

ANALYZING ETANF IN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES:

2012 TO 2017

December 2018

Authors: Fatima Bunafoor (project manager), Varun Joshi, Andrew Olson,
Sarah Pesi, Travis Stahl, Erin Welch, and Jessica Young

Client: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services

Advisor: Dr. Silvia Borzutzky

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	2
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3
The History of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF).....	3
Alternatives to TANF: Diversion Programs.....	7
Federal Evaluations of the State TANF Administration.....	11
TANF Work Requirements and Sanctions.....	13
Employment and Training.....	15
TANF State-level Education Programs.....	20
TANF State-level Supportive Services.....	25
TANF State-level Childcare Programs.....	28
Minimum Wage Legislation and the TANF Program.....	30
Barriers in Accessing TANF.....	32
DATA ANALYSIS.....	33
State of Pennsylvania.....	33
Geographic Information System Mapping.....	44
Allegheny County.....	53
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	58
CONCLUSION.....	63

Introduction

This report analyzes Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program elements and economic factors which impact Extended TANF (ETANF) recipients in Pennsylvania. The purpose of this report is to:

- (1) Explore the TANF program elements that support recipients.
- (2) Identify the economic indicators which impact county-level ETANF recipients.
- (3) Identify the barriers ETANF recipients face over the long-term.
- (4) Provide recommendations to better serve ETANF recipients in Pennsylvania.

The first section of this report provides a literature review. In this section, we first explore the history of TANF in the United States before discussing its implementation across the country through an exploration of diversion programs, federal evaluation programs, and TANF work requirements. We next explore particular program elements in Pennsylvania and provide comparisons to other states. We close the literature review with discussions of minimum wage legislation and barriers to accessing TANF.

The second section of this report contains the data analysis. We analyze economic indicators across 31 counties in Pennsylvania and identify how such economic indicators correlate with ETANF population levels. We then provide a closer analysis of Allegheny County, assessing the social service needs of its ETANF population. We close with a geospatial exploration of Pennsylvania's County Assistance Offices.

Our research and data analysis suggest that TANF can be challenging to enter and exit. Potential barriers to entry span inadequate outreach and awareness, stigma around receiving welfare, inadequate supportive services to fulfill work requirements, and lack of proximity to County Assistance Offices. Barriers to leaving TANF include lack of education and living wages needed to exceed the poverty threshold. For the ETANF population in particular, homelessness, substance use, and mental health issues are ongoing challenges.

Literature Review

The History of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)

Welfare and cash assistance legislation has varied dramatically over time, and as a result, Welfare's legislative history provides important insight into TANF's current structure and provisions. This section of the paper provides a brief history of Welfare Policies in the United States.

Welfare Assistance before TANF

Welfare's history in the United States began in the Progressive Era of the early 1900s. States provided and funded pensions to mothers in fatherless families. In 1935, the federal government began funding this program through the Social Security Act. The program was first named Aid to Dependent Children, and later renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).¹

Mothers qualified for benefits under the Aid to Dependent Children Program through a deprivation factor which included loss, incapacity, or prolonged absence of a parent. Only single parents or families without two able-bodied parents qualified for aid.²

The program explicitly sought to protect women from working, and to keep them in their homes tending to childrearing. However, as social norms changed, this provision began to spark debate around whether single mothers should work or not. Some argued that encouraging mothers to remain at home was a disincentive to work. This argument was largely centered on low-income women and women of color, who often already worked outside the home. Legislation only changed when increasing numbers of white and middle-class women began working in the mid-20th century. The Social Security Amendments added a self-sufficiency provision in 1957. In 1961, families with two, able-bodied parents became eligible for assistance.³

The program was renamed AFDC in 1962. That year, the Public Welfare Amendment established community work programs to provide opportunities for employable workers. These programs largely targeted men. Work incentives were further developed in the 1967 Social

Security Amendments. The amendments included financial incentives for adults to work, requirements for mothers to work, and an earned income disregard.⁴

In 1969, some legislators sought to eliminate AFDC and replace it with a negative income tax which would guarantee a minimum income for all Americans. As income increased, the negative income tax would decrease. There was also debate around guaranteeing Americans jobs, but not an income. President Nixon ultimately proposed the Family Assistance Program, a negative income tax program which would be federally funded, with options for states to provide supplemental funding. The program passed the Senate twice but was never enacted. President Carter continued to push for a negative income tax but had even less success.⁵

Discussion, debate, and concern about welfare dependency increased in the 1980s. The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 limited the earned income disregard established in 1967 which made many former recipients ineligible for AFDC. The bill also gave states authority to allow participants to engage in unpaid work, classified as community service or work experience. In 1982, President Reagan proposed eliminating cash assistance. In the 1980s, pilot programs were launched to experiment with welfare-to-work programming. States then began to experiment with policy through federal waivers.⁶

The Family Support Act of 1988 created the JOBS program which required that states aid two-parent households and established transitional Medicaid and childcare benefits. Childcare benefits were further expanded in the 1990s in three key ways: (1) a new childcare block grant was created, (2) funds for childcare were provided to people at risk of needing AFDC, and (3) the Earned Income Tax Credit was majorly expanded.⁷

Legislative Landscape during the Passage of TANF

TANF was passed under President Clinton who during his 1992 campaign promised to “end welfare as we know it.”⁸ Welfare reform proposals were underway by 1994, and 43 states held waivers which allowed them to experiment with cash assistance.⁹ State-level variation resulted in the creation of the Welfare Rules Database, leveraged later in this report.¹⁰ The Welfare Rules

Database is the most comprehensive database that depicts longitudinal policy variation by state during and after TANF's passage.¹¹

Partisan debate around welfare reform was rampant. Both the House and Senate Finance Committees proposed their own plans. The House's Bill, H.R. 4, passed along partisan lines. Three primary provisions differentiated the House from the Senate bill. The House bill did not have a separate employment and training program, it included a family size limit, and it prohibited unwed minors from receiving benefits. The two chambers eventually compromised. However, President Clinton vetoed the compromise bill, arguing its cuts to Medicaid and child nutrition programs would adversely affect families.¹² He vetoed the bill a second time, arguing:

The final welfare reform legislation should provide sufficient childcare to enable recipients to leave welfare to work; reward States for placing people in jobs; restore the guarantee of health coverage for poor families; require States to maintain their stake in moving people from welfare to work; and protect States and families in the event of economic downturn and population growth.¹³

Welfare reform was finally enacted through the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PWORA) of 1996.

Key Provisions of PWORA

Under PWORA, welfare was funded through the TANF block grant. This legislation established four main goals:

1. Provide assistance to needy families so that children can be cared for in their own homes or homes of relatives.
2. End dependence of needy parents on government benefits.
3. Reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies.
4. Promote the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.¹⁴

Block grant funds were based on the federal expenditure of the early 1990s. Other types of grants were also put into place. Supplemental grants responded to high population growth and low spending per poor person. Bonus grants were provided to states that successfully reduced out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Contingency funds targeted economic hardship. States were required to provide Maintenance of Effort (MOE) funding which is required to spend at least 75% of FY1994 levels on TANF goals.¹⁵

TANF established a 60-month lifetime time limit for beneficiaries. Hardships could exempt individuals from the time limit, but exemptions were limited to no more than 20% of a state's caseload. States determined eligibility, work requirements (with limitations on counting education), and sanctions for not meeting work requirements.¹⁶

Legislative Updates since PWORA

Important, temporary changes to TANF since its birth include the following:

- A Welfare to Work Program was established and lasted from 1997-2004.
- States were permitted to draw on temporary funding for victims of Hurricane Katrina.
- The 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act included an Emergency Contingency fund which reimbursed states and tribes 80% of their increased expenditures on cash assistance due to the economic recession.¹⁷

TANF has also had permanent updates. These updates include the following:

- No more than 10% of TANF funds can be transferred to the Social Services Block Grant.
- \$75 million dollars each is allocated to fund healthy marriages and responsible fatherhood.
- No electronic withdrawals of TANF funds is permitted in in casinos, strip clubs, and liquor stores.
- States must follow data reporting standards.
- 0.33% of the TANF Block Grant was allocated for TANF-related research.

- An Act in 2017 mandated the development of a database named “What Works Clearinghouse of Proven and Promising Projects to Move Welfare Recipients into Work.”¹⁸

Alternatives to TANF: Diversion Programs

PRWORA sought to encourage welfare recipients to find employment and to incentivize states to emphasize work-related programs. Within six years, states were forced to meet federally mandated work-readiness program rates or face financial penalty. Additionally, 60-month benefit limits were newly implemented. Thus, diversion programs were created to ensure alternatives to the 60-month benefit in the case of crisis or unforeseen circumstances.¹⁹

TANF Diversion Programs

Diversion programs are state-implemented initiatives aimed at minimizing long-term reliance on TANF as well as reducing TANF caseloads. The three types of diversion strategies include lump-sum payment programs, work requirements, and temporary support programs. Presently, 35 states have adapted the lump-sum payment program, 39 states have applicant work requirement, and nine states have temporary support programs. All but three states have adapted some sort of diversion strategy.²⁰

Lump-Sum Payment Programs

TANF-eligible applicants who already have a job or who have a secured prospect of a job may be eligible for Lump-Sum Payment Programs. Although the payment amount can vary, the typical lump-sum payment amount is three times the amount of TANF cash assistance. Although the goal of the diversion program is to assist individuals who need short-term assistance, states often allow families to receive normal TANF benefits after having participated in the program. However, a period of ineligibility, usually commensurate with payment amount, follows this program. A study by Mathematica concluded three major findings regarding the Lump-Sum Payment Program:

- 1) Lump-Sum Payment Program is typically available to only a small subset of applicants due to program requirements.

Due to the small nature of the target population, the lump-sum payment program does not have a far reach. In 2005, an estimated 2.5% of applicants received these payments.²¹ Activity with this program has proven to vary greatly by state. For example, Connecticut has roughly 10 diversion participants out of 2,600 TANF cases in an average month. Conversely, states like North Carolina and Maine have far higher participation rates. Maine attributes the activity to relaxing restrictions and to community outreach groups that encourage participation. For its part, Pennsylvania no longer requires active employment or a job offer, as it hopes to increase use of diversion programs.²²

2) Caseworkers' discretion on screening and availability of the program has sizeable impact on the number of applicants who choose to accept the lump sum.

Caseworkers have a significant impact on lump-sum payment programs. In many cases, caseworkers are expected to make judgement decisions on who is eligible despite not having definitive terms of eligibility. Furthermore, the way a caseworker portrays the program to the application can impact decision-making. To combat such inconsistency, Connecticut sets both TANF and lump-sum options side by side for eligible applicants to choose between.²³

3) Minimal resources are devoted by states to track lump-sum program recipients.²⁴

By keeping a record of how many diversion participants go on to return to TANF, North Carolina is one of few states that has a measure in place to collect this data. Without this information, states do not have enough evidence to know if the lump-sum payment program is serving its purpose of diverting would-be TANF recipients.²⁵

Applicant Work Requirements

The purpose of the work application requirement is to encourage a work-first approach to TANF recipients. However, the program also effectively diverts applicants away from TANF who fail to meet mandatory requirements. Of the 20 states that require a mandatory job search, 15

provide some sort of support such as childcare or transportation assistance. Although noncompliance of the mandatory job search or other work-related activity results in a denial of the TANF application, applicants can receive benefits in the future, upon meeting the requirements.²⁶ Key findings regarding applicant work requirements include:

1) Mandating applicant work requirements emphasizes TANF's work-first approach and can accelerate applicants' process of finding employment.

Two of the mandating requirements – orientation and employment plan development – typically do not require intensive effort, and therefore, do not seem to deter applicant from applying for benefits or encourage applicants to find work. However, the applicant work requirement sets a precedence of the importance, and activities such as job search and job readiness programs have a stronger influence on diversion. Recently, some states have implemented policies that allow applicants who find work to remain on certain TANF earned income or TANF transitional programs.²⁷

2) There is minimal information regarding applicants denied for not fulfilling the applicant's work requirements. As a result, it is unclear if applicants are being denied who have a true need for the program, if applicants are being redirected towards an alternative option, or applicants have found proper employment.

Denying TANF eligibility is routine and can be the result of many factors. Connecticut, for example, claims to deny roughly half of their applicants each year. Reasons for denial can include noncompliance or barriers such as unidentified disability or logistical issues. However, few states track information regarding the denial. To gain clarity on denial—Connecticut, North Carolina, and Montana—provide caseworkers the option of “failure to complete applicant work related requirements.” Alaska is the only state that tracks whether someone found work within 60 days of submitting an application.²⁸

Temporary Support Programs

Temporary support programs aim to support families for up to four months while they deal with a crisis or, if they are work-ready, find employment. Temporary support programs are considered “non-assistance” programs due to their short time frame. After researching the variety of temporary support programs, Mathematica identified two types of support: (1) Programs that promote employment as the primary support for the family, and (2) Programs that mitigate a family crisis. Mathematica reported two preliminary findings regarding the newly adopted support programs:

1) Proportions of hard-to-employ TANF applicants may rise if ready-to-work individuals are diverted away at the onset of applying.

Due to predetermined federal TANF target populations, diverting certain populations may create difficulty in reaching participation rate. For example, Pennsylvania targets ready-to-work applicants for temporary support programs. As ready-to-work individuals move to temporary support instead of regular TANF, the proportion of difficult-to-employ participants grows. Conversely, Delaware and New Hampshire target difficult-to-employ participants and therefore have a greater proportion of ready-to-work individuals to help them meet federal participation mandates.²⁹

2) Applicants who find work, which is not funded by TANF or state MOE, may be diverted permanently.³⁰

Following the temporary support program, individuals are diverted or transitioned to TANF caseloads. Pennsylvania and Minnesota utilize employment-based diversion programs, which seek to find employment for the participant before the support program’s end. Other means of diversion programs include Supplemental Security Income or Social Security Disability Insurance. States may also divert noncompliant applicants.³¹

Federal Evaluations of State TANF Administration

The following section reviews federal evaluations of state TANF administration conducted by the United States Department of Health & Human Services' Office of Planning, Research & Evaluation.

The Federal Government has faced ongoing challenge in developing uniform performance outcomes. Strong performance outcomes could promote positive employment outcomes for TANF recipients. However, creating nationwide benchmarks has been nearly impossible because of the vast variation in TANF administration across states. Any differences in measurements may be due to differences in program structure rather than true differences between recipients. Economic differences between states further exacerbate this problem.³²

While there has been little success at the federal level, many states have developed their own performance outcomes. As expected, the diversity of state TANF programs has also led to a rise in the diversity of their performance measurement systems. Some examples include the following:

- California provides counties with incentive payments based on the employment rates of TANF recipients and individuals who have recently left the program to encourage county-level investment in work activities.³³
- Colorado provides counties with monthly employment entry measures among eligible recipients to improve program administration, but they are not tied to any positive or negative financial consequences.³⁴
- Minnesota created a Self-Support Index for program improvement purposes that analyzes each county's past three years of TANF recipients to understand how many are no longer receiving cash assistance and how many are still receiving TANF benefits and are currently employed.³⁵ This index measures actual performance against a benchmark range calculated for each county through regression modelling that accounts for economic and demographic differences.³⁶
- Washington creates a monthly Performance Chartbook which tracks numerous performance measures requested by the state's legislature, including employment

outcomes related to the reason for exiting TANF, employment after exit, and income after exit.³⁷

Most states have seen declining numbers of TANF and ETANF recipients since the program was founded.³⁸ While it may be tempting to attribute this drop to more people being employed and lifted out of poverty, evidence suggests that this may not be the case. This decline in caseloads has persisted regardless of changes in overall poverty. Budget cuts to the program and increasing restrictions, including more stringent work requirements in several states, are major factors in the decline. Research suggests there are several other contributing factors directly related to these assistance programs. One such factor is the level of assistance families receive. A study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that while benefit levels have increased since the program was created in 1996, it has not been enough to keep up with inflation. Adjusted for inflation, benefit levels have dropped by 20 percent or more in more than 30 states (including Pennsylvania) since the program was created.³⁹ In addition, benefit levels are not enough to cover a family's housing costs. In 2010, the monthly TANF benefit was less than half the HUD Fair Market Rent amount in 24 states. In Pennsylvania, it was about half.⁴⁰

Aside from increasing benefits, one tempting method employed by some states to lift people out of poverty is by increasing minimum wage, though that solution has mixed results. Single mothers are disproportionately represented in TANF programs across the country. A report by the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) found that minimum wage increases have mixed results on lifting single mothers out of poverty, particularly when combined with increasingly stringent work requirements for public assistance eligibility. While the increased pay can be enough to lift some into self-sustainability, the EPI's findings found that higher minimum wages tended to increase the length of time single mothers received welfare, in part because it lowers the demand for low-skilled labor.⁴¹ Most analysts realize that many mothers on welfare work and as a result other methods of raising mothers' incomes above the poverty line need to be found. Those methods could include lowering TANF benefit reduction rates or raising the earnings disregard of the TANF program.⁴² Additionally, many mothers who were formerly on welfare return to public assistance because of other factors such as unstable employment, unstable child-care, and inadequate health insurance.⁴³

TANF Work Requirements and Sanctions

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) altered the welfare system in many ways. First, it personified a systematic policy shift from income maintenance to work support. As described above, TANF's structure entailed a strong emphasis on work as a prerequisite for receiving cash benefits.⁴⁴ Second, states have been required to incorporate at least half of their total TANF families with one work-eligible member to participate in work-related activities for a minimum hourly amount each month- as set by federal adjustments- to ensure that their block grant is not slashed.⁴⁵ For two-parent TANF families with two work-eligible adults, states must ensure that 90% are involved in aforementioned activities.⁴⁶

PRWORA distinguished between "Core Activities" and "Noncore Activities".⁴⁷ Core Activities include possessing unsubsidized employment, possessing subsidized private/public sector employment, gaining work experience, receiving on-the-job training, receiving job readiness assistance, participating in community service, participating in vocational education, and/or providing child-care services.⁴⁸ Activities differentiated as being "Noncore" comprise any vocational or educational training directly related to employment, in addition to proper participation within a course or program of study.⁴⁹

A single-parent family on TANF must devote a minimum of 30 hours per week to any of these stipulated activities, with twenty out of the thirty hours being focused on Core Activities. For a two-parent family, the work requirement rises to anywhere between 35-55 hours per week (depending on the state), where at least 30 (or correspondingly 50) of the required hours must be utilized toward Core Activities. TANF recipients are regarded as "working" by engaging with these activities for the mandated number of hours.

State sanctions for recipients who fail to meet requirements vary in severity. While PRWORA mandates all states to penalize welfare recipients who fail to participate in their work requirements program, the states have relative autonomy in determining the extent of these sanctions on a case-by-case basis.⁵⁰ Thus, TANF recipients who do not meet their requirements

may face benefit reductions, or have their case closed based on the extent of their noncompliance.

Changes in TANF Work Requirements: 1996 – Present

As mentioned above, families suffering severe hardships or crises can receive benefit extensions beyond the sixty-month maximum.⁵¹ However, states stop receiving federal funds if their extended-TANF recipients exceed 20% of their entire TANF population.

The Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (DRA), passed during the Bush Administration, reauthorized TANF and increased PRWORA's mandated work-activity participation rates for families within each state.⁵² Prior to the passage of the DRA, states had relative latitude in defining recipients' work activities and in naming exemptions for physical illness, mental illness, and rehabilitation. In particular, states could classify mental rehabilitation services as being a work-related activity, given that it better equipped recipients to secure present and future employment.⁵³ Following the passage of the DRA, all definitions of work-related activities became standardized across the states, and altered what states are federally allowed to deem as countable.⁵⁴

States were further limited on granting work participation hours to recipients addressing crises.⁵⁵ For example, the DRA restricted the acceptable circumstances in which a state may classify mental health services as being a job-readiness pursuit. Other measures introduced by the DRA included a new requirement that all on-the-job training activities must be monitored by state agents, a system for federal verification of recipients' reported work activity hours, and a one-year lifetime limit on any vocational education counting as a work activity.⁵⁶

Variations in TANF Sanctions among States

As mentioned, the DRA standardized the definitions and fulfillments of work-related activities for TANF recipients within each state. However, states still possess relative latitude with respect to setting sanctions for families who fail to meet their work requirements. After the passage of the DRA, fourteen states practice a partial lessening, but never termination, of TANF for sanctioned recipients.⁵⁷ Twenty-two states practice a partial lessening that is followed by termination if violations still occur, and twenty-one states terminate a family's benefits at the

first occurrence of violation. Out of the latter twenty-one states, seven states ban families from receiving assistance for life during exceptional cases of repeated violations. Research suggests that relative harshness or generosity in the application of sanctions can be linked to factors such as median income, geographical location, and racial demography.⁵⁸

Employment and Training

Employment and Training in the United States

The earliest iteration of workforce development in the United States was President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. In the decades since, the country has developed several federal policies and programs to fund training and employment programs at the state level. The Workforce Investment Act (WIA) of 1998 and the 2014 Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) are among the most prominent recent programs.⁵⁹

Since the 2008 financial crisis, the United States has increasingly struggled to meet the needs of the country's poorest families. This caused the Obama administration to increase investment in emergency programs.⁶⁰ The 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act created the TANF Emergency fund that provided subsidized jobs for adults and support for children.⁶¹ The program created more than 250,000 jobs and alleviated pressure on cash assistance programs. The fund's impact highlights the potential of large-scale cross-sector collaborations that can boost the economy and promote jobs and wealth.⁶²

Workforce Development in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania tracks, develops and promotes its workforce through the Department of Labor and Industry. The department measures trends in different industries, provides data on patterns, and promotes the well-being of the workforce by enabling employers and employees to access funding, programs and information. The department operates in alignment with the Commonwealth Workforce Development System directing consumers to the CareerLink job search portals and helping them navigate the job search process.⁶³

Securing employment for low-income individuals and welfare recipients is a long-term national and state challenge. Pennsylvania developed several programs to address such workforce problems. The 1998 WIA centralized employment services in one-stop centers and prioritized opportunities for low-income people that aimed to improve access for job seekers.⁶⁴ The impact of WIA centers led some states, including Pennsylvania, to require TANF to collaborate with the centers.

In 2014, President Obama replaced the WIA with the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) that reimagined workforce investment and focused on local-led initiatives.⁶⁵ The WIOA divided states into Local Workforce Development Areas and Boards to facilitate job attainment and gave these offices supervision of the one-stop CareerLink centers.⁶⁶ Pennsylvania further passed an “Employment First” policy in 2016 that targets improving access to jobs for people with disabilities.⁶⁷

Current Workforce Development Initiatives in Pennsylvania

CareerLink & Pathways PA

There are several ways of entering the labor market for TANF recipients in Pennsylvania. CareerLink is the primary gateway for navigating the job search that TANF recipients need to follow in order to fulfill their work requirements. CareerLink provides access to services to facilitate job search processes through the Commonwealth Workforce Development System (CWDS).⁶⁸ CWDS supports users through application preparation, job search and application assistance, job fairs, career planning, and more. PathWays PA is another program that seeks to foster self-sufficiency and workforce development in Pennsylvania. It targets vulnerable women and children supporting more than 4,500 individuals each year.⁶⁹

From these programs, Pennsylvania invests in creating access to the job market and supporting its workforce in finding employment. However, the state struggles to match its vulnerable families and TANF recipients with sustainable income opportunities. Most TANF employers are service providers, located in cities, and offer jobs with irregular hours and low pay. TANF recipients also struggle to find long-term profitable employment since employers practice ‘creaming’, or working with the ‘easiest’ and most skilled of the population in need. The driving

force is a concern with high turnover and costs. Creaming is furthered by federal rules that prevent states from focusing on longer-term workforce development activities.⁷⁰

EARN & the Work Participation Rate (WPR)

Pennsylvania relies on both TANF and ETANF to help low-income families successfully transition into the workforce. The state employs Work Ready (WR) programs to promote job security for different counties and major cities.⁷¹ The WR models vary slightly, though they primarily focus on building local partnerships, developing job skills, and transitioning out of TANF. Once individuals gain employment and transition off TANF, they may participate in the Employment, Advancement and Retention Network (EARN). As a post-welfare transitional program, EARN brings together the different workforce development efforts in each area discussed above with the support of County Assistance Offices (CAOs).⁷²

When it comes to TANF funding, the Work Participation Rate (WPR) plays a role in measuring participation in TANF activities.⁷³ The work-first model is a big challenge to maintaining federal funding. It leads states to consider reducing caseloads or increasing the eligibility for extensions, so the state can strategically fund initiatives through the state budget. Vocational training and education are necessary for reducing unemployment rates.⁷⁴

Pennsylvania's KEYS Program

For each state, the TANF law mandates that at least 50% of families receiving cash assistance participate in approved work activities for a minimum of 30 hours per week and 90% of two-parent families complete work activities for 35 hours per week. No more than 30% of this group may engage in vocational education.⁷⁵ These stipulations can hurt long-term job prospects for recipients, as many TANF recipients lack necessary skills or education required to advance in the workforce. Pennsylvania is creatively navigating this barrier by counting practicums, counting internships and allowing for extensions. The biggest problems seen because of this approach is management costs, since KEYS staff spend a lot of time dealing with documentation. The KEYS program also struggles to increase participation because caseworkers often refer TANF recipients to the private sector rather than vocational and educational programs.⁷⁶

Recent Governor Wolf Investments

Pennsylvania lost 50% of employment and training funds in fiscal year 2012, and the Department of Welfare cut \$400 million of TANF funding. Recent efforts indicate the state is reinvesting in workforce development. Governor Wolf introduced PAsmart in early 2018. This program will operate similarly to the WIA and WIOA and invest in employment and training programming. PAsmart focuses on apprenticeships, industry partnerships, and linking educational institutions to employer needs by investing \$7 million, \$3 million, and \$5 million in each area, respectively.⁷⁷ In September 2018, Wolf committed \$17.5 million to teaching dislocated workers in-demand skills, childcare needs, and bridging the skill gap of workers that have to access in-demand jobs. This policy indicates that Governor Wolf is focused on promoting a holistic approach to workforce development and employment.⁷⁸

Alternative Approaches to Workforce Training

Building Local Partnerships

The WIOA of 2014 leverages the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services to provide TANF recipients with the necessary skills to access high-paying jobs and improve the workforce.⁷⁹ Pennsylvania already engages in these practices through KEYS, PathWays and programs mentioned above. The main concern for Pennsylvania is to reconsider time allocation and funding for vocational training and education, and to improve prospects in the public and government sectors.

Work-first Versus Training-first Programs

Pennsylvania needs to reconsider its welfare-to-work approach.⁸⁰ Earnings and employment of TANF recipients vary significantly between work-first and education-first programs. According to the Urban Institute, recipients who engage in the latter, or are provided with a mixed model have better job prospects after leaving TANF.⁸¹ Some states engage in job retention beyond traditional job placement. Such approaches help address the challenges of post-TANF distress. Some families become ineligible for other welfare assistance due to a slight increase in income, which destabilizes the welfare-to-work transition. Any program implemented during or after TANF needs supplements that help the new workers address distress factors that can influence the sustainability of this transition. For instance, job search, counseling, and referrals alone do

not promote employment retention.⁸² Much of the research regarding TANF's limitations in assisting recipients in securing employment focuses on developing recipients into high-skill workers to provide long-term workforce mobility.⁸³

Next, we discuss examples of states that employ strong supportive practices.

Arkansas' Career Pathways Initiative

Arkansas' career development programs for TANF-eligible individuals focuses on skills specific to regional industries. The Career Pathways Initiative (CPI) engages community colleges to promote training and education in careers that afford low-income residents workforce mobility while targeting higher than minimum wage job placements. The CPI model focuses on engaging existing systems rather than investing in new programs to capitalize on opportunities to support local agencies and institutions in reaching TANF recipients.⁸⁴ CPI further supports participants by providing counseling, tutoring, and financial assistance to TANF parents who are below 250% of the federal poverty level. Students and trainees in the program have outperformed their peers at the state and national levels. The wage gap between participants and non-TANF recipients also decreased.⁸⁵ Finally, CPI was an equalizer across racial groups with minorities obtaining certifications at higher rates than their counterparts do.⁸⁶

California's CalWORKS Program

CalWORKS offers vocational training for parents for up to 48 months. The program requires a mixture of core and non-core activities that vary by county.⁸⁷ CalWORKS employs a "job readiness" component that focuses on job search, interview skills, understanding work expectations, and developing strategies for self-sufficiency. This component varies by county.⁸⁸ The program also creatively employs a retention model. The Employment Retention Services rewards TANF recipients who remain in their jobs over time during their first year on the job.⁸⁹ California's model offers new ways of rethinking job training to focus on post-TANF and tangible skills that are sustainable.

TANF State-level Education Programs

This section addresses the impact of education program on TANF recipients and on the states that have implemented those programs.

The Importance of Education for TANF Recipients

Of those who receive public assistance, more than 66% are employed or are part of working families. However, these individuals largely receive the lowest wages within low-paying industries.⁹⁰ Without opportunities to further their education, many TANF recipients are thus trapped in jobs with low-paying wages which limit their ability to earn income exceeding the poverty threshold. Research from The Urban Institute shows that skills training and credentials are required for most good jobs, but almost half of parents of children TANF recipients do not have high school degrees.⁹¹ The likelihood that a single mother with children was able to work was historically lower than that of single women without children (due to obligations including childcare). That gap has closed since 2000. Today, the differentiating factor appears to be whether one has a high school diploma.⁹²

Barriers to Increasing Education Participation within TANF

Many states would like to increase opportunities for TANF recipients to participate in education and training programs as primary work activities, but they are largely restricted by federal TANF requirements. As described above, Federal TANF law limits the extent to which education and training activities apply to the required 50% workforce participation rate.⁹³ Only after 20 hours of “core” work activities are completed can recipients participate in non-core education activities (including “secondary education, General Educational Development (GED) participation, English as a Second Language (ESL), adult basic education, and education directly related to employment”). The only population exempt from this restriction, for whom education can count as a “core” requirement, is TANF recipients under age 20.⁹⁴

Further, for vocational and education participation to count toward a state’s workforce participation rate, two conditions apply:

1. Each participant can be involved in such program for a maximum of 12 months

2. No more than 30% of workforce participation hours can consist of vocational and education training and of teen parents attending high school or GED classes.⁹⁵

Pennsylvania TANF Policies Concerning Education

Pennsylvania's policies concerning education participation are largely dictated by the federal TANF policies above. In addition, the state has composed the following education policies, as listed in its Extended TANF (ETANF) Policy Manual, specifically for those participants enrolled in ETANF:

- “When individuals participating in an approved vocational educational program (including postsecondary education) reach 1,830 days on TANF, they may continue in that activity until the end of the semester or term.
- If the individual is expected to exhaust his or her voc-ed¹ 12-month lifetime limit during the current semester, however, the ETANF individual must participate in another 30-hour core activity once the voc-ed lifetime limit has been reached in order to receive SPALS² to continue the education activity.
- After the ETANF individual has concluded their current semester or term, they may continue to participate in the educational activity, but are required to comply with ETANF and RESET requirements by participating for at least 30 hours per week in another core activity.³
- Education activities are not supported in ETANF, unless the activity was approved prior to the individual reaching the 183- day mark. Therefore, individuals who are not already participating in an approved educational program before they reach 1830 days may not have an educational program activity approved.”⁹⁶

States have two primary options to permit education participation above the federal limit. First, if the state exceeds the 50% workforce participation requirement, it may count more education

¹ “Voc-ed” refers to vocational-education participation.

² “Special Allowances for Supportive Services”

³ Pennsylvania's Road to Economic Self-Sufficiency Through Employment and Training (RESET) Program offers case management, work-referrals, and special allowances for recipients to cover expenses related to transportation and approved work activities.

participation hours toward this requirement. Otherwise, it may use state funds to support education programs rather than federal funds. Pennsylvania currently falls short of the 50% workforce participation rate (reaching 25.7% in 2016).⁹⁷ In addition, Pennsylvania shows a declining trend in state Maintenance of Effort (MOE) spending on education and training programs.⁹⁸

Evidence of Success When Education Programs Receive Investment

Several states have seen significant successes in implementing state-driven and state-funded initiatives. Some of those cases are analyzed below.

Louisiana Success: Increased College Enrollment and Academic Performance

Louisiana used a portion of its state TANF funds to increase education affordability. The state awarded performance-based scholarships to low-income students, including TANF participants, who were enrolled in school. Research shows this initiative increased college enrollment, academic scores, and credit hours completed among scholarship recipients.⁹⁹

California Success: Increased Employment Rates

Research analyzing the impact over a span of nine years of California cash assistance programs found that “recipients participating in programs that emphasized education and training fared as well as or better than participants in programs that emphasized immediate employment.” Beyond this, “employment rates for recipients in work-first programs that focused solely on job search faded over time, while employment for participants in human capital development programs that focused on furthering skills and education increased.”¹⁰⁰

Missouri and North Carolina Success: Increased Earnings

To analyze the results of cash assistance programs in both Missouri and North Carolina, researchers focused on TANF recipients participating in both “work focused” job search programs and “post-secondary education or training programs” from 1997-1999. Findings showed those who participated in the education programs rather than the job search programs

fares better in the end. While they initially had lower earnings, their income eventually surpassed that of the “job-search” cohort.¹⁰¹

States Prioritizing Education: California and Utah

California Case Study

California TANF policies show a large focus on generously funding education, including a focus on increasing education outcomes for children, and support services and incentives. Prioritizing education amongst other services is reflected in the budget as California commits 20.8% of its TANF spending to work, education, and training activities. From 2016-2017 alone, the state used \$926 million of its TANF funding for Cal Grants, which provides financial aid for college students.¹⁰² Furthermore, Californians who benefit from these funds are overwhelmingly children. According to the Public Policy Institute of California, “81.4% of CalWORKS recipients are children” with the number totaling nearly 860,000 in 2017.¹⁰³ While the state’s work exemptions for children are quite standard across states (with work not required for those under 16 or for those under 19 who are full-time students), the California policy offers more latitude for adults than most states. Thus, for up to 24 of one’s 48 permitted months on CalWORKS, one can meet participation requirements without partaking in mostly core activities.¹⁰⁴ Finally, California offers additional benefits that set its program apart because the state offers childcare and transportation assistance for TANF recipients attending school or training, as well as a CalLearn Program for pregnant and parenting teens. To encourage this demographic group to return to or stay in school, participants earn bonuses for receiving good grades and for earning a high school diploma or equivalent.¹⁰⁵

Utah Case Study

Many states, including Utah, now incorporate education outcomes into their performance measures (see appendix A). Utah’s performance measurement system gauges recipient outcomes through employment, earnings, and educational attainment. The state aims to help recipients find unsubsidized employment, retain jobs, and increase wages. It accordingly deems education

outcomes as an essential component to achieve these ends. As a result, caseworker performance is evaluated based on a host of factors including education completion: “increased earnings (from entering employment, job retention, or increased wages), increased income (such as SSI or child support), high school/GED completion, successful completion of job club, and ‘positive’ enrollment closures.”¹⁰⁶

States Adopting Innovative Education Policies: Nebraska, Minnesota and Maine

Nebraska

Nebraska decided to shift adults participating in its TANF program, Aid to Dependent Children, and those enrolled in postsecondary education to an entirely state-funded program. In doing so, this group became free from federal TANF restrictions for work participation rates. Then, in 2009, the state passed L.B. 458, allowing Aid to Dependent Children beneficiaries to participate in vocational training as a “core” activity for up to 36 months, as opposed to the 12-month federal norm. Pointing to the success of this move, recent data show “96 Aid to Dependent Children recipients pursuing education as a work activity received a certificate or diploma, 159 individuals received an associate degree, and 35 individuals received a bachelor’s degree. Further, the average wage of those completing an associate degree was about \$9.60 per hour, a rate that would indicate they have moved off the Aid to Dependent Children program entirely.”¹⁰⁷

Minnesota

Minnesota has also increased access to education programs (including adult basic education, GED, ESL and postsecondary education) for beneficiaries of its cash assistance program. Those in the Minnesota Family Investment Program can participate in these education programs for an unlimited amount of time. The state considers these education activities to count as a way of fulfilling “work obligations” without needing to complete any other core work activities.¹⁰⁸

Maine

Maine increased access to postsecondary education opportunities by launching its Parents as Scholars program, which supports TANF participants pursuing a two- or four-year degree

program in fields with promise to increase financial security. Those who are not able to secure federal financial aid can earn up to \$3,500 per year from the program and are permitted to participate as full-time students for two years without completed other core activities. After this point, they must either add 15 hours per week of work or collectively spend 40 hours per week on “classes, study and work experience.”¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

While many states have made strides in improving education access and outcomes for TANF recipients, additional barriers remain. Future policies should not only build on the above, but also incorporate solutions to address the following concerns expressed by TANF recipients. Single mothers face particular barriers to pursuing education. Participating in an education program requires foregoing full-time work which would provide more income to support one’s family. As such, these women may need additional support beyond the childcare support some states currently offer. Other TANF recipients participating in education and vocational training have found that post-training, they are unable to find work in the field studied. Thus, education and training programs should be aligned with fields adequately demanded in local labor markets. In addition, participants completing a program, upon graduation, may still find they lack one year of relevant work experience often considered a requirement for entry-level positions. Finally, without innovative funding support initiatives (like state grant programs mentioned above), TANF recipients can become even more saddled in debt as a result of pursuing education.¹¹⁰ Strong education programs should both address these areas for improvement and leverage best practices adopted to date: namely to use state funds to finance education programs that more flexibly meet recipients’ needs, and to build education outcomes into the performance metrics upon which cash assistance programs evaluate their success.

TANF State-level Supportive Services

As with other benefits, support and transitional services vary dramatically across the country. Many states recognize the need for benefits that support individuals who are job-seeking, transitioning off cash assistance, or in maintaining a career. However, spending, allocation, and supports provided are disparate. Without such necessities as transportation or appropriate work wear, many steps required for self-sufficiency are out of the question. This section explores

Pennsylvania's support services before discussing services provided in Oregon and Maine, two states that think expansively about what is required to become self-sufficient.

Support Services in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania spends approximately \$7 million or 1% of its budget on work support and other supportive services, compared to an average 3% spent nationally.¹¹¹ Four key areas are targeted for support: cash assistance to support work activities, work wear, transitional assistance for those leaving TANF, and home nurse visits for expectant and new mothers. While the first three services target career development and holding a job, the fourth addresses TANF's goal of ensuring children can be provided for in their homes.

TANF recipients with earned income are eligible for a monthly reimbursement for work expenses of \$50 per month. This reimbursement can be used as recipients see fit.¹¹² Additional supportive services may be provided if they will enable an individual to maintain employment or participate in education or training per that individual's case plan. Various services may be provided, including mileage reimbursements, transportation reimbursement, vehicle repair, relocation support, and provision of tools, books, or equipment. The state partners with a company called Pennsylvania Workwear to provide needed work or interview clothing to TANF recipients, subsidizing up to \$150 per year. Work wear is not limited to business wear. Rather, it is flexible and dependent on the requirements of the individual's position.¹¹³

Pennsylvania offers supportive services beyond those intended to further employment and training goals. For example, first time mothers are eligible for home nurse visits. To qualify, new mothers must enter this program by 28 weeks gestation, and their income must not exceed 235% of the federal poverty level. This program provides prenatal care and support after birth.¹¹⁴ Finally, those transitioning off TANF are eligible to receive transitional cash assistance and childcare as their benefits decline.¹¹⁵

We outline below the Maine and the Oregon approaches to support services

Maine's "Parents as Scholars" Support Services

Maine’s “Parents as Scholars” program, discussed above, serves parents pursuing two- or four-year degree programs. The program’s goal is to break generational poverty by securing a stronger future for parent and child.¹¹⁶

Many inputs are required to successfully complete a degree. In addition to securing childcare while studying or in class, students must have adequate transportation, books, materials, and appropriate clothing. As a result, Parents as Scholars participants are eligible for assistance to provide for each of these areas. Clothing or school uniform reimbursement is provided up to \$300 per year (compared to \$150 annually in Pennsylvania).¹¹⁷ Insufficient attire is one barrier to continuously attending school and comfortably devoting oneself to one’s studies. Providing support for clothing while in school is therefore an important component in ensuring completion and success.

Oregon Support Services

Oregon’s goal is to provide support services that help families become self-sufficient. Policymakers understand the inputs required to find and maintain a job. Oregon’s services are accordingly provided while individuals are job-hunting, in addition to when they are already working. The state provides additional services intended to prevent individuals from falling into deeper poverty.

Oregon provides supplemental payments targeting specific needs related to an individual’s case plan. The case plans vary significantly, so needs targeted also vary. For example, the case plan can include everything from vocational training to job applications to addiction treatment. Necessary expenses associated with these areas include childcare and transportation, as usual. However, supplemental payments in Oregon go beyond the typical because the state recognizes that tools, clothing, or union dues could all be relevant needs to find or maintain a position.¹¹⁸ Like in Maine and Pennsylvania, books can be purchased for vocational training or education.¹¹⁹

The state’s view of what is necessary for success is expansive, because its supports are open-ended and specific to the case plan. Supplemental payments can be provided for housing and utility payments if an individual’s living situation is precarious or the individual is verging on

homelessness.¹²⁰ These payments are limited to two months and to a \$3,000 cap for each three-month period.¹²¹ In brief, by providing broad support services and offering supplemental cash assistance at higher levels, Oregon and Maine policies can more appropriately meet individual needs and respond to crises.

TANF State-level Childcare Programs

Access to adequate childcare is necessary to secure and maintain employment while protecting the wellbeing of the child and family. Childcare is one of four core welfare areas.¹²² Though all the states are providing childcare in some capacity, the disparate policies across the country mean data on access and provisions is limited. That said, childcare offerings are often insufficient to truly meet the needs of low-income job-seekers and job-holders. According to the Urban Institute, no more than half of eligible families receive childcare benefits nationally, and the true number is likely far lower.¹²³ This has important implications for TANF recipients: they are required to participate in work activities but cannot do that without appropriate childcare.

Childcare in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania spends \$568 million or 49% of its TANF budget on childcare. On average, states spend 17% of TANF budgets on childcare.¹²⁴ As a result, Pennsylvania is third in the country when measuring the proportion of its TANF budget spent on childcare.¹²⁵ Both current and former TANF recipients can qualify for assistance.¹²⁶

Non-working parents can qualify for childcare assistance, though childcare primarily targets working parents.¹²⁷ In most cases, childcare is not provided if a non-working parent lives in the home. If the parent participates in a pregnancy or parenting program, there is evidence of child abuse, the parent is physically or mentally incapable, or the parent operates a child-care business that provides the child's care, the parent may qualify for assistance. Children must be under age thirteen or between ages thirteen and nineteen, but unable to care for themselves.¹²⁸

Assistance is provided for any hours the parent participates in a work-related activity or is traveling to and from a work-related activity or childcare. Parents can also receive childcare

assistance for study time if they are participating in an education program. In addition, Pennsylvania allows for up to five consecutive days of childcare for illness or vacation and up to 25 days in a fiscal year. Finally, childcare can be provided for parents to get sleep time if their work shift ends between midnight and 9:00 a.m.¹²⁹

Pennsylvania parents must pay a weekly copay as low as \$5 per week, though SNAP recipients and families with zero earned income are exempt from paying a copay.¹³⁰ A sliding fee scale dependent on income and family size determines copay amounts.¹³¹ The monthly co-pay for a single parent with a two-year old child in full-time care is \$91 for an income of \$15,000, \$143 for an income of \$20,000, \$186 for an income of \$25,000, and \$251 for an income of \$30,000.¹³² If the combined copay and state subsidy do not cover the cost of childcare, parents are responsible for the difference.

Below we show the childcare policies pursued in California and New York

Childcare in California

California's childcare benefits differ from Pennsylvania's in a number of ways:

- (1) All current TANF recipients are exempt from paying a copay.¹³³
- (2) California allows for special rates for children with special needs. This means parents are less likely to pay the difference between the subsidy and center charges.¹³⁴
- (3) Those who transition off TANF can continue to qualify for childcare benefits indefinitely, so long as they meet income requirements.¹³⁵

The lower cost of copay is a significant benefit in California. A single parent with a two-year-old in full-time care pays nothing if their income is under \$25,000. The monthly copay for an income of \$25,000 is \$74, less than half of the Pennsylvania rate.¹³⁶ The state served over 44,000 children in fiscal year 2015, though evidence suggests most eligible children do not receive this service.¹³⁷

Childcare in New York

New York residents are eligible for childcare subsidies if they are attending employment training, need childcare as they are job hunting, or if they need it while they are working. Former TANF recipients are guaranteed childcare benefits for one year after cash assistance benefits end, so long as they are employed.¹³⁸

As in California, all current TANF recipients are exempted from paying a copay. Eligible families who have transitioned off TANF cash assistance must pay a copy.¹³⁹ As in California and Pennsylvania, families must pay the difference between the copay and state subsidy and the center charges.¹⁴⁰ Unlike the other states discussed here, New York residents must pay the full rate of childcare if they take vacation.¹⁴¹

For a single parent with a two-year-old in full time care, the monthly copay is \$65 for an income of \$15,000, \$117 for an income of \$20,000, \$264 for an income of \$25,000, and \$407 for an income of \$30,000.¹⁴² Copays are significantly lower in New York than in Pennsylvania for those with incomes of \$20,000 or \$15,000. The exemption of copays for those receiving TANF benefits is also a significant difference.

Minimum Wage Legislation and the TANF Program

TANF's goal is to provide economic support to families struggling to make a living and provide them training and education opportunities to help achieve self-sufficiency lifting them from their current conditions.¹⁴³ Some states have considered other avenues to secure self-sufficiency and poverty alleviation for TANF recipients. In this section, we delve into minimum wage policies and their impact on TANF recipients.

When PRWORA first established work participation requirements, TANF recipients were not protected under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA). Though Congress amended PRWORA in 1997 to include protection against gender discrimination, it continued to exclude TANF recipients from FLSA minimum wage protections. Due to these exclusions, the matter of minimum wage requirements under FLSA for TANF recipients were left to be addressed on an

individual basis.¹⁴⁴ According to the Department of Labor's, TANF recipients participating in work activities qualify for minimum wage, while those in training do not.¹⁴⁵ However, the Department of Health and Human Services, rather than the Department of Labor, enforces such prescriptions.¹⁴⁶

Minimum wage considerations are important to consider when reimagining welfare programs since "declining wage levels" increases poverty. As demonstrated in earlier sections of this report, requiring TANF recipients to engage in work activities alone does not address the impact of poverty on their conditions. Therefore, work activities must consider placement into jobs that provide "above-poverty" wages to sustain transitions out of TANF.¹⁴⁷

Guaranteeing minimum wage for TANF workers promotes their success in the workforce because it protects them from the stigma of being "inferior and less desirable".¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, many welfare program participants are incentivized to remain on welfare due to the value these programs offer them compared to the traditional job market with its varying state minimum wage policies. For example, welfare pays more than minimum wage in 35 states even with the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). Even if a welfare recipient left their job with minimal wage loss, which is possible in 39 states, their earning will not be significantly different. Thus, it is in the best interest of the recipient to remain on a welfare program and earn slightly more. Moreover, welfare pays over \$15/hour in 13 states, which is twice the federal minimum wage.¹⁴⁹ An additional burden welfare recipients must deal with after exiting the program is paying taxes on income once they leave the program.¹⁵⁰ When considering wage equivalents, we see that welfare pays more than a minimum-wage job in 33 states.¹⁵¹ Finally, only a small portion of low-income individuals receives welfare benefits because many welfare programs are "narrowly targeted." Therefore, we see many poor families applying to several welfare programs, which furthers their dependency on these programs.¹⁵²

Welfare programs aim to address poverty in the country, but they fail to look holistically at the needs of families and develop incentives to transition recipient into the workforce successfully. Dependency on the program is furthered by the tradeoff effects discussed above and the failures of the FLSA to consider the rights of welfare recipients to minimum wage standards.

Barriers in Accessing TANF

Many eligible prospective TANF-recipients are deterred from enrolling in TANF due to stigma and enrollment barriers.¹⁵³ While TANF uptake is challenging to estimate, TANF rolls across the country have declined significantly since welfare reform. In 2016, 23% of families with children living in poverty received TANF benefits, compared to 68% in 1996.¹⁵⁴ Stigma and difficulty navigating enrollment contribute to this decline.

Negative stereotypes around welfare use abound in the United States. Many believe that individuals living in poverty are responsible for their income-level.¹⁵⁵ As a result, low-income individuals are often considered unworthy of receiving benefits provided by taxpayers. A 2004 study demonstrated that TANF recipients and eligible individuals could internalize such beliefs. In addition, stereotypes held by others can cause individuals who seek benefits to be “exposed to a potentially hostile environment” if they apply for benefits or share with others that, they are on welfare.¹⁵⁶ The 2004 study revealed that nearly half of participants had negative experiences applying for TANF.¹⁵⁷ Exposure to this disapproval helps explain the following finding: 66% of those not receiving TANF and 52% of those receiving TANF agreed with the following statement: “Many people on welfare do not want other people to know they are on welfare.”¹⁵⁸ Internalized negative self-perception combined with fear of negative treatment by others can cause eligible individuals to avoid enrolling.¹⁵⁹

Further barriers to enrollment include challenges securing transportation, difficulty navigating paper applications, and issues around translation. Some individuals lack awareness around benefits that may be available, if they may qualify, and how they would apply.¹⁶⁰ A 2016 analysis found that welfare benefits are difficult to access and easy to lose through administrative error.¹⁶¹ Additionally, strict state-level welfare policies exacerbated enrollment issues and led to decreased TANF enrollment.¹⁶²

Ultimately, evidence confirms that TANF enrollment has declined since AFDC was abandoned.¹⁶³ The stigma around poverty and welfare in the United States is clear. TANF was designed amidst these negative mindsets and is thus reflective of this cultural element of

American society.¹⁶⁴ Thus, reluctance to apply for and enroll in TANF is therefore not surprising.

Data Analysis

State of Pennsylvania

The data endeavors of this project were focused upon gauging (1) whether a county's level of economic development bears a material impact upon its level of ETANF caseloads and (2) how counties have evolved over time with respect to welfare and economic indicators. While conducting this study, we relied upon data provided by the Pennsylvania Department of Human Services on the number of ETANF caseloads per Pennsylvanian county. We then integrated this data with publicly available Census Bureau, Urban Institute, and Bureau of Labor Statistics records to gain crucial insights regarding county demography, development, and resident participation within commensurate safety net programs.

Variables utilized were the following. To serve as proxies for the economic development of each county, we analyzed each county's (1) labor force participation rate, (2) unemployment rate, (3) poverty level, (4) median household income, and (5) educational attainment. While poverty level was measured by accounting for each county's population below the federal poverty line, educational attainment was measured by both (a) the proportion of individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher and (b) the proportion of individuals with a high school diploma or higher. We additionally gauged participation within parallel safety net programs, such as SNAP, Medicaid, and SSI.

In answering the stipulated research question, this study employed regression analysis over a five-year measurement period- from 2012 to 2017- and selected a representative sample of 31 Pennsylvanian counties for which there was available data on ETANF caseloads within this time period.

The results of our analysis are as follows.

Table 1 below delineates summary statistics in the form of variable means and standard deviations within the measurement period. These values should be interpreted as representing the averages among all 31 counties sampled and are hence informative regarding the general trends for each variable within most of Pennsylvania. We may observe that the average number of ETANF caseloads within our sample has steadily shrunk by 15.6% since 2014, while participation within SNAP- a parallel safety net program- has been incrementally increasing. Measures of economic development, overall, appear to be significantly improving among all counties as well. While the civilian labor force participation rate has increased by 2.7% from 2012 to 2017, the poverty rate has declined by 0.9%, and median household income has increased by 15.4%. Concurrently, the population of those holding at least a High School Diploma has increased by 1.5%, while the population with a bachelor’s degree or above has increased by 15.8%.

While these summary statistics appear favorable, they once more reflect only the average trends among all Pennsylvanian counties sampled and are not informative with respect to specific welfare or economic development differentials between individual counties or regions. In planning an efficacious ETANF policy intervention, it is essential to determine which areas within Pennsylvania- with either positive or negative differences in variables from their neighboring regions- should be targeted to meet desired performance outcomes. To enable this deeper analysis, we clustered our sample of 31 counties within their respective Census regions.

Central PA	Northeast PA	Southeast PA	West PA
Blair, Cambria, Lancaster	Lackawanna, Luzerne, Lycoming, McKean, Schuylkill	Bucks, Chester, Dauphin, Delaware, Franklin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Montgomery, Northampton, Philadelphia, York	Allegheny, Beaver, Berks, Butler, Crawford, Erie, Fayette, Greene, Lawrence, Mercer, Washington, Westmoreland

This clustering bore dividends in revealing how welfare caseloads and economic development indicators have evolved within Pennsylvania’s census regions over time. As observed within the following time series graphs weighted by population, regional trends in welfare indicators seem to

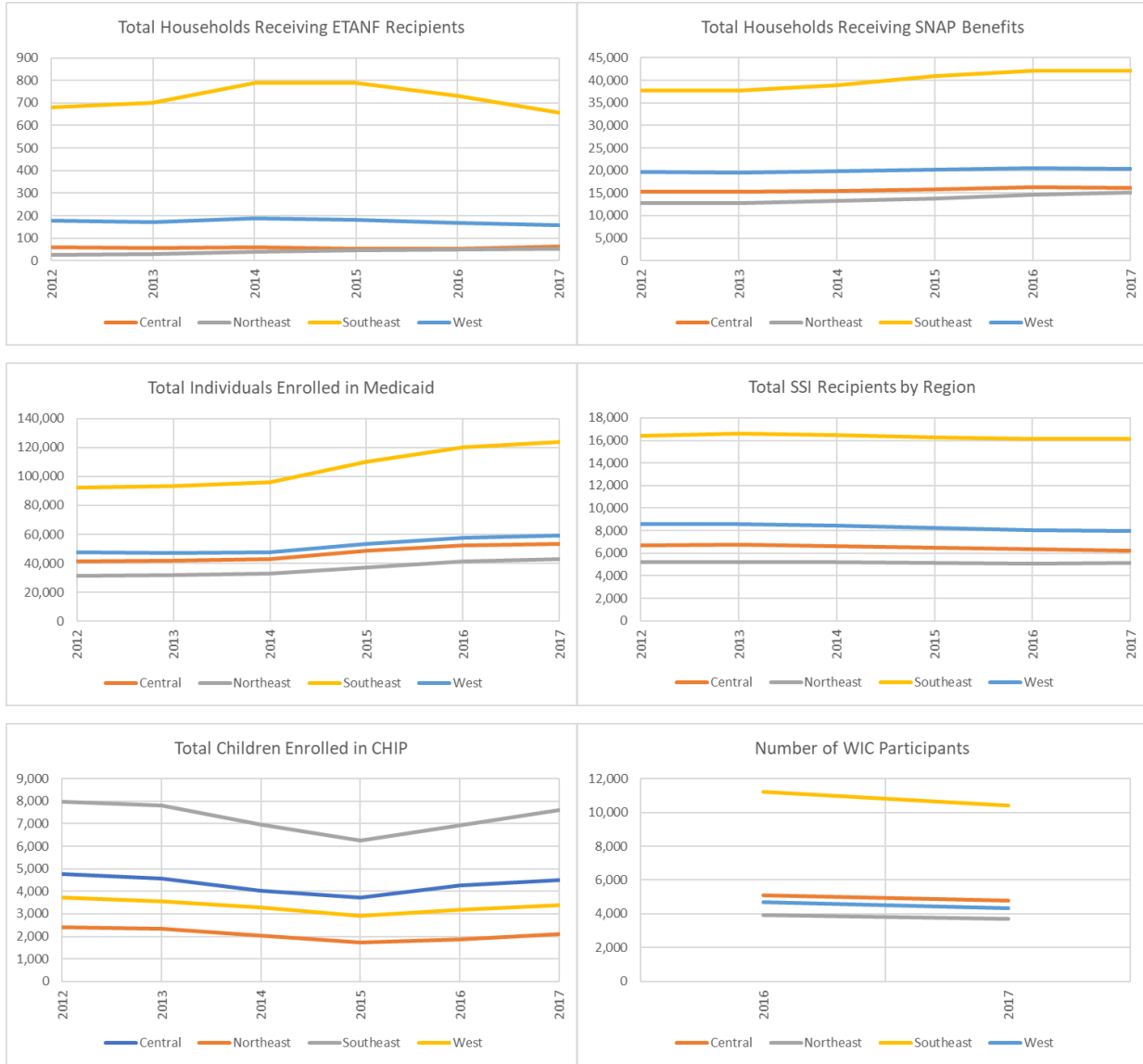
follow the average statewide trend described above- of average ETANF caseloads diminishing since 2014, while average caseloads within parallel welfare programs incrementally increase within the same time period. What is most interesting to note, however, is how Pennsylvania's census regions differ with respect to caseload magnitude. It may be observed that caseloads for ETANF and a variety of corresponding welfare programs are significantly higher for counties within Southeast Pennsylvania than for counties within other census regions. On the opposite end, counties within Northeast Pennsylvania consistently rank lowest in caseload volume for all welfare programs considered.

Table 1: Pennsylvanian County Summary Statistics for Selected Years

	(1) 2012	(2) 2013	(3) 2014	(4) 2015	(5) 2016	(6) 2017
ETANF Caseloads	320 (1,203)	325 (1,240)	366 (1,383)	363 (1,388)	338 (1,294)	309 (1,164)
SNAP Caseloads	25,561 (42,891)	24,522 (42,468)	25,137 (43,772)	26,070 (45,824)	26,792 (46,636)	26,813 (46,497)
Labor Force Participation Rate	92.2 (1.14)	93.0 (1.14)	94.0 (0.90)	95.0 (0.87)	94.0 (1.04)	94.9 (0.82)
Unemployment Rate	7.8 (1.14)	7.0 (1.14)	6.0 (0.90)	5.0 (0.87)	6.0 (1.04)	5.12 (0.82)
Median Household Income	50,558 (11,159)	51,819 (11,203)	52,920 (11,610)	54,998 (12,137)	56,446 (12,399)	58,363 (13,198)
Poverty Rate	13.0 (3.86)	13.0 (4.12)	13.0 (4.06)	13.0 (4.40)	12.0 (4.13)	12.1 (3.92)
Population with a Bachelors Degree or Above	24.7 (8.61)	25.0 (8.71)	26.0 (8.60)	27.1 (8.52)	27.0 (8.91)	28.6 (8.90)
Population with a High School Diploma	89.4 (3.12)	89.0 (3.14)	89.0 (2.99)	89.8 (2.82)	90.0 (2.73)	90.7 (2.80)
Population	343,807 (338,325)	344,217 (339,786)	344,695 (340,890)	344,858 (341,756)	344,955 (342,473)	345,551 (343,400)
Observations	31	31	31	31	31	31

NOTES: Table reports the means (and standard deviations) for each of the above variables as measured within selected years of data. All monetary values are translated into year-2017 dollars using the Consumer Price Index for all urban consumers. *Sources: PA DHS, Census Bureau: 2012-2017.*

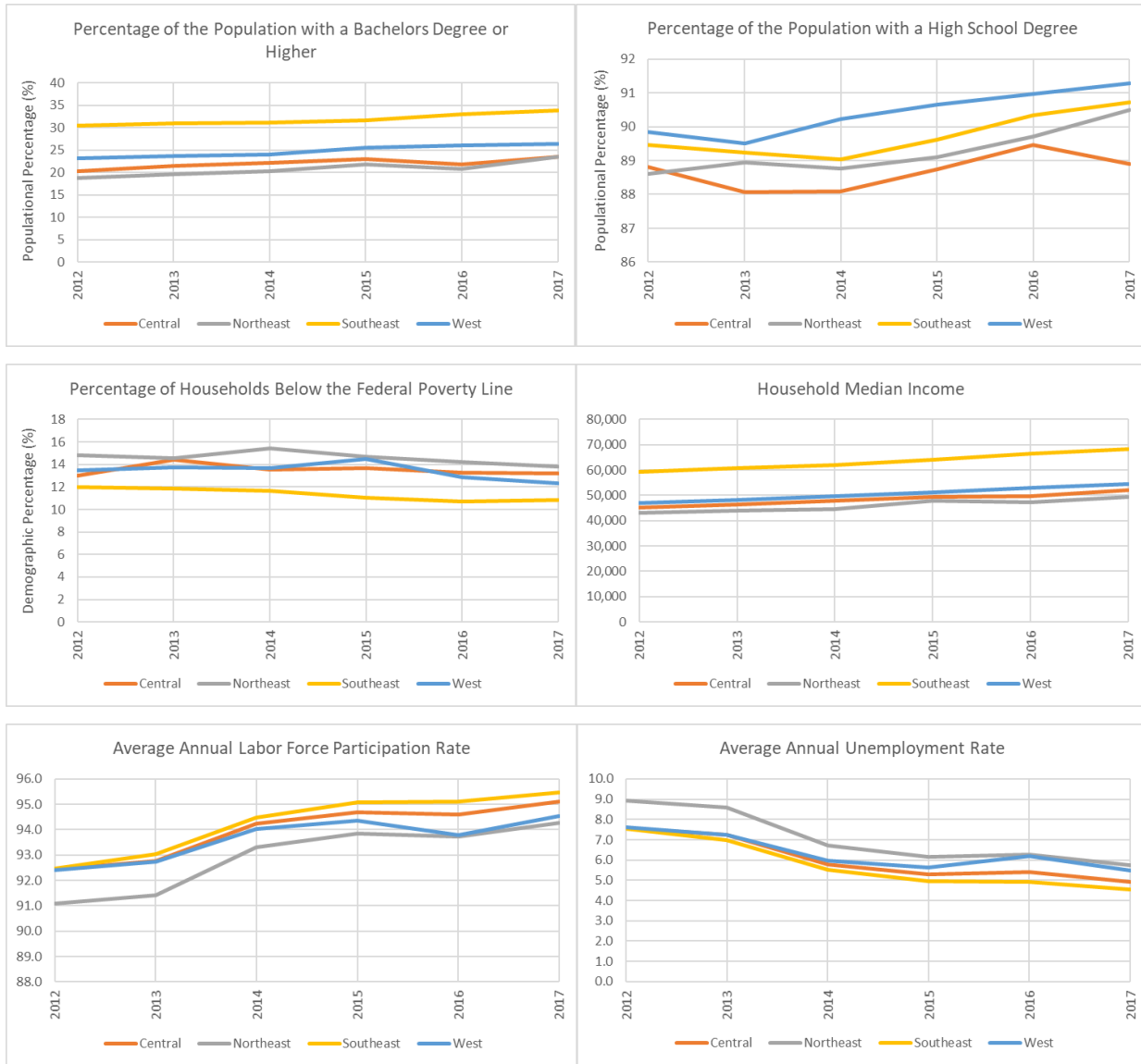
Figures 1-6: Number of Households On Different Welfare Systems Between 2012-2017



Sources: ETANF Caseloads: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

A premature conclusion based on intuition may posit ETANF and other welfare caseloads within the Northeast to be lowest because of its greater economic development, with the reverse being true for Southeast Pennsylvania. The time series of economic development indicators by region reveals, however, this is not the case.

Figures 7-12: Economic Development Indicators by Region From 2012-2017



Sources: Educational Attainment Statistics, Median Household Income, Labor Force Participation Rate, Unemployment Rate, Percentage of Households below Federal Poverty Line: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

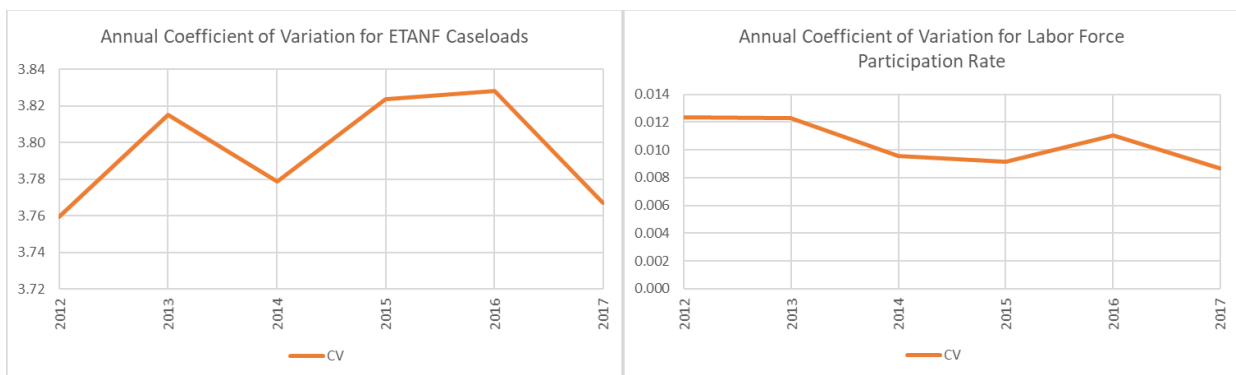
The general regional trend for economic development indicators once again follows the overall state trend- of growth factors, overall, improving significantly within the measurement period. However, the same regional trend observed within the time series for welfare caseloads holds true within these time series as well. Namely, counties within Southeast Pennsylvania- which have the highest magnitude of welfare caseloads- simultaneously rank highest on all economic indicators, while counties within the Northeast rank lowest in both economic development and welfare caseloads. The values upon which these rankings are predicated were once more weighted by population, to exclude regional population differentials from impacting these variable magnitudes. These results

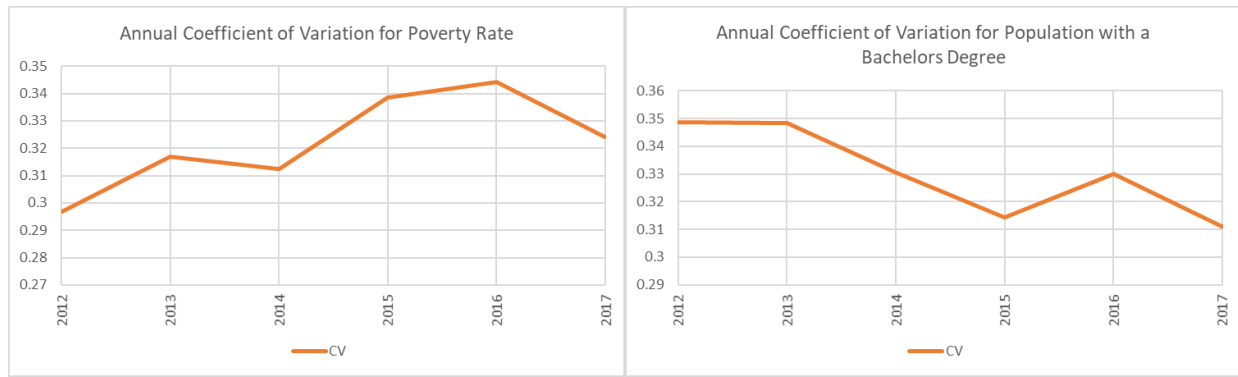
therefore present evidence running contrary to economic development being the most significant factor in determining a region's ETANF caseload.

It is a sociopolitical reality that welfare provisions- as well as welfare caseloads- are often lower within poorer and more underdeveloped regions due to both the income effect as well as other structural factors. These may include, for instance, problems related to both access as well as outreach. Our background section describes cases of an element of shame often precluding the underserved from tapping into the ecosystem of resources around them. Concurrently, underdeveloped regions may also lack the necessary infrastructure- in terms of programmatic resources, transportation systems, etc. to truly reach the poorest of the poor who are not within ETANF simply due to a regional lack in either outreach or access. Because of the nature of the results shown above, it appears to be critical to know and understand why counties within the Northeast can be the poorest while simultaneously having the least welfare caseloads for all years.

The second portion of our research sought to gauge how Pennsylvanian regions have evolved with respect to these indicators over time and, whether these regions and the counties they encompass have become more or less similar to one another over time. The latter question may be easily resolved by examining changes within the coefficients of variation for selected variables throughout the measurement period.

Figures 13-16: Coefficient for Variation for Selected Variables Between 2012-2017





Sources: ETANF Caseloads: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017. Educational Attainment Statistics, Labor Force Participation Rate, Percentage of Households below Federal Poverty Line: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

The coefficient of variation- obtained by dividing each variable’s standard deviation by its mean- provides a measurement of the relative dispersion of all data points of a variable around its mean for a given year. Placing it in practical terms of policy analysis, an increasing coefficient of variation may therefore be interpreted as Pennsylvanian counties becoming more different with respect to a given metric over time, while a decreasing coefficient of variation may be interpreted as them becoming more similar with regard to the same metric.

As observed above, despite some early fluctuation, the coefficients of variation for all selected variables (serving as proxies for welfare caseloads and economic development) are on a two-year declining trend since 2016. This means that Pennsylvanian counties, overall, are thus converging with respect to their relative numbers of individuals on welfare, as well as level of economic development.

To econometrically validate the statistical significance of the above conclusion, we fitted our data within Prais-Winsten and Cochrane-Orcutt regression models and obtained estimates measuring the impact of time on both welfare and economic development indicators within Pennsylvanian census regions. To control for serial autocorrelation and ensure the statistical robustness of our results, we additionally computed Durbin Watson statistics for each regression model, the results of which are presented within Table 1 and Table 2 of Appendix B for each county. To lastly gauge each indicator’s percentage change within counties over time, we computed the time elasticities for each variable by region. Our main results by region are summarized below.

Table 4. Time Elasticities for Indicators by Region

	(1) log ETANF Caseloads	(2) log Labor Force Participation Rate
West	0.4%	5.0%
Northeast	4.1%	1.8%
Southeast	-8.5%	4.1%
Central	3.4%	1.8%
Observations	31	31

Sources: ETANF Caseloads: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017.

Labor Force Participation Rate: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

As observable from Tables 1 and 2 within Appendix B, the Adjusted R^2 values for most of our regression models ranged around 0.90, while the Durbin Watson Statistics ranged close to a cutoff of 2.00. This is indicative of our data's strong fit within our model, in tandem to a statistically negligible presence of either positive or negative correlation around our error terms- which is favorable for the veracity of our results.

Each time elasticity coefficient within Table 4 may be interpreted as follows. Within the Southeast from 2012-2017, ETANF caseloads decreased by an average of 8.5% each year, while the labor force participation rate annually increased by an average of 4.1%. Correspondingly, ETANF caseloads within the Northeast increased by an average of 4.1% each year, while the labor force participation rate annually increased by an average of 1.8%. West and Central Pennsylvania may be interpreted in similar form.

Our results present strong econometric evidence cementing our conclusions from the coefficient of variation analysis above- namely, with regard to validating the phenomenon of all Pennsylvanian counties gradually converging and becoming more similar with respect to both welfare and economic development indicators over time. Whereas counties within Southeast Pennsylvania have a significantly higher magnitude of ETANF caseloads than other Pennsylvanian counties, they also face the largest annual percentage declines in caseloads

over time. Concurrently, counties within Northeast Pennsylvania, which have the smallest magnitude of caseloads, are facing the largest annual percentage increases over time.

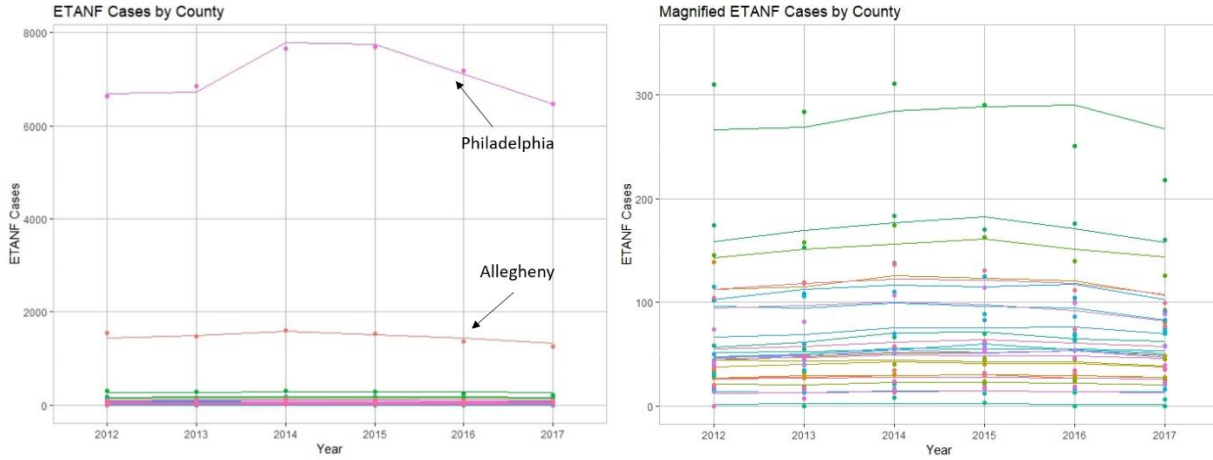
Despite this finding however, this study does not state by any means that the best policy recourse is to simply await the moment in time when all Pennsylvanian regions indeed converge with respect to these values. While it may be argued that the relative equity between counties is increasing given the declining coefficients of variation, it is pertinent to consider whether this “equity” is necessarily an absolute good given the vastly diverse socioeconomic and sociopolitical realities of these regions.

This study thus recommends that both regional outliers with respect to welfare caseloads be carefully examined as potential targets for policy interventions. While potential issues of outreach and access should be studied within Northeastern Pennsylvanian counties, counties within the Southeast should be examined in tandem due to the significantly higher magnitude of welfare caseloads in comparison to neighboring regions. This leads us to analyzing specific counties within the latter group that are the greatest outliers with respect to high ETANF caseloads.

In addition to examining the regional differences, we also endeavored to examine county level trends from 2012 to 2017 in the ETANF caseloads and which welfare and economic indicators best explained those trends. To that end, we conducted additional analyses using multivariate regression methods. To begin, we ran an 8-fold cross validation test to determine which method of variable selection would be the best to use by comparing them by their performance on the Akaike information criterion estimator. We also accounted for possible relationships between the various economic and welfare indicators by including interaction effects during variable selection. The final model identified SNAP, Medicaid, and CHIP caseloads, as well as median income, poverty rate, labor force participation rate, and the proportion of individuals with at least a high school diploma as the most important factors in predicting the counties’ ETANF rate. The overall trends for each of these variables over the time span can be seen in Figures 1-7 of Appendix B.

As figures 17 and 18 show, the overall trend of ETANF cases has remained relatively stable over the last 5 years for most counties. Philadelphia County experienced an increase in 2014 and 2015, but caseloads there have since dropped to around the same as earlier levels. Since Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties have much higher caseloads than the other counties, we removed them in figure 18 to more closely examine the trends found in the other counties. The other counties all exhibit the same general stable trends seen in figure 17, with relatively slight decreases in 2016 and 2017.

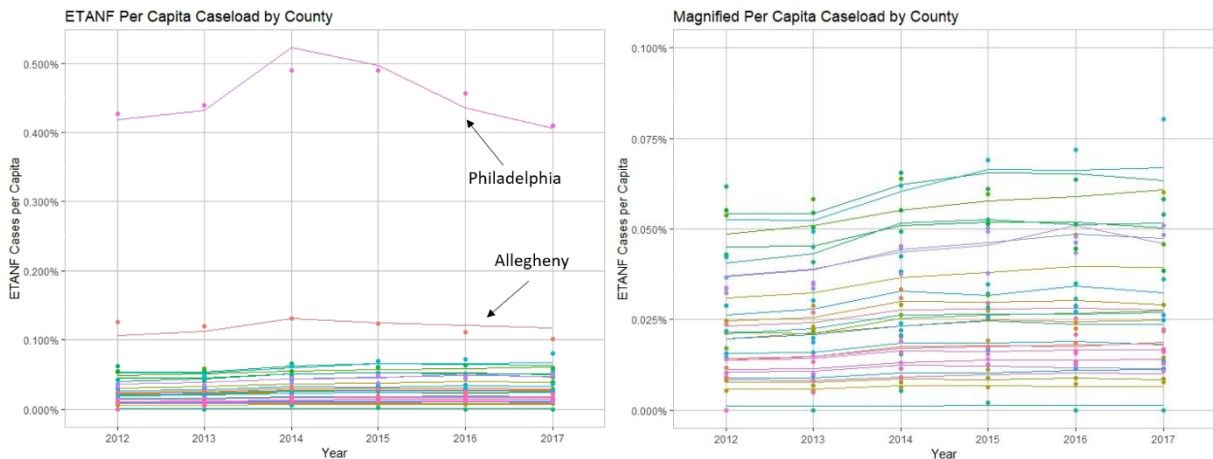
Figures 17-18: Regression of ETANF Caseloads Between 2012-2017



Sources: ETANF Caseloads: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

Since Philadelphia and Allegheny counties are also the most populous, we divided the ETANF caseloads by the county populations to get the ETANF cases per capita and ran the regressions again. As figure 19 shows, while Allegheny is a bit closer to the other counties, they remain relatively large outliers. They also maintain the same general pattern as the previous models. Interestingly, once we control for population like this, the slight downward trends in ETANF caseloads per county observed figure 18 disappeared; figure 20 now shows most of the other counties have either remained stable or increased slightly in their per capita ETANF caseloads over the same time period.

Figures 19-20: Regression of Per Capita ETANF Caseloads Between 2012-2017



Sources: ETANF Caseloads: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017. County Population Statistics: U.S. Census Bureau.

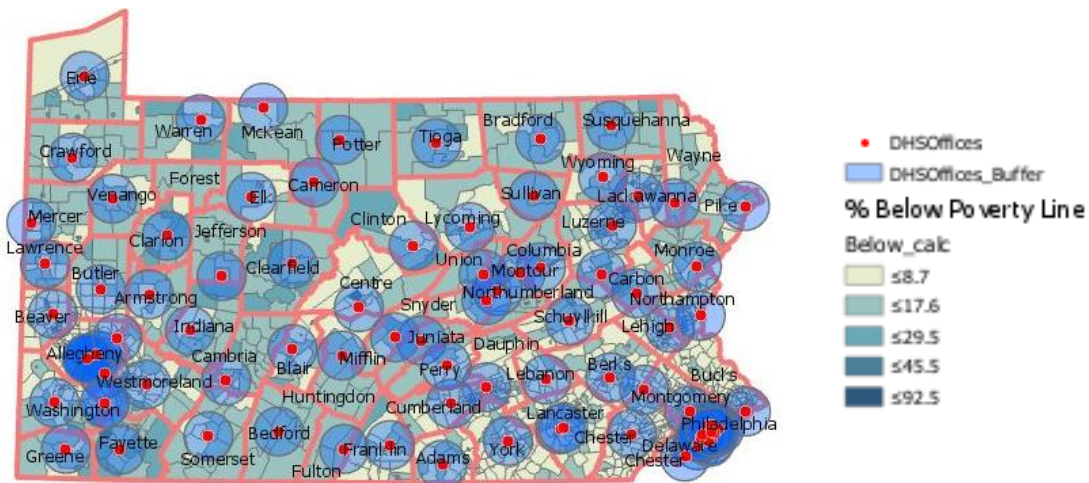
Since this analysis is looking at the factors in each county overall instead of case-level data, this study cannot make any causal claims regarding the impact of policies designed to change the welfare and economic indicators used in the regression analyses. Further analysis would be needed to be able to make such claims. However, due to Philadelphia and Allegheny counties consistently showing themselves to be large outliers in ETANF caseloads, this study recommends that these counties be considered as targets for potential policy interventions in order to have the largest potential impact on the state’s overall ETANF caseload.

Geographic Information System Mapping

The following section provides geographic information system mapping of various factors that impact the lives of ETANF recipients. The mapping depicts access to County Assistance Offices (CAOs), use of social programs, and economic indicators, all visualized by geographic region.

Access to County Assistance Offices

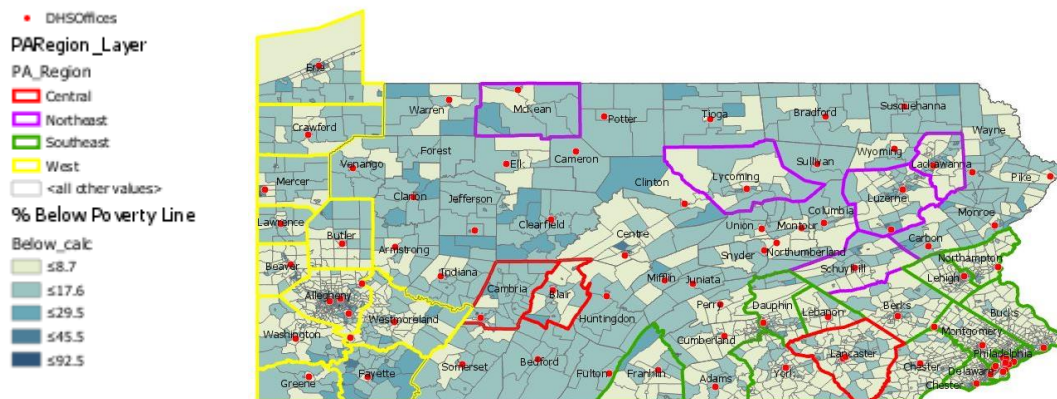
This map shows the percentage of individuals below the poverty line by census tract and was obtained from American Factfinder ACS 2012-2017 5 Year Estimates. The data on the CAOs was obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of Human Services website. The buffers show a 10-mile zone radius around the location of CAOs. This map shows that access to CAOs is outside the buffer zone of some high need areas across the state. For example, much of Erie’s low-income population is located outside of the CAOs buffer zone. Mobile clinics could be used for residents in areas like Erie to apply for social programs (including TANF), while mitigating the overhead costs of providing new CAOs.



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Regional Poverty Data

This map looks at the amount of CAOs by region of study in our analysis with overlay of the percentage of individuals below the poverty line by census tract. In our areas of study, we find that some counties with high poverty rates similar to Allegheny only have one CAO in the region.

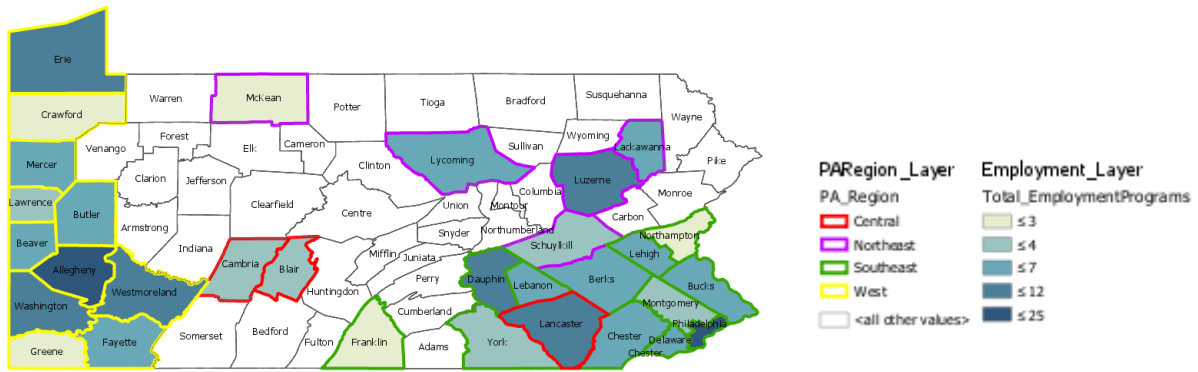


Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Number of Employment Programs and ETANF Cases

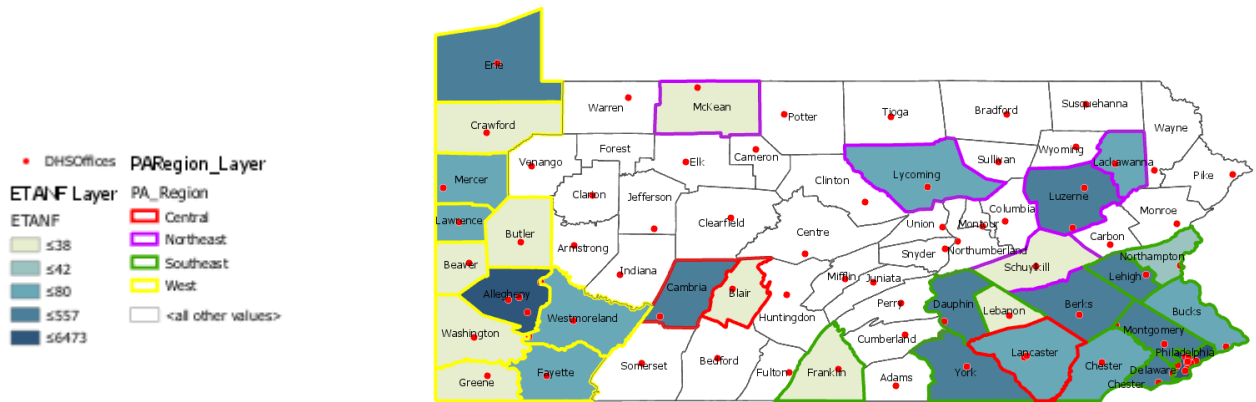
The number of employment programs by county is displayed on this map. The map shows if need matches resources, particularly when looking at the number of employment programs side-by-side with the ETANF choropleth map. This is shown because lack of employment programs could be a barrier to getting off ETANF. North Hampton is one potentially under-served area displayed on this map. It shows low employment services but medium level of ETANF cases. An area of further study and potential need is to identify why some regions, such as Green County, have low ETANF caseloads and employment programs but high rates of poverty.

Employment Programs



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

ETANF

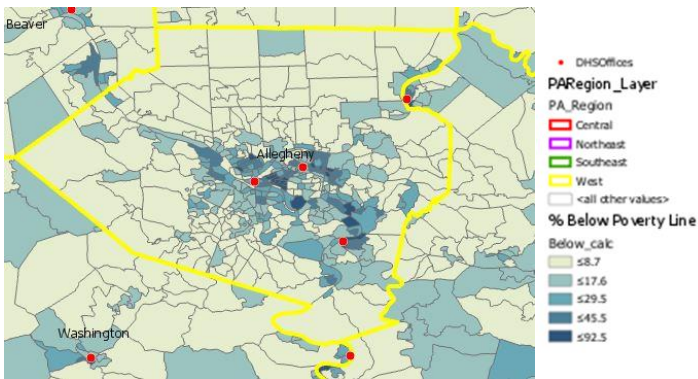


Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

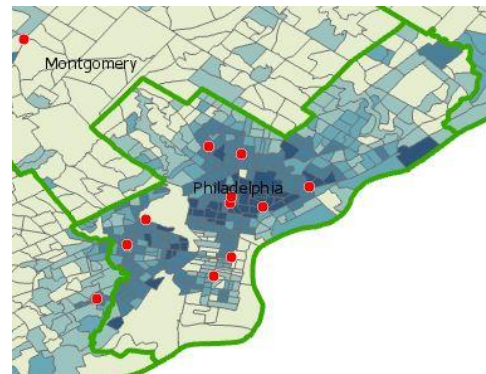
Regional Closeup

These maps provide closeup views of areas of interest found in the data analysis. As described above, Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties were identified as outliers in terms of caseloads and economic indicators. The northeast was also an area of interest because it had low caseloads and low economic development indicators. In both Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties, the map shows high poverty areas outside of the buffer zones and outside of city limits (toward the edges of each county). The closeups of Northeast and Central Pennsylvania depict many poverty areas outside the buffer zone. They also show limited numbers of offices.

Close up of Allgheny County

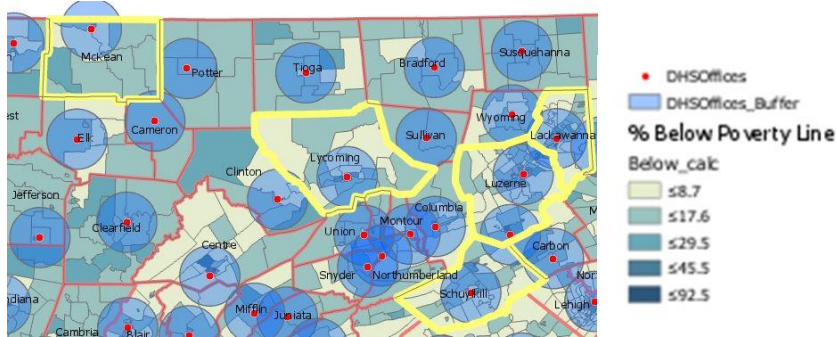


Close Up Philadelphia County



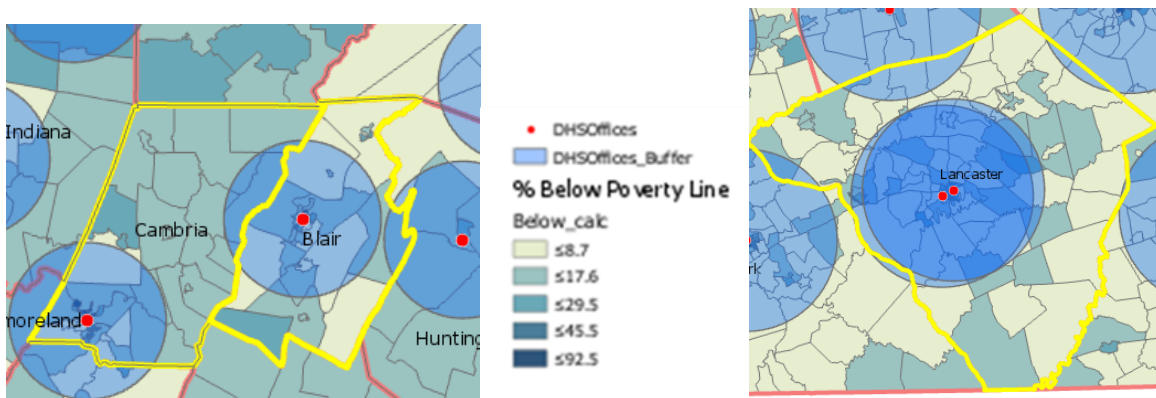
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Close up of Northeast Region – Region Highlighted in Yellow



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Close up Central: Region Highlighted in Yellow

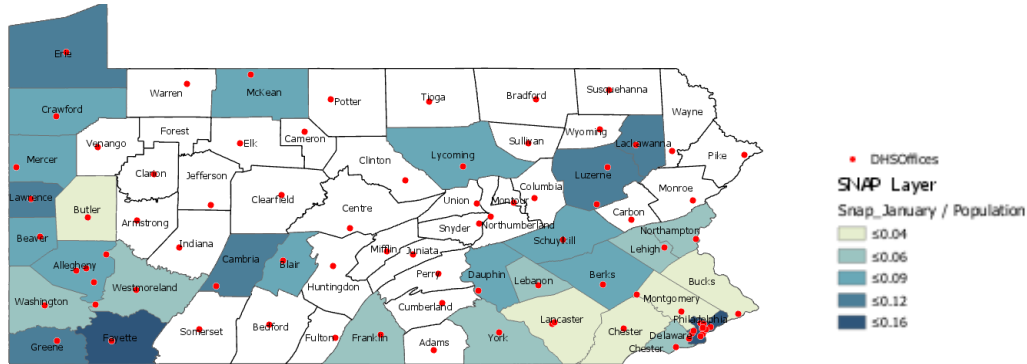


Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Maps of Social Programs

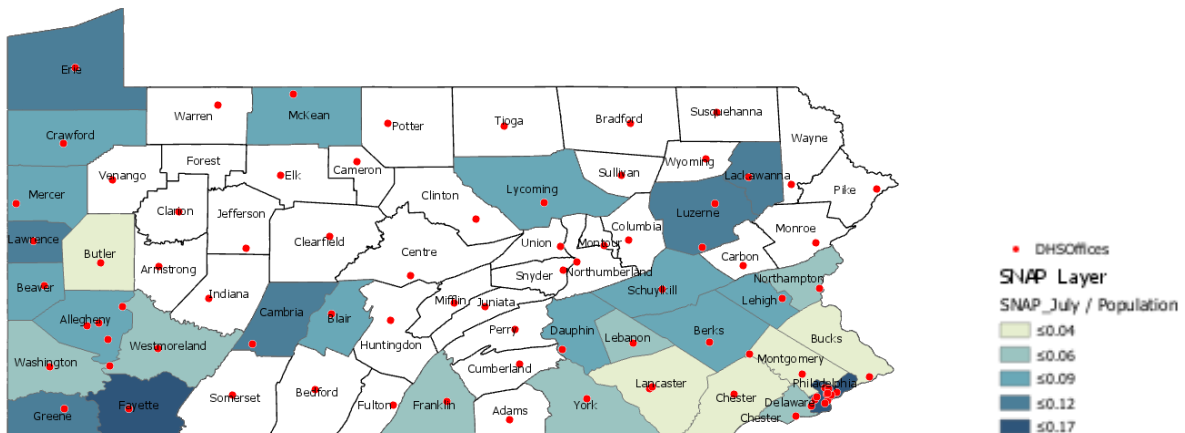
The following maps show the percentage of participants per social program in our area of study along with the number of CAOs.

SNAP in January 2017



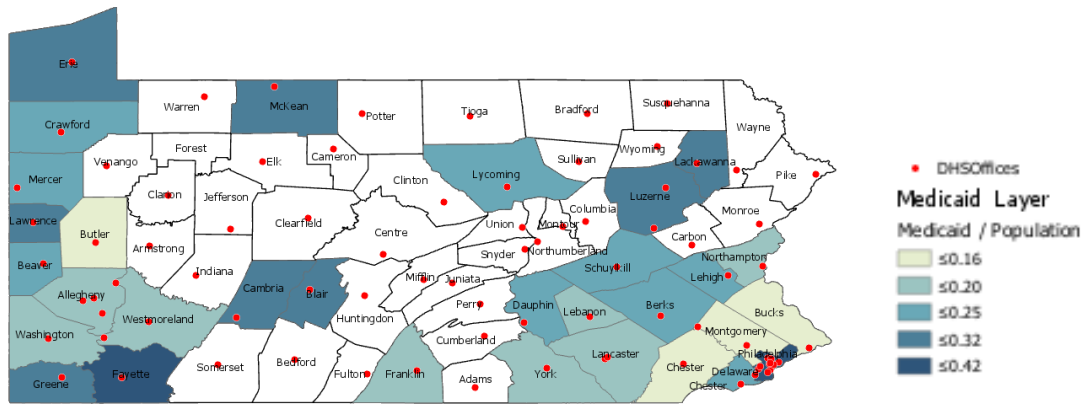
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

SNAP in June 2017



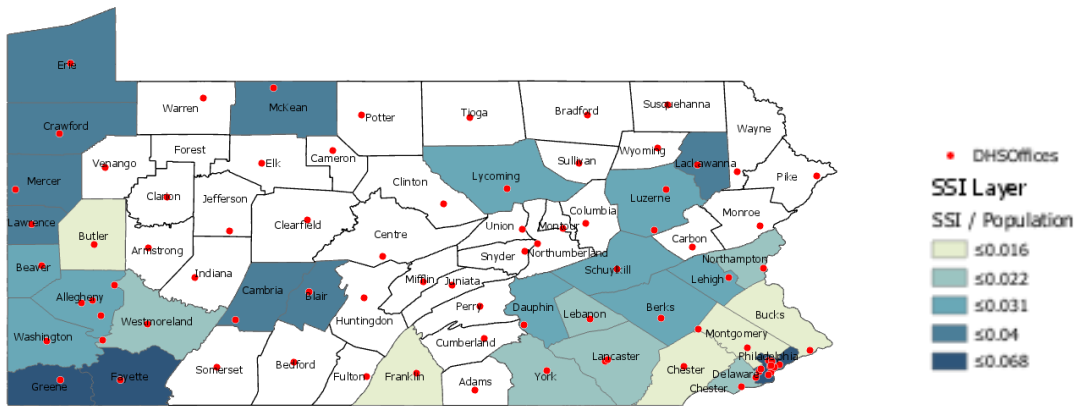
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Medicaid



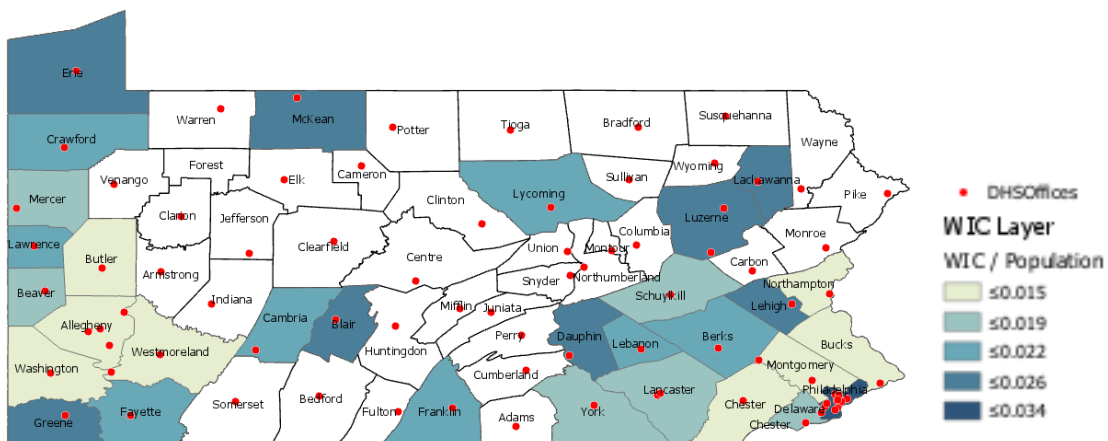
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

SSI



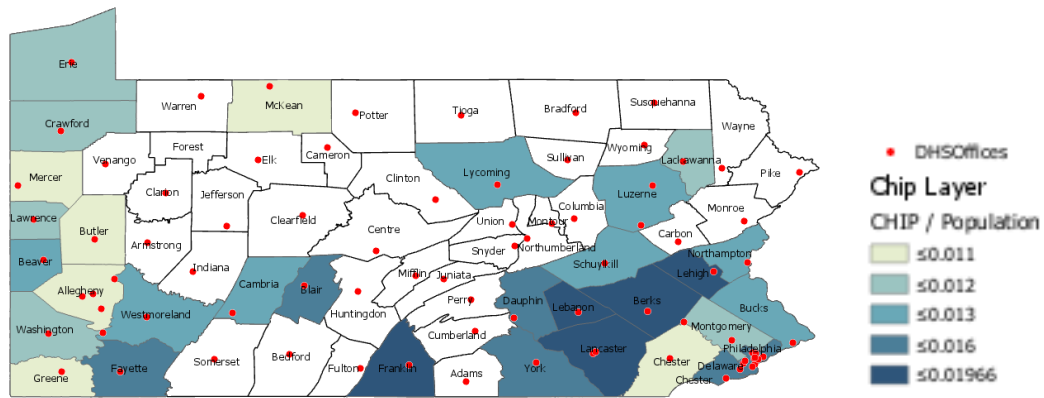
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

WIC



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

CHIP

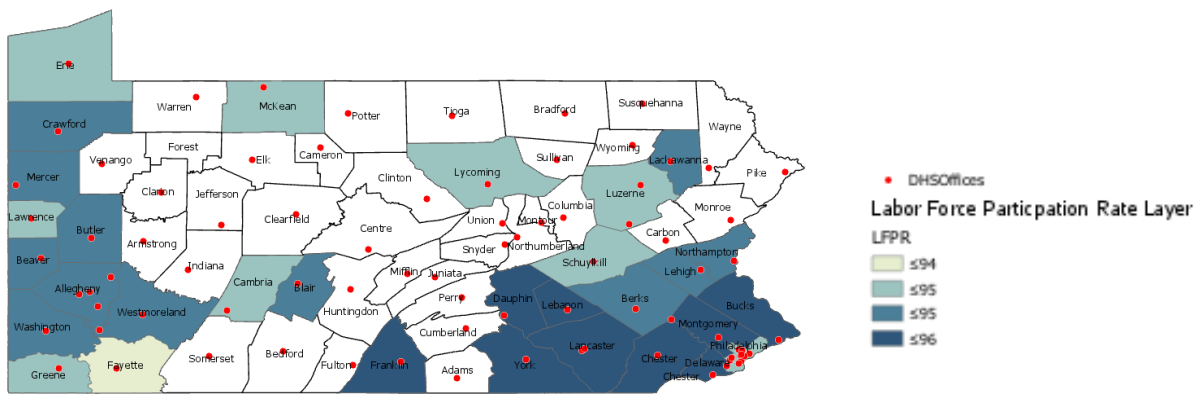


Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Economic Indicator Maps

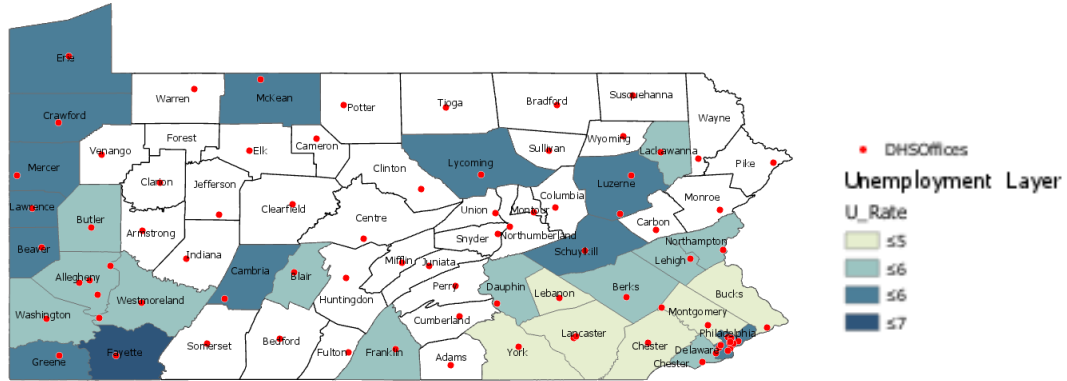
The maps below display economic indicators in our regions of study.

Labor Force Participation Rate



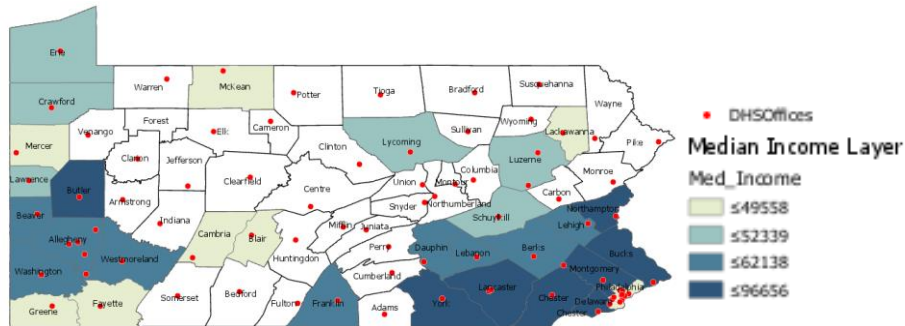
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Unemployment Rate



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Median Income

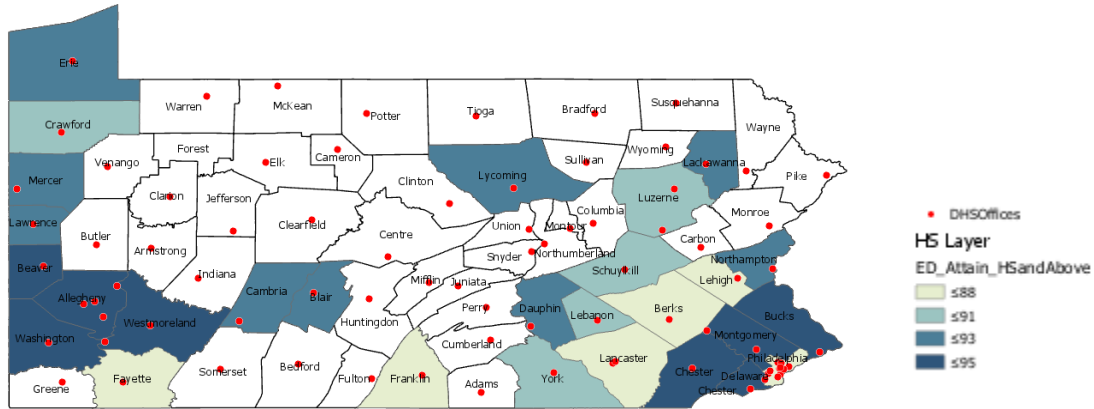


Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Education Maps

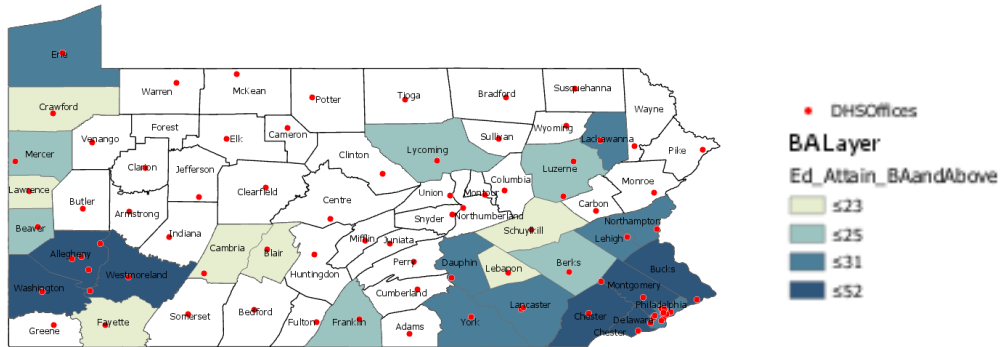
These maps display the educational attainment in each area of study. The final map shows the poverty rate in those areas.

High School and Above



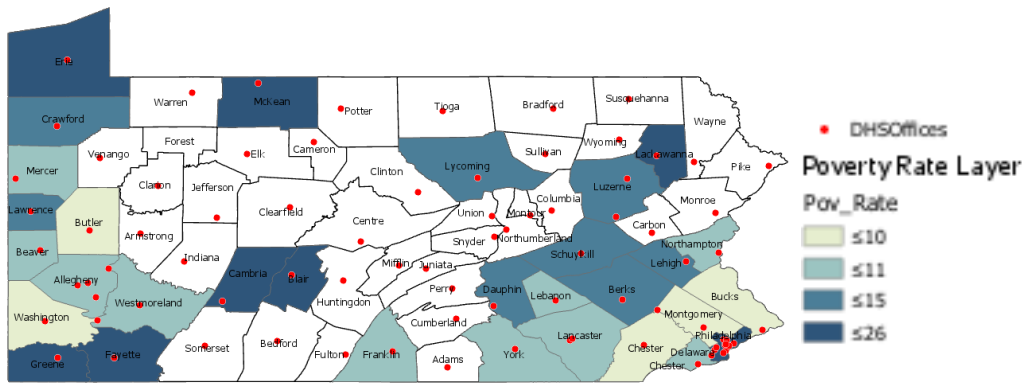
Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices; Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Bachelor's Degree and Above



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices; Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Poverty Rate



Sources: ETANF Caseloads and County Assistance Offices: Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, Years 2012-2017. Medicaid, CHIP, SNAP, SSI, WIC Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017.

Allegheny County

Since Allegheny County was one of two outlier counties with significantly higher caseloads, we conducted a deep dive into this county's ETANF caseloads. In doing so, we sought to better understand the characteristics of this population as well as barriers it faces that could make exiting the program particularly challenging.

Methodology

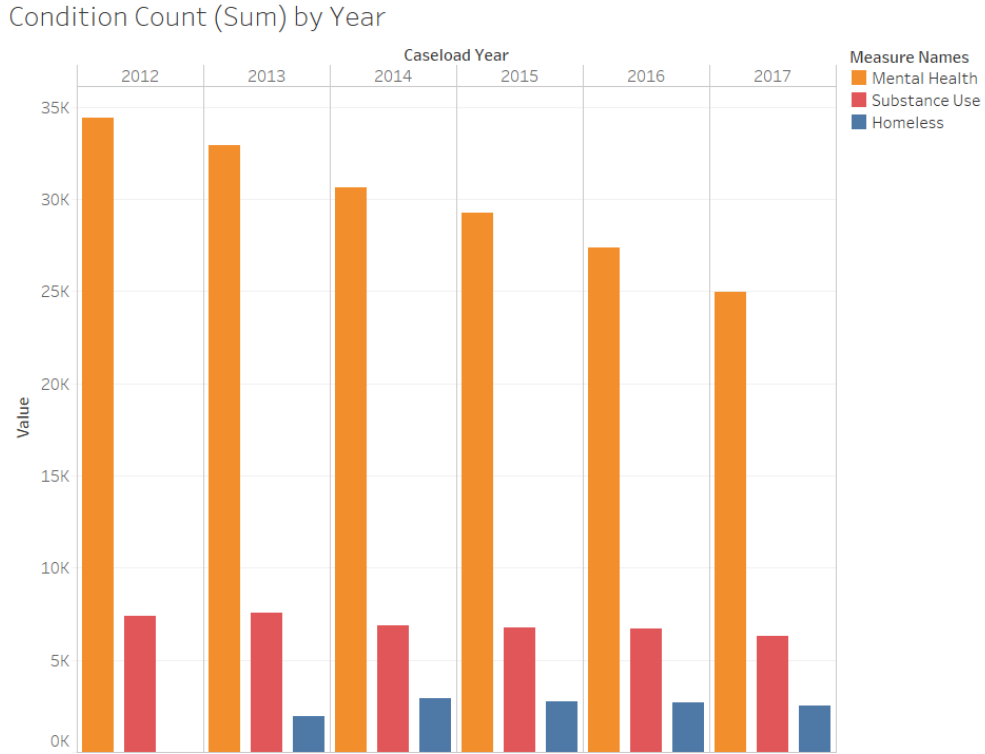
We confined our analysis to the same five-year period used throughout our data analyses (2012-2017) and considered only the ETANF population. Thus, individuals considered were those who were receiving TANF benefits at some point from 2012 – 2017 *and* who had received TANF benefits for five years or more (whether prior to or starting in 2012). This gave us a dataset of 41,068 anonymized, unique case IDs to consider. In addition to age, race, and gender, we analyzed complementary Department of Human Services (DHS) services that participants received while on ETANF, including the following: housing, mental health, and substance use support services.

Key Insights

Common Challenges

ETANF caseloads have showed a declining trend from 2012-2017 (potentially assisted by the diversion programs explored in this paper or Governor Wolf's expansion of Medicaid in 2015¹⁶⁵).

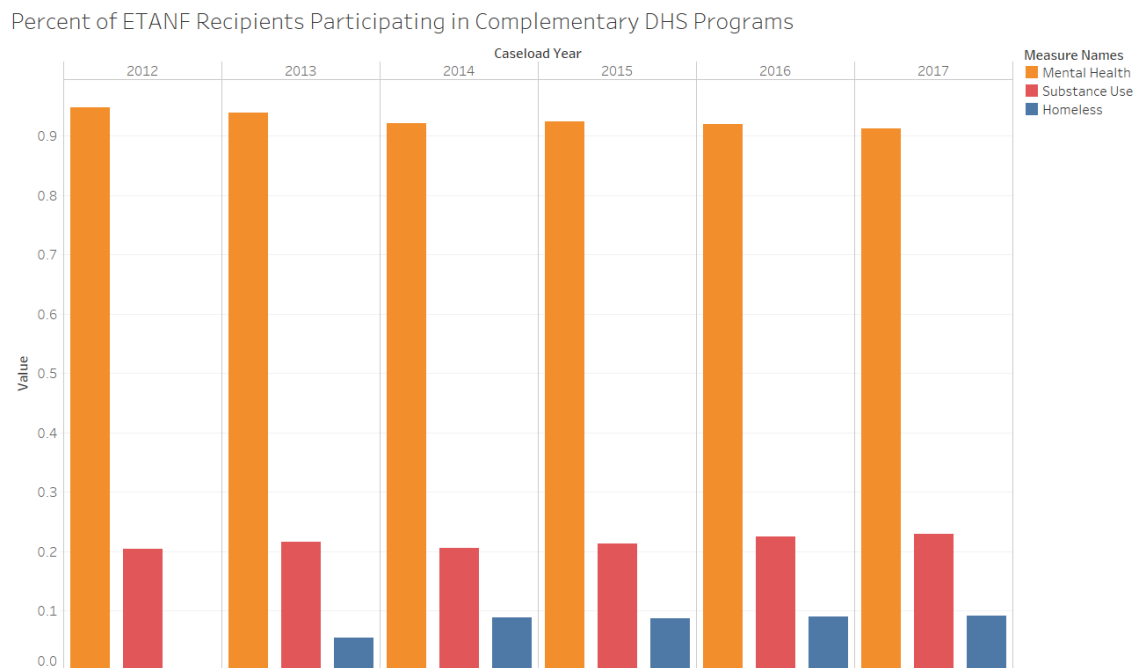
Figure 21: Condition Count by Year



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Despite this decline in total caseloads, we see consistent percentages of the total population, across all years, seeking supportive services for mental health, substance use, and homelessness. Consistently, at least 90% of the Allegheny ETANF population needs mental health support; roughly 20% experience substance use challenges; and as data on homelessness has started to be tracked, roughly 5-10% of the ETANF population is receiving support in this area.

Figure 22: Percent of ETANF Recipients Participating in Complementary DHS Programs



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Gender & Race

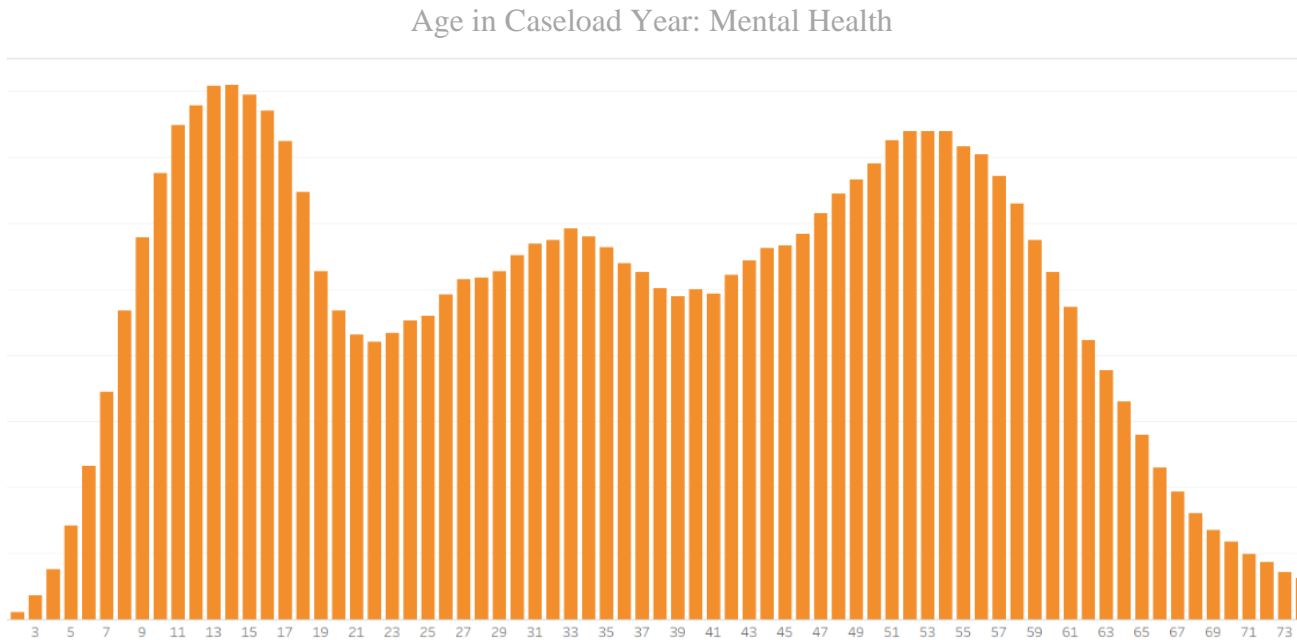
While there is roughly a 50/50 gender split in ETANF caseloads across all years explored (Appendix C Figure 1), we see some notable variations across support services when considering both gender and race. In the areas of mental health concerns and homelessness, white women slightly outnumber white men while black men outnumber black women (Appendix C Figures 2 and 4). In substance use, the trend is reversed for white beneficiaries but holds steady for the black population (Appendix C Figure 3). We also see that black/African Americans make up the majority of those receiving DHS assistance with homelessness, while the white demographic accounts for the majority in mental health and substance use (with roughly twice as many white: black caseloads in these areas).

Age

When analyzing the typical age of an Allegheny County ETANF participant, we see the majority are early- to middle-aged adults between the ages of 18-53. However, a considerable number of caseloads (roughly 20%) are youth under 18 years old (Appendix C Figure 5). As with all age brackets, the vast majority of caseloads for minors are associated with mental health concerns (Appendix C Figure 6). While homelessness trends hold rather steady by age, we observe considerable spikes by age in substance use and mental health concerns (Appendix C Figures 7-9). Substance use see its highest age peak for those roughly 29-35 years old, with a

smaller peak for those around age 51. Cases seeking mental health services surge at three points with peaks for those aged 9-15, 31-35, and 51-57 (as seen below).

Figure 23: Age in Caseload Year, Mental Health

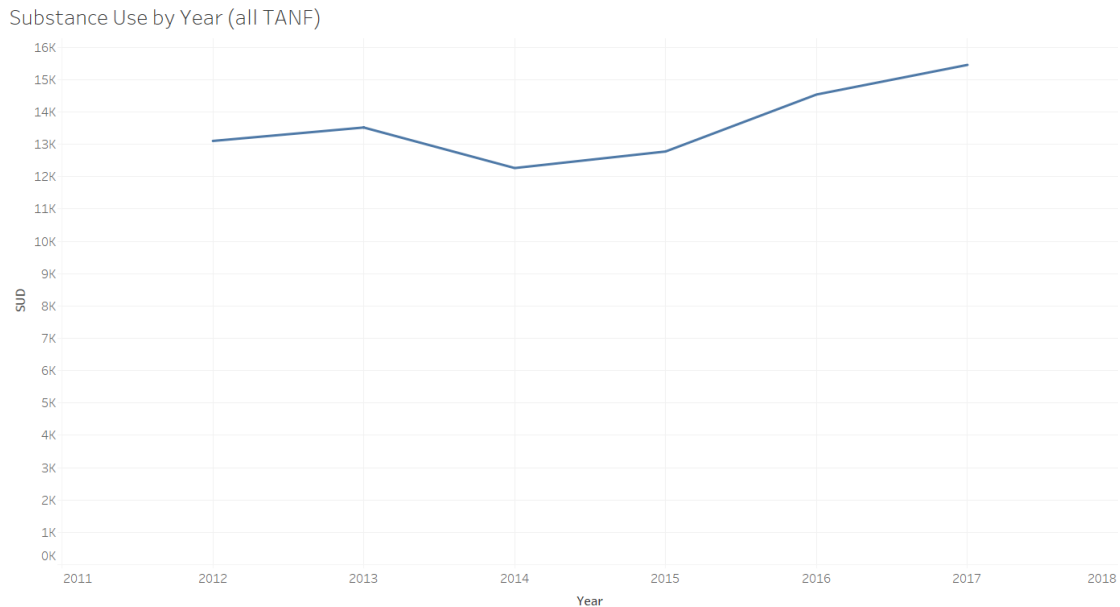


Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Recent Trends

Given the recent opioid epidemic affecting Allegheny County, we further explored our data to see if the uptick in substance use was reflected in the number of people seeking TANF support. Those recently touched by the epidemic would not appear in our ETANF data set (as they would need to enter the system in 2012 at latest to accrue five years in the program). Thus, we considered all TANF cases from 2012 on that sought substance use support from DHS. In the graph below, we see an uptick in 2015 carrying through 2017.

Figure 24: Substance Use Program Participation by Year for All TANF Recipients



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Further, our research shows this surge was largely carried by white TANF recipients, and those 24-34 years old (followed by those aged 35-46). Our findings (Appendix C Figures 13-14) align with the literature on common demographic trends present in the epidemic.¹⁶⁶

Conclusions & Recommendations

Our deep dive into Allegheny County shows that the ETANF population faces pressing challenges that can necessitate receiving extended support and that make exiting the program and reaching self-sufficiency particularly challenging. In addition to the traditional barriers to exit that the TANF population faces (such as attaining education and living wages that exceed the poverty threshold), the ETANF population faces homelessness, substance use, and mental health challenges that make their living situations precarious and that, until sufficiently addressed, may limit their ability to fully participate in the economy.

Given the above, despite recent efforts to divert TANF caseloads, we highly advise against diverting ETANF participants. Further, we recommend interventions and their outreach be targeted to reflect the variations in demographic needs that we have highlighted above. Mental health support services in particular, should be assessed and enhanced as needed with pre-emptive interventions supporting those most prone to face challenges

(e.g. youth around age nine and adults around age 30). We also recommend future research on gaps in coverage among the ETANF population. Here, it would be useful to explore cases where individuals left the ETANF program but later re-entered in order to assess what factors contributed to their exit and need to return. This too would help shape beneficial shifts in ETANF administration (e.g. ensuring those in continued need are not forced out) as well as interventions (e.g. targeting vulnerabilities that are statistically shown to contribute to re-entering ETANF).

Recommendations

This section provides recommendations based on the literature review and the data and geospatial analysis. It will include diversion programs, supportive services, childcare services, employment, training and education, outreach and accessibility, stigma and access and specific recommendations for Allegheny County regarding mental health and addiction issues as well as homelessness.

Diversion Programs

We recommend the state collect data on diversion program strengths and weaknesses. In particular, it should seek to determine if and how TANF and ETANF recipients enter and re-enter the TANF system through diversion programs. From there, it should analyze why this happens to improve weaknesses within the diversion program system. Finally, we recommend that the state conduct research to better understand what may cause potential TANF recipients to be denied from diversion programs. This analysis will allow the state to understand if diversion programs are working in alignment with stated goals.

Employment, Training, and Education

a) We recommend that the State of Pennsylvania enhance its education and training programs to improve long-term outcomes. We have seen that TANF recipients tend to earn the lowest wages in low-paying industries, making it difficult to exceed the poverty threshold even when pursuing work full-time. Increasing the amount of time TANF recipients can dedicate to education and training programs (e.g. high school, college, or technical/vocational programs) will improve wages and eligibility for in-demand jobs. This means that training opportunities should simultaneously increase, and such training should target placement in higher-wage jobs. It follows that the focus of programs should shift from job-readiness to sustainable job placement.

b) Pennsylvania needs to reconsider its welfare-to-work approach. Earnings and employment of TANF recipients vary significantly between work-first and education-first programs. According to the Urban Institute, recipients who engage in the latter, or are provided with a mixed model have better job prospects after leaving TANF. Some states engage in job retention beyond traditional job placement. Such approaches help address the challenges of post-TANF distress.

c) Several states have seen significant successes in implementing state-driven and state-funded initiatives. While many states have made strides in improving education access and outcomes for TANF recipients, additional barriers remain. Future policies should not only build on the above, but also incorporate solutions to address the concerns expressed by TANF recipients. **For instance, single mothers face particular barriers to pursuing education.** Participating in an education program requires foregoing full-time work which would provide more income to support one's family. As such, these women may need additional support beyond the childcare support some states currently offer. Other TANF recipients participating in education and vocational training have found that post-training, they are unable to find work in the field studied.

d) Thus, education and training programs should be aligned with fields adequately demanded in local labor markets. In addition, participants completing a program, upon graduation, may still find they lack one year of relevant work experience often considered a requirement for entry-level positions. Finally, without innovative funding support initiatives (like state grant programs mentioned above), TANF recipients can become even more saddled in debt as a result of pursuing education.

In brief, strong education programs should include the use of state funds to finance education programs that more flexibly meet recipients' needs, and to build education outcomes into the performance metrics upon which cash assistance programs evaluate their success. Improvements should be made to the TANF education and training policy in Pennsylvania in order to allow recipients to get skills and a job that would keep them above the poverty line. Without an efficient educational and training policy, chances are that jobs will not be obtained or that jobs will provide very poor wages.

Supportive Services

We recommend providing broad support services and offering supplemental cash assistance at higher levels to more appropriately meet individual needs and respond to crises. Supportive services are often one-dimensional and do not sufficiently consider the needs of low-income families. While the state provides monthly work expense reimbursement, reimbursements provided for relevant needs are often too low. Recognizing the vast expanse of needs individuals may have related to getting through a crisis or maintaining

employment makes it clear that supplemental payments should truly reflect the cost of needed items. Further, supportive services must have the flexibility to meet individual, variable needs based on each person's case plan.

In brief, welfare programs aim to address poverty in the country, but they fail to look holistically at the needs of families and develop incentives to transition recipients into the workforce successfully. Dependency on the program is augmented by the tradeoff effects discussed above and the failures of the FLSA to consider the rights of welfare recipients to minimum wage standards.

Childcare

Because single mothers are disproportionately represented in TANF programs across the country, we recommend that the state eliminates copays for all families currently receiving TANF and ensure that reimbursement amount is adequate to sufficiently cover childcare costs. Thus, the targeted interventions should include reforms to the childcare policies in order to allow women to either get a job or improve education.

Childcare is necessary to secure and maintain employment, but it is expensive. Families receiving childcare benefits must pay any difference between the amount covered by the state and the amount charged by the facility. Additionally, some TANF families are required to pay a copay.

Wages

To ensure more successful transitions to the job market, the state should focus on placing recipients in higher-than-minimum wage jobs. We know that welfare programs offer a substantially higher rate of compensation than jobs set at the minimum-wage level. We also understand that simply increasing the minimum wage does not guarantee enough income or address issues that impede TANF recipients from achieving self-sufficiency. Therefore, focusing job placements in markets that provide higher income and targeting partnerships with education, training, and employment programs that improve the marketability of TANF recipients to access better-paying jobs is key to addressing re-entry into ETANF. According to the CATO Institute and the National Conference of State Legislatures, Pennsylvania public assistance programs pay \$6.53 above the minimum wage. **The state can support stronger economic mobility for recipients by setting wage standards for employment partners.** When there is a large misconception that welfare recipients tend to stay on welfare instead of furthering their economic opportunities, it is vital that the state focusing on combating

this stigma by examining the return-on-investment the program offers recipients and their ability to create social mobility beyond TANF.

Stigma

We recommend strong, purposeful outreach to create a healthy environment for potential recipients, ensure people can navigate the application process, and educate families about benefits they may be eligible for. This, in turn, can foster increased awareness which may help decrease stigma, provide access to services in a timely manner, and ensure low-income families avoid the physical (nutritional) and psychological consequences of lack of access to benefits and facilitate reintegration into the economic system in the future.

Potential and current TANF recipients can internalize negative stereotypes and opinions about welfare recipients. In addition, stigma can expose recipients to hostile treatment. This stigma exacerbates any barriers to accessing benefits and future employability.

Data Analysis and Economic Indicators

Based on our data analysis we recommend:

- a) To examine Allegheny and Philadelphia counties as potential targets for policy interventions because these counties show a large number of recipients while having better economic indicators than others do.** Even when controlling for population differences, these two counties have a much higher proportion of recipients per capita than others, so successful interventions targeting these areas should have a stronger impact on the statewide caseload numbers.
- b) Additionally, counties within the Southeast should be examined** due to the significantly higher magnitude of welfare caseloads found there in comparison to neighboring regions.

Outreach and Access and Geospatial Analysis

Based on our literature and geospatial analysis we recommend:

- a) That outreach and access programs and issues be studied within Northeastern and Central Pennsylvania Counties.** Thus, this study recommends that both regional outliers with respect to welfare caseloads be carefully examined as potential targets for policy interventions.
- b) While potential issues of outreach and access should be studied within Northeastern Pennsylvanian counties, counties within the Southeast should be examined** in tandem due to the significantly higher magnitude of welfare caseloads in comparison to neighboring regions. Future research should also explore gaps in ETANF coverage. For instance, it is important to understand what factors contribute to exiting the program and which factors contribute to re-entering.
- c) After conducting preliminary geospatial analysis, we conclude that there are many areas across the state that can be deemed to have low access to County Assistance Office and that the State needs to improve accessibility.** Accessibility is a significant issue for TANF and ETANF cases because each recipient is required to meet with a caseworker in his or her own county. Improving accessibility to offices and services should be a major goal of the department moving forward. This can be achieved by having mobile clinics, switching to phone case management if clients are unable to meet, or by helping to improve transportation networks or providing a subsidy to help clients get to a County Assistance Office.
- d) Additionally, when we analyzed employment services vs. ETANF caseloads it becomes evident that Cambria and York counties are underserved and that there is a mismatch between services and needs because both have high ETANF caseloads and low employment services programs.**
- e) Lastly, it is recommended further spatial analysis be conducted by viewing caseloads with metadata of client addresses. This should illustrate travel times to offices and service and permit creating a geospatial index to better identify underserved areas in the state.**

Mental health, addiction and homelessness support services

Based on the Allegheny County data analysis, we recommend:

- a) To further study the prevalence of mental health, addiction, and homelessness issues and needs.** Given the prevalence of long-term TANF recipients suffering from mental health issues, pre-emptive interventions should support those most prone to face mental health challenges (e.g. youth around age nine and adults around 30).

b) The spike in TANF recipients leveraging substance use services underscores the ongoing need to address the opioid epidemic, and to ensure it is not viewed in isolation.

c) Finally, as tracking homelessness among TANF recipients was only recently implemented, we recommend continuing to collect data on homelessness and its intersection with other needs (e.g. precursor needs that may lead to homelessness, as well as additional needs that arise post-homelessness). Given peaks in homelessness and substance use both align (e.g. around age 30 and age 50), we recommend a holistic approach to interventions and outreach targeting these age demographics in particular.

Conclusion

Our research and analysis illustrate the barriers low-income individuals face in accessing TANF benefits and in leaving TANF. Barriers to entry include stigma, accessibility issues, and lack of proximity to County Assistance offices. Further, insufficient supportive services can fail to provide for the essential needs that must be met if recipients are to fulfill work requirements. Leaving TANF can be even more difficult, as weak education and training outcomes keep people in low-paying, unsustainable jobs. Substance use disorders and mental illness can exacerbate these challenges, making mental health and substance use services especially important for the ETANF population. Our recommendations target communities that may need additional support, as well as provide ideas for improving the TANF program to help recipients become more self-sufficient in the long-term. We also recommend further research to learn more about the ETANF population in particular regions of the state, and to better understand how diversion programs might assist those who do not truly need TANF.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1. Dimensions of State TANF Performance Measurement Systems

Dimensions	MD	MN	NYC	UT	WI	AR	CA	FL	TX	WA
Types of Performance Measures										
Employment outcomes ^a	X	X	X	X	X	X	^b	X	X	X
Education outcomes				X	X	X			X	
Positive case closures			X	X		^c				X
Timely and efficient processing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	n.a.	X
Consequences in Performance System^d										
Financial penalties/incentives		X			X					
Publication of results	X	X	X		X					
Targets adjusted across areas		X	X	X	X					

a. See table 2 for more details on employment outcome measures.

b. California has in statute performance measures related to employment outcomes. However, these provisions have never been funded or implemented.

c. Arkansas has a performance measure for increasing the percentage of former recipients who move out of poverty, although this measure has not been implemented.

d. The phone calls with states did not gather consistent information on the consequences in their performance measurement systems, as the focus of the phone calls was narrower.

Appendix B

Table 1. Changes in ETANF Caseloads and Labor Force Participation Within PA Counties From 2012-2017

VARIABLES	(1) ETANF Caseloads	(2) Labor Force Participation Rate	VARIABLES	(1) ETANF Caseloads	(2) Labor Force Participation Rate
Allegheny County	-57.72 ⁺ (24.60)	0.44** (.100)	Lancaster County	-9.89** (1.59)	0.56** (0.12)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.52	1.52	Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.29	1.49
Adjusted R-Squared	0.80	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.86	0.99
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Beaver County	1.34 (1.06)	0.38** (.048)	Lawrence County	7.83** (1.24)	0.33* (0.12)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.55	2.24	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.35	1.81
Adjusted R-Squared	0.90	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.72	0.93
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Berks County	-8.78** (1.89)	0.63** (.140)	Lebanon County	2.60 (1.65)	0.53** (0.096)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.29	1.48	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.40	1.52
Adjusted R-Squared	0.83	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.82	0.99
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Blair County	1.00 (0.84)	0.53** (0.09)	Lehigh County	-1.74* (0.73)	0.46* (0.20)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.84	1.72	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.42	1.55

Adjusted R-Squared	0.41	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.56	0.89
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Bucks County	3.28** (0.12)	0.61** (0.11)	Luzerne County	-4.18** (1.36)	0.42** (0.14)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.66	1.49	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.67
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.82
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Butler County	2.59** (0.31)	0.36* (0.10)	Lycoming County	-2.73** (0.45)	0.54** (0.08)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.49	1.89	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.36	1.87
Adjusted R-Squared	0.93	0.86	Adjusted R-Squared	0.90	0.83
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Cambria County	9.29** (2.19)	0.56** (0.11)	McKean County	2.15 (8.90)	0.29+ (.016)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.48	2.07	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.72	1.43
Adjusted R-Squared	0.75	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.94	0.82
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Chester County	1.71+ (0.83)	0.41 (0.09)	Mercer County	-3.69** (1.08)	0.15 (.11)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.91	1.64	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.75	1.51
Adjusted R-Squared	0.76	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.95	0.80
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Crawford County	1.90**	0.42*	Montgomery County	-3.40	0.55**

	(0.35)	(0.16)		(2.58)	(0.06)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.68	1.70	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.97	1.86
Adjusted R-Squared	0.93	0.98	Adjusted R-Squared	0.47	0.77
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Dauphin County	-4.22 (4.66)	0.60** (0.14)	Northampton County	-4.12 (8.42)	-0.16 (0.15)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.15	1.40	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.86	1.25
Adjusted R-Squared	0.56	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.93	0.77
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Delaware County	-16.89* (5.49)	0.66** (0.13)	Philadelphia County	-11.25** (3.86)	0.36** (0.08)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.62	1.50	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.77	1.63
Adjusted R-Squared	0.79	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.86
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Erie County	1.08 (1.55)	0.38+ (0.15)	Schuylkill County	-0.98** (0.17)	0.27 (0.14)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.92	1.87	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.59	1.50
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.49	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.91
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Fayette County	3.20** (0.24)	0.56** (0.13)	Washington County	-1.55** (0.10)	0.34** (0.09)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.17	2.14	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.77	1.87
Adjusted R-Squared	0.92	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.89

Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Franklin County	-0.14 (0.87)	0.49** (0.09)	Westmoreland County	-1.66** (0.60)	0.35* (0.15)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.87	1.91	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.72
Adjusted R-Squared	0.82	0.72	Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.85
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Greene County	-1.81** (0.28)	0.11 (0.19)	York County	2.85 (5.98)	0.20 (0.11)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.75	1.61	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.56	1.41
Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.82	Adjusted R-Squared	0.88	0.72
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Lackawanna County	9.47** (0.58)	0.77** (0.11)			
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.72			
Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.98			
Observations	6	6			

NOTES: Table lists the estimates (and robust standard errors) from each Prais-Winsten Cochran-Orcutt regression. Significance levels are indicated by + (at the 10% level), * (at the 5%), and ** (at the 1%). For a coefficient bereft of any indication, assume a lack of significance.

SOURCES: ETANF Caseloads, The Pennsylvania Department of Human Services: 2012-2017; Labor Force Participation, Bureau of Labor Statistics: 2012-2017

Table 2. Time Elasticities for ETANF Caseloads and Labor Force Participation by County

VARIABLES	(1) log ETANF Caseloads	(2) log Labor Force Participation Rate	VARIABLES	(1) log ETANF Caseloads	(2) log Labor Force Participation Rate
Allegheny County	-.041 ⁺ (.017)	.005** (.001)	Lancaster County	-0.11** (0.02)	.006** (.001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.44	1.51	Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.20	1.48
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.99
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Beaver County	.056 (.040)	.004** (.0005)	Lawrence County	0.16** (0.04)	.004** (.001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.50	2.23	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.38	1.81
Adjusted R-Squared	0.90	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.63	0.99
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Berks County	-.077** (.017)	.007** (.001)	Lebanon County	-.0044 (.044)	.006* (.001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.18	1.48	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.66	1.51
Adjusted R-Squared	0.98	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.92
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Blair County	.031 (.029)	.006** (.001)	Lehigh County	.051 (.027)	.0036* (.001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.88	1.71	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.42	1.55
Adjusted R-Squared	0.83	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.70	0.89

Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Bucks County	.083** (.004)	.006** (.001)	Luzerne County	-.080** (.006)	.0016* (.0007)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.62	1.48	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.67
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.95	0.82
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Butler County	0.13** (.013)	.004* (.001)	Lycoming County	-.020 (.011)	.0028** (.0009)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.66	1.88	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.36	1.87
Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.90	0.83
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Cambria County	0.18** (.033)	.006** (.001)	McKean County	0.015 (.004)	.0029+ (.0016)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.53	2.06	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.72	1.43
Adjusted R-Squared	0.91	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.94	0.82
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Chester County	.043+ (.021)	.004** (.001)	Mercer County	-.069** (.008)	.0025 (.0011)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.91	1.63	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.75	1.51
Adjusted R-Squared	0.98	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.95	0.80
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Crawford County	.095** (.021)	.004** (.001)	Montgomery County	-.040* (.019)	.0015** (.0001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.57	1.69	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.97	1.86

Adjusted R-Squared	0.91	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.47	0.77
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Dauphin County	-.030 (.031)	.006** (.001)	Northampton County	-.012 (.015)	-.0026 (.002)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.11	1.39	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.86	1.25
Adjusted R-Squared	0.98	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.93	0.77
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Delaware County	-.065* (.021)	.007** (.001)	Philadelphia County	-.070** (.015)	.004** (.0006)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.48	1.49	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.77	1.63
Adjusted R-Squared	0.98	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.86
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Erie County	.007 (.009)	.004+ (.001)	Schuylkill County	.098** (.003)	.003** (.0001)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.92	1.87	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.59	1.50
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.91
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Fayette County	.051** (.012)	.006** (.001)	Washington County	-.055** (.0010)	.0044** (.0008)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	2.17	2.13	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.77	1.87
Adjusted R-Squared	0.99	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.89
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6

Franklin County	-0.98* (0.17)	.005** (.001)	Westmoreland County	-.066** (.023)	.004* (.0014)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.90	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.76	1.72
Adjusted R-Squared	0.93	0.99	Adjusted R-Squared	0.97	0.85
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Greene County	-0.15** (.032)	.001 (.002)	York County	0.085 (0.098)	.00015 (.0014)
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.75	1.61	Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.56	1.41
Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.82	Adjusted R-Squared	0.88	0.72
Observations	6	6	Observations	6	6
Lackawanna County	.19** (.021)	.008** (.001)			
Durbin-Watson Statistic	1.96	1.71			
Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.99			
Observations	6	6			

NOTES: Table lists the estimates (and robust standard errors) from each Prais-Winsten Cochran-Orcutt regression. Significance levels are indicated by + (at the 10% level), * (at the 5%), and ** (at the 1%). For a coefficient bereft of any indication, assume a lack of significance.

SOURCES: ETANF Caseloads, The Pennsylvania Department of Human Services: 2012-2017; Labor Force Participation, Bureau of Labor Statistics: 2012-2017

Table 3. Changes in ETANF Cases and LFPR by Region

	(1) ETANF Caseloads	(2) Labor Force Participation Rate
West	-4.77	0.37
Northeast	0.75	0.46
Southeast	-2.85	0.43
Central	0.13	0.55
Observations	31	31

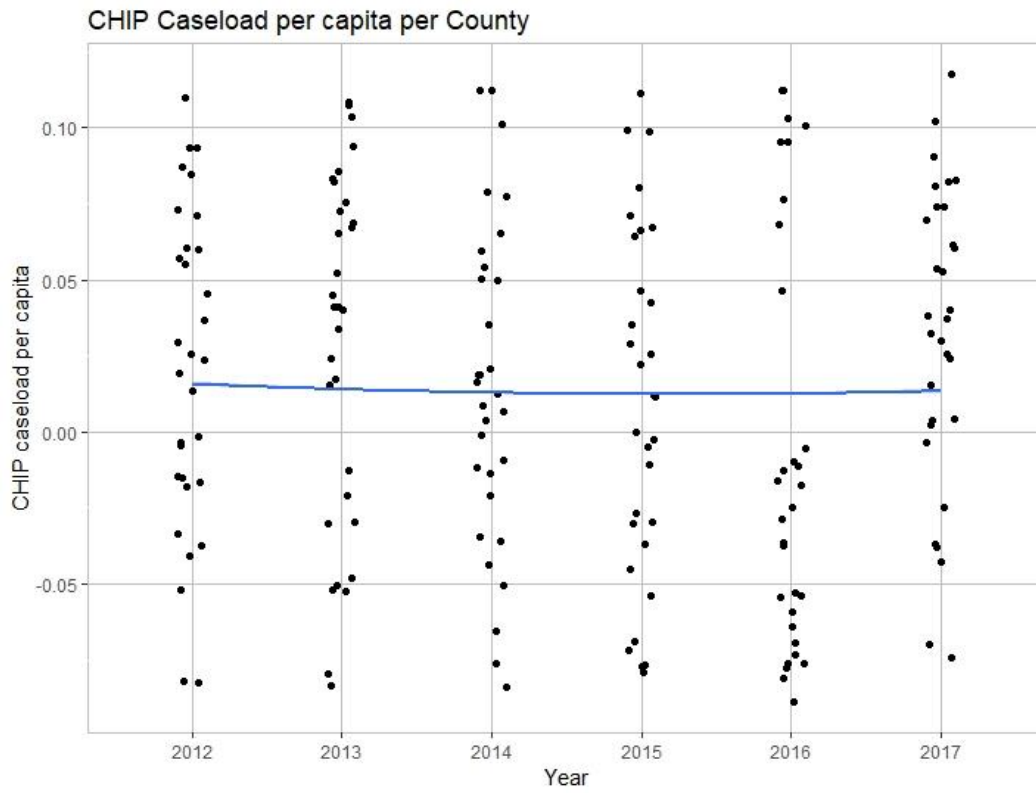
SOURCES: ETANF Caseloads, The Pennsylvania Department of Human Services: 2012-2017; Labor Force Participation, Bureau of Labor Statistics: 2012-2017

Table 4. Time Elasticities of Variables by Region

	(1) log ETANF Caseloads	(2) log Labor Force Participation Rate
West	0.004	0.050
Northeast	0.041	0.018
Southeast	-0.085	0.041
Central	0.034	0.018
Observations	31	31

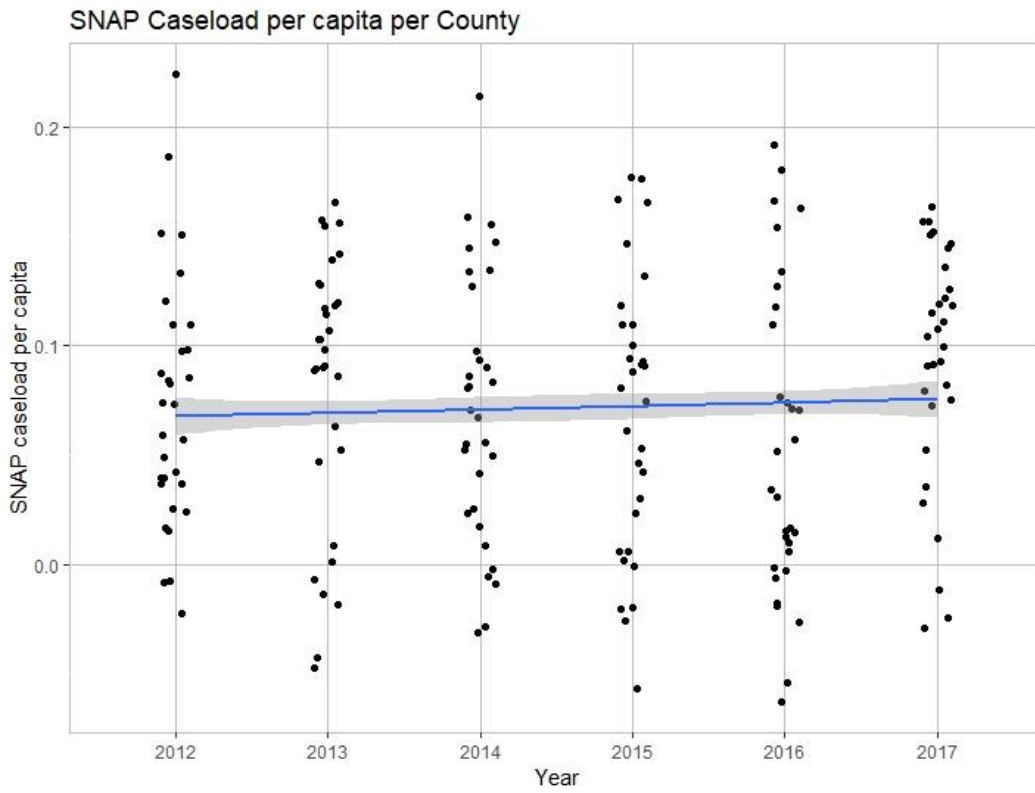
SOURCES: ETANF Caseloads, The Pennsylvania Department of Human Services: 2012-2017; Labor Force Participation, Bureau of Labor Statistics: 2012-2017

Figure 1. CHIP Caseload Per Capita by County Between 2012-2017



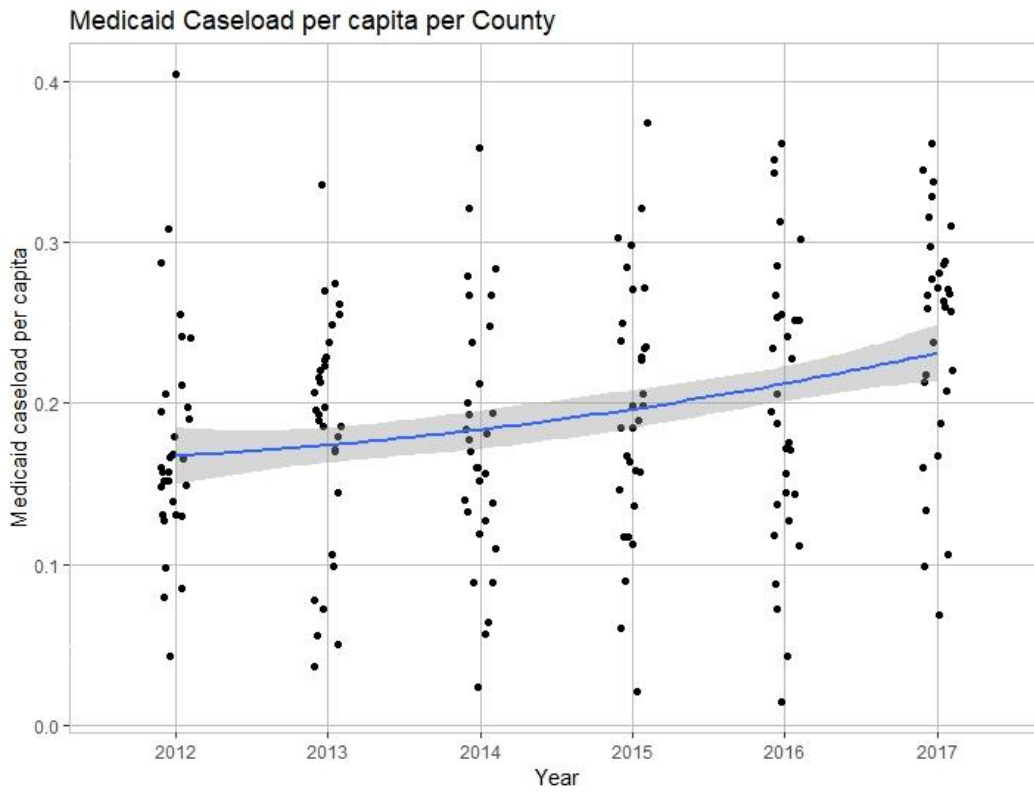
Sources: CHIP Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017. County Population: U.S. Census Bureau.

Figure 2. SNAP Caseload Per Capita by County between 2012-2017



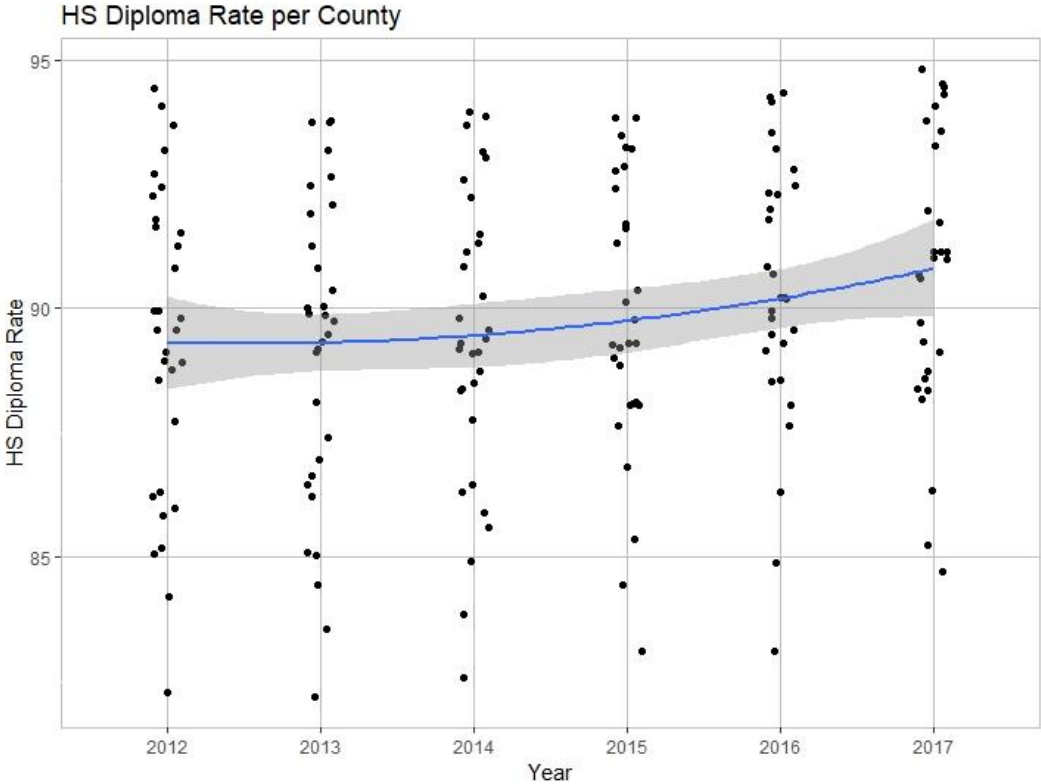
Sources: SNAP Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017. County Population: U.S. Census Bureau.

Figure 3. Medicaid Caseload Per Capita by County between 2012-2017



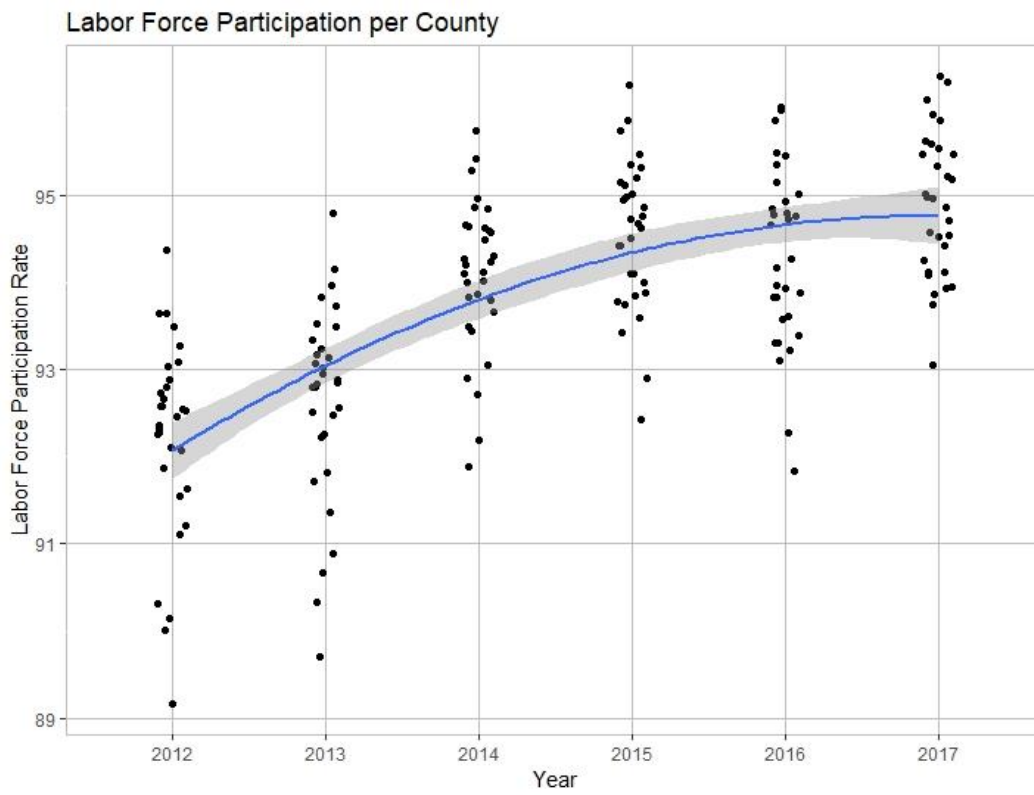
Sources: Medicaid Recipients: The Urban Institute, Years 2012-2017. County Population: U.S. Census Bureau.

Figure 4. Proportion of People with High School Diplomas by County between 2012-2017



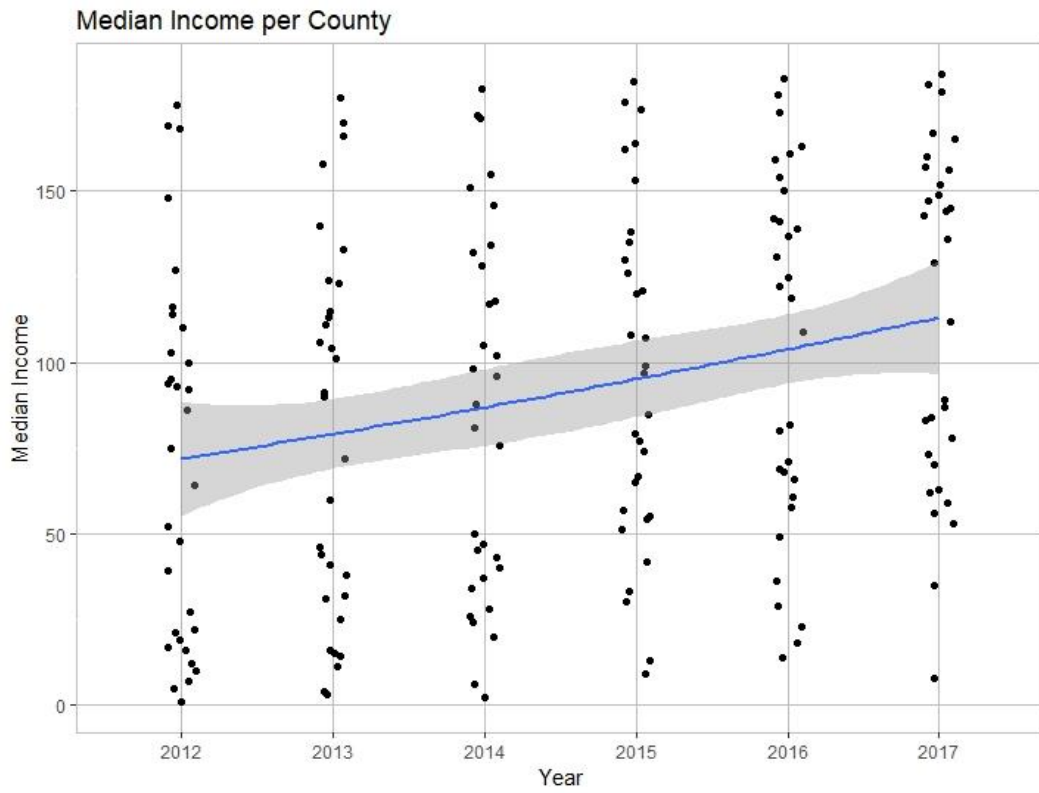
Sources: Educational Attainment Statistics: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

Figure 5. Labor Force Participation Rate by County between 2012-2017



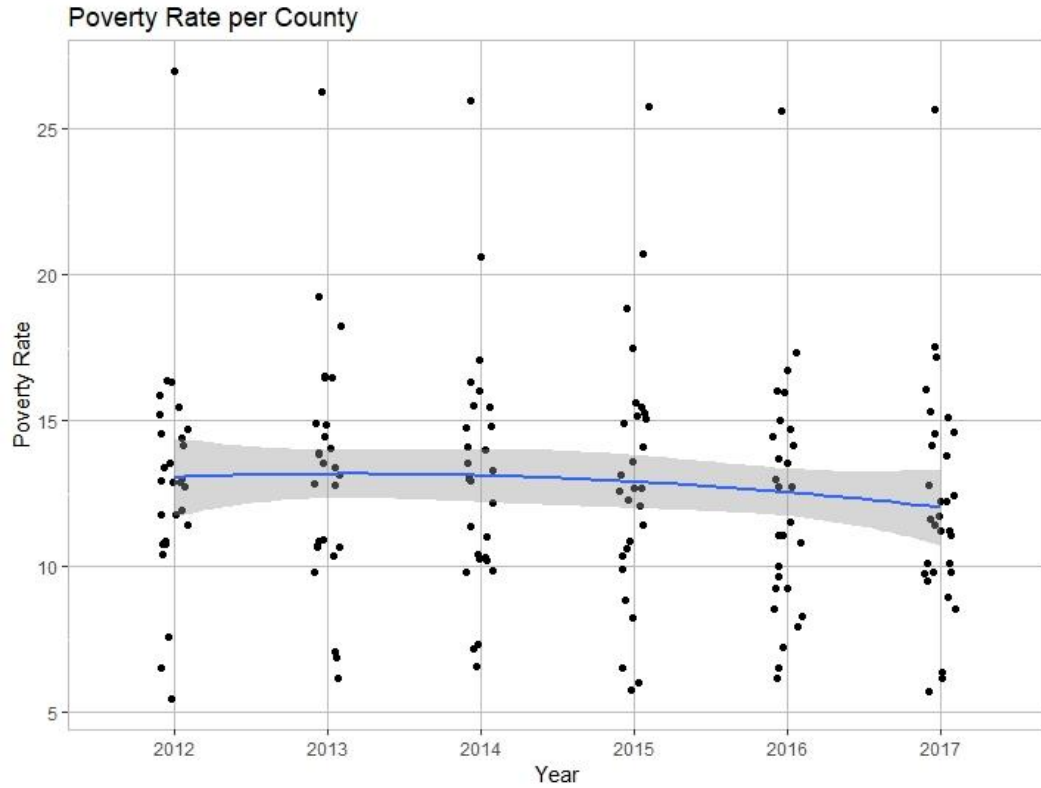
Sources: Educational Attainment Statistics: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

Figure 6. Median Income by County between 2012-2017



Sources: Educational Attainment Statistics: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

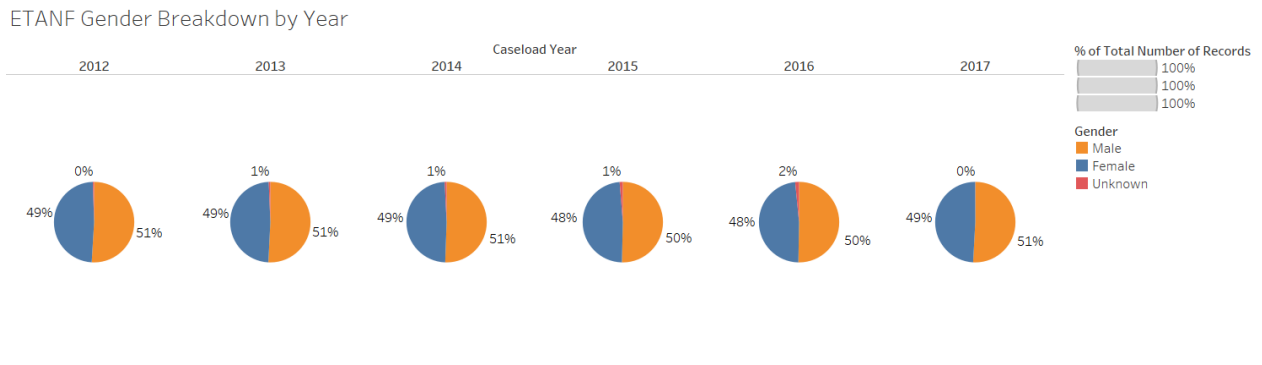
Figure 7. Poverty Rate by County between 2012-2017



Sources: Educational Attainment Statistics: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fiscal Years 2012-2017.

Appendix C

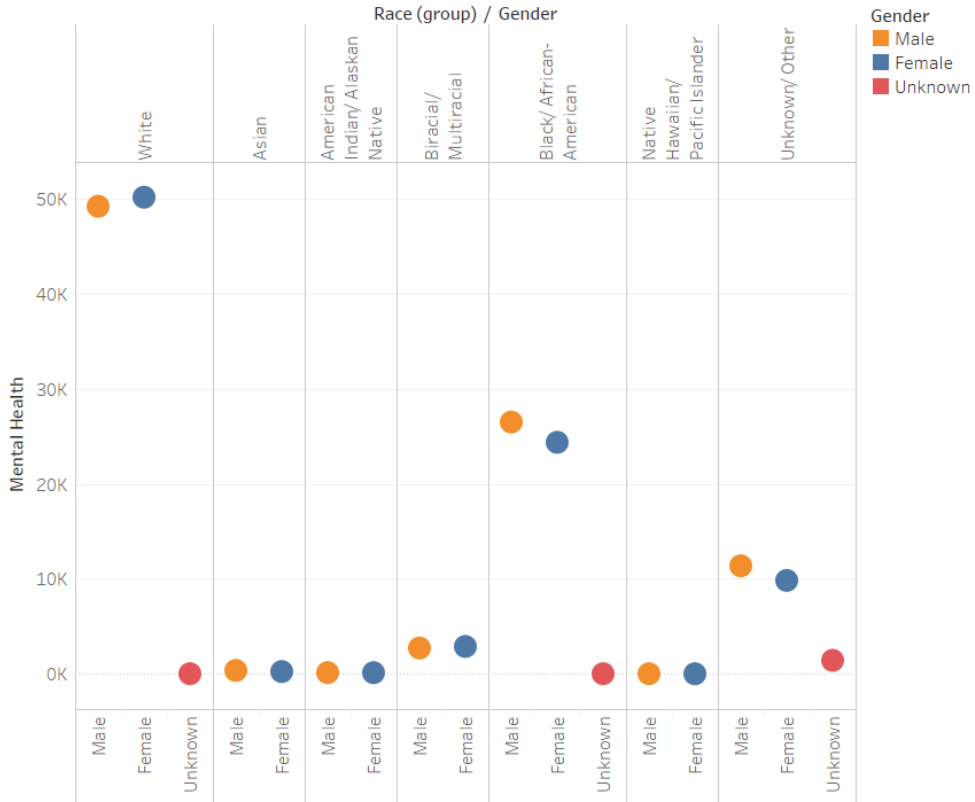
Figure 1. Gender Breakdown by Year



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 2. Race & Gender Breakdown for Mental Health

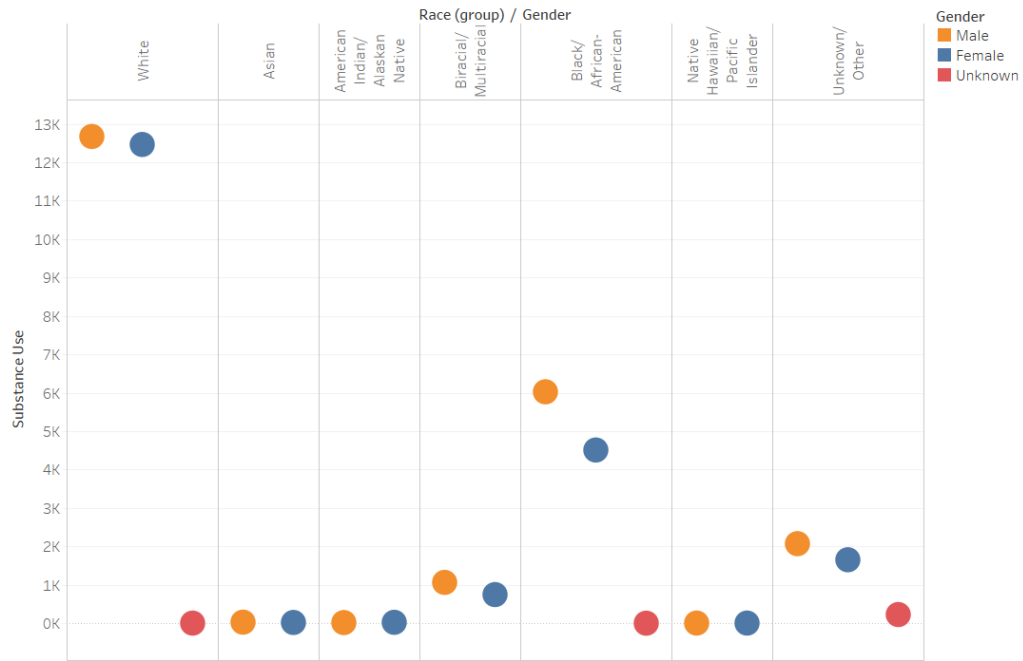
Mental Health Counts by Race & Gender (2012-2017)



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 3. Race & Gender Breakdown for Substance Use

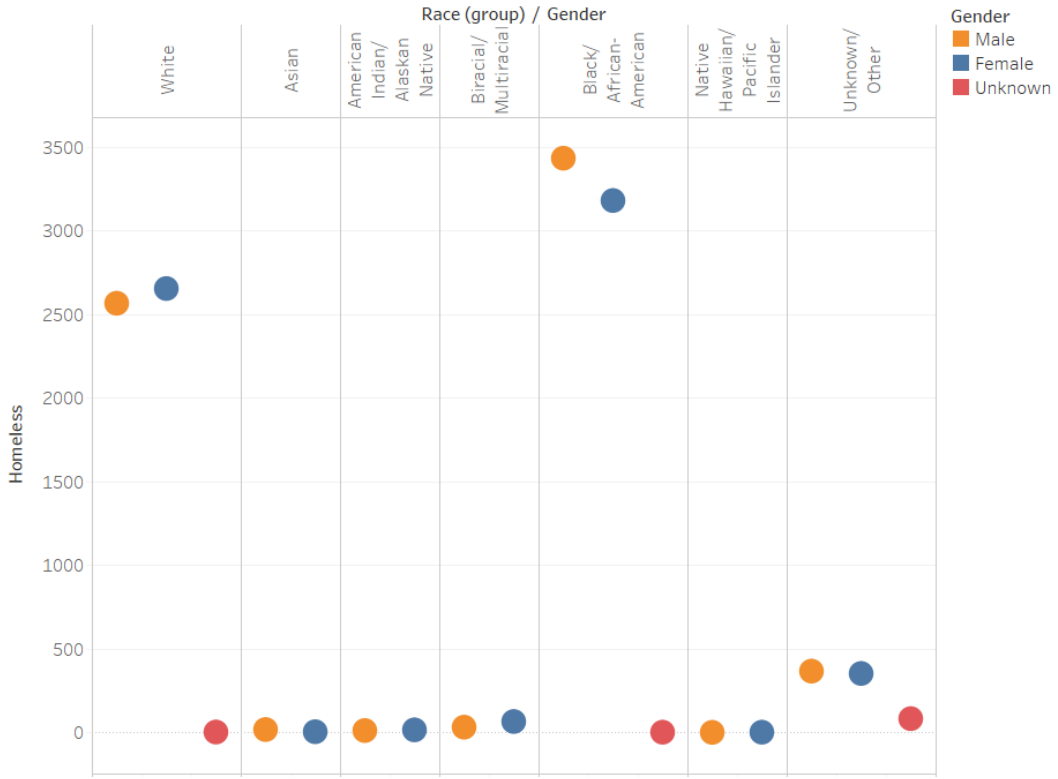
Substance Use Counts by Race & Gender (2012-2017)



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

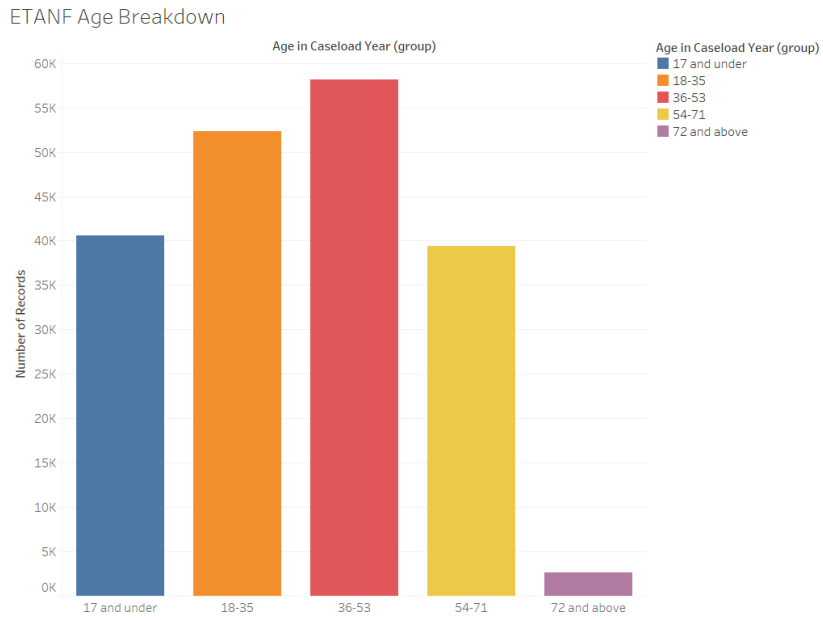
Figure 4. Race & Gender Breakdown for Homelessness

Homeless Counts by Race & Gender (2012-2017)



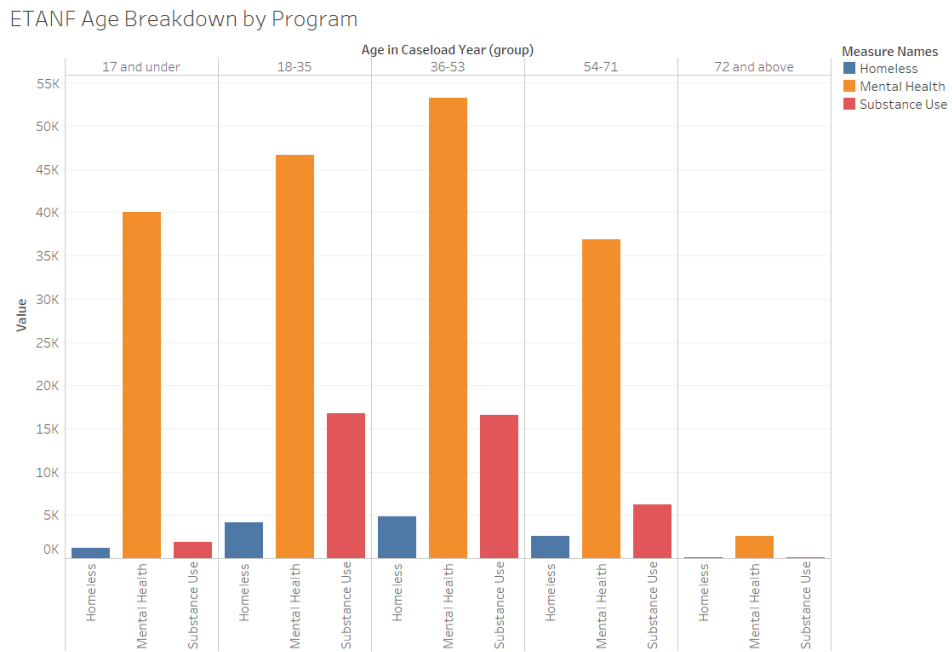
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 5. ETANF Age Breakdown



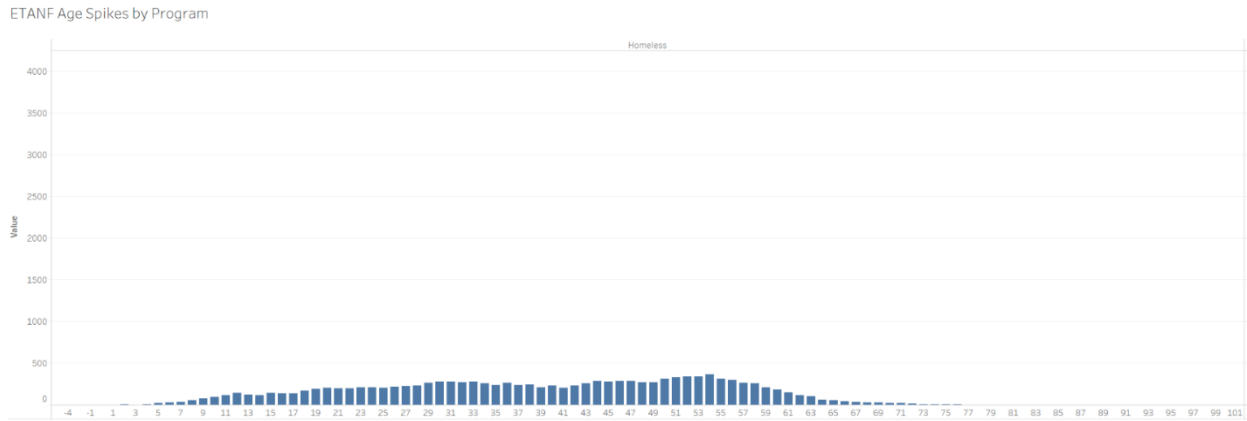
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 6. Age Breakdown by Program



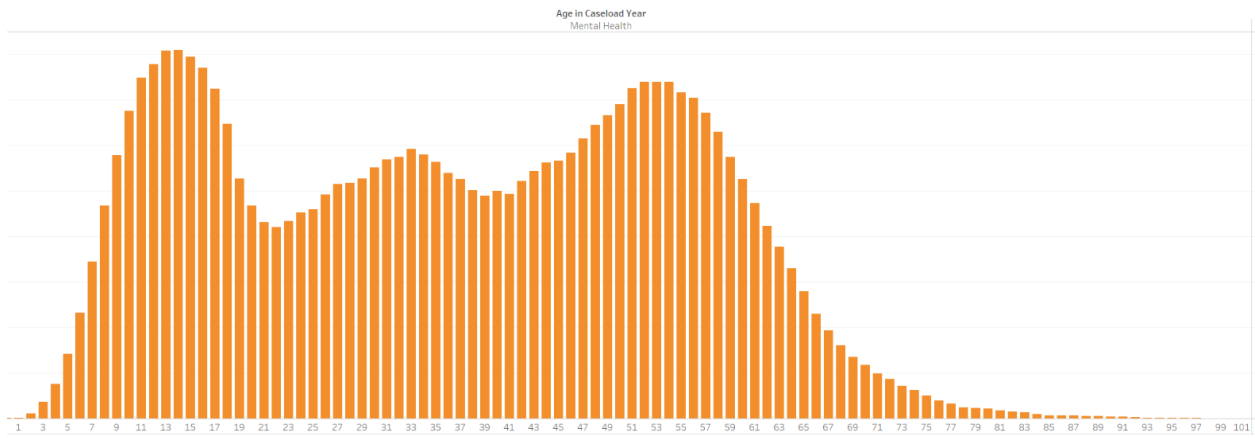
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 7. Age Spikes by Program: Homelessness



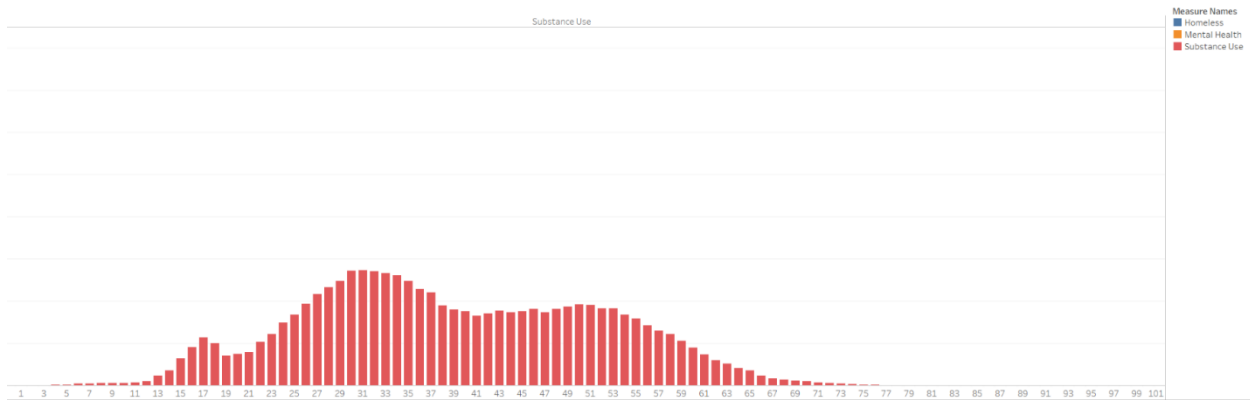
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 8. Age Spikes by Program: Mental Health



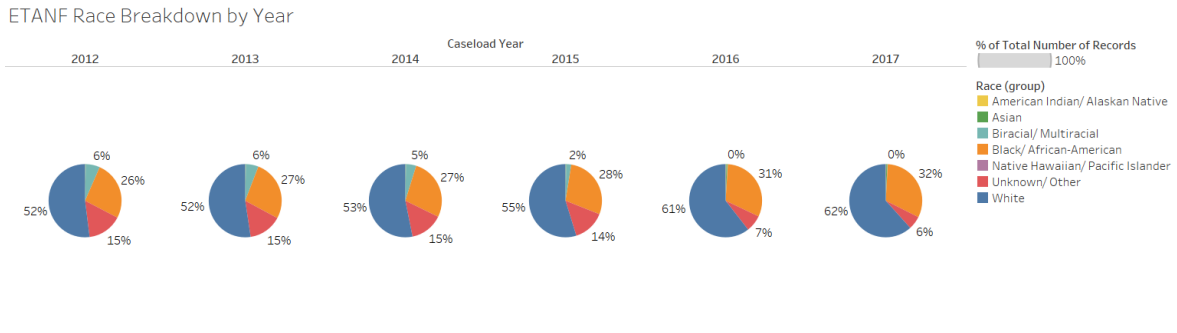
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 9. Age Spikes by Program: Substance Use



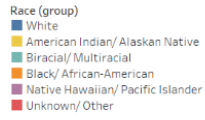
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 10. Race Breakdown by Year



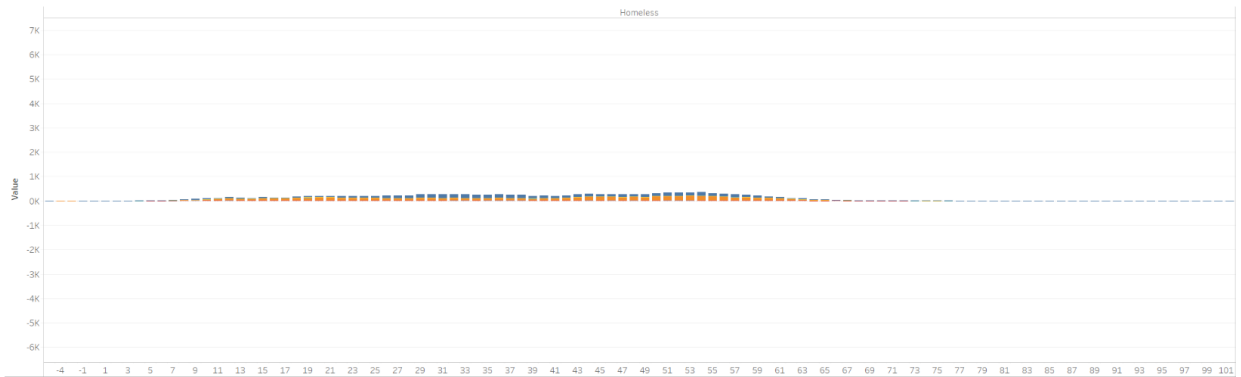
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 11. Age Spikes by Race across Programs



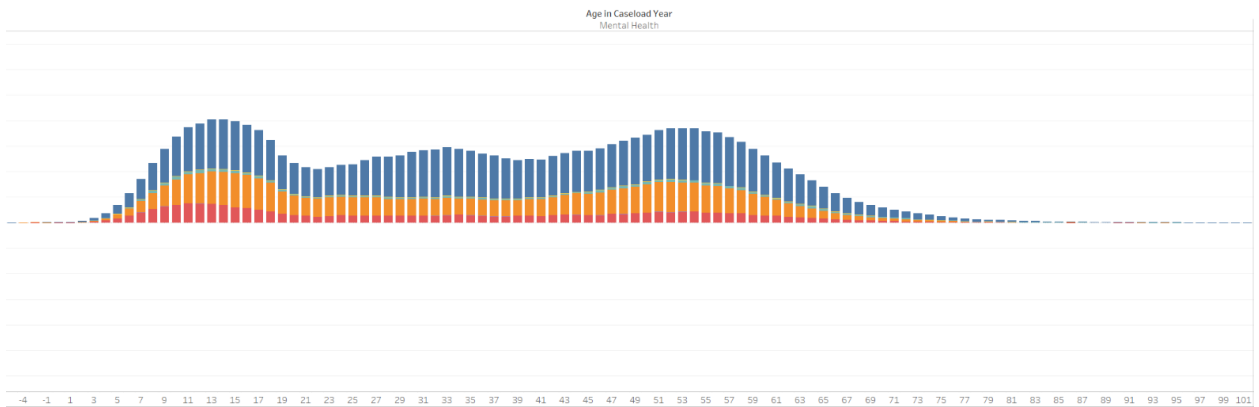
Homelessness:

ETANF Age Spikes by Race



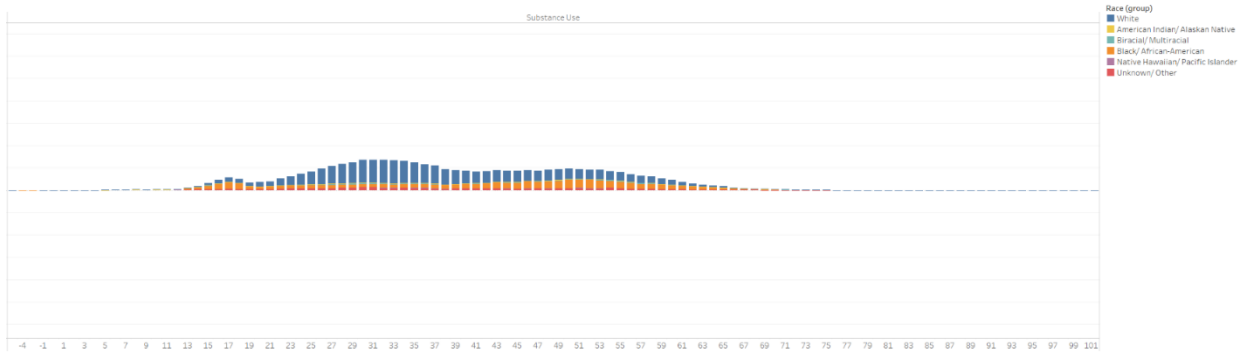
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Mental Health:



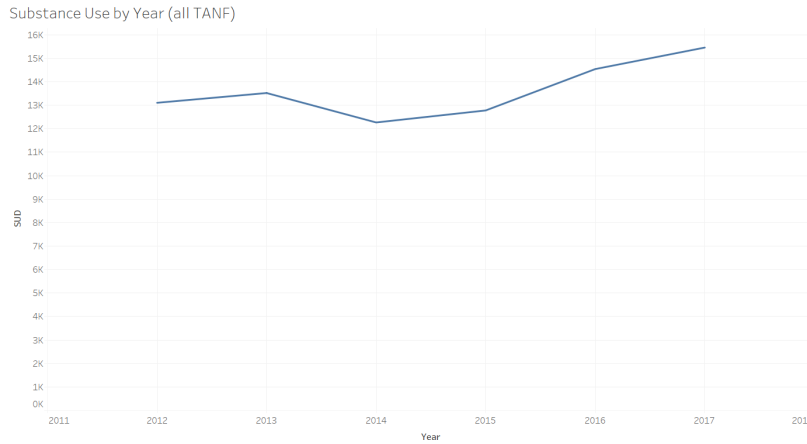
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Substance Use:



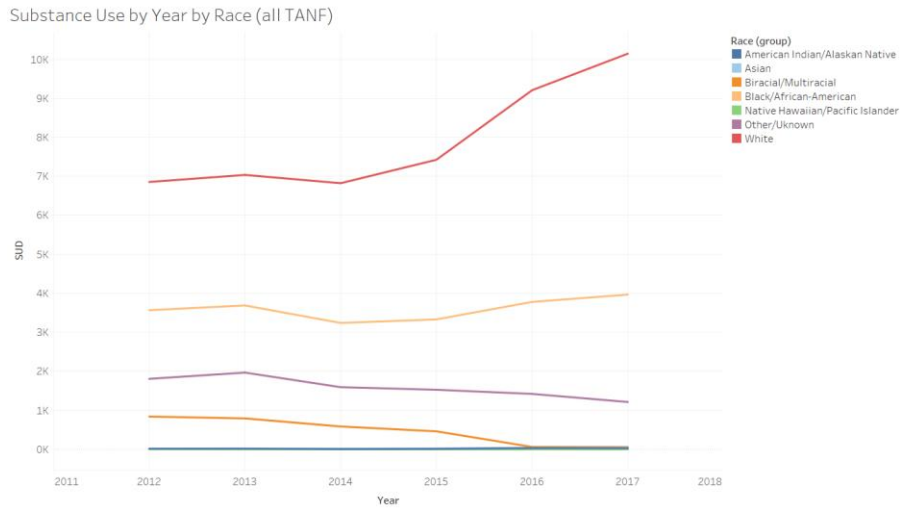
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 12. Substance Use by Year



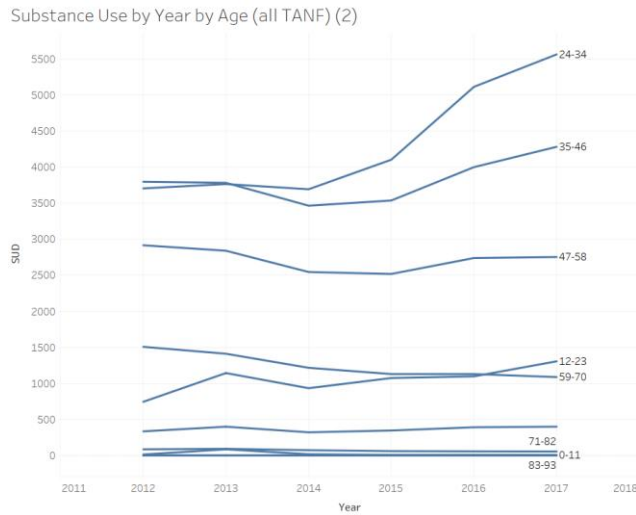
Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 13. Substance Use by Race



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

Figure 14. Substance Use by Age



Source: Allegheny County Department of Human Services Data Warehouse (QuickCount Tool)

-
- ¹ Falk, Gene. "The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Block Grant: A Legislative History." (2017). p. 2
- ² Ibid., 2-3.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Ibid., 3-4.
- ⁶ Ibid., 4-5.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Ibid., 5.
- ⁹ Ibid., 6.
- ¹⁰ Giannarelli, Linda, Christine Heffernan, Sarah Minton, Megan Thompson, and Kathryn Stevens. "Welfare Rules Databook: State TANF Policies as of July 2016." (2017). p. 3-5
- ¹¹ Ibid., 3-5.
- ¹² Falk, Gene, Legislative history, p. 4-7.
- ¹³ U.S. President (Clinton), "Veto of H.R. 4," 104th Cong., 2nd sess., January 22, 1996, H. Doc. 104-164 (Washington:GPO, 1996), and Falk, Gene, "Legislative History," p. 8.
- ¹⁴ Falk, Gene., "Block Grant: A Legislative History" p.10.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 8-9.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 8-9.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.,11-19.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 11-19.
- ¹⁹ Rosenberg, Linda, Michelle Derry, LaDonna Pavetti, Subuhi Asheer, Megan Hague Angus, Samina Sattar, and Jeffrey Max. "A Study of States' TANF Diversion Programs." Report no. 233-02-0086/HHSP233200600007T. Mathematica Policy Research Inc. https://wwwdev.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/opre/tanf_diversion.pdf. p. 2.
- ²⁰ Ibid., xiii.
- ²¹ London, R.A. "Which TANF Applicants Are Diverted, and What Are Their Outcomes?" Social Service Reviews, vol. 77, 2003, p. 373-398.
- ²² Rosenberg, Linda, Michelle Derr, LaDonna Pavetti, Subuhi Asheer, Megan Hague Angus, Samina Sattar, and Jeffrey Max. "A Study of States' TANF Diversion Programs," p.16.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Ibid., xiii-xiv.
- ²⁵ Ibid., 17-18.
- ²⁶ Ibid., xiv.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 31.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 31-32.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 40.
- ³⁰ Ibid., xiv.
- ³¹ Ibid., 56-57.
- ³² Hahn, Heather; Derrick-Mills, Teresa; and Spaulding, Shayne (2018). Measuring Employment Outcomes in TANF, OPRE Report #2018-74, Washington, DC: Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. p. iii.

-
- ³³ Ibid., 39.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 39.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 40.
- ³⁶ Ibid., 40.
- ³⁷ Ibid., 41.
- ³⁸ “Child Recipients of Welfare (AFDC/TANF).” ChildTrends Data Bank. December 2015. https://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/50_AFDC_TANF.pdf
- ³⁹ Schott, Liz, and Ife Finch. “TANF Benefits are Low and Have Not Kept Pace with Inflation.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. October 11, 2017. <https://www.cbpp.org/research/tanf-benefits-are-low-and-have-not-kept-pace-with-inflation>.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Brandon, Peter D. “Examining Effects of Minimum Wages on Single Mothers’ Exits from Welfare.” Employment Policies Institute. July 2008. <https://www.epionline.org/studies/r112/>. p. 18
- ⁴² Ibid., 18.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 19.
- ⁴⁴ Committee on Ways and Means (2016). “Green Book: Background Material and Data on the Programs Within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.” U.S. House of Representatives.
- ⁴⁵ Falk, Gene, “Block Grant: A Legislative History.”
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Committee on Ways and Means (2016). “Green Book Background Materials and Data.”
- ⁴⁸ Falk, Gene, “Block Grant: A Legislative History.”
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Hahn, H. et. al. (2017). “Why Does Cash Welfare Depend on Where You Live? How and Why TANF State Programs Vary.” The Urban Institute.
- ⁵¹ Falk, Gene, “Block Grant: A Legislative History.”
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Committee on Ways and Means (2016). “Green Book Background Materials and Data.”
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Falk, Gene, “Block Grant: A Legislative History.”
- ⁵⁷ Hahn, H. et. Al, “Why Does Cash Welfare Depend on Where You Live? How and Why TANF State Programs Vary.”
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ “Pennsylvania’s Local Workforce System.” PA Workforce Development Association. <https://www.pawork.org/about-us/pennsylvanias-local-workforce-system/>.
- ⁶⁰ Moses, Joy. “Basic Needs Assistance for the Poor Advances Economic Recovery and Employment Goals.” February 3, 2009. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/poverty/reports/2009/02/03/5657/basic-needs-assistance-for-the-poor-advances-economic-recovery-and-employment-goals/>.
- ⁶¹ Schott, Liz and Ladonna Pavetti. “Extending the TANF Emergency Fund Would Create and Preserve Jobs Quickly and Efficiently.” Center on Budget and Policy

Priorities. April 6, 2010. <https://www.cbpp.org/research/extending-the-tanf-emergency-fund-would-create-and-preserve-jobs-quickly-and-efficiently>.

⁶² Schott, Liz and Ladonna Pavetti. "Walking Away from a Win-Win-Win." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. September 2, 2010.

<https://www.cbpp.org/research/walking-away-from-a-win-win-win>.

⁶³ "Workforce Development." Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

<https://www.dli.pa.gov/Businesses/Workforce-Development/Pages/default.aspx>.

⁶⁴ "Serving TANF and low-income populations through WIA one-stop centers." Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. January 1, 2004.

<https://aspe.hhs.gov/basic-report/serving-tanf-and-low-income-populations-through-wia-one-stop-centers>.

⁶⁵ "WIOA Overview." United States Department of Labor. Last updated June 1, 2014.

<https://www.doleta.gov/WIOA/Overview.cfm>.

⁶⁶ "Pennsylvania's Local Workforce System." PA Workforce Development Association.

<https://www.pawork.org/about-us/pennsylvanias-local-workforce-system/>.

⁶⁷ "Executive Order: 2016-03 – Establishing "Employment First" Policy and Increasing Competitive Integrated Employment for Pennsylvanians with a Disability." Governor Tom Wolf. March 10, 2016. <https://www.governor.pa.gov/executive-order-2016-03-establishing-employment-first-policy-increasing-competitive-integrated-employment-pennsylvanians-disability/>.

⁶⁸ "Pennsylvania Commonwealth Workforce Development System." Pennsylvania Departments of Labor and Industry and Human Services.

https://www.cwds.pa.gov/cwdsonline/Admin/ViewHomePage/PublicHomePage.aspx?rVnp4_4Q@aYv5CBH3CrHRNb38verWXmC8ySHArCX1Xyv3vJZJaZMUfOlyd2lfPliPaeW4S9kVQGq7w4hptowSJlb5aAoSU7g3l@iHy7zPO0-zZS4mWkq87KesTQGhIDL88v6Yg5DosmEdLRuHbeOWBVGqfHH46mL.

⁶⁹ "Pathways PA." Pathways PA. <http://www.pathwayspa.org/>.

⁷⁰ Long, David A. and Tammy Ouelette. "Private Employers and TANF Recipients." Abt Associates Inc. May 25, 2004. <https://aspe.hhs.gov/system/files/pdf/72786/report.pdf>. pp. 7-10.

⁷¹ "Employment Services." Pennsylvania Department of Human Services.

<http://www.dhs.pa.gov/publications/infographics/employmentservices/>.

⁷² "Employment, Advancement and Retention Network (EARN)." Pennsylvania

Department of Labor and Industry.

[https://www.dli.pa.gov/Individuals/careers/Pages/Employment,-Advancement-and-Retention-Network-\(Earn\).aspx](https://www.dli.pa.gov/Individuals/careers/Pages/Employment,-Advancement-and-Retention-Network-(Earn).aspx)

⁷³ Lower-Basch, Elizabeth. "Work Participation Rate." CLASP. January 2018.

<https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2017/04/TANF-101-Work-Participation-Rate.pdf>.

⁷⁴ "TANF Education and Training Resources." CLASP. <https://www.clasp.org/tanf-education-and-training-resources>.

⁷⁵ "State Options in Expanding Access to Education in TANF Programs." Clearinghouse Community | Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law.

<http://povertylaw.org/clearinghouse/articles/stateoptions>.

Lower-Basch, Elizabeth. "Work Participation Rate." CLASP. January 2018. <https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2017/04/TANF-101-Work-Participation-Rate.pdf>.

Bone, Josh. "TANF Education and Training." CLASP. January 2010. <http://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2017/04/RTW.pdf>.

⁷⁶ "TANF-ACF-IM-2016-05 (Supporting Career Pathways for TANF Recipients)." Office of Family Assistance. October 20, 2016. <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/ofa/resource/tanf-acf-im-2016-05>.

⁷⁷ "Governor Wolf Outlines PAsmart, New Workforce Development Initiative to Help Pennsylvanians Get Job Training." Governor Tom Wolf. March 9, 2018. <https://www.governor.pa.gov/governor-wolf-outlines-pasmart-initiative-new-workforce-development-initiative/>.

⁷⁸ "Governor: \$17.5 million in grants will help workers learn new skills, get in-demand jobs." PA Workforce Development Association. September 28, 2018. <https://www.pawork.org/current-bylaws-article-ii-board-of-directors-and-councils-2-1-director-membership-the-board-of-directors-shall-consist-of-twenty%E2%80%90five-25-voting-members-and-twenty%E2%80%90five-25-alter/>.

⁷⁹ "WIOA Overview." United States Department of Labor. Last updated June 1, 2014. <https://www.doleta.gov/WIOA/Overview.cfm>.

⁸⁰ "Welfare to Work Programs." Pennsylvania 2-1-1. 2018. <https://pa211.communityos.org/zf/taxonomy/detail/id/636847>.

⁸¹ Hahn, Heather; Derrick-Mills, Teresa; and Spaulding, Shayne (2018). Measuring Employment Outcomes in TANF, OPRE Report #2018-74, Washington, DC: Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

⁸² Bloom, Dan, Pamela J. Loprest, and Sheila R. Zedlewski. "TANF Recipients with Barriers to Employment." The Urban Institute. August 2011. <https://www.mdrc.org/sites/default/files/TANF%20Recipients%20with%20Barriers%20to%20Employment.pdf>.

⁸³ "Career pathways and sector-focused employment programs." County Health Rankings and Roadmaps. November 16, 2017. <http://www.countyhealthrankings.org/take-action-to-improve-health/what-works-for-health/policies/career-pathways-and-sector-focused-employment-programs>

⁸⁴ "Background of Arkansas Career Pathways Initiative." Arkansas Career Pathways. https://www.arpathways.com/about_us_history.html.

⁸⁵ Mortrude, Judy. "Recent Study Highlights Success of the Arkansas Career Pathways Initiative." CLASP. April 13, 2016. <https://www.clasp.org/blog/recent-study-highlights-success-arkansas-career-pathways-initiative>.

⁸⁶ DeRenzis, Brooke and Kermit Kaleba. "Arkansas Career Pathways Initiative: How TANF can support skills for low-income parents, and how policymakers can help." National Skills Coalition. October 2016. <https://www.nationalskillscoalition.org/resources/publications/file/how-tanf-can-support-skills-for-low-income-parents-and-how-policymakers-can-help.pdf>.

-
- ⁸⁷ "CalWORKs: The Details." Disability Benefits 101: Working with a Disability in California. Accessed September 19, 2018.
https://ca.db101.org/ca/programs/income_support/calworks/program2c.htm.
- ⁸⁸ "Job Readiness." County of Santa Clara.
<https://www.sccgov.org/sites/ssa/debs/CWES/chapters/cwchap05.pdf>.
- ⁸⁹ "Update 2017-18: CalWORKs Employment Services (CWES)." County of Santa Clara. November 6, 2018.
<https://www.sccgov.org/sites/ssa/debs/CWES/updates/updates2017/cw17-18.pdf>.
- ⁹⁰ Cooper, David. *Economic Policy Institute*. Issue brief no. 418. February 3, 2016.
<https://www.epi.org/publication/wages-and-transfers/>.
- ⁹¹ "Strengthening the TANF Program: Putting Children at the Center and Increasing Access to Good Jobs for Parents," Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, United States House of Representatives Cong., 12 (2018) (testimony of Nisha G. Patel).
- ⁹² Moses, Joy, LaDonna Pavetti, Ph.D., Mariana Chilton, Ph. D, MPH, Shearine Mcghee, Deborah Schlick, Kristin Seefeldt, and Peter Edelman. "Proceedings of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families: Learning from the Past, Planning for the Future," Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C. February 7, 2013.
<https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2013/01/25/50706/temporary-assistance-for-needy-families-learning-from-the-past-planning-for-the-future/>.
- ⁹³ "State Options in Expanding Access to Education in TANF Programs." Clearinghouse Community | Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law. 2018.
<http://povertylaw.org/clearinghouse/articles/stateoptions>. And Hamilton, Gayle, and Susan Scrivener. *Facilitating Postsecondary Education and Training for TANF Recipients*. Issue brief no. 7. March 7, 2012.
<https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/25381/412564-Facilitating-Postsecondary-Education-and-Training-for-TANF-Recipients.PDF>.
- ⁹⁴ Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law, "State Options."
- ⁹⁵ "Strengthening the TANF Program: Putting Children"
- ⁹⁶ United States. Pennsylvania DHS. "Employment and Training Requirements: 135.8 Extended TANF."
http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/135_Employment_and_Training_Requirements/135_8_Extended_TANF.htm.
- ⁹⁷ Lower-Basch, Elizabeth. "Work Participation Rate: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families." Report. January 2018.
<https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2017/04/TANF-101-Work-Participation-Rate.pdf>.
- ⁹⁸ US Department of Health & Human Services. 2017. TANF and MOE Spending and Transfers by Activity, FY 2017: Pennsylvania. Available at
https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/ofa/fy2017_tanf_and_moe_state_piechart.pdf.
- ⁹⁹ Hamilton, Gayle, and Susan Scrivener. "Facilitating Postsecondary Education and Training for TANF Recipients." Issue brief no. 7. March 7, 2012.
<https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/25381/412564-Facilitating-Postsecondary-Education-and-Training-for-TANF-Recipients.PDF>.

¹⁰⁰ Pavetti, LaDonna. "Work Requirements Don't Cut Poverty, Evidence Shows." Report. June 7, 2016. <https://www.cbpp.org/research/poverty-and-inequality/work-requirements-dont-cut-poverty-evidence-shows>.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² "The CalWORKs Program." Public Policy Institute of California. <http://www.ppic.org/publication/the-calworks-program/>.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ "CalWORKs: The Details." Disability Benefits 101: Working with a Disability in California. Accessed September 19, 2018.

https://ca.db101.org/ca/programs/income_support/calworks/program2c.htm.

¹⁰⁵ United States. California Department of Social Services. "Fact Sheet: CalWORKs Program." January 2017. http://www.cdss.ca.gov/Portals/9/CalWORKs/FINAL_CW_Program_Fact_Sheet_Jan_2017.pdf?ver=2017-03-30-103611-213.

¹⁰⁶ "Special Allowances for Supportive Services"

<http://webarchive.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412447-Improving-State-TANF-Performance-Measure.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷ "State Options in Expanding Access to Education in TANF Programs."

Clearinghouse Community | Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law.

<http://povertylaw.org/clearinghouse/articles/stateoptions>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Moses, Joy, LaDonna Pavetti, Ph.D., Mariana Chilton, Ph. D, MPH, Shearine Mcghee, Deborah Schlick, Kristin Seefeldt, and Peter Edelman. "Proceedings of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families: Learning from the Past, Planning for the Future," Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C. February 7, 2013. <https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2013/01/25/50706/temporary-assistance-for-needy-families-learning-from-the-past-planning-for-the-future/>.

¹¹¹ "Pennsylvania TANF Spending," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/tanf_spending_pa.pdf.

¹¹² "Temporary Assistance For Needy Families (TANF) State Plan," Pennsylvania

Department of Human Services, accessed September 15, 2018,

http://www.dhs.pa.gov/cs/groups/webcontent/documents/document/c_095465.pdf, 11.

And "Cash Assistance Handbook, Chapter 137: Cash Initiatives," Pennsylvania Department of Human Services,

<http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/index.htm>.

¹¹³ "Cash Assistance Handbook, Chapter 135: Employment and Training," Pennsylvania

Department of Human Services,

<http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/index.htm>.

¹¹⁴ "Temporary Assistance For Needy Families (TANF) State Plan," Pennsylvania

Department of Human Services,

http://www.dhs.pa.gov/cs/groups/webcontent/documents/document/c_095465.pdf, 34.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 48.

¹¹⁶ Luisa S. Deprez and Lisa Dodson, "Maine Voices: Supporting parental education can end generational poverty," *Portland Press Herald*, February 19, 2018,

<https://www.pressherald.com/2018/02/19/maine-voices-supporting-parental-education-can-end-generational-poverty/>.

¹¹⁷ Josh Bone, "TANF Education and Training: Maine's Parents as Scholars Program," *Center for Postsecondary and Economic Success*, July 2010, <https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2017/04/PaS.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ "JOBS Support Service Payments from DHS," Oregon Law Help, last updated August 23, 2013, <https://oregonlawhelp.org/resource/jobs-support-service-payments-from-dhs?ref=MfVtt>.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹²¹ "Case Plan Activities and Standards for Support Service Payments," State of Oregon, <http://apps.state.or.us/caf/arm/B/461-190-0211.htm>.

¹²² "State Fact Sheets: How States Have Spent Funds Under the TANF Block Grant," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/state-fact-sheets-how-states-have-spent-funds-under-the-tanf-block>.

¹²³ Heather Hahn, Gina Adams, Shayne Spaulding, and Caroline Heller, "Supporting the Child Care and Workforce Development Needs of TANF Families," *The Urban Institute*, April 2016, <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/79046/2000692-Supporting-the-Child-Care-and-Workforce-Development-Needs-of-TANF-Families.pdf>, p 13.

¹²⁴ "Pennsylvania TANF Spending," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/tanf_spending_pa.pdf.

¹²⁵ Liz Schott, Ife Floyd, and Ashley Burnside, "How States Use Funds Under the TANF Block Grant," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/how-states-use-funds-under-the-tanf-block-grant>.

¹²⁶ "Cash Assistance Handbook, Chapter 183: Child Care," Pennsylvania Department of Human Services http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/index.htm#135_Employment_and_Training_Requirements/135_Title.htm.

¹²⁷ "Temporary Assistance For Needy Families (TANF) State Plan," Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, http://www.dhs.pa.gov/cs/groups/webcontent/documents/document/c_095465.pdf, p.36.

¹²⁸ "Cash Assistance Handbook, Chapter 183: Child Care," Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/index.htm#135_Employment_and_Training_Requirements/135_Title.htm.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ "Child Care Works Subsidized Child Care Program," Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, <http://www.dhs.pa.gov/citizens/childcareearlylearning/childcareworkssubsidizedchildcareprogram/index.htm>, and

Kathryn Stevens, Sarah Minton, Lorraine Blatt, and Linda Giannarelli, "The CCDF Policies Database Book of Tables: Key Cross-State Variations in CCDF Policies as of October 1, 2015," *The Urban Institute*, November 2016,

https://www.urban.org/research/publication/ccdf-policies-database-book-tables/view/full_report

¹³¹ “Cash Assistance Handbook, Chapter 183: Child Care,” Pennsylvania Department of Human Services,

http://services.dpw.state.pa.us/oimpolicymanuals/cash/index.htm#135_Employment_and_Training_Requirements/135_Title.htm.

¹³² Kathryn Stevens, Sarah Minton, Lorraine Blatt, and Linda Giannarelli, “The CCDF Policies Database Book of Tables: Key Cross-State Variations in CCDF Policies as of October 1, 2015,” *The Urban Institute*, November 2016,

https://www.urban.org/research/publication/ccdf-policies-database-book-tables/view/full_report, p. 213.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹³⁴ “Paying for Child Care,” Child Care Resource Center

<https://www.ccrcca.org/parents/paying-for-child-care>.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Kathryn Stevens, Sarah Minton, Lorraine Blatt, and Linda Giannarelli, “The CCDF Policies Database Book of Tables,” p. 213.

¹³⁷ Kristin Schumacher, “Over 1.2 Million California Children Eligible for Subsidized Child Care Did Not Receive Services From State Programs in 2015,” California Budget and Policy Center, December 2016, https://calbudgetcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/Fact-Sheet_Unmet-Need-for-Subsidized-Child-Care_12.15.16.pdf. And

“Child Care Funding,” California Department of Social Services,

<http://www.cdss.ca.gov/inforesources/CalWORKs-Child-Care/Child-Care-Funding>

¹³⁸ “Help Paying for Child Care,” New York Office of Children and Family Services, <https://ocfs.ny.gov/main/childcare/paying.asp>.

¹³⁹ Kathryn Stevens, Sarah Minton, Lorraine Blatt, and Linda Giannarelli, “The CCDF Policies Database Book of Tables,” p. 192.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 213.

¹⁴³ Kevin J. Miller, “Welfare and the Minimum Wage: Are Workfare Participants “Employees” Under the Fair Labor Standards Act?” University of Chicago, Pp. 185, <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=4993&context=uclrev>.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 207-208.

¹⁴⁹ Michael D. Tanner and Charles Hughes, “The Work versus Welfare Trade-Off: 2013,” Cato Institute, August 19, 2013, <https://www.cato.org/publications/white-paper/work-versus-welfare-trade>.p 3

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 14.

-
- ¹⁵³ Jennifer Stuber and Karl Kronebusch, "Stigma and Other Determinants of Participation in TANF and Medicaid," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 23, no. 3 (2004): p. 509.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ife Floyd, Ladonna Pavetti, Liz Schott, "TANF Reaching Few Poor Families," *Center For Budget and Policy Priorities*, December 13, 2017, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/tanf-reaching-few-poor-families>
- ¹⁵⁵ Anita Alig, "Does Poverty Affect Self-Esteem?" *WordNews27*, February 19, 2018, <http://wordnews27.com/does-poverty-affect-self-esteem>.
- ¹⁵⁶ Stuber and Kronebusch, "Stigma and Other Determinants," p. 511.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 519.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 519.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 511.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 512.
- ¹⁶¹ Kristin S. Seefeldt, "Column: We need to fix the social safety net, not shame those who need it," PBS, February 2, 2017, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/column-need-fix-social-safety-net-not-shame-need>.
- ¹⁶² Stuber and Kronebusch, "Stigma and Other Determinants," p. 526.
- ¹⁶³ Pamela J. Loprest, "How Has the TANF Caseload Changed over Time?" *Urban Institute*, March 2012, https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/opre/change_time_1.pdf. And Special Allowances for Supportive Services Bob McKinnon, "Why Do People Get So Upset When The Government Helps The Poor?" *Fast Company*, April 22, 2016, <https://www.fastcompany.com/3059196/why-do-people-get-so-upset-when-the-government-helps-the-poor>.
- ¹⁶⁵ "Over 700,000 Enrolled in Gov. Wolf's Medicaid Expansion." Governor Tom Wolf. March 13, 2017. <https://www.governor.pa.gov/over-700000-additional-pennsylvanians-enrolled-in-governor-wolfs-medicaid-expansion-plan/>.
- ¹⁶⁶ "Opioid Overdose Deaths by Age Group." The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. June 19, 2018. <https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/opioid-overdose-deaths-by-age-group/>.
- Hansen H, Netherland J. "Is the Prescription Opioid Epidemic a White Problem?" *Am J Public Health*. 2016;106(12):2127-2129.