

**Intergenerational Poverty in New York City:**

Post-Secondary Educational Outcomes among Children in the Cash Assistance Program

Edith Kealey, PhD  
Research Director  
Office of Evaluation and Research

Kinsey Dinan  
Deputy Commissioner  
Office of Research and Policy Innovation

April 2022

## Background

A substantial body of research demonstrates that poverty in childhood is associated with poorer health and lower educational attainment, which in turn are associated with lower adult earnings. Among adults who spend more than half of their childhood in poverty, more than one-third are poor in early and middle adulthood.<sup>1</sup> Life-cycle models suggest that children born into low-income families are less likely to achieve markers of success (e.g., educational attainment, age-appropriate social and emotional skills, and higher income levels) at every life stage, with only 44 percent of low-income children reaching the middle class by age 40 compared to 63 percent of higher-income children.<sup>2</sup> Retrospective analysis of New York City data found that 45 percent of those on cash assistance at age 24 received cash assistance as adolescents, and 31 percent of adults ages 20-29 in the city's homeless shelters were in shelter as children.<sup>3</sup> Recognizing that low-income parents face multiple challenges as economic providers and as caregivers, states and localities are showing renewed interest in "two-generation" approaches to poverty. The Office of Evaluation and Research, part of the New York City Department of Social Services, is conducting a series of analyses to deepen our understanding of intergenerational poverty and inform programming to address these challenges.

The first research report in OER's Intergenerational Poverty Study leveraged longitudinal data available through the state Welfare Management System (WMS) and the Department of Homeless Services system of record (CARES) to explore patterns and trajectories of benefit receipt and shelter use among a cohort of individuals who received cash assistance in middle childhood and early adolescence (ages 6-12).<sup>4</sup> Findings from this study showed that across all benefit programs, the proportion of individuals receiving assistance declined over time, with younger children more likely to be on benefits compared to older children at any given point. By the time each cohort turned 18, the majority were *not* receiving cash assistance and about half were on SNAP. As each cohort entered their early twenties, the proportion on CA stabilized at about 10 percent while that on SNAP declined to less than 30 percent. Approximately one-quarter of the cohort spent time in a DHS shelter as a child (younger than 18) and about 13 percent spent time in shelter as a young adult (age 22 and older). While this sample is *a priori* at elevated risk for poverty and homelessness as adults compared to the general NYC population, findings overall suggested that young women, those who identify as Black, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Wagmiller R. & Adelman R. (2009). *Childhood and intergenerational poverty: The long-term consequences of growing up poor*. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty.

<sup>2</sup> Acs G., Martin S., Schwabish J., Sawhill I. (2016). The social genome model: Estimating how policies affect outcomes, mobility and inequality across the life course. *Journal of Social Issues*, 72 (4), 656-675.

<sup>3</sup> Shelter analysis conducted by New York City Department of Social Services Homeless Program Innovation, July 2017. Cash assistance analysis from Dinan K. & Rachidi A. (2014). *Young adults on the cash assistance caseload: A descriptive analysis of client characteristics, case status, and program experiences*. New York: New York City Human Resources Administration.

<sup>4</sup> Kealey, E., & Dinan, K. (February 2020). *Trajectories of Public Benefit Receipt and Shelter Stays among Children in the Cash Assistance Program*. New York: New York City Department of Social Services.

those in shelter as very young children or as teens may face greater barriers or challenges to self-sufficiency. Note, however, that characteristics examined in that study explained only a very small amount of the variation in outcomes: for example, findings related to race may reflect both systematic racism embedded in the educational, labor, and housing markets and also race as a proxy for persistent poverty, which is associated with far higher rates of adult poverty than is short-term experiences of poverty during childhood.

Education is traditionally seen as one of the most important pathways out of poverty, in large part due to the advantages it can confer in the labor market. Research in the U.S. and other developed nations shows that postsecondary education contributes to economic mobility.<sup>5</sup> This second report in OER’s Intergenerational Poverty Study builds on prior work to explore the following research questions:

- Among individuals who received cash assistance as children,
  - What are the characteristics of those who enroll in post-secondary education?
  - Do enrollment patterns vary by characteristics?
  - What types of institutions serve this population?
- Among individuals who received cash assistance as children and enroll in post-secondary education,
  - What are the educational outcomes?
  - What are the characteristics of those who graduate?
  - Do outcomes vary by student characteristics?

Future analyses will build on this work to explore institutional and enrollment patterns associated with post-secondary outcomes as well as the association between benefit receipt, shelter use, and post-secondary educational outcomes in more depth.

## Key Findings

Post-secondary enrollment and outcomes among our cohort generally aligned with prior research documenting barriers to educational attainment among low-income youth, particularly male and Black students. Specifically, we found that:

- Overall, 43% (n=100,343) of the original cohort enrolled in any post-secondary education by June 2021—the year that the oldest members of our cohort would have turned 33 and the youngest would have turned 25. This is lower than national rates for low-income high school completers, which ranged from 51% in 2006 to 58% in

---

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., Blanden, J., Haveman, R., Smeeding, T., & Wilson, K. (2014). Intergenerational mobility in the United States and Great Britain: A comparative study of parent-child pathways. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 60(3), 425–449. doi:10.1111/roiw.12032; Isaacs, J. B., Sawhill, I. V., & Haskins, R. (2008). *Getting ahead or losing ground: Economic mobility in America*. Washington, DC: Economic Mobility Project, Brookings Institution. Retrieved from [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/02\\_economic\\_mobility\\_sawhill.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/02_economic_mobility_sawhill.pdf).

2014. The majority of the enrollment cohort was female (57.6%) and almost 80% identified as either Hispanic or Black. About one in five spent time in shelter as a child.

- Analyses of characteristics associated with post-secondary enrollment showed that women were significantly more likely to enroll in college compared to men (50% compared to 37%). Those who identified as Black had the lowest enrollment rate by race / ethnicity (41%), compared to 57% among those who identified as Asian or Pacific Islander (note, however, that this represents a very small group). We also observed differences in enrollment rates by shelter history (36%, compared to 46% for those not in shelter as a child).
- Almost three-quarters (73%) of the enrollment cohort began their post-secondary education in New York State. A substantial majority (80%) spent time in at least one public institution and over half enrolled for at least one term at a CUNY school. Almost 30% enrolled at two schools and almost 20% spent time at three or more schools. The average age at enrollment was 19 years, and time from first to last date of enrollment across all institutions averaged 4.6 years (this may not reflect continuous time in school).
- Among those with any enrollment in post-secondary education, just over one-third (36%) achieved a degree (as of June 2021), representing 15.3% of the original cohort. This graduation rate is similar to that recorded for a cohort of Pell grant recipients entering college in 2009 (38%).
- Approximately 20% of the enrollment cohort earned a bachelor's degree as their highest degree, with another 11% leaving school with an associate degree; graduate degrees were rare, with just 5% of the enrollment cohort earning more than a four-year degree. The average time to degree *at the degree-granting institution* was 3.4 years for associate degrees and 3.9 years for bachelor's degrees; this may underestimate time to degree for transfer students.
- Preliminary analysis of educational attainment by type of institution attended found strikingly similar graduation rates across public, private, CUNY, and SUNY schools: about 30% of students enrolling in each type of institution achieved a degree *from that type of institution*. Note that this analysis does not capture dynamics associated with transfer students and may therefore under-represent the value of public schools (particularly CUNY) in promoting a pathway towards higher education for low-income students.
- Among those enrolling in post-secondary education, we observed statistically significant and substantial variation in graduation rates by gender, race / ethnicity, and childhood shelter history. Women were more likely to achieve a college degree than men (40%, compared to 28%). Those who identified as Asian American or Pacific Islander had the highest graduation rates (58%) and those who identified as

Black the lowest (30%); there were no other significant differences by race / ethnicity. Just over one-quarter of those who spent time in a DHS shelter as a child earned any degree compared to 38% of those who did not.

## Methods

The sample for the current study is derived from the initial cohort used for OER's first report, which represents 231,805 individuals born in 1988-1996 and who were on CA in the years 2000-2002. We refer to this group throughout as the "original cohort." Data from WMS and from CARES used for this study comes from the original datapull and included gender, race / ethnicity, date of birth, and whether the person was in shelter as a child (defined as younger than 18 years). We further classified children into three cohorts according to birth year: 1988-1990, 1991-1993, and 1994-1996.

A file containing first name, last name, date of birth, and unique study ID for each individual in the original cohort was sent to the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC) via secure File Transport Protocol (sFTP) for matching to their administrative records. The time period for the match covered all records from January 1988 through June 2021.

The matched file returned by NSC included each member of the original cohort with a flag for whether the individual matched to StudentTracker records,<sup>6</sup> with separate rows by enrollment period, institution, and (if applicable) degree granted for those individuals with at least one match, for a total of 1,025,579 rows. After restructuring by study ID, we determined that 100,343 members of the original cohort (43%) had any record of post-secondary enrollment. This "enrollment cohort" is the primary focus for the current study.

### *About the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC)*

NSC serves as a nationwide, central repository of information on the enrollment status and educational achievements of post-secondary students in the United States. The NSC is authorized by participating institutions to share data via its StudentTracker service. According to the NSC, StudentTracker includes data from over 3,600 U.S. colleges and universities, representing 98% of students enrolled in public and private institutions.

Variables derived from NSC data are shown below in Table 1. For the purpose of this report, we made the following analytical decisions:

- We restricted analysis of outcomes to those degrees coded as associate, bachelor, or graduate (i.e., we excluded certificates).
- For students with multiple degrees of the same type, we used data related to the first

---

<sup>6</sup> For more information about data included in NSC StudentTracker reports, see [https://studentclearinghouse.info/onestop/wp-content/uploads/ST\\_DetailReportGuide.pdf](https://studentclearinghouse.info/onestop/wp-content/uploads/ST_DetailReportGuide.pdf)

degree.

- Students with joint degrees (e.g., BA/MA programs) were coded as having obtained each degree separately.

Linking enrollment across institutions in order to track total time to degree for transfer students is beyond the scope of this study, so time to degree was calculated based on attendance at the degree-granting institution. Measuring time to degree using the first and last date of enrollment does not account for any time students may not have been in school. Time to degree may therefore underestimate the total time to degree for transfer students and overestimate the actual time spent in school for students who did not maintain continuous enrollment.

Table 1. Post-secondary Education Variables Derived from NSC StudentTracker data

Domain	Variable
Enrollment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flag for any post-secondary enrollment</li> <li>• First and last date of enrollment at any institution</li> <li>• Number of institutions attended</li> </ul>
Institutional characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State where institution is located</li> <li>• Public vs. private</li> <li>• Whether institution is CUNY or SUNY (flag calculated based on institution name)</li> </ul>
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether student ever graduated</li> <li>• Type of degree (associate, bachelor, or graduate)</li> <li>• Year of graduation</li> <li>• Time to degree <i>at degree-granting institution</i>, in years</li> </ul>

## Detailed Findings

### *Enrollment in Post-secondary Education*

As noted above, of the 231,805 individuals in the original cohort, 43% (n=100,343) enrolled in any post-secondary education by June 2021—the year that the oldest members of our cohort would have turned 33 and the youngest would have turned 25. For context, data compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics show that 51% of low-income, recent high school completers enrolled in post-secondary education in 2006 (the year those born in 1988 would turn 18) and 58% did so in 2014 (the year those born in 1996 would turn 18).<sup>7</sup> Note that we do not have data on high school graduation for our cohort. Demographic data for the enrollment cohort is shown below in Table 2, and for the original cohort in the Appendix. The majority of the enrollment cohort is female (57.6%), and almost

<sup>7</sup> “Recent high school completers” are defined as those who graduated high school or obtained an equivalency degree and are between the ages of 16 and 24. National Center for Education Statistics (2015). *Digest of Education Statistics*. Downloaded from [https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d17/tables/dt17\\_302.30.asp](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d17/tables/dt17_302.30.asp). (24 March 2022)

80% identify as either Hispanic or Black. About one in five spent time in shelter as a child.

Table 1. Characteristics of Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 with any Post-secondary Enrollment (n=100,343)

Characteristic	n	%
Birth cohort		
1988-1990	31,544	31.4%
1991-1993	37,456	37.3%
1994-1996	31,343	31.2%
Female	57,829	57.6%
Race / Ethnicity		
Hispanic, any race	44,188	44.0%
Black	36,010	35.9%
White	8,063	8.0%
Multiracial	6,680	6.7%
Asian / Pacific Islander	2,018	2.0%
Other	3,384	3.4%
Ever in shelter under age 18	21,022	21.0%

Source: OER analysis of WMS, CARES, and National Student Clearinghouse data.

We found statistically significant differences in post-secondary enrollment by birth cohort, gender, race / ethnicity, and shelter history (Table 3). Among all individuals in the original cohort, those born between 1991-93 were more likely to enroll in college (44.6%) compared to those born in 1988-90 (42.1%) or 1994-96 (42.7%). This may reflect the impact of the 2008 recession, as the 1991-93 birth cohort would have turned 18 in 2009-2011 and research suggests that young adults are more likely to enroll in college when the economy is poor.<sup>8</sup> Almost half (49.8%) of women in the original cohort enrolled in post-secondary education compared to just 36.6% of men. Individuals identifying as Black enrolled at a rate

<sup>8</sup> See e.g., Long, B. T. (2014). The financial crisis and college enrollment: How have students and their families responded? Published in Brown, J. R. & Hoxby, C. M (eds.), *How the Financial Crisis and Great Recession Affected Higher Education*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Available online at <https://www.nber.org/system/files/chapters/c12862/c12862.pdf>.

of 40.7%, lower than all other groups, and those identifying as Asian or Pacific Islander had the highest rate of enrollment at 57.4% (note that this represents a very small group). There were no statistically significant differences when comparing enrollment rates of Hispanics and Whites, both of which had enrollment rates of approximately 44%. Finally, those who did not spend time in shelter as a child were more likely to enroll in college (45.7%) compared to those who did (35.9%).

Table 3. Characteristics of Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 by Post-secondary Enrollment Status (n=231,805)

Characteristic	% Enrolling in Post-secondary Education
Birth cohort	
1988-1990 (n=74,598)	42.1%
1991-1993 (n=83,907)*	44.6%
1994-1996 (n=73,300)	42.7%
Gender	
Female (n=115,856)*	49.8%
Male (n=115,949)	36.6%
Race / Ethnicity	
Hispanic, any race (n=99,929)	44.1%
Black* (n=88,220)	40.7%
White (n=18,423)	43.7%
Multiracial (n=14,730)	45.3%
Asian / Pacific Islander* (n=3,505)	57.4%
Other (n=6,998)	48.2%
Shelter history under 18	
Not in shelter as a child* (n=173,408)	45.7%
Ever in shelter as a child (n=58,397)	35.9%

Source: WMS, CARES, and National Student Clearinghouse data.

\*Statistically significant difference compared to other group(s),  $p < .05$ , assessed using z-test of proportions with Bonferroni correction.

Data on enrollment patterns are shown below in Table 4. As might be expected for this population, a substantial majority (over 80%) enrolled in public institutions and over half spent at least some time at a CUNY school. Although students enrolled in schools from all 50 states plus Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (data not shown), almost three-quarters began their post-secondary education within New York State. On average, students were 19 years

old when first enrolling in college. Time from first to last enrollment date across all enrolled students averaged approximately four and a half years, although this may not represent continuous time in school. The data as structured did not support analysis of time enrolled by degree program. While the majority of students enrolled at one institution, almost 30% enrolled at two schools and almost 20% spent time at three or more schools. This may reflect both positive trajectories (e.g., students transferring from community college to a four-year college, or students who obtained multiple degrees) as well as challenges some students may face in maintaining enrollment. Future work could explore these patterns in more detail.

Table 4. Enrollment Patterns among Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 Enrolling in Post-secondary Education (n=100,343)

Characteristic	n	%
Enrollment by institution type		
Any public	83,850	83.6%
Any private	37,475	37.3%
First enrollment in New York State (any institution)	72,703	72.5%
Any enrollment in New York public institutions		
Any CUNY	54,338	54.2%
Any SUNY	13,030	13.0%
Number of institutions attended		
One	51,501	51.4%
Two	29,562	29.5%
Three or more	19,073	19.0%
Age at first post-secondary enrollment (average)	19.1 years	
Years from first to last enrollment date* (average)	4.6 years	

Source: OER analysis of National Student Clearinghouse data.

\*Years from first to last enrollment date may not reflect continuous enrollment.

### *Post-secondary Educational Outcomes*

Among those with any enrollment in post-secondary education, just over one-third (35.5%, n=35,592) achieved a degree, representing 15.3% of the original cohort (Table 5). For context, national data on Pell grant recipients (a proxy for low income) who entered college

in 2009 indicate that 38% received a post-secondary degree within eight years.<sup>9</sup> Just over one-quarter of those enrolled earned a degree from a public institution, and half as many (13%) received a degree from a private institution. Looking specifically at New York public post-secondary institutions, 17% of the enrollment cohort received a degree from CUNY, and 4% earned a degree from a SUNY school. Approximately 20% of the enrollment cohort earned a bachelor’s degree as their highest degree, with another 11% achieving an associate degree; graduate degrees were rare, with just 5% of the enrollment cohort earning more than a four-year degree.

Table 5. Educational Outcomes among Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 Enrolling in Post-Secondary Education (n=100,343)

Characteristic	n	%
Awarded any degree	35,592	35.5%
Awarded any degree by type of institution		
Public	26,892	26.8%
Private	12,661	12.6%
Awarded any degree by New York public institution		
Any degree from CUNY	16,639	16.6%
Any degree from SUNY	4,084	4.1%
Highest degree awarded		
Associate degree	11,037	11.0%
Bachelor’s degree	19,502	19.4%
Graduate degree	5,053	5.0%

Source: OER analysis of National Student Clearinghouse data.

Among those *with any degree* (Table 6), almost three-quarters achieved a degree from a public institution and one-third achieved a degree from a private institution. (Note that these are not exclusive categories; one individual could earn, for example, an associate degree at a community college and a bachelor’s degree from a private university, and thus be counted in both categories.) Nearly half (47%) earned a degree from CUNY. Over half earned an associate degree and approximately two-thirds earned a bachelor’s degree. While associate degrees can be an important bridge to advanced study, the majority of those with an associate degree had that as their highest degree earned (59.7%, data not shown).

<sup>9</sup> Yuen, V. (2019). New insights into attainment for low-income students. Center for American Progress. Accessed March 24, 2022 at <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/new-insights-attainment-low-income-students/>

Table 6. Institutional Patterns among Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 Awarded Any Post-Secondary Degree (n=35,592)

Characteristic	n	%
Degree by institution type		
Any public	26,346	74.0%
Any private	12,057	33.9%
Any CUNY	16,605	46.7%
Any SUNY	4,063	11.4%
Degree type		
Any associate degree	18,500	52.0%
Any bachelor's degree	24,198	68.0%
Any graduate degree	5,053	14.2%
Number of institutions attended (average)	2.2	
Time to degree* (average)		
Associate degree	3.4 years	
Bachelor's degree	3.9 years	
Graduate degree	3.4 years	

Source: OER analysis of National Student Clearinghouse data.

\*Time to degree reflects enrollment at degree-granting institution only and may understate total time to degree for transfer students. For students with multiple degrees *of the same type*, time to degree reflects time to first degree.

Members of the enrollment cohort who earned a degree on average attended 2.2 institutions; however (as will be further discussed below), the data as currently structured do not permit us to assess whether time spent at multiple institutions was in the service of that degree. Time to degree was fairly similar regardless of the type of degree: students earning a bachelor's degree on average spent 3.9 years at the degree-granting institution, compared to 3.4 years for those earning associate and graduate degrees. This suggests that the typical categorization of associate degrees as "two-year" degrees does not hold true for this population and may reflect the challenges low-income students may face in maintaining enrollment. By contrast, institutions offering four-year degrees may have more resources available to support students, or there may be a selection effect whereby comparatively advantaged students are more likely to enroll in four-year degree programs. However, our analysis of time to degree is limited in several ways due to the underlying structure of the data. These averages may therefore both under- and over-estimate the actual time spent

working towards a degree. More research on enrollment periods, and factors associated with time to degree, could be a focus of future study.

While in-depth exploration of institutional and enrollment patterns associated with college achievement was not within the scope of the current report, Table 7 below provides some preliminary data on educational attainment by type of institution attended. We observed strikingly similar graduation rates across public, private, CUNY, and SUNY schools: approximately 30% of students enrolling in each type of institution achieved a degree *from that type of institution*. Note that this analysis does not capture dynamics associated with transfer students and may therefore under-represent the value of public schools (particularly CUNY) in promoting a pathway towards higher education for low-income students. If a student begins post-secondary studies at CUNY and later transfers to (and graduates from) a different type of school, they will be counted as a graduate from that type of school and as a non-graduate from CUNY.

Table 7. Educational Attainment by Type of Institution among Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 Enrolling in Post-secondary Education (n=100,343)

Characteristic	% Awarded any Degree <i>from that Institution Type</i>
Type of institution	
Ever attended public (n=83,850)	32.1%
Ever attended private (n=37,475)	33.8%
Type of NY public institution	
Ever attended CUNY (n=54,338)	30.6%
Ever attended SUNY (n=13,030)	31.3%

Source: OER analysis of National Student Clearinghouse data.

Demographic characteristics of those achieving any degree are shown below in Table 8. Two-thirds are women, approximately 45% identified as Hispanic and 31% as Black, and 16% spent time in shelter as a child. Those earning any degree were on average 18.2 years old at first post-secondary enrollment, almost a year younger than the full enrollment cohort.

Table 8. Characteristics of Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 Achieving Any Post-secondary Degree (n=35,592)

Characteristic	n	%
Birth cohort		
1988-1990	12,282	34.5%
1991-1993	13,030	36.6%
1994-1996	10,280	28.9%
Female	23,350	65.6%
Race / Ethnicity		
Hispanic, any race	15,885	44.6%
Black	10,878	30.6%
White	3,941	11.1%
Multiracial	2,521	7.1%
Asian / Pacific Islander	1,164	3.3%
Other	1,203	3.4%
Ever in shelter as a child	5,626	15.8%
Age at first enrollment (average)	18.2 years	

Source: WMS, CARES, and National Student Clearinghouse data.

We observed substantial and statistically significant differences in college achievement by gender, race / ethnicity, and childhood shelter history (Table 9); patterns mirror those noted above regarding post-secondary enrollment. Among the enrollment cohort, 40% of women achieved a degree compared to just 28% of men. Over half (58%) of those who identified as Asian American or Pacific Islander achieved a post-secondary degree, compared to 30% of those who identified as Black. Just over one-quarter of those who spent time in a DHS shelter as a child earned any degree compared to 38% of those who did not. Finally, those born in the earliest cohort (1988-1990) were the most likely to earn a degree, and those born in the latest cohort (1994-1996) were the least likely; this may be partly a timing artifact of our datapull, which captured data through June 2021. Future analyses can explore the timing of degree attainment (e.g., within six or eight years of first enrollment) in more detail.

Table 9. Characteristics of Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 by Post-secondary Educational Attainment (n=100,343)

Characteristic	% Awarded any Degree
<b>Birth cohort</b>	
1988-1990 (n=31,544)*	38.9%
1991-1993 (n=37,456)	34.8%
1994-1996 (n=31,343)*	32.8%
<b>Gender</b>	
Female (n=57,829)*	40.4%
Male (n=42,514)	28.8%
<b>Race / Ethnicity</b>	
Hispanic, any race (n=44,188)	35.9%
Black (n=36,010)*	30.2%
White (n=8,063)	48.9%
Multiracial (n=6,680)	37.7%
Asian / Pacific Islander (n=2,018)*	57.7%
Other (n=3,384)	35.5%
<b>Shelter history under age 18</b>	
Not in shelter as a child (n=79,321)*	37.8%
Ever in shelter as a child (n=21,022)	26.8%

Source: WMS, CARES, and National Student Clearinghouse data.

\*Statistically significant difference compared to other group(s),  $p < .05$ , assessed using z-test of proportions with Bonferroni correction.

## Implications

This study extends our understanding of the life trajectories of children receiving cash assistance in New York City. Post-secondary enrollment and outcomes among this cohort generally reflect what is known about the barriers to educational attainment among low-income youth, particularly male and Black students, and highlight the challenges they face in pursuing higher education as a pathway towards economic mobility. Future studies planned in OER's research on intergenerational poverty will explore college attainment by institutional and enrollment patterns, and by duration and intensity of childhood poverty, in more depth.

Appendix.

Characteristics of Cash Assistance Recipients Age 6-12 in 2000-2002 (n=231,805)

Characteristic	n	%
Birth cohort		
1988-1990	74,598	32.2%
1991-1993	83,907	36.2%
1994-1996	73,300	31.6%
Female	115,856	50.0%
Race / Ethnicity		
Hispanic, any race	99,929	43.1%
Black	88,220	38.1%
White	18,423	7.9%
Multiracial	14,730	6.4%
Asian / Pacific Islander	3,505	1.5%
Other	6,998	3.0%
U.S. citizen	221,763	95.7%
Ever in shelter under age 18	58,397	25.2%

Source: WMS and CARES data.