	13	25	48	52
India	9	15	24	38	62
Mexico	10	12	22	45	55
Vietnam	5	12	17	29	71
Romania	6	8	14	43	57
Brazil	5	7	12	42	58
Total, top ten countries	140	228	368	38	62
Total, All Countries	201	349	550	37	63

The female surplus at the youngest ages mentioned earlier in the section on age structure (p.13) can almost certainly be attributed to the over-representation of females amongst the young adoptees. Not coincidentally, the number of excess females is the same as the number of excess female immigrant adoptees.

Adoptions, however, play only a small part in how Californians build their families. The 550 immigrant adoptees, and 6,400 total adoptions statewide for 1993 are overshadowed by the 588,000 births in California in 1993¹³.

¹³ The number of births is for the calendar year 1993.

2. Lured by Cupid?

Another component (13 percent) of the immigrant stream that is predominantly female is that composed of fiancé(e)s and spouses of US citizens. More than 31,000 legal immigrants of this type came to California in 1993, accounting for 22 percent of the national total. In the class of prospective marriage partners, women far outnumbered men entering California, receiving 83 percent of the 1,403 immigrant visas for fiancé(e)s. Women also predominated, although not by nearly as much, among those already married, receiving 30,226 (65 percent) of the immigrant visas for spouses. Unlike orphan immigration, fiancé(e) or spousal immigration is entirely volitional on the part of the immigrant. Similar, however, to immigration by orphans, the amount of marriage-related immigration is in some sense a function of "demand." The demand for spouses by marriage-age (15+) single people within the state can be satisfied either domestically or from overseas. Marriage-related migration is predominantly female, but whether or not the "demand" for females is greater can be answered only by relating the number of marriage-related immigrants to the "size" of the market.

The size of the "marriage market," in its most simplified form, can be considered the number of unmarried people of each sex (i.e. single, widowed, separated, or divorced) age 15 or older. Although the stock of unmarried people changes all the time through deaths, divorces, migrations, and marriages, the overall size of the stock of unmarried people will change only slowly over time. The numbers of unmarried used here are from the California State Department of Finance Demographic Research Unit (DRU) estimate for March 1994, which is based upon the March 1994 Current Population Survey (CPS) Report. For this date, the DRU estimated that there were 5.3 and 5.7 million unmarried males and females, respectively. So it would seem that twice as many females than males coming to California on marriage-related visas is *not* a result of there being twice as many unmarried men than women, as unmarried women actually outnumber unmarried men in the state by seven percent. Closer examination of the individual components of the unmarried populations changes the picture somewhat, as these do differ greatly by sex. Although the overall numbers of divorced men and women are similar, single men outnumber single women by more than a million, while widowed women outnumber widowed men by 800,000. This stems from women marrying and men dying at younger ages than the opposite sex, and so single men tend to outnumber single women at the younger ages (at which most first marriages occur), while widowed and divorced women tend to outnumber their male counterparts at the older ages. Even an apparently greater concentration of single men at the ages in which marriages are more likely to occur does not account for nearly twice the number of female marriage-related immigrants, so it could be concluded that unmarried men in California are indeed more likely than women to "import" their spouses or spouses-to-be.

Who are these nuptial immigrants, and from where do they originate? Asia was the leading sending continent for both fiancé(e)s and spouses, sending 71 percent and 46 percent of each, respectively. Europe sent 14 percent of the fiancé(e)s and 12 percent of the spouses. North America (excluding the US) supplied only 9 percent of the fiancé(e)s, yet 31 percent of the spouses. Among the individual countries, the Philippines was the largest provider of both fiancés and fiancées, providing 23 percent (53) of the men and 39 percent (461) of the women who came to California under such arrangements. China trailed a distant second, supplying another 8 percent (19) of the males and 9 percent (109) of the females. Other countries contributing notable proportions to the number of such immigrants were India with 4 percent (56), Vietnam, with 5 percent (54), Mexico, with 5 percent (74), and Japan and the United Kingdom with 3 percent (42) each. Interestingly, of these countries, 85 percent or more of the fiancé(e)s were female, with the exception of India and the United Kingdom, with 55 percent and 50 percent females, respectively. With regard to the stream of all persons coming into California on spousal visas, Mexico was the leading provider, contributing 23 percent of the more than 30,000 persons. The Philippines' share of *female* spouses was even greater, however, providing 25 percent (4,819) of the total. No other countries contributed nearly as many spouses as these, although China (1,351), the United Kingdom (1,134), India (765), Korea (761), Canada (660), El Salvador (660), Taiwan (633), Japan (628), Germany (560), and Iran (535) all provided at least 500 spouses each.

Immigrants entering California under marriage-related visas were heavily concentrated in the younger ages. Fully 68 percent of all females entering under visas for fiancé(e)s were under 30 years of age, as were 54

percent of the men. The median age for those coming into California with fiancé(e)-type visas was 27 and 29 for females and males, respectively. Although no data are available, it is likely that they are marrying Californians who are already older than the median age at marriage. Spouses, on the other hand, were not as concentrated at the younger ages, as only 50 percent of the women were younger than 30, as were 54 percent of the men. The median age for immigrants coming in on spousal visas is similarly not particularly young, at 29 years for both sexes.

Marriage-related immigration plays a much larger role in the migration process than is generally recognized. One out of every eight legal immigrants that came to California in 1993 did so with a marriage-related visa.

B. California, the Golden Asylum

The second largest general category of admissions is the set of admissions that are not subject to the numerical cap, with 55,589 immigrants. Refugees and asylees made up the majority of this category, with 71 percent (39,516) of the total. The balance is made up of Amerasians born in Vietnam between January of 1962 and January of 1976, displaced Tibetans, employees of US businesses in Hong Kong and their families, American Indians born in Canada, immigrant parolees from Indochina or the Soviet Union, and a number of other minor categories. The table below presents the visa classifications in the non-capped category, along with the number of immigrants in each category.

*Table 8
Non-Capped Immigrants to California and the US), by Category: 1993*

<u>Category of Admission</u>	<u>California</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>CA share of US total (%)</u>
Refugees (total)	36,362	115,486	31.5
Refugees (P.L. 89-732)	36,148	108,486	33.3
Cuban Refugees (P.L. 89-732)	200	6,976	2.9
Indochinese Refugees (P.L. 95-145)	14	24	58.3
Asylees	3,154	11,804	26.7
Parolees from the Soviet Union or Indochina	11,789	15,772	74.7
Amerasians (P.L. 100-202)	2,633	11,116	23.7
Suspension of Deportation	678	1,468	46.2
Section 249	515	947	54.4
Former H-1 Nurses (P.L. 101-238)	226	1,047	21.6
Children Born Subsequent to Parents Visa Issuance	83	329	25.3
Employees (& Family) of US Businesses in Hong Kong	71	198	35.9
Displaced Tibetans	41	666	6.2
American Indians Born in Canada	27	209	12.9
Other Miscellaneous Classifications	10	1,283	
Total , Non-Capped Classifications	55,589	160,325	34.7

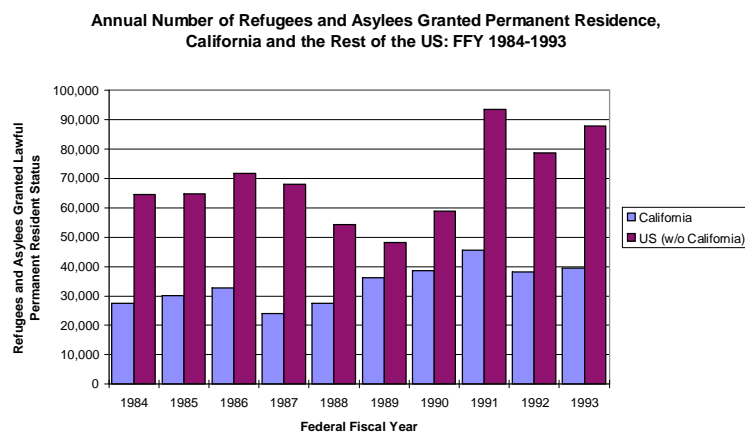
Although the non-capped category of immigrants contains a wide variety of visa classes, the large majority of immigrants who enter under this category migrate for political reasons, either as refugees, asylum-seekers, or in one of the other humanitarian categories created by Congress. Because these other humanitarian categories are numerically small and rather diverse and thus difficult to summarize, details are provided here only for refugees and asylees.

California received 39,516 refugees and asylees¹⁴ in 1993 - one third of the national total. This was 1,255 (3.3 percent) more than in the preceding year. The annual number of refugees and asylees granted

¹⁴ An asylee immigrant is someone who has come to this country, on any class of visa, and then seeks asylum. Refugees, on the other hand, apply to migrate to the US outside the boundaries of the US.

permanent legal residency shown in Figure 14 displays the number of refugees and asylees over the last decade both for California and the rest of the country. Over this period, California received a total of more than one-third of a million of such migrants, and averaged one-third of the total for the entire US. If California were an independent country, among all the countries reporting reliable refugee data¹⁵ it would have ranked second only behind Sweden in the per capita rate of resettling refugees and granting asylum in 1993, with 1.2 refugees and asylees per 1,000 population. (Sweden had a rate of 4.1 refugees and asylees per 1,000, and California would then be trailed by the Netherlands, with .67 per 1,000.)

Figure 15



The reasons for California receiving such a large proportion of the refugees entering this country are less apparent than they are for some other types of legal immigration, e.g. family-sponsored or employment-based immigration. For family-sponsored immigration, the state's large share is in part a product of chain-migration. Immigrants-turned-legal residents can in turn sponsor their relatives, thus creating a steady flow. For employment-based immigration, jobs are the attraction. But what is it about California that attracts so many refugees and asylees? The climate, the economy, California's reputation of tolerance and acceptance, the presence of many already established ethnic communities and many other factors could explain the refugees preference for California. After all, what better place to start over and begin again than a state that has a long historical tradition of people migrating there and doing exactly that?

California's 39,516 refugee and asylum-seeking immigrants came from more than 55 countries. Most countries accounted for relatively few immigrants, however, and only ten countries, as presented in the table below, accounted for 82 percent of the refugees and asylees.

¹⁵ Generally only countries with official resettlement programs are able to provide precise data. See *World Refugee Survey 1995*, pp. 46. Washington, DC: Immigration and Refugee Services of America.

Table 9
Refugees and Asylees to California, by Country of Birth: 1993

Country of Birth of Refugee or Asylee	Number of Refugees	As a Proportion of All Refugees & Asylees	As a Proportion of Immigrants from Sending Country
Vietnam	14,066	35.6	55.3
Ukraine	3,906	9.9	94.7
Laos	3,500	8.9	95.9
Iran	2,876	7.3	32.9
Thailand	2,285	5.8	69.0
Russia	1,712	4.3	72.3
Soviet Union	1,116	3.1	68.0
Afghanistan	1,082	2.7	80.0
Ethiopia	913	2.3	73.2
Nicaragua	796	2.0	37.5
Total	32,252	81.6	NA
<i>All Countries</i>	<i>39,516</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>16.0</i>

C. Land of Opportunity

The third largest general category of admissions was the set of employment-based preferences. These preferences were created by Congress in 1990 to increase the number of highly skilled workers entering the labor force. Similar to family-sponsored admissions, employment-based visas are also divided into a series of ranked preferences and classes. Employment-based immigration is divided into five ranked classes of preferences, with each class containing several different visa types. Employment-based immigrant workers enter the US with one the following visa types: "aliens with extraordinary ability"; professors or researchers; multinational managers or executives; professionals holding advanced degrees; skilled workers; professionals with a baccalaureate degree; entrants under the Chinese Student Adjustment Act; needed unskilled workers; ministers and religious workers; employees of the US government abroad; certain former employees of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone government; retired employees of international organizations; juvenile court dependents; aliens who served in the US armed forces for 12 or more years; those involved in employment creation. In addition to these visa types, there are also the accompanying classes of visas for the spouses and children of these workers, making for a total of some 91 classes under which immigrants gained residency in the US with employment-sponsored visas.

In 1993 California received 38,143 immigrants with employment-sponsored visas - 15 percent of the total number of legal immigrants into the state. This was more than one-quarter of all such immigrants that came to the US. Of the 38,143 permanent residency visas issued to these immigrants, 17,444 were issued expressly to *principals* for employment, and the balance of 20,699 were issued to their spouses and children. The table below presents the number of immigrant principals coming to California and the US in the various employment-based visa categories, as well as the state's share of immigrants for each category.

Table 10
Employment-based Immigrant Principals to California and the US, by Category Type and Class of Admission: 1993

Category and Class of Admission	Immigrants to California	Immigrants to US	California Share of US Total (%)
Employment, 1st Preference	1,766	8,023	22
Aliens with Extraordinary Ability	353	1,259	28
Outstanding Professors or Researchers	245	1,676	15
Multinational Executives or Managers	1,168	5,088	23
Employment 2nd Preference	3,714	13,801	27
Professionals with Advanced Degrees	3,714	13,801	27
Employment 3rd Preference	10,964	53,630	20
Skilled Workers	5,227	12,813	41
Chinese Student Adjustment Act	1,436	26,852	5
Professionals with Baccalaureate Degree	2,947	9,560	31
Needed Unskilled Workers	1,354	4,405	31
Employment 4th Preference	902	4,988	18
Ministers	295	867	34
Religious Workers	318	1,429	22
Other 4th Preference Types	289	2,692	11
Employment 5th Preference	98	196	50
Employment Creation	98	196	50
Total, Employment-based Principals	17,444	80,638	22

For the rest of this analysis, however, an even finer distinction is made between the principals admitted under employment-based preferences, and those who are admitted for purposes of occupation and actual employment. The difference in definition between the two is detailed in the footnote below¹⁶. This adjustment is to exclude those whom the INS considers part of the employment-based category but are not actually here for employment, and then to add one category of immigrants, the former H-1 nurses, who essentially are here for employment. The result is a more accurate picture of the number of immigrants who migrate here based upon some notion of the needs or demands of the state's economy, as defined by those immigrants who are actually admitted to perform

¹⁶ Employment-based principals (N=17,444) are constituted from the following employment-based classes: E11, E16, E12, E17, E13, E18, E21, E26, E31, E36, E32, E37, EC6, EW3, EW8, SD1, SD6, SE1, SE6, SF1, SF6, SG1, SH6, SM1, SM6, SM4, SM9, SK1, SK6, SL1, SL6, SR1, SR6, C51, C56, T51, T56. The group here defined as admitted for their occupation, is exactly the same, except that the following were removed: Juvenile Court dependents (SL1, SL6), students admitted under the Chinese Student Adjustment Act (EC6), retired employees of international organizations (SK1, SK6), and certain former employees of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government (SF1, SF6). But added to the group were those listed as former H-1 nurses (RN6), who were admitted under the non-capped category rather than the employment-based category. The net effect of this is to reduce the group under consideration from 17,444 employment-based principals to 16,125 immigrants admitted for occupational purposes. Most of the difference in size between the two groups is due to the exclusion of 1,436 immigrants who were admitted under the Chinese Student Adjustment Act.

jobs that employers are having problems filling. After all these adjustments, what is left then are only those who are directly employed.

Employment-based visas are issued to those whose occupations are in relatively short supply, and thus difficult to fill using only domestic labor. The INS-coded occupational designations are not meant to specify the exact occupations of the employment-based preference principals, but rather to provide approximate descriptions. These occupational designations are specific enough though to indicate the occupations in the state for which businesses found it necessary to "import" workers. The table below presents the ten largest occupational categories of the 16,125 principals to California in 1993 who were admitted with an employment-based preference. Together these ten occupations accounted for 85 percent of the total of employment-based immigrant principals.

*Table 11
Employment-based Immigrants (Principals Only) to California by Occupational Code: 1993*

Code	Description	Immigrants	Percent	Main Countries of Birth (Country, %)
EXC	Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations	3,685	23	Taiwan (16), UK (9), China (9), Philippines (7)
ENG	Engineers, Surveyors, and Mapping Scientists	3,066	19	India (25), Taiwan (15), China (13), HK (5)
SER	Service Occupations	1,815	11	El Salvador (24), Guatemala (14), Mexico (14), Japan (6)
PCR	Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations	1,155	7	Mexico (18), Iran (15), Philippines (10), Lebanon (6)
NUR	Registered Nurses	905	6	Philippines (29), UK (12), Korea (8)
MCS	Mathematical and Computer Scientists	764	5	Taiwan (20), India (17), China (12)
LAB	Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	710	4	El Salvador (35), Mexico (20), Guatemala (17)
SWK	Social, Recreation, and Religious Workers	655	4	Korea (17), Mexico (14)
ASP	Administrative Support Occupations, including clerical	516	3	Iran (14), Philippines (14)
ART	Writers, Artists, Entertainers and Athletes	485	3	China (11), UK (10)
	Total of top 10 occupational categories	13,756	85	
	Total of all occupational categories of immigrants admitted under employment-based visas (not including spouses and children) in CA in 1993.	16,125	100.0	China (16), Taiwan (9), India (8), Philippines (6), Mexico (6), UK (5), Iran (5), Korea (5)

Executive Administrative, and Managerial Occupations (EXC), together with Engineers, Surveyors, and Mapping Scientists (ENG), accounted for more than 40 percent of the employment-based principals. As with the other categories of immigration, employment-based immigrants came to California from all over the world, with 63 percent (23,873) from Asia, 18 percent (7,025) from North America, 12 percent (4,424) from Europe, and the balance from South Africa, Africa, and Oceania. These figures are for both the principals and their accompanying spouses and children, however. The top 10 sending countries for employment-based principals together accounted for 64 percent of all such principals (see Table 12 below). The largest group of employment-based principals came from Taiwan, with 1,598 (10 percent), followed by China, India, the Philippines, and the UK. Of all the larger legal

immigrant streams coming to California, the one from Taiwan had the largest proportion entering under employment-based visas, with 51 percent of all Taiwanese entering under this category.

*Table 12
Employment-based Immigrants (Principals Only) to California, by Country of Birth: 1993*

Country of Birth	Number of Immigrants	Predominant Occupational Categories (Occupational Code, %)	Proportion of Immigrants
Taiwan	1,598	EXC (37), ENG (28), MCS (9)	9.9
China	1,343	ENG (30), EXC (24), NSC (7), MCS (7)	8.3
India	1,332	ENG (56), EXC (13), MCS (10)	8.3
Philippines	1,229	EXC (23), NUR (22), PCR (9), SER (7)	7.3
United Kingdom	900	EXC (39), ENG (15), NUR (12)	5.6
Mexico	888	SER (28), PCR (24), LAB (16), SWK (10), EXC (7)	5.5
Iran	826	PCR (20), EXC (17), SER (8)	5.1
Korea	800	EXC (30), SWK (14), NUR (9), ENG (7), SER (7)	5.0
El Salvador	730	SER (61), LAB (34)	4.5
Hong Kong	593	EXC (34), ENG (27), NUR (9), MCS (8)	3.7
Top 10 Sending Countries	10,239		63.5
All Employment-Based Immigrants, Principals Only	16,125	EXC (23), ENG (19), SER (11), PCR (7), NUR (6), MCS (5), LAB (4), SWK (4), ASP (3), ART (3)	100.0

The overall stream of employment-based immigrants (including spouses and children) was predominantly male, with 19,694 (52 percent) males and 18,445 (48 percent) females. If one excludes the accompanying spouses and children and examines only the principals admitted for employment as defined earlier, then this particular stream of migration becomes heavily male, with 11,153 (69 percent) males and 4,971 (31 percent) females. Several classes within this category were even more predominantly male. The classes of aliens with extraordinary ability, outstanding professors or researchers, multinational executives or managers, and ministers were all 80 percent or more male. The median ages of all immigrants (including spouses and children) for employment-based admissions were 31 years for males and 30 for females. For principals only, the median ages were 35 and 34 for males and females, respectively. These are mostly not younger workers, but those who have been working for some time but are not close to retirement, either. Two-thirds of the immigrants of this type (excluding spouses and children) are between the ages of 25 and 39. Within certain classes of visas, California received an impressively large proportion of the national total - 41 percent (5,227) of the skilled workers, 34 percent (295) of the ministers, and 50 percent (98) of those admitted for employment creation.

The rationale for employment-based visas is that the immigrants who are entering with this type of visa will be working in jobs that would be difficult for the employer to fill otherwise. On this basis, and on the assumption that the immigrant workers will attempt to reside in proximity to their jobs, it is reasonable to assume that the locations to which employee-based visa principals are migrating are the areas that either have the most difficulty in locating the particular types of employees necessary for their business or industry, or have the highest demand for workers with difficult-to-find skills. Table 13 below lists the top ten ZIP Codes and their cities in receiving employment-based immigrants (principals only), along with the number of employee-based immigrants that were received, and the predominant countries of birth and occupational categories for each ZIP Code.

*Table 13
Employment-based Immigrants (Principals Only) for the 10 Most Frequent ZIP Codes of Intended Residence: 1993*

ZIP Code	City	Immigrant Principals	Predominant Countries of Origin	Predominant Occupational Categories (Code, %)
94086	Sunnyvale	226	India (44), China (14)	ENG (71), EXC (12), MCS(6)
95014	Cupertino	184	India (22), Taiwan (20), China (13)	ENG (47), EXC (30)
95051	Santa Clara	166	India (45), China (22)	ENG (66), EXC (13)
91801	Alhambra	150	China (29), Taiwan(23), HK (21)	EXC (35) ENG (12), MCS (11)
94087	Sunnyvale	147	China (19), India (18)	ENG (67), EXC (20)
90034	Los Angeles	143	None (all groups had less than 20 immigrants)	NUR (18), SER (11),
91754	Monterey Park	139	China (33), Taiwan (22)	EXC (32), NUR(12)
95035	Milpitas	136	Taiwan (31), China (17), India (16)	ENG (65), EXC (13)
90025	Los Angeles	126	Iran (28)	EXC (26), ENG (11)
90701	Artesia	125	Taiwan (35), Korea (18)	EXC (40), ENG (10)

These 10 ZIP Codes together, out of the more than 1,500 ZIP Codes in California, accounted for 1,542, or 10 percent, of all the employment-based principals who came to California in 1993, although their share of the state's population was 1.7 percent (1990 figures). The striking thing about Table 13 is that only two of the ten ZIP Codes were in any of the eight largest cities in the state. This suggests that the positions which are more difficult to fill occur not in the more broadly-based urban economies, but rather in smaller cities with more specialized industries. Half of the top ten ZIP Codes were in Southern California. The other half were in Northern California, with four of the top five ZIP Codes located in the part of the San Francisco Bay area commonly known as Silicon Valley. Silicon Valley's computer-related industries pull in the talented and educated not only from all over the state or country, but from all over the world.

D. Affirmative Diversity?

The numerically smallest type of admission is that of "Diversity Transition." Diversity transition immigrants entered under legislation passed by Congress that was structured to provide for increased immigration from certain countries that had their immigration quotas impacted by the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965. In 1993, most of the 33,000 immigrants in this class admitted into the US were either from Poland or Ireland. California received only 3,540 of these, less than 1.5 percent of the state's 1993 share of legal immigration. The median age of immigrants to California in this class was 27 years for both men and women. Men slightly outnumber women in this category, with 1,892 men (53 percent) and 1,648 women (47 percent). Ninety percent of the immigrants in this category came from just six countries, with Ireland alone responsible for more than 40 percent of them. Table 14 below presents the number of immigrants by country of birth for the major contributing countries in this category of immigration.

Table 14
Diversity Transition Immigrants to California by Country of Birth: 1993

Country of Birth	Diversity Transition Immigrants	Percent of Immigrants
Ireland	1,582	45
Indonesia	476	13
United Kingdom	426	12
Japan	357	10
Poland	227	6
Canada	123	3
<i>All Other Countries</i>	<i>349</i>	<i>10</i>
Total, Diversity Transition	3,540	100

VI. Where Are They Going?

Immigration is often directed to very specific areas within the receiving country. In other words, some areas attract many more immigrants of a particular nationality than would otherwise be expected. This is probably due to a combination of both characteristics of the receiving area (e.g., economic opportunities or climate favorable to a particular group of immigrants) and of certain characteristics held by the immigrants themselves, i.e., wanting to reside in proximity to fellow immigrants from the same country so as to maintain certain linguistic, religious, or even dietary practices. California's many ethnic neighborhoods and enclaves attest to this phenomenon even today. The INS data make it possible to identify the size of the immigrant flows from various countries, and to also assess the relative popularity of the various destinations.

Upon the issuance of the visa for permanent residency, immigrants are asked to list their intended address of residence. It is not known whether or not they do indeed actually relocate to the addresses as stated, but for the purposes of this report it is assumed that most of them do in fact end up at least within the same ZIP Code area as the address in which they had intended to relocate. This assumption will without doubt be wrong in some cases, but absolute accuracy in address is not important for the purpose of identifying areas of intensely focused migration at the ZIP Code, city, or county level. Probably most of the immigrants do settle close to their intended residences, and it is also likely that most of the errors in aggregation that result from differences between intended and actual ZIP Code of residence cancel each other out.

The 15 most frequent California ZIP Codes of intended residence for legal immigrants is shown in Table 15, along with the city in which each ZIP Code is located. Not surprisingly, these are all located in either Los Angeles or Orange Counties, with the exceptions of the two located in San Francisco (San Francisco County) and Milpitas (Santa Clara County). Although one would expect the ZIP Codes with the largest populations to attract the most immigrants, this is not necessarily the case at all. In fact, the state's most populous ZIP Code, 90201 (in Bell, in Los Angeles County) has nearly 100,000 inhabitants according to the 1990 census¹⁷, but ranked only 26th amongst the ZIP Codes in attracting legal foreign immigration. Bell (the ZIP Code area) received 1,018 of the immigrants, for a rate of legal immigration of 10 per 1,000 inhabitants. The state's most popular ZIP Code of

¹⁷ This is a good example of how ZIP Code boundaries do not necessarily follow city boundaries. Although the ZIP Code area for Bell had nearly 100,000 inhabitants as enumerated by the Census Bureau, the city of Bell had an enumerated 34,365 in 1990.

intended residence was in Los Angeles, 90046 (population 48,187 in 1990), would not even rank among the top 30 California ZIP Codes in population. Its 2,482 immigrants gave it a legal immigration rate of about 51 per 1,000 inhabitants. This is a very high rate of immigration - if the combination of births, deaths, and domestic migration were at levels such that there was no net population change due to these factors, then this rate of immigration would be enough to double the population of the ZIP Code area in *only* 14 years. Taken together, these 15 ZIP Codes, out of the more than 1,500 possible for the state, attracted ten percent of the legal immigrants to California in 1993, although they had only 2.8 percent of the 1990 population of the state.

*Table 15
Legal Immigrants in the 10 Most Frequent ZIP Codes of Intended Residence: 1993*

ZIP Code	City (District) of ZIP Code	Number of Immigrants	Predominant Countries of Birth (Country, %)
90046	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	2,482	Ukraine (41), Russia (13), Belarus (9)
91205	Glendale	2,384	Armenia (43), Iran (23)
90027	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	1,975	Armenia (47)
92683	Westminster	1,986	Vietnam (84)
90029	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	1,621	Armenia (33), El Salvador (16), Philippines (14)
92704	Santa Ana	1,468	Vietnam (54), Mexico (30)
94112	San Francisco (Westwood Park - Ingleside-Portola)	1,420	Philippines (29), China (23), El Salvador (11), Nicaragua (9)
91754	Monterey Park	1,363	China (32), Vietnam (22), Taiwan (12), Hong Kong (9)
94122	San Francisco (Sunset)	1,353	China (25), Ukraine (15), Hong Kong (10)
90004	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	1,336	El Salvador (26), Philippines (17), Korea (16), Guatemala (14)
90026	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	1,296	El Salvador (30), Philippines (23), Mexico (16)
90006	Los Angeles (Central)	1,275	El Salvador (39), Korea (16), Guatemala (13), Mexico (12)
94121	San Francisco (Richmond)	1,268	Ukraine (27), China (17), Russia (9)
92643	Garden Grove	1,205	Vietnam (74), Mexico (13)
95035	Milpitas	1,197	Vietnam (33), Philippines (23), China (10), India (10)

Not only did the ZIP Codes differ in the number of immigrants they attracted; they also differed in their propensity for attracting immigrants of differing nationalities, with streams of some nationalities being focused on a fairly small number of ZIP Codes. The most popular ZIP Code amongst immigrants, 90046 in Los Angeles (in Hollywood east of Beverly Hills), was particularly favored by immigrants from Eastern Europe, receiving 32 percent (161) of all Moldovans, 29 percent (224) of White Russians, 25 percent (1,027) of the Ukrainians, and 14 percent (329) of the Russians coming to California. The top six sending countries to this particular area were all part of the former Soviet Union. Together they accounted for over 2,000, or more than 80 percent, of the immigrants going there. The second most popular ZIP Code, 91205 (Glendale), was also a heavy recipient of migration from the former Soviet Union, with 43 percent (1,034) of its immigrants alone coming from Armenia. The stream of immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union tended to cluster together more in fewer ZIP Codes than did immigrants from some of the other large sending countries.

Table 16 presents the five most popular ZIP Codes of intended residence for the top 10 countries of birth of immigrants, as well as the cities and counties in which those ZIP Codes are located.

Table 16
*Immigrant and Their Most Frequent ZIP Code of Intended Residence (and City), by Country of Birth for the
 10 Most Frequent Countries of Birth: 1993*

Country of Birth	Number of Immigrants	Five Most Frequent ZIP Codes (City) of Intended Residence	Sum in Top 5 ZIPs	Proportion in Top 10 ZIPs(%)
Mexico	52,848	93905 (Salinas), 93030 (Oxnard), 91331 (Pacoima), 95076 (Watsonville), 92231 (Calexico)	3,022	10.3
Philippines	27,404	92114 (San Diego), 94015 (Daly City), 90745 (Carson), 94014 (Daly City), 94112 (San Francisco)	2,569	15.9
Vietnam	25,428	92683 (Westminster), 92643 (Garden Grove), 92704 (Santa Ana), 92644 (Garden Grove), 95112 (San Jose)	4,517	27.7
China	13,690	94133 (San Francisco), 91754 (Monterey Park), 91801 (Alhambra), 94122 (San Francisco), 94112 (San Francisco)	1,946	23.1
El Salvador	12,892	90006 (Los Angeles), 90026 (Los Angeles), 90004 (Los Angeles), 94110 (San Francisco), 90011 (Los Angeles)	1,853	23.0
Iran	8,730	91205 (Glendale), 91201 (Glendale), 91206 (Glendale), 91203 (Glendale), 91202 (Glendale)	1,952	31.0
India	8,622	94086 (Sunnyvale), 94587 (Union City), 95051 (Santa Clara), 95991 (Yuba City), 95993 (Yuba City)	825	16.1
Taiwan	7,143	91745 (Hacienda Heights), 90701 (Artesia), 91789 (Walnut), 91006 (Arcadia), 91748 (Rowland Heights)	1,104	26.6
Guatemala	6,115	90004 (Los Angeles), 90006 (Los Angeles), 90044 (Los Angeles), 90037 (Los Angeles), 90011 (Los Angeles)	792	22.4
Armenia	5,938	91205 (Glendale), 90027 (Los Angeles), 90029 (Los Angeles), 90028 (Los Angeles), 90038 (Los Angeles)	3,201	71.7

Table 16 presents an interesting point. Certain nationalities tend to focus their migration on particular cities, and not always the largest cities at that. For example, Salinas actually has the most popular intended destination (93905) among all legal Mexican immigrants - not somewhere in Los Angeles as some might expect. Another good example is the streams of immigrants from Iran. That the flow of Iranian immigrants is heavily focused on Glendale is apparent, as that city has all five of the most popular ZIP Codes for those immigrants. The last column in the table above provides a measure of concentration. The larger the proportion of the total migrational stream in the top ten ZIP codes for that nationality's immigrant stream, the more concentrated it can be considered. Based on this measure among the ten largest groups of legal immigrants, the flows of Armenian and Iranian immigrants are the most concentrated, while the flows of Mexican and Filipino immigrants are the least concentrated. This is probably related both to the size and location of the communities of immigrants, and the amount of time those communities have been here. That is, Mexicans have been immigrating to California since the days of the Bear Flag Republic, and thus have many large and long-established communities to which a newly arrived Mexican immigrant may migrate. If future trends follow past patterns, one may expect that over time the

immigrant streams of those nationalities that are now fairly concentrated will spread out and become less so as the ethnic communities to which they are migrating become more established and widespread.

Instead of looking at the largest cities and determining how many immigrants were in the largest language groups for each city, it is possible to take a different perspective by identifying by ZIP Code the largest immigrant streams for each language. For each of the four major languages Table 17 presents the ten ZIP Codes and their cities with the largest number of speakers of that particular language. Like Table 16, this illustrates that although legal immigrants have tended to head to the largest cities, there are also key areas in much smaller cities where immigrants from particular groups have tended to cluster, e.g. in Westminster and Garden Grove for the Vietnamese-speaking immigrants, and in Daly City for Tagalog-speaking immigrants. Or in other words, even though the eight largest cities combined received more than one third of both the Vietnamese- and Tagalog-speaking immigrants, the ZIP Codes of these same cities received were only in three and four of the top ten ZIP Codes for Vietnamese- and Tagalog-speaking immigrants, respectively.

*Table 17
Legal Immigrants by ZIP Code of Intended Residence/City for the Four Major Immigrant Language Groups,
Ten Most Frequent ZIP Codes for Each Language Only: 1993*

<u>Spanish</u>			<u>Chinese</u>			<u>Tagalog</u>			<u>Vietnamese</u>		
ZIP Code	(N)	City	ZIP Code	(N)	City	ZIP Code	(N)	City	ZIP Code	(N)	City
90201	961	Bell	91754	723	Monterey Park	92114	627	San Diego	92683	1,591	Westminster
90011	937	Los Angeles	91801	612	Alhambra	94015	603	Daly City	92643	893	Garden Grove
90006	928	Los Angeles	94133	552	San Francisco	90745	476	Carson	92704	799	Santa Ana
90280	840	South Gate	94122	490	San Francisco	94014	446	Daly City	92644	662	Garden Grove
91331	825	Pacoima	91745	462	Hacienda Heights	94112	417	San Francisco	95112	572	San Jose
90026	760	Los Angeles	94112	404	San Francisco	92139	383	San Diego	95122	565	San Jose
90255	755	Huntington Park	94116	397	San Francisco	92126	369	San Diego	92640	541	Garden Grove
94110	701	San Francisco	95014	347	Cupertino	94587	348	Union City	95111	518	San Jose
90004	685	Los Angeles	91789	336	Walnut	94591	347	Vallejo	91770	471	Rosemead
93905	678	Salinas	90701	325	Artesia	94589	346	Vallejo	92703	421	Santa Ana

ZIP Codes as levels of analysis are useful for some purposes in describing immigrant streams, as they identify the actual neighborhoods within the cities into which the immigrants are actually relocating. The problem with ZIP Codes, however, is that there are too many of them and their boundaries are sometimes too abstract or ill-defined. Even when tightly focused, most immigrant streams tend to concentrate in more than just a few ZIP Codes. So it is necessary to also turn to a higher level of aggregation, such as cities, for describing the flow of legal immigrants to California.

To illustrate both their relative size and composition, the four largest immigrant streams for each of California's largest cities, along with the total number of INS-recorded immigrants, the proportion foreign-born in 1990, and the estimated legal immigration rate per 1,000 inhabitants of the cities is shown in Table 18¹⁸. Not surprisingly, Los Angeles had by far the highest number of legal immigrants among these cities. But San Francisco had the highest legal immigration rate, at 17.7 per 1,000 inhabitants. If the legal immigration rate for both San Francisco and Los Angeles were to remain at the recorded 1993 levels for the rest of this decade, then it is likely that by the time of the next census in 2000, San Francisco could challenge Los Angeles for the highest rank in the proportion of the population that is foreign-born¹⁹. A number of other cities, including Sacramento - a city not commonly considered a major immigrant destination - also had legal immigration rates higher than that of Los Angeles. Overall, these eight cities received nearly 80,000 of the immigrants, or one third of the state total, although they had only one quarter of California's population. The legal foreign immigration rate for the eight cities combined was 10.0 per 1,000 inhabitants, while for the rest of the state (exclusive of these eight cities) it was 7.1 per 1,000. Thus, the immigrants had a propensity to migrate to the larger cities within the state.

¹⁸ Note: the sum of immigrants of the cities is derived by aggregating the numbers within the ZIP Codes assigned to each city. Because in some instances ZIP Codes may actually cross municipal boundaries, the number of immigrants migrating into a city as defined by its ZIP Code area *may not* be the same as the number migrating to within the actual city boundaries. With these particular cities, however, the differences should be small. Note also, though, that the 1993 population estimates are for the population within the actual city boundaries.

¹⁹ This forecast depends on several assumptions. The first is that both cities have the same rates of illegal immigration (as illegal immigrants would also be enumerated as foreign-born in the next census). Although firm estimates on illegal immigration rates for cities are difficult to find, it seems unlikely given anecdotal evidence regarding the high illegal immigration rate for Los Angeles that San Francisco's rate could be nearly as high. A second, more plausible assumption, is that the net migration, foreign-born mortality rates, and foreign-born age structures for both cities would be approximately equal.

Table 18
Legal Immigrants and Largest Immigrant Streams for the 8 Largest Cities in California: 1993

City	Percent Foreign-Born, 1990	1/1/93 Pop. (est.)	Legal Immigrants 1993	Legal Migration Rate (per 1,000)	Four Largest Immigrant Streams (%)
Los Angeles	38.4	3,611,252	32,163	8.9	Mexico (18.4), El Salvador (17.2), Guatemala (8.4), Armenia (7.1)
San Diego	20.9	1,170,958	9,001	7.7	Philippines (26.2), Mexico (17.5), Vietnam (15.2), China (3.0)
San Jose	26.5	821,084	10,944	13.3	Vietnam (36.1), Philippines (12.5), Mexico (8.3), India (7.4)
San Francisco	34.0	743,053	13,143	17.7	China (23.5), Philippines (12.1), Vietnam (8.2), Ukraine (6.8)
Long Beach	24.3	438,083	2,854	6.5	Philippines (27.7), Mexico (25.3), Vietnam (7.7), El Salvador (5.4)
Fresno	17.1	391,272	4,154	10.6	Laos (37.3), Thailand (20.5), Mexico (18.1), India (4.2)
Sacramento	13.7	389,434	4,517	11.6	Vietnam (16.3), Philippines (9.1), Ukraine (8.3), Laos (7.2)
Oakland	19.8	381,933	3,039	8.0	Vietnam (24.8), China (19.2), Mexico (12.9), Philippines (8.2)
Total, 8 Largest Cities	30.3	7,947,069	79,815	10.0	Mexico (13.6), Vietnam (11.4), Philippines (11.3), El Salvador (8.3)
<i>Rest of California</i>	<i>18.7</i>	<i>23,581,905</i>	<i>167,438</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>Mexico (25.1), Philippines (11.0), Vietnam (9.7), China (4.6)</i>
All of California	21.7	31,528,974	247,253	7.8	Mexico (21.4), Philippines (11.1), Vietnam (10.3), China (5.5)

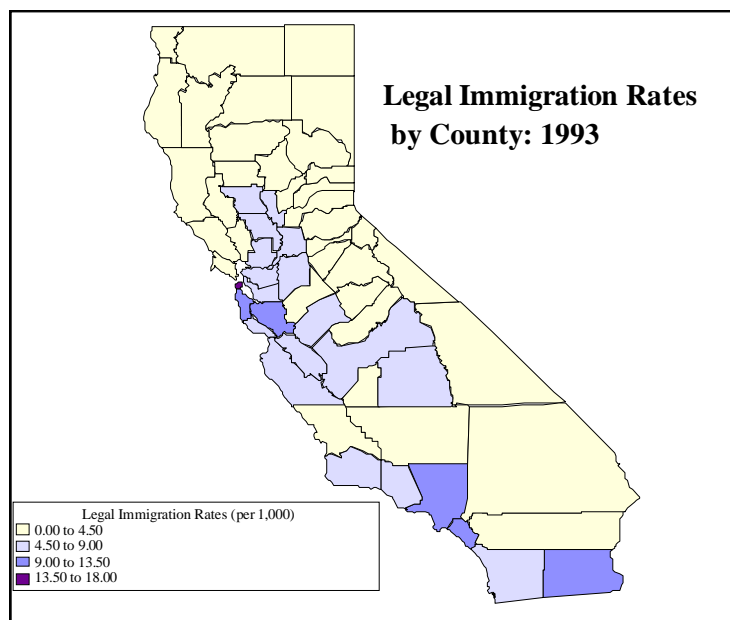
In different cities, the migrant streams were dominated by different nationalities. There were eleven different countries whose immigrants were one of the four largest immigrant groups within at least one of the eight cities. But there was no country whose immigrants were one of the four largest groups in all of these cities. Mexico, the Philippines, and Vietnam all were one of the top four sending countries for six of them, as was China for three cities. All the other nationalities were within the top four sending countries in only one or two cities. No stream of immigrants from any single country made up a majority of the legal immigrants into any of the eight cities. The groups that were most predominant in the stream to any city were the Laotian immigrants migrating Fresno, and the Vietnamese immigrants migrating to San Jose, who comprised 37.3 and 36.1 percent of the flow to their respective cities²⁰. In every city, with the exception of Sacramento, immigrants from just four countries combined were at least half of the immigrant stream coming into each city.

Analysis of immigration data at the city level is useful for some purposes, but the difficulty with that is that California has too many cities to analyze in a convenient manner, unless one examines only the very largest of them. Consequently, it is desirable to examine the data at the next highest level of aggregation, the county-level. Although counties may in some sense seem more abstract than cities, their fewer numbers make it easier to summarize legal immigration over the whole state than do cities.

²⁰ For Fresno, the dominant stream is in effect probably really a combination of both the immigrants from Laos (37%) and the immigrants from Thailand (20%). This is because for the most part immigrants from both countries are of Hmong nationality. The INS does not record nationality *per se* or ethnicity, however, and so the Hmong flow is divided between the two countries.

Table 19 below provides an overview of the distribution of legal immigrants by county for 1993. Just as legal immigration is not distributed evenly across states within the country but is instead weighted much more heavily upon California, legal immigration within California is not distributed evenly, either, but is focused more on some counties than on others. The five counties with the largest number of immigrants - Los Angeles, Orange, Santa Clara, San Diego, and San Francisco, together contained just over half of the state's population, yet received nearly 70 percent of the legal immigrants coming to California in 1993. Los Angeles County alone received nearly 100,000 legal immigrants - 40 percent of the state's total, and more than any other *state* in the United States with the exception of New York. On the other hand, the 43 counties ranked 16th through 58th in population had 17 percent of the state's population, yet received only 9 percent of its legal immigrants. Not only is there a great disparity between the numbers of legal immigrants going to each county, but there is a wide range in the rates of legal immigration to as well. In addition to the gross number of immigrants, Table 19 also presents the legal immigration rate (per 1,000 inhabitants) for each of the counties. While quite a few have very low rates, under 2 per 1,000, a handful of them have relatively high rates, at 9 or more immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. San Francisco County easily has the highest rate of all the counties within the state, at 17.6 legal immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. It is then followed by Santa Clara (12.2), Imperial (11.7), Los Angeles (10.8), San Mateo (9.7), and Orange (9.1) Counties. The geographical distribution of the legal migration rate for the counties is illustrated in Map 1. Large areas of the state - the northern, the Sierra, and south eastern desert counties - have low rates of legal immigration, while the coastal counties from San Francisco south to the Mexican Border and much of the Central Valley have much higher rates of legal immigration.

Map 1
Legal Immigration Rates to California by County: 1993



Not only does the rate of legal immigration differ greatly between counties, but so too does the composition of immigrant flows to counties with respect to the type of immigration visa under which the immigrants were admitted. Of the counties that received substantial numbers (>300) of refugees and asylees, Sacramento, Fresno, and Merced counties had the highest proportions of such, with 46 percent, 44 percent, and 38 percent of their respective immigrant flows being composed of refugees and asylees. Of the counties that received substantial numbers (>300) of immigrants with employment-based visas, Santa Clara county easily had the highest proportion, with 24 percent of its immigrant flow being composed of immigrants with this type of visa. Clearly, not only do counties differ in their number of legal immigrants and legal immigration rate, but the composition of their immigrant flows as well (see Table 19).

Table 19
Legal Immigrants to California by County: 1993

County	Population (7/1/93)	Refugees and Asylees	Employment-based Immigrants	All Other Legal Immigrants	Total Legal Immigrants	Percent of Legal Immigrants	Legal Immigration Rate (per 1,000)
Alameda	1,340,000	1,852	1,810	7,654	11,316	4.6	8.4
Alpine	1,200	0	0	3	3	0.0	2.5
Amador	33,000	1	0	24	25	0.0	0.8
Butte	197,900	126	20	184	330	0.1	1.7
Calaveras	37,000	2	1	12	15	0.0	0.4
Colusa	17,500	0	1	91	92	0.0	5.3
Contra Costa	862,000	665	725	3,182	4,572	1.8	5.3
Del Norte	28,400	6	0	15	21	0.0	0.7
El Dorado	142,800	8	21	154	183	0.1	1.3
Fresno	741,400	2,695	163	3,302	6,160	2.5	8.3
Glenn	26,600	12	5	36	53	0.0	2.0
Humboldt	126,600	9	11	67	87	0.0	0.7
Imperial	131,800	5	24	1,507	1,536	0.6	11.7
Inyo	18,600	0	6	14	20	0.0	1.1
Kern	609,800	57	144	2,222	2,423	1.0	4.0
Kings	112,900	11	42	404	457	0.2	4.0
Lake	56,000	0	3	40	43	0.0	0.8
Lassen	29,200	0	0	9	9	0.0	0.3
Los Angeles	9,194,700	10,475	18,817	70,080	99,372	40.2	10.8
Madera	105,100	7	13	382	402	0.2	3.8
Marin	241,700	98	250	738	1,086	0.4	4.5
Mariposa	16,000	0	1	10	11	0.0	0.7
Mendocino	84,300	3	4	120	127	0.1	1.5
Merced	196,800	515	12	819	1,346	0.5	6.8
Modoc	10,400	1	0	10	11	0.0	1.1
Mono	10,800	0	5	28	33	0.0	3.1
Monterey	376,600	86	86	2,445	2,617	1.1	7.0
Napa	118,000	10	13	279	302	0.1	2.6
Nevada	85,900	2	7	52	61	0.0	0.7
Orange	2,578,400	6,252	3,613	13,702	23,567	9.5	9.1
Placer	197,800	15	46	195	256	0.1	1.3
Plumas	21,000	0	2	3	5	0.0	0.2
Riverside	1,343,500	314	480	3,381	4,175	1.7	3.1
Sacramento	1,123,800	2,851	423	2,925	6,199	2.5	5.5
San Benito	40,800	1	6	209	216	0.1	5.3
San Bernardino	1,580,800	576	739	4,366	5,681	2.3	3.6
San Diego	2,665,900	2,936	1,890	11,065	15,891	6.4	6.0
San Francisco	747,300	2,560	1,116	9,457	13,133	5.3	17.6
San Joaquin	518,500	663	138	1,681	2,482	1.0	4.8
San Luis Obispo	229,900	1	60	340	401	0.2	1.7
San Mateo	681,600	375	1,148	5,095	6,618	2.7	9.7
Santa Barbara	388,900	64	347	1,445	1,856	0.8	4.8
Santa Clara	1,574,900	4,447	4,572	10,209	19,228	7.8	12.2
Santa Cruz	237,800	21	92	1,046	1,159	0.5	4.9
Shasta	162,100	169	7	56	232	0.1	1.4
Sierra	3,400	0	0	2	2	0.0	0.6
Siskiyou	45,300	0	2	19	21	0.0	0.5
Solano	371,800	85	162	1,764	2,011	0.8	5.4
Sonoma	418,600	122	89	860	1,071	0.4	2.6
Stanislaus	409,500	230	127	1,224	1,581	0.6	3.9
Sutter	72,000	8	8	495	511	0.2	7.1
Tehama	53,800	0	1	31	32	0.0	0.6
Trinity	13,600	0	0	6	6	0.0	0.4
Tulare	343,500	500	36	1,395	1,931	0.8	5.6
Tuolumne	52,500	1	1	26	28	0.0	0.5
Ventura	703,600	138	525	3,098	3,761	1.5	5.3
Yolo	149,600	350	158	478	986	0.4	6.6
Yuba	63,200	113	21	136	270	0.1	4.3
Unknown	NA	78	150	1,002	1,230	NA	NA
California	31,746,400	39,516	38,143	169,594	247,253	100.0	7.8

VIII. Discussion

In Federal Fiscal Year 1993, California received nearly a quarter of a million legal immigrants from all over the world. This was the tenth consecutive year that California was the intended state of residence for more than a quarter of all legal immigrants coming to the United States, and brought the total legal immigrants coming to California to just over one million for the five-year period from FFY 1989 through FFY 1993. This is at least twice the total that would be expected if the amount of legal immigration were proportional to the size of the population of the state.

Despite California's obvious attraction for legal immigrants, the state itself has no direct influence on either the size or the composition of the flow of immigrants to the state. The size of the flow into the US is determined by the immigration visa quotas which are set by Congress in Washington, DC. From the port of entry onwards the immigrants are free to determine their destination. Similarly, Congress controls the composition of the flow of legal immigrants into the country by setting ceilings on the various types of immigrant visas, as well as determining which groups of immigrants are exempt from the ceilings. But from arrival onwards, immigrants with any type of visa are free to reside in any state. So the size and composition of the state's legal immigrant flow are really a product of the combination of federal policy and immigrants' actions. The state itself has little control or influence in the matter, other than whatever influence it holds over that which attracts the immigrants.

Immigration reform is a perennially popular item on the political agenda in Washington. Yet there is good reason to believe that no matter what reforms are undertaken, California will continue to attract legal immigrants in much larger numbers than would be expected based upon its population size. There are several reasons for this. The first is that for as long as the state's high-technology industries and research institutions need more of particular kinds of skilled labor than can be readily supplied, employers will continue to draw some types of highly skilled immigrants to California. A second reason is based upon the geographic fact that California and Mexico share a common border. This proximity, when combined with a large differential in wages that will not disappear anytime soon, guarantees that California will be the primary destination for the Mexicans legally immigrating to the US. But the most important reason of all that the state will continue to attract a large proportion of the legal immigrants coming into the United States is structural. California is the home of many immigrant communities, and has easily the population with the highest proportion of foreign-born of any state in the country. As long as US immigration policy is structured so as to favor family reunification, so that previous immigrants sponsor future immigrants, the large foreign-born population already within California will continue to pull in a large proportion of the nation's legal immigration. California's unique combination of economic, geographic, and demographic factors make it nearly impossible, at least for the next two decades, for the state to not receive a larger than proportional share of the legal immigrants coming to the US. Even the recent recession in the state's economy, which was the most severe California has seen in the latter half of this century and which is said to have reversed what was a decades-long record of positive domestic migration into the state, had no discernible effect on the number of legal immigrants coming to California.

The effect of the size of the flow of legal immigrants into California on the growth rate of the population is difficult to quantify, although it is almost certainly positive. Population growth is a result of the difference between the numbers of birth and deaths, plus net migration. The difference between births and deaths, natural increase, is fairly well-documented and has been mostly been between an additional 300,000 and 400,000 people per year for the last several years. Similarly, the number of legal

immigrants is fairly certain, and has been running at roughly one-half to two-thirds the amount of natural increase in the population. Yet because the amounts of domestic migration, illegal immigration, and legal foreign out-migration are not well documented and thus unknown, it becomes difficult to assign precise figures when trying to ascertain how much of the growth in population is due solely to legal immigration.

Even if the data did exist so that some portion of the growth in population could be attributed precisely to legal immigration, its meaning would be unclear. This is because domestic and legal immigration are in some sense likely to be substitutes for each other, or at least not independent of each other. That is, given that much of the migration into the state from all sources has been economically motivated, any exogenous decrease in legal immigration into the state might be partly canceled out by an increase in domestic migration, as a job located in California could be filled by someone from one of the other 49 states as easily as it could be filled by someone from abroad. But even if each type of migration were a perfect substitute for the other and the short-run effect on the rate of population growth would be same no matter what the mix of domestic and foreign in-migrants, the longer term effects of the types of in-migration are likely to differ. This is because the fertility of immigrant women is estimated to be roughly 30 percent higher than that of native residents²¹. So it is likely that larger amounts of legal immigration lead to a greater increase in the number of births than would otherwise be expected. But even this expectation should be subject to change, as fertility rates have been falling over the last decade throughout much of the world, including many of the countries that are large senders of legal immigrants to California, i.e. Mexico, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

Just as within the US, legal immigration is unevenly distributed such that some areas, e.g. California, receive a disproportionately large share, legal immigration is also unevenly distributed within the state. This is not a new phenomenon, but one that has been going on for a long time. California has led the other states, for at least the last half century if not longer, with the proportion of its population that is foreign-born. At the county level, the 1990 census revealed that Los Angeles County's 2.895 million foreign-born inhabitants made up 45 percent of California's total number of foreign-born inhabitants, and were in fact a larger foreign-born population than that of any other *state*²². On the city level, the proportion of foreign-born is now over 30 percent for California's eight largest cities combined²³. Within cities themselves, immigration can become intensely focused, as some ZIP Code areas registered a legal immigration rate of more than 50 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1993. This would be a high enough rate to double such an area's population in only 14 years, if births, deaths, and domestic migration were such that they neither added or subtracted from the population²⁴. But as has been shown, the distribution of legal immigrants differs at both lower and higher levels of aggregation - not only in numbers and rates, but in composition as well. The one thing this does guarantee is change. Change not only in the size of California's population, but in its ethnic, linguistic, educational, and socio-economic make-up, as well. But this is not a story of just how ZIP Code Areas, or cities, or counties differ from another with respect to legal immigration numbers, rates, and composition. It is the story of a mix of people coming to California from all over for a wide variety of reasons. Just as they have in the past, and just as they will in the future. And it is a story of change. Just as California will be changed by its immigrants, the immigrants will just as surely be changed by California.

²¹ See Nancy Austin and Mary Heim, "Fertility of Immigrant Women in California", July, 1994. Sacramento: Demographic Research Unit, California State Department of Finance.

²² After California, the state with the largest population of foreign-born was New York State, with 2.85 million foreign-born, according to 1990 census data.

²³ The proportion of the foreign-born in the population, however, is not only a product of legal immigration. It is a result of both legal and illegal immigration, but the data do not readily exist to readily differentiate between the two when examining the proportion of foreign-born.

²⁴ This is not to suggest that such a high rate of legal immigration would lead to a doubling of a ZIP Code's population in such a short space of time. It is likely that these areas of highly-focused immigration also experience a good deal of out-migration to other neighborhoods or cities, as longer-resident immigrants work their way up the economic ladder and then move elsewhere.