



RESEARCH REPORT

CRUEL AND USUAL HOW WELFARE "REFORM" PUNISHES POOR PEOPLE

by Rebecca Gordon

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by Rebecca Gordon

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INTRODUCTION

Last year Laura Jackson¹(Survey No. 787) lost all her welfare benefits for herself and her three children. The Brooklyn, New York resident hadn't reached her two-year benefit limits. She hadn't refused a work assignment or missed an appointment. She had, apparently, broken one rule: she'd failed to report that she and her kids each had a savings account. The total amount in all four accounts? Seventy-three cents. Unfortunately, Jackson's story is not unusual under welfare as we (now) know it.

In 1996 a Republican Congress helped President Bill Clinton keep his election promise to "end welfare as we know it." The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PROWRA) brought to a close a federal entitlement program for poor people that had been in operation since 1935. Early welfare programs were designed to provide what was called Aid to Dependent Children, later Aid to *Families* with Dependent Children (AFDC). Families receiving AFC were generally headed by poor white women, especially widows, whom the Depression had made destitute. During its the first three decades of operation, African Americans and other people of color rarely derived any benefits from AFDC.²

The Civil Rights movement and subsequent litigation opened welfare to large numbers of people of color for the first time. And for the first time, programs that had carried no social stigma became a social problem for the press and the majority white population. As AFDC expanded to serve more people of color, public support grew weaker.³ By the time Bill Clinton took office, the general public was ready for a change.

In fact the public was confused about the size and extent of the AFDC program. At a time when all federal welfare expenditures accounted for 2% of the total federal budget, polls showed that people believed welfare spending to be as high as 50% of the budget. In fact, welfare spending is dwarfed by another Depression-era

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entitlement program from which no one is embarrassed to benefit — Social Security.

In the summer of 2000, four years after Bill Clinton's legislative triumph, over 1,500 people in 13 states who have had contact with the welfare system since the reforms were instituted participated in the Welfare Race and Gender Equity Survey. The survey was designed to test for discrimination in the operation of the new welfare programs based on four factors: race, gender, language, and national origin. This report details the results of that survey.

Methodology

Researchers from the Applied Research Center collaborated with 15 community-based organizations to gather 1,512 five-page surveys in several languages. Whenever possible researchers conducted surveys in respondents' own languages, including English, Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese and Mien. Community groups lent their expert knowledge of local communities and their welfare systems, along with their rapport with community residents. Survey respondents provided their own expertise; they know better than anyone else what it takes to maneuver in the welfare maze.

Surveys were administered in places where welfare recipients can easily be found: at welfare offices, check-cashing businesses, and public-access health clinics, among others. Each completed survey was reviewed rigorously for accuracy and completeness and tabulated in a statistical database. The table below details the survey locations.

Location	Organization	Number
Atlanta, Georgia	Georgia Citizens Coalition on Hunger	109
Boston and Dorchester, Massachusetts	Welfare Rights Boston	108
Bronx and Brooklyn, New York	Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence Make the Road by Walking Fifth Avenue Committee	139
Cincinnati, Ohio	Contact Center	101
Hartford, Connecticut	Connecticut Citizens Action Group Vecinos Unidos	108
Los Angeles, California	ACORN	117
Mexico, Missouri	GRO (Grass Roots Organizing)	116
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	9 to 5 Women in Poverty Public Education	109

Location	Organization	Number
Oakland, California	Applied Research Center Asians and Pacific Islanders for Reproductive Health	141
Salem, Oregon	CAUSA	115
Salt Lake City, Utah	JEDI for Women	102
Seattle, Washington	Welfare Rights Organizing Committee	93
Selma, Alabama	Coalition of Alabamians Reforming Education	87
Sioux Falls and Pine Ridge, South Dakota	Applied Research Center	67

The survey instrument was designed to capture several different aspects of the welfare experience, including applying for benefits, work activities, school and job training, sanctions, and the process as a whole. In addition to asking 45 closed-ended questions, surveyors also recorded narrative accounts of welfare experiences. (See copy of English-language survey instrument at Appendix A.)

Of the 1,512 respondents, 1317 (87%) were female and 195 (13%) male. The tables below outline other key demographic data. For tabulations of the survey as a whole and by community, see Appendix B.

	Asian	Black	Latino	Native American	White	Other
Number	75	706	314	81	283	53
Percent	5%	46%	21%	5%	19%	4%

Despite tremendous congressional concern about teen parenting, only 7% of our sample was under 21 years of age. Most respondents (77%) were born in the

	<16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	>55
Number	3	105	513	410	275	60	118
Number	0%	7%	34%	27%	18%	4%	8%

Note: 28 respondents did not supply their ages.

United States, and 80% named English as their preferred language. Spanish was second, with 13%.

Contrary to popular media portrayals, welfare recipients have no more children than anyone else. Of our sample, 64% had 2, 1 or no children; 19% were childless. Of respondents who did have children, the average number was 2.5. The majority of respondents were single, although 16% were married.

	Single	Married	Living Together	Sep'd	Div'd	Widowed
Number	851	231	67	147	143	54
Percent	56%	15%	4%	10%	9%	3%

Note: 19 respondents did not supply marital status.

In order to achieve a closer examination of variations among survey sites, the 14 sites were ranked for a number of variables reflecting the treatment of respondents at welfare offices. These included rudeness, invasiveness, and barriers to application, along with the number of visits and length of time necessary to secure benefits, and various issues related to sanctions. This ranking process revealed major differences between the four “friendliest” and four “least friendly” sites.

Findings

The survey revealed a number of disturbing trends:

- **Devolution, the new face of “states’ rights,” has greatly exacerbated the arbitrariness of the welfare system.** The federal law gives states wide latitude in setting time limits, benefit levels and work requirements. As a result, activities that are encouraged in one state, for example working for pay while continuing to receive benefits, are prosecuted as fraud in another.
 - In Salt Lake City, Utah, almost 10% of respondents had lost their children to state agencies, compared to fewer than 1% of the respondents in the rest of the country.
 - For 61% of applicants in Brooklyn, New York, the wait for benefits was over 30 days. A hundred miles north in Hartford, Connecticut, only 34% had to wait that long.
 - Almost one-third of respondents in Los Angeles were informed that some forms of schooling might count as a “work activity,” compared to only 14% of respondents in Mexico, Missouri.
- **There is strong evidence of discrimination in all four areas the survey examines.** People of color routinely encounter insults and disrespect as they seek to navigate the various programs that make up the welfare system. Women are subject to sexual inquisitions in welfare offices and sexual harassment at their assigned work activities. People whose first language is not English encounter a serious language barrier when they have contact with the welfare

system, in spite of federal protections designed to lift that barrier. Eligible immigrants and refugees are often told to go back where they came from when they try to get help for themselves or their U.S. citizen children.

Respondents described being caught up in a system that is contradictory, unpredictable, and in many cases simply cruel.

- One woman in six had experienced sexual harassment at her work activity.
- Among those who received job training, women were significantly more likely to be sent to “dress for success” classes than men.
- Asians and Latinos were much less likely than any other respondents to be sent to job training programs.
- Among the five sites most likely to assign respondents to work activities, 67% of African Americans were so assigned, compared to 57% of whites and Asians, 65% of Native Americans, and 41% of Latinos.
- More people of color than white respondents were required to perform “workfare” (i.e., to work not for wages, but for a welfare check.) Only 28% of white respondents were enrolled in workfare programs, compared to 33% of African Americans, 37% of Latinos and 47% of Asians.
- More than a third of all women experienced personally invasive behavior from welfare office officials, especially in regard to the applicants’ sex lives.
- There was a significant language barrier for 62% of those whose first language is not English.
- **However, for many people discrimination isn’t the biggest problem with the welfare system.** Rather, the problem is the system’s general chaos and caprice. Respondents of all colors, genders and nationalities described being caught up in a system that is contradictory, unpredictable, and in many cases simply cruel.
- Fully one-third of all respondents had experienced sanctions of some form — ranging from loss of benefits to incarceration.
- More than half reported being treated rudely, and fewer than a third described the whole experience as “respectful.”
- More than 60% had not been informed that they if they are sanctioned they have a right to receive a fair hearing.

-
- Even at the four “friendliest” sites, 37% of respondents reported being treated rudely, and 38% encountered significant barriers in the application process.

Recommendations

The new states’ rights approach to welfare reform has engendered a welfare “system” rife with chaos and discrimination. History shows that the most effective action to protect the rights of poor people, and especially poor children, has been taken at the federal — not the state and local — level. Whether it is a question of guaranteeing funds for public schools that serve poor children — through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act — or of guaranteeing employment rights through the Americans with Disabilities Act, the federal government has been able to act in arenas where individual states either cannot or will not do so.

Veterans of the Civil Rights era remember well when “states’ rights” was the rallying cry for those who hoped to keep public schools segregated. In light of this recent history, most of this report’s recommendations concern steps to be taken at the federal level, where they can have the greatest and most uniform effect.

The PRWORA will be up for re-authorization in 2002, and congressional discussions will likely begin as early as 2001. Survey results suggest a number of concrete recommendations to members of Congress and their advisors:

- **Establish and centralize federal-level accountability standards for the administration of state welfare programs.** Various federal agencies have issued guidelines and regulations for the equitable administration of different parts of the PRWORA, but these do not exist in any single document.
- **Re-institute federal standards for training at all levels of personnel,** in both the operation of welfare programs and the steps necessary to prevent discrimination. These existed under AFDC, but were eliminated under the new law.
- **Redefine accountability standards for evaluation of states’ welfare performance to emphasize ending poverty rather than reducing welfare rolls.** Current PRWORA language emphasizes the reduction of rolls, but places no requirement on states to provide welfare programs that actually lift families out of poverty, or even raise them to the poverty line.
- **Raise income ceilings at the federal level to at least 140% of the poverty line,** to allow families to continue receiving benefits while earning enough to

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support themselves. This approach has worked well to help people out of poverty in a Minnesota pilot program, with the added bonus that families are more likely to stay together. Low-wage jobs alone cannot provide enough income to keep families more than one piece of bad luck away from destitution.

An alternative is to replace the concept of a “poverty line” with a Self-Sufficiency Standard. Conceived of by Dr. Diana Pearce of the University of Washington at Seattle, the Self-Sufficiency Standard is a method of computation of a minimum income standard that provides for housing, child care, food, transportation, health care, and minor miscellaneous expenses. The Self-Sufficiency Standard allows for a very modest standard of living (e.g., no restaurant meals), but unlike a poverty-level income, it is sustainable.⁴

When recipients receive too much money, this can be treated as a civil matter — the same way the federal government treats defense contractors who overcharge.

- **Don’t treat welfare overpayments as criminal cases.** Situations that arise when recipients receive too much money can be treated as civil matters, rather than as prosecutable offenses. This is, after all, the way the federal government treats major defense contractors who overcharge.
- **Increase the efficiency and efficacy of the Office of Civil Rights at the Department of Health and Human Services.** This is the entity responsible for enforcing civil rights laws that govern the operation of the welfare system. Its current operations are somewhat chaotic; the Washington office has difficulty getting reports from the eight regional offices and was unable to provide even an estimate of the number of administrative claims currently pending. When the OCR does make findings of civil rights violations, it has little means of enforcing them.
- **Create a streamlined, multi-agency system for handling legal complaints about the operation of welfare programs.** Today, each federal department that oversees some aspect of the welfare system maintains its own Office of Civil Rights, or other adjudicating agency. No one should have to negotiate a thicket of agencies in order to resolve their problems.
- **Vigorously enforce existing federal regulations that cover welfare recipients.** These include the minimum wage law, other labor laws, regulations providing for translators, and regulations to protect victims of domestic violence.
- **Restore benefits for non-citizens.** The current thicket of regulations governing the rights of different classes of immigrants is unfair and confusing. All too often some family members are eligible for benefits and others aren’t, which can make it hard for families to stay together.

-
- **Amend federal policy to augment the existing list of qualifying “work activities.”** These should include attendance at two- and four-year colleges, and classes in English as a Second Language. The present system often requires people to abandon an education that could lead to a job with a living wage in favor of a minimum-wage job or a six-week job training program leading to a low-wage job.
 - **End the use of welfare policy as a form of social engineering.** Federal welfare policies should be used to assist people to move out of poverty, not to mold the sexual and relationship practices of poor people to conform with what individual members of Congress consider “morally correct.”

Adoption of these measures would go a long way towards giving poor people a leg up, instead of keeping them down.

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF WELFARE REFORM

In order to understand the effects of the *Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996*, it is helpful to know both a little bit about both its history and its effects on major federal programs.

Some history:

The text of the 1996 Act refers to four main purposes for the new Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), the cash assistance program that replaced AFDC.

- To provide assistance to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives;
- To end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work and marriage;
- To prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and establish annual numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and
- To encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.⁵

As this list suggests, the 1996 PRWORA is actually the product of an unhappy marriage between two unsuccessful 1995 bills representing different — and to some extent, conflicting — social goals.⁶

House Republicans introduced the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 “[t]o restore the American family, reduce illegitimacy, control welfare spending and reduce welfare dependence.” The bill’s introductory language focused on the scourge of out-of-control “illegitimacy” among African Americans in particular,

and one of its purposes was to prevent poor people — and especially poor people of color — from having children. Its language included a series of measures first proposed in a 1993 Wall Street Journal article by Charles Murray, the co-author of *The Bell Curve*.⁷ Among these were withdrawal of AFDC and housing benefits for single mothers, denial of benefits to unwed minors, and a prohibition on benefits for any children born to a mother who was already receiving welfare. The bill also echoed another of Murray's proposals — allowing welfare funds to be used for the purpose of removing children from their poor mothers and placing them for adoption or in orphanages.

Some of these proposals found their way, albeit in an attenuated fashion, into the PRWORA of 1996. Under the Act, states must deny benefits to unmarried minor parents who do not live under adult supervision, and have the option of denying such benefits altogether. States also have the option, although they are not required to do so, to implement a “family cap,” effectively denying benefits to children who have the misfortune to be born 10 months or more after their mothers begin receiving welfare benefits.

Meanwhile, the Senate was busily working on its own bill, the Work Opportunity Act of 1995. Conservative senators tried to load the Senate version with provisions focusing on controlling poor women's reproductive activity, but the vagaries of the looming 1996 presidential election allowed a coalition of Democrats and moderate Republicans to defeat these. The main focus on the Work Opportunity Act proved to be the reduction of the welfare rolls, and the amplification of mandatory work requirements.

The final product, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 represents an attempt to reconcile these House and Senate visions for welfare reform. The result is a patchwork of provisions, some of which are aimed at forcing women into low-wage work, while others are designed to control poor women's sexual, relational and reproductive choices. Not surprisingly, these different goals do not always work in concert, and sometimes actually conflict.

The law's main provisions

Because the PRWORA addresses a variety of goals and effects major changes in a number of different programs, summarizing its provisions (let alone its effects) is no simple matter. The over-arching change, however, is that benefits that by federal law were once guaranteed to all eligible U.S. residents are now left to the discretion — and the mercy — of individual states. It is quite possible that when the

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next recession arrives, states' TANF funds may already be depleted, leaving eligible families with no benefits at all.

The brief summary below touches on key aspects of the law and compares its provisions to previous laws and regulations. It also illustrates the degree to which devolution has resulted in wide variations in benefits available between and within different states.⁸

Provision	Under Old Law	Under PRWORA
Basic eligibility for cash grants	AFDC provided income support to poor families with children deprived of parental support. The federal government established eligibility criteria for AFDC and states determined benefit levels.	The federal government provides block grants to the states for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Block grants also replace smaller federal emergency assistance and job training programs. States determine eligibility criteria as well as benefit levels.
Funding	AFDC funding was open-ended; federal funds matched state expenditures.	States may receive federal block grants based on one of several formulas, all of which more or less fix grants at 1994 welfare expenditure levels for each state.
Entitlement	States and the poor families living in them were entitled to AFDC as long as they met federal criteria.	No individual guarantee of benefits, but in order to qualify for block grants, states must have "objective criteria for delivery of benefits and determining eligibility."
Time limits	Recipients could receive cash benefits as long as they met eligibility requirements.	Maximum lifetime benefit of 60 months. States may exempt up to 20% of caseload from this time limit. They may also establish more stringent time limits, as 20 states have done.
Education, job training, and qualified work activities	States were required to provide basic and secondary education, ESL, job skills training, job development and placement and job readiness. Post-secondary education was optional.	After 20 hours of work per week for single-parent families (or 30 hours per week for two-parent families), work participation may expand to permit job skills training related to employment, or education directly related to employment.
Work requirements	An increasing proportion of a state's caseload was required to participate in JOBS (a now-defunct federally-funded job training program) activities for at least 20 hours per week. This ranged from 15% in 1994 to a scheduled 75% in 1997.	After 24 months (with some exemptions) TANF recipients are required to perform a qualified "work activity." In 2000 the requirement for single parents was 30 hours per week (or 20 hours if they had children under 6) and for two-parent families, 35 hours per week.

Provision	Under Old Law	Under PRWORA
Medicaid	<p>Federal law required that certain classes of people receive medicaid. Other groups might be covered at states' option.</p> <p>AFDC recipients were entitled to one year of transitional Medicaid when increased earnings put them over the income eligibility limits.</p>	<p>States must provide medical assistance to individuals based on the AFDC eligibility requirements they had in place on 7/16/96, but they may end Medicaid eligibility for adults who are terminated from TANF for failure to work.</p> <p>This provision stays in place, but sunsets in 2001.</p>
Childcare	Was guaranteed to working AFDC recipients, or those participating in the JOBS program. One-year transitional benefit for recipients who left AFDC because they found work.	No guarantee of childcare, but a separate block grant allows states to increase their supply of subsidized childcare. Parents of children under 6 who cannot find childcare may not be terminated for failure to work, but time limits still apply.
Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for children	Children with disabilities received benefits under the same standards as adults.	Creates new definition of disability, under which children must meet a more stringent standard than adults and show "marked and severe functional limitations." Learning disabilities and behavior disorders are explicitly excluded.
Performance bonus to states that move recipients into work	No provision.	\$200 million per year available for bonuses, in addition to block grants.
Immigrants	Immigrants legally residing in the United States were eligible for SSI, AFDC, food stamps and Medicaid.	Most legal immigrants are not eligible for any of these programs or TANF. There are exemptions for certain groups of immigrants, including some refugees and asylum seekers. PRWORA language cites a "compelling government interest" in removing the "incentive" for illegal immigration created by the availability of public benefits, although undocumented immigrants were never eligible for these.

"Qualified" work activities include the following: unsubsidized or subsidized employment, on-the-job training, work experience, community service, up to 12 months of vocational training, or providing child care services to individuals who are participating in community service.

The new law has major effects on how welfare programs operate around the country. For example, TANF work requirements often prevent women from getting the kind of education that might actually lift them out of poverty. Under the PRWO-RA, states may count education as a work activity for only 20% of their caseload, meaning that 80% of recipients must either abandon hope of getting more education or squeeze it on top of their other work activities and family life.

As a result, colleges are seeing major declines in enrollment of welfare recipients. For example, at the City University of New York enrollment of welfare recipients went from 27,000 to around 17,000 between 1994 and 1997. Similar enrollment in Massachusetts' community colleges showed a 50% decline over the same period.⁹ This is particularly disturbing because even a single year of post-secondary education can have a major effect on earning capacity.

The survey's results reflect this forced exodus of welfare recipients from post-secondary education. Only 36 of the 100 respondents who were attending community college were allowed to count their education as a work activity. Of the 31 who were attending a four-year institution, only 13 were allowed to count their education as work.

The rules governing eligibility of immigrants are the most complex of all. Different rules apply depending on when an immigrant entered the country (before or after August 22, 1996), and what program an immigrant applies for, as well as a number of other criteria, including whether they are active-duty military personnel or spouses or children of active-duty personnel, and the country from which they arrived.¹⁰

A number of the new law's provisions represent attempts to use economic measures to leverage various forms of social engineering — from controlling women's sexual and relationship choices to redefining immigration policies. Some of these measures are summarized in the table on the next page.

Provision	Under Old Law	Under PRWORA
Convictions for drug-related crimes	No provisions	Life-time exclusion from federal benefits, including food stamps and TANF, for anyone convicted of a felony drug charge. States may opt out of this provision or reduce the exclusion period.
Teenage parents	AFDC benefits available regardless of parents' age.	Unmarried parents under 18 must live with their own parents or in other adult-supervised setting to receive benefits.
"Illegitimacy" bonus	No bonus, but law required provision of family planning services to recipients who requested them.	The law establishes a bonus for states with reduced numbers of out-of-wedlock births and abortions. The top five states will receive a bonus of up to \$20 million each.

This welter of changes in laws, rules and regulations has made administration of the various welfare programs much more complex. It is ironic that one of the elements of the old food stamp program that was eliminated in the PRWORA is a federal requirement for training of states' employees.

Meeting the goals

It is not yet clear how successful states will prove in reducing "illegitimacy" or increasing the number of two-parent families, but it is clear that the country is meeting one of President Clinton's goals for the PRWORA: welfare rolls are definitely being reduced, as the chart below illustrates. In fact, by December 1999, the number of cash assistance recipients stood at half the 1996 number. In three years, over six million people lost their benefits.

Fiscal Year	AFDC/TANF Recipients	Perecent Reduction
1994	14,225,651	0%
1995	13,660,192	4.0%
1996	12,644,915	7.4%
1997	10,823,002	14.4%
1998	8,778,815	18.9%
1999	7,187,753	18.1%
Dec. 1999	6,274,555	12.7%
Total reduction 1994 - December 1999		56%

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families
Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)
Program Third Annual Report to Congress, August 2000

What has happened to those six million people? Nobody knows. But there are some troubling indications that many of those who have left are not doing very well. Between 1995 and 1997, at a time of great economic expansion, the number of children in extreme poverty (living at less than half the federal poverty line) actually increased by 400,000.¹¹

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Estimates of the number of former welfare recipients who are currently working vary. One study suggests that 61% of those who have left welfare are working.¹² Other studies are considerably less sanguine. For example, a comparison of 10 years of data for welfare leavers taken from the U.S. Census Bureau's March Current Population Study shows that in 1998 only 29.6% of respondents said they had worked any hours in the previous week. Furthermore, only 21.7% of the households had earnings above the poverty line, and 23.5% had earnings below 75% of the poverty line. Only 43.8% of the households where former welfare recipients lived had any earnings at all.¹³

CHAOS, CONFUSION AND GOVERNMENT LAWBREAKING: PRODUCTS OF DEVOLUTION?

Last year Janet Murphy (Survey 111) spent 30 days in Santa Rita, the jail for Alameda County, California. During the month she was away, her two children, both under twelve, pretty much took care of themselves. A neighbor looked in on them every day, but they got themselves up, fed and to and from school. Murphy considers herself lucky; at least she didn't lose her kids to "the system," as commonly happens when women go to jail.

What was Janet Murphy's crime? She was caught doing exactly what welfare reform was designed to make her do: she started working at a minimum wage job. Her job didn't pay enough to support her and her kids, so she used her TANF check to supplement her earnings without reporting it, resulting in an overpayment of her welfare benefits. In California, that's welfare fraud.

To place Murphy's situation in context, it is helpful to take a look at what it costs to live in California. According to computations by the California Budget Project, "A single parent family needs an annual income of \$36,830, equivalent to an hourly wage of \$17.71 [more than three times California's minimum wage of \$5.75]. Regional estimates ranged from \$31,500 to \$44,170."¹⁴

It's too bad Murphy doesn't live in Minnesota. In May 2000 news of that state's innovative project in welfare reform hit the national news. The federal Department of Health and Human Services issued a triumphant press release. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the wire services in turn trumpeted the findings of a report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program, commonly known as "MFIP." Originally a pilot project in several counties, a modified (and watered-down) version of MFIP now serves as Minnesota's statewide welfare program.

What was MFIP's great innovation? Under the program, recipients remained eligible for welfare until their income reached 140 percent of the poverty line. The

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report's conclusion? "The combination of higher earnings and welfare payments for working families led to increased income and reduced poverty."¹⁵ In Minnesota, you can supplement earnings with a welfare check until you reach a stable income level. In Alameda County, California, you don't have that choice. If you do it anyway, you can be sent to jail.

The devolution "miracle"

When Congress passed the 1996 PRWORA, the buzzword "devolution" reverberated through the halls of the Capitol and in state houses around the country. For the new Federalists in Washington, devolution heralded an end to federal responsibility for poor people — and the beginning of an era in which important powers would devolve to state and local governments, where they rightfully belonged. To the states, devolution promised a bonanza of unrestricted funding, in the form of block grants they could spend as they liked, restricted only by the very general guidelines of the Act.

Proponents of devolution argue that allowing every state and county to set its own welfare policy produces sounder programs that more aptly fit the needs of each locality. States with high unemployment can decide to accept the federal five-year lifetime TANF benefit limit, while others might do as Utah has done, and establish a 36-month lifetime limit.

Work requirements also vary from state to state. Thirty-eight states require some work immediately from single parents; 43 states require some work from two-parent families. Most states allow exemptions from work requirements for families meeting certain criteria, but these vary as well from state to state. Exemptions include: disability (34 states); caring for infants (44 states); caring for a disabled family member (28 states); old age (27 states); victim of domestic violence (24 states); pregnancy (20 states); inability to find childcare for parents with children under six (19 states). ¹⁶

Not incidentally, there is a substantial incentive for states to create stricter limits than those specified in the federal law: unspent block grant money goes back to a state's general fund, to be spent however it chooses. (Selma, Alabama devised a unique method of keeping people off the welfare rolls, the survey revealed. They moved the welfare office five miles outside town, to a location that is not served by public transportation!) The table in Appendix C shows how much each state had recouped at the end of the federal Fiscal Year 1999.

There is a substantial incentive for states to create stricter limits. Unspent block grant money goes back to a state's general fund.

How well has devolution worked? Have different jurisdictions around the country in fact developed varied policies that fit the needs of local welfare clients? Survey results demonstrate that policies do indeed vary at every level — by state, by county, by individual welfare office, down to the daily decisions made by each caseworker. In fact, the one quality common to the welfare systems in all the locations where the survey was given is their overwhelmingly arbitrary nature. Rather than bringing forth a more finely-tuned set of policies, the survey suggests that in many cases devolution has exacerbated existing inequalities and created new ones.

The administration of universal federal programs was (and remains) confusing, as well. Some, like WIC (a nutritional program for “Women, Infants and Children”) and food stamps, are administered by the Department of Agriculture, while AFDC was the province of Health and Human Services. Devolution has only made the bewildering landscape of requirements, programs, and procedures that much more difficult for poor people to traverse.

For all the differences among programs and jurisdictions, the survey produced one constant result: being “on welfare” is a miserable, humiliating job. As one respondent said when asked if a caseworker had ever been rude or disrespectful, “When are they ever not?”

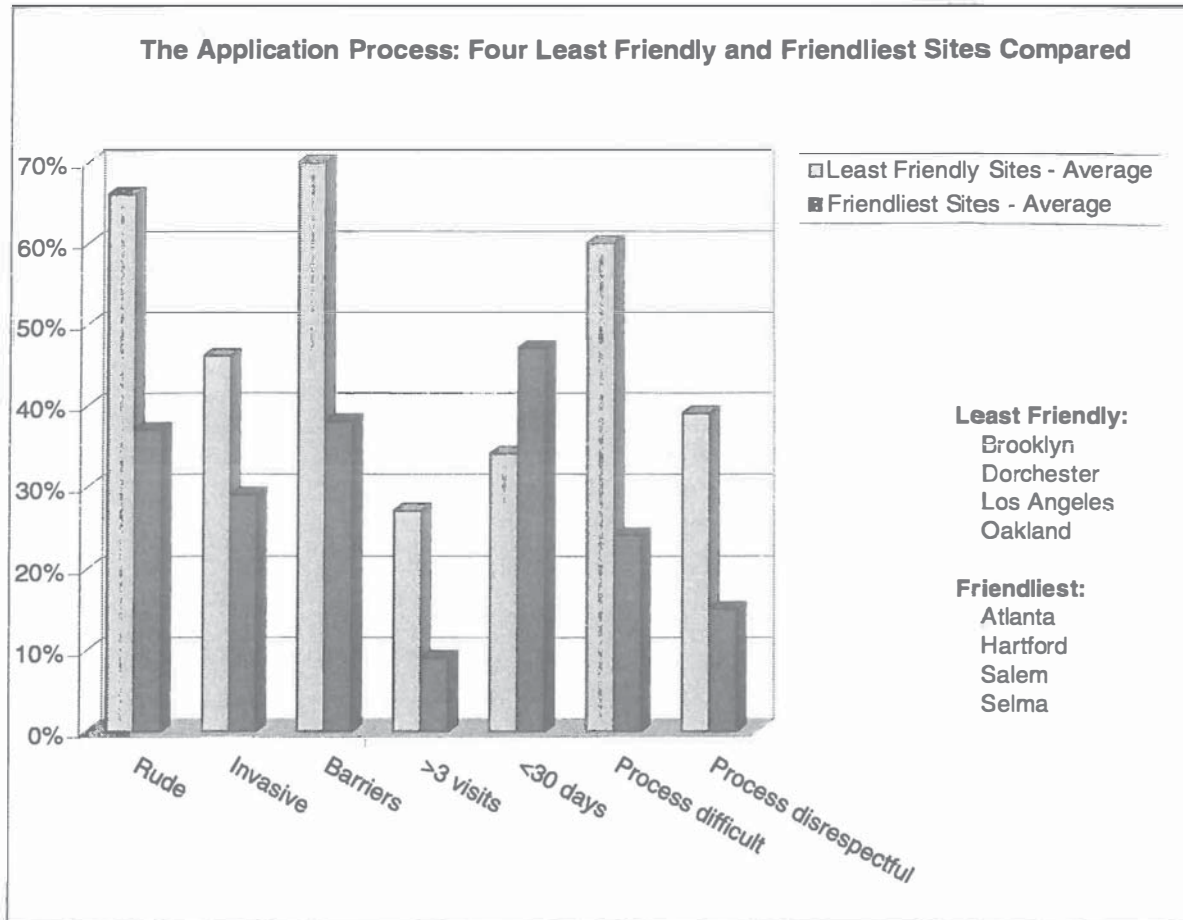
Differences from state to state:

Under the old system, AFDC had a federal floor, below which poor children would not be allowed to fall. TANF replaces the floor with a federal ceiling — an absolute limit on the amount of federal money available to assist poor families.

The biggest differences among states pertain to eligibility requirements, benefit levels and time limits. States are not permitted use federal funds to make benefits available at more generous levels than those defined in the PRWORA, although they may — and some do — augment federal programs with state funds. On the other hand, the states may apply harsher restrictions than those set at the federal level — and they have a financial incentive to do so. For example, the federal lifetime limit for receiving TANF is 60 months. Respondents in Salt Lake City, Utah, however, live under a stricter, 36-month limit. Connecticut’s is even stricter — 21 months.¹⁷

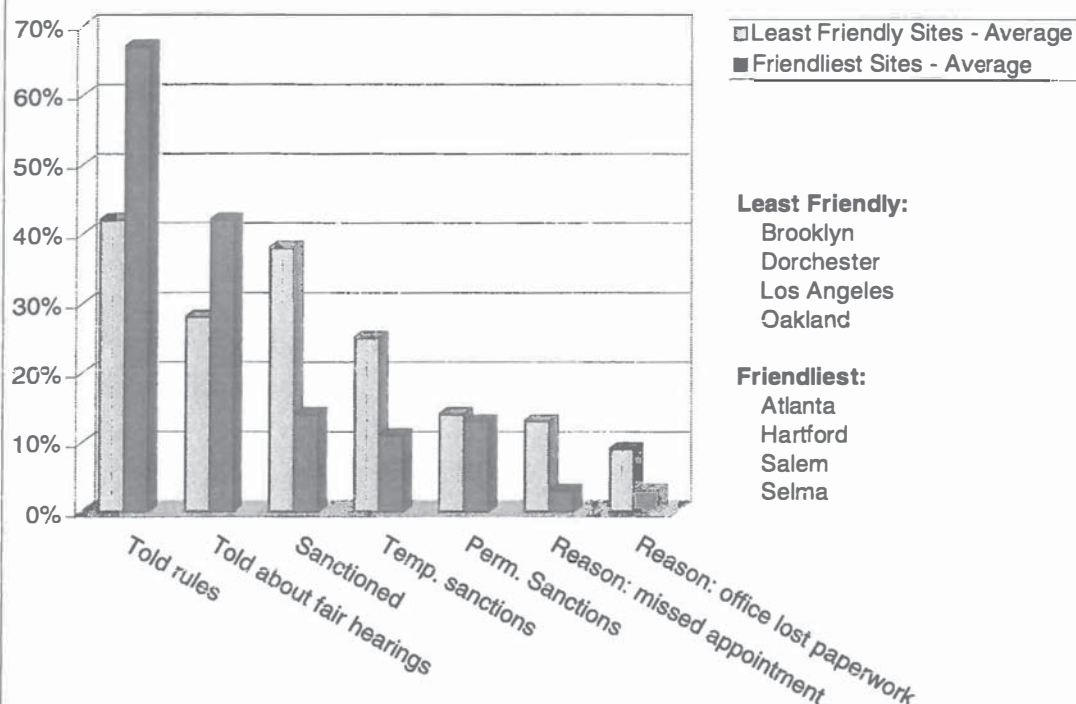
The experience of applying for benefits varied tremendously from state to state. The 14 sites were ranked for a combination of 10 variables¹⁸ indicating that a respondent had a negative or positive experience. The four sites designated “least friendly” (in Dorchester, Brooklyn, Oakland and Los Angeles) show striking dif-

ferences from the four “friendliest” sites (Atlanta, Hartford, Salem and Selma), as the graph below suggests. (“Friendly” is a relative term in this context, however. Even at the the four friendliest sites, more than a third of respondents reported experiencing rudeness and barriers to the application process.)



The “least friendly” sites were also more likely to impose sanctions, and to impose harsher sanctions, than their “friendlier” counterparts,” as the graph on the next page indicates.

The Sanctions Process: Four Least Friendly and Friendliest Sites Compared



Interestingly, when these same least friendly and friendliest sites were compared for programmatic variables (e.g., work requirements, availability of childcare), in most instances there was no difference between the two groups of sites. The difference was in how people were treated as human beings. See the table below for details.

Variable	Least Friendly	Friendliest
Work activity required	45%	42%
Received needed childcare	64%	65%
Workfare (received welfare check, not wages)	11%	3%
Told school could count as "work activity"	20%	20%
Told school respondent was attending could count as "work activity"	15%	9%
Sent to job training	28%	30%
Job training type: job search	19%	20%
Job training type: "dress for success"	14%	10%
Job training type: computer	6%	7%

What's in a name? Even the same benefits have different official and informal names in different states. A first step in administering the survey in each state was to clarify the terminology. For example, the benefit known as Medicaid in many states is called MediCal in California and Oregon Health Plan, or OHP, in Oregon. More confusing still, OHP actually encompasses two separate benefits: Medicaid and the federal Children's Health Insurance Program, or CHIP. CHIP is a little-known federal program that provides low-cost health insurance for children in poor families with incomes above the Medicaid threshold. In Georgia, however, CHIP is known as PeachCare. TANF is known by almost 50 different names, including CALWORKS (California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids), JOBS (Oregon's Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Program) or Missouri's Beyond Welfare. In other states, it's just "welfare," "TANF," or "cash grants." This proliferation of programs makes it difficult to compare benefits across jurisdictions.

Distribution methods: States and smaller jurisdictions also use different methods to distribute benefits, and those differences affect the size and flexibility of benefits. In some states, welfare checks arrive by mail. In Alameda County, California, two check-cashing businesses have the welfare check distribution concession, which means that most people end up paying a check-cashing fee to use their money. Other jurisdictions use direct deposit, requiring recipients to have bank accounts. Few recipients can maintain the minimum balances necessary to avoid bank fees, so they lose part of their benefits each month to the bank.

Some jurisdictions issue debit cards instead of checks. Banks sometimes charge their welfare customers ATM fees each time they use their debit cards to withdraw cash from their own accounts — even when they don't charge similar fees for their other customers.

In Oregon, instead of receiving food stamps, you "join" the Oregon Trails club, and get an Oregon Trails card, an electronic debit card used for food purchases. In practice, this method of distributing food stamps restricts recipients' food-buying options to large chain stores, which can process the Oregon Trails cards. Farmers' markets and small neighborhood stores don't have the equipment to process the cards, survey respondents said.

Welfare reform has created another problem for food stamp recipients. Studies show that even though they are still eligible to receive them, many families lose their food stamps when they leave TANF. This happens for a number of reasons. Either through oversight or through "strategic incompetence," workers may fail to inform recipients of their continued eligibility. But a quirk in the welfare reform

Banks often charge their welfare customers ATM fees each time they use their debit cards to withdraw cash from their accounts.

law also comes into play here. Often people leaving TANF because they have found jobs do not know that the way they close their welfare cases may jeopardize their eligibility for food stamps. If they report their new earnings, they should be informed of their right to go on receiving transitional food stamps. If they simply fail to show up for recertification, because they assume they are ineligible and want to avoid the hassle, they lose this benefit.¹⁹

Variations within states:

Within the limits set at the federal and state levels, each county in the country operates its own welfare system. Laura Murphy would not have had to move all the way to Minnesota to escape prosecution for working while collecting benefits. If she'd lived across the Bay in neighboring Marin County, California (whose population is 85% white²⁰), she'd never have gone to jail. A county welfare fraud investigator was surprised to hear about Alameda's approach, saying, "I can't remember the last time"²¹ someone went to jail in Marin County for welfare fraud.

Marin County also considers over-payments made through administrative error to be unrecoverable. "It's our mistake, so we lose," says the investigator. By contrast, a former Alameda County resident, who has since relocated to Missouri, had her 1999 California state income tax refund withheld because of a supposed over-payment dating back to 1989.

Sometimes policy variations within states appear reasonable. Does it make sense for Sioux Falls, South Dakota, with an very low unemployment rate of 1.2%, to apply the same emergency assistance requirements as Rapid City, with its more variable pattern of seasonal employment? Probably not. But on the other hand, does it make sense for some South Dakota counties to require individuals seeking emergency assistance to plead their individual cases at a meeting of the county board of supervisors, while Sioux Falls' Minnehaha County maintains a welfare department for this purpose?²²

Variations within individual counties:

Step into the welfare office on the north side of Salem, Oregon, and you'll see some tables and chairs, a bank of computers for job search, and some forms in triplicate to be used when the clients, most of whom are Latino/a, want to leave messages for their workers. In the office on the south side of town, which serves a primarily white clientele, there's a whole room devoted to computers and materi-

als for job seekers: three pamphlets on preparing resumes; lists of Oregon state government job openings; descriptions of hundreds of jobs and professions, with qualifications for each; pamphlets on selecting good childcare, and one that invites people to apply for foods stamps, which are “not just for families with kids.”

Mistreatment, malfeasance, and misery

Catch 22 in Brooklyn: At the end of Fiscal Year 1999, New York state had recouped far more funds from its TANF block grant than any other state: \$684,146,000. (Ohio was a distant second at \$150,000,000.) The state, and especially New York City, is noted for finding ways to keep people from receiving benefits. One method is to make it impossible for people to keep their appointments with case workers.

When you walk into the welfare office at 500 De Kalb Ave. in Brooklyn, all you can see in the dark hall is a security guard keeping watch over a bank of dirty white phones. Long lines of people wait to call their case workers for permission to go upstairs to the actual waiting room. There’s no point in talking to the security guard; he won’t answer you, but stares through you as though you don’t exist. Finally it’s your turn to make the call, but your case worker’s line is busy, or more likely, there’s no answer. You can easily miss your appointment and lose your benefits while spending a couple of hours downstairs, trying to get clearance to ascend to the waiting room.

Suppose you do gain access to the noisy, windowless waiting room. Now you have new hurdles. You get in a line to let the one of the receptionists behind the thick glass windows know you’re there. Don’t try to ask them questions; they won’t talk to you. Often they’ll sit behind the glass and eat their lunches, staring impassively out at the crowd. Once again, the only human being in an official capacity who is not behind bulletproof glass is the security guard. Don’t bother. He won’t talk to you.

Even in the dim light you can see that the waiting room is filthy. Dozens of women and children wait to be seen. It’s not unusual to see both children and adults crying tears of frustration. One respondent who had lost her home and all her possessions in a fire had been told she would receive an emergency check. She had been waiting for two days, but no one would speak to her. On the third day, she became so desperate she finally began screaming and crying.

You can easily miss your appointment — and lose your benefits — while just trying to get clearance to go up to the waiting room.

Going to a welfare appointment, or a “face-to-face” as it’s called, is an all-day affair. Most respondents in Brooklyn recalled spending all day several days in a row in an effort to speak with their workers. People familiar with the system pack a lunch. One respondent had given up after weeks of trying to get her caseworker to return her phone calls, so she went to the office, where the worker refused to speak to her — because she didn’t have an appointment. Others said they were afraid to leave their seats in the waiting room even to go to the bathroom or get something to eat at the vending machines in the hall, for fear they’d miss their call during those few minutes — and lose their benefits.

An elderly man with diabetes had received a notice to appear for a 9:00 a.m. appointment on a Monday. He waited all day Monday and Tuesday. At 12:30 on Wednesday, he had to leave for his monthly doctor’s appointment. “You watch,” he told a researcher, “They’ll call me while I’m gone,” which is in fact what happened. Upon being told that his client had to leave for a doctor’s appointment, the worker replied, “That’s not my problem.” The word chosen by most respondents to describe their experiences with the Brooklyn welfare system was “humiliating.”

A few other vignettes from the New York City welfare system: A caseworker told a Latina respondent, “These fuck-you Hispanics just come here to beg.” When she complained to a supervisor, she was told that if she didn’t want that caseworker, they’d close her case. They then denied her emergency Medicaid for her daughter, who is a U.S. citizen, because the applicant was born in Colombia.

A different caseworker asked a woman for her children’s ages. On being told they were 11, 12, 13 and 15, he replied, “There must have been no television in your country back then” — implying that having sex must have been her only form of entertainment.

A respondent lost her benefits when she missed an appointment because her son was having an asthma attack and she didn’t want to leave him alone. Another lost her benefits because she couldn’t find a childcare setting for her two severely asthmatic children where the providers knew how to use the equipment to administer their medication. Rather than go to her work assignment she sacrificed her benefits to stay home with her children.

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Sanctioning misery:

New York’s is not the only system that frequently sanctions recipients who have reasonable excuses for missing appointments or work assignments. A Cincinnati woman was sanctioned when she missed an appointment with her caseworker

because she was in the hospital giving birth — although she later presented a doctor's letter as corroboration. She and her husband were sanctioned a second time, when her husband was assigned to two job training programs that met simultaneously in two different places (Survey 233).

What recourse do recipients have in cases like these? The federal law says they are entitled to a fair hearing, but fewer than half of the survey's respondents had been informed of that right. Many of those who did request a hearing reported facing a new problem. When one Hartford, Connecticut respondent had her benefits terminated permanently, she applied for a hearing. On the day of the hearing, she was told that her worker had been switched and that therefore the hearing had been canceled, but that she was free to reapply for benefits. (Survey 158) This is apparently a common stratagem in Hartford; several respondents reported the same experience.

A delay or temporary loss of benefits can be a catastrophic event for a poor family. For example, when the Milwaukee, Wisconsin welfare system suddenly cut off all benefits for one respondent (Survey 854), she requested a fair hearing. The county lost its case at the hearing and was ordered to restore her benefits retroactively, but this was never done, so she could not pay her mortgage. When the bank then foreclosed on her home, she managed to find an apartment and applied for, and was granted, emergency aid — but the funds were never disbursed, so she lost the apartment.

Forced to seek lodging in a shelter, she requested that her children be placed in foster care. The county placed them with her bedridden mother, in a setting where they had previously been abused. When the respondent complained, the county instituted a no-contact policy. When she was interviewed in July 2000, she had not seen her children in seven months. Often recipients are sanctioned for events over which they have no control. Of the 503 respondents who had been sanctioned, almost 20% (99) reported the reason was that their paperwork had been lost in the welfare office.

Lose your benefits, lose your children:

Each state has its own quirks. In Utah many women are losing their children within the first two months after they hit Utah's 36-month lifetime TANF limit. Nine of 103 of Utah respondents (almost 9%) had their children taken away and put in foster homes — where, incidentally, foster parents were paid more for caring for these children than the respondents had received in TANF payments.

A delay or temporary loss of benefits can be catastrophic for a poor family.

As respondents and staff at survey partner JEDI for Women explain, welfare case-workers inform Family and Child Services a month after a TANF family reaches its lifetime benefits limit. Within a month, Family and Child Services makes an unannounced visit to the family's home to determine its fitness as a place for children. One respondent's weeping son was removed from her home with no investigation whatsoever, because at the moment when the visitor from Family and Child Services arrived, she was tending his bloody nose (424). Another was told she didn't have enough canned goods in her pantry, not too surprising a situation as her welfare benefits had been terminated. Her children were taken, too.

Still another woman lost her children on laundry day. She'd had her kids throw their dirty clothes down to the foot of the stairs so she could bag it up and take it to the laundromat. The FCS worker walked in, observed the pile of clothes and promptly removed the children from this "unfit" home. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a woman who had managed to leave an abusive situation, only to lose her children because she had "allowed" them to see her being beaten up. In most of these cases, it was the loss of benefits that precipitated a visit from FCS and subsequent breakup of the family unit.

JEDI for Women staff say they spend most of their time at the county courthouse advocating for former welfare recipients trying to reunite with their children.

Government lawbreaking

From Georgia to Washington, the posters adorn the walls of the welfare offices. Admiring children gaze up at their dressed-for-success mother as she leaves for her new job. "Work — For Your Future and Theirs." Whether it's called "Jobs First" in Connecticut, OWF ("Ohio Works First") in Ohio, or "W-2" in Wisconsin, most states have instituted welfare application procedures designed to bypass TANF and put applicants to work right away.

Some states scrupulously observe federal Department of Labor regulations, which specify that workfare workers are covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act and must be paid at least minimum wage. According to the Department of Labor's guidebook on the subject, "federal employment laws, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act, Unemployment Insurance, and anti-discrimination laws, apply to welfare recipients as they apply to other workers. The new welfare law does not exempt welfare recipients from these laws."²³

In Wisconsin, on whose highly-touted W-2 program much of the federal welfare reform program was modeled, welfare agencies routinely circumvent the Act by describing work as job training. Of the 69 respondents who were required to perform a work activity in order to qualify for benefits, 20 (29%) were placed in “job training” at large non-profits, where they earned only their welfare checks at well under minimum wage. But were these genuine training programs? Not according to the U.S. Department of Labor. According to the same regulations, an activity can only be considered “training” (and therefore exempt from minimum wage requirements) if it meets four criteria:

- Training is similar to that given in a vocational school;
- Training is for the benefit of the trainees;
- Trainees do not displace regular employees;
- Employers derive no immediate advantage from trainees’ activities²⁴

What was the “training” these survey respondents in Milwaukee, Wisconsin received? Most worked in capacities not remotely resembling training. Some did warehouse work for Second Harvest, a large food bank. Others counted and bundled hangers, folded clothes, or cashiered at the St. Vincent de Paul Society’s thrift stores. Still others did assembly work at Goodwill Industries, all for less than minimum wage. One respondent also worked at a fast food restaurant — receiving only her welfare check in return. It is unclear whether these people displaced regular employees; what is clear is that their “training” was not “for the benefit of the trainees,” and that their employers did in fact derive an “immediate advantage” — extremely cheap labor — from the trainees’ activities.

Lost in the translation:

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the part of any entity that receives federal funds. “No person in the United States,” reads the Act, “shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.”²⁵ Additional federal regulations interpret the reference to national origin to mean that federally-funded programs must provide equal access to speakers of English and non-speakers alike.²⁶

The Office of Civil Rights at the federal Department of Health and Human Services interprets these regulations to mean that welfare offices must provide

**Recipients
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much less than
minimum wage.**

translation for recipients with limited English proficiency (known as “LEP”). This is especially true when, as is the case in much of the country, like New York City, non-English speakers constitute a “significant percentage” of potential clients.

“OCR’s long standing position has been that [agencies receiving federal funds] must provide such persons with oral and written language assistance which enables them to participate and benefit from the programs and services administered by the entities. Failure to provide such assistance, in OCR’s view, denies LEP persons the opportunity to communicate effectively with the provider, and thus, prevents meaningful participation and access to the provider’s programs and services.”²⁷

Survey results indicate that the Brooklyn, New York welfare offices do not comply with this crucial requirement. Respondent after respondent said, “Me dicen que tengo que llevar interprete,” (“They tell me I have to bring a translator with me.”) or, “Tuve que pagar un interprete.” (“I had to hire a translator.”) Others were required to wait until the end of the day to be seen by a bilingual caseworker. In fact, 70% of Spanish-speaking respondents in New York said they had needed translation but none was available.

Complaints about the lack of translation in several New York jurisdictions (New York City Human Resources Administration, the New York State Department of Health, and Nassau and Suffolk Counties) led the OCR in October 1999 to issue a Letter of Findings to the effect that they were in violation of the Civil Rights Act. The Letter offered an “Opportunity for Voluntary Compliance,” which was taken up by the various targets of the complaint. Survey results suggest that nine months later nothing had changed.

Lack of translation was not a universal problem. In Oregon fewer than a third of Spanish speakers reported not having the necessary translation. From the caseworkers’ point of view, a jurisdiction’s failure to provide translation is sometimes a labor issue; reasonably enough, bilingual caseworkers are unwilling to perform extra work (which translation certainly is) if they are not compensated for it. In New York and Connecticut respondents were told by caseworkers who could have communicated with them, “They don’t pay me to speak Spanish.”

Respondents were told by bilingual caseworkers who could have communicated with them, “They don’t pay me to speak Spanish.”

DISCRIMINATION ACROSS THE BOARD

When one of her patients shouted “We don’t want any of these nigger bitches — especially not this nigger bitch!” welfare recipient Nancy James (Survey853) was told she should “get used to it,” because “it happens a lot.” James, a Milwaukee, Wisconsin mother of three, participates in Wisconsin’s W-2 program, where in July 2000 she was training to become a Certified Nurse Assistant. Because her work was part of a training program, James wasn’t even earning minimum wage to put up with this kind of abuse. Nor could she just walk away; she would have lost the benefits she needed to feed her family.

In Los Angeles, Jennifer Blackwell (Survey658), a white English-speaker, couldn’t understand why her caseworker kept trying to talk to her in Spanish, until the worker finally said, “But your baby looks Hispanic.” On hearing that Blackwell doesn’t speak Spanish, the worker asked to know her race, and that of the baby’s father. When Blackwell told her the baby’s father is African American, her caseworker offered an unsolicited opinion: “I don’t approve of mixed relationships.” Unfortunately for Blackwell, her caseworker’s disapproval resulted in lost paperwork and processing delays. In an ironic turn, Blackwell was later criticized by the boss at her work site, an upscale clothing store — because her language was “too ghetto, too Black.”

Welfare recipients who experience discrimination have few options. Unlike other people, they can’t just tell an abusive employer, “Take this job and shove it.” In theory they have the right to file complaints or ask for a hearing, but few make the effort, because they don’t have the financial cushion that would allow them to go without benefits while waiting for adjudication. This is especially true when caseworkers warn recipients not to try it, saying, as one Oregon respondent reported, “Don’t bother. It won’t do you any good.”

The survey looked at discrimination in four different areas: race, gender, language, and national origin. The results reveal serious problems in all four areas.

Gender differences

Women who apply for welfare can expect some deep digging into their personal lives and relationships. Forty-one percent of all women reported experiencing some level of personal invasiveness, e.g., receiving home visits or being asked personal questions without being told why the information was necessary. Only 30% of male respondents reported the same experiences.

In many cases, what most interested caseworkers was a woman's sleeping arrangements. The asymmetrical power dynamic between client and caseworker gives the worker carte blanche to impose his or her personal sexual morality on women who receive benefits. A Salem, Oregon case was typical: the caseworker asked the respondent when she had last had sex with her daughter's father, and refused to process her application until she answered. Many respondents reported similar incidents, including being accused of prostitution (Survey 632).

Respondents in Selma, Alabama reported that in some cases their caseworkers knew them in other contexts, often because they attended the same church. It was not uncommon for caseworkers to base their decisions about granting benefits on neighborhood gossip, rather than an applicant's qualifications.

In South Dakota, a caseworker asked a Sioux woman a rapid series of questions about her sex life (1267). "Are you heterosexual or are you a lesbian? How many people do you sleep with? Do more men than women come to your home?" Repeatedly, women reported being berated by caseworkers for having too many children. (Among respondents who have children, the average number was 2.5.) One Utah woman was even told by her "self-sufficiency" worker that if she conceived a child out of wedlock she would be required to have an abortion if she wanted to keep her benefits. Oddly enough, Utah is not one of the 23 states that have "family cap" rules, which deny welfare benefit increases to families into which new children are born.

There are two main reasons why welfare agencies want to know about the men in the lives of women recipients, and both have to do with money. First, the PRWORA requires states to operate a child support enforcement system that meets federal standards in order to be eligible for TANF block grants. Furthermore, families applying for TANF must both cooperate with the child support program and relinquish to the state their rights to child support.²⁸ This means states require women

The caseworker asked the respondent when she had last had sex with her daughter's father, and refused to process her application until she answered.

to provide names and contact information for their children's fathers. If a woman can't or won't provide this information, things can turn ugly. One Salt Lake City woman (425) was told she could not even apply for benefits, because she didn't know where her child's father was. The reason for the denial, according to her caseworker, was that "we have too many Mexican fathers out there whose children are asking for assistance."

Many jurisdictions make no exception for women who have been targets of domestic abuse, although they do have some latitude in this regard. Several respondents reported being faced with a choice of exposing themselves to the anger of men who had already abused them — or losing their benefits. Studies confirm that this is a national problem.²⁹

Two-thirds of all child support payments in the United States are processed through a federal collection system established under Title IV-D of the Social Security Act. This program was set up not to assist custodial parents to care for their children, but rather to recoup federal and state welfare costs. The PRWORA further requires states to impose a minimum 25% (and permits 100%) sanction for failure to comply with the IV-D program.³⁰

The old rules required that the first \$50 per month of child support collected be passed through to families receiving AFDC. Under the PRWORA, states often find fathers and succeed in collecting child support, but the children's mothers never receive a penny, because the state keeps 100% of the child support payments as reimbursement for TANF benefits paid to the mother.

While childcare payments reimburse the state for TANF benefits paid out to recipients, they have no effect on those same recipients' welfare time limits. If the state has been reimbursed for part of its benefit outlays, why should that time be charged against a recipient's time limits?

Under the PRWORA, a new "Family First" policy provides that families no longer receiving assistance are to have priority in the distribution of child support arrears. In practice, survey respondents report that after they have stopped receiving welfare benefits, states often retain child support payments as reimbursement for previous welfare payments. The PRWORA, along with the Child Support Performance Incentive Act of 1998, created major changes in the distribution of child support payments to families. In theory, the new laws allowed families leaving welfare to receive more of their child support than before, but the new rules are "complex and difficult to administer."³¹ In practice, as the survey shows, many families leaving welfare receive no child support whatsoever.

One caseworker refused to process an application, saying, "We have too many Mexican fathers out there whose children are asking for assistance."

The welfare system puts tremendous pressure on women to identify and help locate the fathers of their children. Because the state keeps any child support funds it collects when the custodial parent is receiving TANF, not only do custodial parents never see the child support sent by the other parent, they do not even know how much it is. In addition to the financial confusion this system wreaks in poor households, it interferes with relationships between responsible non-custodial parents (usually fathers) and their children. When fathers do help support their children, the children have no direct experience of this; they get no benefit from their fathers' contributions to their families.

Welfare agencies sometimes carry their insistence on identifying a child's father to gruesome extremes. An Oakland, California woman (128) needed a statement verifying her benefits from her welfare office in order to keep her housing. Her child's father had recently died, but her caseworker refused to issue the benefits confirmation without seeing a death certificate — even though the death clearly appeared in Social Security Administration records. Not being his wife, she didn't have the death certificate, and at the time of the interview was terrified that she and her child would lose their housing.

Another case: a Salt Lake City woman watched, helpless, as her husband was murdered in front of her and their children. Before she could receive welfare benefits, the woman had to pay \$900 to have a DNA test performed on her husband's body — to prove that he had fathered her children. (Survey 1236)

Another reason that welfare agencies are so concerned about their client's love lives is to ensure that a welfare recipient doesn't get unreported financial help from a boyfriend. This concern can be carried to extremes, as happened in the case of a woman who was investigated for welfare fraud because a male visitor brought her a birthday present (422).

Welfare reform, with its emphasis on work at any price, is built on the fallacy that it is possible to provide care for a family with children on one — or even two — minimum-wage incomes. But eligibility income ceilings are so low that a woman whose husband or live-in partner has a minimum wage job doesn't qualify for some benefits. Respondents indicated that they find themselves in the position of having to end (or conceal) their relationships in order to have sufficient income support to take care of their children.

This is particularly ironic in view of the stated purpose of the welfare reform law, whose first three paragraphs read as follows:

Before she could receive welfare benefits, a woman had to pay \$900 to have a DNA test performed on the body of her murdered husband.

-
- Marriage is the foundation of a successful society.
 - Marriage is an essential institution of a successful society which promotes the interests of children.
 - Promotion of responsible fatherhood and motherhood is integral to successful child rearing and the well-being of children.³²

Women also reported gender discrimination on the job, primarily in the form of sexual harassment. In a typical example, a Los Angeles woman described being stranded at lunch by a co-worker who refused to drive her back to the office when she turned down his request for sex (658). Harassment is bad enough, but it's worse when it results in a woman's losing her benefits, as happened to a Hartford, Connecticut woman (1080). Her boss happened to see an old photograph of her and commented that she had "bigger boobs" now. He frequently touched her hair and shoulders, and displayed photographs of himself naked in the office. She filed a complaint at her workplace and shortly thereafter received a termination letter. When she explained to her caseworker why she'd lost her job, the worker told her it was her fault and severed her benefits.

This is not an uncommon occurrence. One woman in six who had been placed in work activities reported that she had endured sexual comments and/or inappropriate touching on the job.

Looking at Race

In many respects, survey results were roughly comparable across different racial groups, in the sense that respondents reported an experience with the welfare system that was uniformly difficult and disrespectful.

Almost 28% of all respondents believe they received different treatment (either better or worse) than someone of a different race would have received, although respondents of some races felt this more strongly than others. Almost half of all Asians, a third of Latinos, and 37% of Native Americans thought they'd received discriminatory treatment because of race, compared to a quarter of respondents of other races.

The experience of Native Americans is somewhat at variance with — and generally worse than — that of other groups. For example, of those who needed childcare in order to be able to participate in a required work activity, only 42% of Native Americans received a childcare subsidy, compared to 67% of African Americans,

Welfare reform is built on the fallacy that it is possible to provide care for a family with children on one (or even two) minimum wage incomes.

69% of Latinas, and 70% of white respondents. This finding occurs in part because South Dakota — where most of the Native American respondents live — is among the 25 states that have elected not to guarantee money for child care.³³ Similarly, 18% of all respondents received some form of transportation assistance — either a cash subsidy or vouchers — compared to 10% of Native Americans, none of whom received a cash subsidy.

Similarly, Native Americans were much more likely to have been sanctioned than members of other racial groups. Forty-two percent of Native Americans had received some kind of sanction, compared to 32% of whites and an average of 34% for all respondents.

Have you ever been sanctioned?

	Asian*	Black	Latino	Native American	White
Number	10	265	88	34	91
Percent	13%	38%	28%	42%	32%

**Asian sample size too small to be significant.*

A recent study revealed similar experiences among Yakama Indians in Washington state, who also have higher sanction rates than their counterparts of other races.³⁴

The welfare system appears to think poorly of the way that Native American and African American women choose to dress. Fifty-three percent of Native women and 47% of Black women who received job training were sent to “Dress for Success” classes, compared with only 26% of white women. By comparison,, Whites, African Americans and Latinos were all more likely than Native Americans to be allowed what is arguably a more valuable opportunity — computer training.

Occasionally, the survey revealed blatant disparities in the treatment of recipients of different races. In Hartford, Connecticut white women respondents reported receiving TANF benefits for children who had yet to be born, while African American women had to wait for the birth and supply proof.

There were racial differences in relation to work activities as well. Of Black respondents, 52% were required to perform a work activity to receive benefits, compared to 33% of Asians, 34% of the small “Other” group, 40% of Latinos, 46% of whites and 57% of Native Americans. Depending on the group, between 8% to 11% of people of color reported working for a welfare check alone, rather than for wages, compared to 6% of whites.

Native Americans were much more likely to be sanctioned than members of other groups.

Among the five sites where respondents were most likely to be required to perform work activities (Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Pine Ridge and Seattle), the racial differences were greater still: 41% of Latinos, 57% of Asians and Whites, 65% of Native Americans, and 67% of African Americans.

Numbers don't tell the whole story, however. They don't reveal the level of distrust and dehumanization people of color often face when they must interact with the welfare system. They don't describe the experience of one African American woman (367) whose caseworker told her to change her child's name, because "he doesn't need a name that long."

Numbers don't explain how when you're Black and on welfare getting robbed can land you in jail. In Brooklyn, New York a woman (381) was robbed as she was leaving the check-cashing shop where she'd gone to cash her welfare check. Armed with the police report, she went to her worker for another check. The worker, who was not African American, called her a liar and proceeded to assault her physically. When the respondent hit the caseworker back, she was arrested and spent the night in jail, before the charges were dropped.

A few other studies, most prominently the work of Susan Gooden, have also documented racial disparities in the treatment of welfare recipients.³⁵ Gooden has shown, for example, that caseworkers are more likely to encourage whites than African Americans to continue their education. Another study demonstrates several aspects of workplace discrimination: whites leaving welfare received longer interviews than Blacks (a 25 minute average, as opposed to 11 minutes); found a better correlation between their position's description and the real position (29% of whites cite discrepancies, compared with 50% of Blacks); were less likely to have negative relationship with primary supervisor (29% versus 64%); and were less likely to have pre-employment tests (24% versus 45%).³⁶

Language and nationality issues

Federal regulations and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act require welfare agencies to provide interpretation when "a significant portion" of the client base speaks a language other than English. In practice, over half of respondents nationwide whose first language was not English reported that they had needed translation but that none was available. In New York City, this figure was 70%. The problem was most pronounced for speakers of Asian languages, 84% of whom had not had access to translation when they needed it. But Spanish speakers had trouble, too. Almost 50% reported the same problem.

A caseworker told a Black woman to change her child's name, because "he doesn't need a name that long."

Lack of translation is more than an inconvenience. In many cases it means lengthy delays, or that people never receive benefits for which they are eligible. Often it is the United States citizen children of immigrants and refugees who end up suffering because their parents can't understand their caseworkers.

The rules governing eligibility of non-citizens under the federal welfare reform law are complex. Benefits available to different groups of immigrants and refugees also vary from state to state, because some states have elected to use state funds to replace benefits for immigrants that were cut in the federal legislation. This welter of rules is often poorly understood both by recipients and by those who administer welfare programs, with the result that non-citizens sometimes are denied benefits for which they or their children may actually be eligible.

Immigrants face additional problems, notably the open hostility of many caseworkers. In Dorchester, Massachusetts, when a woman from the Dominican Republic — whose children are U.S. citizens — was late turning in paperwork, her caseworker threatened to turn her in to the INS (500). A Milwaukee widow was told that her benefits arrived only sporadically, “because you’re Hmong.” (Survey 796) This 55-year-old refugee has not been excused from work activity requirements, despite her documented medical problems. An Oakland, California woman reported that a caseworker had torn her application form up in front of her, because the woman couldn’t understand the caseworker’s English.

Often the border runs right through an immigrant family. A single family can include individuals with varying immigration statuses, who are eligible for different benefits. In fact, according to one study,

“Nearly 1 in 10 U.S. families with children is a mixed-status family, that is to say, a family in which one or more parents is a noncitizen and one or more children is a citizen. Further, mixed-status families are themselves complex: they may be made up of any combination of legal immigrants, undocumented immigrants, and naturalized citizens [and U.S.-born citizens]. Their composition also changes frequently, as undocumented family members legalize their status and legal immigrants naturalize.”³⁷

A Salem, Oregon woman began to cry as she asked how she should explain to her 15-year-old son, who is paraplegic, that she can’t afford a doctor for him, because he was born in Mexico (1055). His younger sister, a U.S. citizen, can be treated under the Oregon Health Plan — Oregon’s version of federal Medicaid and Children’s Health Insurance Programs.

When a woman from the Dominican Republic was late turning in paperwork, her caseworker threatened to turn her in to the INS.

As is documented in Chapter 2, eligibility requirements for immigrants applying for federally-funded welfare programs vary widely, depending on the program, and a whole series of personal criteria. Given this tangle of regulations, it is perhaps not surprising (although it is illegal) that many welfare offices simply assume that no immigrant is eligible for any benefits. In fact, of the 353 survey respondents born outside the United States, 95 (27%) were not even permitted to apply for benefits.

Disability issues

The survey was not specifically designed to capture information about disability issues, but on several occasions, these concerns came up in conversation with respondents, particularly in reference to childcare. It is hard enough to find quality childcare for children without special needs. It's almost impossible when children have disabilities. When the children in question are TANF recipients, things get even tougher.

For example, the daughter of a resident of Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota has a seizure disorder. The mother (1258) missed her work assignment when the daughter was having active seizures and she did not think it safe to leave her in a childcare setting where no one knew how to care for her. Although she explained the situation to her caseworker, she lost her TANF benefits permanently because she chose to take care of her disabled daughter instead of going to work.

While visiting a Brooklyn, New York welfare office, survey interviewers met a woman whose two-year-old boy has a chronic kidney disorder and was currently running a high fever. She had waited several days to speak to someone about getting a Medicaid card so her child could see a doctor. By this time, a problem had developed into a medical emergency and the woman was out of patience. She began to cry, scream and kick the furniture in frustration; she'd been there three days and no one would even speak to her.

Several people described being caught in the twilight zone between Supplemental Security Income (SSI, a federal entitlement program for people with disabilities) and Medicaid. Respondents who are otherwise eligible for Medicaid and had applied for SSI reported being turned down for Medicaid in the meantime. Other respondents were automatically rejected for Medicaid coverage because they were rejected for SSI. It appears that a poorly-trained bureaucracy assumes that if they are turned down by SSI, they are also ineligible for Medicaid, which is an entirely separate program.

Resisting discrimination is hard enough for people who don't carry the extra burdens and vulnerability that come with abject poverty. People who have more choices can decide when to shrug off an incident and when to make a stand. They can seek solidarity from fellow workers in a job situation, or make a complaint to higher-ups without fear of reprisal if they are treated rudely at a government agency. By contrast, welfare recipients are often isolated at work. At one Los Angeles workfare site, welfare recipients were restricted to a segregated area in the cafeteria and forbidden to speak with "regular" employees, respondents reported (646).

When recipients challenge representatives of the welfare system, they are challenging people who have the power to decide whether or not they eat, receive medical treatment, or have a place to live.

In spite of these barriers, welfare recipients do succeed in filing complaints, often with the federal Office of Civil Rights for the appropriate governing agency — which is usually the Department of Health and Human Services. Unfortunately, these administrative complaints have a tendency to languish at the OCR. It is difficult to say how many of them are currently being reviewed, because the OCR itself does not appear to know.³⁸ Even when the OCR does make a determination, called a Letter of Findings, enforcing it is a whole separate step, which can take years. This is a process that needs to be streamlined.

When welfare recipients challenge the system, they are challenging people who have the power to decide whether or not they eat.

CONCLUSIONS

The men who fashioned welfare reform legislation — and they were men — articulated a number of goals in their original bills and the final product, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. These ranged from controlling poor women’s fertility to moving recipients “from welfare to work.” (It never occurred to these legislators that women who take care of their children are *already* working.) Nowhere among all these disparate, and sometimes contradictory, goals for welfare reform was the idea that such a program ought to help people out of poverty.

Far from being an anti-poverty program, welfare reform as we know it has become a program that punishes people who are poor, and in some cases make them even poorer. Welfare reform has eliminated a federal commitment to protect poor children and replaced it with a program to separate poor women from the work of caring for their children and force them into poverty-level jobs, sometimes at less than minimum wage. At the same time, the PRWORA eliminated the earlier guarantee of childcare for welfare recipients who obtain employment. It has created a situation in which a woman may receive benefits if she takes care of someone else’s children but not if she cares for her own.

Survey responses show that the new states’ rights regime of welfare reform creates discrimination in all four arenas studied: race, gender, language and national origin.

Worse even than the discrimination respondents have suffered is a general experience of arbitrary and dehumanizing behavior at every level of the welfare system. Whether women are being thrown in jail in Alameda County, California, or spending a week in the welfare office trying to see a caseworker in Brooklyn, New York, the effect of devolution has been the creation of Kafka-esque traps for people trying to escape from poverty. From individual caseworkers’ rudeness to

states' drive to deprive them of benefits, welfare reform punishes people whose only crime is that they are poor.

Most of the PRWORA's provisions will sunset in 2002. Over the next year, the nation has an opportunity to craft a real welfare reform program, one that will actually respond to the needs of people like the 1500 respondents to this survey.

ENDNOTES

¹ Names of individuals have been changed to protect their privacy. Figures in parentheses represent survey numbers.

² Quadagno, Jill. *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)

³ See *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Studies in Communication, Media, and Public Opinion). Martin Gilens (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

⁴ Women's Educational and Industrial Union in collaboration with Wider Opportunities for Women, *The Self Sufficiency Standard: Where Massachusetts Families Stand* (Boston: United Way, 2000)

⁵ Tweedie, J., Reichert, D., and Steisel, S., "Challenges, Resources, and Flexibility: Using TANF Block Grant and State MOE Dollars" (Washington: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1999); <http://www.ncsl.org/state/welfare/flexibility.htm>

⁶ Much of the material in this section is taken from Cazenave, N. and Neubeck, K., "Welfare Racism as Race Population Control: The Abolition of AFDC," presented at Race, Gender & Class Project Second Annual Conference, Southern University at New Orleans, and to be published in a different form in *Welfare Racism* by the same authors, forthcoming from Routledge.

⁷ Herrnstein, R.J. and Murray, C., *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. (New York: Basic Books, 1994)

⁸ Much of this material is drawn from U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Comparison of PRIOR LAW and the PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND WORK OPPORTUNITY RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1996 (P.L. 104-193)* (Washington, 1997). <http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/hsp/isp/reform.htm>

⁹ Center for Women and Policy Studies, "Getting Smart About Welfare" (Washington, 1998), cited in Los Angeles coalition to End Hunger and Homelessness and National Coalition for the Homeless, *Welfare to What Part II: Mixed Results in a Bull Market* (Los Angeles, 2000)

¹⁰ For example, immigrants who entered before August 22, 1996 are eligible for food stamps only if one or more of the following criteria apply. They are: under 18 years old or were 65 or older on Aug. 22, 1996; receiving disability-related assistance; refugees, asylees, have been granted withholding of deportation, or are Cuban-Haitian entrants, or Amerasian, but only during first 7 years after receiving status; lawful permanent residents with credit for 40 quarters of work; veterans, active duty military, their spouses, unremarried surviving spouses or children; members of the Hmong or Lao tribe during the Vietnam era, when the tribe militarily assisted the United States, or spouses, surviving spouses or children of tribe member; or are American Indian born in Canada or other Native American tribal member born outside the United States.

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- 11 Sherman, A. et al, *Welfare to What: Early Findings on Family Hardship and Well-being*, (Washington: Children's Defense Fund & National Coalition for the Homeless, 1998)
- 12 Loprest, P., "Families Who Left Welfare: Who Are They and How Are They Doing?" (Washington: Urban Institute, 1999)
- 13 Children's Defense Fund tabulations from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Study, in Appendix B of Sherman, A. et al, *Welfare to What: Early Findings on Family Hardship and Well-being*, (Washington: Children's Defense Fund & National Coalition for the Homeless, 1998)
- 14 California Budget Project, *Making Ends Meet: How Much Does It Cost To Raise A Family In California?* (Sacramento, CA: 1999) The Budget Project's report "estimates typical costs of housing and utilities, child care, transportation, food, health coverage, payroll and income taxes, and miscellaneous expenses for three typical families: a single working parent with two children; two working parents with two children; and a two parent family with two children in which one parent works."
- 15 Knox, Virginia et al, *Reforming Welfare and Rewarding Work: A Summary of the Final Report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program* (Minneapolis: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 2000, or at www.mdrc.org/Reports2000/MFIP)
- 16 California Budget Project, *Welfare Reform Update* November 2000
- 17 United States Department of Health and Human Services, Agency for Children and Families, <http://www.acf.gov/programs/ofa/TIME2.HTM>
- 18 These "treatment" variables include: rudeness, invasiveness, application barriers, more than three visits required to secure benefits, less than 30 days' wait for benefits (a positive variable), having rules explained, being informed of fair hearing right, being sanctioned, temporary benefit loss, permanent benefit loss, sanction due to missed appointment, sanction due to loss of paperwork in welfare office, characterization of whole experience as difficult, or as disrespectful.
- 19 Sherman, A. et al, *Welfare to What: Early Findings on Family Hardship and Well-being* (Washington: Children's Defense Fund and National Coalition for the Homeless, 1998)
- 20 Source: U.S. Census 1990
- 21 Telephone conversation with Marin County District Attorney's office.
- 22 Conversation with Hugh Grogan, director of Minnehaha County welfare services.
- 23 U.S. Department of Labor, "Labor Protection and Welfare Reform" (Washington: May 1997, Rev. 2/99, www.dol.gov/dol/asp/public/w2w/welfare.htm)
- 24 Ibid
- 25 Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title §2000d

26 45 C.F.R. Part 80.3(b)(2)

27 DHHS/Office for Civil Rights-HCFA: New York Human Resources Admin — Letter of Findings. (October 21, 1999: <http://www.hhs.gov/progorg/ocr/hma11.htm#jurisdiction>)

28 *Welfare Reauthorization: An Early Guide to the Issues*. Mark Greenberg et al. (Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP), 2000)

29 See for example Pearson, J., Thoennes, N. and Griswold, E., “Child Support and Domestic Violence: The Victims Speak Out” in *Violence Against Women* (Vol. 5, 427-28, April 1999)

30 CLASP, op. cit.

31 CLASP, op. cit.

32 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

33 Gong, J.A., Bussiere, A. et al, “Child Care in the Postwelfare Reform Era: Analysis and Strategies for Advocates” in *Clearinghouse Review* (Chicago: National Center on Poverty Law, January - February 1999)

34 Columbia Legal Services, Yakama Nation, and Department of Social and Health Services, *Yakama WorkFirst Sanction Study Final Report* (Seattle, 2000)

35 Gooden, Susan T., “All Things Not Being Equal: Differences in Caseworker Support Toward Black and White Welfare Clients” (*Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy*, Vol IV 1998)

36 Gooden, S.T., “The Hidden Third Party: Welfare Recipients’ Experiences With Employers” (*Journal of Public Management & Social Policy*, Vol. 5(1), pp. 69-83, 1999)

37 Fix, M. and Zimmermann, W. “All under One Roof: Mixed-Status Families in an Era of Reform” (Washington: Urban Institute, 1999)

38 Applied Research Center conversation with OCR headquarters in Washington, DC, September 2000

Appendix A:

Survey Totals

Survey Totals

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	1512	1317	195	75	706	314	81	283	53
Percent		87%	13%	5%	47%	21%	5%	19%	4%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	3	105	515	410	276	60	118
Percent	0%	7%	34%	27%	18%	4%	8%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	293	363	321	265	265		851	231	67	147	143	54
Percent	19%	24%	21%	14%	18%		56%	15%	4%	10%	9%	4%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	1166	65	79	26	62	38	76		1240	187	60	25	0
Percent	77%	4%	5%	2%	4%	3%	5%		82%	12%	4%	2%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Totals	1512		75		706		314		81		283		53	
Applicant informed of rights	950	63%	33	44%	458	65%	188	60%	66	81%	179	63%	26	49%
Applicant experienced rudeness	801	53%	43	57%	372	53%	155	49%	39	48%	160	57%	32	60%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	603	40%	36	48%	262	37%	122	39%	37	46%	121	43%	25	47%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	873	58%	45	60%	406	58%	154	49%	58	72%	170	60%	40	75%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	840	56%	57	76%	383	54%	171	54%	51	63%	156	55%	22	42%
Number of visits 3 or more	632	42%	17	23%	305	43%	136	43%	27	33%	119	42%	28	53%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	637	42%	24	32%	287	41%	144	46%	38	47%	124	44%	20	38%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	736	49%	49	65%	353	50%	140	45%	34	42%	135	48%	25	47%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Totals	1512		75		706		314		81		283		53	
Required to do a work activity	714	47%	25	33%	367	52%	126	40%	46	57%	131	46%	19	36%
Started work activity	395	26%	17	23%	195	28%	79	25%	28	35%	65	23%	11	21%
Received transportation benefits	275	18%	12	16%	149	21%	56	18%	8	10%	47	17%	3	6%
Needed childcare	426	28%	11	15%	208	29%	93	30%	26	32%	78	28%	10	19%
Received childcare benefits	280	19%	7	9%	138	20%	65	21%	11	14%	55	19%	4	8%
Worked for welfare check only*	129	33%	8	47%	65	33%	29	37%	8	29%	18	28%	1	9%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Totals	1512		75		706		314		81		283		53	
Told school could be work activity	292	19%	7	9%	149	21%	63	20%	12	15%	50	18%	11	21%
Actual school counted as work	172	11%	5	9%	90	13%	41	13%	9	11%	23	8%	4	8%
Sent for job training	416	28%	17	23%	202	29%	97	18%	15	19%	70	25%	15	28%
Job training: job search*	257	62%	10	59%	123	61%	60	62%	10	67%	45	64%	9	60%
Job training: "dress for success"	158	38%	3	18%	94	47%	28	29%	8	53%	18	26%	7	47%
Job training: computer*	92	22%	1	6%	51	25%	23	24%	2	13%	13	19%	2	13%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Survey Totals:

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Totals	1512		75		706		314		81		283		53	
Informed of the rules?	847	56%	31	41%	402	57%	159	51%	56	69%	172	61%	27	51%
Informed of fair hearing right?	585	39%	22	29%	285	40%	96	31%	36	44%	128	45%	18	34%
Received sanction?	509	34%	10	13%	265	38%	88	28%	34	42%	91	32%	21	40%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	334	64%	8	80%	174	65%	61	65%	20	59%	58	64%	13	62%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	169	33%	0	0%	90	34%	26	30%	16	47%	32	35%	5	24%
Reason: missed appointment*	135	27%	3	40%	70	30%	23	28%	4	12%	27	35%	8	38%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	99	19%	4	40%	48	18%	15	18%	8	24%	21	23%	3	14%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Totals	1512		75		706		314		81		283		53	
Ease: easy	377	25%	10	13%	181	26%	86	27%	23	28%	68	24%	9	17%
Ease: somewhat easy	431	29%	24	32%	203	29%	98	31%	20	25%	76	27%	10	19%
Ease: difficult	692	46%	40	53%	316	45%	127	40%	38	47%	137	48%	34	64%
Respect: respectful	492	33%	10	13%	215	30%	127	40%	29	36%	95	34%	16	30%
Respect: neutral	539	36%	50	67%	252	36%	101	32%	32	40%	87	31%	17	32%
Respect: disrespectful	467	31%	15	20%	232	33%	80	25%	20	25%	100	35%	20	38%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	329	22%	168	62%

Appendix B:

**Site Descriptions and
Results by Individual Communities**

Atlanta, Georgia

The Place

Atlanta is the capital and largest city in Georgia. A fast growing urban area, it is the largest commercial, industrial and financial center in the Southeastern United States.

Population and Racial Demographics

(De Kalb County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population	596,853
Asian	4.9%
Black	46.5%
Latino	4.9%
Native American	0.2%
White	44.2%
(Latino, not classified as white)	-.07%

Participating Group

Over a quarter-century old, the Georgia Citizens' Coalition On Hunger is a statewide organization of grass root activists committed to the elimination of hunger, homelessness and poverty in the state of Georgia. The Coalition has offices in several Georgia cities, where it offers welfare information and referrals, emergency food, and organic farmers' markets.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 48 months

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$280

Medicaid Income Ceiling

Georgia has a spend down program with 20 different coverage categories

Childcare

Subsidized childcare is available through the Administration Department of the Division of Family and Children Services .

Transportation

Coordinated through case workers on a case-by-case basis.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Atlanta, GA

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	109	105	4	0	107	0	1	1	0
Percent		96%	4%	0%	98%	0%	1%	1%	0%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	6	33	42	17	2	6
Percent	0%	6%	30%	39%	16%	2%	6%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	17	23	23	26	26		91	1	1	5	7	2
Percent	16%	21%	21%	14%	25%		83%	1%	1%	5%	6%	2%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	109	0	0	0	0	0	0		109	0	0	0	0
Percent	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	109	0	107	0	1	1	0
Applicant informed of rights	57 52%	0	56 52%	0	1 100%	0 0%	0
Applicant experienced rudeness	48 44%	0	46 43%	0	1 100%	1 100%	0
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	27 25%	0	26 24%	0	0 0%	1 100%	0
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	44 40%	0	44 41%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	74 68%	0	73 68%	0	1 100%	0 0%	0
Number of visits 3 or more	31 28%	0	30 28%	0	0 0%	1 100%	0
Wait for benefits: <30 days	45 41%	0	44 41%	0	1 100%	0 0%	0
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	50 46%	0	49 46%	0	0 0%	1 100%	0

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	109	0	107	0	1	1	0
Required to do a work activity	43 39%	0	43 40%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Started work activity	15 14%	0	15 14%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Received transportation benefits	15 14%	0	15 14%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Needed childcare	25 23%	0	25 23%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Received childcare benefits	15 14%	0	15 14%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Worked for welfare check only*	3 20%	0	3 20%	0	0	0	0

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	109	0	107	0	1	1	0
Told school could be work activity	14 13%	0	14 13%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Actual school counted as work	7 6%	0	7 7%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Sent for job training	11 10%	0	11 10%	0	0 0%	0 0%	0
Job training: job search*	8 73%	0	8 73%	0	0	0	0
Job training: "dress for success"	6 55%	0	6 55%	0	0	0	0
Job training: computer*	2 18%	0	2 18%	0	0	0	0

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Atlanta, GA

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		0		107		0		1		1		0	
Informed of the rules?	59	54%	0		58	54%	0		0	0%	1	100%	0	
Informed of fair hearing right?	48	44%	0		47	44%	0		0	0%	1	100%	0	
Received sanction?	19	17%	0		18	17%	0		1	100%	0	0%	0	
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	14	74%	0		13	72%	0		1	100%	0		0	
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	3	16%	0		3	17%	0		0	0%	0		0	
Reason: missed appointment*	4	21%	0		3	17%	0		1	100%	0		0	
Reason: office lost paperwork*	5	26%	0		5	28%	0		0	0%	0		0	

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		0		107		0		1		1		0	
Ease: easy	48	44%	0		47	44%	0		1	100%	0	0%	0	
Ease: somewhat easy	30	28%	0		30	28%	0		0	0%	0	0%	0	
Ease: difficult	29	27%	0		28	26%	0		0	0%	1	100%	0	
Respect: respectful	38	35%	0		37	35%	0		1	100%	0	0%	0	
Respect: neutral	51	47%	0		50	47%	0		0	0%	1	100%	0	
Respect: disrespectful	18	17%	0		18	17%	0		0	0%	0	0%	0	

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	15	14%	0	

Brooklyn, New York

The Place

Brooklyn is the largest of New York City's five boroughs. A city of many neighborhoods, it has an active port for Atlantic Ocean traffic.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Kings County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population 2,268,297

Asian	6.9%
Black	41.1%
Latino	23.8%
Native American	0.4%
White	34.7%
(Latino, not classified as white)	-6.9%

Participating Groups

was founded in 1997 by two law students and a law graduate. Staff and board members are drawn from community members, primarily in the Bushwick neighborhood.

Founded in 1977, the Fifth Avenue Committee is a community-based organization working primarily in South Brooklyn, with a focus on developing and managing affordable housing, creating employment opportunities, organizing residents and workers, and combating housing displacement caused by gentrification.

The Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV) has worked with various diverse Asian communities since 1986, with a focus on issues of racially motivated violence and police brutality.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$557

Medicaid Income Ceiling:

Varies by county.

Childcare

Normally no child care is provided if recipients receive Medicaid.

Transportation

Not available

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Brooklyn, NY

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	139	126	13	24	22	81	1	4	7
Percent		91%	9%	17%	16%	58%	1%	3%	5%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	1	27	43	42	7	11
Percent	0%	1%	19%	31%	30%	5%	8%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	19	25	20	44	44		62	36	3	16	13	7
Percent	14%	18%	14%	18%	33%		45%	26%	2%	12%	9%	5%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	45	15	3	23	25	2	26		64	49	25	1	0
Percent	32%	11%	2%	17%	18%	1%	19%		46%	35%	18%	1%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	%	Asian #	%	Black #	%	Latino #	%	Native #	%	White #	%	Other #	%
Community Totals	139		24		22		81		1		4		7	
Applicant informed of rights	26	19%	0	0%	5	23%	19	23%	1	100%	0	0%	1	14%
Applicant experienced rudeness	109	78%	24	100%	17	77%	59	73%	1	100%	3	75%	5	71%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	79	57%	24	100%	9	41%	41	51%	0	0%	2	50%	3	43%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	94	68%	24	100%	15	68%	46	57%	1	100%	3	75%	5	71%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	63	45%	23	96%	5	23%	30	37%	0	0%	1	25%	4	57%
Number of visits 3 or more	75	54%	1	4%	17	77%	50	62%	1	100%	3	75%	3	43%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	44	32%	11	46%	3	14%	28	35%	0	0%	1	25%	1	14%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	85	61%	13	54%	16	73%	47	58%	1	100%	2	50%	6	86%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	%	Asian #	%	Black #	%	Latino #	%	Native #	%	White #	%	Other #	%
Community Totals	139		24		22		81		1		4		7	
Required to do a work activity	59	42%	8	33%	15	68%	31	38%	1	100%	2	50%	2	29%
Started work activity	37	27%	8	33%	8	36%	18	22%	1	100%	1	25%	1	14%
Received transportation benefits	35	25%	7	29%	9	41%	17	21%	0	0%	2	50%	0	0%
Needed childcare	35	25%	3	13%	7	32%	24	30%	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%
Received childcare benefits	25	18%	0	0%	6	27%	19	23%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Worked for welfare check only*	35	95%	8	100%	8	100%	17	94%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	%	Asian #	%	Black #	%	Latino #	%	Native #	%	White #	%	Other #	%
Community Totals	139		24		22		81		1		4		7	
Told school could be work activity	17	12%	1	4%	1	5%	13	16%	0	0%	1	25%	1	14%
Actual school counted as work	23	17%	1	4%	2	9%	19	23%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%
Sent for job training	34	24%	0	0%	7	32%	22	21%	1	100%	4	100%	0	0%
Job training: job search*	16	47%	0		3	43%	10	45%	1	100%	2	50%	0	
Job training: "dress for success"	7	21%	0		1	14%	6	27%	0	0%	0	0%	0	
Job training: computer*	8	24%	0		0	0%	8	36%	0	0%	0	0%	0	

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Brooklyn, NY

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	139		24		22		81		1		4		7	
Informed of the rules?	35	25%	1	4%	5	23%	25	31%	1	100%	1	25%	2	29%
Informed of fair hearing right?	26	19%	1	4%	6	27%	15	19%	0	0%	2	50%	2	29%
Received sanction?	44	32%	1	4%	10	45%	27	33%	0	0%	2	50%	4	57%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	30	66%	0	0%	7	70%	19	67%	0		2	100%	2	50%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	12	27%	0	0%	3	30%	8	30%	0		1	50%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	21	48%	0	0%	5	60%	13	48%	0		1	50%	2	50%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	9	20%	0	0%	0	0%	8	30%	0		1	50%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	139		24		22		81		1		4		7	
Ease: easy	11	8%	0	0%	2	9%	8	10%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%
Ease: somewhat easy	41	29%	9	38%	5	23%	25	31%	0	0%	1	25%	1	14%
Ease: difficult	87	63%	15	63%	15	68%	48	59%	1	100%	3	75%	5	71%
Respect: respectful	22	16%	2	8%	4	18%	14	17%	0	0%	1	25%	1	14%
Respect: neutral	62	45%	20	83%	5	23%	35	43%	0	0%	0	0%	2	29%
Respect: disrespectful	55	40%	2	8%	13	59%	32	40%	1	100%	3	75%	4	57%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	83	60%	69	92%

Cincinnati, Ohio

The Place

Cincinnati is the industrial and commercial center of Ohio and a major river port.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Kings County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population	840,443
Asian	1.5%
Black	23.4%
Latino	0.8%
Native American	0.1%
White	74.4%

Participating Group

The Contact Center has been working in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood since 1979. The Center's Welfare Rights Coalition is made up of welfare recipients and forms part of the statewide Ohio Empowerment Coalition.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 36 months

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$362

Medicaid Income Ceiling

Available for families earning below \$1179.

Childcare

Welfare recipient may apply for child care if employed, at school, or have a special needs child. Income cannot exceed \$2,181 per month.

Transportation

Only transportation subsidy available is Medicaid transportation.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Cincinnati, OH

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	101	83	18	1	81	0	0	16	3
Percent		82%	18%	1%	80%	0%	0%	16%	3%

Age	Under						Over
	16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	55
Number	1	6	34	22	21	4	12
Percent	1%	6%	34%	22%	21%	4%	12%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	33	20	21	8	8		70	1	0	12	15	2
Percent	33%	20%	21%	17%	8%		69%	1%	0%	12%	15%	2%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	81	0	0	0	0	20	0		100	1	0	0	0
Percent	80%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%		99%	1%	0%	0%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	101		1		81		0		0		16		3	
Applicant informed of rights	73	72%	1	100%	58	72%	0		0		12	75%	2	67%
Applicant experienced rudeness	58	57%	0	0%	44	54%	0		0		11	69%	3	100%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	39	39%	0	0%	33	41%	0		0		4	25%	2	67%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	58	57%	0	0%	48	59%	0		0		8	50%	2	67%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	55	54%	0	0%	44	54%	0		0		10	63%	1	33%
Number of visits 3 or more	43	43%	0	0%	35	43%	0		0		6	38%	2	67%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	50	50%	1	100%	39	48%	0		0		9	56%	1	33%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	46	46%	0	0%	40	49%	0		0		5	31%	1	33%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	101		1		81		0		0		16		3	
Required to do a work activity	64	63%	0	0%	54	67%	0		0		8	50%	2	67%
Started work activity	36	36%	0	0%	31	38%	0		0		4	25%	1	33%
Received transportation benefits	19	19%	0	0%	19	23%	0		0		0	0%	0	0%
Needed childcare	30	30%	0	0%	26	32%	0		0		3	19%	1	33%
Received childcare benefits	24	24%	0	0%	21	26%	0		0		3	19%	0	0%
Worked for welfare check only*	18	50%	0		17	55%	0		0		0	0%	1	100%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	101		1		81		0		0		16		3	
Told school could be work activity	21	21%	0	0%	19	23%	0		0		2	13%	0	0%
Actual school counted as work	13	13%	0	0%	13	16%	0		0		0	0%	0	0%
Sent for job training	28	28%	0	0%	24	30%	0		0		3	19%	1	33%
Job training: job search*	14	50%	0		12	50%	0		0		1	33%	1	100%
Job training: "dress for success"	6	21%	0		5	21%	0		0		0	0%	1	100%
Job training: computer*	3	11%	0		2	8%	0		0		1	33%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Cincinnati, OH

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	101		1		81		0		0		16		3	
Informed of the rules?	70	69%	1	100%	55	68%	0		0		11	69%	3	100%
Informed of fair hearing right?	55	54%	1	100%	42	52%	0		0		9	56%	3	100%
Received sanction?	33	33%	0	0%	28	35%	0		0		3	19%	2	67%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	27	79%	0		22	75%	0		0		3	100%	2	100%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	9	27%	0		9	32%	0		0		0	0%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	12	36%	0		10	36%	0		0		1	0%	1	50%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	5	15%	0		4	14%	0		0		0	0%	1	50%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	101		1		81		0		0		16		3	
Ease: easy	21	21%	1	100%	15	19%	0		0		5	31%	0	0%
Ease: somewhat easy	32	32%	0	0%	28	35%	0		0		4	25%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	49	49%	0	0%	39	48%	0		0		7	44%	3	100%
Respect: respectful	23	23%	1	100%	18	22%	0		0		4	25%	0	0%
Respect: neutral	49	49%	0	0%	40	49%	0		0		8	50%	1	33%
Respect: disrespectful	32	32%	0	0%	26	32%	0		0		4	25%	2	67%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	14	14%	1	100%

Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts

The Place

Dorchester, a largely African American neighborhood, is located in Boston, the state capital of Massachusetts and the largest city in New England. Boston is a major financial, government and educational center.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Suffolk County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population, 1999 estimate 641,695

Asian	7.6%
Black	28.7%
Latino	14.1%
Native American	0.4%
White	53.6%
(Latino, not classified as white)	(4.4%)

Participating Group

The Massachusetts Welfare Rights Union has worked since 1987 to eliminate poverty and to elevate women from their second class status. The organization has a wide membership base with a devoted core of 15 key activists.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: No lifetime limit, but benefits only available 24 months out of every 60.

Average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$565.

Medicaid Income Ceiling:

Mass Health available for families earning below \$1569.

Childcare and Transportation

Both childcare and transportation are judged on case by case basis. A recipient must see her case worker, according to the Transitional Services Offices.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF or cash assistance and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Dorchester, MA

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	108	98	10	0	56	17	2	14	19
Percent		91%	9%	0%	52%	16%	2%	13%	18%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	1	12	42	31	11	4	6
Percent	1%	11%	39%	29%	10%	4%	6%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	17	34	22	17	17		78	10	3	9	6	1
Percent	16%	31%	20%	12%	17%		72%	9%	3%	8%	6%	1%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	87	10	1	1	0	2	7		94	10	0	4	0
Percent	81%	9%	1%	1%	0%	2%	6%		87%	9%	0%	4%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	56	17	2	14	19
Applicant informed of rights	58 54%	0	32 57%	8 47%	2 100%	6 43%	10 53%
Applicant experienced rudeness	65 60%	0	33 59%	9 53%	1 50%	8 57%	14 74%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	50 46%	0	25 45%	10 59%	0 0%	5 36%	10 53%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	87 81%	0	44 79%	14 82%	2 100%	11 79%	16 84%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	37 34%	0	17 30%	7 41%	1 50%	5 36%	7 37%
Number of visits 3 or more	65 60%	0	36 64%	9 53%	0 0%	8 57%	12 63%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	39 36%	0	17 30%	6 35%	1 50%	7 50%	8 42%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	51 47%	0	30 54%	7 41%	0 0%	6 43%	8 42%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	56	17	2	14	19
Required to do a work activity	51 47%	0	29 52%	9 53%	0 0%	9 64%	4 21%
Started work activity	22 20%	0	11 20%	6 35%	1 50%	1 7%	3 16%
Received transportation benefits	9 8%	0	6 11%	1 6%	0 0%	1 7%	1 5%
Needed childcare	28 26%	0	12 21%	8 47%	0 0%	6 43%	2 11%
Received childcare benefits	18 17%	0	8 14%	3 18%	0 0%	5 36%	2 11%
Worked for welfare check only*	6 27%	0	2 18%	3 50%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	56	17	2	14	19
Told school could be work activity	24 22%	0	13 23%	4 24%	0 0%	3 21%	4 21%
Actual school counted as work	18 17%	0	11 20%	4 24%	0 0%	2 14%	1 5%
Sent for job training	24 22%	0	13 23%	5 6%	0 0%	2 14%	4 21%
Job training: job search*	14 58%	0	7 54%	3 60%	0	1 50%	3 75%
Job training: "dress for success"	11 46%	0	6 46%	2 40%	0	1 50%	2 50%
Job training: computer*	3 13%	0	2 15%	1 20%	0	0 0%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Dorchester, MA

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	108		0		56		17		2		14		19	
Informed of the rules?	49	45%	0		26	46%	8	47%	1	50%	5	36%	9	47%
Informed of fair hearing right?	28	26%	0		14	25%	5	29%	1	50%	5	36%	3	16%
Received sanction?	45	42%	0		27	48%	8	47%	1	50%	3	21%	6	32%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	17	38%	0		8	30%	3	38%	1	100%	3	100%	2	33%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	29	64%	0		20	74%	5	63%	0	0%	0	0%	4	67%
Reason: missed appointment*	4	9%	0		1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	1	17%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	9	20%	0		4	15%	1	13%	0	0%	3	100%	1	17%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	108		0		56		17		2		14		19	
Ease: easy	15	14%	0		7	13%	1	6%	0	0%	4	29%	3	16%
Ease: somewhat easy	29	27%	0		17	30%	5	29%	0	0%	2	14%	5	26%
Ease: difficult	64	59%	0		32	57%	11	65%	2	100%	8	57%	11	58%
Respect: respectful	27	25%	0		12	21%	5	29%	0	0%	3	21%	7	37%
Respect: neutral	39	36%	0		18	32%	4	24%	2	100%	8	57%	7	37%
Respect: disrespectful	41	38%	0		25	45%	8	47%	0	0%	3	21%	5	26%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	19	18%	6	43%

Hartford, Connecticut

The Place

Hartford is the state capital of Connecticut, and a national and international center for the FIRE (Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate) industries.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Hartford County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate)

Population 829,671

Asian	2.7%
Black	11.8%
Latino	8.5%
Native American	0.2%
White	75.9%

Participating Groups

Connecticut Citizen Action Group is a 29-year-old, statewide membership organization, which works on issues of social, economic and environmental justice.

Vecinos Unidos is a community organization based in the Latino neighborhoods of Hartford.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 21 months.

Average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$636.

Medicaid Income Ceiling

A family must earn below \$745 per month for Medicaid eligibility.

Childcare

Childcare subsidy is available through the Family Services Department.

Transportation

Generally not available.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Hartford, CT

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	108	96	12	0	29	70	1	6	2
Percent		89%	11%	0%	27%	65%	1%	6%	2%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	8	39	31	15	4	10
Percent	0%	7%	36%	29%	14%	4%	9%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	22	19	21	17	17		68	14	2	16	7	0
Percent	20%	18%	19%	23%	16%		63%	13%	2%	15%	6%	0%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	62	37	0	2	0	5	2		68	40	0	0	0
Percent	57%	34%	0%	2%	0%	5%	2%		63%	37%	0%	0%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	29	70	1	6	2
Applicant informed of rights	87 81%	0	18 62%	60 86%	1 100%	6 100%	2 100%
Applicant experienced rudeness	39 36%	0	13 45%	22 31%	0 0%	4 67%	0 0%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	30 28%	0	9 31%	19 27%	1 100%	1 17%	0 0%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	41 38%	0	14 48%	21 30%	1 100%	3 50%	2 100%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	80 74%	0	23 79%	49 70%	1 100%	6 100%	1 50%
Number of visits 3 or more	27 25%	0	6 21%	20 29%	0 0%	0 0%	1 50%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	66 61%	0	14 48%	44 63%	1 100%	5 83%	2 100%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	37 34%	0	13 45%	23 33%	0 0%	1 17%	0 0%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	29	70	1	6	2
Required to do a work activity	59 55%	0	18 62%	37 53%	1 100%	2 33%	1 50%
Started work activity	38 35%	0	15 52%	19 27%	1 100%	2 33%	1 50%
Received transportation benefits	25 23%	0	8 28%	16 23%	0 0%	1 17%	0 0%
Needed childcare	38 35%	0	12 41%	24 34%	1 100%	0 0%	1 50%
Received childcare benefits	27 25%	0	10 34%	17 24%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Worked for welfare check only*	3 8%	0	0 0%	3 16%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	108	0	29	70	1	6	2
Told school could be work activity	26 24%	0	4 14%	19 27%	0 0%	2 33%	1 50%
Actual school counted as work	11 10%	0	2 7%	7 10%	1 100%	1 17%	0 0%
Sent for job training	49 45%	0	14 48%	31 23%	0 0%	2 33%	2 100%
Job training: job search*	32 65%	0	7 50%	22 71%	0	1 50%	2 100%
Job training: "dress for success"	15 31%	0	4 29%	10 32%	0	0 0%	1 50%
Job training: computer*	16 33%	0	3 21%	10 32%	0	1 50%	2 100%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Hartford, CT

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	108		0		29		70		1		6		2	
Informed of the rules?	62	57%	0		21	72%	34	49%	1	100%	4	67%	2	100%
Informed of fair hearing right?	48	44%	0		17	59%	24	34%	1	100%	4	67%	2	100%
Received sanction?	23	21%	0		6	21%	17	24%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	17	70%	0		3	50%	14	76%	0		0		0	
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	7	30%	0		3	50%	4	24%	0		0		0	
Reason: missed appointment*	1	4%	0		1	17%	0	0%	0		0		0	
Reason: office lost paperwork*	2	9%	0		0	0%	2	18%	0		0		0	

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	108		0		29		70		1		6		2	
Ease: easy	38	35%	0		8	28%	27	39%	1	100%	1	17%	1	50%
Ease: somewhat easy	40	37%	0		11	38%	24	34%	0	0%	5	83%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	29	27%	0		10	34%	18	26%	0	0%	0	0%	1	50%
Respect: respectful	53	49%	0		10	34%	40	57%	0	0%	2	33%	1	50%
Respect: neutral	37	34%	0		12	41%	19	27%	1	100%	4	67%	1	50%
Respect: disrespectful	16	15%	0		7	24%	9	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	21	19%	18	45%

Los Angeles, CA

The Place

Located on the Pacific Ocean, Los Angeles is the largest U.S. port and the second largest U.S. city. It is a major shipping, industrial, communications and technological center with a diverse ethnic community.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Los Angeles County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Total population 9,329,989

Asian or Pacific Islander 13.4%

Black 11.2%

Latino 44.4%

Native American 0.6%

White 33.1%

(Latino, not classified as white; -2.7%

counted twice by Census, once as Latino and once as other non-white)

Participating Group

The Los Angeles Workfare Workers Organizing Committee is one of ACORN's (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) largest programs to address issues raised by welfare reform. The LA WWOC is building an organization to represent the 25,000 General Assistance workers who work for the city, county, and schools of Los Angeles. ACORN is the nation's largest association of community organizations.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 24 months for current recipients, 18 for new applicants

Average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$565.

Medicaid Income Ceiling

A family must earn below \$1569 per month for children if under five years old.

The family must earn below \$1180 for children if over five years old.

Childcare

Childcare subsidy is available.

Transportation

Transportation subsidy is available.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Los Angeles, CA

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	117	99	18	1	86	19	3	5	3
Percent		85%	15%	1%	74%	16%	3%	4%	3%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	14	45	29	19	5	4
Percent	0%	12%	38%	25%	16%	4%	3%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	27	32	26	18	18		91	8	3	8	3	3
Percent	23%	27%	22%	11%	16%		78%	7%	3%	7%	3%	3%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	105	0	6	0	1	0	5		106	9	1	1	0
Percent	90%	0%	5%	0%	1%	0%	4%		91%	8%	1%	1%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	117	1	86	19	3	5	3
Applicant informed of rights	90 77%	1 100%	66 77%	14 74%	2 67%	5 100%	2 67%
Applicant experienced rudeness	76 65%	0 0%	59 69%	10 53%	2 67%	4 80%	1 33%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	49 42%	0 0%	38 44%	8 42%	0 0%	1 20%	2 67%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	75 64%	0 0%	60 70%	9 47%	2 67%	2 40%	2 67%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	49 42%	1 100%	36 42%	8 42%	1 33%	3 60%	0 0%
Number of visits 3 or more	67 57%	0 0%	50 58%	11 58%	2 67%	2 40%	2 67%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	37 32%	0 0%	31 36%	3 16%	1 33%	1 20%	1 33%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	70 60%	1 100%	50 58%	13 68%	1 33%	4 80%	1 33%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	117	1	86	19	3	5	3
Required to do a work activity	72 62%	0 0%	59 69%	7 37%	2 67%	3 60%	1 33%
Started work activity	41 35%	0 0%	31 36%	6 32%	0 0%	3 60%	1 33%
Received transportation benefits	32 27%	0 0%	29 34%	3 16%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Needed childcare	45 38%	0 0%	35 41%	4 21%	2 67%	3 60%	1 33%
Received childcare benefits	24 21%	0 0%	19 22%	3 16%	1 33%	0 0%	1 33%
Worked for welfare check only*	11 27%	0	11 35%	0 0%	0	0 0%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	117	1	86	19	3	5	3
Told school could be work activity	37 32%	0 0%	32 37%	3 16%	1 33%	1 20%	0 0%
Actual school counted as work	21 18%	0 0%	15 17%	4 21%	1 33%	1 20%	0 0%
Sent for job training	39 33%	0 0%	33 38%	3 16%	0 0%	3 60%	0 0%
Job training: job search*	29 74%	0	23 70%	3 ?	0	3 100%	0
Job training: "dress for success"	25 64%	0	20 61%	2 67%	0	3 100%	0
Job training: computer*	5 13%	0	5 15%	0 0%	0	0 0%	0

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Los Angeles, CA

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	117		1		86		19		3		5		3	
Informed of the rules?	55	47%	0	0%	43	50%	10	53%	0	0%	2	40%	0	0%
Informed of fair hearing right?	47	40%	0	0%	38	44%	7	37%	0	0%	2	40%	0	0%
Received sanction?	51	44%	0	0%	44	51%	5	26%	0	0%	1	20%	1	33%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	43	84%	0		40	91%	1	20%	0		1	100%	1	100%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	7	14%	0		5	11%	2	40%	0		0	0%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	19	37%	0		16	41%	2	40%	0		0	0%	1	100%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	16	31%	0		15	34%	1	20%	0		0	0%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	117		1		86		19		3		5		3	
Ease: easy	25	21%	0	0%	15	17%	7	37%	2	67%	1	20%	0	0%
Ease: somewhat easy	27	23%	0	0%	21	24%	5	26%	1	33%	0	0%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	65	56%	1	100%	50	58%	7	37%	0	0%	4	80%	3	100%
Respect: respectful	34	29%	0	0%	20	23%	9	47%	2	67%	2	40%	1	33%
Respect: neutral	41	35%	1	100%	30	35%	7	37%	1	33%	2	40%	0	0%
Respect: disrespectful	42	36%	0	0%	36	42%	3	16%	0	0%	1	20%	2	67%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	15	13%	2	18%

Mexico, Missouri

The Place

Mexico is a small town in rural Missouri.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Audrain County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population 23,449

Asian	0.6%
Black	7.6%
Latino	0.5%
Native American	0.1%
White	91.3%

Participating Group

Grass Roots Organizing is a membership organization made up of low-income people and their allies, and focusing on issues of concern to that constituency, especially issues related to welfare.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months, but further benefits will be denied if recipient reapplies after completing and Individual Responsibility Plan and receiving benefits for 36 months.

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$292

Medicaid Income Ceiling:

MC+ available for family earning below \$118 per month.

Childcare

Child care subsidy available for recipient if employed, going to school or experiencing poor health.

Transportation

Medicaid recipients may receive non-emergency medical transportation.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Mexico, MO

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	116	99	17	0	60	2	2	49	3
Percent		85%	15%	0%	52%	2%	2%	42%	3%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	11	28	28	16	8	23
Percent	0%	9%	24%	24%	14%	7%	20%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	46	28	22	10	10		54	12	6	7	22	14
Percent	40%	24%	19%	9%	9%		47%	10%	5%	6%	19%	12%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	114	0	0	0	0	0	2		113	1	0	2	0
Percent	98%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%		97%	1%	0%	2%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	116		0		60		2		2		49		3	
Applicant informed of rights	64	55%	0		28	47%	1	50%	2	100%	30	61%	3	100%
Applicant experienced rudeness	50	43%	0		22	37%	0	0%	1	50%	26	53%	1	33%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	47	41%	0		25	42%	1	50%	1	50%	19	39%	1	33%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	58	50%	0		32	53%	1	50%	0	0%	23	47%	2	67%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	85	73%	0		46	77%	2	?	2	100%	33	67%	2	67%
Number of visits 3 or more	30	26%	0		14	23%	0	0%	0	0%	15	31%	1	33%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	48	41%	0		23	38%	1	50%	0	0%	23	47%	1	33%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	65	56%	0		35	58%	1	50%	2	100%	26	53%	1	33%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	116		0		60		2		2		49		3	
Required to do a work activity	40	34%	0		21	35%	0	0%	0	0%	18	37%	1	33%
Started work activity	17	15%	0		10	17%	0	0%	0	0%	6	12%	1	33%
Received transportation benefits	13	11%	0		8	13%	0	0%	0	0%	5	10%	0	0%
Needed childcare	25	22%	0		11	18%	0	0%	0	0%	14	29%	0	0%
Received childcare benefits	16	14%	0		7	12%	0	0%	0	0%	9	18%	0	0%
Worked for welfare check only*	6	35%	0		3	30%	0		0		3	50%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	116		0		60		2		2		49		3	
Told school could be work activity	16	14%	0		10	17%	0	0%	0	0%	6	12%	0	0%
Actual school counted as work	8	7%	0		5	8%	0	0%	0	0%	3	6%	0	0%
Sent for job training	19	16%	0		11	18%	1	0%	0	0%	7	14%	0	0%
Job training: job search*	13	68%	0		10	91%	0	0%	0		3	43%	0	
Job training: "dress for success"	4	21%	0		3	27%	0	0%	0		1	14%	0	
Job training: computer*	6	32%	0		2	18%	0	0%	0		4	57%	0	

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Mexico, MO

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	116		0		60		2		2		49		3	
Informed of the rules?	60	52%	0		22	37%	0	0%	2	100%	33	67%	3	100%
Informed of fair hearing right?	46	40%	0		22	37%	2	?	0	0%	20	41%	2	67%
Received sanction?	50	43%	0		29	48%	1	50%	2	100%	17	35%	1	33%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	21	40%	0		12	38%	1	?	0	0%	8	47%	0	0%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	31	62%	0		18	62%	1	?	2	100%	9	53%	1	100%
Reason: missed appointment*	7	14%	0		4	14%	0	0%	0	0%	3	53%	0	0%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	6	10%	0		5	14%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	116		0		60		2		2		49		3	
Ease: easy	35	30%	0		20	33%	0	0%	1	50%	13	27%	1	33%
Ease: somewhat easy	29	25%	0		16	27%	2	?	0	0%	11	22%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	52	45%	0		24	40%	0	0%	1	50%	25	51%	2	67%
Respect: respectful	50	43%	0		28	47%	1	50%	1	50%	18	37%	2	67%
Respect: neutral	18	16%	0		9	15%	0	0%	1	50%	8	16%	0	0%
Respect: disrespectful	48	41%	0		23	38%	1	50%	0	0%	23	47%	1	33%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	22	19%	1	33%

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Place

The largest city in the state of Wisconsin, on Lake Michigan, Milwaukee is a major Great Lakes shipping port and industrial city.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Marion County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate)

Population 906,248

Black 24.6%

Asian 2.3%

Latino 6.6%

Native American 0.8%

White 66.6%

(Latino, not classified as white; -0.9%

counted twice by Census, once as Latino and once as other non-white)

Participating Groups

Headquartered in Milwaukee, 9to5, the National Association of Working Women is a national, grassroots membership organization1973, with activists in more than 200 cities. 9to5 engages in research, public education and advocacy on issues of concern to working women.

Women in Poverty Public Education is a community organization based in Racine, Wisconsin.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$628

Medicaid Income Ceiling

Varies by county.

Childcare

Subsidy available.

Transportation

Subsidy available for recipients in W-2 (Wisconsin Works) program.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants; state funded food supplement program.

Location: Milwaukee, WI

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	109	101	8	7	65	20	0	17	0
Percent		93%	7%	6%	60%	18%	0%	16%	0%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	10	40	36	16	5	2
Percent	0%	9%	37%	33%	15%	5%	2%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	22	23	24	25	25		67	19	1	10	9	3
Percent	20%	21%	22%	14%	23%		61%	17%	1%	9%	8%	3%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	96	3	2	0	5	1	2		96	8	5	0	0
Percent	88%	3%	2%	0%	5%	1%	2%		88%	7%	5%	0%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		7		65		20		0		17		0	
Applicant informed of rights	74	68%	3	43%	47	72%	11	55%	0		13	76%	0	
Applicant experienced rudeness	62	57%	5	71%	44	68%	5	25%	0		8	47%	0	
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	36	33%	3	43%	26	40%	0	0%	0		7	41%	0	
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	74	68%	6	86%	45	69%	12	60%	0		11	65%	0	
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	57	52%	2	29%	30	46%	14	70%	0		11	65%	0	
Number of visits 3 or more	48	44%	5	71%	31	48%	6	30%	0		6	35%	0	
Wait for benefits: <30 days	46	42%	1	14%	27	42%	10	50%	0		8	47%	0	
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	48	44%	6	86%	29	45%	6	30%	0		7	41%	0	

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		7		65		20		0		17		0	
Required to do a work activity	69	63%	5	71%	46	71%	8	40%	0		10	59%	0	
Started work activity	36	33%	1	14%	28	43%	5	25%	0		2	12%	0	
Received transportation benefits	40	37%	1	14%	28	43%	7	35%	0		4	24%	0	
Needed childcare	46	42%	3	43%	33	51%	6	30%	0		4	24%	0	
Received childcare benefits	34	31%	3	43%	22	34%	6	30%	0		3	18%	0	
Worked for welfare check only*	20	56%	0	0%	14	50%	4	80%	0		2	100%	0	

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		7		65		20		0		17		0	
Told school could be work activity	30	28%	4	57%	22	34%	4	20%	0		0	0%	0	
Actual school counted as work	19	17%	2	57%	12	18%	4	20%	0		1	6%	0	
Sent for job training	31	28%	0	0%	22	34%	5	35%	0		4	24%	0	
Job training: job search*	15	48%	0		9	41%	2	40%	0		4	100%	0	
Job training: "dress for success"	12	39%	0		9	41%	2	40%	0		1	25%	0	
Job training: computer*	12	39%	0		9	41%	2	40%	0		1	25%	0	

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Milwaukee, WI

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		7		65		20		0		17		0	
Informed of the rules?	70	64%	4	57%	47	72%	10	50%	0		9	53%	0	
Informed of fair hearing right?	42	39%	3	43%	30	46%	5	25%	0		4	24%	0	
Received sanction?	63	58%	4	57%	41	63%	11	55%	0		7	41%	0	
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	46	73%	3	75%	29	71%	9	82%	0		5	71%	0	
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	14	22%	0	0%	11	27%	1	9%	0		2	29%	0	
Reason: missed appointment*	23	37%	0	25%	17	49%	3	45%	0		3	29%	0	
Reason: office lost paperwork*	8	13%	0	0%	7	17%	0	0%	0		1	14%	0	

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	109		7		65		20		0		17		0	
Ease: easy	30	28%	0	0%	13	20%	12	60%	0		5	29%	0	
Ease: somewhat easy	18	17%	1	14%	12	18%	3	15%	0		2	12%	0	
Ease: difficult	61	56%	6	86%	40	62%	5	25%	0		10	59%	0	
Respect: respectful	44	40%	0	0%	20	31%	15	75%	0		9	53%	0	
Respect: neutral	26	24%	3	43%	18	28%	3	15%	0		2	12%	0	
Respect: disrespectful	38	35%	4	57%	26	40%	2	10%	0		6	35%	0	

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	17	16%	5	38%

Oakland, California

The Place

Located on the east side of the San Francisco Bay in northern California, Oakland is an ethnically diverse city with an active port. Only recently completing rebuilding after the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, Oakland suffered substantial loss of blue collar jobs when the Alameda Naval Air Station closed down in the early 1990s.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Alameda County, California Department of State 1998 estimate)

Population 1,428,333

Asian	19%
Black	18%
Latino	17%
Native American	0%
White	46%

Participating Groups

Applied Research Center and Asians and Pacific Islanders for Reproductive Choice, a community organization working especially with women and girls in the Asian community of Oakland.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: For current recipients, 24 months; for new applicants, 18 months.

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$565.

Medicaid Income Ceiling

A family must earn below \$745 per month for Medicaid eligibility.

Childcare

Childcare subsidy is available.

Transportation

Available through the CalWorks GAIN office.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Oakland, CA

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	141	121	20	35	84	9	2	9	2
Percent		86%	14%	25%	60%	6%	1%	6%	1%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	1	7	43	36	39	4	10
Percent	1%	5%	30%	26%	28%	3%	7%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	15	45	27	39	39		64	45	6	10	9	6
Percent	11%	32%	19%	11%	28%		45%	32%	4%	7%	6%	4%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	99	0	4	0	30	0	8		102	7	28	4	0
Percent	70%	0%	3%	0%	21%	0%	6%		72%	5%	20%	3%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	141		35		84		9		2		9		2	
Applicant informed of rights	86	61%	23	66%	49	58%	6	67%	2	100%	5	56%	1	50%
Applicant experienced rudeness	87	62%	10	29%	61	73%	5	56%	2	100%	7	78%	2	100%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	55	39%	6	17%	42	50%	4	44%	1	50%	1	11%	1	50%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	92	65%	11	31%	65	77%	7	78%	2	100%	7	78%	0	0%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	69	49%	27	77%	33	39%	5	56%	0	0%	3	33%	1	50%
Number of visits 3 or more	69	49%	8	23%	48	57%	4	44%	2	100%	6	67%	1	50%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	48	34%	8	23%	32	38%	4	44%	0	0%	2	22%	2	100%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	89	63%	27	77%	48	57%	5	56%	2	100%	7	78%	0	0%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	141		35		84		9		2		9		2	
Required to do a work activity	43	30%	8	23%	28	33%	2	22%	1	50%	4	44%	0	0%
Started work activity	30	21%	7	20%	17	20%	1	11%	1	50%	4	44%	0	0%
Received transportation benefits	16	11%	1	3%	13	15%	1	11%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%
Needed childcare	18	13%	1	3%	16	19%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Received childcare benefits	12	9%	1	3%	10	12%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Worked for welfare check only*	5	17%	0	0%	2	12%	0	0%	1	100%	2	50%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	141		35		84		9		2		9		2	
Told school could be work activity	17	12%	1	3%	13	15%	1	11%	1	50%	1	11%	0	0%
Actual school counted as work	9	6%	1	3%	7	8%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Sent for job training	52	37%	15	43%	30	36%	1	11%	1	50%	4	44%	1	50%
Job training: job search*	34	65%	9	60%	20	67%	1	?	1	100%	3	75%	0	0%
Job training: "dress for success"	30	58%	3	20%	22	73%	1	?	1	100%	3	75%	0	0%
Job training: computer*	16	31%	1	7%	13	43%	0	0%	0	0%	2	50%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Oakland, CA

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	141		35		84		9		2		9		2	
Informed of the rules?	73	52%	20	57%	42	50%	5	56%	1	50%	5	56%	0	0%
Informed of fair hearing right?	40	28%	14	40%	23	27%	1	11%	0	0%	2	22%	0	0%
Received sanction?	52	37%	4	11%	41	49%	2	22%	1	50%	3	33%	1	50%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	33	63%	4	100%	24	59%	0	0%	1	100%	3	100%	1	100%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	15	29%	0	0%	14	34%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	12	23%	3	75%	6	22%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	1	100%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	9	17%	4	100%	3	7%	0	0%	1	100%	1	33%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	141		35		84		9		2		9		2	
Ease: easy	32	23%	8	23%	20	24%	2	22%	0	0%	2	22%	0	0%
Ease: somewhat easy	20	14%	11	31%	9	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	84	60%	15	43%	52	62%	7	78%	2	100%	6	67%	2	100%
Respect: respectful	42	30%	6	17%	31	37%	4	44%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%
Respect: neutral	35	25%	22	63%	10	12%	0	0%	2	100%	1	11%	0	0%
Respect: disrespectful	59	42%	7	20%	39	46%	5	56%	0	0%	6	67%	2	100%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	31	22%	25	64%

Pine Ridge, South Dakota

The Place

Pine Ridge is a very impoverished Indian reservation in the southwest corner of South Dakota, about 120 miles from Rapid City. The population is almost entirely Oglala Sioux. Unemployment stands at 84%, and almost 70% of residents live below the poverty line.

Population and Racial Demographics

(U.S. Census Bureau 1990 census):

Total	2,598	
Black	8	
Latino	62	(2%)
Native American	2,444	(95%)
White	84	(3%)

Participating Group

Applied Research Center

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$430

Medicaid Income Ceiling

Available for families earning below \$796.

Childcare

Available in the form of payments to the child care provider if the recipient is working and still within the public assistance income guidelines.

Transportation

Subsidy available.

Benefits for Immigrants

Neither TANF nor Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants in South Dakota.

Location: Pine Ridge, SD

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	67	61	6	0	3	5	54	5	0
Percent		91%	9%	0%	4%	7%	81%	7%	0%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	0	25	15	17	2	8
Percent	0%	0%	37%	22%	25%	3%	12%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	13	18	13	13	13		31	16	2	4	11	3
Percent	19%	27%	19%	15%	19%		46%	24%	3%	6%	16%	4%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	67	0	0	0	0	0	0		65	0	0	2	0
Percent	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		97%	0%	0%	3%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	67		0		3		5		54		5		0	
Applicant informed of rights	56	84%	0		3	?	4	80%	44	81%	5	100%	0	
Applicant experienced rudeness	33	49%	0		3	?	4	80%	26	48%	0	0%	0	
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	34	51%	0		3	?	2	40%	29	54%	0	0%	0	
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	45	67%	0		3	?	3	60%	37	69%	2	40%	0	
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	48	72%	0		1	33%	4	80%	39	72%	4	80%	0	
Number of visits 3 or more	19	28%	0		2	67%	1	20%	15	28%	1	20%	0	
Wait for benefits: <30 days	35	52%	0		0	0%	4	80%	28	52%	3	60%	0	
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	28	42%	0		3	?	1	20%	22	41%	2	40%	0	

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	67		0		3		5		54		5		0	
Required to do a work activity	41	61%	0		3	?	3	60%	34	63%	1	20%	0	
Started work activity	26	39%	0		1	33%	3	60%	22	41%	0	0%	0	
Received transportation benefits	8	12%	0		1	33%	1	20%	6	11%	0	0%	0	
Needed childcare	23	34%	0		2	67%	1	20%	20	37%	0	0%	0	
Received childcare benefits	9	13%	0		0	0%	0	0%	9	17%	0	0%	0	
Worked for welfare check only*	6	23%	0		0	0%	1	33%	5	23%	0		0	

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	67		0		3		5		54		5		0	
Told school could be work activity	12	18%	0		0	0%	0	0%	9	17%	3	60%	0	
Actual school counted as work	8	12%	0		0	0%	1	20%	7	13%	0	0%	0	
Sent for job training	11	16%	0		1	33%	3	20%	7	13%	0	0%	0	
Job training: job search*	8	73%	0		1	?	3	?	4	57%	0		0	
Job training: "dress for success"	4	36%	0		1	?	0	0%	3	43%	0		0	
Job training: computer*	2	18%	0		0	0%	0	0%	2	29%	0		0	

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Pine Ridge, SD

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	67		0		3		5		54		5		0	
Informed of the rules?	53	79%	0		3	?	4	80%	41	76%	5	100%	0	
Informed of fair hearing right?	39	58%	0		3	?	4	80%	28	52%	4	80%	0	
Received sanction?	32	48%	0		3	?	3	60%	24	44%	2	40%	0	
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	15	47%	0		2	67%	1	33%	12	50%	0	0%	0	
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	19	59%	0		1	33%	2	67%	14	58%	2	100%	0	
Reason: missed appointment*	2	6%	0		0	0%	0	0%	2	8%	0	100%	0	
Reason: office lost paperwork*	7	22%	0		1	33%	0	0%	6	25%	0	0%	0	

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	67		0		3		5		54		5		0	
Ease: easy	19	28%	0		0	0%	1	20%	17	31%	1	20%	0	
Ease: somewhat easy	16	24%	0		0	0%	2	40%	11	20%	3	60%	0	
Ease: difficult	32	48%	0		3	?	2	40%	26	48%	1	20%	0	
Respect: respectful	24	36%	0		0	0%	1	20%	21	39%	2	40%	0	
Respect: neutral	23	34%	0		1	33%	2	40%	18	33%	2	40%	0	
Respect: disrespectful	20	30%	0		2	67%	2	40%	15	28%	1	20%	0	

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	12	18%	0	0%

Salem, Oregon

The Place

Salem, situated in the Willamette River Valley, is the capital of Oregon

Population and Racial Demographics

(Marion County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population 840,443

Asian 1.5%

Black 23.4%

Latino 0.8%

Native American 0.1%

White 74.4%

Latino, not classified as white; -1.0%

counted twice by Census, once as Latino and once as other non-white.

Participating Group

Based in Salem, Oregon, CAUSA works on issues of immigrant rights in Oregon. Its Mano-a-Mano project provides welfare information and referrals and works with the staff of the local Department of Human Services offices to assist them in serving immigrant clients.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 24 months out of 84 months (7 years).

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$460.

Medicaid Income Ceiling

Available for families earning below \$1179. Other restrictions apply.

Childcare

Subsidy available on a case-by-case basis.

Transportation

Subsidy available on a case-by-case basis.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF, cash grants and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Salem, OR

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	115	102	13	1	1	67	5	39	2
Percent		89%	11%	1%	1%	58%	4%	34%	2%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	12	62	22	13	2	2
Percent	0%	10%	54%	19%	11%	2%	2%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	11	20	38	18	18		31	38	20	16	6	2
Percent	10%	17%	33%	19%	17%		27%	33%	17%	14%	5%	2%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	51	0	55	0	0	1	8		57	54	0	4	0
Percent	44%	0%	48%	0%	0%	1%	7%		50%	47%	0%	3%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	115	1	1	67	5	39	2
Applicant informed of rights	89 77%	1 100%	1 ?	52 78%	4 80%	31 79%	0 0%
Applicant experienced rudeness	62 54%	1 100%	1 ?	30 45%	3 60%	26 67%	1 50%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	56 49%	0 0%	1 ?	28 42%	4 80%	22 56%	1 50%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	64 56%	1 100%	0 0%	32 48%	5 100%	25 64%	1 50%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	68 59%	0 0%	1 ?	39 58%	4 80%	24 62%	0 0%
Number of visits 3 or more	42 37%	1 100%	0 0%	25 37%	1 20%	14 36%	1 50%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	44 38%	0 0%	0 0%	31 46%	1 20%	11 28%	1 50%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	61 53%	0 0%	1 ?	30 45%	4 80%	25 64%	1 50%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	115	1	1	67	5	39	2
Required to do a work activity	36 31%	0 0%	0 0%	20 30%	3 60%	13 33%	0 0%
Started work activity	25 22%	0 0%	0 0%	13 19%	2 40%	10 26%	0 0%
Received transportation benefits	17 15%	0 0%	0 0%	7 10%	1 20%	9 23%	0 0%
Needed childcare	25 22%	0 0%	0 0%	16 24%	2 40%	7 18%	0 0%
Received childcare benefits	17 15%	0 0%	0 0%	10 15%	1 20%	6 15%	0 0%
Worked for welfare check only*	2 8%	0	0	0 0%	1 50%	1 10%	0

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	115	1	1	67	5	39	2
Told school could be work activity	24 21%	0 0%	0 0%	13 19%	0 0%	11 28%	0 0%
Actual school counted as work	5 4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	5 13%	0 0%
Sent for job training	47 41%	1 100%	1 ?	23 10%	5 100%	16 41%	1 50%
Job training: job search*	31 66%	0 0%	0 0%	13 57%	3 60%	14 88%	1 100%
Job training: "dress for success"	13 28%	0 0%	1 ?	4 17%	3 60%	4 25%	1 100%
Job training: computer*	2 4%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%	0 0%	1 6%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Salem, OR

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	115		1		1		67		5		39		2	
Informed of the rules?	87	76%	1	100%	1	?	47	70%	4	80%	32	82%	2	100%
Informed of fair hearing right?	54	47%	0	0%	0	0%	22	33%	3	60%	28	72%	1	50%
Received sanction?	18	16%	0	0%	0	0%	7	10%	1	20%	9	23%	1	50%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	16	78%	0		0		8	86%	1	100%	7	78%	0	0%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	2	11%	0		0		0	0%	0	0%	2	22%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	6	33%	0		0		3	43%	0	0%	3	22%	0	0%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	4	22%	0		0		3	43%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	115		1		1		67		5		39		2	
Ease: easy	40	35%	0	0%	0	0%	22	33%	1	20%	16	41%	1	50%
Ease: somewhat easy	39	34%	0	0%	1	?	26	39%	1	20%	11	28%	0	0%
Ease: difficult	33	29%	1	100%	0	0%	17	25%	3	60%	11	28%	1	50%
Respect: respectful	42	37%	0	0%	0	0%	31	46%	0	0%	10	26%	1	50%
Respect: neutral	46	40%	1	100%	1	?	21	31%	4	80%	18	46%	1	50%
Respect: disrespectful	23	20%	0	0%	0	0%	11	16%	1	20%	11	28%	0	0%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	33	29%	31	53%

Salt Lake City, Utah

The Place

Located on the Jordan River near the Great Salt Lake, Salt Lake City is the capital of Utah and the major center of the Mormon religion. It is also the site of several growing industries such as warehousing, food processing and oil refining.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Salt Lake County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population 850,243

Asian 3.7%

Black 1.2%

Latino 8.9%

Native American 0.9%

White 86.0%

(Latino, not classified as white; -0.7%

counted twice by Census, once as Latino and once as other non-white.)

Participating Group

JEDI for Women is a grass-roots organization of mostly low-income women, some receiving welfare, others working in low-paying jobs. They conduct research, public education and advocacy on many issues, including job training and availability, education, access to affordable housing, child care, and health care.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 36 months.

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$426.

Medicaid Income Ceiling:

Medicaid available for families earning below \$584 per month.

Childcare

Subsidy available for recipients who are employed and earn below an income ceiling.

Transportation

No subsidy available.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Salt Lake City, UT

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	102	71	31	1	6	16	6	67	6
Percent		70%	30%	1%	6%	16%	6%	66%	6%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	7	28	25	19	5	15
Percent	0%	7%	27%	25%	19%	5%	15%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	37	19	17	9	9		39	17	4	11	20	5
Percent	36%	19%	17%	7%	10%		38%	17%	4%	11%	20%	5%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	86	0	5	0	0	5	6		95	5	0	2	0
Percent	84%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	6%		93%	5%	0%	2%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	102	1	6	16	6	67	6
Applicant informed of rights	45 44%	1 100%	4 67%	6 38%	4 67%	30 45%	0 0%
Applicant experienced rudeness	40 39%	0 0%	2 33%	8 50%	0 0%	28 42%	2 33%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	47 46%	0 0%	4 67%	7 44%	0 0%	32 48%	4 67%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	63 62%	0 0%	3 50%	7 44%	5 83%	43 64%	5 83%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	41 40%	1 100%	2 33%	8 50%	2 33%	26 39%	2 33%
Number of visits 3 or more	51 50%	0 0%	3 50%	7 44%	2 33%	36 54%	3 50%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	37 36%	1 100%	2 33%	8 50%	4 67%	21 31%	1 17%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	46 45%	0 0%	3 50%	4 25%	1 17%	35 52%	3 50%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	102	1	6	16	6	67	6
Required to do a work activity	47 46%	1 100%	4 67%	6 38%	1 17%	31 46%	4 67%
Started work activity	29 28%	1 100%	3 50%	5 31%	0 0%	19 28%	1 17%
Received transportation benefits	18 18%	0 0%	3 50%	2 13%	0 0%	12 18%	1 17%
Needed childcare	27 26%	1 100%	0 0%	6 38%	0 0%	18 27%	2 33%
Received childcare benefits	17 17%	1 100%	0 0%	3 19%	0 0%	13 19%	0 0%
Worked for welfare check only*	9 31%	0 0%	2 67%	0 0%	0	7 37%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total # %	Asian # %	Black # %	Latino # %	Native # %	White # %	Other # %
Community Totals	102	1	6	16	6	67	6
Told school could be work activity	14 14%	0 0%	3 50%	2 13%	1 17%	8 12%	0 0%
Actual school counted as work	8 8%	0 0%	1 17%	0 0%	0 0%	7 10%	0 0%
Sent for job training	13 13%	0 0%	2 33%	2 13%	0 0%	8 12%	1 17%
Job training: job search*	6 46%	0	1 50%	2 ?	0	3 38%	0 0%
Job training: "dress for success"	2 15%	0	1 50%	1 50%	0	0 0%	0 0%
Job training: computer*	5 38%	0	2 ?	1 50%	0	2 25%	0 0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Salt Lake City, UT

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	102		1		6		16		6		67		6	
Informed of the rules?	54	53%	0	0%	4	67%	10	63%	4	67%	34	51%	2	33%
Informed of fair hearing right?	40	39%	0	0%	3	50%	5	31%	3	50%	28	42%	1	17%
Received sanction?	41	40%	0	0%	4	67%	5	31%	2	33%	26	39%	4	67%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	25	61%	0		4	?	3	60%	2	100%	12	46%	4	100%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	14	34%	0		0	0%	2	40%	0	0%	12	46%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	16	39%	0		3	75%	1	20%	0	0%	10	46%	2	50%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	10	24%	0		0	0%	0	0%	1	50%	8	31%	1	25%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	102		1		6		16		6		67		6	
Ease: easy	15	15%	0	0%	2	33%	4	25%	0	0%	8	12%	1	17%
Ease: somewhat easy	32	31%	1	100%	3	50%	3	19%	4	67%	20	30%	1	17%
Ease: difficult	55	54%	0	0%	1	17%	9	56%	2	33%	39	58%	4	67%
Respect: respectful	30	29%	0	0%	1	17%	3	19%	3	50%	22	33%	1	17%
Respect: neutral	40	39%	1	100%	4	67%	7	44%	1	17%	24	36%	3	50%
Respect: disrespectful	32	31%	0	0%	1	17%	6	38%	2	33%	21	31%	2	33%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	22	22%	6	86%

Seattle, Washington

The Place

Seattle is the largest city in the Pacific Northwest and is the manufacturing and industrial hub of the region.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Marion County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population	1,664,846
Black	6.0%
Asian	11.0%
Latino	4.5%
Native American	1.2%
White	78.1%
(Latino, not classified as white; counted twice by Census, once as Latino and once as other non-white.)	-0.8%

Participating Group

Founded in 1984, the Welfare Rights Organizing Committee's 3,500 membership is drawn from current and former welfare recipients. WROC focuses on issues of concern to low-income women, through leadership training, voter registration drives, public education and advocacy.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months.

State average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$546.

Medicaid Income Ceiling:

Medicaid Available for families earning below \$546.00. Other restrictions apply.

Childcare

Subsidy available on a case-by-case basis.

Transportation

No subsidy available.

Benefits for Immigrants

TANF and Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Seattle, WA

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	93	79	14	5	25	7	4	48	4
Percent		85%	15%	5%	27%	8%	4%	52%	4%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	5	27	28	23	5	4
Percent	0%	5%	29%	30%	25%	5%	4%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	11	37	19	16	16		44	11	4	18	14	2
Percent	12%	40%	20%	12%	17%		47%	12%	4%	19%	15%	2%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	78	0	3	0	1	1	10		84	3	1	5	0
Percent	84%	0%	3%	0%	1%	1%	11%		90%	3%	1%	5%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	93		5		25		7		4		48		4	
Applicant informed of rights	62	67%	3	60%	14	56%	6	86%	3	75%	33	69%	3	75%
Applicant experienced rudeness	60	65%	3	60%	18	72%	2	29%	2	50%	34	71%	1	25%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	41	44%	3	60%	10	40%	1	14%	1	25%	26	54%	0	0%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	64	69%	3	60%	20	80%	2	29%	3	75%	32	67%	4	100%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	48	52%	3	60%	11	44%	4	57%	0	0%	27	56%	3	75%
Number of visits 3 or more	45	48%	2	40%	14	56%	3	43%	4	100%	21	44%	1	25%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	55	59%	2	40%	16	64%	5	71%	1	25%	31	65%	0	0%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	29	31%	2	40%	7	28%	2	29%	1	25%	13	27%	4	100%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	93		5		25		7		4		48		4	
Required to do a work activity	52	56%	3	60%	11	44%	3	43%	3	75%	30	63%	2	50%
Started work activity	26	28%	0	0%	10	40%	3	43%	0	0%	13	27%	0	0%
Received transportation benefits	20	22%	3	60%	3	12%	1	14%	1	25%	12	25%	0	0%
Needed childcare	38	41%	3	60%	7	28%	3	43%	1	25%	22	46%	2	50%
Received childcare benefits	28	30%	2	40%	6	24%	3	43%	0	0%	16	33%	1	25%
Worked for welfare check only*	3	12%	0		1	10%	1	33%	0		1	8%	0	

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total #	Total %	Asian #	Asian %	Black #	Black %	Latino #	Latino %	Native #	Native %	White #	White %	Other #	Other %
Community Totals	93		5		25		7		4		48		4	
Told school could be work activity	22	24%	1	20%	3	12%	3	43%	0	0%	12	25%	3	75%
Actual school counted as work	9	10%	1	20%	2	8%	1	14%	0	0%	3	6%	2	50%
Sent for job training	35	38%	1	20%	12	48%	1	14%	1	25%	17	35%	3	75%
Job training: job search*	23	66%	1	100%	8	67%	1	?	1	100%	10	59%	2	67%
Job training: "dress for success"	14	40%	0	0%	7	58%	0	0%	1	100%	5	29%	1	33%
Job training: computer*	5	14%	0	0%	4	33%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Seattle, WA

Part 5: Sanctions	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	93		5		25		7		4		48		4	
Informed of the rules?	50	54%	4	80%	10	40%	5	71%	1	25%	28	58%	2	50%
Informed of fair hearing right?	42	45%	3	60%	12	48%	6	86%	0	0%	19	40%	2	50%
Received sanction?	35	38%	1	20%	11	44%	2	29%	2	50%	18	38%	1	25%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	28	80%	1	100%	8	73%	2	?	2	100%	14	78%	1	100%
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	7	20%	0	0%	3	27%	0	0%	0	0%	4	22%	0	0%
Reason: missed appointment*	7	20%	0	0%	3	27%	1	50%	1	50%	2	22%	0	0%
Reason: office lost paperwork*	7	20%	0	0%	2	18%	0	0%	0	0%	5	28%	0	0%

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	93		5		25		7		4		48		4	
Ease: easy	21	23%	1	20%	6	24%	2	29%	0	0%	11	23%	1	25%
Ease: somewhat easy	30	32%	2	40%	6	24%	2	29%	3	75%	15	31%	2	50%
Ease: difficult	42	45%	2	40%	13	52%	3	43%	1	25%	22	46%	1	25%
Respect: respectful	30	32%	1	20%	5	20%	3	43%	1	25%	18	38%	2	50%
Respect: neutral	27	29%	2	40%	9	36%	3	43%	2	50%	9	19%	2	50%
Respect: disrespectful	35	38%	2	40%	10	40%	1	14%	1	25%	21	44%	0	0%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	17	18%	4	44%

Selma, Alabama

The Place

Located in central Alabama on the Alabama River, Selma is a fertile farm area and a market center for Alabama. In 1965 Selma was also the center of a Black voter-registration drive led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Population and Racial Demographics

(Dallas County, U.S. Census Bureau 1999 estimate):

Population	46,669
Asian	0.3%
Black	59.7%
Latino	0.3%
Native American	0.1%
White	39.7%

Participating Group

CARE (Coalition of Alabamians Reforming Education) was founded in 1993 to address the issue of quality education for all public school students in Alabama. With deep roots in Selma and a strong youth program, CARE has worked to end racially discriminatory tracking in Alabama's schools.

Welfare Coverage

Lifetime TANF limit: 60 months

Average monthly TANF grant for a family of 3: \$164

Medicaid Income Ceiling

A family must earn below \$1569 per month to have children under the age of six covered by Medicaid. Children over six or who live in families with slightly higher incomes may be eligible for the CHIP program.

No Medicaid coverage is available for adults unless they are pregnant.

Childcare

Childcare subsidy is available through the Social Security office, Childcare Division.

Transportation

No work-related transportation subsidy.

Medical transportation subsidy available for Medicaid recipients through the Non-Emergency Transportation office.

Benefits for Immigrants

No TANF or cash assistance available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Medicaid available to pre-enactment immigrants.

Location: Selma, AL

Part 1: Demographics

	Total	Female	Male	Asian	Black	Latino	Native	White	Other
Number	87	76	11	0	81	1	0	3	2
Percent		87%	13%	0%	93%	1%	0%	3%	2%

Age	Under 16	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	Over 55
Number	0	6	42	22	8	3	5
Percent	0%	7%	48%	25%	9%	3%	6%

Number of Children	0	1	2	3	> 3	Marital Status	Single	Married	Sep'd	Living Together	Divor'd	Widow
Number	3	20	28	5	5		61	3	12	5	1	4
Percent	3%	23%	32%	15%	7%		70%	3%	14%	6%	1%	5%

Place of Birth	USA	USA - P.R.	Mexico	Dom. Rep.	SE Asia	No Reply	Other	Preferred Language	Eng.	Span.	SE Asian Lang.	Other	No Reply
Number	86	0	0	0	0	1	0		87	0	0	0	0
Percent	99%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%		100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Part 2: Application Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	87		0		81		1		0		3		2	
Applicant informed of rights	83	95%	0		77	95%	1	?	0		3	100%	2	100%
Applicant experienced rudeness	12	14%	0		9	11%	1	?	0		0	0%	2	100%
Applicant experienced personal invasiveness	13	15%	0		11	14%	1	?	0		0	0%	1	50%
Applicant experienced barriers to application process	14	16%	0		13	16%	0	0%	0		0	0%	1	50%
Number of visits: 2 or fewer	66	76%	0		61	75%	1	?	0		3	100%	1	50%
Number of visits 3 or more	20	23%	0		19	23%	0	0%	0		0	0%	1	50%
Wait for benefits: <30 days	43	49%	0		39	48%	0	0%	0		2	67%	2	100%
Wait for benefits: 30 or more days	31	36%	0		29	36%	1	?	0		1	33%	0	0%

Part 3: Work Activity

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	87		0		81		1		0		3		2	
Required to do a work activity	38	44%	0		36	44%	0	0%	0		0	0%	2	100%
Started work activity	17	20%	0		15	19%	0	0%	0		0	0%	2	100%
Received transportation benefits	8	9%	0		7	9%	0	0%	0		0	0%	1	50%
Needed childcare	23	26%	0		22	27%	0	0%	0		0	0%	1	50%
Received childcare benefits	14	16%	0		14	17%	0	0%	0		0	0%	0	0%
Worked for welfare check only*	2	12%	0		2	13%	0		0		0		0	0%

*As a percentage of those who have started their work activity

Part 4: School & Job Training

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	87		0		81		1		0		3		2	
Told school could be work activity	18	21%	0		15	19%	1	?	0		0	0%	2	100%
Actual school counted as work	13	15%	0		13	16%	0	0%	0		0	0%	0	0%
Sent for job training	23	26%	0		21	26%	0	0%	0		0	0%	2	100%
Job training: job search*	14	61%	0		14	67%	0		0		0		0	0%
Job training: "dress for success"	9	39%	0		8	38%	0		0		0		1	50%
Job training: computer*	7	30%	0		7	33%	0		0		0		0	0%

*As a percentage of those referred for job training

Location: Selma, AL

Part 5: Sanctions

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	87		0		81		1		0		3		2	
Informed of the rules?	70	80%	0		65	80%	1	?	0		2	67%	2	100%
Informed of fair hearing right?	30	34%	0		28	35%	0	0%	0		0	0%	2	100%
Received sanction?	3	3%	0		3	4%	0	0%	0		0	0%	0	0%
Sanction: temporary benefit loss*	2	67%	0		2	67%	0		0		0		0	
Sanction: permanent ben. loss*	0	0%	0		0	0%	0		0		0		0	
Reason: missed appointment*	1	33%	0		1	33%	0		0		0		0	
Reason: office lost paperwork*	2	67%	0		2	67%	0		0		0		0	

*As a percentage of those who received sanctions

Part 6: The Whole Process

	Total		Asian		Black		Latino		Native		White		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Community Totals	87		0		81		1		0		3		2	
Ease: easy	27	31%	0		26	32%	0	0%	0		1	33%	0	0%
Ease: somewhat easy	48	55%	0		44	54%	1	?	0		2	67%	1	50%
Ease: difficult	10	11%	0		9	11%	0	0%	0		0	0%	1	50%
Respect: respectful	33	38%	0		29	36%	1	?	0		3	100%	0	0%
Respect: neutral	45	52%	0		45	56%	0	0%	0		0	0%	0	0%
Respect: disrespectful	8	9%	0		6	7%	0	0%	0		0	0%	2	100%

	Total		Non-English Speakers	
	#	%	#	%
Experienced language barrier	8	9%	0	

Appendix C:

Federal TANF Funds Allocated, Spent, and Remaining for the 13 States Covered by the Survey

Federal TANF Funds Allocated, Spent, and Remaining for the 13 States Covered by the Survey

State	Available for TANF	Total Expenditures	Unliquidated Obligations	Unobligated Balance	
Alabama	214,676,788	178,589,772	4,835,000	31,252,016	14.6%
California	10,093,039,969	8,472,423,279	1,620,616,690	0	0.0%
Connecticut	746,450,546	705,720,044	0	40,730,502	5.5%
Georgia	830,316,307	694,359,352	15,344,483	120,612,4721	4.5%
Massachusetts	982,679,347	913,593,040	0	69,086,307	7.0%
Missouri	535,121,308	508,341,698	15,331,272	11,448,338	2.1%
New York	5,910,155,402	4,882,442,809	343,566,373	684,146,220	11.6%
Ohio	1,965,514,302	1,231,642,451	583,871,851	150,000,000	7.6%
Oregon	501,405,706	477,621,855	23,783,851	0	0.0%
South Dakota	53,047,749	39,013,842	2,159,490	11,874,417	22.4%
Utah	225,073,680	207,264,704	0	17,808,976	7.9%
Washington	946,975,826	748,622,442	68,105,346	130,248,037	13.8%
Wisconsin	768,790,302	447,926,280	290,117,259	30,746,763	4.0%

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Appendix D:

Survey Instrument

Welfare Civil Rights Survey

Part One — Applying for benefits

1. People who receive welfare benefits have certain rights. Did any of these ever happen to you? (Check all that apply.)

Did a case worker ever tell you about your rights?

☐ Yes ☐ No.

Did they tell you in words? ☐ Yes

Did they give you a piece of paper to keep? ☐ Yes

Did they give you a piece of paper to read, but not let you keep it? ☐ Yes

★2. Did any of these things ever happen to you?

Did a worker ever tell you that you couldn't apply for benefits? ☐ Yes

Did a worker wait on someone else before you, even though you were there first? ☐ Yes

Did a worker ask personal questions without explaining why they needed the information? ☐ Yes

Did you need translation to your own language, but there was no translator available? ☐ Yes

Did a worker tell you that you couldn't get any benefits because you are not a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes

Was a worker rude or disrespectful to you? ☐ Yes

Did a worker make a visit to your home? ☐ Yes

Did a worker make you come back to the office more than once because there were problems with your application form? ☐ Yes

Did a worker do anything else that you thought they shouldn't do? ☐ Yes

3. How many times did you have to go to the welfare office in order for your application to be accepted?

☐ One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ More than three

☐ Still waiting

4. Here is a list of different kinds of benefits. Not all of these benefits are available in every state or county, so some of them might not sound familiar) I'll read each one of these, and ask you four things: Did a worker tell you about this program? Did you apply for it? Did you get the benefits? Or are you still waiting to find out?

Program	Told	Applied	Got Benefits
TANF/Welfare			
General assistance			
Food stamps			
Childcare			
Medicaid			
Transportation help			
Job training			
School or college			
CHIP (a children's health insurance program)			
Emergency funds			
Other: _____ _____			

5. If you have started receiving benefits, how long did it take from the time you first contacted the welfare office until you started receiving your benefits? Was it:

☐ Less than 30 days ☐ 30 - 60 days ☐ Over 60 days

Part Two — Work

6. Were you ever told you had to do a work activity in order to get or keep your benefits? (If No, skip to Part Three.)

☐ Yes ☐ No

7. Have you started your work activity?

☐ Yes ☐ No.

8. Did you (or will you) get benefits to help pay for transportation to and from your work activity?

☐ No
☐ Yes, extra money.
☐ Yes, a voucher for public transit (like a bus pass).

9. Did you (or will you) need childcare so you could go to your work activity? (If No, skip to question 13.)

☐ Yes ☐ No

10. Did you (or will you) get benefits to help pay for childcare?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. What help have you gotten to find childcare?

- ☐ No help.
☐ They gave me a list of childcare providers.
☐ They found childcare for me.

★12. The next few questions are about your workplace.

Have any of these ever happened to you?

Did a fellow worker or boss ever make a racial comment you were uncomfortable with, either about you or about someone else? ☐ Yes

Were you fired from your work activity because you complained about racial comments? ☐ Yes

Did you quit your work activity because of racial comments? ☐ Yes

Did a fellow worker or boss ever make sexual comments to you, like remarks about your body? ☐ Yes

Did a fellow worker or boss ever touch you in an inappropriate way? ☐ Yes

Did a fellow worker or boss not take no for an answer when you said you didn't want to go out with them? ☐ Yes

Were you fired from your work activity because you didn't put up with sexual treatment you didn't like? ☐ Yes

Did you quit your work activity so you wouldn't have to put up with sexual treatment you didn't like? ☐ Yes

Did you ever not understand what you were supposed to do, because the instructions weren't in your language?

☐ Yes

Did a fellow worker or boss make comments about your language or the country you come from? ☐ Yes

Were you fired, but no one told you why? ☐ Yes

Did anything else happen on the job that seemed wrong to you? ☐ Yes

13. If you were assigned to a job, what kind of work was it?

- ☐ Outdoor maintenance work (street cleaning or gardening)
☐ Indoor cleaning ☐ Office work ☐ Factory
☐ Warehouse ☐ Childcare
☐ After-school programs
☐ Other: _____

14. How much did you earn at your job?

\$ _____ per ☐ hour ☐ week ☐ month
☐ Only received a welfare check.

★15. Did you know of anyone doing the same job who was paid more than you? (If No, skip to Part 3.)

☐ Yes ☐ No

16. Was that person of the same race as you?

- ☐ Yes
 Was he or she:
☐ Black ☐ Asian ☐ Latino/Hispanic
☐ Native American/American Indian ☐ White

17. Was that person of the same gender as you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

18. Would you say this person's English was:

☐ Better ☐ The same ☐ Worse than yours?

19. Had that person been there longer than you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Part Three — School & job training

20. Were you already going to school when you first got welfare benefits?

- ☐ Yes, high school ☐ Yes, GED program
☐ Yes, ESL program ☐ Yes, community college
☐ Yes, four-year college ☐ No

21. Were you told that some kinds of school could satisfy your work activity requirement?

☐ Yes ☐ No

22. Did the system consider the school you were already going to a "work activity" for the purpose of qualifying for benefits?

☐ Yes ☐ No

23. If your school didn't count as a work activity, what options did they give you? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ Drop out of school and get a job
☐ Drop out of school and enroll in a job training program
☐ Keep going to school, but add an accepted "work activity" to your schedule

24. Were you sent to a job training program? (If No, skip to Part Four)

☐ Yes ☐ No

25. What kind of skills did the program teach?

☐ "Dress for Success" ☐ Job search skills

☐ Computer skills

☐ Other: _____

Part Four — Sanctions

"Sanctions" are the punishments the system can give you if they think you've broken their rules.

26. When you applied for benefits, did a worker tell you what the rules were and what they could do to punish you if they decided you broke the rules?

☐ Yes ☐ No

27. Did a worker tell you what to do if you thought you were being punished unfairly?

☐ Yes ☐ No

28. Have you ever been sanctioned? (If No, skip to Part 5.)

☐ Yes ☐ No

29. What kind of sanction was it?

Did you lose your benefits temporarily? ☐ Yes

Did you lose your benefits permanently? ☐ Yes

Was your child taken away? ☐ Yes

Did they put you in jail? ☐ Yes

☐ Other sanction: _____

30. What was the reason they gave for sanctioning you?

☐ Missed appointment.

☐ Lost paper work.

☐ Child didn't go to school.

☐ Complained about problems at work assignment.

☐ Wasn't helping identify or find child's other parent.

☐ Unreported income/received too big a check

☐ Became homeless, so couldn't receive a check

☐ Missed appointment.

☐ I don't know.

☐ Other: _____

★31. Did their reason seem fair to you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Part Five — The whole process

32. How easy would you say the whole process was?

☐ Easy ☐ Medium ☐ Hard

33. How respectful would you say the whole process was?

☐ Respectful ☐ Neutral ☐ Disrespectful

34. How difficult would you say that a language barrier made the process for you?

☐ No problem ☐ Some problems ☐ Very difficult

★35. Do you think you were treated differently than someone of another race?

☐ Yes ☐ No

★36. Do you think you were treated differently than someone of the other gender?

☐ Yes ☐ No

★37. Do you think you were treated differently because of your language or the country you were born in?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Part Six — Some information about you

One of the ways we can tell if there is discrimination in the welfare system is by comparing the experiences of people of different races, genders and national origin status. That's why we're asking this next set of questions — so we can get an idea of how the welfare system treats different

38. What is your gender (sex)?

☐ Female ☐ Male

39. What is your date of birth? _____

40. If you have children or grandchildren, how many of them live with you?

41. What is your race? (Check all that apply.)

- ☐ African American ☐ Latino/Hispanic ☐ Asian
☐ Native American/American Indian ☐ White
☐ Other: _____

42. What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Living together
☐ Separated ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed

43. People who are not U.S. citizens are still eligible for some kinds of welfare benefits. What country were you born in?

- ☐ USA ☐ Other: _____

44. What language do you speak most comfortably?

- ☐ English ☐ Spanish ☐ Cantonese ☐ Mandarin
☐ Korean ☐ Vietnamese
☐ Other: _____

If the person has given you a good story, or if there's any other reason why you might want to get back in touch with her or him:

45. May we contact you again? Thanks.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Area code _____ Phone number: _____

Part Seven — Stories

What kind of discrimination? (Check all that apply.) ☐ Race ☐ Gender ☐ Language ☐ Nationality

What happened?

When did it happen? _____

Where did it happen? _____

Did you get to file a complaint? _____