

CASELOAD EXITS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: OCTOBER 2009 – SEPTEMBER 2010

LAUREN HALL, BA
RESEARCH ANALYST

LETITIA LOGAN, MPP
RESEARCH DIRECTOR

CATHERINE E. BORN, PH.D.
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

MAY 2012



UNIVERSITY *of* MARYLAND
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Jamie Haskel and Somlak Suvanasom for their assistance in the collection and processing of data for this report.

This report was prepared by the Family Welfare Research and Training Group, School of Social Work, University of Maryland, 525 West Redwood Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201 with support from its long time research partner, the Maryland Department of Human Resources.

For additional information about the report or the study, please contact Dr. Catherine Born at the School of Social Work (410.706.5134, cborn@ssw.umaryland.edu) or Letitia Logan at the School of Social Work (410.706.2479; llogan@ssw.umaryland.edu). Please visit our website, www.familywelfare.umaryland.edu for additional copies of this and our other reports.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	i
Introduction	1
Methods	2
Sample.....	2
Data Sources	2
Analyses	2
Findings: Overview of Case Closures	3
Case Closings by Year.....	3
Case Closings by Month	4
Case Closings by Core Caseload.....	4
Case Closings by Jurisdiction.....	6
Findings: Characteristics of Exiting Cases and Payees.....	8
Characteristics of Exiting Cases and Payees: Statewide.....	8
Case Closing Characteristics by Jurisdiction	10
Findings: Reasons for Case Closure.....	15
Case Closure Reasons: Statewide	15
Case Closure Reasons by Jurisdiction	17
Case Closure Reasons by Core Caseload	20
Full-Family Sanctions: Statewide	22
Full-Family Sanctions by Jurisdiction.....	23
Conclusions	25
References	26

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Case Closures by Core Caseload Designation.....	5
Table 2. Percents of Closings and Average Caseload, 10/09 - 9/10.....	7
Table 3. Case Closures and Payee Characteristics: Statewide	9
Table 4. Closing Case and Payee Characteristics by Jurisdiction	11
Table 5. Top 3 Case Closing Reasons by Jurisdiction.....	18
Table 6. Top 3 Case Closure Reasons by Core Caseload	21

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Statewide Case Closings by Year	3
Figure 2. Statewide Case Closings by Month	4
Figure 3. Top Case Closing Reasons: October 2009 through September 2010	16
Figure 4. Work Sanctions by Year: Statewide	16
Figure 5. Full-Family Sanctions: October 2009 through September 2010.....	22
Figure 6. Full-Family Sanctions by Jurisdiction.....	24

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Maryland has long used empirical data to assist policy makers and program managers in understanding cash assistance caseloads. Since welfare reform was initiated, Maryland has had ongoing, longitudinal research monitoring welfare reform outcomes. We have the largest and most comprehensive, state-level research program that examines welfare outcomes, putting us in a unique position to better serve our families who receive cash assistance. Our *Life after Welfare* series, legislatively mandated, is updated annually and tracks post-exit outcomes of welfare leavers at both the individual and case level. Another series, *Caseload Exits at the Local Level*, has also been updated annually since 1996. This report looks at case closures at the state and jurisdictional level, examining the numbers and characteristics of cash assistance cases that close in addition to the reasons for closure. This paints a picture for each jurisdiction and gives more insight into what is going on at the local level, providing information that is often masked by statewide analyses.

Today's report is part of our *Caseload Exits* series and provides information on the 24,375 unique cases that closed between October 2009 and September 2010. As with our last release of this series, we present this report with two companion reports that document the cases that exited Maryland's welfare program during the two years of the Great Recession and the first follow-up year to the recession. Our previous release documented the three years leading up to the Great Recession and provides the necessary context to understand the effect of the economy on the welfare population. Today's report represents the third of the three reports, documenting the first full year after the official end of the Great Recession. Key findings are detailed below.

- Maryland had the highest number of case closures this year than it has in the

past six years. Between October 2009 and September 2010, Maryland had 24,375 unique cash assistance cases close. This is a 17.9% increase over the previous year (20,670), and is the third consecutive year since welfare reform that the number of case closures was higher than the previous year.

- More than half (54.2%) of all closed cases were a part of the core caseload who are required to participate in a work-related activity, yet core cases only made up 37.4% of the October 2010 active caseload. Less than one in five (17.7%) closed cases were child-only cases which typically close due to the emancipation of minor children. On the other hand, child-only cases make up nearly one-third (30.4%) of the active cases in October 2010.
- The typical case closure is similar to a typical case on the active caseload. The profile of a typical case closure is a two-person assistance unit (39.4%), consisting of one adult (77.8%) and one child (48.4%). On average, the youngest child in this assistance unit is 5.34 years of age. Payees are most likely female (94.3%) and African American (76.8%), with an average age of 32.66 years. Furthermore, the payee has on average, 8 months of welfare receipt in the year before exit. This is consistent with previous years and the October 2010 active caseload.
- Baltimore City, Prince George's County, and Baltimore County represent three-fourths of all closures for the year. Baltimore City had 11,072 closures (45.4%) for the year followed by Prince George's County with 3,128 closures (12.8%) and Baltimore County with 2,232 closures (9.2%). These three jurisdictions have consistently held the largest number of closures in recent years as expected, since they are the

three jurisdictions that also hold the largest share of the active caseload.

- While most jurisdictions had one child and one adult in the assistance unit, we see much variation between jurisdictions. In Garrett County for example, only 8.3% of assistance units had three or more children, while approximately one-fifth of closures in most other jurisdictions had three or more children. Additionally, Talbot County and Worcester County had the highest proportion of child-only cases close during the year (42.9% and 36.1%, respectively) compared to Baltimore City and Howard County, which had the smallest proportion (14.9% and 14.5%, respectively).
- Again, while most cases were African-American females, we find that the story is very different for some counties. In Garrett County, none of the payees were African-American and only 86.9% were female. This is a very different story compared to case closures in Baltimore City, where most closures were African-American (94.9%) and female (92.5%).
- The most frequent reason for case closure at the jurisdictional level was income above limit. Income above limit is an administrative closing code used most often when the client has obtained employment and the corresponding income puts the family above eligibility requirements. This was cited in 23 of the 24 jurisdictions as one of the top three reasons for case closure.
- Work sanctions continue occur in many case closures. Seventeen jurisdictions experienced large percents of case closures due to work sanctions. Baltimore City had the largest percent of closures due to a work sanction, with over half (53.6%) of cases closing due

to one, followed by Montgomery County who closed 41.2% of their cases due to a work sanction.

- Two out of every five case closures for the state of Maryland close because of a work sanction. This study year, nearly two out of five (39.0%) case closures closed because of a work sanction. This number continues to increase with time, and TCA clients are more likely to experience a work sanction now than they were in the past. However, it should be noted that 22 jurisdictions did have work sanction rates lower than the state level. Because Baltimore City is accountable for nearly half of all closures, their work sanction rate (53.6%) has the greatest affect on the statewide sanction rate.

In comparison to the previous study period, we find that work sanctions have again increased, suggesting that clients are still facing difficulty in participating in a work-related activity. Furthermore, this is the third consecutive year in welfare reform history, that the number of case closures has been larger than the previous study year. This increase continues to coincide with an increase in the active caseload, all pointing to the effects of the recession on the welfare population. While at the release of this report, the Great Recession was officially over for nearly three years, we know that families experiencing a need for cash assistance will find it more difficult to recover, because, as has been long recognized, welfare caseloads are a leading indicator of recession and a lagging indicator of recovery.

Today's report is the third of three *Caseload Exits* reports released documenting the effects of the Great Recession on exiting families. We trust that the information provided here will continue to provide policymakers and program managers with the empirical knowledge for any necessary programmatic changes.

INTRODUCTION

In 1996, the welfare program was radically changed as a result of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996. With the implementation of PRWORA came the creation of our current welfare program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). TANF successfully moved many families from welfare to work during a booming economy. However, just a few years before the greatest economic downturn since the Great Depression, TANF was reauthorized by the Deficit Reduction Act (DRA) in 2005. The DRA included significant changes to the structure of the federal work participation requirements that ultimately limited the flexibility of states' ability to meet such requirements. These changes, coupled with the Great Recession, represent the most significant test of the reformed welfare system since its inception.

Through a partnership between the Maryland Department of Human Resources and the University of Maryland, School of Social Work, policymakers and program managers have access to numerous reports documenting the implementation, operation, and outcomes of welfare reform since PRWORA. There are three annual series updates. The first series, *Life after Welfare*, is a legislatively mandated, ongoing, longitudinal study assessing the outcomes of more than 15,000 randomly-selected Maryland families who left cash assistance since the initiation of welfare reform. The second series, *Life on Welfare*, profiles Maryland's current welfare caseload and compares those who currently receive cash assistance and those who have utilized the program in the past.

In this report, part of the *Caseload Exits at the Local Level* series, we seek to describe Maryland's population of welfare leavers, at both the statewide and jurisdictional levels. Unlike the *Life after Welfare* series, this

report provides additional information about all welfare leavers in a particular year and highlights the variation among Maryland's diverse jurisdictions which is often masked in statewide analyses. The current report covers exits between October 2009 and September 2010, which is the first report in the *Caseload Exits* series to look at an entire year of data gathered after the official end of the Great Recession in June 2009. Although the recession ended, there is disconnection between the end and recovery, which undeniably impacts the families who have exited the welfare rolls. As is widely accepted, welfare caseloads are a leading indicator of recession and a lagging indicator of recovery.

Additionally, this report, accounting for the first year after the official end of the Great Recession, is also released with two companion reports documenting the closures during the Great Recession. This release of the *Caseload Exits* series will provide a picture of how many cases exited during and immediately after the recession. We anticipate that the information presented in this trilogy will be useful to policymakers and program managers in considering the responsiveness of the TCA program to weak economic times and potential changes that can address areas of weakness.

Today's report is based on the 24,375 unique cases that closed at least once between October 2009 and September 2010. We examine the following questions:

1. What are the welfare case closing trends, statewide and at the jurisdictional level?
2. What are the characteristics of closing cases and their payees?
3. What are the most frequently recorded case closure reasons, and what proportion of cases exited due to a full-family sanction for non-compliance with work requirements or non-cooperation with child support enforcement?

METHODS

This study is the 16th in the *Caseload Exits at the Local Level* series. As such, the description of the sample and data sources used is similar to that of previous reports, reflecting minor changes when necessary. As in previous reports, this study makes use of the *Life on Welfare* series data as a mechanism to understand similarities and differences in numbers and characteristics of the closed versus the active caseload.

Sample

The sample used for this report includes every TANF case that closed in Maryland in the period of the 14th year after the implementation of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA). This report covers the time period from October 2009 through September 2010. If an assistance unit stopped receiving TCA for at least one month during this study period, then it is considered a case closure. An assistance unit was only included in the sample once, even if their case may have closed on more than one occasion during the study period. For those cases with multiple closures, we randomly chose one of those closures for inclusion in our analyses. By randomly choosing one closing record per case, we ensure no systematic effect of removing duplicates on the number of closings by month. It may be noted that the total number of closures reported here (n=24,375) may be slightly different from the total number of closures reported by the

Family Investment Administration (FIA) of the Maryland Department of Human Resources (DHR) for the same period; this is due in large part to our counting each case only once during the 12 month study period.

Data reflecting the active TANF caseload in Maryland come from the universe of cases receiving TCA in October 2010 (n=26,832), originally drawn for our *Life on Welfare* series.

Data Sources

The data used for this report come from monthly case closing files extracted from the Client Automated Resources and Eligibility System (CARES). CARES is the official statewide automated data system for the Department of Human Resources and contains all customer participation data for TCA, Food Stamps, and Medical Assistance. Demographic data are provided as well as information about the type of program, application and disposition (denial or closure), date for each service episode, and codes indicating the relationship of each individual to the head of the assistance unit.

Analyses

Throughout this report, descriptive analyses are used to provide an overall picture of our study sample. Chi-square and analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests are used to identify differences between jurisdictions.

FINDINGS: OVERVIEW OF CASE CLOSURES

Today's report analyzes all the unique cases that exited Maryland's TANF program, Temporary Cash Assistance (TCA), between October 2009 and September 2010. There were 24,375 cases that closed during the year, 17.9% more (3,695 cases) than the previous year (n=20,680). This is the highest number of case closures Maryland has seen in the past six years.

To examine October 2009 through September 2010 closures in more detail, we focus on these primary topics throughout this report: number of case closures, characteristics of cases, and finally, reasons for case closure. This chapter specifically addresses the 24,375 closings by the month in which they closed, by the type of case, and by jurisdiction.

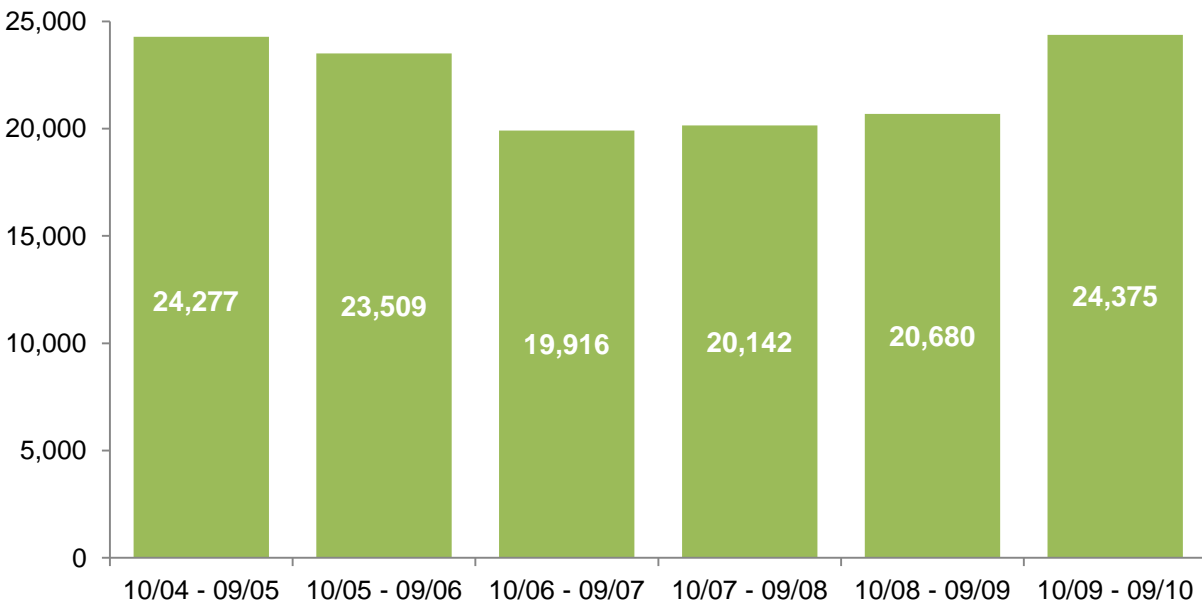
Case Closings by Year

The trend in previous years has been a decline in case closures from year to year largely due to the decreasing overall TCA

caseload, which decreases the population of potential case closures. In Maryland, and nationally, the size of the overall caseload, or rather the cases receiving TCA, was at a historically high level at the outset of welfare reform, but has decreased every year since that point and had reached all time lows in 2007. However, since 2007, Maryland has seen a 32.7% increase in the number of families receiving TCA (from October 2007 to October 2010), the first caseload increase since welfare reform (Williamson, Logan, Roll, & Saunders, 2011). This increase in TCA cases is reflected in the rising numbers of case closures, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 provides the number of unduplicated case closures from previous *Caseload Exits at the Local Level* reports. Beginning in 2007, there was an increase in the number of case closures. The increase was slight in the first couple of years, but by this year's report, the percent of case closures increased by 17.9% from the previous year.

Figure 1. Statewide Case Closings by Year

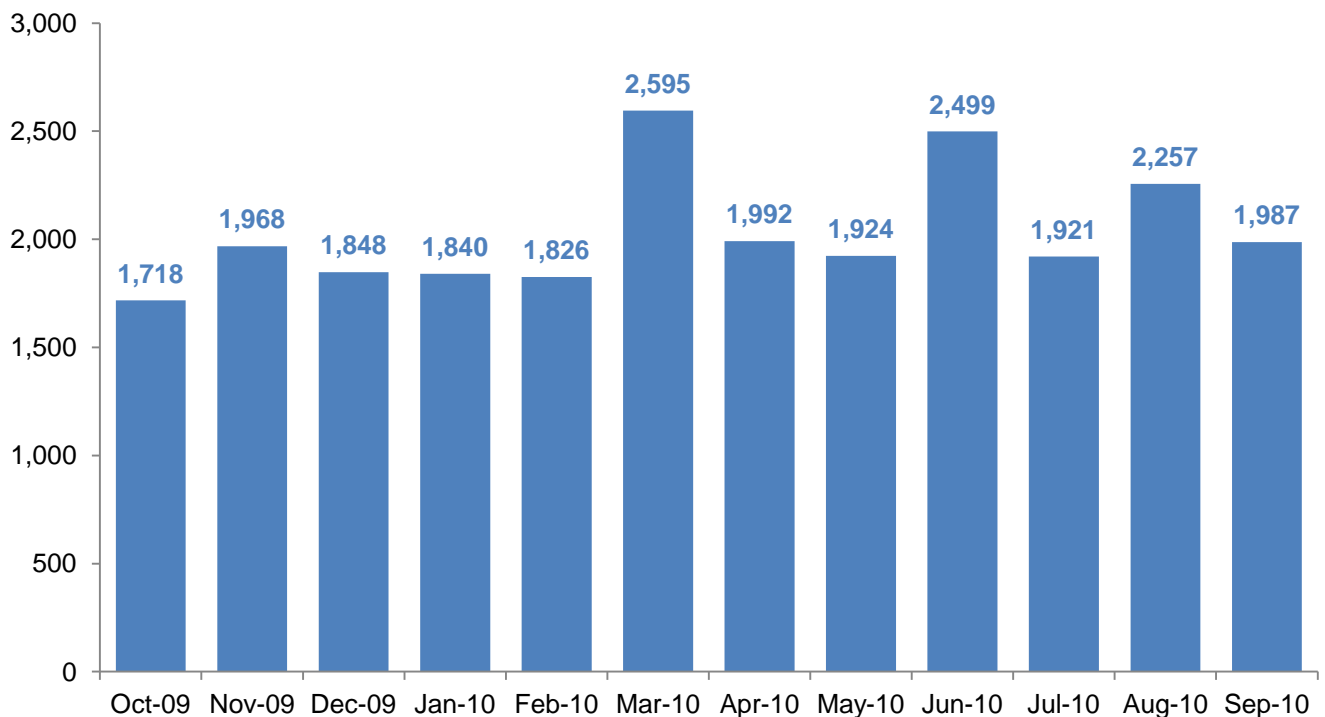


Case Closings by Month

Figure 2, following this discussion, shows the number of case closings for each month, between October 2009 and September 2010. The case closings for the year, an average of 2,031 per month, were higher than the preceding year (n=1,723). This year, there were consistent numbers of closings each month, with the exception of a few months that had extremely high closure

numbers, affecting the overall average. Closings were lowest in the first month of the study year, October 2009, with 1,718 cases closing and peaked in March 2010 with 2,595 cases closing. We see the greatest drop in closures between March 2010 and April 2010, a difference of 603 cases. However, by June 2010, case closures had peaked again to 2,499 closures.

Figure 2. Statewide Case Closings by Month



Case Closings by Core Caseload

Table 1, following this discussion, shows the distribution of core caseload designations among closed cases compared to the October 2010 active caseload. The core caseload is used to identify the cases subject to work requirements and the subgroups of non-core cases that require different case management strategy. The categorization is based on a number of

different case and payee characteristics available in the administrative data, and there is a hierarchy that guides which category is the most appropriate in the event that a case meets the criteria for more than one category.

As seen in Table 1, more than half (54.2%) of the case closures between October 2009 and September 2010 were part of the core caseload and required to meet work

requirements, compared to only two-fifths (37.4%) of the active caseload. Additional case designations that are expected to participate in a work-related activity – two-parent households and earnings cases – also have a higher proportion among closed cases.

The remaining case designations either are not required to meet work participation standards, such as child-only cases, or they may receive a good cause exemption, such as domestic violence cases. Among these remaining cases, the major difference between closed cases and the active caseload is the percent of child-only cases (17.7% vs. 30.4%). Child-only cases are largely made of grandparents caring for their grandchildren and generally do not exit

welfare until the child returns to the parents or the child reaches the age of emancipation; therefore, it is not surprising that there are more child-only cases among the active caseload. However, compared to the previous study period, the proportion of child-only cases has decreased among both closed cases and active cases due to the increasing caseload of traditional cases (single adult and children) and two-parent families. There appears to be a direct reflection of the Great Recession’s effect on families that were previously able to maintain a level of self-sufficiency but with the strained economy, they found themselves requiring additional support (Williamson, Logan, Roll, & Saunders, 2011).

Table 1. Case Closures by Core Caseload Designation

	Cases Closed 10/09 – 9/10 (n=24,375)	Active Cases 10/10 (n=26,832)
Core Caseload	54.2% (13,196)	37.4% (10,029)
Non-Core Cases		
Two-parent household	3.6 % (886)	2.1% (561)
Earnings	6.9 % (1,669)	3.6% (962)
Child-only	17.7% (4,302)	30.4% (8,157)
Child under one	7.1 % (1,739)	10.1% (2,710)
Long-term disabled	5.9 % (1,430)	10.0% (2,681)
Short-term disabled	0.8% (205)	1.3% (347)
Caring for a disabled household member	1.2 % (304)	1.9% (513)
Paid relative caretaker	1.0% (240)	1.9% (512)
Domestic violence	0.9% (228)	0.8% (211)
Legal Immigrant	0.6% (157)	0.6% (155)

Case Closings by Jurisdiction

Maryland is a small state, but varies widely across its 24 jurisdictions with regards to economy, culture, demographics, and welfare caseload size. This intra-state diversity was explicitly recognized and its importance acknowledged in the “one size does not fit all” feature of Maryland’s welfare reform. Therefore, it is beneficial to examine data at the local level to gain a better understanding of how each jurisdiction’s share of the caseload relates to its share of the active caseload over the same time period. Following this discussion, Table 2 shows the percent of total closings (n=24,375) and percent of the average active caseload (n=27,505) for each jurisdiction between October 2009 and September 2010.

During this study period, nearly half (45.4%) of all case closures occurred in Baltimore City. Baltimore City is followed by Prince George’s County (12.8%) and Baltimore County (9.2%), accounting for the second and third largest percent of case closures. While the percent of closures in Baltimore City and Baltimore County remained stable from the previous year, the percent of closures increased slightly in Prince George’s County (up from 11.8%).

As Table 2 shows, similar to last year, nearly all jurisdictions have very similar shares of case closures as they do of the active annual caseload, with a few exceptions. Prince George’s County had the largest observable difference with a -1.0 percentage point difference between its average caseload size (13.8%; n=3,801) and total closings (12.8%; n=3,128). Anne Arundel County had a 0.8 percentage point difference between total closings (5.9%; n=1,427) and average caseload size (5.1%; n=1,415), followed closely by Montgomery County with a 0.7 percentage point difference. Lastly, Baltimore County had a smaller share of case closures (9.2%; n=2,232) compared to their active caseload (9.6%; n=2,633). The remaining 20 jurisdictions had identical or nearly identical shares (no more than two-tenths of one percentage point difference) of case closings and caseload size.

Table 2. Percents of Closings and Average Caseload, 10/09 - 9/10

Jurisdiction	Percent of Total Closings (n=24,375)	Percent of Average Caseload (n=27,505)	Percentage Point Difference
Allegany	1.1% (257)	1.0% (280)	0.1
Anne Arundel	5.9% (1,427)	5.1% (1,415)	0.8
Baltimore County	9.2% (2,232)	9.6% (2,633)	-0.4
Calvert	0.6% (135)	0.6% (153)	0.0
Caroline	0.6% (153)	0.7% (192)	-0.1
Carroll	1.0% (243)	0.9% (259)	0.1
Cecil	1.8% (440)	1.9% (525)	-.01
Charles	1.0% (240)	1.0% (280)	0.0
Dorchester	0.9% (215)	1.0% (285)	-.01
Frederick	1.7% (424)	1.7% (462)	0.0
Garrett	0.3% (84)	0.3% (84)	0.0
Harford	2.7% (651)	2.5% (699)	0.2
Howard	2.0% (498)	1.9% (514)	0.1
Kent	0.3% (75)	0.3% (73)	0.0
Montgomery	4.9% (1,192)	4.2% (1,166)	0.7
Prince George's	12.8% (3,128)	13.8% (3,801)	-1.0
Queen Anne's	0.4% (103)	0.4% (115)	0.0
St. Mary's	2.0% (479)	2.0% (557)	0.0
Somerset	0.5% (129)	0.5% (145)	0.0
Talbot	0.2% (49)	0.2% (58)	0.0
Washington	2.0% (480)	1.9% (525)	0.1
Wicomico	2.4% (586)	2.4% (647)	0.0
Worcester	0.3% (83)	0.4% (104)	-0.1
Baltimore City	45.4% (11,072)	45.6% (12,536)	-0.2

Note: The Percent of Total Closings is a unique count of cases closing at least one time between 10/09 and 09/10. The Percent of Total Caseload is an average of paid cases across 12 months between 10/09 – 09/10, retrieved from statistical reports provided by the Maryland Department of Human Resources: <http://www.dhr.state.md.us/fia/pdf/statisticalreportsfy09.pdf> and <http://www.dhr.state.md.us/fia/pdf/statisticalreportsfy10.pdf>.

FINDINGS: CHARACTERISTICS OF EXITING CASES AND PAYEES

In this chapter we closely examine the characteristics of the families who exited welfare between October 2009 and September 2010. Specifically, we present findings related to previous welfare receipt and demographic information. Additionally, we provided case characteristics regarding assistant units. Findings are presented for the state of Maryland as a whole and also for each of the 24 jurisdictions.

Providing the characteristics of exiting families allows us to always remember that behind these numbers are real families, and especially, families with children. We provide the characteristics of the cases and payees with the statewide and jurisdictional perspective for the same reason that we provide the case closures by jurisdiction: statewide analyses can mask the differences in the types of families that exit cash assistance in each of the local jurisdictions. Focusing on the statewide perspective is heavily weighed by the jurisdictions, mainly Baltimore City and Prince George's County, with a large majority of case closures.

Characteristics of Exiting Cases and Payees: Statewide

Following this discussion, Table 3 presents characteristics of cases and payees at the state level. For comparison, the same data is presented for the active caseload from October 2010. For more detailed information on the active caseload, please refer to our *Life on Welfare* series.

As shown in Table 3, the typical closed case in the state of Maryland was a two-person assistance unit (39.4%), consisting of one adult (77.8%) and one child (48.4%). On average, the youngest child in this assistance unit was 5.34 years of age. Payees were most likely female (94.3%) and African American (76.8%), with an average age of 32.66 years. Furthermore, the payee had on average, eight months of welfare receipt in the previous year and 19.5 months in the previous five years.

These case closures were very similar to case closures in years past, and nearly mirrored the active caseload for October 2010 with some slight, but notable differences. The typical active case for the October 2010 active caseload was also a two-person assistance unit (37.8%), consisting of one adult (66.7%) and one child (48.8%). However, on average, the youngest child in the assistance unit was 5.92 years of age. Also, as noted earlier, slightly less than one-third (30.3%) of the active caseload were child-only cases compared to 17.7% of the case closures. As has been reported in other *Caseload Exits* reports, child-only cases are less likely to exit welfare assistance considering the majority are headed by a relative adult such as a grandparent who requires additional assistance to care for their grandchild until they age out of the program. While the average number of months of TCA receipt in the previous year is about eight months for both closed cases and the active caseload, we find differences when we look at a longer history. In the previous five years from the respective critical study dates, closed cases received 19.5 months of TCA compared to 24.6 of the active caseload.

Table 3. Case Closures and Payee Characteristics: Statewide

	Case Closures 10/09 – 9/10 (n=24,375)	Active Cases 10/10 (n=26,832)
Months of TCA Receipt in the Previous 12 Months¹		
Mean	8.0	8.3
Median	9.0	11.0
Months of TCA Receipt in the Previous 60 Months²		
Mean	19.5	24.6
Median	14.0	19.0
Payee Characteristics		
% African American	76.8%	75.7%
% Female	94.3%	94.3%
Mean Age	32.66	35.33
Case Characteristics		
Number of Adults		
0 (child-only)	17.7%	30.3%
1	77.8%	66.7%
2	4.5%	2.9%
Number of Children		
0	3.3%	3.0%
1	48.4%	48.8%
2	27.4%	27.5%
3 or more	20.9%	20.8%
Size of Assistance Unit		
1	14.9%	21.2%
2	39.4%	37.8%
3	24.8%	21.9%
4 or more	20.9%	19.1%
Average Age of Youngest Child	5.34	5.92

¹ For the closed cases, this is the 12 months prior to case closure; for the active cases, this is the 12 months prior to October 2010.

² For the closed cases, this is the 60 months prior to case closure; for the active cases, this is the 60 months prior to October 2010.

Case Closing Characteristics by Jurisdiction

As previously mentioned, our state is extremely diverse; therefore, it is important to present analyses regarding cases and payees at the local level to uncover any differences that may be veiled by statewide analyses. Following this discussion, Table 4 presents detailed local demographic and case characteristics for each of the 24 jurisdictions during this study year (October 2009-September 2010). While we only highlight key differences and similarities here, the notable diversity experienced between each jurisdiction can be fully understood only by a careful examination of Table 4 and its related contents. Nonetheless, the characteristics of cases and payees at the jurisdictional level have remained stable from the previous study year.

As shown in Table 4, most jurisdictions had fewer than 500 case closures between October 2009 and September 2010. There were a few, however, who had closures in the thousands. Baltimore City holds the peak of closures, with 11,072 closures for the year, followed by Prince George's County (n=3,128) and Baltimore County (n=2,232). These three jurisdictions have consistently had the largest number of closures in recent years, consistent with their representation in the active caseload. Families in all 24 jurisdictions received cash assistance, on average, between six and nine months. Average months of assistance in the year before closure range from a low of 6.28 months in Kent County to 8.80 months in Prince George's County.

Similar to the statewide case and payee analysis and to previous years, all jurisdictions had an average assistance unit size of two people, ranging from 2.28

people in Kent County to 2.81 in Somerset County. While most jurisdictions had one child in the assistance unit, there is variation in the distribution of the number of children. For example, in Garrett County, only 8.3% of assistance units had three or more children, while 16 jurisdictions range from 20% to 25% of case closures with three or more children in the assistance unit. In Kent County, one-tenth (10.7%) of case closures had no children in the assistance unit while all other counties have less than five percent of case closures with no children.

Most jurisdictions also had one adult in the assistance unit, however the number of child-only cases varies by jurisdiction. Howard County and Baltimore City had the smallest proportion of child-only case closures (14.5% and 14.9%, respectively.) Conversely, Talbot County and Worcester County had the highest proportion of child-only cases close during the year (42.9% and 36.1%, respectively).

With regard to demographics, we find again, much variation between jurisdictions. While case closings for the state as a whole reflect the active caseload and were mostly African-American females, the story for each locality is much different. In Garrett County, for example, none (0.0% of the payees with closed cases were African-American, and only 86.9% were female, a figure much lower than that of the state closures or overall active caseload. The story for Garrett County then, is much different than that of case closures in Baltimore City, where the majority of cases closed were, in fact, African-American (94.9%) and female (92.5%). Excluding Garrett County and Baltimore City, the proportion of African-American case closures ranged from 9.9% of the closures in Allegany County to 90.9% of the closures in Prince George's County.

Table 4. Closing Case and Payee Characteristics by Jurisdiction

	Allegany	Anne Arundel	Baltimore County	Calvert	Caroline	Carroll
Number of Unique Case Closings	257	1,427	2,232	135	153	243
TCA Use						
Mean Months of Receipt in 12 Months before Exit (Median)	6.54 (6)	6.84 (7)	7.60 (8)	7.47 (8)	6.59 (6)	7.55 (9)
Payee Characteristics						
% African American	9.9%	57.7%	66.7%	48.1%	37.7%	12.3%
% Female	92.2%	93.6%	94.0%	90.4%	92.2%	91.4%
Mean Age (Median)	32.79 (29)	32.94 (30)	34.06 (31)	35.03 (31)	32.57 (30)	35.71 (33)
Case Characteristics						
Number of Adults						
0 (Child-Only)	19.5%	18.8%	22.7%	25.9%	25.7%	22.6%
1	71.1%	76.2%	72.4%	63.0%	65.1%	67.5%
2	9.4%	5.0%	4.9%	11.1%	9.2%	9.9%
Number of Children						
0	2.7%	4.6%	2.7%	0.7%	3.3%	4.1%
1	45.7%	48.5%	51.7%	57.8%	40.1%	48.6%
2	33.6%	27.1%	25.8%	22.2%	35.5%	27.2%
3 or more	18.0%	19.8%	19.8%	19.3%	21.1%	20.2%
Mean Size of Assistance Unit (Median)	2.64 (2)	2.61 (2)	2.54 (2)	2.57 (2)	2.70 (2)	2.58 (2)
Mean Age of Youngest Child (Median)	4.68 (2)	5.48 (4)	5.76 (4)	6.02 (4)	5.39 (3)	5.57 (4)

Table 4. Closing Case and Payee Characteristics by Jurisdiction (continued)

	Cecil	Charles	Dorchester	Frederick	Garrett	Harford
Number of Unique Case Closings	440	240	215	424	84	651
TCA Use						
Mean Months of Receipt in 12 Months before Exit (Median)	7.34 (8)	6.70 (6)	8.09 (9)	6.80 (7)	7.07 (7)	7.30 (8)
Payee Characteristics						
% African American	18.8%	79.7%	67.0%	41.9%	0.0%	52.6%
% Female	93.4%	92.5%	95.3%	92.5%	86.9%	93.2%
Mean Age (Median)	33.13 (31)	33.55 (28)	31.07 (29)	32.60 (30)	33.61 (29)	32.87 (29)
Case Characteristics						
Number of Adults						
0 (Child-Only)	18.5%	22.1%	17.2%	17.9%	21.4%	16.7%
1	71.9%	75.4%	78.1%	75.5%	47.6%	77.1%
2	9.6%	2.5%	4.7%	6.6%	31.0%	6.1%
Number of Children						
0	2.3%	2.9%	4.2%	2.1%	2.4%	2.2%
1	43.4%	48.8%	47.4%	47.9%	51.2%	50.8%
2	32.6%	26.7%	25.6%	29.5%	38.1%	24.9%
3 or more	21.7%	21.7%	22.8%	20.5%	8.3%	22.1%
Mean Size of Assistance Unit (Median)	2.77 (2)	2.60 (2)	2.67 (2)	2.70 (2)	2.62 (3)	2.68 (2)
Mean Age of Youngest Child (Median)	5.36 (3)	4.94 (3)	4.65 (3)	4.93 (3)	5.45 (4)	4.86 (3)

Table 4. Closing Case and Payee Characteristics by Jurisdiction (continued)

	Howard	Kent	Montgomery	Prince George's	Queen Anne's	St. Mary's
Number of Unique Case Closings	498	75	1,192	3,128	103	479
TCA Use						
Mean Months of Receipt in 12 Months before Exit (Median)	7.69 (9)	6.28 (5)	7.12 (8)	8.80 (10)	6.78 (6)	8.26 (10)
Payee Characteristics						
% African American	72.1%	53.3%	69.1%	90.9%	39.8%	47.2%
% Female	93.6%	96.0%	92.9%	95.3%	93.2%	91.6%
Mean Age (Median)	33.26 (31)	33.99 (29)	34.38 (32)	32.41 (29)	33.58 (31)	31.93 (29)
Case Characteristics						
Number of Adults						
0 (Child-Only)	14.5%	30.7%	24.0%	17.2%	18.4%	16.5%
1	78.3%	60.0%	67.7%	79.7%	73.8%	70.8%
2	7.2%	9.3%	8.3%	3.1%	7.8%	12.7%
Number of Children						
0	3.4%	10.7%	1.8%	3.3%	3.9%	5.4%
1	47.2%	56.0%	45.2%	49.1%	38.8%	43.4%
2	27.9%	13.3%	30.2%	25.9%	31.1%	29.0%
3 or more	21.5%	20.0%	22.8%	21.7%	26.2%	22.1%
Mean Size of Assistance Unit (Median)	2.74 (2)	2.28 (2)	2.73 (2)	2.68 (2)	2.78 (3)	2.73 (3)
Mean Age of Youngest Child (Median)	5.76 (4)	5.37 (3)	5.34 (3)	5.24 (3)	5.77 (3)	5.34 (3)

Table 4. Closing Case and Payee Characteristics by Jurisdiction (continued)

	Somerset	Talbot	Washington	Wicomico	Worcester	Baltimore City
Number of Unique Case Closings	129	49	480	586	83	11,072
TCA Use						
Mean Months of Receipt in 12 Months before Exit (Median)	7.10 (7)	7.35 (9)	7.33 (7)	7.73 (9)	7.60 (9)	8.40 (10)
Payee Characteristics						
% African American	69.0%	45.8%	25.6%	71.7%	48.8%	92.5%
% Female	96.9%	95.9%	94.0%	95.6%	94.0%	94.9%
Mean Age (Median)	33.82 (31)	34.48 (30)	31.97 (29)	32.94 (30)	37.16 (35)	32.04 (29)
Case Characteristics						
Number of Adults						
0 (Child-Only)	20.2%	42.9%	21.0%	22.9%	36.1%	14.9%
1	76.0%	57.1%	76.0%	72.2%	56.6%	82.1%
2	3.9%	0.0%	2.9%	4.9%	7.2%	3.0%
Number of Children						
0	1.6%	2.0%	2.3%	2.9%	3.6%	3.5%
1	48.8%	40.8%	44.2%	41.8%	51.8%	48.9%
2	21.7%	32.7%	30.0%	30.7%	28.9%	27.2%
3 or more	27.9%	24.5%	23.5%	24.6%	15.7%	20.4%
Mean Size of Assistance Unit (Median)	2.81 (2)	2.41 (2)	2.66 (2)	2.72 (2)	2.39 (2)	2.65 (2)
Mean Age of Youngest Child (Median)	5.49 (4)	4.95 (3)	4.37 (2)	4.88 (3)	6.13 (4)	5.38 (3)

FINDINGS: REASONS FOR CASE CLOSURE

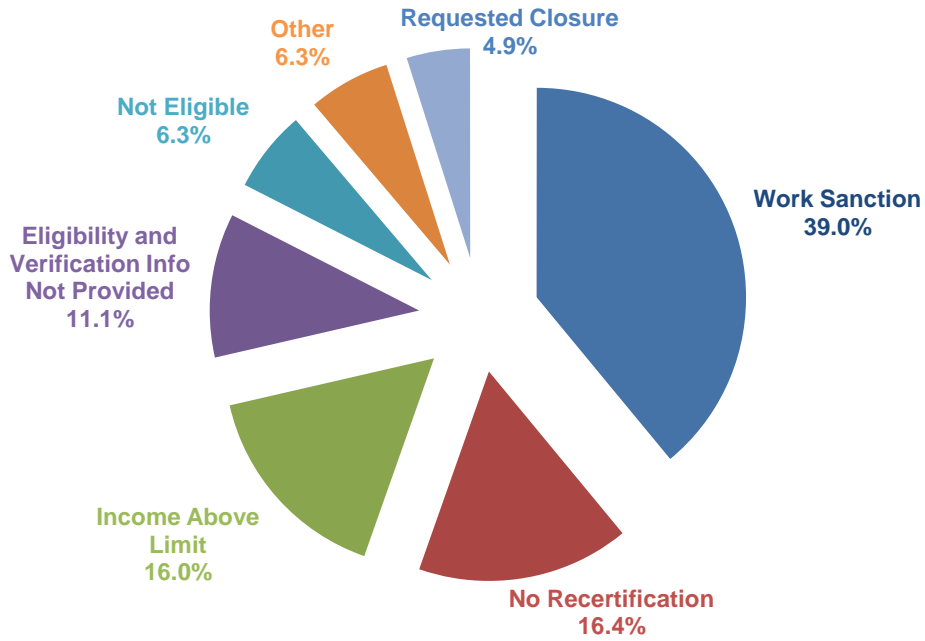
In previous chapters, we focused on case closing trends (statewide and jurisdictional) and the characteristics of the cases that closed. In this chapter, we turn our attention to a question of greater importance: why did payees leave welfare? Our findings are based on administrative case closure codes administered by caseworkers and recorded in an electronic database which may not provide the full story about a families' exit. Previous analyses indicate that administratively-recorded closing codes significantly understate the true rate of work-related closures because payees may not notify the agency when they have found work. Instead, the client may simply not keep their next scheduled redetermination appointment; in this instance, the case closing data would not reflect a work-related exit but, rather, the fact of closure due to no redetermination. Despite their admitted limitations, as a vehicle through which to understand families' situations and circumstances, it is still instructive to examine statewide and local case closing codes. Maryland research has shown that the various closing codes do correlate with important post-closure outcomes such as employment and recidivism and the administrative closure codes are the best measure of full family sanctioning rates (Ovwigbo, Tracy, & Born, 2004). Therefore, this findings chapter examines the case closure reasons for the 24,375 cases that closed between October 2009 and September 2010. We review the statewide case closure reasons followed by the top three case closure reason for each jurisdiction and core caseload designation. We also discuss the extent of full-family sanctioning for non-compliance with work

requirements or non-cooperation with child support requirements, at the state and jurisdictional level as well as by core caseload designation.

Case Closure Reasons: Statewide

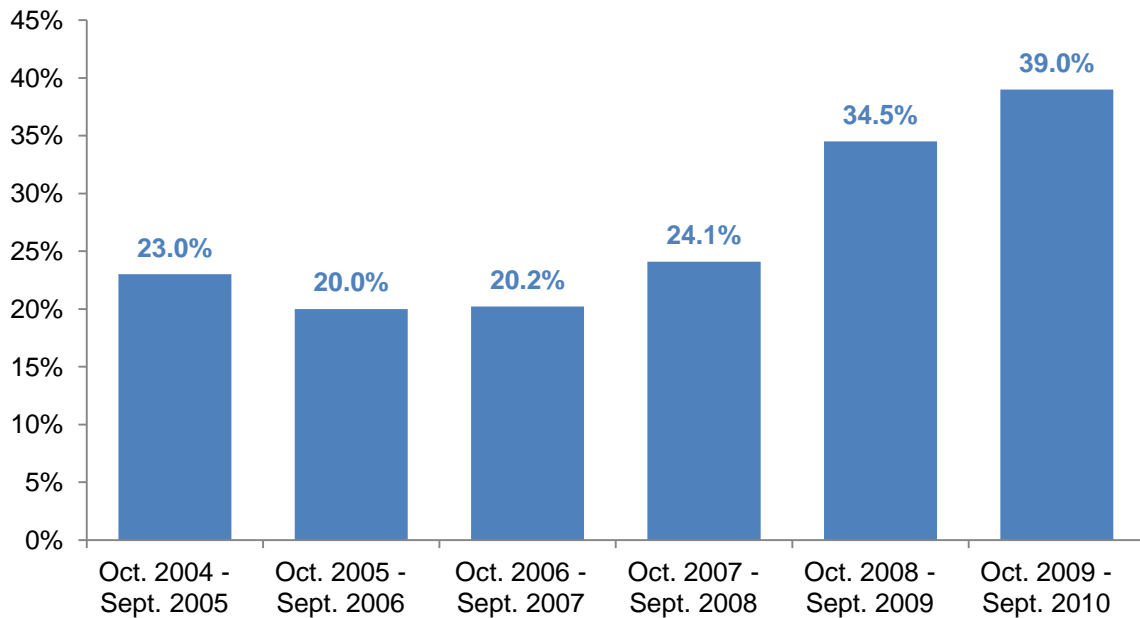
Figure 3 displays the top closure reasons for the current study period. Nearly two-fifths (39.0%) of closures were due to a work sanction. About one in six cases were closed either due to no recertification/ no redetermination (16.4%) or income above limit (16.0%). Figure 4, below, also documents the change in work sanctions over the six study periods beginning with two years before the implementation of the Deficit Reduction Act (DRA). While PRWORA mandated work participation requirements for welfare recipients, DRA made the work requirements even stricter. In the years before and the year of implementation of DRA (2006), we see that between one-fifth and one-quarter of case closures for the state of Maryland closed due to a work sanction. Starting in 2007 however, as shown in Figure 4, we see an increase in the proportion of case closures experiencing a work sanction. Our most recent data for this year (October 2009-September 2010) indicate that nearly two out of every five (39.0%) case closures for the state of Maryland closed due to a work sanction, a number that continues to increase over time. TCA clients are more likely to experience a work sanction now than in the past (Williamson, 2011), and, as we continue to recover from the lasting effects of the Great Recession, caseworkers are faced with the continuing challenge of meeting the strict federal work participation requirements, despite historically high levels of unemployment.

Figure 3. Top Case Closing Reasons: October 2009 through September 2010



Note: The “Other” category includes: child support sanction, residency, intentional violation, whereabouts unknown, death of head of household or other member, did not cooperate with quality control.

Figure 4. Work Sanctions by Year: Statewide



Case Closure Reasons by Jurisdiction

Table 5, following this discussion, presents the top three case closing codes, by jurisdiction, for all cases that closed October 2009 through September 2010. While other analyses have demonstrated the diversity of this state, we find that there was actually much consistency between the top administrative closing codes for all 24 jurisdictions. Most jurisdictions reported the following administrative closing codes as reasons for closure: income above limit, work sanction, Eligibility/verification information not provided, and no recertification/no redetermination.

An income above limit code is a work related code, in which the client has most likely obtained employment with income above the requirements to continue receiving cash assistance. In 23 of the 24 jurisdictions, income above limit was one of top three reasons for case closure, ranging from 11.7% of the closures in Baltimore City to 36.3% of the cases in Calvert County. In the previous study period, all 24 jurisdictions had income above limit as a top closing reason.

Work sanctions accounted for at least one of the top three reasons for case closure in 17 jurisdictions and were the number one reason for case closure in 11 jurisdictions. Most notable, however, is Baltimore City, where over half of case closures were due to a work sanction (53.6%) compared to 12.6% in Calvert County. The work sanction rate has continued to increase in Baltimore City from 28.3% two years ago, to 49.8% in the previous study period, and to 53.6% in this current year. The statewide average is clearly affected by these increases in Baltimore City which represents a large majority (45.4%) of the case closure population.

No recertification/no redetermination was one of the top three closure reason in ten jurisdictions ranging from 9.3% in Dorchester County to 30.2% in Washington County. As previously mentioned, it is possible that this administrative closure code does not capture the fact that some these of recipients found work on their own and did not report the information to the agency. Four counties – Allegany (17.1%), Garrett (15.5%), Queen Anne's (12.6%), and Somerset (17.8%) – were the only jurisdictions with a requested closure as a frequently used administrative closing code and Talbot County was the only jurisdiction to report 'not eligible' as one of the top reasons for case closure.

Table 5. Top 3 Case Closing Reasons by Jurisdiction

	Reasons for Closure	
Allegany	Eligibility/verification information not provided	31.5%
	Requested closure	17.1%
	Income above limit	16.3%
Anne Arundel	Work sanction	30.8%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	22.2%
	Income above limit	17.8%
Baltimore	Work Sanction	36.4%
	Income above limit	20.4%
	No recertification/no redetermination	16.1%
Calvert	Income above limit	36.3%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	14.1%
	Work sanction	12.6%
Caroline	Work sanction	32.7%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	16.3%
	Income above limit	15.0%
Carroll	Eligibility/verification information not provided	38.7%
	Income above limit	20.2%
	No recertification/no redetermination	19.8%
Cecil	Work sanction	28.0%
	Income above limit	20.0%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	17.3%
Charles	Work sanction	24.6%
	Income above limit	23.3%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	12.1%
Dorchester	Work sanction	37.7%
	Income above limit	20.9%
	No recertification/no redetermination	9.3%
Frederick	Income above limit	25.0%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	21.0%
	Work sanction	15.8%
Garrett	Income above limit	26.2%
	Work sanction	20.2%
	Requested closure	15.5%
Harford	Work sanction	28.4%
	Eligibility/verification information not provided	21.2%
	Income above limit	20.0%

Howard	Eligibility/verification information not provided Income above limit No recertification/no redetermination	42.0% 21.5% 12.2%
Kent	Income above limit Work sanction Eligibility/verification information not provided	24.0% 20.0% 14.7%
Montgomery	Work sanction Income above limit No recertification/no redetermination	41.2% 23.4% 13.3%
Prince George's	Work sanction No recertification/no redetermination Eligibility/verification information not provided	28.7% 19.8% 17.9%
Queen Anne's	Income above limit Eligibility/verification information not provided Requested closure	27.2% 24.3% 12.6%
St Mary's	No recertification/no redetermination Income above limit Eligibility/verification information not provided	26.3% 24.0% 14.2%
Somerset	Income above limit Work sanction Requested closure	30.2% 18.6% 17.8%
Talbot	Income above limit Eligibility/verification information not provided Not eligible	30.6% 26.5% 12.2%
Washington	No recertification/no redetermination Eligibility/verification information not provided Income above limit	30.2% 24.2% 14.6%
Wicomico	Work sanction Income above limit No recertification/no redetermination	24.9% 17.9% 15.4%
Worcester	Income above limit Eligibility/verification information not provided Work sanction	20.5% 20.5% 16.9%
Baltimore City	Work sanction No recertification/no redetermination Income above limit	53.6% 18.1% 11.7%
Maryland	Work sanction No recertification/No redetermination Income above limit	39.0% 16.4% 16.0%

Case Closure Reasons by Core Caseload

In this section, we examine the case closure reasons by core caseload designation as presented in Table 6. Interestingly, while work sanction was the top case closing reason statewide and second most frequent among jurisdictions, it was only reported as a top three reason for closure among seven of the 12 caseload categories. Instead, eligibility and verification information not provided and income above limit were top closing reasons in three-quarters (9 of 12) of the core caseload groups. This has not changed from the previous study period, and in fact, each caseload designation's top three closure reasons remained the same between the two study periods with adjustments to the percent of cases closing due to a particular reason.

Cases that are expected to work or participate in a work-related activity – core caseload (61.4%), earnings cases (20.7%), and two-parent families (44.1%) – had work

sanctions as a top closure code and two of these groups had the highest percentage of work sanctions (core caseload and two-parent households). One quarter or more of case closures were due to work sanctions in the following groups: domestic violence (42.5%), legal immigrant (37.6%), caring for a disabled household member (29.3%), and short-term disabled cases (27.8%). Work sanctions have increased in each of these groups from the previous study year anywhere from two to eight percentage points.

Of the nine core caseload designations with income above limit as a top three closure reason, the use of income above limit ranged from 11.4% among the core caseload to 51.5% among earnings cases. The use of eligibility and verification information not provided ranged from 9.8% among earnings cases to 28.3% among short-term disabled cases. Again, these findings are consistent with the previous year's finding.

Table 6. Top 3 Case Closure Reasons by Core Caseload

Core Caseload Designation	Reasons for Closure	
Core Caseload (n=13,196)	Work sanction	61.4%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	11.6%
	Income above limit	11.4%
Two-parent household (n=886)	Work sanction	44.1%
	Income above limit	29.5%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	13.2%
Earnings (n=1,669)	Income above limit	51.5%
	Work sanction	20.7%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	9.8%
Child-only (n=4,302)	No recertification/no redetermination	40.2%
	Not eligible	22.8%
	Requested closure	12.0%
Child under one (n=1,739)	No recertification/no redetermination	25.5%
	Income above limit	22.6%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	15.1%
Long-term disabled (n=1,430)	No recertification/no redetermination	25.9%
	Income above limit	20.6%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	18.0%
Short-term disabled (n=205)	Eligibility/verification info not provided	28.3%
	Work sanction	27.8%
	Income above limit	14.6%
Caring for a disabled household member (n=304)	Work sanction	29.3%
	No recertification/no redetermination	28.3%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	13.8%
Paid relative caretaker (n=240)	No recertification/no redetermination	35.4%
	Not eligible	20.8%
	Income above limit	13.3%
Domestic Violence (n=228)	Work sanction	42.5%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	18.9%
	Income above limit	14.9%
Legal Immigrant (n=157)	Work sanction	37.6%
	Income above limit	26.1%
	Eligibility/verification info not provided	13.4%

Note: Due to some instances of missing data, cell counts may not sum to total. Valid percentages reported.

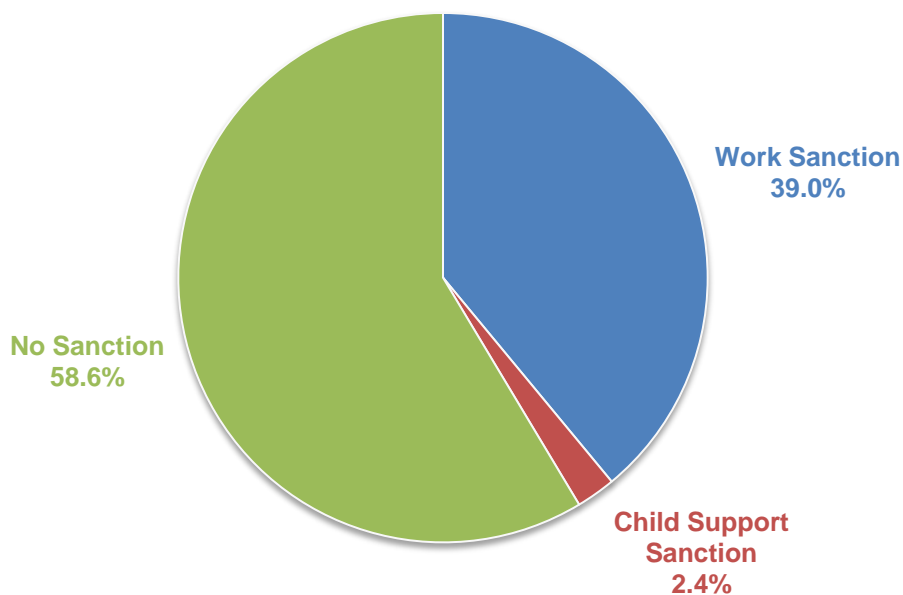
Full-Family Sanctions: Statewide

After the enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in the mid 1990's, there was much controversy over the ability of states to impose full-family sanctions. A full-family sanction is one in which the entire cash assistance grant is revoked in cases where the client was non-cooperative with work or child support requirements. Maryland is currently one of 21 states imposing full family sanctions. It was hoped that use of this more severe penalty would, as many front-line workers argued, 'get the client's attention' and lead him/her to come into compliance with program requirements. At the request of the legislature and the Department of Human Resources, we have been tracking sanction use and sanctioned clients' outcomes since the penalty was first imposed in October 1996. The vast majority of sanctions have been work, rather than child support related, and this has been true year after year. Also,

as might be expected, the recent trend in sanctions has been an upward one. However, consistently over time, the data show that clients whose welfare cases are closed because of sanctioning do return to welfare at a significantly higher rate than those who leave for other reasons, implying that they have come into compliance with program rules.

Figure 5, following this discussion, shows the percent of work and child support sanctions during this study period. Two-fifths (39.0%) of cases have closed due to a work sanction while 2.4% have closed due to a child support sanction. Ultimately, three-fifths (58.6%) of cases that were closed during this study period closed for some reason other than a work sanction. Previously, we discussed the increase in work sanctions since 2007 (Figure 4). In the previous study period, child support sanctions decreased slightly (from 4.1% to 2.2%) but they have remained stable since the last study year.

Figure 5. Full-Family Sanctions: October 2009 through September 2010



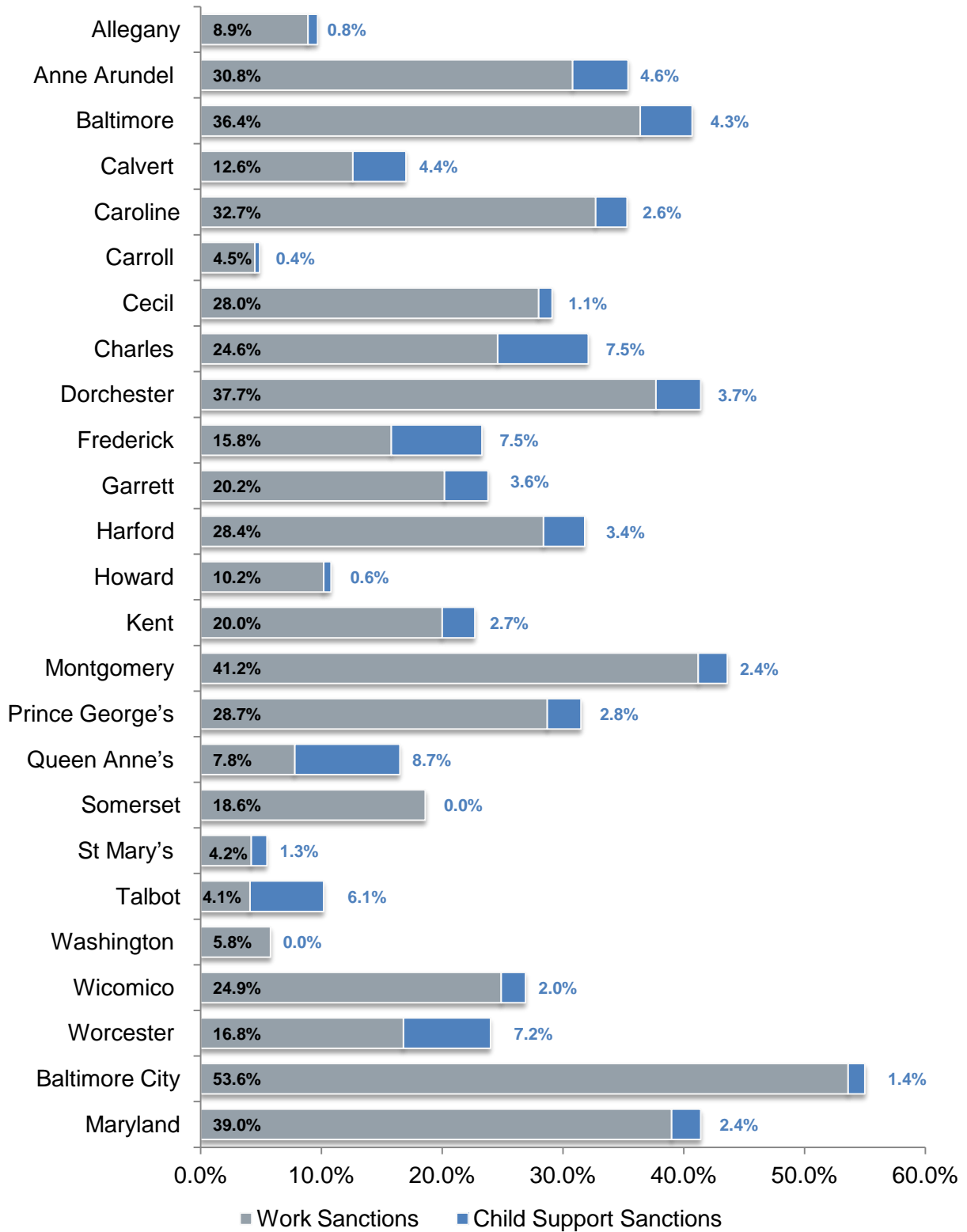
Full-Family Sanctions by Jurisdiction

The increase in the work sanction rate is in large part due to the fact that more than half of Baltimore City case closures were due to a work sanction (53.6%) as can be seen in Figure 6, below. Only one other jurisdiction had a work sanction rate above the statewide average of 39.0% (Montgomery County – 41.2%). Three jurisdictions had nearly one-third or more of their closures due to a work sanction: Baltimore County (36.4%), Caroline (32.7%), and Dorchester (37.7%). Compared with the previous study period, half (12) of the jurisdictions had an increase in the work sanction rate, 10

jurisdictions experienced a decline, and two remained stable.

Child support sanctions represented only 2.4% of the sanctions this year for the entire state. Two counties, Somerset and Washington Counties, had no child support sanctions this year (compared to five jurisdictions in the previous study period), while Queen Anne’s County had the largest proportion of child support sanctions (8.7%), followed by Charles (7.5%) and Frederick (7.5%) Counties. In the previous study period, the highest sanctioning rate for child support non-cooperation was 11.1% in Kent County which decreased to 2.7% this year.

Figure 6. Full-Family Sanctions by Jurisdiction



CONCLUSIONS

Today's report, the latest in the annual, *Caseload Exits at the Local Level* series, was released with two companion reports. The trilogy documented case closing trends, characteristics of clients and their cases, case closing codes, and full-family sanctioning for cases closing during after the Great Recession. This report provides information for the sample of unique cases that closed between October 2009 and September 2010, 14 years after welfare reform. Largely, general trends in case closures have remained the same over time, and this holds true for this year as well. However, two important pieces of information from today's report should be noted.

First, the number of unique cases that closed during this study year was 17.9% higher than the previous study year. This year represents the highest number of case closures Maryland has seen in the past six years. This is likely a reflection of the current economic climate. Although the Great Recession ended nearly three years ago now, we are still recovering. Furthermore, as is evident from employment and welfare caseload indicators, we are experiencing a lag in the recovery. Unemployment levels remain high and cash assistance and food supplement caseloads continue to rise. Additionally, as addressed in today's report, two of every five cash assistance recipients exiting welfare are exiting due to a work sanction. Just prior to the start of the recession, only one in five were exiting due to a work sanction. This, coupled with high unemployment, a struggling economy, and rising caseloads,

suggests that we will continue to struggle with our economic recovery in the years to come.

This slow and difficult recovery may present an opportunity, however, for local agencies to create networks and partnerships within their communities. It may be beneficial to place clients in other work-related activities that still meet the federal requirements. Such activities could include community service programs, vocational education, and on-the-job- training. Increasing networks and partnerships in the community may aide local agencies in their search for work-related placements for their clients.

A second highlight from today's report, and one that has been noted many times, is that we live in an extremely diverse state. Maryland varies widely across all 24 jurisdictions with regards to economy, culture, demographics, and caseload size. As we've seen throughout this report, this remains true this year as it has in years past. The benefit of the *Caseload Exits at the Local Level* series is that we consistently present data year after year at the local level, providing local officials and more specifically, program managers and frontline workers, with jurisdictional case and demographic information for each jurisdiction. Such information about our diverse state is necessary and even fundamental in the creation and maintenance of programs that serve our people. With the breadth of knowledge we have about the diversity of our state, local officials, program managers and frontline workers can continue to better understand their caseloads and serve TCA client's needs in the best way possible.

REFERENCES

- Maryland Department of Human Resources (n.d.). *Statistical Reports 2009*, Baltimore, MD: Author. Available online: <http://www.dhr.state.md.us/fia/pdf/statisticalreportsfy09.pdf>.
- Maryland Department of Human Resources (n.d.). *Statistical Reports 2010*, Baltimore, MD: Author. Available online: <http://www.dhr.state.md.us/fia/pdf/statisticalreportsfy10.pdf>.
- Ovwigo, P.C., Tracy, K., and Born, C.E. (2004). *Research Brief: Estimating Welfare Work Exits: Case Closing Reasons vs. UI Data*. Baltimore: University of Maryland.
- Williamson, S. (2010). *Full-Family sanctions & Economic recession*, Baltimore, MD: University of Maryland School of Social Work.
- Williamson, S., Logan, L., Roll, S., & Saunders, C. (2011, September). *Research on the Changing Welfare Population: Informing Practice and Policy*. Presented at the 51st Annual Workshop of the National Association for Welfare Research and Statistics. Available online: <http://www.familywelfare.umaryland.edu/presentations/nawrs2011.pdf>