



BUILDING STRONG FOUNDATIONS: Advancing Comprehensive Policies for Infants, Toddlers, and Families

CLASP
policy solutions that work for low-income people



ZERO TO THREE
Early connections last a lifetime



Cash Assistance and Tax Credits: Critical Supports for Infants, Toddlers, and Families

Families in poverty with infants and toddlers should get cash assistance and refundable tax credits to supplement their earnings. The first three years of life set the foundation for children's development, and the stressors associated with living in poverty may be particularly detrimental during this time.¹ Income supports, such as cash assistance and refundable tax credits, help families in poverty and low-income working families get cash to bridge the gap between what parents earn and what they need to support their families. Cash assistance is a set monthly amount provided by federal and/or state government programs to families living in or near poverty and earning too little to meet their basic needs. Tax credits reduce the taxes low-income working parents pay and are generally intended to offset the burden of certain expenses. Families typically receive tax credits once a year after filing their income taxes. If a tax credit is refundable, families can receive the credit even if they do not owe income taxes.

Income supports play an important role in improving the wellbeing of infants, toddlers, and families. Low-income families face incredible stressors, including not having enough food to eat; moving frequently or experiencing homelessness; and not having enough money to afford clothing and diapers or to pay utility bills.² High levels of instability are particularly harmful to infants and toddlers because they are in a critical period of development necessitating safe, secure, and responsive environments.³ Financial hardship is associated with a host of negative outcomes for young children's health and development, including obesity, asthma, and developmental delays.⁴ Disparities in cognitive and social-emotional development between low- and high-income children are evident as early as 9 months and only widen over time.⁵

In the short term, additional income can be a stabilizing force for families living on the brink. Parents who receive cash assistance often rely on it to pay for rent, utilities, groceries, and other household necessities. Low-income families use cash from tax credits to pay down debt, cover household expenses, and pay for necessities such as clothing, shoes, or school supplies.⁶ Cash assistance and tax credits reduce the number of families in poverty every year.⁷ This additional income has important benefits for families' and children's well-being in the long term as well.⁸ Increased income during early childhood is associated with improved parental and child health, children's school performance, and even increased earnings later in a child's life.⁹

The federal government provides income support to families through cash assistance programs as well as through the tax code, though the programs generally serve different families. Cash assistance is targeted to families living in or near poverty, with little to no income and few assets. Tax credits, meanwhile, are generally aimed at working, low- to middle-income parents.

The two largest cash assistance programs are Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Income-eligible families may receive SSI if a child is blind or severely disabled, or if an adult caregiver is blind, elderly, or disabled and unable to work.¹⁰ In 2017, the federal SSI benefit was set at \$735 per month for an individual with no other income. Forty-six states use state funds to supplement SSI benefits for adults, and 31 states do so for children.¹¹

TANF is a block grant that gives states a pool of funding they can use to provide eligible families in poverty with a range of services, including cash assistance, employment services, and child care subsidies.¹² States have considerable flexibility in how they spend TANF funds and set their own eligibility criteria for the different types of benefits and services.¹³ Eligibility thresholds are generally quite restrictive: in more than 25 states, a family of three with earnings at half of the federal poverty level earns too much to qualify for TANF cash assistance. The TANF cash assistance program nationally reaches fewer than 25 percent of families in poverty, and the benefits are meager at best: in 2015, the median monthly benefit was \$432 for a family of three.¹⁴

Two key federal tax credits provide income support to low-income working parents: the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Child Tax Credit (CTC). The EITC is available to income-eligible working parents and is intended to incentivize work and offset federal tax burdens.¹⁵ In the 2015 tax year, families with children received an average EITC of \$3,186 annually, but credit amounts vary based on filers' income, marital status, and the number of dependent children in the home. The value of the EITC increases with income up to a maximum value, and then phases out gradually as income increases.

The CTC, which is designed to offset the costs of raising a child, provides a maximum annual credit of \$1,000 per child under the age of 17. The CTC is partially refundable, meaning that low-income parents who owe little or no federal income tax can receive a refund up to 15 percent of their earnings above \$3,000.¹⁶ Families who earn less than \$3,000 per year are not eligible for the credit.

Existing income support programs can be improved and strengthened. Families need additional support to make ends meet—particularly families of infants and toddlers, who are uniquely vulnerable to financial instability. Parents of infants and toddlers are typically younger and less advanced in their careers, meaning they are attempting to juggle the significant costs of raising young children during a time when they are earning relatively little.¹⁷ The median household income for a married couple with at least one child under age 5 is roughly \$18,000 lower than a couple whose youngest child is 6 or older.¹⁸ The lack of family-friendly employment policies in the United States – particularly endemic in low-wage jobs – only makes families' situations more precarious. Consequently, despite high rates of employment, parents of young children are more likely to be in poverty than adults without children or adults with school-age children.¹⁹ Cash assistance and tax credits can help,²⁰ but the need among low-income families exceeds the available support, and program requirements are often at odds with reality for struggling parents of infants and toddlers.

The federal government and states can do more to extend the benefit and reach of tax credits for working parents. The CTC in particular is only partially refundable and includes a minimum earnings requirement, which means it does not reach the lowest-income children and families. In 2011, an estimated 30 percent of children under age 3 lived in families that did not receive the full CTC because they did not earn enough.²¹ Extending the refundability of the CTC at the federal level would be an effective strategy to support especially vulnerable families. Similarly, states may consider creating tax credits that build off of federal credits. Twenty-six states and the District of Columbia offer state EITCs.²² These credits offset the cost of state and local sales, excise, and property taxes, which comprise a larger share of low-income families' take-home pay. Five states offer a child tax credit; only Colorado targets its CTC to families with children younger than 5.²³

Substantial federal investments in cash assistance programs are critical to ensure they are available to eligible families and adequate to meet families' needs. But even without a federal investment, states can leverage the flexibility in programs like TANF to better support parents of infants and toddlers. For example, many states have policies that present significant barriers for pregnant women and their newborns seeking TANF benefits.²⁴ In 19 states, pregnant women are ineligible for benefits if they have no other children, and the majority of states require pregnant women to comply with TANF work requirements. Sixteen states have policies that deny benefits to children who are conceived and born while their parents are receiving cash assistance. Policies like these fly in the face of a substantial body of research that demonstrates the negative effects of poverty and maternal stress on unborn babies during pregnancy.²⁵ States can and should adopt more flexible policies for parents and pregnant women that both improve families' economic stability and promote parents' and babies' health during this critical period of development.

Income supports provide essential aid to low-income working families who often cannot make ends meet on their incomes alone. The instability and stress caused by financial hardship can be detrimental to children's development, particularly during the first few years of life. Ensuring that cash assistance and tax credit programs are accessible to parents of infants and toddlers is an important way for policymakers to support families in need.

Authors: Rebecca Ullrich,
Patricia Cole, Barbara Gebhard,
and Stephanie Schmit

*ZERO TO THREE and CLASP thank the
W.K. Kellogg Foundation for their
generous support of this project.*

October 2017

Cash Assistance and Tax Credits: Critical Supports for Infants, Toddlers, and Families

- 1 Greg J. Duncan, Katherine Magnuson, and Elizabeth Votruba-Drzal, "Boosting Family Income to Promote Child Development," *Future of Children*, 24 (2014), www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/25518705.
- 2 Arloc Sherman, *Hardships are Widespread among Families in Poverty*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2004, www.cbpp.org/archiveSite/12-20-04pov.pdf; Diana Hernandez, Yumiko Aratani, and Yang Jiang, *Energy Insecurity Among Families with Children*, National Center for Children in Poverty, 2014, www.nccp.org/publications/pdf/text_1086.pdf; Heather Sandstrom and Sandra Huerta, *The Negative Effects of Instability on Child Development: A Research Synthesis*, The Urban Institute, 2013, www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/32706/412899-The-Negative-Effects-of-Instability-on-Child-Development-A-Research-Synthesis.PDF.
- 3 Sandstrom and Huerta, *The Negative Effects of Instability*.
- 4 Kay Johnson and Suzanne Theberge, *Reducing Disparities Beginning in Early Childhood*, National Center for Children in Poverty, 2007, www.nccp.org/publications/pdf/text_744.pdf.
- 5 Tamara Halle, Nicole Forry, Elizabeth Hair, et al., *Disparities in Early Learning and Development: Lessons from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Birth Cohort (ECLS-B)*, The Council of Chief State School Officers and Child Trends, 2009, www.elcmdm.org/Knowledge%20Center/reports/Child_Trends-2009_07_10_FR_DisparitiesEL.pdf; Sean F. Reardon and Ximena A. Portilla, "Recent Trends in Income, Racial, and Ethnic School Readiness Gaps at Kindergarten Entry," *AERA Open* 2 (2016), journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/2332858416657343; Sean F. Reardon, *The Widening Achievement Gap between the Rich and the Poor: New Evidence and Possible Explanations*, 2011, cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/reardon%20whither%20opportunity%20-%20chapter%205.pdf.
- 6 Elaine Maag, Stephen Roll, and Jane Oliphant, *Delaying Tax Refunds for Earned Income Tax Credit and Additional Child Tax Credit Claimants*, Tax Policy Center, 2016, http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/86336/2001018-delaying-tax-refunds-for-earned-income-tax-credit-and-additional-child-tax-credit-claimants_0.pdf; Chuck Marr, Chye-Ching Huang, Arloc Sherman, et al., *EITC and CTC Promote Work, Reduce Poverty, and Support Children's Development, Research Finds*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015, <https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/6-26-12tax.pdf>.
- 7 Arloc Sherman and Danilo Trisi, *Safety Net More Effective Against Poverty than Previously Thought*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015, <http://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/5-6-15pov.pdf>.
- 8 Duncan et al., "Boosting Family Income."
- 9 CLASP, *EITC Research Brief*, 2013, <http://www.clasp.org/resources-and-publications/files/2013-eitc-brief-final.pdf>; Michelle Maxfield, *The Effects of the Earned Income Tax Credit on Child Achievement and Long-Term Educational Attainment*, Institute for Child Success, 2015; Marr, *EITC and Child Tax Credit Promote Work*; Gordan B. Dahl and Lance Lochner, "The Impact of Family Income on Child Achievement: Evidence from the Earned Income Tax Credit," *American Economic Review* 102 (2012), <http://econweb.ucsd.edu/~gdahl/papers/children-and-EITC.pdf>; Elizabeth Lower-Basch and Stephanie Schmit, *TANF and the First Year of Life*, CLASP, 2015, http://www.clasp.org/resources-and-publications/body/TANF-and-the-First-Year-of-Life_Making-a-Difference-at-a-Pivotal-Moment.pdf.
- 10 Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, *Policy Basics: Introduction to Supplemental Security Income*, 2015, <http://www.cbpp.org/research/social-security/policy-basics-introduction-to-supplemental-security-income>.
- 11 Social Security Administration, "Understanding Supplemental Security Income SSI Benefits -- 2017 Edition," <https://www.ssa.gov/ssi/text-understanding-ssi.htm>.
- 12 Elizabeth Lower-Basch, *TANF Block Grant: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families*, CLASP, 2016, <http://www.clasp.org/resources-and-publications/publication-1/TANF-101-Block-Grant.pdf>.
- 13 Lower-Basch, *TANF Block Grant*.
- 14 Megan Stanley, Ife Floyd, and Misha Hill, *TANF Cash Benefits Have Fallen by More than 20 Percent in Most States and Continue to Erode*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2016, <http://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/tanf-cash-benefits-have-fallen-by-more-than-20-percent-in-most-states>; Ife Floyd, LaDonna Pavetti, and Liz Schott, *TANF Reaching Few Poor Families*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2017, <https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/4-5-17tanf.pdf>.
- 15 Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, *Policy Basics: The Earned Income Tax Credit*, 2016, <https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/policybasics-eitc.pdf>.
- 16 Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, *Policy Basics: The Child Tax Credit*, 2016, <http://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-tax/policy-basics-the-child-tax-credit>.
- 17 Amy Traub, Robert Hiltonsmith, and Tamara Draut, *The Parent Trap: The Economic Insecurity of Families with Young Children*, Demos, 2016, <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/Parent%20Trap.pdf>.
- 18 Traub et al, *The Parent Trap*.
- 19 Traub et al, *The Parent Trap*.

Cash Assistance and Tax Credits: Critical Supports for Infants, Toddlers, and Families

- 20 Ajay Chaudry, Christopher Wimer, Suzanne Macartney, et al., *Poverty in the United States: 50-Year Trends and Safety Net Impacts*, Office of Human Services Policy, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016, <https://aspe.hhs.gov/system/files/pdf/154286/50YearTrends.pdf>.
- 21 David B. Harris, *The Child Tax Credit: How the United States Underinvests in its Youngest Children in Cash Assistance and How Changes to the Child Tax Credit Could Help*, dissertation, Columbia University, 2012, <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac%3A175200>.
- 22 Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, *Policy Basics: State Earned Income Tax Credits*, 2016, <http://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/policy-basics-state-earned-income-tax-credits>.
- 23 Tax Credits for Workers and Families, "State Tax Credits: States with CTCs," <http://www.taxcreditsforworkersandfamilies.org/state-tax-credits/#1468434105770-44f9c6c5-52e0>.
- 24 Lower-Basch and Schmit, *TANF and the First Year of Life*.
- 25 Tess Lefmann and Terri Combs-Orme, "Prenatal Stress, Poverty, and Child Outcomes," *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 31 (2014); Michael T. Kinsella and Catherine Monk, "Impact of Maternal Stress, Depression, & Anxiety on Fetal Neurobehavioral Development," *Clinical Obstetric Gynecology* 52 (2009), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3710585/>; R. Gaignic-Philippe, Jacques Dayan, S. Chokron, et al., "Effects of Prenatal Stress on Fetal and Child Development: A Critical Literature Review," *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews* 43 (2014), www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0149763414000797.