Immigrants and the Economy

Contribution of Immigrant Workers to the Country's 25 Largest Metropolitan Areas

with a focus on the five largest metro areas in the East

Fiscal Policy Institute

Introduction by Mike Fishman, President of 32BJ Service Employees International Union

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The Fiscal Policy Institute prepared this report as part of its Immigration Research Initiative.

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Introduction

As a new administration and congress take up immigration reform, lawmakers need to rely on hard facts about the role of immigrant workers in our economy if they are to deliver a responsible bill to the President for his signature. Congress has come close to passing comprehensive immigration reform in recent years, but fell short time and again when politics, disinformation and heated rhetoric trumped the urgent need to overhaul a system that is hurting not just immigrant workers but U.S.-born workers and our economy.

Immigrants and the Economy, which was prepared by the Fiscal Policy Institute, aims to provide legislators, policy makers, stakeholders and the public with the economic data they should rely on to bring our country's immigration system into line with today's economic and social realities. By looking at each of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the country, the report provides a fresh perspective on the issue—one that can inform lawmakers in Washington when drafting legislation and also cast new light on the issue for sometimes skeptical state and local leaders.

Our union's long-standing position on immigration reform is clear: We fully support a comprehensive solution to our broken and outdated immigration system. Millions of undocumented men and women who are already part of our communities must be brought out of the shadows and given protection under the law. Providing these men and women with a path to citizenship would rightly protect them from unscrupulous employers who often pay less than minimum wage and provide no health care or sick days. Just as importantly, fixing our immigration system must also address a range of issues including safe and secure borders, law enforcement and the future flow of immigrants into our country. Never again should countless workers find themselves without legal rights and protections.

The current immigration system is, by all measures, broken. It fuels an underground economy that forces workers into low-wage jobs and poor and often abusive conditions. It drags down wage and benefit standards that unions like ours fight to establish and maintain, and it jeopardizes economic security for millions of workers who are already struggling to make ends meet. We must fix this system, and we believe this report will provide lawmakers with information needed to reform our immigration system and align it with our country's economic needs and humanitarian values.

Mike Fishman
President of 32BJ
Service Employees International Union

Acknowledgments

Immigrants in the Economy was produced as part of the Fiscal Policy Institute's Immigration Research Initiative, an ongoing effort begun in 2006 to better understand the role of immigrants in the economy.

The first major report of the initiative, *Working for a Better Life,* examined the role immigrants play in three regions of New York State—New York City, the downstate suburbs, and upstate New York. *Immigrants in the Economy* extends the same question to the 25 largest metro areas of the United States. *Immigrants and the Economy* was undertaken with the support of 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union, which represents more than 110,00 service workers in eight states and the District of Columbia. The Fiscal Policy Institute's Immigration Research Initiative is made possible by the continuing support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The principal author of *Immigrants in the Economy* is David Dyssegaard Kallick, senior fellow of the Fiscal Policy Institute and director of its Immigration Research Initiative. The work was improved by the constant input and recommendations of James Parrott, chief economist and deputy director of the Fiscal Policy Institute, and was conducted under the oversight of Frank Mauro, Fiscal Policy Institute's executive director. Research assistant Jonathan DeBusk provided the majority of the data analysis, with significant contributions from FPI research associate Michele Mattingly and demographic analyst Vicky Virgin. Jo Brill, FPI's communications director, helped keep the numbers straight and the charts readable.

The Immigration Research Initiative is guided by an outstanding expert advisory panel. Current members of the panel, listed at the back of this report, provided indispensable feedback on drafts of this report. Their collective wisdom immeasurably improved the product, although they are of course not responsible for any remaining errors. In addition, Fiscal Policy Institute would like to recognize the contributions of two former advisory panel members. Walter Stafford, professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy at the New York University's Wagner School of Public Service, was continually encouraging, challenging, and insightful. He passed away in September 2008, and will be sorely missed. Jared Bernstein—formerly of the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) and currently chief economist and economic policy advisor to Vice President Joseph R. Biden—took valuable time reviewing our work while at EPI, keeping it grounded in the economic literature and always making penetrating observations.

Our analysis of American Community Survey microdata by metro area benefited from the gracious assistance provided by Audrey Singer and Jill Wilson of the Brookings Institution's Metropolitan Policy Program. Matt Nerzig and Eugenio Villasante of 32BJ SEIU provided numerous valuable contributions throughout the process. Leyla Vural helped make the report more readable and accessible.

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Executive Summary

This report examines the economic role of immigrants in the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States. The results are clear: immigrants contribute to the economy in direct relation to their share of the population. The economy of metro areas grows in tandem with immigrant share of the labor force. And, immigrants work across the occupational spectrum, from high-paying professional jobs to low-wage service employment.

Immigrants contribute significantly to the U.S. economy. In the 25 largest metropolitan areas combined, immigrants make up 20 percent of the population and are responsible for 20 percent of economic output. Together, these metro areas comprise 42 percent of the total population of the country, 66 percent of all immigrants, and half of the country's total Gross Domestic Product. This report looks at all U.S. residents who were born in another country, regardless of immigration status or year of arrival in the United States.

1. Immigration and economic growth of metro areas go hand in hand

An analysis of data from the past decade and a half show that in the 25 largest metropolitan areas, immigration and economic growth go hand in hand. That's easily understandable: Economic growth and labor force growth are closely connected, and immigrants are likely to move to areas where there are jobs, and not to areas where there are not.

Between 1990 and 2006, the metropolitan areas with the fastest economic growth were also the areas with the greatest increase in immigrant share of the labor force. The economies of Phoenix, Dallas, and Houston saw the fastest growth in immigrant share of labor force, while all showed well above average economic growth in these years and Phoenix experienced the fastest growth of all metro areas. By contrast, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Detroit metro areas experienced the slowest economic growth and among the smallest increases in immigrant share of labor force.*

Economic growth does not guarantee, however, that pay and other conditions of employment improve significantly for all workers. The challenge is to make sure that immigrants and U.S.-born workers struggling in low-wage jobs share in the benefits of economic growth.

2. Immigrants contribute to the economy in proportion to their share of the population

The most striking finding in the analysis of 25 metro areas is how closely immigrant share of economic output matches immigrant share of the population. From the Pittsburgh metro area, where immigrants make up 3 percent of the population and 4 percent of economic output, to the Miami metro area, where immigrants represent 37 percent of all residents and 38 percent of economic output, immigrants are playing a consistently proportionate role in local economies.

The Immigrant Economic Contribution Ratio (IECR) captures this relationship, measuring the ratio of immigrant share of economic output to immigrant share of population. An IECR of 1.00 would show that immigrants contribute to the economy in exact proportion to their share of the population; above 1.00 indicates a higher contribution than share of population and below indicates lower.

In over half of the largest 25 metro areas, the IECR hovers very close to parity , measuring between 0.90 and 1.10. In only three metro areas—Phoenix, Minneapolis, and Denver—does the IECR go below 0.90; in eight

** This report uses wage and salary earnings plus proprietors' income as a proxy for economic output. In this, the analysis follows the Bureau of Economic Analysis estimates for metropolitan areas. These two factors together represent 64 percent of GDP. Data for the combined years 2005-2007 is shown as "2006" in the text of this report, while figures retain the information that the data comes from a three-year file combining 2005, 2006, and 2007.*

metro areas it is above 1.10.

Two main factors explain this close relationship. First, immigrants are more likely than their U.S.-born counterparts to be of working age. A higher share of the population in the labor force offsets cases where immigrants have lower wages.

Second, immigrants work in jobs across the economic spectrum, and are business owners as well. Although immigrants are more likely than U.S.-born workers to be in lower-wage service or blue-collar occupations, 24 percent of immigrants in the 25 metro areas work in managerial and professional occupations. Another 25 percent work in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. In fact, in 15 of the 25 metro areas, there are more immigrants in these two higher-pay job categories taken together than there are in service and blue-collar jobs combined. And, immigrants are also entrepreneurs. Immigrants account for 22 percent of all proprietors' earnings in the 25 largest metro areas—slightly higher than their share of the population.

3. Favorable earnings at the top of the labor market; difficulties at the bottom

At the high end of the economic ladder, immigrants earn wages that are broadly comparable to their U.S.-born counterparts in the same occupations. Immigrants working in the professions—doctors, engineers, lawyers, and others—earn about the same as U.S.-born professionals in almost all metro areas. The same is true for registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists, and for technicians.

At the low-end of the labor market, wages can also be roughly similar for foreign- and U.S.-born workers. However, in service occupations, most workers have a hard time making ends meet. Both U.S.- and foreign-born workers earn well below the median in almost every service occupation examined in this report—including guards, cleaning, and building services; food preparation; and dental, health, and nursing aides.

The clear challenge for service jobs is to raise pay for all workers, U.S.- and foreign-born alike.

Some blue-collar workers are in a similar position, with both immigrants and U.S-born workers showing low annual earnings. In certain blue-collar occupations, however, immigrant workers earn considerably less than their U.S.-born counterparts. In the 25 metro areas combined, for example, the median earnings for U.S.-born workers in construction trades is $45,000, while the median for immigrants is just $27,000. Although wages in blue-collar jobs have eroded in recent decades, in the early years of the post-World War II period several blue-collar occupations paid workers, primarily men without college degrees, family-sustaining wages. The discrepancy today between U.S.- and foreign-born earnings in these occupations thus presents a challenge: to raise all workers to the standard that has been set by some, as a means to improve pay for low-wage workers in the occupation and to protect higher-wage earners.

Unions have played an important role in raising pay in many areas, including some blue-collar jobs. By contrast, the relatively low unionization rate in service jobs helps explain the consistently low pay. Unions continue to play an important role in raising wages and equalizing differences in pay for all workers, documented or otherwise. Although undocumented immigrants are legally permitted to join unions, in practice unscrupulous employers have frequently found ways to take advantage of the status of undocumented workers to thwart their efforts.

In the 25 largest metro areas, the average unionization rate is lower for immigrants than for U.S.-born workers—10 percent compared to 14 percent. With immigrants playing a major role in the labor force, they are also playing a significant role in unions, making up 20 percent of all

union members in the 25 largest metro areas.

A closer look at the five largest metro areas in the East—New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, and Miami—reveals that the same experience applies to them. Economic growth and immigration generally go hand in hand; immigrants work in all occupations; those in managerial, professional, and technical occupations fare relatively well, those in service and blue-collar jobs less so. Atlanta experienced the biggest growth in immigrant share of the labor force and the fastest growth in its overall economy.

The policy context

The current recession has pushed up unemployment, prompting some to feel that sharp restrictions on immigration would help the economy. But, creating a climate that is hostile to immigrants would risk damaging a significant part of the country's economic fabric. Immigrants are an important part of the economies of the 25 largest metro areas, working in jobs up and down the economic ladder. Immigration is highly responsive to demand—the immigrant share of the labor force increases with economic growth. Immigrants are part of the same economy as other workers, getting paid well in jobs at the top of the ladder and struggling in jobs in the economy's lower rungs.

While the immigrant labor force brings many benefits to the U.S. economy, it also presents political, economic and social challenges. This is especially true in the context of an extremely polarized economy, relatively low unionization rates, weak enforcement of labor standards, and a broken immigration system. Immigration has always been an important part of America's history, and it will continue to be a part of our future. Addressing these complex problems would be a better path for policymakers than wishing away immigration. This report presents an empirical look at the role of immigrants in the U.S. economy, in the hopes of informing a constructive public debate that will result in much-needed policy reform.

Immigrants and the Economy

Contribution of immigrant workers to the country's 25 largest metropolitan areas, with detail on the five largest metro areas in the East

This report examines the economic role of immigrants in the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States. Immigrants are contributing to the economies of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in close proportion to their share of the population. Contrary to popular perception, immigrants work in a wide range of occupations—from high-paying professional jobs to low-wage service employment—making significant contributions to the local economies where they work. And, although the causal relationship between immigration and economic growth remains in question—do immigrants come to metropolitan areas because they are growing, or are these areas growing because immigrants are coming to them?—it is clear that immigration and metropolitan economic growth go hand in hand. Any effort to address the challenges that immigration presents should be careful not to undermine this reality, as doing so could damage the economic health of the United States' major metropolitan areas.

This report is about all immigrants, regardless of their immigration status, including both recent immigrants and long-established immigrants.* The purpose here is to provide insight into the impact of the immigrant workforce as a whole on the country's major metropolitan areas, where both economic activity and immigration are highly concentrated.

1. Overview of immigrants in the 25 largest metro areas

It is important to understand the relationship between metropolitan areas and immigration because the largest 25 metropolitan areas account for half (50.4 percent) of the country's Gross Domestic Product,[1] 41 percent of its total population and two-thirds of its immigrants. Although immigration to the United States is expanding beyond its traditional gateways,[2] immigrants remain concentrated in a handful of the country's largest metropolitan areas. Roughly one in three residents in the Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York metro areas is an immigrant. And 31 percent of all the immigrants in the United States live in just three metropolitan areas: New York, Los Angeles and Miami. By contrast, approximately one in 20 residents of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Cleveland is foreign born (see Figure 1).

> *"Roughly one in three residents in the Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York metro areas is an immigrant."*

Immigrant share of population varies greatly in 25 metro areas

2005-07

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS	TOTAL POPULATION	FOREIGN-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN SHARE
NEW YORK	18,785,319	5,271,421	28%
LOS ANGELES	12,872,056	4,447,658	35%
CHICAGO	9,463,477	1,664,624	18%
DALLAS	5,979,240	1,056,341	18%
PHILADELPHIA	5,810,526	497,290	9%
HOUSTON	5,485,720	1,167,565	21%
MIAMI	5,404,990	1,993,782	37%
WASHINGTON	5,263,322	1,056,277	20%
ATLANTA	5,122,275	646,393	13%
DETROIT	4,488,815	386,667	9%
BOSTON	4,467,781	709,511	16%
SAN FRANCISCO	4,171,627	1,232,673	30%
PHOENIX	4,036,744	677,615	17%
RIVERSIDE	3,985,508	873,767	22%
SEATTLE	3,259,078	499,356	15%
MINNEAPOLIS	3,172,801	276,812	9%
SAN DIEGO	2,954,960	678,357	23%
ST. LOUIS	2,790,203	111,680	4%
TAMPA	2,687,027	323,377	12%
BALTIMORE	2,660,496	199,763	8%
DENVER	2,413,844	302,534	13%
PITTSBURGH	2,364,622	71,201	3%
PORTLAND	2,133,931	257,850	12%
CINCINNATI	2,118,212	74,098	3%
CLEVELAND	2,106,901	118,700	6%
TOTAL FOR 25 METRO AREAS	**123,999,475**	**24,595,312**	**20%**
TOTAL FOR US	**298,757,310**	**37,225,633**	**12%**
25 METRO AREAS AS PERCENT OF US TOTAL	**42%**	**66%**	

SOURCE: 2005-07 American Community Survey, American Factfinder.
NOTE: Data for the combined years 2005-07 is referred to in the text as "2006."
FIGURE 1

*This report uses "immigrant" and "foreign-born" interchangeably, as is customary in the economics literature. All people residing in the United States who were born in another country are defined as "immigrants," whether or not they have become United States citizens and regardless of their legal status. People born in the United States, including people born in United States territories such as Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, as well as children born abroad to U.S. citizen parents, are all considered U.S.-born. Demographers have concluded that in Census surveys, such as the American Community Survey on which this report is primarily based, undocumented immigrants are included but underrepresented. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that undocumented immigrants are underrepresented by roughly 10 to 15 percent.

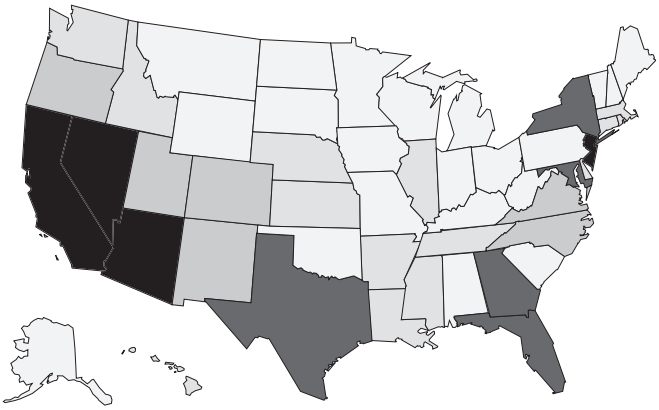
Undocumented immigrants as a percent of state labor force

ESTIMATE FOR 2008

Unauthorized Immigrants as % of State Labor Force

- Highest (9% or more)
- Above U.S. Average (6% -8.9%)
- Average (4.5% -5.9%)
- Below U.S.Average (2.5% -4.4%)
- Lowest (less than 2.5%)

SOURCE: Pew Hispanic Center.
FIGURE 2



"Latinos constitute 46 percent of the immigrant population in the country's 25 largest metropolitan areas."

The unit of analysis for this report is the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as defined by the Office of Management and Budget. Throughout the report, each MSA is referred to by the first city in its name, but each metro area includes a broad region around its main city. The full scope and name of the five largest metro areas in the East are as follows:

New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island

Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington

Washington-Arlington-Alexandria

Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta

Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach

The appendix to this report lists the counties included in each of the 25 largest MSAs. Interactive maps of the MSAs are available at: http://www.brookings.edu/projects/blueprint/mymetro.aspx

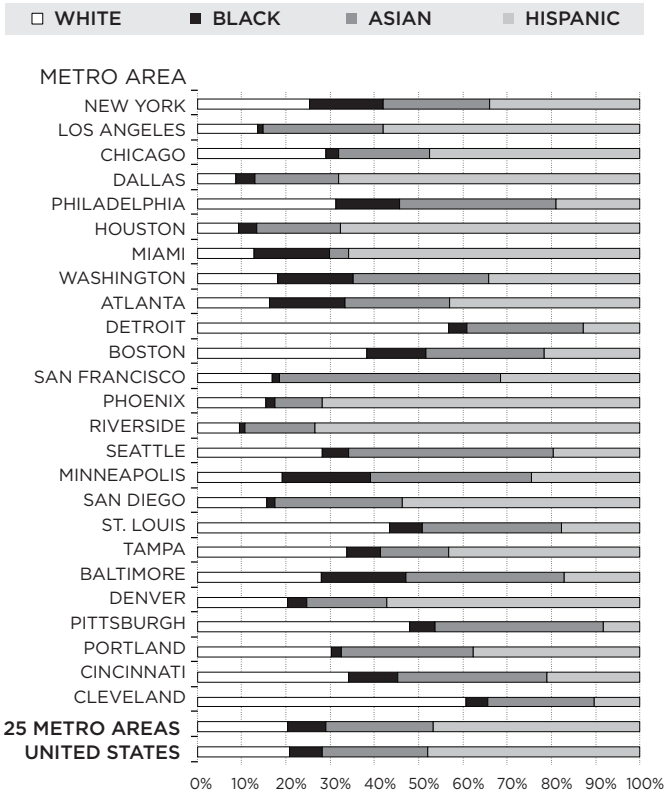
"When it comes to undocumented workers, employers routinely violate labor laws."

A brief overview of the immigrant population and workforce helps set the context for examining the data regarding employment and economic activity in the country's major metropolitan areas. Although estimates of the undocumented workforce are not available at the scale of the metropolitan area, undocumented workers are clearly a significant part of the immigration picture throughout the country. State estimates offer some insight into the geographic concentration of undocumented workers. [Figure 2.] According to the Pew Hispanic Center, the share of unauthorized workers ranges from under 3 percent of the labor force in the Midwest to as much as 9 percent or more of the labor force in California and New Jersey. Given their status, undocumented immigrants have fewer job possibilities and fewer opportunities for advancement than their documented counterparts. And in many industries, when it comes to undocumented workers, employers routinely violate labor laws—including wage and hour laws and workers' compensation and unemployment insurance requirements—and may also ignore the obligation to pay payroll taxes that should apply to all workers, whether or not they are documented.

Immigration to the United States is more diverse today than ever before. The racial and ethnic mix of the immigrant population varies, but it is diverse everywhere, and extraordinarily so in some areas. There are now significant numbers of white, black and Asian immigrants in the United States, especially in particular metro areas, while today Latinos constitute 46 percent of the immigrant population in the country's 25 largest metropolitan areas. [Figure 3.]

Immigrants are racially and ethnically diverse

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 American Community Survey (ACS). For details, see Sources and Methodological Notes.

FIGURE 3

2. Growth in immigrant share of labor force parallels economic growth

There is no doubt that immigration and economic growth go hand in hand.[3]

A good proxy for economic output is the sum of all income earned from working for an employer, owning an unincorporated business, or working for oneself. These categories make up approximately two thirds of Gross Domestic Product and they provide a useful measure of growth in output over time and the share that immigrants contribute to economic output. Using this proxy allows us to measure growth in output over time, and immigrant share of economic output.[4]

Figure 4 ranks the 25 largest metro areas in terms of their total growth in economic output over the past 15 years. In that time, the Dallas, Phoenix, and Houston metro areas experienced the most rapid growth in the immigrant share of their respective labor forces. The immigrant share of the labor force grew fastest in Dallas, increasing from 9.8 percent of the workforce in 1990 to 22.4 percent in 2006.

In these same years, the Dallas, Phoenix, and Houston metro areas all experienced economic growth that was well above the average for all 25 metropolitan areas. Indeed, Phoenix had by far the fastest growth of all metro areas.

By contrast, the three metro areas that experienced the slowest economic growth—Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Detroit—also had among the least increase in immigrant share of their respective labor forces.

There are some exceptions to this pattern. In the New York and Los Angeles metro areas, for example, growth in the immigrant share of labor force was high (11.6 and 7.9 percentage points), while total economic growth was relatively modest (35 and 25 percent). The likely reason lies in the fact that although the immigrant share of labor force grew significantly in the New York and Los Angeles, the total labor force in these mature economies grew quite modestly—9 percent in both cases, compared to an average growth for the 25 metro areas of 21 percent. (Researchers frequently look at the Los Angeles and Riverside metro areas together as one unit. In that case, growth in the immigrant share of labor force would be 7.7 percentage points, and growth in the overall economic output would be 32 percent.)

"The three metro areas that experienced the slowest economic growth—Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Detroit—also had among the least increase in immigrant share of their respective labor forces."

Despite the experience of New York and Los Angeles, a statistical analysis of the country's largest 25 metropolitan areas supports the conclusion that economic growth and growth in the immigrant workforce go hand in hand. The correlation coefficient relating growth in the immigrant share of the labor force and growth in the economic output of a metro area is a very high 0.66.

Economic growth does not guarantee, however, that pay and other employment conditions improve significantly for workers. The right-hand column in Figure 4 shows growth in earnings per worker (total wage and salary earnings divided by total labor force). Overall, a correlation coefficient of 0.26 indicates just a moderate connection between growth in immigrant share of the labor force and growth in earnings per worker. There are instances where earnings per worker and the immigrant share of the labor force grew together, such as the San Francisco and Washington, D.C. metro areas. But there also are a significant number of instances where they did not, such as Riverside and Dallas.

Overall, while the 25 largest metropolitan areas together experienced faster growth in the immigrant share of the labor force than the country as a whole, growth in earnings per worker was about the same as for workers nationwide.

"Economic growth does not guarantee that pay and other employment conditions improve significantly for workers."

Growth in immigrant share of labor force and metro area economic growth go hand in hand

1990 to 2005-07

METROPOLITAN AREA	Immigrant share of labor force 1990	Immigrant share of labor force 2005-07	Percentage point change in share of immigrants in labor force 1990 to 2005-07	**Economic growth of metro area 1990 to 2005-07**	Growth in earnings per worker 1990 to 2005-07
PHOENIX	8.1%	20.5%	12.4	**126%**	27%
DENVER	5.2%	14.4%	9.1	**87%**	28%
ATLANTA	4.6%	16.4%	11.9	**84%**	21%
TAMPA	7.1%	14.7%	7.6	**78%**	31%
PORTLAND	6.6%	14.1%	7.5	**76%**	23%
DALLAS	9.8%	22.4%	12.6	**73%**	19%
RIVERSIDE	17.8%	29.1%	11.4	**71%**	9%
HOUSTON	14.8%	27.1%	12.3	**69%**	20%
SEATTLE	8.2%	17.2%	9.0	**66%**	29%
WASHINGTON	14.3%	25.1%	10.8	**65%**	32%
MIAMI	34.3%	45.4%	11.0	**61%**	22%
MINNEAPOLIS	3.2%	10.1%	6.9	**57%**	27%
SAN DIEGO	20.0%	27.9%	7.9	**54%**	31%
SAN FRANCISCO	23.6%	34.8%	11.2	**47%**	33%
CINCINNATI	2.1%	4.4%	2.3	**45%**	19%
BOSTON	10.9%	18.7%	7.8	**43%**	30%
BALTIMORE	4.3%	9.3%	5.0	**41%**	27%
CHICAGO	13.6%	22.1%	8.5	**40%**	21%
NEW YORK	23.7%	35.3%	11.6	**35%**	24%
ST. LOUIS	2.1%	4.7%	2.6	**34%**	19%
PHILADELPHIA	5.3%	10.5%	5.2	**33%**	20%
LOS ANGELES	35.6%	43.6%	7.9	**25%**	15%
CLEVELAND	4.9%	6.1%	1.3	**23%**	13%
PITTSBURGH	2.1%	3.1%	1.1	**19%**	22%
DETROIT	5.5%	9.9%	4.4	**18%**	12%
25 METRO AREAS	**15.9%**	**24.4%**	**8.6**	**47%**	**22%**
UNITED STATES	**9.3%**	**15.4%**	**6.1**	**48%**	**22%**

SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTES: Econom ic growth of metro area is measured as percent growth in aggregate wage & salary earnings plus proprietors' income. Earnings per worker divides aggregate earnings by total civilian labor force. The denominator thus includes employees, self-employed workers, and business owners, as well as unemployed workers.

FIGURE 4

3. Immigrants contribute to the economy in proportion to their share of the population

Economic data demonstrates that immigrants contribute to metropolitan areas in proportion to their share of the population. The Fiscal Policy Institute's 2007 report, *Working for a Better Life,* found that immigrants in New York State make up 21 percent of the population and contribute 22 percent of the state's Gross Domestic Product. An analysis of the 25 largest metropolitan areas demonstrates that this relationship applies to them as well. New York, it turns out, is no exception in this regard.

In Figure 5, the top bar for each metropolitan area shows the immigrant share of the overall population and the bottom bar shows the immigrant share of economic output (wage and salary earnings plus proprietors' income). Taken together, this data illustrates the close and consistent relationship between the immigrant share of population and the contribution that immigrants make to the economy. Just a handful of metropolitan areas diverge from this pattern, and then only by a small degree.

In the United States, immigrants make up 12.5 percent of the population and they are responsible for 14 percent of economic output. In the 25 largest metropolitan areas combined, immigrants make up one fifth of both population and economic output. This finding strikingly illustrates that while the amount of immigration varies greatly among metro areas, the relationship between immigrants' contribution to their local economy and their share of the workforce varies little.

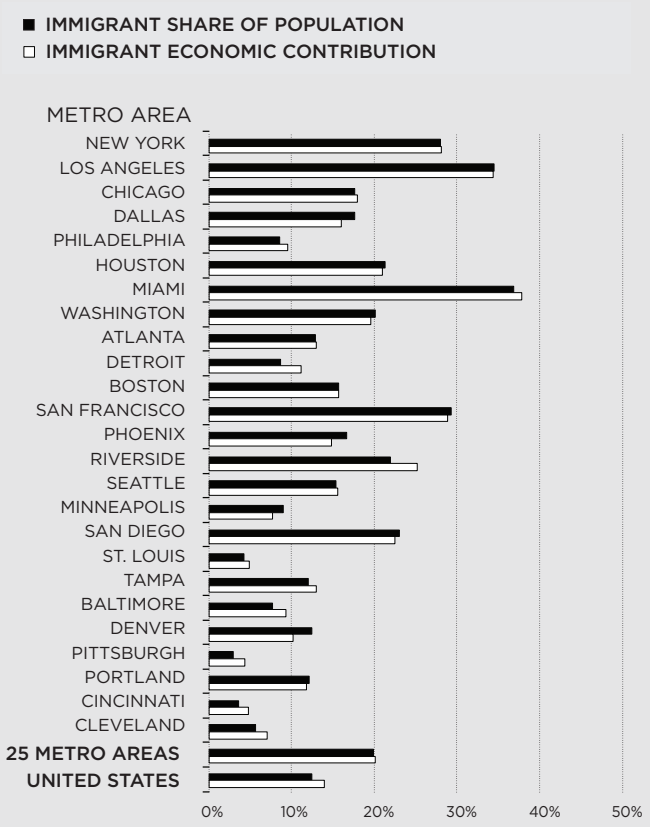
The Immigrant Economic Contribution Ratio (IECR) captures this relationship between immigrant share of economic output and immigrant share of population. An IECR of 1.00 would indicate that immigrants contribute to the economy in exact proportion to their share of the population; above 1.00 indicates a higher contribution than share of population and below indicates lower.

In over half of the largest 25 metro areas, the IECR hovers right around parity, measuring between 0.90 and 1.10. In only three metro areas—Phoenix, Minneapolis, and Denver—does the IECR go below 0.90; in eight metro areas it is above 1.10. [Figure 6.]

Interestingly, the IECR is highest in metro areas with comparatively small immigrant populations—Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, and St. Louis.

Immigrants contribute to the economy in proportion to their share of the population

(Contribution measured as wage and salary earnings plus proprietors' income, 2005-07)



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 5

"Economic data demonstrates that immigrants contribute to metropolitan areas in proportion to their share of the population."

Two main factors explain the close relationship of immigrant economic output to immigrant share of the population.

1) Immigrants are more likely than their U.S.-born counterparts to be in the labor force. This is primarily because they are more likely to be of working age, between the ages of 16 and 64. Thus in the largest 25 metropolitan areas, immigrants make up 20 percent of the population and 24 percent of the labor force. [Figure 7.] It is worth noting that many of the children of immigrants are U.S-born citizens.

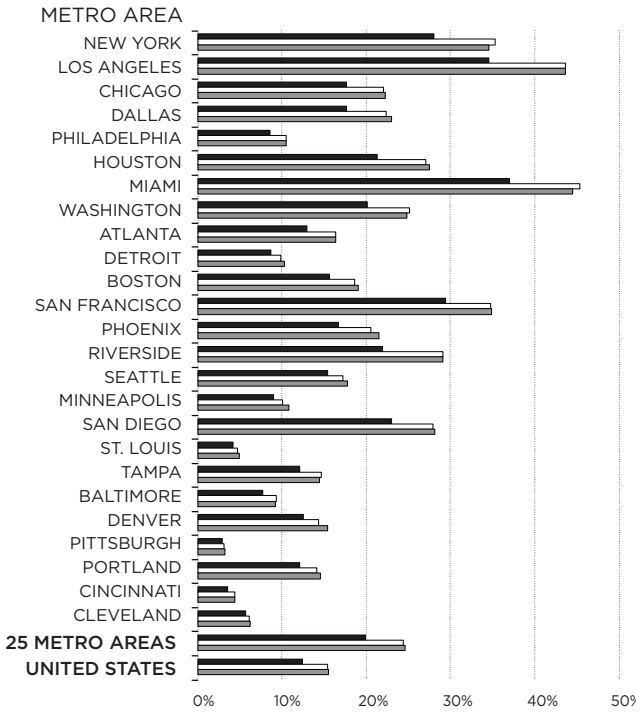
Immigrant Economic Contribution Ratio is consistently close to 1.0

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS	FOREIGN-BORN SHARE OF POPULATION	FOREIGN-BORN SHARE OF ECONOMIC OUTPUT	IMMIGRANT ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION RATIO
NEW YORK	28%	28%	1.00
LOS ANGELES	35%	34%	1.00
CHICAGO	18%	18%	1.02
DALLAS	18%	16%	0.91
PHILADELPHIA	9%	10%	1.11
HOUSTON	21%	21%	0.99
MIAMI	37%	38%	1.03
WASHINGTON	20%	20%	0.98
ATLANTA	13%	13%	1.03
DETROIT	9%	11%	1.30
BOSTON	16%	16%	0.99
SAN FRANCISCO	30%	29%	0.98
PHOENIX	17%	15%	0.89
RIVERSIDE	22%	25%	1.15
SEATTLE	15%	16%	1.02
MINNEAPOLIS	9%	8%	0.88
SAN DIEGO	23%	23%	0.98
ST. LOUIS	4%	5%	1.22
TAMPA	12%	13%	1.08
BALTIMORE	8%	9%	1.24
DENVER	13%	10%	0.82
PITTSBURGH	3%	4%	1.47
PORTLAND	12%	12%	0.98
CINCINNATI	3%	5%	1.39
CLEVELAND	6%	7%	1.26
TOTAL FOR 25 METRO AREAS	**20%**	**20%**	**1.02**
TOTAL FOR US	**12%**	**14%**	**1.12**

SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 6

Immigrants are concentrated in prime working age

(2005-07)



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS
FIGURE 7

2) Immigrants work in a wide range of occupations across the economic spectrum, and are business owners as well. Four broad occupational categories ("managerial and professional specialty;" "technical, sales, and administrative support;" "service;" and "blue-collar") make up 97 percent of all jobs held by immigrants in the 25 largest metropolitan areas, and 99 percent of all jobs held by U.S.-born workers.[5]

In the largest 25 metropolitan areas, immigrants constitute 24 percent of workers in the *managerial and professional* occupations, a high- and middle-wage occupational category that includes executives, doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, professors, social workers, and artists. By comparison, 36 percent of U.S.-born workers are in these occupations. [Figure 8.]

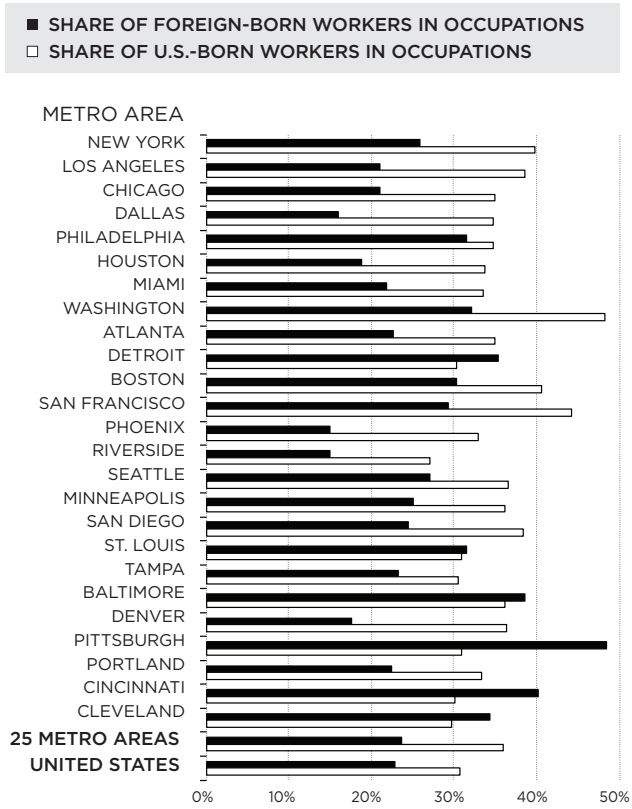
In older industrial metropolitan areas, immigrants represent a greater portion of those working in these occupations. In the metro areas of Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, immigrants are at least as likely as U.S.-born workers to be managerial or professional specialty workers. In Pittsburgh, they are considerably more likely than U.S.-born workers to be in these positions.

> *"WHILE THE AMOUNT OF IMMIGRATION VARIES GREATLY AMONG METRO AREAS, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMMIGRANTS' CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR LOCAL ECONOMY AND THEIR SHARE OF THE WORKFORCE VARIES LITTLE."*

Another 24 percent of immigrants in the largest 25 metropolitan areas work in *technical, sales and administrative support* occupations—a mixed grouping that

Immigrants in managerial and professional specialties

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 8

ranges from relatively well-paying health, engineering and science technicians to lower-paid sales and administrative support jobs. By comparison, 33 percent of U.S.-born workers are in these occupations. [Figure 9.]

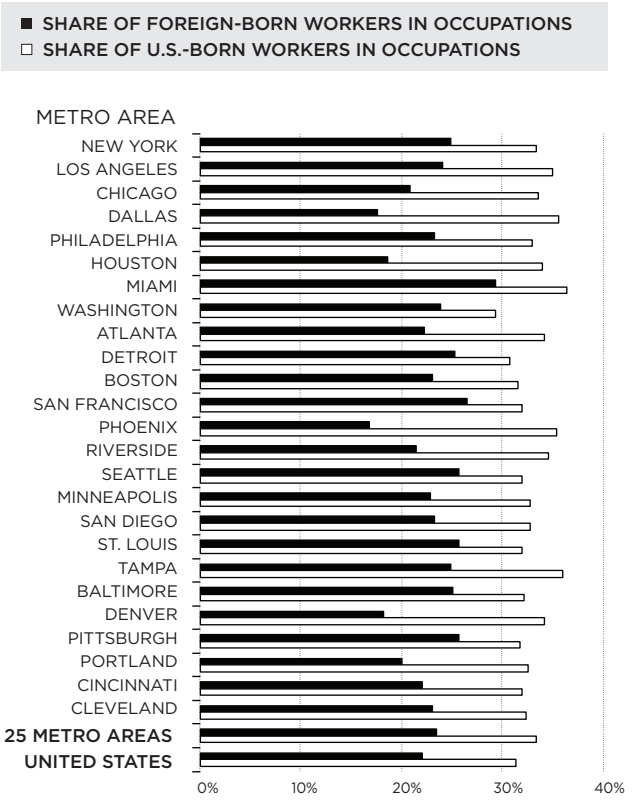
In the largest 25 metropolitan areas, 21 percent of immigrants work in *service* occupations, compared to 13 percent of U.S.-born workers. The broad grouping "service occupations" is comprised almost entirely of low-wage jobs, including private household service, personal service, guards, cleaning, building service, food preparation, and health aides. Police and firefighters are included in this category as well, although they pay relatively better than other service jobs. While immigrants in nearly all metropolitan areas are more likely than U.S.-born workers to work in service jobs, in no metro area are more than 24 percent of immigrants working in these occupations. [Figure 10.]

Finally, in the 25 largest metropolitan areas, three out of ten immigrants work in *blue-collar* occupations, a category that combines higher-skilled precision production, craft and repair occupations with less skilled operators, fabricators, and laborers. To compare, U.S.-born workers make up 17 percent of this workforce in the country's 25 largest metropolitan areas. [Figure 11.]

The percentage of both immigrants and U.S.-born workers in blue-collar occupations varies considerably from one metropolitan area to the next, depending upon the number of blue-collar jobs there are and the degree to which immigrants have established themselves in this occupational category. In many older industrial metropolitan areas—including Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Cleveland—immigrants and U.S.-born workers are about equally likely to work in blue-collar occupations. In New York, Los Angeles, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, Phoenix, Riverside, and Denver—all metropolitan areas that have experienced major growth in the proportion of immigrants in their labor force—the immigrant share of workers in blue-collar jobs

Immigrants in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 9

Service occupations

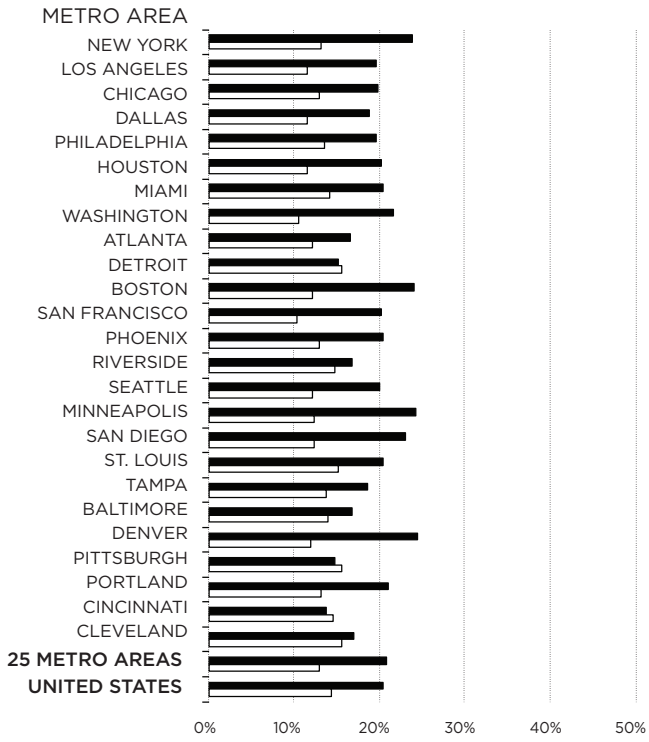
- Private household & personal service
- Firefighters, police & supervisors of protective services
- Guards, cleaning & building services
- Food preparation services
- Dental, health, & nursing aides

Blue-collar occupations

- Mechanics & repairers
- Construction trades
- Precision production
- Machine operators
- Fabricators
- Drivers (including heavy equipment operators)
- Construction laborers & other material handlers

Immigrants in service occupations

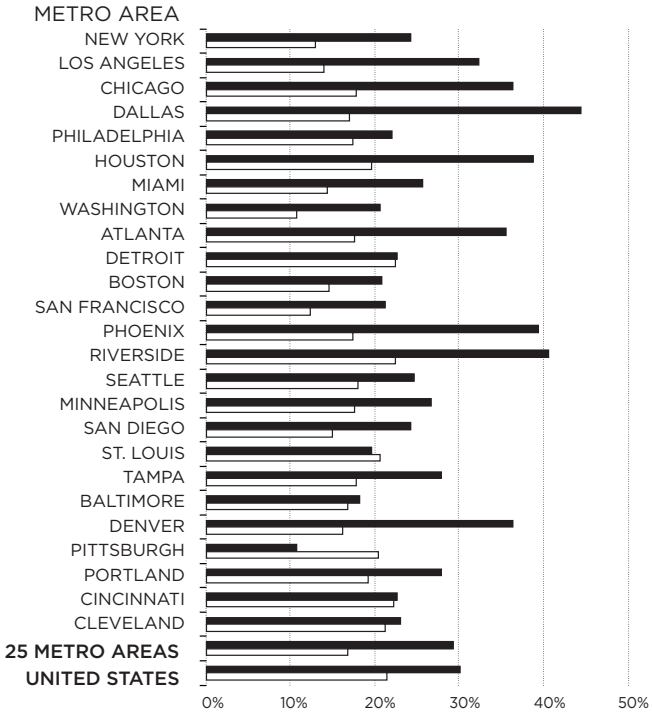
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 10

Immigrants in blue-collar jobs

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
"Blue-collar" jobs combines higher-skill precision production, craft and repair occupations and the less highly skilled operators, fabricators, and laborers.
FIGURE 11

is significantly higher than is the U.S.-born share. In Dallas, 44 percent of all immigrants work in blue-collar jobs, but in most metropolitan areas, they make up one-third or less of the blue-collar workforce.

Immigrants are less likely to be in many occupations than U.S.-born workers, but immigrants are certainly spread across the occupational spectrum. About half (47 percent) of all immigrants in the 25 largest metro areas work in "managerial and professional specialty" and "technical, sales, and administrative support," while the other half (50 percent) work in "service" and "blue-collar" occupations.

In addition to working in a wide range of jobs, many immigrants are entrepreneurs. Immigrants account for 22 percent of all proprietors' earnings in the 25 largest metro areas—slightly higher than their share of the population. Immigrants account for more proprietors' income than their share of the population in 16 of the 25 metro areas. Indeed, in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Cleveland metro areas, immigrant share of proprietors' income is double the immigrant share of the population.[6]

4. Immigrants and U.S.-born workers share favorable earnings at the top of the occupational ladder but face difficulties at the bottom

The typical earnings of immigrant workers relative to their U.S.-born counterparts vary by occupation. While immigrants often earn less than U.S.-born workers in the same jobs, this is not so in every job category. Figure 12 compares the median earnings by occupation for U.S.-born and immigrant full-time workers in each of the largest 25 metropolitan areas, as well as for the 25 metro areas combined and for the United States as a whole. A dot on the chart represents those occupations in which immigrants are doing at least as well (within 10 percent) as their U.S.-born counterparts. This comparison does not control for language ability, educational attainment, or other aspects of human capital. It does reveal, however, that immigrant workers in managerial and professional jobs make a comparable living to their U.S.-born counterparts. The same relationship exists between immigrant and U.S.-born service workers at the low end of the economic ladder. According to national studies, these low-wage service jobs are one area where undocumented immigrants are particularly concentrated. [7]

Earnings vary between immigrant and U.S.-born workers in the mixed occupational grouping of technical, sales, and administrative support jobs. While immigrants in technical occupations are doing about as well as U.S.-born workers, those in sales consistently earn less, on an annual basis, than their U.S.-born counterparts. (Note, however, that sales jobs often are part-time, which limits the usefulness of making comparisons or estimating the job quality based on annual earnings of full-time workers.)

Among blue-collar workers, in many occupations immigrants consistently earn less than their U.S.-born counterparts. In the early decades of the post-World War II period, certain blue-collar occupations came to pay workers, primarily men without college degrees, family-sustaining wages. Although these wages have eroded, a number of blue-collar occupations still pay enough to support a family.

This chart illustrates the particular challenges around manufacturing and skilled construction jobs, especially because national studies indicate that undocumented workers are also concentrated in blue-collar occupations. The shrinking number of manufacturing jobs, the concentration of the economic downturn in construction, and the fact that immigrants consistently earn less than

"THESE LOW-WAGE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS ARE ONE AREA WHERE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS ARE PARTICULARLY CONCENTRATED."

U.S.-born workers in these jobs is a politically volatile mix. The problems won't be simply solved with immigration policy or any other single strategy, but they deserve the serious attention of policy makers at all levels of government.

Earning similar wages in similar jobs is not by itself an adequate indicator of workers' economic well-being, be they immigrant or U.S.-born. The U.S. economy has become increasingly polarized in the last 35 years. Today in every metropolitan area, the gap between low- and high-paying jobs is widening, with far too many jobs paying very low wages. In addition to the forces that all working people face in this polarized economy, immigrant workers often must manage the challenges that limited language skills or lack of experience in the U.S. labor market present. Undocumented workers are in a particularly difficult position in the U.S. labor market, often victimized by employer exploitation and hurt by weak enforcement of labor laws that are intended to cover all workers, regardless of immigration status.

"UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS ARE IN A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT POSITION IN THE U.S. LABOR MARKET, OFTEN VICTIMIZED BY EMPLOYER EXPLOITATION AND HURT BY WEAK ENFORCEMENT OF LABOR LAWS THAT ARE INTENDED TO COVER ALL WORKERS, REGARDLESS OF IMMIGRATION STATUS."

Occupations where immigrants earn the same as U.S.-born workers

Dots represent where foreign-born annual earnings are the same as (within 10 percent) or more than US-born workers in the same occupation, for full-time workers

METRO AREA	EXECUTIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, MANAGERIAL	PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY (INCL. DOCTORS, ENGINEERS, LAWYERS)	REGISTERED NURSES, PHARMACISTS, & HEALTH THERAPISTS	TEACHERS, PROFS, LIBRARIANS, SOC. SCIENTISTS, SOCIAL WORKERS, ARTISTS	TECHNICIANS (INCL.HEALTH, ENGINEERING & SCIENCE)	SALES (SUPERVISORS, R. ESTATE, FINANCE & INSURANCE)	SALES (CLERKS & CASHIERS)	AMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT (INCL. CLERICAL)	PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD & PERSONAL SERVICE	FIREFIGHTERS, POLICE & SUPERVISORS OF PROTECTIVE SERVICES	GUARDS, CLEANING, & BUILDING SERVICES	FOOD PREPARATION SERVICES	DENTAL, HEALTH, & NURSING AIDES	MECHANICS & REPAIRERS	CONSTRUCTION TRADES	PRECISION PRODUCTION	MACHINE OPERATORS	FABRICATORS	DRIVERS (INCL. HEAVY EQUIPTMENT OPERATORS)	CONSTRUCTION LABORERS & OTHER MATERIAL HANDLERS	FARMING, FORESTRY & AGRICULTURE (INCL. GARDNERS)
NEW YORK			●		●								●								
LOS ANGELES			●		●																
CHICAGO		●	●		●					●			●								
DALLAS		●	●	●	●								●								
PHILADELPHIA	●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●		●	●								
HOUSTON		●	●	●	●							●	●								
MIAMI			●																		
WASHINGTON			●	●	●							●	●								
ATLANTA	●	●	●		●					●		●	●								
DETROIT	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●		●	●								
BOSTON		●	●		●					●		●	●								
SAN FRANCISCO		●	●		●			●		●											
PHOENIX	●	●	●		●								●								
RIVERSIDE		●	●		●	●		●		●		●	●								
SEATTLE	●	●	●	●	●			●	●				●	●							
MINNEAPOLIS		●	●		●					●											
SAN DIEGO		●	●		●			●		●											
ST. LOUIS																					
TAMPA		●	●		●	●		●					●	●		●					
BALTIMORE		●	●	●	●			●			●	●	●	●		●				●	
DENVER		●	●	●	●			●					●						●		
PITTSBURGH	●	●	●	●	●		●		●		●	●	●	●	●					●	●
PORTLAND	●	●	●		●	●		●					●								
CINCINNATI	●	●	●	●	●	●		●		●	●	●	●	●					●		
CLEVELAND	●	●	●	●	●	●		●				●		●	●	●	●				
25 METRO AREAS		●	●	●	●					●		●	●								
UNITED STATES	●	●	●	●	●	●		●		●		●	●								●
	MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS				TECHNICAL, SALES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS				SERVICE OCCUPATIONS					PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT AND REPAIR			OPERATORS, FABRICATORS, AND LABORERS				FARM*

SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
*Farming, forestry and fishing occupations.

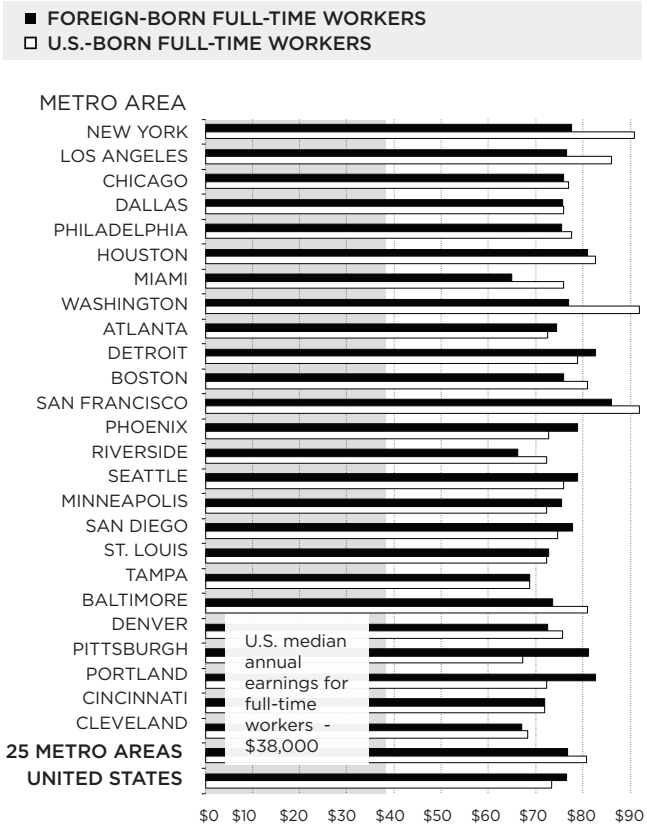
FIGURE 12

Yet the immigrant workforce experiences the polarized economy in mostly the same way as U.S.-born workers. In every metropolitan area, the median annual earnings for both immigrants and U.S.-born workers in professional specialty occupations—doctors, lawyers, engineers—is well above the $38,000 national median annual earnings for full-time workers in all job categories. In metropolitan areas such as New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, immigrants in the professions earn less than their U.S.-born counterparts, yet they still have median annual earnings of up to $80,000 per year. [Figure 13.] U.S.- and foreign-born workers in mid-level jobs—registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists—earn comparable pay, with immigrants in these occupations earning $66,000 in the largest 25 metropolitan areas and U.S.-born workers earning $61,000. [Figure 14.]

In high-end occupations, immigrants and U.S.-born are both doing well

Professional specialties
(median annual earnings 2005-07)

IN THOUSANDS

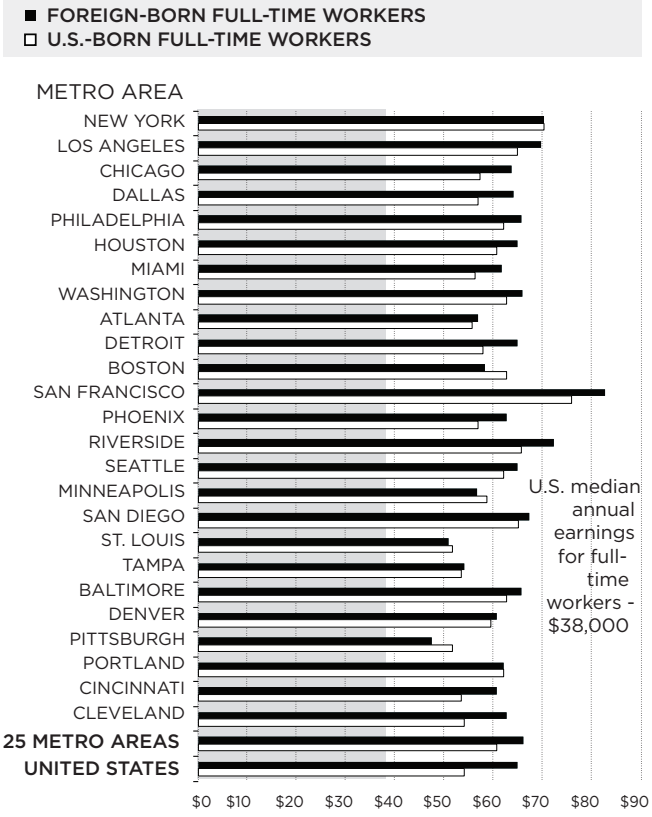


SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 13

In some mid-level jobs, immigrants and U.S.-born both do well

Registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists (median annual earnings 2005-07)

IN THOUSANDS



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 14

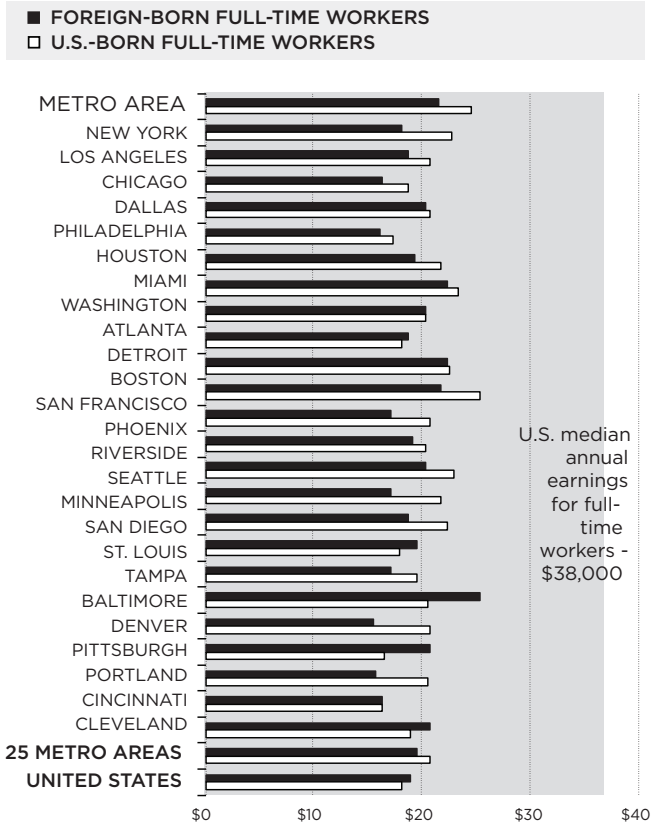
Immigrant and U.S.-born workers fare differently in the service industries, depending on the particular sector and metropolitan area. Food service workers have similar annual earnings whether they are immigrants or U.S.-born, but in this case their pay is similarly low. The median annual earnings for immigrant full-time food service workers is $19,000 in the largest 25 metropolitan areas and $21,000 for U.S.-born workers. [Figure 15.]

Earnings in service jobs: low for both U.S.- and foreign-born

Food service workers

(median annual earnings 2005-07)

IN THOUSANDS



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 15

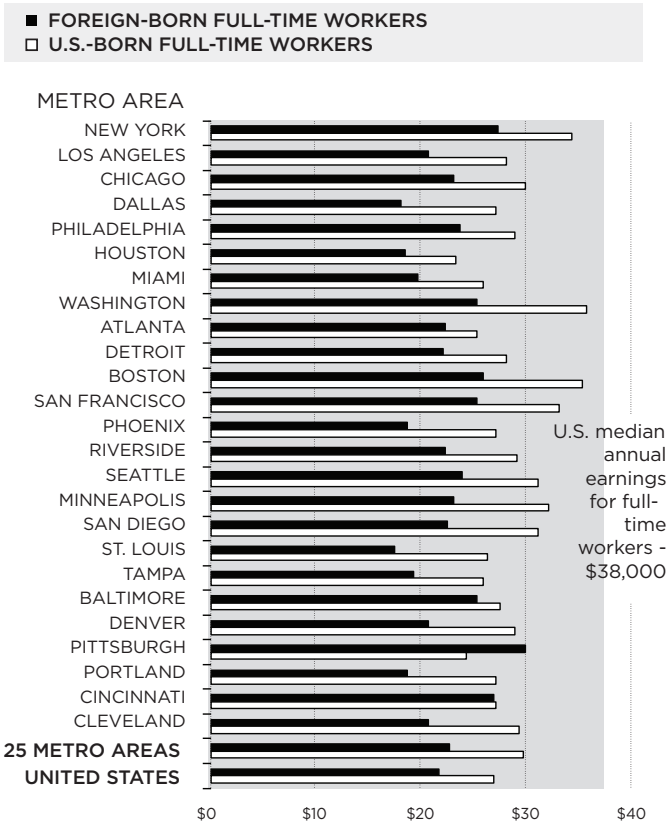
Guards, cleaning, and building service workers, immigrant and U.S.-born alike, in the 25 largest metropolitan areas consistently earn below the national annual median earnings for full-time workers. Yet in every metro area with the exception of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, which have comparatively few immigrants, U.S.-born workers in these jobs earn more than their immigrant counterparts. [Figure 16.]

Earnings in service jobs: low for both U.S.- and foreign-born

Guards, cleaning, and building services

(median annual earnings 2005-07)

IN THOUSANDS



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 16

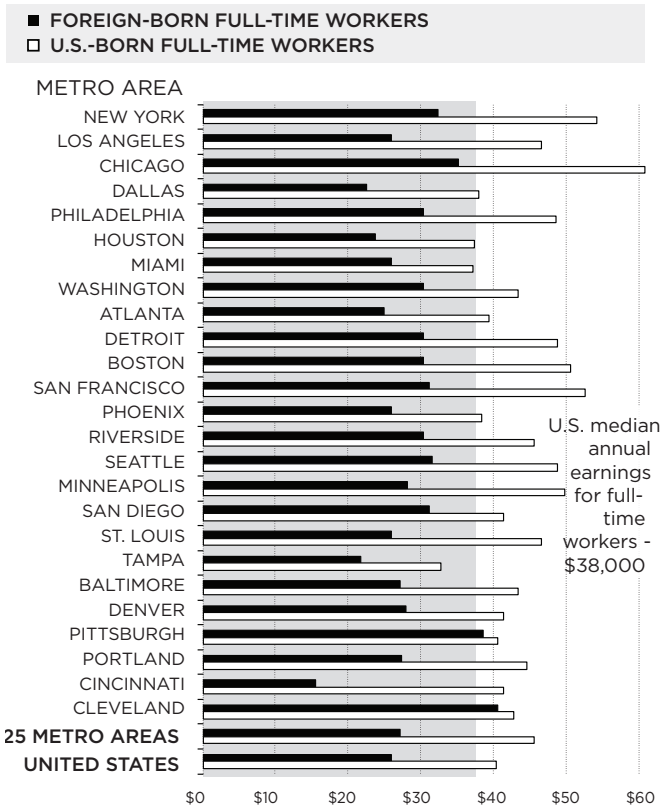
"Immigrant and U.S.-born workers fare differently in the service industries, depending on the particular sector and metropolitan area."

In blue-collar occupations, the earnings gap between immigrant and U.S.-born workers is most evident. There are several instances where U.S.-born workers earn above the national median while immigrant workers earn well below it. In the more highly skilled construction jobs, such as bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians, the annual median earnings for full-time U.S.-born workers is $45,000 for the 25 largest metro areas, while full-time immigrant workers have annual earnings of just $27,000. In almost every metro area, U.S.-born workers earn about or above the national median, while in only two metro areas—Pittsburgh and Cleveland—is the same true for immigrants. In most metro areas, immigrants in the construction trades earn far below the national median. [Figure 17.]

Some blue-collar jobs pay above the median for U.S.-born workers but not for immigrants

Construction trades (median annual earnings 2005-07)

IN THOUSANDS



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 17

"In blue-collar occupations, the earnings gap between immigrant and U.S.-born workers is most evident."

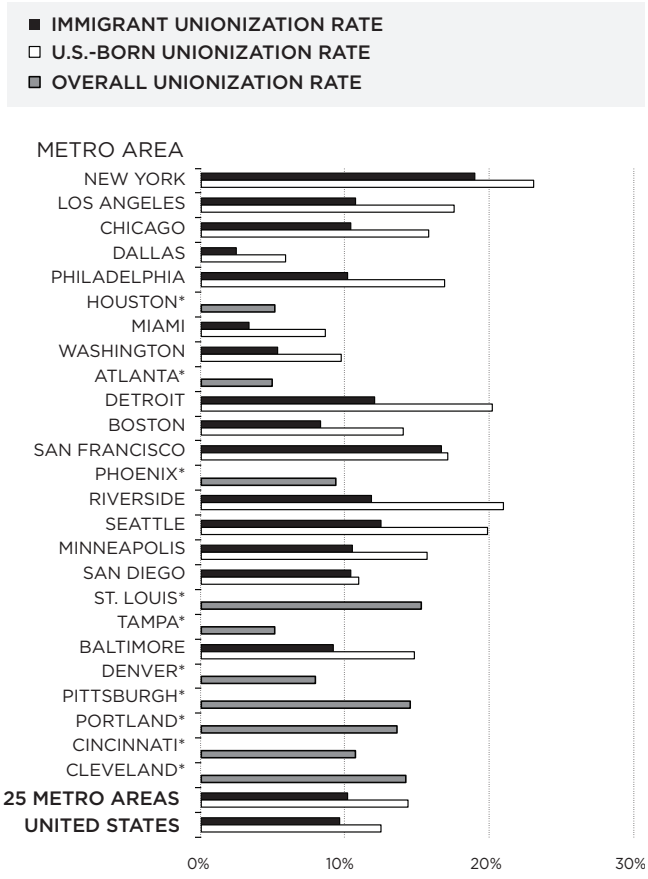
5. Immigrants are playing an important role in unions, helping to improve pay and equalize earnings among workers doing the same jobs

Unionization is one important step workers can take to raise pay in low-wage occupations and to make earnings equitable among those who do the same work. In the 25 largest metropolitan areas, 10 percent of all immigrant workers are union members, compared to 14 percent of U.S.-born workers. Immigrants overall have lower levels of union membership, but what seems to matter most in determining how likely workers are to be union members is where they work. Immigrants in the New York metropolitan area (with a 19 percent unionization rate) are less likely to be union members than U.S.-born workers in the same area (with a 23 percent rate). Yet immigrants in New York are far more likely to be union members than are either immigrants or U.S.-born workers in nearly every other metropolitan area. Typically, where unions are strong, immigrants are part of the picture; where they are not, neither U.S.- nor foreign-born workers are likely to be widely unionized. [Figure 18.]

"Where unions are strong, immigrants are part of the picture; where they are not, neither U.S.- nor foreign-born workers are likely to be widely unionized."

Where unions are strong, immigrants are also union members

2007/2008



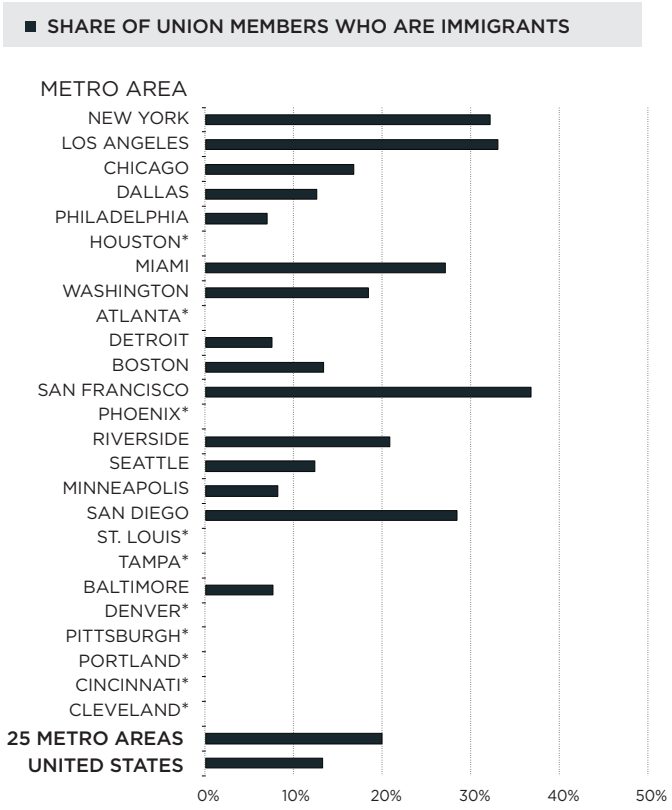
SOURCE: FPI analysis of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group 2007-2008.
* Gray bar indicates overall unionization rate in metro areas where sample size is too small to show both US- and foreign-born.

FIGURE 18

This trend comes across even more clearly in Figure 19, which shows the share of union members who are immigrants. Thirty-seven percent of all union members are immigrants in the San Francisco metro area, 33 percent in the Los Angeles metro area, and 32 percent in the New York metro area. Clearly immigrants are important to unions, just as unions are important to immigrants. [Figure 19.]

Immigrants play a big role in unions in some metro areas

2007/2008



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
Note: Asterisk indicates metro areas where statistically significant data is not available.
FIGURE 19

6. An in-depth look at the five largest metro areas in the East

A closer look at the five largest metropolitan areas in the East—New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, and Miami—illustrates the particular effects that immigration has on local economies.

New York (New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island)
Philadelphia (Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington)
Washington (Washington-Arlington-Alexandria)
Atlanta (Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta)
Miami (Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach)

Economic growth is tied to labor force growth.

The same close relationship between economic growth and the growth of the immigrant workforce that is evident in the country's largest 25 metropolitan areas applies to the five largest metro areas in the East: the economy and the immigrant workforce grow together.

Of the five largest metro areas in the East, Philadelphia experienced the slowest aggregate economic growth between 1990 and 2006. Its growth of 33 percent was well below the United States average of 48 percent. Similarly, the immigrant share of Philadelphia's labor force grew the least; immigrants were 5.3 percent of the labor force in 1990 and 10.5 percent of it in 2006. [Figure 4.]

By contrast, between 1990 and 2006, Atlanta experienced the biggest growth in immigrant share of the labor force (11.9 percentage points) and the fastest growth in its overall economy (84 percent). Atlanta's economy grew at nearly double the rate for the United States as a whole. Similarly, the Washington and Miami metro areas each experienced strong growth in the immigrant share of their local labor force (10.8 and 11.0 percentage points, respectively), and above-average growth in their overall economies (65 and 61 percent, respectively).

The experience in New York was different. Growth in the immigrant share of the labor force was substantial (11.6 percentage points), but economic growth was modest (35 percent). One clear reason for this departure from the trend is that New York is the only metro area of the five where the U.S.-born labor force shrank between 1990 and 2006. As a result, net labor force growth was just 9 percent, compared to 21 percent in the United States as a whole and 52 percent in Atlanta. Thus, despite strong growth in the immigrant labor force (1.3 million, or 62 percent), the total labor force showed only relatively slow growth due to a decline in the U.S.-born labor force of 500,000, or 8 percent.

Immigrants work in the full range of jobs.

While it is clear that immigrants work across the full gamut of the economy in the five largest metro areas in the East, the data suggests that professionals working in medicine, engineering, and technical fields are drawn to all metro areas, while low-wage earning immigrants are less drawn to cities that are growing slowly.

In 2007, when the Fiscal Policy Institute looked at immigrants in the New York State economy in *Working for a Better Life*, the study found that immigrants in New York City work in a wide range of jobs across the economic spectrum. And, indeed, that is the case for the New York metro area as well, where immigrants are represented in every occupational category.

Immigrants in the **New York metro area** make up 35 percent of the labor force. Today, 27 percent of people working in executive, administrative, and managerial jobs are foreign-born and 32 percent of people in professional specialty occupations are immigrants. [Figure 20.]

Immigrants in the New York metro region are well represented among most of the higher wage occupations. Working as doctors, nurses and health aides, immigrants play a particularly strong role in the health and technology-related occupational categories on all rungs of the economic ladder. They constitute less than 20 percent of the workforce in just one occupational category: firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services.

Immigrants are, however, more concentrated among the lower-wage service and blue-collar occupations, making up 45 percent of all guards, cleaning, and building service workers, 54 percent of food service workers, and 60 percent of dental assistants, health and nursing aides in the New York metropolitan area.

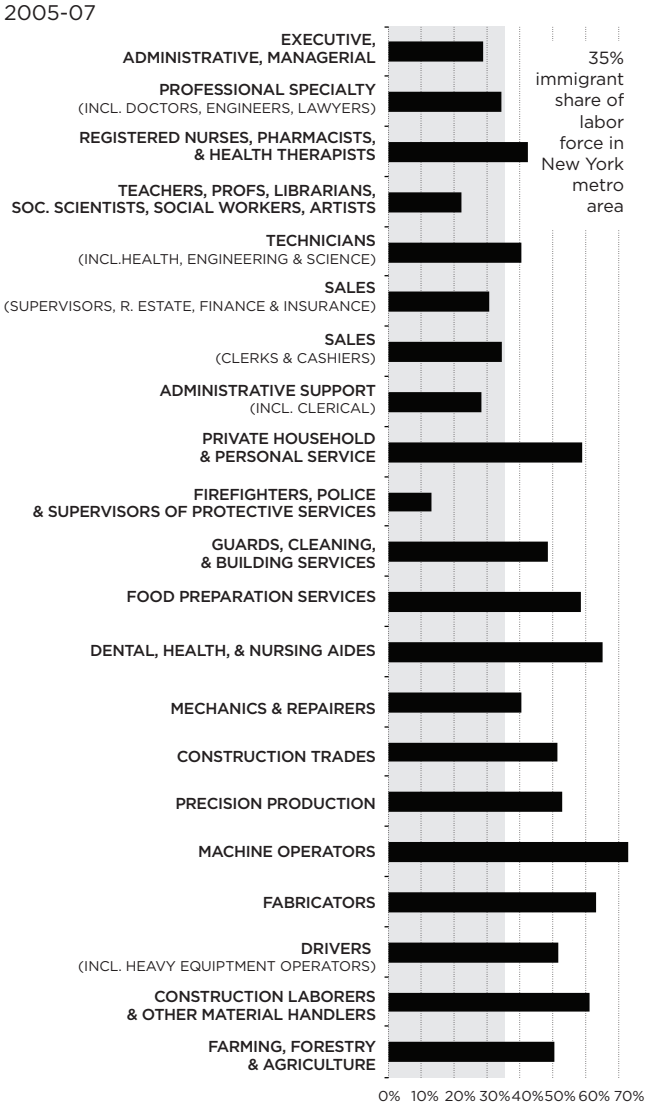
Immigrants are heavily represented in construction, making up 48 percent of workers in the construction trades, 68 percent of machine operators, 58 percent of fabricators, and 57 percent of laborers and material movers.

Given the experience of the nation's largest 25 metropolitan areas and the findings of the Fiscal Policy Institute's 2007 study on New York State, it is not surprising to find that the New York metro area's immigrants work in such a range of occupations. It is, however, noteworthy to find the extent to which the same is true in other metro areas. While the share of immigrants in the labor force varies considerably in different metro areas, the range of jobs they work in is consistently quite broad.

"BETWEEN 1990 AND 2006, ATLANTA EXPERIENCED THE BIGGEST GROWTH IN IMMIGRANT SHARE OF THE LABOR FORCE (11.9 PERCENTAGE POINTS) AND THE FASTEST GROWTH IN ITS OVERALL ECONOMY (84 PERCENT)."

Immigrant share of occupations in New York metro area

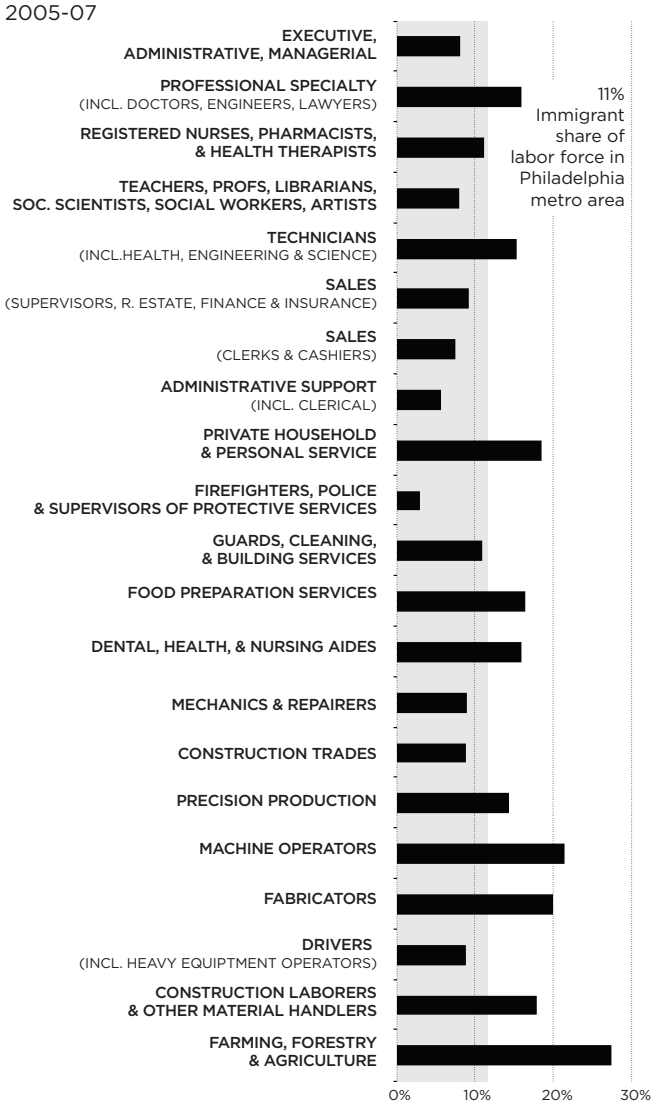
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 20

Immigrant share of occupations in Philadelphia metro area

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 21

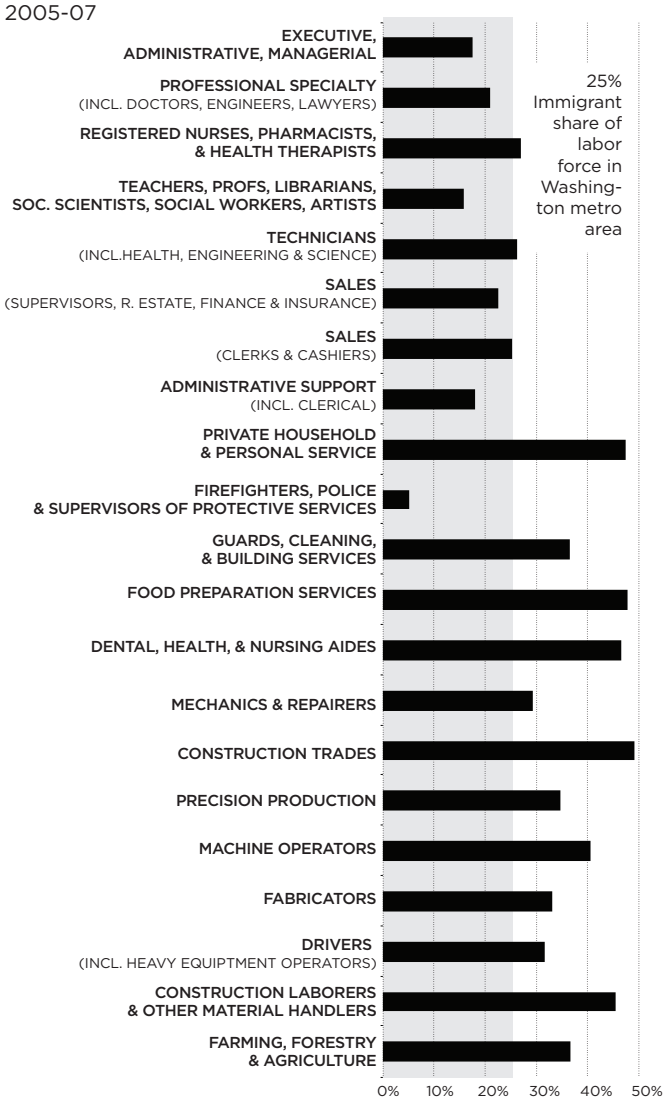
In the **Philadelphia metro area,** where the immigrant share of the labor force is the lowest among the five metro areas in the East, immigrants are more evenly spread throughout the local economy than in New York. Immigrants constitute 11 percent of the labor force in the Philadelphia metro area, and they make up at least 6 percent of every occupation. (The sole possible exception is firefighters and police, where the data sample is too small to accurately gauge the immigrant share.) Immigrants are nearly as likely as U.S.-born workers to be in executive, administrative, or managerial positions, and to be in higher-end sales positions. In fact, they are more likely to be in high-end sales than to be sales clerks or cashiers. And immigrants are more likely than U.S.-born workers to be doctors, engineers, lawyers, and others in professional specialty occupations (16 percent) or technicians (15 percent). In the Philadelphia area, immigrants work as registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists in precisely the proportion that they are of the total labor force. [Figure 21.]

While immigrants are commonly overrepresented in the construction trades and among drivers, this is not so in the Philadelphia metro area, where they make up 9 percent of each of these occupations and 11 percent of the overall labor force.

"While the share of immigrants in the labor force varies considerably in different metro areas, the range of jobs they work in is consistently quite broad."

Immigrant share of occupations in Washington metro area

2005-07

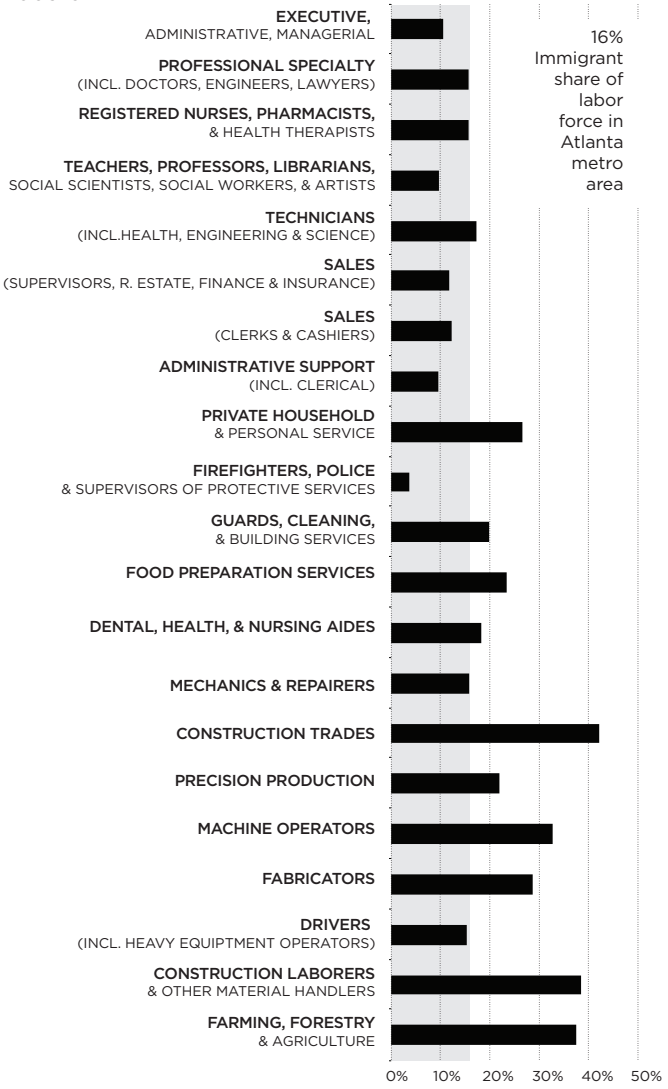


SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS
FIGURE 22

Immigrants work in a wide range of occupations in the **Washington metro area** as well, making up 25 percent of the area's total labor force, 17 percent of its workers in executive, administrative, and managerial occupations, 21 percent of all people in the professional specialties, and 27 percent of registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists. [Figure 22.] Yet immigrants in the Washington metro area also are clearly concentrated in a range of low-pay service jobs, most notably private household and personal service, guards, cleaning and building services and food preparation services.

Immigrant share of occupations in Atlanta metro area

2005-07

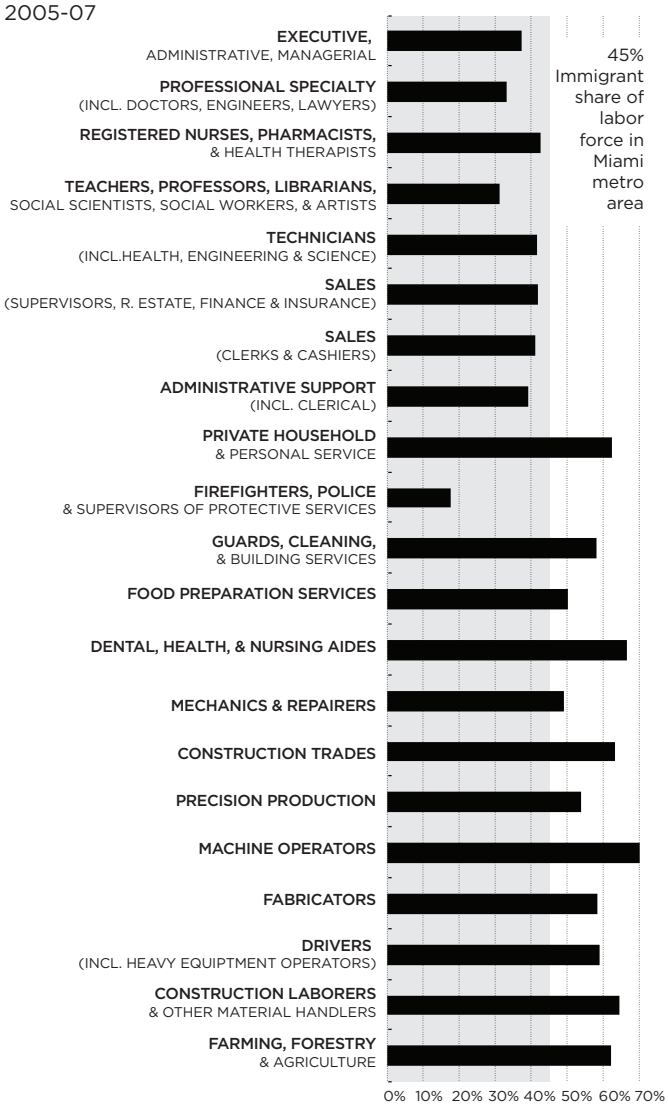


SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
FIGURE 23

Immigrants also work in a diverse range of jobs in the **Atlanta metro area.** Here, immigrants are represented in the professional specialties, and in health assessment and treatment occupations, at precisely the same rate as they are found in the labor force overall—16 percent. [Figure 23.] Relative to their portion of the overall workforce, immigrants in Atlanta are overrepresented among technicians and in construction-related occupations. Immigrants make up 42 percent of skilled construction trade workers, their highest concentration in metro Atlanta. And they make up 38 percent of all construction laborers and other materials handlers. Immigrants are also strongly represented in factory work, making up 22 percent of precision production workers, 33 percent of machine operators, and 29 percent of fabricators.

Immigrant share of occupations in Miami metro area

2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.

FIGURE 24

Nearly half (45 percent) of the labor force in the **Miami metro area** is foreign-born, making it the most heavily immigrant workforce of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States, rivaled only by the Los Angeles metro area.

Here, too, immigrants are spread across a range of occupations, constituting between 30 and 70 percent of every occupational category in the metro area. The only occupational category in which immigrants make up less than 30 percent of the workforce is firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services. [Figure 24.]

A greater share of immigrants in metro Miami work in high-wage occupations than in any other metro area, although immigrants do not make up a greater share of any high-wage occupation than their share of the total workforce. For example, 37 percent of people in executive, administrative, or managerial occupations are foreign-born in metro Miami. This is less than the 45 percent of the area's total labor force that is made up of immigrants, but considerably more than the share of immigrants in these occupations than in any other of the five largest metro areas in the East.

"Nearly half (45 percent) of the labor force in the Miami metro area is foreign-born, making it the most heavily immigrant workforce of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States."

Immigrants work in polarized metro economies, with their earnings reflecting their place in that economy.

The trends in earnings observed in the 25 largest metropolitan areas also apply to the five largest metro areas in the East. The average earnings of immigrant workers relative to their U.S.-born counterparts vary by occupation. And while immigrants often earn less than U.S.-born workers in the same jobs, this is not always so.

Across the five metro areas under study here, immigrants and U.S.-born professionals working in the higher-paying occupations are doing well. Service workers, U.S.- and foreign-born alike, are struggling. Among blue-collar workers there is greater variation, but in many instances U.S.-born workers are earning a decent living while foreign-born workers are not.

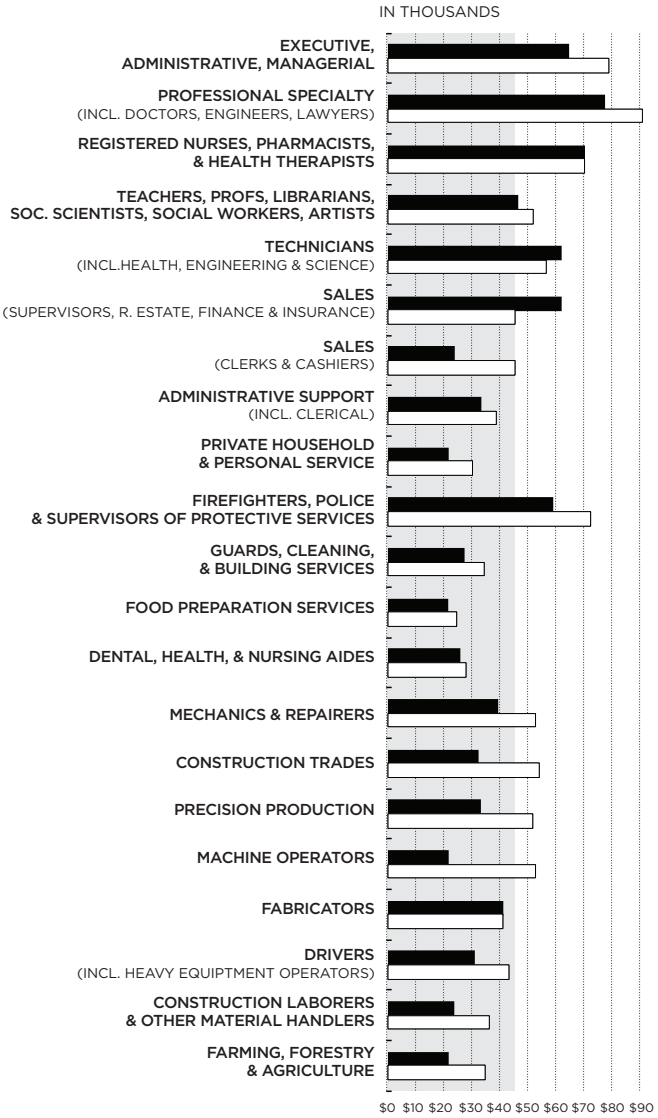
In the **New York metro area**, annual earnings in higher-end occupations can be double or more the national median earnings of $38,000 per year. Immigrants have median annual earnings of $65,000 to $80,000 in executive, administrative, and managerial jobs, and in professional specialties, while U.S.-born workers in these fields have median earnings in the range of $75,000 to just over $90,000. Among nurses, pharmacists and health therapists earnings for U.S.- and foreign-born workers are equally high, and among technicians and higher-end sales jobs, immigrant earnings are somewhat higher than they are for U.S.-born workers. [Figure 25.]

The median earnings of immigrant and U.S.-born workers in service occupations are low, well below the overall median of $46,000 for full-time workers in the New York metro area. Firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services are the one exception among

"In the New York metro area, the annual median earnings of foreign-born workers in all low-wage job categories are lower than the earnings of U.S.-born workers in the same occupations."

New York metro area earnings by occupation

Median annual earnings
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTE: Median for all full-time workers in metro area: $46,000

FIGURE 25

these service jobs.

In the New York metro area, the annual median earnings of foreign-born workers in all low-wage job categories—guards, cleaning and building service workers, dental, health, and nursing aides, food preparation services, and private household and personal services—are lower than the earnings of U.S.-born workers in the same occupations. But earnings for both immigrant and U.S.-born workers are well below the overall New York metro area median.

The annual earnings of U.S.-born workers in blue-collar occupations are comfortably above the overall New York median. Specifically, U.S.-born mechanics and repairers, construction trade workers, precision production workers, and machine operators all earn $52,000 to $54,000 per year. By contrast, foreign-born annual earnings in these occupations are not only well below the New York metro area median; in many instances, immigrants working in blue-collar jobs are earning wages close to those of all workers in low-paying service occupations.

In the **Philadelphia metro area**, immigrants and U.S.-born workers are faring comparably in the high-end occupations. Both groups have median annual earnings of between $60,000 and $80,000 in executive, administrative and managerial jobs; in the professional specialties; and among nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists. [Figure 26.]

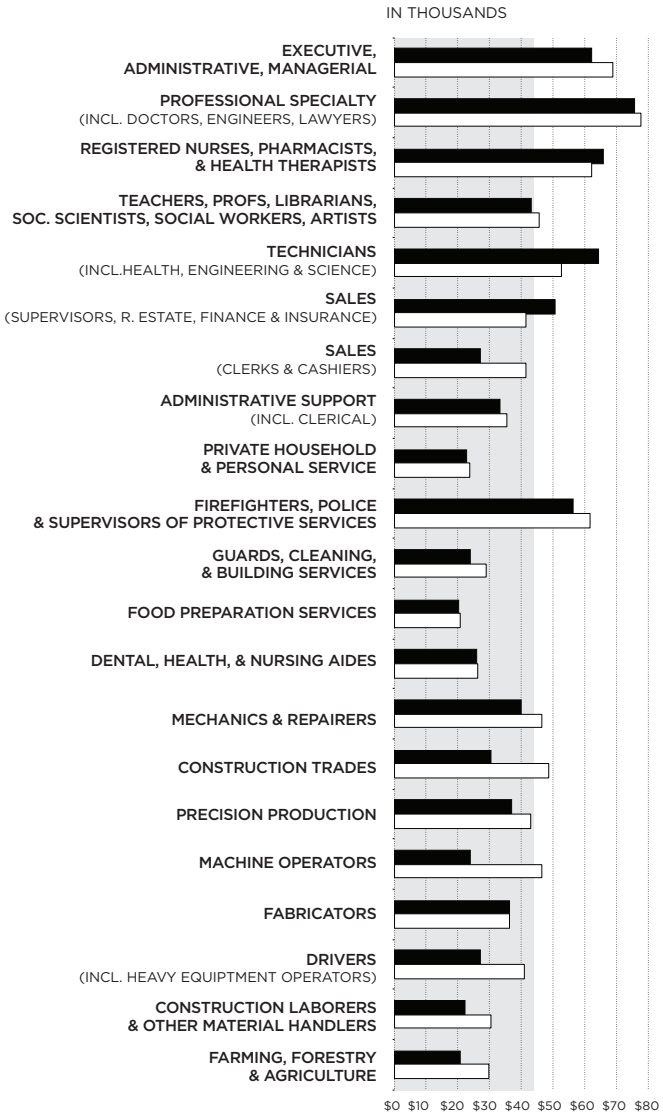
Service workers, just as in New York, are earning very low wages. While U.S.-born workers earn slightly more than their foreign-born counterparts in each job category—food preparation service workers, dental, health and nursing aides, guards, cleaning, and building service—in the Philadelphia metro area, virtually all service workers make much less than the local median annual earnings of $44,000.

In blue-collar jobs, U.S.-born workers are keeping just barely above the median for the Philadelphia metro area, though still well above the national median of

"In the Philadelphia metro area, virtually all service workers make much less than the local median annual earnings of $44,000."

Philadelphia metro area earnings by occupation

Median annual earnings
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTE: Median for all full-time workers in metro area: $44,000

FIGURE 26

$38,000 for full-time workers.

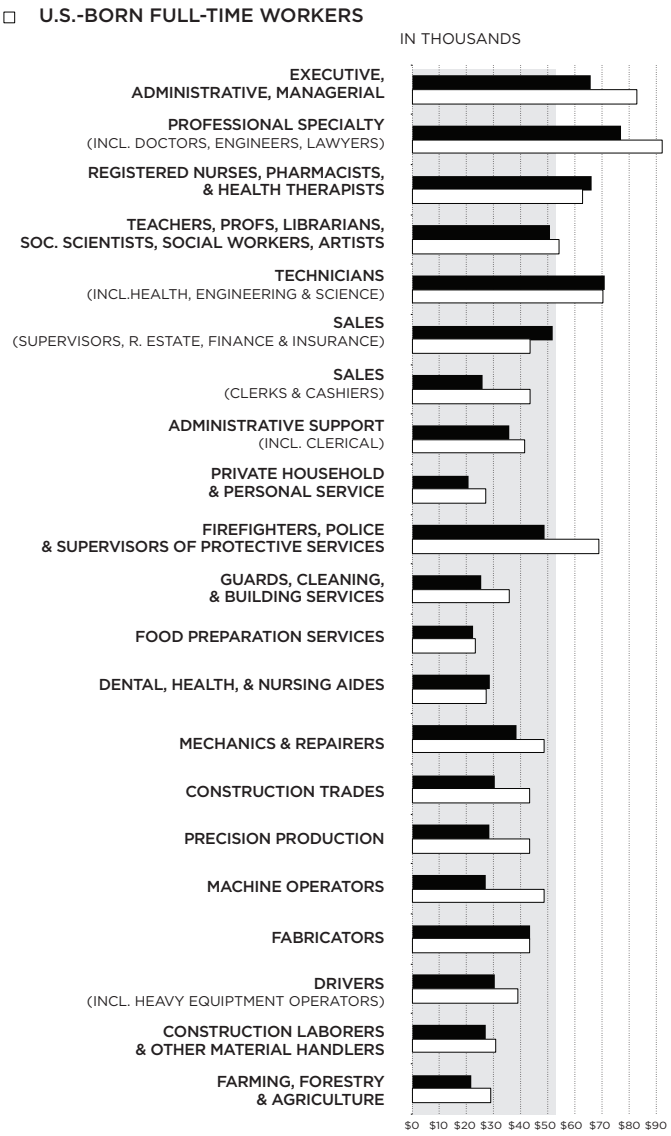
In the **Washington metro area**, too, both immigrants and U.S.-born workers in high-end jobs have earnings that are well above the median—though U.S.-born workers are doing considerably better than foreign-born workers. The median annual earnings for full-time U.S.-born workers in executive, administrative and managerial jobs is $83,000, and for immigrants it is $66,000. In the professional specialties, the median for U.S.-born workers is $92,000 and the median for foreign-born workers is $77,000. Immigrants have slightly higher median annual earnings than U.S.-born workers among registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists and among technicians. [Figure 27.]

In service occupations, annual earnings are low, and again quite even between U.S.- and foreign-born workers. The Washington metro area is the only one of the five largest metro areas in the East in which the earnings of U.S.-born blue-collar workers does not rise above the

"The Washington metro area is the only one of the five largest metro areas in the East in which the earnings of U.S.-born blue-collar workers does not rise above the area's median earnings for all workers."

Washington metro area earnings by occupation

Median annual earnings
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTE: Median for all full-time workers in metro area: $53,000

FIGURE 27

area's median earnings for all workers.

Immigrant and U.S.-born workers in the higher-wage occupations in the **Atlanta metro area** also are earning well above the median, although not as far above it as in the Washington and New York metro areas. In the Atlanta metro area, U.S.- and foreign-born workers earn between $50,000 and $75,000 in most of these occupations. [Figure 28.]

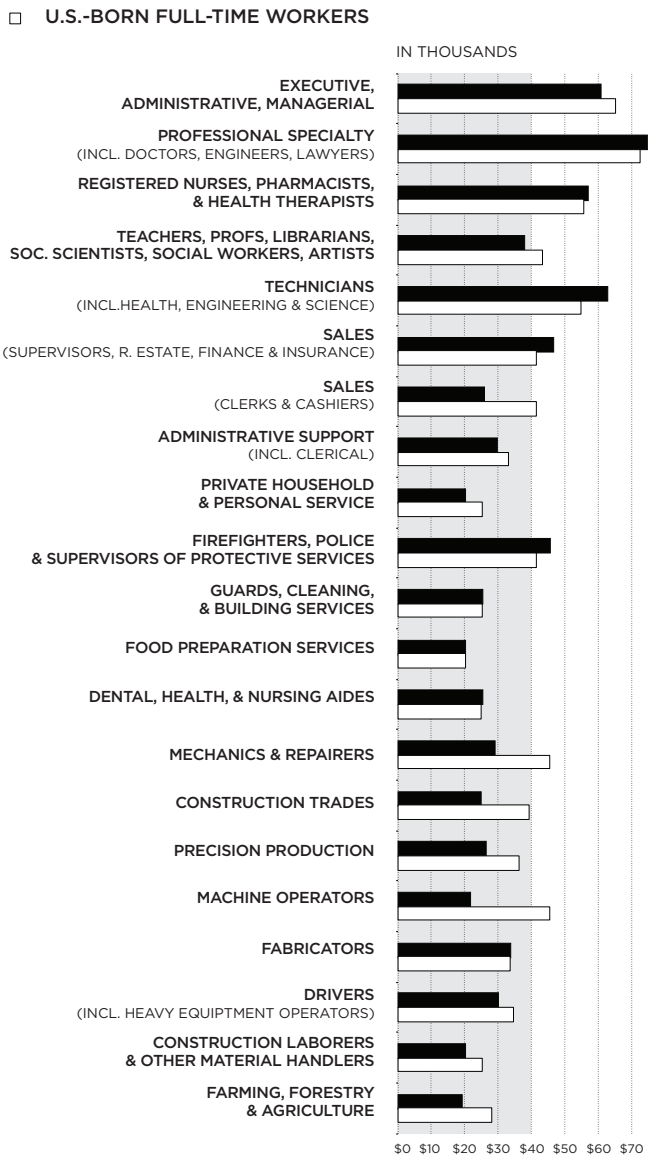
As in the other metro areas, service workers in Atlanta are consistently at the low end of the earnings distribution, with food preparation workers and private household and personal service among the lowest-paid jobs for immigrants.

While median annual earnings for some U.S.-born blue-collar workers in the Atlanta metro area rise above the overall local median, immigrant earnings in blue-collar jobs are comparable to low-wage service jobs.

"As in the other metro areas, service workers in Atlanta are consistently at the low end of the earnings distribution, with food preparation workers and private household and personal service among the lowest-paid jobs for immigrants."

Atlanta metro area earnings by occupation

Median annual earnings
2005-07



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTE: Median for all full-time workers in metro area: $40,000
FIGURE 28

Median earnings are lowest in the **Miami metro area**, even among professionals. Median earnings for executive, administrative, and managerial workers are $51,000 for immigrants and $61,000 for U.S.-born workers, and in professional specialties median earnings are $65,000 and $76,000, all significantly lower than median earnings in New York and Washington. [Figure 29.]

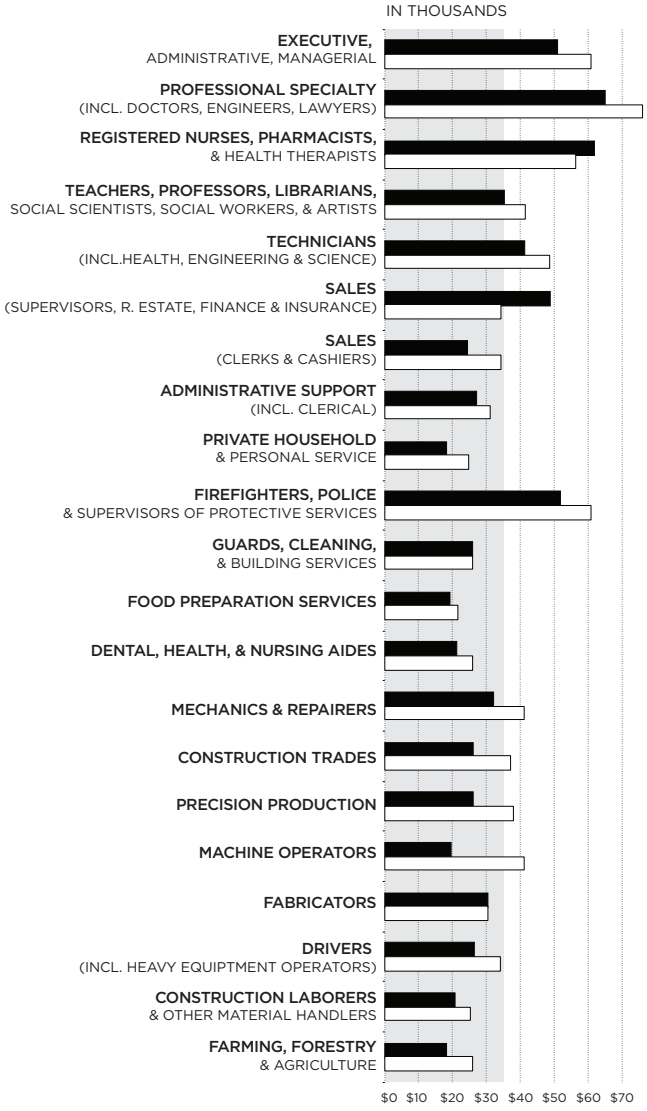
While there are differences in earnings between immigrant and U.S.-born workers, median earnings for all workers in service occupations—except for firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services—are low in metro Miami. And, in blue-collar jobs, immigrants in the Miami metro area are earning about the same as immigrants in service jobs. U.S.-born workers in blue-collar jobs are doing better, though only occasionally rising above the area median, and only by a small amount.

"While there are differences in earnings between immigrant and U.S.-born workers, median earnings for all workers in service occupations—except for firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services—are low in metro Miami."

Miami metro area earnings by occupation

Median annual earnings
2005-07

■ FOREIGN-BORN FULL-TIME WORKERS
□ U.S.-BORN FULL-TIME WORKERS



SOURCE: FPI analysis of 2005-07 ACS.
NOTE: Median for all full-time workers in metro area: $35,000

FIGURE 29

Conclusion

Immigration to the United States—and to the 25 largest metropolitan areas that account for half of the country's GDP—is broad and diverse, bringing clear overall benefits to the economy. The data analyzed in this report demonstrates that immigration and economic growth in the metro areas are strongly and positively associated with one another. Immigrants are contributing to the economy in proportion to their share of the population, in the country as a whole and in each of its 25 largest metropolitan areas. And, immigrants play a vital and important role in these local economies, and thus in the overall U.S. economy.

These findings fit into a broad consensus among economic researchers—even among those who are skeptical of immigration—that immigrants provide an overall boost to the economy. Economic research also has come to a broad consensus that immigration has a positive or neutral effect on the large majority of workers. Among other factors, labor force demands are expanding over time, and in many instances immigrants are complementary to U.S.-born workers rather than being in direct competition with them.

What remains controversial among academic researchers is whether, and to what extent, immigration negatively affects some U.S.-born workers, notably men with less than a high school education, and African American men in particular. A future FPI report will look at what happens to U.S.-born workers as immigrants enter the economy. *Immigrants and the Economy* does not engage this question directly but seeks to put it in perspective, showing the broad, constructive overall role immigrants are playing in the economy.

In all 25 metro areas, immigrants work across the economic spectrum. Immigrants are found in significant numbers in each of the four broad employment categories that define almost all of the metropolitan workforce in the U.S.—managerial and professional specialty; technical, sales, and administrative support; service; and blue-collar.

In managerial and professional jobs, both immigrants and U.S.-born workers are faring reasonably well, and there is generally not a large discrepancy between U.S.-born and foreign-born earnings. Technical, sales, and administrative support contains both occupations where immigrants and U.S.-born workers fare well, such as technicians, and jobs where earnings are consistently low, such as sales.

> *"Immigrants play a vital and important role in these local economies, and thus in the overall U.S. economy."*

In service jobs, all workers have a hard time making ends meet, whether they are U.S.-born or immigrants. In services, the challenge is setting a higher standard for the earnings of all workers. Among blue-collar workers, the picture is mixed. U.S.-born workers in some blue-collar jobs make what can be considered family-sustaining earnings, even after the wage erosion of recent decades. That is not the case for foreign-born blue-collar workers, who have consistently low earnings. For blue-collar jobs, the challenge is to raise all earnings to the level that has been set by some, both to improve earnings of those at the bottom and to protect higher-wage earners.

This report demonstrates that the immigrant labor force brings many benefits to the U.S. economy, whether immigration causes economic growth or simply responds to it. The immigrant labor force also presents challenges—economic, political and social. This is especially true in the context of an extremely polarized economy, relatively low unionization rates, weak enforcement of labor standards, and a clearly broken immigration system.

Immigration has always been an important part of America's history, and it will continue to be a part of our future. Addressing these complex challenges would be a better path for policymakers than wishing away immigration. This report presents an empirical look at the role of immigrants in the U.S. economy, in the hopes of informing a constructive public debate that will result in much-needed policy reform.

Sources and Methodological Notes

Immigrants and the Economy is primarily based on an analysis of the U.S. Census Bureau's 1990 Census and 2005-2007 American Community Survey (ACS) 3-year data. The 2005-2007 ACS multi-year estimates provide a 3 percent sample of average characteristics over the 3-year period of time, not longitudinal.

The ACS data was drawn from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series of the Minnesota Population Center. The occupational groupings were developed by Fiscal Policy Institute to give statistically significant sample sizes within detailed occupations. IPUMS crosswalks were used to harmonize 2005-2007 occupational categories with the 1990 coding.

Current definitions of Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) were applied to 1990 Census data based on the counties and Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) in each MSA.

Statistics used in this report that did not require the use of microdata for analysis, such as estimates of the total population, foreign-born, and country of origin, were drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Factfinder. Where comparisons or calculations were made, information was drawn from the same data set.

The American Community Survey does not ask about union membership, so data on unionization was drawn from the Current Population Survey data, pooling 2007 and 2008 to get a large enough sample size.

Both surveys include both documented and undocumented immigrants. Neither survey allows for direct estimates regarding undocumented immigrants. The Pew Hispanic Center has done extensive work for more than a decade on this question, and has developed a widely accepted methodology that results in the best estimates available of the number and characteristics of undocumented immigrants. *Immigrants and the Economy* draws on the Pew Hispanic Center's findings, as noted in the body of the report.

Sources and methodological notes for figures

FIGURE 1
Source: American Factfinder, 2005-2007 American Community Survey 3-year data.

FIGURE 2
Source: Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States," Pew Hispanic Center, April 14, 2009.

FIGURE 3
Source: FPI analysis of ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007.

FIGURE 4
Source: FPI analysis of 1990 Census and ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007. Universe for labor force is people 16 years of age and older and in the civilian labor force. Universe for wage and salary earnings is 16 years of age or older in the civilian labor force who made at least $100 in annual wage and salary income. Universe for proprietors' income is people 16 and older who reported proprietors' income.

FIGURES 5 AND 6
Source: FPI analysis of ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007. Universe for wage and salary earnings is 16 years of age or older in the civilian labor force who made at least $100 in annual wage and salary income. Universe for proprietors' income is people 16 and older who reported proprietors' income."

FIGURES 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Source: FPI analysis of ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007. Labor force is 16 years of age and older, in the civilian labor force. In Figure 6, prime working age is 16-64.

FIGURES 8, 9, 10, 11
Source: FPI analysis of ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007. Universe: people 16 years of age or older, who were employed in the civilian labor force.

FIGURES 12 TO 17 AND 25 TO 29
Source: FPI analysis of ACS 3-year data, 2005-2007. Universe: population 16 years of age or older who were employed in the civilian labor force, worked 1,500 or more hours a year, and reported at least $100 a year in wage and salary income. Income is in CPI-U 2007 dollars.

FIGURES 18 AND 19
Source: FPI analysis of CPS 2007 and 2008 ORG. Universe: 16 years of age or older and employed.

Appendix A

Counties in the 25 largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Definition of Metropolitan Statistical Area

1. New York Metro Area

New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island,
NY-NJ-PA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Edison, NJ Metropolitan Division
Middlesex County, Monmouth County,
Ocean County, Somerset County
Nassau-Suffolk, NY Metropolitan Division
Nassau County, Suffolk County
New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ Metropolitan Division
Bergen County, NJ, Bronx County, NY,
Hudson County, NJ, Kings County, NY,
New York County, NY, Passaic County, NJ,
Putnam County, NY, Queens County, NY,
Richmond County, NY, Rockland County, NY,
Westchester County, NY
Newark-Union, NJ-PA Metropolitan Division
Essex County, NJ, Hunterdon County, NJ,
Morris County, NJ, Pike County, PA,
Sussex County, NJ, Union County, NJ

2. Los Angeles Metro Area

Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA Metropolitan Division
Los Angeles County
Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA Metropolitan Division
Orange County

3. Chicago Metro Area

Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL Metropolitan Division
Cook County, DeKalb County,
DuPage County, Grundy County,
Kane County, Kendall, County,
McHenry County, Will County
Gary, IN Metropolitan Division
Jasper County, Lake County,
Newton County, Porter County
Lake County-Kenosha County, IL-WI Metropolitan Division
Kenosha County, WI, Lake County, IL

4. Dallas Metro Area

Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metropolitan
Statistical Area
Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX Metropolitan Division
Collin County, Dallas County,
Delta County, Denton County, Ellis County,
Hunt County, Kaufman County, Rockwall County
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metropolitan Division
Johnson County, Parker County,
Tarrant County, Wise County

5. Philadelphia Metro Area

Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington,PA-NJ-DE-MD
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Camden, NJ Metropolitan Division
Burlington County, Camden County,
Gloucester County,
Philadelphia, PA Metropolitan Division
Bucks County, Chester County,
Delaware County, Montgomery County,
Philadelphia County
Wilmington, DE-MD-NJ Metropolitan Division
Cecil County, MD, New Castle County, DE,
Salem County, NJ

6. Houston Metro Area

Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Austin County, Brazoria County,
Chambers County, Fort Bend County,
Galveston County, Harris County,
Liberty County, Montgomery County,
San Jacinto County, Waller County

7. Miami Metro Area

Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL Metropolitan Division
Broward County
Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL Metropolitan Division
Miami-Dade County
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL Metropolitan Division
Palm Beach County

8. Washington Metro Area

Washington-Arlington-Alexandria,
DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area
Bethesda-Gaithersburg-Frederick, MD Metropolitan Division
Frederick County, MD,
Montgomery County, MD,
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Division
Alexandria city, VA,
Arlington County, VA,
Calvert County, MD, Charles County, MD,

Clarke County, VA, District of Columbia, Fairfax County, VA, Fairfax city, VA, Falls Church city, VA, Fauquier County, VA, Fredericksburg city, VA, Jefferson County, WV, Loudoun County, VA, Manassas Park city, VA, Manassas city, VA, Prince George's County, MD, Prince William County, VA, Spotsylvania County, VA, Stafford County, VA, Warren County, VA

9. Atlanta Metro Area

Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Barrow County, Bartow County, Butts County, Carroll County, Cherokee County, Clayton County, Cobb County, Coweta County, Dawson County, DeKalb County, Douglas County, Fayette County, Forsyth County, Fulton County, Gwinnett County, Haralson County, Heard County, Henry County, Jasper County, Lamar County, Meriwether County, Newton County, Paulding County, Pickens County, Pike County, Rockdale County, Spalding County, Walton County

10. Detroit Metro Area

Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI Metropolitan Statistical Area
Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI Metropolitan Division
Wayne County
Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI Metropolitan Division
Lapeer County, Livingston County, Macomb County, Oakland County, St. Clair County

11. Boston Metro area

Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH Metropolitan Statistical Area
Boston-Quincy, MA Metropolitan Division
Norfolk County, MA, Plymouth County, MA, Suffolk County, MA
Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA Metropolitan Division
Middlesex County, MA
Peabody, MA Metropolitan Division
Essex County, MA
Rockingham County-Strafford County, NH Metropolitan Division
Rockingham County, NH, Strafford County, NH

12. San Francisco

San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA Metropolitan Division
Alameda County, Contra Costa County
San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA Metropolitan Division
Marin County, San Francisco County, San Mateo County

13. Phoenix

Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area
Maricopa County, Pinal County

14. Riverside

Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Riverside County, San Bernardino County

15. Seattle

Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA Metropolitan Division
King County, Snohomish County
Tacoma, WA Metropolitan Division
Pierce County

16. Minneapolis

Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area
Anoka County, MN, Carver County, MN, Chisago County, MN, Dakota County, MN Hennepin County, MN, Isanti County, MN, Ramsey County, MN, Scott County, MN Sherburne County, MN, Washington County, MN, Wright County, MN, Pierce County, WI, St. Croix County, WI

17. San Diego

San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA Metropolitan Statistical Area
San Diego County

18. St. Louis

St. Louis, MO-IL Metropolitan Statistical Area
Bond County, IL, Calhoun County, IL, Clinton County, IL, Jersey County, IL Macoupin County, IL, Madison County, IL, Monroe County, IL, St. Clair County, IL

Crawford County, MO (pt.)*, Franklin County, MO, Jefferson County, MO, Lincoln County, MO, St. Charles County, MO, St. Louis County, MO, Warren County, MO, Washington County, MO, St. Louis city, MO

19. Tampa
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL Metropolitan Statistical Area
Hernando County, Hillsborough County, Pasco County, Pinellas County

20. Baltimore
Baltimore-Towson, MD Metropolitan Statistical Area
Anne Arundel County, Baltimore County, Carroll County, Harford County, Howard County, Queen Anne's County, Baltimore city

21. Denver
Denver-Aurora, CO Metropolitan Statistical Area
Adams County, Arapahoe County, Broomfield County, Clear Creek County, Denver County, Douglas County, Elbert County, Gilpin County, Jefferson County, Park County

22. Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Allegheny County, Armstrong County, Beaver County, Butler County, Fayette County, Washington County, Westmoreland County

23. Portland
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA Metropolitan Statistical Area
Clackamas County, OR, Columbia County, OR, Multnomah County, OR, Washington County, OR, Yamhill County, OR, Clark County, WA, Skamania County, WA

24. Cincinnati
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN Metropolitan Statistical Area
Dearborn County, IN, Franklin County, IN, Ohio County, IN, Boone County, KY Bracken County, KY, Campbell County, KY, Gallatin County, KY, Grant County, KY, Kenton County, KY, Pendleton County, KY, Brown County, OH, Butler County, OH, Clermont County, OH, Hamilton County, OH, Warren County, OH

25. Cleveland
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH Metropolitan Statistical Area
Cuyahoga County, Geauga County, Lake County, Lorain County, Medina County

* The portion of Sullivan city in Crawford County, Missouri, is officially part of the St. Louis, MO-IL MSA. Intercensal estimates for the St. Louis, MO-IL Metropolitan Statistical Area do not include this area.

Appendix B

Occupational groupings used in *Immigrants and the Economy*

Immigrants and the Economy *uses 21 detailed occupations in six broad occupational categories. The occupations in this report are based on the Minnesota Population Center's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series 1990 occupational classification. The broad headings were retained, while detailed occupations were consolidated into 21 occupational groups, listed below.*

Managerial and professional specialty Occupations

executive, administrative, managerial

Chief executives and public administrators
Financial managers
Human resources and labor relations managers
Managers and specialists in marketing, advertising, and public relations
Managers in education and related fields
Managers of medicine and health occupations
Managers of food-serving and lodging establishments
Managers of properties and real estate
Funeral directors
Managers of service organizations, n.e.c.
Managers and administrators, n.e.c.
Accountants and auditors
Insurance underwriters
Other financial specialists
Management analysts
Personnel, HR, training, and labor relations specialists
Purchasing agents and buyers, of farm products
Buyers, wholesale and retail trade
Purchasing managers, agents and buyers, n.e.c
Business and promotion agents
Construction inspectors
Inspectors and compliance officers, outside construction
Management support occupations

Professional specialty (incl. doctors, engineers, lawyers)

Architects
Aerospace engineer
Metallurgical and materials engineers, variously phrased
Petroleum, mining, and geological engineers
Chemical engineers
Civil engineers
Electrical engineer
Industrial engineers
Mechanical engineers
Engineers, n.e.c.
Computer systems analysts and computer scientists
Operations and systems researchers and analysts
Actuaries
Mathematicians and mathematical scientists
Physicists and astronomers
Chemists
Atmospheric and space scientists
Geologists
Physical scientists, n.e.c.
Agricultural and food scientists
Biological scientists
Foresters and conservation scientists
Medical scientists
Physicians
Dentists
Veterinarians
Optometrists
Podiatrists
Other health and therapy
Lawyers

Registered nurses, pharmacists, & health therapists

Registered nurses
Pharmacists
Dietitians and nutritionists
Respiratory therapists
Occupational therapists
Physical therapists
Speech therapists
Therapists, n.e.c.
Physicians' assistants

Teachers, profs, librarians, soc. scientists, social workers, & artists

Subject instructors (HS/college)
Kindergarten and earlier school teachers
Primary school teachers
Secondary school teachers
Special education teachers
Teachers, n.e.c.
Vocational and educational counselors
Librarians
Archivists and curators
Economists, market researchers, and survey researchers
Psychologists
Social scientists, n.e.c.
Urban and regional planners
Social workers
Recreation workers
Clergy and religious workers
Writers and authors
Technical writers
Designers
Musician or composer
Actors, directors, producers
Art makers: painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and print-makers
Photographers
Dancers
Art/entertainment performers and related
Editors and reporters
Announcers
Athletes, sports instructors, and officials

Technical, Sales, And Administrative Support Occupations

Technicians (inc. health, engineering & science)

Clinical laboratory technologies and technicians
Dental hygienists
Health record tech specialists
Radiologic tech specialists
Licensed practical nurses
Health technologists and technicians, n.e.c.
Engineering technicians, n.e.c.
Drafters
Surveyors, cartographers, mapping scientists and technicians

Biological technicians
Chemical technicians
Other science technicians
Airplane pilots and navigators
Air traffic controllers
Broadcast equipment operators
Computer software developers
Programmers of numerically controlled machine tools
Legal assistants, paralegals, legal support, etc.

Sales (supervisors, r. estate, finance & insurance)

Supervisors and proprietors of sales jobs
Insurance sales occupations
Real estate sales occupations
Financial services sales occupations
Advertising and related sales jobs
Sales engineers

Sales (clerks and cashiers)

Salespersons, n.e.c.
Retail sales clerks
Cashiers
Door-to-door sales, street sales, and news vendors
Sales demonstrators/promoters/models

Administrative support

Office supervisors
Computer and peripheral equipment operators
Secretaries
Typists
Interviewers, enumerators, and surveyors
Hotel clerks
Transportation ticket and reservation agents
Receptionists
Correspondence and order clerks
Human resources clerks, except payroll and timekeeping
Library assistants
File clerks
Records clerks
Bookkeepers and accounting and auditing clerks
Payroll and timekeeping clerks
Billing clerks and related financial records processing
Mail and paper handlers
Office machine operators, n.e.c.
Telephone operators
Other telecom operators
Postal clerks, excluding mail carriers
Mail carriers for postal service
Mail clerks, outside of post office
Messengers
Dispatchers
Shipping and receiving clerks
Stock and inventory clerks
Meter readers
Weighers, measurers, and checkers
Material recording, scheduling, production, planning, and expediting clerks
Insurance adjusters, examiners, and investigators
Customer service reps, investigators and adjusters, except insurance
Eligibility clerks for government programs; social welfare
Bill and account collectors
General office clerks
Bank tellers
Proofreaders
Data entry keyers
Statistical clerks
Administrative support jobs, n.e.c.

Service occupations

Private household & personal services

Housekeepers, maids, butlers, stewards, and lodging quarters cleaners
Supervisors of personal service jobs, n.e.c.
Barbers
Hairdressers and cosmetologists
Recreation facility attendants
Guides
Ushers
Public transportation attendants and inspectors
Baggage porters
Welfare service aides
Child care workers
Personal service occupations, n.e.c.

Firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services

Supervisors of guards
Fire fighting, prevention, and inspection
Police, detectives, and private investigators
Other law enforcement: sheriffs, bailiffs, correctional institution officers

Guards, cleaning, and building services

Crossing guards and bridge tenders
Guards, watchmen, doorkeepers
Protective services, n.e.c.
Supervisors of cleaning and building service
Janitors
Elevator operators
Pest control occupations

Food preparation services

Bartenders
Waiter/waitress
Cooks, variously defined
Kitchen workers
Waiter's assistant
Misc. food prep workers

Dental, health & nursing aides

Dental assistants
Health aides, except nursing
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants

Precision production, craft and repair

Mechanics & repairers

Supervisors of mechanics and repairers
Automobile mechanics
Bus, truck, and stationary engine mechanics
Aircraft mechanics
Small engine repairers
Auto body repairers
Heavy equipment and farm equipment mechanics
Industrial machinery repairers
Machinery maintenance occupations
Repairers of industrial electrical equipment
Repairers of data processing equipment
Repairers of household appliances and power tools
Telecom and line installers and repairers
Repairers of electrical equipment, n.e.c.
Heating, air conditioning, and refigeration mechanics
Precision makers, repairers, and smiths
Locksmiths and safe repairers
Repairers of mechanical controls and valves
Elevator installers and repairers
Millwrights
Mechanics and repairers, n.e.c.

Construction trades

Supervisors of construction work
Masons, tilers, and carpet installers
Carpenters
Drywall installers
Electricians
Electric power installers and repairers
Painters, construction and maintenance
Paperhangers
Plasterers
Plumbers, pipe fitters, and steamfitters
Concrete and cement workers
Glaziers
Insulation workers
Paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators
Roofers and slaters
Sheet metal duct installers
Structural metal workers
Drillers of earth
Construction trades, n.e.c.
Drillers of oil wells
Explosives workers
Miners
Other mining occupations

Precision production

Production supervisors or foremen
Tool and die makers and die setters
Machinists
Boilermakers
Precision grinders and filers
Patternmakers and model makers
Engravers
Cabinetmakers and bench carpenters
Furniture and wood finishers
Dressmakers and seamstresses
Upholsterers
Shoe repairers
Hand molders and shapers, except jewelers
Optical goods workers
Dental laboratory and medical appliance technicians
Bookbinders
Butchers and meat cutters
Bakers
Batch food makers
Water and sewage treatment plant operators
Power plant operators
Plant and system operators, stationary engineers
Other plant and system operators

Operators, fabricators, and laborers

Machine operators

Lathe, milling, and turning machine operatives
Punching and stamping press operatives
Rollers, roll hands, and finishers of metal
Drilling and boring machine operators
Grinding, abrading, buffing, and polishing workers
Forge and hammer operators
Molders, and casting machine operators
Metal platers
Heat treating equipment operators
Wood lathe, routing, and planing machine operators
Sawing machine operators and sawyers
Nail and tacking machine operators (woodworking)
Other woodworking machine operators
Printing machine operators, n.e.c.
Typesetters and compositors
Winding and twisting textile/apparel operatives
Knitters, loopers, and toppers textile operatives
Textile cutting machine operators
Textile sewing machine operators
Shoemaking machine operators
Pressing machine operators (clothing)
Laundry workers
Misc. textile machine operators
Cementing and gluing machine operators
Packers, fillers, and wrappers
Extruding and forming machine operators
Mixing and blending machine operatives
Separating, filtering, and clarifying machine operators
Painting machine operators
Roasting and baking machine operators (food)
Washing, cleaning, and pickling machine operators
Paper folding machine operators
Furnace, kiln, and oven operators, apart from food
Slicing and cutting machine operators
Motion picture projectionists
Photographic process workers
Machine operators, n.e.c.

Fabricators

Welders and metal cutters
Assemblers of electrical equipment
Graders and sorters in manufacturing

Drivers (incl. heavy equipment operators)

Supervisors of motor vehicle transportation
Truck, delivery, and tractor drivers
Bus drivers
Taxi cab drivers and chauffeurs
Parking lot attendants
Railroad conductors and yardmasters
Locomotive operators (engineers and firemen)
Railroad brake, coupler, and switch operators
Ship crews and marine engineers
Operating engineers of construction equipment
Crane, derrick, winch, and hoist operators
Excavating and loading machine operators
Misc. material moving occupations
Helpers, constructions

Laborers and other material handlers

Helpers, surveyors
Construction laborers
Production helpers
Garbage and recyclable material collectors
Machine feeders and offbearers
Freight, stock, and materials handlers
Garage and service station related occupations
Vehicle washers and equipment cleaners
Packers and packagers by hand
Laborers outside construction

Farming, forestry and fishing occupations

Farming, forestry & agriculture (incl. gardeners)

Farmers (owners and tenants)
Farm managers, except for horticultural farms
Farm workers
Supervisors of agricultural occupations
Gardeners and groundskeepers
Animal caretakers except on farms
Graders and sorters of agricultural products
Inspectors of agricultural products
Timber, logging, and forestry workers
Fishers, hunters, and kindred

Endnotes

[1] The Bureau of Economic Analysis provides an estimate of GDP by metro area, the most recent of which is for 2006. In current dollars, the combined GDP of the 25 largest metro areas in 2006 was $6.6 trillion, out of an overall United States economy of $13.2 trillion.

[2] A compilation of recent research on the changing geography of immigration can be found in, *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, edited by Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

[3] The most appropriate data available with a degree of detail that allows for analysis at the level of metropolitan areas is the American Community Survey's three-year file combining 2005-2007. In the body of the report, this data is referred to with the year 2006. The Census file combining 2006-2008 data combines both recession and non-recession years, making 2005-2007 file a better data set for this report.

[4] The Bureau of Economic Analysis recently started to publish an own estimate of Gross Domestic Product for metro areas, but it is only available for recent years, and it cannot be divided into immigrant and U.S.-born share. It is, however, based primarily on the same factors used here—wage and salary earnings plus proprietors' income. The BEA estimates that these two factors together represent 64 percent of GDP.
http://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/regional/gdp_metro/gdp_metro_newsrelease.htm

[5] The balance of workers reports working in farming, forestry, and fishing. In metropolitan areas, these are most often gardening and landscaping jobs, although some metro areas have a significant amount of farm-related jobs. Yet, it is hard to draw many conclusions about farm, forestry, and fishing occupations from this data. The largest metro areas clearly are not the best place to examine the role of immigrants in agricultural occupations, and the Census of Agriculture gives more accurate data about farm workers than does the American Community Survey.

[6] Detailed data on proprietors' income by metro area is available on the Fiscal Policy Institute web site, together with a breakdown of where immigrant share of the labor force offsets lower immigrant earnings, and where earnings-per-worker and share of labor force are both higher for immigrants than for U.S.-born.

[7] See, for example, Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States," Pew Hispanic Center, April 14, 2009. The report shows that in the United States as a whole, undocumented immigrants make up an estimated 9.5 percent of people in service occupations, 17.3 percent of those on construction and extraction, and 9.7 percent of those in production.

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