Immigration and the Tech Industry: A Labor Shortage Remedy, an Innovation Booster, or a Cost Saver?

Norm Matloff University of California at Davis

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Slides will be updated at http://heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/CIIPSlides.pdf Immigration and the Tech Industry: A Labor Shortage Remedy, an Innovation Booster, or a Cost Saver?

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My Immigrant and Tech Industry Connections

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- Former statistics professor; continue in statistics research and consulting.

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Points to Be Covered

Cost Saver?

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• There is no tech labor shortage.

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- The foreign tech workers are not typically "the best and the brightest"
- The foreign tech workers are valued so much by employers as a source of cheap, immobile labor.

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Points to Be Addressed, cont'd.

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Points to Be Addressed, cont'd.

Overhiring of foreign tech workers is causing:

wage suppression

Points to Be Addressed, cont'd.

- wage suppression
- greatly curtailed careers;

Points to Be Addressed, cont'd.

- wage suppression
- greatly curtailed careers; H-1B is fundamentally about age

Points to Be Addressed, cont'd.

- wage suppression
- greatly curtailed careers; H-1B is fundamentally about age
- an internal brain drain in the U.S.

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Cost Saver?

Worker Fields of Focus

Economists and the "Ptolemy epicycle problem."

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- Which variables are missing? E.g. experience in specialized software skills.
- So I limit myself to the fields I know, computer science (CS) and electrical engineering (EE).

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Which Foreign Tech Workers?

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- H-1B work visa: Temporary visa.
- Employer-sponsored green cards: U.S. permanent residence.
- Much overlap; I sometimes will take one as proxy for the other.

and the Tech Industry: A Labor Shortage Remedy, an Innovation Booster, or a Cost Saver?

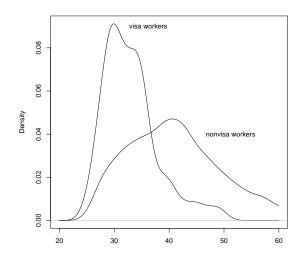
Immigration

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Some Demographics

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• : Foreign workers are young!



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Demographics, cont'd.

Cost Saver?

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"ICs"—Indians and Chinese.
 Computer-related H-1Bs, 2001:

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"ICs"—Indians and Chinese.
 Computer-related H-1Bs, 2001:

sending nation	% of total
India	64.8%
China	8.2%
Philippines	2.3%

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Cost Saver?

ICs, cont'd.

Breakdown by major firm, % ICs among green card sponsorees:

ICs, cont'd.

Breakdown by major firm, % ICs among green card sponsorees:

firm	Chinese	Indian	total IC
Qualcomm	13.0%	66.4%	79.4%
eBay	6.8%	70.3%	77.1%
Cisco	10.0%	64.1%	74.1%
Intel	10.7%	58.8%	69.5%
Motorola	12.7%	46.8%	59.5%
HP	4.9%	55.6%	59.5%
Google	26.4%	30.0%	56.4%
Microsoft	12.9%	37.6%	50.5%

Trends in Time

IC %s among green card sponsorees:

year	China	India
2005	10.8%	31.2%
2006	9.6%	35.1%
2007	9.2%	36.7%
2008	8.0%	41.5%
2009	7.7%	43.6%

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Cost Saver?

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 - salaries for new CS grads up only 3% in a year (NACE, 2011)
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None of these indicates a shortage.

Cost Saver?

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- Texas Instruments testimony: No shortage of EE new engineering grads at Bachelor's level (Whitaker, 2011).

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Postgraduate Level?

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- Is this true?
- For simplicity, I focus on the PhD.

Do Enough Americans Pursue a STEM PhD?

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 But that doesn't mean that <u>not enough</u> Americans study for a doctorate. Immigration and the Tech Industry: A Labor Shortage Remedy, an Innovation Booster, or a Cost Saver?

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 - Program now in its last year, but CRA still maintains a long list of post docs. Post doc says in CRA newsletter, "situation not improved much today" (Bethel, 2011).
 - External review of CRA post doc program suggests the current poor PhD job market will be permanent (SRI, 2010).

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Cheap Labor, Type I

Cost Saver?

Cheap Labor, Type I

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Type I wage savings: Hiring H-1Bs for less than the employer would pay comparable Americans.

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Cost Saver?

Immigration

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- Result: Employer hires iPhone/Android programmer for the price of a generic programmer.
- Similarly, the legal prevailing wage doesn't account for for extra smartness, etc., the "special" things the employers claim Americans lack.
- In other words: The legally-required prevailing wage is
 <u>below</u> the market wage.

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- Similar situation employers' "best and brightest" claim for hiring H-1Bs. E.g. new Stanford CS grads earn 37% more than average CS graduates (Stanford, 2010).

Bottom line: The legal prevailing wage is easily 20% undervalued.

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So, employers CAN underpay foreign workers. But how do we know that they DO? For instance:

 Many employers admitted it in two congressionally-sponsored surveys, regarding H-1Bs (NRC, 2001) (GAO, 2003).

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- Analysis by economic theory (see below).
- But what about studies with contrary results? (Addressed below.)

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Green-Card Data Anaylsis

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- Since prevailing wage < market wage, a value of WR near 1.00 means underpayment.

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Green-Card Anaylsis, cont'd.

Cost Saver?

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Results:

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occupation	median WR
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- So, *most foreign workers are underpaid*, relative to comparable Americans.
- Note: This data effectively excludes the Indian/Indian-American IT staffing firms, which do not sponsor workers for green cards (Hira, 2007).

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Green-Card Data Analysis, cont'd.

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- Google says it hires the top 0.1%. Yet even the top 10% would correspond to WR = 1.53, in contrast to its 1.17.

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Analysis Based on Economic Theory

Cost Saver?

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 - Thus, they often accept lower wages than do comparable Americans

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Other Type I Studies

Cost Saver?

Other Type I Studies

• Zavodny, Mithas and Lucas, Lofstrom and Hayes, etc.

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Cost Saver?

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So the "shortage" is of young people. When they run out of young Americans, they hire young H-1Bs.

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The Skills Issue, Revisited

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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 Skills Issue, Revisited

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 Clearly, the problem was not lack of skills but rather Bradley's unwillingness to pay for them. (Recall that prevailing wage doesn't account for skill sets.)

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- Clearly, the problem was not lack of skills but rather Bradley's unwillingness to pay for them. (Recall that prevailing wage doesn't account for skill sets.)
- H-1B allows people like Bradley to get the skills <u>without</u> paying for them.

Immigration and the Tech Industry: A Labor Shortage Remedy, an Innovation Booster, or a Cost Saver?

Norm Matloff University of California at Davis

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The Attraction of Immobile Workers

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Foreign workers essentially stuck with one employer (NRC, 2001).

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- This puts the American job applicant at a significant disadvantage relative to a similar foreign applicant.

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department quality	% foreign-born
highest quarter	37.2%
second quarter	44.5%
third quarter	47.5%
lowest quarter	50.6%

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Again, all of the above exclude the Indian "bodyshops."

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Quality of PhD Institution, CS

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(Not in the paper.)

group	mean rating (1-5)
foreign	3.44
American	3.71

group	% from top 10 progs. (out of 128)
foreign	16.8%
American	26.6%

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Norm Matloff University of California at Davis Impact of the Foreign Influx in the U.S.

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 - Internal brain drain.

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Immigration

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Shortened Careers

Cost Saver?

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- Microsoft has admitted that it simply doesn't have many positions for older workers (Wadhwa, 2008).

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- From the green card data, Microsoft:

job	% over \$100K
software engineers	6%
financial analysts	17%
lawyers	100%

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- Many of our <u>brightest</u> young people avoid STEM from the beginning, writing it off as a "dead end."
- Even large fractions of MIT—putatively our best/brightest—grads go into the financial industry, not STEM (Schramm, 2011).