Norm Matloff University of California at Davis H-1B Reform: Fix the <u>Real</u> Problems, Instead of Scapegoating the Indians

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The Changing Face of Immigration UC Berkeley, November 16, 2011

Slides at *http://heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/UCB2011.pdf* (see last slide).

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- What, then, SHOULD be done?

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Journalists Beware!

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Industry lobbyists deftly exploit popular images:

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- "Wow, those software developers must be geniuses!"
- "Johnnie can't do math, but Jia Ni can!"
- Negative stereotyping of Third World cultures as "cheaters."

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Definitions for This Talk

- H-1B: the H-1B work visa program
- green cards: employer-sponsored permanent residency
- American: U.S. citizen or permanent resident (no race of nativitiy status implied)

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Where I'm Coming From Regarding H-1B

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Where I'm Coming From Regarding H-1B

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- I know the H-1Bs as people, not as numbers:
 - speak 中文
 - active in Chinese immigrant community
 - know many current and former H-1Bs personally

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H-1B Is Fundamentally About Cheap Labor

¹Hunt ascribes the lower wages to language skills rather than to exploitation. However, the Census data show that language skills don't affect pay in Silicon Valley, also noted qualitatively in Tang (2000).

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- Zavodny (2003) (pro-H-1B)
- Mithas and Lucas (2010) (pro-H-1B)
- Tambe and Hitt (2009) (critical of H-1B)

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Abuse Is through Loopholes, NOT Violation of the Law

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- GAO 2003 employer survey: "Some employers [paid H-1Bs less than Americans]...[but] these employers said they never paid H-1B workers less than the [legally] required wage." So, legal wage is below the market wage.

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Loopholes (cont'd.)

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- No one would be surprised to hear that Intel *et al* use loopholes in the tax code. Immigration code is the same.

Problems, Instead of Scapegoating the Indians

H-1B Reform: Fix the Real

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PERM (Green Card) Data Analysis

³At least 20 or 30% more; see Matloff (2011) $\rightarrow \langle \square \rangle \rightarrow \langle \square \rangle \rightarrow \langle \square \rangle \rightarrow \langle \square \rangle$

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• Thus abuse of H-1B is widespread among mainstream U.S. firms, NOT just the Indian firms.

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Implications for Lofgren Bill etc.

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- Schumer bill, 2010, employed similar scapegoating. Indians and Indian-Americans angry, charge dscrimination (*Wash. Post*, 7/27/10).
- Worse, these bills don't fix the real problem, the loopholes that allow both U.S. and Indian firms to underpay the H-1Bs.

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Age-the Mother of All Loopholes

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Age Factor (cont'd.)

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 - "Microsoft...[Senior VP] David Vaskevitch...acknowledges that the vast majority of Microsoft hires are young, but that is because...there are fewer of [senior] positions"—Vivek Wadha column, 1/15/08

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Age Factor (cont'd.)

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 - "...have to hire college students...[B]ecause it's very expensive to hire only senior talent"-LinkedIn VP, *SJ Merc News*, 6/28/11
 - "Google, Facebook and Microsoft are aggressively recruiting college students..."—USA Today, 4/20/11
 - "We're going for the younger engineers..."—SeaMicro CEO, PBS's Nightly Bus. Report, 9/6/11
 - "Microsoft...[Senior VP] David Vaskevitch...acknowledges that the vast majority of Microsoft hires are young, but that is because...there are fewer of [senior] positions"—Vivek Wadha column, 1/15/08
 - "The half-life of an engineer, software or hardware, is only a few years," former Intel CEO Craig Barrett

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Key Special Case: Foreign Grad Students (MS, PhD) at U.S. Universities

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Norm Matloff University of California at Davis Key Special Case: Foreign Grad Students (MS, PhD) at U.S. Universities

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• Mainstream U.S. firms say:

Norm Matloff University of California at Davis Key Special Case: Foreign Grad Students (MS, PhD) at U.S. Universities

- Mainstream U.S. firms say:
 - "We hire foreign grad students from U.S. campuses, and the Indian firms don't. So, we don't abuse the H-1B program (and the Indians do)."

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- What is the real situation?

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Foreign Grad Students (cont'd.)

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- Foreign CS MS/PhD same talent level (awards, patents, R&D) as Americans, NOT greater; Matloff (2011).

Norm Matloff University of California at Davis "Staple Green-Card to Their Diplomas"—the Wrong Solution

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Our Internal Brain Drain

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Our Internal Brain Drain

• Large foreign worker influx is <u>already</u> causing stagnant wage growth.

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- "A young person who is good at math would be crazy to pursue a STEM career"—Tony Carnevale, Georgetown University, 2011
- "Between 2003 and 2006 the percentage of graduates from MIT going into financial services rose...to almost 25%...Financial firms offer considerably higher pay, better career prospects and insulation against off-shoring..."—Forbes Mag., 4/13/11

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What Should—and Should NOT—Be Done

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What Should—and Should NOT—Be Done

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- My proposal: Instead of "staple a green card," grant automatic green card to any "best and brightest" foreign worker—one with U.S. job offer at 90th percentile.

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But Will Genuine Reform Occur?

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Slides Went by Too Quickly?

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Slides available at http://heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/UCB2011Slides.pdf.

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Futher topics in backup slides, after this one.

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Skill Sets

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Skill Sets

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Is it a matter of older people not having up-to-date skills? NO.

• Training their H-1B replacements. See e.g. "BofA: Train your replacement, or no severence pay for you," *SF Chronicle*, 6/9/06.

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H-1B Reform: Fix the <u>Real</u> Problems, Instead of Scapegoating the Indians

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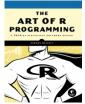
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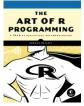
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• If the H-1Bs do have the "hot" skills, why aren't they paid above average?

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Skill Sets Case Study

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Skill Sets Case Study

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Skill Sets Case Study

ITAA (industry trade group) report calling for higher H-1B cap, 1997:

Training employees [in new IT skills]...creates other issues. "You take a \$45,000 asset, spend some time and money training him, and suddenly he's turned into an \$80,000 asset," says Mary Kay Cosmetics CIO Trey Bradley."...[The newly-upgraded workers] become highly marketable individuals and, therefore, are attractive to other employers.

So it's not a skills issue; it's a money issue. Ms. Bradley doesn't want to pay that \$80K.

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There Is No Tech Labor Shortage

- Wadhwa studies (e.g. asking HR about hiring bonuses)
- Dice.com, 2011: tech wages up only 1% in 2010
- *SJ Merc News*, 2011: Silicon Valley wages up only 3% since 2009
- NACE, 2011: wages for new CS grads up only 3% from last year
- Carnevale, 2011: engineering wages rising the slowest of any group
- House testimony by TI, 2011: there ARE enough students who get Bachelor's degrees in engineering

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"They'll Go Home to Compete with Us!"

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We should keep the top foreign talents, not the mediocre ones. Research by UCB professor Saxenian shows that even if they stay, they <u>still</u> help companies back home compete with us (through consulting, investment, etc.).

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We should keep the top foreign talents, not the mediocre ones. Research by UCB professor Saxenian shows that even if they stay, they <u>still</u> help companies back home compete with us (through consulting, investment, etc.). We should make sure we do NOT have an internal brain drain, which H-1B is causing.