

## **Rapid Response Analysis**

U.S. House of Representatives 2025 "Reconciliation"

Spending Provisions Related to Immigration and the Border

## **Background**

Three committees in the House of Representatives recently approved several immigration- and border-related spending proposals as a part of the reconciliation process. These committee-approved recommendations will be added to at least eight others before being considered by all members of the House as a complete reconciliation package. If approved, the bill will be sent to the Senate for consideration.

"Reconciliation" is a congressional budgetary process that allows members of Congress to bypass the normal rules in the Senate that require at least 60 votes to pass legislation. Provisions in any reconciliation bill must relate to the federal budget, funding, or debt-limit. Under reconciliation, only a simple majority vote is needed in both chambers. In recent years, reconciliation has been used when one party controls Congress and the presidency as it does not require votes from members of the minority party. Reconciliation is a tool for the majority party to advance federal funding needs based on its policy agenda.

Currently, House and Senate Republicans disagree on the exact terms of the final reconciliation bill, so the details coming out of the House bill may change once the bill is considered in the Senate. As a result, these committee-approved recommendations may not become law as currently written. However, they represent a clear starting point for negotiations around the budget reconciliation process.

# Committees' Approved Immigration and Border-Related Spending Recommendations

On April 29, 2025, the Homeland Security Committee <u>advanced</u> its spending <u>recommendations</u> which primarily focused on two agencies within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS): U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). In addition, the Armed Services Committee approved its <u>recommendations</u>, which included border-related funding for the Department of Defense.

On April 30, 2025, the Judiciary Committee also advanced its <u>recommendations</u>, primarily focusing on two other DHS agencies, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), as well as the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), Department of State, and Department of Justice (DOJ).

Several other committees have approved or considered proposals affecting noncitizens, including their eligibility for certain public benefits or tax programs. This analysis excludes those measures.

#### Overview of Spending

While the recommendations largely provide increases to immigration- and border enforcement-related funding provisions—roughly \$151.3 billion<sup>4</sup>—they also implicitly drive dramatic changes to immigration policy.

Legal immigration. The Judiciary bill risks turning legal immigration into a pay-to-play system, by significantly increasing fees on everything from asylum applications and work permits to family reunification and humanitarian protections like Temporary Protected Status (TPS). These fees, many of which would be layered on *top of existing* fees, could effectively put legal pathways out of reach for thousands of people. Take, for example, the new proposed fees for an asylum applicant who will need to wait at least 5 years to obtain a decision in the heavily backlogged immigration system: \$1,000 (new application fee), \$550 every six months for work authorization, and \$100 every year for a pending application would result in *at least* \$6,450 in filing fees during the 5-year wait. The new fees propose placing the burden of the backlogged immigration system on the applicants themselves. The steep fees would effectively block access to those unable to afford the new fees given that this cost alone represents nearly 43 percent of a person's annual income who earns federal minimum wage working 40 hours per week.<sup>5</sup>

**Detention.** The Judiciary bill **provides \$45** billion for building new immigration detention centers, including family detention facilities. This amount is 13 times ICE's FY 2024 detention budget and would be a 364 percent increase on an annual basis that would primarily benefit private companies contracted to build and run detention facilities.<sup>6</sup> With this funding, ICE could likely fund an increase in detention to 125,000 beds or higher, only just a bit below the current population of the entire federal prison system.<sup>7</sup> The bill uses funding provisions to dismantle core legal protections for children by implicitly overriding protections found in the *Flores* litigation settlement agreement that limit the time minors can be detained.<sup>8</sup>

The bill also authorizes the DHS Secretary to set minimal detention standards for detention facilities without having to go through normal review, creating a situation where private prison operators whose facilities fail to meet current standards could be granted contracts anyway. The consequences of providing such large sums of money to increase detention without commensurate oversight will exacerbate deleterious and inhumane conditions that have been endemic to the detention system for years, including medical neglect, overcrowding, overuse of solitary confinement, and preventable deaths. O

Arrests. The Judiciary bill also directs \$27 billion toward ICE's enforcement and deportation operations and includes funding to hire an additional 10,000 ICE officers in five years. With this funding, the current administration will be poised to dramatically expand community arrests and expand cooperation with state and local law enforcement agencies. Given the recent dismantling of three primary DHS oversight agencies, this funding would also rapidly expand ICE's enforcement capacity at a time when the agency has failed to provide timely, accurate information on the whereabouts of those it has arrested.

Immigration Court. The Judiciary bill provides just \$1.25 billion, a 30 percent annual budget increase, for the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR), which oversees the country's immigration court system. By providing only small additional sums to the immigration courts while significantly expanding the arrest and detention budget, the significant immigration court backlogs will increase dramatically particularly for people held in detention facilities. Immigrants held in detention could be forced to wait months between every hearing, while those going through court outside of detention would face even longer backlogs than today up to several years per case.

Children. The Judiciary bill charges families of unaccompanied children up to \$8,500 to sponsor a child and subjects them and their household members to intensive surveillance. It removes existing statutory protections regarding licensing of family residential centers, which places children at risk of prolonged detention in unsafe conditions. And by requiring children to pay \$1,000 to apply for asylum or \$500 to apply for Special Immigrant Juvenile status, the bill may even place some children in a precarious situation just to pay for their chance at permanent safety.

**Border.** The Homeland Security bill invests **\$51.6** billion into border wall construction—more than 3 times what the Trump administration spent on the wall in his first term despite the failure of the wall to improve or

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contribute in any meaningful way to border management strategy. <sup>14</sup> The Armed Services bill also **includes \$5 billion for the Department of Defense** to support the military's border operations, including deployment of military personnel for immigration enforcement, temporary detention of migrants, and deportations of migrants.

**Judicial Oversight.** The Judiciary bill includes provisions to **limit the judiciary branch's oversight over the federal government** by limiting the ability of judges to hold the executive branch in contempt of court when it fails to obey court orders.

### **Topline Budget Numbers**

#### **House Homeland Security Committee Recommendations**

- · Total immigration and border-related spending: \$66.6 billion, available through 9/30/29
- Bill's overall total spending: \$69.0 billion.

Selected immigration-related spending proposals include:

- \$51.6 billion to construct and maintain a border wall
- \$8.3 billion for CBP agent recruitment, retention and salaries, vehicles, and facility improvements
- \$6.3 billion for border inspection technology and vetting

#### **House Judiciary Committee Recommendations**

- Total immigration and border-related -related spending: \$79.7 billion, available through 9/30/29
- Overall total spending: \$81.4 billion.

Selected immigration-related spending proposals include:

- \$45 billion for ICE detention capacity growth for adult and family detention centers.
- \$14.4 billion for ICE's Transportation and Removal Operations
- \$8 billion for hiring new ICE personnel, with a goal of hiring 10,000 new personnel by 2029, plus an additional \$600 million for internal HR capacity.
- \$3 billion for the Office of Refugee Resettlement to operate shelters for unaccompanied children.
- \$1.32 billion for ICE's Office of the Principal Legal Advisor (immigration prosecutors)
- \$1.25 billion for the immigration court system (EOIR).
- \$950 million for compensating local governments for incarceration of "criminal aliens"
- \$858 million for ICE retention and signing bonuses
- \$650 million for 287(g) agreements
- \$600 million for prosecuting immigration offenses
- \$500 million for Remain in Mexico ("return of aliens arriving from contiguous territories")
- \$100 million for deporting unaccompanied children
- \$100 million for expedited removal of certain people with criminal records

#### **Armed Services Committee Recommendations**

- Total immigration and border-related -related spending: \$5 billion, available through 9/30/29
- Overall total spending: \$150.3 billion.

Selected immigration-related spending proposals include:

• \$5 billion to DOD to support border operations, including deployment of military personnel, the operation of and construction in national defense areas, the temporary detention of migrants, and the repatriation of migrants.

#### Fee Increases on Immigration Benefits

The Judiciary Committees' recommendations dramatically increase or create new fees for certain immigration applications and forms of humanitarian protection. Below are five charts with a comparison of current and proposed fees that span USCIS, DOS, CBP, EOIR, and DHHS.

Importantly: all proposed fees are the minimum required but could be increased by the agency or department and may be layered on top of existing fees. And all fees are subject to yearly inflationary adjustments. Alarmingly, the proceeds of these fees largely go to the general fund at the Treasury Department and not for application processing.

The recommendations also prohibit waivers for most of these fees, which are typically used by particularly low-income people who would qualify for the legal relief they are seeking but cannot afford to apply. This overrides or erases other provisions of law, including in the Violence Against Women Act, which require the government to offer fee waivers to certain vulnerable populations.

USCIS Applications	What It Covers	Current Fee	Current Fee Waiver or Exemption?	Proposed Fee (FY 2025) <sup>1</sup>	Proposed Fee Waiver or Exemption?
Asylum Application Fee	Filing an I-589 asylum application under INA § 208	\$0	N/A	\$1,000	No
Pending Asylum Application Fee	Pending I-589 asylum application under INA § 208, must be paid every year an application is pending.	\$0	N/A	\$100/year	No
Initial Work Permit Fee (Asylum Applicants)	Initial work permits for asylum applicants (c)(8)  Shortens EAD validity period to 6 months.	\$0	N/A	\$550	No
Renewal Work Permit Fee (Asylum Applicant)	Renewal work permits for asylum applicants (c)(8)  Shortens EAD validity period to 6 months.	\$520 (paper) or \$470 (online)	Yes	\$550	No

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Minimum fee, mandatory adjustment for inflation every year, and may be applied in addition to existing fees.

Parole Fee (Humanitarian or Significant Public Interest)	Any noncitizen paroled into the U.S. (with certain humanitarian carve-outs)	\$0	N/A	\$1,000	No
Work Permit Fee (Parolees)	Initial and renewal work permits for paroled noncitizens under (c)(11)  Shortens EAD validity period to 6 months.	\$520 (paper) or \$470 (online), \$30 biometrics fee	Yes	\$550	No
Special Immigrant Juvenile Status (SIJS) Fee	Fee for SIJS Petition (Form I-360) for children who are abandoned, abused, or neglected by one or both parents under INA § 101(a)(27)(J))	\$0 (exempt)	Yes	\$500	No

Department of State (DOS) Applications	What It Covers	Current Fee	Current Fee Waiver or Exemption?	Proposed Fee (FY 2025) <sup>2</sup>	Proposed Fee Waiver or Exemption?
Nonimmigrant Visa "Integrity" Fee	Fee upon issuance of noncitizens' nonimmigrant visa by DOS (includes student visas, specialty occupation workers, agricultural workers, etc.)	\$0	N/A	\$250	No
Diversity Visa Registration Fee	Fee for noncitizen who files an application for a diversity immigrant visa	\$0	N/A	\$250	No
Diversity Visa Application Fee	Fee for noncitizens who register for the diversity immigrant visa program	\$330	No	\$400	No

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Minimum fee, mandatory adjustment for inflation every year, and may be applied in addition to existing fees.

Customs and Border Protection (CBP) Fees <sup>3</sup>	What It Covers	Current Fee	Current Fee Waiver or Exemption?	Proposed Fee (FY 2025) <sup>4</sup>	Proposed Fee Waiver or Exemption?
Inadmissible noncitizen apprehension fee	Fee for any inadmissible noncitizen who is apprehended between ports of entry by U.S. Customs and Border Protection	\$50 to \$250 civil penalty	No	\$5,000	No

Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) Applications	What It Covers	Current Fee	Current Fee Waiver or Exemption?	Proposed Fee (FY 2025) <sup>1</sup>	Proposed Fee Waiver or Exemption?
Unaccompanied Minor (UC) Sponsor Fees	Fee for sponsor to partially repay government for UC's care	\$0	N/A	\$3,500	No
Unaccompanied Minor (UC) Sponsor In Absentia Fee	Reimbursable fee for sponsors to ensure UC attends immigration court hearings	\$0	N/A	\$5,000	No

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This chart does not include other proposed fees in the Judiciary bill related to obtaining Form I-94 Arrival/Departure Record and the Electronic System for Travel Authorization (ESTA).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Minimum fee, mandatory adjustment for inflation every year, and may be applied in addition to existing fees.

Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) Forms or Motions	What It Covers	Current Fee	Current Fee Waiver or Exemption?	Proposed Additional Fee (FY 2025) <sup>5</sup>	Proposed Fee Waiver or Exemption?
Motion to Continue Hearing	Fee for any noncitizen who requests and is granted a continuance by an immigration judge for each such continuance	\$0	N/A	\$100	No, unless granted based on exceptional circumstance s
Green Card Application Fee	Fee for noncitizens who have an application to adjust to lawful permanent resident status adjudicated in immigration court	\$1,440 (USCIS) \$0 (EOIR)	Yes (USCIS) N/A (EOIR)	\$1,500 (EOIR)	No
Waiver of Inadmissibility	Fee for noncitizens whose application for waiver of grounds of inadmissibility is adjudicated in immigration court	\$1,050 (USCIS) \$0 (EOIR)	N/A	\$1,050 (EOIR)	No
Temporary Protected Status (TPS)	Fee for noncitizens whose application for temporary protected status is adjudicated in immigration court	\$50 (USCIS) initial registrati on \$0 (EOIR)	Yes (USCIS) N/A (EOIR)	\$500 (EOIR)	No
Filing fee for appeal of Immigration Judge Decision	Fee for any noncitizen who files any appeal from a decision of an immigration judge (except for bond appeals)	\$110	Yes	\$900	No
Filing an appeal from a decision of any adjudicating official in a practitioner disciplinary case	Fee for any practitioner who files an appeal from a decision of an adjudicating official in a practitioner disciplinary case	\$675	Yes	\$1,325	No

Filing a motion to reopen or reconsider	Fee for any noncitizen who files a motion to reopen or to reconsider a decision of an immigration judge or the Board of Immigration Appeals	\$145 (with immigrati on court) \$110 (BIA)	Yes	\$900	No
Filing a suspension of deportation application immigration court	Fee for any noncitizen who files with an immigration court an application for suspension of deportation	\$100 + \$30 biometric s fee	Yes	\$600	No
LPR Cancellation Application	Fee for any noncitizen who files with an immigration court an application for cancellation of removal for certain lawful permanent residents	\$100 + \$30 biometric s fee	Yes	\$600	No
Non-LPR Cancellation Application	Fee for any noncitizen who files with an immigration court an application for cancellation of removal for certain non-lawful permanent residents	\$100 + \$30 biometric s fee	Yes	\$1,500	No
Ordered Removed in Absentia	Fee for any noncitizen who is ordered removed for missing their hearing (in absentia) and is subsequently arrested by ICE	\$0	N/A	\$5,000	No

## **Endnote**

<sup>1</sup> See Tori Gorman, *The Reconciliation Process: Frequently Asked Questions*, 8, (Washington, D.C.; Congressional Research Service, 2025), <a href="https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/R48444">https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/R48444</a>.

<sup>3</sup> See Richard Kogan and David Reich, Introduction to Budget "Reconciliation," 1-2, (Washington, D.C.: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2022) (noting that since 2000, seven of the eight enacted reconciliation bills were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The bill is written in a way where many of these fees may be applied *in addition to* all other relevant proposed fees. For example, an applicant for TPS may be required to pay USCIS *and* EOIR. Again, these are minimum fees, which are adjusted for inflation every year.

agreed to during periods when one party controlled all three branches of the federal government), <a href="https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/1-22-15bud.pdf">https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/1-22-15bud.pdf</a>.

- <sup>4</sup> This total considers all immigration and border-enforcement related spending and is not the total cost of both the Homeland Security and Judiciary reconciliation proposals. That total is \$150.4 billion.
- <sup>5</sup> The current federal minimum wage if \$7.25/hour. This American Immigration Council estimate is based on a 40-hour work week for 52 weeks of the year.
- <sup>6</sup> See U.S. Congress, Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024; (Committee Print), Committee on Appropriations on H.R. 2882, House of Representatives, 631, 118th Congress, 2d Session, Washington D.C. 2024, <a href="https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-118HPRT55008/pdf/CPRT-118HPRT55008.pdf">https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-118HPRT55008/pdf/CPRT-118HPRT55008.pdf</a> (indicating \$3,434,952 allocated to Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Custody Operations division).
- <sup>7</sup> See Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons, "Statistics," accessed May 9, 2025 (indicating an incarcerated population of 156,379 as of May 8, 2025), https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/population\_statistics.jsp.
- <sup>8</sup> See Kelsey Y. Santamaria, Child Migrants at the Border: The Flores Settlement Agreement and Other Legal Developments, 1, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2024), <a href="https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IF11799">https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IF11799</a> (explaining that unaccompanied children must be transferred within 72 hours from Customs and Border Patrol Custody to the Office for Refugee Resettlement (ORR). In turn, ORR must place the children in "the least restrictive setting that is in the best interested of the child.").
- <sup>9</sup> See generally American Immigration Council, "Oversight of Immigration Detention: An Overview," May 15, 2022, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/oversight-immigration-detention-overview.
- <sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Physicians for Human Rights, "Endless Nightmare": Torture and Inhuman Treatment in Solitary Confinement in U.S. Immigration Detention," February 6, 2024, <a href="https://phr.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/PHR-REPORT-ICE-Solitary-Confinement-2024.pdf">https://phr.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/PHR-REPORT-ICE-Solitary-Confinement-2024.pdf</a>; Douglas MacMillan, "Immigrants forced to sleep on floors at overwhelmed ICE detention centers," Washington Post, April 20, 2025, <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/04/18/immigrant-detention-overcrowding-trump-crackdown/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/04/18/immigrant-detention-overcrowding-trump-crackdown/</a>; and Amy J Zeidan, Harrison Goodall, Andrew Sieben, Parveen Parmar, and Elizabeth Burner, "Medical Mismanagement in Southern US Immigration and Customs Enforcement Detention Facilities: A Thematic Analysis of Secondary Medical Records," Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 25(5), 1085–1097, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-023-01451-y">https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-023-01451-y</a>.
- <sup>11</sup> See Ellen M. Gilmer, "Homeland Agency's Dismantling of Oversight Units Draws Lawsuit," April 24, 2025, <a href="https://news.bgov.com/bloomberg-government-news/homeland-agencys-dismantling-of-oversight-units-draws-lawsuit">https://news.bgov.com/bloomberg-government-news/homeland-agencys-dismantling-of-oversight-units-draws-lawsuit</a>.
- <sup>12</sup> See U.S. Congress, Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024; (Committee Print), Committee on Appropriations on H.R. 4366, House of Representatives, 554, 118th Congress, 2d Session, Washington D.C. 2024, <a href="https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-118HPRT56550/pdf/CPRT-118HPRT56550.pdf">https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CPRT-118HPRT56550/pdf/CPRT-118HPRT56550.pdf</a> (indicating \$844,000,000 allocated to the Executive Office for Immigration Review).
- <sup>13</sup> See Kelsey Y. Santamaria, Child Migrants at the Border: The Flores Settlement Agreement and Other Legal Developments, 1, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2024), <a href="https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/lF11799">https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/lF11799</a> (explaining that the Flores settlement generally favors the release of unaccompanied children, which must generally be made to a sponsor or to a nonsecure facility licensed by an appropriate State agency).
- <sup>14</sup> See Christopher Giles, "Trump's wall: How much has been built during his term?," BBC, January 12, 2021, <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46748492">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46748492</a> (noting that an approximate \$15 billion was spent on border wall construction during the Trump administrations first term).