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CHILDREN IN LOW-INCOME IMMIGRANT FAMILIES
Policy Brief

Federal Policies Restrict Immigrant Children's Access to Key Public Benefits

Kinsey Alden Dinan

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215 West 125th Street, 3rd floor • New York, NY 10027 • TEL 646-284-9600 • FAX 646-284-9623

www.nccp.org

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SERIES INTRODUCTION

About 20 percent of this country’s children—nearly 17 million—have at least one foreign-born parent.¹ These children are more likely to be low income and to experience other hardships than children with native-born parents. *Altogether, children of immigrants comprise more than 26 percent of all low-income children in the United States.*² However, they are less likely than other children to benefit from government programs designed to assist low-income families.

This brief is the first in a series that explores key policy issues related to children in low-income immigrant families. It provides an overview of federal policies that affect immigrant families’ access to key income and employment supports.

AUTHOR

Kinsey Alden Dinan, M.A., is a Research Associate at NCCP, where her focus is on research and analysis of state and federal policies that promote the economic security and well-being of low-income children and their families.

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Introduction

The federal government sets U.S. *immigration* policies that regulate the flow of immigrants into the United States. The federal government also bears primary responsibility for *immigrant* policies that determine the treatment of immigrants within the nation, although in recent years much of this responsibility has been shifted onto the states. Both types of policies have important implications for the economic security of immigrant families and set the context for state and local policy choices regarding immigrant children and their families.

Millions of America's Children Live in “Mixed Status” Immigrant Families

Approximately 36 million foreign-born people live in the United States. Most fall into one of several categories of legal immigrants, such as naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, or refugees or asylees. Close to 30 percent—about 10 million people—are undocumented.³ (See Box 1 for definitions of major immigrant categories.)

Box 1. Major categories of immigrants

Legal immigrant

- **Naturalized citizen** (32 percent): A person who was born a noncitizen and was granted U.S. citizenship through the naturalization process. Naturalization requirements include English literacy, “good moral character,” and knowledge of civics, although in some circumstances, certain requirements may be waived. Persons also must be at least 18 years of age to naturalize; immigrant children generally become citizens automatically when their parents naturalize.
- **Lawful permanent resident** (LPR) (29 percent): A noncitizen residing in the United States with permission to permanently live and work in the country. LPRs may apply for naturalization after 5 years (3 years if married to a U.S. citizen; 1 year for certain persons in the military and veterans).
- **Refugee or asylee** (7 percent): A noncitizen granted permission to reside in the United States due to a well-founded fear of persecution (based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion) in his or her country of origin. Persons granted such permission while outside of the United States are refugees; those granted permission after entering the United States are asylees. Refugees and asylees may apply to adjust their status to LPR after 1 year.

Nonimmigrant (3 percent): A person granted permission to enter the United States for a specific purpose and a limited period of time. This category includes persons granted temporary permission to live and work (or study) in the United States.

Undocumented immigrant (29 percent): A person who entered the country illegally or who entered through legal channels but then violated the terms of entry by staying past his or her visa expiration date and/or engaging in activities outside of his or her visa status, such as working on a tourist visa.

Sources: Definitions of categories: National Immigration Law Center. (2002). *Guide to immigrant eligibility for federal programs, 4th ed.* Washington, DC: National Immigration Law Center, pp. 26-33. Percent of population: Passel, J. S. (2005). *Unauthorized migrants: Numbers and characteristics* (Background briefing prepared for Task Force on Immigration and America's Future). Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, p. 3 <pewhispanic.org/files/reports/46.pdf>.

The majority of immigrant families are “mixed status” families—they include both citizen and noncitizen members. Most parents in immigrant families are noncitizens, but more than 70 percent of noncitizens’ children are themselves citizens.⁴ Among children living in immigrant families, about 4.7 million have undocumented immigrant parents. Again, most of these children are citizens, although there are also an estimated 1.6 million undocumented children.⁵

Children with foreign-born parents are far more likely to live in low-income families than children with native-born parents, even if the children are citizens. Children of recent immigrants and children of undocumented immigrants are particularly likely to be low income.⁶ And these also are the groups most likely to be affected by federal restrictions on immigrants’ access to benefits.

Federal Policies Determine the Immigration Status of Children and their Parents

Many of the factors that shape trends in immigration are beyond direct government control. These include labor market demands (and supply) in the United States, economic and political conditions in immigrants’ countries of origin, and cross-border networks created in large part by past immigration trends. However, federal laws, regulations, and enforcement practices play a critical role in shaping the number and composition of immigrant families: they influence overall immigration levels, establish and define immigration categories, and determine quotas and application procedures for legal immigration.

Each year, the federal government grants about 1 million people lawful permanent resident (LPR) status—better known as “green cards.” The majority of green cards are generally granted to people who are already residing in the United States under another immigration status. Most LPRs are admitted based on family connections to U.S. citizens or to other LPRs who act as the new immigrant’s sponsor. Another 100,000 people (fewer during the past couple of years) are accorded refugee or asylee status. Millions more foreign nationals are admitted each year on a temporary basis—officially referred to as “nonimmigrants”—typically as tourists but some with permission to work or study in the United States. In fiscal year 2004, about 684,000 visas were issued for temporary workers and trainees, including about 22,000 visas for work in agriculture and 87,000 for work in other low-skilled occupations; 620,000 student visas were issued.⁷

Federal policies regarding legal immigration also have a strong impact on undocumented immigration flows. In particular, limits on legal immigration opportunities can lead to increases in undocumented immigration. This is especially evident in immigration flows across the U.S.-Mexico border. Legal immigration from Mexico is currently restricted to levels below both the labor demands of American employers⁸ and historic levels of migration from that country. One result has been a large influx of undocumented Mexican immigrants, and research suggests that increases in border control enforcement efforts have had little effect.⁹ Altogether, the undocumented immigrant population in the United States is growing at a rate of about 500,000 persons per year.¹⁰

Welfare Reform Increased Links Between Immigration Status and Eligibility for Benefits

The federal government also determines the impact of immigrants' status on their eligibility for federal benefits. Prior to 1996, most lawfully present immigrants were eligible for public benefits on the same basis as American citizens. This changed under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996. PRWORA sought to limit access to cash assistance and to move welfare recipients into the workforce. In addition, many of PRWORA's provisions specifically targeted immigrants, creating new stratifications within legal immigration categories and imposing new restrictions on certain immigrants' access to government services.

Today, most noncitizens are barred from key federal income and employment supports—food stamps, public health insurance, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)—during their first 5 years as legal immigrants.¹¹ (Being barred from TANF can also limit access to other benefits, such as child care subsidies, which are often reserved for TANF recipients.) Refugees and other narrow categories are exempted, and some of the harshest restrictions adopted under PRWORA have since been repealed. For example, while PRWORA permanently barred nearly all noncitizens from receiving food stamps, the bar on adults was later reduced to 5 years, and lawfully residing children were exempted altogether. Most restrictions, however, remain in effect (see Box 2).

Compounding these restrictions are new sponsor-deeming rules that effectively extend the bar on federal benefits by at least another 5 years. *Deeming* refers to the practice of adding the income and/or resources of an immigrant's sponsor—i.e., the person who supported that immigrant's immigration application—to that of the immigrant's in determining eligibility for benefits. The deeming policies adopted under PRWORA and the 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) are based on preexisting immigration practices, but differ tremendously in their scope and impact.

All immigrants admitted to the United States based on family connections are now required to have a sponsor who must sign a legally enforceable affidavit of support. These new affidavits theoretically give government agencies and immigrants the right to sue sponsors who fail to fulfill their pledge. In addition, the 1996 legislation extended deeming to apply to more federal programs—including food stamps, public health insurance, SSI, and TANF cash assistance—and to remain in effect until an immigrant becomes a citizen or can claim 10 years of work in the United States.¹²

PRWORA also strengthened restrictions on access to benefits for undocumented immigrants, who were already ineligible for most federal and state assistance. PRWORA expanded these restrictions and created an additional barrier for states that want to provide certain *state-funded* services to undocumented immigrants. To do so, the law requires states to adopt legislation after 1996 expressly granting access to benefits to this population (although the constitutionality of this provision is under question).¹³

One result of the changes enacted in 1996 is that significant responsibility for determining legal immigrants' eligibility for government assistance has been shifted onto states. As a result, there is now substantial variation across the states in noncitizens' eligibility for government supports. (For more on this issue, see the second brief in this series: *State Policies Can Promote Immigrant Children's Economic Security*.)

Box 2: Restrictions on lawful permanent residents' (LPRs) access to federal benefits

(Definitions of italicized terms and important exceptions to the restrictions listed in the table are below.)

Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) Subsidies	No restrictions
Federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)	No restrictions
Food Stamps	Adults are generally barred during their first 5 years as <i>qualified</i> immigrants; <i>deeming</i> may affect adults' eligibility in other cases (children are not subject to <i>deeming</i>).
Housing Assistance (public housing, housing vouchers)	No restrictions
Public Health Insurance (Medicaid, State Children's Health Insurance Program—SCHIP)	LPRs generally barred during their first 5 years as <i>qualified</i> immigrants; <i>deeming</i> may affect eligibility in other cases.
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	LPRs generally barred from benefits.
TANF Cash Assistance	LPRs generally barred during their first 5 years as <i>qualified</i> immigrants; <i>deeming</i> may affect eligibility in other cases.
Unemployment Insurance	No restrictions

Definitions:

Qualified immigrants. PRWORA divided immigrants into two new categories: qualified and not qualified. Qualified immigrants include lawful permanent residents, refugees, and certain other narrow categories. Note that there are significant restrictions on qualified immigrants' access to federal benefits.

Deeming. Deeming refers to adding the income and/or resources of the immigrant's sponsor—i.e., the person who supported that immigrant's immigration application—to that of the immigrant's in determining eligibility for benefits.

Exceptions to the restrictions listed above:

Restrictions on access to federal benefits generally do not apply to refugees, U.S. veterans (and their families), or immigrants who can claim 10 years of work in the United States (immigrants may claim work performed by a spouse or by a parent while they were under age 18; no credit is given for work performed while also receiving a federal means-tested benefit). However, refugees who do not become citizens within 7 years cease to be eligible for SSI, and veterans may be subject to deeming.

Additional exceptions include (among others):

Food Stamps. Immigrants who were at least 65 years old and legally residing in the United States as of August 22, 1996 are exempt from the 5-year bar.

Public Health Insurance. Immigrants who entered the United States by August 22, 1996 are exempt from the 5-year bar. States may use SCHIP funds to cover prenatal care for women regardless of immigration status by extending SCHIP coverage to fetuses, which do not have an immigration status. Emergency Medicaid is available without regard to immigration status.

SSI. Immigrants who entered the United States by August 22, 1996 may receive federal SSI benefits if they were already receiving SSI on August 22, 1996 or if they qualify as disabled.

TANF Cash Assistance. Immigrants who entered the United States by August 22, 1996 are exempt from the 5-year bar.

Sources: National Immigration Law Center. (2002). *Guide to immigrant eligibility for federal programs, 4th ed.* Washington, DC: National Immigration Law Center; with updates from Update Page <www.nilc.org/pubs/Guide_update.htm> (accessed September 23, 2005). For detailed, updated information, see National Immigration Law Center, Table 1. Overview of Immigrant Eligibility for Federal Programs <www.nilc.org/pubs/guideupdates/tbl1_ovrww_fed_pgms_032505.pdf>.

“Chilling Effect” Fostered by Federal Policies Excludes Eligible Children from Benefits

The impact of the 1996 legislation on immigrant families’ access to government assistance has extended beyond direct eligibility restrictions. The changes adopted that year also reduced benefit participation even among immigrants who remained eligible for assistance. Thus, the late 1990s saw declines in benefit participation among both noncitizen and citizen children in low-income immigrant families, although the latter were not directly affected by PRWORA’s eligibility restrictions. Between 1994 and 1999, for example, food stamp receipt by citizen children living in mixed-status families (i.e., with noncitizens) fell by 20 percent more than overall participation rates. Food stamp receipt by noncitizens fell even more sharply.¹⁴

Confusion over the new eligibility rules explains part of this outcome, but fear of interacting with government officials is another important factor.¹⁵ In addition to the measures described above, changes adopted under PRWORA, IIRAIRA, and other 1996 legislation included heightened immigration penalties and an increased role for state and local officials in immigration enforcement. Together, such policies have exacerbated immigrants’ reluctance to turn to the government for assistance, compounding the impact of linguistic and cultural differences and racial and ethnic discrimination. Many immigrants fear that any contact with government officials could jeopardize their immigration status and/or lead to the discovery and deportation of undocumented family members. The negative impact of these factors on benefit use by eligible immigrants is often referred to as a “chilling effect.”

IIRAIRA, for example, made it easier to deport legal immigrants and created a mechanism for granting local police the authority to enforce immigration laws if certain procedures are followed.¹⁶ PRWORA requires state and local agencies that administer SSI, TANF, or federal housing assistance to report undocumented immigrants to federal authorities. This requirement has been narrowly interpreted—agencies are only required to report persons *formally* determined to be undocumented based on evidence from federal immigration authorities. In addition, the requirement applies only to those persons who attempt to claim benefits (not to their family members).¹⁷ Still, widespread fear of being reported—although largely unsupported by actual practice—prevents many immigrants from seeking the benefits for which they and/or their children may be eligible.

Many immigrants also believe that receiving public benefits will lead to a “public charge” label that could affect their ability to gain lawful permanent residency status, become citizens, or sponsor new immigrants. In immigration law, a “public charge” is someone who cannot support themselves and thus relies on government cash assistance for support, and a “public charge” determination can be used to deny applications for permanent residency. Most immigrants’ fears in this area, however, are based on misinformation about the policy. For example, although receipt of SSI or TANF cash assistance can affect “public charge” determinations, other benefits should not. Moreover, persons who are already lawful permanent residents are not subject to this test unless they seek to reenter the United States after leaving the country for more than 6 months. Thus receipt of public benefits should not affect LPRs’ citizenship applications or ability to sponsor new immigrants.¹⁸

Hardship is Common Among Immigrant Children Despite Parents' High Employment Rates

Virtually all immigrant families are working families. Among children with foreign-born parents, 97 percent have a parent who works and 72 percent have a parent who works full-time, year-round.¹⁹ But despite high rates of employment, many immigrant parents are unable to provide for their families' needs. Foreign-born workers are more likely than native-born workers to receive low wages and less likely to receive employer-provided benefits, such as health insurance.²⁰

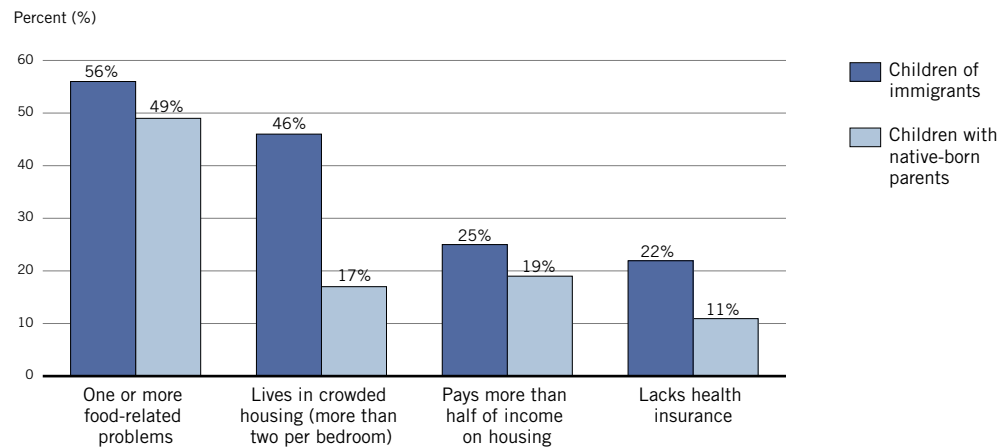
Income and employment supports can play an important role in helping low-income parents obtain basic necessities for themselves and their children. SSI provides critical support to some of the most vulnerable families with disabled or elderly family members. Food stamps, public health insurance, and TANF cash assistance help many working families bridge the gap between low wages and the cost of a minimum family budget.

However, while half of all children of immigrants live in low-income families,²¹ these children have less access to government assistance than children with native-born parents:

- Low-income children with immigrant parents face higher rates of food insecurity and other hardships than children with native-born parents, but they are less likely to receive food stamps or TANF cash assistance.²²
- Low-income citizen children are nearly twice as likely to be uninsured if their parents are noncitizens rather than citizens. These children have much less access to employer-based coverage but are only slightly more likely to receive public health insurance.²³
- Low-income children with undocumented parents are even more likely to lack health insurance, but are significantly less likely to receive public coverage.²⁴

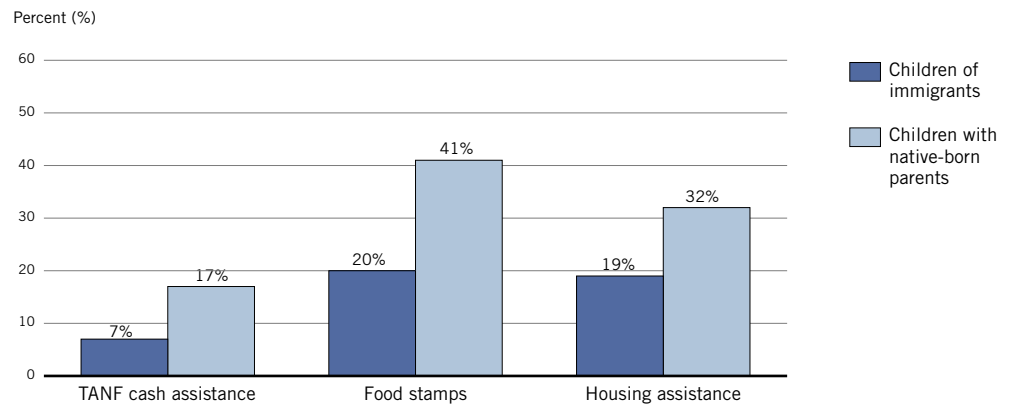
Figures 1 and 2 show that for some of the most vulnerable children—low-income children under age 6—rates of hardship are higher and benefit receipt lower when parents are foreign born. The hardships faced by immigrant families put millions of this country's children—nearly all of whom will remain in the United States throughout their lifetimes—at risk for negative outcomes.²⁵ Excluding them from benefits that can mitigate these hardships and assist them in achieving economic security only exacerbates these risks.

Figure 1: Hardships among low-income young children under age 6, 2002



Source: Capps, R.; Fix, M.; Ost, J.; Reardon-Anderson, J.; & Passel, J. S. (2004). *The health and well-being of young children of immigrants*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, pp. 22, 27 <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311139_ChildrenImmigrants.pdf>.

Figure 2: Benefit receipt among low-income young children under age 6, 2002



Source: Capps, R.; Fix, M.; Ost, J.; Reardon-Anderson, J.; & Passel, J.S. (2004). *The health and well-being of young children of immigrants*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, p. 23. <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311139_ChildrenImmigrants.pdf>.

Assisting Immigrant Children is Key to Promoting Family Economic Security

The federal government could take a number of steps to promote the economic security of low-income children of immigrants. One important step would be to eliminate eligibility restrictions on federal benefits based on citizenship status. Also important are efforts to address the fear and confusion that prevents eligible immigrants from seeking benefits, such as better publicizing federal rules regarding “public charge” determinations and reporting requirements, strengthening confidentiality protections for benefit applicants, and minimizing unnecessary questions on applications (e.g., limiting questions about parents who are seeking benefits for their children).

The federal government could assist some of the most vulnerable children of immigrants by increasing opportunities for undocumented immigrants to gain legal status and by granting undocumented children access to public health insurance and other federal benefits. Also important, although outside the scope of this brief, is strengthening policies that support low-income families more generally (as long as immigrant families are not excluded from coverage), such as ensuring an adequate minimum wage, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, and promoting programs that build job skills. These policies have the potential to assist millions of children of immigrants.

The bottom line is that as policymakers, researchers, and advocates discuss the best strategies for assisting low-income children, it is important to pay particular attention to the substantial share of these children who live in immigrant families—and to the wide range of federal policies that affect their access to government supports.

Endnotes

1. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2004. Table 5.1: Population by Sex, Age, and Generation: 2004 <www.census.gov/population/socdemo/foreign/pp1-176/tab05-1.pdf>. Accessed May 2, 2005 (Internet release date: February 22, 2005).
2. Capps, R.; Fix, M.; & Reardon-Anderson, J. (2003). *Children of immigrants show slight reductions in poverty, hardship*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/310887_snapshots3_no13.pdf>.
3. Note that these 10 million people include about 1-1.5 million who fall into a variety of “quasi-legal” statuses: they are known to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and have applications for full legal status pending. See Passel, J. S. (2005). *Unauthorized migrants: Numbers and characteristics* (Background briefing prepared for Task Force on Immigration and America’s Future). Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, pp. 3, 9 <pewhispanic.org/files/reports/46.pdf>.
4. Capps, R.; Kenney, G.; & Fix, M. (2003). *Health insurance coverage of children in mixed-status immigrant families*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/310886_snapshots3_no12.pdf>.
5. See Passel in endnote 3, p. 18.
6. For more on the characteristics of children of recent immigrants, see: Douglas-Hall, A. & Koball, H. (2004). *Children of recent immigrants: National and regional trends*. New York, NY: National Center for Children in Poverty, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health <www.nccp.org/media/cr104-text.pdf>. For more on undocumented immigrants, see Passel in endnote 3.
7. In addition to immigrants admitted based on family connections, categories of new LPRs include employment-based immigrants admitted based on desirable skills, people adjusting into LPR status from refugee or asylee status, people granted visas through the diversity visa lottery system, and a variety of smaller categories. See: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics. (2005). *2004 yearbook of immigration statistics*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office <uscis.gov/graphics/shared/statistics/yearbook/index>.
8. The agricultural industry provides a clear example of how the labor market demand for Mexican workers exceeds the number of legal Mexican immigrants. More than half of all farm workers in the United States are undocumented immigrants; more than 75 percent of U.S. farm workers were born in Mexico. See: Mehta, K.; Gabbard, S. M.; Barrat, V.; Lewis, M.; Carroll, D.; & Mines, R. (2000). *Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 1997-1998: A demographic and employment profile of United States farmworkers*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor <www.dol.gov/asp/programs/agworker/report_8.pdf>.
9. The U.S.-Mexico Migration Panel. (2001). *Mexico-U.S. migration: A shared responsibility*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Urban Institute. (2004). *Crossing borders: The impact of immigration (First Tuesday)*, Feb. 3 <www.urban.org/urlprint.cfm?ID=8722>.
10. See Passel in endnote 3, p. 10.
11. Access to SSI is even more restricted (see box 2 for details). Note that the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) provided some precedent for these restrictions. IRCA allowed undocumented immigrants who could demonstrate that they had performed at least 90 days of farm work (without authorization) in 1985-1986 to gain lawful permanent resident status. However, these newly legalized immigrants were barred from certain benefits—including the TANF cash assistance predecessor program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)—for 5 years. See Simcox, D. (1997). *Measuring the fallout: The cost of the IRCA amnesty after 10 years*. Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies <www.cis.org/articles/1997/back197.htm>.
12. Immigrants may claim work performed by a spouse or by a parent while they were under age 18; no credit is given for work performed while also receiving a federal means-tested benefit. Prior to 1996, affidavits were not legally enforceable, and deeming applied for only 3 years. See: U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means. (2004). *Background material and data on programs within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, Appendix J, p. J-18 <waysandmeans.house.gov/Documents.asp?section=813>.
13. Important exceptions among federal benefits include Emergency Medicaid, immunizations and treatment of communicable diseases, public education, and school lunches, which are available regardless of immigration status. See U.S. House of Representatives in endnote 12, pp. J-17, J-22.

14. Food stamp participation fell by 35 percent overall, by 42 percent among citizen children living with non-citizens, and by 60 percent among noncitizens. See Fremstad, S. (2002). *Immigrants and welfare reauthorization*. Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, p. 7 <www.cbpp.org/1-22-02tanf4.pdf>.
15. For more on the fear of government officials in immigrant communities in the wake of welfare reform, see Kretsedemas, P. Avoiding the state: Haitian immigrants and welfare services in Miami-Dade County and Staudt, K. & Capps, R. Con la ayuda de dios? El Pasoans manage the 1996 welfare and immigration law reforms. In P. Kretsedemas & A. Aparicio (Eds.), (2004). *Immigrants, welfare reform, and the poverty of policy*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press, pp. 107-133 and 251-276.
16. Capps, R.; Hagan, J.; & Rodriguez, N. (2004). Border residents manage the U.S. immigration and welfare reforms. In Kretsedemas & Aparicio in endnote 15, pp. 230-238; National Immigration Forum. (2004). *Background: Immigration Law Enforcement by State and Local Police* (State and Local Police Enforcement, May) <www.immigrationforum.org/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=572>.
17. National Immigration Law Center. (2000). New rule explains limits of INS reporting requirements under the 1996 welfare law. *Immigrants' Rights Update*, Oct. 19, 14(6) <www.nilc.org/immspbs/vr/verifreptg004.htm>.
18. National Immigration Law Center. (1999). Questions and answers about "public charge". *E-mail benefits update*, May 26, 99-5 <www.nilc.org/immspbs/bu/ebupdate995.htm>.
19. Hernandez, D. J. (2004). Demographic change and the life circumstances of immigrant families. *The Future of Children*, Summer, 14(2), pp. 42-43.
20. Capps, R.; Fix, M.; Henderson, E.; & Reardon-Anderson, J. (2005). *A profile of low-income working immigrant families* (Series B, No. B-67). Washington, DC: Urban Institute <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311206_B-67.pdf>; National Immigration Law Center. (2004). *Facts about immigrant workers*. Washington, DC: National Immigration Law Center <www.nilc.org/immsemplymnt/wrkfrc_dev/factsimmworkers_041504.pdf>.
21. See Hernandez in endnote 19, p. 30.
22. Haskins, R.; Greenberg, M.; & Fremstad, S. (2004). Federal policy for immigrant children: Room for common ground? (Policy Brief). *The Future of Children*, Summer, 14(2), p. 2.
23. See Capps, Kenney, & Fix in endnote 4.
24. Fix, M. & Passel, J. (2002). *The scope and impact of welfare reform's immigrant provisions*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute <www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/410412_discussion02-03.pdf>.
25. The negative impact of poverty on children's cognitive development, social and emotional well-being, physical health, and future health and employment outcomes is well-documented. See Cauthen, N. K. (2002). *Policies that improve family income matter for children*. New York, NY: National Center for Children in Poverty, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health <www.nccp.org/pub_iec02a.html>.