

# MIGRATION

## Chapter 7. Migration

In Chapter 1 we discussed the history of migration movements to the Northern Mariana Islands. Both Chamorros and Carolinians have had long histories of migration in and around their area of the Pacific, but they have been joined in recent years by migration of other groups - first the Japanese who moved in in large numbers in the 1930s, and then either died or moved out after World War II, then the Americans throughout the American Administration, and finally the "new" migrants from the Philippines, Japan, Taiwan, and other areas.

There were 4 migration questions on the 1980 decennial census - place of birth, father's birthplace, mother's birthplace, and residence in 1975.

The data on place of birth were derived from answers to question 10. Respondents were instructed to report place of birth in terms of the mother's usual place of residence at the time of the birth rather than in terms of the location of the hospital if the birth occurred in a hospital. Persons born in the CNMI or one of the other areas of the Pacific were to report their island or atoll of birth, persons born in the United States reported their State, and persons born elsewhere were asked to report their country of birth according to international boundaries recognized by the United States government on April 1, 1980. Since numerous changes in boundaries of foreign countries have occurred in the last century, some of these persons may have reported their country of birth in terms of boundaries that existed at the time of their birth or emigration, or in accordance with their own national preference. Selected countries of birth are shown here.

Place of birth was not allocated for the Northern Mariana Islands. Persons not reporting place of birth were shown separately on the tables under "Place of birth not reported."

Citizenship was not asked in the Northern Mariana Islands in 1980. Question 12 on year of immigration to the CNMI was asked. Persons born outside the CNMI were to indicate the period which included the year they came to stay permanently in the Commonwealth. If the year of immigration was not reported, a response was assigned using the responses of other persons based on age and place of birth; the allocation procedure did not work perfectly, since there were a few mismatches where persons were reported as having migrated before they were born.

The data on place of birth of parents were derived from answers to questions 13 and 14. These questions were asked for the first time in the 1980 decennial census. Information on place of birth of parents was used to classify the population of the Northern Mariana Islands according to the place where the person's parents were born.

Persons with one or both parents born elsewhere were asked to report the country of birth according to international boundaries as recognized by the U.S. government on April 1, 1980. Place of birth of parents was not allocated for nonresponse. Selected areas of parental birth are shown here.

The data on residence in 1975 were derived from answers to questions 15a, 15b, and 15c. Persons living in the Northern Mariana Islands or one of the other areas listed in question 15b in 1975, were asked to report the village and major island or atoll, or U.S. State. Persons living elsewhere were asked to report the foreign country in which they were living in 1975. Residence in 1975 is used in conjunction with current residence to determine the extent of residential mobility of the population. When no information on residence in 1975 was collected for a person, information for other family members was used, if available. All cases of nonresponse, or incomplete response not assigned based on information from other family members were shown separately in tabulations as "Residence in 1975 not reported."

The number of persons who were living in a different house in 1975 was somewhat less than the total number of moves during the 5-year period. Some persons in the same house at the two dates had moved during the 5-year period but by the time of enumeration had returned to their 1975 residence. Other persons who were living in a different house had made one or more intermediate moves. For similar reasons, the number of persons living in a different municipality (or island) may be understated.

#### BIRTHPLACE

More than 71 percent of the CNMI population in 1980 were born in the Commonwealth, down from 79 percent in the 1973 Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) Census (Table 7.1). The proportion of the population that was born in the TTPI remained the same between the two censuses, at 9 percent. The percentage born elsewhere, increased from 12 percent in 1973 to 19 percent in 1980, so that 1 in every 5 persons in the CNMI in 1980 was born neither in the CNMI itself nor in one of the other TTPI areas.

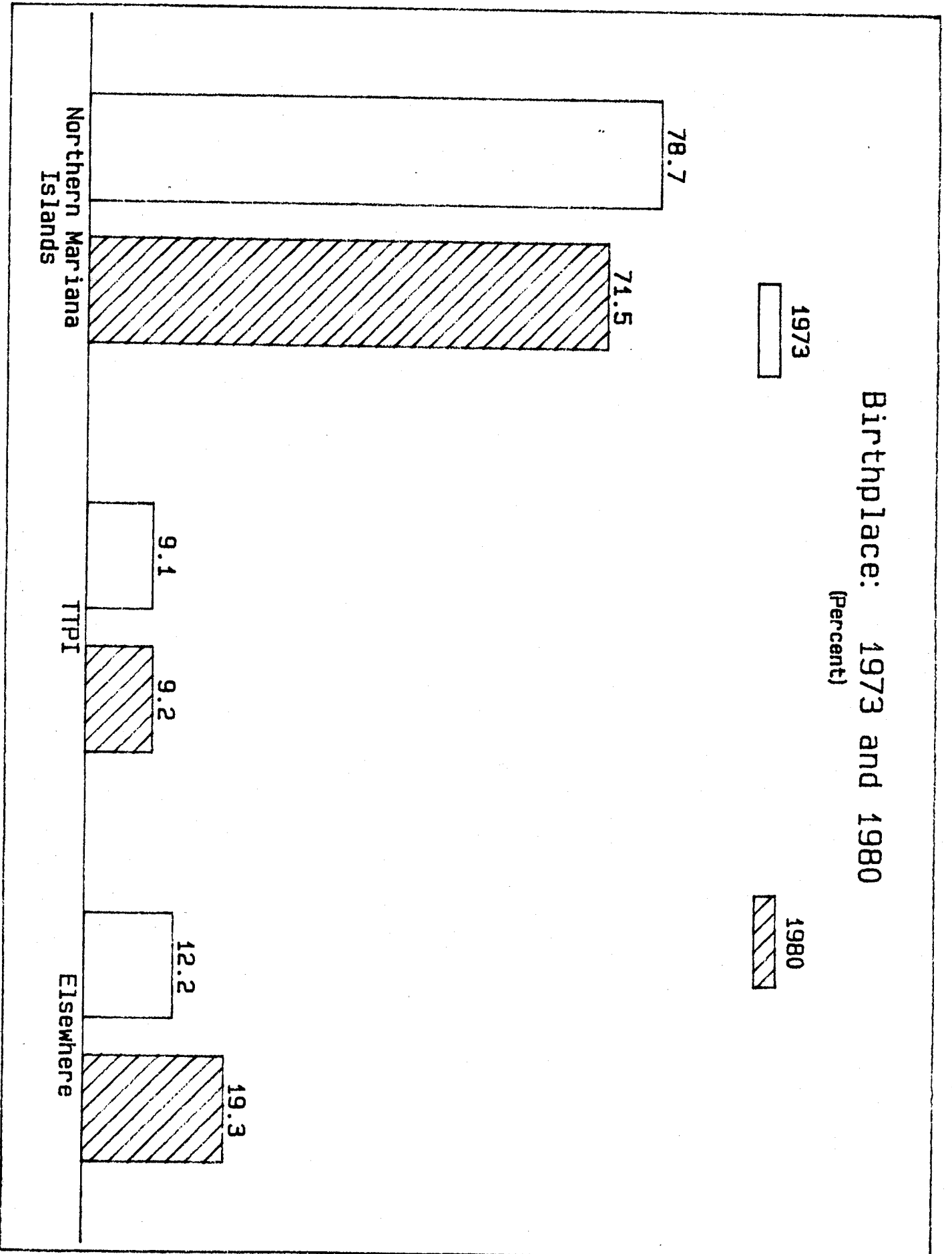
Table 7.1. Birthplace: 1973 and 1980

Birthplace	Number		Percent	Percent	
	1980	1973	Change 1973 to 1980	1980	1973
Total.....	16780	14333	14.6	100.0	100.0
Northern Mariana Is.....	11993	11280	5.9	71.5	78.7
TTPI.....	1543	1301	15.7	9.2	9.1
Elsewhere.....	3244	1752	46.0	19.3	12.2

Source: PC80-1-A57A, Table 20, and 1973 TTPI census

FIGURE 7.1

### Birthplace: 1973 and 1980 (Percent)



Although the population of the Northern Marianas increased from 14,333 in 1973 (based on a usual residence count necessary for this table) to 16,780 in 1980 (15 percent), the born elsewhere population increased by 46 percent during the same period. The population born in the Northern Mariana Islands only increased 6 percent during the period, indicating a drastic reduction in the fertility rate (for which there is no evidence), or emigration from the Northern Mariana Islands to other places between 1973 and 1980. The percentage increase for TTPI-born persons was approximately the same as the overall increase for the Commonwealth. Since no other recent previous census data are available, it is not possible to tell much from this trend so far, but it is likely that by 1990 the percentage of the population born in the CNMI will be even smaller.

The percentages of both males and females born in the CNMI decreased during the 7 years (Table 7.2). The percentage of males born in the CNMI decreased from 76 percent in 1973 to 69 percent in 1980, and the percentage for females decreased from 81 percent in 1973 to 74 percent in 1980.

Table 7.2. Birthplace by Sex: 1973 and 1980

Birthplace	1980			1973		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Total.....	16780	8817	7963	14333	7484	6849
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern Marianas....	71.5	69.2	74.0	78.7	76.5	81.1
TTPI.....	9.2	7.9	10.6	9.1	8.3	9.9
Elsewhere.....	19.3	22.9	15.3	12.2	15.2	9.0

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 24, and 1973 TTPI Census, Table 7

The proportion of persons born elsewhere on Saipan and Tinian was similar to the CNMI as a whole, but Rota had 81 percent born in CNMI (and all but 1 of the persons in the Northern Islands was born in the CNMI) (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Birthplace by Island: 1980

Birthplace	Numbers				Percent			
	Sai-pan	Tin-Rota	N. Is.	Total	Sai-pan	Tin-Rota	N. Is.	Total
Total.....	14549	1261	866	1041	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern Mariana Is.....	10239	1019	632	1031	71.5	70.4	80.8	99.0
Elsewhere.....	4310	242	234	11	28.5	29.6	19.2	1.0

Source: Summary Tape File 3A, Table 151

FIGURE 7.2

# Birthplace by Sex for the Northern Mariana Islands: 1973 and 1980 (Percent)

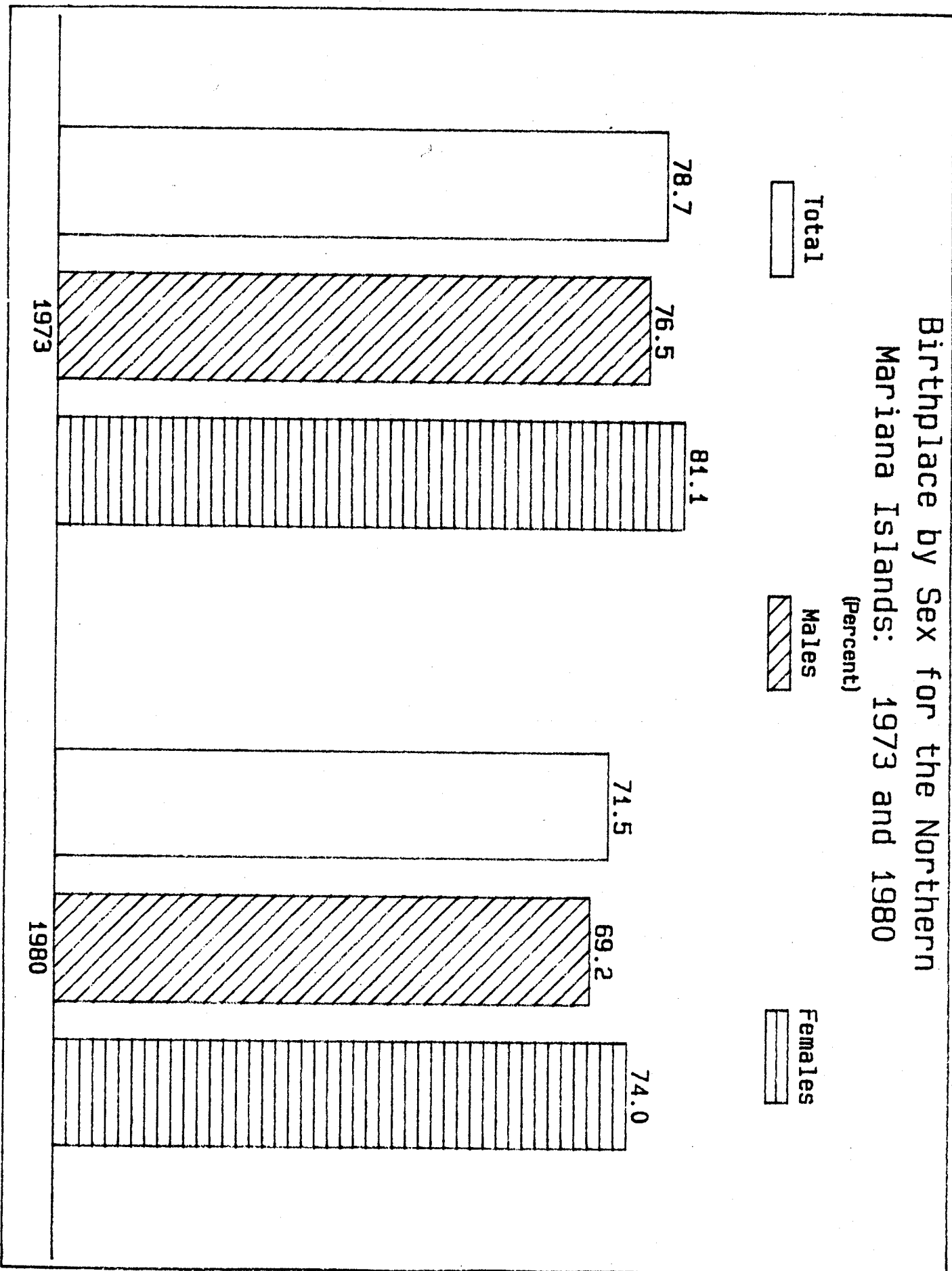
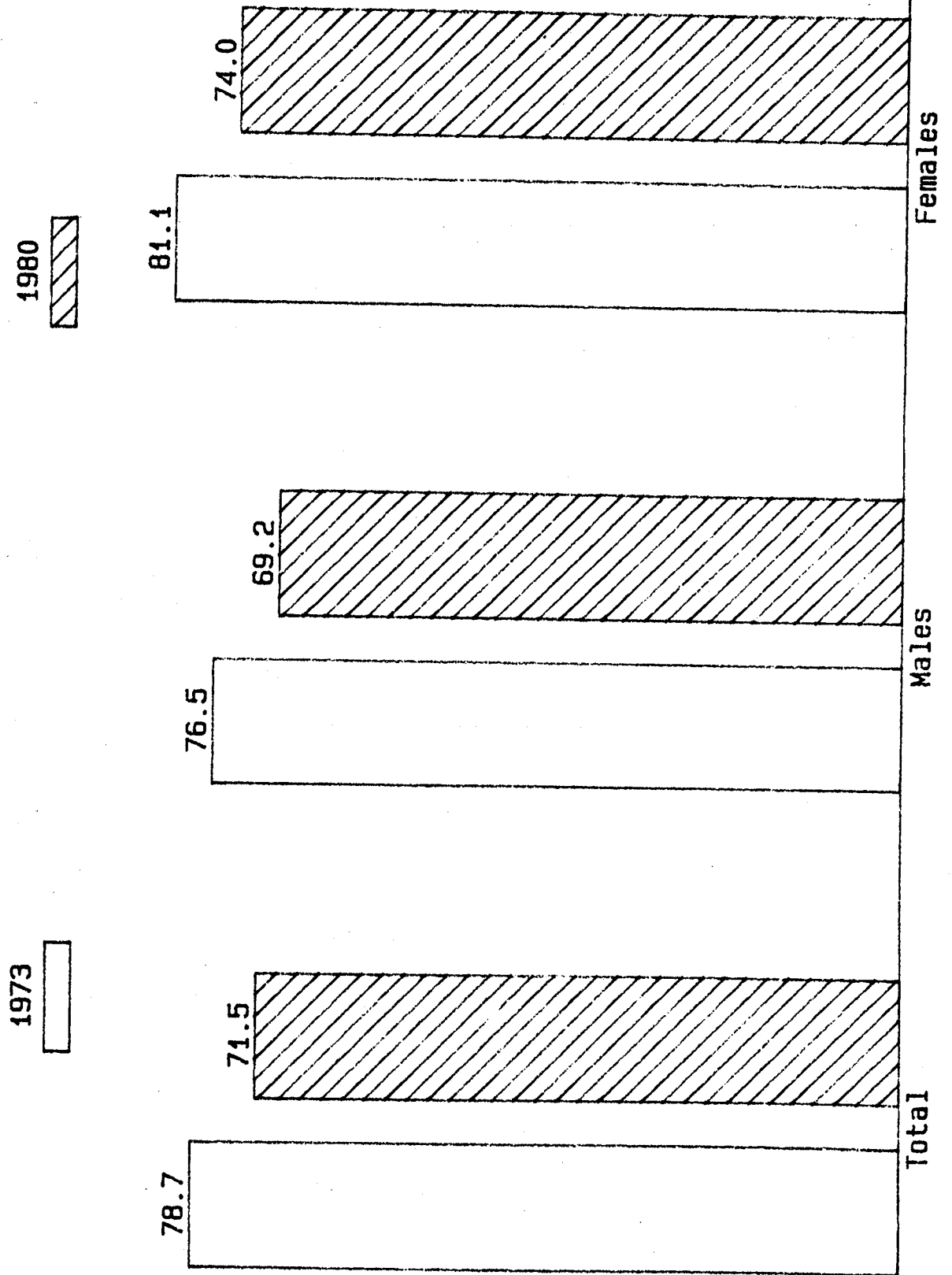


FIGURE 7.3  
PERCENT BORN IN CNMI

# Birthplace by Sex for the Northern Mariana Islands: 1973 and 1980 (Percent)



After the CNMI born, the next largest part of the population was born in the Philippines (9 percent), followed by the Federated States of Micronesia (5 percent) and Palau (4 percent) (Table 7.4). Comparative data are not available from earlier censuses. It is clear that migrants were already making up a large part of the CNMI population in 1980 - almost 3 in every 10 residents.

Table 7.4. Birthplace by Sex: 1980

Birthplace	Numbers			Percent		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Total.....	16780	8817	7963	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern Mariana Islands.....	11993	6097	5896	71.5	69.2	74.0
Guam.....	522	246	276	3.1	2.8	3.5
Asia.....	1915	1307	608	11.4	14.8	7.6
Philippines.....	1564	1092	472	9.3	12.4	5.9
United States.....	553	323	230	3.3	3.7	2.9
Palau.....	659	289	370	3.9	3.3	4.6
Marshall Islands.....	115	46	69	.7	.5	.9
Federated States of Micronesia..	769	363	406	4.6	4.1	5.1
Kosrae.....	28	15	13	.2	.2	.2
Pohnpei.....	275	127	148	1.6	1.4	1.9
Truk.....	246	114	132	1.5	1.3	1.7
Yap.....	220	107	113	1.3	1.2	1.4
Elsewhere.....	90	46	44	.5	.5	.6
Place of Birth Not Reported.....	164	100	64	1.0	1.1	.8

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 24

There were differences by sex. Although 74 percent of the females in 1980 were born in the CNMI, this was true for only 69 percent of the males. Most of the difference can be attributed to the relatively large number of Filipino males in 1980. Although only 6 percent of the females were born in the Philippines, more than 12 percent of the males were born there; in fact, almost 1 in every 8 males in the CNMI in 1980 was born in the Philippines.

When persons born in the CNMI are excluded, a clearer picture of the immigrants emerges. Fully 4 out of every 10 persons born outside of the Commonwealth were born in Asia; about 1 in 3 persons were born in the Philippines (Table 7.5). In fact, nearly half of the immigrant males were Asian, with 4 of every 10 male migrants being from the Philippines.

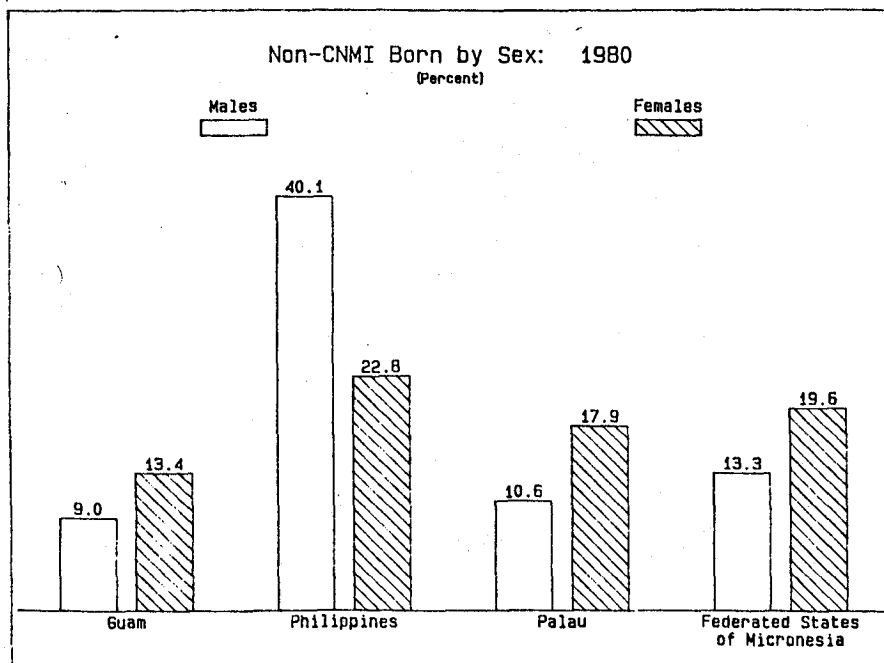
About 1 in 6 immigrants were from the Federated States of Micronesia, including almost 1 in 5 of the female immigrants. The next largest migrant groups were from Palau (14 percent), the United States (12 percent), and Guam (11 percent).

Table 7.5. Birthplace by Sex: 1980

Birthplace	Numbers			Percent		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Total.....	16780	8817	7963	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northern Mariana Islands.....	11993	6097	5896	...	...	...
Guam.....	522	246	276	10.9	9.0	13.4
Asia.....	1915	1307	608	40.0	48.1	29.4
Philippines.....	1564	1092	472	32.7	40.1	22.8
United States.....	553	323	230	11.6	11.9	11.1
Palau.....	659	289	370	13.8	10.6	17.9
Marshall Islands.....	115	46	69	2.4	1.7	3.3
Federated States of Micronesia..	769	363	406	16.1	13.3	19.6
Kosrae.....	28	15	13	.6	.6	.6
Pohnpei.....	275	127	148	5.7	4.7	7.2
Truk.....	246	114	132	5.1	4.2	6.4
Yap.....	220	107	113	4.6	3.9	5.5
Elsewhere.....	90	46	44	1.9	1.7	2.1
Place of Birth Not Reported.....	164	100	64	3.4	3.7	3.1

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 24

FIGURE 7.4



The population born in the Philippines was also the most maldistributed by age (Table 7.6). More than 28 percent of that population was 35 to 44 years old. The population born in the CNMI had the most regular distribution, having generally decreasing numbers with age. The median ages of the various populations illustrate the age disparities. The median for persons born in the CNMI was only 15.9 compared to 19.6 for the total population, and 35.0 for those born in the Philippines.

For the youngest ages, only the CNMI born (at 18 percent) and Guam born (17 percent) had percentages of persons under age 5 which were greater than the average for the total population. Less than 2 percent of the Philippines-born population were in this group.

Table 7.6. Birthplace by Age: 1980

Age Group	Total	CNMI	Guam	Phili- ppines	United States	Palau	FSM	All Others
All persons...	16780	11993	522	1564	553	659	769	720
Percent....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 5 years.	14.7	18.1	17.2	1.5	9.2	4.4	6.2	7.5
5 to 9 years.....	12.8	14.9	20.3	2.9	9.2	7.4	8.3	7.1
10 to 14 years....	13.1	14.9	19.5	2.4	9.0	10.9	9.1	9.7
15 to 19 years....	10.1	11.3	13.2	1.6	3.6	12.3	13.3	6.5
20 to 24 years....	9.0	9.0	5.0	9.1	6.0	11.7	13.7	6.9
25 to 29 years....	8.7	7.7	5.6	15.3	9.4	10.8	8.3	11.4
30 to 34 years....	7.8	5.9	3.6	17.1	12.3	10.8	9.2	13.5
35 to 44 years....	10.1	6.2	3.6	28.1	19.7	17.1	15.1	20.0
45 to 54 years....	6.9	5.2	4.2	18.5	8.5	6.5	7.7	10.4
55 to 59 years....	2.3	2.0	1.3	2.3	7.4	3.0	4.0	2.4
60 to 64 years....	1.6	1.6	.6	.6	3.3	2.9	2.3	1.5
65 years and over.	2.9	3.2	5.7	.5	2.4	2.1	2.7	3.1
Median Age.....	19.6	15.9	13.2	35.5	31.4	26.4	24.8	30.3

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 20

FIGURE 7.5

# Age for the Northern Mariana Islands Born: 1980 (Percent)

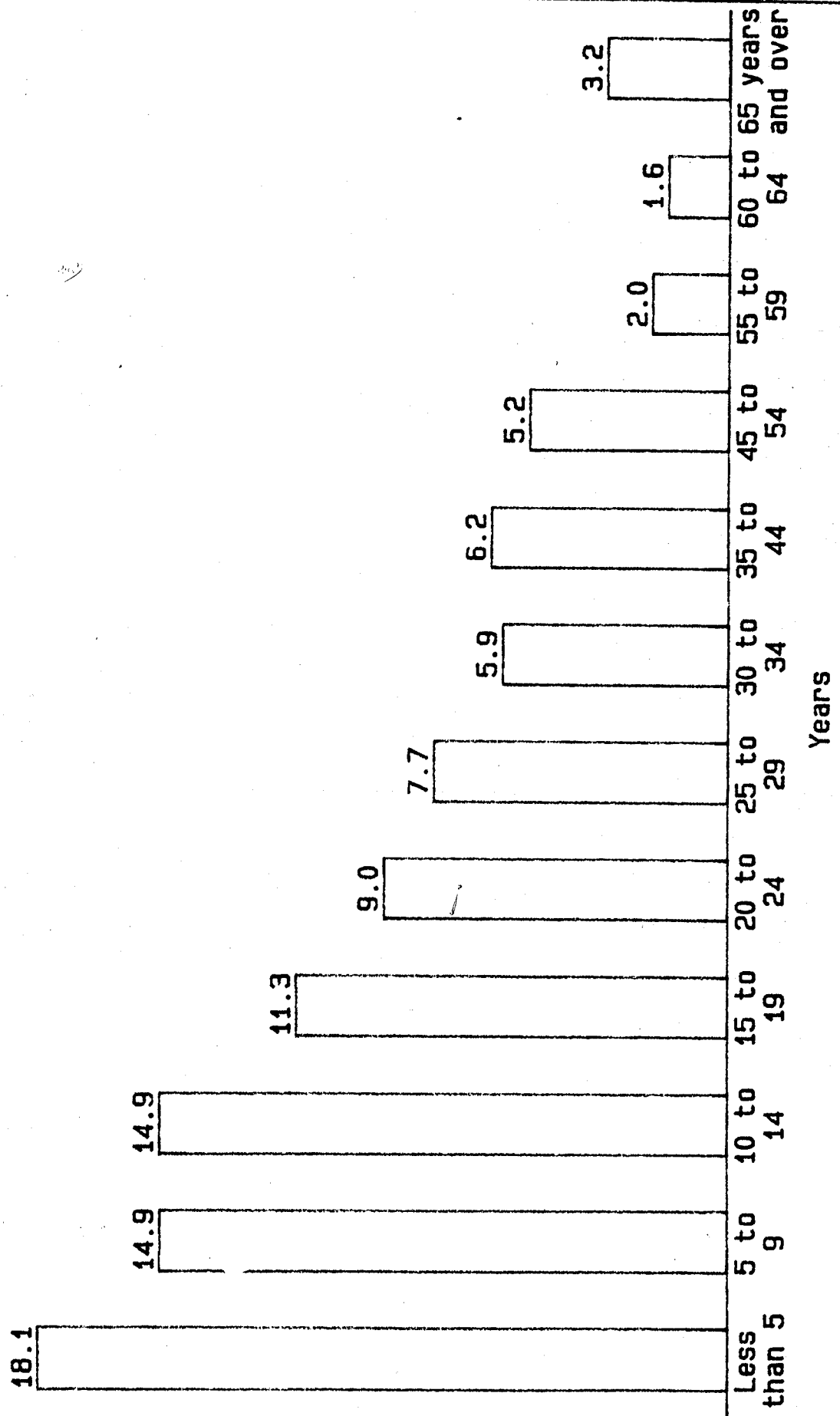
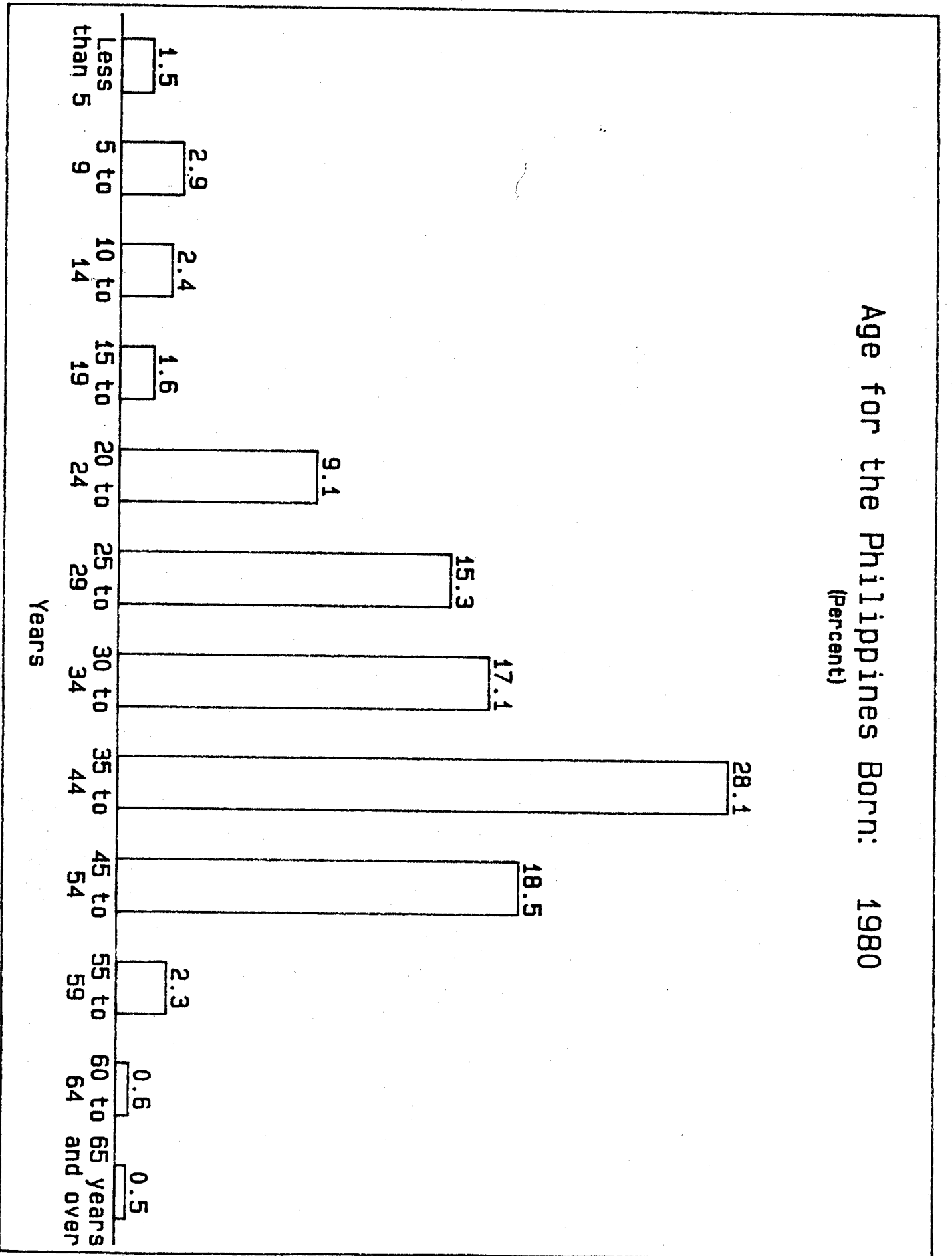


FIGURE 7-6

### Age for the Philippines Born: 1980 (Percent)



The disparities are also seen in the percentages by birthplace for each age group (Table 7.7). Although 88 percent of the population under 5 years old was born in the Northern Mariana Islands, that percentage decreased with age to the 35 to 44 year olds, where less than half (44 percent) of that age group were born in the CNMI. In fact, for that group more than 1 in 4 were born in the Philippines, and about 7 percent each were born in the United States, Palau, and FSM. Although more than 60 percent of the 55 to 59 years olds were born in the CNMI, another 11 percent were born in the United States.

Table 7.7. Birthplace by Sex and Age: 1980

Age Group	Total	CNMI	Guam	Phili- ppines	United States	Palau	FSM	All Others
All persons...	100.0	71.5	3.1	9.3	3.3	3.9	4.6	4.3
Less than 5 years.	100.0	88.0	3.7	1.0	2.1	1.2	1.9	2.2
5 to 9 years.....	100.0	83.0	4.9	2.1	2.4	2.3	3.0	2.4
10 to 14 years....	100.0	81.7	4.7	1.7	2.3	3.3	3.2	3.2
15 to 19 years....	100.0	79.8	4.1	1.5	1.2	4.8	6.0	2.8
20 to 24 years....	100.0	71.3	1.7	9.5	2.2	5.1	6.9	3.3
25 to 29 years....	100.0	63.2	2.0	16.4	3.6	4.9	4.4	5.6
30 to 34 years....	100.0	54.4	1.5	20.6	5.2	5.4	5.4	7.4
35 to 44 years....	100.0	44.3	1.1	26.1	6.5	6.7	6.9	8.5
45 to 54 years....	100.0	53.7	1.9	25.0	4.1	3.7	5.1	6.5
55 to 59 years....	100.0	60.8	1.8	9.3	10.6	5.2	8.0	4.4
60 to 64 years....	100.0	70.8	1.1	3.4	6.7	7.1	6.7	4.1
65 years and over.	100.0	78.2	6.1	1.6	2.6	2.8	4.2	4.4

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 20

Of the 4,623 persons not born in the CNMI, 30 percent immigrated in either 1979 or 1980. Another 22 percent immigrated in either 1977 or 1978 so more than half of the migrants arrived within 3 years of the census date. Another one-fourth of the migrants arrived between 1973 and 1976, and the last quarter arrived before 1973.

The largest group of migrants was, as noted previously, persons from the Philippines. Of these, 37 percent arrived in either 1979 or 1980. Since another 20 percent arrived in 1977 or 1978, significantly more than half of the Philippines born had arrived in the three years before the census. Another 28 percent arrived in 1973 through 1976, so very few of those born in the Philippines were long-term migrants.

Table 7.8. Year of Immigration by Birthplace: 1980

Age Group	Total	Guam	Phili- ppines	United States	Palau	FSM	All Others
Born elsewhere..	4623	522	1564	553	659	769	556
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1979 or 1980.....	29.8	24.7	37.1	34.2	19.6	26.5	26.6
1977 or 1978.....	21.7	21.3	19.6	32.5	16.8	15.2	32.2
1975 or 1976.....	11.5	13.0	13.8	11.8	9.7	6.9	12.1
1973 or 1974.....	12.2	11.3	14.8	7.6	14.1	9.6	11.5
1971 or 1972.....	6.9	7.7	7.7	4.9	9.3	5.6	5.0
1970.....	3.1	2.3	2.4	1.6	4.6	4.8	3.4
1960 to 1969.....	8.6	12.1	3.9	6.3	16.1	11.8	7.6
1950 to 1959.....	1.1	1.3	.4	.9	1.4	3.3	0.0
Before 1950.....	5.0	6.3	.3	.2	8.5	16.3	1.6

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 27

Persons born in the United States were also recent migrants, although many of these were probably contract workers who would be returning to the United States after their terms were up. Residents from Guam were more intermediate migrants. But persons from Palau and FSM were among the long term migrants. Fully 16 percent of the migrants from FSM - about 1 in 6, migrated to the CNMI before 1950; of course, many of these migrants were Carolinians from the outer islands of Yap and Truk who came to the CNMI to join relatives already on island. More than 3 of every 10 migrants from FSM and almost that proportion from Palau arrived in the Commonwealth before 1970.

FIGURE 7.7

# Year of Immigration: 1980 (Percent)

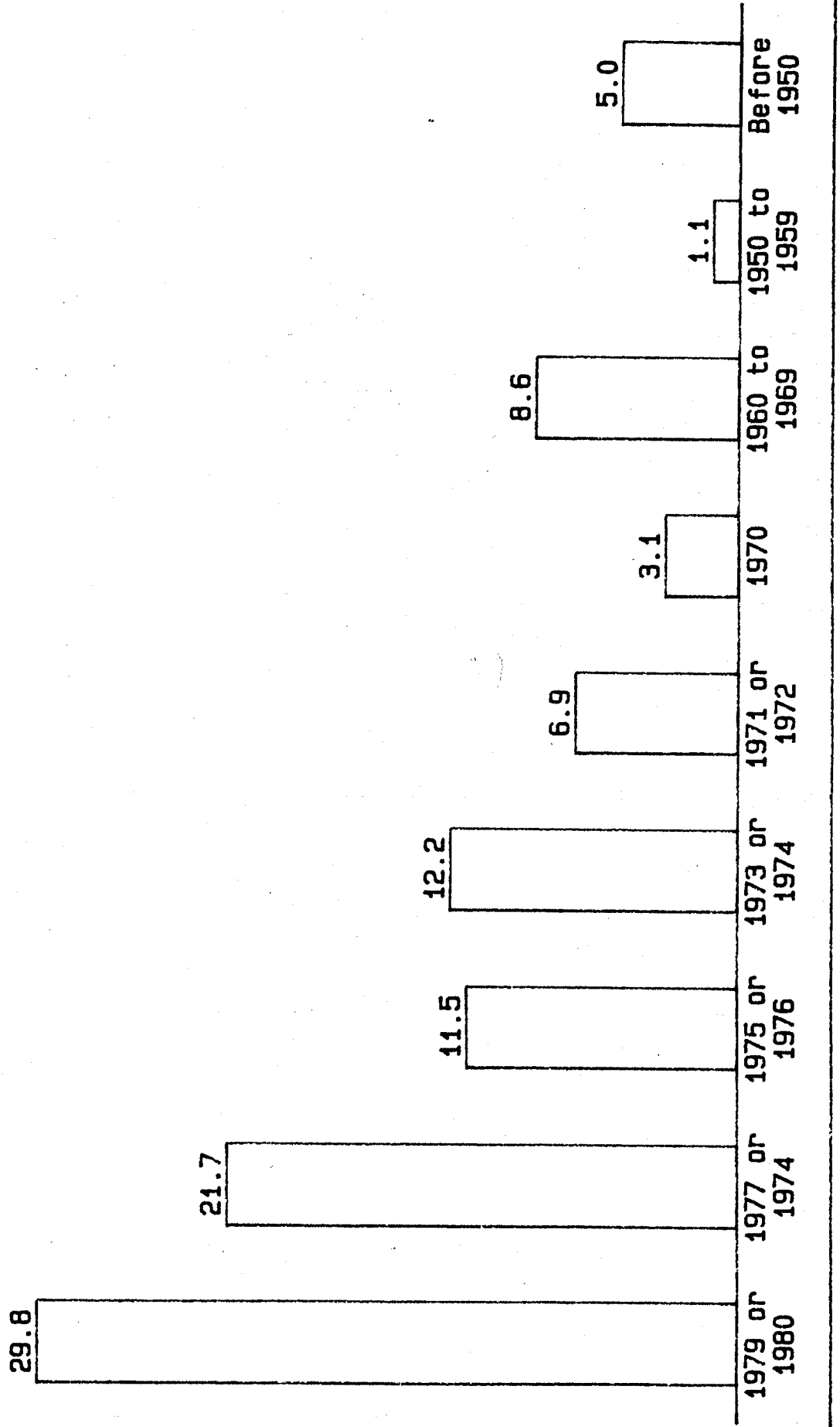


Table 7.9 shows the data with some of the years collapsed. In the 5 years before the census, 63 percent of the migrants arrived, and another 22 percent arrived in the previous 5 years. More than 7 of 10 persons from the Philippines and "Other places" and almost 8 of 10 from the United States arrived in the 5 years before the census. Almost half of the migrants from Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia also arrived during that period.

Table 7.9. Year of Immigration by Birthplace: 1980

Age Group	Total	Guam	Phill- ppines	United States	Palau	FSM	All Others
Born elsewhere..	4623	522	1564	553	659	769	556
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1975 to 1980.....	63.1	59.0	70.5	78.5	46.1	48.6	70.9
1970 to 1974.....	22.2	21.3	24.9	14.1	27.9	20.0	20.0
1960 to 1969.....	8.6	12.1	3.9	6.3	16.1	11.8	7.6
1950 to 1959.....	1.1	1.3	.4	.9	1.4	3.3	0.0
Before 1950.....	5.0	6.3	.3	.2	8.5	16.3	1.6

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 27

In recent years, the Philippines has provided the largest proportion of the migrants. As noted earlier, about 1 in 3 migrants in the CNMI in 1980 were from the Philippines. More than 1 in every 3 migrants between 1975 and 1980 were from the Philippines; this was also true for the period between 1970 and 1974 (Table 7.10).

In earlier years, Micronesians were larger proportions of the migrants. For immigrants living in the CNMI in 1980 and having migrated between 1960 and 1969, more than 1 in every 4 was from Palau. Almost half of the migrants between 1950 and 1959 were from FSM, and more than half of those who migrated before 1950 were from the Federated States.

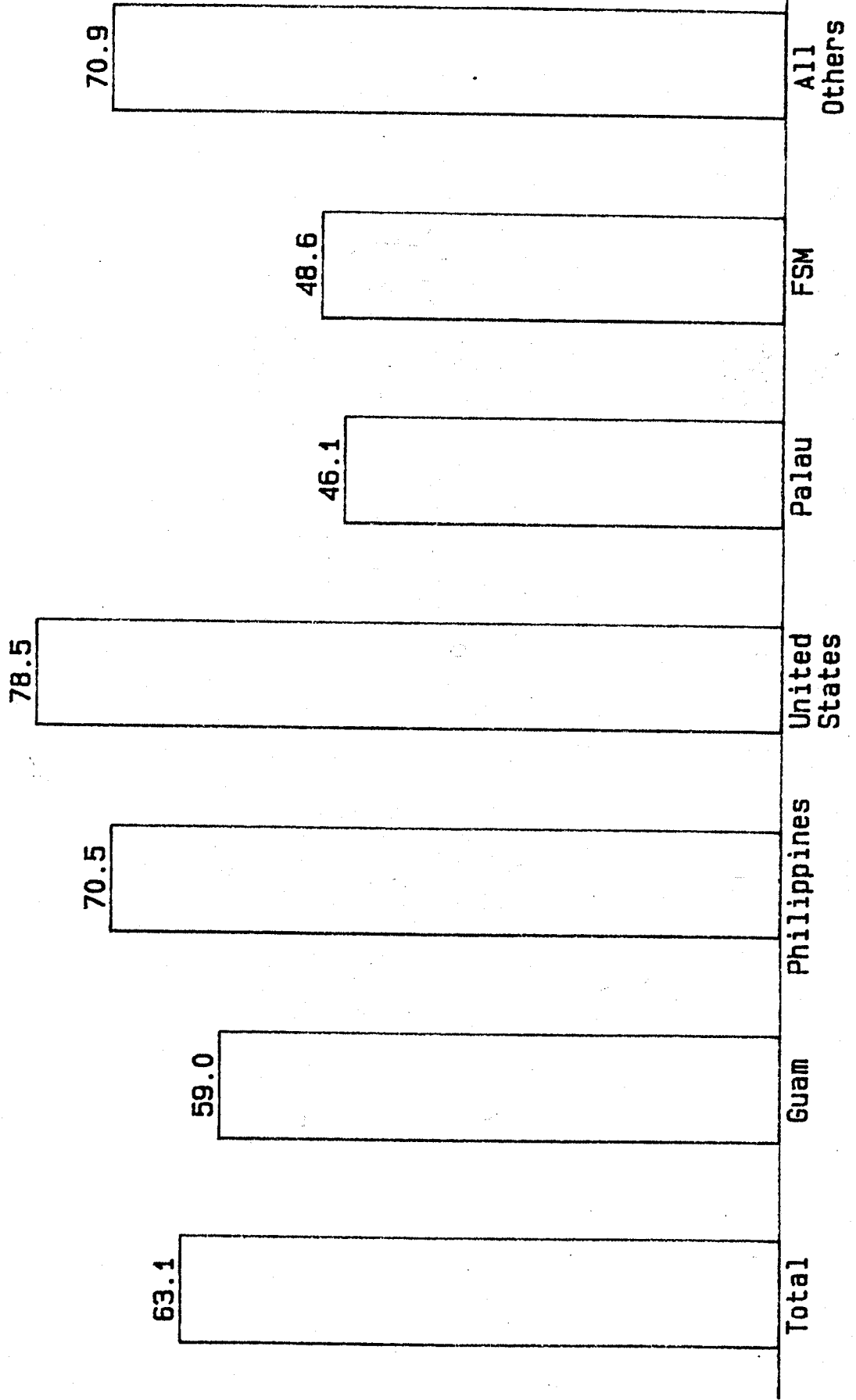
Table 7.10. Year of Immigration by Birthplace: 1980

Age Group	Total	Guam	Phill- ppines	United States	Palau	FSM	All Others
Born elsewhere..	100.0	11.3	33.8	12.0	14.3	16.6	12.0
1975 to 1980.....	100.0	10.6	37.8	14.9	10.4	12.8	13.5
1970 to 1974.....	100.0	10.8	37.9	7.6	17.9	15.0	10.8
1960 to 1969.....	100.0	15.8	15.3	8.8	26.6	22.9	10.6
1950 to 1959.....	100.0	13.2	13.2	9.4	17.0	47.2	0.0
Before 1950.....	100.0	14.4	2.2	.4	24.5	54.6	3.9

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 27

FIGURE 7.8

# Year of Immigration by Birthplace, 1975-1980; 1980 (Percent)



About 72 percent of all known births for people living in the CNMI in 1980 were for people born in the CNMI (Table 7.11). (The percents are slightly different from those above because persons not reporting their place of birth are not included here although they appear in the total column.)

As noted earlier, there was generally an inverse relationship between age and proportion CNMI born. There was also generally an inverse relationship between age and percentage arriving between 1975 and 1980, but with some exceptions. That is, for the most part, the older the migrant, the more likely he or she was to have arrived between 1975 and 1980. Of course, all of the migrant children between 0 and 4 should have arrived between 1975 and 1980 (although the data show some editing problems here. There are similar editing problems for some of the other young people as well).

About 4 of every 5 of the 25 to 29 year old migrants, however, arrived between 1975 and 1980, and then the proportions decrease with age to 22 percent for those 65 years old and over. The peak age group for the migrants arriving between 1970 and 1974 was 45 to 54 years old.

Table 7.11. Year of Immigration by Age: 1980

Age Group	Total	Year of Immigration for non-CNMI Born						
		CNMI Born	Total	1975-1980	1970-1974	1960-1969	1950-1959	Before 1950
All persons...	16780	72.2	100.0	63.1	22.2	8.6	1.1	5.0
Less than 5 years.	2464	88.7	100.0	89.1	8.7	2.2	0.0	0.0
5 to 9 years.....	2148	83.6	100.0	64.3	34.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
10 to 14 years....	2193	82.2	100.0	58.4	28.3	13.4	0.0	0.0
15 to 19 years....	1703	80.1	100.0	61.1	20.2	18.7	0.0	0.0
20 to 24 years....	1512	71.9	100.0	78.6	15.2	5.2	.7	.2
25 to 29 years....	1463	64.1	100.0	81.6	14.3	2.3	1.7	0.0
30 to 34 years....	1303	54.8	100.0	69.7	20.7	6.0	1.2	2.4
35 to 44 years....	1688	45.0	100.0	57.5	24.7	9.3	2.1	6.5
45 to 54 years....	1156	54.7	100.0	44.3	31.3	14.6	1.9	8.0
55 to 59 years....	388	61.5	100.0	36.5	24.3	13.5	2.0	23.6
60 to 64 years....	267	71.6	100.0	32.0	14.7	16.0	1.3	36.0
65 years and over.	495	79.6	100.0	22.2	14.1	10.1	1.0	52.5

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 22

Note: Includes Persons Not Reporting Place of Birth

As would be expected, the oldest migrants arrived the earliest. Almost 1 in every 4 migrants 55 to 59 arrived before 1950, as did more than 1 in 3 of those 60 to 64, and more than half of those 65 years and over.

Finally, there was also an inverse relationship between length of stay in the Northern Mariana Islands and labor force participation, that is, the longer time since arrival in the CNMI, the less likely a person was to be in the

labor force, although migrants were generally more likely to be in the labor force than native born.

While 57 percent of the CNMI-born persons 16 years and over were in the labor force, more than 74 percent of migrants participated in the labor force. More than 77 percent of those who migrated between 1975 and 1980 were in the labor force, as were 76 percent of those who migrated between 1970 and 1974. Less than half of the migrants who arrived before 1950 were in the labor force, but as we just noted, many of these were 65 years and over, so would very likely be retired.

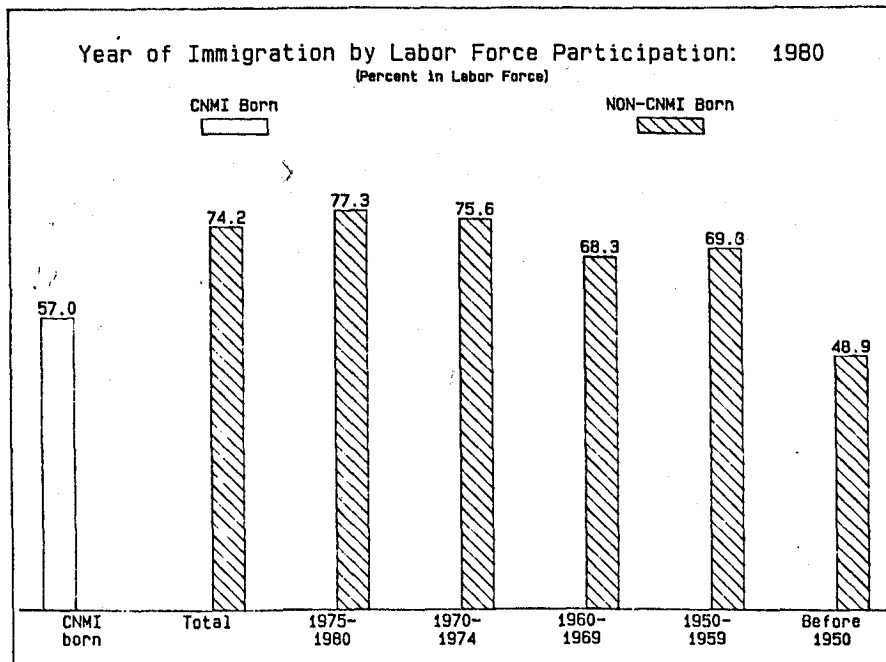
Table 7.12. Year of Immigration by Labor Force Participation: 1980

Labor Force	Total	Year of Immigration for non-CNMI Born						
		CNMI Born	1975-1980	1970-1974	1960-1969	1950-1959	Before 1950	
Persons.....	9599	5946	3538	2179	755	322	53	229
Labor Force.....	6102	3389	2624	1684	571	220	37	112
Percent.....	63.6	57.0	74.2	77.3	75.6	68.3	69.8	48.9
Civilian L.F....	6089	3388	2614	1674	571	220	37	112
Employed.....	5941	3279	2581	1656	565	214	37	109
Unemployed....	148	109	33	18	6	6	0	3
Not in Labor Force	3497	2557	914	495	184	102	16	117

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 39

Note: Includes Persons Not Reporting Place of Birth

FIGURE 7.9



## PARENTAL BIRTHPLACE

Data on parental birthplace provides information about generational migration. More than 71 percent of the population in the Commonwealth in 1980 was born here. In addition, 54 percent of the population was born in the Northern Marianas with both parents also born in the CNMI; that is, more than half the people were born in the Northern Marianas and their parents were also born in the CNMI (Table 7.13). In another 13 percent of the cases, the individual was born in the CNMI, and one of his or her parents was also born in the Commonwealth.

Table 7.13. Place of Birth of Parents and Own Birthplace: 1980

Birthplace	Numbers				Percent				
	Sai-pan	Tin-Rota	N. Ian	N. Is.	Total	Sai-pan	Tin-Rota	N. Ian	N. Is.
Total.....	14549	1261	866	104	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Born in CNMI.....	10239	1019	632	103	71.5	70.4	80.8	73.0	99.0
Both parents born NMI.	7651	937	372	99	54.0	52.6	74.3	43.0	95.2
One par. CNMI, other..	1899	74	175	3	12.8	13.1	5.9	20.2	2.9
Guam.....	498	30	22	2	3.3	3.4	2.4	2.5	1.9
Palau.....	396	7	15	0	2.5	2.7	.6	1.7	0.0
FSM.....	552	15	99	1	4.0	3.8	1.2	11.4	1.0
United States.....	72	3	2	0	.5	.5	.2	.2	0.0
Elsewhere.....	381	19	37	0	2.6	2.6	1.5	4.3	0.0
Both parents born in..	537	6	72	1	3.7	3.7	.5	8.3	1.0
Guam.....	212	4	15	1	1.4	1.5	.3	1.7	1.0
Palau.....	136	0	0	0	.8	.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
FSM.....	78	0	48	0	.8	.5	0.0	5.5	0.0
United States.....	10	0	0	0	.1	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Elsewhere.....	101	2	9	0	.7	.7	.2	1.0	0.0
Parents born dif place	139	2	13	0	.9	1.0	.2	1.5	0.0
BP of parent N.S.....	13	0	0	0	.1	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Born outside CNMI.....	4176	216	230	1	27.6	28.7	17.1	26.6	1.0
Both par same place...	3563	191	179	0	23.4	24.5	15.1	20.7	0.0
Parents born dif place	593	25	50	1	4.0	4.1	2.0	5.8	1.0
BP of parent N.S.....	20	0	1	0	.1	.1	0.0	.1	0.0
Birthplace N.S.....	134	26	4	0	1.0	.9	2.1	.5	0.0

Source: Summary Tape File 3A, Table 151

Of the 28 percent of the population born outside the CNMI, most had parents born in the same areas; more than 23 percent of the total were in this category (and 87 percent of all those born outside the CNMI). Another 4 percent of the total population were born outside the CNMI and had parents born in different places.

The distribution for Saipan was similar to the distribution for the whole Commonwealth. The distribution for the Northern Islands was affected by its small population and distance from other islands-- 99 percent were born in the CNMI, and 95 percent of them had both parents born in the CNMI.

Rota was somewhat more homogeneous. More than 80 percent of the persons on Rota in 1980 were born there, and almost 3 of 4 had both parents born in the CNMI as well. Only 6 percent had one parent born outside the CNMI and less than one percent had both parents born outside if the individual was born in the CNMI.

For Tinian, the 1980 census information is somewhat more problematic. A large number of Chamorros were living on Yap and Palau under Japanese occupation during World War II, and had children there who later moved back. The data in Table 7.13 show some of the results of this movement. Only 43 percent of the individuals on Tinian in 1980 were born in the CNMI and had both parents also born there. Fully 1 in 5 were born in the CNMI but had only one CNMI-born parent, with the other born elsewhere; 1 in 10 were born in the CNMI and had one CNMI-born parent and the other born in the Federated States of Micronesia (in most cases this was Yap.)

Similarly, 8 percent of the Tinian population were born in the CNMI and had both parents born elsewhere, including 6 percent of the total Tinian population who were born in the CNMI but who had both parents born in FSM, again, most of these being born on Yap.

More than 96 percent of the persons born in the CNMI also had fathers who were born in the CNMI (Table 7.14). The second largest percentage was for Yap; of the 396 persons with fathers born on Yap, about 2 out of 3 of these persons were born in the CNMI themselves. Guam was third at 65 percent. On the other hand, only 15 percent of the persons with fathers born in the Philippines were born in the CNMI, that is of those persons living in the CNMI in 1980 but with fathers born on Philippines, most were not born in the CNMI themselves (presumably they were also born in the Philippines, except for very young people.)

For the persons with fathers born in the Philippines, in fact, 96 percent were themselves born in the Philippines, the largest percentage for the non-CNMI born. More than 93 percent of the Trukese and 92 percent of the Marshall Islanders were also in this category. On the other hand only 74 percent of the Kosraeans had this agreement of own and father's birthplace, and 78 percent of those for Guam.

For the persons with fathers born in the Philippines, in fact, 96 percent were themselves born in the Philippines, the largest percentage for the non-CNMI born. More than 93 percent of the Trukese and 92 percent of the Marshall Islanders were also in this category. On the other hand only 74 percent of the Kosraeans had this agreement of own and father's birthplace, and 78 percent of those for Guam.

Table 7.14. Father's Birthplace by Own Birthplace: 1980

Father's Birthplace	Total	Own Birth-Place CNMI	Not Born in CNMI		
			Total	Same as Father's Birth-Place	Not Same Father's Birth-place
Total.....	16780	71.5	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Northern Mariana Islands.....	10366	96.3	100.0	0.0	100.0
Guam.....	882	65.2	100.0	77.9	22.1
Philippines.....	1874	14.6	100.0	95.9	4.1
United States.....	643	13.1	100.0	80.3	19.7
Palau.....	906	36.6	100.0	90.1	9.9
Marshall Islands.....	136	35.3	100.0	92.0	8.0
Federated States of Micronesia..	1130	46.8	100.0	90.5	9.5
Kosrae.....	50	46.0	100.0	74.1	25.9
Pohnpei.....	317	26.8	100.0	89.7	10.3
Truk.....	367	42.2	100.0	93.4	6.6
Yap.....	396	67.2	100.0	90.8	9.2
Elsewhere.....	661	24.2	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Place of Birth Not Reported.....	182	3.8	100.0	(NA)	(NA)

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 25

The data for mother's birthplaces were similar. More than 96 percent of the persons born in the CNMI also had mothers who were born in the CNMI (Table 7.15). Once again, the second largest percentage was for Yap; of the 419 persons with mothers born on Yap, about 2 out of 3 of these persons were born in the CNMI themselves. Guam was third at 61 percent. Only 8 percent of the persons with mothers born in the Philippines were born in the CNMI, and only 7 percent of those with mothers born in the United States.

For the persons with mothers born in the Philippines, in fact, 97 percent were themselves born in the Philippines, the largest percentage for the non-CNMI born. More than 94 percent of the Trukese and those born in the United States and 93 percent of the Marshall Islanders were also in this category. On the other hand only 69 percent of the Kosraeans had this agreement of own and mother's birthplace.

Table 7.15. Mother's Birthplace by Own Birthplace: 1980

Mother's Birthplace	Total	Not Born in the CNMI			
		Own Birth-Place CNMI	Total	Same as Mother's Birth-Place	Not Same Mother's Birth-place
Total.....	16780	71.5	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Northern Mariana Islands.....	10678	96.4	100.0	0.0	100.0
Guam.....	815	61.0	100.0	83.0	17.0
Philippines.....	1731	8.4	100.0	97.2	2.8
United States.....	503	7.2	100.0	93.8	6.2
Palau.....	1059	40.4	100.0	89.9	10.1
Marshall Islands.....	151	34.4	100.0	92.9	7.1
Federated States of Micronesia..	1106	43.6	100.0	91.7	8.3
Kosrae.....	54	35.2	100.0	68.6	31.4
Pohnpei.....	300	23.3	100.0	93.9	6.1
Truk.....	333	32.7	100.0	94.2	5.8
Yap.....	419	67.8	100.0	89.6	10.4
Elsewhere.....	552	9.6	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Place of Birth Not Reported.....	185	4.3	100.0	(NA)	(NA)

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 25

## RESIDENCE IN 1975

Residence in 1975 was collected for all persons 5 years and over since younger people would not qualify for inclusion. Residence in 1975 is used to measure short term migration compared to place of birth which measures long term migration, and has no set period of reference.

More than half of the CNMI population in 1980 lived in the same house (or on the same housesite) as in 1975 (Table 7.16). Another one-fourth lived in a different house, but still in the CNMI 5 years before the census, with most of them living on the same island. About 1 in every 6 persons lived outside the CNMI in 1975 but were in the CNMI in 1980.

Table 7.16. Residence in 1975 by Island: 1980

Residence in 1975	Numbers				Percent				
	Sai-pan	Tinian	Rota	N. Is.	Total	Sai-pan	Tinian	Rota	N. Is.
Total 5 yrs & over.	12427	991	736	88	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Same house.....	6723	651	389	78	55.1	54.1	65.7	52.9	88.6
Different house in CNMI.	3266	237	235	9	26.3	26.3	23.9	31.9	10.2
Same island.....	3220	180	6	2	23.9	25.9	18.2	.8	2.3
Different island.....	46	57	229	7	2.4	.4	5.8	31.1	8.0
Outside CNMI.....	2125	65	102	1	16.1	17.1	6.6	13.9	1.1
Guam.....	231	46	20	0	2.1	1.9	4.6	2.7	0.0
Marshall Islands.....	48	0	0	0	.3	.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Palau.....	156	0	3	0	1.1	1.3	0.0	.4	0.0
Federated States.....	315	15	13	0	2.4	2.5	1.5	1.8	0.0
Kosrae.....	12	0	0	0	.1	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pohnpei.....	122	7	6	0	.9	1.0	.7	.8	0.0
Truk.....	129	7	1	0	1.0	1.0	.7	.1	0.0
Yap.....	52	1	6	0	.4	.4	.1	.8	0.0
Other Pacific Islands.	8	0	0	0	.1	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
United States.....	367	3	13	1	2.7	3.0	.3	1.8	1.1
California.....	90	1	1	0	.6	.7	.1	.1	0.0
Hawaii.....	52	0	5	0	.4	.4	0.0	.7	0.0
Asia.....	937	**	49	0	6.9	7.5	***	6.7	0.0
Japan or Okinawa....	104	15	5	0	.9	.8	1.5	.7	0.0
Korea.....	63	0	10	0	.5	.5	0.0	1.4	0.0
Philippines.....	742	59	33	0	5.9	6.0	6.0	4.5	0.0
All other countries...	63	1	4	0	.5	.5	.1	.5	0.0
Residence Not Reported..	313	38	10	0	2.5	2.5	3.8	1.4	0.0

Source: Summary Tape File 3A, Table 34

Almost 7 percent of the population had lived in Asia in 1975 and had moved to the CNMI in the intervening 5 years, once again illustrating the important impact of the recent migration from this area. Almost 6 percent of the population had lived in the Philippines in 1975 and in the CNMI in 1980. As noted earlier, these are two points in time; people could have lived in the CNMI in 1975 and again in 1980, and may have moved around in between, but the census cannot measure this type of migration.

The data for Saipan were similar to the data for the whole Commonwealth. Although the same proportion were living in a different house in 1975, a smaller proportion were on a different island than the average for the CNMI. These data were offset by those of Rota and particularly Tinian. About 6 percent of Rota's population lived on a different island in the CNMI in 1975 as 1980, and, at least if the census data are reliable, 31 percent of those on Tinian in 1980 lived on a different island in the CNMI in 1975.

As with the data on birthplace, Rota's population moved the least. Almost 2 out of every 3 Rota residents in 1980 lived in the same house in 1975 (this was also true for almost 90 percent of those in the Northern Islands).

Although 16 percent of the CNMI population lived outside the CNMI in 1975, the percentages were very different for the islands. More than 17 percent of Saipan's population lived elsewhere in 1975, as for 14 percent of Tinian's, but only 7 percent of Rota's population.

Some information about three-point migration can be obtained by crossing birthplace and residence in 1975 for the CNMI resident population in 1980 (Table 7.17). About 2 of every 3 persons born in the CNMI and living there in 1980 resided in the same house in 1975 as in 1980. Another 1/4th lived in another house, but in the CNMI in 1975.

More than half of those born in Guam and living in the CNMI in 1980 were also living in the Commonwealth in 1975. About 44 percent of the total Guam-born population were living in the same house in 1975 as 1980, and 12 percent were living elsewhere in the CNMI. Similarly, almost 3 out of every 4 persons born in Palau and living in the CNMI in 1980 were also living there in 1975, with somewhat more than 1/3 of the total Palau born living in the same house, and about 1/3 living in a different house in the Commonwealth.

Once again, of the major immigrant groups, Philippines showed the most recent migration and the strongest migration stream. Only 1 in 6 of those persons born in the Philippines but living in the CNMI in 1980 lived in the same house in 1975. Another 1 in 4 lived in a different house in the CNMI in 1975, so that only about 4 of every 10 persons born in the Philippines but living in the CNMI in 1980 was also living there in 1975. More than half were still living in the Philippines in 1975, showing the extent of the recent migration and the implications for planning in the CNMI.

More than 2 of every 3 persons born in the United States were living outside the CNMI in 1975, indicating that most of the U.S. born were not essentially CNMI persons who went to the U.S. for some reason, had children, and then returned.

Table 7.17. Birthplace by Residence in 1975: 1980

Residence in 1975	Total	Phili- United					All	
		CNMI	Guam	ppines	States	Palau	FSM	Others
Persons 5 yrs & over.	14316	9825	432	1540	502	630	723	664
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Same house.....	54.8	67.8	44.0	15.6	16.3	37.8	39.4	21.7
Different house/CNMI... **	22.7	**23.1	11.6	26.2	15.3	33.8	20.1	12.7
Same municipality....	23.8	25.7	9.5	23.6	14.5	33.2	16.5	12.2
Different municpty...	2.4	2.6	2.1	2.7	.8	.6	3.6	.5
Outside CNMI.....	16.5	2.6	28.2	57.9	67.5	25.2	38.3	48.3
Guam.....	2.1	1.3	22.9	1.2	6.2	1.1	0.0	2.6
FSM.....	2.4	.3	.7	.5	3.4	2.5	36.4	1.2
Palau.....	1.1	.1	0.0	0.0	1.4	21.1	.4	.3
Philippines.....	5.8	.0	0.0	52.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	2.0
United States.....	2.7	.7	4.2	.2	52.0	.5	1.0	2.9
Elsewhere.....	2.4	.2	.5	3.3	3.2	0.0	.6	39.5
Residence Not Reported.	2.5	1.3	16.2	.3	.8	3.2	2.2	17.3

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 26

About 69 percent of the CNMI population 5 years and over were born in the CNMI (Table 7.18). Fully 85 percent, however, of the persons living in the same house in 1975 as 1980 were born in the CNMI, and 70 percent of those living in a different house in 1975 were born in the Commonwealth.

Only 11 percent of the persons born in the CNMI lived outside the CNMI in 1975. Of those persons living in the CNMI in 1980 but on Guam in 1975, about 42 percent had been born in the CNMI; only one-third were born on Guam, so it is likely that persons had gone to Guam for schooling or jobs, were there in 1975, and then returned before the 1980 census. About 19 percent of the persons living in the United States in 1975 were born in the CNMI, again suggesting that students went to the U.S. to study, and then returned after their educations were finished.

For the 1980 CNMI population, about 77 percent of those persons living in the Federated States of Micronesia in 1975 were also born there, 84 percent of the 1975 Palau-residents were born there, as 68 percent for the United States, and 97 percent for the Philippines.

Table 7.18. Birthplace by Residence in 1975: 1980

Age Group	Total	Phili- United						All
		CNMI	Guam	ppines	States	Palau	FSM	
Persons 5 yrs & over.	100.0	68.6	3.0	10.8	3.5	4.4	5.1	4.6
Same house.....	100.0	85.0	2.4	3.1	1.0	3.0	3.6	1.8
Different house/CNMI...	100.0	70.0	1.5	12.4	2.4	6.6	4.5	2.6
Same municipality....	100.0	74.0	1.2	10.7	2.1	6.1	3.5	2.4
Different municpty...	100.0	74.3	2.7	12.1	1.2	1.2	7.7	.9
Outside CNMI.....	100.0	10.9	5.2	37.6	14.3	6.7	11.7	13.6
Guam.....	100.0	42.1	33.3	6.1	10.4	2.4	0.0	5.7
FSM.....	100.0	8.2	.9	2.3	5.0	4.7	76.7	2.3
Palau.....	100.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	4.4	83.6	1.9	1.3
Philippines.....	100.0	.4	0.0	97.2	.8	0.0	0.0	1.6
United States.....	100.0	19.0	4.7	.8	68.0	.8	1.8	4.9
Elsewhere.....	100.0	4.3	.6	14.6	4.6	0.0	1.1	74.9
Residence Not Reported.	100.0	36.3	19.4	1.4	1.1	5.5	4.4	31.9

Source: PC80-1-C/D57A, Table 26

Table 7.19 summarizes these data for a few more groups, and also presents the point-migration data a little more explicitly. Altogether about 98 percent of the persons born in Philippines were still living there in 1975, and then migrated to the Northern Marianas after that date.

Table 7.19. Residence in 1975 by Birthplace: 1980

Residence in 1975	Total	Born in CNMI	Not Born in the CNMI		
			Total	SaR in 1975	NSaR in 1975
Total, 5 years and over....	14316	68.6	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Northern Mariana Islands.....	11588	81.4	100.0	0.0	18.0
Guam.....	297	42.1	100.0	57.6	42.4
Philippines.....	834	.4	100.0	97.6	2.4
United States.....	384	19.0	100.0	83.9	16.1
Palau.....	159	8.8	100.0	91.7	8.3
Marshall Islands.....	48	18.8	100.0	89.7	10.3
Federated States of Micronesia..	343	8.2	100.0	81.0	19.0
Kosrae.....	12	0.0	100.0	66.7	33.3
Pohnpei.....	135	8.9	100.0	82.9	17.1
Truk.....	137	8.8	100.0	80.0	20.0
Yap.....	59	6.8	100.0	81.8	18.2
Elsewhere.....	302	2.0	100.0	(NA)	(NA)
Place of Birth Not Reported.....	361	36.3	100.0	(NA)	(NA)

Source: PC80-1-C/C57A, Table 26. SaR - Same as Residence  
NSaR - Not Same as Residence

For comparative purposes, it is useful to show unpublished data from 1973 to help confirm the changes that migration is bringing to the composition of the CNMI progression. Table 7.20 shows the distribution for Saipan only of the population with known ages in the 1973 census by whether or not they were born on Saipan. Altogether about 3 out of every 4 persons living on Saipan in 1973 were born there. For the youngest groups, most were born on Saipan, but the proportion decreased with age to 30 to 34 year old group which had less than half born on Saipan, and then the percentage of Saipan born increased until the oldest ages. Although the distribution by birthplace differed in 1980 from 1973, the large influx of "foreign" workers in the middle ages remains.

Table 7.20. Residents on Saipan by Birthplace and Age: 1973

Age Group	Numbers			Percent			Per- cent Born
	Total	Saipan Born	Not Saipan Born	Total	Saipan Born	Not Saipan Born	
All persons.....	12497	9421	3076	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.4
0 to 4 years.....	2084	1853	231	16.7	19.7	7.5	88.9
5 to 9 years.....	1868	1613	255	14.9	17.1	8.3	86.3
10 to 14 years.....	1641	1420	221	13.1	15.1	7.2	86.5
15 to 19 years.....	1465	1187	278	11.7	12.6	9.0	81.0
20 to 24 years.....	1134	800	334	9.1	8.5	10.9	70.5
25 to 29 years.....	881	560	321	7.0	5.9	10.4	63.6
30 to 34 years.....	688	332	356	5.5	3.5	11.6	48.3
35 to 39 years.....	639	344	295	5.1	3.7	9.6	53.8
40 to 44 years.....	537	292	245	4.3	3.1	8.0	54.4
45 to 49 years.....	389	236	153	3.1	2.5	5.0	60.7
50 to 54 years.....	365	220	145	2.9	2.3	4.7	60.3
55 to 59 years.....	268	186	82	2.1	2.0	2.7	69.4
60 to 64 years.....	222	159	63	1.8	1.7	2.0	71.6
65 to 69 years.....	139	112	27	1.1	1.2	.9	80.6
70 to 74 years.....	95	63	32	.8	.7	1.0	66.3
75 years and over.....	82	44	38	.7	.5	1.2	53.7

Source: 1973 Trust Territory Census, Unpublished data

## RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1970 AND 1980

Data on residence in the United States between 1970 and 1980 were derived from question 16, but because the data are considered to be of questionable quality, were not shown in the printed reports. There were 947 persons over 5 years old who lived in the United States for 6 or more consecutive months between 1970 and 1980, which was 7 percent of the total population 5 years and over (Table 7.21). About one-third of these were 25 to 34 years old at the time of the 1980 census; 20 percent were 35 to 44 years old, and 18 percent were 15 to 24 years old.

Almost 42 percent of these persons who lived in the United States during the 10 years before the census lived there for 6 months to 2 years, another 21 percent lived in the U.S. for 3 to 5 years, and the others lived there for more than 5 years. Persons in the 15 to 24 year old age group spent both the least amount of time in the U.S.; more than half of this age group lived in the U.S. for less than 2 years. On the other hand, more than half the persons 45 years and over had lived in the United States for 6 or more years.

Table 7.21. Persons 5 Years and Over Who Lived in the United States for 6 or more Consecutive Months Between 1970 and 1980 by Sex and Length of Last Stay in the U.S. by Age: 1980

Length of Stay in the U.S.	Total	Under	15 to	25 to	35 to	45
		15 Years Old	24 Years Old	34 Years Old	44 Years Old	Years Old and Over
Total.....	947	143	169	325	186	124
Percent....	100.0	15.1	17.8	34.3	19.6	13.1
Percent....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
6 months to 2 yrs.	41.8	42.5	51.6	38.3	44.6	32.7
3 to 5 years.....	20.9	29.2	21.7	26.0	10.7	13.3
6 or more years...	37.3	28.3	26.7	35.7	44.6	54.0

Source: Summary Tape File 3, Table 158

Only some of these persons who lived in the United States were born in the CNMI, since others were U.S. contract or other workers. Of the 947 persons living in the United States for 6 or more consecutive months between 1970 and 1980, 366 (39 percent) were born in the CNMI, including 216 (23 percent) of the males and 150 (16 percent) of the females (Table 7.22).

About one-third of the persons living in the U.S. in the ten years before the census arrived in the CNMI in 1979 or 1980, and another one-fourth arrived in 1977 or 1978. For those born in the CNMI, more than half of the returnees returned between 1977 and 1980. Only 47 percent of the males returned during this period compared to 55 percent of the females. More than 63 percent of those living in the U.S. during the ten years and who were not born in the CNMI migrated to the Commonwealth during the 1977 to 1980 period.

Table 7.22. Year of Return for Persons Living Away Between 1970 and 1980: 1980

Year of Arrival or Return	Total		Born in CNMI			Born Elsewhere			
	Total	Males	Fmles	Total	Males	Fmles	Total	Males	Fmles
Total.....	947	535	412	366	216	150	581	319	262
Percent..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1979 or 1980....	34.4	33.5	35.7	30.9	26.4	37.3	36.7	38.2	34.7
1977 or 1978....	26.3	23.4	30.1	22.4	20.4	25.3	28.7	25.4	32.8
1975 or 1976....	15.7	14.4	17.5	14.8	13.9	16.0	16.4	14.7	18.3
1972 to 1974....	12.2	14.2	9.7	16.7	18.5	14.0	9.5	11.3	7.3
1970 or 1971....	7.7	9.9	4.9	10.9	15.3	4.7	5.7	6.3	5.0
Yr not reported.	3.6	4.7	2.2	4.4	5.6	2.7	3.1	4.1	1.9

Source: Summary Tape File 3, Table 152

Finally, more than 57 percent of the persons 5 years and over and living in the U.S. in the 10 years before the census and reporting whether or not they attended school, had attended school for the last 6 months of their stay (Table 7.23). For those 16 years and over, almost half were working at a job or business in the last 6 months of residence, and 6 percent of those reporting had been in the military (all of them male - 10 percent of the males.) There is some overlap because persons were allowed to report more than one activity.

Table 7.23. Activity for Last 6 Months of Residence for Persons Who Lived in the U.S. between 1970 and 1980: 1980

Activity	Total	Males	Females
Persons 5 years and over..	947	535	412
Attending school or college....	435	247	188
Percent of reported.....	57.2	58.7	55.5
Persons 16 years and over.	793	459	334
Working at a job or business...	300	193	107
Percent of reported.....	49.3	55.1	41.3
In the armed forces.....	32	32	0
Percent of reported.....	6.0	10.4	0

Source: Summary Tape File 3, Tables 154 and 156

The data on migration present a pattern of a rapidly changing population, particularly in the years immediately before the census when massive in migration was experienced. There is also some evidence of out-migration of CNMI-born persons since the increase in the total population of CNMI born is smaller than would be expected considering the fertility rates in the Commonwealth.