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Childcare Voucher: A Qualitative/Pilot Study, Exploring the Experiences of Expectant and Parenting Teenage Mothers in Washington, District of Columbia (DC)

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ABSTRACT

Objective: The aim of this study is to use human-centered design and journey mapping to explore the experience of Expectant and Parenting Teens in the District of Columbia (DC) in accessing childcare while attending school and/or seeking employment.

Methods: In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 young mothers who had experienced teenage pregnancy and 10 providers assisting young parents in accessing support services, including childcare. Journey map interview guide (Table 1) was used for this interview. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim to ensure that the participants' statements were maintained in the transcripts. A thematic analysis was used to examine data and themes arising from the interviews. Open and axial coding was used to code the interview transcripts and organize them into categories and themes following an inductive and deductive approach.

Results: The design team conducted 30 deep-dive interviews with 20 young parents (ages 18 - 25) and 10 providers assisting young parents in accessing support services, including childcare. The young parents interviewed were majority Black (66%) and Hispanic (19%), and largely live in wards 7 (33%) and 8 (28%). Their children's average age was 4 years (range 2 months -8 years).

Discussion: Three main themes and categories were identified as (1) Motivation to finish high school and find employment, (2) Challenges of accessing childcare voucher and quality childcare (3) Support staff (school councilors) experience.

Keyword

Adolescent mothers, Expectant and Parenting Teens, Childcare, Childcare voucher.

Introduction

Motherhood is an important event in the life of a woman [1]. Motherhood role is a process that requires acquiring necessary abilities, learning appropriate behavior, and establishing in maternal identity [2].

Shift to motherhood needs physical, psychological, social and

cognitive preparedness; unfortunately, teenage mothers are not ready to becoming a mother [3]. Motherhood becomes cumbersome and difficult for teenage mothers, who are undergoing maternal role and developmental task of adolescence simultaneously [4]. To successfully transition, they must adapt with adulthood social roles, physical changes of puberty, significant brain development, and nurturing of an infant [5]. Most of teenage mothers are not in a good socio economic condition so transition to motherhood becomes problematic for them [6].

Studies have shown that, teen mothers face many physical,

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psychological, social and spiritual challenges. Therefore, there is a constant need for support and training [7], to address inability to planning and decision making, lack of maternal skills [7] encountering unknown situations and major changes [2], high risk pregnancy and birth [8], mental health problems(depression, anxiety, shock, low self-efficacy, isolation) [3] multiple responsibilities [9], role conflict and identity confusion, inadequate social and spiritual support [9], disruption of education and employment [8,7], financial problems [7], social stigma and religious or cultural negative reaction [8,7], inappropriate behavior of health care providers [8], and family conflicts [8].

Providing high quality services requires understanding of the needs of teenage mothers, their challenges and capabilities. Exploring teenage mother's experience of motherhood can generate new insights for policymakers and health care providers resulting in efficient response to the challenges of teenage mothers [10].

Childcare is a necessity for families across the country who need to work or participate in education or training. Quality childcare can sometimes cost as much as or more than other major expenses such as healthcare, food, college tuition, and housing. The Childcare Subsidy Program helps families pay their childcare fees. As a result, families are more likely to have access to quality childcare that benefits both the child and the parents [11].

Childcare subsidies help parents pay for childcare so parents can work or participate in education and training activities. The federal government and states spent \$9.9 billion to subsidize childcare for low-income working families in 2016 [12].

Use of childcare subsidies among eligible families is low (between 7-34%, depending on the study) [13]. Lack of awareness about subsidies, the burden of application/recertification, and stigma associated with receiving a subsidy have been cited in research studies as possible reasons for low utilization rates [13].

Health systems and services are complex, and, for many, intimidating and challenging to navigate [14]. Clinicians and researchers have adapted a research approach from the marketing industry to gain insight into how individuals navigate and experience these health systems [15]. This approach has become known as 'patient journey mapping' [16].

Patient journey mapping is an increasingly popular approach to evaluating the experiences of individuals as they navigate complex and dynamic health services and systems [17]. Projects where patient journey mapping methods are used almost always place individuals at the center of the research in attempts to both understand and improve the experience of the individual and the systems that they navigate [18,19]. One specific advantage of journey map is the capacity to provide clarity about peoples' experiences as they traverse health systems rather than only capturing single episodes of care.

Human Centered Design (HCD) seeks to elicit empathy for users

to understand how different sets of people experience health, see, and address challenges and solutions within their context [20]. Washington, D.C. specifically, over 350 babies are born to teens each year. The teen birth rate is higher than the national average, with 19.3 births per 1,000 in 2018 [21]. The rate of births to younger teen's ages 15-17 was more than double the national average, 16.0 per 1000 compared to 7.2 per 1000.1 DC birth rate to Black teens was 32 per 1,000, higher than the national rate of 26.3 per 1,000. Hispanic teens in DC gave birth at a rate of 32 births per 1,000, which is also higher than the national rate of 26.7 per 1,000 [22]. Washington DC has deep socioeconomic, racial, and geographic disparities, which affect expectant and parenting youth [22]. Geographically, Washington DC has eight wards, with significant disparities in socioeconomic conditions and population health. Ward 2 and 3 are over 65% white with a median income over \$100,000 per year. Ward 7 and 8 is over 92% Black with a median income under \$40,000 per year, and poverty rates that are 25-40% in many neighborhoods. In 2016, less than 1% of teen births were from DC's most affluent wards, while greater than 50% of teen births were from DC's lowest income wards. Over 50% of expectant and parenting youth live in wards 7 and 8 [23,24].

The aim of this study is to use human-centered design and journey mapping to explore the experience of Expectant and Parenting Teens in the District of Columbia (DC) in accessing childcare while attending school and/or seeking employment.

Methods

Study design

Qualitative research is widely used in the health sciences and is regarded as the most appropriate method when exploring people's life experiences or phenomena that are sensitive or socially complex [25,26]. In this study, Human Center Design (HCD) and Journey mapping provided the 'practice framework' whereby the complex and diverse experiences of teen mothers in navigating childcare and childcare voucher could be understood [27].

Sample size determination in qualitative research has faced a lot of debate. Saturation has emerged as the 'gold standard' in qualitative inquiry [28]. Studies have shown that code saturation (i.e. the point at which no additional issues are identified) was achieved at 9 interviews, but meaning saturation (i.e. the point at which no further dimensions, nuances, or insights of issues are identified) required 16–24 interviews [28]. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted on a total of 30 interviews (20 young parents and 10 experts). In-depth interviews using journey mapping, were chosen as the primary data collection method as their structured nature allows the interviewee to 'tell their story in the deepest and richest way possible during the interview process [17,18].

Participants

Participants were eligible to participate in the study if they were: (i) resident of Washington, DC; (ii) had their first child as a teenage mother and (iii) had experience with childcare voucher application. Although, the study's emphasis was teen parenting (<19 years old), we extended inclusion criteria to maximize recruitment.

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Participants were recruited through convenience sampling using District of Columbia Network of Expectant and Parenting Teens (DCNEXT!) network partners, and snowballing. Institutional Review Approval through Howard University and informed consent was obtained from all participants before interview. Participants that met the inclusion criteria were interviewed by zoom. The interview lasted for about 1 hr. Potential participants were provided with a plain English language statement about the research. It was only after this process that interviews were carried out. This allowed the participants to consent to participate, or to opt out or cancel the interview if they did not want to proceed. Participants were given the chance to receive a \$75 gift card as a

compensation for a one-time participation.

Data Collection and Analysis

In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 young mothers who had experienced teenage pregnancy and 10 providers assisting young parents in accessing support services, including childcare. Journey map interview guide (Table 1) was used for this interview. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim to ensure that the participants' statements were maintained in the transcripts. A thematic analysis was used to examine data and themes arising from the interviews [29]. Open and axial coding was used to code the interview transcripts and organize them into categories and themes following an inductive and deductive approach [30].

Five phases of user journey map	Journey Questions					
Introduction	 I will now walk through a series of questions about your experience accessing childcare vouchers from before you ever knew you needed a voucher all the way through to receiving one and sending your child to day care (or giving up). There are five phases of a user journey - awareness, research, selection, delivery, and follow-up, so I'll be asking you to walk me through each of these. 					
Awareness	 Tell me about how you first decided you needed childcare. Tell me about how you first decided you wanted a childcare voucher. How did you feel during this time? What were you thinking? 					
Research	 How did you research childcare options? How did you research how to get a childcare voucher? How did you feel during this time? What were you thinking? 					
Selection	 How did you decide which childcare provider to go with? How was the childcare voucher application process? Can you walk me through the steps you took to access a voucher? What were the best parts of the voucher application process? What were the worst parts of the voucher application process? Total number of visits to office seeking a voucher Total number of hours spent at or talking voucher office Total number of hours spent tracking down paperwork for voucher Total number of pages needed to secure a voucher: Total number of hours, days, weeks it took to secure a voucher and enroll child in daycare If someone from the government were sitting here right now, what do you think they need to know about the experience you had? What could make the process better? How did you feel during this time? What were you thinking? If possible, would be great to collect: 					
Delivery	 Once you secured a voucher, walk me through the process you took to use it? What were the easiest parts of the process? What were the hardest parts of the process? How would you improve the process? How did you feel during this time? What were you thinking? Once you sent your child to daycare, how was the experience? What were the best parts? Were there any negative parts? 					
Follow-Up	 Once you received your voucher, was there any follow-up from the office where you received it? Did you feel supported? What was the best part of the process after you received the voucher? What was the worst part? Did you ever have to renew your voucher? If so, what was that process like? What were the best and worst parts? How would you improve the process? How did you feel during this time? What were you thinking? How would your life be different if you had received childcare and/or a voucher? 					

Table 1: Journey map interview guide.

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Used Voucher	Current Age	Number of Children	Ages of Children	Age of First Birth	Ward	Ethnicity/Race
Yes	18	1	2	16	7	Black/African American
Yes	19	1	1	18	7	Black/African American
Yes	19	2	3, 2	16	4	Hispanic
Yes	20	1	1	19	8	Black/African American
Yes	18	1	1	17	8	Black/African American
Yes	22	1	3	19	5	Black/African American
Yes	20	1	10 m	19	7	Black/African American
Yes	18	2	2 y, 2 m	16	8	Hispanic
Yes	23	3	6, 3, & 1	16	7	Black/African American
Yes	22	3	7, 3, & 1	15	8	Black/African American
Yes	24	2	5, 1	19	5	Black/African American
Yes	25	2	8, 3	16	5	Black/African American
Yes	25	2	6, 1	19	2	Hispanic
Yes	20	1	2	18	7	Prefer not to answer
Yes	20	2	3, 1	18	6	Black/African American
Yes	18	1	1	17	7	Biracial
Yes	23	1	5	18	1	Hispanic
Yes	24	1	6	18	3	Indian
Yes	20	2	1 (twins)	18	7	Black/African American

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of eligible patients aged 18 – 25 years.

Results

Characteristics

The design team conducted 30 deep-dive interviews with 20 young parents (ages 18 - 25) and 10 providers assisting young parents in accessing support services, including childcare. The young parents interviewed were majority Black (66%) and Hispanic (19%), and largely live in wards 7 (33%) and 8 (28%). Their children's average age was 4 years (range 2 months -8 years).

Interview Responses

Three main themes were identified as (1) Motivation to finish high school and find employment, (2) Challenges of accessing childcare voucher and quality childcare (3) Support staff (school councilors).

Motivation to finish high school and find employment

First, young parents are deeply motivated to finish school and find employment, and they see childcare as a key tool to achieve their goals.

"What motivated me to get childcare for her was a lot of people were saying 'oh because you're having a baby you're not going to be able to finish school You're not going to do anything with your life.' So I wanted to prove to everybody that I can finish school, and prove to my daughter that I can finish school while being pregnant and being an example for her." -Young Parent.

Challenges of accessing childcare voucher and quality childcare

However, a number of interviewees reported not knowing about vouchers.

"A lot of people don't know how to get a voucher or how to start looking for childcare."-Young Parent.

Additionally, many young parents reported not trusting childcare providers.

"You see a lot of stuff about daycare centers and your kids, so it makes you scared to send your child with someone else." -Young Parent

While some may assume young parents would be willing to place their children with any provider, we found that young parents spend a lot of time searching for quality, affordable providers and are clear about what quality means to them:

"You don't just want to put your child in any center, so you have to do your research." -Young Parent

Unfortunately, many parents reported difficulty finding care providers who met their standards and accepted vouchers:

"The childcare that I wanted, I couldn't have. I really wanted them to go to the one that had more learning things and activities they can do.... It was just so expensive. I was just like ... hopefully by next year, they can accept vouchers. They put me on a waitlist. That would have been \$1300 per month. I can't afford that and rent and a car."-Young Parent.

One of the biggest barriers to accessing care highlighted by parents interviewed is the confusing, overwhelming, and not-customer service-oriented application process:

"It was too much The process of getting a voucher during the time I was in school ... it's not an easy process." -Young Parent.

One young mom visited the DHS three times, and on the third time,

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she said, "Then they wanted more documents on [my daughter's] dad about child support. I just basically gave up."- Young parent.

"If I was just going to turn something in [to the DHS office], I would be there an hour or two. But if I had to go in and talk to somebody ... I was there all day and was going to miss school altogether." - Young Parent.

"It was a lot of paperwork. I was only like 18 so I didn't have anything under my name, so I had to bring my mom's paperwork and her IDIt was just a lot of paperwork that I didn't have It took at least six months." - Young Parent.

"I feel like a lot of the workers, they aren't very helpful or considerate. A lot of times when I call, I have to try to get in touch with somebody. They are really really rude. They talk to you like you don't know anything. Like you are stupid. Speaking to anyone from DHS is always really difficult. If you don't call by 8:30 or 9 am you will be on hold all day. You have to call as soon as they are open, it's very inconvenient." - Young Parent.

"The biggest crisis children are facing is untrained professionals We'll look at a young girl who did not fill out her application. But if she's at home and she's taking care of her siblings, and her mother's an addict and her father's an addict [They're] calling her lazy and unmotivated. So now she won't come in because [they're] looking at her and calling her lazy. Number two is disrespectful, lack of training or understanding of staff."

- Coordinator

Additionally, young parents and support staff reported difficulty accessing childcare on nights and weekends when many young parents must work, resulting in forced resignations and firings: "At night there's really no one to watch them. For my job, I had to work from 5 pm to 10 or 11 pm at night. Daycares don't run that late ... I got a job at night, but I ended up getting fired because I would always call out because I didn't have anybody to watch my kids. So that got hard." - Young Parent.

Finally, work and school requirements to receive vouchers were reported as burdensome and confusing, with some young parents highlighting the catch-22 of needing childcare in order to find employment, but being required to have employment in order to qualify for childcare:

"After I gave birth to my second They told me that I didn't qualify [for a childcare voucher]. I needed a job, but I couldn't get a job because I didn't have day care ... You have 30 days from when you get the voucher to get a job." - Young Parent.

Support Coordinators

Young parents and staff supporting them reported the voucher application process requiring an overwhelming amount of paperwork; multiple, in-person trips; long processing times, sometimes for months; and sometimes a lack of empathy and customer service from staff, ultimately discouraging young parents from seeking support:

"The turnaround time, the people reviewing the applications need to be faster. This is people's lives. They need this. That teen mom is being affected by this or using some subpar person to watch their child. We don't need to make it extremely hard."- Social Worker

"I've had youth who have turned 21 and had to get the voucher on their own and say, 'I don't understand this.' They just felt like the process, the website, and what documents they were missing ... that process is challenging. They'll say 'I didn't understand, they didn't say what I needed."" - Social Worker.

Discussion

This study was unique in using teen's lived experiences to better understand the landscape of teen parenting in Washington DC, especially relating to childcare and childcare vouchers. The paper is based on qualitative research using a combination of Human Center Design and Journey mapping. The study involved indepth interviews with 20 young female parents, who reside in Washington DC, who experienced pregnancy as a teenager and have used a childcare voucher. We also, interviewed 10 providers, who have supported these young mothers in navigating the childcare voucher process. These findings, cannot be taken as representative of the experiences of teenage mothers living in the District of Columbia. However, the paper, does provide insight on the experiences of teenage mothers in accessing childcare with voucher while attending school and/or seeking employment.

Most of the young mothers interviewed were black and located in wards 7 and 8. Previous studies, have revealed that racial differences in teen pregnancy rates are particularly pronounced in Washington DC. Overall 48% of the DC population is Black, 35% non-Hispanic white, and 10% Hispanic/Latino. In 2018 there were zero reported teen births to non-Hispanic white teens. In contrast, the DC birth rate to Black teens was 32 per 1,000, higher than the national rate of 26.3 per 1,000. Hispanic teens in DC gave birth at a rate of 32 births per 1,000, which is also higher than the national rate of 26.7 per 1,000. Non-Hispanic black mothers and Hispanic mothers are more likely than white mothers to have delayed entry to prenatal care [31]. Of the eight (8) wards in Washington DC, over 50% of expectant and parenting youth live in wards 7 and 8 [24,32].

Most participants expressed their motivation to finish high school and find employment. This finding, supports the increasing body of research that indicates that student motivation is a key component to resiliency and determination to finish school [33,34]. The reason to continue schooling is to be in a position to provide a better future for their children [35,34].

This research showed that teen mothers consider childcare services, as key to finishing high school. Teen mothers need support on many issues such as childcare, financial issues, education, and multiple needs of their own and their children [36-38]. Many young mothers, expressed the need for quality and safe childcare for their children. They spend a lot of time searching for quality, affordable providers and are clear about

what quality means to them. They also see quality childcare as a key tool in achieving their goals. Many families-especially families with low incomes-face challenges accessing quality childcare [39,40]. Other studies have reported that a significant number of young parents drop-out of school, training or work because childcare service is either unavailable, unacceptable, or too costly [41,42]. The lack of appropriate, acceptable, and affordable care for the children of teen parents severely limits the educational, training and employment opportunities of these young mothers [40,43,44]. Some studies suggest that quality childcare services delivered in a manner acceptable to and supportive of teen parents can facilitate school attendance and completion and can increase the chances of positive outcomes for young women and their children [40,43,44].

Teen mothers expressed concern that majority of the childcare opening times does not align with places of employment. Childcare needs of parents working nontraditional hour (NTH) schedule, defined as any work outside of 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on weekdays is a growing concern for policymakers trying to reduce barriers to accessible childcare. Childcare for families working these hours are less often supported by public funds [38,45-47]. School district operated programs and those serving an exclusively teen parent population are far less likely to provide summer programs [43].

Teen mothers need support through getting childcare vouchers. Unfortunately childcare application process is stressful and difficult to navigate. Other studies have reported that barriers to access to public support include; navigating the system, complex referral pathways, delays and long wait times, poor customer relationships with personnel assigned to their file and high staff turnover [48,49].

Conclusion

Teen parents and their children face many barriers to optimal development. This report has repeatedly highlighted the need to provide childcare in order to allow young parents to complete school and secure employment. Additionally, early education for those aged 0 - 3 is a stand-alone public good that is essential for early learning and laying the groundwork for future health, well-being, and success for our youngest residents.

Recommendations for service providers and policy makers

As this study, highlights and data show [50-53], there is a lack of high-quality childcare slots that accept vouchers in the District. Parents and support staff report calling around to many providers before being able to find a spot that is close enough, considered high quality by the parent, and accepts vouchers. These findings also underscore the need for high-quality childcare that young parents can trust and feel respected by. DC has already taken significant steps to fund this critical bill, passing a modest tax increase, providing an important initial investment in teacher salaries of \$75 million, and investing \$10 million in the Access to Quality Childcare Grant program to increase the supply of slots. However, the bill is not yet fully funded, and additional

investments to increase access to affordable childcare, including expanding eligibility for subsidy vouchers, is critical. The Birth-to-Three for All DC Act would go a long way toward ensuring quality and increasing availability of affordable childcare in the District by increasing compensation for early educators to be on par with their peers in the public school system, increasing subsidies to providers to cover the full cost of care, and ensuring no family in DC spends more than 10% of their income on childcare (and less for low-income families).

As these interviews showed, a number of young parents are not aware of the vouchers or don't know how to access them. DC policy makers should fund, and key government agencies should roll out, an advertising campaign to ensure all eligible families, including young families, are aware that subsidy vouchers can help them cover the cost of childcare and where to begin the application process. The advertising campaign should highlight the trustworthiness and quality of childcare providers in DC. Testimonials from young parents in DC sending their children to childcare can be used to help convince others of the benefits and trustworthiness. The campaign should be bilingual and shared through key websites and social media channels used by young people. Several interviewees suggested advertising vouchers through hospitals, birthing centers, clinics, and physician offices to ensure that young parents are aware of and connected to childcare support even before their children are born.

The Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) and Department of Health and Human Services (DHS), two key agencies, involved in childcare quality and voucher, have introduced a digital version of Childcare/voucher application . There is still a need to study the experiences of the teen mothers in the e-application, using Human Center Design and journey mapping to gain more insight in the experiences of the teen mothers in navigating the e-application.

DC NEXT! Has built a network of every organization working with teen parents and a strong team of teen parents with lived experience, all of whom stand ready to collaborate with OSSE and others to test the e-application process and reform where necessary. This report, also, underscores, many young parents across the District are uncomfortable about sending their children to childcare providers. They are dedicated to researching childcare providers and enrolling their children in providers whom they deem to be providing high-quality services.

The Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) has taken important steps to improve the quality and oversight of childcare providers in the District by launching a new Quality Rating and Improvement System called Capital Quality. OSSE should ensure that the voices and perspectives of parents, particularly young parents, are included in their definition of high quality. Specifically, OSSE could factor into their definition of quality the items identified in this report as being important to young parents such as receiving daily photos, feeling listened to and respected, seeing their children reach developmental milestones, and having

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items such as food and diapers provided. OSSE could also partner with DC NEXT!, including the Context Team of young parents, to establish a roundtable and conduct a survey to collect feedback on quality and ensure the voices of young parents are represented in the new Capital Quality system.

These interviews reveal widespread frustration with the process required to apply for and access childcare vouchers as well as simply enroll children in care. While we need to ensure full funding for childcare providers and subsidies for families to afford services, the process to access subsidies, particularly for young parents who are facing numerous challenges, is currently serving as a barrier that is reducing utilization of childcare and harming young parents' ability to graduate from high school, enroll in college and job training, and earn family sustaining wages. There is a need to reduce the amount of paperwork required, simplify forms and increase data-sharing between high schools, medical providers, and childcare providers to expedite access to childcare.

A number of interviewees reported either needing to quit their jobs or being fired from their jobs because they could not access childcare during the hours they were required to work, such as evenings and weekends. Young parents in particular are early in their lives and more likely to work in minimum wage jobs that require evenings and weekends. In order to ensure they can keep their jobs and earn an income, expanding alternative hour access to childcare is critical.

District of Columbia, does offer vouchers for "nontraditional services", which are available evenings, nights, and weekends at selected sites; however, it appears the number of providers offering these alternative hours are not sufficient, or young parents and support staff are not aware of them. OSSE should increase the availability of childcare available at alternative hours for shift workers and ensure young parents, and those most likely to work in jobs that require alternative hours, are aware of these and able to access these services easily.

As the report highlighted, the requirement to attend school or work 20 hours per week can sometimes be difficult, particularly for shift workers and for teens who may be facing significant challenges at home. Childcare should not be used as a bait for school and work. Just as there is no work or school, requirement for public school, there should be no work or school requirement for early education and care programs because they are simply the right thing to do for our infants and toddlers. If work and school requirements cannot be dropped all together, OSSE should consider ways to increase access to childcare voucher subsidies for young parents looking for employment. One approach could be to loosen the proof required to show a parent is job-searching (e.g. proof from department of employment services (DOES) or other agency of approved job search), as this may be too high a bureaucratic hurdle, and ensure all young parents are able to receive voucher subsidies for at least three to six months while they search for employment."

 Table 3: Recommendations for Considerations to Policy Makers.

- 1. Fully fund the Birth-to-Three for All DC Act.
- Increase awareness of childcare vouchers through a targeted advertising campaign.
- 3. Ensure Capitol Quality (DC's childcare quality scoring system) aligns with young family definition of quality.
- Increase availability of childcare offered at alternative hours for shift workers.
- Loosen requirements to "verify" job search with government agencies and ensure young parents can access childcare while job hunting

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