

LABOR OUTFLOWS AND LABOR INFLOWS IN PUERTO RICO

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ABSTRACT

The Puerto Rican experience with international migration stands in contrast to much of the rest of the world. It has been the concurrent source and receiver of large flows of international migrants. The Puerto Rican context, therefore, provides a unique setting for (a) examining the economic factors that permit sizable labor inflows and labor outflows to coexist; and (b) measuring the predicted mirror-image impact of these labor flows on the Puerto Rican wage structure. Using data drawn from the 1970-2000 Puerto Rican and U.S. Censuses, the empirical analysis reported in this paper yields two key findings: First, as suggested by the income-maximization hypothesis, the human capital characteristics of the out-migrants differ strikingly from those of the in-migrants. Puerto Rico tends to attract relatively high-skill in-migrants and export relatively low-skill workers. Secondly, the opposing flows have opposing effects on the wage structure. As predicted by the laws of supply and demand, the in-migrants lower the wage of competing workers, while the out-migrants increase the wage.

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George J. Borjas*

BERNARDO: I think I'll go back to San Juan

ANITA: I know a boat you can get on

BERNARDO: Everyone there will give big cheer

ANITA: Everyone there will have moved here

—Stephen Sondheim, *West Side Story*

I. Introduction

In the landmark article that placed migration decisions firmly within the context of the nascent human capital framework, Larry Sjaastad wrote:¹

Migration poses two broad and distinct questions for the economist. The first, and the one which has received the major attention, concerns the direction and magnitude of the response of migrants to labor earnings differentials over space. The second question pertains to the connection between migration and those earnings, that is, how effective is migration in equalizing inter-regional earnings of comparable labor? The latter question has received much less attention than the latter. It is also the more difficult of the two. (Sjaastad, 1962, pp. 81-82)

These two questions have, in fact, dominated the study of regional labor flows over the past half-century. Much of the internal migration literature in the United States documents how regional wage differentials determine the size and direction of the migrant stream (Greenwood, 1997). In contrast, an important part of the international migration literature focuses on the latter question: measuring the impact of immigrants on the receiving country's wage structure (Friedberg and Hunt, 1995). The textbook model of a competitive labor market has clear and

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¹ The hypothesis that migration is determined by regional wage differences dates back at least to Hicks. In *The Theory of Wages* (1932, p. 76), Hicks argued that “differences in net economic advantages, chiefly differences in wages, are the main causes of migration.”

unambiguous implications about how wages and employment opportunities in a particular region should adjust to migration-induced labor supply shifts, at least in the short run. In particular, labor inflows should lower the wage of competing workers, while labor outflows should increase the wage. The prediction that inter-regional flows help to equalize wages between sending and receiving areas gives migration a central role in any discussion of labor market equilibrium and labor market efficiency (Blanchard and Katz, 1992).

Despite the common-sense intuition behind these implications of the laws of supply and demand, studies of international migration have found it difficult to document the predicted inverse relation between immigrant-induced supply increases and wages in receiving countries. In fact, some studies question whether immigrant flows equalize inter-regional earnings *at all* (Card, 2005). It turns out that the nature of the empirical exercise used to measure the wage impact of immigration determines the outcome: Studies that relate wage differences across cities to immigrant-induced labor market shocks tend to find little impact, while studies that examine the link between immigration and the evolution of the national wage structure find much larger effects (Card, 1991; Borjas, 2003).

This paper examines the determinants and consequences of migration flows in Puerto Rico.² The migration flows in Puerto Rico are of interest for at least two reasons. First, Puerto Rico has a land area of 8,959 km² and 3.9 million inhabitants, making it smaller than Los Angeles County (which has a land mass of 10,518 km² and a population of 9.8 million). In Puerto Rico, the local labor market *is* the national labor market. As a result, the technical uncertainty that seems to plague the existing literature about how to best measure the labor market impact of immigration disappears.

Secondly, even though a sizable fraction of the Puerto Rican-born population moved to the United States in the past few decades, the island was concurrently the recipient of large inflows of persons *born outside* Puerto Rico.³ The Puerto Rican context, therefore, provides a unique setting that should allow us to: (a) examine the economic factors that permit sizable labor inflows and labor outflows to coexist; and (b) observe the predicted mirror-image impact of these labor flows on the Puerto Rican wage structure.

The presence of the two opposing flows creates obvious problems for the income-maximizing model of migration, since migrants should presumably flow only in the direction of the highest-paying area.⁴ It is easy to reconcile two-way flows, however, if different regions offer differential rewards for different types of human capital, and if the opposing labor flows are composed of different types of people. The Puerto Rican experience, in principle, allows an empirical test of these theoretical implications.

Similarly, the concurrent movement of large numbers of workers into and out of Puerto Rico makes the island an inimitable setting for observing how labor flows alter labor market conditions. In most geographic settings that have been analyzed, the countries are either the source of immigrants (as in Mexico), or the recipients of immigrants (as in Canada and the United States). Since labor inflows should reduce the relative wage of competing workers and labor outflows should increase those relative wages, the Puerto Rican experience offers a rare

² Recent studies of the Puerto Rican labor market include Davis and Rivera-Batiz (2005) and Enchautegui and Freeman (2005).

³ More precisely, this labor inflow is *not* composed of Puerto Ricans who had initially left the island and subsequently decided to return.

⁴ A two-way flow of migrants and return migrants could be rationalized within the income-maximizing framework if the initial migration was the result of misinformation about the economic opportunities available in the destination, or if the initial migration was used as a “stepping-stone” to acquire skills that are valuable in the source labor market.

opportunity to determine if relative wages *in a particular labor market* exhibit this mirror-image response to the two types of labor flows.

The analysis uses data drawn from the microdata samples of the 1970-2000 Puerto Rican and U.S. Censuses. The empirical analysis yields two important findings—addressing the two distinct questions Sjaastad posed nearly half a century ago. First, the income-maximization hypothesis can help us understand the coexistence of large labor inflows and labor outflows. The human capital of persons who move from Puerto Rico to the United States differs strikingly from the human capital of persons who migrate into Puerto Rico. Because the Puerto Rican wage structure tends to reward high-skill workers, the island tends to attract relatively high-skill in-migrants and export relatively low-skill workers. Secondly, the opposing flows have opposing effects on the wage structure. As predicted by the laws of supply and demand, the in-migrants lower the wage of competing workers in the Puerto Rican labor market, while the out-migrants increase the wage. The wage impact of these labor flows is roughly comparable to that estimated in other countries: a 10 percentage point migrant-induced shift in supply leads to an opposite-signed change of at least 2 to 4 percent in the wage of competing Puerto Rican workers.

II. The Setting and the Data

Before proceeding to the analysis, it is instructive to briefly describe the history of migration flows in and out of Puerto Rico in the past few decades.⁵ Puerto Rico became a possession of the United States after the Spanish-American war in 1898. The Jones Act of 1917

⁵ Fitzpatrick (1980) gives an excellent summary of the history of Puerto Rican migration to the United States.

granted U.S. citizenship to all Puerto Ricans, implying that Puerto Ricans could move freely to the United States without the legal restrictions facing immigrants from foreign countries.

Despite the absence of legal restrictions, there was relatively little out-migration of Puerto Ricans until after World War II. The high level of unemployment in postwar Puerto Rico and the introduction of low-cost air travel between Puerto Rico and the mainland (the six-hour flight from San Juan to New York City cost less than \$50) sparked the initial out-migration. In 1940 only 59.0 thousand Puerto Ricans lived in the United States; by 1950 there were 225.9 thousand, and by 1960 there were 626.9 thousand. Most Puerto Rican out-migrants chose to settle in New York City. In 1970, for instance, 68.9 percent of the Puerto Rican-born population in the United States lived in the New York metropolitan area.

Using Census data that will be described in more detail below, Figure 1 illustrates the trend in the out-migrant share for the 1940-2000 period, defined as the ratio of the number of Puerto Rican persons living in the United States at a point in time to the potential Puerto Rican population (in other words, the denominator is the sum of the out-migrants and the total population of Puerto Rico). In 1940, the out-migrant share was 3.1 percent. By 1950, the out-migrant share stood at almost 10 percent, and then rose even more rapidly to 21.1 percent by 1960. In view of the very short time frame in which this remarkable exodus occurred, it is not surprising that Stephen Sondheim had one of the key characters in the 1961 movie version of *West Side Story* predict that the island would soon empty out. Anita was wrong, however. The outflow of Puerto Ricans to the United States slowed down greatly in the 1960s. As a result, the out-migrant share rose slowly until about 1990, when the outflow seemingly began to accelerate again.

Return migration is relatively common among the Puerto Rican out-migrants (Hernandez, 1967; Ramos, 1992; Enchautegui, 1993; Muschkin, 1993).⁶ In 1990, for example, 11.9 percent of the Puerto Rican-born adults enumerated by the Puerto Rican census reported they had resided in the United States at some point during the past decade. The out-migrant share illustrated in Figure 1 is the net outcome of the two-way flows between Puerto Rico and the United States for the Puerto Rican-born population.

In addition to the outflow and return migration of native-born Puerto Ricans, there is an additional labor flow in Puerto Rico that has received much less attention and that could have a substantial economic impact. In particular, concurrently with the sizable (net) out-migration of Puerto Rican-born persons, there was a significant amount of in-migration of *persons not born in Puerto Rico*. In other words, Puerto Rico is an important recipient of immigrants.

The Puerto Rican census microdata available since 1970 reports the number of persons residing in the island who were born outside Puerto Rico. Figure 1 also illustrates the out-migrant and in-migrant shares defined in terms of the *native-born* Puerto Rican population.⁷ It is evident that this measure of the out-migrant share is a little larger than the population-based share, so that by 2000 nearly 30 percent of the population of persons born in Puerto Rico resided in the United States. At the same time, the in-migrant share hovers around 10 percent, so that

⁶ The 1970 Puerto Rican census reports whether a person lived in the United States for at least six months during the past five years; the 1990 census reports whether a person lived in the United States at some point between 1980 and 1990; and the 1970 and 2000 censuses report where a person lived five years prior to the census. The 1970 census definition implies that 13.5 percent of adult (aged 18-64) native-born Puerto Ricans are return migrants; the 1980 definition implies that 4.0 percent are return migrants; the 1990 definition implies that 11.9 percent are return migrants; and the 2000 definition implies that 2.7 percent are return migrants.

⁷ More precisely, the out-migrant share is defined by the ratio of the number of out-migrants to the sum of the number of out-migrants and the native-born Puerto Rican population, while the in-migrant share is defined by the ratio of in-migrants to the sum of the number of in-migrants and the native-born Puerto Rican population.

Puerto Rico had an immigrant influx that was proportionately equivalent to that entering the United States.

The in-migrant population in Puerto Rico is composed of three key national origin groups: persons born in the United States, persons born in Cuba, and persons born in the Dominican Republic. Table 1 illustrates the relative importance of each of these groups in determining the composition of the in-migrant population. Throughout the 1970-2000 period, between 70 and 80 percent of the foreign-born population in Puerto Rico was born in the United States. In 1970, almost 10 percent of the immigrants were born in Cuba, and less than 5 percent were born in the Dominican Republic. The pre-1970 Cuban influx can be directly linked to the communist takeover of Cuba, which led to a sizable refugee flow into both the United States and Puerto Rico. Over time, the demographic importance of Cuban immigrants in Puerto Rico receded. By 2000, only 5.5 percent of the immigrants were born in Cuba, but 17.1 percent were born in the Dominican Republic. Together, the United States, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic account for 90 percent or more of the foreign-born population in Puerto Rico.

The ancestry of the population of U.S. born persons migrating to Puerto Rico is also of interest. In particular, it is predominantly composed of U.S. -born persons who have some type of Puerto Rican ancestry (although the information indicating Puerto Rican ancestry is not defined consistently across Censuses). In 1970, about half of the U.S.-born immigrants in Puerto Rico had Puerto Rican ancestry. By the 1990s, the fraction was between 80 and 90 percent.⁸

⁸ The Hispanic background variable in the U.S. Census provides information on whether a person has Hispanic ancestry as well as their national origin background. The Census Bureau reports that the 1980-2000 information on Hispanic background is roughly comparable. The anomalous lower rate of Puerto Rican ancestry for the 1970 U.S.-born in-migrants is probably due to the slightly different measure of Hispanic background used in that Census.

Despite the numerical importance of the in-migrant influx into Puerto Rico, it is worth emphasizing that out-migration is far larger. In 2000, for example, the in-migrant share stood at 9.4 percent, while 29.4 percent of the Puerto Rican-born population lived in the United States. As a result, there has been a substantial net population outflow from the island. The net migrant share (i.e., the difference between in-migration and out-migration) has been on the order of a *negative* 15 to 20 percent over much of the last few decades. In other words, the various labor flows have reduced the size of the Puerto Rican-born population living in Puerto Rico by around 20 percent.

Not surprisingly, this sizable net labor outflow has been accompanied by convergence in per-capita incomes between the Puerto Rico and the United States for the past 50 years. Figure 2 shows the trend in the ratio of (international prices adjusted) per-capita GDP in the two countries. Relative Puerto Rican per-capita GDP almost doubled, from 21 percent to 37 percent, between 1950 and 1965, during the time that the size of the out-migrant flow to the United States was at its peak. Since the 1960s, relative incomes in Puerto Rico have continued to rise. By 2003, relatively per capita GDP in Puerto Rico stood at 66 percent.

This paper uses data drawn from microdata Census files available for both Puerto Rico and the United States. I use all of the available data files from the 1970-2000 Puerto Rican Censuses. The 1970 file represents a 3 percent sample of the Puerto Rican population, while all the other files represent a 5 percent sample. The parallel analysis of the U.S. data uses the 1970-2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) of the decennial Census. As in Puerto Rico, the 1970 file represents a 3 percent sample, and the 1980 through 2000 files represent a 5 percent sample. The empirical analysis is restricted to men who participate in the labor force.

The Data Appendix describes the construction of the various sample extracts and variables in detail.

When analyzing the Puerto Rican census data, I classify workers into two main categories: those born in Puerto Rico and those born outside Puerto Rico. The sample of persons born outside Puerto Rico will be defined as the “in-migrants.” The sample of persons born in Puerto Rico and enumerated by the Puerto Rican census forms the sample of “stayers”—the group of Puerto Ricans who chose not to move to the United States.

Note that the Puerto Rican census does not enumerate the Puerto Rican-born persons who moved to the United States and chose to stay there. These out-migrants, however, are enumerated by the U.S. census. Hence a joint analysis of the Puerto Rican and U.S. census data can provide a lot of information about the size and composition of the (net) out-migrant population. Using the place-of-birth information in the U.S. census, I define anyone born in Puerto Rico and enumerated by the U.S. census as a Puerto Rican out-migrant. It is worth re-emphasizing that the out-migrants captured by the U.S. census, in a sense, tend to be persons for whom the move was relatively permanent. Out-migrants who have already returned to Puerto Rico are not part of this population and are included in the sample of Puerto Rican stayers.

Since the economic impact of labor flows will depend on the skill composition of the various populations, I classify workers in each of these three groups (i.e., the stayers, the out-migrants, and the in-migrants) into particular skill categories. As in Borjas (2003), skill groups are defined in terms of both educational attainment and years of labor market experience.

The distribution of educational attainment in Puerto Rico differs significantly from that of the United States in two important ways. First, high school dropouts make up a much larger fraction of the Puerto Rican workforce. In 1970, for instance, the proportion of high school

dropouts among working men was 62.7 for native-born Puerto Ricans enumerated in the Puerto Rican Census and 37.6 percent for U.S.-born persons enumerated in the U.S. Census. Even by 2000, the respective statistics were 19.3 and 8.2 percent.

Secondly, the typical high school dropout in Puerto Rico has much less schooling than the typical high school dropout in the United States. Consider, for example, the number of high school dropouts who have 8 or fewer years of schooling. In 1970, 71.9 percent of the high-school dropouts enumerated in the Puerto Rican census had this very low level of schooling. Even by 2000, 50.7 percent of high school dropouts had fewer than 8 years of schooling. It is much rarer to find persons with fewer than 8 years of schooling in the population of (U.S.-born) high school dropouts in the United States: the respective statistics are 46.3 percent for 1970 and 20.8 percent for 2000.

To account for the notable skewing at the bottom end of the educational distribution in Puerto Rico, I use five education categories to define the skill groups: (1) high school dropouts with 8 or fewer years of schooling; (2) high school dropouts with 9 to 11 years of schooling; (3) high school graduates (workers who have exactly 12 years of schooling); (4) workers who have some college (13 to 15 years of schooling); and (5) college graduates (workers who have at least 16 years of schooling).

I also classify workers into a particular years-of-experience cohort by using potential years of experience, roughly defined by $\text{Age} - \text{Years of Education} - 6$. I assume that age of entry into the labor market is 14 for high school dropouts with less than 8 years of schooling, 16 for high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling, 18 for high school graduates, 21 for persons with some college, and 23 for college graduates, and then calculate years of experience

accordingly.⁹ The analysis is restricted to persons who have between 1 and 40 years of experience. Workers are aggregated into ten-year experience groupings (i.e., 1 to 10 years of experience, 11 to 20 years, and so on) to capture the notion that workers who have roughly similar years of experience are more likely to affect each other's labor market opportunities than workers who differ significantly in their work experience. It may be preferable to define narrower experience bands (e.g., five-year intervals), but even the 5 percent Puerto Rican censuses have relatively few observations.¹⁰ The creation of very narrow skill categories would likely generate much greater measurement error in calculating mean outcomes within cells.

The cells corresponding to educational attainment (i), years of work experience (j), and calendar year (t) define a skill group at a point in time. Let N_{ijt} give the number of Puerto Rican stayers (i.e., the number of Puerto Rican-born persons enumerated by the Puerto Rican census) in the (i, j, t) cell; M_{ijt} be the corresponding number of in-migrants in Puerto Rico; and X_{ijt} be the corresponding number of Puerto Ricans who out-migrated to the United States. Throughout the remainder of the paper, I define the in-migrant and the out-migrant shares as follows:

$$(1) \quad p_{ijt} = \frac{M_{ijt}}{(M_{ijt} + N_{ijt})},$$

$$(2) \quad q_{ijt} = \frac{X_{ijt}}{(X_{ijt} + N_{ijt})}.$$

⁹ Because of the assumed age-of-entry for the various education groups, I restrict the analysis to workers aged 14-64. I experimented with alternative assumptions (e.g., all high school dropouts enter the labor market at age 16) and the results are similar to those reported below.

The variable p_{ijt} gives the in-migrant share in the Puerto Rican workforce (i.e., the fraction of the Puerto Rican workforce that was born outside Puerto Rico), while q_{ijt} gives the out-migrant share (i.e., the fraction of the native-born workforce that moved to the United States). It is worth noting that, for expositional convenience, I will initially use the convention of defining both the in-migrant and the out-migrant share as positive numbers.

Figure 3 illustrates the trends in the estimated in-migration and out-migration shares in the sample of working men. Note that the out-migrant and out-migrant shares estimated in this sample are much larger than the corresponding population shares illustrated in Figure 1. For example, the out-migrant share in 2000 for the Puerto Rican population was 29.4 percent, as compared to an out-migrant share of 38.6 percent for working Puerto Rican men. Similarly, the in-migrant share in the sample of working men (13.6 percent in 2000) is far higher than the corresponding share in the Puerto Rican population (9.4 percent). In fact, the in-migrant share in the Puerto Rican workforce is very similar to the immigrant share in the U.S. workforce. In 2000, 14.7 percent of working men in the United States were foreign-born. Put differently, the stylized perception of Puerto Rico as a region that has lost a large fraction of its potential workforce to the United States is incomplete. Immigrants play as large a role in Puerto Rico as they do in the United States.

III. Labor Flows by Skill

It is instructive to begin by illustrating how the structure of out-migration and in-migration differs across education groups. Figure 4 reports the education-specific trends in the

¹⁰ The total number of working men (with positive earnings) enumerated in each of the Puerto Rican Censuses is as follows: 10,438 in 1970; 16,763 in 1980; 23,029 in 1990; and 24,313 in 2000. The average cell size in each education-experience group is 522 in 1970, 838 in 1980, 1,151 in 1990, and 1,216 in 2000.

out-migrant shares of native-born Puerto Rican working men. The out-migrant share is defined by equation (2) and gives the fraction of the potential Puerto Rican-born workforce that lives in the United States. The figure clearly shows that the out-migrant share is lowest for college graduates, and is highest for workers with 9-11 years of schooling. In 1980, for example, only about 23 percent of the college-educated workforce had left Puerto Rico. In contrast, the out-migrant share for high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling at the time was an astounding 73 percent!¹¹

A straightforward application of the Roy model would clearly imply that out-migration from Puerto Rico is more likely for the least educated workers (Borjas, 1987*b*; Ramos, 1992). After all, regardless of how it is measured, the rate of return to skills seems to be much higher in Puerto Rico than in the United States. Table 2 reports various summary measures of the spread of the wage distribution in Puerto Rico and in the United States, including the variance of log weekly earnings, the residual variance of log weekly earnings, and the experience-adjusted wage gap between college graduates and high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling as well as the experience-adjusted wage gap between college graduates and high school graduates.¹²

These summary characteristics of the wage distributions document two key facts. First, the returns to skills are greater in Puerto Rico than in the United States.¹³ In 1980, for instance, the experience-adjusted wage gap between college graduates and high school dropouts with 9-11

¹¹ Note that the out-migrant share for this particular group declined substantially between 1980 and 2000, suggesting that there was a sizable return migration of these high school dropouts back to Puerto Rico during those two decades.

¹² The residual variance of log weekly earnings and the experience-adjusted wage gaps across schooling groups are estimated from a regression of log weekly earnings on fixed effects indicating the four education categories defined in the previous section, and on a quadratic in years of work experience.

¹³ The estimated variances for the 1980 Puerto Rican log wage distribution do not seem consistent with the variances estimated in other censuses. I have been unable to resolve the cause of this data anomaly.

years of schooling was 1.066 in Puerto Rico and 0.726 in the United States. Similarly, the residual variance of log weekly earnings in 1980 was 0.541 in Puerto Rico and 0.477 in the United States. The Roy model would then predict that a relatively higher fraction of the least-educated Puerto Ricans should be out-migrants.

Second, the returns to skills increased at a much faster rate in the United States than in Puerto Rico in the past three decades. For example, the (experience-adjusted) wage gap between college and high school graduates in Puerto Rico rose slightly from 0.81 to 0.85 between 1970 and 2000. In the United States, however, the corresponding log wage gap rose from 0.53 to 0.68. Similarly, the residual variance in log weekly earnings was 37 percent higher in Puerto Rico than in the United States in 1970 (0.56 as compared to 0.41). By 2000, however, the variances were almost the same: 0.57 in Puerto Rico and 0.53 in the United States. The relatively faster increase in the return to skills in the United States would suggest that the out-migrant share of highly educated workers should have risen the most during the period under study.

The differences in out-migrant shares across education groups illustrated in Figure 4 are partly consistent with these predictions of the Roy model: while the fraction of low-educated Puerto Ricans who moved to the United States was about the same in 1970 as in 2000 (with some noticeable ups-and-downs in between), the out-migrant share for college graduates was rising rapidly. In 1970, the out-migrant share of college graduates was 13.4 percent; by 2000, it had more than doubled to 30.4 percent. These trends are clearly consistent with the fact that the returns to skills were increasing much faster in the United States, encouraging more highly educated workers to leave the island.

Note, however, that the data are not entirely consistent with the theoretical prediction that, on net, the out-migrants should be negatively selected. After all, the highest out-migration

rates are not observed in the sample of high school dropouts with 0-8 years of schooling, but in the sample of high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling. However, this non-monotonicity in out-migration rates at the lowest schooling levels can be explained by a slightly modified version of the traditional Roy model. In particular, suppose that liquidity constraints prevent the least-educated Puerto Rican workers from being able to make the requisite investments required to move to the United States. This would imply that the least-skilled among the least-educated workers would find it very difficult to move, depressing their out-migration rate.¹⁴ The relatively higher penalty to “unskill” in the Puerto Rican labor market, however, still creates a strong incentive for low-skill workers to leave. Once the liquidity constraints are relaxed, those low-educated workers who can afford to leave the island will do so. This pattern seems to be what the data reveal. Out-migrant shares are generally higher for low-educated workers, though they are highest for the most educated workers within this disadvantaged population.

These Roy model-related insights are corroborated by the selection that characterizes the reverse migration of persons born in the United States who move to Puerto Rico. As reported in Table 1, roughly 7 to 8 percent of the workforce in Puerto Rico was born in the United States, with close to 80 percent of these U.S.-born immigrants having some type of Puerto Rican ancestry.

By judiciously using the available data, it is possible to roughly approximate the out-migrant share in the population of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry. Since 1970, the U.S. Census has reported a measure of Hispanic ancestry for the native-born population. Persons who report being Hispanic are then asked to specify the type of Hispanic background. These data

¹⁴ The hypothesis of liquidity constraints among the least-educated workers also seems to explain the

allow the enumeration of the number of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry who reside in the United States. By combining this size-of-population statistic with the number of American-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry enumerated in the Puerto Rican Census, one can estimate the out-migrant share of this population (i.e., the fraction of the U.S.-born population of Puerto Rican ancestry that lives in Puerto Rico). It turns out that the probability of migrating to Puerto Rico for a U.S.-born person of Puerto Rican ancestry is small, but not trivial: In 2000, 10.8 percent of male workers in this group lived in Puerto Rico.¹⁵

As Figure 5 shows, the skill characteristics of the U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry moving to Puerto Rico seem like a mirror image of those of Puerto Ricans choosing to move to the United States. Because Puerto Rico generally offers relatively higher returns to skills than the United States, it is not surprising that the out-migrant shares of U.S.-born Puerto Ricans are highest for college educated workers. In 2000, for example, the out-migrant share of college graduates was 18.9 percent, as compared to 5.5 percent for high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling.

It would be of great interest to document if the trends in the skill composition of the inflow of immigrants born outside the United States are also consistent with the structure of returns to skills between Puerto Rico and the sending countries. It is impossible, however, to conduct this empirical exercise because it requires detailed information on the skill characteristics of the population of the sending countries.

selection of out-migrants from Mexico (Chiquiar and Hanson, 2005).

¹⁵ It is important to emphasize that, by construction, this out-migration rate is probably measured with a great deal of error. First, the definition of Hispanic (and Puerto Rican ancestry) in the 1970 Census is not strictly comparable with the definition in subsequent censuses. Second, the measurement problem is compounded by the fact that the definition of Puerto Rican ancestry differs significantly between the Puerto Rican and U.S. Censuses.

Nevertheless, the inflow of relatively large numbers of both American-born and foreign-born workers into Puerto Rico substantially altered the skill endowment of the Puerto Rican workforce. Consider, in particular, the supply shifts caused by the flow of immigrants into the Puerto Rican labor market. I calculated the in-migrant share defined by equation (1), the ratio of the number of in-migrants to the total number of workers in the Puerto Rican labor market. Figure 6 illustrates the trend in the in-migrant shares for the five education groups in the analysis. It is evident that in-migration led to a sizable increase in the number of college graduates in the Puerto Rican workforce, both in absolute and relative terms. In 1970, for instance, 26.9 percent of college-educated workers in Puerto Rico were foreign-born, as compared to only about 5 percent of high school dropouts. Even by 2000, after the observed decline in the relative number of college-educated workers migrating to Puerto Rico, 17 percent of college-educated workers in Puerto Rico were foreign-born, as compared to 12 percent of high school dropouts.

In addition to the differences in the in-migrant and out-migrant shares across education groups, there is also a lot of variation across experience groups (holding education constant). Figures 7 and 8 summarize some of these differences in the estimated supply shocks for outflows and inflows, respectively. The data illustrated in Figure 7, for instance, indicates that for some education groups out-migrant shares in 1990 tend to be larger for younger workers (e.g., college graduates), while for other groups out-migrant shares tend to be larger for older workers (e.g., high school dropouts with 0-8 years of schooling). Figure 8 shows equally striking variation in the observed in-migrant shares. Among less-educated workers, there is a tendency for in-migration to most increase the supply of younger workers. Among more educated workers, however, in-migrant shares are much more stable across experience groups.

The evidence presented in this section documents that different types of workers are leaving Puerto Rico than are migrating in. It is easy to provide a striking illustration of just how different these two opposing flows are. In particular, Figure 9 presents a scatter diagram of the in-migrant and out-migrant shares—as defined by equations (1) and (2)—calculated for each of the (i, j, t) cells. There is a strong negative correlation between the two shares: The skill groups that experienced the greatest outflows at a particular point in time are also the skill groups that experienced the smallest inflows. The differential skill composition of the opposing flows provides an easy explanation for why there can be sizable inflows and outflows in a particular labor market at the same time: The greater (relative) returns to skills in the Puerto Rican labor market attracts high-skill workers and encourages the outflow of low-skill workers.

IV. Determinants of Labor Flows

Before proceeding to discuss the equilibrating effects of labor flows, it is instructive to investigate (in yet another context) if the Puerto Rican experience reconfirms a key prediction of economic theory—that the workers who incur the cost of moving are the ones who have the most to gain. Although the presence of selection biases in calculating potential wages in alternative regions clearly prevents a complete analysis (unless a great deal more statistical structure is imposed on the data), the results are very suggestive that the flows of workers in and out of Puerto Rico move in precisely the right direction.

Let w_{ijt}^{PR} denote the mean value of the log weekly wage that Puerto Rican-born men who have education i and experience j would earn if employed in Puerto Rico at time t . Let w_{ijt}^{US} be the alternative log wage that this group of workers would earn in the U.S. labor market. For given migration costs, Puerto Rican natives should be much more likely to migrate to the United

States the greater the net wage gain $w_{ijt}^{US} - w_{ijt}^{PR}$. Both the U.S. and the Puerto Rican wage structures changed significantly between 1970 and 2000, and these changes were different across the various skill groups. As a result, there is a great deal of variation in the potential wage gain associated with moving to the United States across skill groups and over time.

Consider the regression model:

$$(3) \quad q_{ijt} = \beta(w_{ijt}^{US} - w_{ijt}^{PR}) + \text{other variables} + \varepsilon_{ijt},$$

where q_{ijt} is the out-migrant share defined in equation (2). The coefficient β should be positive as long as the labor flow from Puerto Rico to the United States responds to economic incentives. The other variables in the regression (discussed below) attempt to capture the role of migration costs in the migration decision. The regressions weigh the observations by the sum of sampling weights used to calculate the out-migrant share. The standard errors are clustered by education-experience cells to adjust for possible serial correlation.¹⁶

A crucial problem with estimating the regression model in (3) is that we do not observe what the typical worker in a particular education-experience group would earn if he were to migrate to the United States. We instead observe the mean wage of the self-selected group of workers who chose to migrate. However, if the selection of Puerto Ricans into the out-migrant flow was determined solely by observed characteristics (in particular, education and experience), we can define the alternative wage w_{ijt}^{US} as the wage that Puerto Rican out-migrants actually earn in the U.S. labor market. This wage can be calculated from the respective U.S. Census. Similarly,

I define w_{ijt}^{PR} as the average log weekly wage that native-born Puerto Ricans in the particular skill group actually earn in Puerto Rico. All earnings are deflated to 1990 constant dollars using the U.S. or Puerto Rican CPI, respectively.

Using these definitions, the first three columns of the top panel of Table 3 present the relevant coefficients from alternative specifications of the regression in equation (3). In row 1, the regression model does not include any other regressors. It is evident that there is a positive and significant correlation between the out-migrant share in a skill group and the net wage gain associated with moving to the United States. A 10-percentage point increase in the wage gap between the two areas increases the out-migrant share by 1.3 percentage points. Row 2 adds two vectors of fixed effects to control for possible differences in migration costs across the (i, j, t) cells. In particular, I include a vector of period fixed effects as well as a vector of skill fixed effects (which identifies the 20 skill groups in the analysis). The inclusion of these variables strengthens the basic result: a 10 percentage point increase in the skill-specific wage gap between the United States and Puerto Rico increases the out-migration rate by 2.0 percentage points. Finally, it is well known that network effects (i.e., the presence of a large population of the same ethnic background in the receiving country) encourage more migration in the future. To capture this effect, row 3 of the table introduces the lag of the out-migrant share into the regression model. The magnitude of the coefficient increases yet again, implying that a 10 percentage point

¹⁶ I normalized the sum of weights to equal 1 in each cross-section to prevent the more recent censuses from contributing more to the estimation simply because Puerto Rico's population increased over time.

rise in the net wage gain from migration increases the out-migrant share by 3.0 percentage points.¹⁷

Rows 4-6 of the top panel of Table 3 present an alternative specification of the regression model in equation (3). In particular, suppose that:

$$(4) \quad q_{ijt} = \beta_1 w_{ijt}^{US} + \beta_2 w_{ijt}^{PR} + \text{other variables} + \varepsilon_{ijt}.$$

This specification allows for the separate identification of the push and pull factors in the determination of out-migration. The estimated coefficients reported in Table 3 generally indicate that the out-migrant share is higher the greater the wage in the U.S. labor market, and is lower the greater the wage in the Puerto Rican labor market—although the coefficients are not always statistically significant.

One obvious problem with these regression results is that the out-migrant population may also be selected on the basis of unobserved characteristics. As a result, the actual earnings of the Puerto Rican out-migrants in the U.S. labor market may not be the correct measure of the alternative wage facing the typical Puerto Rican worker in Puerto Rico. As noted above, in principle one could for this selection problem by adding more structure to the statistical analysis. Such an analysis would likely be unconvincing since there are relatively few variables in the data that would allow identification of alternative wages on the basis of exogenous variation in opportunities, rather than on the basis of statistical assumptions.

¹⁷ The inclusion of the lagged out-migrant share implies that the regression model can only be estimated using the 1980-2000 out-migrant shares. The smaller number of observations may help account for the sizable increase in the standard error.

A simpler approach is to evaluate the sensitivity of the results when using alternative definitions of the potential U.S. wage. In particular, the last three columns of Table 3 replicate the analysis by defining w_{ijt}^{US} as the average wage earned by the typical native-born worker in the United States in skill group (i, j, t) . The key difference between the two measures of w_{ijt}^{US} is that the one used in the first three columns of the table uses only the sample of Puerto Rican-born workers in the United States, while the one used in the last three columns aggregates over all U.S.-born workers. Despite the substantive difference in the two definitions of the alternative wage, the estimated regression coefficients are roughly similar. A 10 percent increase in the wage gap between the United States and Puerto Rico still leads to a one- to three-percentage point increase in the out-migration rate.

In addition to the selection problem associated with operationally defining the alternative wages facing a potential migrant, an endogeneity problem biases the estimates of β in equation (3), and β_1 and β_2 in equation (4). A positive estimate of β in equation (3), for example, implies that the net size of migration flows responds positively to the wage differential between receiving and sending regions. It is also the case, however, that the resulting outflow from Puerto Rico to the United States must have affected the wage structure in both areas. In particular, the outflow would presumably lower wages in the U.S. labor market and raise wages in the Puerto Rican labor market. In other words, the endogeneity of the inter-regional wage gap creates a negative correlation between the measured out-migrant share and the net wage gain resulting from migration. As a result, the coefficients reported in Table 3 *underestimate* the responsiveness of migration flows to regional wage differentials. In the next section, I present a simple method for correcting the coefficients for this potential endogeneity.

It is of obvious interest to develop a parallel analysis of the determinants of in-migration flows into Puerto Rico. As noted earlier, there are two main types of in-migrants: workers who were born in the United States and move to Puerto Rico (and at least 80 percent of these workers have Puerto Rican ancestry after 1980), and workers who were born in other countries (particularly Cuba and the Dominican Republic) and migrate to Puerto Rico. Although it is impossible to analyze the determinants of out-migration rates for workers from Cuba or the Dominican Republic, it is possible to estimate an analogous model for the first group of workers—the U.S.-born migrants from the United States to Puerto Rico. To determine the determinants of this influx, consider the regression model:

$$(5) \quad p_{ijt}^* = \alpha (w_{ijt}^{US} - w_{ijt}^{PR}) + \text{other variables} + \varepsilon_{ijt},$$

where p_{ijt}^* is the out-migrant share of U.S.-born workers as a fraction of the number of U.S.-born persons who have Puerto Rican ancestry. The income-maximization hypothesis implies that the coefficient α should be negative.

The nature of the data available make it relatively difficult to find operational definitions for the variables w_{ijt}^{US} and w_{ijt}^{PR} . I use the Puerto Rican census to calculate the average wage earned by U.S.-born immigrants in Puerto Rico, and define w_{ijt}^{PR} accordingly. Secondly, there is no direct information about how much the U.S.-born immigrants in Puerto Rico earned prior to their migration in the U.S. labor market. I approximate the average wage w_{ijt}^{US} by either the average wage of workers in a particular skill group who have Puerto Rican ancestry, or by the average wage of native-born workers in the United States.

The regression results using these definitions of the alternative wages are reported in the bottom panel of Table 3. The specifications reported in rows 2 and 3 (which attempt to account for migration costs and network effects) clearly indicate that the estimated coefficient α is negative and usually marginally significant. The relatively high standard error of the coefficients in these regressions can probably be attributed to the measurement error encountered in constructing the key variables in the regression models. Nevertheless, a 10-percentage point increase in the wage gap between the United States and Puerto Rico reduces the probability that a U.S.-born person of Puerto Rican ancestry moves to Puerto Rico by about one percentage point.

V. Consequences of Labor Flows: Migration as an Equilibrating Mechanism

Because immigrants tend to cluster in a small number of cities in most receiving countries, most studies estimate the labor market impact of immigration by comparing economic conditions across localities in the receiving country. These studies calculate the correlation between measures of immigrant penetration in local labor markets and measures of economic outcomes, such as wages (Altonji and Card, 1991; Borjas, 1987*a*; Card, 2001; and LaLonde and Topel, 1991). The sign of this “spatial correlation” is interpreted as indicating the direction in which supply shifts affect wages; a negative correlation would suggest that immigrant-induced increases in labor supply lower wages. Although there is a lot of dispersion across studies, the estimated spatial correlations cluster around zero. This weak correlation has been interpreted as indicating that immigration has little impact on the receiving country’s wage structure.

The potential problems associated with using regional wage differences to measure the labor market impact of immigration are now well understood (Borjas, Freeman, and Katz, 1997).

Natives (and pre-existing immigrants) may respond to the adverse wage impact of immigration by moving their labor or capital to other cities. These regional flows diffuse the impact of immigration across all regions, suggesting that the labor market impact of immigration may be measurable only at the national level.¹⁸ Borjas (2003) used this insight to examine how the aggregate wage trends of U.S. workers in particular skill groups were related to the immigrant supply shocks affecting those groups. The national-level evidence indicated that the wage growth experienced by narrowly defined skill groups was strongly and inversely related to immigrant-induced supply increases. This approach has now been applied to such diverse contexts as Canada (Aydemir and Borjas, 2007) and Mexico (Mishra, 2006) with similar conclusions: supply shifts induced by international migration lead to an opposite-signed change in the wage of competing workers.

In this section, I use this methodological approach to investigate if the Puerto Rican wage structure responded to the labor inflows and outflows documented in the previous sections. It is worth noting that the application of the Borjas (2003) framework to the Puerto Rican data may be illuminating because, given Puerto Rico's size, the local labor market *is* the national labor market.

As in my earlier work, I analyze the relation between the evolution of the wage structure and labor flows by using the education-experience skill groups defined above. The construction of the various groups, of course, implicitly assumes that workers with the same level of schooling but with different levels of experience are imperfect substitutes in production (Welch, 1979; Card and Lemieux, 2001).

¹⁸ There is little consensus on whether the internal migration decisions of native workers are, in fact, influenced by immigration (Card and DiNardo, 2000; Borjas, 2006). The observed spatial correlation is also contaminated by the possibility that immigrants choose to settle in high-wage areas of the receiving country and by measurement error in the variables that measures the immigrant supply shock in the local labor market.

The analysis focuses on the impact of labor flows on the earnings of Puerto Rican-born workers enumerated by the Puerto Rican census—in other words, I examine the impact of labor flows on the earnings of stayers. In addition to the sample restrictions listed in Section II, the construction of mean earnings for each education-experience-time cell uses only those workers who reported positive earnings in the calendar year prior to the Census. By construction, the sample includes both salaried and self-employed workers.

Let y_{ijt} denote the mean value of a particular labor market outcome for men who have education i , experience j , and are observed at time t . I calculate y_{ijt} using the sample of persons born in Puerto Rico and enumerated in the Puerto Rican Census. The empirical analysis stacks these data across skill groups and calendar years and estimates the regression model:

$$(6) \quad y_{ijt} = \theta_1 p_{ijt} + \theta_2 q_{ijt} + I + J + T + (I \times J) + (I \times T) + (J \times T) + \phi_{ijt},$$

where I is a vector of fixed effects indicating the group's educational attainment; J is a vector of fixed effects indicating the group's work experience; and T is a vector of fixed effects indicating the time period. The linear fixed effects in equation (6) control for differences in labor market outcomes across schooling groups, experience groups, and over time. The interactions $(I \times T)$ and $(J \times T)$ account for the possibility that the impact of education and experience changed over time, and the interaction $(I \times J)$ accounts for the fact that the experience profile for a particular labor market outcome may differ across education groups. Note that the specification in (6) implies that the labor market impact of labor supply shocks is identified using time-variation within education-experience cells. The regressions weigh the observations by the sum of

sampling weights used to calculate the dependent variable y_{ijt} and the standard errors are clustered by education-experience cells.

The dependent variables used in the study are the mean of log annual earnings and log weekly earnings for each skill group, as well as the fraction of weeks worked during the calendar year prior to the Census (defined as weeks worked divided by 52 in the sample of all persons, including nonworkers). Model 1 of Table 4 reports the estimates of the coefficients θ_1 and θ_2 from OLS regressions. Consider initially the results for the specification that uses the log weekly earnings of the skill group as the dependent variable. The key implication of economic theory—that the in- and out-migration rates should have opposing effects on the earnings of Puerto Rican stayers—is strongly confirmed by the data. A larger out-migration flow increases the wage of those who remain in the island, while a larger in-migration flow decreases the wage of Puerto Rican stayers.

The coefficient of the out-migrant share is +0.405, with a standard error of 0.184. It is easier to interpret this coefficient by converting it to an elasticity that gives the percent change in wages associated with a percent change in labor supply. Throughout the paper, I have used the expositional device of defining both in-migrant and out-migrant shares as positive numbers (hence leading to the opposing signs of the two coefficients in Table 4). To avoid confusion in the calculation of a “wage elasticity,” however, it is best to use a definition that explicitly treats out-migration as a negative number. Let $x_{ijt} = -X_{ijt}/N_{ijt}$, or the percentage decrease in the size of group (i, j, t) attributable to out-migration. I define the wage elasticity as:

$$(7) \quad \frac{\partial \log w_{ijt}}{\partial x_{ijt}} = -\theta_2 (1 - q_{ijt})^2.$$

By 2000, the out-migrant share from Puerto Rico was 38.6 percent. Equation (7) implies that the wage elasticity associated with out-migration—evaluated at the mean value of the out-migrant share—can be obtained by multiplying θ_2 by approximately 0.4. The wage elasticity for weekly earnings is then -0.16 (or -0.405×0.4), with a standard error of 0.07. Put differently, a 10 percent migrant-induced reduction in the number of workers in a particular skill group increases the wage of the Puerto Rican workers left behind by just under 2 percent.

The coefficient of the in-migrant share is -0.597 , with a standard error of 0.269. By using the analogous derivative defined in equation (7), one can calculate the wage elasticity associated with in-migration. In particular, the in-migrant share in Puerto Rico was 13.6 percent in 2000. The wage elasticity associated with in-migration can be obtained by multiplying the estimated θ_1 by approximately 0.7. The wage elasticity of in-migration is then equal to -0.42 (or -0.597×0.7), with a standard error of 0.19. A 10 percent immigrant-induced increase in supply, therefore, reduces wages by about 4 percent. Note that although the estimated wage elasticity of in-migration is about twice the size (in absolute value) as the estimated wage elasticity of out-migration, the hypothesis that the two elasticities are the same cannot be rejected.¹⁹

The estimated wage elasticity of -0.2 to -0.4 is roughly similar to those estimated in other geographic settings using the same conceptual framework. Borjas (2003) estimated the wage elasticity associated with immigrant flows in the U.S. labor market to be -0.40 ; Aydemir and Borjas (2007) estimated the corresponding elasticity for the Canadian labor market to be -0.32 ; and Mishra (2006) estimated the wage elasticity associated with out-migration flows in the

¹⁹ The difference between the two elasticities is approximately 0.2, and this difference has a standard error of 0.18.

Mexican labor market to be -0.44. The Puerto Rican context is unique in that it allows the estimation of equilibrating responses to both inflows and outflows in the same market at the same time—and these wage responses seem to be relatively similar to those found in other labor markets despite the very different institutional, social, and economic settings.

Given the similarity of the effects of in-migration and out-migration coefficients in the log weekly earnings regression, it is not surprising that a regression of the log weekly wage on the net migration rate (defined as the difference between the in-migration and out-migration rates) leads to a very similar wage effect. Model 2 of Table 4 reports that the coefficient of the net migration rate is -0.446 (0.170). The net out-migrant share in 2000 was 25 percent, suggesting that the wage elasticity associated with a 10 percent migrant-induced (net) shift in supply is approximately -0.26.

One potential problem with the least squares estimates of the wage elasticities is that the in-migrant and out-migrant shares included as regressors may be endogenous: income-maximizing behavior on the part of migrants generates a negative correlation between the wage level in the Puerto Rican labor market and the out-migrant share, and a positive correlation between wages in Puerto Rico and the in-migrant share. In other words, the estimated wage elasticities (in absolute value) underestimate the true impact of labor flows on Puerto Rican wages. I will discuss this issue in more detail shortly.²⁰

Table 4 also documents that the labor supply of the Puerto Ricans who remained in the island is positively affected by the out-migration of their compatriots and negatively affected by the in-migration of foreign-born persons. For instance, there is a negative correlation between the

²⁰ A different kind of endogeneity problem may arise because the migrant shares are based on counts of workers, rather than on population counts. The IV estimator presented below should adjust for this type of endogeneity as well.

fraction of weeks worked by the typical Puerto Rican stayer and the in-migrant share, and a positive correlation between the fraction of weeks worked and the out-migrant share. The coefficient of the net migrant share is -0.251, with a standard error of 0.103. This coefficient implies that a 10-percentage point migrant-induced net reduction in the supply of workers increases the fraction of weeks worked by 2.5 percentage points.

In sum, the laws of supply and demand seem to do a very nice job of explaining how the Puerto Rican wage structure responds to migration-induced supply shifts. Labor inflows reduce wages and labor supply; labor outflows increase wages and labor supply.

Joint Determination of Migration and Wages

The regressions reported in Tables 3 and 4 define the system that simultaneously determines out-migration out of Puerto Rico as well as the wage in Puerto Rico for workers left behind. For expositional convenience, I summarize the two-equation regression model again:

$$(4) \quad q_{ijt} = \beta_1 w_{ijt}^{US} + \beta_2 w_{ijt}^{PR} + \text{other variables} + \varepsilon_{ijt}.$$

$$(6) \quad w_{ijt}^{PR} = \theta_1 p_{ijt} + \theta_2 q_{ijt} + \text{other variables} + \varphi_{ijt}.$$

As argued above, income maximization on the part of migrants suggests that the estimated parameters understate the response of migration flows to wage changes, as well as understate the impact of labor flows on the wage.

The model's specification suggests a simple (though imperfect) solution to the endogeneity problem faced in estimating the vector (β, θ) . In particular, suppose that the potential wage in the United States is an exogenous shifter in the out-migrant share equation, and

that the in-migrant share into Puerto Rico is an exogenous shifter in the Puerto Rican wage equation. Because the assumption that w_{ijt}^{US} and p_{ijt} are valid instruments may not be strictly correct, I will discuss below how any resulting biases might change the nature of the conclusions.

Table 5 reports the IV coefficients estimated from two alternative specifications of this two-equation model.²¹ Columns 1 and 3 estimate the model as summarized in equations (4) and (6), while columns 2 and 4 estimate the model in terms of the impact of net differences (i.e., by using the net wage gain and the net migrant share). The “other variables” in the regression models include period fixed effects, skill fixed effects, and the lagged out-migration rate in equation (4), and the vector of all second-order interactions between education, experience, and calendar year in equation (6).

By comparing the results reported in Table 5 with the corresponding results reported in Tables 3 and 4, it is evident that the estimated endogeneity-corrected effects are (as expected) numerically larger than those obtained from the earlier specifications. Consider, for example, the impact of the U.S. and Puerto Rican wage on the out-migrant share q_{ijt} . The estimated coefficients reported in Table 5 imply that a 10 percent increase in the potential U.S. wage raises the out-migrant share by 4.5 percentage points, while a 10 percent increase in the Puerto Rican wage reduces the out-migrant share by 2.9 percent.

The labor flows in and out of Puerto Rico have correspondingly larger effects on the Puerto Rican wage structure. A 10 percent increase in the in-migrant share reduces the average Puerto Rican wage by at least 7 percent; a 10 percent increase in the out-migrant share increases

²¹ All of the regression models estimated in Table 5 define the potential U.S. wage as the actual wage earned by Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States. The estimated coefficients are similar if the U.S. potential wage was instead defined as the mean wage of U.S.-born workers in the United States.

the average Puerto Rican wage by about 4 percent; and the wage elasticity implied by the net change in the quantity of labor within a skill group is -0.8.

The validity of these results, of course, depends on the validity of the instruments. The key instrument in equation (6) is the mean alternative wage in the U.S. labor market (which affects the out-migration rate, but is assumed not to directly influence Puerto Rican wages). This assumption, however, may not be correct. If Puerto Rican and U.S. wages move in tandem (perhaps because of the interconnectedness between the two economies), the IV coefficient of θ_1 would likely be positively biased. Given the disparity in economic outcomes between the two regions over many decades, however, it may well be that this correlation is not very strong.

Similarly, the key instrument used to estimate equation (4) is the in-migrant share in the Puerto Rican workforce (which affects Puerto Rican wages, but does not directly influence the out-migration decision of Puerto Ricans). In this case, the IV estimate may be underestimating the true impact of a change in the Puerto Rican wage on out-migration rates. There is a very strong negative correlation between in-migrant and out-migrant shares in the data. If the unobserved factors that lead to more Puerto Ricans leaving Puerto Rico also discourage foreigners from migrating to Puerto Rico, it is easy to show that the IV estimates of the parameter β_2 would be positively biased. Hence the negative coefficients reported in Table 5 underestimate the response elasticity.

VI. Simulating the Wage Effects of Labor Flows

We now use the regression coefficients estimated in the last section to determine the extent to which labor inflows and outflows account for changes in the Puerto Rican wage

structure. In particular, we use the wage elasticities to simulate the impact of the labor inflows and outflows that affected Puerto Rico between 1980 and 2000.

Suppose the estimated coefficient in a regression of the log weekly wage on the in-migrant share is $\hat{\theta}_1$ and that the corresponding coefficient on the out-migrant share is $\hat{\theta}_2$. Equation (7) then implies that the reduced-form impacts of an in-migration flow that shifts the supply of education group i by m_i percent and of an out-migration flow that shifts the supply by x_i percent can be approximated by:

$$(8) \quad \Delta \log w_i^M = \hat{\theta}_1 (1 - \bar{p})^2 m_i,$$

$$(9) \quad \Delta \log w_i^X = -\hat{\theta}_2 (1 - \bar{q})^2 x_i,$$

where \bar{p} and \bar{q} are the mean values of the in-migrant and out-migrant shares observed in 2000.

To simulate the impact of the inflows and outflow affecting Puerto Rico between 1980 and 2000,

I define the supply shocks as:

$$(10) \quad m_i = \frac{M_{i,2000} - M_{i,1980}}{0.5(N_{i,1980} + N_{i,2000}) + M_{i,1980}},$$

$$(11) \quad x_i = -\left(\frac{X_{i,2000} - X_{i,1980}}{0.5(N_{i,1980} + N_{i,2000}) + M_{i,1980}} \right),$$

where M_{it} gives the number of in-migrants residing in Puerto Rico with education i at time t ; N_{it} gives the number of Puerto Rican stayers; and X_{it} gives the number of Puerto Rican out-migrants

residing in the United States. Note that the baseline population used to calculate the percent supply shifts in equations (10) and (11) averages out the size of the workforce of Puerto Rican stayers during the 1980-2000 period and treats the pre-existing immigrant population as part of the “native” stock. By definition, the variable m_i is a positive number if in-migration increases the supply of workers in Puerto Rico, and that x_i is a negative number if out-migration results in a net outflow of Puerto Rican-born workers from Puerto Rico.

Table 6 summarizes the results of the simulation. Consider the evidence summarized in the top panel of the table, which use the (conservative) OLS wage elasticities estimated for in-migration and out-migration and that are reported in Model 1 of Table 4. The wage elasticity associated with in-migration is approximately -0.4, while the wage elasticity associated with out-migration is -0.2.

As columns 1 and 2 of Table 6 show, in-migration increased the number of workers in the Puerto Rican labor market by 10.6 percent, and out-migration reduced the number by 19.2 percent. This flow of in-migrants lowered wages by 4.2 percent, while the out-migrant flow increased wages by 3.8 percent (see columns 3 and 4). On aggregate, therefore, labor flows had only a negligible impact on the average Puerto Rican wage.

This result, however, masks an immense variation in the wage impact of migrant flows across education groups. In particular, the supply shifts caused by in-migration differ significantly by skill. Although the supply of the least-educated workers (high school graduates with 0-8 years of schooling) was barely affected by in-migration, the number of workers with more than a high school diploma rose by around 15 percent.

There is even more disparity in how much out-migration shifted the supplies of skill groups in Puerto Rico. In particular, the out-migration of highly educated workers reduced the

number of workers in those skill groups by 40 to 50 percent. However, net flows of Puerto Rican-born workers between the United States and Puerto Rico actually *increased* the supply of the least-educated workers in Puerto Rico! The direction of the net flow of low-educated Puerto Rican-born workers flowed from the United States to Puerto Rico between 1980 and 2000. As a result, the process of “out-migration” increased the size of the low-skill workforce in Puerto Rico by 25 to 50 percent.

Inevitably, these very different supply shifts had very different wage effects. Consider, for example, the wage impact of in-migration. The wage of the least-educated workers (i.e., high school dropouts with 0-8 years of schooling) is barely affected by in-migration, while the 1980-2000 in-migrant influx is predicted to have reduced the wage of college-educated workers by almost 6 percent.

The differences are much larger in the predicted impact of out-migration. The flow of Puerto Rican-born workers between Puerto Rico and the United States lowered the wage of the least-educated workers by 5 to 10 percent, but raised the wage of the most educated workers by 8 to 10 percent. In other words, the two-way flow of Puerto Rican-born workers had a substantial impact on the wage gap across skill groups, increasing the relative wage of college graduates by at least 15 percent.²²

The bottom panel of the table replicates the simulation exercise using the wage elasticity estimated in the regression reported in Model 2 of Table 4, which uses the net migrant share as the independent variable. This specification constrains the wage elasticity to be the same for both

²² It is important to note that the ultimate impact of labor flows on absolute wage levels depends on the extent to which capital accumulation responds to supply shifts. Under some separability assumptions, however, the *relative* wage impact on different education groups is the same regardless of the extent of capital adjustment. For example, in the three-level CES framework introduced by Borjas (2003), the predicted wage effect for each skill group in the short and long runs differ only by a constant, so the relative wage effect of the labor flows can be easily calculated by simply differencing the group-specific wage effects.

in-migration and out-migration. It is evident that the qualitative nature of the empirical evidence is unaffected—if anything the net wage impact of labor flows is somewhat larger.

Finally, Column 5 of Table 6 adds the predicted wage effects of in-migration and out-migration to calculate the net impact of all labor flows on the Puerto Rican wage structure (while column 6 reports what actually happened to the real wage of the various skill groups). In rough terms, the wage impact of the opposing flows of highly educated workers (foreign-born college graduates migrating in at the same time that Puerto Rican-born college graduates migrate out to the United States) either wash out or result in a slight positive gain. In contrast, the wage impact of the various labor flows on the wage of low-skill Puerto Ricans works in the same direction, resulting in a numerically significant net wage loss. In the end, the sizable labor flows that were a key feature of the Puerto Rican labor market during the 1980s and 1990s reduced the relative wage of low-skill workers, perhaps by as much as 15 to 20 percent.

VII. Summary

One of the central questions in the economics of migration concerns the impact of migrants on the labor markets of sending and receiving areas. Economic theory suggests that, at least in the short run, migrant-induced shifts in labor supply should lead to opposite-signed changes in the wage of competing workers. This wage response is a crucial parameter not only in the study of the efficiency and distributional impact of migration, but also in the policy debate over how to best regulate the population flows.

Puerto Rico presents a unique laboratory for testing these implications of economic theory—for it has both large inflows and outflows of workers. The immigrant population in Puerto Rico now makes up around 14 percent of its male workforce. Put differently, immigration

into Puerto Rico is as important a demographic phenomenon as it is in the United States.

However, in contrast to the United States (and other immigrant-receiving countries), nearly 40 percent of the potential male workforce population has left the island and lives in the United States.

Using data drawn from the microdata censuses of Puerto Rico and the United States, this paper examines the determinants and consequences of these labor flows. The analysis documented a number of empirical findings. First, the inflows and outflows differ significantly in their skill composition. In particular, at least until recently, in-migrants tend to be relatively skilled and out-migrants tend to be relatively unskilled. This difference helps to resolve the question of how sizable inflows and outflows can coexist if all migrants are income maximizers. The answer is clear: the types of workers flowing in one direction are almost the opposite (in terms of their skills) as the types flowing in the other direction. In the end, all migrants seem to make a sensible human capital investment, but they collect the returns in different places.

The study also documented that inflows and outflows have opposing effects on the Puerto Rican wage structure. Immigrants tend to reduce wages, and out-migrants tend to increase wages. The numerical response to these opposing flows was roughly the same: a 10 percent labor supply shift is associated with about a 2 to 4 percent opposite-signed change in wages. These wage shifts are sufficiently large for migration flows to have a numerically significant effect on the Puerto Rican wage structure. For example, if the wage elasticity is on the order of -0.3 , a net out-migration of 30 percent would, by itself, increase the average Puerto Rican wage by nearly 10 percent—making labor flows an important factor in the narrowing of the income gap between Puerto Rico and the United States.

DATA APPENDIX

Puerto Rico

The data are drawn from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 Public Use Samples of the Puerto Rican Census. In the 1970 Census, the extract forms a 3 percent sample (obtained by pooling the state, municipal, and neighborhood files). In 1980, 1990, and 2000, the data extracts form a 5 percent sample. The analysis is restricted to men aged 14-64. A person is classified as a native-born Puerto Rican if he was born in Puerto Rico. He is classified as an in-migrant from the United States if he was born in the United States; and he is classified as an in-migrant from other countries if he was born in other countries. Sampling weights are used in all calculations.

Definition of education and experience: I convert the Census-provided education variables into the IPUMS recoded variable *educrec* using the code provided by the Minnesota Population Center. The workers are classified into five education groups as follows: high school dropouts with 0 to 8 years of schooling ($educrec \leq 3$), high school dropouts with 9 to 11 years of schooling ($4 \leq educrec \leq 6$), high school graduates ($educrec = 7$), persons with some college ($educrec = 8$), and college graduates ($educrec = 9$). I assume that high school dropouts with 0-8 years of schooling enter the labor market at age 14; high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling at age 16, high school graduates at age 19, persons with some college at age 21, and college graduates at age 23 and define work experience as the worker's age at the time of the survey minus the assumed age of entry into the labor market. I restrict the analysis to persons who have between 1 and 40 years of experience. Workers are classified into one of 4 experience groups, defined in ten-year intervals.

Counts of persons in education-experience groups: The counts are calculated in the sample of men who worked at some point in the past year (i.e., have a positive value for weeks worked in the period calendar year).

Annual and weekly earnings: I use the sample of men who reported positive annual earnings and weeks worked, are not in the military in the reference week, are not enrolled in school, and are aged 18-64. The measure of earnings is the sum of the IPUMS variables *inearn*, *incbus*, and *incfarm* in 1970 and 1980, and is defined by *inearn* in 1990-2000. In the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, the top coded annual salary is multiplied by 1.5. In the 1970 Census, weeks worked in the calendar year prior to the survey are reported as a categorical variable. I imputed

weeks worked for each worker as follows: 6.5 weeks for 13 weeks or less, 20 for 14-26 weeks, 33 for 27-39 weeks, 43.5 for 40-47 weeks, 48.5 for 48-49 weeks, and 51 for 50-52 weeks. The average log annual earnings or average log weekly earnings for a particular education-experience cell is defined as the mean of log annual earnings or log weekly earnings over all workers in the relevant population.

Fraction of time worked: This variable is calculated in the sample of men. The fraction of time worked for each person is defined as the ratio of weeks worked (including zeros) to 52.

United States

The data are drawn from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples (IPUMS) of the U.S. Census. In the 1970 Census, the extract forms a 3 percent sample (obtained by pooling the state, metropolitan area, and neighborhood files). In 1980, 1990, and 2000, the data extracts form a 5 percent sample. The analysis is restricted to men aged 14-64. A person is classified as a Puerto Rican out-migrant if he was born in Puerto Rico. Sampling weights are used in all calculations. A person is classified as U.S.-born of Puerto Rican ancestry if he was born in the United States and is Hispanic of Puerto Rican background (*hispanid* = 200).

Definition of education and experience: I use the IPUMS variables *educrec* to first classify workers into five education groups: high school dropouts with 0-8 years of schooling (*educrec* ≤ 3), high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling (*educrec* = 4 to 6) high school graduates (*educrec* = 7), persons with some college (*educrec* = 8), and college graduates (*educrec* = 9). I assume that age of entry into the labor market is 14 for high school dropouts with less than 8 years of schooling, 16 for high school dropouts with 9-11 years of schooling, 18 for high school graduates, 21 for persons with some college, and 23 for college graduates, and define work experience as the worker's age at the time of the survey minus the assumed age of entry into the labor market. I restrict the analysis to persons who have between 1 and 40 years of experience. Workers are classified into one of 4 experience groups, defined in ten-year intervals.

Counts in education-experience groups: The counts of out-migrants are calculated in the sample of Puerto Rican-born men who do not reside in group quarters and worked at some point in the past year (i.e., have a positive value for weeks worked in the period calendar year).

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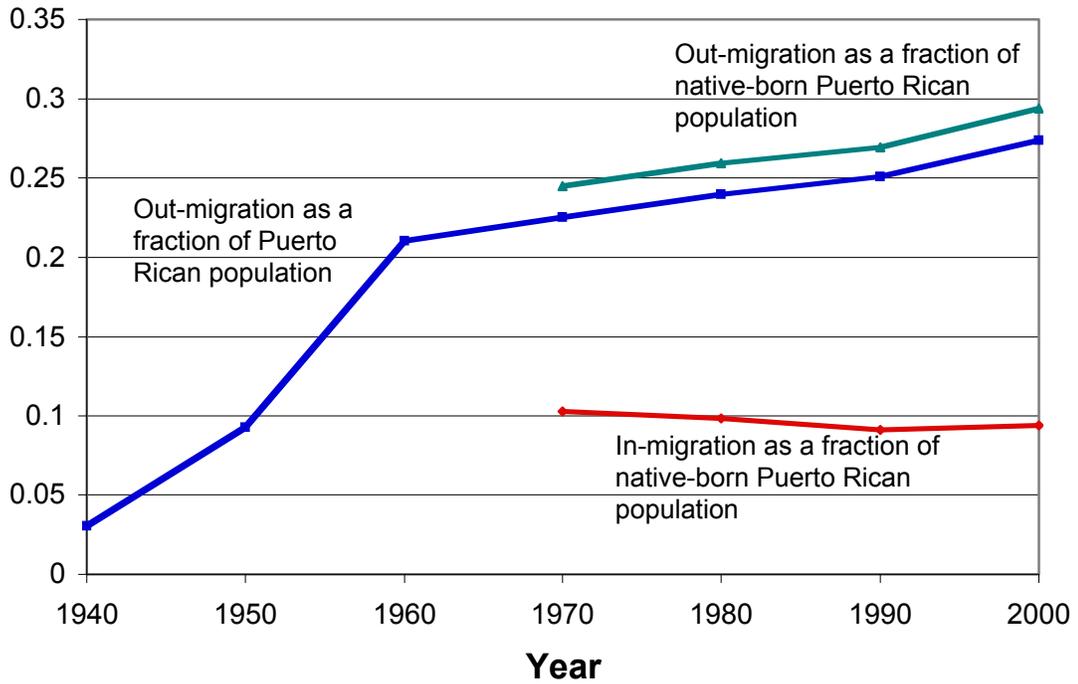
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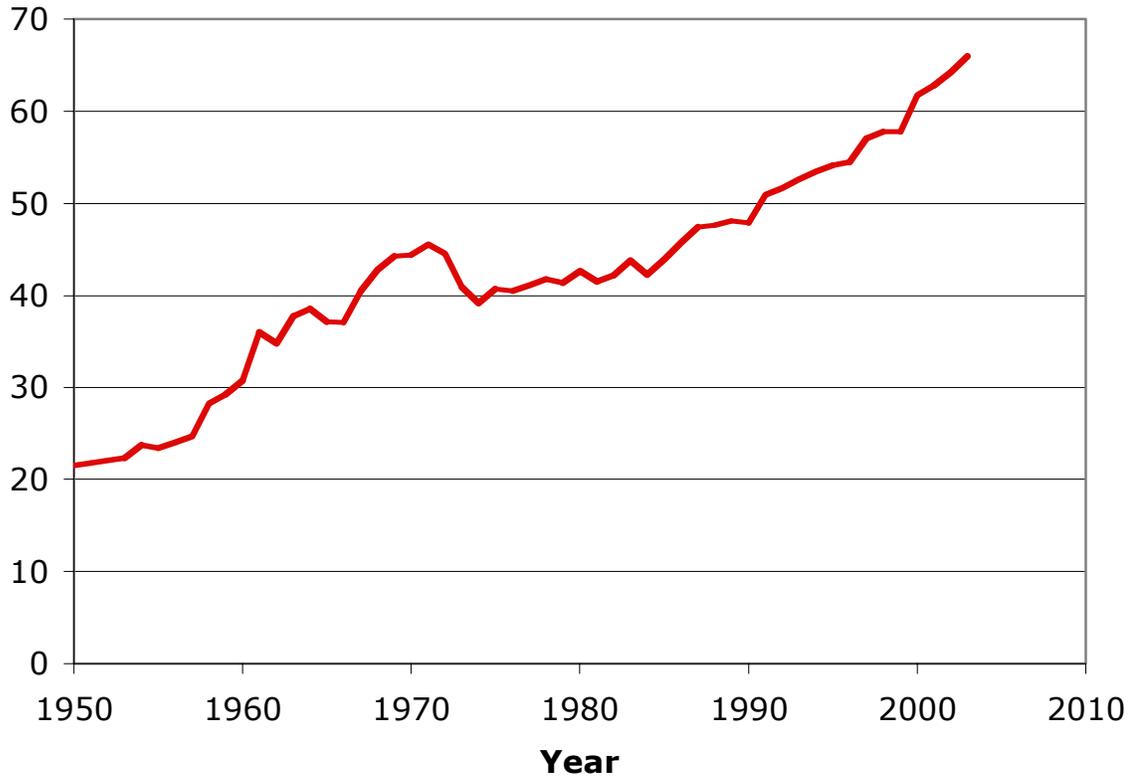
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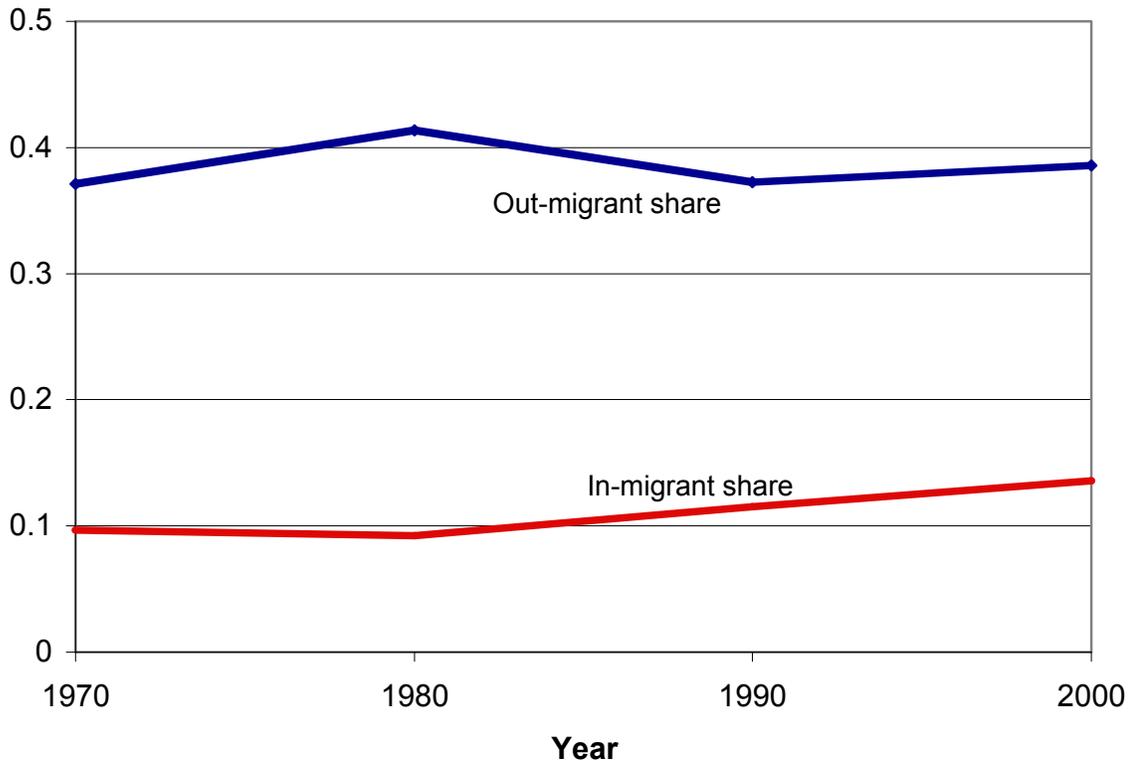
Figure 1. Trends in in-migrant and out-migrant shares in the population



Notes: An out-migrant is a person born in Puerto Rico, but residing in the United States; an in-migrant is a person born outside Puerto Rico, but residing in Puerto Rico. The 1940-2000 out-migration series is defined by the ratio of the number of out-migrants to the Puerto Rican population at a point in time. The denominator in the 1970-2000 in-migrant and out-migrant series is the total number of Puerto Rican born persons (i.e., the sum of Puerto Rican born persons enumerated in both Puerto Rico and the United States). All statistics are based on calculations that use the entire population counts.

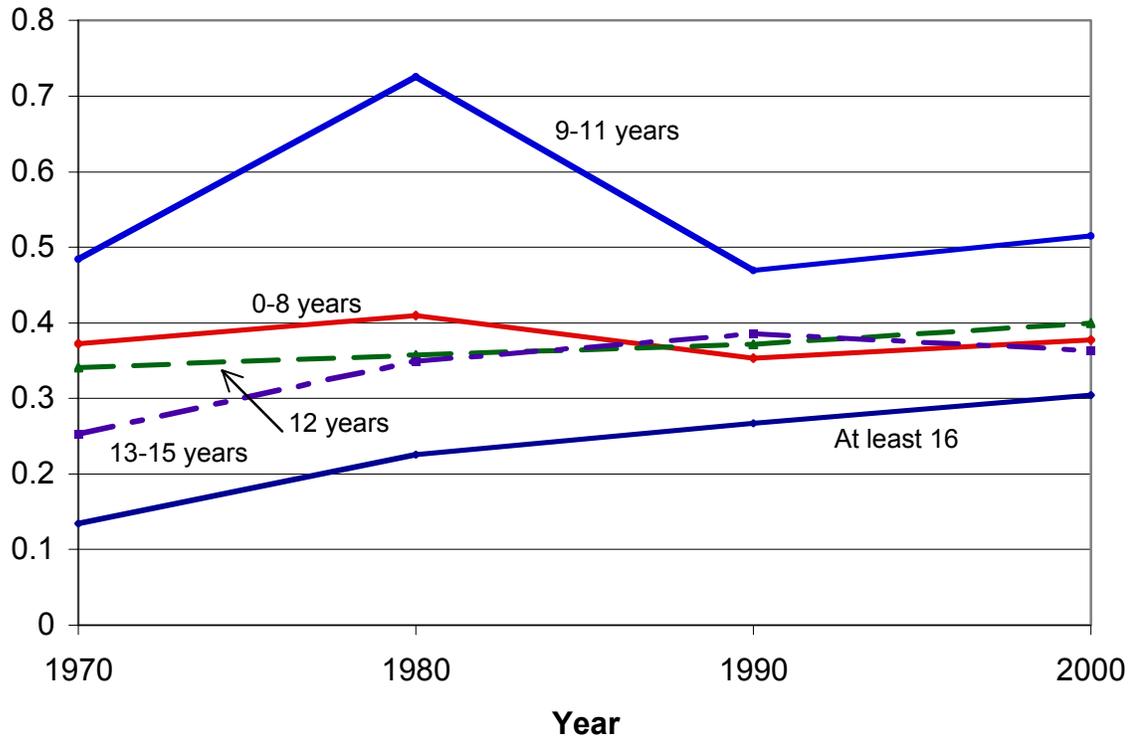
Figure 2. Per-capita GDP of Puerto Rico (relative to U.S.)

Source: Heston, Summers, and Aten (2006), The ratio of per capita GDP is based on GDP estimates that are adjusted for international prices. The 1950-2003 series is obtained by splicing the 1950-1969 estimates from version 6.1 of the Penn World Tables with the post-1970 estimates from version 6.2.

Figure 3. Out-migrant and in-migrant shares for working men

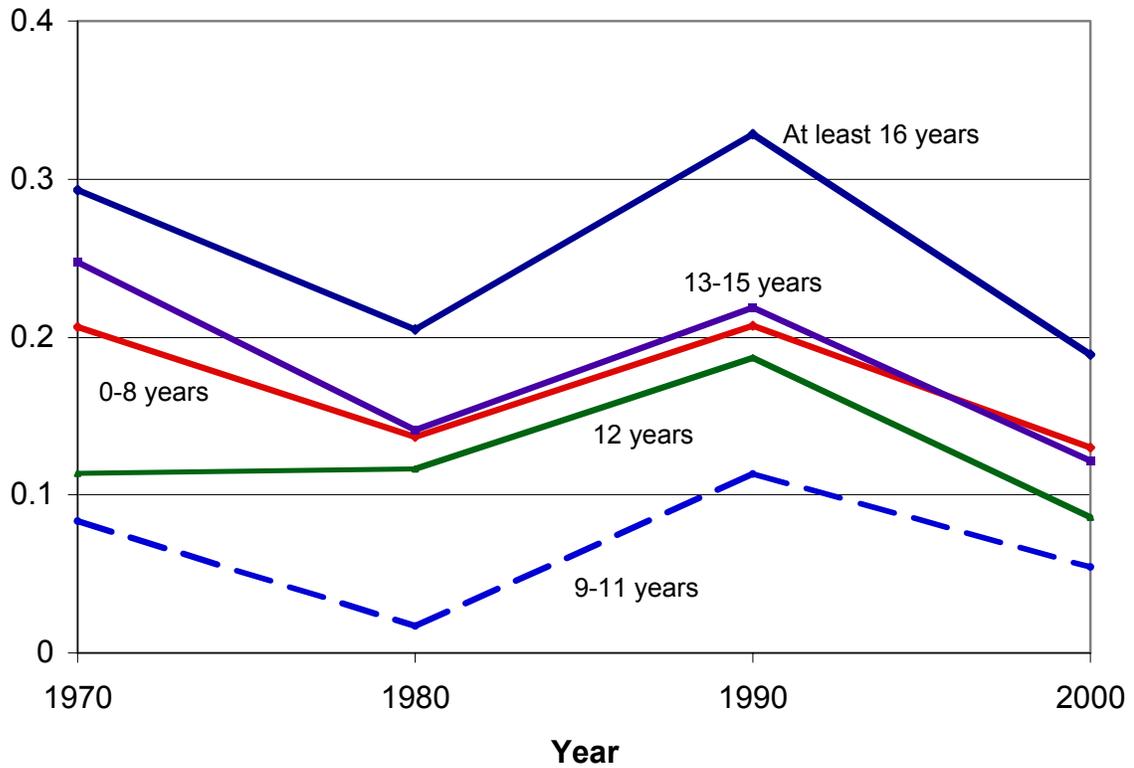
Notes: The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrant working men to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men (defined as the sum of the number of out-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers); the in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of in-migrants working men to the number of working men in the Puerto Rican workforce (defined as the sum of the number of in-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers).

Figure 4. Out-migrant shares of Puerto Rican-born population, by education



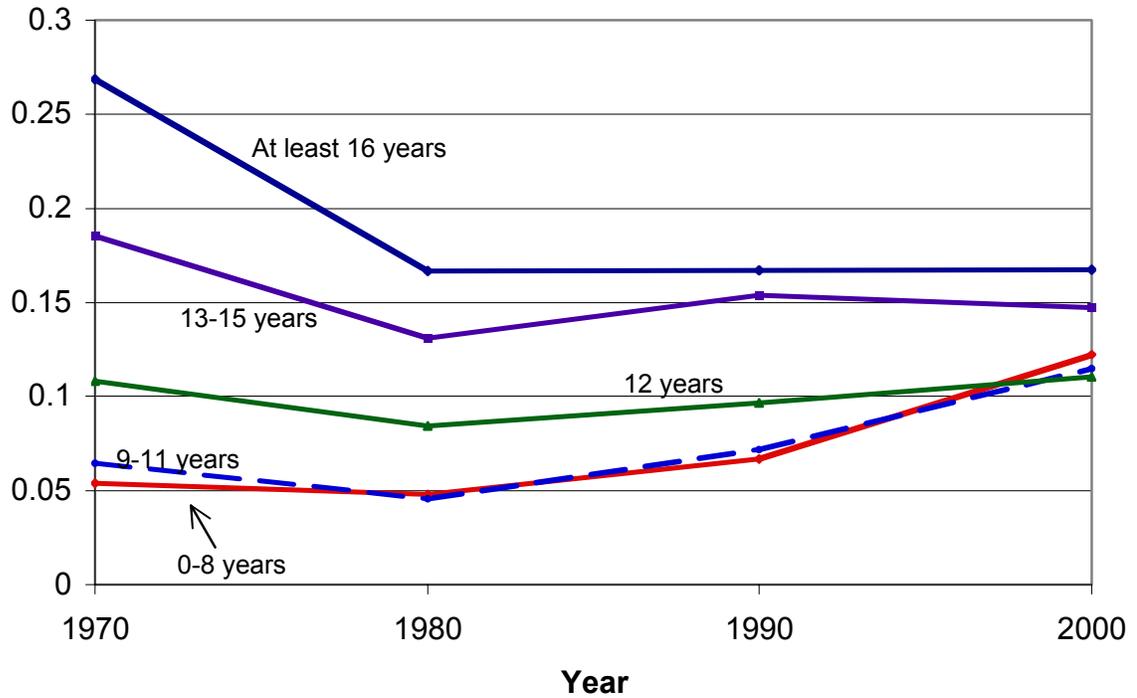
Notes: The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrant working men to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men (defined as the sum of the number of out-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers).

**Figure 5. Out-migrant share of U.S.-born persons to Puerto Rico
(relative to the number of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry)**



Notes: The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of U.S.-born out-migrants to Puerto Rico to the potential number of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry (defined as the sum of the number of out-migrants plus the number of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry who stayed in the United States).

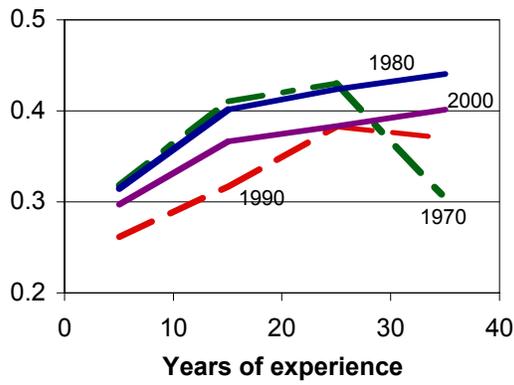
Figure 6. In-migrants in Puerto Rico, as a fraction of the Puerto Rican-born population, by education



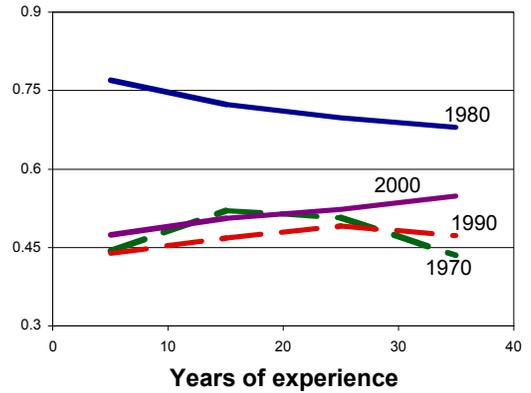
Notes: The in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of in-migrants working men to the number of working men in the Puerto Rican workforce (defined as the sum of the number of in-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers).

Figure 7 – The out-migrant share in Puerto Rico, 1970-2000

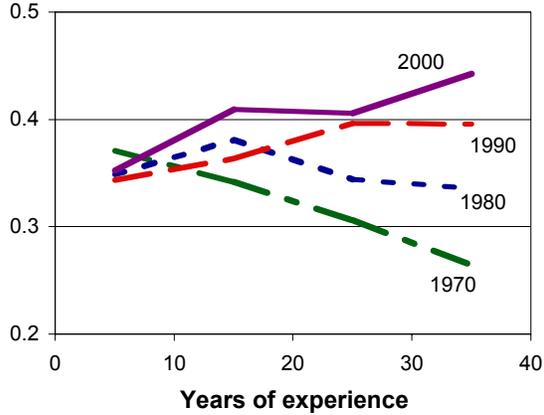
High school dropouts, 0-8



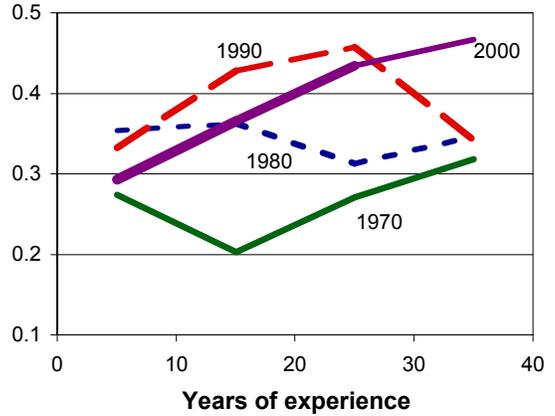
High school dropouts, 9-11



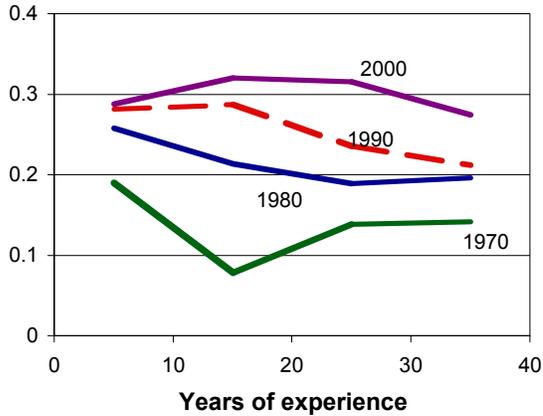
High school graduates



Some college



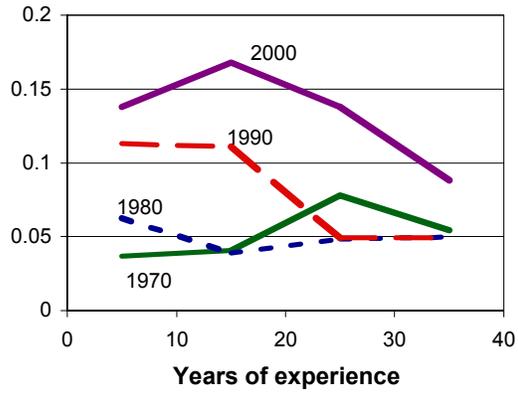
College graduates



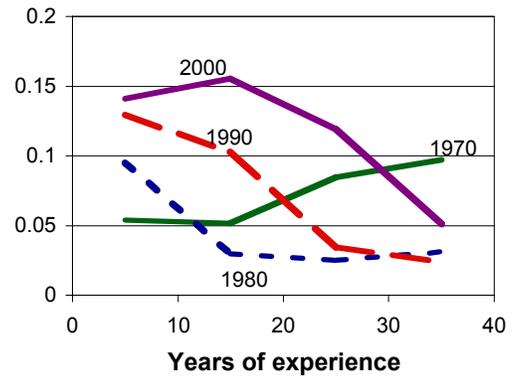
Note: The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrant working men to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men.

Figure 8 – The in-migrant share in Puerto Rico, 1970-2000

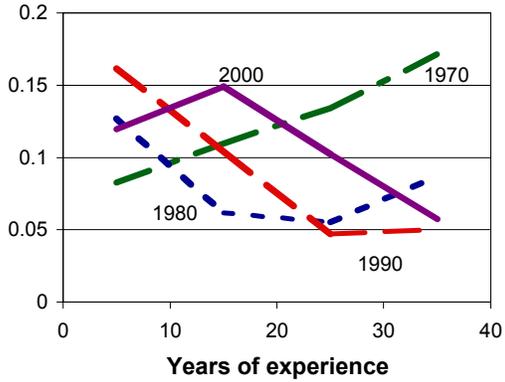
High school dropouts, 0-8



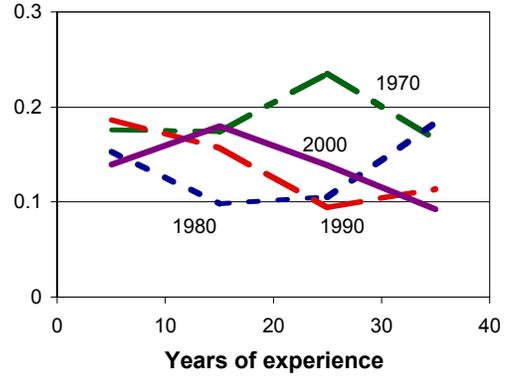
High school dropouts, 9-11



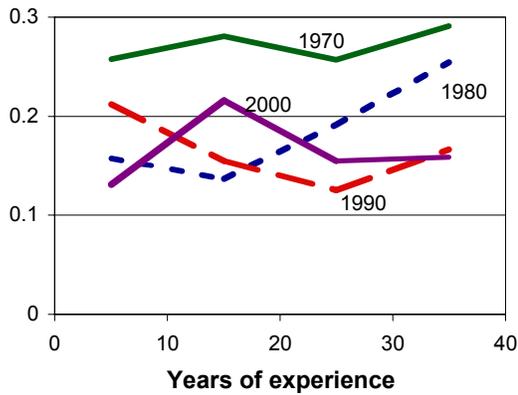
High school graduates



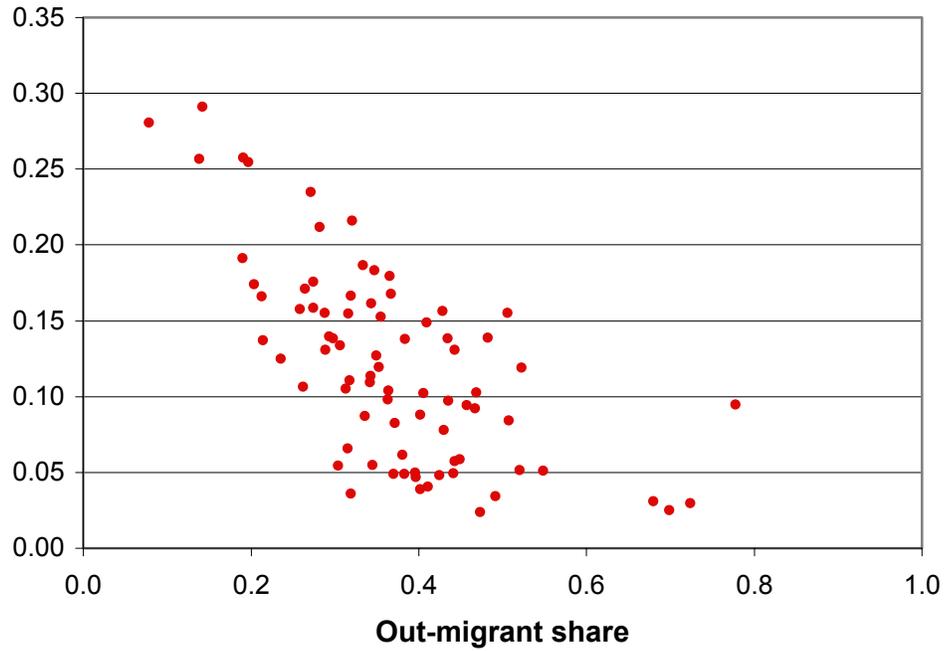
Some college



College graduates



Note: The in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrant working men to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men.

Figure 9. Relation between in-migrant and out-migrant shares

Notes: The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrant working men to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men (defined as the sum of the number of out-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers); the in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of in-migrants working men to the number of working men in the Puerto Rican workforce (defined as the sum of the number of in-migrants plus the number of Puerto Rican stayers).

Table 1. National origin of inflows into Puerto Rico

	1970	1980	1990	2000
Percent of population born outside Puerto Rico	10.3%	9.8%	9.1%	9.4%
Percent of foreign-born population in Puerto Rico born in:				
United States	73.0	80.1	75.2	69.3
Colombia	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.0
Cuba	9.4	7.2	6.0	5.5
Dominican Republic	4.5	6.5	11.1	17.1
Spain	1.7	1.7	1.1	1.1
Percent of U.S.-born population living in Puerto Rico that has Puerto Rican ancestry	47.3	80.7	88.8	80.0

Source: Calculations from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 Puerto Rican censuses. All statistics are based on enumerations from the entire population counts.

**Table 2. Summary characteristics of spread of male wage distributions
in the United States and Puerto Rico**

	1970	1980	1990	2000
United States				
Variance of log weekly earnings	0.542	0.615	0.655	0.710
Residual variance of log weekly earnings	0.414	0.477	0.480	0.533
Experience-adjusted log weekly earnings differential between college graduates and workers with 8-11 years of schooling	0.747	0.726	0.957	1.018
Experience-adjusted log weekly earnings differential between college and high school graduates	0.527	0.444	0.623	0.683
Puerto Rico				
Variance of log weekly earnings	0.713	0.701	0.883	0.727
Residual variance of log weekly earnings	0.559	0.541	0.710	0.569
Experience-adjusted log weekly earnings differential between college graduates and workers with 8-11 years of schooling	1.066	1.066	1.055	1.055
Experience-adjusted log weekly earnings differential between college and high school graduates	0.807	0.760	0.811	0.847

Notes: The calculations in the U.S. Census use the sample of U.S.-born working men aged 18-64, and the calculations in the Puerto Rican Census use the sample of Puerto Rican-born working men aged 18-64.

Table 3. Determinants of labor flows

Model Specification:	U.S. wage is average wage of Puerto Ricans in U.S.			U.S. wage is average wage of native workers in U.S.		
	$w^{US} - w^{PR}$	w^{US}	w^{PR}	$w^{US} - w^{PR}$	w^{US}	w^{PR}
Dependent variable: Out-migrant share of Puerto Rican-born workers from Puerto Rico						
1. No fixed effects	0.128 (0.038)	---	---	0.118 (0.046)	---	---
2. Adds year, skill fixed effects	0.200 (0.076)	---	---	0.283 (0.098)	---	---
3. Adds fixed effects and lagged out-migrant share	0.294 (0.157)			0.312 (0.143)		
4. No fixed effects	---	-0.006 (0.061)	-0.081 (0.035)	---	0.024 (0.059)	-0.103 (0.041)
5. Adds year, skill fixed effects	---	0.250 (0.093)	-0.095 (0.109)	---	0.424 (0.108)	-0.162 (0.115)
6. Adds fixed effects and lagged out-migrant share		0.415 (0.172)	-0.130 (0.179)		0.398 (0.144)	-0.174 (0.195)
Dependent variable: Out-migrant share of U.S.-born workers from the United States						
1. No fixed effects	-0.044 (0.050)	---	---	0.005 (0.059)	---	---
2. Adds year, skill fixed effects	-0.078 (0.045)	---	---	-0.079 (0.049)	---	---
3. Adds fixed effects and lagged out-migrant share	-0.095 (0.053)			-0.110 (0.053)		
4. No fixed effects	---	0.278 (0.054)	-0.092 (0.044)	---	0.214 (0.053)	-0.069 (0.047)
5. Adds year, skill fixed effects	---	-0.176 (0.107)	0.061 (0.053)	---	-0.186 (0.148)	0.060 (0.054)
6. Adds fixed effects and lagged out-migrant share		0.052 (0.217)	0.121 (0.072)		-0.121 (0.166)	0.108 (0.067)

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are adjusted for clustering within education-experience cells. All regressions are weighted by the sum of sampling weights in the cell. The regressions that do not include the lagged out-migrant share have 80 year-education-experience cells; the regressions including the lagged out-migrant share have 60 cells. The out-migrant share in the top panel gives the ratio of the number of working men who left Puerto Rico to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men; the out-migrant share in the bottom panel gives the ratio of the number of U.S.-born workers in Puerto Rico to the potential number of U.S.-born persons of Puerto Rican ancestry. The potential wage in Puerto Rico is given by the average wage of Puerto Rican stayers in the top panel, and by the average wage of U.S.-born immigrants in Puerto Rico in the bottom panel. The potential U.S. wage in the first three columns is given by the average wage of Puerto Rican-born workers in the United States in the top panel, and by the average wage of all workers with Puerto Rican ancestry in the bottom panel.

Table 4. Relation between labor flows and labor market outcomes

<u>Specification</u>	Dependent variable		
	Log annual earnings	Log weekly earnings	Fraction of weeks worked
Model 1			
In-migrant share	-0.452 (0.234)	-0.597 (0.269)	-0.256 (0.173)
Out-migrant share	0.511 (0.234)	0.405 (0.184)	0.250 (0.120)
Model 2			
Net migrant share	-0.497 (0.206)	-0.446 (0.170)	-0.251 (0.097)

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are adjusted for clustering within education-experience cells. All regressions are weighted by the sum of sampling weights in the skill cell and have 80 year-education-experience cells. The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrants to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men, and the in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of in-migrants to the number of working men in the Puerto Rican workforce.

**Table 5. Joint determination of out-migration and weekly wages in Puerto Rico
(IV estimates)**

<u>Regressor</u>	Dependent variable			
	Out-migrant share of Puerto Ricans		Log weekly earnings in Puerto Rico	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean log wage in U.S.	0.450 (0.181)	---	---	---
Mean log wage in Puerto Rico	-0.293 (0.199)	---	---	---
Net log wage gain (U.S. – P.R.)	---	0.479 (0.168)	---	---
In-migrant share	---	---	-1.158 (.370)	---
Out-migrant share	---	---	0.906 (0.625)	---
Net migrant share (In - Out)	---	---	---	-1.204 (0.809)

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses and are adjusted for clustering within education-experience cells. All regressions are weighted by the sum of sampling weights in the skill cell and have 60 year-education-experience cells. The out-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of out-migrants to the potential number of Puerto Rican-born working men, and the in-migrant share gives the ratio of the number of in-migrants to the number of working men in the Puerto Rican workforce. The out-migrant share model uses the wage of Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States as the alternative wage. See the text for a detailed description of the instruments.

Table 6. Predicted wage impact of in-migration and out-migration in 1980-2000

	% Δ in supply due to:		$\Delta \log w$ due to:			6. Actual $\Delta \log w$
	1. In- migration	2. Out- migration	3. In- migration	4. Out- migration	5. All migration	
Wage elasticity: -0.4 for in-migration and -0.2 for out-migration						
All workers	10.6	-19.2	-0.042	0.038	-0.004	0.283
High school dropouts, 0-8	2.4	+51.7	-0.010	-0.102	-0.112	0.351
High school dropouts, 9-11	15.1	+25.0	-0.061	-0.050	-0.111	0.308
High school graduates	7.5	-34.9	-0.030	0.070	0.040	0.243
Some college	17.4	-55.0	-0.070	0.110	0.040	0.237
College graduates	13.9	-38.7	-0.056	0.077	0.021	0.330
Wage elasticity: -0.25 for in- and out-migration						
All workers	10.6	-19.2	-0.026	0.048	0.022	0.283
High school dropouts, 0-8	2.4	+51.7	-0.006	-0.128	-0.135	0.351
High school dropouts, 9-11	15.1	+25.0	-0.038	-0.062	-0.101	0.308
High school graduates	7.5	-34.9	-0.019	0.087	0.068	0.243
Some college	17.4	-55.0	-0.044	0.138	0.094	0.237
College graduates	13.9	-38.7	-0.035	0.097	0.062	0.330

Notes: The variable measuring the group-specific in-migrant supply shock is defined as the number of in-migrants arriving between 1980 and 2000 divided by a baseline population equal to the average size of the Puerto Rican stayer workforce (over 1980-2000) plus the number of in-migrants in 1980. The variable measuring the out-migrant supply shock is defined as the number of persons who out-migrated between 1980 and 2000 divided by a baseline native population equal to the average size of the Puerto Rican stayer workforce (over 1980-2000) plus the number of in-migrants in 1980. The weighted averages reported for "all workers" use the number of workers in each education group as weights.