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Proposed TANF Extension Would Pressure States to Cut TANF Caseloads and Place States at Risk of Penalties¹

Since September 2002, funding for the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program has been extended through a series of short-term extensions while Congress and the Administration seek to reach agreement on terms for reauthorization. The current extension lasts through March 31, 2004. However, a recently proposed TANF extension bill, H.R. 3848, the Work Promotion and Independence Act of 2004, filed by Representative Wally Herger (R-CA), would not maintain current law during the extension period. Rather, while maintaining flat TANF and mandatory child care funding, H.R. 3848 would change the rules for calculating program "participation rates" so that states would face significantly higher rates unless they generated large caseload declines. This would greatly increase the risk that states would simply cut assistance to needy families, and increase the number of states at risk of federal penalties based on not meeting the higher required rates.

H.R. 3848 reflects a sharp departure from the bipartisan, bicameral agreement to maintain current law while reauthorization is pending. It would impose one of the most controversial and objectionable features of the House bill as a condition of continued TANF funding.

What H.R. 3848 Would Do: The 1996 welfare law mandated that states meet annual participation rate requirements, reaching 50 percent in 2002, in order to avoid risk of fiscal penalties. The law also provided for a "caseload reduction credit," specifying that a state's required participation rate each year would be reduced based on the size of the state's caseload decline since 1995 for reasons other than changes in eligibility rules. For example, if a state's caseload declined by 40 percent for reasons other than eligibility rules between 1995 and 2001, the state's required adjusted rate in 2002 would be 10 percent (i.e., 50 percent minus 40 percent).

The House reauthorization bill passed in February 2003 (H.R. 4) would maintain the caseload reduction credit, but "recalibrate" it so that states would only get credit for recent declines. The caseload reduction credit would be calculated in 2004 based on caseload decline from 1996-2003; in 2005, based on decline from 1998-2004; in 2006, based on decline from 2001-2005; in 2007, based on decline from 2003-2006; and in 2008, based on decline from 2004-2007. Under this approach, unless the state had a large caseload decline over the measured period, the credit would be smaller and the state's required participation rate would go up. This would create a strong incentive to cut state caseloads, whether or not families got jobs or still needed assistance.

The Senate Finance Committee reauthorization bill, passed in September 2003 and awaiting floor action, has no similar provision. Instead, it would phase out the caseload reduction credit

¹ References for research cited here can be found in the longer version of this document, Greenberg, M., Rahmanou, H., & Patel, N. *Proposed TANF Extension Would Force States to Cut TANF Caseloads and Place States at Risk of Penalties*. Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy. Available at <u>www.clasp.org</u>.

altogether and replace it with an "employment credit," based on the number of families employed after receiving assistance, and the number of families employed after receiving a nonrecurrent, short-term benefit or receiving TANF-funded child care or transportation assistance to support work.

The contrasting House and Senate approaches reflect an important difference between the bills. The House approach emphasizes cutting caseloads; the Senate approach emphasizes looking at whether families are leaving welfare due to employment and whether TANF funds are being used to help families to avoid welfare receipt.

Under H.R. 3848, TANF would be modified to include H.R. 4's recalibrated caseload reduction credit for 2004 and subsequent years. These credits would be applied against a 50 percent required participation rate, meaning that if a state's caseload did not fall over the measured period, the state would face a 50 percent required participation rate.

Impact of H.R. 3848: The Congressional Research Service (CRS) has estimated effective required state participation rates under H.R. 3848, assuming that state caseloads remain flat at levels from the first nine months of FY 2003. CRS concluded that if caseloads remain flat, and states sustain current participation levels: 8 states would face a shortfall in 2004; 26 states would face a shortfall in 2005; 43 states would face a shortfall in 2006; and 48 states would face a shortfall in 2007. Tables of state-by-state projections are included at the end of this document.

Concerns Presented by the H.R. 3848 Approach:

- H.R. 3848 would require states to <u>either</u> dramatically increase work participation <u>or</u> dramatically cut their caseloads.
- Meeting the bill's requirements by increasing work participation would cost money, but the bill would provide no new resources to fund new work activities or child care.
- States could not absorb the costs of increasing participation without cutting other benefits and services for low-income families—such as child care for working families not receiving welfare.
- Without new resources, states will feel pressure to simply cut welfare caseloads as a means of lowering required adjusted participation rates without incurring new costs.
- Welfare caseloads are already at historic lows, with only one-third of poor children and only one-half of eligible families receiving assistance.
- Some states would likely risk penalties immediately, as the bill would not provide time for state legislatures to modify their programs.
- According to CRS's estimates, over time, most states—48 states by 2007—would face a significant risk of penalty under H.R. 3848 because they would fall short of meeting required participation rates.
- Financial penalties imposed against states for failing to meet H.R. 3848 requirements would hurt both states and families because such penalties would further reduce available resources.
- H.R. 3848 would compel the Senate to adopt an approach expressly rejected by the Senate Finance Committee in its reauthorization bill on a central issue in dispute.

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Projected Participation Rate Shortfalls Under H.R. 3848 (based on 2002 participation rates and caseloads through first nine months of 2003)

	Participation Rate in 2002	Projected Shortfall 2004	Projected Shortfall 2005	Projected Shortfall 2006	Projected Shortfall in 2007 and 2008
Alabama	37%	0%	0%	13%	13%
Alaska	40	0	0	3	10
Arizona	26	0	24	24	24
Arkansas	21	0	11	26	29
California	27	0	0	18	23
Colorado	36	0	0	14	14
Connecticut	27	0	0	11	23
Delaware	12	2	17	38	38
District of Columbia	16	0	15	34	34
Florida	30	0	0	19	20
Georgia	8	0	18	42	42
Hawaii ¹	59	0	0	0	18
Idaho	41	0	0	9	9
Illinois	58	0	0	0	0
Indiana	45	5	5	5	5
lowa	51	0	0	0	0
Kansas	38	12	12	12	12
Kentucky	32	0	0	12	12
Louisiana	39	0	0	2	11
Maine	45	0	0	0	6
Maryland	8	3	4	41	42
Massachusetts ²	61	0	0	41	41
Michigan	29	0	0	21	21
Minnesota	31	0	5	19	19
Mississippi	19	9	16	32	32
Missouri	25	0	3	19	25
Montana	38	0	11	12	12
Nebraska	23	12	20	27	27
Nevada	23	12	28	28	28
New Hampshire	33	0	8	17	17
New Jersey	36	0	0	6	14
New Mexico	43	0	0	0	7
New York	39	0	0	0	12
North Carolina	27	0	0	17	23
North Dakota	30	0	20	20	20
Ohio	56	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma	27	0	0	23	23
Oregon	8	0	42	42	42
Pennsylvania	10	0	42	37	40
Puerto Rico	6	0	0	16	40
Rhode Island	25	0	2	10	25
South Carolina	30	0	4	20	20
South Dakota	43	0	0	8	8
					9 (36 without
Tennessee ³	41	0	9 26	9	waiver)
Texas				29	29
Utah	28	0	1	22	22
Vermont	21	0	1	24	29
Virginia	23	0	1	27	27
Washington	50	0	0	0	0
West Virginia	19	0	11	31	31
Wisconsin	69	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	83	0	0	0	0
Guam	0	50	50	50	50
Virgin Islands	18	0	0	0	32

¹Hawaii's waiver expires at the end of FY 2004; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 33 percent.
²Massachusetts' waiver expires at the end of FY 2005; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 9 percent.

³Tennessee's waiver expires June 30, 2007; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 14 percent.

Source: Falk, G. (March 1, 2004). *Memorandum: Revised TANF Caseload Reduction Credits Proposed in H.R. 3848.* Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

Projected Participation Rate Shortfalls Under H.R. 3848, Ranked

Projected Shortfall in 2007 Projected Shortfall 2004 **Projected Shortfall 2005 Projected Shortfall 2006** and 2008 Guam Guam 50% Guam 50% 50% Guam 50% Nevada 15 Oregon 42 Georgia 42 Puerto Rico 44 42 Kansas 12 Nevada 28 Oregon 42 Georgia Nebraska 12 Texas 26 Maryland 41 Maryland 42 9 Massachusetts* 42 Mississippi Arizona 24 41 Oregon Massachusetts** 5 Indiana Nebraska 20 Delaware 38 41 North Dakota 20 37 Pennsylvania 40 Maryland 3 Pennsylvania District of Delaware 2 Georgia 18 34 Delaware 38 Columbia District of Delaware 17 Mississippi 32 Columbia 34 Mississippi 16 West Virginia 31 32 Mississippi District of Columbia 32 15 Texas 29 Virgin Islands Kansas 12 Nevada 28 West Virginia 31 27 29 Arkansas 11 Nebraska Arkansas Montana 11 Virginia 27 Texas 29 West Virginia 11 Arkansas 26 Vermont 29 28 Tennessee* 9 Arizona 24 Nevada 27 New Hampshire 8 24 Nebraska Vermont Indiana 5 Oklahoma 23 Virginia 27 Minnesota 5 22 Missouri 25 Utah 25 21 4 Michigan Maryland Rhode Island South Carolina 4 North Dakota 20 Arizona 24 Missouri 3 South Carolina 20 California 23 Rhode Island 2 23 Florida 19 Connecticut Utah 1 Minnesota 19 North Carolina 23 Vermont 1 Missouri 19 Oklahoma 23 1 22 Virginia California 18 Utah New Hampshire 17 Michigan 21 North Carolina 17 Florida 20 North Dakota 20 Puerto Rico 16 Rhode Island 16 South Carolina 20 15 Minnesota 19 Kentucky Hawaii*** 14 18 Colorado Kentucky 13 18 Alabama Kansas 12 New Hampshire 17 12 14 Montana Colorado Connecticut 11 New Jersey 14 9 Alabama 13 Idaho Tennessee* 9 12 Kansas South Dakota 8 12 Montana New York 12 New Jersey 6 Indiana 5 Louisiana 11 3 Alaska 10 Alaska 2 Idaho 9 Louisiana 9 (36 without Tennessee* waiver) South Dakota 8 New Mexico 7 Maine 6 Indiana 5 0 Illinois lowa 0 Ohio 0 Washington 0 Wisconsin 0 Wvomina 0

(based on 2002 participation rates and caseloads through first nine months of 2003)

*Tennessee's waiver expires June 30, 2007; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 14 percent.

Massachusetts' waiver expires at the end of FY 2005; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 9 percent. *Hawaii's waiver expires at the end of FY 2004; without waivers, its participation rate in 2002 would have been 33 percent. **Source:** Falk, G. (March 1, 2004). *Memorandum: Revised TANF Caseload Reduction Credits Proposed in H.R. 3848.* Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.