

New Brain Gain: Rising Human Capital among Recent Immigrants to the United States

By Jeanne Batalova and Michael Fix

Executive Summary

As governments in major immigrant-destination countries adjust their immigration policies to seek migrants with strong academic and professional credentials, there has been a pronounced—if unnoticed—shift occurring in the composition of recent flows of immigrants to the United States.¹

Migration Policy Institute (MPI) analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau finds that almost half (48 percent) of immigrants coming to the United States between 2011 and 2015 were college graduates (compared to 31 percent of U.S.-born adults in 2015).² In contrast, the highly skilled represented just 27 percent of arrivals during the five-year period ending in 1990. This rise in immigrants' educational attainment is correlated with increasing flows from Asia, although it should be noted that about one-quarter of recent immigrants from Latin America are college graduates. Higher levels of bilingualism and English language proficiency accompany this increase in human capital.

Using decennial census and American Community Survey (ACS) data, this fact sheet compares the most recently arrived cohort of immigrants (2011-15) to earlier arriving groups from three different periods: 1986-90, 1996-2000, and 2006-10 by regions of origin, immigration status, and states of residence.

Among other key findings:

- ***One in two immigrant college graduates is from Asia.*** The arrival of highly educated Asian immigrants (from India, China, and the Philippines in particular) drove the overall rise in human capital for immigrants arriving after 2010.
- ***Latin Americans are now the second-largest group of highly skilled immigrants.*** By contrast, prior to the mid-2000s, Europeans ranked second in the absolute number of college graduates residing in the United States (and have slipped to third place).
- ***Immigrants who come on temporary visas are much more educated than other groups of immigrants.*** Forty-four percent of the highly skilled arriving after 2010 were on a temporary visa such as an H-1B, while 34 percent were legal permanent residents.³
- ***The highly skilled immigrant population has grown rapidly across the nation during the last 15 years.*** Between 2000 and 2015 the number of immigrant college graduates rose 90 percent—twice as fast as the 43 percent increase experienced

among U.S.-born adults. In 45 states and the District of Columbia the college-educated immigrant population grew faster than the native born.

- ***Recently arrived immigrants are more likely to be college graduates than U.S.-born adults in most states.*** This trend was especially pronounced in the Rust Belt. In Michigan and Ohio while 59 to 63 percent of recent arrivals had at least a bachelor's degree, 26 to 27 percent of the native born were college graduates.
- ***Recent immigrants have higher levels of bilingualism than earlier arriving cohorts.*** Thirty-one percent of immigrants arriving after 2010 were bilingual, compared to 23-25 percent among the earlier cohorts. The share of adults who were Limited English Proficient (LEP) fell from 66 percent for recent arrivals among the earlier cohorts to 57 percent for those entering between 2011 and 2015.

I. Introduction

Some of the most pronounced voices in recent discussions about immigration contend that immigrants represent a burden to U.S. society.⁴ Implicit in these views is that the “quality,” or human capital, of newcomers has been low. The Trump administration, for example, has suggested changes to the U.S. immigration system that would reduce family immigration and shift to “merit-based” admissions.⁵ Since January 2017, several bills have been introduced in Congress to drastically cut legal immigration.⁶

However trends over the past decade demonstrate a different reality about immigrants coming to the United States. Overall flows are down as a result of falling illegal immigration;⁷ recent immigrants come increasingly from Asia, not Latin America;⁸ and the human capital of newcomers, as demonstrated here, has risen sharply. This fact sheet analyzes both

historical data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 1990 and 2000 decennial census and the most recent population data from the 2010 and 2015 American Community Surveys (ACS) to describe these trends.

II. Differences in Educational Levels by Origin and Immigration Status

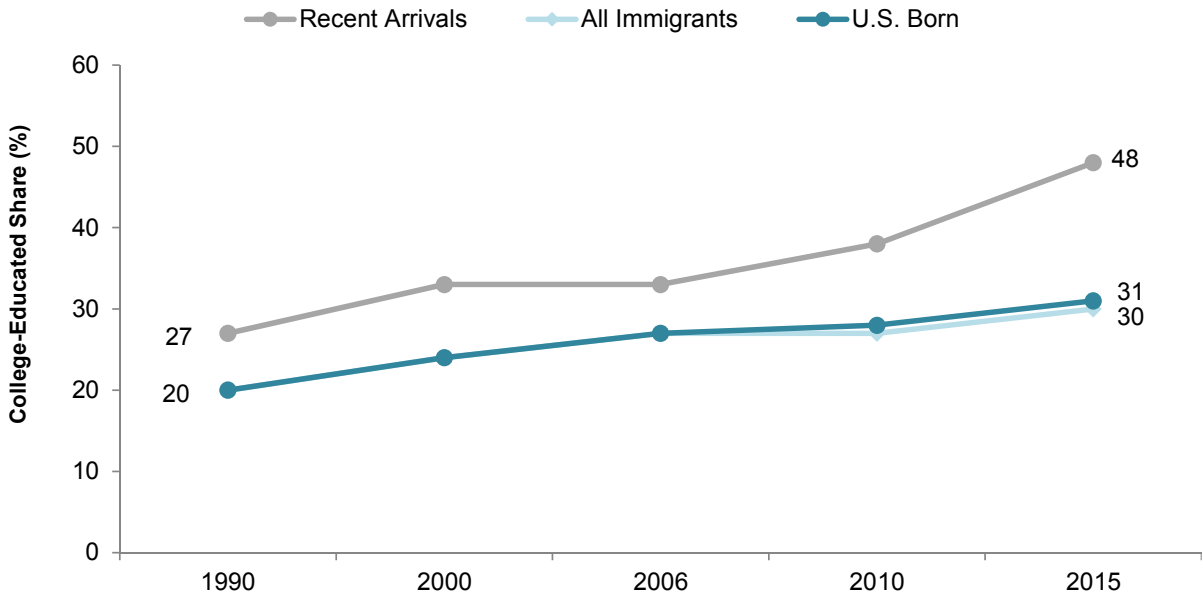
The research literature shows that education is a strong predictor of social and economic well-being for individuals and their families. Education is linked to intergenerational educational and economic mobility, better health, and greater civic engagement.⁹ For immigrants in particular, education promotes successful integration through access to jobs with higher wages and occupational mobility.¹⁰ Trends in immigrant education, patterns across origin groups and U.S. states, and the changing educational profile of recent arrivals are discussed below.

A. Rising Levels of Education over Time

U.S. immigrants are more likely to be college educated than in the past—a trend that is particularly pronounced among the recently arrived. The size of the college-educated immigrant population more than tripled between 1990 and 2015, from 3.1 million to 11.1 million. During the same period, the proportion of college graduates among all immigrant adults rose from 20 percent to 30 percent, mirroring the trend among U.S.-born adults (see Figure 1). Today, immigrants compose 17 percent of the 66.4 million college-educated adults, up from 10 percent in 1990. Immigrants with university degrees are overrepresented relative to the immigrant share of the overall population (close to 14 percent).

More recent arrivals—those who came to the United States after 2010—have education levels that are unprecedentedly high by U.S.

Figure 1. Share of College Graduates among Adults (ages 25 and older), by Nativity and Period of Arrival, (%), 1990-2015



Source: Migration Policy Institute (MPI) tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 1990 and 2000 decennial census and 2006, 2010, and 2015 American Community Survey (ACS).

historical standards. While 27 percent of immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1990 had a university degree, the share had risen to 48 percent for those arriving after 2010 (see Figure 1).

B. Changing Patterns across Origin Groups

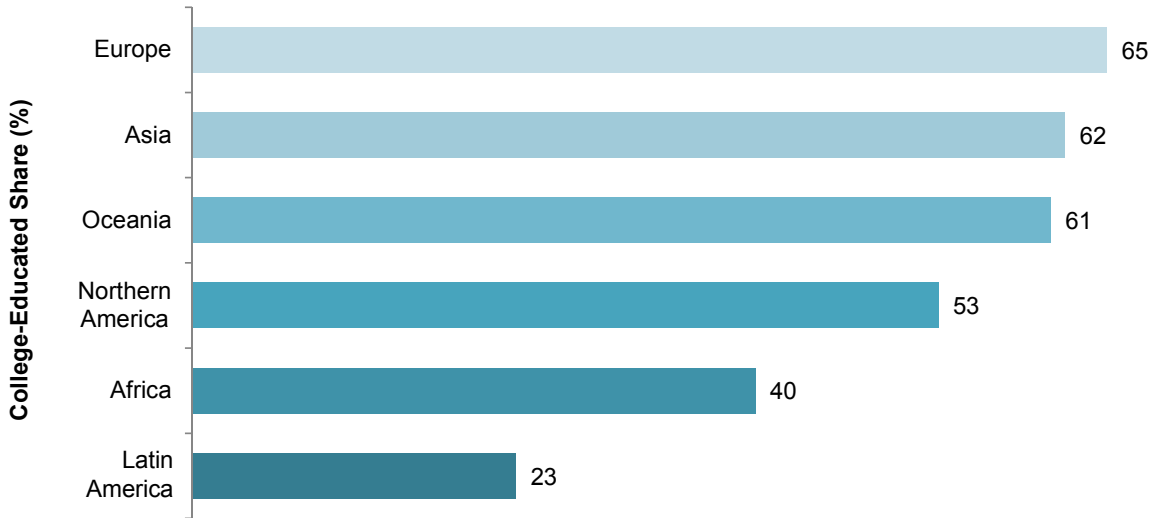
While the overall share of post-2010 immigrants who are college graduates is at its historic high, the share of recent arrivals with a college degree is even higher among those from Europe (65 percent), Asia (62 percent), and Oceania¹¹ (61 percent) (see Figure 2). India, in particular, stands out: 86 percent of Indian-born recent arrivals are college graduates. Nearly one-quarter of recent arrivals from Latin America have a bachelor's degree or more.¹²

The arrival of immigrants with greater levels of education reflects in part rising educational attainment around the world. More people in developing countries attend and graduate from secondary and postsecondary institutions as a result of increased private and public invest-

ments in schools, higher levels of disposable family income, and changing attitudes toward education and gender roles.¹³ International migrants with higher levels of skill (i.e., professionals and foreign students) are also more likely to move internationally than those with fewer skills, in part because they have the financial means to do so.¹⁴ The number of college-educated immigrants heading to countries that form the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (mostly high-income countries, including the United States) grew by 72 percent in the decade between 2000-01 and 2010-11.¹⁵ While the U.S. knowledge-based economy acts as a strong magnet for those with skills and education, the United States now accounts for lower shares of all highly skilled migrants and international students than it did in the past.¹⁶

Immigration from Asia drives growth in the U.S. college-educated immigrant population. Asian immigrants represented by far the largest group among immigrant college graduates. In 2000, nearly 2.9 million college-educated immigrant adults in the United States were from Asia, a number that 15 years later had doubled to 5.8 million (see Figure 3). Latin America

Figure 2. Share of College Graduates among Recently Arrived Immigrants (ages 25 and older), by Region of Birth, (%), 2015*



* Recently arrived describes immigrants entering the United States between 2011-15.

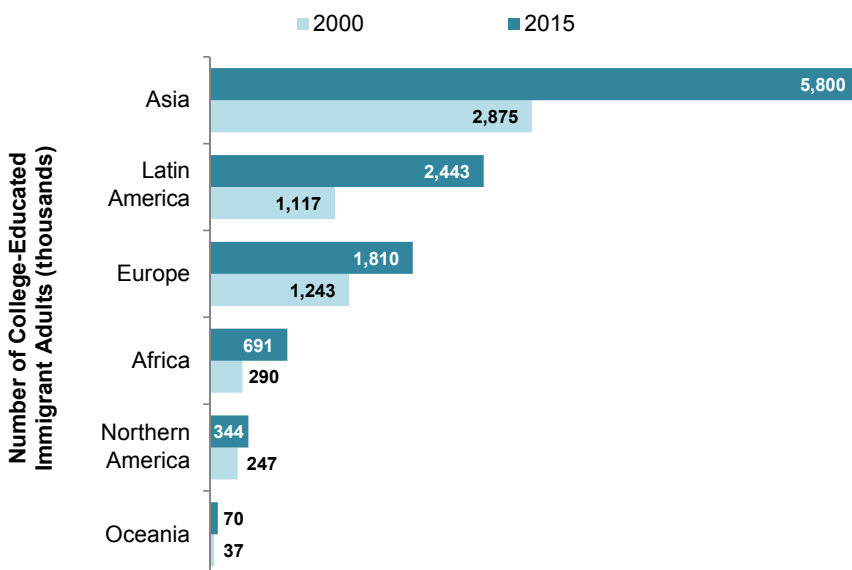
Notes: Northern America includes Canada, Bermuda, and Cape Verde; Latin America includes Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America; Oceania includes Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Northern Mariana Islands.

Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

represented the second-largest contributor of foreign-born college graduates. The number of college-educated immigrants from Latin America has more than doubled—from 1.1 million

in 2000 to 2.4 million in 2015—displacing the European born as the second-largest college-educated immigrant group in the mid-2000s. Sharp numerical gains are also seen among African

Figure 3. Number of Immigrant College Graduates (ages 25 and older) in the United States, by Region of Birth, 2000 and 2015



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2000 decennial census and 2015 ACS.

immigrants, where those with a college degree rose from 290,000 to 691,000 during the same 15-year period.

In 2015, India was the largest contributing country to the highly skilled foreign-born population in the United States (1.6 million out of 11.1 million immigrants with college degrees), followed by China/Hong Kong (916,000), the Philippines (871,000), Mexico (632,000), and South Korea (481,000). Many of these highly skilled immigrants come directly for work or for education. Indian immigrants were the leading origin group among temporary highly skilled foreign workers,¹⁷ whereas students from China accounted for nearly one-third of the 1 million international students in U.S. graduate and undergraduate programs in 2015-16.¹⁸

Although the arrival of highly educated Asians has been the major driver of rising educational attainment among both recent arrivals and the foreign-born population overall, immigrants from almost all regions have shown substantial gains in educational attainment since 2000 except for one region: Africa. The college-educated share among African-born immigrants—which was high historically—remained roughly the same between 2000 and 2015 (see Figure 4). This unchanged share over time owes to diver-

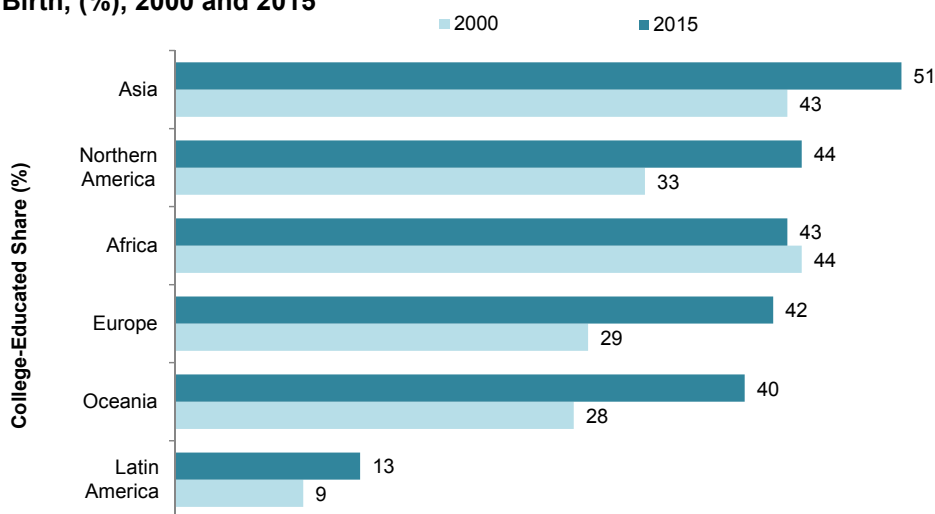
sification in sending countries and a shift from flows once dominated by foreign students and professionals to a broader mix of refugees, families, and professionals.¹⁹

C. Differing Levels of Educational Attainment by Immigration Status

More than 40 percent of recently arrived college graduates came on temporary visas. Using a unique MPI methodology permitting legal status assignments to the foreign-born population in the 2014 ACS,²⁰ the authors find that out of all college-educated immigrants who came between 2010 and 2014, 44 percent were temporary visa holders (aka legal nonimmigrants), 34 percent were legal permanent residents (LPRs, known as green-card holders), and 18 percent were unauthorized. Finally, 3 percent were naturalized U.S. citizens (this group is small because very few naturalized citizens are recently arrived.) (See Table 1).

Regardless of their legal status, recently arrived immigrants were more likely to have a college degree than the overall foreign-born population (see Figure 5). The figure also shows that temporary visa holders were by far more educated

Figure 4. Share of College Graduates among Immigrant Adults (ages 25 and older), by Region of Birth, (%), 2000 and 2015



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2000 decennial census and 2015 ACS.

Table 1. Legal Status Composition of Immigrant Adults (ages 25 and older), by College Education and Period of Arrival, (%), 2014

	All Immigrant Adults		College-Educated Immigrant Adults	
	All (%)	Arrived between 2010 and 2014 (%)	All (%)	Arrived between 2010 and 2014 (%)
Naturalized U.S. Citizens	46.2	4.4	57.8	3.5
Legal Permanent Residents	29.0	42.4	23.7	33.7
Temporary Visa Holders	3.5	22.3	8.3	44.5
Unauthorized	21.3	30.8	10.1	18.4

Source: MPI analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2014 ACS and the 2008 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), with legal status assignments by James Bachmeier of Temple University and Jennifer Van Hook of The Pennsylvania State University, Population Research Institute.

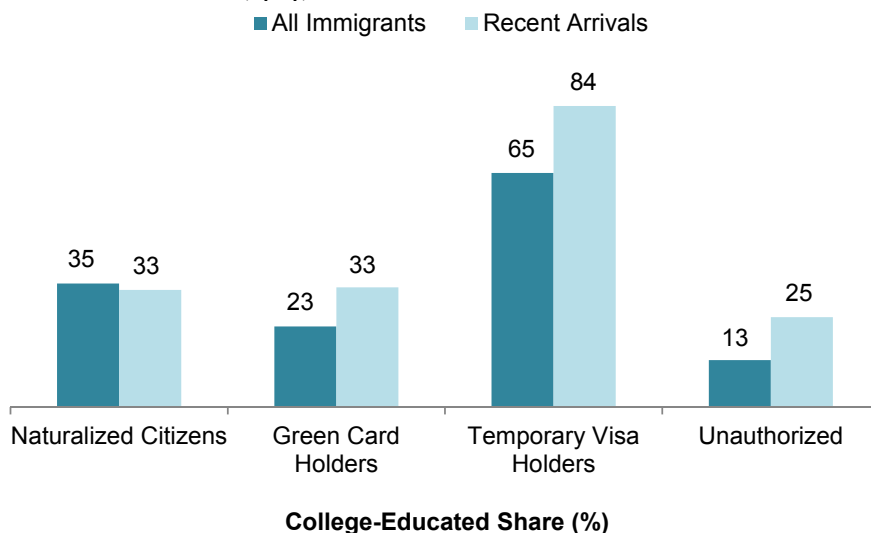
than the other three groups. Although this high share (84 percent) of temporary visa holders with college degrees is a new finding in the research literature, it should not be surprising because the majority of legal nonimmigrants come either to perform higher skilled work (such as skilled temporary H-1B workers) or study in the U.S. higher education system.²¹ What may come as a surprise is that 25 percent of recent arrivals who are unauthorized immigrants are college graduates. MPI estimates that approximately 1 million unauthorized immigrant adults possess a university degree.²²

D. State Trends

This fact sheet also examines state trends among college-educated immigrants using decennial 2000 census and 2015 ACS data.

Since 2000, the college-educated immigrant population has grown faster than the native-born population for the United States and most states. Although the educational attainment of U.S.-born and immigrant adults has risen across all states, the pace of change differed by nativity. Between 2000 and 2015, the number of foreign-

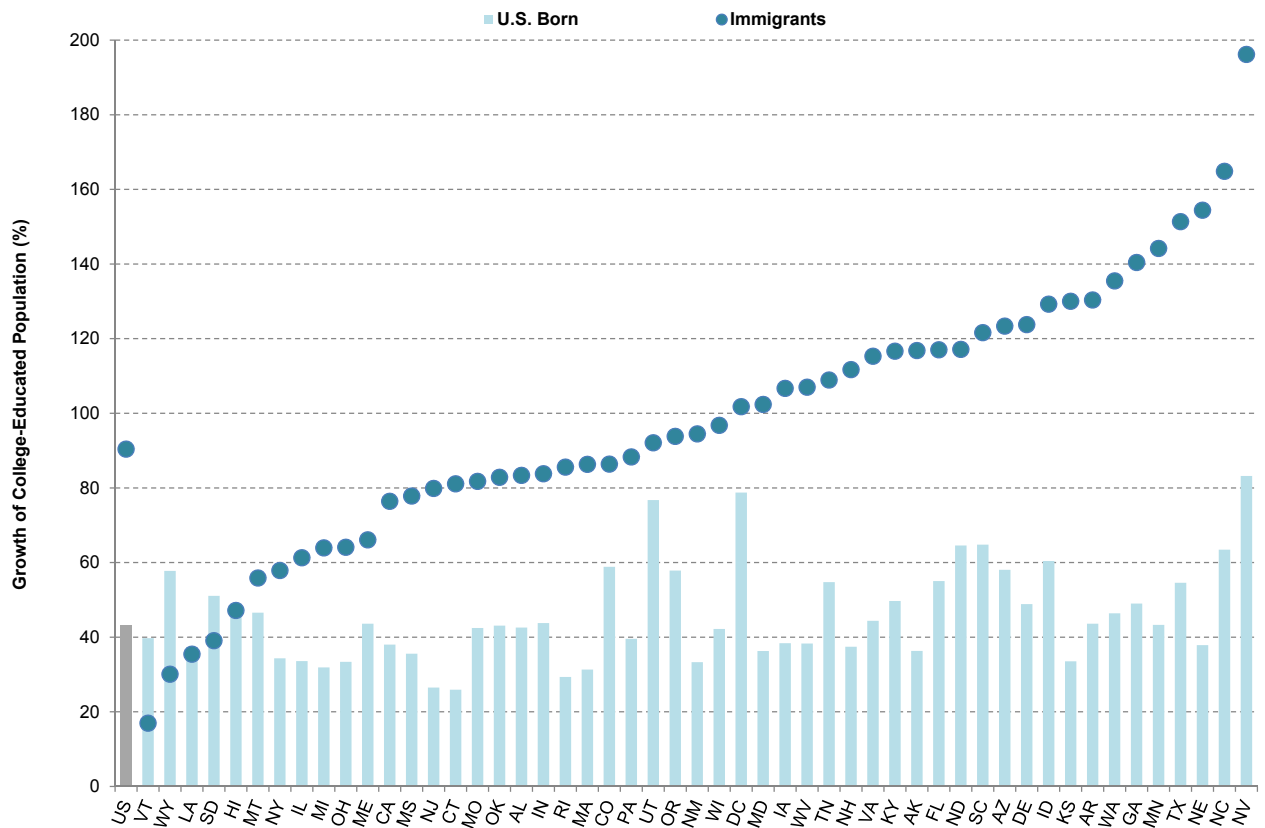
Figure 5. Share of College Graduates among Immigrant Adults (ages 25 and older), by Legal Status and Period of Arrival, (%), 2014*



* Recent arrivals refer to persons who arrived in the United States between 2010 and 2014.

Source: MPI analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2014 ACS and 2008 SIPP, with legal status assignments by Bachmeier and Van Hook.

Figure 6. Growth of the College-Educated Adult Population, by Nativity and State, (%), 2000-15



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2000 decennial census and 2015 ACS.

born college graduates nationally increased by 90 percent—twice the native-born rate (43 percent). All states gained in their highly skilled immigrant populations. In 24 of 50 states and the District of Columbia, the number of immigrant college graduates at least doubled (see Figure 6). In all but five states (Vermont, Wyoming, Louisiana, South Dakota, and Hawaii), the college-educated immigrant population grew much faster than the native-born one.

The college-educated immigrant populations in Nevada and North Carolina grew the fastest of all states (more than 160 percent), in part due to relatively small base numbers in 2000. (Nevada also had the fastest growing U.S.-born college-educated population, followed by the District of Columbia and Utah). However, even states that had more than 100,000 college-educated immigrants in 2000, such as Florida, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Georgia experienced growth rates between 2000 and 2015 that exceeded the national average.

Immigrants have played an important role in boosting the ranks of the highly skilled population in a number of states. Nationwide, 24 percent of the growth in the college-educated population between 2000 and 2015 owed to increases in the number of immigrant college graduates. These highly skilled immigrants accounted for 46 percent of the total growth in New Jersey, 42 percent in California, and 30 to 33 percent in New York, Maryland, Florida, and Massachusetts.

Immigrants also composed a substantial share of the overall college-educated population in a number of states. One in three college graduates in California was an immigrant. The foreign born accounted for at least 20 percent in five other states: New Jersey (29 percent), New York (25 percent), Florida (24 percent), and Nevada and Maryland (21 percent each).

Immigrants were more educated than their U.S.-born counterparts in 26 states, including

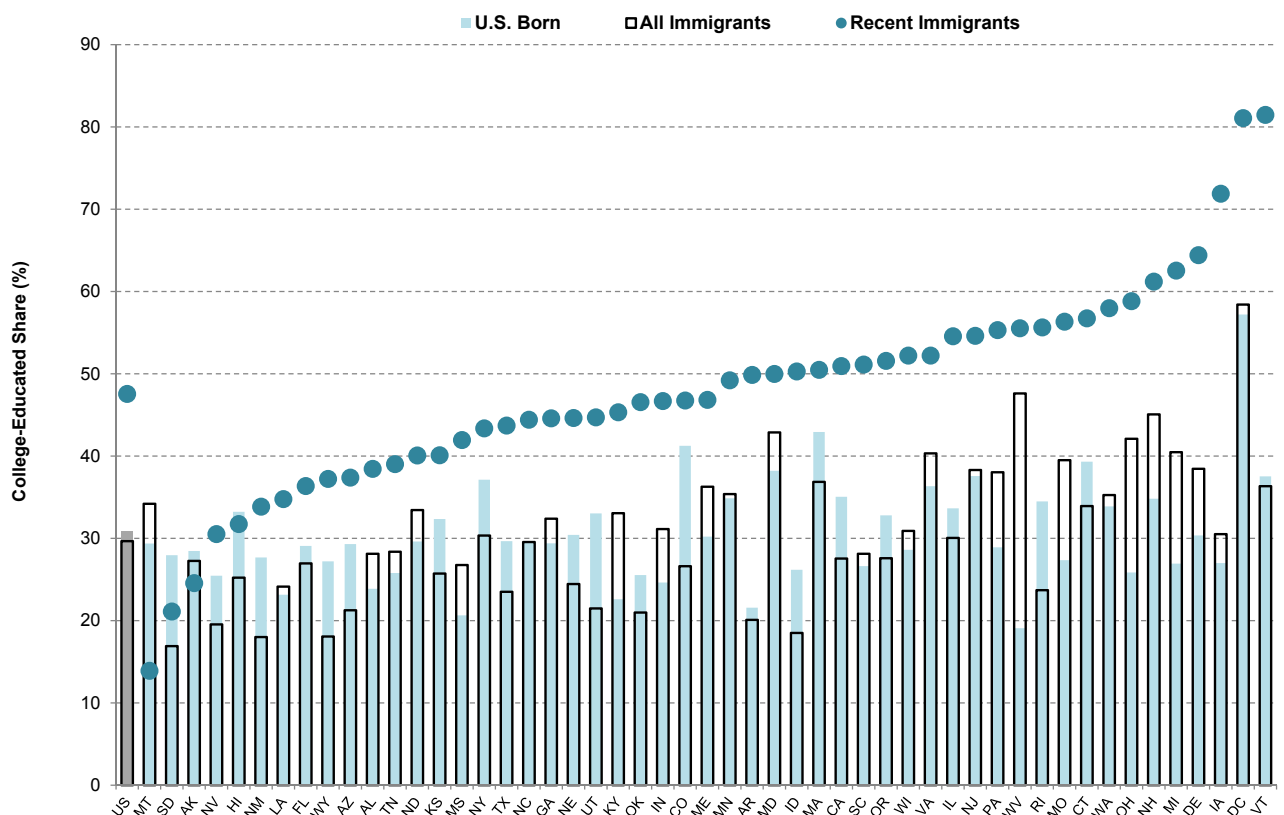
those from the Rust Belt.²³ The foreign born were particularly highly educated in the District of Columbia, where 58 percent of immigrants had a university degree. A very high share of the overall immigrant adult population were college graduates in West Virginia (48 percent); New Hampshire (45 percent); Maryland and Ohio (43 percent each); and Michigan, Virginia, and Missouri (40 percent each). These states exceeded the national average (30 percent) (see Figure 7).

Recently arrived immigrants were more educated than either all immigrants or the U.S. born in the nation and most states (see Figure 7). Recent immigrants were much more likely to be college graduates than native adults in smaller states such as Iowa, Vermont, and West Virginia, but also in Michigan and Ohio.

III. Rising English Proficiency and Increasing Bilingual Skills

One persistent concern that Americans have about newcomers is whether they will learn English. A 2016 Pew Hispanic Global Attitudes Survey²⁴ found that U.S. respondents rated the ability to speak English as being more critical to national identity (being “truly American”) than one’s birthplace (70 percent versus 32 percent). English proficiency is a requirement for immigrants who wish to become U.S. citizens. And learning English has been a requirement in most congressional proposal to regularize the status of unauthorized immigrants since the mid-2000s.

Figure 7. Share of College Graduates among Adults (ages 25 and older), by Nativity, Period of Entry, and State, 2015



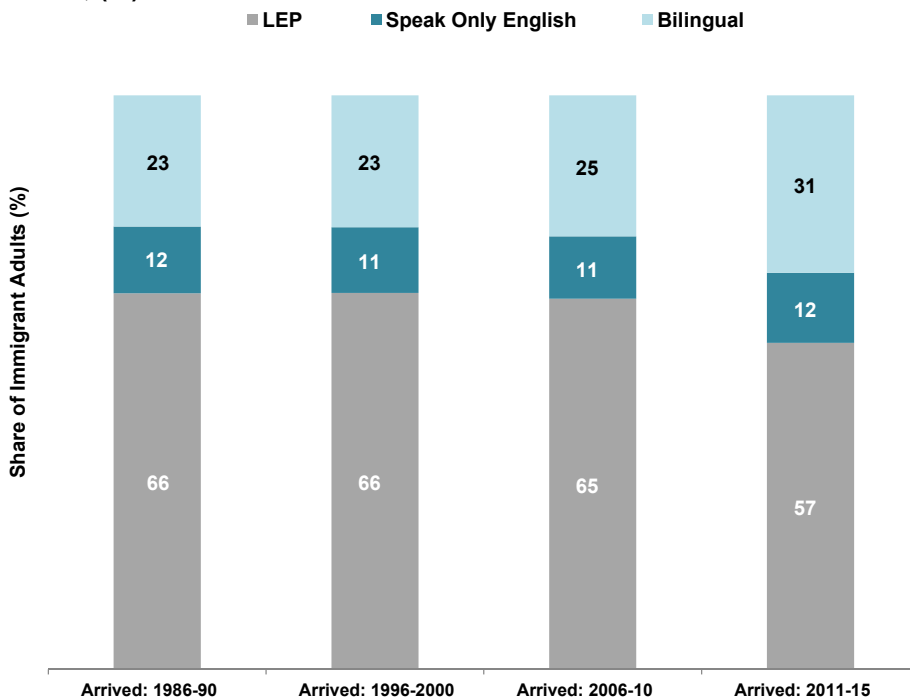
Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

Speaking another language is not the same as having limited English skills. Since 1990, more than 23.5 million immigrants²⁵ have arrived in the United States. The overwhelming majority of these newcomers were from Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Middle East; in other words, regions and countries where English for the most part is not the official language. The U.S. Census Bureau recorded the use of more than 350 languages in U.S. homes in 2013.²⁶ Still, despite the nation’s growing immigrant population and increasing language diversity,²⁷ 34 percent of the 40.7 million immigrant adults (ages 18 and older) in the United States were bilingual in 2015. That is, they spoke a language other than English at home and they spoke English “very well.”²⁸ Additionally, 16 percent spoke only English at home. Taken together, these two groups accounted for half (or 20.3 million) of all immigrant adults in the United States.

As discussed earlier, immigrant adults who arrived after 2010 are much more educated than recent cohorts coming in the 1990s and 2000s. Figure 8 shows that recent immigrant adults (ages 18 and older)²⁹ stand out in terms of their English proficiency as well: 31 percent were bilingual, compared to 23-25 percent among the earlier cohorts. Additionally, 12 percent of recent arrivals spoke no language other than English at home. The share of recent immigrants who spoke “English only” has remained roughly the same over the past few decades. Put differently, 43 percent of recent arrivals are proficient in English.

An exhaustive literature review of immigrant integration trends in the United States by a National Academies of Sciences panel documents a long-lasting and powerful impact of English proficiency on the ability of immigrants and their

Figure 8. Share of Immigrant Adults (ages 18 and older), by English Proficiency and Period of Arrival, (%)



Notes: In the ACS, respondents who report speaking a language other than English at home are asked how well they speak English. Persons who reported speaking English “not at all,” “not well,” or “well” are defined as Limited English Proficient (LEP). Those who reported speaking a foreign language and speaking English “very well” are referred to as bilingual.

Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 1990 and 2000 decennial census and 2010 and 2015 ACS.

children to attend college, obtain better jobs, become U.S. citizens, and have greater residential options.³⁰ At the same time, the report highlights the positive effects of bilingualism, which was found to contribute to better cognitive outcomes (including increased attention control, stronger thinking skills, and working memory). The positive impact of bilingualism on socio-emotional health is especially pronounced in the case of children from immigrant families,³¹ most of whom are U.S. born.³² In light of these findings, the rising share of recent immigrants who are bilingual is a positive development not only for immigrants themselves, but also for their U.S.-resident families.

IV. Final Thoughts

The number of immigrants in the United States has increased sharply over the past 25 years: from 19.8 million in 1990 to 43.4 million in 2015. More than 3.3 million came between 2011 and 2015. One striking characteristic of these newcomers, which has received virtually no attention, is that they have much higher levels of formal education and English proficiency at the time of arrival than earlier cohorts. This rising level of human capital among recent arrivals reflects several global trends: increasing educational attainment across the world; a rise in secondary and postsecondary education offered in English; and the fact that English has become the global lingua franca, especially in business, international trade, science, education, and entertainment.³³ Further, these trends are expected to continue,³⁴ which will likely mean that future arrivals will be at least as well-endowed in terms of their human capital.

MPI's findings on the changing characteristics of recent flows suggest that popular concerns about the perceived inability of immigrants to integrate and communicate with fellow Americans may be overstated. Given the current political and policy context, the changing profile of the immigrant population raises several policy issues, including:

- ***Addressing skill underutilization.*** MPI research on skill underutilization finds that one in four, or nearly 2 million, U.S. college-educated immigrants were either working in low-skilled jobs or unemployed.³⁵ This “brain waste” comes at a cost of nearly \$40 billion in unrealized earnings annually, with a resulting loss to federal, state, and local governments of \$10 billion in uncollected taxes. The challenge here for policymakers is to maximize the use of highly skilled immigrants’ human capital. Doing so would require systemic changes in occupational licensing regulations, working with employers to reduce their bias against foreign degrees and work experience, and creating opportunities to bridge educational and language gaps.³⁶
- ***Whether restrictive immigration rhetoric and policy at the national and state levels³⁷ will deter highly skilled immigrants from selecting the United States.*** Research shows that highly skilled immigrants are selective in their choice of destinations, and while economic considerations are important, lifestyle and environmental factors also affect migration decisions.³⁸ Context of reception, including governmental policies and labor market conditions, also matters for immigrant integration success.³⁹

As other countries offer more opportunities to work and study and as they seek to expand their numbers of immigrant professionals and foreign students, a perceived lack of welcome in the United States may reduce the ability of U.S. universities and employers to recruit highly skilled foreigners in the long term⁴⁰—even if admissions criteria are revised to prioritize immigrants with higher levels of human capital under a merit-based immigration system.

- ***Taking the legal status composition of immigrant college graduates into consideration during future reform of the U.S. immigration system.*** This fact sheet fills a knowledge gap regarding the origins and geographic distribution of recent arrivals, as well as their legal status. The analysis shows that immigrants on temporary visas (work and student) account for a significant share of recent college-educated arrivals. Further, a growing number of foreign students remain for work after graduation, with half of these students holding degrees in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (or STEM) fields.⁴¹ These findings hold important implications for the discussion of whether and under what conditions the United States would want to keep some of these temporary workers and foreign students.

Currently, it is a long, costly, and often unpredictable process to obtain a temporary visa through an employer and then switch to a permanent employment-based visa.⁴² One solution that would bridge this difficulty is the concept of provisional (or transitional) employment-based visas, as proposed by MPI⁴³ and already used in other

countries (for example, Australia and Canada). In short, provisional employment visas would allow foreigners to live and work in the United States for a certain period of time with an option to apply for permanent residence. One important characteristic of this visa is the explicit path to permanent residence it offers, which would strengthen immigrant integration prospects while assuring employers that they can retain their workers in a predictable way. Another is the increased worker mobility it provides; by not keeping a foreign worker tied to a particular employer, the potential for exploitation by unscrupulous employers is reduced.

Immigration policy debates frequently lag changing realities on the ground. This recurring phenomenon can clearly be seen in the failure of current debates to take into account the rapidly rising human capital—in the form of higher education and increased English proficiency—among recent immigrants to the United States today. As policymakers return to the reform of the legal immigration system and to shaping future migration flows so they serve the nation's economic interests, they will need to take into account the striking and unappreciated new realities documented here.

Endnotes

- 1 In this fact sheet, *immigrants* refer to persons who were not U.S. citizens at birth. This population includes naturalized U.S. citizens, lawful permanent immigrants (or green-card holders), refugees and asylees, certain legal nonimmigrants (including those on student, work, or other longer-term temporary visas), and persons residing in the country without authorization. *Recent immigrants* (or *recent arrivals*) are immigrants who arrived in the United States within the last five years prior to the American Community Survey (ACS) cited. The ACS is the annual U.S. Census Bureau survey that provides significant detail on U.S. residents, whether native or foreign born. The term *U.S. born* refers to people residing in the United States who were U.S. citizens in one of three categories: people born in one of the 50 states or the District of Columbia, born in U.S. Insular Areas such as Puerto Rico or Guam, or born abroad to at least one U.S.-citizen parent.
- 2 The term *college graduate* refers to adults ages 25 or older and having at least a bachelor's degree. It is used interchangeably in this fact sheet with *college educated* and *highly skilled*.
- 3 This estimate is based on Migration Policy Institute (MPI) analysis of single-year 2014 ACS data.
- 4 Sarah Pierce and Randy Capps, "Top 10 of 2016 – Issue #2: As Trump Takes Office, Immigration Enforcement and Policy Poised to Undergo Major Changes," *Migration Information Source*, December 19, 2016, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-10-2016-%E2%80%93-issue-2-trump-takes-office-immigration-enforcement-and-policy-poised-to-undergo; Michael Fix and Randy Capps, "Leaked Draft of Possible Trump Executive Order on Public Benefits Would Spell Chilling Effects for Legal Immigrants" (commentary, MPI, Washington, DC, February 2017), www.migrationpolicy.org/news/leaked-draft-possible-trump-executive-order-public-benefits-would-spell-chilling-effects-legal.
- 5 White House, "Remarks by President Trump in Joint Address to Congress," February 28, 2017, www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/02/28/remarks-president-trump-joint-address-congress.
- 6 Ashley Killough, "GOP Senators Aim to Cut Legal Immigration by Half," CNN, February 7, 2017, www.cnn.com/2017/02/07/politics/cotton-perdue-immigration-bill/; *Nuclear Family Priority Act*, H.R.1149, 115th Cong., 1st sess. (February 16, 2017), www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1149?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22immigration%22%5D%7D&r=12.
- 7 Authors' analysis of historical data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS). See also Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *As Mexican Share Declined, U.S. Unauthorized Immigrant Population Fell in 2015 below Recession Level* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2017), www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/25/as-mexican-share-declined-u-s-unauthorized-immigrant-population-fell-in-2015-below-recession-level/.
- 8 Gustavo López and Kristen Bialik, *Key Findings about U.S. Immigrants* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2017), www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/05/03/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/.
- 9 Leon Feinstein, Ricardo Sabates, Tashweka M. Anderson, Annik Sorhaindo, and Cathie Hammond, "What Are the Effects of Education on Health?," in *Measuring the Effects of Education on Health and Civic Engagement: Proceedings of the Copenhagen Symposium* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2006), www1.oecd.org/edu/innovation-education/37425753.pdf; David E. Campbell, "What Is Education's Impact on Civic and Social Engagement?," in *Measuring the Effects of Education on Health and Civic Engagement: Proceedings of the Copenhagen Symposium* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2006), www.oecd.org/edu/innovation-education/37425694.pdf.
- 10 Mary C. Waters and Marisa G. Pineau, eds., *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2015), www.nap.edu/catalog/21746/the-integration-of-immigrants-into-american-society.
- 11 Oceania includes Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Northern Mariana Islands.
- 12 The college-educated share (17 percent) among recently arrived Mexicans is nearly double the 9 percent share for Mexican immigrants who came to the United States between 2006 and 2010.
- 13 British Council, *The Shape of Things to Come: Higher Education Global Trends and Emerging Opportunities to 2020* (London: British Council, 2012), www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_shape_of_things_to_come_-_higher_education_global_trends_and_emerging_opportunities_to_2020.pdf; Graeme Hugo, "Emerging Demographic Trends in Asia and the Pacific: The Implications for International Migration," in *Talent, Competitiveness, and Migration*, eds. Bertelsmann Stiftung and MPI (Gütersloh, Germany and Washington, DC: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung and MPI, 2009).
- 14 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), *Connecting with Emigrants: A Global Profile of Diasporas 2015* (Paris: OECD, 2015), www.oecd.org/publications/connecting-with-emigrants-9789264239845-en.htm.

- 15 Ibid.
- 16 In 2000, the United States hosted the largest share (23 percent) of all international students in the world. The U.S. share had dropped to 19 percent by 2013. See OECD, *Education at a Glance 2015* (Paris: OECD, 2015), www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/education-at-a-glance-2015_eag-2015-en.
- 17 U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), *Characteristics of H-1B Specialty Occupation Workers, Fiscal Year 2015* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2016), www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Resources/Reports%20and%20Studies/H-1B/H-1B-FY15.pdf.
- 18 Institute of International Education (IIE), “Open Doors 2016: Fast Facts,” accessed May 1, 2017, www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Open-Doors/Fact-Sheets-and-Infographics/Fast-Facts.
- 19 Randy Capps, Kristen McCabe, and Michael Fix, *Diverse Streams: African Migration to the United States* (Washington, DC: MPI, 2012), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/CBI-african-migration-united-states.
- 20 This section of the analysis is based on a unique 2014 ACS dataset that has citizenship and legal status information. MPI developed this dataset in collaboration with demographers Jennifer Van Hook of The Pennsylvania State University and James Bachmeier of Temple University. For a more detailed explanation of the methodology for these legal status assignments, see Jeanne Batalova, Sarah Hooker, and Randy Capps, *DACA at the Two-Year Mark: A National and State Profile of Youth Eligible and Applying for Deferred Action* (Washington, DC: MPI, 2014), <http://migrationpolicy.org/research/daca-two-year-mark-national-and-state-profile-youth-eligible-and-applying-deferred-action>.
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- 42 The current temporary skilled worker H-1B visa program, designed in 1990 to allow U.S. companies to hire highly skilled foreigners to fill labor gaps, serves as a conduit for foreign students to continue working after their practical training ends. Twenty-seven years later with only few significant revisions, the program is a contested policy area and is in need of reform. On the one hand, it seems to not provide employers with an adequate supply of foreign workers, illustrated by the fact that the number of applications submitted annually generally exceeds the available 85,000 spots (e.g., 199,000 H-1B applications were filed for fiscal year 2018 and 236,000 were filed a year earlier). Nor does the program protect domestic workers from job loss, as a recent series of news articles and lawsuits have demonstrated. Even if the temporary visa program is improved, what is often missing is the fact that many U.S. employers wish to retain their foreign workers after the end of the six-year stay permitted under the H-1B program. See Neil G. Ruiz, *Key Facts about the U.S. H-1B Visa Program* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2017), www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/27/key-facts-about-the-u-s-h-1b-visa-program/; Daisuke Wakabayashi and Nelson D. Schwartz, "Not Everyone in Tech Cheers Visa Program for Foreign Workers," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/02/05/business/h-1b-visa-tech-cheers-for-foreign-workers.html?_r=0.
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