

BLACK IMMIGRANT MOTHERS
IN PALM BEACH COUNTY,
FLORIDA, AND THEIR
CHILDREN'S READINESS
FOR SCHOOL



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A PROJECT OF THE MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE'S NATIONAL CENTER ON IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY

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For more on the Young Children in Black Immigrant Families Research Initiative, please visit: www.migrationpolicy.org/cbi.

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Executive Summary

This report compares the circumstances and characteristics of Black immigrant mothers in Palm Beach County, FL, to those of Latina immigrant and Black native-born mothers, focusing on those living in distressed areas. The study also compares the early developmental outcomes of their children. When controlling for parental and child characteristics, we find that children of Black immigrants in kindergarten have significantly higher odds of being ready for school, as measured by behavior observations and literacy tests, than children of Latina immigrants or Black natives living in the focal areas.

In addition, we find that Black children of immigrants who resided in distressed areas of Palm Beach County had kindergarten readiness assessment scores comparable to those of the average child living in the county as a whole. This finding suggests that many Black immigrant families with young children are able to overcome some of the negative environmental factors associated with living in distressed areas, such as higher rates of poverty, teen pregnancy, crime, and child abuse and neglect. Despite high levels of parenting stress and depression, Black immigrant mothers also report high levels of good behavior among their children. Our analyses indicate that some of the advantages experienced by the children of Black immigrants are due to their parents' relatively better educational and socioeconomic status. These advantages are bolstered by enrollment in center-based care and by parental support of childhood literacy (as measured by educational expectations and the number of books in the home).

With respect to policy implications, this research supports the well-documented association between the use of center-based care and child outcomes, and suggests the need to explore ways to enroll greater numbers of both Black and Latina immigrants' children in high-quality center-based care and preschool.

Many Black immigrant families with young children are able to overcome some of the negative environmental factors associated with living in distressed areas.

The finding that parents' encouragement of children's literacy influences differential outcomes between Latina and Black immigrants' children also suggests a need to better understand early parenting practices with respect to preparing children for school, as well as a need to increase the availability and quality of interventions designed to bolster such practices, particularly among mothers with lower educational backgrounds or literacy skills, and for whom English is a second language. Greater attention to these and related issues would not only help build on the positive development of the children of Black immigrants, but might also help to better support the development of children of other low-income and immigrant groups.

I. Introduction

Immigration contributed to one-fifth of Black population growth in the United States between 2001 and 2006.¹ Between 1980 and 2005, the number of Haitians quadrupled amid a generally rising number of Black immigrants from around the world.² Yet, despite this growth in the population of Black immigrants, there has been relatively little research exploring their demographic characteristics, their incorporation

1 Mary Mederios Kent, "Immigration and America's Black Population" (*Population Bulletin* 62, No. 4, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, DC, December 2007): 1-20, www.prb.org/pdf07/62.4immigration.pdf.

2 Ibid.



into the US mainstream, or how well their young children are faring in terms of their health, development, and school readiness.³ Furthermore, while there is some knowledge of the circumstances of children in Black immigrant families growing up in populous, ethnic, urban centers, little is known about the lives of families and children who reside in smaller urban and rural locations. As a step toward filling this gap, we analyze survey and administrative data collected through Chapin Hall's six-year longitudinal study of a birth cohort in Palm Beach County, FL. This study affords a unique opportunity to examine Black immigrant mothers' demographic characteristics, access to social services and other resources, parenting practices, and other variables that affect the life chances of their children. We also examine the early development of these children, and compare their outcomes to the children of Black US-born and Latina immigrant mothers.

Immigration contributed to one-fifth of Black population growth in the United States between 2001 and 2006.

Located on the southeast Atlantic coast of Florida just north of Miami, Palm Beach is the largest county in the state in terms of land area and the third most populous, with an estimated population of more than 1.3 million according to the 2010 US Census. Palm Beach County is ethnically diverse, with more than 100 languages spoken by the families of children in the county's school district.⁴ Although it is the wealthiest county in the state, Palm Beach County includes large pockets of poverty. The county's population growth of nearly 17 percent from 2000 to 2010 was largely fueled by immigration. The foreign-born share of the county's population increased from 17 percent to 21 percent over the decade; by comparison, the immigrant share of the population in Florida and the United States in 2010 was 19 percent and 12 percent, respectively.

Historically, most immigrant groups typically settle in predictable patterns into well-known urban settings.⁵ California, New York, and Florida — in particular the major cities within them — are the most popular destinations for the 12 largest US immigrant groups. Not surprisingly, as of 2002, Los Angeles was a common settling community for Mexican immigrants, while Dominicans dominated New York City, and Miami was a traditional receiving community for Cubans.⁶ However, recent research shows that immigrants are increasingly settling into new destinations. Between 2000 and 2009, 14 states experienced growth in the immigrant population of 49 percent or more.⁷ These new destination states are mainly located in the southern and central regions of the United States, and include places such as South Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama.⁸

Palm Beach can be thought of as a new destination county for immigrants within Florida. While the state of Florida has a long history of receiving immigrants, Palm Beach County has only recently experienced a large influx. The county attracts a diverse population of immigrants, perhaps reflecting the county's varied geography of rural as well as urban communities, and its relatively short history of settlement by large immigrant groups. The immigrant parents in the county represent a diverse array of Latin American and

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- 3 There is some evidence that the young adult children (ages 25-39) of Black immigrants fare well in terms of educational attainment when compared to third-generation whites, although they do not fare as well as Asians. In contrast, second-generation Mexicans and Puerto Ricans achieve fewer years of education than both second-generation Blacks and third-generation whites. See Jeffery G. Reitz, Heather Zhang, and Naoko Hawkins, "Comparisons of the Success of Racial Minority Immigrant Offspring in the United States, Canada and Australia," *Social Science Research* 40 (2011): 1051-66.
 - 4 According to the Palm Beach County school district, 141 different languages and dialects are represented in the 2010-11 school population; School District of Palm Beach County, "About Us," accessed September 8, 2012, www.palmbeachschools.org/Community/AboutUs.asp.
 - 5 Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 3rd edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006).
 - 6 Ibid: 51.
 - 7 Aaron Terrazas, "Immigrants in New-Destination States," Migration Information Source, February 2011, migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=826.
 - 8 Ibid.



Caribbean countries, with the seven largest in terms of population being (in order) Haiti, Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Guatemala, Colombia, and Honduras. Compared to immigrants in traditional receiving communities, the Palm Beach groups tend to be smaller, have less established social networks, and live in areas that are not typically well-settled ethnic enclaves. Immigrants are dispersed across the county, as are Black immigrants, who comprise over 25 percent of the total immigrant population in several subdivisions.

In this report we focus on the early outcomes of the young children of Black, mainly Haitian-born, mothers and the factors that affect these children's development. In addition, we examine how the experiences and outcomes of these children compare to children with Black US-born and Latina immigrant mothers. We have adopted an ecological framework, which posits that the developing child is embedded in a family, community, and policy context, and that the relationships between these contexts and individual development change across the lifespan.⁹

This report has three main sections. The first compares Black immigrant, Latina immigrant, and Black US-born mothers in Palm Beach County with respect to (1) characteristics such as educational attainment, employment status, marital status, number of children, and household income; (2) use of social and other services, such as maternal and child health services, public income supports, and enrollment in health insurance; and (3) postnatal outcomes such as physical and mental health (e.g., depression and parenting stress), parenting practices, and use of child care. The second section explores differences in the characteristics and development of the children of these mothers, including premature births, birth weight, language and math literacy, socioemotional skills, and school readiness. The final section offers statistical analyses that explore the extent to which the outcomes of children of Black immigrant mothers differ from those of the children of Latina immigrant and Black US-born mothers, after controlling for background characteristics and other variables. For the statistical analyses we focus on mothers' reports of children's socioemotional development and pre-academic skills as well as on measures of kindergarten readiness obtained from the schools.

Given previous evidence suggesting relatively higher educational attainment among Afro-Caribbean Blacks in the United States,¹⁰ we hypothesize that the Black immigrant mothers in our sample might have economic or social advantages over other mothers in the sample, with these advantages potentially translating into better developmental outcomes for their children. Although there is scant research on the early outcomes of the children of Black immigrants, there is some evidence from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K) that, when compared to third-generation Black children, children of Black immigrants display significantly higher achievement in reading in the spring of their kindergarten year.¹¹ Our findings do not show an advantage for children of Black immigrant mothers versus children of Black native-born mothers in literacy in the fall of the kindergarten year (after controlling for background and other characteristics). However, we do find an immigrant advantage on a broader test of school readiness that covers academic as well as social and personal skills. When comparing children of Black immigrant mothers with those of Latina immigrant mothers, we find that the children of Black immigrants are significantly more likely to achieve top scores in both a literacy measure and a broader assessment of school readiness, even after controlling for a wide array of background characteristics.

9 Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development," *American Psychologist* 32, No. 7 (1977): 513–31.

10 Reitz, Zhang, and Hawkins, "Comparisons of the Success of Racial Minority Immigrant Offspring."

11 It should be noted that these particular findings come from descriptive analyses, and as such do not account for differences in family background and other characteristics between immigrant and nonimmigrant children. See Natalia Palacios, Katarina Guttmannova, and P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, "Early Reading Achievement of Children in Immigrant Families: Is There an Immigrant Paradox?" *Developmental Psychology* 44, No. 5 (2008): 1381–95.



II. Overview of the Palm Beach County Longitudinal Study

In 2004 the Children’s Services Council (CSC) of Palm Beach County provided funding for Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago to conduct a six-year longitudinal study examining the use and potential effectiveness of an array of county services in promoting school readiness and school success among children, and in improving functioning among families most in need of support. The goal of the study was to describe the characteristics and needs of families the service system was intended to serve, how families used the services, and how service use related to child and family outcomes.

We use two main components of the study for these analyses. First, the study team collected Department of Health vital statistics and data on the use of maternal/child health services for approximately 30,000 mothers who gave birth in Palm Beach County during 2004 or 2005. The vital statistics data included information on the mothers’ country of origin and other characteristics, birth outcomes, and use of prenatal care and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). Data on the use of maternal/child health services came from the Palm Beach County Maternal Child Health Partnership (MCHP) database, and included information on assessment, home visitation, and the use of coordinated services for families experiencing medical, social, and environmental risks that could affect children’s development.

The second part of the study was based on a sample of over 500 mothers who gave birth in the county in 2004 or 2005 (hereafter referred to as “the survey sample”), and who resided in one of four geographic areas targeted by CSC that showed relatively higher levels of poverty, teen pregnancy, crime, and child abuse and neglect. The targeted geographic areas (TGAs) that form the geographic frame for the survey sample were defined by zip code areas and mostly overlapped with four subdivisions of the county.¹²

Mothers were recruited through two maternal health programs in Palm Beach County that were deemed likely to provide the widest access to mothers of newborns in the TGAs. To be selected for the sample, mothers were required to be at least 16 years old; reside in one of the TGAs; and speak English, Spanish, or Haitian Creole.¹³

The survey sample was stratified along two dimensions. First, the sample was selected so that approximately half would be identified as high risk, meaning that the children were at risk for developmental delays and/or their families were at risk for dysfunction.¹⁴ Second, because the Glades TGA was sparsely populated and the immigrants living here were more transitory at the time of the study, the population living in this TGA was oversampled in order to ensure that the subsample was large enough to make reasonable estimates of its characteristics. A total of 703 mothers were recruited for the study, and the final baseline sample was 531 mothers.¹⁵

12 The four targeted areas were the Glades, Lake Worth/Lantana, Riviera Beach/Lake Park, and West Palm Beach. About the time this study began, 75 to 93 percent of public school students in these targeted communities received free or reduced-cost lunches, the rate of child abuse and neglect was between 4.1 and 6.6 times the county average, and crime rates in the TGAs ranged from 14 to 93 percent above the county rate. See Children’s Services Council of Palm Beach (CSC), *State of the Child in Palm Beach County* (Palm Beach County: CSC, 2003).

13 Additional details on the recruitment strategy can be found in Chapin Hall’s Year 1 report on the Palm Beach County Longitudinal Study. See Julie Spielberger, John Schuerman, Sandra Lyons, and Thomas Haywood, *The Palm Beach County Family Study: Baseline Report* (Chicago, IL: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, 2006).

14 Our determination of risk was based on mothers’ scores on a postnatal risk screen developed by the CSC-funded Healthy Start (HS) program and administered in the hospital shortly after birth. The screen included questions about the mother’s age, education, race, marital status, prenatal care, and substance use, as well as questions about her child’s birth weight, condition at birth, and birth complications. If the postnatal risk screen was not available, we used scores from an in-home assessment by a HS nurse or the HS prenatal risk screen. The prenatal risk screen included the same maternal background questions as the postnatal screen, as well as questions about neighborhood and domestic safety, household hunger, mother’s mental health, and feelings concerning the pregnancy. About 3 percent of the sample had no risk screens recorded in the administrative data; these mothers were classified as “not at risk.”

15 Additional details on the sampling strategy can be found in Spielberger et al., *The Palm Beach County Family Study*.



The mothers in the survey sample were interviewed in person shortly after the birth of the focal child, and then annually in each of four subsequent years.¹⁶ At the time of the first interview, the focal children ranged in age from a few weeks to 6 months, with a mean age of 2 months.¹⁷

Data on Child Outcomes

We collected data on child development beginning in the third year of the study (when the children were 2 years old). In this year, mothers were asked a few questions to identify the age at which their children first achieved a list of developmental milestones appropriate for 2-year-olds. In addition, mothers were asked to describe their children's use of language, and to indicate whether or not they had begun toilet training their children.

In the fourth and fifth years of the study, mothers were asked whether their children had demonstrated a variety of behaviors typical of 3- and 4-year-olds in the areas of toilet training, language and communication skills, socioemotional competencies, and preliteracy (e.g., use of books, drawing, writing, and letter recognition).

Focal children who entered kindergarten in the Palm Beach County school district were tested using the Florida Kindergarten Readiness Screen (FLKRS). The FLKRS is administered by teachers and covers seven developmental domains — language and literacy, mathematics, social and personal skills, science, social studies, physical health and fitness, and creative arts. The screening includes two sets of measures. The first is a subset of the Early Childhood Observation System (ECHOS), an observational instrument that is used to monitor children's skills, knowledge, and behaviors in the seven developmental domains listed above. Children's total scores on ECHOS fall into one of three readiness categories — *not yet demonstrating*, *emerging/progressing*, or *consistently demonstrating* — with the latter two designated as indicating readiness for school.

The other component of FLKRS is the Florida Assessments for Instruction in Reading (FAIR), which is also teacher administered and screens children's letter naming and phonemic awareness skills. FAIR scores are used to determine the child's probability of reading success, which ranges from 1 percent to 99 percent. FAIR provides two rankings: children with a probability of reading success scored at or above 67 percent are considered ready for kindergarten, while those scoring below 67 are considered not ready.

Of the children who were still part of the study sample at kindergarten entrance, ECHOS data were available for 283 (88 percent) of the children, and FAIR data were available for 293 (90 percent) of the children.

III. Methods

In the first section below we use vital statistics data on the county 2004-05 birth cohort in order to compare the characteristics of Black foreign-born mothers at the time of birth to the characteristics of mothers from other groups. In particular, we focus our analysis on differences and similarities between Black

16 Sample sizes in years 2 through 5 were 444, 399, 355, and 353, respectively. Attrition analyses conducted in each year showed that the attrition was approximately random.

17 The in-person interviews collected data in the following domains: (1) household composition and demographic characteristics; (2) family economic circumstances; (3) living conditions; (4) maternal and child health status, insurance, and use of prenatal and other health services; (5) mother's use of formal services and income supports; (6) child-care and after-school arrangements; (7) social support; (8) mother's and partner's parenting practices; (9) mother's mental health and substance use; and (10) child development (beginning in year 3). The mothers were also interviewed briefly by telephone approximately six months after each of the annual in-person interviews. The telephone interviews collected data on household composition; family economic circumstances; maternal and child health status, insurance, and use of health services; mother's use of formal services and income supports; child care; mother's parenting practices; and mother's depressive symptoms.



and Latina foreign-born mothers, and on those between Black foreign-born and Black US-born mothers.¹⁸ In addition, because a large proportion of the Black immigrant mothers in both the cohort and survey samples are from Haiti, we consider whether there are any notable differences at the time of delivery between Haitian mothers and those from other countries in Central or South America or the Caribbean. Finally, because our survey sample is drawn exclusively from mothers living in the TGAs, we consider how mothers living in these areas of the county differ from those living in other areas. Taken together, these analyses provide select information on the overall circumstances of mothers who gave birth in Palm Beach County in 2004-05, and how these circumstances vary across race, ethnicity, nativity, and location.

In the second section, we use vital statistics data in order to examine the differences and similarities between our survey sample and the mothers in the county birth cohort. We also use the vital statistics and survey data to compare the characteristics of Black immigrant mothers in our survey sample to the characteristics of Latina foreign-born and Black US-born mothers. Finally, we use survey and school district data to compare the characteristics and outcomes of the children of Black foreign-born mothers to the characteristics and outcomes of children from our two comparison groups.

In the third and final section we conduct multivariate regression analyses of four of our child outcome measures: the two maternal reports of a child's socioemotional well-being and pre-academic skills, and the two scores from FLKRS: ECHOS and FAIR. The purpose of these multivariate analyses is to explore how the kindergarten readiness of children of Black immigrant mothers differs from that of children of Latina immigrant mothers and children of Black native-born mothers, when controlling for a range of child, parent, and family characteristics. These characteristics include the child's age and gender (in the first models or the first columns in the tables shown later in this report); additional child, mother, and family socioeconomic characteristics (added to the second models shown in the second columns of the tables); and a set of variables about parent expectations for their children, support for their education, and access to early education (added to the third models and shown in the third columns).¹⁹

The first of the four child outcomes, socioemotional well-being, was based on maternal reports about how often their children engaged in 14 different behaviors — with responses ranging from 0 (almost never) to 2 (most of the time) — when the children were approximately 4 years old. The maternal reports of these 14 behaviors were averaged to create an overall score for each child. In keeping with standard practice in child development research, we standardized this variable to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 (i.e., the average score among all children was set to 0 and the standard deviation of this score was used to measure the deviation from the average for each of the children in the sample).

The second outcome (pre-academic skills) was based on maternal reports regarding the child's ability to recognize/say the names of colors, recognize/say the names of the letters of the alphabet, and count. Responses ranged from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating ability to recognize/say the names of all colors/letters, or to count up to 20 or higher. Similar to the socioemotional skills score, the responses were averaged to create an overall score for each child.

The third outcome is the Palm Beach County school district's general measure of kindergarten readiness: ECHOS. We analyzed whether children were scored by their teachers as either "emerging/progressing" or "consistently demonstrating" with respect to kindergarten readiness. Then we separately analyzed whether children were scored as "consistently demonstrating" readiness.

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- 18 Because our survey sample consists primarily of Black and Latina mothers, we did not pay close attention to differences between Black foreign-born mothers and those who were non-Black or non-Latina, whether foreign or US born. In addition, because Black foreign-born and Latina US-born mothers differ initially along the two major dimensions of race and nativity, which might lead to very different social, cultural, and other experiences, we felt that a comparison of these two groups would ideally be the subject of a separate paper.
- 19 The specific variables added to the second set of models were: the mother's educational level, whether the mother was a teenager at the time of the birth, whether the child was underweight at birth, the mother's marital and employment status, whether the household income was at or below poverty level, whether the focal child had special medical needs, the number of negative housing conditions (e.g., overcrowded home), and the mother's scores on a measure of parenting stress and on a depressive symptoms scale.



The fourth and final outcome we used is the FAIR test of children’s prereading skills. We used the county district’s cutoff of 67 percent on the test to determine which children were considered ready for kindergarten.

IV. Results

A. Maternal and Child Characteristics

Below we provide a descriptive overview of the population used in these analyses. Using data from vital statistics, the Palm Beach County survey, and the county school district, we highlight demographic differences between Black foreign-born, Latina foreign-born, and Black US-born mothers. In addition, to the extent possible, we examine country-of-origin differences within the group of foreign-born Black mothers. These descriptive statistics provide a basis for comparing the survey sample, which is used in the multivariate analyses, to the larger Black foreign-born population in Palm Beach County.

I. Maternal Characteristics for Palm Beach County Birth Cohort

Tables 1 and 2 use vital statistics data collected on all births in the county in 2004-05. These tables focus on the demographic characteristics of the mothers of children born in Palm Beach County and provide breakdowns by race/nativity and country of origin.

Black immigrant mothers versus Latina immigrant and Black native-born mothers. Black foreign-born mothers show certain advantages, including dispersal across the county outside of distressed areas, older average age, a higher marriage rate, and high levels of formal education versus Latina immigrant and Black native-born mothers (see Table 1).

Table 1. Maternal Characteristics by Mother’s Race and Nativity, Palm Beach County 2004-05 Birth Cohort

	Black Immigrants	Hispanic Immigrants	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other Immigrants	Other, US Born	Total
	n=3,444	n=6,196	n=4,160	n=2,406	n=2,352	n=11,039	N=29,597
Mother’s country of origin							
U.S.A.	0	0	100	100	0	100	60
Haiti	69 ^a	0	0	0	0	0	8
Mexico	0	28	0	0	0	0	6
Guatemala	0	18	0	0	0	0	4
Other Central/ South American/ Caribbean Country	21	49	0	0	16	0	14
Other Country	10 ^a	5	0	0	83	0	9
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
TGA residence							
Glades	3	5	16	5	1	1	4
Non-Glades	44	55	54	45	21	22	38
Outside of the TGAs	54 ^{a, b}	40	30	50	79	77	58
Mother is married							
	57 ^{a, b}	50	21	52	88	77	60



	Black Immigrants	Hispanic Immigrants	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other Immigrants	Other, US Born	Total
Teen mother at time of focal child's birth	5 ^{a, b}	10	24	18	1	5	9
Mother's age							
Mean (sd)	30.0 (6.2) ^{a, b}	28.0 (6.1)	24.6 (6.0)	26.4 (6.5)	31.8 (5.1)	30.8 (6.0)	29.0 (6.5)
Mother's education							
High school diploma or more	67 ^a	49	69	70	93	92	75
Unknown	4	5	2	2	1	1	3
Father's education¹							
High school diploma or more	58	42	46	60	90	86	66
Unknown	25	22	41	19	6	9	19
Uses WIC	60 ^{a, b}	53	56	42	12	13	35
Focal child - low birth weight	11 ^a	7	15	8	7	6	8
Prenatal care							
Began prior to pregnancy	1	1	2	3	3	3	2
First trimester	41 ^a	37	41	51	63	65	52
Second trimester	29 ^b	29	26	18	12	9	19
Third trimester	9 ^b	12	6	4	3	2	6
Timing unknown	18	17	23	23	19	19	20
Did not get prenatal care	2	2	3	2	1	1	2
Number of prenatal visits							
Mean (sd)	9.8 (4.1) ^a	9.3 (4.1)	10.0 (4.6)	11.0 (4.5)	11.7 (4.0)	12.4 (4.5)	11.0 (4.5)
Type of insurance coverage							
Medicaid	34 ^a	23	62	47	13	19	30
Other	1 ^b	1	0	0	1	0	1
Private insurance	28 ^a	21	26	41	63	69	45
Self-pay	29 ^b	47	4	4	14	4	17
Unknown	8	7	8	8	9	8	8
Mother's pregnancy complications ²	42 ^a	34	39	34	33	35	36
Focal child birth complications ³	13 ^a	10	12	10	8	10	10
Focal child premature	12 ^a	10	16	11	9	10	11

Notes: Full Palm Beach County 2004-05 Birth Cohort included; No weights applied.

^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

¹ Significance testing was not conducted on father's education due to the large number of unknowns.

² Mother's pregnancy complications include: diabetes, prepregnancy; diabetes, gestational; hypertension, prepregnancy; hypertension, gestational; hypertension; eclampsia; previous preterm birth; previous poor pregnancy outcome; pregnancy



result of infertility treatments; previous C-section deliveries; other.

³ Focal child birth complications include: assisted ventilation required; newborn received antibiotics; significant birth injury; hyaline membrane disease/RDS; NICU admissions; seizures or serious neurologic dysfunction; newborn given surfactant; other.

Source: Palm Beach County Department of Health vital statistics.

Black immigrant mothers are most likely to be from Haiti (69 percent),²⁰ while Latina foreign-born mothers tend to be from Mexico (28 percent) or other Latin American/Caribbean countries (49 percent). Black foreign-born mothers are more likely to live outside of the TGAs (54 percent) than Latina foreign-born (40 percent) and Black US-born mothers (30 percent). Black foreign-born mothers are older and more likely than Latina foreign-born and Black US-born mothers to be married, and are less likely to be teen mothers. Black immigrant mothers are more likely to hold a high school diploma than Latina foreign-born mothers (67 versus 49 percent), and equally as likely to hold a diploma as Black US-born mothers.

Black foreign-born mothers show relatively good access to health care and social services. They have slightly more prenatal visits on average (9.8 visits) than Latina foreign-born mothers (9.3 visits), and about the same as Black US-born mothers (10.0 visits). They are also more likely than Latina foreign-born and Black US-born mothers to use WIC, and more likely than Latina foreign-born mothers to be covered under Medicaid (34 vs. 23 percent). In comparison, Black US-born mothers are more likely to be covered under either Medicaid (62 percent) or private insurance (26 percent), so very few pay for medical services out of pocket (4 percent).

Despite their socioeconomic advantages and relatively strong access to social services, 42 percent of Black foreign-born mothers have a pregnancy complication, 12 percent have a premature child, and 13 percent of their children experience at least one birth complication. These figures are all significantly higher than for Latina foreign-born mothers, but lower than for Black native-born mothers.

Haitian mothers versus other Black immigrant mothers. Among Black foreign-born mothers, Haitian mothers appear to face slightly more risks than Black foreign-born mothers from other countries (see Table 2). Despite the fact that Haitian mothers are more likely than other Black immigrant mothers to be married and live outside the TGAs, they appear to be somewhat disadvantaged on several indicators. For example, only 60 percent of Haitian immigrant mothers have a high school degree or more education, compared to 85 percent of Black foreign-born mothers from other Caribbean and Central and South American countries. Haitian mothers are also more likely to use public benefits such as WIC (71 percent versus 60 percent or less for other Black foreign-born mothers) and Medicaid (38 percent versus 34 percent or less). Haitian mothers make fewer prenatal visits than other Black immigrant mothers, which may be associated with the relatively higher share of Haitian mothers (44 percent) who experience a pregnancy complication. Haitian mothers do not, however, differ from other Black immigrant mothers on childbirth outcomes (i.e., low birth weight, prematurity, or childbirth complications).

20 Foreign-born Black mothers also come from African countries such as Angola, Botswana, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe, as well as from various Caribbean countries such as the Bahamas, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turks and Caicos. These countries each represent a very small proportion of all foreign-born Black mothers.

**Table 2. Maternal Characteristics for Black, Foreign-Born Mothers by Country of Origin, Palm Beach County 2004-05 Birth Cohort**

	Haiti	Other Central/ South/ Caribbean American Country	Other Country	Total
	n=2,363	n=734	n=347	N=3,444
TGA residence				
Glades	2	3	3	3
Non-Glades	41	52	46	44
Outside of the TGAs	57 ^a	45	51	54
Mother is married	60 ^a	50	52	57
Teen mother at time of focal child's birth	4	5	6	5
Mother's age				
Mean (sd)	30.2 (6.1)	29.7 (6.4)	29.6 (6.3)	30.0 (6.2)
Mother's education				
High school diploma or more	60 ^{a, b}	85	73	67
Unknown	2	0	22	4
Father's education¹				
High school diploma or more	56	64	63	58
Unknown	22	28	36	25
Uses WIC	71 ^{a, b}	48	12	60
Focal child - low birth weight	11	10	11	11
Prenatal care				
Began prior to pregnancy	1	1	1	1
First trimester	42 ^b	50	13	41
Second trimester	34 ^{a, b}	22	9	29
Third trimester	10 ^b	9	2	9
Timing is unknown	11	17	73	18
Did not get prenatal care	2	2	2	2
Number of prenatal visits				
Mean (sd)	9.6 (3.9) ^a	10.2 (4.5)	10.0 (4.5)	9.8 (4.1)
Type of insurance coverage				
Medicaid	38 ^{a, b}	32	12	34
Other	1	1	0	1
Private insurance	26 ^b	42	14	28
Self-pay	34 ^{a, b}	24	5	29
Unknown	1	1	68	8
Mother's pregnancy complications ²	44 ^a	37	39	42
Focal child birth complications ³	14	12	10	13
Focal child premature	12	14	13	12

Notes: Full Palm Beach County 2004-05 birth cohort included limiting the sample to only Black, Foreign-born mothers; No weights applied.



^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Haiti and other Central/South American/Caribbean country.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Haiti and other country.

¹ Significance testing was not conducted on father's education due to the large number of unknowns.

² Mother's pregnancy complications include: diabetes, prepregnancy; diabetes, gestational; hypertension, prepregnancy; hypertension, gestational; eclampsia; previous preterm birth; previous poor pregnancy outcome; pregnancy result of infertility treatments; previous C-section deliveries; other.

³ Focal child birth complications include: assisted ventilation required; newborn received antibiotics; significant birth injury; hyaline membrane disease/RDS; NICU admissions; seizures or serious neurologic dysfunction; newborn given surfactant; other.

Source: Palm Beach County Department of Health vital statistics.

Mothers in the TGAs. In analyses not shown, we examined all mothers who gave birth in 2004 or 2005 in Palm Beach County using the vital statistics data and compared mothers residing in the TGAs to those residing elsewhere in the county. Mothers in the TGAs are more likely to be from Mexico (9 percent versus 3 percent elsewhere in the county), Guatemala (7 percent versus 2 percent), and other countries in South/Central America and the Caribbean (16 percent versus 13 percent). They are less likely to be married (43 percent versus 73 percent), more likely to be a teen mother (14 percent versus 6 percent), and thus younger than mothers living elsewhere in the county (with a mean age of 27 versus 30.4 years). Mothers in the TGAs are also less likely to have a high school diploma (61 percent versus 85 percent), and more likely to use WIC (52 percent versus 23 percent), be covered by Medicaid (41 percent versus 21 percent), and pay out of pocket for medical services (23 percent versus 12 percent). Finally, they have a lower number of prenatal visits (9.9 versus 11.7), are more likely to have a child with low birth weight (9 percent versus 7 percent), and more likely to have a premature child (12 percent versus 10 percent).

2. Maternal and Child Characteristics for the Palm Beach County Survey Sample

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics obtained from vital statistics for the survey sample are very similar to those countywide for Black immigrant mothers, even though the survey was conducted almost entirely in the distressed TGAs (see Table 3). For instance, in the survey sample two-thirds of all Black immigrant mothers were from Haiti — similar to the proportion in the countywide sample (69 percent). Black immigrant mothers in the survey sample were older than Latina immigrant or US-born Black mothers, and less likely to be teen mothers. Black immigrant mothers were also more likely than US-born Black mothers to be married, and more likely than Latina immigrant mothers to have a high school diploma or higher. However, the average ages and marriage rates for all mothers were lower in the survey sample than the countywide sample, while the teen mother rates were higher.

Table 3. Maternal Characteristics by Mother's Race and Nativity, Palm Beach County Birth Cohort Survey Sample

	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
	n=55	n=225	n=156	n=55	n=38	N=529
Mother's country of origin						
U.S.A.	0	0	100	100	100	47
Haiti	66	0	0	0	0	7
Mexico	0	42	0	0	0	18
Guatemala	0	31	0	0	0	13
Other Central/South American/ Caribbean Country	29	27	0	0	0	14
Other Country	6 ^a	0	0	0	0	1



	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
TGA residence						
Glades	15	9	47	22	5	22
Non-Glades	84 ^b	89	53	75	92	77
Outside of the TGAs	2	2	1	4	3	2
Mother is married	38 ^b	29	12	20	26	24
Teen mother at time of focal child's birth						
Teen mother	7 ^{a, b}	15	33	36	11	21
Mother's age						
Mean (sd)	29.1 (6.8) ^{a, b}	26.2 (5.9)	22.8 (4.9)	23.0 (5.6)	25.8 (5.5)	25.1 (6.0)
Mother's education						
High school diploma or more	55 ^a	24	58	44	66	42
Unknown	4	4	2	0	0	3
Father's education¹						
High school diploma or more	44	16	34	33	45	28
Unknown	31	32	47	36	32	37
Uses WIC	80	75	73	75	47	73
Focal child - low birth weight	13	7	15	9	13	11
Prenatal care						
Began prior to pregnancy	9 ^a	0	3	2	3	2
First trimester	44	26	43	40	61	37
Second trimester	25	45	28	42	16	36
Third trimester	6	15	10	2	5	10
Timing is unknown	16	12	15	13	16	14
Did not get prenatal care	0	1	2	2	0	1
Number of prenatal visits						
Mean (sd)	9.8 (3.8)	8.7 (3.5)	9.6 (4.6)	10.1 (4.4)	12.2 (6.3)	9.4 (4.3)
Type of insurance coverage						
Medicaid	36 ^a	17	76	78	79	47
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0
Private insurance	20 ^a	4	19	18	21	13
Self-pay	38 ^b	76	2	4	0	37
Unknown	6	2	3	0	0	2
Mother's pregnancy complications ²	38	31	40	29	34	35
Focal child birth complications ³	15	8	16	5	13	11
Focal child premature	13	10	17	13	11	13

Notes: Year 1 sample (n=529); No weights applied. Please note that Other, Foreign-born were excluded from the table due to a sample size of n=2.

^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

¹ Significance testing was not conducted on father's education due to the large number of unknowns.

² Mother's pregnancy complications include: diabetes, prepregnancy; diabetes, gestational; hypertension, prepregnancy;



hypertension, gestational; hypertension; eclampsia; previous preterm birth; previous poor pregnancy outcome; pregnancy result of infertility treatments; previous C-section deliveries; other.

³ Focal child birth complications include: assisted ventilation required; newborn received antibiotics; significant birth injury; hyaline membrane disease/RDS; NICU admissions; seizures or serious neurologic dysfunction; newborn given surfactant; other.

Source: Palm Beach County Department of Health vital statistics.

The survey conducted in the TGAs also included several indicators not available in the larger, countywide sample; these indicators are central to the analyses around child development and school readiness in the remainder of this report. Overall, Black foreign-born mothers experience some advantages compared to the other two groups (see Table 4). Black foreign-born mothers are more likely than Black US-born mothers to live outside of the Glades subdivision (86 percent versus 53 percent), which is the most isolated and, historically, least connected to services. Black foreign-born mothers are also more likely than the other two groups to be married (36 percent versus 12 percent); however, they are also much more likely than Latina foreign-born mothers to be neither married nor cohabitating (46 percent versus 14 percent). Black foreign-born mothers also exhibit more markers of acculturation than Latina foreign-born mothers; Black foreign-born mothers are far more likely to speak English at home (36 percent versus 3 percent) and to have been interviewed in English (52 percent versus 5 percent). Black foreign-born mothers have also been in the United States on average almost twice as long as Latina immigrant mothers (8.0 years versus 4.6 years).

Table 4. Maternal Characteristics by Mother's Race and Nativity, Survey Data for Palm Beach County Survey Sample

	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
Survey data and Survey sample	n=56	n=225	n=156	n=52	n=40	N=529
TGA residence						
Glades	14	9	47	23	5	22
Non-Glades	86 ^b	91	53	77	95	78
Years in U.S.A. (Immigrant mothers only)						
Mean (sd)	8.0 (6.2) ^c	4.6 (4.4)	—	—	—	5.3 (5.0)
Language spoken at home						
English	36 ^a	3	98	59	98	47
Spanish	4	92	0	41	3	44
Haitian Creole	61 ^b	0	2	0	0	7
Konjubaal	0	3	0	0	0	1
Other	0	2	0	0	0	1
Language the interview was conducted in						
English	52 ^a	5	100	81	100	53
Spanish	2	95	0	19	0	42
Haitian Creole	46	0	0	0	0	5
Number of negative housing conditions						
Mean (sd)	1.6 (1.8)	1.3 (1.6)	1.4 (1.8)	1.1 (1.5)	0.50 (0.9)	1.3 (1.7)
Marital status and living arrangements						
Married	36 ^b	30	12	23	23	24
Cohabitating	18	56	26	40	40	41
Not married/cohabitating	46 ^a	14	62	37	38	36



	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
Mother currently working	20 ^a	4	21	25	13	14
Mother's partner currently working	n=40	n=197	n=99	n=37	n=32	n=405
	90 ^b	93	65	95	81	85
Number of children						
Mean (sd)	2.0 (1.1)	1.9 (1.0)	2.2 (1.5)	2.0 (1.0)	1.7 (1.0)	2.0 (1.2)
At or below poverty threshold	80	74	76	57	50	72
"Income (income mid-point used as a proxy)"						
Mean (sd)	\$13,004.63 (\$12,581.01)	\$19,082.95 (\$11,629.75)	\$13,955.59 (\$16,530.90)	\$21,357.14 (\$19,464.78)	\$23,256.25 (\$17,856.31)	"\$17,463.38 (\$15,007.27)"
Mother's health "good, very good, or excellent"	84	76	92	81	85	83
Use of Healthy Beginnings Services						
Received either Care Coordination and/or Intensive Care Coordination	86	95	80	65	73	85
Mother has health insurance	43 ^b	30	93	75	80	58
Income supports						
Food stamps	21 ^b	23	71	48	48	41
Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)	93	90	87	79	73	87
TANF	0	1	19	6	18	8
Rent voucher	0	2	8	6	8	5
SSI	7 ^b	0	24	19	15	11
Unemployment insurance	7	4	3	0	13	4
Earned Income Tax Credit	14	9	17	17	33	15
Total areas in which services were used in past year¹						
Mean (sd)	3.3 (1.7)	3.0 (1.2)	4.1 (2.1)	3.6 (1.9)	4.5 (3.1)	3.5 (1.9)
Depression Score 16 or higher ²	53 ^a	23	50	39	35	36
Year 2 Parenting stress (86+)	24	17	21	17	21	19
Overall parenting score³						
Mean (sd)	0.80 (.12) ^a	0.71 (.18)	0.80 (.14)	0.80 (.14)	0.80 (.16)	0.76 (.16)
Number of children's books in the home at Year 5						
Mean (sd)	27.3 (41.9)	14.4 (16.9)	25.2 (30.3)	16.4 (21.0)	53.7 (57.5)	22.2 (30.6)



	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
Educational expectations for child						
Year 4						
To receive less than a high school diploma	0	2	0	0	0	1
To graduate from high school	0	12	5	18	5	8
To attend college	10	2	5	6	5	4
To graduate from college	90	85	90	77	90	87
Year 5						
To receive less than a high school diploma	0	1	0	0	0	0
To graduate from high school	0	19	12	16	14	14
To attend college	17	8	12	13	24	12
To graduate from college	83	73	77	71	62	74

Notes: Year 1 sample (N=531) No weights applied. Other, Foreign-born are not included in this table due to a small sample (n=3).

^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

^c Denotes *one way ANOVA* differences are statistically significant at $p < .001$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

¹ Items in this score include meeting the family's basic needs, such as food, clothing, and housing; child care; medical and mental health care; and addressing concerns about their children's health and development. Only those items asked in all five years of the survey are included in this score.

² The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) scores range from 0 to 60, with higher scores indicating the presence of more depressive symptoms.

³ The overall parenting score ranges from 0 to 1 with 1 indicating more positive parenting.

Source: Yearly in-person interviews.

Employment levels are generally higher in Black immigrant families than in either Latina immigrant or Black native-born families. Black foreign-born mothers are more likely than Latina foreign-born mothers to be working (20 percent versus 4 percent), perhaps reflecting the fact that they are less likely to have a partner. However, when they do have a partner, he is much more likely to be working than the typical partner of Black US-born mothers (90 percent versus 65 percent). Black foreign-born mothers, on the other hand, are relatively disconnected from public benefits when compared with Black native-born mothers; for instance, they are less likely than Black US-born mothers to have health insurance (43 percent versus 93 percent), use food stamps (21 percent versus 71 percent), or receive Supplemental Security Income (7 percent versus 24 percent).

Employment levels are generally higher in Black immigrant families than in either Latina immigrant or Black native-born families.

Other measures of mothers' well-being showed mixed results for Black immigrant mothers versus other groups. For example, Black foreign-born mothers are more than twice as likely as Latina foreign-born



mothers to have a depression score of 16 or higher (53 percent versus 23 percent). On the other hand, they have a significantly higher positive parenting score (0.80 versus 0.71).

The survey sample in the TGAs also includes several measures of children’s circumstances — including health, health care, and child-care arrangements — not available in the broader countywide sample (see Table 5). There are few differences across the focal race/ethnic and nativity groups, but children of Black immigrant mothers are far more likely than children of Latina immigrant mothers to be in formal, center-based child care at all preschool ages. The gap in center-based care enrollment between children of Black and Latina immigrants increases from 18 percentage points in year 2 of the study (19 percent versus 1 percent) to 40 points in year 5 (67 percent versus 27 percent). Children of Black native-born mothers have similarly high levels of enrollment in center-based care.

Table 5. Child Characteristics by Mother’s Race and Nativity, Palm Beach County Survey Sample

	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
Survey data and Survey sample	n=56	n=225	n=156	n=52	n=40	n=529
Age of Focal Child in Months [Mean (sd)]						
Year 1	2.1 (1.4)	1.7 (1.1)	1.8 (1.2)	1.8 (0.9)	1.9 (1.2)	1.8 (1.2)
Year 2	15.0 (1.7)	14.4 (1.3)	14.7 (1.7)	14.7 (1.1)	14.8 (1.3)	14.6 (1.5)
Year 3	27.1 (2.2) ^{a, b}	26.0 (1.3)	26.4 (1.5)	26.5 (1.5)	26.2 (1.3)	26.3 (1.5)
Year 4	39.5 (2.0)	39.0 (1.2)	39.0 (1.4)	40.0 (1.3)	39.0 (1.4)	39.1 (1.4)
Year 5	50.5 (2.2)	50.0 (1.8)	50.3 (1.7)	50.5 (1.4)	50.1 (1.7)	50.2 (1.8)
Focal child is a girl	55	41	40	46	55	44
Focal child’s general health status						
Year 1						
Good, very good, or excellent	98	85	98	96	95	92
Year 2						
Good, very good, or excellent	100	80	93	83	97	88
Year 3						
Good, very good, or excellent	98	87	98	97	96	93
Year 4						
Good, very good, or excellent	100	85	95	100	100	92
Year 5						
Good, very good, or excellent	100	87	96	97	100	93
Focal child has special medical needs						
Year 2	4 ^b	16	29	21	27	20
Year 3	14	15	26	25	25	20
Year 4	10	16	23	6	35	18
Year 5	11	19	27	16	19	21
Focal child’s child care						
Year 1						
At home	80	96	67	75	80	82
Relatives, friends, or neighbors	18 ^a	4	26	19	8	14
Child-care center, Head Start, prekindergarten, or family child care	2	0	6	2	8	3



	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
Other or multiple arrangements	0	0	2	4	5	1
Year 2						
At home	38	70	32	52	53	52
Relatives, friends, or neighbors	43	28	24	29	30	29
Child-care center, Head Start, prekindergarten, or family child care	19 ^a	1	41	19	17	19
Other or multiple arrangements	0	1	2	0	0	1
Year 3						
At home	30	66	26	50	42	46
Relatives, friends, or neighbors	27	22	25	19	29	24
Child-care center, Head Start, prekindergarten, or family child care	39 ^a	10	43	31	29	27
Other or multiple arrangements	5	2	7	0	0	4
Year 4						
At home	33	63	39	44	55	49
Relatives, friends, or neighbors	28	20	15	18	25	19
Child-care center, Head Start, prekindergarten, or family child care	39 ^a	15	45	38	10	30
Other or multiple arrangements	0	2	2	0	10	2
Year 5						
At home	25	53	27	26	43	38
Relatives, friends, or neighbors	8	16	10	26	14	14
Child-care center, Head Start, prekindergarten, or family child care	67 ^a	27	54	48	43	44
Other or multiple arrangements	0	4	9	0	0	5

Notes: Year 1 sample (N=531) No weights applied. Other, Foreign-born are not included in this table due to a small sample (n=3).

^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

¹ Items in this score include meeting the family's basic needs, such as food, clothing, and housing; child care; medical and mental health care; and addressing concerns about their children's health and development. Only those items asked in all five years of the survey are included in this score.

² The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) scores range from 0 to 60, with higher scores indicating the presence of more depressive symptoms.

Source: Yearly in-person interviews.



The children of Black immigrant mothers differ significantly from those of Black native-born mothers in the survey sample in one regard: they are far less likely to have reported health problems. Black foreign-born mothers are significantly less likely than Black US-born mothers to report that their child has special medical needs in year 2 (4 percent versus 29 percent); this pattern continues through year 5 of the survey, but is not statistically significant after year 2.²¹

Child outcomes for Palm Beach County survey sample. Children of Black immigrant mothers fare significantly better than those of Latina immigrants on outcome measures reported by their mothers (see Table 6). In year 5 of the study, children of Black immigrants are more likely than children of Latina immigrants to be reported in the top 25 percent for socioemotional well-being (28 percent versus 8 percent) and in the top 25 percent for pre-academic skills (56 percent versus 11 percent). There are no statistically significant differences in these parent-reported outcomes between children of Black immigrant mothers and children of Black native-born mothers.

Table 6. Child Outcomes at Year 5 by Mother’s Race and Nativity, Palm Beach County Survey Sample

	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total
	n=36	n=135	n=128	n=31	n=21	N=351
How does focal child communicate						
Does not talk yet	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mostly talking in one-word sentences	0	3	1	3	5	2
Talking in 2-3 word phrases	0	8	4	3	5	5
Talking in fairly complete, short sentences	31	23	16	13	14	20
Talking in long, complicated sentences	69	66	80	81	76	73
Communication skills in the top 25%	42	19	32	13	48	27
Social-Emotional skills in the top 25%	28 ^a	8	34	19	38	22
Use of book skills in the top 25%	81	58	73	74	81	68
Pre-academic skills in the top 25%	56 ^a	11	53	29	38	34
Preliteracy skills in the top 25%	47	35	56	39	62	46

Notes: Year 5 sample (N=529) No weights applied. Other, Foreign-born are not included in this table due to a small sample.

^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

Mother’s self-reported responses to the below questions included in the above scales:

- Communication Skills: Speaks clearly so that strangers understand; Refers to him/her-self as I; Uses appropriate social greetings; Is a good listener; Waits his/her turn to talk; and If asked, can say his/her first and last name. (Scored on a three-point scale ranging from “almost never” to “sometimes” to “most of the time.”)
- Social-Emotional Skills: Seems happy; Gets angry easily; Pays attention well; Is eager to learn new things; Is accepted and liked by other children; Adjusts easily to a new situation; Likes to try new things; Helps or cooperates with adults; Likes playing with other children close to his/her age; Worries about things; Is overly active and unable to sit still; Finishes what he/she is asked to do; Is aggressive; and Does things without thinking. (Scored on a three-point scale ranging from “almost never” to “sometimes” to “most of the time.”)

21 Mothers were asked, “Did a doctor or professional ever tell you that your child has any special medical needs?” However, these special needs were not independently verified.



- **Use of Books Skills:** Looks at picture books on his/her own; Points to pictures while looking at picture books; Pretends to read the words in a book; Reads the written words in a book; and When looking at a book, can tell what is in each picture. (Scored on a three-point scale ranging from “almost never” to “sometimes” to “most of the time.”)
- **School Readiness Skills:** Can point to the colors when you say the names; Can say the names of the colors; Points to the letters of the alphabet when you say the names; Can say the names of the letters of the alphabet; and How high can he/she count. (Scored on a four-point scale ranging from “all of them” to “most of them” to “some of them” to “none of them.”)
- **Preliteracy Skills:** Scribbles or draws on paper; Draws pictures of people or objects; Tells you in words about what he/she has drawn; Tries to draw shapes, numbers, or letters; Can draw one or more shapes that you recognize; and Can draw one or more letters that you recognize. (Scored on a two-point scale ranging from “no” to “yes.”)

Source: Yearly in-person interviews.

Perhaps most importantly, children of Black immigrants perform better than either children of Latina immigrants or children of Black natives on the county school district’s kindergarten readiness assessments (see Table 7). Children of Black immigrant mothers are significantly more likely than those of Latina immigrants to be in the “consistently demonstrating” category on the ECHOS assessment (49 percent versus 13 percent). Children of Black immigrant mothers are also more likely than those of Latina immigrants to score a 67 or more on the FAIR assessment (58 percent versus 30 percent). They are more likely to pass both the ECHOS and FAIR assessments than children of Black native-born mothers, though here the differences in scores are not statistically significant.

Table 7. Focal Child’s School Readiness by Mother’s Race and Nativity, Survey Sample and County

Survey Sample							
	Black Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant	Black, US Born	Hispanic, US Born	Other, US Born	Total	PBC
School Readiness							
ECHOS scores							
Not yet demonstrating	12	32	21	21	15	24	13
Emerging/Progressing	39	55	55	46	46	52	40
Consistently demonstrating	49 ^a	13	25	32	39	24	47
FAIR scores							
66 or less	42	70	63	57	60	63	35
67 or more	58 ^a	30	38	43	40	37	65

Notes: ^a Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Hispanic, Foreign-born.

^b Denotes z-test of column proportions are statistically significant at $p < .05$ or lower between Black, Foreign-born and Black, US-born.

Source: Palm Beach County school district.

Moreover, children of Black immigrant mothers in the distressed TGAs are about as likely as the county-wide population of kindergarten entrants to pass the ECHOS assessment (49 percent versus 47 percent) — suggesting that children of Black immigrants in the TGAs experience some protection against the overall pattern of disadvantage in these areas.

B. Regression Analyses of Child Outcomes

Below we show that the children of Black immigrant mothers continue to display an advantage over the children of Latina immigrant mothers on kindergarten readiness measures, even when controlling for socioeconomic and other child and family characteristics. The children of Black immigrant mothers also show an advantage relative to those of Black native-born mothers on some measures, but these advantages tend to disappear when we control for child and family characteristics.



1. Socioemotional Behaviors (Maternal Report)

Black immigrant mothers report better behavior for their children than do Latina mothers, and this pattern persists when controlling for socioeconomic and other characteristics (see Appendix Table A-1). When controlling only for child age and gender, the behavior score (as reported by the mother) is over two-thirds of a standard deviate higher (reported in the table as 0.71) for the children of Black immigrants than for the children of Latina immigrants.²² The behavioral advantage of the children of Black immigrants over those of Latina immigrants in year 5 of the study persists even when controlling for the mother's education, family structure, birth outcomes, poverty-level income, and other characteristics.

Despite reporting comparatively better behavior for their children, Black immigrant mothers report higher parenting stress and depression than Latina immigrant mothers, which are factors generally associated with poorer child behavior. On the other hand, Black immigrant mothers report much higher levels of child-care enrollment than Latina immigrant mothers, a factor associated with better child behavior. Yet neither of these factors significantly influences the strong advantage of Black immigrants' children over Latina immigrants' children in the behavioral domain. At the same time, there do not appear to be significant differences between the children of Black immigrant mothers and those of Black native-born mothers in this domain.

2. Pre-Academic Skills (Maternal Report)

Black immigrant mothers also report higher pre-academic skill levels among their children than do Latina immigrant mothers (see Appendix Table A-2). When controlling for age and gender, the pre-academic skills of the children of Black immigrants are more than a standard deviation higher than those of the children of Latina immigrants. After controlling for family and child characteristics, the gap in pre-academic skills is somewhat reduced, but still remains. Children of employed mothers and those with highly educated mothers have significantly higher pre-academic skills scores, and so the relatively high rates of employment and education among Black foreign-born mothers are a partial explanation for their children's relatively high scores. In addition, the effects of parenting stress and maternal depression on pre-academic skills (two indicators on which Black immigrant mothers fare relatively poorly) are much smaller than they are for behavior scores, and they do not reach statistical significance. After accounting for parenting variables and use of center-based child care, all of which are positively and significantly related to pre-academic skills, the size of the advantage that the children of Black foreign-born mothers have compared to those of Latina foreign-born mothers declines, but remains fairly large and highly significant.

3. ECHOS

Analysis of the "consistently demonstrating" category on the ECHOS portion of FLKRS showed a strong advantage for the children of Black immigrant mothers. When controlling only for gender and age, the odds that these children receive a score of "consistently demonstrating" are almost six times those for the children of Latina immigrants (see Appendix Table A-3). In addition, the odds that the children of Black immigrants score "consistently demonstrating" are also over twice as large as they are for the children of Black native-born mothers (not shown in table). Moreover, children of Black immigrants are significantly more likely to score "consistently demonstrating" than either children of Latina immigrants or children of Black natives even *after* controlling for the full range of socioeconomic and other characteristics. Overall, children with less-educated mothers and low birth weight children are less likely than other children to reach the "consistently demonstrating" threshold, while those children with more books in the home are more likely than other children to score above this threshold. Thus two of the factors that favor the children of Black immigrants (higher parental education and books in the home) may partially explain their advantage in kindergarten readiness.²³

22 The standard deviation is used to describe the variability in a set of numbers. In this case, it tells us how much, on average, the individual scores within a given group vary (or deviate) from the average score for the entire group.

23 We also analyzed the likelihood of children receiving a score of either "consistently demonstrating" or "emerging/progressing" on the ECHOS, since this is how the Palm Beach County school district defines readiness for school. We found that, after controlling for child and family characteristics, Black children of immigrants did *not* have an advantage over other children. In addition, the only variable that showed a strong relationship to the ECHOS score was the number of books in the home.



4. FAIR (67 or above)

Our analysis of the other Palm Beach County school district measure of school readiness — the FAIR kindergarten literacy assessment — shows that the children of Black immigrant mothers fare better than those of Latina immigrants, even when controlling for socioeconomic and other characteristics. When controlling only for gender and age, the odds that the children of Black immigrant mothers pass the FAIR literacy assessment (i.e. achieve a score of 67 or higher) are more than three times those of the children of Latina immigrants (see Appendix Table A-4). As we saw for the results from the ECHOS, birth weight and mother’s education are both significantly associated with the likelihood of passing the FAIR. The number of children’s books in the home is not significantly associated with passing the FAIR, but enrollment in center-based child care has a strong positive association. Poverty-level income and mother’s employment also show significant associations. Once again, these factors favor the children of Black immigrants and may partially — though not entirely — explain their relatively strong performance on the literacy assessment.

V. Discussion and Conclusion

The results presented here show strong advantages of the children of Black immigrant mothers in early childhood outcomes and school readiness when compared to the children of Latina immigrant mothers. The children of Black immigrants score better than the children of Latina immigrants across the board on both parent-reported measures of well-being and kindergarten readiness assessments, even when controlling for their socioeconomic circumstances, access to early education, mothers’ well-being, and other important characteristics. In addition, they fared better than the children of Black native-born mothers on one of the two measures of school readiness (the ECHOS).

The results presented here show strong advantages of the children of Black immigrant mothers in early childhood outcomes and school readiness when compared to the children of Latina immigrant mothers.

Perhaps most significantly, the children of Black immigrants in our sample, who resided in the TGAs, had kindergarten readiness assessment scores comparable to those for the average child entering kindergarten in the Palm Beach County school district. This finding suggests that many Black immigrant families with young children are able to overcome some of the negative environmental factors associated with living in distressed areas, such as higher rates of poverty, teen pregnancy, crime, and child abuse and neglect. The factors that protect Black immigrants’ children from these environmental risks appear to include relatively high parental education and employment, as well as access to and utilization of center-based child care and early education. But the survey data we collected do not include variables that adequately explain the relative advantage of Black immigrants’ children on these measures; some of that advantage must be related to migrant selectivity, parenting skills, and other factors that are more difficult for surveys generally to measure.

Our analyses show that some of the advantages experienced by the children of Black immigrant mothers are due to their parents’ relatively better educational and socioeconomic status. For instance, in the countywide sample we analyzed, Black foreign-born mothers had more formal education than Latina foreign-born mothers and were less likely to be teen mothers. Black immigrant mothers were advantaged



relative to Black US-born mothers in terms of marital status, age, and likelihood of being a teen mother. Also, Black foreign-born mothers were less likely than both groups to reside in the TGAs. On the other hand, compared to Latina foreign-born mothers, Black foreign-born mothers had higher rates of pregnancy complications and were somewhat more likely to give birth to a child with low birth weight. Taken together, these factors generally show an advantage for Black immigrant mothers — an advantage that is reflected in better outcomes for their children at least upon entrance to kindergarten.

The more detailed data from our survey of families living in the TGAs reveal additional advantages for Black immigrant mothers compared to Latina immigrant mothers, in terms of number of years living in the United States, employment status, and overall parenting scores. On the other hand, Black foreign-born mothers were significantly less likely than Latina foreign-born mothers to be living with a partner and more likely to be depressed than Latina foreign-born mothers.²⁴ Thus the picture of Black immigrant advantage in parenting is not entirely clear, as single parenthood and depression are significant risk factors for poorer child behavior and school readiness.

What else might account for the better outcomes of Black immigrants' children, particularly in comparison to Latina immigrants' children? One possibility is that the children of Black immigrant mothers in our sample benefited from the higher English proficiency and longer US residency of their parents.²⁵ However, supplementary regression analyses conducted for the sample of only the children of Black and Latina immigrants showed that the Black immigrant advantage generally remained after controlling for number of years in the United States, whether English was spoken at home, and whether or not the mother entered the United States before the age of 13. Another possibility is that there are important unobserved characteristics associated with the relatively higher educational levels of Black immigrant mothers.

With respect to policy implications, our analyses support the well-documented association between the use of center-based care and child outcomes, and suggest the need to explore ways to enroll greater numbers of both Black and Latino immigrants' children in high-quality center-based care and preschool. We also found that parents' encouragement of children's literacy, as measured by the number of children's books in the home, was an important factor in the differential outcomes of Latina and Black immigrants' children. This finding suggests a need to better understand early parenting practices that help prepare children for school, as well as a need to increase the availability and quality of interventions designed to bolster such practices, particularly among mothers with lower educational backgrounds or literacy skills, and for whom English is a second language. Finally, consistent with some previous research, we found that low birth weight mattered for later outcomes, suggesting a need to continue to ensure that mothers have access to and utilize prenatal care. Greater attention to these and related issues would not only help build on the positive development of the children of Black immigrants, but might also help to better support the development of the children of other low-income and immigrant groups.

24 While there is some evidence that shows Latino immigrants typically have better health and mental health than U.S.-born populations, very little is known about the Black immigrant population. See Javier I. Escobar, "Immigration and Mental Health: Why Are Immigrants Better Off?" *Archives of General Psychiatry* 55, No. 9 (1998): 781; and Jeanne Miranda, Juned Siddique, Thomas R. Belin, and Laura P. Kohn-Wood, "Depression Prevalence in Disadvantaged Young Black Women," *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 40, No. 4 (2005): 253–58.

25 One of the few studies describing prevalence of depression among Black immigrants shows that they have lower levels of depression compared to US-born Blacks, yet the odds of depression increase with each additional year spent in the United States (see Jean Miranda et al., "Depression Prevalence in Disadvantaged Young Black Women"). Black immigrant mothers may become more depressed over time because as they reside in the United States longer they begin to be socially categorized as a "Black American" and therefore are more susceptible to stereotypes, discrimination, and racism that African Americans face. See Teceta Tormala and Kay Deaux, "Black immigrants to the United States: Confronting and constructing ethnicity and race," in *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*, ed. Ramaswami Mahalingam (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2006): 253-58.



Appendices

Table A-1. Linear Regression Analysis of Maternal Report of Behavior

	Controlling for Child's Age and Gender			Baseline Variables			Full Model		
	Coeff.	SE	Sig.	Coeff.	SE	Sig.	Coeff.	SE	Sig.
Race/Nativity									
Black, Immigrant	0.71	0.17	***	0.78	0.19	***	0.72	0.20	***
Black, US Born	0.58	0.12	***	0.74	0.15	***	0.64	0.16	***
Hispanic, Immigrant (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hispanic, US Born	0.56	0.21	**	0.21	0.21	**	0.39	0.22	^
Other	0.69	0.21	***	0.22	0.22	**	0.64	0.24	**
Focal child's age at Year 5	-0.06	0.03	*	-0.05	0.03	NS	-0.04	0.03	NS
Male focal child	-0.29	0.10	**	-0.27	0.10	**	-0.26	0.10	**
Baseline characteristics									
Mother's education									
Less than high school diploma	—	—	—	-0.14	0.15	NS	-0.04	0.16	NS
High school diploma/GED	—	—	—	-0.14	0.16	NS	-0.17	0.16	NS
More than high school diploma (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teen mother	—	—	—	0.03	0.14	NS	0.01	0.15	NS
Focal child low birth weight	—	—	—	-0.22	0.16	NS	-0.26	0.16	NS
Lives in Glades	—	—	—	-0.13	0.13	NS	-0.11	0.14	NS
Lives with partner	—	—	—	-0.05	0.12	NS	-0.02	0.12	NS
Currently working	—	—	—	0.01	0.16	NS	-0.06	0.16	NS
At/below poverty threshold	—	—	—	-0.28	0.12	*	-0.17	0.12	NS
Focal child has special needs	—	—	—	-0.06	0.17	NS	-0.02	0.17	NS
Number of negative housing conditions	—	—	—	-0.06	0.03	*	-0.04	0.03	NS
Parental stress score ¹									
High parental stress	—	—	—	-0.48	0.14	***	-0.51	0.15	***
Depression: CES-D score > 16	—	—	—	-0.23	0.11	*	-0.25	0.12	*
Year 3 through 5 characteristics									
Overall parenting score	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.20	0.19	NS
Ever received center-based child care	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.23	0.12	*
Year 5 characteristics									
Number of children	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.06	0.04	^
Number of children's books at home	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.00	0.00	NS
Educational expectations for focal child	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.20	0.15	NS
Constant	2.67	1.44	^	2.76	1.49	^	2.02	1.58	NS
N	353			326			302		
R-squared	0.12			0.25			0.28		

¹ For the parental stress score, a dummy variable to indicate the score was missing was included in the regression, but is not shown in the table.

**Table A-2. Linear Regression Analysis of Maternal Report of Pre-Academic Skills**

	Controlling for Child's Age and Gender			Baseline Variables			Full Model		
	Coeff.	SE	Sig.	Coeff.	SE	Sig.	Coeff.	SE	Sig.
Race/Nativity									
Black, Immigrant	1.22	0.16	***	1.07	0.17	***	0.84	0.18	***
Black, US Born	1.09	0.10	***	0.95	0.13	***	0.68	0.14	***
Hispanic, Immigrant (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hispanic, US Born	0.89	0.19	***	0.73	0.19	***	0.53	0.20	**
Other	0.94	0.19	***	0.75	0.20	***	0.52	0.21	**
Focal child's age at Year 5	0.04	0.03	NS	0.00	0.03	NS	0.00	0.03	NS
Male focal child	-0.08	0.09	NS	-0.05	0.09	NS	-0.01	0.09	NS
Baseline characteristics									
Mother's education									
Less than high school diploma	—	—	—	-0.52	0.14	***	-0.35	0.14	**
High school diploma/GED	—	—	—	-0.34	0.15	*	-0.32	0.14	*
More than high school diploma (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teen mother	—	—	—	0.04	0.12	NS	0.01	0.13	NS
Focal child low birth weight	—	—	—	-0.06	0.15	NS	-0.10	0.14	NS
Lives in Glades	—	—	—	0.18	0.12	NS	0.20	0.12	^
Lives with partner	—	—	—	0.01	0.11	NS	0.04	0.11	NS
Currently working	—	—	—	0.47	0.14	***	0.38	0.14	**
At/below poverty threshold	—	—	—	-0.23	0.11	*	-0.12	0.11	NS
Focal child has special needs	—	—	—	-0.27	0.15	^	-0.26	0.15	^
Number of negative housing conditions	—	—	—	-0.06	0.03	*	-0.04	0.03	NS
Parental stress score ¹									
High parental stress	—	—	—	-0.05	0.12	NS	-0.06	0.18	NS
Depression: CES-D score > 16	—	—	—	-0.11	0.10	NS	-0.10	-0.10	NS
Year 3 through 5 characteristics									
Overall parenting score	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.42	0.17	**
Ever received center-based child care	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.39	0.10	***
Year 5 characteristics									
Number of children	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.07	0.03	*
Number of children's books at home	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.004	0.002	**
Educational expectations for focal child	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.29	0.13	*
Constant	-2.36	1.29	^	0.20	1.35	NS	-1.05	1.38	NS
N	353			326			302		
R-squared	0.29			0.40			0.47		

¹ For the parental stress score, a dummy variable to indicate the score was missing was included in the regression, but is not shown in the table.

**Table A-3. Logistic Regression Analysis of ECHOS Test Scores (Consistently Demonstrating)**

	Controlling for Child's Age and Gender			Baseline Variables			Full Model		
	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.
Race/Nativity									
Black, Immigrant	5.7	2.57	***	5.3	2.92	**	4.0	2.51	*
Black, US Born	2.2	0.78	*	1.5	0.76	NS	1.1	0.62	NS
Hispanic, Immigrant (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hispanic, US Born	2.9	1.57	*	1.8	1.19	NS	1.7	1.22	NS
Other	3.8	2.45	*	1.9	1.58	NS	1.2	1.27	NS
Child's age when ECHOS administered	4.5	2.59	**	4.2	2.71	*	7.1	5.22	**
Male focal child	1.0	0.29	NS	1.0	0.34	NS	1.2	0.44	NS
Baseline characteristics									
Mother's education									
Less than high school diploma	—	—	—	0.2	0.09	***	0.2	0.09	**
High school diploma/GED	—	—	—	0.5	0.24	NS	0.3	0.19	^
More than high school diploma (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teen mother	—	—	—	1.4	0.65	NS	1.7	0.86	NS
Focal child low birth weight	—	—	—	0.1	0.11	*	0.1	0.06	**
Lives in Glades	—	—	—	0.7	0.28	NS	0.8	0.37	NS
Lives with partner	—	—	—	0.8	0.32	NS	0.7	0.27	NS
Currently working	—	—	—	1.7	0.75	NS	1.9	0.91	NS
At/below poverty threshold	—	—	—	0.9	0.35	NS	1.5	0.69	NS
Focal child has special needs	—	—	—	0.8	0.52	NS	0.8	0.55	NS
Number of negative housing conditions	—	—	—	0.9	0.09	NS	1.0	0.10	NS
Parental stress score ¹									
High parental stress	—	—	—	2.0	0.93	NS	2.6	1.33	^
Depression: CES-D score > 16	—	—	—	0.5	0.20	^	0.5	0.19	^
Year 3 through 5 characteristics									
Overall parenting score	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.69	NS
Ever received center-based child care	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	0.35	NS
Year 5 characteristics									
Number of children	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.13	NS
Number of children's books at home	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.01	***
Educational expectations for focal child	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.56	NS
Constant	283			260			240		
N	25.43			53.24			69.80		
χ^2	0.29			0.40			0.47		

¹ For the parental stress score, a dummy variable to indicate the score was missing was included in the regression, but is not shown in the table.

**Table A-4. Logistic Regression Analysis of FAIR Test Scores**

	Controlling for Child's Age and Gender			Baseline Variables			Full Model		
	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.	Odds Ratio	SE	Sig.
Race/Nativity									
Black, Immigrant	3.2	1.36	**	3.7	1.95	*	3.7	2.18	*
Black, US Born	1.6	0.46	NS	1.8	0.81	NS	1.8	0.90	NS
Hispanic, Immigrant (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hispanic, US Born	2.2	1.05	^	2.2	1.35	NS	1.5	0.96	NS
Other	1.5	0.85	NS	1.0	0.79	NS	0.7	0.58	NS
Child's age when ECHOS administered	4.5	2.24	**	3.3	1.92	*	3.6	2.22	*
Male focal child	0.9	0.23	NS	0.9	0.27	NS	1.0	0.32	NS
Baseline characteristics									
Mother's education									
Less than high school diploma	—	—	—	0.3	0.13	**	0.3	0.18	*
High school diploma/GED	—	—	—	0.3	0.14	*	0.3	0.15	*
More than high school diploma (excluded variable)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teen mother	—	—	—	1.1	0.44	NS	1.0	0.48	NS
Focal child low birth weight	—	—	—	0.2	0.13	**	0.2	0.11	**
Lives in Glades	—	—	—	0.7	0.26	NS	0.5	0.20	^
Lives with partner	—	—	—	0.8	0.29	NS	0.7	0.28	NS
Currently working	—	—	—	3.1	1.42	*	2.9	1.40	*
At/below poverty threshold	—	—	—	0.5	0.15	*	0.5	0.17	*
Focal child has special needs	—	—	—	0.8	0.43	NS	0.9	0.51	NS
Number of negative housing conditions	—	—	—	0.9	0.08	NS	0.8	0.08	*
Parental stress score ¹									
High parental stress	—	—	—	0.9	0.38	NS	0.9	0.45	NS
Depression: CES-D score > 16	—	—	—	0.5	0.17	*	0.5	0.18	^
Year 3 through 5 characteristics									
Overall parenting score	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.7	0.4	NS
Ever received center-based child care	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.2	0.77	*
Year 5 characteristics									
Number of children	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.12	NS
Number of children's books at home	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	0.01	NS
Educational expectations for focal child	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.6	0.27	NS
Constant	289			265			242		
N	19.15			59.49			64.23		
χ^2	0.29			0.40			0.47		

¹ For the parental stress score, a dummy variable to indicate the score was missing was included in the regression, but is not shown in the table.



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About the Authors



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Previously she directed a project examining outcomes among disadvantaged children and youth attending residential schools. Prior to joining Chapin Hall, Dr. Rich was an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania, where she conducted and published research on youth employment, teen childbearing, welfare reform, child support enforcement, the educational attainment of teen mothers, and the economic status of low-income, non-custodial fathers. She holds a PhD in economics from the University of Michigan.



Julie Spielberger is a Research Fellow at Chapin Hall with a background in child development and early childhood education, and particular interest in emergent literacy, school readiness, the role of play in children's learning and development, and improving program quality and professional development. In addition to the Palm Beach County family study, she currently leads several research projects and evaluations of system-building initiatives designed to improve the coordination and quality of a range of early childhood services, including home visitation, early care and education, and health and mental health.

Prior to joining Chapin Hall, Dr. Spielberger worked extensively in the training of Head Start teachers as a Child Development Associate (CDA) advisor and as a researcher and consultant with Head Start family literacy programs. She received her PhD in child development from the Erikson Institute, Loyola University Chicago, and an MST in early childhood education from the University of Chicago.



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For more on the Young Children of Black Immigrants research initiative, please visit:

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