

## **A. MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN UTAH: DEMOGRAPHICS AND EMPLOYMENT**

### **1. BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS**

#### Hispanics in Utah

According to the Census of Population, there were 201,559 persons of Hispanic descent living in Utah in 2000. They amounted to about 9.0% of Utah's total population (which was 2,233,169). These figures reflect remarkable recent growth in the Hispanic population. In 1990, there were just 84,597 Hispanics in Utah, or 4.9% of the state's population in that year (Gusman 2001, Table 2). The Hispanic population in Utah grew by 138% during the 1990s, while Utah's population as a whole grew by 30%. By 2003, the Hispanic population had risen to 233,425, or 9.9% of the total population of 2,351,467 (US Census Bureau 2004). While the growth rate for Utah's total population has been quite rapid, the growth of the Hispanic population in the state has outpaced even this rapid rate. It is worth noting that this growth has been much more rapid than was recently anticipated. Census Bureau projections published in 1995 predicted that Utah's Hispanic population would not reach 210,000 until the year 2015 (US Census Bureau 2005a).

Utah's Hispanic population, like Utah's total population, is highly concentrated in Salt Lake County. Over half of all Hispanics in Utah lived in Salt Lake County in 2000 (106,787 persons). They amounted to 11.9% of Salt Lake County's population in that year. In percentage terms, however, the "most Hispanic" county in Utah in 2000 was Weber County. The 24,585 Hispanics living there accounted for 12.6% of the total population. Over three quarters of Utah's Hispanic population (versus about 66% of the total Utah population) reside in Salt Lake, Utah, and Weber counties (see Figure A.1.1) (US Census Bureau 2005b).

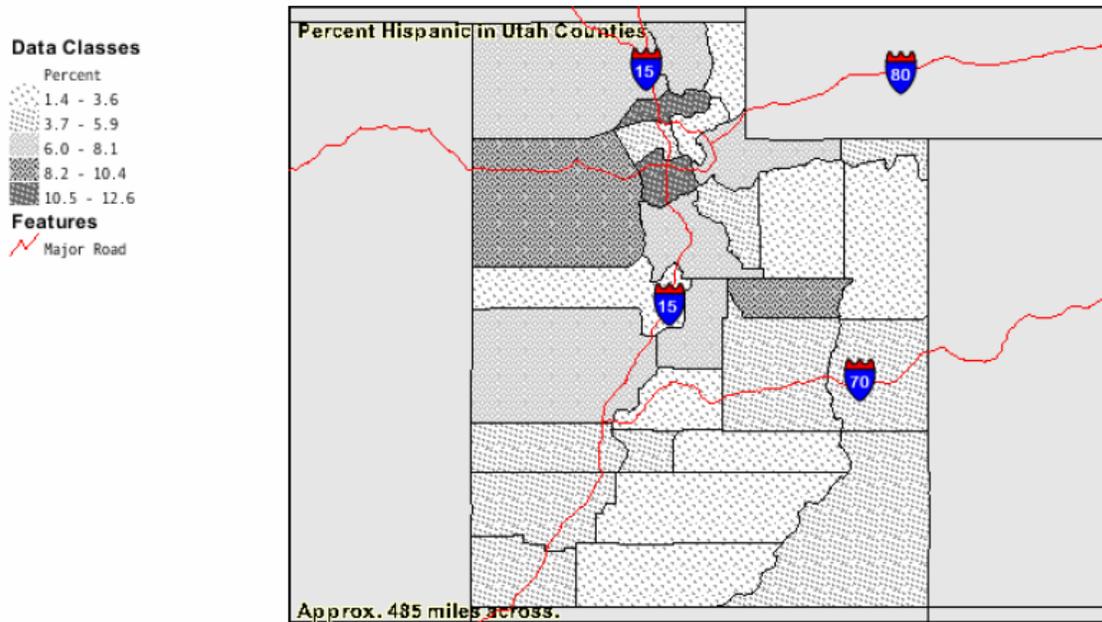
#### People of Mexican Ancestry, and Mexican Immigrants

The vast majority of Hispanics in Utah are of Mexican ancestry. 136,416 persons of Mexican ancestry were resident in Utah in 2000, amounting to 67.7% of all Hispanics in the state (US Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 1). In the same year, there were 66,478 Mexican-born people living in Utah. They accounted for about 42% of the 158,664 foreign-born people in Utah. The next most important country of origin for immigrants in Utah was Canada, with an immigrant population of 7722, and the next most important Central or South American country of origin was El Salvador, with an immigrant population of 3201 (US Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 3).<sup>1</sup> The predominance of the Mexican-born in Utah's immigrant flow is clearly transforming the demographics of the state. In 1970, about 95% of the Utah population was white and non-Hispanic. By 2000, the white-and-non-Hispanic share had fallen to 85% (Perlich 2004).

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<sup>1</sup> "Mexican-born people" are not simply a subset of those reporting "Mexican ancestry." Some people born in Mexico do not report Mexican ancestry. Similarly, some US residents reporting Mexican ancestry were not born either in the US or in Mexico. Below, references to "Mexican immigrants" denote Mexican-born residents of the United States specifically.

**Figure A.1.1: Percent Hispanic by County in Utah, 2000**



## 2. MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS IN UTAH: COMPARISON TO NEIGHBORING STATES

Relative to other states in the region, Utah's Mexican immigrant community is smaller and has more of the characteristics of a "leading immigrant" community (see Table A.2.1). Mexican immigrants in Utah are more likely to have arrived very recently. For the nation as a whole, 23% of Mexican immigrants resident in the US in 2000 arrived after 1995. In Utah, this share was 38%. Colorado's Mexican immigrant population was also quite recently arrived (37% after 1995), but the post-1995 shares were considerably smaller in Arizona (27%), California (17%), New Mexico (16%), and Nevada (26%).

Utah's Mexican immigrant population in 2000 was also more "male" than average: 60% of Utah's Mexican immigrants in the year 2000 were men, versus 55% for the nation as a whole. Again, Colorado's Mexican immigrant community most closely resembles Utah's. 59% of Mexican immigrants in Colorado were male. The communities in Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Nevada had more balanced sex ratios.

**Table A.2.1: Demographics of the Mexican Immigrant Population**

	<b>US</b>	<b>UT</b>	<b>AZ</b>	<b>CA</b>	<b>CO</b>	<b>NM</b>	<b>NV</b>
Total	9177487	66478	436022	3928701	181508	153946	107272
Percent Male	55%	60%	54%	53%	59%	52%	56%
Married, Spouse Present	48%	43%	46%	49%	45%	53%	47%
Not a Citizen	77%	85%	78%	75%	83%	70%	77%
Arrived after 1995	23%	38%	27%	17%	37%	16%	26%
Speaks English Only or Speaks English Very Well	29%	30%	31%	29%	26%	33%	29%
Education: High School Diploma or More	28%	32%	31%	27%	27%	27%	29%
Age:							
Under 15	11%	14%	13%	10%	14%	11%	12%
Under 30	46%	59%	48%	42%	56%	38%	49%
25 to 54	60%	54%	56%	62%	55%	59%	62%

## Sources:

Total Population: Table PCT19: Place of Birth for the Foreign Born Population, Summary File 3 Data, Census 2000 (accessed at [factfinder.census.gov](http://factfinder.census.gov), 7/29/05).

All other figures: 2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Marital status calculated for those 15 and over. English language ability calculated for those 5 and over. Education calculated for those 16 and over not currently enrolled in school.

Mexican immigrants in Utah were less likely to be married and less likely to be citizens than were Mexican immigrants in surrounding states and in the nation as a whole. Mexican immigrants in Utah were also on average slightly younger than Mexican immigrants in the US as a whole and in nearby states. They were particularly heavily concentrated in the 15-to-30 age range. This probably reflects high rates of migration in this age group and the recent arrival of Utah's migrants. In the nation as a whole and in all of these states, Mexican immigrants are heavily concentrated in the prime working ages of 25 to 54, though Utah's share in this category is somewhat lower due to the relative youth of its immigrant population. For comparison, note that only 38% of the US-born population in Utah is found in this age range, much lower than the 54 percent of Mexican immigrants..

In contrast to their youth, recent arrival, and lack of citizenship, however, Utah's Mexican immigrants reported themselves to have slightly more education than Mexican immigrants in the nation as a whole and in surrounding states. 32% of Utah's Mexican immigrant population reported that they had at least a high school diploma. Mexican-born people in Utah were about as likely as those in the nation and in neighboring states to indicate that they spoke English at least "very well."

#### 4. THE UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN IMMIGRANT POPULATION

Much of the policy discussion regarding immigration in the US and in Utah focuses on the size and characteristics of the undocumented population. This group is hard to study using standard sources, for obvious reasons. Still, its importance requires that we make some effort to estimate the characteristics of this group. Here, we follow the method proposed by Steven Camarota (2001) and allocate the Mexican immigrant population identified in the Census into "documented" and "undocumented" categories based on whether a given individual has characteristics found to be common among the undocumented. This approach probably understates the size of the undocumented population, many of whom probably do not show up in Census counts. It nonetheless provides a rough portrait of this community.<sup>2</sup> On this basis, 44% of the Mexican immigrant community in Utah is undocumented. The proportion is slightly larger among those under 18 (46%) and among single people over age 18 (50%), and it is somewhat smaller for married people (39%). The undocumented population in Utah is somewhat younger than the Mexican immigrant population as a whole, with about 68% under the age of 30 and 51% in the prime working ages of 25 to 54.

Other estimates of the undocumented population are typically generated by a "residual method." In this estimation, the legally resident foreign born population (calculated from agency records on legal permanent residents, legal temporary residents, and refugees,

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<sup>2</sup> Specifically, we classify as undocumented those individuals who arrived in 1980 or later, were less than 60 years old, were not citizens, were not receiving assistance through TANF, General Assistance, or SSI, were not married to a US citizen, and (i) if over age 18, had not received a high school diploma, and (ii) if younger than age 18 (and not married), had parents who were likely to be undocumented (by the criteria above). Camarota includes non-receipt of food stamps and Medicaid in his criteria, but these are not observable in the 2000 Census.

asylees, and parolees) is subtracted from the total foreign born population (usually estimated from the Census) to arrive at a residual representing the number of undocumented foreign born. This type of calculation usually incorporates an adjustment for the undercounting of immigrants in the Census. Jeffrey Passel applies this method to more recent Current Population Survey figures and estimates that the undocumented population for the nation as a whole was 5.9 million, or about 57% of all foreign born people in the US, by March 2004. Passel also estimates that Utah was among the five states with the highest percentage undocumented among its foreign born population, with an undocumented share that had grown to over 50% in that year (Passel 2005).<sup>3</sup> While Passel's method of estimating the undocumented is not completely compatible with the method employed here, it is safe to say, based on the figures he reports, that the undocumented population in Utah has grown substantially since the 2000 Census was recorded.

#### 4. LABOR

##### Industry

Table A.4.1 presents the industrial distribution of Mexican immigrants working in the US, in Utah, and in neighboring states. In general, Mexican immigrants in the US are concentrated in wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing, construction, and business and professional services. Relative to the Mexican immigrants in the nation as a whole, Utah's Mexican immigrant workers are especially heavily concentrated in construction. This pattern is typical of Western states except California, and it is consistent with employment patterns for all types of workers in the West. Relative to other Western states except perhaps California, Utah's Mexican immigrant population is very heavily concentrated in manufacturing. Again, this is consistent with broader patterns: a larger share of Utah's total workforce is employed in manufacturing than is the case in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Nevada, and Utah Hispanics in general are much more likely to work in this sector (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002, Table 17).

Comparing Utah's Mexican immigrants to the total workforce in Utah, we find mostly predictable patterns (see Table A.4.2). Mexican immigrants are underrepresented in finance, insurance, and real estate; business and professional services; government work; and transportation, communication, and utilities. They are overrepresented in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and personal service.

Documented and undocumented Mexican workers in Utah also differ in their industrial distribution in predictable ways (Table A.4.2). The undocumented are somewhat more likely to work in personal service, agriculture, and construction, and somewhat less likely to work manufacturing and business and professional services.

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<sup>3</sup> Note that this does not mean that Utah's undocumented population was among the five largest in terms of absolute size. Passel's methods place Utah in the middle quintile of states in terms of the size of its undocumented population.

**Table A.4.1: Industrial Distribution of Mexican Immigrants in the US, Utah, and Nearby States**

<b>Industry</b>	<b>US</b>	<b>UT</b>	<b>AZ</b>	<b>CA</b>	<b>CO</b>	<b>NM</b>	<b>NV</b>
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Personal Service	5%	6%	6%	5%	6%	6%	17%
Business/Professional Service	16%	15%	19%	18%	14%	19%	23%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	11%	7%	11%	13%	7%	12%	6%
Construction	16%	21%	20%	11%	30%	20%	24%
Government or Military	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	<1%
Manufacturing	22%	26%	13%	23%	14%	13%	7%
Mining	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	3%	1%
Trade	23%	20%	23%	23%	23%	21%	18%
Transport, Communication, Utilities	3%	2%	3%	4%	3%	3%	2%

Source:

2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Based on individuals 16 and over, not enrolled in school, who worked in 1999.

**Table A.4.2: Industrial Distribution of Utah’s Mexican Immigrants by Documented Status, and Distribution of the Total Utah Workforce**

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Documented Mexican Immigrants</b>	<b>Undocumented Mexican Immigrants</b>	<b>Total Utah Workforce</b>
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2%	<1%	7%
Personal Service	4%	8%	3%
Business/Professional Service	17%	12%	32%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	4%	10%	2%
Construction	19%	24%	10%
Government or Military	1%	1%	7%
Manufacturing	28%	24%	14%
Mining	<1%	<1%	1%
Trade	21%	20%	20%
Transport, Communication, Utilities	3%	1%	6%

Source:

2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Based on individuals 16 and over, not enrolled in school, who worked in 1999. See text for definition of documented and undocumented

### Occupation

While Tables A.4.1 and A.4.2 classify workers based on the kind of good or service their firm produces, we can also classify workers by the tasks they carry out within a firm, for instance as managerial, craft, or service workers. Tables A.4.3 and A.4.4 provide this kind of breakdown. In the US generally and throughout the West, Mexican immigrants are much more likely to be found in blue collar work (craft, operative, or laborer) and in service work than in white collar jobs (professional/technical, managerial, sales, or clerical). The concentration of Utah's Mexican immigrant work force in operative and laborer jobs is particularly noteworthy, reflecting the relatively large manufacturing sector in the state. On the whole, though, differences across these states in occupational distribution are not large, except for the predominance of service jobs in Nevada.

When we compare the occupations of Mexican immigrants in Utah to the overall occupational distribution in the state, the lack of access of immigrants to white collar jobs appears quite dramatically. We can also see the relative concentration of Mexican immigrants in skilled craft jobs relative to the general workforce. Undocumented workers are just as likely to hold these craft positions as are documented immigrants. On the other hand, undocumented workers are much more heavily concentrated than other immigrants in generally poorly-paying service jobs. (See Section D, which treats the tourism sector specifically).

While the occupational distribution of Utah's Mexican immigrants largely resembles that of Mexican immigrants in other states, it is worth noting that unique processes may affect the economic assimilation of immigrants in Utah. Many immigrants who come to Utah are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), and these individuals are arguably connected to a dense network of information and support at arrival. LDS church membership is more common among immigrants from South America than among immigrants from Mexico (who tend to be Catholic). There is evidence that this difference in religious affiliation leads to more rapid economic assimilation among South American immigrants in Utah than among Mexican immigrants (Solarzano 2005, p. 196).

**Table A.4.3: Occupational Distribution of Mexican Immigrants in the US, Utah, and Nearby States**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>US</b>	<b>UT</b>	<b>AZ</b>	<b>CA</b>	<b>CO</b>	<b>NM</b>	<b>NV</b>
Professional / Technical	4%	4%	5%	4%	3%	4%	2%
Management	6%	4%	6%	6%	6%	6%	5%
Sale	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%
Clerical	8%	6%	8%	9%	7%	7%	7%
Craft	15%	15%	18%	13%	19%	18%	17%
Operative	24%	28%	17%	24%	19%	18%	14%
Laborer	13%	17%	15%	12%	17%	12%	15%
Service	20%	22%	23%	19%	24%	23%	36%
Farmer	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	<1%
Farm Laborer	7%	3%	5%	9%	4%	7%	1%

Source:

2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Based on individuals 16 and over, not enrolled in school, who worked in 1999.

**Table A.4.4: Occupational Distribution of Utah's Mexican Immigrants by Documented Status, and Distribution of the Total Utah Workforce**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Documented Mexican Immigrants</b>	<b>Undocumented Mexican Immigrants</b>	<b>Total Utah Workforce</b>
Professional / Technical	7%	1%	22%
Management	6%	1%	15%
Sale	1%	1%	7%
Clerical	9%	3%	18%
Craft	14%	15%	12%
Operative	29%	26%	11%
Laborer	13%	21%	4%
Service	17%	27%	11%
Farmer	<1%	<1%	<1%
Farm Laborer	3%	4%	<1%

Source:

2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Based on individuals 16 and over, not enrolled in school, who worked in 1999. See text for definition of documented and undocumented

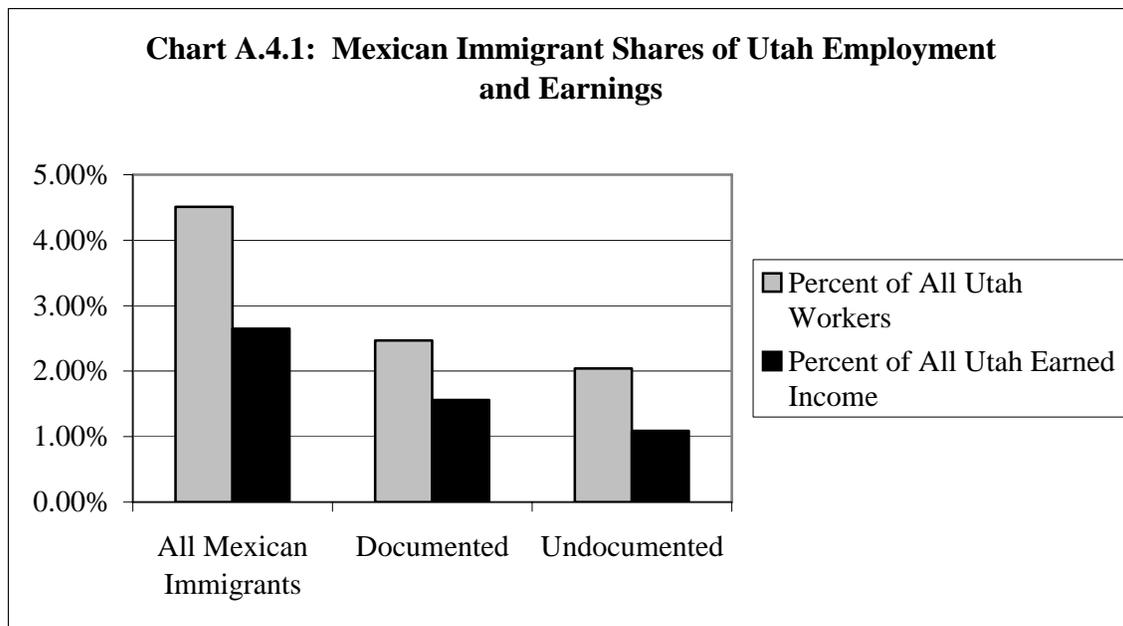
Earnings

While about 3% of Utah’s total population in 2000 was born in Mexico, about 4.5% of its workers were born south of the border (Table A.4.5, and Chart A.4.1). Mexican-born workers had average earnings equal to about 59% of the overall average in Utah. As a result, Mexican-born workers took home a disproportionately small share of Utah’s total earned income. Their \$679 million in earnings accounted for 2.6% of the total earned by wage and salary workers in the state. A little less than half of all of Utah’s Mexican-born workers were undocumented (or about 2% of the total wage and salary workforce). Undocumented workers had an average annual income of a little over \$16,000, about 84% of what documented Mexican workers earned.

**Table A.4.5: Mexican Immigrant Employment and Payroll in Utah, 2000**

Group	Number of Workers	Total Earned Income (Millions)	Average Annual Earned Income
Total	829802	\$25654.16	\$30916
Mexican Immigrants	37416	678.65	18138
Documented	20455	399.71	19516
Undocumented	16961	278.92	16470

Source: 2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004). Includes individuals aged 16 to 64, not in school, who worked in 1999, were wage and salary workers had nonzero earnings, and were not unpaid family members. Self-employed individuals are not included. Including them alters the percentages only slightly. See text for definition of documented and undocumented



Source: See Table A.4.5.

## 5. PURCHASING POWER

While labor supply and earnings provide a measure of the scale of the Mexican immigrant presence on the supply side of Utah’s economy, purchasing power estimates tell us something about their presence on the demand side. Data limitations are again an issue here. Our estimates of purchasing power for Mexicans in Utah are based on estimates of Hispanic purchasing power from the Selig Center’s “The Multicultural Economy” report for 2004 (Humphreys 2004), adjusted by the ratio of total income for Mexican immigrants in Utah to the total income of Hispanics in Utah in 2000.<sup>4</sup> Table A.5.1 shows the total purchasing power of Mexicans and Hispanics, along with the total for Utah.

**Table A.5.1: Purchasing Power in Utah (in Thousands of 2000 Dollars)**

	2000	2004	2009
Hispanic	2,472,975	3,671,326	5,914,927
Mexican	915,001	1,358,391	2,188,523
Utah Population	45,153,689	56,048,840	77,204,016

Source: Humphreys 2004, and 2000 Census IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004)

In 2000, the purchasing power of Mexican immigrants was more than \$900 million, which is about 2 percent of total Utah purchasing power. Assuming that Mexican immigrant purchasing power will remain at 37 percent of Hispanic purchasing power, and using the projection for Hispanics in Utah for 2009, we find that the purchasing power of Mexican immigrants in Utah will increase to over \$2 billion by the year 2009 (and this is 2.8 percent of the purchasing power of the population in Utah).

## 6. TAX CONTRIBUTIONS

Tax contributions of Mexican immigrants in Utah is the sum total of their income tax, sales tax and property tax. Table A.6.1 summarizes the taxable income and property of Mexican immigrants. Note that our income tax figure represents the earnings of documented immigrants only, but that our purchasing power and housing value figures reflect all Mexican immigrants in Utah (documented and undocumented).

<sup>4</sup> The Selig Center report defines purchasing power as “the total personal income of residents that is available, after taxes, for spending on goods and services—that is, the disposable personal income of the residents of a specified geographic area” (Humphreys, p. 6). Their report provides estimates of total Utah purchasing power and purchasing power of Hispanics in Utah in 2000, 2004, and 2009. We then estimate Mexican immigrant purchasing power simply by multiplying the Hispanic purchasing power figure by the ratio of Mexican immigrant total income to Hispanic total income in 2000. Note that the purchasing power figures for Utah as a whole and for Mexican immigrants substantially exceed the earned income estimates in Table A.4.5. This is in part because purchasing power includes unearned income, and also because the figures in Table A.4.5 are restricted to wage and salary workers aged 16 to 64.

**Table A.6.1: Taxable Income and Property, 2000 (in Thousands of 2000 Dollars)**

	<b>Total Personal Income*</b>	<b>Purchasing Power**</b>	<b>Total Value of Housing units*</b>
Mexican Immigrant	486,679	915,001	984,417
Total Utah Population	40,691,825	45,153,689	85,614,794

\*Census 2000 IPUMS dataset, 5% sample (Ruggles et al 2004); \*\*From Table A.5.1

The personal income tax of Mexican immigrants is calculated using the state’s tax rate for the lowest income bracket, and the rate for fiscal year 2000 was 2.3 percent. This rate is applied to taxable state income under the assumption that half of the Mexican immigrants are single filers and the other half are married couples with two children filing together. Hence, Mexican immigrants paid over \$7 million to the state in personal income tax (Table A.6.2).

The total sales tax paid by Mexican immigrants is computed by applying the 5.75 percent sales tax (which includes the 4.75 percent state sales tax and the 1 percent local sales tax, which is applied to all twenty nine counties in the state) on their purchasing power as shown in Table A.5.1. In fiscal year 2000, Mexican immigrants paid over \$52 million in sales tax to the State of Utah.

**Table A.6.2: Tax Contributions of Mexican Immigrants, 2000 (in Thousands of 2000 Dollars)**

	<b>Income Tax</b>	<b>Sales Tax</b>	<b>Property Tax</b>	<b>Total</b>
Mexican Immigrants	7,492	52,155	7,580	67,227

Property tax in Utah is levied by different units—counties, school districts, cities and towns and special districts—at different rates. Rather than attempt to estimate property tax paid directly from our housing value estimate, we rely here on self-reported property tax payments as reported in the 2000 Census. By this measure, Mexican immigrants in Utah paid over \$7.5 million in property taxes on primary residential housing.

The total tax contribution of Mexican immigrants to the State of Utah is therefore more than \$67 million in 2000.

## 7. FISCAL IMPACT

Mexican immigrants clearly make large contributions to the public coffers. But they also receive public services and transfers. Do immigrants impose a fiscal burden on the native

population? That is, do they receive more in transfers and services than they pay in taxes? This is a complicated and technical question, and we cannot provide a Utah-specific answer. We can, however, consider some benchmarks based on national evidence.

There are two ways of thinking about the issue of net fiscal burden. One considers whether, in a given year, the immigrants present in the US receive more in transfers and services from the government than they pay in taxes. Data from a recent National Research Council report (Smith and Edmonston 1997) indicate that they do, though the size of the burden is arguably small. The average immigrant household (from whatever home country) imposed a net annual fiscal burden in the range of \$1600 to \$2200 in the mid-1990s. Spreading these costs across all native households in the United States would result in a cost of about 0.4% to 0.5% of average household income (ibid., p. 286-88). It should be noted, though, that cost estimates for Latin American immigrant households were higher, in the range of \$5600 to \$7200, generating costs closer to 1.2% to 1.5% of average household income (ibid, Table 6.5 and author's calculations).

An alternative and more complete way of considering the net fiscal impact of immigrants is to project likely taxes, transfers, and services into the future, and to include the taxes that will be paid by (and transfers and services that will flow to) the native-born children of immigrants. The impact of any particular immigrant in these calculations will be a function of education and of age at arrival in the US. The fiscal impact of immigrants who have at least a high school education tends to be positive in these calculations, as does the impact of immigrants who arrive by about age 40. Weighting across all education groups and ages generates a long-term positive impact of about \$80,000 for the average immigrant, based on mid-1990s data (ibid, p. 336).

Not included in these calculations is the accrual of unclaimed Social Security benefits generated by undocumented workers. Since the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, undocumented workers have increasingly used false Social Security numbers in order to gain employment. For the US as a whole, about \$7 billion per year in Social Security taxes and about \$1.5 billion per year in Medicare taxes are paid through false or erroneous Social Security numbers. About three-fourths of this revenue comes from undocumented immigrants (from all home countries) (Porter 2005).

This figure reflects all immigrant groups, however, and it is likely that the low level of education among Mexican immigrants would result in a less positive (or perhaps even negative) impact on government budgets. On the other hand, the relative youth and relatively high level of educational attainment of Utah's Mexican immigrant population, in comparison with neighboring states, would raise their contribution to state and federal budgets.

The negative "current year" impact and the likely positive long-term impact of immigrants may seem inconsistent at first glance. However, these two calculations are fairly easy to reconcile. For instance, in a "current-year" calculation, the use of public education by immigrant children, which accounts for a very large share of spending on

immigrants (ibid, p. 276-81), shows up as purely a drain on the public budget. In the long-term calculation, however, we properly recognize that this education will generate better-paying jobs, and therefore greater tax payments and smaller transfers, for these individuals as they enter the workforce.

Even though these long-term, dynamic estimates of fiscal impact are a substantial improvement over more myopic, cross-sectional calculations, we need to recognize that they are based on strong assumptions about public policy and individual behavior. We should also keep in mind that rates of economic assimilation by immigrants in US history have sometimes confounded expectations. The profound poverty and cultural isolation of the Irish in the 1800s, and of Italians, Poles, Russians, and others in the early 1900s, led to considerable skepticism about the economic prospects of these groups and to proposals for immigration restriction. The movement of these groups into the middle class in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century depended on their own efforts but also on a labor market characterized by the opportunity for upward mobility. Similarly, the economic destiny of the Mexican immigrant community in Utah, and their economic contributions to the state, will be determined by their own efforts and by public policy and institutional initiatives that give these individuals the opportunity to develop and use their talents.

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