TWO-GENERATION APPROACH TO LEVERAGING TANF: DC as a Case Study for Policymakers
Ascend at the Aspen Institute: Ascend is the national hub for breakthrough ideas and collaborations that move children and the adults in their lives toward educational success and economic security. We take a two-generation (2Gen) approach to our work and embrace a commitment to gender and racial equity.

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Dear Colleagues,

Two-generation (2Gen) approaches build family well-being by intentionally and simultaneously working with children and the adults in their lives together. Over the past 10 years, 2Gen or “whole family” approaches have emerged as a way for states and jurisdictions to better deploy public resources devoted to early learning, postsecondary education and training, employment, health and nutrition, housing, and income supplements. The overarching goal is to make the most of public resources by using them more strategically.

Ascend at the Aspen Institute has seen powerful momentum build for 2Gen approaches to policy and practice in states across the country as communities seek new, innovative, and effective strategies for creating opportunities for families to thrive. We celebrate that much of this pioneering work has been led by the Ascend Network, which consists of more than 400 public and private organizations in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. From the Ascend Network, we draw on field-building innovations, partnerships, tools, and ideas to inform strategies that drive policy and systems change at all levels.

In September 2016, Ascend released its first state case study, providing an in-depth look at how Colorado embraced a 2Gen approach across state and county agencies and the nonprofit and philanthropic sectors. This account was followed by a June 2018 case study on key elements of Tennessee’s transformative 2Gen journey. Both offer key lessons for practitioners and policymakers. We are inspired by the uptake of these lessons from other state agencies, which demonstrates a keen interest among policymakers in making certain their efforts lead to stronger and better outcomes for families.

We are pleased to share this account of the District of Columbia’s Department of Human Services (DHS), Economic Security Administration (ESA) Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) redesign efforts, our third case study on a human services agency taking great strides toward building greater family economic success through a 2Gen approach. The District is working generatively to advance a 2Gen approach to addressing poverty, safety, and self-sufficiency for families. Facing a looming crisis in which 5,700 families, including more than 13,000 children, would be disconnected from TANF support, the District transformed its TANF program into one that focuses on protecting children, ensuring that they have the best opportunity to thrive as their parents — often referred to by the District as “customers” in recognition of their role in supporting family goals — work toward economic independence.
Given the timing of writing this case study, it was critical and germane to also chronicle the city’s COVID-19 pandemic response to socioeconomic mobility. Under the leadership of Director Laura Zeilinger, the District’s Department of Human Services leveraged its 2Gen approach efforts, pivoting to meet the acute needs of families and children and helping households achieve economic stability and resilience. This case study chronicles one jurisdiction’s 2Gen approach prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and demonstrates how those efforts will strengthen the city’s post-COVID-19 support to families.

We extend our sincere thanks to our many partners in the District. Under the leadership of Mayor Muriel Bowser and Director Zeilinger, the city has been committed to implementing a 2Gen approach to improve the economic status of TANF families and families experiencing homelessness in DC. We are indebted to Director Zeilinger and her entire team for the many hours they dedicated to sharing the details of their 2Gen approach and reviewing a draft of this case study. In particular, we thank Jessica Adair, vocational development specialist; Stephanie Bloch, ESA deputy administrator – innovation & change management; Brian Campbell, ESA senior policy advisor; Tamitha Davis-Rama, former ESA deputy administrator – customer workforce, employment & training; Martina Green, ESA strategic planning officer; Won-ok Kim, ESA deputy administrator – data, analytics, research & evaluation; Ann Pierre, ESA chief of office of performance monitoring; David J. Ross, ESA deputy administrator – customer workforce, employment & training; and Anthea Seymour, ESA administrator.

We extend a special thank you to the advocates in the District who were willing to speak with us to inform the narrative, including Ed Lazere, former executive director of the DC Fiscal Policy Institute; LaDonna Pavetti, Vice President for Family Income Support Policy at the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities; and Judith Sandalow, Executive Director of the Children’s Law Center in Washington, DC. Many thanks also to Jeremy Lares of Grant Associates and Marsha Netus of America Works, providers of TANF employment and training services. In addition, the perspective offered by a consumer advocate was invaluable, and we are grateful for her insights. Last, but not least, we want to thank Brianne Nadeau, chair of the DC City Council’s Human Services Committee, for her candor, her commitment to improving the lives of District residents living in poverty, and her dedication to improving the well-being of children.

This report joins our previous case studies in providing an example of how policymakers working within large, complex systems have taken a 2Gen approach in aspects of their work to improve the lives of families. We look forward to further uptake of 2Gen approaches by other states and localities.

Sincerely,

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Executive Director, Ascend at the Aspen Institute

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Two-Generation Approach to Leveraging TANF: DC as a Case Study for Policymakers

Over the past 25 years, the District of Columbia’s story has been one of incredible urban redevelopment and renaissance. However, in that revival remains the reality of inequities for the District’s families with low incomes.

When Muriel Bowser was first sworn in as mayor in January 2015, it was a paradoxical time for the city. The District was at once realizing unparalleled growth and prosperity while also facing the uncomfortable reality that not all members of the community benefited from that economic growth; in fact, some were falling deeper into poverty. Families experiencing homelessness were placed in a shuttered public hospital, with overflow placed in hotels on the outskirts of town. Thousands of families were also experiencing a squeeze on their Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) benefits due to statutorily imposed reductions, and a cut-off loomed for all those who had received benefits for 60 months or longer. Absent a cohesive TANF hardship policy and statutory change, families and children would be disconnected from a fundamental support for building well-being. The impending TANF disruption would have an immediate impact on more than 5,700 families, touching more than 13,000 children.

Given this looming crisis, the DC City Council, led by Councilmember Brianne Nadeau, chair of the Committee on Human Services, introduced legislation that sought to ease the impact of the approaching deadline through hardship exemptions. This proposed law spurred Mayor Bowser and Director Laura Zeilinger of the Department of Human Service (DHS) to create a TANF working group to address the policy issues associated with redesigning the TANF program. The working group took a two-generation (2Gen) approach to TANF policies and practices, thinking about whole family economic security and well-being, as opposed to just thinking about an individual adult or child. The final version of the bill, passed in 2015, reflects many of the solutions recommended in the final working group report, including eliminating the time limit for families receiving TANF assistance, increasing benefits, and reducing sanctions that decrease families’ cash benefits. There was also alignment and integration within service delivery.

2Gen approaches build family well-being by intentionally and simultaneously working with children and the adults in their lives together. They articulate and track outcomes for both children and parents simultaneously. The foundation of this change rests on the premise that programs and policies must build well-being in multiple generations — caregivers and their children — so that the whole family succeeds. Research demonstrates that when parents do well, children do well; likewise, when children do well, parents will do well. More about this approach can be found in the published reports and case studies on the Ascend at the Aspen Institute website.

What is unique to the District’s TANF model is that resources are never stripped from the home, and, in the spirit of a 2Gen approach, DHS shifted from transactional activities toward supporting parents as individuals who determine their choices.

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ii https://ascend.aspeninstitute.org/two-generation/what-is-2gen/
The department executed the following 2Gen strategies aimed at strengthening families.

1. Shift the organization’s value system to one that trusts the client as opposed to one of constant verification;
2. Replace transactional engagement with parents and adults with finding opportunities for employment and life coaching;
3. Train staff throughout the department in the 2Gen approach and community providers;
4. Decouple work requirements from child care assistance;
5. Partner with the Yale Mental health Outreach for MotherS (MOMS) Program to provide support to parents;
6. Establish the TANF Ambassador Program with consumer advocates;
7. Reorganize the TANF intake and eligibility office for increased efficiency;
8. Co-locate the Office of Work Opportunity (OWO) with the TANF intake and eligibility offices;
9. Tie adjustments of TANF grant levels to annual changes in the Consumer Price Index (CPI);
10. Build an integrated services program connecting TANF and Family Rehousing and Stabilization Program (FRSP) programs through the 2Gen framework and requiring workers experiencing homelessness and TANF workers to connect around a whole-family practice approach;
11. Develop a new model anchored in a comprehensive strength-based family needs assessment approach; and
12. Leverage the District’s universal pre-K and early childhood initiatives.

The model generated has created a shared sense of ownership and purpose among District advocates, providers, families, policymakers, and DHS, and it is starting to show results already. According to the District, more participants are now engaged in training and educational activities, and children are not experiencing deprivation because the TANF grant to families is not being cut. Though there are still areas that need additional work, this model is positioned for future 2Gen-related generative work in areas of early childhood, child welfare, workforce development, and other areas of impact within the District.

This brief, based on research and a series of interviews, discusses the history, development, successes, and remaining challenges of the District’s 2Gen poverty alleviation approach for families. It also addresses the continuing development of DC’s work, which positions the city to extend the 2Gen framework to families experiencing homelessness, as well. In the words of Councilmember Nadeau, “The vision for the 2Gen TANF approach is anchored in building a system of care that is responsive to the needs of families.”

WHAT IS UNIQUE TO THE DISTRICT’S TANF MODEL IS THAT RESOURCES ARE NEVER STRIPPED FROM THE HOME, AND, IN THE SPIRIT OF A 2GEN APPROACH, DHS SHIFTED FROM TRANSACTIONAL ACTIVITIES TOWARD SUPPORTING PARENTS AS INDIVIDUALS WHO DETERMINE THEIR CHOICES.

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NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLICY CONTEXT

Federal investment in family support programs has historically focused on families with low incomes. It began with the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, which created Social Security, disability insurance, unemployment insurance, and Aid to Dependent Children. Aid to Dependent Children later became Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

TANF, the current policy that evolved from AFDC, was created out of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996. The program assists families with children when parents or other relatives cannot provide for the family's basic needs. It extends beyond cash assistance to include family-strengthening efforts around job preparation and work, prevention of unmarried pregnancies, and formation and maintenance of healthy two-parent families." TANF is funded through a federal block grant, and states are free to use the funds however they see fit, so long as the funds are used for one of four broad purposes:

1. To provide benefits to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own home or the home of relatives;
2. To end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage;
3. To prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies; or
4. To encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

The program has been both applauded and criticized for its work requirements, time limits, sanctions, policies, and other features. The federal law prohibits states from using federal TANF funds to assist most families for more than 60 months. The federal TANF block grant has been appropriated at $16.5 billion every year since TANF's inception in 1996. However, because of inflation, by 2016, due to inflation, the real value of the TANF block grant was closer to $5.5 billion, or one-third of its original 1996 value. In 2016, DC's TANF program received $92 million from the TANF block grant, the same amount the District received in 1996. vi

Families receiving TANF support are some of the lowest-income households in the District, with complex barriers and circumstances that prevent adults in these families from working. DC has had a progressive policy agenda dating back to 1996 when PRWORA was passed. DC enacted local laws and policies that not only used local dollars to offset the gaps in the federal TANF block grant, but also supported implementation of a whole-family assessment tool. The District allocated local funds that supported families and effectively delayed implementation of any time limit.

But in 2011, District law changed. Facing a mix of political pressures and an economic recession, the City Council codified the time limit and initiated a gradual reduction of cash benefits for families exceeding 60 months on TANF. At the time of enactment, the full benefit for a family of three was roughly $428 per month. After an initial 20 percent reduction in April 2011 to approximately $342 per month, there was a progressive step down of benefits: from 80 percent to 60 percent by October 2013 and ultimately down to 35 percent of the original grant amount by October 2014. The law stipulated that benefits would be eliminated completely effective September 30, 2015, but with the grant level at 35 percent, this cut-off date was extended by one year to September 30, 2016. It was later extended a second year to September 30, 2017.

By the end of the cuts, TANF families in the program beyond 60 months were receiving an average of about $150 a month. TANF families in the program for less than 60 months received an average of $395 a month. Meanwhile, the District’s self-sufficiency standard as far back as 2005 was $4,470 a month for a family of three — a single mom with two young children, one school age and one preschool age — equivalent to a full-time job with an hourly wage of about $25.39.

The 2011 changes applied to all families supported by TANF, which meant they affected thousands. The District did not have a TANF hardship policy, even though problems with TANF services existed even before these policy changes were instituted.
For instance, though the city had minimal data on the barriers and challenges that families were experiencing, families were facing process delays and long wait times when seeking employment, job training, and education services. These impending changes also threatened to undermine years of collaborative efforts within the TANF program, which had a foundation of individualized assessment and service delivery, supported by progressive performance-based contracts.

Policymakers, advocates, and the executive branch had been deliberating fixes to TANF policy and practices since 2011. The early efforts by advocates and policymakers from 2011 to 2015 were instrumental in building the foundation upon which the 2Gen approach was built. The timeline in Figure 1 provides an overview of their efforts and actions.

**THE DISTRICT’S TANF REDESIGN TIMELINE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
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| 2011 | • Community roundtables  
• Council passes law to step down TANF grant for 60 months |
| 2012 | • Performance-based contracts  
• Orientation & Assessment condition of TANF eligibility  
• Universal Service Delivery Model launched  
• Case Management System launched |
| 2013 | • All TANF customers assessed through Office of Work Opportunity (OWO)  
• Updated Assessment tool  
• PIT increases  
• Homeless Services Integration |
| 2014 | • Council expands POWER categories  
• Interim sanction process  
• DBH 12 cities grant |
| 2015 | • Provider PIT increases  
• Bolstered unified case planning model  
• TANF Comprehensive Case Reviews (TCCRs) |
| 2016 | • Graduated Sanction process implemented  
• Earlier infusion of Home Visitor Grantees  
• Re-deployment of OWO Resources  
• Expansion of Employment Services at RRH providers  
• DOES Partnerships  
• Time-limit implemented |
| 2017 | • DCAS Go-Live  
• Convened TANF Hardship Policy Working Group with multiple stakeholders (i.e., Customers, DC Council Staffers, Advocates, DHS staff, & Partner Agencies)  
• Submitted hardship policy recommendations to MMB & DC Council |
| 2018 | • Implemented new TANF Policy  
• Implemented 2Gen Policy  
• Outreach: Introduced new policy & programmatic changes to multiple stakeholders (buy-in)  
• Rolled out new TEP Performance-based contracts  
• Enhanced TANF Customer Database (CATCH) to incorporate new 2 Gen policy  
• Implemented BPR |
| 2019 | • Refined 2Gen Policy  
• Awarded HHS grants to further develop and implement Career Pathways and Case Coaching models  
• Implemented MOMs behavioral health project with Yale University  
• Conducted TANF Customer Survey via an online platform  
• Sub grantee of OSSE-PDG B5 grant |

Figure 1. The District’s TANF Redesign Timeline

**SOME ACRONYMS IN FIGURE 1**

- PIT – point in time (caseload slots)  
- POWER – Program on Work, Employment and Responsibility  
- BPR – business process redesign  
- CATCH – customer assessment, tracking and case history  
- PDG B-5 – Pre-School Development Grant, Birth to Five  
- DCAS – DC Access System  
- DOES – DC Department of Employment Services  
- DBH – DC Department of Behavioral Health  
- MMB – Mayor Muriel Bowser  
- OSSE – Office of State Superintendent for Education  
- RRH – Rapid Re-Housing
Despite these initial efforts following the policy changes in 2011, District policymakers and advocates failed to reach consensus on how to implement and enforce the law or create exemptions in DC’s TANF policy. Meanwhile, families struggled, and the District was facing a harsh reality because of this inaction. By 2017, more than 15,000 families would be enrolled in the District’s TANF program, and more than 5,700 (nearly 40 percent) of those families would have received TANF benefits for more than 60 months. The disruption would affect more than 13,000 children. This subset of families would face a sharp loss of benefits if the TANF time limit went into effect on October 1, 2017.

Economic and policy research has demonstrated how reductions in TANF benefits through sanctions and lifetime limits have exposed families to the negative effects of deep poverty, yielding poor health, economic, and child well-being outcomes. The District was under pressure to develop and fund new policy solutions, such as exempting parents from the TANF time limit if they met certain predetermined hardship conditions, to minimize or avoid harm to families from a sudden and complete cut-off of TANF benefits and to prevent such harm in the future.

In 2015, recognizing the pressing need and in an effort to further the conversation, District councilmembers, led by Councilmember Brianne Nadeau, introduced the DC Public Benefits Amendment Act. The proposed legislation would have mitigated the impact of the impending cut by creating a range of exemptions and effectively amending the District’s TANF time limit structure to continue to provide TANF benefits after 60 months.

While this legislation did not proceed, it further galvanized the recognition of the need for a broader conversation. In 2016, Mayor Bowser, informed by Director Zeilinger, advocates, and councilmembers, identified funding for a 12-month extension of benefits for families who had been receiving TANF benefits for more than 60 months. At the same time, Mayor Bowser asked Director Zeilinger to convene a TANF working group to develop data-driven recommendations for who should be allowed to continue receiving TANF support after 60 months and under what circumstances. The Mayor and Director Zeilinger wanted a solution anchored in strengthening families and ensuring the well-being of children. DHS simultaneously researched national best practices, conducted a rigorous review of DC TANF program data, and administered a survey to parents who had been receiving TANF support for more than 60 months to understand their experience.
GETTING TO THE SOLUTION

The TANF working group consisted of advocates, providers, parents, agency staff, and council representatives. They all recognized that the elimination of supports would have a detrimental impact on families and were committed to finding innovative, shared solutions. See Appendix A for the full list of working group members.

When Director Zeilinger first convened the working group, it was organized under a two-fold backdrop: 1) the goal of TANF was to build the capacity of the adults in the home; and 2) the working group’s objective was to identify the circumstances and conditions by which families would receive TANF for more than 60 months.

Predictably, following years of siloed dialogue, there was both a lack of trust and fundamentally different perspectives on family needs and the values underpinning the work. There was also an absence of agreement on which data points marked success in the District.

Before the working group’s first convening, the District did significant work to set the stage and inform the conversation. DHS administered a survey via home visits and phone calls to 2,787 parents/caregivers who would be immediately impacted by the discontinuation of TANF benefits and compiled a case review of 3,847 families. The data from the survey and case review bolstered awareness that the challenges families were facing did not align with the services being provided, and that employment did not wholly equate to family stability. The District also asked families a simple but fundamental question: What would happen if you no longer had access to the cash grant and services that TANF provides? Director Zeilinger said the answer was both profound and startling. For many families, TANF was their last and only support. TANF represented not just resources in the home, but a path to building their future, regardless of their tenure on TANF.

With help from an external facilitator and primed with quantitative and qualitative data, the District then held a series of conversations in the community to confirm general understanding of TANF and community needs and values. Led by voices of TANF families, the presenting questions evolved from identifying the circumstances and conditions by which families should receive TANF for more than 60 months to a more fundamental set of questions: What are the values of TANF in the District? And how can we design a program to support those values?

Two core values emerged from these discussions: 1) TANF should enrich children’s lives, regardless of the actions of the caregiver; and 2) TANF families should have access to and assistance in accessing the suite of education, employment, and family-stabilizing services that ultimately support the individual growth potential of an adult in the home.

As Director Zeilinger noted, “Our work was guided by the belief that every resident is born with the potential to build and live a good life and that everyone needs some support along the way to maintain their well-being.” The working group thus reframed the question from one of scarcity to one of abundance. It shifted ideologically from “How do we make the TANF program with the current allocation of dollars ‘work’ for families and children?” toward “What would it take to ensure that children thrive in stable families?”

Once the group posed the right questions, the solutions started to flow. The working group made the recommendation to be bold and completely revamp the TANF program, moving away from a “work-first” model to a 2Gen approach that supported the entire family.
CORE COMPONENTS AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR 2GEN WORK IN DC

District leadership went to an Ascend convening in Colorado in 2015 and came back with exciting best practices and ideas about how to frame their 2Gen work. To support a program design around the articulated values identified from the working group conversations, the District adopted Ascend’s 2Gen framework and committed to an intentional implementation of the 2Gen approach. The core components of the 2Gen approach are shown in Figure 2.

While some elements are in place and others are easy to augment, some components require more deliberation and investment in the near future.

Under that broad framework, DHS, in cooperation with other governmental and nongovernmental partners, developed and continues to refine a set of guiding principles that govern and frame its 2Gen efforts:

- Apply the Housing First principles to families who are homeless or at risk of homelessness;
- Apply a progressive customer engagement model that incentivizes goal achievement;
- Move toward a generative frame that integrates economic mobility with homeless services;
- Develop case plans through a trauma-informed and strengths-based 2Gen lens to address poverty as a traumatic experience;
- Apply harm-reduction policies and procedures to the economic mobility efforts involving TANF families;
- Modernize technology to ensure compatibility with the new integrated service delivery model; and
- Anchor the 2Gen work in a comprehensive, multidisciplinary team-based approach to provide coordinated, effective services to families.

DHS developed policies to support TANF families based on 2Gen principles. In doing so, it also recognized that:

1. Cash assistance is a critical protective factor for children and fundamental to family stability;
2. Parents are incentivized to participate in employment and training activities and are encouraged and supported in their efforts to be meaningfully engaged in the lives of their children; and
3. Thus, the focus must shift from a sanction-based punitive approach to an engagement approach for parents.
Implementing the 2Gen TANF Effort:

Today, the District has a thoughtful, responsive, 2Gen-minded TANF effort that is a generative approach aimed at improving outcomes for the whole family. Based on these principles, the working group designed a program model that all parties in the working group could accept, and the District’s 2Gen TANF approach was launched. The program model included eliminating 60-month time limits, enhancing the TANF employment and training program, increasing benefit levels, providing customer incentives, and providing case management. The model is illustrated in Figure 3.

The working group adopted an engagement approach for parents, rather than a sanctions approach, recognizing that cash in the home is fundamental to stability. The group proposed an 80-20 rule — 80 percent of the TANF grant was allocated to children’s enrichment and 20 percent was assigned to support parental engagement in services. The sanction of 30 percent was assigned to only the parental portion of the grant, which lessened the impact on families. Because research has demonstrated that sanctions are not a motivator for parents to comply with work requirements, it was important for the system to identify the root causes affecting parental ability to comply with TANF work participation requirements (e.g., walking children to school in troubled neighborhoods). In fact, the agency used the voice of the parents in making the case for these changes to the TANF program.

Working group discussions focused on the reality that nearly all parents wanted to work and care for their children without depending on TANF, but the barriers were real. The narrative in the District today has shifted from “unmotivated TANF recipients being pushed into jobs with little potential for advancement and staying in poverty” to “DHS’s TANF program enables the entire family to succeed.”

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Following the recommendations from the working group, the District has taken a series of sequential steps to effectuate the articulated values.

First, it made a series of policy changes, passing legislation to accomplish four objectives around TANF:

1. Eliminate the time limit;
2. Increase the benefit level for families who were experiencing a reduced benefit and tying the level to annual changes in the CPI. (In the 2018 fiscal year budget, the District appropriated local general funds for three annual increases, 2018-2020, to the TANF grant of 15.3 percent, 12.3 percent, and 11.8 percent, respectively, followed by permanent annual grant adjustments aligned with the CPI);
3. Set a new sanction policy for nonparticipation in work activities based on the 80-20 rule; and
4. Gradually increase the overall TANF cash benefit for all families.

Second, the District worked with the District Office of the State Superintendent for Education (OSSE) to decouple work requirements and eligibility for child care assistance. This modification reinforced values of the TANF program by ensuring enrichment activities for children, regardless of parents’ employment status.

Third, the District aligned internal policies and practices to embrace a 2Gen approach. There was an integration of both funding and service delivery within TANF service providers and the homeless services delivery continuum. As part of its efforts to reorganize and streamline efforts, the District also realigned its customer-facing capacity building and workforce programs to fall under a single, newly created division led by a deputy administrator.

Fourth, in October 2018, the District revisited its contracting to reflect 2Gen components and resolicited $30 million in service contracts to reflect the new values of the program, including a focus on person-centered service delivery and case management. Based partially on performance and partially on reimbursements, the new contracts incorporated 2Gen activity requirements and aligned the outcome-based payment points to ensure that the entire system, public and private, was driving toward the generative 2Gen approach.

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**PERSON-CENTERED SERVICE DELIVERY**

DC’s TANF program uses the federal block grant and local dollars to provide customer-driven services to families.

1. **Application for Assistance**
   - TANF Comprehensive Assessment
     - Strengths
     - Barriers to employment
     - Housing
     - Health/behavioral health/DV/Caregiver

2. **Individualized Plan (WPR)**
   - Education
   - Job placement
   - Barrier remediation

3. **Supportive Services**
   - Targeted Case Management
   - Performance-based contracts
   - Integrated TANF/homeless services in RR and for families in overflow ES

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Figure 4. The District’s Person-Centered Service Delivery Framework
Significantly, the District also recognized that success is not solely predicated on systems, policies, or laws, but on people across the stakeholder continuum. If workers, providers, advocates, and parents did not buy into the 2Gen approach, understand their roles, and feel invested in the new approach, then it would fail. The District not only trained all of the providers and related agencies on its new 2Gen approach to TANF service delivery, but also engaged in dialogue about the merits and the challenges of the approach. DHS published a revised customer handbook suitable for varying levels of literacy and engaged in targeted family outreach.

The District also understood that success could not be achieved in a vacuum and that it needed to leverage external capacity and expertise when partnering with families on their journey toward economic mobility and well-being. The District has been strategically blending and braiding federal, philanthropic, and local funds to deepen its 2Gen work. DHS is working with the LAB@DC, the mayor’s scientific team, to support the development of social science-backed outreach material. DHS also partnered with the Urban Institute to convene focus groups, which gave a voice to the families receiving TANF support in the District. Further, DHS contracted with Columbia University to develop a resource calculator, which provides evidence of the impact of earnings on the resources in the home. This resource calculator pinpoints the very real earnings cliffs in the District and helps identify interventions to incentivize wage growth.\(^{\text{xvi}}\)

The District sought technical support through federal partners and national models. DHS won two federal Administration for Children and Families (ACF) grants to support its coaching and career pathways and cornerstones in service delivery. The federal HHS ACF TANF Policy Academy for Innovative Employment Strategies has provided technical assistance and grant funds to support the development of advanced career coaching strategies.

Additionally, the District partnered with the Yale University Mental health Outreach for MotherS (MOMS) Partnership, an evidence-based practice, to provide group-based therapeutic supports in the community. A cohort of MOMS graduates are now forming Parent Cafes, small group discussions around research-based protective factors to support other parents who are beginning the journey of strengthening their families.

The District has continued to leverage the most valuable voices in the program: its direct service partners and families. DHS convenes monthly partner meetings and provides annual technical assistance through the University of the District of Columbia. Most importantly, DHS engages families and amplifies their voices to inform both policy and practice through the Customer Advisory Group. This group meets regularly and weighs in at early stages of program and policy development. All of these partnerships are designed to support and inform the 2Gen approach.


THE APPROACH

The District’s 2Gen approach to policy development and service delivery is based on a structure of segmenting caseloads and thinking of a family’s needs as more than a function of eligibility determination, but rather a whole-family needs assessment that matches family needs to services. TANF is administered through the Economic Security Administration (ESA) within DHS. Now, families go to one of five community-based service centers to apply for a suite of public benefits, including TANF, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), Medicaid, emergency assistance, and child care assistance. Once the basic elements of eligibility are established, parents visit the Office of Work Opportunities (OWO) to receive a holistic assessment, create an Individual Responsibility Plan (IRP), and obtain service referrals.

This current practice represents an area of continual iterative improvement. Three years ago, OWO was located in only two of the five centers and prioritized the head of household’s work and education in the assessment. Today, DHS is expanding OWO to all five service centers and is redesigning the assessment through a 2Gen lens. DHS recognizes that while participation in work readiness and activities is important, the 2Gen approach requires an additional focus on other core components, including social capital, economic assets, childhood development, and health and well-being. Given this framework, the assessment had to complement these aims.

The family goals, which are informed by the assessment and designed by the family, are then built into the IRP. The IRP design is changing fundamentally to reflect all five core components of the 2Gen approach. Supported by an automated case management system, the District is striving for improved consistency and quality of IRPs. Over the past year, with these changes, the quality of the assessment process has improved in some areas, including family stability, employment, and career pathways.
Two-Generation Approach to Leveraging TANF: DC as a Case Study for Policymakers

The TANF Program focuses on the whole family, addressing the needs of parents and children together to help families reach their full potential. For more information, contact the DHS Call Center at 202.727.5355 or the Office of Work Opportunity (OWO) at 202.698.1860.

The new and improved TANF program supports your whole family. We are helping families move towards a new future!

What's New with TANF?
These are the newest improvements to the TANF program:
- Time Limits Removed: Cash benefits continue regardless of how long a family has been enrolled in the TANF program and the 60-month time limit has been eliminated.
- Increased Cash Benefits: Families enrolled in TANF for more than 60 months will have their benefits restored to the original amount (based on household size).
- More Rewards and Support: One-on-one attention and improved customer service help you to reach your education, training, and employment goals.

What Should I Do?
1. Continue to develop and update your Individual Responsibility Plan (IRP) which maps out a plan for you to meet your personal, employment, and educational goals. Failing to comply with your IRP, without having a documented good cause, can result in a reduction in benefits.
2. Recertify for TANF benefits every year at your closest service center. You will receive a reminder letter with your recertification date. For further assistance, call 202.727.5355. Don’t hesitate to reach out. We are here to support you and your family’s needs.
3. Remember to stay connected with your TEP Service Provider.

The DC Department of Human Services has enhanced the cash benefits, education, training, and employment opportunities and incentives available to District residents through the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program.

The new and improved TANF program ensures that the needs of your entire family are met by keeping more money in the home for your children and fully supporting you as you work to accomplish your education, training, and employment goals.

The first round of individualized performance-based contracts, active from 2012 to 2018, were focused on work participation and employment. Motivating parents to engage in the program or meet federal work requirements was an ongoing challenge, and providers lacked the tools to best respond to difficulties and offer more intensive support, like housing, to strengthen families. The new contracts reflect a broader 2Gen approach. While employment remains a focus, incorporating 2Gen activities into the IRP is a requirement, and education and training are priorities.

TANF Employment and Education Program (TEP) contracts offer two pathways for families qualifying for TANF.

1. Educational and Occupational Training — prioritizes education and skills development and enhancement; built-in performance incentives for parents and providers when milestones are achieved.
2. Job Placement, Employment Preparation, and Retention — prioritizes job placement and retention; built-in performance incentives for parents and providers at prescribed intervals when milestones are achieved. Retention services and incentives have been enhanced to better support parent placement into employment opportunities.

Figure 5. An Example of DC TANF’s Promotional Materials
In addition, internal DHS units manage behavioral health and peer-led strategies and homeless integration services, including a partnership with the University of the District of Columbia (UDC). These units give parents the option to pursue two- and four-year degrees. The new approach to contracts seeded the District’s 2Gen TANF design.

Contracts are designed holistically, and the parents can now manage the pace of courses and other programs and their skill-building trajectory so that it works for their families. Incentives, including weekly stipends and rewards for finishing a course of study and gaining and retaining employment with wage progression, are having a positive impact.

The TEP vendors like the new model, as do families. Provider interviewees noted that parents are more engaged and invested in educational and occupational growth than they were before the policy changes. The new contract provides customers with financial incentives for participating in and completing coursework on schedule, and for getting and keeping a job at identified milestones.

These incentives include:

**Participation Stipend:** Customers receive $15.00 per day for four or more hours of approved activity. An activity is considered approved if it has been documented in the most recent version of the customer’s detailed Individual Responsibility Plan (dIRP).

**Education Completion Incentive:** Bonus for customers who complete education and training programs that lead to nationally recognized certificates. Bonuses are awarded based on length of training (five categories).

**Employment Incentives:** Bonus for customers who obtain and retain employment through 12 months. Bonuses are also awarded to customers for promotions and exit from TANF due to earnings.

The emphasis on stackable credentials, internships, and work experience opportunities prepares parents to be more marketable to employers. Work-ready TANF parents have already moved through and out of the program, though remaining participants face more significant barriers to building well-being and economic independence. Often these hard-to-place families have chronic challenges that are harder to overcome, such as mental health issues or substance use, significant housing-cost burdens or homelessness, or chronic poverty with a lack of hope. By considering the multiple barriers facing hard-to-place families, the 2Gen approach helps families overcome systemic, socioeconomic hurdles — and the District’s decision to lift the time limit further supports their long-term stability.

One vendor noted that the core focus of its contract is to “understand the humanity and struggles of families and parents with children and recognize that their lives are often about more than TANF.” The District has included parental activities that support their children, such as walking a child to the school bus stop, as a creditable activity for TANF. They want to credit parents with similar child-focused engagement activities allowable within federal parameters to better support families. DC TANF work participation requirements are now aligned with 2Gen goals and are aiming to minimize the challenges that parents experience in balancing work and family responsibilities.

The District has made significant progress in moving away from a work-first compliance model to a 2Gen framework and whole-family barrier-reduction strategy. The city understands that families face many obligations and is building IRPs with that in mind. A case plan may commonly include activities to reduce stress, attendance at extra-curricular activities for their children, or care for an elderly parent.

Changing the requirements has had some unintended consequences. One vendor said that easing up on the sanctions has led to less engagement, and providers have to be more creative in how they reach out to families. Conversations with vendors also showed that factors like lack of access to early childhood services and stable housing often impact engagement in work activities for parents in TANF households. Nevertheless, two critical measures for success are trending in the right direction.

**1.** Parents who have been on TANF for more than 60 months and have been receiving a larger grant since April 2018 have considerably higher recertification rates than in prior years. This presents an opportunity for case workers to capitalize on parent engagement.

**2.** Program staff believe training and certification enrollment for TANF parents has increased. The District is collecting and analyzing data to quantify this measure.
Seventy-five percent of families participating in the Family Rehousing and Shelter Program (FRSP) in the District were also on TANF at the start of the 2Gen expansion into FRSP. ESA and its sister administration within DHS, the Family Services Administration (FSA), which both provide services to families and adults experiencing homelessness, started working together in 2014, before the District adopted a 2Gen approach. However, today there is greater intentionality and integration in their efforts to support whole families.

For example, with the closure of the aging and much-maligned emergency family shelter at the former DC General Hospital, the city embraced a vision for smaller, family-friendly, modernized shelters in each ward of the District. The administrations partnered to provide a unified point of intake for families who are experiencing homelessness, but also service delivery integration for the universe of families in FRSP who are also on TANF. Using a teaming model adapted from DC Child and Family Services Agency (CFSA), the joint ESA/FSA team works with each family to build a unified case plan. Teaming, a concept developed by Amy Edmondson of Harvard Business School, involves flexible coordination and collaboration without the benefit of stable team structures, because many operations require a level of staffing flexibility that makes stable team composition rare.

This service delivery system reform was accompanied by a full integration of TANF and FRSP for families using a 2Gen approach, and the District has a vision for continued blending of both services and budgets to more completely unify service delivery. The FRSP contracts are in the process of being redesigned to realign service delivery case management with explicit 2Gen goals. The next two years should move closer to reflecting full integration across ESA and FSA for families served.

[https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/the-importance-of-teaming](https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/the-importance-of-teaming)
TRANSFORMATION IS MESSY BUT EXCITING

Director Zeilinger said the approach taken by the TANF redesign working group was to “be bold.” While it was hard to reach consensus and “get to yes” on the approach, it is more challenging to implement the robust revamp with a large system made up of public and private partners. DHS is in the midst of a major transformation that involves policy, practice, infrastructure, human capital, and partnership reform.

DHS is moving from a purely regulatory- and compliance-driven TANF program toward a whole-family, generative approach that increases organizational capacity to build family well-being, the agency’s North Star. The Human Services Value Curve, developed by Antonio Oftelie, Executive Director, Leadership for a Networked World, and Fellow of the Technology and Entrepreneurship Center at Harvard University, provides a framework that human services agencies can use to guide the transformation of service delivery. It has multiple levels and a generative organization. In the context of 2Gen, it considers population-based health and social determinants of health of the community in service design, and the entire family is an integral part of service delivery and involved in building the capacity of the entire community. The District is working toward a supportive 2Gen human services system that nurtures children while working with parents to build strong, resilient, and stable families, a significant change from the past approach.

**Human Services Value Curve**

- **Regulative Business Model:** The focus is on serving constituents who are eligible for particular services while complying with categorical policy and program regulations.
- **Collaborative Business Model:** The focus is on supporting constituents in receiving all services for which they’re eligible by working across agency and programmatic borders.
- **Integrative Business Model:** The focus is on addressing the root causes of client needs and problems by coordinating and integrating services at an optimum level.
- **Generative Business Model:** The focus is on generating healthy communities by co-creating solutions for multi-dimensional family and socioeconomic challenges and opportunities.

© The Human Services Value Curve by Antonio M. Oftelie & Leadership for a Networked World is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. Based on a work at lnwprogram.org/hsvc. Permissions beyond the scope of this license may be available at lnwprogram.org.
Making this complete transformation has been a challenging proposition. Though the District has taken bold steps toward a 2Gen approach to TANF, DHS is attempting to address some key barriers that remain works in progress, including the following:

- Staff caseloads are high, yet staff are expected to perform within the new generative model while compliance and audit requirements around error rate reduction and timeliness remain unchanged;
- Pivoting an entrenched system to adopt a comprehensive whole-family assessment, new ways of engaging families, and collaboration takes more time than previous practices;
- Resourcing the system and aligning budgets differently is a heavy lift because established silos of excellence feel threatened;
- Staff morale needs continuous care and feeding;
- Staff compensation and career ladders have been adjusted even as performance expectations continue to rise;
- Training and communication needs of staff and stakeholders must be continuously invested in to change the delivery model and to fight stakeholder inertia and cynicism;
- Technology systems need to continue to be modernized to support the integrated case practice vision;
- Contracts were rewritten, and requests for proposals (RFPs) that are issued must be responsive to the new vision and expectations;
- Parents themselves need to believe that the agency is not an authoritative entity but rather a partner entity focused on working with them to achieve success;
- Data analytics capacity, through the Division of Data Analytics, Research, and Evaluation (DARE), must continue to be enhanced to enable DHS to tell its story. DARE staff are constantly running administrative data, reviewing case review data, and marrying them with qualitative data approaches to continuously monitor progress. Data are being captured and analyzed from the District of Columbia Access System (DCAS) and from the Customer Assessment Tracking and Case History (CATCH) software, but it is still too early to generate meaningful trend data. In the interim, DHS is relying on annual surveys (quantitative) and focus groups (qualitative) strategies to monitor and drive change. DHS intends to link these data measures along with administrative data and employment outcomes for the TANF populations; and
- Improving outcomes for those families who are hardest to reach continues to be difficult. This relatively small but persistent population living in poverty and struggling with rising and unaffordable housing costs and revitalization remains a challenge for the reforming system. DHS remains focused on this population.

To be sure, there is work yet to do, but DHS’s intentionality has laid the groundwork for success.

DC SHIFTED IDEOLOGICALLY FROM “HOW DO WE MAKE THE TANF PROGRAM WITH THE CURRENT ALLOCATION OF DOLLARS ‘WORK’ FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN?” AND TOWARD “WHAT WOULD IT TAKE TO ENSURE THAT CHILDREN THRIVE IN STABLE FAMILIES?”
CONCLUSION

In building a 2Gen approach, the District is in a “marathon not a sprint,” according to Director Zeilinger. She affirmed that “together, our community has created a new policy that is informed by data, national best practices, and the experiences of families who rely on the TANF program to help provide for their children while advancing their ability to grow their earning potential.”

All parties involved, ranging from DHS to the City Council’s Committee on Human Services leadership to city advocates for families with low incomes to providers to consumers, take great pride in their contributions in developing the policy, practice, and infrastructure solutions. The model has generated a shared sense of ownership and purpose. This cooperation is a testament to the efficacy and sustainability of DC’s 2Gen TANF solution.

The work is hard and often messy, but incredibly generative and hopeful. In every interview, that hopefulness and sense of purpose shone through. All levels of staff in DHS and partners — advocates, providers, families, and legislators — agree that the system is shifting for the better. One advocate said that DHS was the “most transparent and responsive” department in District government and is “sincerely trying to improve the lives of residents who are their TANF and homeless service customers.”

The challenge ahead for DHS staff is building on this momentum and not losing sight of their North Star as the transformation continues to present challenges and opportunities concurrently. Ultimately, the community has a vision to achieve a District-wide 2Gen child- and family-strengthening, trauma-informed response, and not just a 2Gen approach to TANF. While this vision is not yet universally articulated, the District is well on its way to success with its integrated 2Gen approach to TANF and homeless family policies. They are a model to be celebrated and discussed for spread and scale in other jurisdictions interested in TANF redesign and reform.

COVID EPILOGUE

Like the rest of the world, “normal operations” were turned inside-out in the middle of March 2020, as COVID-19 brought the term “social distancing” into our everyday vernacular. Many have said that the term should really be “physical distancing” to recognize the need to maintain connectivity to family, friends, and community. Like all public-serving agencies, within a matter of weeks, DHS had to stand up new business processes, transition an entire workforce to teleworking, and implement services designed to address a more complex set of presenting needs than just weeks before. Almost overnight, training opportunities closed, unemployment skyrocketed, jobs dried up, child care services closed, and schools sent all children home, with no end in sight.

In concert with many other jurisdictions, the District quickly shifted gears to seek waivers from the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) and US Department of Agriculture (USDA), Food and Nutrition Services (FNS) to ensure continuity of Medicaid and SNAP, amended local law to ensure that families would not lose their cash benefits, relaxed application requirements, and leveraged technological solutions to ensure access. Assessments and case management services shifted to a virtual model, and no additional child support or work participation sanctions were being applied.

As compliance-oriented activities stopped, the focus shifted to other activities. Because of the strong 2Gen foundation, TANF service providers made a seamless shift to focusing fully on the needs of families. The beauty of the 2Gen approach is that when one aspect of a family’s well-being is constrained, work to address other aspects can be expanded, which is what the District did with the TANF program in response to COVID.

Going from a laser-like focus on employment to a 2Gen approach is a significant paradigm shift that takes time and continuous reinforcement to integrate and improve the experiences of families in public-serving systems. COVID brought home the importance of focusing on health, involvement in our children’s education, and ensuring community supports for families.

Because of the existing partnerships built with providers and other community-based organizations, DHS was able to shift into the new normal by continuing to put its customers in the center of the service delivery model. The MOMS program continued to be offered weekly, and in a tear-filled virtual graduation, mothers expressed their heartfelt gratitude for being part of a program that shifted seamlessly from offering services in the classroom to offering services online, while continuing to provide the supports they so desperately needed. Without the 2Gen foundation articulated in this paper, that would not have been possible.

The services for the District’s TANF program are driven by a performance-based contracting model. Both the providers and the customers receive cash incentives to achieve desired outcomes. The District augmented the education, training, and employment incentives during the COVID emergency to include the following.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>How it is measured</th>
<th>Customer’s financial incentive</th>
<th>Provider’s bonus payment</th>
<th>One-time incentive / bonus or recurring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Childhood Development</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressing/resolving child truancy matter(s)</td>
<td>Proof of resolution</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolling children ages 0-4 in QIN Care</td>
<td>OSSE/facility proof of enrollment</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home school preparation and facilitation</td>
<td>Completion of weekly lessons plans</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>recurring (monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtain housing</td>
<td>New lease or legal agreement</td>
<td>$125</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open a bank account</td>
<td>Verification of account and deposit</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit repair</td>
<td>Verification of repair from credit agency</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>recurring (monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open a matched-funds account</td>
<td>Verification of account and deposit</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File CY2019 taxes/IRS stimulus registry</td>
<td>Verification</td>
<td>$75</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Health &amp; Well-Being</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a health or wellness (virtual) medical appointment</td>
<td>Verification that appointment was kept</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>recurring (monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion of physical activity (5 days a week)</td>
<td>Verification of family engaged in activity</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>recurring (monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion of behavioral health screening</td>
<td>Verification of a complete assessment</td>
<td>$25</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-appropriate child (known to grant) enrols in DHS TPAP</td>
<td>Proof of enrollment by DHS TPAP</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindfulness activities (yoga, structured breathing, etc.)</td>
<td>Link to/brochure on structured program</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>recurring (monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Postsecondary &amp; Employment Pathways</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASAS post-test with measured improvement</td>
<td>Submission of pre- and post-tests with documented improvement</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Capital</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete social capital matrix/map</td>
<td>Completion of matrix</td>
<td>$50</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>one time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The District hopes that the augmented efforts outlined above fully embrace the 2Gen approach, support the presenting needs of the families during this crisis, and put the entire community in a better position to engage and succeed in the job market as the economy reopens. Just as important, these efforts should help strengthen all members of the family unit across the five 2Gen core components.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. THE WORKING GROUP

Below is a list of all the members of the Working Group to Inform the TANF Hardship Extension Policy for the District of Columbia. The full report to the director of DHS from the working group is available online.\(^x x i\)

- 11 TANF customers;
- Yvette Alexander, DC Councilmember;
- Yulondra Barlow, Office of Councilmember Yvette Alexander;
- Brian Campbell, Economic Security Administration, DHS;
- Curt Campbell, Legal Aid Society of the District of Columbia;
- Tamitha Christian (now Tamitha Davis-Rama), Economic Security Administration, DHS;
- Andrea Gleaves, DC Coalition Against Domestic Violence;
- Sharra Greer, Children’s Law Center;
- Monique Graham, Far Southeast Family Strengthening Collaborative;
- Darby Hickey, Office of Councilmember David Grosso;
- Kelly Hunt, Office of Councilmember Elissa Silverman;
- Monica Kamen, DC Fair Budget Coalition;
- Won-ok Kim, Economic Security Administration, DHS;
- Jeremy Lares, Grant Associates;
- Erin Larkin, DC Coalition Against Domestic Violence;
- Ed Lazere, DC Fiscal Policy Institute;
- Tai Meah, Office of Councilmember Brianne Nadeau;
- Ginger Moored, Office of the Chief Financial Officer;
- Brianne Nadeau, DC Councilmember;
- David J. Ross, Economic Security Administration, DHS;
- Judith Sandalow, Children’s Law Center;
- Anthea Seymour, Economic Security Administration, DHS;
- Elissa Silverman, DC Councilmember;
- Lisa Simmons, Vice President, MAXIMUS, Inc.;
- Kelly Sweeney McShane, Community of Hope; and
- Jennifer Tiller, America Works of Washington, DC

\(^x x i\)  https://dhs.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/dhs/publication/attachments/TANF%20Hardship%20Report.pdf
APPENDIX B. INTERVIEWEES

This report was based on interviews with key stakeholders. We started the interview process by identifying research questions, and then we considered whether the interviews should be supplemented with other methods. After determining that structured interviews based on a fixed set of questions would allow close comparison among transcripts, we engaged our primary contact at DHS to point us to a diverse panel of interviewees. This process brought us to our core interviews with 18 people and innumerable clarifying follow-up interactions. Below is the list of our core 18 interviewees and the initial date of engagement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, August 1, 2019</td>
<td>Laura Green Zeilinger, Director, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brian Campbell, Senior Policy Advisor, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, August 30, 2019</td>
<td>Stephanie Bloch Newman, Deputy Administrator DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ann Pierre, Program Manager, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamitha Davis-Rama, FSA Administrator (former) DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martina Green, Strategic Planning Officer, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Won-ok Kim, Deputy Administrator, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David J. Ross, Deputy Administrator, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday, September 1, 2019</td>
<td>Judith Sandalow, Children's Law Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday, September 4, 2019</td>
<td>Protected Consumer Advocate (permission to disclose not granted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curt Campbell, Legal Aid Society of the District of Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday, September 5, 2019</td>
<td>Marsha Netus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selina Bland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathew Proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>America Works of Maryland, Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, September 6, 2019</td>
<td>Ladonna Pavetti, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ed Lazere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kate Coventry, DC Fiscal Policy Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jeremy Lares, Grant Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday, September 17, 2019</td>
<td>Anthea Seymour, ESA Administrator, DC Department of Human Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday, September 23, 2019</td>
<td>Council Member Brianne Nadeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tom Fazzini, Council of the District of Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kia Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jessica Adair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Virginia Williams Family Resource Center (VWFRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday, June 10, 2020</td>
<td>Call with Brian Campbell and Anthea Seymour on COVID related TANF response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday, June 26, 2020</td>
<td>Received COVID Epilogue write up from DC DHS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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