

# A Birth Cohort Study of Involvement with Child Protective Services before Age 5

## Tulare County, California

### INTRODUCTION

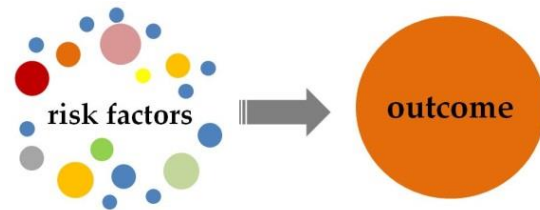
Much of what we know—or think we know—about risk factors for child abuse and neglect is based on cross-sectional and retrospective studies of children reported for maltreatment. Although these studies are useful for identifying and describing children reported for maltreatment, substantiated as victims, or placed in foster care, they do not offer information needed to understand how these children may (or may not) differ from other children in our communities. Without data concerning this broader population of children, we are unable to determine whether children with a particular combination of risk factors might have been identified or prioritized for early intervention services to prevent the conditions that led to involvement with child protective services.

Fortunately, the linkage and thoughtful configuration of administrative records can provide the necessary data for prevention focused studies. By linking CPS records to birth records from California, it is possible to answer prospective, population-based questions and generate information concerning the likelihood that children will be reported, substantiated, or placed in foster care because of maltreatment. In addition to providing information about the full population of children born in a given county and at risk of CPS involvement, birth records also include information not typically captured in administrative child protection systems, including infant weight at birth, maternal education, and whether paternity was established. Combining birth and CPS records allows us to better understand children involved with our local child protection systems and highlights opportunities

for being more strategic in our allocation and delivery of early intervention services.

#### Retrospective vs. Prospective Designs

The difference between a retrospective and prospective study design is a critical yet often misunderstood distinction. In a study with a retrospective design, individuals are sampled or studied because the outcome of interest has already occurred (e.g., a child has already been maltreated). They are selected based on the dependent variable. In contrast, a prospective study design identifies individuals who are at risk of the outcome and then follows them over time to see who does (and does not) experience the outcome. Prospective study designs can be employed using already collected, longitudinal administrative data.



### METHODOLOGY

This report series details findings from a project in which the birth records of all children born in California in 2006 and 2007 were matched to statewide child protection records through each child's fifth birthday. These linked records were then analyzed by county, allowing us to describe the characteristics of children at birth and generate longitudinal, cumulative estimates of how many children were involved with CPS during the first 5 years of life. Additionally, these data provide an opportunity to examine child- and family-level characteristics at a population level, helping us to identify attributes that are most

strongly correlated with later CPS-involvement. In this report, we document findings for Tulare County, California.

#### Record Linkages 101

Quite simply, record linkage involves matching and integrating information about individuals (or other entities) from different data systems. An inherent limitation of administrative data is the scope of information contained in any one system. By linking records, it is possible to better understand the characteristics and trajectories of children over time and across service systems.



## FINDINGS

### Characteristics of Children Born (Table 1)

Table 1 presents descriptive information collected at birth for infants born during calendar years 2006 and 2007 in Tulare County. The total number (N) of births and the percentage (%) of the county's full birth cohort are reported for different characteristics at birth. Given the strong relationship between socioeconomic status and CPS involvement, we also present this same descriptive information based on whether the cost of birth was covered by private or public health insurance.

- Between 2006 and 2007, 14,900 children were born.
- Although prenatal care began during the first trimester for a majority of children, 3,179 children (21.3%) were born to mothers who received prenatal care that started late or not at all.
- A plurality of children (70.2%) were born to Latina mothers (34.9% - US born / 35.3% - foreign born).
- A total of 14.4% of children were born to teen mothers.

- 10,743 births were paid for by public health insurance, 72.1% of all children born.
- Paternity was missing for 11.3% of children overall, but 13.8% among births covered by public health insurance compared with 4.8% of births covered by nonpublic insurance.

#### Selected Variables

##### ✓ Birth Weight

A measure of infant weight at the time of birth. Low birth weight is defined as <2500 grams.

##### ✓ Prenatal Care

A measure of the trimester that prenatal care began. Late prenatal care is defined as care that began after the first trimester or not at all.

##### ✓ Paternity Establishment

A measure of whether paternity was established at birth through the legal naming of a father on the birth record.

##### ✓ Number of Births

A measure of the number of live births to this mother. If this was a first birth, it was coded as one.

##### ✓ Prior Pregnancy Terminations

A measure of whether or not the mother had terminated any earlier pregnancies.

##### ✓ Birth Payment Method

A measure of how the birth was paid for. Non-public includes private health insurance companies and self-pay. Public refers to Medi-Cal and other forms of public health insurance coverage. In California, mothers who give birth without health insurance coverage are retroactively enrolled in a public program.

### Cumulative Number of Children Reported for Alleged Abuse or Neglect before Age 5 (Table 2)

Table 2 presents the cumulative number (N) and percentage (%) of children born in 2006 and 2007 who were reported to CPS for alleged abuse or neglect before age 5. These data are stratified by the sociodemographic and health characteristics listed in Table 1. Additionally, we present unadjusted and adjusted risk ratios (RRs) to compare the likelihood that children with different characteristics were reported to CPS before age 5. These estimates of relative risk are accompanied by 95% confidence intervals (95% CI); statistical significance is reported and described in the table endnotes.

- 2,797 children were reported to CPS for alleged child abuse or neglect before the age of 5, 18.8% of children.
- Notable differences emerged in the likelihood of being reported to CPS. Overall, 23.2% of children who were low birth weight (< 2500g) were reported compared to 18.5% of children who were not. In relative terms, that meant that a low-birth-weight child had a 25.0% greater likelihood of being reported for abuse or neglect (RR: 1.25\*\*\*; 95% CI: 1.10, 1.43). After adjusting for other factors, the heightened risk associated with low birth weight diminished in magnitude, and was no longer statistically significant (RR: 1.01; 95% CI: 0.88, 1.16).
- An inverse relationship was observed between a child's risk of being reported for alleged maltreatment and maternal age. Among children born to teen mothers, 24.9% were reported. In contrast, only 13.7% of children born to a mother age 30 or older were reported. Before adjusting for other factors, children of teen mothers were nearly 2 times as likely to

be reported to CPS as were those born to mothers 30 and older (RR: 1.82\*\*\*; 95% CI: 1.63, 2.02).

### Cumulative Number of Children with Substantiated Reports of Abuse or Neglect before Age 5 (Table 3)

Table 3 presents the cumulative number (N) and percentage (%) of children born in 2006 and 2007 who were substantiated as victims of abuse or neglect before age 5. These data are separated by sociodemographic and health characteristics. Unadjusted and adjusted RRs (and 95% CIs) are used to compare the likelihood of substantiation across children with different characteristics. Statistical significance is reported and described in the table endnotes.

- 742 children were substantiated as victims of abuse or neglect before age 5, 5.0% of all children born.
- Notable differences emerged in the likelihood of being substantiated as victims. Among children whose births were covered by public insurance, 6.1% were substantiated as victims of maltreatment before age 5, compared to 2.0% among children with non-public insurance. Before adjusting for other factors, public insurance was associated with a 3 times greater risk of substantiation (RR: 3.07\*\*\*; 95% CI: 2.45, 3.85). In the adjusted model, the risk ratio was attenuated (or weaker), but the relative difference was still large (RR: 2.01\*\*\*; 95% CI: 1.59, 2.55).
- Risk of substantiated maltreatment varied with the commencement of prenatal care. Although representing only a small percentage of births overall, more than 1 in 3 children with no recorded prenatal care were subsequently substantiated for abuse or neglect, 10 times the rate of children whose prenatal care began during the first trimester before adjusting for other factors (RR: 10.24\*\*\*; 95% CI: 8.06, 13.01) and 3 times greater after adjustments were made (RR: 3.21\*\*\*; 95% CI: 2.41, 4.28).

#### Unadjusted and Adjusted Risk Ratios

In this report, risk is conceptualized as the statistical likelihood that a child will experience various levels of involvement with child protective services (i.e., reported, substantiated, entered foster care).

A risk ratio (RR) is a measure used to compare risk across children with different characteristics. An unadjusted RR provides a simple comparison of the likelihood that a child in group A was reported, substantiated, or entered foster care versus a child in group B.

An adjusted RR attempts to isolate the measurable relationship of a particular factor to the outcome. Adjusted RRs estimate relative differences in the likelihood that a child in group A was reported, substantiated, or entered foster care compared to a child in group B, while holding constant the influence of other factors.

An RR of 1.0 (or a 95% confidence interval that includes 1.0) indicates that there is no discernible difference in risk between group A and B. An RR larger than 1.0 indicates that group A has a greater risk than group B. Meanwhile an RR of less than 1.0 indicates that group A has a lower risk than group B.

### Cumulative Number of Children Placed in Foster Care before Age 5 (Table 4)

Table 4 presents the cumulative number (N) and percentage (%) of children born in 2006 and 2007 who entered an out-of-home foster care placement before age 5. These data are divided by sociodemographic and health characteristics. Unadjusted and adjusted RRs (and 95% CIs) are used to compare the likelihood of foster care entry across children with different characteristics. Statistical significance is reported and described in the table endnotes.

- 388 children spent time in foster care before age 5. This represents 2.6% of all children born.
- Characteristic differences emerged in the likelihood of being placed in foster care. Maternal education was strongly correlated with the likelihood of foster care placement before age 5. The cumulative percentage of children placed in foster care across levels of maternal education ranged from 1.4% of children born to mothers with some college education compared to 3.7% of children whose mothers had not finished high school.
- Among children for whom paternity was not established, 9.8% entered foster care at some point before age 5. The comparable share of children entering foster care was 1.7% among those with established paternity. Overall, missing paternity was associated with a nearly 6 times greater risk of foster care placement (RR: 5.93\*\*\*; 95% CI: 4.88, 7.20). After adjusting for other factors, the observed risk of foster care placement for children with missing paternity remained 3 times that of children with established paternity (RR: 3.11\*\*\*; 95% CI: 2.49, 3.90).

### County Comparison Findings (Table 5)

Table 5 serves as a summary table for California and all 58 counties, presenting the overall number of births (N) as well as the cumulative percentage (%) of children reported to CPS, substantiated as victims of maltreatment, and entering foster care before age 5.

- Overall, 1,085,745 children were born in California in 2006 and 2007. Infants born in Tulare County represented 1.4% of births statewide.
- In California, 14.8% of children were reported to CPS, 5.1% were substantiated as victims of abuse or neglect, and 2.2% spent time in foster care before age 5.
- The cumulative percentage of children reported for alleged abuse or neglect ranged from less than 8.0% to more than 30.0% across California counties.
- The cumulative percentage of children substantiated as victims of abuse or neglect varied by county, from less than 2.0% to more than 16.0% of all children born.
- Across counties, the percentage of children who spent time in foster care before reaching their fifth birthday ranged from less than 0.5% to more than 7.0%.

#### Tulare County Quick Facts

Percentage of Children Reported to CPS before Age 5



18.8%

Percentage of Children Substantiated before Age 5



5.0%

Percentage of Children Entering Foster Care before Age 5



2.6%

## IMPLICATIONS

Linked data for Tulare County underscore that annual counts of children reported for maltreatment, substantiated as victims, and placed in foster care dramatically understate the number of children involved with the child protection system over time. In Tulare, official cross-sectional data from 2013 indicate that 7.9% of children under age 5 were reported for maltreatment. However, when we longitudinally follow children from birth through age 5—data from the present report indicate that 18.8% of children were reported—significantly more children than previously appreciated.

Research increasingly points to children under age 5 as a population acutely vulnerable to the consequences of maltreatment. A better understanding of the sociodemographic and health characteristics of children most likely to experience abuse or neglect between birth and age 5 is critical to improving and garnering support for prevention efforts. Population-level knowledge concerning the distribution of risk can be leveraged to enable a strategic and equitable

matching of public resources to community need. Linked records can be used to develop automated triaging tools to ensure our most vulnerable children and families are prioritized for scarce service intervention slots.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank First 5 LA for their generous funding of this report and ongoing support for the linkage of data. We would also like to acknowledge colleagues at the California Department of Social Services, the California Child Welfare Indicators Project, and the Children's Data Network for assistance in the preparation of data underlying these analyses and in the development of this report.

## QUESTIONS?

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## Children's Data Network

[www.datanetwork.org](http://www.datanetwork.org)

This research brief was published by The Children's Data Network, a university, agency, and community collaborative focused on the integration and application of data to inform programs and policies for children and their families. The Children's Data Network is funded by First 5 LA and the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, housed at USC's School of Social Work, and includes a partnership with the California Child Welfare Indicators Project at UC Berkeley. The content of this brief is the sole responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the opinions of the funders or other partners.

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**Table 1. Characteristics of Children born in Tulare County by Birth Payment Method**

	Full Birth Cohort 2006 & 2007		Birth Payment Method			
	N	%	Public N	Public %	Non-Public N	Non-Public %
<b>Gender</b>						
Female	7,305	49.0	5,247	48.8	2,058	49.5
Male	7,595	51.0	5,496	51.2	2,099	50.5
<b>Birth Weight</b>						
Normal	14,086	94.5	10,154	94.5	3,932	94.6
Low	814	5.5	589	5.5	225	5.4
<b>Birth Abnormality</b>						
None	13,766	92.4	9,953	92.7	3,813	91.7
One or More	1,134	7.6	790	7.4	344	8.3
<b>Prenatal Care</b>						
1st Trimester	11,721	78.7	8,039	74.8	3,682	88.6
2nd Trimester	2,555	17.2	2,203	20.5	352	8.5
3rd Trimester	488	3.3	404	3.8	84	2.0
None/Missing	136	0.9	97	0.9	39	0.9
<b>Paternity Establishment</b>						
Established	13,218	88.7	9,261	86.2	3,957	95.2
Missing	1,682	11.3	1,482	13.8	200	4.8
<b>Maternal Race/Ethnicity</b>						
White	3,591	24.1	1,685	15.7	1,906	45.9
Black	225	1.5	182	1.7	43	1.0
Latina, US-born	5,195	34.9	3,770	35.1	1,425	34.3
Latina, Foreign-born	5,260	35.3	4,688	43.6	572	13.8
Asian/Pacific Islander	476	3.2	314	2.9	162	3.9
Native American	153	1.0	104	1.0	49	1.2
<b>Maternal Age</b>						
≤ 19 yrs	2,145	14.4	1,911	17.8	234	5.6
20-24 yrs	4,552	30.6	3,797	35.3	755	18.2
25-29 yrs	4,114	27.6	2,638	24.6	1,476	35.5
30+ yrs	4,089	27.4	2,397	22.3	1,692	40.7
<b>Maternal Education</b>						
< HS	5,987	40.2	5,512	51.3	475	11.4
HS or GED	3,970	26.6	3,058	28.5	912	21.9
Some College	3,745	25.1	2,018	18.8	1,727	41.5
College+	1,198	8.0	155	1.4	1,043	25.1
<b>Number of Births</b>						
One	4,800	32.2	3,395	31.6	1,405	33.8
Two	4,342	29.1	2,988	27.8	1,354	32.6
Three+	5,758	38.6	4,360	40.6	1,398	33.6
<b>Prior Pregnancy Terminations</b>						
None	12,055	80.9	8,674	80.7	3,381	81.3
One+	2,845	19.1	2,069	19.3	776	18.7
<b>Birth Payment Method</b>						
Non-Public	4,157	27.9	--	--	--	--
Public	10,743	72.1	--	--	--	--

**Table Notes:**

1. Cell sizes < 10 masked as indicated by [--].
2. Table based on the full population of children born in a given county in 2006 and 2007.



Table 2. Characteristics and Comparisons of Children born in Tulare County and Reported to CPS

	Reported to CPS		Risk Comparisons			
	Before Age 5		Unadjusted		Adjusted	
	N	%	RR	95% CI	RR	95% CI
<b>Gender</b>						
Female	1,360	18.6	ref.	---	ref.	---
Male	1,437	18.9	1.02	(0.95, 1.09)	1.01	(0.95, 1.07)
<b>Birth Weight</b>						
Normal	2,608	18.5	ref.	---	ref.	---
Low	189	23.2	1.25***	(1.10, 1.43)	1.01	(0.88, 1.16)
<b>Birth Abnormality</b>						
None	2,514	18.3	ref.	---	ref.	---
One or More	283	25.0	1.37***	(1.23, 1.52)	1.26***	(1.12, 1.40)
<b>Prenatal Care</b>						
1st Trimester	1,895	16.2	ref.	---	ref.	---
2nd Trimester	662	25.9	1.60***	(1.48, 1.73)	1.19***	(1.11, 1.28)
3rd Trimester	159	32.6	2.02***	(1.76, 2.30)	1.31***	(1.15, 1.48)
None/Missing	81	59.6	3.68***	(3.19, 4.26)	1.77***	(1.49, 2.09)
<b>Paternity Establishment</b>						
Established	2,112	16.0	ref.	---	ref.	---
Missing	685	40.7	2.55***	(2.38, 2.73)	1.63***	(1.51, 1.75)
<b>Maternal Race/Ethnicity</b>						
White	771	21.5	ref.	---	ref.	---
Black	84	37.3	1.74***	(1.45, 2.08)	1.02	(0.86, 1.20)
Latina, US-born	1,206	23.2	1.08	(1.00, 1.17)	0.73***	(0.68, 0.79)
Latina, Foreign-born	616	11.7	0.55***	(0.50, 0.60)	0.32***	(0.29, 0.36)
Asian/Pacific Islander	62	13.0	0.61***	(0.48, 0.77)	0.52***	(0.41, 0.66)
Native American	58	37.9	1.77***	(1.43, 2.18)	1.02	(0.84, 1.25)
<b>Maternal Age</b>						
≤ 19 yrs	535	24.9	1.82***	(1.63, 2.02)	1.79***	(1.56, 2.05)
20-24 yrs	987	21.7	1.58***	(1.44, 1.74)	1.40***	(1.26, 1.54)
25-29 yrs	714	17.4	1.26***	(1.14, 1.40)	1.15**	(1.04, 1.26)
30+ yrs	561	13.7	ref.	---	ref.	---
<b>Maternal Education</b>						
< HS	1,376	23.0	8.88***	(6.26, 12.61)	5.57***	(3.86, 8.04)
HS or GED	849	21.4	8.26***	(5.81, 11.76)	4.51***	(3.13, 6.49)
Some College	541	14.5	5.58***	(3.91, 7.97)	3.58***	(2.49, 5.14)
College+	31	2.6	ref.	---	ref.	---
<b>Number of Births</b>						
One	664	13.8	ref.	---	ref.	---
Two	714	16.4	1.19***	(1.08, 1.31)	1.54***	(1.39, 1.70)
Three+	1,419	24.6	1.78***	(1.64, 1.94)	2.47***	(2.23, 2.73)
<b>Prior Pregnancy Terminations</b>						
None	2,160	17.9	ref.	---	ref.	---
One+	637	22.4	1.25***	(1.16, 1.35)	1.14***	(1.06, 1.23)
<b>Birth Payment Method</b>						
Non-Public	369	8.9	ref.	---	ref.	---
Public	2,428	22.6	2.55***	(2.30, 2.82)	1.88***	(1.68, 2.11)

**Table Notes:**

1. RR = Risk Ratio; 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval; ref = Reference group for Risk Ratio calculations; [---] indicates no corresponding statistic given reference group status.
2. Cell sizes < 10 masked as indicated by [-]; statistical significance denoted as:  $P < .05^*$ ;  $P < .01^{**}$ ;  $P < .001^{***}$ .

**Table 3. Characteristics and Comparisons of Children born in Tulare County and Substantiated**

	Substantiated Before Age 5		Risk Comparisons			
	N	%	Unadjusted RR	95% CI	Adjusted RR	95% CI
<b>Gender</b>						
Female	330	4.5	ref.	---	ref.	---
Male	412	5.4	1.20*	(1.04,1.38)	1.19*	(1.04,1.36)
<b>Birth Weight</b>						
Normal	666	4.7	ref.	---	ref.	---
Low	76	9.3	1.97***	(1.57,2.48)	1.28	(1.00,1.65)
<b>Birth Abnormality</b>						
None	625	4.5	ref.	---	ref.	---
One or More	117	10.3	2.27***	(1.88,2.74)	1.67***	(1.35,2.07)
<b>Prenatal Care</b>						
1st Trimester	421	3.6	ref.	---	ref.	---
2nd Trimester	199	7.8	2.17***	(1.84,2.55)	1.45***	(1.23,1.70)
3rd Trimester	72	14.8	4.11***	(3.25,5.19)	2.17***	(1.71,2.75)
None/Missing	50	36.8	10.24***	(8.06,13.01)	3.21***	(2.41,4.28)
<b>Paternity Establishment</b>						
Established	469	3.6	ref.	---	ref.	---
Missing	273	16.2	4.57***	(3.98,5.26)	2.27***	(1.94,2.65)
<b>Maternal Race/Ethnicity</b>						
White	212	5.9	ref.	---	ref.	---
Black	29	12.9	2.18***	(1.52,3.14)	1.10	(0.78,1.56)
Latina, US-born	367	7.1	1.20*	(1.02,1.41)	0.77**	(0.66,0.91)
Latina, Foreign-born	90	1.7	0.29***	(0.23,0.37)	0.16***	(0.12,0.20)
Asian/Pacific Islander	20	4.2	0.71	(0.45,1.11)	0.64*	(0.42,1.00)
Native American	24	15.7	2.66***	(1.80,3.92)	1.15	(0.77,1.73)
<b>Maternal Age</b>						
≤ 19 yrs	137	6.4	1.91***	(1.51,2.40)	1.27	(0.95,1.69)
20-24 yrs	265	5.8	1.74***	(1.42,2.13)	1.24*	(1.00,1.53)
25-29 yrs	203	4.9	1.47***	(1.19,1.82)	1.18	(0.96,1.46)
30+ yrs	137	3.4	ref.	---	ref.	---
<b>Maternal Education</b>						
< HS	396	6.6	--	--	--	--
HS or GED	228	5.7	--	--	--	--
Some College	115	3.1	--	--	--	--
College+	<10	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Number of Births</b>						
One	163	3.4	ref.	---	ref.	---
Two	175	4.0	1.19	(0.96,1.46)	1.51***	(1.21,1.88)
Three+	404	7.0	2.07***	(1.73,2.47)	2.44***	(1.95,3.05)
<b>Prior Pregnancy Terminations</b>						
None	570	4.7	ref.	---	ref.	---
One+	172	6.1	1.28**	(1.08,1.51)	1.14	(0.97,1.34)
<b>Birth Payment Method</b>						
Non-Public	83	2.0	ref.	---	ref.	---
Public	659	6.1	3.07***	(2.45,3.85)	2.01***	(1.59,2.55)

**Table Notes:**

1. RR = Risk Ratio; 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval; ref = Reference group for Risk Ratio calculations; [---] indicates no corresponding statistic given reference group status.
2. Cell sizes < 10 masked as indicated by [--]; statistical significance denoted as:  $P < .05^*$ ;  $P < .01^{**}$ ;  $P < .001^{***}$ .



**Table 4. Characteristics and Comparisons of Children born in Tulare County and Placed in Foster Care**

	Placed in Care Before Age 5		Risk Comparisons			
	N	%	Unadjusted		Adjusted	
			RR	95% CI	RR	95% CI
<b>Gender</b>						
Female	155	2.1	ref.	---	ref.	---
Male	228	3.0	1.41***	(1.16, 1.73)	1.39**	(1.15, 1.70)
<b>Birth Weight</b>						
Normal	341	2.4	ref.	---	ref.	---
Low	42	5.2	2.21***	(1.63, 3.00)	1.31	(0.92, 1.88)
<b>Birth Abnormality</b>						
None	312	2.3	ref.	---	ref.	---
One or More	71	6.3	2.76***	(2.15, 3.54)	1.85***	(1.37, 2.50)
<b>Prenatal Care</b>						
1st Trimester	199	1.7	ref.	---	ref.	---
2nd Trimester	103	4.0	2.37***	(1.87, 2.99)	1.64***	(1.28, 2.09)
3rd Trimester	44	9.0	5.48***	(4.03, 7.45)	2.89***	(2.07, 4.02)
None/Missing	37	27.2	15.31***	(11.28,	4.86***	(3.36, 7.03)
<b>Paternity Establishment</b>						
Established	218	1.7	ref.	---	ref.	---
Missing	165	9.8	5.93***	(4.88, 7.20)	3.11***	(2.49, 3.90)
<b>Maternal Race/Ethnicity</b>						
White	115	3.2	ref.	---	ref.	---
Black	21	9.3	2.87***	(1.84, 4.48)	1.48	(0.94, 2.31)
Latina, US-born	187	3.6	1.10	(0.88, 1.39)	0.78*	(0.62, 0.98)
Latina, Foreign-born	39	0.7	0.23***	(0.16, 0.33)	0.19***	(0.13, 0.28)
Asian/Pacific Islander	10	2.1	0.65	(0.34, 1.22)	0.61	(0.32, 1.14)
Native American	11	7.2	2.14***	(1.18, 3.90)	0.91	(0.51, 1.64)
<b>Maternal Age</b>						
≤ 19 yrs	69	3.2	1.75**	(1.27, 2.41)	2.12***	(1.43, 3.14)
20-24 yrs	142	3.1	1.70***	(1.29, 2.24)	1.59**	(1.18, 2.14)
25-29 yrs	97	2.4	1.28	(0.95, 1.72)	1.15	(0.86, 1.53)
30+ yrs	75	1.8	ref.	---	ref.	---
<b>Maternal Education</b>						
< HS	223	3.7	--	--	--	--
HS or GED	107	2.7	--	--	--	--
Some College	53	1.4	--	--	--	--
College+	<10	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Number of Births</b>						
One	71	1.5	ref.	---	ref.	---
Two	97	2.2	1.50**	(1.11, 2.03)	2.18***	(1.59, 2.98)
Three+	215	3.7	2.46***	(1.89, 3.20)	3.81***	(2.78, 5.22)
<b>Prior Pregnancy Terminations</b>						
None	291	2.4	ref.	---	ref.	---
One+	92	3.2	1.34*	(1.06, 1.68)	1.23	(0.98, 1.55)
<b>Birth Payment Method</b>						
Non-Public	52	1.3	ref.	---	ref.	---
Public	331	3.1	2.49	(1.87, 3.33)	1.98***	(1.44, 2.72)

**Table Notes:**

- RR = Risk Ratio; 95% CI = 95% Confidence Interval; ref = Reference group for Risk Ratio calculations; [---] indicates no corresponding statistic given reference group status.
- Cell sizes < 10 masked as indicated by [--]; statistical significance denoted as: *P* < .05\*; *P* < .01\*\*; *P* < .001\*\*\*.

Table 5. Summary of County Data for California: Children Born in 2006/2007 and Reported to Child Protective Services, Substantiated as Victims, or Entering Foster Care before Age 5

County of Birth	Births 2006 & 2007	Cumulative % Reported	Cumulative % Substantiated	Cumulative % Entering Foster
California	1,085,745	14.8%	5.1%	2.2%
Alameda	42,000	10.7%	2.9%	1.6%
Alpine	--	--	--	--
Amador	619	24.4%	7.8%	3.2%
Butte	5,940	25.1%	10.3%	5.7%
Calaveras	107	41.1%	16.8%	--
Colusa	456	14.5%	5.7%	3.5%
Contra Costa	23,219	10.3%	3.4%	1.4%
Del Norte	709	28.3%	15.2%	6.8%
El Dorado	2,403	19.7%	9.7%	4.7%
Fresno	35,056	19.2%	5.0%	2.7%
Glenn	--	--	--	--
Humboldt	3,202	22.3%	7.1%	3.4%
Imperial	6,205	13.2%	5.4%	2.8%
Inyo	451	16.4%	3.5%	--
Kern	28,099	22.3%	10.7%	4.3%
Kings	5,182	16.6%	5.0%	3.2%
Lake	1,084	27.1%	8.5%	5.4%
Lassen	453	21.9%	7.9%	3.8%
Los Angeles	310,700	14.6%	5.2%	2.4%
Madera	4,014	22.0%	9.0%	5.1%
Marin	3,451	9.8%	3.2%	0.8%
Mariposa	--	--	--	--
Mendocino	1,980	23.3%	11.1%	4.1%
Merced	6,804	21.6%	7.6%	3.9%
Modoc	--	--	--	--
Mono	279	7.9%	--	--
Monterey	14,196	8.9%	2.4%	1.0%
Napa	2,593	11.2%	3.5%	1.7%
Nevada	1,990	14.2%	4.3%	2.0%
Orange	93,963	11.5%	4.9%	1.4%
Placer	6,771	13.8%	5.2%	1.7%
Plumas	210	23.3%	10.5%	--
Riverside	57,031	18.3%	7.1%	3.5%
Sacramento	47,277	17.1%	6.5%	3.2%
San Benito	1,191	17.0%	6.3%	2.9%
San Bernardino	57,807	17.4%	5.3%	2.6%
San Diego	85,349	15.9%	5.0%	1.8%
San Francisco	25,776	8.2%	2.6%	1.3%
San Joaquin	21,183	17.4%	6.1%	2.2%
San Luis Obispo	5,445	17.3%	5.1%	2.1%
San Mateo	10,599	6.0%	1.3%	0.5%
Santa Barbara	11,903	12.6%	4.3%	2.0%
Santa Clara	56,832	9.8%	2.4%	1.2%
Santa Cruz	7,379	14.3%	4.7%	1.9%
Shasta	4,556	27.6%	12.9%	6.6%
Sierra	--	--	--	--

County of Birth	Births 2006 & 2007	Cumulative % Reported	Cumulative % Substantiated	Cumulative % Entering Foster
Siskiyou	805	30.7%	13.5%	5.7%
Solano	10,978	15.2%	4.0%	1.5%
Sonoma	11,397	10.3%	3.9%	1.2%
Stanislaus	19,632	16.9%	6.3%	1.4%
Sutter	4,481	18.4%	6.8%	2.6%
Tehama	1,412	30.7%	11.8%	7.1%
Trinity	--	--	--	--
Tulare	14,900	18.8%	5.0%	2.6%
Tuolumne	1,169	23.9%	9.5%	4.4%
Ventura	21,713	13.0%	2.8%	1.4%
Yolo	4,097	12.8%	4.6%	2.1%
Yuba	--	--	--	--

**Table Notes:**

1. Cell sizes < 10 masked as indicated by [--].