

SUNY College Cortland

Digital Commons @ Cortland

Transformations: Research Papers

Transformations

4-2023

Treated like Aliens: An analysis of Refugee Admissions into the United States by Preferences

Nicadamus Atkins

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.cortland.edu/programs>



Part of the Economics Commons

Treated like Aliens:

An analysis of Refugee Admissions into the United States by Preferences

by

Nicadamus Atkins

Undergraduate in Economics at The State University of New York Cortland

Staff Mentors:

Dr. Jessica Carrick-Hagenbarth and Dr. Kathleen Burke

Abstract

From the Refugee Act of 1980 to the present, the President has had the power to create a refugee ceiling, capping the admittance of refugees into the United States. The differential impact that Republican control of the legislative and/or the executive branches has on the admission of refugees into the United States is explored in this paper. Focusing on the refugee system, I examine Presidential political parties along with those of the House of Representatives over the course of 1986 to 2019 to determine if there is a correlation between party ideologies and refugee admission caps. Analyzing data from the United States House of Representatives, the Department of Homeland Security Immigration reports, the Office of Refugee Resettlement, and the Migration Policy Institute from the years 1986 to 2019, allows multivariate regression analysis of sex, region of origin, and political party of political elites to be examined to see if these factors play a significant role in the refugee admission process. My research shows that individualized factors play a role, along with political party and the region of origin play significant roles in determining refugee admittance. Most of the literature regarding refugees is embedded in immigration research. Refugee literature suffers from the challenges of disaggregating the data from standard immigration statistics and is limited in scope due to the nature of the topic. Data is pulled from immigration research in addition to what data does exist for refugee admission in the United States. Miller, Holmes, and Keith (2020) that presidential preferences affect refugee admissions and contribute to their findings by examining individual factors of those admitted, rather than the more politicized factors.

Introduction

Refugee admittance into the United States is at an all-time low. For example, in 1986 the United States admitted 62,146 refugees with a ceiling of 67,000 only unable to meet the ceiling by -7 percent (MPI, 2023). In 2003 the United States admitted 28,403 refugees with a ceiling of 70,000, not making the ceiling by -61 percent. During 2019 we admitted exactly 30,000 refugees meeting the refugee ceiling of 30,000 (MPI, 2023). To identify why, as a country, we have moved away from being open to the introduction of those seeking protection from harmful circumstances to a country closing its borders aggressively we must look at a multitude of individual preference factors. These factors range from the sex of admitted refugees to the region of origin, and how they translate into decisions on refugee admittance in addition to political preferences (Miller et al., 2020).

For this paper, political elites shall be defined as those in control of either congress, the house, or the executive branch. Further, the definition of a refugee is taken from the 1976 Immigration and Nationality Act section 101(a)(42), updated in 2022, which states:

“The term "refugee" means (A) any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion...” (Congress, 2022).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Reviewed literature is examined for predicted estimators of our variables and their signs. Proceeding the theoretical model developed is explored and the variables discussed in depth. My estimated results are presented and

discussed in subsequent sections. I conclude the paper with a discussion of the application of my model and its contribution to refugee admittance research.

Literature Review

I analyzed data from 1986 to 2019 on refugee admissions compared against refugee ceilings along with the immigrant sex distributions from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) along with arrivals by seven regions as classified by the Office of Refugee Resettlement. Analyzing the data, we seek to examine how conservative preferences impact the admittance of refugees. In shaping the argument, understanding the legal formation of both policies that the United States employees and how preferences have been formed and measured are essential.

Legal Status

The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1976 codified refugees' legal definitions and formalized a set of admission criteria (Congress, 2022). This piece of legislation changed the course of United States immigration and refugee admittance. Lifting the immigration caps, this act led to an increased flow of immigrants to the United States from inception to now (Muzaffar et al., 2017). As a desirable country to relocate to, the United States saw its immigrant population rise from 9.6 million in 1965 to 45 million in 2015 (Muzaffar et al., 2017). This large-scale growth is an indicator of the change in immigrant flows to the United States.

To fully understand refugees, we must look at the creation of the Refugee Act of 1980. The act further defined refugees, from the 2022 updated version of the 1976 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), and the rules and requirements for admission and resettlement in the United States (Congress, 2022). The president was given the codified power to set an annual

ceiling for refugee admission with extensive research and approval by Congress (Klobucista et al., 2023). From this act, we can begin to see presidential preferences become more traceable and apparent, than the previous system of admission, which relied on ad hoc executive orders and an unregulated parole system. The refugee system beforehand the Refugee Act of 1980 operated on an ad hoc basis, with the president admitting individuals with no oversight from the legislative branch as to which populations they considered at risk. After the 1980 Refugee Act, an annual ceiling for refugees had to be submitted to Congress and creation of instruments such as; special immigrant visas (SIV), parole, and general refugee admissions (Klobucista et al., 2023, Miller et al., 2020) were used in place of ad hoc admissions by the President. This act continues to shape how refugees are admitted and processed by the United States, serves as the basis for researching refugee admittance, and the historical trend of preferences in relation to refugees.

During the Trump presidency from 2016 to 2020, refugee policy was implemented through executive orders which are not subject to Congressional approval, though can be challenged in court. President Trump utilized metering in his refugee policy. Metering limits the processing of applications for those seeking asylum or refugee status by meeting them before they enter American territory (usually by stopping them in Mexico or before traveling to the United States) and informing them of their inability to be processed at this time (CRS, 2022, Pierce, 2018). This policy to limit the admittance of refugees is an example of republican political preferences in relation to refugee policy. This was the first time a policy like this had been enacted in the United States (CRS, 2022, Pierce, 2018).

Political Trends & Preferences

In addition to legislation, the trend of the leading political elites at the time influences refugee admittance through a variety of factors. Previous research indicates that political elites shape their preferences regarding refugee admittance by what they seek to convey to the world. Miller, Holmes, and Keith (2020) found that conservatives allow fewer refugees typically for reasons related to embarrassing geopolitical opponents. Further, they found that Democrats were found to admit refugees based more on humanitarian concerns. This information was shaped by a number of studies in immigration literature that sought to explain individual preferences towards admission for immigrants via economic factors such as; markets immigrants would enter (Facchini & Mayda, 2009, Cortes, 2004), sex, family size (Burns & Gimpel, 2000, Milner & Tingley, 2011), sponsor for visas by a citizen (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015, Facchini et al., 2008), and if they had been to the United States legally before (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015). The observation from a larger world perspective is important to understanding preference for admission on a larger worldview scale. However, Facchini and Mayda's (2009) study does not look at more localized preferences when it comes to United States refugee admission.

By considering factors such as sex, region of admission, and preferences, refugee admission can be more closely compared to immigrant admission. Many studies cover immigrants explicitly (Burns & Gimpel, 2000, Cortes, 2004, Facchini & Mayda, 2009, Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015, Milner & Tingley, 2011) or migrants in general (Facchini et al., 2008). By focusing on refugees exclusively, many factors can be disregarded for the sake of explaining political trends. For example, refugees do not have to meet as many criteria to enter the country whereas, for immigrants to legally enter the United States, immigrants must present documentation, which is recorded, proving age, identity, education, etc. The burden

for refugees is in proving proof that they are in danger in their home region, and most must seek refugee admission in order to protect themselves.

The studies of Burns & Gimpel (2000), Cortes (2004), Facchini & Mayda (2009), Hainmueller & Hopkins (2015), and Milner & Tingley (2011) explore the way in which education levels, age, sex, family size, previous visitation, market factors, the skill level of potential immigrants. The impacts of their studies, however, demonstrate the way in which American citizens view immigrants, and therefore refugees, and form their opinions on admission to the United States. Sex of admitted immigrants was found to have a positive correlation with admittance when the. Low-skilled laborers saw highly educated immigrants as positive and low-skilled immigrants as negative, whereas high-skilled laborers felt the opposite (Burns & Gimpel, 2000, Cortes, 2004). Market factors, such as unemployment level, tax rates, etc., were shown to see an increase in immigration if conditions were favorable to low-skilled labor and a decrease if market factors were more favorable toward high-skilled labor (Facchini & Mayda, 2009). Since individual considerations are an important factor for immigrant admissions, as individual preferences relate to the preferences of the political elites. Individual preferences should provide a positive impact on refugee admission when Democrats are in control of the legislative branch and/or the presidency. When Republicans are in control, individual preferences should provide a negative impact on refugee admission. The dependent variable is the percent of refugees admitted by year. The model is expected to see a negative correlation between refugees admitted with republican control of the Presidency and a positive correlation between refugees admitted with democratic control of the Presidency. Supporting this hypothesis is the study done by Miller, B., Holmes, J. S., & Keith, L. C. (2020) looking at factors such as political alliances, physical repression, economic

sanctions, military alliances, and repression scores of countries' refuge is sought from. Due to the nature of refugee classification as immigrants after admittance, there is an amount of error present in this study.

Miller, B., Holmes, J. S., & Keith, L. C. (2020) create a model showing the preferences of conservative presidents and liberal presidents by assigning values based on the party of the President, geopolitical events, economic sanctions, and using Poole and Rosenthal's (1985) spatial model for legislative roll call. It is expected to see a small decrease in admitted refugees for more Republican presidents and small increases in admitted refugees for Democratic presidents. The data for control of the Presidency and Congress is provided by The House of Representatives.

The Department of Refugee Resettlement's Annual Report to Congress provides information on the sex and region of origin of refugees. Facchini & Mayda (2009) provide an analysis of these factors and how they relate to an individual preference towards immigrants. Since immigrants include refugees due to how the government codifies foreign-born populations after entry from the region of origin. I would expect sex to positively affect the model, while the region of origin to be negatively depending on geopolitical events of the time, such as the Cold War or 9/11. Due to the inability to disaggregate immigrant sex statistics from refugee admittance, the data used is for overall immigrants' sex by year.

The Migration Policy Institute provides the annual refugee ceiling imposed by the President in consultation with Congress. This data allows for a comparison of how democratic Presidents and republican Presidents view the number of refugees that should be allowed into the country. I would expect this variable to be positive when a democratic president and congress are in power and negative when a republican president and congress are in power.

This expectation is supported by Miller, B., Holmes, J. S., & Keith, L. C. (2020). My contribution to the literature is looking at the magnitude of this effect.

Refugees after admittance are counted as immigrants, implying factors that impact immigrants should be important to refugees. Republican control of the legislative branch and/or the presidency should lead to an increase in the admittance of high-skill immigrants and a decrease in the amount of low-skilled immigrants (Cortes, 2004, Burns & Gimpel, 2000).

Since I am unable to disaggregate labor statistics for immigrants from refugees, the admission requirements for immigrants versus refugees, family size of refugees, and the sex of refugees introduce a level of error into the study. Refugee admissions are not based on potential labor contributions, education, family size, previous travel to the United States, or citizen sponsorship, so these factors are unimportant to an analysis of refugee admissions.

Refugees, upon admission to the United States, become part of the Immigrant statistics. Since the sex of refugees is not disaggregated from admitted immigrants and admitted refugees but is combined, an amount of error will be present in this variable. Sex is the only variable in the model, using immigrant statistics and not those of refugees. For the purposes of this study, I only need to consider the refugee definition presented at the beginning of this paper and the various criteria for their admittance. The INA and Refugee Act of 1980 gives the fundamental legal framework to begin looking at empirical evidence and model creation.

Theoretical Model

To test the criteria for admission for refugees into the United States a number of factors will be explored. Refugee admittance is a function of political factors, including the controlling party of the legislative and executive branches, the principal region of origin for refugees in the prior year, the level of the refugee ceiling in the year, and the gender of the

admitted individual. The following model is used to test for the effect of these variables. The model uses time series data to look at refugee admission in the current year as a function of political factors, the percentage of male immigrants, and the region of origin for refugees from the previous year. These variables are defined below.

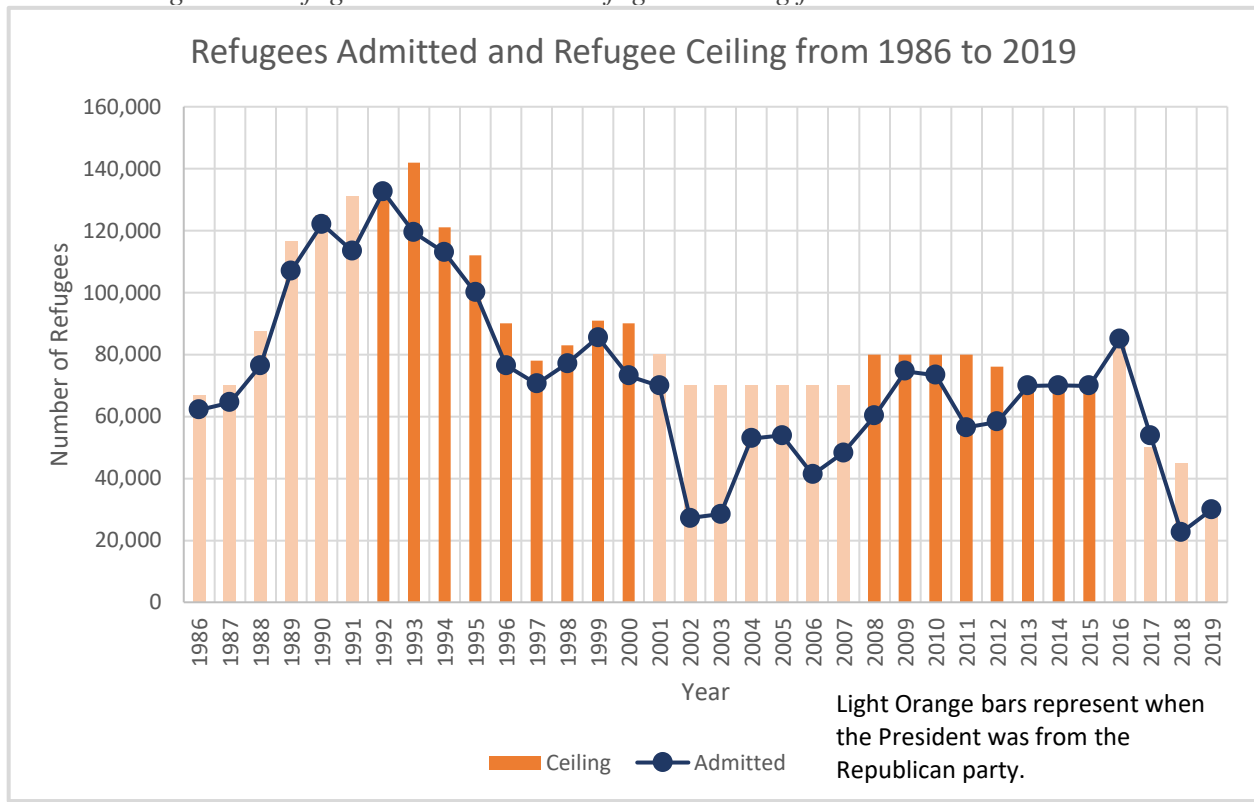
Political factors are represented by the percentage of republican control of the House of Representatives and the political party of the president. I expect to find a decrease in refugee admittance due to republican control of the legislative and/or presidency. This will be time-lagged by one year. Percent of male immigrants to show the effects of sex, time-lagged by one year. I expect that this variable will see a small percentage increase during Republican-controlled legislative and executive branches due to trends in Republican ideology (Miller et al., 2020). This data is used due to my inability to disaggregate sex statistics from admitted refugee numbers. The refugee ceiling, as an indicator of legislative caps, is set in accordance with the Refugee Act of 1980 and will be used as a control variable. This variable is not time-lagged, as it is set at the beginning of the year that refugee admittance is measured. Region of origin of refugees from the previous year, as an indicator of the effect of where refugees are admitted from. I expect that this sign will be positive for countries with close relationships with the United States during Republican control and negative for countries with poor relationships with the United States during Republican control.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Refugee Admittance}_t = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{percentrepctrl}_{(t-1)} + \beta_5 \text{reppres}_{(t-1)} + \beta_2 \text{male percent}_{(t-1)} + \beta_3 \\ & \text{refceiling}_t + \beta_4 \text{percentafrica}_{(t-1)} + \beta_6 \text{percentasia}_{(t-1)} + \beta_7 \text{percenteurocasia}_{(t-1)} + \beta_8 \\ & \text{percentlatinamcarr}_{(t-1)} + \beta_9 \text{percentneareastsasia}_{(t-1)} + u \end{aligned}$$

Data and Descriptive Statistics

Looking at the percentage of refugees admitted from 1986 to 2019, I begin by looking at the admission records from the Migration Policy Institute. When compared to recorded presidential refugee ceilings we see a more frequent reduction in admissions while Republicans are in control of the House of Representatives and/or the Presidency. This is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Refugees Admitted and Refugees Ceiling from 1986-2019¹



¹Figure created by the author using data from the Migration Policy Institute.

I use refugees admitted by year as the dependent variable. Figure 1 clearly shows that of the three Republican presidential terms, the amount of refugees admitted declines in relation to the set presidential ceiling. The number of refugees admitted is a matter of political inclination, legal limitations, and various exploratory factors that relate more on an individual level as immigration admissions tend to see. The number of refugees by region of origin is seen to be concentrated in Asian locales, Europe, and Africa. According to DHS yearbook reports, Latin

American & Caribbean refugees see from a mean point of view less admission as refugees. The variables that contribute to refugee admissions are reported in Table 1.

Table 1: Variable description and summary statistics for refugee admissions

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Mean & Standard Deviations</i>
Refugee Admit	1986-2019 percent total refugees admitted.	-0.155477 (0.1687246)
Republican House Control	1986-2019 Percent of House of Representatives that are Republican.	0.4850525 (0.64713)
Republican President	Representing the time that the President is Republican. One if Republican. Zero if Democrat.	0.5882353 (0.4995542)
Africa	Percentage of refugees admitted from Africa from 1986 to 2019.	0.201341 (0.1634486)
East Asia	Percentage of refugees admitted from East Asia from 1986 to 2019.	0.2693842 (0.160375)
Latin America & Caribbean	Percentage of refugees admitted from Latin America & Caribbean from 1986 to 2019.	0.440039 (0.0256882)
Europe & Central Asia	Percentage of refugees admitted from Europe & Central Asia from 1986 to 2019.	0.2876411 (0.2256734)

Near East & South Asia	Percentage of refugees admitted from Near East & South Asia from 1986 to 2019.	0.1955813 (0.1741684)
Male	1986-2019 total percent of male immigrants admitted ¹ .	0.4713813 (0.0403549)

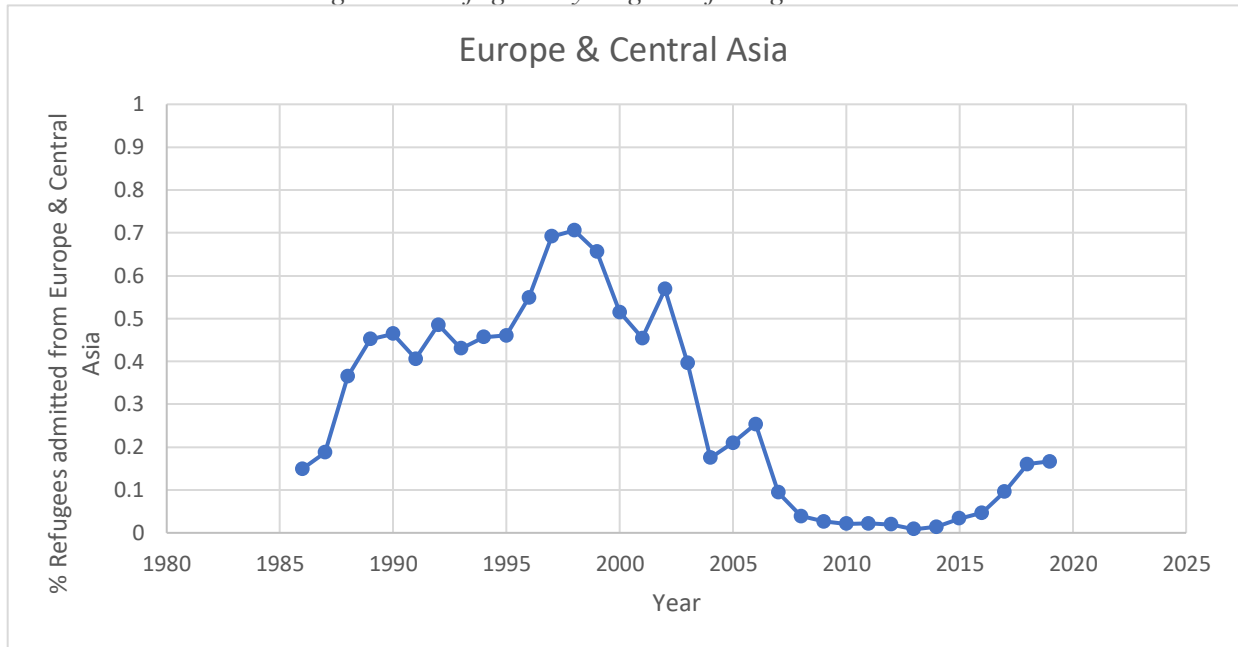
Source: DHS Yearbook Statistics, Office of Refugee Resettlement, and the Migration Policy Institute for refugee admissions, refugee ceilings, regions of origins, and sex of admitted.

Standard Deviation in parentheses.

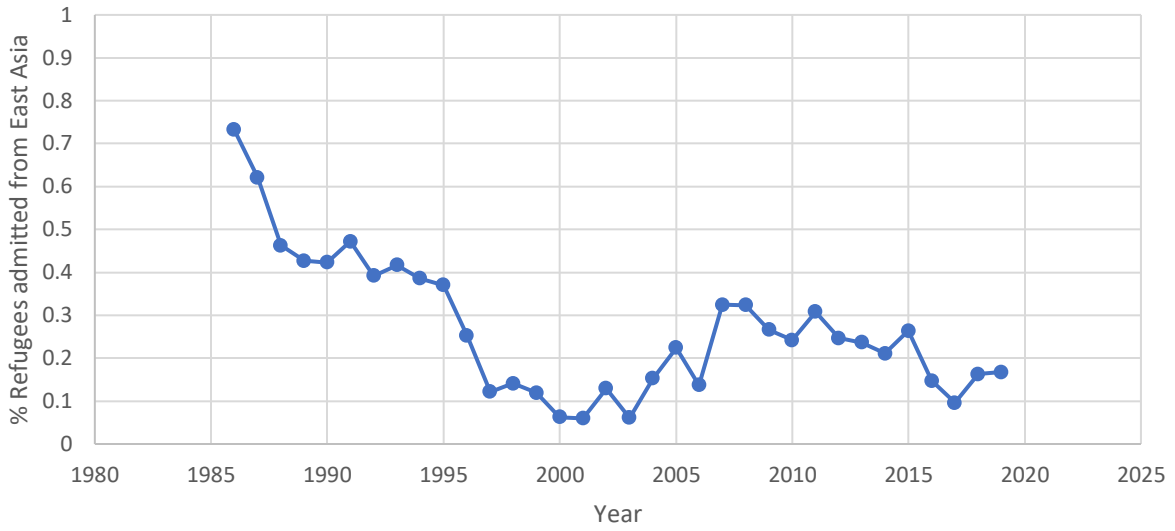
¹ Number is from DHS records of immigrants admitted, as upon acceptance as a refugee, individuals are then counted in the immigrant statistics.

Based on mean values of admission from various regions of origin, there is considerable evidence by year, that regional preferences exist for admission, though in some cases this may also relate to refugee crises in these regions as well. as shown in Figure 2.

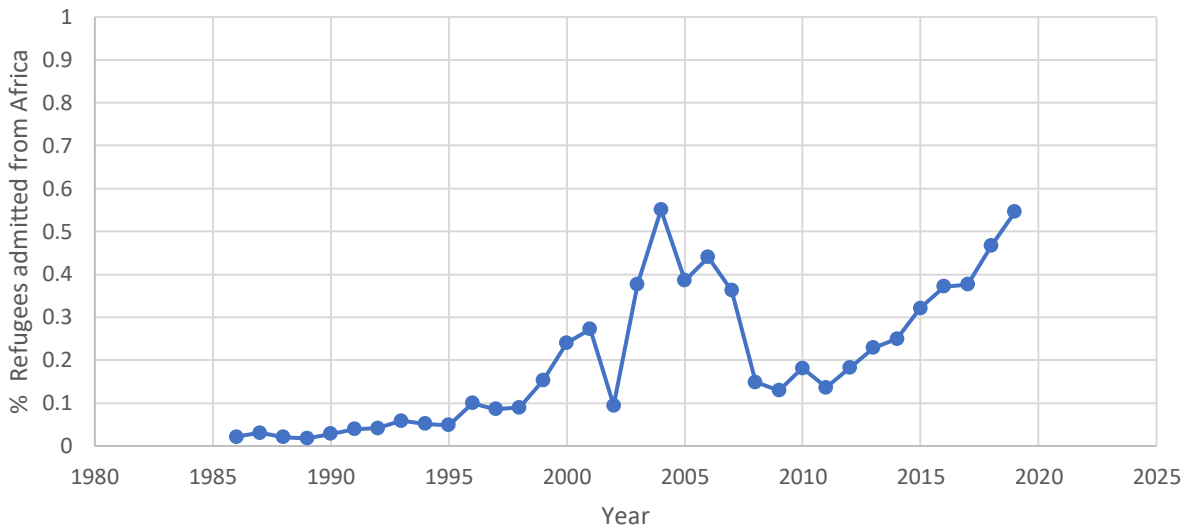
Figure 2: Refugees by Region of Origin¹ over time

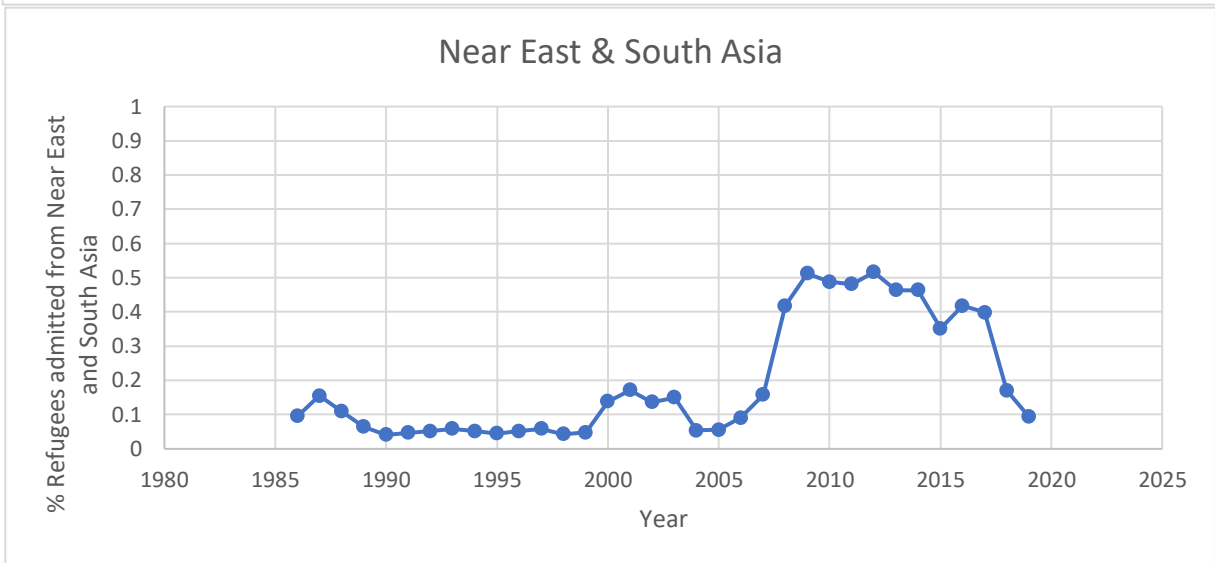
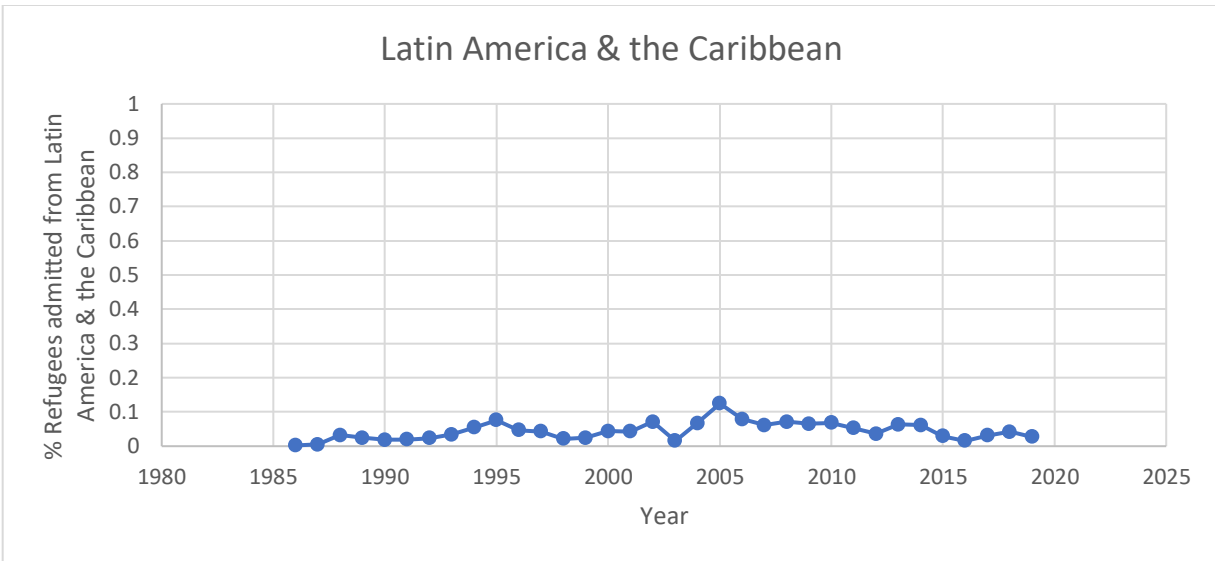


East Asia



Africa





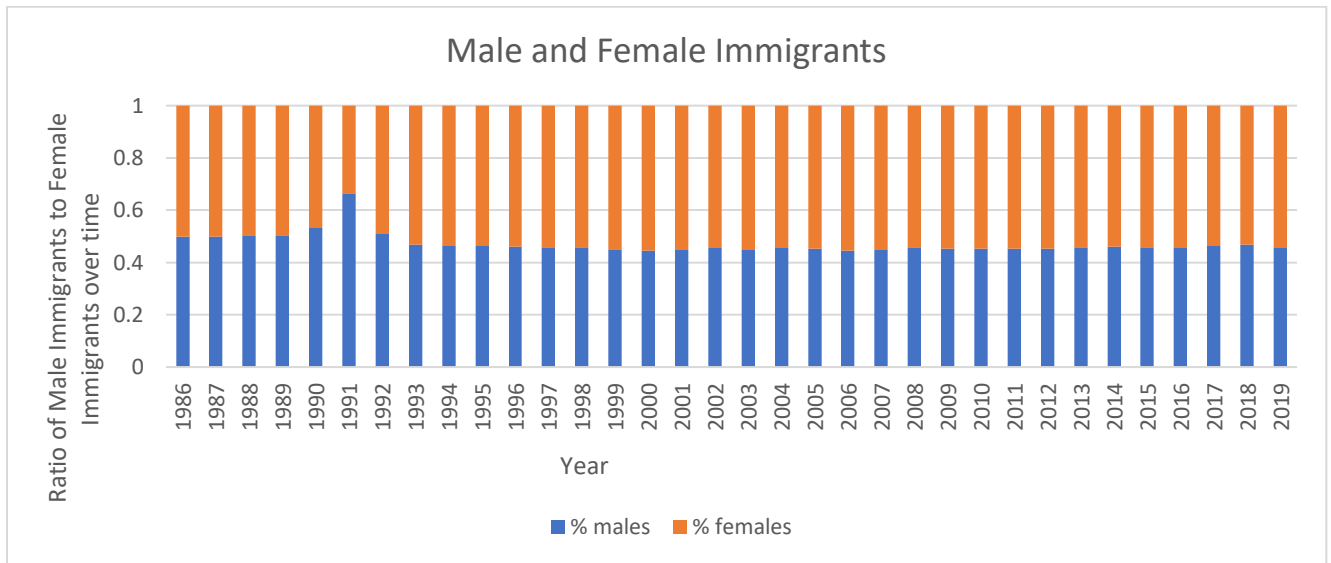
¹Chart made by the author with data from the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

The data clearly showed that Latin American and Caribbean refugees remained low with minor increases in 1995, 2005, and 2013-14. European and Central Asia refugees remain high from 1986 until 1999 when they begin to substantially fall. Africa, the Near East, and South Asia see the largest increase in admittance from 2002 onwards. Africa saw an increasing percentage of refugee admissions from 9 percent in 2002 to 38 percent in 2003 and 55 percent in 2004. The graphs show an interesting observation, from 1986 until 1997 East Asia, Europe, and Central Asia were the predominant refugee regions of origin, regardless of the political party in control of the Presidency and or House of Representatives. Another key observation, as this time series sample data is pre-Covid-19 world

pandemic, is that upon Donald Trump becoming President we see an extremely sharp decrease in all regions admitting refugees, with a small bump in refugee admissions for Africa in 2019, increasing from 47 percent in 2018 to 55 percent in 2019.

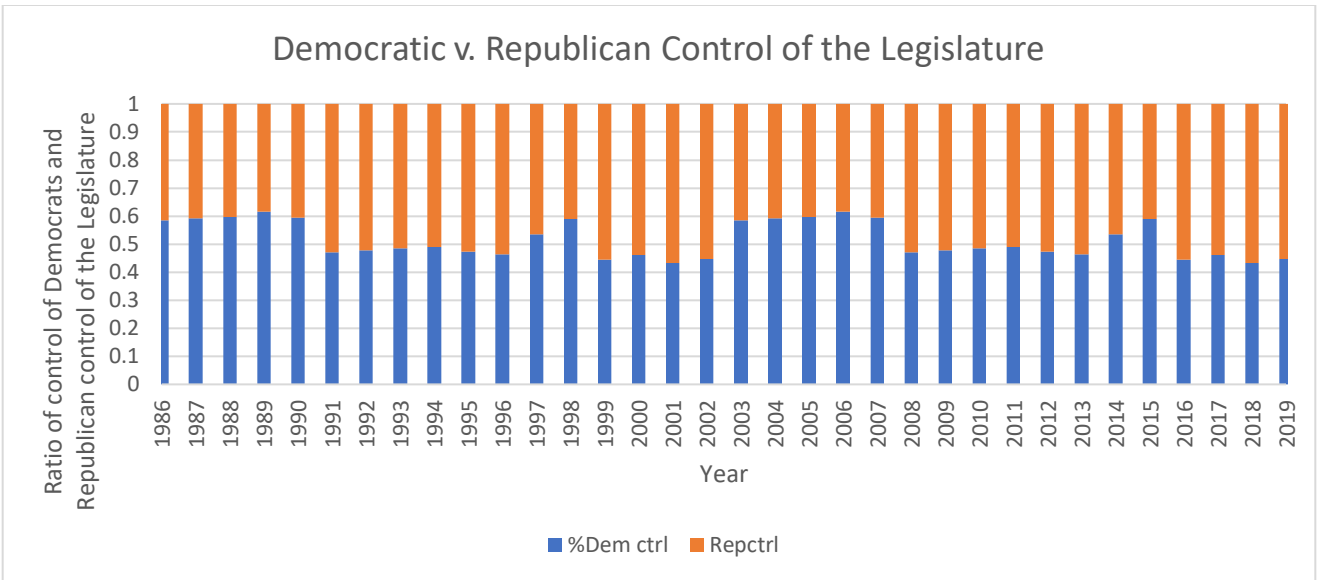
While looking at the percentage of male immigrants admitted from 1986 to 2019 based on DHS yearbook data, we only see a large fluctuation in male admissions in 1991, where the number admitted is significantly higher than any other year. This is shown in Figure 2. Women are seen to be admitted at a slightly higher rate normally, with few outliers (1990 and 1991).

Figure 3: Percent of Immigrant Admissions by Sex'



'Figure created by the author using data from the DHS yearbook.

Figure 4: Percentage Republican Control Legislative Branch'



'Figure created by author using Historical House of Representative roll call data

Over the course of the time period observed Republicans are found to be in control of the House of Representatives for twenty years of the thirty-four observed. During the years Republicans were in control we saw an approximately equal number of female and male admissions for immigrants. From 1986 to 1991, Republican presidents admitted, on average, -8.91 percent under the refugee ceiling. Small outliers occurred during 1988, at -12.59 percent, and during 1991, at -13.44 percent (authors calculations, MPI, 2023). 2001 to 2007 saw the largest failure to meet the refugee ceiling, averaging -36.15 percent (authors calculations, MPI, 2023). The events of September 11, 2001 might contribute to this average. For example in 2002 the refugee ceiling was set at 70,000, yet we only admitted 27,131 refugees. This was -61.24 percent under the refugee ceiling (MPI, 2023).

Results

Running the initial regression I found the results shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Regression Results before corrections for Specification errors

Refugees Admitted	Coefficients	Standard Errors	t-values
Republican Control of the Legislature	.492058	.5433236	0.91
Africa	-12.57111	8.31331	-1.51
East Asia	-12.47436	8.333824	-1.50
Latin America & Caribbean	-14.63056	8.483877	-1.72
Europe & Central Asia	-12.88697	8.424966	-1.53
Near East & South Asia	-12.81776	8.441536	-1.52
Republican President	-.1547946	.0736808	-2.10
Males	-.656541	1.251466	-0.52
Observations (n)	34	-	-
Adjusted R- squared	0.1097	-	-
F-Value	1.51	-	-

Table 3: Correlation Matrix

	Year	Republican Control of the House	Refugee Admitted	Africa	East Asia	Europe & Central Asia	Latin America & Caribbean	Near East & South Asia	Males	Republican President
Year	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Republican Control of the House	0.3539	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refugee Admitted	-0.0899	0.0613	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Africa	0.7447	0.0200	-0.2563	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
East Asia	-0.6216	-0.3245	0.2689	-0.6229	1	-	-	-	-	-
Europe & Central Asia	-0.6433	-0.0045	-0.0749	-0.4261	-0.1053	1	-	-	-	-
Latin America & Caribbean	0.3188	0.0265	-0.2969	0.2789	-0.3034	-0.2061	1	-	-	-
Near East & South Asia	0.6770	0.2914	0.1262	0.1605	-0.1687	-0.7772	0.1477	1	-	-
Males	-0.5078	-0.0865	0.1919	-0.4409	0.5669	0.1708	-0.3930	-0.2959	1	-
Republican President	-0.1279	-0.1988	-0.2820	0.2984	0.0719	-0.0178	-0.1405	-0.3117	0.2790	1

In Table 2 I saw that the t-value for Republican control of the Legislature was insignificant. Due to the low t-value and statistical insignificance there was suspected model specification error. To correct for this error Republican control of the House was dropped from the model to see the effects on the t-values of the remaining variables. The significance level rose upon removal of Republican control of the Legislature. Reference category was the Near East and South Asia which are comprised of Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia.

Table 4: Regression to correct for Autocorrelation and Multicollinearity

Refugees Admitted	Coefficients	Standard Errors	t-values
-------------------	--------------	-----------------	----------

Africa	.42754	.2979702	1.43
East Asia	.4227662	.2481574	1.70
Latin America & Caribbean	-2.435686	.9720842	-2.51
Europe & Central Asia	-.049192	.1300737	-0.38
Males	1.216006	.7556795	1.61
Republican President	-.2170815	.0558914	-3.88
Observations (n)	33	-	-
Adjusted R-squared	0.4697	-	-
F-Value	5.72	-	-

Table 5: Correlation Matrix correcting for Autocorrelation and Multicollinearity

	Refugees Admitted	Africa	East Asia	Europe & Central Asia	Latin America & Caribbean	Males	Republican President
Refugees Admitted	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Africa	-0.2526	1	-	-	-	-	-
East Asia	0.3667	-0.6301	1	-	-	-	-
Europe & Central Asia	0.1398	-0.4230	-0.1172	1	-	-	-
Latin America & Caribbean	-0.3722	0.3498	-0.3208	-0.2197	1	-	-
Males	0.2819	-0.4479	0.5640	0.1653	-0.4050	1	-
Republican President	-0.3130	0.2659	0.0897	-0.0040	-0.1257	0.2931	1

Using the Durbin-Watson Model I time lagged my variables by 1 year to account for the effects refugee admissions from the previous would have on the percent of refugee admitted the following year. I was able to remove autocorrelation by running the Durbin-Watson model for seven times for the results in Table 4.

Admissions of refugees from Africa, time lagged by one year, showed that for every one percent increase in refugees admitted from Africa the ceiling would increase by 0.43 percent for the next year. For every one percent of refugees admitted from East Asia, comprised of: China, Hong Kong, Japan, Macau, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, and Taiwan, leads to a 0.42 percent increase in the refugees admitted for the following year. Latin America and the Caribbean refugee admissions, when raised by one percent, leads to a decrease in the percent of refugees admitted by 2.44 percent the following year. Europe and Central Asia refugee admissions show that for every one percent increase in refugees from this region the refugees admitted the following year decreases by 0.05 percent. The percent of male immigrants admitted to the United States shows that for every one percent increase in male immigrants admitted the refugees admitted the following year increases by 1.22 percent. When a Republican president is in office, for every one percent increase in refugees admitted, the following year will see a decrease in refugees admitted by 0.22 percent.

Conclusion

The significance of region of origin for refugee admission outweighs the effect the Republican president has on refugee admissions. Refugees are however significantly influenced by if the president is Republican, which as the literature highlights, is expected. Males added to the following years admissions of refugees, and I expect that immigration requirements do factor

into how refugees are admitted under the political trends of the party of the President and/or Legislature, I am not capable of further distinguishing between refugees and immigrants for factors that normally are only applied to refugees currently due to data limitations and my inability to disaggregate.

References

1. Ball, M. C., Faye Hipsman Muzaffar Chishti, Faye Hipsman, and Isabel. (2015, October 15). Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States. Migrationpolicy.Org. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states>
2. Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G. (2000). Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, 115(2), 201–225. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657900>
3. Congress, 8 USC 1101: Definitions - house usacode.house.gov (2022), <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-section1101&num=0&edition=prelim> (last visited Mar 1, 2023).
4. Cortes, K. E. (2004). Are Refugees Different from Economic Immigrants? Some Empirical Evidence on the Heterogeneity of Immigrant Groups in the United States. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86(2), 465–480.
5. CRS. (2022, March 8). *The Department of Homeland Security's "metering ... - congress*. Congressional Research Service. Retrieved March 10, 2023, from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/LSB/LSB10295>
6. Department of Homeland Security. (2023). Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Yearbook of Immigration Statistics | Homeland Security. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook>
7. Facchini, G., & Mayda, A. M. (2009). Does the Welfare State Affect Individual Attitudes Toward Immigrants? Evidence Across Countries. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 91(2), 295–314.

8. Facchini, G., Mayda, A. M., Guiso, L., & Schultz, C. (2008). From Individual Attitudes Towards Migrants to Migration Policy Outcomes: Theory and Evidence [with Discussion]. *Economic Policy*, 23(56), 651–713.
9. Grandi, F. (2022, June 15). UNHCR - Global Trends 2019: Forced displacement in 2019. UNHCR Flagship Reports. Retrieved March 22, 2023, from <https://www.unhcr.org/flagship-reports/globaltrends/globaltrends2019/>
10. Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2015). The Hidden American Immigration Consensus: A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes toward Immigrants. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 529–548.
11. Klobucista, C., McBride, J., & Roy, D. (2023, February 15). How does the U.S. Refugee System Work? Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved March 10, 2023, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/how-does-us-refugee-system-work-trump-biden-afghanistan#chapter-title-0-11>
Migration Policy Institute. (2023, January 12). U.S. annual refugee resettlement ceilings and number of refugees admitted, 1980-present. [migrationpolicy.org](https://www.migrationpolicy.org). Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/us-refugee-resettlement>
12. Miller, B., Holmes, J. S., & Keith, L. C. (2020). The Preferences of Political Elites and Humanitarian Immigration to the United States. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 6(3), 150–171. <https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2020.6.3.07>
13. Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. H. (2011). The Economic and Political Influences on Different Dimensions of United States Immigration Policy. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2182086>
14. Muzaffar, C., Ball, I., Hipsman, F. (2017, March 2). Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act continues to reshape the United States. [migrationpolicy.org](https://www.migrationpolicy.org). Retrieved March 15, 2023, from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states>
15. Office of the Historian. (2023). Party divisions of the House of Representatives, 1789 to present: US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. Party Divisions | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://history.house.gov/Institution/Party-Divisions/Party-Divisions/>
16. Office of Refugee Resettlement. (n.d.). Archived Office of Refugee Resettlement Annual Reports to Congress (1980-2004). The Administration for Children and Families. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/report/archived-office-refugee-resettlement-annual-reports-congress-1980-2004>

17. Pedroza, L. (2020). A Comprehensive Framework for Studying Migration Policies (and a Call to Observe Them beyond Immigration to the West). German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24820>
18. Pierce, S. (2019, May). Immigration-related policy changes in the first two years of the trump ... migrationpolicy.org. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/ImmigrationChangesTrumpAdministration-FinalWEB.pdf>
19. Simon, R. J., & Lynch, J. P. (1999). A Comparative Assessment of Public Opinion toward Immigrants and Immigration Policies. *The International Migration Review*, 33(2), 455–467. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2547704>
20. Smith, H. R. (2022, March 8). The Department of Homeland Security’s “metering” policy: Legal issues. <https://crsreports.congress.gov>. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/LSB/LSB10295>
21. U.S. Department of State. (2022). Refugee Processing Center. Retrieved February 28, 2023, from <https://www.wrapsnet.org/>
22. Immigration and Nationality Act 1952 (P.L. 82-414; 62 Stat. 1009)