
Child-only CalWORKs Study

Report #1

When Adults Are Left Out: CalWORKs Child-only Cases in Seven Counties

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Speigman Norris Associates (SNA) is a two-person partnership formed to conduct social and behavioral research and evaluation studies. The partners had, at the time the partnership was established in 2004, worked together for seven years on research and evaluation projects through the Public Health Institute, a large non-profit located in Oakland. SNA’s principals have extensive experience in project design, questionnaire development, primary data collection through telephone and in-person surveys and key informant interviews, preparation and analysis of administrative and survey data, and presentation of results in reports and in peer-reviewed publications as well as at conferences. SNA and its principals have conducted research and evaluation studies on welfare reform (longitudinal, panel studies of the effects of the elimination of SSI benefits for alcoholics and addicts and of barriers to departure from CalWORKs), housing and homelessness, substance use and abuse, mental health, health services utilization, employment, and criminal justice. Topically related to this project, working

with the CalWORKs/Child Welfare Partnership Project, Speigman surveyed California counties regarding linkages programs and practices.

Berkeley Policy Associates (BPA) is an independent, employee-owned, woman-owned firm dedicated to providing information to facilitate decision-making in public policy. BPA has a national reputation for high quality work in conducting program evaluation and public policy research in a wide range of substantive areas. BPA is committed to conducting research that makes a real difference in people's lives, and has developed special expertise in studying ways of assisting people who encounter obstacles to full participation in society due to such barriers as a lack of education or job training, a history of poverty or dependence on public assistance, age, disability, health, limited English-language skills, or responsibilities associated with caring for children.

BPA staff has the experience and know-how to select the most appropriate research methods, and to design, coordinate, and carry out data collection and analysis activities for a wide range of research methodologies. BPA has special expertise in designing large-scale evaluations with multiple research objectives. Other areas of methodological expertise include: extraction and analysis of large-scale databases, random assignment, development of performance indicators and standards, participatory evaluation, surveys, focus groups, statistical analysis and econometric modeling, collection and analysis of longitudinal data, key informant interviews, and Delphi panels.

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INTRODUCTION

Over one-half of California CalWORKs cases are now “child-only:” the grant is calculated to support only the dependent child(ren) in the family, not adults.¹ Since they themselves are unaided, the parents and other caregiver adults associated with child-only cases – because of sanctions, time limits, and other reasons described below – are no longer subject to time limits or work requirements, and, with some exceptions, neither are they entitled to participate in CalWORKs welfare-to-work activities nor to receive services such as CalWORKs’ child care and transportation subsidies or behavioral health care services.

Gibbs and colleagues conclude that, while the children in child-only cases “have not been identified as having experienced maltreatment [and] are outside the child welfare system’s protective mandate . . . they may be in need of supportive services” (Gibbs et al., 2004: ES-1).² Nevertheless, from the perspective of concern for child welfare, a major public policy issue concerning these child-only cases is how to ensure the safety and well-being of the children in child-only cases without resorting to the expense and intrusion of foster care intervention. From the “self-sufficiency” perspective, concern focuses on the status and potential of the parent or caregiver. On the child welfare side, one observer suggests that programs be developed for early intervention and case management, following systematic assessment that targets children’s risk of abuse and neglect. As a review of the literature on child-only cases makes evident, the potential value of a variety of supplemental services and resources is also evident. On the self-sufficiency side, among parents able to work, policy-makers’ and practitioners’ focus will need to be on addressing barriers to work, securing better-paid employment or subsidized work, and, among disabled parents and caretakers, on maximizing access to auxiliary sources of help.

The June 28, 2006, Interim Final Rule implementing the February 2006 reauthorization of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program emphasized work participation among many child-only case parents and other caregivers who were previously ignored in computation of the State’s federally-mandated 50 percent rate. As a consequence of the change, parents in sanctioned and timed-out cases are to contribute to the work participation rate computation. County welfare directors needing to determine how to approach these and other child-only populations require data describing the adults associated with the child-only cases. Beyond a modest amount of information available on sanctioned cases, very little is known about the parents and other caregivers, their characteristics, and the characteristics of their children.

Generally to date, concern among policy-makers has not reached the threshold required to consider how to address the unmet needs of the adults connected to the various categories of child-only cases referenced above, or to focus on the kinds of interventions needed to meet the adults’ and the children’s needs.

¹ Nationally, in Fiscal Year 2003 child-only cases – including those in which the parent was sanctioned – comprised 41 percent of TANF cases (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2006). Over half (53 percent) involved children living with kin caretakers, 19 percent parents receiving SSI, 18 percent families in which the parents’ legal status was problematic, and 6 percent sanctioned parents.

² As one group put it, child-only cases “do appear to straddle the murky boundary between cash assistance and child welfare” (Hetling, Saunders, & Born, 2005: 25).

The salience of the issue increased with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's January 10, 2007, release of his Proposed 2007-09 Budget (Schwarzenegger, 2007). Many current child-only CalWORKs cases would lose cash assistance through the proposed implementation of a full-family sanction as well as the imposition of time limits for children covered under the Safety Net program or as children of parents not qualified because of their immigrant or felony status ([California] Legislative Analyst's Office, 2007). If the Governor's proposals are implemented, the California Legislative Analyst's Office projects, California will witness a 12 percent reduction in the CalWORKs caseload in Fiscal Year 2007-08 ([California] Legislative Analyst's Office, 2007).

Relatively little is known about the children and adults associated with child-only cases, but it has been understood that this is a heterogeneous population. Whether or not the Governor's proposals are implemented, the social welfare of child-only case children and their parents and other caregivers presents an important challenge for local and state policy, planning, and program development.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Planning-oriented applied research has been initiated in a two-phase study within seven California counties (Alameda, Humboldt, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and Stanislaus). The counties contracted with Speigman Norris Associates (SNA) for project coordination and oversight. The study's Phase 1 involves the analysis of county administrative data to characterize the groups of child-only cases and the family members comprising the groups. SNA subcontracted with Berkeley Policy Associates (BPA) to arrange delivery and conduct statistical analysis of required county data, and SNA and BPA collaborated in the preparation of this report.

It is understood, though, that administrative data are limited in the domains they cover. Hence, a second project phase involving face-to-face or telephone interviews with adults associated with a subset of child-only cases will assess and describe the resources and needs of these families. This information will contribute to an understanding of parents' and caregivers' ability to depart from the cash assistance provided to the family by the CalWORKs program while still providing on-going care for the children. In doing this Phase 2 will reveal parents' and caregivers' potential barriers to employment and areas in which new or improved services might promote change. The final project report, combining findings from both phases of the study, is scheduled for December 2007. It is anticipated that study results will assist county and state personnel in their efforts to address policy and program needs.

A third project objective, not yet incorporated in the study but a likely Phase 3 of the project, would involve specific assessment of the statuses and needs of children in child-only CalWORKs cases.

DEFINING CHILD-ONLY CASES

Adult caretakers in child-only cases include the following groups of parents and non-parents:

- **Non-parental caregiver cases.** Also known as "non-needy relative" or "kinship," these are cases in which adults, many of them relatives in informal "kinship care"

arrangements³ who are not themselves eligible for CalWORKs aid, care for a child who is receiving CalWORKs assistance.

- **Not-qualified immigrant cases.** These are cases in which the parent or parents do not qualify for CalWORKs assistance because of their immigration status. In these families U.S. citizen children qualify for CalWORKs assistance.
- **Safety Net cases.** These are cases that have exceeded 60 months of CalWORKs assistance. In these families the adults are no longer eligible for assistance, but children continue to be eligible for aid under the state-funded “Safety Net” program.⁴
- **Sanctioned cases.** Under CalWORKs rules, parents who do not participate in mandatory welfare-to-work activities or who do not meet other program requirements are subject to sanction. These sanctions cause them to be excluded from the CalWORKs benefit calculations, which effectively turns the case into a child-only case.
- **SSI cases.** These are cases in which one or both parents receive SSI benefits, which disqualify them from also receiving CalWORKs assistance.

In the remainder of this report, we divide the child-only caseload in each county into the above subgroups. While to some degree parents might shift from one child-only category to another, for the most part we expect relative stability. There are also other, small groups of child-only cases. These include, for example, cases in which parents/caregivers are ineligible due to drug convictions, their membership in Kin-Gap and Foster Care households supported by CalWORKs funds, their membership in households in which the parent did not cooperate with assigning parental rights for child support purposes, and cases in which parents were convicted of welfare fraud.⁵ These cases are not explicitly broken out in this report. They do feature in overall summary statistics on counties’ CalWORKs caseloads.

REPORT FOCUS

The following pages reference the recently completed BASSC literature review of studies about the characteristics of adults and children associated with child-only cases under the CalWORKs and other TANF programs. This is followed by presentation of a table summarizing factors that have been found to be associated with child-only cases.

Subsequently we present findings from analyses of county-level, administrative data from seven counties to describe adults and children involved in child-only cases. These findings are compared with results for non-child-only cases. Topics addressed include:

³ Not included are relative caregivers serving the children’s needs under a court order or voluntary placement agreement under the auspices of a child welfare agency.

⁴ This subgroup was populated starting in January 2003, the earliest date that recipients of CalWORKs could have received cash assistance for 60 months.

⁵ Together these cases were estimated to total 5 percent of the child-only caseload in federal fiscal year 2004-2005 (Smilanick, 2006).

- The distribution of child-only cases, by type of case, within and across counties
- Number of child-only cases and number of adults and children associated with the cases, by county
- Estimates of average case size, including number of adults and number of children, by county
- Average age of adults and children associated with child-only cases, by county and by type of case
- Race/ethnicity of case membership, by county and type of case
- Language composition of child-only caseload, by county
- Parent/caregiver employment rates, by county and type of case
- Receipt of CalWORKs benefits in last year, including months on assistance, total grant received, latest grant amount, and grant per case member and per child on case, by county
- Welfare dynamics as measured by months of continuous receipt of CalWORKs assistance, by county and by type of case

PRIOR RESEARCH

A separate document prepared by the BASSC Research Response Team reviews published and unpublished literature addressing child-only TANF cases (Anthony et al., 2007). Among other content, the BASSC Team reviews the history of child-only cases and focuses on the literature on the five groups of child-only cases addressed in this study. In that regard Anthony et al. discuss formation of the five groups and, for both adults and children, outline group member characteristics, adults' and children's well-being, adults' barriers to employment, and families' challenges on aid. Few family strengths or resources are identified, but the number of challenges is daunting.

In preparation of this report we studied the BASSC literature review as well as many of the documents referenced therein and additional resources. In all we found just over 30 research studies of particular value. While that would seem to be a relatively large number, the vast majority of the studies addressed only sanctioned cases (23 studies) and non-parental or kinship cases (10 studies). Supplemented by two studies that referenced child-only cases as a group, only five studies concerned themselves with time limits and only three each with the not-qualified immigrant and SSI groups.⁶

Appendix A constitutes one, large table that summarizes areas covered in the existing literature by child-only group. In this table, an "x" denotes the existence of at least one study addressing the topic for a particular child-only group. A "T" denotes such coverage in the context of a more general analysis comparing child-only with all other TANF cases.

⁶ In fact, two of the three studies concerned with immigrants, two of the three addressing SSI cases, two of the ten concerned with kinship cases, and one of the twenty-three dealing with sanction cases are also the studies commenting on child-only cases as a whole.

Many of the studies summarized in the appendix table examined how child-only cases differed from other welfare cases in their demographic make-up. Studies generally found adults associated with child-only cases to be older and more likely to be married than those in welfare cases with aided adults. Studies also consistently found that certain ethnic groups were overrepresented in child only cases relative to other TANF cases and found that child-only cases were generally larger.

Considering the parent/caregivers' human capital characteristic, the literature includes findings on longer time on aid for all child-only groups, compared to aided families.

In the case of parent/caregiver personal health and other personal challenges, looking, for example, at mental health problems, the literature finds that all five child-only groups are more likely to suffer from mental health problems, both compared to other non-child-only TANF cases and compared to another child-only group.

This depiction in Appendix A is designed to create an image both of where research exists and, even if briefly, of the associations found. The summary does not constitute a meta-analysis, and is very limited in what it does. It does not present information on effect sizes, or even relative magnitude of effects, number of studies, or location or date of studies. Nor does this summary assess quality of study design.

The research summarized in Appendix A covers a wide range of important potential relationships between child-only status (or membership in specific child-only subgroups) and family characteristics and outcomes. In general, these relationships cannot be interpreted as causal due to the non-experimental and cross-sectional nature of the data. Hence the studies tell us relatively little about the actual relationship between a particular characteristic and child-only CalWORKs status. Consider housing problems and their association with sanctions, for example. Overcrowded or unsafe housing may necessitate a parent's spending more time with the children, resulting in a CalWORKs sanction. But a sanction and loss of income may also lead to problematic housing arrangements. And certainly there could be a third factor – like substance abuse – that remains invisible in the housing-sanction association but that might explain both problems.

The findings presented in this report for the seven study counties highlight some of the same individual and family characteristics seen in the literature. Phase 2 of the project, which will revolve around in-depth interviews with sampled child-only recipients in the counties, will cover the variables not available in the county data on which this report is based.

Appendix A also contains guidance for development of the questionnaire to be used in study Phase 2. Without going into them in detail, we note that Phase 2 interviews will pursue domains left largely untouched by Phase 1. Interview topics may include marital status, English skills, educational attainment, job skills and employment history, childcare and transportation challenges, health insurance and other benefits, housing and hunger, health, mental health, substance abuse, and domestic violence history, and need to care for family members or others.

THE SEVEN COUNTIES

Five of the seven participating counties are in the San Francisco Bay Area. Humboldt County is a northern, coastal jurisdiction, and Stanislaus County is located east of Santa Clara County, in California's Central Valley. The following data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau (2007) provide a partial overview of the counties and their residents:

	Alameda	Humboldt	San Francisco	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
Population, 2005 est.	1,448,905	128,376	739,426	699,610	1,699,052	466,477	505,505
White non-Hispanic persons	38.0%	80.9%	44.1%	47.3%	39.9%	70.5%	51.8%
Black persons	13.8%	1.1%	7.3%	3.4%	2.8%	1.6%	3.1%
Am Indian or Alaskan Native persons	0.7%	5.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.8%	1.4%	1.5%
Asian persons	24.2%	1.9%	32.9%	23.4%	30.2%	3.8%	5.0%
Persons of Hispanic or Latino origin	20.8%	7.6%	13.7%	22.6%	24.9%	21.1%	37.6%
Foreign born persons, 2000	27.2%	4.5%	36.8%	32.3%	34.1%	14.3%	18.3%
High school graduates age 25+, 2000	82.4%	84.9%	81.2%	85.3%	83.4%	84.9%	70.4%
Median household income, 2003	\$56,166	\$32,123	\$51,302	\$64,998	\$68,167	\$52,034	\$41,524
Per capita money income, 1999	\$26,680	\$17,203	\$34,556	\$36,045	\$32,795	\$25,724	\$16,913
% below poverty, 2003	10.7%	15.6%	12.0%	6.8%	8.8%	8.8%	14.2%
Land area, square mi, 2000	737	3,572	46	449	1,290	1,575	1,493

The seven counties demonstrate wide variety in size and population density, from San Francisco's 46 square miles, with 10,000 persons per square mile, to Humboldt County's 3,572 square miles and only 35 persons per square mile. Per capita income also varies, from \$16,913 in Stanislaus County and \$17,203 in Humboldt County to over double the figures, \$36,045, in San Mateo County. Percent of population ages 25 and up with a high school degree is stable across six of the seven counties, at 81 to 85 percent. However in Stanislaus County the rate is 70 percent.

Especially relevant for analyses below is distribution of county population by race/ethnicity. The Alameda and Santa Clara County populations are the most broadly distributed, including Non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos. Humboldt County is predominately White, accompanied by the largest proportion of American Indians and Alaskan Natives among the seven counties. San Francisco and San Mateo Counties are broadly distributed. Sonoma and Stanislaus Counties are predominately White, non-Hispanic with relatively large proportions of Latinos.

METHODS

Data Sources

The findings presented in this report were obtained from county administrative record data, provided to us by the seven counties for the specific purpose of this study. These data come from a variety of county data systems, which are designed and used to administer the county's CalWORKs program and other public benefits. The data are a combination of individual-level variables, describing individual adults and children receiving CalWORKs assistance, and case-level variables, which capture case-level status variables and monthly CalWORKs payments to each case. For the purpose of our analyses, we merged these two types of data, using a case ID variable to match individuals to cases and vice versa. In some of the counties, all data were already merged together like this (at the individual level). In analyzing data for those counties we re-aggregated the individual-level data for case-level analyses.

All data were provided to BPA in a de-identified format. This means that individual adults and children were identified only by case ID and individual ID variables. Speiglmann Norris Associates, prime contractor for the project, requested that Independent Review Consulting, Inc. (IRC) review the project's human subjects' protection protocol. IRC found the project exempt from the requirements of institutional review board review.

Analysis of the data was done on a county-by-county basis, using SAS software. We did not merge county files because each county sent us a different set of variables, with different contents and formats. In subsequent research, we will explore the possibility of creating a single study master file, which would enable us to make direct statistical comparisons across the counties. The data processing required to create such a file was beyond the scope of this project.

The county data we received did not cover the same time period for each county. The "current" month represented in most of the analyses presented here ranged from November 2006 in Santa Clara County to February 2007 in San Francisco. Given the relative stability of the overall caseload, such variation in the time period covered by the analyses is not problematic.

Timing and Missing Data

Due to delays in obtaining county data there are some missing data in this report. Not all the counties are represented in all the tables, and in some cases a county is represented by only part of its caseload. Specifically, this report has the following major missing data:

- Historical food stamp data were missing in almost every county. Consequently, planned analysis of food stamp outcome data are not presented in this report.
- Employment data were missing in one county (Sonoma) and were considered unreliable by some of the other counties. We present these data with appropriate caveats.

Creation of Analysis Files and Variables

One of the primary purposes of this report was to highlight the characteristics and welfare dynamics of different categories of child-only cases (described above). Creation of these categories was more complicated than we anticipated. Different counties have different ways to identify, for example, non-parental caregiver cases or cases with not-qualified immigrants. In some counties, these groups were neatly identified with mutually exclusive categories, and in other counties there were significant overlaps between subgroups. In our analyses we used whatever subgroup variables the counties prepared for us and did not subject the creation of these subgroup variables to examination.

The creation of subgroup variables, demographic variables, and employment and welfare outcomes often required assumptions to be made and categories to be collapsed in more or less arbitrary ways. We do not extensively document these analytical decisions in this report and we do not expect them to have major impacts on the results as we present them. However, we do expect that certain county-specific statistics in this report may not match exactly comparable statistics from other sources.

Objectives of the Analyses

The subsequent analytical sections of this report include county-specific findings on the size and composition of the child-only CalWORKs caseload, key demographic characteristics of adults and children on the caseload, employment outcomes, and welfare dynamics. In all these analyses we compare child-only cases to cases with aided adults, make comparisons across different subgroups of child-only cases, and make comparisons across the counties.

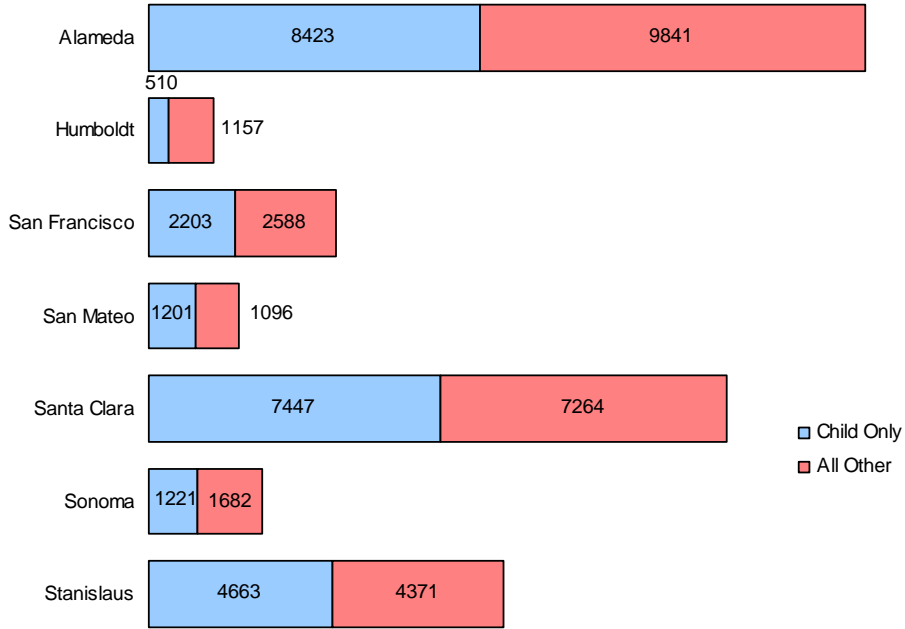
FINDINGS

Size and Composition of the Child-only Caseload

Cases in which children are the only aided individuals constitute a significant proportion of the CalWORKs caseload in the study counties. Figure 1 shows the distribution of child-only and non-child-only cases across the counties.⁷

⁷ The figures shown here and elsewhere are from the last month of county data made available to BPA for this study. This ranges from October 2006 through February 2007.

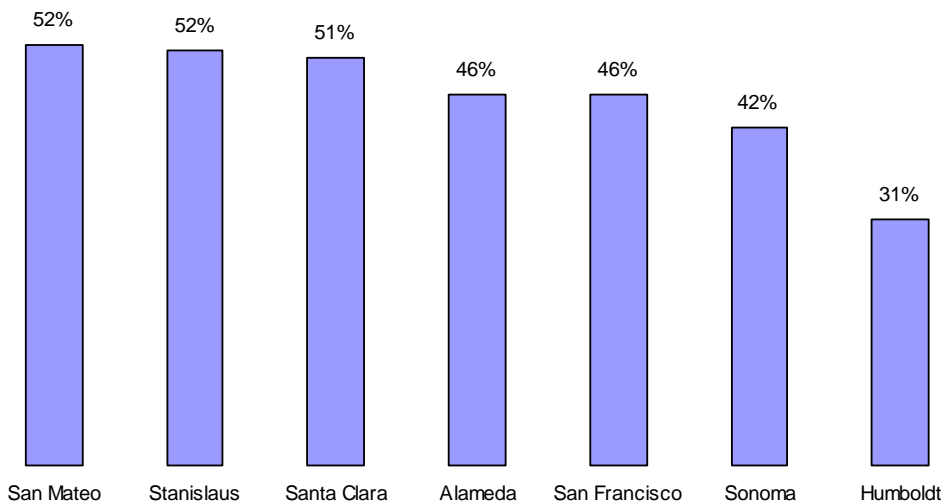
Figure 1
Distribution of Child-only Cases in Sample Counties



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Aside from the marked differences in the size of the CalWORKs caseloads across the counties, the figure shows some variation in the proportion of each county’s CalWORKs caseload that is accounted for by child-only cases. As highlighted further in Figure 2 below, many of the counties have no aided adults on approximately half of their CalWORKs cases. This proportion ranges from a low of 31 percent in Humboldt County to a high of 52 percent in San Mateo and Stanislaus counties.

Figure 2
Percent of County CalWORKs Caseload without Aided Adults



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

In the remainder of this section, we divide the child-only caseload in each county into the subgroups described earlier in this report. These subgroups are as follows:

- Non-parental cases
- Not-qualified immigrant cases
- Safety Net cases
- Sanctioned cases
- SSI cases

Other groups of child-only cases, small in number, often fell into other categories as well and are included in the overall statistics on child-only cases as a whole.

It is not straightforward to categorize child-only cases into these subgroups. The primary reason for this is that many child-only cases have two parents associated with them, and often there are other adults associated with these cases as well. Both parents do not always fall into the same subgroup category, and the status of each individual parent can change over time. In providing us with data to create these subgroup breakdowns, some counties gave us two subgroup flags for each child-only case, while other counties gave us case-level flags, which pre-sorted the cases into the various subgroups. Also, in some cases the case-level Safety Net program indicator did not match up with individual parent-level “Time on Aid” flags, which are designed to identify when parents have exhausted their 60 months on CalWORKs.

In our analysis, we created child-only subgroups by including cases in one of the subgroups if any of the relevant subgroup variables flagged that case. For some counties this resulted in subgroups that overlapped to a certain extent. For example, a child-only case could have a parent associated with it who is an SSI recipient and another parent who is a not-qualified immigrant. In this example such a case would be included in both the SSI and not-qualified immigrant subgroups. For identifying Safety Net cases we used the aid code rather than the “Time on Aid” flags created for the individual parents.

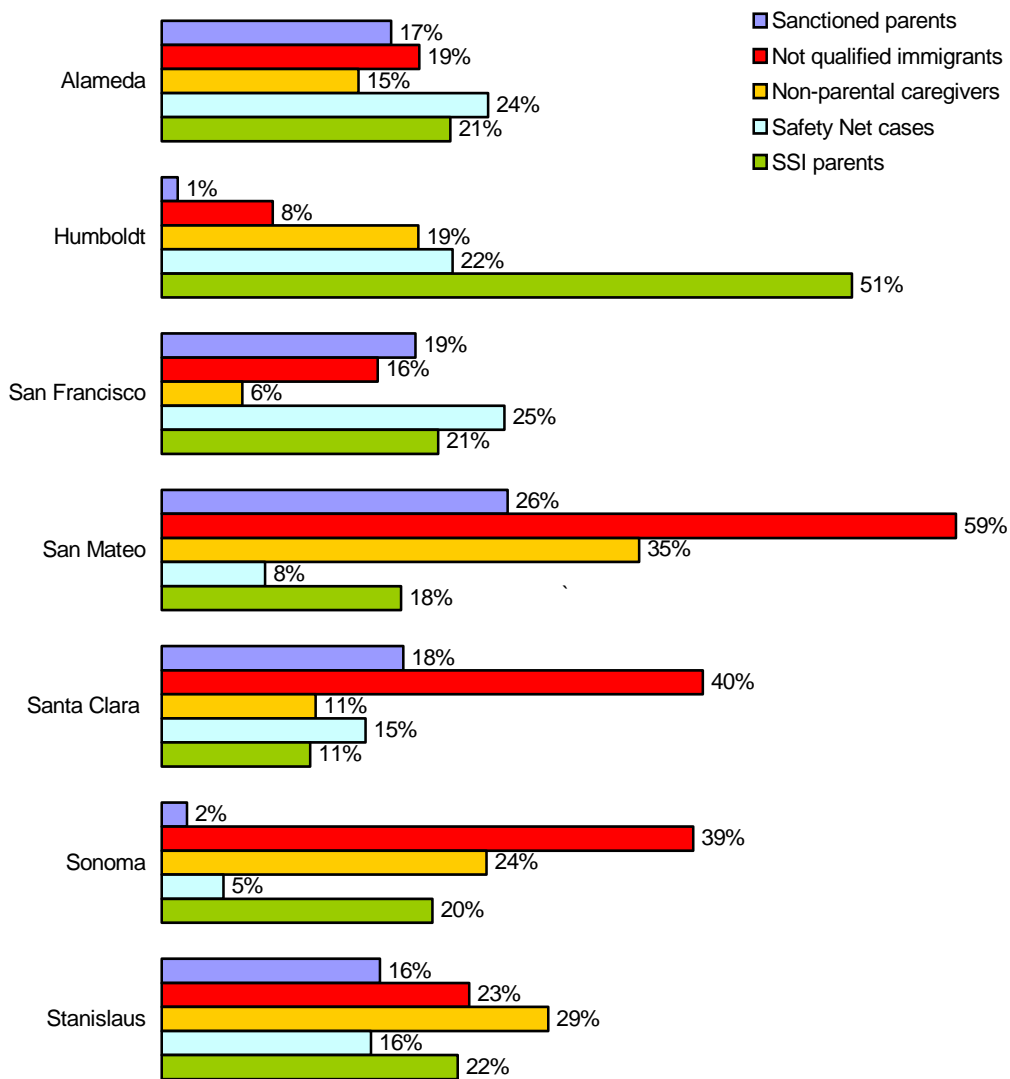
Figure 3 displays this breakdown into child-only subgroups for each of the study counties. It shows a great deal of cross-county variation in the distribution of cases across subgroups. Also, note that these subgroups sometimes overlap, and such overlaps are much more significant for some counties than for others. Thus, the subgroup proportions do not always sum to 100 percent, and sometimes sum to more than 100 percent.⁸

As an illustration of the cross-county differences, the proportion of sanctioned parents ranged from 1 percent in Humboldt County to 26 percent in San Mateo County. Non-parental caregivers range from 6 percent in San Francisco to 35 percent in San Mateo County. Not-qualified immigrant cases range from 8 percent in Humboldt County to 59 percent in San Mateo County. Safety Net cases range from 8 percent in San Mateo County to 25 percent in San Francisco, and SSI parent cases range from 11 percent in Santa Clara County to 51 percent in Humboldt County.

⁸ In San Mateo County, the overlaps are particularly noteworthy. Child-only case categories sum to 145 percent. In discussions with county staff we were told that these overlaps occur because many individuals are associated with multiple cases.

It is not obvious from the data analysis what explains the variation across the counties in the types of families served by CalWORKs in child-only cases. In all likelihood, the cross-county variation in this distribution is explained by a combination of differences in caseload demographics, county economic conditions, and county administrative policies and procedures. For example, counties with a lower representation of Safety Net cases may be more accommodating in their implementation of time limit exemptions and extensions. Alternatively, they may be more successful in their efforts to assist CalWORKs recipients in transitioning from welfare to work. In contrast, a high representation of not-qualified immigrant parents among child-only cases may reflect a combination of county demographics and outreach efforts to provide services to U.S.-born children whose parents are not-qualified immigrants.

Figure 3
Distribution of Child-only CalWORKs Cases across Key Subgroups



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The Size of Child-Only Cases

After dividing each county's caseload into child-only cases and other cases, we attempted to calculate the average case size for each type of case. In doing so, it appeared that some counties collect and provided us with data on all the adults associated with child-only cases, while others keep and provided more limited data on adults. Table 1 shows a breakdown of the results by county.

Table 1
Number of CalWORKs Cases and Those Associated with Them

	Cases		Individuals		Adults		Children	
	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other
Alameda	8,423	9,841	46,207	42,952	26,649	24,833	18,998	18,651
Humboldt	510	1,157	1,253	2,679	603	1,498	643	1,167
San Francisco	2,203	2,588	5,973	6,824	2,188	2,734	3,785	4,090
San Mateo	1,201	1,096	6,203	4,887	3,209	2,467	2,994	2,420
Santa Clara	7,447	7,264	38,792	31,484	20,955	17,113	17,837	14,371
Sonoma	1,221	1,682	5,695	7,269	3,013	3,856	2,682	3,413
Stanislaus	4,663	4,371	14,441	13,928	4,457	5,666	9,984	8,262
<i>All counties</i>	<i>25,668</i>	<i>27,999</i>	<i>118,564</i>	<i>110,023</i>	<i>61,074</i>	<i>58,167</i>	<i>56,923</i>	<i>52,374</i>

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Alameda, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and San Mateo counties stand out in this table because in these counties more adults appear to be associated with child-only cases than children. This is not the case in the other counties. We suggest that this finding may reflect more extensive data gathering on the various household members in child-only households in those four counties, rather than a significant difference in the actual make-up of the child-only cases in these counties. Additionally, county differences may reflect differential prevalence of the various child-only groups, differences in prevalence of married parents, and, accordingly, variation in number of adults associated with child-only cases. For example, a county such as Santa Clara, with relatively more immigrant families among the child-only caseload, and hence more two-parent families, would be expected to report more adults associated with child-only cases.

Table 2 summarizes the cross-county differences in Table 1 by presenting estimates of the average case size and the average number of children in each case. This table clearly demonstrates the impact of the additional adults in Alameda, Santa Clara, San Mateo, and Sonoma Counties on the average child-only case sizes in these counties (although the non-child-only cases were larger in these counties as well). Data recording differences involving adults should not influence count of number of children per case in child-only cases, however. Nevertheless, the same counties remain at the high end. The average number of children in these cases ranges from 1.3 in Humboldt County and 1.8 in San Francisco to 2.3 in Alameda, 2.4 in Santa Clara, and 2.5 in San Mateo Counties. For average number of children in all other cases, the numbers are much closer together, ranging from 1.0 in Humboldt County and 1.6 in San Francisco to 2.2 in San Mateo County.⁹

⁹ The average of 1.0 in Humboldt County may be problematic, since the minimum number of children per case is 1 for most cases. The exception is new cases involving women who are pregnant with their first child.

Table 2
Average Case Size and Number of Children and Adults per Case

	Case size		Children/case		Adults/case	
	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other
Alameda	5.5	4.4	2.3	1.9	3.2	2.5
Humboldt	2.5	2.3	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.3
San Francisco	2.7	2.6	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.1
San Mateo	5.2	4.5	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.3
Santa Clara	5.2	4.3	2.4	2.0	2.8	2.4
Sonoma	4.7	4.3	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.3
Stanislaus	3.1	3.2	2.1	1.9	1.0	1.3
<i>All counties</i>	4.6	3.9	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.1

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

With the exception of Alameda County and Santa Clara County, in each county the average number of children per case is very consistent across the counties, regardless of child-only status.

Subtracting the number of children from the overall case size results in an estimate of the number of adults on a case. There is a significant amount of variation across counties in this measure as well. For child-only cases, San Francisco and Stanislaus show only one adult on each of these cases, most likely the person who is the designated payee (but who is unaided him or herself).

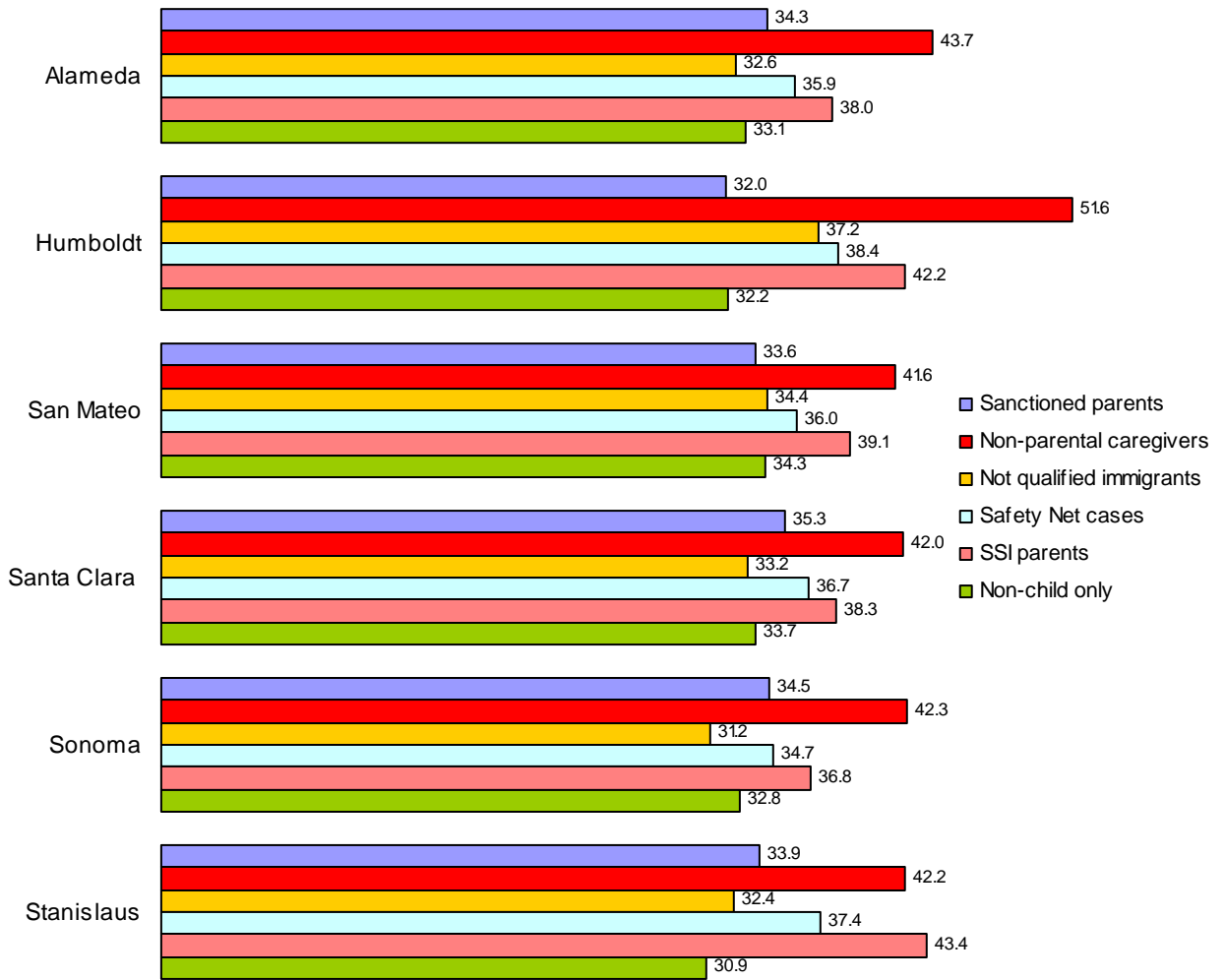
In our analyses we explored whether there were meaningful differences in the average case size across the child-only subgroups introduced above. On average, safety net cases and those including not-qualified immigrant parents were somewhat larger than cases in the other subgroups, but the differences generally were modest (data not presented tabularly).

Age and Other Demographic Background Characteristics

Figure 4 presents the average age of adult associated with child-only cases in the various subgroups discussed above. These data were not available for San Francisco.

For comparison purposes, the figure also presents the average age of aided adults on non-child-only cases. The age pattern across the subgroups is remarkably similar across the counties. In each county, the adults on child-only cases are older than those on non-child-only cases, and in each county, the non-parental caregivers and SSI parents are older than those in the other subgroups. The average age of non-parental caregivers ranges from 41.6 years in San Mateo County to 51.6 years in Humboldt County. For SSI parents, the average age ranges from 36.8 years in Sonoma County to 43.4 years in Stanislaus County. Among adults associated with child-only cases, those who are not-qualified immigrants are the youngest. Their average ages, from 31.2 to 37.2 years, are similar to aided adults in the non-child-only caseload.

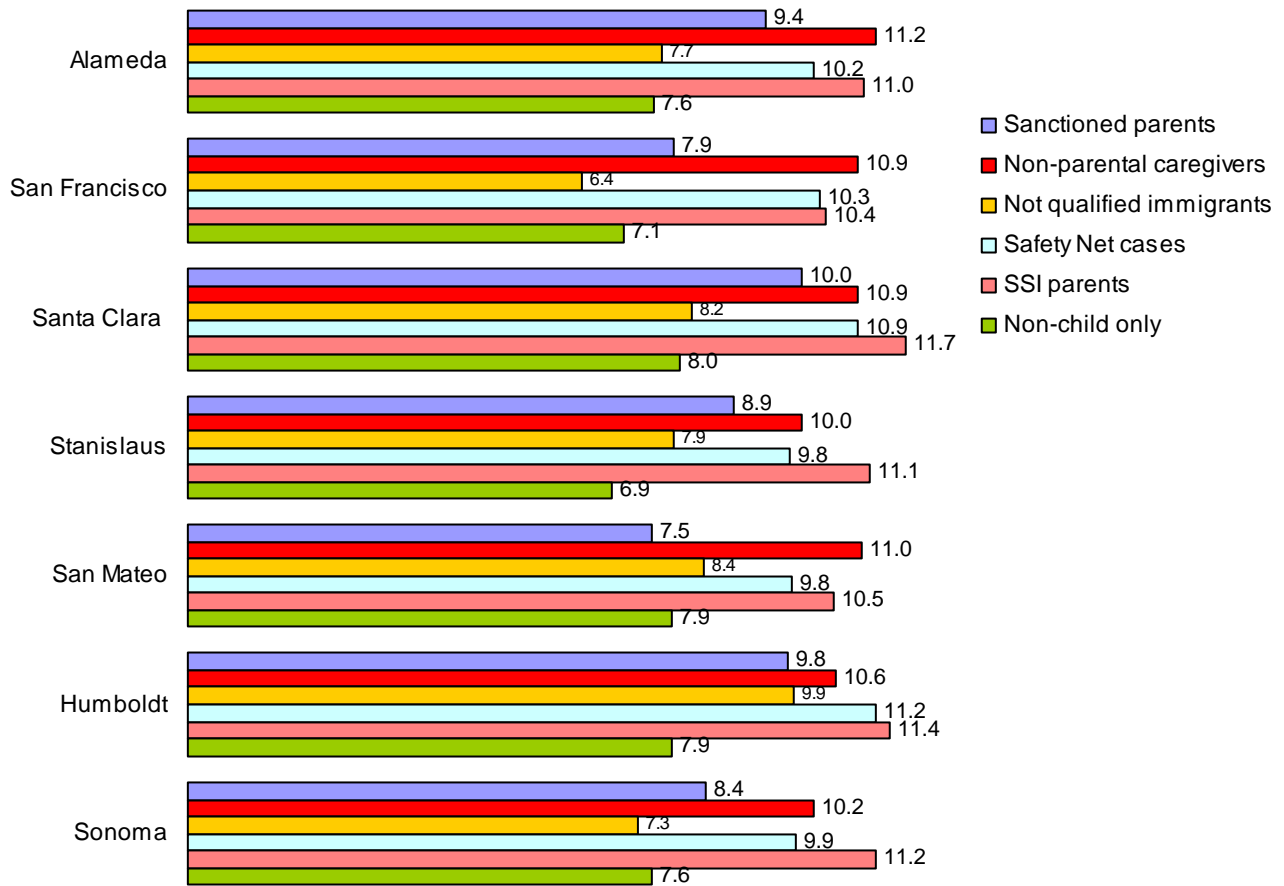
Figure 4
Average Age of Adults Associated with Child-only Subgroups



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 5 shows very similar patterns for the children on these cases. (This figure includes San Francisco). Children in cases with non-parental caregivers (mean ages ranging from 10.0 to 11.2 years) and SSI parents (mean ages ranging from 10.4 to 11.7 years) tend to be older than non-child-only case children (mean ages ranging from 6.9 to 8.0 years).

Figure 5
Average Age of Children in Different Types of Child-only Cases



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Table 3 displays a breakdown of the ethnic composition of the county caseloads by subgroup. These are individual data showing the individually recorded ethnicities of children and adults on the county caseloads. Thus, if a case has 3 adults and 2 children, it accounts for five observations in this analysis.¹⁰ The table shows a great deal of variation in ethnicity both across the subgroups within each county and across the counties. Several clear patterns emerge.

Looking at the first panel of data we see, among child-only cases, Latinos are the plurality group in San Mateo, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and Stanislaus Counties. For Alameda and San Francisco

¹⁰ An examination of results for one county, in which each case was granted only one observation, showed virtually no difference from the results in Table 3.

Counties, Blacks constitute the largest group. White recipients make up the greatest proportion of cases in Humboldt County.

Table 3
Ethnicity of Individuals on Child-only and Other Cases, by County and Subgroup

	Alameda	Humboldt	San Francisco	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
<i>Child only cases</i>							
Asian	10.7%	5.9%	15.1%	3.2%	13.8%	3.1%	5.8%
Black	46.0	2.7	48.8	16.9	6.1	4.2	6.7
Latino	25.2	6.8	26.0	63.7	66.1	53.4	47.1
Native American	0.2	11.1	0.3	0.5	0.4	2.8	0.3
White	10.2	73.2	5.0	14.1	7.7	36.2	39.0
Pacific Islander	0.4	0.4	3.5	1.6	0.7	0.3	1.1
<i>Sanctioned parents</i>							
Asian	12.1	0.0	8.9	2.3	16.6	0.0	7.4
Black	56.5	16.7	63.6	10.9	7.3	10.0	6.0
Latino	12.2	0.0	14.2	79.5	55.4	15.0	38.1
Native American	0.5	16.7	0.6	0.3	0.7	10.0	0.6
White	10.9	66.7	5.1	6.3	12.4	65.0	46.3
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.0	5.6	0.7	1.6	0.0	1.6
<i>Non-needy relative</i>							
Asian	3.5	1.1	9.6	5.7	4.3	1.4	3.1
Black	58.1	3.3	66.9	32.0	12.2	7.2	7.9
Latino	13.1	4.4	16.9	22.6	55.1	14.4	34.9
Native American	0.4	24.2	0.6	1.5	0.9	4.0	0.5
White	16.2	65.9	4.5	34.5	19.8	71.9	53.0
Pacific Islander	0.7	1.1	1.1	3.7	1.1	1.1	0.6
<i>Not qualified immigrants</i>							
Asian	1.4	31.7	5.1	1.6	0.8	0.2	0.3
Black	0.8	0.0	0.5	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.1
Latino	92.2	58.5	90.0	93.4	94.6	99.4	98.7
Native American	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
White	1.8	9.8	1.2	2.0	0.5	0.4	0.8
Pacific Islander	0.5	0.0	2.2	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.2
<i>Safety Net cases</i>							
Asian	18.5	11.3	24.5	0.0	38.0	9.6	8.1
Black	55.0	1.9	60.5	58.4	10.1	5.8	10.8
Latino	6.7	4.7	5.9	28.1	38.2	15.4	40.1
Native American	0.2	6.6	0.1	0.0	0.5	1.9	0.1
White	11.3	75.5	4.1	13.5	7.0	67.3	38.6
Pacific Islander	0.5	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
<i>SSI parents</i>							
Asian	19.2	9.2	22.4	3.5	39.9	11.7	18.3
Black	52.3	4.0	50.4	42.1	11.0	8.0	8.3
Latino	6.0	1.2	12.2	24.8	29.5	15.9	21.6
Native American	0.1	9.2	0.9	1.5	0.8	6.3	0.2
White	12.6	76.1	10.3	27.2	12.4	58.2	49.5
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.4	2.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	2.1
<i>Non-child only cases</i>							
Asian	8.6	2.6	18.1	9.1	15.8	2.2	3.4
Black	51.0	3.0	43.5	29.8	9.3	6.4	7.5
Latino	16.5	4.3	17.4	33.4	51.5	22.8	39.1
Native American	0.4	12.4	0.4	0.1	0.6	4.0	0.4
White	15.4	77.6	13.3	24.6	15.6	64.3	48.4
Pacific Islander	1.1	0.2	3.8	3.1	1.6	0.3	1.3

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Looking at differences between child-only cases overall and non-child-only cases (the last panel), we find, in Alameda County, that child-only cases are more likely to be Latino and less likely to be Black or White. In Humboldt County child-only cases are more likely to be Asian and Latino and somewhat less likely to be White. In San Francisco, child-only cases are more likely to be Latino and less likely to be White. San Mateo County child-only cases are much more likely to be Latino and less likely to be each of the other groups except Native American. Santa Clara County child-only cases are more likely Latino and less likely each of the other groups. In Sonoma County Latino child-only cases are over twice as prevalent as are Latino non-child-only cases. Stanislaus County child-only cases are more likely Latino and less likely White.

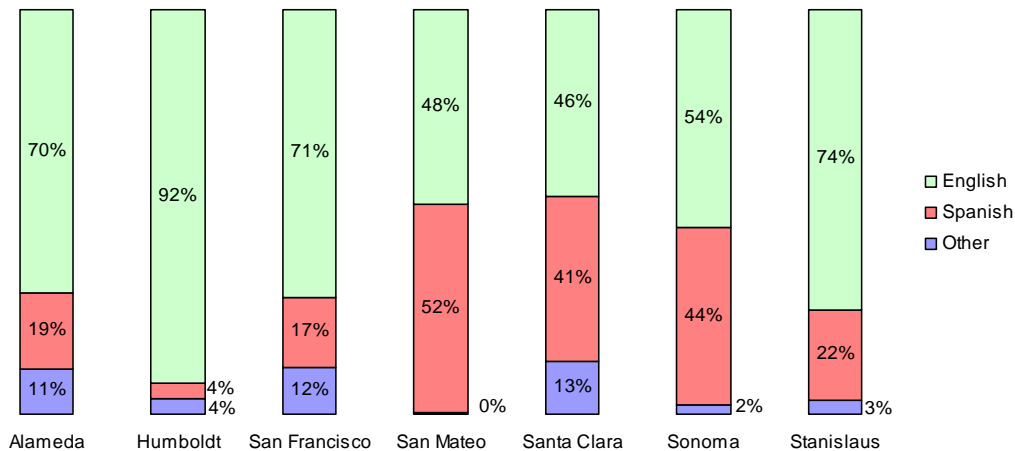
These findings are driven by the fact that individuals in child-only cases with not-qualified immigrant parents are almost exclusively Latinos. The only exception to this is Humboldt County, where a sizeable minority of individuals in not-qualified immigrant cases is Asian. In Alameda County, San Francisco, San Mateo County, Santa Clara County, and Stanislaus County, Black recipients are more highly represented among Safety Net cases. In Alameda Humboldt, San Francisco, and Sonoma Counties, Black recipients are significantly more likely to be sanctioned than other ethnic groups. In San Francisco, Alameda, San Mateo, and Santa Clara Counties, Black recipients are also more likely to be non-parental caregivers or, in Alameda, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties, SSI parents.

In each county, compared to their prevalence among child-only cases over-all, Asian recipients are disproportionately SSI benefit recipients. Closer analysis of the make-up of these Asian groups finds that they are often specific refugee groups. In Alameda County, most Asian SSI parents are Cambodian, and in Humboldt County many are Laotian or Hmong (data not displayed).

Humboldt County is the only county in our sample with a significant representation of Native Americans. Overall, they account for more than 11 percent of child-only cases in Humboldt County.

Figure 6 summarizes the language composition of the child-only caseload in each of the counties. These again are individual-level variables, measured for each person on the caseload, as described above in our discussion of Table 3.

Figure 6
Language Composition of Child-only Caseload, by County



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The figure shows that, in all counties except for San Mateo, Sonoma, and Santa Clara Counties, at least 70 percent of child-only CalWORKs cases are English-speaking. In San Mateo County the majority is Spanish-speaking, and in Santa Clara County there is no majority language. As expected, but not shown in the figure, the subgroup of not-qualified immigrant parents is the one child-only subgroup in which Spanish is the predominant language in all the counties.

Employment and Work Participation

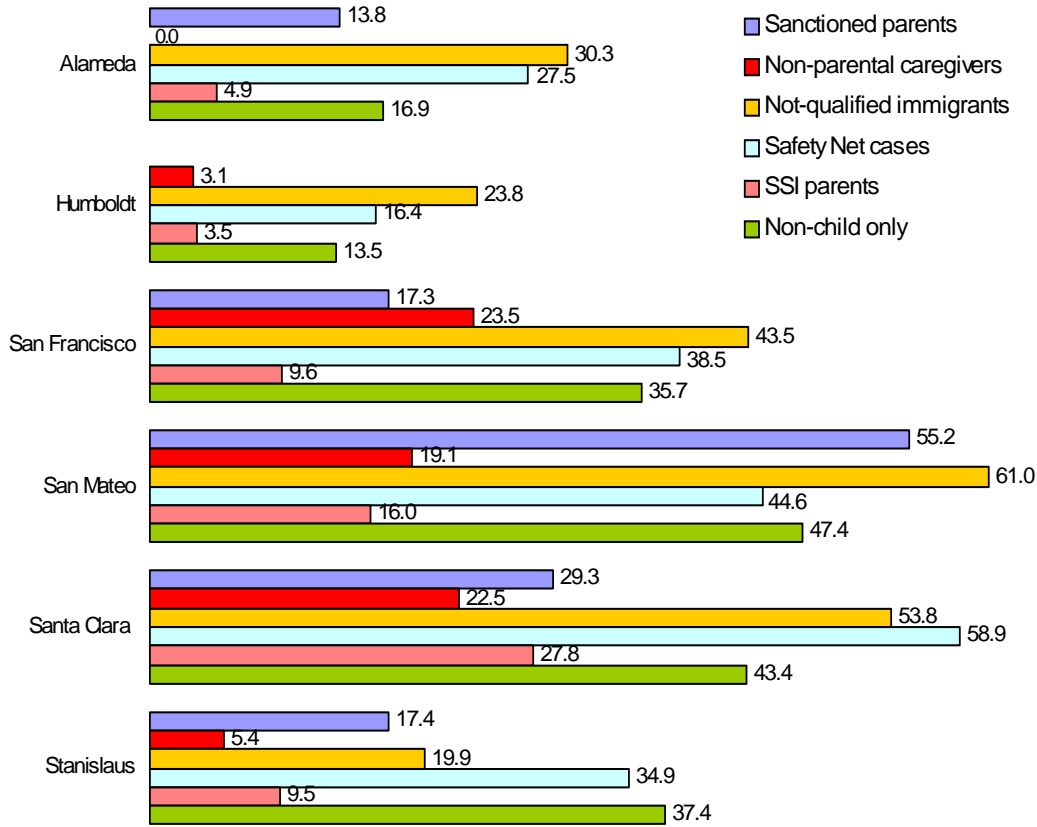
An important question from the perspective of both individual families and county policy makers is whether adults associated with child-only cases work and how much they earn. Although State law does not currently deny CalWORKs cash assistance to the children of sanctioned and timed-out parents who are not engaged in work-related activities, these individuals are now considered “work-eligible”, and their employment status is factored into the county’s work participation rate which, in turn, determines the possible imposition of financial sanctions on the State and county. Earned family income is also considered in the grant calculations for all types of child-only cases, and families who have earnings from employment are likely to be better off financially than families who rely entirely on CalWORKs assistance and other public benefits.

Unfortunately, it is a challenge to collect and analyze administrative employment data for CalWORKs child-only cases. Employment data on the adults in these cases are not regularly used for case management, because adults associated with child-only cases are not mandated to participate in employment or employment-related activities. As a result, the employment data we obtained from the study counties thus far generally are not complete or reliable enough to present in this report. Employment and family income are also an important focus of the second phase of this study, which includes in-depth fieldwork with adults who are part of CalWORKs child-only families.

In Figure 7 we present current employment rates (assessed at the time of the data extract for the study) for child-only subgroups in all counties except Sonoma, which did not provide these data.

These rates vary considerably. Non-child-only case employment rates range from 16.9 percent in Alameda County to 47.4 percent in San Mateo County. For sanctioned parents, employment rates vary from 0 percent (Humboldt County) to 55.2 percent (San Mateo County). Employment rates among non-parental caregivers vary from 0 percent in Alameda County to 22.5 percent in Santa Clara County. Employment rates are highest overall for not-qualified immigrants, ranging from 19.9 percent in Stanislaus County to 61.0 percent in San Mateo County. Among safety net cases the variation in employment rate is quite large, extending from 16.4 percent in Humboldt County to 58.9 percent in Santa Clara County. Finally, the employment rate for SSI parents is only 3.5 percent in Humboldt County, but as high as 27.8 percent in Santa Clara County.

Figure 7
Estimated Employment Rate by County and Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Welfare Receipt

A major component of our analysis of the county data has been to create a profile of the welfare use of the child-only cases and the various subgroups. The purpose of these analyses is to help predict how long an average child-only case will remain open and how much assistance the average child-only recipient receives per month or per year. To conduct these analyses we requested that each county provide us with at least a year's worth of historical data on CalWORKs receipt and food stamp receipt.

Table 4 presents five essential CalWORKs statistics for child-only cases and non-child-only cases. For each of the seven counties, the table shows the average number of months recipients received CalWORKs benefits in the prior year, the total amount of CalWORKs benefits received, the latest monthly grant amount, the grant amount per person on the case and the grant amount per child on the case. The latter distinction mirrors the one we introduced above and is intended to correct for any cross-county differences in how case membership is recorded.

Table 4
Prior Year CalWORKs Benefits by County and Child-only Status

	Alameda	Humboldt	SF	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
# of Months of data	12	7	12	12	12	11	12
<i>Child only cases</i>							
Months on assistance	10.6	6.4	10.5	10.5	10.3	9.6	10.8
Total grant received	5213	3235	4866	5007	5063	4455	5238
Latest grant amount	451	502	417	467	450	450	470
Grant per case member	82	281	232*	101	86	97	152
Grant per child on case	200	398	232	187	188	206	220
<i>Non-child only cases</i>							
Months on assistance	9.4	5.6	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.5	9.3
Total grant received	5589	3220	5013	5022	5307	4634	5293
Latest grant amount	570	578	487	568	542	529	573
Grant per case member	131	346	192	151	125	123	180
Grant per child on case	301	578	306	258	274	262	303

Note: Because counties account for case membership differently, cross-county comparisons of the grant per case member may not be valid.

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

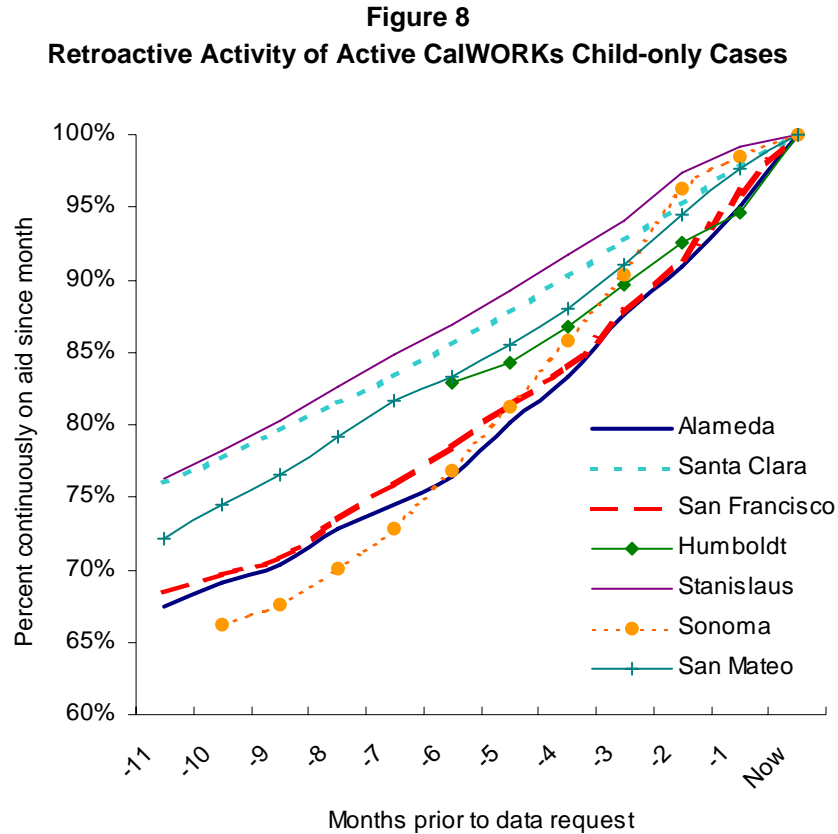
The table shows that the average number of months of CalWORKs receipt in the prior year is greater for recipients who are part of child-only cases than for those in cases with aided adults. (Please note that the Humboldt data only cover 7 months, and Sonoma data cover 11 months). Excluding Humboldt and Sonoma Counties, child-only cases were aided between 10.3 and 10.8 months in the prior year, which compares to a range of 8.6 - 9.4 months for non-child-only cases, again excluding Humboldt and Sonoma Counties. However, during these aided months, child-only recipients receive significantly lower grants than those on non-child-only cases. In each of the counties the average grant amount is at least \$70 higher for cases with aided adults and \$180 higher in the case of Humboldt County.

Because unaided adults are usually included as part of the CalWORKs case, the average grant per household member is significantly lower for child-only cases than for non-child-only cases. In Alameda and Santa Clara, both of which provided data on adults associated with child-only cases, the average grant per individual was between \$82 and \$86 for individuals on child-only cases and between \$125 and \$131 for those on cases with aided adults.

The higher monthly grants are also reflected in higher total annual grants for cases with aided adults, despite the fact that this group received CalWORKs assistance for fewer months. Across the counties there was relatively little difference in the amount of CalWORKs payments.

Figure 8 offers a more precise way to examine welfare dynamics among child-only CalWORKs recipients. Using monthly CalWORKs benefit variables for individual cases in the counties, we created a retrospective history of each individual case. Starting in the month covered by the latest county data (February 2007 for San Francisco, for example), we counted back in time and for each of the preceding 11 months (6 for Humboldt County, 10 for Sonoma County) assessed what percent of cases already were active during that month. Higher percentages indicate

greater persistence of receipt and possibly greater dependence on assistance.¹¹ Such persistence is likely to extend into the future, which makes an analysis like this useful for policymaking and forecasting purposes.



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data

Among the counties, the figure shows some differences in the persistence of child-only cases. In Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties, more than 75 percent of current recipients have been on aid continuously for at least a year. In Alameda, San Francisco, and Sonoma Counties, this number is less than 70 percent, and the other counties fall in between these numbers. This means that Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties serve more longer-term recipients than do the other counties and possibly experience less churning in their caseloads.

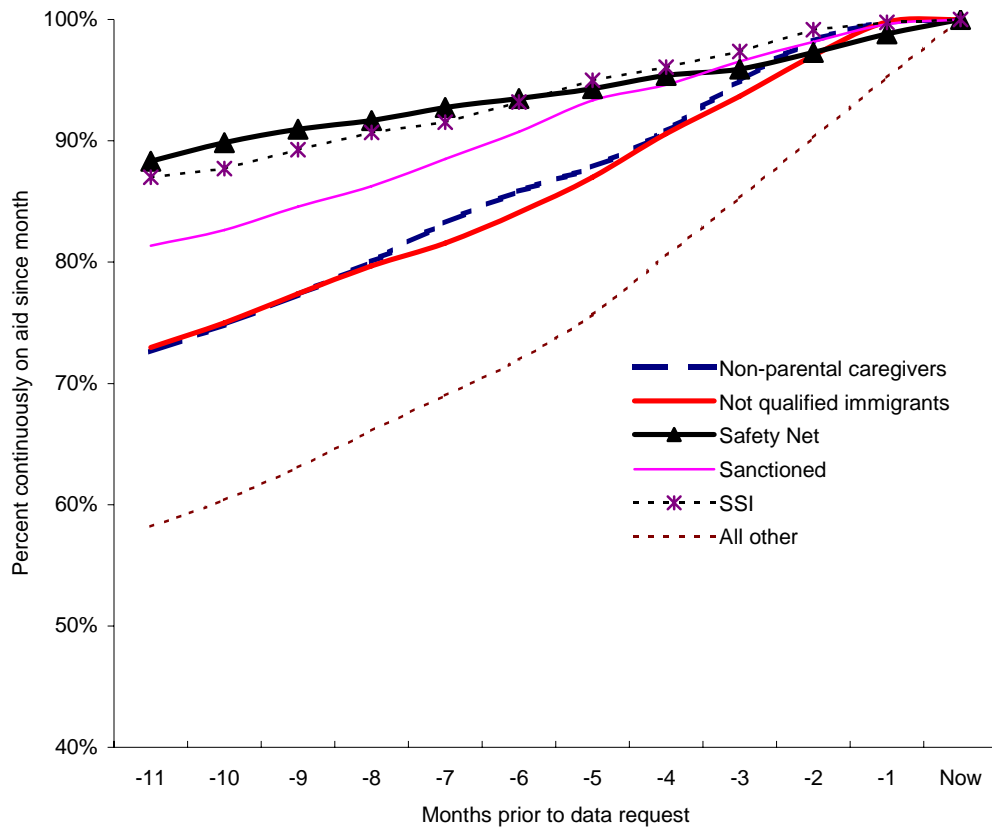
For individual counties it is possible to explore how these dynamics vary across the five different subgroups of the county CalWORKs caseload. Figures 9-15 do so for all the counties. In each case a sixth line traces activity for all other cases.

¹¹ Because this analysis examines continuous receipt of assistance, it is possible that shorter durations are partially caused by churning, where individuals leave assistance for a month to return in a subsequent month. However, one would expect to see less churning among child-only as opposed to all other cases.

Figure 9 describes these patterns for Santa Clara County. The first thing to note from Figure 9 is the significant difference in CalWORKs persistence between child-only cases and all other cases. Only 58 percent of cases with aided adults were continuously active for a year, as indicated by the dashed line toward the bottom of the figure. None of the child-only subgroups in Santa Clara County falls below 70 percent on this measure.

There also is significant variation in persistence among the child-only subgroups. As might be expected, those in the Safety Net and SSI groups have the highest level of continuous welfare receipt at about 88 percent for the full year. On the other hand, only 73 percent of not-qualified immigrants and non-parental caregivers received assistance continuously for a full year.

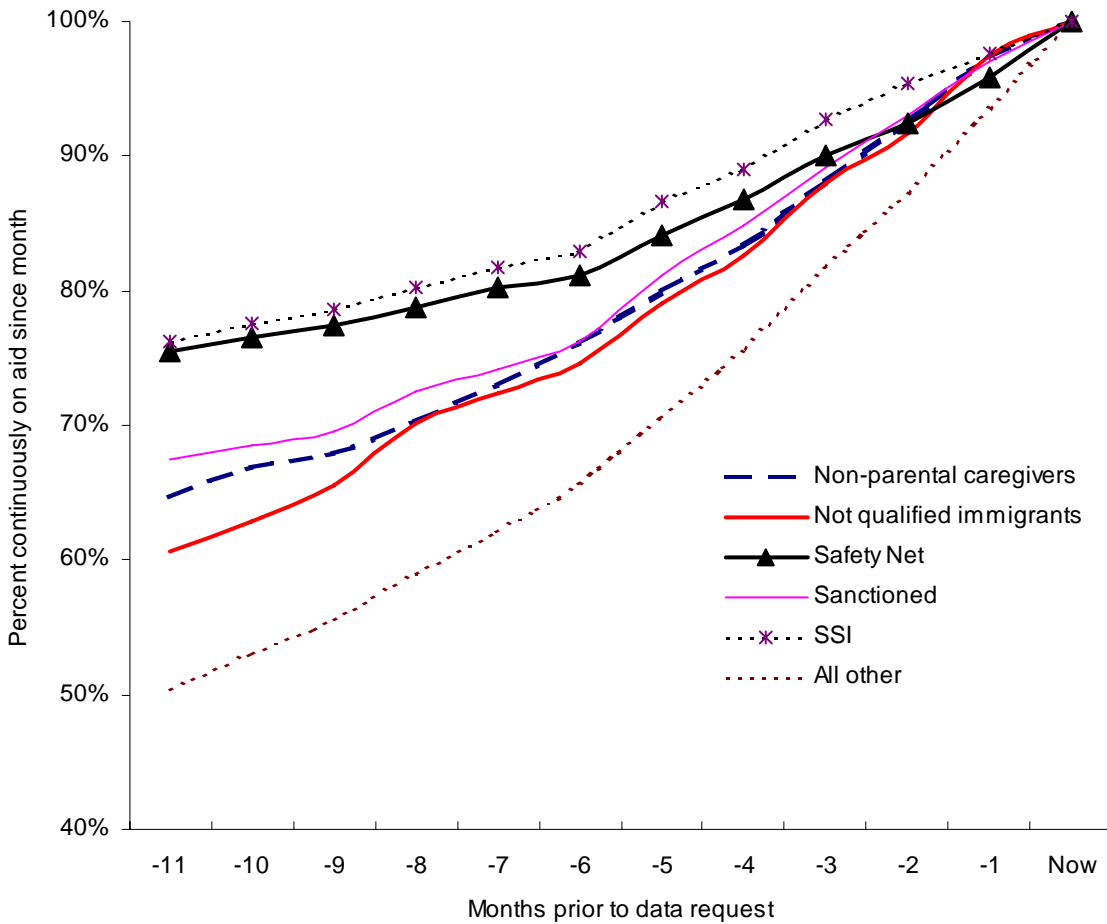
Figure 9
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Santa Clara County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data

Figure 10 repeats this analysis for Alameda County. Compared to the Santa Clara County graph, the lines are lower, representing generally less continuous time on aid. The figure shows much less variation in welfare dynamics across the subgroups, with the exception of the SSI parents subgroup (which has the greatest persistence on aid) and the non-child-only cases, which, as was the case in Santa Clara County, were least likely to be on aid continuously for a full year. Fewer than half of active cases with aided adults in Alameda County were already on CalWORKs a year earlier.

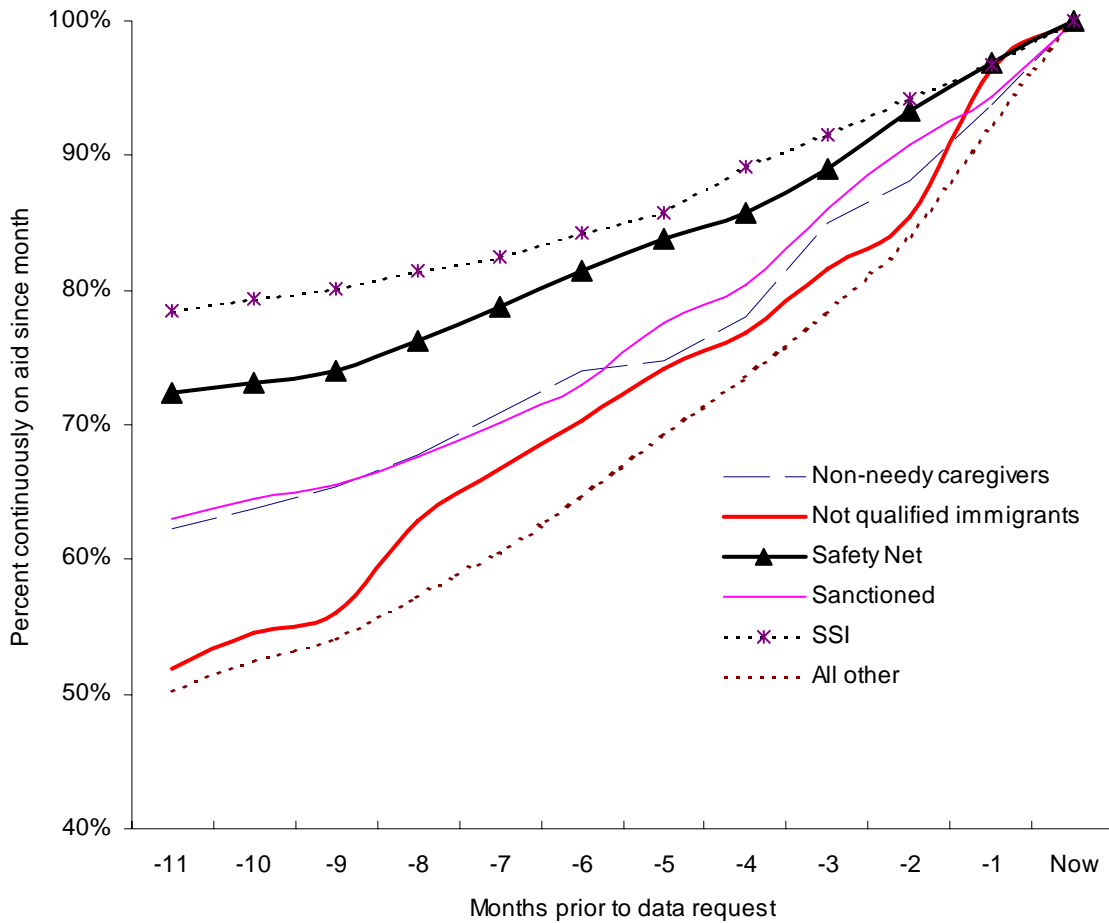
Figure 10
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Alameda County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The third county for which we conducted this analysis is San Francisco. As shown in Figure 11, the variation in welfare durations across the subgroups is similar to that in Alameda County, with Safety Net and SSI cases showing longer durations and non-child only cases showing the shortest durations of all. Length of time receiving benefits for not-qualified immigrants is almost as low as for non-child-only cases.

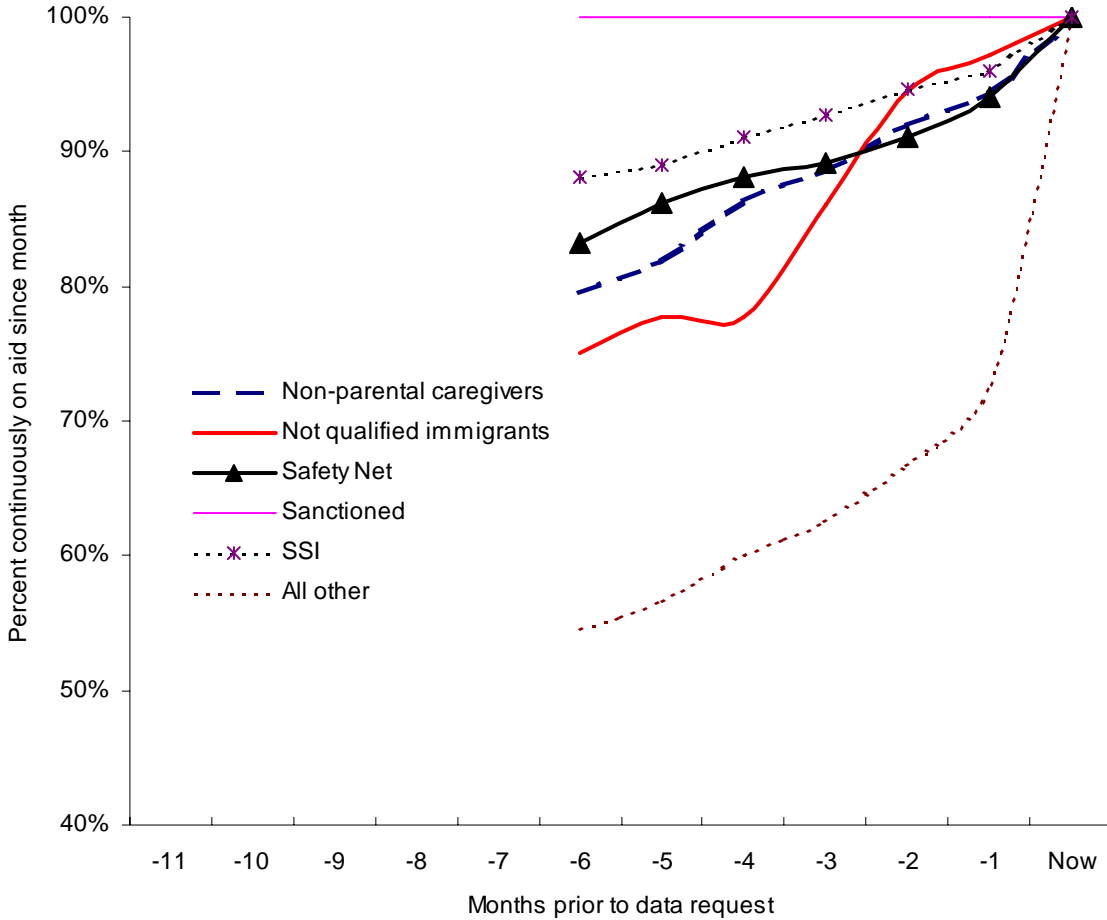
Figure 11
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in San Francisco, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 12 shows similar dynamics for Humboldt County, which, as discussed, only provided 7 months of longitudinal data for these analyses. In Humboldt County the relative differences between child-only and other cases were larger than in other counties and the persistence of sanctioned cases was particularly remarkable.

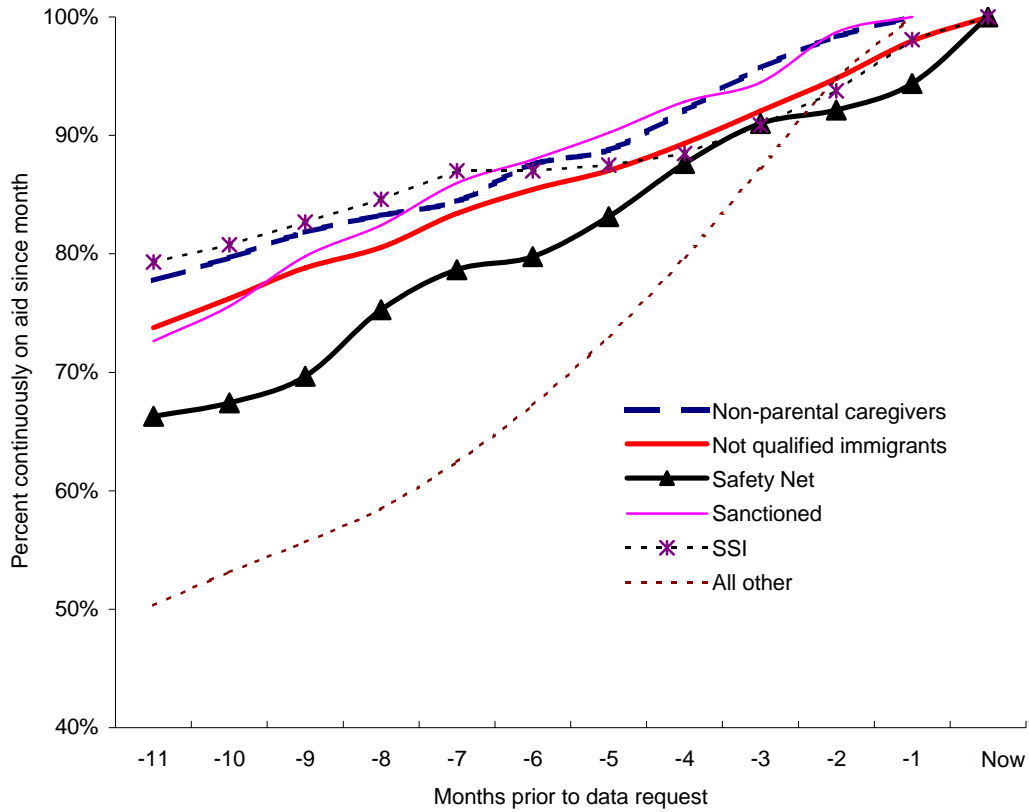
Figure 12
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Humboldt County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 13 shows these results for San Mateo County. The patterns look quite different from the other counties, with Safety Net participants showing less persistent long-term CalWORKs receipt than in the other counties. This is likely a result of the way in which San Mateo County defines its subgroups, which, as discussed above, differs from the other counties.

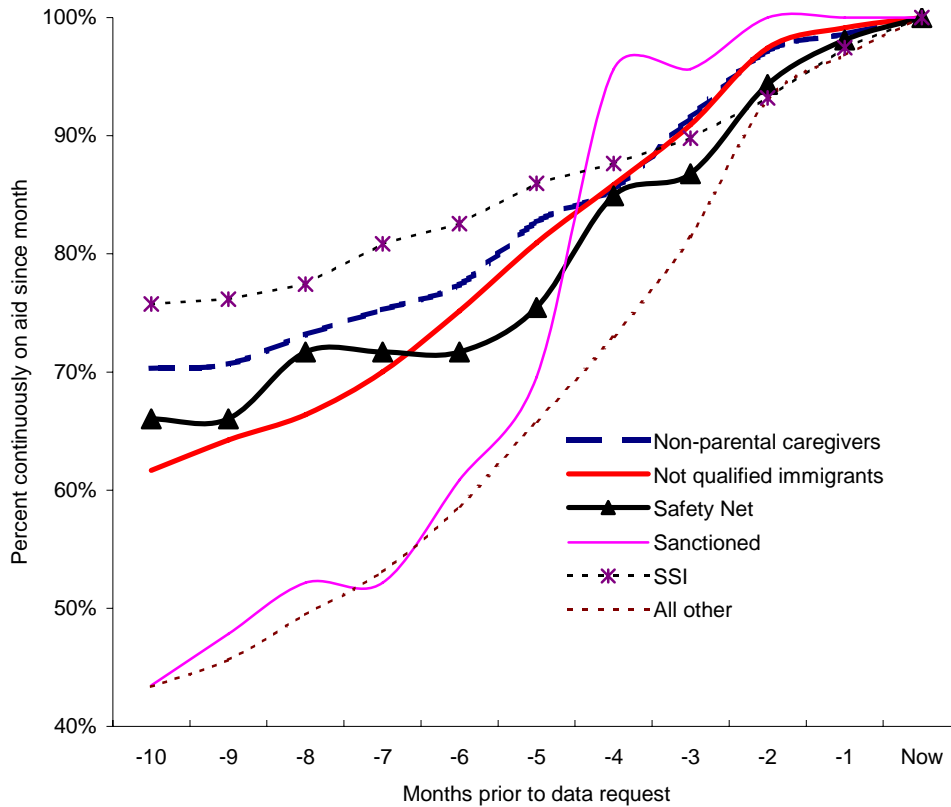
Figure 13
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in San Mateo County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 14 describes the cross-subgroup differences in welfare dynamics for Sonoma County. Like the others, the chart shows that child-only cases have longer welfare durations, although the relative durations of the various cases follow a different pattern than in some of the other counties. Most notably, sanctioned cases, which are a relatively small part of Sonoma County's caseload, show very short welfare durations relative to the other subgroups in Sonoma County and relative to sanctioned cases in other counties.

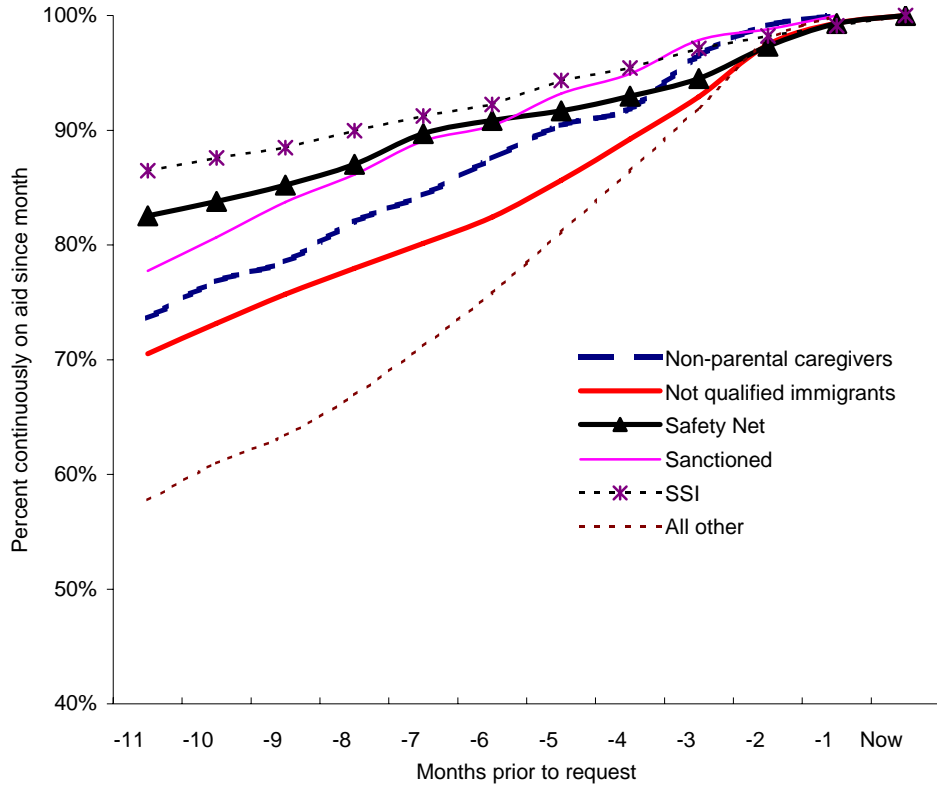
Figure 14
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Sonoma County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Lastly, Figure 15 shows patterns of welfare receipt for subgroups in Stanislaus County. This county shows very similar patterns to those in Santa Clara County, with the safety net and SSI cases being the longest lasting and the not-qualified immigrant cases and non-child only cases lasting the shortest.

Figure 15
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Stanislaus County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

CONCLUSIONS

- Child-only cases are larger than one might expect, including more adults than cases that have aided adults on them. Case size varies significantly across counties, however, possibly indicating variation in how counties count adults, rather than actual variation in the family size of child only cases.
- Child-only parents and children are older than those on other CalWORKs cases.
- There is significant cross-county variation in the representation of different types of child-only cases in the child-only caseload. This means that different counties must develop their own policy approaches to address the needs of child-only families.
- The ethnic and language background of different types of child-only cases varies significantly. More research is needed on how different groups of CalWORKs recipients end up on the caseload and how counties can best serve them.
- CalWORKs child-only cases have significantly longer welfare histories than non-child-only cases. This creates opportunities for counties to develop policies targeted at promoting self-sufficiency among child-only families. Among child-only cases, substantial variation is evident in length of continuous time receiving aid. Further research is warranted to understand these differences and to suggest appropriate policy and/or program adjustments.
- Welfare grants received by child-only families are both smaller in size compared to those received by other families and shared by more individuals. Because of this, it is likely that child-only families experience greater material hardship than non-child-only families.

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APPENDIX A. The Research Literature on Child-only TANF Cases: Parent/caregiver and Child Characteristics

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Number of studies specific to group	5	23	3	10	3
Number of studies applicable to all child-only cases	2				
Parent/caregiver/family Characteristics					
Demographics					
Race/ethnicity effects	x	x	x	x	x
Children older	x			x	x
Parent/caregiver older	T	T	T	xT	T
Parent/caregiver younger		T			
Parent/caregiver more likely married	T	T	T	xT	T
Parent/caregiver less likely married		x	x		x
Fewer children in household				x	
More members of household	x	xT	x		
Human capital					
Longer time on aid	xT	T	T	xT	xT
More likely to receive aid again		x			
Limited English skills	x		x		
Limited education	xT	T	x		
Limited employment (history or current)	T	xT	x		x
Few job skills		x			
Limitation on ability to work legally			x		
Significant barriers to employment		x			

When Adults Are Left Out: CalWORKs Child-only Cases in Seven Counties

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Parent/caregiver/family Characteristics, continued					
Logistics					
Childcare difficulties	T	xT			
Transportation difficulties	T	T			
Income and benefits					
Higher income				T	T
Lower income		xT	x		X
No health insurance	xT	T	xT	T	T
No sick leave	x				
No vacation leave	x				
Hardships					
Food insecurity; use of food banks, soup kitchens	x	xT			xT
Difficulty paying rent, utilities; financial hardships	x	x		x	
No phone service		T			
Shared housing; housing problems; neighborhood quality problems	x	T	x		
Fewer hardships				T	
Personal health and other personal challenges					
Poor health; illness; limited ability to work	xT	xT	T	T	xT
Learning disability; difficulty understanding rules and policies		xT			
Substance abuse	T	xT	T	xT	T
Mental health problem	xT	xT	xT	xT	xT
Domestic violence history	x	xT			
Caring for other family members		T			
Criminal involvement	T	T	T	T	T

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Child Characteristics					
Physical health problems; hospitalizations	x		x	x	
Hospitalizations less likely				x	
Food insecurity	x				
Emotional or behavioral health or mental problems	x	x		x	
Developmental problems				x	
School problems	T	T	T	T	T
Education unmet need				x	
History of maltreatment, abuse, neglect	x	xT		x	
Police trouble	T	T	T	T	T

Key

x = compared to one or more other subgroup(s)

T = compared to TANF recipients generally