Preface

FWD.us is a bipartisan political organization that believes America's families, communities, and economy thrive when more individuals are able to achieve their full potential. For too long, our broken immigration and criminal justice systems have locked too many people out of the American dream. Founded by leaders in the technology and business communities, we seek to grow and galvanize political support to break through partisan gridlock and achieve meaningful reforms. Together, we can move America forward.

The perspective of FWD.us is that without smart reforms, the failing immigration system will continue to weaken our country and prevent us from reaching our full potential. The current study is intended to assist Florida policymakers in reaching smart, data-driven conclusions about immigration that reflect the best interests of Florida residents and businesses.

In November of 2019, FWD.us contracted with Economic Consulting Services, Inc., to assess the likely economic and fiscal impacts of Florida's possible adoption of mandatory E-Verify use by all public and private employers. This analysis and the accompanying report, authored by Rick Harper, Ph.D., is the product of that contract. The author wishes to thank FWD.us, along with staff of the organization, for their efforts in support of this work. Special thanks are due to Mr. Ted Hutchinson, Florida Director for FWD.us, for serving as principal liaison to this project.

The analysis and opinions in this study represent those of the author and not necessarily those of FWD.us or other entities.

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Introduction

Although immigration policy is set and enforced by the federal government, several states in recent years have adopted legislation intended to address concerns around the local presence of undocumented workers.[1] Florida is currently considering adopting mandatory use by all employers of E-Verify, an online system operated by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services designed to allow employers to verify the identification and work authorization documents of new hires based on federal databases.[2] The question we address in this study is the following: What will be the likely economic impact should Florida join the handful of states that have mandated participation in the federal E-Verify program for all employers *before* our country's broken immigration system is reformed?[3]

The following analysis makes clear that if Florida requires employers doing business in the state to participate in the federal E-Verify program, the impact on the state's economy will be negative and quite substantial.[4] This negative effect would be exacerbated due to the tight labor market associated with the current economic climate, as well as demographic trends which include the aging of Baby Boomers out of the labor market, and a decreased flow of immigrants overall. Florida will likely lose approximately $11 billion in earnings, 253,500 jobs, and approximately $1.25 billion in state and local tax revenues each year as a consequence of adopting an E-Verify program.[5] The losses will be most severe in South Florida, but will be felt throughout the state.

The decreased level of economic activity in the state and the attendant losses in tax revenues will be triggered by the decrease in the number of persons employed in the state as a result of the adoption of an E-Verify program. The decline in employment will not be limited solely to undocumented workers, but will also extend to native-born and naturalized citizens, as well as to lawfully present immigrants employed in or closely connected to those sectors of the economy in which undocumented workers are prevalent. The hospitality, construction, and agriculture industries will be hit particularly hard. Given that Florida's unemployment rate is extremely low, the fact that the availability of H2-B visas is quite limited, and the reality that entry-level jobs typically held by undocumented persons are seen as less desirable than many occupations available to those with legal status, it is unlikely that lawfully present workers will be available or willing in any significant number to fill the jobs lost as a result of the adoption of a mandatory E-Verify program.

The analysis summarized above assumes that the percentage of undocumented persons who will no longer be in Florida's labor force if the state imposes an E-Verify requirement will be equal to the average percentage decline in the number of undocumented workers in the other states that have mandated E-Verify participation. In light of the fact that E-Verify compliance or enforcement in these other states appears to be low, the losses in earnings and tax revenues estimated here will likely be higher should Florida adopt and consistently enforce E-Verify requirements.

The estimates presented in this report do not take into the account certain other possible economic impacts that may occur should Florida impose E-Verify requirements on employers. Business that currently employ significant numbers of undocumented workers may face increased labor costs as a result of the adoption of an E-Verify program, and find themselves at a competitive disadvantage in relation both to businesses in states that do not impose E-Verify

requirements, and to businesses in other countries. In addition, Florida may be somewhat less attractive to new businesses should there be a *perception* that labor is in short supply or that the state is not open to workers from other countries (e.g., in comparison to California and Mexico in agriculture and Caribbean nations in tourism). Finally, the analysis does not take into account the administrative burdens that employers, particularly small businesses, may experience in complying with E-Verify requirements.

These estimates and conclusions are consistent with existing substantive research into the effects of immigration, and specifically with regard to E-Verify mandates. As University of Illinois at Chicago economists conclude in a January 2020 National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) working paper: "In sum, while E-Verify mandates may significantly reduce formal sector employment among work-ineligible individuals, these policies are not effective in deterring undocumented migration. Moreover, the lack of gains experienced by native-born workers, the labor market distortions, and the disproportionate costs imposed on large firms suggest that the net aggregate costs associated with such mandates may be substantial."[6]

The number of undocumented immigrants in Florida has fallen significantly in the last decade, decreasing from approximately 1 million in 2007 to about 700,000 today, even as residents of other U.S. states continue moving to Florida in strong numbers. Given the falling birthrates in Mexico and other Central American countries, as well as our country's increased border security, the number of undocumented persons in Florida will not return to its previous high in the foreseeable future. At the same time that the number of undocumented immigrants has fallen, the population in Florida has aged: Baby Boomers are leaving the labor force and the labor market has tightened, with Florida seeing unemployment levels as low as any in the last two generations. For Florida's economy to continue to thrive, population growth is essential. Policies that diminish the size of the available labor pool will inevitably lead to negative and costly repercussions for businesses, their customers, and the people of Florida.

Executive Summary

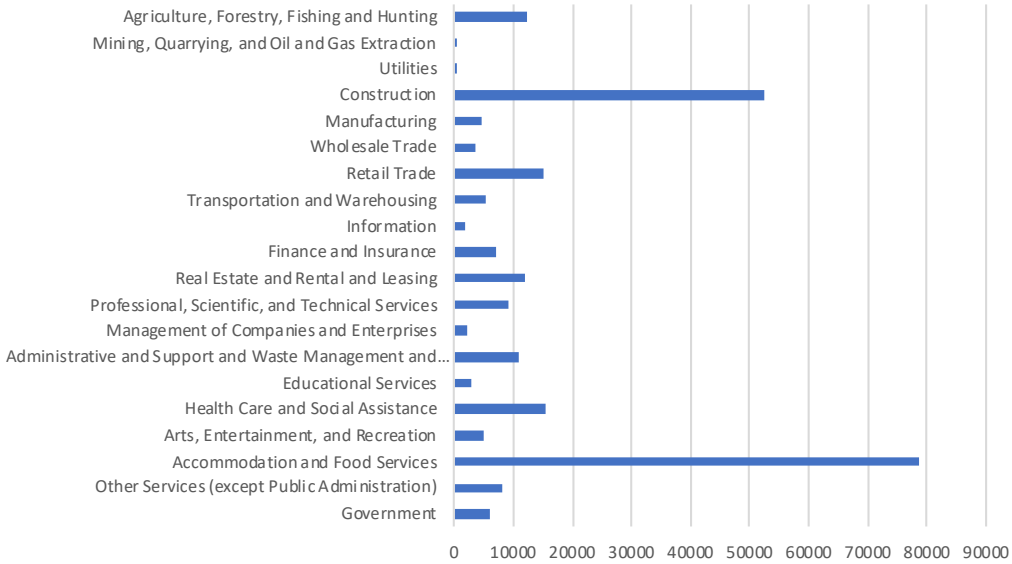
In this study, we consider the likely costs and benefits to Floridians of making E-Verify usage mandatory for all employers.

E-Verify shifts some of the burden of cost and responsibility of immigration enforcement to local Florida businesses. While there is no processing or usage fee charge by the government for handling an E-Verify request for an employer regarding a potential employee, imposing the burden of enforcing this aspect of federal immigration law on Florida businesses will be an intrusive and possibly expensive proposition for business owners.[7]

Undocumented workers are already important contributors to the Florida economy. Of the approximately 700,000 undocumented individuals living in Florida today, about 440,000 are either working or looking for work. After accounting for their lower education and English language skills and recognizing that many immigrants remit a portion of their earnings to family in the countries from which they have come, these workers contribute as much as $36.5 billion annually in earnings that stay in the state of Florida.[8] Once the ripple effects of their presence in the market is accounted for, they are associated with 868,444 total jobs in Florida, and $3.9 billion annually in local and state tax revenues.

While Florida's national economic competitors – namely, California, New York, and Texas - have not adopted E-Verify, a number of states, primarily in the Southeast, have made its use mandatory. Using credible estimates from the literature regarding the impacts in these states, we project the loss in Florida of some 140,000 undocumented workers as a result of E-Verify implementation. Applying standard economic impact modeling tools to those workers across relevant occupations, and after appropriately adjusting for the lower incomes of undocumented workers and their remittance patterns, the likely losses triggered by the decline in the number of undocumented workers will be substantial. We project a net loss of 253,500 jobs in Florida, $10.66 billion in lost earnings, and $1.25 billion in lost state and local tax revenues as the most likely outcome of E-Verify adoption. These figures are expected to vary with the intensity of enforcement.

Chart 1: Sector-Specific Total Florida Job Losses from the Loss of 140,000 Unauthorized Workers



As can be seen above, hospitality and construction businesses will be particularly hard-hit due to both the size of these sectors and the propensity of undocumented workers to find employment in positions on the lower rungs of the job skills ladder in them. Accommodation and food service businesses are projected to be the most affected, with more than 79,000 positions lost. Construction follows at 54,500 jobs, with agriculture, retail trade, and healthcare all losing more than 10,000 jobs. Additional losses are spread across other sectors.

Regionally, losses would be felt most acutely in 16 counties in South Florida, where earnings would diminish by $6.2 billion, 145,862 jobs would be lost, and local and state tax revenues would fall by $756 million, relative to values without the implementation of mandatory E-Verify. About 81 percent of the South Florida losses are accounted for by the Greater Miami area of Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties.[9] Large losses would also occur in the 15-county Central Florida region. These losses would include a loss of $3.0 billion in earnings, 72,997 jobs, and $366 million in local and state tax revenues. The 36-county northern tier of the state would be somewhat less affected due to its lower population of immigrants relative to South and Central Florida. Earnings in North Florida would fall by $509 million, with 13,866 jobs lost, along with $59.2 million less in local and state tax revenues.

Southeastern states have been the majority of adopters of E-Verify. However, many of Florida's competitor states in crop production, including California, have not mandated use of the system.[10] Additionally, there are many warm-weather vacation destinations that attract visitors, including the Bahamas, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other locations which compete with Florida for tourism dollars. Both the domestic visitors and prospective residents as well as immigrants from other countries that fuel Florida's historically high population growth rates also have many destinations from which to choose. The fact that most competitor locations have not adopted E-Verify raises the likelihood of further diminishing the competitiveness of Florida businesses as they seek to sell both locally and in other U.S. states.

Immigrants have always served as “safety valves” for regional economies, providing additional labor when it was most needed and then moving on to the next job.

We do not expect the number of undocumented immigrants in Florida to return to the highs of 15 to 20 years ago, given both the falling birth rates in countries from which they come to the U.S. and heightened immigration enforcement efforts. At a time of tight labor markets and record low unemployment, diminishing the size of the available labor pool will predictably result in negative and costly repercussions for businesses, their customers, and Floridians generally.

Key Findings

- By 2016, Florida's population of undocumented immigrants had fallen by 26.2 percent from its 2007 peak of 1.05 million individuals.
- By 2019, the current study estimates that there were approximately 440,000 undocumented immigrants active in the Florida labor force, representing about 4.2 percent of Florida's labor force, or about one out of every 25 Florida workers.
- Based on the experience of other states that have implemented E-Verify, Florida should expect to lose about 140,000 individuals from its undocumented immigrant work force, or about 1.4 percent of Florida's total labor force, following E-Verify implementation.
- 15 Florida counties account for about 85 percent of the undocumented immigrants and expected losses of undocumented work force.
- Loss of undocumented workers caused by the adoption of mandatory E-Verify would cost the state's economy some 253,500 jobs, $10.7 billion in earnings, and $1.25 billion annually in state and local tax revenues. This is after accounting for lost earnings, such as worker remittances to home countries, and lower wages paid to undocumented workers. These job losses are equivalent to about one to 1.5 years of normal Florida job growth.
- These changes would disproportionately affect the tourism, construction, and agriculture industries due to their traditionally heavier employment of undocumented workers relative to other sectors.
- The losses would be felt most acutely in the 16-county South Florida region, where earnings would diminish by $6.2 billion, 145,862 jobs would be lost, and local and state tax revenues would fall by $756 million.
- About 81 percent of the South Florida losses are accounted for by the Greater Miami area of Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties.[11]
- Large losses would also occur in the 15-county Central Florida region, where losses would include $3.0 billion in earnings, 72,997 jobs, and $366 in local and state tax revenues.
- The 36-county North Florida region would be somewhat less affected due to its lower population of undocumented immigrants. Earnings are still projected to fall by $509 million, with 13,866 jobs lost, along with $59.2 million less in local and state tax revenues.
- The most recent Census data shows that 20.5 percent of the Florida population, or about 4.4 million people, was born outside of the United States. This is a lower share than California, New York, and New Jersey, but higher than all other states.[12]
- Over the 2000-2017 period, foreign-born workers accounted for 42 percent of labor force growth nationally, and 46 percent of Florida labor force growth.
- In today's tight job market, it is unlikely that the workforce lost due to the implementation of mandatory E-Verify would be replaced without driving up production costs.

The Economic Impact of Mandatory E-Verify for Florida

In order to assess how the implementation of mandatory E-Verify would change Florida labor market conditions and the Florida economy overall, we turn to research on states that have previously implemented the program. Labor market researchers have compared changes in the supply of undocumented labor in markets of implementing states to labor supply changes in economically-similar non-E-Verify states over the same time period. The resulting calculations show the change in the number of undocumented workers in each of the seven adopting states. The most comprehensive study, by Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas researchers, found an average decrease in the number of workers in the undocumented labor force across seven implementing states of about 32 percent.[13]

This is the value we assume will prevail in Florida, and it would lead to a decrease in potential undocumented workers from 120,000 to 160,000 individuals. Here, we use an estimate of 140,000 undocumented workers that would no longer be working in Florida, and we spread the loss of these workers across typical and representative occupations as described below. Annual net new job creation in Florida has averaged about 137,000 jobs per year over the last several decades. The projected loss of undocumented workers due to the proposed implementation of E-Verify would thus likely lead to a loss of about a year's worth of direct job growth for the state. This estimate is before considering the likely indirect and induced impacts (i.e., the multiplier effects) of this job loss on authorized and native-born workers.

We are currently experiencing a time of tight labor markets, in which job openings exceed the number of unemployed individuals, a situation not seen since the real estate boom ended almost 15 years ago. It is unlikely that many of the jobs made vacant by undocumented workers departing Florida would be filled at current wage rates in such an environment. The fact that so many jobs held by undocumented workers are seen as "undesirable" reinforces this conclusion.

That job loss will be concentrated in the sectors that employ undocumented immigrants more intensively, including those sectors where higher educational attainment and proficiency in English language skills may not be as essential. These sectors include construction, leisure and hospitality, and agriculture.

At the current mid- to late-cycle point of the economy, everyone who wants a job has a job. The demand from Florida businesses for new employees has decreased slightly from its Summer 2018 high, but has persisted as strongly over the last two years as in any year in the last two decades. With Florida's unemployment rate even lower than the national rate, Florida cannot afford to diminish the supply of workers available to businesses.

Chart 2: Job Openings per Unemployed Worker, Feb01 – Jun19

Source: BLS JOLTS and CPS, author's calculations

Regional Results

In this section, we break the state of Florida into South, Central, and Northern regions, and calculate the separate impacts that reflect each region's specific and different economic characteristics in order to better localize the impacts of mandatory E-Verify. County-specific estimates of economic impacts, including earnings, jobs, and local and state tax revenues, are presented in Appendix II. [14,15] Appendix III presents measures of the density of Florida employment (i.e. relative to the national economic structure) in the three sectors most likely to employ undocumented immigrants, which are crop production, accommodation and food service, and construction.

The location quotients presented in Appendix III show the relatively large exposure of the Florida economy to these sectors, along with the employment density, and thus economic importance, of those three sectors in each of the 67 counties. Counties with large location quotients (e.g., greater than 1.3) could expect to experience more impacts in that sector from the new mandatory E-Verify policy, while counties with small location quotients (e.g., smaller than .7) could expect to experience smaller impacts in that sector. County-specific population estimates for undocumented persons for Florida counties are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Estimated 2016 Unauthorized Population by County

County	Total Unauthorized Population
Miami-Dade-Monroe Counties	156,000
Broward County	98,000
Palm Beach County	72,000
Orange County	52,000
Hillsborough County	43,000
Lee County	27,000
Collier County	25,000
Polk County	17,000
Pinellas County	15,000
Duval County	14,000
Manatee County	13,000
Osceola County	11,000
Sarasota County	8,000
Seminole County	8,000
Other counties	97,000

Source: Migration Policy Institute, State-County-Unauthorized Estimate-2016.xlsx

Estimates derived from federal data sources put the total number of undocumented immigrants living in Florida between 656,000 (from the Migration Policy Institute) and 725,000 (from the Pew Research Foundation) in 2016. Of these undocumented immigrants, the majority are active in the workforce, with 440,000 undocumented workers estimated by MPI, and 550,000 by Pew.

Regionally, the losses would be felt most acutely by the approximately 6.6 million individuals living in the 16 counties in South Florida, where earnings would diminish by $6.2 billion, 145,862 jobs would be lost, and local and state tax revenues would fall by $756 million, relative to values excluding mandatory E-Verify implementation. About 81 percent of the South Florida losses are accounted for by the Greater Miami area of Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties.[16] Large losses would also occur in the 15-county Central region, home to an estimated population of 8.7 million people. These losses would include $3.0 billion in earnings, 72,997 jobs, and $366 in local and state tax revenues. The North region, consisting of 36 counties with an estimated 2019 population of 4.2 million, would be somewhat less affected due to the lower population of immigrants relative to the other regions. Earnings that stay in Florida would fall by $509 million, with 13,866 jobs lost, along with $59.2 million less in local and state tax revenues.

Net Fiscal Impacts: Avoided Expenditures Dwarfed By Revenue Loss

Up to this point, we have focused on the lost earnings and fall in GDP that would likely occur if Florida were to adopt a mandatory E-Verify program. The most comprehensive analysis of fiscal impact was conducted by a distinguished panel of experts for the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) in 2017.[17] The findings indicated that, were Florida to adopt a mandatory E-Verify program, it would translate into *potential* savings for state and local governments of approximately $82 million per year.

For a variety of reasons, however, the state and local governments are unlikely to recognize savings at this level. First, while approximately 140,000 undocumented individuals would likely leave the Florida workforce were a mandatory E-Verify program adopted, many would likely remain in the state, continuing to impose costs for services without providing as much revenue to offset them. Second, the economic consensus is that immigration has a clear and positive impact on economic growth, and that increased immigration does not hurt wages for native-born Americans.[18] Although first-generation immigrants cost the state and local governments more than they generate in revenue, subsequent generations of immigrants are a boon to the state.[19] While the NAS study estimates that first-generation adult immigrants (with their children) cost Florida $350 per person, the study estimates that second-generation immigrants generate a $1,200 surplus for the state. Thus, the costs associated with first-generation immigrants can be considered an investment. Furthermore, the potential cost savings associated with reducing the number of undocumented persons must be offset by the loss in revenue caused by the tens of thousands of job losses among *authorized* workers that would be triggered by the loss to the state of the economic activity and earnings of undocumented workers as a result of a mandatory E-Verify program. Whatever savings may ultimately accrue to state and local governments will be dwarfed by the loss in tax revenues that they will experience as a result in the decline in the number of undocumented workers.

How Do Immigrants Affect the Florida Labor Market?

Many critics of immigration fear that immigration will take jobs from native workers, particularly the lower-skilled. Abraham and Kearney point out that this view rests on a fallacy; "the mistaken notion that there are a fixed number of jobs in the economy, so that more employed immigrants must mean fewer employed [native-born workers]."[20] Credible empirical estimates suggest that native-born workers' labor market outcomes are generally not worsened but are instead improved by immigration, and that this is true across the skill spectrum.[21] Instead, the workers facing particular challenges from the competition of new immigrants are in fact immigrants from previous years, as these existing residents are likely to have arrived themselves with the same sorts of skills as recent immigrants.[22] They are the most likely to be substituted by employers hiring new workers when there is some (limited) competition.

If immigrant labor were to be a substitute for the labor of native-born workers, so that hiring businesses perceive native-born and non-native-born workers as largely equivalent in skills and abilities, then we might expect a decrease in the number of immigrant workers to be associated with wage increases for native-born workers.[23] Upward shifts in overall production costs of goods and services due to loss of undocumented workers, however, would tend to offset the beneficial wage gains accruing to native-born workers competing with immigrants for jobs or who are newly attracted into the labor market by such a labor shortage. Hanson, et al (2017) estimate that the ongoing slowdown in immigration from 2008 onward has reduced the size of the differential in wages paid to less-educated workers versus well-educated workers (often termed the "skill-based wage gap") by 6 to 9 percent from what it otherwise would have been, had earlier trends in the differential continued until 2015.[24]

The most recent and comprehensive studies suggest that immigrant labor works in concert, rather than in competition with, native-born workers. We would then expect a wage decrease for

native-born workers if the number of immigrant workers were to decrease.[25] With mandatory use of E-Verify and the fact that undocumented workers generally are more similar in terms of educational attainment to lawfully present immigrant workers rather than to native-born workers, a reasonable assumption is that there will be slight negative impacts to the wages of native-born workers if the number of undocumented workers were to fall sharply. The findings of Orrenius and Zavodny (2003 p16) suggest that a decreased share of immigrants has a negative wage impact on native-born workers' wages across most skilled occupations, but a positive wage impact on low-skilled native-born workers in a given low-skilled occupation group, particularly those working as manual laborers.[26] As Abraham and Kearney (2018, op cit) conclude: "Our reading of the available evidence is that, broadly consistent with the conclusion reach by Blau and Mackie (National Academy of Sciences, 2016), immigration has little overall effect on [native-born] wages or employment, especially in the long run."

Immigrants Are a Key Source of Economic Growth

Growth in economic activity is driven by increases in the productivity of existing workers and by growth in population. A general guideline that many economists use in describing economic growth is that two thirds of GDP increase in a normal year comes from making existing workers more productive by providing them with better productive assets such as equipment, factories, or education, and that the remaining third comes from growth in population, i.e., growth in the number of consumers and workers.[27] The two components go together, as businesses install and modernize their capacity in response to growth in the demand for their output. Inbound migration is largely driven by growth in economic opportunity, including a robust labor market. Part of the U.S. advantage in economic growth relative to other nations has been our relatively higher population growth rate.

The aging of the workforce and the retirement of the Baby Boomers, along with the outmigration of young people from rural areas, are at the heart of the U.S.' demographic challenges, putting a ceiling on GDP growth rates.[28] Greater population growth rates, whether via births to existing families, or via in-bound migration, mean that a larger number of working-aged individuals would be available to support the wellbeing of older retirees. Immigrants are more likely to be of working age than are native-born residents. Analysis of American Community Survey data find that some 57 percent of native-born residents were between the ages of 20 and 64, versus 79 percent of immigrants who were.[29] This is the driver of the fact that immigrants and their children have accounted for more than half of the growth in the U.S. labor force over the last generation.[30]

Births to existing families or in-bound migration, both domestic and international, are both drivers of new residents. If a state were to experience balanced in-bound and out-bound migration, for a net migration balance of zero, then its population growth would come entirely from the excess of births to existing families over deaths in existing families. Demographers observe that the average number of lifetime births per woman must be at least 2.1 in order for a geographic area to maintain its population at current levels.[31] For natural growth to be positive, there must be even more births to existing families. Many nations and states do not achieve this replacement rate.[32] Birthrates tend to fall as families grow wealthier, and they may rise or fall based on families' expectations about the future.[33]

Over the 2010 to 2018 period, all but 12 states had higher natural growth than Florida. For example, California led the nation with 1.98 million more births than deaths, while Florida had 252,109. However, over that same period, Florida led the nation with 1.16 million in-bound net domestic new residents, while California lost 710,393 and New York lost 1.2 million domestic residents. Florida also led the nation with 1.07 million net in-bound new residents born outside the U.S., compared to 1.04 million for California and 813,341 for Texas. Because of Florida's growing labor market, modest tax burden, mild climate, and great quality of life, no state attracted as many domestic or international in-bound new residents as Florida.[34] Only one out of ten new Florida residents came from births to existing families, while nine out of ten came from in-bound migration, with about five of those from the rest of the U.S., and about four of them from places outside the U.S.

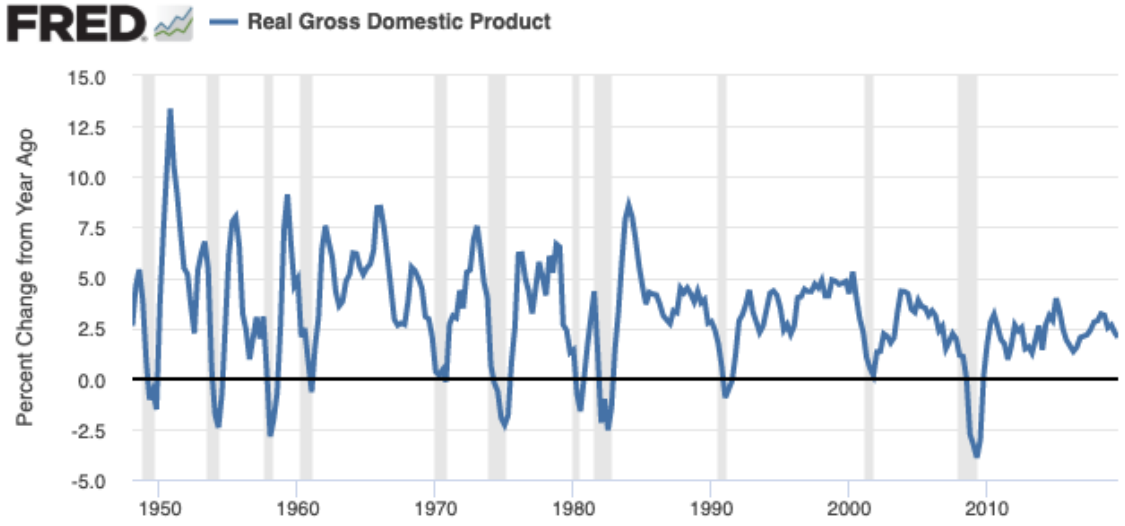
Forbes ranks Florida as one of the best states in the nation in which to do business, and the state's labor supply, particularly its recent and projected population growth, is a key to its ranking.[35] What has been driving Florida's labor supply is not the state's birth rate. Indeed, as the *Orlando Sentinel* recently put it, Florida has "a baby problem – there aren't enough of them."[36] It's migration - both domestic and international – which is driving the state's robust population growth. Indeed, looking forward, the Florida Chamber Foundation reports that 93 percent of Florida's expected population growth through 2030 will come from migration from other states and countries.[37] Given these realities, policies that diminish Florida's labor supply will make it less attractive for new businesses and will slow the state's economic growth.

Demographic Factors Are Contributing to a Slowdown in GDP Growth Over Time

Growth in labor force and growth in per-worker productivity are the major drivers of growth in the nation's output, and these have been slowing over time, as can be seen in the chart below. With the aging of the Baby Boomers, demographics are stacked against U.S. ability to continue to generate real GDP growth at the rates experienced in previous decades. The entry of the so-called "Greatest Generation" to the workforce following World War II released previously suppressed consumer demand, while the ability of former members of the military to use the Montgomery GI bill enabled increased skills attainment, greater productivity, and higher wages. The entry of the relatively well-educated Boomers, the children of the Greatest Generation, to the workforce, brought continued increases in skilled labor, increases in output, and increases in income to families. Today, with the ongoing exit due to retirement and the greater educational cost burden on the millennial generation, the economy has seen weaker trend rates of economic growth, as can be seen in the chart below.

Population and productivity growth are the answers to this challenge. Adding more workers to the economy means increasing the number of households available to earn and spend income. This translates into revenue growth for businesses, wage growth for their employees, and more economic opportunity for both workers and business owners. Increases in output per person, i.e., productivity growth, can come from pairing existing workers with better technology, skills, or other productive assets. Increases in both population and productivity are needed to put the economy on a growth path that provides more opportunity for all.

Chart 3: GDP Growth Rate Has Declined Over Time



Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis

Given Baby Boomers' coming departure from the labor market, a slowdown in the rate of immigration would pose a particular challenge for GDP growth both at the national and the state level. A slowdown will further challenge the positive U.S. growth differential to competitor nations, and will thus diminish the attractiveness of our nation as a destination for new investment or ownership of financial assets.

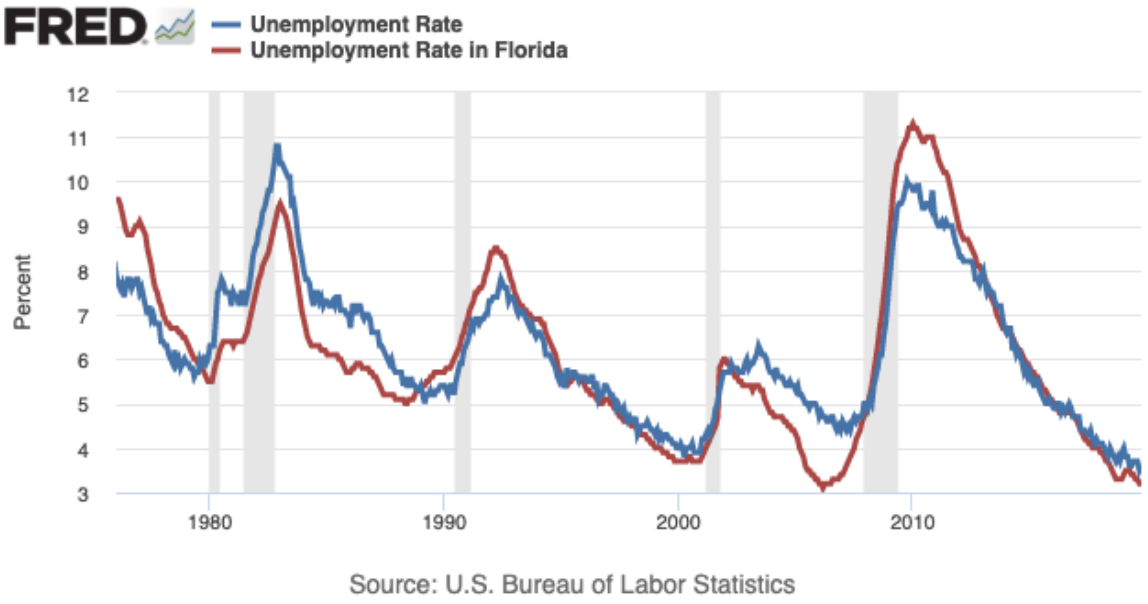
What Role Does the Business Cycle Play?

In the long run, the growth rate of the economy is governed by the number of workers and the quality and quantity of the assets they work with. In the short run, however, the economy grows more quickly in some years than in others, and it may contract as it did over the course of the Great Recession. Over the course of the current lengthy expansion, with unemployment rates for the state and nation at record lows, workers are in short supply, as can be seen in the chart below. Florida's unemployment rate is now as low as it was at the peak of the housing boom, and lower than at any time in the last two generations. The economy is pressing against the constraints of the available labor supply. This means that if existing undocumented workers were to exit the Florida economy in the number anticipated were E-Verify were to be adopted, then adequate numbers of native workers would not be available at current wage rates. Florida's competitiveness would be at risk as its wages rise relative to competitor regions without E-Verify. These include especially California in agriculture, as well as Mexico in warm weather crops, most notably tomatoes.[38] Warm weather tourism destinations, including the Bahamas, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and Mexico, would benefit from higher Florida prices.

The excellent economic opportunities that are associated with growth have contributed to unemployment rates in Florida which have generally fallen below the national average. From 1976 onward, the average monthly unemployment rate in Florida has been two-tenths of a percent below the national average, so that for the 525 months for which data are historically available, Florida unemployment has remained below the national unemployment rate 58 percent

of the time. There is relatively little slack in the Florida labor market available to help mitigate the expected labor force shrinkage associated with E-Verify adoption.

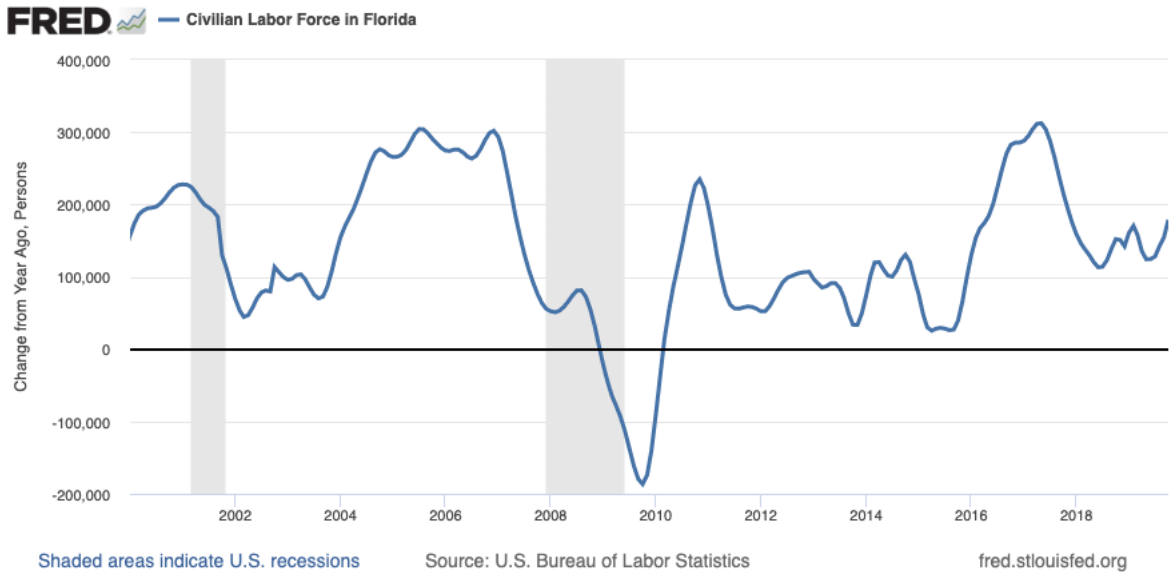
Chart 4: Unemployment rates in Florida and the U.S. Jan76 – Oct19



No state attracts more inbounds movers than Florida, and this is true for both domestic in-bound residents and for international in-bound immigrants in the most recent Census data.

The argument that mandatory E-Verify adoption would lead to greater employment opportunities for native-born lower-skilled workers is problematic at this stage of the business cycle, with unemployment at a cyclical low and an historic low. Florida has averaged annual job creation of 135,750 over the January 2000 to October 2019 timeframe. As can be seen in the chart below, a drop of more than 250,000 workers that could be caused by the implementation of mandatory E-Verify would constitute more than a year and a half's worth of labor market growth for the state.

Chart 5: Year over Year Growth in Florida Labor Force



Who comes to the U.S. and Florida and works?

The National Council of State Legislatures (NCSL) reports that almost 1.2 million foreign nationals were admitted to the U.S. in FY 2016 as lawful permanent residents, with only 140,000 of them coming using employment visas.[39] These included priority workers with extraordinary or outstanding abilities, those with advanced degrees or exceptional abilities, those with skills in shortage occupations, as well as investors (via the EB-5 program) and special categories including religious workers. In addition to these permanent workers, some 883,000 temporary workers were admitted.[40] Temporary migration allows visitors to come to the U.S. for specific purposes and limited amounts of time.[41] Major subcategories of temporary workers include up to 105,000, H-1B specialty worker visas, 140,000 H-2A temporary agricultural workers, and 66,000 H-2B temporary nonagricultural workers.

Conclusion: E-Verify and Florida's Competitiveness

A 2013 Cato Institute study argues that the increased labor market flexibility created by immigration reduces market inefficiencies and increases economic growth.[42] As has consistently been noted by the Florida Legislature's Office of Economic and Demographic Research, "Attracting migration from other states and countries which have greater youth populations will become an important relief valve for worker shortages. On average, immigrants are younger than [native-born] Americans, are more inclined to work and have more children per family (Federal Reserve)."[43]

The industries in which Florida employment is particularly concentrated are especially likely to attract immigrants to their first jobs. These include the tourism sector, particularly in accommodation and food service; construction; and agriculture, particularly crop production. There is risk to the economy if firms in those sectors cannot fill available jobs. There is also risk that Florida will lose competitive advantage if firms are not able to hire at competitive wages, particularly compared to other regions that compete for the same customers. In key industries that tend to have greater densities of undocumented immigrants, many of Florida's competitor states (and nations) have not mandated use of the system, raising the possibility of diminished competitiveness for Florida businesses.

The problem with the number of immigrants in Florida's labor market in coming years is likely to center on too few immigrants in key sectors rather than too many. This is a growing and long-term feature of the labor market, and will continue to present a challenge after the next recession and the next expansion. Today, at a time of record low unemployment in Florida, diminishing the size of the available labor pool via the implementation of mandatory E-Verify is likely to have profoundly negative repercussions for businesses, their customers, and Floridians generally.

Appendix I: What is E-Verify?

E-Verify matches employee data against the federal I-9 database and other federal sources to provide real-time information on whether any given employee hired by the employer is known to be eligible to work in this country. Employees who can't be shown to be eligible cannot be employed. System accuracy has improved since its initial implementation. so that today, E-Verify is thought to be highly accurate for native-born U.S. citizens, but less accurate for U.S. citizens born outside the U.S. and for foreign-born workers with authorization to be employed in the U.S.

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act prohibited businesses from knowingly hiring workers not authorized to work in the U.S. Following the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, the E-Verify system was developed in order to tighten up previously loose administration of the 1986 law. E-Verify currently functions as a web-based system that is designed to allow enrolled employers to confirm the eligibility of their employees to work in the United States. E-Verify employers verify the identity and employment eligibility of newly-hired employees by electronically matching information provided by employees on the Form I-9, Employment Eligibility Verification, against records available to the Social Security Administration (SSA) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).[44]

E-Verify is a voluntary program. However, employers with federal contracts or subcontracts that contain the Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) E-Verify clause are required to enroll in E-Verify as a condition of federal contracting. Employers may also be required to participate in E-Verify if their states have legislation mandating the use of E-Verify, such as a condition of business licensing. Finally, in some instances employers may be required to participate in E-Verify as a result of a legal ruling.[45]

Although employers who enroll in the federal E-Verify program are not required to pay any fees to the federal government, they must shoulder a variety of administrative burdens. To get started, employers must submit information about themselves and agree to the detailed provisions contained in a 13-page memorandum of understanding between the employer and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Among other items, the agreement requires employers to be familiar and comply with the provisions contained in the lengthy E-Verify User Manual. It also requires each person who will be submitting information to the E-Verify system to complete the federal E-Verify Tutorial, pass a test to prove mastery of the material, and take any refresher tutorials that may be mandated by DHS. According to the most recent survey conducted for DHS, approximately 28 percent of employers found the E-Verify enrollment process to be time-consuming, 35 percent saw the tutorial as too long, and 28 percent reported that the test was burdensome (Westat 2014 Report at 62).

Once enrolled in the E-Verify program, employers are "strictly prohibited" from using the system to determine the employment eligibility of job candidates. That is to say, employers may use the system *only after* an employee has been hired. Within three business days from the start of every new hire's employment, the employer must submit information from that person's completed I-9 form through the federal E-Verify website. That formation is then matched against Social Security Administration (SSA) and DHS records to determine whether the employee is eligible for employment. In the event that the information does not match records available to

SSA or DHS – and it can happen for a variety of innocent reasons (e.g., a misspelled name, something that is fairly common with unusual or complex names (Westat 2014 Report at 64) – the employer will receive a Tentative Non-Confirmation (TNC). The employer must notify the employee in private about the TNC, provide the employee with information about how to contest the TNC, and allow the employee eight business days in which to initiate a contest. SSA or DHS will notify the employer of the results of the contested TNC within 10 business day "unless [DHS or SSA] determines that more than 10 days is necessary." The employer is strictly prohibited from taking any "adverse action" against the employee while the employee's case is pending. Three-quarters of employers receiving TNC notices report that workers sometimes told them that they planned to contest the TNCs (Westat 2014 Report at 29).

Appendix II: County Shares of Statewide Economic Impacts*

	% of FL total impact	earnings	jobs	tax revenue
Florida -- Statewide	100%	$10.66 bn	253,500	$1.25 bn
Central Florida Region				
Brevard County, Florida	1.19%	$127,222,182	3,019	$29,836,347
Citrus County, Florida	0.16%	$17,263,389	410	$4,048,637
Hernando County, Florida	0.49%	$52,390,275	1,243	$12,286,650
Hillsborough County, Florida	6.55%	$698,686,857	16,582	$163,857,143
Lake County, Florida	1.06%	$112,887,786	2,679	$26,474,622
Manatee County, Florida	1.98%	$211,220,286	5,013	$49,535,714
Orange County, Florida	7.93%	$844,957,286	20,054	$198,160,714
Osceola County, Florida	1.68%	$178,707,286	4,241	$41,910,714
Pasco County, Florida	1.58%	$168,205,339	3,992	$39,447,781
Pinellas County, Florida	2.29%	$243,733,286	5,785	$57,160,714
Polk County, Florida	2.59%	$276,246,286	6,556	$64,785,714
Sarasota County, Florida	1.22%	$129,975,857	3,085	$30,482,143
Seminole County, Florida	1.22%	$129,975,857	3,085	$30,482,143
Sumter County, Florida	0.14%	$15,124,192	359	$3,546,949
Volusia County, Florida	1.46%	$155,685,367	3,695	$36,511,578
North Florida Region				
Alachua County, Florida	0.52%	$54,947,890	1,304	$12,886,466
Baker County, Florida	0.01%	$1,530,580	36	$358,954
Bay County, Florida	0.25%	$26,361,501	626	$6,182,341
Bradford County, Florida	0.02%	$2,275,117	54	$533,564
Calhoun County, Florida	0.02%	$1,755,898	42	$411,796
Clay County, Florida	0.42%	$44,448,997	1,055	$10,424,249
Columbia County, Florida	0.08%	$9,004,073	214	$2,111,649
Dixie County, Florida	0.01%	$1,587,231	38	$372,240
Duval County, Florida	2.13%	$227,514,857	5,400	$53,357,143
Escambia County, Florida	0.35%	$37,488,552	890	$8,791,874
Flagler County, Florida	0.24%	$25,652,837	609	$6,016,144
Franklin County, Florida	0.01%	$1,308,017	31	$306,758
Gadsden County, Florida	0.09%	$9,845,072	234	$2,308,882
Gilchrist County, Florida	0.02%	$2,180,745	52	$511,432
Gulf County, Florida	0.01%	$1,530,302	36	$358,889
Hamilton County, Florida	0.03%	$2,799,023	66	$656,431
Holmes County, Florida	0.01%	$1,203,571	29	$282,263
Jackson County, Florida	0.05%	$4,877,605	116	$1,143,904
Jefferson County, Florida	0.01%	$1,191,648	28	$279,467
Lafayette County, Florida	0.02%	$2,259,821	54	$529,977
Leon County, Florida	0.36%	$38,599,219	916	$9,052,350
Levy County, Florida	0.07%	$7,029,221	167	$1,648,504

Liberty County, Florida	0.01%	$1,144,425	27	$268,392
Madison County, Florida	0.02%	$2,117,206	50	$496,531
Marion County, Florida	0.92%	$98,384,043	2,335	$23,073,181
Nassau County, Florida	0.07%	$7,677,636	182	$1,800,571
Okaloosa County, Florida	0.36%	$38,787,199	921	$9,096,435
Putnam County, Florida	0.14%	$15,388,281	365	$3,608,884
Santa Rosa County, Florida	0.20%	$21,354,447	507	$5,008,079
St. Johns County, Florida	0.34%	$36,166,991	858	$8,481,940
Suwannee County, Florida	0.08%	$8,486,649	201	$1,990,302
Taylor County, Florida	0.02%	$1,981,433	47	$464,689
Union County, Florida	0.02%	$1,855,482	44	$435,151
Wakulla County, Florida	0.02%	$2,559,522	61	$600,263
Walton County, Florida	0.09%	$9,168,728	218	$2,150,264
Washington County, Florida	0.02%	$1,935,279	46	$453,865
South Florida Region				
Broward County, Florida	14.94%	$1,592,375,571	37,793	$373,446,429
Charlotte County, Florida	0.26%	$28,045,373	666	$6,577,245
Collier County, Florida	3.81%	$406,222,143	9,641	$95,267,857
DeSoto County, Florida	0.22%	$23,530,846	558	$5,518,491
Glades County, Florida	0.06%	$5,928,442	141	$1,390,348
Hardee County, Florida	0.23%	$24,584,979	583	$5,765,708
Hendry County, Florida	0.42%	$44,367,381	1,053	$10,405,108
Highlands County, Florida	0.40%	$42,143,564	1,000	$9,883,575
Indian River County, Florida	0.38%	$40,369,960	958	$9,467,627
Lee County, Florida	4.12%	$438,735,143	10,413	$102,892,857
Martin County, Florida	0.43%	$46,130,584	1,095	$10,818,617
Miami-Dade County, Florida	23.57%	$2,512,714,286	59,636	$589,285,714
Monroe County, Florida	0.21%	$22,081,429	524	$5,178,571
Okeechobee County, Florida	0.21%	$22,046,091	523	$5,170,284
Palm Beach County, Florida	10.98%	$1,169,935,000	27,767	$274,375,000
St. Lucie County, Florida	1.18%	$126,108,582	2,993	$29,575,184

*The county-specific measures represent a share of the total statewide impact as calculated using the statewide model.

Appendix III: County Location Quotients for Crop Production (Ag), Accommodation and Food Service (Tour), and Construction (Constr)*

(National Average Employment Density = 1.00)

	LQ Ag	LQ tour	LQ constr
Florida -- Statewide	1.36	1.21	1.26
Central Florida Region			
Brevard County, Florida	0.1	1.16	1.32
Citrus County, Florida	0.39	1.33	1.78
Hernando County, Florida	0.67	1.28	1.39
Hillsborough County, Florida	2.08	0.96	1.18
Lake County, Florida	3.8	1.22	1.92
Manatee County, Florida	7.14	1.27	1.73
Orange County, Florida	0.74	1.61	1.05
Osceola County, Florida	0.34	2.07	1.36
Pasco County, Florida	0.67	1.29	1.65
Pinellas County, Florida	0.02	1.21	1.11
Polk County, Florida	1.38	0.95	1.15
Sarasota County, Florida	0.43	1.22	1.68
Seminole County, Florida	0.23	1.02	2.15
Sumter County, Florida	3.45	1.38	2.22
Volusia County, Florida	1.98	1.47	1.38
North Florida Region			
Alachua County, Florida	1.37	1.1	0.84
Baker County, Florida	0	0.76	0.95
Bay County, Florida	0	1.67	1.28
Bradford County, Florida	0	1.22	0.94
Calhoun County, Florida	9.4	0.92	1.43
Clay County, Florida	0.08	1.32	1.65
Columbia County, Florida	0.8	1.29	0.81
Dixie County, Florida	0	0.61	0.99
Duval County, Florida	0.07	0.99	1.29
Escambia County, Florida	0.2	1.27	1.23
Flagler County, Florida	2.94	1.7	1.45
Franklin County, Florida	0	2.24	1.14
Gadsden County, Florida	33.25	0.46	1.56
Gilchrist County, Florida	7.79	0	1.29
Gulf County, Florida	0	0	1.63
Hamilton County, Florida	16.76	0	0
Holmes County, Florida	1.42	0.84	1.54
Jackson County, Florida	1.17	0.98	1.1
Jefferson County, Florida	13.9	0.81	1.19
Lafayette County, Florida	4.5	0.48	0.48
Leon County, Florida	0.18	1.17	0.84

Levy County, Florida	3.53	0.99	2.49
Liberty County, Florida	0	0	0.45
Madison County, Florida	1.05	0	0.39
Marion County, Florida	0.88	1.07	1.46
Nassau County, Florida	0.75	2.22	1.05
Okaloosa County, Florida	0	1.73	1.07
Putnam County, Florida	4.49	1.02	1.15
Santa Rosa County, Florida	1.05	1.55	1.56
St. Johns County, Florida	1.32	1.74	1.26
Suwannee County, Florida	5.84	0.87	0.81
Taylor County, Florida	0	0.92	1.22
Union County, Florida	0	0.26	1.25
Wakulla County, Florida	0	1.33	1.51
Walton County, Florida	0	2.65	1.77
Washington County, Florida	1.43	0	1.1
South Florida Region			
Broward County, Florida	0.24	1.08	1.18
Charlotte County, Florida	1.49	1.42	1.74
Collier County, Florida	4.84	1.55	2.31
DeSoto County, Florida	11.3	0.84	1.3
Glades County, Florida	18.31	0	1.73
Hardee County, Florida	24.22	0.69	0.9
Hendry County, Florida	62.75	0.9	1.39
Highlands County, Florida	12.27	1.11	0.98
Indian River County, Florida	1.95	1.13	1.61
Lee County, Florida	1.15	1.36	2.29
Martin County, Florida	1.26	1.26	1.72
Miami-Dade County, Florida	1.66	1.16	0.89
Monroe County, Florida	0	3.39	1.59
Okeechobee County, Florida	3.38	1.26	1.36
Palm Beach County, Florida	1.82	1.2	1.23
St. Lucie County, Florida	1.39	1.17	1.37

*The location quotient (LQ) measures local employment density in a sector relative to the national average. If the nation has 1,000,000 employees and 100,000 work in tourism, then ten percent of the workforce is in that sector. If County X has 100,000 employees and 15,000 of them work in tourism, 15 percent of the workforce is in that sector. The location quotient for County X is then (15,000/100,000) / (100,000/1,000,000) = 15 / 10 = 1.5. County X has 50% more density in tourism employment than the nation as a whole. An LQ of 0.8 would mean 20% less density in a given sector relative to the nation.

Endnotes

[1] Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Utah were early implementers of mandatory E-Verify or similar programs and are the basis for the estimates of labor market changes used in the present study. Yet Florida's principal competitors in agriculture include California and Mexico, and in tourism include other warm weather destinations in the Caribbean and elsewhere. California has since rescinded its earlier E-Verify adoption.

[2] National Council of State Legislatures, U.S. Immigration: A Primer for State Policymakers," June 2018, page xiii. http://www.ncsl.org/Portals/1/HTML_LargeReports/ImmigrationPrimer.htm. Retrieved 11/17/19.

[3] The employment verification bills introduced in the 2020 Florida Legislature include SB664 and SB1822 and its related bill HB1265. SB1822 would impose new burdens on private employers, regardless of whether they contract with the state. It would require them either to use the federal E-Verify system or to take additional steps to verify the employment eligibility of new hires that go beyond those required under current federal law. If private employers choose not to use the E-Verify system, they must, for example, require all new hires to provide photo IDs that comply with the federal Real ID law, a step that is not necessary in order for an employer to verify employment eligibility under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 using Form I-9. SB1822 also would impose new record-keeping requirements on private employers that do not use the E-Verify system. While current federal law only requires employers to retain I-9 Forms, SB1822 would require employers also to retain all the documents, including, for example, certified copies of employee birth certificates, that new hires would be required to submit to employers who do not use the federal E-Verify system.

[4] Ayromloo, et al, find "…declines in formal sector employment and employment turnover after [E-Verify] mandate passage, with effects concentrated among those likeliest to be work-ineligible…We find no evidence that work-ineligible populations relocate or that native-born workers' labor market outcomes improve in response to mandates." "States Taking the Reins? Employment Verification Requirements and Local Labor Market Outcomes." Shalise Ayromloo, Benjamin Feigenberg, and Darren Lubotsky, NBER Working Paper No. 26676, January 2020.

[5] For perspective, total earnings to labor (i.e., apart from proprietors' income) in Florida are projected to total just less than $700 billion at an annual rate in early 2020, generated by about 9.06 million jobs, and providing about $34 billion in general revenue to state government. The EMSI estimates that about 45.2 percent of the cited state and local tax revenues flow to the state (versus local and municipal governments), implying a reduction of about $565 million, against a calculated $82 million in savings. A net revenue loss of this magnitude relative to the 2020-2021 budget would be approximately half the Governor's requested funding to raise minimum salaries for full-time classroom teachers, or half of the requested funding for Everglades restoration, or several times the amount requested to fight the opioid epidemic, and other worthwhile investments.

[6] Shalise Ayromloo, Benjamin Feigenberg, and Darren Lubotsky, "States Taking the Reins? Employment Verification Requirements and Local Labor Market Outcomes," NBER Working Paper No. 26676, January 2020, p31.

[7] Detail from the 2014 WESTAT report regarding business experiences with E-Verify implementation are provided in Appendix I of this report; however, the reported survey results do not provide basis for specific cost estimates. A 2011 Bloomberg Government report by Jason Arvelo entitled "Free E-Verify May Cost Small Business $2.6 Billion: Insight," reported that set-up and maintenance costs added an average of $127 per new hire query for small businesses. Ayromloo, et al, op cit, conclude from their quantitative analysis "there are important monetary and/or non-monetary barriers to [businesses of] using the system."

[8] We assume these 440,000 workers participate in the labor market in a way that yields similar multiplier effects to those in the economy overall. However, we account for the flow of remittances that leave Florida and for wage differentials between undocumented and other workers. We use the input-output model provided by Economic Modeling Specialists International (EMSI) to generate all impact estimates, including the 868,444 total jobs generated by a 67-county (statewide) model.

[9] Regional impacts are based on regional economic structure and usage rates of undocumented workers, while the statewide model is based on statewide averages.

[10] Florida has particularly high employment density in orange production – it is a sector that is larger (7,176 average annual employees) and with high density (952 workers in Florida for every 100 employed nationally) in orange groves. The largest crop production sector is NAICS sector 1114, Greenhouse and Nursery, with 21,545 average annual employees, and 234 workers in Florida for every 100 nationally.

[11] Regional impacts are based on regional supply chains, economic structure, and usage rates of undocumented workers, while the statewide model is based on statewide supply chains, economic structures, and usage rates.

[12] Over the 2010 – 2018 period, no state attracted as many domestic (1.16 million) or international (1.07 million) inbound net new residents as Florida.
[13] Orrenius and Zavodny, "Digital Enforcement, Effects of E-Verify on Unauthorized Immigrant Employment and Population," FRB of Dallas Special Report, September 2017. The authors examine the experience of Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Utah, with employment measured 3 to 8 years following implementation. They note (p6): "The magnitude of these changes is likely to depend on a number of factors that vary across states, such as size and composition of the undocumented workforce, employer compliance, whether a state's neighbors have E-Verify requirements, the size of states' informal labor markets and the share of firms exempt from the mandates."
[14] The regional impacts are calculated in the EMSI modeling environment using a 16-county model for South Florida, a 15-county model for Central Florida, and a 36-county model for North Florida. Multiplier effects are larger for the statewide model due to the more complete supply chain when incorporating all 67 counties. For the same reason, they are smallest for the 36-county Northern Florida model. Counties are assigned to regions using the Florida Economic Development Council (FEDC) model as shown here: https://fedconline.org/regions/regional-map/.
[15] State and local tax impacts for individual counties are calculated based on state totals for aggregate local taxes and can thus be expected to be somewhat larger in local areas with higher local option sales taxes and other local revenue sources and lower in those counties with lower local tax rates.
[16]When working with the statewide model, the three county losses constitute a slightly smaller share. Regional impacts are based on regional economic structure and usage rates of undocumented workers, while the statewide model is based on statewide averages.
[17] Blau and Mackie, eds. "The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration," The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, 2016. https://www.nap.edu/catalog/23550/the-economic-and-fiscal-consequences-of-immigration
[18] https://www.cato.org/cato-journal/fall-2017/impact-immigration-wages-unskilled-workers
[19] As was pointed out in fn5, net fiscal impacts for the state for making the employment verification bill into law are expected to be negative, with as much as $5 in revenue loss at the state level for every dollar of cost avoided. Further, there is consensus in the literature that the younger age and higher labor force participation of immigrants make their fiscal impact more positive relative to native-born residents of similar demographic characteristics.
[20] Katharine Abraham and Melissa Kearney, "Explaining the Decline in the U.S. Employment-to-Population Ratio: a Review of the Evidence," NBER working paper 24333, February 2018, p37.
[21] Blau and Mackie, eds. "The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration," The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, 2016. https://www.nap.edu/catalog/23550/the-economic-and-fiscal-consequences-of-immigration. In their January 2020 NBER Working Paper, Ayromloo, (op cit fn 4) .
[22] See, e.g., Orrenius and Gullo, "The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration," in Susan Pozo, ed., The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Twenty-First Century Immigration Policy," Kalamazoo, Upjohn Institute, 2018.
[23] "The top three occupations with the largest number of immigrants without a high school degree are domestic workers, cooks, and miscellaneous agricultural workers. In contrast, the occupations with the largest number of U.S.-born workers without high school degrees are cashiers, truck drivers, and housekeeping and building maintenance staff." https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/immigrant-and-native-workers-compete-different-low-skilled-jobs
[24] Gordon Hanson, Chen Liu, and Craig McIntosh, "Demographic drivers in the Americas will reduce undocumented immigration and wage inequality in the US," Vox CEPR Policy Portal, October 2017, https://voxeu.org/article/demographic-drivers-americas-will-reduce-illegal-immigration-us. Retrieved 12/29/19.
[25] Ayromloo, NBER 2020 op cit note: "We find no evidence that non-Hispanics or natives correspondingly benefit from [E-Verify] mandate passage. Rather, we find significant employment declines among young, male, and less-educated native-born workers." This is the result that is modeled in the present study, i.e., that a decrease in employment of undocumented workers leads to a multiplied impact on the economy.
[26] Pia Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny, "Does Immigration Affect Wages? A Look at Occupation-Level Evidence," Working Paper 2003-2a, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, August 2003.
[27] Knapp, Anthony, "Net Migration between the U.S. and Abroad Added 595,000 to National Population Between 2018 and 2019," https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2019/12/net-international-migration-projected-to-fall-lowest-levels-this-decade.html. Retrieved 12/30/19.

[28] Pia Orrenius, Vice President and Senior Economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, suggests that the biggest challenges the U.S. economy faces are demographic. See, e.g, Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny "The U.S. Needs Workers, Not a Wall," American Enterprise Institute, March 2019.
[29] Rich Andre and Paul Feltman, "Untapped Talent: The Return on Investment of Addressing Brain Waste," New American Economy, June 2017. http://www.ncsl.org/documents/immig/NAEWESPresentation_Chicago2017.pdf .Retrieved 11/18/19.
[30] Orrenious and Gullo, op cit.
[31] The Center for Disease Control 2018 data show the expected total U.S. fertility rate to be 1,728 per 1,000 women, which is a record low for the nation. "Births: provisional data for 2018," at https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/78430. Retrieved 11/6/19.
[32] Ibid. The most recent state level data show that only South Dakota and Utah had total fertility rates exceeding the replacement rate.
[33] In agricultural societies, children were necessary components of the labor supply, while raising children has been relatively more expensive due to educational, healthcare, and other expenditures in developed countries.
[34] U.S. Census Bureau 2018 population estimates, "Estimates of the Components of Resident Population Change: April1, 2010 to July 1, 2018. Retrieved 11/6/19.
[35] https://www.forbes.com/sites/samanthasharf/2019/12/19/how-we-rank-the-best-states-for-business-2019/#6353542d118b
[36] https://www.orlandosentinel.com/opinion/os-ae-fertilty-rates-david-whitley-0111-story.html
[37] http://www.flchamber.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/ES_FLChamber2030_Mar18_9x12_reduced.pdf.
[38] Mattson, Rob "Florida farmers continue to raise alarms as NAFTA rewrite nears passage," https://www.nwfdailynews.com/news/20200104/florida-farmers-continue-to-raise-alarms-as-nafta-rewrite-nears-passage . Retrieved 1/5/20.
[39] NCSL, op cit. In contrast, more than two-thirds of the 1.2 million were for family visas, ten percent for humanitarian visas, and ten percent for other visas.
[40] Ibid. These temporary worker visas are in addition to some eight million tourism and business visas, 513,000 student visas, and 380,000 cultural exchange visitors.
[41] William Kandel, "A Primer on U.S. Immigration Policy," Congressional Research Service, June 2018, page ii.
[42] Nowrasteh, Alex, and Sophie Cole. 2013. "Building a Wall Around the Welfare State Instead of the Country," Cato Institute, July 25.
[43] This point was made in numerous recent EDR presentations. http://edr.state.fl.us/Content/index.cfm
[44] https://www.e-verify.gov/
[45] https://www.e-verify.gov/