Family Sponsorship and Late-Age Migration in Aging America: Revised and Expanded Estimates of Chained Migration

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Abstract

We use the *Immigrants Admitted to the United States* (micro-data) supplemented with special tabulations from the Department of Homeland Security to examine how family reunification impacts the age composition of new immigrant cohorts since 1980. We develop a family migration multiplier measure for the period 1981 to 2009 that improves on prior studies by including IRCA immigrants and relaxing unrealistic assumptions required by synthetic cohort measures. Results show that every 100 initiating immigrants admitted between 1981-85 sponsored an average of 260 family members; the comparable figure for initiating immigrants for the 1996-2000 cohort is 345 family members. Furthermore, the number of family migrants ages 50 and over rose from 44 to 74 per 100 initiating migrants. The discussion considers the health and welfare implications of late-age migration in a climate of growing fiscal restraint and an aging native population.

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Introduction

Notwithstanding promises by the current and previous administration to overhaul the immigration system, regional and ideological divisions within and between political parties have prevented reforms except for those tied to security, border control and interior enforcement. The consequences of inaction are formidable because the United States has witnessed major social, economic and demographic changes since the last major overhaul in immigration legislation and because the current admission criteria, which give preference to family reunification relative to labor market needs, have produced a host of unintended consequences, most notably chain migration (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1986; Yu 2008) and formidable visa backlogs for countries that send large numbers of migrants to the United States (Wasem, 2010).

Immigration is often described as a mechanism to forestall population aging in industrial societies because most international migrants are in their prime working ages or younger; however, the rejuvenating effects of migration on the age structure of industrial societies are modest, even in countries with long immigration histories (UN 2001). Furthermore, rejuvenating effects also depend on age at arrival, which many countries ignore for family unification migrants. Simply put, as the age at entry of international migrants rises, not only does their reproductive impact via future fertility fall, but so also does their potential economic benefit via years of potential work experience.

Although the United States has not witnessed below replacement fertility, such as many OECD countries, the swelling visa backlogs coupled with growing

concerns about population aging raise questions about the wisdom of unrestricted late-age migration. Except for a spate of studies following the 1996 welfare that restricted immigrants' access to means-tested social benefits (e.g., Friedland and Pankaj, 1997; Fix and Passel, 1999; Treas, 1997), there has been limited attention to changes in late-age migration as distinct from aging of the foreign-born population (but see Terrazas, 2009). With the exception of Terrazas (2009) and Treas (1997), there has been limited interest in the phenomenon of late-age migration. Surprisingly, the Congressional Research Service and the DHS Office of Immigration Statistics provide limited or no age composition breakdowns for new legal residents in their published reports.[1]

As an initial foray to the phenomenon of late-age migration, we use age 50 as a lower threshold for several reasons. Age 50 represents approximately two-thirds of average life expectancy, and for most workers, an age when earnings growth slows. Moreover, people who migrate at that age or older are likely to experience work history disruption that may adversely affect their prospects for retirement income or other benefits (Treas, 1997; Angel, 2003; Binstock and Jean-Baptiste, 1999). Specifically, eligibility for Social Security and full Medicare benefits are linked to 40 full quarters of employment; individuals who migrate after age 50 may be hard pressed to accrue the requisite ten years of qualifying employment, particularly if English language proficiency is limited.[2]

[1] The Department of Homeland Security Yearbook of Immigration Statistics does publish the age distribution of legal permanent residents in the aggregate and broken down by sex, but does not tabulate these data by visa categories or regions of origin. See 2009 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 8, p.25.

[2] Section 601 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 imposed affidavits of support to ensure that sponsored relatives do not avail themselves of means-tested

As Figure 1 illustrates, the immigrant cohort share ages 50 and over at immigrant admission increased from about 11 percent for persons admitted between 1981 and 1985 to nearly 17 percent for those admitted between 2006 and 2009.[3] We argue that family-sponsored migration is largely responsible for this trend, which appears to be an unintended by-product of the family reunification priorities that exclude parents from worldwide and country numerical limits and the preference categories that permit citizens to sponsor adult siblings. To make our case, we derive estimates for a family migration multiplier, which is a measure of chain migration that reflects the number of additional immigrants that are associated with initiating non-family immigrants. Unlike prior studies of chain migration, our approach is designed to portray cohort variation in family sponsored migration by region of origin and age at admission. In this analysis, we focus on the age composition of family sponsored legal permanent residents (LPRs).[4]

Figure 1 About Here

In what follows, we first review studies about chain migration and the social significance of late-age immigration. Subsequently we discuss the measure of chain migration developed by Bin Yu (2005, 2008), identifying its strengths and opportunities for refinement. After elaborating our approach to refine Yu's measure

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benefits. The Affidavits of Support are enforceable until the sponsored immigrant works 10 years or becomes a citizen. In practice no action has been taken against citizens who sponsor family members and do not provide full support. Personal communication from Ruth E. Wasem, January, 2011.

[3] Admission into LPR status includes both status adjusters, who comprise over half of each cohort, and new arrivals.

[4] Legal permanent residents, as they are recognized by USDHS, are referred to as immigrants, LPRs, lawful permanent residents, permanent resident aliens, and green-card holders. They are distinct from nonimmigrants, which are persons temporarily granted entry into the United States for a specific purpose such as tourism (USDHS, 2009, September 10).

of chain migration, we present estimates for the period 1980 through 2009, including the large cohort granted amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). Neither Yu nor Jasso and Rosenzweig (1986; 1989) considered IRCA status adjusters in their analyses of chain migration. The final section discusses the social welfare and policy implications of our findings.

Background

The family unification provisions of the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) enabled family chain migration by giving priority to family reunification in allocating visas. Currently about two-thirds of all new admissions enter under the family reunification provisions, which exempt immediate family members of U.S. citizens from numerical limitation and allow additional family sponsorship under numerically capped family preference categories. Of the 1.1 million legal permanent residents admitted in 2009, for example, 66 percent (approximately 750 thousand) were family-based; of these, 76 percent were immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, and therefore not subject to the country or family preference category caps (USDHS, 2010).[5]

Partly because they are not subject to annual caps, immediate relatives, including spouses, unmarried dependent children and parents of U.S. citizens constitute the lion's share of family-sponsored migrants, with the remainder allocated to family sponsored preferences that are subject to the annual worldwide

[5] Only 13 percent of permanent resident visas issued in 2009 were for employment; 16 percent were for asylees and refugees; and the remainder—about 5 percent—were issued for diversity or other criteria (USDHS, 2009).

and country ceilings. These family preference visas are subject to the 7 percent maximum of the worldwide level; this is not an entitlement or quota set aside, but rather a per-country maximum in any given year (Wasem, 2010). That visas are issued according to date of filing and restricted by country ceilings has produced large backlogs for oversubscribed countries, such as Mexico and the Philippines, where wait times from petition to visa granting extend up to a decade or more (Wasem, 2010: 12). The implication of these delays is that thousands of sponsored adult family members will age *in situ* from the date their application is approved until their priority date for receiving a visa.

Chain migration, the process by which migrants from a particular location join relatives in the same destination, is important consequence of family reunification entitlements because "each new immigrant becomes a potential immigrant sponsor" (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990: 213). Especially noteworthy for understanding the potential multiplicative impact of the INA family sponsorship provisions is the exemption from annual caps of immediate family members (spouses, dependent children and parents) of U.S. citizens. Although legal permanent residents can only sponsor immediate family members (only spouses and dependent children and only under a numerically-limited preference category), after naturalization they can sponsor parents as well as adult offspring and siblings.

The 1965 Amendments to the INA substantially altered chain migration from Asia, which was severely restricted until that time; thereafter chain migration from Asia witnessed a large spike (Jasso & Rosenzweig 1986; 1989; Yu 2005; Heinberg et al. 1989). During the 1970s and 1980s, Asian nations contributed the largest

numbers of non-family immigrants, most of who entered either as skilled employees or government-sponsored refugees after the fall of U.S.-backed governments in Southeast Asia. Many activated family migration chains by sponsoring spouses and children as well as unmarried sons and daughters within the country-specific limits (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1989).

If the growth of chain migration is widely acknowledged, its magnitude is the subject of some dispute (Arnold, Cariño, Fawcett, & Park 1989; Heinberg, Harris, & York 1989; Jasso & Rosenzweig 1989; 1986; Yu 2008). Activist groups that oppose current immigration thresholds, such as NumbersUSA, characterize family preferences as "endless and often snow-balling chains of foreign nationals."[6] Besides images that exaggerate the multiplicative impact of a single immigrant, the group attributes to chain migration the quadrupling of legal immigration between 1950 and 1990 along with myriad social problems, ranging from urban sprawl to illegal immigration. Supporters of family reunification priorities include members of Congress who propose to reduce visa backlogs by exempting the spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents from numerical caps and reclassifying them as immediate family relatives.[7]

With the notable exceptions of Yu (2005; 2008) and Jasso and Rosenzweig (1986; 1989), however, there have been few comprehensive analyses of chain migration. Partly this reflects the lack of suitable data to track the sponsorship

[6] https://www.numbersusa.com/content/issues/chain-migration.html. Accessed 5 April 2012.
[7] See the Reuniting Families Act, http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/F?c112:1:./temp/~c112Dtggfz:e5145: Accessed 5 April 2012. HR 1796 is the version introduced in the 112th Congress.

behavior of successive immigrant cohorts, let alone cohorts over multiple decades. Existing studies of chain migration, moreover, exhibit other limitations that compromise their external validity; for example, Arnold and associates (1989) focus on two origin countries—Korea and the Philippines. Other studies exclude key sponsorship pathways (Jasso & Rosenzweig 1986, 1990*);* rely on stated preferences about planned sponsorship of family members rather than actual petitions (Arnold et al. 1989); or analyze sponsor characteristics retrospectively based on a cross-section of unification immigrants rather than the propensity for future family sponsorship (Heinberg, Harris & York 1989). Finally, most of the existing studies focus on family sponsorship behavior up to 1980, thus excluding the period during which there were two major revisions to immigration laws that have direct implications for estimates of chain migration. These include the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which legalized over 2.5 million undocumented migrants, and the 1990 Immigration Act, which raised the worldwide ceilings for capped legal immigrants, including family sponsorship categories subject to numerical limitation (Wasem, 2010). None of the existing studies specifically address variation in age structure of family sponsored immigrants.

Only Jasso and Rosenzweig (1989) and Yu (2005) use demographic methods to derive estimates of family chain migration, but owing to differing assumptions and measures, their estimates differ. Jasso and Rosenzweig (1989) claim that an initiating nonfamily immigrant subsequently sponsors between 1.2 and 1.4 additional family members. Yu (2008) estimated that chain migration is as high as 4.2 additional persons per initiating immigrant, of which half (2.1) are associated

with sponsorship of family members. Both studies considered regional origins variation in the impact of the family multiplier, but not the age composition of the sponsored migrants.

Using readily available microdata for legal immigrant admissions between 1972 and 1997, Yu (2008) developed an innovative unification multiplier that is grounded in LPR admissions (rather than both admissions and time to naturalization eligibility). His approach represents an improvement over previous methods because it incorporates all forms of family sponsorship and nearly all non-family immigrant pathways to family unification. On the downside, Yu's (2008) synthetic cohort methodology assumed no cohort or period variation in the processes that contribute to migration, despite known temporal and regional spikes in LPR admissions between 1972 and 1997. Furthermore, Yu's analysis excluded the 2.7 million LPRs legalized under IRCA. Although this omission is consistent with his synthetic cohort approach, it inaccurately represented LPR admissions during the late 1980s and 1990s.

Because Yu's study ended in 1997, his analysis does not capture the continuing impact of the IRCA regularization process on subsequent generations of family-sponsored immigrants nor that of the higher worldwide ceilings for legal immigration established in 1990.[8] Furthermore, his analyses do not account for the impact on future immigration flows of changes in major social policies that are likely to impact family sponsored migration, such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and

[8] Yu's period of analysis also excludes the amnesty for over one million illegal immigrants from Central America (NACARA, 1997) and the amnesty for 125,000 illegal immigrants from Haiti (HRIFA, 1998). (Unlike the immigrants legalized under IRCA, beneficiaries of subsequent amnesties were included in the annual LPR statistics.)

Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) and the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA). The former broadened the grounds for exclusion of unauthorized immigrants and changed the support requirements for sponsoring family relatives, while the latter sharpened the divisions between citizens and legal permanent residents while imposing a five-year moratorium on immigrants' access to some means-tested welfare benefits.

Our analysis builds on the strengths of Yu's approach in conjunction with several refinements that address the limitations of his analysis. First, we relax the assumptions of Yu's synthetic cohort method by allowing actual fluctuations in both the volume and country of origin composition of legal permanent residents. This is important because the source countries of family migrants changed since 1980 (Wasem, 2010). Second, we include the 2.7 million IRCA immigrants in the calculations of chain migration because they too can sponsor relatives after their status adjustment. Finally, and critical for our interest in late age-migration, we consider age and regional origins of sponsoring migrants in the calculations.

Data and Methods

We use the *Immigrants Admitted to the United States* (micro-data) (U.S. Department of Justice 2007) supplemented with special tabulations from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (USDHS) to examine changes in the age composition of immigrant cohorts since 1981. The *Immigrants Admitted* microdata file contains records for all LPR admissions between 1981 and 2000, which is the last year included in the final electronic release. These data, which have been used

in previous analyses of family-sponsored immigration (e.g., Yu 2008), enumerate all LPR admissions, including persons present in the United States who adjusted their status to permanent resident during those years, with the notable exception of 2.7 million LPR's granted amnesty under the 1986 IRCA legislation (USINS 2007).[9] We augment the *Immigrants Admitted* data with two sets of summary tabulations: (1) for LPR admissions for the period 2001-2009; and (2) for IRCA legalization admissions for the period 1989-2000. These tabulations were obtained as a custom request from U.S. Department of Homeland Security (USDHS) in order to update and resolve limitations in the *Immigrants Admitted* files.[10]

Both the microdata and the custom tabulations contain several items that are necessary to derive age-, cohort- and region-specific measures of chain migration, including year of admission, age (or age group) at admission, visa admission category (detailed or aggregated), and country or region of origin. Unlike microdata files in which each observation represents one new immigrant, the observations in the augmented *Immigrants Admitted* file represent unique combinations of (admission age * admission year * sponsorship * regional origin) categories. For each observation, a frequency variable indicates the count of admissions for the given set of age, year, sponsorship, and origin values. Specifically, the analysis file consists of 51,210 observations with (Age*Year*Sponsorship*Origin) count data

[9] Although the number of undocumented migrants residing in the United States rose over the observation period, their omission is not consequential for this analysis because they cannot sponsor family members for immigration.

[10] The criteria for the tabulations is specified in written communications between M. Tienda, Princeton University, and M. Hoefer, director, Office of Immigration Statistics, USDHS, September 21, 2010, and between M. Tienda and J. Simansky, chief, Communications Division, Office of Immigration Statistics, USDHS, November 17, 2010.

over 29 years that represent nearly 25.5 million legal permanent residents admitted to the United States between 1981 and 2009. Admission years are aggregated into 5-year cohorts, from 1981-1985; region of origin is aggregated in to five broad groups: Africa; Asia; Europe; North America; and South America and Oceania;[11] and age at arrival is grouped into three broad categories: 0-16 (youth); 17-49 (working ages); and 50+ (late-age migrants). The present analysis does not consider regional variation in sponsorship.

A key requirement for estimating chain migration is the class of admission, which is not available on population-based surveys. The United States has a rather complex immigration regime; since 1982, 352 distinct visa classes have been used for LPR admissions. For estimating the family migration multiplier, we collapse these into 10 admission categories that represent the major admission classes and the full range of sponsorship possibilities (Yu 2008). Importantly, the 10 aggregated admission categories differentiate between (1) initiating and family sponsored immigrants; (2) accompanying versus later-sponsored family unification immigrants; (3) citizen versus LPR sponsored family unification immigrants; and (4) numerically-capped and uncapped admission categories. Figure 2 summarizes the aggregated visa categories used to compute the family migration multiplier.

Figure 2 About Here

Because the distinction between initiating immigrants and family unification migrants is central both to the taxonomy and statistical analysis, further elaboration

[11] Ordinarily Oceania is grouped with Europe but the aggregated tabulations did not permit us to reallocate these LPRs. The numbers are relatively small and the allocation decision is inconsequential.

of the operational definitions is warranted. *Initiating immigrants* refer to all LPRs who are not sponsored by a family migrant, or more generally to nonfamily migrants.[12] Stated differently, they represent the first in their families to move and consequently must either be sponsored by nonfamily entities or they must marry a native-born U.S. citizen. It bears emphasis that a sponsoring spouse must be a U.S.-born citizen rather than a naturalized citizen. Initiating immigrants include employer-sponsored immigrants, refugees and asylees, diversity lottery beneficiaries, and investors, as well as spouses of native-born U.S. citizens. All are denoted in Figure 2 with a "0" subscript, and the letters E, G, and S designate employer, government and spouse sponsors, respectively.[13]

LPR's granted LPR status as part of the legalization program authorized by IRCA are not included in the *Immigrants Admitted* microdata file, but there are several reasons both for including them in a study of chain migration and for analyzing them as a separate category. First, their naturalization behavior differs from that of non-IRCA LPRs both in lower rates and longer time to acquire (Rytina 2002). These differences have implications for their ability to sponsor immediate family members. Furthermore, IRCA LPR's differ in their regional origins, with Mexico the dominant source country. As a country with a large visa backlog, this has

[12] Other studies use the term "principal immigrants" to refer to initiating immigrants (Yu, 2008; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1986), but we use the term initiating immigrant to avoid confusion with the USDHS use of the term Principal Alien. For example, a sibling of a US citizen sponsored under the family 4th preference would be classified as a principal alien by DHS (because she can sponsor accompanying family dependents), but would not be an initiating immigrant because an earlier family migrant sponsored her.

[13] Technically the government does not formally sponsor LPRs, but initiating immigrants who are not sponsored by a U.S. citizen or an employer are admitted under federal authority (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1989). From this perspective, IRCA initiating immigrants represent a special class of "government sponsored" LPRs.

direct implications for possible chain migration—at least in the medium term. Finally, their sheer numbers warrant inclusion to accurately represent future chain migration and family unification.

As Figure 3 shows, between 1986 and 1990 nearly 1.4 million formerly undocumented persons adjusted to legal permanent resident status and an additional 1.3 million did so between 1991 and 1995. To put the IRCA LPRs in perspective, for every 100 non-IRCA LPRs admitted between 1989 and 1993, an additional 70 IRCA amnesty beneficiaries received LPR status. By 1996, most of the IRCA status adjustments had been completed. Our interest is in the propensity of these immigrants to sponsor other family members subsequent to their status adjustment, but in particular late-age migrants.

Figure 3 About Here

The lower panel of Figure 2 classifies family unification immigrants, which include all LPRs sponsored by family members who themselves are immigrants (both naturalized and legal resident aliens), or who are family members accompanying an initiating immigrant. We distinguish between four types of family unification immigrants: (1) family dependents who accompany initiating immigrants; (2) later following dependents of LPRs; (3) numerically uncapped immediate relatives of U.S. citizens;[14] and (4) numerically-capped preference relatives of U.S. citizens.[15] We use the letters D, S, C, P, and F, respectively, to

[14] These include alien spouses and unmarried minor children of U.S. citizens and the parents of adult U.S. citizens.

[15] These include married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens (1st preference); married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens (3rd preference) and siblings of U.S. citizens age 21 and over (4th preference).

designate dependents, spouses, children, parents and other relatives (i.e., siblings and adult sons and daughters) of U.S. citizens. The antecedent subscripts ranging from 1 to 4 indicate the sequencing of the LPR in the migration chain. For example, dependents may accompany the initiating immigrant, or they can follow (owing to caps imposed on family sponsored migrants).

Migrants who are sponsored as spouses of U.S. citizens may be either initiating immigrants (spouses of native-born U.S. citizens, $_0$S) or family unification immigrants (spouses of foreign-born, naturalized U.S. citizens, $_3$S). However, because even the most detailed USDHS class of admission information lacks sponsor characteristics, it is not possible to ascertain in either the *Immigrants Admitted* microdata or the USDHS Special Tabulations whether a migrant's sponsoring spouse is a native-born versus naturalized U.S. citizen. To resolve this issue, we assume that the proportion of LPRs sponsored by *native-born* versus *naturalized* citizen spouses in each five-year cohort mirrors that of the U.S. population, as estimated in the 2009 *American Community Survey* (Ruggles, et al., 2010). Specifically, for the married foreign-born population, we assume that the proportion married to *native-born* versus *foreign-born* spouses corresponds among LPRs admitted as citizens' spouses to the proportions of those sponsored by *native-born* spouses (i.e., initiating spouse immigrants, $_0$S) versus *foreign-born*, naturalized spouses (i.e., numerically-unlimited family migrants, $_3$S). Our approach to distinguishing between spouses who are initiating immigrants and those who are sponsored as uncapped immediate relatives follows previous research (Yu 2008: 93-94); a more detailed explanation of the methodology is provided by Carr (forthcoming).

Family Migration Multiplier

To estimate the magnitude and age contours of chain migration stemming from family unification, we build on Yu's (2005, 2008) Net Immigration Unification Multiplier, which essentially is a ratio of the number of family-sponsored migrants and initiating migrants for the period he analyzed—1972 to 1997.

$$\text{Yu Net Immigration Unification Multiplier} = \frac{\Sigma\ \textit{Family Unification Migrants}}{\Sigma\ \textit{Initiating Migrants}}$$

The two core constructs for estimating family unification migration are the initiating immigrants and stages of the migration chain. Only initiating immigrants, designated ${}_0$E, ${}_0$G, ${}_0$G', or ${}_0$S in Figure 2, can start new migration chains. The new chains are activated when spouses and dependents either accompany the initiating immigrant (family unit migration) or follow at a later date (family reconstitution). Married initiating immigrants can activate chains by sponsoring spouses, minor children and unmarried adult children, subject to numerical caps, or after they naturalize, by sponsoring immediate family members. All family members sponsored by or who accompany the initiating immigrant are designated *family immigrants*.[16] Upon meeting age and/or naturalization requirements, family immigrants can sponsor other family members, and thus activate the multiplicative properties of chained migration. In Yu's formulation all family members in a new chain are associated with the initiating immigrant, whether sponsored directly by the initiating immigrant or indirectly by other family immigrants in the chain.

[16] This treatment of the term family immigrants differs from its use by the Department of Homeland Security.

The second core construct for deriving measures of chained migration is *migration unification phase*, which reflects position within a migration chain. In our formulation, phase 0 corresponds to initiating immigrants and migration unification phases 1 through 4 consist of *family immigrants*. Phase 1 family migrants are the *accompanying dependents* ($_1$D) of initiating migrants, which include accompanying spouses, children, and in rare cases, other dependent family members. Phase 2 family immigrants are *later-following dependents* ($_2$D) of initiating immigrants who are admitted under the numerically capped family second preference category.[17]

Phase 3 family migrants are *numerically exempt relatives of U.S. citizens*, namely spouses ($_3$S), children ($_3$C), and parents ($_3$P) of U.S. citizens—none of which are subjected to country-specific and worldwide ceilings. Finally, Phase 4 family migrants are numerically capped *preference relatives* ($_4$F) of adult U.S. citizens. As shown in Figure 2, Phase 4 family migrants include married and unmarried adult offspring and siblings of U.S. citizens, along with their accompanying dependents (Monger, 2010, p. 6). There are lengthy visa backlogs for Phase 4 family migrants; since the mid-1990s the visa delays for adult children of citizens average about nine years for most countries.

As a ratio of all family-sponsored to all initiating migrants, Yu's (2005, 2008) Net Immigration Unification Multiplier cannot capture the changing age structure among successive cohorts of legal permanent resident admissions. Therefore, we

[17] Although there exist visa backlogs for second preference family members, over the period we study these range from two to eight years for most countries, with later applications toward the upper end of that spectrum. Backlogs for prospective second preference admissions from Mexico stretched from two to ten years (Wasem, 2010).

modify and expand Yu's formulation to generate a series of age-, cohort- and region-specific family unification multipliers with appropriate lags. Specifically, in order to evaluate how family chain migration influences the age structure of LPRs, we disaggregate all family immigrants by age at admission, distinguishing among dependent youths (<17 at admission); prime working age immigrants (17-49 at admission) and late-age immigrants (age 50+ at admission).

Furthermore, to portray changes in age structure over time, we further disaggregate admission cohorts into 5-year cohorts, beginning with fiscal year 1981 through 2009. This specification essentially relaxes Yu's strong synthetic cohort assumptions to better represent the ebbs and flows in LPR admissions, which is important given that the worldwide ceiling for numerically capped admissions was substantially increased during the observation period and a major legalization added nearly three million immigrants above the worldwide ceilings. Finally, because unification Phases 3 and 4 assume citizenship, our cohort-specific multiplier formulation permits a more realistic link between initiating immigrant cohorts and subsequent family migration because we advance by nine years the numerator terms associated with unification migration Phases 3 and 4, that is, admitted numerically exempt and non-exempt relatives of U.S. citizens.[18]

Expressed in formulaic terms, we estimate the age- and cohort-specific family chain migration multiplier as

[18] As detailed in Carr (forthcoming), nine years approximates the average duration of eight-years in LPR status, in conjunction with an additional year for modest visa processing delays. This approach builds on the work of Smith (2003).

$$FMM_{jt} = \frac{\sum {}_1D_{jt} + {}_2D_{jt} + {}_3S_{jt'} + {}_3C_{jt'} + {}_3P_{jt'} + {}_4F_{jt'}}{\sum {}_0E_{j't} + {}_0G_{j't} + {}_0S_{j't}}$$

where the terms in the numerator represent the counts of specific types of sponsored family migrants and the terms in the denominator represent the counts of each type of initiating immigrant. Each term's core notation consists of an upper case letter and a leading subscript 0-4 that combined represent an aggregated class of admission. Specifically, ${}_0E$, ${}_0G$, and ${}_0S$ in the denominator are employer sponsored, government sponsored and spouse initiating immigrants. In the numerator are initiating immigrants' accompanying family dependents (${}_1D$); initiating immigrants' numerically capped, later-following family dependents (${}_2D$); numerically uncapped spouses, children and parents of U.S. citizens (${}_3S$, ${}_3C$, ${}_3P$); and adult offspring and siblings (with their respective dependents) of citizens (${}_4F$).[19]

Subscript *j* denotes the three age groups at admission (<17, 17-49 and 50+) among family unification immigrants. Subscript *j'*, which is applied to the initiating immigrant terms, indicates all ages. Subscripts *t* and *t'* reflect five-year admission cohorts corresponding, respectively, to the early and later stages of the migration chain. For initiating immigrants and Phase 1 and Phase 2 family unification migrants, admission cohort *t* consists of one of the following cohorts: 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1995, or 1996-2000. Subscript *t'* is applied to Phase 3 and Phase 4 family unification migrants, all of whom are citizen-sponsored, to approximate the

[19] Yu's multiplier is inconsistent in its treatment of unmarried, adult children of U.S. citizens, variously identifying them in Unification Phases 3 (2008: 53) and 4 (2008: 175). We adopt the latter approach and restrict admissions of all numerically capped preference relatives of citizens to Phase 4. Thus, we reserve Phase 3 for numerically unrestricted immediate relatives of citizens.

timing of the naturalization and eligibility for citizen-based sponsorship among initiating immigrants from cohort *t* such that $t' = t + 9$.

Our expanded family migration multiplier not only allows for age and cohort variation, but can also accommodate inter-temporal changes in the regional origins of initiating migrants and subsequent chain migration. We do not present the more complicated formulation specifying regional origins both to avoid notational clutter and because we do not examine sponsorship patterns by regional origins here.

Results

Table 1 summarizes the data corresponding to the initiating immigrant admission categories according to age at arrival. Because the family migration multiplier includes terms that are lagged by nine years, the cohort year for which the multiplier can be calculated is 1996-2000; accordingly, Table 1 concludes with that cohort.

Table 1 About Here

Not surprisingly, vast majority of initiating immigrants are in the prime working ages, with between eight and 11 percent of all initiating LPRs arriving at ages 50 and over. The largest share of late-age migrants corresponds to government sponsored LPRs (mostly refugees), exclusive of IRCA status adjusters. Between the 1981-85 and 1996-2000 admission cohort, the share of late-age government sponsored LPRs rose from 10 to 18 percent. Although late-age migrants comprised much lower shares of the IRCA LPRs compared with refugee LPRs, the sheer size of the IRCA cohorts implies a large absolute number of late-age IRCA LPRs. Put

differently, of the 602 thousand late-age LPRs admitted between 1981 and 2000, nearly half were refugees and 31 percent were IRCA status adjusters.

Late–age migrants comprised between five and seven percent of relatives who accompany an initial migrant during the two-decade observation period, and this share increased over time, albeit not monotonically (Table 2). Among accompanying dependents of LPRs, those ages 50 and over increased 88 percent between the first and second half of the 1980s, and 116 percent between the 1986-1990 and the 1991-1995 LPR cohorts. Most of this change reflects the doubling of the accompanying family dependent cohorts after 1990, when the worldwide ceiling for numerically capped LPRs was raised. The share of late-age accompanying family dependents was similar for the 1986-1990 and the 1996-2000 LPR cohorts, but the absolute number rose about 38 percent largely owing to the higher ceilings for all preference categories.

Table 2 About Here

The cohort size of later-following LPR family dependents also increased since 1980, but less dramatically compared with changes for dependents accompanying new LPRs. Over time, the cohort sizes of accompanying and later-following dependents of LPRs converged; however, late-age dependents comprise a smaller share of later following dependents compared with those who accompany the initiating immigrants. For the 1996-2000 LPR admission cohort, for example, late-age dependents represented 6.5 percent of accompanying family members—approximately 36 thousand new arrivals—but only 3.8 percent of later-following dependent family members (approximately 23 thousand new immigrants).

Accompanying and later-following dependent family members of LPRs admitted during the 1990s included over 133 thousand late-age immigrants.

Table 3 About Here

Compared with accompanying and later-following dependents, late-age migration is more prevalent among sponsored immediate relatives of U.S. citizens.[20] Between 1990 and 2009, nearly five million immediate relatives of U.S. citizens obtained LPR status, of which about one-in-three qualified as late-age migrants. The volume of late-age migration among immediate relatives of adult U.S. citizens is noteworthy both because of inter-cohort growth rates and because these family sponsorship categories are not subject to numerical caps. For perspective, the 2005-2009 exempt cohort is 80 percent larger than the 1990-1994 exempt cohort. Unlike the numerically capped admission classes, the surge in sponsorship of immediate family relatives cannot be attributed to the higher worldwide ceilings established by the 1990 Immigration Act.

Table 4 About Here

Table 4 also shows that sponsored parents of U.S. citizens are a key driver of late-age migration; across the four admission cohorts, parents comprised between 29 and 34 percent of immediate relatives. During the 1980s, growth of the cohort size of sponsored parents was flat, but rose 24 percent between the 1995-1999 and 2000-2004 admission cohorts, and 44 percent between the first and second half of the 2000s. Only two mechanisms can account for the rise in late-age migration associated with parent sponsorship: (1) naturalization of earlier admitted LPRs,

[20] These cohorts are advanced by nine years relative to the preceding cohorts in order to incorporate a typical time to naturalization among earlier initiating immigrants.

who subsequently sponsor their elderly parents and (2) U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents who petition for their parents after reaching age 21. We cannot disentangle these two mechanisms, but differences by regional origins can shed light on these mechanisms. Specifically, we hypothesize that the former mechanism is more prevalent among sponsored parents who hail from Asian countries, whereas the latter is more common among parents of Mexican origin.

Late-age migration also has been on the rise among numerically capped preference relatives of U.S. citizens, which include their adult children as well as siblings and their own dependents. The ceiling on this category has stabilized the total number admitted just over 100 thousand per year, but the share of preference relatives who arrive at age 50 and over has been rising steadily over successive cohorts—from under 12 percent of all preference relatives admitted between 1990 and 1994 to just under one-in-five of preference relatives admitted between 2005 and 2009. One mechanism potentially fueling this family preference category is the growing visa backlog, particularly among oversubscribed countries like China, India, the Philippines and Mexico, where approved adult applicants "age in place" until their priority date is reached.

These descriptive tabulations provide insight into the workings of family chain migration and how sponsorship is associated with the increases in the LPR admissions ages 50 and over. To estimate the compounding of late-age LPR admissions via chain migration, we estimate the family migration multiplier by age for the four most recent initiating cohorts. The 1981-1985 cohort (first row) includes nearly 900 thousand initiating immigrants who are associated with over

2.3 million LPRs admitted as family unification migrants. The index values imply that every 100 initiating immigrants admitted during that five-year period sponsored an average of 259 family members; by comparison, among initiating immigrants admitted between 1996 and 2000, every 100 initiating immigrants sponsored 346 family members. Furthermore, the number of family migrants ages 50 and over rose from 44 to 74 per 100 initiating migrants. This represents a sizable increase because the volume of immigration rose appreciably during this period, and especially after the higher worldwide ceilings for numerically capped preference categories went into effect.

Table 6 About Here

The dip in the family multiplier values associated with the 1986-1990 and the 1991-1995 LPR cohorts poses somewhat of a methodological challenge because the index appears to be sensitive to the size of the initiating immigrant cohort. That was driven by the surge in LPR admissions associated with the IRCA legalization program during the late 1980s and early 1990s; consequently, $_0G$ values for these periods were more than doubled. An additional reason for the relatively low migration multipliers for the IRCA cohorts reflects the large representation of Mexicans among the legalized population. As Rytina observes (2002), the naturalization behavior of Mexicans differs in that they exhibit a lower propensity to become U.S. citizens and experience longer waiting times to acquiring citizenship. Because the family sponsorship opportunities available to LPRs are far more limited than those available to citizens, this factor may have depressed the migration multiplier for the LPR cohorts during the period we observe.

The number of family LPRs associated with both IRCA-augmented initiating immigrant cohorts grew nonetheless—at first modestly from 2.3 to 2.5 million (see column 2, Table 6), and then more robustly, rising from 2.5 to 3.3 million family migrants associated with the 1991-1995 initiating immigrants. Family migration multiplier values for IRCA-era family migration, however small the index value, in fact represent large pools of family immigrants because each reflects a multiplicative effect applied to a massive cohort of initiating immigrants. Even the small late age migration multipliers of 0.19 and 0.23 applied to initiating immigrant cohorts of 2.5 and 3.3 million represent substantial cohorts of late-age migrants sponsored by the IRCA-era LPR cohorts.

Summary and Limitations

Because international migration is presumed to attenuate population aging in developed nations, there has been scant attention to the age composition of immigrants. This omission is striking for the United States, which gives priority to family unification over employment and humanitarian based admissions and sets a minimal income threshold (125% of poverty) for sponsorship of family relatives. Furthermore, citizens—both naturalized and U.S.-born—are allowed to sponsor immediate relatives, including parents, and these family relatives are not charged against annual worldwide caps. Therefore, we represent family unification since 1981—the most recent era of mass migration—as a multiplicative chain migration process, with due attention to class of admission, period of arrival, and, importantly, age at receipt of LPR status.

Our approach to family chain migration is designed specifically to address the age structure of new immigrants while simultaneously incorporating cohort, sponsorship, and origin variations. Furthermore, we incorporate lags between immigration and naturalization that bear on sponsorship of family members exempt from worldwide ceilings. These adaptations relax the strong assumptions that undergird the synthetic cohort approach used in earlier estimation, but importantly, permit an examination of cohort trends of key sponsorship categories that are relevant for discussions of comprehensive immigration reform. Finally, we extend prior work by updating by a decade the time frame to estimate chain migration, and including the large cohort of IRCA legalization beneficiaries that was excluded in earlier research.

We show that the cohort share of late-age migration has risen over time, and is mainly driven by government-sponsored non-IRCA LPRs among initiating migrants, and parents of U.S. citizens among family sponsored immigrants. Our multiplier index implies that every 100 initiating immigrants from the 1981-1985 admission cohort sponsored an average of 260 family members over the observation period. By comparison, every 100 initiating immigrants from the 1996-2000 admission cohort sponsored an average 345 family members—this despite a truncated observation window imposed by our data (2009). Late-age migrants comprised over one-fifth (21 percent) of the 2005-2009 family-sponsored LPR cohort, with parents as the key driver. Late-age parents of U.S. citizens represent 14.6 percent of all family-sponsored migrants, including those that are subject to annual caps. The potential welfare costs associated with a surge in late-age

migration at a time of shrinking safety nets and rising anti-immigrant sentiment warrants serious consideration in future comprehensive immigration reform proposals, and especially proposals to address the visa backlog of family members who age in place for several years from the date of petition until their visa priority date.

Figure 4 About Here

Our estimates of family chain migration are conservative to the extent that they do not consider approved petitions for family sponsored migrants, but our inability to consider emigration and mortality introduces bias in the opposite direction by exaggerating the denominator relative to the numerator. Our approach has other limitations, most of which apply to previous studies of family chain migration. By assuming that the proportions of native-born versus naturalized sponsoring citizen spouses mirror the population proportions of married, foreign-born persons with native-born versus foreign-born spouses, we do not incorporate possible relationship formation or dissolution subsequent to migration; whether this is a source of upward or downward bias, however, is not clear. A second issue is that we do not know with certainty who actually sponsors an LPR; rather, like other analysts, we must infer this from the visa code. A final potential source of bias is the validity of using a 9-year lag to estimate the time to naturalization, given the differing naturalization propensities according to auspices of initial entry (e.g., government, employment and spousal sponsorship) and regional origins. Although our approach is more realistic than the synthetic cohort formulation, our future

work focused on variations by region of origin will allow us to test the sensitivity of this lag and its implications for family chain migration.

Policy Implications

The 104th Congress ushered in sweeping changes in social welfare legislation that had direct implications for immigrants, and late-age migrants in particular. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) imposed a five-year moratorium on access to means-tested programs on most legal immigrants arriving after August 22, 1996, but exempted refugees and immigrants who work at least 10 years in the United States. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) raised the income requirements for sponsoring family members by requiring sponsors to sign a legally binding affidavit promising to support their family members. The income threshold for sponsoring a family member was set at 125 percent of poverty for the sponsor and immigrant combined. The 1996 reforms also closed a huge loophole in the Social Security provisions, which allowed late-age migrants to qualify for Supplemental Security Income on the basis of age and low-income rather than disability (Friedland and Pankaj, 1997; Fix, Passel and Zimmerman, 1996). These changes likely have been consequential for late-age immigrants. For example, Angel (2003) noted that since 1980, elderly immigrants were the largest per capita users of public assistance and that Medicaid was an important source of health care for late foreign-born seniors.

The welfare implications of late-age migration depends both on the likelihood that new arrivals work and whether the family sponsors assume responsibility for their support demands, as required by Section 601 of IIRIRA. Prior to the sweeping reforms that imposed a 5-year moratorium on means tested benefits and drew a sharper division between LPRs and citizens, most studies of immigrants' use of welfare benefits focused either on the foreign-born as a group or children, but seldom on seniors. Despite the spate of research about late age migration following the sweeping changes in welfare legislation in 1996 (e.g., Fix and Passel, 1999; Friedland and Pankaj, 1997; Angel, 2003), interest in late-age migration has waned over the last dozen years. Age has not been an explicit consideration in the admission of legal permanent residents, except where required to distinguish between minor dependents and others.

Whether Congress will consider comprehensive immigration reform in the near-term is unclear. However, immigration analysts concerned with the economic implications of the current immigration regime will be well advised to consider the consequences of late-age migration, particularly in light of surging health care costs, and re-examine the family preference categories.

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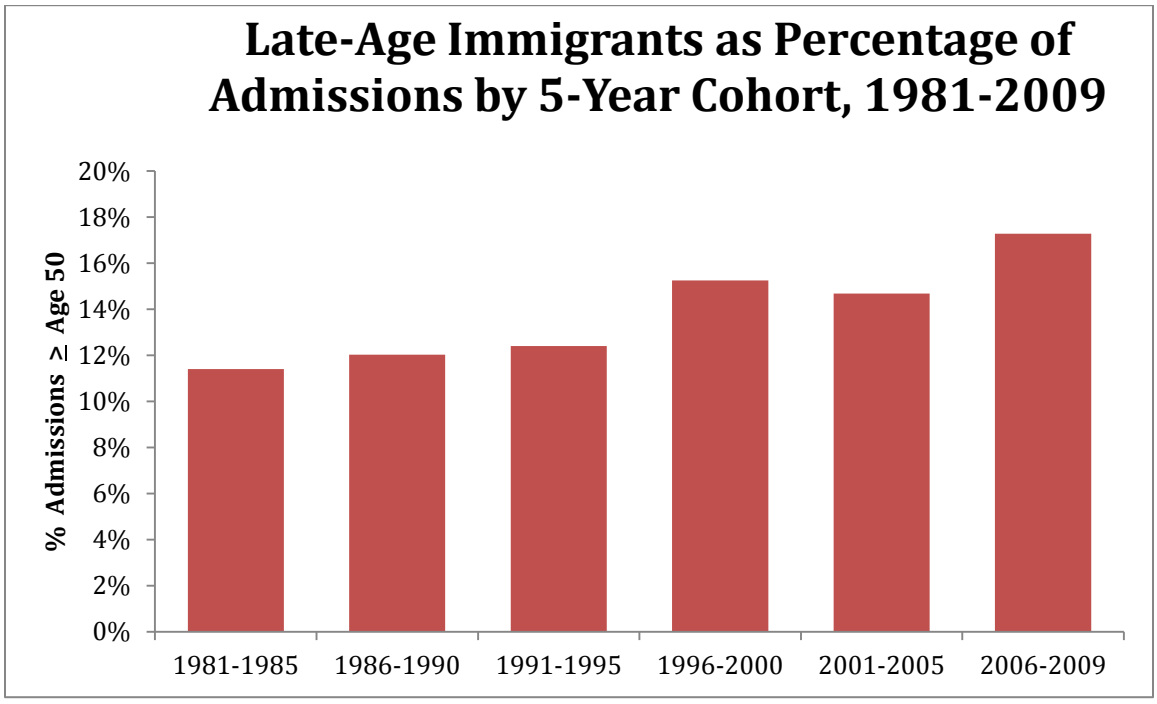
FIGURE 1



Source: Authors' tabulations from *Immigrants Admitted to the United States* data file (USDOJ, *Immigrants Admitted to the United States,* 1981-2000), and Special Tabulations provided by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2010.

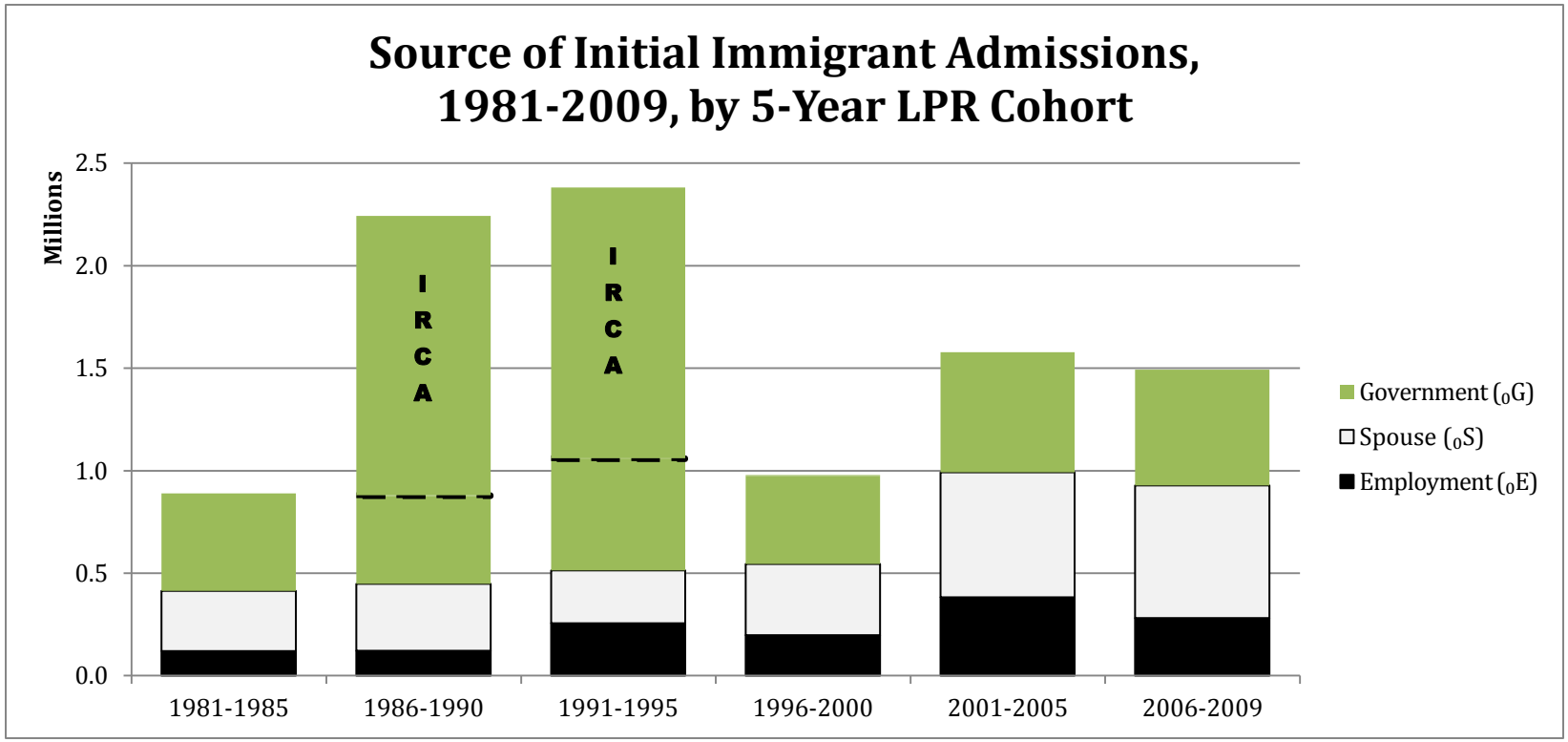
FIGURE 2

Aggregated Class of Admission by Reunification Migration Phase

Family Unification Phase	Aggregated Class of Admission
Initiating Immigrants	
Phase 0 Initiating Immigrants	**$_0$E** Employer-sponsored initiating employee immigrants (excluding dependents) **$_0$G** Government-sponsored initiating immigrants (excluding dependents, excluding IRCA). **$_0$G'** IRCA amnesty immigrants (special government sponsored initiating immigrants) **$_0$S** Initiating spouse immigrants (sponsored by *native-born* citizen spouses)
Family Unification Immigrants: Accompanying and Sponsored	
Phase 1 Accompanying Family Dependents of Initiating Immigrants	**$_1$D** Dependents (spouse or minor children) who accompany initiating immigrants at migration
Phase 2 Numerically-Limited, Later Following Family Dependents of Initiating Immigrants *Sponsored by LPRs under numerically-limited family 2nd preference admissions categories*	**$_2$D** Numerically-limited, later-following dependents (spouses, minor children, unmarried adult offspring) of previously migration initiating immigrants
Phase 3 Numerically-Unlimited Immediate Relatives of U.S. Citizens *Sponsored by citizens under numerically-exempt admissions categories*	**$_3$S** Spouses of *foreign-born* U.S. citizens (sponsored by naturalized citizen spouses)[1] **$_3$C** Children of U.S. citizens **$_3$P** Parents of U.S. citizens
Phase 4 Numerically-Limited Preference Relatives of U.S. Citizens *Sponsored by citizens under numerically-limited 1st, 3rd and 4th preferences*	**$_4$F** Adult sons, daughters, and siblings, with associated dependents, of adult U.S. citizens[2]

Sources: Adapted from Yu 2005, 2008 (pp. 48-53). Congressional Budget Office, 2010; Monger, 2010; U.S. Dept. of State, 2009.

FIGURE 3



Source: Source: Authors' tabulations from *Immigrants Admitted to the United States* data file (USDOJ, *Immigrants Admitted to the United States,* 1981-2000), and Special Tabulations provided by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2010.

Notes:

1. The 2006-2009 admission cohort represents four rather than five years.
2. Spouses are foreign-born married to native-born U.S. citizens.
3. Government-sponsored initiating immigrants include both IRCA and non-IRCA admissions, with the IRCA component represented by area above the dashed line.

TABLE 1

Initiating Immigrants *($_0$E, $_0$S, and $_0$G)* Admitted from 1981 to 2000 by Age at Admission, Aggregated Class of Admission, and 5-Year LPR Cohort (%)

Aggregated Class of Admission by Age at Admission	5-Year New Immigrant Cohorts			
	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Employer-Sponsored Employees [$_0$E]	*(n=120,321)*	*(n=121,801)*	*(n=255,816)*	*(n=196,935)*
0 – 16	0.1	0.0	1.2	0.0
17 – 49	89.5	89.4	89.9	90.7
50 +	10.5	10.6	9.0	9.3
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Spouses of Native-Born US Citizens [$_0$S]	*(n=293,255)*	*(n=326,503)*	*(n=257,506)*	*(n=348,429)*
0 – 16	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
17 - 49	95.9	96.2	95.3	95.5
50 +	4.0	3.7	4.6	4.5
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Government-Sponsored [$_0$G] *(excluding IRCA admissions)*	*(n=475,454)*	*(n=427,266)*	*(n=542,874)*	*(n=428,395)*
0 – 16	25.2	8.5	7.3	5.1
17 – 49	64.4	76.4	73.9	76.7
50 +	10.5	15.2	18.8	18.2
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
IRCA Admissions [$_0$G']		*(n=1,362,780)*	*(n=1,319,441)*	*(n=5,417)*
0 – 16	NA	9.6	1.3	1.1
17 – 49	--	82.3	92.9	88.8
50 +	--	8.1	5.8	10.1
		100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*
Total, Initiating Immigrants	*(n=889,030)*	*(n=2,238,350)*	*(n=2,375,637)*	*(n=979,176)*
0 – 16	13.5	7.5	2.5	2.3
17 – 49	78.2	83.6	88.5	86.3
50 +	8.3	9.0	9.0	11.5
	100.0	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

Source: Authors' tabulations from *Immigrants Admitted to the United States* data file (USDOJ, *Immigrants Admitted to the United States,* 1981-2000), and Special Tabulations provided by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2010.

Notes: 1) Percentages do not total 100 because of rounding. 2) The 10% of IRCA LPRs in the 1986-1990 under age 17 is consistent with estimates of the legalization population. 3) The final five-year cohort for which multipliers can be calculated is 1996-2000. 4) This table includes only LPRs admitted as foreign-born spouses of native-born U.S. citizens; LPR**s** admitted as foreign-born spouses of naturalized U.S. citizens are considered exempt family immigrants and are presented elsewhere.

TABLE 2

Accompanying Family Dependents *($_1D$)* Admitted from 1981 to 2000 by 5-Year LPR Cohort and Age at Admission (%)

Age at Admission	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
0-16	54.4	49.9	45.6	42.5
17-49	41.1	43.7	47.3	51.1
50+	4.5	6.5	7.0	6.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	*(310,823)*	*(403,585)*	*(808,219)*	*(558,490)*

Source: Same as Table 1.

Notes: A) Accompanying family dependents are the spouses and children who migrate with initiating immigrants in family unit migration. They are denoted by $_1D$ in the family migration multiplier formula. B) Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. C) The final five-year cohort for which multipliers can be calculated is 1996-2000, as based on the typical 9-year lag between permanent residency and naturalization; naturalization is required for most family sponsorship.

TABLE 3

Later-Following Family Dependents of LPRs *($_2D$)* from 1981 to 2000 by 5-Year LPR Cohort and Age at Admission (%)

Age at Admission	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
0-16	25.9	25.9	35.0	37.7
17-49	71.5	71.8	62.3	58.5
50+	2.7	2.3	2.8	3.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	*(569,611)*	*(545,299)*	*(617,194)*	*(614,585)*

Source: Same as Table 1.

Notes: A) Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. B) The final five-year cohort for which multipliers can be calculated is 1996-2000, as based on the typical 9-year lag between permanent residency and naturalization; naturalization is required for most family sponsorship.

TABLE 4

Numerically Exempt Immediate Relatives of Adult U.S. Citizens *($_3$S, $_3$C and $_3$P)* Admitted between 1990 and 2009 by Aggregated Class of Admission, 5-Year LPR Cohort and Age at Admission (%)

Family Admission Class and Age at Admission	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009
Spouses ($_3$S)				
0-16	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
17-49	95.5	95.5	95.1	93.4
50+	4.4	4.4	4.8	6.5
Subtotal %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal (n)	*(416,274)*	*(434,047)*	*(624,431)*	*(665,835)*
Children ($_3$C)				
0-16	74.3	71.3	65.3	63.9
17-49	25.7	28.7	34.7	36.1
50+	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Subtotal %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal (n)	*(193,265)*	*(264,124)*	*(332,987)*	*(424,686)*
Parents ($_3$P)				
0-16	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
17-49	6.4	7.3	7.7	8.3
50+	93.6	92.7	92.3	91.7
Subtotal %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal (n)	*(307,558)*	*(311,728)*	*(387,667)*	*(559,924)*
ALL				
0-16	15.7	18.7	16.2	16.5
17-49	50.9	50.8	54.9	49.8
50+	33.4	30.5	28.9	33.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (n)	*(917,097)*	*(1,009,899)*	*(1,345,085)*	*(1,650,445)*

Source: Same as Table 1

Notes: A) Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. B) Because of a typical 9-year lag between permanent residence and naturalization, which is a precondition for sponsoring numerically exempt immediate relatives, immediate relative LPRs from the 1990-94, 1995-99, 2000-04, and 2005-09 new immigrant cohorts correspond to initiating immigrants from the 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1995, and 1996-2000 cohorts.

TABLE 5

Numerically Capped Preference Relatives of U.S. Citizens A *[$_4$F]* Admitted between 1990 and 2009 by 5-Year LPR Cohort and Age at Admission (%)

Age at Admission	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009
0-16	31.2	27.9	24.3	23.1
17-49	57.1	58.3	59.6	57.9
50+	11.7	13.8	16.2	19.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (n)	***(503,031)***	***(515,642)***	***(557,479)***	***(568,610)***

Source: Same as Table 1.

Notes: A) Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding. B) Table 6 presents LPR admissions under citizen-sponsored family preferences, which comprise the following: adult, unmarried sons and daughters, and their children, of U.S. citizens (first preference); adult, married sons and daughters, and their spouses and children, of U.S. citizens (third preference); and siblings, and their spouses and children, of adult U.S. citizens (fourth preference). C) Because of a typical 9-year lag between permanent residency and naturalization, which is a precondition for sponsoring numerically exempt immediate relatives, immediate relative LPRs from the 1990-1994, 1995-1999, 2000-2004, and 2005-2009 new immigrant cohorts correspond to initiating immigrants from the 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1995, and 1996-2000 cohorts.

TABLE 6
Summary of Family Migration Multipliers for Worldwide Origins by Age at Admission and 5-Year Initiating Immigrant Cohort, 1981-2000

Initiating Cohort	Family Immigrants	Initiating Immigrants	*Family Migration Multipliers*			
			Age <17	Age 17-49	Age 50+	All Ages
1981-1985	**2,300,562**	**889,030**	**0.70**	**1.45**	**0.44**	**2.59**
1986-1990	**2,474,425**	**2,238,350**	**0.30**	**0.62**	**0.19**	**1.11**
1991-1995	**3,327,977**	**2,375,637**	**0.40**	**0.77**	**0.23**	**1.40**
1996-2000	**3,392,130**	**979,176**	**0.89**	**1.83**	**0.74**	**3.46**
Total	11,495,094	6,482,193	0.48	0.97	0.32	1.77

Source: Same as Table 1

Notes: A) Because of a typical 9-year lag between permanent residence and naturalization, which is a precondition for sponsoring numerically exempt immediate relatives and some family preference LPRs, Phase 3 and Phase 4 LPRs from the 1990-94, 1995-99, 2000-04, and 2005-09 new immigrant cohorts correspond to initiating immigrants from the 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1995, and 1996-2000 cohorts.

FIGURE 4

Family Sponsored Migration by Age at Admission to LPR Status, 2005-2009