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Race AND Migration Experiences in America

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RACE AND MIGRATION EXPERIENCES IN AMERICA

Rama Michael Hagos

A DISSERTATION

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OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

This dissertation comprises three chapters that examine integration across economic, social welfare, and health outcomes.

The first chapter evaluates the chilling effect of the 2017 public charge rule revision leak on Medicaid and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) participation for U.S.-born children of noncitizen parents. Using the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (CPS ASEC) from 2014 to 2024, I find that the public charge rule leak was associated with decreased Medicaid and SNAP participation among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. Among children of noncitizen parents, I find that only Black and Hispanic children with noncitizen parents experienced lower Medicaid enrollment after the leak. I argue that the public charge rule leak created a hostile context for immigrant families and limited the claims-making of social citizenship for U.S.-born children.

The second chapter examines the heterogeneity of health among the multiracial child population, utilizing data from the National Health Interview Survey (1999–2018) and CPS ASEC (2003–2018). I find that multiracial children, as an aggregated category, experience worse health than children with two non-Hispanic White parents and indistinguishable health compared to children with two same-race parents. Disaggregated analyses reveal that multiracial children with a Black, White Hispanic, or American Indian/Alaska Native parent drive the pattern of worse health observed in the aggregated analyses. These findings reveal diverging patterns of health in childhood that have implications for later health and overall population health dynamics.

Finally, the last chapter evaluates labor market stratification in early twentieth-century New York City. This chapter expands on the existing historical labor market literature, which primarily focuses on European immigrant men, by incorporating the experiences of Black and White internal migrants from the U.S. South, Black Caribbean immigrants, as well as women. This chapter finds evidence of labor market stratification shaped by race, place of birth, national origin, and gender in the early twentieth century. More broadly, this work demonstrates that understanding labor market inequality in its historical context necessitates expanding beyond the European immigrant male case to identify the factors that shaped stratification during this period.

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Introduction

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line,*—
the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa,
in America and the islands of the sea." (1911:15)
W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*

Du Bois wrote about the color line to contextualize the experiences of Black people in postbellum America, but the importance of this metaphor remains resonant today, amid a critical demographic juncture in the United States. The question of who is integrated into American society and under what conditions remains a key aspect of understanding inequality in the United States (Alba and Foner 2016; Myrdal 1944; Park and Miller 1969). Integration, within the immigration literature, "refers to the processes that increase the opportunities of immigrants and their descendants to obtain the valued 'stuff' of a society, as well as social acceptance, through participation in major institutions such as the educational and political system and the labour and housing markets" (Alba and Foner 2016:7). The landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court case provides a helpful definition of racial integration. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in his opinion that "the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Racial integration requires the elimination of legal segregation and the creation of equal opportunities, regardless of race. I argue that demographic change in the United States has implications for integration.

In contrast to comparable OECD countries that are projected to decline in population or are already experiencing population decline, the United States is projected to grow for at least the next 60 years and become increasingly racially diverse (Vespa, Medina, and Armstrong 2020). Two groups are primarily driving this growth: non-White racial and ethnic groups and immigrants. As shown in Figure 1, the Census projections indicate that under a scenario of zero

in-migration, the United States would have experienced population decline as early as 2024, which is similar to that of comparable OECD nations (U.S. Census Bureau 2023).

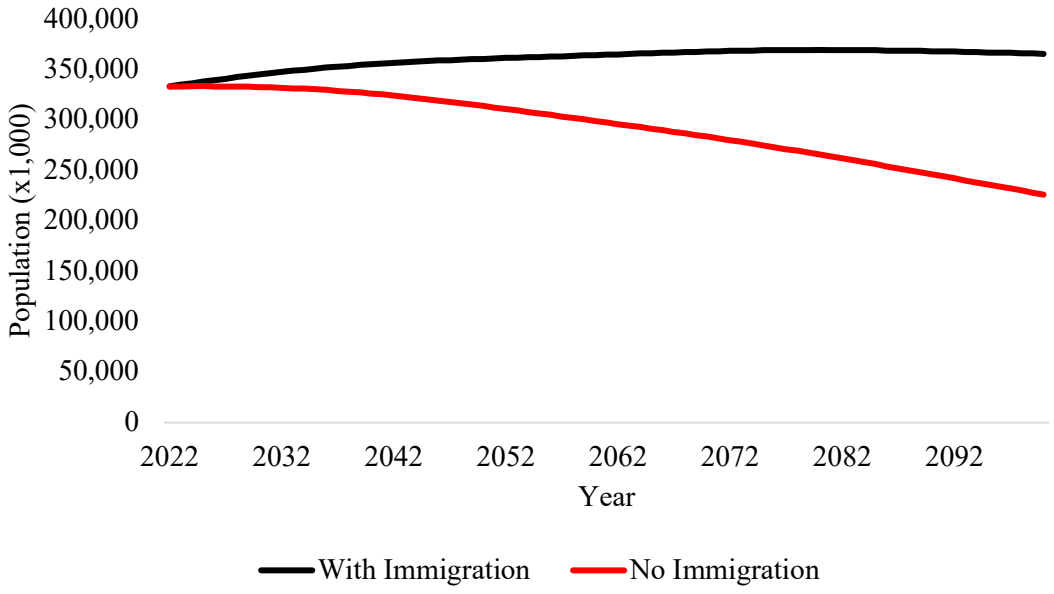


Figure 1. U.S. Census Bureau Population Projections

Source: Author produced the figure using Projected Population and Components of Change for the United States, Main Series and Zero Immigration Scenario: 2022–2100, U.S. Census Bureau

The Census's population projections have drawn alarm about the future of the United States as a majority-minority nation. Richard Alba's *The Great Demographic Illusion: Majority, Minority, and the Expanding American Mainstream* has shown that the narrative of an impending majority-minority America does not adequately account for the reality that much of this transformation is driven by multiracial people with white ancestry (2020). The presence of multiracial families challenges the rigidity of existing ethno-racial lines in the United States. Increasing intermarriage rates and the growth of the multiracial population reflect the possibility of fading color lines and the blending of races (Lee and Bean 2004). The changing color lines may also sharpen enduring boundaries, such as between Black and White individuals, or create a

boundary between individuals perceived as Black and those who are not (Alba 2020; Lee and Bean 2004).

As the population becomes more diverse through immigration and intermarriage, integration processes are neither consistent nor guaranteed. There is evidence of contracting racial boundaries under the threat of demographic decline (Abascal 2020). Demographic change has also led some to question the principles of the Fourteenth Amendment (Bloemraad 2013), which guarantees civil rights under the law regardless of race and origin. Instead of indicating that boundaries are breaking down, demographic changes often reveal how race, nativity, place of birth, and citizenship intersect to influence life opportunities. This dissertation views integration not as a straightforward path toward inclusion, but as a layered and intersectional process shaped and maintained by institutional policies, labor market systems, and social boundary practices.

By examining the experiences of both contemporary multiracial and second-generation children, as well as historical labor market incorporation, this dissertation demonstrates how integration has been conditioned by overlapping forms of identity-based stratification. Each study evaluates integration through the dimensions of social welfare access, self-rated health, and labor market outcomes, examining how intersecting identities produce differential patterns of integration.

Overview of the dissertation

Chapter 1 examines the impact of the 2017 public charge rule media leak on Medicaid and SNAP participation among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents using Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (2014–2024) and difference-in-difference analyses. Much of the existing literature on the revised public rule's impact on social

service access has focused on the 2018 formal policy announcement (Barofsky et al. 2020; Dias and Chance 2024). However, I argue that the 2017 media leak caused a "chilling effect" that deterred immigrant families from enrolling in public programs, and the leak exacerbated existing racial disparities in social welfare access. The chapter argues that immigration policy operates as a racializing mechanism, intersecting with parental citizenship to stratify social welfare access. Social welfare access is thus conceptualized as a critical site of social citizenship claims-making where stratified integration is actively produced.

The backdrop of the changing racial composition of the United States, characterized by increasing intermarriage rates, particularly with white Americans (Livingston and Brown 2017), sets the stage for understanding the dynamics of assimilation and racial boundary-making through the dimension of health. Chapter 2 examines health disparities among multiracial children in the United States, utilizing data from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) (1999–2018) and the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (2003–2018). First, I compare the health of multiracial children, as an aggregated category, to children with same-race parents and children with two White parents. This study also disaggregates the multiracial category because it may mask disparities resulting from the differing experiences of racism and discrimination within these subgroups. Lastly, this chapter aims to identify drivers of poor health among multiracial children through decomposition analyses.

Finally, Chapter 3 challenges prevailing narratives of early twentieth-century migrant integration by centering the overlooked experiences of Black migrants—both U.S.-born and Caribbean-born—as well as women of all racial backgrounds in New York City. Much of the existing literature has focused on the economic assimilation of European immigrant men

(Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson 2012, 2014; Handlin 1973; Thomas and Znaniecki 1927). However, this focus has marginalized the experiences of internal migrants and non-European immigrants, whose presence grew in northern cities after the institution of restrictive immigration quota laws (Boustan 2017; Reid 1939). Using full-count U.S. Census data (1920–1940), this chapter investigates how race, nativity, place of birth, and gender intersected to influence labor market dynamics in New York City.

Each empirical chapter contributes to a central argument that intersecting identities condition integration in the United States. The contemporary analyses of children's health and social welfare access demonstrate how demographic change through immigration and intermarriage has not dissolved social boundaries. Instead, new forms of inequality emerge at the intersection of race/ethnicity, nativity, and policy. The historical labor market analyses underscore that patterns of stratified integration today have deep historical roots, illustrating the long-standing nature of exclusionary incorporation practices. Together, the chapters of this dissertation demonstrate that integration is not a universal or inevitable process but a stratified and intersectional process. Whether through contemporary disparities in children's health and social welfare access or historical labor market exclusion, integration emerges as a process shaped by the intersection of race, nativity, place of birth, gender, and institutional structures. These projects underscore that demographic change does not inherently lead to racial equity or the dissolution of boundaries. Instead, it generates new forms of stratification that reflect the historical and institutional forces shaping American society.

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Chapter 1

The "Chilling Effect" of an Exclusionary Immigration Policy Leak on Children of Immigrants' Social Welfare Access

Abstract:

This article documents the chilling effect of the 2017 public charge rule revision leak on Medicaid enrollment and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) receipt for U.S.-born children of noncitizen parents. I used nationally representative data from the Current Population Survey's Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2014–2024, and difference-in-difference models to compare Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt between U.S.-born children of noncitizen parents and U.S.-born children of citizen parents after the public charge rule leak. This study also examines racial variation in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt following the leak among U.S.-born children. The main results reveal that U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced a decrease in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt after the public charge rule leak occurred, compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. There is also evidence that Black and Hispanic children with noncitizen parents had lower Medicaid enrollment after the leak compared to White and Asian children with noncitizen parents. Despite children being exempt from the public charge rule changes, this study provides evidence of a chilling effect on social welfare access after the public charge rule leak. There is also evidence that the public charge rule leak exacerbated racial disparities in social welfare access.

Keywords: Children; Citizenship; Social Welfare; Immigration; Race/Ethnicity

INTRODUCTION

Recent changes to immigration policy under the second Trump administration threaten social welfare access for millions of immigrants and their families (Gonzalez et al., 2025). It is crucial to evaluate the effects of immigration policies under the first Trump administration, which laid the groundwork for the current policy context. In particular, the public charge rule revisions during the first Trump administration offer a valuable case study of the impact of anti-immigrant policy contexts on U.S.-born children of immigrants (Batalova et al., 2018). Children of immigrants are one of the fastest-growing populations, and one out of every four children (over 18 million) in the United States has at least one immigrant parent (Urban Institute, 2019). The overwhelming majority of children of immigrants are U.S. citizens, but they experience impaired access to health insurance and health care (Ku & Matani, 2001; McGee & Claudio, 2018).

Although the revised 2019 public charge rule was officially in effect for a little over a year, I argue that the 2017 draft executive order leak caused a "chilling effect," in which immigrant families with U.S.-born children avoided public benefits due to concerns about their family's legal status. The revised rule exempted all lawfully present children, but there are concerns that immigrant families were less willing to sign up for social services, such as Medicaid and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), due to confusion and fears of being identified as a "public charge" (Perreira et al., 2018). Prior work has shown that immigrant children already have limited access to social welfare benefits (Bovell-Ammon et al., 2019; Capps et al., 2003; Fix & Zimmermann, 2001). Though the rule only impacted individuals applying for certain visas or permanent residency, there may have been a broad impact within immigrant communities (Perreira et al., 2018).

This study contributes to the existing literature by examining the chilling effect of the 2017 public charge rule leak on U.S.-born children's access to social welfare programs. I use Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (ASEC) data from 2014 to 2024 to examine the impact of the public charge rule leak on benefit-eligible U.S.-born children's access to Medicaid and SNAP. First, I assess the effects of the public charge rule leak on Medicaid and SNAP participation by parental citizenship. I then investigate whether the impact of the public charge rule leak varied by race and ethnicity among non-Hispanic White (White), non-Hispanic Black (Black), Hispanic, and non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander (Asian) children of noncitizens.

BACKGROUND

Medicaid and SNAP History

The Medicaid program was authorized as part of the Social Security Act of 1965 as a joint federal-state health insurance program to provide health coverage to low-income adults and children. The expansion of public health insurance for pregnant women and children dramatically improved health and reduced mortality among low-income children in the United States (Currie & Duque, 2019; Iglehart & Sommers, 2015). There is also evidence of the long-term beneficial health effects of childhood Medicaid coverage on adult health outcomes (Boudreaux et al., 2016; Wherry et al., 2018). Almost 50 years later, the 2014 Affordable Care Act (ACA) established health insurance marketplaces. Under the ACA, states could expand Medicaid eligibility and standardize eligibility rules. The ACA decreased racial and ethnic disparities in health insurance coverage, while also reinforcing legal status differences within immigrant communities because undocumented individuals were still ineligible for Medicaid and marketplace coverage (Buchmueller et al., 2016; Buchmueller & Levy, 2020; Tuohy, 2020).

SNAP originated from the Food Stamp Program, which was established during the Great Depression and subsequently codified and expanded under the Food Stamp Act of 1964. The program name changed to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in 2008. SNAP, as the second-largest social welfare program, is the single most important federal program that reduces deep poverty (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2019). Childhood food stamp coverage has been shown to significantly decrease the risk of obesity, high blood pressure, and diabetes in adulthood (Hoynes et al., 2016). Access to the food stamp program in utero and during early childhood has been shown to increase adult human capital, health, and well-being, as well as economic self-sufficiency (Bailey et al., 2024). Together, Medicaid and SNAP have improved the lives of millions of individuals; however, immigrants and their families are less likely to use social welfare programs compared to U.S.-born individuals (Fomby & Cherlin, 2004; Huang et al., 2021).

Public Charge Rule Revisions

The leak of the public charge rule revisions is particularly significant due to its implications for immigration status proceedings. Public charge is a ground for inadmissibility, meaning an individual could be denied a green card, visa, or entry into the United States for using one or more public benefits for more than 12 months within any 36-month period (Department of Justice, 1999). Although public charge rules have existed in the United States since the 1800s, the proposed changes were unique because the list of public programs considered in making public charge determinations was expanded from cash assistance programs, such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), to include health insurance, nutritional assistance, and housing assistance programs (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, DHS, 2018).

The beginning of the public charge rule revisions occurred when a draft executive order proposing revisions to the public charge rule was leaked to the media in January 2017 (Yglesias & Lind, 2017). On October 10, 2018, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) unveiled the new public charge rule proposal. DHS published a revised rule on August 14, 2019; however, several federal courts subsequently enjoined it. Although the revised rule faced several legal challenges, it was officially adopted on February 24, 2020, and remained in effect until it was vacated on March 9, 2021. Even though the revised public charge rule was vacated, it was active during the global COVID-19 pandemic, which may have caused a chilling effect, discouraging eligible low-income children from receiving social welfare benefits amid the pandemic.

Researchers have evaluated the impacts of the public charge rule revisions on social welfare, health, and healthcare access. Preliminary research using SIPP data estimated that Medicaid disenrollment rates ranged from 2.1 million to 4 million for households with a noncitizen due to the proposed public charge rule (Artiga et al., 2019). Early interviews and surveys with immigrant families revealed spillover chilling effects because families avoided noncash benefits due to the fear that these benefits would jeopardize their immigration process across a range of immigration statuses (Bernstein, Gonzalez, et al., 2019; Bernstein, McTarnaghan, et al., 2019). Wang et al. (2022) found that the 2017 public charge rule leak was associated with significant delays in prenatal Medicaid enrollment for immigrant women and decreases in their infants' birthweight using New York State Medicaid claims data. The first Trump administration and the public charge rule leak were also associated with decreases in well-child visits for children of immigrants (Ettinger de Cuba et al., 2023).

Much of the recent research on the impact of the public charge rule revisions has identified decreases in social service participation among immigrant families following the 2018

announcement. Researchers estimate that the 2018 announcement of the public charge rule led to a decline in Medicaid coverage of approximately 260,000 children, compared to the 2017 estimates (Barofsky et al., 2020). Rates of uninsurance also increased among citizen children with noncitizen parents compared to children with U.S.-born parents, beginning in 2017 (Nguyen et al., 2022). Dias and Chance (2024) evaluate the impact of the 2018 public charge rule changes as an example of a punitive symbolic policy that generates a "chilling effect" reaction. They found decreases in Medicaid and SNAP participation among low-income households with noncitizens, with larger effects among families with children (Dias & Chance, 2024).

Although previous evidence has shown that restrictive state immigration laws did not create a chilling effect on food benefit access, there is evidence that the public charge rule changes increased food insecurity and led to the avoidance of food assistance programs (Miller et al., 2022; Twersky, 2019). There are estimates that the public charge rule led to more than two million citizen children losing access to SNAP (Laird et al., 2019; Nguyen et al., 2023). Hispanic citizen children from mixed-status families experienced greater declines in SNAP participation compared to Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents (Nguyen et al., 2023). Even with the creation of federal COVID-19 relief programs, families with immigrant mothers had lower participation in these programs compared to children with U.S.-born mothers, and families with Black and Hispanic caregivers were more likely to experience material hardship than families with non-Hispanic White mothers (Lê-Scherban et al., 2023). To identify possible mechanisms for low social welfare participation among immigrants and their families, I draw on a context of reception framework.

Theoretical Framework

Immigrants today differ from those of the past, and the United States' reception of immigrants has also changed (Bean & Stevens, 2003). Context of reception refers to the degree of incorporation of immigrants into a destination country's opportunity structure, policies, institutions, and culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Immigration policy, both historically and currently, plays a significant role in determining the types of immigrants allowed into the U.S. and the contexts they encounter upon arrival (Gee & Ford, 2011; Jasso et al., 2004). From the 1920s until 1965, U.S. immigration laws were based on national origin quotas that favored immigration from Northern and Western Europe while restricting migration from Asia and Africa. The passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act abolished country-of-origin quotas in favor of familial reunification and special skilled immigration, allowing more immigrants from countries outside of Europe to migrate to the U.S., while creating limits on migration from the Northern hemisphere (Massey et al., 2016). The 1965 Act transformed immigration to the United States and reshaped the country's racial and ethnic composition (Hamilton, 2019; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014).

These immigration laws form part of the context of reception that immigrants experience upon entry into the United States. Portes and Rumbaut examine the context of reception for different immigrant populations in the U.S. by documenting the history of migration flows, the diversity of origins and modes of incorporation, shifting immigration policies, and attitudes toward immigrants (2014). The racial and ethnic diversity of this newer group of immigrants necessitates considering the racial context within which they integrate into American society to understand the integration process (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). As part of these contexts of reception, some immigrants undergo racialization, in part because the racially dominant groups perceive them as a threat (Gans, 2017). The attitudes and prejudices of the U.S.-born population

have real-world implications for immigrants because U.S. attitudes and national policies shape the context of reception for immigrants (Fussell, 2014). I extend the context of reception framework to include the children of immigrants (Zhou, 1997).

A relevant example of public policies creating hostile contexts of reception for immigrants and their children is the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). The welfare reform legislation prohibited states from using federal Medicaid funds for immigrants who had been in the United States for less than five years. Additionally, the law denied post-1996 legal immigrants access to a range of social services in the first five years of their U.S. residency. Like the revised public charge rule, the PRWORA restrictions caused a “chilling effect" on immigrant participation in public programs for which they remained eligible (Kaushal & Kaestner, 2005; Van Hook, 2003; Van Hook & Balistreri, 2006). Prior research has documented chilling effects in Medicaid enrollment for mixed-status households due to the impact of both PRWORA and increased immigration enforcement (Watson 2014).

U.S.-born children’s family ties may affect their usage of social service programs. U.S.-born children are citizens and guaranteed equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, meaning they are eligible for an array of social welfare programs regardless of their parents’ legal status (Cong. Rsch. Serv, n.d.). The fear and confusion associated with the leaked public charge rule revisions caused families to disenroll entirely from social welfare programs, irrespective of their legal status, even though children’s social welfare benefits were not considered in public charge determinations (Kenney et al., 2018). This response challenges how policymakers conceive of the citizen/noncitizen binary when designing restrictive policies that target immigrants. Previous research provides evidence of how restrictive

immigration laws may have unintended spillover effects on the health of children of foreign-born parents (Cervantes et al., 2018; Gonzalez et al., 2025; Langer et al., 2024).

Additionally, an anti-immigrant climate connects xenophobia and racism, which may have led to the revised public charge rule disproportionately impacting foreign-born racial minorities. Immigrants are racialized when they enter the United States and are placed within the existing American racial stratification system (Barot & Bird, 2001). In the case of Black immigrants, the imposition of racial identity exposes them and their children to racism that Black Americans have faced as part of the vestiges of slavery (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997). Hispanic immigrants, especially those who can be ethnically or racially coded as Hispanic, also face discrimination because of racialized stereotypes of illegality and criminality (Golash-Boza, 2006; Menjívar, 2021). Although Asian immigrants have high levels of educational attainment and socioeconomic status, they still experience persistent racial discrimination as well (Lee & Kye, 2016).

Within the context of immigration, exclusionary immigration policy can be viewed as a form of structural racism, which contributes to xenophobic contexts of reception for immigrants (Gee & Ford, 2011). Studies have documented that Asian, Black, and Hispanic immigrants are more likely to perceive discrimination as their tenure of U.S. residence increases, and perceived discrimination is also correlated with worse health among immigrants (Krieger, 2014). During periods of growing anti-immigrant sentiments, xenophobia may also increase experiences of discrimination for all immigrants, but especially for Hispanic and Black immigrants, because of their visibility (Hamilton, 2019; Vargas et al., 2017).

Immigration status is a social determinant of health that structures access to health coverage, healthcare, and wellbeing (Castañeda et al., 2015). U.S.-born children of immigrants may be

vulnerable to immigrant contexts of reception because they are part of immigrant families (Fix & Zimmermann, 2001). It is crucial to understand the impact of exclusionary policies because the current immigration context affects the children of immigrants. The cumulative effects of these policies may have long-term implications that may contribute to social inequality in the U.S. (Cervantes et al., 2018).

The Current Study

Previous research has identified the impact of the 2018 Trump administration's public charge rule proposal on social welfare access (Barofsky et al., 2020; Dias & Chance, 2024), but I argue that the chilling effect of the public charge rule began with the 2017 media leak and merits further evaluation of its impact on U.S.-born children's social welfare access (Wang et al., 2022). This study examines the effects of the 2017 public charge rule leak on U.S.-born children's access to Medicaid and SNAP benefits. I use the 2014–2024 CPS ASEC data to evaluate Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents and U.S.-born children with citizen parents to identify how contexts of reception stratify social citizenship participation in entitlement programs, such as Medicaid and SNAP. I first examine how Medicaid and SNAP participation for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents compares to U.S.-born children with citizen parents after the public charge rule leak. Then, I assess how social welfare access for children of noncitizens varied by race and ethnicity. I hypothesize that Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents decreased after the public charge rule leak. I also hypothesize that the public charge rule leak would impact Black and Hispanic U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents more because of the contexts of reception their families face as immigrants and racial minorities.

METHODS

Data

The data used for this project come from the 2014–2024 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC) Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, which is publicly available data created by the Minnesota Population Center (Flood et al., 2024). The CPS ASEC is part of the broader Current Population Survey, a monthly, nationally representative household survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and the U.S. Census Bureau that collects social and economic information about the noninstitutionalized U.S. civilian population. The CPS ASEC is fielded annually by phone and in person from February through April, with about 100,000 households surveyed throughout the 50 states. The COVID-19 pandemic affected the 2020 CPS ASEC data collection effort, resulting in a lower survey response rate compared to previous years (Rothbaum & Bee, 2021).

Sample construction

I pooled CPS ASEC data for 2014–2024 to cover the reference years 2013–2023 because the CPS ASEC insurance coverage and income questions refer to the prior year. The analytic sample is restricted to U.S.-born children aged 17 or below who resided in the United States and were eligible for Medicaid or SNAP benefits in the previous year. I exclude children under 1 year of age at the time of the survey and children with private insurance coverage because they would not have been impacted by Medicaid's inclusion in public charge determinations.[1] I also exclude the following populations from the overall sample: children who do not reside with at least one parent, children whose parents do not have labor force participation data, children whose parents do not have education data, children who were ever married, children who have children of their own, and children who received Medicare. I determine Medicaid eligibility based on year-, age-, and state-specific Medicaid eligibility income limits from the Kaiser Family Foundation.

Medicaid eligibility. The CPS ASEC does not explicitly ask about Medicaid eligibility status, so I follow the approach developed by the State Health Access Data Assistance Center (SHADAC) to generate income relative to the Department of Health and Human Services' federal poverty guidelines (FPG) for each child's health insurance unit (HIU) (State Health Access Data Assistance Center, 2013). An HIU includes individuals in a household who would be considered an economic family unit for insurance eligibility purposes (e.g., spouses and dependent children) (State Health Access Data Assistance Center, 2012). This narrower definition of family excludes nondependent relatives in the household who would not be factored into health insurance eligibility by private and public insurers. SHADAC has demonstrated that using HIU instead of IPUMS family or household increases the share of lower-income individuals, so this measure is likely a better approximation of Medicaid eligibility (State Health Access Data Assistance Center, 2012).

I first use SHADAC microdata variables to group children into their respective HIUs. Then, I calculate the total annual income within each HIU. Next, I calculate HIU income as a percentage of the FPG based on HIU income and HIU family size (Alacron et al., 2020; Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, 2015; State Health Access Data Assistance Center, 2013). I determine Medicaid eligibility by comparing HIU income as a percentage of the FPG to state- and year-specific Medicaid limits as a percentage of the federal poverty level for infants ages 0–1, children ages 1–5, and children ages 6–18 from the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured annual reports (Brooks et al., 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023; Heberlein et al., 2011, 2012, 2013b, 2013a).

SNAP eligibility determination: Next, I determine SNAP eligibility using the federal guideline that households must have a gross income at or below 130 percent of the poverty line (Aussenberg & Falk, 2025). The federal government establishes SNAP eligibility based on individuals residing in the same home, regardless of their relationship, and who purchase and prepare food together (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2024); therefore, I use the CPS household as the unit of analysis (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2024). I establish SNAP eligibility by comparing federal poverty level guidelines for the 48 contiguous states, Alaska, and Hawaii to CPS ASEC household total income and the number of people in the household.

Measures

Dependent variables. The first outcome I examine is Medicaid enrollment. I use a CPS measure of Medicaid coverage based on interviewer questions that defined Medicaid as "the government assistance that pays for health care," which included state and federal Medicaid programs (Flood et al., 2024). I construct a binary measure of Medicaid coverage that equals one if a Medicaid-eligible child was reported as receiving Medicaid coverage in the prior year. In supplementary analyses, I use a more inclusive measure of Medicaid coverage, where the Census Bureau assigns Medicaid coverage if individuals do not explicitly mention Medicaid during the survey but are determined to qualify for Medicaid (See Appendix Figure 1 and Appendix Tables 11–12). The second outcome is SNAP receipt. The CPS collects SNAP information at the household level and determines SNAP receipt if one or more household members reported receiving SNAP during the prior year. I generate a dichotomous measure of SNAP receipt that equals one if one or more members in a household received SNAP benefits during the preceding year.

Independent variable. The primary independent variable is parental citizenship status. The CPS provided citizenship information, but it does not have information on legal status. The measure of parental noncitizen status equals zero if there is at least one citizen parent in the household.

Sociodemographic characteristics. I include the following sociodemographic characteristics as controls: child's age, child's sex, child's race/ethnicity, parent's age (maximum age if two-parent household), single parent household, parental educational level (maximum education if two-parent household), total income (HIU-level for Medicaid analyses and household-level for SNAP analyses), number of children (HIU-level for Medicaid analyses and household-level for SNAP analyses), and parent's labor force participation.

Analytical Strategy

To obtain the causal impact of the public charge leak on Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents, I use a difference-in-differences approach to subtract the effect of the leak on the comparison group (U.S.-born children with citizen parents) from the impact on the treatment group (U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents). I estimate linear probability regressions based on the equations below. All analyses use the ASEC supplement person-level weights and robust standard errors.

My starting point for this empirical approach is the following base regression model:

(1) $Y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 noncitizen_parent_{it} + \alpha_2 post_t + \delta_1 noncitizen_parent_{it} * post_t + \varepsilon_{it}$

In equation (1), the subscripts index child (i) and year (t). Y_{it} is a binary variable indicating whether or not someone reported Medicaid coverage or SNAP receipt. $Noncitizen_parent_{it}$ is a

dummy variable that determines parental citizenship status. $Post_t$ is a dummy variable that equals one after the public charge leak; otherwise, it equals zero. δ_1 is the coefficient of interest that measures the interaction effect of the public charge rule leak and parental noncitizen status. I expand on this base regression model to estimate a fully-specified model that includes state fixed effects and a vector of individual-level covariates listed above.

My next step is to evaluate racial differences in social welfare access among U.S.-born children of noncitizen parents by estimating models based on Equation 2:

$$(2)\ Y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 noncitizen_parent_{it} + \alpha_2 post_t + \alpha_3 black_{it} + \alpha_4 asian_{it} + \alpha_5 hispanic_{it} + \mathbf{P}_{it}\pi + \mathbf{R}_{it}\varphi + \mathbf{N}_{it}\rho + \mathbf{B}_{it}\nu + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Equation 2 includes variables for each race/ethnicity subgroup, parental citizenship, and an indicator of the post-public charge leak period. The model also consists of a vector of interactions between noncitizen parent, post public charge leak, and race/ethnicity (**P**), a vector of interactions between race/ethnicity and noncitizen parent (**R**), a vector of interactions between noncitizen parent and post public charge leak (**N**), and a vector of interactions between post public charge leak and race/ethnicity (**B**). Finally, I built on this model by including the individual covariates listed above, as well as state fixed effects. These models capture whether the impact of the public charge rule leak on social welfare varies across race/ethnicity groups.

The difference-in-differences models make a key assumption that trends in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt for U.S.-born children would not have differed by parental citizenship in the absence of the public charge rule leak, known as the parallel trends assumption. To evaluate the parallel trends assumption, I graph trends in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt and use the event study method to test for equality of the pre-public charge leak trends (Simon et al., 2017). I estimate event study models that interact a variable indicating parental

citizenship with year dummy variables (2016 omitted as the reference year). I also estimate a placebo test, which uses 2015 as a false treatment before the public charge rule leak, to assess if there are different trends in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt. To check the robustness of the results, I estimate probit regression models, logistic regression models, and linear probability models with replicate weights. I also separately test the effects of the 2018 public charge rule formal announcement and the 2019 published public charge rule. Finally, due to the lower response rates at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, I also estimate regression results that exclude the 2020 CPS ASEC. These supplementary analyses are included in the appendices.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents summary statistics for the Medicaid-eligible U.S.-born child sample (*N*=99,515), broken down by parental citizenship status. First, on average, U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents are less likely to enroll in Medicaid than U.S.-born children with citizen parents. Second, the majority of U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents are Hispanic (89%). U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents are less likely to be in a single-parent household and have greater total HIU income compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. Finally, U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents have parents who are older, less educated, and more likely to be in the labor force than U.S.-born children with citizen parents. Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for the SNAP-eligible U.S.-born child sample (*N*=85,555). U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents are less likely to receive SNAP than U.S.-born children with citizen parents. The pattern of demographic characteristics by parental citizenship is similar to what is documented in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

Regression Results

Medicaid regression results. Table 3 shows results from difference-in-difference models. The first column presents estimates from the base regression model, which includes only age and sex covariates. The base model indicates that U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents had a four percentage-point decrease in the probability of Medicaid coverage after the public charge rule leak compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. The effect of the public charge rule leak is not attenuated with the inclusion of covariates and fixed effects.

[Insert Table 3 About Here]

Race/ethnicity Medicaid regression results. I next estimate difference-in-difference-in-differences models for Medicaid enrollment to assess racial variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents. Table 4 presents these results. The base and full model results reveal that the effects of the public charge leak on Medicaid enrollment differ significantly across racial and ethnic groups. The base model shows that U.S.-born Black children with noncitizen parents experienced an 11 percentage-point decrease in the probability of Medicaid enrollment after the public charge rule leak relative to U.S.-born White children with noncitizen parents. U.S.-born Hispanic children with noncitizen parents experienced an eight percentage-point decrease in the probability of Medicaid enrollment compared to U.S.-born White children with noncitizen parents. Asian children with noncitizen parents did not have statistically different Medicaid enrollment after the leak. The full model shows that relative to U.S.-born White children with noncitizen parents, Black children with noncitizen parents experienced a 14 percentage-point decrease in the probability of Medicaid enrollment after the public charge rule leak, and Hispanic children with noncitizen parents

experienced an eight percentage-point reduction in the probability of Medicaid enrollment after the leak. Asian children with noncitizen parents still did not have statistically significant results.

[Insert Table 4 About Here]

SNAP regression results. Table 5 shows the difference-in-difference SNAP results. The first column shows results from the base model. Following the public charge rule leak, U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced a seven percentage-point decrease in the probability of SNAP receipt compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. When covariates and fixed effects are included in the model, the results attenuate to a six percentage-point decrease in the probability of SNAP receipt for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents.

[Insert Table 5 About Here]

Race/ethnicity SNAP regression results. Next, I present results from the interaction of race, parental citizenship, and the public charge rule leak on SNAP receipt. Similar to the Medicaid results, the probability of SNAP receipt varies across race/ethnicity groups. Although the base model shows no evidence of variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents, the magnitude of the coefficients shows an increase in the probability of SNAP receipt after the leak. The results in the second column show that including covariates and fixed effects attenuates the results for all groups. Again, the results are not statistically significant, but only Hispanic children with noncitizen parents are less likely to receive SNAP after the public charge rule leak. In contrast, Black and Asian children of noncitizen parents have a slightly greater probability of SNAP receipt, but the results are not statistically significant.

[Insert Table 6 About Here]

Parallel trends tests. Next, I test the strength of the difference-in-difference results by examining the parallel trends assumption in three ways. First, I graph Medicaid enrollment rates and SNAP receipt rates across the pre- and post-public charge leak periods in Figure 1. Panel A of Figure 1 shows the percentage of U.S.-born Medicaid-eligible children enrolled in Medicaid over time. Based on the graph, there is inconclusive evidence of the parallel trends assumption before the leak. Panel B of Figure 1 shows the percentage of U.S.-born SNAP-eligible children who received SNAP over time. The graph shows consistent evidence of the parallel trends assumption before the leak and widening disparities in SNAP receipt after the public charge rule leak.

[Insert Figure 1 About Here]

I further assess the assumption of parallel trends using an event study model. I estimate models that interact parental citizenship with year variables (omitting 2016 as the reference year before the public charge rule leak). If Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt had similar trends before the leak, the coefficients would be close to 0 for all years before the leak. I also jointly test the null hypothesis that all pre-leak interaction terms equal 0 using Wald tests (Simon et al., 2017). Table 7 presents the results from the event study model. These results are presented graphically in Appendix Figure 2. The first two columns focus on Medicaid and reveal no statistically significant difference in pre-public charge rule leak trends in the base and full models. Wald tests reported p-values of 0.37 for the base model and 0.32 for the full model, meaning the null hypothesis is not rejected. The third and fourth columns show the estimates for SNAP receipt. Similar to the Medicaid results, the SNAP event study analysis reveals that the pre-leak interaction coefficients are not statistically significant in either the base or full models.

Wald tests reported p-values of 0.30 and 0.32 for the base and full models, indicating that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. These results together provide evidence that the parallel trends assumption appears to be satisfied.

[Insert Table 7 About Here]

Finally, I estimate placebo tests of Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt using 2015 as a false treatment period and excluded data from periods where the public charge leak occurred. These results are in the Appendix (See Appendix Tables 1 and 2). There is no statistically significant difference in Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt by parental citizenship for U.S.-born children. These tests collectively show that pre-trend patterns in U.S.-born children's Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt did not meaningfully differ by parental citizenship until the public charge rule leak.

DISCUSSION

Immigrants and their children comprise a growing share of the overall U.S. population and will be major drivers of population growth in the future (Lopez et al., 2015). The growth of the second-generation population will have major implications for American society. Negative contexts of reception have been found to impact a range of outcomes for immigrants, but there is still a need to understand how these contexts impact children of immigrants. This research fills this gap by examining the impact of the 2017 public charge rule leak on U.S.-born children's access to Medicaid and SNAP benefits, providing evidence of the negative contexts of reception on social citizenship participation.

Results from this research support the hypothesis that the 2017 public charge rule leak decreased Medicaid and SNAP participation for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents

compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. First, I find that U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced a significant decrease in the probability of Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt after the leak, which aligns with previous research on the impact of restrictive immigration rhetoric and policies (Dias & Chance, 2024; Nguyen et al., 2022, 2023). COVID-19 pandemic policies, such as the Families First Coronavirus Response Act (FFCRA) and the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act, temporarily increased access to social welfare programs, but did not close the disparities in Medicaid and SNAP access among children of noncitizens. Second, I find evidence of racial variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents. Black and Hispanic U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced decreased Medicaid enrollment, while Asian and White children with noncitizen parents did not experience reduced Medicaid enrollment after the leak. Finally, I find no evidence of racial variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak on SNAP receipt. These results pose several questions in understanding the effects of restrictive immigration policies on children of immigrants.

What Explains Children of Noncitizen Parents Experiencing Decreased Access to Social Welfare Post-Public Charge Leak?

These results suggest that U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents face limited claims-making for social welfare because they are in mixed-status families with different citizenship statuses (Bloemraad, 2018; Fix & Zimmermann, 2001). U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents are in less socioeconomically advantaged homes compared to U.S.-born children with citizen parents. Despite their economic disadvantage and status as citizens, children of noncitizen parents are less likely to receive Medicaid and SNAP than children with citizen parents. U.S.-born individuals with noncitizen parents are limited in their claims-making of citizenship because they are part of

families directly impacted by hostile contexts of reception, and their families are the site of decision-making, such as social welfare participation (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992; Okin, 1989).

What Explains Divergences in Medicaid Enrollment Among Black and Hispanic Children?

Racialized legal status is a valuable framework to contextualize the divergence observed among U.S.-born Black and Hispanic children. Racialized legal status refers to social positions based on race-neutral legal classifications that disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities (Asad & Clair, 2018). Racialized legal status may shape the observed disparities in social welfare access among Black and Hispanic U.S.-born children by acting as a social determinant of health and social welfare access. U.S.-born Black and Hispanic children may experience the spillover effects of anti-immigrant policies due to their proximity to "legally marked" racial/ethnic group members in their families who hold legal statuses that are the targets of policies like the public charge rule changes (Asad & Clair, 2018). The disproportionate impact of immigration policies on Hispanic families is well-documented (Bitler et al., 2021). Much of the focus on anti-immigrant policies is on the Hispanic population, the largest immigrant population in size. Still, the decreased participation in Medicaid among Black children with noncitizen parents signals that the spillover effects of their "legally marked" family members and their racial identity also make them vulnerable.

What Do Exclusionary Policies Reveal about Social Citizenship?

This study shows that exclusionary immigration policies like the public charge rule revisions produce spillover effects that harm legally eligible children. The observed social welfare disparities between U.S.-born children based on their parental citizenship reflect barriers that

U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents face in accessing social welfare programs. Many immigrant families report struggling to meet their basic food, health, and housing needs because of recent changes to immigration policies and social welfare policies (Gonzalez et al., 2025).

An anti-immigrant context hinders the claims-making, such as Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt, that noncitizen parents can make on behalf of their children because of constraints they face from legal structures, institutional practices, and public perceptions (Bloemraad, 2018). Formal citizenship enables claims-making for rights, such as access to social welfare, and it also provides relational power for appeals to normative ideals and values, which are difficult for governments, institutions, and individuals to ignore (Bloemraad, 2018). U.S.-born children cannot make these appeals on their own and require their parents and caregivers to make them on their behalf. The public charge rule revisions led immigrant families to respond in ways to mitigate risk, which may have also meant that their U.S.-born children were excluded from the full benefits granted to them as U.S. citizens. This has the potential to foster greater social inequality that may negatively impact intergenerational mobility for the second-generation population. As children of immigrants age and make up a larger share of the population and labor market, this may have profound implications for their integration into American society.

Limitations. This analysis has several limitations. First, there is evidence that the CPS ASEC underreports Medicaid coverage because respondents do not always accurately report their coverage during the prior year and instead report private coverage or uninsured status (Call et al., 2008; Davern et al., 2009; Klerman et al., 2009). Second, there is evidence that the CPS ASEC may overestimate the uninsured population because of the imputation method the Census employs for missing health insurance status (Davern et al., 2007). There is also mixed evidence that the CPS ASEC insurance estimates may be more consistent with point-in-time estimates

than prior year coverage (Swartz, 1986). The CPS ASEC also lacks precision in the timing and length of insurance coverage. In addition to the public charge rule revisions, a range of policies and initiatives were instituted under the first Trump administration that collectively created a hostile context for immigrants. Thus, it is difficult to precisely identify the "pre" and "post" periods or assess the duration effect of the public charge rule leak. Finally, the CPS ASEC does not provide citizenship status for the noncitizen population, so I could not identify different noncitizen statuses (undocumented, legal permanent resident, refugee/asylee, or temporary status).

CONCLUSION

Anti-immigrant policy decisions and political rhetoric have created an exclusionary context of reception for immigrants in America (Massey, 2020). Although formally targeting adult immigrants, the public charge rule changes indirectly reduced safety net participation among U.S.-born children. Overall, the results revealed a negative impact of the public charge rule leak on Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents relative to U.S.-born citizen children with citizen parents. Importantly, this study has also identified racial variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak on U.S.-born children of noncitizen parents. Among U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents, only Black and Hispanic children experienced a decreased probability of Medicaid enrollment.

Although the revised public charge rule has been eliminated, its long-term effects remain unknown, despite its relatively short duration. These findings underscore the importance of evaluating the unintended consequences of immigration policies on children. Exclusionary immigration policies, such as the public charge rule, have far-reaching implications beyond their intended goal. These types of restrictive immigration policies generate fear and distress among

immigrant communities. Government policies, such as the public charge rule, have harmful implications on the health and well-being of second-generation children (Perreira & Pedroza, 2019). This study provides evidence that the public charge rule leak reduced social welfare participation for U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents and exacerbated racial disparities. These findings are significant in the midst of a second Trump administration that has deployed a range of restrictive policies that target immigrants and their families (Calhoon & Alang, 2025). The reduction of social safety net access for children of immigrants may impact their later health, educational attainment, and labor force participation, which has implications for the United States as a whole, given that children of immigrants increasingly will make up a larger share of the population.

NOTES

[1] I used the Census Bureau's definition of private insurance, including insurance coverage through an employer or union, insurance purchased by an individual from a private company, or TRICARE or other military coverage (Keisler-Starkey et al., 2024).

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics for Medicaid-Eligible U.S.-born children

	(1) Noncitizen Parent	(2) Citizen Parent
Social Welfare Outcomes		
Medicaid Coverage	0.79	0.83
Demographic Characteristics		
Age	7.62	7.55
Female	0.49	0.49
Parental Age	38.56	36.26
Single Parent Household	0.33	0.55
Number of Children in HIU	2.74	2.64
Non-Hispanic White	0.04	0.38
Non-Hispanic Black	0.04	0.28
Hispanic	0.89	0.31
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.04	0.03
Economic Characteristics		
Mother: Less than High School	0.31	0.04
Mother: Some High School	0.27	0.15
Mother High School Diploma	0.30	0.39
Mother: Some College	0.07	0.33
Mother: College and More	0.05	0.09
Father: Less than High School	0.38	0.08
Father: Some High School	0.25	0.17
Father High School Diploma	0.28	0.43
Father: Some College	0.05	0.22
Father: College and More	0.04	0.09
Parental Labor Force Participation	0.88	0.76
Total Income in HIU	23686.12	22104.10
Observations	19022	80493

Note: Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for SNAP-Eligible U.S.-born children

	(1) Noncitizen Parent	(2) Citizen Parent
Social Welfare Outcomes		
SNAP Receipt	0.49	0.60
Demographic Characteristics		
Age	7.66	7.93
Female	0.49	0.49
Parental Age	38.40	36.81
Single Parent Household	0.34	0.56
Number of Children in Household	3.00	2.86
Non-Hispanic White	0.04	0.39
Non-Hispanic Black	0.04	0.30
Hispanic	0.88	0.28
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.04	0.03
Economic Characteristics		
Mother: Less than High School	0.32	0.04
Mother: Some High School	0.28	0.15
Mother High School Diploma	0.28	0.39
Mother: Some College	0.07	0.32
Mother: College and More	0.05	0.10
Father: Less than High School	0.39	0.08
Father: Some High School	0.26	0.17
Father High School Diploma	0.26	0.40
Father: Some College	0.06	0.23
Father: College and More	0.04	0.11
Parental Labor Force Participation	0.87	0.73
Total Household Income	22921.34	20710.26
Observations	15435	70120

Note: Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

Table 3: Difference in Difference Linear Probability Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.02*	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.04***	−0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.01***
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.02**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.04***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table 4: Triple Interaction Linear Probability Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.114*	−0.144**
	(0.057)	(0.056)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.019	0.008
	(0.061)	(0.059)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.079+	−0.084*
	(0.044)	(0.042)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.090*	0.127**
	(0.043)	(0.042)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.011	0.016
	(0.051)	(0.049)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.047	0.078*
	(0.036)	(0.035)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.003	0.007
	(0.009)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.003	0.016
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.000	−0.001
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	0.038	0.047
	(0.043)	(0.041)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.048***	0.041***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.029+	0.015
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Hispanic	0.039***	0.014*
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.074*	−0.076*
	(0.035)	(0.034)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.045***	0.054***
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.015***
		(0.004)
Number of Children in HIU		0.011***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.092***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.086***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: Some College		0.096***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: College and More		0.041***
		(0.008)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.028***
		(0.004)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table 5: Difference in Difference Linear Probability Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.07***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	−0.05***	−0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.07***	−0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.10***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.01)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.06***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table 6: Triple Interaction Linear Probability Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.046	0.029
	(0.074)	(0.075)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.058	0.045
	(0.072)	(0.071)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.004	−0.007
	(0.051)	(0.053)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.079	−0.057
	(0.053)	(0.053)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.049	−0.041
	(0.054)	(0.053)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.020	0.019
	(0.039)	(0.040)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.028*	0.024*
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.016	0.024
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Hispanic x Post-2017	−0.017	−0.018+
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	−0.059	−0.036
	(0.049)	(0.052)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.142***	0.069***
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.132***	−0.045*
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Hispanic	0.030***	0.013
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.068+	−0.029
	(0.038)	(0.039)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	−0.057***	−0.040***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001*
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.098***
		(0.005)
Number of Children in Household		0.041***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.096***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.060***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: Some College		0.057***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.094***
		(0.010)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.062***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table 7: Parallel Trends Tests for Medicaid Enrollment and SNAP Receipt

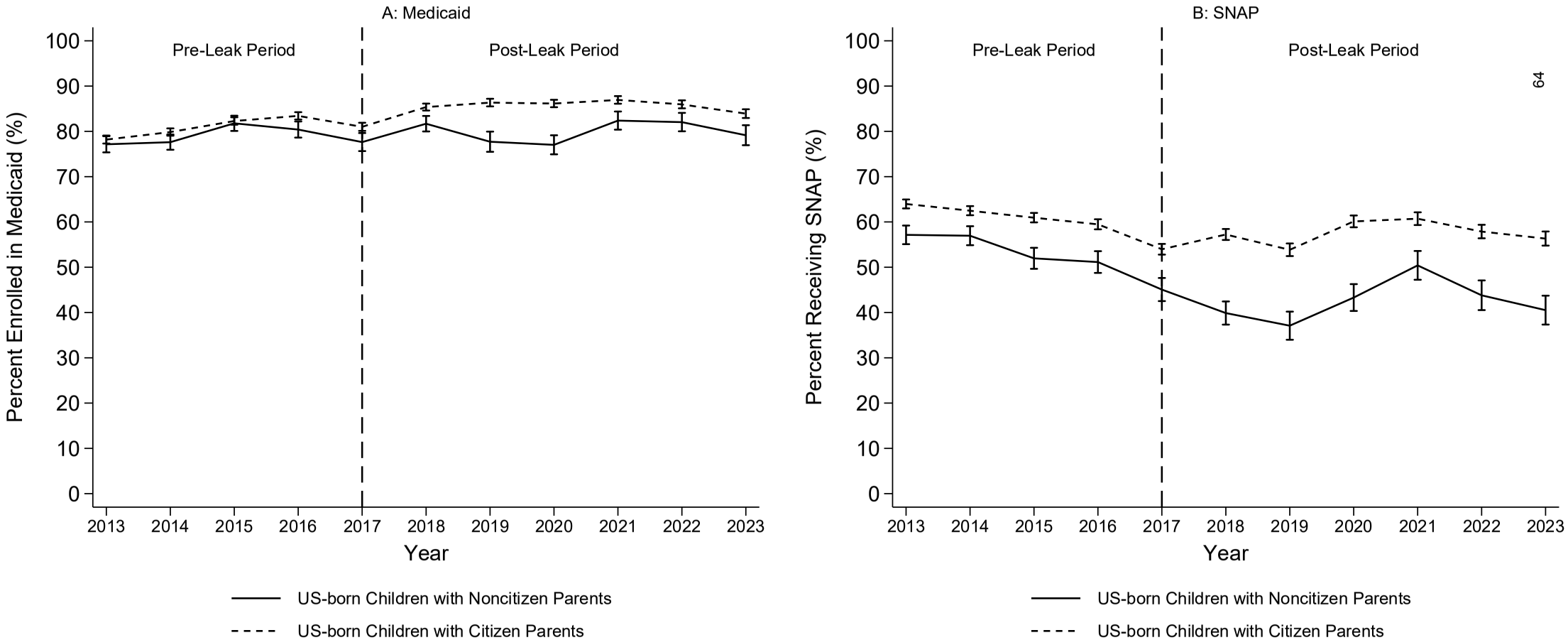
	Medicaid		SNAP	
	(1) Base Model	(2) Full Model	(3) Base Model	(4) Full Model
Noncitizen Parent × 2013	0.02	0.01	0.02	−0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2014	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2015	0.03	0.02	−0.01	−0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2017	−0.00	−0.01	−0.01	−0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2018	−0.01	−0.01	−0.09***	−0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2019	−0.06**	−0.05**	−0.08***	−0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2020	−0.06***	−0.06***	−0.08***	−0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2021	−0.02	−0.01	−0.02	−0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2022	−0.01	−0.01	−0.06*	−0.07**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × 2023	−0.02	−0.02	−0.07**	−0.06*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
State FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Figure 1. Percent of U.S.-born Children Receiving Medicaid and SNAP



Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals, calculated using ASEC individual-level survey weights.
Source: Current Population Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC), 2014–2024.

Appendix Table 1: Placebo Test of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.01	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2015	0.04***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2015	−0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.01+
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.04***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.01
		(0.02)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01
		(0.01)
Number of Children in HIU		0.02***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.07***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.07***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.00
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.04***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	42732	42732

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2011-2017 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 2: Placebo Test of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.06***	−0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2015	−0.03***	−0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2015	−0.02	−0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00
		(0.00)
Female		−0.00
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.06***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.02+
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.05**
		(0.02)
Parental Age		−0.01***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.09***
		(0.01)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.03*
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.13***
		(0.02)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.04***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	41702	41702

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2011-2017 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 3: Difference in Difference Probit Regression Model of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.01**	−0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.04***	−0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.01***
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.02*
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.08***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.04***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 4: Triple Interaction Probit Regression Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.107*	−0.134**
	(0.051)	(0.050)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.022	0.010
	(0.052)	(0.050)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.069*	−0.072*
	(0.035)	(0.034)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.076*	0.109**
	(0.037)	(0.036)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.005	0.012
	(0.040)	(0.039)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.033	0.062*
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.011	0.016+
	(0.009)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.007	0.017
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.006	0.005
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	0.025	0.032
	(0.034)	(0.032)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.044***	0.037***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.026+	0.011
	(0.016)	(0.016)
Hispanic	0.035***	0.010
	(0.006)	(0.006)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.059*	−0.061*
	(0.026)	(0.025)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.041***	0.051***
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.014***
		(0.004)
Number of Children in HIU		0.012***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.090***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.084***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: Some College		0.094***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: College and More		0.040***
		(0.008)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.031***
		(0.004)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 5: Difference in Difference Probit Regression Model of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.07***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	−0.05***	−0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.07***	−0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.09***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.01)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.07***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 6: Triple Interaction Probit Regression Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.049	0.024
	(0.072)	(0.071)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.056	0.040
	(0.070)	(0.069)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.006	−0.008
	(0.049)	(0.050)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.086^{+}	−0.067
	(0.051)	(0.051)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.047	−0.045
	(0.052)	(0.051)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.018	0.013
	(0.037)	(0.038)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.023*	0.019^{+}
	(0.012)	(0.011)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.015	0.021
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Hispanic x Post-2017	−0.017	−0.019^{+}
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	−0.057	−0.028
	(0.048)	(0.049)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.147***	0.075***
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.127***	−0.041*
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Hispanic	0.029***	0.014^{+}
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.066^{+}	−0.025
	(0.036)	(0.037)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	−0.055***	−0.038***
	(0.007)	(0.006)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001**
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.094***
		(0.005)
Number of Children in Household		0.042***
		(0.002)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.097***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.059***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: Some College		0.055***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.092***
		(0.010)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.066***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 7: Difference in Difference Logistic Regression Model of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	0.90**	1.00
	(0.03)	(0.05)
Post-2017	1.40***	1.52***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	0.76***	0.77***
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		0.99***
		(0.00)
Female		1.02
		(0.02)
Non-Hispanic Black		1.41***
		(0.05)
Hispanic		1.12***
		(0.03)
Non-Hispanic Asian		1.19**
		(0.08)
Parental Age		0.99***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		1.11***
		(0.03)
Number of Children in HIU		1.09***
		(0.01)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		1.80***
		(0.08)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		1.72***
		(0.07)
Parental Education: Some College		1.86***
		(0.08)
Parental Education: College and More		1.28***
		(0.06)
Total Income in HIU		1.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		0.79***
		(0.03)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 8: Triple Interaction Logistic Regression Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.479*	0.365**
	(0.166)	(0.131)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	1.173	1.069
	(0.407)	(0.388)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.626*	0.586*
	(0.145)	(0.141)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	1.658*	2.228**
	(0.411)	(0.574)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	1.024	1.082
	(0.272)	(0.299)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	1.239	1.558*
	(0.219)	(0.281)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	1.100	1.138*
	(0.069)	(0.072)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	1.060	1.173
	(0.147)	(0.168)
Hispanic x Post-2017	1.057	1.051
	(0.059)	(0.060)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	1.172	1.275
	(0.261)	(0.294)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	1.355***	1.305***
	(0.062)	(0.064)
Non-Hispanic Asian	1.197	1.088
	(0.132)	(0.125)
Hispanic	1.274***	1.086+
	(0.055)	(0.051)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	0.678*	0.652*
	(0.115)	(0.113)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	1.328***	1.444***
	(0.045)	(0.050)
Demographic Char.		
Age		0.991***
		(0.002)
Female		1.023
		(0.022)
Parental Age		0.988***
		(0.001)
Single Parent Household		1.108***
		(0.029)
Number of Children in HIU		1.089***
		(0.009)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		1.806***
		(0.080)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		1.723***
		(0.071)
Parental Education: Some College		1.866***
		(0.082)
Parental Education: College and More		1.284***
		(0.064)
Total Income in HIU		1.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		0.786***
		(0.025)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 9: Difference in Difference Logistic Regression Model of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	0.74***	0.94
	(0.02)	(0.04)
Post-2017	0.81***	0.84***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	0.76***	0.80***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		0.99*
		(0.00)
Female		1.01
		(0.02)
Non-Hispanic Black		1.47***
		(0.04)
Hispanic		1.03
		(0.03)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.85**
		(0.05)
Parental Age		0.98***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		1.53***
		(0.03)
Number of Children in Household		1.22***
		(0.01)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		1.54***
		(0.06)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		1.29***
		(0.05)
Parental Education: Some College		1.26***
		(0.05)
Parental Education: College and More		0.65***
		(0.03)
Total Household Income		1.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		0.73***
		(0.02)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 10: Triple Interaction Logistic Regression Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	1.232	1.162
	(0.373)	(0.386)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	1.264	1.221
	(0.372)	(0.390)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	1.026	0.985
	(0.213)	(0.232)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.689^{+}	0.735
	(0.148)	(0.173)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	1.217	0.822
	(0.265)	(0.192)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	1.079	1.066
	(0.168)	(0.188)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	1.096^{+}	1.090^{+}
	(0.055)	(0.056)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	1.062	1.102
	(0.118)	(0.132)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.931	0.917^{+}
	(0.043)	(0.045)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	0.788	0.858
	(0.157)	(0.196)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	1.876***	1.421***
	(0.070)	(0.057)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.589***	0.831*
	(0.050)	(0.078)
Hispanic	1.132***	1.067
	(0.041)	(0.042)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	0.759^{+}	0.889
	(0.114)	(0.152)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.794***	0.842***
	(0.022)	(0.025)
Demographic Char.		
Age		0.995**
		(0.002)
Female		1.015
		(0.018)
Parental Age		0.980***
		(0.001)
Single Parent Household		1.531***
		(0.032)
Number of Children in Household		1.216***
		(0.009)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		1.547***
		(0.063)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		1.300***
		(0.050)
Parental Education: Some College		1.277***
		(0.052)
Parental Education: College and More		0.662***
		(0.030)
Total Household Income		1.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		0.732***
		(0.018)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 11: Difference in Difference Linear Probability Models of Medicaid Enrollment (Alternative Definition) among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.01	0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.02***	−0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.03***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.02***
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.01+
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.02***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.00***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.08***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.06***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.01***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 12: Triple Interaction Linear Probability Models of Medicaid Enrollment (Alternative Definition) among U.S.-born Children

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.038	−0.064
	(0.044)	(0.044)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.097^{+}	0.092^{+}
	(0.051)	(0.051)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.029	−0.035
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.025	0.044
	(0.032)	(0.032)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	−0.077^{+}	−0.088*
	(0.043)	(0.043)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.022	0.041
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.015*	0.016*
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.005	0.007
	(0.016)	(0.016)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.009	0.007
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	−0.001	0.006
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.036***	0.025***
	(0.005)	(0.006)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.015	0.020
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Hispanic	0.016**	0.018***
	(0.005)	(0.006)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.025	−0.015
	(0.026)	(0.026)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.009*	0.015***
	(0.005)	(0.004)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.002)
Parental Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.017***
		(0.003)
Number of Children in HIU		0.005***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.082***
		(0.006)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.091***
		(0.006)
Parental Education: Some College		0.101***
		(0.006)
Parental Education: College and More		0.059***
		(0.007)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.013***
		(0.003)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 13: Difference in Difference Estimates of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2018 Policy Announcement

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.02***	−0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2018	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	−0.04***	−0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.01**
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.02**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.04***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 14: Triple Interaction Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2018 Policy Announcement

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Announcement		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	−0.078	−0.110*
	(0.056)	(0.055)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	0.074	0.059
	(0.057)	(0.055)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	−0.057	−0.062
	(0.041)	(0.040)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.064+	0.100**
	(0.038)	(0.038)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	−0.017	−0.011
	(0.045)	(0.044)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.028	0.059+
	(0.031)	(0.030)
Race/Ethnic. x Announcement		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2018	0.004	0.006
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2018	0.001	0.012
	(0.019)	(0.019)
Hispanic x Post-2018	−0.001	−0.004
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2018	0.015	0.027
	(0.040)	(0.039)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.048***	0.042***
	(0.006)	(0.006)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.030*	0.019
	(0.015)	(0.015)
Hispanic	0.040***	0.015*
	(0.006)	(0.006)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.058+	−0.061*
	(0.030)	(0.029)
Public Charge Announcement		
Post-2018	0.051***	0.063***
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.014***
		(0.004)
Number of Children in HIU		0.011***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.092***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.086***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: Some College		0.096***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: College and More		0.040***
		(0.008)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.027***
		(0.004)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 15: Difference in Difference Estimates of SNAP Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2018 Policy Announcement

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.07***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2018	−0.03***	−0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	−0.08***	−0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.10***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.01)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.06***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 16: Triple Interaction Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children, 2018 Policy Announcement

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Announcement		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	0.030	0.001
	(0.076)	(0.076)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	0.127^{+}	0.115
	(0.071)	(0.071)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2018	0.013	−0.001
	(0.050)	(0.053)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.066	−0.043
	(0.047)	(0.048)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.027	−0.066
	(0.048)	(0.047)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.022	0.019
	(0.034)	(0.036)
Race/Ethnic. x Announcement		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2018	0.013	0.008
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2018	−0.019	−0.014
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Hispanic x Post-2018	−0.019^{+}	−0.021*
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2018	−0.078	−0.055
	(0.049)	(0.051)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.151***	0.077***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.115***	−0.026
	(0.019)	(0.019)
Hispanic	0.029***	0.012
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.069*	−0.026
	(0.033)	(0.035)
Public Charge Announcement		
Post-2018	−0.033***	−0.013*
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001*
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.098***
		(0.005)
Number of Children in Household		0.041***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.095***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.059***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: Some College		0.056***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.095***
		(0.010)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.062***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 17: Difference in Difference Estimates of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2019 Policy Finalized

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.02***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2019	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.04***	−0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.01***
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.02**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.04***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 18: Triple Interaction Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2019 Policy Finalized

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Finalized		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.034	−0.066
	(0.057)	(0.056)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	0.060	0.048
	(0.056)	(0.055)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.046	−0.054
	(0.042)	(0.041)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.040	0.073*
	(0.036)	(0.035)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	−0.003	0.001
	(0.040)	(0.039)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.018	0.050+
	(0.028)	(0.027)
Race/Ethnic. x Finalized		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2019	0.007	0.011
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2019	0.007	0.019
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Hispanic x Post-2019	0.000	−0.003
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship x Finalized		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2019	0.002	0.019
	(0.040)	(0.040)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.047***	0.041***
	(0.006)	(0.006)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.027*	0.016
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Hispanic	0.039***	0.015**
	(0.005)	(0.006)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.052+	−0.055*
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Public Charge Finalized		
Post-2019	0.043***	0.053***
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.014***
		(0.004)
Number of Children in HIU		0.011***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.093***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.086***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: Some College		0.096***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: College and More		0.041***
		(0.008)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.027***
		(0.004)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	99515	99515

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 19: Difference in Difference Estimates of SNAP Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, 2019 Policy Finalized

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.09***	−0.02**
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2019	−0.03***	−0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.06***	−0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.00
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04***
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.10***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.01)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.06***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 20: Triple Interaction Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children, 2019 Policy Finalized

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Finalized		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	0.068	0.014
	(0.079)	(0.079)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.022	−0.031
	(0.074)	(0.074)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2019	−0.034	−0.051
	(0.052)	(0.055)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.070	−0.040
	(0.045)	(0.046)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.090*	−0.004
	(0.045)	(0.044)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.039	0.038
	(0.032)	(0.033)
Race/Ethnic. x Finalized		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2019	0.005	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.011)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2019	−0.014	−0.011
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Hispanic x Post-2019	−0.005	−0.008
	(0.012)	(0.011)
Parental Citizenship x Finalized		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2019	−0.026	0.005
	(0.050)	(0.053)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.154***	0.079***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.119***	−0.028
	(0.017)	(0.018)
Hispanic	0.021**	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.093**	−0.053+
	(0.031)	(0.032)
Public Charge Finalized		
Post-2019	−0.028***	−0.010
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001*
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.097***
		(0.005)
Number of Children in Household		0.041***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.094***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.057***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: Some College		0.055***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.097***
		(0.010)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.061***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	85555	85555

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 21: Difference in Difference Estimates of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, Excluding 2020 CPS

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.02*	−0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.03***	−0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.00)
Hispanic		0.02***
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.03**
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01***
		(0.00)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.05***
		(0.01)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.00)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	91830	91830

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 22: Triple Interaction Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, Excluding 2020 CPS

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.123*	−0.149**
	(0.059)	(0.058)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.005	−0.007
	(0.062)	(0.060)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.079+	−0.084+
	(0.045)	(0.044)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.090*	0.125**
	(0.043)	(0.042)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.011	0.014
	(0.051)	(0.049)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.047	0.077*
	(0.036)	(0.035)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	−0.000	0.003
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.010	0.025
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.001	0.000
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	0.043	0.051
	(0.044)	(0.043)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.048***	0.043***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.029+	0.016
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Hispanic	0.039***	0.014*
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.074*	−0.074*
	(0.035)	(0.034)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.043***	0.053***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001***
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.013***
		(0.004)
Number of Children in HIU		0.011***
		(0.001)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.100***
		(0.008)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.092***
		(0.007)
Parental Education: Some College		0.102***
		(0.008)
Parental Education: College and More		0.046***
		(0.009)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.027***
		(0.004)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	91830	91830

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 23: Difference in Difference Estimates of SNAP Enrollment among U.S.-born Children, Excluding 2020 CPS

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.07***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	−0.05***	−0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.07***	−0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04***
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.10***
		(0.01)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.01)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.06***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	79712	79712

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 24: Triple Interaction Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children, Excluding 2020 CPS

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.049	0.032
	(0.077)	(0.077)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.083	0.060
	(0.074)	(0.074)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.006	−0.012
	(0.052)	(0.055)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.079	−0.057
	(0.053)	(0.053)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.049	−0.041
	(0.054)	(0.053)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.020	0.018
	(0.039)	(0.040)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.031**	0.027*
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	−0.002	0.009
	(0.028)	(0.028)
Hispanic x Post-2017	−0.015	−0.016
	(0.012)	(0.011)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	−0.059	−0.031
	(0.050)	(0.053)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.142***	0.069***
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.132***	−0.044*
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Hispanic	0.030***	0.013
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.068+	−0.029
	(0.038)	(0.039)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	−0.052***	−0.035***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001*
		(0.000)
Female		0.004
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.097***
		(0.005)
Number of Children in Household		0.041***
		(0.002)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.098***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.059***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: Some College		0.054***
		(0.009)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.097***
		(0.011)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.061***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	79712	79712

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 25: Linear Probability Difference in Difference Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children with Replicate Weights

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.02^{+}	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.04**	−0.04**
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00**
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.05***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01*
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		0.02^{+}
		(0.01)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.01**
		(0.01)
Number of Children in HIU		0.01***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.09***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: Some College		0.10***
		(0.01)
Parental Education: College and More		0.04*
		(0.02)
Total Income in HIU		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.03***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	181561873	181561873

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 26: Triple Interaction Linear Probability Models of Medicaid Enrollment among U.S.-born Children with Replicate Weights

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.114	−0.144^{+}
	(0.079)	(0.077)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.019	0.008
	(0.085)	(0.083)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	−0.079	−0.084
	(0.058)	(0.056)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	0.090	0.127*
	(0.059)	(0.057)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.011	0.016
	(0.071)	(0.071)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.047	0.078^{+}
	(0.047)	(0.046)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.003	0.007
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.003	0.016
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Hispanic x Post-2017	0.000	−0.001
	(0.013)	(0.012)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	0.038	0.047
	(0.058)	(0.057)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.048***	0.041***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.029	0.015
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Hispanic	0.039***	0.014
	(0.010)	(0.010)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.074	−0.076
	(0.048)	(0.047)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	0.045***	0.054***
	(0.009)	(0.008)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001**
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.003)
Parental Age		−0.002***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.015**
		(0.005)
Number of Children in HIU		0.011***
		(0.002)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.092***
		(0.013)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.086***
		(0.014)
Parental Education: Some College		0.096***
		(0.014)
Parental Education: College and More		0.041*
		(0.016)
Total Income in HIU		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.028***
		(0.005)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	181561873	181561873

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 27: Linear Probability Difference in Difference SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children with Replicate Weights

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Parental Nativity Ref: Citizen Parent		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.07***	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-2017	−0.05***	−0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Noncitizen Parent × Post-2017	−0.07***	−0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Demographic Characteristics		
Age		−0.00*
		(0.00)
Female		0.00
		(0.00)
Non-Hispanic Black		0.08***
		(0.01)
Hispanic		0.01
		(0.01)
Non-Hispanic Asian		−0.04*
		(0.02)
Parental Age		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Single Parent Household		0.10***
		(0.01)
Number of Children in Household		0.04***
		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.09***
		(0.02)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.06***
		(0.02)
Parental Education: Some College		0.05**
		(0.02)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.10***
		(0.02)
Total Household Income		−0.00***
		(0.00)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.06***
		(0.01)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	158046200	158046200

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 28: Triple Interaction Linear Probability Models of SNAP Receipt among U.S.-born Children with Replicate Weights

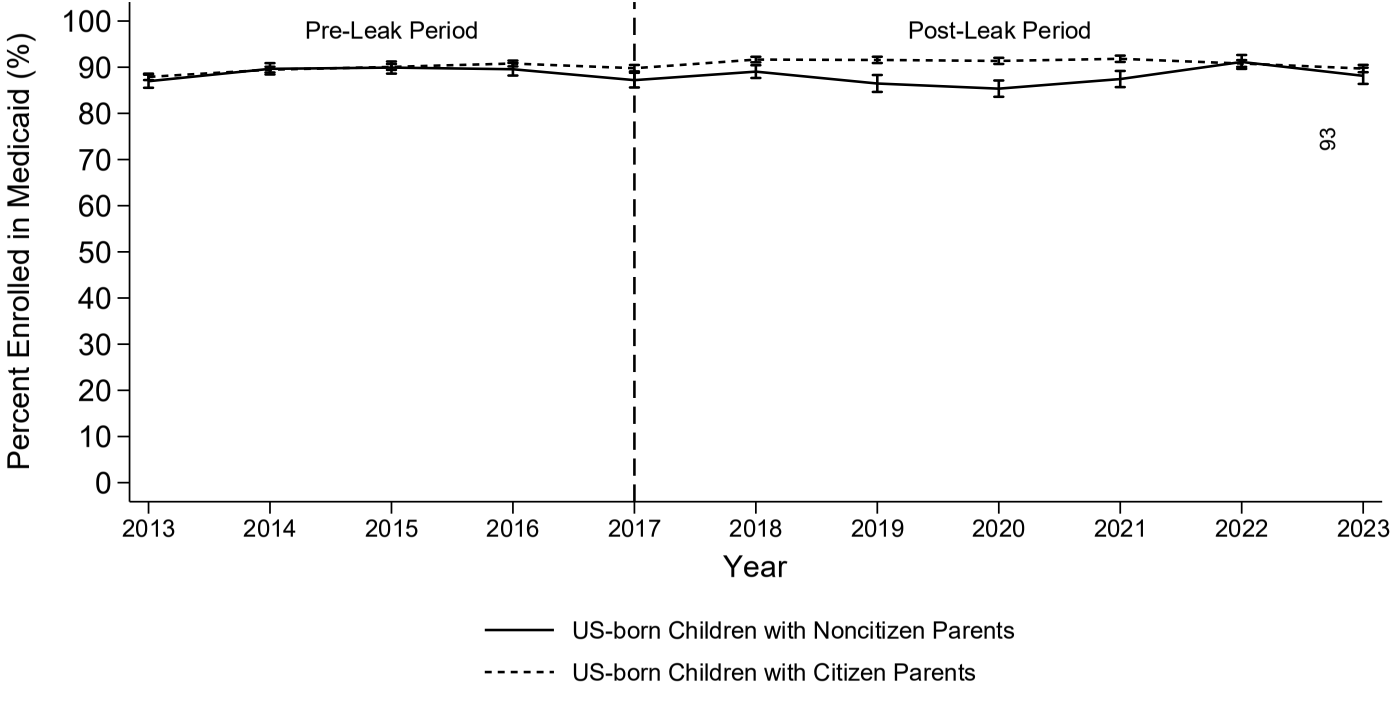
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2
Interaction: Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.046	0.029
	(0.106)	(0.103)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.058	0.045
	(0.118)	(0.111)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent x Post-2017	0.004	−0.007
	(0.077)	(0.078)
Race/Ethnic. x Parental Citizenship		
Non-Hispanic Black x Noncitizen Parent	−0.079	−0.057
	(0.080)	(0.077)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Noncitizen Parent	0.049	−0.041
	(0.091)	(0.084)
Hispanic x Noncitizen Parent	0.020	0.019
	(0.061)	(0.060)
Race/Ethnic. x Leak		
Non-Hispanic Black x Post-2017	0.028^{+}	0.024
	(0.016)	(0.015)
Non-Hispanic Asian x Post-2017	0.016	0.024
	(0.042)	(0.042)
Hispanic x Post-2017	−0.017	−0.018
	(0.018)	(0.017)
Parental Citizenship x Leak		
Parental Citizenship x Post 2017	−0.059	−0.036
	(0.073)	(0.074)
Race/Ethnic.		
Non-Hispanic Black	0.142***	0.069***
	(0.012)	(0.012)
Non-Hispanic Asian	−0.132***	−0.045
	(0.033)	(0.034)
Hispanic	0.030*	0.013
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Parental Citizenship		
Noncitizen Parent	−0.068	−0.029
	(0.058)	(0.058)
Public Charge Leak		
Post-2017	−0.057***	−0.040***
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Demographic Char.		
Age		−0.001*
		(0.000)
Female		0.003
		(0.004)
Parental Age		−0.004***
		(0.000)
Single Parent Household		0.098***
		(0.008)
Number of Children in Household		0.041***
		(0.003)
Economic Char.		
Parental Education: Some High School		0.096***
		(0.016)
Parental Education: High School Diploma		0.060***
		(0.016)
Parental Education: Some College		0.057***
		(0.017)
Parental Education: College and More		−0.094***
		(0.018)
Total Household Income		−0.000***
		(0.000)
Parental Labor Force Participation		−0.062***
		(0.007)
State FE	No	Yes
Observations	158046200	158046200

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 2014–2024 Current Population, ASEC.

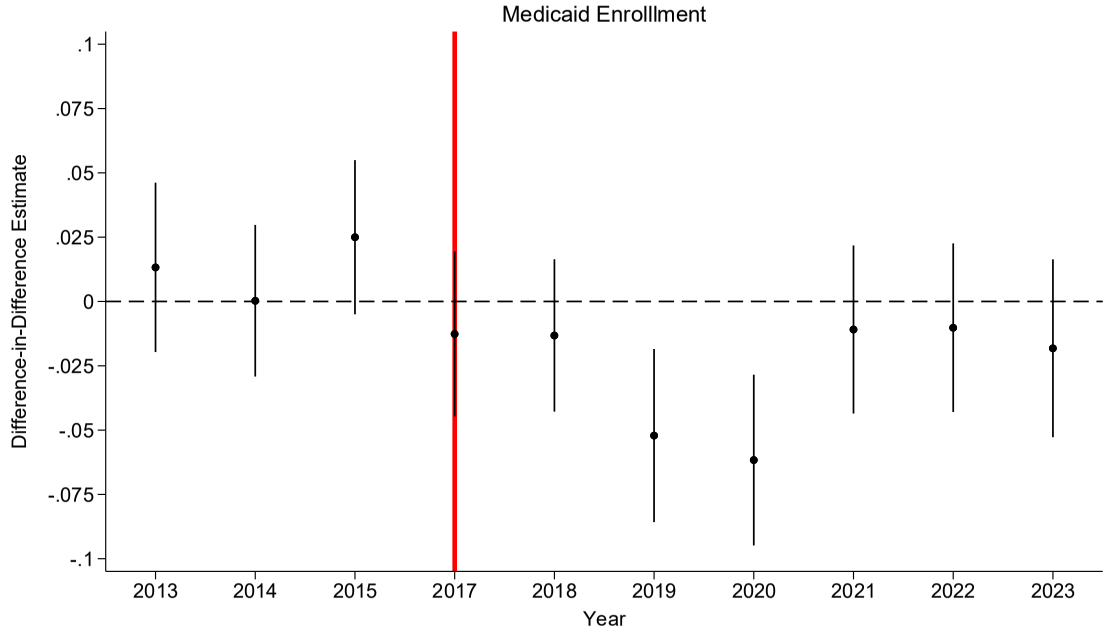
+ p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

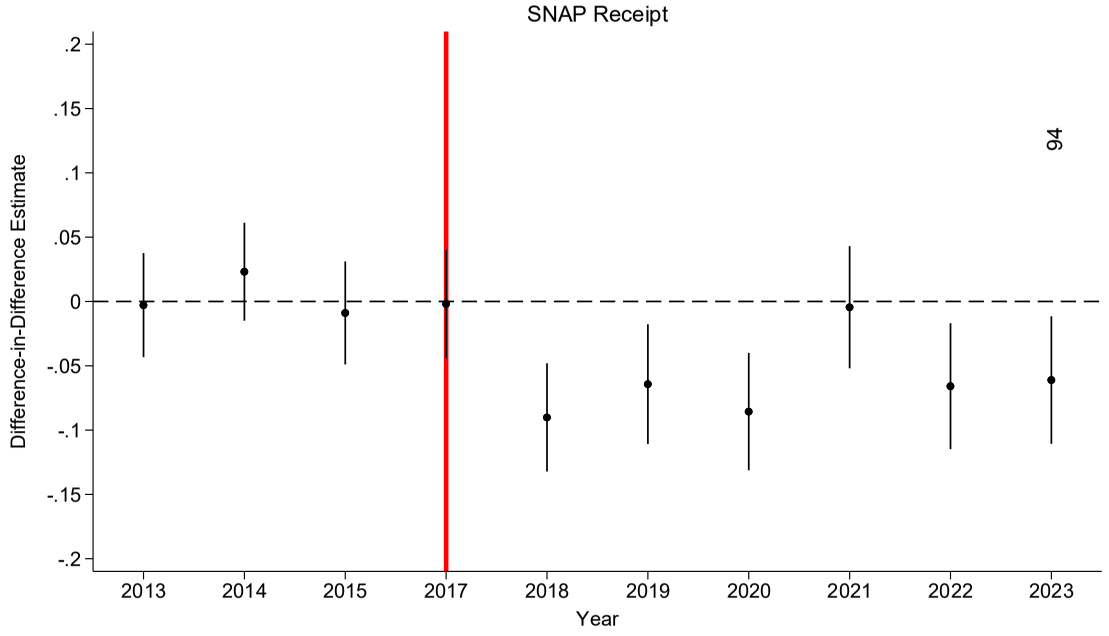
Appendix Figure 1. Percent of U.S.-born Children Receiving Medicaid (Alternate Measure)



Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals, calculated using ASEC individual-level survey weights.
Source: Current Population Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC), 2014–2024.

Appendix Figure 2. Event Study Analyses





Source: Current Population Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC), 2014–2024.

Chapter 2

Variation in Health among Multiracial Children in the United States

Abstract:

The multiracial child population in the United States has grown in size and diversity as the number of interracial unions has increased. As this population expands, it is increasingly important to assess health disparities among multiracial children. Analyzing data from the National Health Interview Survey (1999–2018) and the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (2003–2018), this study investigates disparities in poor overall health among multiracial children. Multiracial children experience poorer overall health compared to children with two non-Hispanic White parents and indistinguishable health when compared to children with two same-race parents. Disaggregated analyses reveal that multiracial children with a Black, White Hispanic, or American Indian/Alaska Native parent primarily drive these disparities. In terms of health, these results suggest that multiracial children are not a homogeneous group. Decomposition analyses demonstrate that the distribution of covariates explains some, but not all, of the observed health disparity among multiracial children. These findings indicate diverging health integration among the multiracial child population in the United States, which has implications for the overall health of the U.S. population as the multiracial population continues to grow.

Keywords: Children, Health, Multiracial, Race

INTRODUCTION

Demographic shifts in the United States have fundamentally reshaped the nation's population composition (Passel and Cohn 2008). Census population projections indicate that 2030 will be a watershed moment, when the United States is expected to grow more slowly due to population aging, while also becoming a more racially and ethnically diverse nation (Passel and Cohn 2008; Vespa, Medina, and Armstrong 2020). The population of individuals who report two or more races is projected to be the fastest-growing subgroup, partly driven by this population's relatively young age structure (Vespa et al. 2020:6). Nearly half of all multiracial Americans are under the age of 18 (Pew Research Center 2015). The racial and ethnic makeup of children is changing more rapidly than that of the overall population (Vespa et al. 2020). The population of children reporting two or more races is projected to more than double, from 5.3 percent in 2016 to 11.3 percent in 2060 (Vespa et al. 2020).

The presence and growth of multiracial families in and of themselves challenge the rigidity of existing ethno-racial lines in the United States. Increasing intermarriage rates and the growth of the multiracial population reflect the possibility of fading color lines and the blending of races (Lee and Bean 2004). There is also the possibility that new color lines will be redrawn, such that some multiracial children may experience greater social integration (Alba 2020). In contrast, other multiracial children may experience barriers to integration because of their multiracial background (Lee and Bean 2004).

In this context, health may serve as a valuable indicator of social integration. Health has previously been conceptualized as a dimension of incorporation among immigrants (Antecol and Bedard 2006; Bustamante and Wees 2012; Hagos and Hamilton 2024). This concept can be extended to consider health disparities among children, especially among multiracial children.

Child and adolescent health and well-being have improved significantly over the past 20 years (Anderson et al. 2022). Nonetheless, researchers have also identified persistent racial and ethnic disparities in children's health, with relatively limited change over time; in some cases, these disparities have widened (Flores 2010; Mehta, Lee, and Ylitalo 2013). For example, the Black-White disparity in childhood asthma is increasing over time (McDaniel, Paxson, and Waldfogel 2006; Mehta et al. 2013).

As the multiracial population expands, new questions about conventional paradigms of racial categorization will arise. Notably, with the creation of multiple races and multiracial categories, traditional fault lines of racial distinction may not remain uniformly static across groups. The changing nature of racial categorization and growth among the multiracial population may also have implications for our understanding of racial health inequities. This research sheds light on the connection between population change and child health disparities in the United States by generating new evidence to assess the social integration of multiracial children through the dimension of health.

The current study examines the relationship between multiracial backgrounds and children's health using data from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) from 1999 to 2018 and the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (CPS ASEC) from 2003 to 2018. The analysis focuses on poor overall health reporting as a measure of children's health among the population of children ages 16 and under. The current study contributes to the existing literature by disaggregating the multiracial category to assess differences in health among multiracial children (Choi and Reichman 2019; Lichter and Qian 2018). First, I compare the health of multiracial children, as an aggregated category, to children with two same-race parents. Second, I compare the health outcomes of the aggregated multiracial

child group to those of children with two non-Hispanic White parents. Third, I disaggregate the multiracial child category by parental race to make comparisons across the multiracial categories. Finally, to explore potential social determinants underlying variations in health among multiracial children, I conduct decomposition analyses to assess how sociodemographic characteristics contribute to health disparities.

BACKGROUND

Population growth of multiracial children and intermarriage on the rise

The growth of the multiracial population is primarily driven by the increase in interracial unions in the United States (Pew Research Center 2015). The 1967 Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia*, which struck down anti-miscegenation laws, led to a significant cultural shift and eventually led to intermarriage increasing from 3% in 1967 to 17% in 2015 among all newlyweds in the United States (Livingston and Brown 2017). The Black population has experienced the most significant increase in intermarriage with White individuals, but American Indian, Asian, and Hispanic individuals are still more likely to intermarry with White individuals than Black individuals (Livingston and Brown 2017; Qian and Lichter 2011).

Individual and group-level factors, as well as structural arrangements, influence marriage patterns (Choi and Tienda 2017; Kalmijn 1998). Intermarriage occurs within the marriage market, which is mainly restricted by social class, reflecting a broader pattern of rising educational homogamy (Qian and Lichter 2007). There is still evidence of racial stratification within the class-segmented marriage market, such that the least-educated American Indian individuals and domestic-born Hispanic individuals are more likely than other less-educated minorities to marry non-Hispanic White individuals, whereas more educated Black individuals are more likely to marry less educated White individuals (Gullickson 2006; Qian and Lichter

2007). There is also evidence of gender asymmetries among non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic Asian newlyweds, such that non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian women have higher rates of intermarriage than non-Hispanic Black women and non-Hispanic Asian men, respectively (Choi and Tienda 2017).

Selection into interracial unions and unequal access to these marriage markets have implications for stratification among multiracial children (Bratter and O'Connell 2017; Schwartz 2013). The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 played a pivotal role in reshaping the socioeconomic profiles of Asian immigrants, leading to greater social contact with other groups and, subsequently, higher intermarriage rates (Lee 2015). Local marriage market conditions, such as relative group size, matter for Hispanic and Asian intermarriage patterns (Choi and Tienda 2017). The lower rates of intermarriage among the Black population reflect the entrenched legacy of racial segregation that Black people faced during enslavement and Jim Crow and still face today (Du Bois 1998; Massey and Denton 1998). Individual traits, more than marriage-market conditions, impact the intermarriage gap between Black individuals and other minorities (Choi and Tienda 2017). Finally, there is a long history of high rates of intermarriage between American Indian groups and non-Hispanic White groups in the United States, in part because American Indian groups enter marriage markets that are predominantly composed of non-indigenous groups (Eschbach 1995; Sandefur and Liebler 1997; Snipp 1997).

Intermarriage as a fraught indicator of assimilation

Intermarriage is seen as a watershed moment of assimilation and a significant catalyst for structural assimilation. Structural assimilation reduces the social distance between the periphery and those in the mainstream, leading to a decline in prejudice and discrimination (Gordon 1964). The absence of prejudice and discrimination is crucial for the assimilation of individuals

(Gordon 1964). Individuals are assimilated into the dominant society through marriage with the dominant group (generally assumed to be U.S.-born, middle-class, White Americans) (Gordon 1964). Although intermarriage is seen as an indicator of integrated status, assimilation scholars acknowledge that some non-White groups, such as the Black population, may never reach this stage because of persistent racism and discrimination (Alba 2020; Park and Burgess 1921). Even with the higher levels of intermarriage, racial boundaries persist and hinder the full incorporation of Asian and Hispanic individuals, who are often perceived as 'forever foreigners,' a perception that continues to shape their experiences (Golash-Boza 2006; Jiménez 2010; Lee 2015; Lee and Kye 2016).

To better understand this phenomenon of social distance, I draw on contemporary reformulations of assimilation theory that highlight the social construction of ethnic and racial distinctions. This framework defines assimilation as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" (Alba and Nee 2003:11). Individuals delineate their ethnicity through actions and behaviors, and ethnicity acts as a symbolic and social boundary that shapes actions and mental orientations toward others in society (Alba 2005). Assimilation theories primarily focus on ethnicity and immigration, but we can also consider race and the impact of systemic racial inequality within this paradigm without subsuming race into ethnicity (Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017). The symbolic and social boundary itself is mutable, with the possibility that groups may change over time. Boundary crossing is the traditional representation of individual-level assimilation, where individuals move from one group to another without changing the boundary. In contrast, boundary shifting relocates the boundary such that “outsiders” become “insiders” (Alba and Nee 2003). The social boundaries between the

periphery and the mainstream may also blur, and "distinction" begins to fade over time with enough contact between groups, thus allowing the mainstream to expand (Alba and Nee 2003).

However, social boundaries may remain "bright" in other instances, clearly delineating peripheral groups from mainstream U.S. society (Alba 2005). Beyond the bright boundaries of ethnicity, race may act as an intractable barrier due to physical appearance (Alba 2005). An example is intermarriage and the growing multiracial population in the United States (Alba 2020). Empirical data suggests a "bright" boundary between Black and White individuals, but a more rapidly fading boundary between both Asian and Hispanic individuals and White individuals, as evidenced by the higher intermarriage rates among Hispanic and Asian populations (Alba 2020; Qian and Lichter 2007). The high intermarriage rates among American Indian/Alaska Native people and racial fluidity among multiracial American Indian/Alaska Native youth may signal a blurring of boundaries with White individuals (Harris 2002; Qian and Lichter 2007; Snipp 1997). However, other work has shown that American Indian and White multiracial adolescents are significantly disadvantaged in social and psychological well-being compared to White adolescents, even more than other multiracial groups (Campbell and Eggerling-Boeck 2006). Although intermarriage is often presented as a measure of assimilation, Song (2009) raises the question of whether intermarriage is always a reliable indicator of integration.

Intermarriage decreases the social distance between groups, often between minority groups and the White mainstream, but contact is different from acceptance (Song 2009). Interracial unions that are not accepted by kin may lead to the marginalization of multiracial children produced by these interracial unions (Herman and Campbell 2012; Root 2001). Interracial relationships and childbearing may lead to social isolation from family and the

perception of unavailable support, especially for White mothers (Bratter and Whitehead 2018). Biracial children born in first marriages have family experiences that fall between those of their same-race counterparts (Choi and Goldberg 2021). Social acceptance of parents with multiracial children may potentially have downstream negative consequences for children's health. Driven by rising intermarriage rates, the growing multiracial population signals changing racial boundaries but also reveals enduring social barriers that complicate assimilation processes. To understand potential divergences in health among multiracial children, it is crucial to examine the social determinants of health that shape health and racial health disparities among multiracial children.

Racism as a Fundamental Cause of Health

Social determinants of health refer to the conditions individuals are born into and live in that affect their health, well-being, and quality of life (World Health Organization 2013). Social determinants of health encompass factors such as socioeconomic status, neighborhood and physical environment, employment, social support, education, and access to healthcare (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2019). These factors are not equally distributed across the population, which drives health inequalities (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2019). Underlying the social determinants of health are the fundamental causes of health.

Fundamental causes "involve access to resources that help individuals avoid diseases and their negative consequences through a variety of mechanisms" (Link and Phelan 1995:81). Importantly, the health effects of fundamental causes, such as socioeconomic status, defy interventions that focus on disease mechanisms because fundamental causes involve resources that either mitigate or exacerbate the risk and consequences of illness (Link and Phelan 1995;

Phelan, Link, and Tehranifar 2010). Like socioeconomic status, racism is a fundamental cause of health that has an enduring connection to health and mortality (Phelan and Link 2015; Williams, Lawrence, and Davis 2019). Racism as a fundamental cause of health and mortality is tied to racial differences in socioeconomic status that produce differential health and the adverse effects of racism itself (Paradies et al. 2015; Phelan and Link 2015).

Racism is a hierarchical social system in which resources and opportunities are distributed unequally across racial groups (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Racism is a central determinant of health status that operates on multiple levels, including the delineation of social statuses, resource distribution, and risk exposure (Williams, Lavizzo-Mourey, and Warren 1994; Williams and Mohammed 2009). Racism can be viewed as a fundamental cause of health inequalities in racial minorities through its bio-social mechanisms that operate both alongside and independently of socioeconomic status in domains such as stress, medical care, and neighborhood effects (Phelan & Link, 2015). The multi-level nature of racism encompasses both individual-level discrimination as well as institutions and structures with embedded racist ideology (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Gee and Ford 2011; Williams and Sternthal 2010).

Discrimination is “a socially structured and sanctioned phenomenon, justified by ideology and expressed in interactions among and between individuals and institutions, that maintains privileges for members of dominant groups at the cost of deprivation for others" (Krieger 2014:650). Perceived racial and ethnic discrimination can be operationalized as a psychosocial stressor that affects health via three potential pathways: stress leading to psychological distress that affects health; coping mechanisms against stress leading to unhealthy behaviors; and psychological and behavioral responses to stress that lead to physiological changes (Clark et al. 1999; Williams and Mohammed 2009). Previous work has identified both

the direct and indirect effects of perceived discrimination on physical and psychological health, such that perceived discrimination is related to poor mental health status and negative physical health (Chen and Yang 2014; Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009).

In addition to interpersonal discrimination, structural racism operates on many levels beyond the individual to shape the lives of racial minorities. Structural racism refers to the "macrolevel systems, social forces, institutions, ideologies, and processes that interact with one another to generate and reinforce inequities among racial and ethnic groups" (Gee and Ford 2011:3). Structural racism processes are embedded in laws, policies, and practices (Williams et al. 2019). For example, residential segregation impacts health by concentrating poor housing quality, environmental pollutants, and poverty in poor communities (Gee and Ford 2011; Massey and Denton 1998; Williams and Collins 2001). Much of the literature on the relationship between discrimination and health focuses on adults, but there is a burgeoning literature that assesses the relationship between discrimination and children's health (Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2013; Trent et al. 2019). Similar to the research on adults, racism is negatively associated with physical and mental health outcomes among children (Priest et al. 2013, 2024).

Minority children experience a "triple threat," where they have a greater risk of suboptimal health, limited access to healthcare, and lower receipt of essential services (Flores and Tomany-Korman 2008). Notably, non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic children consistently report suboptimal health status compared to non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Asian children, highlighting a disparity that persists into adulthood (Lau, Lin, and Flores 2012; Mehta et al. 2013). American Indian and Alaska Native children experience high levels of chronic disease reporting, limited medical care access, exposure to chronic stress, and adverse childhood experiences (Bell et al. 2021; Zuckerman et al. 2004).

Despite the evidence of health disparities among children, the literature on multiracial children's health is relatively limited. Among multiracial groups, there is no uniform evidence on how their health may mirror or differ from those of single-race individuals (Bratter 2018; Tabb et al. 2019). Multiracial adolescents report greater odds of fair or poor health and behavioral risks compared to their single-race counterparts (Udry, Li, and Hendrickson-Smith 2003). Previous work has also found that the health of multiracial Black children is between that of single-race Black and White children (Choi and Reichman 2019). Other work has shown that multiracial adolescents have comparable or worse psychological difficulties than monoracial individuals (Cheng and Lively 2009).

To date, Choi and Reichman (2019) is the only study on multiracial children's health that uses parental race as a proxy for multiracial background for White and Black multiracial children. This study builds upon previous work to examine variation in multiracial health beyond Black-White multiracial children, using data from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) from 1999 to 2018 and the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC) from 2003 to 2018. Across all groups of multiracial children, I hypothesize that children with non-Hispanic Black and American Indian/Alaska Native backgrounds will experience the worst health compared to other multiracial children and children with two non-Hispanic White parents because of the enduring impact of institutional racism. This would suggest a potential "bright boundary" in health integration for non-Hispanic Black and American Indian/Alaska Native multiracial children. In contrast, multiracial children with non-Hispanic Asian and White Hispanic backgrounds may have similar health to children with two non-Hispanic White parents, signaling a "blurred boundary" in health integration.

DATA AND METHOD

Data

I use the 1999–2018 public-use National Health Interview Surveys (NHIS) data, which have been harmonized by the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) (Blewett et al. 2023). The NHIS is an annual, nationally representative, cross-sectional household interview survey that collects comprehensive data on health, healthcare access, and well-being from the U.S. civilian noninstitutionalized population (National Center for Health Statistics 2019). I use NHIS data from 1999 to 2018 because the 1999 NHIS was the first year the OMB 1997 standards for race and ethnicity data collection were fully implemented (National Center for Health Statistics 2013). The NHIS was substantially revised beginning in 2019, which prevented comparisons with most pre-2019 NHIS variables (National Center for Health Statistics 2019).

A limitation of the NHIS is the smaller sample sizes, especially for multiracial child groups. Another slight disadvantage of the NHIS is its nonstandard measure of race/ethnicity. To address these limitations, I also utilize the 2003–2018 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC) data from IPUMS (Flood et al. 2024). The CPS ASEC is an annual survey that samples about 100,000 addresses. The CPS ASEC is part of the broader Current Population Survey (CPS), sponsored jointly by the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS's primary purpose is to collect data on the economic status of the civilian noninstitutionalized population, but it also includes detailed demographic information used for official governmental statistics. Another advantage of the CPS ASEC is that it has a more standard measure of race and ethnicity, allowing individuals to report more than one race, beginning in 2003, without being prompted to select a single race that best represents their identity, unlike the NHIS.

Sample

Both NHIS and CPS ASEC analytical samples are limited to children who were 16 years old or younger at the time of the survey and resided with both of their parents. I exclude children who have ever married or have their own children. I also exclude children whose mothers were under the age of 15 when they gave birth, aligning with demographic analyses that identify age 15 as the start of the risk of fertility (Preston, Heuveline, and Guillot 2001). Finally, I exclude cases with missing data on any covariate or the outcome. The final total NHIS sample is 283,423, and the final CPS ASEC sample is 607,282.

Measures

Dependent variables. I focus on poor overall health status because self-rated health is a reliable measure of overall health and is predictive of mortality (Idler and Benyamini 1997; Jylhä 2009). Self-rated health is rated on a five-point Likert scale from excellent to poor. Children's self-rated health is given by their parents in the NHIS and reported by the household respondent in the CPS ASEC. Previous research has shown moderate concordance between child and parent reports of health (Eiser and Morse 2001; Garbarski 2014; Varni, Limbers, and Burwinkle 2007). I define poor overall health as reporting good, fair, or poor health (Choi and Reichman 2019). Childhood is a relatively healthy period in the life course, so reporting health as less than very good is likely an indicator of health disadvantage (National Academies of Sciences et al. 2024). In supplementary analyses, I assess the robustness of my results by using an alternate measure of health (see Appendix Tables 7–10).

Key Independent variables. My primary explanatory variable is multiracial background. Previous work has highlighted the complexity of measuring race for the multiracial population, particularly in health research (Harris 2002; Woo et al. 2011). I rely on parental/household respondent race reporting as a proxy for multiracial background, rather than self-reported race,

because of how race is collected in the NHIS (National Center for Health Statistics 2013). The NHIS first asks the adult respondent to report the sample child's Hispanic origin and allows the selection of up to five groups representing their child's Hispanic origin or ancestry. Then, the adult is asked to report the child's race or races, with the option to select one or more categories. When one or more race categories are specified in the NHIS race question, the questionnaire asks, "Which one of these groups would you say BEST represents {your/name's} race?" (Blewett et al. 2023). If a single race is selected in the follow-up question, the NHIS will classify the individual as a single race in the public-use data. A child is categorized as multiracial only when a single primary race is not selected. This means that the multiracial category acts as a residual category in the NHIS data, raising concerns about the accuracy of identifying the multiracial child population.

To address this issue, I link children to their co-residing parents and use parental/household respondent-reported race to determine the child's racial background in both NHIS and CPS data for consistency (Choi and Reichman 2019; Lichter and Qian 2018). The largest share of the "two or more races" category in the Census comes from individuals who report being non-Hispanic White and another race in combination (Alba 2020). I define multiracial background as children with one non-Hispanic White parent and a parent of another race.[1] I classify children into 13 racial categories[2]: two White parents, two Black parents, White mother/Black father, Black mother/White father, two White Hispanic parents, White mother/White Hispanic father, White Hispanic mother/White father, two Asian parents, White mother/Asian father, Asian mother/White father, two AIAN parents, White mother/AIAN father, and AIAN mother/White father. There is documented evidence of racial diversity within the Hispanic population that is difficult to fully capture in race and ethnicity survey measurement

(Gonzalez-Barrera and Lopez 2015; Hirschman, Alba, and Farley 2000). In this study, only individuals who reported their race as White and ethnicity as Hispanic are coded as White Hispanic due to sample size limitations for other Hispanic race groups.

Analytical Strategy

The analytical plan is a two-step approach. First, I estimate logistic regression models and report the results as odds ratios based on the following general form equation:

$$1) \quad Y_i = \boldsymbol{X}_i B + \boldsymbol{Z}_i \delta + \boldsymbol{W}_i \pi + \varepsilon_i$$

Y is the health measure of interest, **X** is a vector of socioeconomic characteristics associated with health mentioned above, **Z** is a vector of parental race variables, and **W** is a vector of survey year variables. The base model only includes child age and sex as the covariates, whereas the full model includes all covariates. The first set of analyses uses children with same-race parents as the reference category, and the second set of analyses uses children with two White parents as the reference category. All models are weighted appropriately based on the NHIS and CPS ASEC sampling frame. As a robustness check, I estimate probit regression models to observe the actual change in the probability of reporting poor overall health (see Appendix Tables 3–6).

Second, I quantify how social determinants of health contribute to health disparities among multiracial children. To conduct these analyses, I use Fairlie's non-linear pooled decompositions[3] to assess how covariates contribute to differences in health between children with multiracial backgrounds and those with two White parents (Fairlie 1999, 2005; Fairlie and Robb 2007; Jann 2006).

$$(2)\ \Delta\bar{Y} = \bar{Y}_m - \bar{Y}_{ww} = \left[\sum_{i=1}^{N^m} \frac{F(\bar{\boldsymbol{X}}_i^m \beta^{ww})}{N^m} - \sum_{i=1}^{N^{ww}} \frac{F(\bar{\boldsymbol{X}}_i^{ww} \beta^{ww})}{N^{ww}}\right] + \left[\sum_{i=1}^{N^m} \frac{F(\bar{\boldsymbol{X}}_i^m \beta^m)}{N^m} - \sum_{i=1}^{N^m} \frac{F(\bar{\boldsymbol{X}}_i^m \beta^{ww})}{N^m}\right]$$

Equation 2 illustrates how the decomposition estimates are generated by calculating the average predicted health difference between multiracial children and children with two White parents, denoted as $\Delta\bar{Y}$. $\boldsymbol{X}_i$ is a vector of independent variables, *N* is the sample size for each subgroup, and β are the coefficients produced from Equation 1. The first term represents the proportion of the racial gap in health that can be attributed to group differences in the distribution of covariates across the two samples. The second term refers to the differences in predicted health that can be attributed to differences in coefficients, often referred to as the unexplained component.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents summary statistics for children by their parental race using NHIS data, and Table 2 presents summary statistics for children using CPS ASEC data. In Table 1, 13% of children in the total sample reported poor overall health, whereas 15% reported poor overall health in Table 2. There is descriptive evidence of disparities in self-rated health among the multiracial child population, with initial evidence of poor overall health reporting being concentrated among Black, White Hispanic, and AIAN multiracial children. Children with an AIAN mother and White father have the highest reporting of poor overall health among multiracial children in the NHIS data, and both groups of multiracial AIAN children have the worst health in the CPS ASEC data. Both groups of multiracial Asian children have the lowest reports of poor overall health.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Regression Results

As a first step, I estimate models where multiracial children are aggregated into one category and compared to children with same-race parents. Table 3 presents the results from logistic regression models comparing multiracial children to those with two parents of the same race. The Model 1 columns represent the base models, and the Model 2 columns display the fully specified results for poor overall health reporting. The base models show that multiracial children have lower odds of poor overall health reporting compared to children with two same-race parents. The full models reveal that multiracial children do not have statistically different odds of poor overall health compared to children with two same-race parents after accounting for all covariates.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

Table 4 presents estimates from logistic regression models that compare multiracial children, as an aggregated category, to children with two White parents. The base models reveal that multiracial children have greater odds of poor overall health compared to children with two White parents. The disparity of poor overall health persists even after adjusting for covariates. These results highlight a consistent health disadvantage for multiracial children when compared to children with two White parents.

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

These high-level results reveal that multiracial children do not have greater odds of poor overall health compared to children with same-race parents. However, multiracial children have greater odds of poor overall health when compared to children with two White parents. These aggregated results likely mask variation in health among multiracial children. To observe variation in health within multiracial children, I disaggregate the multiracial category by parental race and estimate logistic regression models that use children with same-race parents as the

reference category. Figure 1 summarizes the results from the fully specified models. For the regression results, please refer to Appendix Table 1.

I first focus on the NHIS results in Panel A of Figure 1. I find that among multiracial children, only children with a White mother and Black father have greater odds of reporting poor overall health compared to children with same-race parents. All other groups do not have statistically significantly different odds of poor overall health. Panel B shows that the CPS ASEC-produced results reveal similar patterns to the NHIS results. I find that only both groups of multiracial AIAN children have greater odds of poor overall health compared to children with same-race parents. Both groups of multiracial Asian children and children with a White mother and White Hispanic father have lower odds of poor health compared to children with same-race parents.

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

I next turn to results produced from logistic regression models that set children with two White parents as the reference category. These models include multiracial children and same-race non-White children to assess the health stratification of all children. I discuss the fully specified results using Figure 2 (please refer to Appendix Table 2). In both Panels A and B, I observe a general pattern in which all multiracial groups have better health than their same-race non-White counterparts. However, many of the confidence intervals overlap in the NHIS results due to smaller sample sizes. Focusing again on Panel A, I find that among multiracial children, children with a White mother and Black father, both groups of multiracial White Hispanic children, and children with an AIAN mother and White father have greater odds of poor health compared to children with two White parents. In Panel B, I find that all groups of multiracial children have greater odds of poor overall health compared to children with two White parents,

except multiracial Asian children. I also find that multiracial children with similar racial backgrounds (for example, children with a White mother and Black father and children with a Black mother and White father) have comparable disparities relative to children with two White parents.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Decomposition Results

The logistic regression results reveal complex patterns of health among multiracial children, indicating that poor overall health reports vary significantly depending on the parental race. While some multiracial groups experience health disadvantages compared to children with same-race parents and children with two White parents, other multiracial groups exhibit better health than children with two same-race parents and children with two White parents. These findings suggest that a single, multiracial category masks substantial heterogeneity in health.

To better understand the underlying mechanisms driving these patterns, I next turn to Fairlie decomposition analyses, which allow me to quantify the extent to which differences in health are explained by observable characteristics, such as demographic characteristics (child age, child sex, mother's age at birth, parental marital status), socioeconomic background (mother's employment status, father's employment status, and child health insurance coverage), mother's education, father's education, parental and child nativity, and region of residence, versus unexplained factors that may reflect structural inequalities or unmeasured differences factors, such as discrimination. Figure 3 presents the decomposition results of poor overall health between children with two White parents and the multiracial children's groups that had greater odds of poor overall health in Figure 2. Panel A shows results from NHIS data, while Panel B shows decomposition results produced from CPS ASEC data. These results are also summarized

in Appendix Tables 11 and 12. The decomposition results reveal similar patterns across the NHIS and CPS data; therefore, for brevity, I will focus the discussion on Panel A of Figure 3 and refer to Appendix Table 11 for decomposition estimates.

First, I focus on Panel A of Figure 3. The decomposition results show that observable characteristics operate differently to explain disparities in poor overall health among multiracial children. The size of the disparities and the extent to which covariates explain them vary across groups. For example, the raw gap in poor overall health is the largest among children with an AIAN mother and White father, compared to children with two White parents at seven percentage points. Approximately 40% of this gap is attributed to the difference in the distribution of covariates. Socioeconomic status, which includes parental employment status and the child's health insurance coverage, contributes a small share of the observed disparity. In contrast, mother's education and father's education contribute the most to the explained portion of the gap.

Among children with a White mother and Black father, the distribution of covariates explains 29% of the gap in poor overall health when their health is compared to children with two White parents. Similar to the previous results, parental education accounts for the largest share of the gap. Demographic characteristics negatively contribute to the observed disparity, meaning that children with a White mother and Black father have demographic characteristics that should translate into better health than observed. For children with a White mother and White Hispanic father, the distribution of covariates explains 56% of the observed poor health disparity. Parental education also contributes the most to the observed poor health disparity. Demographic characteristics negatively contribute to the observed disparity because they have demographic characteristics that should lead to better health than is observed.

In contrast to the multiracial AIAN and Black child groups, the distribution of covariates for children with a White Hispanic mother and White father explains -37% of the gap, which means these demographic factors would predict better health than observed. Socioeconomic background and mother's education positively contribute to the observed health disparity. Demographic characteristics, father's education, and region of residence negatively contribute to the observed disparity in health. This means that multiracial children with a White Hispanic mother and White father have characteristics that are positively associated with health, yet they still experience poor health.

Both decomposition graphs reveal that the distribution of covariates varies in their contribution to the observed health disparity for the multiracial groups. Parental education emerges as the most important explanatory factor for health disparities. However, the unexplained portion of the observed health disparities is substantial. This means that the difference in health cannot be attributed solely to the distribution of observed characteristics. Instead, it reflects differences in the returns to the observed characteristics and possible unobserved structural factors.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

DISCUSSION

The multiracial child population is growing in size and is projected to be the fastest-growing subgroup (Vespa et al. 2020). This study contributes to the existing literature on children's health and racial stratification. This study builds on previous research that identified variation in health among multiracial Black-White children (Choi and Reichman 2019) by including multiracial White Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian/Alaska Native children. Drawing on NHIS (1999–

2018) and CPS ASEC (2003–2018) data, I examine patterns of poor overall health among multiracial children. Several significant findings emerge from the analysis.

First, I find that multiracial children do not have statistically different odds of poor overall health when compared to children with two same-race parents. When the reference group changes to children with two White parents, multiracial children have greater odds of poor overall health reporting. However, these results mask meaningful health variation among multiracial children. By disaggregating the multiracial category, I find small but meaningful differences in health. The multiracial results resemble racial health stratification that exists among single-race groups (Flores 2010; Mehta et al. 2013; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine 2004).

Second, when the reference group is children with two same-race parents, I find that only children with a White mother and Black father have greater odds of poor overall health in the NHIS data. In the CPS ASEC data, both groups of multiracial AIAN children have greater odds of poor overall health. When the reference group is changed to children with two White parents, I still find that children with a White mother and Black father and children with an AIAN mother and White father have greater odds of poor overall health in the NHIS data. Additionally, I also find that both groups of multiracial White Hispanic children have greater odds of poor overall health. When the reference group is children with two White parents, the CPS ASEC results show that all multiracial groups, except multiracial Asian children, have greater odds of poor overall health. These findings raise several questions regarding the mechanisms driving these patterns of health among multiracial children, which are explored in the decomposition analyses.

Finally, the decomposition results reveal that the distribution of sociodemographic characteristics does not fully account for the observed disparities in poor overall health among

multiracial children. Demographic characteristics and parental education account for a significant portion of the gaps in poor overall health. Other research has shown that children's self-rated health is strongly linked to parental education (Chen, Martin, and Matthews 2006; Lawrence, Rogers, and Hummer 2020; Rangel and Rauscher 2021). There is evidence of a socioeconomic gradient among White and Black children, in which children in low-income households or less educated households experience poorer health (Braveman et al. 2010; Chen et al. 2006). The remaining unexplained portion of the racial gaps in health suggests that the covariates have differing returns across groups.

Together, these results highlight the complexity of how multiracial identities interact with racially stratified patterns, leading to some groups of multiracial children experiencing better health than their single-race peers, while other multiracial children face worse health outcomes than both other multiracial children and their single-race counterparts (Bratter 2018). I now discuss possible mechanisms outside of the decomposition analyses that may explain health stratification among multiracial children when they are compared to their same-race counterparts and children with two White parents.

Implications of Multiracial Stratification

The assimilation literature often presents growing rates of intermarriage as a trend that reduces racial inequality, but the increasing rates of intermarriage have likely generated more heterogeneity and stratification. Much of the assimilation scholarship primarily focuses on the social and economic dimensions of assimilation for immigrant populations, but this work has shown evidence of differential patterns of health integration among multiracial children. Health inequities between multiracial children may signal greater barriers to health integration. The health disparities observed among Black, White Hispanic, and AIAN multiracial children signify

"bright" boundaries that distinguish them from other multiracial children when compared to children with two White parents. Often, the discussion of bright boundaries is within the context of social boundaries that delineate outsider groups from the mainstream; however, these results also reveal that Black, White Hispanic, and AIAN multiracial children experience a bright boundary in health compared to other multiracial children (Alba 2005).

Bridging the assimilation and racialization literature generates potential explanations for this pattern. The health of multiracial Black, White Hispanic, and AIAN children may be shaped and conditioned by the racial exclusion they face (Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017). This does not mean that Asian multiracial children do not experience racial exclusion despite their better health. Given the high rates of intermarriage among AIAN and Hispanic groups and the rising levels of intermarriage among Black individuals, the health integration of children from these unions will become important for our understanding of racial disparities in health in childhood and across the life course.

Exposure to discrimination and legacies of disenfranchisement may also contribute to the health stratification patterns observed among multiracial children (Trent et al. 2019). From a life-course perspective, exposure to institutional discrimination via residential segregation and interpersonal discrimination *in utero* may impact health in childhood and later life (Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2013). The legacies of historical trauma, land rights, natural environment degradation, and sovereignty recognition issues affect the health of indigenous children (Burns et al. 2021). The vestiges of enslavement and Jim Crow continue to impact the health of Black adults and children in the United States (Hummer 2023; Owens and Fett 2019; Thompson-Miller 2014). Racial misclassification among American Indians may potentially act as a mechanism that leads to increased psychosocial stressors that may negatively impact health (Campbell and

Troyer 2007). This may also be the case for multiracial Black children who may be racialized as Black because of their appearance and experience anti-Black racism (Pew Research Center 2015). Finally, multiracial Hispanic children and their families may be racialized as Hispanic and face discrimination due to being marked as "illegal" (Menjívar 2021).

This study has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results. First, the original race responses from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) are not available in the public-use data, limiting the ability to identify parents who selected more than one race in the initial race question. Additionally, small sample sizes for some groups reduce the chance of detecting statistically significant differences across various multiracial groups. Likewise, sample size constraints restrict analyses to multiracial children with one White parent, preventing the exploration of other multiracial groups that may have distinct health and experiences of social integration.

Parental reports of health are valuable, especially when studying children, but their proxy reports are not substitutes for children's ratings themselves, which are unavailable in the NHIS and CPS ASEC (Eiser and Morse 2001; Sakshaug 2015). The use of parental racial identification as a proxy for multiracial background has limitations because it cannot account for the dynamic nature of racial identity and its underlying meaning (Newman 2021; Rockquemore, Brunsma, and Delgado 2009). The use of parental race also means that single-parent households are excluded from these analyses. As a result, these findings may underestimate health disparities among multiracial children, particularly Black and White multiracial children, who are more likely to live in single-parent households (Schlabach 2013).

Another important limitation is the use of cross-sectional data, which does not allow for the examination of individual trajectories or changes over time. This is particularly relevant for

studying children's health, which is dynamic and may change significantly as they age, a factor not captured in this analysis (Boardman 2006; Bollen and Gutin 2021). Finally, the reliance on self-reported health measures introduces the possibility of reporting errors due to recall bias, which could affect the accuracy of the findings.

CONCLUSION

Child and adolescent well-being has steadily increased during the twenty-first century; however, there have been no substantive improvements in racial and ethnic disparities in child health, with certain disparities worsening over time (Anderson et al. 2022; Mehta et al. 2013). This study finds that health varies within the multiracial population by parent race, even among those with similar multiracial parentage. There is evidence of a bright boundary such that multiracial children with a Black parent, White Hispanic, or AIAN parent are experiencing worse health than other multiracial children. This study contributes to our understanding of health disparities within an increasingly important population. Racial disparities in childhood health can have lifelong implications on later health and well-being (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine 2004). Racial inequality in children’s health has persisted in the United States, emerging as a pressing public health concern about the long-term consequences. Identifying these inequalities is crucial for addressing future health disparities and developing policy solutions to mitigate them.

NOTES

[1] The final sample child response rate was calculated by dividing the number of interviewed sample children by the number of eligible sample children in a family, multiplied by the final family response rate. This method is described in the 2014 NHIS survey description, Appendix II (National Center for Health Statistics 2015).

[2] The racial categories do not include individuals who report Hispanic ethnicity unless specified explicitly.

[3] The samples are not equal in size, so a random subsample was drawn from the children with two White parents to match a random subsample of multiracial children to conduct the analyses. This is replicated 1,000 times to limit variability across decomposition estimates. The order of covariates is also randomized to prevent regression estimates from being influenced by the ordering of variables, and sampling weights were included (Fairlie 2017).

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics for children by detailed parent race

	(1) All Children	(2) Two White Parents	(3) Two Black Parents	(4) White Mother Black Father	(5) Black Mother White Father	(6) Two White Hispanic Parents	(7) White Mother White Hispanic Father	(8) White Hispanic Mother White Father	(9) Two Asian Parents	(10) White Mother Asian Father	(11) Asian Mother White Father	(12) Two AIAN[a] Parents	(13) White Mother AIAN Father[a]	(14) AIAN Mother[a] White Father
Health Outcomes														
Poor overall health	0.13	0.10	0.19	0.15	0.11	0.24	0.12	0.11	0.15	0.08	0.09	0.25	0.13	0.17
Demographic Characteristics														
Age	7.87	8.00	8.01	7.07	7.14	7.57	7.02	7.37	7.78	6.79	7.44	7.73	7.57	8.18
Female	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.51	0.50	0.49	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.47	0.47	0.49	0.51	0.49
Immigrant	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.11	0.01	0.03	0.18	0.04	0.09	0.01	0.02	0.00
Immigrant Mother	0.22	0.06	0.20	0.05	0.21	0.74	0.05	0.31	0.91	0.10	0.73	0.09	0.02	0.04
Immigrant Father	0.23	0.06	0.21	0.10	0.09	0.77	0.27	0.07	0.90	0.55	0.09	0.07	0.01	0.01
Number of Own Siblings in the Household	1.54	1.49	1.67	1.57	1.36	1.78	1.52	1.41	1.33	1.33	1.12	1.98	1.64	1.69
Mother's Age	36.83	37.39	36.26	34.43	35.75	34.68	35.07	36.70	38.15	38.08	39.21	34.39	34.89	35.19
Father's Age	39.30	39.65	39.38	37.67	37.68	37.27	37.29	39.28	41.64	40.54	42.73	37.51	37.87	38.14
Mother's Age at Birth	28.96	29.39	28.25	27.36	28.60	27.11	28.04	29.34	30.37	31.29	31.76	26.66	27.32	27.01
Mother Married	0.95	0.97	0.91	0.84	0.91	0.92	0.93	0.95	0.99	0.98	0.98	0.80	0.89	0.92
Economic Characteristics														
Mother Ed: Less than High School	0.11	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.03	0.43	0.07	0.05	0.09	0.01	0.02	0.19	0.14	0.11
Mother Ed: High School/GED	0.24	0.22	0.29	0.30	0.22	0.29	0.25	0.22	0.18	0.10	0.15	0.35	0.27	0.32
Mother Ed: Some College	0.30	0.32	0.38	0.39	0.42	0.19	0.37	0.38	0.16	0.28	0.27	0.30	0.39	0.40
Mother Ed: College+	0.35	0.41	0.26	0.25	0.33	0.09	0.32	0.36	0.57	0.60	0.56	0.15	0.20	0.17
Father Ed: Less than High School	0.12	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.47	0.11	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.17	0.12	0.14
Father Ed: High School/GED	0.27	0.26	0.36	0.37	0.28	0.29	0.30	0.23	0.17	0.11	0.15	0.44	0.36	0.37
Father Ed: Some College	0.26	0.28	0.33	0.35	0.33	0.16	0.33	0.33	0.16	0.20	0.25	0.29	0.39	0.28
Father Ed: College+	0.35	0.40	0.23	0.23	0.33	0.08	0.25	0.40	0.60	0.66	0.58	0.10	0.12	0.22
Mother Working/Employed	0.59	0.60	0.70	0.66	0.59	0.46	0.60	0.57	0.58	0.59	0.60	0.52	0.65	0.57
Father Working/Employed	0.89	0.89	0.83	0.81	0.82	0.89	0.88	0.89	0.89	0.91	0.88	0.74	0.77	0.85
Uninsured	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.19	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.03	0.10	0.07	0.06
Geographic Characteristics														
Northeast	0.17	0.20	0.15	0.16	0.22	0.08	0.12	0.13	0.20	0.18	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.06
Midwest	0.24	0.30	0.17	0.24	0.20	0.09	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.18	0.17	0.14	0.26	0.19
South	0.35	0.33	0.61	0.44	0.38	0.37	0.34	0.34	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.30	0.41	0.43
West	0.24	0.18	0.08	0.16	0.20	0.46	0.38	0.38	0.40	0.39	0.41	0.53	0.26	0.32
Observations	283423	156507	22996	2857	777	65765	6907	6906	15129	1169	2472	929	525	484

Note: [a] AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaska Native.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for children by detailed parent race, using CPS Data

	(1) All Children	(2) Two White Parents	(3) Two Black Parents	(4) White Mother Black Father	(5) Black Mother White Father	(6) Two White Hispanic Parents	(7) White Mother White Hispanic Father	(8) White Hispanic Mother White Father	(9) Two Asian Parents	(10) White Mother Asian Father	(11) Asian Mother White Father	(12) Two AIAN[a] Parents	(13) White Mother AIAN Father[a]	(14) AIAN Mother[a] White Father
Health Outcomes														
Poor overall health	0.15	0.12	0.19	0.16	0.15	0.24	0.14	0.14	0.20	0.09	0.11	0.23	0.18	0.18
Demographic Characteristics														
Age	7.93	8.08	8.16	7.45	7.31	7.66	7.08	7.32	7.69	7.18	7.23	8.20	7.82	7.99
Female	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.47	0.49
Immigrant	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.10	0.02	0.03	0.18	0.05	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.01
Immigrant Mother	0.24	0.06	0.21	0.05	0.14	0.71	0.07	0.30	0.90	0.13	0.71	0.06	0.02	0.02
Immigrant Father	0.24	0.06	0.22	0.09	0.06	0.74	0.30	0.10	0.89	0.57	0.08	0.06	0.00	0.04
Number of Own Siblings in the Household	1.53	1.48	1.67	1.63	1.58	1.74	1.50	1.44	1.25	1.34	1.14	2.11	1.64	1.53
Mother's Age	37.36	38.01	37.01	35.32	35.81	35.24	35.44	36.59	38.52	38.59	39.94	35.66	35.66	35.52
Father's Age	39.75	40.19	39.99	38.22	38.87	37.67	37.95	39.00	41.95	40.83	43.51	38.27	38.76	38.05
Mother's Age at Birth	29.43	29.93	28.85	27.87	28.50	27.58	28.36	29.27	30.83	31.41	32.71	27.46	27.83	27.53
Mother Married	0.92	0.94	0.85	0.76	0.83	0.90	0.87	0.90	0.98	0.96	0.95	0.75	0.85	0.83
Economic Characteristics														
Mother Ed: Less than High School	0.11	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.42	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.14	0.08	0.09
Mother Ed: High School/GED	0.24	0.22	0.29	0.28	0.24	0.30	0.25	0.24	0.19	0.12	0.13	0.33	0.31	0.32
Mother Ed: Some College	0.28	0.30	0.35	0.37	0.37	0.18	0.34	0.35	0.15	0.21	0.22	0.38	0.36	0.39
Mother Ed: College+	0.37	0.44	0.29	0.27	0.33	0.10	0.33	0.34	0.57	0.65	0.64	0.14	0.25	0.19
Father Ed: Less than High School	0.13	0.05	0.09	0.10	0.06	0.45	0.12	0.07	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.16	0.12	0.10
Father Ed: High School/GED	0.27	0.26	0.35	0.35	0.30	0.31	0.30	0.26	0.17	0.09	0.13	0.39	0.37	0.33
Father Ed: Some College	0.25	0.26	0.31	0.32	0.32	0.15	0.31	0.29	0.15	0.20	0.24	0.31	0.29	0.37
Father Ed: College+	0.35	0.42	0.25	0.23	0.32	0.09	0.28	0.38	0.61	0.70	0.62	0.13	0.23	0.20
Mother Working/Employed	0.60	0.63	0.67	0.68	0.55	0.45	0.60	0.57	0.57	0.60	0.63	0.58	0.63	0.53
Father Working/Employed	0.86	0.88	0.77	0.75	0.81	0.87	0.83	0.85	0.88	0.89	0.84	0.68	0.76	0.76
Uninsured	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01
Geographic Characteristics														
Northeast	0.17	0.19	0.15	0.14	0.20	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.23	0.18	0.16	0.04	0.06	0.07
Midwest	0.23	0.29	0.16	0.28	0.20	0.09	0.17	0.14	0.13	0.18	0.15	0.14	0.22	0.19
South	0.36	0.33	0.61	0.42	0.39	0.38	0.33	0.35	0.24	0.28	0.25	0.29	0.46	0.44
West	0.25	0.19	0.08	0.16	0.21	0.44	0.38	0.39	0.40	0.35	0.45	0.52	0.27	0.30
Observations	607282	401562	33789	5311	1562	94059	15788	14829	26092	2304	4841	3757	1731	1657

Note: [a] AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaska Native.

Source: 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

Table 3: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting poor overall health for children with different race parents compared to children with same race parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	0.88***	0.99	0.92***	0.98
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.92***	0.91***	0.96***	0.96***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.00**		1.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.06***		1.03***
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Immigrant		0.92**		1.01
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Mother		1.19***		1.22***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Father		1.22***		1.27***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Mother Married		0.79***		0.80***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.78***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.63***		0.73***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: College+		0.45***		0.57***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.79***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Ed: Some College		0.62***		0.73***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: College+		0.40***		0.52***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Working/Employed		0.94***		0.95***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Working/Employed		0.72***		0.76***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Uninsured		0.98		1.17***
		(0.02)		(0.05)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.03		1.13***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
South		1.07**		1.21***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
West		0.98		1.18***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Table 4: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting poor overall health for children with different race parents compared to children with two White parents

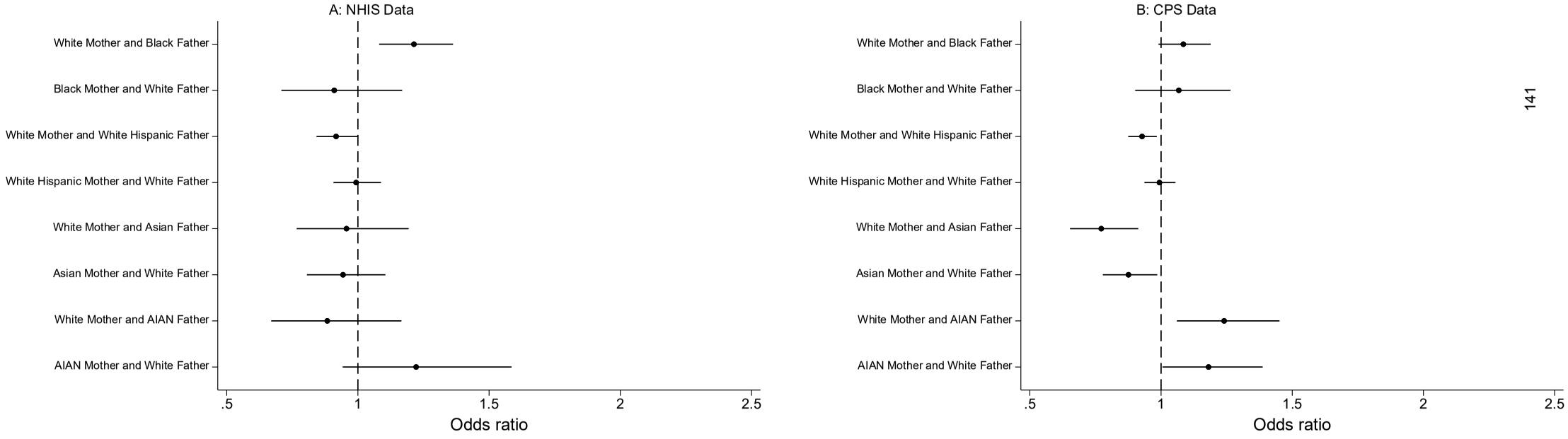
	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	1.23***	1.16***	1.25***	1.08***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.90***	0.90***	0.96**	0.96***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.00		1.00**
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.05***		1.02***
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Immigrant		0.98		1.06
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Immigrant Mother		1.14***		1.23***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Immigrant Father		1.05		1.17***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Mother Married		0.78***		0.80***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.69***		0.72***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.53***		0.62***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Mother Ed: College+		0.39***		0.47***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.74***		0.73***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Father Ed: Some College		0.59***		0.62***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Ed: College+		0.38***		0.46***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Working/Employed		0.93***		0.94***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Working/Employed		0.72***		0.75***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Uninsured		0.92*		1.34***
		(0.03)		(0.08)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.04		1.17***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
South		1.05		1.18***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
West		0.87***		1.07***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Observations	178604	178604	449585	449585

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

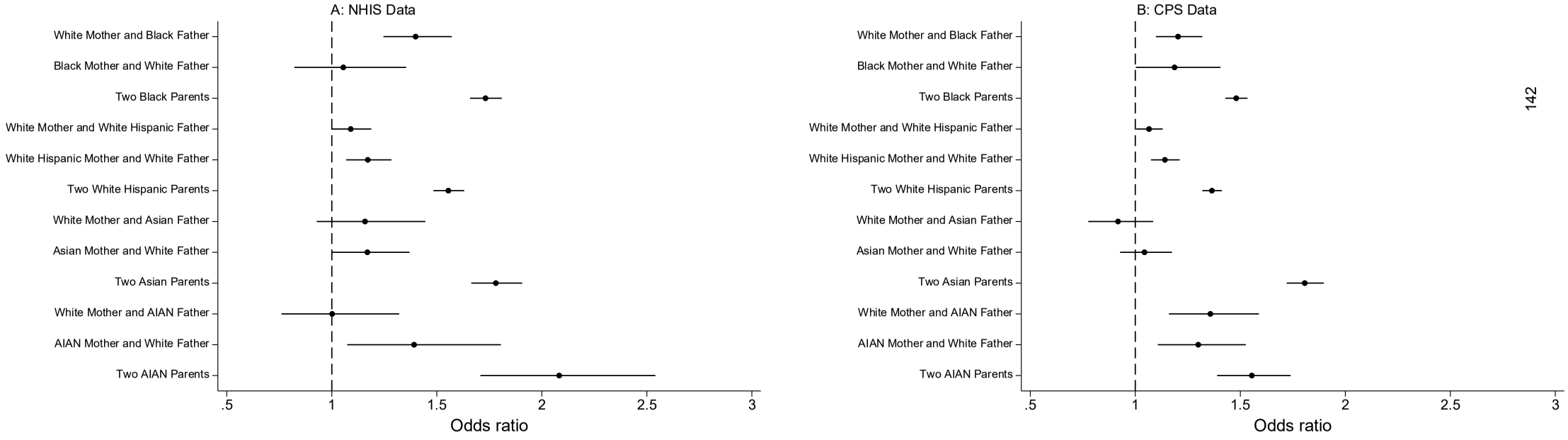
* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Figure 1. Odds ratios of poor overall health for multiracial children



Note. Odds ratios come from logistic regression models that control for sociodemographic characteristics. The reference group is children with two same race parents. AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.
Source: NCHS, National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) data 1999–2018 and Current Population Survey (ASEC) data 2003–2018.

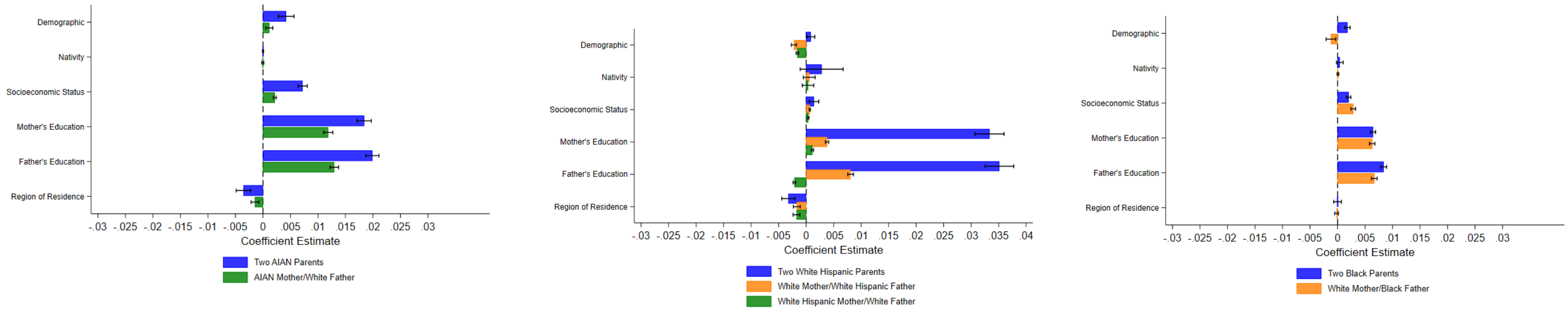
Figure 2. Odds ratios of poor overall health comparing all children



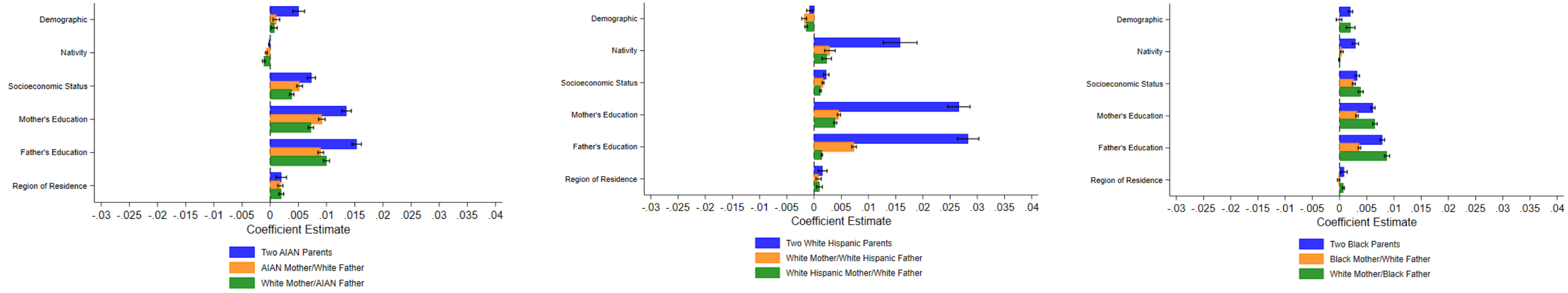
Note. Odds ratios come from logistic regression models that control for sociodemographic characteristics. The reference group is children with two White parents. AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.
Source: NCHS, National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) data 1999–2018 and Current Population Survey (ASEC) data 2003–2018.

Figure 3: Decomposition Analysis of Poor Overall Health by Parental Race

A.



B.



Notes: Panel A refers to decomposition results for poor overall health using NHIS data, and Panel B refers to decomposition results for poor overall health using CPS ASEC data. Results from Fairlie decomposition models for binary outcomes with 1,000 replications and randomized ordering of covariates.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

Appendix Table 1: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting health outcomes for multiracial children compared to children with same race parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
White Mother and Black Father	1.20**	1.21**	1.10*	1.09
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Black Mother and White Father	0.81	0.91	0.98	1.07
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.09)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	0.89**	0.92*	0.93*	0.93*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	0.83***	0.99	0.93*	0.99
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)
White Mother and Asian Father	0.63***	0.96	0.59***	0.77**
	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Asian Mother and White Father	0.67***	0.94	0.69***	0.88*
	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.05)
White Mother and AIAN Father	0.96	0.88	1.23**	1.24**
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.10)
AIAN Mother and White Father	1.29	1.22	1.21*	1.18*
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.91***	0.91***	0.96***	0.96***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.00**		1.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.06***		1.03***
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Immigrant		0.92**		1.01
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Mother		1.19***		1.22***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Father		1.22***		1.27***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Mother Married		0.79***		0.80***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.78***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.63***		0.73***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: College+		0.45***		0.57***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.79***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Ed: Some College		0.62***		0.73***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: College+		0.40***		0.53***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Working/Employed		0.94***		0.95***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Working/Employed		0.72***		0.77***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Uninsured		0.98		1.17***
		(0.02)		(0.05)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.03		1.13***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
South		1.07**		1.21***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
West		0.99		1.18***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 2: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting health outcomes for all children compared to children with two White parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Two Black Parents	2.08***	1.73***	1.81***	1.48***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
White Mother and Black Father	1.68***	1.40***	1.49***	1.20***
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Black Mother and White Father	1.13	1.05	1.33***	1.19*
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Two White Hispanic Parents	2.90***	1.56***	2.45***	1.36***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	1.25***	1.09*	1.26***	1.07*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	1.16**	1.17***	1.26***	1.14***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Two Asian Parents	1.63***	1.78***	1.89***	1.81***
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)
White Mother and Asian Father	0.88	1.16	0.79**	0.92
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Asian Mother and White Father	0.94	1.17	0.94	1.04
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Two AIAN Parents	3.19***	2.08***	2.22***	1.55***
	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.13)	(0.09)
White Mother and AIAN Father	1.33*	1.00	1.67***	1.36***
	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.11)
AIAN Mother and White Father	1.78***	1.39*	1.63***	1.30**
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.91***	0.91***	0.96***	0.96***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.00***		1.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.06***		1.03***
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Immigrant		0.93*		1.01
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Mother		1.02		1.08***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Immigrant Father		1.03		1.11***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Mother Married		0.84***		0.82***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.78***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.63***		0.73***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Mother Ed: College+		0.46***		0.57***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.79***		0.85***
		(0.02)		(0.01)
Father Ed: Some College		0.62***		0.73***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Ed: College+		0.42***		0.53***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Mother Working/Employed		0.92***		0.94***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Father Working/Employed		0.73***		0.78***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Uninsured		0.98		1.17***
		(0.02)		(0.05)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.03		1.15***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
South		1.00		1.16***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
West		0.93***		1.14***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 3: Average marginal effects from probit regression models predicting health outcomes for multiracial children

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	−0.01***	−0.00	−0.01***	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mother's Age at Birth		0.00*		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		0.01***		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant		−0.01*		0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Mother		0.02***		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Father		0.02***		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Married		−0.03***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: College+		−0.09***		−0.07***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: College+		−0.10***		−0.08***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Working/Employed		−0.01***		−0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Working/Employed		−0.04***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Uninsured		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.01)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
South		0.01**		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
West		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 4: Average marginal effects from probit regression models predicting health outcomes for multiracial children

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	0.02***	0.01***	0.02***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.00**	−0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mother's Age at Birth		−0.00		0.00**
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		0.00***		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant		−0.00		0.01
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Immigrant Mother		0.01***		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Father		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Married		−0.02***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		−0.04***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: Some College		−0.06***		−0.05***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: College+		−0.09***		−0.08***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.05***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: College+		−0.09***		−0.08***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Working/Employed		−0.01**		−0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Working/Employed		−0.03***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Uninsured		−0.01		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.01)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
South		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
West		−0.01***		0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Observations	178604	178604	449585	449585

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 5: Average marginal effects from probit regression models predicting health outcomes for all U.S. children using parental race

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
White Mother and Black Father	0.02**	0.02**	0.01*	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Black Mother and White Father	−0.02	−0.01	−0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	−0.01**	−0.01*	−0.01*	−0.01**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	−0.02***	0.00	−0.01*	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Mother and Asian Father	−0.05***	−0.00	−0.07***	−0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Asian Mother and White Father	−0.04***	−0.01	−0.05***	−0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
White Mother and AIAN Father	−0.00	−0.01	0.03**	0.03**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIAN Mother and White Father	0.03	0.02	0.02*	0.02*
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mother's Age at Birth		0.00**		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		0.01***		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant		−0.01**		0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Mother		0.02***		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Father		0.02***		0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Married		−0.03***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: College+		−0.09***		−0.07***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: College+		−0.10***		−0.08***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Working/Employed		−0.01***		−0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Working/Employed		−0.04***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Uninsured		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.01)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
South		0.01**		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
West		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 6: Average marginal effects from probit regression models predicting health outcomes for all U.S. children using parental race

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Two Black Parents	0.08***	0.06***	0.07***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Mother and Black Father	0.06***	0.03***	0.05***	0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Black Mother and White Father	0.01	0.01	0.03**	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Two White Hispanic Parents	0.12***	0.05***	0.11***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	0.02***	0.01	0.03***	0.01
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	0.02**	0.02***	0.03***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Two Asian Parents	0.05***	0.06***	0.08***	0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
White Mother and Asian Father	−0.01	0.02	−0.03**	−0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Asian Mother and White Father	−0.01	0.02	−0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Two AIAN Parents	0.13***	0.08***	0.10***	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
White Mother and AIAN Father	0.03*	−0.00	0.06***	0.04***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIAN Mother and White Father	0.06***	0.03*	0.06***	0.03**
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01***	−0.01***	−0.00***	−0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mother's Age at Birth		0.00***		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		0.01***		0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant		−0.01*		0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Mother		0.00		0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Immigrant Father		0.00		0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Married		−0.02***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Ed: College+		−0.08***		−0.07***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: High School/GED		−0.03***		−0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: Some College		−0.05***		−0.04***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Ed: College+		−0.09***		−0.08***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Mother Working/Employed		−0.01***		−0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Father Working/Employed		−0.03***		−0.03***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Uninsured		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.01)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
South		−0.00		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
West		−0.01***		0.02***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 7: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting fair/poor health for children with different race parents compared to children with same race parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	0.80**	0.91	1.00	1.04
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.80***	0.79***	0.86***	0.86***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.01*		1.01**
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.04*		0.98*
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Immigrant		0.92		1.06
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Immigrant Mother		0.89		1.03
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Immigrant Father		1.13		1.11*
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Mother Married		0.90		0.81***
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.62***		0.82***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.53***		0.76***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: College+		0.35***		0.58***
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.76***		0.83***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: Some College		0.66***		0.73***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: College+		0.44***		0.55***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Mother Working/Employed		0.69***		0.79***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Father Working/Employed		0.54***		0.65***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Uninsured		0.84**		0.91
		(0.05)		(0.11)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.03		1.05
		(0.07)		(0.05)
South		1.25***		1.20***
		(0.08)		(0.05)
West		1.07		0.97
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 8: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting fair/poor health outcomes for children with different race parents compared to children with two White parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Multiracial Background Children	1.07	1.03	1.22***	1.10
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.02***	1.03***	1.02***	1.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.79***	0.79***	0.86***	0.86***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.00		1.01*
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.02		0.98
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Immigrant		1.33		1.14
		(0.27)		(0.15)
Immigrant Mother		0.92		1.05
		(0.12)		(0.08)
Immigrant Father		0.97		1.01
		(0.12)		(0.07)
Mother Married		0.98		0.71***
		(0.13)		(0.04)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.55***		0.69***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.46***		0.63***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: College+		0.31***		0.51***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.68***		0.77***
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Father Ed: Some College		0.61***		0.70***
		(0.06)		(0.04)
Father Ed: College+		0.45***		0.52***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Mother Working/Employed		0.65***		0.78***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Father Working/Employed		0.58***		0.63***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Uninsured		0.64***		1.03
		(0.09)		(0.19)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.09		1.11*
		(0.10)		(0.05)
South		1.27**		1.25***
		(0.11)		(0.06)
West		0.91		0.90
		(0.09)		(0.05)
Observations	178604	178604	449585	449585

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 9: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting fair/poor health for multiracial children compared to children with same race parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two Same Race Parents				
White Mother and Black Father	1.11	1.09	0.98	0.90
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Black Mother and White Father	0.87	0.96	1.21	1.22
	(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.27)	(0.27)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	0.86	0.87	1.06	1.05
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.08)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	0.65**	0.79	1.02	1.08
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.10)
White Mother and Asian Father	0.74	1.17	0.66	0.88
	(0.23)	(0.36)	(0.17)	(0.23)
Asian Mother and White Father	0.29***	0.46*	0.64*	0.84
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.15)
White Mother and AIAN Father	1.64	1.36	1.66**	1.54*
	(0.56)	(0.47)	(0.30)	(0.28)
AIAN Mother and White Father	1.91*	1.66	1.37	1.22
	(0.62)	(0.55)	(0.28)	(0.25)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.79***	0.79***	0.86***	0.86***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.01*		1.01**
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.04*		0.98*
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Immigrant		0.93		1.07
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Immigrant Mother		0.92		1.04
		(0.07)		(0.06)
Immigrant Father		1.10		1.11
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Mother Married		0.90		0.80***
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.62***		0.82***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.53***		0.76***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: College+		0.35***		0.58***
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.76***		0.83***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: Some College		0.66***		0.73***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: College+		0.44***		0.55***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Mother Working/Employed		0.69***		0.79***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Father Working/Employed		0.54***		0.65***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Uninsured		0.85**		0.91
		(0.05)		(0.11)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.03		1.05
		(0.07)		(0.05)
South		1.25***		1.20***
		(0.08)		(0.05)
West		1.07		0.97
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 10: Odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting fair/poor health for multiracial children compared to children with two White parents

	NHIS Data		CPS Data	
	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 1	(4) Model 2
Parent Race Groups Ref: Two White Parents				
Two Black Parents	2.18***	1.80***	1.51***	1.23***
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.06)
White Mother and Black Father	1.48*	1.23	1.19	0.95
	(0.26)	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.14)
Black Mother and White Father	1.16	1.08	1.47	1.30
	(0.40)	(0.38)	(0.32)	(0.29)
Two White Hispanic Parents	2.40***	1.28***	1.84***	1.23***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.06)
White Mother and White Hispanic Father	1.15	0.99	1.28***	1.14
	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.09)
White Hispanic Mother and White Father	0.87	0.89	1.24*	1.17
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Two Asian Parents	1.02	1.18	1.31***	1.44***
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.10)
White Mother and Asian Father	0.99	1.32	0.80	0.97
	(0.30)	(0.41)	(0.21)	(0.25)
Asian Mother and White Father	0.39**	0.53	0.78	0.94
	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.17)
Two AIAN Parents	2.27***	1.32	1.49*	1.11
	(0.55)	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.18)
White Mother and AIAN Father	2.16*	1.53	2.01***	1.63**
	(0.74)	(0.53)	(0.36)	(0.30)
AIAN Mother and White Father	2.53**	1.87	1.65*	1.29
	(0.82)	(0.61)	(0.34)	(0.26)
Demographic Characteristics				
Age	1.03***	1.03***	1.02***	1.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.79***	0.79***	0.86***	0.86***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Mother's Age at Birth		1.01**		1.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Number of Own Siblings in the Household		1.03		0.97*
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Immigrant		0.93		1.06
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Immigrant Mother		0.86		0.96
		(0.07)		(0.06)
Immigrant Father		1.02		1.01
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Mother Married		0.96		0.82***
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Economic Characteristics				
Mother Ed: High School/GED		0.62***		0.83***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: Some College		0.53***		0.76***
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Mother Ed: College+		0.35***		0.59***
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Father Ed: High School/GED		0.76***		0.83***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: Some College		0.66***		0.73***
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Father Ed: College+		0.46***		0.56***
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Mother Working/Employed		0.67***		0.79***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Father Working/Employed		0.56***		0.66***
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Uninsured		0.85**		0.91
		(0.05)		(0.11)
Geographic Characteristics				
Midwest		1.04		1.06
		(0.07)		(0.05)
South		1.17*		1.17***
		(0.08)		(0.05)
West		1.05		0.94
		(0.07)		(0.04)
Observations	283423	283423	607282	607282

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

AIAN refers to American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey and 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC.

* p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix Table 11: Decomposition Analysis of Poor Overall Health by Parent Race

	Poor Overall Health							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Two Black Parents	White Mother Black Father	Two White Hispanic Parents	White Mother White Hispanic Father	White Hispanic Mother White Father	Two Asian Parents	Two AIAN Parents	AIAN Mother White Father
(2) Predicted Health Outcome for Multiracial Children	0.186	0.150	0.236	0.116	0.109	0.149	0.255	0.167
(1) Predicted Health Outcome for Children with Two white Parents	0.100	0.100	0.100	0.100	0.100	0.100	0.100	0.100
Multiracial Parent - Two White Parents Gap (2) - (1)	0.086	0.050	0.137	0.016	0.010	0.049	0.155	0.067
Total Explained	0.019	0.015	0.070	0.009	-0.004	-0.007	0.046	0.027
Percent Explained	22.1%	29.0%	51.5%	56.4%	-37.0%	-15.1%	29.8%	39.6%
Demographic Characteristics	0.002	-0.001	0.001	-0.002	-0.002	0.000	0.004	0.001
Percent Explained	2.1%	-2.4%	0.6%	-13.6%	-16.4%	-0.4%	2.7%	1.7%
Nativity	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000
Percent Explained	0.5%	0.1%	2.1%	3.5%	3.5%	4.4%	0.0%	-0.1%
Socioeconomic Background	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.007	0.002
Percent Explained	2.3%	5.7%	1.0%	4.1%	4.2%	-0.1%	4.7%	3.2%
Mother's Education	0.006	0.006	0.033	0.004	0.001	-0.001	0.018	0.012
Percent Explained	7.4%	12.6%	24.4%	23.3%	11.8%	-2.0%	11.9%	17.6%
Father's Education	0.008	0.007	0.035	0.008	-0.002	-0.007	0.020	0.013
Percent Explained	9.7%	13.3%	25.7%	49.5%	-22.0%	-13.4%	12.8%	19.2%
Region of Residence	0.000	0.000	-0.003	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.004	-0.001
Percent Explained	0.0%	-0.4%	-2.4%	-10.4%	-18.0%	-3.7%	-2.3%	-2.2%

Notes: Results from Fairlie decomposition models for binary outcomes with 1,000 replications and randomized ordering of covariates. The gap is the difference in predicted health outcomes between multiracial children and children with two non-Hispanic white parents, net of controls. Due to rounding, the sums may not exactly add up to totals.

Source: 1999–2018 NCHS, National Health Interview Survey

Appendix Table 12: Decomposition Analysis of Poor Overall Health by Parent Race

	Poor Overall Health									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Two Black Parents	Black Mother White Father	White Mother Black Father	Two White Hispanic Parents	White Hispanic Mother White Father	White Mother White Hispanic Father	Two Asian Parents	Two AIAN Parents	AIAN Mother White Father	White Mother AIAN Father
(2) Predicted Health Outcome for Multiracial Children	0.192	0.145	0.160	0.240	0.139	0.138	0.196	0.226	0.175	0.178
(1) Predicted Health Outcome for Children with Two white Parents	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116
Multiracial Parent - Two White Parents Gap (2) - (1)	0.075	0.029	0.044	0.124	0.023	0.022	0.080	0.109	0.059	0.062
Total Explained	0.023	0.010	0.022	0.074	0.008	0.015	0.005	0.043	0.026	0.023
Percent Explained	30.5%	32.8%	49.2%	59.4%	37.2%	69.3%	6.4%	39.3%	43.3%	36.6%
Demographic Characteristics	0.002	0.000	0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002	-0.002	0.005	0.001	0.001
Percent Explained	2.7%	-0.3%	4.5%	-0.7%	-6.5%	-8.2%	-1.9%	4.6%	1.9%	1.2%
Nativity	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.016	0.002	0.003	0.015	0.000	-0.001	-0.001
Percent Explained	3.9%	1.3%	-0.1%	12.7%	10.3%	13.0%	19.3%	-0.2%	-1.2%	-1.9%
Socioeconomic Background	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.000	0.007	0.005	0.004
Percent Explained	4.3%	8.9%	8.8%	1.8%	5.3%	7.4%	0.3%	6.7%	8.8%	6.2%
Mother's Education	0.006	0.003	0.006	0.027	0.004	0.005	-0.002	0.014	0.009	0.007
Percent Explained	8.1%	11.0%	14.7%	21.5%	17.3%	20.4%	-2.0%	12.4%	15.6%	11.7%
Father's Education	0.008	0.004	0.009	0.028	0.001	0.007	-0.007	0.015	0.009	0.010
Percent Explained	10.4%	12.5%	19.7%	22.8%	6.4%	33.0%	-8.3%	14.0%	15.2%	16.2%
Region of Residence	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002
Percent Explained	1.1%	-0.7%	1.6%	1.3%	4.4%	3.7%	-1.0%	1.8%	3.0%	3.2%

Notes: Results from Fairlie decomposition models for binary outcomes with 1,000 replications and randomized ordering of covariates. The gap is the difference in predicted health outcomes between multiracial children and children with two non-Hispanic white parents, net of controls. Due to rounding, the sums may not exactly add up to totals.

Source: 2003–2018 Current Population Survey, ASEC

Chapter 3

Expanding the Narrative of (Im)migrant Integration: The Persistence of the Color and Gender Line in Early Twentieth Century New York City[1]

Abstract:

Migration is an essential aspect of U.S. history that has shaped the nation's demographics, culture, and economy. New York City has played a central role in this process, serving as a key site of arrival and settlement. While many migrant groups successfully integrated over time and across generations, others, particularly those from outside northern and western Europe, experienced elevated levels of hostility and a stunted path to economic integration. A growing body of literature examines the labor market integration of migrants in northern U.S. cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, most studies focus primarily on the experiences of European immigrant men. In this study, we incorporate the experiences of Black migrants born in the U.S. south and the Caribbean, as well as women of all races, into the extant literature. Using data from the complete-count U.S. census for New York City, we show evidence of stratification patterned by race, place of birth, national origin, and gender in the early twentieth century. We conclude by discussing how the omission of Black people and women from much of the discourse on early twentieth-century economic integration has created an incomplete portrait of the factors shaping stratification during this period.

Keywords: Economic Mobility, Gender, Integration, Migration, Race

[1] This chapter represents joint work with Tod Hamilton.

INTRODUCTION

International and domestic migration are essential aspects of American history (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). During the Age of Mass Migration (1850–1913), more than 30 million European immigrants arrived in the United States (Hatton & Williamson, 1998). As European immigration declined in the lead-up to World War I, Black migrants began to move beyond the South in large numbers, producing one of the most significant demographic shifts in U.S. history. Between 1910 and 1940, the geographic distribution of the U.S. Black population underwent significant changes due to the migration of Black Americans from the South to cities in the Northeast and Midwest, as well as an increase in the number of Black Caribbean immigrants settling in the United States, particularly in New York City (Watkins-Owens, 1996; Wilkerson, 2010).

While many migrant groups successfully integrated over time and across generations, some groups, particularly those from areas other than northern and western Europe, experienced elevated levels of hostility and a stunted path to economic integration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Notably, the scholarly discussion on migrant integration during this period has focused primarily on the experiences of European immigrants (Abramitzky et al., 2012, 2013, 2014; Brodkin, 1998; Handlin, 1973; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927). This emphasis obscures the sheer magnitude and significance of Black migration during this period. Indeed, the existence of Black people in the Americas is the result of one of the most significant and enduring migratory projects in history: the enslavement, transportation, and post-emancipation relocation of Black people in the Americas (Woodson, 1969). New York City serves as an important case study of historical labor market stratification among migrant communities because, unlike other urban centers, it was home to large numbers of international and domestic Black and White migrants.

Since its founding, New York City has attracted generations of migrants with the promise of economic opportunity and political freedom (Handlin, 1965). Mirroring broader immigration patterns, large populations of European immigrants arrived in the city during the Age of Mass Migration (Foner, 2000; Kessner, 1977). New York City, and Harlem specifically, also emerged as a vibrant center of Black cultural, intellectual, and political life (Johnson, 1930; McKay, 1940; Ottley, 1968). New York City was one of the primary destinations for Black migrants during the early twentieth century (Johnson, 1930; McKay, 1940). Unlike other cities, New York City also received significant numbers of Black people from the Caribbean during the early twentieth century (Watkins-Owens, 1996). Migrants from the Caribbean and the American South were responsible for approximately 67 percent of New York City's Black population growth during the early twentieth century (Ruggles et al., 2021).

We extend the extant literature on migrant integration during this period by highlighting how the intersections of race, place of birth, and gender shaped labor market integration. Using data from the complete count of the U.S. Census from 1920 to 1940, we find significant variation in labor market outcomes by place of birth among White residents of New York City, but minimal variation among the Black population. Our results show that southern-born White individuals had the best labor market outcomes among men and women residing in New York City. Although southern-born and Caribbean-born Black men and women had higher literacy rates and more years of education than European-born White individuals (Reid, 1939; Tolnay, 1998), Black migrants held jobs with lower prestige than European migrants (Adelman & Tolnay, 2003; Lieberson, 1980). Finally, both U.S.-born and Caribbean-born Black women had the least favorable jobs among all groups.

BACKGROUND

The Demographic Landscape of New York City

European Immigration. Earlier immigrants to New York primarily hailed from northern and western Europe. However, immigration from southern and central Europe increased during the Age of Mass Migration (Handlin, 1965; Hatton & Williamson, 1994, 1998). Unlike earlier immigrants, who settled predominantly in agricultural areas, the newcomers clustered around urban centers, such as New York City (Lieberson, 1980). Although most European immigrants were men seeking economic opportunities, women also migrated to the United States. For example, a substantial number of Jewish women from central and eastern Europe migrated with their families to escape escalating antisemitic persecution and violence, which made life increasingly untenable (Glanz, 1976). In addition, Irish women were exceptional among European immigrants because they outnumbered men in their emigration from Ireland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely due to the impact of famine on family and economic life (Nolan, 1989).

The growing presence of immigrants fueled nativist movements throughout the United States. While much of the early legislation restricting immigration was directed at Chinese migrants, culminating in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, over time, the focus shifted to the growing immigrant populations from southern and eastern Europe (Hatton & Williamson, 1998; Hutchinson, 2016). Although these new European migrants were essential sources of labor for the burgeoning industries in the northern and midwestern portions of the United States, concerns arose about their assimilation into U.S. society, as well as increasing unease about World War I in Europe (Ferrie, 1997; Higham, 1955).

In response to these concerns, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1917, which imposed a range of restrictions, including a literacy test, to reduce immigration from southern and eastern Europe (Hutchinson, 2016). This legislation paved the way for additional restrictive immigration policies (Collins, 1997; Zeidel, 2004). In 1921, Congress enacted a quota system that limited immigration to three percent of the total number of foreign-born people from that country based on the 1910 Census. This quota was further restricted in 1924 through the Johnson-Reed Act, which capped immigration to two percent of the foreign-born population from a given country based on the 1890 census (Hutchinson, 2016). The Quota Acts and the advent of World War I effectively halted migration from Europe (Hutchinson, 2016).

The Impact of the Great Migration. As European immigration slowed, northern and midwestern cities in the United States increasingly relied on labor from the southern states to fuel their urban economies (Boustan, 2017). The resulting large-scale migration of individuals from the southern states to northern, midwestern, and western states is known as the Great Migration. Estimates indicate that nearly 30 million people (both Black and White) from southern states migrated during this period. Black out-migration from the South to northern cities was significantly greater than White out-migration during this period (Collins & Wanamaker, 2015; Grossman, 1989).

Black people left the antebellum South not only because of the volatility of the Southern agricultural economy caused by rapid technological and environmental change but also to escape an increasingly inhospitable racial climate and limited economic opportunities (Fligstein, 1981; Higgs, 1976; Osofsky, 1996). While Black southerners enjoyed some civil liberties during Reconstruction (1863–1877), such as owning property, voting, and holding political office, after the signing of the Compromise of 1877 and the removal of Union soldiers, southern states

implemented a wide range of Jim Crow policies, thus rolling back these modest gains (Du Bois, 1998). These policy changes hindered the social and economic progress of Black Americans and helped cement a system of white supremacy throughout the U.S. South (Williamson, 1984; Woodward, 1955). Black people in the South faced racial violence and terrorist attacks that further motivated them to move north in search of better living conditions (Tolnay & Beck, 1992). Women participated in the Great Migration by moving with their families or on their own in such great numbers that their migration created an imbalanced sex ratio in many northern cities, with more Black women than Black men (Jones, 2010). New York was a destination for both internal and international Black migrants, and by 1920, more Black people lived in New York City than in any other urban area in the United States (Osofsky, 1996).

Caribbean Migration. As the Great Migration began in the early twentieth century, migration from the Caribbean to New York City increased dramatically (Palmer, 1995; Reid, 1939; Watkins-Owens, 1996). Like southern-born Black migrants, Caribbean-born Black migrants descended from enslaved people brought to the Western Hemisphere; further, they were significantly mobile after slavery was abolished, first to other parts of the Caribbean and later to Central America and South America (Newton, 2004; Putnam, 2002). In the early twentieth century, the migration of Black people from the Caribbean shifted to the United States (Palmer, 1995). Caribbean women immigrated to the United States in slightly greater numbers than men during the early twentieth century, and there is evidence that women played a crucial role in establishing and sustaining migration and settlement networks (Maddox, 2024; Watkins-Owens, 1996, 2001). When Caribbean migrants began to arrive in New York City in greater numbers, there were more foreign-born Black people in New York City than in any other city in America (Osofsky, 1996), accounting for up to 4 percent of Black New Yorkers in 1900 and close to 12

percent by 1930 (Ruggles et al., 2021). Furthermore, the growth of the Caribbean-born Black migrant population outpaced both the White immigrant population and the domestic Black population (Reid, 1939). Despite the passage of quota legislation, Caribbean-born Black migration continued to grow until the onset of the Great Depression because Caribbean-born Black migrants were counted under the British quota as British colonial subjects (Hamilton, 2019; Palmer, 1995).

THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

The extant literature offers multiple theoretical frameworks that help explain patterns of migrant integration in the United States. We focus on intersectionality to contextualize the economic integration of early twentieth-century migrants to New York City by place of birth, race, and gender.

Intersectional Dimensions in the Labor Market

Defined as the interlocking of social dimensions—such as race, gender, and class—shaped by inherent power differentials, intersectionality highlights how these dimensions jointly construct unique social positions (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000). Developed initially to critique legal and scholarly approaches that treated race and gender as separate, mutually exclusive categories, intersectionality emerged from the recognition that such frameworks often centered relatively privileged groups within disadvantaged communities—such as White women among women and Black men among Black people— thereby ignoring the outcomes of Black women in employment discrimination legal cases (Crenshaw, 1989). Importantly, this framework highlights that the discrimination Black women face in employment and other areas of social life is not just additive—racism plus sexism—but instead represents a unique and compounded form of disadvantage (Crenshaw, 1989; King, 1988). Empirical research substantiates the value of this

approach. Previous research has shown that Black women experience greater earnings penalties because of their race and gender, and an additional penalty for holding both identities (Kim, 2009; Paul et al., 2022).

While intersectionality initially focused on the outcomes of Black women, it has since become a lens for examining social stratification across a range of groups and settings (Hill Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005). Applied to labor market dynamics, an intersectional perspective reveals how gender is racialized, and race is gendered—how the meanings and consequences of each category are shaped by the other in ways that reproduce inequality (Brewer et al., 2002; Browne & Misra, 2003; Nash, 2008). Research shows that racial earnings disparities are often larger among men than among women, whereas gender disparities are often more pronounced for White adults than for non-White adults (Greenman & Xie, 2008). These findings highlight how intersecting social identities yield distinct patterns of labor market disadvantage—patterns that single-axis frameworks frequently overlook.

Much of the research on labor market integration in the early 20th-century United States has been organized around a single dimension of inequality. For example, the historical international migration literature has primarily focused on the experiences of European men (Abramitzky et al., 2014). The historical internal U.S. migration literature has focused mainly on Black men who migrated during the Great Migration (Collins & Wanamaker, 2014). Neither literature has considered whether the experiences of the focal groups extend to other migrants who moved during the period (Abramitzky et al., 2014; Collins & Wanamaker, 2014). Similarly, women are often neglected in much of the literature (Goldin, 1990), despite the high migration and labor force participation rates of certain groups of women (Jones, 2010; Kessler-Harris,

2018; White, 2005). The single-focus approach overlooks how social categories intersect to produce distinct patterns of labor market stratification (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000). In this study, we extend prior research by adopting an intersectional framework to examine how race, gender, and place of birth jointly shaped labor market outcomes in New York City during the early 20th century—a period marked by mass migration, industrial expansion, and rising racial and nativist hostility.

Intersections of Race, Gender, and Place of Birth in the Early Twentieth Century

Intersections of Race and Place of Birth. We can first examine the intersection of race and place of birth in the early twentieth-century New York labor market. European immigrants and Black people faced steep queuing for jobs in trade, transportation, and professional services, which were occupied by more desirable workers (e.g., U.S.-born White individuals and early immigrants from northern and western Europe) (Lieberson, 1980). During this period, recent immigrants from northern and western Europe benefited from the advantages associated with sharing the same background as earlier European immigrant groups; in contrast, the new waves of immigrants from southern and central Europe were paid lower wages and held lower-prestige occupations (Lieberson, 1980). Some academics argue that this wage differential was not the result of ethnic discrimination but rather skill differentials, such as language proficiency and literacy, which caused the new immigrant groups to enter the labor market at the bottom of the economic ladder (Higgs, 1971). Other work has questioned this viewpoint, showing that skill differentials between immigrant groups fail to account for the observed wage differences (Abramitzky et al., 2014; Douglas, 1919; McGouldrick & Tannen, 1977).

Indeed, in places like New York City, although southern and eastern European immigrants and Black workers both held jobs toward the bottom of the queue, Black workers tended to secure service positions separate from those that European migrants sought to fill (Handlin, 1965; Lieberson, 1980). Black people were disproportionately concentrated in the lowest-paid, menial jobs toward the bottom of the occupational queue (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Grossman, 1989). Because racial discrimination limited the occupational options for Black people, the arrival of southern-born Black people in northern cities increased competition in the narrow range of occupations in which Black people could find employment and, over time, led to lower wages for northern-born Black people (Boustan, 2017; Derenoncourt, 2022). In addition, because Black people occupied a vulnerable position in the labor market, the Great Depression greatly dampened their economic outcomes for a decade until the economic boom of World War II (Handlin, 1965; Hartfield, 2004). In contrast, southern-born White people integrated into White northern society relatively easily and had relatively better occupational opportunities (Bazzi et al., 2023; Gregory, 1995).

Caribbean-born migrants also occupied a precarious position in the New York labor market because of their dual identities as immigrants and Black people (Reid, 1939). The newly arrived Caribbean-born migrants tended to work in low-skilled jobs similar to those occupied by the southern-born Black people who arrived in the North at the same time. In the past, some scholars have argued that Caribbean-born migrants were superior to domestic-born Black people in terms of their business acumen and educational attainment (Domingo, 1925; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Johnson, 1930; Reid, 1939; Sowell, 1981). However, more recent research suggests that these two groups resided in the same areas and competed for the same positions in

the labor market because of the pervasive racial discrimination against Black people in the United States (Hamilton, 2019; Model, 2008).

Intersections of Gender, Race, and Place of Birth: The early twentieth-century labor market was deeply segmented by gender. Norms surrounding women's proper social roles, reinforced by legal restrictions and employer practices, sharply constrained women's participation in paid work and limited the types of jobs they could pursue (Kessler-Harris, 2007). U.S.-born White single women, for instance, were initially able to work in mills and retain social respectability, but as industrial labor became associated with unclean work, danger, and immorality, this work was increasingly deemed unsuitable for respectable U.S.-born White women (Kessler-Harris, 2007). As a result, employment among U.S.-born white women, especially after marriage, became highly selective, with these women mostly working in gendered but higher-status occupations. Technological innovations in the early 1900s enabled women's transition from domestic and personal services to new industrial and corporate positions, which further increased due to the wartime labor shortages of World War I (Greenwald, 1980).

In contrast, white immigrant women were increasingly concentrated in less prestigious jobs. Southern and eastern European immigrants were viewed as more suitable workers for the lower rungs of the labor market, not because of their skills or productivity, but rather due to intersecting stereotypes of poverty, foreignness, and cultural difference (Kessner, 1977). Employers likewise regarded European immigrant women as more compliant and exploitable—often young, unmarried, and less likely to resist poor working conditions (Kessler-Harris, 2018).

Much of the historical narrative about women's labor force participation is based on the experiences of White women—whose engagement in paid work varied over the life course and during specific periods, relatively high during early adulthood when single, becoming more selective and declining after marriage, and increasing during times of war (Goldin, 1980, 1991)—and thus this model might hide the different paths taken by other women. For example, Black women's labor force participation remained consistently high throughout their lives and varied less across different historical periods (Goldin, 1977, 1990; Jones, 2010). Perceived as workers both before and after emancipation, Black women were expected to contribute economically to their households, regardless of marital status. This expectation was not cultural but economic. Due to the limited and poorly paid opportunities available to Black men, many Black families depended on women's earnings for basic survival (Jones, 2010). These patterns held for both U.S.-born and Caribbean-born Black women.

Gender, race, and place of birth did not operate independently in shaping labor market outcomes in early twentieth-century New York. Instead, these dimensions interacted to produce distinct occupational stratification for individuals situated at different intersections of identity. White men born in New York and the U.S. South occupied the most privileged labor market positions: their gender aligned with the breadwinner ideal, their nativity conferred cultural legitimacy, and their race afforded access to a broad range of occupational opportunities (Hodge, 1973). European-born White men, while racially advantaged, were marked by foreignness; many entered the labor market in low-skilled jobs but still secured better jobs than any group of Black men, despite lower levels of education (Adelman & Tolnay, 2003). Among women, U.S.-born White women were more likely to obtain clerical and semi-professional jobs, which were often associated with respectability (Goldin, 1990). In contrast, European-born White women, though

participating in the labor force at higher rates, remained concentrated in low-prestige roles (Kessler-Harris, 2018). Black women, regardless of place of birth, had the highest labor force participation among women but were disproportionately concentrated in the least desirable jobs, reflecting the compounded disadvantages of race, gender, and migrant status (Harley, 1997).

While prior research has documented the labor-market experiences of specific subgroups in early-twentieth-century New York (Glanz, 1976; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Johnson, 1930; Kessner, 1977; McKay, 1940; Sacks, 2006; Watkins, 1994), the literature remains fragmented. No study has yet provided a comprehensive analysis of labor-market integration for all the major groups that comprise the city's labor market, leaving gaps in our understanding of how race, place of birth, and gender influence economic outcomes. Moreover, much of what we know is derived from literary or other qualitative studies (Baily, 1999; Osofsky, 1996; Ottley, 1967), so it is unclear whether population-level evidence supports those conclusions. Using the complete-count U.S. Censuses of 1920–1940, we extend this literature by examining how the intersections of race, place of birth, and gender structured labor-market integration. Guided by an intersectional framework and the historical context of the period, we test the following expectations about occupational attainment across key groups.

Hypotheses: We hypothesize that U.S.-born White men—those from New York and the U.S. south—will hold the highest-status occupations due to their combined racial, gender, and nativity advantages. We expect European-born White men to occupy an intermediate position, benefiting from racial and gender privileges but constrained by their immigrant origins. We expect Black men, regardless of nativity, to be disproportionately relegated to low-status occupations due to the enduring effects of racial exclusion. Relative to men, women overall are

expected to occupy lower-status positions, reflecting the gendered structure of the labor market. Finally, we anticipate that U.S.-born White women and European-born White women, respectively, will hold more prestigious occupations than Black women, who are expected to face the most constrained labor market opportunities across all groups.

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

The present study uses data from the full-count 1920-1940 U.S. Census for the New York Metropolitan area, focusing on men and women ages 18–64 from six groups: New York-born White individuals, southern-born White migrants, European-born White immigrants, New York-born Black individuals, southern-born Black migrants, and Caribbean-born Black immigrants (Ruggles et al., 2021). The focal period coincides with several major events and trends: the end of World War I, declining European migration, increasing migration from the Caribbean, and significant internal Black migration to northern urban destinations. We focus our analyses on the New York metropolitan area because the largest population of Caribbean-born Black immigrants resided in New York City during this time period (Reid, 1939). We use the full-count cross-sectional census data because of existing linkage issues for women and the Black population during this time period that may create non-representative linked samples.

Variables

Dependent Variables. We examine four indicators of economic status: labor force participation, employment status, occupational prestige score, and log weekly earnings. First, we generate a dichotomous variable for self-reported labor force participation. Between 1850 and 1930, the Census defined labor force participation as reporting any gainful employment. Beginning in 1940, the Census defined labor force participation as working, seeking work, or temporarily

absent from work. Second, we measure employment status as a dichotomous variable for all individuals in the labor force. The employment measure is only available for the 1930 and 1940 Censuses. Third, we assess occupational prestige by assigning prestige scores to occupations based on the 1950 Census Bureau's occupational classification scheme. This measure enables us to identify disparities in individuals' occupations. Finally, we calculate log weekly earnings by dividing the annual wage reported in the previous year by the number of weeks worked during the previous calendar year and then taking the log of the resulting estimate. The measure of total pre-tax wage and salary income, as well as the number of weeks worked in the last year, was first available in the 1940 Census. Therefore, log weekly earnings are not available for 1920 or 1930.

Key Independent Variables. We group respondents into six race and place of birth categories—New York-born White, southern-born White, European-born White immigrant, New York-born Black, southern-born Black, and Caribbean-born Black immigrant—based on enumerator-reported race and self-reported place of birth. Because immigrant labor market outcomes are shaped by their period of arrival in the United States and the number of years since arrival, we included measures of both when available.[2] To assess the period of arrival in the United States, we generated arrival cohorts using the exact year of immigration for the foreign-born population. We created seven arrival-cohort variables (Before 1900, 1900–1904, 1905–1909, 1910–1914, 1915–1919, 1920–1924, and 1925–1929). The 1925–1929 arrival cohort includes a small number of individuals who immigrated in 1930. To evaluate immigrants' tenure of U.S. residence, we used the year of immigration and census year to generate a set of five dichotomous U.S. tenure variables (0–4 years, 5–9 years, 10–14 years, 15–19 years, and 20+ years).

[2] The Census reported year of immigration from 1900–1930. The Census stopped collecting year of immigration beginning in the 1940 Census.

Methodological Approach

First, we provide period estimates of labor market disparities in 1920, 1930, and 1940 using the complete count census. We estimate probit regression models for labor force participation and employment status, and we use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models to estimate occupational prestige scores and log weekly earnings. We also estimate a log weekly earnings model that includes occupation fixed effects, which allows us to estimate mean within-occupation disparities across subgroups. This approach enables us to generate cross-sectional estimates of labor market disparities for each focal year. Equation (1) shows the regression model for the cross-sectional analyses:

$$(1)\ Y_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 SBW_i + \alpha_2 EUW_i + \alpha_3 NYB_i + \alpha_4 SBB_i + \alpha_5 CB_i + \alpha_6 age_i + \alpha_7 age\ squared_i + \alpha_8 gender_i + \alpha_9 married_i + \alpha_{10} \#\ of\ children_i + \alpha_{11} \#\ of\ children\ age < 5_i + \alpha_{12} education/literacy_i + \boldsymbol{S}_i\beta + \varepsilon_i$$

Equation 1 includes an indicator variable for each of the subgroups of interest (*SBW*=southern-born White population, *EUW*=European-born White population, *NYB*=New York-born Black population, *SBB*=southern-born Black population, and *CB*=Caribbean-born Black population), with the New York-born White population as the reference group. The model also includes control variables for several social and demographic characteristics that are correlated with economic outcomes: age, age squared, gender, marital status, number of children in the household, number of children under age 5, and literacy (1920 and 1930) or years of education (1940).[3] These controls enable us to estimate the differences in economic outcomes separately by race, place of birth, gender, and the interaction of race/place of birth and gender. **S**

[3] The literacy measure is available in the 1920 and 1930 U.S. Census, and the years of education replaced the literacy measure beginning in the 1940 U.S. Census.

represents the interaction between the six race/place of birth subgroups and gender. Estimates are presented separately for 1920, 1930, and 1940.

An extensive literature, particularly contemporary literature, shows that for immigrants, earnings increase with time spent in the United States (Chiswick, 1978; Hu, 2000; Kaushal et al., 2016; Lubotsky, 2007). Estimates from Equation 1 ignore this dynamic. In the second stage of the analysis, we estimate Equation (2) to determine whether Black Caribbean and White European immigrants have different occupational prestige trajectories as their tenure of U.S. residence increases by pooling the 1920 and 1930 Census records. The U.S. census did not collect data on year of immigration in 1940. As a result, we cannot examine the association between U.S. tenure and occupational prestige beyond 1930. We use the full sample to estimate the association of time spent in the United States for Black Caribbean and White European immigrants.

(2) $\mathrm{Y_{it}} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Black_{it} + \alpha_2 gender_{it} + \alpha_3 age_{it} + \alpha_4 age\ squared_{it} + \alpha_5 married_{it} + \alpha_6 \#\ of\ children_{it} + \alpha_7 \#\ of\ children\ age < 5_{it} + \alpha_8 literacy_{it} + \mathbf{P}_{\mathrm{it}}\beta + \mathbf{M}_{\mathrm{it}}\varsigma + \mathbf{Q}_{\mathrm{it}}\psi + \mathbf{G}_{\mathrm{it}}\tau + \mathbf{A}_{\mathrm{it}}\delta + \mathbf{T}_{\mathrm{t}}\pi + \varepsilon_{\mathrm{it}}$

Equation 2 includes a variable, Black, that captures the main effect comparing U.S.-born Black men to U.S.-born White men, regardless of place of birth. The gender variable is the main effect for U.S.-born White women compared to U.S.-born White men, regardless of place of birth. (**P)** is a vector of interactions between Black, gender, and time spent in the United States (**M**), a vector of interactions between Black and time spent in the United States (**Q**), a vector of interactions between gender and time spent in the United States (**G**), a vector of time spent in the U.S. variables (**A**), and a vector of census year variables (**T**).

Researchers have also generated extensive empirical evidence showing that labor market outcomes vary among immigrants based on when they arrived in the United States; thus, arrival cohort variation could bias estimates of the association between U.S. tenure and labor market outcomes (Borjas, 1985, 1987). For example, in the 1920 Census, immigrants who had been in the United States 0–4 years arrived between 1915 and 1919, while in the 1930 Census, immigrants who had been in the United States 0–4 years arrived between 1925 and 1929. If these two arrival cohorts have different labor market trajectories, then our estimates of U.S. tenure could be biased upward or downward. To account for this phenomenon, we estimate Equation (3), which includes measures of time spent in the United States and measures of the year of immigration (arrival cohort) among immigrants.

$$(3)\ Y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Black_{it} + \alpha_2 gender_{it} + \alpha_3 age_{it} + \alpha_4 age\ squared_{it} + \alpha_5 married_{it} + \alpha_6 \#\ of\ children_{it} + \alpha_7 \#\ of\ children\ age < 5_{it} + \alpha_8 literacy_{it} + \mathbf{P}_{it}\beta + \mathbf{M}_{it}\varsigma + \mathbf{Q}_{it}\psi + \mathbf{G}_{it}\tau + \mathbf{A}_{it}\delta + \mathbf{T}_{t}\pi + \mathbf{C}_{it}\lambda + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Equation (3) is identical to the previous equation with one exception: the addition of a vector of immigrant arrival cohort variables (**C**).

Limitations of Methodological Approach

The current methodological approach is subject to several limitations. We cannot account for selection processes that may have led to an undercount of the most impoverished individuals in each subgroup during the census enumeration. Moreover, the labor market models do not directly address migration selectivity among either domestic or immigrant populations. Individuals residing in New York City were likely not randomly selected from their origin state or country populations. As a result, some of the observed disparities across groups may reflect this selection process. The U.S. census allows us to estimate the impact of duration of residence

in New York only among immigrants. No comparable measures exist for assessing the association between New York City tenure and labor market outcomes among internal migrants. Even among immigrants, duration-based differences may reflect both the effects of time spent in New York and differential mortality and migration patterns across subgroups. For this reason, these comparisons should be interpreted with caution. More broadly, our approach is designed to produce descriptive rather than causal estimates of labor market disparities. Despite these limitations, this analysis offers valuable empirical insights by examining the experiences of both men and women across a wide range of racial and place of birth groups, providing a more comprehensive understanding of economic integration during the early twentieth century.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Tables 1 and 2 report descriptive results for men and women, respectively. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics from the full-count data for men in 1920–1940. Several patterns emerge. First, across race and place of birth groups, men had high levels of participation in the labor force. Labor force participation declined for all men between 1920 and 1940. Second, in 1930 and 1940, employment status varied among White men. In 1930, U.S.-born White men from New York and the U.S. south had higher employment rates than European-born White men, while in 1940, southern-born White men and European-born White men had higher employment rates than New York-born White men.

In 1930, Caribbean-born Black men had employment rates comparable to those of European-born White men and slightly higher than those of New York-born and southern-born Black men. The 1940 employment results among Black men mirror the pattern observed among White men, where southern-born and Caribbean-born Black men had higher employment rates

than New York-born Black men. A similar pattern of racial stratification existed for occupational prestige scores and weekly earnings, such that White men of all backgrounds were in more prestigious occupations with greater pay than Black men of all origins. Black men exhibited less variation in occupational prestige scores and weekly earnings than White men. All groups of Black men had literacy rates comparable to those of U.S.-born White men and greater than European men's literacy rate. In 1920, most Black Caribbean immigrant men living in New York City were part of recent arrival cohorts and thus had spent little time in the United States. In contrast, the majority of White European immigrant men had migrated in earlier cohorts and spent more time in the United States.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics using the full-count data for women in 1920–1940. In contrast to the men's labor force outcomes by race and place of birth, Black women, regardless of place of birth, had the highest labor force participation rates despite comparable rates of marriage and childbearing to White women. All groups of Black women had literacy rates comparable to those of U.S.-born White women and higher than European women's literacy rate. Paralleling the men's results, the women's results show that Black women of all origins had lower employment rates than White women in 1930 and 1940. Notably, the racial gap in employment was greater among women than men. In 1920 and 1930, southern-born and New York-born White women held the most prestigious occupations, followed by European-born White women. In 1940, among White women, New York-born women had the highest occupational prestige scores, followed by southern-born women, while European immigrant women had the lowest occupational prestige scores. Among Black women, New York-born women had the most prestigious occupations, followed by Caribbean-born women. Southern-born Black women had the lowest occupational prestige scores of all women. This occupational

prestige pattern among Black women was evident in 1920, 1930, and 1940. New York-born White women had the greatest weekly earnings of all groups of women. European-born White immigrant women earned less than other White women but had greater weekly earnings than all groups of Black women, despite lower literacy rates. Among Black women, New York-born Black women had the greatest weekly earnings, and southern-born Black women had the lowest log weekly earnings. Importantly, however, compared to White women, there was less variation in weekly earnings among Black women.

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

Regression Results

We begin our analysis of labor market disparities by estimating separate regression models for each economic outcome in 1920, 1930, and 1940 using the full-count census data. Figures 1–4 illustrate the results based on the estimates from the models for each outcome (see Appendix Tables 1–3 for the complete set of estimates used to produce the figures).

Figure 1 reveals exceptionally high levels of predicted labor force participation among all men in New York City in 1920, 1930, and 1940, with minimal variation across the focal subgroups. Regarding gender, Figure 1 shows more within- and across-race variation in labor force participation among women than among men, especially for the White population. Specifically, among White women, New York-born and southern-born women had greater predicted labor force participation than European-born women. In comparison to White women, all groups of Black women had exceptionally high levels of labor force participation across all three census waves. Among Black women, southern-born Black women had the greatest predicted probability of labor force participation; however, there was less variation in predicted

labor force participation by place of birth among Black women compared to White women. Earlier national-level analyses identified this same phenomenon of race and place of birth stratification among European immigrants and White and Black southern migrants during the Great Migration (Adelman & Tolnay, 2003; Tolnay, 2003; White, 2005).

[Insert Figure 1 About Here]

Panel A of Figure 2 summarizes the employment results for 1930. The figure reveals high employment levels across the race, gender, and place of birth subgroups. New York-born, southern-born, and European-born White women and southern-born White men had the highest predicted probabilities of employment of any group, conditional on being in the labor force. Regardless of place of birth, Black men had the lowest predicted probabilities of employment of all groups. European-born White men had predicted employment probabilities comparable to those of Caribbean-born Black men. All groups of Black women had greater predicted probabilities of employment than all groups of Black men.

Panel B of Figure 2 shows predicted probabilities of employment status in 1940 by race, place of birth, and gender. Southern-born White women, European-born White women, and southern-born White men had higher predicted probabilities of employment than all other groups. The employment gap between New York-born individuals and migrants was greater among the Black population than among the White population for both men and women. Similar to the 1930 results, women of all backgrounds had higher employment probability levels than Black men. New York-born Black men had the lowest predicted probability of employment of all groups. Finally, European-born women had higher predicted probabilities of employment than all subgroups of Black women.

[Insert Figure 2 About Here]

Figure 3 summarizes the multivariate results for occupational prestige. U.S.-born White men held more prestigious occupations than all groups of Black men and European-born White men in 1920, 1930, and 1940. Southern-born White men had the highest occupational prestige scores of all men, potentially reflecting the selective migration of White southerners to the North (Gregory, 2005). The occupational prestige scores of European-born men were lower than those of U.S.-born White men but higher than those of all Black male subgroups. These patterns mirror previous research demonstrating that European immigrants were more advantaged in the labor market than Black individuals (Adelman & Tolnay, 2003; Lieberson, 1980; Tolnay, 2001). Among Black men, Caribbean-born immigrants and New York-born Black men held occupations with slightly greater prestige than southern-born Black men. However, overall, variation in occupational prestige was less pronounced for Black men than for White men.

While southern-born White men held the most prestigious occupations in 1920, New York-born and southern-born White women held occupations of similar prestige to those of southern-born White men in 1930 and 1940. The occupational prestige results for women mirrored those for men, with European-born White women holding occupations with prestige scores between those of U.S.-born White women and all groups of Black women. Despite their lower labor force participation, all groups of White women held more prestigious occupations than all groups of Black men across the three census waves. Among Black women, New York-born Black women held more prestigious occupations than Black women born in the South and the Caribbean. However, there was little variation in occupational prestige among the Black female population. Finally, despite relatively high levels of labor force participation and employment, Black women held the least prestigious occupations of all groups.

[Insert Figure 3 About Here]

Figure 4 illustrates the predicted log weekly earnings of men and women in 1940, revealing significant variation by race and gender. Southern-born White men had the highest predicted log weekly earnings of all subgroups. European-born White men's predicted log weekly earnings were lower than the earnings of U.S.-born White men but higher than the earnings of all subgroups of Black men. Among Black men, predicted log weekly earnings were remarkably similar across subgroups; in contrast, White men had greater variation in log weekly earnings. New York-born and southern-born White women had greater predicted log weekly earnings than all groups of Black men and women. Black women had the lowest predicted log weekly earnings of all race–place of birth subgroups, with minimal variation by place of birth. The results do not change meaningfully with the inclusion of occupation-fixed effects, as shown in Appendix Table 3. We also estimated models pooled across survey years to examine trends over time and found limited changes in labor market disparities across the groups during the study period. These results are included in Appendix Tables 4 and 5.

[Insert Figure 4 About Here]

Next, we present estimates of disparities in occupational prestige between European and Caribbean immigrants with different tenures of U.S. residence. Appendix Table 6 presents these results in full, but we discuss the results as presented graphically in Figures 5a and 5b. Figure 5a shows that among new immigrants, European-born White men had the highest prestige scores, and their scores rose modestly with U.S. tenure. Upon arrival in the United States, European-born White women had the second-highest scores. Like European men, European-born White women's prestige scores also increased modestly as their tenure of U.S. residence increased. Caribbean-born Black women had the lowest occupational prestige scores at each tenure of U.S. residence. Caribbean-born men and women had relatively stable occupational prestige scores as

U.S. tenure increased. Figure 5b accounts for immigrants' arrival cohort (see column 2 in Appendix Table 6). Although the estimates differ from those presented in Figure 5a, the results reveal a similar pattern: most subgroups experienced modest changes in labor market outcomes as their tenure of U.S. residence increased.

[Insert Figure 5 About Here]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article makes several contributions to the study of migration and labor market inequality in the early twentieth century. To our knowledge, this is the first study to use historical census data to quantitatively examine patterns of social integration by race, place of birth, and gender in New York City during the early twentieth century. Analyzing the 1920–1940 complete-count U.S. Census data for New York City, we investigate patterns of labor force participation, employment, occupational prestige, and log weekly earnings in New York City across diverse groups defined by race, gender, and place of birth: New York-born, southern-born, and European-born White men and women, as well as New York-born, southern-born, and Caribbean-born Black men and women. Based on the analysis of these groups, we trace how the overlapping social dimensions of race, gender, and place of birth shaped access to work, the quality of employment, and opportunities for economic mobility in the early twentieth century. Several key findings emerge from the analysis.

First, among men, we find that U.S.-born White men from New York and the U.S. south held the most prestigious occupations across the study period. European-born men, while disadvantaged relative to U.S.-born Whites, nonetheless secured significantly more prestigious jobs than Black men of any origin. This occurred despite the fact that Black men had higher levels of education and literacy than their European counterparts (Watkins-Owens, 1996), a

pattern that underscores how race, rather than skill or schooling, operated as the primary organizing principle of the labor market during the early 20th century (Boustan, 2017; Lieberson, 1980).

Among women, outcomes reflected the intersection of gendered expectations and racial hierarchies. Although U.S.-born White women had the lowest labor force participation rate of any group, conditional on being in the labor force, they were employed at higher levels than U.S.-born White men. They also tended to be employed in high-status clerical or semi-professional roles (Goldin, 1990, 1991). This may signal that White women may have had more flexibility about whether to be employed and were thus less likely to accept less prestigious jobs. Despite remarkably high levels of labor force participation and literacy (education) among Black women, they were overwhelmingly concentrated in jobs that offered low prestige and pay (Jones, 2010; Watkins-Owens, 1996). These patterns illustrate how racialized expectations overrode formal qualifications in shaping access to employment.

Racial boundaries proved durable across both gender and nativity lines. Black workers—men and women, domestic- and foreign-born—were consistently relegated to the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. The findings for occupational prestige and employment status reflect the hierarchical nature of the labor market by race and place of birth during this period. While previous research has attributed the relative advancement of European immigrants to longer residence in Northern cities (Lieberson, 1980), our analysis finds only modest variation by U.S. tenure. In contrast, Black workers both started and remained concentrated in low-status occupations throughout the period, despite higher literacy rates, suggesting that race—not human capital or duration in the labor market—was a defining axis of stratification. This pattern aligns with prior research showing that the racial stratification of the labor market in the North

constrained Black people, regardless of nativity, to similarly low-status occupations (Boustan, 2017; Lieberson, 1980). The stark occupational divide by race potentially underscores the enduring legacy of racial discrimination in the New York labor market.

Gender also influenced access to employment in varying ways across different groups. U.S.-born White women were more likely to enter the workforce selectively and from relatively privileged positions, often accessing jobs aligned with contemporary ideals of femininity and respectability (Goldin, 1988, 1990). European-born White women, usually driven by economic necessity, had high participation rates but remained overrepresented in lower-status roles. Black women's sustained presence in the labor force—rooted in both financial need and long-standing social expectations—did not translate into better outcomes (Boustan & Collins, 2013; Goldin, 1977, 1990). Despite their higher levels of education, they remained confined to lower-status positions (White, 2005). These outcomes reveal how gender operated through the lens of race and place of birth, producing markedly different constraints and opportunities for women in different positions (Brewer et al., 2002; Browne & Misra, 2003).

Taken together, the results show that economic outcomes were shaped not by single traits but rather by the interaction of social positions. Racial, gendered, and place of birth-based classifications worked in concert to restrict access to occupational opportunity. Taking an intersectional perspective clarifies these dynamics, revealing how institutions and ideologies jointly sort workers into distinct positions despite comparable or even superior educational attainment.

This study highlights the exceptionally poor outcomes experienced by the Black population in the early 1900s. Despite the heterogeneity in the Black community based on gender and place of birth, the results show slight variation in economic outcomes within this

population. The concentration of all Black individuals, no matter their gender or place of birth, at the bottom of the occupational distribution and in the lowest tier of weekly wages signals a discriminatory labor market. This pattern highlights the harsh reality of the contexts of reception Black people encountered during this period as they faced labor markets imbued by the racialized context of New York (and likely other northern cities) during this period (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Although many Black people viewed New York as a racial haven, the color line remained essentially impermeable in the local labor market. The relatively homogenous outcomes of the Black population demonstrate the magnitude of institutional discrimination they experienced in New York, which hindered their ability to move toward economic integration with the White population.

By including a wider array of groups than most prior studies—including both domestic- and foreign-born Black women and men—this analysis provides a more complete picture of early twentieth-century labor market stratification. The results show that for European immigrants, being foreign-born was a disadvantage, yet it still allowed them to obtain a middling position in society. In contrast, Black workers, regardless of gender or nativity, faced far more rigid constraints. That all Black subgroups, despite higher education levels, remained at the bottom of the occupational distribution suggests that the labor market operated not just as a site of stratification, but also as a mechanism for reproducing racial boundaries. More broadly, this work shows that understanding labor market inequality in historical context requires paying close attention to how race, gender, and migration status interacted to produce durable forms of exclusion and hierarchy.

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Table 1a. Descriptive Statistics for U.S.-born and Foreign-born Men, Ages 18-64

	(N)	In Labor Force	Employment Status	Occupational Prestige Score	Weekly Earnings	Age	Married	Number of own children	Number of own children under 5	Literate	Years of Education
1920											
White Amer NY Born	743,724	0.95		37.13		33.23	0.49	0.76	0.22	1.00	
White Amer Southern Born	16,730	0.94		42.54		36.66	0.59	0.62	0.17	1.00	
White European Immig	923,464	0.96		33.75		38.62	0.73	1.68	0.40	0.88	
Black Amer NY Born	8,168	0.95		26.11		33.36	0.55	0.57	0.18	0.98	
Black Amer Southern Born	27,762	0.98		24.76		35.68	0.65	0.52	0.14	0.98	
Black Caribbean Immig	13,177	0.98		26.16		32.15	0.60	0.58	0.26	0.99	
1930											
White Amer NY Born	1,062,483	0.93	0.91	37.21		32.93	0.51	0.71	0.20	0.99	
White Amer Southern Born	29,097	0.95	0.93	40.59		35.25	0.59	0.59	0.17	1.00	
White European Immig	1,100,546	0.96	0.89	33.98		40.28	0.74	1.53	0.26	0.92	
Black Amer NY Born	13,798	0.92	0.87	26.34		31.89	0.52	0.55	0.18	0.99	
Black Amer Southern Born	63,691	0.96	0.87	24.37		34.50	0.64	0.58	0.18	0.98	
Black Caribbean Immig	22,541	0.98	0.89	26.44		35.89	0.71	0.88	0.29	0.99	
1940											
White Amer NY Born	1,449,463	0.89	0.86	36.48	30.87	33.86	0.54	0.67	0.17		10.31
White Amer Southern Born	38,536	0.90	0.91	38.59	34.72	36.58	0.63	0.62	0.16		10.83
White European Immig	961,393	0.90	0.88	34.43	28.24	45.41	0.79	1.39	0.14		7.45
Black Amer NY Born	23,720	0.81	0.78	27.34	19.59	31.58	0.48	0.51	0.15		9.49
Black Amer Southern Born	89,370	0.88	0.85	25.40	18.40	36.65	0.67	0.62	0.15		8.05
Black Caribbean Immig	19,424	0.89	0.84	28.32	19.68	43.36	0.76	1.00	0.13		8.73

Source: 1920-1940 U.S. Census.

Table 1b. Descriptive Statistics for U.S.-born and Foreign-born Men, Ages 18-64

	(N)	Arrival Group 0-4 Yrs	Arrival Group 5-9 Yrs	Arrival Group 10-14 Yrs	Arrival Group 15-19 Yrs	Arrival Group 20+ Yrs	Cohort Before 1900	Cohort 1900-1904	Cohort 1905-1909	Cohort 1910-1914	Cohort 1915-1919	Cohort 1920-1924	Cohort 1925-1929
1920													
White European Immig	923,464	0.03	0.18	0.21	0.21	0.37	0.31	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.05	0.00	0.00
Black Caribbean Immig	13,177	0.32	0.26	0.20	0.12	0.10	0.07	0.11	0.18	0.27	0.37	0.00	0.00
1930													
White European Immig	1,100,546	0.08	0.14	0.08	0.17	0.53	0.15	0.14	0.18	0.21	0.05	0.16	0.10
Black Caribbean Immig	22,541	0.06	0.28	0.30	0.16	0.20	0.02	0.05	0.09	0.17	0.23	0.36	0.09

Source: 1920-1930 U.S. Census.

Table 2a. Descriptive Statistics for U.S.-born and Foreign-born Women, Ages 18-64

	(N)	In Labor Force	Employment Status	Occupational Prestige Score	Weekly Earnings	Age	Married	Number of own children	Number of own children under 5	Literate	Years of Education
1920											
White Amer NY Born	810,201	0.40		37.46		33.18	0.52	0.90	0.24	1.00	
White Amer Southern Born	15,726	0.37		37.06		36.68	0.56	0.68	0.14	0.99	
White European Immig	868,546	0.27		28.46		37.66	0.72	1.87	0.40	0.82	
Black Amer NY Born	9,608	0.56		23.87		32.88	0.58	0.73	0.21	0.98	
Black Amer Southern Born	33,068	0.66		21.62		34.46	0.60	0.60	0.13	0.97	
Black Caribbean Immig	12,155	0.66		22.36		30.65	0.53	0.68	0.28	0.99	
1930											
White Amer NY Born	1,127,883	0.39	0.93	39.37		33.15	0.56	0.88	0.23	0.99	
White Amer Southern Born	26,651	0.41	0.95	39.52		35.11	0.59	0.64	0.16	0.99	
White European Immig	1,034,096	0.25	0.93	29.20		39.60	0.73	1.70	0.24	0.87	
Black Amer NY Born	15,615	0.53	0.90	24.54		31.55	0.58	0.75	0.23	0.99	
Black Amer Southern Born	75,226	0.65	0.91	20.84		33.50	0.61	0.67	0.16	0.98	
Black Caribbean Immig	23,172	0.60	0.90	21.73		34.22	0.62	0.95	0.29	0.99	
1940											
White Amer NY Born	1,518,902	0.41	0.85	38.15	22.35	33.99	0.58	0.82	0.18		10.08
White Amer Southern Born	40,106	0.44	0.91	36.29	21.93	35.65	0.61	0.62	0.15		10.97
White European Immig	912,974	0.26	0.90	31.21	17.89	44.33	0.76	1.48	0.12		6.95
Black Amer NY Born	28,098	0.50	0.78	26.52	13.37	31.19	0.52	0.72	0.19		9.56
Black Amer Southern Born	121,042	0.58	0.88	21.69	12.03	35.06	0.60	0.69	0.14		8.28
Black Caribbean Immig	20,824	0.49	0.87	23.36	12.46	41.46	0.65	1.11	0.11		8.34

Source: 1920-1940 U.S. Census.

Table 2b. Descriptive Statistics for U.S.-born and Foreign-born Women, Ages 18-64

	(N)	Arrival Group 0-4 Yrs	Arrival Group 5-9 Yrs	Arrival Group 10-14 Yrs	Arrival Group 15-19 Yrs	Arrival Group 20+ Yrs	Cohort Before 1900	Cohort 1900-1904	Cohort 1905-1909	Cohort 1910-1914	Cohort 1915-1919	Cohort 1920-1924	Cohort 1925-1929
1920													
White European Immig	868,546	0.03	0.19	0.21	0.19	0.38	0.32	0.20	0.21	0.23	0.04	0.00	0.00
Black Caribbean Immig	12,155	0.32	0.32	0.19	0.10	0.07	0.05	0.09	0.17	0.31	0.39	0.00	0.00
1930													
White European Immig	1,034,096	0.09	0.14	0.08	0.16	0.53	0.17	0.13	0.17	0.20	0.05	0.16	0.11
Black Caribbean Immig	23,172	0.07	0.32	0.30	0.15	0.15	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.16	0.23	0.39	0.10

Source: 1920-1930 U.S. Census.

Figure 1a. Predicted In Labor Force, 1920 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

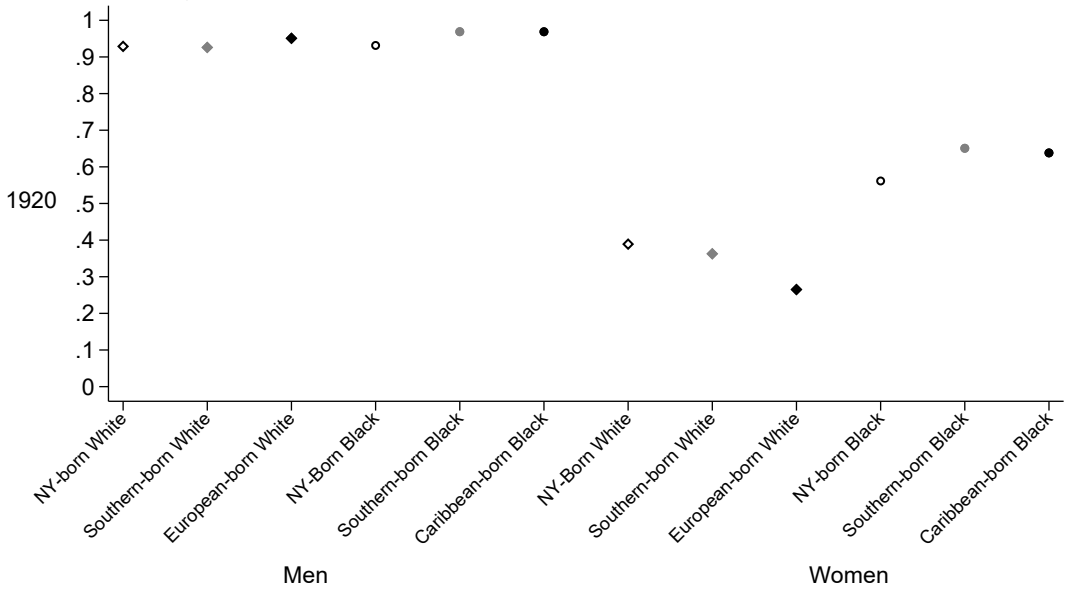


Figure 1b. Predicted In Labor Force, 1930 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

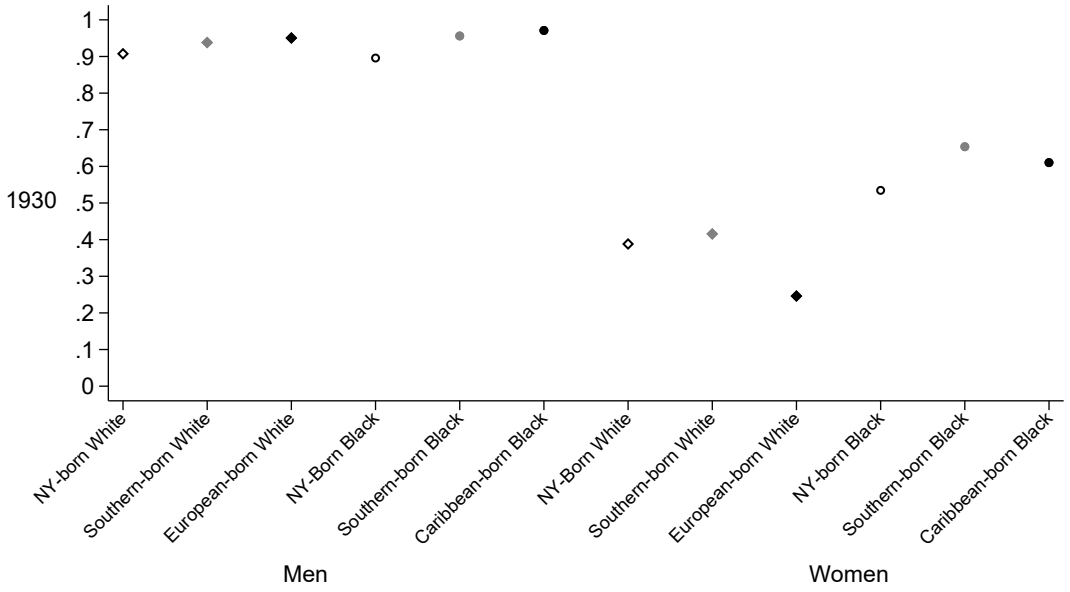


Figure 1c. Predicted In Labor Force, 1940 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

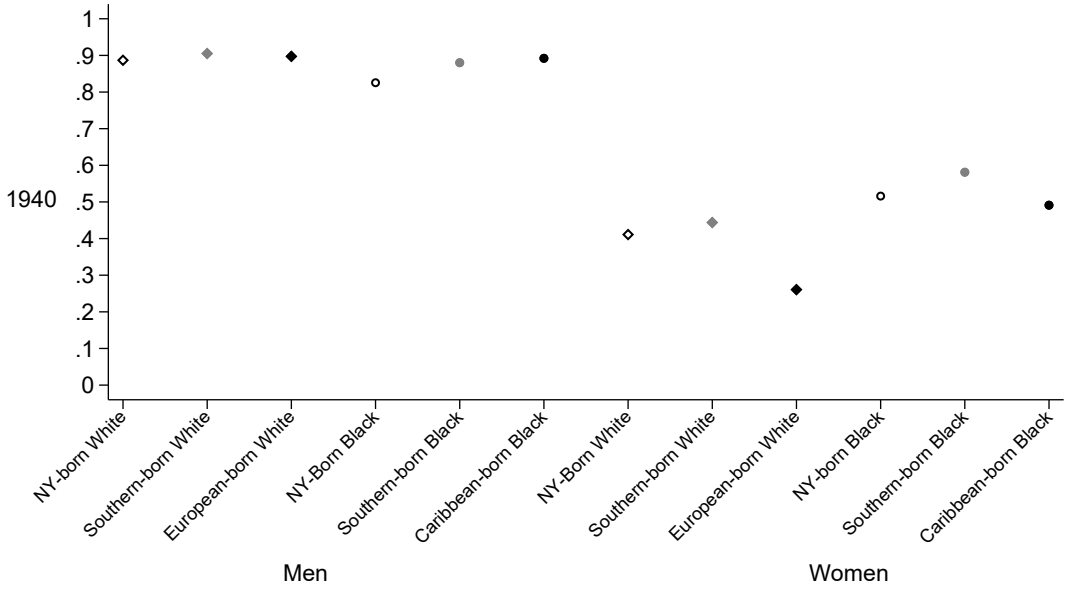


Figure 2a. Predicted Employment Status, 1930 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

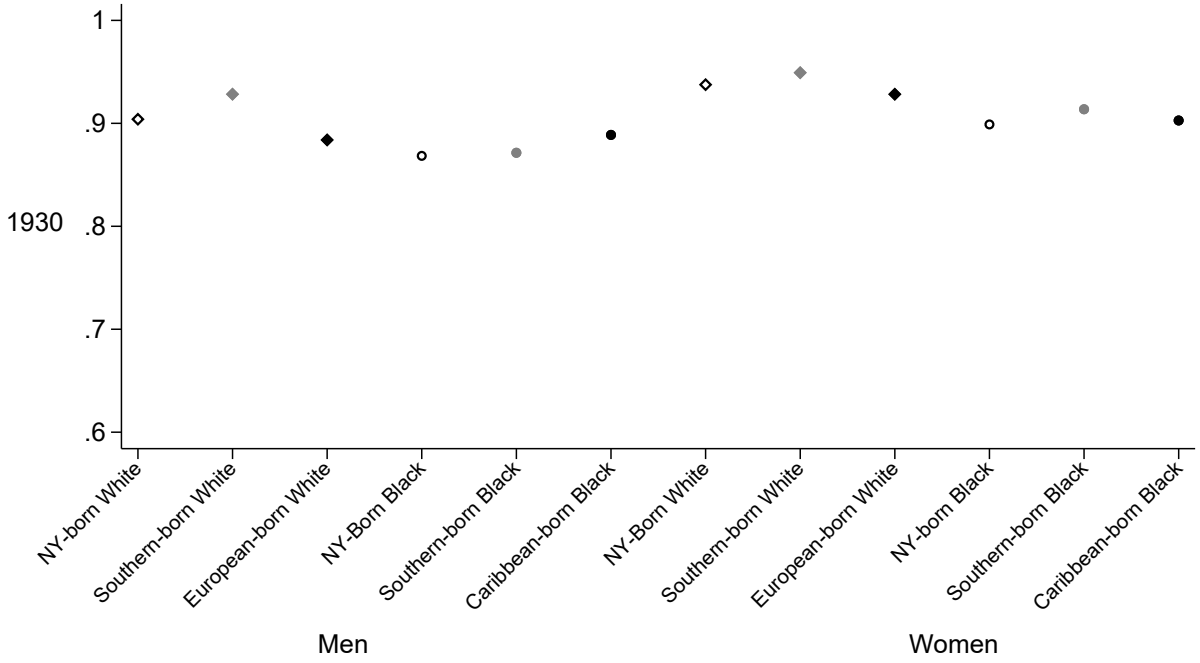


Figure 2b. Predicted Employment Status, 1940 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

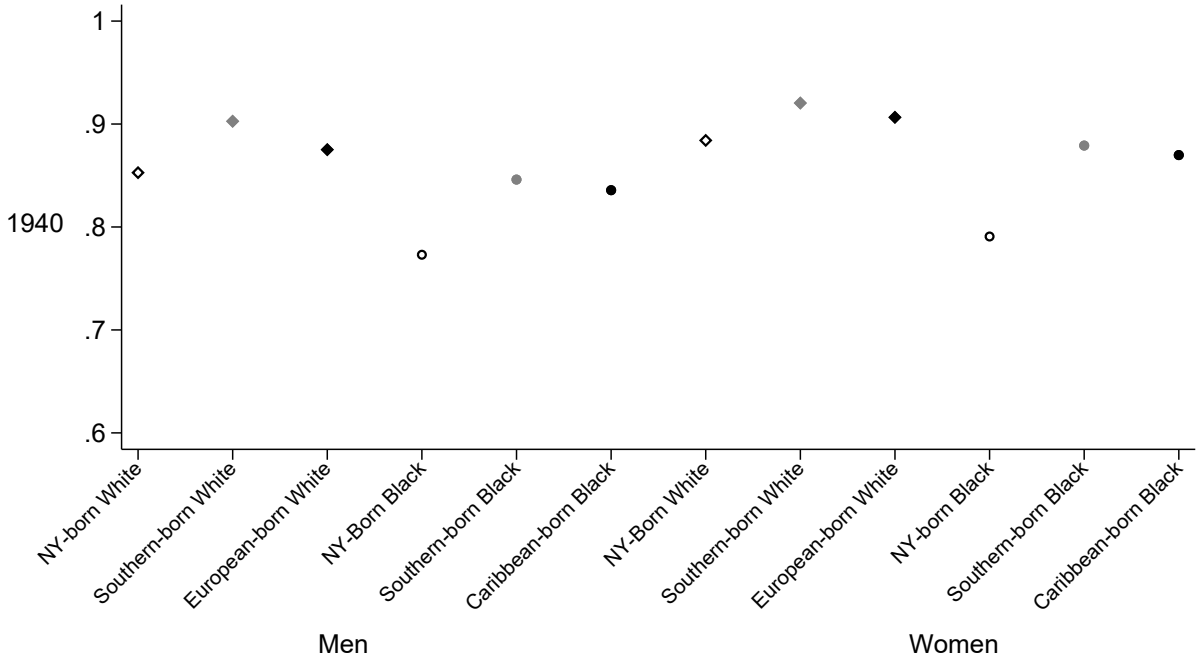


Figure 3a. Predicted Occupational Prestige Score, 1920 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

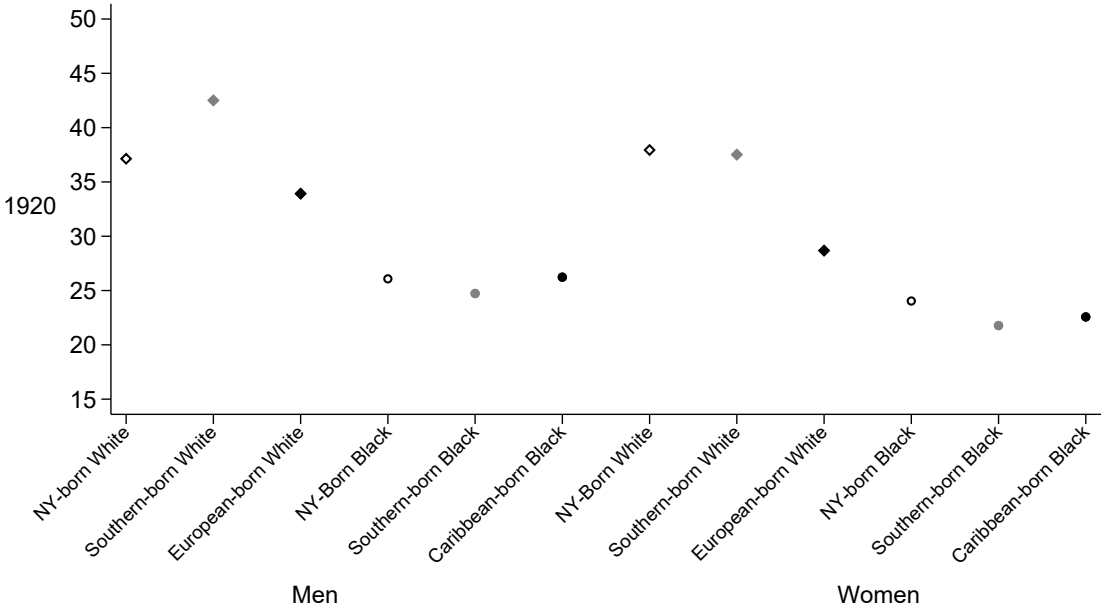


Figure 3b. Predicted Occupational Prestige Score, 1930 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

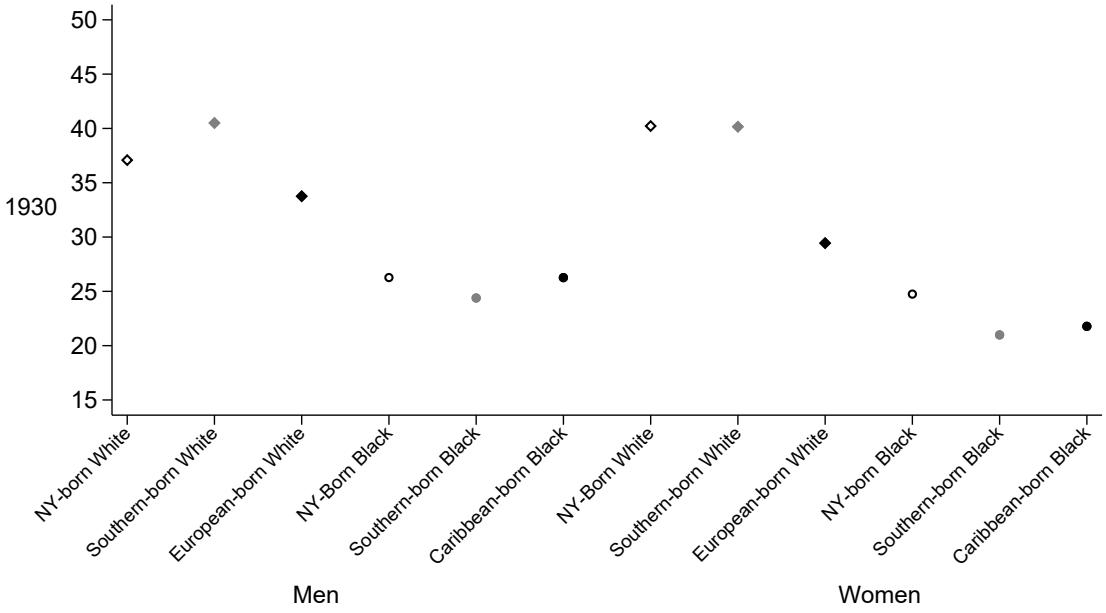


Figure 3c. Predicted Occupational Prestige Score, 1940 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

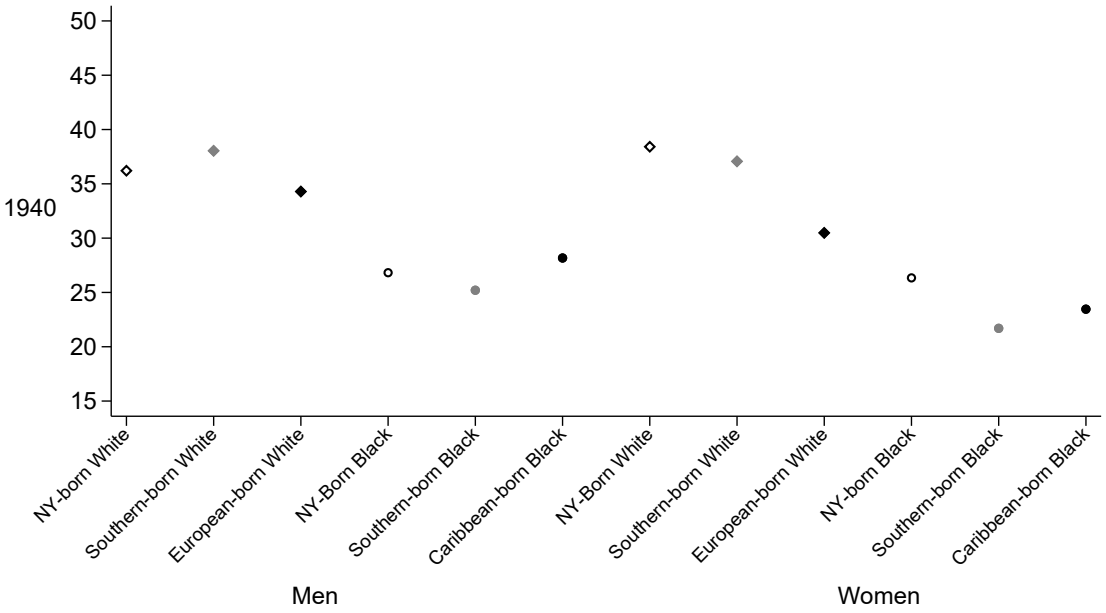


Figure 4a. Predicted Log Weekly Earnings, 1940 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

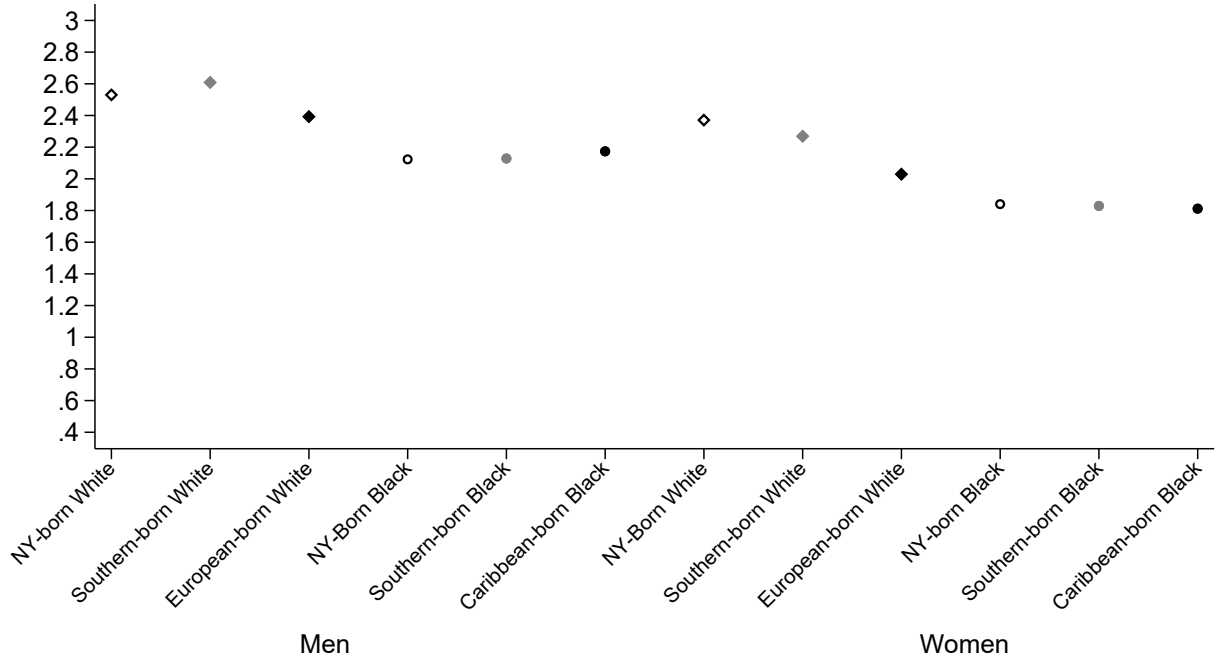


Figure 4b. Predicted Log Weekly Earnings with Occupation Fixed Effects, 1940 Full-Count Census, Men and Women

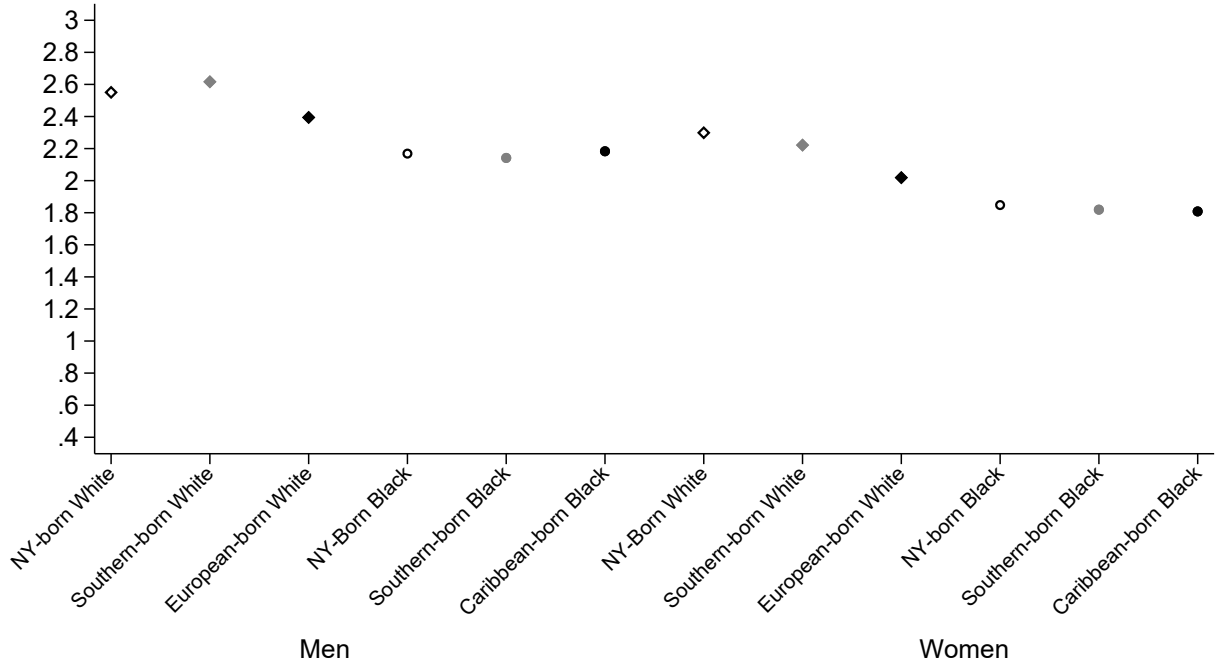
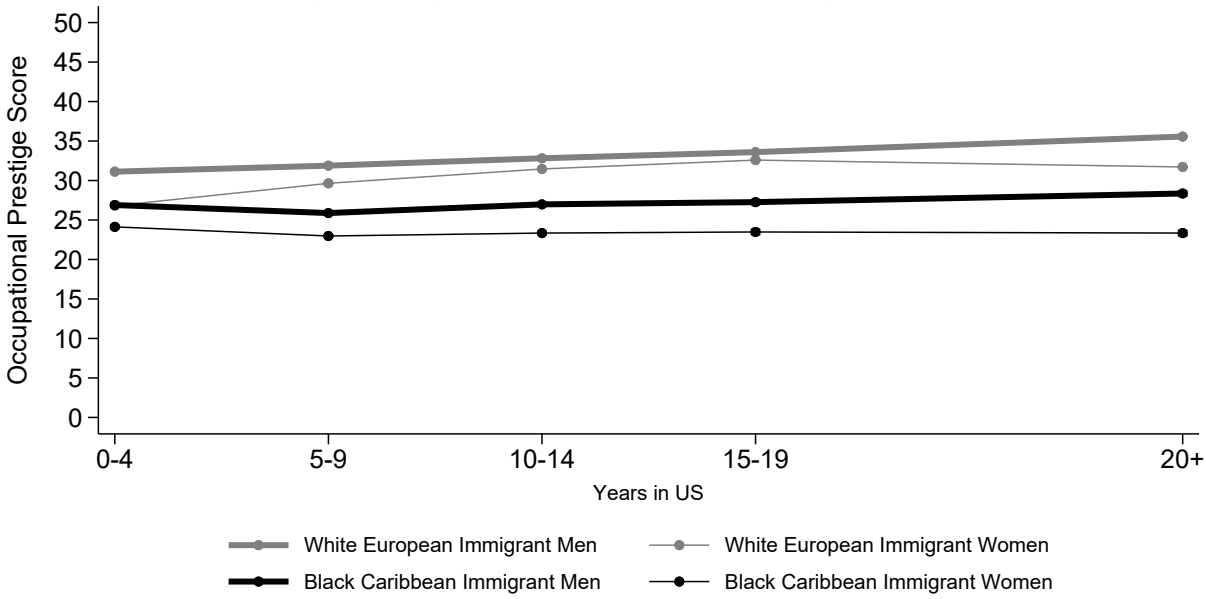
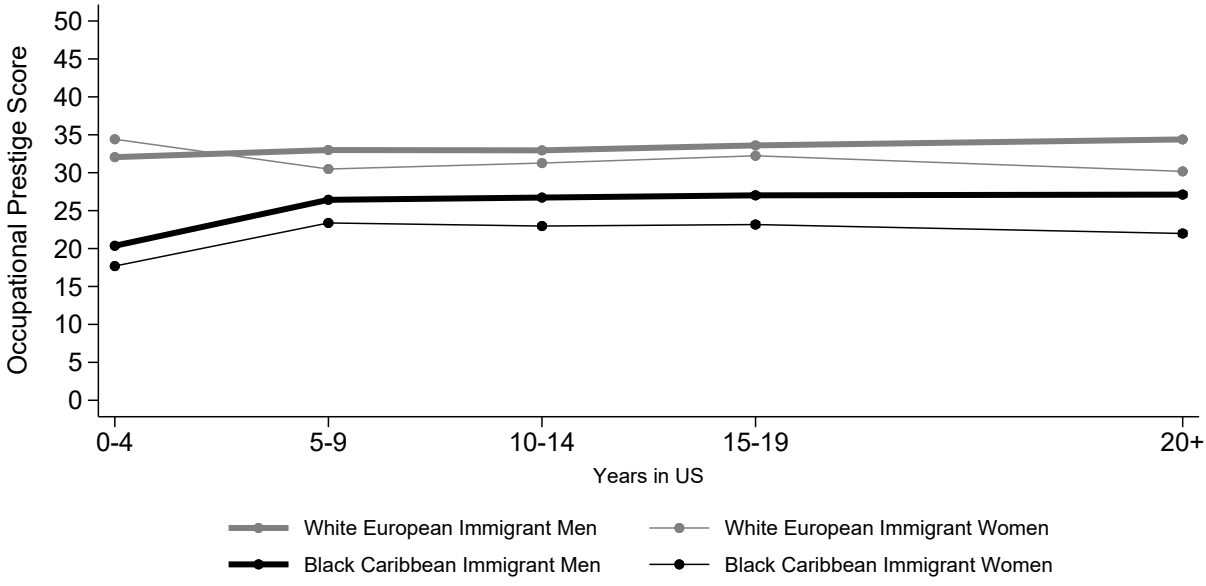


Figure 5a. Regression Model of Occupational Prestige Score



Note. Predicted values are based on regression models that control for age, age squared, sex, marital status, literacy, number of children, number of children under age five, and census year.
Source: U.S. Census 1920-1930.

Figure 5b. Regression Model of Occupational Prestige Score



Note. Predicted values are based on regression models that control for age, age squared, sex, marital status, literacy, number of children, number of children under age five, and census year.
Figure 5b also includes arrival cohort.
Source: U.S. Census 1920-1930.

Appendix Table 1: Regression of Labor Market Disparities using the Full Count U.S. Census Data for 1920, Age 18-64

	(1) Labor Force	(2) Occupational Prestige
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender		
White Southern-Born x Women	−0.017***	−5.752***
	(0.004)	(0.239)
White European-Born x Women	−0.119***	−5.708***
	(0.001)	(0.037)
Black NY-Born x Women	0.110***	−2.851***
	(0.006)	(0.184)
Black Southern-Born x Women	0.066***	−3.659***
	(0.004)	(0.084)
Black Caribbean-Born x Women	0.054***	−4.280***
	(0.006)	(0.122)
Race/Place of Birth		
White Southern Born	0.008*	5.206***
	(0.004)	(0.126)
White European Immigrant	0.110***	−2.908***
	(0.001)	(0.021)
Black New York Born	−0.001	−11.107***
	(0.006)	(0.123)
Black Southern Born	0.096***	−12.643***
	(0.004)	(0.063)
Black Caribbean Immigrant	0.097***	−11.192***
	(0.006)	(0.090)
Gender		
Women	−0.407***	0.772***
	(0.001)	(0.026)
SES Char.		
Age	0.014***	0.117***
	(0.000)	(0.005)
Age squared	−0.000***	−0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	−0.216***	1.699***
	(0.000)	(0.022)
Number of own children	−0.015***	0.026***
	(0.000)	(0.007)
Number of own children under age 5	−0.019***	−1.022***
	(0.000)	(0.017)
Literate	0.035***	5.754***
	(0.001)	(0.032)
Constant		29.106***
		(0.087)
Observations	3482329	2148348

Notes: + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1920 U.S. Census.

Appendix Table 2: Regression of Labor Market Disparities using the Full Count U.S. Census Data for 1930, Age 18-64

	(1) Labor Force	(2) Employed	(3) Occupational Prestige
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender			
White Southern-Born x Women	−0.043***	−0.008*	−3.407***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.171)
White European-Born x Women	−0.181***	0.012***	−6.982***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.035)
Black NY-Born x Women	0.115***	−0.013**	−4.642***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.160)
Black Southern-Born x Women	0.067***	0.003	−6.322***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.058)
Black Caribbean-Born x Women	−0.008+	−0.022***	−7.267***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.101)
Race/Place of Birth			
White Southern Born	0.060***	0.024***	2.994***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.094)
White European Immigrant	0.152***	−0.017***	−3.381***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.019)
Black New York Born	−0.021***	−0.033***	−10.866***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.097)
Black Southern Born	0.095***	−0.035***	−13.194***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.042)
Black Caribbean Immigrant	0.139***	−0.024***	−11.435***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.075)
Gender			
Women	−0.380***	0.039***	3.115***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.023)
SES Char.			
Age	0.021***	0.005***	0.334***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)
Age squared	−0.000***	−0.000***	−0.004***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	−0.200***	0.031***	2.024***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.020)
Number of own children	−0.022***	−0.002***	−0.215***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.006)
Number of own children under age 5	−0.022***	0.003***	−0.436***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.018)
Literate	0.050***	0.053***	6.212***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.036)
Constant			23.846***
			(0.080)
Observations	4594799	2954135	2785762

Notes: + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1930 U.S. Census.

Appendix Table 3: Regression of Labor Market Disparities using the Full Count U.S. Census Data for 1940, Age 18-64

	(1) Labor Force	(2) Employed	(3) Occupational Prestige	(4) Log Weekly Earnings	(5) Log Weekly Earnings
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender					
White Southern-Born x Women	−0.023***	−0.040***	−3.409***	−0.164***	−0.105***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.127)	(0.009)	(0.009)
White European-Born x Women	−0.161***	−0.024***	−5.282***	−0.184***	−0.073***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.033)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Black NY-Born x Women	0.149***	−0.048***	−3.097***	−0.129***	0.049***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.133)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Black Southern-Born x Women	0.103***	−0.031***	−5.849***	−0.107***	0.120***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.054)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Black Caribbean-Born x Women	0.012**	−0.037***	−6.112***	−0.171***	0.042***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.129)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Race/Place of Birth					
White Southern Born	0.033***	0.019***	0.176*	0.008	0.073***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.073)	(0.006)	(0.006)
White European Immigrant	0.126***	−0.039***	−0.044*	−0.211***	−0.144***
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.018)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Black New York Born	−0.084***	0.030***	−7.392***	−0.345***	−0.320***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.082)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Black Southern Born	0.012***	0.033***	−8.466***	−0.443***	−0.392***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.040)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Black Caribbean Immigrant	0.062***	0.014***	−8.067***	−0.483***	−0.447***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.089)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Gender					
Women	−0.384***	0.032***	2.474***	−0.158***	−0.283***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.017)	(0.001)	(0.002)
SES Char.					
Age	0.027***	−0.005***	0.708***	0.082***	0.081***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Age squared	−0.000***	0.000***	−0.007***	−0.001***	−0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	−0.141***	−0.021***	1.643***	0.123***	0.139***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.016)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Number of own children	−0.035***	−0.005***	0.080***	−0.020***	−0.017***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.007)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Number of own children under age 5	−0.042***	0.005***	−0.248***	0.075***	0.070***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.018)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Years of Education	0.006***	−0.007***	1.571***	0.017***	0.023***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Occupation FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	5037872	2814474	3138082	2814474	2770433

Notes: + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1940 U.S. Census.

Appendix Table 4: Triple Interaction Models of Labor Market Outcomes for U.S.-born and Foreign-Born Adults, Age 18-64

	(1) Labor Force	(2) Occupational Prestige
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender x Year		
White Southern-Born x 1930 x Women	−0.026***	2.507***
	(0.006)	(0.294)
Black NY-Born x 1930 x Women	0.005	−1.493***
	(0.008)	(0.245)
Black Southern-Born x 1930 x Women	0.001	−2.393***
	(0.005)	(0.102)
White European-Born x 1930 x Women	−0.054***	−1.248***
	(0.001)	(0.051)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1930 x Women	−0.070***	−2.867***
	(0.009)	(0.159)
White Southern-Born x 1940 x Women	−0.002	2.032***
	(0.006)	(0.280)
Black NY-Born x 1940 x Women	0.020**	0.194
	(0.008)	(0.234)
Black Southern-Born x 1940 x Women	0.019***	−1.982***
	(0.005)	(0.101)
White European-Born x 1940 x Women	−0.007***	0.247***
	(0.001)	(0.051)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1940 x Women	−0.056***	−2.525***
	(0.008)	(0.180)
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender		
White Southern-Born x Women	−0.019***	−5.940***
	(0.005)	(0.239)
White European-Born x Women	−0.139***	−5.726***
	(0.001)	(0.037)
Black NY-Born x Women	0.116***	−3.166***
	(0.007)	(0.186)
Black Southern-Born x Women	0.069***	−3.942***
	(0.005)	(0.084)
Black Caribbean-Born x Women	0.060***	−4.437***
	(0.007)	(0.123)
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Year		
White Southern-Born x 1930	0.062***	−1.856***
	(0.005)	(0.157)
Black NY-Born x 1930	−0.019*	0.335*
	(0.007)	(0.157)
Black Southern-Born x 1930	0.004	−0.221**
	(0.005)	(0.075)
White European-Born x 1930	0.039***	−0.154***
	(0.001)	(0.027)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1930	0.048***	−0.145
	(0.008)	(0.117)
White Southern-Born x 1940	0.042***	−2.960***
	(0.005)	(0.151)
Black NY-Born x 1940	−0.077***	2.458***
	(0.007)	(0.151)
Black Southern-Born x 1940	−0.076***	2.290***
	(0.004)	(0.074)
White European-Born x 1940	0.002*	1.776***
	(0.001)	(0.027)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1940	−0.033***	2.666***
	(0.007)	(0.128)
Interaction: Gender x Year		
1930 x Women	0.042***	1.882***
	(0.001)	(0.033)
1940 x Women	0.103***	1.169***
	(0.001)	(0.032)
Race/Place of Birth		
White Southern Born	−0.001	4.815***
	(0.004)	(0.125)
Black New York Born	−0.005	−11.193***
	(0.006)	(0.124)
Black Southern Born	0.093***	−13.010***
	(0.004)	(0.062)
Black Caribbean Immigrant	0.098***	−11.337***
	(0.006)	(0.090)
White European Immigrant	0.120***	−3.363***
	(0.001)	(0.020)
Census Year		
1930	−0.044***	−0.023
	(0.001)	(0.020)
1940	−0.084***	−0.957***
	(0.001)	(0.019)
Gender		
Women	−0.447***	1.240***
	(0.001)	(0.026)
SES Char.		
Age	0.021***	0.390***
	(0.000)	(0.002)
Age squared	−0.000***	−0.004***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	−0.183***	1.846***
	(0.000)	(0.011)
Number of own children	−0.025***	−0.236***
	(0.000)	(0.004)
Number of own children under age 5	−0.028***	−0.474***
	(0.000)	(0.010)
Observations	13115000	8072192

Notes: + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1920-1940 U.S. Census.

Appendix Table 5: Triple Interaction Models of Employment Outcomes for U.S.-born and Foreign-Born Adults, Age 18-64

	(1) Employed
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender x Year	
White Southern-Born x 1940 x Women	0.012*
	(0.005)
Black NY-Born x 1940 x Women	0.011*
	(0.005)
Black Southern-Born x 1940 x Women	0.019***
	(0.003)
White European-Born x 1940 x Women	−0.003**
	(0.001)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1940 x Women	0.044***
	(0.005)
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Gender	
White Southern-Born x Women	−0.013**
	(0.004)
White European-Born x Women	0.016***
	(0.001)
Black NY-Born x Women	−0.024***
	(0.005)
Black Southern-Born x Women	−0.005*
	(0.002)
Black Caribbean-Born x Women	−0.030***
	(0.004)
Interaction: Race/Place of Birth x Year	
White Southern-Born x 1940	0.019***
	(0.003)
Black NY-Born x 1940	−0.011**
	(0.003)
Black Southern-Born x 1940	0.034***
	(0.002)
White European-Born x 1940	0.049***
	(0.001)
Black Caribbean-Born x 1940	0.008*
	(0.003)
Interaction: Gender x Year	
1940 x Women	−0.039***
	(0.001)
Race/Place of Birth	
White Southern Born	0.020***
	(0.002)
Black New York Born	−0.037***
	(0.003)
Black Southern Born	−0.049***
	(0.001)
Black Caribbean Immigrant	−0.043***
	(0.002)
White European Immigrant	−0.036***
	(0.000)
Census Year	
1940	−0.049***
	(0.000)
Gender	
Women	0.058***
	(0.001)
SES Char.	
Age	0.013***
	(0.000)
Age squared	−0.000***
	(0.000)
Married	0.055***
	(0.000)
Number of own children	−0.006***
	(0.000)
Number of own children under age 5	0.006***
	(0.000)
Observations	6144104

Notes: + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1930-1940 U.S. Census.

Appendix Table 6: Average Marginal Effects from Probit Regression Models of Occupational Prestige Score for U.S.-born and Foreign-Born Adults, Age 18-64

	(1) Occupational Prestige	(2) Occupational Prestige
Interaction: Race x Gender x Years in U.S.		
Black x Women x 0-4 years	7.33***	7.27***
	(0.18)	(0.18)
Black x Women x 5-9 years	5.12***	5.04***
	(0.14)	(0.14)
Black x Women x 10-14 years	3.51***	3.49***
	(0.17)	(0.17)
Black x Women x 15-19 years	3.01***	3.09***
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Black x Women x 20+ years	4.63***	4.66***
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Interaction: Race x Gender		
Black x Women	−4.83***	−4.83***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Interaction: Race x Years in U.S.		
Black x 0-4 years	7.19***	6.09***
	(0.14)	(0.14)
Black x 5-9 years	5.42***	5.36***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Black x 10-14 years	5.58***	5.76***
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Black x 15-19 years	5.09***	5.35***
	(0.16)	(0.16)
Black x 20+ years	4.21***	4.64***
	(0.17)	(0.17)
Interaction: Gender x Years in U.S.		
Women x 0-4 years	−7.54***	−7.39***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Women x 5-9 years	−5.46***	−5.41***
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Women x 10-14 years	−4.58***	−4.57***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Women x 15-19 years	−4.23***	−4.26***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Women x 20+ years	−7.08***	−7.10***
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Race		
Black	−12.75***	−12.81***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Gender		
Women	1.83***	1.82***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Years in U.S.		
Duration: 0-4 years	−5.85***	−1.44***
	(0.04)	(0.07)
Duration: 5-9 years	−5.09***	−2.06***
	(0.02)	(0.05)
Duration: 10-14 years	−4.15***	−2.01***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Duration: 15-19 years	−3.37***	−1.39***
	(0.02)	(0.04)
Duration: 20+ years	−1.40***	−0.62***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Census Year.		
1930	0.18***	0.68***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
SES Char.		
Age	0.24***	0.27***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age squared	−0.00***	−0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	1.88***	1.86***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Number of own children	−0.26***	−0.27***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Number of own children under age 5	−0.49***	−0.50***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Literate	5.64***	5.60***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Year of Immig.		
Cohort: 1900-1904		−1.00***
		(0.03)
Cohort: 1905-1909		−1.34***
		(0.03)
Cohort: 1910-1914		−2.88***
		(0.04)
Cohort: 1915-1919		−2.44***
		(0.05)
Cohort: 1920-1924		−2.84***
		(0.05)
Cohort: 1925-1929		−5.18***
		(0.07)
Observations	4934110	4934110

Notes: All models include controls for age, age squared, marital status, number of children, number of children under age five, and census year. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. + p <0.10, * p <0.05, ** p <0.01, *** p <0.001 (two-tailed tests).
Source: 1920-1930 U.S. Census.

Conclusion

Social integration has been a topic of sociological inquiry since the nation's founding. After the American Civil War, the emancipation of Black people gave hope for racial equality (Du Bois 1911). The failure of Reconstruction paved the way for Jim Crow *de jure* policies that segregated Black people and limited their opportunities until the Civil Rights movement (Du Bois 1998). The passage of the Civil Rights legislation uplifted not only Black people but also eliminated restrictive immigration quota laws and provided legal protections for equal treatment under the law. The post-Civil Rights era may have eliminated *de jure* racism but enabled *de facto* racism that manifests in the unequal distribution of social resources, education, and health. Within this context, this dissertation examines how integration in the United States is conditioned by intersecting identities, including race/ethnicity, gender, nativity, and legal status, across both historical and contemporary contexts.

Chapter 1 evaluates the chilling effect of the 2017 public charge rule leak on U.S.-born children's access to social welfare programs using Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (2014–2024). Difference-in-difference analyses reveal that U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced a significant decrease in the probability of Medicaid enrollment and SNAP receipt after the leak. There is also evidence of racial variation in the impact of the public charge rule leak. Black and Hispanic U.S.-born children with noncitizen parents experienced decreased Medicaid enrollment; in contrast, Asian and White children with noncitizen parents did not experience reduced Medicaid enrollment after the leak. This study demonstrates that exclusionary immigration policies, such as the revisions to the public charge rule, have spillover effects that impact legally eligible children, as they are limited in their social citizenship claims-making.

Chapter 2 examines health stratification among multiracial children using data from the National Health Interview Survey (1999–2018) and the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (2003–2018). As an aggregated category, multiracial children have worse health than children with two White parents and indistinguishable health when compared to children with two same-race parents. Disaggregating the multiracial category reveals that multiracial children do not have uniform health profiles. Instead, their health varies substantially depending on their racial background. I find that multiracial children with Black, White Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native parentage drive the negative health observed in the aggregated analyses. The multiracial results are consistent with the racial health stratification that exists among single-race groups. Specifically, single-race children, who have historically been disadvantaged, such as Black, Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native children, also experience worse health relative to White children, like their multiracial counterparts. Decomposition analyses show that the distribution of covariates, especially parental education, explains some of the observed health disparity between multiracial child groups and children with two White parents. However, the unexplained portion of the observed health disparities is substantial, which may reflect differences in the returns to the observed characteristics and possible unobserved structural factors. These findings signal that racism may operate as a fundamental cause of health that shapes the health stratification among multiracial children.

Finally, Chapter 3 analyzes early twentieth-century labor markets in New York City using full-count U.S. Census data (1920–1940). This chapter reveals that among men, U.S.-born White men had the best labor market outcomes, followed by European immigrant men. Black men had high levels of labor force participation but held less prestigious occupations than all groups of White men, with limited stratification by place of birth. Among women, U.S.-born White women

were less likely to be in the labor force, but conditional on labor force participation, they held occupations that were as prestigious as those of U.S.-born White men. European immigrant women occupied an intermediary position between domestic-born White women and all groups of Black women. Finally, all groups of Black women were concentrated at the bottom of the labor market. This chapter argues that understanding historical labor market dynamics requires expanding migrant integration beyond the European immigrant men case to evaluate how the intersections of race, place of birth, and gender shaped labor market stratification.

Taken together, the findings of this dissertation demonstrate that integration in the United States must be understood as a stratified, intersectional, and historically contingent process. Whether analyzing contemporary health and social welfare access among children or historical labor market exclusion, integration emerges as a site where boundaries are continuously negotiated and enforced. Demographic change, whether through immigration or intermarriage, does not inherently dissolve social boundaries or eliminate inequality. Instead, it generates new forms of stratification that raise questions about how demographic change will shape integration in the future.

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