



The Integration of Immigrants and Their Families in Maryland:

*A Look at Children
of Immigrants
and Their Families
in Maryland*

Prepared for
the Annie E. Casey Foundation
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THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN MARYLAND:

A Look at Children of Immigrants and Their Families in Maryland

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the second in a series of reports profiling immigrant workers, children, and families in Maryland.¹ The first report described the characteristics of immigrant workers and their economic contributions to the state and found that immigrants accounted for more than half of the state's population and workforce growth between 2000 and 2006 (Capps and Fortuny 2008). The current report profiles the state's population of children of immigrants and their families.

As the immigrant population in Maryland grew in the last two decades, the number of children in immigrant families also increased. Most U.S. immigrants are in their childbearing years and arrive in the United States with their families or form families when they settle here. Following national patterns, the number of children with at least one immigrant parent in Maryland doubled between 1990 and 2006, and in 2006 almost one in five children had immigrant parents.²

Children in immigrant families have become crucial for the state's population growth and future economy and prosperity. The number of children with native-born parents has been growing very slowly; without the influx of immigrant families, the child population in Maryland likely would stagnate and possibly decline in future years. Moreover, 84 percent of children of immigrants were born in the United States and will grow up as Americans. While poverty and economic hardship adversely affect children in all families, the lives of children in immigrant families are shaped also by the immigration experiences of their parents. With the rising share of children raised in immigrant families, it is of increasing importance to the state and the nation to identify and adequately address their specific needs.

Throughout this report "children of immigrants" are children living with at least one foreign-born parent, and "children of natives" are those living with two native-born parents or a single native-born parent. "Low-income children" are children who live in families whose incomes are below twice the federal poverty level.

Following are key findings from the report.

The Population of Children of Immigrants in Maryland Is Growing Rapidly

The population of immigrants in Maryland has grown rapidly, as it has in many other states in the past two decades. This growth is a key element of future population growth because the native-born population has been growing at a slower rate.

- The number of Maryland children with at least one immigrant parent more than doubled from 121,000 in 1990 to 253,000 in 2006. The Maryland growth rate (110 percent) was higher than the national rate (90 percent), although it was significantly below the rates in the fastest growing states of North Carolina (394 percent) and Nevada (376 percent).

¹ An immigrant or foreign-born person is someone born outside the United States and its territories. People born in the United States, Puerto Rico, and other territories, or born abroad to U.S. citizen parents, are native-born. Children with immigrant parents have at least one foreign-born parent. See the methods section for more information on data and definitions.

² Throughout the report, 2006 estimates are averaged across 2005 and 2006 data.

- Children of immigrants accounted for 19 percent of children in the state in 2006, which was a little less than their national share (22 percent).
- By comparison, the growth rate for children of natives during this period was only 6 percent, and the number of young children of natives (under age 6) actually *declined* by 10 percent, which suggests that the overall population of children of natives may begin to decline in the future.

Children of Immigrants Are Concentrated in the Maryland Counties of the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Region

- In 2006, two-thirds of children of immigrants (66 percent) lived in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, and another 7 percent lived in suburban Howard County.
- No other county except Baltimore accounted for more than 5 percent of children of immigrants in the state.
- Some counties with small immigrant populations, however, have experienced large immigration growth since 1990—the number of children of immigrants tripled in Howard County and more than doubled in Frederick and the other western counties.

Immigrant Families with Children Have Diverse Origins

In contrast to the national pattern, no racial and ethnic group predominates among children of immigrants in Maryland.

- Nationwide, 55 percent of children of immigrants were Hispanic; in Maryland only 28 percent were Hispanic, another 28 percent were non-Hispanic black, and 23 percent were non-Hispanic Asian.
- Among low-income children of immigrants in Maryland, however, higher shares were Hispanic (44 percent) and black (30 percent).

Children of Immigrants Are Mostly Birthright Citizens, although Many Live in Mixed-Status Families

The majority of children of immigrants are citizens by birth, but many live with noncitizen parents, who have fewer rights and less access to public benefits than their children.

- In 2006, 84 percent of Maryland's children of immigrants were citizens. Eighty percent were born in the United States and the remaining 4 percent were naturalized citizens.

- Older children were slightly less likely to be citizens: 74 percent of youth age 16 to 17 were citizens, compared with 97 percent of young children age 0 to 2.
- Twenty-three percent of children of immigrants lived in mixed-status families where the children were citizens but one or both parents were noncitizens.

Immigrant Families with Children Are Disproportionately Two-Parent Families

In Maryland, children of immigrants are more likely than children of natives to live with two parents and other adult relatives. The larger families appear to somewhat insulate children of immigrants from poverty.

- In 2006, children of immigrants were more likely than children of natives to live in two-parent families (83 percent versus 68 percent); children of immigrants were also more likely to live in extended families with three or more related adults (26 percent versus 15 percent).
- Children of immigrants in low-income families were twice as likely as low-income children of natives to live with two parents (69 percent versus 35 percent).
- The poverty rate among children of immigrants in two-parent families was much lower than the rate for children of immigrants in single-parent families (4 percent versus 21 percent).³

Many Immigrant Parents Are Highly Educated, but Many Lack English Skills and Some Earn Low Incomes despite High Educational Attainment

- In 2006, 55 percent of children of immigrants in Maryland had college educated parents compared with 43 percent of children of natives and 26 percent of children of immigrants nationwide.
- The college-educated share of parents, however, varied from as little as 13 percent for children of immigrants of Mexican origin to as high as 84 percent for children of Middle Eastern and South Asian origin.
- Higher education does not translate into economic mobility for all immigrants: among low-income families, children of immigrants were more than three times as likely as children of natives to have college-educated parents (28 percent versus 8 percent).

³ Throughout the brief, “poor” refers to family income below the federal poverty level and “low income” refers to family income below twice the federal poverty level. Poverty levels are adjusted for family size. In 2005, the federal poverty level was \$19,971 for a family of four, slightly higher for larger families and lower for smaller families. Twice the federal poverty level was \$39,942 for a family of four.

- Forty-four percent of children of immigrants had Limited English proficient (LEP) parents, well below the national share of 61 percent, but 85 percent of children of Mexican origin and 74 percent of children of Central American origin had LEP parents.⁴ Moreover, a large share, 64 percent, of children of immigrants in low-income families had LEP parents.

Poverty Is Low for Children of Immigrants, but More Live in Near Poverty

- In 2006, the poverty rate for children of immigrants in Maryland was slightly lower than the rate for children of natives (7 percent versus 9 percent).
- Maryland had the third lowest poverty rate for children of immigrants of all states, behind North Dakota and Vermont.⁵
- However, children of immigrants in Maryland were more likely than children of natives to be low income (i.e., have family incomes below twice the poverty rate, 27 percent versus 24 percent).

Immigrant Family Incomes and Home Ownership Are Comparable to Those of Natives, but Vary by Origin and Length of U.S. Residence

- In 2005, Maryland children of immigrants had a median family income of \$72,000, slightly below that for children of natives (\$78,000).
- Family income varied by region of origin: from \$49,000 for children with Mexican and Central American parents to \$91,000 for children with East Asian, Middle Eastern, and South Asian parents.
- Incomes for families in which parents were long-term U.S. residents, defined as having more than 20 years of residency, were twice as high as incomes for families with parents who were recent immigrants with less than 10 years of U.S. residency (\$97,000 versus \$50,000).
- The shares of children of immigrants and natives living in households that owned their homes were comparable (69 percent versus 71 percent).

Low-Income Immigrant Families Have High Work Effort and Low Public Benefits Use

Immigrant families in Maryland and nationwide are characterized by high work effort and low use of public benefits, and this pattern persists when only low-income families are considered.

⁴ Limited English Proficient people are those who reported that they speak a language other than English at home and speak English well, not well, or not at all. Those who speak English at home or speak another language but also speak English very well are considered English proficient. English proficiency is not recorded for children under age 5 in the ACS data.

⁵ Fewer than 10,000 children of immigrants lived in North Dakota and in Vermont in 2006.

- In 2006, similar shares of children of natives (91 percent) and children of immigrants (95 percent) lived in working families—i.e., families with adults working at least 1,800 combined hours a year.
- However, low-income children of immigrants were significantly more likely than low-income children of natives to live in working families (87 percent versus 68 percent).
- Despite economic hardship, low-income children of immigrants were much less likely as low-income children of natives to live in households receiving food stamps (10 percent versus 35 percent).

Children of Immigrants Contribute to Growing Racial, Ethnic, and Linguistic Diversity in Public Schools

- Between 2000 and 2007, public school enrollment of Hispanic students (with immigrant or native parents) increased by 92 percent.⁶ Enrollment of non-Hispanic Asian students rose by 29 percent while enrollment of non-Hispanic white students declined by 12 percent.⁷
- The non-Hispanic white share of public school students fell from 54 to 48 percent, while the Hispanic share rose from 4 percent to 8 percent.
- The number of LEP students in Maryland public schools doubled from 19,400 in 2000 to 38,700 in 2007.
- The highest concentrations of LEP students were in Montgomery County (14,600) and Prince George’s County (11,800). Smaller immigrant populations saw rapid growth in their LEP population, e.g., the number of LEP students in Baltimore County almost doubled from 1,700 in 2000 to 3,300 in 2007.

There Are Large Racial and Ethnic Disparities in School Readiness and Performance

Children of immigrants are less likely than natives to attend early education settings and there are large differences in enrollment across racial and ethnic groups. Racial and ethnic disparities in school readiness and academic performance persist through high school.

- In 2006, 57 percent of preschool-age children of immigrants versus 63 percent of children of natives attended preschool or kindergarten.

⁶ Statistics drawn from MSDE public schools data are presented here by race and ethnicity because schools do not collect information on the nativity of students or their parents. The race and ethnic categories are mutually exclusive.

⁷ Throughout this report, “2000 school data” refers to the 1999-2000 academic year and “2007 school data” to the 2006-2007 academic year.

- Preschool enrollment was lowest for Hispanic children of immigrants and natives (47 percent and 51 percent, respectively) and highest for non-Hispanic Asian children of natives (69 percent).
- Less than half (43 percent) of Hispanic students in eighth grade scored at the advanced or proficient level of the Maryland School Assessment test in math achievement in 2007, compared with 85 percent of Asian students and 73 percent of white students.
- In 2007, almost all (97 percent) Asian students graduated high school within four years after starting ninth grade, compared with 81 percent of white students. Non-Hispanic black students (64 percent) and Hispanic students (68 percent), on the other hand, were much less likely to graduate on time.

These findings suggest that Maryland children of immigrants overall are well prepared for school and many are well positioned to integrate successfully economically and socially. On most socioeconomic indicators (such as poverty, parental education, family income, and home ownership), children of immigrants in Maryland on average fare much better than do children of immigrants nationwide. Among some immigrant groups in Maryland, the children also fare better than the average child does in a native family.

However, despite an overall positive picture, there are significant disparities in parental and socioeconomic characteristics among children of immigrants. Many of them, especially those whose parents are recent immigrants, have relatively low educational attainment, and are LEP, live in families with low incomes and high economic hardship despite high levels of work effort. These children are likely to face more challenges in school and during their transition into adulthood. Disadvantaged children of immigrants and their families would need educational, family, and other social supports to ensure their future. These disadvantaged children are primarily concentrated in families with Mexican and Central American origin, and, to a lesser extent, African origin, which indicates that educational and other services should be targeted toward these specific immigrant communities.

Addressing the needs of immigrant families and their children requires a two-pronged strategy that helps improve the parents' ability to maintain secure jobs and advance over time in their employment and earnings while also addresses their children's developmental needs through education and other needed services. This type of strategy would provide better adult education, language, and job skills training to parents, improve access to high-quality and affordable child care and preschool programs in low-income and immigrant communities, and make school programs more effective for English-language learners and students at a high risk of dropping out.

INTRODUCTION

Children of Immigrants in Maryland

This is the second in a series of reports profiling immigrant workers, children, and families in Maryland. The first report described the characteristics of immigrant workers and their economic contributions to the state (Capps and Fortuny 2008). The current report profiles the quarter million children of immigrants in Maryland, highlights important demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and sheds light on the impact that the growing population of children of immigrants is having on public schools in Maryland. The findings in this report are based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and from the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE).

The report is organized as follows. The report begins by examining the increase in the number of children of immigrants between 1990 and 2006, the distribution of these children across Maryland's counties, and their diverse origins. The report then looks at parental and family characteristics of children, including the incidence of two-parent families, and parents' education and English skills. These characteristics appear to play an important role in explaining the economic circumstances of immigrant families, including their incomes, poverty and low-income rates, and use of public benefits.

The second part of the report describes school-age children of immigrants and discusses trends in Maryland public school enrollment. The report presents data on children of immigrants' contribution to the increasing racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity in Maryland public schools and points to differences across racial and ethnic groups in school readiness and academic performance.

Children of immigrants face many universal risk factors to their well-being, such as lower parental education and family incomes, but they also are adversely affected by factors unique to immigration, such as lack of parental citizenship and English proficiency (Capps et al. 2004; Hernandez 2004). This report also provides information on the 69,000 children of immigrants in low-income families (i.e., families with incomes below twice the poverty rate) because material hardship and immigration-related factors place these children at a higher risk of adverse outcomes.

Jurisdictions and school districts across the country are facing the difficult task of successfully integrating immigrant children and their families. With a diverse immigrant population and a sizable number of children with immigrant parents, Maryland presents a good opportunity to study this population and the challenges they face. The report's relevance extends beyond state and local boundaries because it studies a population with diversity in immigrant origin and socioeconomic status and makes policy recommendations that can be generalized to other jurisdictions.

Data and Methods

The primary data sources for this report are the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) datasets (Ruggles et al. 2008). The IPUMS datasets are drawn from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 5 percent sample, and the combined 2005 and 2006 ACS samples that together represent 2 percent of the nation's population. Public schools data are drawn from MSDE reports for the 2000 and 2007 academic years.

Immigrants or foreign-born persons are born outside the United States and its territories. Those born in Puerto Rico and other U.S. territories or born abroad to U.S. citizen parents are native born. Immigrants include both legal and unauthorized immigrants, although the latter are somewhat undercounted in the official census and ACS data.⁸

Children of immigrants are living with at least one foreign-born parent in the household and children of native-born parents are living with two parents who are native born or a single parent who is native born. Low-income children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. More information on the data and definitions are available in the methods section at the end of the report.

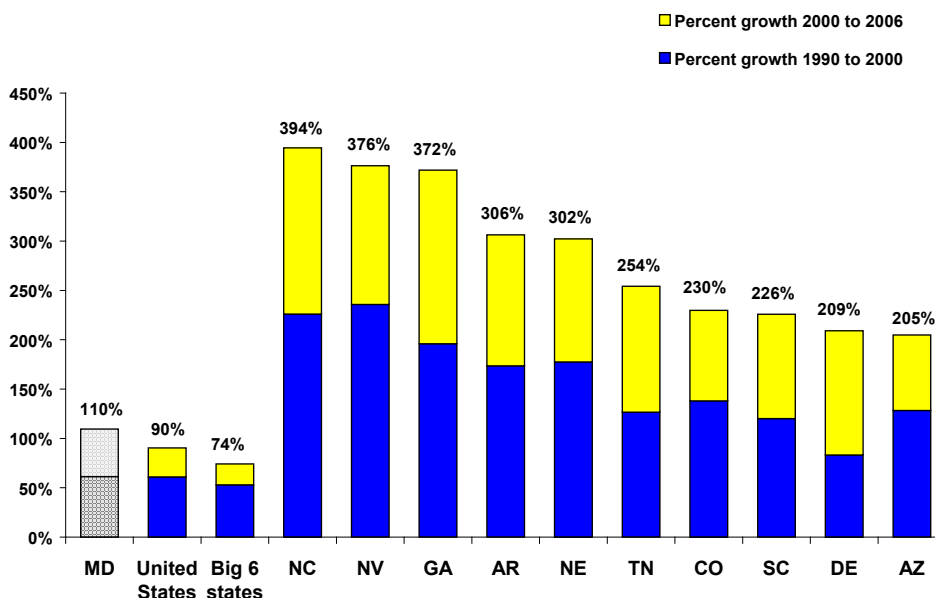
⁸ Demographers have estimated that unauthorized immigrants are undercounted by about 12.5 percent in these data sources (see Passel and Cohn 2009).

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN MARYLAND

Immigration Trends

Immigrant populations are mostly concentrated in six large states—California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey—that have been traditional destinations for newcomers. During the 1990s, immigrants dispersed throughout the country and immigrant populations grew rapidly in many western, midwestern, and southeastern states.⁹ Similarly, the number of children with immigrant parents more than doubled in the majority of states between 1990 and 2006. The six traditional destination states continued to see robust growth in the last two decades and experienced a 74 percent increase in the number of children of immigrants, but many high-growth states, such as North Carolina, Nevada, Georgia, Arkansas, and Nebraska, experienced growth rates four to five times as high (figure 1). Maryland also experienced a high growth rate of 110 percent, which was above the national average (90 percent) but lower than the rate in the fastest growing states.

Figure 1. Population Growth Rates for Children of Immigrants, Selected States, 1990 to 2006



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets drawn from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 5 percent samples, and the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: The big six states are those with the largest immigrant populations: California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey.

⁹ Two-thirds of immigrants live in the six traditional destination states. Other states with long histories of foreign-born residents—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin—had at least 200,000 immigrants each in 1920. In 22 states, the foreign-born populations grew more quickly between 1990 and 2000 than they did in the six traditional destination states. These states are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, and Washington (Capps et al. 2007; Fortuny, Capps, and Passel 2007).

Children of immigrants account for the majority of Maryland's child population growth. The growth in the number of children of immigrants in Maryland accounted for most of the increase in the state's child population between 1990 and 2006. The number of children of immigrants more than doubled from 121,000 to 253,000 in Maryland, while the population of children of natives grew more slowly (by 65,000 children, or 6 percent). Thus, children of immigrants contributed to a high overall growth of the child population of 17 percent. The trend in Maryland was similar to the trend nationwide, where the number of children of natives increased by only 4 percent while children of immigrants increased by 90 percent.

Due to the large increase in the number of children of immigrants, the percent of children in Maryland who had immigrant parents increased from 11 percent in 1990 to 19 percent in 2006.¹⁰ In 2006, Maryland ranked 17th among states in the share of children who had immigrant parents. The share in Maryland was slightly lower than the national average (22 percent).

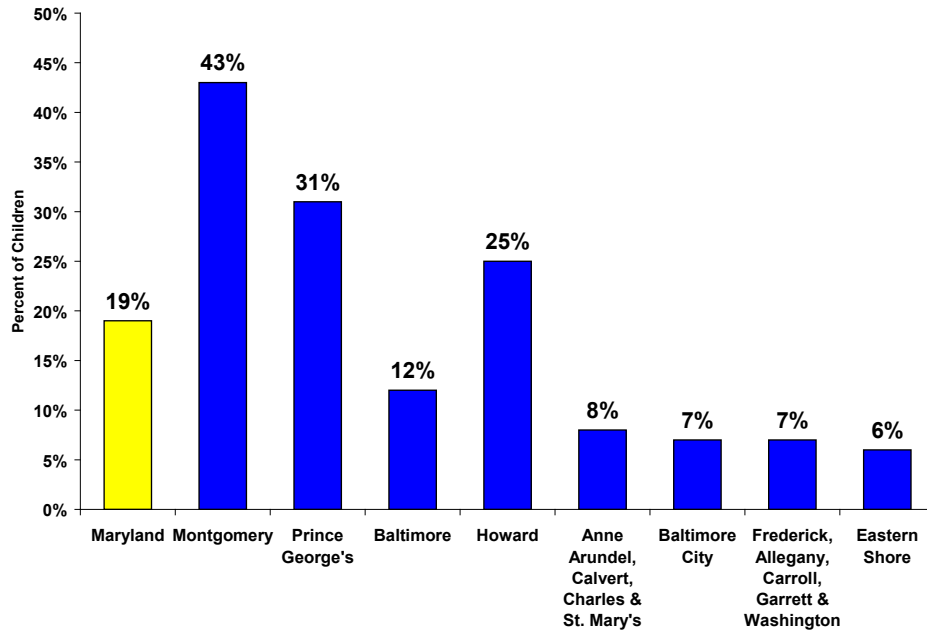
Two-thirds of children of immigrants live in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, but their numbers more than doubled in Howard and Frederick counties. Children of immigrants are highly concentrated in the counties of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Montgomery and Prince George's counties together accounted for 66 percent of children of immigrants in Maryland in 2006—99,000 children lived in Montgomery County and 67,000 in Prince George's County.¹¹ Howard County, another suburban jurisdiction, accounted for 7 percent of the total (17,000 children). Eight percent of children of immigrants lived in Baltimore County (21,000 children), but no other county comprised more than 4 percent of the statewide total.

Montgomery and Prince George's counties also had the largest shares of children who have immigrant parents—43 and 31 percent respectively (figure 2). Howard was the only other county where the share was above the statewide average (25 percent versus 19 percent).

¹⁰ About 3 percent of children in the IPUMS data do not live with parents in the household and the nativity of their parents cannot be determined. These children are excluded from the estimates in this report.

¹¹ The 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey datasets include limited geography below the state level. Some counties were combined into regional groupings that are based on available geography and sample sizes in the census data. "Eastern Shore" represents Cecil County and the counties east of Chesapeake Bay. For the full list of county groupings in this report, see appendix table 1.

Figure 2. Children of Immigrants, by County or County Group, Maryland, 2006

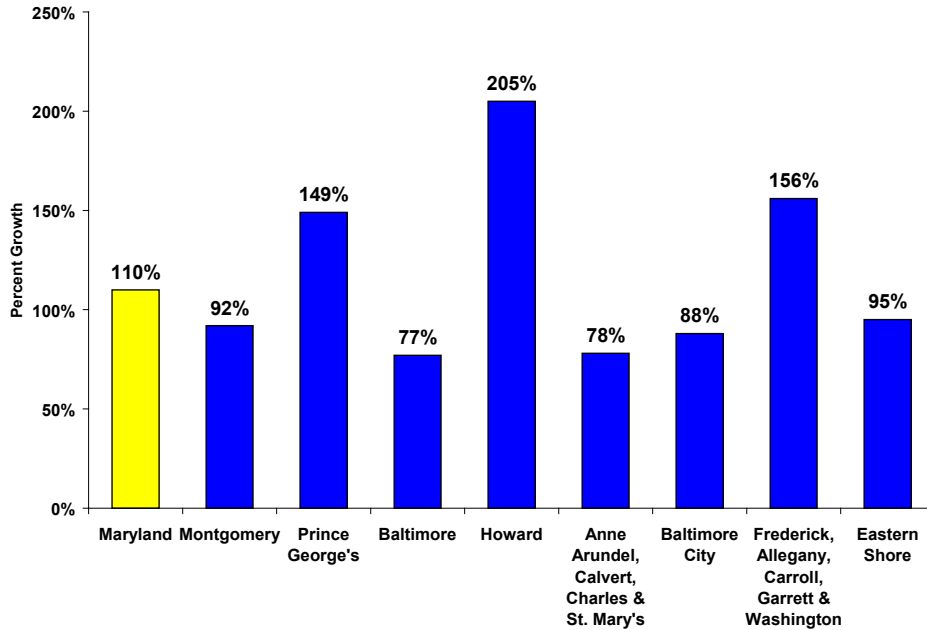


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: "Eastern Shore" includes Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot, Wicomico, and Worcester counties.

Between 1990 and 2006, the population of children of immigrants tripled in Howard County (figure 3). Frederick County and the other western counties, which together had a small immigrant population in 1990, saw the next largest increase (156 percent), followed by Prince George's County (149 percent). The number of children of immigrants almost doubled in Montgomery County, Baltimore City, and the counties on the Eastern shore, while the rest of the state saw more modest increases.

Figure 3. Percent Growth in Number of Children of Immigrants, by County or County Group, Maryland, 1990 to 2006

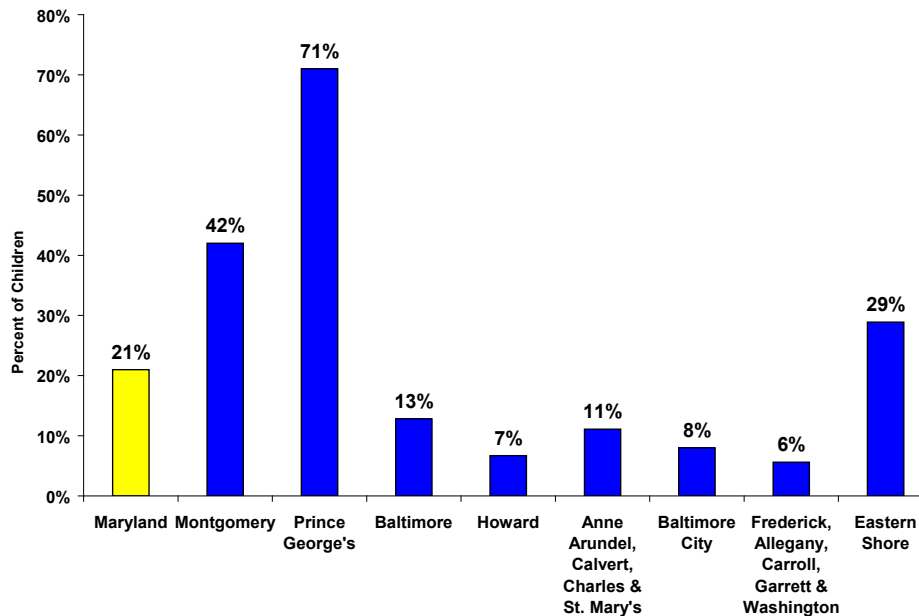


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: "Eastern Shore" includes Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot, Wicomico, and Worcester counties.

In Maryland in 2006, there were 69,000 children of immigrants in low-income families or in families with incomes below twice the poverty level. The majority of them lived in either Prince George's County (25,000 children) or in Montgomery County (23,000 children). Baltimore City and Baltimore County each had 5,000 children in low-income immigrant families, while the numbers were lower in all the other jurisdictions.

Children of immigrants accounted for 21 percent of all children in low-income families in Maryland, but they were overrepresented in Montgomery, Prince George's, and Howard counties. Children of immigrants accounted for almost three quarters (71 percent) of low-income children in Montgomery County. In Prince George's and Howard counties, children of immigrants also represented relatively high shares of children in low-income families, 42 and 29 percent, respectively (figure 4).

Figure 4. Low-Income Children with Immigrant Parents, by County or County Group, Maryland, 2006

Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: "Eastern Shore" includes Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot, Wicomico, and Worcester counties. "Low-income" children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level.

Implications. The growth in the number of children of immigrants has contributed to a large increase in the number of children in the state. Without immigrant families (or migration from other states), the child population in Maryland likely would stagnate and possibly fall in coming years because the number of children of natives has grown slowly. In fact, the population of children of natives in the 0-5 age range has already begun to decline.

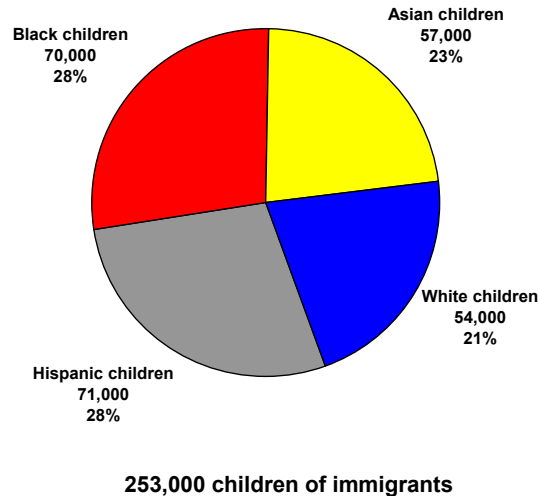
The greatest impact of immigration appears limited to the child populations in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, which have the highest concentrations of children of immigrants. Howard and Baltimore counties also are experiencing increasing numbers of immigrant families. Growth appears weaker in the other counties, which have fewer immigrants, but even small immigrant populations can have relatively large impacts in counties that have had less experience with integrating newcomers in their communities.

Given the population of immigrant families with children in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, it is not surprising that low-income immigrant families also are concentrated there. Children of immigrants in Montgomery County comprise a large majority of the low-income population in need of services. This is true to a lesser extent in Prince George's and Howard counties. In other Maryland counties, the vast majority of children needing family and work support services live in native-born families.

Diversity among Maryland’s Children of Immigrants

The immigrant population in Maryland is very diverse and no racial or ethnic group predominates. In 2006, Hispanic and non-Hispanic black children represented the same shares (28 percent) of Maryland’s children of immigrants (figure 5).¹² Twenty-three percent of children of immigrants were non-Hispanic Asian, and 21 percent were non-Hispanic white. The picture in Maryland is very different from the picture for the entire nation, where the majority, 55 percent, of children of immigrants were Hispanic. All other racial and ethnic groups were represented in smaller shares in the country as a whole than in Maryland.

Figure 5. Children of Immigrants, by Race and Ethnicity, Maryland, 2006



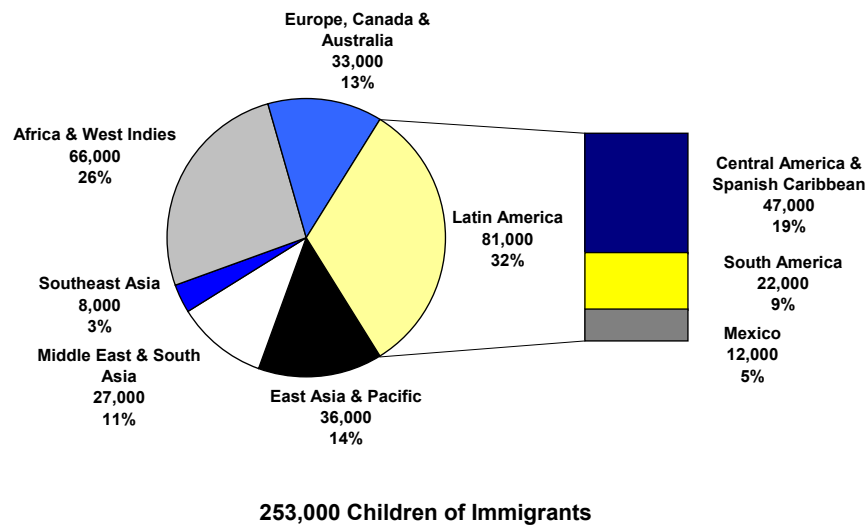
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: Numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

¹² The race and ethnic categories are mutually exclusive. See the methods section for more information.

The racial and ethnic diversity reflects the diverse origins of immigrants in Maryland. Forty-one percent of children of immigrants in the nation had parents from Mexico versus just 5 percent in Maryland (figure 6).¹³ A larger percent of children, 19 percent, in Maryland had parents from Central America and Spanish-speaking Caribbean (“Central America”). The share of children with parents from Latin America overall was 32 percent in Maryland compared with 58 percent nationally. Nineteen percent of children had parents from The next largest group was children of Asian origin (29 percent), which included parents from East Asia and the Pacific (“East Asia”), the Middle East and South Asia, and Southeast Asia. The national share from Asian countries was smaller, 21 percent. Twenty-six percent of children of immigrants in Maryland, compared to only 8 percent nationally, had parents from Africa and the West Indies. The share for children in Maryland with parents from Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (“Europe”) in Maryland, 13 percent, was about the same as the national share (12 percent).

Figure 6. Children of Immigrants by Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: Numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

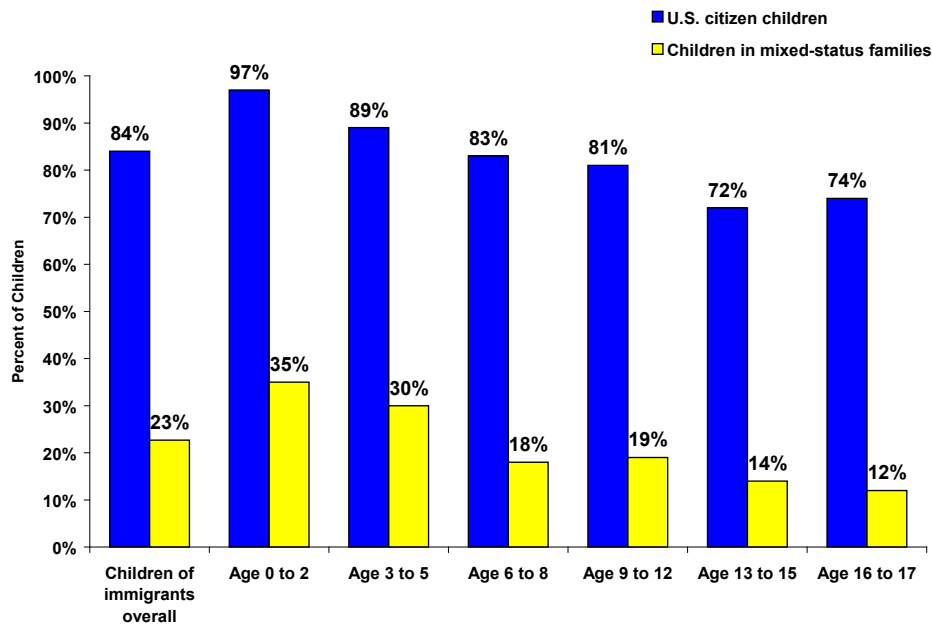
¹³ Countries of origin groups are based on geography, language, status as a refugee-producing country, and the available sample size in the survey data. A child with parents from different regions of birth is assigned his or her mother’s region of birth. See appendix table 2 for a list of countries in each region.

Whereas Mexico is the country of origin for most immigrants in the U.S., the largest immigrant group in Maryland is from El Salvador. In 2006, 30,000 children had parents from El Salvador (see appendix table 3). Children with parents from Nigeria were the next largest group with 14,000 children, followed by Mexico (12,000) and India and Korea (11,000 each). China, the Philippines, Jamaica, Guatemala, and Canada rounded out the top 10 countries. Children with parents from El Salvador and Guatemala primarily lived in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. Most children with parents from China and India lived in Montgomery and Howard counties, and most children with parents from Nigeria and Mexico lived in Prince George's County.

Hispanics are a larger share of low-income children of immigrants than of children of immigrants overall. Hispanic children accounted for the largest share (44 percent) of low-income children of immigrants, followed by black children (30 percent). Asian and white children represented smaller shares (13 percent and 12 percent, respectively). The large Hispanic share is attributed to the large number of children with low-income immigrant parents from El Salvador, Mexico, and Guatemala, which together numbered close to 28,000 children (see appendix table 3).

Most children of immigrants are U.S. citizens, but many have noncitizen parents. In 2006, the overwhelming majority of children of immigrants in Maryland were U.S. citizens by birth or naturalization—84 percent, similar to the share nationally (86 percent). The majority of citizen children of immigrants were born in the United States and only 4 percent were foreign-born and citizens by naturalization. The youngest children of immigrants were most likely to be citizens: 97 percent for children age 0 to 2 (figure 7). Citizen shares, on the other hand, were lower for older children: 72 percent for children age 13 to 15 and 74 percent for those age 16 to 17.

Figure 7. Children of Immigrants Who Are U.S. Citizens and in Mixed-Status Families, by Age, Maryland, 2006



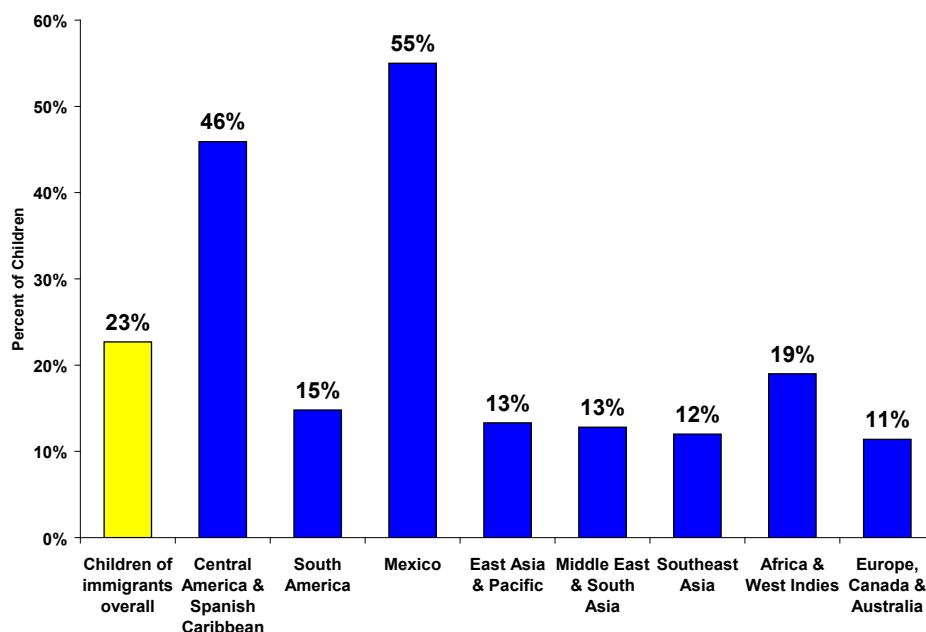
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: Mixed-status families are those in which at least one child is a U.S. citizen and at least one parent is a noncitizen.

Thirty-six percent of children of immigrants had parents who were not U.S. citizens, and 23 percent lived in mixed-status families where the children were citizens but their parents were not.¹⁴ Nationally, 31 percent of children were in mixed-status families. As is the case nationally, young children of immigrants in Maryland are more likely than older children to live in mixed-status families because their parents are usually recent immigrants that have not been in the country long enough to naturalize. Many young children of immigrants, however, have parents who are unauthorized immigrants without a pathway to legalization or naturalization.

The share of children of immigrants who lived in mixed-status families in Maryland varied across immigrant origin in 2006 (figure 8). Children of Mexican immigrants (55 percent) and Central American immigrants (46 percent) were more likely than children from other immigrant groups to live in mixed-status families. Children of European-origin immigrants (11 percent) and East Asian, Middle Eastern, and South Asian immigrants (13 percent) were the least likely to be in mixed-status families. Differences by region of origin reflect the parents' tenure in the United States and their immigrant status. Nationally, immigrants from Mexico and Central America are more likely than immigrants from the other regions to be unauthorized and/or recent immigrants (Passel and Cohn 2009; Pew Hispanic Center 2009).

¹⁴ Noncitizens include legally present immigrants, such as refugees, permanent residents, and temporary workers and visitors, as well as unauthorized immigrants. The census data do not differentiate between legally present and unauthorized immigrants.

Figure 8. Children of Immigrants in Mixed-Status Families, by Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006

Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: Mixed-status families are those in which at least one child is a U.S. citizen and at least one parent is a noncitizen.

Most immigrant parents are long-term U.S. residents, but low-income parents are more likely to be recent immigrants. In 2006, the majority of children of immigrants had parents who had lived in the United States for 10 or more years. Only 27 percent of children had parents with less than 10 years of U.S. residency while 35 percent had parents with more than 20 years of residency. Children with parents from Mexico were the most likely (38 percent) to have parents that were recent immigrants and had less than 10 years of U.S. residency. Similarly, high shares of children of European origin (31 percent) and African and Caribbean origin (30 percent) had recent-immigrant parents. Children of Southeast Asian origin were the least likely to have parents that were recent immigrants (9 percent).

Children of immigrants in low-income families were more likely than children overall to have parents who were recent immigrants. In low-income immigrant families, 41 percent of all children had parents with less than 10 years of residency, as did about half of children whose parents came from Africa and the West Indies (50 percent), South America (48 percent), and the Middle East and South Asia (46 percent).

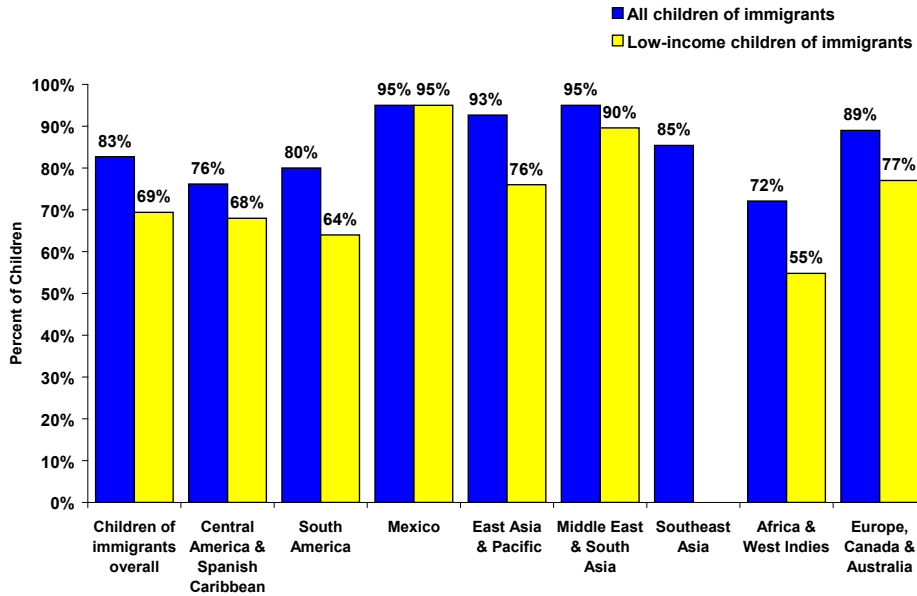
Implications. Growth in immigration has increased the racial and ethnic diversity of children in the state. Children of immigrants have diverse language and cultural backgrounds because their ancestry spans the globe. The provision of critical services, such as public health and safety, education, and welfare, is more difficult when there is greater cultural and linguistic diversity. The racial and ethnic diversity of children of immigrants creates both opportunities and challenges in the schools and the future workforce. Diversity can lead to competitive advantages for Maryland in a global economy, but this heterogeneity also makes it more difficult to both facilitate the integration of immigrants and their children while minimizing the social tensions that can ensue among diverse groups of foreign- and native-born people.

The relatively large share of children living in mixed-status families also creates difficulties for improving their access to various services. Noncitizen parents, especially unauthorized immigrants, are less inclined to use services, such as food stamps and Medicaid, even when their children are citizens and eligible for the benefits (Holcomb et al. 2003; Shields and Behrman 2004). This can deprive children, especially those in low-income families, of essential assistance, such as health care and nutrition.

Parental and Family Characteristics of Children of Immigrants

Children of immigrants are more likely than children of natives to live with both parents. This family characteristic plays an important protective role for children’s development. In 2006, 83 percent of children of immigrants lived with both parents compared with 68 percent of children of natives in Maryland. The likelihood of living with both parents varied across immigrant origin (figure 9). More than 90 percent of children from Mexican, Middle Eastern, South Asian, and East Asian origins lived with both parents, while children with African and West Indian parents were the least likely to live with both parents (72 percent).

Figure 9. Children of Immigrants in Two-Parent Families, by Low-Income Status and Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



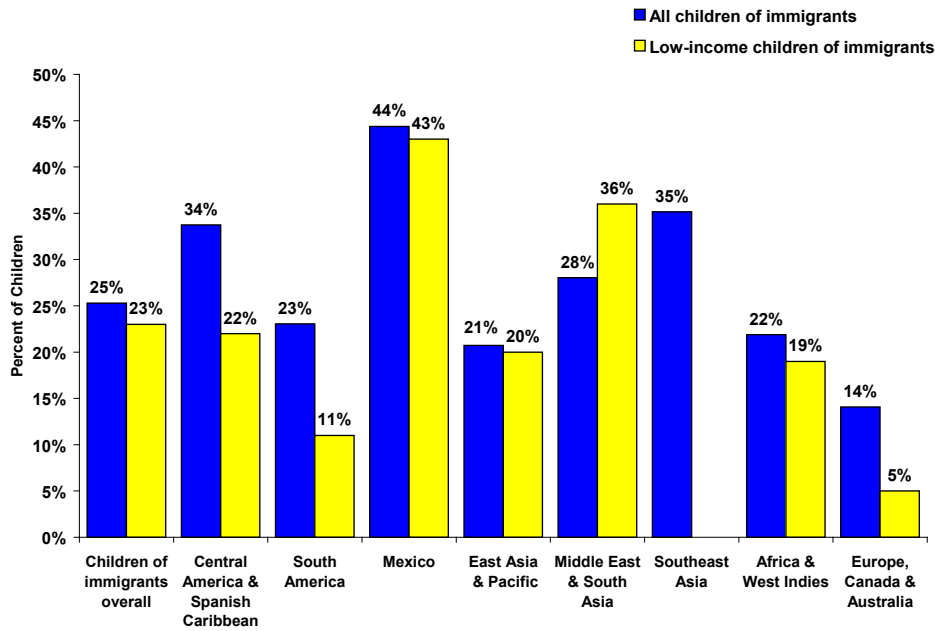
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. “Southeast Asia” is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number of respondents (<50) in the census survey data. “Mexico” and “Middle East and South Asia” for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents.

When only low-income families are considered, the gap in two-parent shares across nativity and parental origin widens. Low-income children of immigrants were nearly twice as likely as those of natives to live with both parents (69 percent versus 35 percent). More than three quarters of low-income children whose parents are from Mexico, the Middle East and South Asia, East Asia, and Europe lived with both parents (figure 9).

Children of immigrants are also more likely to live in extended families. Extended families can provide material and other support to children, such as assistance in raising younger children so that their parents can work full-time and hold more stable jobs. Living with relatives, however, can also be linked to economic necessity and material hardship (e.g., overcrowded housing). In 2006, 25 percent of children of immigrants in comparison to 14 percent of children of natives lived with three or more related adults. Similarly, children of immigrants in low-income families were more than twice as likely as children of natives to live with three or more adults (23 percent versus 11 percent). Children with Mexican parents, the most likely to be low-income, were the most likely to live in large households (44 percent, figure 10). Children with European parents, among the least likely to be low-income, were also the least likely to live in large households (14 percent). Thus, living in large families appears to be correlated with children’s low-income status, which suggests that housing affordability and the need for more wage earners partially explain the larger families for children of immigrants.

Figure 10. Children of Immigrants Living with Three or More Related Adults, by Low-Income Status and Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



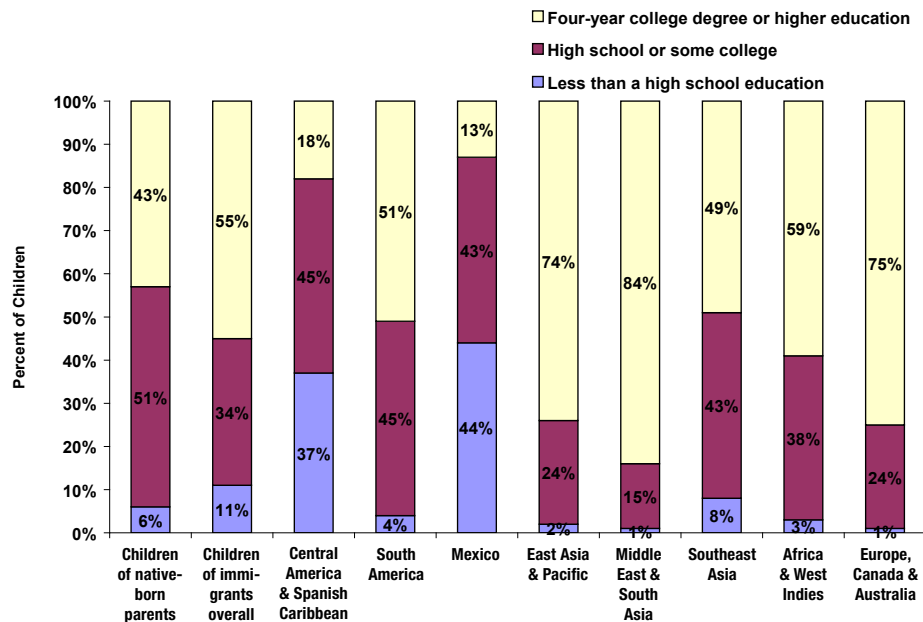
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. “Southeast Asia” is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number (<50) of respondents in the census survey data. “Mexico” and “Middle East and South Asia” for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents.

Immigrant parents are better educated in Maryland than nationally, although there are large variations across origin. Nationally, immigrants are more likely than the native population to be concentrated at both the low and high end of the educational distribution. This is true in Maryland, but this tendency is more pronounced, especially at the high end of the distribution. In 2006, children of immigrants in Maryland were more likely than children of natives to have parents with four-year college degrees or more advanced education (55 percent versus 43 percent, figure 11). In addition, children of immigrants in Maryland were more likely to have college-educated parents than were children of immigrants in the entire nation (55 percent versus 30 percent). In fact, Maryland ranked third among all states in the college completion rate for immigrant parents, behind Vermont and North Dakota (63 and 60 percent, respectively).¹⁵ As was the case nationally, children of immigrants in Maryland also were more likely than children of natives to have parents who had not completed high school (11 percent versus 6 percent). But, a larger share of children nationally (26 percent) had immigrant parents who had not completed high school.

The overall picture masks differences in educational attainment across immigrant groups. The majority of children of Middle Eastern and South Asian (84 percent), East Asian (74 percent), and African and Caribbean (59 percent) origin had college-educated parents, in comparison to only 13 percent of children of Mexican origin and 18 percent of children of Central American origin. At the other end of the spectrum, large shares of children of Mexican origin (44 percent) and Central American origin (37 percent) had parents who did not have a high school education or the equivalent.

Figure 11. Children by Educational Level of Parents and Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



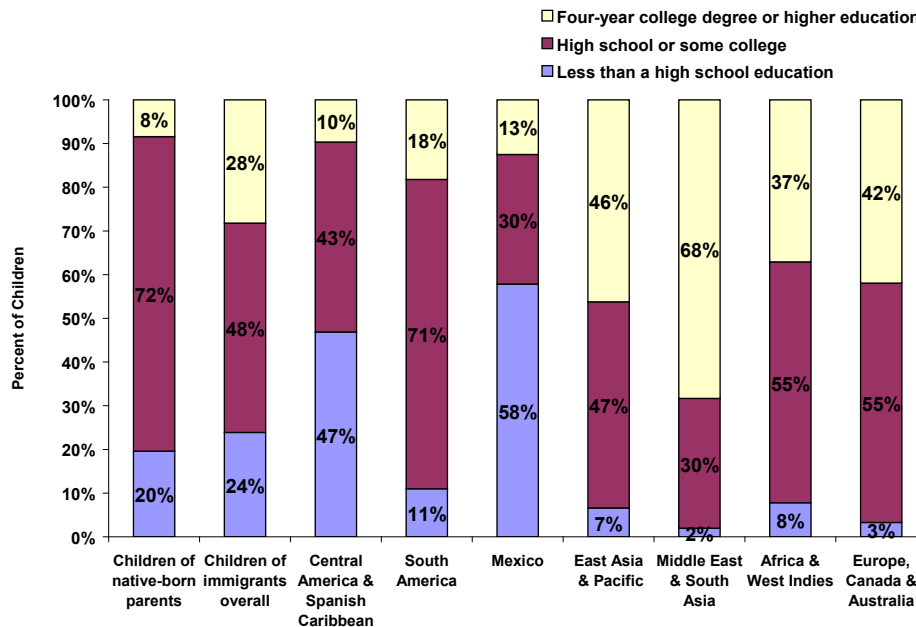
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

¹⁵ Both North Dakota and Vermont have very small populations of children of immigrants (less than 10,000 children each).

Low-income immigrant parents are much more likely than low-income native parents to have college degrees. Among low-income children, the gap in parental college completion rates across nativity widens. Low-income children of immigrants were more than three times as likely as low-income children of natives to have college-educated parents (28 percent versus 8 percent, figure 12). Children from some immigrant origin groups had college-educated parents in greater percentages: the Middle East and South Asia (68 percent), East Asia (46 percent), Europe (42 percent), and Africa and the West Indies (37 percent). The high college-educated shares for these immigrant groups indicate that educational status alone does not explain the low-income status of children from these immigrant groups. Underemployment of some immigrant parents—i.e., employment in occupations that do not take full advantage of their education and job skills—may be part of the explanation, especially among African parents (Batalova, Fix, and Creticos 2008).

Low-income children of immigrants were more than twice as likely as children of immigrants overall to have parents with less than a high school education (24 percent versus 11 percent). A majority of low-income children of Mexican origin (58 percent) and almost half of those of Central American origin (47 percent) had parents without a high school education, while the shares with parents without a high school education were very low for all of the remaining immigrant groups.

Figure 12. Low-Income Children by Educational Level of Parents and Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. “Southeast Asia” is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number of respondents (<50) in the census survey data. “Mexico” and “Middle East and South Asia” for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents.

Immigrant parents in Maryland are less likely than immigrant parents nationwide to be Limited English Proficient, but English skills vary by immigrant origin and low-income status.

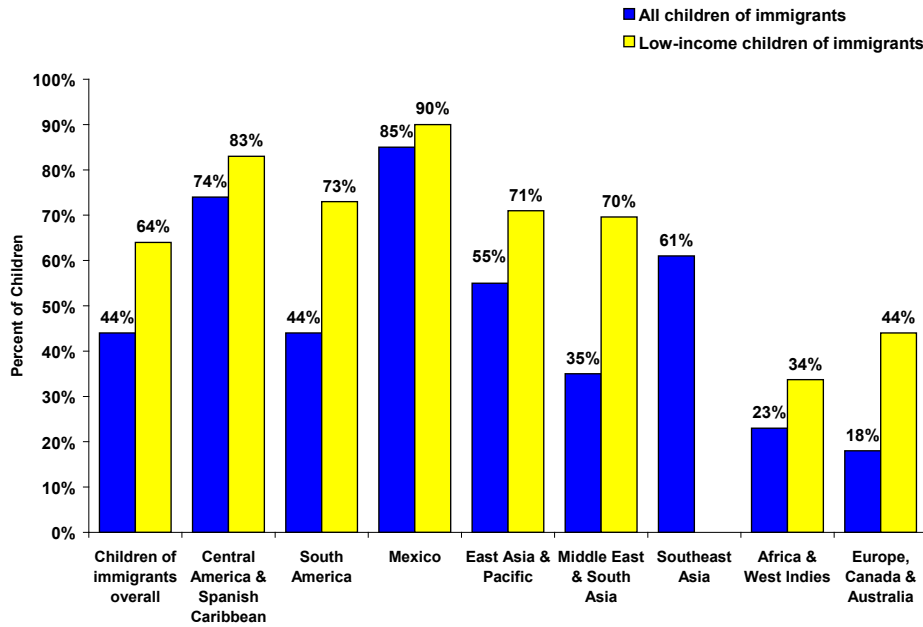
Lack of English-language skills is a barrier for higher-skilled and higher-paying jobs, access to public and private institutions, and involvement in civil and social life. Limited English Proficient (LEP) parents are also unable to interact with teachers in their children's schools and are less able to help their children with homework.¹⁶ Thus, having LEP parents and living in linguistically isolated households are risk factors for poverty, economic hardship, and poor performance in school (Hernandez 2004). In Maryland, 44 percent of children of immigrants had at least one LEP parent. This share was significantly lower than the national share (61 percent). Only eight states—Connecticut, Alaska, North Dakota, New Hampshire, Maine, Montana, West Virginia, and Vermont—had smaller shares of children with LEP parents.

The LEP share, however, varied by immigrant origin, with children of Latin American and Asian origins being most at risk because of their parents' inability to speak English well. Children of Mexican origin (85 percent) and Central American origin (74 percent) were the most likely to have LEP parents (figure 13). Similarly, a majority of children of Southeast Asian origin (61 percent) and East Asian origin (55 percent) had LEP parents.

Children of immigrants in low-income families were more likely than children of immigrants overall to have LEP parents (64 percent versus 44 percent, figure 13). This is not surprising, given the strong correlation between English proficiency and immigrant earnings (Chiswick and Miller 2002). With the exception of children of European and African origin, more than two-thirds of children in low-income immigrant families had LEP parents. Almost all low-income children of Mexican origin (90 percent) and Central American origin (83 percent) had LEP parents. Almost three-quarters of low-income children of East Asian (71 percent), South American (73 percent), and Middle Eastern and South Asian origin (70 percent) had LEP parents.

¹⁶ Limited English Proficient people reported that they speak a language other than English at home and speak English well, not well, or not at all. Those who speak English at home or speak another language but also speak English very well are considered English proficient. English proficiency is not recorded for children under age 5 in the census data.

Figure 13. Children of Immigrants with LEP Parents, by Low-Income Status and Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. “Southeast Asia” is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number of respondents (<50) in the census survey data. “Mexico” and “Middle East and South Asia” for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents.

Difficulties accessing work, services, and social institutions may be more pronounced in linguistically isolated households—those in which no person age 14 or older is English proficient.¹⁷ In 2006, 18 percent of children of immigrants in Maryland lived in linguistically isolated households. In some of these households, a child was the only person speaking English; 14 percent of children lived in families where the parents were LEP and only the child was English proficient. The share of children in linguistically isolated households was higher for low-income children of immigrants (29 percent).

¹⁷ All members of linguistically isolated households are considered linguistically isolated even if such households include English-proficient children under age 14.

Implications. The high incidence of intact two-parent families is an important protective factor for children of immigrants (Capps et al. 2004; Shields and Behrman 2004; Hernandez 2004). A two-parent family is generally associated with better socioemotional and cognitive development and better school outcomes (Moore, Jekielek, and Emig 2002; Vandivere, Moore, and Brown 2000). Living with both parents and extended family members also provides many social and economic benefits for immigrants, such as sharing of material resources and child-raising responsibilities. For example, grandparents and other relatives often provide inexpensive and informal child care. However, living with extended families also could reflect material hardship and negatively affect children (e.g., in terms of overcrowded housing conditions or limited parental involvement). Children who receive informal child care from parents or relatives may not attain the same level of school readiness as do children who attend formal center-based child care. For instance, children of immigrants may not develop the English language skills needed for school if they are cared for in a non-English-speaking home environment (Takanishi 2004; Taut et al. 2001).

Overall, children of immigrants in Maryland have parents with high levels of educational attainment and English proficiency, compared with children of immigrants in the entire nation (and, in the case of college completion, with children of natives in Maryland). Highly educated parents are generally expected to earn higher incomes—when they are not underemployed—and their families are less likely than families with less-educated parents to use public assistance. Thus, the family characteristics of children of immigrants in Maryland on average do not appear to place these children at a significant disadvantage vis-à-vis children of natives in terms of school readiness and academic performance. English proficient and highly educated parents also are better able to help their children with homework and to interact with educational and other social institutions relevant for their children's well-being (Hernandez 2004).

However, a large number of children of immigrants in Maryland have parents who have not completed high school and/or are LEP. The most vulnerable children in Maryland include those of Mexican and Central American origin and to a lesser extent those of Southeast Asian and East Asian origin whose parents are LEP. Lower parental education, low parental English proficiency, and linguistic isolation are associated with poverty and other material hardship, less access to health care and social services, and adverse child development outcomes such as poor health and lower cognitive development (Hernandez 2004; Rawlings et al. 2007; Van Hook, Brown, and Kwenda 2004). All of these factors place children of immigrants at higher risk for poor academic performance and poor educational outcomes (Crosnoe 2006; Glick and Hohmann-Marriott 2007).

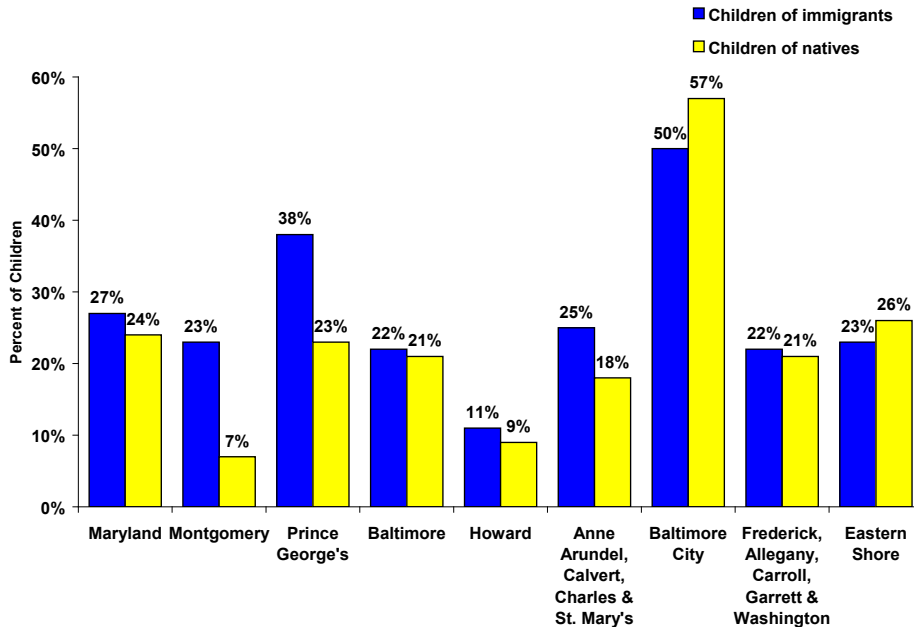
Economic Well-being of Immigrant Families and Children

The poverty rate is lower for children of immigrants than for children of natives, but children of immigrants more often live in low-income families. Maryland children of immigrants were slightly less likely than children of natives to be poor in 2006 (7 percent versus 9 percent), and the difference was statistically significant. The Maryland poverty rate for children of immigrants was far lower than the national rate of 22 percent—in 2006, Maryland had the third lowest state poverty rate for children of immigrants (North Dakota and Vermont had the lowest rates). Children of immigrants, on the other hand, were slightly more likely than natives to live in low-income families (27 percent versus 24 percent).

Given their low poverty rate, children of immigrants accounted for 15 percent of poor children in Maryland, lower than their share of all children (19 percent). However, children of immigrants were overrepresented among children in low-income families (21 percent), reflecting their higher low-income rate.

The low-income rate is highest in Baltimore City, followed by Prince George’s County. The geographic income pattern was generally the same for children of immigrants and natives, with Baltimore City by far having the highest low-income rates for both groups—50 percent and 57 percent, respectively (figure 14). However, Baltimore City had a small number of children of immigrants (11,000), so the number of low-income children of immigrants was much smaller than that in other jurisdictions, especially Prince George’s and Montgomery counties. Prince George’s County, with the second largest population of children of immigrants in the state, had the second highest share (38 percent) of low-income children. With the exception of Montgomery County, the other counties had low-income rates for children of immigrants that were below the statewide average and were comparable to the rates of children of natives. Montgomery County, which had the lowest low-income rate (7 percent) for children of natives, had a much higher rate (23 percent) for children of immigrants, which was near the statewide average. Thus, the largest numbers of low-income children of immigrants were in Prince George’s and Montgomery counties (48,000).

Figure 14. Children in Low-Income Families, by County or County Group, Maryland, 2006

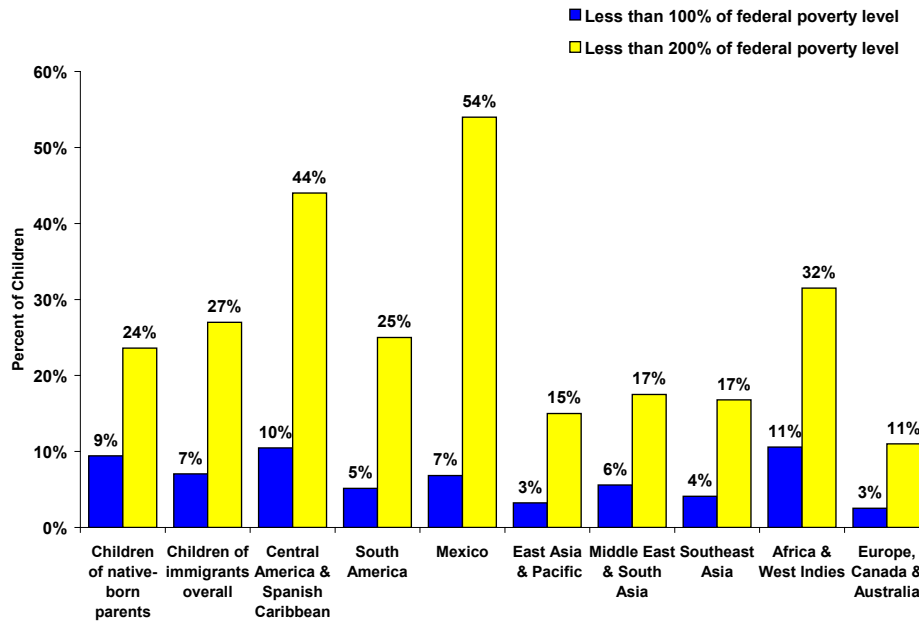


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.
 Note: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level.

Low-income rates are highest for children of Mexican and Central American origin. Eleven percent of children with African and West Indian parents and 10 percent of children with Central American parents were poor. The lowest poverty rates (3 percent) were experienced by children with European and East Asian parents (figure 15), most likely because these parents had some of the highest educational attainment rates and English language skills. Children of Southeast Asian origin also had a low poverty rate (4 percent), which can be attributed to their parents’ refugee status and subsequent eligibility for public assistance and other services. Not surprisingly, high educational attainment and English skills of parents were factors associated with lower poverty for children of immigrants.

Fifty-four percent of children with Mexican parents and 44 percent of children with Central American parents were low-income (figure 15), four to five times as high as for children with European parents (11 percent). A relatively high share (32 percent) of children with African parents were also low-income. Among children of Latin American immigrants, the relatively low incomes appear related to low parental education and low English proficiency. But these factors do not appear to explain the low incomes of children of African origin because their parents are better educated and have better English language skills. These high low-income shares most likely are connected to the relatively lower incidence of two-parent families (72 percent) for African immigrants or underemployment in lower-skilled and lower-paying jobs (Batalova et al. 2008).

Figure 15. Children in Poor and Low-Income Families, by Parental Nativity and Origin, Maryland, 2006

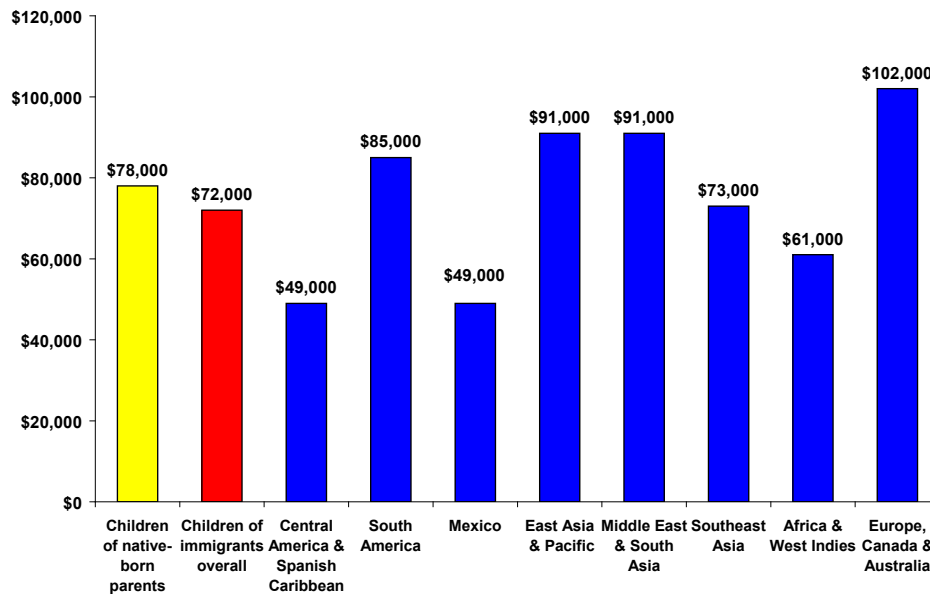


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level.

Immigrant family incomes are comparable to family incomes of natives, but they vary widely by origin. In Maryland, the 2005 median family income for children of immigrants was almost as high as the family income for children of natives—\$72,000 versus \$78,000—but income varied significantly across immigrant origins (figure 16). Children of European origin had a median family income of \$102,000, more than twice as high as the median family income for children of Mexican and Central American origin (\$49,000). The family income for children with parents from East Asia and Pacific (\$91,000), the Middle East and South Asia (\$91,000), and South America (\$85,000) also exceeded the median family income for children of natives.

Figure 16. Median Family Income, by Parental Nativity and Origin, Maryland, 2005



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: Numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand.

Immigrant family incomes increase with education, English proficiency, and time in the United States. The variation in family income among children of immigrants follows patterns for parental education, English proficiency, and time in the United States (appendix table 4). Median family income was \$40,000 when parents had less than a high school education, but more than twice as high (\$96,000) when parents had at least a four-year college degree.

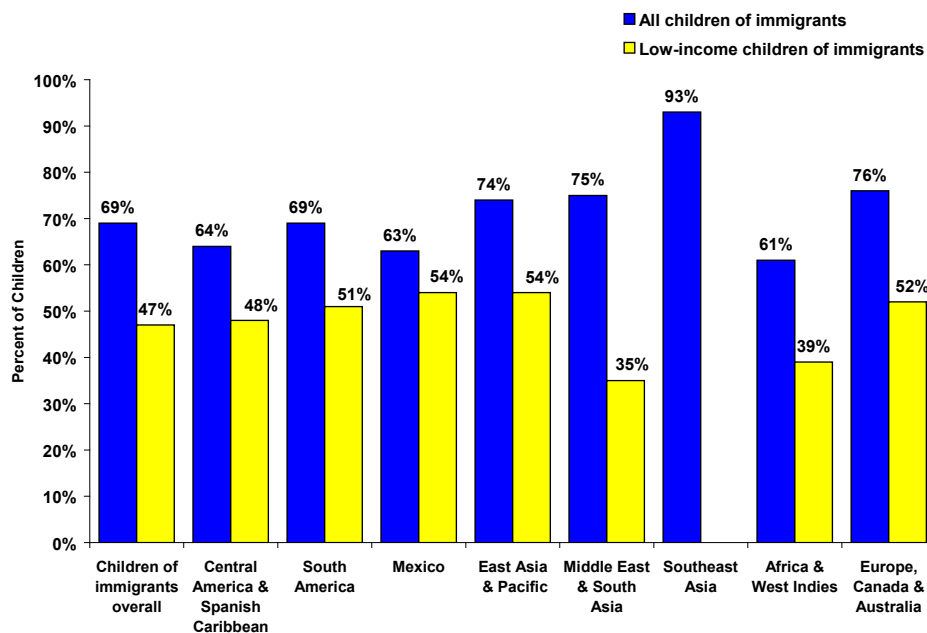
The variation in family income shows that immigrant parents earn more than natives when they lack a high school diploma but earn less than natives when they have obtained a college degree. In 2006, family income was nearly equivalent for children of both immigrants and natives (\$53,000 versus \$56,000) when parents had completed high school but not college. But, among children with parents who had not completed high school, family income was 1.5 times *higher* for children of immigrants than for children of natives (\$40,000 versus \$27,000). For those with college-educated parents, the pattern was the opposite: children of immigrants had significantly *lower* family incomes than did children of natives (\$96,000 versus \$114,000).

Higher incidence of two parents and more adults in immigrant families could partly explain why, at the lower end of the educational distribution, their income is higher than that of native families. At the higher end of the educational spectrum, limited English skills, less experience in the U.S. labor market, and structural barriers (e.g., underemployment), could help explain the relatively *lower* incomes of immigrant families. For one thing, there is a clear association between English proficiency and family income, which was considerably higher for children with English-proficient parents than for children with LEP parents (\$89,000 versus \$53,000). The income premium for parental English proficiency was \$8,000 among children whose parents had less than a high school education (\$58,000 versus \$50,000). The income premium was four times as high for children with college-educated parents (\$106,000 versus \$73,000). Thus, both parental education and English skills are highly correlated with economic well-being, and language ability matters more at higher levels of educational attainment than at lower levels.

Research shows that over time immigrants usually acquire U.S.-specific human capital, such as English skills and knowledge of the labor market, and their incomes rise (Chiswick and Miller 2002; Toussaint-Comeau 2006). Family incomes of children in Maryland clearly increase with the time their parents have spent in the United States. Children whose parents had more than 20 years of U.S. residency had twice the family income of those whose parents had less than 10 years of residency (\$97,000 versus \$50,000).

Homeownership is comparable for immigrant and native families. In 2006, 69 percent of children of immigrants and 72 percent of children of natives lived in households that owned their home. Nationally, a smaller share, 58 percent of children of immigrants, lived in homes their families owned. Maryland ranked eighth among all states in home ownership for immigrant families. West Virginia had the highest share of children of immigrants living in family-owned homes (78 percent), but West Virginia has a very small immigrant population. When only low-income families are considered, children of immigrants fare much better in terms of family home ownership than children of natives fare (47 percent versus 35 percent).

There is not as much variation in home ownership by parental origin as in other indicators discussed in this report. More than 60 percent of children in all origin groups lived in owned homes, with the highest rate for children with Southeast Asian parents (93 percent, figure 17). In addition, almost two-thirds of children of Mexican and Central American origins—the two groups most likely to be low-income—lived in family-owned homes, just below the rate for children of natives. Further, among low-income children of immigrants, almost all origin groups had family homeownership rates close to or above 50 percent, compared with just 35 percent for children of natives.

Figure 17. Children of Immigrants Living in Family-Owned Homes, by Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: “Low-income” children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. “Southeast Asia” is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number of respondents (<50) in the census survey data. “Mexico” and “Middle East and South Asia” for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents.

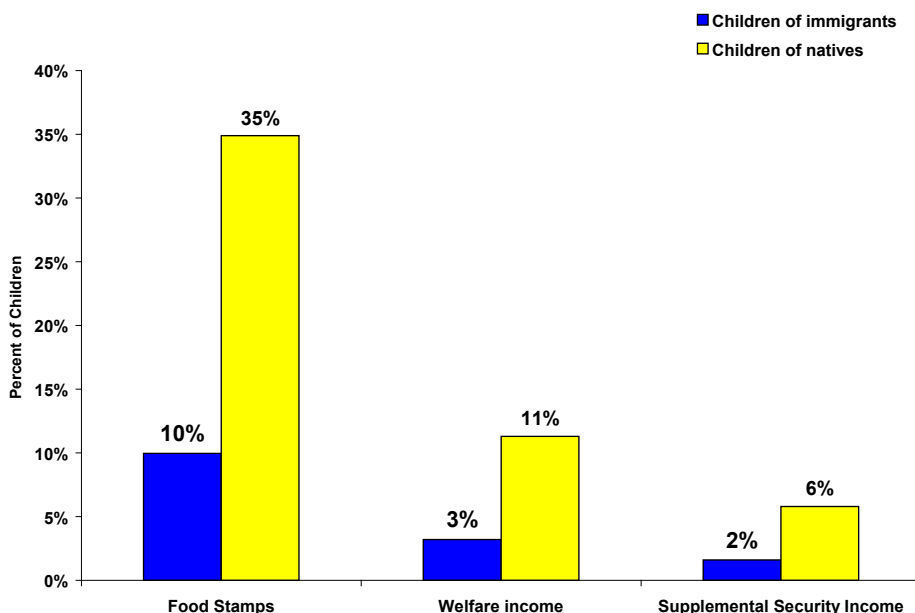
Crowded housing is rare among Maryland children of immigrants. Crowded housing is a concern related to the incidence of low-income children living in big families. The census defines crowded housing as a household with more than two people per bedroom. In 2006, only 3 percent of children of immigrants in Maryland lived in crowded housing compared with 1 percent of children of natives. The national rate for children of immigrants was more than twice as high at 7 percent. Children with Mexican parents in Maryland were the only group with a significant crowding rate (27 percent); all other immigrant groups had rates at or below 5 percent. The crowded housing rates for children in low-income families were higher than those for children overall—8 percent for children of immigrants and 3 percent for children of natives. Children of immigrants in low-income families appear to be experiencing some housing hardships as a result of their families’ lower incomes and the relatively high cost of housing in the state.

Immigrant families are less likely to receive public benefits. Maryland’s children of immigrants were less likely than children of natives to participate in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as the Food Stamp Program (FSP), than children of natives. In 2006, 5 percent of children of immigrants lived in households where the child or another family member received food stamps, versus 10 percent of natives. Children of immigrants also were less likely than children of natives to live in families who received income from welfare—Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) or Maryland General Assistance (1 percent versus 3 percent). The same share of children of immigrants lived in families receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) as children of natives (2 percent).

The difference in benefits use between children of immigrants and natives widens when only low-income families are considered. Thirty-five percent of low-income children of natives versus only 10 percent of low-income children of immigrants lived in households receiving food stamps (figure 18). Similarly, the welfare use rate was more than three times as high for low-income children of natives as for children of immigrants (11 percent versus 3 percent), and the SSI use rate was three times as high for low-income children of natives as for children of immigrants (6 percent versus 2 percent).

Lower rates of public benefits use in immigrant families may be partially explained by restrictions on eligibility. While native-born children of immigrants are eligible for all public benefits because they are U.S. citizens, immigrant children and parents may face restrictions on public benefits that depend on their legal status and tenure in the United States. For example, all legal immigrant children are eligible for food stamps, but most legal immigrants age 18 and older who have less than five years of U.S. residency and all unauthorized immigrant children and adults are ineligible for the program (Henderson, Capps, and Finegold 2008; Fix and Passel 2002). In addition, noncitizen parents may be reluctant to interact with government agencies because of fear of adverse immigration consequences (such as deportation or inability to gain citizenship), even when their citizen children are eligible for the benefits. There may be further barriers, such as lack of English language skills, to accessing public services (Holcomb et al. 2003; Shields and Behrman 2004). Eligibility restrictions, lack of knowledge, and reluctance to participate may be factors in the significantly lower benefits use by immigrant families in comparison to native families, even though immigrant families are more likely to be low-income.

Figure 18. Public Benefits Receipt for Low-Income Children, by Parental Nativity, Maryland, 2006



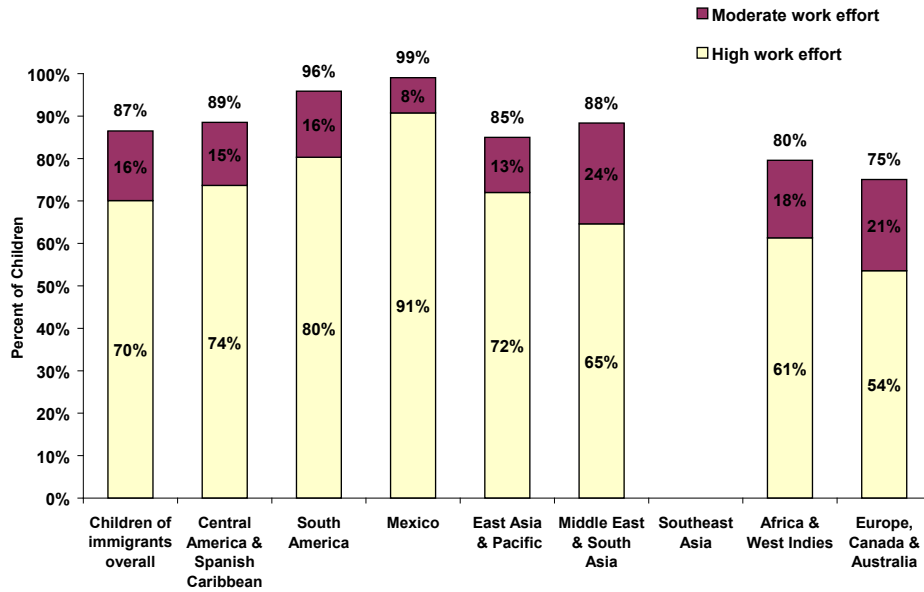
Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Notes: "Low-income" children live in families with incomes below twice the federal poverty level. Income from welfare refers to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and/or General Assistance payments.

Work effort is relatively high in immigrant families. Ninety-five percent of children of immigrants lived in working families (defined as families in which the adults worked a combined 1,800 or more hours in the prior 12 months), compared with 91 percent for children of natives.¹⁸ Moreover, 88 percent of children of immigrants had families with high work effort (families in which at least one or more adults worked 1,800 or more hours each), which is similar to the share for children of natives (85 percent). Virtually all children with Mexican parents (99 percent) lived in working families. Parental work rates also are very high for children with South American and Southeast Asian parents (98 percent each) and for children with Middle Eastern and South Asian parents (97 percent).

The immigrant versus native difference in work effort is significantly larger when only low-income families are considered. Low-income children of immigrants were significantly more likely than children of natives to live in working families: 87 percent versus 68 percent. Remarkably, almost all low-income children with Mexican parents (99 percent) lived in working families, and 91 percent of these children had at least one parent working full-time for the full year (figure 19). Large shares of children of South American (80 percent) and Central American origin (74 percent) also had families with high work effort. Low-income children of European origin were the least likely to have families with high work effort (54 percent), but the high-effort shares for all other immigrant groups were higher than the share for children of natives (55 percent).

Figure 19. Low-Income Children of Immigrants in Working Families, by Parental Origin, Maryland, 2006



Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

Note: "Southeast Asia" is not displayed for low-income children because of the small number of respondents (<50) in the census survey data. "Mexico" and "Middle East and South Asia" for the low-income group had fewer than 100 respondents. Family work effort is classified as "high" if any adult reports at least 1,800 hours of work in the prior year—approximately equal to 35 hours of work a week for 52 weeks in the year; and as "moderate" if adults average at least 1,000 hours or the total hours worked is at least 1,800 hours, but no adult reports 1,800 hours of work in the prior year.

¹⁸ Family work effort is classified as "high" if any adult reports at least 1,800 hours of work in the prior year—approximately equal to 35 hours of work a week for 52 weeks in the year. Family work effort is classified as "moderate" if adults average at least 1,000 hours or the hours worked total at least 1,800 hours, but no adult reports 1,800 hours of work in the prior year. (Acs and Nichols 2005).

Implications. Children of immigrants in Maryland overall do as well as or better than children of natives do on indicators of poverty, family income, and home ownership. In addition, children of immigrants are less likely than children of natives to use public benefits, including food stamps and TANF. As expected, the immigrant groups with the highest educational attainment and English skills—children with European, Middle Eastern, and South Asian parents—fare the best on these economic indicators. Children with parents from Southeast Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, and South America also fare well despite having LEP parents.

Children with parents from Mexico and South America, and, to a lesser extent, African parents, are more likely than children from other immigrant groups to be in low-income families. Factors associated with lower family incomes include having parents that are recent immigrants, LEP, or that have less formal education. In the case of children with parents of African origin, single parenthood, as well as underemployment (despite high skills and generally high English proficiency), leads to lower incomes for their families.

It is encouraging to note that immigrant family incomes rise with U.S. residency, education, and language skills. This outcome suggests that adult education, language, and job skills training for immigrant parents can help raise family incomes and improve economic prospects.

Family and work supports that increase parental employment and raise incomes may be especially important for low-income immigrant families with children. The 1996 welfare reform law imposed restrictions on immigrants' eligibility for federal public benefits, which led to dramatic decreases in public benefits use among immigrants, even though some restrictions were subsequently lifted and citizen children remained eligible for all programs (Fix and Passel 2002; Henderson et al. 2008; Shields and Behrman 2004). In some states, state and local governments have stepped in to fill the need to varying degrees (Fix and Passel 2002; Broder 2007). Moreover, many immigrant parents are still afraid or reluctant to apply for public benefits, so improvements in outreach and access to TANF, SNAP, Medicaid, and other programs are still needed.

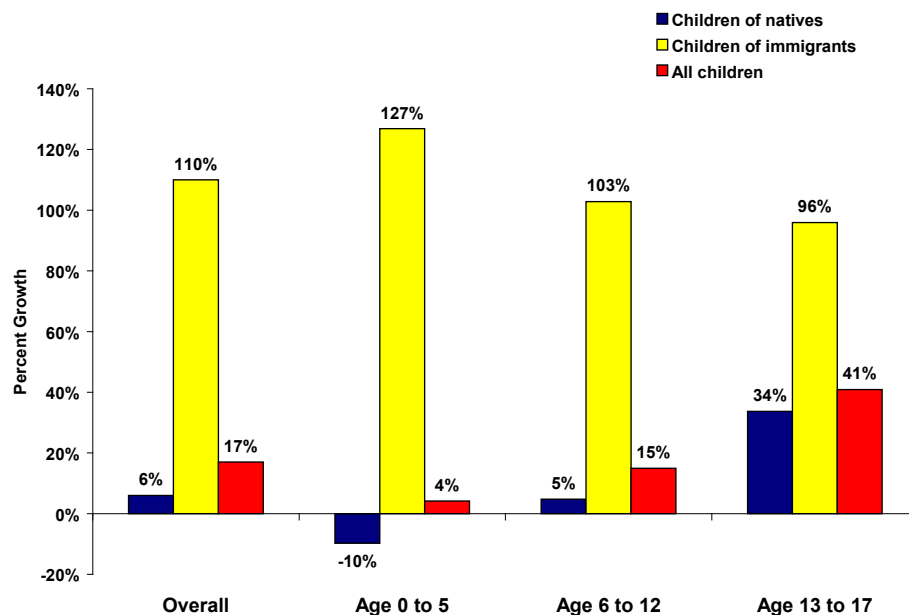
Given that immigrant families, including low-income families, have high levels of work effort, policies that aim to increase employment might not be sufficient. Programs that improve access to affordable child care, provide better public transportation and access to driver's licenses, and help parents obtain better paying jobs with employer-provided benefits and stable work schedules, are also needed.

IMMIGRATION AND MARYLAND'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Immigration Is Driving Diversity of Public School Population

Immigration is driving the growth in Maryland's child population, and this trend is likely to continue in the future, as the fastest growth has been among the youngest children. In Maryland and in the nation as a whole, young children of immigrants were overrepresented among the child population: 24 percent of children age 0 to 2 and 20 percent of children age 3 to 5 had immigrant parents, in comparison to 19 percent of children overall.¹⁹ Between 1990 and 2006, the number of young children (age 0 to 5) with immigrant parents increased the most, by 127 percent (figure 20). In sharp contrast, the number of young children of natives declined by 10 percent. The number of young children overall increased by 4 percent, and there would have been a net drop without births to immigrant parents. The number of children of immigrants of all ages grew by 110 percent, accounting for two thirds of the total growth in the child population in the state of 17 percent. Similarly, the number of all school-age children (3 to 17) in Maryland increased by 20 percent between 1990 and 2006, and children of immigrants accounted for half (53 percent) of that growth.

Figure 20. Percent Growth in Number of Children, by Age Group, Maryland, 1990 to 2006

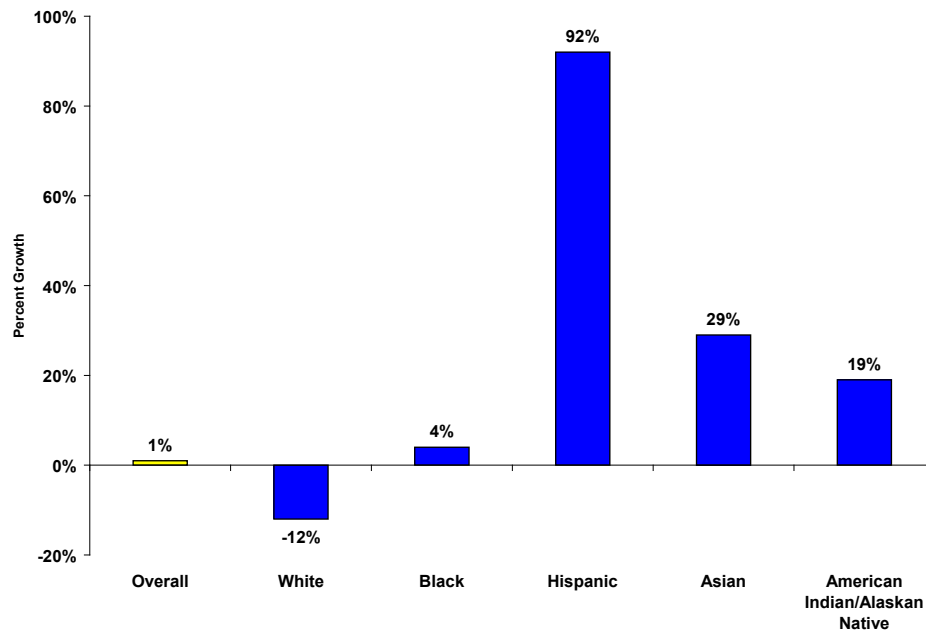


Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the IPUMS datasets from the 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 5 percent sample, and the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey.

¹⁹ The 2006 shares for older children were 18 percent for children age 6 to 12 and 16 percent for children age 13 to 17.

Hispanic student enrollment almost doubled in public schools while white student enrollment declined. Trends in public school enrollment of racial and ethnic groups follow the trends of growth in the child population. Analyses of the public school population are based on MSDE enrollment data.²⁰ Between 2000 and 2007, overall enrollment in Maryland public schools increased by only 1 percent and would have fallen without the growth in the number of minority students. The number of Hispanic students (native- and foreign-born) enrolled in grades pre-K to 12 increased the fastest, by 92 percent (figure 21). Enrollment of Asian students increased more slowly (by 29 percent). The number of black students increased modestly (by 4 percent), while the number of white students declined by 12 percent.

Figure 21. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment, by Race and Ethnicity, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

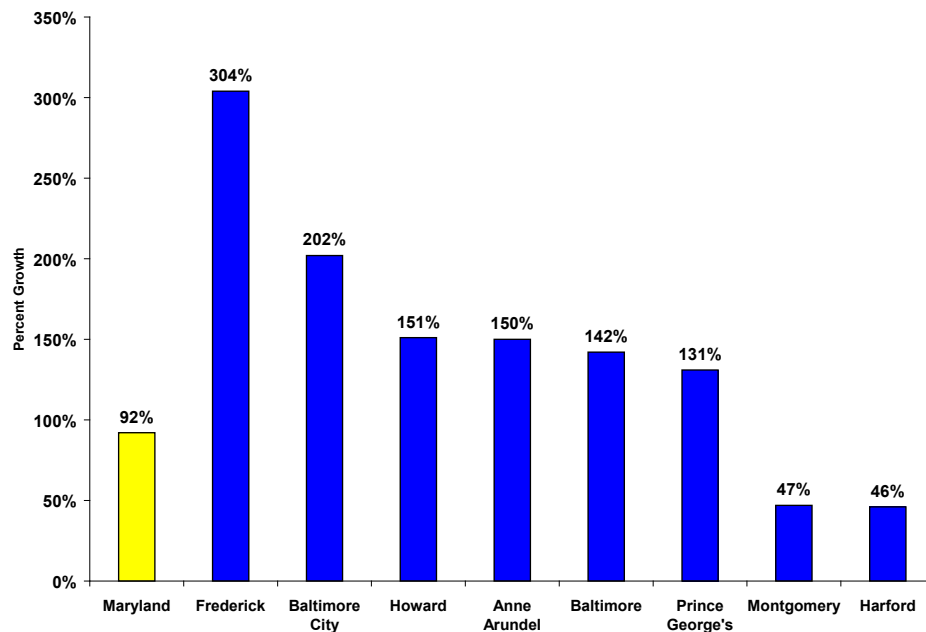


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

²⁰ Schools do not collect information on the nativity of students or their parents. Statistics drawn from MSDE are presented here by race and ethnicity. Statistics on children of immigrants presented in the previous sections were drawn from census data, which include information on nativity of children and parents.

Hispanic public school enrollment doubled or tripled in many counties. Hispanic enrollment grew the fastest in Frederick County, where the number of students increased four times from 2000 and 2007 (figure 22). The increase in Frederick County, however, was small in absolute numbers (2,200 students, see appendix table 5). Prince George's County had the largest absolute increase in the number of Hispanic students (11,700), followed by Montgomery County (9,100). The jurisdictions with the fastest growth had small Hispanic student populations (under 1,000)—Washington, Carroll, Calvert, Wicomico, Charles, and Cecil. Hispanic enrollment more than doubled in a dozen larger counties, including Prince George's, Howard, Anne Arundel, and Baltimore. Hispanic enrollment grew faster in secondary schools than in elementary schools across the state—107 percent versus 83 percent (see appendix table 6)—and in the largest counties (Montgomery, Prince George's, Howard, and Baltimore). But in Anne Arundel and some of the smaller, faster growing counties, Hispanic enrollment gains were greater in elementary schools than in secondary schools.

Figure 22. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment of Hispanic Students for Selected Counties, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

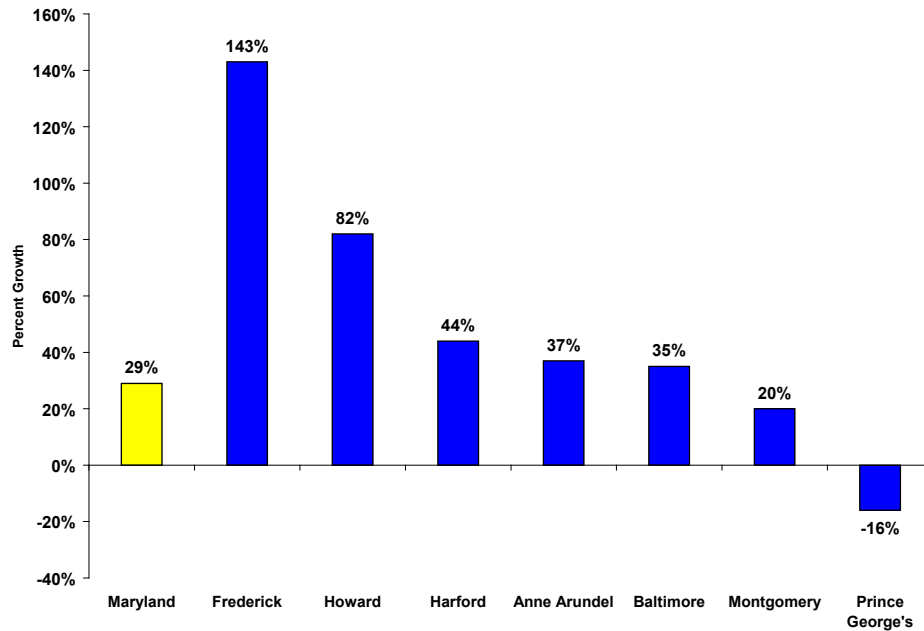


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

Asian enrollment grew in most parts of Maryland but more slowly than Hispanic enrollment.

As with Hispanic enrollment, Asian enrollment increased the fastest in Frederick County between 2000 and 2007 (143 percent, figure 23). In a few school districts with large numbers of Asian students in 2000, the growth rate was higher than the state average of 29 percent—82 percent in Howard County, 37 percent in Anne Arundel County, and 35 percent in Baltimore County. Asian enrollment in Montgomery County increased more slowly (20 percent), but the absolute increase was the largest in the state (3,400, see appendix table 7). Prince George's County experienced a decline in Asian enrollment that was primarily driven by a decline in elementary school enrollment (see appendix table 8).

Figure 23. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment of Asian Students for Selected Counties, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

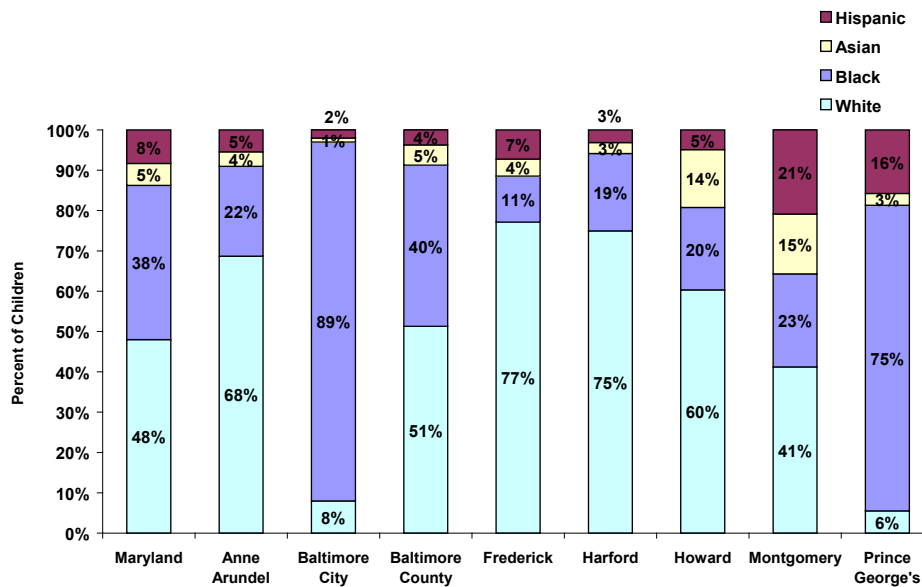


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

White students are no longer a majority in Maryland public schools. As a result of the large growth in Maryland public school enrollment of minority and immigrant students, the white share of students statewide, 54 percent in 2000, fell to 48 percent in 2007. The representation of students from all the other major racial and ethnic groups rose during this period: the Hispanic share increased from 4 to 8 percent, the Asian share from 4 to 5 percent, and the black share from 37 to 38 percent. The race and ethnic distribution, however, was not even across the state.

In 2007, the Hispanic share of students was highest in Montgomery (21 percent) and Prince George's counties (16 percent), far above the statewide average of 8 percent (figure 24). Asians represented 15 percent of students in Montgomery County and 14 percent of students in Howard County, while all the other counties stood at or below the statewide average of 5 percent. The three Maryland counties of the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area (Montgomery, Prince George's, and Howard) had the most ethnically diverse student populations in the state, with Montgomery County having no majority racial or ethnic group. Black enrollment comprised a majority of the student body in Baltimore City (89 percent) and Prince George's County (75 percent), while white enrollment remained the majority of the student population in all other counties.

Figure 24. Public School Enrollment, by Race and Ethnicity, for Selected Counties, Maryland, 2007



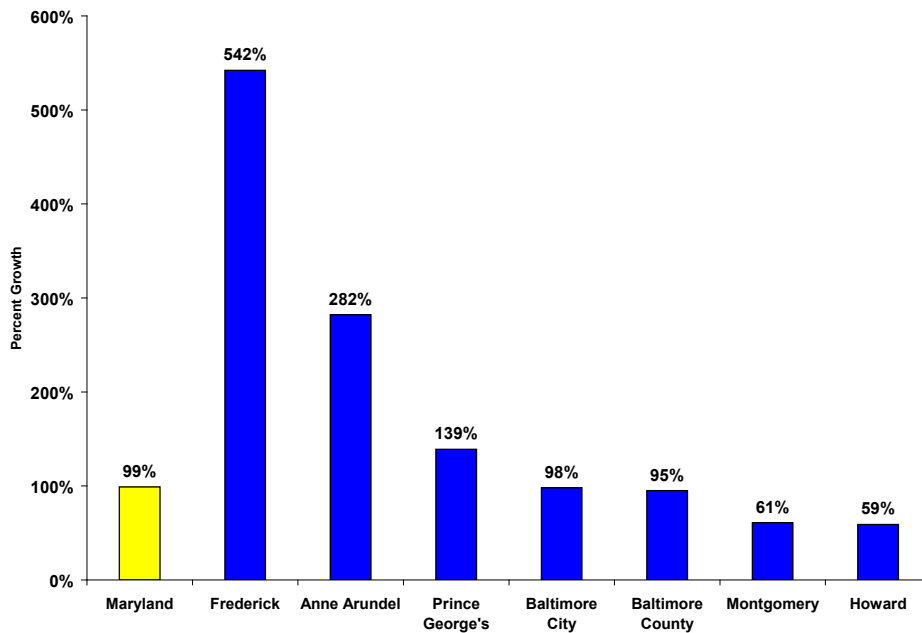
Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

Limited English Proficient student population doubled from 2000 to 2007. The increase in enrollment of children of immigrants in Maryland's public schools has generated a rapid rise in the share of students with limited English skills. According to MSDE definitions, LEP students speak a language other than English at home and are placed in English language learning programs in school after being assessed as having limited or no ability to understand, speak, read, or write English. The number of LEP students statewide doubled from 19,400 to 38,700 in just eight academic years (2000 through 2007).

The fastest growth in the LEP student population (more than 150 percent) occurred in Frederick, Anne Arundel, Charles, and Washington counties, but these increases were small in absolute terms (figure 25, appendix table 9). LEP enrollment expanded relatively more slowly in Montgomery County (61 percent), which had the largest LEP enrollment in 2000 and 2007. In Prince George's County, which also had a large LEP population, the number of LEP students increased more rapidly (139 percent). Together these two districts accounted for more than two-thirds of all LEP students in the state. Baltimore County had 3,300 LEP students or 9 percent of the statewide total, and all other districts reported 1,600 or fewer LEP students.²¹

²¹ These data are based on school district language assessment according to home language surveys and English tests, so the number of LEP students may be underreported (e.g., all students may not have been surveyed or tested); this underreporting would most likely occur in smaller districts with smaller LEP student populations.

Figure 25. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment of LEP Students for Selected Counties, Maryland, 2000 to 2007



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

Notes: MSDE defines LEP students as those who have a primary or home language other than English and have been assessed as having limited or no ability to understand, speak, read, or write English. LEP enrollment is reported as of the student's last day of enrollment in the school system—either the last day of school or the date of withdrawal. Total enrollment represents net enrollment in June.

Enrollment of LEP students in Maryland public schools was highest in the counties with the largest concentrations of children of immigrants: 10 percent of students in Montgomery County and 9 percent of students in Prince George's County were LEP. Statewide, 4 percent of public school students were LEP. The LEP student share in Frederick County was 4 percent and lower in the other districts—3 percent in Howard and Baltimore counties and 2 percent in Anne Arundel and Baltimore City counties.

LEP students represent high shares of students in some elementary schools. In 2007, there were 57 elementary schools in Maryland with high LEP enrollments, i.e., schools where LEP students accounted for at least 25 percent of the overall student population (see appendix table 10). Prince George's and Montgomery counties had the largest number of elementary schools with high LEP enrollments (29 and 24 schools, respectively). Eleven percent of elementary schools (105 schools) statewide had moderate LEP enrollments, i.e., those with LEP shares from 10 to 24 percent. More than half of moderate LEP elementary schools were located in Montgomery County (54 schools) and about a quarter in Prince George's County (24 schools). Smaller numbers of moderate LEP schools were located in Baltimore City and in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Frederick, and Howard counties. No middle schools or high schools had high LEP enrollments, but 12 middle schools and 9 high schools statewide had moderate LEP enrollments.

Implications. Children of immigrants accounted for half of the growth in Maryland's school-age population between 1990 and 2006. Rapid growth in the number of children of immigrants age 0 to 5 means that children of immigrants will continue to comprise increasing shares of the public school population for the near future. This growth also means that the diversity of Maryland's schools, driven by immigration, will increase in terms of larger shares of Hispanic, Asian, and LEP students. White students are now a minority share of all students statewide—as well as in Montgomery County, Prince George's County, and Baltimore City—and this trend is likely to continue in the future. Anne Arundel, Howard, and Baltimore counties also are seeing rapid changes in the composition of their student bodies.

About one in ten students in Montgomery and Prince George's counties are LEP and the trend of rising LEP shares is likely to continue. Other counties have smaller numbers of LEP students, but providing services to a small number of students can be costly and challenging for school districts that have little experience working with LEP students and immigrant parents. The fast growth of LEP students in Montgomery and Prince George's counties requires greater investment in English-language learning (ELL) programs. Greater investment in programs and services for Hispanic, Asian, and black students from immigrant, low-income, and disadvantaged families is also needed to help these students overcome barriers to academic achievement.

School Readiness and Performance

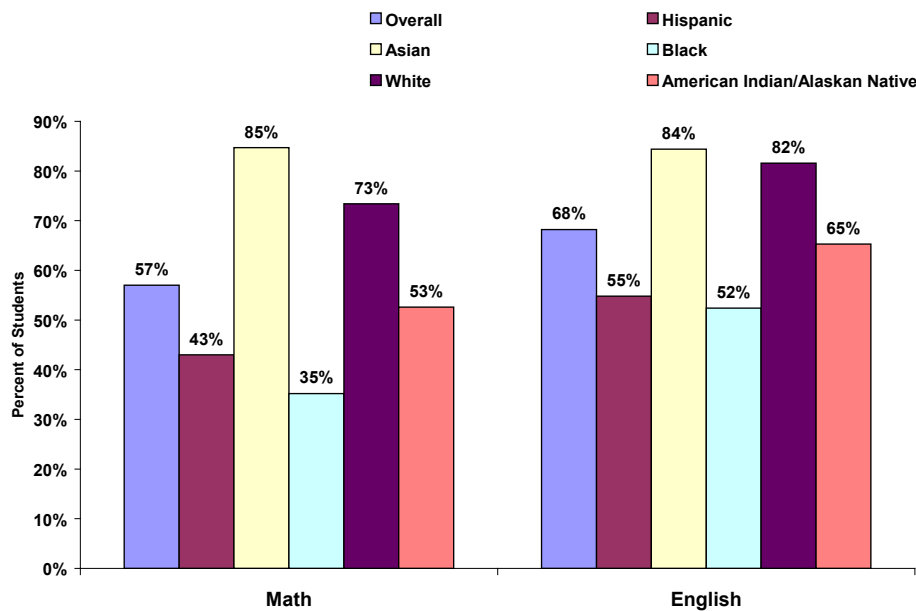
Children of immigrants are less likely to be enrolled in preschool. Lower enrollment in early education settings and having LEP parents who are less able to help with homework and participate in school activities could place children at a disadvantage later on in school (Hernandez 2004; Takanishi 2004). Fifty-seven percent of children of immigrants in the preschool age group (age 3 to 5) were attending preschool or kindergarten in 2006; this was significantly below the share for children of natives (63 percent). Hispanic children were the least likely to be enrolled in preschool—47 percent for children of immigrants and 51 percent for children of natives. Preschool and kindergarten enrollment was highest for Asian children in native families (69 percent), followed by white children in native families (66 percent). Among children of immigrants, black and white children had the highest rates (63 percent) of enrollment, while the rate for Asian children was slightly lower (60 percent).

Children of low-income immigrants had lower rates of preschool or kindergarten enrollment than children of immigrants overall (45 percent versus 57 percent). In addition, the enrollment gap with children of natives was larger for low-income children than children overall (11 versus 6 percentage points). Studies have shown that economically disadvantaged children have the most to gain from preschool attendance, so lower preschool enrollment for children in low-income families, especially those in immigrant families, requires attention (Magnuson, Ruhm, and Waldfogel, 2004).

Hispanic and black students are least prepared for high school and most likely to drop out. In 2007, Hispanic students (foreign- and native-born) in grade 8 had the second lowest scores (after black students on the Maryland School Assessment tests. Only 55 percent of Hispanic students and 52 percent of black students were assessed at the advanced or proficient level for grade 8 English, compared with 84 percent of Asian students and 82 percent of white students (figure 26). The trend was the same for math—only 43 percent of Hispanic students versus 85 percent of Asian students scored at the advanced or proficient level.

Given their lower school readiness, Hispanic and black students were more likely than other students to drop out of high school.²² Five percent each of Hispanic and black students in grades 9 through 12 dropped out of school in the 2007 academic year. In contrast, only 1 percent of Asian students and 2 percent of white students dropped out of school that year. Across racial and ethnic groups, male students were slightly more likely than female students to drop out of high school (4 percent versus 3 percent).

Figure 26. Students in Grade 8 Testing Advanced or Proficient on the Maryland School Assessment Tests, by Race and Ethnicity, 2007



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of MSDE data.

Asian students are most likely to graduate on time. Seventy-four percent of Maryland high school students in 2007 graduated on time—i.e., four years after entering ninth grade.²³ Virtually all Asian students graduated on time (97 percent). The share of white students who graduated on time was lower, 81 percent, but above the average. American Indian (61 percent), black (64 percent), and Hispanic students (68 percent) were much less likely to graduate on time.

²² Students are defined as “dropouts” if they leave school for any reason, except enrollment in another school, before graduation or completion of an educational program. The year is defined as July through June and includes students leaving over the summer and those attending evening high school and other alternative programs. The dropout rate is computed by dividing the number of dropouts by the total number of students in grades 9 through 12.

²³ The percent of students who graduate four years after entering ninth grade is calculated by dividing the number of students who graduated from high school in June 2007 by the number of students who were enrolled in ninth grade in September 2003.

Implications. Child care and early education settings support parental employment but also stimulate children's cognitive and language development. Therefore, these out-of-home care settings are especially important for children of immigrants from diverse linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Research shows that participation in center-based child care versus parental or relative care contributes to higher cognitive development and better school readiness, and is especially important for disadvantaged children (Magnuson et al. 2004; Takanishi 2004; Taut et al. 2001). Children of immigrants, however, are less likely than children of natives to attend center-based child care and preschool even though preschool attendance improves their school readiness, including math and language skills (Capps et al. 2004; Magnuson, Lahaie, and Waldfogel, 2004). Factors contributing to lower enrollment in early education settings for children of immigrants are the same as those for low-income children in general—lack of affordable care and shortage of high-quality programs in their communities. Children of immigrants face additional barriers, including parental lack of awareness about programs, complexity of eligibility requirements related to immigrant status for publicly funded programs, language barriers, and shortages of bilingual and bicultural child care providers (Matthews and Jang, 2007).

Research shows that socioeconomic disparities in skills present at school entry may persist and increase as children advance through school because of differences in educational experiences that begin as early as elementary school (Lee and Burkam, 2000). The lower school readiness of children in immigrant and low-income families—especially those of Mexican and Central American origin—appears to place them at a disadvantage throughout their school years, as evidenced by the poorer performance of Hispanic students on standardized tests in grade 8 and their lower high school completion rate. On the other hand, some children of immigrants, particularly those of Asian origin, excel in school and surpass the achievements of their white counterparts. Thus, immigration appears to have increased both the number of students with stellar records and the number of students who are in critical need of educational interventions. Policymakers and educators need to work with immigrant parents and children to design comprehensive methods to target disadvantaged children before they enter school and throughout their school years. Increasing access to state-sponsored pre-school programs and dropout prevention programs for children of immigrants would be two important places to start.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Immigration Trends

Immigration and growth in the population of children of immigrants have contributed to a positive increase in the number of children in Maryland. Without immigration and births to immigrants, the population in Maryland might stagnate and even decline in the future. Migration from other states and family-friendly policies can contribute to population growth in Maryland, but national population trends suggest that immigration has been essential for population growth, particularly in the child and younger working-age populations. While the birth rates for non-Hispanic white women have been declining during the past three decades, the higher birth rates for Hispanic women, and, to a lesser extent, African American and Asian women, in recent years have put the national fertility rate just above the replacement level necessary for long-term population growth (Hamilton, Martin, and Ventura 2009).²⁴

The doubling of the population of children of immigrants in Maryland between 1990 and 2006 has had its greatest impact on Montgomery, Prince George's, Howard, and Baltimore counties. The impact currently is smaller in those Maryland counties with fewer children of immigrants, but this population is growing very rapidly in many of these areas. Newcomers tend to settle in places where they can take advantage of family, social, and economic networks, so it is likely that immigrant population groups will continue to be concentrated in the Maryland suburbs of the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area in the future. Their numbers, however, are also likely to increase statewide as immigrants search for new opportunities, including better jobs, good schools, and lower-cost housing.

The growth in immigration has changed the racial and ethnic as well as the language and cultural composition of children in the state and in the public schools. The linguistic and cultural diversity makes it more difficult to provide appropriate public health, safety, education, and other social services. But accounting for diversity is necessary to create an environment that allows for integration of newcomers and minimizes the social tensions that can arise among the state's diverse groups.

Moreover, when designing appropriate services, the state of Maryland needs to go beyond cultural and ethnic diversity concerns to consider the family circumstances of children of immigrants. Many children of immigrants are fortunate that their parents can provide nurturing and material resources. But other children of immigrants live in low-income families in which their parents are struggling to balance work and family life, so the children have only limited exposure to the experiences that promote school readiness. Addressing the needs of these families will require a two-pronged strategy to both address the parents' needs for access to good jobs and the children's developmental needs for long-term success. This strategy is necessary if Maryland is to ensure that the state and its residents achieve their potential.

²⁴ For information on historic trends in fertility rates by race and ethnicity, see: Child Trends DataBank. "Birth and Fertility Rates, 2005." <http://www.childtrendsdatabank.org/indicators/79BirthRates.cfm>.

Work and Family Supports

Providing and improving access to adult education, language, and other training for immigrant parents can help improve employment and raise family incomes. Immigrant families, including low-income families, have high levels of work effort, and policies that aim to encourage employment might not be sufficient. For instance, almost all low-income children of Mexican immigrants live in families in which one parent has full-time and full-year employment. Education and job skills training and assistance in transferring credentials obtained abroad would help immigrants to acquire higher-skilled and higher-paid jobs. In addition, policies are needed to improve access to other services to support employment, such as affordable child care and health care, financial services, driver's licenses, and public transportation.

Family and work supports that increase parental employment and raise incomes are especially important for children of immigrants in low-income families. The 1996 welfare reform law that imposed restrictions on immigrants' eligibility for federal public benefits led to dramatic decreases in public benefits use among immigrants, although some restrictions were subsequently lifted and citizen children remained eligible for all programs (Fix and Passel 2002; Henderson et al. 2008; Shields and Behrman 2004). In some states, including Maryland, state and local governments have stepped in to fill the need to a varying degree (Broder 2007; Fix and Passel 2002).²⁵ Despite these efforts, some immigrant parents are still afraid or reluctant to apply for benefits even when their children or other family members are eligible. It is important to increase outreach and improve access for immigrant families to TANF, SNAP, Medicaid, and other programs.

Children's Development

The higher incidence of children of immigrants in Maryland living in two-parent families is a protective factor because of the importance of social networks for these families (Capps et al. 2004; Shields and Behrman 2004; Hernandez 2004). Living in stable two-parent families is associated with better socioemotional and cognitive development and better school outcomes (Moore et al. 2002; Vandivere et al. 2000). Living with extended families can provide many social and economic benefits for immigrant families, but material hardship and crowded housing conditions can interfere with children's learning activities. The growing population of children of immigrants indicates a growing need for affordable child care and early education settings for children with diverse linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds in order to give them an equal start in school. The lower enrollment of children of immigrants in center-based care and preschool affects their school readiness. More needs to be done to remove the barriers to access, including increasing outreach, providing information in multiple languages, streamlining the eligibility and application process for publicly funded child care, and working to increase affordable and culturally sensitive child care options in immigrant and low-income communities. Increasing both outreach and subsidies for appropriate center-based child care should be a priority for better school and life outcomes for these children.

²⁵ For recent policy initiatives in Maryland, see: Lagdameo, Angela and Adam Ortiz. 2009. "A Fresh Start: Renewing Immigrant Integration for a Stronger Maryland." Baltimore: Maryland Council for New Americans. www.newamericans.maryland.gov/documentsNA/2009Report.pdf.

Short- and Long-Term Impact of Immigration on Public Schools

Half the growth in Maryland's school-age population between 1990 and 2006 can be attributed to the increase in the number of children of immigrants, leading to the increased racial and ethnic and linguistic diversity of the school-age population in the state's public schools.

Disparities in parental and family characteristics of children of immigrants (e.g., low educational attainment and English proficiency among Latino immigrant parents) are reflected in the disparities seen in children's school readiness and academic performance. While some students, particularly Asian students, excel in school, many Hispanic and black students are at a higher risk of not graduating on time or not graduating at all. Designing comprehensive ways to target disadvantaged children before they enter school and throughout their school years is essential to improving the life chances of these children.

Effective ELL programs are especially important for improving the educational outcomes of children of immigrants. School policies need to ensure that ELL students make adequate progress in acquisition of both language skills and subject matter. MSDE provides guidelines on incorporating ELL standards into content learning and allows for instruction in the student's native language, but it is up to school districts to design the curriculum for ELL students. Research has found that use of home language can help with English language acquisition and literacy and that academic instruction in English requires adjustments for ELL learners (Migration Policy Institute 2009). Measures that could help improve the academic outcomes of ELL students include tracking the performance of ELL students in both language acquisition and content learning, improving assessments, augmenting professional development and support for subject-matter teachers, increasing the number of bilingual teachers and support staff, providing after-school programs for ELL students who are not making adequate progress, and encouraging parental involvement.

The 2002 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act intends to increase school accountability and decrease racial and ethnic disparities in educational outcomes. NCLB requires that schools improve the performance of LEP students, low-income children, and black, Hispanic, and Asian children. Children of immigrants fall into some of these categories, so the NCLB has the potential to improve their educational outcomes. The educational agenda of the Obama administration includes reform of NCLB and support of ELL programs. These priorities create an opportunity for placing children of immigrants specifically on the Obama's educational agenda, which could lead to opportunities for advocates, educators, and policymakers to design strategies for improving resources and educational outcomes of these children.

METHODS

Data Source

The primary data sources for the figures in this report are the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) datasets (Ruggles et al. 2008). The IPUMS datasets are drawn from the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 5 percent sample, and the combined 2005 and 2006 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Surveys that together compose a 2 percent sample of the nation's population.

Child-Parent Relationship

The IPUMS data identify one or both parents if the parent(s) are living in the same household as the child. The child-parent relationship in the IPUMS data is biological and social; for example, stepfathers and adoptive fathers are identified in addition to biological fathers. The child-parent relationship in a small number of cases has been imputed using information about all household members (for more information on the child-parent relationship in the IPUMS data, see the IPUMS documentation on Family Interrelationships at <http://usa.ipums.org/usa/chapter5/chapter5.shtml>).

The child-parent relationship is not defined in the data for a small number of children. When the child is identified as a grandchild of the householder, the immigration status of the grandparent is used for determining the immigration status, citizenship, and region of birth of the parent (for about 2 percent of children in the sample). This leaves about 3 percent of children in the sample for which the immigration status of the parents has not been determined. These children are excluded from the estimates in the report.

For the purpose of describing the education, English proficiency, employment, work effort, and race/ethnicity of the parents, the householder and/or spouse information is used when the child-parent relationship has not been determined.

Definitions

“Immigrant” or “foreign-born” persons are born outside the United States and its territories. Those born in Puerto Rico and other territories or born abroad to U.S. citizen parents are “native born.” Immigrants include both legal and unauthorized immigrants, though the latter are somewhat undercounted in the official Census Bureau data. Demographers have estimated that the unauthorized are undercounted by about 12.5 percent in these data sources (see Passel and Cohn 2009).

“Children of immigrants” or “children of immigrant parents” have at least one foreign-born parent. “Children of native-born parents” live with two parents who are both native born or a single parent who is native born.

Parental origin is defined by grouping countries based on geography, languages, the refugee shares of all immigrants, and available sample sizes. Countries are grouped in eight origin groups: (1) Europe, Canada, and Australia; (2) Mexico; (3) other Central America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean; (4) South America; (5) Southeast Asia; (6) East Asia and the Pacific; (7) the Middle East and South Asia; and (8) Africa and the West Indies. For a child with parents from different regions of birth, the child is assigned the region of birth of the mother. See appendix table 1 for a list of countries in each region.

The racial/ethnic categories are mutually exclusive: Hispanic, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian, and Native American. The Census Bureau surveys allow respondents to select more than one racial/ethnic group. Hispanic respondents are those who identified themselves as “Hispanic,” “Spanish,” or “Latino.” People of Hispanic origin may be of any race. Non-Hispanic black respondents are those who reported “black” or “African American” regardless of additional racial/ethnic groups reported. Non-Hispanic Asians are those who reported “Asian” or “Pacific Islander” and did not report “black/African American.” Non-Hispanic whites are those who reported “white” and did not report “black/African American” or “Asian/Pacific Islander.” Native Americans are those who reported “American Indian/Alaska Native” and did not report “black/African American,” “Asian/Pacific Islander,” or “white.”

“Family” is defined to include the householder and all individuals living with the householder and related to him/her by birth, marriage, or adoption, as well as the unmarried partner of the householder and foster children living in the household. This definition of family is more inclusive than the definition employed by the Census Bureau, which states that a family includes the householder and those related to him/her by birth, marriage, or adoption, but excludes unmarried partners and foster children.

“Limited English proficient” persons responded to the ACS that they speak a language other than English at home and that they speak English well, not well, or not at all. Those who speak English at home or who speak another language at home but also speak English very well are considered English proficient.

“Linguistically isolated” households are those in which no persons age 14 and older are English proficient. All members of such a household are considered linguistically isolated, even though the household may include English-proficient children under 14. When only the children are English proficient, they may be providing interpretation for their parents.

“Low-income” families have total family incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty level. In 2005, the federal poverty level was \$19,971 for a family of four, slightly higher for larger families, and lower for smaller families.

“Family work effort” is classified as “high” if any adult reports at least 1,800 hours of work in the prior year—approximately equal to 35 hours of work a week for 52 weeks in the year. Family work effort is defined as “moderate” if adults in the family average at least 1,000 hours or the total hours worked equal at least 1,800, but no adult reports 1,800 hours of work in the prior year. Family work effort is defined as “low” if adults in the family average 1,000 hours or fewer and total hours worked are under 1,800 (Acs and Nichols 2005).

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APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix Table 1. County Groups, Maryland

<i>Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, and St. Mary's</i>
Anne Arundel Calvert Charles St. Mary's
<i>Baltimore City</i>
Baltimore City
<i>Baltimore</i>
Baltimore
<i>Eastern Shore</i>
Caroline Cecil Dorchester Kent Queen Anne's Somerset Talbot Wicomico Worcester
<i>Frederick, Allegany, Carroll, Garrett, and Washington</i>
Allegany Carroll Frederick Garrett Washington
<i>Harford</i>
Harford
<i>Howard</i>
Howard
<i>Montgomery</i>
Montgomery
<i>Prince George's</i>
Prince George's

Note: These county groups are based on geographic identifiers available in the 2005 and 2006 ACS PUMS and sample sizes.

Appendix Table 2. Region and Country of Birth of Immigrants

<i>Europe, Canada, and Australia</i>	<i>Other Central America and Spanish-Speaking Caribbean</i>	<i>Mexico</i>
Albania	Belize	Mexico
Armenia	Costa Rica	
Austria	El Salvador	South America
Azerbaijan	Guatemala	Argentina
Belarus	Honduras	Bolivia
Belgium	Nicaragua	Brazil
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Panama	Chile
Bulgaria		Colombia
Croatia	Cuba	Ecuador
Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia)	Dominican Republic	Guyana
Denmark		Paraguay
Estonia	East Asia and Pacific	Peru
Finland	China	Uruguay
France	Fiji	Venezuela
Georgia	Hong Kong	
Germany	Indonesia	Africa and West Indies
Greece	Japan	Algeria
Hungary	Korea	Cameroon
Iceland	Malaysia	Cape Verde
Ireland	Micronesia	Egypt
Italy	Philippines	Eritrea
Kazakhstan	Samoa	Ethiopia
Latvia	Singapore	Ghana
Lithuania	Taiwan	Guinea
Macedonia	Tonga	Kenya
Moldova		Liberia
Montenegro	Middle East and South Asia	Morocco
Netherlands	Afghanistan	Nigeria
Norway	Bangladesh	Senegal
Poland	India	Sierra Leone
Portugal	Iran	Somalia
Romania	Iraq	South Africa
Russia (USSR)	Israel	Sudan
Slovakia	Jordan	Tanzania
Spain	Kuwait	Uganda
Sweden	Lebanon	Zimbabwe
Switzerland	Nepal	
Ukraine	Pakistan	Antigua & Barbuda
United Kingdom	Saudi Arabia	Bahamas
Uzbekistan	Sri Lanka	Barbados
Yugoslavia	Syria	Dominica
	Turkey	Grenada
Bermuda	Yemen	Haiti
Canada		Jamaica
	Southeast Asia	St Vincent & The Grenadines
Australia	Cambodia	St. Kitts-Nevis
New Zealand	Laos	St. Lucia
	Myanmar	Trinidad & Tobago
	Thailand	
	Vietnam	

Appendix Table 3. Top Ten Countries of Origin of Children of Immigrants, Maryland, 2006

Country	Children of immigrants		Children of immigrants in low-income families	
	Number	Share (%)	Number	Share (%)
El Salvador	30,000	11.8	12,000	16.9
Nigeria	14,000	5.4	3,000	4.2
Mexico	12,000	4.9	7,000	9.6
India	11,000	4.5	1,000	2.0
South and North Korea ^a	11,000	4.3	2,000	3.1
China	9,000	3.6	1,000	1.6
Philippines	9,000	3.6	1,000	1.6
Jamaica	8,000	3.1	2,000	2.7
Guatemala	7,000	2.7	4,000	6.1
Canada	6,000	2.3	1,000	1.2
Top 10 Countries	116,000	46.0	34,000	48.9

Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series dataset from the 2005 and 2006 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Surveys.

Notes: ^a Census data do not differentiate between immigrants from South Korea and North Korea. Numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

Appendix Table 4. Median Family Income, by Parental Education, English Proficiency, and U.S. Tenure, 2005

	<i>Children of immigrants</i>	<i>Children of natives</i>
	\$	\$
All	72,000	78,000
Parental education		
Less than high school	40,000	27,000
High school and some college	53,000	56,000
Four-year college degree or more education	96,000	114,000
LEP status of parents		
Limited English Proficient parents	53,000	N/A
English proficient parents	89,000	N/A
Parental education and LEP status		
<i>Limited English Proficient parents</i>		
Less than high school	42,000	N/A
High school and some college	50,000	N/A
Four-year college degree or more education	73,000	N/A
<i>English proficient parents</i>		
Less than high school	^a	N/A
High school and some college	58,000	N/A
Four-year college degree or higher education	106,000	N/A
Time in the United States		
Less than 10 years	50,000	N/A
10 to 20 years	70,000	N/A
More than 20 years	97,000	N/A

Source: Urban Institute tabulations from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series dataset from the 2005 and 2006 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Surveys.

Notes: ^a Sample size was insufficient for the analysis. Numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand.

Appendix Table 5. Growth in Public School Enrollment of Hispanic Students, by County, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>Growth</i>	<i>Percent Growth (%)</i>
Frederick	700	2,900	2,200	304
Washington	300	800	500	208
Baltimore City	600	1,800	1,200	202
Carroll	200	600	400	193
Howard	1,000	2,400	1,400	151
Calvert	100	300	200	150
Anne Arundel	1,600	3,900	2,300	150
Wicomico	300	600	300	143
Baltimore	1,600	4,000	2,400	142
Prince George's	8,900	20,600	11,700	131
Charles	400	900	500	129
Cecil	200	500	300	100
St. Mary's	300	400	100	73
Montgomery	19,500	28,600	9,100	47
Harford	800	1,200	400	46
All other	500	1,400	900	194
Total	37,000	71,000	34,000	92

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: Enrollment numbers are reported as of September 30, 1999 and 2006 respectively. "All other" counties had fewer than 100 Hispanic students as of 2000. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

Appendix Table 6. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment of Hispanic Students, by County and School Level, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>Elementary School</i>	<i>Secondary School</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Frederick	294	320
Washington	199	224
Baltimore City	213	179
Carroll	167	230
Howard	122	203
Calvert	244	67
Anne Arundel	153	144
Wicomico	126	178
Baltimore	141	144
Prince George's	123	147
Charles	142	115
Cecil	101	98
St. Mary's	75	70
Montgomery	33	68
Harford	47	46
All other	171	248
Total	83	107

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: Enrollment numbers are reported as of September 30, 1999 and 2006 respectively. "All other" counties had fewer than 100 Hispanic students as of 2000.

Appendix Table 7. Growth in Public School Enrollment of Asian Students, by County, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>Growth</i>	<i>Percent Growth (%)</i>
Frederick	700	1,700	1,000	143
Calvert	100	300	200	92
Howard	3,900	7,000	3,100	82
Charles	500	800	300	71
Carroll	300	500	200	66
Cecil	100	200	100	65
Wicomico	300	500	200	52
St. Mary's	300	400	100	48
Harford	800	1,100	300	44
Anne Arundel	1,900	2,600	700	37
Baltimore	4,000	5,300	1,300	35
Washington	300	300	0	32
Montgomery	17,100	20,500	3,400	20
Baltimore City	600	600	0	-8
Prince George's	4,500	3,800	-700	-16
All other	300	500	200	43
Total	35,600	46,000	10,400	29

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: Enrollment numbers are reported as of September 30, 1999 and 2006 respectively. "All other" counties had fewer than 100 Asian students as of 2000. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

Appendix Table 8. Percent Growth in Public School Enrollment of Asian Students, by County and School Level, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>Elementary School</i>	<i>Secondary School</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Frederick	143	143
Calvert	67	138
Howard	81	82
Charles	80	61
Carroll	93	41
Cecil	109	24
Wicomico	72	32
St. Mary's	32	72
Harford	63	21
Anne Arundel	46	28
Baltimore	43	25
Washington	63	5
Montgomery	17	23
Baltimore City	-12	-1
Prince George's	-20	-11
All other	73	11
Total	30	29

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: Enrollment numbers are reported as of September 30, 1999 and 2006 respectively. "All other" counties had fewer than 100 Asian students as of 2000.

Appendix Table 9. Growth in Public School LEP Enrollment, by County, Maryland, 2000 to 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>Percent Growth (%)</i>
Frederick	300	1,600	542
Anne Arundel	400	1,600	282
Charles	100	400	274
Washington	100	400	178
Prince George's	4,900	11,800	139
Baltimore City	700	1,300	98
Baltimore County	1,700	3,300	95
Harford	200	400	83
Montgomery	9,100	14,600	61
Howard	1,000	1,600	59
Wicomico	200	300	35
St. Mary's	100	100	24
All other	500	1,100	104
Total	19,400	38,700	99

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: LEP students have a primary or home language other than English and have been assessed as having limited or no ability to understand, speak, read, or write English. LEP enrollment is reported as of the student's last day of enrollment in the school system— either the last day of school or the date of withdrawal. "All other" counties had fewer than 100 LEP students as of 2000. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred. Percentages are based on the exact estimates. Totals and percentages may not add up due to rounding.

Appendix Table 10. Number of Public Schools with High and Moderate LEP Enrollment, by School Level, Maryland, 2007

<i>County</i>	<i>Elementary Schools</i>			<i>Middle Schools</i>			<i>High Schools</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>High LEP</i>	<i>Moderate LEP</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>High LEP</i>	<i>Moderate LEP</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>High LEP</i>	<i>Moderate LEP</i>
Anne Arundel	82	0	4	25	0	0	22	0	1
Baltimore City	132	2	7	65	0	1	42	0	0
Baltimore County	111	0	8	35	0	2	33	0	0
Frederick	38	2	4	16	0	1	13	0	0
Howard	41	0	4	21	0	0	14	0	0
Montgomery	133	24	54	44	0	3	35	0	3
Prince George's	152	29	24	40	0	5	37	0	5
All other	246	0	0	96	0	0	98	0	0
Total	935	57	105	342	0	12	294	0	9

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of data from the Maryland State Department of Education.

Notes: LEP students have a primary or home language other than English and have been assessed as having limited or no ability to understand, speak, read, or write English. In "high LEP schools," the share of LEP students is 25 percent or higher. In "moderate LEP schools," the share of LEP students is 10 percent to 24 percent.



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