



The Economics of Immigration

Rotary Club of St. Cloud, MN
November 3, 2020

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National Economic Education Delegation



Vision

- One day, the public discussion of policy issues will be grounded in an accurate perception of the underlying economic principles and data.

Mission

 NEED unites the skills and knowledge of a vast network of professional economists to promote understanding of the economics of policy issues in the United States.

NEED Presentations

- Are **nonpartisan** and intended to reflect the consensus of the economics profession.



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Who Are We?

Honorary Board: 52 members

- 2 Fed chairs: Janet Yellen, Ben Bernanke
- 6 chairs of the Council of Economic Advisers
 - o Furman (D), Rosen (R), Bernanke (R), Yellen (D), Tyson (D), Goolsbee (D)
- 3 Nobel prize winners
 - o Akerlof, Smith, Maskin

• Delegates: 520+ members

- At all levels of academia and some in government service
- All have a PhD in economics
- Crowdsource slide decks
- Give presentations

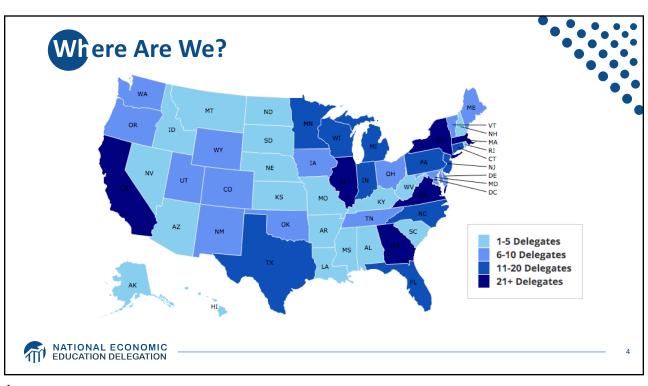
• Global Partners: 45 PhD Economists

- Aid in slide deck development



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Credits and Disclaimer



- This slide deck was authored by:
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- Disclaimer
 - NEED presentations are designed to be nonpartisan.
 - It is, however, inevitable that presenters will be asked for and will provide their own views.
 - Such views are those of the presenter and not necessarily those of the National Economic Education Delegation (NEED).



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- What is immigration?
- Why do people migrate?
- History of immigration to the US
- Economics of immigration
- Immigration polices







• Immigration

- The action of coming to live in another country.

• Emigration

- The act of leaving one's own country and going to live in another country.



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Push factors:

- Economic dislocation, domestic violence, population pressures, religious persecution, or denial of political rights.

Pull factors:

- Potential for higher wages, job opportunities, and political or religious liberty.

Uneven development:

- Disparities in income, standards of living, and the availability of jobs within and across societies.



Source: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

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Levels of Decision-Making

• Individual level:

- Economic opportunity, escape social turmoil.

• Family level:

- Desire of the family to improve its security or level of economic well-being.
- "Remittances"

Structural or Institutional:

- War, better information about opportunities, easier transportation, income differentials between countries.
- Changes in immigration policies.



Source: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

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distory of US Immigration

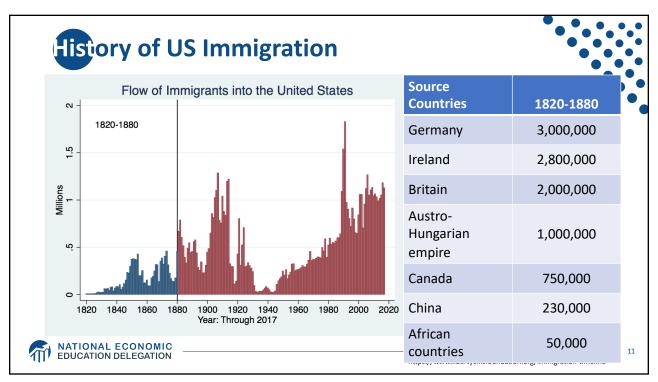
Source Countries	Pre-1790
African countries*	300,000
England	300,000
Scotland-Ireland	100,000
Germany	100,000
Scotland	75,000

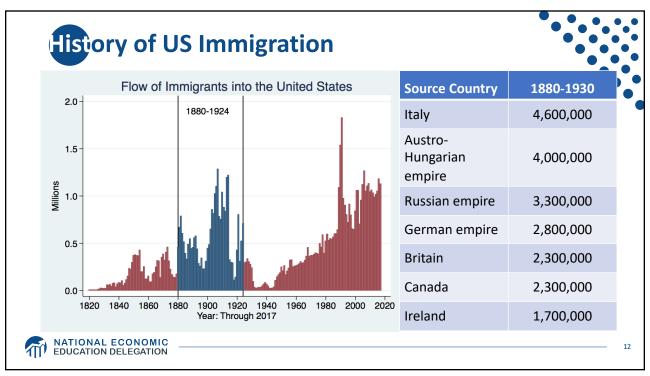
Source Countries	1790-1820
African countries*	85,000
Scotland-Ireland	50,000
England	45,000
France	40,000
Germany	25,000

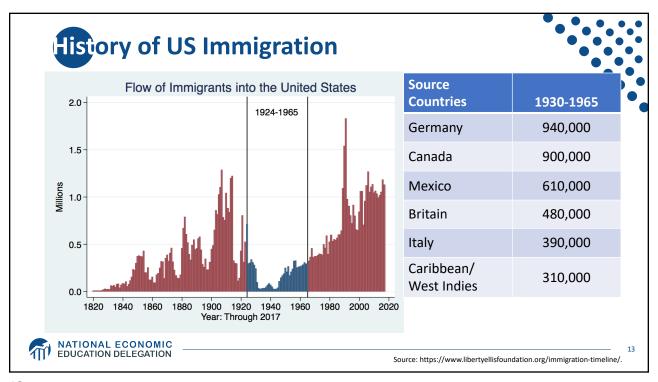
^{*} Slave trade and clearly not voluntary or reflective of standard motivations for immigration.

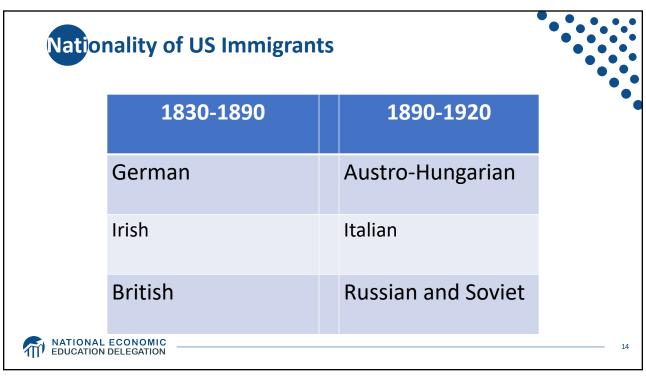


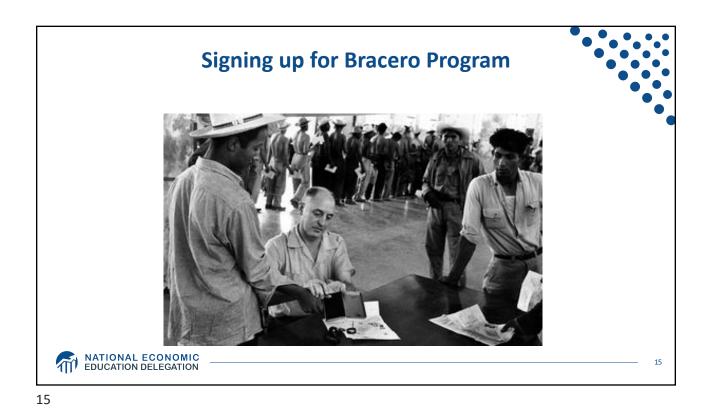
Source: https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/immigration-timeline/.



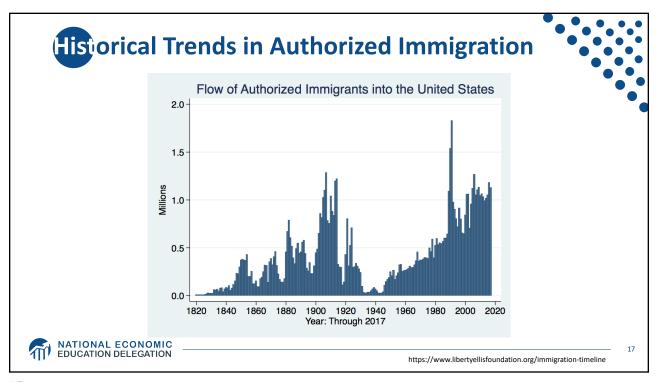


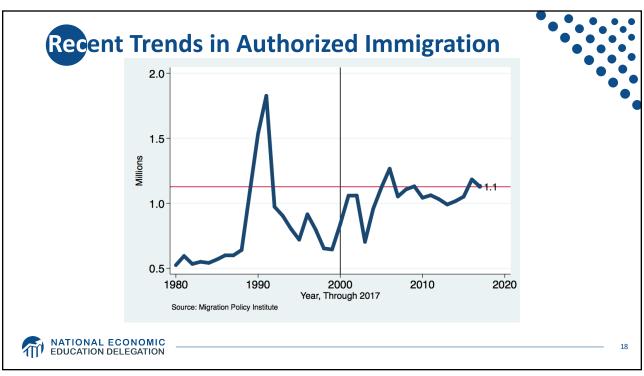






History of US Immigration: 1965-Today **Source Country** Flow of Immigrants into the United States 1965-2017 2.0-1965-2017 Mexico 4,300,000 **Philippines** 1,400,000 1.5 South Korea 760,000 Willions 1.0 Dominican 750,000 Republic India 740,000 0.5 700,000 Cuba 700,000 Vietnam 1960 1980 2000 2020 1840 1860 1880 1900 1920 1940 Year: Through 2017 650,000 Canada NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION Source: https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/immigration-timeline/.



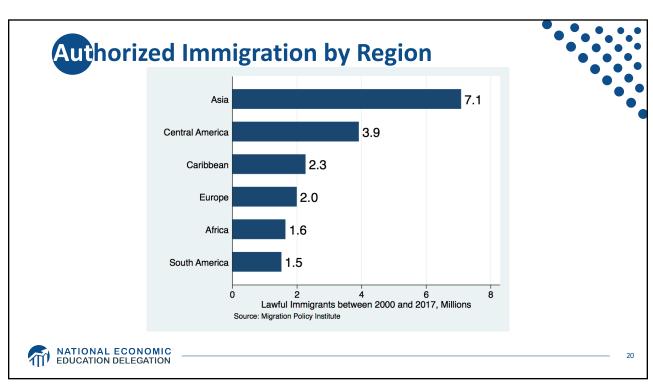


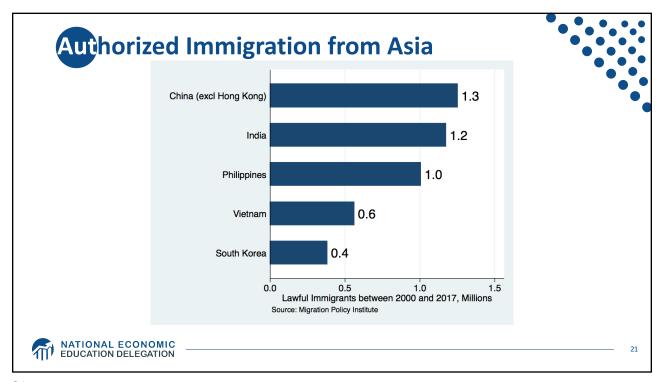
Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Residency by Region of Birth, 2017

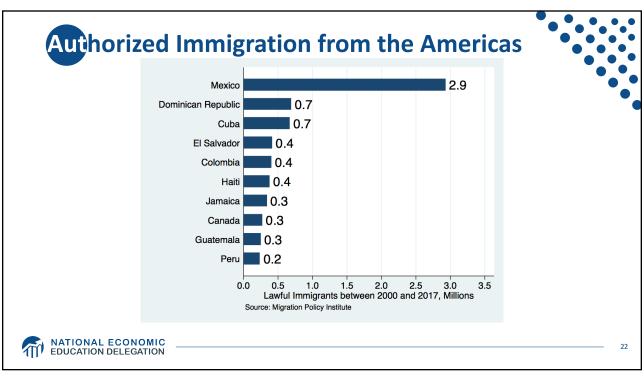


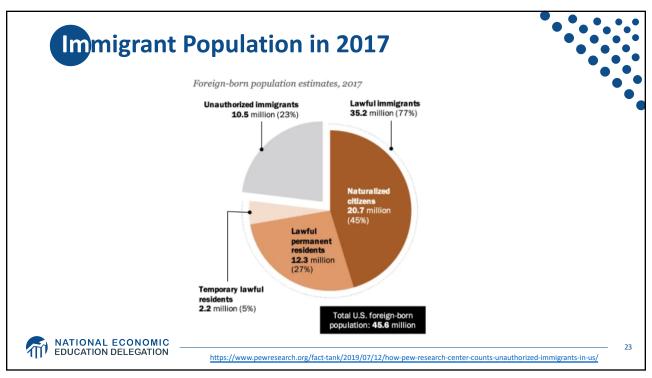
Region of Birth	Number
Total	1,127,167
Africa	118,824
Asia	424,743
Europe	84,335
North America	413,650
Oceania	5,071
South America	79,076
Unknown	1,468

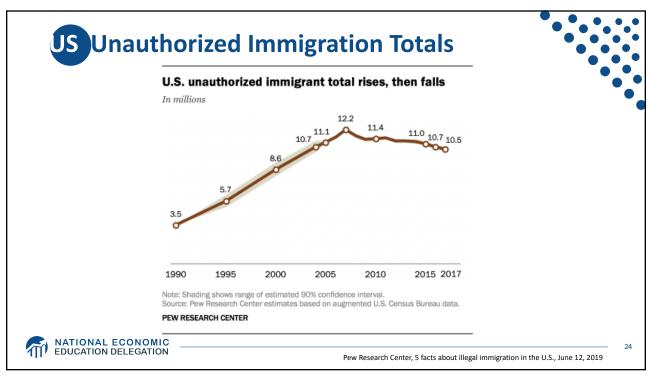


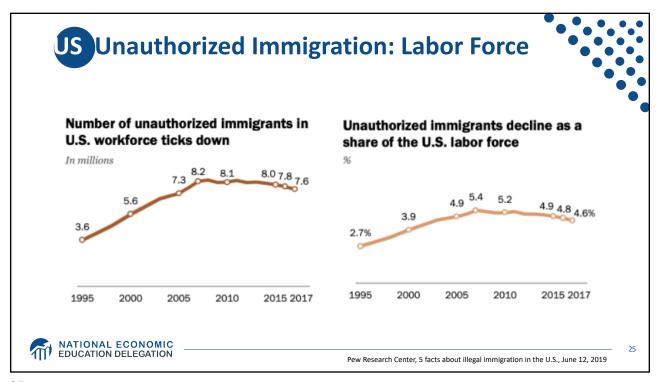


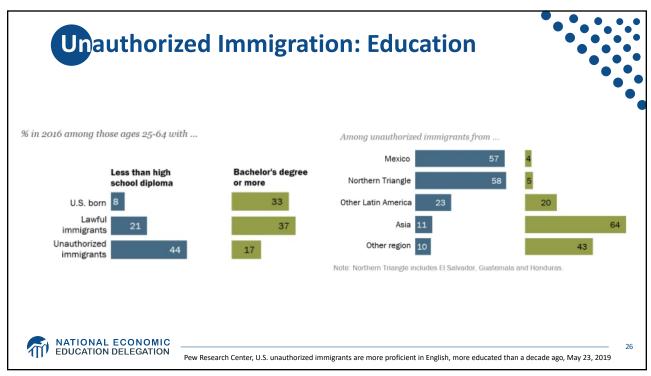








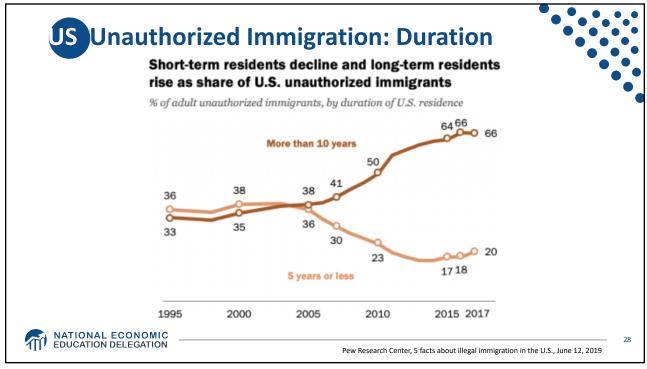


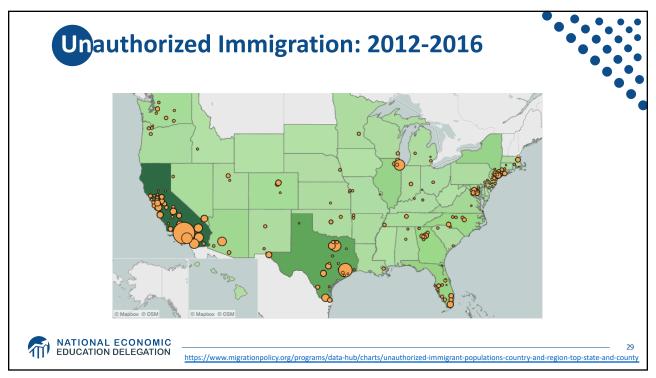


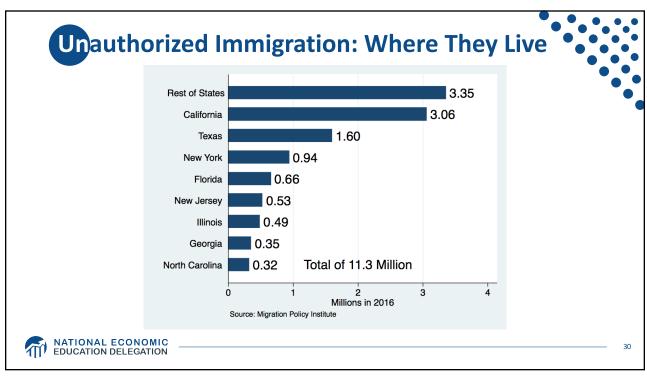
Unauthorized Population: Source Countries In thousands 2017 2007 Change **Latin America** Mexico 4,950 6,950 -2,000 +400 Central America 1,900 1,500 South America 775 900 -130 Caribbean 475 475 Other regions 1,450 1,300 +130 Asia -150 Europe, Canada 500 650 Middle East 130 140 Africa 250 250 U.S. total 10,500 12,200 -1,750

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NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION







Unauthorized Immigration: Mode of Entry

Table 3. Arrivals of Undocumented Migrants in 2016, by Mode of Arrival and Country of Origin: Top Five Countries (thousands)

Country	Total	Country	Overstays	Country	EWIs
	arrivals		0 . 020)	0011111	Entry w/o Inspection
All countries	515	All countries	320	All countries	190
Mexico	145	Mexico	50	Mexico	95
El Salvador	35	India	25	El Salvador	35
Guatemala	30	China	25	Honduras	25
Honduras	30	Venezuela	20	Guatemala	20
India	25	Philippines	15	Dom Rep.	10
All other	245	All other	185	All other	5

Note: Except for "All countries" and Mexico, overstays and EWIs do not sum to total arrivals because different countries are included in the columns that show overstays and EWIs.

Source: Center for Migration Studies.



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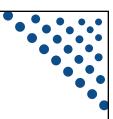


- GDP
- Labor markets
- Government revenue and spending
- Prices
- Exports and FDI



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- Aggregate effects: The size of the pie
- Income distribution: The size of slices of the pie



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GDP: How Does This Work?



- What determines the size of an economy?
 - Technology/productivity
 - Physical capital
 - The number of workers
 - o Immigration adds to the number of workers.
- Number of immigrants in the labor force is high
 - 28.2 million foreign-born persons ages 16+ in the labor force in 2018.
 - 17.4% of the total US workforce.
- Evidence
 - Immigrants added 11% to GDP (\$2 trillion) in 2016.



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Immigration and Labor Markets



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- Depends on the type of immigrant: Skills/education
 - Similar to native-born population?
 - Low-skilled?
 - Highly skilled?
- Brings capital market implications
 - Low-skilled capital supplementing
 - Highly skilled capital complementing



Source: Hong & McLaren (2015).

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Immigration Is Similar to Trade



Trade

- Allows production to be brought to where the low-wage workers are.

Immigration

- Allows workers to move to where high-wage jobs are.

• Both:

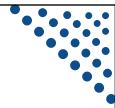
- Equalize wages geographically
- Lower prices
- Increase overall economic activity



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Labor Market Implications



• Provides net benefits to the receiving economy

- Larger labor supply.
- Changes in labor prices increase production of goods and services that use the type of labor offered by immigrants.

Short run: there are winners and losers

- Changes in wage structure and returns to capital affect native-born workers differently.

Long run: could be no winners, but also no losers

- The economy might adjust to pre-immigration wage structure and returns to capital. No change for native-born individuals.



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- Suppose the immigrants have the same skills as the native-born population in a city
 - Short run: workers lose and owners of capital win
 - Higher ratio of labor to capital.
 - Wages decline, and returns to capital rise.
 - Long run: there are no losers or winners
 - Capital flows into the city
 - Because the returns are now higher here than elsewhere
 - o The original ratio of labor to capital is restored.



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Labor Market Implications: Low-Skill Immigrants

- Suppose the immigrants are less skilled than the native-born population in a city
 - Short run: low-skilled workers are losers
 - o Supply of low-skilled workers goes up, so their wages go down.
 - Long run: there need not be any losers, but there may still be
 - Prices adjust
 - Purchasing power of low-skilled workers need not be lower.
 - Subtlety: Opportunities for low-skilled native-born workers expand as the economy expands.
 - Greater demand for English-proficient workers.



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Labor Market Implications: General Principles

Short run

- Harm likely to native-born workers who are similar to immigrants.
- Benefit likely for other workers and owners of capital.

Long run

- Lower prices will restore some of the purchasing power of those harmed.
- **Expanded opportunities** may restore wages of harmed native-born workers.
- Inflows of other types of labor and capital may *return the economy to its pre-immigration wage structure and production patterns*.



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Labor Market Implications: The Surplus



• The Surplus

- Immigration CAN make all native-born workers and capital more productive.
- This increases incomes of the native born.
- In other words, the economy might not just get bigger, it might become more productive as well!
- This will, on average, increase the living standards of all native-born workers and owners of capital.



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Labor Market Implications: Evidence of Surplus

	Surplus: % of GDP		
Type of Immigrants	Short Run	Long Run	
No Skill Bias	0.24 to 0.50	0.02 to 0.03	
Low skilled	0.45 to 0.90	0.42 to 0.77	
Highly skilled	0.75 to 1.35	0.16 to 0.31	



Source: Borjas (2014a).

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Summary of Labor Market Effects



- Immigration CAN lead to negative wage effects for competing native-born workers
 - Particularly high school dropouts and those in vulnerable communities.
- Other workers will likely benefit
 - Through increased wages.
 - Through increased opportunity.
- Owners of capital will benefit
 - Existing capital will earn greater returns.
 - More if immigrant labor complements existing capital.



Source: Hong & McLaren (2015).

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Potential Benefits for Low-Skilled Native Workers



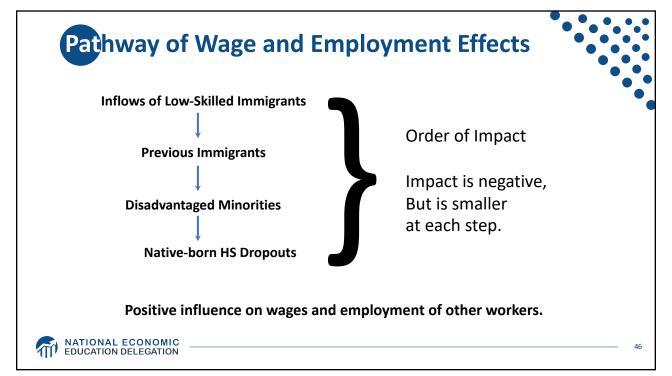
• Immigration can increase native-born worker wages:

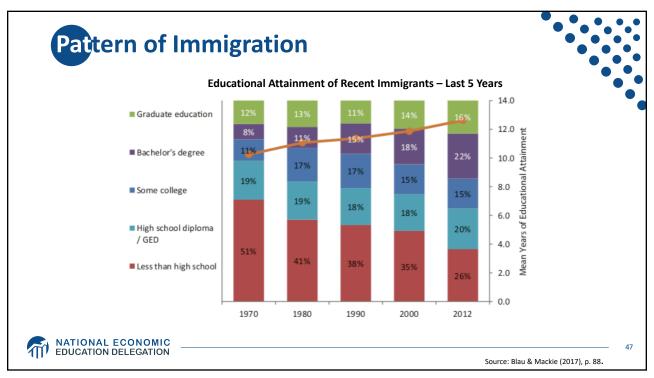
- More demand for jobs where English is necessary
- Increased demand for goods and services increases wages in those industries.
- Each immigrant creates 1.2 local jobs mostly for native-born workers.

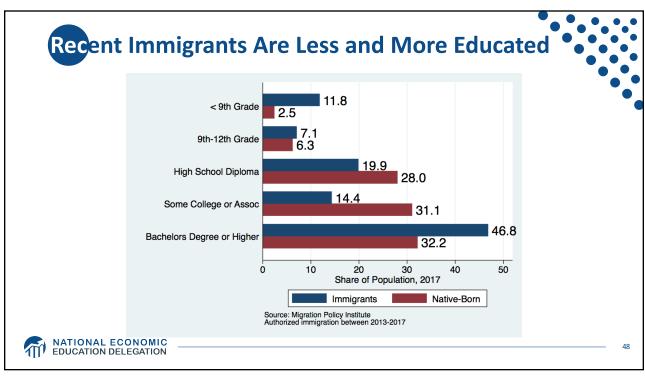


Source: Hong & McLaren (2015).

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Skilled Immigrants and Innovation



1% increase in the share of the immigrant college graduate population

- 9-18% increase in patenting per capita
- May not all be due to immigrant patenting
- Increased immigration may increase patenting by native-born population
- Nonetheless, the effect is positive

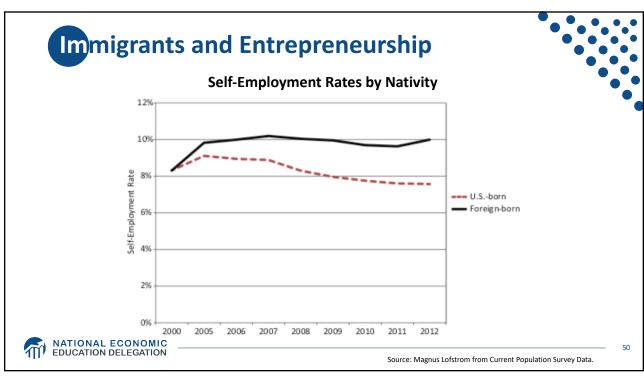
In the 1990s

- Increased skilled immigration can account for one-third of increased patenting in that decade.
- This translates into a 1.4-2.5% increase in GDP per capita by the end of the decade.

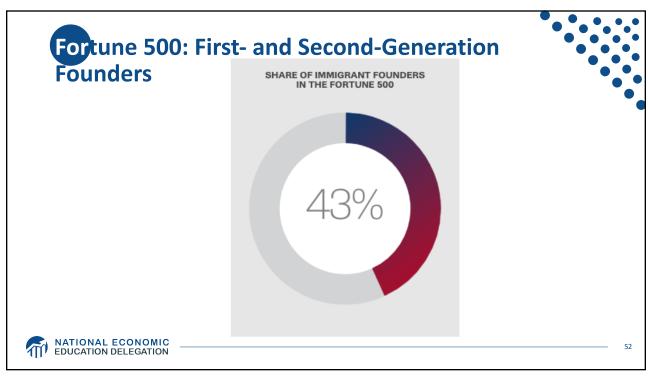


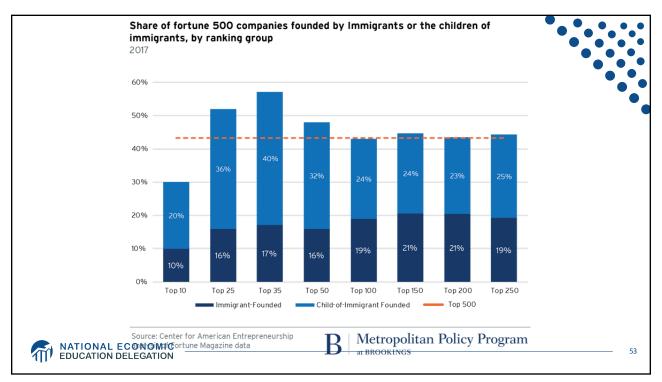
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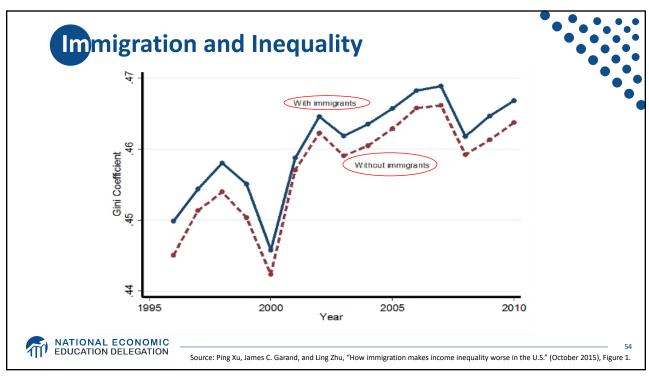
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Immigration and Inequality: Summary

- Beginning in about 1970, the immigrant share of the US population increased dramatically.
 - 5% in 1970 and 14% in 2016
- Compared to the native born, immigrants:
 - Comprise a larger share of less-educated workers (less than HS diploma)
 - Comprise a larger share of highly educated workers (advanced degree)
- Immigration has likely increased income inequality.
- Its effect has likely been small.
 - ~5% between 1980 and 2000
 - No reason to think it has been bigger since then



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Immigration and Prices



- How do immigrants lower prices?
 - Demand side
 - A higher proportion of immigrants tends to make markets more price sensitive.
 - Accordingly, stores are reluctant to raise prices.
 - Supply side
 - o By providing labor services at lower cost.
 - o Input prices are lowered, so final goods prices are also likely to be lower.
 - Primarily in nontraded sectors
 - Household services, construction, hospitality, agriculture.



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Prices: Distributional Consequences



- Lowers prices of immigrant-intensive sectors by 2%.
 - o E.g., housekeeping, gardening, babysitting, dry cleaning

Immigration between 1980 and 2000 immigration affected the cost of living:

- -0.32% for highly skilled workers
- ... but not for everybody:
 - +1% for native high school dropouts
 - +4.2% for low-skilled native-born Hispanics
- Conclusion:
 - Positive net benefits for the country as a whole.
 - But not all benefit.



Cortes (2008)

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Prices and Economic Expansion



• Economic Expansion

- Increases the labor supply.
 - o Lowers the prices of immigration-intensive products.
- Frees up highly skilled labor to provide more market services.
 - o Primarily through provision of household services.
 - o Evidence of an expansion of labor provided by highly skilled women.
 - Particularly where long hours are required: law, medicine, and women with PhDs



Source: Cortes & Tesada (2011).



Government Revenues and Expenditures



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- Important factor for understanding whether immigrants will be net contributors to the economy.
- Two additional reasons:
 - Taxpayer inequity geographically
 - Necessary to understand the full consequences of admitting additional immigrants into the country



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• Basic Question:

- Taxes (income, sales, and other) immigrants pay vs. government expenditures on public benefits and services they receive.

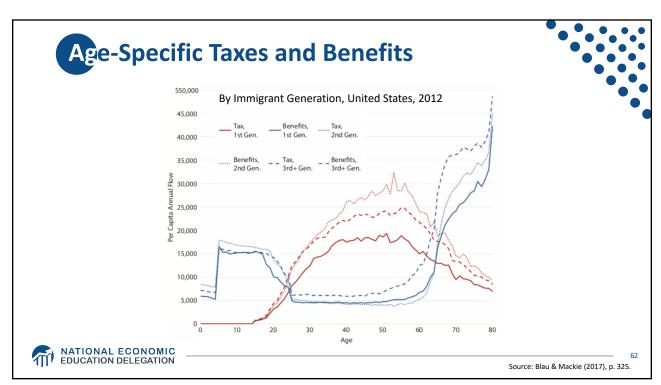
More complicated:

- Immigrants also affect the fiscal equation for many native-born residents.
 - o Indirectly through labor and capital markets.
 - o Changes in wages and the return to capital.



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- Immigrants who arrive while of working age:
 - Are, on average, net contributors.
 - 21-year-old with a high school diploma: +\$126,000 over a lifetime
 - o Though this value gradually declines with age at arrival.
 - o Turns negative for arrivals of age 35+
- Net contribution crucially depends on characteristics
 - Age distribution, family composition, health status, fertility patterns
 - Temporary or permanent relocation
 - Employment in the legal labor market
 - Authorized or unauthorized



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Bottom Line/Consensus of Estimates



- Federal level: fiscal impact is generally positive.
- State and local level: typically negative fiscal impact.



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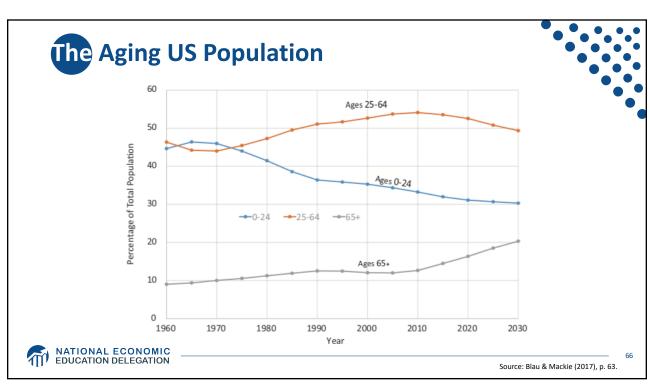
Implications for Major Federal Programs

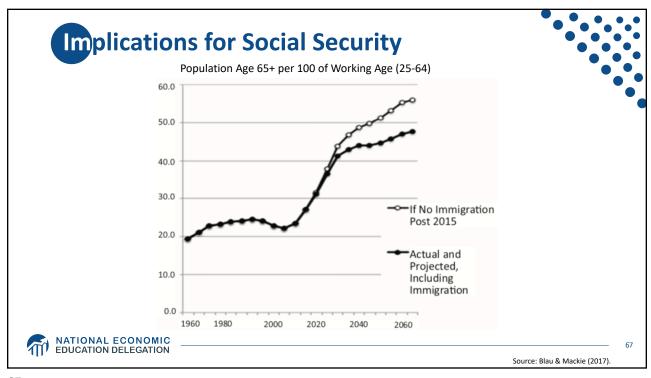
- and
- Documented immigrants are less likely to use Social Security and Medicare.
- Unauthorized immigrants are ineligible.
 - They will pay into the system but cannot receive benefits.
- Medicaid: not available to legal residents for the first five years.
- Provide a source of revenue for an aging population.



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- Flows of goods, services, and investments internationally rely heavily:
 - Information
 - Contacts abroad
- Immigrants bring both information and networks.
- A variety of studies show that increased immigration from a particular country leads to
 - Increased exports to that country.
 - Increased flows of investment to that country.
- Migrant networks do indeed complement both trade and FDI.



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• Employment and Earnings

Occupations

Poverty

- Residential Integration
- Language
- Health
- Family Patterns

The Big Misconception: Crime



Source: The Integration of Immigrants into American Society (2015).

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Immigrants and Crime Rates



Conventional wisdom:

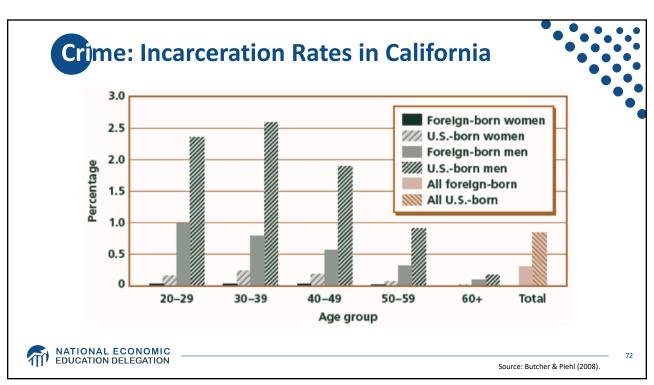
- Immigrants commit crimes more frequently than do native-born residents.
- Rising immigration leads to rising crime.

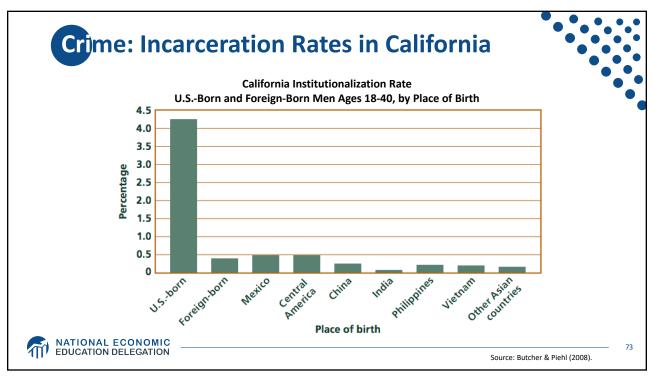
Let's Have a Look!

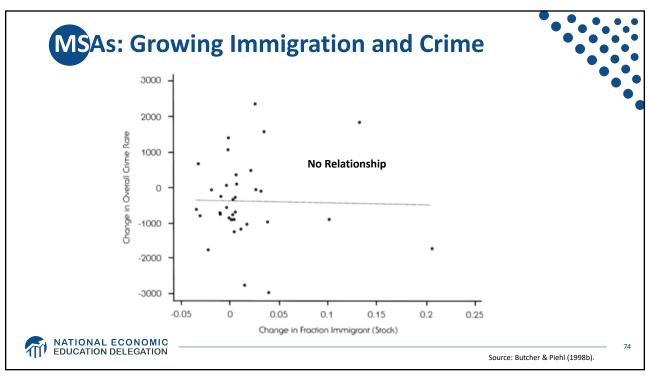


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Immigrants and Crime Rates



- Conventional wisdom:
 - Immigrants commit crimes more frequently than do native born residents.
 - Rising immigration leads to rising crime.
- What do the data say?
 - Rates of incarceration are lower for the foreign born than US born.
 - Neighborhoods with more immigrants have lower crime rates.



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Summary

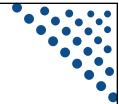


- Immigration should be thought of as increasing the population of the United States.
- This brings economic growth and opportunity, just as does increasing the native-born population.
- Including unauthorized immigrants, the supply of low-skilled workers is increased
 - This lowers the wages of low-skilled workers.
 - But also increases labor force participation among highly skilled workers.



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At the Same Time....



Immigrants are often a select group:

- Willing to incur an enormous personal or familial cost to better their lives.

As a result:

- Immigrants tend to commit crimes at low rates.
- Immigrants tend to be entrepreneurial and to add significantly to economic growth.

Although there are distributional issues:

- Immigration is an important contributor to economic growth.
- Immigration helps to sustain vital government programs.



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About Conventional Wisdom



Native-born unskilled workers

- There is some negative impact on their wages.
- But much less than is commonly thought.

Crime

- Immigrants, both authorized and unauthorized, commit crimes at much lower rates than do native-born residents.

Government programs

- Federal: immigrants are a source of revenue and stability for some important programs.
- State and local: because education is funded at the local level, this can be a drain on local government coffers.



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