



How Federal Changes Will Impact Lower-Income Households

IBO's Federal Changes, Local Impacts series is a collection of short reports that examine areas of New York City's budget, economy, and operations that are particularly reliant on federal funding, subject to notable federal policy changes, or both. These reports are intended to inform public discussion by objectively highlighting how federal decisions may affect the City. IBO encourages readers to visit its [website](#) to explore additional topics covered in this series.

Note: This report discusses the impact of the federal shutdown, which is a developing story. This report was updated as of 9:00 am on October 28, 2025, so it will not reflect policy or legal changes after this time.

Since the One Big Beautiful Bill Act/H.R. 1 was enacted in July 2025, the Trump administration has indicated that, beginning in September, it will refer to the measure as the "Working Families Tax Cut Act." In this report, IBO continues to use the bill's original name.

Introduction

Recent and threatened federal funding and regulatory changes disproportionately affect lower-income households. There are many different ways to measure poverty, and programs use different eligibility criteria for recipients, as noted throughout this report. The [federal poverty level](#) is used for eligibility for many federal programs, varies by household size, is used nationwide, and does not account for differential costs of living. [About 850,000 NYC households](#) live at or below the federal poverty level, which is approximately \$32,000/year for a family of four. Households with incomes up to 200%-250% of the federal poverty level may be eligible for some social safety net programs. For context, [about 1.5 million NYC households](#) live at or below 250% of the federal poverty level, which is about \$80,000/year for a family of four.

There have historically been robust social safety net programs to help these individuals and households afford healthcare, food, housing, energy, and more. The City and State have supplemented federal programs in many areas, while providing additional services and supports with their own tax dollars. But today, the pressure on lower-income households is growing from multiple angles, as the federal government imposes new eligibility and

verification requirements and reduces benefits and services in the presence of continued inflation. The ongoing federal government shutdown and the politicization of critical government programs—such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)—present worrisome impacts for lower income New Yorkers and people across the country. This report examines some of the ways in which social safety net programs are:

1. being changed or reduced, and
2. facing direct threat of federal changes or reductions.

This report is not intended to be exhaustive; rather, its primary purpose is to provide a sense of the scope and scale of changes and to demonstrate how changes across domains, in combination, will place increased burdens on the most disadvantaged New Yorkers.

Federal Changes That Are in Process— Healthcare, Food, and Immigration

Major federal changes already in progress are impacting lower-income households in three areas: healthcare, food, and immigration. These three areas were already fraught with challenges long before the current Trump administration, but circumstances in all three appear to be deteriorating rapidly.

Healthcare—See IBO’s [H+H Report](#) and [Tax Code Changes Report](#) for more details

Households are spending an increasing amount on healthcare. In 2024, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that the 7.4 million households in the New York metropolitan area spend an average of \$5,508 per year on healthcare, a 13% increase over two years.¹ More broadly, the Commonwealth Fund reports that, nationally, the following groups have reported spending 25% or more of their monthly household budget on healthcare inclusive of insurance:

- 24% of adults with incomes below 200% of the federal poverty level who have employer-provided health insurance coverage, and
- 23% of adults who rely upon marketplace or individual-market health insurance coverage.²

Out-of-pocket healthcare expenses are likely to increase in the near future due to two major federal changes. Recent changes to health policy as outlined in the One Big Beautiful Bill Act (OBBBA) will result in a growth in the uninsured population as the number of people eligible for, and thus enrolled in, Medicaid will decrease. According to Governor Kathy Hochul, up to [1.3 million](#) across New York State could become uninsured.

Affordable Care Act enhanced premium tax credits (EPTCs) are set to expire at the end of calendar year 2025 and the ongoing standoff at the federal level will determine whether they are extended. The disagreements surrounding these credits were a central driver of the federal government shutdown which began on October 1st.

The expiration of EPTCs sets up a potential future with rapid premium increases in the coming months. Governor Hochul has stated that there are over 1.7 million New Yorkers

statewide who currently qualify for EPTCs. The uncertainty surrounding the extension of EPTCs will likely create confusion for consumers as they compare plan options during the upcoming open enrollment period (commencing November 1st). If the subsidy expires, New York State of Health (the official health plan marketplace for New York State) estimates that health insurance premiums will increase by [nearly 40%](#) across the State.

The existence of a far larger uninsured population could cause some providers to increase costs for others, as they seek to cover the costs of uncompensated care. Already-rising premiums will exacerbate the impacts on lower-income households. The bottom line is that health outcomes will likely worsen overall as people delay or forego receiving the healthcare they need.

Food

- Lower-income households can receive food supports in the following main areas, which all receive funding from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA):
- SNAP benefits (70% of [2024 USDA food spending](#)) are [available](#) to eligible households that meet income and other criteria, including work requirements for “able-bodied adults without dependents.” Qualifying SNAP recipients receive funds on an electronic benefits card every month to be used to purchase allowable food items in local establishments ranging from large chain grocery stores to smaller food stores and farmers’ markets. These benefits supplement recipients’ food budgets. The majority of the 42 million [SNAP recipients](#) are children (36%) and adults over 60 (19%).
- Child nutrition programs (20% of USDA 2024 food spending) include breakfast and free or reduced-price lunch in schools, and free summer meals. Much of the funding for breakfast and lunch in schools is distributed to school districts and has not experienced federal changes yet. See [IBO’s Education report](#) for more details.
- The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children ([WIC](#)) provides free healthy food, nutrition education, breastfeeding support, and other resources to income-eligible pregnant and postpartum women (for up to six months after the end of pregnancy), breastfeeding mothers (for up to a year after), and children under five (up to their fifth birthday). Other adults raising kids under five can also apply on behalf of kids in their care. Benefits can also be administered through an electronic benefits card every month. These accounted for 5% of 2024 USDA food spending.
- Food pantries, soup kitchens, and other programs operated by non-profit organizations provide free meals to households (included among the 5% of other USDA 2024 food spending). While the USDA provides some funding, other federal agencies such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), state or local governments, and philanthropic organizations also provide support.

SNAP

In 2025, about 1.8 million NYC households received monthly support through SNAP and spent \$5 billion throughout fiscal year 2025 in retail establishments. The federal government will cease paying SNAP benefits November 1st, which it says is [due to the federal shutdown](#). [Previous shutdowns](#) have not resulted in the end of SNAP funds, and advocates and some legislators argue that the Administration has [reserve funds](#) and [legal](#)

[authority](#) to continue paying SNAP benefits. Even once the government opens, there will be reductions in the number of households that receive SNAP due to the increased hurdles for eligibility. Additionally, before the OBBBA, the federal government covered the entire cost of benefits and the State and City were responsible for administration of the program.

There are several OBBBA changes related to SNAP that impact the State and the City, including:

- Using a historically volatile metric called the “[error rate](#),” measuring accuracy in eligibility and benefit determinations, to shift up to 15% of the cost of food benefits onto states. Based on available information, New York State has estimated that this provision will result in increased annual costs of \$1.2 billion to the State starting in 2027.³
- Shifting more of the City’s administrative costs by increasing the City’s cost to process applications, screen for eligibility, and distribute benefits. The federal government previously split those costs in half with the City, but starting in 2026, the federal government will pay only 25% of the costs, forcing the City to pay the remaining 75%.
- Eliminating SNAP Education ([SNAP-Ed](#)) programs starting in 2026. SNAP-Ed reached 2.2 million New York State residents in 2025, many of whom are in NYC. Programming includes funding for classes on nutrition, cooking, and grocery shopping to maximize SNAP benefits, as well as partnerships with organizations like community gardens.
- Reducing the purchasing power of SNAP benefits by limiting future benefit increases to the general inflation rate. SNAP benefits were already considered extremely low, as the rates have been updated only once since 1975; the new OBBBA changes effectively cancel the next update scheduled for 2027.⁴

OBBBA also changes the work requirements for SNAP, which will increase the strain on older adults, adults with medical conditions, parents of teens, and people who work irregular hours.⁵ Among other changes, new rules raise the age limit for adults to be exempted from the work requirements (from 54 to 64), lower the age for adults to be exempted based on their care of dependents (children must be under 14 instead of 18), and remove work requirement exemptions for individuals who are veterans, homeless, or were under 25 and in foster care when they turned 18. In September 2025, the Adams administration estimated that 221,000 households would lose SNAP in NYC as a result of these new work requirements.⁶ Most SNAP recipients who were previously subject to work requirements before this expansion are already working, but they are more likely to receive low wages and experience volatile work schedules, which can be hard to document.⁷ Previous changes to SNAP eligibility or processing rules over the past decade have also resulted in [significant delays for processing applications](#).⁸

The new work requirements were originally scheduled to begin in March 2026, at the end of the State’s most recent [waiver](#) for work requirements related to the pandemic and job availability. Instead, in early October, the USDA [announced](#) it was terminating all previously issued waivers nationwide. The State Office of Temporary Disability and Assistance, which oversees the program for New York State, [informed](#) counties that these requirements would now take effect on [November 2, 2025](#). The timeline for these changes increases the burden

on the State and the City to notify recipients and to build systems to ensure compliance with new requirements. The speed of these changes—just 30 days to put this entire new system in place—also makes it more likely that there will be more errors made in determining SNAP eligibility and benefit rates in 2026, which will also result in higher State costs the following year. On October 27th, the Urban Justice Center filed a class action [lawsuit](#) challenging the fast-tracked timeline, with [support](#) from the City’s Human Resources Administration.

Cuts to SNAP will also yield downstream effects:

- Reductions in SNAP spending in approved retail establishments
- Decreases in these retail establishments’ revenues
- Potential job losses and/or reduced income for employees of those retail establishments
- Subsequent decreases in spending by retail establishment employees

These factors have been studied by the USDA, which estimates that [each \\$1 spent on SNAP results in \\$1.54 spent](#) in the total economy. These benefits totaled about \$5 billion in NYC in City fiscal year 2025, spent in any one of over 8,600 NYC retail establishments, 40% of which are convenience stores and 26% are grocery stores. The breakdown by borough is: Brooklyn (37%), the Bronx (23%), Queens (22%), Manhattan (15%), and Staten Island (4%).⁹ Applying the USDA multiplier, SNAP’s total impact on the NYC economy could be up to \$7.7 billion.

Other Food Programs

As households lose SNAP benefits, they will likely turn to food pantries. But food pantries have never had [the capacity to replace SNAP at scale](#); in 2023, SNAP [provided](#) nine meals for every one meal provided by a food pantry. Food pantries have also experienced cuts, with [\\$1 billion in federal funds](#) having been cut from food banks and schools in March 2025.¹⁰ Between May and September, USDA records show 4,300 canceled orders to pantries that amounted to [94 million pounds of food aid](#). Food pantries have reported [sustained demand](#) since the pandemic and are now seeing [staffing challenges, and reduced supplies](#) related to canceled distributions. In response to the cessation of SNAP benefits, Governor Hochul [announced](#) an additional \$11 million statewide on October 24th for emergency food relief for food pantries, soup kitchens, and other food assistance programs, and [another \\$30 million](#) on October 27th. Governor Hochul is also [exploring](#) ways to send additional food home with students.

People eligible for SNAP are also automatically eligible for the federally funded Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) operated by New York State, which provides 150,000 residents in NYC with utility assistance through this pathway (see energy assistance section below for details on delays for LIHEAP). Participation in LIHEAP triggers rules to allow for larger SNAP benefits. To determine a household’s total SNAP benefit, the household must document all income, but can deduct shelter costs including utilities. Before OBBBA, households that received LIHEAP automatically qualified for the maximum deduction without having to document utility costs, thereby maximizing their total SNAP benefits. But under OBBBA, households no longer qualify for this automatic deduction and will instead have to specifically document utility spending, with their SNAP benefits being reduced if they fail to do so. This is a confusing process, and the automatic deduction

was intended to streamline and simplify it. Now, households will have to try to navigate a much more complex process, which creates an additional administrative burden (both to know about this process and be able to supply necessary documentation).

Unlike for SNAP, the Trump administration has indicated some interest in preserving benefits for over 6 million WIC recipients nationwide, including over [233,000 in New York City \(as of 2024\)](#). In addition to being more temporary than SNAP, WIC benefits are smaller (approximately \$50 a month as a baseline) and cover only specific supplemental items including [fresh produce and baby formula](#). Although the monthly benefit is relatively small, the positive health benefits are significant. A [2019 study](#) in California found that for every \$1 invested in WIC, about \$2.48 is returned in healthcare cost savings. There are also health benefits to children in terms of diets with better nutritional value and better child health and development outcomes. WIC was set to run out of funding in October, but the Trump Administration [announced](#) that it would use \$300 million in revenue from tariffs to fund the program for a few additional weeks. However, funding for WIC is also expected to run out on [November 1st](#) without additional changes.

Immigration

About 3 million of NYC's 8.5 million residents are immigrants. New York City's immigrant workforce is also larger than other major American cities; 42% of the New York City workforce is foreign-born (across all income brackets), compared with 18% nationally. The City helped over 55,000 individuals file work authorizations in the last several years through the Asylum Application Help Center.¹¹ All NYC residents are impacted by federal changes aimed at stripping individuals of legal status.

Legal immigrants, including green card holders, refugees, and asylees, have been eligible for some federal services under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996.¹² In February 2025, the White House [issued an executive order](#) that claimed federal benefits were a “magnet” for illegal immigration, despite the fact that undocumented individuals do not qualify for any federal benefits (with exceptions only for emergency services); decades of research demonstrates individuals do not migrate to receive benefits.¹³ In response, many federal agencies [changed policies](#) in place for more than 20 years to limit access to numerous federal programs, including programs that by law were intended to be free of restrictions based on immigration status. These programs cover many different types of services for lower-income households, including WIC.¹⁴ The endnotes have more detail on specific agencies and programs.

At the same time, the Trump Administration has also stripped many people of the legal status they had previously been granted, including [canceling humanitarian parole](#) and [Temporary Protected Status](#) for many countries. The Trump administration [has fired immigration judges, removed protections](#) preventing deportation of juveniles, [cut funding](#) for legal services for immigrants who are unaccompanied minors, and began charging unaccompanied minors [fines up to \\$5,000](#).¹⁵ The Administration has also moved to [dismiss many ongoing asylum cases](#), thus effectively ending the legal pathway to citizenship or residency for many individuals and increasing their likelihood of facing an accelerated deportation process.¹⁶

The increase in immigration enforcement—from [Canal Street raids](#) on street vendors, to [Bronx raids](#) with the Department of Homeland Services Secretary, to repeated instances

of Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents [approaching youth in the park](#)—has also had a chilling effect. Nationally, immigration enforcement has resulted in the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) revising its [September 2025 economic estimates downward](#). The CBO cites expectations of lower net migration to the United States creating labor shortages and slowing consumer spending. This expectation was echoed by [Federal Reserve Chair Jerome Powell](#). Across the City, numerous news articles have documented that children and families are afraid to attend school, attend medical and/or court appointments, or do other regular daily activities.¹⁷ Out of fear, immigrants may forego some services that have not been cut and that they remain legally entitled to receive, further increasing the strain on household wellbeing. One example is legal services for eligible U.S.-born children.

Proposed or Pending Federal Changes—Cash Assistance, Homelessness Prevention and Response, and Energy Assistance

There are many additional areas that impact lower-income households where federal changes have been proposed, and/or are pending implementation. These include cash assistance, homelessness prevention and response, and energy assistance. These areas may not feel the impacts of federal changes immediately, but they are vulnerable to changes in the future.

Cash Assistance

The number of New Yorkers who rely upon cash assistance (CA) has grown substantially since the COVID-19 pandemic. In July 2025, there were 315,000 households receiving some form of CA, including 210,300 children.

Lower-income households can receive two types of CA:

- Family Assistance (FA), which is federally funded for qualifying lower-income households (85% federal and 15% City funding); and
- Safety Net Assistance (SNA), for households that either do not qualify for FA or have timed out after 5 years of receiving FA. SNA is a State program, but most of the funding comes from the City (29% State and 71% City funding).

From 2019 through 2025, there was a 37% increase in households on FA and a 48% increase in the total number of children receiving some form of CA.¹⁸ Multiple factors have increased the number of households that have applied and received CA, including changes in the labor market and the rising cost of rent and other household goods. Some lower-wage sectors have seen a notable decline in the number of workers from February 2020 through June 2025, including leisure and hospitality, food services, and construction.¹⁹ These changes may be contributing to the increase in households needing assistance, along with inflation and other economic pressures.

The House initially [proposed cuts](#) to FA that have not been incorporated into budget bills yet. These cuts include:

- Decreasing the main funding source, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF),

by 10%;

- Eliminating the TANF Contingency Fund that provides support during periods of economic decline for states in need; and
- Increasing consequences for states that fail to meet metrics related to work requirements.

The City has resumed work requirements for CA that were suspended during the COVID-19 pandemic, although the CA eligibility criteria have not been changed (unlike the criteria for SNAP).

Though the federal government cannot directly cut funding to SNA, this program may nevertheless be impacted by other cuts. More lower-income households are likely to need CA in the future as they lose other benefits described in this report. If more households end up on SNA, it will result in additional pressure on the City and State budgets. The State may also face pressure to shift more costs to the City; the State controls the share of funding from federal, State, and City budgets for both forms of cash assistance, and it has [previously](#) shifted costs away from the State when facing budget gaps.

If the federal government cuts funding for CA and/or changes work requirements, these changes may create ripple effects based on how CA fits together with other safety net programs. For example, the City also [uses CA to pay for homeless shelters](#) for households with children and [one-time emergency homelessness prevention payments](#) for households that owe rent and are facing eviction. Changes to CA may therefore not only impact which households receive the benefit, but also how the City pays for family shelter and homelessness prevention and response.

Homelessness Prevention and Response

In addition to payments for shelter and eviction prevention discussed above, the City may also face challenges related to its support system for individuals experiencing street homelessness. In July 2025, the White House issued an [executive order](#) targeting cities that employ the types of [evidence-based best practices the City uses](#) to support unhoused individuals transitioning into permanent housing, including harm-reduction and housing first approaches. This could impact shelters specifically designed for individuals experiencing street homelessness, [Safe Havens](#), as well as [supportive housing](#) and other services. The White House instead proposed increasing arrests and involuntary commitments. In January 2025, the most recent point-in-time count, there were an estimated [4,500 single adults](#) experiencing unsheltered street homelessness and over [22,400 single adults in City shelters](#).

Energy Assistance—see [IBO's Testimony](#) for more details

IBO estimated in November 2024 that 1.3 million households were eligible for the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance (LIHEAP) program. The base benefit for households whose primary heat is electricity or natural gas is typically \$400 per year, with additional benefits ranging from \$21 to \$900 depending on household size. This program has faced cuts in both staffing and funding. First, HHS fired the entire staff in April, and then in June temporarily rehired one longtime employee for two-and-a-half weeks to distribute the

entire program nationwide (more than \$400 million). While federal fiscal year 2025 was funded, President Trump’s budget proposed eliminating funding in 2026. In July 2025, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved a budget that kept LIHEAP, but this is now pending in the House. Even if the final budget funds LIHEAP, staff will still be needed to disburse it.

Households may also lose this benefit if they lose access to other social service programs facing cuts. LIHEAP is based on income, but New York State considers households [“automatically” eligible if a household receives TANF, SNAP, or Social Security Insurance](#), so cuts to these other programs or eligibility changes may also impact who receives this benefit.

LIHEAP is also impacted by the current federal government shutdown. Applications for heating assistance this winter were set to open on November 3, 2025, but the State [announced](#) in late October that applications were delayed “until further notice” because of the shutdown. Almost one million households in New York City received LIHEAP last winter.

Conclusion

The federal government is deploying multiple concurrent actions—staffing reductions, claw back of appropriated funds, policy changes, executive orders, public and social media statements, legislative actions, and shutdown maneuvers—that affect delivery of services and supports for vulnerable households. Beyond direct reductions to federal supports, City and State policymakers and budgets will face increased strain as they consider how to respond to other cuts.

With the federal budget still outstanding, all of these areas remain subject to further change and disruption. As with numerous other areas of [federal changes, local impacts](#), IBO has presented the scale and nature of federal policy and funding for lower-income households, so that the public better understands the potential changes occurring. Furthermore, changes to eligibility requirements or funding in one area will have compounding effects on access to other benefits due to the way they were initially structured: to bring relief in multiple dimensions for lower-income households. For decades, New York City has been committed to supporting all echelons of society. The complex actions outlined in this report present intense fiscal and policy challenges to continuing this social compact.

Endnotes

- 1 The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that average annual expenditures of households in the New York metropolitan area for [2022-2023](#) was \$90,291, and 6.1% (\$5,508) of annual expenditures was on healthcare. A similar analysis for [2020-21](#) shows that annual spending per household was \$77,204, 6.3% (\$4,864) of which was on healthcare.
- 2 Collins, Sara R., Shreya Roy, and Relebohile Masitha, [Paying for It: How Health Care Costs and Medical Debt Are Making Americans Sicker and Poorer — Findings from the Commonwealth Fund 2023 Health Care Affordability Survey](#) (2023, October). The Commonwealth Fund.
- 3 This comes from testimony provided by the Adams Administration at a City Council hearing on federal cuts on September 15, 2025. See here: [The New York City Council - File #: T2025-3964](#).
- 4 The Thrifty Food Plan is how the USDA determines how much SNAP recipients get each month. It is already low: in 2021, the Plan was updated for the first time since 1975, increasing benefits by 21%. CBPP [estimates](#) that in 2024 SNAP households receiving the max benefit still could not afford “a modestly priced meal in 99 percent of counties.” The Plan was supposed to be updated again in 2027, but it can now only be updated based on general inflation because of the OBBA (which requires it to be “cost neutral”), even if inflation for groceries is greater. This requirement also means there will be no future consideration for the cost for a “healthy diet” at all.
- 5 [Harsher SNAP paperwork requirements](#) go into effect for families with children ages 14 and above, older Americans (ages 55 to 64), former foster youth, veterans, and homeless people. Alaska and Hawaii will have additional flexibility that enables them to request work requirement exemptions until December 31, 2028. States will likely not implement this provision until they receive guidance from the USDA’s Food and Nutrition Service. See: Kennedy, Andara, Corey Husak and Sarah Partridge, et al. (2025, October). [“The Implementation Timeline of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act.”](#) Center for American Progress.
- 6 This comes from testimony provided by the Adams Administration at a City Council hearing on federal cuts on September 15, 2025. See here: [The New York City Council - File #: T2025-3964](#).
- 7 Butcher, Kristin F. and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, (2018, July). [Most Workers in Low-Wage Labor Market Work Substantial Hours in Volatile Jobs](#). Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Wething, Hilary. (2025, January). [Work Requirements for Safety Net Programs Like SNAP and Medicaid: A Punitive Solution That Solves No Real Problem](#). Economic Policy Institute. Bauer, Lauren and, & Chloe N. East (2025, April). 7). [A primer on SNAP work requirements](#). The Hamilton Project, Brookings Institution.
- 8 In City fiscal year 2023, when the City was getting through a backlog of applications related to pandemic-era changes, the City processed just 40% of SNAP applications on time (including just 12% on time in September). In City fiscal year 2025, the City processed 88% of SNAP applications on time.
- 9 IBO analysis of Department of Social Services data.
- 10 Cuts from federal sources include FEMA and the USDA. At the USDA, the Local Food Purchase Assistance Cooperative Agreement Program (LFPA) and the Local Food for Schools and Child Care program (LFSCC) through USDA have both been fully eliminated. LFSCC provided funding for schools and childcare centers to buy local food, and LFPA was for state and tribal governments to buy food to support local producers and also strengthen the local supply chain. At FEMA, the Emergency Food and Shelter Program has been suspended and the Shelter Services Program has been eliminated.
- 11 Data on applications through the Asylum Application Help Center was provided directly to IBO by the Office of Asylum Seeker Operations.
- 12 Non-qualified immigrants with legal status include those with Temporary Protected Status, student visas, U-visas for crime victims, and individuals waiting on asylum determinations.
- 13 Research across decades indicates that migration is driven by a multitude of factors, but the potential for the receipt of public benefits is not a significant driver. Moreover, immigrant participation in the social safety net and usage of public benefits is much lower than individuals born in the U.S. See here: Tienda, Marta, & Leif Jensen (1986). [Immigration and Public Assistance Participation: Dispelling the Myth of Dependency](#). Social Science Research, 15(4), 372–400. Haley, Jennifer M., Genevieve M. Kenney, Hamutal Bernstein, and Dulce Gonzalez (2021, May). [Many Immigrant Families with Children Continued to Avoid Public Benefits in 2020, Despite Facing Hardships](#). Urban Institute. Jackson, Margot I. and Ester Fanelli (2023, March). [Who Uses the Social Safety Net? Trends in Public Benefit Use among American Households with Children](#), 1980–2020. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 706(1), 16–36. Bitler, Marianne and Hilary W. Hoynes (2011, November). [Immigrants, Welfare Reform, and the U.S. Safety Net](#). National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 17667.
- 14 [DOJ](#): changed interpretation for exceptions for “life or safety” in operation since 2001. [HHS](#): rescinded 1998 policy that allowed many programs to operate without restrictions and re-classified programs to be only for the “qualified” group under PRWORA, including Head Start, Community Services Block Grant, Health Workforce Programs, etc. [USDA](#): school breakfast and lunch programs are unrestricted, but states can now limit WIC (though only Idaho has done so as of July 2025). [DOL](#): re-classified several workforce development and training programs to be subject to PRWORA restrictions. [DOE](#): revoked policy in place since 1997 to allow career, technical, and adult education to operate without immigration restrictions, so now they must follow PRWORA’s limitations on qualified immigrants. This is limited to adults because of a 1982 Supreme Court case that prevents states from denying K-12 education to undocumented children (Plyler v. Doe).
- 15 The Asylum Seeker Advocacy Project (ASAP). (2025, October 6). Temporary protected status (TPS) updates. <https://asaptogether.org/en/temporary-protected-status/>
- 16 See also: Montoya-Galvez, Camilo., & Nidia Cavazos. (2025, May 23). [ICE ending migrants’ court cases in order to arrest and move to deport them](#). CBS News. Hughes, Trevor. (2025, May 23). [ICE agents deploy new tactic: Arresting people as they leave mandatory court hearings](#). USA Today.

- 17 Zou, Jie Jenny (2025, September 3). [New York immigrants weigh health and hunger against deportation risk](#). New York Focus.; Sundaram, Arya (2025, August 27). [In NYC, calls to stay in school amid Trump's crackdown on undocumented families](#). Gothamist.; Parra, Daniel (2025, August 25). ['Really extreme fear': Advocates see uptick in young migrants afraid to go to court](#). City Limits.; New York Legal Assistance Group. (2025, September 5). [Law 360: Judges warn ICE is turning courts into deportation traps](#). Helfand, Zach (2025, July 21). [ICE agents invade a Manhattan Little League field](#). The New Yorker.; Sundaram, Arya (2025, September 16). [Fearful NY migrants are skipping doctors' visits and food help, advocates say](#). Gothamist. Sundaram, Arya (2025, September 24). ['We don't have peace': How undocumented New Yorkers' lives have changed](#). Gothamist.
- 18 IBO analysis of data provided by the NYC Human Resources Administration. From June 2019 through June 2025, the number of households receiving Family Assistance grew from approximately 47,700 to 64,100 and the number of children receiving some form of Cash Assistance grew from approximately 148,200 to 219,000. See also [HRA Program Facts and Reports](#).
- 19 IBO analysis of Quarterly Census Employment & Wages (QCEW) collected by the New York State Department of Labor.

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