THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON LOW-SKILLED AMERICAN WORKERS

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By

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The Effect of Immigration on Low-Skilled American Workers

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Abstract

Every year, hundreds of thousands of new immigrants enter the United States, legally and illegally. Many will obtain employment in low-skilled jobs, such as food preparation, cleaning, construction, and agricultural labor. A growing volume of studies have analyzed how immigrants affect the wages of American workers, particularly workers in low-skilled occupations. Does the presence of increasing numbers of immigrant workers drive down the wages of low-skilled American workers? This paper examines whether recent data support the hypothesis that increases in immigrant labor has a negative effect on the wages of low-skilled Americans. Demographic and economic data were obtained from the 2000-2007 American Community Surveys, compiled and sampled through the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. This paper creates a model that estimates the wage impact of national changes in the percentage of immigrants working in selected low-skilled occupations. Estimates suggest that, when holding year and region effects constant, changes in the percentage of immigrant workers do not have a statistically significant impact on the wages of low-skilled American workers.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Many thanks,
Richard J. Cook
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Introduction

Immigration has become one of the most pressing issues of modern politics. Millions of foreign-born persons already live in the United States, and hundreds of thousands more arrive every year, and not always through legal channels. The large number of immigrants entering this country, and particularly the large number of illegal immigrants from Mexico, have led to numerous debates about border security, national identity, and the economic well-being of native-born workers (Jennifer Ludden, “Q&A: Inside the Immigration Debate,” NPR.org (March 28, 2006) <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5303676>). Congress attempted to address the matter in 2006, but partisan rancor in the Senate killed any hope of immigration reform (Dana Bash and Andrea Koppel, “Senate Immigration Bill Suffers Crushing Defeat,” CNN (28 Jun. 2007) <http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/06/28/immigration.congress/index.html>).

With the American economy now in recession, questions regarding the economic effect of immigration are more pertinent than ever. Does the increasing size of the foreign-born population have a negative effect on wages? This effect, if it does exist, could be near impossible to measure given that vast range of wages and salaries in the labor market. A more focused question is whether immigrants negatively impact the wages of low-skilled American workers. This question may also be more pertinent,

This paper will examine whether rises in the number of immigrants working in low-skilled occupations can be linked to declines in wages for those occupations. Comparisons between states will be used to explore whether higher levels of immigration produce greater impacts on wages. Demographic and economic data comes from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, using samples from the American Community Survey.

**Background**

The United States Census Bureau estimates that, as of 2003, the U.S. population included 33.5 million foreign-born persons, representing 11.7 percent of the population (Luke Larsen, “The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2003,” Current Population Reports, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau (August 2004): 1). Of the foreign-born population, over half were born in Latin America (Larsen, 1). This number has increased dramatically in just the past few years. In fiscal years 2005-2007, the total number of immigrants admitted to the United States as legal permanent residents exceeded 1 million per year (United States Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2007, Washington, D.C.: Office of
Immigration Statistics (2008): 5-12). A significant number of those immigrants were from Latin America, with well over 100,000 Mexicans alone obtaining legal permanent residence in the United States for each year since 2000 (Yearbook: 2007, 10-11).


As the data above suggest, the foreign-born population in the United States is very large and growing rapidly. Additionally, foreign-born workers, as mentioned above, are more likely than native-born Americans to work in low-skilled occupations (Enchaustegui, 811-824). Illegal immigrants are heavily concentrated in low-skilled service jobs, such as food preparation and grounds cleaning, as well as manual labor jobs such as construction, extractive occupations, installation and repair, and farming (Jeffrey S. Passel, “The Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S.” Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center (Mar 7, 2006): 10-14).

Hispanics, who make up a considerable portion of the immigrant population, are more likely than whites or blacks to work as fabricators and laborers, and less likely to work as managers and professionals (Department of Labor, “Report on the American
Workforce,” Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics (2001): 41). In other words, there are a large and growing number of foreign-born workers, especially those of Hispanic origin, who are competing for low-skilled jobs in the United States.

**Literature Review**

What is the wage effect of this massive migration of people to the United States? From a simple labor market perspective, the inflow of new workers would presumably lower wages by increasing competition for a limited number of jobs. Additionally, foreign-born workers, particularly unauthorized immigrants, may be more willing to work in unpleasant and even hazardous conditions for less pay than American workers, allowing employers to keep labor costs low (Knowledge@Wharton, “The Immigration Debate: Its Impact on Workers, Wages, and Employers,” University of Pennsylvania (May 17, 2008): 2).

Numerous research papers have attempted, through various forms of multivariate analysis, to estimate the effect that immigration has on the wages of native-born workers. One of the first to study the economic effects of immigrants was Jean B. Grossman, who treated the labor markets of metropolitan areas as the units of analysis. Grossman regressed the impact of immigrants in a locality on the factor share of wages of native workers, and concluded that elasticity of wages for native born workers was reduced by 0.02 (Jean B. Grossman, “The Substitutability of Natives and

Another study performed by Frank Bean, B. Lindsay Lowell, and Lowell Taylor attempted to estimate the wage impact of unauthorized immigrants in several local labor markets in the American southwest (Frank D. Bean, B. Lindsay Lowell, and Lowell J. Taylor, “Undocumented Immigrants and the Earnings of Other Workers in the United States,” Demography, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Feb. 1988): 35-52). Using a two-stage least squares approach, the researchers examined the wage impact of changes in the quantity of documented and undocumented immigrants on six different population subsets, including non-Hispanic black males, native Mexican males, and females. They found that undocumented immigrants produced a statistically significant but miniscule negative impact on the wage elasticities of native Mexican males and black males, while documented immigrants actually caused positive change in wage elasticity for both groups (Bean, 44).

David Card wrote a paper that analyzed the effect of immigration on wages by exploring the economic impact of the Mariel Boatlift of 1980 on the Miami metropolitan area (David Card, “The Impact of the Mariel Boatlift on the Miami Labor Market,” Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jan. 1990): 245-257). Card fit a linear regression model for the logarithm of hourly earnings to comparison cities that did not receive an influx of immigrants during the same time period, and
then worked out predicted values for Miami. He then divided all wage-earners in Miami into four income quartiles, and examined differences between the means of the lowest and highest quartiles both before and after the Boatlift. Card concluded that the Mariel Boatlift did not have a negative effect on the earnings of lower income non-Cubans in Miami (Card, 252).

In 1994, George Borjas collected the leading econometric studies in immigration, and provided a summary and analysis of the existing research into the economic effects of immigration, including the impact on native-born wages (George J. Borjas, “The Economics of Immigration,” Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Dec. 1994): 1667-1717). Borjas found that the major studies suggested that wages were generally lower in metropolitan areas where more immigrants resided, but the relationship between immigration and native wages was numerically weak (Borjas, 1697).

A decade later, Borjas came to a different conclusion. Drawing on national data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Borjas created a multivariate regression that sought to describe the relationship between wages and immigration by subdividing the outcome variable (change in wages) by educational attainment and work experience (George J. Borjas, “Increasing the Supply of Labor Through Immigration,” Backgrounder, Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies (May 2004): 4). Borjas concluded that immigration reduced the average annual earnings of
native-born men by about 4 percent, and the effect was even worse for high school dropouts, who presumably worked in low-skilled jobs (Center for Immigration Studies, 5).

The weight of opinion in the literature indicates that immigration has a negative impact on the wages of native-born workers, but there is dispute as to whether that the impact is substantial, or even whether it is statistically significant. This paper seeks to add to the existing literature by exploring whether recent increases in the immigrant population produced a decline in the wages of low-skilled occupations. Rather than examining only metropolitan areas, which limits external validity to the entire country, this paper will rely upon national data gathered over the past eight years.

**Conceptual Framework and Hypothesis**

The test hypothesis of this paper is that an increase in the immigrant population over time will cause a decrease in the wages of low-skilled American workers over time. In other words, low-skilled immigrants and Americans are competing for the same jobs, and the growing presence of immigrants in the labor market negatively affects the well-being of low-skilled American workers.

Steps required to test this hypothesis are: (1) identify low-skilled workers and separate them from the general population; (2) track changes in the wages of low-skilled workers over time; and (3) track changes in the size of the foreign-born and total populations over time. The increase in absolute number of foreign born workers
is less important than the relative increase in the size of the foreign-born population compared to the native born population. Controls for year of observation, race, gender, Hispanic origin, age, foreign-born or native-born status, college education, and occupational indicator variables will be used to ensure that the estimate of the immigration effect is unbiased. Additionally, indicator variables for each state and the District of Columbia will be used. State controls are necessary because different states have different economic circumstances that effect wages. This hypothesis can be written in equation form as:

\[ \Delta \text{wages}_{T1-T2} = \Delta (\text{immigrants/total population}_{T1-T2}) + \text{race} + \text{Hispanic} + \text{gender} + \text{college} + \text{age} + \text{foreign?} + \text{occupation}_1 + \ldots + \text{occupation}_k + \text{year2000} + \ldots + \text{year2007} + \text{state}_1 + \ldots + \text{state51}. \]

This formula will also be applied to each of the specific occupations as well, to look for possible variations in how immigration affects wages in different industries.

**Data Source**

This paper relies on data provided by the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), created by the Minnesota Population Center (Steven Ruggles, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander, Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2004). IPUMS takes decennial census data and, for 2000-2007, data from the American Community Survey (ACS) conducted every year.
by the Census Bureau and combines these separate pieces of information into a single
dataset that can be used for time series analysis. This paper only focuses on the years
2000-2007, and will therefore only rely upon IPUMS data drawn from the ACS.

The ACS is a massive survey, reaching close to 3 million households each year.
Because the sheer size of the survey makes it impractical for multivariate analysis,
especially when combining the information from several years, the IPUMS data that
this paper relies upon is a small sample of the ACS, equaling roughly 66,000 persons
for 2000, 50,000 persons between 2001 and 2004, and increasing to roughly 70,000

Each housing unit in the sample is mailed a questionnaire. If there is no
response within a month, then all units with an assigned telephone number are sent to
the computer-assisted telephone interviewing staff. A sub-sample of cases that respond
to neither the questionnaire nor telephone interviewing are sent to the computer-
assisted personal interview staff in the third month, which means that an interviewer is
actually sent to the housing unit. Group quarters are assigned to a month and in most
facilities only six weeks are given for the collection of data by personal interview.
(U.S. Census Bureau, “Design and Methodology: American Community Survey,”
ACS is quite high, measuring 97.5 percent for housing units and 97.4 percent for group
quarters in 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau, “Using the Data: Quality Measures,”

9

**Analysis Plan**

This paper examines whether increases in the percentage of immigrants has a negative impact on the wages of low-skilled American workers. Prior research by Passell and Enchautegui established that construction and installation, food preparation, cleaning and maintenance services, and agricultural labor are occupational categories that have a large number of immigrant workers (Passel, 10-14; Enchautegui, 816). IPUMS has an occupational classification variable, and these occupations are grouped into four categorical variables: farming/fishing/forestry, cleaning/maintenance services, food preparation services, and construction/installation labor. Summary analysis of the data supports the earlier findings. According to the data, only about 9 percent of the wage-earning population is foreign-born, but the percentage of foreign-born workers within each occupational category is well above 10 percent for most years (see Table 3 in Appendix). Workers in these occupations will be the only workers of interest, and the wages of all other workers will be ignored. This paper is concerned with yearly wages or salaries, and will not look at income earned through other sources.

Once low-skilled workers are grouped into a sub-sample, the paper will separate the impact of immigration from other economic factors, such as stock bubbles
or the current financial crisis, that affect wages. First, a variable for the immigrant population will be defined by taking the foreign-born population and subtracting everyone born overseas of American parents (because they would qualify for American citizenship). Second, a variable that provides the relative size of the immigrant population compared to the general population will be calculated by dividing the immigrant population for each year by the total population for that year. Third, a regression with the logarithm of wage as the outcome variable and the logarithm of the relative size of the foreign-born population as the explanatory variable will be calculated for the entire United States. This regression will estimate the expected change in elasticity for yearly wages. Indicator variables for each state, plus the District of Columbia, will control for economic effects that vary between states. A cluster function will be applied to all the states and D.C. so as to control for the similarities that individuals living in particular states have with one another. Additionally, indicator variables for each year from 2000 to 2007 will be included to control for general time effects.

Finally, the regression will include human capital variables that affect change in wages. The age of the worker will be one control. Other controls will include indicator variables for college education, gender, African American race, Hispanic origin, whether or not the worker is foreign-born, and dummy variables for the four specific occupational categories that will be used to define low-skilled workers. These
include workers in farming/fishing/forestry, cleaning and maintenance services, food preparation, and construction and installation jobs.

A second set of regressions will be run limited to each distinct occupational group, to look for variations based on industry.

**Summary Statistics**

IPUMS combines small samples from the annual ACS into a single dataset. This allows for time series analysis, but it also means that individual observations do not carry over from year-to-year, and the total number of observations varies depending upon the size of the survey for a particular year. The ACS weights its observations for each year so that it more accurately reflects the entire U.S. population (Sample Design and Estimation in the American Community Survey, available at <http://usa.ipums.org/usa/voliii/ACSsamp.shtml>).

Table 1 summarizes the frequency of observations in the IPUMS dataset for 2000-2007. The total number of observations per year varies between about 50,000 and 70,000. Observations in the year 2000 are noticeably larger than in 2001-2004, because the ACS in that year was effectively piggybacked on the decennial census, allowing for more households to be covered. The number of observations increased in 2005 due to the inclusion in the survey of group quarter residents, such as college students.
Table 1: Observations by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACS Year</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>Foreign-Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>66,515</td>
<td>6,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>49,635</td>
<td>4,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>49,959</td>
<td>4,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>49,596</td>
<td>4,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>50,056</td>
<td>4,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>69,092</td>
<td>7,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>70,710</td>
<td>7,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>72,092</td>
<td>7,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>477,655</strong></td>
<td><strong>47,113</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Foreign-born includes everyone born outside the U.S. and its territories except those born of American parents.
SOURCE: IPUMS-USA

Table 2 summarizes the annual wage and salary income for the total sample, as well as sub-samples of African Americans and all foreign-born residents. While median wages naturally fluctuate from year to year, the general trend is upwards. African American wages are not substantially lower than the overall population, but the wages of foreign-born workers are clearly well below the general median.
### Table 2: Median Wage by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Population</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>All Foreign-Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$37,554</td>
<td>$37,554</td>
<td>$23,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>$40,449</td>
<td>$39,842</td>
<td>$25,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>$40,337</td>
<td>$38,724</td>
<td>$27,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>$42,586</td>
<td>$40,558</td>
<td>$26,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>$43,566</td>
<td>$45,288</td>
<td>$27,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>$44,618</td>
<td>$42,784</td>
<td>$26,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>$44,272</td>
<td>$43,367</td>
<td>$28,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>$45,536</td>
<td>$45,536</td>
<td>$28,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As discussed above, foreign-born workers are disproportionately involved in certain low-skilled occupations. Table 3 (see Appendix) summarizes the median wages and the percentage of foreign-born workers in four low-skilled occupational categories: food service and preparation, construction (also includes installation and repair), cleaning and maintenance services, and farming, forestry, and fishing occupations. Among all individuals who reported an annual wage or salary, only about 9.1% were foreign-born. But as Table 3 illustrates, 15-16% of food service and preparation personnel (cooks, waiters, etc.) were foreign-born, between 12 and 18% of construction, installation, and repair workers were foreign-born, and between 20 to 25% of cleaning and grounds maintenance workers were foreign-born. Even more
substantial, between 25 and 33% of workers in farming, forestry, and fishing occupations were foreign-born. And the foreign-born percentage of each of these occupational categories showed an upwards trend from 2000-2007.

Table 3 also summarizes the differences between the general median wages in the four occupational categories and the median wages for the sub-sample of foreign-born workers. The data is mixed, and varies considerably between years and occupational categories. In food service and preparation, the median wages of foreign-born workers always exceed general median wages, suggesting that foreign-born workers are actually being paid better than natives. In construction, on the other hand, foreign-born wages are below the general median. In cleaning and maintenance occupations, foreign-born wages fluctuate at roughly the same level as those of the general sample population. In farming, forestry, and fishing occupations, foreign-born wages are nearly identical to those of the general population sample.

Regression Results

Table 4 provides the results of the first regression of change in wages by change in the percentage of immigrants in all four occupational categories. The results are surprising, as the change in the percentage of the foreign-born population has a very high positive effect on the elasticity of wages. However, the coefficient of 0.72 is not statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level (p-value = 0.161). The control variables produce both expected and unexpected results. Being of African American
descent or female has a negative impact on wages. Being Hispanic has a slightly positive effect, but it is not statistically significant. Age and a college education both have positive effects on wages. The foreign-born indicator variable, however, produces an unexpected positive effect on change in wage. These contradictory results suggest that a regression that looks at all four occupational categories together may be not find effects that are unique to each category, even when controls are included. For this reason, the regression was run again, individually, for each of the four occupational categories.

Table 4: Regression of Change in Wages by Change in Percent of Foreign-Born Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficients</th>
<th>Log(Foreign-Born /Total Pop.)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Individual</th>
<th>College Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.7269</td>
<td>0.0287</td>
<td>-0.1166</td>
<td>0.0189</td>
<td>-0.3901</td>
<td>0.2048</td>
<td>0.3445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.5108)</td>
<td>(0.0008)</td>
<td>(0.0262)</td>
<td>(0.0231)</td>
<td>(0.0209)</td>
<td>(0.0157)</td>
<td>(0.0166)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Additional controls for years, occupations, and states not included. Data clustered by state. Robust standard errors are listed in parentheses. SOURCE: IPUMS-USA

Table 5 separates the analysis according to occupational category. For each year, the percentage of foreign-born workers in that occupational category was
calculated, and then the natural logarithm of wages (limited to that category) was regressed by the logarithm of that value. The same control variables as before were used to diminish bias. Only the coefficient for cleaning and maintenance occupations proved to be statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. The coefficient of interest has a high value of 2.8441, which suggests that increasing the percentage of immigrants in cleaning and maintenance occupations will produce an enormous positive impact on the elasticity of wages for those occupations. These results contradict the popular notion that the growing percentage of immigrant workers drives down wages.

The coefficient for construction and installation labor (1.5598) also indicates that more immigrant workers actually increase wages substantially, but it is not statistically significant. The coefficient for food preparation workers (0.1284) is also positive and not insubstantial, but not statistically significant. On the other hand, the coefficient for agricultural workers (0.0056) is both insubstantial and statistically insignificant. Large standard errors make it impossible to conclude that change in the percentage of immigrant workers has a statistically significant impact on the change in wages for low-skilled occupations.
Table 5: Regression of Change in Wages by Change in Percent of Foreign-Born Workers According to Each Occupational Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Construction and Installation</th>
<th>Farming, Fishing, Forestry</th>
<th>Cleaning and Maintenance</th>
<th>Food Preparation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log(Foreign-Born/Total Pop.)</td>
<td>1.5598</td>
<td>0.0056</td>
<td>2.8441</td>
<td>0.1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.7406)</td>
<td>(2.8653)</td>
<td>(1.2644)</td>
<td>(0.4097)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.374</td>
<td>0.998</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Control variables excluded from table. Data clustered by state. Robust standard errors are listed in parentheses.
SOURCE: IPUMS-USA

Conclusion

The regressions indicate that an increase in the percentage of immigrant workers has a positive effect on the wages of cleaning and maintenance workers, and may have a positive effect on the wages of construction, food preparation, and agricultural workers. However, the estimated effect on the latter three occupational categories is not statistically significant. The outcome of this paper seems to contradict the conclusions of earlier research that found that immigration produced negative, though often insubstantial, effects on wages.

One possible explanation is that immigrants work longer hours, and therefore earn more money, which actually drives up the annual wage and salary income for all workers in these occupational categories. Unfortunately, while the dataset includes a
variable for hours worked, it does not specify whether those were hours worked at a specific occupation. Without more data to confirm that the hours worked were at the low-skilled occupations of interest, this theory cannot be explored.

The unexpected outcome of this paper may also be due to economic factors, such as inflation, which biased the coefficients. The dataset only included wages in nominal dollars and did not provide variables for estimating inflationary effects over time. Earlier studies avoided this problem in one of two ways. The articles by Grossman and Bean, Lowell, and Taylor focused only on specific metropolitan areas. This may have limited the external validity of their findings, but it avoided the more complex economic issues of a larger national survey (Grossman, 596-97; Bean, Lowell, Taylor, 35-38). David Card also studied only a few metropolitan areas, and additionally focused on a specific event in immigration history that produced a substantial inflow of immigrants in a very short time frame (Card, 250-52).

This study attempted to produce results that would have greater external validity by relying on national data from the last eight years. Unfortunately, the tradeoff was a high level of statistical uncertainty. Earlier research produced contradictory findings on whether the effect of immigration on wages was statistically significant or economically substantial. What remains clear is that the effect of immigration on wages at the national level is ambiguous. Should the federal government once again seek to reform the immigration system, more research will be
needed to ensure that it properly understands the effect of immigration on the wages of low-skilled American workers.
References


U.S. Census Bureau, “Design and Methodology: American Community Survey,”


http://www.census.gov/acs/www/acs-


United States Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics:

## Appendix

### Table 3: National Median Wages Within Low-Skilled Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Food Service</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Cleaning/Maintenance</th>
<th>Farming, Fishing, Forestry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Overall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$8,424</td>
<td>$12,383</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>$25,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>$8,696</td>
<td>$12,135</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>$27,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>$8,067</td>
<td>$11,294</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>$26,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>$8,105</td>
<td>$13,171</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>$28,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>$10,187</td>
<td>$14,261</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>$25,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>$8,955</td>
<td>$13,080</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>$28,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>$9,208</td>
<td>$15,786</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>$28,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Foreign-born means everyone born outside U.S. and its territories except for those born to American parents. Median wage does not include those who reported wage as $0.00. The occupational categories are defined by the ACS, specific occupations are listed under the IPUMS-USA website. % refers to the number of foreign-born workers in a particular occupational category for a specific year. SOURCE: IPUMS-USA