
Child-only CalWORKs Study

Report #1

When Adults Are Left Out: CalWORKs Child-only Cases in Seven Counties

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Speigman Norris Associates (SNA) is a two-person partnership formed to conduct social and behavioral research and evaluation studies. The partners had, at the time the partnership was established in 2004, worked together for seven years on research and evaluation projects through the Public Health Institute, a large non-profit located in Oakland. SNA’s principals have extensive experience in project design, questionnaire development, primary data collection through telephone and in-person surveys and key informant interviews, preparation and analysis of administrative and survey data, and presentation of results in reports and in peer-reviewed publications as well as at conferences. SNA and its principals have conducted research and evaluation studies on welfare reform (longitudinal, panel studies of the effects of the elimination of SSI benefits for alcoholics and addicts and of barriers to departure from CalWORKs), housing and homelessness, substance use and abuse, mental health, health services utilization, employment, and criminal justice. Topically related to this project, working

with the CalWORKs/Child Welfare Partnership Project, Speiglmán surveyed California counties regarding linkages programs and practices.

Berkeley Policy Associates (BPA) is an independent, employee-owned, woman-owned firm dedicated to providing information to facilitate decision-making in public policy. BPA has a national reputation for high quality work in conducting program evaluation and public policy research in a wide range of substantive areas. BPA is committed to conducting research that makes a real difference in people's lives, and has developed special expertise in studying ways of assisting people who encounter obstacles to full participation in society due to such barriers as a lack of education or job training, a history of poverty or dependence on public assistance, age, disability, health, limited English-language skills, or responsibilities associated with caring for children.

BPA staff has the experience and know-how to select the most appropriate research methods, and to design, coordinate, and carry out data collection and analysis activities for a wide range of research methodologies. BPA has special expertise in designing large-scale evaluations with multiple research objectives. Other areas of methodological expertise include: extraction and analysis of large-scale databases, random assignment, development of performance indicators and standards, participatory evaluation, surveys, focus groups, statistical analysis and econometric modeling, collection and analysis of longitudinal data, key informant interviews, and Delphi panels.

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INTRODUCTION

Over one-half of California CalWORKs cases are now “child-only:” the grant is calculated to support only the dependent child(ren) in the family, not adults.¹ Since they themselves are unaided, the parents and other caregiver adults associated with child-only cases – because of sanctions, time limits, and other reasons described below – are no longer subject to time limits or work requirements, and, with some exceptions, neither are they entitled to participate in CalWORKs welfare-to-work activities nor to receive services such as CalWORKs’ child care and transportation subsidies or behavioral health care services.

Gibbs and colleagues conclude that, while the children in child-only cases “have not been identified as having experienced maltreatment [and] are outside the child welfare system’s protective mandate . . . they may be in need of supportive services” (Gibbs et al., 2004: ES-1).² Nevertheless, from the perspective of concern for child welfare, a major public policy issue concerning these child-only cases is how to ensure the safety and well-being of the children in child-only cases without resorting to the expense and intrusion of foster care intervention. From the “self-sufficiency” perspective, concern focuses on the status and potential of the parent or caregiver. On the child welfare side, one observer suggests that programs be developed for early intervention and case management, following systematic assessment that targets children’s risk of abuse and neglect. As a review of the literature on child-only cases makes evident, the potential value of a variety of supplemental services and resources is also evident. On the self-sufficiency side, among parents able to work, policy-makers’ and practitioners’ focus will need to be on addressing barriers to work, securing better-paid employment or subsidized work, and, among disabled parents and caretakers, on maximizing access to auxiliary sources of help.

The June 28, 2006, Interim Final Rule implementing the February 2006 reauthorization of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program emphasized work participation among many child-only case parents and other caregivers who were previously ignored in computation of the State’s federally-mandated 50 percent rate. As a consequence of the change, parents in sanctioned and timed-out cases are to contribute to the work participation rate computation. County welfare directors needing to determine how to approach these and other child-only populations require data describing the adults associated with the child-only cases. Beyond a modest amount of information available on sanctioned cases, very little is known about the parents and other caregivers, their characteristics, and the characteristics of their children.

Generally to date, concern among policy-makers has not reached the threshold required to consider how to address the unmet needs of the adults connected to the various categories of child-only cases referenced above, or to focus on the kinds of interventions needed to meet the adults’ and the children’s needs.

¹ Nationally, in Fiscal Year 2003 child-only cases – including those in which the parent was sanctioned – comprised 41 percent of TANF cases (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2006). Over half (53 percent) involved children living with kin caretakers, 19 percent parents receiving SSI, 18 percent families in which the parents’ legal status was problematic, and 6 percent sanctioned parents.

² As one group put it, child-only cases “do appear to straddle the murky boundary between cash assistance and child welfare” (Hetling, Saunders, & Born, 2005: 25).

The salience of the issue increased with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's January 10, 2007, release of his Proposed 2007-09 Budget (Schwarzenegger, 2007). Many current child-only CalWORKs cases would lose cash assistance through the proposed implementation of a full-family sanction as well as the imposition of time limits for children covered under the Safety Net program or as children of parents not qualified because of their immigrant or felony status ([California] Legislative Analyst's Office, 2007). If the Governor's proposals are implemented, the California Legislative Analyst's Office projects, California will witness a 12 percent reduction in the CalWORKs caseload in Fiscal Year 2007-08 ([California] Legislative Analyst's Office, 2007).

Relatively little is known about the children and adults associated with child-only cases, but it has been understood that this is a heterogeneous population. Whether or not the Governor's proposals are implemented, the social welfare of child-only case children and their parents and other caregivers presents an important challenge for local and state policy, planning, and program development.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Planning-oriented applied research has been initiated in a two-phase study within seven California counties (Alameda, Humboldt, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and Stanislaus). The counties contracted with Speigman Norris Associates (SNA) for project coordination and oversight. The study's Phase 1 involves the analysis of county administrative data to characterize the groups of child-only cases and the family members comprising the groups. SNA subcontracted with Berkeley Policy Associates (BPA) to arrange delivery and conduct statistical analysis of required county data, and SNA and BPA collaborated in the preparation of this report.

It is understood, though, that administrative data are limited in the domains they cover. Hence, a second project phase involving face-to-face or telephone interviews with adults associated with a subset of child-only cases will assess and describe the resources and needs of these families. This information will contribute to an understanding of parents' and caregivers' ability to depart from the cash assistance provided to the family by the CalWORKs program while still providing on-going care for the children. In doing this Phase 2 will reveal parents' and caregivers' potential barriers to employment and areas in which new or improved services might promote change. The final project report, combining findings from both phases of the study, is scheduled for December 2007. It is anticipated that study results will assist county and state personnel in their efforts to address policy and program needs.

A third project objective, not yet incorporated in the study but a likely Phase 3 of the project, would involve specific assessment of the statuses and needs of children in child-only CalWORKs cases.

DEFINING CHILD-ONLY CASES

Adult caretakers in child-only cases include the following groups of parents and non-parents:

- **Non-parental caregiver cases.** Also known as "non-needy relative" or "kinship," these are cases in which adults, many of them relatives in informal "kinship care"

arrangements³ who are not themselves eligible for CalWORKs aid, care for a child who is receiving CalWORKs assistance.

- **Not-qualified immigrant cases.** These are cases in which the parent or parents do not qualify for CalWORKs assistance because of their immigration status. In these families U.S. citizen children qualify for CalWORKs assistance.
- **Safety Net cases.** These are cases that have exceeded 60 months of CalWORKs assistance. In these families the adults are no longer eligible for assistance, but children continue to be eligible for aid under the state-funded “Safety Net” program.⁴
- **Sanctioned cases.** Under CalWORKs rules, parents who do not participate in mandatory welfare-to-work activities or who do not meet other program requirements are subject to sanction. These sanctions cause them to be excluded from the CalWORKs benefit calculations, which effectively turns the case into a child-only case.
- **SSI cases.** These are cases in which one or both parents receive SSI benefits, which disqualify them from also receiving CalWORKs assistance.

In the remainder of this report, we divide the child-only caseload in each county into the above subgroups. While to some degree parents might shift from one child-only category to another, for the most part we expect relative stability. There are also other, small groups of child-only cases. These include, for example, cases in which parents/caregivers are ineligible due to drug convictions, their membership in Kin-Gap and Foster Care households supported by CalWORKs funds, their membership in households in which the parent did not cooperate with assigning parental rights for child support purposes, and cases in which parents were convicted of welfare fraud.⁵ These cases are not explicitly broken out in this report. They do feature in overall summary statistics on counties’ CalWORKs caseloads.

REPORT FOCUS

The following pages reference the recently completed BASSC literature review of studies about the characteristics of adults and children associated with child-only cases under the CalWORKs and other TANF programs. This is followed by presentation of a table summarizing factors that have been found to be associated with child-only cases.

Subsequently we present findings from analyses of county-level, administrative data from seven counties to describe adults and children involved in child-only cases. These findings are compared with results for non-child-only cases. Topics addressed include:

³ Not included are relative caregivers serving the children’s needs under a court order or voluntary placement agreement under the auspices of a child welfare agency.

⁴ This subgroup was populated starting in January 2003, the earliest date that recipients of CalWORKs could have received cash assistance for 60 months.

⁵ Together these cases were estimated to total 5 percent of the child-only caseload in federal fiscal year 2004-2005 (Smilanick, 2006).

- The distribution of child-only cases, by type of case, within and across counties
- Number of child-only cases and number of adults and children associated with the cases, by county
- Estimates of average case size, including number of adults and number of children, by county
- Average age of adults and children associated with child-only cases, by county and by type of case
- Race/ethnicity of case membership, by county and type of case
- Language composition of child-only caseload, by county
- Parent/caregiver employment rates, by county and type of case
- Receipt of CalWORKs benefits in last year, including months on assistance, total grant received, latest grant amount, and grant per case member and per child on case, by county
- Welfare dynamics as measured by months of continuous receipt of CalWORKs assistance, by county and by type of case

PRIOR RESEARCH

A separate document prepared by the BASSC Research Response Team reviews published and unpublished literature addressing child-only TANF cases (Anthony et al., 2007). Among other content, the BASSC Team reviews the history of child-only cases and focuses on the literature on the five groups of child-only cases addressed in this study. In that regard Anthony et al. discuss formation of the five groups and, for both adults and children, outline group member characteristics, adults' and children's well-being, adults' barriers to employment, and families' challenges on aid. Few family strengths or resources are identified, but the number of challenges is daunting.

In preparation of this report we studied the BASSC literature review as well as many of the documents referenced therein and additional resources. In all we found just over 30 research studies of particular value. While that would seem to be a relatively large number, the vast majority of the studies addressed only sanctioned cases (23 studies) and non-parental or kinship cases (10 studies). Supplemented by two studies that referenced child-only cases as a group, only five studies concerned themselves with time limits and only three each with the not-qualified immigrant and SSI groups.⁶

Appendix A constitutes one, large table that summarizes areas covered in the existing literature by child-only group. In this table, an "x" denotes the existence of at least one study addressing the topic for a particular child-only group. A "T" denotes such coverage in the context of a more general analysis comparing child-only with all other TANF cases.

⁶ In fact, two of the three studies concerned with immigrants, two of the three addressing SSI cases, two of the ten concerned with kinship cases, and one of the twenty-three dealing with sanction cases are also the studies commenting on child-only cases as a whole.

Many of the studies summarized in the appendix table examined how child-only cases differed from other welfare cases in their demographic make-up. Studies generally found adults associated with child-only cases to be older and more likely to be married than those in welfare cases with aided adults. Studies also consistently found that certain ethnic groups were overrepresented in child only cases relative to other TANF cases and found that child-only cases were generally larger.

Considering the parent/caregivers' human capital characteristic, the literature includes findings on longer time on aid for all child-only groups, compared to aided families.

In the case of parent/caregiver personal health and other personal challenges, looking, for example, at mental health problems, the literature finds that all five child-only groups are more likely to suffer from mental health problems, both compared to other non-child-only TANF cases and compared to another child-only group.

This depiction in Appendix A is designed to create an image both of where research exists and, even if briefly, of the associations found. The summary does not constitute a meta-analysis, and is very limited in what it does. It does not present information on effect sizes, or even relative magnitude of effects, number of studies, or location or date of studies. Nor does this summary assess quality of study design.

The research summarized in Appendix A covers a wide range of important potential relationships between child-only status (or membership in specific child-only subgroups) and family characteristics and outcomes. In general, these relationships cannot be interpreted as causal due to the non-experimental and cross-sectional nature of the data. Hence the studies tell us relatively little about the actual relationship between a particular characteristic and child-only CalWORKs status. Consider housing problems and their association with sanctions, for example. Overcrowded or unsafe housing may necessitate a parent's spending more time with the children, resulting in a CalWORKs sanction. But a sanction and loss of income may also lead to problematic housing arrangements. And certainly there could be a third factor – like substance abuse – that remains invisible in the housing-sanction association but that might explain both problems.

The findings presented in this report for the seven study counties highlight some of the same individual and family characteristics seen in the literature. Phase 2 of the project, which will revolve around in-depth interviews with sampled child-only recipients in the counties, will cover the variables not available in the county data on which this report is based.

Appendix A also contains guidance for development of the questionnaire to be used in study Phase 2. Without going into them in detail, we note that Phase 2 interviews will pursue domains left largely untouched by Phase 1. Interview topics may include marital status, English skills, educational attainment, job skills and employment history, childcare and transportation challenges, health insurance and other benefits, housing and hunger, health, mental health, substance abuse, and domestic violence history, and need to care for family members or others.

THE SEVEN COUNTIES

Five of the seven participating counties are in the San Francisco Bay Area. Humboldt County is a northern, coastal jurisdiction, and Stanislaus County is located east of Santa Clara County, in California's Central Valley. The following data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau (2007) provide a partial overview of the counties and their residents:

	Alameda	Humboldt	San Francisco	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
Population, 2005 est.	1,448,905	128,376	739,426	699,610	1,699,052	466,477	505,505
White non-Hispanic persons	38.0%	80.9%	44.1%	47.3%	39.9%	70.5%	51.8%
Black persons	13.8%	1.1%	7.3%	3.4%	2.8%	1.6%	3.1%
Am Indian or Alaskan Native persons	0.7%	5.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.8%	1.4%	1.5%
Asian persons	24.2%	1.9%	32.9%	23.4%	30.2%	3.8%	5.0%
Persons of Hispanic or Latino origin	20.8%	7.6%	13.7%	22.6%	24.9%	21.1%	37.6%
Foreign born persons, 2000	27.2%	4.5%	36.8%	32.3%	34.1%	14.3%	18.3%
High school graduates age 25+, 2000	82.4%	84.9%	81.2%	85.3%	83.4%	84.9%	70.4%
Median household income, 2003	\$56,166	\$32,123	\$51,302	\$64,998	\$68,167	\$52,034	\$41,524
Per capita money income, 1999	\$26,680	\$17,203	\$34,556	\$36,045	\$32,795	\$25,724	\$16,913
% below poverty, 2003	10.7%	15.6%	12.0%	6.8%	8.8%	8.8%	14.2%
Land area, square mi, 2000	737	3,572	46	449	1,290	1,575	1,493

The seven counties demonstrate wide variety in size and population density, from San Francisco's 46 square miles, with 10,000 persons per square mile, to Humboldt County's 3,572 square miles and only 35 persons per square mile. Per capita income also varies, from \$16,913 in Stanislaus County and \$17,203 in Humboldt County to over double the figures, \$36,045, in San Mateo County. Percent of population ages 25 and up with a high school degree is stable across six of the seven counties, at 81 to 85 percent. However in Stanislaus County the rate is 70 percent.

Especially relevant for analyses below is distribution of county population by race/ethnicity. The Alameda and Santa Clara County populations are the most broadly distributed, including Non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos. Humboldt County is predominately White, accompanied by the largest proportion of American Indians and Alaskan Natives among the seven counties. San Francisco and San Mateo Counties are broadly distributed. Sonoma and Stanislaus Counties are predominately White, non-Hispanic with relatively large proportions of Latinos.

METHODS

Data Sources

The findings presented in this report were obtained from county administrative record data, provided to us by the seven counties for the specific purpose of this study. These data come from a variety of county data systems, which are designed and used to administer the county's CalWORKs program and other public benefits. The data are a combination of individual-level variables, describing individual adults and children receiving CalWORKs assistance, and case-level variables, which capture case-level status variables and monthly CalWORKs payments to each case. For the purpose of our analyses, we merged these two types of data, using a case ID variable to match individuals to cases and vice versa. In some of the counties, all data were already merged together like this (at the individual level). In analyzing data for those counties we re-aggregated the individual-level data for case-level analyses.

All data were provided to BPA in a de-identified format. This means that individual adults and children were identified only by case ID and individual ID variables. Speiglmann Norris Associates, prime contractor for the project, requested that Independent Review Consulting, Inc. (IRC) review the project's human subjects' protection protocol. IRC found the project exempt from the requirements of institutional review board review.

Analysis of the data was done on a county-by-county basis, using SAS software. We did not merge county files because each county sent us a different set of variables, with different contents and formats. In subsequent research, we will explore the possibility of creating a single study master file, which would enable us to make direct statistical comparisons across the counties. The data processing required to create such a file was beyond the scope of this project.

The county data we received did not cover the same time period for each county. The "current" month represented in most of the analyses presented here ranged from November 2006 in Santa Clara County to February 2007 in San Francisco. Given the relative stability of the overall caseload, such variation in the time period covered by the analyses is not problematic.

Timing and Missing Data

Due to delays in obtaining county data there are some missing data in this report. Not all the counties are represented in all the tables, and in some cases a county is represented by only part of its caseload. Specifically, this report has the following major missing data:

- Historical food stamp data were missing in almost every county. Consequently, planned analysis of food stamp outcome data are not presented in this report.
- Employment data were missing in one county (Sonoma) and were considered unreliable by some of the other counties. We present these data with appropriate caveats.

Creation of Analysis Files and Variables

One of the primary purposes of this report was to highlight the characteristics and welfare dynamics of different categories of child-only cases (described above). Creation of these categories was more complicated than we anticipated. Different counties have different ways to identify, for example, non-parental caregiver cases or cases with not-qualified immigrants. In some counties, these groups were neatly identified with mutually exclusive categories, and in other counties there were significant overlaps between subgroups. In our analyses we used whatever subgroup variables the counties prepared for us and did not subject the creation of these subgroup variables to examination.

The creation of subgroup variables, demographic variables, and employment and welfare outcomes often required assumptions to be made and categories to be collapsed in more or less arbitrary ways. We do not extensively document these analytical decisions in this report and we do not expect them to have major impacts on the results as we present them. However, we do expect that certain county-specific statistics in this report may not match exactly comparable statistics from other sources.

Objectives of the Analyses

The subsequent analytical sections of this report include county-specific findings on the size and composition of the child-only CalWORKs caseload, key demographic characteristics of adults and children on the caseload, employment outcomes, and welfare dynamics. In all these analyses we compare child-only cases to cases with aided adults, make comparisons across different subgroups of child-only cases, and make comparisons across the counties.

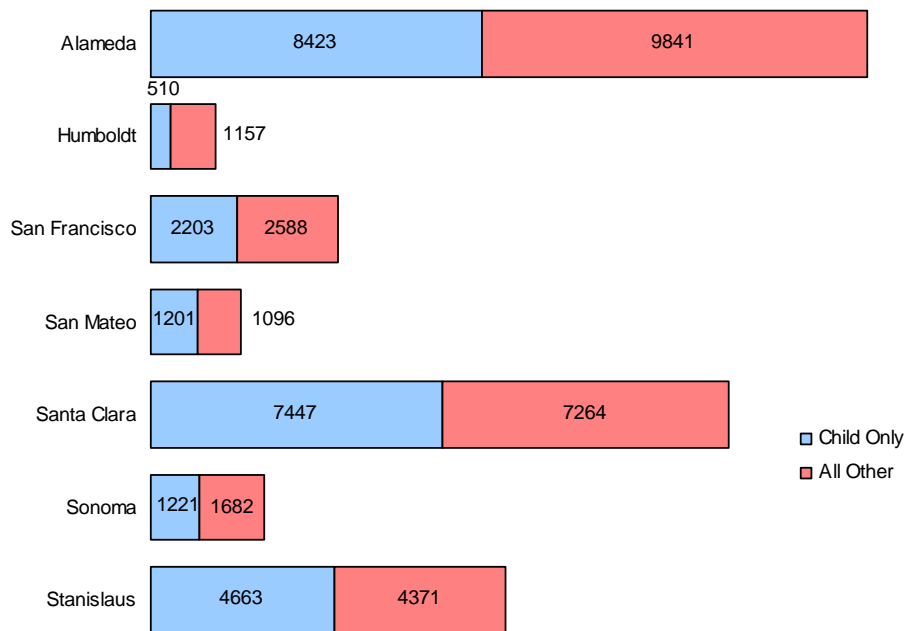
FINDINGS

Size and Composition of the Child-only Caseload

Cases in which children are the only aided individuals constitute a significant proportion of the CalWORKs caseload in the study counties. Figure 1 shows the distribution of child-only and non-child-only cases across the counties.⁷

⁷ The figures shown here and elsewhere are from the last month of county data made available to BPA for this study. This ranges from October 2006 through February 2007.

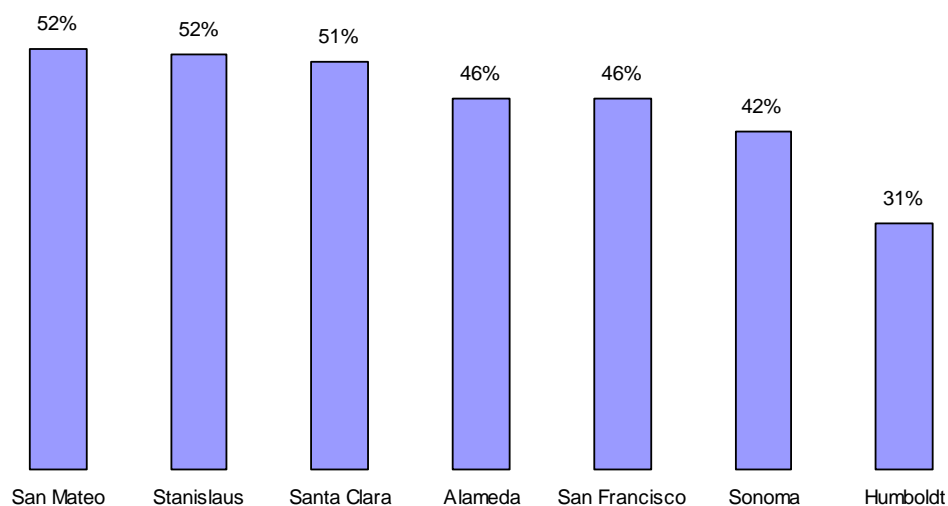
Figure 1
Distribution of Child-only Cases in Sample Counties



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Aside from the marked differences in the size of the CalWORKs caseloads across the counties, the figure shows some variation in the proportion of each county's CalWORKs caseload that is accounted for by child-only cases. As highlighted further in Figure 2 below, many of the counties have no aided adults on approximately half of their CalWORKs cases. This proportion ranges from a low of 31 percent in Humboldt County to a high of 52 percent in San Mateo and Stanislaus counties.

Figure 2
Percent of County CalWORKs Caseload without Aided Adults



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

In the remainder of this section, we divide the child-only caseload in each county into the subgroups described earlier in this report. These subgroups are as follows:

- Non-parental cases
- Not-qualified immigrant cases
- Safety Net cases
- Sanctioned cases
- SSI cases

Other groups of child-only cases, small in number, often fell into other categories as well and are included in the overall statistics on child-only cases as a whole.

It is not straightforward to categorize child-only cases into these subgroups. The primary reason for this is that many child-only cases have two parents associated with them, and often there are other adults associated with these cases as well. Both parents do not always fall into the same subgroup category, and the status of each individual parent can change over time. In providing us with data to create these subgroup breakdowns, some counties gave us two subgroup flags for each child-only case, while other counties gave us case-level flags, which pre-sorted the cases into the various subgroups. Also, in some cases the case-level Safety Net program indicator did not match up with individual parent-level “Time on Aid” flags, which are designed to identify when parents have exhausted their 60 months on CalWORKs.

In our analysis, we created child-only subgroups by including cases in one of the subgroups if any of the relevant subgroup variables flagged that case. For some counties this resulted in subgroups that overlapped to a certain extent. For example, a child-only case could have a parent associated with it who is an SSI recipient and another parent who is a not-qualified immigrant. In this example such a case would be included in both the SSI and not-qualified immigrant subgroups. For identifying Safety Net cases we used the aid code rather than the “Time on Aid” flags created for the individual parents.

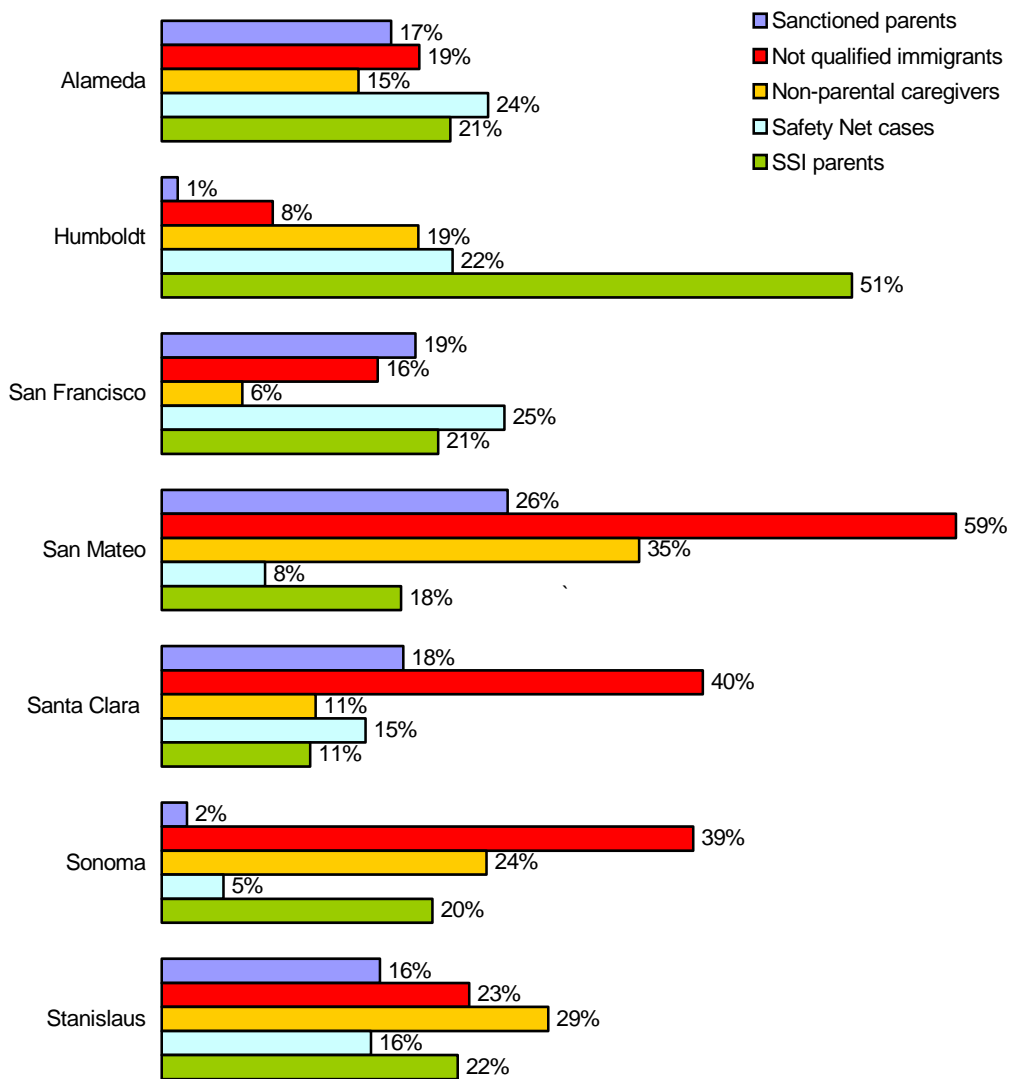
Figure 3 displays this breakdown into child-only subgroups for each of the study counties. It shows a great deal of cross-county variation in the distribution of cases across subgroups. Also, note that these subgroups sometimes overlap, and such overlaps are much more significant for some counties than for others. Thus, the subgroup proportions do not always sum to 100 percent, and sometimes sum to more than 100 percent.⁸

As an illustration of the cross-county differences, the proportion of sanctioned parents ranged from 1 percent in Humboldt County to 26 percent in San Mateo County. Non-parental caregivers range from 6 percent in San Francisco to 35 percent in San Mateo County. Not-qualified immigrant cases range from 8 percent in Humboldt County to 59 percent in San Mateo County. Safety Net cases range from 8 percent in San Mateo County to 25 percent in San Francisco, and SSI parent cases range from 11 percent in Santa Clara County to 51 percent in Humboldt County.

⁸ In San Mateo County, the overlaps are particularly noteworthy. Child-only case categories sum to 145 percent. In discussions with county staff we were told that these overlaps occur because many individuals are associated with multiple cases.

It is not obvious from the data analysis what explains the variation across the counties in the types of families served by CalWORKs in child-only cases. In all likelihood, the cross-county variation in this distribution is explained by a combination of differences in caseload demographics, county economic conditions, and county administrative policies and procedures. For example, counties with a lower representation of Safety Net cases may be more accommodating in their implementation of time limit exemptions and extensions. Alternatively, they may be more successful in their efforts to assist CalWORKs recipients in transitioning from welfare to work. In contrast, a high representation of not-qualified immigrant parents among child-only cases may reflect a combination of county demographics and outreach efforts to provide services to U.S.-born children whose parents are not-qualified immigrants.

Figure 3
Distribution of Child-only CalWORKs Cases across Key Subgroups



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The Size of Child-Only Cases

After dividing each county's caseload into child-only cases and other cases, we attempted to calculate the average case size for each type of case. In doing so, it appeared that some counties collect and provided us with data on all the adults associated with child-only cases, while others keep and provided more limited data on adults. Table 1 shows a breakdown of the results by county.

Table 1
Number of CalWORKs Cases and Those Associated with Them

	Cases		Individuals		Adults		Children	
	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other
Alameda	8,423	9,841	46,207	42,952	26,649	24,833	18,998	18,651
Humboldt	510	1,157	1,253	2,679	603	1,498	643	1,167
San Francisco	2,203	2,588	5,973	6,824	2,188	2,734	3,785	4,090
San Mateo	1,201	1,096	6,203	4,887	3,209	2,467	2,994	2,420
Santa Clara	7,447	7,264	38,792	31,484	20,955	17,113	17,837	14,371
Sonoma	1,221	1,682	5,695	7,269	3,013	3,856	2,682	3,413
Stanislaus	4,663	4,371	14,441	13,928	4,457	5,666	9,984	8,262
<i>All counties</i>	<i>25,668</i>	<i>27,999</i>	<i>118,564</i>	<i>110,023</i>	<i>61,074</i>	<i>58,167</i>	<i>56,923</i>	<i>52,374</i>

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Alameda, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and San Mateo counties stand out in this table because in these counties more adults appear to be associated with child-only cases than children. This is not the case in the other counties. We suggest that this finding may reflect more extensive data gathering on the various household members in child-only households in those four counties, rather than a significant difference in the actual make-up of the child-only cases in these counties. Additionally, county differences may reflect differential prevalence of the various child-only groups, differences in prevalence of married parents, and, accordingly, variation in number of adults associated with child-only cases. For example, a county such as Santa Clara, with relatively more immigrant families among the child-only caseload, and hence more two-parent families, would be expected to report more adults associated with child-only cases.

Table 2 summarizes the cross-county differences in Table 1 by presenting estimates of the average case size and the average number of children in each case. This table clearly demonstrates the impact of the additional adults in Alameda, Santa Clara, San Mateo, and Sonoma Counties on the average child-only case sizes in these counties (although the non-child-only cases were larger in these counties as well). Data recording differences involving adults should not influence count of number of children per case in child-only cases, however. Nevertheless, the same counties remain at the high end. The average number of children in these cases ranges from 1.3 in Humboldt County and 1.8 in San Francisco to 2.3 in Alameda, 2.4 in Santa Clara, and 2.5 in San Mateo Counties. For average number of children in all other cases, the numbers are much closer together, ranging from 1.0 in Humboldt County and 1.6 in San Francisco to 2.2 in San Mateo County.⁹

⁹ The average of 1.0 in Humboldt County may be problematic, since the minimum number of children per case is 1 for most cases. The exception is new cases involving women who are pregnant with their first child.

Table 2
Average Case Size and Number of Children and Adults per Case

	Case size		Children/case		Adults/case	
	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other	Child Only	All Other
Alameda	5.5	4.4	2.3	1.9	3.2	2.5
Humboldt	2.5	2.3	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.3
San Francisco	2.7	2.6	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.1
San Mateo	5.2	4.5	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.3
Santa Clara	5.2	4.3	2.4	2.0	2.8	2.4
Sonoma	4.7	4.3	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.3
Stanislaus	3.1	3.2	2.1	1.9	1.0	1.3
<i>All counties</i>	4.6	3.9	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.1

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

With the exception of Alameda County and Santa Clara County, in each county the average number of children per case is very consistent across the counties, regardless of child-only status.

Subtracting the number of children from the overall case size results in an estimate of the number of adults on a case. There is a significant amount of variation across counties in this measure as well. For child-only cases, San Francisco and Stanislaus show only one adult on each of these cases, most likely the person who is the designated payee (but who is unaided him or herself).

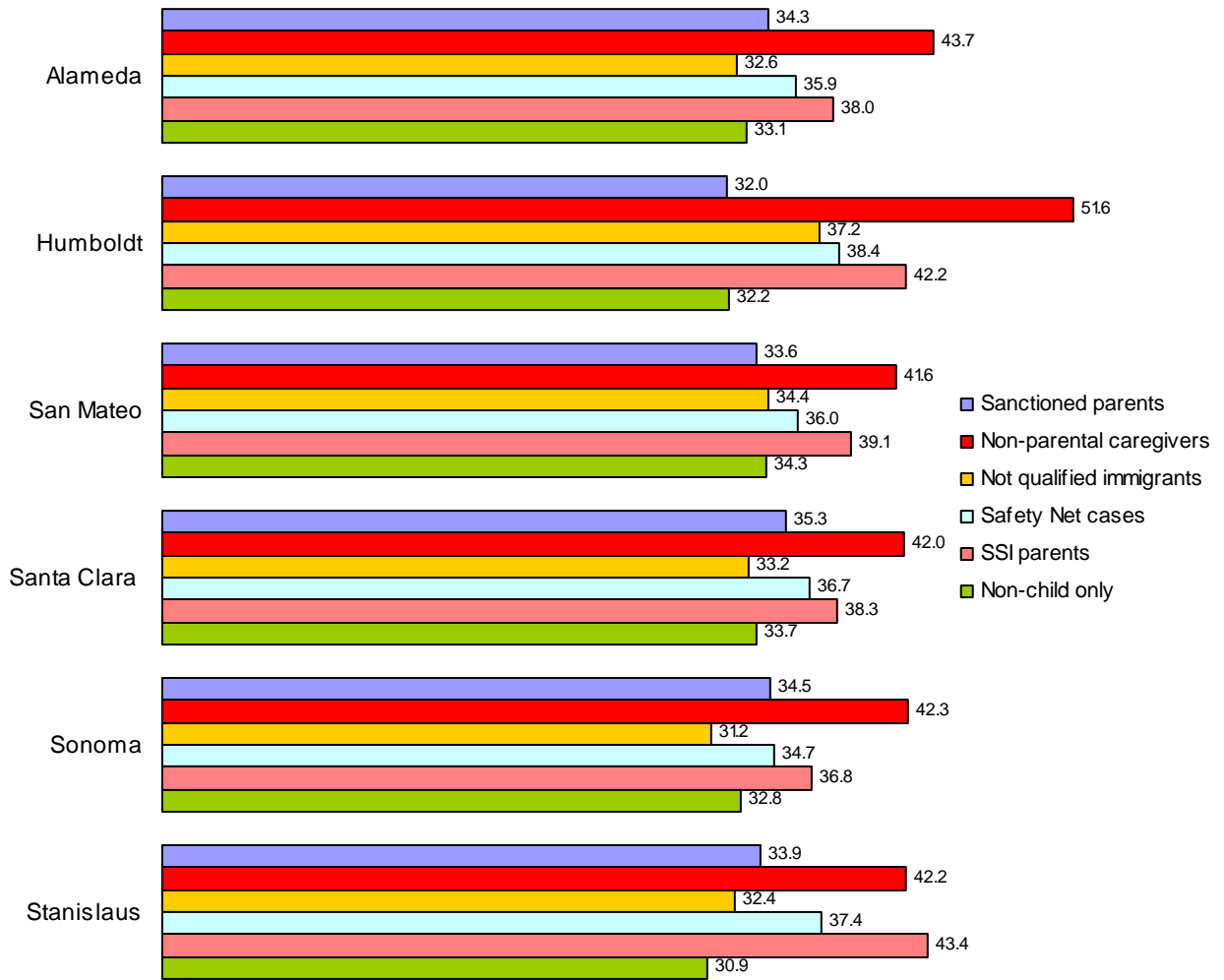
In our analyses we explored whether there were meaningful differences in the average case size across the child-only subgroups introduced above. On average, safety net cases and those including not-qualified immigrant parents were somewhat larger than cases in the other subgroups, but the differences generally were modest (data not presented tabularly).

Age and Other Demographic Background Characteristics

Figure 4 presents the average age of adult associated with child-only cases in the various subgroups discussed above. These data were not available for San Francisco.

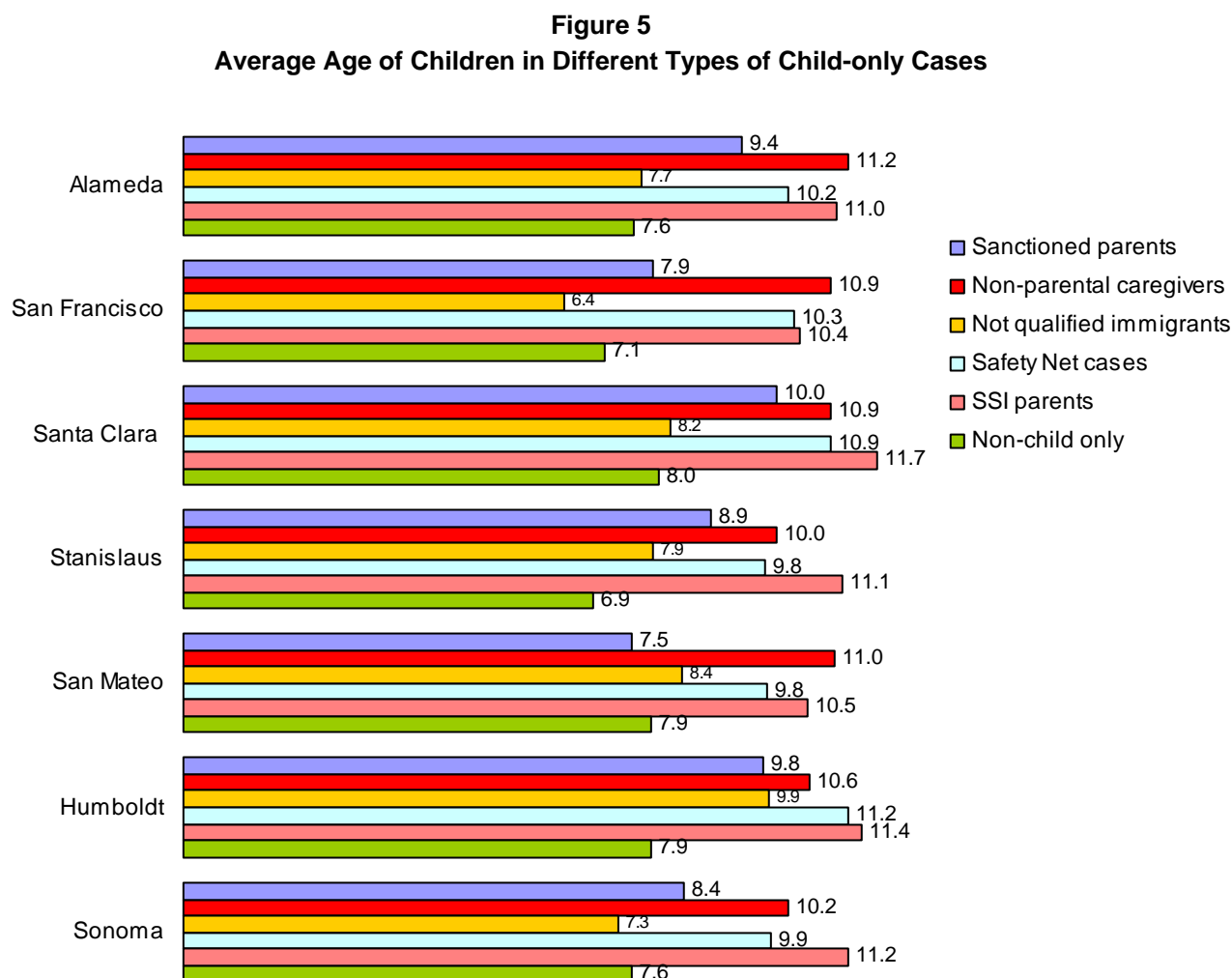
For comparison purposes, the figure also presents the average age of aided adults on non-child-only cases. The age pattern across the subgroups is remarkably similar across the counties. In each county, the adults on child-only cases are older than those on non-child-only cases, and in each county, the non-parental caregivers and SSI parents are older than those in the other subgroups. The average age of non-parental caregivers ranges from 41.6 years in San Mateo County to 51.6 years in Humboldt County. For SSI parents, the average age ranges from 36.8 years in Sonoma County to 43.4 years in Stanislaus County. Among adults associated with child-only cases, those who are not-qualified immigrants are the youngest. Their average ages, from 31.2 to 37.2 years, are similar to aided adults in the non-child-only caseload.

Figure 4
Average Age of Adults Associated with Child-only Subgroups



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 5 shows very similar patterns for the children on these cases. (This figure includes San Francisco). Children in cases with non-parental caregivers (mean ages ranging from 10.0 to 11.2 years) and SSI parents (mean ages ranging from 10.4 to 11.7 years) tend to be older than non-child-only case children (mean ages ranging from 6.9 to 8.0 years).



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Table 3 displays a breakdown of the ethnic composition of the county caseloads by subgroup. These are individual data showing the individually recorded ethnicities of children and adults on the county caseloads. Thus, if a case has 3 adults and 2 children, it accounts for five observations in this analysis.¹⁰ The table shows a great deal of variation in ethnicity both across the subgroups within each county and across the counties. Several clear patterns emerge.

Looking at the first panel of data we see, among child-only cases, Latinos are the plurality group in San Mateo, Santa Clara, Sonoma, and Stanislaus Counties. For Alameda and San Francisco

¹⁰ An examination of results for one county, in which each case was granted only one observation, showed virtually no difference from the results in Table 3.

Counties, Blacks constitute the largest group. White recipients make up the greatest proportion of cases in Humboldt County.

Table 3
Ethnicity of Individuals on Child-only and Other Cases, by County and Subgroup

	Alameda	Humboldt	San Francisco	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
<i>Child only cases</i>							
Asian	10.7%	5.9%	15.1%	3.2%	13.8%	3.1%	5.8%
Black	46.0	2.7	48.8	16.9	6.1	4.2	6.7
Latino	25.2	6.8	26.0	63.7	66.1	53.4	47.1
Native American	0.2	11.1	0.3	0.5	0.4	2.8	0.3
White	10.2	73.2	5.0	14.1	7.7	36.2	39.0
Pacific Islander	0.4	0.4	3.5	1.6	0.7	0.3	1.1
<i>Sanctioned parents</i>							
Asian	12.1	0.0	8.9	2.3	16.6	0.0	7.4
Black	56.5	16.7	63.6	10.9	7.3	10.0	6.0
Latino	12.2	0.0	14.2	79.5	55.4	15.0	38.1
Native American	0.5	16.7	0.6	0.3	0.7	10.0	0.6
White	10.9	66.7	5.1	6.3	12.4	65.0	46.3
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.0	5.6	0.7	1.6	0.0	1.6
<i>Non-needy relative</i>							
Asian	3.5	1.1	9.6	5.7	4.3	1.4	3.1
Black	58.1	3.3	66.9	32.0	12.2	7.2	7.9
Latino	13.1	4.4	16.9	22.6	55.1	14.4	34.9
Native American	0.4	24.2	0.6	1.5	0.9	4.0	0.5
White	16.2	65.9	4.5	34.5	19.8	71.9	53.0
Pacific Islander	0.7	1.1	1.1	3.7	1.1	1.1	0.6
<i>Not qualified immigrants</i>							
Asian	1.4	31.7	5.1	1.6	0.8	0.2	0.3
Black	0.8	0.0	0.5	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.1
Latino	92.2	58.5	90.0	93.4	94.6	99.4	98.7
Native American	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
White	1.8	9.8	1.2	2.0	0.5	0.4	0.8
Pacific Islander	0.5	0.0	2.2	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.2
<i>Safety Net cases</i>							
Asian	18.5	11.3	24.5	0.0	38.0	9.6	8.1
Black	55.0	1.9	60.5	58.4	10.1	5.8	10.8
Latino	6.7	4.7	5.9	28.1	38.2	15.4	40.1
Native American	0.2	6.6	0.1	0.0	0.5	1.9	0.1
White	11.3	75.5	4.1	13.5	7.0	67.3	38.6
Pacific Islander	0.5	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
<i>SSI parents</i>							
Asian	19.2	9.2	22.4	3.5	39.9	11.7	18.3
Black	52.3	4.0	50.4	42.1	11.0	8.0	8.3
Latino	6.0	1.2	12.2	24.8	29.5	15.9	21.6
Native American	0.1	9.2	0.9	1.5	0.8	6.3	0.2
White	12.6	76.1	10.3	27.2	12.4	58.2	49.5
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.4	2.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	2.1
<i>Non-child only cases</i>							
Asian	8.6	2.6	18.1	9.1	15.8	2.2	3.4
Black	51.0	3.0	43.5	29.8	9.3	6.4	7.5
Latino	16.5	4.3	17.4	33.4	51.5	22.8	39.1
Native American	0.4	12.4	0.4	0.1	0.6	4.0	0.4
White	15.4	77.6	13.3	24.6	15.6	64.3	48.4
Pacific Islander	1.1	0.2	3.8	3.1	1.6	0.3	1.3

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Looking at differences between child-only cases overall and non-child-only cases (the last panel), we find, in Alameda County, that child-only cases are more likely to be Latino and less likely to be Black or White. In Humboldt County child-only cases are more likely to be Asian and Latino and somewhat less likely to be White. In San Francisco, child-only cases are more likely to be Latino and less likely to be White. San Mateo County child-only cases are much more likely to be Latino and less likely to be each of the other groups except Native American. Santa Clara County child-only cases are more likely Latino and less likely each of the other groups. In Sonoma County Latino child-only cases are over twice as prevalent as are Latino non-child-only cases. Stanislaus County child-only cases are more likely Latino and less likely White.

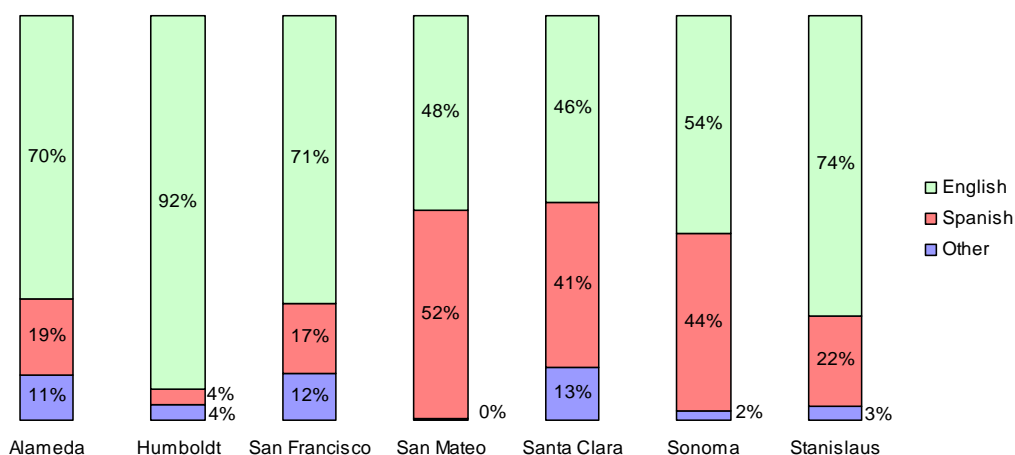
These findings are driven by the fact that individuals in child-only cases with not-qualified immigrant parents are almost exclusively Latinos. The only exception to this is Humboldt County, where a sizeable minority of individuals in not-qualified immigrant cases is Asian. In Alameda County, San Francisco, San Mateo County, Santa Clara County, and Stanislaus County, Black recipients are more highly represented among Safety Net cases. In Alameda Humboldt, San Francisco, and Sonoma Counties, Black recipients are significantly more likely to be sanctioned than other ethnic groups. In San Francisco, Alameda, San Mateo, and Santa Clara Counties, Black recipients are also more likely to be non-parental caregivers or, in Alameda, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties, SSI parents.

In each county, compared to their prevalence among child-only cases over-all, Asian recipients are disproportionately SSI benefit recipients. Closer analysis of the make-up of these Asian groups finds that they are often specific refugee groups. In Alameda County, most Asian SSI parents are Cambodian, and in Humboldt County many are Laotian or Hmong (data not displayed).

Humboldt County is the only county in our sample with a significant representation of Native Americans. Overall, they account for more than 11 percent of child-only cases in Humboldt County.

Figure 6 summarizes the language composition of the child-only caseload in each of the counties. These again are individual-level variables, measured for each person on the caseload, as described above in our discussion of Table 3.

Figure 6
Language Composition of Child-only Caseload, by County



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The figure shows that, in all counties except for San Mateo, Sonoma, and Santa Clara Counties, at least 70 percent of child-only CalWORKs cases are English-speaking. In San Mateo County the majority is Spanish-speaking, and in Santa Clara County there is no majority language. As expected, but not shown in the figure, the subgroup of not-qualified immigrant parents is the one child-only subgroup in which Spanish is the predominant language in all the counties.

Employment and Work Participation

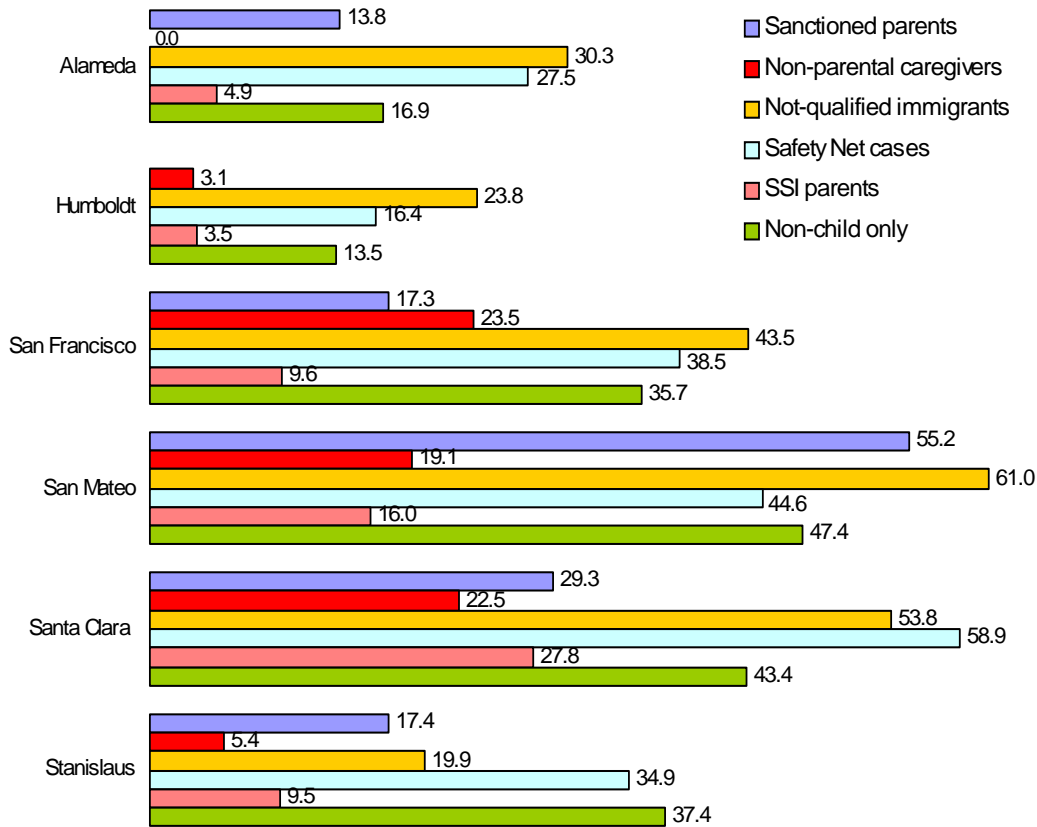
An important question from the perspective of both individual families and county policy makers is whether adults associated with child-only cases work and how much they earn. Although State law does not currently deny CalWORKs cash assistance to the children of sanctioned and timed-out parents who are not engaged in work-related activities, these individuals are now considered “work-eligible”, and their employment status is factored into the county’s work participation rate which, in turn, determines the possible imposition of financial sanctions on the State and county. Earned family income is also considered in the grant calculations for all types of child-only cases, and families who have earnings from employment are likely to be better off financially than families who rely entirely on CalWORKs assistance and other public benefits.

Unfortunately, it is a challenge to collect and analyze administrative employment data for CalWORKs child-only cases. Employment data on the adults in these cases are not regularly used for case management, because adults associated with child-only cases are not mandated to participate in employment or employment-related activities. As a result, the employment data we obtained from the study counties thus far generally are not complete or reliable enough to present in this report. Employment and family income are also an important focus of the second phase of this study, which includes in-depth fieldwork with adults who are part of CalWORKs child-only families.

In Figure 7 we present current employment rates (assessed at the time of the data extract for the study) for child-only subgroups in all counties except Sonoma, which did not provide these data.

These rates vary considerably. Non-child-only case employment rates range from 16.9 percent in Alameda County to 47.4 percent in San Mateo County. For sanctioned parents, employment rates vary from 0 percent (Humboldt County) to 55.2 percent (San Mateo County). Employment rates among non-parental caregivers vary from 0 percent in Alameda County to 22.5 percent in Santa Clara County. Employment rates are highest overall for not-qualified immigrants, ranging from 19.9 percent in Stanislaus County to 61.0 percent in San Mateo County. Among safety net cases the variation in employment rate is quite large, extending from 16.4 percent in Humboldt County to 58.9 percent in Santa Clara County. Finally, the employment rate for SSI parents is only 3.5 percent in Humboldt County, but as high as 27.8 percent in Santa Clara County.

Figure 7
Estimated Employment Rate by County and Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Welfare Receipt

A major component of our analysis of the county data has been to create a profile of the welfare use of the child-only cases and the various subgroups. The purpose of these analyses is to help predict how long an average child-only case will remain open and how much assistance the average child-only recipient receives per month or per year. To conduct these analyses we requested that each county provide us with at least a year's worth of historical data on CalWORKs receipt and food stamp receipt.

Table 4 presents five essential CalWORKs statistics for child-only cases and non-child-only cases. For each of the seven counties, the table shows the average number of months recipients received CalWORKs benefits in the prior year, the total amount of CalWORKs benefits received, the latest monthly grant amount, the grant amount per person on the case and the grant amount per child on the case. The latter distinction mirrors the one we introduced above and is intended to correct for any cross-county differences in how case membership is recorded.

Table 4
Prior Year CalWORKs Benefits by County and Child-only Status

	Alameda	Humboldt	SF	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Sonoma	Stanislaus
# of Months of data	12	7	12	12	12	11	12
<i>Child only cases</i>							
Months on assistance	10.6	6.4	10.5	10.5	10.3	9.6	10.8
Total grant received	5213	3235	4866	5007	5063	4455	5238
Latest grant amount	451	502	417	467	450	450	470
Grant per case member	82	281	232*	101	86	97	152
Grant per child on case	200	398	232	187	188	206	220
<i>Non-child only cases</i>							
Months on assistance	9.4	5.6	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.5	9.3
Total grant received	5589	3220	5013	5022	5307	4634	5293
Latest grant amount	570	578	487	568	542	529	573
Grant per case member	131	346	192	151	125	123	180
Grant per child on case	301	578	306	258	274	262	303

Note: Because counties account for case membership differently, cross-county comparisons of the grant per case member may not be valid.

Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The table shows that the average number of months of CalWORKs receipt in the prior year is greater for recipients who are part of child-only cases than for those in cases with aided adults. (Please note that the Humboldt data only cover 7 months, and Sonoma data cover 11 months). Excluding Humboldt and Sonoma Counties, child-only cases were aided between 10.3 and 10.8 months in the prior year, which compares to a range of 8.6 - 9.4 months for non-child-only cases, again excluding Humboldt and Sonoma Counties. However, during these aided months, child-only recipients receive significantly lower grants than those on non-child-only cases. In each of the counties the average grant amount is at least \$70 higher for cases with aided adults and \$180 higher in the case of Humboldt County.

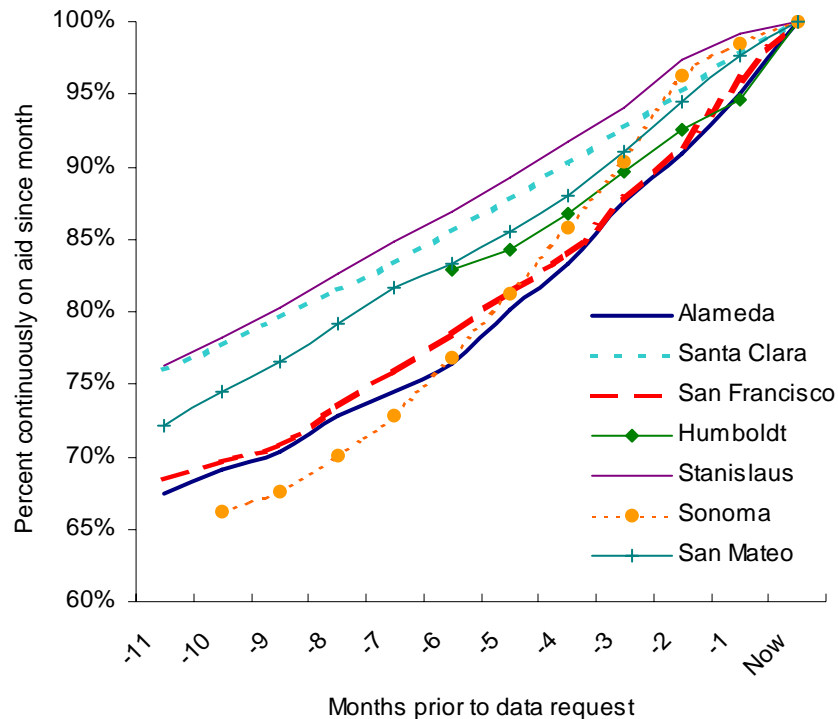
Because unaided adults are usually included as part of the CalWORKs case, the average grant per household member is significantly lower for child-only cases than for non-child-only cases. In Alameda and Santa Clara, both of which provided data on adults associated with child-only cases, the average grant per individual was between \$82 and \$86 for individuals on child-only cases and between \$125 and \$131 for those on cases with aided adults.

The higher monthly grants are also reflected in higher total annual grants for cases with aided adults, despite the fact that this group received CalWORKs assistance for fewer months. Across the counties there was relatively little difference in the amount of CalWORKs payments.

Figure 8 offers a more precise way to examine welfare dynamics among child-only CalWORKs recipients. Using monthly CalWORKs benefit variables for individual cases in the counties, we created a retrospective history of each individual case. Starting in the month covered by the latest county data (February 2007 for San Francisco, for example), we counted back in time and for each of the preceding 11 months (6 for Humboldt County, 10 for Sonoma County) assessed what percent of cases already were active during that month. Higher percentages indicate

greater persistence of receipt and possibly greater dependence on assistance.¹¹ Such persistence is likely to extend into the future, which makes an analysis like this useful for policymaking and forecasting purposes.

Figure 8
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Child-only Cases



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data

Among the counties, the figure shows some differences in the persistence of child-only cases. In Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties, more than 75 percent of current recipients have been on aid continuously for at least a year. In Alameda, San Francisco, and Sonoma Counties, this number is less than 70 percent, and the other counties fall in between these numbers. This means that Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties serve more longer-term recipients than do the other counties and possibly experience less churning in their caseloads.

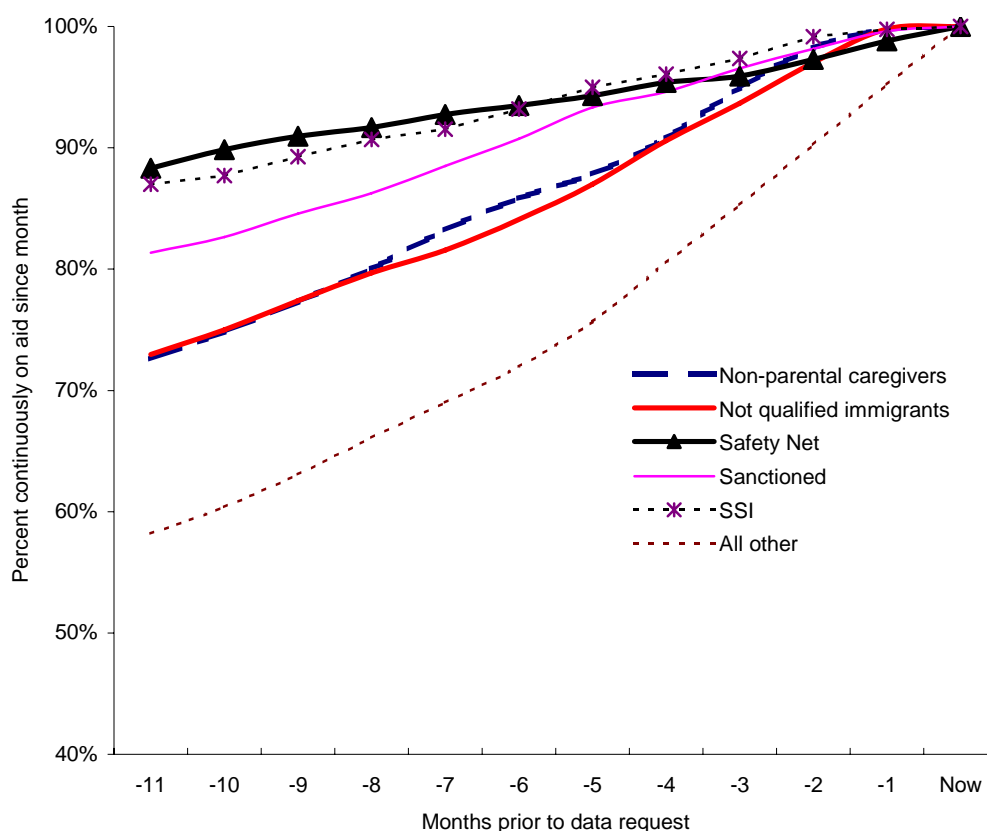
For individual counties it is possible to explore how these dynamics vary across the five different subgroups of the county CalWORKs caseload. Figures 9-15 do so for all the counties. In each case a sixth line traces activity for all other cases.

¹¹ Because this analysis examines continuous receipt of assistance, it is possible that shorter durations are partially caused by churning, where individuals leave assistance for a month to return in a subsequent month. However, one would expect to see less churning among child-only as opposed to all other cases.

Figure 9 describes these patterns for Santa Clara County. The first thing to note from Figure 9 is the significant difference in CalWORKs persistence between child-only cases and all other cases. Only 58 percent of cases with aided adults were continuously active for a year, as indicated by the dashed line toward the bottom of the figure. None of the child-only subgroups in Santa Clara County falls below 70 percent on this measure.

There also is significant variation in persistence among the child-only subgroups. As might be expected, those in the Safety Net and SSI groups have the highest level of continuous welfare receipt at about 88 percent for the full year. On the other hand, only 73 percent of not-qualified immigrants and non-parental caregivers received assistance continuously for a full year.

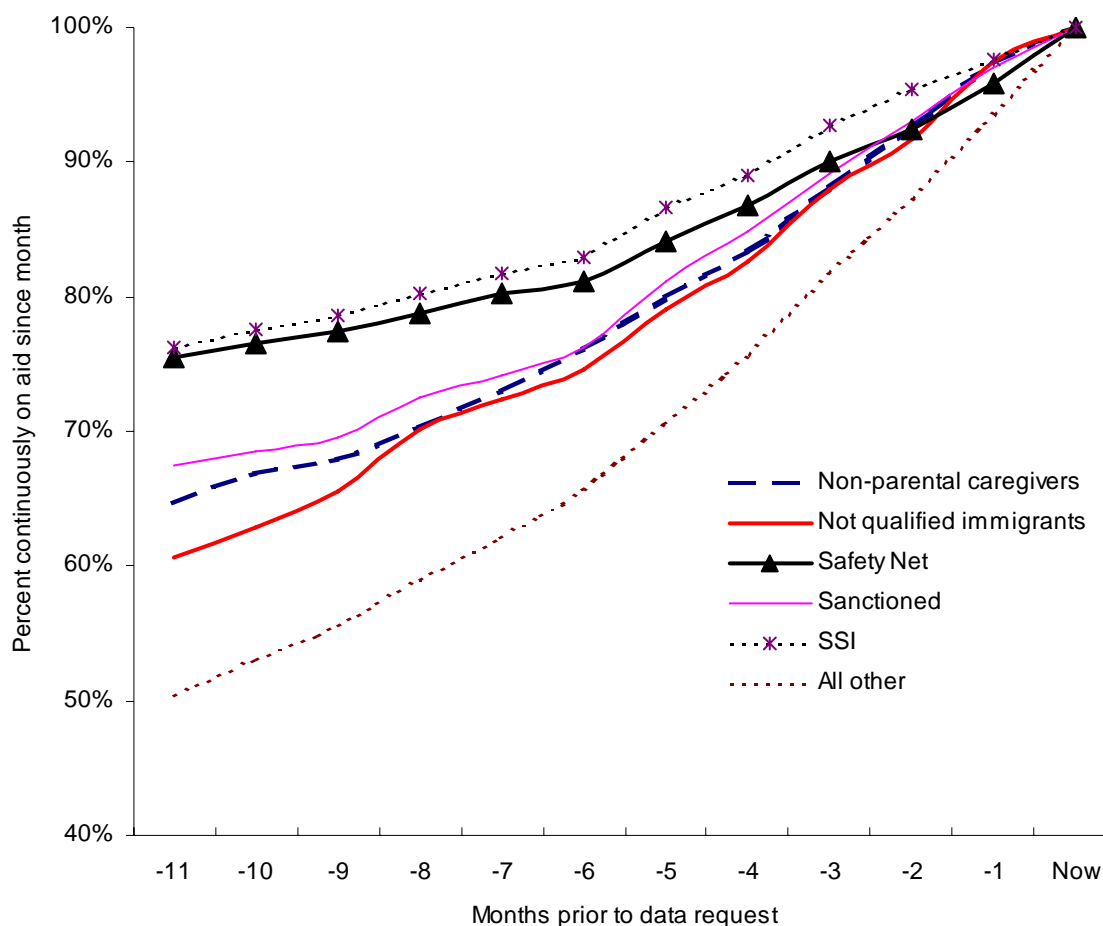
Figure 9
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Santa Clara County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data

Figure 10 repeats this analysis for Alameda County. Compared to the Santa Clara County graph, the lines are lower, representing generally less continuous time on aid. The figure shows much less variation in welfare dynamics across the subgroups, with the exception of the SSI parents subgroup (which has the greatest persistence on aid) and the non-child-only cases, which, as was the case in Santa Clara County, were least likely to be on aid continuously for a full year. Fewer than half of active cases with aided adults in Alameda County were already on CalWORKs a year earlier.

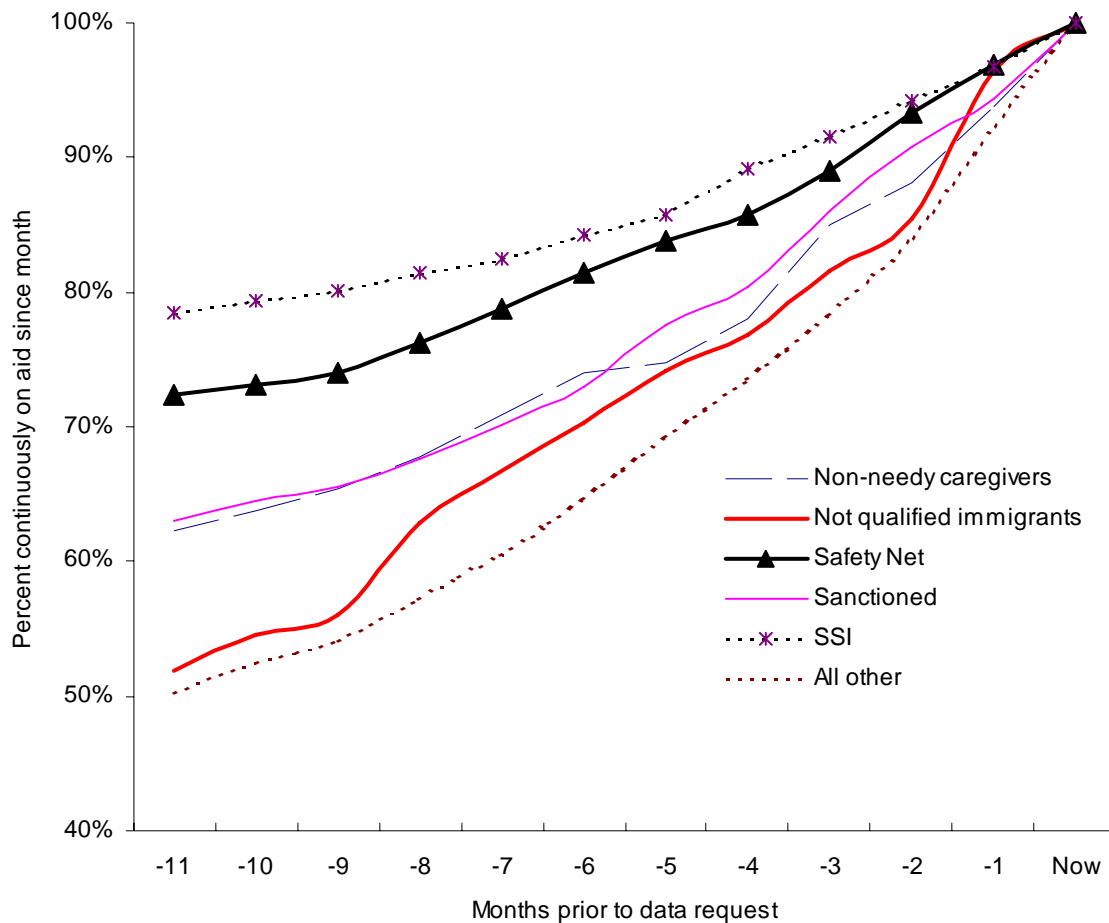
Figure 10
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Alameda County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

The third county for which we conducted this analysis is San Francisco. As shown in Figure 11, the variation in welfare durations across the subgroups is similar to that in Alameda County, with Safety Net and SSI cases showing longer durations and non-child only cases showing the shortest durations of all. Length of time receiving benefits for not-qualified immigrants is almost as low as for non-child-only cases.

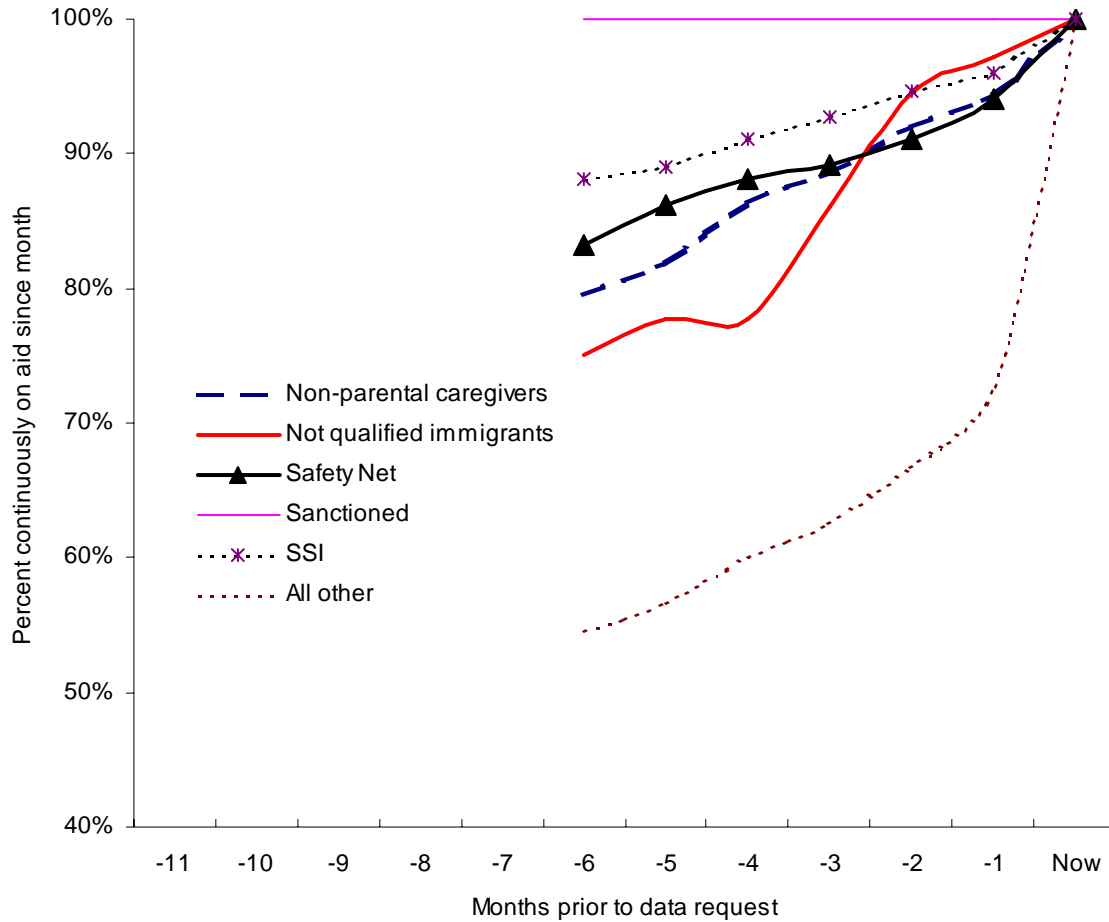
Figure 11
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in San Francisco, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 12 shows similar dynamics for Humboldt County, which, as discussed, only provided 7 months of longitudinal data for these analyses. In Humboldt County the relative differences between child-only and other cases were larger than in other counties and the persistence of sanctioned cases was particularly remarkable.

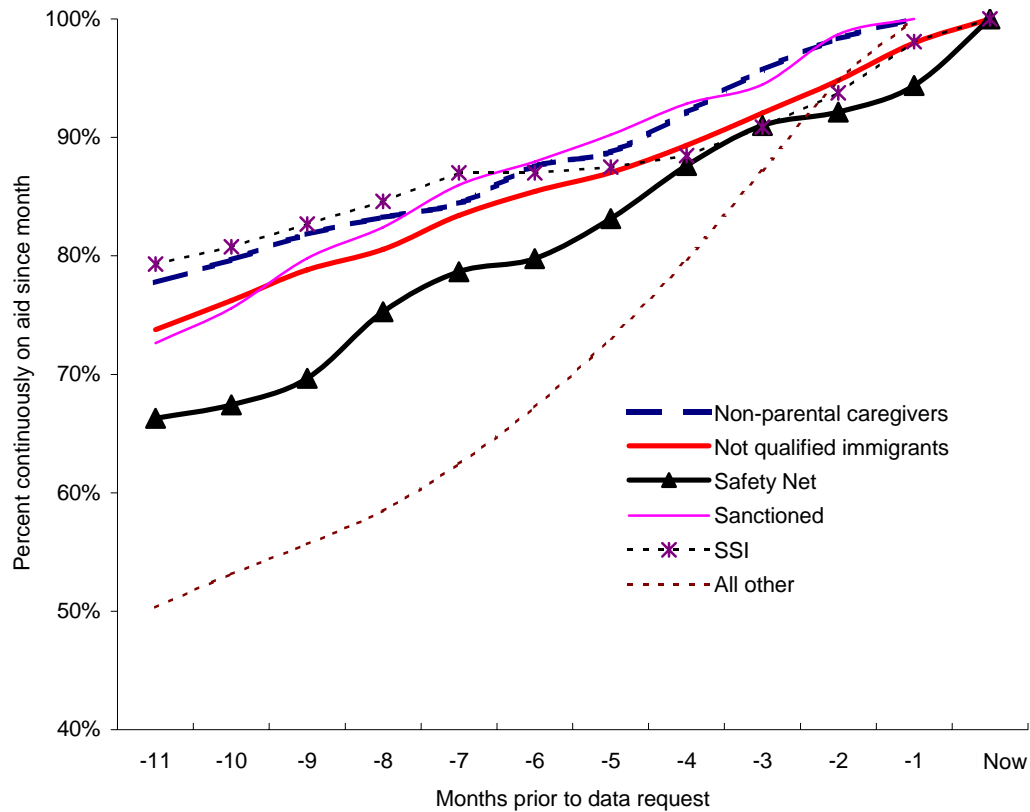
Figure 12
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Humboldt County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 13 shows these results for San Mateo County. The patterns look quite different from the other counties, with Safety Net participants showing less persistent long-term CalWORKs receipt than in the other counties. This is likely a result of the way in which San Mateo County defines its subgroups, which, as discussed above, differs from the other counties.

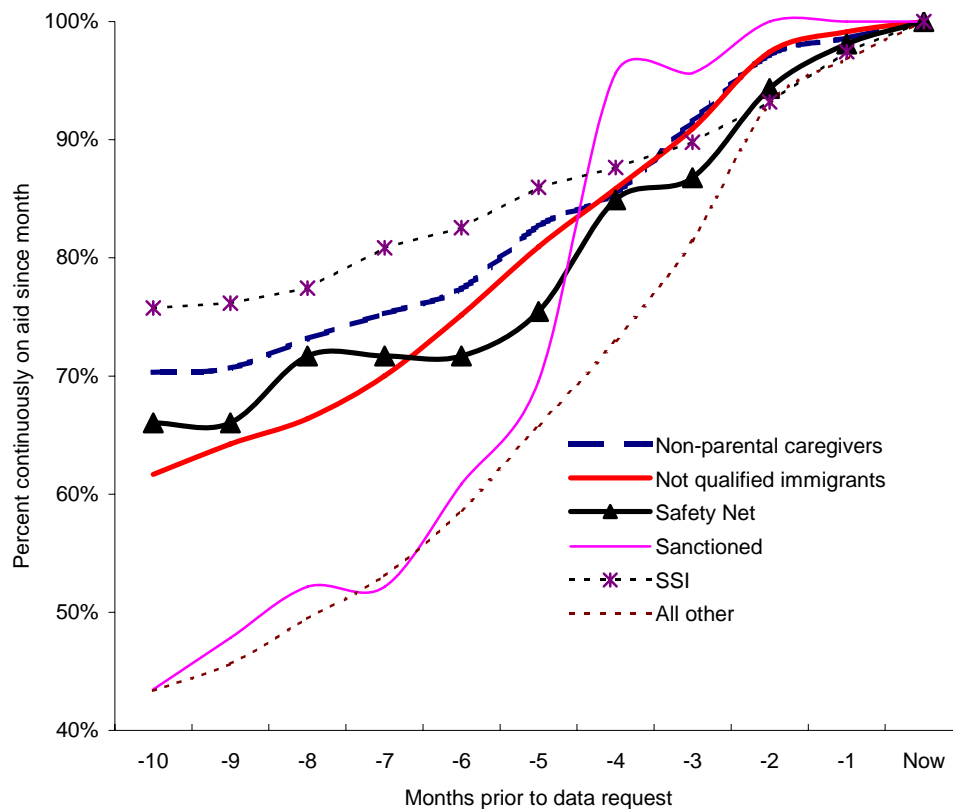
Figure 13
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in San Mateo County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Figure 14 describes the cross-subgroup differences in welfare dynamics for Sonoma County. Like the others, the chart shows that child-only cases have longer welfare durations, although the relative durations of the various cases follow a different pattern than in some of the other counties. Most notably, sanctioned cases, which are a relatively small part of Sonoma County's caseload, show very short welfare durations relative to the other subgroups in Sonoma County and relative to sanctioned cases in other counties.

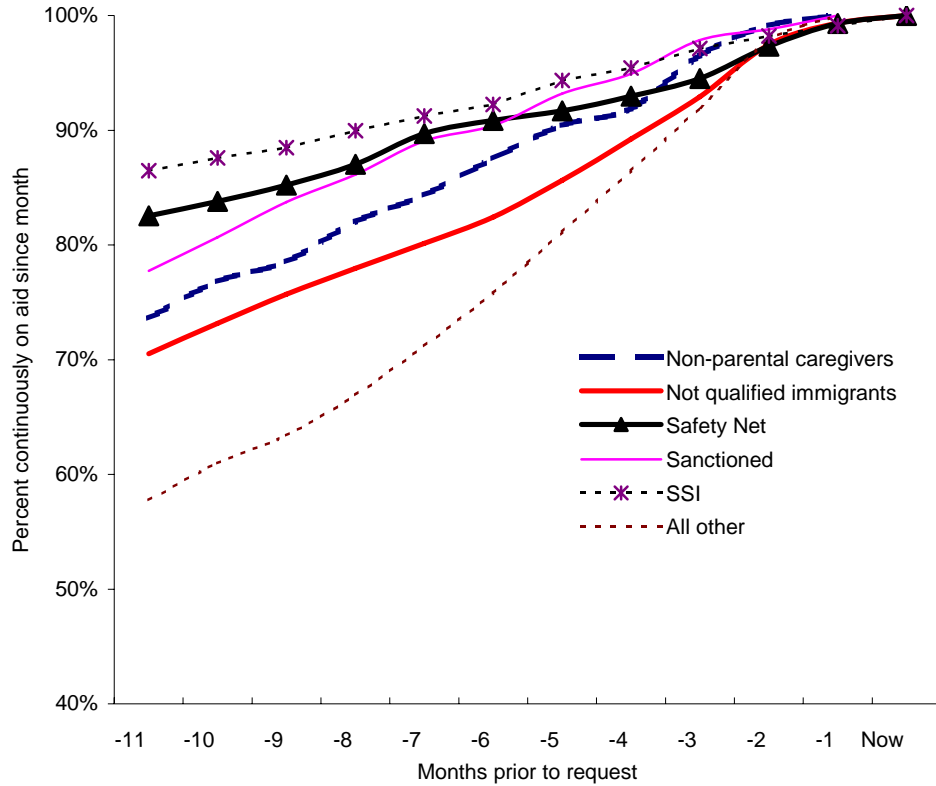
Figure 14
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Sonoma County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

Lastly, Figure 15 shows patterns of welfare receipt for subgroups in Stanislaus County. This county shows very similar patterns to those in Santa Clara County, with the safety net and SSI cases being the longest lasting and the not-qualified immigrant cases and non-child only cases lasting the shortest.

Figure 15
Retroactive Activity of Active CalWORKs Cases in Stanislaus County, by Subgroup



Source: BPA calculations from county CalWORKs data.

CONCLUSIONS

- Child-only cases are larger than one might expect, including more adults than cases that have aided adults on them. Case size varies significantly across counties, however, possibly indicating variation in how counties count adults, rather than actual variation in the family size of child only cases.
- Child-only parents and children are older than those on other CalWORKs cases.
- There is significant cross-county variation in the representation of different types of child-only cases in the child-only caseload. This means that different counties must develop their own policy approaches to address the needs of child-only families.
- The ethnic and language background of different types of child-only cases varies significantly. More research is needed on how different groups of CalWORKs recipients end up on the caseload and how counties can best serve them.
- CalWORKs child-only cases have significantly longer welfare histories than non-child-only cases. This creates opportunities for counties to develop policies targeted at promoting self-sufficiency among child-only families. Among child-only cases, substantial variation is evident in length of continuous time receiving aid. Further research is warranted to understand these differences and to suggest appropriate policy and/or program adjustments.
- Welfare grants received by child-only families are both smaller in size compared to those received by other families and shared by more individuals. Because of this, it is likely that child-only families experience greater material hardship than non-child-only families.

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APPENDIX A. The Research Literature on Child-only TANF Cases: Parent/caregiver and Child Characteristics

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Number of studies specific to group	5	23	3	10	3
Number of studies applicable to all child-only cases	2				
Parent/caregiver/family Characteristics					
Demographics					
Race/ethnicity effects	x	x	x	x	x
Children older	x			x	x
Parent/caregiver older	T	T	T	xT	T
Parent/caregiver younger		T			
Parent/caregiver more likely married	T	T	T	xT	T
Parent/caregiver less likely married		x	x		x
Fewer children in household				x	
More members of household	x	xT	x		
Human capital					
Longer time on aid	xT	T	T	xT	xT
More likely to receive aid again		x			
Limited English skills	x		x		
Limited education	xT	T	x		
Limited employment (history or current)	T	xT	x		x
Few job skills		x			
Limitation on ability to work legally			x		
Significant barriers to employment		x			

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Parent/caregiver/family Characteristics, continued					
Logistics					
Childcare difficulties	T	xT			
Transportation difficulties	T	T			
Income and benefits					
Higher income				T	T
Lower income		xT	x		X
No health insurance	xT	T	xT	T	T
No sick leave	x				
No vacation leave	x				
Hardships					
Food insecurity; use of food banks, soup kitchens	x	xT			xT
Difficulty paying rent, utilities; financial hardships	x	x		x	
No phone service		T			
Shared housing; housing problems; neighborhood quality problems	x	T	x		
Fewer hardships				T	
Personal health and other personal challenges					
Poor health; illness; limited ability to work	xT	xT	T	T	xT
Learning disability; difficulty understanding rules and policies		xT			
Substance abuse	T	xT	T	xT	T
Mental health problem	xT	xT	xT	xT	xT
Domestic violence history	x	xT			
Caring for other family members		T			
Criminal involvement	T	T	T	T	T

	Safety Net	Sanction	Immigrant	Kinship	SSI
Child Characteristics					
Physical health problems; hospitalizations	x		x	x	
Hospitalizations less likely				x	
Food insecurity	x				
Emotional or behavioral health or mental problems	x	x		x	
Developmental problems				x	
School problems	T	T	T	T	T
Education unmet need				x	
History of maltreatment, abuse, neglect	x	xT		x	
Police trouble	T	T	T	T	T

Key

x = compared to one or more other subgroup(s)

T = compared to TANF recipients generally

Child-only CalWORKs Study

Report #2

Barriers to Work:

CalWORKs Parents Timed-out or Sanctioned in Five Counties

March 2008

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Origins of This Report

Phase 2 of the CalWORKs Child-only Study has been carried out with the encouragement and financial support provided by the five study counties. We express our sincere thanks to those counties, to the social/human/community services agencies and their directors, and to Mike Austin, Director of the Bay Area Social Services Consortium, who served as our initial ambassador to the directors.

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For more information about the study contact Richard Speigman (richard@snassoc.com) at (510) 419-0456.

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Barriers to Work: CalWORKs Parents Timed-out or Sanctioned in Five Counties

Executive Summary March 2008

Study background. Since California adopted the federal Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program as the California Work Opportunities and Responsibility to Kids (CalWORKs) program in 1997, the composition of the California welfare population has changed radically. While at its onset the vast majority of CalWORKs cases included an aided adult, over half of CalWORKs cases now receive aid just for the children. The adults either never were eligible or have been excluded from cash aid and receipt of most services. The “child-only” cases include those with: 1) parents timed-out, having reached the five-year, lifetime limit on receipt of aid (safety net cases), 2) parents sanctioned for non-compliance with CalWORKs program requirements (sanction cases), 3) parents of citizen children who are themselves considered not-qualified immigrants (immigrant parent cases), 4) parents receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits for themselves (SSI parent cases), and 5) non-parental caregivers.

Parents associated with sanctioned and safety net cases were at one time “aided adults” on a CalWORKs case. At some point, however, this status changed, and the parents lost aid. For safety net cases, this is because they “used up” their 60 months of lifetime CalWORKs aid. Sanctioned parents who may have received aid for any length of time short of 60 months became unaided when the county sanctioned them for non-compliance with welfare-to-work regulations. Parents and caregivers in the other three case types, however, because of their ineligibility, may themselves never have been aided.

Lacking information about most child-only cases, and being concerned about the status of both parents/caregivers and children associated with these cases, the Child-only Study was initiated to promote sound CalWORKs policy and program through researching child-only and aided adult CalWORKs cases and informing policy-makers and CalWORKs program administrators about these low-income California families.

This report is the second in a series presenting research on the composition, characteristics, and needs of child-only cases in California counties. Child-only Study Report #1 analyzed county administrative data to understand (1) the prevalence of subgroups of child-only cases by county, (2) the characteristics of family members comprising child-only cases by subgroup and by county, and (3) the patterns of history of receipt of aid by subgroup and by county. This second report is based on interviews with timed-out and sanctioned parents concerning personal, community, and family characteristics that may serve as barriers to work.

Previous Literature. Relatively little attention has been paid to child-only cases. While in the early years of welfare reform many studies were conducted of TANF participants and “leavers,” very little is known about families who receive limited aid just for their children.

*Sanctioned Parents.*¹ The national literature reports that sanctioned families tend to be more disadvantaged and vulnerable than other families on welfare, to experience greater difficulty in understanding rules and sanction policy, and to be more likely than non-sanctioned recipients to have experienced personal and family challenges and complex life circumstances. As a group, sanctioned parents have significant barriers to employment, are less likely to be employed, and are more likely to become recipients of cash aid again in comparison to non-sanctioned parents. Risk factors for sanction include having longer history of welfare receipt, being of younger age, having less education and less formal employment history, never having been married, having more children, being African American, and having more employment barriers. Barriers to employment include substance abuse, mental health problems, domestic violence, health problems, disabilities, few job skills, low levels of education, and child care and transportation problems.

Safety Net Cases. Parents reaching time limits (safety net cases in California) tend to exhibit similar characteristics – with multiple barriers to self-sufficiency, younger age, longer time receiving aid, younger children, lack of high school diploma, lack of work experience, lack of child care, involvement in the child welfare system, disability, physical and mental health problems, domestic violence, alcohol or drug problems, conviction for a crime, and language barriers. In California, it has been found that those timing out after 60 months of aid disproportionately speak Vietnamese and other non-English languages.

Study Design. This report is based on a cross-sectional study of sanctioned and safety net parents associated with child-only cases in five Northern California jurisdictions representing a range of economic, demographic, and urban/suburban/rural contexts: Alameda, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties. Four of the five participating counties are located in the San Francisco Bay Area. Stanislaus County is located east of Santa Clara County in California's Central Valley. The study relies on self-reported data derived from face-to-face interviews with a random sample of 143 female parents associated with CalWORKs child-only cases in the five counties. Counties selected the category of CalWORKs cases in which they were most interested for purposes of this study. Those persons interviewed are parents aged 18 and older who speak English, Spanish, or Vietnamese and who either had been sanctioned (in Alameda and San Mateo Counties) or timed-out (in Alameda, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties) from receipt of cash assistance for themselves. While families of interest included both single-parent and two-parent households, only mothers were interviewed. Hence, the relatively few households led by single fathers were excluded from the study population. Because of timing and availability of information from which the potential sample was drawn, the sample represents parents in families with somewhat longer episodes as child-only cases.

Interviews took place between July 5 and November 14, 2007. The survey took about one hour and covered a variety of topics, including demographics, employment status and work experience, household income, material hardships, child care, respondent physical health, respondent cognitive and mental health, respondent use of alcohol and other drugs, respondent experience of partner abuse and partner control, children's health, and need for and receipt of services.

¹ Sanctioned cases include those in California where aid is terminated only for the parents and those in most states where aid is terminated for all family members (full-family sanction). A similar distinction exists also with reference to timed-out cases. In most states there is no "safety net" program such as California's that provides aid for the children of timed-out parents.

Response Rates. Twenty-five mothers were interviewed in San Francisco, San Mateo, and Stanislaus Counties, and twenty-six were interviewed in Santa Clara County. In Alameda County 21 sanctioned and 21 safety net parents were interviewed. Overall, 16 cases were interviewed in Vietnamese, 4 in Spanish, and 123 in English. Response rates, apparently associated with the accuracy and usefulness of telephone number data provided by the counties to the fieldwork team, ranged from 39.6 percent (Alameda County sanction cases) to 61.9 percent (Santa Clara County safety net cases).

Measurements. Barriers to employment may be internal (such as educational attainment and poor health) or external (such as problems with transportation, child care, and a partner's discouragement about work, school, or training). Barriers may also be categorized as involving:

- Human capital (educational attainment, work experience)
- Family responsibility (child under six, child care problems, child health limitations)
- Participant's health (physical health, mental health, alcohol or drug problems, learning disability, domestic violence, partner control), and
- Logistical problems or material hardships (transportation problems, residential or living instability, emergency food use)

Building on previous research findings, this study examines data on the following 14 potential barriers to employment. Survey questions focus on the study participant and her spouse or partner, children, neighborhood and other environments, and household.² Unless otherwise stated, each barrier refers to the respondent's current status. Barriers include:

1. Education: less than high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED).
2. Lack of full-time work experience: last worked 30 or more hours per week three or more years ago, if ever.
3. Transportation: has no driver's license or no access to a car, or quit a job or was unable to start a job in the last 12 months due to transportation problems.
4. Residential or living instability: now living in another person's place, in a shelter, homeless on the street, or moved out of home two or more times in the last 12 months.
5. Relies on emergency food programs (food banks, food pantries, or soup kitchens) for bags of food, bag lunches, or cooked meals.
6. Has a child under six.
7. Experiences child care problems – getting child care has been a problem for the respondent in finding or keeping a job in the past 12 months.
8. Physical health: self-rated fair or poor health, or limiting physical health condition.
9. Learning disability: needed extra help with school/learning or diagnosed with learning disability.
10. Mental health: limiting mental health condition, or depression, generalized anxiety disorder or stressful events in last 12 months.
11. Alcohol or drug problems: abuse of or dependence on alcohol or other drugs in the last 12 months.

² We do not attempt to define or to focus on the CalWORKs "assistance unit" utilized by county CalWORKs eligibility offices.

12. Domestic violence: experienced physical or sexual abuse by a partner in the last 12 months.
13. Partner control: intimate partner discouraged, did not help, or harassed respondent regarding work, or made it difficult to go to work, school or training, or caused the respondent to lose a job, or drop out of school or training in the last 12 months.
14. Child has limiting health condition that prevents her/him from basic activities such as eating and walking without assistance.

Study Limitations and Interpretation of Findings. Reported statistics such as percentages or means reflect the actual responses recorded by the fieldwork team but also are assumed to be *estimates* of the status of the population studied in each site. However, the small number of respondents limits the stability of estimates and the ability to compare findings across study sites. In other words, this study provides descriptive documentation of individual county samples rather than comparative analyses. When findings are reported by combining results across sites we do not take account of differences in county population size by weighting results. Hence, “combined site” totals do not provide estimates of characteristics for any specific child-only case population.

Findings. Study findings demonstrate that female parents associated with sanctioned and safety net child-only cases in five Northern California counties have many similar demographic and household characteristics, experience substantial material hardships, and have poor employment histories. These mothers also appear to be in need of a variety of services to address potential barriers to employment. Although the sanctioned and safety net child-only parents in this sample share many barriers and other characteristics, each study site also has its own “barriers fingerprint.” Specific barriers contribute differently to the barrier burden for individual counties.

Demographics. Respondent age ranges from 18 to 58 years, and the average age of the six samples varies from 32.1 years (San Mateo County sanction) to 38.7 years (Santa Clara County safety net). Race/ethnic composition of the samples varies greatly. In San Francisco and in Alameda County’s sanction and safety net samples, the majority of mothers interviewed are African American. In San Mateo and Stanislaus Counties the plurality group is Latino/Hispanic, and in Santa Clara County the plurality group is Asian. The mean household size across counties ranges from about four (Alameda County sanction, Alameda County safety net, San Francisco safety net) to about five (San Mateo County sanction, Santa Clara County safety net, Stanislaus County safety net). The average number of adults per household in addition to the respondent varies from 0.5 (San Francisco safety net) to 1.4 (San Mateo County sanction). Mean number of children in households varies from 2.2 (Alameda County sanction) to 2.8 (Santa Clara County safety net). The average age of the youngest child per household varies from 5.7 years (San Mateo sanction) to 8.6 years (Alameda County sanction). Forty-two percent of the combined sample has a child less than six years of age.

Educational Attainment. Depending on study site, from one-third to over one-half of mothers have not attained a GED or high school diploma. Overall, prevalence of education lower than GED or high school diploma is 40.6 percent. These and other findings are compared to rates for the female population aged 18 to 58, with income level below 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Line (FPL). In the case of educational attainment, study participants’ accomplishments are lower – in some cases substantially lower – in three of the sites. Lowest educational attainment is in the Alameda County sanction and San Francisco safety net sites.

Employment. Several measures of lack of employment are reported, including (1) lack of full-time employment (30 or more hours per week) within the past three years (49.0% of total study sample), lack of employment in the last year (58.0%), and lack of current (last week) employment (70.6%). Lack of recent full-time employment is especially prevalent in the safety net sites of San Mateo County (60.0%), Stanislaus County (60.0%), and Santa Clara County (57.7%), and the Alameda County sanction (42.9%) site.

Household Income. Household income ranges from about one-third to two-thirds of the California Budget Project's 2006 basic family budget. The most important and stable cash income item is the CalWORKs grant for children, which comprises from one-third to one-half of monthly household income in the six sites and ranges from a mean of \$461 in Stanislaus County to a mean of \$665 in Santa Clara County. Other sources of cash income exist, and their contribution varies widely across sites. In each site, 95 percent or more of non-cash income derives from Food Stamps.

Material Hardships. One-third of the mothers experienced residential instability. That is, they were living in another person's home, in a shelter, were homeless on the streets, or had moved at least twice in the last 12 months. The prevalence of this barrier ranged from 8.0% among San Francisco safety net study participants to 52.0% among San Mateo County sanction participants.

Reliance on emergency food programs (43.4% of the combined sample) varies by site, with from 3.9 to 20.0 percent of mothers using soup kitchens in the previous 12 months. In comparison, the national rate is less than one percent.

Residential overcrowding is prevalent. Percent of mothers reporting an average of more than one person per room in her residence ranged from 14.3 to 36.0 percent, depending on the study site. In the national general population, according to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 2.4 percent of persons are estimated to be residing in such crowded situations.

In a related measure, the rate of homelessness among mothers surveyed is four to 14 times that of the national rate.

Despite relatively large investments in housing costs, mothers reported that neighborhood problems were common. Twenty percent or more of mothers assessed as a "big" problem five neighborhood characteristics: (1) too many cars, (2) trash and litter, (3) people using or selling drugs, (4) no safe place for children to play, and (5) not safe to walk alone at night. A clear association is evident between mothers who report *no safe place for children to play* and those who say they skipped work, school, or training in the last year because they were worried about their child's safety.

Child Care Problem. Depending on the site, from 15.4 to 36.0 percent of study participants report that child care is a problem to get or keep a job.

Health. From 28.0 to 52.0 percent of mothers, depending on site, report fair or poor health. Overall, physical health problems are experienced by 36.4 percent of the full sample.

Among study respondents, depending on site, the prevalence of mental health barriers (overall, 26.6%) is two to seven times the general population rate for psychological distress.

Survey results for last-year drug use range from 14.3 to 48.0 percent, depending on site, compared to 10.7 percent among the general population.

One in five study participants needed extra help with school or learning or has been diagnosed with a learning disability. The prevalence of learning disability ranges from 9.5 percent to 28.0 percent across sites.

Reports of domestic violence experience in the last year range from 7.7 percent to 10.1 percent.

Partner control, depending on site, spans the range from 0 to 23.8 percent of cases.

Child limiting health conditions range in prevalence from 11.5 to 33.3 percent, depending on site. The Stanislaus county sample has the largest proportion of mothers with physical health (52.0%) and mental health (44.0%) barriers.

Transportation. The most prevalent barrier for the combined sample is transportation which affects 61.5 percent of all respondents. It is also the number one barrier for each site except Santa Clara County, where lack of recent work experience is most prevalent (57.7%).

Multiple Barriers. Mothers were found to have from zero to 10 barriers (see Figure ES-1). While two mothers have no barriers, and one has 10 barriers, 30 have four barriers. On average, the combined sample has 4.3 barriers to employment. The San Mateo County sanction sample has on average 5.2 barriers, the largest average number among the six samples.

Regarding the relationship between the employment outcomes and the number of barriers, this study finds that any more than one barrier substantially reduces likelihood of employment. Slightly over two-thirds of mothers with only one barrier worked in the current time period (see Figure ES-2). A barrier count of two or more reduces the likelihood of employment substantially, down to one participant in four. The number of barriers appears to affect *current* employment status more than employment status in the last year. Compared to study participants working the week previous to interview, on average barriers are fifty percent more prevalent among those not working the previous week. Particularly salient, in addition to lack of recent (last three years) full-time work, are child care problems, mental health problems, alcohol or drug problems, domestic violence, and partner control. With regard to the last three barriers, it is noteworthy that the *prevalence* of each barrier is relatively low – 13 percent or less. However the apparent *influence* of the barriers is high. For example, individuals not employed last week are 2.7 times as likely as those with work in the last week to be found to have alcohol or drug abuse or dependence.

Housing Costs. Table ES-1 examines housing cost burden for four groups of study participants. These groups are defined by whether they live in their own place (Groups A, B, and C), whether they receive a subsidy toward the cost of their housing (Groups A and B), and whether they receive \$20 or more of rental income from others for their housing unit (Group A). Group D is composed of those who live in someone else's place and receive neither a subsidy nor rental income of \$20 or more.

Three out of five study participants (Groups A and B, 61.7%) receive a housing subsidy that contributes to the cost of their monthly housing bill. Among those 87 households, 15 also benefit financially by receiving more than \$20 monthly in rental income (Group A). That is, persons sharing the housing provide a monthly stipend. As a result of these two forms of financial assistance, on average Group A, the individuals receiving subsidies and rental income, spends 15.4 percent of income on housing. Group B, with subsidy but no rental income, devotes 25.3 percent of income to housing costs. Both amounts fall within the 30 percent considered affordable by HUD. There are, however, two sizeable groups of study participants who do not

benefit from housing subsidies. Members of Group C reside in their own place, have no subsidy, and do not receive rental income of \$20 or more. Percent of income spent on housing ranges, depending on site, from 15 percent to 74 percent. On average, across the six study sites, these households devote 54.5 percent of income to rent, a figure considered unsustainable and putting the occupants at risk of homelessness. Additionally, one-third of these household are considered over-crowded, having, on average, more than two persons per bedroom. A final group, Group D, is comprised of people who live in another person's place. These mothers have no housing subsidy and no rental income. On the contrary, they provide rental income to others. Rent costs range from 14.9 to 44.3 percent of income, with a group mean of 38.8 percent of income. Forty percent of these living units have more than two persons per bedroom.

Figure ES-1. Number of Barriers to Employment, Sites Combined

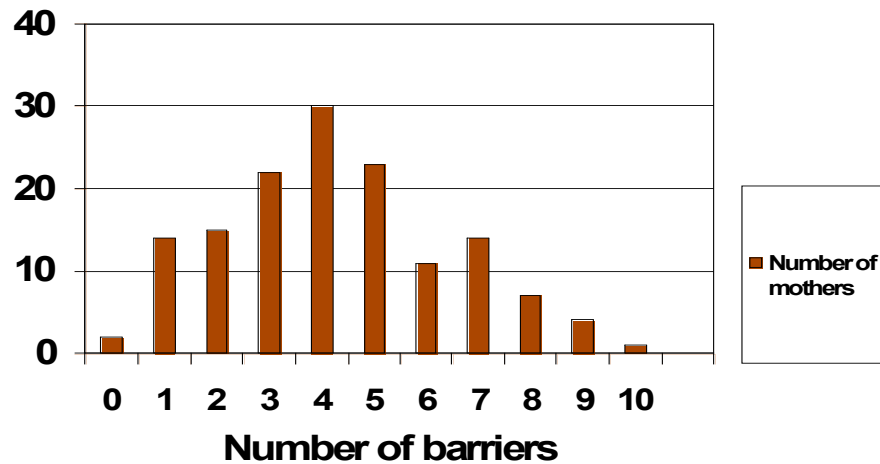
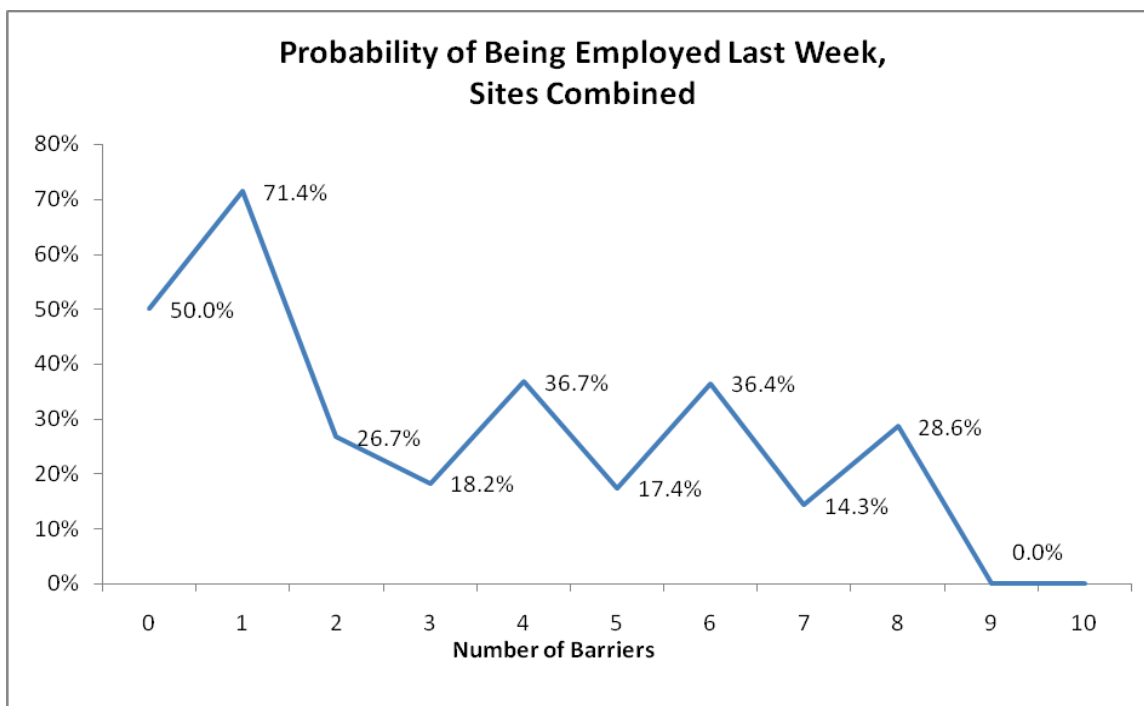


Figure ES-2. Employment in Last Week as Function of Number of Barriers**Table ES-1. Percent of Income Spent on Housing by Type of Residence, Receipt of Housing Subsidy, and Receipt of Rental Income, Sites Combined**

Group			
Type of residence	n	%	% of income to housing
Housing subsidy receipt			
Rental income receipt			
A. Own / rent, receive housing subsidy, rental income > \$20	15	10.6%	15.4%
B. Own / rent, receive housing subsidy, <i>no</i> rental income > \$20	72	51.1%	25.3%
C. Own / rent, <i>no</i> subsidy, <i>no</i> rental income > \$20	25	17.7%	54.5%
D. In other person's place, <i>no</i> subsidy, <i>no</i> rental income > \$20	25	17.7%	38.8%
Other	4	2.8%	36.6%
Total	141	99.9%	32.2%

Conclusions and Policy Implications. Because this study is cross-sectional and does not follow households over time, we cannot conclude that a causal relationship exists between the potential barriers and employment outcomes. However, published results from other longitudinal studies assist our interpretation of the data collected from households for this study. We find strong indication that at least half of the 14 barriers identified are negatively associated with employment. Previous TANF studies that typically focused on cases with full families receiving aid (as opposed to child-only studies), find the following barriers to have significant negative effects on employment over time: (1) limited educational attainment, (2) transportation barriers, (3) child care problems, (4) physical health problems, (5) learning disability, (6) mental health problems, and (7) alcohol and other drug problems.

To our knowledge, the following barriers as we define them have not yet been examined in longitudinal studies (1) residential instability, (2) use of emergency food programs, and (3) presence of child under six. Factors previously studied but that have not been found to predict subsequent employment are: (1) domestic violence, (2) partner control, and (3) child's limiting condition. It remains to be seen, both for these and other characteristics primarily studied for their effects in aided adult families, how the impact of these barriers might differ for child-only cases.

In the light of other research results, our findings suggest the following:

- The vast majority of mothers in both safety net and sanctioned child-only cases face multiple barriers to employment.
- Eleven percent of parents associated with sanctioned and timed-out child-only cases had no barriers or only one barrier to employment; the remaining 89 percent had more than one barrier. While having zero or one barrier is associated with a 69 percent chance of current employment, having two or more barriers is associated with a 24 percent chance of current employment.
- Parents with two or more barriers have only a 39 percent chance of having worked any hours in the past year.
- Barriers that have the greatest negative association with past-week employment are, in order of importance: (1) lack of recent (last three years) full-time work experience, (2) alcohol or other drug problems, (3) mental health problems, (4) partner control, (5) child care problems, and (6) domestic violence.
- Barriers with the greatest negative association with work in the previous 12 months are, in order of importance: (1) lack of recent (last three years) full-time work experience, (2) child care problems, (3) alcohol or other drug problems, (4) mental health problems and residential instability (tie), and (6) education less than GED or high school diploma and physical health problems (tie).
- Despite a large investment in welfare-to-work programs, many of the mothers in the study expressed needs – whether for additional child care, help with utility bills, or assistance finding housing – that were not met.

Additional findings that highlight program and policy issues include the following:

- Mothers associated with sanctioned and timed-out CalWORKs cases are not young, and their limited educational background and work experience in the last three years suggest

that substantial investment in human capital will be required before they successfully enter – and remain in – the workforce. They have other challenging barriers as well. As one study advisor put it, these women live in a “soup of problems . . . their will-power will not resolve most of the problems.”

- The majority of mothers surveyed have relatively young children. Hence, the typical family will not quickly leave CalWORKs because the children have aged-out. There is thus substantial need for assistance for these families but also great opportunity for longer-term programmatic intervention.
- Many study participants reside in problematic neighborhoods. Substantial parental attention is required to sustain children in those environments. Therefore, parental decisions not to engage in work but instead to remain available to children may constitute positive personal and social decisions. County social services administrators, asked to comment during an early review of study findings, suggested that for parents both to work full-time and to carry out parental responsibilities may require work with flexible hours, the ability to keep in phone contact with children, and other accommodations. However, these are jobs that people with low educational attainment and little work experience are unlikely to acquire.

Barriers span a range of conditions, some short-term in nature and others that are unlikely to change very quickly. Recent (last three years) full-time work experience is central to both current and last-year employment. Current employment appears to be especially sensitive to health-related and interpersonal barriers as well as child care problems and residential instability. Barriers associated with lack of employment in the longer-term (12 months) cover a broader terrain, including educational attainment and physical health problems. Given what is known from previous studies on aided adult cases, it is likely that the focus for policy and practice should be on the past year barriers to work, supplemented by a focus on overcoming transportation barriers.

To promote self-sufficiency among mothers associated with child-only cases, a combined effort will likely be required, involving:

- The identification of resources and services that families need to surmount these barriers and the funding and placement of these services within the county
- The identification of new or alternate funding sources to support services that cannot be paid for with CalWORKs funding
- Increased use of exemptions and expanded reasons for exemption from welfare-to-work activities, when appropriate, for parents with barriers to employment
- Introduction of advocacy and case management services to support sanctioned and timed-out parents in their efforts to secure financial and personal support

From a longer-term, national perspective, it is possible that a partial disability program may be required for some parents.³ Currently, many individuals with apparently sustained and significant barriers to work do not qualify as disabled under SSI regulations but nonetheless are ill-equipped to work either full-time or consistently enough to support themselves and their

³ See, in this regard, Blank (2007) and her proposal for a Temporary and Partial Work Waiver Program.

children.⁴ Those who fall short of qualifying for the SSI benefit often qualify for CalWORKs and county General Assistance programs instead, which are not flexible enough or adequately resourced to serve this population well.

In addition to supports for parents, the children in some child-only families may also require specialized assistance. Currently, the CalWORKs program lacks direction or capacity to address those needs. Some needs may be met outside CalWORKs by existing family services, county health and mental health programs, and other agencies or be met informally in the context of family life, child care, preschool, or public school. Relying on school, preschool, and child care, however, seems unrealistic. Too often school districts, agencies, or family child care programs are underfunded, teachers are overwhelmed, and too few special resource staff are available. We really do not yet know how the children are faring in child-only families, and it remains for future research to examine children's well-being, to learn where they currently acquire support, and to ascertain what additional assistance they may require to thrive.

The point is, one county colleague stated, that we need to put these families in a different relationship with poverty. How to accomplish that is not clear. The above recommendations would be a challenge to pursue in any environment but especially in California today, when every consideration for appropriate financial support must be weighed against the challenges of a major budget deficit. To reach combined objectives of policy change and program innovation, the State and counties will need to work both within and outside their jurisdictions as they determine institutional ownership for the array of problems catalogued. One starting point would involve a focused look at the gap between needed and missing services that are reviewed in the report. More than ten percent of mothers reported that help was needed with utility costs, extra child care, help finding housing, and free or inexpensive work clothing. Five to ten percent said they needed assistance with physical health problems, mental health problems, support groups, and attorney services. While these needs may be, or may constitute elements of, barriers to employment, it remains unclear which community or county agencies hold responsibility for addressing them, or for coordinating their resolution.

In California, the *absence* of a full-family sanction, like the support provided by safety net benefits for timed-out families, is understood as critical to sustain the children in CalWORKs families. About 80 percent of the households that we studied are able tenuously to make ends meet, either because they have access to a housing subsidy or live in another person's residence and have cash aid and Food Stamps. In a number of cases study participants both had a housing subsidy and shared space with housemates. We did not examine housing conditions other than cost and overcrowding. Given the negative effects of crowding, we do not know the extent to which shared housing proves to be a benefit or a liability to those families and, especially, the children in them. But we can imagine the difficult, additional compromises that these high-need families would have to make if their CalWORKs grant were to diminish further or become unavailable.

Loss of the CalWORKs grant could affect the ability of relatively large numbers of individuals – the majority of them children – to remain housed or provide for other needs. Depending on the precise type of housing subsidy involved, in case of loss of CalWORKs aid or other income, the subsidy might increase to at least partially offset the loss of income. But where that does not

⁴ In fact, many recipients of SSI have some association with AFDC or TANF (Nadel, Wamhoff, and Wiseman, 2003/2004, p.26). See also Pavetti and Kauff (2006).

happen, loss of benefits may have devastating effects on housing security. Many study participants already pay more than 30 percent of their income towards housing costs. Without additional assistance from housing subsidies, if their income were to drop and the family continue to live in the same situation, the percent of income devoted to housing costs would climb further.⁵

Future Research. While the study provides important knowledge about the number and impact of challenges that mothers in child-only CalWORKs families face in obtaining and keeping employment, the effect of the reduced grant on children's well-being remains unknown. The researchers and sponsors of the CalWORKs Child-only Study, the study's Advisory Committee, and several entities providing financial support to the study have identified a need for the next study to focus specifically on child well-being. As well as expanding the survey to include other types of child-only cases not yet studied (immigrant parents, non-parental caregivers, SSI parents) the next study phase should highlight information on the status of children in all child-only cases – including safety net and sanction child-only cases – and particularly address the question of with which sorts of cases community or county agencies ought to be actively involved to promote child well-being and prevent disruption of the family and involvement of the child welfare system. We anticipate the use of a variety of methods – key informant interviews, focus groups, and parent/caregiver surveys – to accomplish this objective. This information, among other things, will prove useful in guiding county prevention planning and early intervention programs.

Our goal, as we acquire more knowledge about parents, caregivers, and children involved in child-only cases, is to continue working with a range of stakeholders – other researchers, policy-makers, program administrators, advocates, and representatives of philanthropy – to identify where and when CalWORKs services and other resources are available that would support families on an ongoing or emergency basis. Implications for non-child-only CalWORKs cases may also become evident, particularly with respect to strategies to help families with multiple barriers well before they are sanctioned or reach their time limits on aid. As we gather more information, it may be appropriate to organize, implement, and evaluate demonstration projects to show the effects of interventions on child well-being, the necessity for child welfare system engagement, and the promotion of families' ability to survive and thrive beyond poverty.

⁵ A broader perspective must also be considered. Where increased housing assistance shores up a decline in a CalWORKs grants, that assistance become unavailable for others potentially in need of it. The net effect community-wide would be an increase in homelessness or in marginal or dangerous housing situations.

Barriers to Work: CalWORKs Parents Timed-out or Sanctioned in Five Counties

STUDY BACKGROUND

Since California adopted the federal Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program as the California Work Opportunities and Responsibility to Kids (CalWORKs) program in 1997, the composition of the California welfare population has changed radically.⁶ While at its onset the vast majority of CalWORKs cases included an aided adult, over half of CalWORKs cases now receive aid just for the children because the adults either never were eligible or have been excluded from cash aid and receipt of services (Smilanick, 2007).⁷ Five major categories define 95 percent of “child-only” cases, those with: 1) parents timed-out, having reached the five-year, lifetime limit on receipt of aid (safety net cases), 2) parents sanctioned for non-compliance with CalWORKs work participation program requirements (sanctioned cases), 3) parents of citizen children who are themselves considered not-qualified immigrants (immigrant parent cases), 4) parents receiving SSI benefits for themselves (SSI parent cases), and 5) non-parental caregivers.⁸

For shorter or longer periods of time, parents associated with the first two categories – sanctioned and safety net cases – were at one time “aided adults” on a CalWORKs case. At some point, however, this status changed, and the parents lost aid. For safety net cases, this is because they “used up” their 60-month lifetime limit of CalWORKs aid. Sanctioned parents could have received aid for any length of time short of 60 months. They became unaided at the point at which the county sanctioned them for non-compliance with welfare-to-work regulations. Parents and caregivers in the other three case types, however, because of their ineligibility, may themselves never have been aided.

Historically, the adults associated with child-only cases have not been subject to time limits or work requirements, and typically the unaided adults are not entitled to services such as CalWORKs child care and transportation subsidies or behavioral health care services. As a result central goals of the federal TANF and California CalWORKs programs appeared not to apply.⁹ However, sanctioned and timed-out parents are now part of states’ and counties’ “work participation rate” calculations.

In light of lack of information about most child-only cases, and concern about the status of both parents/caregivers and children associated with these cases, the Child-only Study was initiated to promote sound CalWORKs policy and program through researching child-only and aided adult

⁶ Congress passed, and President Bill Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA, P.L. 104-193, 110 Stat. 2105) on August 22, 1996, creating the TANF program. Through AB1542, CalWORKs, California’s implementation of TANF, was signed into law on August 11, 1997.

⁷ With CalWORKs operating under new regulations provided for by the federal Deficit Reduction Act of 2005, however, timed-out and sanctioned parents now contribute to calculation of the State’s Work Participation Rate.

⁸ Non-parental caregivers are often referred to as “non-needy” family members.

⁹ Central goals include to “end the dependence of needy families on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage”(42 USC 601) and “to break the cycle of poverty by giving recipients both the incentives and the tools to move from welfare and to self-reliance.” A number of publications use this latter or similar language to reference the promise of TANF. For this particular quotation see Linhardt, 1998.

CalWORKs cases and informing policy-makers and CalWORKs program administrators about these low-income California families.

This report is the second in a series reporting research on the composition, characteristics, and needs of child-only cases in California counties. It completes Phase 2 of a proposed three-phase study. Phase 1 analyzed county administrative data to answer three primary questions: What is the prevalence of subgroups of child-only cases by county? How do characteristics of family members comprising child-only cases vary by subgroup and by county? What are the dynamics of history of receipt of aid?¹⁰

In accomplishing its objectives, Report #1 compares child-only with non-child-only CalWORKs cases. According to Report #1, welfare grants received by child-only families are both smaller in size compared to those received by other families and shared by more individuals, compared to grants provided to families with aided adults. Accordingly, Report #1 concludes that “child-only families experience greater material hardship than non-child-only families” (Speigman, Bos and Ortiz, 2007, p. 29).¹¹ Apart from concern about material hardships, Report #1 also leaves us with research questions about need for services and characteristics other than demographics that can be assessed as potential barriers to employment.

It is pointed out in Report #1 that the cross-county variation in the distribution of child-only cases is explained by differences in multiple factors including caseload demographics. In other words, specific categories of child-only CalWORKs cases may differ substantially in demographics compared to the general child-only caseload for each site.

Phase 2 of the child-only study, involving interviews with timed-out and sanctioned parents concerning barriers to work and other topics, is the subject of the present report.

The authors have also designed a third study phase, to focus on the situations of parents associated with the other categories of child-only cases and to assess child well-being among the range of child-only families. A section at the conclusion of this report on “next steps” provides additional information about the rationale and plans for Phase 3.

In the pages that follow we review relevant literature, describe the context of the study counties, summarize the study design, and present study findings. Findings include a profile of results for each study site, and findings across sites. The report concludes with a note on study limitations, brief discussion section, and comments on future research.

The Literature on Sanction and Safety net parents and Barriers to Work

California is a relatively generous state in terms of cash grants to support children when the parents or caregivers are not eligible for CalWORKs benefits, or CalWORKs is terminated for adults.¹¹ Under CalWORKs, time limits and sanctions are applied only to the adult. In the former case, when the parent(s) has reached the 60-month time limit, the grant size is recalculated to

¹⁰ Report #1, Speigman, Bos and Ortiz, When Adults Are Left Out: CalWORKs Child-only Cases in Seven Counties (May 2007), is at: <http://www.cfpic.org>.

¹¹ However, the value of a CalWORKs grant remains far below that of an AFDC grant and has continued to decline since inception of the CalWORKs program. In 2007 the purchasing power of the maximum CalWORKs aid payment for a family of three was 10.9% below the comparable 1998 CalWORKs aid payment and 38.9% below the 1988 AFDC aid payment.

reflect loss of one (single-parent) or two (two-parent) family members from the case.¹² In the latter case, CalWORKs recipients who fail to meet program requirements may be sanctioned by a reduction or full elimination of the adult portion of the family grant. Hence, the rise in the numbers of child-only cases is driven by CalWORKs policy (MaCurdy et al., 2000) as well as by parent behavior, employment opportunities, and a host of other factors. In particular, the Safety Net program supporting children of timed-out adults increased from zero, for the first five years of the CalWORKs program, to approximately 5,300 in 2003 and 40,000 in 2005 as adults reached their time limits and were removed from aid (Smilanick, 2006).

While, especially in the years following PRWRORA, a great many studies were conducted of TANF Participants and leavers, relatively little attention has been paid to child-only cases.¹³ Most prior research either did not distinguish child-only cases from the general TANF population, or, as in our earlier work, specifically excluded child-only cases from the population under study (Norris and Speigman, 2003, 2005). Nevertheless, some key studies exist, and, in terms of identifying parents' barriers to work, these earlier studies provide an important base from which to launch this report.

Sanctions. Sanctioned cases include those in California where aid is terminated only for the parents and those in most states where aid is terminated for all family members (full-family sanction). The national literature, reporting on jurisdictions both with and without full-family sanctions, finds that sanctioned families tend to be more disadvantaged and vulnerable than other families on welfare (Moffitt and Roff, 2000; Cherlin et al., 2001; Bloom and Winstead 2002). Sanctioned adults may experience greater difficulty in understanding rules and sanction policy (Fein & Karweit, 1997; General Accounting Office, 1998). They are much more likely than non-sanctioned recipients to have experienced personal and family challenges and complex life circumstances (Wu et al., 2004; Kramer, 1998). As a group, sanctioned parents have significant barriers to employment, are less likely to be employed, and are more likely to become recipients of cash aid again when compared to non-sanctioned parents (Kramer, 1998; Pavetti, Derr & Hesketh, 2003). Correlates of sanction include being younger, less educated, never married, having more children, and being African American (Pavetti et al., 2004; Kalil, Seefeldt & Wang, 2003; Cherlin et al. 2002). Barriers to employment include substance abuse, mental health problems, domestic violence, health problems, disabilities, few job skills, low levels of education, and child care and transportation issues (Kaplan, 2004).

Studies of sanctioned parents in California lend support to some of the above findings. Drawing on administrative data, Ong and Houston (2005) examined CalWORKs sanction patterns in Alameda, Fresno, Kern, and San Diego Counties. Characteristics of single parents found to be associated with a lower probability of being sanctioned include primary language non-English, living in counties other than San Diego, having younger children, and recent employment history. Single fathers were slightly more likely to be sanctioned than single mothers. African Americans were more likely to be sanctioned compared to Whites.

¹² A similar financial impact results when an additional child is born into the family but because of California's "family cap" is not supported by additional aid (Cleveland, 2007).

¹³ See, however, the review conducted by Austin, Anthony, and Vu (2007). Prior research highlights the diversity in the composition and characteristics of the child-only cases across the nation (Farrell et al., 2000; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999, 2004).

Studying the population of CalWORKs participants in the county of Los Angeles, and partially at odds with the Ong and Houston findings, Moreno and colleagues (2005) documented five factors that increase the probability of being sanctioned, age younger than 25, being non-white, English speaking, currently being single, and not utilizing non-specialized supportive services. This study also highlighted barriers to returning to compliance: transportation and childcare problems, missing orientation due to late receipt of official appointment notice, a history of unemployment in the year prior to entering welfare-to-work program, and having an infant. These authors suggested that “sanctioned participants are frequently unable to comply with program requirements because they do not receive needed supportive services” (page xi).

Looking at sanction dynamics in Wisconsin from 1997 to 2003, Wu and colleagues (2004) associated a higher probability of sanction with a longer history of welfare receipt, less formal employment history, and more employment barriers.

Previous research also highlights the economic profile of the sanctioned adults. These studies collectively indicate that, compared with other welfare leavers – parents/caregivers whose families no longer receive TANF assistance – both sanctioned and timed-out parents have higher rates of financial difficulties, including food insecurity, and that sanctioned welfare leavers are less likely to be employed, and have lower earnings and less income than individuals who left welfare for other reasons (USGAO, 2000; Pavetti & Bloom, 2001).

Time limits. A similar distinction between California and other state policy exists also with reference to timed-out cases. In most states there is no “safety net” program such as California’s that provides aid for the children of timed-out parents.

Parents reaching time limits also tend to exhibit hard-to-serve characteristics – with multiple barriers to self-sufficiency, including involvement in the child welfare system, disability or health problems, and conviction for a crime (Social Research Institute, 1999). They also tend to be long-time aid recipients or to cycle on and off assistance (The Finance Project, 2005). Using Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) national data on the monthly patterns of AFDC receipt during the 1980s and early 1990s, Duncan and his colleagues (1997) estimated the number and characteristics of recipient families likely to be affected by the 60-month time limit, as well as how quickly families will reach the limits. They found that like sanctioned adults, those affected by time limits are likely to have a child under age three, never been married, lack a high school diploma, have no work experience, and be of a young age (Duncan, Harris & Boisjoly, 1997). In general, this timed-out adult population has diverse needs that range from assistance with basic needs and intensive job preparation services to ongoing job training or social service intervention (Kaplan, 2001).

In a 2004 study of welfare leavers in Los Angeles, Moreno and colleagues (2004) compared non-timed-out with timed-out recipients. They found that the latter worked more hours at lower wages and that a reduction in cash assistance did not seem to be associated with major disruptions in family structure of the timed-out recipients. Instead, it appeared that Section 8 housing support saved some timed-out former recipients from eviction. At the same time, the likelihood of shelter utilization was higher among timed-out participants. Furthermore, timed-out adults were 2.5 times more likely to need drug or alcohol counseling services but less likely to need child care. The authors attributed the latter finding to the fact that timed-out parents were disproportionately from two-parent families. This study found the following major barriers to employment among both timed-out and non-timed-out leaver groups: domestic violence,

transportation problems, drug and alcohol use, mental health problems, lack of child care, disability or other health barriers, and language barriers. Importantly, the authors note, the effect of cash reduction is more pronounced for smaller families (with no more than 3 members) than bigger families who have more wage earners. Furthermore, during the first six months after January 1, 2003, when the first cohort of CalWORKs recipients timed-out, the poverty rate among timed-out adults increased by eight percent (from 61% to 69%) at the same time that the poverty rate declined by six percent (from 72% to 66%) among the comparison groups still on aid. Finally, this study identified that stress was prevalent among the timed-out population and concluded that stress is less an effect of time limits and more an effect of simply being poor, because the same level of stress also occurred among CalWORKs recipients who left aid for other reasons.

Focusing on CalWORKs aid recipients within six months of timing-out, Crow and Anderson (2004), in the first report from a time limits study currently on-going, found that a typical family reaching the time limit lost \$95 in net benefits, a sum that could have a substantial impact to a household with a marginal income. They also identified significant variation across counties in tracking time on aid and administering exemptions and extensions, as well as variations also in recipients' knowledge of benefits and services available before and after they reach the time limit.

In the second time limits study report, London and Mauldon (2006) described CalWORKs families in six focus counties as they approach the time limit. One of the key findings is that barriers to employment are pervasive, including depression, anxiety, stressful events, alcohol or drug use, domestic violence, and health conditions that limit work. In addition, in terms of ethnicity, the CalWORKs population nearing the time limit is more ethnically diverse than the population not nearing the time limit, including a larger proportion speaking Vietnamese and other non-English languages. More than half have very young children. Their earnings are low, and job-related benefits are limited.

Barriers to Employment among CalWORKs Recipients. Research on barriers to employment among CalWORKs recipients in general, rather than child-only cases, also inform the current study. In assessing barriers to employment among aided adult CalWORKs recipients in San Joaquin County, Norris and Speigman (2005) identified a comprehensive set of barriers: health-related (physical and mental health, family violence, alcohol and drug use), human capital (work skills, education, language skills, criminal justice system involvement), family responsibility (child care), and logistics (car or driver's license). This study also examined the relationship between the number of barriers and the probability of being employed. More specifically, "the more barriers a respondent reported, the less likely he or she was to be working full-time, and reporting a large number of barriers was associated with a significant reduction in part-time work as well (p. 2)." In addition, child care and transportation are identified as barriers that were consistently and strongly associated with poorer work outcomes and greater reliance on welfare. These findings indicate both similarities with and differences from an earlier study of aided adults in Alameda County (Norris and Speigman, 2003), where almost two-thirds of the sample reported a transportation barrier; but child care was of less concern (24.5%). Other major barriers included lack of a high school diploma or GED (40%), symptoms of drug or alcohol abuse (almost one-third), and physical health and activity limitation (one-fifth to one-fourth).

COUNTY CONTEXT

This report is based on a cross-sectional study of two groups of parents associated with child-only cases in five Northern California jurisdictions that had participated in Phase 1 of the Child-only Study, Alameda, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties. Four of the five participating counties are located in the San Francisco Bay Area. Stanislaus County is located east of Santa Clara County in California's Central Valley. Table 1 provides an overview of the counties studied.

Table 1. County and CalWORKs Caseload Characteristics¹⁴

	Alameda	San Francisco	San Mateo	Santa Clara	Stanislaus
Population, 2005 est.	1,448,905	739,426	699,610	1,699,052	505,505
White non-Hispanic persons	38.0%	44.1%	47.3%	39.9%	51.8%
Black persons	13.8%	7.3%	3.4%	2.8%	3.1%
American Indian or Alaskan Native persons	0.7%	0.5%	0.5%	0.8%	1.5%
Asian persons	24.2%	32.9%	23.4%	30.2%	5.0%
Persons of Hispanic or Latino origin (non-White)	20.8%	13.7%	22.6%	24.9%	37.6%
Foreign born persons, 2000	27.2%	36.8%	32.3%	34.1%	18.3%
High school graduates age 25+, 2000	82.4%	81.2%	85.3%	83.4%	70.4%
Median household income, 2003	\$56,166	\$51,302	\$64,998	\$68,167	\$41,524
Per capita money income, 1999	\$26,680	\$34,556	\$36,045	\$32,795	\$16,913
% below poverty, 2003	10.7%	12.0%	6.8%	8.8%	14.2%
Land area, square mi, 2000	737	46	449	1,290	1,493
Population density (persons per square mile)	1,966	16,074	1,558	1,317	339
Number of CalWORKs cases	18,264	4,791	2,297	14,711	9,034
Number of CalWORKs cases per thousand population	12.6	6.5	3.3	8.7	17.9
Percent of CalWORKs caseload comprised of child-only cases	46%	46%	52%	51%	52%
Percent of child-only CalWORKs cases defined by county as sanctioned	17%	19%	26%	18%	16%
Percent of child-only CalWORKs cases defined as timed-out	24%	25%	8%	15%	16%

The five counties demonstrate wide variety along virtually all measures report in Table 1: land area, population density, population ethnic composition, income, and poverty level. Unadjusted for poverty measures, fertility rates or other factors, but echoing per capita income measures,

¹⁴ County data in top portion of table derived from U.S. Census Bureau (2007) as summarized in Speigman, Bos, and Ortiz (2007). Material below the dark line represents calculations using administrative data provided by study counties depicting CalWORKs cases at a point in time in the November 2006 to February 2007 period (Speigman, Bos and Ortiz, 2007).

CalWORKs caseloads range from 3.3 per thousand population in San Mateo County to 17.9 per thousand in Stanislaus County, a factor of 5.4.

With one exception, the percent of cases that are sanctioned is fairly consistent across the five counties. The proportion sanctioned in San Mateo County is about half-again as large as the other counties. Wider variation is evident in terms of proportion of child-only cases that are timed-out. San Mateo County exhibits the lowest percent (8%), followed by Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties (respectively 15% and 16%), and Alameda and San Francisco Counties (24% and 25%).

Data presented here indicate that in addition to more cases per capita Stanislaus County faces two additional challenges compared to other counties in the provision of welfare-to-work activities. Percent of population age 25 and up with a high school degree is ten to fifteen percentage points lower in Stanislaus County. Additionally, its low population density suggests that placement – and accessibility – of services may be particularly problematic.

STUDY DESIGN

The report is based on cross-sectional, face-to-face interviews with a random sample of 143 female parents associated with sanctioned and safety net CalWORKs child-only cases in the five counties. Counties selected the category of CalWORKs cases in which they were most interested for purposes of this study. Those persons interviewed are adults aged 18 and older who either had been sanctioned (in Alameda and San Mateo Counties) or timed-out (in Alameda, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties) from receipt of cash assistance for themselves. In each county potential respondents were limited to those who speak one of the two languages in which interviews were conducted (see Table 2). Potential respondents recruited for interview were, for each site, drawn randomly from a sampling frame comprised of the female population of sanctioned or timed-out parents in the county who had a non-institutional, within-county mailing address and were known to speak English or, depending on site, Spanish or Vietnamese. Our objective was to complete interviews with 25 parents in each site. Since Alameda County elected to have studied samples of both its sanctioned and timed-out caseload, we have five counties but six study *sites*. The sample was drawn from administrative data provided by study counties for our use in generating analyses for Report #1. When potential survey respondents were recruited some five or more months later, based on updated information provided by the counties, we eliminated from the sampling frame individuals who had not still been in sanctioned or timed-out status within two months of initiation of interviews.¹⁵ Accordingly, the sample is somewhat biased toward inclusion of individuals with longer episodes as parents on child-only cases.

Survey participant recruitment. Speigman Norris Associates, in collaboration with the Center for Applied Local Research (C.A.L.-Research) – the fieldwork agency that conducted the survey interviews – and the five study counties, designed a letter informing potential respondents of the

¹⁵ So that potential study participants could be contacted for recruitment to the study, counties provided the fieldwork team with names, addresses, and phone numbers. When providing these data counties at our request also indicated month during which each potential participant's family most recently received CalWORKs financial assistance and whether the case remained a sanctioned or timed-out case at that time.

study and requesting their participation. Letters were, depending on the county, translated from English into Vietnamese or Spanish and then printed on county social/human/community services agency letterhead and signed by a senior official in the relevant agency. Potential respondents were invited to return a postal card indicating their interest or disinterest in participating or to phone C.A.L.-Research to arrange an interview. If, after two weeks, C.A.L.-Research had not received a card or phone call, fieldwork team members initiated phone calls and the use of follow-up letters to make contact and recruit the sample. Initially, recruitment letters were sent to approximately 40 potential respondents per county. In sites for which that number proved inadequate for sample recruitment, additional letters were mailed. Potential participants who were found to live outside the geographical area comprising the five study counties, to have no mailing address, or not to be conversant in English, Vietnamese, or Spanish (a total of eleven persons) were disqualified from study participation. By time of interview ten respondents were no longer receiving cash assistance for their children. Data from these individuals were retained for analysis in light of the fact that they had recently received aid. Most individuals who were not recruited could not be contacted by phone or mail. (Many potential respondents' phones were found to be disconnected.) Thirty-one potential respondents (11% of those sent recruitment letters) declined to participate in the study, four agreed to participate but never did, and another 79 potential study participants could not be contacted.

Interviews took place between July 5 and November 14, 2007. The survey took about one hour and covered a variety of topics, including demographics, employment status and work experience, household income, material hardships, child care, respondent physical health, respondent cognitive and mental health, respondent use of alcohol and other drugs, respondent experience of partner abuse and partner control, children's health, and need for and receipt of services. Most survey questions were derived from one of two previous surveys: The time limits study (Bos, Mauldon, et al.) and the San Joaquin County CalWORKs study (Speiglman, Norris, et al.). Responses were recorded on paper survey instruments and subsequently entered and re-entered into two databases which were then compared for purposes of verification. Differences were investigated in the original instrument and corrections made to what became the final data submitted for coding and analysis.

Protection of human subjects. The Phase 2 protocol for the protection of human subjects was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board serving Speiglman Norris Associates. Among other protections, county officials were unaware of which parents were invited to participate in – or actually completed – an interview.

Response rates. For each county Table 2 depicts the number of persons completing the survey as well as the number invited to participate. Table 2 also displays participant language as well as the response rate for each county. Twenty-five mothers were interviewed in San Francisco, San Mateo, and Stanislaus Counties, and twenty-six were interviewed in Santa Clara County. In Alameda County 21 sanctioned and 21 safety net parents were interviewed. Overall, 16 women were interviewed in Vietnamese, 4 in Spanish, and 123 in English. Response rates appear to have been associated with the accuracy and hence usefulness of telephone number data provided by the counties to the fieldwork team.

Table 2. Sample Recruitment and Interview Language

	Sanction		Safety Net			
	Alameda	San Mateo	Alameda	San Fran.	Santa Clara	Stanislaus
Recruitment						
Persons eligible and invited to participate	53	42	49	47	42	46
Persons completing survey	21	25	21	25	26	25
Response rate	39.6%	59.5%	42.9%	53.2%	61.9%	54.3%
Interview language						
English	17	23	20	25	15	23
Vietnamese	4	0	1	0	11	0
Spanish	0	2	0	0	0	2

Since we have data on race/ethnicity for both the county populations (included in Report #1) and for respondents included in the Phase 2 sample, this information provides a basis for judging how representative our recruitment procedures proved to be. Figures 1 through 6 depict the distribution of race/ethnicity for the two groups for each study site. Two constraints limit the precision of this comparison: interview languages and coding practices. The fact that we utilized no more than two interview languages per site limited the diversity of the study samples and our ability to replicate the site population distributions. Differences in coding of race/ethnicity also limited comparability.¹⁶ Taking into consideration these facts, we find that sampling and recruitment appeared to have good to very good results in Alameda, Santa Clara, and San Francisco Counties.¹⁷ In Stanislaus County, along with our not interviewing in any Asian language, coding of respondent race/ethnicity appears to explain differences between population and sample. Results for San Mateo County are not easily explained in this fashion. Study participants identifying as Latino or Hispanic were half the rate expected from findings displayed in Report #1 (40.0% as opposed to 79.5%). We believe that the discordance between sample and population reflects imprecision in San Mateo County's strategy for coding type of child-only case, a problem that was also evident in Report #1.¹⁸ It is our best estimate that the Phase 2

¹⁶ Two constraints are operating. First, to protect our research participants from possible identification by study site officials, we provide detail only on African American/Black, Asian, Latino/Hispanic, and White race/ethnic groups. All other study participants are categorized "Other." Second, we do not know how counties elect to code parents and caregivers who report multiple racial/ethnic identities and whether our strategies resemble theirs.

¹⁷ In San Francisco, given limitations on number of interview languages, we are not surprised to find that our sample includes proportionately fewer Asians compared to the population statistics displayed in Report #1. In the case of study participants, "other" respondents in terms of race/ethnicity, a category not used in the population database, further challenges our ability to make a strict comparison.

¹⁸ In this regard see footnote 8 in Report #1. Table 1 in this report carries forward any problems with Report #1 data.

Report #1 are probably flawed. Generally, across the sites, we take these results as indicative of a reasonably representative sample of the populations studied.

Across the data fields, the similarity in respondents' age lends further support for the representativeness of the sample of Phase 2. The average age of each Phase 2 site closely matches that of the corresponding Child-Only CalWORKs category in Report #1.¹⁹

¹⁹ We are further pleased to find that 11.2 percent of respondents spoke Vietnamese, compared to 11.7 percent in the sampling frame. Similarly, 2.8 percent of respondents spoke Spanish, compared to 2.1 percent in the sampling frame.

Figure 1. Sample Versus Population: Alameda County Sanction

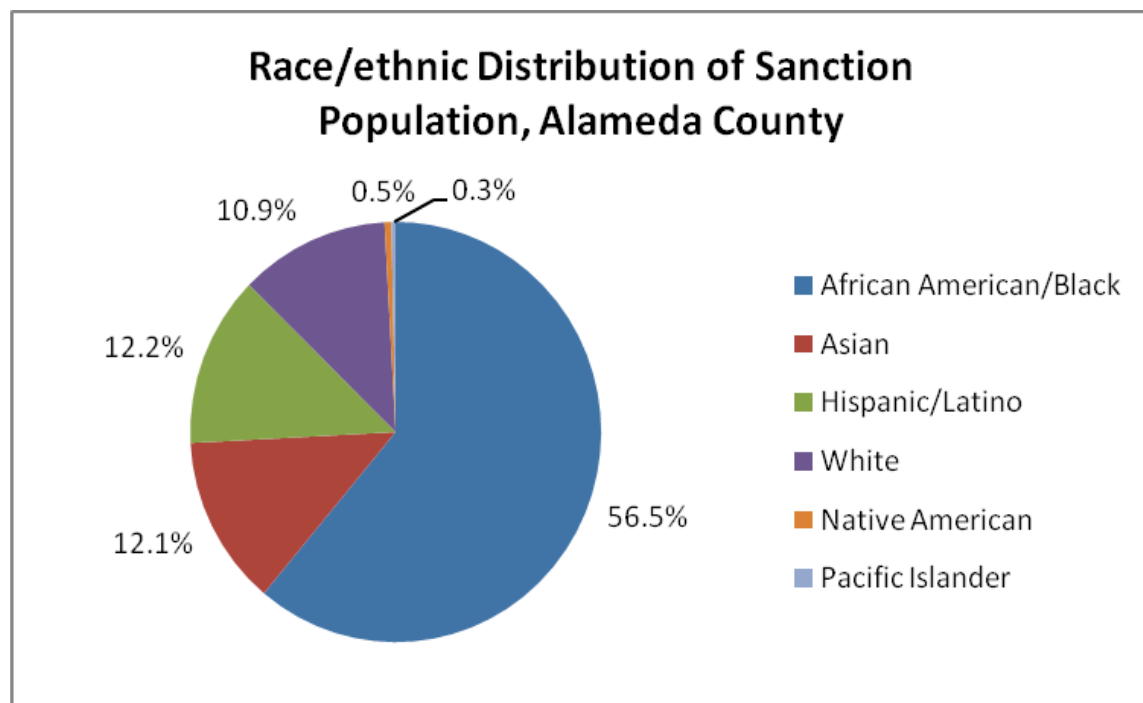
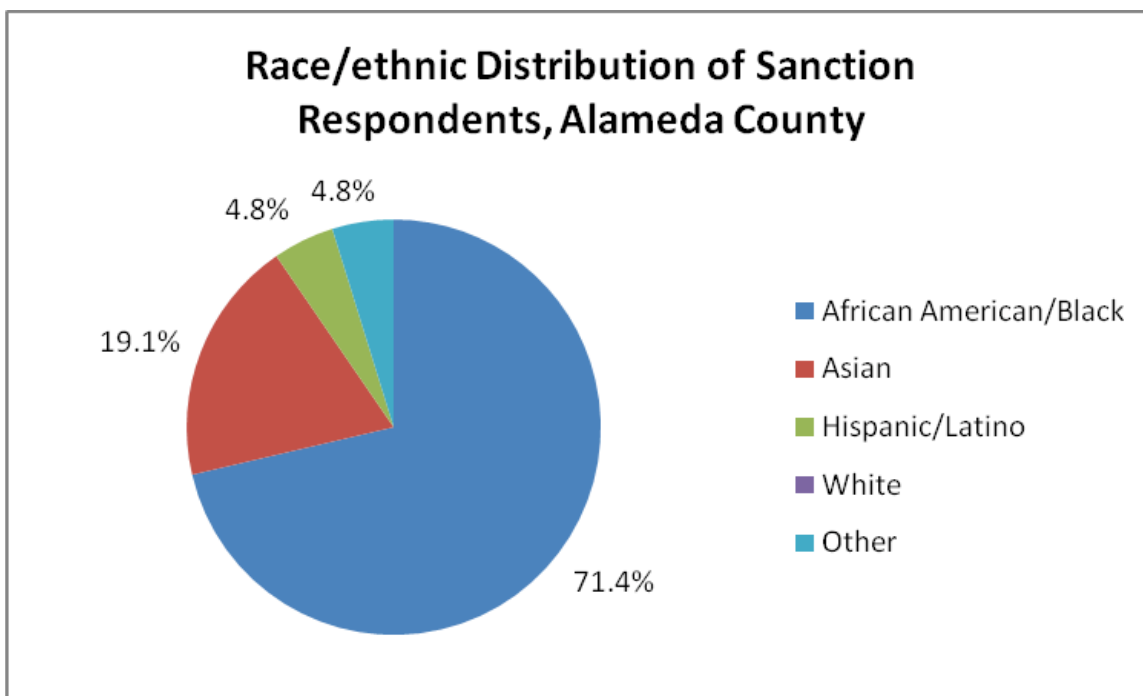


Figure 2. Sample Versus Population: San Mateo County Sanction

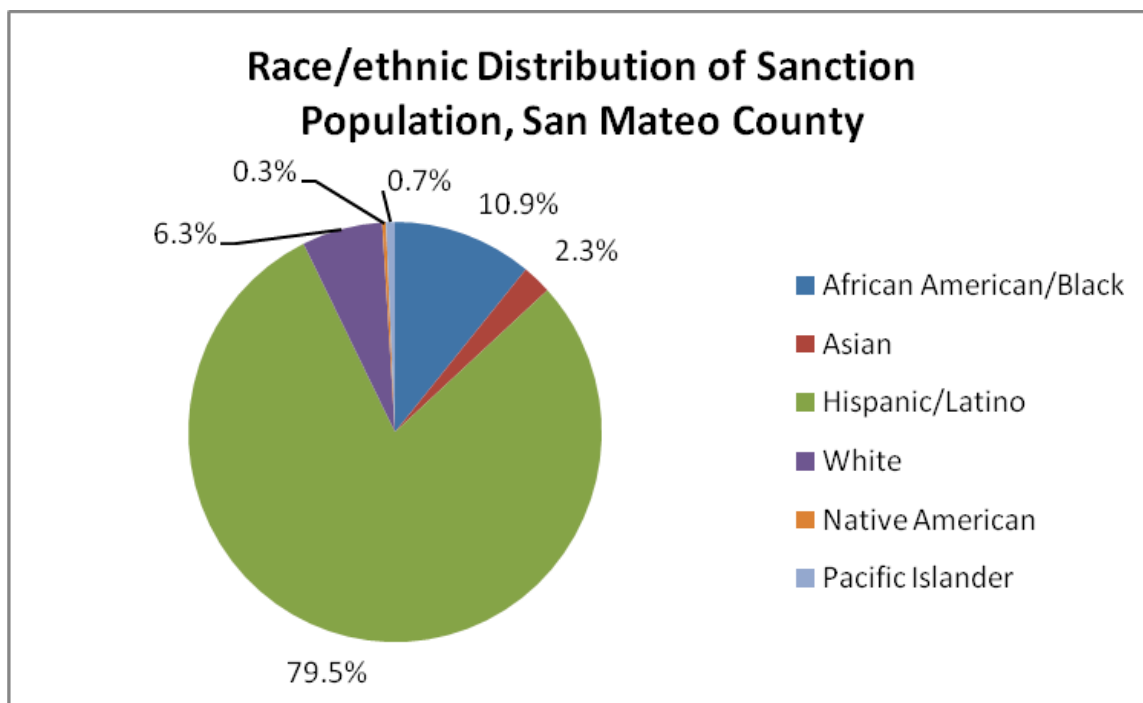
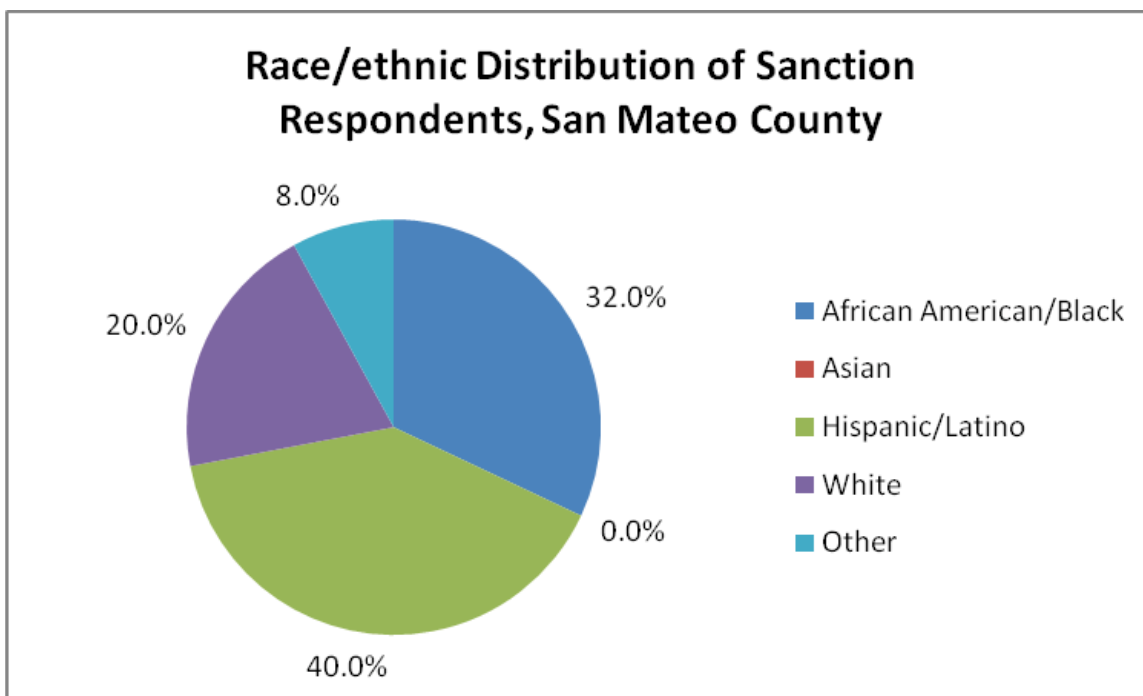


Figure 3. Sample Versus Population: Alameda County Safety Net

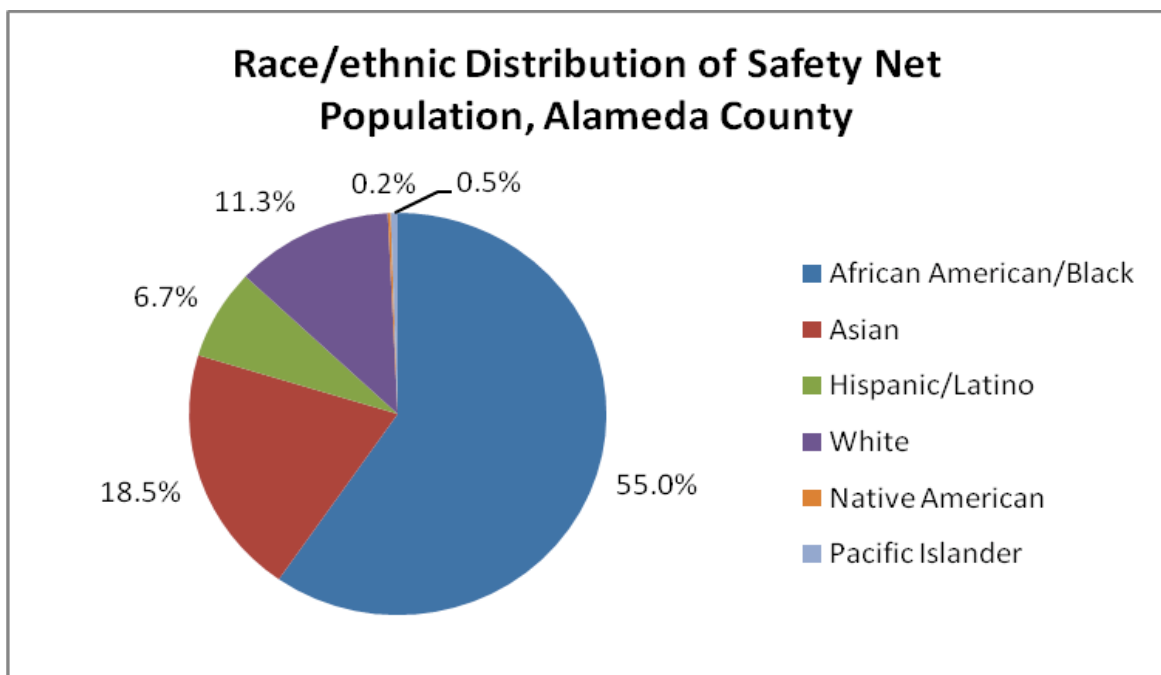
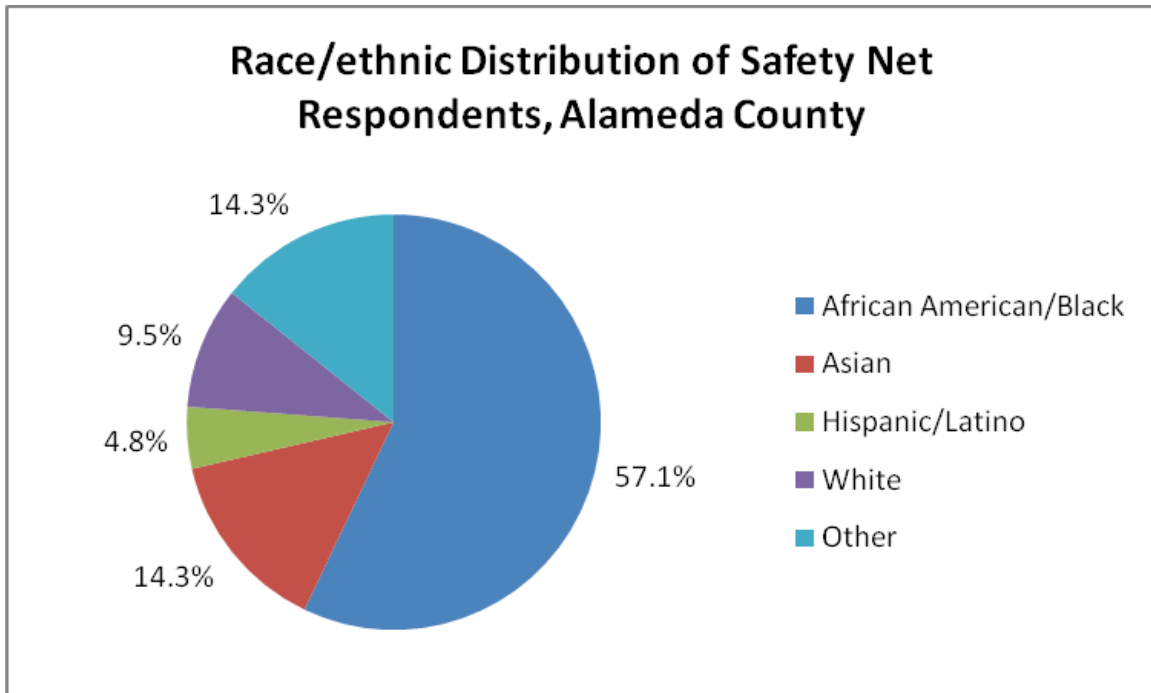


Figure 4. Sample Versus Population: San Francisco Safety Net

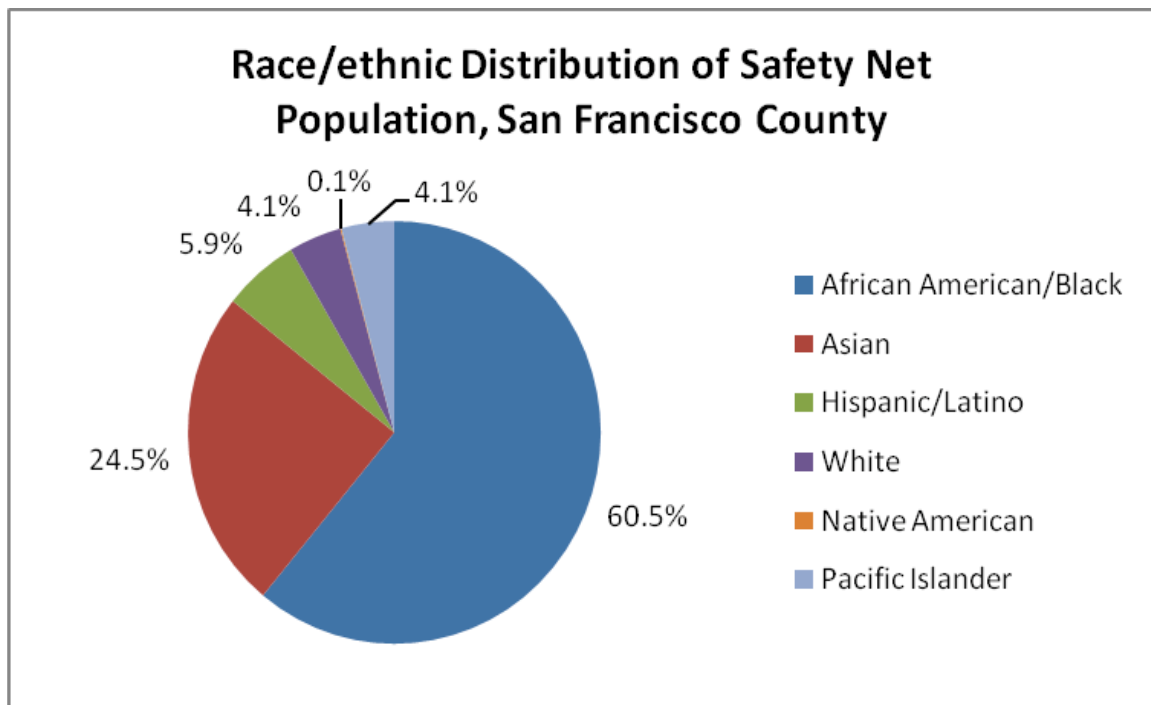
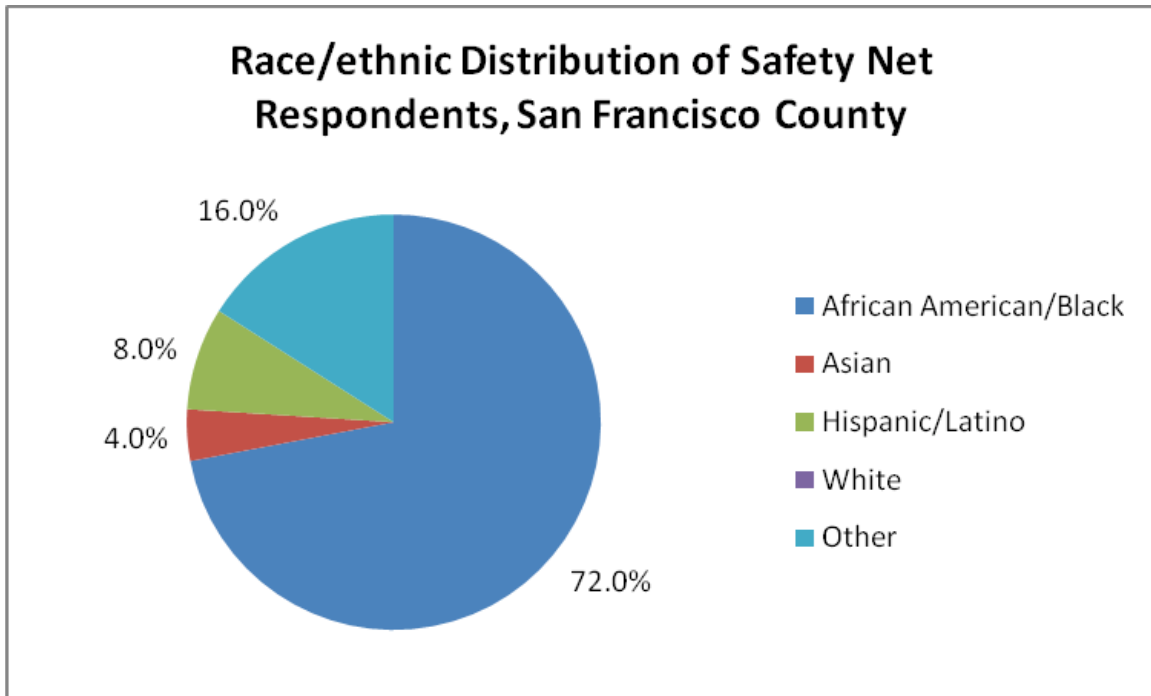


Figure 5. Sample Versus Population: Santa Clara County Safety Net

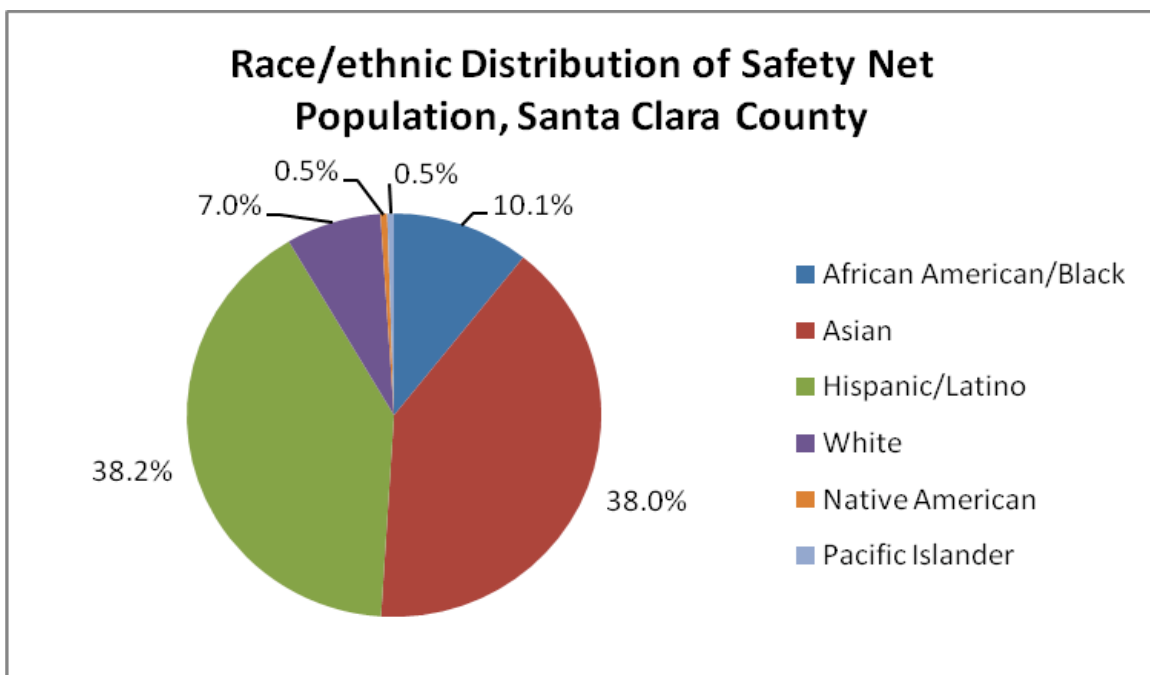
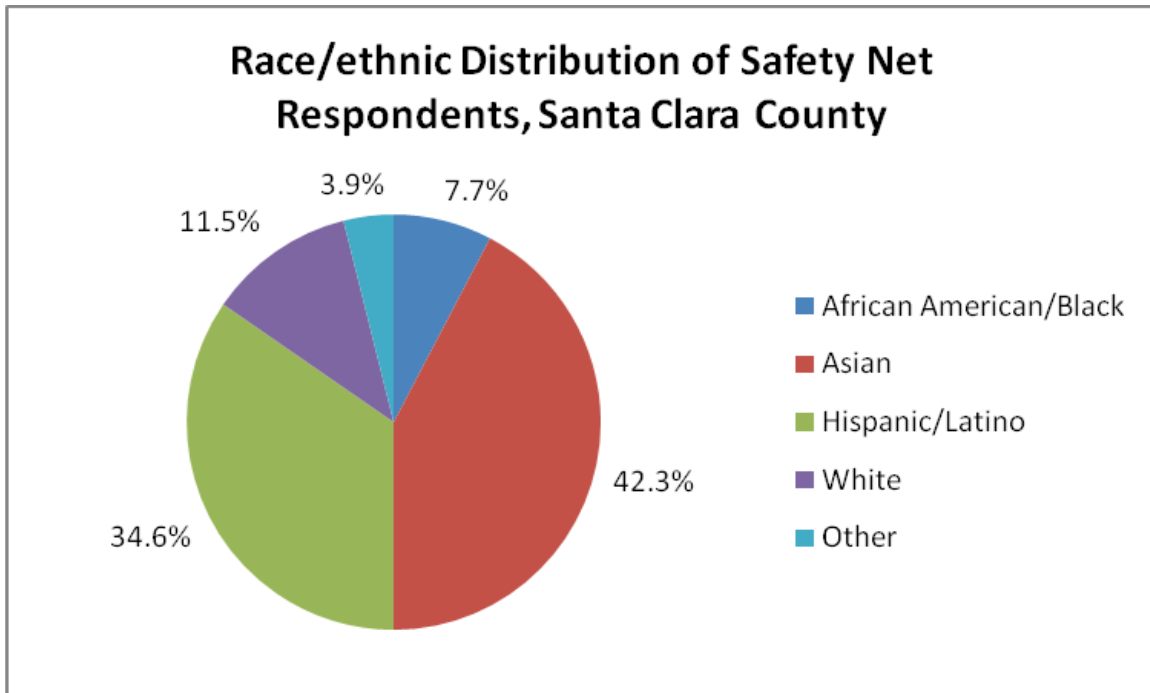
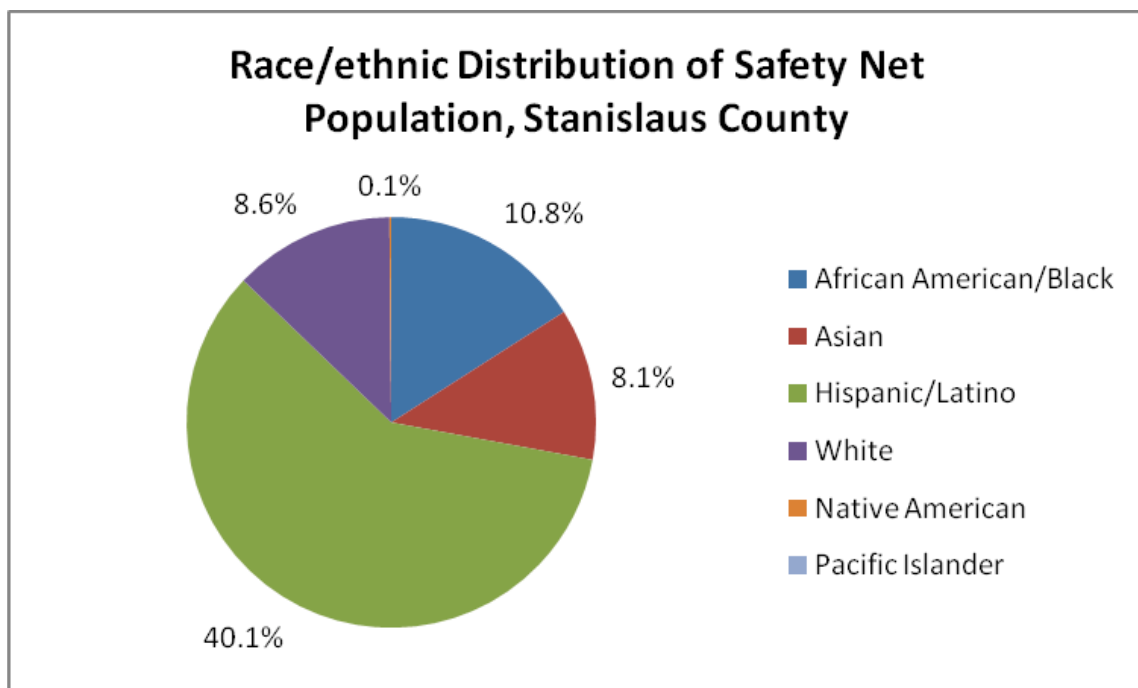
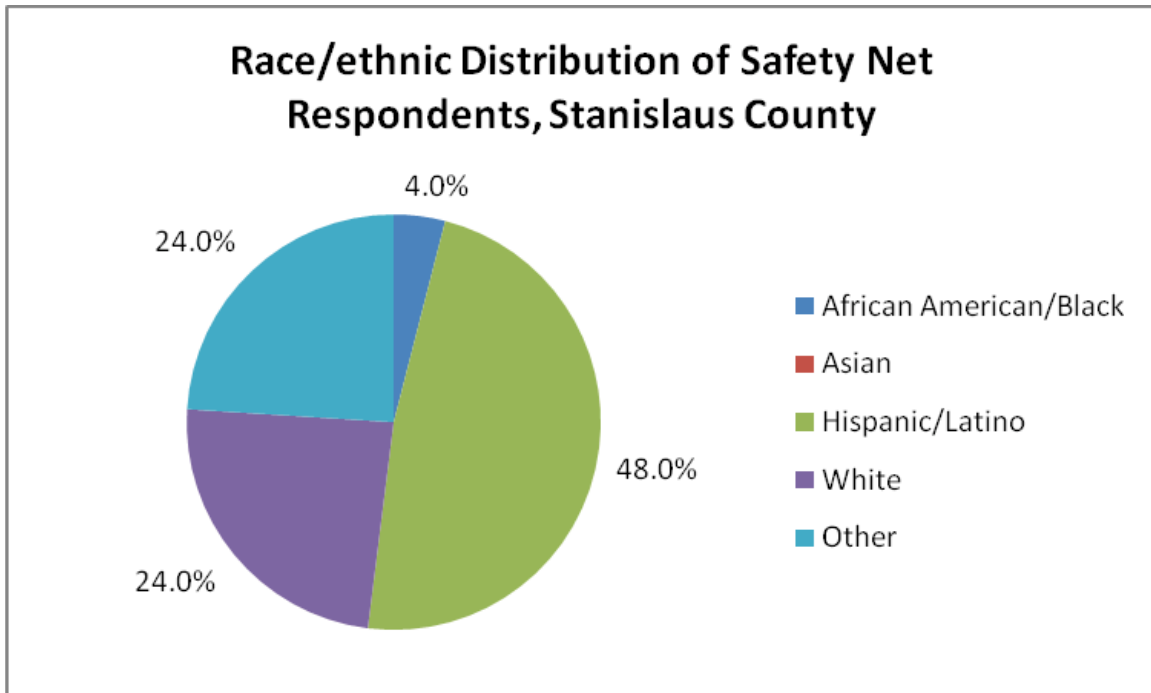


Figure 6. Sample Versus Population: Stanislaus County Safety Net



BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT

One of the major research questions of the Phase 2 study, and hence this report, is to identify mothers' barriers to employment. This study builds on previous research and considers that both sanctioned and timed-out parents face a range of difficulties apart from poverty. These difficulties can be either internal (such as educational attainment and poor health) or external (such as problems with transportation, child care, and a partner's discouragement about work, school, or training). Barriers may also be conceptualized as involving human capital (educational attainment, work experience), family responsibility (child under six, child care problem, child health limitation), study participant's health (physical health, mental health, alcohol or drug problem, learning disability, domestic violence, partner control), and logistical problems or material hardships (transportation problems, residential instability, emergency food use). This study defines 14 barriers to employment. Unless otherwise stated, each barrier refers to the respondent's current status.

We note that the concept "barrier" may be somewhat misleading, for two reasons. First, our assumptions about what constitutes an actual barrier to employment may be incorrect. For example, as we note below, we assume that a crowded household may inhibit work activity. At the same time, additional help with parenting may be present in a larger household and actually free a parent to pursue school, training, or work. Second, while we know from previous longitudinal as well as cross-sectional work that there is strong evidence of an association between some "barriers" and lack of work, clearly this association is not 100 percent. Some people ascertained as "having" a "barrier" do not, in fact, demonstrate effects of any such barrier. We return to discussion of barrier meaning at the conclusion of the report.

Some of the barriers are not modifiable in the short run. Examples include education, learning disability, and certain limiting health conditions. Other barriers can be diminished more rapidly, depending on how much external assistance may be required and be accessible. For example, work experience could quickly be acquired if other impediments to work were successfully addressed. Transportation challenges could be improved rather quickly on the individual level by providing parents with automobiles and fuel vouchers. On the community level improvements to public transportation or co-location of housing and work sites are possible, but very expensive, requiring time for planning and construction. Alcohol or drug problems can be treated where such services are culturally appropriate, easily available, provide child care and other supports, and are free. As for child care, qualities such as excellent provider training and skill, proximal location, flexible schedule, and affordable, are not necessarily easily and quickly put in place.

Numbers 1 – 14 identifying the barriers are referenced below in site profiles.

1. *Education*: less than High School graduation or General Educational Development (GED). Either a diploma or GED, equivalent in many work places to a high school diploma, is a pre-requisite for many positions. Depending on type of work sought, lacking one of these credentials may serve as a barrier to employment.
2. *Lack of full-time work experience*: last worked 30 or more hours per week three or more years ago. Limited work experience has been identified as a significant predictor of reduced work activity among welfare recipients (Zedlewski, 2002). Previous CalWORKs studies consider work *skills* important components of a person's human capital, and

identify having few work skills as a barrier to employment in San Joaquin and Alameda Counties (Norris and Speiglmán, 2005; Norris and Speiglmán, 2003). The current study measures work experience in the past three years, which serves as an indirect measure of work skills.

3. *Transportation*: has no driver's license or no access to a car, or quit a job or was unable to start a job last year due to transportation problems. Norris and Speiglmán (2005, 2003) found having no car or license a logistic barrier to employment. The current study takes a more comprehensive approach by adding a question as to whether transportation difficulty affects work. More specifically, we considered mothers to have a transportation barrier if they reported that they had no license or car or quit a job or were unable to start a job last year due to a transportation problem.
4. *Residential or living instability*: now living in another person's place, in a shelter, homeless on the street, or moved out of home two or more times in the last 12 months. Most concretely, lack of housing makes *securing* employment difficult, since typically prospective employers require an address for a job applicant (Sard 1993). Living instability, defined by the current study as any of four forms of inadequate housing and regular moving, is more than merely a material hardship. Coping with marginal living conditions, loss of sleep, and other challenges of physical strain and mental anxiety can distract the respondent from seeking a job or, because of erratic attendance or performance, can interfere with keeping work.
5. *Relies on emergency food programs* – food banks, food pantries, or soup kitchens for bags of food, bag lunches, or cooked meals. This behavior is hypothesized as a barrier to employment in light of the necessity to be available when and where food is provided – rather than to be responsive to a work schedule – and because of travel and other time required to use these emergency food services.
6. *Has a child under six*: time involved in nurturance and caregiving, liaison with child care and preschool providers and kindergarten or first grade staff, may make challenging the objective of full-time work.²⁰
7. *Experiences child care problems*: difficulty locating someone or someplace safe, reliable, and affordable to care for children can present problems in finding or keeping a job. The process of looking for or keeping a caregiver for one's child is time-consuming and can interfere with adults' employment. Parents may need to balance their time, economic resources, and work logistics. Ironically, when a family budget is tight, parents may have to give up employment to avoid the expense of safe and reliable child care.
8. *Physical health*: self-rated fair or poor health, or has limiting physical health condition. Zedlewski (2002) used self-reported poor physical or mental health as an important measure of a barrier to work among welfare recipients. The Norris and Speiglmán (2005, 2003) and London and Mauldon (2006) studies of the CalWORKs populations used limiting physical health conditions as a barrier. The current study uses a broader definition by combining both the poor health and limiting condition criteria.

²⁰ A weak correlation between barriers 6 and 7 (child under six and child care problems) suggests that in a regression analysis one might be eliminated from this list.

9. *Learning disability*: either needed extra help with school/learning or diagnosed with learning disability. Norris and Speigman (2005, 2003) found low English proficiency and limited language ability as potential limits on work. In this study we instead consider learning disability a barrier potentially as important as limited education and work skills.
10. *Mental health*: limiting mental health condition, or depression, generalized anxiety disorder (according to DSM-IV) or stressful events in last 12 months. Norris and Speigman (2005, 2003) and London and Mauldon (2006) identified mental health problems as barriers to work among CalWORKs recipients.
11. *Alcohol or drug problems*: either abuse of or dependence on alcohol or other drugs in the last 12 months. We have found measures of alcohol and drug problems to have only limited power in predicting work and welfare outcomes (Norris and Speigman, 2003). Nevertheless, we remain concerned about studying the potential influence of substance abuse on access to and retention of work.
12. *Domestic violence*: experienced either physical or sexual abuse by a partner in the last 12 months. Both of our previous CalWORKs studies have identified domestic violence by a spouse or partner as a barrier to work. It may affect the mothers physically and mentally and thus interfere with daily life activities, work included. This study considers domestic violence and partner control separate barriers because of presumed differences in pathways to (lack of) work. Domestic violence differs from partner control in that the former might not be directly related to intentional discouragement from work.
13. *Partner control*: intimate partner discouraged, did not help, or harassed respondent regarding work, or an intimate partner made it difficult to go to work, school or training, or caused the respondent to lose a job, or drop out of school or training in the last 12 months.
14. *Child has limiting health condition*: children's limiting health conditions prevent them from basic activities such as eating and walking without assistance. An attentive caregiver is crucial, and a parent may find that the *cost* of employment is not merited, given the special child care needs required.²¹

Notes on Selected Measures

The following descriptions of several measures and caveats are important for better understanding of this report.

Income. For purposes of this report household income is composed of cash and non-cash. Survey questions about income are posed to elicit information about household income derived from household members who share resources. When computing per capita income, for example, the study assumes that all household members share income.

Cash income for the last month is defined as including the following items for the respondent, her partner, children, and others in the household with whom respondent shares income: take-home money from jobs, income from a business or self-employment, CalWORKs grant, payments received for child support, a pension, SSI, SSDI, or other disability payment, Social Security payment, rent payment to the household, unemployment compensation, foster care

²¹ No correlation was found between barriers 14 (child has limiting health condition) and 7 (child care problems).

funds received, and any other money income received by respondent or others in the household with whom she shares money. For this population the most stable and important source of cash income comes from the CalWORKs grant for children. Other significant components of cash income include mothers' earnings, partners' earnings, rent payments to the household, and SSI. There is considerable variation across counties in components other than the CalWORKs grant.

For this study non-cash income includes Food Stamps, Women, Infants and Children Nutrition Program (WIC) benefits, free or reduced price school lunches, free or reduced price school breakfasts, and transportation vouchers. Across counties, most households receive Food Stamps, by far the major component of non-cash income. The value of items other than the Food Stamps is trivial.

Basic Family Budget. The basic family budget, a measure of economic well-being, was developed by the California Budget Project (CBP) as an alternative to the Federal Poverty Line which is considered an obsolete measure (California Budget Project, 2007). The CBP builds a basic family budget based on the cost of housing, food, child care, and other essentials needed to support a family without public or private assistance. The cost estimates are made for four hypothetical families: (1) a single adult, (2) a single working parent with two children, (3) a two-parent family with two children and one working parent, and (4) two working parents with two children. Taking into account the substantial variation of housing and other costs throughout the state, the CBP provides basic family budgets for 10 regions. For the purpose of the current study, we use regional estimates for a two-parent family with two children and one working parent in the five individual counties. We consider this group to be closest to our survey population based on the demographic and household characteristics.

Employment. This report highlights three major employment variables in order to document the dynamics of employment: whether employed, in school, or training last week (working last week or not working but had a job), hours worked last year (30 hours per week as the threshold of full-time work) or in school, or training, whether worked 30 or more hours per week sometime in the past three years. Compared to prior research that mostly focused on current and recent employment status, this study has an advantage by tracking the employment history in greater detail. Furthermore, the measure of being in school or training in the past year adds to a better understanding of mothers' involvement in work or work-related activity, a primary concern of policy-makers.²²

Food Insecurity and Hunger. Hunger and food insecurity measures were standardized for the national Current Population Survey in 1995 with an 18-question scale (USDA, 2007). For this study, following guidance from the United States Department of Agriculture, we selected four questions from the Food Insecurity Scale that fall solidly above the cut points for Adult Food Insecurity, Adult Hunger, Child Food Insecurity, and Child Hunger. Thus our findings likely lead to underreporting of actual food insecurity and hunger.

Comparisons of Findings. The Phase 2 study was not intended to compare the six subsamples, and their small sizes makes doing so statistically problematic. Instead, selected comparisons are made between each subsample and a measure of the status of the general population. For this purpose, we use as the comparison group California Health Interview Survey (CHIS, mostly 2005) as one of the data sources, focusing on CHIS findings for the female population of the

²² We do not, however, as Zabkiewicz and Schmidt (2007) have done, deconstruct job search and employment, finding that correlates of job hours and job retention differ.

relevant site who are between 18 and 58 years of age.²³ The age range is equivalent to that of our sample. At times, we further restrict the comparison group to those with a family income lower than 200% of the Federal Poverty Line. Other sources of comparison include findings at the national level by American Second Harvest (2006), the Department of Health and Human Services (2006), the Department of Housing and Urban Development (2007), the National Institute of Mental Health (2007), and the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (2004). Not always are we able to limit these other comparison groups, as we are able to do with CHIS, to resemble gender, age, and poverty status of our study samples. However, in several cases contrast with the general population – rather than more limitedly with poor women ages 18 – 58 – makes sense to us.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Reported statistics such as percentages or means reflect the actual responses recorded by the fieldwork team but also are assumed to be *estimates* of the status of the population studied in each site. However, the small number of respondents limits the stability of estimates and the ability to compare findings across study sites. In other words, this study phase provides a descriptive documentation of individual county samples rather than comparative analyses. When we report findings by combining results across sites we do not take account of differences in county population size by weighting results.

It is important to remember that findings are generalizeable only to the populations represented in the study.

Probably the greatest study limitation is that these data, derived from a cross sectional survey, are unable to provide information on which “potential” barriers actually play out as barriers over time, as respondents do or do not attempt to or actually secure employment or engage in school or training programs.

All information in this document is based on respondent self-report. While we have no reason to doubt the validity or reliability of any particular measure, it must be kept in mind that because of memory limitations or other reasons respondents might be unable to answer some questions reliably or, whether because of conscious or unconscious reasons might, alternatively, have reason to inflate or deflate the seriousness of particular aspects of their situations.

Finally, this study was not designed to support detailed analyses of respondent or household income or other financial statuses. In particular, we did not attempt to comprehend how respondents balanced their monthly budgets (or their daily lives). In this regard, for example, we did not attempt to measure in-kind services, such as babysitting or other services that might be contributed to – or traded by – the individual respondent or household. (The potential value of these services might be considerable.)

²³ CHIS findings are available at <http://www.chis.ucla.edu/main/>.

Reading results: findings, estimates, confidence intervals, and sample size

Findings versus estimates. Reported statistics such as percentages or means reflect the actual responses recorded by the fieldwork team. Hence the statistics are assumed to tell the story for the sample in each site. Thus, we *find* that 30.8% of sample members in Santa Clara County report that they are in fair or poor health. By the same token we *estimate* that that percentage reflects the status of the entire Santa Clara County safety net population of English- and Vietnamese-speaking female parents associated with safety net cases, or at least the status of the population that can be recruited to participate in an interview. Use of sample findings as site estimates presumes sample sizes are large enough to produce stable estimates (see below).

95% confidence interval. For some variables, 95 percent confidence intervals are reported together with the mean or percentage. Confidence intervals are used to indicate the precision of an estimate. The 95 percent confidence interval implies that we are 95 percent certain that the actual estimate falls between the two reported values. A smaller or tighter confidence interval is a more precise estimate than a larger one.

Sample size. It is important to keep in mind that each subsample is small in size, ranging from 21 to 26 respondents. As a result, each respondent represents 4% to 5% of the site's total sample. Thus, for example, for either of the Alameda County samples, having selected or recruited one more Latino respondent would have doubled the Hispanic race/ethnic proportion. Similarly, one respondent's having a slightly altered recollection of alcohol use in the past year could, in four sites, have doubled the percent of the site sample assessed as having alcohol dependence. While percentages are particularly unstable in this regard, sample means are much less dependent on a particular respondent's answer to a specific question.

Reading results: time frames

It is important to take into account the time frame of each variable. Some variables are set in the time frame of the past 12 months before the survey, others reference the current period, the last 30 days, or three years ago.

Reading results: household versus assistance unit

One distinction to be made is between a household, the concept we utilize in this report, and a CalWORKs assistance unit as defined and utilized by county CalWORKs eligibility offices. A household, the survey unit for many questions in this study, differs from a CalWORKs assistance unit in that a household includes all people living under a roof, regardless of the blood relations, precise nature of income and expense sharing that may take place, and other factors that might be considered in determining members of an assistance unit.

FINDINGS

Demographic overview. The six site samples differ substantially by race and ethnicity (for this and other findings see Table A-3 among the Appendices). The San Francisco safety net, Alameda sanction, and Alameda safety net samples are predominantly African American

(72.0%, 71.4% and 57.1% respectively), while the San Mateo sanction, Santa Clara safety net and Stanislaus safety net samples have more Hispanics (40.0%, 34.6% and 48.0% respectively). The Stanislaus and San Mateo samples have a considerable number of Whites (24.0% and 20.0% respectively), and the Santa Clara sample has the largest proportion of Asians (42.3%).

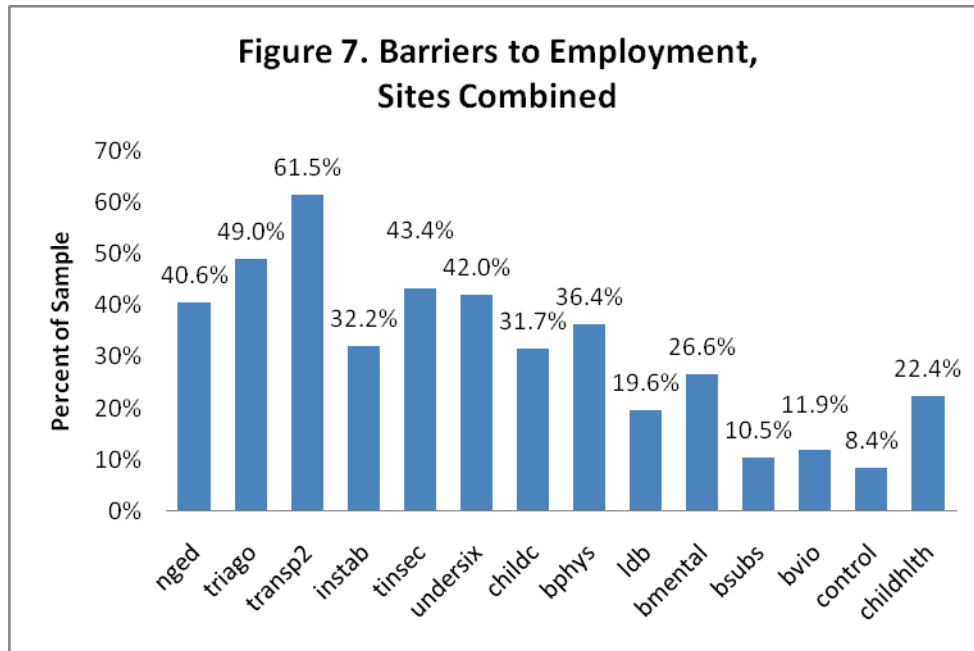
Respondent ages range from 18 to 58 years, and the average age of the six samples varies from 32.1 years (San Mateo County) to 38.7 years (Santa Clara County). In four of the sites, on average, all respondents have stayed in California for over eighty percent of their lifetime. In Santa Clara and Stanislaus Counties respondents have resided in California 64.8 and 71.8 percent of the time.

The mean household size across counties ranges from 3.9 - 4.0 (Alameda sanction, Alameda safety net, San Francisco safety net) to 4.7 – 5.0 (San Mateo sanction, Santa Clara safety net, Stanislaus safety net). Mean number of adults per household other than the respondent varies from 0.5 (San Francisco safety net) to 1.4 (San Mateo sanction). Mean number of children in the sample households varies from 2.2 (Alameda sanction) to 2.8 (Santa Clara safety net). The average age of the youngest child per household varies from 5.7 years of age (San Mateo sanction) to 8.6 years (Alameda sanction).

Forty-two percent of the combined sample has a child under six years of age.

Mean number of years that study participants first received CalWORKs benefits ranges from an average of nine years in San Mateo County to fifteen in Stanislaus County.

The individual county profiles below provide detailed descriptions of two categories of child-only welfare cases. Figure 7 displays overall distribution of barriers among the six study sites.



Individual Barriers:

nged: educational attainment lower than GED

triago: lack of working experience – last worked 30+ hours/week more than 3 years ago

transp2: transportation barrier – respondent has no driver’s license, or has no access to a car, or quit or did not start a job because of transportation problem

instab: residential or living instability – living in other’s home, or in shelter, or homeless on streets, or moved at least twice in last 12 mos

tinsec: tangential food insecurity – used food banks, soup kitchens or other emergency food assistance last 12 months

undersix: has child under six years of age

childc: child care a problem to get or keep job

bphys: physical health rated fair or poor or has limiting physical health condition

ldb: learning disability

bmental: mental/emotional health problems

bsubs: alcohol or drug abuse or dependence

bvio: domestic physical or sexual violence

control: partner discouraged, not helped, or harassed respondent regarding job or school or training

childhlth: child has limiting health condition

Alameda County Sanctioned Parents

Demographic and Household Characteristics. The 21 Alameda County sanctioned parents are predominantly African American (71.4%), with Asians accounting for 19.1 percent of the sample. Mothers average 35.9 years of age, and 47.6 percent of them have an educational level lower than GED (Barrier 1). Fifty-seven percent of the sample is never married, and 23.8 percent live with a spouse or partner. The average household size is 3.9, including an average of 2.2 children, with the youngest child a mean age of 8.6 years. A much bigger proportion lives in a large city (71.4%) than a small city (23.8%) or rural area (4.8%). No respondent owns a home; 85.7 percent lives in a rental unit, and 14.3 percent stays at another person's place.

Employment Status and Work History. One-third of the sample was employed last week, and the same number of mothers looked for a job in the past 30 days. A smaller proportion (23.8%) worked at least 30 or more hours per week for at least two weeks in a row last year, and 42.9 percent were neither working nor in training or school last year. Nearly 43 percent did not have a full-time work experience in the past three years (Barrier 2).

Household Income. The average household income in the last month was composed of much more cash (\$1,375) than non-cash (\$255). The CalWORKs grant (\$509) and earnings and other income from the partner (an average of \$415 for 8 partners) contributed to the cash income. Food Stamps provided \$258 per household per month on average for 20 of the 21 households, essentially accounting for all of the non-cash income reported. Last month's per capita income averages \$458 (median: \$475), of which the CalWORKs grant accounted for 49.2 percent. As a whole, the monthly household income accounts for 49.2 percent of the California Budget Project 2006 basic family budget for Alameda County.

Material Hardships. About 19 percent of the sample lives in overcrowded housing, 9.5 percent was in a shelter and the same number was homeless on the streets last year. Nearly ten percent of mothers moved out of their home at least twice last year. Based on study definitions 28.6 percent of the sample is categorized as living unstably (Barrier 4).

Transportation limitations are pervasive. Over 40 percent of mothers (42.9%) have no driver's license, 42.9% have no access to a car, 14.3% quit a job last year due to transportation problems, and 28.6% did not start a job last year because of transportation problems (Barrier 3 total = 52.4%).

In the last year a majority of households did not have enough money for utility payments (52.4%), basic essentials (47.6%), food (38.1%) and rent (33.3%). Despite a large number (47.6%) of households using emergency food programs (Barrier 5), 38.1 percent of the sample has food insecurity among adults, and 9.5 percent has food insecurity among children.

Child Care. One-third of the sample has a child below six years of age (Barrier 6), and 23.8 percent identifies child care as a problem in finding or keeping a job (Barrier 7). One-third of the sample does not receive child care assistance for a child below six years of age. As a result of the child care burden, nearly 20 percent of the mothers were either late or absent from work, and the same number, worried about their children's safety, skipped work or school last year.

Respondent Health. About 38 percent of the sample reports having fair or poor health status, and 19 percent reports that physical health problems limit their ability to work (Barrier 8 total = 38.2%). High blood pressure affects 38.1 percent of the sample, 19.1 percent has asthma, and 9.5 percent has diabetes. Nineteen percent stayed overnight in the hospital sometime last year.

One in ten mothers (9.5%) reports that they have been diagnosed with a learning disability (Barrier 9).

Based on DSM-IV criteria, one respondent (4.8%) was diagnosed with depression, one with generalized anxiety disorder, and one experienced one or more stressful events last year. One respondent also was limited in work activity by her emotional health. In sum, 9.5 percent of the sample is defined as having a mental health barrier to employment (Barrier 10).

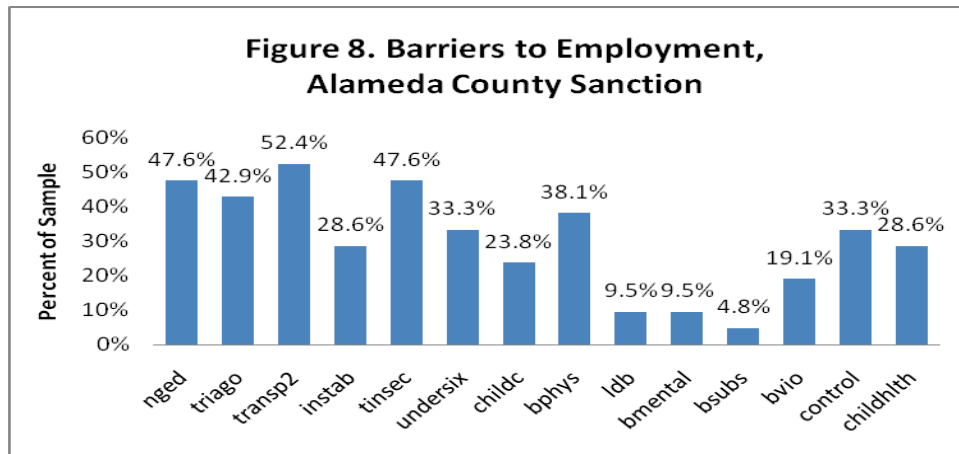
Alcohol and Drug Use. None of the 21 mothers has alcohol abuse or dependence, and 4.8% has a drug abuse or dependence problem, according to DSM-IV (Barrier 11 total = 4.8%).

Domestic Violence and Partner Control. Nineteen percent of the sample experienced *physical violence* by an intimate partner last year. None experienced *sexual violence* by a partner (Barrier 12 total = 19.0%). About nineteen percent is discouraged, or not helped or harassed by a partner at work, and the same number of mothers reported that their partner caused them to lose a job or drop out of school or training last year. A larger proportion (23.8%) reported that their partner made work, school or training difficult last year (Barrier 13 total = 23.8%).

Children's Health. The usual place for children's medical care included a doctor's office (61.9%), hospital or ER (38.1%), and clinic (9.5%). Nearly 29 percent of the sample has at least one child with a limiting health condition (Barrier 14). The child needing most care is on average 9.7 years old and has 2.3 limiting health conditions. The impact of children's limiting health is that 14.3 percent of mothers either cannot work or has her work hours reduced.

Barriers to Employment. This sample has on average 4.1 barriers to employment. The transportation barrier affects the largest proportion of the sample (52.4%), followed by education lower than GED (47.6%), reliance on emergency food programs (47.6%), lack of recent work experience (42.9%), physical health problems (38.1%), having a child below six years of age (33.3%), and experiencing problems of partner control (33.3%) (see Figure 8). The number of barriers appears to have a bigger impact on employment last year and last week rather than during the earlier period (see Figure 8).

Service Needs. A total of 16 mothers report on average 3.2 needed services. Nearly 43 percent of the sample needed help with utility payments, and 33.3 percent actually received it. One-third needed child care services, but only 4.8 received the needed help. Other service needs include work clothing (23.8%), physical health services (19.1%), mental health services (19.1%), and legal services (19.1%). See Figure 15 below.



San Mateo County Sanctioned Parents

Demographic and Household Characteristics. The 25 San Mateo County sanctioned parents have an average age of 32.1 years. This sample has a high proportion of Hispanics (44%), followed by African Americans (32%) and Whites (28%). Forty percent of the sample has an education level lower than GED (Barrier 1). Three-quarters (76%) are never married, and twelve percent live with a spouse or partner. On average households have 4.7 people, among whom 2.3 are children. The average age of the youngest child in these households is 5.7 years.

Over two-thirds of the sample (68%) lives in small cities, with the rest living in big cities. Fifty-six percent of households have rental accommodations, and 44% live in another person's place.

Employment Status and Work History. Sixteen percent of mothers was employed the week before the interview, and the two mothers who reported usual hours of work averaged four hours per week. Twenty percent of the sample worked full-time for at least two weeks in a row last year, and 60 percent did not work full time in the past three years (Barrier 2). Nearly half (48%) of the sample was neither working nor in school or training last year, although 72 percent report they were able to take a job offer if one had been made.

Household Income. The average household income in the last month was composed of much more cash (\$860) than non-cash (\$235). The CalWORKs grant (\$488), Food Stamps (\$259) and earnings and other income by the partner (an average of \$113 for 11 partners) were the major income components. On average for households in this sample the per capita monthly income of \$278 (median: \$260) is 32.2 percent of the California Budget Project's 2006 basic family budget for San Mateo County. The CalWORKs aid accounts for 55.3% of the monthly household income.

Material Hardships. Thirty-six percent of the sample lives in overcrowded conditions. Twelve percent of mothers resided in a shelter or were homeless on the streets in the last year, and eight percent moved out of her home at least twice in the last year (Barrier 4 total = 52%). Eighty percent of the sample is categorized as having a transportation barrier to employment in that they lack a driver's license, access to a car, and/or have not started or have quit a job, school, or training because of transportation problems (Barrier 3).

A considerable proportion of the sample reported that in the last year they lacked enough money for utilities (52%), for food (44%), for rent (36%) and for basic essentials (32%). In 36 percent of the sample the respondent was food-insecure, and 16 percent had children who experienced food insecurity. Forty-eight percent of the sample used emergency food programs last year (Barrier 5).

Child Care. Over half of the sample (52%) has a child below six years of age (Barrier 6). Thirty-six percent identified child care as a problem for finding or keeping a job (Barrier 7), with affordability being the major reason. Nearly one-third (32%) of the sample did not receive child care assistance for one or more child under six years of age. As a result of the child care challenge, 32 percent of the sample was late or absent from work, school, or training in the past year. Further, 24 percent of mothers skipped work, school, or training in the last year because they were concerned about their child's safety.

Respondent Health. Twenty-eight percent of the sample rates their health status as fair or poor, and 12 percent finds ability to work limited by health (Barrier 8 total = 28%). One-quarter

(24%) have had asthma, 20 percent high blood pressure, and 12 percent diabetes. Nearly one quarter (24%) stayed overnight in a hospital sometime last year.

Twenty-eight percent of the sample needed extra help while at school, and 12 percent has a diagnosed learning disability (Barrier 9 total = 28%). According to DSM-IV criteria, 28 percent has depression, and 16 percent has generalized anxiety disorder. In addition, 24 percent reports having experienced stressful events in the last year. Based on study definitions, 36 percent of the sample has a mental health barrier to employment (Barrier 10).

Alcohol and Drug Use. Twelve percent of mothers are categorized as having an alcohol or drug problem barrier (Barrier 11). These include alcohol abuse (4%), alcohol dependence (4%), drug abuse (8%), and/or drug dependence (12%).

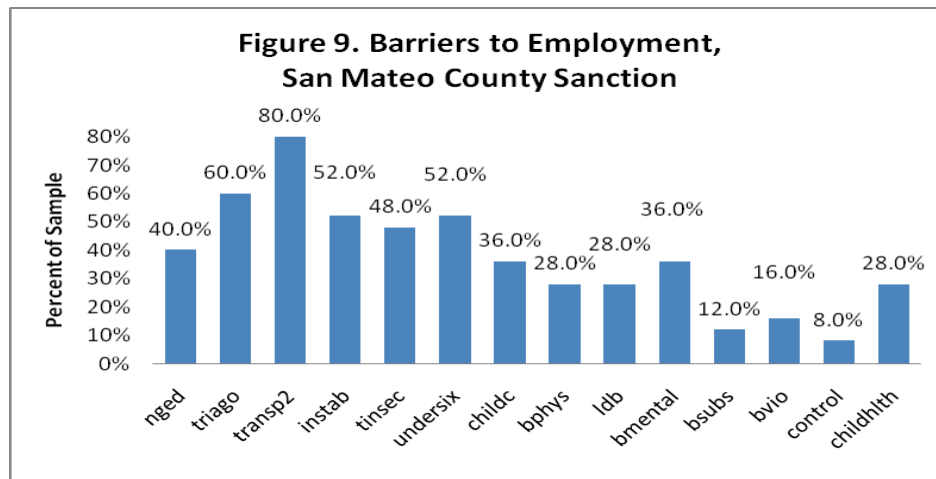
Domestic Violence and Partner Control. Sixteen percent of the sample experienced physical violence by an intimate partner in the last 12 months (Barrier 12). Eight percent report that their partners discouraged, or did not help them with work, school, or training, or harassed them (Barrier 13).

Children's Health. More than one-third of the sample (68%) usually takes their children to a doctor or nurse for needed care, and 32 percent rely on a hospital or ER. Twenty-eight percent of the sample has at least one child with a limiting health condition (Barrier 14). As a result, eight percent of the mothers have reduced their work hours in order to take care of their children.

Barriers to Employment. Respondents in this sample are assessed as having on average 5.2 barriers to employment. The most prevalent barriers are as follows: transportation (80%), lack of recent work experience (60%), living instability (52%), having a child less than six years of age (52%), and reliance on emergency food programs (48%). See Figure 9.

The total number of barriers appears to affect both recent employment status and work experience in the past three year. Mothers who did not work in the past three years, last year, or last week all have more barriers compared to their counterparts who did work in that time period.

Services Needed. Twenty mothers (80% of the sample) report an average of 3.2 needed services. Forty percent of the sample needs help with finding housing. Thirty-six percent needs help with utility bills, 24 percent with child care, and 20 percent with getting into a support group. There is substantial disparity between the above needs and the actual receipt of assistance. See Figure 16 below.



Alameda County Safety Net (Timed-out after 60 months) Parents

Demographic and Household Characteristics. The 21 safety-net cases in Alameda County average 35 years of age. The majority (57.1%) is African American, followed by Asians (14.3%), Whites (9.5%), Hispanics (4.8%), and Other (14.3%). The educational attainment of one-third of the sample is below the GED level (Barrier 1). Most (57.1%) are never married, and 28.6 percent live with a spouse or partner. On average a household is comprised of four people, among whom 2.4 are children. A sizeable proportion (57.1%) of these households lives in large cities, and almost all (95.2%) reside in rental accommodations.

Employment Status and Work History. One-third (33.3%) of the sample was employed in the week before the survey, but on average the employed usually work part-time (28.7 hours a week). Only 19 percent worked full-time (30 hours a week) for at least two weeks in a row last year. Thirty-eight percent of the sample did not have full-time work experience in the past three years (Barrier 2), and the same proportion neither worked nor was in school or training in the past year.

Household Income. The average household income in the last month was composed of much more cash (\$1,278) than non-cash (\$360). The CalWORKs grant (\$545) and earnings and other income from the partner (on average \$519 for 8 partners) contributed about equally to the cash income. Food Stamps provided \$373 per household per month on average, essentially accounting for all of the non-cash income reported. The per capita monthly income averages \$421 (median: \$324), with the CalWORKs grant accounting for 40.3 percent of household income last month. The average household income amounts to 47.3 percent of the California Budget Project 2006 basic family budget for Alameda County.

Material Hardship. One in four sample members (23.8%) lives in an overcrowded situation. In the year prior to the survey, 9.5 percent were homeless on the streets, and 4.8 percent moved out of their homes two or more times. The resulting figure for the unstable living barrier is 19.1 percent (Barrier 4). About half of the sample (52.4%) has transportation problems (Barrier 3), including having no driver's license, no access to a car, and/or having not started or quit a job, school, or training because of a transportation problem. A substantial proportion of mothers reported that they lacked enough money for utilities (52.4%), basic essentials (47.6%), food (33.3%), and rent (28.6%) in the previous 12 months. Over one-quarter of households (28.6%) used emergency food programs in the last year (Barrier 5), and the same percent is assessed as having food insecurity among adults. Fourteen percent have food insecurity among household children.

Child Care. Over forty percent (42.9%) of the sample has a child below six years of age (Barrier 6). All of those who report child care as a problem for finding or keeping a job (23.8%; Barrier 7) identify affordability as a reason. Over one-quarter of the sample (28.6%) did not receive child care assistance for a child younger than six. Child care problems caused 14.3% of the sample to be late for or absent from work, school or training in the last year, and almost one in ten (9.5%) skipped work, school, or training in the last year because of concern about children's safety.

Respondent Health. Nearly one-third of the sample (28.6%) rate their health status as fair or poor. One in seven (14.3%) consider their work limited by their physical health (Barrier 8 total = 28.6%). One in four mothers (23.8%) have had asthma, and one in ten (9.5%) have been hospitalized in the past year.

About one in five sample members (19.1%) has a learning disability barrier (Barrier 9), i.e. they either needed extra help while in school (14.3%), or they were diagnosed with a learning disability (9.5%). None of the sample suffers from depression or generalized anxiety disorder, and 9.5 percent experienced stressful events in the last year (Barrier 10 = 9.5%).

Alcohol and Drug Use. Alcohol and drug problems appear to be few in this sample. Only 4.8 percent of the sample is seen as having abused alcohol, and the same proportion as having abused drugs. None of the sample has alcohol or drug dependence (Barrier 11 = 4.8%).

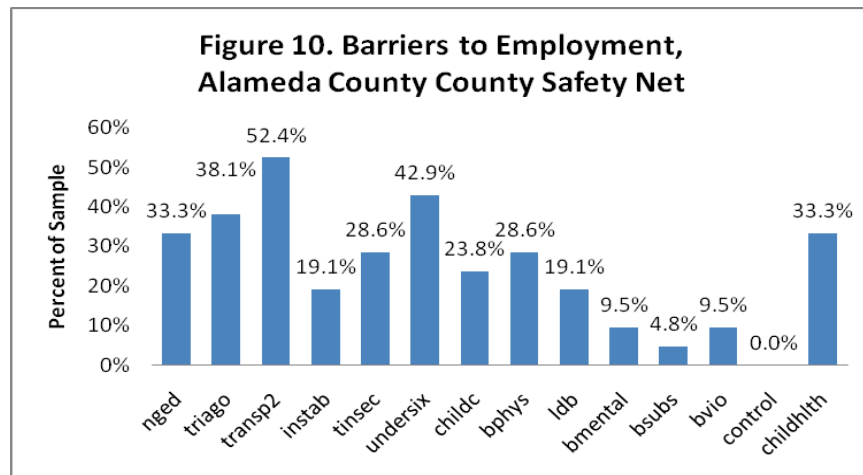
Domestic Violence and Partner Control. This sample appears to be free of partner control problems (Barrier 13), but 9.5 percent experienced physical violence by an intimate partner in the last year (Barrier 12).

Children's Health. The usual places for children's medical care include a doctor's office (76.2%), hospital or ER (23.8%), and clinic (4.8%). One-third of the sample has at least one child with limiting health conditions (Barrier 14). The impact of children's health conditions is that 19.0 percent of mothers either cannot work, or their work hours are reduced.

Barriers to Employment. On average sample respondents have 3.4 barriers to employment. The top barriers encountered by this sample include transportation (52.4%), having a child under six years of age (42.9%), lack of recent work experience (38.1%), educational attainment lower than GED (33.3%), and child's limiting health conditions (33.3%) (see Figure 10).

The number of barriers appears to affect employment consistently over time. Mothers who worked full-time in the past 3 years have an average of 3.1 barriers, while those who did not work have an average of 4 barriers. As for more recent work experience, those who worked last year have an average of 2.6 barriers. In contrast, those who did not work last year have 4.3 barriers. On average current employees (worked last week) have 2.3 barriers, while those unemployed typically have four barriers.

Needed Services. Eighteen of the 21 mothers identified an average of 2.4 services needed in the 12 months prior to the survey. The most need for assistance was with utility bills (42.9%), followed by help finding housing and legal help, each for 14.3% of respondents (Figure 17). While one in three sample members needing legal assistance or assistance with utility bills received it, two in three needing help with housing got help.



San Francisco Safety Net (Timed-out after 60 months) Parents

Demographic and household characteristics. The twenty-five San Francisco Safety net parents are predominantly African Americans (72%), and have an average age of 35.1 years. Just over half (56%) have attained less than a GED/high school diploma (Barrier 1). Sixty-eight percent of the sample is never married, and 12 percent lives with a spouse or partner. On average, sample members reside in a household of four people, among whom 2.5 are children. At the time of interview, the majority (96%) of this sample reported living in a rented space. The rest stayed in a shelter or place other than a rental, an owner-occupied unit, or at someone else's place.

Employment Status and Work History. Both current and recent full-time employment rates of this sample are well below one-third. At the time of the interview about one in four (28%) mothers was employed, working 23 hours per week on average. In the 12 months prior to the interview, only 20 percent of the sample worked full-time (30 hours or more per week) for at least two weeks in a row. Forty percent neither worked nor were in school or training, and the rest either worked part-time or were in school or training. Regarding work experience, 32 percent either never worked full-time for two weeks in a row or last did so more than three years ago (Barrier 2). Despite the low employment rate, 56 percent of the mothers reported that they looked for a job in the 30 days prior to the survey, and 84 percent of the sample reported that they could have taken a job if one were offered.

Household Income and Poverty Status. The average household income in the last month was composed of more cash (\$703) than non-cash (\$368). The CalWORKs grant (mean of \$505 for 21 households receiving this assistance) far surpassed earnings and other income from the partner (mean of \$30 for 9 households) in terms of cash income contributions. Virtually all of the households' monthly non-cash income was provided by Food Stamps: on average \$387 per household per month for 23 households. The average per capita income of the surveyed households for the last month was \$310 (median: \$259), among which the CalWORKs grant provided 50.6 percent of income. This income put the average sample household at 31.4 percent of the California Budget Project 2006 basic family budget for San Francisco.

Material Hardships. One in four mothers (24.0%) lives in overcrowded housing. Eight percent of the sample was deemed residentially unstable in light of having resided in a shelter in the course of the previous year (Barrier 4). In the last 12 months 60 percent of households did not have enough money for utilities, 32 percent did not have enough for food, and 28 percent did not have enough for rent. Additionally, 48 percent reported that they used emergency food programs in the year prior to the survey (Barrier 5). Despite access to emergency food, 24 percent of mothers and 8 percent of their children experienced food insecurity in the 12 months before the survey. Additionally, 84 percent of sample members experience a transportation barrier, having no driver's license, no access to a car, and/or quit a job or did not start a job in the last year due to transportation problems (Barrier 3). However, this definition may have different meaning in San Francisco compared to other counties. If work is available within-county, people in San Francisco may have less need for a car due both to smaller geographical area and better access to public transportation.

Child Care. Forty percent of mothers have a child less than six years of age (Barrier 6), and 24 percent report that in the last 12 months finding child care was a problem for getting or keeping a job (Barrier 7). Among mothers with child care problems, half identified affordability as a reason. In the 12 months prior to the survey, 12 percent of all respondent were so worried about

their children's safety that they skipped work, training, or school to stay home with their children.

Respondent Health. Based on their subjective rating, 28 percent of mothers have fair or poor health status, and twelve percent are limited in their work by physical health problems. A total of 32 percent are categorized as having a physical health barrier (Barrier 8). Nearly one-third (32%) of the sample has high blood pressure, 16 percent have been diagnosed with asthma, and 20 percent stayed overnight in a hospital sometime in the past 12 months. Eight percent reported they had been diagnosed with a learning disability, and another 16 percent needed extra help when they were in school (Barrier 9 total = 20%).

Based on their reported symptoms, 20 percent of mothers are diagnosed with depression and 4 percent with generalized anxiety disorder, according to DSM-IV criteria. Twelve percent report experiencing stressful events in the previous 12 months, among whom two-thirds report that the stressful events interfered a lot with their life or work or ability to care for their children. Sixteen percent report they are limited in their work by mental or emotional health problems. In total, our assessment suggests that 28 percent of the sample has a mental health barrier (Barrier 10).

Alcohol and Other Drug Use. None of the 25 mothers is categorized as abusing alcohol or being alcohol dependent. Sixteen percent are assessed as abusing drugs, with eight percent drug dependent, for a total alcohol or drug problem barrier rate of 16 percent (Barrier 11).

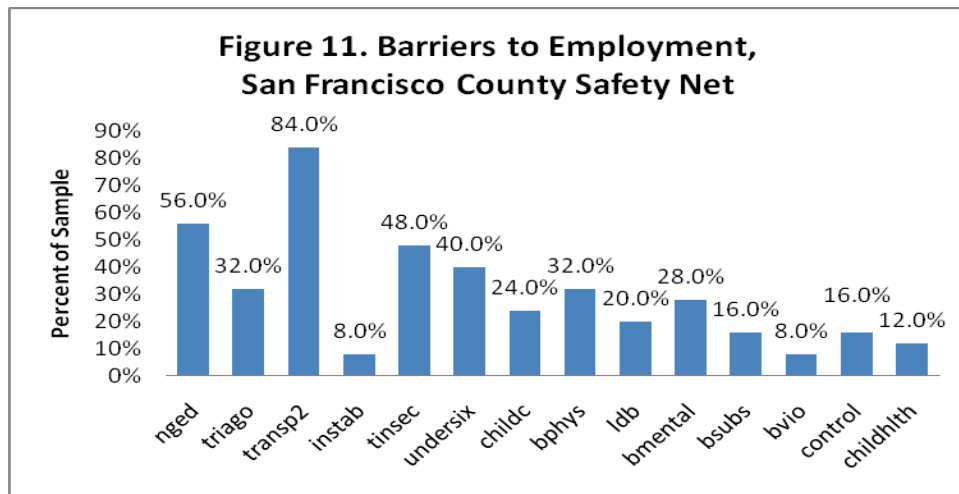
Domestic Violence and Partner Control. In the year prior to the survey, eight percent of mothers experienced both physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner (Barrier 12). Regarding partner control, 12 percent reports that their partner discouraged them from work, or refused to help, or made it difficult to get or keep a job or go to school or training, or harassed them at work, or caused them to lose their job or quit school or training (Barrier 13).

Children's Health. While 76 percent of mothers usually take their children to a doctor, nurse, or clinic for medical care, 24 percent rely on a hospital or emergency room for care. Twelve percent of households have at least one child with a health condition that limits the child's daily activities such as eating and walking (Barrier 14). For one in three households with a child with a limiting condition, the child's health limitation resulted in a reduction of work hours for the mother.

Barriers to Employment. Overall, the San Francisco safety-net cases were assessed as having an average of 4.2 potential barriers to employment. Only one respondent was found to have no potential barrier according to study definitions. Among the 14 barriers, the five most prevalent among San Francisco cases include: transportation (84%), education lower than GED (56%), reliance on emergency food program (48%), having child under six years of age (40%), lack of recent work experience (32%), and physical health problems (32%) (see Figure 11).

Interestingly, the number of barriers does not appear to vary significantly by employment status in the previous 12 months. Thirteen mothers who did not work in the last year are found to have an average of 4.2 barriers, while 12 mothers who did work last year have a statistically indistinguishable 4.1 barriers to employment. However, the number of barriers appears to be associated with work experience and, to a lesser degree, with current employment status. Mothers who last worked full-time three or more years ago on average have 5.6 barriers; in contrast, those who worked full-time within the past three years have 3.5 barriers. On average currently employed mothers have 3.7 barriers; those unemployed have 4.4 barriers.

Services Needed. Eighteen of the 25 mothers identified an average of 3.3 services needed in the 12 months prior to the survey. The biggest need for assistance was with utility payments (36%), followed by mental health services (24%), clothes for work (24%), child care (20%), physical health services (16%), support group (16%), help with alcohol or drug problems (16%), and inexpensive legal services (16%) (see Figure 18). In many cases, mothers secured the assistance they required. But disparities between need for and receipt of assistance were sizeable. For example, for the top three areas of need, five of nine San Francisco study participants received needed help with utilities, half of those who needed mental health service actually got it, but only one in six of those who needed work clothing received assistance.



Santa Clara County Safety Net (Timed-out after 60 months) Parents

Demographic and Household Characteristics. Santa Clara County's 26 Safety net parents were on average 38.7 years of age. This group is composed of far more Hispanics (42.3%) and Asians (34.6%) than Whites (11.5%) and African Americans (7.7%). Over one-third (34.6%) of the sample has educational attainment lower than GED (Barrier 1). About 46 percent of the sample is never married, and 31 percent live with a spouse or partner. The sample has an average household size of 5 people, among whom 2.8 are children. The majority (88.5%) of the sample lives in big cities. Over half of the sample (57.7%) has rental accommodations, but 23.1 percent live in another person's place. One in ten (11.5%) owns her own home, and 7.8 percent reside in a shelter or another place.

Employment Status and Work Experience. Just over one-third of the sample (38.5%) was employed last week. For that third of mothers, the reported usual hours of work per week averaged 28.2, close to full-time employment by the CalWORKs standard of 30 hours a week. However, only 3.9 percent worked full-time for at least two weeks in the last year. In addition, 57.7 percent of the sample did not work full-time within the past three years. Almost one-half (46.2%) was neither working nor in school or training last year. About one-third of mothers (34.6%) looked for a job last week. Only 30.8 percent of mothers said they could have taken a job offer if one were made.

Household Income and Poverty Status. The average household income in the last month was composed of much more cash (\$1,910) than non-cash (\$367). The CalWORKs grant (\$665) and earnings and other income from the partner (on average \$918 for 11 partners) contributed substantially to the cash income. Food Stamps provided \$365 per household per month on average. The per capita income of these 26 households averages \$526 (median \$467). The CalWORKs grant received by this sample accounts for 32.8 percent of total household income. Household income of this sample put it at 67.8 percent of the California Budget Project 2006 basic family budget for Santa Clara County.

Material Hardships. Nearly thirty-five percent (34.6%) of the sample lives in overcrowded conditions. In addition twelve percent stayed in a shelter or were homeless on the streets in the past year, and 9.5 percent moved at least twice last year. Based on study definitions, 42.3 percent of the sample is categorized as living unstably (Barrier 4). One-third (38.5%) of the sample has no driver's license and/or no access to a car and/or quit or was unable to take a job, go to school, or training in the last year because of a transportation problem (Barrier 3).

A substantial number of mothers reported material needs that went unmet in the last year due to lack of money. More specifically, 69.2 percent did not have enough for basic essentials. Hardships were also in the area of insufficient funds for utility payments (30.8%), for rent (19.2%), and for food (19.2%). One in five mothers (19.2%) experienced food insecurity. For children the rates was 3.9 percent in this sample. One-half of households (50.0%) used emergency food programs (Barrier 5).

Child Care. Almost one-half (46.2%) of the sample has a child below six years of age (Barrier 6), and 15.4 percent identified childcare as a problem for finding or keeping a job (Barrier 7). Among households that report child care problems, most consider affordability to be the major issue. Additionally, 42 percent of the sample did not receive child care assistance for a child under age six, and 11.5 percent was late or absent from work, school, or training because of child

care problems. Finally, 19.2 percent of mothers skipped work, school or training last year because of worries about their child's safety.

Respondent Health. About one-third of the sample (30.8%) report they have fair or poor health, and 15.4 percent report that their work was limited by physical health problems (Barrier 8 total = 38.5%). Nearly 27 percent of the sample report they have had asthma, 11.5 percent high blood pressure and 3.9 percent diabetes. Over nineteen percent had an overnight stay in the hospital in the past year.

Four of the 26 mothers (15.4%) report having been diagnosed with a learning disability (Barrier 9). According to DSM-IV criteria, 11.5 percent have depression, and 7.7 percent have generalized anxiety disorder. One in five (19.2%) report stressful events in the past year, and 7.7 percent considered the stressful events affected their life and work a lot. Based on study definitions, 26.9 percent of the sample has a mental health barrier to employment (Barrier 10).

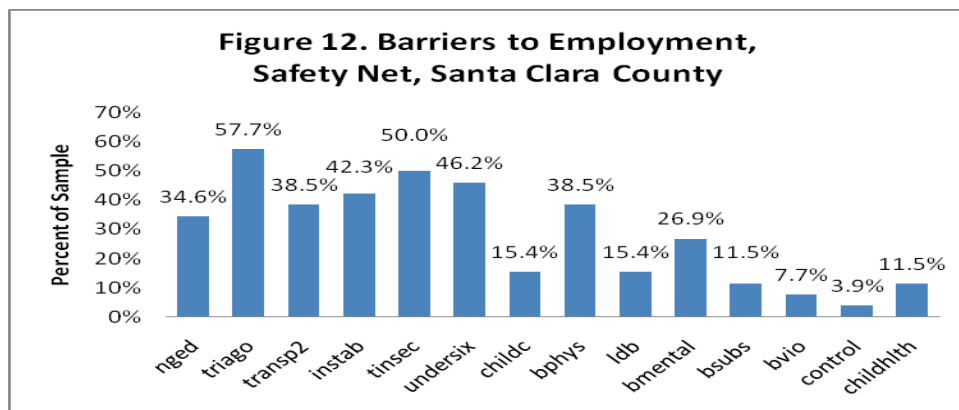
Alcohol and Drug Use. An alcohol or drug problem barrier is calculated for 11.5 percent of the sample (Barrier 11): 3.9 percent is assessed as having alcohol abuse, 3.9 percent alcohol dependence, 3.9 percent drug dependence, and 7.7 percent drug abuse.

Domestic Violence and Partner Control. Physical violence was experienced by 7.7 percent of the sample in the past year (Barrier 12). No respondent experienced partner control in that time period (Barrier 13).

Children's Health. The majority of the sample (88.5%) usually takes their children to a doctor's office for care, and a small number relies on a hospital or ER (3.9%) or a clinic (7.7%). One in ten households (11.5%) have at least one child with a limiting health condition (Barrier 14). The impact on mothers is that 3.9 percent of them had work hours reduced.

Barriers to Employment. On average, this sample has 4 barriers to employment. The most prevalent barrier is lack of work experience in the past three years (57.7%), followed by reliance on emergency food programs (50.0%), having a child below six years of age (46.2%), living instability (42.3%), transportation (38.5%) and respondent physical health (38.5%) (see Figure 12). The number of barriers appears to affect earlier work experience and current employment but not employment status in the last year.

Serviced Needed. Sixteen out of the 26 mothers report they need an average of 2.9 services. Those most needed include child care (30.8%), finding housing (19.2%), utility payments (15.4%), and a support group (15.4%) (see Figure 19). There is substantial disparity between need and actual receipt of needed services.



Stanislaus County Safety Net (Timed-out after 60 months) Parents

Demographic and Household Characteristics. The 25 Stanislaus County Safety net parents average 37 years of age. Nearly half (48%) of the sample is Hispanic, and 32 percent White. One-third (32%) of the sample has an educational level lower than GED (Barrier 1). Fifty-two percent is never married, and 28 percent lives with a spouse or partner. This sample's average household size is 4.9, with on average 2.7 children per household. Thirty-six percent of mothers live in big cities, 60 percent in small cities, and 4 percent in a rural area. Nearly one-quarter (24%) of the sample stays at another person's residence, with the rest renting their own space.

Employment Status and Work History. Twenty-eight percent of the sample was employed in the week before the survey, and none worked full-time within the last year. Despite the low employment rate, 44 percent of the sample was looking for a job in the past 30 days, and 56 percent reported they could have taken a job if one were offered. Regarding work experience, 60 percent did not work full-time within the past three years (Barrier 2), and the same proportion was neither working nor in school or training last year.

Household Income and Poverty Status. The average household income in the last month was composed of much more cash (\$1,237) than non-cash (\$310). The CalWORKs grant (mean of \$461 for 22 mothers) and partner earnings and other income (mean of \$435 for 12 households) contributes to the cash income. Food Stamps provided on average \$344 monthly for 21 households. The per capita income in the last month averaged \$335 (median \$321), of which 36.7 percent was the CalWORKs grant. The household income put this sample at 58.2 percent of the California Budget Project 2006 basic family budget for Stanislaus County.

Material Hardships. Forty percent of the sample is categorized as having a barrier due to living instability (Barrier 4). This barrier is based on currently staying at another's place (24%), having resided in a shelter or homeless on the streets (4%), or moved out of home at least twice last year (4%). In addition, 36 percent live in overcrowded conditions. Sixty percent lack a driver's license, access to a car, and/or quit or did not start a job, school, or training because of transportation problems (Barrier 3).

A substantial number of mothers reported that they have material needs that went unmet in the last year due to lack of money. More specifically, 72 percent did not have enough for basic essentials, 40 percent for utility payments, 24 percent for food, and 20 percent for rent. Eight percent of mothers experienced food insecurity in the past year. Children's food insecurity affected eight percent of sample members. Over one-third of the sample utilized emergency food in that 12-month period (Barrier 5).

Child Care. Thirty-six percent of the sample has a child below six years of age (Barrier 6), and 16 percent identifies child care as a problem in finding or keeping a job (Barrier 7). Affordability, location, and hours were specified as reasons for child care problems. Thirty-two percent of the sample did not receive child care assistance for a child under age six. As a result of childcare challenges, eight percent of the sample reported being late for work, school, or training. The same percent skipped work, school, or training due to concerns about their children's safety.

Respondent Health. Over one-half of the sample (52%) rated their health status as fair or poor, and among those mothers 4 of 13 reported that their physical health limited their ability to work (Barrier 8 total = 52.0%). Asthma affects nearly half of the sample (48%), and sixteen percent

has high blood pressure. A smaller number (8%) has diabetes. One-fifth of the sample stayed overnight in a hospital sometime last year, and sixteen percent reports that their work was limited by a physical health condition.

Eight percent of the sample was diagnosed with a learning disability, and 24 percent needed extra help while in school (Barrier 9 total = 24.0%). Based on DSM-IV criteria, depression affects over one-third (36%) of the sample, and generalized anxiety disorder affects 16 percent. Twenty-four percent reported experiencing stressful events last year, and two-thirds of them (16% of the sample) consider that this experience affected their work or life a lot. Based on study definitions, 44 percent of the sample has a mental health barrier to employment (Barrier 10).

Alcohol and Drug Use. Twelve percent of the sample is categorized as having alcohol or drug problems (Barrier 11), which include alcohol abuse (4%), alcohol dependence (4%), drug abuse (8%) and/or drug dependence (4%).

Domestic Violence and Partner Control. In the year prior to the interview, 12 percent of the sample experienced physical violence, and 4 percent experienced sexual violence by an intimate partner (Barrier 12 total = 12.0%). Eight percent of the sample experienced partner control related to work, school, or training by being discouraged or not helped or being harassed by their intimate partner (Barrier 13).

Children's Health. The usual places for children's medical care include a doctor's office (72% of the sample), the hospital or ER (20%), a clinic (8%), and other places (4%). Nearly one-quarter (24%) of the sample report they have at least one child with a limiting health condition (Barrier 14). The child needing most care averages 10.9 years of age. As a result of children's health problems, 12 percent of mothers had their work hours reduced in the previous year.

Barriers to Employment. The Stanislaus sample averages 4.6 barriers per respondent. Barriers that affect a large proportion of the sample include lack of recent work experience (60%), transportation (60%), physical health (52%), mental health (44%), and living instability (40%) (see Figure 13).

The total number of barriers appears more highly associated with distant work experience than employment status in the past year or past week, but the impacts are all in the same direction – the number of barriers is inversely associated with probability of being employed.

Services Needed. Nineteen of the 25 mothers report need for at least one – and, on average, three – services. The most needed service is for assistance with utility payments: 36 percent of the sample needed help, and 20 percent of the sample received assistance. Other needed services include support group (28%), physical health services (24%), child care (24%), and mental health services (16%) (see Figure 20). Needs are fully met in none of these areas. Help with child care assistance was least forthcoming, provided to only one of the six individuals noting the need.

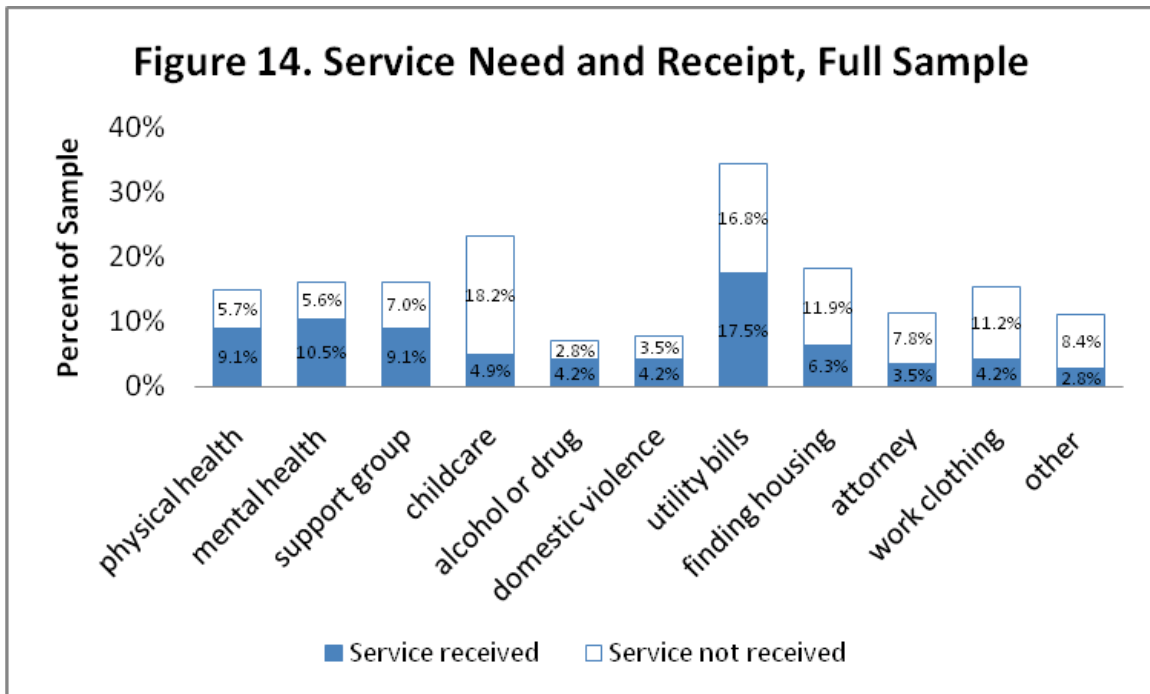
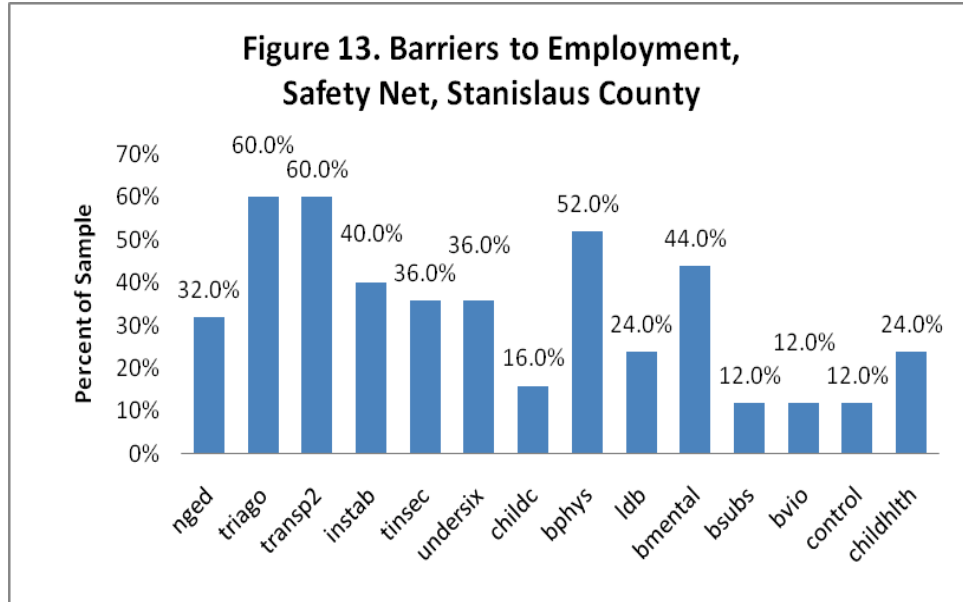


Figure 15. Service Need and Receipt, Alameda County Sanction

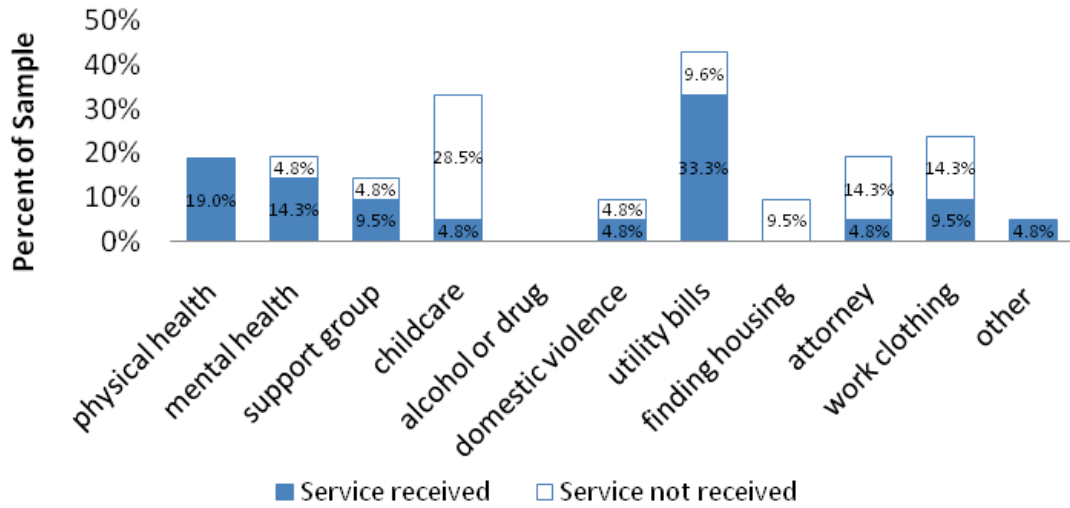


Figure 16. Service Need and Receipt, San Mateo County Sanction

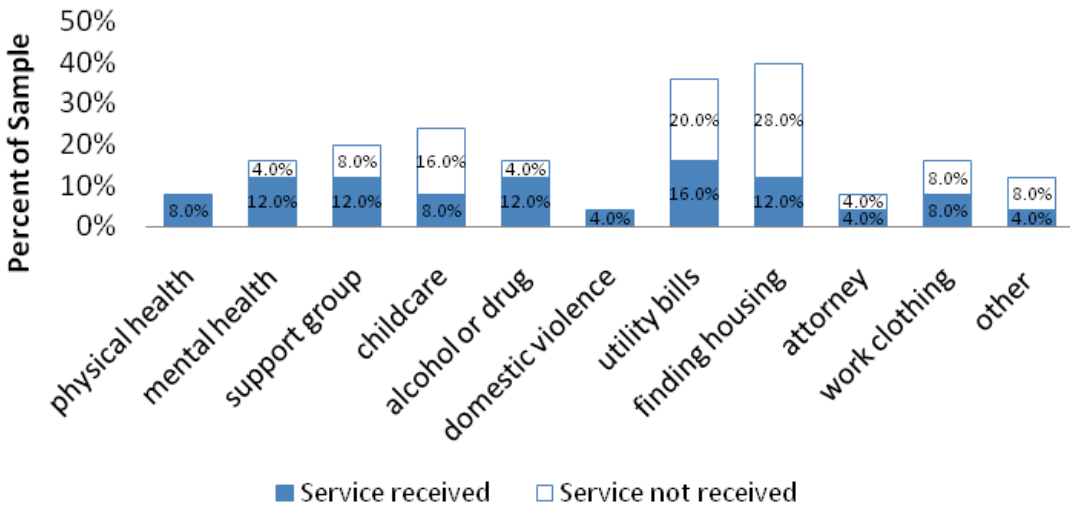


Figure 17. Service Need and Receipt, Alameda County Safety Net

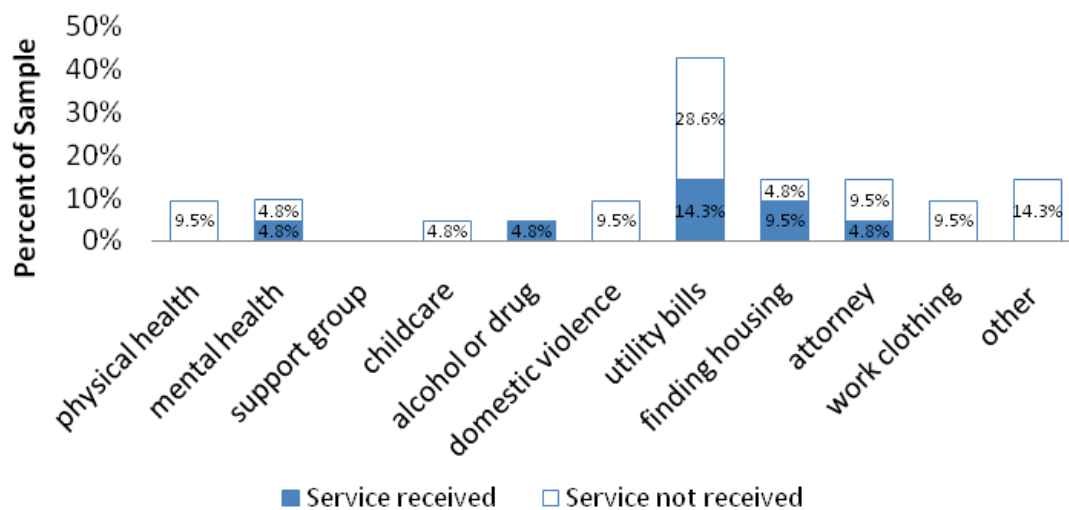


Figure 18. Service Need and receipt, San Francisco County Safety Net

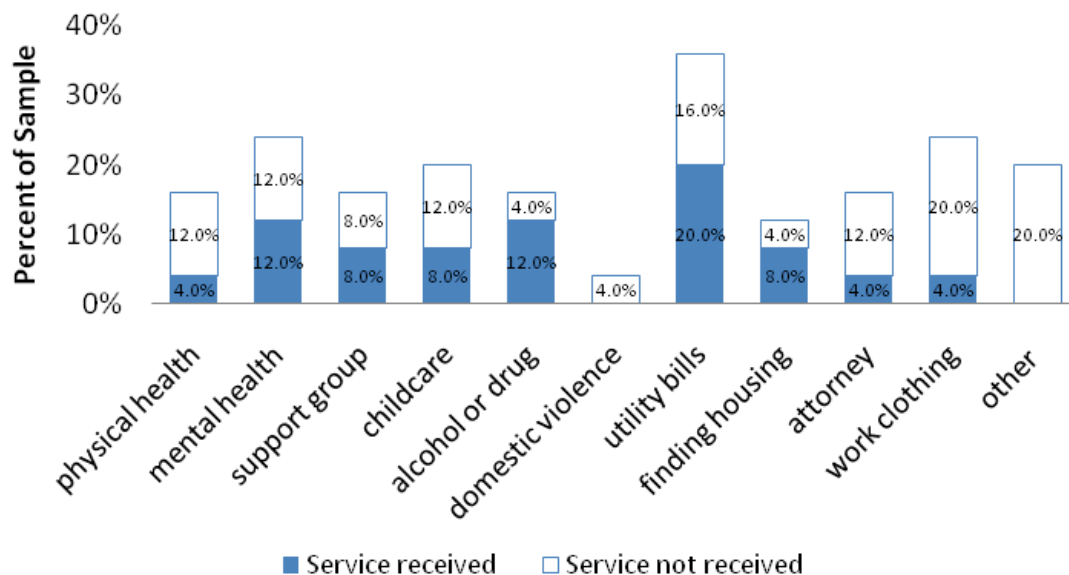


Figure 19. Service Need and Receipt, Santa Clara County Safety Net

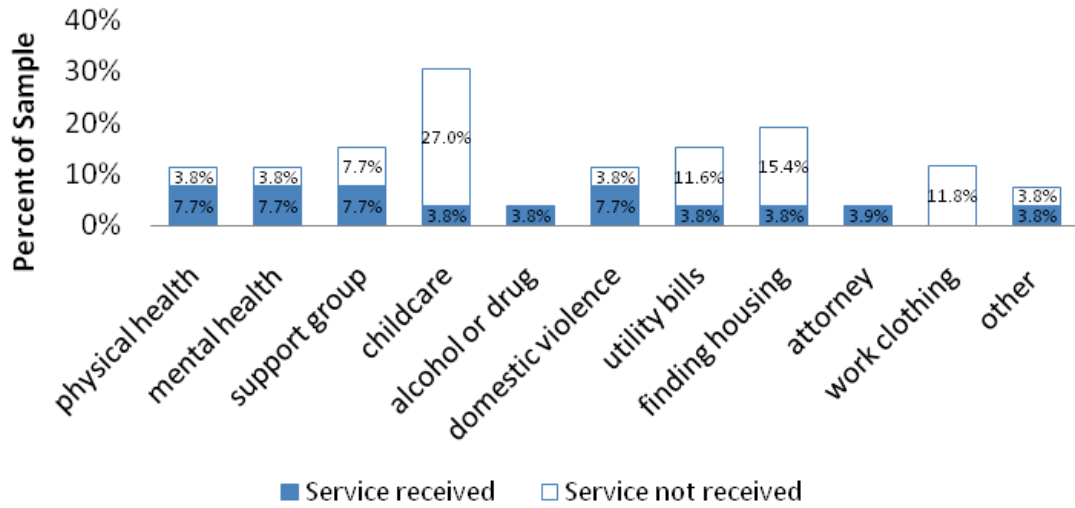
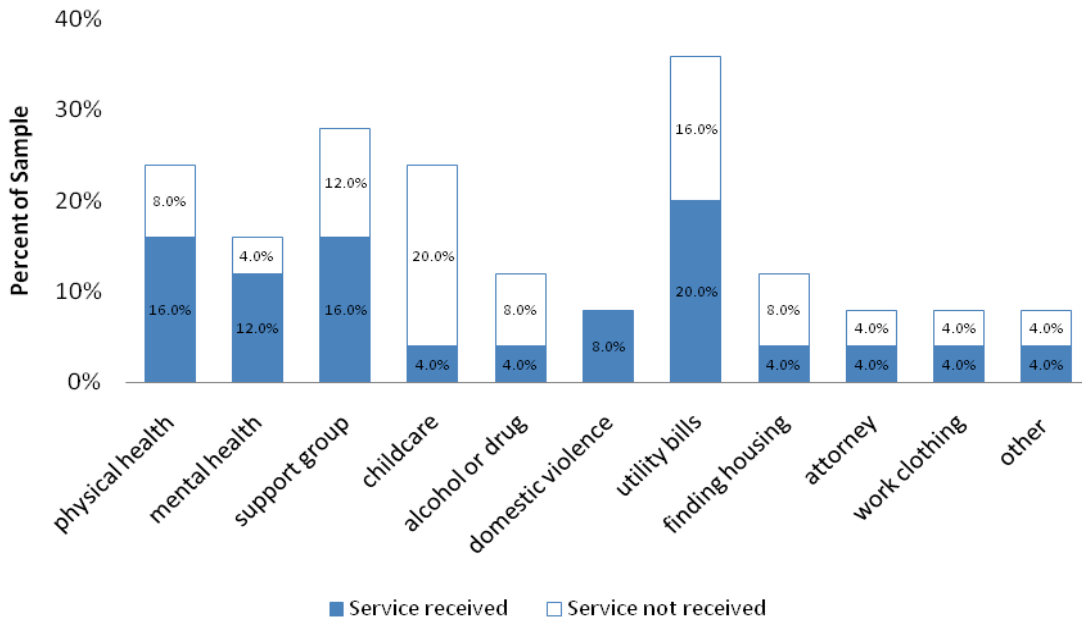


Figure 20. Service Need and Receipt, Stanislaus County Safety Net



Findings across Sites

A key policy focus of the CalWORKs Child-only Study is mothers' employment status and potential barriers to work. As discussed above, we hypothesize that mothers' limited income, material hardships, and corresponding personal and other barriers compromise their ability to get to and engage in work. Study findings demonstrate that female parents associated with sanctioned and safety net child-only cases in five Northern California counties have many similar demographic and household characteristics, experience substantial material hardships, and have poor employment histories. They also appear to be in need of a variety of services to address potential barriers to employment. With work such a central concept to the study, as we specify above, we look especially at three employment measures: current (last week) employment, full-time employment (30 or more hours per week) within the previous three years, and employment in the last year beyond any "current employment."

Employment. In light of the multiple employment measures used, we categorize respondents into four distinct groups according to employment history. Toward this end, as summarized in Table 4, we define the following four groups:

1. Group 1. Little work history. No history of 30 or more hours of work per week in the last three years, worked for less than 20 weeks last year, and unemployed last week.
2. Group 2. Currently unemployed, some full-time work history. Some history of 30 or more hours of work per week in the last three years, mixed incidence of working last year, all unemployed last week.
3. Group 3. Currently employed, some full-time work history, no work last year. Some history of 30 or more hours of work per week in the last three years, no work last year, and employed last week.
4. Group 4. All others, 11 of the 13 members of Group 4 lack 30 or more hours of work per week in the last three years.²⁴

We do not ascertain why individuals might fall into one or another of the groups. Explanations may range from chronic to acute life events (psychiatric problems or the birth or death of a family member, for example) to variation in local labor markets to change in access to a car. Accordingly, we note, a particular respondent's "location" in one of these four groups could easily change over a relatively short period of time.

²⁴ Group 4 includes those currently unemployed but worked for 20 or more weeks last year; or currently employed and worked for 19 weeks or less last year; or currently employed but did not work last year.

Table 4. Respondent Grouping by Employment History

Group number	Group description	n	Percent	Currently employed	Work in past year	History of full-time work in last 3 years
1	Little work history	59	41.3%	No	Less than 20 weeks	No
2	Currently unemployed, some full-time work history	40	28.0%	No	Mixed	Yes
3	Currently employed, some full-time work history, no work last year	31	21.7%	Yes	No	Yes
4	All others	13	9.1%	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
Total		143	100.1%			

It is evident that members of Group 1 have a poor work history in the past three years, and it is telling that Group 1 is also the largest group, comprising 41.3 percent of the full sample across counties. Groups 2 and 3 are in a better situation in that members of each group have experienced some full-time work in the last three years, but their status relative to one another is ambiguous. According to Table 5, Group 1 averages 5.1 barriers, Groups 2 and 3 respectively average 3.9 and 3.5 barriers, and Group 4 is in between – with an average of 3.8 barriers. Examination of the distribution of the number of barriers in Table 5 reveals that while one-third of respondents categorized in Group 1 have seven or more barriers, less than 10 percent of the other group members has such a large number of barriers.

In addition to findings displayed in Table 5, we also tabulated the relationship between group assignment and the array of 14 specific barriers for the combined sample. Table 6 displays results for Groups 1 to 3 (Group 4 is deleted in light of its heterogeneity and small number of cases). In seven of the 14 barrier areas, the prevalence of barriers was higher for Group 1 members, compared to both Group 2 and Group 3 members. Especially noteworthy were the higher prevalence of use of emergency food programs, having a child under age 6, and mental health problems.

We conclude that the groupings provide a useful overview of work experience in association with potential barriers. Examination of the distribution of these groups across counties indicates that San Mateo County (sanction cases) and Stanislaus County (safety net cases) appear to have the most problematic sample members (data not displayed). In each of these two counties, 52 percent of the mothers are categorized as in Group 1. At the other extreme, San Francisco County mothers appear to have the best employment profile, with 28 percent in Group 1.

Table 5. Distribution of Number of Barriers by Employment History, Sites Combined

Number of Barriers	Group 1 Little work history (n=59)	Group 2 Currently unemployed, some FT work history (n=40)	Group 3 Currently employed, some FT work history, no work last year (n=31)	Group 4 All others (n=13)
0	0	2.5%	3.2%	0
1	3.4%	5.0%	25.8%	15.4%
2	8.5%	15.0%	9.7%	7.7%
3	15.3%	20.0%	6.5%	23.1%
4	18.6%	20.0%	25.8%	23.1%
5	15.3%	25.0%	9.7%	7.7%
6	5.1%	7.5%	9.7%	15.4%
7	20.3%	0	3.2%	7.7%
8	6.8%	2.5%	6.5%	0
9	5.1%	2.5%	0	0
10	1.7%	0	0	0
Mean (95% CI)	5.1 (4.5-5.6)	3.9 (3.3-4.5)	3.5 (2.7-4.3)	3.8 (2.6-4.9)
Median	5	4	4	4

Table 6. Distribution of Barriers by Employment History, Sites Combined

Barrier #²⁵	Barrier	Group 1 (n=59)	Group 2 (n=40)	Group 3 (n=31)
1	Education lower than GED	44.1%	35.0%	38.7%
2	Lack recent work experience	100%	0	0
4	Transportation	62.7%	70.0%	58.1%
4	Living instability	37.3%	30.0%	29.0%
4	Reliance on emergency food programs	50.9%	40.0%	32.3%
5	Has child under six	50.9%	32.5%	35.5%
5	Child care problem	40.6%	40.6%	16.7%
6	Physical health	33.9%	40.0%	38.7%
6	Learning disability	20.3%	15.0%	25.8%
7	Mental health	33.9%	27.5%	16.1%
8	Alcohol or drug abuse or dependence	10.2%	17.5%	6.5%
9	Domestic violence	11.9%	15.0%	12.9%
10	Partner control	10.2%	10.0%	6.5%
11	Child with limiting health condition	18.6%	22.5%	32.3%

Barriers to employment. The sanctioned and safety net child-only parents in this sample share many barriers and other characteristics, but each study site also appears to have its own “barriers fingerprint.” That is, specific barriers contribute differently to the barrier burden for individual counties.

It is informative to examine the survey findings in light of comparison data available on the general population. Survey respondents are not typical residents of the study sites. Many disparities in the areas of education, marital status, home ownership, crowding, homelessness, use of emergency food sources, current employment status, self-rated health status, mental distress, and drug use are striking, and certainly the distribution of respondents by race/ethnicity is quite distinct, compared to the general population in each site.

Immediately following this paragraph we present an overview of barrier findings, followed by discussion of employment “outcomes” and presentation of relationship between barriers, total count of barriers, and employment status.

Educational attainment. Depending on study site, from one-third to over one-half of mothers have not attained a GED or high school diploma (see Appendix Table A-3, Section 1). Overall, prevalence of education lower than GED is 40.6 percent. These and other findings are compared

²⁵ Barrier number correspond to section number in Table A-3.

to rates for the female population aged 18 to 58, with income level below 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Line (FPL). In the case of education, study participants' accomplishments are lower – in some cases substantially lower – in three of the sites. Lowest educational attainment is in the Alameda County sanction and San Francisco safety net sites.

Educational attainment is worrisome across all sites, but it is more worrisome in some sites (Alameda County sanction and San Francisco safety net). Likewise, lack of recent work experience is omnipresent, but worse in San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Stanislaus Counties.

Marital status. Across sites, marital status of survey participants uniformly differs from that of women 18 – 58 below 200 percent of the FPL (Table A-3, Section 1). Survey respondents are 50% to 160% more likely to be single/never married than women in the general population living below the FPL.

Employment. Depending on the site, from 12.0 to 30.8 percent of mothers were employed in the last week (Table A-3, Section 2). Comparable figures for work among the general female population aged 18 to 58 ranged from 58.4 to 69.3 percent. Nearly half (49.0%) of the combined sample lacks recent full-time work experience (did not work 30 or more hours a week in the past three years). This barrier claims a substantial proportion of the following samples: safety net samples in San Mateo County (60.0%), Stanislaus County (60.0%), and Santa Clara County (57.7%), and the Alameda County sanction sample (42.9%).

Household Income. Across sites, non-cash income is less variable than cash income. In each site, 95 percent or more of non-cash derives from Food Stamps. The most important and stable cash income item is the CalWORKs grant for children, which ranges from a mean of \$461 in Stanislaus County to a mean of \$665 in Santa Clara County (see Table A-3, Section 3).

Other sources of cash income exist, and their contribution varies widely across sites. Using the CalWORKs grant as the denominator and the total income from other items as the numerator, the resulting percentage represents other items' contribution as a percent of the CalWORKs grant contribution. This percentage ranges from 66 percent (San Francisco County) to 217 percent (Santa Clara County) (results not presented tabularly). This variation explains why study participants in certain sites such as Santa Clara County have a much higher income even though the major contributing item, CalWORKs, is relatively stable in size across sites.

A more detailed examination of the components of cash income shows both similarities and differences across counties. The first similarity is that mothers' earnings contribute a considerable amount even though this is unexpected based on reportedly infrequent or erratic employment. More specifically, mothers' total earnings (mean times "n") account for as low as 32 percent of the total CalWORKs grant in one site, and as high as 69 percent in another. Other major items of cash income include partners' earnings (1 - 59% of CalWORKs income depending on site), rent payment to the household (0 - 69% of CalWORKs income depending on site), SSI for the respondent or her partner or children, and even children's earnings (1 - 23% of CalWORKs income).

Material hardships. Residential instability barriers affect one-third (32.2%) of the full sample. Residential overcrowding is prevalent among study participants. Percent of mothers reporting more than one person per room in her residence ranged from 14.3 to 36.0 percent, depending on study site (Table A-3, Section). In the national general population, according to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2.4 percent of persons are estimated to be

residing in such crowded situations. The rate of homelessness among study respondents is four to fourteen times that of the national rate. Reliance on emergency food programs (43.4% of the combined sample) varies by site, with from 3.9 to 20.0 percent of survey respondents using soup kitchens in the previous 12 months. The national rate is less than one percent (America's Second Harvest, 2006).

Child care problem. Depending on the site, from 15.4 to 36.0 percent of study participants report a child care problem.

Health. Reports of fair or poor health – 28.0 to 52.0 percent of mothers, depending on site – are comparable to or greater than a similar measure for women with incomes less than 200 percent of the FPL (Table A-3, Section 6). At the same time, reports of asthma are consistently greater among our survey respondents, compared to the general population in the same site, and, depending on site, high blood pressure and diabetes are more prevalent. Overall, physical health problems are experienced by 36.4 percent of the full sample.

Among study respondents, depending on site, mental health barriers (overall, 26.6%) are double to seven times the general population rate for psychological distress. (Rates of psychological distress among women in the general population ages 18 to 58 living below 200 percent FPL range from 6.2 to 12.5 percent. Table A-3, Section 7).

Our survey results for last-year drug use range from 14.3 to 48.0 percent, depending on site, compared to 10.7 percent among the general population (Table A-3, Section 8).

Learning disability ranges in prevalence from 9.5 percent to 28.0 percent across sites.

Domestic violence ranges in prevalence from 7.7 percent to 10.1 percent.

Partner control, depending on site, spans the range from 0 to 23.8 percent of cases

Child limiting health condition ranges in prevalence from 11.5 to 33.3 percent, depending on site.

The Stanislaus county sample has the largest proportion of mothers with physical health (52.0%) and mental health (44.0%) barriers.

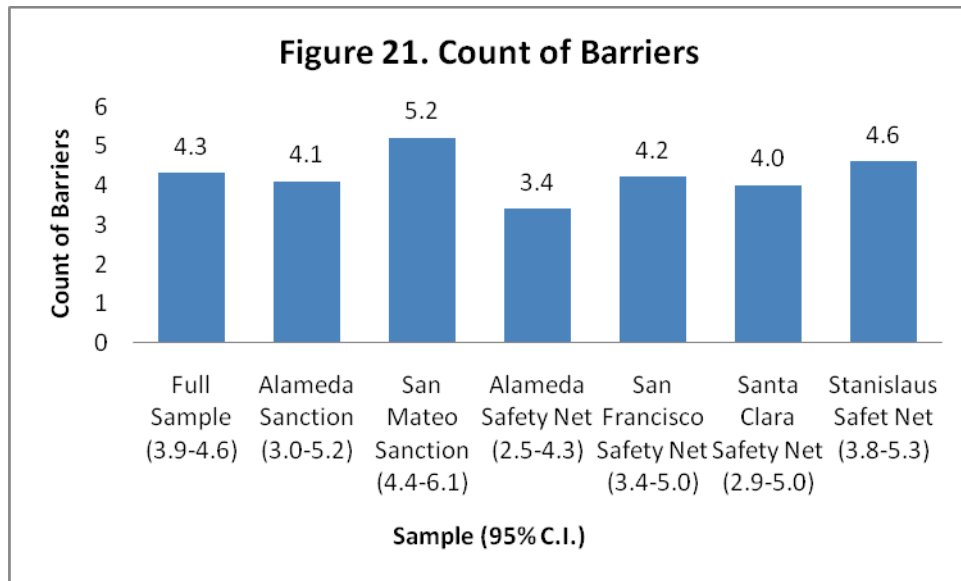
Transportation. The most prevalent barrier for the combined sample is transportation which affects 61.5 percent of all 143 mothers. It is also the number one barrier for all county samples except Santa Clara County, where lack of recent work experience is the top barrier (57.7%).

Housing and neighborhood. Among survey respondents, home ownership existed only in one site, where 11.5 percent indicated that they lived in a residence they own (Table A-3, Section 1). Among the general population of women aged 18 to 58, residence in a home they owned was estimated, depending on site, to range from 31.7 to 63.1 percent of mothers.

Summary. Combining data from all the sites, the most prevalent barriers are transportation (61.5% of the combined sample; see Table A-3 section 13), work experience (49.0%), reliance on emergency food programs (43.4%), having a child under six years (42%), and education lower than GED/diploma (40.6%). Respondent physical health problems are experienced by 36.4 percent of the full sample, and residential instability affects one-third (32.2%) of the full sample.

Barrier count. As shown in Section 14 of Table A-3 and presented graphically in Figure 21, we find, on average, the combined sample has 4.3 (95% confidence interval: 3.9 - 4.6) barriers to

employment. The San Mateo County sanction sample has the largest number of barriers (5.2) among the six samples.



The last six rows of Table A-3, Section 14 (and presented graphically in Figures 22, 23, and 24) show the relationship between the number of barriers and the probability of being employed. A consistent, inverse relationship is evident: the number of barriers is negatively associated with the probability of working full-time in the past three years, or of working sometime last year, or of being employed last week. For example, mothers who worked 30 or more hours per week for at least one week in the past three years have a mean of 3.6 barriers, while those who did not have that work record averaged 4.9 barriers (Figure 22 and Table 8). Similarly, mothers currently working have a mean of 3.5 barriers; those not currently employed, 4.6 barriers (Figure 24 and Table 8). These relationships are evident at the site level in virtually every comparison in Table A-3, Section 14.

Figure 22. Number of Barriers by Work History Past Three Years

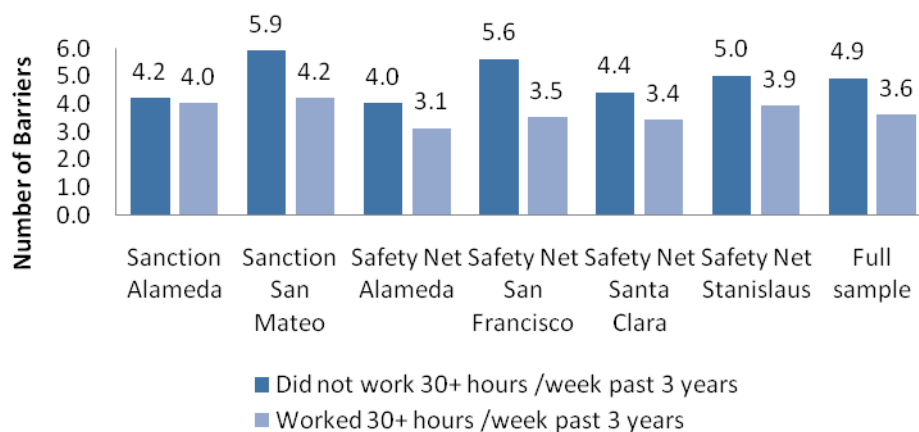
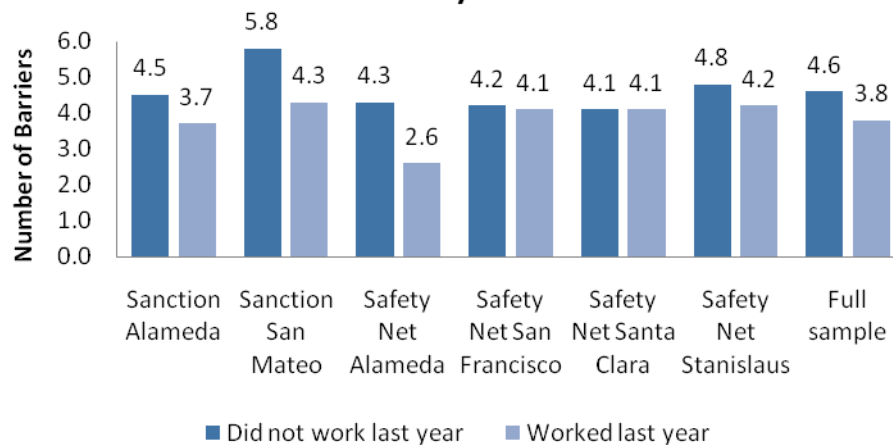
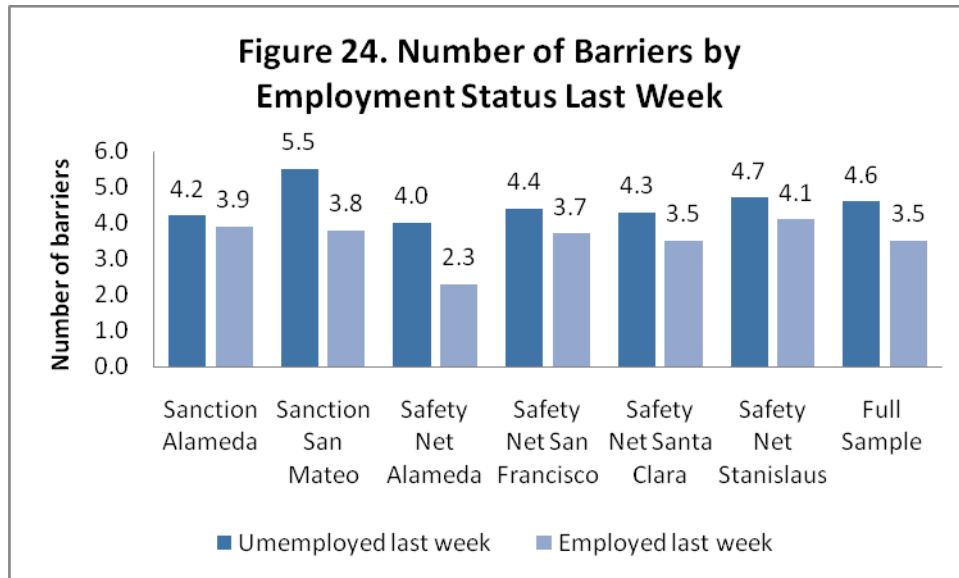


Figure 23. Number of Barriers by Work History Last year





Barrier-by-barrier, this relationship is specifically shown in Table 7 below. Table 7 reports the prevalence of barriers by employment status displayed for each of three time periods. The first panel depicts barriers by work of 30 or more hours a week within the last three years. A “ratio” column separates prevalence for those who did not and those who did work that amount in the three-year time period. Thus we find, for example, that study participants who did not work in the three-year period were 1.2 times as likely to have education lower than GED or high school diploma, compared to those who did work 30 or more hours in the three-year period (prevalence of 44.3% versus 37.0%). We highlight the ratio for barriers that are 0.8 or less or 1.2 or more. In the case of the three-year time frame, six of the barrier ratios are 1.2 or greater, while only three are 0.8 or below. On average, barriers are ten percent more prevalent among those who have not worked full-time within the past three-years

As the employment timeframe draws more immediate, barriers appear to exert more influence. In the last-12-month period six barriers are 1.2 times as prevalent among those not reporting work as among those reporting work. Only one barrier is at 0.8 or below. On average the barriers are thirty percent more prevalent among those without one-year work experience. Especially powerful, in addition to not having worked 30 hours in the past three years, are living instability, child care problems, mental health problems, and alcohol or drug problems.

The picture is even more dramatic in terms of current (last week) employment. Nine barriers are found to have an effect of 1.2 or greater, and on average the barriers are fifty percent more prevalent among those not working the previous week. Particularly salient, in addition to lack of longer-term work history, are child care problems, mental health, alcohol or drug problems, domestic violence, and partner control. With regard to the last three barriers, it is noteworthy that the *prevalence* of each barrier is relatively low; in each case, 13 percent or less. However the apparent *influence* of the barriers, as measured by the ratios, ranges as high as 2.7. That is, for example, individuals not employed last week are 2.7 times as likely as those with work in the last week to be found to have alcohol or drug abuse or dependence.

Table 8 takes a similar approach, examining *number* of barriers by work in the three different time periods. For each panel we highlight the cell in the cumulative percent column in which two-thirds of study participants are found. Thus, for the examination of number of barriers by

full-time work (30 or more hours) in the past three years we find that two-thirds of those without such a work history have six or fewer barriers. The corresponding figure for those with the work history in that time period is four or fewer barriers. In terms of work in the last week, two-thirds of study participants not working have five or fewer barriers. Two-thirds of those working in the last week have four or fewer barriers. On average, for each time period of interest, those not working have significantly more barriers than those working. For the past-week, for example, those not reporting work are found to have an average of 4.6 barriers. Those reporting work in that period are found to have on average 3.5 barriers.

Both Table 7 and Table 8 contribute to the understanding that disparity of employment probability is greater with regard to current status than last year or three-year status. This suggests that, despite the fact that many barriers refer to lifetime, past year, or general status, the relationship with work is time-sensitive. Table 9 displays the cumulative effect of barriers. Ignoring the first row, for zero barriers, in light of such a small “n,” it appears that one barrier is the threshold above which the disparity of employment probability becomes obvious. That is, slightly over two-thirds of mothers with only one barrier worked in the time period of interest. However, this relationship reverses in the rest of the table, for mothers with two or more barriers. A barrier count of two or more substantially reduces the likelihood of employment. As was evident also in Table 7, the number of barriers appears to affect *current* employment status more than employment status in the last year. Figures 25 and 26 depict, respectively, the drop in employment for the last 12-month period and the last week.

Table 7. Barriers by Employment Status, Sites Combined

Barrier	Worked 30+ hrs/week in last 3 years			Any work in last 12 months			Employed last week		
	No (n=70)	Ratio	Yes (n=73)	No (n=83)	Ratio	Yes (n=60)	No (n=101)	Ratio	Yes (n=42)
Education lower than GED	31	44.3%	27	36	43.4%	22	41	40.6%	17
Lack full-time work experience last 3 years	70	100.0%	0	55	66.3%	15	61	60.4%	9
Transportation	37	52.9%	42	47	56.6%	32	57	56.4%	22
Residential or living instability	25	35.7%	21	30	36.1%	16	35	34.7%	11
Reliance on emergency food programs	34	48.6%	28	37	44.6%	25	46	45.5%	16
Has child under six	36	51.4%	24	36	43.4%	24	45	44.6%	15
Child care problem	15	37.5%	18	20	40.8%	13	26	25.7%	7
Physical health	24	34.3%	28	32	38.6%	20	37	36.6%	15
Learning disability	14	20.0%	14	16	19.3%	12	18	17.8%	10
Mental health	22	31.4%	16	25	30.1%	13	32	31.7%	6
Alcohol or drug abuse or dependence	6	8.6%	9	10	12.1%	5	13	12.9%	2
Domestic violence	7	10.0%	10	10	12.1%	7	13	12.9%	4
Partner control	6	8.6%	6	7	8.4%	5	10	9.9%	2
Child limiting health condition	13	18.6%	19	17	20.5%	15	21	20.8%	11
mean ratio		1.1			1.3			1.5	

Table 8. Number of Barriers by Employment Status, Sites Combined

# of barriers	Worked 30+ hrs/week in last 3 years						Any work in last 12 months						Employed last week					
	No (n=70)			Yes (n=73)			No (n=83)			Yes (n=60)			No (n=101)			Yes (n=42)		
	n	%	cum %	n	%	cum %	n	%	cum %	n	%	cum %	n	%	cum %	n	%	cum %
0	0	0.0%	0.0%	2	2.7%	2.7%	1	1.2%	1.2%	1	1.7%	1.7%	1	1.0%	1.0%	1	2.4%	2.4%
1	3	4.3%	4.3%	11	15.1%	17.8%	4	4.8%	6.0%	10	16.7%	18.4%	4	4.0%	5.0%	10	23.8%	26.2%
2	5	7.1%	11.4%	10	13.7%	31.5%	10	12.1%	18.1%	5	8.3%	26.7%	11	10.9%	15.9%	4	9.5%	35.7%
3	12	17.1%	28.5%	10	13.7%	45.2%	14	16.9%	35.0%	8	13.3%	40.0%	18	17.8%	33.7%	4	9.5%	45.2%
4	14	20.0%	48.5%	16	21.9%	67.1%	15	18.1%	53.1%	15	25.0%	65.0%	19	18.8%	52.5%	11	26.2%	71.4%
5	10	14.3%	62.8%	13	17.8%	84.9%	12	14.5%	67.6%	11	18.3%	83.3%	19	18.8%	71.3%	4	9.5%	80.9%
6	5	7.1%	69.9%	6	8.2%	93.1%	6	7.2%	74.8%	5	8.3%	91.6%	7	6.9%	78.2%	4	9.5%	90.4%
7	13	18.6%	88.5%	1	1.4%	94.5%	12	14.5%	89.3%	2	3.3%	94.9%	12	11.9%	90.1%	2	4.8%	95.2%
8	4	5.7%	94.2%	3	4.1%	98.6%	4	4.8%	94.1%	3	5.0%	99.9%	5	5.0%	95.1%	2	4.8%	100.0%
9	3	4.3%	98.5%	1	1.4%	100.0%	4	4.8%	98.9%	0	0.0%	99.9%	4	4.0%	99.1%	0	0.0%	100.0%
10	1	1.4%	99.9%	0	0.0%	100.0%	1	1.2%	100.1%	0	0.0%	99.9%	1	1.0%	100.1%	0	0.0%	100.0%
Total	70	99.9%	73	100.0%			83	100.1%	60	99.9%			101	100.1%	42	100.0%		
Mean (95% CI)	4.9 (4.4-5.4)			3.6 (3.2-4.1)			4.6 (4.1-5.1)			3.8 (3.3-4.3)			4.6 (4.2-5.0)			3.5 (2.9-4.2)		

Table 9. Employment by Number of Barriers, Sites Combined

Number of Barriers	n	Did no work last 12 months	Worked sometime last 12 months	n	Unemployed last week	Employed last week
0	2	50.0%	50.0%	2	50.0%	50.0%
1	13	30.8%	69.2%	14	28.6%	71.4%
2	15	66.7%	33.3%	15	73.3%	26.7%
3	21	66.7%	33.3%	22	81.8%	18.2%
4	30	50.0%	50.0%	30	63.3%	36.7%
5	22	54.6%	45.4%	23	82.6%	17.4%
6	11	54.6%	45.4%	11	63.6%	36.4%
7	14	85.7%	14.3%	14	85.7%	14.3%
8	7	57.1%	42.9%	7	71.4%	28.6%
9	4	100%	0	4	100%	0
10	1	100%	0	1	100%	0
Mean (95% CI)		4.6 (4.1-5.1)	3.8 (3.3-4.3)		4.6 (4.2-5.0)	3.5 (2.9-4.2)

Figure 25. Employment in Last 12 Months as Function of Number of Barriers

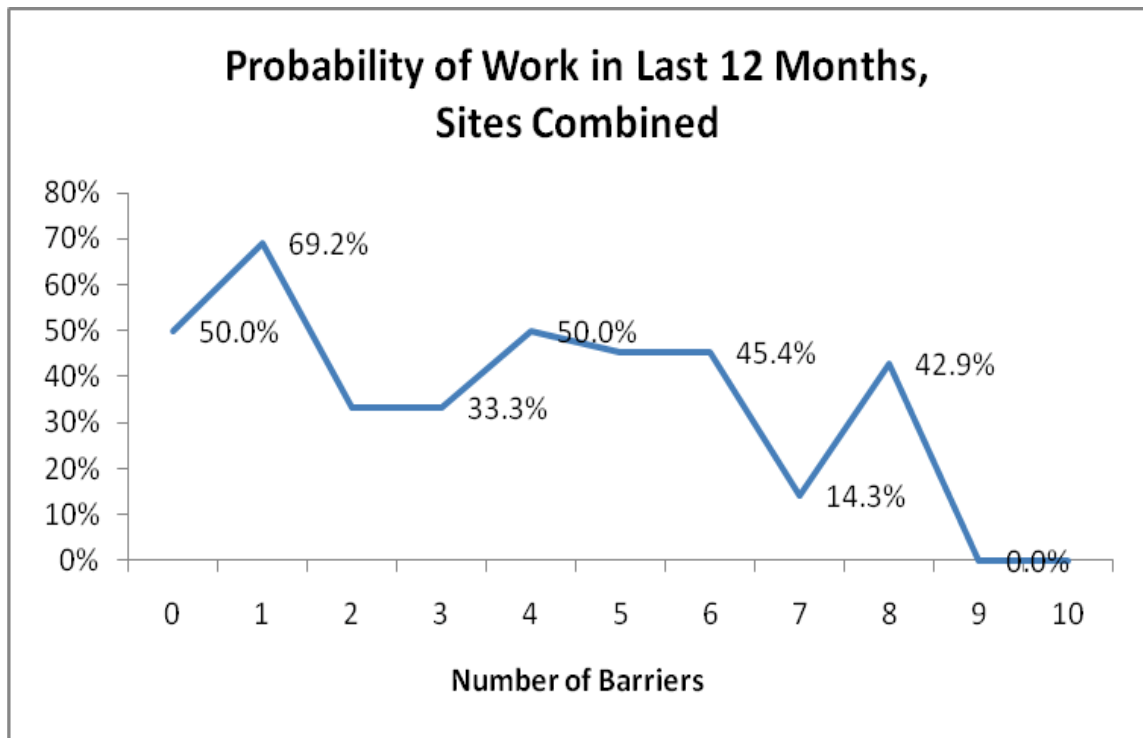
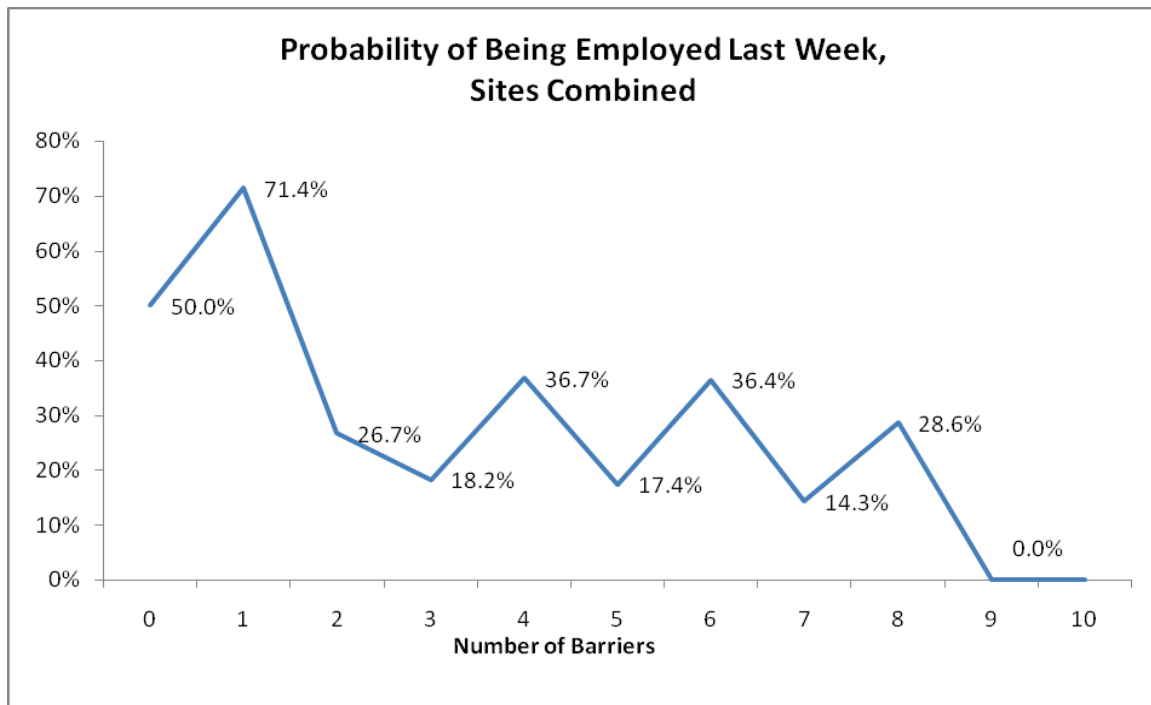


Figure 26. Employment in Last Week as Function of Number of Barriers



Other Measures.

There are many measures reported in Table A-3 but not discussed in the site profiles. We emphasize just a few here.

Not included as a barrier were reports of problems with cognitive skills. Table A-3, Section 7 specifies proportion of mothers, by site, reporting problems with memorization, calculation, filing forms, and spelling. Each of these probably impedes access to employment within various occupations.

While we tabulated as a barrier having children with a limiting health conditions, in this report we did not discuss the array of conditions that those children were reported to have, from asthma and allergies to attention deficit, behavioral problems, developmental delay and other chronic diseases. Table A-3, Section 11 displays the prevalence of each condition by site.

Estimates of the domestic violence barrier ranged from 7.7 percent in the Santa Clara County safety net sample to 19.1 percent for the Alameda County sanction sample. Not incorporated in the barrier estimate is another related measure that reports frequency of mothers' calling police for threats by an intimate partner in the last year (Table A-3, Section 9). In four of the six sites, prevalence of calls to police is greater than prevalence of domestic violence.

We note the existence of two measures we have termed material hardships, but which may in fact relate also to physical health or child care barriers. Depending on site, from 9.5 to 28.0 percent of mothers report that in the last 12 months they have not gotten needed health care for themselves or a child (Table A-3, Section 4). And, depending on site, from 9.5 to 32.0 percent of mothers say that in the last 12 months they have not gotten needed medicine for themselves or a child.

Finally, it is noteworthy for a study of barriers that in each site from eight to sixteen percent of mothers report they have applied for Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits (not presented tabularly). Although we did not include SSI application in any of the fourteen barriers studied, the basis for the SSI application may well serve as a substantial barrier to employment. Several mothers were denied SSI, and we have no information about the resources that went into those applications or the likelihood that some mothers will ultimately prove successful in their efforts.

Housing. Three out of five study participants (61.7%) receive a housing subsidy that contributes to their monthly housing bill (see Table 10). Among those 87 households, Group A comprises 15 households, benefits financially by receiving more than \$20 monthly in rental income. That is, persons sharing the housing provide a monthly stipend for the privilege. As a result of these two forms of financial assistance, on average the subsidy-plus-rental-income group expends 15.4 percent of income on housing. Group B, the subsidy-only group, devotes 25.3 percent of income to housing costs. Both rates fall within the 30 percent considered affordable by the U.S. Department of Urban Development (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, nd). Furthermore, compared to study participants with other housing arrangements, crowding is relatively infrequent among these two groups. Just seven and six percent of study participants categorized respectively in Groups A and B report having an average of more than two persons per bedroom. Twenty percent of Group A and 14 percent of Group B households have more than an average of one person per room.

There are, however, two sizeable groups of study participants who do not benefit from housing subsidies. Members of Group C, comprised of 25 respondents, live in their own place, have no subsidy and do not receive rental income of \$20 or more. Depending on site, percent of income

spent on housing ranges from about 15 percent up to 74 percent. On average, across the six study sites, these households devote 54.5 percent of income to rent, a figure considered unsustainable. Thirty-two percent of households have, on average, more than two persons per bedroom, and 28 percent have more than an average of one person per room.

Group D respondents, including a second 25 study participants, live in another person's place. These respondents have no housing subsidy and no rental income. On the contrary, they provide rental income to others. Funds expended on rent range from 14.9 to 44.3 percent of income. The mean amount is 38.8 percent of income. Forty percent of these living units have more than two persons per bedroom, and over half (52%) have more than one person per room.

We also inquired about the neighborhoods in which study participants reside. The question posed, with reference to too many cars, loud music or other noise, trash and litter, people loitering, people using or selling drugs, crime, poor access to public transportation, no safe place for children to play, and not safe to walk alone at night, was as follows:

Consider your neighborhood to be the area within about a 5 minute walk of your home. Please tell me if the following things are not a problem, some problem, or a big problem in your neighborhood.

In at least two study sites, 20 percent or more of mothers said that each of several conditions – too many cars, loud music or other noise, trash and litter, people loitering, people using or selling drugs, crime, no safe place for children to play, and not safe to walk alone at night – presented a “big problem.” (Interestingly, poor access to public transportation did not make this threshold.) Furthermore, a strong association was evident between mothers who reported no safe place for children to play and those who said they skipped work, school, or training in the last year because they were worried about their child's safety. Conditions are particularly problematic among Alameda County sanction, San Francisco safety net, and Stanislaus County safety net families.

Table 11 highlights in yellow the cells in which percents are between 15 and 35 and in peach the cells that are 35 percent or greater. As is evident, conditions are particularly problematic among Alameda County sanction, San Francisco safety net, and Stanislaus County safety net families. No particular topical area appears to be more of a problem than the others.

Table 10. Percent of Income Spent on Housing by County, Type of Residence, Receipt of Housing Subsidy, and Receipt of Rental Income, Sites Combined

Group	Sanction								Safety Net												Total			
	Alameda				Sanction				Alameda				San Francisco*				Santa Clara*							Stanislaus
	n	%	% of income to housing		n	%	% of income to housing		n	%	% of income to housing		n	%	% of income to housing		n	%	% of income to housing		n	%	% of income to housing	
A. Own / rent, receive housing subsidy, rental income > \$20	4	19.1%	23.6%	2		8.0%	6.7%		0		14.0%		7	28.0%	13.6%	0		10.6%	15.4%		15			
B. Own / rent, receive housing subsidy, no rental income > \$20	9	42.9%	30.2%	9		36.0%	28.3%		21	87.5%	23.7%		6	24.0%	29.1%	11	44.0%	51.1%	25.3%		72			
C. Own / rent, no subsidy, no rental income > \$20	4	19.1%	66.6%	3		12.0%	50.4%		3	12.5%	15.5%		5	20.0%	73.5%	8	32.0%	17.7%	54.5%		25			
D. Other person's place, no subsidy, no rental income > \$20	2	9.5%	14.9%	10		40.0%	44.3%		0		20.3%		6	24.0%	37.9%	6	24.0%	17.7%	38.8%		25			
Other	2	9.5%	57.3%	1		4.0%	4.0%		0				1	4.0%	27.7%	0		2.8%	36.6%		4			
Total	21	100.1%	37.0%	25		100.0%	37.6%		24	100.0%	21.8%		25	100.0%	34.3%	25	100.0%	99.9%	32.2%		141			

*Case not included because of missing response.

Table 11. Percent of Study Participants Reporting Neighborhood Conditions a Big Problem, Sites Combined

	Sanction		Safety Net			
	Alameda County	San Mateo County	Alameda County	San Francisco	Santa Clara County	Stanislaus County
Too many cars	38.1%	16.0%	14.3%	44.0%	23.1%	40.0%
Loud music, noise	14.3%	20.0%	14.3%	28.0%	7.7%	16.0%
Trash and litter	19.1%	8.0%	23.8%	48.0%	11.5%	16.0%
People loitering	19.1%	0.0%	9.5%	48.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Using selling drugs	14.3%	4.0%	9.5%	52.0%	11.5%	24.0%
Crime	19.1%	8.0%	0.0%	56.0%	3.9%	24.0%
Poor transportation	0.0%	8.0%	4.8%	8.0%	0.0%	16.0%
No safe place for kids	19.1%	8.0%	14.3%	40.0%	11.5%	24.0%
Not safe to walk around at night	23.8%	16.0%	23.8%	52.0%	7.7%	16.0%

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Because this study is cross-sectional and does not follow households over time, we cannot conclude that a causal relationship exists between the potential barriers and employment outcomes. However, published results from other longitudinal studies assist our interpretation of the data collected from households for this study. We find strong indication that at least half of the 14 barriers identified are negatively associated with employment. Previous TANF studies that typically focused on cases with full families receiving aid (as opposed to child-only studies), find the following barriers to have significant negative effects on employment over time: (1) limited educational attainment, (2) transportation barriers, (3) child care problems, (4) physical health problems, (5) learning disability, (6) mental health problems, and (7) alcohol and other drug problems.

To our knowledge, the following barriers as we define them have not yet been examined in longitudinal studies (1) residential instability, (2) use of emergency food programs, and (3) presence of child under six. Factors previously studied but that have not been found to predict subsequent employment are: (1) domestic violence, (2) partner control, and (3) child's limiting condition. It remains to be seen, both for these and other characteristics primarily studied for their effects in aided adult families, how the impact of these barriers might differ for child-only cases.

In the light of other research results, our findings suggest the following:

- The vast majority of mothers in both safety net and sanctioned child-only cases face multiple barriers to employment.
- Eleven percent of parents associated with sanctioned and timed-out child-only cases had no barriers or only one barrier to employment; the remaining 89 percent had more than one barrier. While having zero or one barrier is associated with a 69 percent chance of current employment, having two or more barriers is associated with a 24 percent chance of current employment.
- Parents with two or more barriers have only a 39 percent chance of having worked any hours in the past year.
- Barriers that have the greatest negative association with past-week employment are, in order of importance: (1) lack of recent (last three years) full-time work experience, (2) alcohol or other drug problems, (3) mental health problems, (4) partner control, (5) child care problems, and (6) domestic violence.
- Barriers with the greatest negative association with work in the previous 12 months are, in order of importance: (1) lack of recent (last three years) full-time work experience, (2) child care problems, (3) alcohol or other drug problems, (4) mental health problems and residential instability (tie), and (6) education less than GED or high school diploma and physical health problems (tie).
- Despite a large investment in welfare-to-work programs, many of the mothers in the study expressed needs – whether for additional child care, help with utility bills, or assistance finding housing – that were not met.

Additional findings that highlight program and policy issues include the following:

- Mothers associated with sanctioned and timed-out CalWORKs cases are not young, and their limited educational background and work experience in the last three years suggest that substantial investment in human capital will be required before they successfully enter – and remain in – the workforce. They have other challenging barriers as well. As one study advisor put it, these women live in a “soup of problems . . . their will-power will not resolve most of the problems.”
- The majority of mothers surveyed have relatively young children. Hence, the typical family will not quickly leave CalWORKs because the children have aged-out. There is thus substantial need for assistance for these families but also great opportunity for longer-term programmatic intervention.
- Many study participants reside in problematic neighborhoods. Substantial parental attention is required to sustain children in those environments. Therefore, parental decisions not to engage in work but instead to remain available to children may constitute positive personal and social decisions. County social services administrators, asked to comment during an early review of study findings, suggested that for parents both to work full-time and to carry out parental responsibilities may require work with flexible hours, the ability to keep in phone contact with children, and other accommodations. However, these are jobs that people with low educational attainment and little work experience are unlikely to acquire.

Barriers span a range of conditions, some short-term in nature and others that are unlikely to change very quickly. Recent (last three years) full-time work experience is central to both current and last-year employment. Current employment appears to be especially sensitive to health-related and interpersonal barriers as well as child care problems and residential instability. Barriers associated with lack of employment in the longer-term (12 months) cover a broader terrain, including educational attainment and physical health problems. Given what is known from previous studies on aided adult cases, it is likely that the focus for policy and practice should be on the past year barriers to work, supplemented by a focus on overcoming transportation barriers.

To promote self-sufficiency among mothers associated with child-only cases, a combined effort will likely be required, involving:

- The identification of resources and services that families need to surmount these barriers and the funding and placement of these services within the county
- The identification of new or alternate funding sources to support services that cannot be paid for with CalWORKs funding
- Increased use of exemptions and expanded reasons for exemption from welfare-to-work activities, when appropriate, for parents with barriers to employment
- Introduction of advocacy and case management services to support sanctioned and timed-out parents in their efforts to secure financial and personal support

From a longer-term, national perspective, it is possible that a partial disability program may be required for some parents.²⁶ Currently, many individuals with apparently sustained and significant barriers to work do not qualify as disabled under SSI regulations but nonetheless are ill-equipped to work either full-time or consistently enough to support themselves and their children.²⁷ Those who fall short of qualifying for the SSI benefit often qualify for CalWORKs and county General Assistance programs instead, which are not flexible enough or adequately resourced to serve this population well.

In addition to supports for parents, the children in some child-only families may also require specialized assistance. Currently, the CalWORKs program lacks direction or capacity to address those needs. Some needs may be met outside CalWORKs by existing family services, county health and mental health programs, and other agencies or be met informally in the context of family life, child care, preschool, or public school. Relying on school, preschool, and child care, however, seems unrealistic. Too often school districts, agencies, or family child care programs are underfunded, teachers are overwhelmed, and too few special resource staff are available. We really do not yet know how the children are faring in child-only families, and it remains for future research to examine children's well-being, to learn where they currently acquire support, and to ascertain what additional assistance they may require to thrive.

The point is, one county colleague stated, that we need to put these families in a different relationship with poverty. How to accomplish that is not clear. The above recommendations would be a challenge to pursue in any environment but especially in California today, when

²⁶ See, in this regard, Blank (2007) and her proposal for a Temporary and Partial Work Waiver Program.

²⁷ In fact, many recipients of SSI have some association with AFDC or TANF (Nadel, Wamhoff, and Wiseman, 2003/2004, p.26). See also Pavetti and Kauff (2006).

every consideration for appropriate financial support must be weighed against the challenges of a major budget deficit. To reach combined objectives of policy change and program innovation, the State and counties will need to work both within and outside their jurisdictions as they determine institutional ownership for the array of problems catalogued. One starting point would involve a focused look at the gap between needed and missing services that are reviewed in the report. More than ten percent of mothers reported that help was needed with utility costs, extra child care, help finding housing, and free or inexpensive work clothing. Five to ten percent said they needed assistance with physical health problems, mental health problems, support groups, and attorney services. While these needs may be, or may constitute elements of, barriers to employment, it remains unclear which community or county agencies hold responsibility for addressing them, or for coordinating their resolution.

In California, the *absence* of a full-family sanction, like the support provided by safety net benefits for timed-out families, is understood as critical to sustain the children in CalWORKs families. About 80 percent of the households that we studied are able tenuously to make ends meet, either because they have access to a housing subsidy or live in another person's residence and have cash aid and Food Stamps. In a number of cases study participants both had a housing subsidy and shared space with housemates. We did not examine housing conditions other than cost and overcrowding. Given the negative effects of crowding, we do not know the extent to which shared housing proves to be a benefit or a liability to those families and, especially, the children in them. But we can imagine the difficult, additional compromises that these high-need families would have to make if their CalWORKs grant were to diminish further or become unavailable.

Loss of the CalWORKs grant could affect the ability of relatively large numbers of individuals – the majority of them children – to remain housed or provide for other needs. Depending on the precise type of housing subsidy involved, in case of loss of CalWORKs aid or other income, the subsidy might increase to at least partially offset the loss of income. But where that does not happen, loss of benefits may have devastating effects on housing security. Many study participants already pay more than 30 percent of their income towards housing costs. Without additional assistance from housing subsidies, if their income were to drop and the family continue to live in the same situation, the percent of income devoted to housing costs would climb further.²⁸

Future Research. While the study provides important knowledge about the number and impact of challenges that mothers in child-only CalWORKs families face in obtaining and keeping employment, the effect of the reduced grant on children's well-being remains unknown. The researchers and sponsors of the CalWORKs Child-only Study, the study's Advisory Committee, and several entities providing financial support to the study have identified a need for the next study to focus specifically on child well-being. As well as expanding the survey to include other types of child-only cases not yet studied (immigrant parents, non-parental caregivers, SSI parents) the next study phase should highlight information on the status of children in all child-only cases – including safety net and sanction child-only cases – and particularly address the question of with which sorts of cases community or county agencies ought to be actively involved to promote child well-being and prevent disruption of the family and involvement of

²⁸ A broader perspective must also be considered. Where increased housing assistance shores up a decline in a CalWORKs grants, that assistance become unavailable for others potentially in need of it. The net effect community-wide would be an increase in homelessness or in marginal or dangerous housing situations.

the child welfare system. We anticipate the use of a variety of methods – key informant interviews, focus groups, and parent/caregiver surveys – to accomplish this objective. This information, among other things, will prove useful in guiding county prevention planning and early intervention programs.

Our goal, as we acquire more knowledge about parents, caregivers, and children involved in child-only cases, is to continue working with a range of stakeholders – other researchers, policy-makers, program administrators, advocates, and representatives of philanthropy – to identify where and when CalWORKs services and other resources are available that would support families on an ongoing or emergency basis. Implications for non-child-only CalWORKs cases may also become evident, particularly with respect to strategies to help families with multiple barriers well before they are sanctioned or reach their time limits on aid. As we gather more information, it may be appropriate to organize, implement, and evaluate demonstration projects to show the effects of interventions on child well-being, the necessity for child welfare system engagement, and the promotion of families' ability to survive and thrive beyond poverty.

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APPENDIX

Table A-3. Survey Respondent Characteristics and Potential Barriers, by County

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
1. Demographic and Household Characteristics							
A2	Age (95% CI)	35.9 (31.8-39.9)	32.1 (28.5-35.7)	35.0 (32.4-37.6)	35.1 (32.2-38.0)	38.7 (35.5-41.8)	37.0 (34.4-39.5)
Y1	Race/ethnicity						
	African American	71.4%	32.0%	57.1%	72.0%	7.7%	4.0%
	Asian	19.1%	0	14.3%	4.0%	42.3%	0
	Hispanic	4.8%	40.0%	4.8%	8.0%	34.6%	48.0%
	White	0	20.0%	9.5%	0	11.5%	24.0%
	Other	4.8%	8.0%	14.3%	16.0%	3.9%	24.0%
inca	% of lifetime in CA	85.7%	89.6%	89.7%	84.0%	64.8%	71.8%
nged	Lower than GED	47.6% (26%-70%)	40.0% (21%-61%)	33.3% (15%-57%)	56.0% (35%-76%)	34.6% (17%-56%)	32.0% (15%-54%)
*CHIS 2005	Lower than High school (income <200% of FPL)	31.9%	45.1%	31.9%	31.3%	45.0%	42.3%
*CHIS 2005	Lower than high school (female pop. 18-58 years)	11.2%	9.9%	11.2%	8.7%	12.7%	21.4%
Mari	Marital status						
	Never married	57.1%	76.0%	57.1%	68.0%	46.2%	52.0%
	Married, with	19.1%	0	14.3%	4.0%	30.8%	8.0%
	Married, apart	4.8%	8.0%	9.5%	12.0%	3.9%	16.0%
	Separated	9.5%	0	4.8%	4.0%	0	8.0%
	Divorced/widowed	9.5%	16.0%	14.3%	12.0%	19.2%	16.0%
cohab	Living with spouse/partner	23.8%	12.0%	28.6%	12.0%	30.8%	28.0%
C1	Share income with partner	19.0%	12.0%	14.3%	12.0%	30.8%	24.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
*CHIS 2005	<u>Marital stat. inc<200% FPL</u> Single (never married) Married	32.3% 44.3%	30.9% 46.5%	32.3% 44.3%	45.2% 37.2%	17.8% 45.3%	21.0% 61.1%
	Lives with partner	3.4%	13.6%	3.4%	6.0%	24.2%	8.4%
	Separated/divorced/widowed	20.1%	8.9%	20.1%	11.6%	12.7%	9.5%
	<u>Marital status, gen pop</u> Single (never married) Married	22.8% 57.9%	18.5% 62.9%	22.8% 57.9%	30.0% 49.7%	17.4% 62.1%	18.1% 62.9%
*CHIS 2005	Lives with partner	7.2%	7.4%	7.2%	9.3%	10.1%	7.2%
	Separated/divorced/widowed	12.1%	11.2%	12.1%	11.0%	10.4%	11.8%
	Household size	3.9 (3.3-4.4)	4.7 (3.9-5.5)	4.0 (3.3-4.8)	4.0 (3.2-4.8)	5.0 (4.4-5.6)	4.9 (4.1-5.7)
	Number of other adults	0.7 (0.2-1.1)	1.4 (0.8-2.0)	0.6 (0.3-1.0)	0.5 (0.2-0.8)	1.2 (0.7-1.7)	1.2 (0.7-1.8)
B10							
B11							
B13							
D1a							
B1	Age youngest child	8.6 (6.4-10.8)	5.7 (3.9-7.6)	7.5 (5.0-9.9)	7.3 (5.2-9.4)	6.8 (5.1-8.6)	7.1 (5.0-9.3)
	<u>Urban/Rural</u> Large city	71.4%	32.0%	57.1%	92.0%	88.5%	36.0%
	Small city	23.8%	68.0%	42.9%	4.0%	11.5%	60.0%
	Rural area	4.8%	0	0	4.0%	0	4.0%
B3	Residence Rent or Own	85.7%	56.0%	95.2%	96.0%	69.2%	76.0%
	Other's house/apt.	14.3%	44.0%	4.8%	0	23.1%	24.0%
	Shelter, other	0	0	0	4.0%	7.8%	0
*CHIS 2005	<u>Residence, gen pop</u> Rent	38.6%	39.9%	38.6%	63.1%	39.3%	31.7%
	Own	59.2%	55.5%	59.2%	34.4%	55.3%	64.8%
	Other arrangement	2.3%	4.6%	2.3%	2.4%	5.4%	3.5%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
2. Employment Status and Work Experience							
employed	Employed now (F1 or F9)	33.3%	16.0%	33.3%	28.0%	38.5%	28.0%
F1	Worked last week	19.1%	12.0%	28.6%	20.0%	30.8%	20.0%
F9	Has job, not at work last wk	14.3%	4.0%	4.8%	8.0%	7.7%	8.0%
F5	Usual hours of work / week	31.5 n=4	4.0 n=2	28.7 n=6	23.2 n=5	28.2 n=8	24.6 n=5
F13	Weeks worked last year	34.6 n=10	15.6 n=9	33.5 n=10	20.4 n=11	31.9 n=8	21.2 n=9
F14	Looked for job last 30 days	33.3%	60.0%	57.1%	56.0%	34.6%	44.0%
F16	Could have taken job offer	52.4%	72.0%	61.9%	84.0%	30.8%	56.0%
F14 tab F16	Looked for AND could have taken job offer	33.3%	48.0%	52.4%	52.0%	23.1%	40.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Work status, gen pop</i>						
	<i>Worked last week</i>	58.4%	62.9%	58.4%	69.3%	59.0%	59.3%
	<i>Has a job not worked last wk</i>	3.9%	2.6%	3.9%	3.3%	4.9%	4.5%
	<i>Looking for job</i>	4.2%	3.2%	4.2%	7.6%	3.1%	4.1%
	<i>Not working/ not looking</i>	33.5%	31.4%	33.5%	19.9%	33.0%	32.1%
F18	Worked for 30+hours a week for at least 2 weeks in a row last year	23.8%	20.0%	19.0%	20.0%	3.9%	0
Tab F5 F18	Average hrs work per wk <u>now</u> for those who worked 30+ hours a wk for 2 wks in a row last yr	20 (n=1)	8 (n=1)	20 (n=1)	0	0	0
triago	Last worked 30+ hours more than 3 years ago	42.9%	60.0%	38.1%	32.0%	57.7%	60.0%
F21	Training or school last yr	23.8%	28.0%	14.3%	44.0%	26.9%	12.0%
neither	Neither worked nor in school/training last year	42.9%	48.0%	38.1%	40.0%	46.2%	60.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
3. Household Income and Poverty Status							
cash ⁱ	Cash last month	\$1375	\$860	\$1278	\$703	\$1910	\$1237
J1_3c	CalWORKs for children	\$509 (n=21)	\$488 (N=25)	\$545 (n=21)	\$505 (n=21)	\$665 (n=23)	\$461 (n=22)
J1_2j	Cash by partner	\$415 (n=8)	\$113 (n=11)	\$519 (n=8)	\$30 (n=9)	\$918 (n=11)	\$435 (n=12)
noncash ⁱⁱ	Non-cash last month	\$255	\$235	\$360	\$368	\$367	\$310
K2a	Food Stamps usual month	\$258 (n=20)	\$259 (n=21)	\$373 (n=20)	\$387 (n=23)	\$365 (n=25)	\$344 (n=21)
nonstamp	Non cash other than Food Stamps	\$10 (n=20)	\$15 (n=21)	\$6 (n=20)	\$13 (n=23)	\$16 (n=25)	\$15 (n=21)
sharecal	CalWORKs share of monthly household income	34.8%	55.3%	40.3%	50.6%	32.8%	36.7%
pmincome	Per capita monthly income	mean \$458 (\$350 - \$565) med: \$475	mean \$278 (\$183 - \$372) med: \$260	mean \$421 (\$308 - \$533) med: \$324	mean \$310 (\$234 - \$386) med: \$259	mean \$526 (\$385 - \$668) med: \$467	mean \$335 (\$261 - \$409) med: \$321
mratio	Monthly income as % of county poverty line ⁱⁱⁱ	49.2%	32.2%	47.3%	31.4%	67.8%	58.2%
J19	Still got food stamps when cash welfare stopped	85.7%	72.0%	85.7%	92.0%	84.6%	84.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
4. Material Hardships							
pprppb	Crowding: ppr or ppb	19.1%	36.0%	23.8%	24.0%	34.6%	36.0%
ppr	Housing overcrowded (persons per room >1)	14.3%	24.0%	19.1%	24.0%	30.8%	36.0%
<i>*[HUD] 2007 More than 1 person per room: national rate 2.4% (all population)</i>							
ppb	Housing overcrowded (persons per bedroom >2)	9.5%	28.0%	9.5%	12.0%	23.1%	24.0%
transp2	Transportation as barrier (any of H1, H2, H6, H7)	52.4%	80.0%	52.4%	84.0%	38.5%	60.0%
H1	Has no driver's license	42.9%	60.0%	28.6%	72.0%	26.9%	52.0%
H2	Has no access to a car	42.9%	64.0%	23.8%	88.0%	15.4%	60.0%
H6	Last year quit job due to transportation problems	14.3%	16.0%	9.5%	8.0%	3.9%	8.0%
H7	Last yr not started job due to transportation problem	28.6%	32.0%	33.3%	24.0%	15.4%	20.0%
I9	Last year not got health care, respondent or child	9.5%	28.0%	14.3%	16.0%	15.4%	4.0%
I10	Last year not got medicine, respondent or child	23.8%	12.0%	9.5%	32.0%	11.5%	8.0%
L1 or L5	In shelter or homeless	14.3%	12.0%	9.5%	8.0%	12.0%	4.0%
L1	In shelter last year	9.5%	4.0%	0	8.0%	3.9%	4.0%
L5	Homeless on streets last yr	9.5%	8.0%	9.5%	0	7.7%	4.0%
<i>*National Law Center 2004</i>	<i>Homelessness: national rate: 1% (all population)</i>						

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
L16	Moved out of home 2+ times last yr	9.5%	8.0%	4.8%	0	3.9%	4.0%
instab	Living instability last yr	28.6%	52.0%	19.1%	8.0%	42.3%	40.0%
L10a	Not enough for rent last yr	33.3%	36.0%	28.6%	28.0%	19.2%	20.0%
L10c	Not enough for food last yr	38.1%	44.0%	33.3%	32.0%	19.2%	24.0%
<i>*CHIS 2005</i>	<i>Not enough for food (income <200% FPL)</i>	40.0%	27.7%	40.0%	28.5%	34.7%	41.6%
L10b	Not enough for util last yr	52.4%	52.0%	52.4%	60.0%	30.8%	40.0%
L13	Not engh for basics last yr	47.6%	32.0%	47.6%	36.0%	69.2%	72.0%
L20	Household lost car last yr	28.6%	12.0%	4.8%	4.0%	15.4%	12.0%
tinsec L21 or L22	Emergency food use	47.6%	48.0%	28.6%	48.0%	50.0%	36.0%
L21	Got bags of food last year	47.6%	48.0%	23.8%	48.0%	50.0%	36.0%
<i>* America's Second Harvest (2006)</i>	<i>Got bags of food from church or food banks: national rate: 7.9%</i>						
L22	Used soup kitchen last year	9.5%	20.0%	4.8%	8.0%	3.9%	12.0%
<i>* America's Second Harvest (2006)</i>	<i>Used soup kitchen: national rate: 0.7%</i>						
L23	Adult food insecurity last year	38.1%	36.0%	28.6%	24.0%	19.2%	8.0%
L24	Adult hunger last year	23.8%	24.0%	14.3%	20.0%	7.7%	8.0%
L25	Child food insecurity last year	9.5%	16.0%	14.3%	8.0%	3.9%	8.0%
L26	Child hunger last year	9.5%	0	9.5%	8.0%	3.9%	8.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
5. Child care							
M1	Hrs of c. care for youngest child 0-5 years old	2.9	11.7	13.3	8.9	6.1	2.2
M10	Hrs of c. care for youngest child 6-11 years old	1.6	3.7	8.8	6.8	3.5	5.8
M20	Hrs of c. care for youngest child 12-17 years old	2.6	1.9	2.9	7.9	3.2	0
M21	Hrs self care by youngest child 12-17 years old	7.1	14.9	7.6	9.8	4.1	9.5
M6g	No child care assistance (for children 0-5 years)	33.3%	32.0%	28.6%	32.0%	42.3%	32.0%
M8	Difficult finding child care (0-5 years old)	9.5%	20.0%	19.0%	16.0%	7.7%	12.0%
M18	Difficult finding child care (6-11 years old)	19.0%	20.0%	9.5%	12.0%	3.9%	12.0%
M28	Difficult finding child care (12-17 years old)	19.0%	8.0%	9.5%	0	0	0
undersix	Has child under six	33.3%	52.0%	42.9%	40.0%	46.2%	36.0%
childc (N1)	Finding child care a problem last year	23.8%	36.0%	23.8%	24.0%	15.4%	16.0%
N2a	<u>Reason for child care problem (those who had child care problem)</u> Affordability Location Hours Child's Medical Needs Trust Other reason	60.0%	88.9%	100%	50.0%	75.0%	75.0%
N2b		20.0%	33.3%	20.0%	33.3%	25.0%	50.0%
N2c		20.0%	11.1%	20.0%	33.3%	25.0%	50.0%
N2d		0	11.1%	20.0%	0	0	0
N2e		20.0%	22.2%	40.0%	33.3%	25.0%	0
N2f		20.0%	11.1%	20.0%	16.7%	0	75.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
*CHIS 2005	<u>Reason not finding child care (income < 200% FPL)</u>						
	<i>Affordability</i>	33.0%	-	33.0%	-	27.8%	8.6%
	<i>No provider had space</i>	-	-	-	-	45.3%	-
	<i>Hours and location</i>		-	-	70.3%	-	80.7%
	<i>Couldn't afford quality care</i>	50.2%	-	50.2%	-	-	-
	<i>Couldn't find quality</i>	-	-	16.8%	-	10.8%	-
	<i>Other reason</i>	16.8%	-	16.8%	-	16.2%	10.8%
*CHIS 2005	<u>Reason not finding child care (gen pop)</u>						
	<i>Affordability</i>	22.2%	-	22.2%	24.1%	11.6%	6.3%
	<i>No provider had space</i>	-	-	-	21.2%	23.1%	19.5%
	<i>Hours and location</i>	6.4%	-	6.4%	11.2%	0	58.8%
	<i>Couldn't afford quality care</i>	21.9%	-	21.9%	9.2%	0	7.6%
	<i>Couldn't find quality</i>	8.2%	-	8.2%	20.4%	44.3%	7.9%
	<i>Other reason</i>	38.9%	76.2%	38.9%	13.9%	21.0%	0
N3a N3b tab above N4	<u>Child care causing:</u>						
	Respondent's being late for work/school/training	19.1%	16.0%	9.5%	12.0%	7.7%	8.0%
	Respondent's absence from work/school/training	14.3%	28.0%	14.3%	12.0%	7.7%	0
	Either being late or absent	19.1%	32.0%	14.3%	12.0%	11.5%	8.0%
	Worried about child safety, skipped work, school, training last year	19.0%	24.0%	9.5%	12.0%	19.2%	8.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
6. Respondent Physical Health							
Fairpoor	Fair or poor health	38.1%	28.0%	28.6%	28.0%	30.8%	52.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Fair or poor health (income<200% FPL)</i>	30.3%	14.6%	30.3%	35.7%	25.4%	38.7%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Fair or poor health, gen pop</i>	20.8%	10.1%	20.8%	17.3%	12.2%	20.0%
O1b	Ever had asthma	19.1%	24.0%	23.8%	16.0%	26.9%	48.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Diagnosed asthma, gen pop</i>	12.6%	17.6%	12.6%	10.0%	9.6%	13.9%
O1c	Had high blood pressure	38.1%	20.0%	14.3%	32.0%	11.5%	16.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>High blood press, gen pop</i>	15.3%	15.4%	15.3%	8.7%	13.0%	15.5%
O1d	Ever had diabetes	9.5%	12.0%	0	0	3.9%	8.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Diagnosed diabetes, gen pop</i>	4.0%	1.4%	4.0%	1.8%	4.9%	5.2%
O3 (O4)	Hospital stay last year	19.0%	24.0%	9.5%	20.0%	19.2%	20.0%
Limhlth	Health limits R's work	19.0%	24.0%	19.0%	20.0%	23.1%	16.0%
O7	Limited by physical health	19.0%	12.0%	14.3%	12.0%	15.4%	16.0%
O8	Limited by emotional health	4.8%	20.0%	9.5%	16.0%	11.5%	16.0%
O9	Limited for 12 + months	14.3%	8.0%	14.3%	12.0%	19.2%	12.0%
*CHIS 2005	<i>Inability to work due to phys/mental hlth, gen pop</i>	22.9%	20.8%	22.9%	26.8%	19.3%	30.9%
bphys	Physical health barrier	38.1%	28.0%	28.6%	32.0%	38.5%	52.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
7. Respondent Cognitive and Mental Health							
	<u>Cognitive skills problems</u>						
R1	Memorization	0	16.0%	9.5%	12.0%	19.2%	16.0%
R2	Calculation	4.8%	8.0%	9.5%	4.0%	15.4%	24.0%
R3	Filing forms	28.6%	12.0%	14.3%	8.0%	30.8%	12.0%
R4	Spelling	14.3%	28.0%	28.6%	20.0%	23.1%	32.0%
ldb	Learning Disability barrier	9.5%	28.0%	19.1%	20.0%	15.4%	24.0%
R5	Needed extra help or training in school	0	28.0%	14.3%	16.0%	3.9%	24.0%
R6	Diagnosed learning disability	9.5%	12.0%	9.5%	8.0%	15.4%	8.0%
*NIMH 2007	National ADHD rate: 3-5% of children						
	<u>Cognitive problems or LD affects respondent's job</u>						
R7a	No impact	23.8%	24.0%	28.6%	8.0%	26.9%	12.0%
R7b	Harder to get/keep job	19.0%	12.0%	19.0%	8.0%	23.1%	24.0%
R7c	Hard to get/keep a good job	14.3%	12.0%	23.8%	8.0%	7.7%	24.0%
R7d	Other impact	4.8%	4.0%	0	4.0%	0	12.0%
depression	Depression (DSM-IV)	4.8%	28.0%	0	20.0%	11.5%	36.0%
S17	Interfered with life / work	9.5%	28.0%	0	8.0%	15.4%	36.0%
anxiety	Generalized anxiety disorder (DSM-IV)	3.8%	16.0%	0	4.0%	7.7%	16.0%
T25	Interfered with school, work or child care or home	4.8%	24.0%	9.5%	12.0%	15.4%	28.0%
U1	Had stressful event	4.8%	24.0%	9.5%	12.0%	19.2%	24.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
U3	Interfered with life or work or child care A lot Some A little	0 4.8% 0	20.0% 4.0% 0	0 9.5% 0	8.0% 4.0% 0	7.7% 11.5% 0	16.0% 4.0% 4.0%
bmental	Mental health barrier	9.5%	36.0%	9.5%	28.0%	26.9%	44.0%
*CHIS 2005	Psychological distress (income <200% FPL)	6.2%	8.2%	6.2%	11.1%	6.7%	12.5%
*CHIS 2005	Psychological distress (gen population)	4.9%	3.6%	4.9%	6.0%	3.5%	5.9%
8. Alcohol and Drug Use							
drank	Drank in typical wk last yr	52.4%	44.0%	52.4%	56.0%	26.9%	52.0%
V2	<u>Largest #drinks single day</u>						
	None	47.6%	48.0%	42.9%	44.0%	69.2%	40.0%
	1-3 drinks	47.6%	28.0%	38.1%	44.0%	15.4%	44.0%
	4-10 drinks	4.8%	24.0%	19.1%	8.0%	7.7%	12.0%
	11-20 drinks	0	0	0	4.0%	3.9%	4.0%
*CHIS 2005	Binge drinking last month, gen pop	12.0%	13.0%	12.0%	18.1%	9.0%	14.3%
alcinter	Alcohol abuse	0	4.0%	4.8%	0	3.9%	4%
alcddep	Alcohol dependence	0	4.0%	0	0	3.9%	4%
druguse	Drug use last year	23.8%	48.0%	14.3%	20.0%	15.4%	20.0%
*DHHS (2006)	Used any drug last year, national rate: 10.7%						
drugabuse	Drug abuse	4.8%	8.0%	4.8%	16.0%	7.7%	8.0%
drugdep	Drug dependence	4.8%	12.0%	0	8.0%	3.9%	4.0%
bsubs	Alcohol or drug problem	4.8%	12.0%	4.8%	16.0%	11.5%	12.0%

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
9. Domestic Violence							
W2	Experienced physical violence last year	19.0%	16.0%	9.5%	8.0%	7.7%	12.0%
W6	Experienced sexual violence last year	0	0	0	8.0%	0	4.0%
bvio	Domestic violence	19.1%	16.0%	9.5%	8.0%	7.7%	12.0%
W11	Called police for threats by intimate partner last year	28.6%	12.0%	4.8%	20.0%	19.2%	12.0%
10. Partner Control							
contr (F31)	Discouraged or not helped or harassed by partner regarding work	19.1%	8.0%	0	8.0%	0	8.0%
W8	Intimate partner made going to work, training or school difficult or harassed while there last year	23.8%	0	0	12.0%	0	4.0%
W10	Intimate partner caused respondent to lose job, drop out of school/training last year	19.1%	0	0	12.0%	0	0
control ^{iv}	Partner control	23.8%	8.0%	0	12.0%	0	8.0%
*CHIS 2005	Control in CA, gen pop: 5.5%						

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
11. Children's Health							
	<u>Usual place medical care</u>						
P1a	Doctor/nurse	61.9%	68.0%	76.2%	68.0%	88.5%	72.0%
P1b	Hospital/ER	38.1%	32.0%	23.8%	24.0%	3.9%	20.0%
P1c	Clinic	9.5%	0	4.8%	8.0%	7.7%	8.0%
P1d	Other place	0	0	0	0	0	4.0%
childhlth (P2)	Child(ren) with limiting health condition	28.6%	28.0%	33.3%	12.0%	11.5%	24.0%
P4	Age of child who needs most care	9.7 (med. 8.5) (n=6)	9.0 (med. 11) (n=7)	11.6 (med. 13) (n=7)	9.0 (med. 8) (n=3)	9.3 (med. 11.5) (n=3)	10.9 (med. 10) (n=6)
	<u>Child's conditions (among those who need most help)</u>						
P5a	Asthma	19.0%	20.0%	33.3%	8.0%	11.5%	8.0%
P5b	Allergies	4.8%	12.0%	19.0%	0	3.9%	4.0%
P5c	Attention deficit	4.8%	4.0%	0	0	3.9%	16.0%
P5d	Autism	0	4.0%	0	0	0	0
P5e	Behavioral	14.3%	16.0%	0	4.0%	7.7%	12.0%
P5f	Developmental delay	4.8%	16.0%	0	4.0%	0	4.0%
P5g	Loss of sight/hearing	0	0	4.8%	0	3.9%	0
P5h	Cerebral palsy or paralysis	0	0	0	0	3.9%	0
P5i	Respiratory	4.8%	8.0%	4.8%	4.0%	3.9%	8.0%
P5j	Other chronic	14.3%	12.0%	9.5%	4.0%	3.9%	8.0%
chhlth	Number of health condtns	2.3	3.3	2.1	2.0	3.7	2.5
	<u>Child's health affects respondent work</u>						
P9a	Can't work	9.5%	0	9.5%	0	0	0
P9b	Hours reduced	9.5%	8.0%	14.3%	4.0%	3.9%	12.0%
P9e	Either P9a or P9b	14.3%	8.0%	19.0%	4.0%	3.9%	12.0%
	Other	9.5%	8.0%	0	0	0	0

Variable		Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description	Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
12. Need for and Receipt of Services							
X1a	Physical health	19.0%	8.0%	9.5%	16.0%	11.5%	24.0%
X3a	Got help	19.0%	8.0%	0	4.0%	7.7%	16.0%
X1b	Mental health	19.1%	16.0%	9.5%	24.0%	11.5%	16.0%
X3b	Got help	14.3%	12.0%	4.8%	12.0%	7.7%	12.0%
X1c	Support group	14.3%	20.0%	0	16.0%	15.4%	28.0%
X3c	Got help	9.5%	12.0%	0	8.0%	7.7%	16.0%
X1d	Child care	33.3%	24.0%	4.8%	20.0%	30.8%	24.0%
X3d	Got help	4.8%	8.0%	0	8.0%	3.9%	4.0%
X1e	Alcohol/drug	0	16.0%	4.8%	16.0%	3.9%	12.0%
X3e	Got help	0	12.0%	4.8%	12.0%	3.9%	4.0%
X1f	Domestic viol.	9.5%	4.0%	9.5%	4.0%	11.5%	8.0%
X3f	Got help	4.8%	4.0%	0	0	7.7%	8.0%
X1g	Utility bills	42.9%	36.0%	42.9%	36.0%	15.4%	36.0%
X3g	Got help	33.3%	16.0%	14.3%	20.0%	3.9%	20.0%
X1h	Find housing	9.5%	40.0%	14.3%	12.0%	19.2%	12.0%
X3h	Got help	0	12.0%	9.5%	8.0%	3.9%	4.0%
X1i	Attorney	19.1%	8.0%	14.3%	16.0%	3.9%	8.0%
X3i	Got help	4.8%	4.0%	4.8%	4.0%	3.9%	4.0%
X1j	Work clothing	23.8%	16.0%	9.5%	24.0%	11.5%	8.0%
X3j	Got help	9.5%	8.0%	0	4.0%	0	4.0%
X1k	Other	4.8%	12.0%	14.3%	20.0%	7.7%	8.0%
X3k	Got help	4.8%	4.0%	0	0	3.9%	4.0%
X4	Other support	47.6%	56.0%	76.2%	44.0%	38.5%	44.0%
needs	Number of services needed	3.2 (n=16)	3.2 (n=20)	2.4 (n=18)	3.3 (n=18)	2.9 (n=16)	3.0 (n=19)

Variable		Overall (n=143)	Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description		Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
13. Barriers to Employment (with 95% confidence interval)								
inged	Lower than GED	40.6 % (32 - 48%)	47.6% (24-71%)	40.0% (19-61%)	33.3% (11-55%)	56.0% (35-77%)	34.6% (15-54%)	32.0% (12-52%)
triage	Lack recent full-time work experience	49.0 % (41 - 57%)	42.9% (20-66%)	60.0% (39-81%)	38.1% (15-61%)	32.0% (12-52%)	57.7% (37-78%)	60.0% (39-81%)
transp	Transportation	61.5 % (53 - 70%)	52.4% (29-76%)	80.0% (63-97%)	52.4% (29-76%)	84.0% (69-99%)	38.5% (18-59%)	60.0% (39-81%)
instab	Residential or living instability	32.2 % (24 - 40%)	28.6% (8-50%)	52.0% (31-73%)	19.1% (1-37%)	8.0% (-3 -19%)	42.3% (22-63%)	40.0% (19-61%)
tinsec	Relies on emergency food	43.4 % (35 - 52%)	47.6% (24-71%)	48.0% (27-69%)	28.6% (8-50%)	48.0% (27-69%)	50.0% (29-71%)	36.0% (16-56%)
undersix	Has child under six	42.0 % (34 - 50%)	33.3% (11-55%)	52.0% (31-73%)	42.9% (20-66%)	40.0% (19-61%)	46.2% (26-67%)	36.0% (16-56%)
childe	Child care problem	31.7 % (23 - 41%)	23.8% (8-69%)	36.0% (20-65%)	23.8% (6-57%)	24.0% (9-55%)	15.4% (1-46%)	16.0% (1-43%)

Variable		Overall (n=143)	Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description		Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
bphys	Physical health	36.4 % (28 - 44%)	38.1% (15-61%)	28.0% (9-47%)	28.6% (8-50%)	32.0% (12-52%)	38.5% (18-59%)	52.0% (31-73%)
ldb	Learning disability	19.6 % (13 - 26%)	9.5% (-4 -23%)	28.0% (9-47%)	19.1% (1-37%)	20.0% (3-37%)	15.4% (1-30%)	24.0% (6-42%)
bmmental	Mental health	26.6 % (19 - 34%)	9.5% (-4 -23%)	36.0% (16-56%)	9.5% (-4 -23%)	28.0% (9-47%)	26.9% (9-45%)	44.0% (23-65%)
bsubs	Alcohol or drug problem	10.5 % (5 - 16%)	4.8% (-5 -15%)	12.0% (-2 -26%)	4.8% (-5 -15%)	16.0% (1-31)	11.5% (-2 -25%)	12.0% (-2 -26%)
bvio	Domestic violence	11.9 % (7 - 17%)	19.1% (1-37%)	16.0% (0-31%)	9.5% (-4 -23%)	8.0% (-3 -19%)	7.7% (-3 -19%)	12.0% (-2 -26%)
control	Partner control	8.4 % (4 - 13%)	23.8% (4-44%)	8.0% (-3 -19%)	0 (0-0)	12.0% (-2 -26)	0 (0-0)	8.0% (-3 -19%)
childhlth	Child with limiting health condition	22.4 % (15 - 29%)	28.6% (8-50%)	28.0% (9-47%)	33.3% (11-55%)	12.0% (-2 -26%)	11.5% (-2 -25%)	24.0% (6-42%)

Variable		Overall (n=143)	Sanction		Safety Net			
Name	Description		Alameda (n=21)	San Mateo (n=25)	Alameda (n=21)	San Fran. (n=25)	Santa Clara (n=26)	Stanislaus (n=25)
14. Barrier Count (with 95% confidence interval)								
cb	Count of barriers	4.3 (3.9 - 4.6)	4.1 (3.0-5.2)	5.2 (4.4-6.1)	3.4 (2.5-4.3)	4.2 (3.4-5.0)	4.0 (2.9-5.0)	4.6 (3.8-5.3)
cb & triago	If last worked 30+ hours/week 3+ years ago (n=70)	4.9 (4.4 - 5.4)	4.2 (2.5-6.0)	5.9 (4.7-7.1)	4.0 (2.5-5.5)	5.6 (4.1-7.2)	4.4 (3.0-5.8)	5.0 (4.1-5.9)
cb & triago	If last worked 30+ hours/week in past 3 years (n=73)	3.6 (3.2 - 4.1)	4.0 (2.4-5.8)	4.2 (3.2-5.2)	3.1 (1.8-4.3)	3.5 (2.6-4.5)	3.4 (1.7-5.1)	3.9 (2.7-5.1)
cb & F13	If did not work last year (n=83)	4.6 (4.1 - 5.1)	4.5 (2.6-6.3)	5.8 (4.5-7.0)	4.3 (2.9-5.7)	4.2 (2.9-5.5)	4.1 (2.8-5.3)	4.8 (3.8-5.7)
cb & F13	If worked last year (n=57)	3.8 (3.3 - 4.3)	3.7 (2.3-5.1)	4.3 (3.4-5.3)	2.6 (1.2-4.0)	4.1 (2.7-5.5)	4.1 (1.7-6.5)	4.2 (3.0-5.4)
cb & employed	If currently unemployed (n=101)	4.6 (4.2 - 5.0)	4.2 (2.8-5.6)	5.5 (4.6-6.5)	4.0 (2.9-5.1)	4.4 (3.3-5.4)	4.3 (3.0-5.5)	4.7 (3.9-5.6)
cb & employed	If currently employed (n=42)	3.5 (2.9 - 4.2)	3.9 (1.8-6.0)	3.8 (1.7-5.8)	2.3 (0.5-4.0)	3.7 (2.0-5.5)	3.5 (1.4-5.6)	4.1 (2.5-5.8)

NOTES

- ⁱ Cash: the following items for the respondent, her partner, and children: take-home money from jobs, income from a business or self-employment, CalWORKs grant, payments for child support, a pension, SSI or SSDI, social security payments, rent payments to the household, disability pay, unemployment compensation, foster care funds, and any other money income received by respondent or others in the household with whom she shares money.
- ⁱⁱ Non-cash: Food Stamps, Women, Infants and Children Nutrition Program (WIC), free or reduced price school lunches, free or reduced price school breakfasts, transportation vouchers.
- ⁱⁱⁱ County poverty line expressed as percent of basic family budget (California Budget Project) controls for family size and composition as well as county standard of living (2006 statistics)

*Comparison of prevalence rates.

America's Second Harvest. (2006). Hunger Study 2006.

CHIS (California Health Interview Survey) 2005 survey unless otherwise noted. Population restricted to 18-58 year-old group of females unless otherwise noted. Mean age of CHIS respondents tends to be older than mean age of our survey respondents (+1 year for San Francisco and Stanislaus counties, +3 years for Alameda County sanctioned parents, +4 years for Alameda county safety-net cases, and +8 years for San Mateo County). Mean age for CHIS respondents is 2 years younger than for Santa Clara County survey respondents.

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