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Occupational Stratification, Job-mismatches, and Child Poverty: Understanding the Disadvantage of Black Immigrants in the US¹

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This study examines the implications of occupational stratification and job mismatches for the welfare of children, using data from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey. The results show that Black children of immigrants have household heads that are more likely to have occupations with low SEI scores than children in US-born households. More importantly, they demonstrate that intersections between parental job-mismatches and employment in the bottom rather than upper levels of the occupational distribution have important implications for understanding poverty differences among children. Job mismatches within occupations with low SEI scores are associated with greater poverty risks among Black than White, Asian, or Hispanic children of immigrants. However, racial poverty disparities are considerably lower among children with household heads in the highest occupational strata.

Introduction

Successful incorporation into the labor force is a central determinant of immigrants' welfare and that of their families. However, as we learn from previous research, occupational outcomes are differentiated by a number of social and demographic factors. Race and human-capital characteristics are among the most important of these (Miech et. al. 2003). Among immigrants, therefore, variations in race and human-capital endowment can result in associated occupational inequalities. These inequalities could in turn generate significant disparities in the social and economic welfare of their children. Notwithstanding their significance, these intricate relationships have not garnered significant attention in previous studies. However, they are of critical importance to our understanding of the socioeconomic circumstances of children in the US. One reason for this is that the children of immigrants represent a growing segment of the US child population (Landale et al. 2011). Similarly, immigration flows are now increasingly diverse, with Black immigrants making an important contribution to these trends (Rumbaed 1994; Capps et al. 2012). Estimates indicate, for example, that the number of Black immigrants increased by more than 300 percent in the last three decades (Kent 2007). Recent studies further suggest that their children account for an increasing proportion of the number of children living in immigrant families (Lindale et al. 2011). These changes in the racial composition of immigrant families are important. Moreover, they have created new opportunities for expanding research on

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how differential occupational dynamics can result in disparities in the life circumstances of the children of immigrants.

Previous studies limit our ability to understand these issues by their tendency to separately analyze the outcomes of immigrants and the welfare of their children. However, there is scattered evidence among non-immigrants suggesting that parent's occupational outcomes do influence the well-being of their children (Hauser, Simmons, and Pager 2000; Eggebeen and Lichter 1991; Waite 1995; Duncan and Brooks-Gunn 2000). Limited incorporation of parental occupations into research on the children of immigrants has three important implications. First, it understates the significance of occupational incorporation processes as independent determinants of child poverty. Second, it over-emphasizes the significance of immigrants' human-capital as a positive influence on the economic welfare of their children. Third, it underplays the significance of race and its simultaneous influences on parental occupational dynamics and child poverty disparities.

In order to address these implications, this study examines the relationship between parental occupational stratification and child poverty among Black immigrants. Its objectives are both substantive and theoretical. Substantively, it investigates whether highly-skilled Black immigrants are disproportionately concentrated within bottom tier occupations and whether this results in more negative consequences for their children compared to other children in the US. Part of this process involves examining the extent to which job mismatches within bottom and top tier occupations differentially contribute to their children's poverty outcomes. Theoretically, the study expands our understanding of the general determinants of child poverty. It does so by highlighting the understated implications of occupational stratification and demonstrating their racial implications for children. In doing so, the study argues that beyond their influence on children's educational outcomes (Hauser, Simmons, and Pager 2000), parental occupations also have independent implications for the economic circumstances of immigrants' children, especially for those who are Black.

Background

The recent increase in Black immigration to the US is now well-documented in the literature with a number of studies examining its general implications for US society (Arthur 2000; Kent 2007; Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 2006; Logan and Deane 2003). Estimates indicate that the Black immigrant population increased from 125,000 in 1960 to about 2.5 million in 2005 (Kent 2007; Rong and Brown 2001). Much of this increase is however relatively recent. In the 1990s alone, the Black foreign-born population of the US increased almost three-fold (Logan and Deane 2003). For the most part, the increases in Black immigration trends reflect the consequences of critical changes that have occurred in US immigration policy and in economic conditions in migrant origin countries. In the US, the major policy changes include the 1965 immigration reform, which increased opportunities for racial minorities to immigrate to the US, and more recently, the Diversity Visa program created under the Immigration Act of 1990. In origin countries in Africa and the Caribbean, the most significant changes were associated with the expansion of unemployment, increases in poverty, and general socioeconomic decline. As a consequence

of these transformations, there is now an increased desire among nationals from these countries to migrate to countries in North America and Europe.

A broader implication of these structural changes is found in their contribution to changes in the educational composition of the Black immigrant population. Lobo (2001), for example, argues that the Diversity Visa Program, with its emphasis on skills and education as requirements for immigration, has resulted in significant increases in the number of highly-skilled Africans in the US. Furthermore, in many Black immigrant origin countries highly-educated individuals have increasingly left for other countries in response to increasing poverty, declining incomes, and political instability (Adepoju 2000; Dovlo 2003). Many of them expect the rewards to employment abroad to be much greater than those found in their countries of origin. Not surprisingly, research indicates that Black immigrants in the US have high levels of labor force participation and are more likely to be employed than US natives (Kent 2007).

After arriving on US shores, however, the skills of highly-educated immigrants are not always appropriately utilized in the labor market. Indeed, many of them tend to end up in jobs for which they either lack or exceed the typical schooling requirements (Chiswick and Miller 2009). This problem appears to be more prevalent among immigrant racial minorities (Batalova, Fix, and Creticos 2008). Thus, although many Black immigrants do not always identify themselves using US racial constructs (Chacko 2003), they can still experience the negative effects of racial minority status in the US labor market. Job mismatches among the highly-skilled usually have many negative consequences. They have been shown to adversely affect wages, job turnovers, and worker motivation (Battu et al 2000; Burris 1983, Nielsen 2007). Racial mismatch differences, therefore, suggest that these negative consequences are more likely to be concentrated among highly-skilled Black immigrants than among their non-Black immigrant counterparts. These differences are therefore important. Yet, few studies have examined how they can affect the broader incorporation processes among Black immigrants. In fact, previous studies largely fail to examine the implications of immigrants' occupational constraints for the economic welfare of their children.

Race and the Socioeconomic Disadvantage of the Children of Immigrants

The study's objectives are also situated within a larger body of work on the socioeconomic wellbeing of the children of immigrants. A consistent finding emerging from these studies is the fact that living in immigrant families exposes children to a wide range of socioeconomic risks compared to living in US-born families. For example, the children of immigrants are more likely to lack access to food or live in over-crowded conditions than children in US-born families (Capps; 2001; Capps, Fix, and Reardon-Anderson 2003). Furthermore, child poverty rates have consistently been found to be higher in immigrant than in US-born families (Fortuny et al. 2009; Van Hook et al. 2004). Analyses of this immigrant disadvantage have largely discounted the influence of factors such as family structure and parental work effort as possible explanations for the disparities. Indeed, the immigrant poverty disadvantage persists, despite the fact that the children of immigrants are more likely to live in two-parent households than the children of US natives (Fortuny et al. 2009).

What seems clear from previous studies is that within immigrant families, child poverty risks are highly differentiated by race. Indeed, the risks of living in poverty are highest and most persistent among the children of Black immigrants. Among the children of immigrants, for example, poverty rates were highest among Black children between 1990 and 2000 (Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005). This Black disadvantage has also been found in new configurations of immigrant family contexts. Accordingly, although child poverty risks are higher in recent refugee than non-refugee families, these poverty risks are still higher among Black than among White, or Asian children of refugees (Thomas 2011). Research further indicates that the general Black disadvantage is not explained by differences in factors such as their parents' work-effort and human-capital (Thomas 2011).

From the perspective of human-capital theory, however, the Black immigrant poverty disadvantage is counter-intuitive. According to the theory, high levels of human-capital are expected to result in lower levels of child poverty (Becker 1995; Wood 2003). Nevertheless, Black immigrants have higher child poverty rates than the US-born despite the fact that levels of schooling are higher among the former than among the latter (Kaba 2007). Similar patterns are not observed among other immigrant groups. For example, Hispanics have a higher level of child poverty compared to the US-born and this is consistent with the fact that their schooling levels are lower than those of US natives² (Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005; Thomas 2011). The inconsistency between the child poverty and schooling outcomes of Black immigrants is therefore concerning and suggests that, in terms of poverty reduction, the payoffs to parental human-capital within their families are considerably low. Analytically, however, the inconsistency can be understood by examining institutional constraints found in the contexts where parental work effort is most often used, i.e., the labor market. Furthermore, additional insight can be provided from the examination of whether these constraints have racial differentiated consequences on child poverty.

Conceptual Perspectives: Race the Significance of Occupations

Parental occupational stratification therefore provides a useful conceptual perspective from which the disadvantage of Black children of immigrants can be examined. Although this perspective underscores the intuitive dependence of children on the socioeconomic circumstances of parents, its significance is also driven by three empirical realities. First, employment institutions arguably exert the most important influence on how human-capital is rewarded (Nordin et al 2010). Thus, the limited impact of parental human-capital on child poverty among Black immigrants is likely to be explained by the types of jobs in which their parents are employed. Second, within the labor market, occupational attainment patterns are racially differentiated in ways that strongly correspond with the observed differences in the socioeconomic circumstances of children. Third, given the fact that occupational outcomes affect social and physical well-being (Dahl 1994; Hauser, Simmons, and Pager 2000), parental occupational differences may also influence parents in ways that have direct implications for the well-being of their children.

²Likewise, child poverty rates are lower among Asian immigrants than among US natives; from the perspective of human-capital theory, this Asian advantage is not surprising because their levels of educational attainment typically exceed those found among the US-born (Lichter, Qian, and Crowley 2005; Thomas 2011).

Within the labor market, the disadvantage of Black immigrants relative to other workers can further be understood from the perspective of two traditional explanations. One of these is queuing theory that highlights the fact that perceptions of racial hierarchies among employers can have a fundamental influence on their hiring preferences (Hout 1986; Lieberman 1980). Before employees are hired, employers use subjective notions of worker desirability to make their evaluations (Lieberman 1980; Model 1997). However, these notions are strongly influenced by factors such as race. Groups with the most desirable attributes are thus more likely to be employed in the most promising jobs (Lieberman 1980). Conversely, less attractive workers mainly end up in jobs with lower levels of prestige. From the perspective of US racial hierarchies, the theory predicts that Black workers will be found at the back of hiring queues, and thus be more disadvantaged, while white workers will have the most favorable queuing positions (Model 1997).

While queuing theory focuses on job entries, another set of explanations focuses on the impacts of racial discrimination on job mobility among the employed. Within this framework, racial discrimination generates differential opportunity structures that constrict the occupational mobility of racial minorities. Black immigrant workers, for example, generally receive lower wages than White immigrant workers (Dodoo and Takyi 2002). Furthermore, Blacks have longer waiting periods for promotion to managerial positions compared to Whites, and are more likely to experience a glass ceiling in terms of their career trajectories (Maume 1999). These racial differences may affect immigrants' typical strategy of using low-skilled jobs to acquire social capital in their new destinations, after which they move on to higher skilled jobs. Accordingly, the discrimination perspective would suggest that Black immigrants will be less able than non-Black immigrants to move from low to high-skilled jobs during the incorporation process.

Previous studies provide consistent evidence confirming that there is a Black disadvantage in terms of occupational attainment and stratification patterns. Black immigrants' occupational integration thus occurs within a context in which Black workers are routinely stratified into less prestigious jobs compared to White workers (Fossett 1984; Miech et al. 2003). Another dimension of the more limited mobility patterns of Black employees is that associated with the fact that these racial occupational differences generally persist across time (Miech et al. 2003). Among employees in low status jobs, Blacks are further disadvantaged by the comparatively lower wages they receive for their efforts compared to their White counterparts (Catanzarite 2003). Similar patterns of racial inequality have been found across industries of employment in urban areas. In metropolitan areas, for example, Logan and colleagues (2000) found that White workers are more likely to be employed in lucrative capital and knowledge-intensive jobs, while Black workers are concentrated in the less prestigious peripheral sectors. In recent years, concurrent racial differences have been increasingly observed among migrant workers. Compared to White migrants, for example, Black migrants are less likely to be found in management, business, and financial occupations (Adelman et al. 2006). Moreover, among immigrants, the evidence suggests that Blacks have an occupational disadvantage relative to Whites that corresponds with the racial differences typically observed among US natives (Stewart 2010; Thomas 2010).

Apart from occupational stratification outcomes, job mismatches provide an additional perspective relevant for understanding the disadvantage of Black immigrant workers. As mentioned earlier, these mismatches, or education-occupation mismatches, are specific constraints to employment typically found among highly-skilled immigrants. For example, highly-educated immigrants are generally more likely to be mismatched for their jobs compared to US-natives (De Jong and Madamba 2001). Moreover, the prevalence of such mismatches is higher among Black than non-Black immigrants (Thomas 2010). Other studies similarly suggest that highly-educated Black Africans are more likely to work as low-level employees, serving as security guards or dishwashers, than other immigrants (Batalova et al. 2008). Although these mismatches negatively affect the occupational mobility prospects of workers, they also have negative implications for the welfare of their families. At the other end of the spectrum, employees can also be under-educated, or have less than the normative schooling for jobs; this type of mismatch can also negatively affect wages but to a lesser degree than does over-education (Cohn and Khan 1995).

Not with standing the independent influences of occupational stratification and education-occupation mismatches, the two outcomes can potentially interact to have additional moderating influences. Yet, these implications have not been addressed in previous research. Conceptually, however, the negative influences of mismatches are likely to be greater when they occur at the lower rather than higher end of the occupational distribution. For example, having over-educated parents with PhDs will more likely have a more constraining influence on child welfare, if these parents work as janitors than if they work as administrative assistants. These interactions are also likely to have racial implications, but they have so far remained unexamined in existing research.

Hypotheses

The conceptual significance of labor market outcomes suggests that occupational contexts represent the missing link explaining the disconnection between Black immigrants' educational attainment and their child poverty disadvantage. In this study, the dimensions of this link are examined using three hypotheses. The first is that the concentration of Black immigrants in occupations with low levels of prestige explains the poverty disadvantage of their children relative to children in US-born families. Second, occupational stratification is expected to racially moderate the influence of parental-education occupation mismatch status on child poverty in immigrant families. Accordingly, the disadvantage of Black children of immigrants is expected to be most concentrated among children with over-educated and undereducated parents, but more so when parents work in jobs at the bottom of the occupational distribution. The third hypothesis is that compared to non-Black children of immigrants, Black children of immigrants will experience a poverty disadvantage that will persist in all occupational strata. In other words, the conceptual influence of racial discrimination suggests that the implications of parental occupational constraints will be most severe among the children of Black immigrant regardless of strata of parental occupation.

Data and Methods

Data for the analysis are taken from the 2005-2009 sample of American Community Survey (ACS). These data are available in the database of the Integrated Public Use Micro data Series (Ruggles et al. 2010). Because the increase in Black immigration is relatively recent, extant datasets rarely have sufficient numbers of Black immigrant observations needed to examine their socioeconomic outcomes. In comparison, the data used in this study facilitate the identification of approximately 25,000 Black children in immigrant families as well as the characteristics of parents. They also contain a wide range of socioeconomic indicators, including those associated with race, education, and occupation status, that are needed to achieve the objectives of this study. Since occupational constraints to the use of human-capital are more defined among the highly skilled, the analysis focuses on young children in households (i.e., with married or single parents) with at least one parent with post-secondary schooling. Immigrant households are defined as households in which either the household head or the spouse of household head is foreign-born. In contrast, US-born households have only US-born household heads and spouses. Information on race and foreign-born status is used to identify Black immigrants as Black individuals born outside the United States, while country of birth information is used to identify their geographic origins.

The education and occupation indicators of working-age adults are used to create the measures of education-occupation mismatch status used in the analysis. Following previous studies(e.g., Rubb 2003), realized matching procedures are used to identify matching categories since they are best suited for the data available in the ACS. Using these methods, three education-occupation matching categories are created. The first, correct matches, is used to identify individuals with the modal or normative level of schooling for their occupations. The next two are over-education and under-education and capture individuals who respectively have more and less than the modal level of schooling for their occupations. Occupational stratification is operationalized using SEI scores created by Hauser and Warren (1997) to capture differences in occupational prestige. Accordingly, all working age adults are stratified into five occupational quintiles based on their SEI scores. These quintiles rank occupations from the lowest (first quintile) to the highest (fifth quintile) tiers of occupational prestige. Examples of occupations in first quintile include cashiers, cooks, and childcare workers, while fifth quintile occupations include jobs such as computer systems analysts, lawyers, and computer software developers.

Whether or not immigrants have foreign or US schooling has also been shown to predict their levels of occupational attainment (Chiswick and Miller 2008). However, this information is not usually observed in surveys such as the ACS, but is indirectly estimated using proxy measures. Consistent with previous studies (Mattoo et al 2008), the analysis distinguishes between foreign and US education using data on age at arrival and highest level of education to identify individuals who arrived at ages before which specific schooling levels are usually completed. Using this method, for example, parents who currently have a bachelor's degree but arrived in the US at age seven are assumed to be US-educated.

Focusing on children between ages 0 and 10, a dependent variable is created to measure child poverty status. The study focuses on child poverty in these ages because poverty in early childhood has negative temporal and long term implications for children's educational and social development (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan 1997). Children's poverty status is coded as 1 if children live in families that fall below the ACS' 100 percent poverty threshold and 0 if they don't. Using this variable, the influence of parental occupational indicators on child poverty differences is examined using logistic regression models that adjust for clustering using robust standard errors. In simple-terms, the relationship is modeled as:

$$\ln \left[\frac{p_{ij}}{1 - p_{ij}} \right] = \alpha_1 + \beta_a C_{ij} + \beta_b P_{ij} + \beta_c CF_{ij} + e \quad (1)$$

where the dependent variable is the logit of the probability of living in poverty for child i in household j , and is dependent on a collection of child (C) and parental (P) level covariates, family structure, (CF), as well as an error term, e . Model 1 allows us to observe a number of important relationships including how the likelihood of living in poverty is related to parental levels of occupational stratification captured in P . These parental level influences are captured using the characteristics of household heads. This is done for two reasons. First, results from preliminary analysis (not shown) indicate that spousal occupational characteristics have trivial influences and, in most cases, no influence, on child poverty after the characteristics of household heads are controlled. Second, as previous studies demonstrate, household heads, by themselves, have a crucial influence on a range of socioeconomic outcomes of children living in immigrant families (Feliciano 2001; Mazur, Marquis, and Jensen 2003; Lofstrom and Bean 2002).

Beyond these relationships, the study is also interested in estimating the following equation.

$$\ln \left[\frac{p_{ij}}{1 - p_{ij}} \right] = \alpha_1 + \beta_a CR_{ij} + \beta_b C_{ij} + \beta_c P_{ij} + \beta_d CF_{ij} + e \quad (2)$$

CR , which captures children's racial and ethnic characteristics of the children of immigrants is used to examine race-ethnic variations in child poverty. Thus it facilitates comparisons of poverty differences between Black, White, Asian, and other children of immigrants. Equation 2 can also be estimated using data for children whose parents have specific occupational characteristics. For example, it can be employed to estimate racial variations in child poverty among children with parents in specific occupational quintiles. Furthermore, it can provide additional insight into racial differences in poverty among children with over-educated or under-educated parents within the various occupational status quintiles.

Descriptive Results

Our first impression of the characteristics of Black children of immigrants and children in US-born households is developed from summary statistics presented in Table 1. Apart from their similarities in age and sex profiles, the two groups of children remarkably differ. The key differences are found in the structure of their families and the characteristics of their

parents. Black children of immigrants, for example, are more disadvantaged by their greater tendency to live in single parent households. This is partly due to the high prevalence of single-parent households among Caribbean immigrants, a product of sequential patterns of migration that involve the initial migration of females, along with their children, followed by that of their spouses (Landale et. al 2011). In terms of parental educational attainment the children of Black immigrants are more likely to have parents who are college graduates compared to children in US-born families.

Another dimension of the group differences is found in the consistent pattern of parental labor market disadvantage associated with Black children of immigrants. One of these is the fact that they are more likely to have household heads employed in jobs found at the bottom of the occupational distribution than children in US-born households. As the results indicate, about a third of the former are employed in jobs found the bottom two occupational strata while only 23% of the latter are found in these jobs. The disadvantage of Black children of immigrants further extends to their unfavorable parental education-occupation mismatching patterns. Compared to children in US-born households, for example, their parents have distinctively fewer opportunities to use their human-capital endowments in correctly-matched occupations. Notably, the results suggest that about 57% of their household heads have schooling credentials that exceed the normative expectations for their jobs. These matching patterns generally suggest that negative impacts of over-education on wages and job stability are more likely to be experienced by the household heads of Black children of immigrants compared to the heads of US-born households.

In terms of poverty rates, Table 1 confirms that, on average, the outcomes of Black children of immigrants are inconsistent with their high levels of parental human-capital. In other words, despite their higher levels of parental schooling, they are still are more likely to live in poverty than children in US-born families. As expected, the preliminary evidence also confirms that child poverty rates are further differentiated by parental occupational quintile. For both groups of children, exposure to poverty is considerably minimal when their household heads are employed in jobs found in higher rather than lower strata of occupational prestige. In absolute terms, however, the size of the Black immigrant poverty disadvantage is most substantial among children whose parents are employed in low-level occupations, especially in the second and third occupational quintiles.

Multiple Regression Results

Although these summary indicators are informative, they do not provide a basis for making conclusive statements about how child poverty differences are influenced by disparities in parental occupational outcomes. As a result, a more rigorous analysis of these relationships is provided using results from logistic regression models presented in Table 2. In these analyses, Black children of immigrants are further differentiated by parental mismatch status. This facilitates the examination of the degree to which the Black immigrant poverty disadvantage is circumscribed by their parental occupation-mismatch statuses. Furthermore, it increases our ability to examine whether the poverty disadvantages associated with parental mismatches are in turn mediated by differences in occupational strata.

Model 1 confirms that the child poverty disadvantage of Black immigrants is significantly driven by the outcomes of children whose parents are mismatched for their jobs. Yet surprisingly, the results show that the Black immigrant disadvantage does not extend to children whose parents are employed in education-appropriate jobs. Indeed, Black children whose household heads who are correctly matched are *less*, not more, likely to live in poverty than children in US-born households. The results also suggest that the overall poverty disadvantage of Black children of immigrants may be driven by the outcomes of children with over-educated household heads. Furthermore, although children with under-educated household heads are less disadvantaged than the latter, they are still more likely to live in poverty than children in US-born households.

Strata of occupational prestige are further incorporated in the analysis in Model 2. Here, the study focuses on the outcomes of household heads given the importance of their functional roles as leaders within families. In addition, as mentioned earlier, preliminary analysis indicates that spousal occupational outcomes have relatively trivial influences on child poverty outcomes. The results presented in Model 2 point to a number of new findings. First, a clear and intuitive association is found between increases in occupational strata and child poverty. Second, the disadvantage of Black children with over-educated household heads is reduced by more than 50% after occupational strata are controlled. Seemingly, the poverty risks associated with parental over-education are strongly mediated by the stratification context in which over-education occurs. After strata of occupational prestige are controlled, the advantage of children with correctly matched parents is almost eliminated. Accordingly, their economic advantage may stem from the fact that correct matches tend to occur in occupations in higher than lower strata of prestige.

Model 3 is the full model that includes additional controls for factors such as family structure, parents' level of English proficiency, and whether or not they are foreign-educated. However, controlling for these factors eliminates neither the association between poverty and parental over-education nor the positive net influence of parental occupational stratification. Furthermore, the results also show that the disadvantage of Black children with over-educated household heads is not meaningfully affected by differences in family structure. In fact, in Model 3, over-education is shown to influence child poverty over and beyond the negative influence of family structure. The results also suggest that the Black disadvantage is not explained by whether or not their household heads are foreign educated. Moreover, the general relationship between child poverty and occupational strata remains robust and does not disappear. Another finding shown in the models is that the initially low poverty risk found among children with correctly match parents is completely reversed after accounting for additional controls. This reversal underscores the significance of factors other than occupational strata explaining the initial advantage of children whose household heads are correctly matched.

More specific insights into the relationship between child poverty and parental occupational outcomes can be derived from the analysis of the influence of mismatches within each strata of occupational prestige. Results from these analyses are presented in Table 3 and provide additional clarification to the findings reported above. One of these is that it is among children whose household heads have jobs in lower occupational strata that the negative

influences of mismatches are most prominent. Thus, in terms of child wellbeing, the negative consequences of over-education on factors such as worker motivation and wages appear to be most severe among Black children with household heads employed in jobs at the bottom of the occupational distribution. However, in absolute terms, the poverty disadvantage associated with mismatches is more substantial among children whose parents are under-educated for jobs in the lowest quintile.

The Black immigrant disadvantage extends beyond children with household heads in the lowest quintiles, to those with household heads in the third occupational quintile. In these contexts, the constraints associated with mismatches are mainly driven by parental under-education. Moreover, correct matches are surprisingly associated with a Black immigrant disadvantage relative to the US-born. Among children with parents in the most prestigious occupations, however, no significant differences are found between Black children of immigrants with either over-educated or correctly-matched parents and children in US-born households.

So far, the analysis appears to support the notion that economic disadvantage of Black children of immigrants may be driven by the poor job placement of their household heads. What it does not address is the question of whether the Black disadvantage results from the fact that the negative consequences of these placements are racially differentiated among children. Investigating how racial constraints influence the welfare of Black immigrants requires a careful selection of an appropriate comparison group. As previous studies suggest, such racial influences are more appropriately examined by comparing Black immigrants, not with US-born Blacks, but with immigrants from other racial groups (Bashi and MacDaniel 1997).

Based on these insights, the racial consequences of parental occupational constraints are examined by comparing the outcomes of children from four major immigrant race-ethnic groups. Among these children, Non-Black Hispanics are the most likely to have household heads employed in jobs at the bottom of the occupational distribution, followed by Blacks (Table 4). Equivalent disadvantages are not observed among Asian and White children of immigrants. Instead, their household heads are overwhelmingly employed in the most prestigious jobs. Both groups of children are also the most likely to have correctly matched household heads. In contrast, Black children of immigrants have the highest prevalence of household head over-education and their household heads are among the least likely to have education-appropriate jobs. In terms of children's economic welfare, measured by poverty rates, the most disadvantaged children are Hispanics, although they are closely followed by their Black counterparts.

In Table 5, stratified samples of the children of immigrants are used to analyze whether the intersection of education-occupation mismatches and occupational stratification has racially differentiated influences on child poverty. Moreover, the analysis uses children in US-born families as a reference group to examine whether mismatch status has a differential influence on child poverty among natives compared to each immigrant racial group. Several findings are shown in these results. For example, when household head over-education or under-education generally influences child poverty status, these influences are more adverse

for the children of immigrants than for the children in US-born families. Furthermore, the results show that for immigrants, the influence of education-occupation mismatches on child poverty follows somewhat of a racially delineated pattern. Thus, the most negative consequences of parental over-education associated with employment on low-prestige jobs are concentrated among Blacks and Hispanics. This finding implies that the mechanisms linking parental over-education in low status jobs to child poverty (e.g., the possible influence of discrimination and immigrant stigmatization) may be similar for both groups. The Black immigrant disadvantage among over-educated household heads is however highest among children whose parents have jobs in the second occupational quintile. In comparison, among Asian children, for example, household head over-education does not elevate child poverty risks in almost all occupational strata. In terms of household head under-education, the associated racial differences are more limited. Thus, Table 5 indicates that among children with under-educated household heads, Asians have the highest poverty risks when these heads are employed in second quintile jobs; Blacks, when they are employed in the third quintile; and Hispanics and Whites when household heads have jobs in the fourth and fifth quintiles respectively.

Two additional findings further illuminate our understanding of racial child poverty differences. First, although children whose parents are correctly-match with their jobs have lower poverty risks in Black immigrant families (Table 2), they largely experience a racial poverty disadvantage relative to non-Black children who also have parents that are correctly-matched to their jobs (Table 5). Accordingly, the conceptual advantage of having correctly-matched household heads does not appear to accrue to Black children of immigrants to the same extent as it does to their non-Black counterparts. Second, and surprisingly, the results show that immigrant racial poverty disparities are lowest among children who have correctly-matched household heads who are also employed in the most prestigious jobs.

Given the fact that Black immigrants have diverse geographic origins (Logan and Deane 2003) it is important to examine whether these differences further circumscribe the influence of occupational stratification on the poverty outcomes of their children. In order to address this issue, the next stage of the analysis compares the outcomes of three specific Black immigrant groups. Particular attention is given to the children of Black immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean since these regions are the two major sources of Black immigrants in the US (Kent 2007). Children in these groups are compared with a third group of children found in a residual category capturing all other Black children of immigrants, as well as with children in US born families.

Figures 1 to 3 present predicted probabilities of child poverty, generated from models that also control for the characteristics of children and their household heads. These estimates suggest that the dual disadvantages of job mismatches and employment in bottom level occupational strata have the most negative consequences for the economic welfare of the children of Black Africans. All the three figures indicate that African immigrants' children have increasingly higher poverty risks relative to other children, as strata of occupational prestige decreases. Furthermore, predicted probabilities presented in Appendix 1 show that the African child poverty levels exceed those of children in all immigrant racial groups

including those of Hispanics. This persistent African immigrant disadvantage is robust to differences in mismatch statuses and may be due to the fact that the African immigrants typically include a high percentage of refugee populations and are sometimes subjected to more negative racial stereotypes than their Caribbean Black counterparts (Capps, McCabe and Fix 2011; Dodoo 1997). Also shown in these findings is the fact that it is only among children with over-educated household heads in the most prestigious jobs (i.e., the fifth quintile in Figure 1,) that the children of Africans achieve parity with children of other Black immigrant groups and children in US-born families. Among the children of Black immigrants, however, those with parents from the Caribbean have the lowest predicted poverty levels. Their low poverty risks are robust to differences in either the occupational strata or mismatch status of their household heads and are also quite similar to those of children in US-born families. Compared to other Black immigrant groups, Caribbean Blacks have a longer history of immigration to the US and may thus be more fully integrated into employment-related networks than other Black immigrants (Thomas 2012). Thus, the results indicate that the intersection of education-occupation mismatches and employment in jobs at the lowest levels of the occupational distribution may have the least negative implications for the children of Black Caribbean immigrants.

Discussion and Conclusions

The increasing diversity of US immigration flows, coupled with the growing significance of race in the labor market, provides new opportunities for understanding how incorporation processes influence the welfare of children. Driven by the need to extend research on inequalities among the children of immigrants, this study has focused on several interrelated concerns. One of these was to underscore the significance of parental occupation dynamics for research on the economic well-being of children. These dynamics are insufficiently incorporated in previous studies, despite their potential for understanding racial differences in the welfare of children. As a result of this limitation, the counter-intuitive poverty outcomes of Black children of immigrants have largely remained unexplained, despite the fact that they contradict the predictions of human-capital theory. By focusing on the primary context in which parental human-capital is used, the study has provided new insights into the ways in which occupational constraints can undermine the utility of human-capital for improving the welfare of children. In the process, the analysis makes several notable contributions to the existing literature.

At the conceptual level, it confirms that there is a broad, intuitive relationship between parental occupational stratification and the economic well-being of children, thereby extending research on the salience of parents' occupational outcomes for the welfare of their children (Hauser, Simmons, and Pager 2000; Duncan and Brooks-Gunn 2000). In this study, however, the relationship between parental occupational stratification and child poverty is found to persist net of the influence of family structure, parental education, and parental work effort. As the results indicate, many of these familial factors remain significant determinants of child poverty disparities. Nevertheless, they also call attention to the possibility that limited opportunities for job mobility at the bottom of the occupational distribution may have a distinct and independent negative influence on the economic welfare of children. Parental occupational stratification is thus of considerable importance for

understanding the outcomes of children. In part, this is because, as scholars argue, stratification patterns that occur on the basis of race can have critical implications for the long-term reproduction of social statuses (Sampson and Sharkey 2008). Among immigrants, the results suggest that implications are most important for Blacks. Thus, consistent with the first hypothesis, the results suggest that the disadvantage of Black children of immigrants is partly explained by the concentration of their household heads at the bottom of the occupational distribution.

Apart from these stratification influences, a second type of occupational outcome, that of education-occupation mismatches, also influences the well-being of children. Job mismatches may affect children by undermining the productivity of their parents and constricting the level resources available for investing in their well-being. This is because, among other things, job mismatches negatively affect wages and the motivation of workers (Alba-Ramirez 1993; Battu et al 2000; Nielsen 2007). The analysis thus indicates that job mismatches are important explanations for the general poverty disadvantage of Black children of immigrants and that their influence persists even after controlling for factors such as whether or not parents have foreign schooling credentials. One implication of this finding is that although being foreign-educated negatively affects immigrants' occupational outcomes (Mattoo, Neagu, and Ozden, 2008), it does not entirely explain why either parental over-education or parental under-education negatively influences child poverty. Black immigrants thus appear to experience other job-market constraints, such as racial minority status, that disadvantage them over and beyond the disadvantage associated with being foreign-educated. Notably, the analysis suggests that the economic well-being of children is most optimized when their household heads are correctly matched for their jobs. Furthermore, it indicates that the significance of mismatches could be much better understood within the specific stratification environments. Indeed, it is the stratification context in which education-occupation mismatches occur, rather than mismatches alone that appears to create the most acute constraint to child well-being among Black immigrants. For Black immigrant families, therefore, elevated child poverty risks may be traced to the difficulties faced by their parents in getting education-appropriate jobs.

At the same time, the influence of race is an integral part of the understanding of how differential opportunities structures can influence the welfare of immigrants' children. The racial dimensions of the Black disadvantage are captured in at least two distinctive findings. The first is that among children of immigrants, Black children have the highest prevalence of household head over-education. The second is that these children are also among those who experience the most severe consequences of having parents employed in the least prestigious jobs. Consistent with the second hypothesis, therefore, the findings reinforce the notion that parental employment in jobs at the bottom of the occupational distribution has negative economic consequences that are highly prevalent among Black children of immigrants. Significantly, however, the racial dimensions of the Black immigrant disadvantage also bound within specific social contexts. In other words, contrary to the third hypothesis, Black children do not experience a consistent racial poverty disadvantage among children of immigrants with household heads in the most prestigious jobs. This observation is important; among other things, it highlights the potential of occupational mobility as a mechanism for eliminating racial differences in child well-being within immigrant families.

Not with standing the significance of these findings, it is important to acknowledge a number of limitations arising from the analysis presented in the study. For example, because the analysis is conducted using cross-sectional data, the degree to which more specific causal mechanisms can be identified is limited. Ideally, longitudinal data are needed to definitively identify the specific mechanisms through which job mismatches can cause child poverty. However, longitudinal studies examining the outcomes of Black immigrants are limited. Such data could also be useful for determining, for example, whether Black immigrants are more likely to remain mismatched for longer periods of time than non-Black immigrants, and how these differences affect their children. The data used in the analysis are also limited by the fact that they do not contain information on differences in local labor market conditions that are likely to influence some of these findings. Yet, another limitation of the study is that it does not examine whether the influence of parental mismatch status on child poverty is affected by parental gender differences or by number of immigrant parents living within families. Future studies could address these issues and provide further illumination on the effects of job mismatches on the lives of immigrant children.

Taken together, however, the study's contributions provide new ways of understanding the importance of race in the incorporation of immigrants and their children. For example, they suggest that occupational stratification patterns among parents can have negative implications for economic disparities among children. Queuing theory (Hoot 1986; Lieberman 1980; Model 1997) continues to provide a possible explanation for the occupational disadvantage of Black immigrants. Consequently, the results further suggest the stratification of workers during hiring decisions have important implications for understanding subsequent inequalities in child poverty. At the same time, the results also provide a critical perspective of the significance of human-capital during the immigrant incorporation process. Traditional notions of US social mobility link socioeconomic advancement to levels of educational attainment. Yet, based on these analyses it seems clear that this educational nexus is not quite simple. Racial barriers produce notable constraints to the utility of education in the process of immigrant incorporation. Such constraints have long-term consequences for the development outcomes of the children of immigrants and are important determinants of the attainment patterns of Black immigrants in US society.

Appendix: Appendix 1: Predicted probability of child poverty by occupational outcome, race, and Black immigrant ethnic origin

Over-education	H. Heads' Occupational Quintile				
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Black African	0.313	0.243	0.128	0.068	0.047
Black Caribbean (Non-Hispanic)	0.232	0.197	0.096	0.056	0.035
Other Black	0.247	0.214	0.124	0.062	0.038
Hispanic (Non Black)	0.296	0.213	0.117	0.072	0.038
White	0.162	0.127	0.064	0.033	0.026
Asian	0.181	0.139	0.066	0.032	0.025
Children in US-born families	0.239	0.188	0.100	0.053	0.029

H. Heads' Occupational Quintile					
Under-education					
Black African	0.261	0.167	0.145	0.098	0.146
Black Caribbean (Non-Hispanic)	0.101	0.094	0.079	0.064	0.094
Other Black	0.198	0.144	0.098	0.081	0.119
Hispanic (Non Black)	0.179	0.131	0.089	0.072	0.088
White	0.135	0.104	0.061	0.047	0.061
Asian	0.150	0.102	0.075	0.057	0.066
Children in US-born families	0.088	0.094	0.081	0.061	0.084
Correct Match					
Black African	0.289	0.227	0.132	0.081	0.075
Black Caribbean (Non-Hispanic)	0.131	0.097	0.069	0.051	0.048
Other Black	0.188	0.119	0.117	0.052	0.048
Hispanic (Non Black)	0.248	0.180	0.093	0.050	0.050
White	0.191	0.138	0.054	0.029	0.033
Asian	0.210	0.143	0.070	0.032	0.035
Children in US-born families	0.137	0.100	0.054	0.035	0.038

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Figure 1. Predicted probability of living in poverty among young children with overeducated household heads

Figure 2. Predicted probability of living in poverty among young children with undereducated household heads

Figure 3. Predicted probability of living in poverty among children with correctly matched household heads

Table 1
Summary profiles of Black children of immigrants and children in US-born households

	Black Children in Immigrant Households	Children in US-born Households
Age (Mean)	5.0 [*]	5.1
Males	51.3	51.2
Single-parent Household	24.5 [*]	19.6
Number of adults in the household	2.2 [*]	2.0
Lives with grandparent	5.0	4.9
H. Head has graduate degree	15.6 [*]	12.1
H. Heads Occupational prestige		
First quintile	11.0 [*]	9.9
Second quintile	19.6	13.1
Third quintiles	16.0 [*]	19.1
Fourth quintile	20.0 [*]	24.5
Fifth quintile	29.7 [*]	28.9
H. Heads Mismatch status		
Over-educated	57.1 [*]	47.7
Under-educated	14.4 [*]	16.3
Correctly matched	24.8 [*]	31.5
Head is unemployed/occupation unknown	3.68 [*]	4.5
Child lives in poverty		
Head in the 1st occupation quintile	23.6	22.3
Head in the 2nd occupation quintile	19.0 [*]	16.9
Head in the 3rd occupation quintile	12.5 [*]	8.8
Head in the 4th occupation quintile	6.6 [*]	4.8
Head in the 5th occupation quintile	4.0 [*]	2.6
All children in poverty	12.2 [*]	9.1
N	24,942	1,133,833

Note:

^{*} p<0.05 compared to children in US-born households

Data Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Table 2
Logistic regression coefficients showing predictors of child poverty

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Black children of immigrants			
with overeducated household heads	0.59***	0.25***	0.26***
with undereducated household heads	0.17*	0.68***	0.29***
with correctly matched	-0.35***	-0.04***	0.44***
Children in US-born families (Reference)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	-0.02***	-0.02**	-0.01***
Male	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
First generation	-0.37***	-0.27***	0.02
Live in single-parent household			2.25***
Number of adults in the household			-0.20***
Lives with grandparent			0.10**
Head age			-0.04
Head is female			-0.35***
Head is married			0.01
Head's occupational prestige distribution			
First quintile		2.38***	1.52***
Second quintile		2.03***	1.23***
Third quintile		1.30***	0.62***
Fourth quintile		0.66***	0.43***
Fifth quintile		(0.00)	(0.00)
Head has graduate degree			-0.91***
Head's usual working hours			-0.05***
Head is English proficient			-0.72***
Head is foreign educated			0.14
Head is unemployed/Occupational status unknown	1.23***	2.47***	0.66***
Constant	-2.26***	-3.51***	0.79***
N	1,158,775	1,158,775	1,158,775
Log likelihood (in '000)	-348.6	-320.2	-238.5

*
p<0.05;

**
p<0.1;

p<0.001

Data Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Table 3
Logistic regression coefficients comparing child poverty differences within occupational strata

	Household Heads' Occupational Quintile				
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Black children of immigrants					
Household head is overeducated	0.24*	0.10	0.14	0.14	0.05
Household head is undereducated	1.54***	0.35	1.12***	0.23	0.66***
Household head is correctly matched	0.28	0.26	0.79**	0.27	0.06
Children in US-born families (Reference)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	-0.05***	-0.04***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.04*
Male	-0.03	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.02
First generation	-0.53***	0.23*	-0.11	-0.36**	-0.31**
Live in single-parent household	2.36***	2.00**	2.17***	2.18***	2.33***
Number of adults in the household	-0.33***	-0.29***	-0.25***	-0.12***	-0.04
Lives with grand-parent	-0.51***	-0.49***	-0.61***	-0.56***	-0.60***
Constant	-1.32***	-1.64*	-2.46***	-3.20***	-4.12
N	114,672	153,946	220,471	282,799	335,547
Log likelihood (in '000)	-46.9	-58.4	-55.1	-47.9	-35.2

* p<0.05;

** p<0.1;

*** p<0.001

Data Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Table 4
Household head occupational profiles and child poverty among the children of immigrants

	Black	Non-Black Hispanic	Asian	White	US-born families
H. Heads Occupational prestige					
First quintile	11.5*	19.6*	8.1*	7.8*	9.9
Second quintile	20.4*	19.7*	7.8*	9.6*	13.1
Third quintile	16.2*	18.9	10.6*	13.8*	19.1
Fourth quintile	20.8*	19.1*	21.7*	26.9*	24.5
Fifth quintile	30.9*	17.1*	47.4*	36.4*	28.9
H. Heads Mismatch status					
Over-educated	57.1*	53.1*	53.9*	47.8*	47.7
Under-educated	14.4*	20.3*	8.4*	14.2*	16.3
Correctly matched	24.8*	21.1*	33.3*	32.5*	31.5
Head is unemployed/occupation unknown	3.68*	5.6*	4.3	5.5*	4.5
Children in poverty	12.2*	14.2*	6.0*	6.0*	9.1

Note:

* p<0.05 compared to children in US-born households

Data Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Logistic regression coefficients examining racial child poverty differences by household head matching status and occupational strata

Table 5

	Household Heads' Occupational Quintile				
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Household head over-education					
Children of immigrants					
Black	0.32**	0.21*	0.34**	0.07	1.07***
Non-Black Hispanic	0.38***	0.17*	0.48***	0.36**	1.19***
Asian	-0.03	0.05	0.14	0.14	0.13**
Non-Hispanic White	0.22**	0.08	0.17*	0.37***	1.02***
Children in US-born families (Reference)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Household head under-education					
Black	0.57	0.19	0.85**	0.21	0.15
Non-Black Hispanic	0.24	0.58*	0.37	0.40*	0.20
Asian	0.09	1.02**	0.49	-0.02	-0.15
Non-Hispanic White	0.22	0.21	0.15	0.20	0.38**
Children in US-born families (Reference)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Household head correct matches					
Black	-0.07	0.37	1.09***	0.60**	0.77***
Non-Black Hispanic	0.12	0.42*	0.72**	0.35	0.70***
Asian	-0.35	0.22	0.89**	0.31	0.67***
Non-Hispanic White	0.15	0.32*	0.56**	0.13	0.79***
Children in US-born families (Reference)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)

* p<0.05;

** p<0.1;

*** p<0.001

Data Source: 2005-2009 American Community Survey

Note: These results also control for children's age, sex and generational status and their household heads' educational attainment, English proficiency, and duration of residence.

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