

Demography of Immigrant Youth: Past, Present, and Future

Author(s): Jeffrey S. Passel

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Demography of Immigrant Youth: Past, Present, and Future

Jeffrey S. Passel

Summary

Jeffrey Passel surveys demographic trends and projections in the U.S. youth population, with an emphasis on trends among immigrant youth. He traces shifts in the youth population over the past hundred years, examines population projections through 2050, and offers some observations about the likely impact of the immigrant youth population on American society.

Passel provides data on the legal status of immigrant youth and their families and on their geographic distribution and concentration across the United States. He emphasizes two demographic shifts. First, immigrant youth—defined as those children under age eighteen who are either foreign-born or U.S.-born to immigrant parents—now account for one-fourth of the nation's 75 million children. By 2050 they are projected to make up one-third of more than 100 million U.S. children. Second, the wave of immigration under way since the mid-1960s has made children the most racially and ethnically diverse age group in the United States. In 1960 Hispanic, Asian, and mixed-race youth made up about 6 percent of all U.S. children; today that share is almost 30 percent. During that same period the share of non-Hispanic white children steadily dropped from about 81 percent to 56 percent, while the share of black children climbed very slightly to 14 percent. By 2050 the share of non-Hispanic white children is projected to drop to 40 percent, while that of Hispanic children will increase to about one-third.

This changing demographic structure in U.S. youth is likely to present policy makers with several challenges in coming decades, including higher rates of poverty among youth, particularly among foreign-born children and children of undocumented parents; high concentrations of immigrants in a handful of states; and a lack of political voice. A related challenge may be intergenerational competition between youth and the elderly for governmental support such as education funding, Social Security, and government health benefits. In conclusion, Passel notes that today's immigrants and their children will shape many aspects of American society and will provide virtually all the growth in the U.S. labor force over the next forty years. Their integration into American society and their accumulation of human capital thus require continued attention from researchers and policy makers.

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Jeffrey S. Passel is a senior demographer at the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington. The center is a project of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan, nonpolicy research organization, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, that studies social issues, attitudes, and trends. The views expressed here are those of the author and should not be attributed to any of the Pew organizations.

The youth population of the United States currently has several extreme demographic features. Youth are more numerous than ever before in the nation's history—almost 75 million U.S. residents were under age eighteen in 2009. Yet, because of overall population growth, youth represent just 24 percent of the total population, a smaller share than ever before. Immigrant youth are a significant factor in the growing numbers because they constitute nearly a quarter of the child population, the highest proportion in the last ninety years.

Changes in the number, proportion, and composition of the youth population over the past century largely reflect three key demographic events. Major waves of immigration bookend the twentieth century. Large-scale migration, mainly from southern and eastern Europe, changed the face of the United States at the beginning of the 1900s before being brought to an end by World War I and the restrictive legislation enacted shortly thereafter. Passage of landmark immigration legislation in 1965 spurred new immigration flows, mainly from Latin America and Asia, which increased through the end of the century. Fueled by both legal and unauthorized immigration, the foreign-born share of the U.S. population increased to levels last seen in the 1920s, and the racial and ethnic mix of the population, particularly the youth, changed dramatically.

Between these two immigration waves was the baby boom of 1946–64, a period of increased fertility rates and much higher numbers of annual births than had occurred in the nation's history or would occur for the rest of the century. This signature demographic period will continue to influence many aspects of American society well into

the twenty-first century. As a result of the baby boom, the youth population reached a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s; as the boomers moved into the labor force, the working-age population grew dramatically during the 1970s and 1980s. An “echo” of the baby boom in the 1980s, when boomers reached childbearing ages, combined with the children of the new immigrants, led to a rebound in the numbers of births and children in the population. The final impact of the baby boom will reach well into the twenty-first century as the boomers age. The first will reach age sixty-five in 2011, leading to significant growth in both the number and share of elderly into the 2030s.

In addition to contributing to population growth after the baby boom ended, post-1965 immigrants almost immediately increased racial and ethnic diversity among adults—more than three-quarters of the new immigrants were Latino or Asian. Their children, most of whom were born in the United States and are thus U.S. citizens, have led to an increasingly diverse youth population. Projections that account for generational structure and dynamics show that the racial and ethnic diversity of the nation's children will continue to increase (whether future immigration increases, holds steady, or even decreases somewhat). Moreover, because of the accumulation of a significant foreign-born population over the past three decades—now amounting to about one-sixth of the adult population—the share of immigrant youth will continue to grow in the future—from 23 percent of all children today to about one-third of an even larger number of children in twenty-five years. As these youth move into adulthood, they will shape many aspects of U.S. society, especially given the relatively low fertility of the native-born white and black populations. Almost all

growth in the young adult population (ages eighteen to forty-four years) will come from immigrants and their U.S.-born children. Thus, immigrants and their children will provide virtually all of the growth in the U.S. labor force over the next forty years.¹ Immigration-driven growth in the child population will be occurring at the same time as the aging baby boomers will increase the elderly population. The accompanying pressure on retirement and health care systems may lead to generational competition for societal resources.

This article provides a broad overview of immigrant youth in the United States, defined to include children who are themselves immigrants (the first generation) and the U.S.-born children of immigrants (the second generation). It assesses the size and growth of the current youth population in comparison with other key age groups and examines youth's generational composition, the legal status of immigrant parents and their children, the distribution of youth across the country, their racial and ethnic make-up, and their geographic origins. The article places today's youth population in the broad sweep of U.S. demographic history from 1900 to the present and maps a likely future through 2050. It concludes with some observations about the immigrant youth population's impact on society past, present, and future.

Data Sources and Terminology

Three principal sources provide the bulk of the data analyzed here on demographic characteristics of immigrant youth. A set of generational population projections provides prospective data for 2010–50 as well as retrospective data for 1960–2000.² Data on characteristics of the current youth population are drawn from the March supplements to the

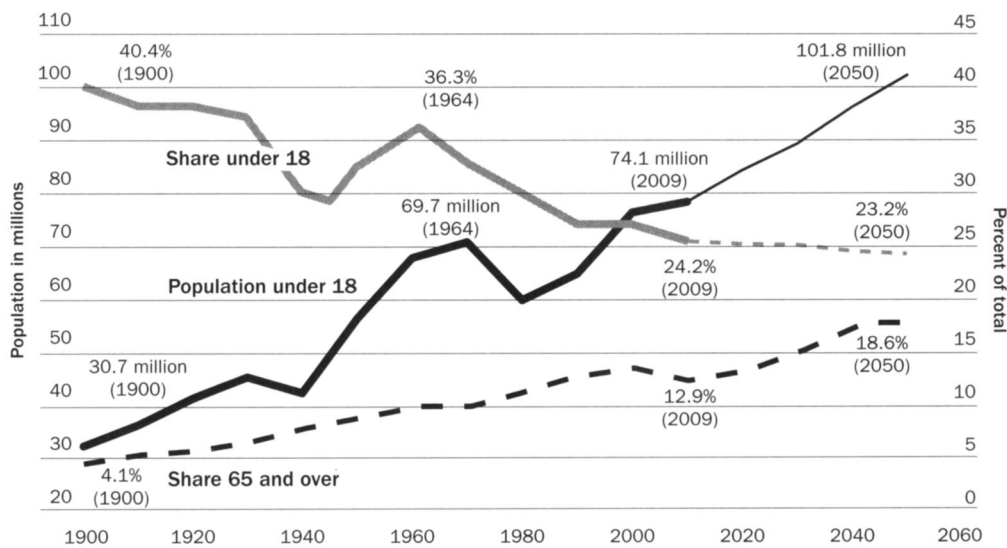
Current Population Survey (CPS). Together with colleagues at the Urban Institute and the Pew Hispanic Center, I augmented these surveys in earlier work to classify immigrant respondents as legal or unauthorized and to adjust for omissions (see the technical appendix to this article).³ The Census Bureau's historical population estimates provide the annual data on population for 1900–2009. Finally, tabulations of decennial census data for 1900–60 from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) are the principal source for historical data on characteristics of the youth population.⁴

I define generations on the basis of nativity, citizenship, and nativity of parents. The foreign-born population (immigrants to the United States) is considered to be the first generation. The native population includes the second generation (U.S.-born with at least one immigrant parent)⁵ and the third and higher generations, generally referred to as the third generation (U.S.-born with two U.S.-born parents).⁶ Persons born in Puerto Rico and other U.S. territories are U.S. citizens at birth; they and their U.S.-born children are considered part of the third and higher generations.⁷

Youth Population: Numbers and Shares

In 2009, 74.7 million children under age eighteen lived in the United States, representing just over 24 percent of the total population.⁸ The number of children is an all-time high for the United States, but their share of the population is an all-time low (figure 1). The changing age structure of the U.S. population over the past century reflects the joint influences of fertility trends and mass immigration at the beginning and end of the 1900s. Although fertility rates dropped steadily from the founding of the nation

Figure 1. Population under Eighteen and Share of Total, 1900–2050



Sources: Census Bureau population estimates through 2009, projections for 2010–50 from Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2010* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, 2008).

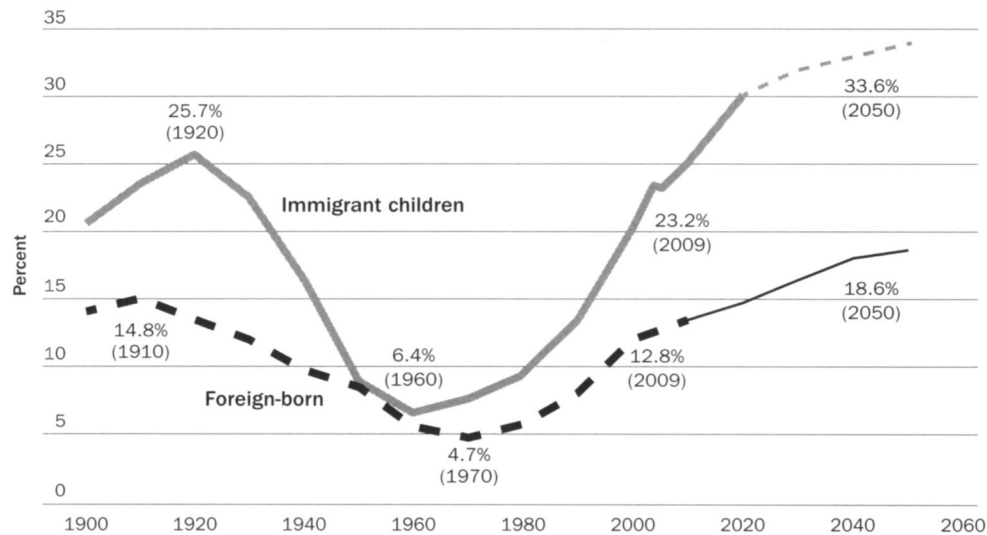
through the 1930s, the combination of relatively high fertility and mortality rates resulted in a young population with a high percentage of children (over 40 percent in 1900).⁹ Even with continuing declines in fertility rates, the relative youth of the population resulted in increasing numbers of children through 1929. The very low fertility rates during the Great Depression, combined with a virtual cessation of immigration, led to a shrinking child population through 1942. The share of children in the population dropped steadily to just under 30 percent in 1946.

The baby boom of 1946–64 reversed these trends sharply. Annual births exceeded 4 million every year from 1954 to 1964.¹⁰ The child population grew rapidly to just under 70 million children in 1964 and essentially remained at that level through 1972. With the advent of the baby bust of the 1970s, the child population began to shrink again.

During the boom the child population increased faster than the overall population, so the share of children increased steadily from 1946 through 1964, when the proportion of the population under age eighteen reached 36.3 percent.

Fertility rates and number of births both dropped dramatically in the 1970s. Although fertility rates have risen only slightly since then, the number of births began to grow in the late 1970s as large numbers of baby boomers began to have children. Since the mid-1980s three trends have contributed to increases in the youth population: small increases in fertility rates from the very low levels of the 1970s; a baby boom echo, as the very large boomer cohorts moved into prime childbearing ages; and growing numbers of new immigrants, who tend to be concentrated in young adult ages and to have higher fertility rates than natives. By 1996 the number of children under eighteen passed

Figure 2. Total Foreign-Born as Share of Total Population and Immigrant Children as Share of All Children, 1900–2050



Source: Population estimates for 1900–50 are based on Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series and Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey S. Passel, "Ethnic Demography: U.S. Immigration and Ethnic Variations," in *Immigration and Ethnicity: The Integration of America's Newest Arrivals*, edited by Edmonston and Passel (Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1994). Data for 1960–2000 and 2010–50 are from Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2010* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, 2008). Data for 2001–09 are from tabulations of the March Current Population Survey with imputations for legal status and corrections for undercoverage. See technical appendix.

70 million for the first time in American history, exceeding the peak levels of the baby boom. Although the number of children is still rising, youth's share of the population has continued to drop, reaching a low of 24.2 percent in 2009. Population projections show that the number of children will continue to increase, reaching more than 100 million by 2050.¹¹ Even with these growing absolute numbers, however, children will represent only about 23 percent of the population.

Because of its low fertility and mortality rates, the U.S. population has been aging and will continue to do so for another twenty or so years. The burgeoning elderly population may well compete with children for societal resources, especially at the federal level. In 1900 the population aged sixty-five and older represented about 4.1 percent of the population. By 2009 this share had more

than tripled to 12.9 percent. Beginning in 2011, when the leading edge of the baby boom turns sixty-five, the elderly share of the population will increase rapidly through 2030, when it will exceed 18 percent, and will then level off for the next twenty years (see figure 1). In 1900 the ratio of children to elderly was almost 10 to 1; after 2030 the ratio is expected to be 1.25 to 1.

Immigrant Youth

Trends in the numbers of immigrant youth and their share of the youth population are a complex interplay of fertility trends among foreign-born and native women, as well as of current and historic levels of immigration. By the early 1900s the United States had already experienced relatively high levels of immigration for more than half a century. Immigrants represented 13–15 percent of the population from 1870 through 1920. Immigrant youth,

the children of this immigrant wave, became a large and increasing share of all youth. The first and second generations represented more than one-quarter of all children by 1920 (figure 2). The advent of World War I and restrictive immigration legislation enacted in the late 1910s and early 1920s caused the flow of immigrants to drop dramatically. As a result the foreign-born share of the population began to drop by 1920, and the absolute size of the foreign-born population peaked in 1930.

With almost no immigration in the 1930s and relatively little in the decades immediately after World War II, the share of the foreign-born population fell to 4.7 percent in 1970—the lowest it had been since 1850 when the Census began collecting data on birthplace. The aging and shrinking foreign-born population, combined with a drop in the fertility rate induced by the Great Depression, meant that the second

generation was not being replenished, so the number of immigrant youth decreased, as did their share of the youth population. By 1960 immigrant youth numbered only 4.1 million—the low point of the twentieth century—down substantially from the high of 10.1 million in 1920. They represented only slightly over 6 percent of all children, or about one-fourth of their share in the early 1900s (see figure 2).

With the passage of legislation in 1965 that expanded immigration, the foreign-born population began to grow again. The origins of immigrants shifted as new laws placed potential immigrants from Asia and Latin America on an equal footing with the traditional European and Canadian sources of immigrants. Combined with the emergence of large-scale unauthorized immigration in the 1970s, mainly from Mexico and other parts of Latin America, this new wave of immigration led to fundamental shifts in the

Table 1. Population under Eighteen, by Generation and Age, 2009

Category	Under 18 years	Under 6 years	6–11 years	12–17 years
Number (thousands)				
All children	74,699	25,293	24,066	25,341
Immigrant youth	17,326	6,207	5,660	5,459
Share of all children (percent)				
Immigrant youth	23.2	24.5	23.5	21.5
First generation	3.8	1.5	4.0	5.9
Legal Immigrant	2.3	1.0	2.4	3.6
Unauthorized immigrant	1.5	0.4	1.6	2.4
Second generation	19.4	23.1	19.5	15.6
Legal parent(s)	14.0	15.4	14.3	12.3
Unauthorized parent(s)	5.4	7.7	5.2	3.3
Third and higher generations	76.8	75.5	76.5	78.5
Native parents	75.8	74.4	75.6	77.4
Puerto Rican–born*	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3
Puerto Rican parent(s)*	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.8
U.S.-born as % of immigrant youth	84	94	83	73

Source: Author's tabulations of augmented March 2009 Current Population Survey. Data are adjusted for omissions from the survey. See technical appendix.

*Includes persons born in all U.S. territories.

composition of the American population. By the late 1990s annual inflows of unauthorized immigrants began to exceed inflows of legal immigrants and continued to do so for about a decade.¹² Since 1980 more immigrants, both legal and unauthorized, have come from Mexico than from any other country. By 2007 more than 12.5 million Mexican immigrants were living in the United States; about 55 percent of them were unauthorized.¹³ Other leading sources of immigrants, by volume, were India, the Philippines, China, El Salvador, Cuba, Vietnam, and Korea. By 2009 almost 40 million residents, or 12.8 percent of a U.S. population of more than 300 million, were foreign-born. This share was only slightly below the twentieth-century peak of 14.8 percent attained in 1910, when 13.5 million residents, of a total population of 92 million, were foreign-born.

The immigrants of the late 1990s were young—the median age of the foreign-born population dropped from more than sixty in 1960 to just over forty after 2000. Immigrant women, especially those from Latin America, had higher fertility rates than U.S. natives. As the number of new immigrants in the country began to grow, so too did the number of immigrant youth. By 1990 children of immigrants accounted for 13 percent of all youth, or double the 1960 low. By 2000 the number of immigrant youth reached almost 15 million, greatly surpassing the previous high of 10.1 million in 1920. Their share of the under-eighteen population passed 20 percent. By 2009 the number of immigrant youth had risen to 17.3 million, or 23.2 percent of all children in the United States.

Even though immigration has slowed since 2005,¹⁴ the number and share of immigrant youth will continue to grow. The country is still receiving large numbers of immigrants,

the foreign-born population is large and young, and immigrant fertility rates remain higher than native rates. In recent years about one-quarter of U.S. births were to foreign-born mothers.¹⁵ Generation-based projections show that the proportion of foreign-born youth in the country will continue to increase with even modest levels of immigration. By 2050 immigrant youth are likely to represent about one-third of all children (see figure 2).¹⁶

Generations in the Immigrant Youth Population

Children who are themselves immigrants, usually brought to the United States by their parents, account for a relatively small share of arriving immigrants—about 20 percent in recent years.¹⁷ In contrast, over half of all newly arriving immigrants are of childbearing age. Because of this demographic dynamic, about five-sixths of the children of immigrants are born in the United States (table 1).

The U.S.-born children of immigrants—the second generation—enter the population at birth, by definition, and are considered immigrant youth for eighteen years; in 2009 about 84 percent of immigrant children were born in the United States (table 1, last line). In contrast, first-generation immigrant youth are those born overseas who enter the U.S. population at any age up to eighteen. About two-fifths of these first-generation children are thirteen to seventeen years old and thus “age out” of the youth population within five years of arrival. As a result, first-generation youth as a group are older than second-generation youth; the median ages in 2009 were 12.5 and 7.6 years, respectively. Moreover, the younger the age group, the higher the percentage of immigrant youth who are U.S.-born. About 94 percent of immigrant children under age six, about 83 percent of those aged six to eleven,

and 73 percent of those aged twelve to seventeen were born in the United States. The different age structures of the first and second generations affect socioeconomic characteristics of the groups and can have significant implications for education and social service programs.

Legal Status and Family Structure

The number of unauthorized immigrants residing in the United States grew by an average of roughly half a million a year, from 3.5 million in 1990 to about 12 million in 2007.¹⁸ The growth has since stopped. Inflows of unauthorized immigrants have dropped by two-thirds, largely because of a lack of jobs and increased enforcement (both at the southern border and in the interior). In addition, the number of unauthorized immigrants leaving the country has increased for those

from countries other than Mexico but not for Mexican unauthorized immigrants. As a result of diminished inflows and increased outflows, the unauthorized immigrant population dropped to about 11 million by March 2009.¹⁹

This population is very young: about one-quarter of the total are young, unaccompanied men (6 percent are unaccompanied women); and more than 60 percent of undocumented adults are in couples. Not only did many of these couples bring children with them, but many have had children in the United States. By 2009 about 1.1 million unauthorized (foreign-born) children and 10.0 million unauthorized adults lived in the United States. In addition, these adults had 4 million children who were U.S. citizens by virtue of being born in the United States, almost three-quarters of all

Table 2. Population under Eighteen, by Generation and Race or Hispanic Origin, 2009

Category	All children	Hispanic origin	Non-Hispanic origin			
			White	Black	Asian	Mixed race
Number (thousands)						
All children	74,699	16,587	41,545	10,713	3,197	2,120
Immigrant youth	17,326	10,009	2,876	1,361	2,717	355
Share of all children (percent)						
Immigrant youth	23.2	60.3	6.9	12.7	85.0	16.7
First generation	3.8	9.0	1.0	2.0	21.1	z
Legal immigrant	2.3	3.9	0.9	1.7	17.4	z
Unauthorized immigrant	1.5	5.1	0.2	0.3	3.7	z
Second generation	19.4	51.3	5.9	10.7	63.9	16.3
Legal parent(s)	14.0	30.2	5.5	9.4	56.5	16.0
Unauthorized parent(s)	5.4	21.1	0.4	1.3	7.4	z
Third and higher generations	76.8	39.7	93.1	87.3	15.0	83.3
Native parents	75.8	35.8	93.0	87.0	14.5	82.6
Puerto Rican–born*	0.2	1.0	z	z	z	z
Puerto Rican parent(s)*	0.8	2.9	0.1	0.3	z	0.6
U.S.-born as % of immigrant youth	84	85	85	84	75	97

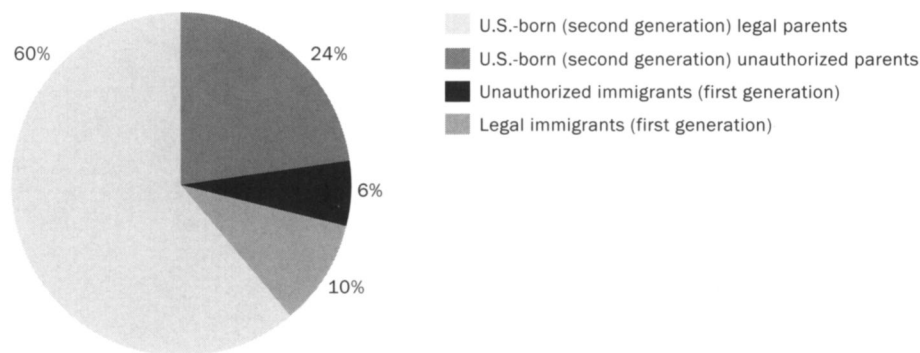
Source: Author's tabulations of augmented March 2009 Current Population Survey. Data are adjusted for omissions from the survey. See technical appendix.

Notes: White, black, and Asian include persons reporting only single races; Asian includes Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. American Indians not shown separately.

z Less than 10,000 population.

*Includes persons born in all U.S. territories.

Figure 3. Immigrant Youth, by Generation and Legal Status of Parents, 2009



Source: Author's tabulations of augmented March 2009 Current Population Survey. Data are adjusted for omissions from the survey. See technical appendix.

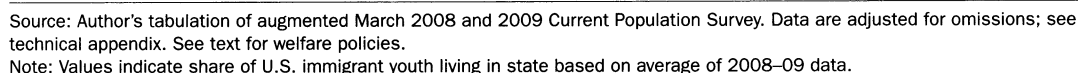
children of unauthorized immigrants (table 2).²⁰ The number of U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants has been growing in recent years, with about 300,000–350,000 births a year to undocumented immigrant parents, representing about 8 percent of all U.S. births.²¹

Families that include one or more U.S.-citizen children and one or two unauthorized immigrant adults are known as “mixed-status” families. They include all U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants, about 450,000 unauthorized children (foreign-born siblings of the U.S.-born), and 3.8 million unauthorized adults representing more than one-third (38 percent) of adult unauthorized immigrants.²² There are about 2.3 million mixed-status families with an average of about 1.7 U.S.-born children and 0.2 unauthorized immigrant children.

Latinos dominate the unauthorized population (almost 60 percent of all undocumented immigrants are from Mexico alone, and another 20 percent are from other parts of Latin America), so most of the children of unauthorized immigrants are Latino.²³ About

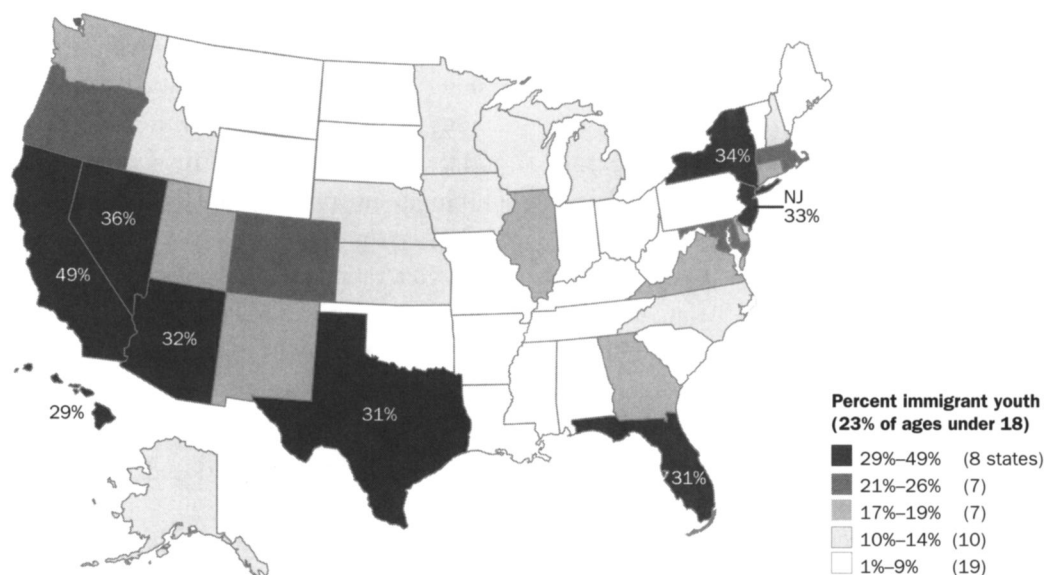
three-quarters of unauthorized foreign-born children and more than 85 percent of the U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants are Latino. The Mexican unauthorized population stands at about 6.7 million, compared with about 500,000 for the next-largest source country (El Salvador), and as a group, unauthorized Mexicans have been in the country longer than others. Consequently, this group dominates the children of unauthorized immigrants. About two-thirds of unauthorized children are from Mexico, and about 3 million U.S.-born Mexican-origin children have at least one unauthorized parent, accounting for almost three-quarters of the U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants. The 450,000 U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants from Central and South America make up the next largest group.

Altogether, foreign-born and U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants represented about 6.9 percent of all children in 2009 (see table 2). However, they are about 30 percent of immigrant youth, with unauthorized foreign-born children accounting for about 6 percent of immigrant youth and the U.S.-born children of unauthorized



California has not only the largest number of immigrant youth but also the highest concentration; roughly half of the children in the state are children of immigrants, more than twice the national share of 23 percent (figure 5). In another five states (Arizona,

Figure 5. Percent of Youth (under Eighteen) in State Who Are Children of Immigrants, 2008



Source: Author's tabulation of augmented March 2008 Current Population Survey.

New Jersey, New York, Nevada, and Texas), about one-third of the children are immigrant youth.²⁵ In nineteen states immigrant youth make up less than 10 percent of the child population.

States have taken different approaches to social welfare programs for immigrants and their children. Some states extend benefits to legal resident noncitizens, others allow access to legal immigrants only after a period of U.S. residency; and none routinely gives benefits to unauthorized immigrants. Figure 4 shows the “generosity” of state support programs toward noncitizens based on four access rules pertaining to noncitizens’ eligibility for state-funded Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), food assistance, and Supplemental Security Income (SSI).²⁶ California, the state with the largest number and concentration of immigrant youth, is among the three most generous states, offering access under all four rules; the other

two states are Maine and Nebraska, which together are home to just half a percent of the nation’s immigrant youth. Texas, the state with the second-largest number and concentration of immigrant youth, is among the six least generous states that offer no access for legal noncitizens; the other five—Idaho, Indiana, Mississippi, Montana, and North Dakota—are among the states with the smallest numbers and concentrations of immigrant youth. The remaining eight states with the largest immigrant youth populations offer access under one or two of the rules. Twenty-four states and the District of Columbia offer access to TANF only to immigrants who have been in the United States for more than five years; about one in every six children in these states is the child of an immigrant. Overall, the relationship between generosity and either the number or share of immigrant youth is not very strong (with correlations of about 0.25 between immigrant youth size or concentration and noncitizen access).

Racial and Ethnic Composition

The youth of today are more diverse racially and ethnically than at any other time in the nation's history; they are also more diverse than any other age group today, and the principal source of this diversity is immigrant youth. In 2009 white, non-Hispanic children accounted for 56 percent of all children under eighteen; black children, 14 percent; Hispanic children, 22 percent; Asian, 4 percent; and mixed races, 2.8 percent.²⁷ The proportion of white children has been falling rapidly since 1970 when four in five children (79 percent) were white; in the first half of the 1900s, more than 85 percent of children were white. The percentage of black children was about 11–13 percent between 1900 and 1960; since then their share has increased slowly to about 14–15 percent. These patterns mean that for the first half of the twentieth century the share of children who were neither white nor black was well under 4 percent. The pattern began to change in the 1950s, and since then the number of both Asian and Hispanic children has increased steadily and rapidly. The proportion neither white nor black increased from 6 percent in 1960 to 12 percent in 1980, 25 percent in 2000, and 30 percent in 2009. By 1990 black children represented less than half of minority children, and as of 2000 Latino children outnumbered black children.

The racial and ethnic composition of immigrant youth differs substantially from the overall population and from third-generation youth. Not surprisingly, immigrant youth (first and second generation) most closely resemble their parental generation, the adult first generation. In 2009 only 17 percent of immigrant youth and 21 percent of adult immigrants were white, non-Hispanic (the majority group in the overall population), compared with 67 percent of third-generation

youth and 65 percent of the total U.S. population (see table 3). The representation of Hispanics and Asians is substantially greater among immigrant youth and adults than among U.S.-born children with native parents and the total population. Fifty-eight percent of immigrant youth are of Hispanic origin, or about five times the 11 percent found among third-generation youth. About 16 percent of immigrant youth are Asian, compared with less than 1 percent of third-generation youth. These two groups are prevalent because about 80 percent of immigrants over the past four decades have come from Asia and Latin America. Hispanic immigrant children are more prevalent (58 percent) than Hispanic immigrant adults (49 percent), whereas the reverse is true for Asians (16 percent among children and 23 percent among adults). This pattern reflects the fact that Latino fertility rates are substantially higher than Asian fertility rates.

Within each of the racial and ethnic groups, the generational composition of the youth population reflects fertility rates and the group's demographic history. Sixty percent of Hispanic children and 85 percent of Asian children in the United States are children of immigrants. The higher percentage among Asians can be attributed to the very low fertility rate of U.S.-born Asians, the higher fertility rate of U.S.-born Latinos, and the substantially larger Latino population already living in the United States before the latest immigration wave began in 1965 (see table 2.)

Among whites and blacks, the share of children who are foreign-born is very small (1.0 percent and 2.0 percent, respectively), and the second generations are only a little larger (5.9 percent and 10.7 percent). Most white and black children are U.S.-born with U.S.-born parents (see table 2). The share

Table 3. Various Populations, by Race or Hispanic Origin, 2009

Category	Hispanic origin	Non-Hispanic origin			
		White	Black	Asian	Mixed race
Share of generation group by race/ethnicity					
All children	22.2	55.6	14.3	4.3	2.8
Immigrant youth	57.8	16.6	7.9	15.7	2.0
First generation	52.9	15.2	7.7	23.9	0.3
Second generation	58.7	16.9	7.9	14.1	2.4
Third and higher generations	11.5	67.4	16.3	0.8	3.1
Total population	16.1	65.1	12.1	4.7	1.5
Immigrant adults	48.8	20.6	7.5	22.8	0.3

Source: Author's tabulations of augmented March 2009 Current Population Survey. Data are adjusted for omissions from the survey. See technical appendix.

Note: White, black, and Asian include persons reporting only single races; Asian includes Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. American Indians not shown separately.

of foreign-born among white adults (20 percent) is much larger than among white children because a large proportion of the adults immigrated before the 1965 legislative reforms, so they are older and have not had children recently.²⁸

Individuals who identify themselves as being of two or more major races illustrate an important feature of American society—that the terms, definitions, identities, concepts, and even the words used to specify racial groups can be very different from those used in other countries. Almost no mixed-race children are immigrants. Among those children of immigrants who do identify with multiple races, almost all (97 percent) are U.S.-born.²⁹ Persons who identify with more than one race are usually children whose mother and father (or more distant ancestors) identified with different races. In most cases these ancestors were U.S. natives. Immigrants tend to marry other immigrants, usually from the same country, and are considerably less likely to marry persons from different racial or ethnic groups.³⁰ Consequently, their children are less likely

than children of natives to have ancestors from multiple racial groups.

Increasing diversity in the future is built into the country's current demographic structure. Regardless of levels of undocumented immigration, legal immigration will continue to bring mainly immigrants from minority backgrounds. Fertility rates are relatively high for Latinos, moderate for blacks and Asian immigrants, and low for whites and native-born Asians. Among the youth population, the majority race (white, non-Hispanic) will continue to drop, falling to 40 percent of all children by 2050. Black children will remain in the range of 14–16 percent of the total, and Latino children will increase to more than one-third. These projections assume that today's racial identities will persist and that children will be in the same racial or ethnic group as their parents. However, because the prevalence of racial and ethnic intermarriages is likely to continue increasing in the future, a higher proportion of the population will have ancestors in two or more groups, further blurring the lines separating racial and ethnic groups.

Table 4. Population under Eighteen, by Generation and Type of Hispanic Origin, 2009

Category	Hispanic origin	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central, South American	Other Hispanic
Number (000s)						
All children	16,587	11,739	1,503	332	2,307	705
Immigrant youth	10,009	7,485	116	206	2,012	189
Share of all children						
Immigrant youth	60.3	63.8	7.7	62.1	87.2	26.8
First generation	9.0	9.2	z	18.2	15.2	z
Legal immigrant	3.9	2.9	z	17.5	10.7	z
Unauthorized immigrant	5.1	6.3	z	z	4.6	z
Second generation	51.3	54.6	7.4	44.0	72.0	25.8
Legal parent(s)	30.2	29.2	6.8	42.9	52.8	18.6
Unauthorized parent(s)	21.1	25.4	z	z	19.2	7.2
Third and higher generations	39.7	36.2	92.3	37.9	12.8	73.2
Native parents	35.8	36.1	51.5	37.9	12.6	71.8
Puerto Rican-born*	1.0	z	10.2	z	z	z
Puerto Rican parent(s)*	2.9	0.1	30.5	z	z	z
U.S.-born as % of immigrant youth	85	86	96	71	83	96

Source: Author's tabulations of augmented March 2009 Current Population Survey. Data are adjusted for omissions from the survey. See technical appendix.

Notes: White, black, and Asian include persons reporting only single races; Asian includes Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. American Indians not shown separately.

z Less than 10,000 population.

* Includes persons born in all U.S. territories.

Type of Hispanic Origin

A substantial amount of diversity exists within the Hispanic population; the data permit researchers to differentiate among Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and "other Hispanic" origins. Within each of these Hispanic-origin types, generational patterns among children depend primarily on the group's immigration history, fertility levels, and age structure. Immigrant youth account for about 60 percent of Mexican- and Cuban-origin children, only about 8 percent of Puerto Rican-origin children,³¹ almost 90 percent of Central and South American children, and about one-quarter of other Hispanic children (table 4).

Mexican immigrants have been coming to the United States for well over 100 years but the contemporary wave of large-scale

immigration dates to the 1960s and 1970s. Cuban migration became significant in the early 1960s. For both of these groups, more than 40 percent of adults of childbearing age are U.S.-born. As a result, about one-third of Mexican- and Cuban-origin children are third generation. Because most Puerto Ricans are U.S. natives, well over 90 percent of Puerto Rican children are also third generation; about 8 percent of Puerto Rican-origin children have an immigrant parent and so are second generation. Significant migration from Central and South America began only in the 1980s, so the childbearing-age population of this group is still dominated by immigrants (about 80 percent), and only about one in eight children of Central and South American origin is third generation—the smallest share among the Hispanic-origin groups. Finally, few adults or children in

the “other Hispanic” origin group are immigrants; only 20 percent of the adults are immigrants, while almost 75 percent of the children who identify themselves as “other Hispanic” are at least third generation.

Intergenerational Competition

The changing demographic structure of U.S. society will play an important role in the challenges, fiscal and otherwise, facing the country in coming decades. Generational competition, exacerbated by differing racial and ethnic composition across the age spectrum, is likely to be a factor in resolving many of these issues. The number of children in the United States is projected to increase from about 75 million in 2009 to 100 million in 2050. Immigrant youth and children of minorities will make up an increasing share of this growing population. At the same time, the other dependent age group—the elderly—will also greatly increase. Between 2009 and 2030 the number of people aged sixty-five and over will increase by more than three-quarters to almost 70 million, or 18.4 percent of the population.

Contemporary society provides children and the elderly significant governmental supports, many of which were not available in the early 1900s (the beginning of this demographic assessment) and all of which impose financial burdens on taxpayers. The most notable support for children is the provision of universal education. Today virtually all children aged six to fourteen are enrolled in school, but in 1900 only two-thirds attended school. The difference is even more extreme for children aged fifteen to seventeen—only 41 percent were enrolled in school in 1900 compared with 96 percent in 2008.³² Other direct supports for children are Medicaid (including the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, or SCHIP); Temporary Assistance

for Needy Families; the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (formerly known as food stamps); the Women’s, Infants, and Children program; school lunch programs; and financial assistance for higher education. None of these existed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Governmental support for children and their families notwithstanding, children have higher poverty rates than any other age group—a pattern that developed in the mid-1970s and has persisted since.³³ Children of immigrants have a higher poverty rate (23 percent) than children of natives (18 percent).³⁴ However, U.S.-born children of legal immigrants are no more likely to be poor than children of natives. But 29 percent of the foreign-born children of legal immigrants and 33 percent of the children of unauthorized immigrants are in poverty, pushing up the overall rate for immigrant youth. (See also the article in this issue by George Borjas on poverty rates among immigrant children.)

Notably, many of these children with higher poverty rates and their families are generally not eligible for many of these social welfare programs, because eligibility is determined by legal status and, more importantly, citizenship. Birth in the United States confers citizenship, making U.S.-born immigrant children eligible for these social welfare programs even if their parents and their foreign-born siblings are not. The ineligibility of many parents of immigrant youth and the unauthorized status of some complicates outreach to and participation of children in these programs, as the articles in this volume by Lynn Karoly and Gabriella Gonzalez and by Borjas discuss in more detail.

Support for the elderly comes mainly through Social Security, enacted in 1935,

and Medicare, enacted in 1965. Even though there are more than twice as many children today as the elderly, governmental spending on the elderly exceeds spending on children because per capita elderly costs are more than double those for children.³⁵ In an era of high deficits and constrained resources, some competition for societal resources is inevitable between the growing youth population and the rapidly increasing elderly population. Moreover, both Social Security and Medicare are financed through payroll taxes, paid mainly by working adults (and their employers). As the baby boomers age into retirement, immigrant children will be aging into adulthood, where they will make up a greater share of the workforce and will carry a greater share of this financing burden.

This generational struggle has several dimensions—demographic, governmental or fiscal, geographic, and political. Demographically, larger shares of children and younger workers are either immigrants, children of immigrants, or racial and ethnic minorities; older workers and retirees are much more likely to be U.S. natives (especially third and higher generations) and members of the majority white, non-Hispanic population. The bulk of government spending on the elderly comes from the federal government. Even in difficult economic and budgetary periods, political pressures make cuts in Social Security and Medicare benefits rare. In contrast, state and local governments provide most of the spending for children, especially for education. These governments tend to have fewer resources than the federal government and generally cannot engage in deficit spending. Consequently, during economic downturns state and local governments are often forced to cut back spending, including spending on education and other children's programs.

Demographic differences are reflected in political and racial dimensions of these potential generational imbalances. The elderly are more likely to vote than other age groups and tend to resist cuts in spending on Social Security and Medicare.³⁶ Children do not vote at all and their parents, if citizens, are less likely to register and vote than the elderly. Moreover, 40 percent of immigrant youth have parents who cannot vote because they are legal immigrants who have not become U.S. citizens, and another 32 percent have parents who cannot vote because they are unauthorized immigrants. Clearly, immigrant children have less voice in spending choices than the elderly. In addition to the imbalance in political power, large racial and ethnic differences exist between children, the elderly, and the voting population. Forty-three percent of children in the United States belong to a racial or ethnic minority, making children the most ethnically diverse group in the population; more than four of every five immigrant children belong to a minority.³⁷ In contrast, only one-third of adults are members of minority racial and ethnic groups, and less than a quarter of voters in 2008 were minorities. These differences will lessen in the future but will persist for decades.

Finally, immigrant youth are very concentrated geographically. California is home to more than one-fourth of them, while nine other states are home to another 50 percent. Differences in state fiscal health and in approaches to education and spending on social programs vary considerably. These differences will undoubtedly play a role in the future prospects for immigrant youth in the United States.

In sum, more children live in the United States than ever before, but they represent the smallest share of the population in U.S.

history. Children are the most diverse racially and ethnically of any age group now or in the country's history. Immigrant youth—those who migrated to the United States or who were born to immigrant parents—currently account for about one-quarter of all children, slightly below their share in the early 1900s but much higher than their share in the mid-1900s. Immigrant children, particularly from Asian and Latin American countries, are the principal source of the racial and ethnic diversity. Four of every five immigrant children are U.S.-born; three-quarters of the

children of unauthorized immigrants are also born in the United States.

Within about twenty-five years, immigrant youth will represent about one-third of an even larger number of children. Because of their numbers and the challenges facing the country, immigrant youth will play an important role in the future of the United States. Their integration into American society and their accumulation of human capital require continued attention from researchers, policy makers, and the public at large.

Technical Appendix

Generational Population Projections

The population projections used here, extracted from work by Jeffrey Passel and D'Vera Cohn, use a variant of standard cohort-component projections modified by Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey Passel to incorporate immigrant generations.³⁸ The projections define five groups by place of birth and parentage, each by age, sex, and race or Hispanic origin: foreign-born (the first generation); U.S.-born of foreign (or mixed) parentage (the second generation); born in Puerto Rico and other U.S. territories; U.S.-born of Puerto Rican (or mixed) parentage; and U.S.-born of U.S.-born parents. Because children born in the United States and its territories are citizens by right, the last three groups combined form the third and higher generations.

Each of the five groups is carried forward from 2005 to 2050 separately. Immigrants entering the country are added to the first generation, and foreign-born emigrants leaving the country are subtracted from the

first generation; migrants from Puerto Rico are counted with the Puerto Rican-born population (and Puerto Rican emigrants subtracted). Births are assigned to generations according to the mother's generation and a matrix allowing for cross-generational fertility. All births to immigrant women are assigned to the second generation. Most births to second- and third-generation women are assigned to the third generation, but some are assigned to the second generation to allow for mixed-generation couples that include immigrant men.

Assumptions about future immigration are based on analysis of historical patterns and future population growth; in these projections, legal immigrants and unauthorized immigrants are not differentiated, so the assumptions about future levels of immigration combine both. For the initial 2005–10 period, total immigration, combining legal and unauthorized, is set at roughly the current level of 1.4 million a year. The projections assume that the immigration

rate will remain roughly constant over the forty-five-year projection horizon, meaning that immigration levels will increase by approximately 5 percent for every five-year period and reach about 2.1 million a year in 2045–50.³⁹

Future fertility trends are developed separately for each race and generation group. Generally, first-generation fertility rates exceed those for the second generation, which in turn are higher or the same as third-generation rates. Hispanic fertility rates at the beginning of the projection period (that is, 2005–10) are 25–35 percent higher than those for whites (which are slightly below replacement level); rates for Asians are roughly the same as for whites, while those for blacks fall in between those for whites and those for Hispanics. Over the projection horizon, rates are assumed to move toward 2.0 children per woman, declining for groups starting with above-replacement-level fertility and remaining roughly constant or increasing very slightly for others. Although the fertility projections involve a complex series of assumptions with differences in level and trend for race and generation groups, overall future fertility ultimately shows little movement, remaining in a range of 1.99 to 2.03 for the entire 2005–50 period.

Unauthorized Immigrants: Numbers and Characteristics

Information presented for the size of the unauthorized immigrant population and its characteristics are developed through a multistage estimation process, principally using March Supplements to the Current Population Survey (CPS) and methods developed initially at the Urban Institute and refined and extended by others.⁴⁰ The first step involves estimating the number of unauthorized immigrants in the CPS using

a residual estimation methodology. This method compares an estimate of the number of immigrants residing legally in the country with the total number in the CPS; the difference is assumed to be the number of unauthorized immigrants in the CPS. The size of the legal immigrant population is estimated by applying demographic methods to counts of legal admissions obtained from the Department of Homeland Security's Office on Immigration Statistics and its predecessor at the Immigration and Naturalization Service covering the period from 1980 to the present.⁴¹ The initial estimates of the number of unauthorized immigrants appearing in the CPS are calculated separately for each of six states (California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas) and the balance of the country and for thirty-five countries or groups of countries of birth. The next step adjusts these estimates of legal and unauthorized immigrants counted in the CPS for omissions.

Once the numbers of legal and unauthorized immigrants in the CPS have been estimated, individual respondents in the survey are assigned a status based on the individual's demographic, social, economic, geographic, and family characteristics. The resulting number assigned as unauthorized in the CPS (weighted) is forced to agree with specific totals from the residual estimates (done in the first step) for three categories: the number born in Mexico or born in another country; the number living in each of the six specific states and in the balance of the nation; and the number of children and adult men and women. The status assignments assume that all immigrants entering the United States before 1980 and that all naturalized citizens from countries other than Mexico and Central America are legal. Persons entering the United States as

refugees are legal and are identified on the basis of country of birth and period of arrival to align with known totals of refugee admissions. Individuals holding certain types of legal temporary visas (such as foreign students or various categories of temporary work visas) are identified in the survey using information on country of birth, date of entry, occupation, education, and certain family characteristics. Finally, some individuals are categorized as legal immigrants because they are in certain occupations (such as police officer, lawyer, the military, federal jobs) that require legal status or because they are receiving public benefits (such as welfare or food assistance) that are limited to legal immigrants.

After these initial assignments of “definitely legal” immigrants are made, a pool

of “potentially unauthorized” immigrants remains. This group typically exceeds the target residual estimates by 20–35 percent. From this group, probabilistic methods are used to classify these individuals as either legal or unauthorized. This last step involves checks to ensure consistent statuses within families and several iterations to reach agreement with the various residual targets. Finally, the survey weights for individuals classified as legal or unauthorized are adjusted to agree with the corrected totals from the second step. The end product is a survey data set (of about 80,000 households) with individual respondents identified by nativity and legal status. Information presented here on youth by nativity, legal status, and parents’ characteristics are based on tabulations from these data sets.

Endnotes

1. Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2050* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, February 11, 2008) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/85.pdf>), show that in the absence of immigration, the working-age population would decline after about 2015.
2. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections* (see note 1). The retrospective data for 1960–2000 represent a historical reconstruction that employs generational projection methodology to fit the time series of decennial census data.
3. Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *Trends in Unauthorized Immigration: Undocumented Inflow Now Trails Legal Inflow* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, October 2, 2008) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/94.pdf>); Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, April 14, 2009) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/107.pdf>); and Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *U.S. Unauthorized Immigration Flows Are Down Sharply since Mid-Decade* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, September 1, 2010) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/126.pdf>).
4. Steven Ruggles and others, *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010) (<http://usa.ipums.org/usa/>). For some historical data from 1900 to 1950, a set of historical projections provides useful information where the IPUMS data are deficient. Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey S. Passel, "Ethnic Demography: U.S. Immigration and Ethnic Variations," in *Immigration and Ethnicity: The Integration of America's Newest Arrivals*, edited by Edmonston and Passel (Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1994).
5. In some tabulations used here, the second generation is differentiated by legal status of the parent(s). However, all U.S.-born children of immigrants are U.S. citizens at birth even if the parents are unauthorized immigrants.
6. Persons who are born in foreign countries to parents who are U.S. natives are U.S. citizens at birth. They are treated in most tabulations as U.S. natives with U.S.-born parents and are part of the third generation.
7. Except for U.S. citizenship, Puerto Ricans share many sociocultural traits of immigrants from Latin America, especially the Spanish language. Thus, in terms of adaptation to the United States, it can make sense to treat persons born in Puerto Rico as part of the first generation and persons born in the United States to Puerto Rican-born parent(s) as second generation. However, because U.S. citizenship is now the gateway to many social programs, I have chosen to put Puerto Rican-born youth into the third generation. For historical data, so few Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States before the 1950s that the choice makes little difference. Even in 2008, counting Puerto Rican-born youth as first generation would add only about 1.1 percent to the immigrant youth population, and treating U.S.-born children of Puerto Rican parents as second generation would add only another 3.0 percent. (Note that even though Puerto Rican births are treated the same as U.S. births, some persons born in Puerto Rico are in the second generation if one or both of their parents is an immigrant to Puerto Rico, that is, in the first generation.)
8. These population data are from the March 2009 CPS with an adjustment for omissions of immigrants from the survey. This survey is the basis for detailed analysis of generational and racial-ethnic composition. It is based on U.S. Census Bureau, *Vintage 2008 Population Estimates Archives* (www.census.gov/popest/archives/2000s/vintage_2008/Bureau). The data plotted in figure 1 do not include the adjustment for survey omissions and show 74.1 million children in 2009.

9. Ansley J. Coale and Melvin Zelnik, *New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States: A Study of Annual White Births from 1855 to 1960 and of Completeness of Enumeration in the Censuses from 1880 to 1960* (Princeton University Press, 1963).
10. The peak number of births—4.3 million—was not reached again until 2007, when the population was 70 percent larger than it had been in 1957.
11. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections* (see note 1).
12. Passel and Cohn, *Trends in Unauthorized Immigration* (see note 3).
13. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Unauthorized Immigration Flows Are Down Sharply since Mid-Decade* (see note 3).
14. Ibid. See also Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *Mexican Immigrants: How Many Come? How Many Leave?* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, April 14, 2009) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/112.pdf>).
15. Jeffrey S. Passel and Paul Taylor, *Unauthorized Immigrants and Their U.S.-Born Children* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, August 11, 2010) (<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/125.pdf>).
16. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections* (see note 1).
17. Department of Homeland Security, *2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2009), table 8 (www.dhs.gov/files/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm).
18. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Unauthorized Immigration Flows Are Down Sharply since Mid-Decade* (see note 3).
19. Ibid., and Passel and Cohn, *Mexican Immigrants* (see note 14).
20. See Passel and Cohn, *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants* (see note 3), for detailed information on characteristics of the unauthorized immigrant population.
21. Passel and Taylor, *Unauthorized Immigrants and Their U.S.-Born Children* (see note 15).
22. The mixed-status families also include more than 500,000 adults who are U.S. citizens or legal immigrants, most of whom are spouses of unauthorized immigrants, but about one-quarter are U.S.-born children ages 18 and over.
23. The terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” are used interchangeably to refer to persons of Hispanic origin.
24. Randolph Capps and others, *Paying the Price: The Impact of Immigration Raids on America's Children* (Washington: Urban Institute Press, 2007) (www.urban.org/publications/411566.html).
25. Another eight states—Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Massachusetts, Maryland, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington—and the District of Columbia have above-average concentrations of immigrant youth.
26. The four indicators of state generosity are whether “qualified” noncitizens in the country for less than five years can receive TANF; whether “qualified” noncitizens in the country for more than five years can receive TANF; whether noncitizens not eligible for federal assistance can receive food assistance; and whether noncitizens not eligible for federal assistance can receive state SSI. These rules come from the Urban Institute's *Welfare Rules Databook Tables by Year*, tables I.B.6 and I.B.7 for 2008 (<http://anfdata.urban.org/wrd/maps.cfm>) and the National Immigration Law Center's *Guide to Immigrant Eligibility for Federal Programs*, 4th ed. (Washington: 2002), *Update Page*, tables 8, 9, and 12 (www.nilc.org/pubs/Guide_update.htm).

27. Throughout this chapter, race groups—that is, white, black, Asian, and two or more major races (mixed race)—refer to persons who are not of Hispanic origin and, in the case of data from 2000 and later, refer only to single races. The Asian category includes “Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders.” The term “not Hispanic” is generally omitted from the text.
28. The median age is forty-nine years for white adult immigrants and thirty-nine years for Hispanic adult immigrants.
29. The overall numbers of persons with two or more races published in the Current Population Survey and the American Community Survey are not the product of individual responses to the surveys but rather result from Census Bureau population estimates of this group based on Census 2000 figures carried forward. If response and self-identification patterns have changed since 2000, the data from the 2010 Census could differ significantly from figures shown for 2009.
30. For intermarriage trends over the past forty years, see Jeffrey S. Passel and others, *Marrying Out: One-in-Seven New U.S. Marriages Is Interracial or Interethnic* (Washington: Pew Research Center, June 4, 2010) (<http://pewsocialtrends.org/assets/pdf/755-marrying-out.pdf>).
31. Because persons born in Puerto Rico are considered to be U.S. natives, children born in Puerto Rico (or the U.S. mainland) to parents born in Puerto Rico are part of the third and higher generation group; that is, they are U.S. natives born to parents who are U.S. natives. Immigrant youth of Puerto Rican origin have a parent who is an immigrant (see also note 7).
32. Author’s tabulations from 1900 Census and 2008 American Community Survey using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). Ruggles and others, *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series* (see note 4).
33. Carmen DeNavas-Wait, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Jessica C. Smith, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2008*, Current Population Reports: Consumer Income, Series P60-236 (RV) (U.S. Census Bureau, September 2009), table B-1, p. 44 (www.census.gov/prod/2009pubs/p60-236.pdf).
34. Poverty rates for children based on their parents’ status come from Passel and Cohn, *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants* (see note 3) and supporting unpublished data.
35. For a thorough discussion of spending and differences by age group, see Susmita Pati and others, “Generational Differences in U.S. Public Spending, 1980–2000,” *Health Affairs* 23, no. 5 (2004): 131–41.
36. Thom File and Sarah Crissey, *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008*, Current Population Reports, Series P20-562 (U.S. Census Bureau, May 2010), table 3, p. 4 (www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/p20-562.pdf).
37. The “majority” racial and ethnic group is the white, non-Hispanic population. “Minority” race groups are the balance of the population.
38. Passel and Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections* (see note 1). Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey S. Passel, “Immigration and Immigrant Generations in Population Projections,” *International Journal of Forecasting* 8, no. 3 (1992): 459–76.
39. Although immigration levels are assumed to increase over the projection horizon, the rate of increase is substantially less than observed over the previous forty-five years (1960–2005), when both the number of immigrants and the rate of immigration grew significantly.

40. Jeffrey S. Passel and Rebecca L. Clark, *Immigrants in New York: Their Legal Status, Incomes and Taxes* (Washington: Urban Institute, April 1998) (www.urban.org/publications/407432.html). For a detailed description of methods and specific citations for methods development, see Jeffrey S. Passel, "Unauthorized Migrants in the United States: Estimates, Methods, and Characteristics," *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers 57* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Working Party on Migration, September 2007) (www.oecd.org/dataoecd/41/25/39264671.pdf).
41. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Office of Immigration Statistics, various years) (www.dhs.gov/files/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm).