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TO: Interested Parties

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SUBJECT: Reforming and Expanding the H-1B Program

Overview

There are few economic priorities facing the 110th Congress that are more significant than finding ways to maintain American dominance in the global economy. Progressives of all stripes share an interest in promoting U.S. economic growth, but the onset of the Information Age has brought with it some deep divisions about how best to create and maintain good jobs in America.

One sticking point has become the H-1B visa program. While the program historically has enjoyed bipartisan support, in recent years, public unease over immigration, anxieties over globalization and the partial collapse of the tech sector at the start of the decade have eroded enthusiasm for it – particularly among some progressive leaders both in and out of Congress. While business groups have lobbied to increase the number of H-1B visas, many progressives have become hesitant to champion the program aggressively. And with many of the newly elected Democrats running on populist, anti-trade messaging, the future for the program is cloudy.

We believe that bringing highly skilled workers to the United States is crucial to our nation's continued economic growth and prosperity, and that progressives can and should favor H-1B expansion. But given the very real policy issues raised by the program, as well as the unease that this program has generated, progressives must adopt a new set of policy and message strategies to change the dynamic of the debate.

This begins with an overall framework for talking and thinking about H-1Bs. Proponents of the H-1B program now frame it in terms of American **shortages and weaknesses** – a lack of qualified employees, a dearth of Americans conversant in math and sciences, and the fear that U.S. companies will fall behind without foreign help. This is a negative and off-putting message.

By contrast, opponents of the program frame it as undermining the American workforce and providing cheaper labor to the business community. They frame H-1Bs as simply another **corporate abuse** to boost profits at the expense of the American people. While this is also a negative message, it is also more compelling to a public that is already nervous about immigration and trade.

We suggest a new frame: **H-1B Reform**. This allows supporters to get out of the old "for or against" arguments and to be proactively in favor of making the program better – better for American workers, better for national security, better for the economy, and better for taxpayers.

This approach also shifts the terms of the debate from America's weaknesses to its strengths. Thus, we need to reform the H-1B program because our powerful tech economy is growing so fast that America can absorb every engineer and scientist that our schools can churn out, plus many more. It is important that we keep these new, young high-tech workers here to keep our economy expanding and to create new and better jobs for America. And it should be highlighted that many H-1B recipients have already paid their dues in America. They have graduated from our universities and can either create new wealth and opportunity in their home country or ours.

In summary, we suggest a four-step message and strategy that will help supporters of the H-1B program frame their position in the context of reform:

1. Lay out a series of principles that define H-1B reform as good for America.

The goal of the H-1B program is to create American growth, American jobs and American opportunity. Our economy is strong enough and successful enough to absorb every talented worker in America, both native-born and foreign. H-1B workers are not competitors but people whose skills complement those of American workers and enable Americans to move upward. H-1B has been an undeniable success for America, but it must be reformed to better meet these goals.

2. Propose a series of meaningful reforms that make the program better.

These reforms will keep the good parts of the program and end any possibility of abuse that detractors rightfully point out.

3. Define the opposition as opposed to reform that would create American jobs and be prepared to respond to attacks.

The companies that recruited the most H-1B visas in the past also created the most new jobs in America. H-1B is part of America's economic success story, and those who want to kill it will destroy American jobs.

4. Avoid falling into "message traps" that have followed the H-1B issue.

Supporters should avoid the argument that we need H-1B workers because America is "falling behind" in turning out enough talent of its own. Making citizens feel less secure about the American economy and the American workforce will backfire—rather than recognizing the need for foreign workers and welcoming them to this country, people are more likely to want to protect American jobs by keeping more immigrants out.

Four Steps to H-1B Reform and Expansion

Step 1: Lay out principles for reform

Too often, proponents of H-1B expansion define their support for the program in terms of meeting the needs of specific industries that are short of qualified labor. This frame is too narrow and gives opponents an opening to focus on the bad behavior of a few companies.

Supporters of the H-1B program need to make clear that their goal is not to help a particular company or industry to fill a specific need but to help the overall economy and create more jobs for American workers.

By putting these larger goals in the context of H-1B reform, supporters of expansion can also reframe their goals and the H-1B program in a positive light. In particular, we offer the following principles for reform:

A. Helping the American economy grow.

The H-1B program has been good for the American economy by attracting and keeping talented workers in America. But we need to make it better so that we get the most out of these workers and their contributions to the economy and so that we don't lose these workers to our global competitors.

B. Helping American workers get ahead.

The goal of the H-1B program isn't to help H-1B workers but to help American workers. These reforms will help create more opportunities for American workers to get ahead and stop any employer abuses from happening.

C. Bolstering national security.

Protecting our borders should be our top priority. The H-1B program should be setting tough standards for who gets into our country, and we need to reform the program to make sure our borders remain secure.

D. Fairness to taxpayers.

One of the reasons the H-1B program has been so successful is that these workers pay taxes and contribute to the economy. We need to make sure that this program provides a net benefit to American taxpayers.

Step 2: Propose meaningful reforms

The H-1B program genuinely needs improvement, and proposing meaningful reforms can do much to neutralize the objections of opponents who want to end it or "reform" it out of existence. (For those in doubt, we cover the need for reform in more detail in the Appendix.) We offer the following sample reform-minded policy ideas that all progressives can and should support, each of them pegged to the principles laid out above:

A. Helping the economy grow.

Proposal: Convert H-1B into a transitional program for people on the

path to citizenship.

Critics charge that the H-1B program, though intended as a temporary worker program, really serves as “back door” for people seeking permanent status. This is true. Supporters can take this objection head-on, by proposing to turn the back door into a “front door” for highly-talented people we want to keep in the U.S. because they have graduated from our schools or worked in our companies.

Policy options:

- *Attach H-1B status to the person, not the employer, and allow the person to apply for an H-1B visa while still in school (this proposal would also neutralize the “indentured servant” argument that some opponents make).*
- *Reserve a set number of H-1B slots for students graduating from American universities.*
- *Extend the stay of H-1B workers who have green card applications pending.*
- *Exempt the dependents of H-1B workers from the 140,000 cap on green cards for employment.*

B. Helping American workers get ahead.

Proposal: Create new incentives for private-sector efforts to upgrade the skills of American workers.

Supporters of H-1B expansion often point to the H-1B Technical Skills Training and Grant program as proof of their commitment to helping U.S. workers. There are several reasons that this does not work (see Appendix).

But hiring H-1B workers is not an either/or proposition for American workers and companies. H-1B proponents need to demonstrate that helping U.S. workers move up the job ladder is their number-one priority and that this goal does not conflict with a robust H-1B program.

Policy options:

- *Sever the link between training programs and H-1B fees and redirect all fees toward improving program administration or funding additional National Science Foundation scholarship.¹*
- *Propose tax incentives for employers to expand training and education opportunities for employees.*

Proposal: Improve enforcement of current law to better protect workers and eliminate abuses.

Opponents of the H-1B program rely heavily on the threat of corporate malfeasance in order to make their case (although there’s no evidence that such malfeasance is widespread). And enforcement is lax (see Appendix). But H-1B proponents can partially neutralize these objections by taking a strong stance against the few bad actors who exploit the program and proposing reforms that increase accountability for abuses.

Policy options:

- *Streamline and improve DOL's certification process for H-1B applications.*
- *Give DOL the same authority it has under the Fair Labor Standards Act to investigate suspected abuses in the absence of a formal complaint.*

C. Bolstering national security.

Proposal: Improve monitoring of the H-1B visa process to tighten our borders and ensure national security.

Proposals for reform should crack down on lax procedures, tighten the borders and ensure that an expanded H-1B program will not compromise our national security. National interests should be put ahead of the interests of business.

Policy options:

- *Require DHS to partner with employers in creating a system to better track H-1B workers once they enter the U.S.*
- *Require DHS to create protocols for minimizing the number of visas that are issued over the cap.*

D. Fairness to taxpayers.

Proposal: Increase fees to pay for improvements in program administration and to ensure the program pays for itself.

Reform proposals should ensure that the H-1B program is a net benefit for taxpayers and that the cost of additional monitoring and enforcement are paid for in part by those who will benefit the most from the program.

Policy options:

- *Increase the administrative fee paid by employers who hire an H-1B worker to pay for program improvements.*
- *If adopting the proposal to attach H-1B status to an employee, assess an administrative fee for visa processing.*

Step 3: Define the opposition and respond effectively to attacks

In the struggle over H-1Bs, supporters of the program must both define their opponents' point of view and be prepared to respond to attacks on their own.

First, opponents of H-1B reform should be defined as wrong about what's good for America and opposed to policies that would create new American jobs:

- *Opponents of the H-1B program think that keeping out talented people is good for America.*
 - *In the highly competitive global economy, turning away high-skilled foreign workers is a mistake that will benefit our rivals.*
- *Opponents say it's better for our country to send American-educated and American-trained workers out of America and to our competitors.*
 - *By and large, H-1B workers are people who have studied at American*

universities or have already worked at American companies. This program is not about bringing people here from overseas—it's about permanently keeping talent we already have.

- *H-1B opponents lack confidence that our economy can absorb the talent that it attracts.*
 - *They think it's better policy for America to turn educated people away and send them to India and China, who are desperate for talent so they can catch up with us.*

Second, supporters of the program should be prepared to rebut some of the standard attacks from its detractors:

Attack: Companies use the H-1B program to import cheap labor and cut costs.

Rebuttal: We need the H-1B program because of our strong economy, which creates enough jobs to absorb every qualified American worker our universities produce. Our economy can easily absorb twice the number of Americans who are graduating from college with a computer science degree.

- Over the next 10 years, the economy is projected to create more than 1.4 million new jobs in the computer and information science industries.² That's enough jobs to absorb a 75 percent increase in the number of U.S.-born computer science and math graduates over the next ten years.³

Attack: The H-1B program hurts American workers.

Rebuttal: H-1B workers are not competitors for American jobs. Our economy has room for talent. The American economy is strong enough and big enough for American workers and immigrants to work side by side for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

- The H-1B workforce is very small, relative to the size of the economy. H-1B workers make up only about 0.35% of the total American workforce and about 4.4 percent of the workforce employed in computer and math-related occupations, architecture and engineering.⁴
- In 2005, the unemployment rate among engineers and architects was 2.1 percent—less than half the national unemployment rate of 5.1 percent and slightly less than the unemployment rate for all professional occupations in 2005, which was 2.4 percent.⁵

Attack: H-1B workers are taking advantage of America.

Rebuttal: H-1B workers are taxpayers who are making significant contributions to the American economy. We want them here for what they can give America, not what America can give to them.

- One-third of Silicon Valley's tech companies were founded by Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs. By 2000, these companies collectively accounted for \$19.5 billion in sales and 72,839 jobs.⁶
- Immigrants contribute to U.S. innovation. According to the World Bank, for every 100 international students who receive science or engineering doctorate degrees from American universities, the nation gains 62 future patent applications.⁷

Step 4: Avoiding message traps

Supporters of H-1B expansion should avoid arguments that might imply that Americans don't measure up to their foreign competition. Here are three examples of message traps to avoid:

Message trap #1: "The H-1B program is for the best and the brightest"

Americans don't seem convinced that attracting the best and brightest from around the world is a compelling public priority. Moreover, the salaries of H-1B workers (to the extent that data are available) don't strongly support a "best and brightest" argument.

- *H-1B workers are not elite workers in terms of salary—on average, they are paid at or slightly below the median for their occupations.*

In 2003, the median salary for an H-1B worker in a computer-related field was \$60,000,⁸ just below the national median of \$60,060.⁹ But this is not because, as opponents argue, H-1B workers are "exploited."¹⁰ Many of them are hired straight from school—their salaries should be below those of people with many more years of experience.

- *According to surveys, bringing in the "best and brightest" doesn't trump general concerns about immigration.*

A 2005 Pew poll found that only 20 percent of Americans think that tougher restrictions on student visas go too far "because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries."¹¹ Instead, 71 percent of Americans thought that tougher restrictions were "worth it" to keep out terrorists. Another 2006 survey found that only 10 percent of Americans believe that reforming immigration policies "to enable the U.S. to attract and retain the best and brightest science, technology, math and engineering students from around the world to study for advanced degrees and stay to work in the United States" was the most important way to increase the number of highly educated workers and students in the United States.¹² (Motivating U.S. students to study math and science ranked number one.)

Message trap #2: "H-1B workers are needed to fill labor shortages, because America is falling behind in producing engineers."

This argument conflicts with a "best and brightest" rationale: if H-1B workers are the best and brightest, how can they also be a "last resort" to fill in for a shortage of qualified Americans?

Public opinion also seems resistant to the shortage argument: (1) there's skepticism that shortages really exist (the suspicion is that companies are looking to cut costs); and (2) assuming shortages do exist, people aren't convinced that bringing in foreign workers is the best option (Americans should be trained instead).

- *Opinion polls find small majorities who believe that an engineering shortage exists.*

The 2006 Salary and Opinion Survey conducted by *EE Times* found that among the more than 1700 electronics engineers surveyed, a bare 53 percent said they think "there is a shortage of engineers at my company."¹³

Public skepticism over shortages may be fueled in part by two facts about the H-1B program: (1) most companies applying for H-1B workers don't need to certify that they have tried to recruit American workers¹⁴ and could find none available¹⁵; and (2) the last major increase in H-1B quotas from 2001-2003 coincided, rather unfortunately, with the collapse of the tech boom and the last recession.¹⁶

- *Americans resist increased immigration as a solution to labor shortages.*

A 1998 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll taken before the last major expansion of the H-1B program found that 72 percent of Americans opposed changing the nation's immigration's policies to allow more trained computer and software workers to come to the United States.¹⁷ A Harris poll taken the same year found that 86 percent of Americans agreed with this statement: "U.S. companies should train U.S. workers to perform jobs in some technical field, even if it is faster and less expensive to fill the jobs with foreign professionals."¹⁸

Message trap #3: "Lack of access to H-1B workers will force companies to offshore jobs."

The threat of corporate bad behavior is a fundamental element of the opposition's case. Raising the threat of offshoring only helps to prove their point.

Moreover, Americans might be disinclined to believe that access to foreign workers is critical to American success. The 1998 Harris Poll found 66 percent of respondents disagreeing with the statement that "without adding additional temporary foreign workers the United States might be forced to transfer work overseas" and 61 percent of respondents disagreeing with the statement that "without additional temporary foreign workers U.S. companies might fall behind international competitors."

Conclusion

The purpose of H-1B expansion is not to help businesses deal with a labor problem, and proponents of the program should avoid framing their support in those terms. By focusing on H-1B reform and the larger goals of economic growth, proponents of H-1B expansion can help shift the nature of the debate on high-skilled immigration away from a discussion of America's weaknesses and toward a proactive policy that builds on America's strengths.

APPENDIX

H-1B Program Facts Supporting a Reform Message

- **Fact: There is no accurate count of the number of H-1B holders currently in the U.S.**¹⁹

This fuels complaints about lax enforcement and disregard for national security.

- **Fact: Four out of five H-1B visa holders are already in the U.S. when they receive their visas.**

Companies largely recruit H-1B workers from American universities, not from overseas. Most H-1B workers simultaneously apply for a green card,²⁰ and about half of all H-1B workers eventually get a green card to stay in the U.S. permanently or become U.S. citizens.²¹

Thus, H-1B expansion would allow us to keep the talent we already have in this country and prevent the brain-drain of talented workers being forced to return to their home countries. (98 percent of H-1B workers have a bachelor's degree or more.)

The H-1B program would be better for the American economy if it explicitly became a path to citizenship for talented graduates from U.S. schools. Though intended as a temporary worker program, this is not how the program is actually used. Most H-1B workers simultaneously apply for a green card to stay in the U.S. permanently. However, the six-year time limit on the H-1B visa means that some workers have to leave the country before their green cards are issued, even after having been in the U.S. for up to a decade.

- **Fact: Funding from the H-1B Technical Skills Training and Grant Program largely doesn't benefit the high-skilled workers who feel most threatened by the H-1B program.**

First, the program isn't helping the highly-educated, mid-level computer programmer who is most anxious about H-1B's impact. According to the GAO, most of the training funds are going to programs targeted at "dislocated and unemployed individuals, and specific populations such as youth, disabled or public assistance recipients."²² Very little money is going to college-educated workers, who claim to be hurt most.

Second, supporting training programs for displaced workers is a concession that the H-1B program has negative effects on American jobs. Opponents like to cast the H-1B program as a zero-sum proposition: by choosing an H-1B worker, an American worker is hurt. In that context, opponents can claim that training programs such as these are little more than "burial insurance."

- **Fact: A majority of workers in the information technology industry say they don't get training and education from their employers.**

A 2006 survey of 5,456 staffers and 4,969 managers by *InformationWeek* found that only 42 percent of staff and 43 of managers said they receive on-the-job education and training. Only 30 percent of staff and 28 percent of managers said they get tuition reimbursement.²³ Likewise, the *EE Times* 2006 Salary and Opinion Survey found that among electronics engineers, only 41 percent said they take part in company training

programs.²⁴

- **Fact: H-1Bs fees are very low.**

Employers now pay less than \$2,000 in fees for each H-1B petition filed for a new employee or an extension. (\$185 for an I-129 USCIS Fee and \$1,500 for H-1B "Education and Training Fee".)

- **Fact: The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) consistently issues thousands of H-1B visas in excess of the statutory cap.**

USCIS issued more than 6,700 visas than it should have in 2005.²⁵ In 1999, as many as 23,000 excess visas were issued.²⁶

- **Fact: Federal oversight of this program is limited, and enforcement is lax.**

The Department of Labor (DOL) approves 99.5% of H1-B applications from employers, including those that clearly break the law. A 2006 audit by the Government Accountability Office found that DOL had greenlighted at least 3,000 applications from employers who said they would pay an H-1B worker less than the legally required wage and 1,000 applicants from employers with an incorrect Employer Identification Number.²⁷

Indeed, the DOL generally has no authority to investigate H-1B wrongdoing unless a formal complaint is filed, even if it suspects an abuse. In the six-year period from 2000-2005, DOL received only 1,026 complaints about the H-1B program.²⁸ The DOL's Inspector General calls the H-1B program "highly susceptible to fraud."²⁹ Documented abuses include employers sponsoring themselves, employing foreign workers as independent contractors in order to avoid paying taxes and paying workers less than they certified they would.³⁰

¹ Employers currently pay a \$1,500 "Education and Training Fee" for each H-1B petition filed. About 55 percent of this money goes toward the Technical Skills Training and Grant Program and the remainder to fund scholarships for college students studying math and science.

² U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic and Employment Projections, December 2005. This figure also assumes a 1.5% retirement rate.

³ The total number of computer/math degrees awarded in 2004 (bachelor's, master's and doctorates) was 82,341.

⁴ The calculation is based on an estimate of the H-1B population by scholar Lindsey Lowell in *H-1B Temporary Workers: Estimating the Population*. Georgetown University, April 2000, and on employment figures available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

⁵ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. There is no definitive evidence of the impact of H-1B workers on job opportunities or wages. For every study that finds a negative impact, there are others finding no impact or positive impact. Harvard economist George Borjas, for example, estimates that a 10 percent increase in the supply of foreign doctorates lowers the wage of competing workers by about 3 to 4 percent. Borjas, George J., "Immigration in High-Skill Labor Markets: The Impact of Foreign Students on the Earnings of Doctorates," Working Paper 12085, NBER Working Paper Series, March 2006. Federal Reserve economist Madeline Zavodny, on the other hand, finds no negative effects on wages from the presence of H-1B workers. Zavodny, Madeline, "The H-1B Program and Its Effects on Information Technology Workers," Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Review*, Third Quarter 2003.

⁶ Saxenian, AnnaLee, "Brain Circulation: How High-Skill Immigration Makes Everyone Better Off," *The Brookings Review*, Winter 2002, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 28-31.

⁷ Anderson, Stuart, "The Debate Over Immigration's Impact on U.S. Workers and the Economy," National Foundation for American Policy, July 2006.

⁸ “Characteristics of Specialty Occupation Workers (H-1B): Fiscal Year 2003.” U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, issued November 2004.

⁹ Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Employment Statistics.

¹⁰ Miano, John, “The Bottom of the Pay Scale: Wages for H-1B Computer Programmers,” Center for Immigration Studies, December 2005. Another study, by the engineering journal, *EE Times*, reports that H-1B engineers make between 9 and 23 percent less on average than American engineers. Roman, David, “H-1B pay drags down all salaries,” June 19, 2006. Both of these studies are consistent with the notion, however, that many H-1B workers may have lower salaries simply because many of them are recent graduates.

¹¹ America’s Place in the World Survey, sponsored by the Pew Research Center and the Council on Foreign Relations, conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International, October 12-24, 2005, 2,006 adults.

¹² Winston Group, New Models National Brand Poll, 1,000 adults, January 21-23, 2006.

¹³ U.S. Salary and Opinion Survey, *EE Times*, August 2006, available at www.eetimes.com. Likewise, a 1998 Harris Poll found that only 51 percent of respondents in the general public agree that “there is a shortage of technical professionals in the United States.” IEEE-USA/Harris Poll: U.S. Public Overwhelmingly Opposed to H-1B Visa Expansion,” September 16, 1998, 1,000 adults.

¹⁴ <http://atlas.doleta.gov/foreign/h-1b.asp>, *H-1B Specialty (Professional) Workers Overview*, Department of Labor Website.

¹⁵ The only companies that need to testify that they have looked for American workers first are companies deemed to be “H-1B dependent”—more than 15 percent of their workers are H-1B workers—and companies that have previously violated H-1B program rules.

¹⁶ Here’s a typical response from opponents of H-1B expansion at the time: “In 2000, with the economy entering a full recession, America imported 650,263 foreign workers under two employer-friendly visa programs, H-1B and L-1. In 2001, with the economy still struggling and the tech industry laying off 500,000 American workers, Congress responded to heavy lobbying by business interests by signing off on another 712,671 employment related visas for the year—a surge of nearly 10 percent in labor imports.” Hayes, Matt, “U.S. Tech Workers Bear Brunt of Immigration Policy,” Fox News Channel, April 29, 2004.

¹⁷ NBC News, Wall Street Journal, conducted by Hart and Teeter Research Companies, 2,106 adults, December 3-6, 1998.

¹⁸ IEEE-USA/Harris Poll: U.S. Public Overwhelmingly Opposed to H-1B Visa Expansion,” September 16, 1998, 1,000 adults.

¹⁹ The Department of Homeland Security’s Office of Immigration Statistics estimated that there were 704,000 temporary workers (including family members) in the U.S. on a typical day in 2004. Grieco, Elizabeth. “Estimates of the Nonimmigrant Population in the United States: 2004.” U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics.

²⁰ Phone conversation with Elizabeth Grieco, PhD., Office of Immigration Statistics, Department of Homeland Security, October 16, 2006.

²¹ Wasem, Ruth Ellen, “H-1B Visas: Legislative History, Trends Over Time, and Pathways to Permanent Residence,” Congressional Research Service, March 20, 2006.

²² U.S. Government Accountability Office, “High Skill Training: Grants from H-1B Fees Meet Specific Workforce Needs, but at Varying Skill Levels,” September 2002.

²³ McGee, Marianne Kolbasuk, “In Depth: Why We Need the H-1B,” *InformationWeek*, June 12, 2006.

²⁴ U.S. Salary and Opinion Survey, *EE Times*, August 2006. available at www.eetimes.com.

²⁵ Department of Homeland Security Office, Office of Inspector General, “USCIS Approval of H-1B Petitions Exceeded 65,000 Cap in Fiscal Year 2005,” OIG-05-49.

²⁶ Wasem, Ruth Ellen, "H-1B Visas: Legislative History, Trends Over Time, and Pathways to Permanent Residence," Congressional Research Service, March 20, 2006.

²⁷ Government Accountability Office, "H-1B Visa Program: More Oversight by Labor Can Improve Compliance with Program Requirements," June 22, 2006.

²⁸ Government Accountability Office, "H-1B Visa Program: More Oversight by Labor Can Improve Compliance with Program Requirements," June 22, 2006.

²⁹ Department of Labor, Office of Inspector General, "Overview and Assessment of Vulnerabilities in the Department of Labor's Alien Labor Certification Programs," Report No. 06-03-007-03-321, September 30, 2003.

³⁰ Department of Labor, Office of Inspector General, "Overview and Assessment of Vulnerabilities in the Department of Labor's Alien Labor Certification Programs," Report No. 06-03-007-03-321, September 30, 2003.