

Caseload Exits at the Local Level:

The Fourth Year of FIP

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Executive Summary

This is the fifth in a series of reports which examine the universe of cases which have left cash assistance in Maryland since the state's welfare reform program, the Family Investment Program (FIP), began in October 1996. This report looks at the fourth year of reform (October 1999 - September 2000), providing statewide and jurisdiction-specific information on all 31,482 cases which exited Temporary Cash Assistance (TCA) during this 12 month period.¹ The report addresses two broad questions:

- " **What are the statewide and jurisdictional trends in cash assistance case closings during the fourth year of welfare reform?**
- " **For the state as a whole and in each local subdivision, what is the profile of cases which closed and what are the administrative reasons for case closure?**

Monthly administrative data on all 31,482 cases which closed were examined to answer these questions. Specifically, information was obtained from the Client Automated Resource and Eligibility System (CARES), Maryland's automated management information system for public welfare and social service programs. In addition to total numbers of exiting cases in the state and each of its 24 local jurisdictions/subdivisions, information can be extracted from CARES on such case characteristics as size of the assistance unit, case composition, reasons for case closure, length of most recent welfare spell and age of youngest child in the assistance unit. Data are also available which profile exiting payees in terms of gender,

¹ Comparable reports on the universe of welfare leavers for the first three years were issued in April 1998, June 1999, and April 2000, and a report reviewing all three years was issued in December 2000. See: *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The First Year of FIP*; *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Second Year of FIP*; *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Third Year of FIP*; and *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The First Three Years of FIP*. University of Maryland School of Social Work.

racial/ethnic group, age, and age at birth of first child. Key findings from our review of these data for the 31,482 cases which left welfare during year four of reform (October 1999 - September 2000) include the following:²

- " Statewide, in year four there were 31,482 closings. While this is a sizable number, it is less than the number of closings for year three (n=37,997), year two (n=40,773) and year one (n=41,212).
- " Statewide, the general trend in year four was that of larger numbers of exits in the first and fourth quarters and smaller numbers of exits in the second and third quarters. The largest number of exits was recorded in the fourth quarter (n=8,494), the fewest (n=7,263) in the second quarter.
- " In nine of 24 jurisdictions, closings were very evenly distributed across each of the four quarters of the year.
- " For 22 of 24 jurisdictions, the localities share of year four closures equaled or exceeded their share of the year four cash assistance caseload. The exceptions were Baltimore City and Prince George's County. The largest disparity between share of caseload and share of case closings was in Baltimore City which accounts for 59.7% of the total caseload, but only 54.2% of the total case closures, a gap of 5.5%³.
- " Statewide, the typical exiting case in year four consisted of a two person assistance unit (37.4%) containing one adult (79.3%) and one child (45.2%). The majority of exiting cases (72.7%) had been on welfare for less than 1 year at the time of case closure.
- " The typical payee in an exiting case was female (95.7%), African-American (75.7%), in her early 30s (median 32 years) and had given birth to her first child before the age of 21 (57.2%).

²A closing case or case closure is defined as an assistance unit which, at least once during the 12 month study period, ceased receiving Temporary Cash Assistance (TCA, formerly Aid to Families with Dependent Children). That is, we count cases or families, rather than closures per se; for this reason, the number of closures we report may differ from the number reported by the Maryland Department of Human Resources for the same period.

³This gap compares favorably to the findings for the first (17.1%) and second (11.7%) years of reform, but is slightly greater than the figure observed in year three (3.8%).

A few intra-state differences in the profile of year four exiting cases and payees were observed. Some of the notable variations are presented below:

- " Two parent families, while a small proportion of closing cases statewide (2.2%), accounted for more than five percent of all exiting cases in nine jurisdictions: Allegany (7.4%), Calvert (5.2%), Carroll (5.1%), Cecil (7.1%), Dorchester (5.4%), Frederick (5.1%), Garrett (18.9%), Kent (7.7%), and Queen Anne s (5.1%) counties.
- " Child-only cases accounted for only 18.5% of statewide closures during year four, but for much larger proportions of exits in two counties on the Eastern Shore: Kent (38.5%) and Queen Anne s (26.5%); and one county in Southern Maryland: St. Mary s (26.0%).
- " In 23 of 24 jurisdictions, two person assistance units were most common among year four exiters. The exception was Somerset County where there were slightly more three person (31.8%) than two person (28.0%) assistance units.
- " The jurisdictional analysis showed some variation in payees estimated age at the time of first birth; average age at first birth ranged from 21.13 years in Wicomico County to 24.89 years in Kent County.
- " The proportion of caseheads who had their first child before age 18 was 25.4% for the state as a whole, but varied widely across counties, ranging from a low of 9.1% in Kent County to a high of 29.4% in Baltimore City.
- " The proportion of exiting cases containing at least one child under the age of three years was 39.4% for the entire state. This ranged from about one case in three in Prince George s County (34.2%) to about about three cases in five in Washington County (58.9%).
- " Statewide during the fourth year of reform, two administrative reasons for case closure predominated: no recertification/no redetermination (n=7,353/31,482 or 23.4%) and income above limit (including started work) (n=7,056/31,482 or 22.4%). Together these two reasons accounted for not quite half (45.8%) of all closures recorded during the year.
- " The vast majority (n=5,178/7353 or 70.4%) of cases that closed for the reason no recertification/no redetermination were in Baltimore City and Prince George s County. Baltimore City accounted for approximately three-fifths of all such closures in year four (n=4,151/7,353 or 56.5%) and Prince George s County accounted for almost one-sixth (n=1,027/7,353 or 14.0%).

- " About one in five closures (18.5%) statewide in year four were due to the imposition of a sanction. This represents an increase from year three (11.7%) and is also higher than the year two (11.7%) and year one (6.1%) rates. As was true in all prior years, the vast majority (91%) of sanctions were for non-compliance with work requirements, rather than non-cooperation with child support.
- " The vast majority of sanctions in year four were work-related and intra-state differences are evident. Work sanctions as a proportion of all case closures ranged from 15% or more in eight jurisdictions: Allegany (16.5%), Baltimore (22.5%), Calvert (22.7%), Howard (15.0%), Montgomery (18.4%), Somerset (18.7%) and Worcester Counties (17.9%), and Baltimore City (18.6%) to less than three percent in St. Mary's (2.6%) and Wicomico Counties (1.8%). Child support sanctions ranged from 5.5% of all closures in Talbot County to zero percent or no such closures in the counties of Caroline, Charles, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, and Worcester.

These findings are generally consistent with findings previously reported for the first three years of the program. Consistent with prior years' reports also, this review suggests that two areas continue to warrant special attention: the progress of reform in Baltimore City and full family sanctioning.

In our reports on the first, second, and third years of welfare reform in Maryland, we called attention to two important findings about Baltimore City. First was the fact that Baltimore City's share of annual case closings was less, in all three years, than its share of the total cash assistance caseload. Second was the reality that, largely because of moderate to dramatic caseload declines in Maryland's 23 counties, Baltimore City accounted each year for an ever-larger share of the state's total active cash assistance caseload. Both findings held in year four. The gap between closures and caseload in year four in the City was -5.5% and the City accounted for 59.7% of the

state caseload (up from 57.7% in year three, 54.9% in year two, and 50.7% in year one).

The year four closures/caseload gap in Baltimore City (-5.5%) is considerably smaller than the gap observed in the first (-17.1%) and second (-11.6%) years of reform. However, it is a bit higher than the year three gap (-3.8%).⁴

Close attention should also continue to be paid to the use of the full family sanction, in particular full family sanctions imposed for non-compliance with work requirements. In year four, as was true in the first three years of reform, Maryland continued to make relatively sparing use of this new, more severe penalty compared to many other states. However, 18.5% of all year four closures statewide, or about one of every five closures, were due to full family sanctioning. This is higher than in years two and three where full family sanctioning represented about one in ten closures statewide. Overall, it appears that sanctioning continues to be used in moderation and is not the key driver behind caseload declines. Nonetheless, because it is such a severe penalty, sanctioning remains an area to which state and local program managers should continue to pay close attention.

⁴ The year 3 figure may be misleading because of certain short-lived Baltimore City case review practices which resulted in large numbers of closures during that period of time.

Introduction

The University of Maryland's School of Social Work, through a long-standing partnership with the Maryland Department of Human Resources (DHR), is carrying out a multi-faceted, multi-year research program focused on the implementation, operation and outcomes of welfare reform in our state. The most well-known of these projects is the *Life After Welfare* study which longitudinally tracks the post-exit experiences of several thousand randomly-selected families who have left welfare since the beginning of reform (October 1996) and on which five statewide reports have been issued. The *Life After Welfare* study provides empirical case-level data that policy-makers and administrators can use to judge how the new welfare program is working, identify program modifications that may be needed, and assess what happens to Maryland families once they no longer receive cash assistance.

The Caseload Exits at the Local Level series of reports provide additional information about Maryland welfare leavers, specifically, macro-level data that are not covered in the *Life* study. By design, the *Life* reports present detailed follow-up employment, recidivism and other data about a statewide random sample of exiting cases. In contrast, *Caseload Exits* reports look at the entire universe of cases which exited cash assistance in Maryland during a given year. This report, the fifth in the series, examines the 31,482 cases which closed during the fourth year of reform (October 1999 - September 2000). It describes case characteristics, exit patterns and the use of full family sanctioning for each of the state's 24 jurisdictions and the state as a whole.

Methodology

Looking at all cases which closed during the fourth full year of welfare reform permits us to answer a number of questions germane to continued program monitoring and planning. The main questions of interest are:

- " What are the general trends in case closings in the fourth year of reform?
- " Do case closing patterns differ across jurisdictions?
- " How does each jurisdiction's share of closings compare to its share of the overall average caseload for the same period of time?
- " What is the general statewide profile of all fourth year exiters and the profile in each subdivision in terms of assistance unit size, number of adults, number of children and length of the most recent welfare spell?
- " What are the demographic characteristics of exiting payees including: gender, race/ethnicity, age, age at first birth, and age of youngest child in the assistance unit?
- " What are the most common administratively-recorded reasons for case closure?
- " What proportion of cases, statewide and in each subdivision, left welfare during the fourth year because of a full family sanction for non-compliance with work requirements or non-cooperation with child support?

To answer these questions, aggregate data on closing cases were obtained from monthly case closing extract files created from an administrative data system, the Client Automated Resources and Eligibility System (CARES). This system contains official records of clients' utilization of various public assistance and social service programs, including cash assistance, which are under the purview of the Department of Human Resources and local Departments of Social Services (LDSSes). There are 24 LDSSes in the state - one in each of Maryland's 23 counties and in the separate, incorporated City of Baltimore.

In addition to providing raw data on the number of closing cases throughout the state, the extract files created from the administrative data system also contain the following data which are presented in this report:

- " Assistance unit size - number of individuals included on the grant;
- " Case composition - numbers of children and adults included on the grant;
- " Benefit begin and end dates - from which length of current welfare spell is calculated;
- " Closing code - administratively-recorded reason for welfare case closure; and
- " Demographic characteristics of exiting payees - age, racial/ethnic group, age of youngest child in assistance unit, and age of female payees at the birth of their first child.

A closing case (or case closure), for purposes of this analysis, is defined as an assistance unit which, at least once during the 12 month study period, ceased receiving Temporary Cash Assistance (TCA) benefits (formerly AFDC). That is, we count cases or families rather than closures per se. Because some cases could, conceivably, have exited or closed more than once during the 12 month period, the total number of closures reported here may differ from the total number of closures reported by DHR for that same period of time.

Findings

The following results are based on the universe of unique closing cases (n=31,482) in the fourth full year of welfare reform (October 1999 - September 2000) in Maryland. The universe includes all assistance units which exited cash assistance at least once during the 12 month period. Findings for both the state and each of its 24 local jurisdictions are presented in the following sections:

- " Closing cases by month: statewide analysis
- " Closing cases by month: jurisdictional analysis
- " Closing cases relative to caseload size: jurisdictional analysis
- " Characteristics of exiting cases: statewide and jurisdictional analyses
- " Characteristics of exiting payees: statewide and jurisdictional analyses
- " Administrative reasons for case closure: statewide and jurisdictional analyses
- " Full family sanctions: statewide and jurisdictional analyses.

Closing Cases by Month: Statewide Analysis

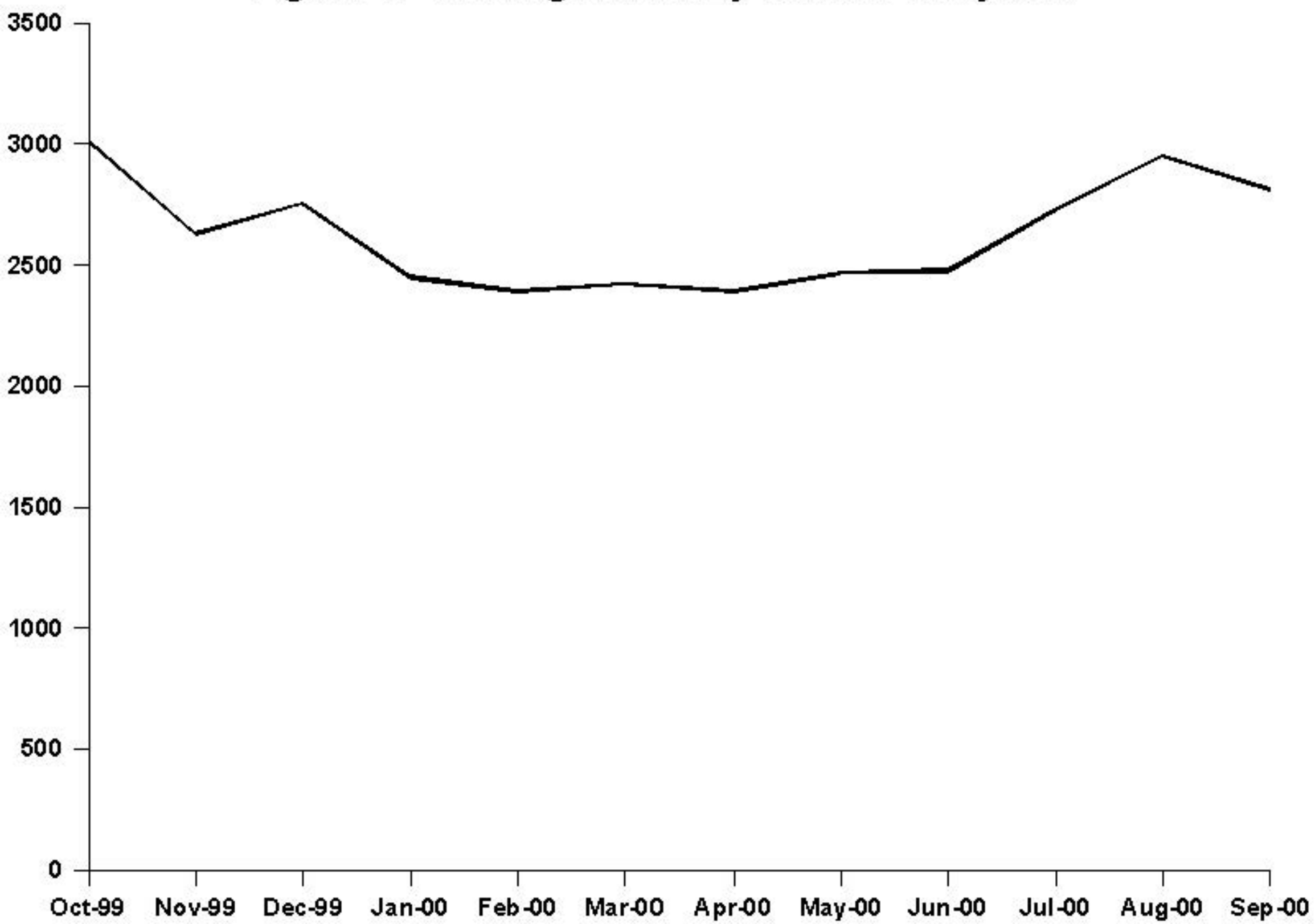
Aggregate statewide data on the number of cases closing during the entire year and in each of the 12 months are presented in Table 1 and Figure 1, following. As the table and figure show, the general trend in year four of reform was that of more exits in the beginning and end of the year and fewer in the middle six months. Specifically, the greatest number of closings (n=8,494) occurred in the fourth quarter (July 2000 - September 2000), with only slightly fewer occurring (n=8,391) in the first quarter (October 1999 - December 1999). Smaller, although still sizeable, numbers of closings took place in the second and third quarters of the year (n=7,263 and n=7,334, respectively). The spread between the month with the highest number and proportion

of closings (October 1999, n=3,009 or 9.6%) and the month with the lowest number (February 2000, n=2,392 or 7.6%) was 617 cases.

Table 1. Number of Monthly Closing Cases: Maryland

Month	Closing Cases	Percent	Cumulative Percent
October 1999	3,009	9.6%	9.6%
November 1999	2,630	8.4%	17.9%
December 1999	2,752	8.7%	26.7%
<i>1st Quarter Total</i>	8,391	26.7%	26.7%
January 2000	2,448	7.8%	34.4%
February 2000	2,392	7.6%	42.0%
March 2000	2,423	7.7%	49.7%
<i>2nd Quarter Total</i>	7,263	23.1%	49.7%
April 2000	2,391	7.6%	57.3%
May 2000	2,467	7.8%	65.2%
June 2000	2,476	7.9%	73.0%
<i>3rd Quarter Total</i>	7,334	23.3%	73.0%
July 2000	2,731	8.7%	81.7%
August 2000	2,947	9.4%	91.1%
September 2000	2,816	8.9%	100.0%
<i>4th Quarter Total</i>	8,494	27.0%	100.0%
Annual Total	31,482	100.0%	100.0%

Figure 1. Closing Cases By Month: Maryland



Closing Cases by Month: Jurisdictional Analysis⁵

Maryland is a small but diverse state. As a result, statewide data often mask important intra-state variations. Welfare reform's strong emphasis on local flexibility also makes it important to examine jurisdictional data on dimensions such as patterns in welfare exits. Monthly and quarterly closing numbers and proportions for each jurisdiction are presented in Table 2 on the following pages.

As Table 2 shows, there is no one pattern that describes all jurisdictions. Six jurisdictions experienced the largest proportion of closings in the first quarter (October 1999 - December 1999). This group of counties is quite diverse in terms of geographic location, population and TCA caseload size (Cecil, Montgomery, Prince George's, Queen Anne's, St. Mary's, and Washington Counties). Table 2 also shows that nine of 24 jurisdictions recorded their largest number and percent of closings during the second quarter of the year (January 2000 - March 2000). These jurisdictions are also a somewhat dissimilar group (Allegany, Anne Arundel, Carroll, Charles, Dorchester, Frederick, Garrett, Kent, and Worcester Counties), representing suburban and rural areas as well as varying TCA caseload sizes. In the third quarter (April 2000 - June 2000), four counties, again a varied group, experienced the greatest number of case closings: Baltimore, Howard, Somerset, and Wicomico. Finally, there were five jurisdictions where the largest proportion of closings occurred in the fourth quarter (July 2000 - September 2000). These were the counties of Calvert, Caroline, Harford, Talbot, and Baltimore City.

⁵Readers are referred to Appendix A, Figures A-1 to A-24, which graphically illustrate year four monthly case closing patterns separately for each local jurisdiction. For readers unfamiliar with Maryland, a state map is included as Appendix B.

Table 2. Number of Closing Cases by Month and Jurisdiction

	Maryland	Allegany	Anne Arundel	Baltimore	Calvert	Caroline	Carroll
October 1999	3,009 (9.6%)	21 (8.2%)	140 (8.7%)	320 (8.7%)	6 (2.6%)	14 (10.0%)	18 (6.2%)
November 1999	2,630 (8.4%)	24 (9.4%)	109 (6.8%)	338 (9.2%)	23 (10.0%)	8 (5.7%)	23 (7.9%)
December 1999	2,752 (8.7%)	22 (8.6%)	156 (9.7%)	290 (7.9%)	21 (9.2%)	16 (11.4%)	18 (6.2%)
1st Quarter	8,391 (26.7%)	67 (26.2%)	405 (25.2%)	948 (25.7%)	50 (21.8%)	38 (27.1%)	59 (20.2%)
January 2000	2,448 (7.8%)	28 (10.9%)	159 (9.9%)	270 (7.3%)	22 (9.6%)	8 (5.7%)	34 (11.6%)
February 2000	2,392 (7.6%)	24 (9.4%)	123 (7.7%)	259 (7.0%)	15 (6.6%)	11 (7.9%)	24 (8.2%)
March 2000	2,423 (7.7%)	19 (7.4%)	126 (7.9%)	303 (8.2%)	16 (7.0%)	12 (8.6%)	38 (13.0%)
2ND Quarter	7,263 (23.1%)	71 (27.7%)	408 (25.4%)	832 (22.6%)	53 (23.1%)	31 (22.1%)	96 (32.9%)
April 2000	2,391 (7.6%)	22 (8.6%)	145 (9.0%)	338 (9.2%)	24 (10.5%)	12 (8.6%)	26 (8.9%)
May 2000	2,467 (7.8%)	21 (8.2%)	126 (7.9%)	357 (9.7%)	19 (8.3%)	10 (7.1%)	20 (6.8%)
June 2000	2,476 (7.9%)	18 (7.0%)	128 (8.0%)	326 (8.8%)	10 (4.4%)	9 (6.4%)	16 (5.5%)
3rd Quarter	7,334 (23.3%)	61 (23.8%)	399 (24.9%)	1,021 (27.7%)	53 (23.1%)	31 (22.1%)	62 (21.2%)
July 2000	2,731 (8.7%)	16 (6.3%)	154 (9.6%)	297 (8.1%)	23 (10.0%)	16 (11.4%)	22 (7.5%)
August 2000	2,947 (9.4%)	19 (7.4%)	134 (8.4%)	320 (8.7%)	25 (10.9%)	16 (11.4%)	28 (9.6%)
September 2000	2,816 (8.9%)	22 (8.6%)	104 (6.5%)	266 (7.2%)	25 (10.9%)	8 (5.7%)	25 (8.6%)
4th Quarter	8,494 (27.0%)	57 (22.3%)	392 (24.4%)	883 (24.0%)	73 (31.9%)	40 (28.6%)	75 (25.7%)
Total	31,482	256	1,604	3,684	229	140	292

Note: Quarterly percentages may not represent the exact sum of the percentages for the individual months, due to rounding.

	Cecil	Charles	Dorchester	Frederick	Garrett	Harford
October 1999	31 (8.5%)	25 (7.5%)	22 (6.3%)	26 (7.3%)	11 (8.3%)	53 (10.8%)
November 1999	33 (9.1%)	21 (6.3%)	35 (10.0%)	24 (6.7%)	11 (8.3%)	43 (8.8%)
December 1999	34 (9.3%)	36 (10.8%)	34 (9.7%)	39 (11.0%)	9 (6.8%)	37 (7.5%)
1st Quarter	98 (26.9%)	82 (24.6%)	91 (25.9%)	89 (25.0%)	31 (23.5%)	133 (27.1%)
January 2000	27 (7.4%)	24 (7.2%)	38 (10.8%)	28 (7.9%)	10 (7.6%)	33 (6.7%)
February 2000	20 (5.5%)	32 (9.6%)	37 (10.5%)	32 (9.0%)	12 (9.1%)	41 (8.4%)
March 2000	34 (9.3%)	37 (11.1%)	36 (10.3%)	34 (9.6%)	17 (12.9%)	23 (4.7%)
2nd Quarter	81 (22.3%)	93 (27.9%)	111 (31.6%)	94 (26.4%)	39 (29.5%)	97 (19.8%)
April 2000	27 (7.4%)	13 (3.9%)	38 (10.8%)	28 (7.9%)	13 (9.8%)	42 (8.6%)
May 2000	41 (11.3%)	18 (5.4%)	26 (7.4%)	27 (7.6%)	15 (11.4%)	42 (8.6%)
June 2000	25 (6.9%)	42 (12.6%)	30 (8.5%)	30 (8.4%)	10 (7.6%)	35 (7.1%)
3rd Quarter	93 (25.5%)	73 (21.9%)	94 (26.8%)	85 (23.9%)	38 (28.8%)	119 (24.2%)
July 2000	24 (6.6%)	24 (7.2%)	21 (6.0%)	36 (10.1%)	8 (6.1%)	50 (10.2%)
August 2000	34 (9.3%)	31 (9.3%)	16 (4.6%)	24 (6.7%)	7 (5.3%)	45 (9.2%)
September 2000	34 (9.3%)	30 (9.0%)	18 (5.1%)	28 (7.9%)	9 (6.8%)	47 (9.6%)
4th Quarter	92 (25.3%)	85 (25.5%)	55 (15.7%)	88 (24.7%)	24 (18.2%)	142 (28.9%)
Total	364	333	351	356	132	491

Note: Quarterly percentages may not represent the exact sum of the percentages for the individual months, due to rounding.

	Howard	Kent	Montgomery	Prince George s	Queen Anne s	St. Mary s
October 1999	21 (9.3%)	0 (0.0%)	107 (9.9%)	428 (13.9%)	10 (10.2%)	28 (12.3%)
November 1999	20 (8.8%)	1 (3.8%)	95 (8.8%)	360 (11.7%)	10 (10.2%)	26 (11.5%)
December 1999	20 (8.8%)	3 (11.5%)	90 (8.3%)	357 (11.6%)	9 (9.2%)	13 (5.7%)
1st Quarter	61 (27.0%)	4 (15.4%)	292 (26.9%)	1145 (37.2%)	29 (29.6%)	67 (29.5%)
January 2000	13 (5.8%)	4 (15.4%)	84 (7.7%)	273 (8.9%)	10 (10.2%)	27 (11.9%)
February 2000	12 (5.3%)	2 (7.7%)	93 (8.6%)	252 (8.2%)	6 (6.1%)	18 (7.9%)
March 2000	19 (8.4%)	3 (11.5%)	97 (8.9%)	243 (7.9%)	12 (12.2%)	18 (7.9%)
2nd Quarter	44 (19.5%)	9 (34.6%)	274 (25.3%)	768 (25.0%)	28 (28.6%)	63 (27.8%)
April 2000	23 (10.2%)	2 (7.7%)	80 (7.4%)	202 (6.6%)	7 (7.1%)	13 (5.7%)
May 2000	23 (10.2%)	1 (3.8%)	90 (8.3%)	137 (4.5%)	3 (3.1%)	22 (9.7%)
June 2000	19 (8.4%)	2 (7.7%)	105 (9.7%)	147 (4.8%)	5 (5.1%)	12 (5.3%)
3rd Quarter	65 (28.8%)	5 (19.2%)	275 (25.4%)	486 (15.8%)	15 (15.3%)	47 (20.7%)
July 2000	16 (7.1%)	3 (11.5%)	75 (6.9%)	156 (5.1%)	10 (10.2%)	14 (6.2%)
August 2000	20 (8.8%)	2 (7.7%)	84 (7.7%)	252 (8.2%)	8 (8.2%)	12 (5.3%)
September 2000	20 (8.8%)	3 (11.5%)	84 (7.7%)	269 (8.7%)	8 (8.2%)	24 (10.6%)
4th Quarter	56 (24.8%)	8 (30.8%)	243 (22.4%)	677 (22.0%)	26 (26.5%)	50 (22.0%)
Total	226	26	1,084	3,076	98	227

Note: Quarterly percentages may not represent the exact sum of the percentages for the individual months, due to rounding.

	Somerset	Talbot	Washington	Wicomico	Worcester	Baltimore City
October 1999	9 (8.4%)	10 (7.8%)	41 (11.6%)	40 (6.7%)	13 (8.0%)	1,615 (9.4%)
November 1999	2 (1.9%)	10 (7.8%)	29 (8.2%)	35 (5.9%)	18 (11.1%)	1,332 (7.8%)
December 1999	7 (6.5%)	12 (9.4%)	33 (9.3%)	66 (11.1%)	11 (6.8%)	1,419 (8.3%)
1st Quarter	18 (16.8%)	32 (25.0%)	103 (29.2%)	141 (23.7%)	42 (25.9%)	4,366 (25.4%)
January 2000	18 (16.8%)	11 (8.6%)	27 (7.6%)	48 (8.1%)	11 (6.8%)	1,241 (7.2%)
February 2000	4 (3.7%)	6 (4.7%)	28 (7.9%)	45 (7.6%)	18 (11.1%)	1,278 (7.4%)
March 2000	7 (6.5%)	17 (13.3%)	26 (7.4%)	62 (10.4%)	15 (9.3%)	1,209 (7.0%)
2nd Quarter	29 (27.1%)	34 (26.6%)	81 (22.9%)	155 (26.1%)	44 (27.2%)	3,728 (21.7%)
April 2000	7 (6.5%)	10 (7.8%)	28 (7.9%)	55 (9.2%)	13 (8.0%)	1,223 (7.1%)
May 2000	13 (12.1%)	7 (5.5%)	30 (8.5%)	60 (10.1%)	12 (7.4%)	1,347 (7.8%)
June 2000	11 (10.3%)	9 (7.0%)	26 (7.4%)	57 (9.6%)	14 (8.6%)	1,390 (8.1%)
3rd Quarter	31 (29.0%)	26 (20.3%)	84 (23.8%)	172 (28.9%)	39 (24.1%)	3,960 (23.1%)
July 2000	11 (10.3%)	10 (7.8%)	24 (6.8%)	53 (8.9%)	12 (7.4%)	1,656 (9.6%)
August 2000	11 (10.3%)	15 (11.7%)	23 (6.5%)	35 (5.9%)	12 (7.4%)	1,774 (10.3%)
September 2000	7 (6.5%)	11 (8.6%)	38 (10.8%)	39 (6.6%)	13 (8.0%)	1,684 (9.8%)
4th Quarter	29 (27.1%)	36 (28.1%)	85 (24.1%)	127 (21.3%)	37 (22.8%)	5,114 (29.8%)
Total	107	128	353	595	162	17,168

Note: Quarterly percentages may not represent the exact sum of the percentages for the individual months, due to rounding.

Closing Cases Relative to Caseload Size: Jurisdictional Analysis

Table 2 shows that, relatively speaking, each jurisdiction continued to record sizable numbers of case closings during the fourth year of reform. The number of case closings occurring (or possible) in any subdivision, of course, is largely a function of the size of its overall TCA caseload. Because caseload sizes vary dramatically across jurisdictions, meaningful cross-jurisdiction comparisons using actual numbers and proportions are difficult. However, in terms of caseload exits, one way to contrast localities which takes caseload size differences into account is to consider each subdivision's share of statewide case closings relative to its share of the statewide average annual caseload for the same period. This information appears in Table 3, following this discussion.⁶

Table 3 tells us several things. First, and as expected, it shows that jurisdictions with the largest caseloads (Baltimore City and the counties of Prince Georges, Baltimore, Montgomery and Anne Arundel) are also those with the largest numbers and proportions of total case closures. These five subdivisions account for more than four-fifths (86.9%) of the average annual caseload and for more than four-fifths (84.7%) of total case closures statewide during the 12 month study period.

The figures which appear in the difference column of Table 3, however, illustrate a more important point. While the "difference" percentages are quite small in some cases, they show that 22 of 24 jurisdictions' shares of overall year four case closures equaled or exceeded their shares of the average annual caseload in that same year.

⁶ Caseload data were calculated by the authors from the *Monthly Statistical Reports* issued by the Family Investment Administration, Department of Human Resources for the period October 1999 - September 2000.

In the remaining two subdivisions (Baltimore City and Prince George s County), however, the share of year four case closures was at least one percent less than the jurisdiction s share of the average annual statewide caseload. The closures/caseload gaps were -1.1% and -5.5% for Prince George s County and Baltimore City, respectively. Specifically, Prince George s County accounted for 11.4% of the TCA caseload, but only 10.3% of TCA closures; in Baltimore City the comparable figures are 59.7% and 54.2%.

However, over the same period of time a few points specific to Baltimore City deserve mention. First, the City accounted for more than half (54.2%, 17,168 of 31,482) of all cases which closed at least once during the 12 month period. Second, the City s share of overall case closings has increased each year since the outset of reform, the proportions being 33.6%, 43.3%, 53.9%, and 54.2% for the first through fourth years, respectively.

Over the same period of time, Baltimore City has also come to account for an ever-larger share of the state's overall TCA caseload. As shown in Table 3, Baltimore City accounted for 59.7% of the statewide caseload during the fourth year of reform. In the previous year (October 1998 - September 1999), the City represented 57.7% of the state's active caseload. During the second year of reform (October 1997 to September 1998) it accounted for just over half (54.9%) of the caseload, and during the first year of reform (October 1996 - September 1997) it accounted for 50.7% of the caseload.⁷ The obvious and very important implication of this trend continues to be that the state's long-term success in achieving the goals of reform depends ever more heavily on policies implemented and results achieved in Baltimore City.

⁷ See: Welfare and Child Support Research and Training Group. (April, 1998). *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The First Year of FIP*, (June, 1999). *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Second Year of FIP*, and (April, 2000). *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Third Year of FIP*. Baltimore: University of Maryland School of Social Work.

Table 3. Percent of Total Closings/Caseload by Jurisdiction:10/99 - 9/00

Jurisdiction	Percent of Total Closings	Percent of Total Caseload	Difference
Baltimore County	12.0%	9.3%	2.7%
Anne Arundel	5.0%	3.4%	1.6%
Wicomico	2.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Cecil	1.2%	0.8%	0.4%
Carroll	1.0%	0.6%	0.4%
Dorchester	1.1%	0.8%	0.3%
Calvert	0.7%	0.5%	0.2%
Frederick	1.1%	1.0%	0.1%
Montgomery	3.2%	3.1%	0.1%
Howard	0.7%	0.6%	0.1%
Harford	1.7%	1.6%	0.1%
Garrett	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%
Queen Anne s	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
Allegany	0.8%	0.7%	0.1%
Washington	1.0%	1.0%	0.0%
Somerset	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%
Caroline	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%
Talbot	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%
Worcester	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%
St. Mary s	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%
Kent	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Charles	1.0%	1.2%	-0.2%
Prince George s	10.3%	11.4%	-1.1%
Baltimore City	54.2%	59.7%	-5.5%
Total	100%	100%	0%

Note: Caseload data were calculated for this table by the authors from the *Monthly Statistical Reports* issued by the Family Investment Administration, Department of Human Resources for the period October 1999 - September 2000.

Characteristics of Exiting Cases: Statewide and Jurisdictional Analyses

Characteristics of the universe of year four exiting cases are presented for the state and each jurisdiction in Table 4, which follows this discussion. Five characteristics describing exiting cases are presented: length of the TCA spell which culminated in the exit;⁸ number of adults in the assistance unit; number of children in the assistance unit; proportion of child-only cases;⁹ and size of the assistance unit.

Length of Exiting Spell

Table 4 shows that, statewide, the vast majority of cases which left welfare during the fourth year of reform had been on assistance for a relatively short period of time. More than four of every five cases (87.9%) had been open for two years or less, almost three quarters (72.7%) for 12 or fewer months, and almost one-sixth (15.2%) for 13 to 24 months. Fewer than one in twenty cases (4.4%) had received assistance for more than five uninterrupted years.¹⁰

Jurisdictional results are similar, but variations are also evident. In all 24 jurisdictions the most common situation among exiting cases was a current welfare spell that had lasted for one year or less. However, there were large variations across counties in the relative size of this group of short-spell exiters. For example, in Garrett County fully 86.4% of exiting cases had been on welfare for one year or less. In contrast, in Harford

⁸ Length of exiting spell refers, in this paper, to the continuous period of TCA receipt immediately preceding the closing of the case. Readers should be aware that variations in local case closing and/or redetermination practices during the study period may influence the observed results.

⁹ A child-only case is one in which no adult is included in the assistance unit (i.e., cash assistance is being provided only to the child or children).

¹⁰ Because of the disproportionate size of Baltimore City in terms of actual numbers of exiting cases, the table presents statewide data in two forms: with the City included and with the City excluded. References to statewide figures in the text **include** Baltimore City.

and Charles counties, 67.6% and 69.4% of cases, respectively, had spells that were this short.

In all jurisdictions, two-thirds or more of all year four exiters had been receiving aid for one year or less. At the other end of the spectrum, relatively few closing cases statewide or in any jurisdiction had been on welfare continuously for more than five years. In all jurisdictions 5.8% or fewer of closing cases had been receiving TCA continuously for this long. Carroll, Cecil, Frederick and Garrett counties had the lowest proportions of cases that had been receiving TCA continuously for more than five years, 1.7% or less each. In the remaining twenty jurisdictions, between 2.3% and 5.8% of closing cases had been on cash assistance without interruption for five years or more. Although the numbers are small, jurisdictions with the largest proportions of such recipients were Howard (5.8%), and Somerset (5.6%) Counties, and Baltimore City (5.2%)._____

Number of Adults in the Assistance Unit

The most common situation among year four closing cases was that only one adult was included in the TCA grant. Statewide, about four-fifths (79.3%) of all cases contained only one recipient adult. Two-adult cases were rare (2.2%), while cases with no adult recipient (i.e., child-only cases) accounted for not quite one of every five (18.5%) cases which left welfare during the fourth year of reform.

The same pattern prevailed at the local level. In all 24 jurisdictions, assistance units with one adult predominated among year four closing cases; proportions ranged from a low of 53.8% of cases in Kent County to a high of 82.4% in Baltimore City and 82.3% in Dorchester County. Although two adult assistance units were a very small percentage of all exiting cases statewide (2.2%), they were a much larger proportion of exiting cases in a

few, predominantly rural, jurisdictions. In Garrett County, almost one of every five closing cases (18.9%) contained two adults. In eight other counties, more than 5% of cases contained two adults: Allegany (7.4%), Calvert (5.2%), Carroll (5.1%), Cecil (7.1%), Dorchester (5.4%), Frederick (5.1%), Kent (7.7%), and Queen Anne s (5.1%). In the remainder of the state, the percentage of closing cases containing two adults was less than 5%.

Number of Children in the Assistance Unit

Statewide, cases closing between October 1999 - September 2000 tended to have only one (45.2%) or two (28.7%) children in the assistance unit. Overall, not quite one in four cases (23.0%) contained three or more children.

In all 24 jurisdictions, the largest proportion of cases had one child in the assistance unit, though there were noticeable variations across counties. The percentages of one-child families ranged from a low of 39.3% of cases in Somerset County to a high of 60.7% in Caroline County. The proportions of exiting households with three or more children on the grant ranged from a low of about one in ten (9.8%) in Worcester County to a high of about three in 10 (27.9%) in Harford County.

Child-Only Cases

Child-only cases, those in which no adult is included in the assistance unit/benefit amount, have historically represented about 10 -15% of the overall cash assistance caseload in Maryland and nationally. However, since shortly before welfare reform and continuing to the present, as traditional mother-child families have left welfare in large numbers, child-only cases have come to represent a considerably larger proportion of active cash assistance caseloads; nationally, by 1999, child-only cases represented 29.1%

of the total caseload.¹¹ In September 2000, in Maryland, child-only cases represented more than one third (35.0%) of all active TCA cases statewide and, in 19 counties, more than two-fifths of the entire active caseload.¹² Thus, in all welfare reform-related research projects, including this one, we pay special attention to this type of TCA household.

Statewide during the fourth year of reform, child-only cases exited welfare at a rate generally consistent with, though slightly higher than, their historical representation in the AFDC/TCA caseload. Overall, 18.5% of closing cases in the October 1999 - September 2000 period were child-only cases.

There was a great deal of variation in this proportion across the 24 local jurisdictions. The lowest proportion was in Garrett County (11.4%). The highest proportions of exiting child-only cases were in Kent (38.5%) and Queen Anne's counties (26.5%).

Assistance Unit Size

Statewide, closing cases in year four ranged in size from one to 14 persons. The most common situation, which accounted for almost four in 10 cases (37.4%), was that of a two person assistance unit. Next most common was a three person assistance unit; a little over one-fourth of cases (26.0%) leaving welfare had three persons on the grant. Large assistance units were relatively uncommon among those who exited; about one in five closing cases (22.1%) included four or more persons on the grant.

¹¹Dr. Donald Oellerich, US Department of Health and Human Services, personal communication, May 21, 2001

¹² Family Investment Administration, Core Caseload Report, September 2000, Baltimore: Department of Human Resources, November 2, 2000

In 23 of the state's 24 jurisdictions, two person assistance units were also most common. In these jurisdictions the percentages of two person exiting cases ranged from 31.3% of cases in Allegany County to 48.6% of cases in Caroline County. The exception was Somerset County. There were slightly more three person (31.8%) than two person (28.0%) assistance units among those who left TCA in that county during the program's fourth year.

Table 4. Case Characteristics By Jurisdiction - Third Year of FIP (October 1999 - September 2000)

	Allegany	Anne Arundel	Baltimore County	Calvert	Caroline	Carroll
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	256	1,604	3,684	229	140	292
Length of Ending Spell¹³						
12 months or less	82.4%	76.9%	78.2%	78.6%	82.1%	79.1%
13-24 months	10.9%	11.3%	12.9%	9.2%	9.3%	11.6%
25-36 months	1.6%	3.7%	3.6%	4.4%	2.9%	4.5%
37-48 months	1.2%	2.6%	1.7%	3.9%	0.7%	1.7%
49-60 months	1.6%	1.7%	1.0%	1.3%	0.7%	1.4%
more than 60 months	2.3%	3.7%	2.6%	2.6%	4.3%	1.7%
Mean spell length (months)	9.86	12.84	11.07	11.98	11.26	10.29
Median spell length (months)	4.48	5.15	5.68	6.01	5.35	5.50
Range (months)	1 - 178	1 - 175	1 - 300	1 - 168	1 - 178	1 - 95
Number of Adults						
0	21.9%	25.6%	18.6%	19.7%	22.9%	15.8%
1	70.7%	72.5%	78.7%	75.1%	73.6%	79.1%
2	7.4%	1.9%	2.6%	5.2%	3.6%	5.1%
Number of Children						
0	1.6%	4.0%	2.3%	1.7%	4.3%	3.8%
1	48.4%	44.4%	46.5%	44.5%	60.7%	51.0%
2	25.8%	27.6%	30.1%	29.7%	20.7%	28.8%
3 or more	24.2%	24.0%	21.0%	24.0%	14.3%	16.4%
Child-Only Cases	21.9%	25.6%	18.6%	19.7%	22.9%	15.8%
Size of Assistance Unit						
1	18.8%	20.0%	14.8%	16.6%	19.3%	16.4%
2	31.3%	33.5%	37.2%	31.9%	48.6%	38.7%
3	23.8%	24.6%	27.3%	27.5%	19.3%	26.0%
4 or more	26.2%	21.7%	20.7%	24.0%	12.8%	18.7%
Mean Assistance Unit Size	2.71	2.62	2.63	2.69	2.29	2.54
Median Assistance Unit Size	2.50	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Range	1 - 13	1 - 9	1 - 9	1 - 6	1 - 6	1 - 8

¹³Readers are cautioned that some jurisdictional differences in length of exiting spell may be explained by differences in case closing practices.

	Cecil	Charles	Dorchester	Frederick	Garrett	Harford	Howard
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	364	333	351	356	132	491	226
Length of Ending Spell							
12 months or less	84.1%	69.4%	77.5%	80.9%	86.4%	67.6%	74.3%
13-24 months	10.2%	18.3%	14.0%	11.8%	8.3%	19.1%	12.8%
25-36 months	3.6%	5.7%	3.7%	4.5%	3.8%	4.9%	4.4%
37-48 months	0.8%	3.9%	1.1%	0.6%	0.0%	2.9%	1.8%
49-60 months	0.5%	0.3%	1.1%	0.6%	0.0%	1.4%	0.9%
more than 60 months	0.8%	2.4%	2.6%	1.7%	1.5%	4.1%	5.8%
Mean spell length (months)	7.92	13.42	10.91	9.49	7.59	14.08	13.40
Median spell length (months)	4.46	7.62	5.29	5.01	4.28	7.32	6.78
Range (months)	1 - 120	1 - 178	1 - 174	1 - 136	1 - 70	1 - 180	1 - 93
Number of Adults							
0	14.0%	24.9%	12.3%	21.6%	11.4%	19.6%	25.2%
1	78.8%	73.0%	82.3%	73.3%	69.7%	76.6%	72.1%
2	7.1%	2.1%	5.4%	5.1%	18.9%	3.9%	2.7%
Number of Children							
0	3.6%	3.0%	3.7%	3.9%	2.3%	2.0%	3.1%
1	40.4%	44.4%	54.1%	44.1%	51.5%	43.2%	42.9%
2	30.5%	29.1%	23.6%	32.3%	28.0%	26.9%	31.0%
3 or more	25.5%	23.4%	18.6%	19.7%	18.2%	27.9%	23.0%
Child-Only Cases	14.0%	24.9%	12.3%	21.6%	11.4%	19.6%	25.2%
Size of Assistance Unit							
1	12.1%	18.3%	10.5%	19.1%	10.6%	15.7%	16.8%
2	34.3%	34.5%	48.1%	32.9%	34.1%	32.4%	35.4%
3	25.3%	25.8%	23.1%	26.4%	32.6%	24.0%	26.1%
4 or more	28.3%	21.3%	18.2%	21.6%	22.8%	27.8%	21.6%
Mean Assistance Unit Size	2.85	2.62	2.57	2.60	2.75	2.78	2.61
Median Assistance Unit Size	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Range	1 - 8	1 - 8	1 - 7	1 - 7	1 - 6	1 - 8	1 - 7

	Kent	Montgomery	Prince George's	Queen Anne's	St. Mary's	Somerset	Talbot
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	26	1,084	3,076	98	227	107	128
Length of Ending Spell							
12 months or less	80.8%	74.1%	72.6%	77.6%	75.3%	83.2%	83.6%
13-24 months	3.8%	14.0%	14.5%	7.1%	12.3%	6.5%	8.6%
25-36 months	11.5%	4.7%	4.6%	4.1%	5.7%	2.8%	2.3%
37-48 months	0.0%	1.9%	2.4%	6.1%	1.8%	0.9%	1.6%
49-60 months	0.0%	1.5%	1.2%	2.0%	1.3%	0.9%	0.8%
more than 60 months	3.8%	3.8%	4.6%	3.1%	3.5%	5.6%	3.1%
Mean spell length (months)	10.54	12.87	14.17	11.59	13.69	12.20	10.16
Median spell length (months)	3.35	5.66	7.72	4.25	7.72	5.68	4.55
Range (months)	1 - 77	1 - 155	1 - 184	1 - 90	1 - 176	1 - 109	1 - 128
Number of Adults							
0	38.5%	22.5%	23.8%	26.5%	26.0%	18.7%	20.3%
1	53.8%	74.0%	73.9%	68.4%	69.2%	77.6%	78.1%
2	7.7%	3.5%	2.3%	5.1%	4.8%	3.7%	1.6%
Number of Children							
0	0.0%	2.3%	2.9%	1.0%	3.1%	1.9%	3.9%
1	57.7%	45.0%	42.8%	53.1%	47.1%	39.3%	52.3%
2	30.8%	28.6%	26.5%	34.7%	27.8%	36.4%	24.2%
3 or more	11.5%	24.1%	27.8%	11.1%	22.0%	22.4%	19.6%
Child-Only Cases	38.5%	22.5%	23.8%	26.5%	26.0%	18.7%	20.3%
Size of Assistance Unit							
1	23.1%	16.3%	17.0%	16.3%	18.9%	15.9%	16.4%
2	46.2%	36.1%	33.8%	43.9%	37.4%	28.0%	45.3%
3	19.2%	24.7%	23.4%	28.6%	22.5%	31.8%	20.3%
4 or more	11.5%	22.8%	25.8%	11.2%	21.1%	24.3%	18.0%
Mean Assistance Unit Size	2.23	2.69	2.78	2.46	2.56	2.77	2.51
Median Assistance Unit Size	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
Range	1 - 5	1 - 11	1 - 11	1 - 8	1 - 8	1 - 7	1 - 7

	Washington	Wicomico	Worcester	Baltimore City	Maryland with Balt City	Maryland without Balt City
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	353	595	162	17,168	31,482	14,314
Length of Ending Spell						
12 months or less	76.8%	70.4%	77.8%	70.0%	72.7%	76.0%
13-24 months	13.3%	16.3%	13.0%	16.9%	15.2%	13.2%
25-36 months	4.0%	3.5%	3.7%	4.4%	4.3%	4.1%
37-48 months	1.7%	2.4%	1.9%	2.1%	2.1%	2.1%
49-60 months	0.6%	2.7%	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%	1.2%
more than 60 months	3.7%	4.7%	2.5%	5.2%	4.4%	3.4%
Mean spell length (months)	12.47	14.59	9.86	16.34	14.50	12.30
Median spell length (months)	5.71	6.17	4.96	8.74	7.34	5.94
Range (months)	1 - 240	1 - 181	1 - 80	1 - 444	1 - 444	1 - 300
Number of Adults						
0	22.4%	21.2%	19.1%	16.2%	18.5%	21.3%
1	73.1%	76.5%	80.9%	82.4%	79.3%	75.4%
2	4.5%	2.2%	0.0%	1.3%	2.2%	3.2%
Number of Children						
0	3.1%	4.2%	4.3%	3.0%	2.9%	2.9%
1	45.0%	41.3%	49.4%	45.2%	45.2%	45.2%
2	30.0%	34.3%	36.4%	28.7%	28.7%	28.7%
3 or more	21.8%	20.1%	9.8%	23.0%	23.0%	23.2%
Child-Only Cases	22.4%	21.2%	19.1%	16.2%	18.5%	21.3%
Size of Assistance Unit						
1	19.0%	16.1%	17.3%	12.8%	14.5%	16.5%
2	32.9%	36.5%	41.4%	38.8%	37.4%	35.7%
3	25.5%	26.7%	32.7%	26.4%	26.0%	25.4%
4 or more	22.7%	20.7%	8.6%	21.9%	22.1%	22.4%
Mean Assistance Unit Size	2.65	2.65	2.36	2.71	2.69	2.67
Median Assistance Unit Size	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Range	1 - 9	1 - 7	1 - 6	1 - 14	1 - 14	1 - 13

Characteristics of Exiting Payees: Statewide and Jurisdictional Analyses

For purposes of describing the universe of cases which left cash assistance in the fourth year of reform, we are also able to profile exiting payees on certain demographic characteristics. Specifically, these data permit us to describe payees' gender, racial/ethnic group, age, age at first birth and age of the youngest child in the payee's assistance unit. These data for the state and each subdivision are presented in Table 5, following this discussion.¹⁴

Gender of Payee

The vast majority of cases leaving welfare in the fourth year were headed by women. Statewide the payee was female in more than nine out of ten exiting cases (95.7%). Male payees were a very small minority; fewer than one in twenty cases was headed by a man (4.3%).

In all 24 jurisdictions, cases headed by female payees also predominate, accounting for more than nine of ten exiting cases in year four. However some variation does exist. The percentage of cases headed by a female ranges from a low of 91.2% in St. Mary's County to a high of 100.0% in Kent County.

Age of Payee

Statewide, the typical exiting payee in year four was in her early thirties (mean 33.61 years, median 31.75 years). Payees' ages range from 18 to 86 years of age. In year four, about two in ten (21.0%) exiting payees were over age 40.

Slight jurisdictional variation was found in the mean age of exiting payees. Average ages range from 29.80 years in Garrett County to 35.83 years in Queen Anne's County.

¹⁴ Because of the disproportionate size of Baltimore City in terms of actual numbers of exiting cases, the table presents statewide data in two forms: with the City included and with the City excluded. References to statewide figures in the text **include** Baltimore City.

However, the proportion of cases headed by payees over age 40 varied widely across jurisdictions. In Queen Anne's County, almost three in ten (31.6%) exiting cases were headed by someone over the age of 40. In contrast, in Garrett County, approximately one in ten cases were headed by a payee over age 40 (11.5%).

Age at First Birth¹⁵

Statewide, the average payee was about 22 years old at the birth of her first child. Over fifty percent of exiting payees (57.2%) are estimated to have had their first child before the age of 21 and about one in four (25.4%) before the age of 18.

The jurisdictional analysis shows only slight variation in estimated age at first birth; the range is from 21.13 years in Wicomico County to 24.89 years in Kent County. However, the proportion of exiting caseheads who had their first child at a young age varied considerably across jurisdictions. The proportion of exiting mothers who had their first child when they were younger than 18 ranged from a low of 9.1% in Kent County to a high of 29.4% in Baltimore City. In all jurisdictions, more than four in ten exiting caseheads had their first child before age 21. The proportion of first births before age 21 was lowest in Kent County (40.9%) and highest in the counties of Garrett (62.9%), Dorchester (61.3%), and Worcester (60.6%).

Age of Youngest Child

The average age of the youngest child in year four exiting families was 5.79 years, statewide. Children in exiting cases ranged from under one year of age to 18 years of age.

¹⁵ Estimates of age at first birth for female payees were calculated using the payee's date of birth and the date of birth of her oldest child included in the assistance unit. Our calculations underestimate the prevalence of early child-bearing if payees have another older child who is not in the assistance unit.

The median, or midpoint, age was almost 4½ years. Just about four in ten exiting cases included a child (39.4%) under age three.

Across jurisdictions, the average age of the youngest child ranged from 4.01 years (Washington County) to 6.54 years (Queen Anne's County). The proportion of cases including at least one child under age three varied from approximately one in three (34.2%) in Prince George's County to almost three of five (58.9%) in Washington County.

Table 5. Household Characteristics By Jurisdiction - Third Year of FIP (October 1999 - September 2000)¹⁶

	Allegany	Anne Arundel	Baltimore County	Calvert	Caroline	Carroll
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	256	1,604	3,684	229	140	292
% Caucasian	88.5	44.4	37.8	44.1	56.9	84.9
% African-American	11.5	53.2	60.3	53.6	39.4	12.9
% Female	93.0	95.4	95.2	96.1	95.0	96.9
% Male	7.0	4.6	4.8	3.9	5.0	3.1
Age of Payee						
Mean	32.60	34.76	32.84	34.17	33.28	33.18
Median	30.59	32.62	30.65	32.89	30.59	32.26
Std. Dev.	10.60	11.91	10.52	11.27	12.50	10.27
Range (years)	18 - 68	18 - 81	18 - 85	19 - 77	18 - 71	18 - 82
% over age 40	22.1	23.6	18.9	21.5	23.6	19.2
Estimated Age at First Birth						
Mean	22.12	22.68	21.84	22.38	21.56	23.00
Median	20.03	20.68	20.37	21.06	21.10	20.85
Std. Dev.	5.72	5.73	5.31	5.13	4.86	5.70
Range (years)	14 - 43	14 - 47	13 - 46	15 - 39	14 - 40	16 - 42
% who gave birth before 18	18.7	18.3	22.9	11.9	25.2	13.8
% who gave birth before 21	60.1	53.1	55.7	49.2	48.5	51.4
Age of youngest child						
Mean	5.46	5.41	5.45	6.04	5.48	5.53
Median	3.76	3.52	3.81	5.25	4.33	4.22
Std. Dev.	5.06	5.03	4.84	5.09	4.97	4.91
Range	< 1 yr - 18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs
% cases with a child under 3	47.0	47.1	44.2	38.5	42.2	42.9

¹⁶Valid percent is used. Due to missing data for some cases on some variables, n does not always equal the unique closing cases total reported under the heading for each jurisdiction.

	Cecil	Charles	Dorchester	Frederick	Garrett	Harford	Howard
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	364	333	351	356	132	491	226
% Caucasian	76.1	34.6	20.8	57.1	100.0	49.3	29.6
% African-American	23.0	63.9	77.8	40.6	0.0	47.0	65.3
% Female	94.8	96.4	95.4	93.3	94.7	94.3	95.6
% Male	5.2	3.6	4.6	6.5	5.3	5.7	4.4
Age of Payee							
Mean	32.73	34.74	31.76	33.98	29.80	33.00	35.31
Median	31.82	33.84	29.65	32.62	29.16	31.02	34.43
Std. Dev.	9.61	11.09	10.35	11.87	8.82	10.73	11.51
Range (years)	18 - 73	19 - 82	18 - 77	19 - 83	18 - 56	18 - 80	19 - 77
% over age 40	19.0	26.7	15.8	22.8	11.5	18.3	28.3
Estimated Age First Birth							
Mean	22.49	22.62	21.32	22.88	21.16	21.74	23.40
Median	20.55	21.07	19.76	20.81	20.18	20.45	21.09
Std. Dev.	5.29	5.26	4.94	6.06	4.43	4.88	6.28
Range (years)	15 - 45	15 - 41	14 - 39	13 - 50	15 - 41	14 - 40	14 - 41
% who gave birth before 18	12.5	12.7	24.7	16.9	23.3	19.6	15.8
% who gave birth before 21	53.5	49.6	61.3	52.1	62.9	54.7	49.2
Age of youngest child							
Mean	5.23	5.82	5.39	5.14	4.92	5.26	5.66
Median	3.72	3.93	4.15	3.51	2.69	3.71	4.72
Std. Dev.	4.68	5.24	4.76	4.84	4.94	4.86	4.90
Range	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs
% cases with a child under 3	45.8	43.3	42.9	48.0	52.3	47.2	39.6

	Kent	Montgomery	Prince George's	Queen Anne's	St. Mary's	Somerset	Talbot
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	26	1,084	3,076	98	227	107	128
% Caucasian	32.0	14.7	5.7	45.4	48.4	29.9	28.5
% African-American	68.0	70.9	92.8	54.6	49.3	68.2	69.9
% Female	100.0	94.8	96.2	96.9	91.2	95.3	95.3
% Male	0.0	5.2	3.8	3.1	8.8	4.7	4.7
Age of Payee							
Mean	34.57	34.50	35.06	35.83	33.92	32.08	32.66
Median	34.50	32.42	33.19	31.81	31.38	28.38	30.17
Std. Dev.	10.09	10.84	11.50	13.85	12.15	10.92	12.12
Range (years)	19 - 56	18 - 76	18 - 84	19 - 75	19 - 82	19 - 65	18 - 74
% over age 40	15.4	23.6	24.7	31.6	25.1	19.6	20.3
Estimated Age at First Birth							
Mean	24.89	23.61	22.13	22.70	21.65	21.70	21.71
Median	24.58	22.23	20.45	21.55	20.04	20.06	20.26
Std. Dev.	6.74	6.07	5.67	5.09	4.88	5.95	5.59
Range (years)	15 - 40	13 - 48	13 - 49	16 - 39	15 - 38	14 - 39	15 - 37
% who gave birth before 18	9.1	14.7	22.6	10.5	20.0	29.0	28.7
% who gave birth before 21	40.9	41.3	54.3	50.0	56.5	60.2	57.4
Age of youngest child							
Mean	5.51	5.71	6.04	6.54	5.59	4.49	5.32
Median	4.15	3.96	4.88	4.28	4.15	2.58	4.15
Std. Dev.	4.86	5.08	4.60	5.88	4.70	4.59	4.69
Range	< 1 yr -16 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -17 yrs	< 1 yr -17 yrs
% cases with a child under 3	38.5	42.6	34.2	41.1	39.5	53.3	45.2

	Washington	Wicomico	Worcester	Baltimore City	Maryland with Balt City	Maryland without Balt City
Number of Closing Cases (Unique)	353	595	162	17,168	31,482	14,314
% Caucasian	74.9	23.3	40.9	7.8	20.0	34.3
% African-American	23.1	74.7	58.5	91.6	78.4	62.8
% Female	93.2	96.6	95.1	96.0	95.7	95.4
% Male	6.8	3.4	4.9	4.0	4.3	4.6
Age of Payee						
Mean	31.70	32.49	32.16	33.50	33.61	33.73
Median	30.27	29.55	30.42	31.78	31.75	31.73
Std. Dev.	10.45	12.01	10.33	11.13	11.15	11.17
Range (years)	18 - 65	18 - 80	19 - 62	18 - 86	18 - 86	18 - 85
% over age 40	18.5	18.9	21.1	20.4	21.0	21.7
Estimated Age at First Birth						
Mean	21.77	21.13	21.55	21.50	21.81	22.20
Median	20.19	20.11	20.04	19.78	20.13	20.54
Std. Dev.	5.17	4.99	4.78	5.54	5.54	5.52
Range (years)	14 - 44	13 - 48	15 - 41	13 - 50	13 - 50	13 - 50
% who gave birth before 18	21.8	25.4	19.7	29.4	25.4	20.5
% who gave birth before 21	58.1	58.3	60.6	60.0	57.2	53.8
Age of youngest child						
Mean	4.01	4.89	6.45	6.00	5.79	5.54
Median	1.84	3.00	4.51	4.70	4.38	3.99
Std. Dev.	4.56	4.75	5.54	4.75	4.81	4.86
Range	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -17 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs	< 1 yr -18 yrs
% cases with a child under 3	58.9	49.9	40.5	36.5	39.4	42.9

Administrative Reasons for Case Closure: Statewide and Jurisdictional Analyses

As we take care to note in all of our research reports focusing on welfare leavers, the reasons why families exit welfare are many and varied. Administrative data systems must attempt to capture this complexity and diversity in pre-determined, standardized codes. Our reports have documented that case closing codes do not always paint a full picture of why cash assistance cases close. Most notably, we have found that far more clients leave welfare for work than are known to the welfare agency as doing so. This situation often results when the client fails to keep a redetermination appointment or to provide requested information, but does not inform the agency that (s)he has secured a job.¹⁷ The caveats about administrative case closing reasons notwithstanding, it is still instructive to examine statewide and local case closure patterns for the fourth year of welfare reform. These data are particularly useful in illustrating the extent to which full-family sanctioning was used during reform's fourth year.

Top Five Case Closing Reasons: Statewide Data¹⁸

Table 6, following this discussion, presents the top five administrative reasons for year four cash assistance case closings for the universe of exiting cases statewide and, separately, for each of the state's 24 local jurisdictions. Statewide, two reasons for closure prevail: no recertification/no redetermination (n=7,353 or 23.4%) and income above limit (including started work) (n=7,056 or 22.4%). These two reasons have been the most commonly used closing codes in all four years of welfare reform in Maryland. In each year,

¹⁷ See, for example, University of Maryland School of Social Work, *Life After Welfare: Third Interim Report*, March 1999 for a more detailed discussion of this topic.

¹⁸Case closing reasons are available for 31,465/31,482 cases (99.9%). Valid percent is used.

these two reasons together have accounted for between 49 and 58 percent of all case closures.

The third most common reason for case closure during the fourth year of reform was eligibility/verification information not provided (n=5,818 or 18.5%). Together, the top three reasons accounted for more than six of every ten closures during the 12 month period (n=20,227 or 64.3%). Statewide, the fourth most common reason for case closure in reform's fourth year was failure to comply with work requirements (n=5,318 or 16.9%) - that is, case closure because of the agency's imposition of a work-related full family sanction. The fifth most common closing reason in year four was not eligible (n=1,809 or 5.7%). Altogether, these top five reasons accounted for more than four-fifths (n=27,354 or 86.9%) of all case closures during the 12 month period.

Top Five Case Closing Reasons: Jurisdictional Data

Jurisdiction-specific patterns in the use of various administrative case closing reasons were generally similar to the statewide pattern. Notably, in 19 of the state's 24 jurisdictions, the most common reason for case closure was income above limit (including started work). In year four the percentage of cases closed for this reason ranged from 45.9% in Queen Anne's County to 24.8% in Baltimore County.

The five jurisdictions (Anne Arundel, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's counties and Baltimore City) that did not have the income above limit as the top closing reason, all had no recertification/no redetermination as their number one reason for case closure. The percentage of cases closed with this code were: Charles County 38.4%;

Prince George's County 33.4%; St. Mary's County 31.3%; Anne Arundel County 29.7%; and in Baltimore City 24.2%.

We also examined which case closing reasons appeared most often in the top five lists across jurisdictions. Income above limit (the work/earnings-related closure code), shows up in the top five list in all 24 jurisdictions. The code Eligibility/verification information not provided appears in the top five lists for 23 of the 24 jurisdictions (all but Caroline County). In 18 jurisdictions, client requested closure was one of the top five case closure reasons. Case closures for non-compliance with work (i.e., full family sanctions) are also among the five most common closure reasons in 21 of 24 jurisdictions (all but the counties of Charles, St. Mary's, and Wicomico).

Table 6. Top Reasons for Case Closure¹⁹

Jurisdiction	Top 5 Closing Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Maryland	no recertification/no redetermination	7,353	23.4%
	income above limit (including started work)	7,056	22.4%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	5,818	18.5%
	work sanction	5,318	16.9%
	not eligible	1,809	5.7%
Allegany	income above limit (including started work)	78	30.6%
	worker voided application	69	27.1%
	work sanction	42	16.5%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	20	7.8%
	requested closure	16	6.3%
Anne Arundel	no recertification/no redetermination	476	29.7%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	452	28.2%
	work sanction	234	14.6%
	income above limit (including started work)	231	14.4%
	not eligible	99	6.2%
Baltimore County	income above limit (including started work)	914	24.8%
	work sanction	829	22.5%
	no recertification/no redetermination	820	22.3%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	400	10.9%
	not eligible	217	5.9%
Calvert	income above limit (including started work)	79	34.5%
	work sanction	52	22.7%
	no recertification/no redetermination	33	14.4%
	eligibility/verification information - no provided	22	9.6%
	requested closure	16	7.0%
Caroline	income above limit (including started work)	50	35.7%
	no recertification/no redetermination	25	17.9%
	work sanction	14	10.0%
	not eligible	13	9.3%
	residency	12	8.6%
Carroll	income above limit (including started work)	108	37.0%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	52	17.8%
	work sanction	37	12.7%
	closed to avoid dual participation in medical assistance	21	7.2%
	no recertification/no redetermination	17	5.8%
Cecil	income above limit (including started work)	119	32.7%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	67	18.4%
	work sanction	54	14.8%
	requested closure	40	11.0%
	no recertification/no redetermination	30	8.2%

¹⁹ Some jurisdictions have six closing reasons listed if the fifth most common closing reason had two reasons for closure with an equal number of associated cases.

Jurisdiction	Top 5 Closing Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Charles	no recertification/no redetermination	128	38.4%
	income above limit (including started work)	86	25.8%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	37	11.1%
	not eligible	28	8.4%
	requested closure	16	4.8%
Dorchester	income above limit (including started work)	126	35.9%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	57	16.2%
	no recertification/no redetermination	54	15.4%
	work sanction	47	13.4%
	requested closure	27	7.7%
Frederick	income above limit (including started work)	146	41.0%
	not eligible	46	12.9%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	40	11.2%
	requested closure	36	10.1%
	work sanction	32	9.0%
	no recertification/no redetermination	32	9.0%
Garrett	income above limit (including started work)	59	44.7%
	work sanction	18	13.6%
	not eligible	18	13.6%
	requested closure	10	7.6%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	8	6.1%
Harford	income above limit (including started work)	152	31.0%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	109	22.2%
	not eligible	61	12.4%
	no recertification/no redetermination	59	12.0%
	work sanction	43	8.8%
Howard	income above limit (including started work)	68	30.1%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	37	16.4%
	work sanction	34	15.0%
	no recertification/no redetermination	29	12.8%
	requested closure	21	9.3%
Kent	income above limit (including started work)	10	38.5%
	requested closure	5	19.2%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	4	15.4%
	work sanction	3	11.5%
	not eligible	3	11.5%
	no recertification/no redetermination ²⁰	1	3.8%
Montgomery	income above limit (including started work)	345	31.8%
	work sanction	199	18.4%
	no recertification/no redetermination	188	17.3%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	115	10.6%
	requested closure	72	6.6%

²⁰Only 6 closing reasons were utilized in this county - all are listed.

Jurisdiction	Top 5 Closing Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Prince George s	no recertification/no redetermination	1,027	33.4%
	income above limit (including started work)	622	20.2%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	456	14.8%
	work sanction	355	11.6%
	requested closure	186	6.1%
Queen Anne s	income above limit (including started work)	45	45.9%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	14	14.3%
	not eligible	13	13.3%
	requested closure	11	11.2%
	work sanction	8	8.2%
St. Mary s	no recertification/no redetermination	71	31.3%
	income above limit (including started work)	67	29.5%
	not eligible	21	9.3%
	requested closure	17	7.5%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	17	7.5%
	residency	11	4.8%
Somerset	income above limit (including started work)	36	33.6%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	21	19.6%
	work sanction	20	18.7%
	requested closure	12	11.2%
	no recertification/no redetermination	4	3.7%
	not eligible	4	3.7%
Talbot	income above limit (including started work)	38	29.7%
	no recertification/no redetermination	18	14.1%
	work sanction	17	13.3%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	17	13.3%
	requested closure	9	7.0%
Washington	income above limit (including started work)	124	35.1%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	45	12.7%
	no recertification/no redetermination	42	11.9%
	requested closure	40	11.3%
	work sanction	31	8.8%
Wicomico	income above limit (including started work)	208	35.0%
	no recertification/no redetermination	137	23.0%
	eligibility/verification information -not provided	90	15.1%
	not eligible	42	7.1%
	requested closure	37	6.2%
Worcester	income above limit (including started work)	47	29.0%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	34	21.0%
	work sanction	29	17.9%
	requested closure	21	13.0%
	whereabouts unknown	10	6.2%
Baltimore City	no recertification/no redetermination	4,151	24.2%
	eligibility/verification information - not provided	3,693	21.5%
	income above limit (including started work)	3,298	19.2%
	work sanction	3,185	18.6%
	not eligible	935	5.4%

Full Family Sanctions: Statewide and Jurisdictional Analyses

Maryland imposes a full family sanction - termination of the entire cash assistance benefit - when the adult recipient(s) does not comply with work participation requirements or cooperate with child support enforcement. There is a mandatory 30 day conciliation period before the first full family sanction can be imposed, but state law requires a full, rather than partial, sanction upon the first instance of non-compliance. The following sections describe patterns of sanctioning statewide and by jurisdiction.

Full Family Sanctions: Statewide Data

Following this discussion, Table 7 illustrates the frequency with which work and child support full family sanctions were used statewide and in each of the 24 jurisdictions during the fourth full year of reform. The table shows that almost one in five cases (18.5% or 5831/31,465) closed due to a full family sanction. This is a sizeable increase from previous years. In year one, 6.1% of all cases were closed with a full family sanction. In years two and three the percentage increased to 11.7%.

Consistent with the pattern observed in the first three years of reform, virtually all year four sanctions were for non-compliance with work. Specifically, among all case closures statewide, 16.9% (n=5,318) were work-related full family sanctions and 1.6% (n=513) were full family sanctions for non-cooperation with child support. In other words, of all full family sanctions imposed during the fourth year of reform, 91% were work sanctions and 9% were child support sanctions.

Full Family Sanctions: Jurisdictional Data

As was true in the first three years of reform, the use of work- and child support-related full family sanctions varied widely across the state during reform's fourth year. In all 24 jurisdictions, however, work sanctions were more common than child support sanctions.

Jurisdictions with the highest percentages of cases closed due to a work sanction were: Calvert County (n=52 or 22.7%), Baltimore County (n=829 or 22.5%), Somerset County (n=20 or 18.7%), Baltimore City (n=3185 or 18.6%), and Montgomery County (n=199 or 18.4%). Full family sanctioning for work was most infrequent in Charles (n=12 or 3.6%), Wicomico (n=17 or 2.9%), and St. Mary's (n=6 or 2.6%) counties.

Statewide, sanctions for non-cooperation with child support were relatively rare (1.6% of all closures) during the fourth year of reform, but intra-state variations were evident. Jurisdictions with the highest proportions of child support sanctions were the counties of Talbot (n=17 or 5.5%), Howard (n=8 or 3.5%), Montgomery (n=37 or 3.4%), and Garrett (n=4 or 3.0%). In six counties (Caroline, Charles, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, and Worcester) there were no reported closures for non-cooperation with child support in the fourth year of reform.

Table 7. Full Family Sanctions: October 1999 - September 2000

	Full Family Sanctions	Frequency	Percent
Maryland	Work Child Support	5,318 513	16.9% 1.6%
Allegany	Work Child Support	42 1	16.5% 0.4%
Anne Arundel	Work Child Support	234 3	14.6% 0.2%
Baltimore County	Work Child Support	829 79	22.5% 2.1%
Calvert	Work Child Support	52 1	22.7% 0.4%
Caroline	Work Child Support	14 0	10.0% 0.0%
Carroll	Work Child Support	37 6	12.7% 2.1%
Cecil	Work Child Support	54 9	14.8% 2.5%
Charles	Work Child Support	12 0	3.6% 0.0%
Dorchester	Work Child Support	47 5	13.4% 1.4%
Frederick	Work Child Support	32 1	9.0% 0.3%
Garrett	Work Child Support	18 4	13.6% 3.0%
Harford	Work Child Support	43 7	8.8% 1.4%
Howard	Work Child Support	34 8	15.0% 3.5%
Kent	Work Child Support	3 0	11.5% 0.0%
Montgomery	Work Child Support	199 37	18.4% 3.4%
Prince George s	Work Child Support	355 82	11.6% 2.7%

	Full Family Sanctions	Frequency	Percent
Queen Anne s	Work Child Support	8 0	8.2% 0.0%
St. Mary s	Work Child Support	6 1	2.6% 0.4%
Somerset	Work Child Support	20 0	18.7% 0.0%
Talbot	Work Child Support	17 7	13.3% 5.5%
Washington	Work Child Support	31 6	8.8% 1.7%
Wicomico	Work Child Support	17 11	2.9% 1.8%
Worcester	Work Child Support	29 0	17.9% 0.0%
Baltimore City	Work Child Support	3,185 245	18.6% 1.4%

Conclusions

This paper provides descriptive information on the entire universe of 31,482 cases which exited cash assistance during October 1999 - September 2000, the fourth full year of welfare reform in Maryland. This report provides statewide data about those closures, but also separate information for each of the state's 24 local jurisdictions. Separate reports have been issued previously presenting comparable information for the first, second, and third years of reform, as well as comparing trends across the first three years of FIP.²¹

While the total number of exiting cases, as expected, is less in year four (n=31,482) than in years three (n=37,997), two (n=40,773) or one (n=41,212), general exiting patterns, case closing reasons, and case/payee characteristics are similar in all four years.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the proportion of cases which left cash assistance because of full family sanctioning in year four (18.5%, n=5,831 of 31,482 cases) is notably higher than the proportion of cases closed for this reason in previous years (6.1% in year one, and 11.7% in years two and three). In large measure, the increase can be attributed to much greater use of work sanctioning in Baltimore City during the October 1999 - September 2000 period. Of all City closures in this fourth year of reform, 18.6% (n=3,185) were for non-compliance with work requirements; during year three, in contrast,

²¹ See: Welfare and Child Support Research and Training Group. (April, 1998). *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The First Year of FIP*, (June, 1999) *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Second Year of FIP*, and (April 2000) *Caseload Exits at the Local Level: The Third Year of FIP*. Baltimore: University of Maryland School of Social Work.

9.6% (n=1,956) of Baltimore City cases were closed for this reason.²² That work sanctions have increased over time is not surprising, but it is a trend that we and others should continue to closely monitor.

²²Work-related full family sanctioning rates in Baltimore City for the first and second years of reform were 1.9% (n=127) and 8.6% (n=1,504), respectively.

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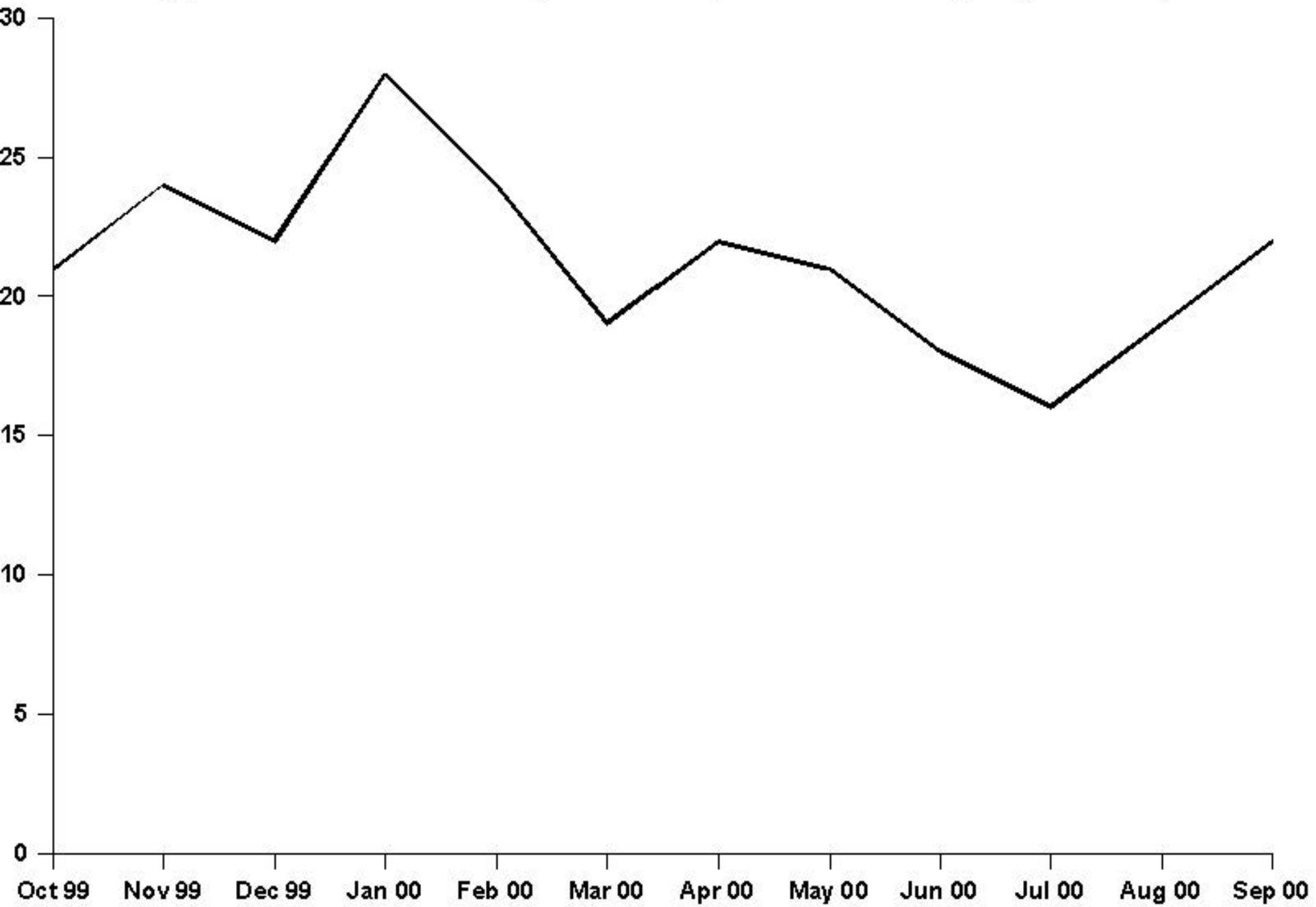
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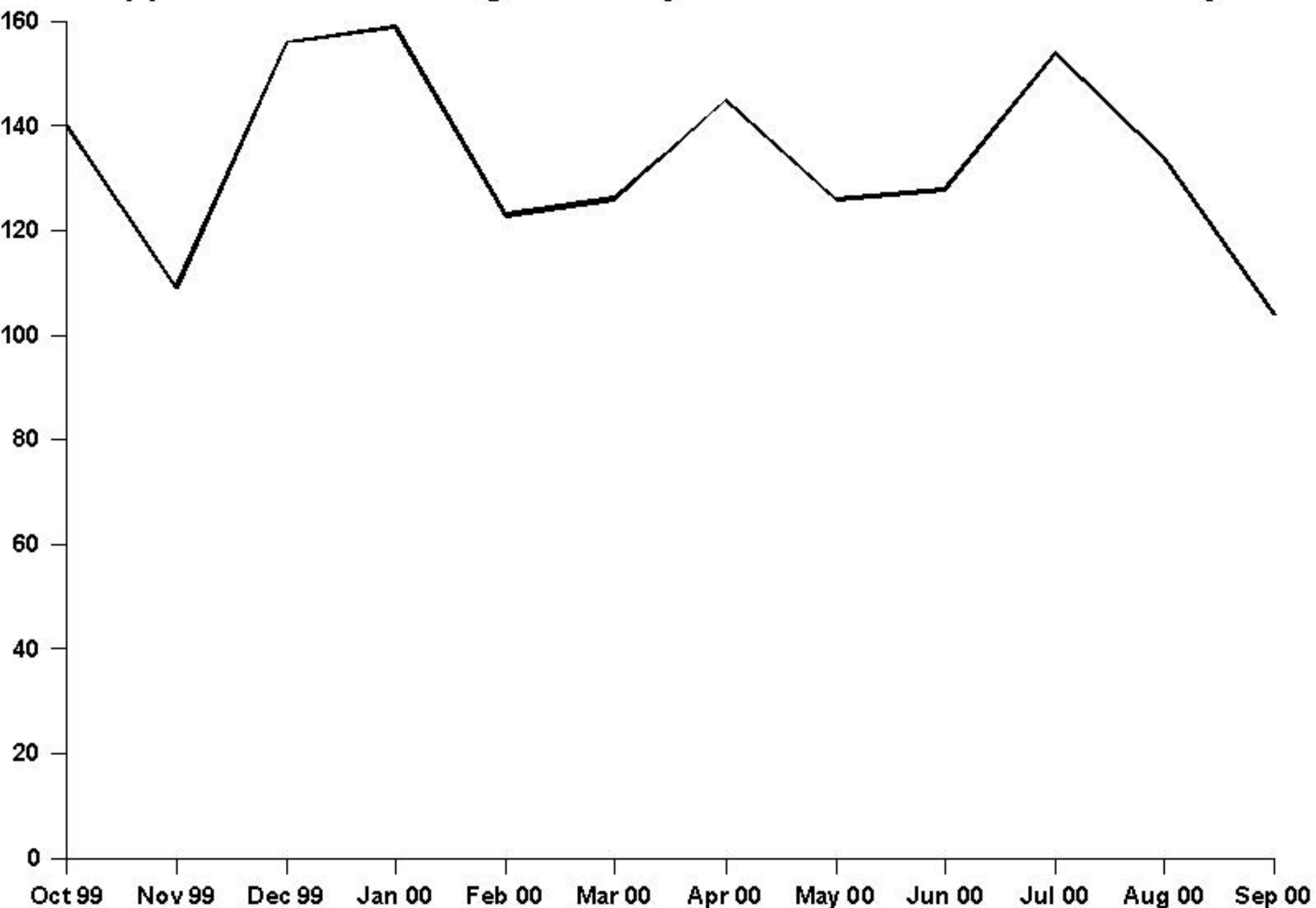
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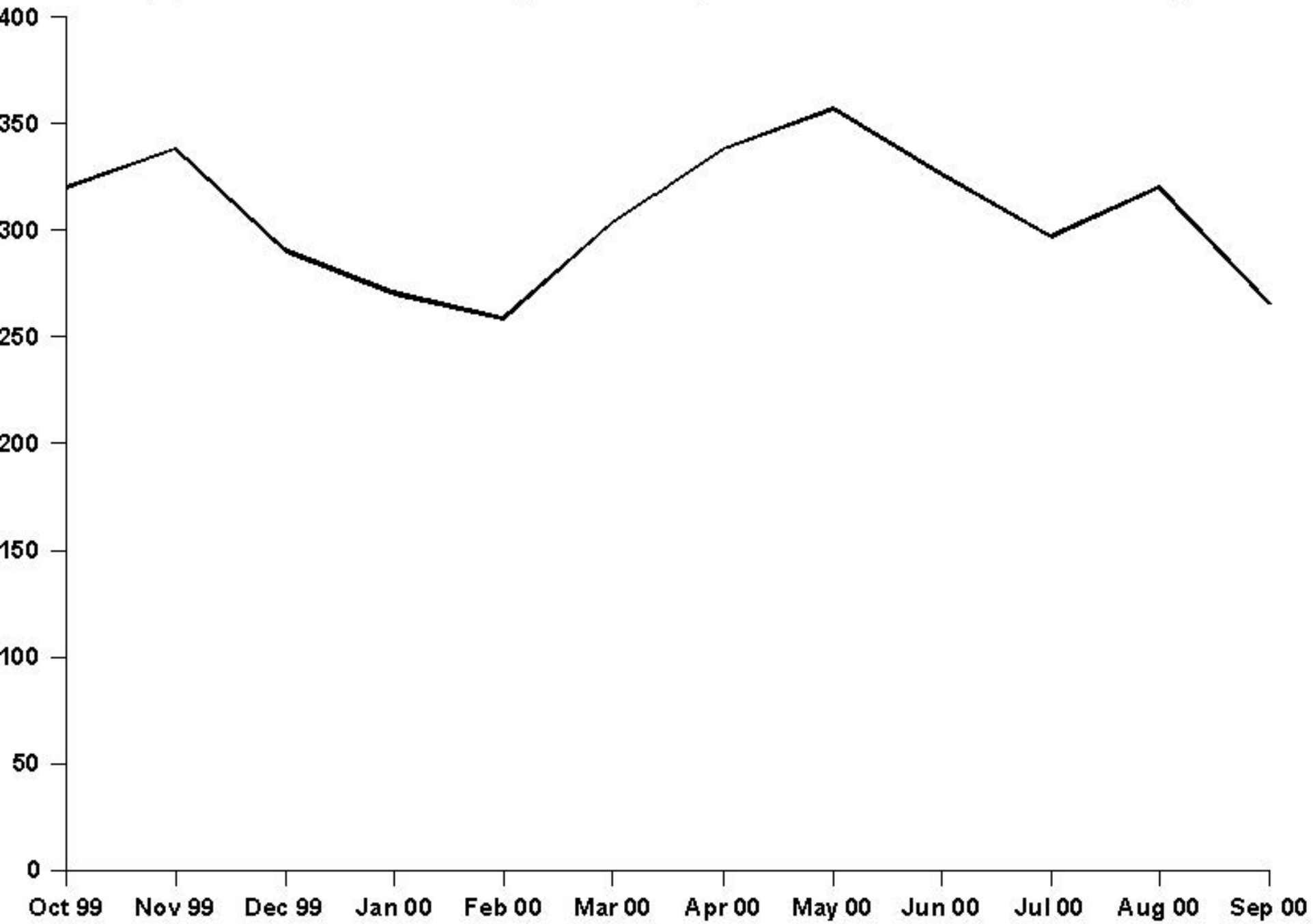
Appendix A-1. Closing Cases By Month: Allegany County



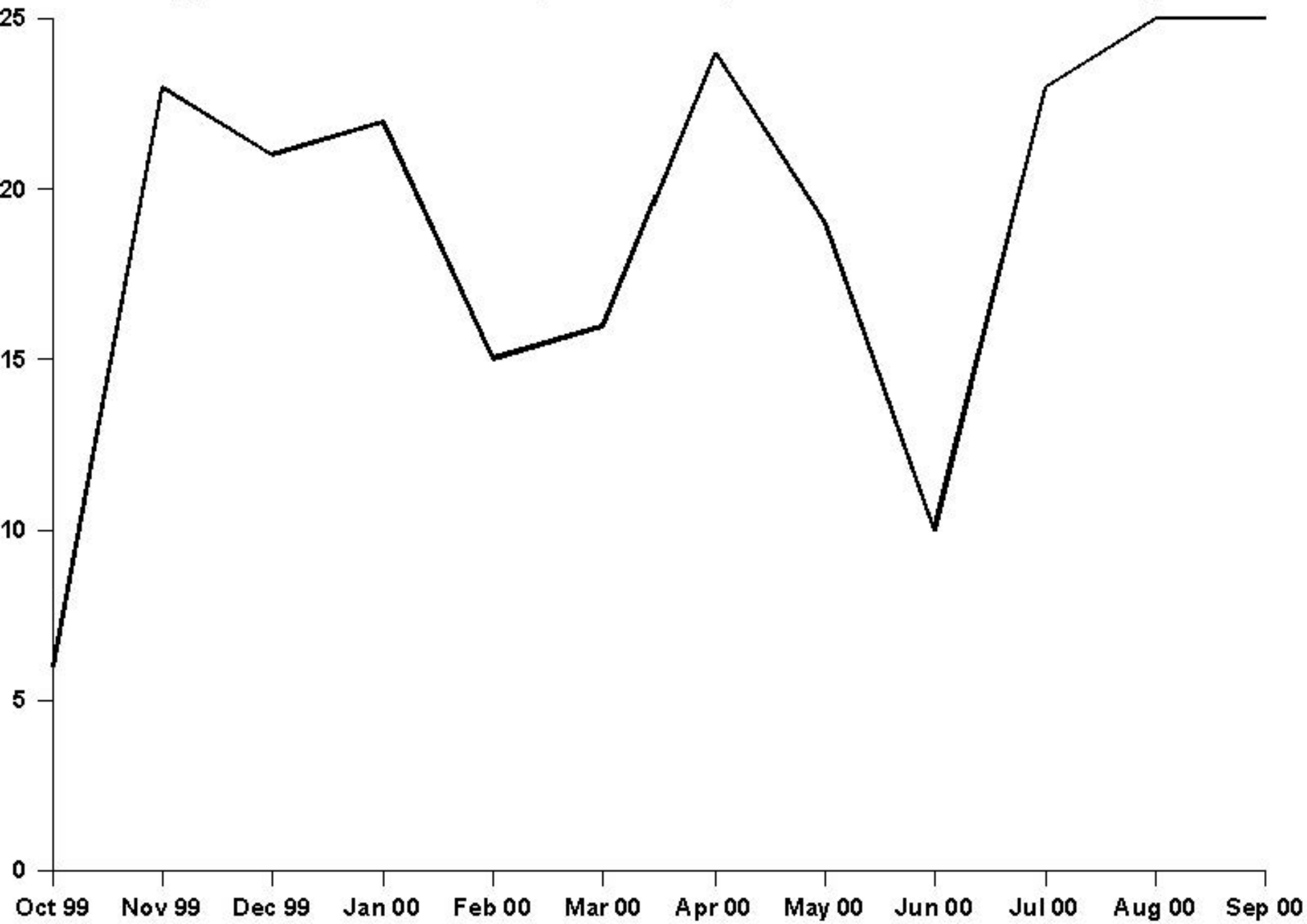
Appendix A-2. Closing Cases by Month: Anne Arundel County



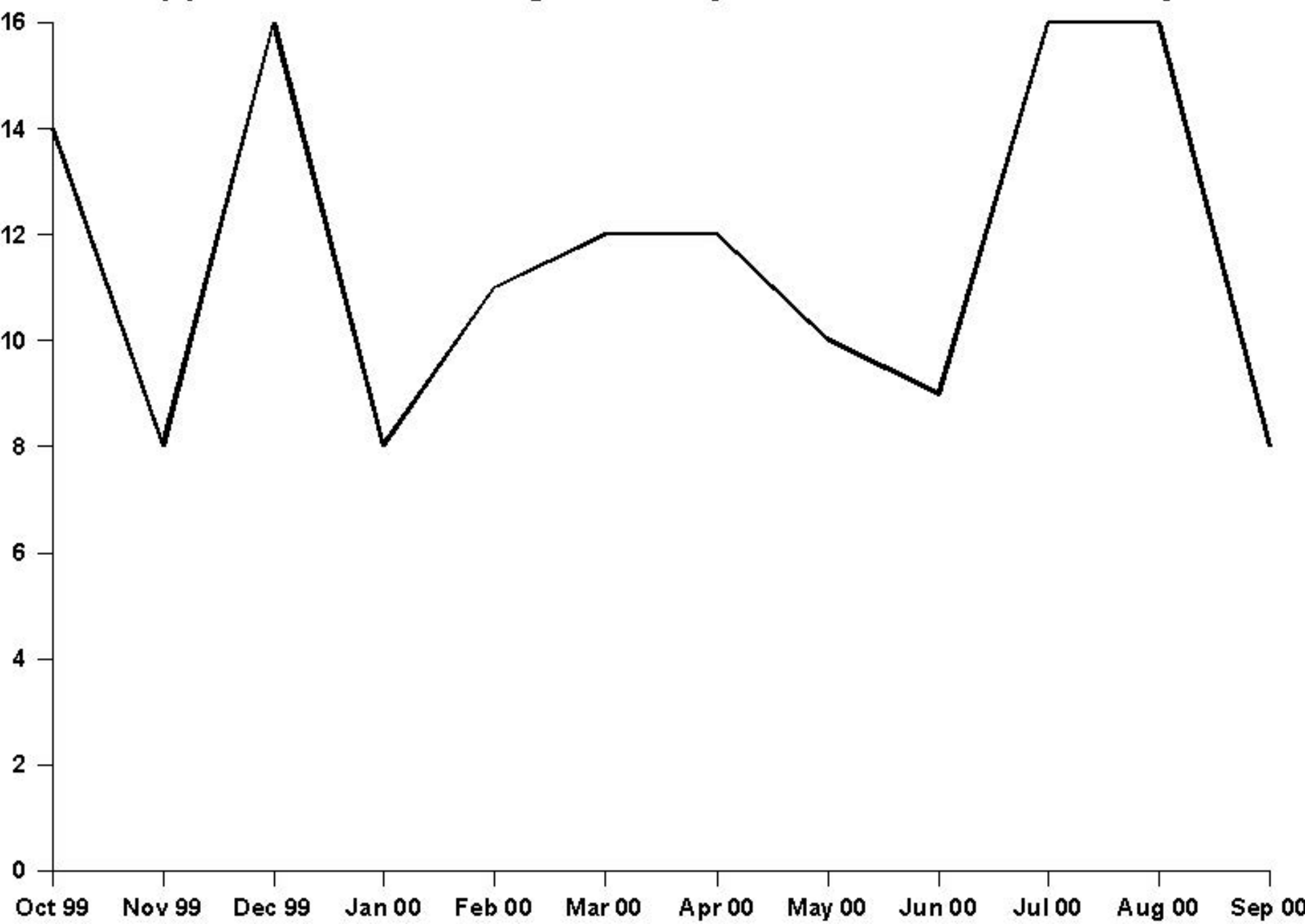
Appendix A-3. Closing Cases By Month: Baltimore County



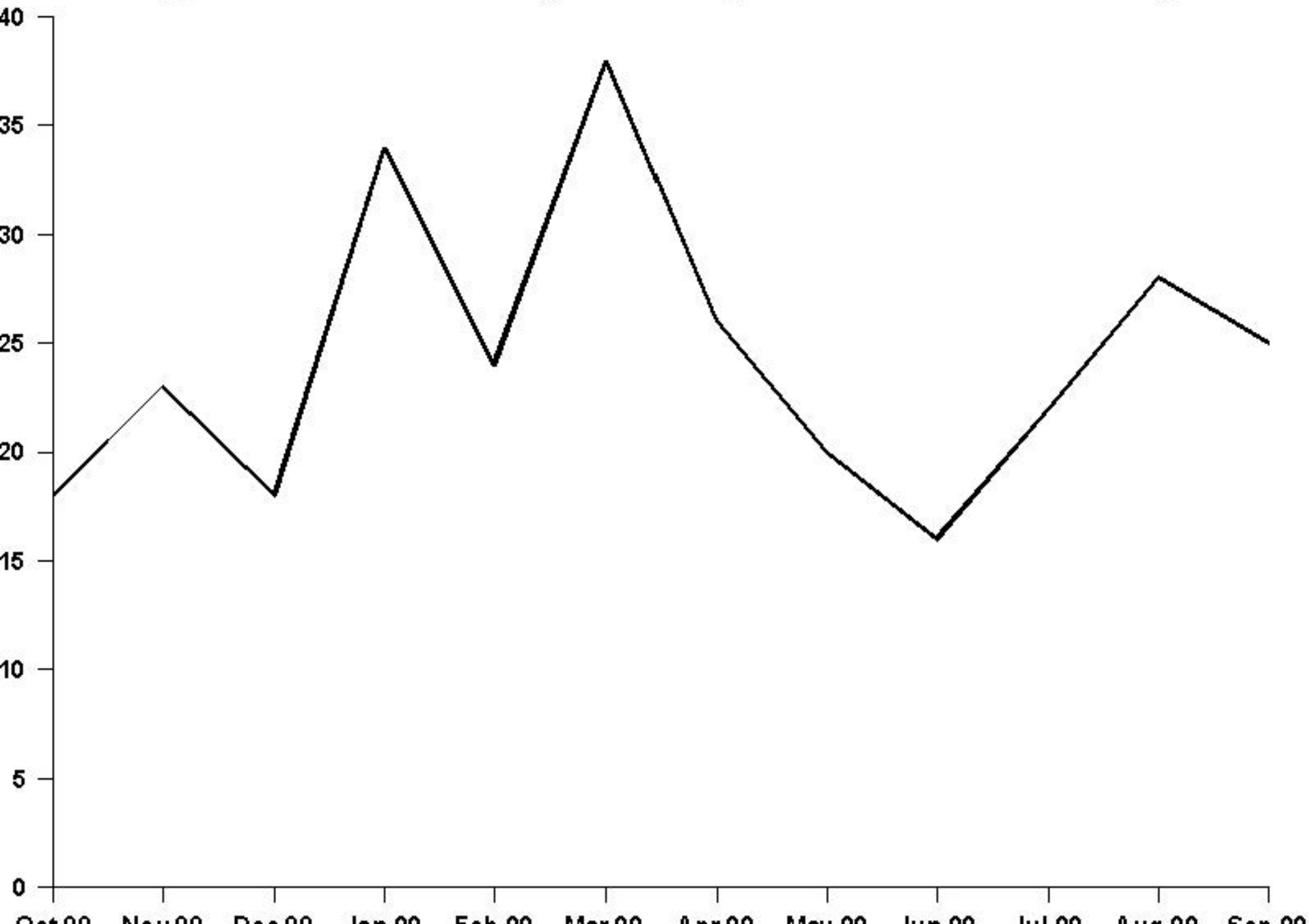
Appendix A-4. Closing Cases By Month: Calvert County



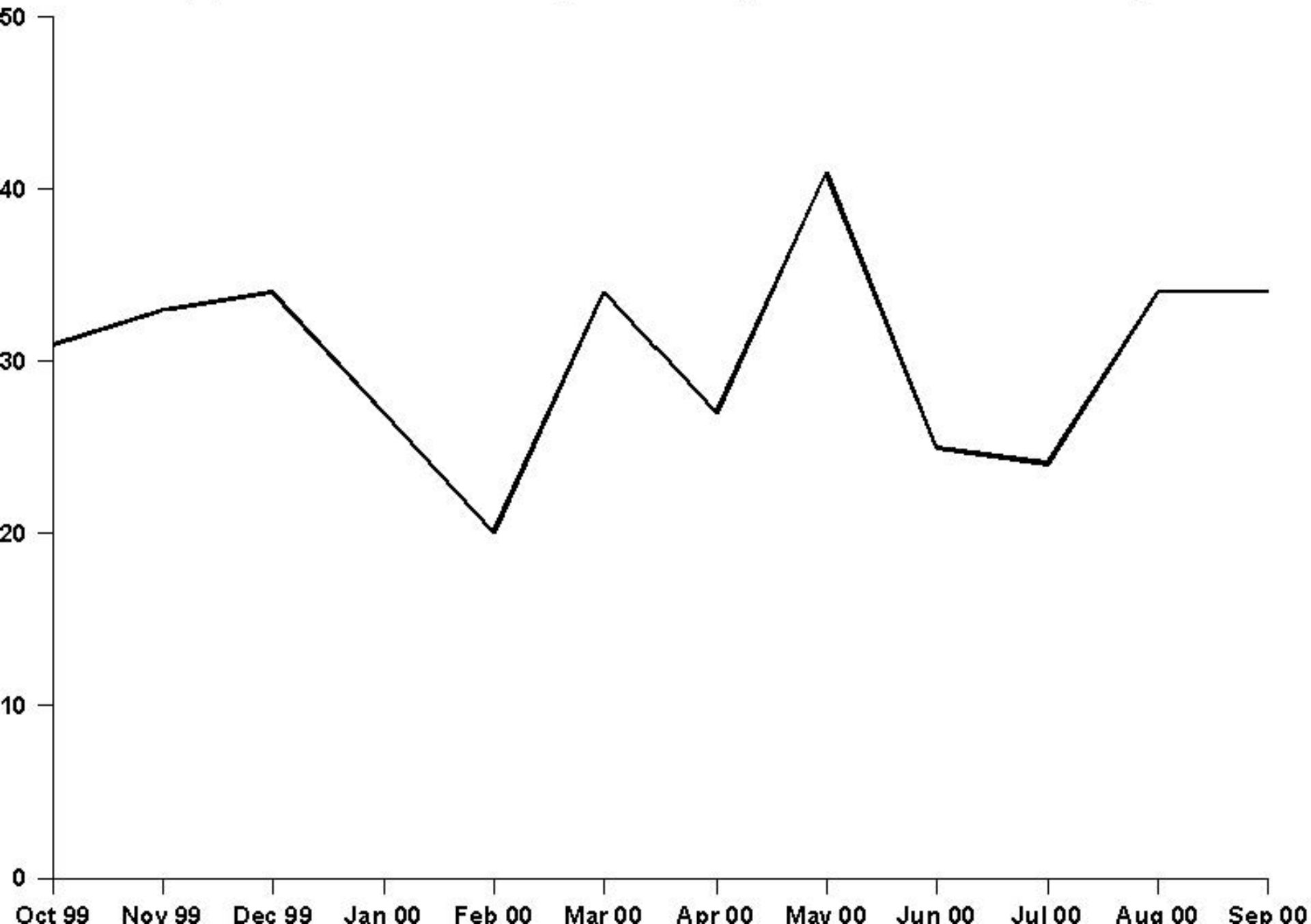
Appendix A-5. Closing Cases By Month: Caroline County



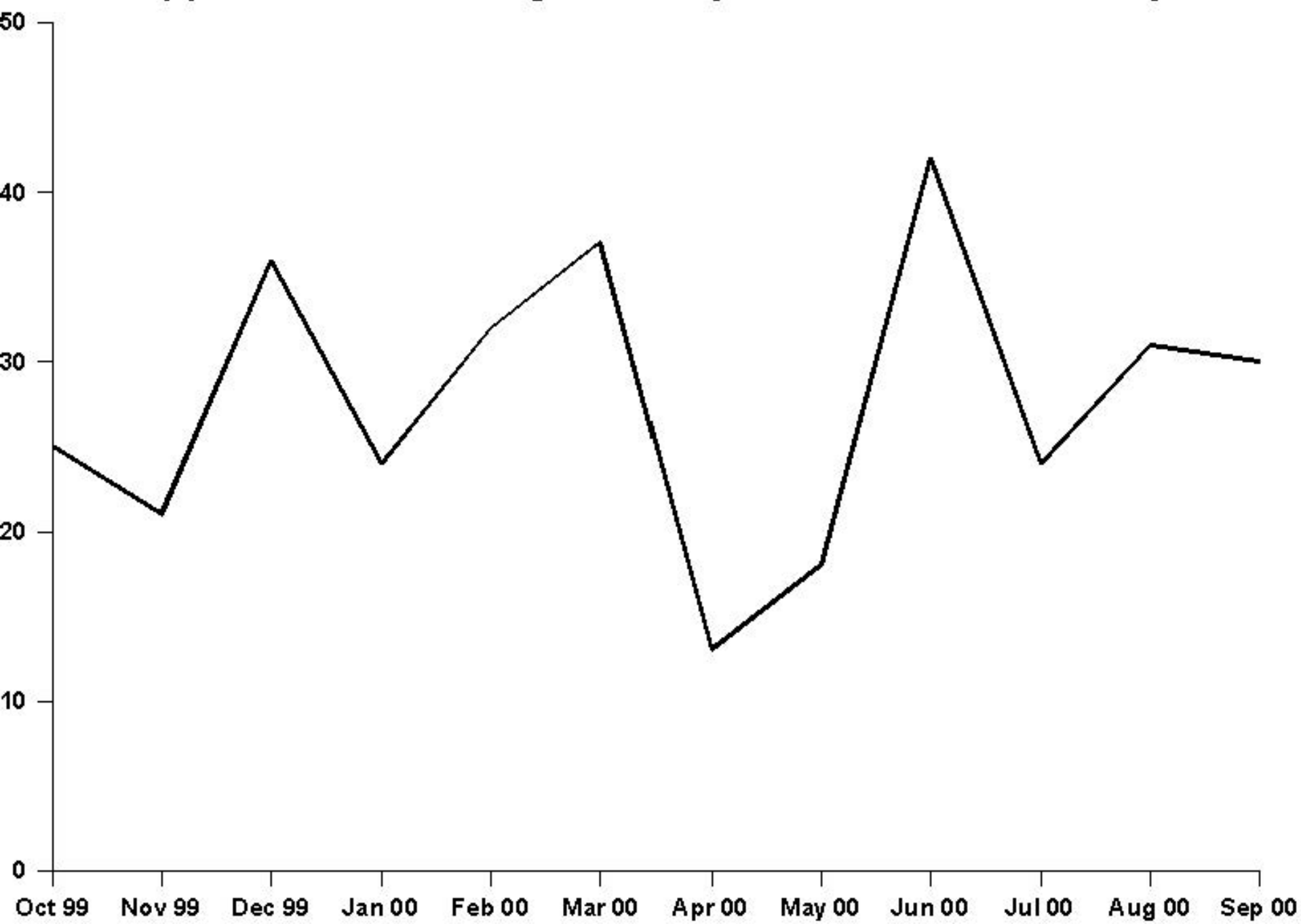
Appendix A-6. Closing Cases By Month: Carroll County



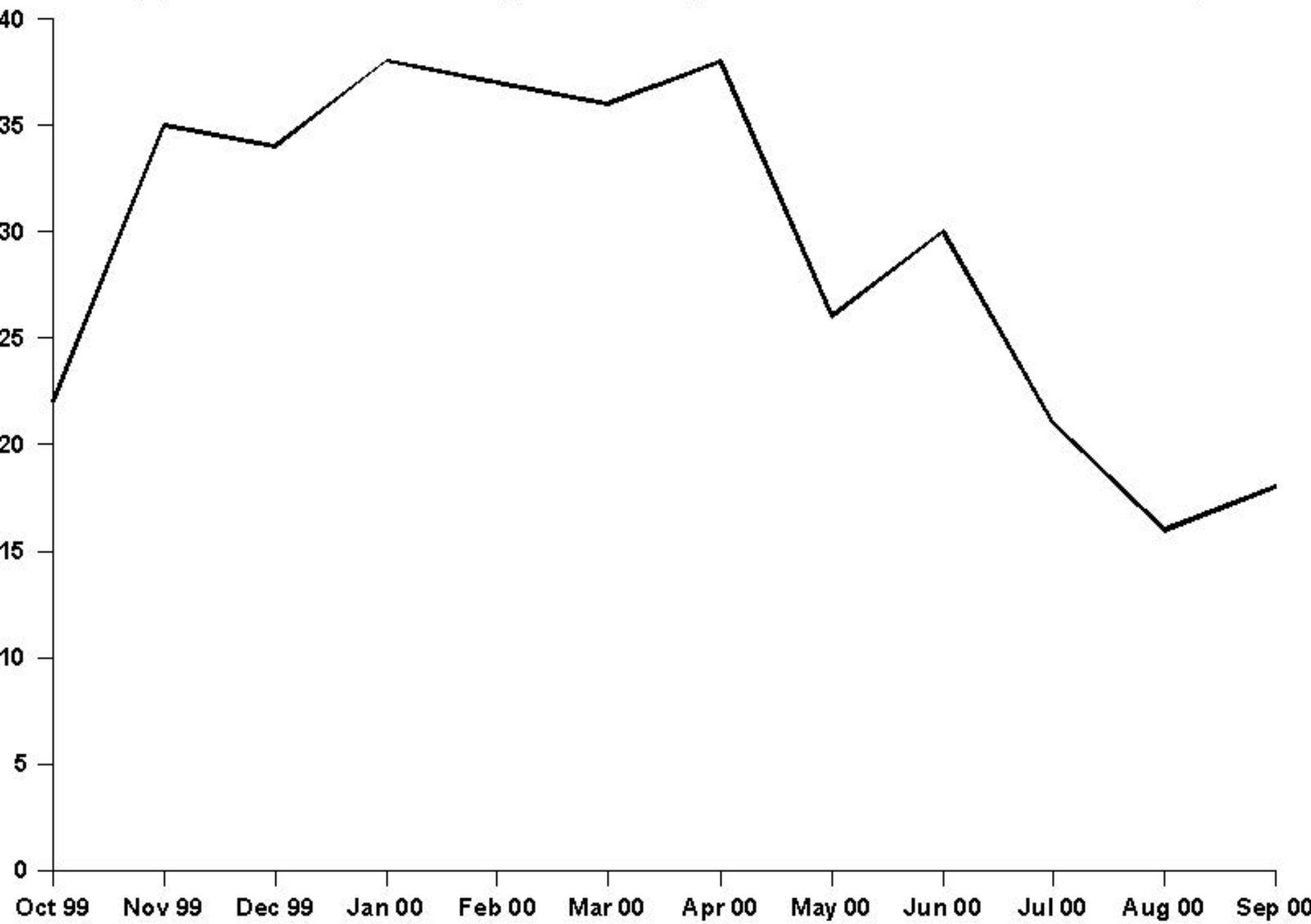
Appendix A-7. Closing Cases By Month: Cecil County



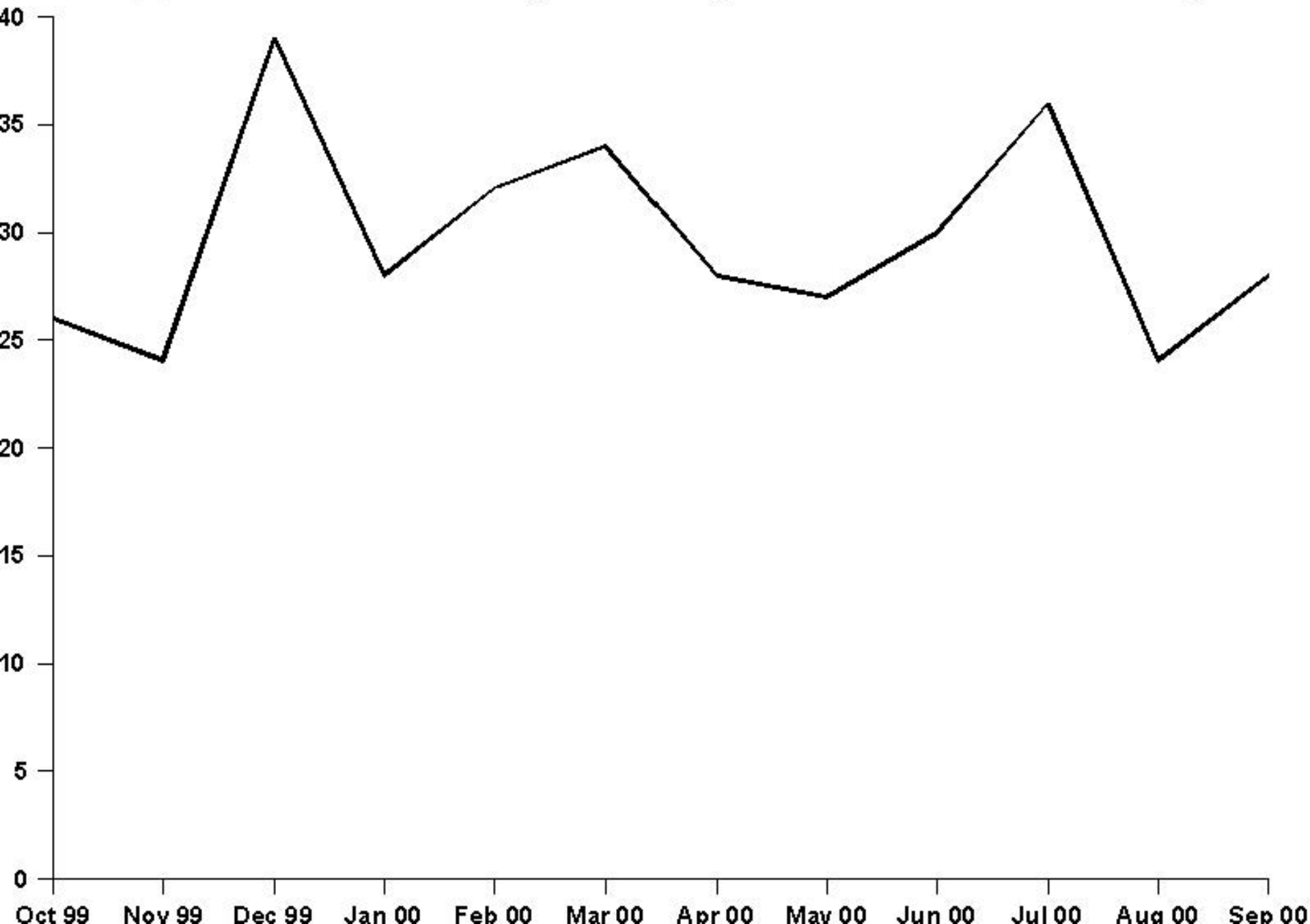
Appendix A-8. Closing Cases By Month: Charles County



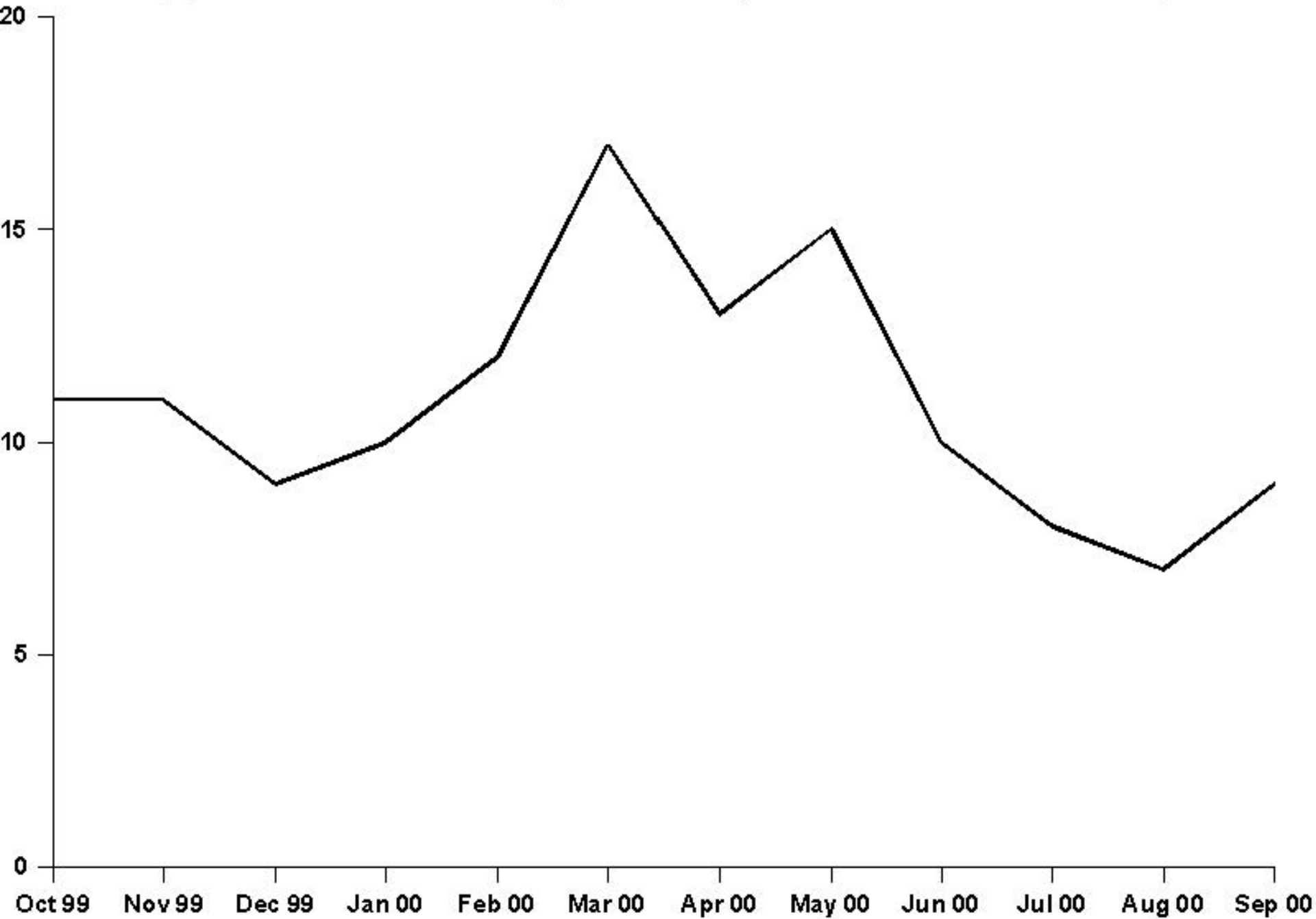
Appendix A-9. Closing Cases By Month: Dorchester County



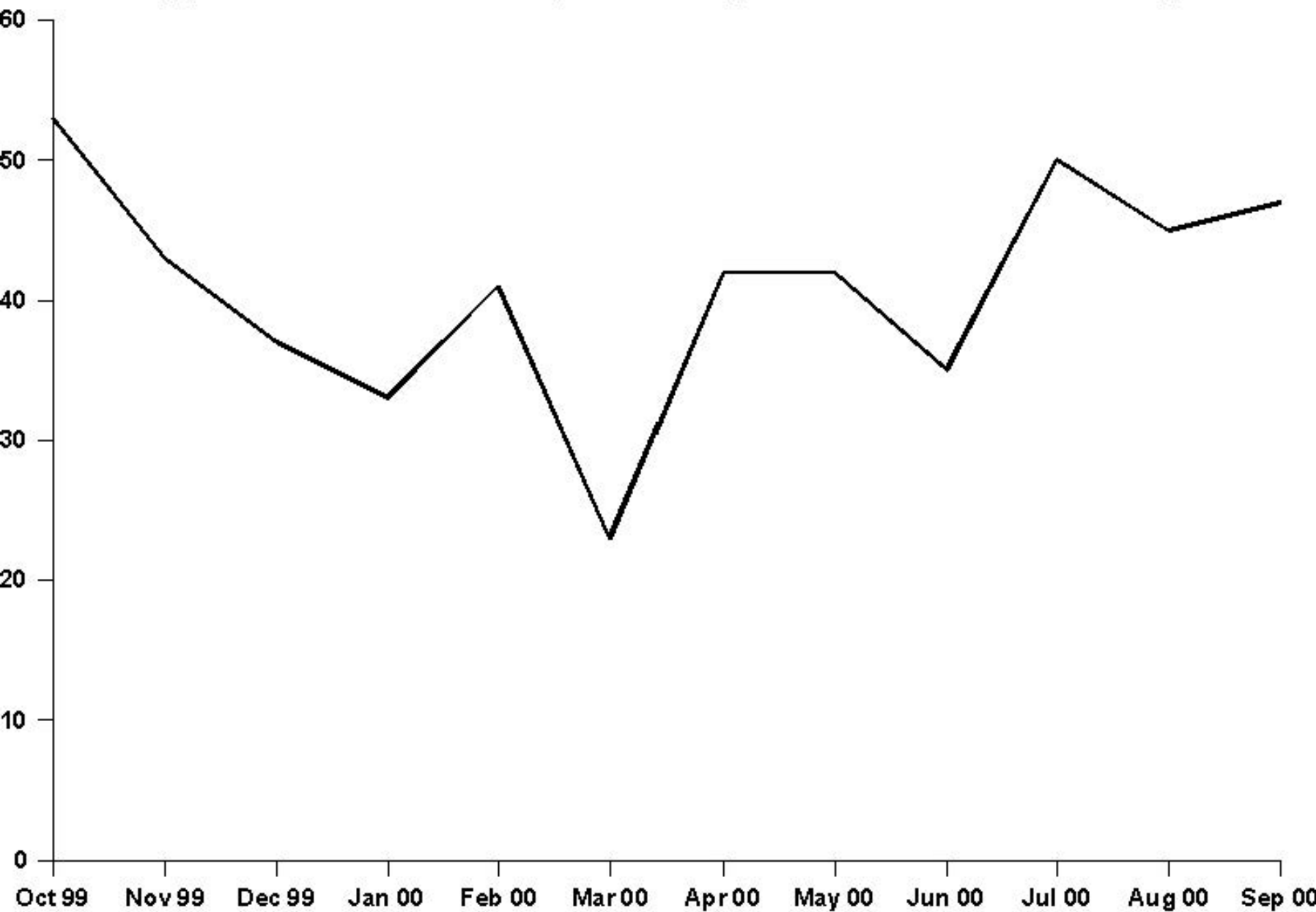
Appendix A-10. Closing Cases By Month: Frederick County



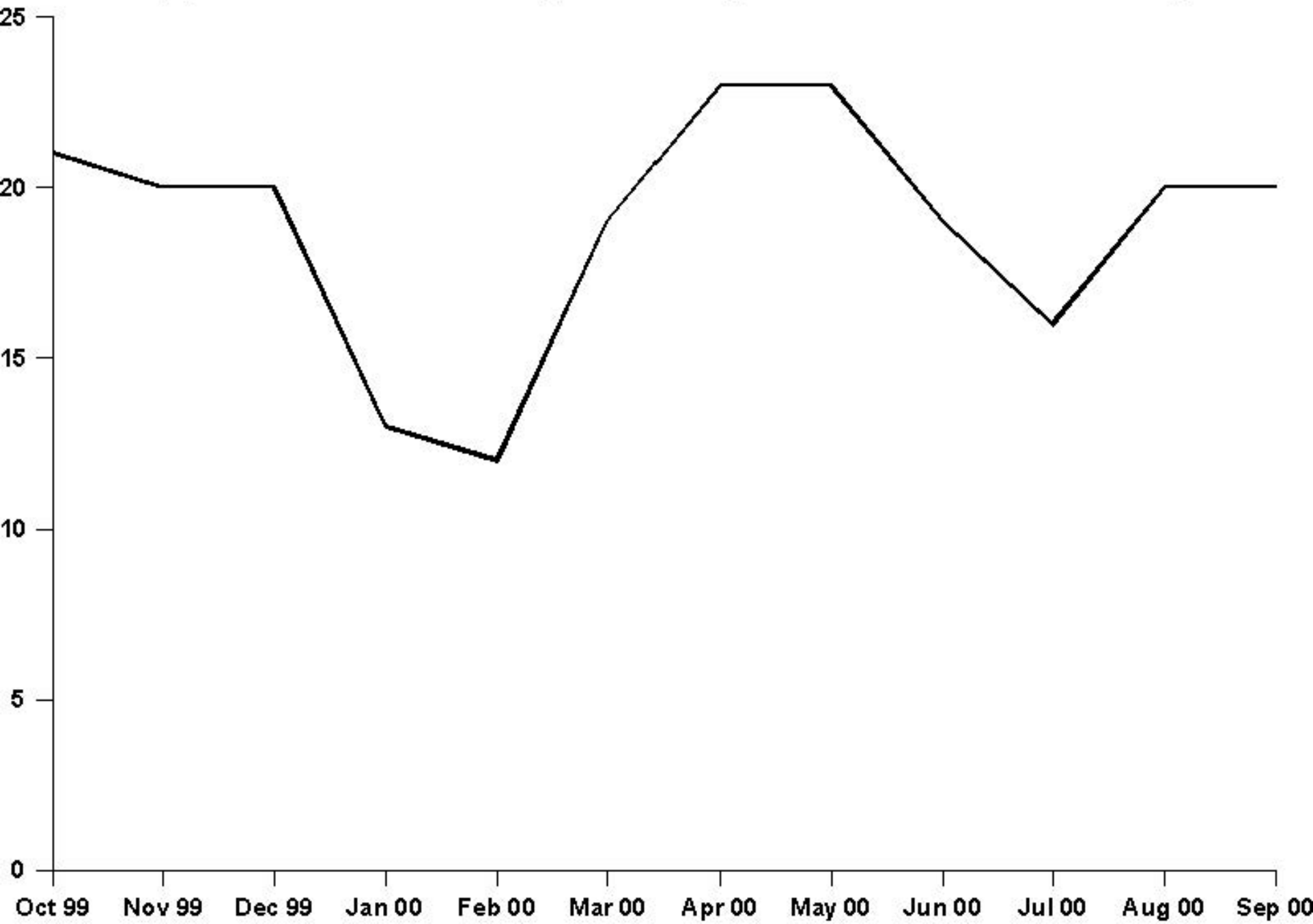
Appendix A-11. Closing Cases By Month: Garrett County



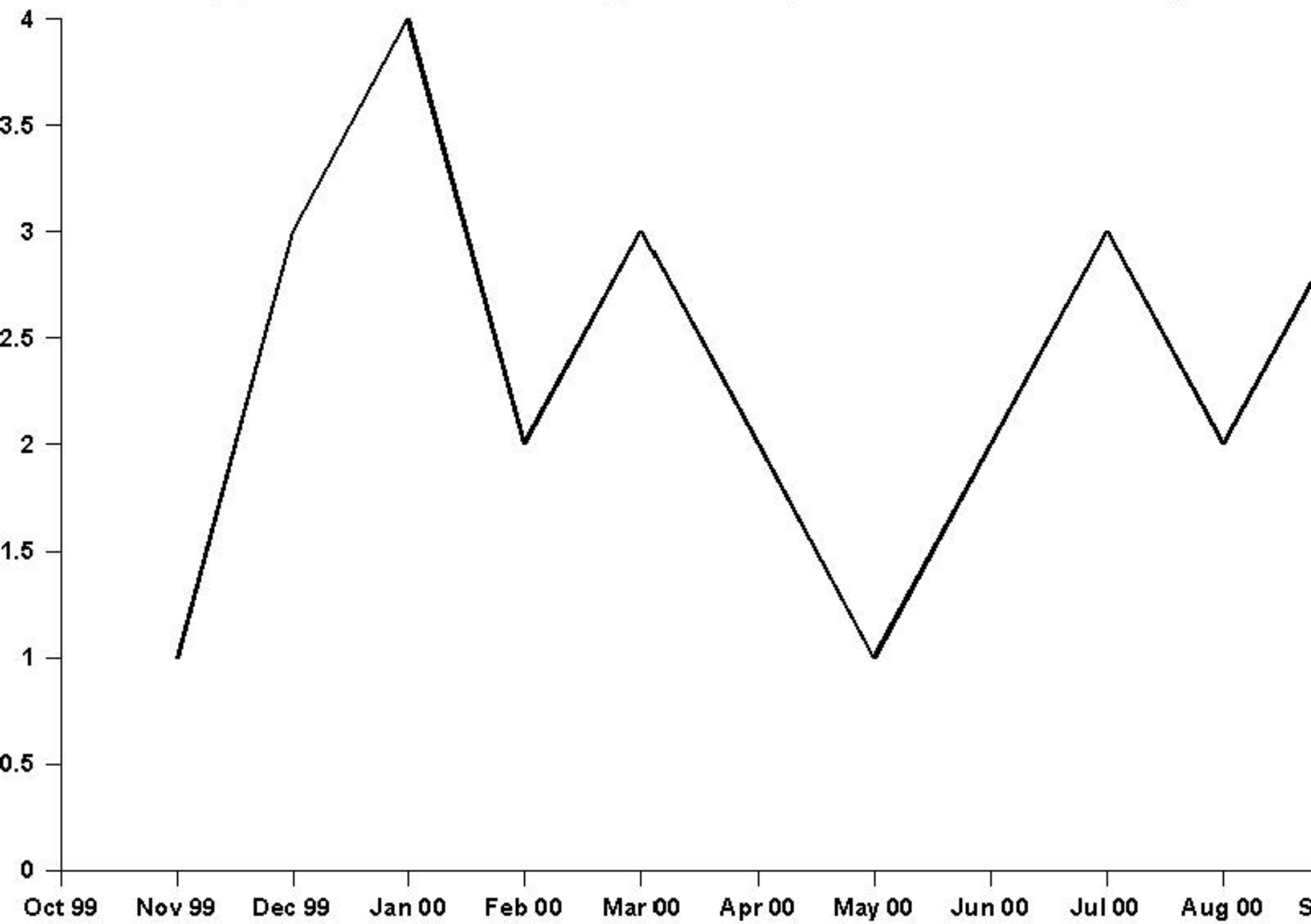
Appendix A-12. Closing Cases By Month: Harford County



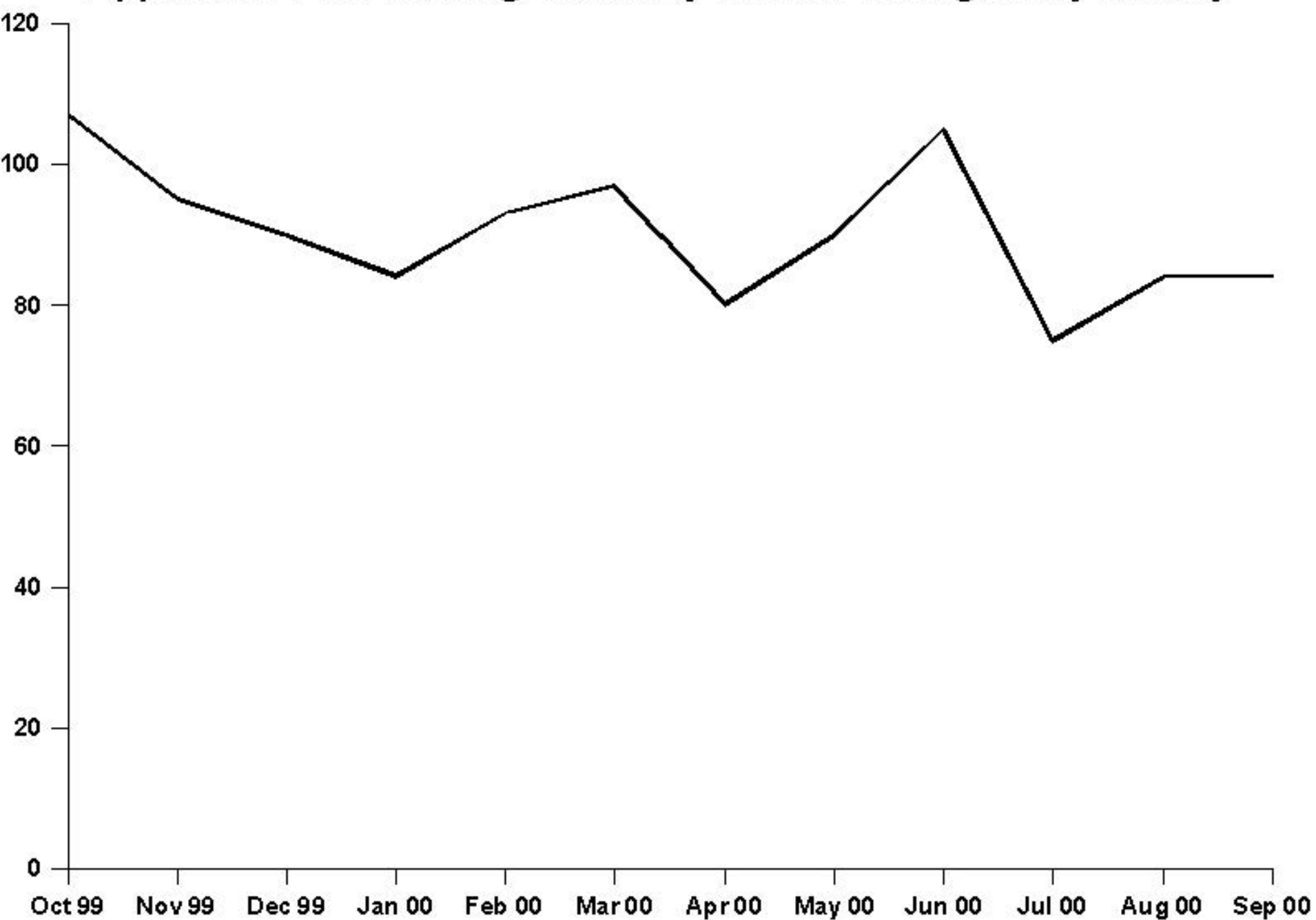
Appendix A-13. Closing Cases By Month: Howard County



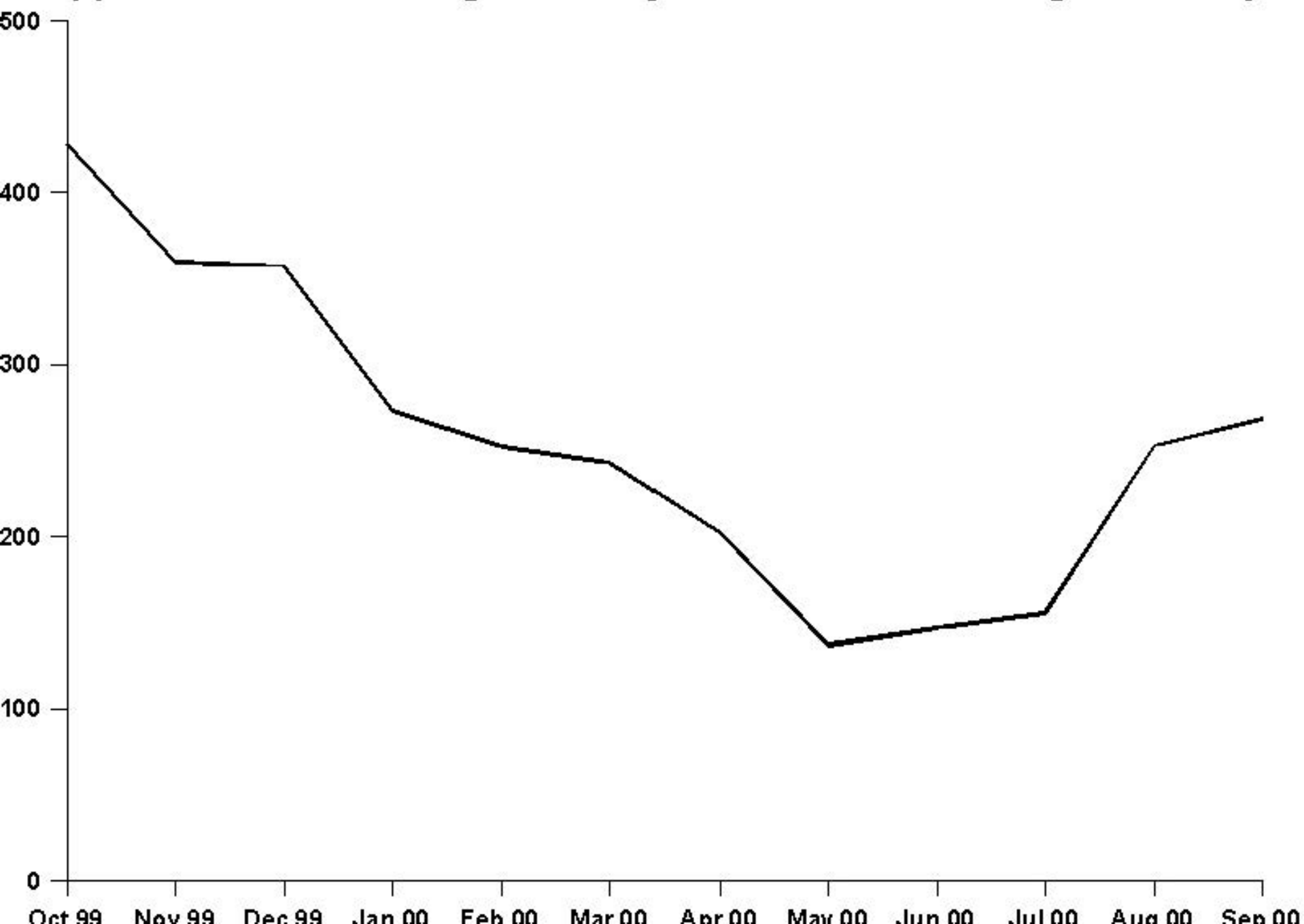
Appendix A-14. Closing Cases By Month: Kent County



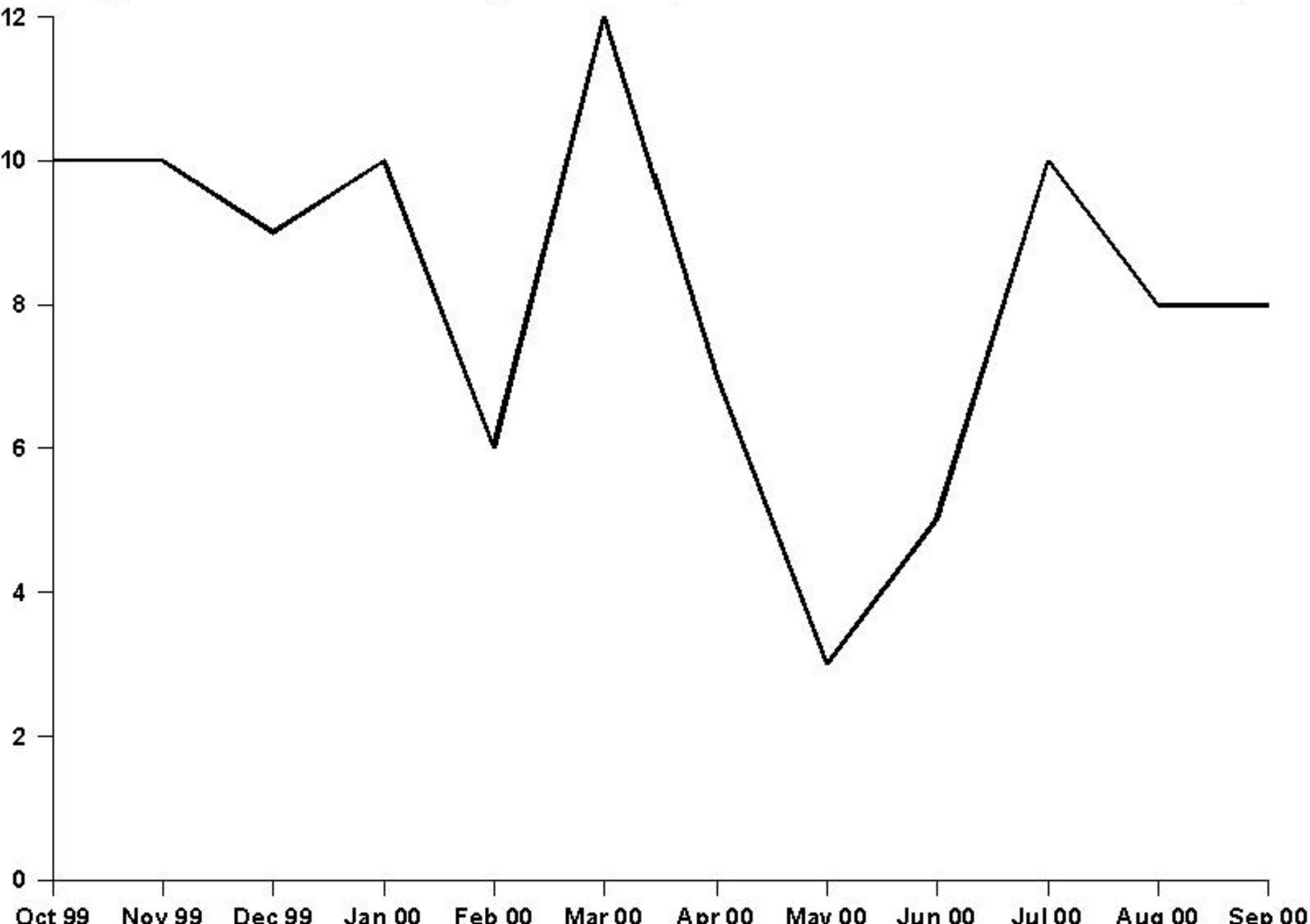
Appendix A-15. Closing Cases By Month: Montgomery County



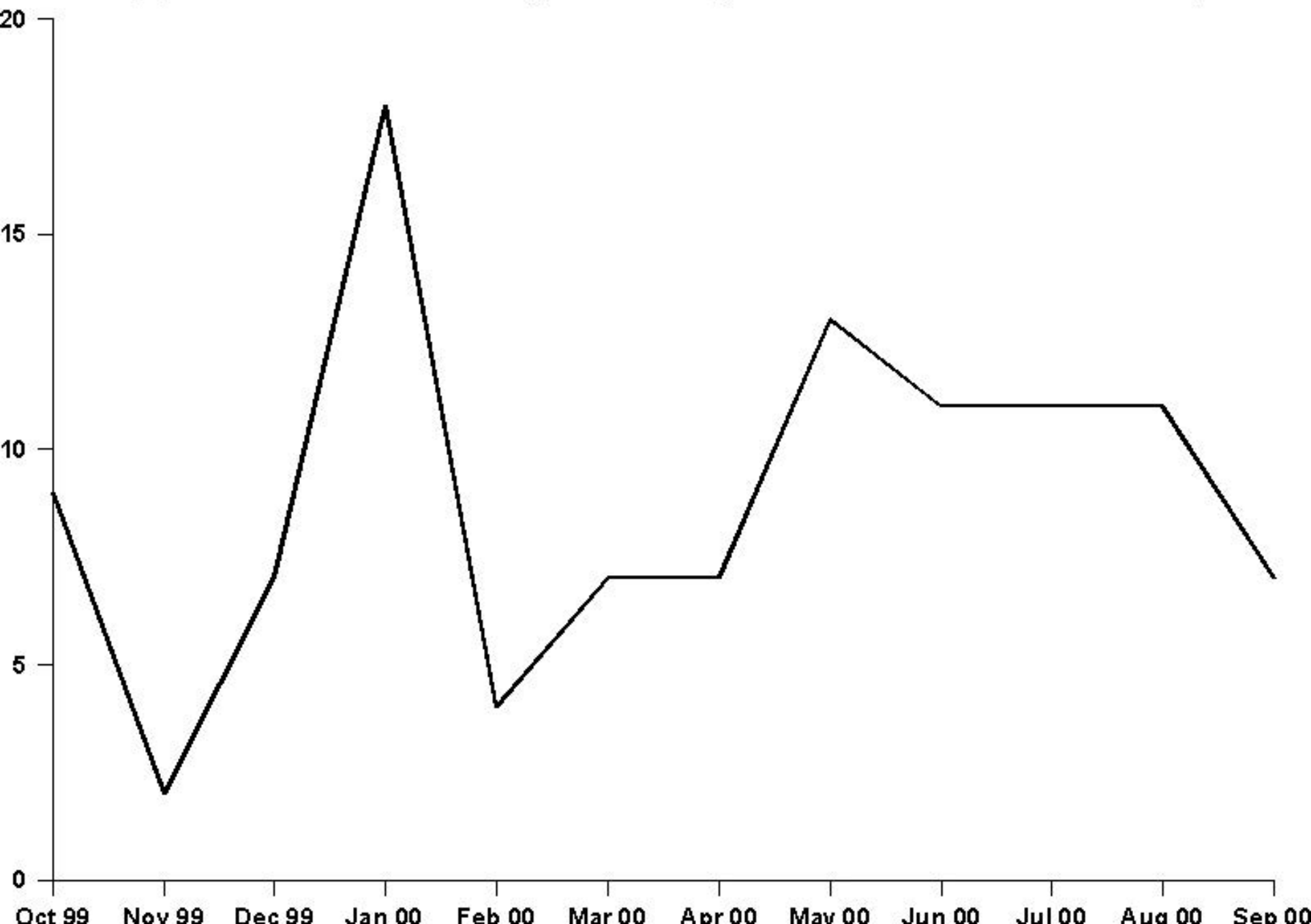
Appendix A-16. Closing Cases By Month: Prince George's County



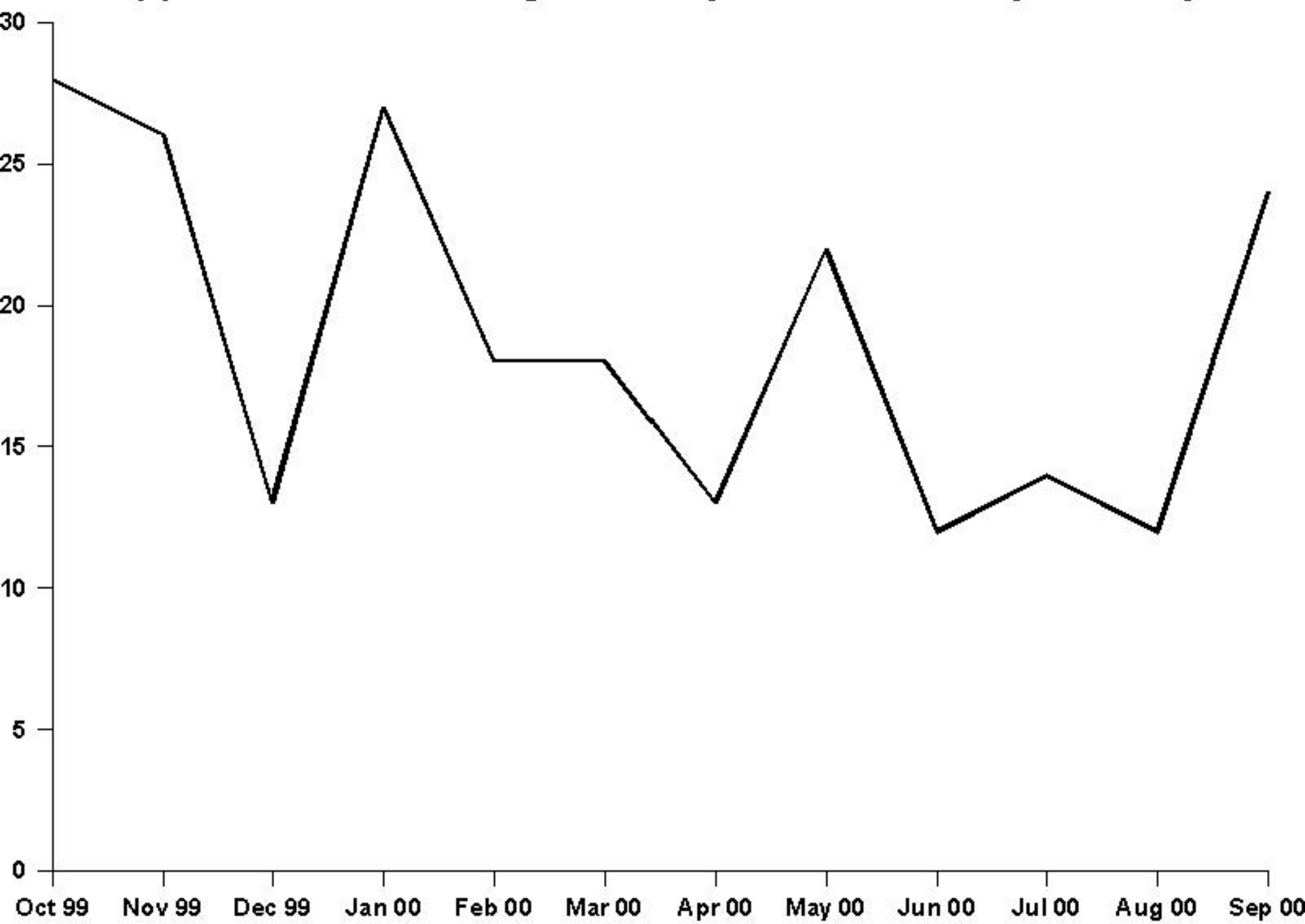
Appendix A-17. Closing Cases By Month: Queen Anne's County



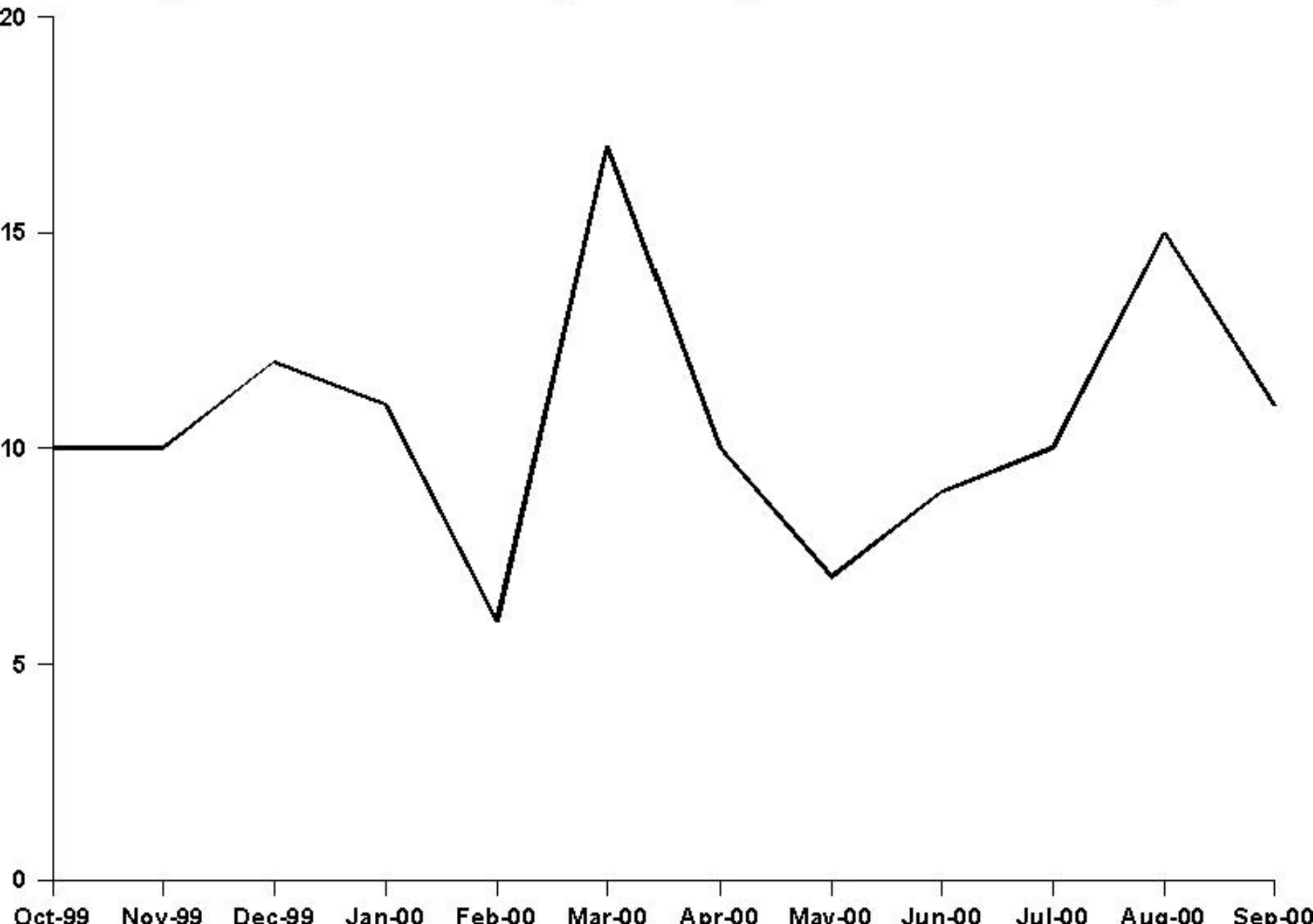
Appendix A-19. Closing Cases By Month: Somerset County



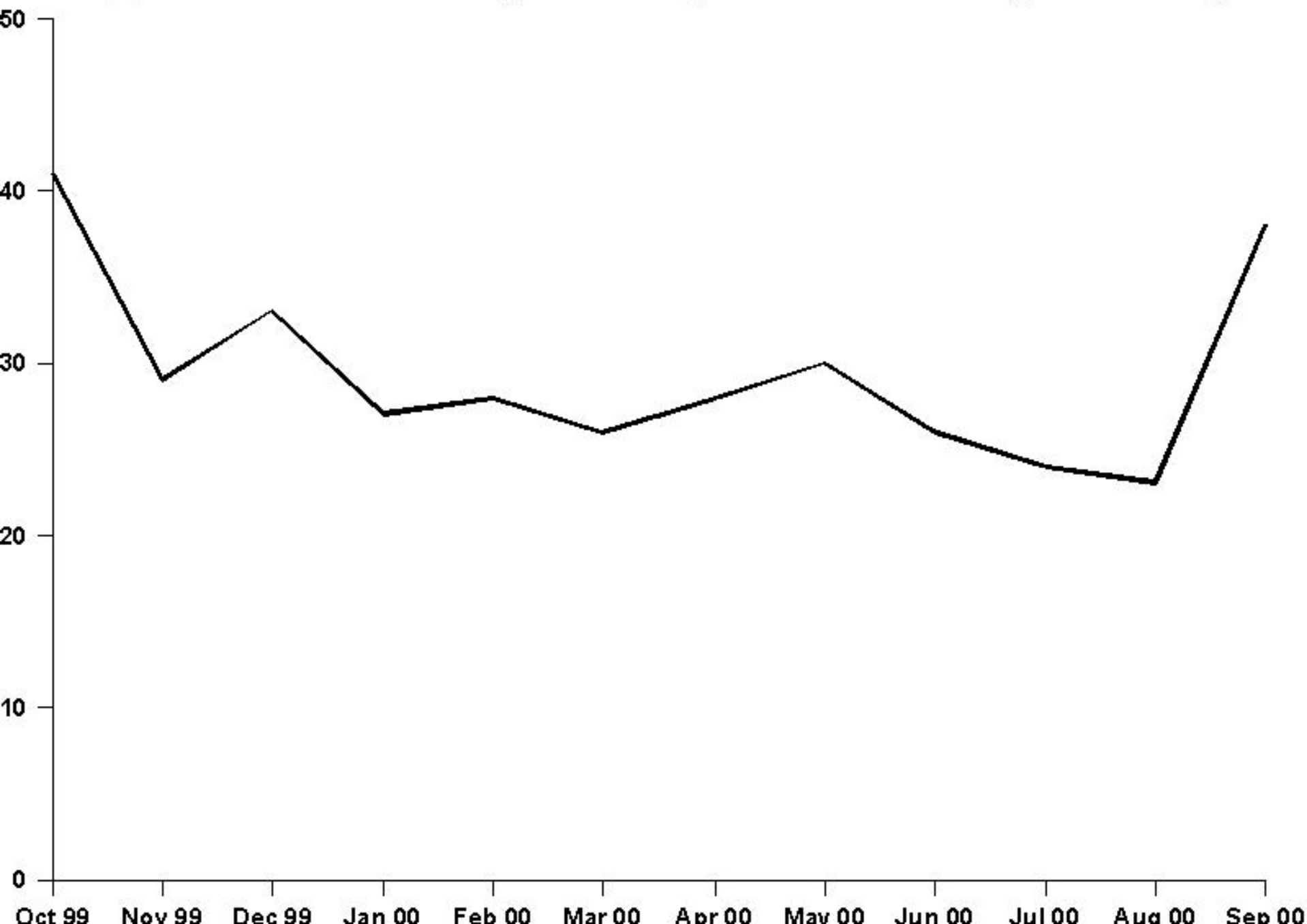
Appendix A-18. Closing Cases By Month: St. Mary's County



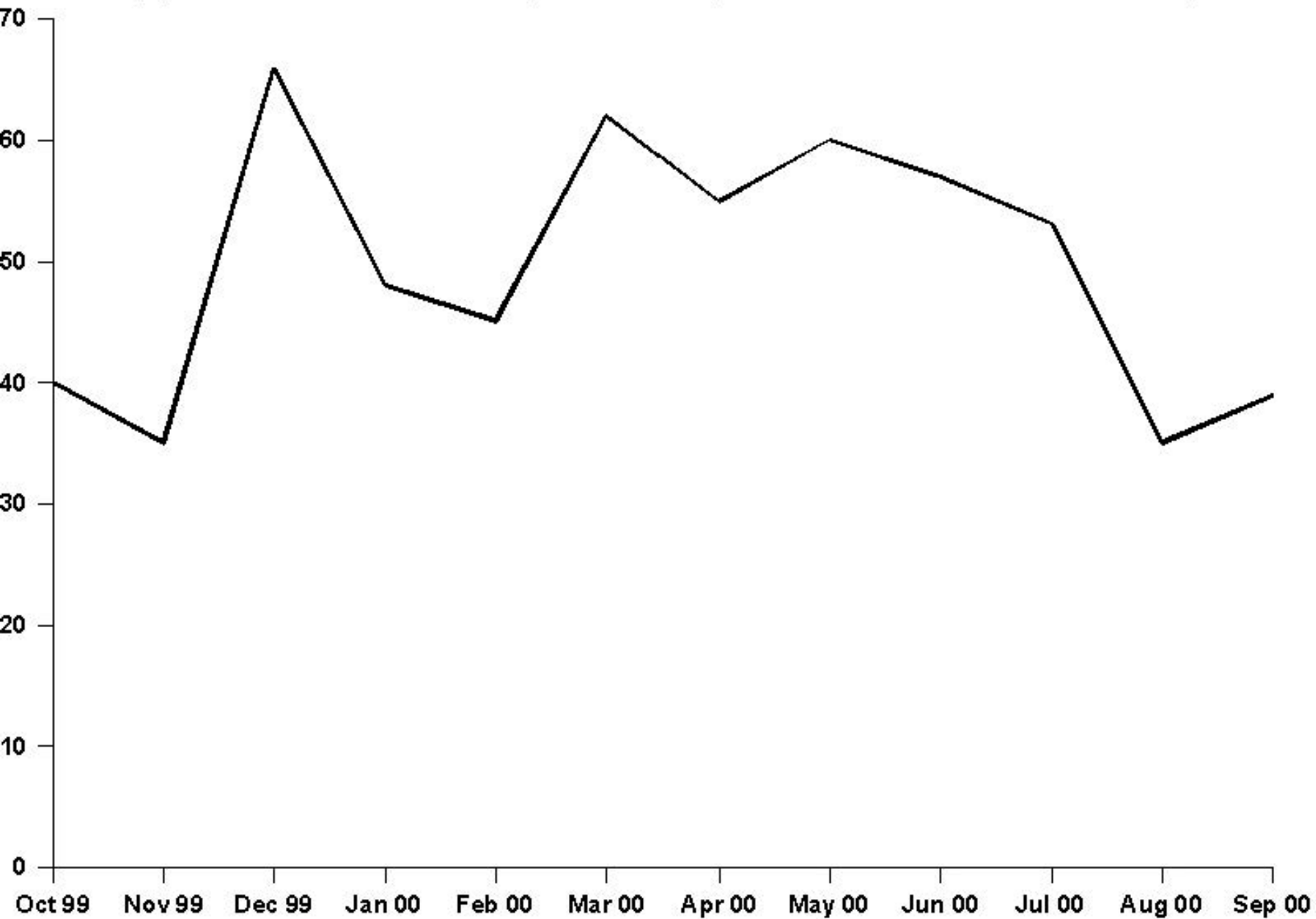
Appendix A-20. Closing Cases By Month: Talbot County



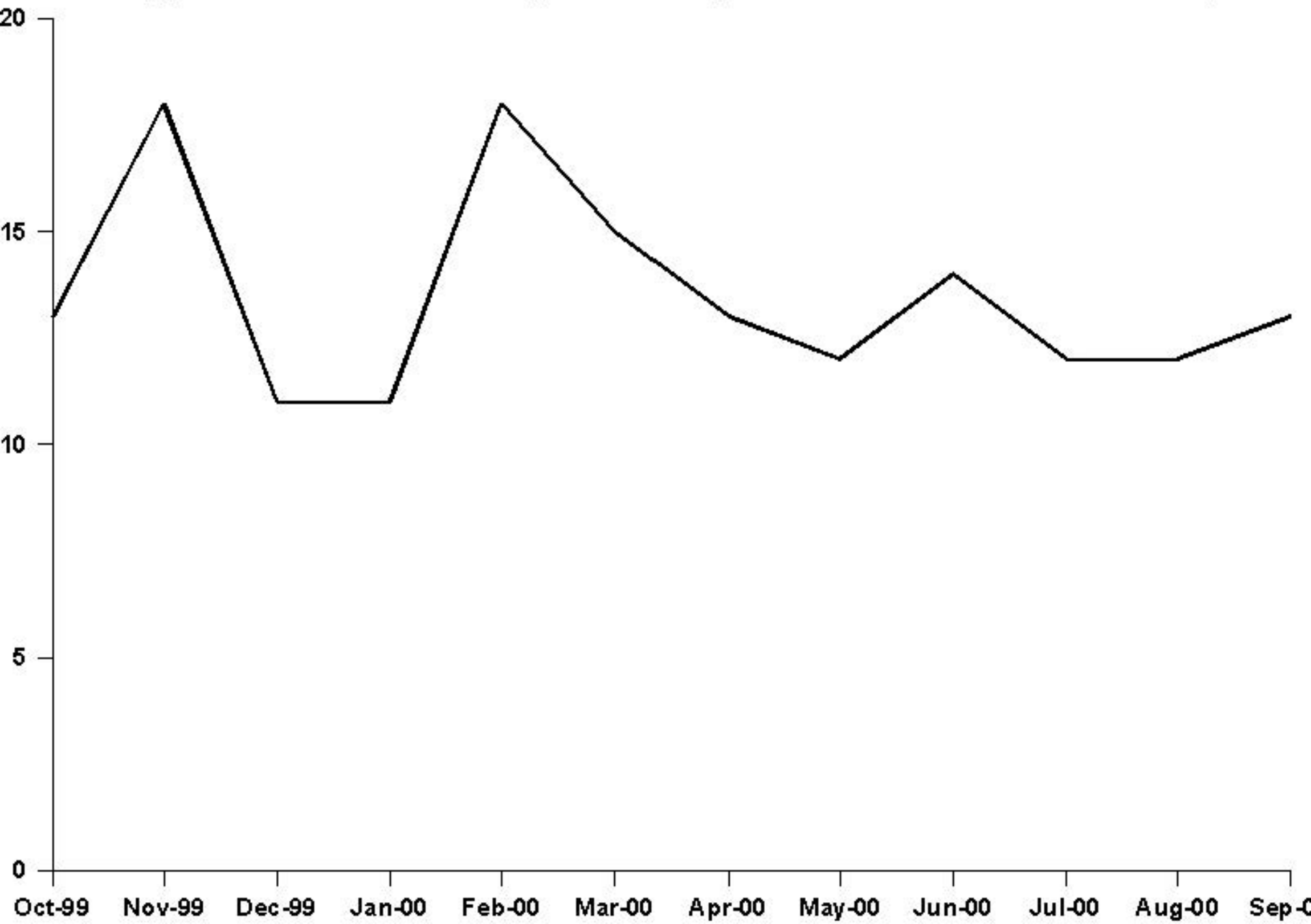
Appendix A-21. Closing Cases By Month: Washington County



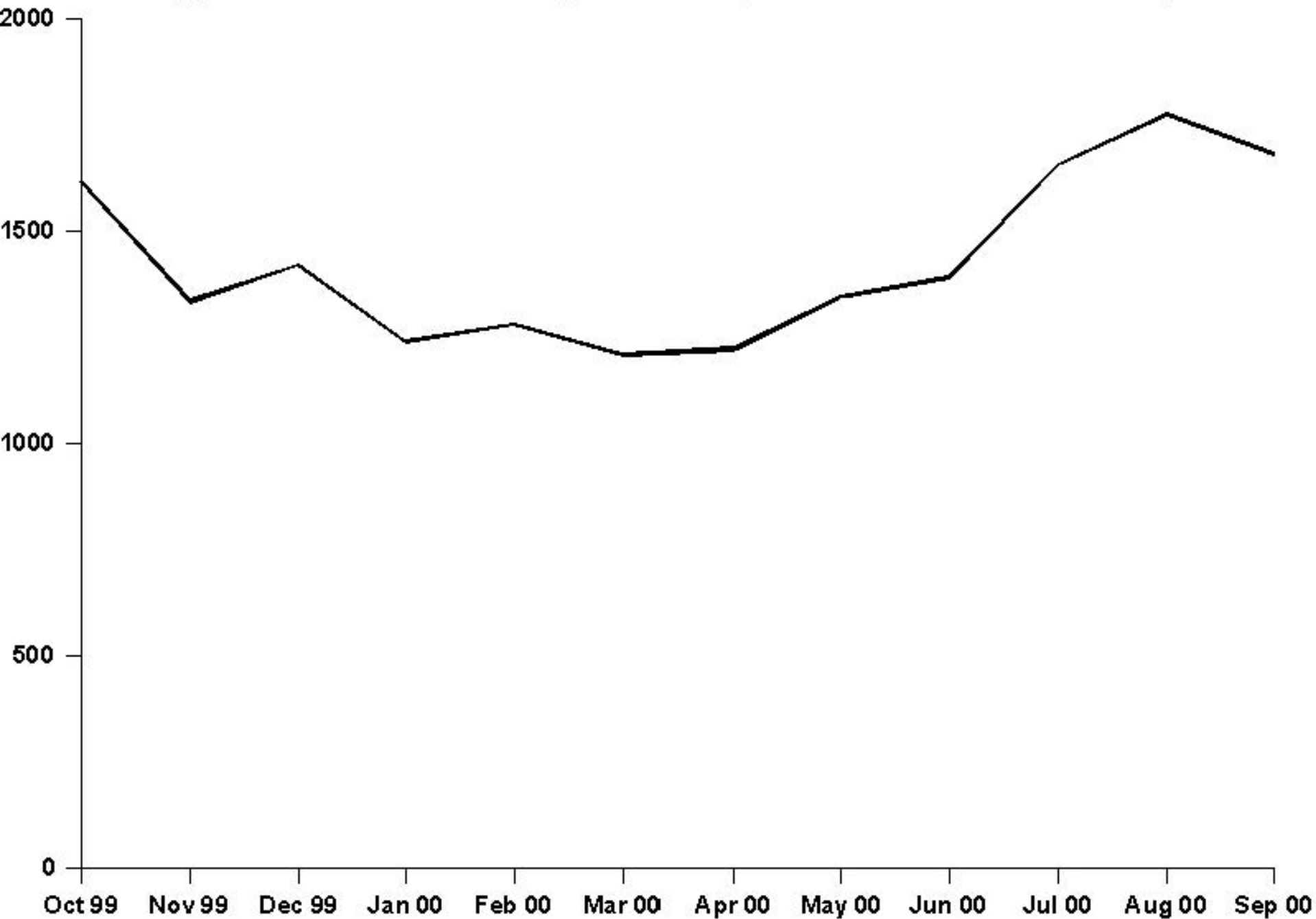
Appendix A-22. Closing Cases By Month: Wicomico County



Appendix A-23. Closing Cases By Month: Worcester County



Appendix A-24. Closing Cases By Month: Baltimore City



Appendix B. Map of Maryland

