

# Local Commitment to JOBS

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis makes an argument for the importance of a high level of commitment from local departments of social services, area businesses, and community organizations to the implementation of the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program. It contends that such a commitment is a necessary pre-condition for JOBS to ever be successful. It then examines the level of commitment these actors have to JOBS in Roanoke, Virginia in order to explore the process by which local commitment to JOBS is created. A case study was conducted to determine what mechanisms, if any, are currently in place to support such a commitment.

Of even greater significance, this analysis suggests the importance of changing our method of evaluating social welfare policy. We need to move beyond analyzing the actions of participants and the impact a program has on participants to illuminating the **entire process** by which social welfare policy operates if we are to fully understand its impacts.

Upon examining the legislative history of the Family Support Act of 1988 (JOBS is the centerpiece of this act) I found no substantial discussion of the importance of encouraging local commitment to JOBS. This suggests that sustaining local commitment was not considered a high priority by federal policy makers. An examination of the actual level

of commitment from a local department of social services, area businesses, and community organizations suggests there is a great deal of work yet to be done in establishing an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform.

Based on the results of this research, I concluded that community commitment to JOBS can best be established by increasing commitment from all three levels of government. I also developed a hypothesis. **Higher levels of commitment from within a locality will be associated with more "successful" JOBS programs.** Although the newness of JOBS precludes the immediate testing of this hypothesis, future research can be conducted to determine if we find higher levels of commitment in areas with more successful JOB programs.

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# 1

## Introduction

Can an integrated, community-based approach to welfare break the "cycle of poverty" that traps millions of Americans? Although the reduction of welfare dependency and the promotion of self-sufficiency are the ultimate goals of all welfare-to-work programs, America will never witness a significant decline in the number of individuals on the welfare rolls until we look beyond the actions of welfare clients and start considering poverty in the context of a local community. The actions and characteristics of welfare clients spin only one strand in the complex web of welfare dependency. The rest of the web is created by the support systems and employment opportunities that exist in the recipients' community.

In 1988, Congress passed its latest attempt at welfare reform--The Family Support Act (FSA). The centerpiece of FSA is the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Training Program, which its sponsors viewed as the vehicle for increasing poor families' self-sufficiency. As we anxiously wait to see whether JOBS will go beyond the successes of previous welfare-to-work programs, Gueron and Pauly (1991) argue that a central research question for the 1990s is: What are the most effective ways to design and target welfare-to-work programs?

This thesis attempts to address this question by focusing

on the implementation of JOBS at the local level. The major premise of this project is that an effective way to implement welfare-to-work programs is *to seek and obtain a positive commitment from key actors within each locality*. Commitment from these key actors is seen as a necessary pre-condition for the success of JOBS or any other welfare-to-work program.

We can anticipate that different levels and types of commitment from key actors will enhance or inhibit some of JOBS's impacts on participants. Participants in the program can benefit only from what their local department of social services has to offer. If the local department of social services does not have a positive commitment from within the agency as well as from the business community and community organizations, its offerings of educational and training activities will be considerably reduced. The manner in which JOBS is implemented at the local level and the commitment it receives from other important actors serve as a critical pre-condition in determining the impact of JOBS on a given set of clients. Thus, a logical expectation is that the presence of a strong commitment from the local department of social services, community organizations, and the business community can only influence the local implementation of JOBS in a positive manner, and is a pre-condition to its success in reducing poverty. The key question for this project therefore becomes: *By what processes might co-commitment be achieved at the local level?*

The main contribution of this research is to develop and apply a conceptual framework for understanding how employment-oriented welfare programs operate to involve the larger community. This can be done through illuminating the process by which JOBS is implemented. To be successful, combining work and welfare must be a goal of many key actors within any locality, including, but not limited to, the local department of social services, area businesses and community organizations. Any fair examination cannot overlook the important roles these actors play in the implementation of the JOBS program.

The traditional responsibility of the local community to aid those of its members who are in need of assistance has become undermined by the tendency to impose solutions constructed in Washington. In bypassing the community, federal welfare ignores local resources that could help support individuals and families as they escape dependency. (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1988, p. 41)

In attempting this analysis, it is important to give attention to legislative intent as set forth by federal policy makers. This will help establish what, if any, role localities were expected to play in implementing the JOBS program. Congress may have set up structures to encourage development of commitment from parties at the local level. This would indicate Congress recognized the importance of sustaining such a commitment within localities. If it did not, the lack of attention to this issue in the design of JOBS becomes part of the explanation for any failure of commitment that is found at the local level.

This study will establish the importance of giving attention to the locality when evaluating social welfare policy. This is being done in an attempt to bring attention to an often overlooked variable in social welfare policy--actors within the community (in contrast to any single actor). Once this is done, future analysts can determine if, in fact, commitment from local actors is a critical factor in the varying rates of success a social welfare program such as JOBS experiences in similar areas.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Charles F. Manski's (1990) model of social welfare programs provides the theoretical framework for this analysis. Manski criticizes previous evaluations of federal social welfare programs for failing to recognize "process as part of the treatment." He states:

A federal social welfare program is not a complete set of procedures whose implementation can be monitored and controlled perfectly. In reality, a federal "mandate" to the states only establishes a set of rules and incentives to influence the behavior of states. The lesson is that, from the perspective of federal policymaking, a program is not defined solely by its treatment of participants; it is defined as well by its treatment of state governments, local agencies, and service providers. Hence process is part of treatment. (Manski, 1990, p. 3)

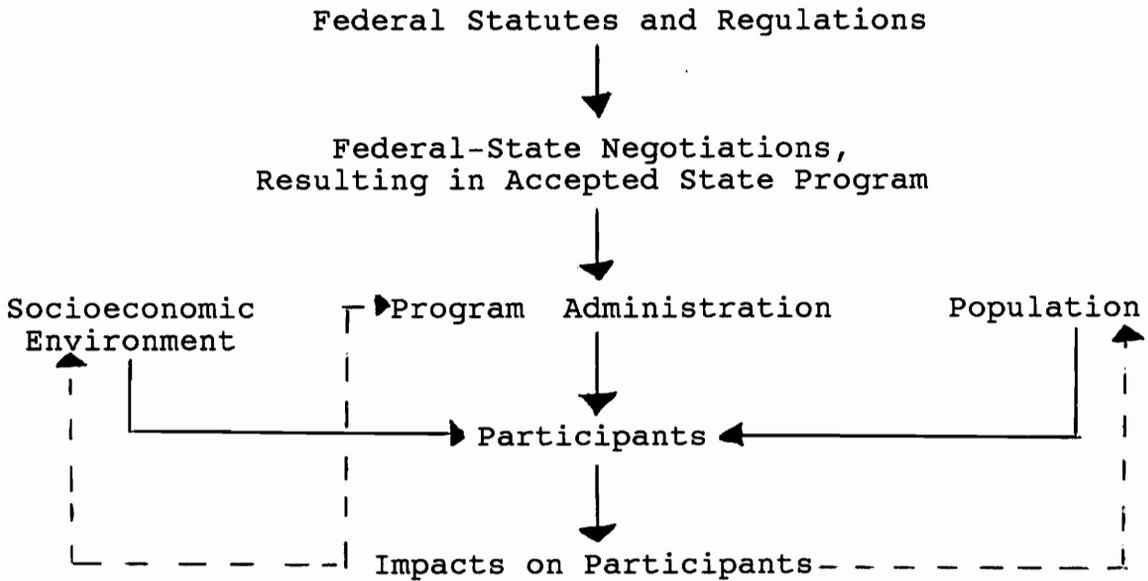
In principle, an analysis of a federal social welfare program should seek to illuminate the entire set of processes depicted in Figure 1. Of all the processes shown in Figure 1, the only ones regularly subjected to analysis are the actions of

participants<sup>1</sup> and the direct impact of a program on participants (Manski, 1990, p. 3). Such analysis tells us nothing about the specific mechanisms by which a program produces its impacts. It fails to introduce us to the impact of relevant outside factors on outcomes. For example, it does not examine the important roles that departments of social services, area businesses and community organizations play (or fail to play) in this process. By neglecting this dimension, researchers are guilty of providing conclusions based on a partial analysis and may, thereby, miss the influence these actors can have on the varying degrees of success a JOBS program is likely to experience.

By using a more fully developed version of Manski's model, as shown in Figure 2, more attention can be given to program administration, a section of the model virtually neglected in prior research. Although Manski does not include legislative history in his model, it is an important element in establishing Congressional intent. This can aid in more fully defining the "Federal Statutes and Regulations" element of the model. Establishing what, if any, role was assigned to the local agency, community organizations, and area businesses in producing the intended outcomes will help in understanding the importance Congress placed on obtaining such a commitment. Manski contends that program administration may itself be a

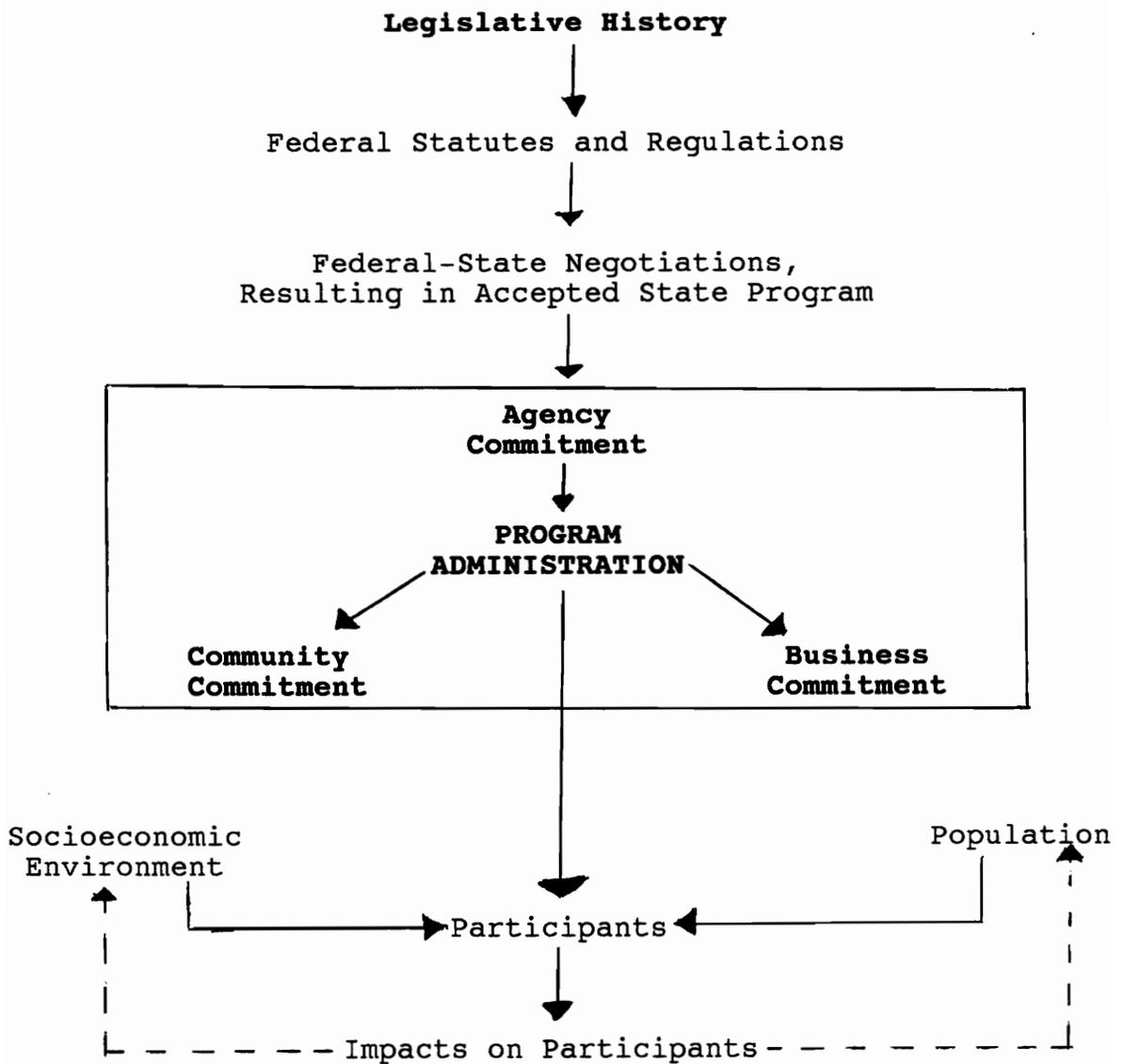
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<sup>1</sup> Participants refers to those AFDC clients who participate in a particular social welfare program, in this case JOBS. These participants include those who are mandated to participate (or face benefit sanctions) as well as those who volunteer to participate.



**Figure 1: Manski's Model of a Federal Social Welfare Program<sup>2</sup>**  
 This figure outlines a typical federal social welfare program.

<sup>2</sup> Charles F. Manski, "Where we are in the evaluation of federal welfare programs." FOCUS, Fall 1990, p. 2.



**Figure 2: Elaboration of Manski's Model**

This model allows for more detailed analysis of the program administration element.

multi-tiered process involving state, county, and local agencies as well as service providers (Manski, 1990, p. 3). Although Manski omits this part of the process for the sake of simplicity, it is this part that is expanded in Figure 2 and examined in the thesis.

This focus allows us to observe the JOBS program in a "street-level" context by encouraging examination of other factors that are likely to be important pre-conditions to the success or failure of the overall program. By further developing the program administration section of Manski's model, the potential effects of program administration on actual outcomes and the dynamics through which JOBS has its impact can be explored.

While Manski's model allows for feedback (represented by the dotted lines in Figure 1), the newness of the JOBS program makes examination of such feedback mechanisms essentially impossible. States were required to establish their JOBS programs by October 1990 and make them operational statewide by October 1992 (GAO, September 1992, p. 18). Manski's model also allows for an analysis of participants and impact on participants. Once again, the newness of the policy prevents this sort of analysis.

### **The Role of Localities**

Implementation plays a key role in its success or failure of any policy. The assertion of this thesis is that local

commitment is an important part of JOBS implementation. Implementation of domestic policies and programs is powerfully affected by the federal context in which programs are set (Anton, 1989, p. 61). Intergovernmental coordination has become a standard feature of program implementation in the 20th century, and the federal government relies on state and local governments to use federal funds to implement federal programs (Ripley and Franklin, 1986, p. 61).

Although intergovernmental coordination has been important in social welfare policy since its inception, the onset of the Reagan years shifted many of the decisions about social welfare policy from the federal level to the state level (Joe and Rogers, 1985, p. 33). During the 1980s several factors influenced the provision for state flexibility in implementing JOBS. First, in response to new flexibility in federal rules, and despite shrinking federal funding, states demonstrated that they could design and implement programs that reflected their priorities and resources. (See, for example, Friedlander, 1987; Friedlander and Goldman, 1988; Goldman, Friedlander, Gueron and Long, 1985.) Second, studies of a number of state programs gave convincing evidence that a variety of approaches in a range of conditions could both benefit welfare recipients and produce budget savings that exceeded the initial investment. (See, for example, Hamilton and Friedlander, 1989; Martinson and Riccio, 1989; O'Neill, 1990.)

The strides states made in designing effective welfare-to-

work programs in the 1980s opened the door to less federal regulation in the implementation of JOBS. Although flexibility in implementation often results in more creative programs and solutions, the issue of unequal services from state to state or jurisdiction to jurisdiction within states is also a major concern. Social welfare policy is a redistributive policy that benefits low-income groups in the community. If a community redistributes local resources to an especially needy segment of society, it will, other things being equal, attract members of that segment and become a "welfare magnet" (Peterson, Rabe, & Wong, 1986, p. 16). Locally administered redistributive policies thus pose a danger of conscious underfunding or exclusionary management designed to shift the welfare burden to other jurisdictions.

Currently, the FSA has some built-in protection against this becoming a significant problem. In order to receive federal funds, all states must adhere to the participation requirements and serve targeted populations. Of course, exceptionally attractive programs could conceivably serve as "welfare magnets."

Ripley and Franklin contend that a criterion for successful policy implementation is that *it leads to desired performance in and impacts from whatever program is being analyzed* (1986, p. 233). In this case the goals of JOBS (to reduce welfare dependency and promote self-sufficiency) cannot logically be met without a positive commitment from relevant

actors within the community. This raises the question of whether or not, when designing JOBS, federal legislators encouraged a commitment from actors in each community to the JOBS program (Chapter 3 analyzes the expectations policymakers had of JOBS at the federal, state and local levels.) Without organizational arrangements that facilitates the development of commitment and a clear mandate in the law, local agencies will vary enormously in the degree of commitment they have to JOBS or any program.

The extensive recent research on welfare caseload dynamics (Bane and Ellwood, 1983; Ellwood, 1986) provides a critical background for understanding past studies and determining the most effective ways to design and target welfare-to-work programs. Past research and experience have consistently identified several key contextual factors that influence the length of welfare dependency (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 61).

They are as follows:

- 1) Labor Market Conditions and Area Characteristics
- 2) Characteristics of the AFDC Program
- 3) Existing Community and Employment and Training Services
- 4) Existing Community Support Services
- 5) Characteristics of the AFDC Population

Clearly, factors 1 through 4 are heavily influenced by the commitment a program receives from relevant local actors. Labor market conditions and area characteristics take into account not only labor demand as a whole but labor demand for previous welfare recipients who may not have worked for a considerable amount of time or who have other handicaps when seeking

employment. Once long-term AFDC recipients receive the education and training they need to compete in the work force, are local businesses willing to hire them? Implementation of the AFDC program is affected by the commitment it receives from the local agency. If the local department of social services is not committed to JOBS, then obviously it will be less likely to seek and obtain a commitment from community organizations and area businesses.

In addition, using existing community employment and training services as well as support services is also an important pre-condition for the success of any welfare-to-work program.

Within any given JOBS budget, more AFDC recipients can be served and more intensive activities provided in communities where there are many other independently funded education and training services and well-developed interagency coordination.

(Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 65)

If the local agency is to be able to tap these resources effectively, the various community organizations must be at least minimally committed to making JOBS work.

The importance of the local department of social services, the business community and community organizations is alluded to in almost any welfare reform proposal. The crucial difference between such welfare reform proposals is *the degree of emphasis* that is placed on the various factors. For example, when the National Coalition of Women, Work and Welfare Reform submitted its proposal for dealing with women and children in poverty, the proposal consisted of four major

elements: 1) income maintenance; 2) education, employment and training; 3) support services, and 4) child support enforcement (National Coalition on Women, Work and Welfare Reform, 1986). In realizing the goals of education, employment and training, there was a recognition that the local agency, businesses, and community organizations would play an essential role.

[There should be] flexibility for states to develop comprehensive strategies which are responsive to the economic realities of their locales, with incentives to involve employers, community based organizations, and educational institutions in a cooperative and coordinated way. (National Coalition on Women, Work and Welfare Reform, 1986, p. 214)

In establishing this cooperative effort, the coalition recommended that some federal funds be used to purchase support services required by participants and that state agencies look to the community for such services.

The state agency should also be required to utilize existing education, employment, and training programs so that welfare recipients are served by the same programs as nonrecipients. Educational institutions, JTPA [Job Training Partnership Act] agencies, community based organizations, vocation/technical schools, employment service, and other existing delivery systems are the appropriate vehicles for delivering these services. Eligible recipients of the funds would include consortia of such agencies. (National Coalition on Women, Work and Welfare Reform, 1986, p. 216.)

In comparison, in an article written by the National Governors' Association which addressed preventing dependency on welfare by aggressively providing opportunities for work, there is only one sentence that speaks to a possible commitment from the business community. "The system must be designed carefully, so that there are no disincentives for employers to

provide wages above the minimum or to reduce or eliminate health care coverage" (Coughlin, 1989, p. 206).

As previously mentioned, the major premise of this project is that an effective way to design and target welfare-to-work programs (specifically JOBS) is to establish an integrated community-based program that involves a positive commitment from key actors within each locality. The key actors studied in this thesis are the local department of social services, community organizations, and area businesses. Commitment from the agency is of the utmost importance. If case workers within the local department of social services do not assign the JOBS program a high priority, one cannot realistically expect potential participants, organizations within the community, or area businesses to be aware of how the JOBS program works or what it has to offer.

In Virginia, the new provisions of JOBS were incorporated into the state's already established statewide welfare-to-work initiative called the Employment Services Program (ESP). An important feature of the JOBS program is the attention given to special "target groups" in the welfare population. This requires more intensive case management services by local departments of social services ("Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia," October, 1991, p. 5). Detailed assessments must be done on each client prior to entry into the JOBS program. Moreover, the agencies must shift from their previous focus on immediate employment (under ESP) to a greater emphasis on

education and training which is required under JOBS ("JOBS Program Evaluation: Year One," October 1991, p. 11). If, for example, the local department of social services has not allowed some sort of accommodation for this increase in work responsibilities, its commitment to the JOBS program would seem suspect.

Commitment from other community organizations is also an important factor in the future success of JOBS. Local departments of social services interact with a variety of agencies depending on the resources of their areas for education and training services ("Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia," October 1991, p. 5). The effectiveness of this interaction is an important factor in the overall success of JOBS. If other agencies within the community are not willing to support the JOBS program, then the quality and quantity of education and training services that can be offered to the participants will be decreased. Commitment of other community resources ultimately allows for more diverse, and therefore effective, training and education programs.

Commitment from businesses is a crucial element to JOBS or arguably, any other welfare-to-work program. Despite commitment from the agency or community organization, if area businesses are not willing to participate in on-the-job training programs or recognize JOBS participants as qualified for employment, then the participant's journey to self-sufficiency will come to a brutal halt. This goal simply

cannot be achieved without positive involvement from the business community and thus, the primary purpose of the JOBS program will never be fulfilled.

Based on the results of this thesis, the commitment to JOBS from the local agency, area businesses, and community organizations needs to be substantially improved in at least one locality. If generalizable to other communities, this suggests there exists an untapped resource that could prove to be a vital factor in the transition from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency.

### **Background of U.S. Welfare Policy**

In order to fully understand the importance of local implementation, a quick overview of U.S. welfare policy is warranted.

Contemporary U.S. social welfare policy can be traced to the beginning of the seventeenth century in Elizabethan England. In the colonies as in England, the primary sources of welfare aid for the destitute were families, friends and churches. Later, local and state governments intervened as a last resort. However, the twentieth century brought an increased number of social welfare problems for Americans. The magnitude of these problems caused the federal government to enact its own welfare legislation during the New Deal era of the 1930s. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) (subsequently replaced by Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]) was

enacted as part of the Social Security Act of 1935 to provide for the needs of poor children in single-parent households. The program was expected to be small, and its goal was to provide poor widows with the opportunity to stay at home and care for their children in accordance with the prevailing societal norms about women's roles. (Joe and Rogers, 1985, p. 19-20.)

With the Great Society programs of the 1960s, the federal government's role in social welfare continued to grow (DiNitto and Dye, 1987, p. 22). The main achievements of this period were to expand employment, reduce poverty, and improve opportunities for nonwhites. During this time, the Johnson Administration recognized that many low-income people might not benefit economically from more equal rights or employment opportunities. Their skills were too limited to compete in the job market, even if the economy were booming. The new programming was supposed to compensate for those deficiencies. The main employment programs were the training and jobs services provided under the Manpower Demonstration and Training Act (MDTA, 1962-72). Funding for the compensatory programs was substantial. Federal spending for education grew from \$4 billion to \$16.6 billion between 1965 and 1975. In employment, spending jumped from only \$450 million in 1964 to \$11.2 billion in 1978 (Leviatan and Taggart, 1976, p. 121-23).

During the 1970s and early 1980s America witnessed a "welfare explosion." As a result of mass protest, litigation,

and new services--all focusing on welfare rights--welfare agencies found themselves confronted with an unprecedented volume of applications and unprecedented pressures to approve the granting of benefits. AFDC grew to become the nation's largest welfare program. With increasing numbers of the poor receiving welfare, public support for those programs declined. "Exceptional stories of welfare recipients driving luxury cars and using Food Stamps to purchase filet mignon and of women bearing children solely to obtain added Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits [had] been gullibly accepted by the public as the norm" (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 12).

During the 1980s the Reagan administration tapped these antiwelfare feelings to support its 1981 welfare program cuts, which, it argued, would root out fraud, waste and abuse, and target assistance more effectively. To save federal dollars and wean the working poor from dependency, the Administration chose to change AFDC eligibility and benefits in highly technical ways. But these changes were more than budget cuts. They represented a fundamental shift in the philosophy behind the nation's primary welfare program. Concerned with growing costs and disillusioned with the perceived failure of many welfare programs, President Reagan's administration attempted to limit the federal government's role in social welfare and to increase reliance on state governments and the private sector in providing welfare services (DiNitto and Dye, 1987, p. 22).

## **The Distinctiveness of JOBS**

America's 25-year debate over the most feasible way to reduce welfare dependency and promote self-sufficiency reflects widespread dissatisfaction with the design of the nation's public assistance system and its ability to solve problems of poverty and welfare dependency. In addressing these concerns, recent federal reform efforts--culminating in the 1988 Family Support Act--have reflected increasing support for a different view of governmental and individual responsibilities. The key elements are that parents should be the primary supporters of their children and that government should provide incentives and assistance to welfare recipients to find employment (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 53).

\* JOBS replaces the Title IV-C Work Incentive Program (WIN) passed in 1967 with a newly expanded and consolidated welfare-to-work program. JOBS goes substantially beyond WIN in its emphasis on education, in extending a participation mandate to women with no children under age 3 (age 1 at state option), in instituting a school requirement for young custodial parents, in setting minimum participation standards, and in emphasizing service to potential long-term welfare recipients (GAO, September 1991, p. 12). In general, JOBS creates the expectation that more AFDC recipients will be served and a concentrated effort will be made to move long-term welfare dependents into the work force.

Since 1971, state WIN programs have explicitly required

adults in single-parent AFDC households without preschool-age children or specific problems that keep them at home to register and participate in a welfare-to-work program or risk reduction or termination of benefits. After WIN's initial years, its emphasis shifted to direct job placement. JOBS returns the emphasis to education and training.

~~X~~ JOBS is distinct from WIN in the recipients that are required to participate. WIN required AFDC recipients with children aged 6 and over to participate. JOBS requires AFDC recipients with children aged 3 or over and teen parents with children of any age are required to participate (GAO, September 1991, p. 12). This provision reflects a characteristic of the new "policy environment" under which JOBS operates (see Chapter 3) -- an environment that includes society's increased expectations that mothers join the work force.

In general, JOBS involves specific requirements that were not a part of previous welfare-to-work initiatives. The Family Support Act of 1988 mandates that the following major requirements be established by all states and localities.

1) Individuals Required to Participate Generally, AFDC recipients aged 16-59 with children aged 3 or over; teen parents with children of any age; nonparent teens aged 16-18 and not in school are all required to participate in JOBS.

2) Required Participation Levels For federal fiscal years 1990-91, 7 percent of those required to participate must average 20 hours in job preparation activities (education,

training, job search, etc.) a week, this rises to 11 percent in 1992-93, 15 percent in 1994, and 20 percent in 1995.

3) Required Job Preparation Activities These activities must include assessment of employability, development of an employability plan, education (high school, basic and remedial, English proficiency), jobs skills training, job readiness and job development and placement plus at least 2 optional activities selected from the following: job search, work experience, on-the-job training, or work supplementation. Additional activities may include postsecondary education and other approved activities.

4) Targeting requirements At least 55 percent of JOBS funds must be spent on the following: 1) AFDC recipients or applicants who have received AFDC for any 36 months out of the past 5 years; 2) AFDC parents under the age of 24 who (a) have not completed high school and are not enrolled in high school (or the equivalent), or (b) had little or no work experience in the preceding year. 3) Members of AFDC families in which the youngest child will be old enough to make the family ineligible for aid in two years.

Although recent research confirms that most people use welfare for only short-term support, it also identifies a substantial minority who remain poor and receive assistance for very long periods of time (Bane and Ellwood, 1983; Ellwood, 1986). The current debate has focused on these families because of both the high cost of supporting them and the

assumed negative effects of long-term welfare dependency on these parents and their children.

JOBS attempts to address long-term welfare dependency in an innovative manner. A state will incur a financial penalty that reduces its share of federal funding if it fails to serve a certain proportion of individuals in 1992 and spend at least 55 percent of its total JOBS funds each year on targeted groups identified as long-term or potential long-term AFDC recipients (GAO, September 1991, p. 13).

The differences in the JOBS program from those of WIN reflect a new policy environment which differs significantly from the policy environment of the 1970s and 1980s. This new context is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

### **Organization of Thesis**

The remaining chapters more fully establish the framework for this research and detail the overall findings. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research design and the justification for selecting Roanoke, VA to be used as the case study. Chapter 3 analyzes JOBS at the federal, state, and local levels by examining relevant legislative history, state programs, the role of local program administrators and how administrative practices might affect commitment levels. Chapter 4-6 examine the actual commitment of the Roanoke Department of Social Services, community organizations and area businesses to JOBS. The concluding chapter contains a summary

of major findings and how these findings support or refute original expectations. Suggestions for future research are also offered in the conclusion.

## 2 Methods

In any empirical study the validity of the interpretations depends upon the legitimacy of the research procedures. This chapter outlines the procedures used here and the rationale for developing various measures.

### **Type of Analysis**

This research is most appropriately seen as a process analysis. The execution and implementation of a program was a vital consideration when determining what "causes" change. Without analyzing the process by which a program is carried out, we cannot tell which aspect of the program had any effect which may be observed. This can help explain why some programs have the desired effects in some cases or localities while not in others.

We know that implementation is a critical juncture between the best-laid plans of program developers and the "gang aft agley" of operation. The . . . pressures that beset the local program and the responses necessary for survival and support all alter and reshape the original concept. (Weiss, 1972, p. 96-97)

Without a process analysis, there is a danger of ascribing causal influence to structural aspects of a program that may not have those effects. This can result in incomplete (and even invalid) conclusions:

The common recognition is that organizations pursue other functions besides the achievement of official goals. They have to acquire resources, coordinate subunits, and adapt to the environment. These preoccupations get

entangled with, and set limits to, attainment of program goals. An evaluation that ignores them is likely to result in artificial and perhaps misleading conclusions. (Weiss, 1972, p. 29)

In this case the implementation of JOBS is thought to decrease welfare dependency and promote self-sufficiency. In the process by which JOBS affects dependency and self-sufficiency commitment from a set of key actors acts as an intervening variable. Intervening variables involve a notion, however inexplicit, that certain intermediary actions or conditions will bring about the desired outcomes. The reason for giving systematic attention to these intermediate factors is the expectation that they will affect outcomes (Weiss, 1972, p. 50). This thesis contends if adequate levels of commitment from actors within a locality are not present, the likelihood of positive outcomes (reduced welfare dependency) is lessened, and it seeks to illuminate the ways in which the commitment is generated.

### **Justification of Case Study Approach**

This study examines the role of commitment from three local actors (department of social services, area businesses, and community organizations) to the JOBS program through a detailed investigation of one city. The case study approach enhances the external validity of research since it allows a researcher to draw conclusions based on observation of a "real-world" environment. In order to establish whether or not there is evidence of commitment to the JOBS program in the three

groups, an in-depth understanding of the relationships each has to the JOBS program must be developed. A case study allows the recognition of patterns that might be overlooked when using other methods. A case study approach is also appropriate where the subject under study is so new that too little theory exists to provide a basis for precise predictions, and that is clearly the case with JOBS.

Focusing on a specific community will also provide an opportunity for exploratory research. Relationships that exist between implementation practices and program operation can be discovered. If methods that did not allow such close observation were used, one might draw incorrect conclusions. Thus, a case study has the potential for providing a more sophisticated empirical and theoretical understanding of the subject, especially in the early stages of the program's development.

### **Limitations of Study**

Despite its strengths, there are several limitations to this approach. Although case studies allow the researcher to acquire an in-depth understanding of various processes and to conduct a study based on "real-life" behaviors, conclusions drawn from case studies are almost always regarded as suggestive rather than definitive. This is due to problems of generalizability, reliability and non-experimental designs.

Compared to other forms of research (i.e. laboratory experiments, aggregate surveys) field research has less

reliability because the researcher is always linked to his/her project and to some extent brings his/her personal views and opinions into the study. However, all field research confronts this limitation. (Babbie, 1989, p. 286). In order to guard against this, I examined relevant literature and conducted extensive interviews to aid in such important tasks as creating indicators and in analyzing results.

Limited generalizability results from the constraints of observing only one locality.

The single project is the prisoner of its setting. The evaluations is confined to observing effects in one time and place, with a particular staff and target group in a specific agency, under the conditions of the moment. It is often hard to know how far the observed results can be generalized to other situations (Weiss, 1972, p. 77).

In attempting to protect against this, I chose the site of the study with care (see the next section for details on city selection). As a result of the selection process, there is no reason to expect my case to be unique. Therefore, it is reasonable to make generalizations from this case.

This study was based on a non-experimental design. Non-experimental designs do not provide a strong basis for causal inference, but can be full of detail and imagery which is rich in insight. If the data are collected with care, they often offer more information than would have been available without any study at all (Weiss, 1972, p. 73). Once again, a major purpose of this project is to gather information relevant to the importance of studying the entire process of the

implementation of JOBS and not just focusing on the participants and their actions. The main objective of this research is not to test a certain theory, but to develop analytic concepts that can be applied in later research. A case study is therefore, quite appropriate for this purpose (Babbie, 1989, p. 286).

Limitations of this project also include having to conduct research under the conditions set by the Roanoke Department of Social Services. Although its cooperation was essential to this research, there were limits imposed upon the researcher which, as previously mentioned, did not allow the observation of the entire process illuminated in Figure 2. No interaction with JOBS participants was allowed, thus eliminating an important element in the policy process.

Another limitation is the newness of the JOBS program. Because JOBS was implemented so recently, I was not able to associate commitment from localities with "successful" or "unsuccessful" programs. A study comparing the degree of commitment in localities with successful programs and communities with unsuccessful programs would test the actual impact of commitment on JOBS. I hope to be able to conduct this type of study once JOBS has been in place longer.

### **Selection of Roanoke City**

To aid in case selection, the "Satisfactory Participation Report" issued quarterly by the Commonwealth of Virginia was

used to provide essential background information on the number of participants involved in JOBS. Reports for calendar year 1991 were used to assist in the selection of a locality.

The selection of the locality was primarily guided by the following criteria: I sought a locality that 1) had a large number of expected participants, 2) is serving a significant number of clients and 3) had implemented JOBS. These criteria enable this research to focus on an area which has a potentially large number of JOBS participants. If a department of social services has a potentially large number of clients, some plans or initial action should be in place to accommodate these clients. They also facilitate examination of an area that is currently serving several JOBS clients. Due to the newness of the program, the percentage of participants in JOBS varies greatly from state to state and locality to locality. Finally, these criteria allow examination of a locality that is at least "up and running" with JOBS. Otherwise, the involvement of the locality with JOBS is too scant to warrant study.

Table 1 below gives the total number of participants in the JOBS program and the total number of eligible participants for the last three months of 1991 for all localities in the Piedmont Region that serve over 100 clients. The percent (%) column equals column A divided by column P which yields the percentage of total eligible participants currently enrolled in JOBS. As the "P" column indicates, Roanoke City has the

largest number of potential participants in the JOBS program. Over 500 clients have been deemed eligible for the JOBS program. As the "A" column indicates, Roanoke City also has the largest number of actual participants in the JOBS program. Over 175 clients are currently participating in the JOBS program each month. In addition, of the five largest

**Table 1: Actual (A) and potential (P) JOBS participants of selected localities in Piedmont Virginia.**

Locality	October '91			November '91			December '91		
	A	P	%	A	P	%	A	P	%
Campbell	3	120	2.5	14	134	10.4	12	157	7.6
Danville	77	204	37.7	69	224	30.8	40	250	16.0
Halifax	35	107	32.7	35	111	31.5	27	126	21.4
Lynchburg	46	374	12.3	45	406	11.1	38	440	8.6
Roanoke City	186	514	36.2	190	524	36.3	176	521	33.8

Source: Employment Services Program Satisfactory Participation Report as of December 1991 for Region 4--Piedmont; Commonwealth of Virginia Department of Social Services.

localities listed, Roanoke City has the highest overall participation percentages. This indicates that in comparison to other localities in the Piedmont region, the JOBS program appears to be implemented to a greater extent in Roanoke City.

It is also important to select a community that is typical

of other localities in the nation. Roanoke City (the area served by the Roanoke City Department of Social Services) has a population of 96,397.<sup>3</sup> The Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) has a population of 224,477.<sup>4</sup> Many major employers and community employment organizations are located in the MSA which includes the cities of Roanoke and Salem, the town of Vinton and the counties of Roanoke, Botetourt, and Craig.

Historically Roanoke's economic base has been dominated by the railroad industry. Presently, however, Roanoke's economic base is much more diverse. Major employers (in addition to the railroad) include a strong representation in tele-communication centers, health care, mail-order centers and retail stores.<sup>5</sup>

Since Roanoke City is neither a rural area or a large city, it should function as a "typical" locality in that a mid-sized community is less likely to reflect the extremes of either a rural area or a large city. This is an asset with regard to the generalizability of this study.

### **Conceptualization and Operationalization of Commitment**

For purposes of this research the "level of commitment" refers to **the degree to which an actor has invested in making the JOBS program successful.** Commitment means accepting

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<sup>3</sup> Information provided by the Roanoke Chamber of Commerce, May, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> This information was provided by the Roanoke Valley Economic Development Partnership, May 1992.

responsibility in the implementation of JOBS and making appropriate changes in organizational structure or procedures to fill that role. Commitment will be treated conceptually as an ordinal variable ranging from low to high. Level of commitment refers to the extent of involvement an actor has with the JOBS program and whether this involvement is of a proactive or reactive nature.

Because each of these three actors is unique, the commitment of each must be measured with a distinct set of indicators. These indicators are the result of a variety of research and sources. First, I examined relevant literature and the indicators used in other case studies. After becoming better acquainted with the literature and the intentions of JOBS, I conducted extensive personal and telephone interviews with the following organizations and individuals who are extensively involved in social welfare policy: Institute for Research on Poverty; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (Division of Human Service Legislation and the Division of Family and Youth Services Bureau); American Public Welfare Association; Council of State Governments; Local Employment Services Supervisor (Roanoke); Local Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) Specialist (Roanoke); and the Virginia Employment Services Supervisor (Richmond). As a direct result of the information obtained from these sources, I devised indicators and surveys instruments. The following indicators were devised to evaluate commitment from each actor.

### Indicators of Commitment from Local Social Services

- 1) Establishing state-mandated guidelines in implementing JOBS
- 2) Attempting to establish a relationship with relevant community and business resources (e.g. JTPA)
- 3) Promoting education and training as opposed to immediate job placement
- 4) Restructuring the local department of social services to accommodate the increased work associated with JOBS
- 5) Making expenditures on JOBS

### Indicators of Commitment from Community Organizations

- 1) Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program
- 2) Responding positively to requests from the local department of social services
- 3) Contacting the local department of social services in order to inquire about becoming involved in the JOBS program
- 4) Assigning personnel or parts of personnel time to JOBS-related work
- 5) Making expenditures on JOBS

### Indicators of Commitment from Businesses

- 1) Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program
- 2) Being aware of and having positive involvement with the local JTPA office
- 3) Notifying the local JTPA office of available entry-level positions
- 4) Being aware of and having positive involvement with the PIC
- 5) Hiring individuals who qualify for TJTC

Although each of these indicators are addressed in more detail in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively, each indicator provides an observation through which to determine if a basic commitment has been made and if so, to what extent. Although the term "commitment" is being used in a very specific way in this research, the term is commonly used in social welfare literature and in Congressional documents to reflect the level

of interaction or involvement one entity has with another and the nature of this involvement. (See, for example, work by William Julius Wilson, 1990; Phoebe H. Cottingham, 1991; and David T. Ellwood, 1986, 1988, 1991.) The use of the term here is consistent with its use in this literature.

### **Primary Data Collection**

Some programs hinge upon an entire network of actors. In this case, the assertion is that commitment from various community actors is an important pre-condition to the success of JOBS. The local department of social services, area businesses and community organizations need to have a well-integrated network that is committed to the successful implementation of jobs. "In studies of this nature, inventive measures must be devised. Data can come from interviews, observations, budgets, analysis of documents, sample surveys, etc." (Weiss, 1972. p. 42). Using this guideline, data for this study were collected through the following three primary methods.

#### **Agency Interviews**

All seven employment services workers of the Roanoke City Department of Social Services (RDSS) were interviewed in an attempt to establish the type and level of commitment the local agency had to the JOBS program. Since these individuals actually interact with the clients and see their records, interviews with them were considered essential.

The employment service workers in Roanoke City each manage AFDC and food stamp cases. Although they generally have more food stamp cases, all workers reported the food stamp cases are much less time consuming than the AFDC cases. Most reported time allocation was about 50-50,<sup>6</sup> with others reporting they spent slightly more time spent on JOBS. All acknowledged that, in general, JOBS cases took more time to manage than food stamp cases mainly because JOBS clients are eligible for more services. In addition case workers reported that they each currently manage about 140-150 food stamp cases and about 120-130 JOBS cases.

Six of the seven case workers reported that administrative paperwork consumed most of the time spent on JOBS. The remaining case worker acknowledged a great deal of administrative responsibilities but did not feel that paperwork demanded as much time.

The employment service workers each have the same job title but have varying degrees of experience (from 6 months to 14 years) in social service work, and different personalities and attitudes toward social welfare policy in general. They all, however, do handle about the same number of cases and their job responsibilities are the same.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 4 case workers reported a 50-50 time distribution; 1 reported a 60-40 time distribution; 1 reported a 55-45 time distribution and 1 reported a 75-25 time distribution. In cases of uneven time distributions, each reported more time went into managing JOBS than food stamps.

<sup>7</sup> Studies have suggested differences in case workers, their experiences and attitudes may affect the implementation of a program and the success of the clients they serve. (Gueron and Pauly, 1991) While this is an important consideration, this thesis analyzes the commitment of the agency as a whole and not the commitment of individual case workers.

All interviews were conducted individually, and lasted about 30 minutes each. All interviews were tape recorded (after securing permission from the interviewee) and later transcribed verbatim. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format. Appendix A contains the set of open ended questions that served as a foundation for the interview, but follow-up questions were asked when appropriate.

### Community Organization Interviews

The Roanoke MSA has over a hundred community organizations that offer a variety of social services. There are food and nutritional services, family planning services, support groups, and cultural and recreational services to name a few. Many service organizations are multi-purpose and are thus cross-listed in the yellow pages of the telephone directory. There were eight organizations listed as providing employment and training services. These eight organizations seemed most appropriate to include in this study since the purpose of the JOBS program is to provide education and training opportunities for its clients. It is likely that these organizations would be among the first community organizations JOBS administrators would contact to determine what services could be provided through existing institutions.

All eight organizations were contacted and seven were selected to participate in this project.<sup>8</sup> The Director or

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<sup>8</sup> One community organization only provides services to those over 60 years of age. They were not selected to participate in this project because participation in the JOBS program is targeted only to those individuals between the ages of 16 and 59.

Assistant Director of each organization was interviewed by telephone. A copy of the interview questionnaire appears in Appendix C. Follow-up questions were asked as appropriate. These interviews were about 15 minutes in length. Extensive notes were taken on the responses. All organizations were assured of confidentiality.

Although all seven of the remaining organizations reported serving clients who are also receiving or eligible to receive AFDC, each organization's major purpose and the percentage of its clients who are also AFDC clients were taken into consideration when measuring its commitment to JOBS. Thus, the organizations were placed into one of two groups: 1) organizations reporting that at least 25% of their clients were AFDC recipients and 2) those that reported fewer than 25% of their clients were AFDC recipients. (Roanoke's Employment Services Supervisor and the JTPA Specialist suggested use of these percentages as criteria for grouping.)

#### Survey of Area Businesses

In order to examine commitment from area businesses, questionnaires were sent to the personnel office of all the major employers of the Roanoke Valley. The purpose of the survey was to explore the commitment major employers have with the JOBS program by investigating their involvement with JTPA, PIC and the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC).

Seventy-six businesses were selected on the basis of information provided by the Roanoke Regional Chamber of

Commerce. These businesses currently employ at least 200 people each for a total of 50,558 persons. Approximately 60% (46) of these businesses returned the survey.

The surveys were coded with an identification number, in order to know which employers required a "second request", but each employer was assured of confidentiality. The survey was mailed out to all businesses at the same time. After allowing two weeks for return, a second request was mailed to those businesses that had not yet responded. Each business was provided with a stamped return envelope. Appendix B contains a copy of the survey instrument.

### **Success**

The term "success" in policy research is most often used to speak of how well goals were met by a particular policy or program (Ripley and Franklin, 1986, p. 87). It is not the purpose of this research to evaluate the JOBS program as successful or unsuccessful in attaining its ultimate goal of ending poverty for its clients. Clearly, the program is too new to reasonably undertake such a task. However, at this point in the policy's implementation, "successful" programs can be defined as those that have training and education programs that lead to a high percentage of participants securing full-time employment and no longer being dependent on the welfare system. From this perspective there are three actors whose commitment is necessary for a JOBS program to be "successful"

at the local level.

Of course, the ultimate goal of the JOBS program is to reduce welfare dependency and secure long-term self-sufficiency, but satisfying above criteria might be regarded as "milestones" along the way to ultimate success. Accordingly, after JOBS is fully implemented, successful programs will be measured by the degree to which the above conditions are met. The level of commitment from actors within the localities of successful programs can then be studied to determine if there is a correlation between degree of program success and level of commitment from actors within the community.

### **Legislative Intent**

In this research legislative intent will be inferred primarily from legislators' statements regarding the role of the locality, specifically the role of the agency, community organizations, and the business community. This will be determined by reviewing the legislative history and reviewing statements from congressional hearings and other committee reports that address the expected role of these three actors.

The significance of establishing legislative intent is to determine the importance members of Congress attached to community involvement and commitment to JOBS. The Congress could have set up structures to encourage the development of commitment from actors at the local level if it had understood that to be important. Reviewing legislative intent will

uncover what, if any, features of the FSA promoted local actors' involvement and commitment to JOBS. If there was a lack of attention to community involvement in the design of JOBS then this could become part of the explanation for any failure of commitment I find at the local level.

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## **JOBS at the Federal, State and Local Level**

On October 13, 1988 President Reagan signed the Family Support Act of 1988 into law (HR 1720--PL 100-485). Congress officially cleared the measure September 30 when the House approved the conference report (House Report 100-998) by a vote of 347-53. The Senate overwhelmingly gave its assent the previous day, by a 96-1 vote. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 349)

In the signing ceremony, President Reagan paid homage to the bipartisan group that steered the bill on its rocky course to enactment, including Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) and William L. Armstrong (R-Colorado); Representatives Thomas J. Downey (D-New York) and Hank Brown (R-Colorado); and Governors Bill Clinton (D-Arkansas) and Michael N. Castle (R-Delaware). Said Reagan, "They and the members of the administration, who worked so diligently on this bill, will be remembered for accomplishing what many have attempted but no one has achieved in several decades, a meaningful redirection of our welfare system." (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 349)

This first purpose of this chapter is to explore the policy environment of the late 1980s of which JOBS is a by-product. This is important in order to allow the reader to understand how the Family Support Act of 1988 was a response to the concerns and questions of the day. This also will address the major areas of agreement among researchers as to what is known about what makes social welfare policy successful, in

general. This section concludes by establishing **why** the argument for encouraging positive commitment from various actors within the locality is an important concern of any realistic attempt to reduce welfare dependency.

The second purpose of this chapter is to establish what roles federal legislators intended localities to play in the implementation of JOBS. Whereas many acknowledge (even if implicitly) the necessity of commitment from the local social welfare agency, business community, and community organizations as pre-conditions for program success, researchers have not yet examined the role of such a commitment in the implementation of the Family Support Act of 1988. This is relevant in establishing federal legislators' perception of the importance of local commitment and involvement in making JOBS a success. If federal policymakers did not recognize the importance of sustaining such a commitment, then this could become part of the explanation of any failure of commitment that is found at the local level.

### **Policy Environment**

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the overall policy environment in which the Family Support Act of 1988 was passed differs substantially from the policy environment of the 1970s and early 1980s. The law puts federal muscle behind trends that have been taking shape for a number of years.

First, public opinion polls suggest that attitudes toward

the poor and welfare programs became more sympathetic as the 1980s progressed. This shift can be seen in public responses to questions concerning desirable ways to cut the federal budget deficit; while a majority of the population was willing to cut poverty programs to reduce the deficit in the early 1980s, few Americans advocated reduced spending for the poor in the late 1980s (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 12). This more sympathetic attitude is evident in the mere passage of FSA.

In 1987 and 1988, the pace of activity picked up and the public debate took on a renewed sense of optimism and purpose. The deadlock that had long stalled legislation in Congress broke sufficiently to enable passage of the Family Support Act of 1988, which made significant changes in the AFDC program. (Coughlin, 1989, p. 1)

A second important difference in the policy environment is that welfare supports a less adequate life style today than was the case in the early 1970s. The benefits and coverage of the existing welfare system have eroded both because states have failed to raise benefits to keep pace with inflation and because the federal government tightened welfare eligibility conditions in 1981 (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 14). Addressing long-term and/or intergenerational dependency has become a major concern. Although recent research confirms that most people use welfare for only short-term support, it also identifies a substantial minority who remain poor and receive assistance for very long periods of time (Bane and Ellwood, 1983; Ellwood, 1986). This group of recipients received

disproportionate attention from the Reagan administration and has since been a source of concern for the American public which encouraged politicians to address the issue (Joe and Rogers, 1980, p. 36).

This issue is addressed in the FSA in that the law stipulates that federal matching funds will be reduced unless states spend at least 55 percent of the funds on certain "target groups" including families who have received assistance for any 36 months during the preceding five years (FOCUS, 1988-89, p. 17).

The first two changes in the policy environment from the 1970s to the late 1980s send a clear message: Those who are on welfare are deserving of federal attention and support should be discouraged from long-term dependency. Living on welfare should become as unattractive as possible.

A third way in which the environment of the welfare reform debate has changed over the past decade relates to the continuing fracturing of the structure of the American family. Divorce, separation, female-headed families, and out-of-wedlock births are not as unusual or as stigmatized as they were in the past. These changes have altered the social attitudes and values that are relevant to the debate over child-support, establishing of paternity, and benefits for two-parent families (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989).

Although these behaviors are not as stigmatized by society, there is a growing consensus, among society and

Congress alike, that both parents, regardless of marital status, should assume responsibility for their children. Under this climate, it is not the responsibility of the government to provide for children of AFDC clients. Instead, mechanisms were enacted to promote the shifting of this responsibility to the parents. Several features of the Family Support Act of 1988 are designed to increase the number of cases in which paternity is established and/or child support is enforced. Starting with fiscal year 1992, states will be penalized if they fail to establish paternity in a given proportion of cases of children born out of wedlock and receiving AFDC services (FOCUS, 1988-89, p. 16). As part of FSA, beginning in November 1990, states were required to provide for immediate wage withholding of child support orders for all cases handled by the Office of Child Support Enforcement (FOCUS, 1988-89, p. 16).

A fourth difference in policy environment between the present and the past relates to society's expectations concerning the participation of mothers with young children in the labor force. In 1960 most women with young children did not work outside the home, and they were not expected to. Therefore, a benefit program that permitted women with no income to stay home and care for their children was relatively uncontroversial because it conformed to the behavior pattern of the majority. By the 1980s this was no longer the case (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 17). "Middle-class working mothers (and their spouses and relatives) are less impressed

than they once were with the argument that single mothers must be excused from work in order to care for their children" (Burtless, 1989, p. 164).

Most recently, a consensus has developed that, in exchange for guaranteed minimum income benefits, able-bodied assistance recipients have a moral responsibility to do something in their own behalf.

The consensus on the desirability of work and training requirements in welfare is new. If the same kind of work or training obligation [found in the Family Support Act of 1988] had been suggested as recently as five years ago, many advocates of public assistance programs would have been outraged. (Burtless, 1989, p. 164)

The JOBS program of the FSA clearly reflects the expectation that AFDC recipients will participate in training or educational activities or face a sanction in benefits.

A fifth difference between the contemporary policy environment and that of the past is that the analytical basis for policy decisions is much sounder now, thanks to a spate of recent research. This work, much of it based on several longitudinal data bases, has provided a new understanding of the dynamics of poverty and welfare. For example, policy makers now know a good deal about the relative importance of the various events that are associated with the initiation and termination of periods of poverty, more about how long various types of people are likely to remain poor or welfare dependent, and more about the intergenerational transmission of dependency (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 18).

Studies conducted in the mid 1980s provided a strong basis for promoting welfare-to-work programs and the passage of JOBS. These studies found welfare-to-work programs can indeed produce positive results. For example, evaluations of the old CETA program consistently showed that occupational training and work experience programs were more effective in raising the employment and earnings of welfare recipients when compared to programs that did not have a welfare-to-work component. (Barnow, 1987). Findings from the evaluations of such welfare-to-work programs as the California Greater Avenue for Independence Program (GAIN), the New Jersey Realizing Economic Achievement Program (REACH), Florida Project Independence, the Pennsylvania Saturation Work Program (PSWP), and Ohio Transitions to Independence provide grounds for optimism. They show that these programs were generally successful in getting more people to work and in assuring that a greater share of their total income came from their own earnings rather than from public transfers (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 140).

A final way in which the policy environment is different today than it was in the past is the locus of policy innovation. In theory, welfare policy has always been the joint responsibility of the federal and state governments. However, for the period extending from the mid-1950s through 1980, the federal government was the unquestioned source of policy change. This pattern changed in 1981 when the federal government began to withdraw from welfare policy. First, the

Reagan administration cut back welfare programs through the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (OBRA). Then, through its New Federalism initiatives, the Administration unsuccessfully attempted to shift the entire responsibility for AFDC and Food Stamps onto the states in exchange for picking up a greater share of Medicaid (Joe and Rogers, 1985, p. 21).

As the federal welfare budget was scaled back and the Department of Health and Human Services ceased to be a source of policy change, the locus of innovation shifted to state capitals. This development was facilitated by the Administration's belief that the states should be given greater latitude to experiment (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989. p. 18).

Local commitment may be best facilitated by allowing local departments of social services some flexibility in sustaining such a commitment. In evaluating increased state experimentation, Cottingham and Ellwood (1991, p. 32-33) conclude four arguments have been used to support the case for increased state experimentation. These arguments may also be applied to localities. First, state experimentation is one way to learn about policies that might be more effective than current ones. A second argument invokes the great diversity that characterizes the nation. States differ drastically in terms of labor conditions, major sources of employment, and political culture. Considering all these differences, it may not make much sense to impose the same programmatic design everywhere. The most effective and appropriate approaches may

be those that adapt at least partially to the conditions prevalent in different regions of the country.

Federalism is the third argument used to buttress the case for greater state flexibility. If the United States is a true federal republic, states should have the authority to design the programs that they operate, especially when they are required to pay a large portion of the programs' cost from their own tax revenues (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 32-33). The experience of the last few years is the fourth argument for greater state flexibility. When the Reagan administration withdrew the federal government from its traditional role of initiator of innovation and change in welfare policy, states were forced to develop their own major reforms in welfare policy. All this ferment and activity suggests that the states now have the creativity, capacity, and will to be given greater freedom to set their own welfare policies.

In response, Congressional action in the early 1980s gave states new flexibility in assisting and requiring welfare recipients to work. Under the Work Incentive Program (WIN) Demonstration provisions, states could mandate Community Work Experience Programs (CWEP) where people could work in exchange for their welfare benefits ("workfare").

Despite simultaneous sharp funding cutbacks, these changes increased state ownership, prompting a number of states and localities to implement innovative programs breathing new life into a scaled-down WIN program. (Gureon and Pauly, 1991, p. 54)

Thus, flexibility, decentralization and reduced federal funding transformed WIN by the late 1980s from the relatively uniform federal program of the 1970s to state initiative of varied cost, coverage, design and goals and set the stage for the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988.

Clearly the policy environment of the 1980s influenced the FSA. This environment leaves a critical question to be researched in the of the 1990s: Why are some welfare-to-work programs more successful than others?

Gueron and Pauly (1991) conducted studies of several state and local pre-JOBS welfare-to-work programs (most of which were established under WIN.) Although they evaluated different programs across various domains (e.g. cost effectiveness, mandatory vs. voluntary participation, impacts of different groups across caseloads), they did not specifically compare the degree of success based on variation in support from relevant actors within each locality.

**Instead, they recognize community support as a factor that influences the strength of any welfare-to-work program.**

Within any given WIN or JOBS budget, more AFDC recipients can be served and more intensive activities provided in communities where there are many other independently funded education and training services and well-developed interagency coordination. (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 65)

In other words, regardless of the program, a positive commitment from various actors within the community (e.g., the department of social service, area businesses, and community organizations) can only strengthen any welfare-to-work program.

Therefore, strengthening commitment from various actors within a locality is a worthy investment that carries little or no risk. The mentioning of WIN or JOBS in the above statement indicates the recognition of the importance of community support is not a new discovery. Given this, it seems reasonable that such a commitment would have been forcefully promoted in committee and subcommittee hearings, floor debates and in the language of the Family Support Act.

### **The Issue of Federalism**

In addressing the second objective of this chapter the final difference in the previously mentioned policy environment is of great importance. How does the legislative history of the FSA support or refute the notion that states and localities will have more involvement and latitude in the implementation of welfare policy? Researchers agree that the FSA was passed under a new policy environment that emphasized state and local latitude in implementation, but to what extent does the legislative history substantiate this claim?

To effectively address this issue, we must look at the hearings before Congressional subcommittees, since this issue received very little attention in the floor debates. During the hearings before the Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy of the Senate Finance Committee, which took place on January 23, 1987, this entire issue of federalism (in regard to social welfare policy) was discussed at length by two key

legislators: Senator Daniel J. Evans (R-Washington) and Representative Harold E. Ford (D-Tennessee).

Senator Evans was an advocate of welfare responsibility from all three levels of government, with state and local governments assuming increased responsibility.

To fund these increased Federal commitments, most local community development, infrastructure and many personal social service programs would be terminated at the Federal level. State and local governments could replace Federal spending for programs that are more cost-effective and responsive to local priorities. (Senate Hearing 100-335, p. 55).

Clearly Senator Evans advocated the increased involvement of states and localities.

I am thoroughly convinced that if we eliminated from many of these Federal/local programs the need for Federal management, Federal auditing, Federal inspection--all of the Federal interference, if you will--that guides those programs that in itself would provide a fiscal bonus and would allow a lot higher percentage of the money that is designated for these programs to flow to the ultimate beneficiaries, rather than get stuck here in Washington, D.C. . . .I think this legislation would ensure that the focus remains on the needs of those local communities and particularly the cities of those States. (Senate Hearing 100-335, p. 51)

In contrast, Representative Harold Ford, advocated a stronger commitment by the federal government.

The financing of the program must recognize that the Federal Government reaps more of the savings when a family leaves welfare than do State and local governments. Consequently, the Federal Government should be prepared to bear a greater share of the cost of the program. . .It will take time and a sustained commitment. We must be prepared to make the commitment and not waiver from it. . . (Senate Hearing 100-335, p. 63-64).

If these two members of Congress accurately represented

the view of their respective political party, the Family Support Act of 1988 takes a Republican approach to federalism. Within the framework of the federal provisions, states have flexibility to design various aspects of their JOBS programs. States and counties must decide how to assess individuals' needs and skills; states and counties must also develop criteria for assigning participants to activities. Finally, states and counties must determine the exact content of activities, the order in which they are provided, and how long individuals may participate (GAO, September 1992, p. 13). Although states must still meet certain criteria to ensure federal funding, much flexibility in terms of implementation has been left to states and localities. Conservatives have generally supported more unconstrained state flexibility as long as such experimentation does not lead to increased federal spending or much larger welfare caseloads. Liberals have favored experimentation only under certain conditions. They want assurances that the new approaches do not reduce the benefits available to current or potential recipients (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 32). Thus, the legislation supports the assertion that this new policy environment is one in which the federal government is no longer the unquestioned source of policy change.

### **The Role of Local Communities**

What then, if any, specific role did federal legislators

intend for localities to play? In particular, what is the role of local departments of social services, businesses, and community organizations?

### Local Departments of Social Services

In terms of program administration and what is explicitly stated in the JOBS program, the role of local departments of social services are mentioned only as they relate to expectations at the state level. Although there are specific guidelines for the federal and state levels, there are no specific guidelines for the local level. Three responsibilities of the state will inevitably involve localities in the JOBS program:

1. At the state level, JOBS placed primary responsibility for administration in the welfare agency, giving the welfare agency, explicit responsibility for assuring coordination of JOBS, child-support and cash-assistance services, beginning July 1, 1989.
2. Required governors to ensure that JOBS activities were coordinated with programs operated under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA--PL 97-300) and other employment, training and education programs the state provided.
3. Required the state welfare agency to consult with the state education agency and the agency responsible for administering job-training programs. Also required the state welfare agency to use each private industry council (PIC) to identify and provide advice on the types of jobs available or likely to become available in each JTPA service delivery area. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 353)

These three requirements imply some sort of a commitment from local departments of social services to coordinate the JOBS training and education programs, but they make no real

mention of attempting to sustain a commitment from the local departments of social services and place no specific requirements on those agencies. This may prove to be a serious weakness in the legislation. By not setting specific requirements for local agencies, the JOBS legislation may not have created the conditions necessary to persuade localities to commit to JOBS.

#### Area Businesses

Area businesses receive virtually no attention in the language of the bill. William H. Kolberg, President and CEO of the National Alliance of Business, addressed the Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy of the Senate Finance Committee. In his statement, he recognized the need for a commitment from the private sector to the JOBS program and other anti-poverty legislation at the local level.

Because the demand for workers, the types of employers, the population to be served, and the resources available vary substantially across different areas of the state, the design and operation of employment and training services must take place at the local level. . .Employers are beginning to understand this problem, and are increasingly committed to doing something about it. Business interest in welfare reform is no longer based solely on the social good, but on economic necessity. (Senate Hearing 100-320, p. 198, 202)

It appears that the role of local businesses was addressed to a certain extent in the subcommittee hearings but not in the Congressional floor debates, and there is no formal mention of securing a commitment from the private sector in the language of the JOBS program. Failure to specifically address this crucial linkage could affect JOBS implementation: Without

substantial incentives for businesses to hire JOBS clients, the final goal of securing self-sufficiency may never be obtained and JOBS may be judged ineffective and unsuccessful for the wrong reasons.

### Community Organizations

Of the three local actors, community organizations received the least attention from federal legislators and in committee and subcommittee hearings. They were addressed only casually in Congressional floor debates and subcommittee hearings. Brief statements that encourage the use of all community resources were made in Congress.

Required states to develop and periodically update a plan . . . describing among other things: how the state would coordinate its program with other community programs . . . (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 353).

Subsequent references to the JOBS program spoke to the continued support for not using federal "welfare dollars" for services that are already available in a community through other service providers.

To serve JOBS participants, states expect to make use of increased federal spending for welfare-to-work programs and *to rely on existing community resources*. . . . JOBS expenditure data capture only a portion of total federal, state, and local resources spent on JOBS participants. States reported considerable coordination with some community service providers and heavy use of training and education resources paid for by other agencies and organizations, but the total dollar value of such services is unknown. (GAO, September 1991, p. 21)

Congress apparently expected that states and localities would coordinate with local service providers in order to decrease the duplication of services for JOBS clients.

There is no substantial discussion of the importance of encouraging involvement from community organizations with JOBS. This suggests that sustaining a commitment from such organizations was not considered a high priority by federal policymakers. It appears that states and localities will have to take the initiative to encourage such a commitment.

### **Conclusion**

If one looks at the major concerns members of Congress had about the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988, one sees very little attention given to the role of local agencies, area businesses, and community organizations. In reviewing the legislative history, the principal areas of discussion and conflict centered around the proposed participation standards and the possibility of implementing a national minimum standard to reduce the current wide variation in benefits among states.

Although there was virtually no dispute over the central elements of both bills--creation of the JOBS program and beefed-up enforcement of child support laws. . .nearly a week of wrangling among senators and Reagan administration officials over mandatory work requirements culminated June 16 in the passage of the sweeping welfare overhaul. Furthermore, House Democrats, backed by the APWA and many of the governors, wanted states to raise welfare-benefit levels, which had not kept up with inflation. (1988 CQ Almanac, p. 361)

The testimony of Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, as submitted by Mary Jo Bane (a member of the New York State Task Force on Poverty and Welfare), addresses the issue of broader involvement from different actors within the community. In testimony before the Subcommittee on Social Security and Family

Policy of the Senate Finance Committee Governor Cuomo raised the issue of a social contract. "'A New Social Contract', is indeed what we need, an effort among all of us--Government, business, and private citizens--that recognizes mutual obligations. . .One danger we face is that we fail to demand that all parties to the social contract fulfill their obligations. . ."(Senate Hearing 100-335, p. 83, 87) Cuomo's social contract indirectly supports the notion of a commitment from various actors (including the private sector) within localities in order for any social welfare policy to be successful.

In attempting to answer the questions posed at the beginning of the previous section, a careful review of the legislative history indicates very little direction was given to localities. It seems those involved in the creation of JOBS did not feel a need to address the involvement of local departments of social services, area businesses, or community organizations. Yet, as this review suggests, the structure of the JOBS program logically implies the necessity of commitment from and involvement of these key actors if the program is to accomplish its ultimate goals. The question then is: **what mechanisms exist at the local level to provide for the necessary involvement of these key actors in the implementation of JOBS?** The research reported in this thesis can help provide an answer to that question. The next chapter examines the mechanisms that exist in a local department of social services

for promoting commitment in the community.

## 4

### **Commitment of the Local Department of Social Services to JOBS**

This chapter establishes the level of commitment JOBS received at the Roanoke Department of Social Services (RDSS). For there to be an integrated community-based approach to the implementation of JOBS, local departments of social services must first be committed to the program. Steps the agency has taken to commit to JOBS indicate how important JOBS is within the agency. Establishing the level of commitment from a local department of social services also provides a strong indication of the level of commitment to expect from other actors within a locality. We cannot logically expect more distant actors (e.g., area businesses, community organizations) to have a higher level of commitment to JOBS than the local agency. The local agency sets the initial standard for the level of commitment displayed by other actors.

#### **Indicators of Commitment from Local Social Services**

This project uses five indicators to assess the commitment local department of social services' commitment to JOBS. They are as follows:

##### **1. Following state-mandated guidelines in implementing JOBS**

This indicator was recognized as important by federal policymakers.

The coordination and implementation of JOBS for each locality should follow some state guidelines in order to ensure uniformity within each state. (JTPA-PL-300)

There should be some evidence that the local agency has been given instruction for implementing JOBS from the state department of social services. The state should have provided some sort of training material for each local department of social services. The local department must then act to follow those state guidelines

**2. Attempting to establish a relationship with relevant community and business resources (e.g., JTPA)**

Federal policymakers also recognized this indicator as important.

Each locality should coordinate programs with programs operated under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA-PL 97-300).

This speaks to the need for each locality to coordinate its JOBS program with programs operating under JTPA. The 1982 JTPA continued a longstanding federal commitment to help prepare people with serious employment barriers for roles as productive members of the labor force. Like the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), which it replaced, JTPA works primarily through a locally-based program delivery system to provide remedial education, training and employment assistance to low income and long-term unemployed youth and adults. JTPA differs from CETA in that it emphasizes equalizing authority between the private and public sectors over all aspects of local policymaking, planning, administration and program operations (National Alliance of Business, 1982, p. 1).

Another crucial difference is the degree to which JTPA lets the local public and private partners make fundamental decisions on how federal funds will be administered and programs managed at the local level. These decisions are made by the private industry council (PIC)<sup>9</sup> and chief local elected officials (National Alliance of Business, 1982, p. 1). Each JTPA office serves a certain service delivery area (SDA).<sup>10</sup> Roanoke's SDA is entitled the Fifth District Employment and Training Consortium.

Passage of the JTPA supports the earlier assertion that the "new" policy environment is one in which states and localities are taking a more active and decision-making role in the previously federally dominated area of welfare policy. If the commitment of the local agency to JOBS was high, one would expect to witness a great deal of interaction between the local department of social services and the local JTPA.

### **3. Promoting of education and training as opposed to immediate job placement**

The third indicator, the promotion of education and training rather than immediate job placement is one of the

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<sup>9</sup> A majority of members on the PIC must be owners of business concerns, chief executives or chief operating officers of nongovernmental employers, or other private sector executives who have substantial management or policy responsibility. Whenever possible, at least one-half of these representative are to be from small businesses (including minority businesses), defined as for-profit firms with 500 or fewer employees. In addition, the business members must "reasonably represent" the industrial and demographic composition of the local business community. ("Overview: Job Training Partnership Act of 1982"), November 1, 1982.

<sup>10</sup> Virginia is divided into 14 geographically defined SDAs. Each SDA must have a population of at least 200,000, comprise political jurisdictions consistent with major labor market areas in the state and are grouped to best promote effective delivery of job training services. ("JTPA: A Partnership in the New Dominion", 1990).

crucial differences between Virginia's ESP and JOBS.

The emphasis under ESP was primarily the provision of job search assistance, and secondarily the provision of other employment and training services, to all eligible recipients. Under ESP/JOBS, the focus shifted to the provision of education and skills training of the total eligible population--those persons with less schooling and work experience who made up the target group population. (Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia, 1991, p. 4-5)

If the local department of social services is committed to implementing JOBS as anticipated, there should be a noticeable shift of emphasis from immediate job placement to education and training.

#### **4. Restructuring the local department of social services to accommodate the increased work associated with JOBS**

The fourth indicator is perhaps the most obvious measure of a commitment from the local department of social services. With a significant increase in the number of AFDC clients mandated to participate and the intensive services that are being offered under JOBS, it stands to reason that there would be a significantly increased caseload for each local department of social services.

In Virginia alone, during the first nine months of ESP/JOBS, 8,503 new individuals became participants in the program. Participants are now receiving through ESP/JOBS more intensive services that demand more staff time in providing case management services.

(Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia, 1991, p. 5)

Therefore, an important indicator of commitment is the way in which this increase in cases has been handled. Were more case workers hired or were existing workers simply given more cases? Greater commitment would be indicated by hiring additional case

workers.

## **5. Making expenditures on JOBS**

The final indicator used in establishing the level of commitment the Roanoke Department of Social Services has to JOBS is the allocation of expenditures to JOBS. Due to the increased work expected with JOBS, the budget of the Roanoke Department of Social Services should reflect a proportionate increase in order to implement JOBS.

### **Results of Commitment Indicator #1--Establishing State Guidelines in Implementing JOBS**

For the JOBS program to be implemented with a certain degree of uniformity, we would expect the Virginia Department of Social Services (VDSS) to provide some form of orientation and training to local department of social services personnel prior to the start date of the JOBS program. In interviewing the case workers, questions 9 and 10 were asked to provide information for this indicator (see Appendix A).

Of the seven employment service workers interviewed, six were already on staff and in their current position when JOBS was implemented.<sup>11</sup> All six of these case workers recalled a training workshop provided by a representative from the Virginia Department of Social Services that took place after their office had received manuals and other relevant materials

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<sup>11</sup> The remaining case worker was hired after the implementation of the JOBS program in Roanoke City and thus, received on-the-job training from the Employment Services Supervisor and fellow employment services workers.

that described how their duties would change once JOBS was implemented.

We had workshops on completing administrative forms and the anticipated increase of clients. The regional specialist went over the materials with us. She also came after the program started [during] the first three months to answer any questions and address any problems. (Interview with Case Worker #1)

Although all of the workers referred to the training session provided by the state, they expressed different opinions of its quality. Four of the six employment services workers described the training as "average."

It was an informative session, I guess about what I expected. They basically went over the materials we already had and answered any questions. (Interview with Case Worker #1)

The remaining two employment services workers had completely contrasting views of the usefulness of the training provided by the state.

The training was very helpful to review and sound off. It provided an opportunity for us to integrate the information we had received in prior literature within the context of the workshop. (Interview with Case Worker #5)

[The training was] handled the typical way the state would handle it. Two days in a crowded room--just so they [VDSS] could say they had met with us all. (Interview with Case Worker #2)

The comments of the majority of those interviewed suggest the training session provided by the Regional Specialist representing VDSS was an informative workshop that outlined major changes as a result of JOBS and provided an opportunity for those involved to make comments or ask questions. All of the six interviewees, save one, had to take a few moments to

recall any state training they had received. This was usually followed with a casual "oh-I-think-I-remember-going-to-some-sort-of-a-workshop" response. My overall perception is that the session conveyed basic information but was not significantly memorable or motivating.

Apparently, state guidelines were indeed presented to the employment services workers in at least two forms; a written manual issued by VDSS and a state-sponsored training session. **Although VDSS did attempt to ensure uniformity within the state, the lack of follow-up to the workshop and the relatively short training session with a high trainer-student ratio suggest that transferring the knowledge of state guidelines to case workers was not a high priority for state government.** As a result, local commitment to JOBS started at a low level. The Virginia Department of Social Services did not strongly emphasize the importance and distinctiveness of JOBS. This logically could affect the overall level of commitment JOBS received from RDSS as well as other, less directly involved, community actors.

**Results of Commitment Indicator #2--Attempting to establish a relationship with relevant community and business resources**

As the responsibilities are currently set up, case workers and the local department of social services have little direct interaction with community and business resources. Attempts to establish relationships with these two resources occur

primarily through the JTPA office and, in turn, the department of social services benefits from the established relationships of the JTPA office. Therefore, the main relationship to be studied is the relationship between the local department of social services and the local JTPA office. The latter is the only agency that is distinctly and frequently mentioned in The Family Support Act of 1988 in terms of establishing a relationship and sharing resources with JOBS offices.

All employment services workers reported an extremely positive relationship with their JTPA office both prior to and since the implementation of JOBS and attributed this largely to the organization of both agencies (Employment Services Supervisor, Personal Interview, February 1992). In Roanoke City, the Department of Social Services and the JTPA office both report to Roanoke's Director of Human Resources and thus, are encouraged to work together instead of competing.

[The same supervisor] is over our agency and JTPA and he is in favor of cooperation between agencies and not duplicating services. We have contracts through JTPA and other agencies such as TAP [Total Action Against Poverty]. (Interview with Case Worker #2)

We work real well with JTPA. It provides a circle of opportunities for clients. Our relationship with them has always been very positive and it continues to be so. (Interview with Case Worker #4)

Although all workers indicated a strong present and past relationship with JTPA, they all also note this relationship is very different in other localities.

I went to a regional conference in July [1991] and most other employment services workers could not believe the relationship we have with our JTPA. Comparatively

speaking, it is quite unique. (Interview with Case Worker #5)

I think by both us reporting to the same boss, we eliminate the competition that is present between many departments of social services and their corresponding JTPA office. (Interview with Employment Services Supervisor)

By all accounts, **the intent of federal policymakers that each locality coordinate programs with its local JTPA office is being met exceedingly well in Roanoke City, indicating a high level of commitment.** It seems reasonable to assume that the supervisory system is a major factor in facilitating such a strong relationship.

**Results of Commitment Indicator #3--Promoting education and training as opposed to immediate job placement**

As previously mentioned, a major difference between JOBS and Virginia's ESP program is the shift of emphasis from immediate job placement to the promotion of education and job training for clients. The employment services workers were asked in what ways their responsibilities have changed since the implementation of JOBS and how they decide when to recommend immediate job placement versus continued education and training. (See questions 5 and 6 in Appendix A.)

Although the Employment Services Supervisor often proclaimed this shift in emphasis since the implementation of JOBS, none of the case workers acknowledged a change in emphasis or reported using new criteria when making a recommendation for job placement or continued education.

However, case workers consider a diverse list of factors before making a recommendation.

I try to look at the family situation and structure. Say a twenty-year old comes in and needs to pay off a fine. I tell them to take a quick job. (Interview with Case Worker #6)

It depends on their individual goals. (Interview with Case Worker #2)

[The client's] age and ages of their children. . . (Interview with Case Worker #1)

The most frequently stated criterion used in deciding whether to recommend training and/or education or immediate job placement is whether or not the client has a high school diploma or GED.

Basically, we recommend a high school diploma or GED or equivalency. I encourage most to get their GED. (Interview with Case Worker #1)

If they don't have their GED, I always recommend that before we go on. (Interview with Case Worker #7)

Although the recommendation that clients obtain their GED promotes continued education, clients without their GED's were encouraged to do so under Virginia's ESP. There does not seem to be the increased emphasis on education and job training that the VDSS intended in their shift to JOBS. Yet the purpose of JOBS (as opposed to ESP) was to promote education and training beyond the GED to the point where an individual is qualified to perform the occupation he/she seeks.

It appears that case workers in Roanoke regard the GED as the final step in education and training. This does not

reflect the important shift in emphasis in education intended by JOBS. **There is no evidence that the recommendation system has changed in Roanoke City as a result of JOBS.** This indicates a low level of commitment to JOBS.

**Results of Commitment Indicator #4--Restructuring the local department of social services to accommodate the increased work associated with JOBS**

None of the workers reported any specific departmental changes that took place as a result of implementing JOBS. Although several interviewees reported that they have hired two new case workers, they all acknowledge these new case workers filled positions vacated by a job termination.<sup>10</sup> **There is no evidence to suggest that the department of social services has restructured to accommodate the increased work associated with JOBS** (for further analysis see the conclusion of this chapter).

**Results of Commitment Indicator #5--Making expenditures on JOBS**

In analyzing the budget of the RDSS, one must recognize that RDSS does not set the budget under which it operates. This is set at the local level by the City of Roanoke. The most RDSS can do is lobby for necessary financial resources. Therefore, the level of commitment RDSS has to JOBS ultimately depends on the financial resources they are allocated from their local government.

As Table 2 below indicates, the budget for the Employment

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<sup>10</sup> There was also a general acknowledgment that two child-care workers had been hired but this does not reflect restructuring to accommodate the increased work load among the current employment service workers.

Services Division of the Roanoke Department of Social Services increased considerably from FY 1989-90 to FY 1990-91. There was an increase of over \$180,000 in the budget the year JOBS was implemented in Roanoke. The expenditure category "Personal Services" represents funds allotted for the Employment Services Supervisor, Employment Services Workers, Secretary and Clerk-Typist. The bulk of this increase was for operating expenditures, which include purchased classroom training, work experience, career planning, job-site supervision, day care and transportation as needed toward securing employment. This could suggest a positive commitment to JOBS, but we have to ask if the increase went to that program.

The budget of the Employment Services division of the Roanoke Department of Social Services did not vary significantly from FY 1990-91 to FY 1991-92. In FY 1990-91 the total budget was \$576,347 and \$576,370 for FY 1991-92. This

**Table 2: Employment Services Budget 1989-92**

<b>EXPENDITURE CATEGORY</b>	<b>1989-90</b>	<b>1990-91</b>	<b>1991-92</b>
Personnel Services	\$208,859	\$268,091	\$268,130
Operating Expenditures	178,224	304,556	304,540
Internal Services	2,555	3,700	3,700
Capital Outlay	2,077	-0-	-0-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$391,715</b>	<b>\$576,347</b>	<b>\$576,370</b>

Information provided by the Employment Services Division of the Roanoke City Department of Social Services.

is an increase of only \$23. It appears that no budgetary allocations were made for the expected increase in work associated with the increase in JOBS participants for FY 1991-92. **It does not appear the Roanoke Department of Social Services has increased the budget enough to accommodate the increased workload associated with implementing a new program.** While this lack of increase could be fully explained by the recession and continued state-wide budget cuts in Virginia, the effect is to limit the agency's capacity for implementing JOBS.

### **Conclusion**

Based on this research, it seems the local department of social services in Roanoke City has a moderate commitment to the JOBS program, at best. Its strongest commitment is shown in its exceptional ability to coordinate programs with the JTPA which enables it to establish a positive relationship with relevant business and community resources. However, there is little indication that there has been a shift from the goals of ESP to the goals of JOBS through an increased emphasis on continued education and training. This should not be regarded as a final judgement since all education and training programs may not yet be available due to the newness of JOBS. However, employment service workers should at least be aware of this crucial difference in goals of ESP and JOBS. While it is quite often mentioned in state welfare literature, it was not mentioned at all by Roanoke City's case workers.

Another indicator of low commitment is the lack of restructuring within the department. The most obvious reason for a lack of restructuring would be a lack of funds. However, in analyzing the FY 1989-90 and FY 1990-91 budgets there was an increase of almost \$60,000 in personnel services expenditures. Roanoke started implementing JOBS in the fall of 1990. Since the average salary of a case worker in Roanoke is \$23,000, the hiring of one of two additional case workers was possible but did not happen. It appears RDSS has responded to the increase in work associated with JOBS by assigning more cases to existing case workers. Without an increase in working hours, this means each client is allotted less time and attention.

Although budgetary concerns are a major factor at the state level, there was a substantial budgetary increase from FY 1989-90 to FY 1990-91. RDSS did not use these funds to hire additional employment services workers. However, we cannot be sure if this increase reflects the facilitation of the implementation of JOBS. A more detailed budget is needed to fully understand how the additional funds were used.

The 40% increase between the FY 1989-90 and FY 1990-91 budgets could indicate a high positive commitment to JOBS. However, the FY 1991-92 budget increased only \$23 from the budget of the previous year. This does not allow for the increased cases expected as JOBS becomes more fully implemented. Any solid commitment to JOBS would have required some provision for the increased work associated with the

implementation of a new program of this magnitude. In this light, the lack of new resources for 1991-92 must be interpreted as a lack of commitment.

We must be extremely careful in attributing responsibility for the low level of commitment to the local department of social services. Since the state training session was not extremely thorough or time consuming, it could be that the state failed to communicate a sense of commitment to JOBS to its localities. On the other hand, the local department of social services may know the priorities of the state but hesitate to implement the changes due to time constraints, perceived unimportance or minimal expected impact. When employment services workers were asked how much importance they felt their agency attached to the JOBS program the responses were quite varied.

The local agency doesn't consider it that important but the state and federal government thinks it is, because they have monies in it. (Interview with Case Worker #1)

We feel it is very important but I'm not sure about the higher administration--we don't have much contact with them. (Interview with Case Worker #2)

That's hard to say. We are probably the top two or three in the state statistically. I guess it is pretty important to the agency. (Interview with Case Worker #3)

It is of great importance. Our director of Human Resources coordinated us with JTPA to make sure we can each do our jobs in an efficient way. (Interview with Case Worker #6)

Probably a lot of importance because it has brought in a lot of clients. (Interview with Case Worker #7)

As a group, the case workers were not unanimously sure of the

importance of JOBS within the agency. If the agency's commitment was strong, this probably would not be the case. Moreover, if case workers are unsure of the importance of JOBS, they cannot effectively communicate the importance of the program to clients.

The lack of a more detailed budget leaves us with many unanswered questions in regard to the allocation of personnel services monies and why more obvious restructuring to accommodate JOBS is not in place. In addition, the local agency must operate from an adopted budget and cannot reasonably be expected to facilitate further implementation in 1991-92 with a budgetary increase of only \$23.

Based on these indicators, RDSS exhibits a moderate commitment to JOBS. However, at this point, we do not know how much of this can be attributed to the local level and how much can be attributed to the state level.

The next question to address is how RDSS's commitment to JOBS has been communicated to other community institutions. The level of commitment of community organizations and area businesses is explored in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

## 5

### **Commitment of Community Organizations to JOBS**

For JOBS to be implemented most effectively, community organizations that offer employment and training services must participate by providing their services to JOBS clients. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the level of commitment that community organizations in Roanoke have to JOBS. Sustaining a high commitment from community organizations is important to establishing an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform and to assist in meeting the anticipated increased demand for education and training services under JOBS.

The availability of services from community organizations will affect welfare dynamics, program cost, and the extent to which administrators can implement more complex and enriched JOBS programs.

Within any given JOBS budget, more AFDC recipients can be served and more intensive activities provided in communities where there are many other independently funded education and training services and well-developed interagency coordination. (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 64)

In this situation, welfare agencies can refer recipients to the appropriate agency, monitor their progress once referred, and arrange new placements if the initial service plan does not prove satisfactory.

For this reason, the budget trade-off is more complex than it may originally seem. All JOBS expenses will not, in fact, compete for the same budget dollars. Some services (e.g., case

management) will typically be paid for directly with JOBS funds, while others will be funded by other delivery systems. The legislation's emphasis on coordination across the welfare, job training, and education systems means that the welfare agency's real budget constraint depends to an important extent on the services provided by these other agencies (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 65 and 188). Given the scarcity of the use of "welfare dollars", it is quite logical that public funds should not be used to duplicate education and training services that are already available in a community.

With the JOBS program emphasizing education and job training for those clients who have the least skills in these areas, there is an anticipated increase in the number of clients to be served and the types of services they will need.

In addition, to help provide for new or increased levels of services under JOBS, states may not use JOBS funds to purchase services that would normally be available free of charge to individuals on AFDC. (GAO, September 1991, p. 22)

In Virginia, coordination with other agencies to assist in the provision of services to JOBS recipients is another important aspect of the new ESP/JOBS program that was not as strongly emphasized under ESP. Local departments of social services interact with a variety of organizations depending on the resources in their areas for education and training services. These services may be provided to clients at no cost or through a purchase or contractual arrangement with the local department of social services (Implementation of ESP/JOBS in

Virginia, October 1991).

### **Indicators of Commitment from Community Organizations**

Five indicators are being used to assess the degree of commitment exhibited by community organizations. They are as follows:

#### **1. Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program**

In treating commitment as an ordinal variable, awareness is the minimum qualification for a "low" commitment to exist. Clearly, if an organization is not aware of the program, they can not be committed to its successful implementation. Question 6 of the Community Organization Phone Questionnaire was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix C).

#### **2. Responding positively to requests from the local department of social services**

The local department of social services is expected to utilize as efficiently as possible the service providers within their locality (Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia, October 1991; JOBS Program Evaluation Year One, October 1991). Once an organization is aware of the JOBS program, additional commitment would be evidenced through a positive response to requests from the local department of social services to become involved or to maintain or increase involvement in the case where an organization already has an agreement or contract to provide services to AFDC recipients. Questions 3, 8, and 9 of

the Community Organization Phone Questionnaire was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix C).

**3. Contacting the local department of social services in order to inquire about becoming involved in the JOBS program**

In the event an organization is aware of JOBS but has not been contacted by the local department of social services, the organization has the option of contacting the department of social services to find out more about becoming involved in the program. Doing so represents more of a commitment than having knowledge about the program but not inquiring about becoming involved.

Given that community organizations interviewed for this project all offer education and/or training programs and seek to serve the poor (as evidenced through their maximum income requirements), it seems reasonable for these organizations to contact the department of social services periodically to determine if either can be of service to the other in providing benefits for current or prospective mutual clients. With both the local department of social services and community organizations having the goal of reducing poverty, there should be evidence of a cooperative effort to achieve this end.

Questions 9 and 10 of the Community Organization Phone Questionnaire was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix C).

**4. Assigning personnel or parts of personnel time to JOBS-related work**

If an organization is providing services to JOBS clients, one would expect that some personnel time would be assigned to handling these responsibilities. Making such an assignment represents a degree of commitment to JOBS. The more personnel or time allocated specifically to JOBS, the higher the level of commitment. Questions 9 and 12 of the Community Organization Phone Questionnaire was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix C).

#### **5. Making expenditures on JOBS**

If an organization is providing services to JOBS clients, there should be some related expenditures to facilitating the service or services. The degree of commitment represented by these expenditures will depend on how much is spent on JOBS-related work in relationship to the total budget. Question 11 of the Community Organization Phone Questionnaire was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix C).

#### **GROUP 1: Organizations serving a High Percentage of AFDC Clients**

Community Organizations were placed into one of two groups depending on the percentage of their clients who were also AFDC clients (see Chapter 2 for further details). Representatives from community organizations #1-3 each reported over 25% of their clients receive AFDC benefits. Although JOBS is relatively new, one would expect community organizations that have a higher percentage of AFDC clients to be more aware of

the JOBS program, to have been contacted by the local department of social services, and to currently be involved or planning to be involved in providing education and training services to JOBS recipients.

**1. Results of Commitment Indicator #1--Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program**

Of the three community organizations in Group 1, only one was aware of the JOBS program. This lone organization had a working knowledge of the JOBS program and was quite familiar with the program's intended goals. This organization knew more about JOBS because it deals exclusively with assisting those in poverty. Representatives of the other two organizations in this group were unaware of JOBS.

**2. Results of Commitment Indicator #2--Responding positively to requests from the local department of social services**

Representatives of two of the three organizations reported they had been previously contacted by the department of social services in regard to providing services for some of its clients. Although these organizations recalled being contacted about providing services they did not recall these services being explicitly described as a part of JOBS. Both representatives reported they work well with RDSS and interact often.

One of these two organizations currently provides services that are part of an agreement or contract with the Roanoke Department of Social Services. This organization sub-contracts

its high school equivalency programs, remedial education programs and vocational programs with the department of social services. The representative of the other organization indicated it tries to responded positively to requests from RDSS but has never entered into a formal agreement or contract with them.

The representative of the remaining organization could not recall the Roanoke Department of Social Services contacting them.

**3. Results of Commitment Indicator #3--Contacting the local department of social services to inquire about becoming involved in the JOBS program**

The representative of the one organization that was familiar with the JOBS program reported that the organization and the local department of social services maintain frequent contact and have been involved in the JOBS program practically since its inception.

We have always worked well together. We have no problems in telling them about new educational or training programs and working out an arrangement whereby their clients can also take advantage of our services. (Representative from Community Organization #2)

Since only one representative reported awareness of the JOBS program, the other two representatives were asked if they had ever contacted the Roanoke Department of Social Services to inquire about sharing services and/or costs for mutually needed education and/or training programs. The representative of community organization #3 reported they have never discussed

any formal arrangement but indicated they do contact the department of social services when they feel it is appropriate.

We have not contacted them about sharing services or costs but we have informally referred our clients to them on a case-by-case basis if we feel they could benefit from some of the services they (RDSS) have to offer. (Representative from Community Organization #3)

The remaining representative reported very little involvement with the Roanoke Department of Social Services because of a perceived conflict of interest.

We have very little interaction. A lot of training programs look at this as a conflict of interest. We work with 15-21 year olds. The Department of Social Services also provide education and training services for this same group. In a sense we are competing for the same clients. (Representative from Community Organization #1)

#### **4. Results of Indicator #4--Assigning personnel or parts of personnel to JOBS-related work**

Representatives of these three organizations reported a great variation in the amount of staff time used in assisting JOBS recipients. Due to the overlap in the clients, one representative reported a large amount of staff time given to assisting JOBS clients.

I would say about 70% of our staff's time is used to assist JOBS clients in some sort of way--mostly through our education and vocational training programs. (Representative from Community Organization #2)

The remaining two representatives reported no staff time is specifically allocated to JOBS recipients. However, a representative from Community Organization #3 reported that in about 10% of its cases it makes informal referrals of clients or speaks to clients about possible services they may be

eligible for through the local department of social services. This suggests the potential exists for this organization to become more involved with JOBS.

#### **5. Results of Indicator #5--Expenditures on JOBS**

Representatives of two of the three organizations reported that none of their expenditures were used to assist JOBS recipients.

It does not seem logical to use our funds to assist another organization's clients. We are constantly struggling for funds to assist our own [clients].  
(Representative from Community Organization #1)

One representative, however, reported about 60% of organizational expenditures were used on JOBS recipients. This representative estimated over \$100,000 yearly is being spent on JOBS recipients who are also clients of their organization.

As I have indicated to you, we interact a great deal and serve many of the same clients. Many of our mutual clients use the services of this organization and we pay for it out of our budget. We have budgetary trade-offs with DSS. (Representative from Community Organization #2)

#### **Analysis of Group 1 Results**

Of the community organizations reporting that over 25% of their clients receive AFDC benefits, there is a vast difference in their relationship with the local department of social services and in their commitment to the JOBS program. Based on these responses, only one organization has a high commitment to the JOBS program. This is evidenced by its knowledge of the JOBS program, its positive interaction with the local department of social services, and the amount of personnel time

and expenditures used on JOBS clients. It is important to note, however, that of all organizations interviewed, this same organization reported the highest percentage of overlap in the number of clients served. Almost 70% of its clients are also JOBS clients. It appears that this organization has had a positive relationship with the Roanoke Department of Social Services since its inception.

Of the remaining two organizations, Community Organization #3 seems willing to refer clients to the department of social services but does not appear willing to enter into a formal arrangement that would mean spending more time, effort, or money. It has a low commitment to the JOBS program because it is not aware of the program, and does not engage in much activity except an occasional referral to the department of social services. Its attitude toward the department of social services seemed positive and it appears that, if this organization could be convinced that providing its services to mutual clients would not prove to be a significant imposition, it would have more interaction with Roanoke's Department of Social Services. It appears that there is potential for this organization to commit more fully to the JOBS program once it is made aware of the program and can participate in a manner that does not require a considerable increase in staff time or expenditures.

The attitude expressed by the representative of community organization #1 is not conducive to JOBS's success. This

organization feels it is in competition with the department of social services for the clients they both serve. This attitude is totally different from the attitudes expressed by the representatives of community organizations #2 and #3. Not only does Community Organization #1 have an extremely low commitment to the JOBS program, but also has a negative, competitive attitude toward the services the department of social services has to offer. It is impossible for JOBS clients to ever fully benefit from the services community organizations and the department of social services have to offer if there is competition between the two groups for clients. Perhaps this competition could be avoided if they were all part of a group such as a public-private consortium that promoted working together to provide opportunities and resources for mutual clients.

These last two organizations, however, are not totally responsible for their lack of commitment. They both reported they have not been contacted by the local department of social services in regard to the JOBS program. Since one of the main goals of each department of social services is to efficiently use community services in an attempt not to duplicate services, these organizations should have at least been contacted about providing possible services to overlapping clients.

The representatives of all three organizations also were asked about their relationship with JTPA and the local Private Industry Council (PIC) to aid in determining the organizations'

involvement with the major entities that are concerned with poverty issues at the local level. There is a pattern in their responses. The one organization that is highly involved with the local department of social services also reported a high level of involvement with the JTPA and PIC.

We are highly involved with PIC. Our Executive Director serves on the council. We have been highly involved with JTPA since its inception. We all work very closely together. (Representative from Community Organization #2)

In contrast, the organization that has a positive but distant relationship with the local department of social services also reported similar relationships with JTPA and PIC.

We are a member of the PIC. We submit our plan of service to the council on an annual basis. That is about the extent of our involvement. As far as JTPA, we have no formal arrangement but we do have all new clients fill out a form to determine if they would probably qualify for JTPA. (Representative from Community Organization #1)

Moreover, the community organization that perceived a competitive relationship with the department of social services also was not involved with JTPA and PIC for similar reasons.

We have very little interaction with either. With JTPA we're competing to serve the same age group just like the other [Roanoke Department of Social Services]. We are not involved with the PIC because it's too political. They work within the confines of their long established network. If you're not a part of that network, the council is of no benefit. (Representative from Community Organization #3)

In summary, individually the three organizations in Group 1 have very different levels of commitment (ranging from high to extremely low) to the JOBS program and working with the department of social services.

**Group 2: Organizations Serving a Lower Percentage of AFDC Clients**

Representatives of community organizations #4-7 reported that under 25% of their clients were current or potential AFDC recipients. Organizations that serve fewer AFDC clients would not be expected to be as extensively involved, since the JOBS program is relatively new. If commitment is strong, there should be some indication that these organizations exhibit **potential** for being involved in the JOBS program.

**1. Results of Indicator #1--Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program**

Of the four community organizations serving less than 25% of current or potential AFDC recipients, three of the representatives reported they were aware of the JOBS program but had not had much contact or involvement with it. One had not heard of JOBS.

**2. Results of Indicator #2--Responding positively to requests from the local department of social services**

Representatives from two of the four organizations recalled being contacted by Roanoke's Department of Social Services about providing education and/or training services to some of their mutual clients. Both indicated they responded positively.

When social services contacts us we try to work together whenever possible. We do not have a formal contract but we do have an interagency agreement with them indicating what we will provide and what they will provide to service our mutual clients. (Representative from Community Organization #5)

Representatives of the other two organizations reported they have not been contacted by the department of social services in regard to providing services for JOBS recipients or any other AFDC recipients.

When asked to describe their past and anticipated future involvement with the Roanoke Department of Social Services, three of the four representatives felt their relationship had been fairly cooperative.

We interact with RDSS on a case-by-case basis as needed. We would not hesitate to work with them, but not many of our clients receive AFDC benefits. (Representative from Community Organization #4)

We interact fairly consistently with RDSS. We work together as needed. (Representative from Community Organization #6)

The representative of the remaining organization reported it had no prior involvement with RDSS and did not anticipate future involvement.<sup>11</sup>

We just have never worked with RDSS. I prefer not to comment further. (Representative from Community Organization #7)

The responses of most organizations in Group 2 suggest they would respond positively to requests from the local agency in implementing JOBS.

### **3. Results of Indicator #3--Contacting the local department of social services to inquire about becoming involved with the JOBS program**

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<sup>11</sup> The overall impression from the interview with the representative from this organization was that they had a prior negative experience with RDSS. However, the representative refused to elaborate.

Although representatives of three of the four organizations were aware of the JOBS program, none of them reported contacting the department of social services to inquire about becoming involved. Most said they have not done so simply because they had not thought about it.

No, we haven't contacted them. But, now that you've mentioned it, it sounds like a good idea. (Representative from Community Organization #4)

#### **4. Results of Indicator #4--Assigning personnel or parts of personnel time to JOBS-related work**

Representatives of all four organizations reported that none of their personnel or personnel time is currently assigned to JOBS-related work. When asked about their anticipated involvement, two organizations indicated they would consider it, if asked, depending on the level of requested involvement. The other two reported they did not feel they had enough AFDC recipients to warrant the assignment of personnel time to JOBS-related work.

#### **5. Results of Indicator #5--Expenditures on JOBS**

The representatives of all four organizations reported no current expenditures on the JOBS program or JOBS recipients. Representatives of two of these organizations reported a willingness to consider an arrangement in terms of providing mutual services if each party could benefit.

We would consider any manner which will enable us to serve our clients more efficiently. We cannot, however, provide services to our mutual clients without some equal benefit for our clients. We simply do not have that large of a budget. (Representative from Community Organization #5)

The remaining two organizations did not express a willingness to consider future expenditures on JOBS clients. They reported their low percentage of mutual clients and tight budget, respectively, as the reason for this.

### **Analysis of Group 2 Results**

As expected, the community organizations in Group 2 had very little knowledge of the JOBS program and had not yet been significantly involved in assisting JOBS recipients. Although representatives of three of the four organizations reported a positive relationship with RDSS, only two of these expressed an interest in possibly giving personnel time or expenditures to the JOBS program or mutual clients.

These organizations did not have firm opinions (either positive or negative) of RDSS as most of the members in Group 1 did. In three of the four cases, it seems that previous interaction had been minimal but positive. The remaining organization did not express a willingness to interact with RDSS but would not elaborate as to the reasons behind this.

At this point, the commitment of Group 2 to the JOBS program seems low-to-moderate at best. The previous positive relationship between RDSS and three of the organizations suggests that there is potential for an agreement to serve mutual clients. Overall, the responses of Group 2 indicate that they are not hostile but simply do not have enough information on JOBS to decide whether or not they should

increase their involvement.

As with Group 1, there seems to be a pattern in regard to level of involvement with RDSS and level of involvement with JTPA and PIC. The same three organizations that reported a positive relationship with RDSS also reported a positive relationship with JTPA and PIC.

Community Organization #5--We are involved with the JTPA and have plans to increase our involvement with them. We are also an active member of the PIC and are especially involved in serving as a "watchdog" for our organization's interests.

Community Organization #4--We send our youth there [JTPA] for summer vocational training programs. We also use the services provided by the PIC.

Similarly, the one organization that did not have a positive relationship with RDSS also reported no involvement with JTPA or PIC.

## **Conclusion**

In community organizations that have a higher percentage of potential or current AFDC recipients as clients as-well-as in community organizations that have a low percentage of potential or current AFDC recipients, there seems to be a distinct pattern. Those reporting a positive relationship with RDSS also report a positive relationship with JTPA and PIC. Consistently, those who report a negative or nonexistent relationship with RDSS also report a negative or absent relationship with JTPA and PIC. The explanation for these relationships is not apparent and warrants further study. One

possibility is the assertion by one organization that all three agencies work through an established network and outsiders are not welcome. Other reasons could include the perceived competition between their organization and any other organization. This research was not designed to determine why this pattern exists.

The level of commitment among community organizations in Group 1 varies from high commitment to extremely low commitment. The actual level of commitment from organizations in Group 2 is low, but there is potential for stronger commitment. It appears that a more aggressive outreach by RDSS could result in the coordination of employment and training programs for the AFDC clients they mutually serve. Clearly, it is the initial responsibility of RDSS to seek the involvement of other relevant community organizations, and the agency has not been aggressive enough to generate strong commitment to JOBS among Roanoke's community organizations.

## 6 Commitment of Area Businesses to JOBS

The main goal of JOBS has been to reduce welfare dependency and to promote self-sufficiency by helping previous AFDC recipients become successful participants in the work force. Before AFDC clients can join the work force however, businesses must be willing to hire them. Given this, the purpose of this chapter is to establish the level of commitment major employers in Roanoke have to JOBS. A strong positive commitment from area businesses is crucial to an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform.

Liberals and conservatives disagree about the appropriate relationship between welfare and work. Liberals tend to stress the failings of society or "the system": suitable jobs are too few, pay and working conditions of available jobs are inadequate, recipients lack the education needed for a decent job, day-care and transportation difficulties preclude employment, and available jobs do not provide adequate health insurance. Conservatives tend to stress the behavioral deficiencies of the individual. They argue that the values of many welfare recipients are dysfunctional and that people will not work or get the necessary training and education unless there is a clear expectation for them to do so. (Gueron and Pauly, 1991, p. 55)

The work-related portions of the Family Support Act reflect a mix of liberal and conservative approaches. The

participation requirements and sanctions represent a conservative path, while the service provisions go in a more liberal direction (Cottingham and Ellwood, 1989, p. 30).

Regardless of the approach, a desire to work and the support services facilitating work are simply not enough. Previous researchers often have stressed the importance of local labor markets and economic conditions, emphasizing such factors as differences in local labor markets and the nature of the locality (e.g. types of economy--declining, growing, stable). While all of this is important, differences in circumstances among localities account for fewer of the differences in program implementation than differences among program administration (Peterson, Rabe and Wong, 1986, p. 80).

The purpose of JOBS is to provide education, training, and employment opportunities to recipients who receive AFDC so that they can obtain jobs and become economically self-sufficient. This goal cannot be achieved without the support and involvement of the business community. Although client services are critical to each individual's entry into employment, building employer awareness is necessary to generate and to sustain their acceptance and support of those programs. By keeping the business community in touch with the services provided by the programs, and their underlying precepts, employers' understanding of, and response to, the programs and their accomplishments can improve. (Implementation of ESP/JOBS in Virginia, 1991, p. 13)

Although the department of social services and the local JTPA are supposed to work together in coordinating businesses involvement, in Roanoke the Department of Social Services has very little direct interaction with members of the business

community.<sup>12</sup> Two of JTPA's main goals for 1991 were to increase business and industry's involvement in providing employment and training incentives and opportunities and to increase the number of businesses that support the JTPA program (Program Year 1991--Annual Plan, 1991, p. 2-3). In order to do this, JTPA relies on heavy marketing from local Private Industry Councils.

One of the functions of the local PIC is to market available programs to the local area businesses. These linkages to the private sector have resulted in an increase in businesses willing to hire the JTPA participant, businesses willingness to coordinate special projects and businesses (many represented in the PIC) willing to promote JTPA's programs and services to other businesses. (Program Year 1991--Annual Plan, 1991, p. 3)

It is the JTPA and PIC that are most involved with sustaining a positive relationship with area businesses. Thus, in order to determine the level of commitment businesses have to the JOBS program, it is crucial to analyze the relationship major employers have to JTPA and PIC.

In short, the local department of social services and the local JTPA office work on strategies and programs to increase the willingness of local businesses to hire JOBS participants. One of the major ways the local JTPA reaches the business community is to solicit the support of the PIC, which is composed of many prominent members of the business community. The agency hopes that these businesses will use their influence

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<sup>12</sup> This was verified by the Roanoke Department of Social Services Supervisor and by the Director of the local JTPA office in personal interviews.

with other local businesses to secure support from businesses that are not members of the council.

### **Indicators of Commitment from Businesses**

The indicators used to assist in determining the level of business commitment to JOBS are quite different from previous indicators. First, as stated above, the Roanoke Department of Social Services is less directly involved with establishing a relationship with area businesses. Second, unlike the Department of Social Services or community organizations, many employers may not know when they have hired someone who is a JOBS client. Thus, the commitment to the JOBS program from area business must be assessed more indirectly. Five indicators are used to assist in determining the level of commitment from businesses to the JOBS program. They are as follows:

**1. Being aware of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program**

In order for area businesses to be involved in the JOBS program and willing to hire JOBS participants, they must be aware of the program and its general purpose. Question 5 of the Employer Survey was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix B).

**2. Being aware of and having positive involvement with the local JTPA office**

Since one of JTPA's main goals is to secure positive

relationships with the business community, an important indicator of commitment to JOBS is the nature of involvement with the JTPA office. Questions 1, 2, 2A, 3, and 4 of the Employer Survey were used to assess this indicator (see Appendix B).

### **3. Notifying the local JTPA office of available entry-level positions**

Given the general skills and education of most AFDC recipients, most qualify only for entry-level positions with the major employers in Roanoke. The commitment of area businesses was measured by examining who they notify when entry-level positions become available (e.g., newspaper classifieds, employment commission). If notices are regularly sent to the JTPA office, this is some indication that a particular business does actively solicit applications from clients served by JTPA. This represents a potentially higher level of involvement with JOBS clients since it indicates that businesses are indeed encouraging applications from this clientele (Supervisor of Roanoke's Employment Services Program, Personal Interview, January 1992; JTPA Marketing On-the-Job Training Specialists, Personal Interview, February, 1992).

As previously stated, the department of social services and JTPA work closely together and are mandated to work cooperatively in serving AFDC clients. Thus, given the very positive relationship between Roanoke's JTPA and Department of

Social Services, if businesses notify JTPA of their positions it is safe to assume that JOBS clients will be notified of these positions and encouraged to apply. In addition, JTPA offers a free referral service to businesses with the guarantee that all individuals referred will meet the qualifications specified by the business in a job order. This is an additional incentive for businesses to notify JTPA of available positions. Question 8 of the Employer Survey was used to measure this indicator (see Appendix B).

#### **4. Awareness and Positive Involvement with PIC**

A majority of members on the PIC must be owners of business concerns, chief executives or chief operating officers of nongovernmental employers, or other private sector executives who have substantial management or policy responsibility.<sup>13</sup> Since JTPA relies heavily on influencing members of the PIC to support its employment programs, we can assume that an awareness of and positive involvement with PIC from the business community is an important pre-condition for a commitment to JOBS. Questions 7, 7A, 7B, and 7C of the Employer Survey were used to measure this indicator (see Appendix B).

#### **5. Hiring individuals who qualify for TJTC**

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<sup>13</sup> House and Senate conferees specifically stated their intent that private sector representatives on the PCI be influential business leaders in the community. Whenever possible, at least one-half of these representatives are to be from small businesses (including minority businesses), defined as for-profit firms with 500 or fewer employees. In addition, the business members must "reasonably represent" the industrial and demographic composition of the local business community. The PIC must also have representation from educational agencies, organized labor, rehabilitation agencies, community based organizations, economic development agencies and the public employment service. National Alliance of Business, November 1, 1982, p. 10.

In the late 1970s, Congress added a provision to the internal revenue code that allowed employers to claim a tax credit for each employee falling into one of seven categories thought to be disadvantaged in the labor market. The intent of the targeted jobs tax credit (TJTC) was to encourage the private hiring of these disadvantaged persons (Ripley and Franklin, 1986, p. 194). The seven categories include disadvantaged youth, veterans, low-income ex-offenders, handicapped, supplemental security income (SSI) recipients, welfare recipients, and students in co-operative education programs. Four of these categories have a maximum income qualification and, as a result, 70% of the individuals upon which Roanoke businesses receive the TJTC are AFDC recipients.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, the majority of individuals from which businesses receive the TJTC are also AFDC recipients (Interview with TJTC Coordinator, 1992). Thus, another route to commitment to the JOBS program would be the hiring of TJTC-eligible employees. Questions 9, 9A, 9B, 9C and 10 were used to measure this indicator (see Appendix B).

### **Results of Indicator #1--Awareness of the purpose and procedures of the JOBS program**

Of those businesses that responded to the survey, 45% (21) indicated they were familiar with the JOBS program. This seems to be a relatively high level of awareness given the newness

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<sup>14</sup> Information provided by the Virginia TJTC Coordinator in a personal interview.

of the program, but it is significant that a majority of respondents were unaware of JOBS.

**Results of Indicator #2--Awareness of and Positive Involvement with the local JTPA office**

Ninety-five percent (44) of the respondents were aware of JTPA. Comparing their firm to other major employers in the area, the majority of respondents (53% or 25) reported that they considered themselves "less involved" or "much less involved" with JTPA than their counterparts. Thirty-four percent (16) of the major employers reported an "average" level of involvement with JTPA. Only two respondents considered themselves "more involved" or "much more involved" with JTPA than other firms.

As mentioned earlier, JTPA offers reimbursement incentives to employers if they choose JTPA to assist with on-the-job training of eligible new hires. Although 67% (31) of the respondents acknowledged that they have had to provide additional on-the-job training to new employees, JTPA rarely assisted in that training. Seventy percent (22) of those that provide additional on-the-job training have never used JTPA to assist in this training. Of those remaining, 25% (8) businesses indicated they have sought the assistance of JTPA from 1-24% of the time.

When employers were asked to describe their firms' probable future relationship with JTPA, 56% (26) indicated that they would probably maintain their current level of involvement

and 21% (10) said they would probably increase their level of involvement. Only four respondents felt they would decrease their level of involvement with JTPA.

It appears that most respondents are aware of JTPA but consider themselves less involved with JTPA than their counterparts. Most of the respondents felt comfortable with their current level of involvement. Although respondents were not asked to provide additional information, the On-the-Job Training program JTPA offers does not appear to attract many employers. This suggests a low level of commitment to JOBS.

**Results of Indicator #3--Notifying the local JTPA office of available entry-level positions**

When the respondents were asked if their firm normally notified JTPA (either through mail, by telephone, or in person) of available entry-level positions, 70% (32) indicated they did not. Only 22% (10) of the major employers said they normally notified JTPA of available entry-level positions. This low percentage of employers notifying JTPA of available entry-level positions suggests a low commitment to hiring AFDC clients.

**Results of Indicator #4--Awareness of and positive involvement with PIC**

Most respondents (60% or 28) were familiar with Roanoke's Private Industry Council. However, only 22% (10) had ever been a member. Of those who had been or currently are members, most (60% or 6) felt that their involvement was average or less than their counterparts. It also seems that the membership on the

council does not change drastically. Four of the ten businesses that acknowledged membership said they had been members since the inception of the council 12 years ago. Two indicated they were not sure although they indicated it had been a considerable amount of time. Only two of the ten indicated a membership term of two years or less.

Of the 78% (36) that have never been members of the PIC, 42% (15) indicated that this was because they have never been nominated for membership.<sup>15</sup> Only one firm had been nominated for membership, but declined the position.

These results suggest many area businesses are willing to become involved with PIC but have never had the opportunity. However, this low percentage of involvement with PIC also reflects a low commitment to JOBS since these businesses may never be informed of the JOBS program or the importance of the involvement from the business community.

#### **Results of Indicator #5--Hiring individuals who qualify for TJTC**

Most respondents (65% or 30) indicated that they have hired individuals who qualified for the Targeted Job Tax Credit. All of these employers rated TJTC employees as either "average" or "above average" in terms of ability and overall job performance. The majority (77% or 23) rated these

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<sup>15</sup> A special nominating process was included for PIC business members to ensure that they represent the local business community. "General purpose" business organizations--those who admit to membership any for-profit business in the service delivery area--are to consult with other local business groups in putting together a single list of business nominations for PIC membership. Local elected officials must appoint PIC business members from the nomination list provided by these general purpose business organizations (National Alliance of Business, 1982, p. 10).

employees as "average" in terms of job performance (e.g., attitude, attendance, ability to get along with others), and almost as many (70% or 21) rated these employees as "average" in overall job performance.

Although most businesses that had hired individuals who qualified for TJTC seemed pleased with the employees' performance and ability, only seven businesses reported hiring someone who qualifies for TJTC "very often" or "often"- - 43% (13) indicated they hire a TJTC employee "sometimes" and 33% (10) indicated they "rarely" hire a TJTC employee. Almost all (96% or 29) of those who have hired TJTC employees stated that their businesses hire the "best qualified" applicant, regardless of whether or not the applicant is TJTC eligible. One business reported they would hire someone slightly less qualified if the applicant was TJTC eligible.

The infrequent hiring of a TJTC applicant indicates a low commitment to JOBS.

### **Analysis of Results**

Currently, the major employers in the Roanoke Valley have a rather low commitment to the JOBS program as indicated by the relationships businesses have with JTPA and PIC, and their hiring of TJTC applicants. It seems the relationship of most businesses to JTPA could be substantially improved. Although Roanoke Department of Social Services personnel speak very positively of JTPA and the local JTPA office speaks eloquently

of its involvement with the business community, this survey of members of the business community tells a different story. JTPA commends its OJT and applicant referrals programs, but the business community does not find them to be as strong. In written comments regarding their experience with JTPA, many business respondents elaborated on their low involvement with JTPA.

JTPA is somewhat of a laugh. They only get involved if we seek them out. I can hire 50 people off the street before they can turn up a single applicant. (Questionnaire response--Business #27)

The JTPA often fail to "screen out" candidates lacking basic qualifications. (Questionnaire response--Business #57)

As for involvement with the Private Industry Council, it appears these seats are rarely vacant. A careful look at the nomination process (see footnote 15) suggests that the PIC does not encourage new membership and there is no limit to the number of years a firm may serve on the council. This process seems to offer some support for the earlier assertion by some community organizations that there is an established network that does not allow much room for outsiders.

It initially seems quite strange that although most businesses report positive relationships with TJTC employees, most hire them only sometimes or rarely. However, more careful examination reveals the TJTC has not historically been attractive to employers. Three reasons are normally cited for the negative view employers hold of TJTC: First, there is suspicion of government programs in general. Second, the

credit is relatively small in size, and third, employers are unwilling to alter normal hiring practices to look for special categories of employees (Ripley and Franklin, 1986, p. 194).

The rather low commitment major employers in Roanoke have to JOBS is a serious problem for the program. With such a low commitment, the ultimate goals of JOBS or any other welfare-to-work program cannot be realized. As mentioned in earlier chapters, businesses must be willing to hire JOBS participants. However, it is the responsibility of the local agency and JTPA to **initially** encourage their involvement with JOBS. Based on these findings, businesses appear to be on the sidelines of this major welfare reform. Due to the length of time JOBS has been implemented in Roanoke, rigorous efforts by the local agency and JTPA to involve the business community should already be in place. We cannot realistically expect any legislation that encourages self-sufficiency to be successful without the active cooperation of those who control the means to gaining self-sufficiency. This analysis strongly suggests that a major flaw in the designing of the JOBS program is its failure to include sufficient incentives for business participation or mechanisms by which local social welfare agencies could encourage this involvement.

## 7 Conclusion

This thesis makes an argument for the importance of an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform by sustaining a high level of commitment to the implementation of JOBS from the local department of social services, area businesses, and community organizations. It contends that such a commitment is a necessary pre-condition for JOBS to ever be successful. It then examines the level of commitment these actors have to JOBS within a locality in order to determine whether or not a strong positive commitment already exists. A case study involving relevant actors in Roanoke, VA was conducted to determine what mechanisms, if any, are currently in place to support such a commitment.

Of even more importance, this analysis suggests the importance of changing our method of evaluating social welfare policy. We need to move beyond analyzing the actions of participants and the impact a program has on participants to illuminating the **entire process** in which social welfare policy operates if we are to fully understand its impacts. As stated in the introduction, a major question to be addressed in the 1990s is what are the most effective ways to design and target welfare-to-work programs? By using an expanded version of Manski's model of social welfare programs, this thesis has allowed us to more closely examine the process of

implementation in hopes of providing a means to answer this all-important question. Studies from the 1980s have revealed welfare-to-work programs can be successful. Now, we must expand our analyses to determine under what conditions welfare-to-work programs are more or less effective.

The legislative history of the Family Support Act of 1988 reveals no substantial discussion of the importance of encouraging local commitment to JOBS. This suggests that sustaining local commitment was not considered a high priority by federal policy makers. An examination of the actual level of commitment from a local department of social services, area businesses, and community organizations suggests there is a great deal of work yet to be done in establishing an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform.

The Roanoke Department of Social Services has a moderate commitment at best. Their strongest commitment is shown through its exceptional ability to coordinate programs with the JTPA but there is little indication that there has been a shift from the goals of ESP to the goals of JOBS which increases the emphasis on continued education and training. In addition, case workers had varied responses when asked whether they felt JOBS was a high priority item within the agency. The nature of the program suggests that the local department of social services must take the initiative in producing and sustaining a commitment from area businesses and community organizations. If the local department of social services does not view JOBS

as a high priority item, it is extremely unlikely that area businesses and community organizations will take the initiative and become involved.

Results of this case study indicate that this is indeed the case. There is a low commitment from major employers in Roanoke to JOBS, as businesses appear to be on the sidelines of this major reform in welfare legislation. There is considerable variation in the commitment community organizations have to JOBS but it appears a more aggressive outreach by RDSS could result in the coordination of employment and training programs for the AFDC clients they mutually serve.

### **Prescriptive Analysis**

When we change our lens of analysis from the actions of the participants to the actions of other key actors involved in this complex process of welfare policy implementation, we see a different picture. This case study suggest that there is an untapped resource that could prove to be the vital link between welfare dependency and self-sufficiency.

The research reported in this thesis suggests that the level of commitment to JOBS can be viewed as the product of a "domino" effect. The program, as passed by Congress, did not emphasize the necessity of an integrated, community-based commitment to the implementation of JOBS. Hence, federal policymakers are initially responsible for any lack of commitment found in a locality.

This lack of interest in commitment turns up again in the state department of social services' preparation of case workers to implement JOBS. The experience in Roanoke indicates that the VDSS did not establish JOBS as a high priority item. This, in turn, could have influenced the level of commitment the Roanoke Department of Social Services gave to JOBS. If the state doesn't consider JOBS too important, why should the local agency?

In turn, the local agency influenced the level of commitment from area businesses and community organizations by not aggressively initiating their involvement in JOBS. Area businesses and community organizations must recognize the important roles they play in the implementation of JOBS if it is to be effective. This awareness must be created initially by the local department of social services. It is in the best position to make businesses and community organizations aware of JOBS and the essential part businesses and community organizations play in its implementation. In this case study, many of the area businesses and community organizations did not have a working knowledge of JOBS. The first step in attempting to secure any type of commitment is having the local DSS extend the invitation of future involvement and establish the importance of commitment from local organizations to the success of JOBS.

Although commitment to JOBS could be substantially increased in Roanoke, an important factor in sustaining a high

commitment to JOBS was discovered. **The local department of social services must coordinate with JTPA in implementing JOBS.** One of the major goals listed in the JOBS legislation is that the local department of social services coordinate with their local JTPA office. In Roanoke, the supervisor for the department of social services and the supervisor of JTPA both report to the same administrator. This eliminates the possibility of competition that is present between many departments of social services and their corresponding JTPA office. It is reasonable to argue that this supervisory system is a major factor in facilitating such a strong relationship between the two since this arrangement considerably reduces any competition between the two agencies to serve mutual clients. Although JTPA and the local department of social services work on strategies and programs to increase the involvement of the business community in hiring JOBS participants, JTPA handles the direct contact with the business community. Therefore, having the supervisors of both agencies report to the same boss can be an effective means of reducing competition and enables both agencies to work toward securing the goals of JOBS.

Mario Cuomo's suggested new social contract, which recognizes the importance of the involvement of government, businesses and private citizens, is a start but we need to go beyond that to emphasize the importance of such a contract at the local level.

In order to increase the commitment to JOBS, changes need

to take place at the federal, state, and local levels. Congress should give muscle to the idea of an integrated community-based approach to welfare reform by enacting specific requirements for localities. For example, states could face a reduction in federally matched funds if a certain percentage of localities do not inform community organizations and major employers of the JOBS program and aggressively seek their participation.

The states' commitment to JOBS could also be greatly strengthened. Federal incentives could be provided to states that provide additional training to local agencies emphasizing the need to involve all actors within a locality for JOBS to be successful. States should also be encouraged to facilitate greater state-to-locality and locality-to-locality communication and transferring of information.

Once the idea of a community commitment is encouraged at the federal and state levels, all welfare-to-work programs should be given some flexibility in sustaining this commitment. Federal policymakers should require communities to form consortiums. This would enable localities to identify sources of competition for AFDC clients and take steps to reduce this competition by promoting a local consortium that established incentives for all relevant groups to work together. Although such consortiums could be enacted at the federal level, localities should be given some flexibility in developing the designs. The flexibility states enjoy with JOBS is partially

the result of successful welfare-to-work programs under WIN. Local departments of social services should be given the same flexibility since they are more aware of local dynamics in regard to their involvement with JTPA, Private Industry Councils, area businesses and community organizations.

### **Directions for Future Research**

Although these results have limited generalizability, they do, at a minimum, suggest the need for further research on the link between the level of local commitment to JOBS and the overall success of a given JOBS program. Analysts have neglected many aspects of the entire policy implementation process that, if addressed, can provide valuable insight into why some welfare-to-work programs are more successful than others. It is only when we uncover the entire lens that we are able to see the total picture.

This thesis has argued for the importance of a commitment from various actors within a locality and has established that in Roanoke this commitment could be much stronger. These results have allowed me to develop a hypothesis. **Higher levels of commitment from within a locality will be associated with more "successful" JOBS program.** Having such a commitment is a vital pre-condition to the future success of any welfare-to-work program. The next obvious step is to test this hypothesis by comparing localities with successful programs and those with unsuccessful programs. Following this hypothesis, we would

expect to find higher levels of commitment in areas with more successful JOBS programs.

Even if this hypothesis is not supported, this thesis will have made a contribution. In order to establish under what conditions welfare-to-work programs are most successful, we must research the entire process in which social welfare policy operates. This thesis has allowed us to enter, for a brief moment, the infamous "black box" of the policy world and to think critically about an important aspect of what occurs between the initial passage of a program and the final evaluation of its impacts. It has added to our capacity for fully analyzing policy implementation.

## **Appendix A**

### **Case Worker Questionnaire**

#### **Interview Introduction**

My thesis focus is on how national welfare programs are implemented on the local level. Specifically, I am looking at the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Program. I wish to stress this is for educational purposes only. May I please record this interview?

#### **Interview Questions**

1. As a case worker, what are your general responsibilities?
2. Generally, speaking, what are your monthly responsibilities in relationship to the JOBS program?
3. Of the time you spend at work each month, what percentage is devoted to JOBS? to other responsibilities?
4. Of the time spent on JOBS what percentage is spent on placement, training and administrative activities (e.g. paperwork, scheduling)?
5. When a client approaches you how do you decide when to recommend immediate job placement vs. continuing education? What are the factors most often considered?
6. Have your routine responsibilities changed since the implementation of JOBS? If so, how?
7. Do you recall any specific departmental changes (restructuring) due to the implementation of JOBS? In what ways, if any, did the local agency respond to facilitate the JOBS program? (e.g. assignments of personnel; procedural changes, reorganization.) Could you see any changes in your agency as a result of JOBS? If yes, what were they?
8. How much importance does your agency attach to the implementation of JOBS? High priority item? Low priority item?
9. Could you describe the training you received in order to put the JOBS program into practice (e.g. memo(s), brief meeting(s), series of seminars, conference(s))?
10. Who provided this training?

11. Please describe the relationship you had with the business community and other community organizations (e.g. Total Action Against Poverty) before the implementation of JOBS?

12. Did your interaction with the business community and other community organizations change after the implementation of JOBS? If so, how?

13. Some perceive JOBS as a very minor change in welfare policy, others perceive it as a precedent with a great deal of potential. Professionally speaking, what is your opinion of the JOBS program?

14. What is your job title? How long have you worked for the Roanoke Department of Social Services? 12. How much staff time is given to assisting JOBS recipients?

**Appendix B**

**Employer Survey**

1. Have you heard of the Fifth District Employment and Training Consortium (sometimes referred to as the Job Training Partnership Act or JTPA)?

\_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

2. Has your firm ever had to provide new employees with additional on-the-job training to be sure they could do their job satisfactorily?

\_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

**If NO, skip to #3.**

2A. If yes, how often did JTPA assist in providing this additional training?

\_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 75-100% of the time

\_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 50-74% of the time

\_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 25-49% of the time

\_\_\_\_\_ Approximately 1-24% of the time

\_\_\_\_\_ 0% of the time

3. Relative to other major employers in the area, how would you describe your involvement with JTPA? (Circle one number)

---

<b>much more involved</b>	<b>more involved</b>	<b>average involvement</b>	<b>less involved</b>	<b>much less involved</b>
1	2	3	4	5

4. Given your firm's experience with the Fifth District Employment and Training Consortium (JTPA) which of the following statements best describes your firm's probable future relationship with the Fifth District Employment and Training Consortium (JTPA)?

- \_\_\_\_\_ maintain current level of involvement
- \_\_\_\_\_ increase level of involvement
- \_\_\_\_\_ decrease level of involvement

5. Are you familiar with the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Program which is a part of the Family Support Act of 1988?

- \_\_\_\_\_ YES
- \_\_\_\_\_ NO

6. Are you aware of the Private Industry Council of the Roanoke Valley?

- \_\_\_\_\_ YES
- \_\_\_\_\_ NO

7. Is your firm now or has it ever been a member of the Private Industry Council of the Roanoke Valley?

- \_\_\_\_\_ YES (If YES, complete 7A and 7B)
- \_\_\_\_\_ NO (If NO, complete 7C)
- \_\_\_\_\_ NO, but plan to become a member

7A. If yes, for how many years? \_\_\_\_\_ years

7B. Relative to other major employers in the area, how would you rate the extent of your firm's involvement with the Private Industry Council? (Circle one number)

---

much more involved	more involved	average involvement	less involved	much less involved
1	2	3	4	5

7C. Which reason best describes why your firm has never been a member of the Private Industry Council?

\_\_\_\_\_ have never been nominated for membership

\_\_\_\_\_ was nominated for membership, but not offered an appointment

\_\_\_\_\_ was nominated for membership, but declined the nomination

\_\_\_\_\_ other, please list \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Does your firm normally notify JTPA (either through mail, by telephone, or in person) when you have entry-level positions available?

\_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ UNSURE

9. To your knowledge, has your firm ever hired anyone who qualified for the Targeted Job Tax Credit (TJTC)?

\_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ UNSURE

(If NO, skip to #11)

9A. If yes, generally speaking how would you rate your experience with these employees in terms of their **ability** to perform the job assigned?

\_\_\_\_\_ excellent

\_\_\_\_\_ above average

\_\_\_\_\_ average

\_\_\_\_\_ below average

\_\_\_\_\_ poor

9B. Generally speaking how would you rate your experience with these employees in terms of their **overall job performance** (e.g. attitude, attendance, ability to get along with others).

- \_\_\_\_\_ excellent
- \_\_\_\_\_ above average
- \_\_\_\_\_ average
- \_\_\_\_\_ below average
- \_\_\_\_\_ poor

9C. How often would you say your firm hires someone who qualifies for the Targeted Job Tax Credit?

- \_\_\_\_\_ very often
- \_\_\_\_\_ often
- \_\_\_\_\_ sometimes
- \_\_\_\_\_ rarely
- \_\_\_\_\_ never
- \_\_\_\_\_ not sure

10. Generally speaking, which of the following statements best describes your attitude toward hiring someone who is eligible for the Targeted Job Tax Credit (TJTC) for entry-level positions?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Our firm hires the best qualified applicant, regardless of whether or not the applicant is TJTC eligible.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Our firm would hire someone slightly less qualified if the applicant was TJTC eligible.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Our firm would hire someone significantly less qualified if the applicant was TJTC eligible.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Our firm actively avoids hiring individuals who are eligible for the TJTC.

11. PLEASE USE THE SPACE BELOW TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS YOU THINK WOULD BE USEFUL ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE FIFTH DISTRICT EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING CONSORTIUM (JTPA), PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCIL, AND/OR TARGETED JOB TAX CREDIT EMPLOYEES.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please return it in the envelope provided by **March 24, 1992**. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

## Appendix C

### Community Organizations Questionnaire

1. Could you briefly describe the main services your organization offers to the public? Summary of organization's stated purpose.
2. What types of support services does your organization offer to the public (counseling, transportation, child-care, etc)?
3. Could you describe your involvement with the Roanoke Department of Social Services? How often do you interact with them?
4. Of the clients your organization serves, what percentage are also AFDC clients?
5. Could you describe your involvement with JTPA? How often do you interact with them?
6. Have you heard of the Private Industry Council of the Roanoke Valley? Describe involvement.
7. Have you heard of the Family Support Act of 1988 and the JOBS program? If yes, what contact, if any, have you had with it?
8. Has the Roanoke Department of Social Services ever contacted you about providing services to some of their clients? If yes, what was your response?
9. Do you **currently** provide services which are part of an agreement or contract with the Roanoke Department of Social Services? If yes, describe services. Do you think you will continue to provide these services in the next couple of years?
10. Has your organization contacted the local department of social services to inquire about becoming involved in the JOBS program? If yes, how often?
11. How much of your budget would you say is allocated to assisting JOBS recipients?

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## **Vita**

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