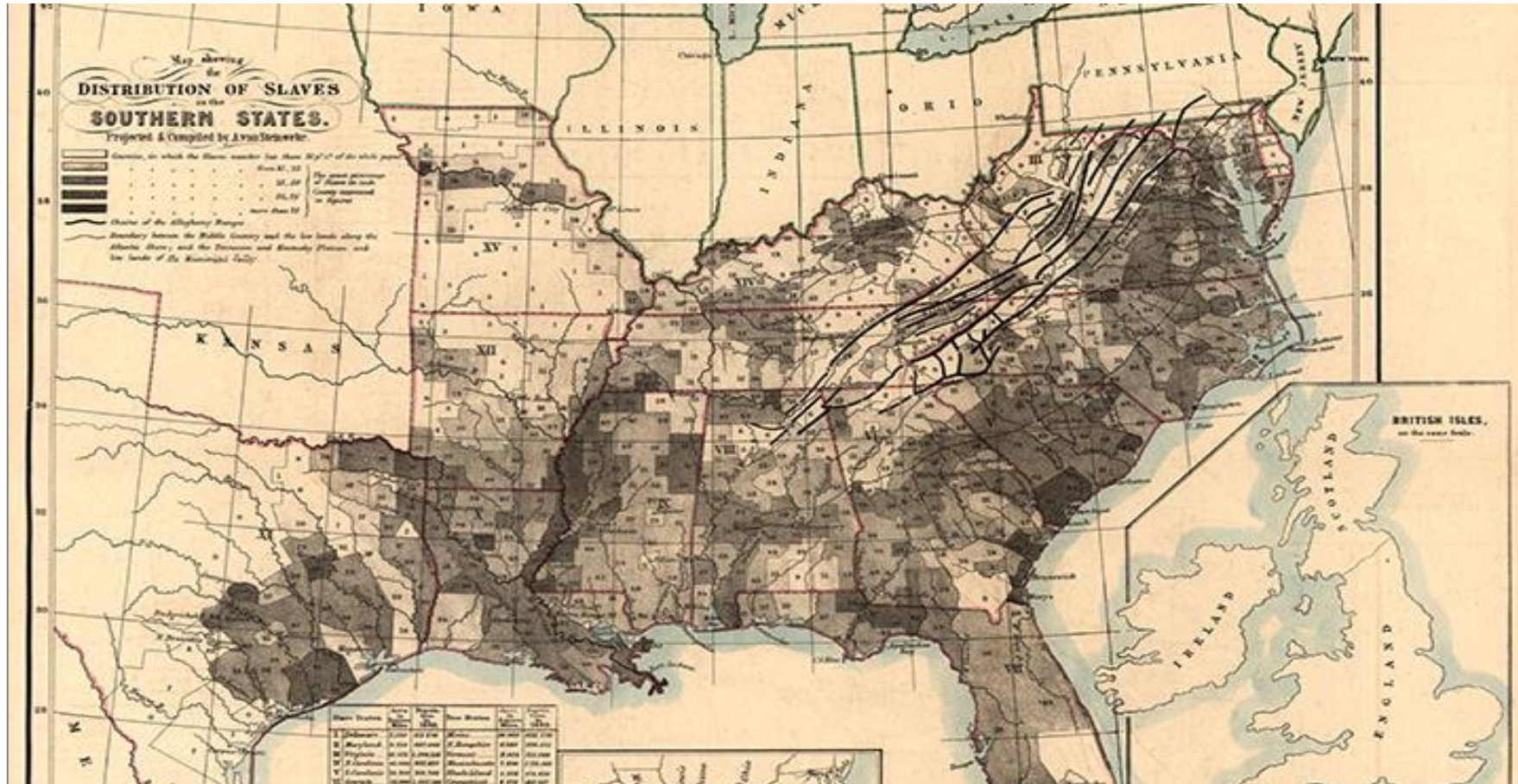


STRUCTURAL RACISM, FAMILY STRUCTURE, & BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY:

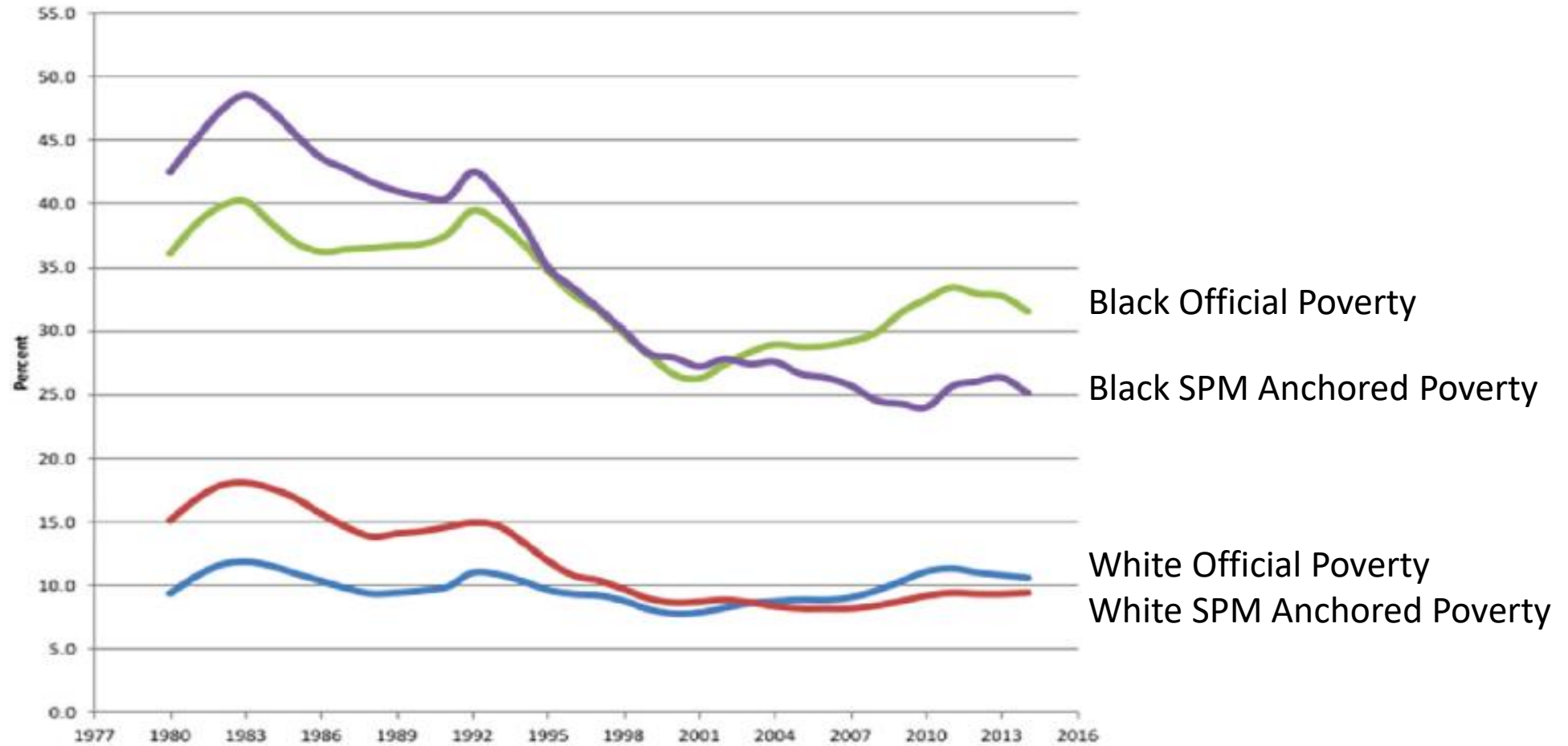


THE DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY AMONG
SINGLE MOTHER & MARRIED PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

“Today, in virtually every realm for which evidence exists—from the bottom to the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy—Whites remain better off, on average, than Blacks.”

- Sociologist, Barbara Reskin (2012)


BLACK-WHITE POVERTY GAP AMONG FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN (U.S.)



(Source: Sullivan & Ziegert, 2021)



The Enduring Significance of Ethno-Racial Inequalities in Poverty in the U.S., 1993–2017

Regina S. Baker¹  · David Brady^{2,3} · Zachary Parolin^{4,5} · Deadric T. Williams⁶

Poverty in the United States: 2021

Current Population Reports

By John Creamer, Emily A. Shrider, Kalee Burns, and Frances Chen

Issued September 2022

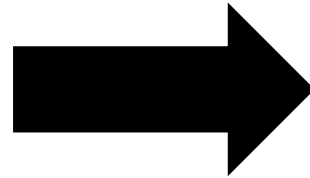
P60-277

Black poverty rates remain about double White poverty rates, despite the poverty measure used.

EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF FAMILY STRUCTURE FOR BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY

Poverty rates are higher among single-mother families vs. married parent families

A disproportionate share of Black families are single-mother families



Single motherhood deemed a mechanism for the reproduction of poverty that largely contributes to the Black-White poverty gap

MARRIAGE AS A SOLUTION TO REDUCING THE BLACK-WHITE POVERTY GAP AMONG FAMILIES

- Much emphasis on the economic benefits of marriage for families (e.g., Amato & Maynard 2007; Thomas & Sawhill 2002; Waite 1995).
- Hence, marriage has been deemed a mechanism for economic stability among children and poverty reduction (AEI-Brookings 2015; Amato & Maynard 2007).



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YET...THERE ARE RACIAL DISPARITIES IN THE IMPACT OF FAMILY STRUCTURE

White women experience
greater economic returns
than Black women

(Addo & Lichter 2013; Blackwell & Lichter 2013; Shapiro et al. 2013).

Marriage provides more
material advantages for
White children than Black
children.

(Manning & Brown 2006).

Single motherhood has a more
adverse impact on educational
outcomes of White children
than Black children

(Cross 2020; Brand et al. 2020,

Poverty rates remain
higher for Black
families than White
families, despite
having the **same**
family structure.

(Williams & Baker 2020)

STRUCTURAL RACISM AS A MECHANISM OF INEQUALITY

Structural racism involves “macrolevel systems, social forces, institutions, ideologies, and processes that interact with one another to generate and reinforce inequities among racial and ethnic groups.”

(Gee & Ford, 2011)

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS IN SHAPING (RACIAL) INEQUALITY

- Institutions can regulate and shape individual and collective behavior, and thus shape inequality. (Brady, Blome, and Kleider 2016).
- Racism is deeply embedded in society's institutions (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin 2014).
- Oppressively racist institutions have enduring harmful effects (Feagin 2014).
- Examining historic oppressive institutions can help illuminate the long-term origins of contemporary racial inequalities.



HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONAL RACISM: THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY



- Slavery was an institutionalized mechanism of racial inequality (Biggs & Andrews 2015; Du Bois 1903; Oliver & Winant 2014).
- Historical slavery concentration reflects places' reliance on slave labor & suggests local ties to the system of slavery.
- Linked to contemporary economic, social, & health outcomes (O'Connell 2012; Berger 2018; Acharya et al. 2016; Kramer et al., 2017, Reece 2020).

BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY ACROSS FAMILIES & THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY

- ❑ We can gain new insights by integrating research on poverty in families and the legacy of slavery.
- ❑ Research demonstrating racial variation in the economic returns to different family structures implies that racism shapes how family relates to outcomes (Cross 2020; Williams & Baker 2021).
- ❑ Assessing whether indicators of structural racism can impact racial inequality differently within a given family type can provide evidence to the above point.



RESEARCH QUESTION

Does the legacy of slavery amplify Black-White inequality in poverty among individuals within the same family structure?

THE CURRENT STUDY: A MULTI-DATA, MULTI-METHOD APPROACH

Poverty and family literature:
Individual-level focus

Legacy of slavery literature:
County-level, placed-based
approach



1. Multilevel analysis linking individual- and state-level data
2. County-level analysis

MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

INDIVIDUALS-STATES

DATA

- ❑ Luxembourg Income Study (LIS)
 - U.S. waves (2015-2019)
 - Current Population Survey (CPS) March supplement

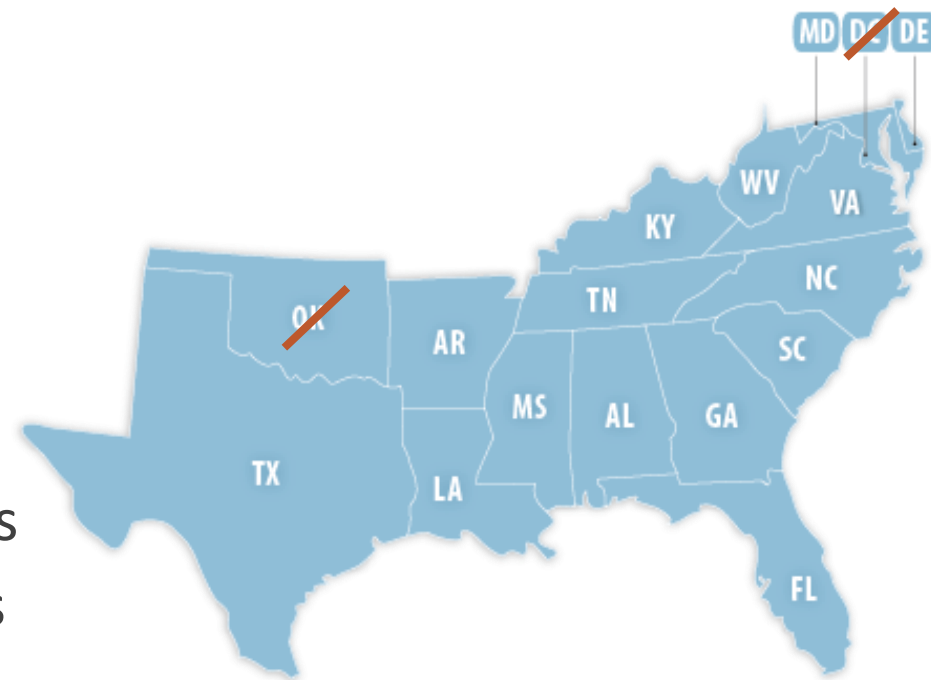


- ❑ State-level slavery data: Historical U.S. Census



SAMPLE

- ❑ Non-Hispanic White & Black individuals residing in the South
 - We exclude OK and D.C.
- ❑ Total $N = 106,985$ individuals
 - $N=22,006$ in single mother-headed households
 - $N=84,979$ in married with children households



MEASURES

Dependent Variable

- Black-White poverty gap
- Relative Poverty: individuals living in households with post-tax, post-transfer disposable household incomes below 50% of median.

Independent Variables

- Race
- 1860 Enslaved Population
- Household composition
- Head's age
- Household size
- Head's education attainment
- Household employment
- Head's immigrant status
- Rural Residence
- Year

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Descriptive
Analyses

differences in poverty by family type & race

Bivariate Analyses

the relationship between 1860 enslaved population and the Black-White poverty gap for each family structure

Multi-level
Linear Probability
Models

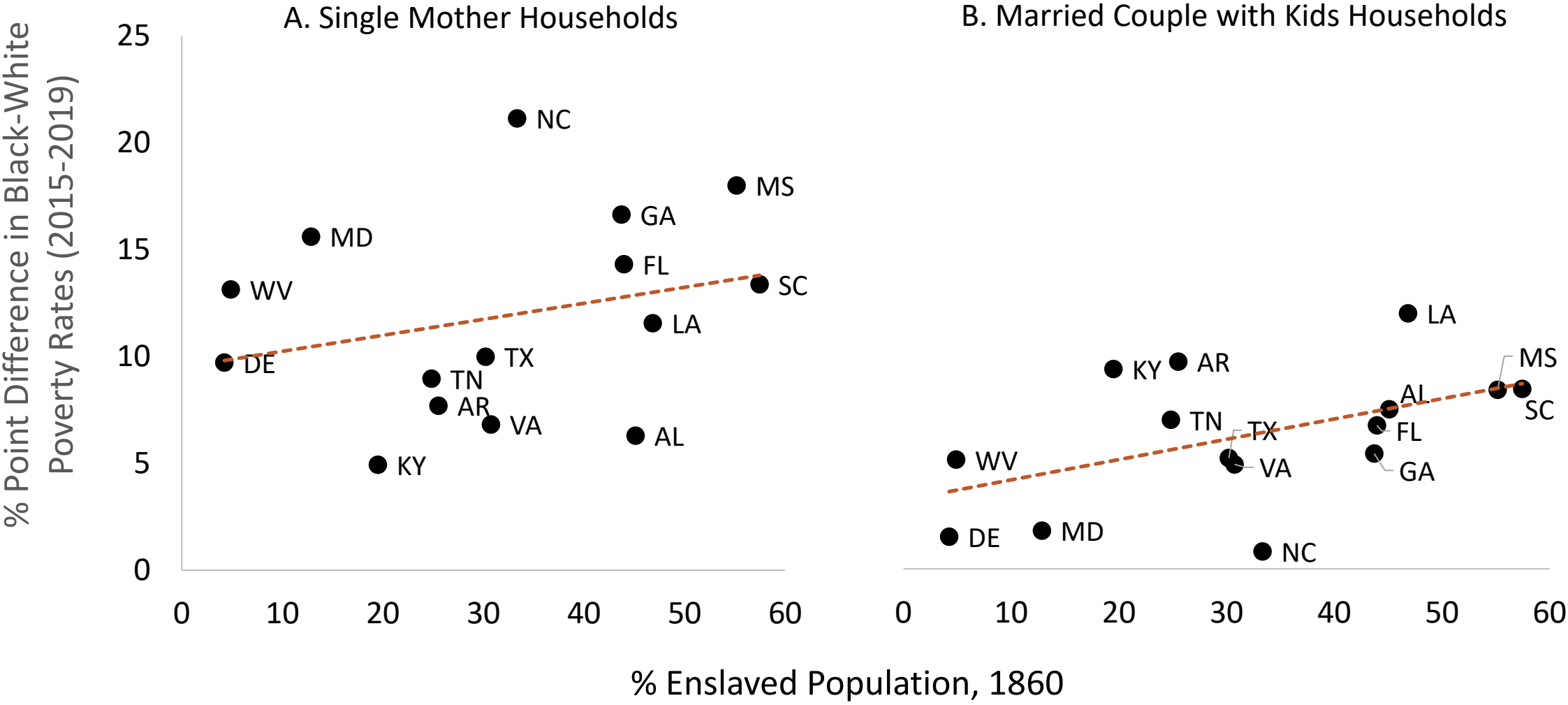
interaction of enslaved population x Black

POVERTY DESCRIPTIVES

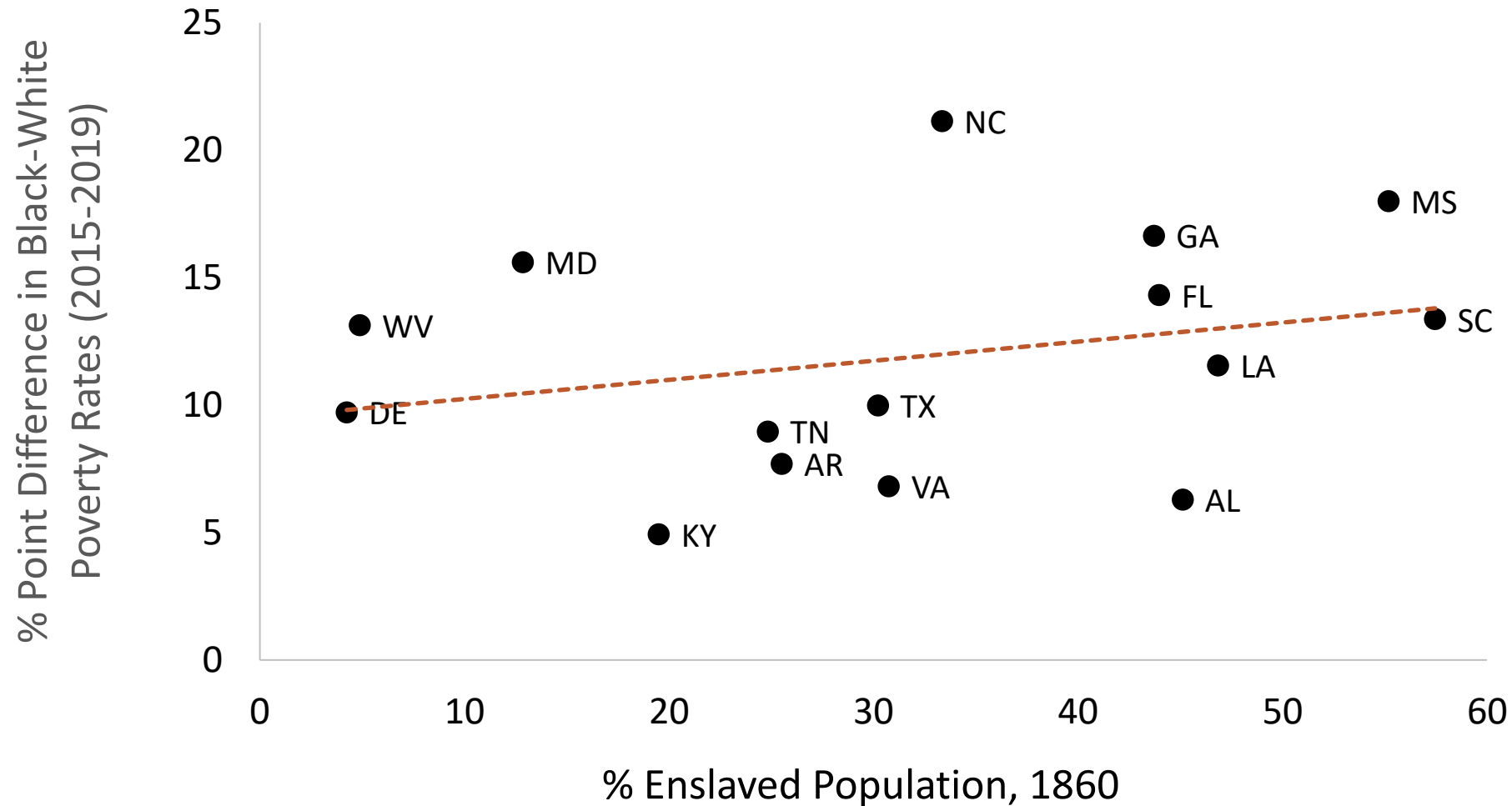
	Single Mother Households		Married with Kids Households	
	Black	White	Black	White
Poverty	48.4%	35.6%	13.7%	8.2%
Black-White Poverty Gap	12.6		5.5	
Max. Poverty Rate	21.2% (NC)		12.5% (LA)	
Min. Poverty Rate	4.9 % (KY)		.85% (NC)	

Note: All differences are statistically significant.

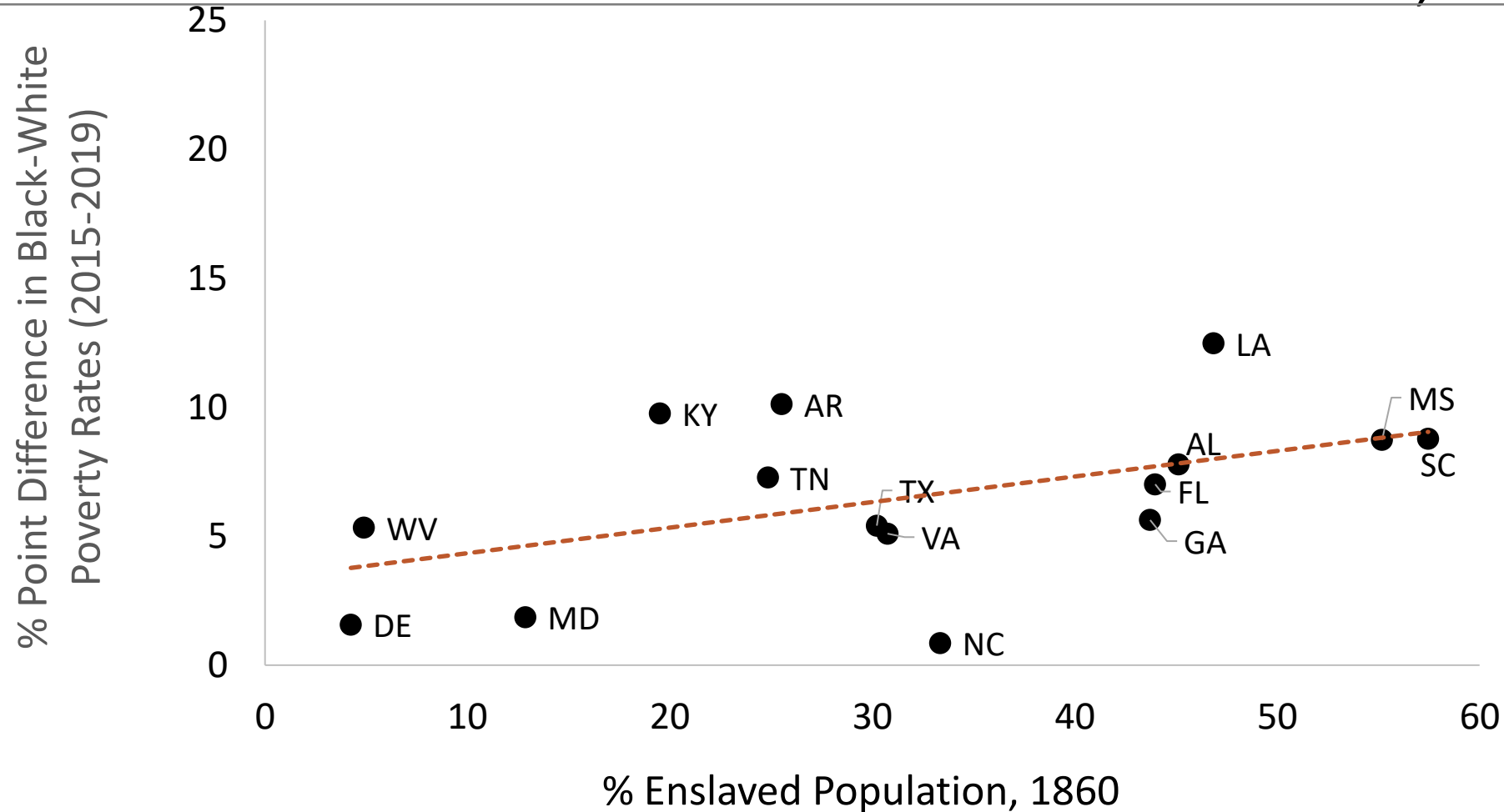
BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY & 1860 ENSLAVED POPULATION BY FAMILY STRUCTURE



BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY & 1860 ENSLAVED POPULATION AMONG SINGLE MOTHER HOUSEHOLDS, $r = .27$



BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY & 1860 ENSLAVED POPULATION AMONG MARRIED WITH CHILDREN HOUSEHOLDS, $r = .50$



MULTI-LEVEL LINEAR PROBABILITY MODELS OF POVERTY AMONG BLACK & WHITE SOUTHERNERS BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

	<i>Single Mother Households</i>		<i>Married with Children Households</i>	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>Z</i>
Enslaved Pop.	.000	0.75	-.000	-0.10
Enslaved Pop. x Black	.001	1.39	.001***	3.13
Black	.029	1.00	.005	0.37
All Controls	Yes		Yes	
<i>N</i>	22,006		84,979	

Note: All models include controls for year and cluster the errors by state. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

COUNTY-LEVEL SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

COUNTY-LEVEL DATA

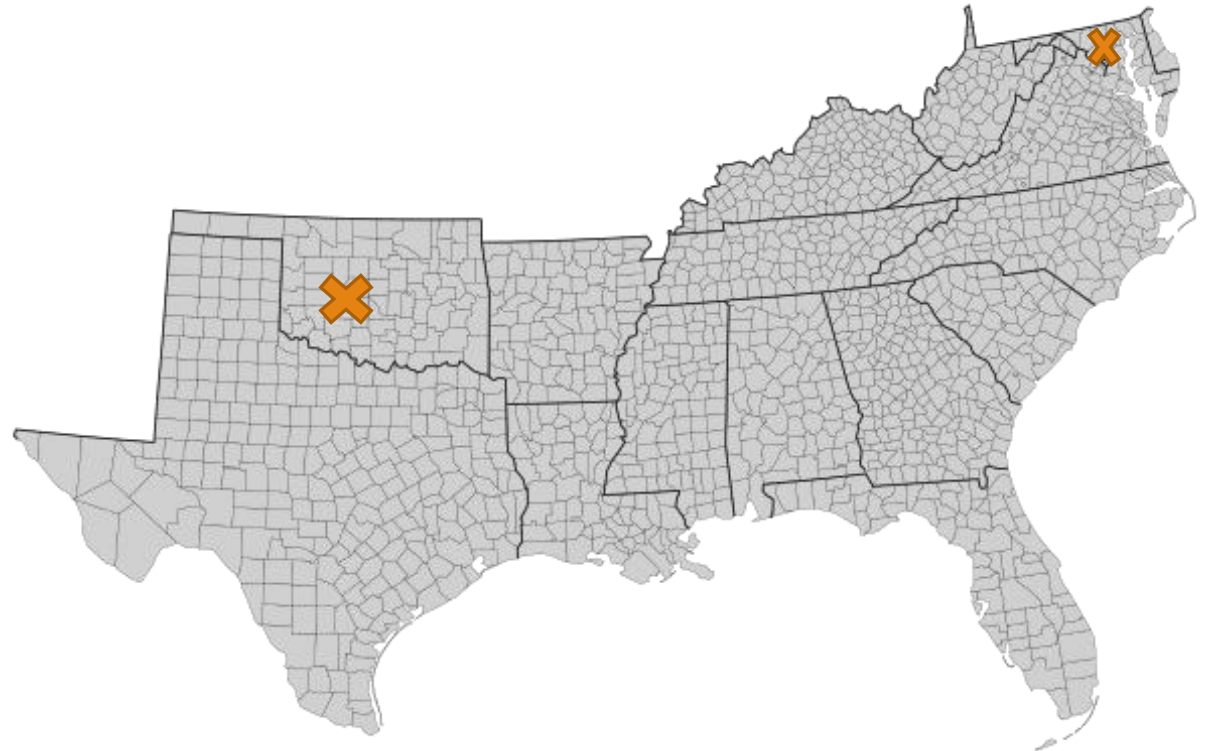
- American Community Survey (ACS)
 - 5-year period estimates for 2015-2019

- 1860 Historical Census
 - Slave data for counties



COUNTY-LEVEL SAMPLE

- ❑ 1,075 southern counties for single-mother household analysis; 1,087 counties for married households with children analysis.
- ❑ Excludes Oklahoma & D.C.
- ❑ Counties capture important sub-state variation in the historical attachment to slavery.



COUNTY-LEVEL MEASURES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

- County-level Black-White inequality in poverty by family type
Based on the Official Poverty Measure (OPM)

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

- The total (%) of enslaved population in a county in 1860.

COUNTY-LEVEL ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Descriptive
Analyses

differences in poverty by family type & race

Bivariate
Analyses

the relationship between 1860 enslaved population & the Black-White poverty gap for each family structure.

Binary
Regression

with state fixed effects

Maps

of dependent variable

COUNTY-LEVEL POVERTY DESCRIPTIVES

	Single Mother Households		Married with Kids Households	
	Black	White	Black	White
Poverty	48%	40%	12%	8%
Black-White Poverty Gap	10		5	

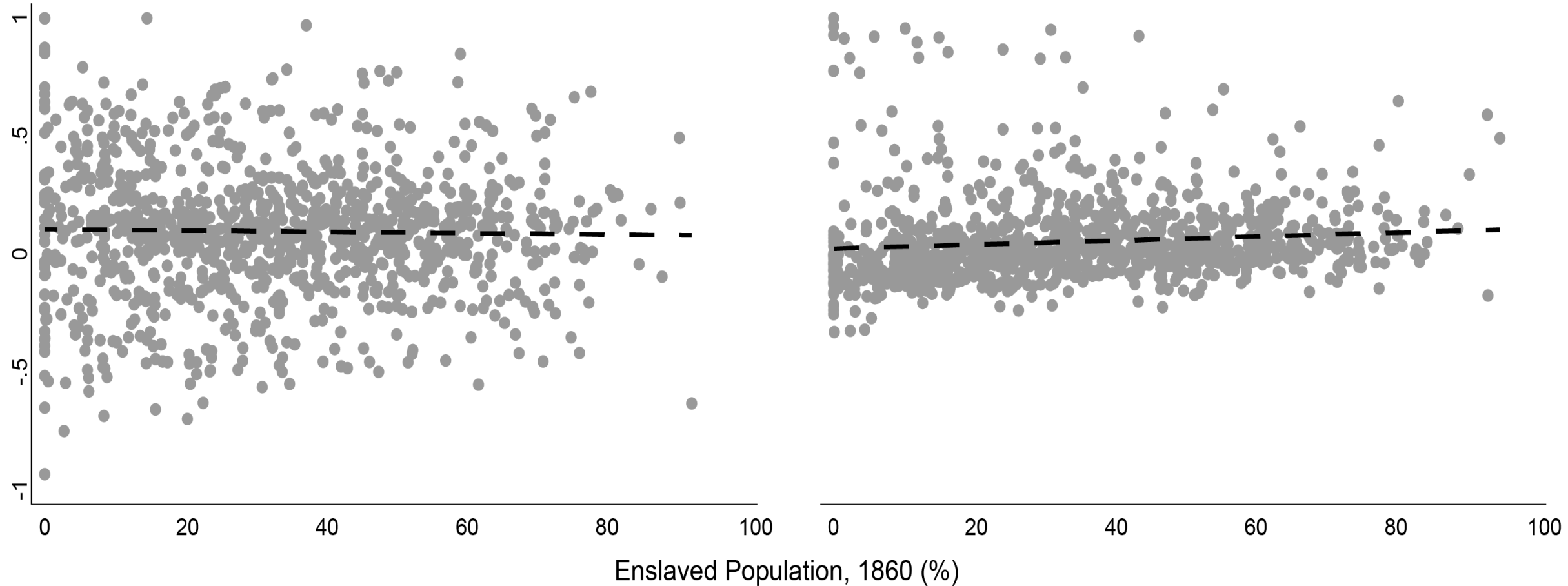
Note: All differences are statistically significant.

BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY & 1860 ENSLAVED POPULATION IN SOUTHERN COUNTIES BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Panel A. Single Mother Households ($r = -.02, p > .10$)

Panel B. Married with Kids Households ($r = .10, p < .001$)

Percentage-Point Difference in Black-White Poverty Rates



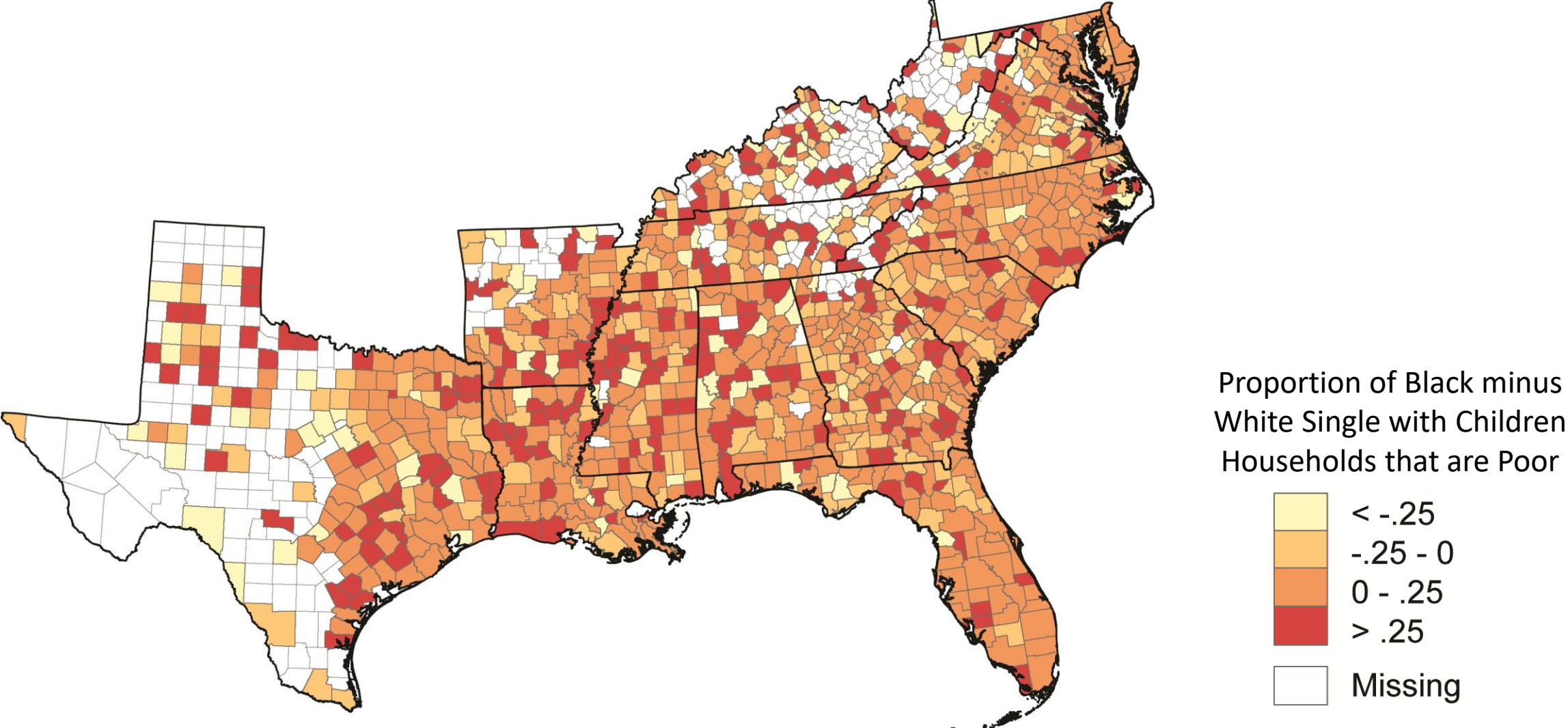
BINARY REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COUNTY-LEVEL BLACK-WHITE POVERTY INEQUALITY AND THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY, ACS 5-YEAR PERIODS ESTIMATES 2015-2019

	Coef.	Stand. Error
Single Mother Households	-0.062	.049
<i>N</i>		1,076
Married with Children Households	.065*	.031
<i>N</i>		1,088

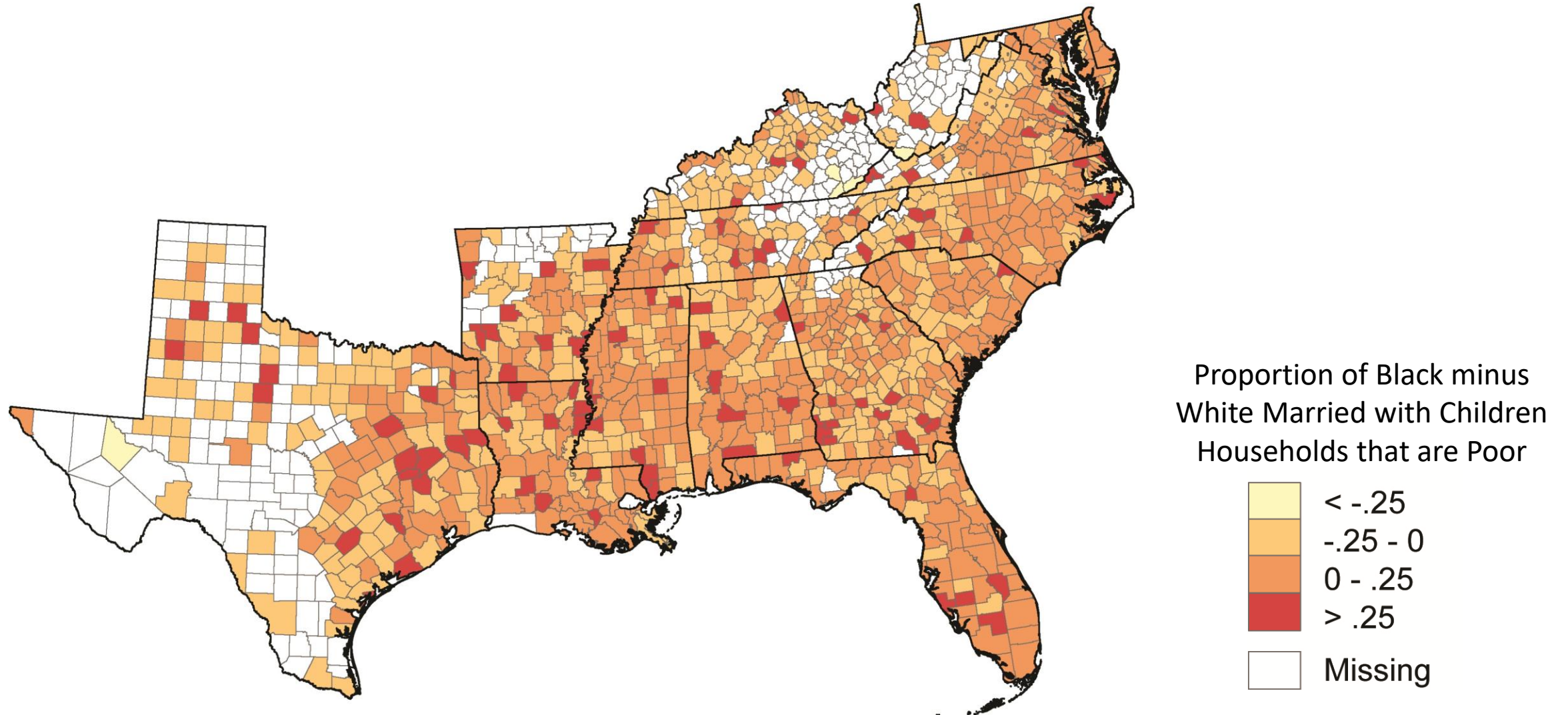
Note: All models include a set of state fixed effects. North Carolina serves as the reference.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY AMONG SINGLE MOTHER HOUSEHOLDS IN SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 2015-2019



BLACK-WHITE INEQUALITY IN POVERTY AMONG MARRIED PARENT HOUSEHOLDS IN SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 2015-2019



CONCLUSION

CONCLUSIONS

- ❑ That Black poverty is higher than White poverty across family structure, suggests a need to consider explanations for inequality that lie beyond family structure (e.g., structural racism)
- ❑ We expected there to be an impact of the legacy of slavery on Black-White inequality in poverty, but we did not expect this relationship to be more consequential for married parent households than single mother households.
- ❑ The mechanisms stemming from the legacy of slavery affecting how family structure relates to poverty may be unique to the relative advantages associated with marriage.

WHY A STRONGER LEGACY IMPACT FOR MARRIED FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN?

- ❑ White married individuals experience greater financial returns from marriage (Addo & Lichter 2018; Shapiro et al. 2013) that may be exacerbated by the legacy of slavery, which has been shown to protect White advantages (Gabriel et al., 2021; Reece, 2020).
- ❑ Simultaneously, Black married families residing in stronger legacy of slavery contexts are likely to experience enhanced negative consequences as a result of this form of structural racism.

WHY A LACK OF/WEAK LEGACY IMPACT FOR SINGLE MOTHER FAMILIES?

- ❑ The punitive nature of the legacy of slavery (particularly its connections to the criminal legal system (e.g., Gottlieb and Flynn, 2021; Vandiver et al., 2006), may extend to the economic realm and impact marginalized families (i.e., single-mother families) similarly, regardless of race
- ❑ The lack of economic/welfare support combined with the enhanced role of the criminal legal system associated with the legacy of slavery produces a context that is detrimental for single mothers.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

- ❑ Adds to the evidence of a contemporary legacy of slavery
- ❑ Demonstrates useful insights to be gained by examining structural mechanisms of inequality
- ❑ Underlines need for more attention on the role of racism when explaining *why* marriage is differentially protective against poverty for Black & White families
- ❑ Challenges implicit belief that marriage is an anti-poverty mechanism that works equally across groups/context & suggest the limitations of individual-level perspectives in explaining racial inequality across family types

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- ❑ Policy may reward or protect certain family structures that are associated with Whiteness—namely, marriage. This can be direct or indirect, and at all institutional levels, not just the state/local level. (e.g., Brown 2021)
- ❑ Existing marriage penalties can compound with local structural racism to the disadvantage of married Black households.
- ❑ However, federal policy (e.g., Child Tax Credit) can also mitigate the impact of the discriminatory contexts associated with the legacy of slavery that are implied by our analyses.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Structural racism, family structure, and Black–White inequality: The differential impact of the legacy of slavery on poverty among single mother and married parent households

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Abstract

Objective: To assess whether an indicator of structural racism—the legacy of slavery—impacts racial inequality in poverty among individuals within the same family structure.

Background: Family structure is a dominant explanation for racial inequality in poverty. This overemphasis on an “individual-level” variable results in relatively less attention to the role of structural factors. Yet, structural fac-

Thank you!

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