What We Owe Young Adults Involved with Child Welfare:

A Youth Thrive Policy Agenda

INTRODUCTION

We know that youth, like all children, do best when they are secure and supported in their families and communities and have access to the resources they need to ensure their health, emotional development, and basic needs are met. Every day, however, youth are removed from their families and placed in foster care. In FY2020, over one-third of children in foster care were over the age of 11 and over 20 percent of children in care were over the age of 14.[1] In addition, while it is the responsibility of the federal and state government to support the health and well-being of youth in foster care and ensure that they find safe, permanent homes with families in the community, over 20,000 youth age out of foster care each year without having achieved permanency with a family.

Black youth and Native youth are disproportionately failed by the current child welfare system. First, they are removed from their families and communities at higher rates: Black youth are disproportionately represented in foster care at 1.64 times their rate in the general population, Native youth are disproportionately represented in foster care at twice their rate in the general population, and other youth of color and youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or questioning (LGBTQ+)[2] are also at greater risk of foster care placement. Further, as a result of historical and current systemic and institutional racism embedded in our policies and systems, Black, Latinx, Native, and other youth of color not only become involved with child welfare at disproportionate rates but also experience disparate health and well-being outcomes once in foster care—including higher rates of aging out of foster care without permanent connections to family.

Truly supporting and promoting the health and well-being of all young people who are affected by the child welfare system will require actions to re-orient services and supports toward serving youth—particularly youth of color—in their families and their communities, and preventing placement into foster care in the first place. Necessary actions range from administrative fixes to much more comprehensive federal and state policy.

Effectively serving youth in their families and communities requires that these policies be grounded in anti-racist principles and knowledge of adolescent development—including the Protective and Promotive Factors that are necessary for young people to thrive. Using an anti-racist, youth-driven framework, we can begin to identify and advance policy solutions that not only effectively mitigate risk but also seek to promote the health and well-being of young people impacted by the child welfare system.

ADVANCING A YOUTH THRIVE POLICY AGENDA

This policy agenda highlights key opportunities to advance the health and well-being of young people who are involved with child welfare systems. It is grounded in *CSSP's Principles for Anti-Racist Policymaking* and the *Youth Thrive Protective and Promotive Factors*, and was developed in consultation with a focus group of young adults with lived experience in the foster care system. The following policy agenda is not intended to be all encompassing; rather it highlights key policy priorities that, if implemented, would have a significant and meaningful impact on the health and well-being of young people involved with child welfare. The recommendations included below are categorized into legislative actions and administrative actions, which together would promote the health and well-being of youth, limit their involvement with child protective services, and move toward ensuring they can be supported in their families and communities.

Legislative Actions to Promote Youth Health and Well-Being

To support the health and well-being of young people and avoid placement in foster care, legislative policy actions are necessary to (1) support and promote young people's health, basic needs, and education and employment opportunities; and (2) enhance a prevention continuum that centers strategies that support young people in the community and reduce the reliance on systems that oppress and harm them, while identifying strategies to meet the needs of young people who have aged out or are currently in extended foster care. Further, these policies must include explicit language that protects and affirms the holistic identities of young people and prohibits discrimination against youth who identify as LGBTQ+.

Support and Promote Youth Health, Basic Needs, and Education/Employment Opportunities

Ensure an Adequate Income. All youth must have adequate income to meet their basic needs and to thrive. Importantly, youth who age out of foster care are more likely to experience financial stress compared to their peers, making access to adequate income supports even more important to their health and well-being, so that they can explore their personal and professional goals. Youth who age out of foster care should be able to continue their education without jeopardizing their basic needs and stability.

Two critical policy solutions that have been found to support children, youth, and families in meeting their basic needs are a *child allowance* and *the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)*. Research has shown that a child allowance would significantly reduce child poverty and particularly benefit Black and Latinx children and families.[3] Ensuring that this policy is also available to support transition-aged youth can keep young people out of poverty. It is critical that a child allowance is available to support transition-aged youth,[4] including those who age out of foster care, regardless of immigration status, employment status, or behavioral characteristics. In addition to establishing a child allowance, the federal EITC should be permanently extended to young adults ages 18-24 and adults not raising children in the home. The federal government took a step in this direction by extending the EITC to 19–24-year-olds on a one-year basis under the American Rescue Plan Act. States

should also look to increase access to state EITC benefits by including adults without children in the home, including noncustodial parents, lowering the eligible age to 18 years old, and increasing the benefit to youth who are enrolled in educational programs. This would help support the financial security of youth aging out of foster care, including those who are non-custodial parents.

Establish Categorical Eligibility for SNAP. Youth aging out of foster care experience food insecurity at higher rates than their peers, and Black households also experience food insecurity at about twice the rate of White families due to structural and institutional racism.[5] To support young people aging out of foster care in their transition to adulthood, and to ensure their basic needs are met so they can thrive, youth must be food secure. Youth aging out of foster care should be categorically eligible for food assistance through SNAP through their 26th birthday, similar to their categorical eligibility for Medicaid. In addition, since older youth often move across state borders to find employment, pursue an education, or be closer to supportive networks, eligibility for SNAP benefits must follow them. Expanding categorical eligibility for SNAP to youth regardless of where they live and which state they experienced foster care will support older youth as they seek education, employment, and other opportunities beyond specific state borders.

Increase Access and Support for College and Vocational Training. College and vocational training are inaccessible to many youth currently or formerly in foster care. Indeed, fewer than three percent of those who have been in foster care graduate with a bachelor's degree. While older youth in foster care and those who age out of the system are eligible for Education Training Vouchers (ETVs), these vouchers do not even begin to cover the full cost of attending college.[6] As a result, youth are often left having to choose not to pursue college or vocational training, or to incur significant loans to cover the cost of their education or training. Older youth in foster care and aging out of foster care should be supported through meaningfully funded scholarships that can be used to cover tuition and fees, room and board, books, supplies, and technology, as well as transportation and child care costs. A combination of education waivers, loan forgiveness, free community college, and free in-state tuition for two- and four-year universities for youth in foster care and older youth who exit foster care prior to enrollment, and supports for those enrolled would significantly improve access.

Principles in Anti-Racist Policymaking**

The principles outlined here are designed to guide policymakers and advocates in developing and implementing anti-racist policies. We know that the road to undo and redress entrenched systemic racism is long, but a critical step forward is to ensure that all policy is anti-racist from its creation to its implementation.[7]

Redress past injustices. Anti-racist policymaking examines the drivers of present-day inequities, and seeks to undo and redress the harm caused by racist policies that have systematically disadvantaged children and families of color throughout our nation's history. White supremacy thrives on ahistorical thinking. Anti-racist policy recognizes how racism, and anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism in particular, have shaped policies and practices historically, and continues to shape all our experiences. Taking action to right historical wrongs is necessary in order to ensure that all children, youth, and families have the opportunity to achieve their potential, and that children and youth grow up knowing that they and their peers belong in this nation.

Meet the needs of youth of color. Anti-racist policy centers youth of color to ensure that they benefit directly from the policy. Policies that are purported to be "color-blind" or "race-neutral" have all too frequently been designed to benefit White children and families, and harm children and families of color directly and indirectly.[8] Anti-racist policymaking must be race-conscious, explicitly considering how policies impact Black, Indigenous, and other youth of color, to ensure that the policies do not harm some racial and ethnic groups while benefiting others. For policies to effectively support youth of color, they must recognize how race and ethnicity intersect with class, ability, sexual orientation, and gender identity to shape people's experiences.[9] And youth must be meaningfully engaged and included in the policymaking process so that they can help shape solutions that meet their expressed needs. Anti-racist policies must be deliberately designed to meet the needs of all youth of color, in their diversity and variety of experience, so that in the end, all youth receive the supports they need.

Support the whole family. In order to create policies that support youth of color, anti-racist policy approaches should focus on whole families. In the past, public policy has too often been siloed, and policies intended to support youth have failed to address the larger struggles their families face. Policy has even actively undermined families in the name of protecting children and youth—as we see with the child welfare system, which disproportionately threatens and separates Black and Indigenous children from their loved ones.[10] Anti-racist policy must be designed to support and strengthen the whole family and ensure family economic security so that families can thrive together. This requires supporting not just parents and siblings but also grandparents and other relatives, caregivers, and other loved ones who constitute a young person's family. It requires affirming children, youth, and families; building on their strengths; honoring and deepening their social connections; and connecting them to the basic supports they need.[11]

Serve all youth and families in need. Anti-racist policy supports all youth in need. In the past, policies that have artificially divided youth between those who are "deserving" and those who are "undeserving"—providing services only to those considered deserving—have consistently buttressed White supremacy by leaving youth of color without access to services and supports, or with access to services and supports that do not work for them—and sometimes actively do them harm.[12] Narrowly targeting policies according to income and familial or behavioral characteristics has resulted in a social safety net with gaping holes, which are designed to let youth and families of color fall through. Universal or near-universal programs are often necessary to ensure that children of color and their families are not excluded from programs. These broad-based programs must be designed with children and families of color at the center, to ensure that these programs are in fact meeting their needs, and that youth and families of color receive the full intended benefits.[13]

*** This excerpt was adapted from Minoff, Elisa et al. "What we Owe Young Children: An Anti-Racist Policy Platform for Early Childhood." Center for the Stufy of Social Policy, December 2020. Available at: CSSP.org/resource/what-we-owe-young-children/*

Currently, the New Jersey Foster Care Scholars Program offers this kind of support to foster youth who are pursuing either college or vocational training. Additionally, under HB 123, Delaware youth who either spent 1) at least 12 months in foster care between the ages of 14 and 18 or 2) are under 27 years old and eligible for the Delaware Chafee Education and Training Voucher program are eligible for a tuition waiver that will cover the cost of tuition, fees, and room and board at one of the state's public colleges or universities.

Ensure Access to Healthy, Stable, Safe, and Affordable Housing. All young people should have access to healthy, stable, safe, and affordable housing, which we know is critical to their health and well-being.[14] However, due to the compounding impact of decades of policy decisions that have segregated Black, Latinx, and Native families, and a lack of investment in affordable, adequate housing, young people who age out of foster care—who are more likely to be of color and identify as LGBTQ+—are disproportionately more likely than their peers to experience homelessness.[15] While voucher programs exist, they are limited and often difficult to access. For example, while Family Unification Program (FUP) vouchers are intended to meet this need, the current limited number of vouchers forces systems to make a choice between housing a young person who is aging out of care and a family involved with child welfare who needs the voucher to reunify or prevent separation. Importantly, the Foster Youth to Independence (FYI) initiative was implemented to address challenges with FUP distribution by creating specific Tenant Protection Vouchers for youth eligible under FUP. However, while both are important resources, these vouchers remain subject to availability and appropriations. Further, when young people are able to access these vouchers, there is a limited supply of healthy and safe housing in their communities. Moving forward, a comprehensive housing strategy is necessary to support young people and families. This strategy should include a guarantee that FUP or FYI vouchers are available to all those who qualify (young people aging out of foster care *and* eligible families) and significant investments in healthy, safe, and affordable housing to increase availability.[16]

Support Mental Health Services for Transition-Aged Youth. Adolescence is an important time for psychological, social, cognitive, emotional, and identity development. Mental and behavioral health systems, however, are often not aligned with what the adolescent brain science development, and as a result, child and adult mental health systems often operate in silos. Too often, when a tells us about young person turns 18, they lose continuity of care for their mental and behavioral health needs. This sort of disruption in an already established therapeutic relationship can significantly harm any progress made by a young person. For example, in many jurisdictions, young people need to complete an intake process multiple times in multiple places with multiple people—often after spending time on a waitlist—in order to be connected to a therapist. Not only are child and adult mental health systems often disconnected, but too often child welfare is not at the table to ensure transition-aged youth are able to maintain access to the supports they need. This type of disruption in services can be traumatic, particularly for young people who may have already experienced significant trauma and disruption in their lives, and can create significant barriers to accessing meaningful, appropriate services. Furthermore, child welfare systems do not adequately address the grief, trauma, and loss that young people of color have experienced as a result of the root causes that may have led families into the child welfare system, the family separation that occurs when youth are placed in foster care, and the systemic barriers and harsher treatment they experience once in the child welfare system.[17]

Funding must be available to support not only services that are developmentally-informed and able to serve youth throughout adolescence without disruption, but also to support coordination and cross-system partnership between child and adult mental health systems and child welfare. While there are some grant opportunities through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) to support this work, this opportunity must be expanded and others made available to all jurisdictions. Further, all supports and services must be culturally-responsive to the needs of the young people they are serving. Currently, some funding streams only support "evidence-based" interventions, but too often criteria used to assess whether an intervention is "evidence-based" are overly restrictive. These overly restrictive criteria ultimately lead to the exclusion of interventions that are culturally-responsive, prevent adaptation of models, and often hamper innovations that might otherwise best meet the needs of youth of color.

As policymakers work to increase access to mental health services, there are also lessons to be learned from the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, during the COVID-19 pandemic there has been an increase in reliance on telehealth services. While this expansion has been a welcome support for many adolescents, such as those living in rural communities, many others report the importance of engaging in mental health services in person, in part to help build a trust-based environment, but also to support engagement. To best serve the mental and behavioral health needs of youth, a balanced approach is required that provides an array of services responsive to young people's needs.

Ensure a Meaningful Continuum to Support Youth in Their Families and Communities

Establish a Meaningful, Comprehensive Continuum of Prevention Efforts that Support Older Youth and Strengthen Families. Research shows that youth thrive when they are supported within their homes and communities and they and their families have access to the supports they need. Currently, 60 percent of children and youth who are removed from their families and placed in foster care are removed for reasons of neglect alone. Neglect alone is often a circumstance of poverty. Children may be removed for issues concerning hygiene, lack of working utilities, inadequate housing, or inadequate child care—none of which necessarily threaten their immediate health or safety. Child protective service systems must not be permitted to separate children from their families on the basis of poverty. Instead, there must be a meaningful, comprehensive prevention continuum that supports older youth and their families without requiring child welfare involvement. Children and families living in poverty, and disproportionately those who are Black or Native, are more likely to come into contact with people who report suspected cases of maltreatment to the child welfare system—particularly mandated reporters such as social services staff. In many cases, mandated reporters and others have identified a need for children and families, but the only resource that exists in the community is the child welfare system. In order to truly keep youth and families, particularly families of color, from coming to the attention of the child welfare system, there must be meaningful investments in upstream, community-based supports that can mitigate these circumstances and where child welfare involvement is not a pre-requisite for receiving support. Congress must increase funding for these supports, including through financing streams that are leveraged by child welfare systems and can be used to support community-based organizations that serve youth and their families outside of the child welfare system. Child welfare must utilize these funding streams, including Community Based Child Abuse Prevention (CBCAP) grants, Title IV-B of the Social Security Act, and the Social Services Block Grant, in partnership with agencies to invest in communities. They must support implementation of meaningful, upstream prevention programs that are responsive to community needs, developed by communities—especially communities of color—and housed within the community.

Create a Dedicated Mechanism for Building the Evidence for What Works to Support Older Youth of Color Outside of Child Welfare. To keep youth who become known to child welfare and considered a "candidate for foster care" in their homes and communities, the Family First Prevention Services Act provides states with the opportunity to claim federal reimbursement for specific, evidence-based programs that have been approved by the Title IV-E Prevention Services Clearinghouse. While some of these programs are designed to support older youth, only one of these programs was developed by or for youth of color, and only one program was developed by a Tribal Nation and is grounded in cultural values and norms.[18] While the Title IV-E Prevention Services Clearinghouse allows for "making small changes to increase the cultural relevancy of the intervention (e.g. changing examples to match the cultural background to subjects; providing the intervention in a different language) without changing program components,"[19] it does not allow for "changing content for different cultural groups, such as to reflect particular issues experienced by those groups."[20] This hinders the ability of states and communities to implement and adapt evidence-based services that are not colorblind but are instead race conscious and responsive to the diverse needs of the families of color they serve. To truly support youth of color in their homes and communities and prevent placement in foster care, the federal government and/or states must invest in building the evidence for programs that are designed by and for older youth of color, including LGBTQ+ youth of color. Equally as important, the federal government must review and amend the current criteria by which programs are considered "evidence-based" by applying an equity frame to promote the inclusion of culturally-responsive programs.

Create a New Investment to Support the Well-being of Youth Aging-Out of Foster Care. The child welfare system is currently failing youth aging out of foster care despite the legal obligation and responsibility that the system assumed when it separated these young people from their families. We owe young people who age out of care the structure and supports that they need to thrive. To fulfill this obligation and remove barriers to thriving, we need new investments to support these young people which must be outside of the child welfare system—housed within the community—and universally available to young people (i.e. not contingent on circumstance—including income, employment, or school enrollment, which can exclude young people who are most in need). We must build the infrastructure and develop community-based strategies so that all youth who age out of foster care have the security necessary to thrive and that no youth experiences homelessness, food insecurity, or poverty. This infrastructure must exist outside of the child welfare system and within communities to support young people where they live, and facilitate new relationships and experiences. As the federal government and states explore strategies to build this

infrastructure, they should consider implementing a targeted funding stream to support older youth post-child welfare involvement. This funding stream could look like Community Based Child Abuse Prevention (CBCAP) funding, with a goal of supporting older youth as they transition out of the system. This funding stream could be leveraged by child welfare agencies, like CBCAP, and used to support community-based organizations serving youth without the surveillance of the child welfare system. As the federal government and states consider this strategy, it is important to require states to meaningfully engage young people with lived experience in directing state and local investments within their communities.

Administrative Actions to Promote Youth Health and Well-Being

In addition to the legislative policy actions identified in this agenda, there are two key administrative policy actions that must occur immediately to support the health and well-being of young people involved with child welfare.

Launch an Initiative to Ensure Youth Who Identify as LGBTQ+ Have Equitable Access to Services and Opportunities and Implement Explicit Requirements to Ensure Youth Are Physically and Emotionally Safe While in Care. Youth who identify as LGBTQ+ experience high levels of discrimination and abuse in the child welfare system, including from their foster families and staff in group homes. Additionally, LGBTQ+ youth of color are overrepresented in the child welfare system, stay in care longer, and are at even higher risk for experiencing discrimination and violence.[21] The Department of Health and Human Services took an incredibly important step to undo systemic racism and harm to LGBTQ+ youth by rescinding waivers granted under the Trump Administration that allowed faith-based foster care groups contracting with state agencies and receiving federal dollars to discriminate against potential foster parents. *ACF can continue to advance their commitment to anti-racist policy by requiring agencies to provide training and coaching to foster parents or staff in group homes about affirming policies and practices that support the diverse identities of young people in foster care. ACF should issue guidance and best practices to ensure young people who identify as LGBTQ+ are safe and affirmed while in care and are free from discriminatory practices, regardless of their placement setting. ACF should also establish mechanisms for holding states accountable to implement this guidance.*

Immediately Ensure Medicaid Eligibility across State Lines. As established by the Affordable Care Act, youth who age out of foster care are categorically eligible for Medicaid until their 26th birthday. Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) guidance, however, limits this eligibility to the state where youth were in foster care. Young people may move between states to pursue goals that help their transition to adulthood, like obtaining higher education, finding employment opportunities, or to be closer to family. They should be able to retain health insurance and not incur extra medical bills, debt, or administrative burdens as a result of moving between states.[22] Additionally, for young people who are parents, research has shown that when parents have health insurance and can access preventive care, their children are also more likely to have health insurance and access to preventive care. In a recent study of Medicaid expansion, researchers found that in states that expanded Medicaid, there was a reduction in infant mortality and a decrease in overall cases of neglect (422 per 100,000 children) for young children.[23] Recent legislation established that beginning January 1, 2023, young people will be eligible for Medicaid regardless of where they spent time in foster care. However, young people's health cannot wait. *CMS must immediately revise previously issued guidance restricting health care coverage to permit young people who age out of foster care to be eligible for Medicaid regardless of where they live.*

MOVING FORWARD

Comprehensive policy reform is necessary to support young people in their homes and communities. While the policy solutions and strategies outlined above are key to supporting the health and well-being of young people, these steps are just the beginning. To be successful, young people must be meaningfully engaged as partners in this work—guiding a better understanding of their needs and sharing ideas about how to best meet them. As a policy community we must be willing to learn and collaborate. Together we can create a new policy framework that supports young people in their communities, affirms their identities, and sets us all up for success.

ENDNOTES

[1] U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Children's Bureau. (2021). The AFCARS Report #28. Available at: https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/documents/cb/afcarsreport28.pdf.

[2] We use the term LGBTQ+ expansively in the broadest sense possible. There are many other acronyms that reflect the diverse range of sexual orientations, gender identities and gender expressions. However, we use LGBTQ+ to be uniform and brief. Language is constantly evolving, and so is this acronym. Through our work with youth we know that these categories are not always the most welcoming or appropriate terms. For example, youth may identify as gender queer or gender fluid. The term gender expansive is also frequently used in the field. Some youth with tribal affiliation identify as two spirited.

[3] Testimony of Dolores Acevedo-Garcia. (2020). Reducing Child Poverty. Office of Congressional and Government Affairs. Available at: https://www.nationalacademies.org/ocga/testimonies/116-session-2/reducing-child-poverty; Williams, E. & Sanders, C. (2020). 3 Principles for an Antiracist, Equitable State Response to COVID-19—and a Stronger Recovery. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Available at: https://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/3-principles-for-an-antiracist-equitable-state-response-to-covid-19.

[4] The commonly held age range for transition-age youth is anyone between the ages of 16-25. However, CSSP recognizes that this is a label that we are imposing upon young people. We are currently working to define this or another term to more authentically describe these young people as they themselves would.

[5] Meisenheimer, Melanie. "Supporting Youth Aging Out of Foster Care through SNAP." Center for the Study of Social Policy. Available at: https://cssp.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/supporting-youth-aging-out-of-foster-care-through-SNAP.pdf; Children's HealthWatch. (2018). "Report on Food Insecurity & Systemic Inequality: Food Disparities to Discrimination Getting at the Roots of Food Insecurity in America." Available at: https://childrenshealthwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/08From-Disparities-to-Discrimination.pdf; Elsheikh, E. & Barhoum, N. (2013). "Structural Racialization and Food Insecurity in the United States." Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, University of California, Berkeley. Available at: https://belonging.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/Structural%20Racialization%20%20%26%20Food%20Insecurity%20in%20the%20US-%28Final%29.pdf.

[6] The Education Training Vouchers (ETV) program is a federally-funded, state-administered initiative to provides and support for post-secondary education and vocational training of up to $5,000 a year. As part of the Supporting Foster Youth and Families through the Pandemic Act, included in the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021, ETVs were increased to $12,000 a year through FY2021. While this is an important increase, it still does not fully support young people as they pursue post-secondary opportunities.

[7] Minoff, Elisa et al. "Principles for Anti-Racist Policymaking." Center for the Study of Social Policy, December 2020. Available at: http://bit.ly/Anti-Racist-Policymaking. The excerpt was adapted from Minoff, Elisa et al. "What We Owe Young Children: An Anti-Racist Policy Platform for Early Childhood." Center for the Study of Social Policy, December 2020. Available at: https://cssp.org/resource/what-we-owe-young-children/.

[8] Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams et al eds. Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness Across the Disciplines. University of California Press, 2019. Flynn, Andrea et al. The Hidden Rules of Race. Cambridge University Press, September 2017. Available at: https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/hidden-rules-of-race/33D38E05DCD5B288BBC4090CC900A967.

[9] On intersectionality, see Crenshaw, Kimberlé. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. The University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989. Available at: https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf.

[10] Minoff, Elisa. "Entangled Roots: The Role of Race in Policies that Separate Families." Center for the Study of Social Policy, October 2018. Available at: https://cssp.org/resource/entangled-roots.

[11] Harper Browne, Charlyn. "The Strengthening Families Approach and Protective Factors Framework: Branching Out and Reaching Deeper." Center for the Study of Social Policy, September 2014. Available at: https://cssp.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Branching-Out-and-Reaching-Deeper.pdf.

[12] Katz, Michael. The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty, 2nd edition. Oxford University Press, 2013. Gordon, Linda. Pitied but not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935. Free Press, 1994. Quadagno, Jill. The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty. Oxford University Press, 1994. Roberts, Dorothy E. "Welfare and the Problem of Black Citizenship." Yale Law Journal, vol 105: 1563-1602. Available at: https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7683&context=ylj.

[13] Our thinking is influenced by john powell's concept of targeted universalism. However, we believe that in some cases truly universal policies are necessary, and to be effective those policies need to be designed to work for children and families of color. On targeted universalism see powell, john a. *et al.* "Targeted Universalism: Policy & Practice." Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, May 2019. Available at: https://belonging.berkeley.edu/targeteduniversalism.

[14] For a definition of healthy housing, see Federal Healthy Homes Work Group. Department of Housing and Urban Development. "Advancing Healthy Housing: A Strategy for Action." 2013. Available at: https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/STRATPLAN_FINAL_11_13.PDF.

[15] Martin, M., Down, L., & Erney, R. (2016). Out of the Shadows: Supporting LGBTQ youth in child welfare through cross-system collaboration. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Social Policy.

[16] For more on CSSP's recommendation for a Healthy Housing Guarantee as part of an anti-racist policy platform, please see Minoff, Elisa *et al.* "What We Owe Young Children: An Anti-Racist Policy Platform for Early Childhood." Center for the Study of Social Policy, December 2020. Available at: https://cssp.org/resource/what-we-owe-young-children/.

[17] Raimon, M., Weber, K., & Esenstad, A. (2015). Better Outcomes for Older Youth of Color. American Bar Association. Available at: https://www.americanbar.org/groups/litigation/committees/childrens-rights/articles/2015/better-outcomes-older-youth-color-foster-care/.

[18] This statement is true at the time this piece was published, January 2022. When this piece was published, Family Spirit, a home-visiting program serving parents and young children, was approved as a promising program in the Title IV-E Prevention Services Clearinghouse and Familias Unidas, an intervention designed for Hispanic adolescents ages 12 to 16 and their families, was approved as a well-supported program.

[19] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. Information Memorandum, ACYF-CB-IM-21-04. Issuance Date January 13, 2021. Available at: https://www.acf.hhs.gov/cb/policy-guidance/im-21-04 .

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Conron, K. J. & Wilson, B. D. M. (Eds.) (2019). A Research Agenda to Reduce System Involvement and Promote Positive Outcomes with LGBTQ Youth of Color Impacted by the Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice Systems. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute. Available at: https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/LGBTQ-YOC-Social-Services-Jul-2019.pdf.

[22] #HealthCareFFY: Health Care for Former Foster Youth. (n.d.). Issue Paper #1: Youth Who Relocate From Another State. Available at: https://healthcareffy.org/sites/default/files/docs/blogs/HealthCareFFY_1Relocators%20%281%29_0.pdf.

[23] Brown, Emily. C. B. *et al.* "Assessment of rates of child maltreatment in states with Medicaid expansion vs states without Medicaid expansion." JAMA Network Open, 2 no. 6, June 13, 2019.