



A POPULATION-BASED ANALYSIS OF RACE/ETHNICITY, MATERNAL NATIVITY, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AS RISK FACTORS FOR MALTREATMENT

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CWDA

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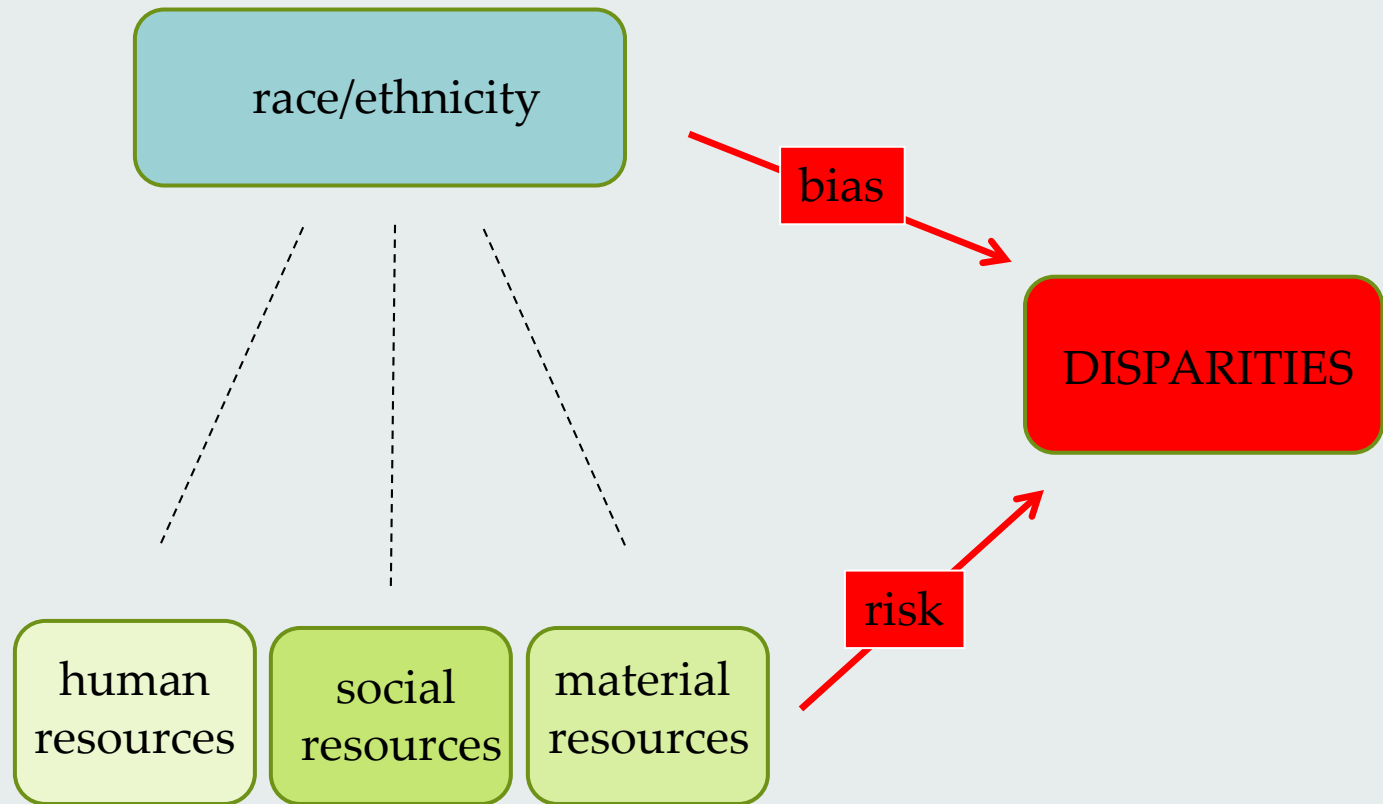
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Thank you to our colleagues at the Center for Social Services Research and the California Department of Social Services
- Funding for this and other research arising from the California Performance Indicators Project generously provided by the California Department of Social Services, the Stuart Foundation, & Casey Family Programs

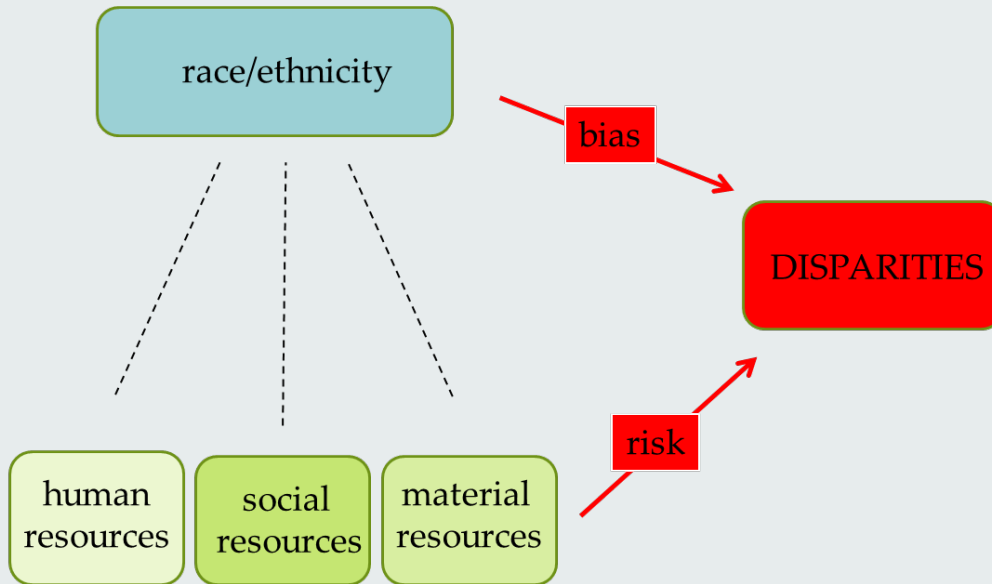
DISPARITY DISCUSSIONS

- ✓ What? *(what defines disproportionality and disparity?)*
- ✓ Who? *(who is disproportionately represented?)*
- ✓ Where? *(where is disproportionality observed?)*
- ✓ When? *(when do disparities arise?)*
- ✓ How? *(how is disparity being addressed?)*
- ✓ Why? ***(why do disparities exist?)***

WHY DO RACIAL DISPARITIES EXIST?



WHY DOES IT MATTER?



- The relative contributions of bias versus differences in risk hold important implications for how and where we intervene to reduce/eliminate disparities...as well as what our expectations should be for identifiable improvements

“Major factors affecting children’s entry into foster care included African American families’ higher rates of poverty, families’ difficulties in accessing support services so that they can provide a safe home for vulnerable children and prevent their removal, and racial bias and cultural misunderstanding among child welfare decision makers.” (GAO, 2007)

BACKGROUND

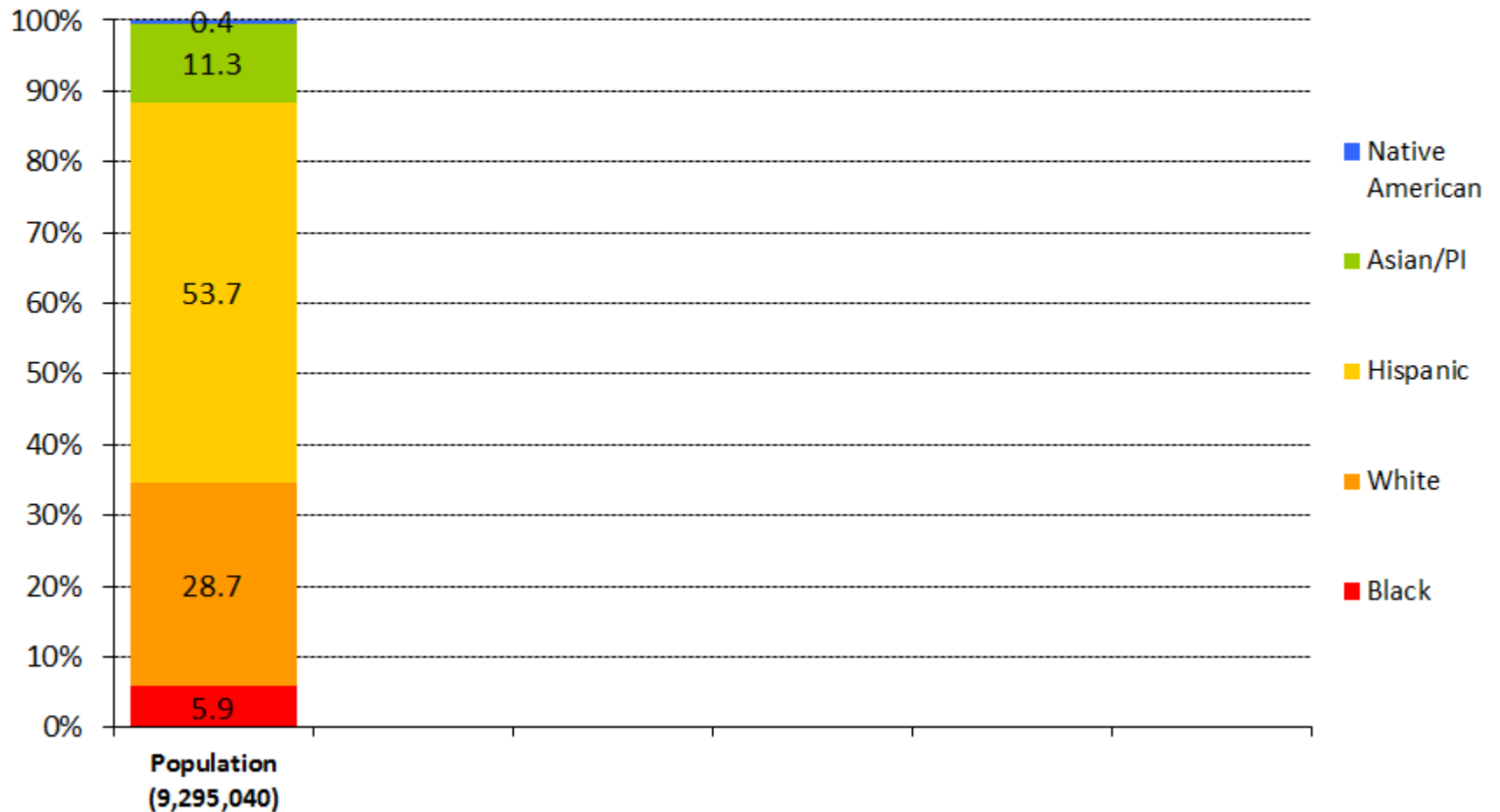
- Historically, racial disparities have been measured using aggregated data, capturing crude (or unadjusted) differences between racial groups
- Recent studies, however, highlight the importance of adjusting for individual and community-level factors correlated with both race and maltreatment risk and suggest that both reasons for poverty, and the impact of poverty, may vary across groups

THE TYPICAL AGGREGATE RACIAL DISPARITY ANALYSIS

California,
2011

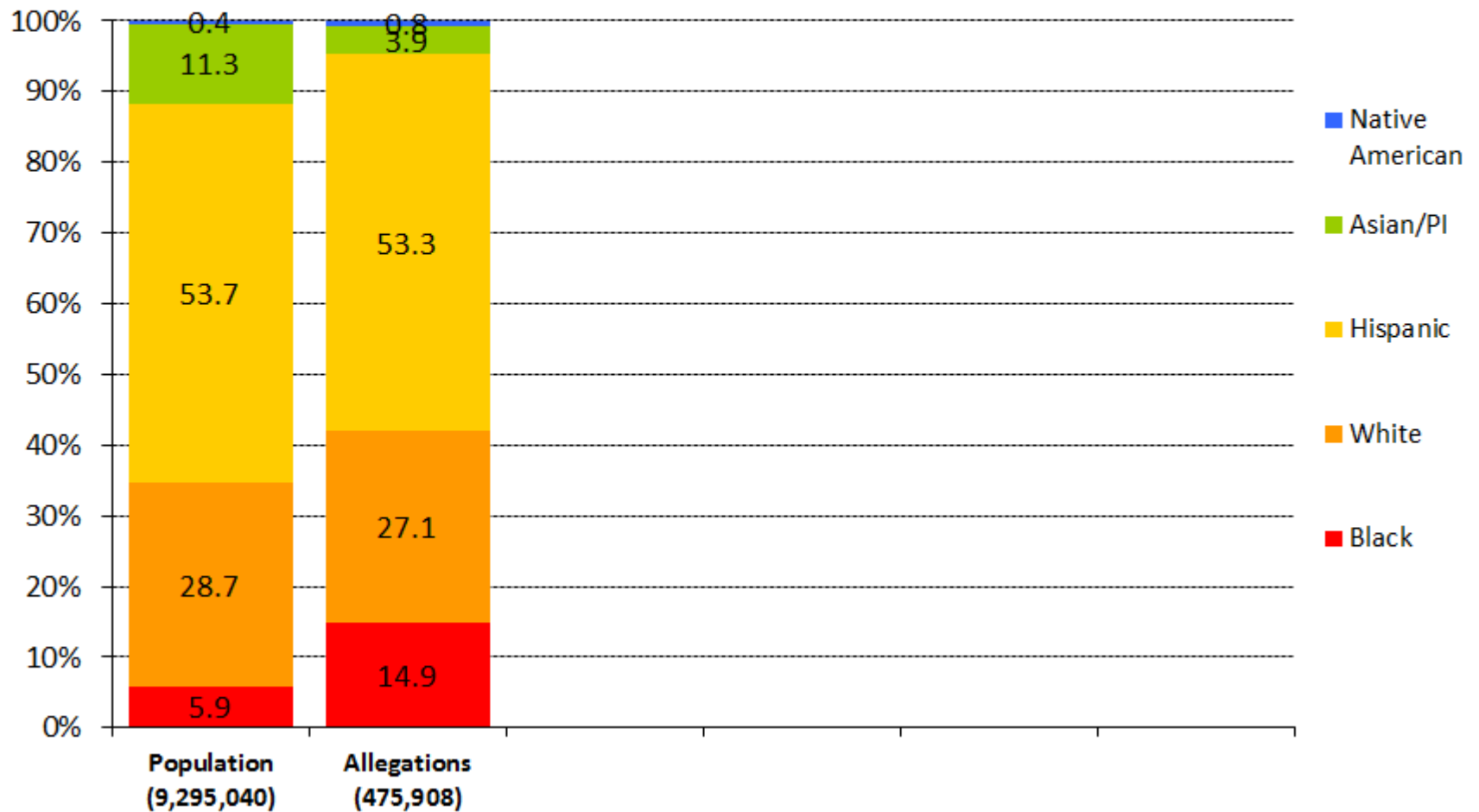
California: Ethnicity and Path Through the Child Welfare System, 2011

(missing values & other race excluded from % calculations)



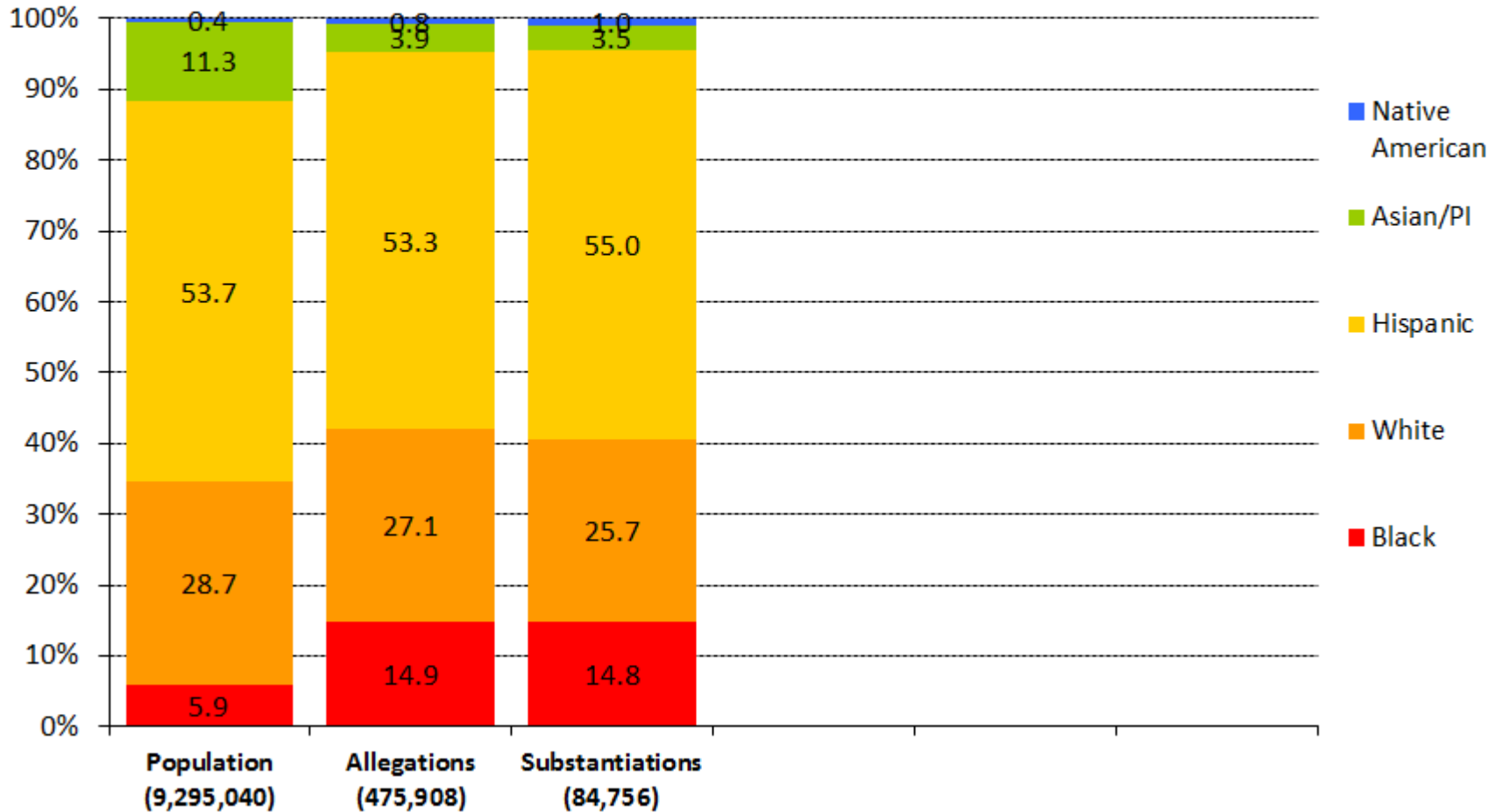
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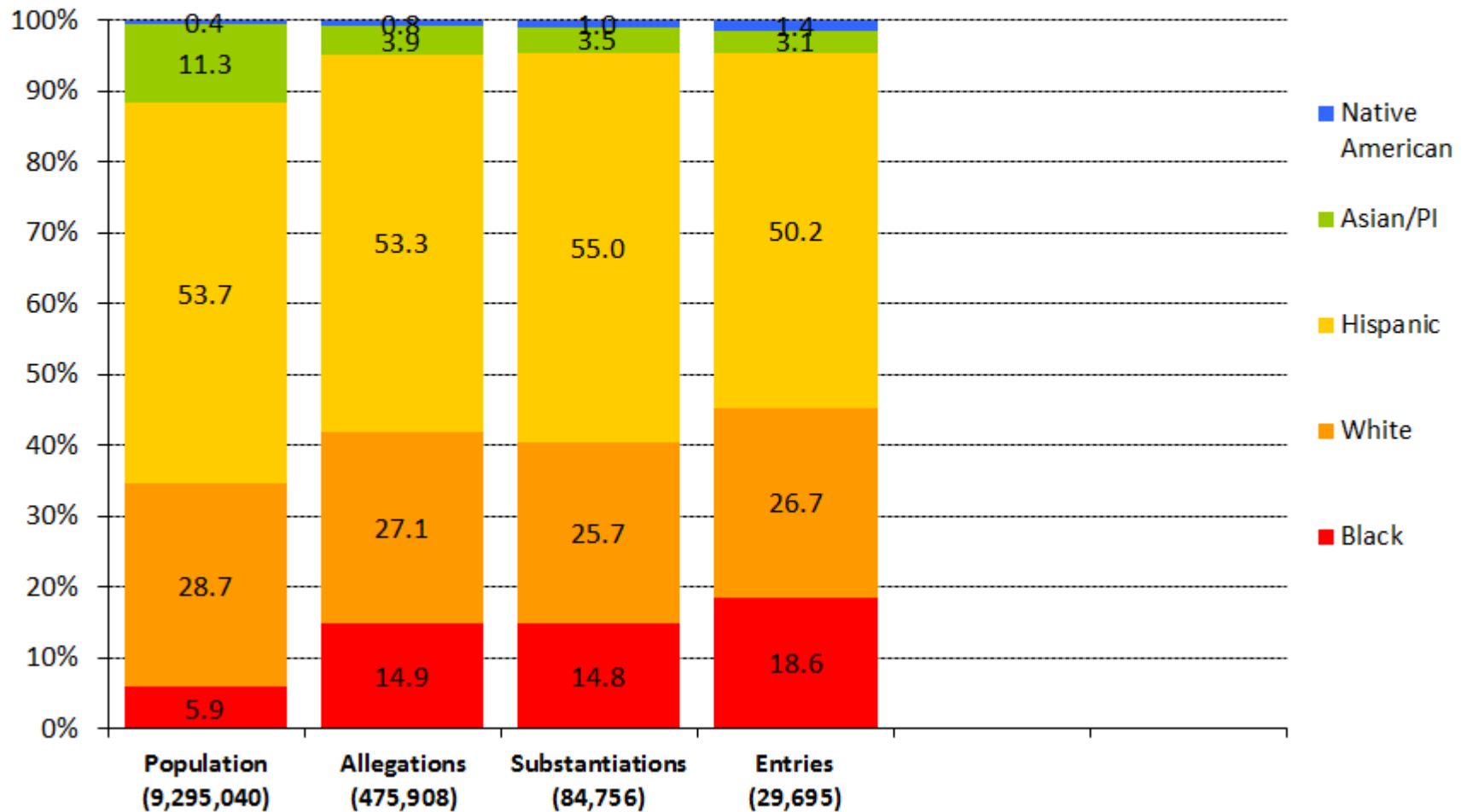
California: Ethnicity and Path Through the Child Welfare System, 2011

(missing values & other race excluded from % calculations)



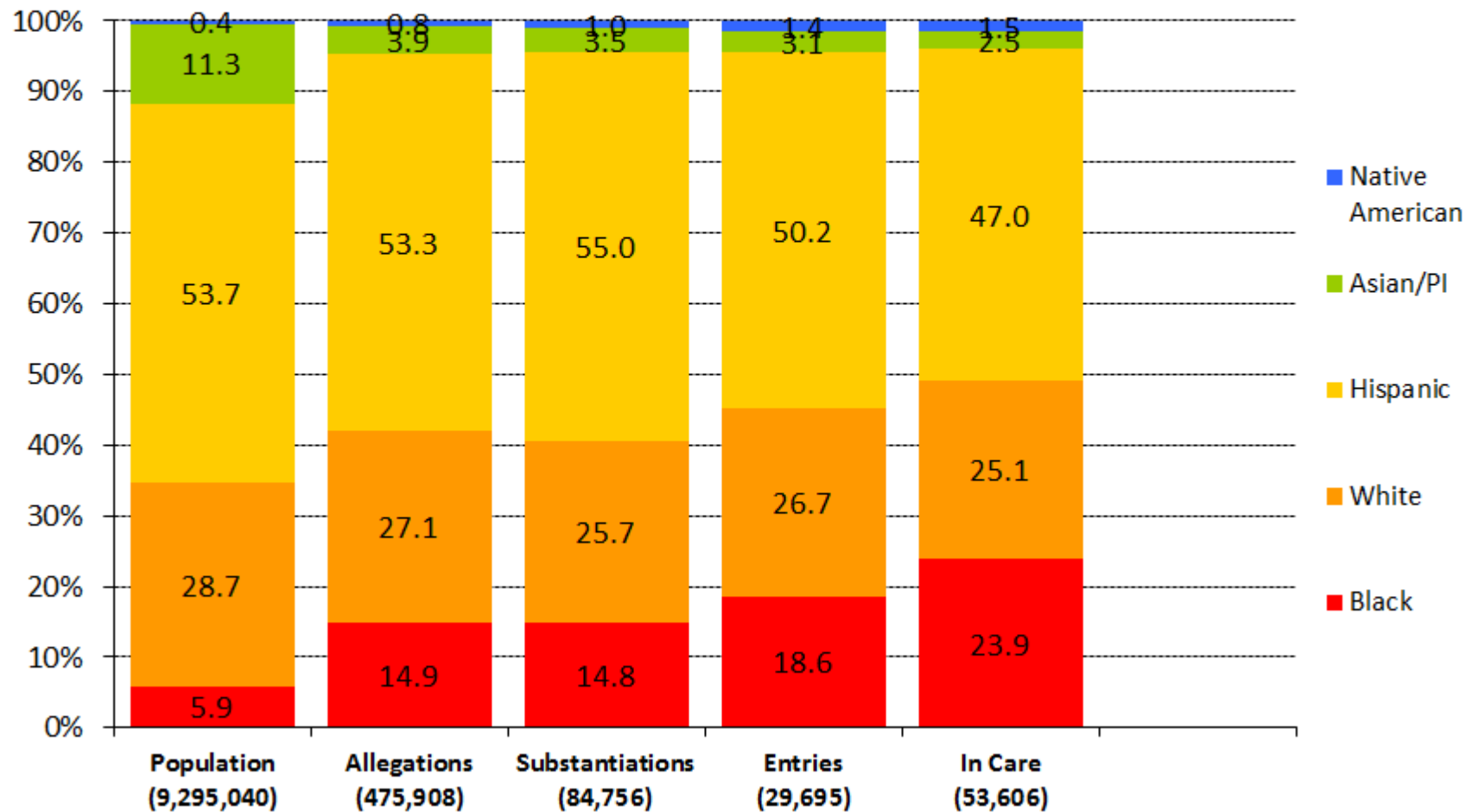
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California: Ethnicity and Path Through the Child Welfare System, 2011

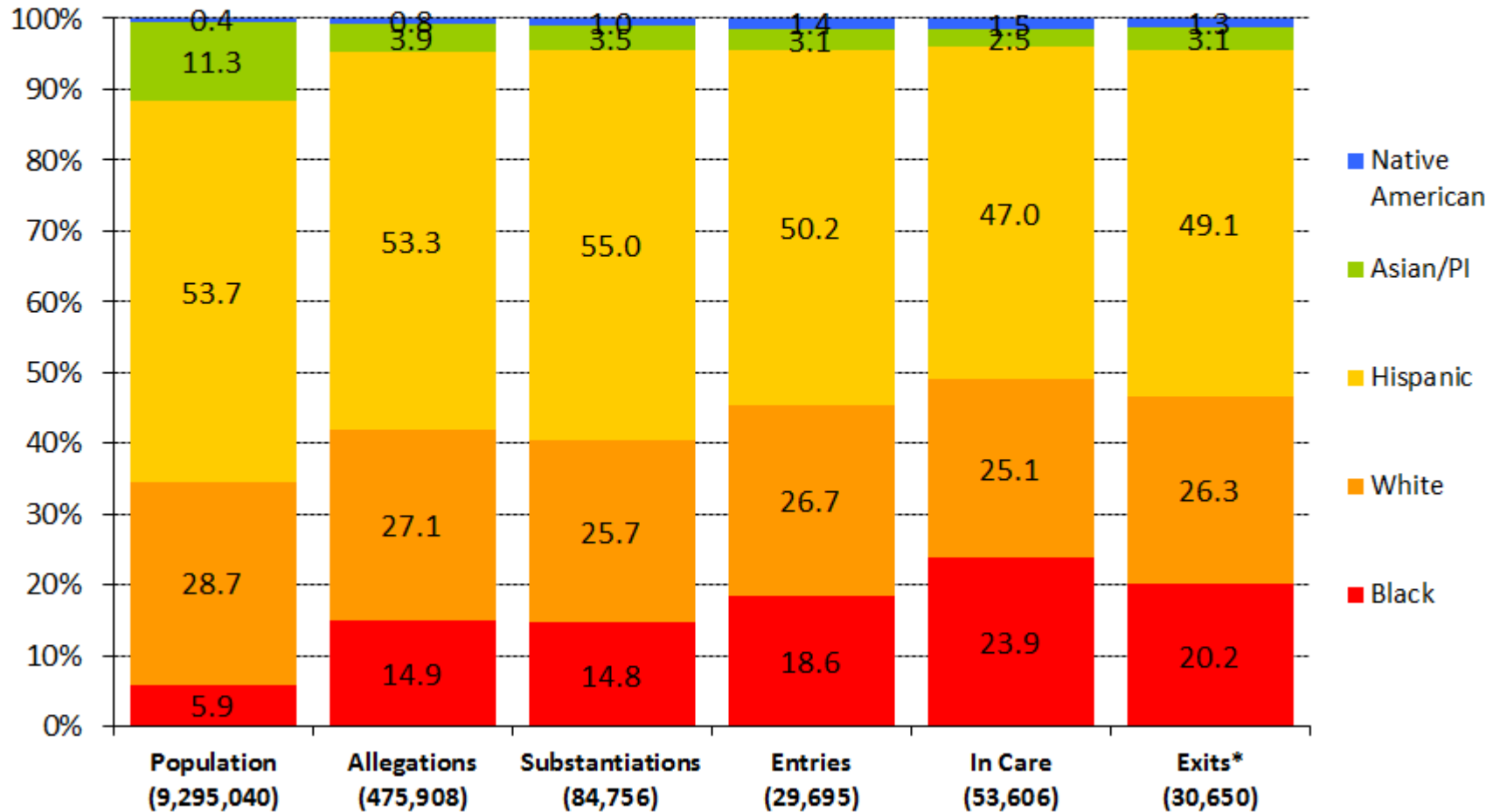
(missing values & other race excluded from % calculations)



California: Ethnicity and Path Through the Child Welfare System, 2011

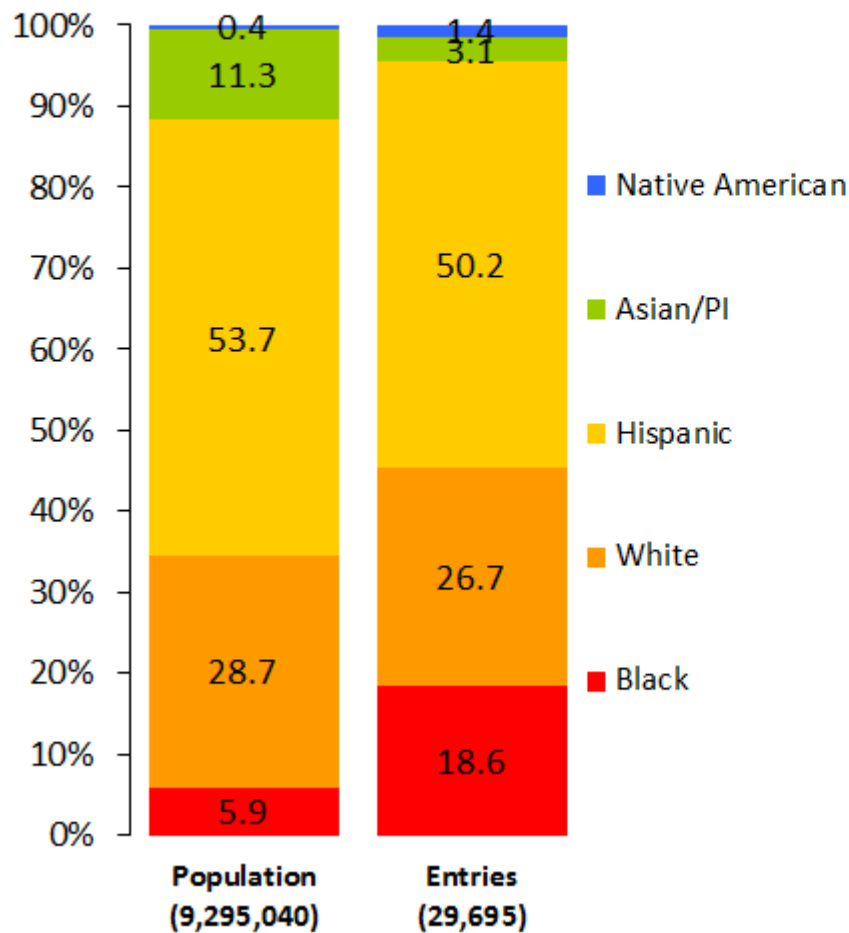
(missing values & other race excluded from % calculations)

**includes children age 18*



California: General Population Disparity Index

Entry Disparity (relative to overall population)



Black Disproportionality

$$\frac{18.6\%}{5.9\%} = 3.15$$

White Disproportionality

$$\frac{26.7\%}{28.7\%} = 0.93$$

Hispanic Disproportionality

$$\frac{50.2\%}{53.7\%} = 0.94$$

Black vs. White Disparity Index

$$\frac{3.15}{0.93} = 3.39$$

Black vs. Hispanic Disparity Index

$$\frac{3.15}{0.94} = 3.36$$

PROBLEMS WITH THIS APPROACH

- Aggregated data such as this do not tell us if there are individual differences in the likelihood of referral, substantiation, or entry to foster care among children of different races/ethnicities who have the same risk factors/risk profile
- *Why have we relied on aggregated data in our discussions of racial disparities?*
 - GOOD REASON: aggregate data summarize group over/under-representation (very real)
 - BAD REASON: we have not had better data to work with
 - Administrative CPS data do not allow for individual-level risk differences to be calculated because we do not have individual-level information for children in the population who DID not have contact with CPS
 - Also missing in the CPS data is information concerning well-established correlates of child maltreatment

NEW RESEARCH FROM CALIFORNIA

- Putnam-Hornstein, E., Needell, B., King, B. & Johnson-Motoyama, M. (in press). Racial and Ethnic Disparities: A Population-Based Examination of Risk Factors for Involvement with Child Protective Services. Child Abuse and Neglect

A “SNAPSHOT” OF CPS-INVOLVED CHILDREN

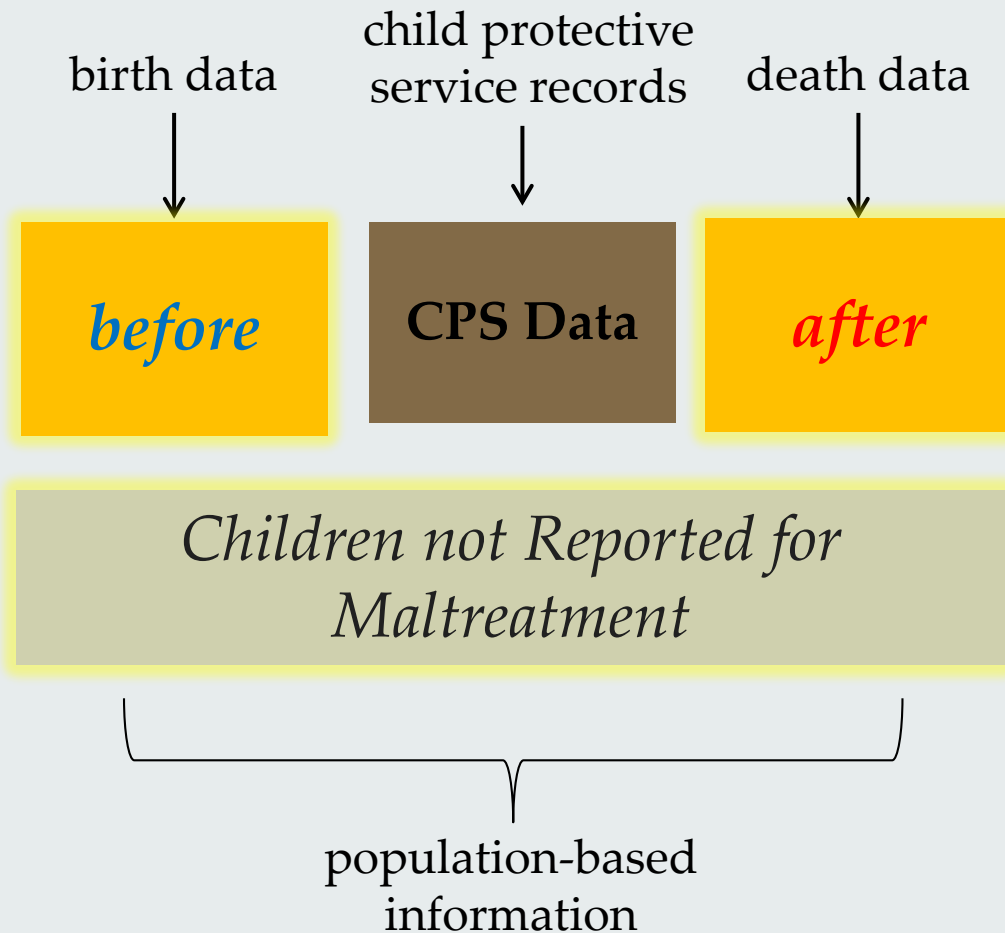
before

CPS Data

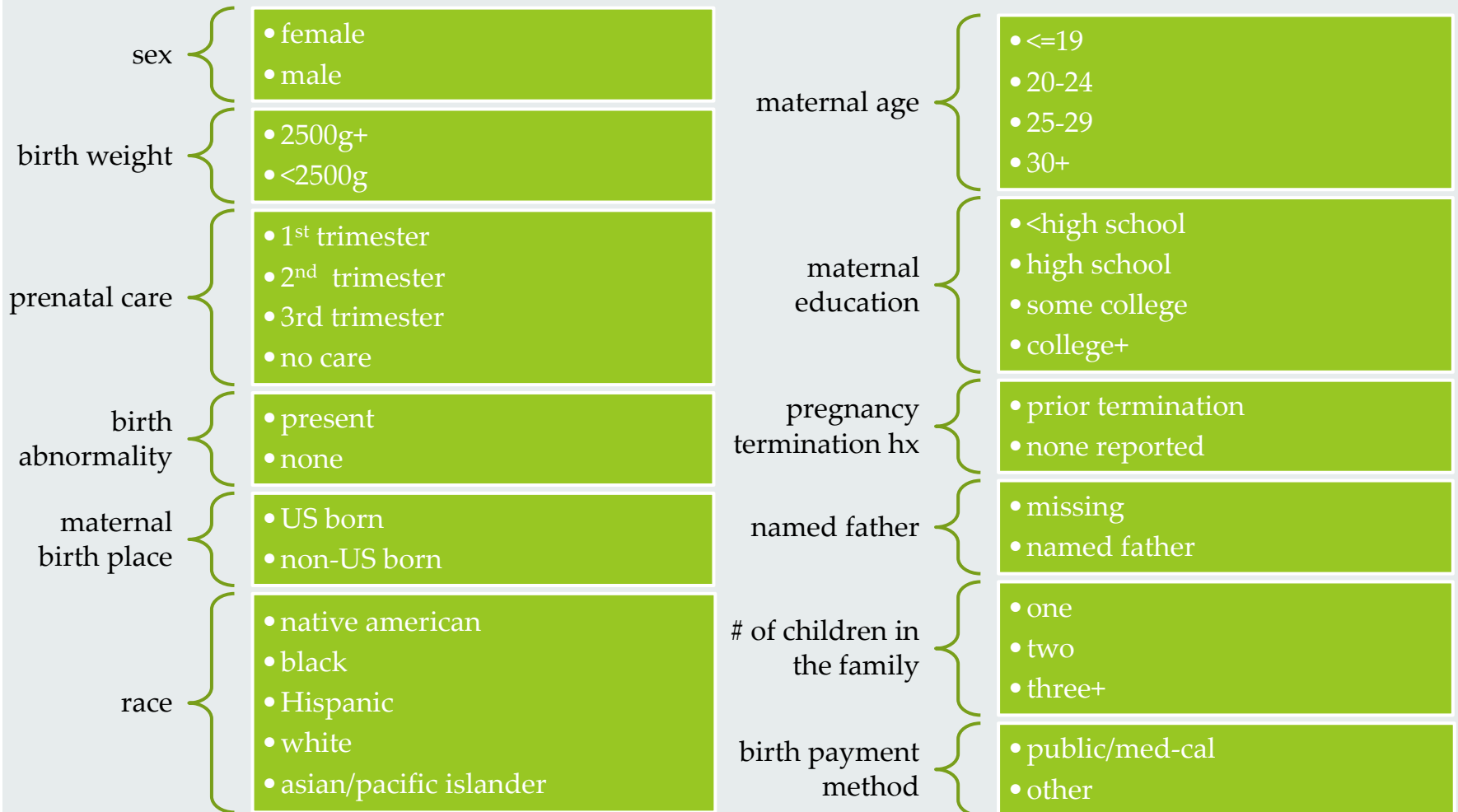
after

*Children not Reported for
Maltreatment*

EXPANDING CPS DATA WITH POPULATION-BASED DATA LINKAGES



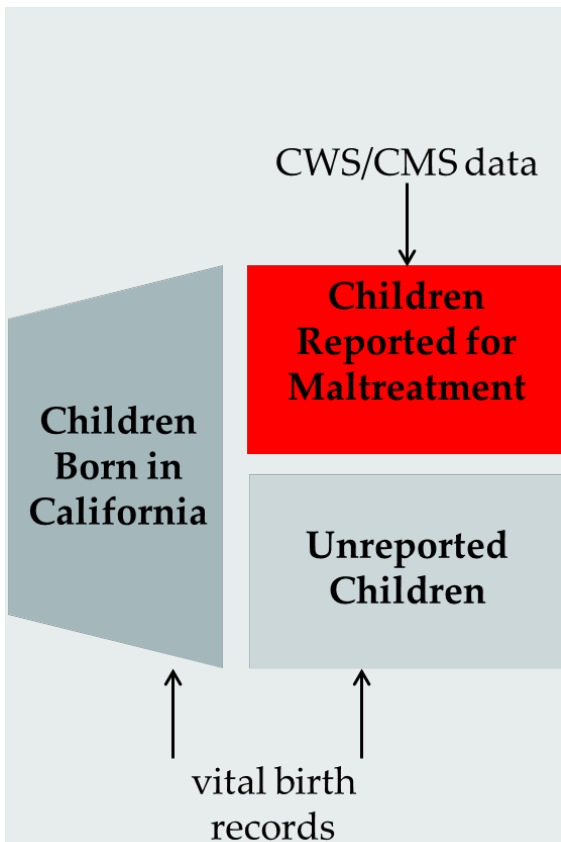
BIRTH RECORD VARIABLES



METHODS / APPROACH

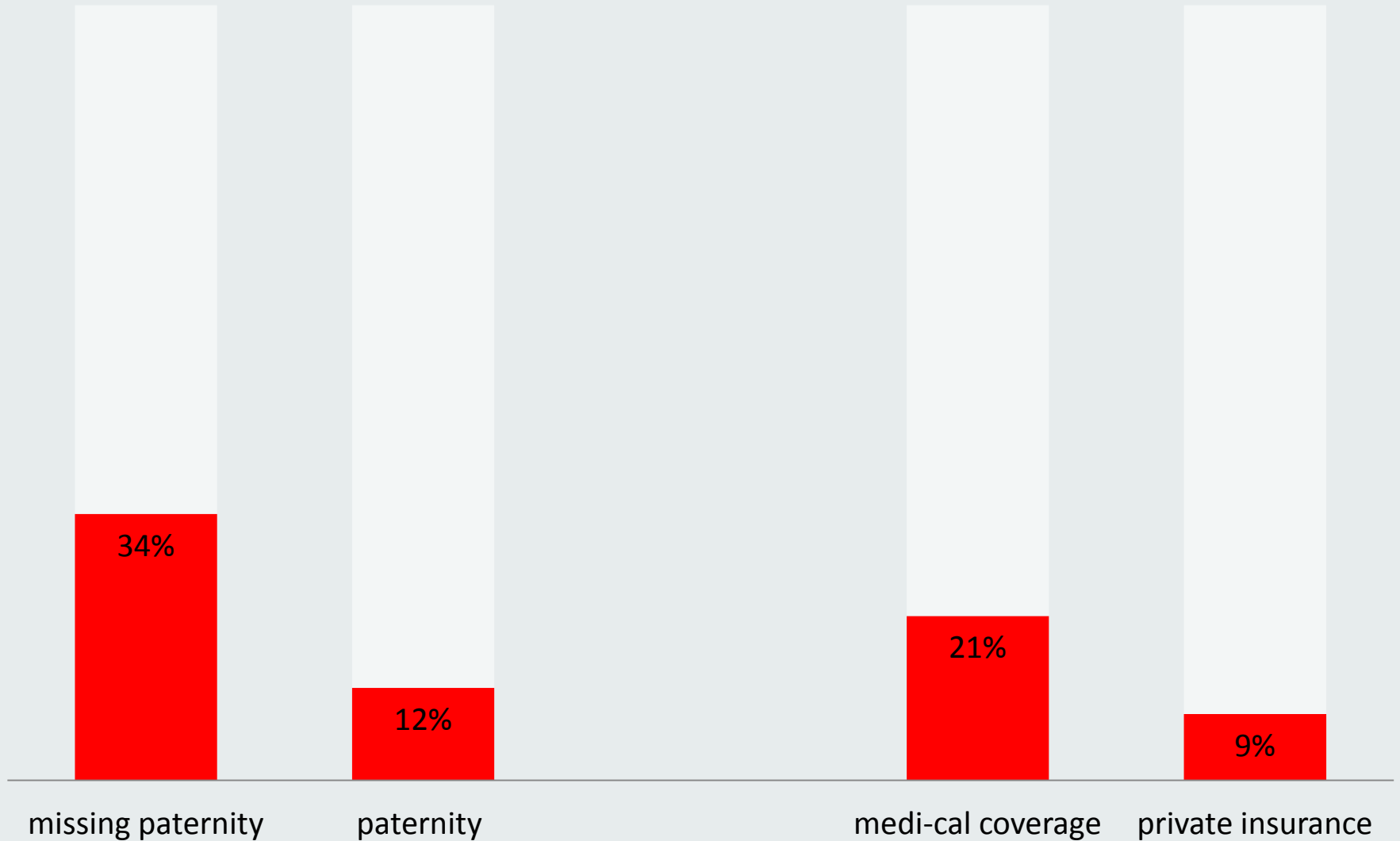
- Prospective analysis of full 2002 California birth cohort (N=531,035) from birth through the age of five
 - *Allows us to examine differences in risk of CPS contact by race/ethnicity, maternal nativity, and socioeconomic and health indicators*
 - *Allows us to examine risk factors associated with CPS contact*
- Modeled crude (unadjusted) rates of system contact by race/ethnicity
- Modeled adjusted rates of system contact to examine the independent effect of race/ethnicity when looking at children who have the same “profile” in terms of *sex, birth-weight, health, maternal age, paternity, birth order, maternal education, prenatal care*

A FEW INTERESTING FINDINGS TO EMERGE...STARTING WITH RISK FACTORS FOR MALTREATMENT

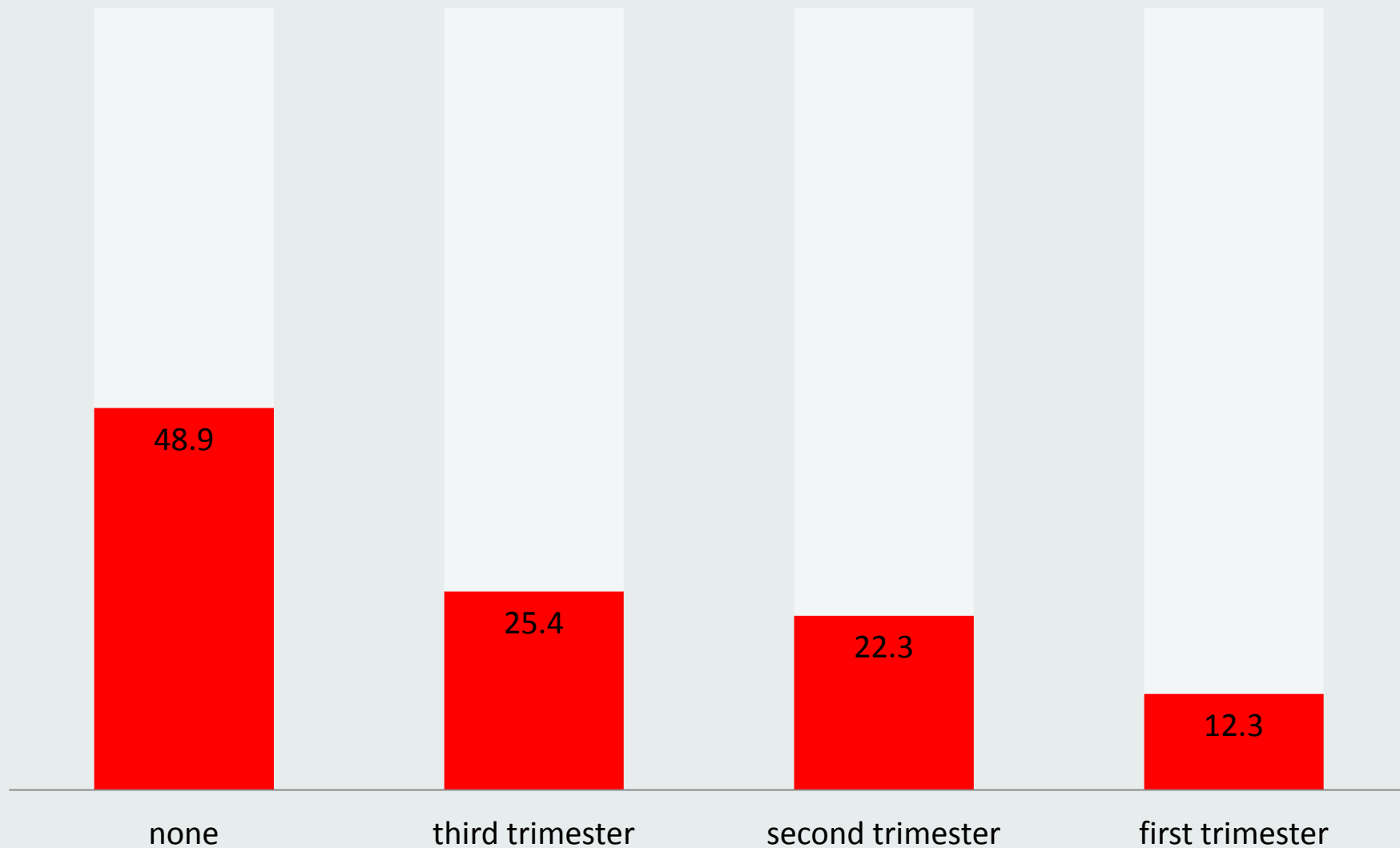


- 14% of children in cohort were reported to CPS by age 5
 - *lower bound estimate...could not match 16% of CPS records*
 - *children may have moved out of state and had contact*
- Significant variations in rates of CPS referrals by sociodemographic characteristics

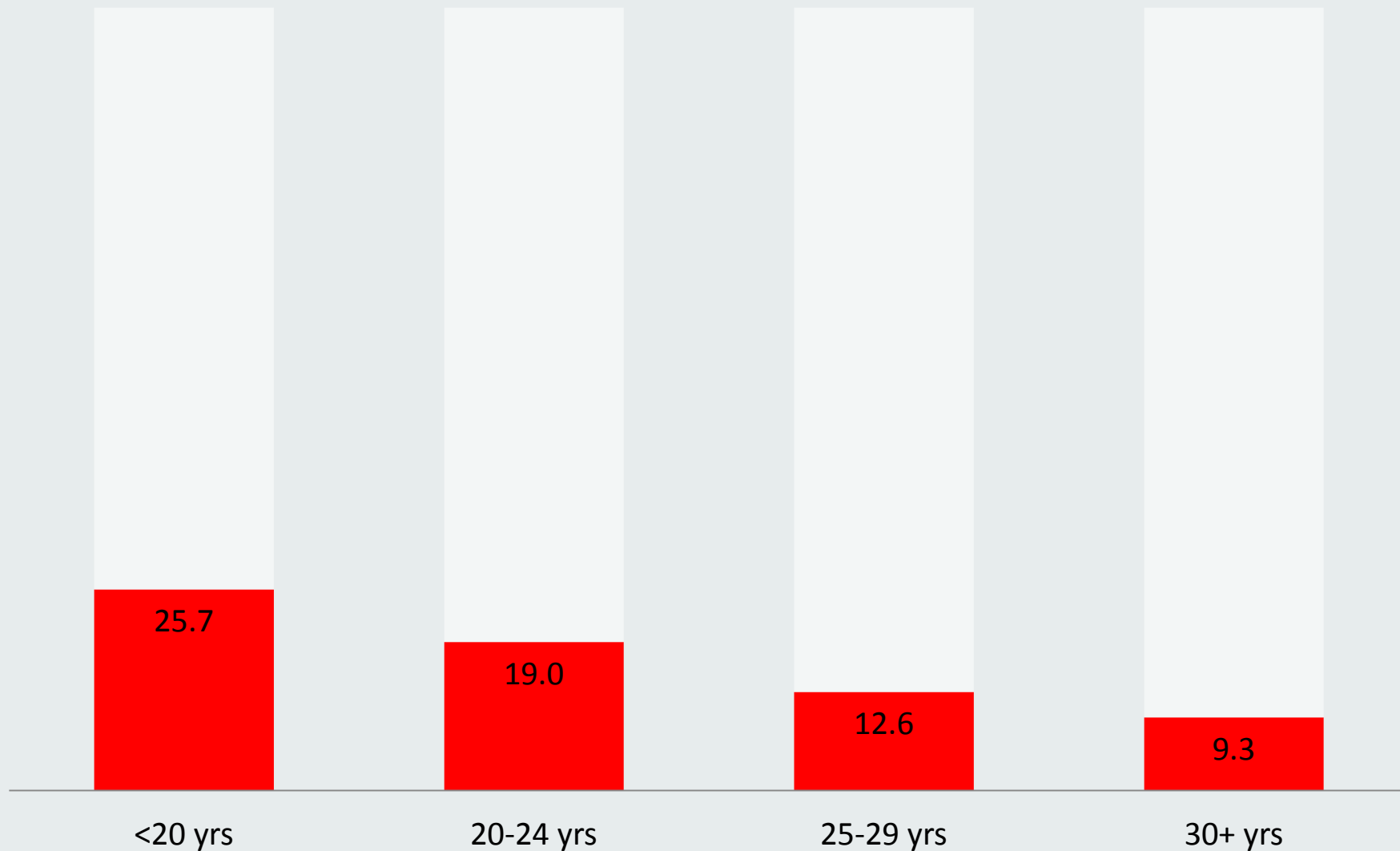
**Percentage of Children Reported for Maltreatment by Age 5:
California's 2002 Birth Cohort, by paternity & birth payment**



**Percentage of Children Reported for Maltreatment by Age 5:
California's 2002 Birth Cohort, by prenatal care**



**Percentage of Children Reported for Maltreatment by Age 5:
California's 2002 Birth Cohort, by maternal age at birth**



THINKING ABOUT
THESE RISK
FACTORS...BEFORE
GETTING TO RACE

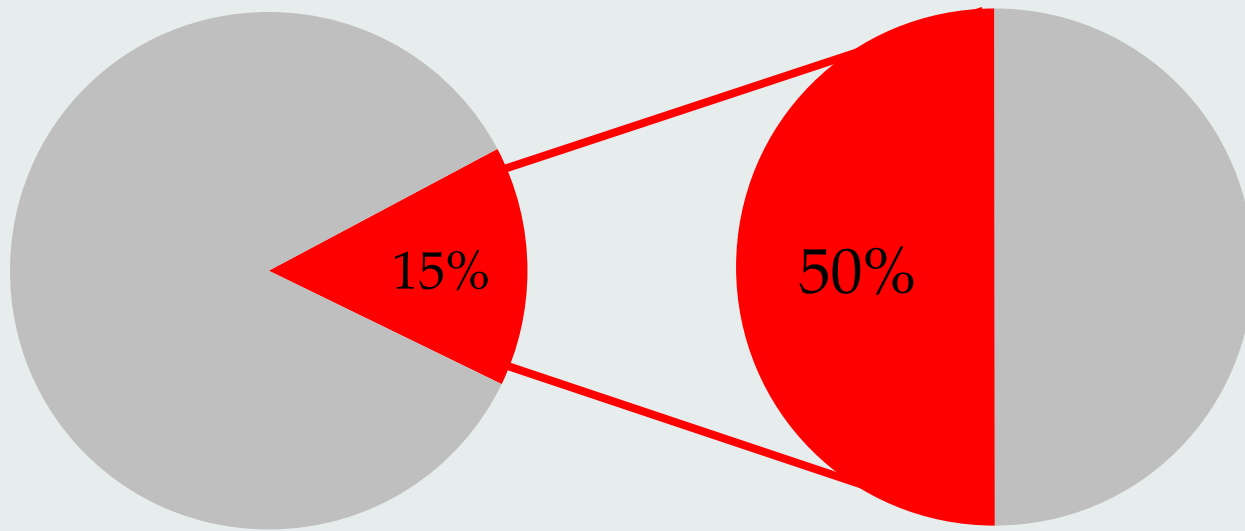
AN EPIDEMIOLOGIC RISK ASSESSMENT TOOL?

- we classified as “high risk” any child with three or more of the following (theoretically modifiable) risk factors at birth:
 - *late prenatal care (after the first trimester)*
 - *missing paternity*
 - *<=high school degree*
 - *3+ children in the family*
 - *maternal age <=24 years*
 - *Medi-Cal birth for a US-born mother*

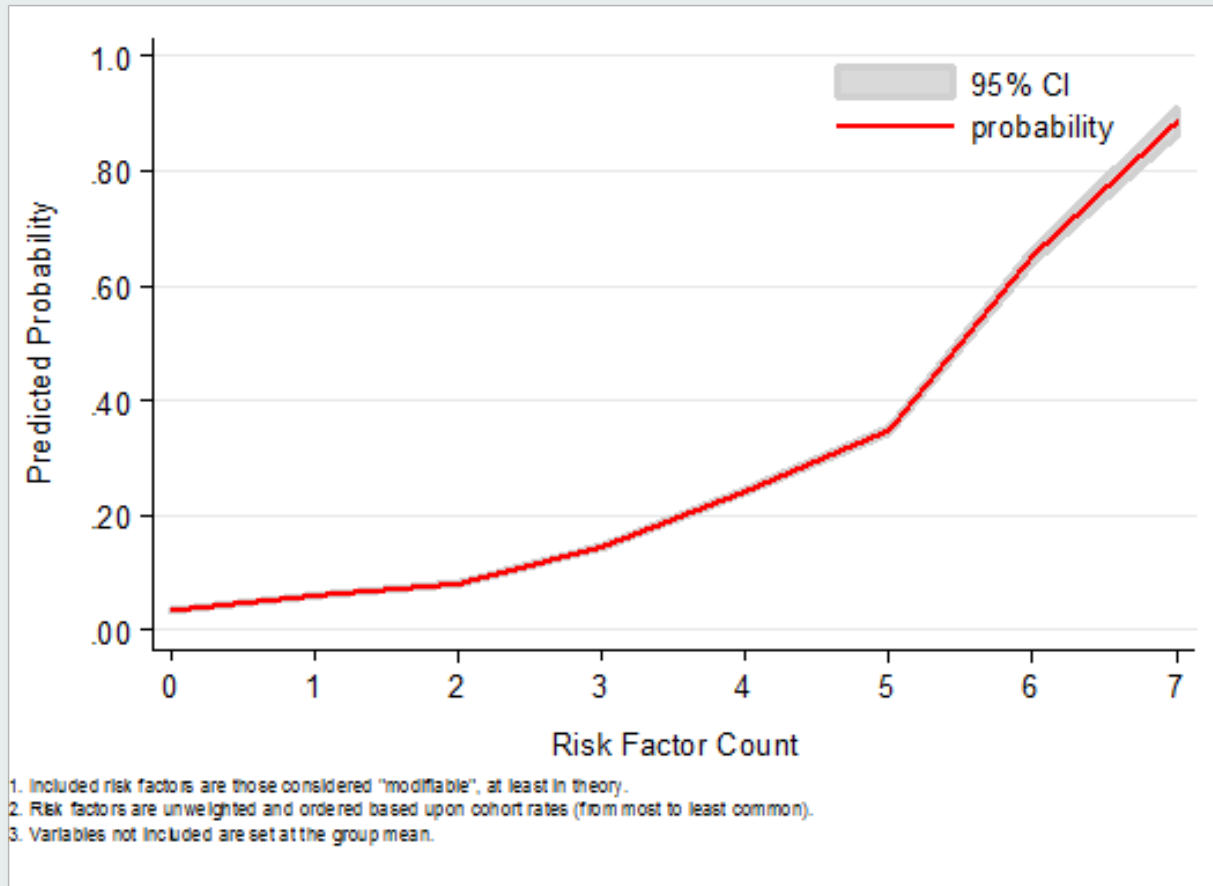
ADMINISTERED AT BIRTH?

Full Birth Cohort

Children Reported to CPS



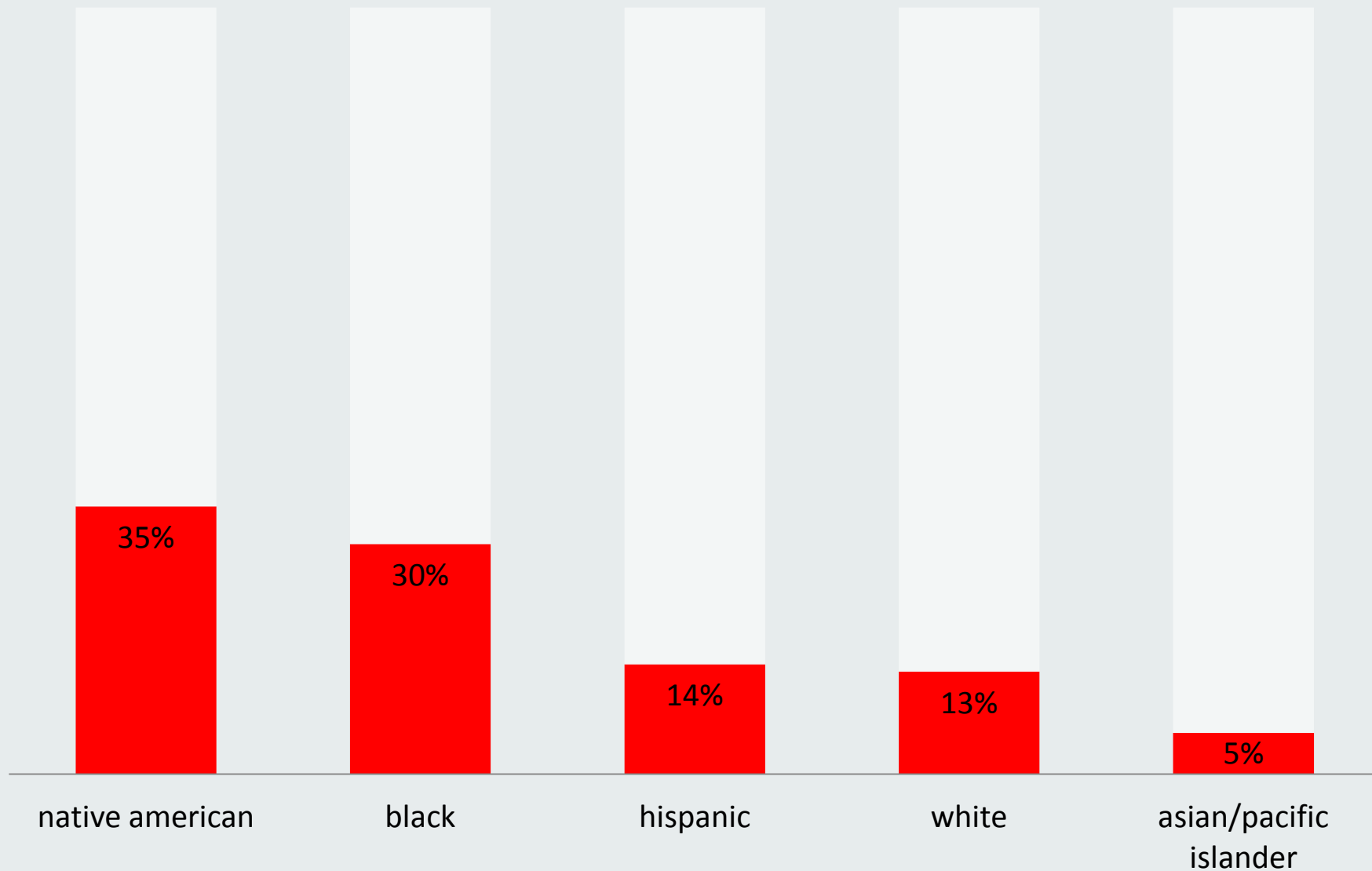
RECOGNIZING THE RISK ASSOCIATED WITH THE PRESENCE OF MULTIPLE RISK FACTORS...



High Risk on Every Modifiable Risk Factor: 89% probability of CPS report
Low Risk on Every Modifiable Risk Factor: 3% probability of CPS report

RETURNING TO
RACE...

**Percentage of Children Reported for Maltreatment by Age 5:
California's 2002 Birth Cohort, *by race/ethnicity***

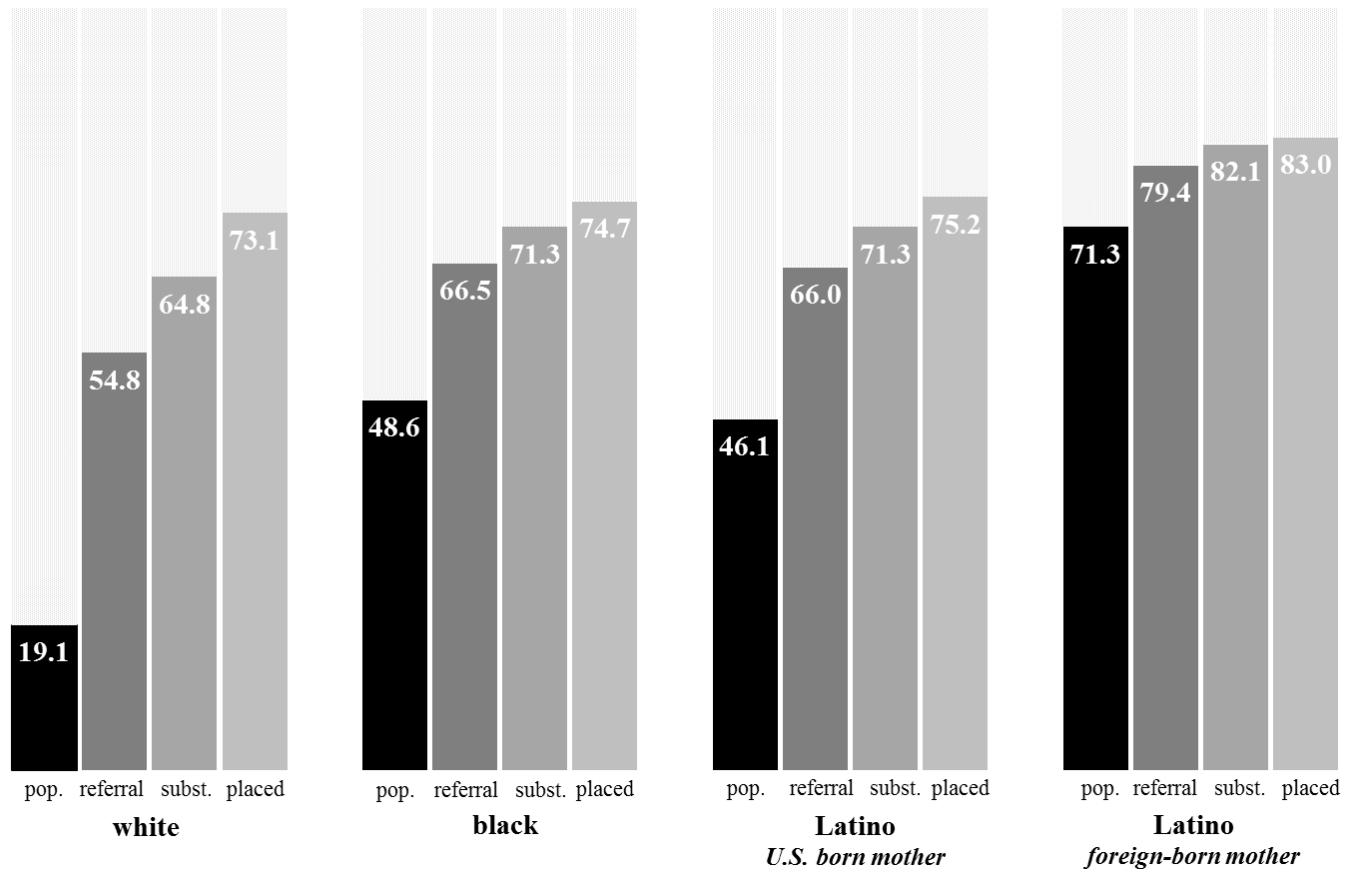


RACIAL DISPARITIES AND CPS

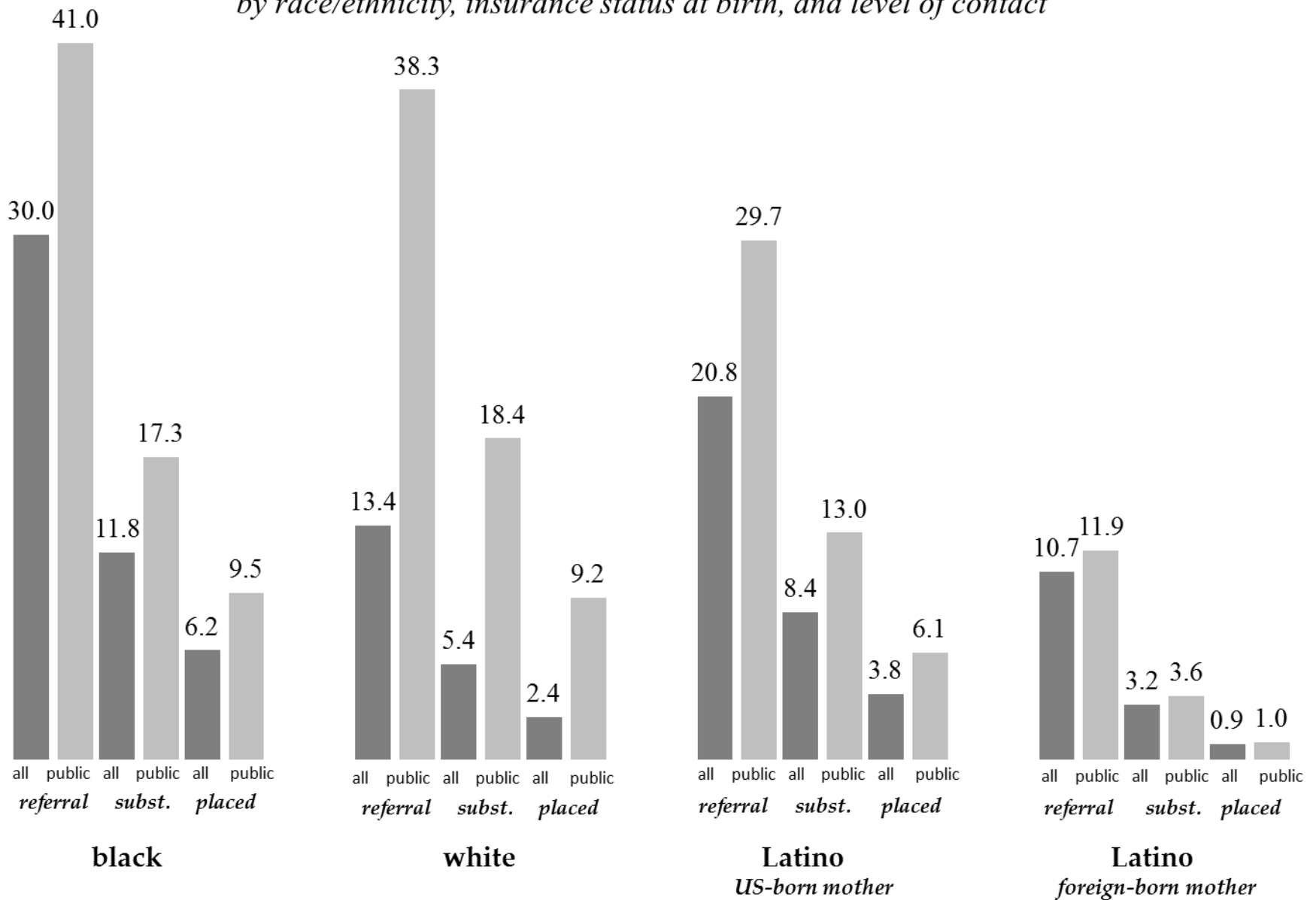
- Notable variations were observed in the distribution of cohort characteristics by racial/ethnic group, as well as maternal nativity
 - e.g. black vs. white: <HS degree (16% vs. 7%)
- Pronounced racial/ethnic heterogeneity in parenting risk burdens in the overall cohort (population), yet a much more consistent picture emerged among the publicly insured
 - black vs. white: <HS degree (25% vs. 25%)

WHY FOCUS ON CHILDREN COVERED BY MEDI-CAL?

Percent of Birth Cohort Covered by Public Insurance at Birth
by Race/Ethnicity and CPS Contact



Percent of Birth Cohort with CPS Contact before age 5
by race/ethnicity, insurance status at birth, and level of contact

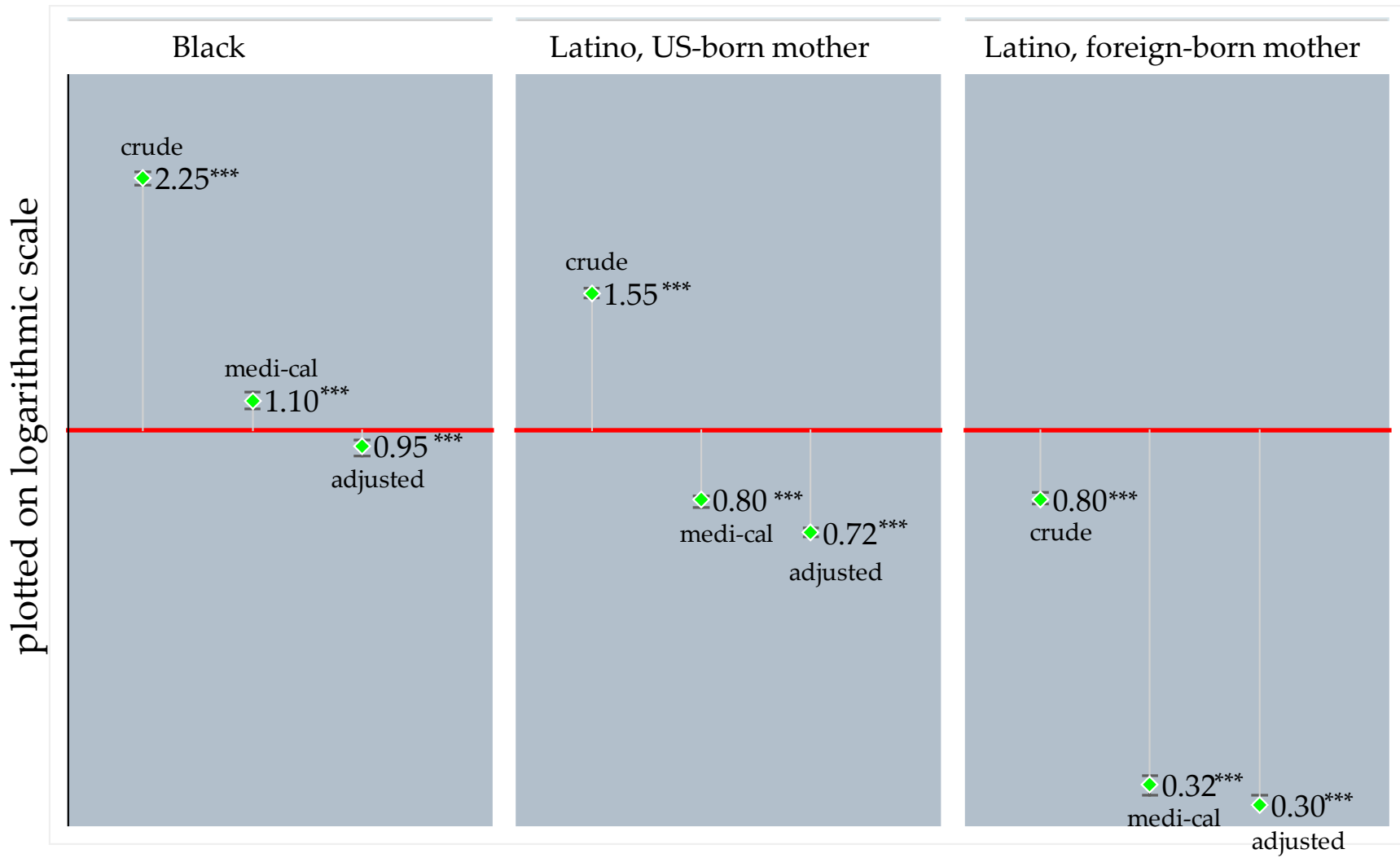


APPROACH

- Examined aggregate (crude) racial disparities in the overall birth cohort
- Examined racial disparities among children covered by public health insurance at birth
 - *large and fairly racially invariant share of children covered by public insurance across CPS contact points*
 - *implications of this coverage for surveillance and contact with mandated reporters*
- Examined racial disparities among children covered by public health insurance at birth, *with adjustments for other risk factors earlier shown to be predictive of CPS involvement*

Risk of Being Reported for Maltreatment by Age 5 (vs White)

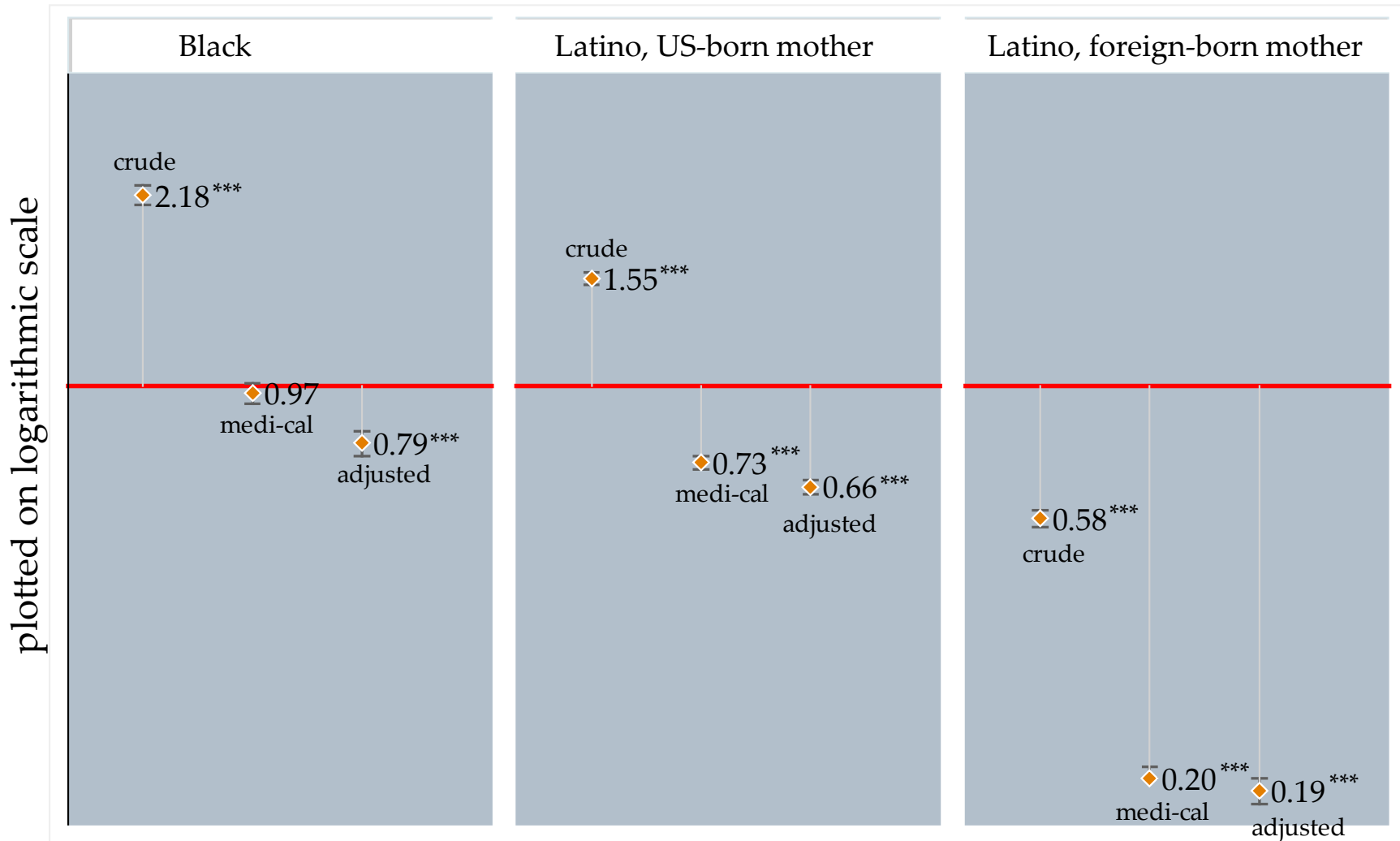
◆ RR |——| 95% Confidence Interval



*<.05 **<.01 ***<.001

Risk of Substantiated Maltreatment by Age 5 (vs White)

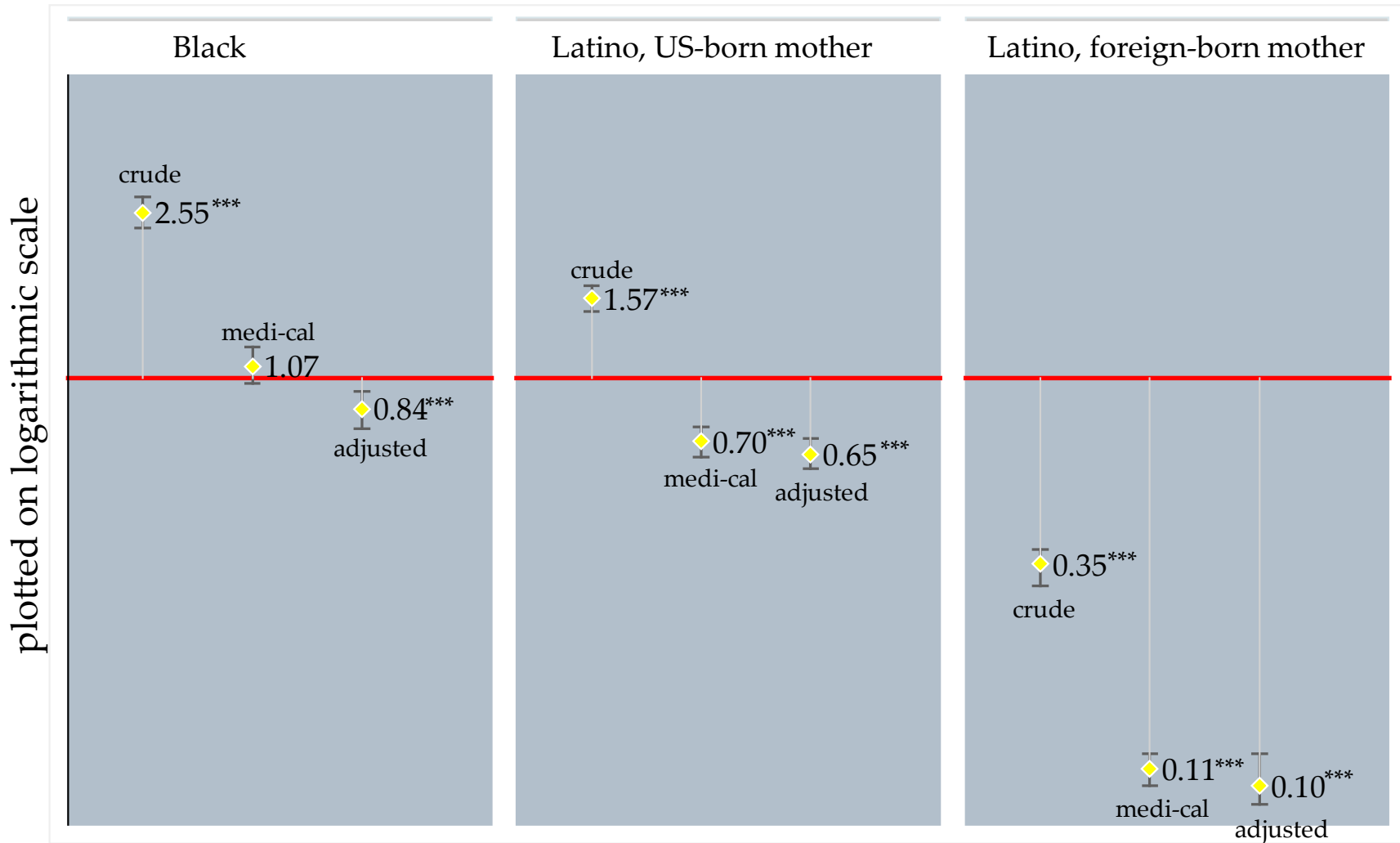
◆ RR |——| 95% Confidence Interval



* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

Risk of Foster Care Placement by Age 5 (vs White)

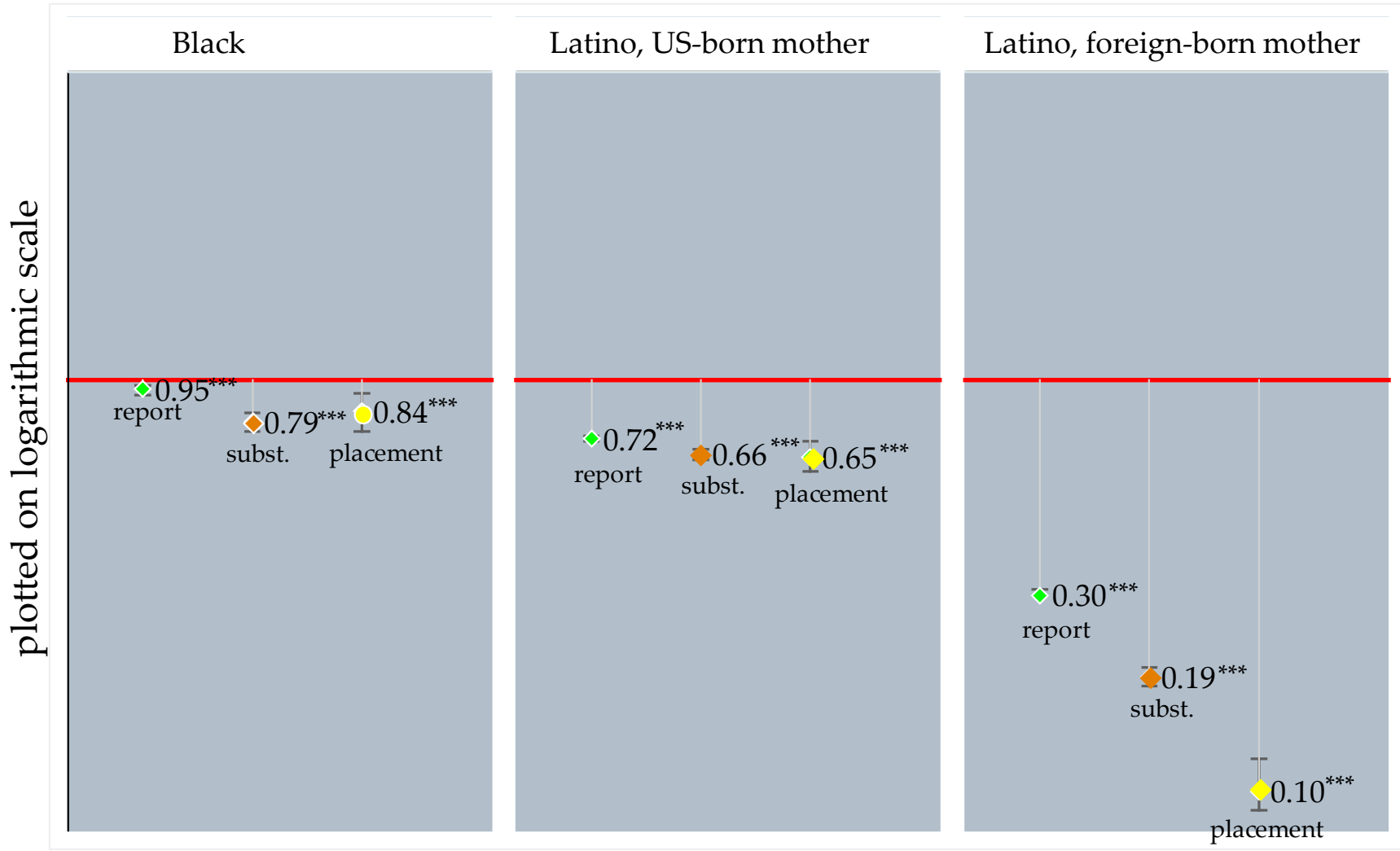
◆ RR |——| 95% Confidence Interval



* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

Risk of Report, Substantiation, and Foster Care Placement by Age 5 (vs White)

◆ RR |——| 95% Confidence Interval



* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- Cumulative rates of child welfare contact by age 5 vary dramatically across racial/ethnic groups, as does the prevalence of other risk factors
- Summary statistics indicating large black/white racial disparities mask significant covariate effects
- The Latino population of children in California consists of at least two distinct subsets, differentially impacted by poverty and with different risks of child welfare contact

IMPLICATIONS?

- This (*and other*) recent studies suggest that once we are able to adjust for socioeconomic differences and the cumulative impact of other risk factors, racial disparities continue to emerge, but often not in the manner once thought!
 - low SES white children MORE likely than low SES black children to be referred, substantiated, and enter foster care
 - differential sorting by poverty (as suggested by Drake)?
- Aggregate racial disparities are very real and must be addressed. These disparities almost certainly arise from some combination of risk factors, bias, and access issues.

IMPLICATIONS (PART 2)

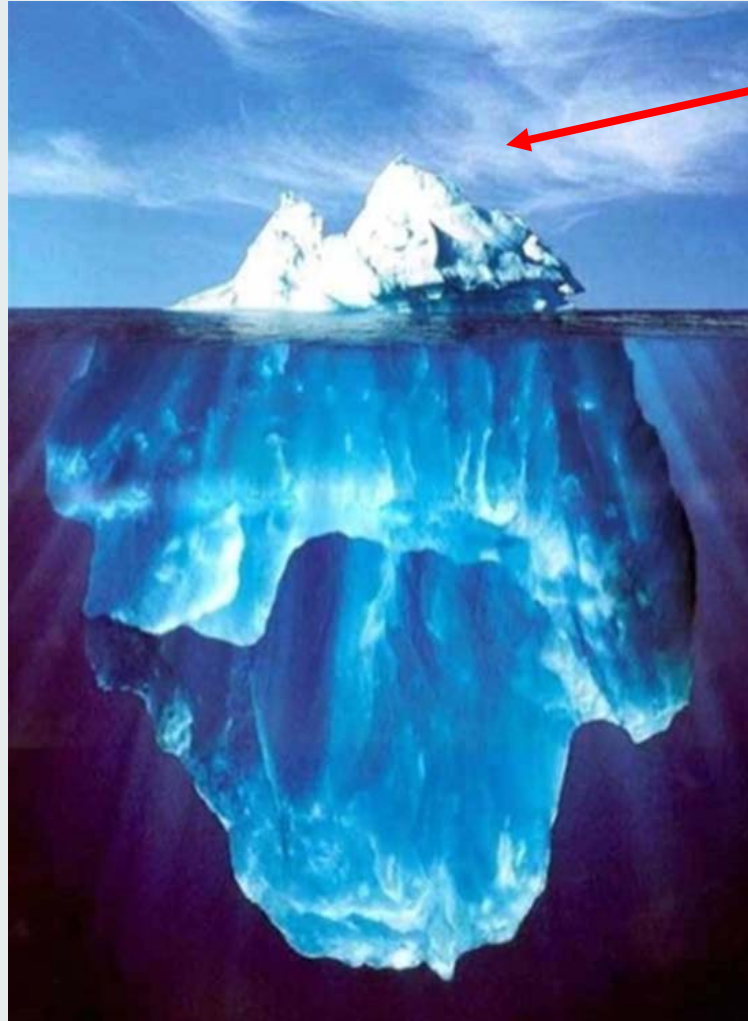
- The CPS system has focused heavily on reducing individual-level bias/increasing cultural understanding – both of which are very important.
- BUT the population-based data used in this study suggest that the risk of referral, substantiation, and entry to foster care for individual children varies much more so based on the presence of multiple risk factors at birth and the socioeconomic conditions in which they are born rather than race/ethnicity.
- To really “move the needle” to reduce racial/ethnic disparities, we need to not only continue to address individual-level bias, but we must also engage other systems to address entrenched differences in parenting burdens that place certain groups of children at disproportionate risk of CPS involvement.

LIMITATIONS

- These data do not
 - Examine racial disparities for CPS involvement among older children
 - Explore racial disparities in services and outcomes once children are in the system
 - Examine possible variations by county in these dynamics
 - Indicate that there is no racial bias
 - Indicate that there is racial bias
 - Speak to the iceberg question...

THE ICEBERG

Maltreated children *not* known to child protective services



Maltreated children known to child protective services

POVERTY DATA

- 2010 estimates of the population of children (ages 0-17) living in poverty by race/ethnicity
- Using the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) 2006-2010 five-year Estimates, poverty multipliers were calculated by race/ethnicity for California and each of its 58 counties
- These multipliers were then applied to California population data from the 2010 U.S. Census
http://cssr.berkeley.edu/ucb_childwelfare/population.aspx

WHY ARE PEOPLE POOR? *

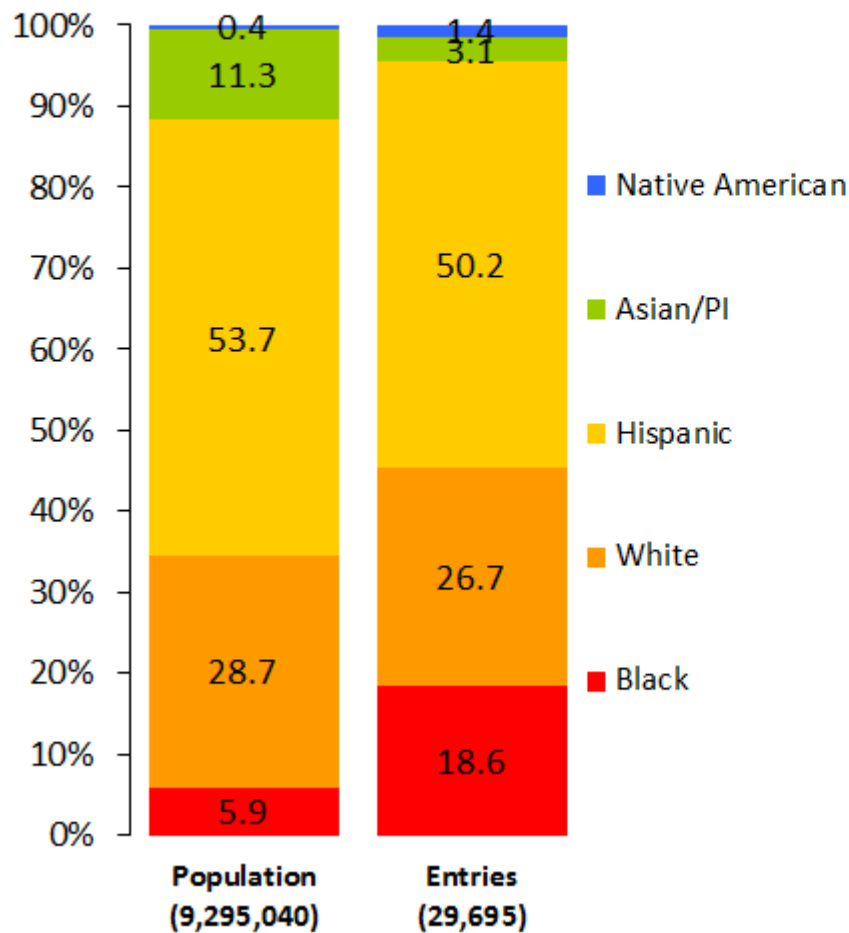
2006-2010 Estimates of CA Children in Poverty

- Black 29%
- White 9%
- Hispanic 26%
- Asian/PI 12%
- Native American 27%

* <http://www.pisab.org/>

California: General Population Disparity Index

Entry Disparity (relative to overall population)



Black Disproportionality

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White Disproportionality

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Hispanic Disproportionality

$$\frac{50.2\%}{53.7\%} = 0.94$$

Black vs. White Disparity Index

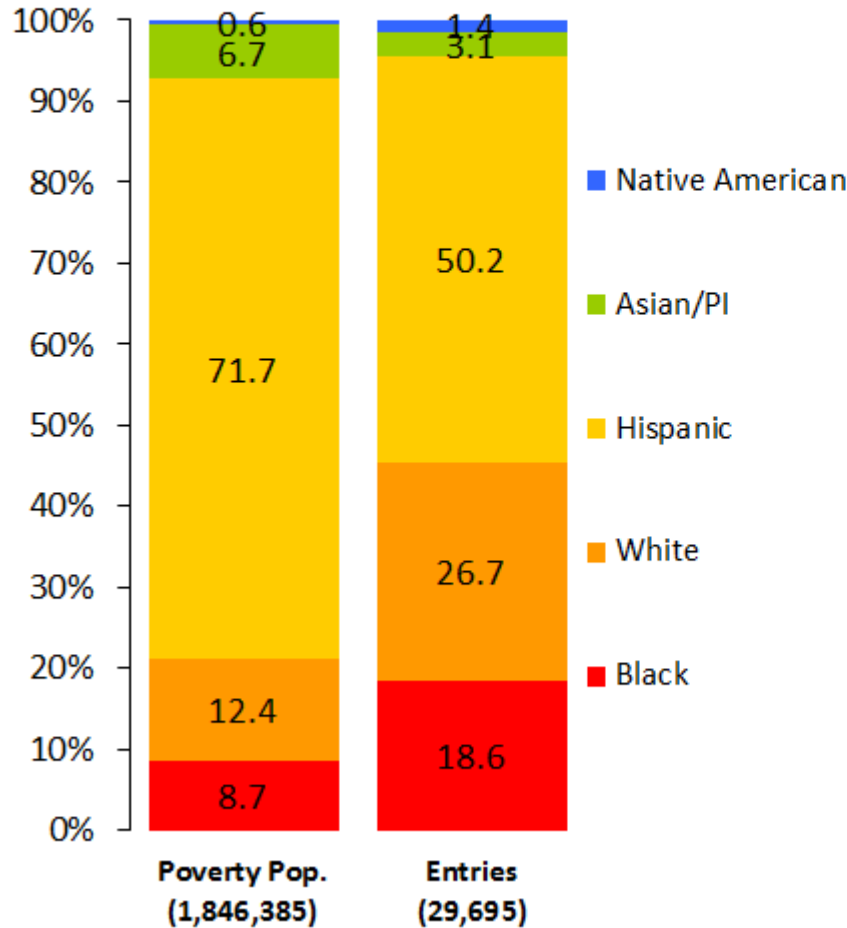
$$\frac{3.15}{0.93} = 3.39$$

Black vs. Hispanic Disparity Index

$$\frac{3.15}{0.94} = 3.36$$

California: Population in Poverty Disparity Index

Entry Disparity (relative to overall population)



Black Disproportionality

$$\frac{18.6\%}{8.7\%} = 2.15$$

White Disproportionality

$$\frac{26.7\%}{12.4\%} = 2.16$$

Hispanic Disproportionality

$$\frac{50.2\%}{71.7\%} = 0.70$$

Black vs. White Disparity Index

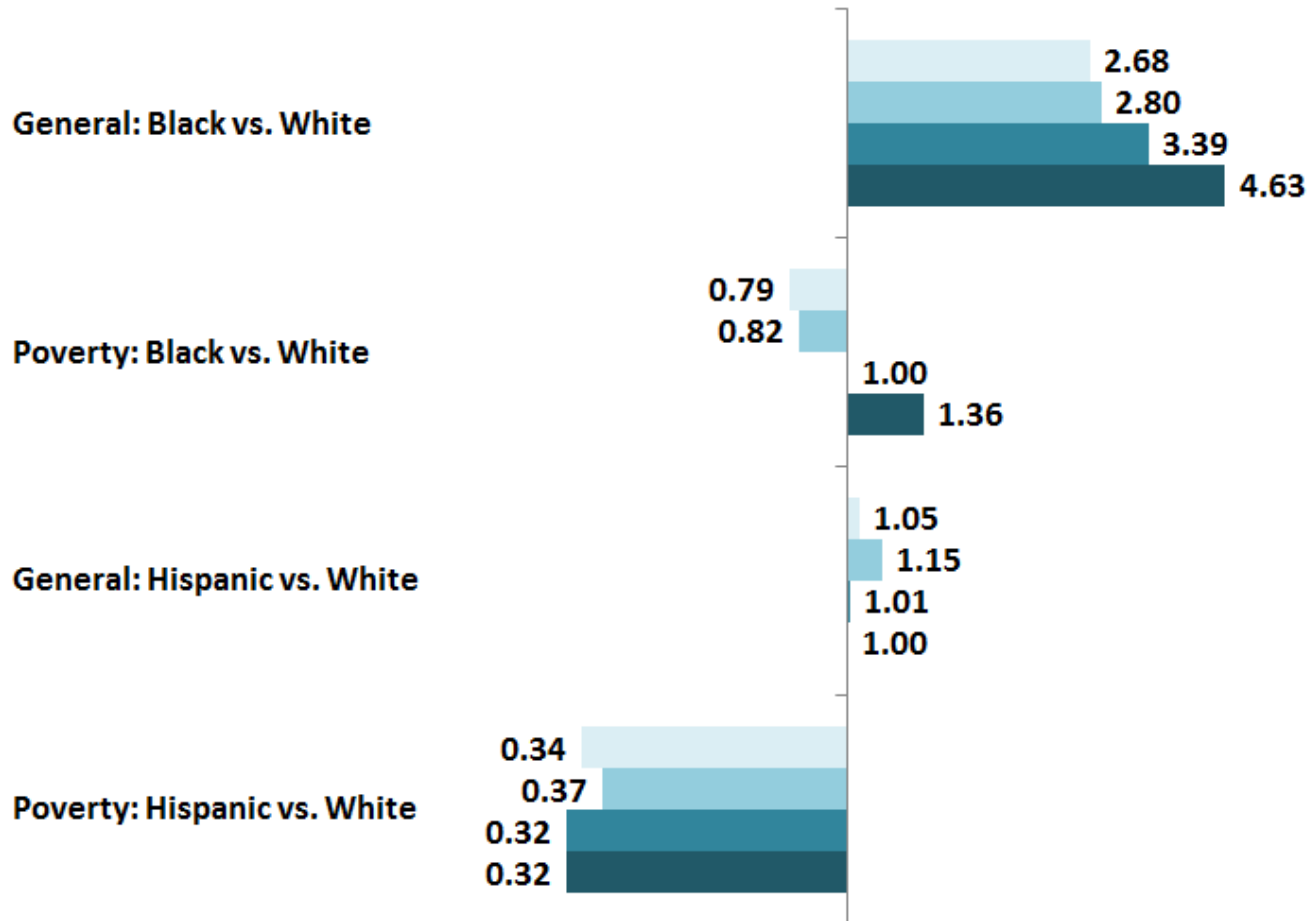
$$\frac{2.15}{2.16} = 1.00$$

Black vs. Hispanic Disparity Index

$$\frac{2.15}{0.70} = 3.06$$

California: Racial Disparity Indices, 2011

allegations substantiations entries in care



California: Racial Disparity Indices, 2011

allegations substantiations entries in care





QUESTIONS? COMMENTS?

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(IF TIME ALLOWS)
WHAT IS INSTITUTIONAL/STRUCTURAL RACISM?

Stolen shamelessly from:

Annie E. Casey Foundation---RACE MATTERS TOOLKIT

<http://www.aecf.org/KnowledgeCenter/PublicationsSeries/RaceMatters.aspx>

What Single Policy from Decades Ago Contributed to These Present-Day Outcomes?

- Homeownership disparities
- Neighborhood disparities
- Surveillance & assessment disparities
- Health disparities
- Wealth disparities



What Single Policy from Decades Ago Contributed to These Present-Day Outcomes (continued)

In short, what policy strongly contributed to opportunity-rich or opportunity-poor settings/circumstances for raising kids & the judgments accompanying each?



The GI Bill: A Story of Embedded Racial Inequity



Philip's Story

**Child Born
Right After
WWII**

**Father's
Status**

**GI Bill: FHA
& VA loans**

**Consequences
for Child's
Education**

**Consequences
for Child's
Well-being in
Adulthood**

**Low-income,
White**

**White
veteran, high
school
diploma, from
Philadelphia**

**Able to use
low-interest
mortgage
provisions to
move family
from public
housing to
segregated
suburban
home ownership**

**Family borrowed
from home equity
to support child's
college education
(first in family to
go to college)**

**Philip gets
professional
job, buys own
house,
inherits
appreciated
house
when
father
dies**



Thomas's Story

**Child Born
Right After
WWII**

**Father's
Status**

**GI Bill: FHA
& VA loans**

**Consequences
for Child's
Education**

**Consequences
for Child's
Well-being in
Adulthood**

**Low-income,
Black**

**Black
veteran, high
school
diploma, from
Philadelphia**

**Could not access
home loan b/c of
racially-restrictive
underwriting
criteria; family
remained in rental
housing in the city**

**Family could not
afford to send
child to college;
high school
diploma is from
under-resourced
segregated school**

**Thomas works
in minimum
wage jobs,
continues to
live in family
home,
considers
joining the
Army, has to
borrow \$
when father
dies to give
him decent
funeral**



Juan's Story

**Child Born
Right After
WWII**

**Father's
Status**

**GI Bill: FHA
& VA loans**

**Consequences
for Child's
Education**

**Consequences
for Child's
Well-being in
Adulthood**

**Low-income,
Latino**

**Latino
veteran, high
school
diploma, from
Texas**

**Could not access
home loan b/c of
racially-restrictive
underwriting
criteria; family
remained in rural
rental housing**

**Family could not
afford to send
child to college;
high school
diploma is from
under-resourced
language
segregated and
racially
segregated
school**

**Juan works
in minimum
wage jobs,
continues to
live in family
home,
marries
newcomer
Latina, sends
part of
family's limited
income to her
extended family
in Mexico**



Fast Forward to Today . . .

Philip's Children:

Philip gives children his father's appreciated house

They live in thriving communities

Their college education's paid by home equity

Philip establishes trust fund for grandchildren

Thomas' and Juan's Children:

They have no houses to inherit

They live in disinvested communities

At work, they complete college on work study and student loans, with subsequent starting debts to pay back

Thomas and Juan have few personal assets to leave grandchildren



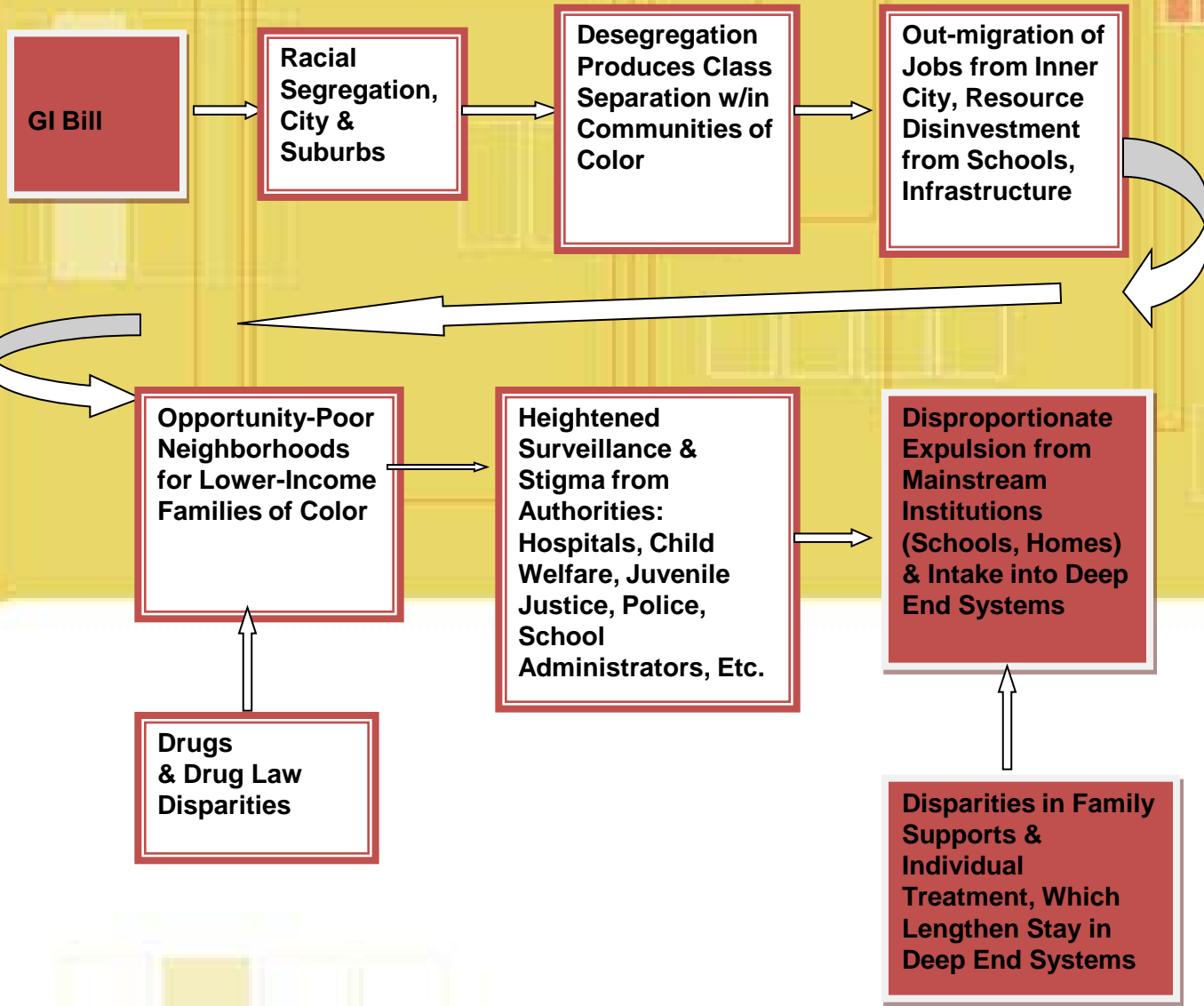
Fast Forward to Today . . .

Neighborhood-Based Opportunities include good schools, accessible jobs, affordable quality services, fair financial & retail outlets, safe recreational space, etc.

How Do “Opportunity-Rich” and “Opportunity-Poor” Neighborhoods Affect the Kids/Families You Serve Today?



POSSIBLE PATHWAY FROM THE GI BILL TO CURRENT CHILD WELFARE/JJ/EDUCATION DISPARITIES



Era of Equal Opportunity Policies (50s, 60s, and 70s)

Opportunity Victories . . .

Mendez vs. Westminster
Brown vs. Board of Education

Fair Housing Act of 1968

Affirmative Action

Voting Rights Act of 1965

But Inequitable Outcomes

Schools today remain racially segregated and still unequal in terms of access to resources.

Discrimination persists in zoning, real estate practices, and lending.

Largest beneficiaries have been White women.

More elected officials of color but w/o adequate resources in urban areas to govern effectively; redistricting to erode political power; ballot box inequities.



Era of Retrenchment (80s, 90s, 00s)

Challenge to Opportunity Victories

English Only Laws as state referenda

“Racial Privacy” Act as state referenda

Anti-affirmative action legal challenges

Inequitable Outcomes

Deprives civil rights (e.g. vote, legal proceedings, and education) for those with limited English proficiency

If it had passed, no data for accountability to promote equity in education, public contracting, or employment

Erode the small employment and education gains that have been made and increase the likelihood of return to previous practices



How do Child Welfare Policies Map in Terms of Victories & Retrenchment for Racial Equity?

Adoption & Safe Families Act 1997– quicker permanency but quicker termination of parental rights (impact on incarcerated mothers, who are disproportionately women of color)

Family Preservation & Support 1994/Promoting Safe & Stable Families 1997 – Do disparities exist in terms of who gets services?

Multi-Ethnic Placement Act 1994/Interethnic Adoption Provisions 1996 (MEPA-IEPA) – “Diligent recruitment largely ignored” (Race Matters Consortium: MEPA-IEPA)

Fostering Connections to Success and Increasing Adoptions Act of 2008- Kinship guardianship? Other provisions?



Bottom Line

Being classified as Black, Asian, Native American or Latino has never carried, and still doesn't carry, the same advantages as being classified as White.

