Testimony of

Stuart Anderson

Executive Director

National Foundation for American Policy

On

"Oh, Canada! How Outdated U.S. Immigration Policies
Push Top Talent to Other Countries"

Before the

Committee on the Judiciary

House Subcommittee on Immigration and Citizenship
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Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

Highly skilled foreign nationals, including international students, are choosing Canada over America. This has happened in response to how difficult it is to work in the United States in H-1B status or gain permanent residence, and the comparative ease of international students and foreign nationals working in temporary status and then acquiring permanent residence in Canada.

Table 1
Indian Students in U.S. Graduate-Level Programs

| INDIAN STUDENTS GRADUATE- LEVEL | 2016-17 Academic Year | 2017-18 Academic Year | 2018-19 Academic Year | Decline 2016-17 to 2018-19 |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Computer | 47,430 | 36,200 | 36,350 | -11,080 (-23.3%) |
| Science | | | | |
| Engineering | 39,470 | 32,110 | 28,600 | -10,870 (-27.5%) |
| TOTAL | 86,900 | 68,310 | 64,950 | -21,950 (-25.3%) |

Source: National Foundation for American Policy, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, special tabulations (2018) of the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) database. The data reflect fall enrollment in a given year and include students with "active" status as of November 15 of that year.

The number of international students from India enrolled in graduate-level computer science and engineering at U.S. universities declined by more than 25% between the 2016-17 and 2018-19 academic years, according to an analysis of U.S government data by the National Foundation for American Policy (NFAP). To place the significance of the decline in context, international students represent approximately 75% of the full-time graduate students at U.S. universities in

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¹ Analysis of International Student Data for the 2018-19 Academic Year, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, June 2020. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, special tabulations (2018) of the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) database.

computer science, and in the 2016-17 academic year, two-thirds of the international students at the graduate level in computer science at U.S. universities were from India.²

At the same time fewer Indian students were coming to America, the number of Indian students attending Canadian universities rose from 76,075 in 2016 to 172,625 in 2018, increasing 127%, according to the Canadian Bureau for International Education.³

Table 2
Indian International Students in Canada: 2016 to 2018

| Country | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | Increase 2016 to 2018 |
|---|--------|---------|---------|-----------------------|
| Indian International Students in Canada | 76,075 | 123,940 | 172,625 | +127% |

Source: Canadian Bureau for International Education, National Foundation for American Policy.

Connected to this, the number of Indians who became permanent residents in Canada increased from 39,705 in 2016 to 85,585 in 2019, a rise of 116%, according to an analysis of <u>data</u> from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada.⁴

Table 3
Increase in Indian Immigration to Canada: 2016 to 2019

| Country | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | Increase 2016 to 2019 |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------------|
| Indians Admitted as | 39,705 | 51,590 | 69,980 | 85,585 | +116% |
| Permanent | | | | | |
| Residents to Canada | | | | | |

Source: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, National Foundation for American Policy.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

In sum, Canada's immigration policies are much better than America's for facilitating the entry of talented individuals. Congress established America's policies in 1990, before smartphones, e-commerce, social media, cloud computing and the daily use of the internet exploded the demand for high-skilled technical labor. The world has changed since 1990. U.S. immigration policy has not.

Under Canada's <u>Global Skills Strategy</u>, many temporary visa applications for high-skilled foreign professionals are approved within two weeks. And there is *no numerical limit* on high-skilled temporary visas in Canada. The Canadian government has made it increasingly easy for employers to attract and retain talent.

In the United States, H-1B visas are essential because they typically represent the only practical way for high-skilled foreign nationals, including international students, to work long-term in America. However, numerical restrictions on high-skilled temporary visas block the vast majority of foreign-born applicants from working in America in a given year.

In March 2021, employers <u>filed 308,613 H-1B registrations</u> for cap selection for FY 2022 for only 85,000 H-1B petitions (65,000 plus a 20,000-exemption for individuals with an advanced degree from a U.S. university). That means over 72% of H-1B registrations for high-skilled foreign nationals were rejected even before an adjudicator evaluated the application.⁵

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⁵ That is separate from policies during the Trump administration, which <u>courts</u> found to be <u>unlawful</u>, that resulted in <u>denial rates for H-1B petitions</u> for initial employment as high as 24% in FY 2018. *H-1B Denial Rates for FY 2020* and the Impact of Court Decisions, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, January 2021.

Table 4
Active Job Vacancy Postings in Computer Occupations in the United States

| Occupations | Active Job Vacancy | Change from 12 |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Postings | Months Earlier (May |
| | (May 18 to June 17, 2021) | 18 to June 17, 2020) |
| Software Developer and Software Quality | 425,689 | +43% |
| Assurance Analyst and Tester | | |
| Computer Occupations, All Other | 244,354 | +52% |
| Computer Systems Analyst | 120,370 | +28% |
| Network and Computer System | 114,427 | +33% |
| Administrator | | |
| Information Security Analyst | 79,429 | +31% |
| Computer and Information Systems | 77,765 | +60% |
| Manager | | |
| Electrical Engineer | 53,839 | +45% |
| Computer Programmer | 32,779 | +19% |
| Computer and Information Research | 26,819 | +40% |
| Scientist | | |
| Database Administrators and Architects | 19,358 | +1% |
| Electronics Engineer (except computer) | 18,851 | +28% |
| Computer Hardware Engineer | 12,525 | +42% |
| Computer Network Architect | 9,645 | +33% |
| TOTAL | 1,235,850 | +40% |

Source: Emsi Job Posting Analytics; National Foundation for American Policy. According to Emsi, "All job posting counts reflect unique postings that were active during the indicated time frame," May 18, 2020 to June 17, 2020 and May 18, 2021 to June 17, 2021.

As of June 17, 2021, there are more than 1.2 million active job vacancy postings in computer occupations (in both technology and non-technology companies) in America, according to an analysis of Emsi Job Posting Analytics data. (See Table 4.) "There is not a fixed number of jobs, and people with high skills often create more jobs for people with complementary skills," notes the analysis. "Still, even if one adopts a zero-sum approach, there are nearly 20 times more job vacancy postings in computer occupations than new H-1B petitions typically used by

companies in computer occupations each year. There are also likely many more openings than publicly posted positions."⁶

The <u>unemployment rate in math and computer occupations</u> was 2.4% in May 2021, lower than the 3% level in January 2020 before the pandemic began.

Table 5
U.S. Unemployment Rate in Computer and Mathematical Occupations

| OCCUPATIONS | JANUARY 2020 | MAY 2021 |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------|
| Computer and Mathematical | 3.0% | 2.4% |
| Occupations | | |

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. BLS data on occupations are not seasonally adjusted.

U.S. natives in computer-related occupations or with a degree in a computer-related major earn much higher salaries than other professionals or graduates in other majors. "Median earnings of [native-born] college graduates with a computer-related major are 35% higher than other STEM majors and fully 83% higher than non-STEM majors, according to data on U.S.-born college graduates from the American Community Survey for the period 2009 to 2019," according to an analysis of Census and other data by former Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta economist Madeline Zavodny. "The earning gap narrows but remains statistically significant when controlling for differences in observable demographic characteristics, state of residence and broad industry."

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⁶ Updated Analysis: Employment for Computer Occupations for January 2020 to March 2021, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, March 2021. Numbers updated in testimony.

⁷ Madeline Zavodny, *The Earnings of IT Professionals Compared with Other Professionals*, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, June 2021.

"The stable-to-increasing earnings premium among U.S.-born IT professionals and computer-related majors during a period that critics characterize as high levels of immigration is consistent with a large literature that concludes that highly educated immigrants have not harmed U.S.-born workers," writes Zavodny.⁸

In Canada, there is no per-country limit and foreign nationals can often transition to permanent residence after working for a year in temporary status on a work visa. Canada makes it easy for international students to gain a work visa after graduating.

Under the federal Express Entry program (for permanent residence) in Canada, after an individual completes an online profile and submits an application, the processing time is generally six to eight months or fewer, according to attorneys. Processing times are somewhat longer under the Provincial Nominee Program. The Provincial Nominee Program is a permanent residence program that serves a dual purpose: permanent residence and allowing a worker to obtain a permit to work until the permanent residence filing is adjudicated. It allows provinces to establish criteria for admitting skilled foreign nationals. Recently, the provinces have used their numbers to admit an increasing number of technology professionals for permanent residence. Quebec uses some of its allotment to admit entrepreneurs as permanent residents and most recently created streams to target technology professionals, note David Crawford and Cosmina Morariu of Fragomen in Toronto.9

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ In 2019, permanent residence was granted to 115 immigrants in Quebec's entrepreneur program. *The International* Experience of Startup Visas for Immigrant Entrepreneurs, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, July 2020.

Particularly in the past year, as the entry of new people has been limited due to Covid-19, the points system used for permanent residence in Canada has been primarily directed at international students and professionals (often former students) already working in Canada in temporary status. This gives employers a significant role in the process since companies choose the temporary workers. Canada maintains a program for graduating international students more generous than Optional Practical Training in the United States. After graduating, international students in Canada become eligible for a three-year post-graduation work permit. After a minimum of one year of skilled employment in Canada, international students receive a significant benefit through the points system to facilitate permanent residence. In some provinces there are programs (with numerical limits) that allow foreign nationals with a master's or PhD from a Canadian university to gain permanent residence, including, in many cases, without a job offer.¹⁰

Canada views immigration as essential for economic growth, but due to Covid-19 missed its target for new permanent residents in 2020. As noted, that has encouraged officials to adjust the points system to allow more people already working in the country to gain permanent residence. That has included, at least temporarily, frontline workers, including healthcare workers normally not eligible under federal programs, and providing at the federal level an even easier path for recently-graduated international students who have an offer of employment. ¹¹

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¹⁰ Interview with Peter Rekai.

¹¹ Shelby Thevenot and Kareem El-Assal, "Canada Launching 6 New Immigration Programs for International Graduates, Essential Workers and French Speakers," CIC News, May 7, 2021.

There is no evidence that fraud has increased in Canada after making its immigration system more responsive to employers and the labor market, according to Canadian immigration attorneys.

In October 2020, <u>Immigration</u>, <u>Refugees and Citizenship Canada</u> announced: "To compensate for the shortfall and ensure Canada has the workers it needs to fill crucial labour market gaps and remain competitive on the world stage, the 2021 to 2023 levels plan aims to continue welcoming immigrants at a rate of about 1% of the population of Canada, including 401,000 permanent residents in 2021, 411,000 in 2022 and 421,000 in 2023. The previous plan set targets of 351,000 in 2021 and 361,000 in 2022."¹²

Canada admits approximately three times as many immigrants as the United States as a percentage of population. That is an essential feature of the Canadian immigration system.

In the United States, the annual limit of 140,000 employment-based green cards, which includes the dependent spouses and children of the principal immigrant, is too low. That annual limit also features a per-country limit of 7% for each country that burdens mainly potential employment-based immigrants from India but also affects people born in China and the Philippines.

In the employment-based second preference (EB-2): "Under current law, and owing to a limited number of green card issuances, the current backlog of 568,414

¹² "Government of Canada Announces Plan to Support Economic Recovery Through Immigration," News Release, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, October 20, 2020.

Indian nationals would require an estimated 195 years to disappear," according to the Congressional Research Service (CRS). 13

Without Congressional action, notes CRS, "The total backlog for all three [employment-based] categories [for Indians] would increase from an estimated 915,497 individuals currently to an estimated 2,195,795 individuals by FY 2030."

We should let that number sink in: Within a decade, more than 2 million people will be waiting in line for years or even decades for employment-based green cards.

"Canada is benefiting from a diversion of young Indian tech workers from U.S. destinations, largely because of the challenges of obtaining and renewing H-1B visas and finding a reliable route to U.S. permanent residence," according to Peter Rekai, founder of the Toronto-based immigration law firm Rekai LLP.¹⁴

The points system mostly works in Canada because it operates under a broad mandate that would likely be considered an unconstitutional delegation of authority from Congress to the executive branch in the United States. That broad mandate in Canada allows the government flexibility and the ability to respond to employer needs. However, that part of the system is likely impossible to implement in the United States because of America's different governmental structures. It also can take years for a U.S. federal agency to publish and implement a regulation.

¹³ The Employment-Based Immigration Backlog, Congressional Research Service, March 26, 2020.

¹⁴ Stuart Anderson, "Indians Immigrating to Canada at an Astonishing Rate, Forbes, February 3, 2020.

Members of Congress should note the Canadian system gives almost complete autonomy to the government in power to establish categories, adjust the point level for admission and set the annual level of immigration each year.

It could be dangerous to import the Canadian points system wholesale into the United States. "Putting broad immigration decision-making into the hands of a strong executive can lead to 'be careful what you wish for' outcomes," notes Rekai. "An ideologue in an empowered U.S. executive branch could significantly change the focus of U.S. immigration through executive order or action."¹⁵

The good news is that America does not need to adopt the Canadian immigration system wholesale to attract and retain foreign-born talent. Increasing the annual limit for H-1B temporary visas and employment-based green cards—or exempting specific categories of people from those annual limits—would solve most of the problems and create much more flexibility in the system.

Congress can follow the advice of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence (NSCAI), which recommended in its final report to at least double the annual number of employment-based green cards, eliminate the per-country limit and create a startup visa for immigrant entrepreneurs since many innovations are realized through entrepreneurship. The commission also advocated expanding the usefulness of H-1B visas and creating a new "emerging and disruptive technology" visa. 16 Allowing for dual intent for F-1 students would facilitate the entry of international students.

¹⁶ Stuart Anderson, "Immigration is the Most Important Way to Beat China," *Reason*, May 17, 2021.

The AI commission recommended exempting from the annual limits for green cards international students who earn PhDs in STEM fields. Congress should consider going further by also exempting master's degree students. The U.S. Citizenship Act contained useful measures that would provide work authorization to bridge the gap for international students who finish their degrees and must wait for employment-based green cards. ¹⁷ The legislation would also eliminate both the family and employment-based green card backlogs. ¹⁸

The Senate recently passed a bill aimed at helping U.S. companies develop innovative products and services to compete with Chinese-based companies but left out the most crucial element—talented people to produce the innovations. There are no provisions in the legislation to attract or retain international students and other high-skilled foreign nationals, while the additional scholarships for U.S. students appear to be fewer than those produced each year by the fees employers pay to file H-1B petitions.

Congress can make positive reforms to employment-based immigration while also enacting changes to other parts of the U.S. immigration system, such as finding a durable solution for Dreamers and raising the annual number of family-based green cards. Many U.S. citizens wait years or even decades to reunite with close family members due to the current annual limits in the family-based preference categories.

We often hear about the need to address unlawful entry at the southern border, but it is less common to hear practical solutions. The Biden administration's effort to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ An Analysis of the U.S. Citizenship Act, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, February 2021.

allow Central American minors to enter the U.S. without embarking on a perilous journey to the U.S. border is a good step. However, the only solution for those who seek to work in the United States is to expand the number of H-2B seasonal visas and establish a new year-round visa for jobs that do not require a college degree. A sufficient number of such visas issued annually would eliminate the vast majority of illegal entry to the United States and provide a safe alternative for individuals fleeing violence who may have difficulty succeeding on an individual asylum claim. In sum, instead of expressing concern about human smuggling, policymakers should consider enacting visa reforms that would reduce or even eliminate such smuggling.

For humanitarian reasons and because it is in our national interest and part of the country's tradition since its founding, America should renew its commitment to refugee admissions.

Some may argue that allowing in additional well-educated and talented foreign nationals would harm U.S. professionals, but we should recognize nearly all restrictions on employment-based immigration are based on three faulty premises.

First, some argue foreign-born scientists, engineers and others offer no value to America or U.S. companies except for a willingness to work for less money. Such a view is not correct on the data and seems like an attempt to dehumanize highly skilled people simply because they were born in a different country.

There is no evidence H-1B visa holders and employment-based immigrants as a group are underpaid relative to native-born professionals. Utah State University economist Omid Bagheri recently found a significant wage premium for high-

skilled foreign nationals and wrote, "A larger number of studies (including this research) find a wage premium for workers in various fields on a temporary work visa compared to natives (e.g., Lofstrom and Hayes, 2011; Aobdia et al., 2018; Mithas and Lucas Jr, 2010; Drago, 2014)." ¹⁹

Andrew Chamberlain, the chief economist at <u>Glassdoor</u>, found, "Across the 10 cities and roughly 100 jobs we examined, salaries for foreign H-1B workers are about 2.8% higher than comparable U.S. salaries on Glassdoor." The Government Accountability Office (GAO) compared the median reported salaries of U.S. workers and H-1B professionals in the same fields and age groups and found H-1B professionals generally earn the same or more than their U.S. counterparts.²¹

Some argue that H-1B visa holders, many of whom are international students and others new to the U.S. labor market, are underpaid at Level 1 under the Department of Labor's system because they don't earn the average salary for everyone else in the profession in an area. But in the normal conduct of business, new entrants to the U.S. labor market, including native-born professionals, are viewed as making reasonable or appropriate salaries even if they do not earn the same as individuals who may have worked for many years in an occupation. Changing the H-1B and

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¹⁹ Omid Bagheri, *Are College Graduate Immigrants on Work Visas Cheaper Than Natives?*, The Center for Growth and Opportunity at Utah State University, Working Paper, March 30, 2021.

²⁰ Andrew Chamberlain, "Dispelling Myths: What H1B Visa Workers are Really Paid," Glassdoor, Economic Research, April 3, 2017.

²¹ H-1B Visa Program: Reforms Are Needed to Minimize the Risks and Costs of Current Program, Government Accountability Office, GAO-11-26, January 2011. To conduct the research, the GAO analyzed Current Population Survey (CPS) data on U.S. workers and information on H-1B salaries from the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) CLAIMS database.

immigrant wage system or how H-1B petitions are awarded could price out of the labor market international students and other new entrants to the labor market.²²

A second premise that unfortunately contaminates most immigration debates is the belief that only a fixed number of jobs exist, so any new entrant to the U.S. labor market must take a job from an existing U.S. worker. As economist Richard Vedder and others have pointed out, immigrants may fill positions, but they also create more jobs by expanding the demand for goods and services through their consumer spending, investments and savings, starting businesses, filling niches in the labor market and improving economies of scale in production.²³

University of North Florida Professor Madeline Zavodny, who, as noted, was an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, found H-1B visa holders do not adversely affect U.S. workers and "the evidence points to the presence of H-1B visa holders being associated with lower unemployment rates and faster earnings growth among college graduates, including recent college graduates." Zavodny also found, "Enrolling more international undergraduate students does not crowd out U.S. students at the average American university and leads to an increase in the number of bachelor's degrees in STEM (science, technology engineering and math) majors awarded to U.S. students."

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²² The Impact on International Students of Ending the H-1B Lottery, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, May 2021.

²³ Richard Vedder, Lowell Gallaway and Stephen Moore, *Immigration and Unemployment: New Evidence*, Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, Arlington, VA (March 1994).

²⁴ Madeline Zavodny, *The Impact of H-1B Visa Holders on the U.S. Workforce*, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, May 2020.

²⁵ Madeline Zavodny, *The Impact on U.S. Men and Women in STEM Fields of Increases in International Students*, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, April 2021.

The third faulty premise, which this hearing takes on directly, is that a global labor market does not exist and companies can only choose their employees from among individuals physically located in the United States. However, even relatively small technology companies today have offices overseas or have work performed outside the United States.

Britta Glennon, an assistant professor at the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania, found in her <u>research</u> that H-1B restrictions push technology-related jobs out of the United States: "[A]ny policies that are motivated by concerns about the loss of native jobs should consider that policies aimed at reducing immigration have the unintended consequence of encouraging firms to offshore jobs abroad."

Glennon found: "Foreign affiliate employment increased as a direct response to increasingly stringent restrictions on H-1B visas. This effect is driven on the extensive and intensive side; firms were more likely to open new foreign affiliates abroad in response, and employment increased at existing foreign affiliates. The effect is strongest among R&D-intensive firms in industries where services could more easily be offshored." ²⁶

China, India and Canada are most likely to continue benefiting from U.S. immigration restrictions. "The effect was somewhat geographically concentrated: foreign affiliate employment increased both in countries like India and China with large quantities of high-skilled human capital and in countries like Canada with more relaxed high-skilled immigration policies and closer geographic proximity,"

²⁶ Britta Glennon, How Do Restrictions on High-Skilled Immigration Affect Offshoring? Evidence from the H-1B Program, SSRN, February 21, 2020.

writes Glennon. "These empirical results also are supported by interviews with U.S. multinational firms and an immigration lawyer." ²⁷

Glennon also found that pushing more high-skilled foreign nationals out of the country reduces innovation inside the United States. "The results also suggest that in addition to affecting the location of skilled employment, restrictive immigration policies affect the *location of innovation*, and of course the associated positive externalities," notes Glennon. "Skilled immigrants have been shown to have outsized impacts on innovation in the home country through spillovers."

A survey completed before the Covid-19 pandemic supports Glennon's findings. "Forty-eight percent of employers said that placing or hiring high-skilled talent unable to secure work authorization in the U.S. is the primary driver for their outbound immigration assignments," according to the <u>2020 Immigration Trends</u>

Report produced by Envoy Global and The Harris Poll, which surveyed human resources professionals and hiring managers in the U.S. across industries and sizes. Seventy-four percent of survey respondents viewed Canada's immigration policies to be better for business than America's. 30

Some express opposition to H-1B visas, which, as noted, are generally the only practical way foreign nationals can work in the U.S. long-term, because a portion of employers that hire H-1B visa holders provide information technology (IT) or other business services. Even using an expansive definition of what some call "outsourcing" companies, the number of H-1B petitions going to such firms has

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. Emphasis added.

²⁹ Stuart Anderson, "Survey: Immigration Policies Driving Work Out of America," Forbes, February 19, 2021.
³⁰ Ibid.

declined by one-third between FY 2015 and FY 2020. The fewer than 20,000 new H-1B petitions in FY 2020 for professionals at these companies come to 0.012% of the 161 million people in the U.S. labor force, a small number, particularly in light of the more than 1.2 million active job vacancy postings in computer occupations in America.³¹

These and similar companies are part of an industry trend of expanding hiring in the U.S., and when providing services to clients to use more digital services, such as cloud computing, "bots" and artificial intelligence, which require fewer workers.

Technology expert and Everest Group CEO Peter Bendor-Samuel has said access to talent is essential for competitiveness in America, and he includes information technology services companies building digital platforms for U.S. companies. "Almost every major U.S. firm is building some form of digital platform so it can enhance its competitive position both domestically and internationally," he said. "This is probably the most important thing these firms are doing and success will define both company and global success as we move into the future." 32

One of the lesser-known benefits of admitting H-1B visa holders and immigrants more generally is the remarkable contributions of their children to America. "An impressive 83% (33 of 40) of the finalists of the 2016 Intel Science Talent Search, the leading science competition for U.S. high school students, were the children of immigrants," according to a National Foundation for American Policy

³¹ H-1B Denial Rates for FY 2020 and the Impact of Court Decisions, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, January 2021.

³² Stuart Anderson, "2021 Might Be a Decisive Year for H-1B Visas," Forbes, June 2, 2021.

study. "Moreover, 75% - 30 out of 40 – of the finalists had parents who worked in America on H-1B visas. That compares to 7 children who had both parents born in the United States. . . . A total of 27 of the 40 children – 68% – had a parent who came to America as an international student." 33

A final note: In 2016, when conducting research that found <u>more than half of America's billion-dollar startup companies</u> had at least one immigrant founder, I interviewed Noubar Afeyan, a former international student at MIT and the immigrant co-founder of Moderna, who explained to me the potential benefits to humanity of working with messenger RNA (mRNA). I recalled that conversation when the Covid-19 pandemic hit and Moderna quickly developed its lifesaving vaccine.

Nearly all the key personnel who ultimately led to Moderna creating the vaccine stayed in or came to America via an H-1B visa or an employment-based green card. Noubar Afeyan's cofounder, Derrick Rossi, was born in Canada and gained H-1B status in the United States. Moderna's CEO Stéphane Bancel, who led the company's effort, immigrated to America from France. Moderna's Chief Medical Officer Tal Zaks, in charge of clinical development at the company, came in on an employment visa from Israel. Chief Digital and Operational Excellence Officer Marcello Damiani immigrated from France, and Moderna's Chief Technical Operations and Quality Officer Juan Andres immigrated from Spain. 34

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³³ Stuart Anderson, *The Contributions of the Children of Immigrants to Science in America*, NFAP Policy Brief, National Foundation for American Policy, March 2017.

³⁴ Stuart Anderson, "The Founder of Pfizer was an Immigrant, Too," *Forbes*, December 7, 2020.

Immigrant Katalin Karikó, while working at the University of Pennsylvania, produced the underlying research breakthrough that eventually made messenger RNA possible for vaccine use. She worked with both Pfizer and Moderna.³⁵

Pfizer CEO Albert Bourla, who played a crucial part in the speedy development of the vaccines, is an immigrant, as are many key research personnel at Pfizer.³⁶ Even the two founders of Pfizer were immigrants.

If not for Katalin Karikó, Noubar Afeyan, Stéphane Bancel, Albert Bourla and the other immigrants whose efforts led to the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines, how much more economic damage would America have suffered and how many more Americans would have lost their lives and those of their loved ones? Thank you.

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³⁵ Damian Garde and Jonathan Saltzman, "The story of mRNA: How a once-dismissed idea became a leading technology in the Covid vaccine race," STAT, November 10, 2020.

³⁶ Sharon LaFraniere, Katie Thomas, Noah Weiland, David Gelles, Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Denise Grady, "Politics, Science and the Remarkable Race for a Coronavirus Vaccine," *New York Times*, November 30, 2020.

APPENDIX

Table 6
Top 25 Employers Approved for H-1B Petitions for Initial Employment: FY 2015 vs. FY 2020

| Employer | FY 2015 Approved Petitions Initial Employment | FY 2020 Approved Petitions Initial Employment | Difference Between FY 2015 and FY 2020 Approved Petitions Initial Employment |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
| Amazon | 1,070 | 4,774 | +3,704 |
| Infosys | 2,765 | 3,512 | +747 |
| TCS | 4,771 | 2,409 | -2,362 |
| Cognizant | 3,849 | 2,005 | -1,844 |
| Microsoft | 970 | 1,791 | +821 |
| Google | 849 | 1,682 | +833 |
| Capgemini | 556 | 1,413 | +857 |
| HCL America | 1,318 | 1,405 | +87 |
| IBM | 1,934 | 1,360 | -574 |
| Deloitte | 1,222 | 1,231 | +9 |
| Facebook | 422 | 1,184 | +762 |
| Accenture | 3,443 | 1,140 | -2,303 |
| Wipro | 3,185 | 1,004 | -2,181 |
| Tech Mahindra | 1,571 | 887 | -684 |
| Intel | 636 | 788 | +152 |
| Larsen & Toubro | 861 | 784 | -77 |
| Apple | 532 | 748 | +216 |
| Qualcomm | 269 | 557 | +288 |
| Ernst & Young | 685 | 528 | -157 |
| Oracle | 500 | 522 | +22 |
| PricewaterhouseCoopers | 650 | 492 | -158 |
| Cisco | 270 | 488 | +218 |
| Walmart | 70 | 435 | +365 |
| Goldman Sachs | 255 | 399 | +144 |
| Atos Syntel | 1,057 | 380 | -677 |

Source: USCIS, National Foundation for American Policy. Companies listed in order of FY 2020 approved petitions for initial employment. Data extracted and analyzed from USCIS H-1B Employer Data Hub. IBM and IBM Private India were combined, as were Amazon and its related entities, and Larsen & Toubro and L&T Technology Services.

Table 7
NEW H-1B PETITIONS ISSUED AGAINST THE H-1B CAP BY FISCAL YEAR

| <u>Year</u> | CAP* | #Issued | #Unused |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1992 | 65,000 | 48,600 | 16,400 |
| 1993 | 65,000 | 61,600 | 3,400 |
| 1994 | 65,000 | 60,300 | 4,700 |
| 1995 | 65,000 | 54,200 | 10,800 |
| 1996 | 65,000 | 55,100 | 9,900 |
| 1997 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 1998 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 1999 | 115,000 | 115,000 | 0 |
| 2000 | 115,000 | 115,000 | 0 |
| 2001 | 195,000 | 163,600 | 31,400 |
| 2002 | 195,000 | 79,100 | 115,900 |
| 2003 | 195,000 | 78,000 | 117,000 |
| 2004 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2005 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2006 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2007 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2008 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2009 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2010 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2011 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2012 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2013 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2014 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2015 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2016 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2017 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2018 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2019 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2020 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2021 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| 2022 | 65,000 | 65,000 | 0 |
| | | | |

Source: Dept. of Homeland Security; National Foundation for American Policy. *Does not include exemptions from cap.