

Work-Related Resources and Services: Implications for TANF

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A primary intent of the 1996 welfare reform legislation is to transform cash public assistance to poor families into a system of work. Prior to block grants, federal funds allocated to employment-related services for welfare recipients were kept separate from the funds going to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) cash benefits. The Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) block grants now give states authority to decide how much of their federal welfare funding will be devoted to cash assistance and how much to work-related services.

Paralleling this reform of welfare are federal legislative proposals and state initiatives to consolidate dozens of federal job training programs into a more streamlined workforce development system.¹

States, thus, have an unprecedented opportunity to reexamine the whole range of employment and training resources available to their disadvantaged populations, including how many resources to allocate to moving welfare recipients into employment. How the pieces currently fit together to serve public assistance recipients is a complex picture that differs by state. Officials making their own decisions in individual states may benefit from understanding practices and patterns in other states.

To identify state patterns, this brief provides an overview of the employment and training resources states used to serve their welfare populations on the eve of TANF.² It also considers some potential scenarios that could emerge as states respond to their new block grant options. (The effectiveness of employment and training services in improving the employability and self-sufficiency of individuals will be considered in a future brief, as will the relationship between resources and the TANF work activity participation requirements.)

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Federal Employment and Training Resources for AFDC Recipients

The major federal work and training programs through which AFDC recipients were served in the mid-1990s are shown in table 1.

Coverage of Individual Programs

The Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program, abolished along with AFDC by the 1996 legislation, was the largest of the programs, and the only one exclusively for the AFDC population. Federal spending on JOBS amounted to about \$950 million annually in its final years. Although 100 percent of JOBS participants were AFDC recipients, JOBS served

Table 1
Federal Spending and AFDC Participation for
Major Employment-Related Programs

	Federal Spending (\$ Millions)		AFDC Recipients, 1994		
	FY 1994	FY 1995	Number in Program	As % of All Program Participants	As % of All Adult AFDC Recipients
JOBS^a	\$839	\$953	756,729	100%	12.8%
JTPA^b					
Adult (IIA)	998	997	83,000	35	1.4
Youth (IIC)	659	77	48,000	27	0.8
Dislocated Workers (III)	1,045	1,204	4,000	2	0.1
Total	2,692	2,278	135,000	22	2.3
Employment Service	816	834	650,000	4	11.0
Pell Grants^c	5,818	5,426	300,000^d	15^d	5.1^d
Adult Education^b	255	252	600,000 to 900,000	15 to 22	10.2 to 15.3
Student Loans^c	24,027	27,126	170,000	4	2.9

Source: Urban Institute 1997. AFDC recipient totals are based on federally reported enrollment or participation in each program, including duplicate counts across programs. For FY 1994, federal spending amounts are from *Appendix, Budget of the United States Government, FY 1996*; for FY 1995 they are from *Appendix, Budget of the United States Government, FY 1997*.

a. Outlay amounts.

b. Obligation amounts.

c. "Federal funds available."

d. Data for 1991.

only 12.8 percent of the adult AFDC caseload in 1994 (the most recent year for which data are available).³

The new law, as mentioned, no longer designates specific federal allocations for employment-related services for needy families. Still, states have reasons for allocating at least some of their TANF funds to employment-related services. In particular, the new law includes work-related goals, which all states must meet. All adults must be "engaged" in work by the time they have received 24 months of TANF assistance (which can include some education and training activities as well as employment in the regular labor market), and states have overall participation rate targets they must meet. Regardless of how easy or difficult these targets prove to be for states, states are likely to allocate at least some TANF funds to employment services.⁴

While not focused exclusively on welfare recipients, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) is the largest source of federal employment-related funds for the economically disadvantaged generally. Of its \$5 billion

annual authorization, about half is allocated to states specifically for job training for low-income adults (Title IIA) and youth (Title IIC), and dislocated workers (Title III). In the JTPA adult programs, AFDC recipients account for 35 percent of the participants. In the youth programs, AFDC recipients account for 27 percent of program participants. While 135,000 AFDC recipients in total are in JTPA activities annually, this represents only a small portion (2 percent) of the adult AFDC population.

The Employment Service (ES) is a general labor exchange system of over 2,000 local offices nationwide, where anyone can request employment services and information about job openings, aptitude tests, and labor market conditions. About 4 percent of ES applicants are AFDC recipients, a group that makes up 11 percent of the AFDC adult caseload.

The last three programs on the list provide education rather than employment-related services. These are not all directly under state control, but may play a role in state planning. Of the three, adult education enrolls the largest share of AFDC recipients—10

to 15 percent—while each of the other programs serves 5 percent or less.

These figures, which come from federal program reports, give a good idea of the relative importance historically of the major federal programs available to AFDC recipients. They cannot be used directly to measure what proportion of the AFDC caseload received some kind of employment-related service, however, because they include a substantial number of persons officially registered in more than one program.

Estimating Overall Caseload Coverage

There are no national data sources that provide direct counts of the number of persons simultaneously enrolled in two or more of the programs listed in table 1. But data from the national JTPA reporting system and the JOBS reports submitted by states to the federal government do allow estimating dual enrollment in JOBS and JTPA—the two major programs that historically targeted AFDC recipients.⁵ In 1994, according to these reporting systems, about 823,000 AFDC recipients nationwide participated in JOBS and/or JTPA. The vast majority (88 percent) were in JOBS only, 4 percent were enrolled in both programs, and 8 percent were in JTPA only.⁶ Thus, of 101,000 AFDC recipients active in JTPA in 1994,⁷ about 35 percent were also in JOBS.

This estimate of overlap can be applied to other programs by assuming that, as with JTPA, only 35 percent of AFDC participants in the other programs were also in JOBS. If one assumes, further, that there was no overlap between other programs and JTPA but that half of the non-JOBS, non-JTPA welfare recipients in other programs were served more than once (i.e., half as many people as transactions), we arrive at an estimated 559,000 AFDC adults who were in some non-JOBS, non-JTPA program nationwide in 1994.⁸

The results of combining what is known about JOBS and JTPA participation with what one can estimate for the other programs are shown in figure 1. About 23 percent of all AFDC adults (1.4 million persons nationwide) were in one or more of the major

Table 2
AFDC Recipients in JOBS and/or JTPA, by State, 1994

State	Number of AFDC Adults	AFDC Adults in JOBS and/or JTPA (unduplicated)		Number of AFDC Adults in JOBS, JTPA				
		Number	Percent of AFDC Adults	Unduplicated Counts			Duplicated Counts	
				JOBS Only	JTPA Only	JOBS & JTPA	Total JOBS	Total JTPA
Alabama	46,786	9,568	20.5%	8,476	734	358	8,834	1,092
Alaska ^a	17,979	1,156	6.4	900	179	77	977	256
Arizona	83,685	5,341	6.4	4,114	1,061	166	4,280	1,227
Arkansas	25,608	10,764	42.0	9,980	667	117	10,097	784
California	1,077,327	101,546	9.4	89,247	10,564	1,735	90,982	12,299
Colorado	49,913	7,928	15.9	6,293	1,037	598	6,891	1,635
Connecticut ^b	68,704	8,236	12.0	7,052	887	297	7,349	1,184
Delaware	11,531	1,445	12.5	1,142	159	144	1,286	303
D.C.	29,851	2,052	6.9	1,622	318	112	1,734	430
Florida	266,843	31,587	11.8	26,116	4,278	1,193	27,309	5,471
Georgia	153,515	19,029	12.4	17,024	1,748	257	17,281	2,005
Hawaii	26,984	1,917	7.1	1,695	192	30	1,725	222
Idaho	9,787	1,518	15.5	1,211	231	76	1,287	307
Illinois	292,121	35,630	12.2	30,543	2,169	2,918	33,461	5,087
Indiana	91,514	10,686	11.7	9,354	903	429	9,783	1,332
Iowa	49,967	12,509	25.0	11,691	543	275	11,966	818
Kansas	36,054	9,442	26.2	8,944	222	276	9,220	498
Kentucky	92,032	13,200	14.3	11,570	1,132	498	12,068	1,630
Louisiana	88,321	12,867	14.6	9,801	2,303	763	10,564	3,066
Maine	31,258	4,778	15.3	4,319	309	150	4,469	459
Maryland	91,803	11,883	12.9	8,537	1,001	2,345	10,882	3,346
Massachusetts	141,602	22,467	15.9	19,264	857	2,346	21,610	3,203
Michigan	292,847	65,839	22.5	60,795	2,921	2,123	62,918	5,044
Minnesota	81,217	9,107	11.2	6,838	1,363	906	7,744	2,269
Mississippi	55,505	6,464	11.6	5,199	993	272	5,471	1,265
Missouri	112,315	8,840	7.9	7,083	1,341	416	7,499	1,757
Montana	15,650	5,942	38.0	5,621	165	156	5,777	321
Nebraska	18,460	7,657	41.5	7,178	323	156	7,334	479
Nevada	14,599	1,188	8.1	871	236	81	952	317
New Hampshire	14,172	2,364	16.7	1,728	186	450	2,178	636
New Jersey	139,163	17,168	12.3	14,223	837	2,108	16,331	2,945
New Mexico	46,377	10,385	22.4	9,722	559	104	9,826	663
New York	569,851	62,998	11.1	57,259	3,307	2,432	59,691	5,739
North Carolina	141,869	15,317	10.8	13,055	1,564	698	13,753	2,262
North Dakota	7,265	2,214	30.5	1,997	151	66	2,063	217
Ohio	296,241	66,091	22.3	61,245	3,129	1,717	62,962	4,846
Oklahoma	52,944	6,525	12.3	5,820	465	240	6,060	705
Oregon	49,153	3,605	7.3	2,405	684	516	2,921	1,200
Pennsylvania	261,611	50,791	19.4	46,396	3,712	683	47,079	4,395
Rhode Island	27,673	5,567	20.1	4,870	589	108	4,978	697
South Carolina	48,392	10,503	21.7	9,366	927	210	9,576	1,137
South Dakota	7,063	1,871	26.5	1,572	115	184	1,756	299
Tennessee	124,448	9,999	8.0	6,488	2,122	1,389	7,877	3,511
Texas	307,070	33,027	10.8	27,423	4,162	1,442	28,865	5,604
Utah	21,598	9,444	43.7	9,085	263	96	9,181	359
Vermont	13,705	2,982	21.8	2,695	218	69	2,764	287
Virginia	78,095	10,545	13.5	8,894	1,180	471	9,365	1,651
Washington	135,205	28,024	20.7	25,889	1,338	797	26,686	2,135
West Virginia	54,800	13,048	23.8	11,798	894	356	12,154	1,250
Wisconsin	121,613	18,627	15.3	16,434	1,098	1,095	17,529	2,193
Wyoming ^b	7,726	1,422	18.4	1,368	37	17	1,385	54
U.S. Total	5,899,811	823,102	14.0	722,211	66,373	34,518	756,729	100,891

(Brief no. A-7)

Source: The Urban Institute, based on AFDC caseload data from "ACF-3637, Statistical Report on Recipients Under Public Assistance," U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; state JOBS program data (FY 1994) as reported in U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Memo No. JOBS-ACF-IM-96-3, May 1, 1996; and JTPA participant data (Program Year (PY) 1994) from the U.S. Department of Labor (PY 94) Standardized Program Information Report Public Use File. JOBS and AFDC data are annualized estimates based on adjusted average monthly statistics. JTPA data in this table exclude individuals who received objective assessment only.

a. Due to incomplete FY 1994 JOBS data for Alaska, FY 1993 JOBS data were used.

b. Due to incomplete PY 1994 JTPA data for Connecticut and Wyoming, PY 1993 JTPA data were used.

federally funded education or work-related programs in 1994: 823,000 in JOBS and/or JTPA and about 559,000 in one or more of the other programs.⁹

State Variation in JOBS and JTPA Activity and Funding

There is, of course, much variation across states in the extent to which AFDC recipients participated in work-related programs and in the

\$5,200 per participant in JTPA. Not surprisingly, those states that had lower percentages of their AFDC case-loads in JOBS and JTPA had relatively higher spending per participant than states with higher participation levels.

The importance of JTPA resources is a striking finding. Over half a billion dollars in JTPA funds (Titles IIA, IIC, and III) were spent in 1994 on AFDC recipients nationwide, about one-quarter of all JTPA expenditures. Thus, JTPA spending nationally raised the total spent on employment-

ES are worried that their reputation with employers—their primary customers—may be hurt if they have to serve large numbers of welfare recipients who may not be immediately job ready and, therefore, not attractive to the private sector. Advocates for the poor are concerned that states will not devote as much of their TANF funds to work activities as they did in the past under JOBS.

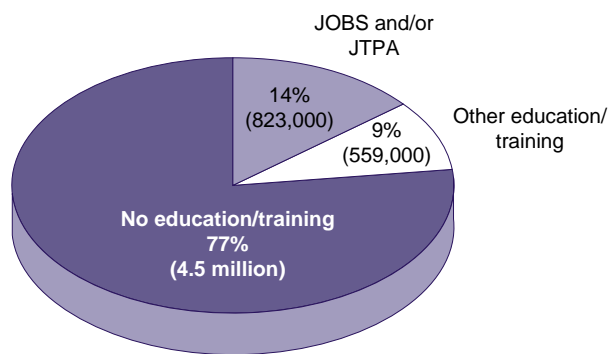
The information presented here provides insight into the extent to which AFDC recipients have already been participating in various education, training, and employment programs, often outside the official domain of the welfare system. These data suggest several potential scenarios for how TANF could change the way states fund work activities for welfare clients.

Status Quo Maintenance of Effort. One option for states is to continue to use the same amount of federal and state funds for TANF work activities as they have for JOBS in prior years. They could also continue to use JTPA and other education and employment programs for TANF clients as they have for AFDC recipients in the past.

If the same level of funding and outside program support continues, the same number of TANF clients can be expected to be in work-related programs as had been the case under AFDC: about 800,000 in welfare- and/or JTPA-funded programs and possibly another 500,000 in other programs. Reducing any of the funding streams would decrease the number of TANF clients who could be served unless service costs are also reduced (for example, by using lower intensity service strategies such as immediate job search).

Maximize JTPA. States could, instead, shift more of their JTPA resources to welfare recipients, thereby decreasing the amount of services that could be provided to the non-welfare poor. JTPA is a very limited resource, however, since with current funding only about 500,000 persons nationwide are served under Titles IIA, IIC, and III combined. Even if the number of AFDC or TANF participants in JTPA were increased fourfold over historic participation rates (i.e., enough to use

Figure 1
AFDC Adults in Federal Education and Training Programs, 1994
(Total AFDC Adults = 5.9 million)



Source: Urban Institute 1997.

funding available. State estimates of these factors are shown in table 2, which presents the unduplicated counts of AFDC recipients in either JTPA or JOBS in 1994, by state. While about 14 percent of all AFDC adults nationwide were reported to be in either JOBS, JTPA, or both that year, rates ranged from a high of over 40 percent in Arkansas, Nebraska, and Utah to a low of less than 10 percent in nine other states: Alaska, Arizona, California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Missouri, Nevada, Oregon, and Tennessee.

The combined federal and state funding for JTPA and JOBS for AFDC recipients in 1994 is shown in table 3. Nationwide, about \$1.8 billion under JTPA Titles IIA, IIC, and III and JOBS was spent for employment- and training-related services for the 823,000 AFDC recipients who were in one or both of these programs. This translates into about \$2,200 per participant—\$1,700 per participant in JOBS and

related services for AFDC clients by 41 percent above the JOBS level. In some states, JTPA expenditures were even more significant. In California, for example, JTPA spending added 59 percent above what was available under JOBS. In Florida and Nevada, JTPA added over 100 percent.

Possible Scenarios under TANF

As policymakers decide how, and how much, states will fund work-related services for TANF recipients, a variety of viewpoints emerge. Many welfare administrators claim they will be hard-pressed to increase the numbers of welfare recipients beyond the level already in work-related programs.¹⁰ Some in the job training community feel that states have already shifted many of their JTPA funds to welfare recipients, possibly crowding out non-welfare poor. Others in the

Table 3
Estimated JOBS and JTPA Expenditures on AFDC Recipients, by State, 1994

State	Federal and State Expenditures (\$ thousands)			Per Person Spending (\$)		
	JOBS	JTPA	Total	JOBS	JTPA	Total
Alabama	\$13,850	\$5,683	\$19,533	\$1,568	\$5,204	\$2,041
Alaska	3,526	1,662	5,188	3,611 ^a	6,492	4,490 ^a
Arizona	10,656	6,814	17,469	2,490	5,553	3,271
Arkansas	9,766	3,701	13,467	967	4,721	1,251
California	148,485	87,250	235,735	1,632	7,094	2,321
Colorado	14,216	5,725	19,941	2,063	3,502	2,515
Connecticut ^b	9,904	5,724	15,628	1,348	4,834	1,898
Delaware	3,496	1,389	4,885	2,718	4,585	3,380
D.C.	7,485	1,284	8,769	4,317	2,987	4,274
Florida	27,056	30,859	57,915	991	5,640	1,833
Georgia	29,760	14,102	43,862	1,722	7,033	2,305
Hawaii	12,048	824	12,872	6,986	3,711	6,716
Idaho	4,139	1,823	5,962	3,215	5,938	3,926
Illinois	49,920	22,159	72,079	1,492	4,356	2,023
Indiana	14,690	6,802	21,492	1,502	5,107	2,011
Iowa	14,134	3,857	17,991	1,181	4,715	1,438
Kansas	10,319	2,016	12,335	1,119	4,049	1,306
Kentucky	20,400	7,958	28,359	1,690	4,882	2,148
Louisiana	31,502	11,323	42,825	2,982	3,693	3,328
Maine	6,601	2,397	8,998	1,477	5,222	1,883
Maryland	21,419	7,981	29,400	1,968	2,385	2,474
Massachusetts	37,192	17,599	54,791	1,721	5,495	2,439
Michigan	68,877	23,890	92,767	1,095	4,736	1,409
Minnesota	21,423	7,428	28,851	2,766	3,274	3,168
Mississippi	20,460	4,366	24,826	3,740	3,452	3,841
Missouri	19,266	8,272	27,538	2,569	4,708	3,115
Montana	3,288	1,939	5,227	569	6,042	880
Nebraska	4,275	1,472	5,747	583	3,072	751
Nevada	1,842	1,942	3,784	1,935	6,125	3,185
New Hampshire	6,265	2,701	8,966	2,877	4,247	3,794
New Jersey	46,631	16,784	63,415	2,855	5,699	3,694
New Mexico	2,974	2,907	5,881	303	4,384	566
New York	171,927	40,227	212,154	2,880	7,009	3,368
North Carolina	35,172	9,625	44,796	2,557	4,255	2,925
North Dakota	1,550	705	2,255	752	3,249	1,019
Ohio	86,161	24,144	110,305	1,368	4,982	1,669
Oklahoma	12,513	4,299	16,813	2,065	6,098	2,576
Oregon	21,240	4,849	26,089	7,273	4,041	7,238
Pennsylvania	70,027	41,354	111,381	1,487	9,409	2,193
Rhode Island	8,061	2,659	10,719	1,619	3,814	1,925
South Carolina	8,404	4,833	13,237	878	4,251	1,260
South Dakota	2,110	812	2,922	1,202	2,714	1,562
Tennessee	13,015	11,185	24,200	1,652	3,186	2,420
Texas	61,093	29,675	90,768	2,117	5,295	2,748
Utah	7,722	1,533	9,255	841	4,271	980
Vermont	4,716	1,030	5,747	1,706	3,590	1,927
Virginia	16,920	6,355	23,275	1,807	3,849	2,207
Washington	25,119	12,103	37,222	941	5,669	1,328
West Virginia	12,728	7,158	19,886	1,047	5,726	1,524
Wisconsin	36,059	6,064	42,123	2,057	2,765	2,261
Wyoming ^b	2,525	389	2,914	1,822	7,210	2,049
U.S. Total	1,292,929	529,632	1,822,561	1,709	5,250	2,214

(Brief no. A-7)

Source: The Urban Institute, based on state JOBS program data (FY 1994) as reported in U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Memo No. JOBS-ACF-IM-96-3, May 1, 1996, Table 2. Average monthly federal and state JOBS expenditures multiplied by 12. JTPA data are from *Budget Information for States*, Office of Management and Budget, FY 1996, allocations to each state for Program Year (PY) 1994 for Titles IIA, IIC, and III. The shares of JOBS and JTPA program expenditures going to AFDC recipients were assumed equal to the AFDC shares of program participation in the respective programs.

a. Due to incomplete AFDC JOBS participation data for FY 1994, JOBS participation data for FY 1993 were used.

b. Due to incomplete PY 1994 JTPA data for Connecticut and Wyoming, PY 1993 JTPA data were used.

all current JTPA funds), that would accommodate only about 10 percent of the adults in a TANF program the size of AFDC in 1994. It would also preclude any other disadvantaged or dislocated workers from receiving any JTPA job training services, not a likely outcome politically.

State Expansion. Finally, states could continue to use the same amount of funds under TANF for work activity as they had spent in prior years under JOBS and continue to use other programs as in the past, but allocate new state funds for further investment in job activities for TANF recipients. The net additional state funds could be used to either increase the number of persons served or expand the types of activities available—such as more costly work approaches like long-term training, or additional community service jobs for those not yet on TANF.

Implications and Opportunities

The analysis presented here has several broader implications for state policymakers:

- There are already considerable amounts of work-related resources being devoted to welfare recipients. About 1 in 4 adults receiving AFDC drew on these resources prior to welfare reform, once all sources of federal funds are taken into account. Yet a substantial number of those individuals were not recorded as enrolled in education and training programs by the welfare agency. This suggests that some states may be able to raise their TANF work participation rates simply by continuing the participation and spending patterns set in the pre-TANF period, as long as TANF recipients who participate in various education and training programs can be identified and tracked.
- To accurately identify all work-related participation and spending on TANF recipients would require

changes in how the major non-TANF and non-JTPA programs (e.g., adult education, Pell grants, and the ES) define and report information about service levels, participant characteristics, and service expenditures. These changes may be worthwhile, for both reporting and case management purposes.

- States vary greatly in the extent to which AFDC clients have been served through JTPA. This seems likely to continue under TANF. But policymakers need to recognize

There are already many work-related resources being devoted to welfare recipients. Some states may be able to raise their official work activity rates under TANF simply by continuing the participation and spending patterns set in the pre-TANF period, as long as TANF recipients who participate in various education and training programs can be identified and tracked.

that at current funding levels, JTPA could in no way serve as the primary work-related funding stream for a TANF program that sought to deliver employment services to the majority of those previously supported by AFDC.

The future dynamics of TANF funding are also important for planning work-related services. In the early years of TANF, the fixed block grants are set at relatively generous levels compared to pre-TANF funding for AFDC and JOBS. So some expansion of employment-related services may be possible. As noted above, if states simply maintain the same levels of combined federal and state funding as they had in 1994 for JOBS, JTPA, and other programs, they will be able to provide employment-related services to about 1.4 million welfare recipients nationwide—on the assumption that

they do not change the mix, and therefore cost, of services.

As the years go by, though, the challenge to states will grow as they are required to increase the proportion of TANF recipients who are in work activities. To the extent this can be done by moving TANF recipients directly and permanently into the labor market, states may face little fiscal strain. But if the unassisted transition of recipients into jobs proceeds more slowly, additional state and/or federal resources for employment-related services may be needed if TANF is indeed to succeed in replacing welfare with work.

Notes

Programming and research assistance by Steven Trost contributed importantly to this analysis.

1. Federal legislative proposals to consolidate workforce and employment programs were not enacted by Congress last year, but similar proposals are being considered in 1997. Many states have been moving in this direction even in the absence of federal legislation.
2. This brief focuses on direct employment, training, and education resources. Other resources such as child care, tax credits, and family services also facilitate the transition from welfare to work.
3. This relates to the proportion of all AFDC adults in 1994 who were officially in JOBS. It is *not* based on the official JOBS definition of participation (i.e., average monthly number of persons in JOBS). The annualized number of JOBS participants in table 1 was obtained by multiplying the reported average monthly numbers for FY 1994 in HHS Report JOBS-ACF-IM-95-5 by an Urban Institute adjustment for annualizing AFDC caseloads based on analysis of spell duration.
4. A future brief in this series will focus on the participation rate issues facing states under TANF.
5. State JOBS data are from the HHS report for FY 1994 cited in note 3. JTPA data are from a special analysis of the

U.S. Department of Labor's "PY94 Standardized Program Information Report (SPIR)" Public Use File, for Titles IIA, IIC, and III, and include only those individuals who received services beyond an initial objective assessment.

6. For a technical explanation of the estimates, see Demetra Smith Nightingale, "Dual Enrollment of AFDC Recipients in Various Employment, Training, and Education Programs," Washington, D.C., the Urban Institute, 1997.

7. These 101,000 AFDC recipients received JTPA services beyond the initial objective assessment. The 135,000 number in table 1 includes all AFDC recipients enrolled in JTPA regardless of service intensity.

8. This also assumes that the number of AFDC recipients participating in adult education was at the low end of the range shown in table 1 (600,000). The overlap between JOBS and other programs in this scenario implies that 44 percent of JOBS participants were also in other programs, not a surprising figure given that many of those officially enrolled in JOBS were sent to (and enrolled in) other programs for service receipt.

9. These estimates are based on important assumptions about multiple program participation. They vary only a little, however, with substantial changes in those assumptions. For example, a "high overlap" scenario, in which 50 percent of those in non-JOBS, non-JTPA programs also participate in JOBS (rather than 35 percent) and 75 percent participate in multiple non-JOBS, non-JTPA programs (rather than 50 percent), still puts 18 percent of all AFDC adults in some work-related program (1.0 million individuals). Similarly, a "low overlap" scenario—20 percent JOBS overlap and 25 percent internal overlap among non-JOBS, non-JTPA programs—puts only 31 percent of AFDC adults in some work-related program (1.9 million individuals). Thus, the finding that roughly 1 in 4 AFDC adults participated in some work-related program in 1994 is robust to alternative assumptions.

10. This point is consistent with substantial overlap in program enrollment, since many "dual enrollees" are actually served by only one program. Even those served by two programs may need both components to be served effectively.

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