US Immigration Policy & Reform:

What does the evidence tell us?

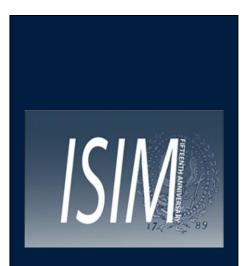
Institute for the Study of International Migration

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Highly Skilled Migration: STEM Supply and Policy Challenges

Report on an experts' roundtable

Georgetown University, Washington D.C.



ABOUT THE PROJECT

The Institute for the Study of International Migration, with the support of the MacArthur Foundation, is organizing a series of public presentations, as well as expert roundtables that address the multiple challenges of immigration reform. The aim of the project is to inform debate on immigration reform, with a focus on addressing the challenges of implementation

SUMMARY

The Institute for the Study of International Migration in the School of Foreign Service hosted a roundtable in March of 2014 on the future of highly skilled migration. The assembled experts discussed the admission of professionals in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM).

The roundtable experts did not believe the data show a shortage of STEM workers. Data show that there has been an increase in engineering or 'E" graduates, matching current demand. There are some signs of shortages in specific STEM fields, particularly in science or 'S' or math 'M.' The optimal number of students and workers for technology or 'T' jobs is hardest to measure. Perhaps the most consistent difficulty reported by employers is in finding the right worker for a specific job.

Universities and employers say that foreign students fill shortages created by a lack of domestic interest in STEM. Critics say that the large numbers of foreign students and workers undermine the attractiveness to domestic students of STEM studies and jobs. Foreign students increasingly are employed in Optional Practical Training (OPT) for foreign student graduates. Some participants expressed concern that the OPT is becoming an employer alternative to regulated temporary work visas.

The H-1B specialty visa is a major pathway for foreign students and workers into the US labor force. More than half of all H-1B visas are granted for occupational employment as computer science or technology professionals. While many H-1B petitions are awarded to small employers, the majority of H-1B petitions are awarded to large employers in the Computer Systems Design and Related Services industries. Some experts question whether or not the H-1B visa is offsetting shortages or supplying the demand for outsourcing in this sector.

Most foreign students and H-1B workers obtain permanent residence through employment-based visas. The waiting times for these visas have grown significantly in recent years, especially for applicants from India and China. As the waiting period increased, Congress has enacted legislation that allows H-1B visaholders to remain and work beyond the visa's six year period of stay. This creates less than optimal conditions for the workers who are in limbo for extended periods of time.

One commonly hears that the US admission system is broken, but there is little agreement as to why. Employers argue that the cap on H-1B visas should be raised, explaining that they face domestic shortages and that petitions exceed the visas available year after year. Critics, on the other hand, argue that demand for visas is not the same as demand for workers. They say that H-1Bs displace domestic workers, that young H-1B workers save employers money. So employers' solution is to increase the H-1B visa cap while critics believe the cap should remain the same or be much lower.

At the same time, there is greater agreement about the inadequacy of visas for the admission of highly skilled foreign professionals as legal permanent residents (LPR). After discounting the visas awarded to family, only about 40 thousand LPR visas are

available each year for the principal applicants. The limit on LPR admissions for workers means that the temporary visaholders and their employers face long backlogs before they are awarded permanent status. A number of participants argued for a practical, accessible path to permanent residence that will ensure admission of high skilled individuals, as well as stability for workers and employers.

Many roundtable participants argued that US policymakers should study lessons from abroad. Alternative high skilled visa systems, such as point systems, select immigrants based on their human capital. While alluring, point systems do not ensure that individuals who score high points are employable. The recently enacted Swedish system has largely transferred the role of the hiring decision from the state to the employer. This type of system essentially downplays the role of the temporary work visa as used in the United States and represents a marked shift in priorities; it is an untested but in the view of some participants, promising model.

Yet, despite concerns, the US has some inherent advantages and remains the most popular destination for foreign professionals. Even so, the system frustrates employers and the number of workers stuck in visa backlogs continues to grow. Proposals in Congress would make it easier for foreign Master's and Doctoral graduates to obtain LPR status, as well as increase the number of H-1B visas. In contrast, some experts argue that the debate must address regulations that protect workers. Post-employment investigations should be stepped up, to ensure a level playing ground for all employers, and to protect foreign and domestic workers.

The Congressionally appointed Commission on Immigration Reform in 1997 proposed that market forces should test employer demand. The Commission recommended that employers pay a \$10,000 fee and, in recent years, economists have recommended that visas be auctioned off. These ideas are untested and some experts recommended implementing pilot programs to evaluate how well such alternatives resolve the problems with today's certification and attestation processes.

Some participants also expressed concern with fraud in the foreign student and temporary work programs. Applicants sometimes misrepresent their education or experience. The most common forms of employment fraud are misrepresentation of salary and skills and of the intent to return home by foreign students. The DHS's Citizenship and Immigration Services' Administrative Site Visit and Verification Program (ASVVP) conducts checks to ensure that visa applications comport with reality, but there need to be more agents. There was broad agreement that needed reform of high skilled visa categories is long overdue to better address the needs of the highly skilled American workforce.

The Institute for the Study of International Migration in the School of Foreign Service hosted a roundtable in March of 2014 on the future of highly skilled migration. The assembled experts discussed the admission of professionals in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) and three principal issues: the pathways to STEM careers, the admission of foreign professionals as temporary or permanent workers, and recommendations to improve policies and practice. The roundtable participants came from academia, industry, government and advocacy organizations. The roundtable followed Chatham House rules and this summary does not attribute comments to participants.

STEM CAREER PATHWAYS

While there is a general consensus as to the core occupations that constitute "STEM," somewhat differing definitions exist. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has created a list of academic degrees it defines to be STEM for immigration purposes. That list, nevertheless, is evolving and continues to grow, for example, by including new academic degrees such as urban forestry. Many observers prefer the simple and better defined Science and Engineering (S&E) appellative instead of STEM, but in this discussion the latter is the term that is used.

The United States continues to enroll and graduate large numbers of college students in STEM or more narrowly defined S&E fields. Domestic students predominate among undergraduates, of whom about one third graduate with a STEM degree. Among graduate students, just shy of one quarter of degrees are awarded in a STEM field and foreign students are common. In academic year 2011, there were some 1,700,000 undergraduate and 800,000 graduate degrees awarded; including 550,000 undergraduate and 180,000 graduate degrees in STEM fields.¹

STEM is promoted to a wide audience of students, and special efforts are made to reach out to secondary students." Recruiting more students to study STEM certainly has its challenges. One expert interviewed 800 school counselors in California and only eight had a STEM-related degree. Because counselors are gatekeepers, their lack of STEM savvy means students are not necessarily receiving the best advice. Programs to recruit minority and female students into STEM are not uniformly successful. It appears to be often a matter of chance if students will be in an environment that will open their minds to STEM as a possible career. Then too,

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¹ National Science Foundation, 2014. *Science and Engineering Indicators*, http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind14/index.cfm/overview

STEM is often perceived as a difficult academic degree accompanied by uncertainty of employment and lower earnings than alternatives.

Regardless, many freshmen express an interest in majoring in a STEM discipline, although many fail to continue their studies in a STEM field. For example, for most of the past several decades one third of freshman students in a UCLA survey indicate an interest in STEM and this share has increased to four tenths in recent years. Still, students in America have far more flexibility to change majors than do students in most other countries. Indeed, many who plan to earn a STEM, especially an engineering degree, change their majors to business or social science. But this is not new and there has been little change in movement into or out of STEM majors over the past two decades.

The US system of higher education is uniquely fluid compared with other countries which is an important strength. There are over 4,000 higher education institutions and they generally do not make their admission decisions on the basis of intent to major in a particular field. Many students are admitted without having to identify their major or with the option to choose a general major. The general major may be so general that it is impossible to identify a specific topic. In other countries academic admissions frequently require students to declare an intent to major in a given academic field. After enrollment it is difficult to change major, as each academic field has its own admission criteria.

While most observers see this loose fit between intended major and ultimate degree as an advantage, it is one factor behind an apparent loss of STEM students from initial application through enrollment to final graduation. There are many reasons for leaks from what is typically referred to as the STEM "pipeline," including lack of sufficient pre-enrollment preparation, rigorous class requirements that allow little room for electives, or less than engaging pedagogy, as well as periodic booms and busts in a cyclical job market. Most observers believe there are poor academic or private sector job prospects for graduate students in biosciences.

Even after graduation, there are leaks in the STEM pipeline from college degree to STEM employment. Half of US workers with a final degree in a STEM field do not work in occupations defined as STEM. Some students find better jobs in finance or healthcare or other fields, but many STEM graduates complain that they would prefer STEM employment and do not use their skills in their current job. Furthermore, after being laid off from a STEM job, many ex-STEM workers find re-entry into STEM very difficult. Many employers prefer to hire new graduates with the latest skills and who work for lower wages.

To be sure, each STEM discipline differs and specific fields and occupations have unique school-to-work pathways and problems. Taken as a whole, the roundtable experts did not believe the data show a shortage of potential STEM workers. Data

show that there has been an increase in engineering or 'E" graduates, matching current demand. There are, nevertheless, some sign of shortages in specific STEM fields, particularly in science or 'S' and math or 'M.' The optimal number of students and workers for technology or 'T' jobs is hardest to measure. In fact, only about one third of IT workers have an IT-related college degree and roughly another third do not have a four-year college degree at all; almost all (97%) of most non-IT STEM professionals has at least a four-year degree

Perhaps the most consistent difficulty reported by employers is in finding the right worker for a specific job. There may be shortages in the specific specialization even when there are enough graduates in the overall field. The US educational system is attempting to address this situation. Universities are now often expected to provide a platform for practical training for students in addition to academic development in order to ensure their job prospects. This approach has been used in Germany, where education is sometimes customized for employers. The approach has also been taken at certain US universities. The University of Tennessee cooperates with Volkswagen, and has built to-suit facilities, to train workers for its factory in Chattanooga. Similar four-year college programs are, however, rather rare.

Finally, all too few domestic students pursue Masters or Doctorate STEM degrees because there often is too little financial benefit to more than a bachelor degree. Rather, many STEM bachelor graduates pursue a Masters of Business Administration (MBA) where the rewards are greater than those in STEM. To be sure, they sometimes end up managing STEM-related business activities, but more often than not they do not directly apply their undergraduate training. In contrast, foreign students are attracted to US graduate degrees which enable them to capitalize on their undergraduate degree (often from abroad) and which provide a stepping stone to US employment. And foreign students are often more willing to accept the lower earnings.

FOREIGN STEM STUDENTS AND PROFESSIONALS

Universities and employers say that foreign students fill shortages created by a lack of US student interest in STEM. Critics say that the large numbers of foreign students and workers undermine the attractiveness of STEM studies and jobs to domestic students. Both advocates and critics argue their point of view with little acknowledgement how pros and cons may balance out. Foreign professionals are a significant share of the STEM labor force making up about one quarter of total STEM workers, a share that continues to grow at current levels of immigration. Foreign professionals make up to half of new hires in fields such as Information Technology.

While the predominance of those students earning bachelor's degrees in STEM fields are US citizens or legal permanent residents, the share of foreign students earning

STEM degrees rises with the level of education. Over half of those earning PhDs in many STEM fields are foreign students. Universities say that they need these foreign graduate students to maintain advanced education and research programs and that they are important sources of research and teaching assistants. Critics say that foreign graduate students are valuable to universities because they pay tuition and work at low wages, which bolsters university revenues. Many foreign students are studying at universities that are not ranked as top tier research universities and contribute little to US STEM competitiveness.

From school-to-work foreign students increasingly are employed in Optional Practical Training (OPT) for foreign student graduates. Foreign student graduates can remain in the US on OPT and work in a job related to their degree for 12 months. Foreign graduates with STEM degrees can stay for an additional 17 months beyond their initial OPT period. Since its introduction, the OPT program has grown from 25,000 to 125,000 foreign workers. Some private-for-profit schools openly advertise that after earning a degree from their institution students can stay in the US and work. There are no regulations that govern the visa used for this type of employment and research finds that OPT workers earn significantly less than workers in mainstream employment. Some participants expressed concern that the OPT is becoming an employer alternative to more regulated temporary work visas.

The second major pathway for foreign students and workers into the US labor force is the H-1B specialty visa. The visas are available to foreign student graduates of US universities and foreigners who earn degrees abroad. The period of the visa is three years, renewable for another three or total of six years. Unlike other visa categories, the H-1B applicant may have dual intent; to return home or remain in the United States. As a result, they can be sponsored by their US employers for permanent immigration visas. Employers must file a Labor Condition Attestation (LCA) which specifies the job, salary, length, and geographic location of employment. The employer must agree to pay the H-1B worker the greater of the actual or prevailing wage for the position. Controversy exists as to whether or not this regulation ensures that H-1B workers earn competitive wages.

There is a cap of 65,000 H-1B visas per year. An additional 20,000 visas are provided for those with Masters or higher degrees from US universities. There are an unlimited number of H-1B visas for universities and nonprofit or governmental research organizations. Early in most fiscal years, sometimes as early as the first week, the ceiling on H-1B visas will be met for the entire year. As a result, the government uses a lottery system to determine which of the filed petitions will result in permission to hire the H-1B worker. There is no flexibility for companies, however, to prioritize which of the positions for which they petitioned are the most important for that

² Since this roundtable President Obama has announced that he intends to extend the OPT up to 48 months by executive action (see Department of Homeland Security, 2014. "Fixing Our Broken Immigration System Through Executive Action - Key Facts," http://www.dhs.gov/immigration-action

particular year. The lottery determines the specific hire for which a visa will be assigned which further reduces the program's efficiency and value for employers.

More than half of all H1B visas are granted for occupational employment as computer science or technology professionals. While many H-1B petitions are awarded to small employers, the majority of H-1B petitions are awarded to large employers in the Computer Systems Design and Related Services industries. In FY 2012, 64 percent of the petitions for H-1B visas were for workers born in India. The next largest number, or 8 percent of the total, was born in the People's Republic of China. Not quite half of the petitions were on behalf of those with Bachelor's degrees, with the remainder having advanced or professional degrees. The concentration of H-1B workers in computer programming jobs within the computer services industry, as well as the dominance of workers from India, suggests that the discussion about "H-1B" visas often overlooks this particular demand. Some experts question whether or not the H-1B visa is offsetting shortages or supplying the demand for outsourcing in this sector.

Beyond the principal temporary categories, there are somewhat limited admission categories for legal permanent residents. There are three primary entry routes for highly skilled migrants seeking to remain permanently in the United States. The first visa class for employment-based resident is for workers of extraordinary ability; the second is for those with an advanced degree and others of exceptional ability; and the third is for those with a bachelor's degree or higher. Most foreign students and H-1B workers obtain permanent residence through the second or third category. The waiting times for these visas have grown significantly in recent years, especially for applicants from India and China. As of May 2014 when the roundtable took place, second preference visas were available only for those who had applied by November 15th 2004; and April 15th 2009 for applicants from India and China respectively. The comparable dates for the 3rd preference visa were October 1st 2003 and October 1st 2012. The vast majority of applicants are already working in the United States, usually for the same employer who has sponsored their green cards. Many are on H-1B visas and are unwilling or unable to change employers out of fear of losing their opportunity to gain the permanent visa. As waiting period increased, Congress has enacted legislation that allows them to remain and work in the US beyond the six year period of the H-1B. This creates less than optimal conditions for the workers who are in limbo for extended periods of time.

US ADMISSION POLICIES

One commonly hears that the US admission system is broken, upon which the experts agree, but there is little agreement as to what precisely is broken. The radically

³ Department of Homeland Security, 2013, "Characteristics of H1B Specialty Occupation Workers," http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Resources/Reports%20and%20Studies/H-1B/h1b-fy-12-characteristics.pdf

different solutions proffered are rooted in sharply different viewpoints on the core problems. Employers argue that the cap on H-1B visas should be raised, for example, explaining that they face domestic shortages and that the number of petitions exceeds the visas available year after year. Critics, on the other hand, argue that demand for visas is not the same as demand for workers. They say that H-1Bs displace domestic workers, that young, though often better educated, H-1B workers are hired because they save employers money. So employers' solution is to increase the H-1B visa cap while critics believe the cap should remain the same or be much lower.

At the same time, there is greater agreement about the inadequacy of visas for the admission of highly skilled foreign professionals as legal permanent residents (LPR). The current admission category for employed based immigrants is capped at 140 thousand visas which includes both the principal applicants and their immediate family. After discounting the visas awarded to family, only about 40 thousand LPR visas are available each year for the principal applicants. The limit on LPR admissions for workers, including per country caps on total LPR visas, means that the temporary H-1B worker and their employer face long backlogs before they are awarded permanent status. A number of participants stated the need for a practical, accessible path to permanent residence that will not only ensure admission of high skilled individuals, as well as stability for workers and employers.

Many roundtable participants argued that US policymakers should consider lessons from abroad. Alternative high skilled visa systems, such as point systems, select immigrants based on their human capital and put the most qualified first in queue. Point systems have been largely supply driven, which is to say a job offer may or may not be awarded partial points, in contrast to the US demand driven system that puts employer sponsorship first. While alluring, point systems do not ensure that individuals who score high points are employable. They may be young, highly educated, and able to pass language exams, but they may not have specific skills of interest to employers or soft skills such as the ability to work well in teams. Hybrid systems with visas that award points for a job offer are now common in both Canada and Australia. If one considers that US visas are restricted to certain occupations requiring advanced training and language skills, most foreign workers likely would likely receive high points.

The recently enacted Swedish admissions system has largely transferred the role of the hiring decision from the state to the employer and roundtable participants debated it as a potential model. The immigration law permits the foreign worker to remain in the country to secure other employment, though this grace period is not indefinite. There are no established minimum earnings, although salary must be comparable to domestic workers (similar to the US prevailing wage). The employer of a foreign worker must satisfy certain conditions of the labor market (again, similar to the H-1B provisions). Unlike the H-1B, however, those who are admitted have a more certain path to permanent residency and citizenship. If a foreign worker remains employed

for four years, there is a possibility to naturalize. This type of system essentially downplays the role of the temporary work visa as used in the United States and represents a marked shift in priorities.

Yet, despite concerns that rigidities in US immigration policy lessen America's international competitiveness for highly skilled workers, the country has some inherent advantages and remains a popular destination for foreign professionals. Indeed, the US attracts the majority of the world's highly skilled international migrants, some 65 percent of the world's tertiary educated migrants in 2000 and 45 percent of just those in OECD countries. That share has slipped a little in the past decade as other countries have attempted to attract more, particularly students, and the US hosts today just one quarter of the international student body. At the same time, the number of international students has grown 72% in 15 years, from 514,723 in academic year 1999 to 886,052 in 2013 with a fivefold increase in Chinese students. There has been extremely rapid growth in the number of highly educated students and workers around the world, so it is simplistic to argue that the US could possibly absorb those numbers or that it might increase or even maintain its "market share."

Even so, the US system frustrates employers who must wait for months and years before they are able to hire a foreign worker, while the number of highly skilled workers who are stuck in visa backlogs continues to grow. There is a need for reform of the system. The most active proposals in the Congress would make it easier for foreign Master's and Doctoral graduates to obtain LPR status, increase the number of H-1B visas available, and grant immigrant visas to foreigners who invest and start a business. But the fate of these legislative actions on these types of reforms has been tied to resolution of broader immigration reform and possible amnesty for unauthorized foreigners. Prospects for comprehensive immigration reform are not promising and there appears to be an insufficient momentum to move legislation on STEM related immigration alone.

Some experts argued that the debate over future policies must address regulations that protect workers. Do the proposed fixes to the system sufficiently safeguard both foreign- and native-born workers? Highly skilled workers are not immune to employment abuses, which include failure to pay salary, unlawful deductions and underpayment. These violations are investigated by the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor (DOL). As of now, however, there are only 600 Labor investigators and priority is often given to low-wage occupations that are most vulnerable to abuse. There are also limited sanctions against employers and few remedies for the employee. Often the only remedy is the possibility of payment of back salary; however, a case can take several years to complete. Sometimes visa violations are incurred by the staffing agency which obtains the work visas, making it even more difficult to ensure compliance. Post-employment investigations should be stepped up, to ensure a level playing ground for all employers, and to protect foreign and domestic workers.

There is disagreement as to efficacy of today's visa process designed to protect US workers. Employers view the DOL's required certification of their application to seek a permanent employee as excessively time consuming, while immigration experts question whether or not it accomplishes its purpose of efficiently regulating visas in line with labor markets shortages. Employers generally support the simpler Labor Condition Attestation (LCA) filed with DOL to fill a position with an H-1B worker, although experts have long contested whether or not a simple attestation of good conduct is sufficient. At the same time, critics note that other visas that allow foreigners to work as student interns or full time employees do not require employers to pre-clear their hiring, much less set out regulations to protect working conditions. These essentially unregulated work visas include foreign students on the OPT and an unknown number of J cultural exchange workers which do not require payment of the prevailing wage. Some experts believe that all working visas should require that employers first attempt to recruit US workers, although others argue that these recruitment requirements are ineffective and suggest alternative ways to regulate foreign workers supply.

The Congressionally appointed Commission on Immigration Reform in 1997 proposed an approach that would test the labor market without resorting to sometimes cumbersome and ineffective pre-employment job certification. It proposed that market forces should test employer demand. The Commission recommended that employers pay a \$10,000 fee, which is roughly in line with the costs of hiring an H-1B. This concept has resurfaced in Congressional debate. In recent years, many economists have also recommended that visas be auctioned off, much as the government uses auctions in the telecommunications and other industries. These ideas are untested and some experts proposed pilot programs to evaluate how well such alternatives resolve the problems with today's certification and attestation processes.

Some participants also expressed concern with fraud in the foreign student and temporary work programs. Applicants sometimes misrepresent their education or experience. The most common forms of employment fraud are misrepresentation of salary and skills by employers and misrepresentation of the intent to return home by foreign students. Marriage fraud has also been reported to occur among high skilled workers. Marriage to a US citizen is a more expeditious way to obtain permanent residence than waiting for an employment-based visa. The US currently provides provisional status to those who marry US citizens; permanent status becomes effective after two years if the couple prove to the satisfaction of an immigration officer that the marriage is genuine. It is often difficult, however, for the government to determine whether these marriages are genuine. The DHS's Citizenship and Immigration Services' Administrative Site Visit and Verification Program (ASVVP) conducts post entry checks to ensure that visa applications comports with reality. But there need to be more agents conducting post entry checks, not least because some workers may remain in the country beyond the terms of their visa.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the United States is the largest country of immigration in absolute numbers and continues to attract the lion's share of the brightest from around the world, the expert participants criticized policies from numerous perspectives. Policies are too inflexible, using artificial caps on admission that do not adjust to meet changing economic demands. Others criticize the lack of flexibility to meet the legitimate demands of employers. Policies fail to prioritize the admission of workers who will contribute most to US competitiveness. Some believe policies allow unfair competition between foreign and domestic workers. Still others saw the potential for abuse of workers trapped in temporary visa programs because of the long waiting time for permanent residence. There was broad agreement that needed reform of high skilled visa categories is long overdue to better address the needs of the highly skilled American workforce.



Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University

Highly Skilled Migration: STEM Supply and Policy Challenges

Thursday March 13th, 2014 8:15am – 2:00pm

Georgetown University

Mortara Center 3600 N Street NW Washington D.C. 20007

This invitation-only roundtable will address the state of supply and demand in the STEM workforce with special focus given to the role played by foreign students and workers. Foreign enrolments are at record highs, but so too are domestic STEM enrolments. What do we know about the factors driving today's and tomorrow's domestic STEM enrolments? Does the US graduate "enough" domestic students for the total "STEM skills" in demand? And what are the job prospects after graduation? What role do foreign students and H-1B specialty workers play in STEM jobs? What's the smart policy play on visas for temporary and permanent workers?

MEETING AGENDA

8:15/9:00am — Continental Breakfast

9:00/9:15am — Introductions

9:15/10:45am — STEM CAREERS: PIPELINE OR PATHWAYS?

It is commonly asserted that there are too few students, either domestic or foreign, graduated in STEM fields. Significant efforts are being made to both attract students to and retain them in STEM education. What's the evidence? Do students pursue STEM careers lock-step, as a flow through a pipeline, or do they meander along pathways? How are their choices impacted by in-college factors and post-graduation job markets?

11:00/12:30pm — TEMPORARY TECH WORKERS: STATUS & ENFORCEMENT

Despite the Great Recession and slow job growth, the number of H-1B Specialty workers and L Intracompany Transferees remains strong. What do recent analyses of H-1B earnings data suggest about the status of the tech workforce? How do

employers see things? What is the most recent thinking about the enforcement of these visa work programs?

12:30/2:00pm — WORKING LUNCH

LIST OF ATTENDING EXPERTS

Theresa Brown, Bipartisan Policy Center

Eric Burger, Georgetown University

Barry Chiswick, George Washington University

Francis (Lee) Cissna, U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Bo Cooper, Fragomen Law Firm

Daniel Costa, Economic Policy Institute

Christopher Dombek, Chief, USCIS Fraud Division

Jean-Christophe Dumont, OECD

Ross Eisenbrey, Economic Policy Institute

Rich Feller, Colorado State University

George Fishman, U.S. House Judiciary Committee

Heather Barbour Gonzalez, Congressional Research Service

Daniel Goroff, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

Robert C. Hill, Hill Visa Law

Ron Hira, Rochester Institute of Technology

Tara Knierim, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor

Daniel Kuehn, American University

Jeff Lande, Lande Group

B. Lindsay Lowell, Georgetown University

Philip Martin, University of California, Davis

Susan Martin, ISIM, Georgetown University

David North, Center for Immigration Studies

Rebecca Peters, Council for Global Immigration

Neil Ruiz, Brookings Institution

Hal Salzman, Rutgers University

Andrew Sherrill, Government Accountability Office

Michael S. Teitelbaum, Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School

Ruth Wasem, Congressional Research Service