

Has Congress Given Up on Bipartisan Immigration Reform? A Data-Driven Look at Legislation Since 2015

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About BPC's Immigration Project

BPC's <u>Immigration Project</u> proposes fixes to our broken immigration system that align with American values and needs and treat everyone fairly. BPC's broader <u>Human Capital Program</u> is bringing together expertise from early childhood education, paid family leave, child welfare, K-12 and higher education, immigration, business, and workforce development to shape a comprehensive talent strategy for America.

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Executive Summary

Conventional wisdom holds that Congress has abandoned bipartisan immigration reform since the Gang of Eight's failed effort to overhaul the immigration system during the 113th Congress. The legislative record, however, tells a somewhat different story. In this report, we analyze immigration-related bills introduced on a bipartisan basis since the beginning of the 114th Congress and find consistent engagement across party lines to advance an array of immigration reforms. These efforts have largely been unsuccessful, but they highlight potential paths forward for members of Congress interested in passing bipartisan immigration bills.

KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM OUR ANALYSIS:

- Interest in bipartisan immigration reform remains high. From the 114th Congress (2015-2016) through the 118th Congress (2023-2024), members of Congress introduced 309 immigration-related bills on a bipartisan basis, and the number of such introductions increased in the most recent two Congresses.
- Members of both parties view immigration reform as a way to bolster the labor market. Proposals related to employment-based immigration dominated total introductions during the study period, making up 28% of the total bills, and interest in that area was especially high during the 118th Congress. More reintroduced bills were related to employment-based immigration than any other category we analyzed, and bills in this category enjoyed the strongest bipartisan support. None of the bills in this category, however, were enacted during the study period.
- Few immigration bills become law, and the ones that do tend to be narrowly focused. Just 5% (15) of the more than 300 bills we analyzed became law, representing nine different bills (rather than reintroductions). All these bills centered on a single change to the immigration system rather than incorporating a variety of reforms. The successful bills covered a range of topics: adoption; investors and entrepreneurs; lawful permanent residency (LPR), naturalization, and citizenship; Special Immigrant Visas (SIVs); the Visa Waiver Program; and other nonimmigrant visas. Twelve (80%) of the 15 successful bills eased restrictions on immigration, and the other three (20%) increased restrictions. (Among all bills analyzed, 78% aimed to ease restrictions; 15% sought to increase restrictions; and the remainder did neither.)

The trajectory of the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigration Act—a bill aimed at addressing green card backlogs that was reintroduced consistently throughout the study period with high numbers of cosponsors—highlights the strong political headwinds that immigration reform faces. Support for this very popular bill waned as additional provisions (touching other parts of the immigration system) were added to assuage the concerns of certain stakeholder groups. This suggests that narrowly focused bills have the greatest chance of gaining strong bipartisan support and becoming law.

The immigration system continues to be a source of immense public discontent, resulting in increased administrative action and litigation, with little progress made via legislation. In addition, economists and other policy experts are increasingly pointing to immigration reform as a vital salve for our nation's aging population and a potential economic boon. Our analysis shows that lawmakers have ample options for bipartisan progress, with many feasible even in today's political environment. Congress has a responsibility to reclaim its authority over immigration, ending the policy whiplash of governing via executive order, and creating a durable, bipartisan immigration framework that meets today's challenges and tomorrow's needs.

Bipartisan Immigration Legislation since 2015

Many observers believe that Congress has abandoned bipartisan immigration reform since the ambitious but unsuccessful effort by the Gang of Eight—a bipartisan group of senators consisting of four Republicans and four Democrats—to overhaul the immigration system during the 113th Congress. The legislative record, however, tells a somewhat different story. In this report, we analyze immigration-related bills introduced on a bipartisan basis (with at least one Democratic and one Republican cosponsor) since the beginning of the 114th Congress, and we find consistent engagement across party lines to advance a wide array of immigration reforms. Although these efforts have largely failed, they still highlight potential paths forward for members of Congress interested in passing bipartisan immigration bills.

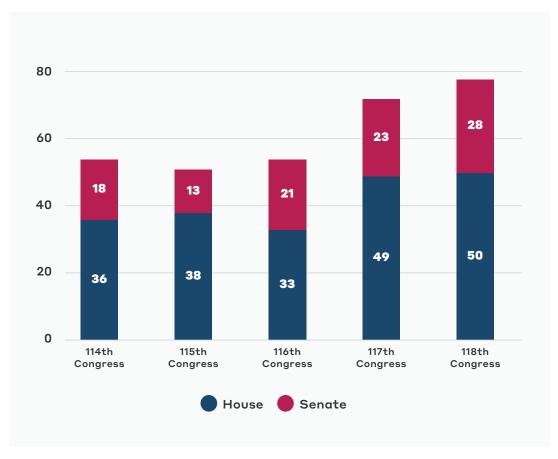
From the 114th Congress (2015-2016) through the 118th Congress (2023-2024), our study period, members of Congress introduced 309 immigration-related bills on a bipartisan basis.^a On average, Congress introduced 53 such bills

In total, 66,690 bills were introduced during the study period. Politico Pro's legislative search tool yielded 2,847 bills related to immigration. To perform this analysis, BPC narrowed this list of bills to those that (1) had at least one cosponsor from each major political party and (2) that directly affected the immigration system (excluding, for example, domestic criminal justice bills related to immigrants, drug interdiction, or border security reforms).

during the 114th through the 116th Congresses, with the average rising to 75 in the 117th and 118th. Of the 309 total bills, 206 (67%) originated in the House, which is similar to the proportion of all legislation originating in that chamber (65%) during the same period.

Figure 1: Introduction of Bipartisan Immigration Bills Spiked in Recent Years

Number of Bipartisan Immigration Bills Introduced Each Congress, by Chamber of Origin

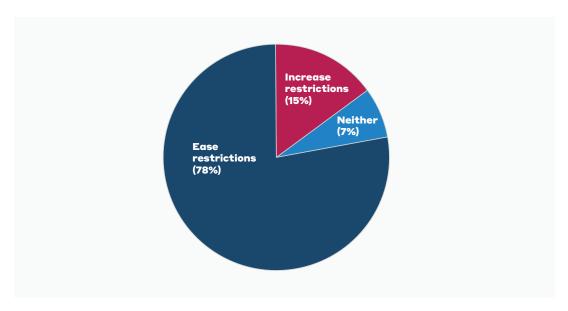


Source: BPC analysis of legislation

Overall, 242 bills analyzed, or 78% of the total, aimed to ease restrictions on immigration. Only 46 bills, or 15% of the total, sought to increase restrictions on immigration. The remainder did neither, instead focusing on data sharing, reporting, or clarifying an agency's responsibilities. See Figure 2. As Table 1 shows, the bills we analyzed span a wide variety of policy areas within immigration. The greatest number of bills introduced during the study period covered employment-based immigration; lawful permanent residency (LPR, including legalization programs), naturalization, and citizenship; and deportation and restrictions on entrance into the United States.

Figure 2: Most Bipartisan Immigration Bills Aimed to Ease Restrictions

Proportion of Bipartisan Immigration Bills during the Study Period (114th–118th Congresses), by Intent of Legislation



Source: BPC analysis of legislation

Table 1: Legislation on Employment-Based Immigration Dominated Bipartisan Introductions

Number of Bills Introduced during the Study Period (114th–118th Congresses)

Legislation Category	Number of Bills
Employment-Based immigration Both immigrant and nonimmigrant visas for temporary and permanent workers	85
LPR, naturalization, and citizenship	41
Deportation and restrictions on entrance into the U.S.	38
Investors and entrepreneurs	32
Humanitarian and refugees	27
International adoption	16
Special Immigrant Visas (SIVs) Pathways to permanent residency for Afghans, Iraqis, and others who assisted U.S. armed forces abroad	18
Other nonimmigrant visas Visitors, student visas, and others	17
Visa Waiver Program Program allowing citizens of individual countries to travel to the U.S. for up to 90 days without obtaining a visa	10
DREAMers Undocumented immigrants brought to the U.S. as children	13
Human trafficking	7
Unaccompanied minors	5

Employment-Based Immigration

Bills related to employment-based immigration make up the largest group of bipartisan immigration legislation introduced during the study period: 28% of bill introductions—more than double the number of introductions as the next largest group (LPR, naturalization, and citizenship bills). This category encompasses employment-based immigrant and nonimmigrant visas, and 79% of these bills would primarily ease restrictions on immigration. Many seek to address critical labor-force needs, such as those in health care (the Healthcare Workforce Resilience Act) and agriculture (the H-2 Improvements to Relieve Employers Act and the Small Business Assistance Act) sectors. Within this category, the largest number of bills relates to the Conrad 30 Waiver Program (see text box).

The large number of bills in the employment-based category and the high level of bipartisan support attest to the persistent and widespread workforce demands of employers in many industries and across the country.

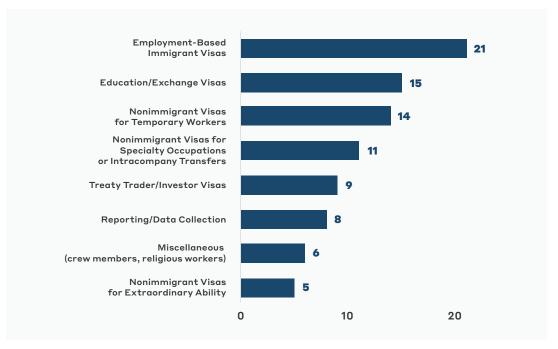
In particular, major categories of employment-based immigration legislation introduced during the study period related to H-2A and H-2B visas, which are nonimmigrant visas for temporary workers (agricultural and nonagricultural workers, respectively)^c; employment-based immigrant visas (commonly referred to as green cards), primarily for foreign nationals with advanced degrees or those who can help address domestic labor shortages; and H-1B nonimmigrant visas for high-skilled workers in specialty occupations.

BPC's recent analysis of projected U.S. workforce needs over the next decade found that immigration can serve as a vital supplement to the workforce, especially in sectors with significant projected growth in demand, such as Health Care and Social Assistance, and with high projected retirement rates and low entry, such as Construction and Transportation. Jack Malde and Theresa Cardinal Brown, Bridging the Gap: Meeting Workforce Needs Over the Next Decade, Bipartisan Policy Center, April 2, 2025. Available at: https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/bridging-the-gap-meeting-workforce-needs-over-the-next-decade/.

H-2B visas can be used in any industry outside of agriculture that needs workers on a temporary or seasonal basis. Industries that frequently use the program include landscaping and forestry, construction, hospitality and tourism, and seafood processing.

Figure 3: Employment-Based Immigration Bills Most Commonly Focused on Immigrant Visas

Number of Bills Introduced during the Study Period (114th–118th Congresses)



Source: BPC analysis of legislation

CONRAD 30 WAIVER PROGRAM

Many foreign national students and other holders of J-1 "Exchange Visitor" visas must return to their home country for two years following their exchange program before they can become eligible for an employment-based visa or other immigration benefits. All foreign-trained doctors who attend residencies in the United States on a J-1 visa are subject to this requirement. The Conrad 30 Waiver Program, named after former Sen. Kent Conrad (D-ND), allows each state to sponsor up to 30 exemptions from this requirement for doctors who agree to practice in a medically underserved area in their state for at least three years.²

Multiple bills introduced during the study period would expand the use of the Conrad 30 program. The **Conrad State 30 and Physician Access Reauthorization Act**,^d introduced seven times and cosponsored by as many as 112 House members and 24 senators, would create among other provisions a process to gradually increase the number of waivers available. The **Districting Our Country's Transfer of Residency Slots (DOCTORS) Act**, introduced on a bipartisan basis in both chambers during the 118th Congress, would allow unused Conrad 30 waivers (of which there were 376 in fiscal year 2021³) to be reallocated to states that use the maximum number of waivers. The **Doctors in Our Borders Act**, introduced during the 118th Congress, would increase the number of waivers to 100 per state.

This bill was previously called the Conrad State 30 and Physician Access Act, and a nearly identical bill introduced in the 114th Congress was called the Doctors Helping Heroes Act.

LPR, Naturalization, and Citizenship

Bills related to other grants of LPR (including legalization programs), naturalization, and citizenship make up 13% of all legislation analyzed. All but two of these bills aimed to make it easier to achieve LPR or citizenship, largely for members of the armed forces or their families.

Deportation and Restrictions on Entrance into the United States

Bills related to deportation, repatriation, and restrictions on entrance into the United States make up 12% of total legislation analyzed. Nearly half (47%) of these bills sought to lift or ease restrictions on those entering or staying in the United States. For example, one such bill, the American Families United Act, would allow the departments of Justice and Homeland Security to exercise discretion by declining to remove or bar from entrance a non-U.S. national to prevent hardship for the alien's U.S. citizen spouse, parent, or child. Another, the Tribal Border Crossing Parity Act, would allow members of a federally recognized Indian tribe in the United States and First Nations individuals in Canada to cross the borders of the United States.

The other half (53%) of bills in this category would further restrict entrance or increase deportations. This includes legislation expanding the ability of the government to deport or bar from entrance sexual offenders (the BE GONE Act), those who have aided foreign terrorist organizations (the FTO Passport Revocation Act), and those who have violated human rights abroad (the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act and the Global Respect Act).

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION TRENDS ACROSS CONGRESSES

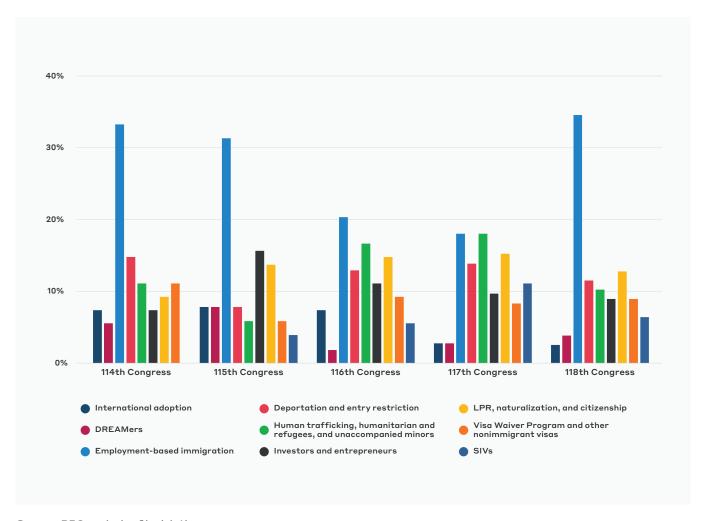
Interest in **employment-based immigration** legislation surged in the 118th Congress, as shown in Figure 4, with such bills making up more than one-third of all bipartisan immigration bills. Only one of the 27 bills in that category in the 118th Congress sought to increase restrictions on immigration.

Interest in bills related to **LPR**, **naturalization**, **and citizenship** increased during the 116th and 117th Congresses before declining somewhat in the 118th. Legislation related to **SIVs** also peaked during the 117th Congress, coinciding with the U.S. troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Introduction of bills related to **investor and entrepreneur visas** peaked during the 115th Congress. For the most part, these bills aimed to extend eligibility for E-1 Treaty Trader or E-2 Treaty Investor nonimmigrant visas to citizens of more countries, including Portugal, New Zealand, and South Korea.

Figure 4: Trends in Categories of Introduced Bills

Percentage of Bipartisan Immigration Bills Introduced, by Congress



Source: BPC analysis of legislation

Reintroductions

Twenty-three bipartisan bills were introduced more than twice during the study period. One bill—the Adoptee Citizenship Act (see text box)—was introduced in both the House and the Senate in each of the five Congresses for a total of 10 introductions. The Partner with Korea Act and versions of the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act were introduced nine times during the study period. Most reintroduced bills—18 of 23—aimed to ease restrictions on immigration. Only four would have added restrictions. Like the full sample of bills in this analysis, the bills receiving reintroductions spanned an array of categories, as shown in Table 2.

THE ADOPTEE CITIZENSHIP ACT

The Adoptee Citizenship Act was the only bill introduced in both chambers of Congress during every session of our study period. In the 118th Congress, Sens. Mazie Hirono (D-HI) and Susan Collins (R-ME) and Reps. Adam Smith (D-WA) and Don Bacon (R-NE) led the bill, which would grant U.S. citizenship to certain international adoptees who were legally adopted in the United States as children but lack citizenship, having been left out of the Child Citizenship Act of 2000.⁴ This legislation, which received as many as 97 cosponsors in the House, never advanced out of committee during the study period.

Table 2: Categories of Most-Reintroduced Bills

Number of Bills with More Than Two Introductions during the Study Period (114th-118th Congresses)

Legislation Category	Number of Bills
Employment-based immigration	5
LPR, naturalization, and citizenship	4
Deportation and restrictions on entrance into the U.S.	3
DREAMers	2
Investors and entrepreneurs	2
Other nonimmigrant visas	2
SIVs	2
International adoption	1
Human trafficking	1
Humanitarian and refugees	1

Source: BPC analysis of legislation

Four reintroduced bills made some procedural progress beyond being introduced and referred to relevant committees. The U.S. withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan by the Biden administration during the 117th Congress spawned several bills to address the status of U.S. allies by updating the provisions of a 2009 law that authorized Special Immigrant Visas for Afghan and Iraqi nationals who provided "faithful and valuable service" to the U.S. military or International Security Assistance Force and who experience or experienced an ongoing serious threat because of that service. During the 117th

Congress, lawmakers included a version of the Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2021 in the Emergency Security Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2021, increasing the number of SIVs as the U.S. withdrew troops from Afghanistan. However, even after this enactment, subsequent versions of the bill making additional changes were introduced during the 118th Congress.

The Advancing Mutual Interests and Growing Our Success (AMIGOS) Act and the American Families United Act also advanced during the 117th Congress. The full House of Representatives passed the AMIGOS Act, which would have made Portuguese nationals eligible for E-1 Treaty Trader and E-2 Treaty Investor nonimmigrant visas if the government of Portugal provided similar nonimmigrant status to U.S. nationals. The Senate never took up this bill, and it was not reintroduced during the 118th Congress. The American Families United Act was approved only by the House Judiciary Committee and did not receive a floor vote. This bill would have authorized the departments of Homeland Security or Justice to exercise discretion in certain immigration cases to protect the undocumented family members of U.S. citizens from deportation. It would have also removed certain requirements related to birthright citizenship for a child born outside of the United States to one U.S. citizen parent and one noncitizen parent. It was reintroduced during the 118th Congress but was not taken up by committee; in March 2025, it was reintroduced in the 119th Congress as well.⁵ Notably, the Biden administration attempted to help this group of mixed-status families via a parole program in 2024, but this effort was blocked in court.6

During the 116th Congress, both the House and the Senate passed the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act. The Senate passed an amended version of this bill, but the House ultimately did not approve the Senate version, and the legislation did not pass. Versions of this bill were reintroduced in both chambers in both the 117th and 118th Congresses as the Equal Access to Green Cards for Legal Employment (EAGLE) Act and the Immigration Visa Efficiency and Security Act.

THE FAIRNESS FOR HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRANTS AND EAGLE ACTS

Proposals to adjust the per-country limits on employment-based immigration have gained bipartisan support across several Congresses. Since 1990, no more than 7% of the annual green card allotments can go to nationals of any single country. (This applies to both the family-sponsored green card categories and the employment-based green cards.) As a result, countries with many visa applicants have developed decades-long backlogs to get a green card. For employment-based immigrants, Indian nationals have the longest waits, which can stretch decades.

The Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act was introduced to address these backlogs by eliminating the per-country caps for employment-based green cards. It enjoyed strong support from the information technology sector, including many Indian tech workers in the United States on temporary visas, such as H-1Bs; in 2019, it passed the House by a wide, bipartisan margin of 365-65. Several stakeholder groups, however, expressed concern that eliminating the caps would cause long waits for immigrants from countries with no current backlogs. In particular, the health care sector raised serious concerns about nurses. Employment-based green cards represent the only legal avenue available to immigrant nurses, and the Philippines—the most common country of origin for nurses—has no country-based backlog.⁹

The Senate passed an amended version of the House bill by a voice vote in December 2020 during the lame-duck session. The substitute amendment contained transition rules meant to address concerns about additional backlogs and added changes to the H-1B program. (Many employment-based immigrants originally come to the United States on H-1B visas.) The two different versions of the bill were never reconciled, and it was not enacted.

The Senate version served as the model for the EAGLE Act, which Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA) and Sen. Kevin Cramer (R-ND) introduced in subsequent Congresses. The EAGLE Act attempted to address the concerns with the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act raised by stakeholders, included reforms to the H-1B category, and added other provisions to recapture unused green cards from past years. The EAGLE Act passed out of committee in the House and was considered on the floor in December 2022, but members opposed to increasing green card issuances and a variety of stakeholder groups continued to raise questions, so it never received a final vote.¹⁰

During the 118th Congress, Sen. Cramer reintroduced the EAGLE Act, and Rep. Richard McCormick (R-GA) introduced the Immigration Visa Efficiency and Security Act as a House version that did not include the green card recapture provisions. Neither of these bills made it out of committee.

STRONGEST BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

The analysis presented above included all bills with at least one Republican and one Democratic cosponsor, but several bills received stronger bipartisan support, measured by either a large number of cosponsors or cosponsorship that was split evenly between the two parties.

Extensive Cosponsorship

Over the study period, 13 bills were cosponsored by at least one-quarter of the chamber in which they were introduced (25 senators or 109 representatives). Of these, two were heavily skewed toward sponsorship by Democrats—one with two Republicans out of 46 total sponsors and the other with five Republicans out of 39 total sponsors. Of the remaining 11 bills:

- Two bills were cosponsored by more Republicans than Democrats:
 - H.R. 4247, the Cuban Immigrant Work Opportunity Act of 2015 (103R-27D), which would have made Cuban nationals ineligible for refugee or parolee assistance.¹¹
 - S. 386, the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2019 (20R-16D).¹²
- Three were passed by at least one chamber:
 - H.R. 1044, the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2020.¹³
 - S. 2032, the Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2021.14
 - H.R. 3985, the ALLIES Act of 2021, which would have increased the number of SIVs available to qualified Afghan nationals who worked for the U.S. government or for NATO missions in Afghanistan, passed the House.^{15,e}
- Nine aimed to ease restrictions on immigration, and two sought to add further restrictions.
- One bill made the list multiple times: the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act, which received 25% cosponsorship in the House in the 114th–116th Congresses and in the Senate in the 116th Congress.

The language related to Afghan SIVs that was included in the Emergency Supplemental Appropriation Act of 2021 most closely matched that of S. 2032. But, in addition to making other process changes to the program, all the related bills extended the validity of the 2009 SIV program for Afghan allies and added visas.

Evenly Split Cosponsorship

Twenty-five bills with at least 10 cosponsors had a partisan split within 5 percentage points of 50%–50%.

- All these bills eased restrictions on immigration.
- · None advanced out of committee.
- Bills with even cosponsorship and at least 10 sponsors had a median of 29 cosponsors in the House and 23 cosponsors in the Senate. Two of these bills did receive sponsorship from over half of the chamber—H.R. 392, the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2017, and H.R. 60, the ENLIST Act of 2017, which were sponsored by 330 and 220 members, respectively.¹⁶

PASSED IMMIGRATION BILLS

Just 5% (15) of the bills analyzed, representing nine different bills (rather than reintroductions), became law. Of those nine, four passed both chambers as standalone bills and were signed by the president. Each of these bills eased restrictions on immigration. The remaining five were enacted via an omnibus appropriations package. Two restricted immigration, the other three eased restrictions.

The successful bills covered a variety of topics. Of the nine different bills passed:

- Three increased the number of or eased the process of receiving SIVs: the
 Afghan Allies Protection Act (H.R. 5694, H.R. 2796, H.R. 3513, S. 2032); the
 GRATEFUL Act (H.R. 5982, S. 1887); and the HOPE for Afghan SIVs Act (H.R.
 3385, S. 2083), which Congress passed as part of the Emergency Security
 Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2021 (H.R. 3237).¹⁷
- The EB-5 Reform and Integrity Act of 2021 (H.R. 2901, S. 831), passed as part of the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2022 (H.R. 2471), reauthorized and increased oversight in the EB-5 Regional Center program. ¹⁸ (EB-5 visas provide permanent resident status to qualified alien investors. A regional center allows EB-5 aliens to pool investments to meet various investment and job creation requirements.) The Knowledgeable Innovators and Worthy Investors (KIWI) Act (S. 2245) extended E-1 Treaty Trader and E-2 Treaty Investor nonimmigrant visas eligibility to citizens of New Zealand (conditional on New Zealand providing reciprocal treatment). The KIWI Act was passed as a standalone bill. ¹⁹
- The Adoptive Family Relief Act (S. 1300), passed as a standalone bill, allowed immigrant visa fees to be waived or refunded for adopted children under certain conditions. The Adoptive Family Relief Act was passed as a standalone bill.²⁰

- The Citizenship for Children of Military Members and Civil Servants Act
 (H.R. 4803), also passed as a standalone bill, established that a foreign-born
 child of a U.S. citizen member of the armed forces or government employee
 may automatically acquire U.S. citizenship even if the child is not residing in
 the United States.²¹
- The Energy Security and Lightering Independence Act (S. 5168) allowed certain crewmen to stay in the United States for up to 180 days (as opposed to the previous limit of 29 days). It was passed as a standalone bill.²²
- The Visa Waiver Program Improvement and Terrorist Travel Prevention Act of 2015 (H.R. 158) expanded limitations on the Visa Waiver Program based on terrorism risk. This bill passed as part of the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2016 (H.R. 2029).²³

Despite their ultimate legislative success, these bills did not all enjoy large numbers of cosponsors, with three bills having only two. The average number of cosponsors of these bills was 28.^f

As explained above, one other bill (the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act) passed both the House and Senate during a single Congress, but the versions were slightly different and were never reconciled and sent to the president.

An additional six bills were passed by the House but not the Senate. The Senate did not pass any bills that were not first passed by the House. Three bills were passed out of their House committee but did not receive votes. Out of the 25 total bills that saw any legislative action beyond referral to committee, 19 eased restrictions on immigration. Three (all included in omnibus appropriations packages) restricted immigration further. The remaining three did neither.

The Path Forward for Bipartisan Immigration Legislation

Since the Gang of Eight's work during the 113th Congress, the appetite for comprehensive immigration reform bills has faded, but members of Congress have introduced hundreds of immigration bills on a bipartisan basis. ²⁴ Bills expanding or easing restrictions on employment-based visas represent the largest overall category of these bills; the bills with the most cosponsors; and the bills with the strongest bipartisanship. None, however, became law.

f See Appendix Table 3 for additional detail.

The strong interest in changes to employment-based immigration affirms BPC's 2021 polling data showing that employment-based visas for sectors with workforce shortages represent the likeliest area for compromise on immigration among U.S. adults. ²⁵ Additionally, demographic changes and employer demand will result in workforce shortages. For example, over the coming decade, the health care and construction sectors will face the greatest worker shortages due to skyrocketing demand and aging workforces. ²⁶ Although both the economic and political landscapes are ever-changing, in the context of the early months of the second Trump administration, BPC's findings suggest that a path forward for bipartisan immigration reform in the 119th Congress might exist.

Nearly all the bipartisan bills introduced during the study period covered only one major topic area. Even the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act sought to tackle only one aspect of immigration reform, and the trajectory of this legislation exemplifies the stiff political headwinds that immigration reform faces. Addressing backlogs for employment-based visas has historically enjoyed broad bipartisan support, but that support waned as additional provisions—touching other parts of the immigration system—were added to the Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act to assuage the concerns of certain stakeholder groups. This suggests that narrowly focused bills stand a better chance of gaining strong bipartisan support and becoming law.

In the current political environment, the incremental approach is the most promising, and even small wins could have a big effect on the U.S. economy. Modest changes to the Conrad 30 Waiver Program, H-2 visas, and the recapture of unused green cards could help meet specific workforce challenges, and changes in each of those areas have enjoyed bipartisan support in recent years. Recent legislation on these issues include:

- The DOCTORS Act (H.R. 6980), sponsored by 17 Republicans and 11 Democrats, would allow unused Conrad 30 waivers (of which there were 376 in FY2021) to be reallocated to states that use the maximum number of waivers.²⁷
- The H–2 Improvements to Relieve Employers (HIRE) Act (H.R. 4708), sponsored by 24 Republicans and 14 Democrats in the 118th Congress, would extend the period of stay for H-2A and H-2B visas.²⁸

Military families, as well as Afghans and Iraqis who supported U.S. military efforts, offer another narrow area of bipartisanship in immigration. The continued reintroduction of such bills shows that the issue remains potent on both sides of the aisle for congressional members representing these constituents. Bipartisan efforts have also sought to both ease and tighten restrictions on entrance to and residency in the United States, with the greatest support for bills focused on promoting family unity and barring human rights

violators. Expanding eligibility for E-1 Treaty Trader and E-2 Treaty Investor visas to more countries has also enjoyed significant interest on both sides of the aisle.

Conventional wisdom holds that Congress is unable to legislate on immigration—a belief supported by lawmakers' lackluster record over the past decade. But strong continued interest in immigration reform—and in pursuing it on a bipartisan basis—provides some hope. The immigration system continues to generate immense public discontent, resulting in increased administrative action and litigation.²⁹ But despite the heated debate over immigration, economists and other policy experts are increasingly urging action, pointing to the nation's aging population and growing workforce needs.³⁰ Our analysis shows that lawmakers have ample and feasible options to find bipartisan common ground. Congress has the responsibility to reclaim its authority over immigration, ending the policy whiplash of governing via executive order, and creating a durable, bipartisan immigration framework that meets today's challenges and tomorrow's needs.

Endnotes

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Appendix

Appendix Table 1: Bills with at Least 25% Cosponsorship

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Latest Action Category	Short Summary	Ease/ Restrict	Category
115th	Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2017 (<u>H.R. 392</u>)	Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-UT)	330 (154R, 176D)	47-53	Referred to committee	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China.	Ease	Employment- based
116th	Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2020 (<u>H.R. 1044</u>)	Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	312 (108R, 204D)	35-65	Both chambers passed; versions not reconciled	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China. Imposes additional requirements on an employer seeking an H-1B visa.	Ease	Employment- based
115th	Encourage New Legalized Immigrants to Start Training (ENLIST) Act (H.R. 60)	Rep. Jeff Denham (R-CA)	220 (100R, 120D)	45-55	Referred to committee	Authorizes the enlistment in the armed forces of aliens unlawfully present in the U.S. on December 31, 2012, who: (1) have been continuously present in the U.S. since such date; (2) were younger than 15 years of age when they initially entered the U.S.; and (3) are otherwise eligible for original enlistment in a regular component of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard. Adjusts the status of an alien enlisted under such authority to the status of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.	Ease	LPR, naturalization, and citizenship
114th	Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2015 (<u>H.R. 213</u>)	Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-UT)	148 (59R, 89D)	40-60	Referred to committee	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China.	Ease	Employment- based

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Latest Action Category	Short Summary	Ease/ Restrict	Category
117th	Averting Loss of Life and Injury by Expediting SIVs (ALLIES) Act of 2021 (H.R. 3985)	Rep. Jason Crow (D-CO)	141 (36R, 105D)	26-74	Passed by the House, not the Senate	Increases the number of SIVs available to qualified Afghan nationals who worked for the U.S. government or for NATO missions in Afghanistan, and relaxes certain qualifications for such visas.	Ease	SIVs
114th	Cuban Immigrant Work Opportunity Act of 2015 (H.R. 4247)	Rep. Carlos Curbelo (R-FL)	130 (103R, 27D)	79-21	Referred to committee	Makes Cuban nationals who enter the U.S. ineligible for refugee/parolee assistance under the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980.	Restrict	Humanitarian and refugees
117th	Conrad State 30 and Physician Access Reauthorization Act (<u>H.R. 3541</u>)	Rep. Brad Schneider (D-IL)	112 (34R, 78D)	30-70	Referred to committee	Increases the number of Conrad 30 waivers that a state may obtain each fiscal year from 30 to 35 if a certain number of waivers were used the previous year, and provides for further adjustments depending on demand.	Ease	Employment- based
116th	Healthcare Workforce Resilience Act (<u>S. 3599</u>)	Sen. David Perdue (R-GA)	40 (19R, 20D, 1I)*	48-52	Referred to committee	Makes previously unused immigrant visas available to nurses and physicians who petition for such a visa before the date that is 90 days after the end of the declared national emergency relating to the COVID-19 outbreak.	Ease	Employment- based
117th	Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2021 (<u>S. 2032</u>)	Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)	38 (15R, 22D, 1I)*	39-61	Enacted as part of the Emergency Security Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2021	Increases the number of SIVs available to qualified Afghan nationals who worked for the U.S. government or for NATO missions in Afghanistan, and relaxes certain qualifications for such visas.	Ease	SIVs
116th	Fairness for High-Skilled Immigrants Act of 2019 (<u>S. 386</u>)	Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT)	36 (20R, 16D)	56-44	Referred to committee	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China.	Ease	Employment- based
114th	Visa Waiver Program Security Enhancement Act (S. 2337)	Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)	26 (7R, 18D, 1I)*	30-70	Referred to committee	Prohibits a national of a Visa Waiver Program country who has traveled to Iraq or Syria at any time during the most recent five-year period from traveling to the U.S. without a visa.	Restrict	Visa Waiver Program

^{*}Independent cosponsor caucused with Democrats.

Appendix Table 2: Bills with Evenly Split Sponsorship

Note: All bills in this table aimed to ease restrictions on immigration. None advanced out of committee.

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Short Summary	Category
115th	Fairness for High- Skilled Immigrants Act of 2017 (<u>H.R. 392</u>)	Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-UT)	330 (154R, 176D)	47-53	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China.	Employment- based
115th	Encourage New Legalized Immigrants to Start Training (ENLIST) Act (<u>H.R. 60</u>)	Rep. Jeff Denham (R-CA)	220 (100R, 120D)	45-55	Authorizes the enlistment in the armed forces of aliens unlawfully present in the U.S. on December 31, 2012, who: (1) have been continuously present in the U.S. since such date; (2) were younger than 15 years of age when they initially entered the U.S.; and (3) are otherwise eligible for original enlistment in a regular component of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard. Adjusts the status of an alien enlisted under such authority to the status of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.	
115th	Partner with Korea Act (<u>H.R. 2106</u>)	Rep. Peter Roskam (R-IL)	82 (38R, 44D)	46-54	Creates an E-4 treaty trader visa category for up to 15,000 nationals of South Korea each fiscal year who are coming to the U.S. solely to perform specialty occupation services.	Investors and entrepreneurs
117th	Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2021 (<u>H.R. 1593</u>)	Rep. Adam Smith (D-WA)	64 (32R, 32D)	50-50	Provides for the automatic acquisition of citizenship for certain individuals adopted by a U.S. citizen.	Adoption
116th	Healthcare Workforce Resilience Act (<u>S. 3599</u>)	Sen. David Perdue (R-GA)	40 (19R, 20D, 1I)*	48-52	Makes previously unused immigrant visas available to nurses and physicians who petition for such a visa before the date that is 90 days after the end of the declared national emergency relating to the COVID-19 outbreak.	Employment- based
115th	Bar Removal of Individuals who Dream and Grow our Economy (BRIDGE) Act (<u>H.R. 496</u>)	Rep. Mike Coffman (R-CO)	32 (16R,16D)	50-50	Grants a three-year provisional protected presence and employment authorization to certain DREAMers.	DREAMers
115th	Keeping Our Promise to Our Afghan Allies Act (<u>H.R. 1544</u>)	Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-IL)	31 (15R,16D)	48-52	Increases the number of SIVs for Afghans from 8,500 to 11,000.	SIVs
116th	Canadian Snowbird Visa Act (<u>H.R. 3241</u>)	Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-NY)	30 (16R, 14D)	53-47	Authorizes the Department of Homeland Security to admit into the U.S. qualifying Canadian citizens as long-term nonimmigrant visitors.	Other nonimmigrant visas
115th	Knowledgeable Innovators and Worthy Investors (KIWI) Act (<u>H.R. 3324</u>)	Rep. Darrell Issa (R-CA)	30 (16R, 14D)	53-47	Makes New Zealand nationals eligible to enter the U.S. as treaty traders and investors if New Zealand provides reciprocal treatment to U.S. nationals.	Investors and entrepreneurs

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Short Summary	Category
117th	Hong Kong People's Freedom and Choice Act of 2021 (<u>H.R. 4276</u>)	Rep. Tom Malinowski (D-NJ)	28 (13R, 15D)	46-54	Provides for temporary protected status (TPS) for qualifying Hong Kong residents.	Humanitarian and refugees
118th	Conrad State 30 and Physician Access Reauthorization Act (<u>S. 665</u>)	Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)	24 (12R, 11D, 1I)*	50-50	Increases the number of Conrad waivers that a state may obtain each fiscal year from 30 to 35 if a certain number of waivers were used the previous year and provides for further adjustments depending on demand.	Employment- based
118th	To include the Czech Republic in the list of foreign states (H.R. 8679)	Rep. Steve Cohen (D-TN)	24 (12R, 12D)	50-50	Includes the Czech Republic in the list of foreign states whose nationals are eligible for admission into the U.S. as E-1 treaty traders if U.S. nationals are treated similarly by the Government of the Czech Republic.	Investors and entrepreneurs
115th	Fairness for High- Skilled Immigrants Act of 2017 (<u>S. 281</u>)	Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT)	21 (11R, 10D)	52-48	Eliminates the per-country numerical limitation for employment-based immigrants and increases the per-country numerical limitation for family-based immigrants from 7% to 15% of the total number of family-sponsored visas. Removes an offset that reduced the number of visas for individuals from China.	Employment- based
118th	Healthcare Workforce Resilience Act (<u>S. 3211</u>)	Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL)	20 (10R, 9D, 1I)*	50-50	Recapture visas—up to 25,000 immigrant visas for nurses and 15,000 immigrant visas for physicians, as well as immigrant visas for these medical professionals' families—from the pool of unused employment-based visas that Congress has previously authorized.	Employment- based
116th	Conrad State 30 and Physician Access Act of 2019 (<u>S. 948</u>)	Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)	18 (9R, 8D, 1I)*	50-50	Increases the number of Conrad waivers that a state may obtain each fiscal year from 30 to 35 if a certain number of waivers were used the previous year and provides for further adjustments depending on demand.	Employment- based
117th	Deferred Removal for Iraqi Nationals Including Minorities Act of 2021 (<u>H.R. 4273</u>)	Rep. Andy Levin (D-MI)	14 (7R, 7D)	50-50	Defers the removal of qualified Iraqi nationals from the U.S. for two years from the date of the bill's passage.	SIVs
117th	Adoptee Citizenship Act of 2021 (<u>S. 967</u>)	Sen. Roy Blunt (R-MO)	14 (7R, 7D)	50-50	Provides for the automatic acquisition of citizenship for certain individuals adopted by a U.S. citizen.	Adoption
117th	America's Children Act (<u>S. 2753</u>)	Sen. Alex Padilla (D-CA)	12 (6R, 5D, 1I)	50-50	Provides lawful permanent resident status to certain college graduates who entered the U.S. as children.	DREAMers

^{*}Independent cosponsor caucused with Democrats.

Appendix Table 3: Bipartisan Immigration Bills that Became Law

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Short Summary	Ease/ Restrict	Category
114th	Adoptive Family Relief Act (<u>S. 1300</u>)	Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)	22 (13R, 9D)	59-41	Allows for the waiver or refund of any statutory immigrant visa fees for an adopted child if the child was unable to use the original immigrant visa during the period of its validity as a direct result of extraordinary circumstances, including the denial of an exit permit.	Ease	Adoption
117th	EB-5 Reform and Integrity Act of 2021 (<u>H.R. 2901</u>)	Rep. Greg Stanton (D-AZ)	30 (17R, 13D)	57-43	Reauthorizes the EB-5 Regional Center program through FY2026 and makes various changes to the program, such as imposing various oversight requirements.	Restrict	Investors and entrepreneurs
117th	EB-5 Reform and Integrity Act of 2021 (<u>S. 831</u>)	Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA)	2 (1R, 1D)	50-50	Reauthorizes the EB-5 Regional Center program through FY2026 and makes various changes to the program, such as imposing various oversight requirements.	Restrict	Investors and entrepreneurs
115th	Knowledgeable Innovators and Worthy Investors (KIWI) Act (<u>S. 2245</u>)	Sen. Mazie Hirono (D-HI)	8 (5R, 3D)	63-37	Makes New Zealand nationals eligible to enter the U.S. as treaty traders and investors if New Zealand provides reciprocal treatment to U.S. nationals.	Ease	Investors and entrepreneurs
116th	Citizenship for Children of Military Members and Civil Servants Act (<u>H.R. 4803</u>)	Rep. Jerry Nadler (D-NY)	14 (6R, 8D)	43-57	Establishes that a foreign-born child of a U.S. citizen member of the armed forces or government employee may automatically acquire U.S. citizenship even if the child is not residing in the U.S.	Ease	LPR, naturalization, and citizenship
117th	Energy Security and Lightering Independence Act of 2022 (<u>S. 5168</u>)	Sen. Alex Padilla (D-CA)	2 (1R, 1D)	50-50	Authorizes an alien crewman to obtain a permit to land in the U.S. for up to 180 days (up from 29 days) if, during this period, the crewman will perform ship-to-ship liquid cargo transfer operations involving a vessel engaged in foreign trade.	Ease	Other nonimmigrant visas
116th	Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2019 (H.R. 2796)	Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-OR)	43 (18R, 25D)	42-58	Provides for 4,000 additional SIVs to qualified nationals of Afghanistan.	Ease	SIVs
117th	Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2021 (<u>S. 2032</u>)	Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)	38 (15R, 22D, 11)*	39-61	Increases the number of SIVs available to qualified Afghan nationals who worked for the U.S. government or for NATO missions in Afghanistan, and relaxes certain qualifications for such visas.	Ease	SIVs

Congress	Bill Title	Sponsor	Cosponsors	R-D Split (%)*	Short Summary	Ease/ Restrict	Category
117th	Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2021 (<u>H.R. 3513</u>)	Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-IL)	48 (13R, 35D)	27-73	Provides for 4,000 additional SIVs to qualified nationals of Afghanistan.	Ease	SIVs
115th	Afghan Allies Protection Amendments Act of 2018 (<u>H.R. 5694</u>)	Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-IL)	22 (10R, 12D)	45-55	Provides for 4,000 additional SIVs to qualified nationals of Afghanistan.	Ease	SIVs
118th	GRATEFUL Act (<u>S. 1887</u>)	Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)	4 (2R, 2D)	50-50	Increases the number of SIVs available to eligible foreign nationals who were employed by the U.S. government abroad. Modifies a provision that reduces the number of diversity immigrant visas available each fiscal year.	Ease	SIVs
118th	GRATEFUL Act (H.R. 5982)	Rep. Sydney Kamlager- Dove (D-CA)	2 (1R, 1D)	50-50	Increases the number of SIVs available to eligible foreign nationals who were employed by the U.S. government abroad. Modifies a provision that reduces the number of diversity immigrant visas available each fiscal year.	Ease	SIVs
117th	HOPE for Afghan SIVs Act of 2021 (<u>S. 2083</u>)	Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX)	4 (2R, 2D)	50-50	Authorizes the departments of State or Homeland Security to postpone the medical exam requirement for qualifying citizens or nationals of Afghanistan seeking entry into the United States as special immigrants.	Ease	SIVs
117th	HOPE for Afghan SIVs Act of 2021 (H.R. 3385)	Rep. Jason Crow (D-CO)	95 (29R, 66D)	31-69	Authorizes the departments of State or Homeland Security to postpone the medical exam requirement for qualifying citizens or nationals of Afghanistan seeking entry into the U.S. as special immigrants.	Ease	SIVs
114th	Visa Waiver Program Improvement and Terrorist Travel Prevention Act of 2015 (<u>H.R. 158</u>)	Rep. Candice Miller (R-MI)	94 (65R, 29D)	69-31	Includes terrorism risk as a factor the secretary of Homeland Security shall consider under the electronic system for travel authorization (ESTA) in determining the eligibility of an alien to travel to the U.S.	Restrict	Visa Waiver Program

^{*}Independent cosponsor caucused with Democrats.



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