

A Strength-Based Framework for Realizing Latino Young Children's Potential

Lisa A. Gennetian¹, Natasha Cabrera², Danielle Crosby³,
Lina Guzman⁴, Julia Mendez Smith³, and Elizabeth Wildsmith⁴

Policy Insights from the
Behavioral and Brain Sciences
2021, Vol. 8(2) 152–159
© The Author(s) 2021
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/23727322211033618
journals.sagepub.com/home/bbs



Abstract

Hispanic children experience poverty at rates two to three times higher than white children. Latino households with children, in general, have high parental employment coupled with low levels of parental education and stagnant parental earnings relative to non-Latino peers. While many Latino children live in neighborhoods that do not have access to high-quality early education, Latino children, on average, are raised in a home environment that offers economic stability and security, the presence of two parents, and socially supported family and community networks. Furthermore, though Hispanic children's school achievement outcomes lag behind those of their peers, their socio-emotional developmental outcomes are on the same level or better. Latino children are raised in environments with the ingredients needed to achieve their potential. We use this foundation to propose a strength-based framework for guiding policy investment on Latino children and families.

Keywords

Latinx children, parent employment, co-parenting, early care and education, poverty, child development

Tweets

Latino children are raised in environments w/ ingredients to achieve their potential: two parents, nurturing parenting, high employment. Insights from a strength-based approach point to value of policy investments in earnings growth, #poverty reduction, access to #ECE, & embracing children's dual language proficiency

The time is now: advances in child development scholarship needs to consider race and ethnicity + #poverty <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2021/05/18/anti-poverty-policies-for-children-must-level-the-playing-field-across-both-racial-and-economic-lines>

How can public policy do good for Latino children? Capitalize on the strengths of Latinx families—high employment, presence of both parents, nurturing parenting, multi-lingual

#Diversity is a strength: 90% of Latino children are U.S.-born, >50% have an immigrant parent, & 80% reside in dual-language home environments

1 in 4 Latino children live in #poverty— at 4.2 million, the largest group of children in poverty. How #poverty has escalated during the #pandemic <https://www.childtrends.org/publications/child-poverty-increased-nationally-during-covid-especially-among-latino-and-black-children>

The strength of nurturing parenting: Latino parents shine. More on Latino children's social emotional skills <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/family-stability-and-instability-among-low-income-hispanic-mothers-with-young-children/>

www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/family-stability-and-instability-among-low-income-hispanic-mothers-with-young-children/

Introduction

Hispanic¹ children, the majority of whom were born in the United States (Murphey et al., 2014), currently make up nearly one quarter of all U.S. children and are projected to represent approximately one in three children by 2050 (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2018). How Hispanic children fare will have an enormous impact on the future social and economic fabric of the United States (Gennetian & Tienda, Forthcoming). Still, what is understood about the lives and home environments of Latinx children—particularly during the important early years of development—is relatively limited. Hispanic children are raised in environments with many ingredients that position them to take advantage of public investments and flourish. However, in 2019 roughly one-third of Latino children experienced poverty, which amounts to about 4 million

¹Duke University, Durham, NC, USA

²University of Maryland, College Park, USA

³University of North Carolina at Greensboro, USA

⁴Child Trends, Bethesda, MD, USA

Corresponding Author:

Lisa A. Gennetian, Duke University, 212 Rubenstein Hall, Durham, NC 27708-0245, USA.

Email: lisa.gennetian@duke.edu

children and is the highest rate of poverty for any U.S. racial/ethnic minority group (Thomas & Fry, 2020). We provide an overview of young Hispanic children's home and early care and education environments with particular attention paid to Latino children and their families who experience poverty because they differ across a number of dimensions relative to their other low-income peers, including white, black, and Asian children. We then use this foundation to propose a strength-based framework for policy investment.

Characteristics of Hispanic Child Households

The U.S. Latino population is incredibly diverse in terms of nativity status, country of heritage, citizenship status, immigration history, and geography. While over 90% of Latino children are U.S.-born, just over half have an immigrant parent and roughly one quarter have at least one parent who is an unauthorized immigrant (Clarke et al., 2017; Murphey et al., 2014). Close to eight in 10 Latino children live in a household where a language other than English is spoken and according to our estimates from nationally representative data (the Survey of Income and Program Participation sponsored by the U.S. Census), approximately one-third of the lowest-income Hispanic children reside in households with no adult over age 14 who is proficient in English. Children of Mexican descent make up the largest group of Hispanic children, followed by children with Puerto Rican, Salvadoran, Dominican, and Cuban heritage (Murphey et al., 2014). Latino children reside across all 50 states, making up the majority or near majority of children in New Mexico, California, and Texas, and a growing proportion of the child population in a number of Southeastern states (Murphey et al., 2014). The diversity of the Latino population is also changing. An increasing proportion of children are born to parents with mixed ancestry. In 2015, 14% of all U.S. children born were multiracial or multiethnic; 50% of those included at least one Hispanic parent (Livingston, 2017).

Economic Well-Being

Children growing up in poverty, on average, fare less well than children who grow up above the poverty line (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2019). In 2019, roughly one in four Latino children resided in families whose income was below the federal poverty line,² representing the largest group of children in poverty (4.2 million) in the United States (KIDS COUNT Data Center, 2020).

One associated characteristic of poverty is single parenthood. Different from children of other racial or ethnic groups, low-income Hispanic children, in particular those from immigrant families, are more likely to live with two parents (Wildsmith et al., 2014) and in households with at least one

adult earner—typically the father—whose income from earnings is relatively stable (Gennetian et al., 2019). Latino parents tend to be employed full-time and year-round, but also tend to earn lower wages, on average, than white and Asian parents, even at similar levels of employment and job types (Baldiga et al., 2018). Latinos are also less likely to have control over their work schedules (Crosby & Mendez, 2016; Karberg et al., 2017b). A lower percentage of Latino children have a parent with a college degree than white or black children. Roughly 40% of Latino children with immigrant parents and 11% with U.S.-born parents have a parent with less than a high school degree (Guzman & Ryberg, Forthcoming).

Higher rates of Latino poverty compared to white families (Gradín, 2012) are partly explained by segregation into lower-paid occupations, younger ages of Latino employed parents (and, thus less accumulated work experience that contributes to wage growth), and lower parent levels of completed education. Parental education may not improve employment prospects or earnings for Latino parents relative to other demographic groups due to discrimination and related structural barriers to the labor market (Assari et al., 2019). Other research finds that parents' English language proficiency and citizenship status are among the strongest predictors of a Latino child experiencing poverty, even after controlling for parent's socioeconomic characteristics (Guzman et al., Forthcoming) suggesting that English language proficiency confer privilege and access to the labor market and social safety net.

Compared with other race or ethnic groups, income is stable among the lowest-income group of Hispanic households with children, that is, Latino child households are more stably poor with similar levels of income available to the family from month to month; the source of this income stability is more likely to be wages than from public benefits (Gennetian et al., 2019). Not surprisingly, income-eligible Hispanic child households are less likely to receive benefits from safety net programs compared with income eligible child households from other racial and ethnic groups. Some research suggests that racial minorities experience less generous benefits and more punitive programs, along with disparate treatment from caseworkers (Barnes & Henly, 2018; Soss et al., 2011). Other research suggests that federal and state legislators and administrators create administrative burdens in the form of punitive rules and complex processes that make it difficult for families to access and maintain benefits (Herd & Moynihan, 2018). These rules and processes intersect with characteristics of low-income Hispanic child households—for example, their higher likelihood of including two parents, adult earners with seasonal or varying work hours, or noncitizens—and further complicate access and enrollment in benefit programs such as documentation requirements (Barnes & Gennetian, 2021; Gennetian et al., 2020). Housing is another component of Latino children's economic security. On this metric, the share of Latino

households living in cost-burdened households (i.e., housing costs are more than 30% of income) rose from about 26% in 2000 to roughly 37% in 2010 (Rugh, 2020); however, rates of home ownership—48% in 2019—among Latino households have rebounded since the Great Recession (though rates of home ownership are still lower than white households).

Early Education and Child Care

Access to high-quality early childhood education (ECE) during the early years has been shown to yield short-term benefits for children across cognitive, academic, social-emotional, and health domains, as well as long-term education and economic benefits (Magnuson & Duncan, 2016). The benefits of high-quality ECE extend to young Latinx and Dual Language Learner (DLL) children and are sometimes larger for these groups than for white and non-DLL peers (Weiland & Yoshikawa, 2013).

Several barriers prevent Latinx families from accessing high-quality affordable child care for their children. Although low-income Hispanic preschool-aged children are enrolled in nonparental care at rates comparable to their low-income white peers, many Latinx households work during nonstandard hours, which makes it more difficult to access high-quality ECE that covers hours that satisfy parental work schedules (Crosby & Mendez, 2017; Guzman et al., 2017; Mendez et al., 2020). Other structural barriers to ECE access include cost of child care. Approximately 30% of low-income Latino households using child care face high out-of-pocket costs, spending an average \$115 per week, which represents about one-third of their income (Crosby et al., 2019). Another structural barrier is insufficient supply. Hispanic children are more likely to live in neighborhoods where child care supply is scarce, and therefore inadequate to match the possible demand for care (Mendez et al., forthcoming) and nearly 60% of Hispanic families reside in “child care deserts,” meaning that they are overrepresented in communities that lack a sufficient supply of licensed care providers (Malik et al., 2018). How policies are designed and implemented also intersect with Hispanic working families’ child care decisions. Analyses of the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) policy revealed wide state-level variation in the characteristics of child care subsidy eligibility standards, required documentation, and supports for Spanish-speaking applicants that might interrupt take up of child care subsidies that could support Latino children’s development (Hill et al., 2019).

Family Composition and Household Structure

Children living in families with two biological married parents, on average, tend to fare better cognitively and behaviorally and have better health than those in other types of households (McLanahan & Sawhill, 2015). Having two

adults in the household is linked to the availability of more resources, such as time and money, and social resources and support, to spend or invest in children and share the work (and joy) of caring for children (Ribar, 2015). In 2019, 57% of all Hispanic children lived with two married parents (Payne, 2019), and 36% of low-income Hispanic children with at least one foreign-born parent and 11% of low-income Latin children with U.S.-born parents live in married, two-parent household (Turner et al., 2015).

Family stability, the quality of the relationship between parents, and residential status and involvement of fathers are also all important aspects of Latino children’s family structure environments. Despite the challenges associated with having low incomes, most low-income, foreign-born Latina mothers, and close to half of U.S.-born Latina mothers, report being in a stable co-residential union when their children are young (Karberg et al., 2017a); the majority of Latino fathers reside with their children, and Latino children may benefit the emotional support of both parents who also exhibit high-quality co-parenting and relatively happy marital relationships.

Parenting. Parenting among the Latinx community is characterized by both stressors and strengths or promotive factors (Cabrera et al., 2021). Stressors include poverty, racism, and discrimination, and, for many, the challenges related to acculturating and rearing children in a new country (Galindo & Fuller, 2010; Wildsmith et al., 2018). These stressors can compromise parents’ mental health, as well as their ability to competently parent and provide for their children.

Despite these challenges, Latinx parents provide their children with early home experiences that mitigate the negative effects of poverty on their children’s development including anticipating and responding to children’s distress, striking a balance between being nurturing and implementing appropriate levels of control, and understanding what the child is capable of given their developmental stage (Teti et al., 2017). Latinx parents engage in literacy-promoting activities such as reading, playing, telling stories, and doing puzzles that promote learning and use daily activities such as cooking or doing chores to stimulate learning of mathematical concepts (Cabrera et al., 2021; Galindo et al., 2019; Ruberry et al., 2018). Latino children are more likely to be residing with their father that not only offers the financial stability of a two-parent family but also another adult who is engaged in learning activities and everyday parenting (Karberg et al., 2017b; Kuhns et al., 2018). Latino fathers report more warmth toward, and spend more time caring for, their infants compared to other fathers (Cabrera et al., 2011), and Latinx parents report lower rates of spanking their school-age children than other groups (Cabrera et al., 2021; Pew Research Center, 2015). Co-parenting in Hispanic families is also of high enough quality (i.e., more agreements) to confer benefit to children’s social development (Cabrera et al., 2009).

*Child Development*³

As young as 9 months of age, Latino children score lower on measures of cognitive ability compared to their white peers (Halle et al., 2009). Latinx preschoolers also show lower receptive (i.e., words that an individual understands and can respond to regardless of whether they can produce them) and expressive (i.e., words that an individual can produce or express) vocabulary skills and less knowledge about literacy (e.g., how to hold a book, awareness that words are read from left to right, etc.), numbers, and shapes (Chernoff et al., 2007). These early differences between Latinx children and their white peers seem to increase during the first 2 years and persist in preschool and at Kindergarten entry (Cabrera et al., 2016; Fuller et al., 2015). In contrast, Latinx children's social skills and social adaptation seem to be at the same level or better than those of their peers (Padilla et al., 2017).

How Latinx children whose parents are immigrants do on assessments of cognitive and socio-emotional skills relative to Latinx children whose parents are U.S. born is mixed. Some evidence suggests that Latinx children in immigrant families perform less well in cognitive tests but not so on social skills (Padilla & Ryan, 2018). Immigrant low-income Latinx children in Miami (i.e., children born outside the United States), for example, were rated by their teachers as being more socially competent and having fewer behavior problems than their native-born Latinx peers (De Feyter & Winsler, 2009). Experiences of being an immigrant can vary by generation. How first-generation Latinx children fare on cognitive and social skills also may differ from second or later generation Latinx children. For example, first-generation Latino children are rated by their teachers as being lowest in social competence (e.g., self-control and interpersonal skills) compared to later-generation Latino children (Galindo & Fuller, 2010). An "immigrant advantage" might reflect immigrant parents' values and work ethic that encourage children to obey the teacher and conform with school rules and norms (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016; Feliciano, 2001).

An Integrated Strength-Based Working Framework

Even though the experiences of ethnic and racial minorities in the United States may be defined by racism and discrimination, many of the frameworks that scholars rely on and that inform policy are colorblind. Other frameworks that do well in considering socioeconomic circumstances also exhibit inadequacies in capturing the experiences of different racial and ethnic groups residing in poverty (Gennetian & Yoshikawa, 2020). We next share an integrated perspective showing the utility of using economic investment, family stress, and human developmental perspectives to guide future science and policy efforts attempting to support the strengths and growth potential of Latino children.

Economic Investment Perspective

The economic investment perspective describes the ways in which parents optimally allocate time and money across members of the household, including children, as well as how tradeoffs may be made between leisure, paid work, and care for children and the home environment (Becker, 1973). Allocations of the quantity of parental time across leisure, paid work, and care of children (under age 18) differ by racial and ethnic group within the same income band (Gennetian & Rodrigues, 2020). Among low-income families, white mothers spent about 10 and 25 more minutes with their children over the prior day than Hispanic and Black mothers. Low-income white residential fathers spent about 18 and 10 more minutes with their children over the prior day than low-income Hispanic and Black residential fathers. Less is currently understood about how these differences in time spent translate, if at all, into the quality of time spent in various learning activities.

As with other household resources, employment affects both money and time investments in children's lives. Thus, while the complexity of juggling nontraditional work schedules—a common feature among many low-income families—may impose unpredictability on household routines and reduce the quantity or quality of time for caregivers to be available for children (potential risk factor), higher likelihoods of employment and stable (although likely low) earnings among Hispanic child households can also be income stabilizing and thus a potential protective factor (Fry & Passel, 2014) supporting, for example, the consumption of basic economic needs such as food and housing. In addition, some employed Hispanic parents adjust their children's schedules to accommodate their work schedules (a strength) (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016). Higher likelihoods of residing with two parents or a grandparent (as previously noted) can also translate to more social and financial resources, such as in-home child care and support, though additional household members can put more demands on financial resources when they are limited.

Family Stress Perspective

Parental stress associated with having insufficient resources to invest and provide for their children is associated with the level of parental responsiveness to their child (Conger et al., 2002). Hispanic children, particularly those who reside in low-income households, may also be more likely to have parents who feel financially stressed and drained, which may result in harsher, more intrusive, or less responsive parenting to children's needs than that experienced by higher-income children (risk factor). In two-parent, low-income Latino families, fathers might increase household income by working long hours, which also implies that the burden of daily childrearing may fall more heavily on mothers, further increasing maternal stress and reducing warm, responsive parenting.

Spillover effects between partners suggest that one parent's stress might increase the stress of the other; as a result, children may experience two stressed parents, both of whom may engage in less warm parenting.

Perspectives From Human Development

Human development can be understood as a cultural process during which the parenting values and practices of a particular cultural group help them shape daily routines and parental investments at specific points during the child's development. These, in turn, are influential in how children are socialized to meet the cultural group's values, norms, and expectations. As with all cultural groups, the experiences of Latino individuals in the United States are framed by their cultural heritage, which includes norms and expectations but also the ways in which individuals process and make sense of their experiences (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016; Rogoff, 2003). For Latino immigrant children, their cultural context might be a combination of the practices and customs of the sending society, as well as of the practices and norms of the receiving society.

The course of human and child development is also shaped by the degree to which one aspect of development (e.g., physical growth) intersects with other aspects (e.g., emotional growth), as well as the intersection of these systems that evolve over time (Masten & Cicchetti, 2010; Sameroff, 2000). These aspects of development can have cumulative consequences (Masten & Cicchetti, 2010). For Latino children, who are commonly exposed to at least two languages and cultures, these relationships can be more complex and challenging, but might also represent opportunities (Masten et al., 2005). Exposure to a second language early in development has the potential to increase inhibitory control, an executive function that enables children to inhibit or control an impulsive response or behavior to respond appropriately with another behavior, but may also delay language at certain points in development as bilingual children must learn two words for each concept.

A Strength-Based Integrated Model That Incorporates Race and Ethnicity and the Aforementioned Prevailing Perspectives

Economic and human development perspectives can be integrated (Coll et al., 1996). This integrative model considers multiple developmental components of children (i.e., cognitive, social, emotional, and language development, and bicultural and coping mechanisms for racism) and incorporates: (a) social position—race, social class, ethnicity, and gender; (b) race-based factors, including racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression; (c) residential, economic, social, and psychological segregation; (d) promoting and inhibiting environments, such as schools, neighborhoods,

and health care facilities; (e) adaptive culture, which is due to tradition and cultural legacies, economic and political factors, migration and acculturation, and current context demands; (f) child characteristics, including age, temperament, health status, biological factors, and physical characteristics; and (g) family structure and roles, values, beliefs, goals, racial socialization, and economic status.

Insights for Policy and Practice

Given the anticipated growth of the Latinx child population, the success of many public investments in children—from early education and parenting interventions to school-based initiatives, health, and income security—will increasingly hinge on benefits accrued to, and the strength of, Latino children and their families and communities. Yet public investments and the range of programming that it might stimulate draw on assumptions about the availability of parents, their resources, and the overall quality of the home environment that are neutral to children's racial and ethnic differences.

A deeper understanding of Latino child households and environments—including how they are affected by exclusionary policies based on race or ethnicity—will improve upon the impact of well-intended policy investments. While job entry programs might prove effective for households with unemployed adults, refocusing on job quality and earnings progression might be better suited, and have higher returns, among Hispanic households. Programs that encourage family stability might consider providing support for parents to stay together that might differ from encouraging them to formalize their partnership through marriage. Related initiatives focused on reading time with young children, for example, miss opportunities to foster early language development through oral storytelling more common among Latino families; this may be particularly beneficial for those parents with low levels of literacy or formal education. Investments in publicly provided high-quality early education may not actualize their full reach without becoming better aligned with the needs of working parents and culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Given the diversity of Latino children, bilingualism (proficiency in more than one language) and biculturalism (upbringing rooted in more than one origin culture) may be co-benefits (NASEM, 2017) with native languages to be nurtured as a strength, particularly within both home and early child care/preschool settings. Assumed access to income support and other benefits—including through the tax system, as recently proposed with the Biden administration's expanded child tax credits—might not apply universally without consideration of how Latinx families perceive these investments, the trust created between community groups and government agencies, and the requirements needed (e.g., documentation of work, or citizenship of all household members) to determine eligibility for resources.

Author's Note

Authors are listed in alphabetical order after corresponding author.

Author Contributions

Authors had equal contribution and are investigators and collaborators of the National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This publication was supported by The National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families, which is supported by grant #90PH0028-01-00 from the Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Its contents are solely the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Notes

1. We use Hispanic, Latino, Latina, and Latinx interchangeably and recognize that each term's representation of the population described might vary based on individual experiences and context. The statistics described in this study predominantly draw from large secondary data sets that rely on U.S. Census-based identification of racial and ethnic groups; therefore, reports are based on parent, head of household, or primary adult reporter of their own and their children's identification as Hispanic ethnicity.
2. The Census Bureau determines poverty status using an official poverty measure (OPM) that compares pretax cash income against a threshold set at three times the cost of a minimum food diet in 1963 and adjusted for family size and inflation. Total pretax family income consists of cash income from work, welfare, relatives, and all other sources received by all household members during the previous calendar year. It does not include "near-cash" resources such as SNAP benefits.
3. We summarize cognitive and socio-emotional aspects of child development. For more on Latinx children's physical health such as birth outcomes, asthma, obesity, and cardiovascular health see Perreira and Allen (Forthcoming).

References

- Aldoney, D., & Cabrera, N. J. (2016). Raising American citizens: Socialization goals of low-income immigrant Latino mothers and fathers of young children. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 25(12), 3607–3618.
- Assari, S. A., Caldwell, C. H., & Bazargan, M. (2019). Association between parental educational attainment and youth outcomes and role of race/ethnicity. *JAMA Network*, 2(11), Article e1916018. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2019.16018>
- Baldiga, M., Joshi, P., Hardy, E., & Acevedo-Garcia, D. (2018). *Child care affordability for working parents*. Diversitydatakids. <https://www.diversitydatakids.org/research-library/research-brief/child-care-affordability-working-parents>
- Barnes, C. Y., & Gennetian, L. A. (2021). Experiences of Hispanic families with social services in the racially segregated south-east: Views from administrators and workers in North Carolina. *Race and Social Problems*, 13, 6–21.
- Barnes, C. Y., & Henly, J. R. (2018). "They are underpaid and understaffed": How clients interpret encounters with street-level bureaucrats. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 28(2), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muy008>
- Becker, G. S. (1973). A theory of marriage: Part I. *Journal of Political Economy*, 81(4), 813–846.
- Cabrera, N. J., Alonso, A., & Chen, Y. (2021). Latino children's development in the early years: Moving toward equality of opportunity. In Gennetian, L. A. & Tienda, M. (Eds.), *Investing in Latino Youth. ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Cabrera, N. J., Hofferth, S. L., & Chae, S. (2011). Patterns and predictors of father-infant engagement across race/ethnic groups. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 26(3), 365–375. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2011.01.001>
- Cabrera, N. J., Malin, J. L., Kuhns, C., & West, J. (2016). The early home environment of Latino boys and their peers: A developmental perspective. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 38(1), 97–114.
- Cabrera, N. J., Shannon, J. D., & La Taillade, J. J. (2009). Predictors of coparenting in Mexican American families and links to parenting and child social emotional development. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 30(5), 523–548.
- Chernoff, J. J., Flanagan, K. D., McPhee, C., & Park, J. (2007). *Preschool: First findings from the preschool follow-up of the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Birth Cohort*. National Center for Education Statistics.
- Clarke, W., Guzman, L., & Turner, K. (2017). *One quarter of Hispanic children in the United States have an unauthorized immigrant parent*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <http://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/publications/one-quarter-of-hispanic-children-in-the-united-states-have-an-unauthorized-immigrant-parent/>
- Coll, C. G., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, 67(5), 1891–1914.
- Conger, R. D., Wallace, L. E., Sun, Y., Simons, R. L., McLoyd, V. C., & Brody, G. H. (2002). Economic pressure in African American families: A replication and extension of the family stress model. *Developmental Psychology*, 38(2), 179–193.
- Crosby, D., & Mendez, J. (2016). *Hispanic children's participation in early care and education: Amount and timing of hours by household nativity status, race/ethnicity, and child age*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <http://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/publications/hispanic-childrens-participation-in-early-care-and-education-amount-and-timing-of-hours-by-household-nativity-status-raceethnicity-and-child-age/>

- Crosby, D., & Mendez, J. (2017). *How common are nonstandard work schedules among low-income Hispanic parents of young children?* National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <http://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/publications/how-common-are-nonstandard-work-schedules-among-low-income-hispanic-parents-of-young-children/>
- Crosby, D., Mendez, J., & Barnes, A. (2019). *Child care affordability is out of reach for many low-income Hispanic households* (Report 2019-05). National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/child-care-affordability-is-out-of-reach-for-many-low-income-hispanic-households>
- De Feyter, J. J., & Winsler, A. (2009). The early developmental competencies and school readiness of low-income, immigrant children: Influences of generation, race/ethnicity, and national origins. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 24, 411–431.
- Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. (2018). *America's children: Key national indicators of well-being, 2018* (Table POP3). https://www.childstats.gov/pdf/ac2018/ac_18.pdf
- Feliciano, C. (2001). The benefits of biculturalism: Exposure to immigrant culture and dropping out of school among Asian and Latino youths. *Social Science Quarterly*, 82(4), 865–879.
- Fry, R., & Passel, J. S. (2014). *In post-recession era, young adults drive continuing rise in multi-generational living*. Pew Research Center.
- Fuller, B., Bein, E., Kim, Y., & Rabe-Hesketh, S. (2015). Differing cognitive trajectories of Mexican-American toddlers: The role of class, nativity, and maternal practices. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 37(2), 139–169.
- Galindo, C., Connenschein, S., & Montoya-Ávila, A. (2019). Latina mothers' engagement in children's math learning in the early school years: Conceptions of math and socialization practices. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 47(2), 271–283.
- Galindo, C., & Fuller, B. (2010). The social competence of Latino kindergarteners and growth in mathematical understanding. *Developmental Psychology*, 46(3), 579–592.
- Gennetian, L., Hill, Z., & Ross-Cabrera, D. (2020). *State-level TANF policies and practice may shape access and utilization among Hispanic families* (Report 2020-06). National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/state-level-tanf-policies-and-practice-may-shape-access-and-utilization-among-hispanic-families
- Gennetian, L., & Rodrigues, C. (2020). Mothers' and fathers' time spent with children in the U.S.: Variations by race/ethnicity within income from 2003 to 2013. *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy*, 4, 34–46.
- Gennetian, L., Rodrigues, C., Hill, H. D., & Morris, P. (2019). Income level and volatility by children's race and Hispanic ethnicity. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 81(1), 204–229. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jomf.12529>
- Gennetian, L. A., & Tienda, M. (Eds.). (Forthcoming). Investing in Latino youth. *ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Gennetian, L. A., & Yoshikawa, H. (2020, September). Race and racism: The blind spot in research on poverty and child development. *Child and Family Blog*. <https://childandfamilyblog.com/racism-blind-spot-on-poverty-child-development/>
- Gradín, C. (2012). Poverty among minorities in the United States: Explaining the racial poverty gap for Blacks and Latinos. *Applied Economics*, 44(29), 3793–3804.
- Guzman, L., Hickman, S., Turner, K., & Gennetian, L. A. (2017). *How well are early care and education providers who serve Hispanic children doing on access and availability?* National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/how-well-are-early-care-and-education-providers-who-serve-hispanic-children-doing-on-access-and-availability/>
- Guzman, L., & Ryberg, R. (Forthcoming). *Education profile of parents of Latino children*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. Washington: Child Trends.
- Guzman, L., Thomson, D., & Ryberg, R. (Forthcoming). Latino child poverty: Understanding the distinct role of features of Latino diversity. (eds Gennetian, L.A. & Tienda, M.) Investing in Latino Youth *ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Halle, T., Forry, N., Hair, E., Perper, K., Wandner, L., Wessel, J., & Vick, J. (2009). *Disparities in early learning and development: Lessons from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study—Birth Cohort*. Child Trends. https://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ECDisparities_ChildTrends_Jun2009.pdf
- Herd, P., & Moynihan, D. (2018). *Administrative burden: Policymaking by other means*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hill, Z., Gennetian, L. A., & Mendez, J. (2019). *How state policies might affect Hispanic families' access to and use of Child Care and Development Fund subsidies* (Report 2019-04). National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/how-state-policies-might-affect-hispanic-families-access-to-and-use-of-child-care-and-development-fund-subsidies>
- Karberg, E., Guzman, L., Cook, E., Scott, M., & Cabrera, N. (2017a). *A portrait of Latino fathers: Strengths and challenges*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/a-portrait-of-latino-fathers-strengths-and-challenges/>
- Karberg, E., Cabrera, N., Fagan, J., Scott, M., & Guzman, L. (2017b). *Family stability and instability among low-income Hispanic mothers with young children* (Report 2017-02). National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Family-Stability-and-Instability-V21.pdf>
- KIDS COUNT Data Center. (2020). *Children in poverty by race and ethnicity in the United States*. The Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- Kuhns, C., Cabrera, N., Hennigar, A., West, J., & Acosta, J. (2018). Latino and African-American parental resources, investments, and socialization practices: Supporting toddler's language and social skills. In S. Sonnenschein & B. Sawyer (Eds.), *Academic socialization of young Black and Latino children* (pp. 5–37). Springer.
- Livingston, G. (2017). *The rise of multiracial and multiethnic babies in the U.S.* Pew Research Center.
- Magnuson, K., & Duncan, G. J. (2016). Can early childhood interventions decrease inequality of economic opportunity? *Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(2), 123–141.
- Malik, R., Hamm, K., Schochet, L., Novoa, C., Workman, S., & Jessen-Howard, S. (2018). *America's child care deserts in 2018*. Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org>

- .org/issues/early-childhood/reports/2018/12/06/461643/americas-child-care-deserts-2018/
- Masten, A. S., & Cicchetti, D. (2010). Developmental cascades. *Development and Psychopathology*, 22(3), 491–495.
- Masten, A. S., Roisman, G. I., Long, J. D., Burt, K. B., Obradović, J., Riley, J. R., . . . Tellegen, A. (2005). Developmental cascades: Linking academic achievement and externalizing and internalizing symptoms over 20 years. *Developmental Psychology*, 41(5), 733–746.
- McLanahan, S., & Sawhill, I. (2015). Marriage and child wellbeing revisited: Introducing the issue. *The Future of Children*, 25(2), 3–9. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43581969>
- Mendez, J., Crosby, D., & Siskind, D. (2020). *Work hours, family composition, and employment predict use of child care for low-income Latino infants and toddlers* (Report 2020-04). National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/work-hours-family-composition-and-employment-predict-use-of-child-care-for-low-income-latino-infants-and-toddlers>
- Mendez, J., Crosby, D., & Stephens, C. (forthcoming). Investments in early care and educational opportunities for low-income Latino children from birth to 5: Progress towards equity in access and utilization. In Gennetian, L. A. & Tienda, M. (Eds.), *Investing in Latino Youth. ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Murphey, D., Guzman, L., & Torres, A. (2014). *America's Hispanic children: Gaining ground, looking forward*. Child Trends. <https://www.childtrends.org/publications/americas-hispanic-children-gaining-ground-looking-forward>
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2017). *Promoting the educational success of children and youth learning English: Promising futures*. National Academies Press.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2019). *A roadmap to reducing child poverty*. National Academies Press.
- Padilla, C. M., Cabrera, N., & West, J. (2017). *The development and home environments of low-income Hispanic children: Kindergarten to third grade*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/the-development-and-home-environments-of-low-income-hispanic-children-kindergarten-to-third-grade/>
- Padilla, C. M., & Ryan, R. M. (2018). School readiness among children of Hispanic immigrants and their peers: The role of parental cognitive stimulation and early care and education. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 52(A), 154–168.
- Payne, K. K. (2019). *Children's family structure, 2019*. National Center for Family & Marriage Research. <https://www.bgsu.edu/ncfmr/resources/data/family-profiles/payne-children-family-structure-fp-19-25.html>
- Perreira, K., & Allen, C. (Forthcoming). The health of Hispanic children from birth to emerging adulthood. In Gennetian, L. A. & Tienda, M. (Eds.), *Investing in Latino Youth. ANNALS of American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Pew Research Center. (2015). *Parenting in America*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2015/12/17/parenting-in-america/>
- Ribar, D. C. (2015). Why marriage matters for child wellbeing. *The Future of Children*, 25(2), 11–27. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/full-text/EJ1079374.pdf>
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford University Press.
- Ruberry, E. J., Klein, M. R., Kiff, C. J., Thompson, S. F., & Lengua, L. J. (2018). Parenting as a moderator of the effects of cumulative risk on children's social-emotional adjustment and academic readiness. *Infant Child Development*, 27(3), Article e2071.
- Rugh, J. S. (2020). Why Black and Latino home ownership matter to the color line and multiracial democracy. *Race and Social Problems*, 12, 57–76.
- Sameroff, A. (2000). Ecological perspectives on developmental risk. *WAIMH Handbook of Infant Mental Health*, 4, 3–33.
- Soss, J., Fording, R. C., & Schram, S. F. (2011). *Disciplining the poor: Neoliberal paternalism and the persistent power of race*. University of Chicago Press.
- Teti, D. M., Cole, P. M., Cabrera, N. J., Goodman, S. H., & McLoyd, V. C. (2017). Supporting parents: How six decades of parenting research can inform policy and best practice. *Research-Practice Partnerships: Building Two Way Streets of Engagement*, 30(5), 1–34.
- Thomas, D., & Fry, R. (2020). *Prior to COVID19, child poverty had reached record lows in U.S.* Pew Research Center.
- Turner, K., Guzman, L., Wildsmith, E., & Scott, M. (2015). *The complex and varied households of low-income Hispanic children*. National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <http://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/publications/the-complex-and-varied-households-of-low-income-hispanic-children/>
- Weiland, C., & Yoshikawa, H. (2013). Impacts of a Prekindergarten Program on children's mathematics, language, literacy, executive function, and emotional skills. *Child Development*, 84(6), 2112–2130.
- Wildsmith, E., Guzman, L., Scott, M., & Cook, E. (2014). *Family structure and family formation among low-income Hispanics in the U.S.* National Research Center on Hispanic Children & Families. <https://www.hispanicresearchcenter.org/research-resources/family-structure-and-family-formation-among-low-income-hispanics-in-the-u-s/>
- Wildsmith, E., Manlove, J., & Cook, E. (2018). *Dramatic increase in the proportion of births outside of marriage in the United States from 1990 to 2016*. Child Trends. <https://www.childtrends.org/publications/dramatic-increase-in-percentage-of-births-outside-marriage-among-whites-hispanics-and-women-with-higher-education-levels>