
Republicans Have an Immigration Problem—and Amnesty Won't Solve It

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- I. **Republicans are having problems expanding their voting base because the U.S. immigration system brings in individuals who are less-educated, less-skilled, and low-income. These individuals tend to support candidates who support robust social welfare programs.**
 - A. The problem stems from the fact that our immigration system is family-based, not skills-based.
 1. The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), championed by Ted Kennedy, replaced one bad immigration system with another. It ended the national quota system, but changed the U.S. immigration system so that admission is based primarily on family connections, not employment and/or skills.¹
 - B. The result has been a wave of low-skilled immigration to the United States that does not meet the needs of our modern nation.
 1. The current overall cap for family-based immigration (green cards) is 480,000.² However, immediate relatives of citizens (whether U.S.-born or naturalized) do not count towards that cap.³ This accelerates family-based immigration every year.
 2. Chain migration, the general term for provisions in U.S. law (INA § 203) that allow citizens and legal permanent residents to sponsor family members beyond their nuclear families, also compounds the number of family-based immigrants to the U.S. each year.
 3. In contrast (with a few exceptions), the overall cap for employment-based immigration is 140,000.⁴
 4. Thus, of the roughly 1.1 million legal permanent residents (LPRs) the U.S. admits each year, approximately two-thirds are family-based and the remaining one-third is based on employment, refugee/asylee status, the diversity lottery, or other small categories for admission.⁵
 - a. In 2011 (most recent year available), a total of 1,062,040 aliens became LPRs of the United States, nearly 65% of which were family-based immigrants.⁶
 - b. In 2010, a total of 1,042,625 aliens were admitted as LPRs, over 66% of which were family-based.⁷
 - c. In 2009, a total of 1,130,818 aliens were admitted as LPRs, over 66% of which were family-based.⁸
 - C. The creation of a family-based immigration system in 1965 had a dramatic impact on the U.S. population: the Hispanic share of the U.S. population grew dramatically.

¹ See Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 § 203, 8 U.S.C. § 1153 for the general rules on family and employment-based immigration.

² *Id.* § 201(c).

³ *Id.* § 201(b)(2)(A)(i).

⁴ *Id.* § 201(d).

⁵ Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics, *Annual Flow Report: U.S. Legal Permanent Residents: 2011* 1-2 (Apr. 2012), available at http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/lpr_fr_2011.pdf.

⁶ *Id.* at 1.

⁷ *Id.* at 3.

⁸ *Id.* at 3.

1. In 1960, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 9,738,091: 908,309 (or 9%) were from Latin American countries. (By comparison 7,256,311 were from Europe).⁹
2. In 1970, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 9,619,302: 1,803,970 (or 19%) were from Latin American countries.¹⁰
3. In 1980, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 14,079,906: 4,372,487 (or 31%) were from Latin American countries.¹¹
4. In 1990, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 19,767,316: 8,407,837 (or 43%) were from Latin American countries.¹²
5. In 2000, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 31,107,889: 16,086,974 (or 52%) were from Latin American countries.¹³
6. In 2010, the total foreign-born population in the U.S. was 39,955,673: 21,224,087 (or 53%) were from Latin American countries (By comparison 4,817,437 were from Europe).¹⁴
7. Looking at Mexico alone, the Mexican-born population in the U.S. grew from 576,000 to approximately 12.3 million between 1960 and 2010, 21 times the 1960 level.¹⁵ Between 2000 and 2011, roughly half of the Mexican-born population was illegal.¹⁶
8. According to census data, the U.S. Hispanic population grew 43% since 2000. In contrast, all other populations together grew by only about 5%. The nation's population as a whole expanded by 9.7%.¹⁷

D. However, U.S. Census data also show that the foreign-born population is generally less educated, low-skilled, and low-income.

1. **Education.**

- a. Of the foreign-born in the U.S. in 2010:¹⁸
 - i. 28.1% had less than a high-school diploma
 - ii. 26% had only a high school diploma
 - iii. 16.9% had some college education; and
 - iv. 18% had a bachelor's degree.
- b. 29% of illegal alien adults have less than a 9th grade education (compared to 2% of U.S. born adults).¹⁹
- c. 18% of illegal aliens have not completed high school (compared to 6% of U.S. born adults).²⁰
- d. 7% of grade school population consists of children of illegal aliens.²¹

2. **Income.** Of the foreign-born in the U.S. in 2010:²²

- a. The median annual earnings per worker was \$34,021 (\$43,701 for native-born).

⁹ Migration Policy Institute, *Immigrant Population by Country of Birth Residing in the United States, 1960 to 2011*, available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/historicaltrends.cfm>

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ Pew Hispanic Center, *Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero – and Perhaps Less* 42 (Appendix A Table 1) (Apr. 23, 2012).

¹⁶ *Id.* at 44 (Appendix A Table 3), available at <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/PHC-Net-Migration-from-Mexico-Falls-to-Zero.pdf>

¹⁷ Michael Martinez & David Ariosto, *Hispanic Population Exceeds 50 Million, Firmly Nation's No. 2 Group*, *CNN.com*, Mar. 24, 2011.

¹⁸ Steven Camarota, *Immigrants in the United States, 2010: A Profile of America's Foreign-Born Population*, 20, Table 7 (Center for Immigration Studies) (Aug. 2012), available at <http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2012/immigrants-in-the-united-states-2012.pdf>

¹⁹ Jeffrey S. Passel & D'Vera Cohn, *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States* 10 (Pew Hispanic Center)(Apr. 14, 2009), available at <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/107.pdf>.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.* at 9.

²² *Id.* Steven Camarota, *Immigrants in the United States, 2010: A Profile of America's Foreign Born Population at20-22*.

- b. 17.5% were in the bottom 10% of wage earners (8.6% for native-born).
- c. 37.7% were in the bottom 25% of wage earners (22.5% for native-born).
- d. The median household income was \$43,739 (\$50,293 for native-born).
- e. The average household size was 3.14 (2.40 for native-born).
- f. The median income per household member was \$13,930 (\$20,955 for native-born).
- g. The difference in wages and income between foreign-born and native-born is even more striking when one looks only at those who arrived in the U.S. after 2000.

3. Poverty.

- a. Census data, based on an updated, supplemental methodology, show that poverty rate among non-citizens in 2011 was 32%, more than seven percentage points higher than reflected by the official poverty rate.²³
- b. According to this new Census data, Hispanics have a poverty rate of 28%, compared to 25.4% under the official poverty rate.²⁴
- c. The Census Bureau also reports that the poverty rates among other demographics have changed as follows:
 - i. African Americans: 25.7%, compared to 27.8% under the official poverty rate;
 - ii. Asians: 16.9%, compared to 12.3% under the official poverty rate;
 - iii. Whites: 11%, compared to 9.9% under the official poverty rate.²⁵

E. Data also show that the foreign-born tend to be more dependent on, and approve of, government welfare programs.

1. 57% of households with children headed by an immigrant (legal or illegal) used at least one welfare program in 2009, compared to 39% of native households. 71% of households with children headed by illegal aliens used at least one welfare program.²⁶
2. 36% of immigrant-headed households receive welfare, compared to 23% of U.S. born-headed households.²⁷
3. 29% of immigrants and their U.S.-born children are uninsured, compared to 13.8% of U.S. born and their children.²⁸
4. Between 2000 and 2010, new immigrants and their children accounted for 2/3 of the increase in the uninsured population.²⁹
5. 75% of Hispanics say they would rather have a bigger government providing more services; 19% say they would rather have a smaller government with fewer services. By contrast, just 41% of the general U.S. public say they want a bigger government, while nearly half (48%) say they want a smaller government.³⁰
6. Support for a larger government is greatest among immigrant Latinos. More than eight-in-ten (81%) say they would rather have a bigger government with more services than a smaller government with fewer services.³¹

²³Kathleen Short, *The Research Supplemental Poverty Measure: 2011* 6 (U.S. Census Bureau) (Nov. 2012), available at https://www.census.gov/hhes/povmeas/methodology/supplemental/research/Short_ResearchSPM2011.pdf

²⁴*Id.*

²⁵*Id.*

²⁶Steven A. Camarota, *Welfare Use by Immigrant Households with Children: A Look at Cash, Medicaid, Housing, and Food Programs*, 1 Center for Immigration Studies Background (Apr. 2011), available at <http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2011/immigrant-welfare-use-4-11.pdf>

²⁷*Id.* at 2.

²⁸Steven A. Camarota, *Immigrants in the United States: A Profile of America's Foreign Born Population* at 3.

²⁹*Id.*

³⁰Pew Hispanic Center, *When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity* 31 (April 2012), available at <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/PHC-Hispanic-Identity.pdf>.

³¹*Id.*

7. 62% of Hispanics approve of the way President Obama has handled the issue of health care.³²
- F. Poll data also show that Hispanic voters, like other Americans, ranked the economy, health care, and other public policy priorities above immigration during the 2012 election.
1. According to a *USA Today*/Gallup poll released in June 2012, only 12% of registered Hispanic voters stated that immigration policy was the issue most important to them, taking a backseat to "healthcare" (21%), "unemployment" (19%), "economic growth" (17%), and "the gap between the rich and the poor" (16%).³³
 2. In September 2012, *Fox News Latino* released a poll of likely Hispanic voters, of whom only 6% claimed that immigration was the most important issue to them. In that poll, 48% indicated the "economy" was their number one voting issue, followed by "healthcare" (14%), "education" (11%), and "social issues" (8%).³⁴
 3. In October 2012, the Pew Hispanic Center released a poll indicating that 34% of registered Hispanic voters considered immigration to be "an extremely important" issue to them. While this percentage appears greater than the *USA Today*/Gallup and *Fox News Latino* poll findings, immigration still ranked number five, behind the issues of "education" (55%), "jobs and the economy" (54%), "healthcare" (50%), and the "federal budget deficit" (36%).³⁵
 4. According to 2012 exit polls, 60% of Hispanics identified the economy as the most important issue, followed by health care (18%), the federal budget deficit (11%) and foreign policy (6%).³⁶
 5. According to 2012 exit polls, 59% of all voters identified the economy as their top issue.³⁷
 6. According to a November 15, 2012, Gallup Poll, 62% of Americans said it was either very or extremely important for President Obama to stop illegal immigration into the U.S.; while only 37% said it was very or extremely important for President Obama to provide a path to citizenship for illegal aliens living in the U.S.³⁸
 7. In the Pew Research Center's Annual Policy Priorities Survey released January 24, 2013, only 39% said that dealing with the issue of illegal immigration should be a top priority for the president and Congress. That placed it 17th on a list of policy priorities for the coming year.³⁹
- G. Democrats have been more successful in positioning themselves as willing to help poor and low-income Americans.⁴⁰
1. About 75% of voters in 2012 perceived President Obama's policies would be more likely to help the middle class and poor.⁴¹

³² Kacy Capobres, *Latinos Back Obama's Handling of Health Care and His Affordable Care Act, Poll Says*, Fox News Latino, Sept. 18, 2012), available at <http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2012/09/18/economy-is-top-issue-among-latino-voters-fox-news-latino-poll-says/>.

³³ Lydia Saad, *Hispanic Voters Put Other Issues Before Immigration*, Gallup, June 25, 2012, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/155327/hispanic-voters-put-issues-immigration.aspx>.

³⁴ Kacy Capobres, *Latinos Back Obama's Handling of Health Care and His Affordable Care Act, Poll Says*, Fox News Latino, Poll (Sept. 18, 2012).

³⁵ Mark Hugo Lopez and Ana Gonzalez-Barrea, *Latino Voters Support Obama by 3-1 Ratio, But Are Less Certain than Others About Voting*, Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project, Oct. 11, 2012, available at <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/10/11/latino-voters-support-obama-by-3-1-ratio-but-are-less-certain-than-others-about-voting/>.

³⁶ Mark Hugo Lopez and Paul Taylor, *Latino Voters in the 2012 Election*, Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project, Nov. 7, 2012, available at

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/11/07/latino-voters-in-the-2012-election/>.

³⁷ Emily Schultheis, *Exit Polls 2012: How President Obama Won*, Politico, Nov. 7, 2012, at 2, available at <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/1112/83461.html>.

³⁸ Lydia Saad, *Economy, Entitlements, Iran Are Americans' Top Priorities*, Gallup Politics, Nov. 15, 2012, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/158834/economy-entitlements-iran-americans-top-priorities.aspx>.

³⁹ Pew Research Center, *Immigration Rises on Washington's Agenda, Not the Public's*, *Annual Policy Priorities Survey*, Jan. 28, 2012, available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/2013/01/28/immigration-rises-on-washingtons-agenda-not-the-publics/>.

⁴⁰ Fox News, 2012 Fox News Exit Polls 2012 (2012), available at <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/elections/2012-exit-poll>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

2. In contrast, 53% said Romney's policies would favor the rich, and only 34% thought his policies would do more for the middle-class.⁴²
3. Voters also reflected the anti-Wall Street protests and growing concerns about income inequality: 55% said the U.S. economic system favors the wealthy.⁴³
4. 53% felt President Obama was more in touch with people like them than Governor Romney was.⁴⁴
5. In 2012, those who felt the economy was improving (four out of 10 voters) tended to vote for President Obama, while those who felt the economy was worsening (three out of 10 voters) tended to vote for Governor Romney.⁴⁵

H. Poll data show that Hispanic voters, like other Americans, voted in 2012 according to their pocketbooks.

1. According to 2012 exit polls, voters with lower incomes generally voted for President Obama.⁴⁶
 - a. Of voters whose income was under \$30,000, 63% voted for Obama;
 - b. Of voters whose income was \$30,000 to \$49,999, 57% voted for Obama;
 - c. Of voters whose income was \$50,000 to \$99,999, 52% voted for Romney;
 - d. Of voters whose income was \$100,000 to \$199,999, 54% voted for Romney;
 - e. Of voters whose income was \$200,000 to \$249,999, 52% voted for Romney;
 - f. Of voters whose income was \$250,000 or more, 55% voted for Romney.

I. Thus, Hispanics tend to vote for Democrats.

1. In 2012, 71% of Hispanics voted for President Obama.⁴⁷

II. Granting amnesty to illegal aliens will not solve the problem Republicans have had expanding their voting base, but will in fact make it worse.

A. Because Hispanics voted based on jobs and the economy, amnesty will not help Republicans gain Hispanic voters.

1. First, Republicans will never get credit for the passage of amnesty legislation (for better or worse). It will be like Obamacare, which is generally described as the President's signature achievement during his first term.
2. Second, advocating amnesty legislation will not attract more Hispanic voters to Republican candidates because Hispanic voters do not vote based on immigration, they vote their pocketbooks.
3. Both points are borne out by the 1986 amnesty. If amnesty were the key to locking in Hispanic votes, amnesty should have dramatically increased the number of Hispanics who voted for Republicans. However, according to the [Pew Hispanic Center](#) (2012 data),

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

- Republicans lost Hispanic votes after the Republican-controlled Senate passed and President Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.⁴⁸
- a. 1980: Jimmy Carter, 56%; Ronald Reagan, 35% +21;
 - b. 1984: Walter Mondale, 61%; Ronald Reagan, 37% +24;
 - c. 1988: Michael Dukakis, 69%; George H.W. Bush, 30% +39;
 - d. 1992: Bill Clinton, 61%; George H.W. Bush, 25% +36;
 - e. 1996: Bill Clinton, 72%; Bob Dole, 21% +51;
 - f. 2000: Al Gore, 62%; George W. Bush, 35% +27;
 - g. 2004: John Kerry, 58%; George W. Bush, 40% +18;
 - h. 2008: Barack Obama, 67%; John McCain, 31% +36;
 - i. 2012: Barack Obama, 71%; Mitt Romney, 27% +44.
4. Finally, even if Republicans did get some credit for an amnesty bill and Hispanics did vote based on immigration, it would unlikely help enough for Republicans to win elections.
- a. In order to win the popular vote in the 2012 election, making up the difference solely through Hispanic votes (discounting the small fraction voting for “other”), Romney would have had to win an additional 19% of the Hispanic vote, or a total of 48% of the Hispanic vote, to win the popular election. Based on the data from the Pew Hispanic Center, this is eight points above what George W. Bush received in 2004.⁴⁹
 - b. To win swing states in the 2012 election, again making up the difference solely through Hispanic votes (discounting the small fraction voting for “other”), Romney would have had to win large majorities of the Hispanic vote in these states. Looking at a few examples:
 - i. To carry **Virginia**, Romney would have had to win an additional 39% of the Hispanic vote, or 72% of the total Hispanic vote.⁵⁰
 - ii. To carry **Ohio**, Romney would have had to win an additional 30% of the Hispanic vote, or 72% of the total Hispanic vote.⁵¹
 - iii. To carry **Colorado**, Romney would have had to win an additional 19% of the Hispanic vote, or 46% of the total Hispanic vote.⁵²
 - iv. To carry **Nevada**, Romney would have had to win an additional 24% of the Hispanic vote, or 48% of the total Hispanic vote.⁵³
 - v. To carry **Iowa**, Romney would have had to win 145% of the Hispanic vote, meaning every single Hispanic vote plus an additional 45% from other voters.⁵⁴
- B. Amnesty will not only fail to solve Republicans' problem expanding its base, it will make the Party's plight worse.
1. Promoting amnesty will divide the rank and file of Republican Members of Congress.
 2. Promoting amnesty will divide the rank and file of the Republican Party.

⁴⁸ See Pew Hispanic Center, *Latino Voters in the 2012 Election*, 4 (Nov. 2012), available at http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/11/2012_Latino_vote_exit_poll_analysis_final_11-07-12.pdf.

⁴⁹ Calculations based on 2012 exit poll data with the Federal Election Commission's (FEC) official voting results. Compare [CNN](#) Exit Poll 2012 (2012) (Nation) with Federal Election Commission, *Official 2012 Presidential General Election Results* 3 (Jan. 17, 2013), available at <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2012/2012presgereresults.pdf>.

⁵⁰ Calculations based on 2012 exit poll data with the Federal Election Commission's (FEC) official voting results. Compare [CNN](#) Exit Poll 2012 (2012) (Virginia) with Federal Election Commission, *Official 2012 Presidential General Election Results* 3 (Jan. 17, 2013), available at <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2012/2012presgereresults.pdf>.

⁵¹ Compare CNN Exit Poll ([Ohio](#)) with FEC, *supra* note 50, at 3.

⁵² Compare CNN Exit Poll ([Colorado](#)) with FEC, *supra* note 50, at 3.

⁵³ Compare CNN Exit Poll ([Nevada](#)) with FEC, *supra* note 50, at 3.

⁵⁴ Compare CNN Exit Poll ([Iowa](#)) with FEC, *supra* note 50, at 3.

3. Promoting amnesty will lose support of independents, who generally oppose mass amnesty.
 - a. Of voters NBC News/Esquire identified in a poll as “center” voters, 54% opposed “providing illegal aliens with a path to citizenship even though they have broken the rules,” while only 32% supported the proposition. Furthermore, center voters are three times as likely to strongly oppose amnesty as to strongly support it, with 38% indicating strong opposition and only 12% indicating strong support.⁵⁵
4. Adopting amnesty legislation will convert less-educated, low-skilled, and low-income illegal aliens to voters who tend to vote Democratic:
 - a. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, 31% of illegal aliens surveyed identified themselves as Democrats; 4% as Republicans. In addition, 23% of illegal aliens lean toward the Democratic Party while 15% lean toward the Republican Party.⁵⁶
 - b. According to a Gallup poll in February 2013, 51% of U.S. Hispanic adults are Democrats or lean Democratic, compared with 45% of all U.S. adults. Meanwhile, 24% of U.S. Hispanic adults are Republican or lean Republican, compared with 41% of all U.S. adults.⁵⁷
 - c. Latinos are more likely than the general public to describe their views as liberal. Overall, 30% of Latino adults say this, while just 21% of all U.S. adults say the same. However, Hispanics are no more or less likely than the general public to describe their political views as conservative. Some 32% of Hispanics and 34% of all U.S. adults say their political views are “very conservative” or “conservative.”⁵⁸
5. It will force an increase in federal spending for benefits such as Obamacare, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and other welfare programs.
 - a. 59% of illegal alien adults are uninsured (twice the percentage of legal immigrants; four times the percentage of U.S.-born).⁵⁹
 - b. 45% of illegal alien children are uninsured.⁶⁰
 - c. 25% of U.S.-born children whose parents are illegal aliens are uninsured. Illegal aliens and their children account for 1/6 of the uninsured population (up from 1/7 in 2003).⁶¹
 - d. Of the 47 million uninsured, 27% are foreign born, 22% are non-citizens.⁶²
 - e. Illegal aliens and their children account for 17% of the uninsured population.⁶³
 - f. Immigrants and their U.S. born children accounted for 71% of the increase in uninsured from 1989-2006.⁶⁴
 - g. The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that an amnesty would add 7.6 million illegal aliens to the public healthcare rolls under Obamacare.⁶⁵

⁵⁵ Esquire, *Thirteen Things that Define the New American Center*, Oct. 15, 2013, available at <http://www.esquire.com/blogs/politics/new-american-center-1113>. Data from an Esquire/NBC News August 2013 poll, available at <http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/MSNBC/Sections/NEWS/NBCesquireSurvey.pdf>

⁵⁶ Eileen Patten and Mark Hugo Lopez, *Are unauthorized immigrants overwhelmingly Democrats?*, Pew Research Center, Jul. 22, 2013, available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/07/22/are-unauthorized-immigrants-overwhelmingly-democrats/>.

⁵⁷ Andrew Dugin, *Democrats Enjoy 2-1 Advantage Over GOP Among Hispanics*, Gallup, Feb. 25, 2013, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/160706/democrats-enjoy-advantage-gop-among-hispanics.aspx>.

⁵⁸ Pew Hispanic Center, *When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity*, supra note 30, at 30.

⁵⁹ Passel & Cohn, supra note 19, at 18.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.* at 18-19.

⁶² Calculations based on data from the Census Bureau, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006* (Aug. 2007), available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2007pubs/p60-233.pdf>; see also Department of Homeland Security, Fact Sheet: The Foreign-born Component of the Uninsured Population (Feb. 2009), available at http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/uninsured_fs_2007.pdf.

⁶³ Passel & Cohn, supra note 19, at 19.

⁶⁴ Steven A. Camarota, *Immigrants in the United States, 2007: A Profile of America's Foreign-Born Population*, Center for Immigration Studies Background 1 (Nov. 2007), available at <http://www.cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/articles/2007/back1007.pdf>.

- h. A growing number of families with illegal alien members receive Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program assistance.⁶⁶
 6. It will dramatically increase spending by state and local governments.
 7. Through chain migration, it will result in more immigration of less-educated, low-skilled, and low-income aliens.
 8. Amnesty will do nothing to secure the border, improve national security or end illegal immigration. We learned this from the 1986 amnesty when roughly 3 million illegal aliens received amnesty. Now the illegal alien population is roughly four times as large. And while the 1986 amnesty bill included new sanctions on employers, those promises of enforcement were empty—yet the amnesty occurred anyway.
 9. What passing an amnesty will do, however, is encourage more illegal immigration and begin another cycle through which millions of less-educated, low-skilled, and low-income aliens come to the U.S. and then demand citizenship.
- C. To truly address their immigration problem, Republicans must:
1. Recognize that Republicans do not have a Hispanic problem, as many call it, they have an immigration problem. A huge swath of the immigration flow is less educated, low-skilled, and low-income and vote based on their pocketbooks.
 2. Understand that the current trends are generated by the perpetuation of an Industrial Revolution model of importing low-skilled workers into a 21st century economy, and this is slowing economic assimilation.
 3. Develop a message that convinces Hispanics that Republicans will help them move up the economic ladder. This includes convincing Hispanic Americans that reducing unskilled immigration will help minorities move up the economic ladder by reducing unfair competition for jobs and downward pressure on wages.
 4. Shift U.S. immigration policy to a skills-based model. This will convert our immigrant population from one that tends to affiliate with the Democratic Party, to one that – over time – is more receptive to core Republican messages of smaller government and reduced spending.

⁶⁵ *CBO's Analysis of the Major Health Care Legislation Enacted in March 2010 Before the Subcomm. on Health of the H. Comm. on Energy & Commerce*, 112th Cong. (2011) 1 (statement of Douglas W. Elmendorf, Director, Congressional Budget Office), available at http://democrats.energycommerce.house.gov/sites/default/files/image_uploads/Testimony-%20Doug%20Elmendorf%203-30-11.pdf.

⁶⁶ Timothy Pratt, *More Welfare Going to Parents Here Illegally*, LasVegasSun.com, Oct. 27, 2009, available at <http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/2009/oct/27/more-welfare-going-parents-here-illegally/>; see also *Government Accountability Office*, TANF and Child Welfare Programs (Oct. 2011), available at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d122.pdf>.