Analyzing the Intersectionality of Race and Socioeconomics in Foster Care and Child Welfare

Isabella Gallardo

Bemidji State University

Political Science Senior Thesis

Bemidji State University

Dr. Patrick Donnay, Advisor

April 2023

Abstract

Racial disparities continue to persist in the child welfare system, resulting in disproportionate representation and differential treatment for children from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Understanding the root causes, systemic factors, biases, and consequences of these disparities is vital for discovering solutions to ensure fair and equitable treatment for all children. I synthesize existing research conducted on racial disparities in child welfare, delving into systemic factors, biases, and their consequences. The dataset I most utilized is from the National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect (NDACAN). Correlation analysis was used to show the relationship between racial disproportionality and systematic factors such as teen pregnancy rates, minimum wages, and education levels. The study revealed weak to moderate correlations between socioeconomic factors and racial disproportionality. Higher teen pregnancy and lower minimum wage rates correlated with increased disproportionality among African American and Native American children. Higher education levels were linked to lower disproportionality among African American children, with mixed results for other racial groups. These results confirm the ongoing challenge of achieving equality in foster care and child welfare and highlights the urgency for solutions and interventions addressing socioeconomic disparities to mitigate racial disproportionality in the child welfare system.

Literature Review

Understanding Racial Disparities in Child Welfare: An Introduction

For some time, there has been growing concern about racial disproportionality in child welfare. "Disproportionality" pertains to the discrepancy in the presence of specific racial or ethnic groups within child welfare systems when compared to their presence in the overall population of children. (Kim et al., 2011). For example, African American youth make up one-third of the total youth in foster care, despite constituting only 15% of the child population in the United States. (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2017). This is a vital issue as it may lead to imbalanced representation and negative experiences among certain races. Children who are Black, American Indian/Alaskan Native, or multiracial were found to have higher likelihoods of being substantiated or placed out of home compared to White (non-Hispanic) children. Conversely, Asian children were less likely to be substantiated or placed out of home. (Maguire-Jack et al., 2020).

To guarantee fairness in the system and enhance the effectiveness of child welfare services, it is imperative to analyze and address these disparities. Especially given the high severity of this issue. Existing knowledge about racial disparities in child welfare is synthesized, including research findings, trends, and gaps in knowledge. Addressing these disparities is crucial to ensure a fair system where all children, regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, receive equal service.

Roles and Challenges of CPS in Addressing Racial Disparities

Child Protective Services (CPS) is a government agency or division within a larger agency responsible for investigating reports of child abuse or neglect. CPS caseworkers have two primary responsibilities. Initially, they must determine whether to substantiate a case, which involves assessing whether there is adequate evidence to support at least one allegation of maltreatment. Subsequently, they must decide whether to remove a child from their home (Maguire-Jack et al., 2020). CPS must meet two criteria: (1) Caseworkers are required to follow the definitions of maltreatment outlined in state laws, which are enacted as the "confirmation of the allegations by the investigative caseworker." (2) Additionally, they must satisfy the minimum standards for the severity of maltreatment as set by the study. These criteria, outlined by measures established by individual researchers, can vary across studies (Zuravin, 1991). To understand racial differences in this context, it's important to consider how race and ethnicity impact the identification, reporting, and treatment towards children of color in CPS. To do so two main perspectives must be considered. Structural racism, involving unequal treatment in institutions and policies, and cultural competence, which focuses on recognizing the cultural importance for children of various races and ethnicities. However, addressing racial disparities in research samples requires accurate data interpretation and reliable methods to understand complex dynamics without introducing bias.

Exploring Systemic Factors

African American children face higher rates of being taken from their biological families' homes compared to children of other racial or ethnic backgrounds, and they are also less likely to be returned (Anyon, 2011). In addition, findings from a recent research investigation, aimed at examining the influence of race and county characteristics on substantiation and out-of-home placement decisions in the United States, indicated that a child's race and ethnicity play a role in

their probability of being confirmed for maltreatment or being taken out of their home, regardless of various factors such as child attributes, case specifics, county characteristics, and the state they reside in. Black, American Indian/Alaskan Native, and multiracial children exhibited notably higher chances of being confirmed for maltreatment and being placed out of their homes compared to non-Hispanic White children. Additionally, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander and Hispanic children had increased odds of being confirmed for maltreatment but not of being placed out of their homes (Maguire-Jack et al., 2020). What is the cause of these disparities? Recent researchers continue to delve into systemic aspects of the child protection system to reveal racial disparities. For example, it was discovered that poverty is cited as a reason for the removal of children from their natural homes. Families facing poverty often encounter challenges that hinder their ability to adequately address the needs of their child(ren). These challenges typically include poverty itself, exposure to violence, parental incarceration, substance abuse, mental health issues, and single parenthood (Miller et al., 2012). Chibnall et al. (2003) studied why there are more African American children in the child welfare system. They found that racism and poverty are the main reasons for this overrepresentation. If a report involved an African American family, it was more likely to be taken seriously compared to cases with children of the majority race. Factors like poverty, lack of resources in poor communities, discrimination in society, family characteristics, and media influence contribute to the higher numbers of African American children in child welfare.

To further support (Miller et al., 2012) is a qualitative study conducted that utilized focus groups to explore the inner workings of decision makers in child welfare, community partners, and the viewpoints of families regarding the factors that contribute to racial disproportionality and disparity within Oregon's child welfare system. Among the findings, it was revealed that

some participants raised questions regarding the extent to which poverty, closely linked with other risk factors such as adverse community conditions and parental education levels commonly observed in communities of color, contributed to racial disproportionality and disparity in child welfare. Many participants proposed that racial disproportionality and disparity were attributed to either poverty or external factors beyond the decision-making scope of the child welfare system (Miller et al., 2012). Poverty is not the only systemic aspect that contributes to racial disparity, education level can also be a big indicator.

Ahn et al, 2022 conducted a study to investigate variances in participant satisfaction levels with Family Team Decision Meetings (FTDM) and explore discrepancies in the provision of child welfare services to families involved in FTDM. FTDM aims to involve families with children in the child welfare system. Findings from logistic regression analysis revealed that factors such as participants' race and education, along with the level of family engagement, significantly influenced satisfaction with FTDM outcomes.

Additionally, it was found that households receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), along with mothers under the age of 18.5 and those who gave birth before reaching 18.5 years old, faced a higher likelihood of being placed (Zuravin & DePanfilis, 1997). Ultimately, these findings really showcase how local conditions intersect with broader systemic socioeconomic forces, giving rise to intricate challenges related to racial disparities within child welfare.

Addressing Biases

There are many existing causes that are leading to racial disparities in child protection services. One of the main causes may be racial bias discrimination. In this context, racial bias

pertains to unjust or disparate treatment among similar children, stemming from either individual biases or unjust policies and practices (Drake et al., 2023). Racial biases are often categorized as unconscious or implicit biases. Essentially, this indicates that implicit bias is unintentional but can manifest when triggered by cues such as skin color or accents, even if the individual is unaware of their bias (Blair, Steiner, & Havranek, 2011). These prejudices might result in racially biased treatment of children, for example caseworkers might perceive actions differently when assessing parents of children from a particular racial group residing in impoverished areas compared to those of parents from different racial backgrounds or the same racial group but in non-impoverished areas. Bias can emerge at any phase of the CPS process, and there's evidence indicating racial disparities in CPS reporting (Maguire-Jack et al., 2020). The risks linked to social circumstances and the potential presence of institutional biases within child welfare procedures both play a role in racial and ethnic disparities (Kim et al. 2011). These disparities are further widened by systemic barriers Harp & Bunting, (2019) acknowledge that race-based child welfare policies and practices, alongside broader social dynamics and systemic factors, are significant contributors to the disproportionate removal of African American children from their family and community of origin. As children navigate the child welfare system, they confront distinct challenges and obstacles tied to their intersecting identities. Understanding the collective impact of these factors is vital in comprehending the disparities affecting children's lives within the system. So, solving these complex issues requires a thorough policy reform that includes training in cultural competence and actions to tackle implicit bias and discrimination.

Impact of Racial Disparities in Child Welfare

On the other hand, the effects of racial disparities in the child welfare system have detrimental consequences for the involved children as well as their families. Font (2014) found

that children who spent 50% or more of their time in out-of-home care (OOHC) in kin placements exhibited notably lower scores on baseline internalizing and externalizing behavior issues. Conversely, children primarily placed in non-kin settings showed below-average academic performance initially but demonstrated improvement over time. In relation, the trauma and psychological impacts resulting from these transfers were noted to be more severe among minority groups such as African Americans because of structural biases. The cultural disparity between foster children and their caregivers has been associated with adverse psychosocial outcomes, especially among minority children (Font 2014). Another study explained how shifting the foster homes of children can regularly increase these outcomes. Instability in placement can hinder a child's adaptation in foster care. Children facing frequent changes in placement are deprived of consistent attachment figures, hindering their ability to establish trust and affection with caregivers. Moreover, the geographical distance between placements can disrupt their broader social networks, leading to diminished contact with schools, friends, siblings, relatives, and community and church groups (Font et al., 2018). An article titled *Do Race, Racial Disproportionality, and Disparities Remain Foci of Child Welfare?: Words Matter* delves deeper into the wider consequences of racial disparities within the child welfare system. They emphasize how this disparity leads to fractured families and a dearth of community support, which is especially tragic for minority children heavily reliant on social networks.

Additionally, these effects also manifest in enduring gaps in education, finances, and health. When traumatic incidents, interrupted schooling, and unstable housing accumulate, they can hinder the future opportunities of these children, leading to setbacks that persist across generations. This emphasizes the urgent need for systemic changes to address these disparities and enhance the well-being of all children within the child welfare system.

Gaps in the Literature

It is crucial to focus on the differences among various ethnicities and races within the child welfare system. However, research gaps exist in this specific area. Limited research methods and gaps in data, like the absence of long-term studies and thorough datasets, make it challenging to fully understand these issues. For example, although recent endeavors have aimed to account for the impact of county-level factors on racial disparities in child welfare involvement, there is no existing research incorporating data from smaller counties in the United States. Past initiatives have frequently been limited to counties meeting a specific CPS case reporting threshold due to constraints within the data systems (Kim & Drake, 2018). Another challenge is the lack of comparative literature that could provide insights from different countries on how they've addressed similar issues. So, addressing these gaps in the research is vital for creating better and fairer child welfare policies and practices. This analysis attempts to address these gaps by investigating and analyzing the relationships between socio-economic factors such as teen pregnancy rates, minimum wages, and education levels and racial disproportionality.

Summary and Question

Addressing racial disparities in child welfare is a complex task that involves understanding systemic factors, biases, and their impact on children and families. Concerns about unequal representation in the system highlight the need for fairness and equitable treatment for all children. Child Protective Services (CPS) play a crucial role, and decisions about substantiation and removal are often influenced by systemic issues like poverty and education levels. These systemic problems, combined with biases at various stages of the CPS process, emphasize the importance of policy reforms and training to combat discrimination. The consequences of racial

disparities on children are significant, affecting their well-being, education, and future opportunities. From what is concluded from the diverse number of research studies mentioned, various socio-economic factors contribute to racial disparities in foster care and child welfare. Those socio-economic factors include teen pregnancy rates, minimum wage, and level of education. These gaps mentioned emphasize the urgency of systemic changes to improve the overall welfare of children in the child welfare system. Despite progress in research, there are still gaps in understanding these disparities due to limited methods, data gaps, and a lack of comparative literature. Addressing these gaps is vital for creating fair and effective child welfare policies and practices that prioritize the well-being of all children, regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds. In this context, the research question exploring how teen pregnancy rates, minimum wages, and education levels correlate with racial disproportionality in child welfare, specifically focusing on African American, Native American, and White populations, is vital for further understanding the underlying factors contributing to racial disparities in foster care and child welfare.

Method and Analysis

The primary data source for the data is the National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect (NDACAN). Established in 1988, NDACAN has been used as a prominent resource by researchers in the child-maltreatment field. NDACAN receives their data contributions from various esteemed researchers and national data collection efforts. The specific dataset used was labeled Dataset #255, AFCARS Foster Care FY2020. This dataset consisted of the number of children across all age groups within each state's foster care system on September 30, 2020. It also provided the general child population for each state and categorized the children by race.

Building upon the evidence provided by prior research and analyses, this study produces the following hypothesizes:

1. Elevated rates of teen pregnancy rates correlate positively with heightened racial disproportionality in child welfare.
2. States with lower minimum wages are associated with increased racial disproportionality in child welfare.
3. States with higher education levels (bachelor's degree or more) are linked with decreased racial disproportionality in child welfare.

Before delving into testing my hypotheses, I gathered data to operationalize the relevant variables. The additional datasets used for this research were derived from the IBM SPSS Statistic program. The data consisted of information such as teen pregnancy rates per thousand women aged fifteen to nineteen, minimum wage data, and education levels (bachelor's degree or higher) for each state. I chose to concentrate on the racial disproportionality in African and Native American communities as they showcase the most prominent disparities. My intension is to evaluate their disproportionality within the child welfare system by comparing it to the disproportionality in the Caucasian population. In order to do this, I computed the difference between the general state population and the state foster population for each racial group. To provide an example, the child African American population in Alabama is .29, subtract that with the child African American population of .33 you get a disparity of -.04. A negative result is bad. This process resulted in the creation of variables titles “Africandiff,” “Nativediff,” “Whitediff,”.

Hypothesis One:

To test my first hypothesis, I decided to conduct a correlation analysis to determine the potential correlation between teen pregnancy rates and racial disproportionality in child welfare. To assess the relationship, I conducted tests on my independent variables in relation to my dependent variable, preg_teen_rate (the number of pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15-19). The first independent variable under consideration was Africandiff. Analysis revealed a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.070 ($p = 0.628$) between the number of pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15-19 and Africandiff, indicating a notably weak positive correlation between these two variables as seen in Figure 1. I extended this analysis to my remaining two independent variables and observed that the Pearson correlation coefficient between the number of pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15-19 and Nativediff is 0.157 ($p = 0.276$). This suggests a weak positive correlation between the two variables as seen in Figure 2. Additionally, the Pearson correlation coefficient between the number of pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15-19 and whitediff is -0.372 ($p = 0.008$). This negative correlation indicates a moderate inverse relationship between teen pregnancy rates and disproportionality in child welfare among the white population as seen in Figure 3.

Hypothesis Two:

I also tested the relationship between low minimum wages and racial disproportionality in child welfare. To assess the relationship, I conducted tests on my independent variables in relation to my dependent variable, min_wage (each state's minimum wage). The first independent variable under consideration was Africandiff. Analysis revealed a Pearson correlation coefficient of –0.239 ($p = 0.095$). This indicates a negative correlation between Africandiff and State minimum wage as seen in Figure 4. When I expanded upon this examination, I discovered that the Pearson correlation coefficient between each state's minimum

wage) and Nativediff is -0.122 (p = 0.398). This indicates a weak negative correlation between State minimum wage and Nativediff as seen in Figure 5. It also revealed that the Pearson correlation coefficient between each state's minimum wage) and Whitediff is 0.325 (p = 0.022). Indicating a moderate positive correlation between State minimum wage and whitediff as seen in Figure 6.

Hypothesis Three:

In my final and ultimate hypothesis, I chose to replicate the previous tests. I aimed to investigate the potential correlation between education levels and racial disproportionality in child welfare. To achieve this, I conducted a correlation analysis to assess the relationship between education levels and racial disproportionality. To assess the relationship, I conducted tests on my independent variables in relation to my dependent variable, BA_or_more (each state's percentage of college or higher). The first independent variable under consideration was Africandiff. The correlation analysis between Africandiff and Percent college or higher reveals a Pearson correlation coefficient of -0.373 (p = 0.008). This indicates a moderate negative correlation between Africandiff and the percentage of college or higher education as seen in Figure 7. For the remaining independent variables, the outcomes are as follows: The correlation analysis between percentage of college or higher and Nativediff yields a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.030 (p = 0.837). This implies an exceedingly weak positive correlation between the percentage of the population with college or higher education and Nativediff as seen in Figure 8. Also, for the correlation analysis between percentage of the population with and whitediff, the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.264 (p= 0.064. This suggests a weak positive correlation between the percentage of the population with college or higher education and whitediff as seen in Figure 9.

The correlation analysis between teen pregnancy rates (preg_teen_rate) and racial disproportionality variables (Africandiff, Nativediff, Whitediff) brought forth interesting results. There is a notably weak positive correlation between teen pregnancy rates and Africandiff (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.070, p = 0.628), this implies a small tendency for increased teen pregnancy rates in states with more disproportionality among African Americans children. The correlation with Nativediff is weakly positive (0.157, p = 0.276) this suggests that as the number of pregnancies in the specified age group increases, there is a tendency for an increase in disproportionality in the Native American population within the child welfare system. The most surprising finding is a moderate inverse relationship with whitediff (-0.372, p = 0.008). This suggests that states with higher disproportionality among the white foster population tend to have lower teen pregnancy rates. Therefore, the evidence does support the hypothesis that elevated teen pregnancy rates correlate with increased racial disproportionality in child welfare.

The correlation analysis between minimum wages (min_wage) and racial disproportionality variables (Africandiff, Nativediff, Whitediff) revealed interesting patterns. There is a negative correlation between Africandiff and minimum wage (-0.239, p = 0.095). This suggests that states with lower minimum wages might exhibit higher disproportionality in the African American population. The correlation with Nativediff is weakly negative (0.122, p = 0.398) Indicating that with a decrease in the minimum wage, there could be a minor inclination towards an increase in disproportionality among the Native population. However, it's crucial to point out that this correlation lacks statistical significance at the standard threshold of 0.05. With Whitediff, it is moderately positive (0.325, p = 0.022). Indicating a moderate positive correlation between State minimum wage and whitediff. Suggesting that as the minimum wage increases, there is a tendency for a rise in disproportionality among the White population. These results

indicate that the evidence does support the hypothesis that states with lower minimum wages are associated with increased racial disproportionality in child welfare.

The correlation analysis between education levels (BA_or_more) and racial disproportionality variables (Africandiff, Nativediff, Whitediff) offers insightful findings. There is a moderate negative correlation between Africandiff and the percentage of college or higher education (-0.373, $p = 0.008$), supporting the hypothesis that higher education levels are associated with lower disproportionality in the African American population. However, the correlation with Nativediff is exceedingly weak (0.030, $p = 0.837$), suggesting a lack of a clear relationship between education levels and disproportionality in the Native American population. The correlation with Whitediff is weakly positive (0.264, $p = 0.064$), indicating that higher education levels may be associated with slightly higher disproportionality in the white population. Overall, the evidence partially supports the hypothesis, with a strong link found for the African American population but not as clear for other racial groups.

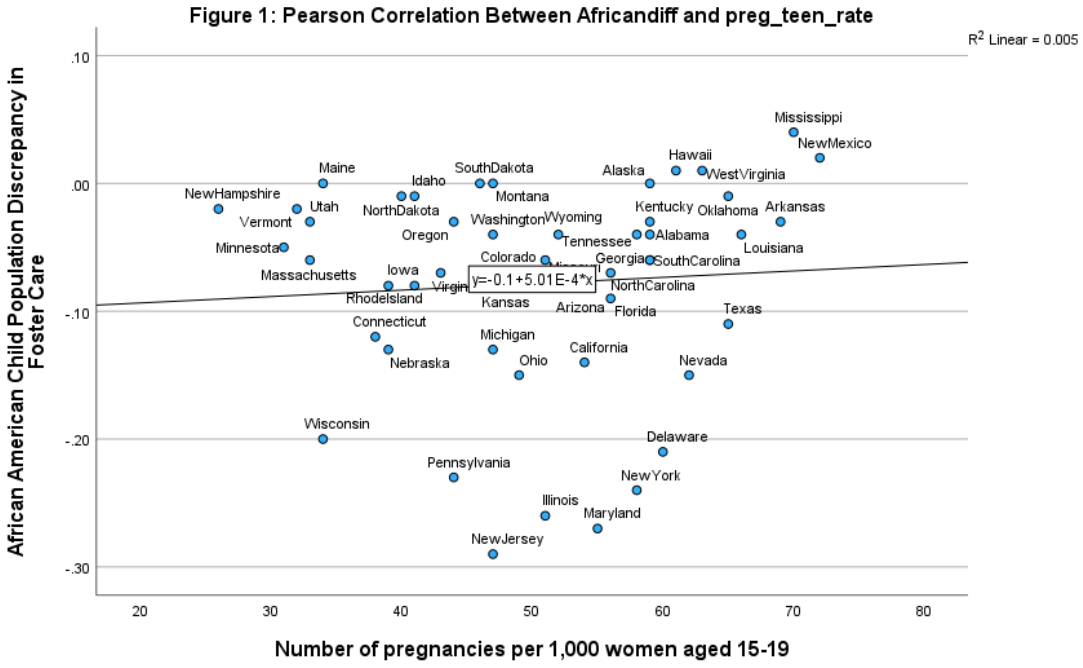
Appendix

Racial Disparity in Child Welfare/ Foster care by State				
State	White	African	Native American	Average
Alabama	0.02	-0.04	0	-0.01
Alaska	0.27	0	-0.29	-0.01
Arizona	0.02	-0.07	0	-0.02
Arkansas	0.02	-0.03	0	0.00
California	0.06	-0.14	0	-0.03
Colorado	0.11	-0.07	0	0.01
Connecticut	0.2	-0.12	0	0.03
Delaware	0.13	-0.21	0	-0.03
Florida	-0.05	-0.09	0	-0.05
Georgia	-0.03	-0.06	0	-0.03
Hawaii	-0.01	0.01	0	0.00
Idaho	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Illinois	0.07	-0.26	0	-0.06
Indiana	0.06	-0.07	0	0.00
Iowa	0.08	-0.08	-0.01	0.00
Kansas	0.04	-0.08	0	-0.01
Kentucky	0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.00
Louisiana	-0.02	-0.04	0	-0.02
Maine	0.04	0	0	0.01
Maryland	0.14	-0.27	0	-0.04
Massachusetts	0.18	-0.06	0	0.04
Michigan	0.17	-0.13	0	0.01
Minnesota	0.33	-0.05	-0.2	0.03
Mississippi	-0.06	0.04	0	-0.01
Missouri	0.03	-0.06	0	-0.01
Montana	0.3	0	-0.27	0.01
Nebraska	0.19	-0.13	-0.03	0.01
Nevada	-0.05	-0.15	0	-0.07
New Hampshire	0.02	-0.02	0	0.00
New Jersey	0.17	-0.29	0.01	-0.04
New Mexico	0.03	0.02	-0.06	0.00
New York	0.22	-0.24	0	-0.01

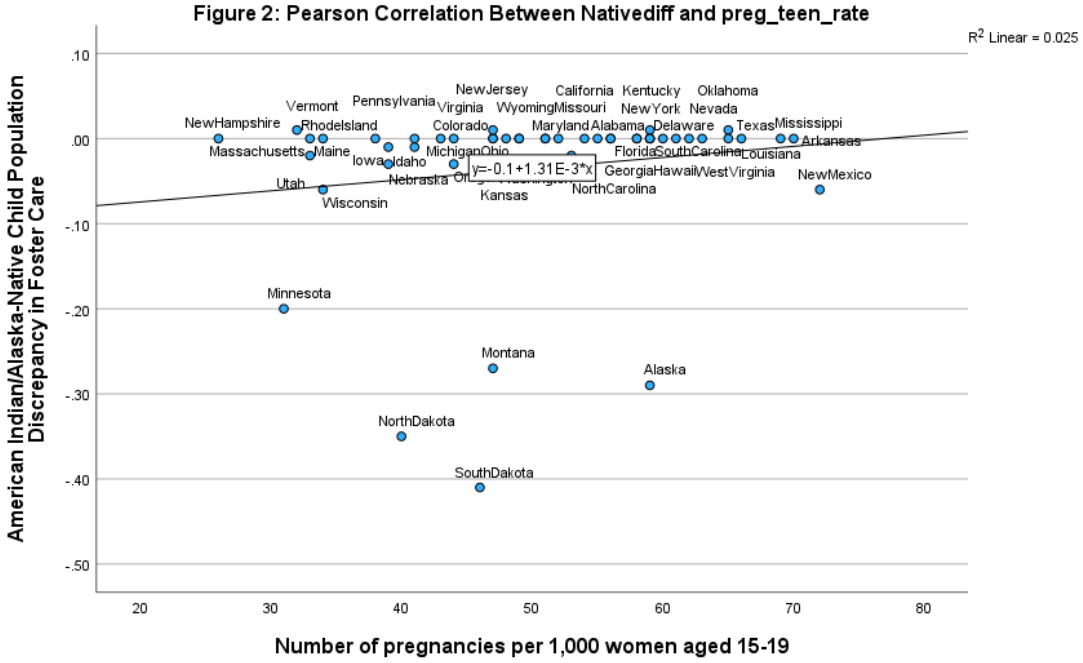
North Carolina	-0.01	-0.08	-0.02	-0.04
North Dakota	0.36	-0.01	-0.35	0.00
Ohio	0.19	-0.15	0	0.01
Oklahoma	0.15	-0.01	0.01	0.05
Oregon	0	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02
Pennsylvania	0.23	-0.23	0	0.00
Rhode Island	0.09	-0.08	0	0.00
South Carolina	0	-0.06	0	-0.02
South Dakota	0.46	0	-0.41	0.02
Tennessee	0	-0.04	0	-0.01
Texas	0.01	-0.11	0	-0.03
Utah	0.12	-0.03	-0.02	0.02
Vermont	-0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.01
Virginia	0	-0.07	0	-0.02
Washington	0.06	-0.04	-0.03	0.00
West Virgina	-0.01	0.01	0	0.00
Wisconsin	0.22	-0.2	-0.06	-0.01
Wyoming	0.02	-0.04	0	-0.01

Descriptive Statistics

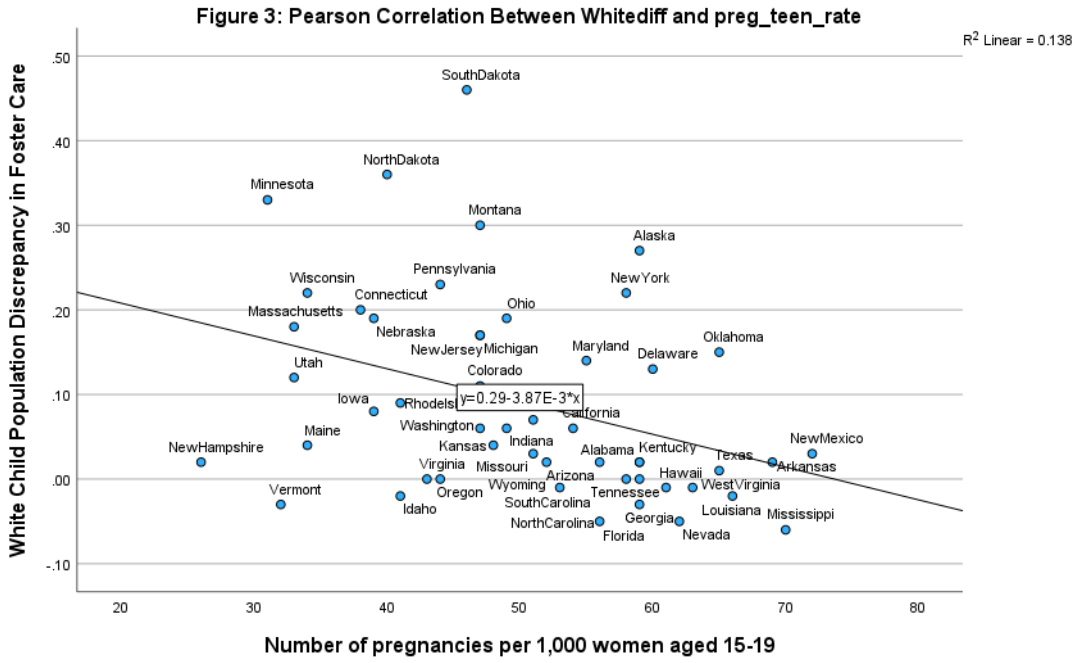
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
African American Child Population Discrepancy in Foster Care	50	-.29	.04	-.0784	.08105
American Indian/Alaska-Native Child Population Discrepancy in Foster Care	50	-.41	.01	-.0350	.09451
White Child Population Discrepancy in Foster Care	50	-.06	.46	.0908	.11846
Valid N (listwise)	50				



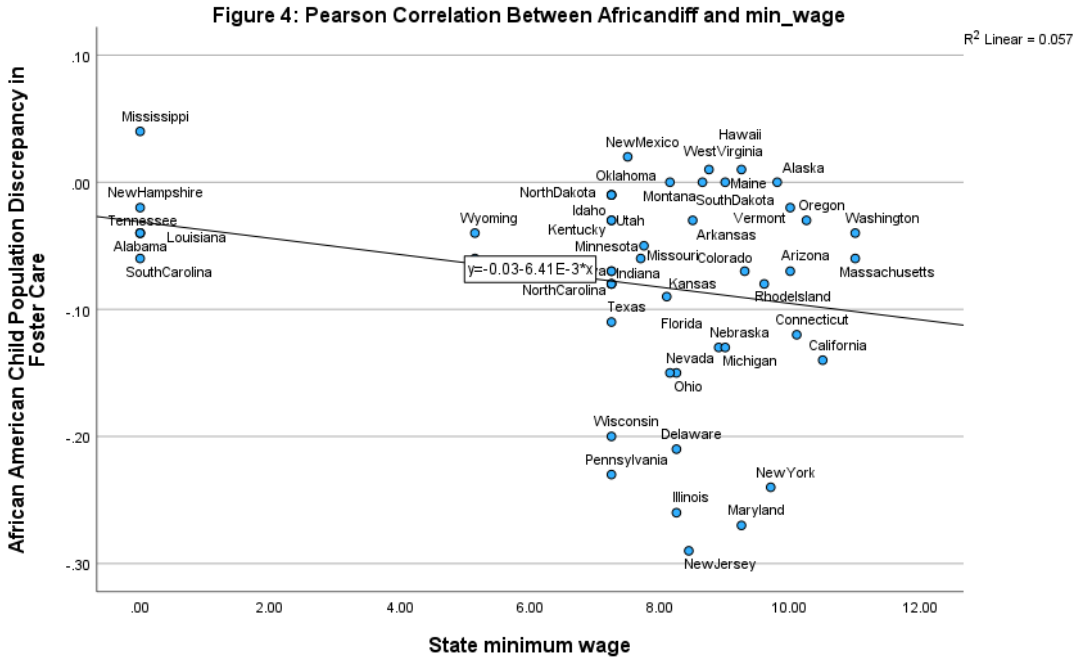
Pearson Correlation of .070, Significance of .628



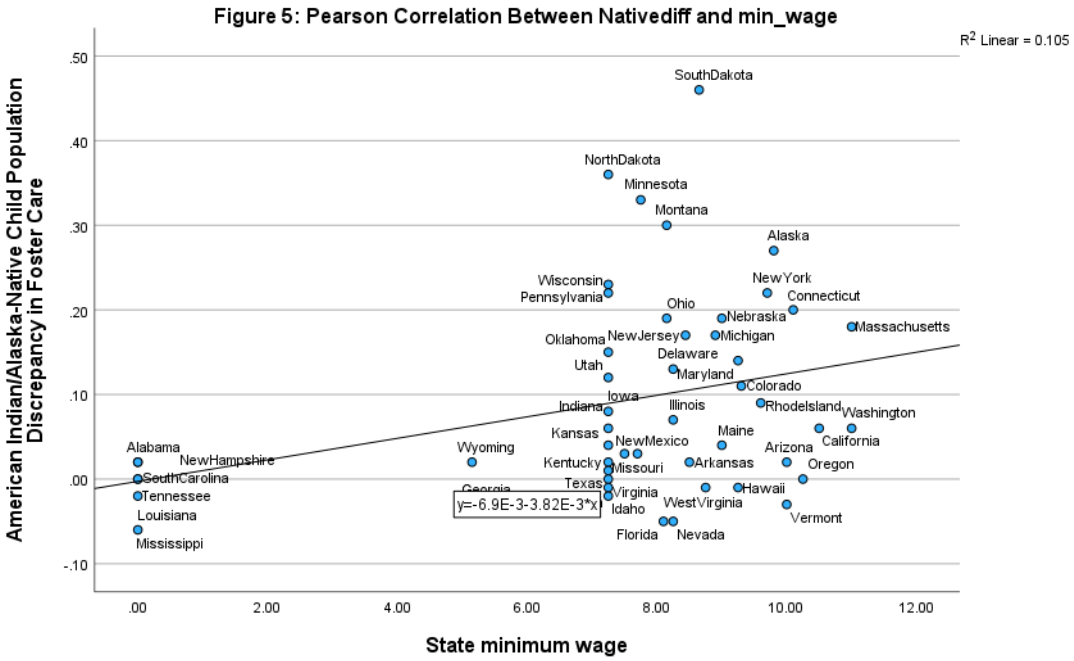
Pearson Correlation of .157, Significance of .276



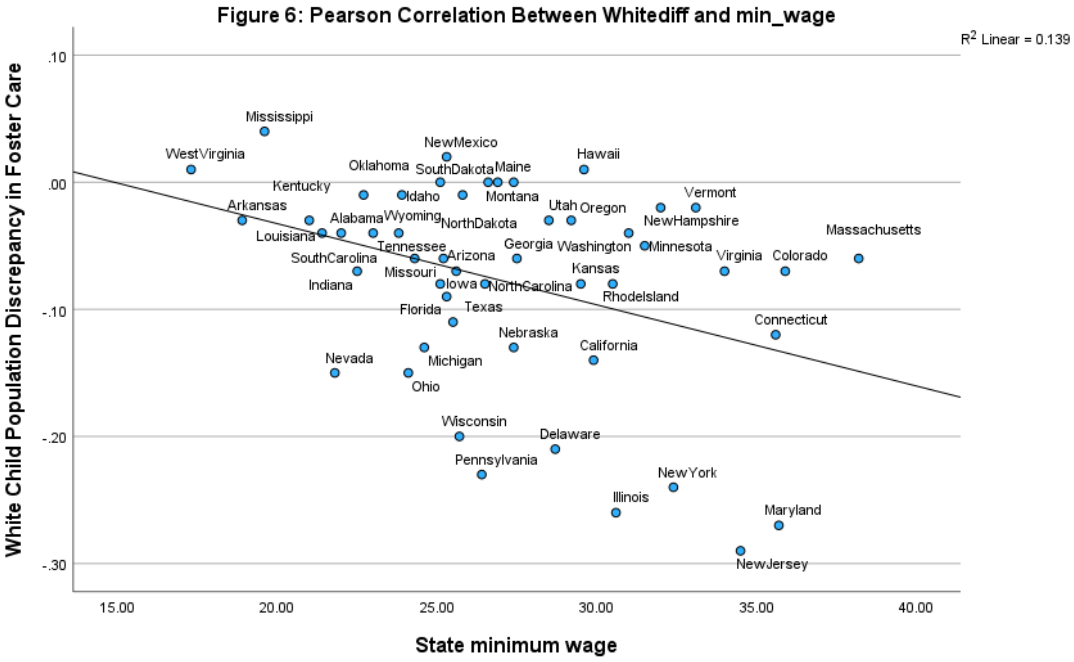
Pearson Correlation of -.372, Significance of .008



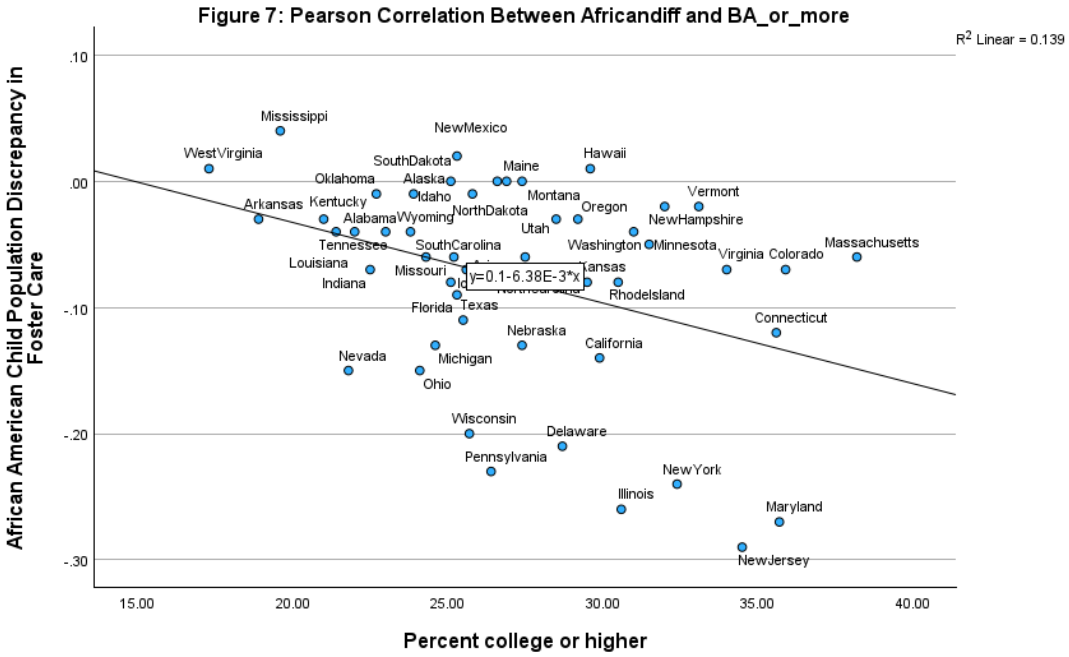
Pearson Correlation of -.239, Significance of .095



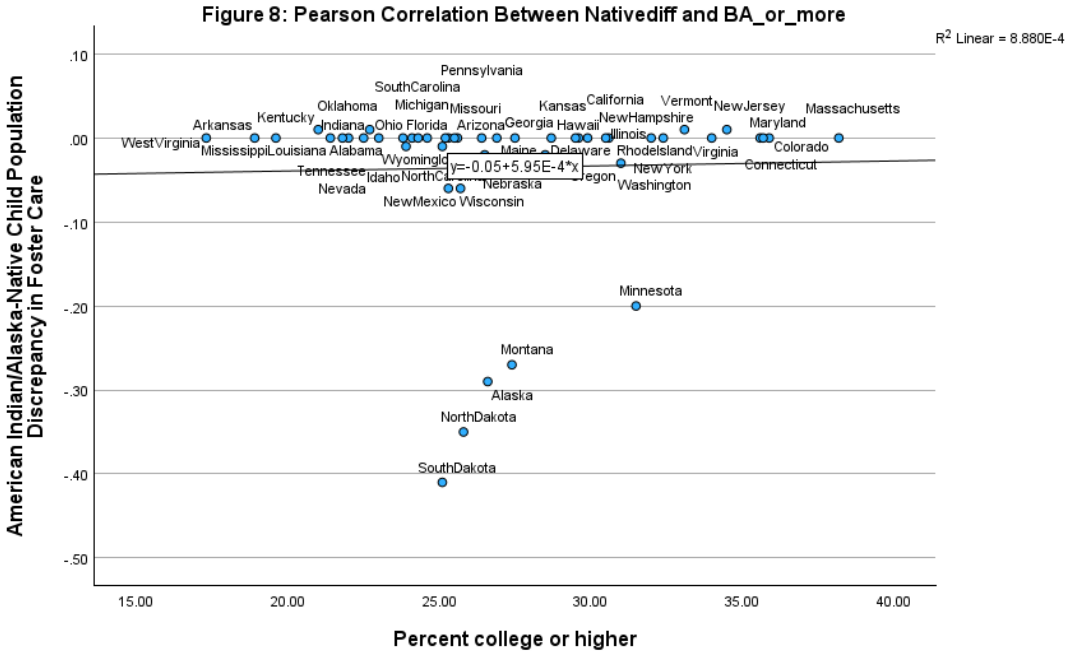
Pearson Correlation of -.122, Significance of .398



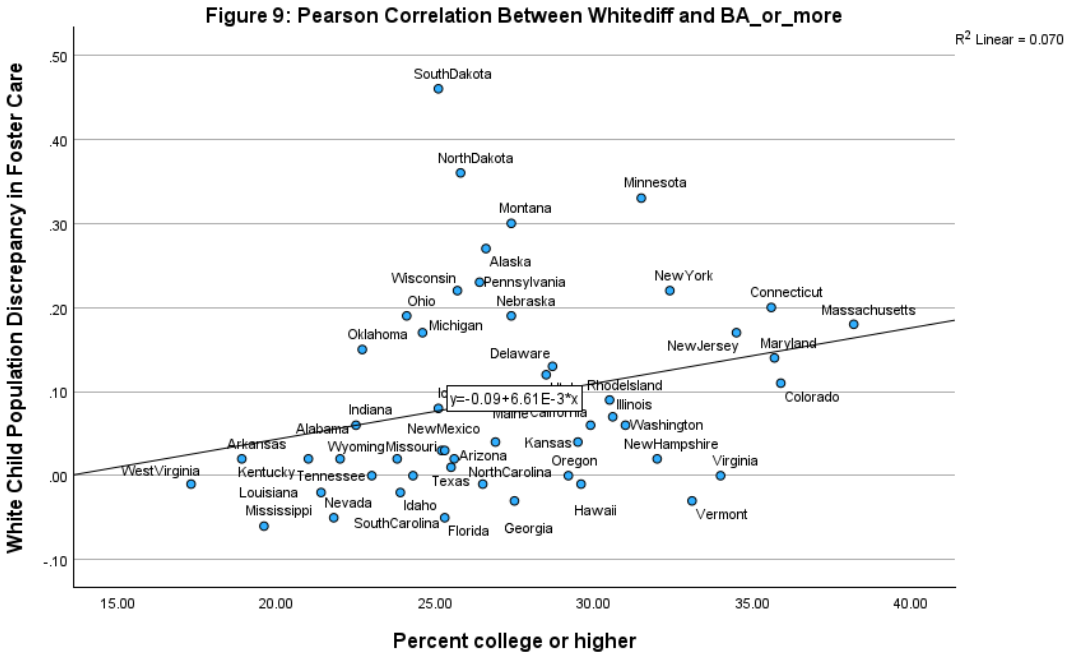
Pearson Correlation of .324, Significance of .022



Pearson Correlation of -.373, Significance of .008



Pearson Correlation of .030, Significance of .837



Pearson Correlation of .264, Significance of .064

References

Anyon, Y. (2011). Reducing racial disparities and disproportionalities in the child welfare system: Policy Perspectives about how to serve the best interests of African American Youth. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *33*(2), 242–253. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.09.007

Blair, I. V., Steiner, J. F., & Havranek, E. P. (2011). Unconscious (implicit) bias and health disparities: Where do we go from here? *The Permanente Journal*, *15*(2), 71–78. https://doi.org/10.7812/tpp/11.979

Briggs, H. E., Hardeman, C. P., Banks, L., Briggs, A. C., Allen, J. L., Hopps, J. G., & McCrary, D. (2021). Do Race, Racial Disproportionality, and Disparities Remain Foci of Child Welfare?: Words Matter. Child Welfare, 98(5), 93–117.

Chibnall, S. H., & Caliber Associates. (2003). Children of color in the child welfare system: Perspectives from the child welfare community. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau, Administration for Children and Families.

Drake, B., Jones, D., Kim, H., Gyourko, J., Garcia, A., Barth, R. P., Font, S. A., Putnam-Hornstein, E., Duerr Berrick, J., Greeson, J. K., Cook, V., Kohl, P. L., & Jonson-Reid, M. (2023). Racial/ethnic differences in child protective services reporting, substantiation and placement, with comparison to Non-CPS risks and outcomes: 2005–2019. *Child Maltreatment*, *28*(4), 683–699. https://doi.org/10.1177/10775595231167320

Font, S. A., Sattler, K. M. P., & Gershoff, E. T. (2018). Measurement and correlates of foster care placement moves. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *91*, 248–258. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.06.019

Gourdine, R. M. (2022). We treat everybody the same: Race equity in child welfare. In Race and Social Policy (pp. 75-85). Routledge.

Harp, K. L., & Bunting, A. M. (2019). The racialized nature of child welfare policies and the social control of Black Bodies. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *27*(2), 258–281. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxz039

Kim, Hansung, Chenot, D., & Ji, J. (2011). Racial/ethnic disparity in child welfare systems: A longitudinal study utilizing the disparity index (DI). *Children and Youth Services Review*, *33*(7), 1234–1244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.02.021

Kim, Hyunil, & Drake, B. (2018). Child maltreatment risk as a function of poverty and race/ethnicity in the USA. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *47*(3), 780–787. https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyx280

Maguire-Jack, K., Font, S. A., & Dillard, R. (2020). Child protective services decision-making: The role of children's race and county factors. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *90*(1), 48–62. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000388

Miller, K. M., Cahn, K., & Orellana, E. R. (2012). Dynamics that contribute to racial disproportionality and disparity: Perspectives from child welfare professionals, community partners, and families. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *34*(11), 2201–2207. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.07.022

National Conferences of State Legislatures. (2017). Disproportionality and disparity in child welfare. Author. https://www.ncsl.org/research/human-services/disproportionalityand-disparity-in-child-welfare.aspx

Zuravin, S. J. (1991). Research definitions of child physical abuse and neglect: Current problems. In R. H. Starr, Jr. & D. A. Wolfe (Eds.), The effects of child abuse and neglect: Issues and research (pp. 100–128). Guilford Press

Zuravin, S. J., & DePanfilis, D. (1997). Factors affecting foster care placement of children receiving Child Protective Services. *Social Work Research*, *21*(1), 34–42. https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/21.1.34