



“Reducing Child Poverty”

March 3rd, 2020

Statement for the Record of Myra Jones-Taylor, Chief Policy Officer, ZERO TO THREE

Chairwoman DeLauro, Ranking Member Cole, and all Members of the Committee:

On behalf of ZERO TO THREE, I wish to express our deep appreciation to the Committee for holding this hearing, which in conjunction with the recent Ways and Means Hearing focused on child poverty, helps to keep the lasting impacts of child poverty in the consciousness of your colleagues and the public. Poverty in childhood, especially for babies and toddlers, has lasting and detrimental impacts on healthy long-term development.

I think it is particularly important to consider the needs of families with low incomes at this critical time. Families with low income in general will be hit hardest by the economic dislocations already occurring because of the coronavirus. We appreciate the swift action of the House of Representatives to provide some immediate aid to families and urge you to begin crafting additional support, particularly around income assistance for families in poverty and with low income, who may be faced with an inability to meet their basic needs, as well as supports to ensure our child care providers—an essential support so families can work and escape poverty—will be able to reopen when this crisis passes.

Founded more than 40 years ago, ZERO TO THREE is a national nonprofit whose mission is to ensure that all infants and toddlers have a strong start in life. We translate the science of early childhood development into useful knowledge and strategies for parents, practitioners, and policymakers. We work to ensure that infants and toddlers benefit from the family and community connections critical to their well-being and healthy development – of which poverty severely impedes.

Poverty’s Impact on Brain Development

Poverty gets under young children’s skin, and the effects of toxic stress can be seen when examining brain structure and development. It has become increasingly clear to researchers that one of the mechanisms through which poverty affects the health and well-being of children is through the toxic effects of stress on the brain.ⁱ A growing body of evidence indicates that effects of poverty on physiological and neurobiological development are likely central to poverty-related gaps in academic achievement and the well-documented lifelong effects of poverty on physical and mental health.ⁱⁱ

Effects of poverty on brain development start early and are seen in infancy.ⁱⁱⁱ In a longitudinal analysis of 77 children age birth to four participating in the National Institutes of Health (NIH) MRI Study of Normal Brain Development, those in low income or poor families were found to have total gray matter volumes that were nearly half a standard deviation smaller than their better-off counterparts. These reductions were particularly large in the frontal and parietal regions associated with executive function abilities.^{iv}

Available evidence confirms that the shaping of children's biology and behavior by experience starts early and happens rapidly. The burgeoning research evidence of the costs of poverty to children's early development and the parallel evidence of the benefits of early intervention must trigger a call-to-action. Families with young children living in poverty cannot wait.

Poverty in Early Childhood

While poverty at any age is harmful, timing matters. Living in poverty in the earliest years of life has proven to be particularly damaging.^v Most alarming and disconcerting is the fact that young children are the age group most likely to live in poverty and face the harsh consequences of toxic stress that often accompanies it. About 1 in 5 babies and toddlers live in poverty^{vi} - during the same period of rapid development unparalleled at any later point in life.^{vii}

As noted in the *State of Babies Yearbook: 2019*, infants and toddlers represent only 4 percent of the nation's population but 6 percent of those in poverty.^{viii} Additionally, more than two in five infants and toddlers live in households with incomes less than twice the federal poverty line (about \$50,000 a year for a family of four in 2017) challenging their ability to meet basic needs.^{ix} These young children growing up in poverty may be more likely to experience chronic risk factors, such as severe maternal depression, parental substance abuse, harsh parenting styles, and family and community violence, as well as greater exposure to physical risks, including substandard housing, lack of access to resources, and environmental toxins.^x Empirical evidence shows that the links between poverty and health problems later in life are mediated by the increased exposure of children in poverty to such chronic risk factors.^{xi} The stressors associated with poverty directly affect children, as well as the adult(s) in their households.^{xii} Further, the conditions associated with poverty can lead to chronic, unrelenting stress which can become toxic, adversely affecting the brain architecture in young children in particular.

Poverty and Equity

While overall, the poverty rate in the United States has been slowly declining, the fact remains that more than 2 million infants and toddlers live in poverty in our country, disturbingly high for the wealthiest, most advanced nation in the world. But most disturbing are the inequities apparent when we look behind that number. Most alarming are the persistent disparities among young children of color in families with low income. More than a third (34%) of Black children, and a quarter (25%) of Hispanic children live in poverty compared to 9% of non-Hispanic white children living in poverty.^{xiii}

Just as children of color are more likely to live in poverty, in aggregate, infants and toddlers of color experience significant disparities in key areas of development including good health, strong families, and positive early learning experiences. We would stress, however, that poverty and conditions such as living in under-resourced neighborhoods or having low educational attainment do not explain the extent of these disparities. Race—or more precisely—racism matters when it comes to life outcomes.

Good Health: The effects of poverty and lack of access to resources, in combination with other factors, contribute to disparities in maternal health and birth outcomes. Notably, as cited in the *State of Babies Yearbook: 2019*, Black and American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN; Native American) babies experience disproportionately higher rates of infant mortality and low birthweight than babies of other races. For example, while the national infant mortality rate was

5.9 deaths per 1,000 births in 2016, the rates for Black and American Indian or Alaska Native infants were 11.2 and 7.6, respectively. By comparison, rates were 5.0 for Hispanic, 4.9 for non-Hispanic white, and 4.0 for Asian or Pacific Islander infants. While the overall rate of low birthweight is 8.2 percent nationally, it is markedly higher (13.6 percent) among Black babies—compared to 7 percent for white, 7.3 percent for Hispanic, and 8.2 percent for AI/AN babies. Similar patterns exist in maternal health, with women of color more likely to receive late or no prenatal care. Nationally, 6.2 percent of all mothers receive late or no prenatal care. However, this differs widely by race, with the highest incidence of late or no care among Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (19.2 percent), Native American (12.5 percent), and Black (10 percent) mothers, compared to 4.3 percent of white mothers.^{xiv}

Strong Families: Infants and toddlers of color, in addition to living disproportionately in poor families, are more likely to live in neighborhoods their parents characterize as unsafe, to experience housing instability (i.e., crowded homes and frequent moves), and to have been exposed to one or more potentially traumatic experiences. Instability and hardship—particularly during the earliest years of life—are known to have negative long-term consequences for children’s well-being. Despite their high rates of employment, parents of color are more likely to work in low-wage jobs with unstable schedules and few employer-sponsored benefits (such as paid time off, retirement plans, or health insurance). Low-wage work undermines parents’ ability to care for their young children during this critical period of development.^{xv}

Positive Early Learning Experiences: Because children of color are two to three times more likely to be affected by poverty than their white counterparts, parents of color are, on average, less able to afford the high cost of infant and toddler child care, and they are more likely to live in economically disadvantaged communities that lack high-quality early care providers. Options for care are further limited by the fact that women of color make up more than half of mothers with very young children in low-wage jobs (i.e., jobs paying \$10.50 or less per hour) that have irregular, unpredictable work schedules and non-traditional hours. Of mothers with infants and toddlers in low wage jobs, 21 percent are Black and 30 percent are Hispanic. As a result, they are more likely to use informal child care arrangements provided by relatives or friends and are less likely to access formal child care arrangements. While quality is not dependent on the setting, programs such as Early Head Start and those modeled after high-quality settings in research such as the Abecedarian study, can provide an extra boost to support optimal cognitive and social-emotional development. The combined stressors of economic instability and unpredictable work schedules also undermine these parents’ availability to engage in important early learning experiences at home, such as daily reading and singing, that promote early literacy skills and language development. While supports, such as Early Head Start (EHS) and Child Care Development Block Grant (CCDBG) funding, are designed to decrease the gap in access to early learning opportunities, the reach of this assistance is limited and varies by race. Underfunding of EHS is limiting its reach. Similarly, the share of state-eligible infants and toddlers (household income < 180 percent FPL) served in CCDBG varies widely by race, with Asian and Hispanic babies less likely to receive child care assistance—7 percent and 10 percent, respectively, compared to 42 percent of Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander children, 25 percent of Black children, 13 percent of white children, and 12 percent of Native American children.^{xvi}

Research consistently finds negative effects of poverty and racial discrimination among young children, linked to differences in access to critical resources and services. These effects appear early; at age 2, children in the lowest socioeconomic group already lag behind their peers on measures of language, cognitive abilities, and attachment.^{xvii}

Proven Supports for Families

The negative effects of early childhood poverty, from prenatal to age five, are especially harmful and enduring. But we know both how to prevent poverty's effects on young children and lift families out of poverty so their children are removed from the debilitating conditions that can prevent them from reaching their full potential. The same research that found poverty impacts early brain growth^{xviii} also found a key protective ingredient: maternal nurturing, which can buffer young children from the consequences of adverse experiences. In addition, many programs help address the needs of families with low income in ways that positively affect children's long-term success. Some of these are included in the *National Academies of Science: A Roadmap to Cutting Childhood Poverty in Half*, which shows there are proven supports that work to lift families with young children out of poverty that we must increase investments in and prioritize now.

Supporting Families in Nurturing Their Children:

While there are a number of direct ways to help boost families with young children out of poverty, we must not overlook those that support parents in the most rewarding, but toughest job of nurturing their children. The research of Joan Luby and others has found that strong parental nurturing can have profound effects not just on their children's social-emotional development, but on the physical growth of their brains in areas important to learning, memory, and regulation of emotion.^{xix} Supporting the ability of parents to nurture their children should be of paramount importance, not a nice-to-do afterthought, of public policy.

Some directions for policy include:

Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting (MIECHV) program:

Home visitors reach children and families in familiar surroundings and help parents build nurturing relationships with their babies. Impacts have been found in child health, development and school readiness, as well as maternal health, positive parenting practices, and linkages and referrals. The Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting (MIECHV) program, which has enabled states to embed this approach within early childhood systems, is only funded at \$400 million a year. Congress should enact H.R. 3, which would double funding for the program.

Primary Care-Based interventions such as HealthySteps:

A policy priority should be to create a web of support for all families in a community to reach more parents with readily accessible parenting and child development help. HealthySteps, a program of ZERO TO THREE, transforms the promise of pediatric care to improve the health and well-being of babies and young children so that they thrive in school and life. It works to set the standard by integrating a child development specialist into the primary care team to promote healthy relationships, foster positive parenting, strengthen early social and emotional

development, and ensure access to services that address both child and family needs, with a particular emphasis on families living in low income communities. HealthySteps has demonstrated positive outcomes for children, their families, and the physicians and practices who serve them. Children who participate in HealthySteps are more likely to attend well-child visits on time and to receive timely vaccines and screenings.

Early Head Start (EHS):

EHS is discussed in greater detail below, but is called out here because while it is sometimes mistakenly thought of simply as high quality child care, in fact its primary mission includes working with parents in their ability to promote their children's development. EHS was the subject of a congressionally mandated, randomized control trial study shortly after the program's inception, with follow-up studies after the intervention ended. The basic findings showed that participation had positive impacts on developmental outcomes for children and their parents' ability to support that development. The evaluation data has yielded an extensive literature of additional analysis. In particular, the research findings reaffirmed the value of Early Head Start's key focus on the parent-child relationship

Boosting Critical Income for Families

Increasing a family's income is the most obvious and direct way to cut child poverty. But like poverty itself, when it comes to income boosts, timing matters. That also seems evident when we think back to our earlier discussion of rapid brain development in the first three years of life. An increase in income of \$3,000 a year for several years can make a difference in early development and later outcomes in life.^{xx}

Some directions for policy include:

The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC):

The Earned Income Tax Credit, or EITC, is the nation's largest cash or near-cash antipoverty program.^{xxi} It provides benefits to families whose earnings fall below a threshold, in the form of a refundable federal income tax credit. One recent study looked at the effect of the credit's expansion on children's test scores to estimate the effect of income on children's math and reading test scores using evidence from the EITC. Researchers found significant increases among children whose families qualified for the credit, with larger estimated effects for younger children, for children from more over-burdened and under resourced families, and for boys.^{xxii} Further, several studies have found that the EITC boosts employment, particularly among single mothers.^{xxiii} Other studies indicate that local economies benefit from increased payroll tax revenues and spending.^{xxiv}

Stronger investments in the EITC cannot wait. In 2018 alone, the supplemental income provided by the EITC lifted over 5.5 million people out of poverty, including about 3 million children, and reduced the severity of poverty for another 16.5 million people, 6 million of whom were children.^{xxv}

Child Tax Credit (CTC):

Designed to help offset the high cost of child care, the CTC is a partially refundable tax credit for families with young children. However, the CTC is only partially refundable and includes a minimum

earnings requirement, which means it does not reach the lowest-income children and families. In 2011, an estimated 30 percent of children under age 3 lived in families that did not receive the full CTC because they did not earn enough.^{xxvi} Often policymakers look at the CTC as a way to give more affluent families more of a tax break, which is why the 2017 tax bill actually raised the upper income limit for families to qualify. That is the wrong way to look at this important income enhancer: it should be viewed as a prime early childhood development program made fully available to the lowest income families.

The American Family Act of 2019 would create a new Young Child Tax Credit, expanding on the existing CTC to establish a new tier of credit of \$300 per month (\$3,600 per year, up from \$2,000 per year) for children under age 6. ZERO TO THREE strongly supports this proposed legislation and urges immediate action in Congress.

Cash Assistance:

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) are the two largest cash assistance programs. TANF, however, does not have to be used exclusively for cash assistance to families, and in many states is used for other purposes.^{xxvii} As a result, in many states, few families with infants and toddlers in poverty get actual cash assistance through TANF --only one in five in the nation as a whole.^{xxviii} Cash is often a scarce commodity in families with low income. Yet, it can mean the difference in paying for a tank of gas that allows a parent to get to work to provide for their family, and missing work because there was no gas money, losing their job and tipping over into homelessness.

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

Meeting Basic Needs

Helping families meet basic needs such as putting food on the table and a roof over their heads help to boost child development by directly providing essential ingredients for healthy growth as well as alleviating some of the pressure from the low-wage jobs available to many parents.

Some directions for policy include:

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP):

SNAP plays a critical role in addressing childhood hunger and food insecurity in communities across the country and is the first line of defense against hunger for the majority of low-income infants, toddlers, and their families.^{xxix} Unfortunately, food insecurity is far too common among families with young children. Nationally, more than 16 percent of households with infants and toddlers experience low or very low food security.^{xxx} Research shows that children living with food insecurity have poorer health than children who are in food-secure households.^{xxxi} Further, infants who experience food insecurity are more likely to have insecure attachment relationships, and to

perform poorly on tests of cognitive development.^{xxxii} Nutrition programs like SNAP are proven to be effective in reducing food insecurity by helping families with low income afford healthy foods and providing information about nutrition, leading to stronger physical and emotional health.

Harsh work requirements for utilization of SNAP must not be imposed and should be quickly struck down. Instead, Congress should work to increase meaningful investments in SNAP in order to reach more families, while increasing the value of the benefit for families in need. As it stands, benefits for most households are not enough to get through the entire month without facing hunger or being forced to sacrifice nutrition quality.^{xxxiii}

Meeting Diaper Needs:

One in three American families reports experiencing diaper need, but there is no federal help for the 5 million children under age 3 living in poor, or near-poor families.^{xxxiv} As mentioned in greater detail above, and according to the *State of Babies Yearbook: 2019*, only one in five households with an infant or toddler in poverty receives cash assistance through the federal TANF program – a support that would offer families extra cash assistance to purchase items that help them meet their basic needs, like diapers.

The End Diaper Need Act of 2019 – introduced by Representatives Barbara Lee and Representative Rosa DeLauro – would create a demonstration program for distributing diapers in states, communities, and non profit organizations. Distributors would have discretion on how to implement the program, and how to best distribute diapers to eligible families in their communities. We urge immediate action on this important legislation that would assist families with babies in meeting one of their most basic needs.

Housing Assistance:

Families with low income with infants and toddlers should have affordable, safe, and stable housing. While safe and stable housing is a basic necessity for everyone, it is particularly important for infants and toddlers. Stable housing supports family well-being and lowers stress levels, setting the stage for nurturing parenting. When babies have the security and predictability of safe places, they are better able to sleep, eat, crawl, play, and develop bonds with caregivers. However, many families with low income struggle with housing costs, causing them to move frequently, live in crowded conditions, or even experience homelessness, all of which deprive their young children of the stable environment they need to thrive.

Federal housing assistance falls far short of the need overall, and the number of households with children receiving rental assistance has declined over time. Almost 5 million households receive rental assistance or homelessness aid, yet only about one in four households with children who likely qualify for rental assistance receive aid.^{xxxv}

Providing Early Learning Opportunities

Quality early learning opportunities help build the brain architecture that will be the foundation for all learning that follows. The research is clear that quality services from birth to age five can improve young children's success in school and in life, with a substantial return on investment for society. We already

have the basics for programs that can help babies and families in poverty—if we have the courage to do what science tells us should be our priority and invest enough in quality programs to make a difference.

Some directions for policy include:

Early Head Start (EHS):

Early Head Start is the only federal program dedicated to comprehensively promoting healthy child and family development for pregnant women, infants, and toddlers living in families with incomes below the poverty line. This focus acknowledges both the importance of the first three years in establishing the foundation for future development and the greater likelihood that young children in overburdened and under-resourced families will fall behind, starting in infancy and before. Created more than 25 years ago, Early Head Start’s comprehensive approach embodies and is proven to support what all babies need to thrive: good health, strong families, and positive early learning experiences.^{xxxvi}

Early Head Start also strengthens families by building their ability to support their children’s development and referring them to services that promote family well-being and economic security, in recognition of their primary role in their children’s lives. Still, the vast majority of eligible families wait in vain to enroll, as the program can now serve only 8% of those eligible.^{xxxvii} Policymakers should build policy on what decades of research tell us: Children and families who are overburdened and under-resourced benefit most from comprehensive, high-quality early interventions like Early Head Start as the beginning of a prenatal-to-five continuum of services. ZERO TO THREE recommends that Congress invest strongly in EHS, putting it on track to reach 50 percent of eligible children by the year 2025.^{xxxviii}

Child Care and Development Block Grant:

Child care is both an essential service for helping parents work and a potent avenue for supporting early development starting from birth. This much is generally known. But what is not as well understood is that child care can actually lead to poverty. Census data shows that in 2018, 5.7 million people were thrust into poverty because of work-related expenses such as child care.^{xxxix} Increasing support for the Child Care Development Fund, including raising appropriations level of the Child Care and Development Block Grant by \$5 billion and expanding the mandatory funding, would help more families on the edge of poverty pull themselves upward by enabling them to afford care that for infants, exceeds the cost of public college in many states. However, we need longer term policies that build the comprehensive child care systems that our families deserve and our children need if we are to prepare them to grapple with the future they must face. We urge Congress to take up comprehensive legislation, such as the Child Care for Working Families Act, to expand child care funding so quality care is within the reach of all American families and is available to support the early brain development so vital to our babies’ and our nation’s future.

Conclusion

Congress has the opportunity to meaningfully lead on policies aimed at lifting families with young children out of poverty. We must prioritize the needs of babies growing up in poverty. ZERO TO THREE is

pleased that Congress is taking the time to address the importance of lifting families out of poverty and looks forward to working together to find solutions that work for today's families. Robust investments focused on reducing childhood poverty are simply overdue.

Thank you for your time and commitment to infants, toddlers, and their families.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Myra Jones-Taylor". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail on the right side.

Myra Jones-Taylor

Chief Policy Officer, ZERO TO THREE

-
- ⁱ Blair, C., & Raver, C. (2016). Poverty, Stress, and Brain Development: New Directions for Prevention and Intervention. Retrieved from <https://www.academicpedsjnl.net/action/showPdf?pii=S1876-2859%2816%2900026-7>
- ⁱⁱ Ibid.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.
- ^{iv} Ibid.
- ^v Black, M. M., Hess, C. & Berenson-Howard, J. (2000). Toddlers from low-income families have below normal mental, motor, and behavior scores on the revised Bayley scales. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 21, 655–666.
- ^{vi} ZERO TO THREE Census Bureau Calculations
- ^{vii} Center on the Developing Child (2010). The Foundations of Lifelong Health Are Built in Early Childhood. Retrieved from www.developingchild.harvard.edu.
- ^{viii} Keating, K., Daily, S., Cole, P., Murphey, D., Pina, G., Ryberg, R., Moron, L., & Laurore, J. (2019). State of babies yearbook: 2019. Washington, DC: ZERO TO THREE and Bethesda MD: Child Trends. Retrieved from https://stateofbabies.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/State-of-Babies-Yearbook_full-digitalyearbook_5.14.19.pdf
- ^{ix} Ibid.
- ^x Lieberman, A., & Osofsky, J. (2009). Poverty, Trauma, and Infant Mental Health. Retrieved from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ915186>
- ^{xi} Ibid.
- ^{xii} Ibid.
- ^{xiii} ZERO TO THREE Census Bureau Calculations
- ^{xiv} Keating, K., Daily, S., Cole, P., Murphey, D., Pina, G., Ryberg, R., Moron, L., & Laurore, J. (2019). State of babies yearbook: 2019. Washington, DC: ZERO TO THREE and Bethesda MD: Child Trends. Retrieved from https://stateofbabies.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/State-of-Babies-Yearbook_full-digitalyearbook_5.14.19.pdf
- ^{xv} Ibid.
- ^{xvi} Ibid.
- ^{xvii} Ibid.
- ^{xviii} Washington University School of Medicine (April 2016). Nurturing during preschool years boosts child’s brain growth. New release. <https://medicine.wustl.edu/news/nurturing-preschool-years-boosts-childs-brain-growth/>
- ^{xix} Ibid.
- ^{xx} Duncan, G.J. & Magnuson, K. The long reach of early childhood poverty. *Pathways*, Winter 2011.
- ^{xxi} Magnuson, K. (2013). Reducing the effects of poverty through early childhood interventions. Retrieved from <https://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/fastfocus/pdfs/FF17-2013.pdf>
- ^{xxii} Ibid.
- ^{xxiii} Eissa, N., & Hoynes, H. (2005). Behavioral Responses to Taxes: Lessons from the EITC and Labor Supply. doi:10.3386/w11729
- ^{xxiv} Avalos, A., & Alley, S. (2010). The Economic Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) in California. *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, 2(1), 1-25. doi:10.5070/p2xw24
- ^{xxv} Thomson, D., & Child Trends. (2020, March 4). To reduce child poverty, increase EITC participation. Retrieved from <https://www.childtrends.org/to-reduce-child-poverty-increase-eitc-participation>
- ^{xxvi} Cole, P., Gebhard, B., & Schmit, S. (2017). Cash Assistance and Tax Credits: Critical Supports for Infants, Toddlers, and Families. Retrieved from <https://www.zerotothree.org/resources/2080-cash-assistance-and-tax-credits-critical-supports-for-infants-toddlers-and-families>
- ^{xxvii} Ibid.
- ^{xxviii} Keating, K., Daily, S., Cole, P., Murphey, D., Pina, G., Ryberg, R., Moron, L., & Laurore, J. (2019). State of babies yearbook: 2019. Washington, DC: ZERO TO THREE and Bethesda MD: Child Trends. Retrieved from https://stateofbabies.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/State-of-Babies-Yearbook_full-digitalyearbook_

5.14.19.pdf

^{xxxix} Mabli, J., Ohls, J., Dragoset, L., Castner, L., & Santos, B. (2013, August). Measuring the Effect of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) Participation on Food Security. Retrieved from <https://fnsprod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/Measuring2013.pdf>

^{xxx} Keating, K., Daily, S., Cole, P., Murphey, D., Pina, G., Ryberg, R., Moron, L., & Laurore, J. (2019). State of babies yearbook: 2019. Washington, DC: ZERO TO THREE and Bethesda MD: Child Trends. Retrieved from https://stateofbabies.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/State-of-Babies-Yearbook_full-digitalyearbook_5.14.19.pdf

^{xxxii} Coleman-Jensen, A., McFall, W., & Nord, M. (2013). Food insecurity in households with children: Prevalence, severity, and household characteristics, 2010-11. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service. Retrieved from https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/eib113/37672_eib-113.pdf

^{xxxiii} Zaslow, M., Bronte-Tinkew, J., Capps, R., Horowitz, A., Moore, K. A., & Weinstein, D. (2009). Food security during infancy: Implications for attachment and mental proficiency in toddlerhood. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 13, 66–80.

^{xxxiv} Food Research & Action Center. (2019). Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: Initiatives to Make SNAP Benefits More Adequate Significantly Improve Food Security, Nutrition, and Health. Retrieved from <https://frac.org/research/resourcelibrary/supplemental-nutrition-assistance-program-initiatives-to-make-snap-benefits-more-adequate-significantly-improvefood-security-nutrition-and-health>

^{xxxv} National Diaper Bank Network. (2019, January 21). What is Diaper Need?. Retrieved from <https://nationaldiaperbanknetwork.org/diaper-need/>

^{xxxvi} Fulton, B., Cole, P., & Ullrich, R. (2017). Housing Assistance: A Critical Support for Infants, Toddlers, and Families. Retrieved from <https://www.zerotothree.org/resources/2082-housing-assistance-a-critical-support-for-infants-toddlers-and-families#downloads>

^{xxxvii} Schaffner, M., & Cole, P. (2019). *Early Head Start: An Essential Support for Pregnant Women, Infants, and Toddlers*. Washington, DC: ZERO TO THREE.

^{xxxviii} Ibid.

^{xxxix} Ibid.

^{xl} U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (2019). *The Supplemental Poverty Measure: 2018*. Washington, DC: Department of Commerce.