

# **The Economic Benefits of Expanding the Dream: DAPA and DACA Impacts on New York City and State**

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## **1. Executive Summary**

Towering above the icy waters of the New York Harbor, the Statue of Liberty stands as a testament to the core principles of American society: liberty and opportunity. *Give me your tired, your poor/ Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.* These lines from Emma Lazarus' iconic sonnet the "The New Colossus," are enshrined on a bronze plaque at the statue's base. Starting with its dedication in 1886, the Statue of Liberty greeted generations of immigrants, and for many it was their first glimpse of American life. These immigrants built much of New York City and they constructed the diverse and vibrant culture for which the city is now known.

Today, despite changing demographic trends, the state of New York, and the city at its heart, is home to millions of immigrants.<sup>1</sup> Like their predecessors, these immigrants are a diverse lot who make a significant contribution to New York's economy and culture. Yet, unlike the immigrants who came before them, nearly a million of New York State's foreign-born live in the shadows.<sup>2</sup> These undocumented immigrants are unable to claim the true value of their labor or the full benefits of American residence. For their part, the economies of New York City and State also suffer. By legalizing the work that New York's undocumented population already does, President Obama's recent administrative actions on immigration has, and will continue, to alleviate these immigrant's suffering, as well as that of the regional economies.

In anticipation of the Deferred Action for Parental Accountability (DAPA) program's rollout, the UCLA NAID Center has projected the combined economic impact of DAPA, and its predecessor

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<sup>1</sup> United States Census Bureau / American FactFinder, "B05006 : Place of Birth for the Foreign Born Population in the US: Foreign Born Population Excluding Population Born at Sea." *2013 American Community Survey 1 Year Estimates*. Web. Accessed 25 January 2015, <http://factfinder2.census.gov>.

<sup>2</sup> Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub, "Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles," accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/us-immigration-policy-program-data-hub/unauthorized-immigrant-population-profiles>.

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), in New York City and State.<sup>3</sup> These projections are partially based upon two surveys of DACA beneficiaries conducted by the UCLA NAID Center. One of these surveys was conducted in partnership with the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), while the other was conducted completely in-house. The key findings of our analyses are as follows:

1. 338,000 undocumented immigrants will be eligible for either DACA or DAPA in the New York State, while 230,000 will be eligible in New York City.<sup>4</sup>
2. At full enrollment, the collective wages of these immigrants would grow by \$806 million in New York City and almost \$1.2 billion statewide. Legalizing the work these immigrants do would formalize the value they already add to the economy: more than \$12.1 billion in GDP in New York City and \$17.8 billion in New York State.
3. The wage growth of undocumented DACA and DAPA beneficiaries in New York State would generate more than \$812 million in total new tax revenue (personal, sales and business). In New York City, DACA and DAPA related wage growth will generate more than \$553 million in new tax revenue (personal, sales and business).
4. This wage growth would also support the creation of more than 27,800 jobs in New York State and 18,900 jobs in New York City (including direct, indirect and induced employment).

This report is the fourth in a series of reports whose releases are timed to coincide with the White House's "States in the DACA/DAPA Spotlight" campaign, which will continue over the next 4 months in key states across the country.<sup>5</sup> The UCLA NAID Center is releasing reports on all these key states in order to better inform local leaders and the general public on the significant economic benefits of fully implementing Presidents Obama's DAPA/DACA Executive Actions. These reports will also combat the ill-informed legal and policy challenges to these much needed initiatives through the provision of solid economic evidence.

## **2. The Economic Impact of DAPA and DACA**

On November 20th, 2014, the Obama Administration took executive action on immigration reform and initiated the DAPA program. The administration's bold action ignited a firestorm of partisan sniping. Republican's in congress have proposed repealing the temporary legal status offered by DACA and DAPA, and have threatened to withhold the Department of Homeland

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<sup>3</sup> In this report we have analyzed four of the five counties that make up New York City. Richmond County, home to Staten Island, has far fewer foreign-born than do the other four counties. We did not include Staten Island's undocumented population in any of our calculations. For the remainder of this report, New York City refers to its four largest counties: New York, Kings, Queens and Bronx counties. Because of this our economic impact projections are slightly lower than what the actual impacts will be,

<sup>4</sup> MPI, "Population Profiles."

<sup>5</sup> Read the rest of the reports here: <http://www.naid.ucla.edu/publications>

Security’s funding.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, a coalition of Republican governors, led by the governor-elect of Texas and current state Attorney General, Greg Abbot have filed a lawsuit seeking to block the implementation of DAPA. Abbott has claimed that DAPA’s predecessor; DACA, has harmed the State of Texas’ economy, and that this provides his suit with legal standing.<sup>7</sup> In Texas, these claims are demonstrably false at the state and local level.<sup>8</sup> As our weekly reports show, these claims are equally false in other states and at the national level.

**Table 1**

**Valued Added by Undocumented Population**

	New York City	New York State	United States
<b>DAPA and DACA Combined</b>			
Potentially Eligible Population	230,000	338,000	5,201,000
Formalized Value Added (\$Millions)	\$12,153	\$17,860	\$274,821
<b>All Undocumented</b>			
Population (Over 16 Years Old)	593,000	821,000	10,513,000
Formalized Value Added (\$Millions)	\$31,334	\$43,382	\$555,507

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI’s “Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles.”

**Table 2**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA in New York State**

	State of New York
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	338,000
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$1,184
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$812
Personal Taxes	\$193
Business Taxes	\$345
Sales Taxes	\$274
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	27.8
Direct Employment Gain	15.3
Indirect Employment Gain	5.6
Induced Employment Gain	6.8

<sup>6</sup> Ed O’Keefe, “House votes to block Obama’s immigration actions – but exposes new GOP Divisions” *The Washington Post: Post Politics blog*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015, accessed January 19<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2015/01/14/house-votes-to-block-obamas-immigration-actions-but-exposes-new-gop-divisions/>

<sup>7</sup> Meet the Press, “Meet the Press Transcript – December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014” *NBC News*, Accessed January 19<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meet-press-transcript-december-7-2014-n263416>

<sup>8</sup> See earlier NAID Center Report on DACA and DAPA in Texas: [http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/tx\\_final\\_v1.pdf](http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/tx_final_v1.pdf)

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI's "Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles"

Administrative action in New York has had, and will continue to have, a positive affect on the state's economy. There are 821,000 undocumented immigrants in New York State, of which 338,000 will be eligible for either DACA or DAPA.<sup>9</sup> At full enrollment these programs will impact the state economy in the following ways:

- DACA and DAPA beneficiaries will experience collective wage growth of more than \$1.18 billion.
- This wage growth would bring in more than \$812 million dollars in new business, personal and sales tax revenue.
- These increased earnings would also directly generate almost 15,300 new jobs.
- The resulting increase in indirect employment---which is a change in employment in one industry being caused by a change in another, as a result of interaction between the two---would account for more than 5,600 new jobs.
- Induced employment---which is a change in employment based on changes in household spending---would increase by almost 6,800 jobs.
- In all we estimate that the increase in labor income would generate more than 27,800 new jobs.

**Table 3**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA in New York City**

	<b>New York City</b>
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	230,000
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$806
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$553
Personal Taxes	\$131
Business Taxes	\$235
Sales Taxes	\$186
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	18.9
Direct Employment Gain	10.4
Indirect Employment Gain	3.8
Induced Employment Gain	4.6

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI's "Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles."

<sup>9</sup> MPI, "Population Profiles."

There are roughly 593,000 undocumented immigrants in New York City, of which 230,000 will be eligible for either DACA or DAPA. At full enrollment these programs will impact the city’s economy in the following ways:

- DACA and DAPA beneficiaries will experience collective wage growth of more than \$806 million.
- This wage growth would bring in more than \$553 million dollars in new business, personal and sales tax revenue.
- These increased earnings would also directly generate almost 10,400 new jobs.
- It would also account for more than 3,800 new indirect jobs.
- As well as 4,600 new induced jobs.
- In all we estimate that the increase in labor income would generate more than 18,900 new jobs.

**Table 4**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA Nationally**

	<b>United States</b>
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	5,201,000
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$18,219
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$12,497
Personal Taxes	\$2,970
Business Taxes	\$5,313
Sales Taxes	\$4,214
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	427.6
Direct Employment Gain	236.1
Indirect Employment Gain	86.6
Induced Employment Gain	104.9

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI’s “Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles.”

Nationally, the impacts of DACA and DAPA are striking. The 5.2 million potential applicants would experience a collective wage increase of over \$18.2 billion dollars, which would generate just under \$12.5 billion in new taxes and more than 427,000 new jobs.

**3. Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA by Country of Origin**

The cohort of undocumented immigrants eligible for DACA and DAPA are not a monolith. They come from many different nations, each of which has a unique set of migratory patterns. The result is that while immigrants of Mexican origin constitute a plurality in most cities’ undocumented populations, each of these populations has a unique composition. Because of this, the economic impact of DACA and DAPA is dispersed among national communities differently in different places. It is important to accurately describe the national origin of the potentially eligible population in order to adequately prepare for the challenges posed by the DAPA rollout, and to predict the regional economic impact of DACA and DAPA.

This is especially important in New York City and State, both of which have particularly diverse undocumented populations. Despite being home to the country’s third largest undocumented population, no nationality in New York State constitutes more than 22.5% of the total undocumented population. Accounting for this diversity must be a crucial component of the effort to push DACA and DAPA towards full enrollment. The need for such an effort is clear: There is a direct correlation between the degree to which DACA and DAPA positively impacts the region’s economies and the percentage of eligible applicants who enroll in the programs.

**Table 5**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA for Undocumented Mexicans**

	<b>New York City</b>	<b>New York State</b>	<b>United States</b>
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	51,441	74,337	3,016,699
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$180	\$260	\$10,567
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$124	\$179	\$7,249
Personal Taxes	\$29	\$42	\$1,723
Business Taxes	\$53	\$76	\$3,082
Sales Taxes	\$42	\$60	\$2,444
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	4.2	6.1	248.0
Direct Employment Gain	2.3	3.4	136.9
Indirect Employment Gain	0.9	1.2	50.2
Induced Employment Gain	1.0	1.5	60.8

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI’s “Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles.”

Mexicans in the State of New York, like in most other states, constitute the largest segment of the undocumented population. However, Mexicans in New York constitute a much smaller share of the total undocumented population than they do elsewhere. Undocumented Mexican’s account for just under 22% of the undocumented population in New York State and just over 22% in New York City. This is much smaller than the Mexican undocumented population that we have observed in the other states we have analyzed so far. In California; Mexican undocumented accounted for 71% of the total undocumented population, in Texas; Mexican undocumented accounted for 80% and in Illinois; Mexican undocumented accounted for 73%.

More than 51,000 undocumented Mexicans will be eligible for either DACA or DAPA in New York City, while more than 74,000 will be eligible statewide. In the US as a whole, more than 3,016,000 undocumented Mexicans will be eligible for one of the two programs. At full enrollment, this population would:

- Experience a collective labor income increase of \$180 million in New York City, \$260 million in New York State and \$10.5 billion nationwide.
- This wage growth would bring in \$124 million in new personal, business and sales tax revenue in New York City, \$179 million in New York State and and \$7.2 billion nationwide.
- This wage growth would also create 4,200 new direct, indirect and induced jobs in New York City, 6,100 jobs in New York State, and 248,000 jobs nationwide.

**Table 6**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA for Undocumented Ecuadorians**

	<b>New York City</b>	<b>New York State</b>	<b>United States</b>
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	21,363	29,812	84,103
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$75	\$104	\$295
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$51	\$72	\$202
Personal Taxes	\$12	\$17	\$48
Business Taxes	\$22	\$30	\$86
Sales Taxes	\$17	\$24	\$68
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	1.8	2.5	6.9
Direct Employment Gain	1.0	1.4	3.8
Indirect Employment Gain	0.4	0.5	1.4
Induced Employment Gain	0.4	0.6	1.7

Source: Analysis by the UCLA NAID Center based on data from MPI’s “Unauthorized Immigrant Population Profiles” and MPI’s “Ecuador: From Mass Migration to Return Migration”

Ecuadorians are the second largest undocumented population in New York City and State, and they account for close to 9% of both geographies’ undocumented populations. They are also the only national group, aside from Mexicans, that are among the five largest undocumented populations in each of the four New York City counties analyzed in this report.<sup>10</sup> More than 21,000 undocumented Ecuadorians will be eligible for DACA or DAPA in New York City and just fewer than 30,000 will be eligible statewide.

Unlike in most other states, undocumented immigrants from Ecuador make up the second largest segment of the undocumented population. However, this segment is still a relatively small one. If

<sup>10</sup> MPI, “Population Profiles.”

all eligible undocumented Ecuadorians were to enroll in one of these two programs, they would:

- Experience a collective labor income increase of \$75 million in New York City, \$104 million in New York State and \$295 million nationwide.
- This wage growth in New York City would bring in \$51 million in new personal, business and sales tax revenue, in New York State it would bring in \$72 million and nationwide it would bring in \$295 million.
- This wage growth would also create 1,800 new direct, indirect and induced jobs in New York City, 2,500 jobs in New York State, and 6,900 jobs nationwide.

**Table 7**

**Economic Impact of DACA and DAPA for Undocumented Chinese**

	New York City	New York State
<b>Potentially Eligible Applicants</b>	16,735	26,715
<b>Labor Income Increase (Millions \$)</b>	\$59	\$94
<b>Total New Tax Revenue (Millions \$)</b>	\$40	\$64
Personal Taxes	\$10	\$15
Business Taxes	\$17	\$27
Sales Taxes	\$14	\$22
<b>Total Employment Growth (Thousands)</b>	1.4	2.2
Direct Employment Gain	0.8	1.2
Indirect Employment Gain	0.3	0.4
Induced Employment Gain	0.3	0.5

Immigrants from China make up a significant segment of the undocumented population in New York City and State. However, unlike undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Ecuador, there are very few Chinese immigrants in the Bronx. In fact, they are not among the five largest undocumented populations in the Bronx County.<sup>11</sup> Undocumented Chinese immigrants are concentrated in Brooklyn and in Queens, with a smaller yet still significant presence in Manhattan.<sup>12</sup> In New York City, more than 16,700 undocumented Chinese immigrants will be eligible for either DACA or DAPA, while more than 26,700 will be eligible statewide. If all eligible undocumented Chinese immigrants were to enroll in one of these two programs, they would:

<sup>11</sup> Because we based our economic impact by national origin projections on the MPI Data Hub’s demographic data, and because this data is only available for the five largest undocumented populations in each county, we did not include the Bronx’s undocumented Chinese immigrants in our calculations. As a result these figures should be considered a baseline estimate. The actual number of DACA or DAPA eligible immigrants is likely to be higher, and subsequently the economic impact of DACA and DAPA for undocumented Chinese immigrants will also likely be greater than what is suggested in this report.

<sup>12</sup> MPI, “Population Profiles.”



- Experience a collective labor income increase of \$59 million in New York City and \$94 million in New York State.
- This wage growth in New York City would bring in \$40 million in new personal, business and sales tax revenue, while in New York State it would bring in \$64 million
- This wage growth would also create 1,400 new direct, indirect and induced jobs in New York City and 2,200 jobs direct, indirect and induced jobs in New York State.

#### 4. Methodology

Our projections for the economic impact of DACA and DAPA are based on a methodological tool known as input output modeling (IMPLAN).<sup>13</sup> IMPLAN allows us to analyze the short-term impact of a labor market policy shift---such as the work permits granted by DACA and DAPA---within the current structure of the economy. It therefor allows us to quantify the labor income, tax contributions and productivity of undocumented immigrants and to illustrate the economic impact of formalizing their role in the economy. In addition, we can map the relationship between variables and observe how a change in one variable affects the others.

As new data has become available, this aspect of the IMPLAN model has allowed us to fluidly adjust our projections in a couple of important ways:

1. The Migration Policy Institute (MPI) has recently published a detailed county-by-county and state-by-state profile of the undocumented population in the US. Included in this data set are their estimates of the DACA and DAPA eligible population for each of these geographic units. We have revised our economic impact projections based on these new population estimates.
2. Two recent surveys of DACA beneficiaries conducted by the NAID Center--one of which was conducted in collaboration with CHIRLA using application data from their DACA clinic---have presented new data on the wage impact of DACA in Los Angeles County. Using IMPLAN modeling we were able to observe how changes in predicted wage growth has impacted projected tax revenue and job creation.

Researchers at the NAID Center conducted these two surveys using a unique methodology for each. One was conducted in partnership with CHIRLA and used data collected by their DACA clinic. Staff and volunteers at CHIRLA assisted DACA beneficiaries with the renewal process and collected data from the I-821 and I-765 forms that they submitted to USCIS; the agency tasked with processing DACA applications. This data included renewal applicants' income before and after becoming DACA beneficiaries. Because this clinic is located in LA County the

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<sup>13</sup> For more information on our methodology, specify as it relates to IMPLAN, see the NAID Center Report, *From the Shadows to the Mainstream: Estimating the Economic Impact of Presidential Administrative Action and Comprehensive Immigration Reform*. Download it here: [http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/ucla\\_naid\\_center\\_report\\_-\\_estimating\\_the\\_economic\\_impact\\_of\\_presidential\\_administrative\\_action\\_and\\_comprehensive\\_immigration\\_reform.pdf](http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/ucla_naid_center_report_-_estimating_the_economic_impact_of_presidential_administrative_action_and_comprehensive_immigration_reform.pdf)

vast majority of respondents also resided in the county.

The NAID Center analyzed the wage information provided by 308 respondents, dividing this cohort into those that had reported an income before applying to DACA and those who had not. We then independently calculated the wage growth of the total cohort, as well as those who had an income before and after being granted DACA.

The other survey conducted by the NAID center leveraged existing grassroots “DREAMER” networks in order to provide a nationwide snapshot of DACA beneficiaries. This survey was conducted online and quantified DACA’s impact on respondents’ finances, insurance coverage, employment, access to credit and education among other topics. In total, we polled 216 respondents. We again divided this cohort into those had employment before and after DACA, and those that did not, before calculating the wage growth of the total cohort as well as the cohort who were employed before and after becoming a DACA beneficiary.

The White House Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) has recently published their estimates for the economic effects of executive action on immigration.<sup>14</sup> Like the NAID Center’s report on the same topic,<sup>15</sup> the CEA believes DAPA will have a positive macro-economic impact, as well as a positive affect on the wages of both foreign-born and native-born workers.

Both the NAID Center and CEA relied on the work of Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark who, by studying the impact of IRCA on its beneficiaries, estimate that those affected experience a six to ten percent increase in wages on average. The NAID Center report then projected how this wage growth influenced tax revenue and job creation (for more info see: [From the Shadows to the Mainstream](#)). However, the surveys conducted by the NAID center suggest that DACA has had a much stronger impact on wages than Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark had observed in IRCA’s aftermath. This presents an important avenue for future research and suggests that both the CEA and NAID Center reports may have underestimated the potential economic impact of DACA and DAPA.

## 5. UCLA NAID Center Survey Results

The results of our surveys have revealed a number of interesting trends regarding the impact of DACA on the finances of its beneficiaries.

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<sup>14</sup> Executive Office of the President of the United States, Council of Economic Advisors, *The Economic Effects of Administrative Action on Immigration*. (Washington D.C.: 2014)  
[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/cea\\_2014\\_economic\\_effects\\_of\\_immigration\\_executive\\_action.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/cea_2014_economic_effects_of_immigration_executive_action.pdf) (accessed January 19, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Raul Hinojosa with Maksim Wynn, *From the Shadows to the Mainstream: Estimating the Economic Impact of Presidential Administrative Action and Comprehensive Immigration Reform*, (Los Angeles, CA: North American Integration and Development Center, UCLA, November, 2014)  
[http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/ucla\\_naid\\_center\\_report\\_-\\_estimating\\_the\\_economic\\_impact\\_of\\_presidential\\_administrative\\_action\\_and\\_comprehensive\\_immigration\\_reform.pdf](http://www.naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/ucla_naid_center_report_-_estimating_the_economic_impact_of_presidential_administrative_action_and_comprehensive_immigration_reform.pdf)

1. In both surveys, the average wage growth reported by the cohort that had an income before and after DACA was near 75%. This is roughly ten times the wage growth that Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark had observed.<sup>16</sup>
2. In the CHIRLA/NAID survey, the cohort that had an income before and after DACA experienced almost the same average income growth as did the cohort comprised of all respondents: \$7,980 and \$7,949 respectively.
3. In the online NAID survey the wage growth of both cohorts was also just above 75%. The cohort with an income before and after DACA experienced an average wage growth of 76.6%, while all respondents experienced an average income increase of 82.6%.

**Table 8**

**The Impact of DACA on Beneficiaries' Income (NAID/CHIRLA)**

	All Respondents	Only Respondents With Income Before and After DACA
<b>Average Income Before DACA</b>	\$4,493	\$10,561
<b>Average Income After DACA</b>	\$12,442	\$18,542
<b>Average Income Increase</b>	\$7,949	\$7,980
<b>Percentage Increase in Income</b>	176.9%	75.6%

**Table 9**

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<sup>16</sup> Sherrie A. Kossoudji and Deborah A. Cobb-Clark, “Coming out of the Shadows: Learning about Legal Status and Wages from the Legalized Population,” *Journal of Labor Economics* 20, no. 3 (July 2002): 598–628, doi:10.1086/339611.

## The Impact of DACA on Beneficiaries' Income (NAID)

	All Respondents	Only Respondents With Income Before and After DACA
<b>Average Hourly Wage Before DACA</b>	\$7.07	\$9.14
<b>Average Hourly Wage After DACA</b>	\$12.91	\$16.13
<b>Average Hourly Wage Increase</b>	\$5.84	\$7.00
<b>Percentage Increase in Income</b>	82.6%	76.6%

The results of these surveys suggest that earlier attempts at projecting the macro-economic impact of DACA may be understated. In our previous report we suggested that DACA's education requirement meant that the program would have a greater economic impact than DAPA, even though the latter affected more immigrants. However, the wage growth that we predicted in that report was nowhere near 75%. In light of these findings, it is very possible that DAPA may have a far stronger impact on wages than the 7% that has been used to project its impact in this report.<sup>17</sup> As such, the estimated impacts described in this report should be considered a conservative lower bound.

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<sup>17</sup> For more info on the choice of a 7% wage boost refer to the methodology section in *From the Shadows to the Mainstream*.