

SNAP in Kansas: *A Legacy Under Attack*



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Feeding the world has long been synonymous with the state of Kansas. The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) has its roots in our state, with the late Senator Bob Dole fighting to protect the program throughout his career. It has only been in the last decade that opposition groups and their allies have found success in dismantling the commitment to ending hunger that was once championed by one of our state's greatest public servants.

HISTORY OF ANTI-HUNGER POLICIES IN AMERICA

Officially, the Federal Food Stamp Act of 1964 established the Food Stamp Program, though this was not the first time the federal government provided food assistance to those impacted by hunger.

In an effort to bring the pilot Food Stamp Programs under Congressional control, the 1964 Food Stamp Act was passed. Not yet a national program, it still included some key elements to monitor and define the program. Congress included requirements for a state plan of operations and eligibility standards, restrictions on what could be purchased with the stamps, and prohibitions on discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and political beliefs. Significantly, the act appropriated funding for the program, expanding the number of people it would reach.¹

After establishing an official Food Stamp Program, additional bills continued to make their way through Congress to change rules and how to administer it as the program grew in size. At the same time, members from both political parties began to learn the true extent of poverty, hunger, and childhood malnutrition in the United States and how the newly established Food Stamp Program was not enough. During the 1960s, studies in the Mississippi Delta, Appalachia coal mine

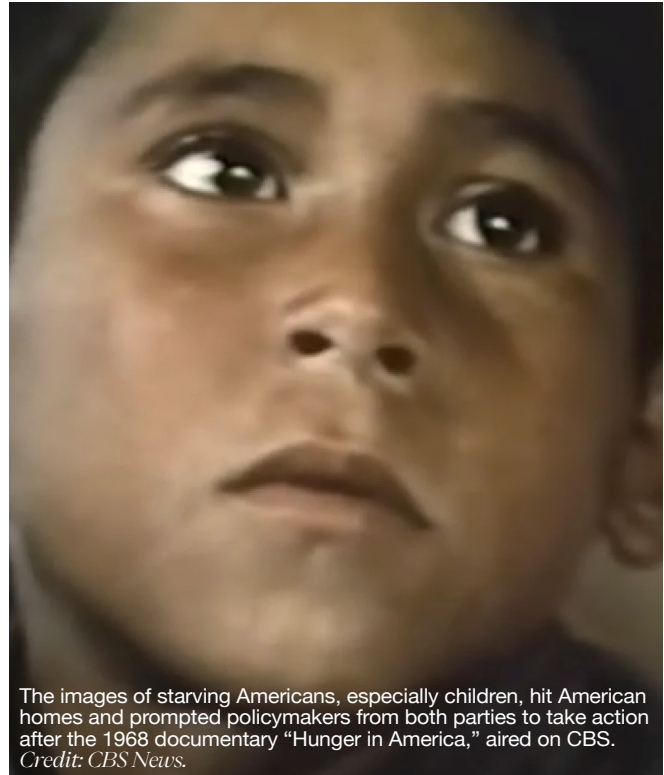
fields, and coastal South Carolina detailed large numbers of children with swollen stomachs, poorly healing wounds, diseases, listlessness, and developmental delays.

Researchers equated seeing these children and their diets to what they would see in developing areas of the world such as Africa and Asia. Included in these reports and studies were findings indicating that the Food Stamp Program as it existed was insufficient to combat the malnutrition ravaging parts of the country while other regions experienced unprecedented affluence.²

The images of starving Americans, especially children, hit American homes and prompted policymakers from both parties to take action after the 1968 documentary “Hunger in America,” aired on CBS. The broadcast included images of the research from the previous decade. It showed small children suffering from hunger and diseases many Americans had assumed had been long eradicated in the United States.

Filming in Alabama, Virginia, Texas, and reservations in Arizona, the documentary showed Americans that hunger was not isolated and was a reality for 10 million Americans every day. As a result of seeing the far-reaching effects and extent of hunger, Democratic Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and Republican Senator Bob Dole of Kansas worked to create the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to study hunger and build a federal response.³

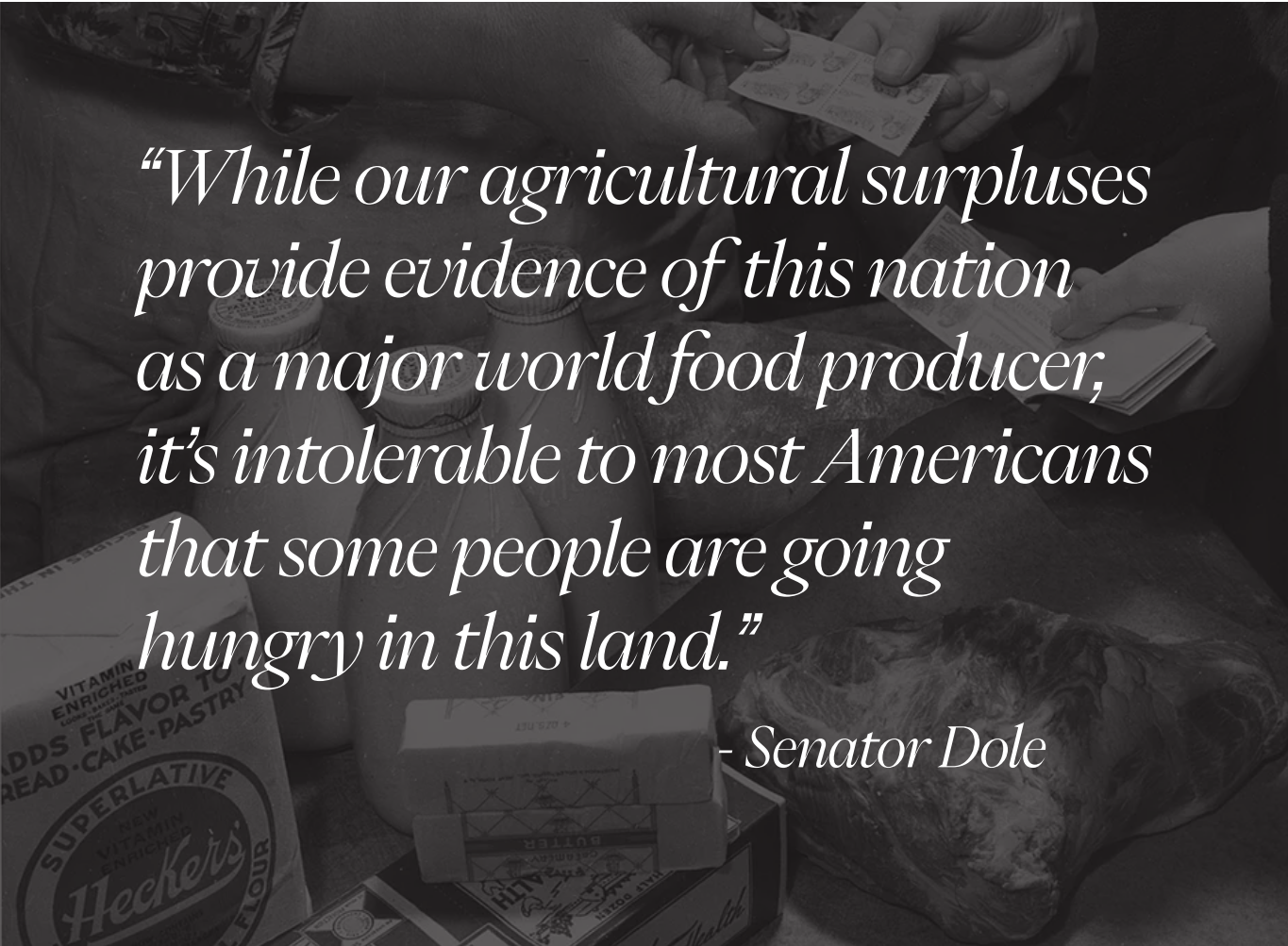
From its inception as a nationwide program, policymakers came together to protect the program and people using it, while some others demonized its usage. As a result of the bipartisan work of Senators Dole and McGovern, the Food Stamp Program went nationwide in 1974. It took substantial and sustained bipartisan efforts of Senators Dole and McGovern to build the program into one that worked for those in need and to protect it from political attacks. In 1975, for example, President Ford tried to cut food stamp benefits, but Congress blocked the attempt with a bipartisan veto-proof margin. The 1974 act required states to make a food assistance



The images of starving Americans, especially children, hit American homes and prompted policymakers from both parties to take action after the 1968 documentary “Hunger in America,” aired on CBS. Credit: CBS News.

program available everywhere, and Senator Dole defended it in 1975. As a result, 12.9 million people (6% of the population) received extra help to buy food for themselves and their families.

In 1977, Senators Dole and McGovern introduced legislation that not only expanded accessibility of the program, but also introduced reforms to ensure the program’s integrity. For example, it penalized those who voluntarily quit their jobs and established a job search requirement for nonexempt recipients. To ensure that those in need had access to the much-needed assistance, it recognized administrative barriers to processing certifications. As such, it allowed for mail, telephone, and home visits for certification. It also established a 30-day processing standard.⁴ Although more measures have since been added, a history of ensuring integrity of the Food Stamp Program was present from the beginning and bipartisan support led these efforts to find the balance between access to the program for those in need and integrity of the program.



“While our agricultural surpluses provide evidence of this nation as a major world food producer, it’s intolerable to most Americans that some people are going hungry in this land.”

- Senator Dole

In 1939, the first Food Stamp Program (FSP) was developed by key policymakers who recognized that the Great Depression had left farms with large surpluses and many people under-nourished.

The FSP allowed people participating in the program to buy orange stamps equal to their normal food expenditures. For every \$1 of orange stamps they purchased, they received 50 cents of blue stamps. The orange stamps could buy any food, and the blue stamps could buy food the Department of Agriculture determined were surplus. This first FSP reached approximately 20 million people at a cost of \$262 million (\$5.9 billion in 2024 dollars). The program ended in 1943 when there were no longer large food surpluses and widespread unemployment had decreased.⁵

Even though the program ended in 1943, advocates and supporters continued to push for policy solutions to hunger. For 18 years, Congress reviewed studies, reports, and legislative proposals to pass a food stamp system to help those in need. In 1959, Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to operate a food stamp system. However, the Eisenhower administration failed to authorize the program. It was not until President Kennedy issued an Executive Order in 1961 that a food stamp system was reestablished. The pilot initially started in eight areas and expanded to 40 counties and three metropolitan areas (Detroit, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh) across 22 states by 1964. It had 380,000 participants.⁶

In the 1980s, Senators Dole, McGovern, and their bipartisan allies continued to fight against hunger in America, standing against cuts to the Food Stamp Program. As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Nutrition, Senator Dole clearly recognized hunger in America, and highlighted much work to be done. Senator Dole is on record saying “While our agricultural surpluses provide evidence of this nation as a major world food producer, it’s intolerable to most Americans that some people are going hungry in this land.” In his defense of the program, he described the Food Stamp Program as the “most important social program advance in the country since Social Security”.⁷

Senator Dole and McGovern’s attempts to protect food stamps for those in need faced new political rhetoric in the 1980s and 1990s. Taking a deep hold in American political culture, rhetoric against anti-hunger policies came out of the Reagan administration, containing deeply racist undertones and focusing on the idea that those using food stamps and other assistance programs were unworthy and gaming the government. The act of degrading Americans experiencing poverty quickly took hold despite evidence that showed the Food Stamp Program had been extremely successful in improving the health of the same children who prompted outrage decades earlier.⁸

As a result, changes to the Food Stamp Program in the 1980s and 1990s unraveled the balance of access and integrity in the program that Senator Dole and his bipartisan colleagues had fought for. Along with budget cutbacks and additional eligibility requirements, more assets were counted as income, time limits were introduced, and work requirement options were given to the states. Still, despite attacks on the program, bipartisan votes continued to renew the program. There was an understanding among policymakers that hunger was serious, and they did not want to vote against families—their constituents—getting food.⁹

Building off the rhetoric of demonizing people experiencing poverty and hunger of the 1980s and 1990s, the bipartisan support for the Food Stamp Program came to an end in the 2000s and 2010s. During this time, the program took on a political

symbolism wherein some policymakers used the Food Stamp Program as a visible program to attack social spending. To do so, they depicted Americans seeking assistance as unworthy and abusing the taxpayers who fund the program, taking Americans back to the language of the Reagan era.

In his race for his party’s nomination in 2012, Newt Gingrich called President Obama, “the best food stamp president in American history” since more people were getting SNAP benefits under President Obama. The implication being that people receiving SNAP were lazy, criminals, or both. The idea that people receiving food assistance when in need was a “bad” thing ran counter to the goals Senator Dole saw for the program. The goal of getting help to those in need was replaced with calls to increase barriers for vulnerable Americans. Policymakers justified the barriers with claims of abuse, waste, and fraud in the program, despite data showing otherwise to be true.¹⁰ This is the intellectual and political fallacy today’s critics of the program draw on, running counter to what one of the most respected Kansas politicians, Senator Dole, knew to be right.



The 2008 Farm Bill changed the name from Food Stamps to Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). The change of the name was to emphasize the nutrition goal of the program and reduce the stigma around the term “food stamps.”. *Credit: Getty Images.*

SENATOR DOLE'S LEGACY

Senator Dole and his colleagues across the aisle saw firsthand the importance of the Food Stamp Program and what hunger was doing to American children and families. He knew these families were not frauds and criminals, as critics would have people believe today. Throughout his career, Senator Dole put hunger and nutrition as a hallmark concern, supporting SNAP, the National School Lunch Program (NSLP), and the Women and Infant Children Nutrition Program (WIC). He was honored throughout his career for his work to end hunger worldwide. Even after leaving Congress, Senators Dole and McGovern continued to work on ending hunger and they created the international school lunch program through the McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Fund.¹¹ Senator Dole knew the damage hunger could do. He grew up in the Great Depression in rural Kansas, saw the ravages of World War II, and knew policies could make a difference.

A LEGACY UNDER ATTACK

Today, though, some Kansas policymakers, with the backing of public assistance opposition groups, seek to undo the legacy of the Kansas public servant whose work has ensured countless children and families receive food around the world.

Under federal law, the United States Department of Agriculture promulgates the rules and regulations for the SNAP program in addition to those set out in the statutory framework.¹² In recent years, growing out of the politicization of SNAP, Kansas has enacted several statutes restricting access to SNAP beyond the minimum requirements Federal Law requires. Further, Kansas has opted out of several regulations that would increase access to SNAP.

During Governor Sam Brownback's administration, Kansas saw a series of attacks on public assistance programs. These attacks on SNAP, Medicaid and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) were ultimately bundled into a comprehensive bill in 2015 known as the Kansas Hope, Opportunity, and Prosperity for Everyone (HOPE) Act. Key policy elements included in the bill were:

- Moving Kansas to extreme work requirements, limiting adults without children to only three months of SNAP during any 36-month period in which they were not employed at least half-time or in a qualifying work or training program. With this move, 30,000 Kansans were suddenly dropped from SNAP.¹³
- Kansans with more than one drug felony conviction are subject to a lifetime ban from receiving SNAP benefits. Notably, this policy is regressive, as it applies exclusively to drug-related felonies while individuals with other types of felony convictions remain eligible for assistance.”
- Non-citizens without documentation are excluded from the household size when calculating benefit amounts, yet their income and resources are still counted when determining eligibility. This creates a double standard that enables discrimination.
- Placing a ban on resources being used to perform SNAP outreach.¹⁴

These additional requirements created undue barriers for Kansans who need to access the SNAP Food Assistance Program. Restrictions and penalties involving food access can impact entire households, including children who are unable to access benefits on their own.¹⁵ The goal of the Food Assistance Program is to lift Kansans out of poverty and create employment and other self-sustaining opportunities.¹⁶ When the State increases barriers to the program, it cannot serve its purpose of creating economic change for those in poverty.¹⁷

Much of the support for the HOPE Act was based on misleading research.

Key proponents of this legislation cited a 75% decrease in the number of able-bodied adults without dependents (ABAWD) on SNAP in Kansas because of their work. They claimed that those removed from SNAP who found jobs reported an average income growth of 127 percent. However, those findings have been challenged. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found public assistance opposition groups like the Foundation for Government Accountability (FGA) misrepresented and omitted data, such as the fact that people were already

leaving SNAP as the economy was improving and that those who were kicked off SNAP remained in low-income households. Another study from the USDA found that work requirements reduced the number of people on SNAP, but did not get them employed.¹⁸

THE ILLUSION OF “WELFARE REFORM”: A MISGUIDED AGENDA

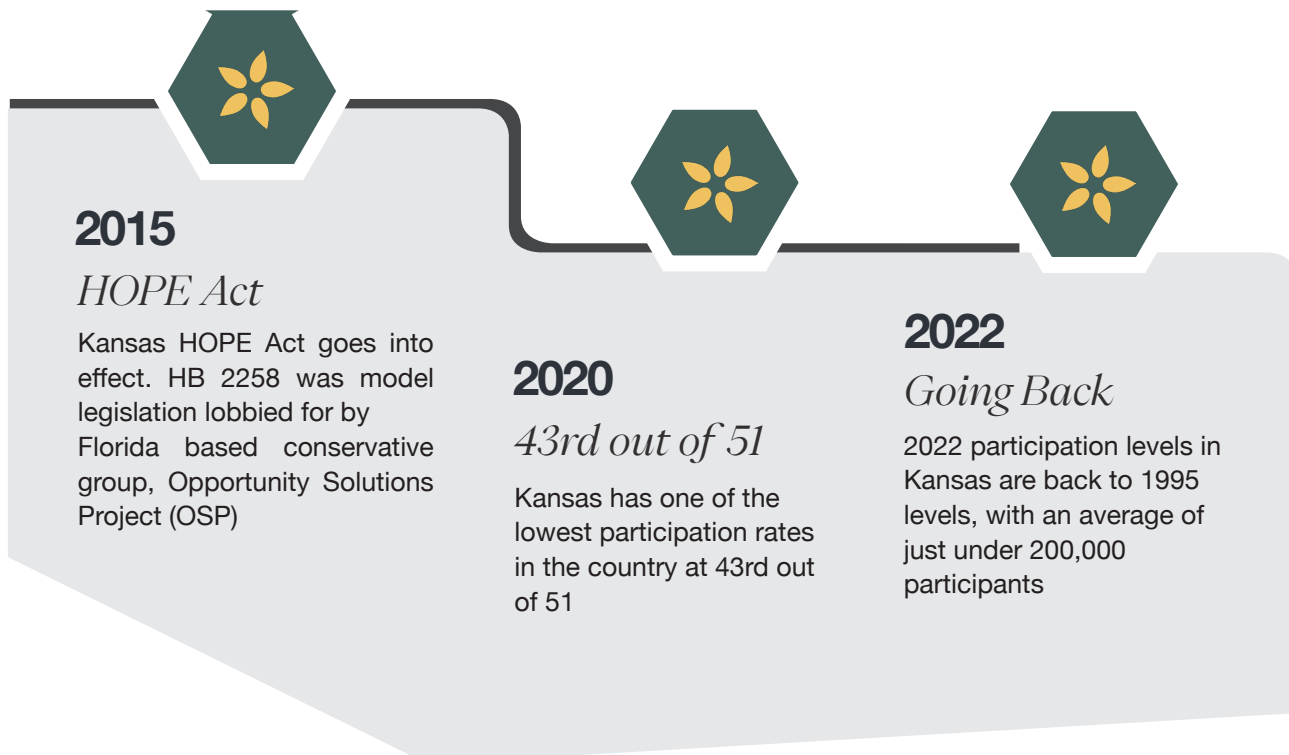
In 2022, Speaker of the House Dan Hawkins created the House Committee on Welfare Reform.¹⁹ This marked a shift in legislative focus that once again targeted SNAP Food Assistance. Since the induction of this committee, there have been a multitude of bills that have sought to reduce access to SNAP food assistance. Despite this committee bringing up multitudes of bills that would further decimate safety net support in Kansas, no bills passed from this committee have become law in its first two years. Examples of bills from this committee include:

- HB 2140, which sought to increase the age range of able-bodied adults without dependents who must meet certain work requirements or complete a work and training program in order to receive SNAP food assistance. This bill died on the Senate floor.

- HB 2141, which would require both custodial and non-custodial parents to cooperate with child support to be eligible for SNAP food assistance. This bill died on the Senate floor.

- HB 2673, which would mandate that the Kansas Department for Children and Families Secretary must request a waiver from the federal government to waive SNAP rules to disallow soft drinks and candy from purchases with a SNAP EBT card. This bill was stricken from the calendar in late February 2024.

Unfortunately, these policies – and the myths around public assistance programs that fuel them – have done real harm to Kansas families who need access to them. Because of these policies, Kansas now has one of the lowest rates of SNAP participation in the nation despite having an above average rate of food insecurity when compared to other states.²⁰ Currently, Kansas is ranked 48th among all other states and DC for SNAP access. The state also ranks the 5th lowest for the rate of eligible people receiving SNAP with experts stating 3 out of every 10 eligible Kansans are not receiving the assistance they need due to state policies.





As a result of the bipartisan work of Senators Dole (right) and McGovern (left), the Food Stamp program went nationwide in 1974.

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THE REALITY OF SNAP FOOD ASSISTANCE IN KANSAS: DISPELLING MYTHS

With 1 in 8 Kansans— and 1 in 5 Kansas kids— facing food insecurity at this moment (and rising), we must create more access to food assistance for our neighbors and their families and improve SNAP access.²¹ Yet, some out-of-state public assistance opposition groups continue to push policies in the state that run contradictory to the needs of the Kansans, create barriers, and stigmatize those who do receive assistance.

Contrary to the narrative that families using these safety net programs are taking advantage of the state, most food insecure families in Kansas who desperately need this assistance are either still struggling or unable even to access SNAP food assistance. Some public assistance opposition groups claim SNAP in Kansas is rampant with “fraud.” Yet, the average benefit to recipients is about \$2 per meal and per person in the household. At the same time, the SNAP application is 16 pages long, can take more than 30 days to process, and requires the applicant to provide burdensome information and documentation.²² Attempting to defraud the program or get by solely on its benefits is simply an absurd notion that defies the reality of the program.

In Kansas, 12% of households live below the federal poverty level. However, another 27% are households that do not earn enough to afford their basic needs such as housing, child care, food, transportation, health care, and taxes.²³ These are Kansans with jobs and families. That means 447,000 Kansas households are struggling to make ends meet and are making difficult decisions everyday on how to get by and provide for their family’s needs.²⁴ Of those 447,000 struggling households, only about 20% are receiving food assistance.²⁵ The reality is undue barriers like work requirements, immigration status, application accessibility, and unrealistic income restrictions are keeping families that need help away from assistance. The reality of Kansans confronting poverty and barriers to assistance is that they are

hardworking people who simply do not make enough money.

- The cost of living in the state varies by area, but in general, a two-parent household in Kansas with two children where both parents are working would need to have salaries of close to \$100,000 to make ends meet. A single parent with one child must make over \$70,000 independently. These cost of living estimates do not account for debt and other unexpected expenses.²⁶
- Meanwhile, the legal minimum wage in Kansas is \$7.25 an hour. For many families, especially single parents, that is well below a poverty wage. Even when struggling Kansans make above the \$7.25/hour wage, they are still not making enough to make ends meet.
- For example, almost half of all personal care aids in the state live below the amount they need to thrive. The same is true for cooks and wait staff. Kansas retail salespeople, fast food workers, customer service representatives, cashiers, freight workers, and maintenance staff all also have significant numbers struggling to afford all necessary expenses.
- Studies have found that most working-age adults receiving assistance from programs like SNAP and Medicaid are already working for pay or are temporarily between jobs. For those who aren’t, most are providing unpaid care to children or other family members, attending school, or are out of work because of their own health problems.²⁷
- Research shows that over 80% of non-disabled people without young children at home worked in the past year. The vast majority of those working worked for at least 30 hours/week for at least 20 weeks out of the year. Those who reported not working most cited attending school, caregiving responsibilities, early retirement, illness, or disability as the reasons for not working.²⁸

Studies have shown time and again that putting up additional barriers to SNAP access in Kansas do little to find jobs and lift people above qualifying incomes levels.

In fact, SNAP is a more effective tool to get people in the workforce and out of poverty than denying assistance or creating burdensome barriers. There is no evidence showing that implementation of work and training requirements for able-bodied adults without dependents creates significant increases in employment.²⁹ Research shows:

- Work rates are high among SNAP households that can work. More than half of SNAP households with at least one working-age, non-disabled adult work while receiving SNAP.³⁰
- Those who receive SNAP or Medicaid are concentrated in certain jobs that tend to have lower income growth and more volatility. This suggests that many willing workers would struggle to meet work requirements. Full-time salaried work brings greater financial stability, yet a large and growing number of workers are paid hourly. They face fluctuations in income due to frequent schedule change and variable hours, less likely to receive benefits, paid time off, family leave, and retirement benefits.³¹ In Kansas, more of the labor force is working for hourly wages than for salaried wages.³²
- In that context, 68% of Kansans who participate in SNAP are in families with children.³³ That means those families need affordable child care to be able to meet work requirements.
- Research shows that half of all participants who began receiving SNAP left the program within 12 months and another two-thirds leave it within two years. Those who are on SNAP the longest tend to be elderly or have disabilities.³⁴
- Hardworking Kansans using assistance to help get by or help get back on their feet is a far cry from the “welfare-dependent” stereotype that some public assistance opposition groups use to push policies that harm Kansans. There are significant benefits to the SNAP program, which the Kansans may not see if the false narratives around SNAP in the state continue to go unweeded.

BENEFITS OF SNAP WHEN KANSANS CAN ACCESS IT

In 2020, SNAP was one of the key programs used to mitigate the damaging impact of COVID-19 because it is highly effective while being very modest. For families and individuals that qualify, SNAP provides a small amount of benefits to boost their food budget. With the average benefit of \$1.88 per person per meal, supplemental is the keyword in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.³⁵ On average, each household participating in SNAP in Kansas receives just \$171 a month to assist them with grocery purchases.³⁶ Meanwhile, the average cost of groceries a month for a family of four is close to \$1,000.³⁷ As a result, Kansas families rely on SNAP as a safety net as they navigate increasing costs and strive to build healthy lives for themselves and their families.

The best way to improve the health of Kansans is to increase access to SNAP to reflect the real needs of everyday, hardworking Kansans, instead of restricting it even more. Much research has shown that SNAP is linked to lower healthcare costs and improved health outcomes. Research demonstrates that greater access to SNAP results in reduction in hunger, improved dietary intake, improved academic performance, improved mental health, improved economic self-sufficiency, improved local economies, improved job growth, and reduction of poverty.³⁸

Access to SNAP has also been shown to improve child-well being. Research shows that economic strain and food insecurity affect the ability of a family to care for a child’s basic needs. Specifically when looking at the effects of state social safety policies like those in SNAP and TANF, strong evidence shows harm is done to children with each restrictive policy passed. For example, one study found that for each additional TANF policy that restricted access in Kansas there was a 13% decrease in TANF caseloads. An increase in TANF caseloads is associated with significant reductions in neglect cases and foster care cases. Therefore, a decrease in TANF caseloads (meaning, fewer families receiving needed

financial assistance), represents a likely increase in foster care cases. The same study found that those TANF restrictions were associated with more than 44 additional neglect victims per 100,000 population and between 19 and 22 additional children per 100,000 placed in foster care. Another study found a similar association between child welfare and SNAP access. That study found access to SNAP improved child outcomes and resulted in fewer children entering foster care.³⁹ In a state whose foster care system is often failing its children, keeping children out of the system improves outcomes for them and their families.

In addition to the many benefits for individuals and families, SNAP also boosts our local and national economy. Most households redeem benefits quickly, making it an effective form of economic stimulus. USDA studies show every dollar spent in SNAP benefits during an economic slowdown increases the overall economy by between \$1.54 and \$1.80.⁴⁰ Many of the businesses where SNAP dollars are spent are large retail chains. However approximately 80% of SNAP retailers are locally owned grocery stores, businesses, and farmers markets, which ensures SNAP dollars are being directly funneled back into the local economy and local food producers.⁴¹

With almost 390,000 Kansans food insecure, every dollar counts at the grocery store.⁴² It is clear increasing access to SNAP will boost the health of our local economies, and help pull Kansas families out of poverty, extending food budgets in a way that is sustainable for individuals, families, and the state.

CONCLUSION

Despite relentless state legislative attacks, SNAP Food Assistance remains Kansas' best tool to fight hunger and lift people out of poverty. It is a program with proven results and provides a defense against hunger and hardship for so many in our state.

Helping our neighbors is rooted in Kansas history, exemplified by Senator Bob Dole and his steadfast efforts to bring SNAP into existence. Senator Dole

recognized that ensuring no one goes hungry is not a partisan issue, rather, just the right thing to do. When Kansans come together, we can defend and strengthen programs that help all of us succeed.



"Orange and Blue Food Stamps Redeemed Here. We are helping the Farmers of America Move Surplus Foods." Credit: Collections, USDA National Agricultural Library.

SNAP: A Timeline

1939	First Food Stamp Program. Over the course of nearly 4 years, the first FSP reached approximately 20 million people at one time or another in nearly half of the counties in the United States, peak participation was 4 million, at a total cost of \$262 million. ⁴³
1961 - 1964	Pilot Food Stamp Program. In 1964, Food Stamp Act is signed into law.
1974	Nationwide Program
1977	The Food and Agriculture Act of 1977
1981	Participation Milestone: First year that Kansas SNAP participation is tracked ⁴⁴
Early 1980s	Budget Cutbacks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mid-1980s through late 1980s: Recognition of Domestic Hunger - 1988 through 2004 - Development of Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) - 1992 - Food Stamp Nutrition Education Program State Plans Approval
1993	Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act
1994	Kansas reaches a peak of 197,000 participants ⁴⁵
1999 - 2001	The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act and Other Legislative Actions
2002	The Farm Security and Rural Investment Act
2003	Kansas has one of the highest SNAP program errors rates in the country ⁴⁶
2006	Kansas gets its act together and has one of lowest SNAP program error rates in the country ⁴⁷
2008	Kansas SNAP participation exceeds its 1994 peak of 197,000 and begins a steady increase until 2014. ⁴⁸ Despite the increase, Kansas still ranked below the national average for SNAP participation. ⁴⁹
2008	The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act
2009	American Recovery & Reinvestment Act. Kansas year average of 235,461 participants. ⁵⁰
2010	Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act

2013	Kansas participation reached a new peak of 321,000 people in August of 2013. ⁵¹
2014	Agricultural Act
2015	<p>Kansas HOPE Act goes into effect.⁵² HB 2258, this act was model legislation lobbied for by Florida based conservative group, Opportunity Solutions Project (OSP).⁵³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kansas reinstates a modified ban on drug-felony offenders' access to SNAP.⁵⁴ - Child support cooperation is now required for SNAP recipients.⁵⁵ - Electronic verification is now required for SNAP applications under the guise of reducing the likelihood of fraud.⁵⁶ - 36-month TANF time limit, significantly lower than the federal maximum of 5 years.⁵⁷ - Prohibited broad-based categorical eligibility banned.⁵⁸ - TANF recipients are prohibited from using cash assistance to purchase a wide variety of items including liquor stores, nail salons, and movie theaters.⁵⁹ - Families are only allowed one exempt vehicle when they are determining their household worth.⁶⁰ - Increased work requirements for pregnant women and mothers of infants receiving cash assistance. Federal law allows a new mother 12 months to care for her infant before she must meet the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) work requirements; the HOPE Act cuts that period for new Kansas mothers to three months. - Codified into law cross-program "sanctions," revoking an entire family's eligibility for multiple assistance programs after failure to follow administrative regulations and requirements.
2016	<p>HOPE act part II is enacted as amendments to K.S.A. 39-709.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 24-month TANF time limit instrumented, 36-month limit only allowed in emergency circumstances.⁶¹
2018	Farm Bill
2020	Kansas has one of the lowest participation rates in the country at 43rd out of 51. ⁶²
2021	Direct Certification is implemented in Kansas. Folks that qualify for free or reduced lunches automatically qualify for SNAP and TANF. ⁶³
2022	2022 participation levels in Kansas are back to 1995 levels, with an average of just under 200,000 participants ⁶⁴ and Kansas legislature attempts to pass further restrictions on DCF, but fails ⁶⁵ . A nationally recognized collaborative campaign between Kansas DCF and KHDE bridges the gap between WIC and SNAP access ⁶⁶ . Kansas bans DCF waivers that would relax time limits on SNAP access for childless adults ⁶⁷ .
2023	Kansas expanded the category of "able-bodied adults without dependents" (ABAWDs) from 18- to 49-year olds to include 50- to 59-year-olds, placing them in a more restrictive category ⁶⁸ .

About Kansas Appleseed

Kansas Appleseed: is a statewide organization that believes Kansans, working together, can build a state full of thriving, inclusive, and just communities. We conduct policy research and analysis and work with communities and partners to understand the root causes of problems and advocate for comprehensive solutions. For more information, please visit www.kansasappleseed.org.

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