UKCPR
University of Kentucky
Center for
Poverty Research

Discussion Paper Series
DP 2010-02

ISSN: 1936-9379

Poverty among young children in Black immigrant, US-born Black, and non-Black immigrant families: The role of familial contexts

Kevin J. A. Thomas
Assistant Professor
African and African-American Studies, Sociology, and Demography
Pennsylvania State University

Preferred citation
Thomas, K. Poverty among young children in Black immigrant, US-born Black, and non-Black immigrant families: The role of familial contexts. *University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research Discussion Paper Series,* DP2010-02. Retrieved [Date] from http://www.ukcpr.org/Publications/DP2010-02.pdf.

Author correspondence
Kevin J.A. Thomas, Pennsylvania State University, Department of African and African-American Studies, University Park, PA 16801. E-mail: kjt11@psu.edu

Acknowledgements
This project was supported with a grant from the UK Center for Poverty Research through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, grant number 2 U01 PE000002-07. The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are solely those of the author and should not be construed as representing the opinions and policies of the UKCPR or any agency of the Federal government.

Abstract

This study examines how familial contexts affect poverty disparities between the children of immigrant and US-born Blacks, and among Black and non-Black children of immigrants. Despite lower gross child poverty rates in immigrant than US-born Black families, accounting for differences in family structure reveals that child poverty risks among Blacks are highest in single-parent Black immigrant families. In addition, within two-parent immigrant families, child poverty declines associated with increasing assimilation are greater than the respective declines in single-parent families. The heads of Black immigrant households have more schooling than those of native-Black households. However, increased schooling has a weaker negative association with child poverty among the former than the latter. In terms of racial disparities among the children of immigrants, poverty rates are higher among Black than non-Black children. This Black disadvantage is, however, driven by the outcomes of first-generation children of African and Hispanic-Black immigrants. The results also show that although children in refugee families face elevated poverty risks, these risks are higher among Black than non-Black children of refugees. In addition, the poverty-reducing impact associated with having an English-proficient household-head is about three times lower among Black than non-Hispanic White children of immigrants.

Introduction

In the past two decades significant progress was achieved in the study of the well-being of the children of immigrants. Increased scholarly focus on their demographic outcomes yielded new insights on their adjustment processes and critical information needed for policy development (e.g. Hernandez 1999; Hernandez and Charney 1998). This tradition is maintained by even more recent studies that investigate the outcomes of children in America's new immigrant populations (Kulwicki and Rice 2003; Kurien 2005). Existing research on the children of immigrants, however, reveals that they experience greater socioeconomic disadvantages than their counterparts with US-born parents. For example, poverty levels, over-crowded housing, and other indicators of economic hardship are higher in immigrant families than in families with only US-born parents (Oropesa and Landale 1997; Hernandez and Darke 1999; Shields and Behrman 2004; Capps et al 2005). More recent studies also underscore the persistence of the hardships faced by the children of immigrants across time. Van Hook et al. (2004), for example, argue that despite fluctuations in their poverty trends, children in immigrant families were more likely to live in poverty than the children of US natives in the last four decades.

Recent transformations in the composition of the US immigrant population provide us with even more opportunities for extending research on child poverty in immigrant families. One contributor to these changes is the recent surge in Black immigration to the US (Grieco 2004;

Dixon, 2006; Gelatt and Dixon 2006). Despite these transformations, however, only a handful of studies have examined the social and economic outcomes of children in Black immigrant families (e.g. Rong and Brown 2001; Waters 2001; Massey et al 2007). In terms of poverty research, our understanding of the outcomes of the children of Black immigrants is generally based on useful insights provided by a few studies focusing on Non-Hispanic Blacks (e.g. Oropesa and Landale 1997; Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005; Van Hook, et. al. 2004). Broader questions related to whether there are ethnic/national origin differences in child poverty among Black immigrants still remain unanswered in the existing literature. Recent studies, however, demonstrate that there are significant differences in incomes and schooling among Black immigrants that may have significant implications for poverty research (Kent 2007; Logan and Deanne 2003).

Concurrent with these gaps in the literature are two essential concerns about the role of family contexts in mediating poverty differences among immigrants' children. First, although the impacts of familial contexts on poverty among US-born Blacks are now well-established (e.g. Eggebeen and Lichter 1991; Jarrett and Burton 1999), little is known about the operation of similar influences in Black immigrant families. Likewise, the question of whether familial influences affect child poverty disparities between US-born Blacks and their Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black immigrant counterparts has not been systematically examined. A second concern relates to the question of how family contexts affect the socioeconomic assimilation of the children of immigrants. For example, there is limited research on the impacts of assimilation on child poverty in one and two-parent families. Moreover, previous studies have not examined whether the impacts of assimilation on child poverty across immigrant family contexts are racially differentiated.

In this study, therefore, data from the 2000 US census are used to systematically examine the dynamics of poverty among young children in Black immigrant families. Explicit attention is given to exploring the relationship between assimilation and child poverty within specific family contexts. More importantly, the study clarifies previous research by focusing on poverty disparities among children in African, Hispanic, and Caribbean (non-Hispanic) Black immigrant families. In the process, attention is given to three specific objectives. First, the study investigates the extent to which differences in family contexts account for poverty disparities between young children in immigrant and US-born Black families. Similarly, the study examines whether these same contextual influences affect poverty disparities between Black and non-Black children of immigrants. A second objective of the study is to examine the extent to which immigrant-native-born disparities in child poverty among Blacks are driven by differences in the ethnic origins of black immigrant parents. Using insights from the segmented assimilation theory, the study's third objective focuses on investigating the association between poverty and children's increasing generational status. Thus, because the theory suggests that the impacts of assimilation on immigrant outcomes are conditional on factors such as human capital and race (Zhou 1997); the study hypothesizes that differences in the economic assimilation of Black immigrants' children will be driven by disparities in their parental human capital endowments. Nevertheless, these endowments will have a smaller impact on poverty among Black than non-Black children of immigrants.

Race and the incorporation of Black immigrants

Previous research on the significance of race for the incorporation of Black immigrants provides a broader context around which this analysis is located. Central to this discuss is the

question of whether US constructions of race affect how well Black immigrants are integrated into the US society (Bashi and McDaniel, 1997; Kalmijn 1995; Lee and Bean, 2004; Model 1994; Waters 1994). In general, previous research addresses this question from two perspectives. First, in comparisons between Black immigrants and US-born Blacks, the higher relative attainment of the former has been considered to reflect the fact that immigrants' unique cultural attributes allow them to circumvent the negative impacts of race. Ogbu (1983; 1990), for example, attributes the lower schooling attainment among US-born than immigrant Blacks to cultural differences that are oppositional among the former but more pragmatic among Black immigrants. Similarly, Sowell (1981; 1983) suggests that Black Caribbean immigrants have better economic outcomes than US-born Blacks because Caribbean immigrants are culturally superior (i.e., in terms of work ethic, prudence, and industriousness) than US-born Blacks. On the contrary, the second perspective maintains that nativity socioeconomic differences among Blacks do not preclude the macro-level disadvantages associated with racial minority status in the US. Accordingly, Bashi and McDaniel (1997) argue that Black immigrants are assimilated into a US racial hierarchy that significantly constrains their levels of attainment relative to non-Black immigrants. Thus, despite their lack of pre-migration discriminatory experiences, immigrants with phenotypical similarities with US-born Blacks will have nuanced patterns of incorporation into a US society in which skin color can be a barrier to social mobility (Zhou 1997; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001).

These perspectives have a number of generally untested implications for research on the welfare of Black immigrants' children. The first is that if Black immigrants have cultural attributes that allow them to outperform US-born Blacks, their children should have a relative socioeconomic advantage that is robust across national-origins and levels of parental human-

capital. Similarly, if the cultural superiority hypothesis is valid, the advantage of having immigrant than US-born Black parents should persist even within disadvantaged familial contexts (e.g. in single-parent families). Moreover, if more favorable outcomes among immigrant than US-born Blacks reflect an immigrant ability to circumvent the negative impacts of race, their indicators of child well-being should be similar with those of non-Black immigrants. Likewise, the improvements to the welfare of immigrants' children associated with higher levels of parental human-capital or increasing assimilation should be broadly consistent across immigrant racial groups.

Theoretical perspectives

Human capital and work patterns

A useful framework for understanding the dynamics of poverty among Black immigrants can be developed using insights from human capital theory. According to the theory, human capital characteristics such skill endowments, levels of schooling, and linguistic attributes are important determinants of social and economic well-being (e.g. Becker 1962; Becker 1995; Parcel and Dufur 2001). Within this framework, higher levels of human capital, e.g. more years of schooling, are hypothesized to be negatively associated with the likelihood of living in poverty. In fact, according to Becker (1995), the impact of human capital endowments was *the* principal determinant of the living standards of populations in the twentieth century.

Differences in parental human capital indicators, therefore, have important implications for child poverty research among Black immigrant populations. In terms of language ability, for example, Rumbaut (1995) finds low levels of English language proficiency among many Hispanic-Black immigrant groups, while Kossoudji (1988) reports a negative impact on Hispanic

labor-force outcomes associated with their low levels of English proficiency. In combination, these two findings suggest that children in Hispanic-Black immigrant families may face higher risks of poverty than the children of non-Hispanic Blacks. Similarly, racial differences in the returns to English proficiency among immigrants may also affect poverty disparities between Black and non-Black children of immigrants. As Stolzenberg and Tienda (1997) argue, holding other factors constant, individuals with minority characteristics receive lower returns to their language ability than those with non-minority characteristics.

In terms of education, higher schooling levels among Black immigrants relative to US-born Blacks (Logan and Deanne 2003, Kent 2007), imply that child poverty levels will be lower in Black immigrant than in native-Black families. Nevertheless, because previous studies show that the educational endowments of immigrant and US-born Blacks are differentially rewarded in the labor market (Dodoo 1991; Butcher 1993; Daneshvary and Schwer 1994), the mediating role of parental educational attainment on child poverty disparities among Blacks is not that clear. Conceptually, because of these labor market disparities, the immigrant advantage associated with Black immigrant schooling is likely to be offset by their lower returns to schooling relative to the respective returns of their native-born counterparts.

Within the US immigrant population, documented differences in educational attainment that are conditional on race may also have implications for racial disparities in child poverty. Rong and Brown (2001), for example, report that Black immigrants generally have lower levels of schooling compared to non-Black immigrants. Rumbaut (1995) finds an analogous schooling disadvantage among Black immigrants relative to their White counterparts among immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to their relative schooling disadvantage, Black immigrant parents may also be affected by a wage disadvantage relative to non-Black

immigrant parents in the US-labor market (Butcher 1993). For example, Zavodny (2003) finds lower wages among Black relative to White Cuban immigrants that continue to persist with increasing duration of residence in the US.

Parental work patterns also affect children's poverty risks within immigrant families (Van Hook et. al. 2004; Oropesa and Landale 2000). Nevertheless, these impacts are likely to be insignificant if parents are employed in low paying jobs (Lichter and Eggebeen 1994; Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005). Among Black immigrants, however, average working hours are known to be higher among Africans than Caribbean immigrants, while immigrants from these groups respectively work for longer hours than US-born Blacks (Dodoo 1997). Fewer studies have systematically examined race-ethnic differences in working hours within the US immigrant population. One study by Logan et al (2003), however, maintains that Asian immigrants, specifically Chinese and Koreans, work for longer hours than some Hispanic-Black immigrants, i.e. Dominicans, in the US. Despite these differences, the implications of these differentials in parental working patterns for racial disparities in child poverty, e.g. between Black and Asian immigrants, have not been extensively examined in previous studies.

Immigrant assimilation

Assimilation theory also provides another useful framework for understanding child poverty outcomes in Black immigrant families. In its conventional sense, the theory predicts that immigrants will become more like native-born populations, or experience improvements in their well-being, as they become more exposed to their host societies (e.g. Alba and Nee 1997). When exposure is operationalized to reflect sequential immigrant generations, conventional assimilation theory will predicts that there is a negative association between child poverty and

increasing generational status. Alternative conceptualizations of assimilation theory, however, argue that assimilation patterns will be conditional on a range of structural factors that can lead to segmented patterns of immigrant incorporation (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997). One determinant of segmented assimilation is the human capital endowment of immigrants (Zhou 1997). Accordingly, immigrant groups with higher levels of schooling, e.g. Asians, are expected to have more positive outcomes as they assimilate compared to immigrants with lower schooling levels. In the same vein, because Hispanic-Black immigrants have lower levels of schooling than their Black African counterparts (Kent 2007), increasing assimilation should hypothetically lead to slower declines in child poverty among the former than among the latter.

Besides human capital, immigrant racial and ethnic identities have an important influence on segmented assimilation patterns. Immigrants with visible minority characteristics, e.g. Black immigrants, are expected to be more likely than immigrants with non-minority characteristics, e.g. non-Hispanic Whites, to experience downward assimilation patterns with increasing exposure to the US (Portes and Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997, Rumbaut 1994). Undergirding these racial disparities are the impacts of factors associated with the social construction of race in the US society. As a result of these impacts, immigrants with minority characteristics may be more likely to face structural barriers to their social mobility than their counterparts with non-minority racial characteristics.

Family contexts

Apart from human capital endowments and working patterns, differences in family structure also have significant impacts on children's poverty risks (Lichter 1997). Similarly, the dynamics of family structure are known to be important influences that drive racial differences in

child poverty (Lichter and Landale 1995; Eggebeen and Lichter 1991). On the whole, the negative effects on children's well-being associated with living in families with one or both biological parents absent are now well-established (Thompson, Hanson, and McLanahan 1994, Lichter 1997, McLanahan and Schwarz 2002). Significantly, however, Cobb-Clark and Hildebrand (2006) find that the impact of family structure is strongly conditional on parental foreign-born status. In particular, they maintain that the socioeconomic disadvantage associated with single-parent families is stronger in families with an immigrant rather than a native-born household head.

While previous research has examined how family structure affects child poverty among immigrants from a wide variety of race-ethnic origins (e.g. Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005, Oropesa and Landale 2000, Lerman 1995), studies on ethnic variations in these impacts in Black immigrant families remain largely unavailable. In fact, what we know about the structure of Black immigrant families generally comes from a handful of studies. Tolnay (2004), for example, demonstrates that the children of Black immigrants are more likely to live in two-parent families than their counterparts born to US-born Blacks. In addition, in his comparison of the living arrangements of Black children of immigrants with those of their Asian, Hispanic, and European counterparts, Brandon (2002) finds that Black children are less likely than non-Black children to live in families with married parents. His study also points to significant racial differences in the change in children's living arrangement with increasing assimilation. Accordingly, unlike many of their non-Black counterparts, the Black children of immigrants are increasingly more likely to live in single-parent families as their generational status increase.

Other studies extend research on the contextual impacts of immigrant families by pointing to the negative impacts of refugee status on the well-being of their children. Poverty rates in

refugee families, for example, are generally higher than in non-refugee families (Tang 2000; Stepick and Portes 1986). In addition, unlike non-refugee immigrants in the US, refugees do not always experience declines in their poverty status with increasing duration of residence (Fass, 1986). Van Hook et. al. (2004) also suggest that the socioeconomic disadvantage of children in refugee families relative to the children of non-refugees remained unchanged during the last four decades. Significantly, however, although the US received large numbers of Black (e.g. African), Asian (e.g. Hmong) and non-Hispanic White (e.g. Bosnian) refugees in recent decades, the question of whether the impact of refugee status on child poverty is differentiated by immigrant race has not been addressed in previous studies.

Data and Measures

Data used in this study are taken from a 5 % sample of 2000 US census. In the empirical analysis, however, the study focuses on children between age 0 and 10. This analytical focus is based on two factors. First, the timing of children's exposure to poverty has significant implications for their long-term development. Guo (1998), for example, demonstrates that exposure to poverty from birth to pre-adolescence has a greater impact on later cognitive ability relative to exposure to poverty in early adolescence. Secondly, poverty status is also known to have more immediate implications for educational, behavioral, and other developmental outcomes in early childhood (Ramey and Campbell 1991; Duncan et al 1994).

The practical utility of the 2000 census data is generally based on the fact that they contain information on basic demographic indicators (e.g. age and sex), economic characteristics (e.g. individual and household incomes, poverty status), family relationships (e.g. relationships with household heads), migration-related attributes (e.g. place of birth and duration of residence), and

English proficiency. Moreover, since the census provides information on all individuals living within specific households, it is possible to link parental-level information (e.g. parent's age, sex, schooling, and hours worked per week) with information for each child living with them using unique household identification numbers.

Data on countries of birth and the racial identity of household heads and their spouses are used to identify those who are Black immigrants as members of the Black foreign-born population of the US. Children in Black immigrant families are then identified as children with either household heads or spouses of household heads who are Black immigrants. On the contrary, children in US-born Black families are children in one or two-parent households with only Black US-born heads and/or spouses. Since the analysis of racial disparities is also an important part of the study, the study's definition of children in Black immigrant families is limited to the Black children who live in such families[1].

For all children of immigrants information on whether or not they were born in the US is used to distinguish between first and second generation children. First generation children are identified as the foreign-born children in immigrant families, and second generation children, the US born children of these families. Data on the countries of birth of immigrant household heads and spouses are also used to distinguish between the children of Black immigrants with different pan-ethnic / national origins. For example, children in African immigrant families are identified as children in families in which either the household head or spouse is a Black immigrant from Africa[2]. Information on whether immigrant household heads or their spouses are of Hispanic origin is also used to identify Hispanic-Black immigrant families. In sum, four mutually exclusive types of Black immigrant families are used in the study: Hispanic-Black, African,

[1] According to these data about 92% of all young children in Black immigrant families are Black.

[2] The ethnic origin of the household head is used if both the household head and spouse in two-parent households are immigrants with different ethnic origins. This occurs in only about 5% of all immigrant households

Non-Hispanic Caribbean, and Other Black immigrant families. The latter mainly includes non-Hispanic Black immigrant families from South America (mainly Brazil), the Middle-East, and Europe.

Measures of family structure used in the study are based on census information on household heads and the presence or absence of spouses. Single-parent families are thus defined as households with a household head but without a spouse, while two-parent families have both a household head and spouse present. Using measures of children's generational status identified above it is therefore possible to identify variations in child poverty levels between the first and second generation among children in single and two-parent immigrant families.

In the absence of information on refugee status in the US census some previous studies have identified the children of refugees using proxy methods capturing the extent to which parental place of birth corresponds to a list of 11 traditional refugee-sending countries (e.g. Bean et. al. 1997, Van Hook et. al. 2004). While this strategy is generally useful, data on refugee admissions from the statistical year books of the Office of Immigration Statistics (US Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997 to 2001) reveal that the number of refugees entering the US, as well as their countries of origin, varies across time. It is therefore possible that for some years, only a small proportion of all immigrants from these traditional sending countries will actually be refugees. To limit these potential biases, the current study uses a modified refugee-identification proxy method based on census information on country of birth and year of arrival, as well as year-specific information on refugee admissions provided by the US Office of Immigration Statistics. Based on these data sources, the study identifies refugees as immigrants born in a country from which at least 50% of all immigrants arriving during the immigrant's own year of arrival were refugees. For example, the study classifies immigrants

from Sudan who arrived in 1998 as refugees because 1,252 officially documented refugees from Sudan arrived in the US in 1998 (US Department of Homeland Security, 2006) while the census estimates that the sum of all Sudanese immigrant arrivals that year is about 2,300. Children in refugee immigrant families are then identified as children with at least one refugee immigrant parent[3].

Analytical Strategy

Based on poverty thresholds in the US census, an indicator of child poverty status is used as a dependent variable (Living in poverty =1; Not living in poverty = 0) in logistic regression models with robust standard errors that adjust for clustering within households. The empirical analysis then proceeds in two stages. In the first stage, a pooled sample of children with immigrant and US-born Black parents is used to compare intra-racial poverty disparities. These disparities are determined by comparing regression coefficients estimating the likelihood of child poverty in immigrant families relative to that found in US-born Black families (i.e. reference group). Models with interaction terms are also used to examine whether various familial-level influences (e.g. female-headed households) have differential impacts in immigrant and US-born Black families.

The second stage of the analysis uses census information for *all* children of immigrants. Dummy variables are then employed in logistic regression models to examine disparities in child poverty between Black, Hispanic, Asian, and non-Hispanic White children of immigrants[4]. In

[3] In order to limit the possible attrition effects associated with information on the years of arrival of immigrants who arrived in the US in earlier decades, the study's indicator of refugee status only focuses on immigrants arriving in the five-year period preceding the 2000 census, i.e. *recent refugees*.

[4] To emphasize racial differences among the children of immigrants, dummy indicators for Black and Non-Hispanic White children are among the race dummies included in these models even though Non-Hispanic White is the largest immigrant group. This facilitates the use of interaction terms to illustrate variations in the impacts of factors

addition, interaction terms are used to examine whether the impacts of factors such as family structure, refugee status, and parental human-capital vary across race. Finally, for each race, controls for child generational status are used to examine whether changes in child poverty risks with increasing generation are racially circumscribed.

Results

Descriptive Findings

Comparisons of the child and background characteristics of immigrant and US-born Black families are presented in Table 1. An obvious distinction between children in both groups is that they live in families with contrasting socio-demographic profiles. For example, the children of US-born Blacks are about twice more likely to live in single-parent families than their counterparts in each of the four Black-immigrant groups. In Black immigrant families, however, the likelihood of living in single-parent families is differentiated by the ethnic origins of household heads and spouses. Thus, while the children of black Africans are the least likely to live in single-parent families, such family arrangements are most common among the children of non-Hispanic-Blacks from the Caribbean. Children's generational status is, however, negatively associated with the likelihood of living in single-parent families, except among Hispanic-Blacks. Table 1 also demonstrates that groups with a high prevalence of single-parent families (e.g. US-born and non-Hispanic Caribbean Black families) also have higher percentages of female-headed families. Consistent with other previous studies, the household heads of Black immigrant

such as living in refugee families and parental human-capital among Black and White children of immigrants. Hispanic-White children are therefore omitted category used in models in the second stage of the analysis.

families, especially those heading African immigrant households, have higher levels of educational attainment than their counterparts heading native-Black households.

More importantly, Table 1 shows that young children in US-born Black families are more likely to live in poverty than their counterparts in immigrant families. While this finding is consistent with findings reported in previous studies, Table 1 clarifies the disparity further by demonstrating that the magnitude of the immigrant advantage is conditional on pan-ethnic origins. In short, children with parents from the non-Hispanic Black immigrant groups (i.e. African, non-Hispanic Caribbean, and 'Other' blacks) have poverty levels that are about 50% lower than those among the children of US-born Blacks. Children of Hispanic-Black immigrant families, however, have the highest child poverty levels among the Black immigrants. Not surprisingly, unlike their counterparts with non-Hispanic Black immigrant parents, their poverty levels are only about 20% lower relative to the levels found in US-born Black families. In general, as shown in Figure 1, no consistent pattern of disparities is found between children with immigrant and US born Black parents across regions (i.e. census regions). However, while the children of Southern US-born Blacks have higher poverty rates than their counterparts in other regions, living in Southern than other regions does not appear to increase poverty risks among immigrants' children.

- Table 1 and 2 about here -

Black children in immigrant families are also distinct from their non-Black counterparts in terms of their familial characteristics. For example, Table 2 shows that the likelihood of living in single parent families is higher among all Black children of immigrants than among their Asian, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic White counterparts. In fact, Black children of immigrants are collectively about three times more likely to live in single-parent families than their counterparts

who are either Asian or non-Hispanic White. The higher relative prevalence of single-parent families among Blacks does not appear to be explained by differences in their ethnic origins. As such, there is still a higher prevalence of single-parent families among black immigrants, relative to their non-Black counterparts, when estimates for the four immigrant groups in Table 1 are compared with those in Table 2.

In terms of household head and spousal human capital, Black children of immigrants, on average, are less likely to have household heads who graduated from college in comparison to their non-Black counterparts. Nevertheless, accounting for differences in ethnic-origin reveals that the heads in African immigrant households are more likely to have university credentials than their counterparts heading families with Asian, Hispanic-White, and non-Hispanic White children (Tables 1 and 2). Significantly, however, Hispanic-White children are the least likely to have college-graduate household heads among children shown in Table 2. With regard to language ability, Black children of immigrants have more English proficient (i.e. speak only English or speak English very well) household heads or spouses than their Asian or Hispanic-White counterparts. As in Table 1, Table 2 further indicates that the heads of immigrant families are generally more likely to be English-proficient than their spouses. Non-Hispanic-White children are especially more likely to have English proficient household heads or spouses than other children. Furthermore, according to Table 2, non-Hispanic White children are also more likely to have household heads that work for longer hours per week compared to other immigrant children.

Racial disparities shown in Table 2 closely mimic those found in the US population in other previous studies (Cameroon and Heckman 2001; Eggebeen and Lichter 1991; Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005; Zhou 1993). For example, as with the US-born, the likelihood of living

in single-parent families is higher among Black children of immigrants than among their Asian, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic White counterparts. Figure 2 further reveals that the disadvantage of these children is generally consistent across US regions. In general, therefore, while the Black children of immigrants are less likely to live in poverty than their US-born counterparts (Table 1), they still have higher poverty levels than Asian or non-Hispanic White children (Tables2). At the same time, the prevalence of poverty among Hispanic-White children is nonetheless higher than that of Black children in either African, non-Hispanic Caribbean, or other Black immigrant households. There is no difference, however, in the prevalence of poverty among Black and White-Hispanic children of immigrants.

Multiple Regression Results

Family contexts, generational status, and poverty disparities among blacks

The question of how family contexts affect child poverty disparities in immigrant and non-immigrant Black families is further examined in the regression models presented in Table 3. In particular, the models assess the extent to which differences in family structure mediate child poverty disparities that are conditional on the nativity status of heads and spouses. Simultaneously, they also examine variations in the impacts of assimilation on the poverty risks of Black immigrants' children across family structure.

Accounting for differences in family structure reveals important contextual effects that are otherwise imperceptible in the analysis of gross child poverty levels. Thus, although the children of Black immigrants are less likely to live in poverty than their counterparts with US-born parents (Table 1), when child poverty risks are differentiated by family structure (Model 1), the results show that children in single-parent Black immigrant families have the highest poverty

risks among Blacks. Chi-square tests of the differences between children with US-born parents and their first and second generation immigrant counterparts in single-parent families indicate that the immigrant disadvantage relative to non-immigrants is statistically significant ($p<0.001$). As such, we can conclude that within single-parent families, the likelihood of living in poverty among first generation children of Black immigrants is more than double that for the children of US-born Blacks. According to Model 1, the lower average poverty level in immigrant than US-born Black families observed in Table 1 is mainly driven by the outcomes of second generation children in two parent immigrant families. Differences in family structure also mediate the impacts of assimilation on child poverty risks in Black immigrant families. Specifically, although Model 1 shows that there are higher poverty risks among all first relative to second generation children, the inter-generational percentage reduction in child poverty is much smaller in single-parent families (about 23%) than in two-parent family contexts (about 145%).

- *Table 3 about here* -

Additional measures of family context, i.e. refugee status and family size, are controlled in Model 2. In doing so, the effects of both factors on child poverty are clarified in two important ways. First, among Black children, living in refugee families leads to about a five-fold increase in the odds of living in poverty (i.e. exp (1.75)), relative to the respective odds faced by children in non-refugee families. Secondly, controlling for the effects refugee status and family size leads to a greater reduction in the poverty risks faced by first-generation children relative to their second generation counterparts between Models 1 and 2. Reductions to the base-line poverty risk of first generation children, therefore, suggest that these two indicators, more so refugee status, are poverty risk factors more likely to affect children's well being in the first than in the second generation.

In Model 3, the relative advantage of second generation children in two-parent households remains even after human capital characteristics are controlled. Hence, Model 3 indicates that the second generation advantage within two parent-family contexts is unlikely to be explained by the schooling advantage or working hours of Black immigrant household-heads. When other family characteristics (e.g. female household headship, household head human capital, and other characteristics) are simultaneously controlled (Model 4), living in single-parent families appears to have about the same effect on poverty on first-generation children of immigrants and the children of native-Blacks in single-parent families. Accounting for these factors also eliminates the disadvantage of second-generation children in single-parent families relative to their counterparts with Black single-parents. Thus, a possible explanation for the reversal in the disadvantage of children in single-parent immigrant families (i.e. between Models 1 and 4) is that their socioeconomic outcomes are largely driven by background factors such as the working patterns and sex of their household heads. However, despite the fact that the relative disadvantage of the children of immigrants *within* single-parent families disappears in Model 4, all children with single-parents still have higher poverty risks compared to children with two US-born Black parents, even after household head, spousal, and other family characteristics are controlled.

Several interaction terms are used in the models in Table 4 to investigate potential disparities in how other familial influences affect child poverty in immigrant and native Black families. In these models, particular focus is given to the impacts of the characteristics of household heads. Controlling for differences in family structure (Model 1), living in female-headed families has a weaker effect on child poverty in immigrant than in US-born families. In other words, the socioeconomic disadvantages usually associated with living in female-headed

households (Snyder and McLaughlin 2004, Rocha 1997) are less likely to impair children's well-being in female-headed immigrant than native-born Black families. In terms of nativity differences in parental human capital, interaction terms in Model 2 indicate that having a college-educated household head leads to smaller child poverty reductions in Black immigrant than in US-born Black families. In fact, this disparate effect of human capital remains even after other background factors are controlled (Model 4).

Given the high relative levels of schooling of Black immigrant household heads (Table 1) the weaker effect of household heads' schooling suggested by these results is particularly surprising. The main implication of this finding is that educated Black immigrant household heads face more impediments in the use of their human capital endowments for improving children's well-being than their native-born counterparts. Model 3 further indicates that the working hours of household heads have no effect on child poverty differences in immigrant and native-born Black families. Black immigrant household heads, however, work for longer hours than their US-born counterparts (Table 1), which should conceptually have a stronger negative impact on poverty in immigrant than in US-born Black households. The absence of these differentials associated with the working hours of household heads (Model 3) is, however, consistent with observations of a wage disadvantage among Black immigrants relative to their US-born counterparts (Butcher 1993; Daneshvary and Schwer 1994). In other words, the conceptual advantages associated with longer working hours seem to be largely offset by impacts of disparities in wages. Therefore, Model 3 suggests that the heads of black immigrant families work for longer hours than their counterparts in native-black families to achieve the same impact on their children's well-being.

- *Table 4 about here* -

In Table 5, we turn our attention to determining whether the overall immigrant advantage across ethnic origins observed in Table 1 remains even after factors such as generational status and familial characteristics are controlled. In the process, three insights on the mediating effects of generational status, within ethnic origin, on poverty disparities among Blacks are generated. First, despite higher child poverty levels in native-Black than in African and Hispanic-Black families, first generation children in these two immigrant groups face higher poverty risks than their counterparts with native-Black parents (Model 1). In fact, when both ethnicity and generational status are considered, child poverty risks among Blacks are highest among the first generation children of Hispanic-Black immigrants[5]. Second, Table 5 suggests that the disadvantage of first generation children of Hispanic-Black immigrants may be explained by the fact that they live in less favorable familial environments. Accounting for the human capital of household heads and spouses as well as other background characteristics in Model 2, therefore, has a greater impact on reducing the baseline poverty risks (i.e. from Model 1) of the children of Hispanic-Black immigrants than those of other Black children. First generation children in Hispanic-Black and African families also experience a greater relative disadvantage in two-parent (Model 5) than in single-parent families (Model 3)[6]. The third finding presented in Table 5 is that first-generation children of non-Hispanic Caribbean immigrants may live in more favorable economic contexts than their other first generation counterparts. As such, they are the only group of first generation children with lower poverty risks than the children of US-born Blacks (Model 1), but more so in single-parent (Models 3 & 4) than in two-parent families

[5] Chi-square tests of the difference between the first generation children of African and Hispanic-Black immigrants indicate that the disparity between the two is statistically significant (Chi2 46.3, $p<0.001$)

[6] The higher relative risks of poverty among first generation children in two-parent families is consistent with the limited economic resources in two-parent immigrant families (e.g. in Capps et al 2005). At the same time, lower poverty risks found among second-generation children in two-parent families are inconsistent with the fact that such families have a ubiquitous negative effect on the economic outcomes of all children.

(Model 5). Generally, however, the lower poverty risk of second-generation children, relative to their counterparts with US-born parents is robust across family structure. In fact, even though second-generation children in Hispanic-Black immigrant families have worse outcomes than the children of US-born Blacks (Model 5), their comparative disadvantage disappears after other factors are controlled (Model 6).

- *Table 5 about here –*

Family contexts, assimilation, and racial disparities among young children in immigrant families

Comparisons of the familial influences on poverty among Black and non-Black children of immigrants are shown in Table 6. In particular, the question of whether the impacts of specific poverty risk-factors are mediated by race is examined by interacting race with selected familial characteristics, e.g. living in refugee families. Among the main findings shown in Table 6 is the fact that the negative impacts of several risk-factors are more deleterious among Black than non-Black children of immigrants In Model 1, for example, the socioeconomic disadvantage associated with refugee families is clearly shown to be differentiated by race. In short, having a refugee parent significantly elevates the relative poverty risks of Black children relative to those of their Asian and non-Hispanic White counterparts. The disparate effect of refugee families across race is, however, driven by the effects of other background factors. Consequently, when household head and spousal human capital, gender of household heads, and other factors are controlled, the relative disadvantage of Black children in refugee families ceases to be significant (Model 5). In terms of racial disparities in the impacts of single-parent families, Model 1 also shows that Asian children are comparatively less likely than their Black or non-Hispanic White

counterparts to live in poverty. In such contexts, however, the relative likelihood of living in poverty is highest among non-Hispanic White children.

Models 2 to 4 specifically focus on whether the gender of household heads and other factors have disparate impacts on children that are conditional on race. As in Table 4 these models only focus on the mediating effects of the characteristics of household heads[7]. In Model 2, interaction terms for female-headed households and child race suggest that the negative impact on poverty associated with female headed households is slightly higher among Black than non-Black children. Chi-square tests of the differences between their respective coefficients, however, indicate that the differences between Blacks and their non-Hispanic White and Asian counterparts are not statistically significant. Non-Hispanic White children in female-headed households are nonetheless different from other children in such households in one important regard; their relative poverty disadvantage may be explained by factors such as the human capital and working hours of their household heads. Thus, when these factors are thus controlled (Model 5), non-Hispanic White children in female-headed household have comparatively lower poverty risks than other children in female-headed immigrant households.

Model 3 tests whether the poverty reducing impacts of household heads' education and linguistic ability varies across race. Having a household head who graduated from college is associated with a greater reduction in children's poverty risks among Black than non-Black children. However, these differences are not statistically significant. This notwithstanding, fundamental racial differences in the association between child poverty and household heads' English language proficiency remain. For example, Model 3 shows that the relative poverty

[7] Since Tables 1 and 2 show a higher prevalence of human capital and longer working hours among household heads relative to spouses, it is also reasonable to expect that the impacts of parental human capital on child poverty would work mainly through the characteristics of household heads.

reduction associated with having an English proficient household head is about three times lower among Black than among non-Hispanic White children. Nevertheless, English proficiency seems to have a stronger poverty reducing impact among Black, Asian, and non-Hispanic White children compared to their Hispanic-White counterparts. In Model 4, Black children experience slightly more reductions in their poverty risks than non-Hispanic and Hispanic-White children as the working hours of household heads increase. However, because the absolute effects of working hours are smaller in relative terms compared to the effects of factors such as language proficiency, the contribution of the work patterns of household heads to racial disparities in real terms are likely to be trivial.

- *Table 6 about here*-

Previous studies on the children of immigrants have broadly described intergenerational child poverty disparities that are conditional on race. Consequently, the analysis of these declines in Table 7 focuses on comparisons between Black children, differentiated by ethnic origins, and their non-Black counterparts. In doing so, Table 7 investigates whether the predicted disadvantage of Black to relative to White immigrants, based on segmented assimilation theory, is robust to differences in Black ethnic origins. Similarly, because the theory suggests that human capital endowments affect immigrant outcomes during assimilation, the analysis examines whether the high schooling levels of the household heads of Black children in African families confer more socioeconomic advantages to them compared to other children as generational status increases.

As Table 7 illustrates, Black children in immigrant families generally face higher poverty risks than their non-Hispanic White counterparts, regardless of ethnic origins or children's generational status. With the exception of the children of Africans, Black children also

experience smaller *inter*-generational poverty reductions than non-Hispanic White children (Model 1). In addition, *intra*-generational comparisons further confirm that Black children are consistently more likely than their non-Hispanic White and Asian counterparts to live in poverty in each immigrant generation. The higher poverty risks of Black relative to Asian and non-Hispanic White children are generally unexplained by factors such as refugee status, family size, or parental human-capital characteristics. As such, even after these factors are controlled (Model 2), Asian and non-Hispanic Whites still have lower poverty outcomes than their counterparts in the four Black immigrant family-types. Children in all four Black immigrant groups are however less likely to live in poverty than their Hispanic-White counterparts regardless of generational status. Nevertheless, poverty disparities between Black and White Hispanic children remain imperceptible within each immigrant generation (Model 1) even after other factors are controlled (Model 2).

In terms of disparities in the association between generational status and child poverty, racial differences in the magnitude of the decline between the first two generations generally reflect patterns of disparities in the schooling of household heads. Thus, while children in African families have higher levels of poverty than non-Hispanic White and Asian children, their intergenerational decline in child poverty is larger, than that of all other children of immigrants (Model 1). The exceptional poverty decline between the first and second generations among children in African families is largely consistent across family structure (Models 3 and 5). Conceptually, therefore, this finding is consistent with the notion that children's economic assimilation processes can be facilitated by high levels of parental human capital. At the same time, the persistent disadvantage of the children of Africans, relative to their non-Hispanic White and Asian counterparts, is also very instructive. What this suggests is that despite its effect on

inter-generational improvements in children's well being, the human capital endowments of household heads have a limited effect on the elimination of race-ethnic socioeconomic disparities among the children of immigrants.

- *Table 7 about here* -

Also notable in Table 7 is a considerable divergence in the magnitude of race-ethnic disparities in single and two-parent family contexts. First generation children in African and Hispanic-Black families experience more poverty disadvantages relative to other non-Black children within two-parent (Model 5) than single-parent (Model 3) family contexts. By the second generation, however, children in African and non-Hispanic Caribbean families experience about the same poverty risk as their Asian counterparts especially within two-parent family contexts (Model 5), but not in single-parent families (Model 3). In general, Table 7 further reinforces a key finding earlier observed in Table 3. In other words, even when racial differences are accounted for, child poverty declines between the first and second generation are larger in two-parent than in single-parent family contexts.

Conclusions

Recent increases in Black immigration to the United States present us with new opportunities for extending research on the children of immigrants. In its contribution to this process, this study expands our knowledge on Black immigrant adaptation process by examining the well-being of their children. Yet, as the results suggest, a number of familial risk factors affect poverty among the Black children of immigrants in ways that are peculiar from their respective impacts among their non-Black counterparts. More importantly, the findings reveal that Black immigrant families face greater structural impediments to improving the welfare of

their children than do the families of non-Black immigrants. In this regard these findings are consistent with Bashi and McDaniel's (1997) notion that Black immigrants are incorporated into a US racial system in barriers to social mobility are generally conditional on race. At the same time, the analysis demonstrates that familial contexts also mediate disparities in child poverty between immigrant and US-born Blacks. As a result, despite lower overall child poverty levels in immigrant than US-born Black families, the results suggest, for example, that Black immigrant parents work for more hours than native-Black parents to achieve about the same improvements to their children's welfare. Suggested by these findings, therefore, is the fact that Black immigrants are unlikely to have cultural attributes that give them a robust socioeconomic advantage in improving their children's welfare. Rather, the study suggests that practical imperatives associated with, for example, parental working conditions can significantly circumscribe the impacts of parental economic activity on child-well being among Blacks.

In terms of child poverty among Blacks, this study provides three clarifications on the critical differences between immigrant and US-born families. First, although they confirm that overall levels of child poverty are lower in immigrant than in US-born Black families, they also reveal that poverty comparisons at a higher level of aggregation conceal the mediating role of family contexts in understanding these poverty disparities. Accordingly, accounting for the impacts of family structure reveals that the highest poverty risks faced by Black children are found among children in single-parent Black-immigrant families. Second, the results further reveal that single-parent family contexts limit the impacts of assimilation on the expected improvements to children's well-being. Thus, even though child poverty declines between the first and second generation in Black immigrant families, second generation children in single-parent families still have worse outcomes than children in either single or two-parent US-Black

families. Relative levels of socioeconomic assimilation are, however, greater among children in two-parent Black immigrant families than among their counterparts with single-parents. In fact, as these results show, the overall child poverty advantage of Black immigrants is primarily driven by the lower poverty risks faced by second generation children in two-parent families.

A third contribution of these findings is that they illustrate the important role of pan-ethnic origins in mediating poverty disparities among Blacks. Unlike previous studies, this study demonstrates that children in Hispanic-Black immigrant families, especially those in the first generation, face higher poverty risks than other Black children. Significantly, however, the disadvantage of the children of Hispanic-Black immigrants appears to reflect the low levels of human capital among their household heads. Thus, when these background characteristics are controlled, their comparative disadvantage relative to their non-Hispanic Black counterparts (i.e. the children of African, non-Hispanic Caribbean, and other Black immigrants) generally disappears. Differences in ethnic origins also mediate the suggested impact of assimilation on reductions in child poverty. Accordingly, inter-generational poverty declines are greater among ethnic groups with higher levels of human capital, i.e. African immigrants, relative to the declines observed among groups with less, e.g. Hispanic-Blacks.

In its second comparative perspective on child poverty the study finds higher poverty levels among Black than non-Black children of immigrants that are consistent with the findings of previous studies (Oropesa and Landale 1997; Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005). Critical to the understanding of these differences, however, are important insights on the disparate influences of familial contexts that are generally conditional on race. First, disadvantaged family contexts appear to have more adverse effects on the well-being of Black than non-Black children of immigrants. For example, the deleterious impacts on children's welfare associated with living in

refugee families are higher among Black than non-Black children of refugees. At the same time, conventional pathways associated with improvements in children's well-being, such as improved linguistic ability among household heads, appear to have less of an impact among Black than non-Hispanic White children. A second insight provided by these results is that the impact of parental human capital on the socioeconomic assimilation of their children may be constrained by disadvantages associated with immigrants' race. As such, in comparisons between the Black African immigrants and their Asian and non-Hispanic White counterparts, child poverty risks were still much higher in Black African families, despite the fact that their household heads had the most schooling. Thirdly, the analyses indicate that poverty levels among Hispanic children of immigrants are not necessarily differentiated by race. However, despite these similarities, child poverty risks fall slightly faster between the first and second generation among White than among Black-Hispanic children in immigrant families (Table 7, Model 1).

In terms of policy implications, these findings suggest that more attention needs to be given to the interactive effects of family contexts in evaluations of child well-being in immigrant families. Also implied by these findings is the fact that although policies promoting parental employment may help improve child well-being, the influence of parental employment on child poverty will vary across families of different racial origins. Likewise, although improving parental human-capital endowments in immigrant families (e.g., English proficiency) can facilitate the economic incorporation of immigrants families, this strategy may not entirely eliminate immigrant native-born disparities in child well-being. The duration of poverty interventions may also need to be varied across race since the results suggest that with assimilation, poverty declines are faster among Non-Hispanic White and Asian immigrants than among their Black or Hispanic counterparts.

In conclusion, therefore, the fundamental argument made by this study is that interactions between familial contexts and race are critical to understanding the dynamics of child poverty in immigrant families. Potentially, these interactions can contribute to even more segmented patterns of assimilation among the children of immigrants. For the Black children of immigrants, these results reinforce the view that socioeconomic disadvantages associated with their minority status may be transferred between generations as they assimilate. Beyond these racial influences, however, are the impacts of familial contexts on the creation of further disparities in their assimilation patterns. Constricted socioeconomic assimilation patterns within single-parent families, and the higher prevalence of such families among Black than non-Black immigrants, may also have implications for understanding other disparities among immigrants' children. Further research on how race and family interactions affect child well-being among immigrants, will thus enhance our understanding of the effects of early childhood environments on immigrant disparities later in the life course.

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Tables

Table 1: A summary description of the characteristics of children in immigrant and US-Born Black families

	Black Immigrants					US-born Blacks
	Caribbean	African	Hispanic	Other	All	
First Generation	12	19.9	14.6	5.9	13.6	-
Second Generation	88	80.1	85.4	94.1	86.4	-
Single-parent family (%)	39.2***	24.6***	34.6***	35.4***	35.0***	62.8
% first gen. in single-parent families	45.2	28.6	28.0	36.4	37.4	-
% second gen. in single-parent families	38.3	23.6	35.7	35.4	34.6	-
Family size	4.7***	4.8***	4.8***	4.3*	4.7***	4.4
Young children in poverty (%)	21.0***	19.4***	30.5***	19.0***	21.3***	38.0
Household-heads						
Females	47.2***	26.8***	41.8***	41.2***	41.3***	64.1
College graduate	16.3***	49.2***	11.4***	26.3***	24.6***	9.4
Proficient in English	82.5	77.9	49.5	92.6	79.6	-
Hours worked per week (Mean)	35.4***	37.9***	33.3***	38.4***	36.1***	31.6
Spouses						
College graduate	49.9***	49.8***	42.7***	55.7***	49.7***	68.6
Proficient in English	49.2	56.4	30.9	58.9	50.2	-
Hours worked per week (Mean)	29.8**	27.5**	24.1***	30.9	28.7***	30.3
N	17,910	7,312	2,693	2,575	30,490	276,775

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 2: A summary description of the characteristics of Black, Asian, Hispanic-White, and non-Hispanic White children in immigrant families

	Black	Asian	Hispanic-White	Non-Hispanic White
First-generation	13.6	17.9*†	15.8*§	11.6*₸
Second Generation	86.4	82.1*†	84.2*§	88.4* ₸
Single-parent family	35.0	12.0 *†	20.3 *†	10.2 *†
% first gen. in single-parent families	37.4	12.4*†	21.4*†	9.8*†
% second gen. in single-parent families	34.6	12.0*†	20.2*†	10.3*†
Family size	4.7	4.9 *§	5.3 *†	4.5 *†
Young children in poverty (%)	21.3	14.9 *†	30.2 *§	11.1 *†
Household-heads				
Females	41.3	15.8 *†	21.2 *†	17.3* †
College graduate	24.6	45.3 *†	8.4 *†	40.4 *†
Proficient in English	79.6	53.2 *†	40.0 *†	82.0 *₸
Hours worked per week (Mean)	36.1	38.7 *‡	37.1 *†	41.4 *†

Spouses				
College graduate	49.7*	48.5 *†	26.8 *†	42.2 *§
Proficient in English	50.2	41.2 *†	26.5 *†	71.2 *†
Hours worked per week (Mean)	28.7	23.9 *§	19.9 *†	22.3 *†
N	30,490	65,536	115,471	108,612

† - Significantly different from each of the five Black immigrant sub-groups: p<0.05

§ - Significantly different from African, non-Hispanic Caribbean, and other blacks: <0.05

‡ - Significantly different from African, non-Hispanic Caribbean, and Hispanic blacks: p<0.05

∓ - Significantly different from African, Hispanic-blacks, and other blacks: p<0.05

Table 3: Logistic regression coefficient estimates of the likelihood of living in poverty among the children of Black immigrants and US-born Blacks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-parent families				
First generation children	1.52***	1.46***	1.86***	0.52***
Second generation children	1.17***	1.28***	1.53***	0.32***
Child of US-born Blacks	0.71***	0.71***	0.72***	0.55***
Two-parent families				
First generation children	0.66***	0.43***	0.39***	0.37***
Second generation children	-0.30***	-0.33***	-0.36***	-0.24***
Child of US-born Blacks (ref)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Child age	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***
Male	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Other family characteristics				
Children in refugee families		1.75***		1.07***
Family size		0.12***		0.03***
Parental characteristics				
Female head				0.59***
Head is college grad.			-1.58***	-1.37***
Head is English proficient			-0.38***	-0.34***
Head's working hours				-0.04***
Spouse is college grad.			-1.09***	-0.84***
Spouse is English proficient			-0.57***	-0.26***
Spousal working hours				-0.04***
Constant	-1.16***	-2.24***	-0.49***	1.23***
N	307,264	307,264	307,264	307,264
log pseudo likelihood ('000)	-176.9	-175.4	-171.4	-146.7

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 4: Logistic regression coefficient estimates of the disparities in selected familial influences among poverty among children in Black immigrant and US-born families

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Children in Black immigrant families	-0.08*	-0.33***	-0.20***	0.07
Child in US-born Black families (ref)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Child age				-0.03***
Male				-0.01
Other family characteristics				
Single-parent families	1.40***	1.76***	1.68***	1.42***
Children in refugee families				1.62***
Family size				0.05***
Parental characteristics				
Female head	0.75***			0.52***
Female head x children in immig. families	-0.49***			-0.64***
Head is college grad		-1.76***		-1.54***
Head college grad x children in immig. families		0.57***		0.61***
Head's work hours			-0.05***	-0.05***
Head work hours x children in immig. families			0.00**	0.00*
Head is English proficient				-0.50***
Constant	-1.98***	1.60***	-0.19***	0.06
N	307,264	307,264	307,264	307,264
log pseudo likelihood ('000)	-175.3	-172.7	-155.3	-150.8

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 5: Logistic regression coefficient estimates examining poverty disparities between children of Black immigrants with various ethnic origins and the children of US-born Blacks

	All families		Single-parent families		Two-parent families	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
African Families						
First generation	0.53***	0.55***	-0.17	-0.15	0.90***	0.93***
Second generation	-0.59***	-0.19**	-0.83***	-0.42***	-0.36***	0.01
Black-Hispanic Families						
First generation	0.68***	0.15	0.01	-0.28	1.01***	0.42
Second generation	0.08	-0.28**	-0.23*	-0.39**	0.40***	-0.09
Non-Hisp. Caribbean Families						
First generation	-0.17*	-0.33***	-0.51***	-0.49***	0.37***	-0.06
Second generation	-0.56***	-0.54***	-0.69***	-0.62***	-0.34***	-0.38***
Other-Black immigrant families						
First generation	0.11	0.16	0.74*	0.85*	-0.74	-0.72
Second generation	-0.64***	-0.30**	-0.62***	-0.31**	-0.66***	-0.26
US-born Black families (ref)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Child age	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.01***	-0.02***
Male	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00
Family characteristics						
Single-parent families	1.83***	0.65***				
Children in refugee families		0.73**		1.17***		0.55*
Family size		0.04***		0.03***		0.04***
Parental characteristics						
Female head		0.60***		0.62***		0.56**
Head is college grad		-1.39***		-1.53***		-1.00
Head is English proficient		-0.29***		-0.32***		-0.34***
Head's working hours		-0.04***		-0.05***		-0.04***
Spouse is college grad		-0.82***				-0.93***
Spouse is English proficient		-0.44***				-0.24**
Spousal working hours		-0.04***				-0.04***
Constant	-1.63***	1.38***	0.23***	1.31***	1.75***	1.00***
N	307,264	307,264	184,517	184,518	122,747	122,748
log pseudo likelihood ('000)	-176.9	-146.6	-127.7	-108.5	-495.6	-382.5

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 6: Coefficient estimates showing differences in familial influences on poverty among Black children of immigrants and their Asian, Non-Hispanic White, and Hispanic-White counterparts

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Blacks	-0.90***	-0.82***	-0.14**	-0.43***	-0.24**
Asians	-0.91***	-0.86***	-0.42***	-0.70***	-0.50***
Non-Hispanic Whites	-1.29***	-1.20***	-0.24***	-1.19***	-0.48***
Hispanic Whites	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age					-0.02***
Males					-0.01
Second generation					-0.48***
Single-parent family	1.00***	0.96***	1.09***	0.93***	0.80***
Blacks x Single-parent	0.41***				0.41***
Asian x Single-parent	0.27***				0.07**
N.H.-White x Single-parent	0.50***				0.52***
Refugee family	0.42				0.14
Blacks x refugee	1.69*				1.28
Asian x refugee	0.75				0.30
N.H.-White x refugee	1.53				0.69
Family size					0.01
Female head		0.33***			-0.10***
Blacks x female head		0.17**			0.11
Asian x female head		0.13**			-0.01
N.H.-White x female head		0.12**			-0.28***
Head is college grad			-1.05***		-0.99***
Blacks x H. grad			-0.09		0.06
Asian x H. grad			0.04		0.06
N.H. White x H grad			0.12		0.16*
English proficient head			-0.57***		-0.50***
Blacks x H. Proficient			-0.21***		-0.15*
Asian x H. Proficient			-0.18**		-0.06
N.H. White x H. Proficient			-0.63***		-0.40***
Head's working hours				-0.04***	-0.04***
Blacks x Head's work hours				-0.01***	-0.01***
Asian x Head's work hours				-0.01***	0.00*
N.H. White x Head's work hours				0.01***	0.00
Constant	-1.07***	-1.14***	-0.85***	0.39***	1.04***
N	320,108	320,108	320,108	320,108	320,108
log pseudo likelihood ('000)	-145.2	-145.5	-139.1	-132.5	126.8

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 7: Logistic regression coefficient estimates of the impacts of generational status and Black ethnic origin on poverty disparities among children in immigrant families

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	All	All	Single-parent	Single-parent	Two-parent	Two-parent
Blacks						
First-generation						
African	0.25**	0.50***	-0.05	0.02	0.27***	0.75***
Black-Hispanic	0.38**	0.35***	0.14	-0.04	0.38*	0.35
Non-Hispanic Caribbean	-0.03	-0.11	-0.39***	-0.21***	-0.26**	-0.02
Other	0.05	0.27	0.87**	0.98**	-1.38**	-0.76
Second generation						
African	-0.77***	-0.17**	-0.66***	-0.38***	-0.98***	-0.11
Black-Hispanic	0.03	-0.04	-0.08	-0.21	-0.22	-0.12
Non-Hispanic. Caribbean	-0.47***	-0.34***	-0.54***	-0.45***	-0.96***	-0.36***
Other	-0.59***	-0.14	-0.46***	-0.20	-1.29***	-0.31*
Asians						
First generation	-0.38***	-0.11**	-0.70***	-0.64***	-0.21***	0.02
Second generation	-0.96***	-0.52***	-0.62***	-0.62***	-0.96***	-0.48***
Non-Hispanic Whites						
First generation	-0.41***	-0.08*	-0.54***	-0.60***	-0.25***	0.03
Second generation	-1.31***	-0.61***	-0.82***	-0.70***	-1.34***	-0.60***
Hispanic-Whites						
First generation	0.43***	0.37***	-0.01	0.14***	0.57***	0.45***
Second generation (ref)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age		0.01***		-0.01		-0.02***
Males		-0.01		-0.02		0.00
Family Characteristics						
Single-parent family		0.35***				
Refugee family		0.70***		1.12***		0.62***
Family size		0.01*		-0.12***		0.03***
Parental Characteristics						
Female head		0.31***		0.36***		0.26***
Head is college grad		-0.80***		-0.92***		-0.76***
English proficient head		-0.43***		-0.38***		-0.47***
Head's working hours		-0.04***		-0.04***		-0.04***
Spouse is college grad		-0.56***				-0.56***
English proficient spouse		-0.30***				-0.24***
Spousal working hours		-0.04***				-0.04***
Constant	-0.91***	1.45***	0.07**	1.81***	-1.17	1.19***

N	320,108	320,109	53,127	53,127	266,981	266,981
log pseudo likelihood ('000)	-150.5	-117.9	-350.1	-298.7	-109.1	-87.6

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figures

Figure 1: Regional distribution of poverty among the children of immigrant and US-born Blacks

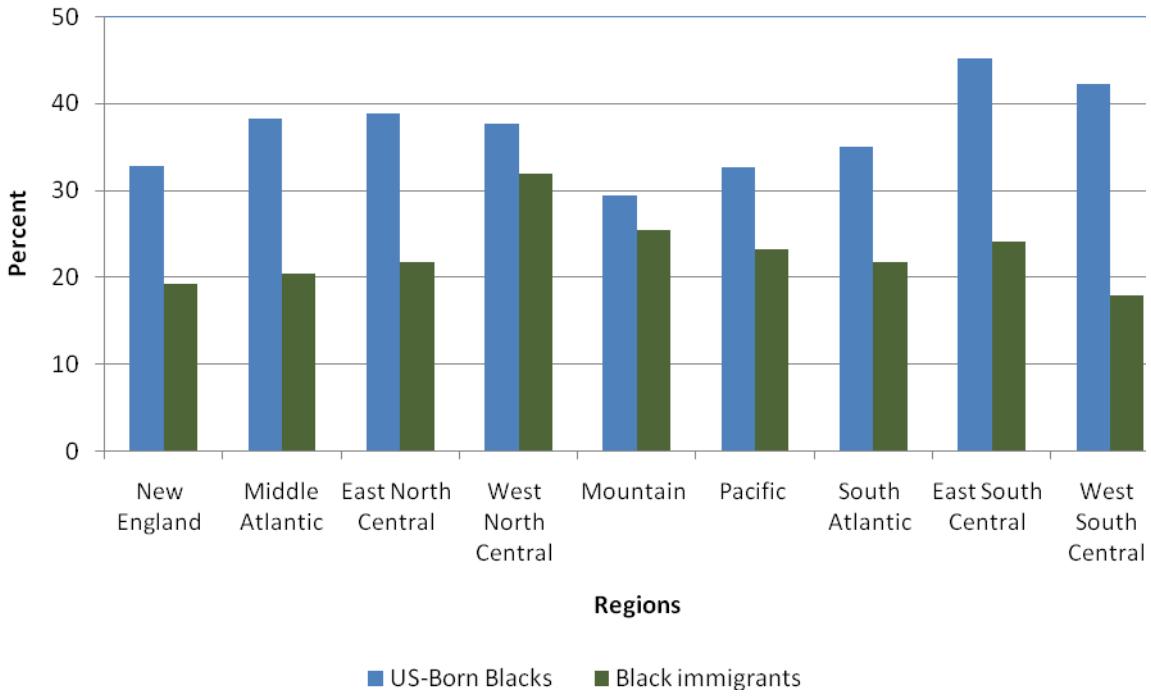

Figure 2: Regional distribution of poverty among the children of immigrants from different racial groups