

All Roads Lead to Open Borders:

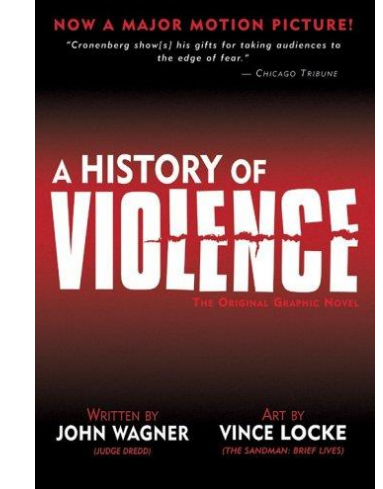
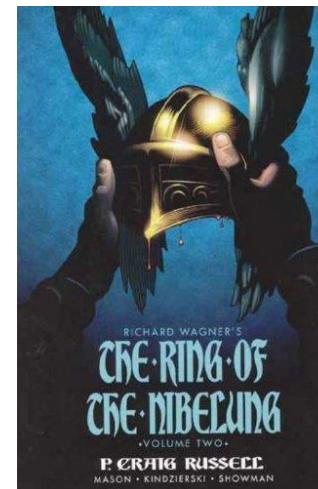
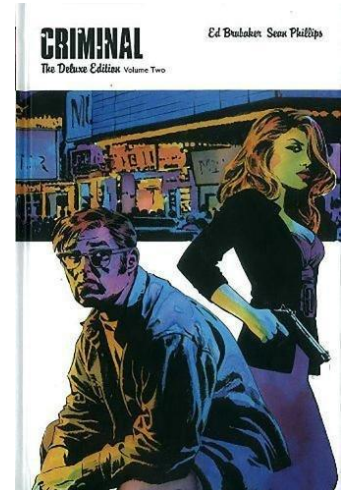
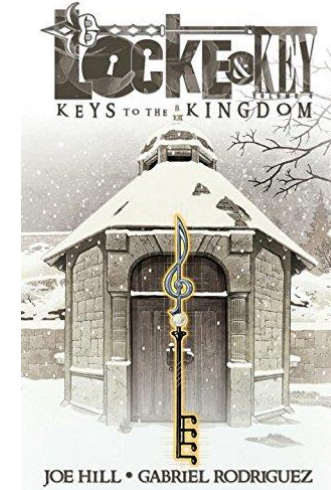
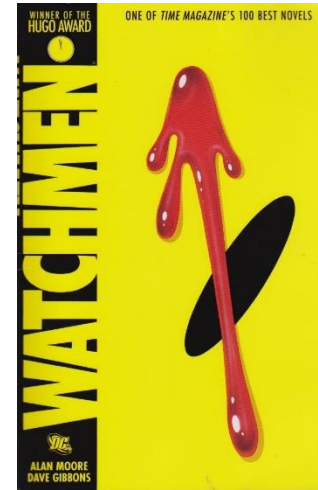
The Ethics and Social Science of Immigration

Bryan Caplan
Dep't of Economics and Mercatus Center
George Mason University

Zach Weinersmith
Saturday Morning Breakfast Cereal

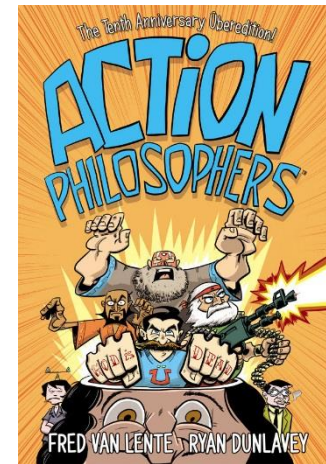
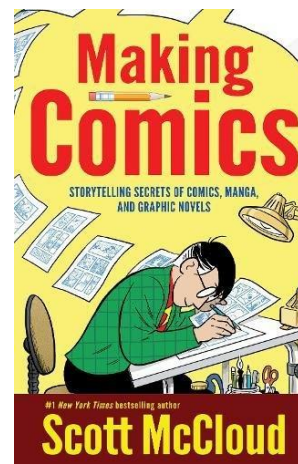
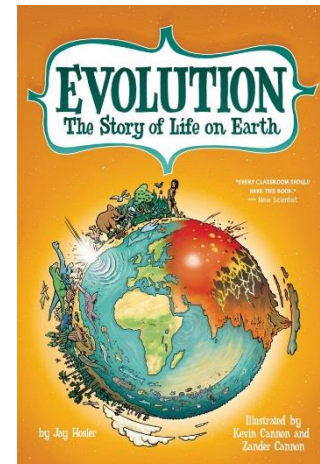
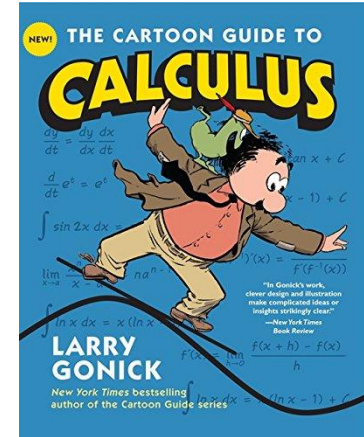
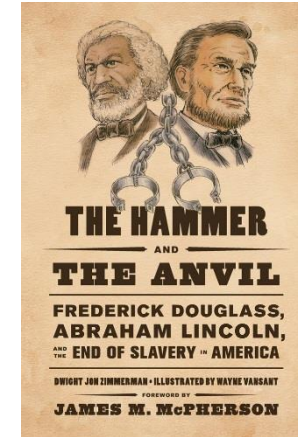
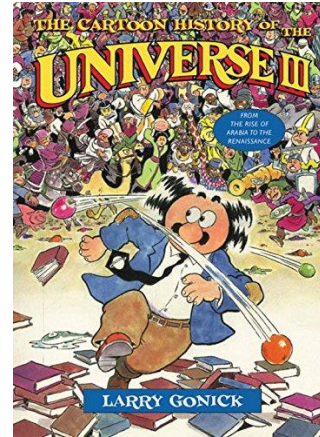
What's a Graphic Novel?

- Graphic novels are literarily serious comic books.
- Goal: Use the *vocabulary* of comics to show-and-tell a story that is...
 - Well-plotted
 - Well-written
 - Visually engaging
- Why write a graphic novel instead of a “real” novel? For starters:
 - Faster pacing.
 - More immersive, especially for description (as opposed to dialogue).
 - “A picture is worth a thousand words.”
- Most graphic novels, like most novels, are works of fiction.

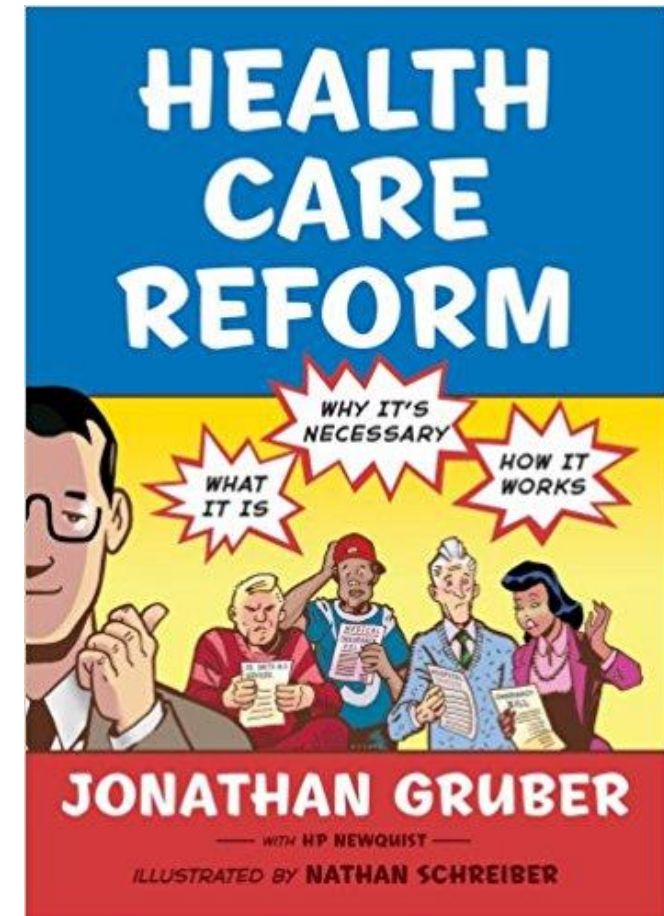
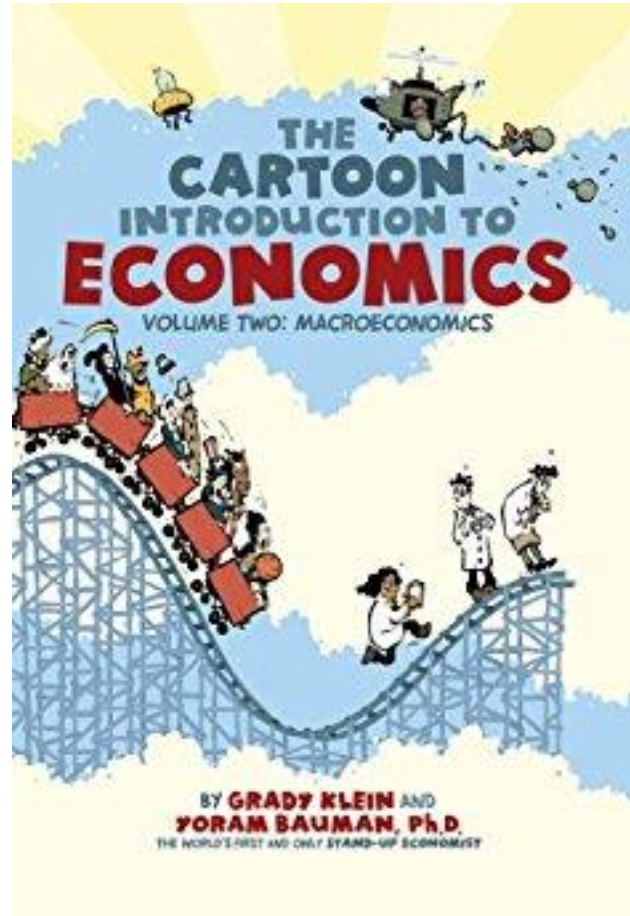
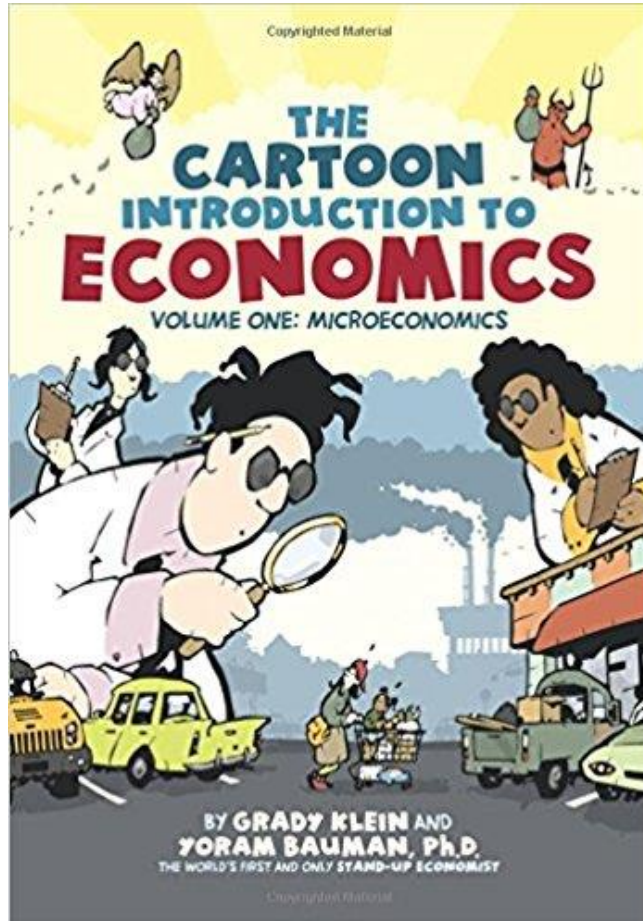


What's a Non-Fiction Graphic Novel?

- Some graphic novels, however, are non-fiction.
- Their goal is not merely to entertain, but to inform.
- Why not just write a regular non-fiction book? All the preceding reasons, plus...
- Better communication and retention:
 - Almost every good teacher interweaves words and pictures. Why? Because it works!
 - Making analogies and thought experiments more vivid.
 - If it bores, it's ignored.
- The range of non-fiction graphic novels is vast: history, biography, math, science, how-to, philosophy, and...



Economics!



My Project

- Over the last 15 years, I've explored and defended the open borders position on immigration - mostly on EconLog, plus one journal article and one book chapter.
- There's lots of fascinating relevant research out there, but most of the authors do little to market their research or tie it to larger issues.
 - Almost none includes undergrads or intelligent laymen in the target audience.
- My project: a non-fiction graphic novel to bring all the main arguments and research together in a scholarly yet entertaining way.
- Division of labor: I do previsualizations and write the script. My collaborator, Zach Weinersmith, does the art and extra dialogue (with colors by Mary Cagle).

Zach Weinersmith

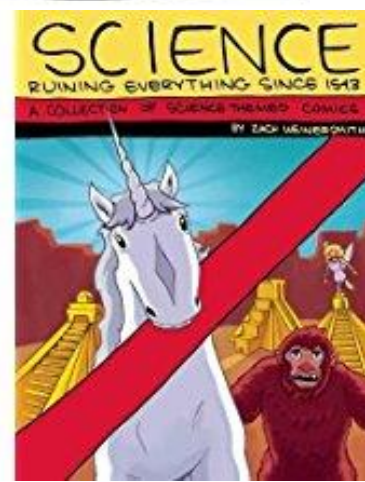
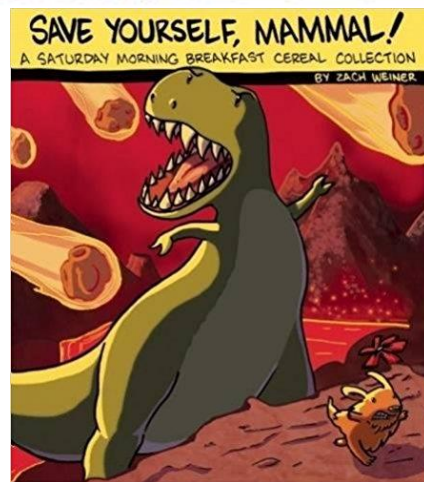
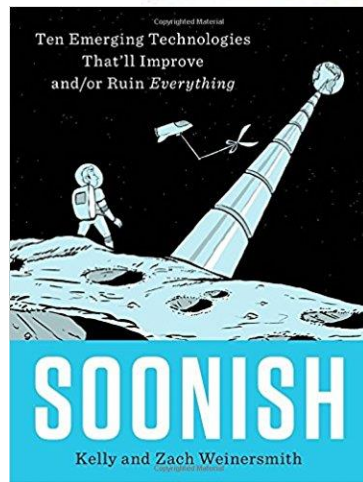
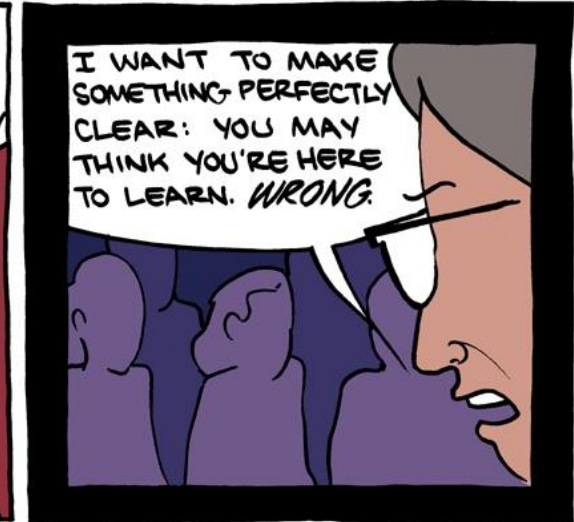
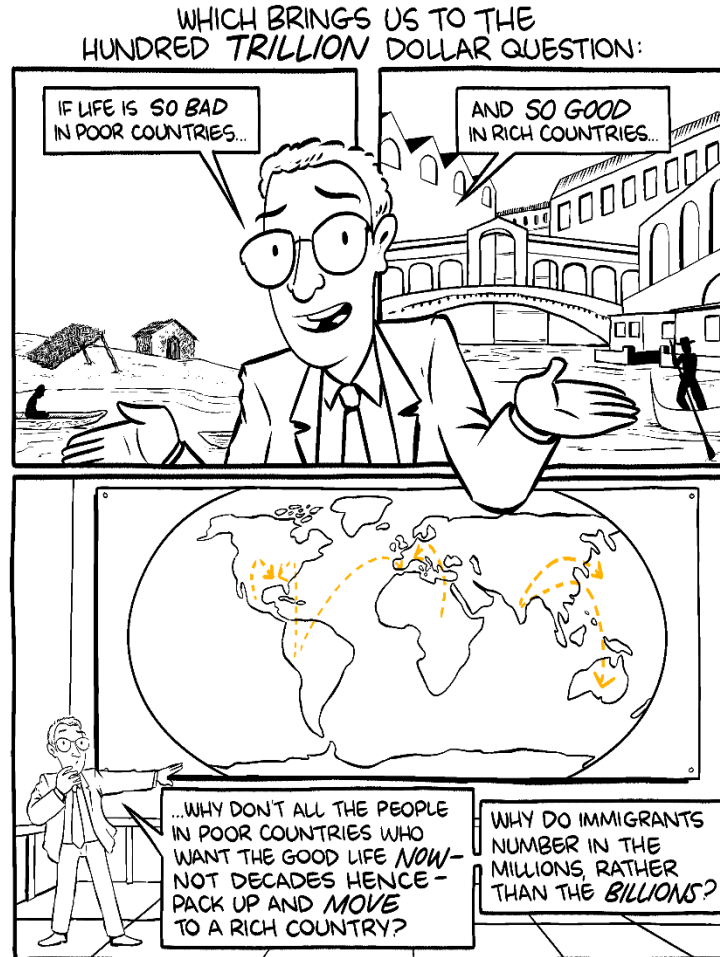
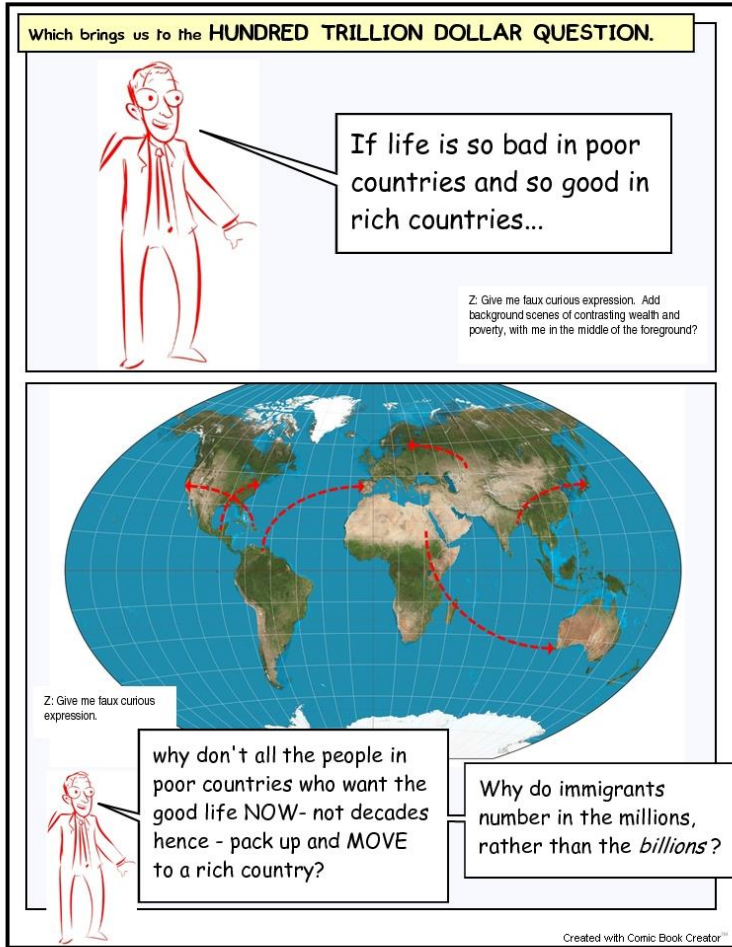


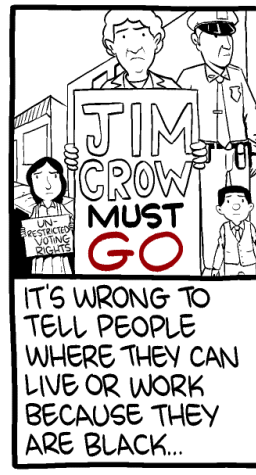
Table of Contents

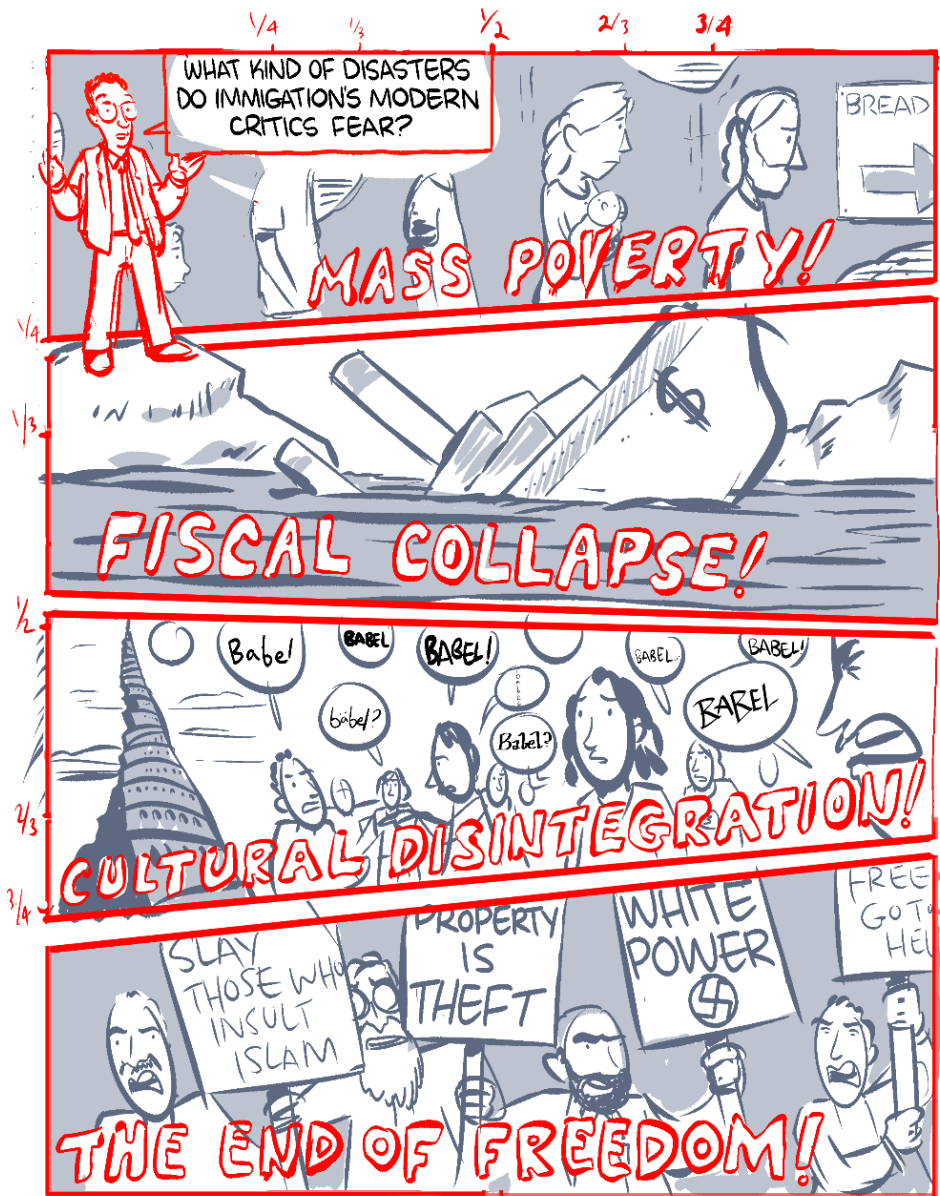
- Chapter 1: Global Apartheid
- Chapter 2: Trillion Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk
- Chapter 3: The Native's Burden
- Chapter 4: Crimes Against Culture
- Chapter 5: The Golden Goose on Trial
- Chapter 6: Keyhole Solutions
- Chapter 7: All Roads Lead to Open Borders
- Chapter 8: Fantastic Journeys – and How to Finish Them

Chapter 1: Global Apartheid

- Massive gaps in global living standards are a major economic puzzle: Why don't people just move from poor countries to rich countries?
- Answer: immigration restrictions. Contrary to popular belief, they're highly effective at preventing movement.
- Intuitively, these laws seem unfair. Why is mandatory discrimination against people who "chose the wrong parents" morally permissible?
- Why not just have open borders? There are four big rationales for the status quo.
 - Preventing poverty.
 - Protecting native taxpayers.
 - Protecting our culture.
 - Political externalities.
- Chapters 2-5 sequentially address each set of arguments.

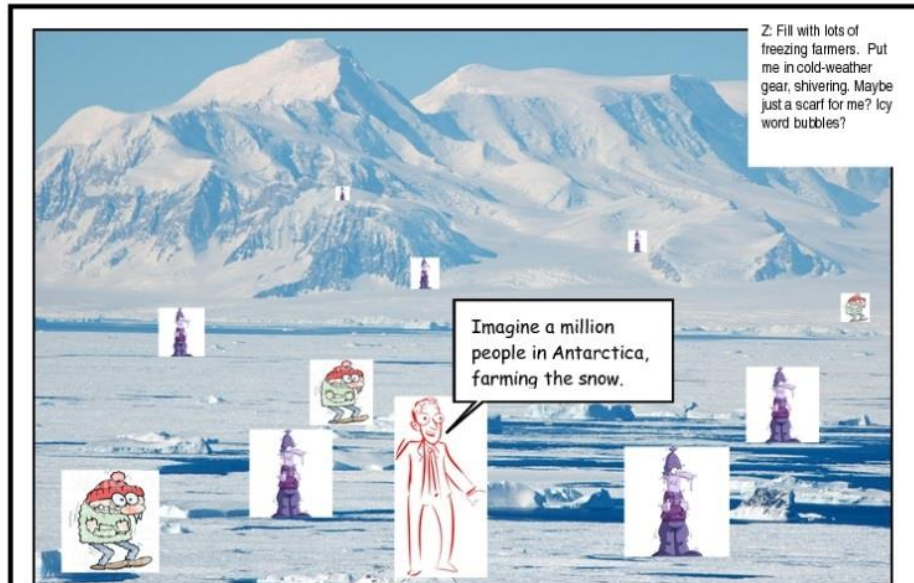




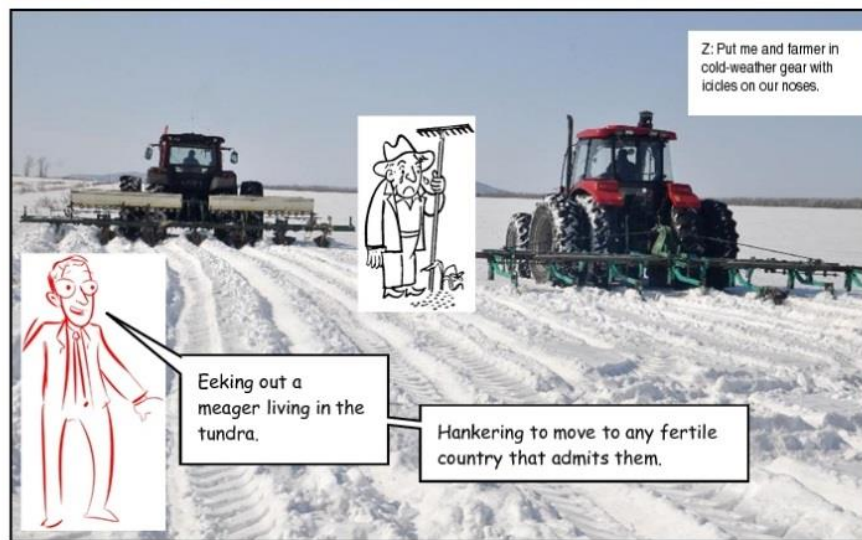


Chapter 2: Trillion Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk

- Most people are *vastly* more productive in the First World than the Third World.
- If it were legal, market forces would lead to massive labor reallocation, enriching the world.
- Standard estimates of the economic gains from this are enormous. In equilibrium, open borders roughly doubles GWP.
- Distributional effects are far less studied.
- Immigrants who produce what you produce hurt you, while immigrants who produce what you consume help you. But with gains this big, net losers would almost surely be rare. Who lost from the Industrial Revolution?
- The Arithmetic Fallacy, Diaspora Dynamics, and Zombie Economies.



Z: Fill with lots of freezing farmers. Put me in cold-weather gear, shivering. Maybe just a scarf for me? Icy word bubbles?



Z: Put me and farmer in cold-weather gear with icicles on our noses.

Hankering to move to any fertile country that admits them.



So what would happen in an open borders world where *anyone* could take a job *anywhere*

Clemens tackles this question in his most famous paper, "Economics and Emigration: Trillion Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk?"

The idea that **IMMIGRATION** causes poverty is as misguided as the idea that **TECHNOLOGY** causes poverty.

If anyone could take a job anywhere, estimated gains range from 50 to 150 percent of Gross **WORLD** Product!

Z: Show me and Clemens making snow angels in a giant pile of trillion-dollar bills with Statue of Liberty on them.

That's anywhere from a "pessimistic" scenario where open borders gives mankind an extra **HALF PLANET** of wealth a year...

to an "optimistic" scenario where open borders gives mankind an extra **ONE-AND-A-HALF PLANETS** of wealth every year.



Z: Show me super-bug-eyed in astonishment.



Z: Show my eyes bugging FAR out of my head in astonishment.



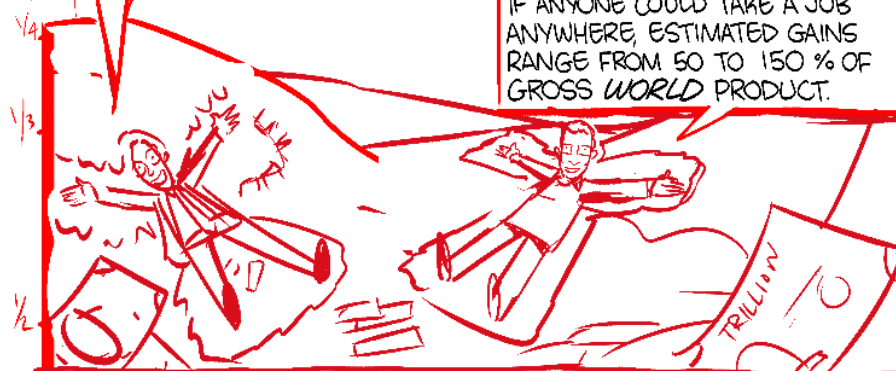
Created with Comic Book Creator™

SO, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN AN OPEN BORDERS WORLD WHERE *ANYONE* COULD TAKE JOB *ANYWHERE*.

CLEMENS TACKLES THIS QUESTION IN HIS MOST FAMOUS PAPER, "ECONOMICS AND IMMIGRATION: TRILLION DOLLAR BILLS ON THE SIDEWALK?"

THE IDEA THAT **IMMIGRATION** CAUSES POVERTY IS AS MISGUIDED AS THE IDEA THAT **TECHNOLOGY** CAUSES POVERTY.

IF ANYONE COULD TAKE A JOB ANYWHERE, ESTIMATED GAINS RANGE FROM 50 TO 150 % OF GROSS **WORLD** PRODUCT.



THAT'S ANYWHERE FROM A "PESSIMISTIC" SCENARIO WHERE OPEN BORDERS GIVES MANKIND AN EXTRA **HALF PLANET** OF WEALTH A YEAR...

TO AN "OPTIMISTIC" SCENARIO WHERE OPEN BORDERS GIVES MANKIND AN EXTRA **ONE-AND A HALF PLANETS** OF WEALTH EVERY YEAR.



Open borders isn't
"trickle-down economics."

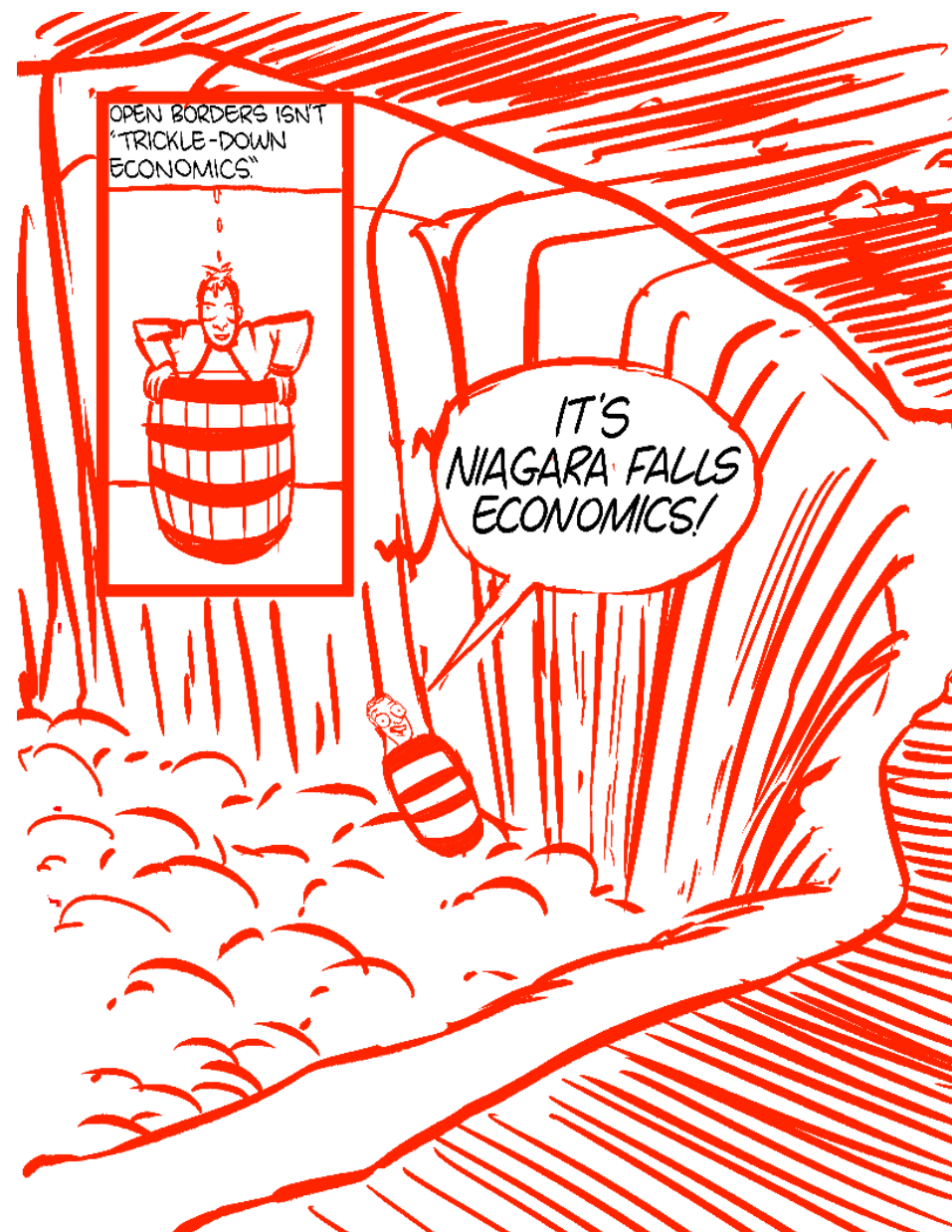


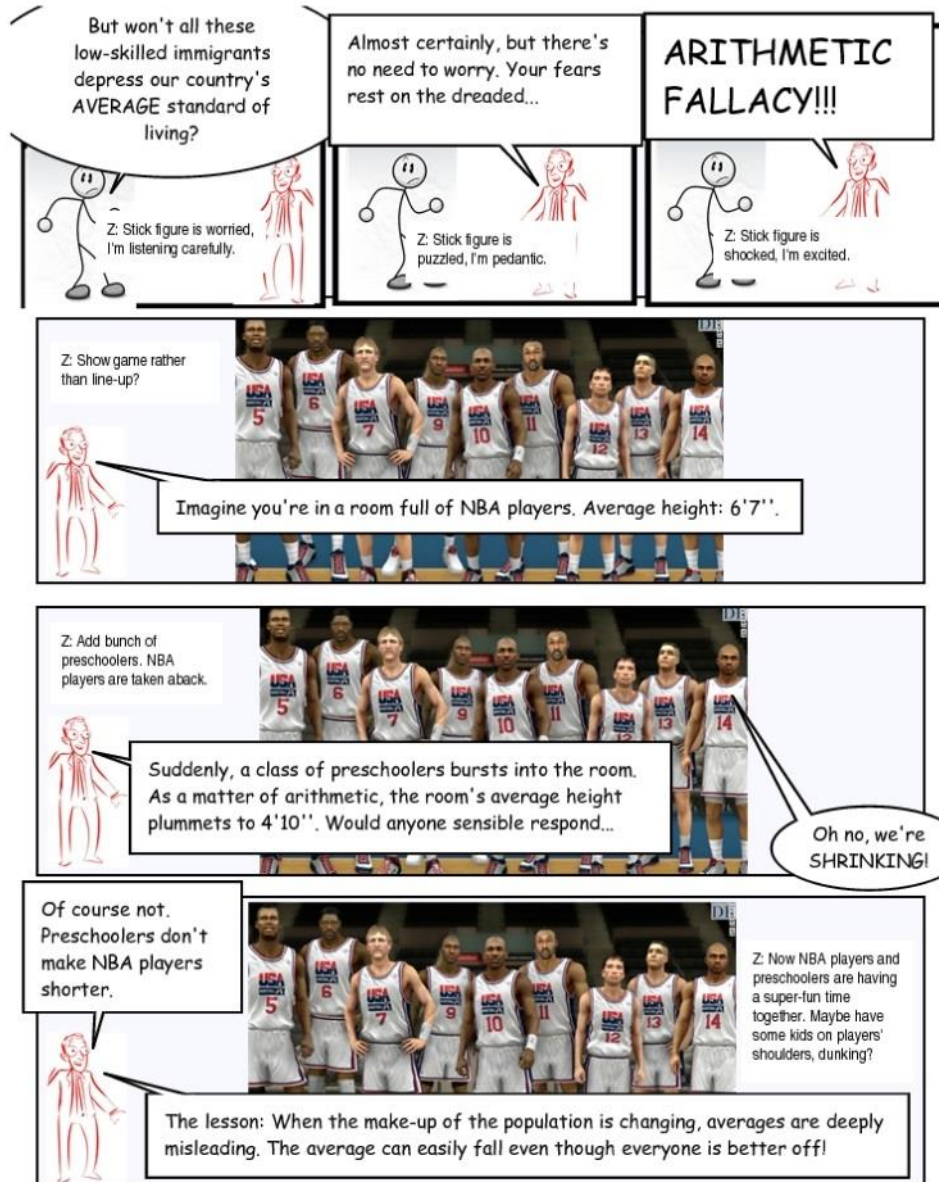
Z: Show thin stream of water trickling
on my head, messing up my hair.
Out-of-focus waterfall right behind me.



It's Niagara
Falls economics!

Z: Add motion lines for
barrel plunging over
Niagara Falls! I've got a
big adrenaline rush.






Chapter 3: The Native's Burden

- Free services and progressive taxes tend to make low-skilled immigration a bad deal for natives.
- Friedman: “You cannot simultaneously have free immigration and a welfare state.”
- But two factors cut the other way:
 - Non-rival goods.
 - Welfare state's focus on the young and old.
- Accounting for all these factors, latest NAS report comes out with positive net fiscal effects for everyone except low-skilled elderly.

All this strongly argues in favor of HIGH-skill immigration.



Since high-skill immigrants earn big bucks, they're clear-cut "net tax payers" - people whose tax bill exceeds the cost of the government services they consume.

Z: Show me at an adding machine, with classic accountants' hat.

Z: Extend all bodies downward, and put Indian woman in a "Google" t-shirt.

The essence of open borders, however, is to welcome immigrants of ALL skill levels. And frankly, most would-be immigrants are low-skill.



Given financial realities, such immigrants are conceivably a big burden on natives.



Z: Make faces look like diverse array of low-skilled immigrants. Give me frank expression.

Fiscal fears make some of immigration's smartest friends reject open borders...



Milton Friedman

You cannot simultaneously have free immigration and a welfare state.

Nobel prize

Immigration Road Map

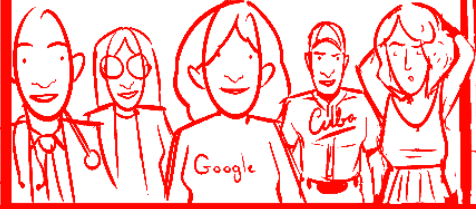
Step 1. Switch to flat tax.
Step 2. Privatize Medicare.
Step 3. End farm subsidies.
...
Step 463. Open Borders!

...or at least treat open borders as the last step in a utopian manifesto.

Z: Make Friedman comically short, and add Nobel medal around his neck. He's holding his book and has conflicted expression. Mimic "Free to Choose" font for labels?


1/4 1/3 1/2 2/3 3/4

ALL THIS STRONGLY ARGUES IN FAVOR OF HIGH-SKILL IMMIGRATION.




SINCE HIGH-SKILL IMMIGRANTS EARN BIG BUCKS, THEY'RE CLEAR-CUT "NET TAX PAYERS" - PEOPLE WHOSE TAX BILL EXCEEDS THE COST OF THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES THEY CONSUME.


THE ESSENCE OF OPEN BORDERS, HOWEVER, IS TO WELCOME IMMIGRANTS OF ALL SKILL LEVELS. AND, FRANKLY, MOST IMMIGRANTS ARE LOW-SKILL



GIVEN FINANCIAL REALITIES, SUCH IMMIGRANTS ARE CONCEIVABLY A BIG BURDEN ON NATIVES.



FISCAL FEARS MAKE SOME OF IMMIGRATION'S SMARTEST FRIENDS REJECT OPEN BORDERS.



Milton Friedman

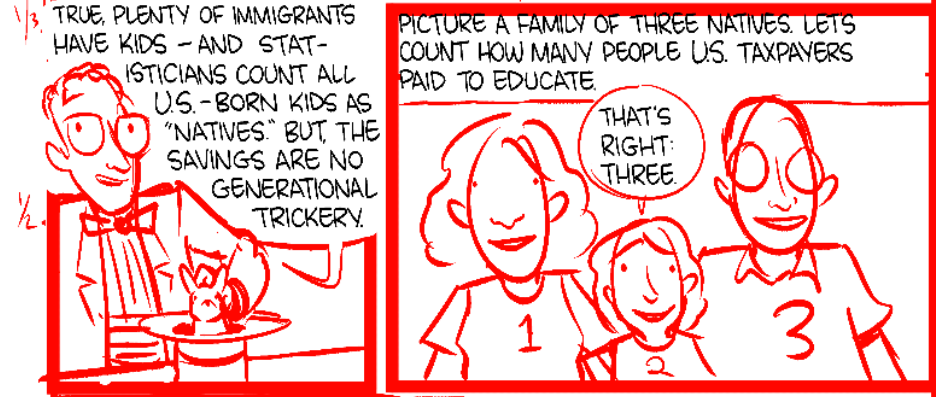
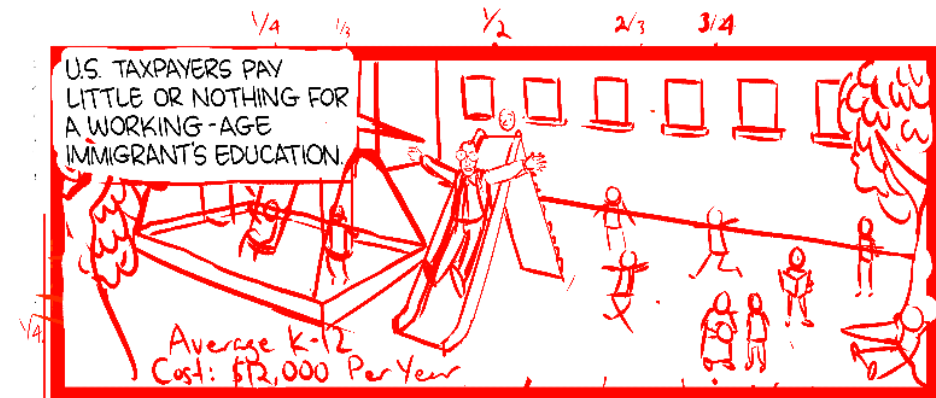
YOU CANNOT SIMULTANEOUSLY HAVE FREE IMMIGRATION AND A WELFARE STATE.

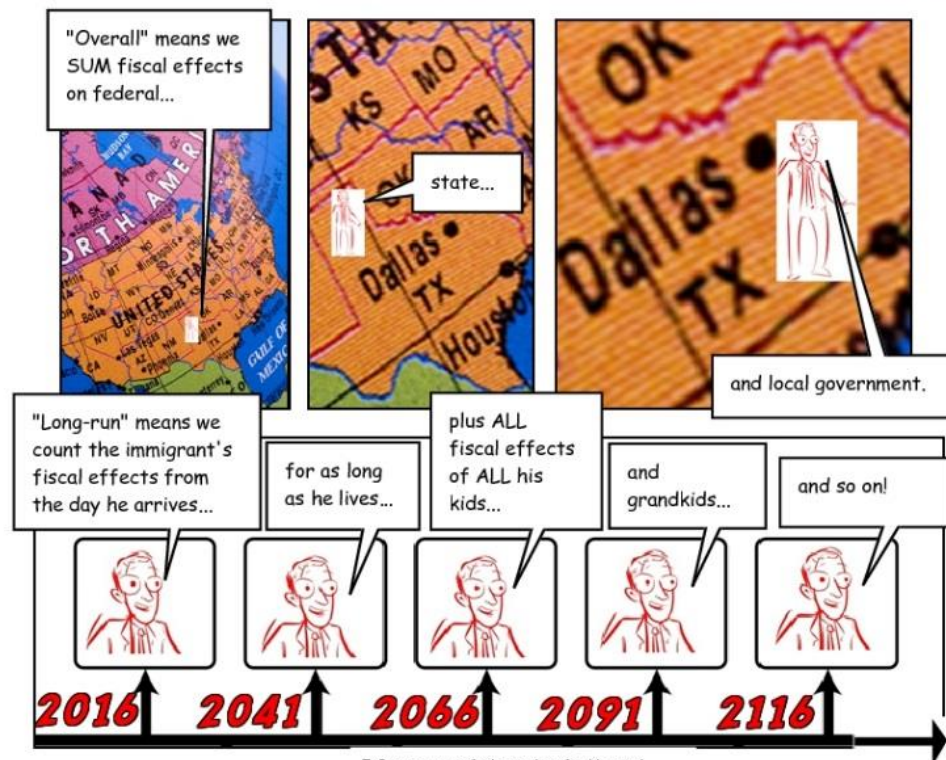
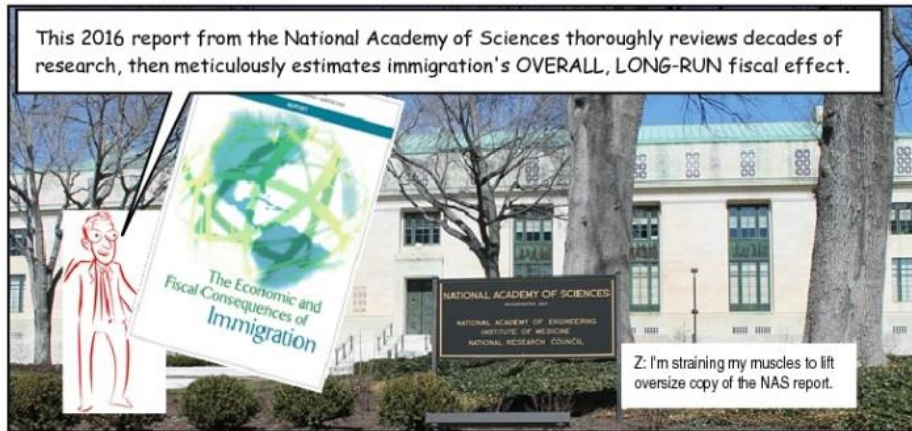
Nobel Prize!

Immigration Road Map

Step 1. Switch to flat tax
Step 2. Privatize Medicare
Step 3. End farm subsidies
...
Step 463. Open Borders!

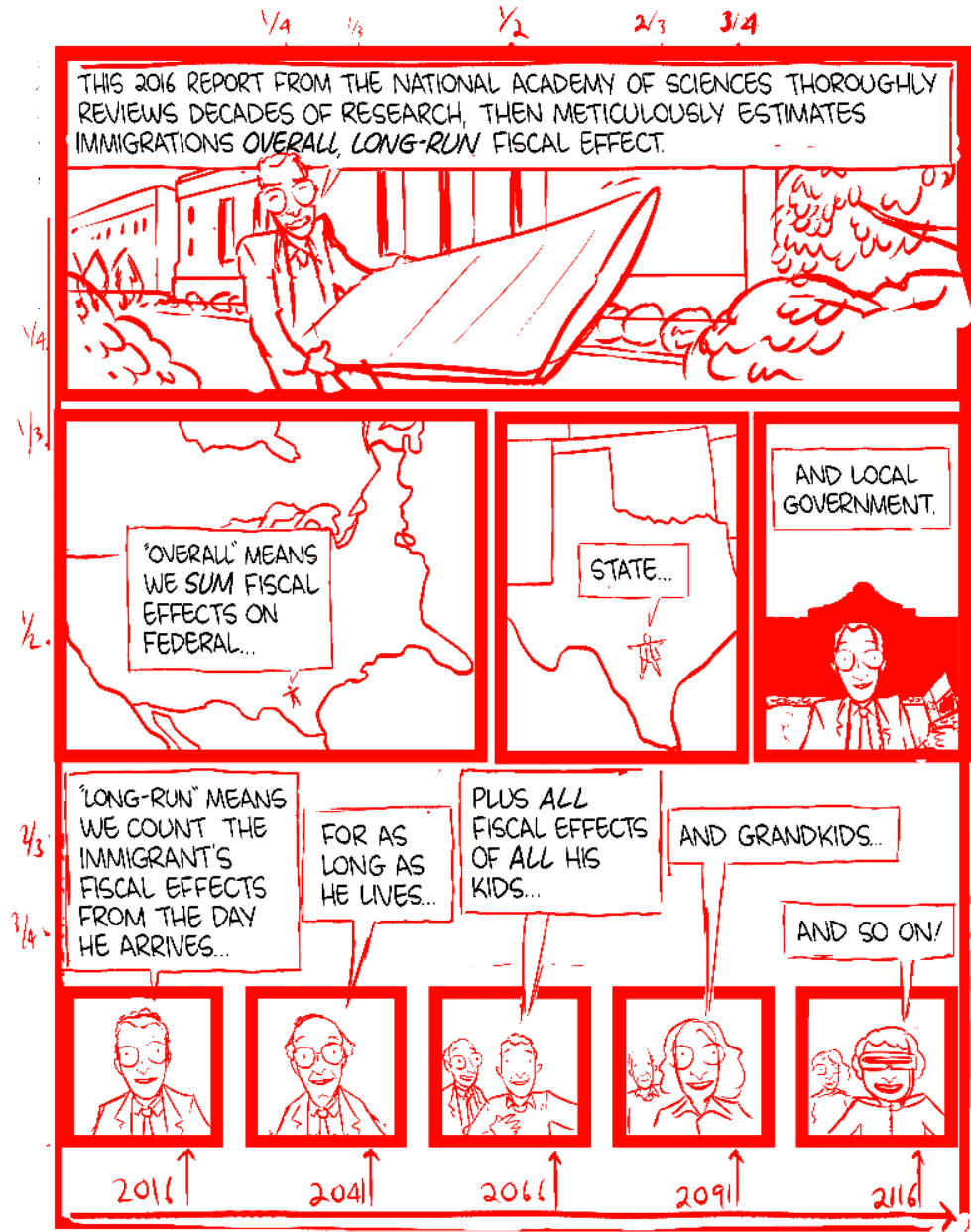
...OR AT LEAST TREAT OPEN BORDERS AS THE LAST STEP IN A UTOPIAN MANIFESTO.





Z: See next page for instructions for this panel.

Created with Comic Book Creator™





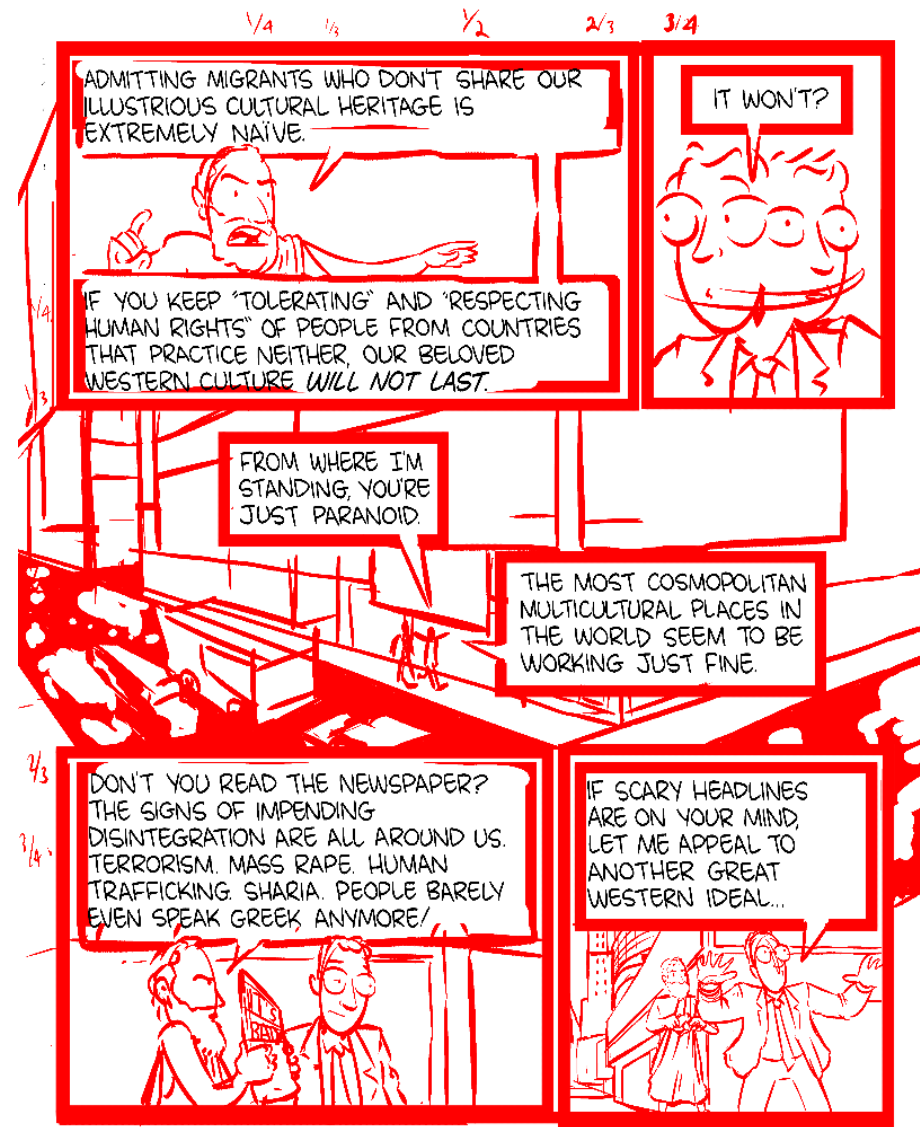
Chapter 4: Crimes Against Culture

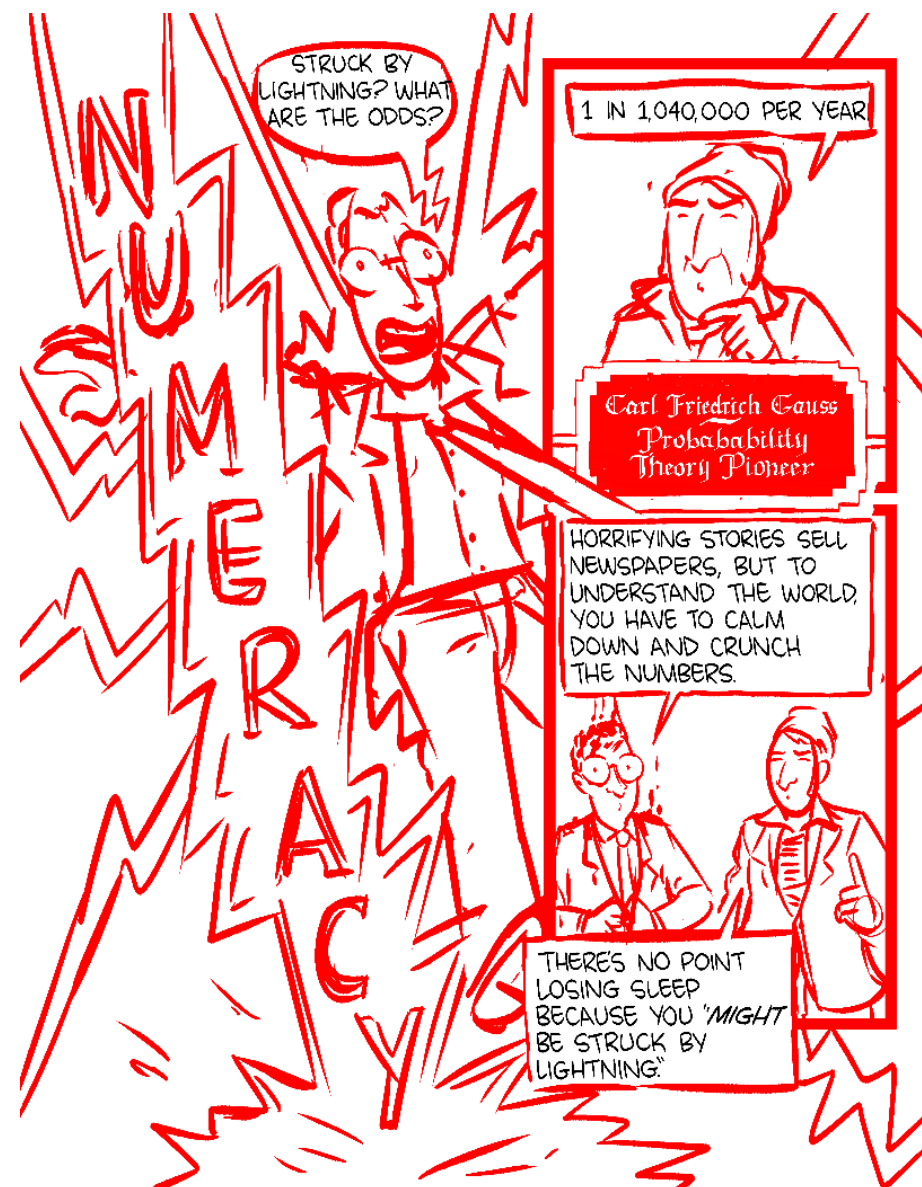
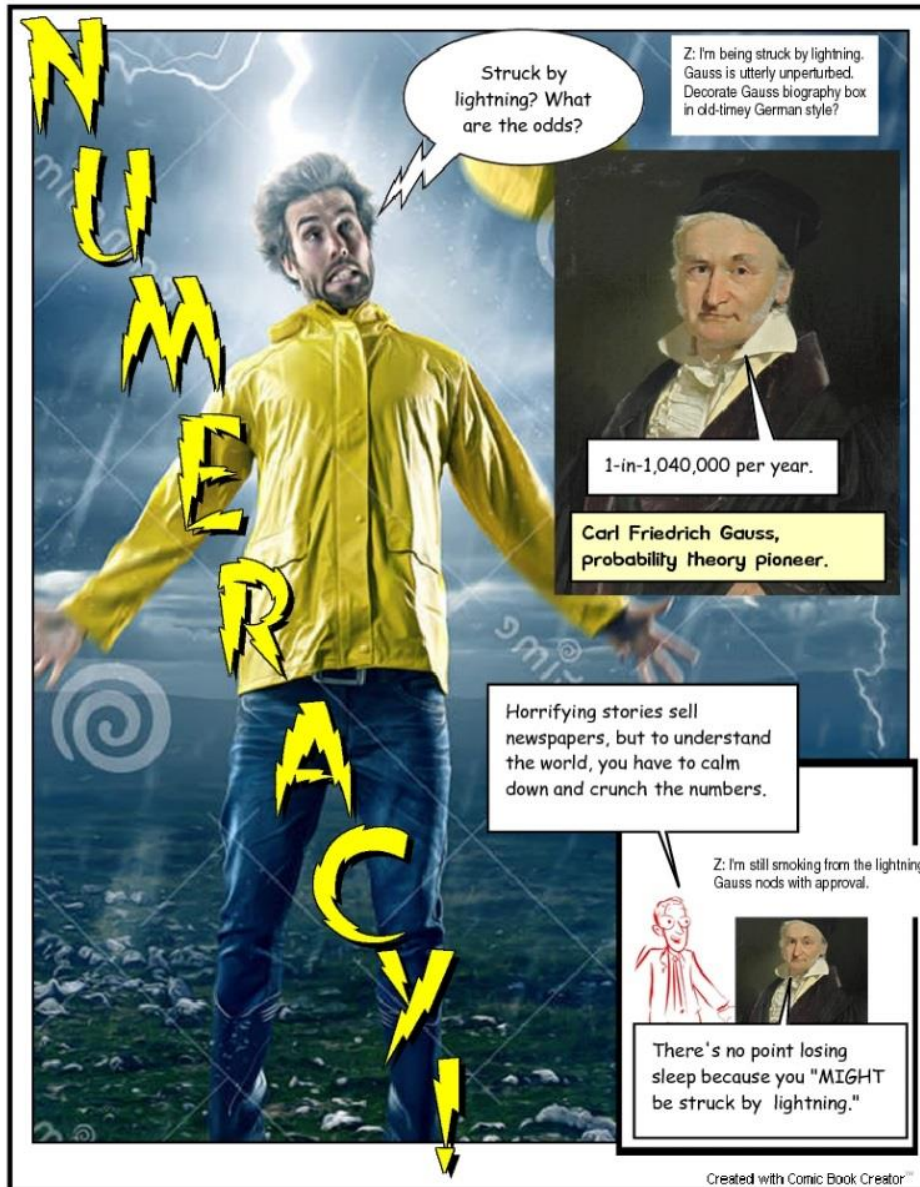
- Will open borders destroy our culture – or spread it?
- Leading cultural complaints are deeply innumerate.
 - Terrorism
 - Crime
 - English acquisition
- The power of pre-assimilation.
- Trust is overrated – and so is trust persistence.
- Western culture is a hardy weed.

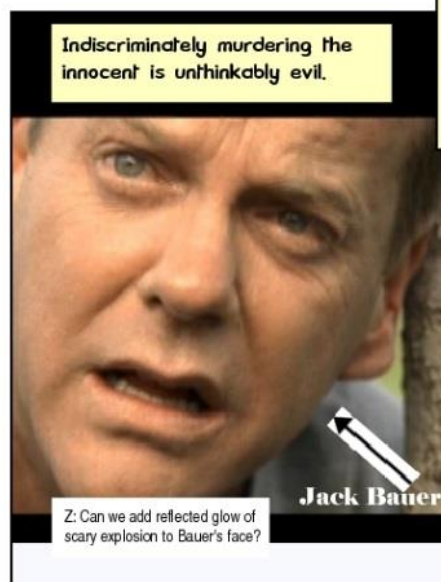
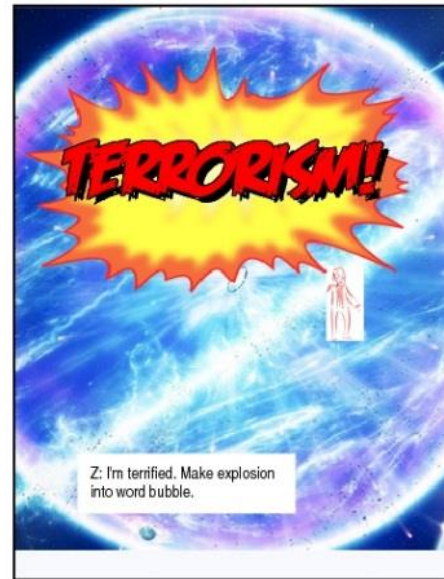
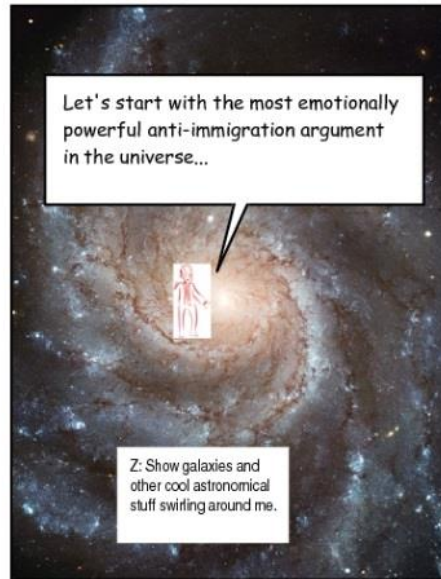


Created with Comic Book Creator









And in the First World, the foreign-born are responsible for most terrorism. From 1975-2015, foreign-born terrorists were responsible for 88% of all terrorism deaths on U.S. soil.

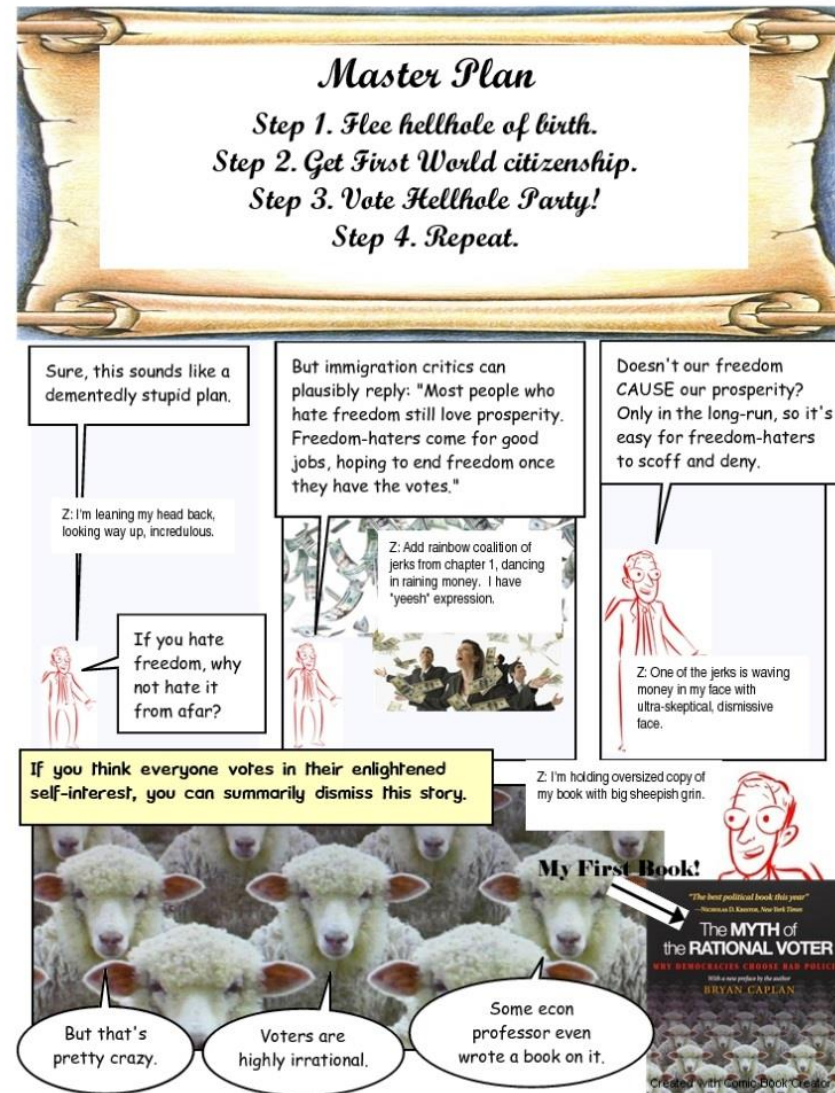


Created with Comic Book Creator



Chapter 5: The Golden Goose on Trial

- Immigrants come to the First World for the *fruits* of freedom. But do they appreciate freedom itself?
 - If you take the Median Voter Model seriously, this could be a big concern.
- Foreign-born are now much more Democratic than natives. But what about their policy views?
- Foreign-born are more economically liberal and socially conservative, but:
 - It's a moderate difference.
 - They vote far less than natives.
 - Gilens and others find politicians pay little attention to low-income voters.
 - Cohesion and the welfare state.
- “Magic dirt” versus “magic culture.”
- Ancestry research.
- The effects of national IQ on national outcomes.
 - Checking the math.
 - Strong evidence of reverse causation.



You fear low-IQ voters because the research shows IQ has a much bigger effect on national income than individual income, right?

$$\frac{GDP(+1 IQ)}{GDP(IQ)} \gg \frac{Income(+1 IQ)}{Income(IQ)}$$

Z: We're both calm.

Affirmative.

OK, consider an extreme case: The whole world moves here, dragging U.S. IQ down to the CURRENT world average.

Current U.S. IQ : 98
Current World IQ : 87

Z: I'm calm, he's alarmed.

An 11 point fall. Doom!

Z: In panels 1-4, alien projects answers on whiteboard with his necklace.

Let's see. According to *Hive Mind*'s main estimate, U.S. per-capita GDP would fall from its current level of \$57,400 to...?

$$\begin{aligned} \text{New U.S. GDP} &= \text{Current GDP} \cdot e^{-0.06 \cdot 11} = \\ &= .52 \cdot \text{Current GDP} \approx \\ &= \$29,700 \end{aligned}$$

Z: I'm calm, he's alarmed.

\$29,700 - a 48% drop!

Gross WORLD Product per capita is now roughly \$15,800. What happens to that?

$$\frac{\text{New GWP}}{\text{Old GWP}} = \frac{\$29,700}{\$15,800} \approx +88\%$$

Z: I'm smug, he's cornered. Give alien funny word bubble?

It roughly doubles.

What?!

Do you mean to tell me that despite your doom-saying, you reach almost exactly the same radically PRO-immigration numbers as Michael Clemens?!

**OPEN BORDERS
DOUBLES
GLOBAL PRODUCTION!**

Z: Clemens takes the necklace from alien to project on whiteboard.

(Best guess).

It's only the basic model. *Hive Mind* investigates an array of subtleties.

Z: I'm amusedly incredulous, Clemens is smug, alien is mildly defensive.

Created with Comic Book Creator

WITHIN the First World, efforts to boost IQ are pretty disappointing.

Early adoption by high-IQ families boosts CHILDREN's IQs...

Z: Do fading effect on a picture of a brain?

! ?

Z: Show savvy little sister and confused full-grown sister.

While many interventions raise IQ, gains normally "fade-out" in a few years.

but even these gains vanish by adulthood.

Moving kids from the Third World to the First, in contrast, has a BIG and LASTING effect on IQ.

Most impressively, a massive study of Swedish conscripts found that recruits adopted as infants from Third World countries had much higher IQs than the average citizen of their country of birth.

Z: Mix ethnic Indian, Ethiopian, Colombian into Swedish army scene.

Growing up in Sweden wipes out at least 40% of the international IQ gap!

Created with Comic Book Creator