



# Utah Economic and Business Review

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## Highlights

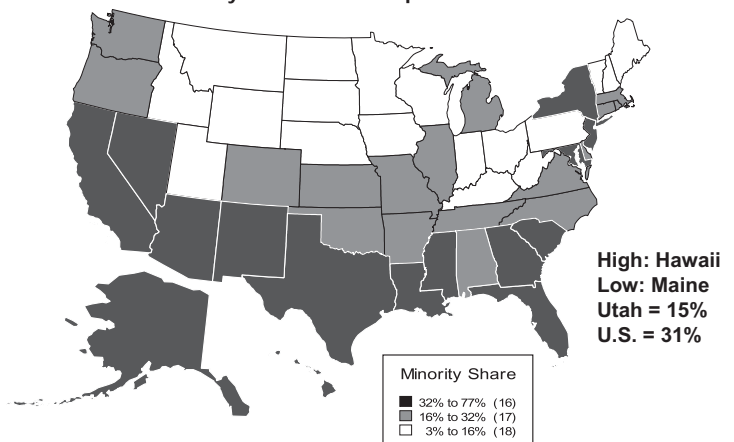
- Over the past 20 years, immigrants have come to Utah in unprecedented numbers. Forces external to Utah have greatly accelerated immigration flows and have simultaneously shifted the origin regions from Europe to Latin America and Asia. These new immigrants are not only integral to the economy, but are transforming the formerly monolithic culture and homogeneous population of the state, creating a new era of cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity for Utah.
- Twenty percent of the population growth of the state in the 1990s has come from this increase in Utah's foreign born population, while one-third of the growth has come from minorities. Three-quarters of the Utah foreign born population are racial or ethnic minorities as compared to one-tenth of the native born population.
- Although economic opportunity has been the strongest draw for migrants, refugees have also settled in Utah, accounting for one-tenth of the increase in the state's foreign born. The global proselytizing efforts of the LDS Church as well as the growth of universities and colleges have facilitated immigration to Utah.
- These new immigrants tend to be young (in childbearing years) and some of the groups have even higher fertility rates and larger household sizes than the native born Utah population. This reinforces Utah's distinctive (young) age distribution.
- Roughly one-third of Utah's foreign born population are naturalized citizens, one-third are legal residents, and one-third undocumented residents.
- This Second Great Migration Wave, bringing historic numbers of immigrants to Utah and the U.S., has been catalyzed and sustained by economic globalization. These forces will continue to transform Utah in ways that we cannot yet imagine.

## Immigrants Transform Utah: Entering A New Era of Diversity

Pamela S. Perlich, Senior Research Economist

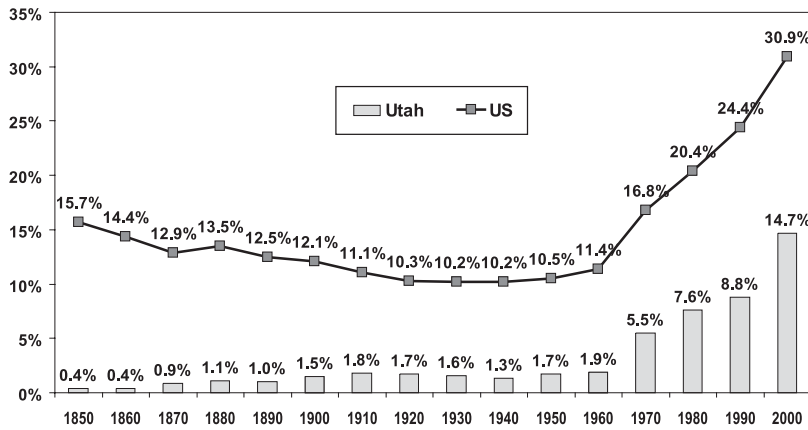
Utah is generally perceived as an extremely homogeneous state whose population can trace its ancestry mostly to northern Europe. Listings for surnames like Hansen, Jensen, and Christensen do fill many pages in local telephone directories throughout the state. According to census counts, the minority population never exceeded 2 percent in Utah until 1970.<sup>1</sup> Some have gone so far as to suggest that the unique culture and corresponding "whiteness" of Utah have created an unfriendly environment for minorities thereby reinforcing the homogeneity. In truth, the north central section of the U.S., a region extending from Idaho in the west to Wisconsin in the east, has few minorities. Perhaps it is a surprise to many that Utah currently has a greater proportion of minorities than all but one other state within this region. Contrary to prevailing perceptions, Utah has emerged as gateway for immigrants. They have come in such large numbers, especially from Latin America, that the minority population is now 15 percent of the total. This ongoing cultural and demographic transformation is so significant that it marks a new era of diversity for Utah. (Figure 1)

Figure 1  
Minority Share of the Population: 2000



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census.

**Figure 2**  
**Minority Share of the Population: Utah and U.S.**  
 1850-2000



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Gibson and Jung (2002), Perlich (2002).  
 Note: Prior to 1970, minority is non-White. For 1970 and beyond, minority is non-White (may be Hispanic or non-Hispanic) plus Hispanic (may be of any race).

Over the past decade an unprecedented number of immigrants have settled in Utah. The booming economy, fueled by the ramp-up to the 2002 Winter Olympic Games as well as the overall national expansion, combined with structural economic changes to create an enormous demand for the types of labor that immigrants have traditionally provided. Consequently, immigrants have made their way to Utah, mostly from Latin America, at a rate averaging more than 10,000 persons per year over the past decade. Although economic opportunity has been the strongest draw for migrants, refugees have also settled in Utah in increasing numbers, accounting for one-tenth of the increase in the state's foreign born.<sup>2</sup> The global proselytizing efforts of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) continue to facilitate immigration to Utah, although disentangling this effect from economic motivations is very difficult, especially with these new immigrants. International students have also come in greater numbers to attend the colleges and universities in the state.

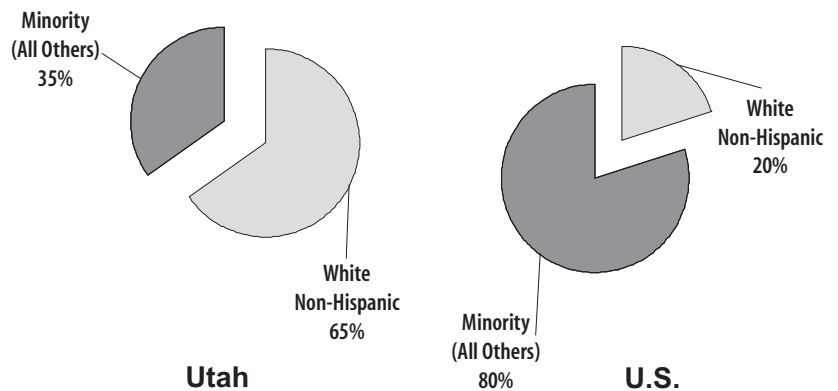
These new immigrants tend to be young (in childbearing years) and some of the groups have even higher fertility rates than the native born Utah population. Three quarters of the Utah foreign born population are racial or ethnic minorities as compared to one-tenth of the state's native born population. Because of these demographic

characteristics and because of the magnitude of these migration flows, over one in three new Utahns in the 1990s was a minority person and one in five an immigrant (foreign born). Utah ranks among those states with the very highest rates of increase in diversity and is prominent among the newly emerging gateways for immigrants. Consequently the demographic and cultural landscape of the state has been forever changed. (Figure 2)

### The First and Second Great Immigration Waves

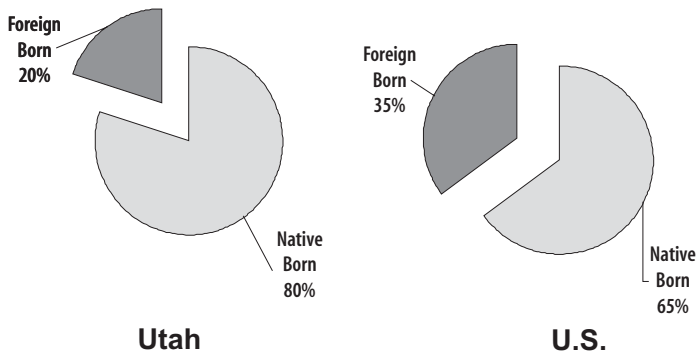
The United States is a nation of immigrants. From the colonial period to about 1880 immigrants came primarily from northern and western Europe. The First Great Migration Wave, which extended from 1880 to 1920, was much larger in scope and originated largely in eastern and southern Europe. By 1910 the foreign born population approached 15 percent of the U.S. population. Immigration was all but prohibited from 1921 until 1965, after which the quota system was replaced by a system based on family reunification, skills, and refugee status.<sup>3</sup> This, in combination with the 1986 amnesty of 2.7 million undocumented residents, gave rise to the Second Great Migration Wave. The foreign born

**Figure 3**  
**Minority Contribution to Population Increase:**  
 1990-2000, Utah and U.S.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, SFI.

**Figure 4**  
**Foreign Born Contribution to Population Increase:**  
**1990-2000, Utah and U.S.**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, SF3.

population more than doubled over the past 20 years, reaching historic levels and surpassing one-tenth of the population of the nation. Over half of the foreign born is from Latin America, while about a fourth is from Asia, and almost a sixth is from Europe. Mexico is the single largest source country for the foreign born, accounting for nearly one-third of the total.

Economic globalization, which has caused the spatial rearrangement and structural transformation of economic activities and labor markets, is the driving force behind this massive movement of people. The processes that have led to outsourcing of call centers to India and factories to China have also resulted in the import of labor to Utah to staff our growing hospitality industry; to build highways, hotels, condominiums, and Winter Olympic venues; and to work as scientists at our research universities.

The magnitude of recent immigration flows, the geographic shift in the source regions of immigration to the U.S. (from Europe to Latin America and Asia), and the relatively low fertility of the native born U.S. population have combined to produce a much more racially and ethnically diverse nation. One-third of the U.S. population is minority, and its proportion is projected to become the majority within 50 years. Of

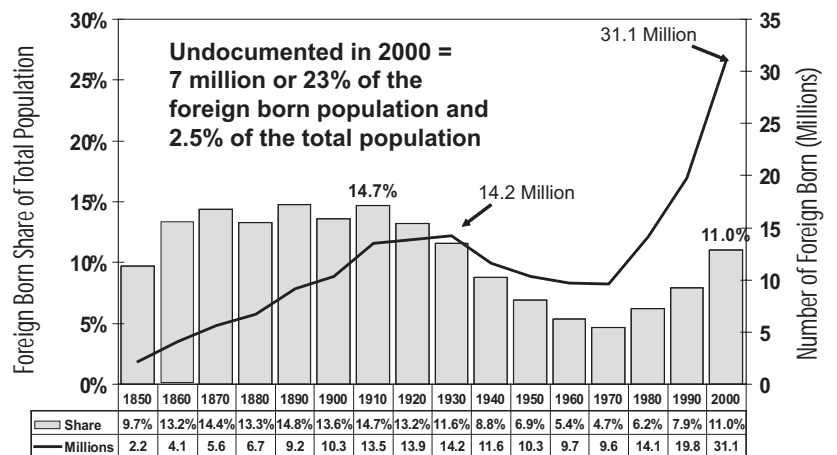
greater importance is the contribution that these diverse groups have made to the overall population growth of the nation. The minority population contributed 80 percent of the total population increase of the nation in the decade of the 1990s, while increases in the foreign born population were over one-third of the increase. If there had not been a Second Great Migration Wave, the rate of national population growth would have been much lower, resembling the slow growth of western Europe and Japan. (Figures 3, 4, and 5; Table 1)

### Migration to Utah

The LDS Church sponsored the large and sustained immigration of Europeans to establish Zion in Utah territory. Even though economic opportunities and international events brought more diverse populations over time, Utah remained overwhelming White and Mormon,

with over two-thirds of the foreign born immigrating from northern and western Europe well into the 1960s. Over the past 30 years, forces external to Utah have greatly accelerated immigration flows to the state and have simultaneously shifted the origin regions from Europe to Latin America and Asia. According to census counts, the state's foreign born population increased from 58,600 in 1990 to 158,664 in 2000. These immigrants are not only integral to the economy, but are transforming the

**Figure 5**  
**U.S. Foreign Born Population: 1850-2000**



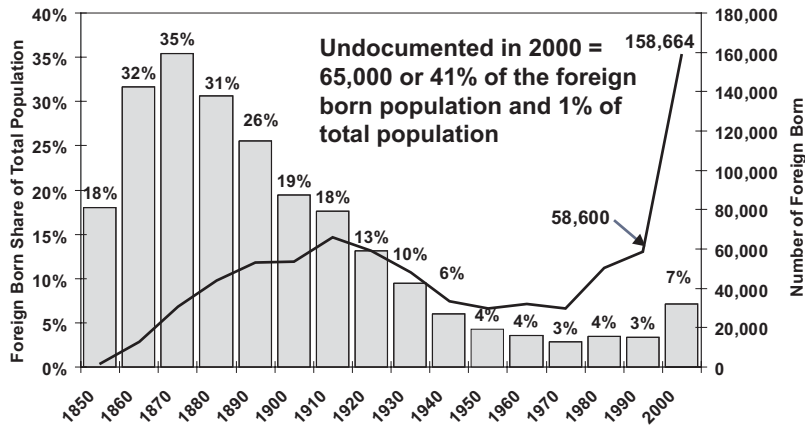
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Immigration and Naturalization Service (2003).

**Table 1**  
**Birthplace of the Foreign Born Population:**  
**Utah and the U.S. (2000)**

Region and country or area	Utah		United States		Region and country or area	Utah		United States	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Foreign Born population	158,664	100.0%	31,107,889	100.0%	Africa	2,414	1.5%	881,300	2.8%
Europe	25,640	16.2%	4,915,557	15.8%	Eastern Africa	880	0.6%	213,299	0.7%
Northern Europe	7,316	4.6%	974,619	3.1%	Ethiopia	151	0.1%	69,531	0.2%
United Kingdom	4,784	3.0%	677,751	2.2%	Middle Africa	25	0.0%	26,900	0.1%
Ireland	264	0.2%	156,474	0.5%	Northern Africa	590	0.4%	190,491	0.6%
Sweden	613	0.4%	49,724	0.2%	Egypt	99	0.1%	113,396	0.4%
Western Europe	8,777	5.5%	1,095,847	3.5%	Southern Africa	620	0.4%	66,496	0.2%
Austria	238	0.2%	63,648	0.2%	South Africa	612	0.4%	63,558	0.2%
France	839	0.5%	151,154	0.5%	Western Africa	179	0.1%	326,507	1.0%
Germany	5,086	3.2%	706,704	2.3%	Ghana	80	0.1%	65,572	0.2%
Netherlands	2,020	1.3%	94,570	0.3%	Nigeria	71	0.0%	134,940	0.4%
Southern Europe	1,836	1.2%	934,665	3.0%	Sierra Leone	-	0.0%	20,831	0.1%
Greece	495	0.3%	165,750	0.5%	Africa, N.E.C.	120	0.1%	57,607	0.2%
Italy	580	0.4%	473,338	1.5%	Oceania	6,612	4.2%	168,046	0.5%
Portugal	161	0.1%	203,119	0.7%	Australia and				
Spain	594	0.4%	82,858	0.3%	New Zealand Subregion	1,516	1.0%	83,837	0.3%
Eastern Europe	7,675	4.8%	1,906,056	6.1%	Australia	713	0.4%	60,965	0.2%
Czechoslovakia*	460	0.3%	83,081	0.3%	Melanesia	123	0.1%	32,305	0.1%
Hungary	198	0.1%	92,017	0.3%	Micronesia	311	0.2%	16,469	0.1%
Poland	627	0.4%	466,742	1.5%	Polynesia	4,662	2.9%	35,194	0.1%
Romania	449	0.3%	135,966	0.4%	Oceania, N.E.C.	-	0.0%	241	0.0%
Belarus	68	0.0%	38,503	0.1%	Latin America	87,883	55.4%	16,086,974	51.7%
Russia	1,392	0.9%	340,177	1.1%	Caribbean	1,015	0.6%	2,953,066	9.5%
Ukraine	518	0.3%	275,153	0.9%	Barbados	35	0.0%	52,172	0.2%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2,526	1.6%	98,766	0.3%	Cuba	340	0.2%	872,716	2.8%
Yugoslavia	454	0.3%	113,987	0.4%	Dominican Republic	313	0.2%	687,677	2.2%
Europe, N.E.C.	36	0.0%	4,370	0.0%	Haiti	112	0.1%	419,317	1.3%
Asia	28,373	17.9%	8,226,254	26.4%	Jamaica	73	0.0%	553,827	1.8%
Eastern Asia	9,951	6.3%	2,739,510	8.8%	Trinidad and Tobago	35	0.0%	197,398	0.6%
China	4,830	3.0%	1,518,652	4.9%	Central America	74,123	46.7%	11,203,637	36.0%
Hong Kong	537	0.3%	203,580	0.7%	Mexico	66,478	41.9%	9,177,487	29.5%
Taiwan	1,098	0.7%	326,215	1.0%	Other Central America	7,645	4.8%	2,026,150	6.5%
Japan	1,908	1.2%	347,539	1.1%	Costa Rica	444	0.3%	71,870	0.2%
Korea	3,013	1.9%	864,125	2.8%	El Salvador	3,201	2.0%	817,336	2.6%
South Central Asia	4,179	2.6%	1,745,201	5.6%	Guatemala	2,389	1.5%	480,665	1.5%
Afghanistan	104	0.1%	45,195	0.1%	Honduras	865	0.5%	282,852	0.9%
Bangladesh	28	0.0%	95,294	0.3%	Nicaragua	405	0.3%	220,335	0.7%
India	2,030	1.3%	1,022,552	3.3%	Panama	267	0.2%	105,177	0.3%
Iran	1,050	0.7%	283,226	0.9%	South America	12,745	8.0%	1,930,271	6.2%
Pakistan	749	0.5%	223,477	0.7%	Argentina	1,735	1.1%	125,218	0.4%
South Eastern Asia	11,822	7.5%	3,044,288	9.8%	Bolivia	428	0.3%	53,278	0.2%
Cambodia	944	0.6%	136,978	0.4%	Brazil	2,507	1.6%	212,428	0.7%
Indonesia	323	0.2%	72,552	0.2%	Chile	1,405	0.9%	80,804	0.3%
Laos	1,659	1.0%	204,284	0.7%	Colombia	1,450	0.9%	509,872	1.6%
Malaysia	233	0.1%	49,459	0.2%	Ecuador	889	0.6%	298,626	1.0%
Philippines	2,680	1.7%	1,369,070	4.4%	Guyana	78	0.0%	211,189	0.7%
Thailand	959	0.6%	169,801	0.5%	Peru	2,357	1.5%	278,186	0.9%
Vietnam	4,920	3.1%	988,174	3.2%	Venezuela	1,581	1.0%	107,031	0.3%
Western Asia	2,307	1.5%	658,603	2.1%	Northern America	7,735	4.9%	829,442	2.7%
Iraq	545	0.3%	89,892	0.3%	Canada	7,722	4.9%	820,771	2.6%
Israel	198	0.1%	109,719	0.4%	Born at sea	7	0.0%	316	0.0%
Jordan	113	0.1%	46,794	0.2%					
Lebanon	339	0.2%	105,910	0.3%					
Syria	99	0.1%	54,561	0.2%					
Turkey	113	0.1%	78,378	0.3%					
Armenia	377	0.2%	65,280	0.2%					
Asia, N.E.C.	114	0.1%	38,652	0.1%					

N.E.C. is Not Elsewhere Classified.  
 \* Includes Czech Republic and Slovakia.  
 Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000 Summary File 3, Matrix PCT19.

**Figure 6**  
Utah Foreign Born Population: 1850-2000



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Immigration and Naturalization Service (2003).

formerly monolithic culture and homogeneous population of the state, creating a new era of diversity for Utah.

**The Original Native Born Population**  
American Indians are conspicuously absent from official population counts well into the 20th century. When Mormon pioneers arrived, an estimated 20,000 American Indians lived in Utah, although the census counts recorded zero.<sup>4</sup> This indigenous population is the only group that could never be considered “foreign born.” Throughout the “frontier” period, the combined effects of wars, genocide, and the eventual establishment of the reservation system decimated American Indian populations across the continent. The American Indian population did not again reach 20,000 in Utah

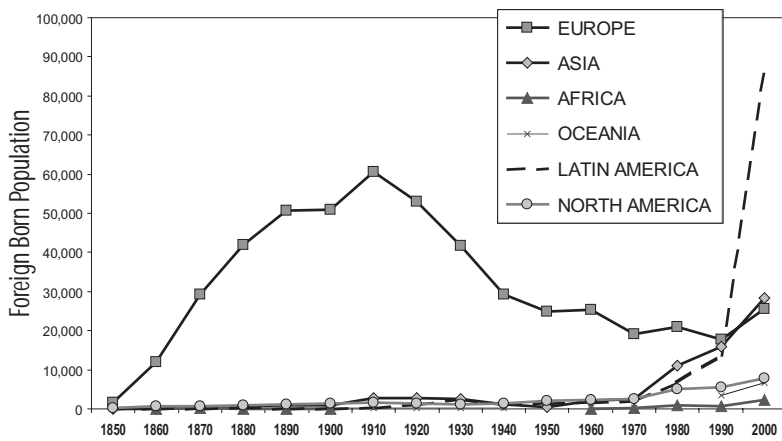
**Table 2**  
Foreign Born Population of Utah by Region: 1850 - 2000

Region	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<b>EUROPE</b>	1,630	12,046	29,312	41,911	50,609	50,848	60,696	52,974	41,720	29,190	24,939	25,413	19,212	20,954	17,820	25,640
Northern Europe	1,555	11,797	28,653	40,414	47,179	46,198	44,874	37,274	27,332	17,753	13,758	11,071	8,133	7,824	6,623	7,316
Western Europe	72	180	547	1,177	2,689	3,343	7,528	6,990	7,100	5,859	6,418	10,290	8,055	9,976	7,843	8,777
Southern Europe	2	65	79	220	388	1,081	7,188	6,508	5,296	4,207	3,574	3,108	2,071	1,887	1,572	1,836
Eastern Europe	1	2	25	78	333	218	1,089	2,202	1,856	1,296	1,077	931	947	1,186	1,739	7,675
Europe N.E.C.		2	8	22	20	8	17		136	75	112	13	6	81	43	36
<b>ASIA</b>	1	1	462	606	842	1,012	2,756	2,831	2,438	1,163	530	2,013	2,536	11,124	15,898	28,373
Eastern Asia		1	446	502	813	963	2,374	2,622	2,031	937		1,397	1,477	3,508	5,127	9,951
South Central Asia				17	15	23						106	184	1,578	1,932	4,179
South Eastern Asia									158			197	238	2,866	6,783	11,822
Western Asia				86	2	18	361	209	190	170	86	100	351	322	550	2,307
Asia N.E.C.	1		16	1	12	8	21		59	56	444	213	286	2,850	1,506	114
<b>AFRICA</b>		17	128	106	77	97						96	195	865	704	2,414
<b>OCEANIA</b>		10	74	133	118	161	199	221	215	158		328	281		3,448	6,612
<b>LATINAMERICA</b>	9	12	17	132	56	86	161	1,121	2,435	1,111	1,396	1,547	2,174	6,757	13,825	87,883
Caribbean	2		3	99	9	6	4	8	8	5		55	129	211	413	1,015
Central America	7	12	11	21	32	73	146	1,085	2,388	1,073	1,396	1,250	1,470	4,897	10,236	74,123
Mexico	7	12	8	17	19	41	145	1,083	2,386	1,069	1,396	1,153	1,308	4,221	8,922	66,478
Other Central America			3	4	13	32	1	2	2	4		97	162	676	1,314	7,645
South America			3	12	15	7	11	28	39	33		242	575	1,649	3,176	12,745
<b>NORTH AMERICA</b>	338	647	687	1,036	1,222	1,331	1,694	1,466	1,196	1,436	2,145	2,256	2,599	5,132	5,469	7,735
Bornat Sea			21	23	53	76	41	40	31	2						7
Others N.E.C. / or Reported	66	21	1	47	87	166	220	414	143	175	834	480	2,576	5,619	1,436	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,044</b>	<b>12,754</b>	<b>30,702</b>	<b>43,994</b>	<b>53,064</b>	<b>53,777</b>	<b>65,767</b>	<b>59,067</b>	<b>48,178</b>	<b>33,235</b>	<b>29,844</b>	<b>32,133</b>	<b>29,573</b>	<b>50,451</b>	<b>58,600</b>	<b>158,664</b>
Northern and Western European Share	79.6%	93.9%	95.1%	94.5%	94.0%	92.1%	79.7%	74.9%	71.5%	71.0%	67.6%	66.5%	54.7%	35.3%	24.7%	10.1%

N.E.C. is Not Elsewhere Classified.

Sources: Jensen (1996), U.S. Bureau of the Census, BEBR calculations.

**Figure 7**  
**Source Regions of Utah's Foreign Born Population:**  
**1850-2000**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Jensen (1994), BEBR Calculations.

until the 1980 census. In the 2000 census, there were about 30,000 persons in Utah who identified themselves as American Indian alone while over 40,000 identified themselves as American Indian alone or in combination with other races. (Figure 6; Table 2)

### The LDS Church

The first large settlement of Utah by people of European ancestry was the Mormon migration beginning in 1847, when migrants relocated from Missouri in contingents of 2,000 to 5,000 annually. The next wave of migrants were new Mormon converts from Europe, arriving by the thousands each year. From 1852 to 1887 the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company brought Latter-day Saints (especially from the British Isles and Scandinavia) to the Intermountain West at a rate of about 4,000 per year until 1869, the year that the transcontinental railroad was completed. In the next two decades the Mormon immigration to Utah was reduced by about half.<sup>5</sup> By 1899, poor economic conditions and insufficient colonizing opportunities forced church leaders to change their policies to discourage further immigration to the region.

Even with this policy change, the extensive global missionary efforts of the LDS Church

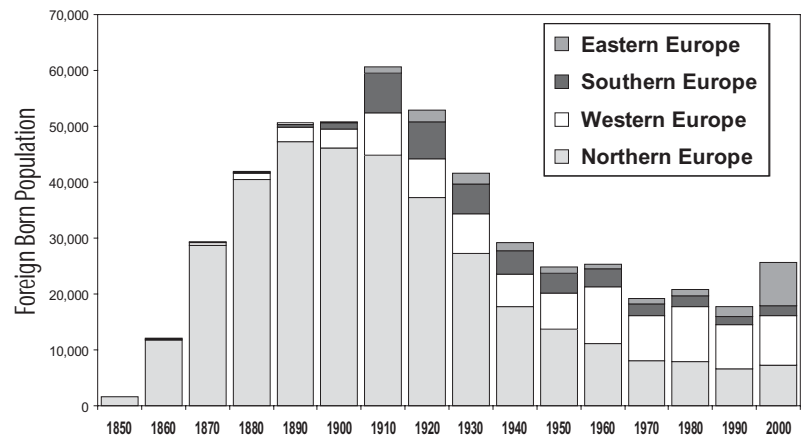
have brought a steady stream of immigrants to Utah. Small groups of Pacific Islanders began arriving in Utah around 1875, and in more significant numbers since 1970, largely the result of Mormon missionary efforts. Temples have also been built in Canada, Europe, Latin America, Oceania, and Africa while missions have also been recently established in regions of the former Soviet Union. The global expansion of the church, which has mostly occurred over the past 20 years, will undoubtedly continue to bring immigrants to the state.

### Economic Development and Business Cycle Fluctuations

Economic conditions have alternatively brought people to Utah in search of economic opportunity or forced people to leave when labor markets have contracted. The coming of the railroads, development of the mining

industry, establishment of federal military operations, and the economic boom of the 1990s created demand for labor that exceeded internal growth of the labor force. These economic expansions brought immigrants and more diverse populations to the state. Conversely, recessions have driven people from the state in search of jobs elsewhere. The Great Depression caused a significant out-migration from the state, although the total population continued to increase slightly. As the mining

**Figure 8**  
**Utah's European Foreign Born Population by Region:**  
**1850-2000**



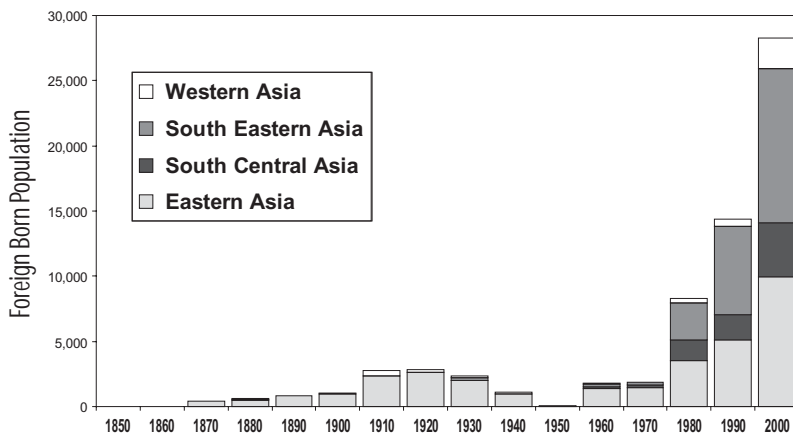
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Jensen (1994), BEBR Calculations. (Note: Europeans not otherwise classified are omitted from the figure.)

and agriculture sectors collapsed, Mexicans were deported, and the minority population of the state declined significantly.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and the subsequent development of the mining industry brought persons of other faiths, cultures, and regions to Utah. These included Chinese, Japanese, Southern and Eastern Europeans (especially Greeks, Serbians, and Lebanese), and Mexicans. The cities of Corinne and Ogden emerged as centers of the railroad industry while West Mountain (Bingham), Park City, and the Tintic District were the major hard rock mining areas. Scattered communities in Carbon County were built and run by coal mining companies to house their workers. Ethnic sections and immigrant communities developed in these and other Utah settlements. Native born African Americans worked for the railroad, especially in the Ogden area.

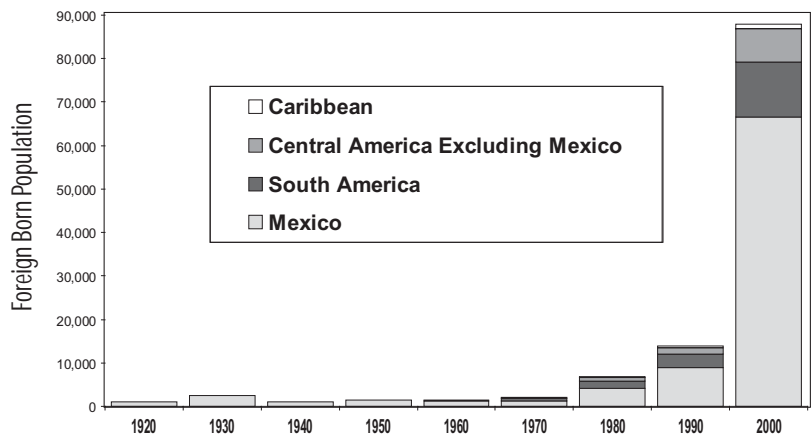
Immigration to the U.S. was essentially unregulated until the imposition of quotas in 1921 at which point only a relatively small number of Europeans were allowed to enter the country. Conditions during the Great Depression created a backlash against earlier immigrants and widespread unemployment discouraged additional migrants.

**Figure 9**  
Utah's Asian Foreign Born Population by Region:  
1850-2000



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Jensen (1994), BEBR Calculations. (Note: Asians not otherwise classified are omitted from the figure.)

**Figure 10**  
Utah's Latin American Foreign Born Population by Region:  
1850-2000



Sources: Bureau of the Census, Jensen (1994), BEBR Calculations.

As the nation became more heavily committed to World War II, labor shortages eventually developed. In addition to the successful campaigns to bring more women into the labor force, the government established the Bracero program in 1942, which recruited Mexicans to be guest workers primarily in agriculture and food production. Once the federal government established defense industries in northern Utah, Hispanic laborers came from

New Mexico and Colorado while Mexican immigrants came as guest workers, not solely in agriculture, but also in the military and industrial sectors. Native born African Americans have long been associated with the federal military presence in Utah, beginning in the territorial era and continuing today.

The economic boom of the 1990s in Utah was fueled in part by record level construction and the continued expansion of the tourism sector. In Utah, residential construction reached historic levels, facilities were constructed to prepare for the 2002 Winter Olympics, and the federal government financed a \$1 billion interstate highway improvement project as well as light rail lines. Some of the expansion in the hospitality sector was intended to capitalize on the Winter Olympic Games, but generally was a continuation of the growth of that industry in the

**Table 3**  
**Characteristics of Utah's Native and Foreign Born Populations: 2000**

	Native Born	Foreign Born
<b>MINORITY STATUS</b>		
<b>Race</b>		
White alone	92.3%	45.5%
Black or African American alone	0.7%	1.5%
American Indian or Native Alaskan alone	1.4%	0.5%
Asian alone	0.6%	15.9%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	0.4%	2.9%
Some other race alone	2.4%	28.1%
Two or more major race groups	2.1%	5.6%
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Hispanic	5.7%	52.3%
<b>Minority Share</b>	10.2%	75.7%
<b>SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHICS</b>		
Average Household Size	3.10	3.45
Median Age	26.7	32.1
Male-to-Female Ratio	1.0 to 1.0	1.1 to 1.0
Notes: Race and ethnicity are distinct categories and are not additive. Minority is defined as the total population minus the number of White non-Hispanics. Source: Census 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), V1-D00-PUMS-US1.		

Intermountain West. Employment in Utah increased by roughly 35,000 jobs annually over the decade, which created labor shortages. Immigrants came, particularly from Mexico, to build highways, light rail, sports facilities, hotels, and residences and also to staff hotels and restaurants.

### Expansion of Higher Education

Colleges and universities recruit faculty, researchers, and students globally. In fact, the extent of racial and ethnic diversity has become a criteria used to evaluate institutions of higher education. Over the past 30 years, Utah colleges and universities have made gains in becoming more diverse primarily by hiring foreign born scholars and admitting international students, many of whom are Asian. Beginning in the 1960s, students began coming to Utah from the People's Republic of China,

Hong Kong, Taiwan, Philippines, Korea, Iran, and India in increasing numbers. More recently, students have also come from Africa, Europe, Latin America, and other regions. Some have eventually become citizens. (Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10)

### International Politics and Immigration Policies

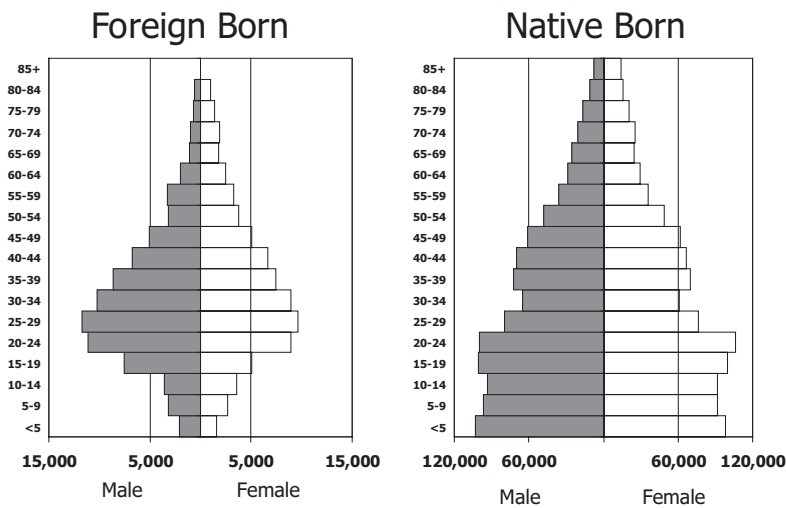
International politics, wars, and immigration laws profoundly affect immigration to Utah. Although some Japanese came much earlier to Utah with the railroads and mines, the largest numbers of Japanese were relocated to detention facilities in Utah during the 1940s because of national security concerns. During the Second World War at least 8,000 Japanese were incarcerated in camps at Topaz in Millard County. Many of the detainees remained in Utah after the war.

Refugees<sup>6</sup> relocated to Utah in substantial numbers beginning with the Filipinos and Koreans in the post-Korean War era. The next surge of refugees came from Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. Most recently, refugees from the former Soviet Union (Russians, Polish, Bosnians and Croatsians), Africa, and the Middle East have settled in Utah. Over 15,000 refugees relocated to the state from 1983 through 2001, at an accelerating pace in the late 1990s. In 2001 the greatest numbers of refugees came from Yugoslavia, Sudan, Iran, Somalia, and Afghanistan. If all of the refugees reported to have relocated to Utah stayed in the state (and survived), about one-tenth or 10,000 of the roughly 100,000 increase of the state's foreign born population over the decade of the 1990s were refugees.

In 1986, the federal government gave permanent residence status to 2.7 million undocumented persons across the nation; two-thirds were from Mexico. Nearly all of this population became eligible for citizenship by 1994 and could subsequently apply to relocate family members.<sup>7</sup> The Bush Administration has aggressively pursued immigration reforms to manage the growing population of the undocumented residents, particularly those from Mexico. This immigration policy reform, which was derailed for over two years by the terrorist attacks of September 11, has recently regained



**Figure 11**  
Utah Foreign and Native Born Populations:  
2000 Age Distributions



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, PUMS.

momentum. The guiding principle for immigration policy will apparently become labor demand, although the “pathways to citizenship” and arrangements for “guest workers” are still heavily contested. The possibility of another amnesty is adequate motivation for many to make the journey to the U.S. to become undocumented guest workers. Because Mexico is the largest source region for Utah immigrants, and because future migration is generally facilitated by the existence of immigrant communities (documented or not) to support new arrivals, this policy change reinforced the labor market ties and migration flows between Mexico and Utah.

### Characteristics of Utah's Foreign Born Population

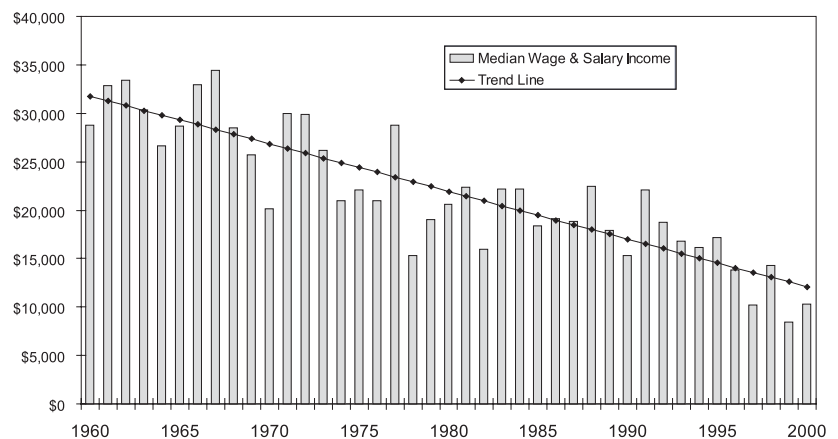
As immigration to Utah has increased in volume, and source regions have shifted from Europe to Latin American and Asia, the Utah minority population has expanded significantly. Much of the 180,000-person increase in the state's minority population that occurred during the 1990s is directly attributable to the 100,000-person increase in the number of foreign born. But this understates the contribution of these immigrants to the

state's population growth. Because they are young (in childbearing years), and because many of these immigrants have fertility rates exceeding the native born Utah population, their contributions to population growth will continue into the future. Over one-third (36.1 percent) of the state's minority population is foreign born while nearly two-thirds (63.9 percent) is native born. Many of the native born minority persons are children of first generation immigrants. Roughly one-third of Utah's foreign born population are naturalized citizens, another third are legal residents, and remaining third are undocumented residents. (Table 3)

Census 2000 reported about 330,000 minority persons in Utah, roughly 15 percent of the state's population. Of these, over 202,000 are Hispanic. Considering only the non-Hispanic population, the largest minority groups in the 2000 census were, in

descending order, Asians, multi-race persons, American Indians, African Americans, and Pacific Islanders.<sup>8</sup> Over half of Utah's foreign born (52.3 percent) are Hispanic, as compared to about 6 percent of the native population. Minorities are about one-tenth of the native born Utah population as compared to three-quarters of the foreign born population. About 16 percent of the Utah foreign born population is Asian as compared to less than 1 percent of the native born population. (Figure 11)

**Figure 12**  
Utah Foreign Born Population:  
Median Wage and Salary Income by Year of Entry (1999)



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, PUMS, BEBR calculations.

Table 4  
Top 25 Occupations of the Utah Foreign Born Population: 2000

	Estimate
Miscellaneous Assemblers and Fabricators	5,315
Cooks	4,243
Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	4,076
Construction Laborers	3,990
Janitors and Building Cleaners	3,589
Other Production Workers, Including Semiconductor Processors and Cooling and Freezing Equipment	3,504
Cashiers	2,651
Grounds Maintenance Workers	2,634
Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand	2,230
Retail Salespersons	2,131
Customer Service Representatives	1,947
Waiters and Waitresses	1,907
Driver/Sales Workers and Truck Drivers	1,802
Carpenters	1,774
Postsecondary Teachers	1,765
Miscellaneous Agricultural Workers, Including Animal Breeders	1,705
Food Preparation Workers	1,589
First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Production and Operating Workers	1,533
Sewing Machine Operators	1,393
Secretaries and Administrative Assistants	1,335
Child Care Workers	1,254
Drywall Installers, Ceiling Tile Installers, and Tapers	1,186
First-Line Supervisors/Managers of Retail Sales Workers	1,182
Packaging and Filing Machine Operators and Tenders	1,106
Dishwashers	1,103

Source: Census 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), V1-D00-PUMS-US1.

The most recent immigrants to the state are of working age and have generally brought few children with them. Because immigrants often wait to have their children until they have relocated, the median age for the foreign born population is 32.1, exceeding native born median age by 5.4 years. Again, the children of immigrants who are born in Utah are, by definition, native born. As has been the case in other migrations, Utah foreign born males outnumber females by a ratio of 1.09 to 1 while the ratio of males to females in the native born population is nearly equal. Immigrants tend to have larger household sizes.

The average household size of the Utah foreign born population is 3.45 as compared to 3.10 for the native born Utah population. One reason for the large household sizes and high male-to-female ratio is that males often precede the rest of their families when immigrating, secure employment, and share housing with a group of males. Another reason is the relatively high fertility rates of some of these immigrants, particularly Mexicans. By settling and establishing families in Utah, these most recent immigrants will make Utah more ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse while also

**Table 5**  
**Top 35 Occupational Concentrations:**  
**Utah Foreign Born Relative to the Native Born Labor Force**

	Concentration Ratio
<b>Medical Scientists</b>	10.0
Packaging and Filing Machine Operators and Tenders	7.8
Plasterers and Stucco Masons	7.8
Chefs and Head Cooks	6.3
Miscellaneous Media and Communications Workers	6.0
Grinding, Lapping, Polishing, and Buffing Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic	5.6
Dishwashers	5.5
Baggage Porters, Bellhops, and Concierges	5.4
Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	5.4
Fence Erectors	5.2
Sewing Machine Operators	5.1
Miscellaneous Assemblers and Fabricators	4.9
Woodworking Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Except Sawing	4.8
<b>Astronomers and Physicists</b>	4.6
Drywall Installers, Ceiling Tile Installers, and Tapers	4.4
<b>Dancers and Choreographers</b>	4.1
Insulation Workers	4.0
Other Production Workers, Incl. Semiconductor Processors and Cooling and Freezing Equipment	3.9
Butchers and Other Meat, Poultry, and Fish Processing Workers	3.8
Other Metal Workers and Plastic Workers, Including Milling, Planing, and Machine Tool Operators	3.8
Cement Masons, Concrete Finishers, and Terrazzo Workers	3.8
Structural Metal Fabricators and Fitters	3.8
Grounds Maintenance Workers	3.6
Bakers	3.6
Sawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Wood	3.5
Construction Laborers	3.5
<b>Agricultural and Food Scientists</b>	3.4
<b>Physical Scientists, All Other</b>	3.3
Roofers	3.3
Jewelers and Precious Stone and Metal Workers	3.2
<b>Chemists and Materials Scientists</b>	3.1
Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs	3.1
Information and Record Clerks, All Other	3.1
Crushing, Grinding, Polishing, Mixing, and Blending Workers	3.0
Cooks	3.0

Note: Computed as the share of the foreign born labor force in a given occupation divided by the share of the native born labor force in the same occupation. Any number greater than one indicates relative concentration.

Source: Census 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), V1-D00-PUMS-US1.

reinforcing the distinctive demographic characteristics of the state: large households, young population, high fertility rates, and many children. (Figure 12)

The most recent immigrants to the state have much lower incomes as compared to immigrants who have become long time residents. New immigrants have disproportionately taken low wage and low skill jobs. Immigrants from earlier decades now have higher incomes, partly because they are older and partly because they are better established and better educated than the new arrivals. The concentration of immigrants in low skill occupations is confirmed by data from the 2000 census. Construction workers, assemblers, grounds keepers, janitors, maids, food preparers, and

dishwashers are among the most common occupations of Utah's foreign born. University and college faculty appear among the common occupations of immigrants as well. If we consider occupational concentrations rather than absolute numbers, a quite different listing emerges from the data. The ratio of the share of the foreign born labor force in various occupations to that of native born reveals the extent to which the foreign born are located in scientific positions as well as in manual labor and low skill positions. Included among the top 35 occupational concentrations of Utah's foreign born are medical, agricultural, and physical scientists; astronomers; physicists; and chemists. (Tables 4 and 5)

Table 6  
Utah Places with the Largest Share of Foreign Born  
Places with Populations of 1,000 or Greater

	Foreign Born Population	Total Population	Percent Foreign Born
Wendover	707	1,526	46.3%
Park City	1,449	7,478	19.4%
Salt Lake City	33,252	181,456	18.3%
South Salt Lake	3,923	22,153	17.7%
Midvale	4,113	27,039	15.2%
West Valley City	15,683	108,823	14.4%
Millcreek CDP	4,275	30,525	14.0%
Kearns CDP	4,493	33,619	13.4%
Moroni	158	1,296	12.2%
Ogden	9,406	77,240	12.2%
Taylorsville	5,673	57,878	9.8%
Logan	4,184	42,725	9.8%
Genola town	97	1,002	9.7%
Provo	10,084	105,258	9.6%
Ephraim	413	4,475	9.2%
Oquirrh CDP	955	10,360	9.2%
Hyrum	569	6,188	9.2%
Fillmore	196	2,252	8.7%
Mount Olympus CDP	567	6,834	8.3%
Orem	6,941	84,333	8.2%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000 Summary File 3, Matrices P21, P23, and PCT20.

**Table 7**  
**Utah Places with the Largest Foreign Born Populations**

	Foreign Born Population	Total Population	Percent Foreign Born
Salt Lake City	33,252	181,456	18.3%
West Valley City	15,683	108,823	14.4%
Provo	10,084	105,258	9.6%
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Orem	6,941	84,333	8.2%
Taylorsville	5,673	57,878	9.8%
Sandy	4,590	88,259	5.2%
Kearns CDP	4,493	33,619	13.4%
Millcreek CDP	4,275	30,525	14.0%
Logan	4,184	42,725	9.8%
Midvale	4,113	27,039	15.2%
South Salt Lake	3,923	22,153	17.7%
West Jordan	3,731	68,216	5.5%
St. George	2,713	49,621	5.5%
Layton	2,578	58,678	4.4%
Cottonwood Heights CDP	2,002	27,371	7.3%
Magna CDP	1,694	22,775	7.4%
Murray	1,530	33,911	4.5%
Park City	1,449	7,478	19.4%
Bountiful	1,376	41,392	3.3%
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000 Summary File 3, Matrices P21, P23, and PCT20.			

The greatest relative (percentage) geographic concentrations of foreign born in Utah are found in places in close proximity to employment in the hospitality sector (Wendover, Park City, etc.), agriculture and food processing (Moroni, Fillmore, etc.), colleges and universities (Logan, Provo, etc.), and in particular sections of the Wasatch Front urban area (Salt Lake City, Ogden, West Valley City, etc.) Utah places with the largest number of foreign born are generally within the Wasatch Front counties, but large numbers also reside in St. George, Logan, and Park City. (Tables 6 and 7)

### Implications and Conclusions

Utah is at the threshold of a new era with unprecedented changes in its cultural and ethnic landscape. Its population is becoming more diverse primarily because of

the Second Great Migration Wave, with migrants coming in historic numbers, especially from Latin America, but also from Asia, the Pacific Islands, Africa, the Middle East, and the former U.S.S.R. The impetus for these record immigrations to Utah has been strong economic growth accompanied by structural economic changes that have combined to generate a sustained demand for the types of labor that immigrants have typically provided, notably in the construction and hospitality sectors. In the absence of immigration, Utah would have experienced labor shortages, bottlenecks, higher costs, and reduction in economic activity. In fact, according the Bureau of the Census, Utah would have experienced a net out-migration from the state for at least the last five years had it not been for the continued arrival of immigrants. And, in 2002, one-fifth of the record number of births in Utah

were to minority mothers. Not only have these immigrants contributed to the demographic growth, relative youth, and diversity of the state, they have provided labor that was vital to the economic boom of the 1990s and the successful hosting of the Winter Olympic Games.

Certainly Utah, along with the rest of the north central region of the U.S., will continue to be less diverse than the nation in the foreseeable future. However, the labor market forces that encourage immigrants will continue, especially for Latin Americans. If asylum is granted to the undocumented population as it was in 1986, immigration flows will increase. As we have seen with the termination of the Bracero program, even a guest worker program will eventually result in more permanent residents, whether they are legal residents or not. If, instead, employers are prohibited from employing the undocumented and this is strictly enforced, the flow of immigration will be diminished. As long as the undocumented population of Utah, estimated to be somewhere between 65,000 and 100,000, are held in legal limbo, they will continue to face a myriad of social and economic barriers and employers will continue to face uncertainties about their workforces. Although refugees have access to more government services than do other non-naturalized immigrants (either legal or undocumented), they too face cultural, linguistic, and financial obstacles. The children of all of these first generation immigrants, who will be born in the U.S., will certainly have different expectations and ambitions than their parents. Access to education will be key to their success, as it has been for all previous generations of immigrants.

Utah is in the midst of cultural, ethnic, and racial transformations. These mark the birth of a new era of diversity for the state. Certainly economic growth, LDS missionary efforts, and political conflict and turmoil have brought people to Utah for a century and a half. This Second Great Migration Wave, bringing historic numbers of immigrants to Utah and the U.S., from Latin America and Asia rather than Europe, has been catalyzed and sustained by economic globalization, and these forces will continue to transform Utah in ways that we cannot yet imagine.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>The definitions of race and ethnicity used by the federal government have changed substantially over the past two centuries. In the 2000 census, there were five major race groups: White, Black or African American, American Indian and Native Alaskan, Asian, and Pacific

Islander and Native Alaskan; as well as "Some other race" or any combination of these six categories. Ethnicity, a completely separate classification system, is defined as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. With the set of categories, a minority person is defined as all persons who do NOT define themselves as White Alone and non-Hispanic. American Indians were the numerical majority in the Utah Territory when the Europeans arrived. However, they were not enumerated in the early censuses and there was not a serious attempt to enumerate this population until at least 1920.

<sup>2</sup>A person is considered "foreign born" if they reside in the U.S., but were not U.S. citizens at birth. In contrast, "natives" are either born in the United States (or a U.S. Island Area) or were born outside the U.S. with at least one parent who is a citizen of the U.S.

<sup>3</sup>Immigration is still, however, limited in total number.

<sup>4</sup>American Indians were not enumerated in early census counts unless they were "civilized" and "taxed." No significant effort was made by the federal government to count this population until 1920.

<sup>5</sup>This reduction of immigration occurred for several reasons. With improving economic conditions in England and Scandinavia, the imperative to leave was greatly reduced. In contrast to the financing arrangements used for the over land trek, the railroads required cash prepayments. Pioneers having made the earlier trek to Utah often arranged with the church to provide in-kind services upon arrival to Utah in order to finance their travels. These prepayments were beyond the means of many would be immigrants. Then there was the growing problem of overpopulation. Even with an ambitious colonization effort, it became increasingly difficult to support continued immigration into the "Great Basin Kingdom."

<sup>6</sup>Refugee status is granted to persons who face persecution and are not able to safely remain in their home countries. The U.S. has relocated refugees since 1948. The President, in consultation with Congress, annually designates eligible refugee populations and establishes numerical limits.

<sup>7</sup>Each successive family member can repeat this process every six years.

<sup>8</sup>American Indians include Native Alaskans while Pacific Islanders include Native Hawaiians.

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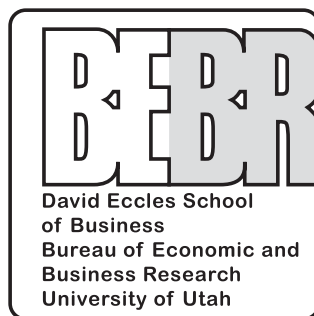
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