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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Debra Anne Wolfe Shumaker entitled "The Impact of Transportation and Childcare Assistance On Self-Sufficiency in Families First Participants in Tennessee." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in political science.

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THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORTATION AND CHILDCARE ASSISTANCE ON SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FAMILIES FIRST PARTICIPANTS IN TENNESSEE

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ABSTRACT

States are not required to provide subsidies for childcare and transportation, but at the time of this writing all provided some supplements to TANF participants who were working, looking for work, or attending school. However, there has been little assessment of the effectiveness of these programs. Using data from a longitudinal study on Families First recipients in the state of Tennessee, this exploratory study addresses the questions of whether transportation and childcare supplements contribute to the ability of TANF participants to move off welfare and support their families adequately through their own efforts, and whether outcomes from these services differ by geographic location. The survey sample consisted of 3,569 respondents who were currently receiving or who had recently received TANF services through Tennessee's Families First program, beginning with the initial survey in 2001.

Regardless of any assistance provided for childcare and transportation, which have been addressed in the literature as significant barriers to employment and thus the well-being of TANF participants, most of the survey participants remain among the poorest families in the country. While transportation and childcare supports may alleviate some of the barriers that TANF participants must overcome, this research finds that they do not in themselves improve the likelihood that poor families will be able to move out of poverty. However, there are some indicators that they do help in terms of having employment, which is the first step toward achieving financial well-being.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996 fundamentally changed the provision of assistance for needy families, restructuring our public welfare system to focus on putting the unemployed poor to work and setting limits on the amount of time a family may receive public assistance benefits. Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), the primary income maintenance program for the poor in the United States, provides cash benefits for struggling families with dependent children. The stated purposes of TANF are "...assisting needy families so that children can be cared for in their own homes, reducing dependency of needy parents by promoting job preparation, work and marriage; preventing out-of-wedlock pregnancies; and encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families" (Administration for Children and Families, 2009, para.5). The change in title from Aid to Families with Dependent Children to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families symbolized the country's growing impatience with continued, sometimes multigenerational, reliance upon public assistance. Stronger emphasis was put upon the work ethic and traditional family, sanctions for noncompliance with program regulations were strengthened, and benefits were limited to five years within a lifetime.

The move from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) also epitomizes the “devolution” of government, as responsibility and administrative discretion was shifted from the federal level to state

governments. While AFDC functioned within strict federal guidelines and provided service indefinitely, TANF allows for states to design their own programs, which ostensibly better fit their consumers. However, these services are time limited and not guaranteed to all who might need them. Allocations for AFDC funding were fairly open-ended; states could return to the federal government if more funding was needed. With TANF, states receive a set amount through a categorical block grant, and must provide any additional needed funding themselves. Unlike AFDC, TANF offers extensive administrative discretion to states; in fact, "...states may use TANF funds in any manner reasonably calculated to accomplish the purposes of TANF" (Social Security Administration, 2004). As long as a state remains compliant with broad federal guidelines, it has great leeway in designing programs to address the specific needs of its citizens.

Has this shift from federal bureaucracy to state management led to better welfare policy and practice? Ostensibly, devolution from federal to state control should allow for more flexibility in program design, more responsiveness to the needs of citizens, and more efficient use of funds. States that manage innovative and successful programs could serve as models for other states. But if devolution is to work, it will require that states innovate, respond to real needs, and develop oversight functions that assure that increasingly diminishing federal funds are spent in the best way possible.

The question of who should manage the public welfare has been in debate since the Continental Congress. Donald Kettl (2002) proposes that this tension stems from the four distinct traditions upon which American public administration was founded: Hamiltonian, Jeffersonian, Madisonian, and Wilsonian. While Alexander Hamilton favored a strong executive and top-

down management, Thomas Jefferson advocated the opposite approach. James Madison believed that we must balance the interests of diverse factions in government; and Wilson believed that public agencies should be left alone to carry out policy directives. At different times in history, we have favored one perspective more than the others; we have never stayed the course in the administration of public programs (although Hamiltonian ideas have always held some weight, no matter what the time frame). We have never been able to reconcile these four cogent but competing frameworks about American politics, and the disagreement over who has control of the bureaucracy has continued into the 21st century.

Woodrow Wilson's (1887) contention that it is "…harder to run a constitution than to frame one" seems to have become more true with the passage of time and the increasing complexity of American society. Wilson bemoaned the plurality of interests and the frustrations of government "technology" even at the turn of the twentieth century; it has certainly gotten no simpler over the past 100 years. According to Wilson, the provision of public services is complicated by popular sovereignty – public opinion makes compromise necessary, and reform move slowly. He understood that in many cases, public opinion must change before policy change can occur. This is certainly true in terms of social policy, particularly those relating to what is commonly termed "welfare".

Simon (1947) also addressed the problematic nature of the bureaucratic process. Because it is difficult for humans to see the big picture, there is a disconnect in the "means-end chain" – the series of decisions involved in carrying out policy. The result of this is that bureaucrats don't always choose the alternative that will solve the problem in the best way possible. This is

complicated by the concept of bounded rationality – the fact that decisions are most always based on incomplete information, and that we cannot know all the potential solutions to a problem. This is especially evident in policy choices related to public assistance, as those who are making decisions rarely come in contact with those whose behavior their decisions are intended to affect.

Simon (1947) addressed the role of values in decision-making; stating that it is impossible to separate facts from values, and that competing values often complicate possible choices. Even among helping professionals, values related to the provision of public assistance often conflict: how does one assure that families have their needs met without fostering dependency upon the welfare system? Rosenbloom (1983) also addressed the issues of conflicting values in the administration of the public good. According to Rosenbloom, bureaucrats must juggle three often competing sets of values: the managerial, focused on efficiency and effectiveness; the political, with accountability and responsiveness; and the legal, encompassing equity and due process. In social welfare, reconciling these conflicting values is at best difficult and nearly impossible when trying to balance the varied ideological, political, and economic demands of state and federal entities.

Accountability and assessment also poses a problem in determining social policy. James Q. Wilson (1975) points out that there is no "product" in public administration which can be effectively assessed, and there are no profits to be shared by workers (p. 115). Bureaucrats at the top are mandated to carry out the wishes of legislators; workers at lower levels must follow the directives of the bureaucrat. According to Wilson (1975), this results in a structure that focuses

on process rather than outcome, gives outsiders control over internal procedures, makes managers more risk averse, and establishes rules more focused on equity than efficiency (pp. 131-132). Wilson goes on to illustrate that the more constraints and contextual goals are the focus, the "…more control is shifted to the top…who know less about specific problems" (1975, p. 133).

More than ever, the provision of public service is a patchwork affair. The face of public administration has been dramatically altered not only by devolution, but also by the shift from traditional bureaucracy to the public/private mix that is now the norm. The practice of "…public management is now about arms-length, indirect relationships with dispersed and diverse entities rather than about the supervision of civil servants who are organized by agency and governed by employment contracts" (Heinrich, Hill, and Lynn, 2004, in *The Art of Governance, p.* 3)

In his study of administrative frameworks, Wright (1996) described the traditional bureaucracy as a layer cake, with each layer of government distinct from the others. With the advent of networking and contracting, bureaucracy later shifted to what Wright (1996) refers to as the "cooptive" form of federalism, relying more on local governments for administrative functions. In Wright's 1996 framework, PRWORA is the Permissive or "spider web" form of federalism, where states have more freedom to shape services, but less money to work with. However, having the freedom to innovate does not always result in new ideas and programs; and if funding is inadequate to hire and train specialized workers, the potential of these new programs is diminished.

It is rational to assume that if states have the freedom to design programs more attuned to

poor families toward economic stability. Ideally, devolution should allow states to produce policies and programs that address the needs of particular areas. However, Parisi, McLaughlin, Grice, Taquino, and Gill (2003) found that TANF doesn't allow much distinction between rural and urban areas; they describe it as particularly punitive to those in depressed rural areas who do not have access to education or work opportunities. Since TANF supports program flexibility, it may be that some states are not taking advantage of this opportunity to accommodate for the special problems in certain locations. Parisi et al. conclude that "…communities differ in their ability to provide opportunities to reduce residents' TANF participation" (2003, p. 508). Flexibility of program design can improve efficiency, but it does not appear that many states have exercised this option.

States are allowed to use federal funds for what they deem most necessary to helping people stay employed -- child-care, transportation, after-school programs, counseling, work-readiness, or marriage/parent enrichment. This allows a state to tailor services to best meet their unique needs and increase funding in areas which will best serve the goals of their programs. But federal funding is limited, and managing these funds effectively and efficiently requires thoughtful program planning and analysis of outcomes for the individuals served. Funding for employment supports such as transportation and childcare assistance has increased substantially since the implementation of PRWORA, but it is unclear whether this additional funding is a response to careful analysis of the needs of welfare recipients, or if they are the most effective way for states to address the issue of poverty and increase self-sufficiency in their needy residents.

While the focus of AFDC was to provide a minimal standard of living for needy families, the focus of TANF is, clearly, work. Under the original provisions of PRWORA, states initially received credit for reducing caseloads; now they must focus more on how many people are working or involved in work activities. If these numbers do not meet required federal levels, funding can be cut (Tweedie, 2006). Recent changes have further restricted activities outside of work that may be legitimately covered with TANF funds. Reauthorization has limited what can be counted as a "work activity" and activities such as counseling, rehab, education and English as Second Language (ESL) training are highly restricted. In order for states to retain their funding for public assistance programs and more importantly, for parents to gain and hold jobs that allow them to free themselves from welfare dependency, it is essential that TANF programs are well-designed and effective in moving TANF participants into employment.

Whether or not you consider PRWORA a success depends upon what you believe its goal to be. Most assessments of welfare reform take a dichotomous approach to whether or not it is reaching its goals: families are either "on" or "off" welfare. If the welfare rolls remain high, the program is not meeting expectations; conversely, if caseloads are reduced through families leaving TANF, they must be successful and thus so is the program. However, TANF recipients stop receiving services for a number of reasons. They may have exhausted their time limits, be unable to meet the program requirements, or have obtained jobs with wages just high enough to make them ineligible for participation. Being off the welfare rolls is no indicator of the ability to provide adequately for a family's needs, even if one is working. Little attention has been given to how well welfare reform has supported the ability of the poor to become self-sufficient or

whether the changes brought about through PRWORA have significantly increased the number of families who no longer *need* TANF.

In terms of eliminating families from the welfare system, PRWORA has done well. Since implementing the changes brought by PROWRA, TANF “caseloads reduced by 60%, child support payments have doubled, more than a million former recipients are gainfully employed, and child poverty has actually declined” (Friedman, 2006, p.3). In addition, the expansion of some auxiliary support services such as child care, has "...increased employment and full-time work among TANF recipients" (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2004, p.1). Increased employment and full-time jobs certainly support the goals of TANF, but it is unclear how well employment supports have improved the ability of welfare recipients to become self-sufficient.

According to some analysts, it appears that TANF has helped the employment picture for a number of families. The Urban Institute (2006) reported that the likelihood of welfare recipients or their family members to be working or engaged in work-related activities increased substantially between 1997 and 2002. Their research also showed that welfare recipients were reporting significantly higher incomes during this period. While some analysts tout the success of PROWRA as the catalyst for increased employment, not all experts agree. The debate continues over whether welfare reform or the booming economy of the nineties was truly responsible for the decrease in the rolls (Pickering, Harvey, Summers, and Mushinski, 2006; Blank, 2002).

The picture of life after welfare reform is not entirely rosy. While the poverty rate did drop after the implementation of PRWORA, it began to climb again after the economy slowed in

2000. By 2003, the poverty rate had returned to 1988 levels (Rodgers, 2005). According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (2004) and the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services (2005), the poverty rate for families who have left TANF remains high, and families who have left the program recently are less likely to be employed than earlier leavers. The 2004 Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP) report also states that families who left the welfare system in 2000 or after have not been as successful in employment as those who left in the 1990s.

More troubling is the fact that the number of unemployed families who left the welfare system and do not have another source of support has increased slightly. The Urban Institute reports that the percentage of families who returned to welfare within two years of leaving increased from 20% to 26% between 1997 and 2002 (Urban Institute, 2003). Hennessey's (2005) research indicated that even though the welfare rolls had decreased, many who had left were still poor, even though they were working (p. 77). The Urban Institute's 2006 report on welfare reform found that child poverty had actually increased between 2000 and 2004 -- in contradiction to Friedman's findings.

Other authors have proposed that the stringent regulations brought about through welfare reform are primarily responsible for the drop in the number of recipients. Pickering et al. (2006) report that in their study of TANF participants in eight rural counties, "…caseload declines occurred more as a result of local welfare administration and policy than transition to employment" (p.28). There is evidence to support this premise in the "Three Cities" study detailed in *Doing Without: Women and Work after Welfare Reform* (Henrici, 2006). Researchers

in this study found that TANF participants were more often sanctioned for missing meetings with their caseworker than for problems with work.

According to some researchers (CBPP, 2009; Tweedie, 2006; Rodgers, 2005; Lens, 2002), the drop in the welfare rolls was as much a response to a healthy economy as to the changes brought through PRWORA. In reporting that the poverty level dropped from 11.9% in 1992 to 8.6% in 2000, Blank (2002) also pointed out that a period of recession ended in 1992 and stated that "Given the strong economy, this is perhaps a disappointingly small decline in poverty" (p. 1117). If the purpose of the devolution of welfare was to move families from financial dependence to economic independence, many scholars conclude that it has failed.

The State of Devolution

State discretion in regard to welfare policy is not new to welfare reform; states have been able to apply for waivers to federal policy since 1962 (Soss, Schram, Vartanian, and O'Brien, 2001; Lieberman and Shaw, 2000). The Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 encouraged innovation, and waivers increased substantially during the Reagan administration. In preparation for welfare reform, President Clinton also encouraged policy innovation, and AFDC waivers grew even more common during his administration. Family caps and time limits, two of the major components of PRWORA, originated through waivers.

Using data of AFDC waivers to states from 1977 to 1996, Lieberman and Shaw (2000) tested whether states truly responded to increased latitude with policies more pertinent to that state, or whether devolution put pressure on states to follow national or interstate trends. Based

on the idea that devolution allows states more freedom to respond to their welfare needs and the premise that citizens will migrate to states with better welfare services, the authors developed two hypotheses to test: one was that as caseloads in a state rose, state polices would become more innovative and responsive, although not necessarily more liberal. After analyzing waivers from each state, they found that wealthier states were more likely to adopt work requirements and educational provisions, but not other changes. Republican states were more likely to have adopted cost-cutting changes, while liberal states were more resistant to changes that would undercut federal standards for provision of services.

The second hypothesis was that as federal policies are relaxed, states would become more diverse in their welfare policies. Related to this second hypothesis, the authors also analyzed whether states responded primarily to factors within their own states in requesting waivers, or to national trends. Controlling for the fact that states would not apply for unacceptable changes, the authors found that, in relation to AFDC waivers, states were more likely to respond to national trends and to what other states were doing rather than the unique needs and issues of their own state. The most significant factor in requesting modifications to state welfare policy were changes in national caseloads – not changes in state-level caseloads. The one exception was that time limits were more likely to be a response to shifts in welfare rolls at the state level.

How well have states responded to the expanded administrative freedom to design their own programs and direct funding to achieve the best outcomes? If proponents of devolution are correct in surmising that state control results in better policies, we should see states with more

innovative solutions and well-funded work supports demonstrate a decrease not only in welfare rolls, but in poverty levels. According to Rodgers, Beamer, and Payne (2008, p. 526), "Some states are spending rather generously on TANF and its support programs, while other states are maintaining only their required spending despite high and persistent poverty rates and the availability of federal and often state funds with which to combat the problem." Rodgers et al. found three distinct patterns among the states: while about a third had developed "innovative policies" to aid in the transition from welfare to work, a third have developed only "moderate policies" that continue to have gaps in work supports and rewards, and a third have done very little to use their administrative discretion to improve services for the poor in their states. According to these authors, states are consistent – those who had good programs prior the inception of PRWORA remained good; those who did a poor job of helping families make the transition from welfare to work continued to do so.

Using Meyers' (2002) criteria, Rodgers et al. (2008) ranked states on the adequacy of benefits, the availability of benefits (inclusiveness), and commitment of the state to welfare policy. In addition, they analyzed the relationship of TANF spending to the economic wealth of the state, the percentage of African-Americans receiving assistance, professionalism among state workers and legislators, and state ideology – all cited as factors with impact upon policy development.

Rodgers et al. (2008) found three significant variables: the percentage of welfare recipients who were African-American, state ideology, and professionalism of administrators and legislators. States with a higher percentage of blacks on the welfare rolls had more restrictive

welfare policies, as did states with a higher percentage of conservative voters. Professionalism also had an impact, independent of race or ideology (p. 534). Rodgers et al. surmise that many states do not have the ability to develop innovative and effective policies due to a lack of professional leadership and administration, and that this is unlikely to change without federal mandates to develop and implement good welfare policy. The authors state

> Because of this lack of subnational public will and governmental capacity in many states, many working poor citizens have been left to fend for themselves economically, while their counterparts in states with more liberal populations, higher motivation, less prejudice, and better governmental capacity benefit from a web of quality welfare and income support policies (p. 537).

Since one of the intentions of PRWORA was to change recipient behavior, Soss et al. (2001) studied state regulations that controlled access to benefits and services, and found that policy choices made at the subnational level did have a "…major impact driving interstate differences in caseload reduction" (p. 379). Using data from 1996, when welfare reform was implemented, they controlled for time lags in changes at the state level. They found that states that made changes, rather than just following federal rules, made changes that were generally more restrictive and exclusionary than federal law required. The four key areas where changes were made in state policy related to shortening time limits for requiring work activities and for receipt of benefits, imposing a family cap on additional children, and strengthening penalties for noncompliance.

Soss et al. (2001) found that family caps and strict time limits for receiving

benefits were more likely in states with a high percentage of African-Americans or Latinos on AFDC caseloads or in states with more conservative governments. States with higher incarceration rates were more likely to institute stricter work requirements, as were those with tight labor markets. States with stronger sanctions did see a reduction in their caseloads, as would be expected. According to the authors, their findings indicated that policymakers were more likely to respond to political, racial, and ideological factors rather than careful analysis of factors that impede the poor from achieving self-sufficiency.

Citing the Department of Health and Human Services, Rodgers, Payne, and Chervachidze (2006) assert that states have used their increased discretion to modify their policy and make innovations in state programs. Most of these innovations, according to the authors, have been directed toward moving people off the welfare rolls and into any available jobs. To determine the impact of policy changes on state poverty rates, Rodgers et al. (2006) ranked each state on Soss et al.'s (2001) four policy choices and coded each state by percentage of TANF funds spent on direct assistance, comparing these variables with the state's poverty rate. None of the state policy choices had an impact on the poverty rate, only state/economic spending rate. A one-point increase on the TANF spending score resulted in a 1.632% decrease in poverty. States that spent more money on non-assistance spent it on support services, employment training, and education. But they did not look at whether states that spent money on these had a higher reduction in poverty rates than those who spend money on direct cash payments to recipients.

Keheller and Yackee (2004) looked at devolution at the local level in North Carolina, hypothesizing that devolution in policymaking results in more successful outcomes at the subnational level. Studying 100 counties in North Carolina, they found that devolution did not result in improved caseload management, a decrease in the poverty rate, or in increased workfoce involvement among participants. However, they did discover that when counties shifted spending on services to address specific issues, they met with some success in addressing those problems.

Gainsborough (2003) also studied the impact of devolution on policy at the local level by tracking changes in administrative authority for all fifty states. Gainsborough's premise was that authority would pass to the local level if it state ideology and was politically advantageous to do so. Based on her research, the trend since 2000 has been toward recentralization rather than decentralization. Under AFDC, fifteen states had locally administered AFDC programs; 35 were administered at the state level. After passage of PRWORA, 30 states maintained the same level of administration as pre-PRWORA and those states that have shifted more authority to the local level already had county-administered programs.

Some states, such as Tennessee, have centralized programs but also have local advisory councils to offer guidance on employment and training needs. These councils are generally made up of local employers, in keeping with the "work first" approach to public assistance. Gainsborough asserts that this has shifted the focus away from the needs of the poor to the needs of employers, and has allowed both business and the Chamber of Commerce to have a stronger voice in welfare policy-making.

Schram and Soss (2001) surmised that if TANF policies are really helping people move toward self-sufficiency, then one would expect that the states with the most funding for work supports, training, and job opportunities should have the largest decline in welfare caseloads. However, as of 2001, states with the largest drop in caseloads were those with the most stringent sanctions. If programs such as childcare and transportation assistance support employment, then workers can focus on work, gain skills and experience, and move up the economic ladder. A critical step in crafting state programs that work is to determine which welfare and support policies are contributing to successful outcomes. Again, reduction in caseloads does not equate with self-sufficiency for former recipients.

Rodgers et al. (2006) emphasize the importance of work supports to the success of these program changes, stating that "The primary challenge to states emphasizing this approach is in setting up the infrastructure to provide recipients with incentives and support services – mostly subsidized child care, health care, and transportation assistance" (p. 658). Clearly, services such as these are critical to the success of the "work first" approach of TANF.

The Role of Employment Supports

To the credit of the legislators and bureaucrats who transformed AFDC into what is now TANF, consideration was given to the fact that finding and maintaining employment requires more than just the offer of paid work. Obtaining permanent work at a living wage demands that

one has or is willing to acquire certain skills and knowledge. It is also assumed that employees will arrive at work as scheduled and remain on the job until their shift is over. These assumptions require that those in the workforce have reliable transportation, reasonably good health, and some way to assure the well-being of their children while they are away from them. TANF allows states to provide support services to facilitate success in these areas.

For those who are struggling financially, lack of access to transportation and childcare may be insurmountable barriers to the ability to find and keep a decent job. Even though the working poor may have a car, there are other obstacles to mobility -- the ability to keep that car running, keep fuel in the gas tank, and provide insurance coverage. For urban residents, the bus stop may be just a few steps away but the lack of money to buy a bus pass can make accessibility meaningless. According to some welfare reform scholars, support services are critical to employment for the working poor (Pickering et al., 2006). Since low-income workers generally hold jobs with little flexibility or benefits, a sick child or an inoperable car can put one's job in jeopardy. Providing assistance with childcare and transportation needs is one method of supporting the efforts of welfare recipients to find and maintain work. While states are not required to provide subsidies for child care or transportation, at the time of this writing all provided some supplements to TANF participants who were working, looking for work, or attending school. However, there has been little assessment of the effectiveness of these programs.

Whether urban or rural, families on TANF struggle with the cost of working. According to Pickering et al. (2006, p. 34), "The biggest market costs of being in the workforce are child

care and transportation", and in surveys of both urban and rural TANF participants, these factors are frequently indicated as barriers to employment. In their study of female heads of household in the Atlanta area over four years, Shiferaw et al. (2008) reported that availability of childcare and public transportation had little effect on the employment of TANF recipients. Other research, however, indicates that the availability of these services do matter in the employability of TANF recipients. King and Mueser's (2005) analysis of TANF recipients in six cities found that as childcare services were expanded, there was an increase in the number of participants dropping from the welfare rolls. In her study of low-wage workers in Los Angeles County, Henley (1999) found that childcare was the most significant barrier to employment and that one-third of the respondents in her study of 58 workers reported that they had lost jobs due to problems with childcare.

The Need for Assessment of Employment Supports

Welfare reform gave much more discretion to states in designing their public assistance programs to best serve their residents, but also brought with it tougher sanctions for states that did not successfully reduce their caseloads. States must continually monitor whether or not their programs truly help recipients of TANF to move toward financial independence, and must carefully consider how best to spend their funding in order to facilitate this transition, especially since states often supplement funding for these support programs from their own coffers. It is essential to know where to put the money in order to best support those who are moving toward self-sufficiency, particularly given the time limits placed on providing cash benefits to poor families.

The literature on public assistance provides evidence that childcare and transportation can be problematic for the working poor and that rural residents often find it difficult to secure consistently reliable transportation and childcare. There is ample anecdotal evidence to indicate that transportation and childcare are significant issues for TANF recipients who are attempting to move off the welfare rolls, especially those in rural areas. However, it appears that with the exception of a few limited studies on the relationship between receipt of childcare subsidies and employment (Lee et al., 2004; Blau and Tekin, 2001), and a demographic snapshot of TANF recipients in Tennessee receiving these subsidies (Richards, Bruce, and Thacker, 2004), researchers have shown little interest in economic outcomes for families who are provided help with these needs. The potential relationship between the receipt of childcare subsidies and economic well-being was not addressed in the studies cited above, nor were potential differences in outcomes between rural and urban residents.

Analysis of relationships between the receipt of transportation subsidies and economic well-being are even scarcer. There is no body of research to indicate that public assistance programs are using funding wisely in providing additional assistance to TANF recipients who are facing these barriers in their search for stable employment, or to support the premise that providing this assistance helps participants obtain and maintain employment. The question of whether transportation and childcare supplements are equally useful for both urban and rural dwellers has not been addressed, even though there may be significant policy implications for service provision.

From a policy standpoint, the question of whether provision of financial support

specifically for transportation and childcare improves the ability of TANF recipients to become financially stable is also an important one. The devolution of welfare has provided states the opportunity to target services toward the employment barriers most daunting to their residents. If supplements for childcare and transportation do indeed help families leave welfare for a better life, funding in this area is money well-spent. If not, the monies set aside for these programs would be better used in other areas that enhance the efforts of those moving toward self-sufficiency. If there are quantitative differences between urban and rural residents in the utilization of services or in outcomes, there is support for the premise that services should be tailored to the needs of the geographical area. This study will attempt to determine whether the provision of support for transportation and childcare services through TANF affect one's ability to rise above poverty, and whether urban or rural residents are more likely to benefit from the provision of these services.

Statement of the Problem

There are a number of studies indicating that transportation and childcare are problems for TANF participants who are attempting to work or attend school, but the academic literature does not address how adequate transportation and childcare might change outcomes for disadvantaged parents who seek to better their circumstances. And while research has been published on the impact of healthcare, education, and training programs for recipients of TANF, there is a dearth of empirical analysis on how the use of transportation and child care services affect the ability of TANF recipients to become self-sufficient. The few studies that have been

completed explore the impact of the utilization of these services on employment, rather than the financial outcomes for families who receive the services.

Another void in research on welfare reform relates to the lack of quantitative analysis comparing service utilization and outcomes between urban and rural residents. Current literature indicates that rural families underutilize transportation and childcare services because public transportation is often not available and licensed childcare facilities are likely to be scarce. Since rural workers often must travel further to work, it would seem that reliable transportation and childcare would be even more essential to workers outside of metropolitan areas. For rural families who are struggling, the issue may be more than the ability to pay for transportation and childcare; the ability to find it within their community may also be an issue. Are workers in rural areas more likely to miss work due to transportation or childcare issues than their urban counterparts? Does lack of reliable transportation and adequate childcare have more impact on the rural or urban poor? If services are more readily available in urban areas, are urban respondents who utilize these programs more likely to become self-sufficient than rural participants who participate in these employment supports?

Historically, research on the effectiveness of public assistance has focused on outcomes for programs rather than for recipients, relying on analysis of caseload levels, benefit reduction rates, or recidivism among welfare recipients as indicators of success or failure (Blank; Bauer, Braun, and Olson, 2000). Studies that have addressed the impact of TANF on recipients have focused on the relationship between public assistance and work rather than on the economic well-being of those who have received it. Even though some transportation and childcare

supplements were provided to eligible families for years prior to the implementation of PRWORA, funding levels were much lower and there was little academic interest in whether or not they actually helped the recipients move off the welfare rolls. Available research was either completed shortly after the implementation of welfare reform, or placed emphasis on factors other than economic independence.

Anecdotal evidence in the current literature cites lack of adequate childcare and transportation as problems for TANF recipients, but research to date has been based primarily on interviews with welfare recipients and participant perceptions. While there is some research that supports the importance of child care and transportation (Pickering et al., 2006; Garasky, Fletcher, and Jensen, 2006; Anderson and Gryzlak, 2002; King and Mueser, 2005; Howell, 2002; Henley, 1999) little has been done to establish empirically whether these supportive services affect the earnings of TANF participants or whether they might be more critical to employment and well-being in rural areas.

Quantitative analysis in this area is limited, and those studies that have been completed focus on slightly different issues. The 2001 Levin Group study (Ferrell, Opcin, and Fishman) analyzed the effects of welfare reform on employment in rural areas, while Shiferaw, Ihlanfeldt, and Smith's (2008) work focused how access to childcare and transportation affected employment for female-headed TANF families in Atlanta. While Shiferaw et al. found that access to these services had little impact on employment, the Levin Group identified transportation and childcare issues as major barriers to employment for rural families. While this research offers some useful information on how access to these services affects both rural and

urban residents in relation to work, it does not address the question of whether the provision of financial assistance with childcare and transportation increases the likelihood that a family will be able to become self-sufficient.

Other quantitative studies on the impact of transportation for TANF participants consist of analysis of the effects of proximity to work and automobile ownership on welfare recipients, and are summarized in Chapter Three (Gurley and Bruce, 2005; Cervero, Sandoval, and Landis, 2002; Blumenberg and Ong, 1998; Ong, 1996). With the exception of Gurley and Bruce's work from the Center for Business and Economic Research at the University of Tennessee, these are dated studies focused on pre-reform cases of families in California. The more recent CBER research provides useful data on the relationship between vehicle access, employment, and income for TANF recipients in Tennessee.

While the literature often cites childcare and transportation problems as barriers to employment, the relationship between the utilization of childcare and transportation support services and the ability to transition successfully from dependence upon government assistance to self-sufficiency has been largely ignored. Are participants with transportation and/or childcare assistance more likely to have full-time employment? Are they more likely to have employment that offers benefits? Does participation in these programs enhance the ability of the working poor to rise above poverty? We know that the working poor find transportation and childcare to be important; it is important to measure the impact of employment subsidies on the ability to get and keep full-time work, and whether recipients of these subsidies are more likely to move off the welfare rolls because they have good stable jobs with decent pay and benefits.

Although there is a body of work with ample qualitative support on the problems of transportation and childcare in rural areas, scholars have produced very little empirical evidence that lack of transportation and childcare options create additional barriers to self-sufficiency for rural residents; nor have we addressed the question of whether these are the most critical barriers participants face. If employment supports such as childcare and transportation assistance do help families become financially self-sufficient, it is essential that they offer both urban and rural families equal opportunity to achieve economic well-being. In order to assure that funding is directed to the programs most useful to TANF participants, quantitative supportive data is needed.

Focus of the Study

Using data from a longitudinal study on Families First recipients in the state of Tennessee, this study will contribute to the sparse body of work on the efficacy of subsidies by providing additional data on whether transportation and childcare supplements contribute to the ability of TANF participants to move off welfare and support their families adequately through their own efforts. It will also explore the question of whether outcomes from these services differ by geographic location, assuming that the reported shortage of transportation and childcare services in rural areas is an additional obstacle that rural families must overcome.

Determining whether childcare and transportation services are critical factors in raising the incomes of TANF participants can provide useful information for allocation of social welfare funding and services, especially as those allocations apply to rural and urban areas. The time

limits placed on receipt of public assistance make it even more pressing to find and support programs that help families achieve the ability to support themselves adequately. If recipients who receive transportation and childcare subsidies are more likely to achieve self-sufficiency, funding should remain stable or, ideally, be increased. If not, perhaps monies should be shifted to other programs and services that facilitate the ability of TANF families to obtain good, stable jobs and provide for their own needs. If there is a difference in outcomes between rural and urban areas, this may be an indicator that rural and urban areas have different needs and that funds should be allocated differently depending upon the needs of a particular geographic area.

Research Questions

The research questions to be addressed in this study are whether the work support programs of transportation and childcare assistance improve the likelihood that TANF recipients will be able to become economically self-sufficient, and whether residence in an urban or rural area has an impact on the relationship between these subsidies and the economic well-being of participants. Are participants in these work support programs better off financially than those who do not participate? Do urban residents tend to receive more benefits from work supports such as transportation and childcare assistance, or is the opposite true?

I will address these questions using data from the Family Assistance Longitudinal Study conducted for the Tennessee Department of Human Services by the Office of Research and Public Service at the University of Tennessee College of Social Work. The Family Assistance Longitudinal Survey (FALS) contains a number of questions related to the need for and use of

transportation and childcare services available through the Families First program in the state of Tennessee, as well as a wealth of related information providing background on family structure, employment, income, geographic location, and other aspects of life relevant to the assessment of family well-being.

Definition of Variables

The independent variables in this study are utilization of transportation support and of childcare support provided for families who were participants in Tennessee's Families First program between 2001 and 2008, as well as the geographic location of participants. Use of transportation support will be determined by whether respondents report that they have received transportation services from DHS within the last six to nine months. Use of childcare support will be determined by participants' reports that they have received help with childcare from DHS within the last six to nine months.

In order to assess financial self-sufficiency, I measure three central concepts: employment status, job quality, and economic well-being. In order to move up the economic ladder, a stable, dependable, and adequate source of income is needed. The first variable related to employment status is whether or not one is employed. A second variable related to employment status is whether or not one is employed full-time, which not only provides more income but offers more job stability.

Job quality is defined as employment that offers opportunities for advancement, as well as employee benefits. Promotions and benefits are rarely, if ever, offered in temporary or

seasonal employment; holding a job with these benefits indicates that employment is stable and that the employee is of value to the organization. Analysis of the provision of benefits and promotions provides an indicator of the stability of employment, and helps determine if a family has means of escape from poverty or near-poverty.

Employment that provides opportunities to move up the economic ladder certainly improves the possibility of achieving and maintaining financial stability. Whether or not respondents have opportunities to advance in the workplace, measured by the offer of promotions, is the first indicator of job quality. Job benefits constitute the second indicator for job quality, and include paid sick leave, healthcare, retirement, and paid holidays. Not only are jobs with these benefits an indicator of job quality, they provide a means of enhancing and protecting one's income. The availability of any one of these benefits is an indicator that the job improves the likelihood of becoming financially stable.

Participants' rank on the Welfare to Well-Being (WTWB) continuum will serve as a key measure of economic well-being and the third dependent variable. Financial self-sufficiency implies that the family can sustain itself in a healthy way and that the adult caretakers in the family have stable, full-time jobs with some benefits. The Welfare to Well-Being Scale (WTWB) developed by Bauer, Braun, and Olson (2000) designates family income on a continuum as it relates to the poverty level and a family's ability to provide for their own needs, offering a more accurate method of analysis and comparison than dollar amounts alone. The Welfare to Well-Being scale will be described in more detail in Chapter Three.

Methodology

To answer the question of whether transportation and childcare assistance contribute to the financial self-sufficiency of families, analysis of the data will begin with construction of contingency tables to explore the relationship between utilization of these employment supports and financial self-sufficiency for all respondents, as all are either current or recent recipients of assistance from the Families First program. Crosstabs will be constructed for presence or absence of these supports and employment, full or part-time employment, opportunities for promotion, job benefits, and rank on the WTWB continuum, as these are indicators of the potential for achieving financial stability.

In order to assess whether urban respondents who utilize transportation and childcare subsidies are more likely to become self-sufficient than rural respondents, participants will be designated as either rural or urban dwellers and analysis conducted to determine whether there is a relationship between geographic location, utilization of childcare and transportation services, and the ability to become self-sufficient. The variables of employment, job quality, and rank on the WTWB continuum will be utilized. The Rural-Urban Continuum designations set by the U.S. Department of Agriculture will allow for comparison between rural counties that are adjacent to metropolitan areas with those who are more isolated from urban settings.

Analyses will be conducted on data from Rounds III, V, VIII, and XI of the FALS study to provide information over a period of six years, spanning the years 2002 to 2008. Analysis begins with Round III in order to maintain consistency with survey questions, as the original survey conducted on Rounds I and II was structured somewhat differently. Subsequent rounds

were chosen to gather data at approximately two-year intervals, as that is the average amount of time that families spend on TANF, and is the maximum amount of time allowed on TANF without engagement in work activities as defined by the state (ACF, 2006). The survey was administered to the original sample in Rounds III through VIII, then was updated with the addition of new participants beginning in Round X, representing about 30% of the survey population. Round XI includes the new participants. While analysis of one data round may provide a telling snapshot of family situations at a particular point in time, expanding this analysis to include different points in time provides a broader data base and allows for comparison of groups across a period of years.

If there are significant correlations of variables across the data waves, this decreases the possibility that any significant results are due to unknown factors present during a particular data-gathering phase. Significant findings in one or two data waves are not sufficient evidence to assume that the use of employment supports in themselves have an impact on participant well-being. If there are significant correlations across all four data waves, it is reasonable to assume that there indeed may be a critical relationship between utilization of employment supports and self-sufficiency, and further analysis is indicated.

Summary

This chapter has served as an introduction to the study, describing the problem, the research questions related to the problem, and the process to be used to answer those questions. Chapter Two provides background information on PRWORA and Families First in Tennessee,

while Chapter Three consists of a review of the literature on childcare and transportation issues for TANF participants, information from the literature on economic self-sufficiency, and a discussion of the Welfare to Well-Being model. Chapter Four explains the methodology of the research, while Chapters Five and Six summarize the findings of the study. Chapter Seven includes discussion of the findings, implications for further research, and recommendations for policy change.

CHAPTER TWO
TANF, FAMILIES FIRST, and EMPLOYMENT SUPPORTS

General Provisions and Philosophy of TANF

Under PRWORA, TANF is funded by a categorical block grant and states may spend their TANF funds in any way they like, providing that they meet the 5-year lifetime limit and work requirements and as long as expenditures are geared toward at least one of four goals: supporting the care of children in their own homes by providing help to needy families; decreasing or preventing unwed mothers; encouraging the sustenance of the two-parent family; or ending welfare dependence through job preparation, work, and marriage (HHS, 2005). States receive a set amount each year for TANF programs and they are not mandated to provide services beyond the level of funding that they receive. They may also choose to provide services other than income maintenance to some families who have limited income but who do not meet the eligibility requirements for TANF payments, a process known as "diversion" (Lens, 2002). Diversion payments are available in most states, allowing families to get a one-time lump sum payment to help them overcome a temporary obstacle. If families choose this lump sum, they are ineligible for TANF payments for a designated period of time.

One of the goals in shifting management of public welfare from federal to state responsibility was to allow states to tailor their welfare programs to their needs and to provide services beyond mere subsistence payments. TANF funding is not restricted to providing cash

assistance; states can use funds for a variety of services, not all of which must be limited to those receiving TANF. Support services for TANF participants include job training, educational supplements, counseling, healthcare, childcare, and transportation; in some cases, participants do not have to be receiving TANF payments in order to qualify for this type of help. All states provide these supports on some level, although they vary widely from state to state. As long as the state meets the maintenance of effort (MOE) requirement of spending at least 75% of what was spent prior to welfare reform on programs serving needy families, they have broad discretion in designing their program to meet the needs of residents. In fact, in FY 2007, only 30% of federal funding for TANF went to provide cash assistance for recipients. This compares to 71% in 1997 (Lower-Basch, 2009b). The idea behind this shift was to provide programs and services that prepared the welfare-dependent to become productive and self-sufficient citizens.

In Handler and White's *Hard Labor: Women and Work in the Post-Welfare Era* (1999), Mark Greenburg laid out seven key components of TANF, which succinctly describe the changes in U.S. welfare policy brought about by PRWORA. Although this information is now ten years old, it is still an accurate description of the TANF framework. These components are listed and described below.

Block grants vs. categorical grants – AFDC was funded through categorical grants to states, with more narrow restrictions on how these federal funds could be spent. Under AFDC, federal funding to states could be increased in situations of economic downturn or in response to increased poverty levels. The TANF block grants provide states more discretion in how to spend welfare funding, but there are no provisions for increases if a state must spend more than its

allotment. This block grant funding for each state is determined by the amount of the federal matching grant for AFDC provided to each state prior to the passage of PRWORA. In 1999, the block grants were supplemented by "welfare to work" grants requiring a dollar-for-dollar state match, administered through local private industry councils. The Welfare to Work grants provide additional funding to support work efforts for those welfare recipients who are hardest to employ.

Increased discretion for states – the federal government sets broad goals and general guidelines, but states are free to accomplish the goals in any way they choose. According to Rebecca Blank (2002), this change "…removed almost all federal eligibility and payment rules and eliminated entitlement" (p. 1106).

Maintenance of effort (MOE) – states must prove that they are spending their welfare funds wisely by demonstrating that they are spending 75 to 80 percent of the money they spent in FY 1994, the year prior to reform, on welfare services. If they do not demonstrate this "maintenance of effort" (MOE), their block grant may be reduced. The baseline for spending does not increase over time; in 2002, MOE was still based on 1994 spending.

Elimination of entitlements – under AFDC, anyone who was eligible for benefits was federally mandated to receive them. There is no longer a federal requirement that all in need must be served; states determine who is eligible for benefits. PRWORA also affected the ability of some immigrants to receive services, as immigrants who entered the United States after 1996 are generally excluded from participating in public assistance programs (Blank, 2002).

Lifetime limit on benefits– there is a 60-month lifetime limit, but states are allowed to

exempt up to 20% of their caseloads from this requirement. States are also allowed to shorten the time frame and many break the five-year limit into shorter welfare spells – for instance, limiting assistance to a period of two years followed by a break from welfare for specified period of time. States are also free to extend the five-year timeframe, but must use their own funds to do so.

Stronger Work Requirements – all recipients must be "engaged in work" within 24 months of beginning assistance. Each state determines its own definition regarding what it means to be engaged in work. In the initial authorization of PRWORA, the federal government required that at least 50% of all families and 90% of two-parent families had to be working or in a work preparation program by 2002 (Blank, 2002). If states do not meet the level of work participation set for them, they may be penalized. Greenburg (1999) asserts that some states are able to maintain their ratio by dropping people from the rolls. This premise is supported by the fact that if a state reduced its caseload by 50%, the work requirement was considered to have been met (Blank, 2002). While there were more stringent work requirements and stronger penalties for noncompliance with program requirements, some changes were beneficial to TANF recipients. PRWORA allowed some extended time limits on assistance for those who began working, excluded more assets when determining eligibility, and broadened the eligibility requirements for two-parent families.

Emphasis on decreasing out of wedlock pregnancies – states may also use their own funding for programs to decrease out of wedlock pregnancies. They receive a bonus from the federal government if they have a large decrease in pregnancies in single mothers and in abortions.

Impact of the Changes from Welfare Reform

As noted in the introduction, the shift from AFDC to TANF placed the focus of public assistance on facilitating the ability of the poor to become self-sufficient. Part of that shift included the addition of more services and additional funding for their provision; another part included more stringent rules and stricter sanctions for noncompliance. There is now a five-year lifetime time limit on welfare assistance, and parents in participating families are required to work, get training for work, or participate in an approved work activity. This mandatory work rule can create difficulties for single mothers, who often have trouble with childcare (Blau and Tekin, 2001; Pickering et al., 2006). TANF discouraged states from offering education and participants can no longer count college coursework as work beyond a certain number of hours. TANF does allow for up to twelve months for GED and vocational training; however, at least initially, states were not allowed to offer work credit for education for more than 30% of its caseload. (Pickering et al.). Work support subsidies, such as support for childcare and transportation expenses, increased substantially under welfare reform – between 1993 and 2000, federal funds for child care supports rose from 9.5 to 18 billion, an 89% increase (Blank, 2007).

Some authors have addressed the concern that the strict sanctions imposed through PRWORA have removed some families from the welfare rolls even though they still need services (Pickering et al.,2006; Hennessey, 2005; Henrici, Weber, Edwards, and Duncan, 2003; Blank, 2002; Schram and Soss, 2001). Blank's (2002) detailed analysis of welfare caseloads at the national level indicated that sanctions "…tend to affect the same less responsive and often more disadvantaged population that is likely to hit time limits" (p.1114). Even more troubling,

Weber et al. (2003) found in their research that in rural areas, recipients who were the worst off were more likely to receive sanctions, while Schram and Soss found that poverty rates had dropped the most in states with the most stringent sanctions. Hennessey also expressed concern that those who most need transfer benefits – the most troubled families—do not receive them due to compliance issues, a lack of understanding of the services available to them, or dwindling connections to these supports after leaving the public assistance program. There is concern in some circles that families are not leaving welfare because they no longer need it, but because they have not followed the rules.

It seems that those who are struggling most are those most likely to be unable to meet the requirements to maintain eligibility. To what extent does lack of transportation and childcare contribute to the possibility of being sanctioned off TANF? Even program administrators see some flaws in how well TANF regulations support the efforts of poor families to become self-sufficient. According to Tickameyer, White, Tadlock, and Henderson (2002), human service administrators in southeastern Ohio report that structural problems with PRWORA include "…inadequate transportation, child care, health care, poor educational facilities, and a general lack of infrastructure and economic development" (p. 242).

TANF Transportation Policy

According to the Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families (ACF), federal regulations permit a cash allowance to be paid to needy families to meet their work-related transportation expenses. States determine whether or not they will bear

the entire cost for these expenses or provide a pre-determined percentage of the cost. Reimbursable transportation costs are listed as mileage, gas, fees for public transit, vehicle repair, and insurance. States have the option of providing additional support through use of their own funding.

States generally contract with other agencies to provide car pools, shuttles, and other transportation services for TANF participants. They are also allowed to purchase vouchers for public transportation for use by their customers. If the state chooses to do so, they may also maintain a loan program that allows low-income residents to purchase a vehicle for use in work-related activities, or to manage a program that allows donation and repair of vehicles for needy families. States are also allowed to transfer TANF funds to their Social Services Block Grant to improve the transportation infrastructure in rural or inner city areas (U.S. Department of Human Services, 1998).

Childcare Under TANF

All childcare subsidies have been consolidated into a single block grant – the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF), and funding has been substantially increased (Blank, 2007; Stoker and Wilson, 2006; Meyers, Heintze, and Wolf, 2002). States can also transfer up to 30% of the general TANF block grant into CCDF if they choose (Blau and Tekin, 2001; Greenburg, 1999). States receive some funding through CCDF with no required match, and may receive additional federal funding if they meet MOE requirements and contribute some state funds to the childcare program. States are allowed to set their own guidelines for eligibility.

Prior to reform, childcare was guaranteed for AFDC families, and there were four

programs providing services for those who qualified. The AFDC Child Care grant provided an open-ended source of matching federal funds to states to provide childcare for AFDC participants who were working, getting training, or in school. The Transitional Child Care Grant also provided open-ended matching funds for AFDC recipients who were transitioning to work. Limited childcare services for non-AFDC recipients were provided through the At-Risk Child Care grant, and the Child Care Development block grant provided funding to states for childcare to both AFDC and non-AFDC (but low-income) families. According to Greenburg (1999), consolidation of these grants has eliminated the problem of fragmented services and allows a state much more freedom in designing and regulating their childcare programs.

The Families First Program in Tennessee

In FY 2002, Tennessee ranked second on spending for childcare and transportation support among nine neighboring states (the others were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, and Virginia) analyzed in Richards, Bruce, and Thacker's (2004) study of support services in Tennessee. Spending on work supports such as transportation was above the national average, and childcare funding ranked just above the regional median. However, they were well below the national average in spending per recipient, and spent the least of their eight neighboring states. In FY 2008, .02% of Tennessee's TANF funding was spent on transportation, while 25.6% of funding went to childcare (Center for Law and Social Policy, 2009). This is lower than national spending on transportation and higher than the national spending levels for childcare, which are 1.6% and 19.1%, respectively (Lower-Basch,

2009b; CBPP, 2009).

Basic eligibility requirements for participation in Tennessee's TANF program (Families First) are that participants be a U.S. citizen or qualified alien living in Tennessee and have a child in the home under the age of 18, a child under 19 who will complete high school or vocational/technical training before their 19th birthday, be an eligible caretaker for a child receiving SSI, or be a pregnant woman in her last trimester of pregnancy. The child must meet the deprivation standard, which is that they are deprived due to the death, absence, incapacity, or unemployment of their parent, and the household must meet the income eligibility requirements discussed below (Tennessee Department of Human Services, 2008b).

Payments are not based directly upon monthly household income, but on the consolidated standard of need (CNS) for family size. The standard of need is a percentage of the funds necessary to maintain a basic level of subsistence – housing, food, medical care, minimal necessary clothing, and some other basic necessities such as transportation, personal care items, and educational supplies, as determined by the state (Rules of TDHS Family Assistance Division, 1240-01-04-.23). According to the regulations of the Families First program, payments do not meet 100% of the need determined by the CNS; they are based upon available funding from both federal and state sources. The maximum payment for a family of three is 21.7% of the CNS (Rules of TDHS Family Assistance Division, 1240-01-04-.27).

The Personal Responsibility Plan

According to the Families First Policy Handbook, each adult in the assistance unit (AU) must sign a Personal Responsibility Plan (PRP) in order to receive assistance from the Families

First program. In exchange, Families First provides “temporary cash assistance and child care, if needed, to help the caretaker/parent to gain employment” (p. 71). Failure to comply with the components of the PRP results in termination from the program.

Basic requirements of the PRP include committing to keeping child immunizations up to date; assuring that children go to school, including kindergarten; cooperation with Child Support Enforcement; and participation in work, education, or training programs unless designated as exempt. Minor parents must also agree to live with an adult. (p. 72). Participants are assigned to a client representative who completes the PRP and refers them to a “work activity contractor” (p. 72). Participants in the program must meet the weekly 30-hour work requirement; 20 of those hours are to be completed in “core requirements” and no more than ten may be non-core activities. Federal definitions of core requirements are: unsubsidized work, including self-employment and on-the-job training; job search or job readiness activities, which includes actively searching for work or participating in life skills training, counseling, or rehabilitation; work experience activities, which consist of performing unpaid work that provides training in specific job skills; community service, which is unpaid work in a public or nonprofit agency; and vocational education, or attending classes intended to prepare one for an occupation (p. 89).

Credit for vocational education is limited to 12 months in a lifetime, and no more than 30% of the state caseload may be engaged in this activity at any time. Credit for job search activities is limited to four weeks or 360 hours within a 12-month period for Tennessee (TDHS, 2008a, pp. 89-90). Noncore activities consist of job skills training directly related to employment, including post-secondary education if the 12-month time limit has been exhausted

and language literacy courses; as well as adult education, such as GED classes, adult basic education, ESL, and specific occupational training.

Income requirements

Both income and assets are considered in determining eligibility for TANF. In order to be eligible to receive assistance from Families First, each assistance unit must have less than $2,000 in "total countable resources" (TDHS, 2008a, p. 100). Total countable resources are divided into liquid and non-liquid assets. Liquid resources considered in determining eligibility are cash on hand, any amount exceeding expected monthly income in a checking account, savings accounts, savings certificates, stocks and bonds, lump sum proceeds from an estate settlement, other lump sum or retroactive payments, windfalls and prizes, cash gifts, refunds of security deposits, vacation pay received as a lump sum due to layoff, and income tax refunds or credits. The Earned Income Tax Credit is excluded as a resource.

Each individual in the family may have a burial agreement with a value up to $1,500; any value over that amount is considered possible income if the burial agreement is revocable and accessible (Rules, .06 [1]). The following non-liquid assets are counted as resources unless they meet the criteria for exemption: unlicensed vehicles, buildings, land, recreational property, boats, vacation homes, mobile homes, certain personal property, and insurance policies (Rules, .06 [2]). The equity value of a car worth up to $4,600 is excluded; if there is a second car, the entire value of the second car plus the equity value of the first car is counted (TDHS, 2008a, p. 102).

Gross income, counted over the last thirty days, must be at or below 185% of the

consolidated need standard for the number of people in the family. Earned income includes wages, salaries, commissions, profit from self-employment, rents collected, sales of capital goods or equipment, and garnished or diverted wages, as well as training allowances, severance or vacation pay, sick pay, longevity pay, maternity leave, and payment for serving on jury duty. Unearned income consists of unemployment or worker's compensation, rental income if passively involved, interest payments, dividends, royalties, income from trusts, annuities, pensions, retirement, military, or veteran's disability pay (TDHS, 2008a, pp. 112-114).

There are some automatic deductions made in calculating income for participants. There is an earned income disregard of $150 deducted from monthly income, and the child care deduction is also taken if payments are not made directly to a provider by DHS. Payments from rehabilitative services or Aid to the Blind for materials related to work and training are also counted, but SSI payments are excluded (TDHS, 2008a, pp.100-120). Income from a child who is a full-time student is also excluded. There are a number of other exclusions specific to membership in certain groups, but these are not applicable to most applicants to the program.

If the difference between the standard of need and the AU income is less than the standard Families First payment, the lesser amount is provided. A deficit of less than ten dollars disqualifies a family for cash assistance, but if the difference is between one dollar and $9.99, they are eligible for other services such as Tenncare (Tennessee's Medicaid program), food stamps (SNAP), WIC, and reduced or free school lunches.

Table 1
Families First Need/ Monthly Payment Standards Effective 7/1/08

Number of Persons in Unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gross Standard Income	1288	1658	1972	2240	2470	2666	2838	2991
Consolidated Need Standard	696	896	1066	1211	1335	1441	1534	1617
Standard Payment Amount	**95**	**142**	**185**	**226**	**264**	**305**	**345**	**386**
Differential Payment Amount	140	192	232	242	291	305	345	386

Source: Tennessee Department of Human Services

Table 1 shows the gross income, standard of need, and payments for families of various sizes. The differential payment shown in the table refers to the additional payment provided to certain families, such as child-only cases or those who are caring for a disabled family member in the home. Caretakers who are disabled or who are over the age of 60 are also eligible for the differential payment. Minor parents are not eligible for differential payments.

Childcare Programs under Families First

According to the Families First Policy Handbook, the Tennessee Department of Human Services recognizes that childcare is vital to the success of its participants in seeking economic self-sufficiency, and states that it will continue to provide child care support even after recipients leave the program (p. 142). Parents and caretakers are given a choice between regulated and unregulated care, but unregulated care may not be provided in the child's home unless it is also the home of the provider. This prevents a caretaker from being able to come to the child; it is necessary for the parent to transport the child to the person caring for them. Unregulated (not

licensed by the state) care is monitored by the Department of Human Services. The following types of assistance are provided for families with children under 13 or those 13 and older if they are under court supervision or incapable of caring for themselves:

Families First Child Care pays for care while parent or caretaker is working or involved in training or educational activities

Transitional Child Care is provided for eighteen months after cash assistance ends. Participants must contribute to the cost of transitional child care. The amount of co-payment is based upon the family income.

At-Risk Child Care provides additional transitional care services for up to six months for children classified as being at-risk. An "at-risk" child is a person under the age of 19 who is physically or mentally incapable of self-care or who is under court supervision.

At-Risk Child Only -- for caretakers who meet the requirements for both transitional child care and at-risk care, but who do not receive assistance themselves from Families First. These are known as "child only" cases.

Parents who do not meet the requirements for financial assistance through Families First may still be eligible for the child care subsidy if they meet certain requirements. They must first meet the income requirement – for instance, a single parent of three must make at or below $29,016; the child must be under 13 unless there are special needs; and the parent must work or participate in state-approved work activity (National Center for Children in Poverty [NCCP], 2008). TANF families are guaranteed eligibility for a childcare subsidy, as are those who are transitioning off welfare for up to 18 months. There is no co-pay for families receiving cash

assistance (Richards et al., 2004; TDHS, 2008a).

Transitional child care services are critical to the success of the program, as they provide a safety net and further support even after the family no longer qualifies for cash benefits. In order to qualify, the AU must have a qualified child, have an income less than 60% of the state median income guidelines, cooperate with Child Support Enforcement, and maintain the 30-hour work requirement. If a parent is employed when eligibility for cash assistance ends, the child continues to be eligible for Families First Child Care until the Transitional Child Care begins. Eligibility for transitional child care ends after 18 months or if the only child in the AU leaves the home. Transitional assistance may also be terminated if the parent fails to make co-payments or does not comply with mandated child support payments.

Child care supplements are paid directly to the provider, or can be administered as a monthly disregard in determining eligibility if the family chooses not to use Families First childcare. The maximum amount of the disregard is $200 per month for a child under two and $175 per month for older children. The supplement is not provided if free childcare is available to the family or if children are in school during the time their parent or caretaker is working or attending school or training. If the parent or caretaker is found to be out of compliance with their PRP, child care assistance is terminated.

Tennessee does not reduce or deny benefits if a parent is not working due to the inability to obtain childcare for a child aged twelve or under. This is fairly generous, as federal law requires only that benefits must continue if the parent is single with a child aged five or under (Richards et al.). If there is a break in employment or education activities for thirty days or less,

the family does not lose their childcare benefits. Initially, Families First participants were allowed a transportation allowance for childcare. According to the "DHS Proposal Plan to Close the Gap", the childcare subsidy caseload in Tennessee has risen 34% since 2002, and in order to save costs, the subsidy for transportation to and from childcare has been eliminated (2003).

Transportation Programs under Families First

Transportation support includes bus passes, shuttle service, and reimbursement if using one's own transportation. According to federal regulations, reimbursable transportation expenses include mileage to and from a sanctioned activity, gas, public transit fees, automobile repair, and insurance. In 2006, the most recent information available, the transportation reimbursement for Families First participants was four dollars per day, with up to $800 per year allowed for other vehicle expenses (Tennessee Justice Center, 2006). Recipients in Tennessee could also receive help with license fees, wheel taxes, and emissions fees. There were also some limited funds available for vehicle repair and expenses related to maintaining a car, up to the maximum allowed for each twelve-month period. Tennessee was also one of a few states that offered loans to low-income workers to buy or lease a vehicle for work or work-related activities. Where public transportation was available, participants were issued bus vouchers. However, funding for transportation assistance dropped from 2.6% of the state budget to .02% of the state budget between 2007 and 2008 (CLASP, 2009), restricting the availability of assistance.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSPORTATION AND CHILDCARE AS BARRIERS TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Transportation and Work

Researchers have reported that access to transportation has an impact on whether or not welfare recipients find employment. Ong's (1996) study of AFDC recipients in four California counties found a correlation between vehicle access and employment, but found no significant relationship between the ability to drive to work and hourly wages. Using 1992 data from the Los Angeles County Department of Social Services, Blumenberg and Ong (1998) studied the distance between AFDC recipients' homes and firms that offered low-wage jobs in Los Angeles. Analysis of these data revealed that access to jobs closer to the homes of low-wage workers reduced welfare usage. These studies were based on analysis of AFDC recipients from the 1990s and neither considered the potential impact of transportation support provided by public assistance programs. More recent research by Gurley and Bruce (2005), in their study of Tennessee TANF participants, found that having use of a vehicle increased the probability of becoming employed by 59% and that access also increased participants' hourly wage by 70 cents. The work of these authors provides us with some evidence of the importance of reliable transportation to employment for TANF recipients, but transportation support through Families First was not a factor in the study.

Other studies seem to indicate that having reliable transportation does increase the possibility of leaving the welfare rolls, although they do not assess self-sufficiency. In a study of

California residents who were receiving public assistance or had received such assistance in the recent past, Cervero et al.'s (2002) analysis revealed that having access to a vehicle increased one's chances of leaving welfare, "all else being equal" (p. 61). Other factors included in this analysis were marital status, number of children, race, educational level, health status, and fluency in the English language. Their sample was composed of urban residents in an area where most new jobs had been created in suburban areas, so in this study access to private transportation was more critical to successful employment than access to public transportation.

Transportation issues can complicate the ability to keep a job. A 2001 study by Holzer, Stoll, and Wissoker, Garasky et al. (2006) reported that employers located in areas without access to public transportation had higher absentee rates than those located in a city center or near public transit. Many of the working poor do not have access to an automobile as a source of transportation. For those who do, having a car still does not assure that they can get to work or school. Pickering et al.(2006) found that "transportation is a huge problem for families trying to transition off welfare" (p. 128). In this study of rural residents, the most common transportation issues reported by respondents were not having access to a car, having unreliable transportation, or no auto insurance.

Transportation problems among workers are a source of frustration for employers, too. In a survey of Minnesota employers conducted by Shelton et al. (2002), employers reported that the most critical need for rural workers was assistance in purchasing and maintaining a vehicle. More than half of the respondents in the 2006 Pickering study indicated that access to reliable transportation was very helpful in "finding and keeping a job" (p. 200). The authors state that "It

is not surprising that TANF participants and community leaders both report that lack of transportation is a significant barrier to participate in the labor markets within the county and neighboring counties“ (p. 199).

Of the 1,112 women in Ong's 1996 study of AFDC recipients in urban California, those who owned a car were much more likely to be working. This study raises a chicken-or-egg question: are people more likely to be working because they own a car, or more likely to own a car because they are working? Ong's research did not address this question, but one can surmise that there is truth in both statements. The first statement addresses the positive relationship between the availability of transportation and the ability to work; the second might be construed as an indicator of economic well-being.

Respondents to the FALS surveys utilized in this study corroborate the importance of having access to reliable transportation. Table 2 was constructed based on responses to the question of whether or not there had been a time in the last nine months (six months for Wave 3) when they had been unable to attend work, school, or training activities due to lack of transportation. In Waves 3, 5, and 8, respondents who did not receive assistance with transportation were more likely to have missed work, school, or training activities than were those who received transportation vouchers or other assistance with transportation issues. In Wave 11, 54.7% of those who had transportation subsidies missed work, compared to 45.3% of those who were not receiving transportation assistance (Table 2).

Table 2
Percentage of Respondents Missing Work or Related Activities Due to Transportation Problems

	Transportation Assistance	Missed Work or Work Activities
Wave 3	Yes	29.8%
	No	70.2%
Wave 5	Yes	38.2%
	No	61.8%
Wave 8	Yes	33.4%
	No	66.6%
Wave 11	Yes	54.7%
	No	45.3%

There is no question that participants in the Families First program find these supports valuable. In the Family Assistance Longitudinal Survey utilized in this study, respondents who received transportation assistance were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement "I would be unable to work or attend school or training without transportation assistance."

Childcare and Work

Childcare is also cited frequently as a barrier to work. Anderson and Gryzlak (2002), in

their twelve -state study of families who left the welfare rolls during the early years of reform, found that "…the inadequacy of child care assistance is a second major support services issue" (p. 310). According to these authors, participants frequently cited issues with cost, lack of available child care, and scheduling child care during their work hours. Paying for childcare consumed 27% of a low-income family's budget in 1991, compared to 17% for those above poverty level (U.S. GAO, 1995). The Senate Ways and Means Committee (2000) determined that child care may consume up to 35% of a low-income family's budget. Living in a rural area may amplify these problems, as most licensed daycare facilities are located in metropolitan areas (Fletcher and Jensen, 2000; Farrell, Opcin, and Fishman, 2001; Howell, 2002). Rural parents may also incur additional transportation costs if they want to place their child in a licensed facility.

Empirical research is thin on the relationship between access to childcare and economic self-sufficiency, but some studies do indicate that there is a connection between employment and access to childcare. Using data from the Urban Institute's National Survey of American Families, Blau and Tekin (2001) examined a subsample of 3,653 women from thirteen states, finding that provision of a childcare subsidy increased employment among these mothers by 5%. The Blau and Tekin study controlled for other factors such as age of children, previous receipt of welfare services, age of parent, and level of education. Based on data from a two-wave panel study of AFDC recipients in California, Meyers, Heintze, and Wolf (2002) reported that the use of child care subsidies had a significant impact upon whether the panel participants were employed. The authors controlled for other factors such as work experience, education, health, and level of care-

giving responsibility in their analysis.

Matthews' (2006, p.1) summary of research on the effects of childcare subsidies on employment concluded that "low-income mothers who receive child care assistance are more likely to be employed, to stay off welfare, and to have higher earnings". In a three-state study completed by Lee et al. (2004, p.4), the authors found that "child care subsidy use is strongly correlated with employment retention". However, Lee et al. stated that the fact that there was a correlation between child care subsidies and employment did not constitute a causal relationship. They conjecture that mothers who utilize support subsidies may be more motivated to work, or that mothers who anticipate that their employment is only temporary may not bother to apply for child care assistance. While these studies do not prove that the provision of childcare and transportation support to low-income families directly contribute to their economic well-being, they do indicate that access to these services can facilitate the ability to work -- the first step in achieving self-sufficiency.

The type of childcare available is also an issue for the working poor. In at least one survey of low-income working women, respondents indicated that their informal childcare networks were unreliable (Bruinsma, 2006), while a number of respondents in the Lein et al. (2002) study reported that friends were more reliable than family. There is also some concern that care from informal sources does not provide the opportunities for intellectual and social development offered by licensed childcare providers (Walker and Reschke, 2004). The fact that less than one-third of the families (29%) in the Walker and Reschke survey received a child care subsidy and those who did receive financial support for childcare were more likely to have

children in regulated care provides further support for subsidies, in that they may help assure adequate preparation for school for low-income children.

Childcare and Transportation Issues in Rural Areas

A 2001 report to the Department of Health and Human Services by the Levin Group surmised that the major barriers to employment for rural TANF recipients were child care, transportation, and access to education and training (Farrell et al., 2001), because these services were less abundant in rural areas. This is supported by research conducted by others (Garasky et al., 2006; Lein, Benjamin, McManus and Roy, 2006; Pickering et al., 2006; Walker and Reschke, 2004; Harvey, Summers, Pickering, and Richards, 2002; and Cervero et al., 2002). Farrell, Opcin, and Fishman's 2001 report to HHS stated that recipients in rural areas had to travel further to get child care and there were fewer child care slots in these areas. This gap in child care was reinforced in a study by Howell (2002), who found that licensed child care facilities were much more likely to be concentrated in cities, and that there were fewer available slots in rural child care facilities. In a study of welfare to work in Iowa by Fletcher and Jensen (2000), long commutes and limited access to child care were cited as transportation factors as barriers to work in nonmetropolitan areas.

Employers reinforce the critical importance of child care and transportation, especially in rural areas. In a survey of 108 Minnesota employers, Shelton et al. (2002) reported that rural employers listed problems with transportation and child care as the second and third most frequent problems among workers. ("Soft skills" were listed first – the social skills and work

ethic necessary for job success). When asked about barriers to employment, 30% of rural and 23% of urban employers listed transportation, while 27% of rural employers listed child care and 26% of urban employers saw lack of child care as a barrier to employment. When asked how the work program could be improved, 52% of rural employers and 43% of urban employers believed that TANF (MFIP in Minnesota) recipients could best be helped with job barriers by "providing or connecting them with basic supports and resources" (p. 361).

Some human service administrators contend that transportation and childcare issues are still unresolved under PRWORA (Tickameyer et al., 2002). In a 1999 study of 29 directors of human service agencies in rural southeast Ohio, structural problems with PRWORA included "…inadequate transportation, child care, health care, poor educational facilities, and a general lack of infrastructure and economic development" (p. 242). Transportation was mentioned frequently as a barrier to work, second only to a lack of available decent jobs (Tickameyer et al., 2002).

Transportation Issues in Rural Areas

Garasky et al. (2006, p. 67), in their study of differences between the availability of private transportation in high- and low-income families, state that the "viability of public vs. private transportation for job access in rural areas is an increasingly important question in welfare reform policy and program debates." Access to a car is particularly important in rural areas, as public transportation is not always available. While it is possible to use contracted transportation services through private and public sources, consumers may be limited either by cost or by limitations set by the public and non-profit agencies that provide van or bus services to

rural residents. Those who are familiar with the price of a taxi ride know that this is not a mode of transportation that most can afford on a twice-daily basis, and in some rural areas, taxi or private shuttle service is not even available.

Agencies providing transportation to the rural poor may limit services to particular locations, times, or activities and may set limits on the number of times a participant may use the service. Research on the areas of persistent poverty from the Pickering study (Harvey, Summers, Pickering, and Richards, 2002) indicated that contracted transportation services tended to be used primarily in emergency situations and led researchers to conclude that these services are "…fully inadequate to address the daily problems that many participants face, especially those living in remote neighborhoods that may be 20 to 40 miles from the welfare office or the nearest place of employment" (p. 398).

In the 2006 Pickering et al. study of persistently poor rural areas, neither county in the Kentucky study had public transportation. This was also the case in Mississippi, where respondents reported that work was often up to 100 miles away from their homes. According to Garasky et al. (2006, p. 84) "…transportation constraints are an important reason some are among the 'hard to employ". A large number of rural residents must rely on their own means of travel, as 40% of rural residents in the U.S. have no public transportation in their area (Farrell et al., 2001). Gonzales, Stombaugh, Seekins, and Kasnitz (2006, p. 107) found that "89% of transportation funds subsidize transportation for the 75% of the population living in urban areas, while only about 11% goes to support transportation for the 25% of the population living in rural areas."

Data from the FALS study demonstrates that in Tennessee, both urban and rural residents are more likely to miss work, school, or other key employment activities due to lack of reliable transportation. Table 3 shows the percentage of urban and rural respondents who had missed work due to transportation issues. Among urban respondents in the data waves analyzed, an average of 49% agreed that they would be unable to work without this assistance. Rural respondents were even more likely to agree, with an average of 53% indicating that they found transportation assistance essential to their work efforts.

Table 3
Percentage of Urban and Rural Respondents Missing Work Activities Due to Transportation Problems

	Transportation Assistance	**Missed Work Activities**
Wave 3		
Urban	Yes	29.6%
	No	70.4%
Rural	Yes	33.6%
	No	66.4%
Wave 5		
Urban	Yes	36.4%
	No	63.6%
Rural	Yes	51.7%
	No	48.3%
Wave 8		
Urban	Yes	33.1%
	No	66.9%
Rural	Yes	38.2%
	No	61.8%
Wave 11		
Urban	Yes	54.5%
	No	45.5%
Rural	Yes	55.6%
	No	44.4%

The importance of private transportation in rural areas is illustrated in a study of TANF recipients in Tennessee by Richards and Bruce (2004). The authors found that urban TANF recipients appeared more likely to use transportation support than their rural counterparts because they were more likely to use public transport. The researchers pointed out that residents providing their own transportation were much more likely to be rural, while those who use bus passes are much more likely to be urban. Since bus passes are used on an ongoing basis, but vehicle repairs or help with license fees occurred only once, it appears that urban residents use transportation services more than rural. However, since urban and rural residents tend to use transportation supports in different ways, it does not necessarily mean that this service is more important in urban than rural locations, or vice versa.

Childcare Issues in Rural Areas

In order to obtain and retain employment, working parents must be able to rely on childcare that is consistent, flexible, and safe for their children. Based on interviews with 323 rural, low-income women, Walker and Reschke (2004) found that working mothers face four significant issues in finding childcare: care suited to the age of the child, care that provides appropriate learning and development, accessibility, and affordability. For those who are marginally employed and economically fragile, the childcare issue is complicated by the fact that they are often employed in service or manufacturing jobs that require working weekends and odd hours.

Those who live in rural areas may have longer workdays, considering the additional time it takes to drive to and from jobs located in suburban or urban locations. Most daycare centers

are open during what most Americans consider normal working hours; few offer extended morning, evening, and weekend slots for those parents who are expected to be at work before 8:00 a.m., after 6:00 p.m., or on weekends. These centers with flexible hours are more likely to be located in urban areas where competition for customers requires that they offer additional conveniences for working parents.

Families who rely on informal care networks rather than daycare centers or afterschool programs are not exempt from the problem of nontraditional work hours. Although a good number of the working poor depend upon friends or family members to provide care for their children, many members of these support networks are working themselves, have their own children to care for, or may simply draw the line at rising at four in the morning to receive their charges or at keeping someone else's children overnight and on weekends. Some may have disabilities or health issues that limit their ability to care for children for extended amounts of time. The rural support network is valuable, but not infallible.

The importance of informal childcare networks should not be underestimated. In their study of job volatility among 245 rural mothers, Berry , Katras, Sano, Lee, and Bauer (2008) found that informal childcare networks were "…significant determinants of job stability" (p. 8). A number of the mothers in this study reported that they were able to work because they had reliable childcare, and unlike the urban mothers in the Bruinsma et al. (2006) and Lein et al. (2002) studies, depended more upon family members than friends for consistent care for their children. This difference between the types of informal childcare networks lends some credence to Walker and Reschke's (2004) proposal that the use of family members as caretakers may be

cultural. Walker and Reschke's research indicated that rural working women with a child below school age are more likely to rely on informal care and to continue to rely on this support network for before-and after-school care for children of school age. The presence of these informal support networks may be a critical factor in facilitating the move from dependency to self-sufficiency.

Of the 40 mothers who remained in stable employment throughout Berry et al.'s longitudinal study of rural low-income mothers, all reported the presence of strong social networks whose support included childcare. Many of the respondents in this study indicated that they were able to work due to the availability of childcare. Of the 56 continuously unemployed mothers in the study, the most common reasons given for not working were poor health and choosing to stay home with their children. Of the mothers choosing to remain at home, a number cited the reason for this decision as lack of good childcare.

In a qualitative study of six diverse "pockets of persistent rural poverty" in the United States, Pickering et al. (2006) conducted two sets of qualitative interviews on the effects of welfare reform in eight counties whose poverty rate had remained at or above 20% for the last four decennial censuses. Respondents for the interviews were TANF recipients chosen by snowball sample. Other data on demographic, economic, and social factors was collected from sources such as the Census of Population and Housing, state and local records, and private agencies. None of the counties studied were designated as part of an MSA; all had populations under 50,000. They found that in Kentucky the "lack of affordable childcare also keeps some welfare participants from seeking employment or returning to school" (p. 128). Delta residents in

this study also reported issues with child care, including long commutes to child care facilities, finding reliable childcare, and the complications of shift work. The same problems were reported in the Anderson and Gryzlak (2002) study of welfare leavers, who also turned to informal resources for childcare such as family and friends rather than licensed childcare facilities.

Research strongly supports the importance of access to childcare and reliable transportation for the working poor. It is also clear that both are crucial to urban and rural residents, even though childcare and transportation issues may differ based upon geographic location. The literature does not tell us whether the universal approach to providing childcare and transportation support works equally well for both urban and rural residents. Nor does it resolve the question of whether the provision of subsidies for these services contributes to the ability of TANF recipients to secure good jobs and become self-sufficient.

Self-Sufficiency and Well-being

In the introduction to *Doing Without: Women and Work after Welfare Reform,* Jane Henrici (2006) states that there are common misconceptions about poverty that influence social welfare policy in the United States (pp. 3-4). These are:

1) The economic marketplace is a level playing field for all people.
2) Workers in low-wage jobs can support a household on their own.
3) Extended families, kinship, and neighborhood networks can sustain families through hardships in the absence of adequate public aid.

4) Welfare is a dependency trap.

These assumptions, the foundation of current welfare policy, have one thing in common. They all imply that poverty is the fault, if not the choice, of those individuals who are poor. Even though employers provide "equal employment opportunity", the opportunities for gaining skills, making key contacts, and learning to present one's self professionally are not equal for all citizens. This attitude toward those who are dependent upon public assistance also dismisses the likelihood that recipients face barriers in their personal lives that may contribute to the inability to be self-sufficient, but that they do not have the personal or financial resources to alter. Providing educational opportunities, counseling, and employment supports for TANF participants may help make the economic marketplace more accessible for the poor.

Welfare reform has assured that public assistance will no longer be a dependency trap by limiting assistance to a total of five years in a lifetime, which makes it even more imperative that families have the skills and supports they need to become self-sufficient. Lichter and Jayakody (2002) point out that the recipient of TANF is different from the recipient of AFDC. Due to diversion, which provides short-term assistance to those who have hit a "bump", TANF is now the last resort for the most disadvantaged of the poor – those who have the least resources, the lowest skills, and the fewest support systems to help them move off the welfare rolls.

The working poor are now over-represented in the category of "poor"; according to Lichter and Jayakody (2002), they "now constitute a greater share of all poor people" (p. 121). In a review of the literature of families leaving welfare, Lein et al. (2002) discovered that working mothers leaving TANF fit one of three patterns: they were continuously unemployed;

cycled in and out of work or between full-time and part-time work; or worked full-time through multiple full-time jobs. In Berry et al.'s (2008) research of rural low-income mothers, the majority of the 245 respondents were intermittently employed; only forty were employed in stable jobs through all three waves of the study. A number of the intermittently employed mothers in their study reported difficulties in balancing work and family responsibilities.

According to some authors, many TANF recipients went to work in jobs that raised their income enough to void their eligibility for assistance, but not enough to raise them above the poverty line (Blank, 2002; Greenburg, 1999; Weber et al., 2003). According to Blank, the decline in the poverty rate in the years immediately after welfare reform was much lower than the decline in welfare caseloads, meaning that the number of working poor rose after implementation of the new regulations. Having paid work does not guarantee a poverty-free existence; decent wages, job stability, and benefits such as health care and sick days are still out of reach for many of the working poor. Using data from the National Survey of American Families, which measures the well-being of children and families in transition from welfare to work, Hennessy (2005) found that recent single-parent welfare leavers were 69% more likely to have trouble paying for rent or utilities than families who had never received welfare benefits. Even those who had been off welfare for two years or more were 55% more likely to struggle to pay their housing costs.

Some authors are quick to conclude that PRWORA has improved the economic picture overall for single mothers. According to Danziger, Heflin, Corcoran, Oltmas, and Wang (2002, p. 672), "single mothers who had been welfare recipients were, on average, financially better off

working or combining work and welfare than remaining as nonworking welfare recipients." Even though Danziger et al. (2002) included the benefits of food stamps, SSI and SSDI or Social Security, earnings of other household members, unemployment benefits, and cash from friends and family along with earnings and TANF payments in their analysis of family income, almost half of the working mothers in their study were still poor. This is a small panel study of single mothers in one urban county in Michigan using data from 1997 through 1999 – early data collected only one year after the implementation of PRWORA. However, it is an indicator that work alone does not always result in self-sufficiency. While almost half the single mothers in this study were still poor, those who were not were still reliant on public and private assistance to make ends meet. This finding indicates that the many support services provided to poor families can be critical to their well-being.

The Concept of Economic Well-being

If merely having a job guaranteed that one would be able to provide adequately for themselves and their family, we would not have such a large number of working poor in the United States. Well-being cannot be calculated simply by whether one is counted among the employed or unemployed, or whether one's income is above the poverty line. Simply measuring whether or not a family is above the poverty line does not in itself provide a good indicator of self-sufficiency, as federal poverty thresholds are deliberately set low. While the most common method of measuring economic well-being is through income, in order to be meaningful the amount of income must be equated with some measure of how well that income covers the needs and wants of families.

The federal poverty guideline is the standard measure of assessing whether or not one is poor, but it provides little insight into what "poor" really means. The poverty line for a family of four in 2008 was $21,200. For a family of three, the most common family size among the Families First population, it was $17,600 (ASPE, 2008). At minimum wage, the annual salary for a full-time (forty-hour week) worker was $13,624 (based on the mid-year increase of federal hourly minimum wage to $6.55). A single parent working full-time at minimum wage will still be unable to meet the most minimal needs of his or her family. Even those above the poverty level are often struggling to provide the most basic needs.

Another method of measuring the economic health of a family is to look at consumer expenditures – what a family actually spends each month for various necessities and discretionary items. Several authors (Blank, 2007; Charles and Stephens, 2006; Stoker and Wilson, 2006; Allegretto, 2005; Garner and Short, 2005; Bauer et al., 2000) concur that looking at what families spend is a more accurate measure of financial stability. Assessing expenditures would provide some idea of a family's disposable income, a better measure of well-being than whether or not one is eligible for public assistance. However, as Blank points out, there is no consistent data available on family expenditures (p. 1143).

Charles and Stephens (2006) point out that there are some items a consumer cannot choose to cut back on in hard times, especially if they are spending at minimal levels already. Low-income families are already spending on necessities rather than discretionary items, so often have very few places they can cut back. Examples of inflexible expenses are vehicle payments, rent, and insurance. Danziger et al. (2002, p. 675) define ten different types of

hardships a low-income family is likely to face: food, housing upkeep, utility cutoffs, eviction from housing, phone disconnection, homelessness, unmet medical needs for the mother, unmet medical needs for children, lack of health insurance for parent, and lack of health insurance for children. It is notable that there are needs-tested programs available for assistance with these issues; many of these programs can be helpful in the transition from welfare to work.

According to Allegretto (2005), the "ability of families to meet their most basic needs is an important measure of economic stability and well-being". Her research for the Economic Policy Institute covered basic budgets for over 400 communities and six family types (the combinations of one or two parents with one, two or three children). Allegretto's study was based not upon what families made, or even what they spent, but on the realistic costs for maintaining a basic standard of living, She defined a basic family budget as a "relative measure of the dollar amount families need to live modestly in the communities where they reside".. The budget range for a two-parent family of four in her study ran from $31, 080 in rural Nebraska to $64,656 in Boston. The median family budget was $39,984; the poverty line for a family of four at that time was $19,157. At the time this article was written (2005), the basic family budget for two parents and two children was set at 200% of poverty level.

Based on Allegretto's budget calculations, a family at 200% of the poverty level can manage a reasonably comfortable standard of living. According to Dr. Amy K. Glasmeier of the Living Wage Project, a family of two adults and two children living in Tennessee would need an annual income of $52,870 or $4,128 a month in after-tax income in 2009 dollars in order to afford a decent standard of living. This translates to an hourly wage of $25.42. This amount is

based upon a reasonable monthly family budget of $708 for food, $938 for child care, $378 for medical care, $578 for housing, $856 for transportation, and $670 for other expenses, such as personal items, clothing, and school supplies. According to the author, this budget does meet the current middle class standard of living, and is likely low for those living in urban areas (Glasmeier, 2009).

While measuring cash income is the simplest method of assessing financial status, merely stating a dollar amount does not paint a clear picture of family well-being, nor of a family's ability to sustain themselves without assistance from other sources. In looking at well-being among the working poor, cash income alone is not the best indicator, since low-income families often receive in-kind benefits that improve their well-being. These benefits include WIC, SNAP (food stamps), Medicaid or CHIP, and housing assistance. However, if a family must rely on these programs to assure a decent standard of living, one cannot say that they are self-sufficient. Converting dollar amounts of wages to a scale that illustrates how close the family is to a level of income that allows them to meet their needs adequately on their own provides a simple and more useful barometer. The Welfare to Well-Being framework developed by Bauer, Braun, and Olson (2000) provides just such a scale.

The Welfare to Well-Being Framework

Described by its authors as a "starting point for understanding the aspects of welfare in relation to the economic well-being of individuals and families", the Welfare to Well-Being (WTWB) continuum considers the time frame for assistance, the types of assistance utilized by families, the level of social support present, and the level of family economic functioning in

developing a long-term picture of family well-being (p.63). This framework describes family economic functioning on a continuum from *In-crisis* to *Thriving*. Families who are in-crisis, the lowest level on the continuum, have incomes below the poverty line for a family their size and are reliant upon public assistance to help meet their basic needs. At the other end of the continuum, families designated as Thriving have incomes at 200% of the poverty level and can generally meet their own needs.

The Welfare to Well-Being (WTWB) continuum was expanded in Simmons, Dolan, and Braun (2007), adding "sustaining" as the highest level of economic functioning for families. Sustaining families maintain their status of 200% or more above poverty level; they have in effect become self-sufficient. According to Bauer et al. (2000), sustaining families are able to have some "wants" as well as needs. As is obvious from the different framework levels, well-being requires self-sufficiency, which the authors refer to as "the expected state of economic independence whereby a family's needs can be met through earned income, which may be at a level eligible for the EITC" (p. 70). The WTWB scale assigns a number to determine where a family falls within the continuum, rated by calculating their income to need ratio, or the total family income in relation to the poverty level for a family their size. The formula for calculating this ratio is total household income divided by the federal poverty level for family size. Bauer et al. (2000) have designated the following levels of economic well-being:

In-crisis—families with incomes below the poverty line for a family their size and who depend upon public assistance are designated as *in-crisis.*

At-risk—families who have incomes above the poverty line, but are still reliant upon

some assistance are designated as being *at-risk.*

Safe – safe families are those who are at or above 150% of the poverty line and still receive some transfer benefits, but are moving toward independence.

Thriving – families with incomes at or above 200% of the poverty level who can generally meet their needs without assistance are designated as *thriving.*

Table 4
Income Guidelines for Stages of Welfare to Well-being

	In-crisis	At-risk	Safe	Thriving	Sustaining
Family Size					
1	<10,400	10,400-13,520	13,624-15,600	15,704-20,800	>20,800
2	<14,000	14,000-18,200	18,340-21,000	21,140-28,000	>28,000
3	<17.000	17,000-22,100	22,270-25,500	25,670-34,000	>34,000
4	<21,200	21,200-27,560	27,772-31,800	32,012-42,400	>42,400
5	<24,800	24,800-32,240	32,488-37,200	37,448-49,600	>49,600
6	<28,400	28,400-36,920	37,204-42,600	42,884-56,800	>56,800
7	<32,000	32,000-41,600	41,920-48,000	48,320-64,000	>64,000
8	<35,600	35,600-46,280	46,636-53,400	53,756-71,200	>71,000

The federal poverty line for family size is represented by the number 1 on the WTWB continuum. A ratio of less than one indicates that family is in crisis; between 1 and 1.3 indicates a family at-risk; 1.31 to 1.5 is safe, 1.51 to 2 indicates a thriving family. A score of over 2 on the continuum indicates a family that is able to sustain its independent status over time. Income guidelines for each stage, based on 2008 poverty standards, are outlined in Table 4.

It is clear that being “off welfare” is not in itself an indicator of family well-being, nor is an income just above the poverty level adequate for a family to be self-sufficient. Using the indicators from the WTWB framework as guidelines, this paper will assess whether assistance with childcare and transportation expenses help move a family toward self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

If workers have reliable childcare and consistent means of transportation, two of the major barriers to finding work and remaining employed are minimized, allowing employees to develop the good work records that improve their chances of moving up the economic ladder. A review of the literature has shown that TANF recipients frequently cite problems related to transportation and childcare as barriers to work. One would expect that support services which address these issues would contribute to the ability of recipients to become economically self-sufficient. With the passage of PRWORA, assistance with transportation and funding for childcare were expanded in an effort to assist the transition from welfare to work, but the success of these services has not been tested.

Research also posits that rural residents have less access to licensed childcare facilities and public transportation, due to the limited availability of these services in non-metropolitan areas. The indication is that rural residents face additional barriers in these areas beyond the ability to pay for them; in many cases, these services simply are not available. If that is the case, rural residents may not benefit much from the subsidies provided for transportation and child care, and funding might be better spent providing these or other services in rural areas, rather than just providing funds to offset their transportation and childcare costs.

Data Selection and Survey Implementation

Data analysis for this project will be conducted using data from a longitudinal survey conducted for the Tennessee Department of Human Services by the Social Work Office of Research and Public Service at the University of Tennessee (SWORPS). The Tennessee Department of Human Services is the agency authorized to administer TANF funds to residents of the state. The Family Assistance Longitudinal Survey (FALS) contains a number of questions related to the need for and use of transportation and childcare services available through the Families First program in the state of Tennessee, as well as a wealth of related information related to employment, health care, child support, income, education/training, food security, child wellbeing, literacy, and status with Families First. Demographic and geographic information on respondents was also collected for this survey. The FALS survey was conducted by trained interviewers through computer-assisted telephone interviews with participants, and covered a number of topics related to current family circumstances and programs offered through Families First.

Eleven rounds or "waves" of data have been completed through FALS to date, beginning with the initial information collected in January 2001 from 3,569 respondents who were currently receiving or who had recently received TANF services through Tennessee's Families First program. From 2001 until 2007, the survey was administered to the original sample at nine points in time. The sample was updated in October of 2007 with the addition of new participants to assure representation of the current Families First population. These new respondents are represented in the survey beginning with Round 10 and represent about 30% of the survey

population. According to the SWORPS Center for Applied Research and Evaluation, the response rate for the study has remained consistent at about 70% (CARE, n.d.).

Cases designated as "child-only" were excluded from the FALS sample. In cases where the parental unit is a non-parental relative, an ineligible alien, or a parent who receives SSI, assistance is provided only for the child and there is no time limit on assistance. Child-only cases frequently consist of children who are in foster care or who are cared for by a family member other than the parent. Respondents who are otherwise exempt from work requirements are included in the analysis, as benefits can continue for a limited period of time for those who have left the cash assistance rolls and are making efforts to improve their economic status. In some cases, these subsidies may also be provided to families who are not receiving other benefits from TANF.

Four rounds of data will be used in this study: Wave 3, completed in 2002; Wave 5, conducted in 2004, Wave 8, completed in 2006, and Wave 11, conducted in 2008. This provides a six-year time span overall; three of those waves utilize the same pool of respondents. Wave 11 represents the refreshed sample, with some new respondents included to address possible changes in the population over time. The two-year time span between waves allows for families who can to recover from temporary financial setbacks and regain economic equilibrium.

Observing these waves over time provides an opportunity to determine whether employment and economic situations for the group as a whole have improved, indicating that they have secured stable employment at full-time jobs. This time frame also assures that the pool contains respondents who have exhausted the five-year lifetime limit and are no longer receiving

welfare benefits. Each wave provides a snapshot of family circumstances at a particular point in time. In addition, the analysis of several data waves is necessary to gauge whether there is truly a correlation between employment supports and self-sufficiency: a significant relationship between variables in only one or two survey rounds is insufficient evidence to assume that a relationship exists outside those data waves. Data analysis will be completed on all cases to determine whether transportation or childcare assistance improves the economic well-being of families, then by whether or not respondents live in an urban or a rural area to determine if urban respondents benefit more from the provision of these services.

Hypotheses

To address the research questions posed in this study, I will test four hypotheses using data from the Family Assistance Longitudinal Study. They are as follows:

1. TANF participants who utilize transportation supports are more likely to become financially self-sufficient than TANF participants who do not utilize transportation supports.
2. TANF participants who utilize childcare supports are more likely to become financially self-sufficient than TANF participants who do not utilize childcare supports.
3. Urban TANF participants who utilize transportation assistance are more likely to become financially self-sufficient than are rural TANF participants who utilize

transportation assistance.

4. Urban TANF participants who utilize childcare assistance are more likely to become financially self-sufficient than are rural TANF participants who utilize childcare assistance.

Definition of Terms

Childcare assistance is defined as the provision of funds or vouchers through the Families First program to assist with caring for children aged twelve and under, or for older children if they are defined as having special needs. *Transportation assistance* is defined as provision of funds or vouchers through the Families First program for van or taxi service, passes for mass transport, fuel assistance, or other reimbursement for private transportation expenses.

Income refers to wages earned only through employment. This is designated by the category Weekly Wage in the variables. Weekly wages were calculated for working respondents, and collapsed into the variable Wage Range. Wage Range was then converted into the variable WTWB, which assigns a number and designation based upon the Welfare to Well-Being Scale. Families that have achieved a level of 3 or 4 ("safe" or "thriving") on the WTWB Continuum are considered to be *self-sufficient*. Self-sufficiency implies a healthy level of functioning for a family and assumes that needs are being met beyond the subsistence level.

For the purposes of this study, *full-time employment* is defined as working at least 35 hours per week, while *part-time employment* is defined as working less than 35 hours per week. The designation of *Rural* refers to residence in a county with a designation of five or higher on

the USDA Rural-Urban Continuum. *Urban* indicates residence in a county with a designation of 4 or less on the USDA Rural-Urban Continuum.

Description of Variables

Independent Variables

The independent variables in this study are utilization of transportation support and of childcare support provided for participants in Tennessee's Families First program, as well as geographic location. Transportation support under Families First includes public transit fees, shuttle service, and reimbursement for mileage to and from a sanctioned activity or a gas allowance of up to four dollars per day. The cost of automobile repairs, insurance, and licenses and fees related to transportation may also be offset by subsidies provided by Families First, up to a maximum of $800 per year. Use of transportation support will be determined by whether respondents report that they have received transportation services from DHS within the last six to nine months based on responses to the survey question C4: "Have you gotten transportation assistance through DHS in the last 9 months, that is approximately since last May?" In the Wave 3 survey, the length of time stated in the question was "the last six months".

Childcare assistance under Families First falls into three categories: Families First child care, which covers care while the parent or caretaker is working or involved in training or educational activities; transitional child care, provided for eighteen months after cash assistance ends and requires a co-payment; and care for at-risk children, which provides additional transitional care services for up to six months for children under the age of 19 who cannot care

for themselves. Use of childcare support will be determined by participants' reports that they have received help with childcare from DHS based on responses to the survey question G5: "Who helps you pay for your childcare expenses?". Participants chose from the following responses: Families First, one of child's biological parents, employer, or other. Responses were collapsed into two categories: "Families First childcare" and "other".

The third independent variable in this study is geographic location, which will be designated as rural or urban based upon the Rural-Urban Continuum of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Designations are established based upon population size, proximity to urban centers, and percentage of population who commute to metropolitan counties for work. Respondents who live in counties with a designation of four or lower on the Rural-Urban Continuum will be considered urban, while those who reside in counties with a designation of five or higher will be considered rural residents. Respondents who live in an area with a designation of 4 or under will be designated as urban. Even though the designation of 4 indicates a non-metropolitan county by USDA standards, residents in these areas are near a metropolitan center, and are more likely to have access to the job opportunities and additional transportation options available in metropolitan areas. The scale is presented in Table 5.

Table 5
2003 Rural-Urban Continuum Code

County Designation	**Population Size**
	Metro Counties
1	Counties with population of 1 million or more
2	Counties with population of 250,000 – 1 million
3	Counties in metro areas of less than 250,000
	Non-metro Counties
4	Urban population of 20,000 or more, adjacent to metro
5	Urban population of 20,000 or more, nonadjacent to metro area
6	Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, adjacent to metro area
7	Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, nonadjacent to metro area
8	Completely rural or population of less than 2,500, adjacent to metro area
9	Completely rural or population of less than 2,500, nonadjacent to metro area

(Source: ERS, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

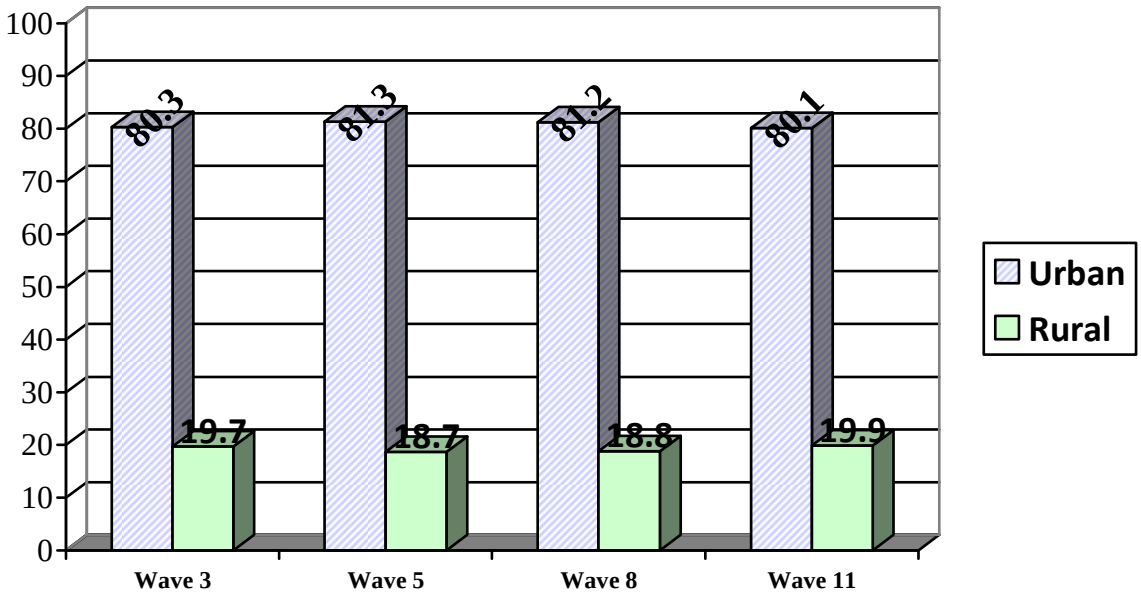

Figure 1. Percentage of urban and rural respondents by data wave

Respondents who live in an area with a designation of 5 or above are designated as rural. According to the USDA's Economic Research Service (2010), 27.5% of Tennessee's population lives in rural areas. Figure 1 illustrates the percentage of urban and rural respondents for each wave utilized in this study.

Dependent Variables

There are several factors that contribute to self-sufficiency, employment being the first and most basic. The type of employment one has is also a critical factor -- full-time employment, opportunities for promotion, and jobs with benefits increase the possibility that working adults will be able to provide adequately for their families. In order to assess the likelihood of achieving

a level of self-sufficiency that would allow families to sustain their needs on their own, the following variables will be assessed: employment status, job quality, and economic well-being. The indicators for employment status are whether or not adult family members are employed and whether they are working full- or part-time. Indicators for job quality include whether or not they receive benefits from their place of employment, and whether they have received promotions at work. Those on and off transportation assistance and childcare supports will be compared in relation to these indicators to determine whether the presence of this assistance improves the likelihood of becoming economically self-sufficient.

The definition for the dependent variable of economic well-being is more complex. Having an income above the poverty level does not ensure that a family is not still poor, or at the very least, struggling to make ends meet. And in the post-entitlement environment, being "off welfare" does not always translate as being able to provide a decent standard of living for one's family. Use of the Welfare to Well-Being continuum developed by Bauer et al. (2000) allows for a more nuanced and accurate measure of family economic functioning, as it provides a gauge for whether families are merely meeting subsistence needs, are actually able to provide for their needs, or have achieved a level of income that provides financial stability. Families that have achieved a level of three or four on the continuum, that of "safe" or "thriving", will be considered to have become financially self-sufficient. A score of one or two on the scale, that of "in-crisis" or "at risk", indicate that families must still receive help in order to meet their basic needs.

Data on income was collected in the FALS survey, reported by participants as the family income for the month preceding the interview. The use of individual income data provides detailed information on the financial situations of Families First participants, and allows for calculating useful statistical information such as median income for participants. This data will be used as a measure for the dependent variable self-sufficiency by converting data on income into a scaled variable based on the levels of economic well-being indicated on the WTWB continuum.

Indicators for the dependent variables will be measured by responses to the corresponding questions in the FALS instrument:

DV1: Employment Status: Employed or Not

Survey question*:* Are you currently employed at a job or business for pay? (D1)

DV1: Employment Status: Full-time or Part-time

Survey question (if answer to D1 was "yes"): How many hours a week do you usually work at this job? (D12)

Responses were collapsed into two categories, with 35 hours or more considered full-time employment and 34 or fewer hours considered part-time employment.

DV2: Promotions

Survey question (if answer to D1 was "yes"): Have you received a promotion at this job? (D19). This question was asked only of respondents who indicated that promotions were available through their employer (D18).

DV2: Job benefits (sick leave, paid holidays, retirement benefits, health insurance)

Survey questions (if answer to D1 was “yes”): We would like to know about benefits you might be offered at this job? Does this job offer: paid sick leave or paid sick days; paid holidays; retirement/pension; health insurance for yourself; health insurance for your family; life insurance; paid family medical leave/maternity leave; unpaid family medical leave/maternity leave; paid vacations; other services such as childcare, transportation, or some other benefit (D15:1-D15:10)

DV3: Economic well-being

Survey questions (if answer to D1 was “yes”): How much are you paid on your job, including tips and commissions? Now this is before taxes and other deductions? (D12)

How often are you paid this amount? Is that amount… (D14)

Responses were calculated into weekly wages for all respondents, then converted into scores correlating to levels on the WTWB continuum.

Method of Analysis

To answer the question of whether utilization of transportation and childcare support contributes to the financial self-sufficiency of families, analysis of the data will begin with a comparison of demographic characteristics such as number and grade levels of children, level of education, marital status, and length of time on Families First assistance to assess whether there are marked differences between respondents who receive transportation or childcare subsidies and those who do not. This will provide information on whether there are extraneous variables which could have an impact on the ability to leave the welfare rolls.

Next, construction of a series of bivariate tables will explore whether there is a

relationship between utilization of transportation support and employment status, job benefits, eligibility for promotion, and rank on the WTWB continuum. Then tables will be constructed with the same variables, using data from families designated as urban or rural to determine whether there is a difference in outcomes between the two groups. The same procedures will be utilized to test the relationship between usage of childcare assistance and the ability of respondents to achieve self-sufficiency. Chi-square analysis will be conducted on the variables related to employment status and job quality to determine whether significant relationships exist. *T*-tests will be conducted for the variable of WTWB ranking, with utilization of transportation assistance and utilization of childcare assistance as independent variables. Additional *t*-tests will be run separately for urban and for rural respondents. Data analysis for each hypothesis will be conducted as follows:

To test hypothesis 1(H1), a series of bivariate analyses will be performed, using chi-square to test significance. For this analysis, transportation assistance (an answer of "yes" or "no" to the question of whether or not the family has received transportation assistance within the last six to nine months) will be the independent variable. Crosstabs will be constructed for the dependent variables of: employment status (employed or not and full- or part-time employment); job quality (availability of sick leave, paid holidays, retirement benefits and healthcare insurance, and whether or not they have received a promotion); and economic well-being (rank on the WTWB scale). Contingency tables will be constructed to compare the responses between those who receive transportation support and those who do not and chi-square analysis utilized to assess for significant correlations. If there is a significant difference in

outcomes across data waves for employment status, job quality, and level of economic well-being between respondents who receive transportation assistance and those who have not received subsidies, then the first hypothesis is supported.

To test hypothesis 2 (H2), child care assistance will be the independent variable. The dependent variables for this analysis will again be employment status, job quality, and economic well-being and will serve as indicators of the respondents' likelihood of achieving and maintaining financial stability. Comparisons will be made between respondents who utilize childcare assistance and those who do not; chi-square analysis will be conducted to determine if there are significant relationships between the variables for both groups. If those receiving childcare support rank higher on the WTWB scale, are more likely to be employed full-time, and more likely to have employment benefits than those who are not, and there are significant correlations between childcare assistance and these variables across the data waves, there is support for this hypothesis.

To test hypothesis 3 (H3), bivariate analysis will be conducted with the same variables as in H1, but respondents will be grouped by rural or urban location. This analysis will illustrate whether urban residents who receive transportation services are more likely to be employed, working full-time at jobs with benefits and opportunity for advancement, and are financially more self-sufficient than rural residents who receive these services. If H3 is to be accepted, there will be a significantly higher percentage of urban than rural respondents receiving transportation assistance who are working full-time, have job benefits, and are at safe or thriving levels on the WTWB continuum.

For hypothesis 4 (H4), bivariate analysis will be conducted as in H2, but respondents grouped by rural or urban location. The dependent variables will remain the same: employment, full or part-time employment, opportunities for promotion, presence of job benefits, and rank on the WTWB continuum. If urban residents who utilize childcare subsidies are significantly better off than rural residents who receive these subsidies, then there is support for this hypothesis.

Limitations

While the FALS provides a remarkable amount of information, this study is limited in scope by the type of data available. The information provided through the survey instrument captures only one moment in time for the respondents and does not provide us a sense of their personal history or individual circumstances which could have an impact on economic well-being. This analysis is designed to follow groups of respondents rather than individuals over time and does not improve our understanding of particular situations or characteristics that can affect the ability to maintain economic self-sufficiency.

The study is also limited to analysis of TANF participants in the state of Tennessee; the results may or may not be applicable to this population in other states. If there prove to be significant correlations between the independent and dependent variables in this study, hopefully other states will replicate this research.

CHAPTER FIVE
EMPLOYMENT SUPPORTS AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Data analysis was undertaken on four rounds of data from the Families First Longitudinal Survey to assess whether the receipt of financial assistance for transportation and childcare facilitates the transition from welfare dependency to economic self-sufficiency for Families First recipients in Tennessee. A summary of the data analysis conducted for these questions and the results of that analysis are described below.

Transportation Support and Financial Self-Sufficiency

To test whether there is a correlation between the receipt of transportation support and the ability of TANF recipients to become economically self-sufficient, contingency tables were constructed with transportation assistance (an answer of “yes” or “no” to the question of whether or not the family has received transportation assistance within the last six to nine months) as the independent variable and with the following dependent variables for employed respondents: employment status (employed or not; full or part time employment); job quality (availability of job benefits and receipt of a promotion at work); and economic well-being (rank on the WTWB scale).

Before proceeding to an analysis of outcomes for those who do and do not receive transportation support, it is important to know whether the two groups differ substantially in terms of demographic variables that could affect economic self-sufficiency. It is possible that families who receive transportation support are different in terms of family constellation,

education, or level of dependency from those who do not receive those subsidies. Crosstab tables were constructed to assess whether there were significant differences between the TA (transportation assistance) and non-TA (those without transportation assistance) in terms of these potentially relevant variables. Results are described below and summarized in Appendix A.

Demographic Differences and Use of Transportation Assistance

In order to determine if there were marked demographic differences between families who do and do not receive transportation assistance, frequency tables were constructed with the following variables for respondents both on and off transportation support: number of children in household (excluding foster children), marital status, highest grade level completed for the respondent, grade level for the oldest child, and length of time on Families First assistance (FF).

Among the respondents in general, 60% or more in all data waves analyzed had one or two children in the home and 75% or more of the respondents in each wave were unmarried. At least 60% of the respondents in each of the four waves reported having a high school diploma or the equivalent, or some post-high school education. In Waves 3 and 5, the largest percentage of families reported that their oldest child was in elementary school (48.1% and 46.2%), while in Waves 8 and 11, the largest percentage had an oldest child in middle school or above (43.9% and 58.2%).

There were some differences between the data waves in the time they had been receiving Families First payments. In Waves 3 and 5, a slightly larger percentage (35.5% and 36.5%) had been receiving assistance for 12 months or less, but respondents were dispersed fairly evenly between the categories of less than 12 months, 12 to 35 months, and 36 months or more. In

Wave 8, the largest percentage of respondents (43.1%) had been receiving assistance for 36 months or more, and in Wave 11, more (44.9%) had been receiving benefits for less than 12 months.

I found no significant demographic differences between the TA and non-TA groups, other than marital status in two waves. Chi-square analysis indicated that there was a correlation between utilization of transportation assistance and marital status in Waves 3 and 8, significant at the .01 level. In these two waves, unmarried respondents were significantly more likely to receive transportation assistance than those who were married. It is somewhat surprising that this was not a significant factor in all four data waves, as married respondents are more likely to have some family assistance with transportation to and from work. Otherwise, the TA and non-TA groups were similar in reference to the selected demographic characteristics.

Family size. Family size was determined by responses to the question of how many children lived in the respondent's home, not counting foster children (Appendix A, Table A1). The numbers were collapsed into three categories: one or two children, three or four children, and five or more children. In terms of the number of children in the family, there was little difference between the two groups. In Waves 3, 5, and 11, slightly over 50% of the families in both the TA and non-TA groups had two or fewer children. In Wave 8, just under 50% of respondents in both groups had one or two children.

In Wave 3 and 5, less than 10% of the families in either the TA or non-TA group had five or more children. For Waves 8 and 11, those who did not receive subsidies were slightly more likely to have large families; in Wave 8, 9.4% of the subsidy group and 11.2% of the non-

Table 6
Number of Children of Respondents with Transportation Assistance

Wave	1-2	3-4	5 or more	Total	Chi-square	p-value
	325	176	43			
3	30.2%[a]	31.2%	29.9%	544	.15	.92
5	285	163	47			
	35.8%	31.7%	36.2%	495	2.56	.27
8	164	145	32			
	31.7%	34%	28.6%	341	1.32	.51
11	189	124	35			
	50%	50.2%	48.6%	348	.05	.97

[a] Percentage of respondents with 1-2 children who receive transportation assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

subsidy group had five or more children; in Wave 11, 10.1% of the subsidy group and 10.6% of the non-subsidy group lived in families with five or more children. There was no significant difference between the two groups in terms of large family size in any of the data waves (Table 6). Table 6 and subsequent demographic tables report data for those who answered "yes" to receiving transportation or childcare assistance.

Marital status. The majority of respondents across all waves were unmarried, regardless of their status with transportation assistance. The ratio of unmarried to married respondents was fairly constant across waves, and the percentage of married and unmarried respondents in both subsidy and non-subsidy groups was quite similar (Appendix A, Table A2). Waves 3 and 8 showed the largest difference between unmarried respondents; 87.3% of those with transportation subsidies in Wave 3 were unmarried, while 80.8% of respondents not receiving subsidies were unmarried. In Wave 8, 88.9% of those with subsidies were unmarried and 81%

Table 7
Marital Status of Respondents with Transportation Assistance

Wave	Married	Unmarried	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	69 22.5%[a]	475 32.2%	544	11.18	.00**
5	85 35.1%	408 34.2%	493	.07	.78
8	38 21.8%	303 34.4%	341	10.41	.00**
11	51 14.7%	54 15.5%	105	.09	.76

[a] Percentage of married respondents who receive transportation assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

without subsidies were unmarried. Chi-square analysis revealed correlations significant at the .01 level between marital status and usage of transportation assistance in these two waves (Table 7). In Waves 5 and 8, there was very little difference between the two groups in terms of marital status.

Highest grade level completed. Categories for grade levels were collapsed into three categories: did not complete high school; certificate of completion, diploma, or GED; and post-high school coursework. The post-high school work covered all types of higher education, from vocational training to graduate work. Respondents were asked to report the highest grade level they had completed.

Across all four waves, those who were receiving subsidies for transportation were somewhat less likely to have a high school education, but there were no significant differences in the percentages of those with a high school education between subsidy and non-subsidy groups

Table 8
Educational Level of Respondents with Transportation Assistance

Wave	Did not Complete High School	Certificate Diploma, GED	Some post-High School Education	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	232 31.4%[a]	174 27.5%	137 33.6%	543	4.81	.09
5	207 32.9%	162 33.8%	125 38.1%	494	2.56	.27
8	150 33.9%	102 27.7%	89 36.2%	341	5.76	.05
11	139 52.9%	114 46.5%	95 50.3%	348	2.03	.36

[a] Percentage of respondents not completing high school who receive transportation assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

in any of the data waves (Table 8). With the exception of the non-subsidy group in Wave 11, the largest percentage of respondents in a single group fell into the "did not complete high school" category, regardless of wave or status of transportation assistance (Appendix A, Table A3). The non-subsidy group in Wave 11 was the only group where the largest percentage of respondents fell into the "completed high school" category.

It is interesting to note that the groups who were receiving transportation subsidies had a higher percentage of respondents with some education beyond high school in all four data waves. Percentages of respondents with some post-high school education or training were, in order with transportation group noted first: 25.2% and 21.9%, 25.3% and 21.5%, 26.1% and 22%, and 27.3% and 26.9%.

When these percentages are combined with those who reported having a high school

diploma or equivalent, a different perspective on education level emerges—over half of the respondents in both groups have achieved the equivalent of a high school diploma or beyond.

Grade level of oldest child. Grade level of the oldest child provides several key pieces of information: it gives a sense of the age of children in a family, it helps determine the level of parental attention and care that is required of the children, and is an indicator of whether transportation is essential for ferrying children to childcare or school. Childcare assistance through Families First is provided only for children under the age of 13, with some exceptions for special situations. Responses have been collapsed from individual grade levels into the following categories: too young for school; preschool or kindergarten; elementary school, and junior high or above. Frequencies for children in junior high school or above were collapsed into a single category, as children in these age groups have more options for getting to and from school and are less likely to require the supervision necessary to make sure a younger child gets to school and back home safely. It is expected that families with younger children will have more challenges in finding and maintaining employment due to the level of care required, both by parents and by caretakers.

Less the 2% of the families had a child who was too young for school, regardless of their status with transportation support (Appendix A, Table A4). This was consistent across all four data waves. The majority of respondents in both the transportation assistance and non-assistance groups had children in elementary school or above. There were no statistically significant differences in age of the youngest child between families who received transportation assistance and those who did not (Table 9).

Table 9
Grade Level of Oldest Child of Respondents with Transportation Assistance

Wave	Too Young for School	Preschool or Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or Above	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	3 75%[a]	43 30.1%	202 30.1%	182 32.2%	430	4.27	.23
5	1 11.1%	56 36.4%	197 33.9%	165 32.9%	419	2.68	.44
8	4 66.7%	29 35.8%	155 33.8%	143 30.4%	331	4.88	.18
11	3 100%	5 27.8%	127 52.7%	147 51.0%	282	7.03	.07

[a] Percentage of respondents with a child too young for school who receive transportation assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

Time on Families First assistance. Categories for the amount of time a family had received Families First payments (cash benefits as opposed to subsidies or vouchers for employment support) were collapsed to three levels: less than 12 months, 12 to 35 months, and 36 months or more. The largest percentage of respondents in the non-transportation groups had been receiving Families First benefits for less than one year (Appendix A, Table A5). This was also true for respondents who were receiving transportation supplements in Waves 8 and 11, but in Wave 3 the largest group of respondents with transportation assistance had been receiving Families First benefits for 12 to 35 months and in Wave 5, the largest percentage of these respondents (37.1%) had been receiving Families First payments for 36 months or more.

Table 10
Time on Families First for Respondents with Transportation Assistance

Wave	Less than 12 months	12-35 months	36 months or more	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	144 30.3%[a]	164 35.1%	139 35%	447	3.20	.20
5	143 34.0%	121 34.6%	146 37.1%	410	.90	.63
8	158 32.4%	67 31.9%	98 32.9%	323	.05	.97
11	127 49.4%	75 54.3%	59 57.3%	261	2.11	.34

[a] Percentage of respondents on Families First less than 12 months who receive transportation assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

In summary, respondents who received transportation support were slightly more likely to have been receiving cash assistance from Families First for longer periods of time than those who were not receiving these subsidies. There were significant correlations between utilization of transportation assistance and marital status in Waves 3 and 8, where there were larger percentages of unmarried respondents (Table 7). Other than that, there do not appear to be any striking demographic differences between families who receive transportation supports and those who do not. The next section will summarize the results of crosstab analysis for transportation support and variables that address economic self-sufficiency.

Use of Transportation Support and Self-Sufficiency

Income is the simplest and most common method of gauging self-sufficiency, and the

best way to assure an adequate, stable income is through full-time employment in a stable job with adequate pay. In order to determine how well Families First recipients are moving toward self-sufficiency, it is important to assess whether or not they have the type of employment that is necessary to assure economic well-being. Does transportation support contribute to the likelihood of obtaining and maintaining jobs that lead to self-sufficiency? Results of data analysis indicate that it does not significantly improve one's chances of attaining self-sufficiency.

In addition to rank on the WTWB scale, which assesses adequate income, employment status and job quality were explored for differences between respondents who were on and off transportation support. Chi-square analysis was conducted to determine whether there is a correlation between the utilization of transportation support and these variables. A significance level of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

Employment status. There were two indicators for employment status: whether or not respondents were employed, and whether they were working part-time or full-time.

Employed or not. Respondents were likely to be unemployed, whether or not they received transportation subsidies (Appendix C, Table C1). In Waves 3 and 8, chi-square analysis indicated a correlation between transportation support and employment, significant at the .05 level. In these two groups, a higher percentage of those who received assistance reported that they were employed: 34% of those receiving transportation assistance in Wave 3 were employed, as opposed to 28.9% of those who did not receive help with transportation costs. In

Table 11
Relationship between Transportation Assistance and Employment

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3	Yes	1,781	4.57	0.03*
Wave 5	No	1,439	1.60	0.20
Wave 8	Yes	1,056	4.01	0.04*
Wave 11	No	697	0.32	0.56

*p= <.05. **p= <.01.

Wave 8, 35.2% of those receiving assistance were employed compared to 29.1% of those who did not receive transportation assistance. In Waves 5 and 11, a larger percentage of respondents who did not receive assistance reported that they were employed, and there was no significant correlation between the two variables in these rounds. Table 11 summarizes the results of chi-square analysis on transportation assistance and employment.

Full- or part-time employment. The sample for this analysis consists only of those respondents who indicated they were working. The majority of respondents in all waves who received transportation assistance reported that they held part-time jobs (Appendix C, Table C2). Slightly more of the non-TA respondents in Wave 3 were working part-time, while 50% of those not receiving assistance in Wave 11 worked part-time. In Waves 5 and 8, over half of the respondents who were not receiving transportation assistance were working at full-time jobs. In Waves 5 and 11, chi-square analysis indicated a significant correlation between transportation assistance and full- or part-time employment, as shown in Table 12. Chi-square results for two waves, 3 and 8, were not significant.

Table 12
Relationship between Transportation Assistance and Full-Time Employment

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3	No	543	1.82	.17
Wave 5	Yes	390	4.52	.03*
Wave 8	No	328	3.44	.06
Wave 11	Yes	340	4.04	.04*

*p= <.05. **p= <.01.

Job Quality. There were two indicators for job quality: promotions and job benefits. Job benefits include sick leave, paid holidays, retirement benefits, and health insurance.

Promotions. Respondents who were employed in jobs where promotions were available were asked if they had received a promotion at work. The percentage of respondents who worked in jobs where promotions were available was similar for both those with and without transportation assistance, but few in either group had received promotions (Appendix C, Table C3). Chi-square results for all four waves, shown in Table 13, were above the .05 level of significance. Based on this analysis, there is no significant relationship between the utilization of transportation assistance and promotions at work.

Sick Leave Benefits. Sick leave benefits were assessed by calculating the number of employed participants who responded with "paid sick leave or paid sick days" when presented with a list of possible employment benefits. The majority of respondents in both the TA and non-TA group reported that they did not have sick leave benefits through their employer. However, with the exception of Wave 5, a higher percentage of respondents who did have transportation assistance received sick days at work (Appendix C, Table C4). Chi-square results for all four

waves were above the .05 level of significance (Table 13), indicating no relationship between transportation assistance and receipt of sick leave benefits.

Paid Holidays. The number of respondents who received paid holidays was calculated by the number of employed participants who responded with "paid holidays" when presented with a list of possible employment benefits. Percentages of respondents who earned paid holidays are similar for both groups, with the majority of respondents in both group reporting that they do not receive paid holidays (Appendix C, Table C5). Chi-square results showed no statistically significant correlations for any of the data waves under analysis, indicating that there is no relationship between transportation assistance and having a job that provides paid holidays (Table 13).

Retirement Benefits. The number of respondents who received retirement benefits was determined by employed survey participants who responded with "retirement/pension" when presented with a list of possible employment benefits. Results for retirement benefits are similar to those for sick leave and holidays; the majority of respondents are not eligible for these benefits regardless of whether they receive transportation assistance (Appendix C, Table C6). Chi-square results failed to meet the .05 level of significance for all waves, indicating no correlation between transportation assistance and retirement benefits (Table 13).

Health Insurance. Contingency tables for the variable "health insurance" were constructed based on responses of "health insurance for self" when employed participants were

Table 13
Relationship between Transportation Assistance and Job Quality Variables

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3				
Promotion	No	320	.00	.98
Sick Leave	No	542	.26	.60
Paid Holidays	No	543	.00	.97
Retirement	No	543	1.24	.26
Health Insurance	No	543	.67	.41
Wave 5				
Promotion	No	221	.14	.70
Sick Leave	No	390	1.42	.23
Paid Holidays	No	390	.80	.37
Retirement	No	328	1.07	.30
Health Insurance	No	390	.89	.34
Wave 8				
Promotion	No	189	.00	.95
Sick Leave	No	328	.06	.79
Paid Holidays	No	328	.02	.86
Retirement	No	328	.08	.76
Health Insurance	No	328	.18	.67
Wave 11				
Promotion	No	211	1.00	.60
Sick Leave	No	340	.05	.81
Paid Holidays	No	340	.00	.96
Retirement	No	340	.56	.45
Health Insurance	No	340	.00	.94

*p= <.05. **p= <.01.

Table C7). As with the other job benefits, chi-square analysis showed no significant correlation between the benefit and transportation assistance in any of the data waves analyzed (Table 13).

Economic Well-Being. Income data from employed respondents was converted into a scaled variable based on the levels of economic well-being indicated on the WTWB continuum. Families designated as "In Crisis" are below the poverty line and dependent upon public assistance. Those classified as "At Risk" are at or above the poverty line, but still dependent upon other forms of assistance. A family designated as "Safe" is at 150% of poverty line and may still need some assistance, but is moving toward self-sufficiency. Only families who are in the "Thriving" category are considered self-sufficient; they have an income at or above 200% of poverty level, which is generally assumed adequate to provide a reasonably comfortable standard of living.

As the survey did not ask directly for the number of people in a family, it is impossible to determine exact WTWB levels for individual family units. Since the majority of respondents in this survey indicated that they were a single parent with two or fewer children, the WTWB guidelines for a family of three were used. While this does not provide an exact picture of each family's standing as to self-sufficiency, it provides a reasonably accurate representation of most of the working families in the data set and sets a more conservative standard than guidelines for a family of four, which is the standard example. Based on the comparison of well-being levels for a family of three, most of the families who responded to the survey are still in crisis and

dependent upon public assistance for their basic needs. Only respondents who were working were included in this analysis.

For those on and off transportation assistance in Wave 3 (*N* = 519), almost 90% were in the in-crisis category, with 89.3% of those with transportation assistance reporting income levels below the poverty line, and 88.3% of those who did not receive transportation assistance responding with incomes below poverty level (Appendix C, Table C8). In Wave 5 (*N* = 373), the percentages of families in crisis were 93.9% and 82.9% for the transportation group and non-transportation group, respectively. The percentages of families in crisis in Wave 8 (N=312) were 86.4% for those with transportation assistance and 82.5% of those who were not receiving assistance with transportation needs. In Wave 11 (*N*=332), 84.6% of those with transportation subsidies and 84.7% of those without fell into the in-crisis category on the WTWB scale.

While not all respondents remained in deep poverty, very few had reached a level of self-sufficiency that indicates economic health. Of the employed respondents who were not in crisis in Wave 3, 7.9% with TA and 8.2% of those without TA were in the at-risk category; 1.7% of those with TA and 1.5% of those without TA were considered safe. Only 1.1% of respondents with TA and 2.1% of those without TA were considered to be thriving.

In Wave 5, 4.3% of those with TA were still at risk, compared to 10.9% of those who did not receive transportation assistance. None of the working respondents in Wave 5 who had TA were considered to be in the safe category; 3.9% of those without TA were at a level of economic independence considered safe. Only 1.7% of the -TA group and 2.3% of the non-TA group were thriving.

Table 14
Relationship between Transportation Assistance and Economic Well-Being

	Significant Relationship	N	*t*-score	*p*-value
Wave 3	No	519	-5.58	.57
Wave 5	Yes	373	-2.80	.00**
Wave 8	No	312	-1.77	.07
Wave 11	No	332	.43	.66

*p= <.05. **p= <.01.

In Wave 8, 10.2% of those with TA were still at risk, compared with 9.3% of the non-TA group. 2.5% of the TA group and 3.6% of the non-TA group were in the safe category on the WTWB continuum, while .8% of those with TA and 4.6% of those without TA had reached a level of income which indicated that they were self-sufficient. In Wave 11, 9.9% of the TA group was at risk and 11.2% of those without TA were in the at-risk category, while only 2.5% of those with TA had reached an income level considered safe. Of those respondents not receiving TA, 2.4% were in the safe income category. Only 3.1% of the TA group and 1.8% of the non-TA group were considered to be thriving.

Along with frequency tables, independent sample tests were conducted on each wave of data to test H1: that transportation support has a significant positive impact on self-sufficiency. In the Wave 3 sample, there was no significant difference between respondents who received TA (M=1.14, SD=.47) and those who did not (M=1.17, SD=.54). In the sample for Wave 5, respondents receiving TA (M=1.05, SD =.43) had a lower mean score than those who did not receive TA (M=1.25, SD=.63). Among respondents in Wave 8, there was no significant difference between the TA group (M = 1.17, SD = .50) and the non-TA group (M = 1.30, SD = .75). In Wave 11, *t*-tests again indicated no significant difference between urban respondents

who received transportation support (M = 1.24, SD = .64) and those who did not (M = 1.21, SD Table 8= .56). The independent samples *t*-test results, shown in Table 14, indicated a significant correlation only in Wave 5. In this wave, there was an 11% difference between the TA and non-TA groups who were at the in-crisis level; respondents who were not receiving transportation assistance were less likely to be at this level on the WTWB continuum. Since this is the only wave where there is so much discrepancy between the groups, it is possible that transportation assistance was directed more toward those in dire financial straits during the Wave 5 time period. It could, however, just reflect some unknown difference between the two groups in this data wave.

Summary

First, potentially relevant demographic variables between the TA and non-TA groups were compared for control purposes. There were no dramatic demographic differences between families who received transportation support and those who did not. It was expected, however, that participants in the transportation assistance program would be more likely to have full-time employment at jobs with benefits than those who did not receive assistance with transportation. Analysis of the data did not support this premise, nor was the hypothesis supported that those with transportation assistance were more likely to become self-sufficient.

While a larger percentage of the group receiving transportation assistance reported that they were employed in two of the data waves and significant correlations between employment and transportation assistance were indicated in those two data waves (Table 11), respondents with transportation assistance were also less likely to have full-time employment than their peers

who were not receiving subsidies for transportation. This was consistent across all four data waves (Appendix C, Table C2).

Chi-square statistics were significant for a relationship between type of employment (full or part-time) and transportation support in two data waves (Table 12). We can say that Families First participants who received transportation assistance were more likely to be working and were more likely to be working part-time. The fact that results were significant in the two waves where a higher percentage of those with transportation assistance were employed, but not in the two waves where those without transportation assistance were more likely to be employed seems to indicate that transportation support increases the likelihood of employment. It is notable that those who were employed were more likely to be working in part-time rather than full-time jobs, since those who work part-time are less likely to be in permanent, stable jobs that provide an income adequate to support a family without assistance.

There was no evidence to support the idea that respondents who received transportation supports were more likely to have good job benefits or were more likely to receive a promotion at work. The percentage of respondents with transportation assistance who received promotions was not markedly different from those without transportation assistance who had been promoted at work. There were also no distinctive differences between TA recipients and non-recipients in terms of employment that offered benefits of sick leave, paid holidays, retirement, and health insurance. Chi-square analysis revealed no significant correlations between the utilization of transportation assistance and job benefits or promotions in any of the data waves. It appears that providing transportation subsidies to Families First recipients did not improve their chances of

obtaining full-time jobs with benefits, or that those with transportation assistance were more likely to advance in the workplace.

Results did not indicate that the presence of transportation supports contributes to economic well-being. The majority of survey participants were below the poverty level and on the lowest rung of the well-being ladder, regardless of the status of transportation assistance. *T*-test statistics were significant in only one data wave, and the significant correlation between the two variables in Wave 5 may be due to other factors or characteristics of the respondents in that wave (Table 14). Had there been a significant difference between means in all four waves, there would be a much stronger argument for the efficacy of transportation subsidies in facilitating economic well-being. Analysis of the data does not support the hypothesis that utilization of transportation assistance improves employment status, job quality, or economic well-being for the respondents in this study.

Childcare Supports and Financial Self-Sufficiency

Analysis for the hypothesis that receipt of childcare support improves the likelihood that TANF participants will become economically self-sufficient proceeded in the same way as that for H1, using childcare support rather than transportation support as the independent variable. The first step in exploring the possibility that childcare supports enhance the ability of families to become self-sufficient was to compare demographics between families who did and did not receive childcare subsidies to determine if there are relevant differences in family size, marital

status, level of education, grade level of oldest child, or time on public assistance between the two groups (Appendix B).

The majority of respondents with children under the age of 13 who required care were receiving or had received childcare assistance through Families First. In Wave 3, 488 respondents were in the childcare assistance group and 64 had other resources for childcare. In Wave 5, there were 317 participants in the childcare assistance group and 54 in the non-childcare assistance group. For Wave 8, the numbers were 238 and 37, respectively. In Wave 11, 273 were receiving or had recently received childcare assistance, while 22 had not.

Demographic Differences and Use of Childcare Assistance

Frequency tables were constructed with the following variables: number of children in household (excluding foster children), marital status, highest grade level completed for the respondent, grade level for the oldest child, and length of time on Families First assistance (FF). Respondents were designated as having received childcare assistance (CA) or not having assistance (non-CA), and the two groups compared for any notable differences. In all four data waves, the majority of families were receiving childcare assistance from Families First; it appears that regardless of the length of time benefits have been received, those who are working or engaged in work activities are likely to receive childcare assistance.

Table 15
Number of Children of Respondents with Childcare Assistance

Wave	1-2	3-4	5 or more	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	258 87.5%[a]	176 87.6%	54 96.9%	488	3.91	.14
5	159 84.6%	125 87.4%	33 82.5%	317	.83	.65
8	88 81.5%	117 90.0%	33 89.2%	238	3.93	.14
11	143 88.8%	103 96.3%	27 100.0%	273	7.55	.02*

[a] Percentage of respondents with one or two children who receive childcare assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

Family Size. Two children or less was the most common configuration for families in both Families First childcare and the non-childcare groups (Appendix B, Table B1). In three of the data waves, a greater percentage of families who were receiving childcare assistance had families of five or more children. In Wave 5, 10.4% of CA had five or more children, while 13% of those whose childcare was not subsidized had large families with children of five or more. In Wave 11, all families with five or more children received CA; none of the families in the non-CA group had 5 or more children (Table 15).

Marital Status. There were no significant differences in marital status between recipients and non-recipients of childcare assistance (Table 16). Over 80% of the respondents in both groups were single parents, consistent across all four data waves. Regardless of their status related to childcare, respondents in all data waves were likely to be unmarried (Appendix B, Table B2).

Table 16
Marital Status of Respondents with Childcare Assistance

Wave	Married	Unmarried	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	52 83.9%[a]	436 89.0%	488	1.40	.23
5	42 82.4%	274 85.9%	316	.44	.50
8	31 86.1%	207 86.6%	238	.00	.93
11	23 88.5%	250 92.9%	273	.68	.40

[a] Percentage of married respondents who receive childcare assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

Highest Grade Level Completed. Chi-square analysis showed no significant differences in educational levels between those who received childcare assistance and those who did not (Table 17). In all four data waves, a higher percentage of respondents who did not complete high school were in the childcare assistance group than in the non-childcare group. In the first two data waves, respondents who did not complete high school constituted the largest groups among those who received childcare assistance. The educational level seemed to improve over time, with a smaller percentage of respondents in the CA groups reporting that they had not completed high school or the equivalent in each successive data wave. Again, when the categories of "completed high school" and "some post-high school" are combined, the majority of respondents in both the childcare and non-childcare groups completed the equivalent of a high school

Table 17
Educational Level of Respondents with Childcare Assistance

Wave	Did not Complete High School	Certificate Diploma, GED	Some post-High School Education	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	172 89.6%[a]	170 88.1%	146 87.4%	488	.43	.80
5	106 87.6%	107 89.2%	104 80.6%	317	4.24	.12
8	77 92.8%	82 85.4%	79 82.3%	238	4.36	.11
11	67 93.1%	101 93.5%	105 91.3%	273	.43	.80

[a] Percentage of respondents not completing high school who receive childcare assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

diploma; many had gone beyond the high school level and completed some college or vocational coursework (Appendix B, Table B3).

Grade Level of Oldest Child. There were significant differences between the childcare and non-childcare groups in terms of the grade level of their oldest child only in Wave 3 (Table 18). In this wave, significantly more families receiving childcare assistance had an oldest child in junior high or above (20.8%) than did the families who were not receiving childcare assistance (2.7%). Generally, children of this age would not be eligible for childcare subsidies through Families First unless there were specific physical, intellectual, or social issues affecting the child's ability to care for him or herself.

Table 18
Grade Level of Oldest Child of Respondents with Childcare Assistance

Wave	Too Young for School	Preschool or Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or Above	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	2 100%[a]	53 85.5%	207 88.5%	69 98.6%	331	7.91	.04*
5	4 100%	52 91.2%	143 86.1%	45 81.8%	244	2.77	.42
8	2 100%	32 94.1%	139 85.8%	57 85.1%	230	2.20	.53
11	2 100%	9 100%	117 93.6%	59 96.7%	187	1.45	.69

[a] Percentage of respondents whose children are too young for school who receive childcare assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

Very few respondents in the childcare assistance group had an oldest child too young to attend preschool; none of the respondents in the non-CA groups reported having a child too young to be in school (Appendix B, Table B4). Across all four data waves, the largest percentage of parents in both groups had their oldest child in elementary school.

Time On Families First. Unlike the families receiving transportation support, who were more likely to have been on Families First assistance for longer periods of time than those without TA, families who were receiving childcare subsidies were somewhat less likely have been on the welfare rolls for more than one year (Appendix B, Table B5). However, a significant correlation was found between utilization of childcare assistance and length of time on Families

Table 19
Time on Families First for Respondents with Childcare Assistance

Wave	Less than 12 months	12-35 months	36 months or more	Total	Chi-square	p-value
3	143 94.1%[a]	107 84.3%	89 91.8%	339	7.90	.01*
5	99 90.8%	64 85.3%	66 93.0%	229	2.5	.28
8	136 93.2%	54 84.4%	45 72.6%	235	15.95	.00**
11	96 99.0%	49 96.1%	34 97.1%	179	1.39	.49

[a] Percentage of respondents on Families First less than 12 months who receive childcare assistance
*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

First in only one data wave (Table 19). This does not necessarily mean that childcare assistance contributes to economic well-being more than does transportation support; it may be a function of the program's structure or the fact that families who need transportation support differ in other ways from those who need help with childcare.

Summary

While there were some statistically significant differences between the two groups in relation to number of children in Wave 11, in relation to the age of the oldest child in Wave 3, and in the length of time on Families First in Waves 3 and 8, there were no statistically difference demographic differences that were consistent across all data waves. In data Waves 3 and 8, the majority of recipients who received childcare assistance had been receiving Families First assistance for less than one year. Among those who were not receiving assistance, the

largest percentage of respondents in Wave 3 had been receiving assistance for between 12 and 35 months, while those not receiving childcare assistance in Wave 8 had been on Families First assistance for three years or longer. However, this is also true for Waves 5 and 11, where no significant correlations were found.

Use of Childcare Support and Self-Sufficiency

The same variables were employed to explore whether there is a correlation between the utilization of childcare assistance and financial self-sufficiency. Once again, I will begin with crosstab analysis of childcare assistance and the employment variables that contribute to economic well-being.

Employment Status. The indicators for employment status are whether or not one is employed, and whether one is working part-time or full-time.

Employed or Not. In Waves 3 and 5, at least half of the respondents in both groups were employed, regardless of whether they received childcare subsidies, and with the exception of

Table 20
Relationship between Childcare Assistance and Employment

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3	No	552	1.90	.16
Wave 5	No	371	2.88	.08
Wave 8	Yes	275	5.70	.01*
Wave 11	Yes	295	5.03	.02*

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

Wave 11, there was a higher percentage of employed respondents among those who were in the non-subsidy groups (Appendix D, Table D1). Chi-square results indicated a significant correlation between the use of childcare supports and employment for Waves 8 and 11. Results of chi-square analysis for all four waves are shown in Table 20.

Full or Part-Time Employment. In Wave 3, 50.6% of respondents who received childcare subsidies were working full-time, compared with 44.7% of those in the non-subsidy group. (Appendix D, Table D2). In Waves 5, 8, and 11, respondents who were not receiving childcare assistance were more likely to be working full- time. Chi-square results for the four waves are shown in Appendix D, Table D2. None of the chi-square results were significant at the alpha level of .05, indicating no correlation between childcare assistance and full-time employment.

Job Quality. Opportunities for advancement, measured by receipt of promotion, and availability of job benefits were indicators of job quality. Results of chi-square analysis for the variables related to job quality are discussed below and summarized in Table 21.

Promotions. Of the respondents who worked in jobs where promotions were available, few respondents in either group had been promoted (Appendix D, Table D3). Cell counts were not adequate to perform chi-square analysis for Wave 3 and 5, as so few respondents had been offered promotions. Chi-square results for Waves 8 and 11 indicated no significant

Table 21
Relationship between Childcare Assistance and Job Quality Variables

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3				
Promotion	---	---	---	---
Sick Leave	No	283	.67	.41
Paid Holidays	No	283	.52	.46
Retirement	No	283	1.10	.29
Health Insurance	No	283	1.84	.17
Wave 5				
Promotion	---	---	---	---
Sick Leave	No	194	1.32	.25
Paid Holidays	No	194	2.23	.13
Retirement	Yes	194	5.44	.02*
Health Insurance	No	194	1.64	.20
Wave 8				
Promotion	No	123	1.06	.30
Sick Leave	No	183	1.23	.26
Paid Holidays	No	183	.16	.20
Retirement	No	183	1.33	.24
Health Insurance	Yes	183	4.03	.04*
Wave 11				
Promotion	No	140	.06	.96
Sick Leave	Yes	220	4.47	.03*
Paid Holidays	Yes	220	4.36	.03*
Retirement	No	220	2.83	.09
Health Insurance	No	220	3.17	.07

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

correlation between the utilization of childcare assistance and the likelihood of receiving a promotion.

Sick Leave Benefits. The majority of respondents in both the CA and non-CA groups were ineligible for sick leave benefits through their employer (Appendix D, Table D4). Respondents who did receive sick leave were more likely to be in the non-CA groups. With the exception of results for Wave 11, chi-square analysis indicated no correlation between the provision of sick leave benefits and receipt of childcare assistance. Results are shown in Table 21.

Paid Holiday Benefits. Across all four data waves, those who were not receiving childcare assistance more likely to have paid holidays through their employer (Appendix D, Table D5). Results were significant at the .05 alpha level only for Wave 11, with a *p*-value of .03. Chi-square results are illustrated in Table 21.

Retirement Benefits. Across all four waves, a higher percentage of respondents without childcare subsidies had access to retirement options than did those with assistance for childcare (Appendix D, Table D6). However, chi-square analysis indicated a significant correlation between childcare assistance and retirement benefits only in Wave 5. Chi-square results for Waves 3, 8, and 11 showed no correlation between childcare assistance and retirement benefits; results of chi-square analysis for childcare assistance and retirement benefits are shown in Table 21.

Health Care Benefits. For all four waves, respondents who were not receiving childcare assistance were more likely to report that they were eligible for healthcare benefits through their

employment (Appendix D, Table D7). Results of chi-square analysis for childcare assistance and healthcare benefits are shown in Table 21. In Wave 8, chi-square analysis indicated a correlation between childcare assistance and the provision of healthcare benefits. Chi-square results for Waves 3, 5, and 11 produced no significant correlations, indicating no relationship between childcare assistance and having healthcare benefits through one's employment.

Economic Well-Being. Regardless of the availability of childcare assistance, most of the families remain below the poverty level and in-crisis on the WTWB continuum (Appendix D, Table D8). Whether or not families in Wave 3 (N = 277) were receiving assistance with childcare needs, over 80% were in the in-crisis category. 83.3% of those with childcare assistance reported income levels below the poverty line, and 86.5% of those who did not receive childcare assistance reported incomes below poverty level. In Wave 5 (N = 186), the percentages of families in crisis were 81.7% (CA) and 66.7% (non-CA). The percentages of families in crisis in Wave 8 (N=178) were 77.2% for those with childcare subsidies and 69% for those who were not receiving assistance with childcare. In Wave 11 (N=215), 74.6% of those with childcare supports and 60% of those without were in crisis based on the WTWB continuum.

A few families did report more positive outcomes in terms of economic well-being; however, a higher percentage of respondents who were thriving had not participated in childcare assistance programs. It should be noted that samples were fairly small, and that the percentages noted below may be based upon less than 10 respondents in any particular category. In Wave 3, less than 1% of families with childcare assistance had reached the thriving stage on the WTWB scale; 2.7% of families without childcare assistance were thriving. While 2% of the families with

childcare assistance in Wave 5 were thriving, 9.1% of those who had not recently participated in childcare assistance were at this economic level. In Wave 8, .7% of the CA group were thriving; 13.8% of the non-CA group were in this category. In Wave 11, 3.9% of the CA group had obtained economic self-sufficiency, while 10% of the non-CA group were in this category. Independent sample *t*- tests were conducted on each wave of data to test H2: utilization of childcare assistance has a significant positive impact on self-sufficiency.

Based on the independent samples test, there was no significant difference in any of the four data waves in well-being between participants who received subsidies for childcare and those who did not (Appendix D, Table D9). In the Wave 3 sample, the difference between those receiving CA (M = 1.20, SD = .51) and those who had not received it (M = 1.21, SD = .62) was negligible, as they were in Wave 5, where mean scores for the CA group were (M = 1.24, SD = .59) and (M = 1.54, SD = .93) for the non-CA group. In Wave 8, the results were M =1.27, SD = .55 for the CA group and M = 1.65, SD = 1.11 for the non-CA group. In the Wave 11 sample, the CA group (M = 1.38, SD = .73) and the non-CA group (M = 1.80, SD = 1.13) were not significantly different.

Summary

In the first three data waves, more respondents in the non-childcare assistance group were employed than those in the group receiving childcare assistance, but chi-square analysis indicated a significant correlation between childcare assistance and employment in only two waves (Table 20). A larger percentage of parents who were not receiving childcare subsidies reported that they were working full-time, but there was no significant correlation between

childcare subsidies and full-time employment. It does not appear that providing childcare assistance makes a significant difference in one's ability to find and maintain jobs.

Even though respondents in the non-CA group more often reported having received a promotion at work, there were no statistically significant relationships in any of the data waves. And while respondents in the non-CA group were more likely to have job benefits such as sick leave, paid holidays, retirement, and health care insurance, there was no consistent relationship between childcare assistance and these variables across data waves. Chi-square statistics were significant in Wave 11 for correlations between childcare assistance and sick leave and holidays; in Wave 5 for retirement; and in Wave 8 for health insurance (Table 21). Again, if there were significant correlations across data waves for this relationship, evidence supporting the hypothesis would be stronger. However, it does not appear that childcare assistance plays a role in facilitating job quality among TANF participants.

There is no evidence that supports the hypothesis that childcare assistance improves the likelihood that participants in TANF will become economically self-sufficient. With or without the provision of childcare subsidies, participants in both groups were predominantly at the lowest level of the WTWB scale. Chi-square analysis revealed no significant correlations between childcare assistance and economic self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER SIX

EMPLOYMENT SUPPORTS AND RURAL/ URBAN FAMILIES FIRST PARTICIPANTS

Do urban participants who receive transportation or childcare assistance secure better jobs and fare better economically than do rural participants who receive transportation or childcare assistance? In order to answer this question, survey respondents were designated as urban or rural residents, and data analysis conducted on each group to determine whether urban participants who utilized transportation or childcare assistance were more likely to become self-sufficient than rural participants who received these services. This chapter presents the results of that data analysis.

Transportation Assistance and Financial Self-Sufficiency In Urban and Rural Participants

The ratio of urban to rural respondents in all four data waves was consistent, with 80.3% of respondents living in urban areas in Wave 3; 81.3% of respondents living in urban areas of Wave 5; 81.2% of respondents living in urban areas in Wave 8; and 80.1% of respondents living in urban areas in Wave 11. Of those who responded to the question of whether or not they had received transportation assistance within the last six to nine months, 31.1% of the urban respondents(*N*=1,464)) and 28.7% of the rural respondents (*N*= 300) in Wave 3 indicated they had received assistance. In Wave 5, 34.4% of urban (*N*=1,217) and 34.5% of rural respondents

(*N*=200) had received transportation assistance. 33.2% of urban respondents to this question in Wave 8 (*N*= 909) and 27% of the rural sample (N=137) had TA. In Wave 11, 52.1% of the urban respondents (*N*=603) and 36.7% of the rural sample (*N*=79) for this question indicated that they had received transportation subsidies. The percentages of urban and rural respondents who received transportation assistance are shown in Figure 2.

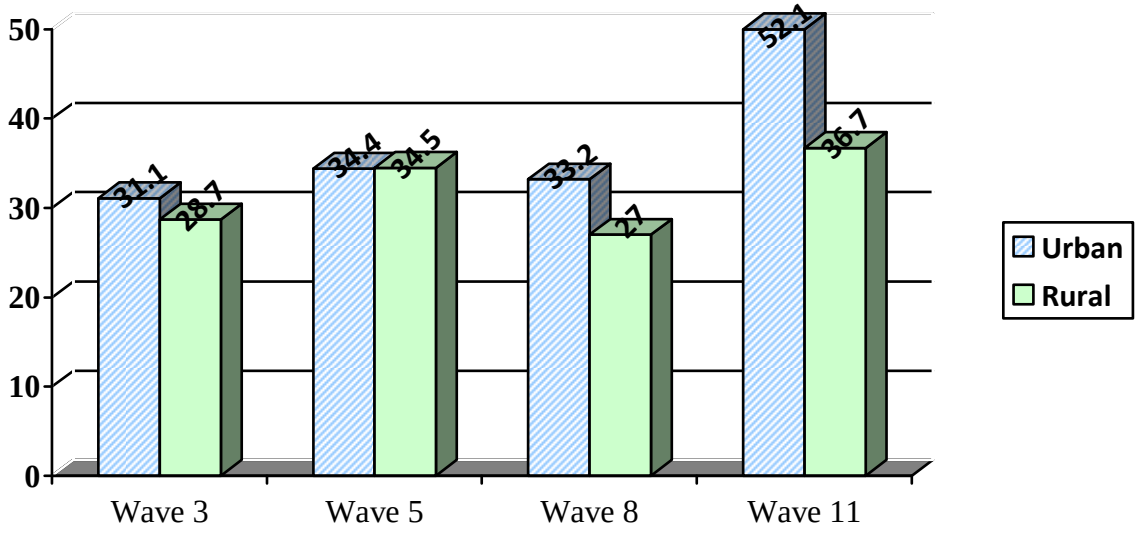

Figure 2. Percentages of urban and rural respondents receiving transportation assistance.

To test whether transportation support has a stronger impact on the ability of rural or urban respondents to become economically self-sufficient (H3), contingency tables were constructed with the same variables as for H1 with respondents grouped by status as urban or rural residents.

Table 22
Relationship between Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Employment by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 3				
Urban	No	1,464	1.75	.18
Rural	Yes	300	6.05	.01*
Wave 5				
Urban	Yes	1,217	5.29	.02*
Rural	Yes	200	5.25	.02*
Wave 8				
Urban	Yes	909	4.77	.02*
Rural	No	137	0.02	.87
Wave 11				
Urban	No	603	1.17	.27
Rural	No	79	3.14	.07

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

Employment Status. Employment status was analyzed using the indicators of employment and whether or not employment was full- or part-time.

Employed or Not. In Waves 3, 5, and 8, most respondents were unemployed, regardless of geographic location or their status with transportation assistance (Appendix E, Table E1). Among those who were employed in Waves 3 and 8, a higher percentage of urban and rural respondents who were receiving transportation assistance were employed; this was also true for rural workers in Waves 5 and 11.

Chi-square statistics reached significance at the .05 level for rural respondents in Wave 3 and Wave 5. Chi-square analysis also indicated a correlation between transportation assistance and employment for urban residents in Waves 5 and 8. Table 22 illustrates the results of chi-square analysis on transportation assistance and employment for urban and rural residents.

Full-Time or Part-Time Employment. Both urban and rural respondents in Wave 3 were likely to be working part-time, whether or not they received transportation assistance (Appendix E, Table E2). Other than that, there is no discernable pattern among urban and rural respondents, or among those with and without transportation assistance. Table E2 in Appendix E shows results of chi-square analysis for the four data waves. These results indicate that there is no significant correlation between the utilization of transportation assistance and full-time employment for urban or rural dwellers in this study.

Job Quality. Job quality was tested by the indicators of promotions and job benefits. Summaries of the results of this analysis follow.

Promotions. Promotions were available to more urban respondents than to those in rural areas (Appendix E, Table E3), but there is no consistency between the receipt of promotions and transportation assistance among the data waves. Chi-square analysis was conducted for urban and rural respondents (Table 23). None of these results reached the alpha level of .05, indicating that there is no significant correlation between the use of transportation assistance and the likelihood of promotion for urban dwellers. Tables for rural dwellers also showed no significant correlations, but data for Waves 8 and 11 are not reported because the small sample sizes cast doubt on the results for these tables.

The following section presents results of chi-square analysis for urban and rural residents based upon employee benefits: sick leave, paid holidays, retirement benefits, and health insurance. The sample size in each wave was the same for these variables, indicating that those employers who offered benefits provided a full benefits package. The small number of

respondents in the rural sample may be due to the low numbers of these respondents who have jobs with benefits.

Sick Leave Benefits. Neither urban and rural respondents were likely to be receiving sick leave benefits through their employer (Appendix E, Table E4). Contingency tables were constructed on urban and rural respondents to explore a correlation between transportation assistance and employment that provided sick leave benefits. Chi-square analysis for the urban group indicated no significant correlation between these two variables. Even though the number of rural respondents was small, cell counts were adequate for analysis. None of the chi-square results for the rural group were significant at the alpha level of .05. Table 23 lists results of chi-square analysis for the four data waves.

Paid Holidays. In Waves 3 and 8, a higher percentage of urban dwellers who received paid holidays were in the non-TA group, while a higher percentage of rural respondents who had paid holidays were receiving transportation assistance (Appendix E, Table E5). In Waves 5 and 11, the opposite was true: urban workers who received paid holidays were more likely to be receiving transportation assistance and rural workers with this benefit were more likely to be in the non-TA group. However, the difference between the urban TA and non-TA group was very slight.

Chi-square analysis for the urban group revealed no significant correlations between transportation assistance and holiday benefits, but results were significant for rural respondents in Waves 3 and 5. In Wave 3, a larger percentage of the rural respondents with TA reported that they had paid holidays; in Wave 5, a larger percentage of rural respondents with paid holidays

were not receiving TA. Table 23 summarizes the results of chi-square analysis for transportation assistance and paid holidays.

Retirement Benefits. A higher percentage of urban respondents receiving TA were eligible for retirement benefits in Waves 3, 8, and 11, while rural respondents in the non-TA groups were more likely to receive these benefits in Waves 5, 8, and 11 (Appendix E, Table E6). The results of chi-square analysis, shown in Table 23, indicate that there is no significant correlation between the utilization of transportation assistance and retirement benefits for urban dwellers in this study. Chi-square statistics were at the .05 level of significance for the rural group in Wave 3, where most rural respondents with retirement benefits had participated in the TA program, and Wave 5, where the majority of rural respondents with retirement options had not participated in the program. The cell count for rural respondents with retirement benefits in the Wave 5 contingency table was very small, so any interpretations should be made with caution.

Health Insurance. As with other job benefits, few respondents in either group had access to health insurance through their employer (Appendix E, Table E7). In three of the data waves a higher percentage of urban respondents who did receive these benefits were also receiving transportation assistance; in the other data wave, the percentage of respondents with benefits was about equal. Of the rural respondents who did receive these benefits, a higher percentage in Waves 5, 8, and 11 were not receiving transportation assistance. In Wave 3, rural respondents with retirement benefits were more likely to be in the transportation assistance group.

Table 23
Relationship between f Transportation Assistance and Job Quality Variables by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Promotions				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	276	9.78	.80
Rural	No	42	.77	.37
Wave 5				
Urban	No	190	.46	.79
Rural	No	35	.73	.69
Wave 8				
Urban	No	160	.82	.66
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 11				
Urban	No	186	.86	.64
Rural	---	---	---	---
Sick Leave				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	450	.16	.68
Rural	No	88	.36	.54
Wave 5				
Urban	No	328	.40	.52
Rural	No	58	.30	.58
Wave 8				
Urban	No	279	.03	.86
Rural	No	43	.92	.33
Wave 11				
Urban	No	297	.20	.65
Rural	No	36	.74	.38
Paid Holidays				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	450	.86	.35
Rural	Yes	88	6.04	.01*
Wave 5				
Urban	No	328	.01	.90
Rural	Yes	58	4.12	.04*
Wave 8				
Urban	No	279	.25	.61

Table 23 (continued)
Relationship between Transportation Assistance and Job Quality Variables by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Rural	No	43	.69	.40
Wave 11 Urban	No	297	.03	.77
Rural	No	36	2.52	.11
Retirement				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	450	.01	.91
Rural	Yes	88	7.75	.00**
Wave 5				
Urban	No	328	.02	.87
Rural	Yes	58	4.39	.03*
Wave 8				
Urban	No	279	.10	.74
Rural	No	58	.04	.83
Wave 11				
Urban	No	297	.72	.39
Rural	---	---	---	----
Health Insurance				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	450	.00	.94
Rural	Yes	88	4.82	.02*
Wave 5				
Urban	No	328	.00	.95
Rural	No	58	2.82	.09
Wave 8				
Urban	No	279	.52	.46
Rural	No	43	.69	,40
Wave 11				
Urban	No	297	.03	.77
Rural	No	36	2.52	.11

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

Chi-square analysis produced no significant correlations for urban respondents regarding a relationship between transportation assistance and health insurance benefits for employees, but a significant correlation was found for rural respondents in Wave 3, where most respondents who reported that they were offered health benefits were participating in the transportation assistance program. Table 23 illustrates the results of chi-square analysis for transportation assistance and health insurance.

Economic Well-Being. The great majority of respondents in all four waves remained at the "in-crisis" level, regardless of geographic location or whether they were receiving transportation assistance (Appendix E, Table E8). 88.3% of the urban dwellers included in the analysis for Wave 3 (*n*=428) were at the in-crisis level on the WTWB continuum; of those, 34.1% were receiving transportation assistance and 65.9% were not. Of the rural respondents (*n*=86), 89.5% were in-crisis, with 39% in the subsidy group and 61% in the non-subsidy group. In Wave 5, 84.2% of urban dwellers (*n*=312) and 98.2% of the rural residents (*n*=57) were at the lowest level on the WTWB scale. 30.8% of the urban dwellers at this level had received TA, while 46.4% of rural residents at the in-crisis level had received TA. 84.1% of urban (*n*=265) and 87.8% rural respondents (*n*=41) in Wave 8 were in-crisis. 40.8% of the urban in-crisis group had received TA and 27.8% of the rural group who were in crisis received TA in Wave 8. 83.1% of urban Wave 11 (*n*=290) respondents were in-crisis, compared to 94.4% of those in rural areas (*n*=36). Both urban and rural respondents were equally distributed between the TA and non-TA groups: 49.4% of the urban dwellers who were in-crisis received TA and 50.6% did not. For rural respondents, 50% received TA and 50% did not.

The other end of the WTWB spectrum is “thriving”, which indicates that the family has an income at 200% or above the poverty line and can generally sustain itself. 1.8% of the urban dwellers in Wave 3 were thriving; of those, one respondent was receiving transportation assistance. One rural respondent in Wave 3 had reached this level of self-sufficiency; s/he was in the TA subsidy group. For Wave 5, seven urban respondents (2.2%) were in the Thriving category; two of them had received TA. The one thriving rural respondent in this wave was not receiving TA. In Wave 8, 2.6% (*n*=7) of urban dwellers were self-sustaining and again, only one rural respondent had achieved self-sufficiency. Only one of the thriving urban respondents received TA and the one thriving rural respondent was in the non-subsidy group. There were eight thriving urban respondents in Wave 11, which constituted 2.7% of the urban sample. Of those, five (62.5% of thriving respondents) were in the TA group. None of the respondents in the rural sample had achieved self-sufficiency in Wave 11.

An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to compare WTWB status and the presence or absence of transportation assistance for urban and rural residents in all four data waves. Results are shown in Table 24. In the Wave 3 urban sample, there was no significant difference between respondents who received TA (M=1.13, SD=.43) and those who did not (M=1.18, SD=.57). In the urban sample for Wave 5, respondents receiving TA (M=1.12, SD =.49) had a lower mean score than those who did not receive TA (M=1.27, SD=.65); t (206) = -2.20, p = .02, significant at the $p = .05$ level. Among urban respondents in Wave 8, there was no significant difference between the TA group (M = 1.18, SD = .51) and the non-TA group (M = 1.26, SD = .67). In Wave 11, *t*-tests indicated no significant difference between urban respondents who

received transportation support (M = 1.27, SD = .68) and those who did not (M = 1.22, SD = .58) Based on the independent samples test, there was no significant difference in well-being between rural respondents who received transportation and those who did not in any of the four data waves. In the rural Wave 3 sample those receiving transportation assistance (M = 1.20, SD = .64) differed only slightly from those who had not received it (M = 1.11, SD = .37). In Wave 5, mean scores for the TA group (M = 1.00, SD = .00) and the non-TA group (M = 1.09, SD = .53) showed no significant differences in the two groups. In Wave 8, results were M =1.09, SD = .30 for the TA group and M = 1.30, SD = .79 for the non-TA group. In the rural Wave 11 sample, the TA group (M = 1.00, SD = .00) and the non-TA group (M = 1.15, SD = .50) were not significantly different.

Table 24
Relationship between Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Economic Well-Being by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Correlation	N	*t*-score	*p*-value
Wave 3				
Urban	No	428	1.10	.27
Rural	No	86	.82	.41
Wave 5				
Urban	Yes	312	-2.20	.02*
Rural	No	57	-.91	.36
Wave 8				
Urban	No	265	-1.02	.30
Rural	No	41	-.84	.40
Wave 11				
Urban	No	290	.60	.54
Rural	No	36	-1.37	.18

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

Summary

In comparing participants by geographic location, a higher percentage of rural respondents with transportation assistance in all data waves were employed, while this was true for urban respondents in two waves. Chi-square statistics were significant for a correlation between transportation assistance and employment for urban respondents in Waves 5 and 8, and for rural respondents in Waves 3 and 5 (Table 22). Even though correlations were significant for only two of the four rural groups, the fact that rural respondents were consistently more likely to be employed if they received TA may indicate that this program is more helpful to the employment status of rural residents.

While a higher percentage of both urban and rural respondents with transportation assistance were employed, those with TA were more likely to be working part-time than full-time (Appendix E, Table E2). There was no significant correlation between full or part-time employment and transportation assistance for either sample. Compared with both urban and rural respondents without subsidies, a higher percentage of those with TA were employed on a part-time basis. Chi-square statistics showed no indication that there is a relationship between full or part-time employment and transportation assistance for urban or rural respondents.

In relation to promotions and benefits, both urban and rural participants who were not receiving TA were more likely to have received a promotion in Waves 3, 5, and 8. In Wave 11, a higher percentage of those with transportation assistance reported that they had received a promotion; no significant correlation was revealed between utilization of transportation support and receipt of promotions for either group (Appendix E, Table E3).

While there was no indication of a relationship between transportation assistance and job benefits for urban participants, chi-square analysis revealed significant correlations in two waves between transportation assistance and the availability of paid holidays, retirement benefits, and health insurance for rural residents. In Wave 3, a significantly higher percentage of rural respondents who received transportation assistance (32.4%) reported that they had paid holidays at work than did those without TA (11.1%). In the following three waves, rural respondents who were not in the TA group were more likely to report that they had paid holidays through their employer, with a significant correlation between transportation support and paid holidays for rural respondents in Wave 5 (Table 24). The sample size of rural respondents for this variable was small (n=36), and the significant correlations between transportation assistance and paid holidays in one rural group with TA and one rural group without TA do not support the hypothesis that the utilization of transportation support improves the likelihood of receiving the benefit of paid holidays.

While no relationship between transportation assistance and retirement benefits was found for urban respondents, crosstabs for a correlation between TA and retirement for rural residents was significant in Waves 3 and 5. However, the two waves do not show the same outcomes – while a higher percentage of rural residents with TA have retirement in Wave 3, a higher percentage of rural residents without TA have retirement in Wave 5(Appendix E, Table E6).

With the exception of Wave 5, urban respondents with TA were more likely to have access to employee health plans. Rural respondents were more likely to have access to health

insurance if they were not receiving TA, with the exception of those in Wave 3. Chi-square statistic was significant for this sample, but not for any of the other groups (Table 24). Since we cannot rule out the influence of other factors for the one wave with a significant correlation, we have little evidence that transportation assistance has an impact on access to health insurance through one's employer. The inconsistency of significant correlations between transportation assistance and job quality indicates that the utilization of transportation supports does little to improve job quality for urban or rural recipients.

In terms of economic well-being, contingency tables showed no consistent significant relationship between transportation subsidies and adequate income .Whether urban or rural, the large majority of participants remained on the lowest level of the WTWB continuum. *T*-test results revealed a significant difference in mean economic well-being between those with transportation support and those without only for urban respondents in Wave 5 (Table 24). Participants in all four waves were predominantly in crisis; in Wave 5, all of the rural respondents were at the lowest level of the WTWB continuum.

Childcare Assistance and Financial Self-Sufficiency In Urban and Rural Participants

To test whether urban respondents receive more benefit from childcare assistance than do those in rural areas (H4), contingency tables were constructed with the same variables as for H2 with respondents grouped by status as urban or rural residents. This analysis proceeds in the same manner as that for H2.

Percentages and sample sizes for respondents receiving childcare assistance differed dramatically from the numbers for transportation assistance. The distribution of respondents for this area of analysis is notable. There is not a great deal of difference in the percentage of recipients of childcare assistance between urban and rural groups, but the actual numbers of rural participants in this program were small. In Wave 3, 89% of the urban sample (*N*=482) and 81% of the rural sample (*N*= 63) for the question of whether or not they had received childcare assistance in the last few months indicated they had received assistance. In Wave 5, 86.4% of urban (*N*=324) and 85.4% of rural respondents (*N*=41) to this question had received childcare subsidies.

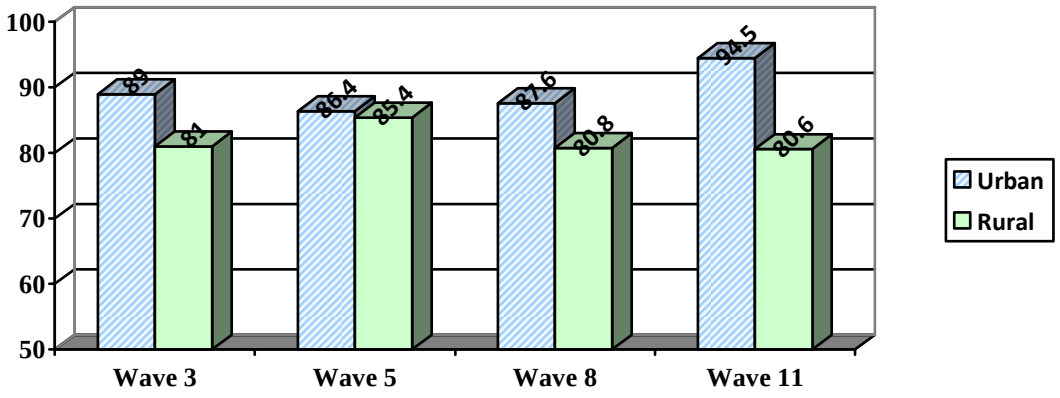

Figure 3. Percentages of urban and rural respondents in overall sample with childcare assistance

For Wave 8, 87.6% of urban respondents (*N*= 242) to this question and 80.8% of the rural sample (N=26) had CA. In Wave 11, 94.5% of the urban respondents (*N*=256) and 80.6% of the rural sample (*N*=31) for this question indicated that they had received childcare subsidies. The percentages of urban and rural respondents in the overall FALS sample who received childcare

assistance from Families First are shown in Figure 3.

While the number of urban respondents using childcare was roughly equivalent to sample sizes for many other variables, the number for the rural sample was small, which makes comparison of urban and rural populations who use childcare services by crosstabs difficult. Rural participants constituted 11.5% of the overall sample for the childcare variable in Wave 3, 11.2% in Wave 5, 9.7% in Wave 8, and 10.8% of the sample in Wave 11.

Employment Status. Whether or not respondents were employed, and whether they were employed full- or part-time were the indicators for employment status.

Employed or Not. Among both urban and rural workers in Waves 3, 5, and 8, a higher percentage of respondents in the non-CA group were employed (Appendix E, Table E9). In Wave 11, higher percentages of both urban and rural respondents with childcare assistance were working. Based on chi-square analysis (Appendix E, Table E9), there was no correlation between childcare assistance and employment for urban or rural participants. Due to the small sample size, valid contingency tables could not be constructed for rural respondents in Waves 8 and 11.

Full or Part-Time Employment. Rural respondents in Waves 3 and 5 were more likely to be working full-time if they were receiving childcare assistance; as were urban workers in Wave 3 (Appendix E, Table E10). In Wave 8 the majority of urban and rural workers in both the CA and non-CA groups were employed full-time. In Wave 11, higher percentages of both urban and rural workers without childcare assistance were employed full-time.

Statistical analysis indicated no significant correlation between childcare assistance and full-time employment for either group in Wave 3, as neither of the chi-square statistics were

significant at the .05 level. Chi-square analysis was not conducted for the rural sample in Waves 5, 8, and 11 due to the small sample size.

Job Quality. Job quality was determined by opportunity for advancement, measured by receipt of promotions; and job benefits such as sick leave, paid holidays, retirement, and health insurance.

Promotions. Table E11 in Appendix E summarizes the percentages of urban and rural respondents who received promotions. Chi-square analysis for a correlation between childcare assistance and promotions could not be conducted for any of the groups, due to the small size and distribution of the sample.

Sick Leave Benefits. Among urban respondents, employees with sick leave benefits were less likely to be receiving childcare assistance (Appendix E, Table E12). This was also the case with rural respondents, with the exception of those in Wave 3. Contingency tables were constructed on urban and rural respondents to explore a correlation between childcare assistance and sick leave benefits for workers (Table 25). Chi-square analysis indicated no significant correlation between these two variables for urban or rural participants. Cell counts were adequate for analysis of rural respondents in only two waves.

Paid Holidays. Among both urban and rural respondents, a larger percentage of those with sick leave were not receiving transportation assistance, with the exception of rural respondents in Wave 3 (Appendix E, Table E13). Chi-square analysis revealed no significant correlations between childcare assistance and holiday benefits for urban or rural participants, but contingency tables were not constructed for all waves due to small sample sizes for some cells

(Table 25). Crosstabs were not valid for the urban sample in Wave 11 due to the small number of urban respondents who were not receiving Families First childcare assistance. Tables were not constructed for the rural sample in Waves 8 and 11 due to the small sample size.

Retirement. The majority of respondents reported that they were not offered pension plans or retirement programs through their employer. Of the urban respondents who were offered this benefit, a higher percentage of the non-CA group in all four waves received it. A higher percentage of rural respondents who received childcare assistance reporting having retirement benefits in two of the data waves; in the other, those without childcare assistance were more likely to report having retirement benefits (Appendix E, Table E14).

Chi-square analysis indicated a significant correlation between childcare assistance and retirement benefits in one data wave, for urban respondents. The chi-square statistic was at the .05 level of significance for the urban group in Wave 5. For rural respondents, chi-square results were calculated for only one data wave due to the small sample sizes. These results suggest that there is no significant correlation between the utilization of childcare assistance and the availability of retirement benefits for rural participants (Table 25).

Health Insurance. A higher percentage of urban respondents who had health insurance through their employer were not receiving childcare assistance; this was also true for rural respondents in Waves 8 and 11 (Appendix E, Table E15). In Waves 3 and 5, rural respondents with childcare assistance were more likely to be receiving health insurance benefits at work.

Table 25
Relationship between Childcare Assistance and Job Quality Variables by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Sick Leave				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	239	1.92	.16
Rural	No	41	.51	.47
Wave 5				
Urban	No	161	.80	.36
Rural	No	31	.09	.75
Wave 8				
Urban	No	157	1.96	.16
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 11				
Urban	No	198	3.52	.06
Rural	---	---	---	---
Paid Holidays				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	239	.64	.42
Rural	No	41	.01	.90
Wave 5				
Urban	No	161	1.64	.20
Rural	No	31	.07	.79
Wave 8				
Urban	No	157	2.79	.09
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 11				
Urban	---	---	---	---
Rural	---	---	---	---
Retirement				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	239	1.39	.23
Rural	No	41	.00	.98

Table 25 (continued)
Relationship between Childcare Assistance and Job Quality Variables by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	Chi-square	*p*-value
Wave 5				
Urban	Yes	161	6.09	.01*
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 8				
Urban	No	157	2.07	.15
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 11				
Urban	No	198	1.93	.16
Rural	---	---	---	----
Health Insurance				
Wave 3				
Urban	No	239	3.04	.08
Rural	No	41	.12	.72
Wave 5				
Urban	No	161	2.35	.12
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 8				
Urban	Yes	157	4.20	.04*
Rural	---	---	---	---
Wave 11				
Urban	No	198	2.42	.12
Rural	---	---	---	---

*p = <.05. **p = <.01.

Chi-square testing produced one significant *p* score for urban respondents in the crosstab analysis. Contingency tables were constructed for rural samples only in Wave 3, as it was the only rural sample with adequate numbers for analysis. Chi-square was not significant at the .05

level for urban or rural respondents in Wave 3. Table 25 illustrates results of chi-square analysis for the correlation between childcare assistance and health insurance.

Economic Well-Being. Even with assistance with childcare needs from Families First, the great majority of respondents were below the poverty level and in-crisis on the WTWB continuum. Caution should be exercised in interpreting the percentages discussed below; even though 80% of respondents in a particular group may be placed in a particular category, be mindful that there may be only four or five people in that group. Table E16 in Appendix E illustrates ranking on the WTWB continuum for urban and rural respondents in the four data waves.

In Wave 3, 82.9% of urban CA participants and 86.2% of urban non-CA respondents remained at the lowest level of the WTWB scale (Appendix E, Table E16). Among the rural population in Wave 3, 84.4% of subsidy recipients and 87.5% of non-recipients were in crisis. In Wave 5, 81.9% of urban and 80% of rural CA participants remained at the lowest level of economic well-being, compared with 63% of urban and 100% of the rural respondents who did not receive childcare support. Among urban respondents in Wave 8, 76.2% of the CA group and 68.2% of the non-CA group were below poverty level; 92.9% of the rural CA group and 80% of the rural non-CA group were in the same situation. In Wave 11, 74.1% of the urban sample with childcare assistance and 66.7% of urban respondents without childcare assistance were unable to meet basic needs on their own. 76% of the rural participants in the Families First childcare program were still in crisis; only one rural respondent was not receiving Families First childcare assistance.

Of the urban respondents who received childcare assistance in Wave 3, two were thriving; one respondent who had not received subsidies for childcare was also thriving. None of the rural respondents in this particular sample had reached a level of income adequate to be considered self-sufficient. In Wave 5, four urban respondents were thriving; two had received childcare assistance and two had not. The one thriving rural respondent in this wave had also received childcare assistance. In Wave 8, two of the three thriving urban respondents had not participated in the childcare assistance program; this was also the case for the one rural respondent who was in the thriving category on the WTWB continuum. In Wave 11, the eight urban respondents who had become economically self-sufficient had all been recipients of childcare assistance, while the one self-sufficient rural respondent had not been involved in the program.

Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to compare WTWB levels and the presence or absence of childcare assistance for urban and rural residents (Table 26). In the Wave 3 urban sample, there was no significant difference between respondents who received childcare assistance (M=1.12, SD=.52) and those who did not (M=1.24, SD=.68). In the urban sample for Wave 5, the CA sample (M=1.24, SD =.58) had a lower mean score than the non-CA sample (M=1.55, SD=.89). Among urban respondents in Wave 8, there was no significant difference between the CA group (M = 1.28, SD = .56) and the non-CA group (M = 1.59, SD = 1.00). In Wave 11, *t*-tests again indicated no significant difference between urban respondents who received transportation support (M = 1.38, SD = .75) and those who did not (M = 1.55, SD = .88). Based on these outcomes, there was no significant difference in well-being between urban

Table 26
Relationship between Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Economic Well-Being by Urban/Rural Status

	Significant Relationship	N	*t*-score	*p*-value
Wave 3				
Urban	No	234	-2.46	.80
Rural	No	40	.35	.72
Wave 5				
Urban	No	154	-1.73	.09
Rural	Yes	30	2.06	.05*
Wave 8				
Urban	No	152	-1.39	.17
Rural	No	19	-.87	.43
Wave 11				
Urban	No	194	-6.59	.51
Rural	---	--	---	---

*p = <.05. **p =<.01.

respondents who received childcare subsidies and those who did not in any of the four data waves (Table 26).

In the rural Wave 3 sample those receiving childcare assistance (M = 1.18, SD = .47) differed insignificantly from those who had not received it (M = 1.12, SD = .35). In Wave 5, mean scores for the CA group (M = 1.28, SD = .67) and the non-CA group (M = 1.00, SD = .00) did show a significant correlation between economic well-being and childcare assistance. While the chi-square statistic meets the alpha level of .05, the number of rural respondents who were not receiving childcare assistance was only 5. In Wave 8, results were (M =1.07, SD = .26) for the CA group and (M = 1.60, SD =1.34) for the non-CA group. In the rural Wave 11 sample, there was only one respondent who was not receiving childcare assistance, so comparison between groups was not possible.

Summary

While the percentages of urban and rural respondents who required childcare and have assistance through Families First are comparable, the small sample sizes for rural populations receiving childcare assistance has made it difficult to reach any viable conclusions as to whether urban respondents benefit more from childcare subsidies, or are more likely to achieve economic stability through its use than are rural participants. In fact, some sample sizes are so small that no inferences should be made, even for the wave they represent. Based on the analysis that could be completed, any evidence that those in the urban sample with childcare subsidies were better off than those without it was not consistent across data waves.

Among urban respondents, statistical analysis revealed only a few significant differences between those participants receiving childcare assistance and those who were not. While there were correlations between childcare assistance and the employee benefits of retirement and health insurance for urban residents, statistically significant correlations between these benefits and childcare assistance were indicated in only one data wave. There were no significant correlations found between childcare assistance and job quality for rural residents.

Based on percentages of respondents in the rural sample, those who were not receiving childcare assistance were more likely to be employed, but those with childcare assistance were more likely to have full-time jobs, with the exception of those in Wave 11 (Appendix E, Table E7).There was no pattern of response to indicate that rural respondents with childcare were more likely to have jobs with benefits than rural respondents who do not have childcare assistance. Of the rural respondents who had received promotions at work, more reported that they had received

a promotion if they were in the CA group. If one were to make an assumption from this information, it appears that rural residents are more likely to benefit from childcare assistance than are urban ones, at least in terms of full-time employment and opportunities for promotion.

Generally, the possibility of correlations between childcare assistance and economic well-being could not be adequately assessed due to the fact that there were so few rural respondents in many of the WTWB categories. But whether urban or rural, the large majority of respondents remained on the lowest level of the WTWB continuum. *T*-test results did not indicate a significant difference between the means in any of the urban waves, indicating that childcare assistance was not a factor in achieving financial self-sufficiency for urban respondents. While there was one significant p-score in the rural population, the sample size for that group was only 5; it cannot fairly be included among the significant findings. With so few respondents in the "safe" or "thriving" economic categories on the continuum, it is safe to say that the presence or absence of childcare assistance had no significant effect on the financial self-sufficiency of the respondents in this survey.

CHAPTER SEVEN
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the effectiveness of transportation and childcare supports for Families First recipients in facilitating economic self-sufficiency, and to assess whether these services were of more benefit to urban or rural participants. Based on the assumption that these employment supports assist participants in becoming reliable and productive employees, it was hypothesized that those who receive these services would be more likely to acquire the type of employment that contributes to self-sufficiency; *i.e.*, jobs with benefits and wages that allow families to meet their needs adequately without assistance from other sources. Since these two employment support programs provide stipends or vouchers for services rather than the services themselves, and there are more transportation and childcare options in metropolitan areas, it was also hypothesized that urban participants might receive more benefit from childcare and transportation assistance than do rural participants.

More specifically, the research questions addressed in this paper were:

1. Does financial support for transportation to work or school increase the likelihood that TANF recipients will become self-sufficient?

2. Does financial support for childcare improve the likelihood that TANF recipients will become self-sufficient?

3. Do urban participants who receive transportation assistance secure better jobs and fare better economically than do rural participants who receive transportation assistance?

4. Do urban participants who receive childcare assistance secure better jobs and fare

better economically than do rural participants who receive childcare assistance?

Statistical analysis provided little support for the premise that these employment supports facilitate the achievement of financial self-sufficiency. There were, however, some significant correlations between the utilization of these supports and some of the factors that contribute to well-being, such as being employed and having a job that offers healthcare insurance, sick leave, retirement options, and paid holidays. Although chi-square reached statistically significant levels for only two waves, rural respondents in all four data waves who received transportation assistance were more likely to be working. This could be an indicator that transportation assistance is of more benefit to rural than urban TANF participants, at least in relation to obtaining employment, and this relationship merits further study.

Significant correlations between the utilization of childcare subsidies and employee benefits were found in only a few data waves; but respondents who did not receive childcare assistance were generally more likely to have the type of employment that offered sick leave, paid holidays, health insurance, and retirement. Correlational analysis showed significant relationships in only one wave for each of these benefits.

There were few significant correlations found in this study, and the fact that there is very little consistency or pattern to them is troubling. It does not appear that simply providing TANF participants with employment supports such as transportation and childcare assistance does much to increase the likelihood that they will become economically self-sufficient. However, there is

evidence that the provision of transportation supports increase the likelihood that participants are employed, especially for those in rural areas.

While over 80% of participants were in crisis on the WTWB scale regardless of whether they received transportation assistance, the small percentage of respondents who were thriving were more likely not to have recently received transportation assistance. In fact, those who were receiving transportation assistance were very slightly more likely to be in crisis. This may say more about the recipients and their circumstances than it does about the programs.

The disparate effects of these supports should not be surprising, since they address only one type of problem encountered by the working poor. They provide tangible resources needed to support the ability to get to work on a regular basis, but many recipients of public assistance face more daunting barriers to self-sufficiency. Regardless of any additional assistance provided for childcare and transportation, which have been addressed in the literature as significant barriers to employment and thus the well-being of TANF participants, most of the survey participants remain among the poorest families in the country. While some TANF participants need only brief concrete assistance to get back on their feet, many obviously face other obstacles that contribute to financial instability. The issue is not just one of money or geographic location, but of individual circumstances.

This raises the questions of whether the devolution of welfare administration under PRWORA has gone far enough in allowing states to target specific needs and provide better responses to the issue of poverty, and whether states have responded adequately to the freedom to target programs and funding to their specific needs. Providing assistance for transportation

and childcare addresses the easy issues of facilitating employment -- those handled simply through the provision of stipends.

Data from the FALS tells us that participants differ little in terms of financial stability and demographic characteristics, whether or not they receive employment supports. It does not tell us how their life situations or cognitive/emotional characteristics may differ from the norm. It is likely that TANF participants have situations and deficiencies that transcend the need for financial assistance and that require targeted interventions designed to meet their unique needs. Researchers in the area of social welfare policy have found that TANF participants tend to have multiple problems that mitigate their ability to become self-sufficient (Blank, 2007; Butler, Corbett, Bond, and Hasted, 2008; Cancian and Meyer, 2004; Keenan, 2007; Ryan, 2000). Those who have entered the welfare rolls since the advent of PRWORA, especially those who have exhausted or nearly exhausted their benefits, are the most disadvantaged members of the most disadvantaged group in society. Keenan (p. 78), citing research from Pavetti (2002), states that

> …the expectations for self-sufficiency are often unrealistic because of the numerous barriers to employment that TANF recipients encounter: personal and family challenges (health, substance abuse and mental health problems, children's health or mental health problems, legal problems, domestic violence), logistical problems (lack of transportation, homelessness or unstable housing, childcare problems), and human capital problems (lack of previous work experience, literacy problems, learning disabilities, limited education).

According to Blank (2007), most welfare leavers who continue to face unemployment suffer from at least one of these problems. In her study of women who could not find work or maintain employment, she found that the most common barriers for these women were learning disabilities combined with limited education; current or past substance abuse; poor physical health, depression or other mental illness; a history of domestic violence; or responsibility for an ill family member. Butler et al. (2008) added having a child with disabilities to the list, and found that many respondents in their study faced more than one of these issues, along with lack of transportation and/or childcare. Blank (2007, p. 192) concludes that the varied needs of this population "…necessitate extensive case management with multiple service linkages."

Public assistance has traditionally been provided through cash transfers and vouchers that help address concrete problems such as lack of money, lack of transportation, or lack of childcare. While all of these are essential to facilitating employment and well-being for families, they do not address the underlying issues that can hold individuals back from financial self-sufficiency. Since the inception of welfare reform, TANF recipients who stay on the rolls tend to be those with the most challenges and are often targeted as the "hard to employ" (Blank, 2007; Butler et al., 2008). In order to address the multiple problems faced by this population, services such as mental health or substance abuse counseling, domestic violence counseling, job skills training, and educational counseling need to be integrated into the service delivery system.

Has PRWORA Transformed Service Delivery?

The shift from federal to state government administration allowed for more flexibility in designing public assistance programs, with the idea that programs would use funds in ways that best served the needs of their poor. However, the bureaucratic issues that hinder the ability to improve the life situations of the disadvantaged remain. Caseworkers must still deal with rigid requirements, strict performance standards, and high caseloads that limit the options for help they can provide. As noted by Ratcliffe, Nightingale, and Sharkey (2007), the performance standards set at the federal and state level are designed to monitor agency performance and have very little to do with the long-term outcomes for individuals. To a great extent, the focus continues to be on outputs rather than outcomes and on meeting federal and state guidelines rather than shaping programs that truly confront the obstacles faced by TANF recipients.

James Q. Wilson's (1975) solution to this problem is to assure that agencies are "production" agencies, where both outcomes and outputs can be measured, allow for the achievement of nonmaterial rewards such as carrying out a sense of duty, friendship, and approval, development of goals that are neither too narrow nor too broad, and that don't conflict with each other (p. 160). Focusing on output and outcome rather than just output allows for more flexibility in how workers do their job and allows them to apply their own experience and knowledge to solving problems. Providing legislators with information from those on the front lines not only empowers the workers, it provides legislators with information that leads to better

policy choices. Assuring that information can flow both ways and developing goals that reflect all levels of knowledge could go a long way toward policy decisions that actually move the poor toward self-sufficiency, rather than just moving them off the welfare rolls. If goals are shared, at least to some extent, by all involved, then there are incentives for all parties to become advocates for those goals.

With "reform" came the assumptions that welfare workers would not only know the community resources available to help serve clients, but that they would have actual relationships with those in their caseload, facilitating the changes required to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Whether or not these expectations are actually met depends to a great extent upon the organizational environment of the agency (Jewell and Glaser, 2006; Hasenfeld, 2010) and the commitment of state-level administrators to providing specialized services. It also requires hiring appropriate staff, as the ability to facilitate change requires that the worker have skills and training that transcend the ability to calculate eligibility and monitor compliance.

In Keenan's (2007) study of interaction patterns among human service workers, she found that the rigid interaction patterns associated with bureaucratic structure are designed to preserve the status quo, not to facilitate behavioral change. Her research revealed that the typical interaction pattern between worker and client consisted of the worker pushing the client to get a job and when clients encountered barriers to employment, the worker either threatened sanctions or offered other resources to assist the client. According to Keenan, this requires the worker to judge whether or not the client is worthy of additional services and stymies any meaningful relationships between the two. Isenhour and Goldstein (2008) also found that case managers

were "…significantly restrained by the structures of welfare work and appreciably influenced by popular ideologies concerning the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor" (p 2).

Administrators at the top are mandated to carry out the wishes of legislators; workers at lower levels must follow the directives of their supervisor. According to Wilson (1975), this results in a structure that focuses on process rather than outcome, gives outsiders control over internal procedures, makes managers more risk averse, and establishes rules more focused on equity than efficiency (pp. 131-132). Wilson goes on to illustrate that the more constraints and contextual goals are the focus, the "…more control is shifted to the top…who know less about specific problems" (p. 133).

According to Hasenfeld (2010), this creates conflicting expectations for caseworkers: they must judge clients' worth and monitor compliance with rules, but they are also charged with rehabilitating them into productive, independent members of society. Hasenfeld states that the first goal requires bureaucratic thinking, or what he calls *people-processing*; the second depends upon a true helping relationship between client and worker, or *people-changing*. These conflicting roles of "cop and counselor" require different training, ideologies, and skill sets (Jewell and Glaser, 2006) and the punitive nature of TANF requires that workers conform to the first model, moving people through the system as quickly as possible to meet federal requirements. "The entrenched bureaucratic model used to determine eligibility and to enforce compliance crowds out the professional model needed to provide employment services", according to Hasenfeld (p. 154). Current practices may be expedient, but not effective. A solution for goal displacement, or for the dilution of goals, is to have policymakers write very

explicit rules and regulations, thus making instructions “distortion-proof”; developing objective performance measurements, and clarifying directives with subordinates. However, Downs pointed out that these techniques carry the likely possibility that they will diminish morale and do little to address the preference conflicts between administrators and workers (p. 145).

The problem is not limited to urban social service agencies. Arsenault (2006) conducted research on worker practices in rural Kentucky, finding that workers were troubled by the conflicting goals of determining eligibility and helping clients change. The problem is compounded in rural areas by the dearth of other agencies available to provide expert services, and by the fact that eligibility workers are not social workers and thus not trained to provide counseling, skills training, mental health assessments, or substance abuse intervention. Even though their caseloads were smaller, rural eligibility workers were overwhelmed with the personal issues presented by clients and the time needed to help address them.

The quickest route to closing cases and moving people off the rolls is to certify them for any monetary benefits for which they might be eligible and put them to work at a job – any job. This does not necessarily facilitate stable employment at a living wage. If problems with transportation and childcare affect their ability to get and keep a job, providing vouchers is a fast and relatively inexpensive method of addressing the obvious problems. Taking the time and effort required to secure or provide all the services needed to help clients face the less-obvious problems that keep them dependent conflicts with policy that rewards those who keep clients in compliance and sanctions those who fail to keep their paperwork up to date (Hasenfeld, 2010; Isenhour and Goldstein, 2008).

The predominant pattern in public assistance programs fits Hasenfeld's nested framework for organizational structure. In his "Russian Doll" conceptualization, he describes the outer shell as the policy design shell, where policy is set with leeway for discretion by local officials. The second layer, or shell, consists of the political and economic environment of the community, where interest groups mobilize to shape local policy and rules to fit their values. The third shell is made up of the local agencies providing services, and the fourth consists of the street-level workers who exercise at least some discretion based upon their experience and worldviews. The decisions made at this level eventually become institutionalized as standard operating procedures, and color worker-client relations, the innermost shell of the framework. According to Hasenfeld, it is the activities within this inner shell that determine outcomes for clients. In order for states to provide the best services for their TANF participants, actors at all levels need to understand the real barriers that contribute to continued poverty, and commit to providing the programs and services that will address them.

Implications for Policy Change

It is true that the most obvious difference between families who are self-sufficient and those who are in a consistent state of financial crisis is lack of money, but the issue cannot be adequately addressed only through the provision of minimal funding to shore up the working poor on a temporary basis. Until we address the less obvious issues that make the poor different from the rest of us – those that cannot be solved by providing the needy with cash, bus vouchers,

or childcare subsidies -- we will not succeed in helping those most entrenched in the cycle of welfare dependency. The ability to address these issues is hindered by the incomplete transformation of PRWORA from bureaucratic behemoth to the responsive state agencies promised in the rhetoric of welfare reform. While funding has increased for employment supports, there is still little effort or monies directed toward providing the intensive employment readiness, counseling, and personal support necessary to address the complex intra- and interpersonal barriers encountered by today's TANF participants.

Education and training are other readily available resources that can be addressed as expediently as subsidies for transportation and childcare, but regulations limit options for participants. In Cheng's (2010) study of 228 TANF participants, those with a college degree were 5.9 times more likely to become non-poor than those without a high school diploma, and having professional or craftsman skills decreased the odds of falling from the category of working poor to TANF participant by 88.3%. This need for skills and education was corroborated by Ratcliffe et al.'s (2007) study of early TANF recipients; they found that having less education decreased one's chances for long-term employment and pay increases, but that it did not affect the ability to get a job – or the closure rates for TANF cases. Cheng proposes that extensive services be provided on the front end – within the first six months of TANF receipt—and should focus on the services needed to facilitate good stable jobs. Those services include opportunities for education beyond the 12 month limit set by PRWROA.

Programs and their emphasis vary from state to state, and some vary from locality to locality. More programs need to be designed with a comprehensive approach to resolving the

issue of TANF dependency, such as the pilot project in Flint, Michigan developed as part of the National League of Cities' Workforce Development for Poverty Relations (Furdell, 2001). In this collaboration between city and community, the city provided management staff to work alongside 30 community stakeholders to increase job opportunities, enhance skills and placement options, and improve access to expert services that support employment. The stakeholders included small businesses, schools that provided short-term training programs, service agencies, and a local carpenters union. This task force focus was on building skills first and employment second. Keenan describes similar programs in which a consortium of family service agencies worked together to improve access and coordinate needed personal services for TANF participants. Staff at these agencies could provide professional intervention that eligibility workers have not been trained to provide. Based on outcomes from the Flint study, participants who were referred to these services early in their TANF history, before sanctions were required, were more successful. In many states, however, these additional services are provided only as a last resort.

Welfare reform fundamentally changed the focus from the state's responsibility to the individual to the individual's responsibility to the state (Isenhour and Goldstein, 2008; Keenan, 2007; Butler et al., 2008) by placing additional work requirements and sanctions on participants without providing the resources necessary to meet those requirements. However, we cannot expect TANF participants to be concerned with their ability to contribute to society until their own basic needs and those of their family are met and the personal issues that keep them dependent are mitigated.

Questions for Further Research

This study attempted to determine whether the provision of employment subsidies for transportation and childcare significantly increased a family's chances of becoming self-sufficient, and whether both urban and rural participants benefitted equally from these services. While some respondents clearly seemed to benefit from these supports and were more likely to be working, employed full-time, and receiving employee benefits, in some cases others who had not received this help were more likely to be working at full-time jobs with benefits. This may be related to economic conditions in their county of residence, which was not considered in this study. Even so, it is clear that most families in the study continue to struggle even with the provision of employment supports. The big question is: why are these families still poor? It is obviously not as simple as lack of access to transportation or childcare, although these are factors in obtaining and sustaining employment.

This is not a question that can be answered entirely through quantitative analysis. There are many individual and life situations that contribute to economic deprivation and qualitative studies help us to determine and understand the factors that contribute to persistent poverty. Although the consequences of poverty are the same, the causes differ, and further qualitative research on individual, family, and societal factors related to poverty can help us identify and develop programs that will reduce the numbers of families in financial crisis. Ideally, this type of research should be conducted on a state-by-state basis and states should use the results to meet their mandate of providing programs and services that address needs most relevant to their residents.

That is not to say that further quantitative work is not indicated. Empirical data on the effectiveness of particular programs is essential to making policy decisions that are both cost-effective and productive. Analysis of factors such as job experience, work history, and length of unemployment could also shed light on some of the reasons that families continue to struggle even with the provision of employment supports. It might also be useful to explore individual cases in a time-series design to explore whether length of time on transportation or childcare assistance affects financial self-sufficiency, and to compare those who have reached the levels of safe or thriving on the WTWB scale with those who have not to provide us a better idea of the resources and characteristics that distinguish those who are successful from those who are not.

Including participants who were exempt from work requirements, while pertinent to the purpose of this research, may have had an impact on findings related to employment. In the first two data waves analyzed, 23.5% of respondents were exempt from work requirements; those percentages increased to 29.8% and 32.6% in the last two waves. It would be particularly useful to repeat the analysis of relationships between employment and transportation assistance with those exempt from work requirements excluded in order to determine whether there is a stronger correlation between the utilization of transportation assistance and employment for TANF participants who must engage in work activities.

The small number of rural respondents who were participating in employment support programs prevented adequate comparisons between urban and rural participants, which was a limitation of this particular study. But the fact that urban respondents use these services more is of interest. Are rural respondents more likely to exhaust these benefits before finding adequate

employment? Are there so few rural respondents to the childcare questions because of the lack of availability of childcare, or does the extended support network in rural communities preclude the need for help? If these questions can be answered, funds for rural and urban programs may be allocated more effectively if designed specifically for the needs of urban and rural participants.

Conclusion

This study does not tell us unequivocally that employment supports are completely ineffective in helping families as they struggle toward self-sufficiency, but there was very little empirical support for any of the hypotheses. On the other hand, there were some significant correlations between provision of transportation assistance and employment that should be pursued further. The results of this data analysis can neither resoundingly confirm the importance of employment supports, nor confidently dismiss them as inconsequential.

According to Elaine Ryan (2000), former director of public policy for the American Public Human Services Association, while the number of participants receiving cash benefits has dropped since the inception of PRWORA, the number of participants who need employment supports has not. Ryan also predicted a growing need for childcare services and further education or training, and stated that the most challenging cases require services that go beyond simple cash assistance. There is something to be said for the psychological effect of knowing that childcare and transportation will not be obstacles to working; they are two less barriers that TANF participants have to face in their quest to support their families.

There is little research to support the thesis that transportation and childcare assistance alone will shift the poor from welfare-dependency to self-sufficiency. Considering the issues that

TANF participants face, it is unlikely that the provision of benefits alone will lead to financial stability. Clearly, there are other elements involved, although these supports may certainly contribute over time to increased economic well-being. Even though they do not significantly contribute to financial self-sufficiency, the assurance that childcare and transportation issues will not cost participants a job may be enough to justify their existence. There are indicators that those who receive transportation assistance may be struggling more than their peers who do not receive subsidies; if that is the case, it would be unwise to remove another support that might be crucial for some families.

While the evidence does not support the hypothesis that employment supports improve the economic well-being of Families First recipients in Tennessee, there are some indicators that they do help in terms of having employment, which is the first step toward achieving financial well-being. Transportation assistance is a very small part of the Families First budget, and while childcare does consume considerably more of the funding, federal block grants for these programs are more generous. Tennessee would be wise to continue providing transportation and childcare assistance for TANF recipients struggling to find and keep jobs. According to Ryan (2000), the momentum begun by welfare reform can only continue if we continue to invest in services such as transportation, education, and training.

The lack of consistency in the results tells us something important – not that employment supports are unnecessary, but that they function as only a part of a focused, comprehensive effort to assist economically disadvantaged parents in achieving some level of financial independence. Welfare reform has provided us the perfect opportunity to test the devolution of public programs.

While TANF is a very different way of carrying out the mandate of caring for the less fortunate in our society, we have yet to verify that it is the better way. This is not to say that the administration of public assistance is not best administered at the state level, but that the transformation of welfare is incomplete; while cash benefits have been reduced and supplemental supports increased, the services necessary to truly address the issue of poverty have not been utilized. In order to truly transform public assistance, states must maximize their discretion and design programs that work for them and for their needy residents.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Crosstabs for Demographics – Transportation Assistance

Table A1.
Family Size of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Number of Children

Wave 3		Children			
		1 or 2	3 or 4	5 or more	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	325	176	43	544
		30.3%	31.2%	29.9%	30.5%
	No	747	389	101	1237
		69.7%	68.8%	70.1%	69.5%
Total		1072	565	144	1781
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

x-square = .15; *df*= 2; *p* = .92

Wave 5

	Yes	285	163	47	495
		35.8%	31.7%	36.2%	
	No	510	351	83	944
		64.2%	68.3%	63.8%	
Total		795	514	130	1439
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.56; *df*= 2; *p* = .27

Table A1 (continued)
Family Size of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

		Children			
Wave 8		1-2	3-4	5 or more	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	164	145	32	341
		31.7%	34.0%	28.6%	
	No	353	282	80	715
		68.3%	66.0%	71.4%	
Total		517	427	112	1056
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.32; df= 2; *p* = .51

Wave 11					
	Yes	189	124	35	348
		50.0%	50.2%	48.6%	
	No	189	123	37	349
		50.0%	49.8%	51.4%	
Total		378	247	72	697
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .05; df= 2; *p* = .97

Table A2
Marital Status of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Marital Status

Wave 3		Currently Married		
		Yes	No	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	69	475	544
		22.5%	32.2%	
	No	237	999	1236
		77.5%	67.8%	
Total		306	1474	1780
		100%	100%	
x-square = 11.18; df= 1; *p* = .00**				
Wave 5				
	Yes	85	408	493
		35.l%	34.2%	
	No	157	784	941
		64.9%	65.8%	
Total		242	1192	1434
x-square = .07; df= 1; *p* = .78				
Wave 8				
	Yes	38	303	341
		21.8%	34.4%	
	No	136	579	715
		78.2%	65.6%	
Total		174	882	1056
x-square = 10.41; df= 1; *p* = .00**				

Table A2 (continued)
Marital Status of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Wave 11		Currently Married		
	Yes	51	54	105
		14.7%	15.5%	
	No	297	295	592
		85.3%	84.5%	
		348	349	697
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .09; df= 1; *p* = .76

Table A3
Educational Level of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Highest Grade Completed

Wave 3		Highest Grade			
		Did not complete HS	Certificate, Diploma, or GED	Some post-HS	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	232	174	137	543
		31.4%	27.5%	33.6%	
	No	507	459	271	1237
		68.6%	72.5%	66.4%	
Total		739	633	408	1780
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.81; df = 2; p = .09

Table A3 (continued)
Educational Level of Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

		Highest Grade			
		Did not Complete HS	Certificate Diploma, or	Some Post HS	Total
Wave 5					
	Yes	207	162	125	494
		32.9%	33.8%	38.1%	
	No	423	317	203	943
		67.1%	66.2%	61.9%	
Total		630	479	328	1437
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
x-square = 2.56; df = 2; p = .27					
Wave 8					
	Yes	150	102	89	341
		33.9%	27.7%	36.2%	
	No	292	266	157	715
		66.1%	72.3%	63.8%	
Total		442	368	246	1056
x-square = 5.76; df = 2; p = .05					
Wave 11					
	Yes	139	114	95	348
		52.9%	46.5%	50.3%	
	No	124	131	94	349
		47.1%	53.5%	49.7%	
Total		263	245	189	697
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
x-square = 2.03; df = 2; p = .36					

Table A4
Grade Level of Oldest Child for Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Grade Level of Oldest Child

Wave 3

		Grade Level				
		Too Young for School	Preschool/ Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or above	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	3	43	202	182	430
		75.0%	30.1%	30.1%	32.2%	
	No	1	100	469	384	954
		25.0%	69.9%	69.9%	67.8%	
Total		4	143	671	566	1384
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.27; df = 3; *p* = .23

Wave 5

	Yes	1	56	197	165	419
		11.1%	36.4%	33.9%	32.9%	
	No	8	98	384	336	826
		88.9%	63.6%	66.1%	67.1%	
Total		9	154	581	501	1245
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.68; df = 3; *p* = .44

Wave 8	Yes	4	29	155	143	331
		66.7%	35.8%	33.8%	30.4%	
	No	2	52	303	327	684
		33.3%	64.2%	66.2%	69.6%	
Total		6	81	458	470	1015
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.88; df = 3; *p* = .18

Table A4 (continued)
Grade Level of Oldest Child for Respondents with and without Transportation Assistance

Wave 11		Grade Level				
		Too Young for School	Preschool/ Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or above	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	3	5	127	147	282
		100.0%	27.8%	52.7%	51.0%	
	No	0	13	114	141	268
		0.0%	72.2%	47.3%	49.0%	
Total		3	18	241	288	550
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 7.03; df = 3; *p* = .07

Table A5
Respondents with and Without Transportation Assistance by Time on Families First

Wave 3		Time On Families First			
		Less than 12 months	12-35 months	36 months or more	Total
Transportation Assistance	Yes	144	164	139	447
		30.3%	35.1%	35.0%	
	No	332	303	258	893
		69.7%	64.9%	65.0%	
Total		476	467	397	1340
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .3.20; df = 2, *p* = .20

Table A5 (continued)
Respondents with and Without Transportation Assistance by Time on Families First

		Less than 12 months	12-35 months	36 months or more	Total
Wave 5					
Transportation Assistance	Yes	143	121	146	410
		34.0%	34.6%	37.1%	
	No	277	229	248	754
		66.0%	65.4%	62.9%	
Total		420	350	394	1164
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .90; df = 2, *p* = .63

Wave 8					
	Yes	158	67	98	323
		32.4%	31.9%	32.9%	
	No	329	143	200	672
		67.6%	68.1%	67.1%	
Total		487	210	298	995
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .05; df = 2, *p* = .97

Wave 11					
	Yes	127	75	59	261
		49.4%	54.3%	57.3%	
	No	130	63	44	237
		50.6%	45.7%	42.7%	
Total		257	138	103	498
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.11; *df* = 2, *p* = .34

APPENDIX B
Crosstabs for Demographics – Childcare Assistance

Table B1
Family Size of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Number of Children

Wave 3

		Children			
		1 or 2	3 or 4	5 or more	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	258	176	54	488
		87.5%	87.6%	96.4%	
	No	37	25	2	64
		12.5%	12.4%	3.6%	
Total		295	201	56	552
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 3.91; *df* = 2, *p* = .14

Wave 5

	Yes	159	125	33	317
		84.6%	87.4%	82.5%	
	No	29	18	7	54
		15.4%	12.6%	17.5%	
Total		188	143	40	371
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .83; *df* = 2, *p* = .65

Table B1 (continued)
Family Size of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

		Children			
Wave 8		1 or 2	3 or 4	5 or more	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	88	117	33	238
		81.5%	90.0%	89.2%	
	No	20	13	4	37
		18.5%	10.0%	10.8%	
Total		108	130	37	275
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 3.93; *df* = 2, *p* = .14

Wave 11					
	Yes	143	103	27	273
		88.8%	96.3%	100.0%	
	No	18	4	0	22
		11.2%	3.7%	.0%	
Total		161	107	27	295
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 7.55; *df* = 2, *p* = .02*

Table B2
Marital Status of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Marital Status

Wave 3

		Currently Married		
		Yes	No	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	52	436	488
		83.9%	89.0%	
	No	10	54	64
		16.1%	11.0%	
Total		62	490	552
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.40; *df* = 1, *p* = .23

Wave 5

	Yes	42	274	316
		82.4%	85.9%	
	No	9	45	54
		17.6%	14.1%	
Total		51	319	370
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .44; *df* = 1, *p* = .50

Table B2 (continued)
Marital Status of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

		Currently Married		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	31	207	238
		86.1%	86.6%	
	No	5	32	37
		13.9%	13.4%	
Total		36	239	275
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .00; *df* = 1, *p* = .93

Wave 11				
	Yes	23	250	273
		88.5%	92.9%	
	No	3	19	22
		11.5%	7.1%	
Total		26	269	295
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .68; *df* = 1, *p* = .40

Table B3
Educational Level of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Educational Level

Wave 3

		Highest Grade			
		Did not complete HS	Certificate, Diploma, or GED	Some post-HS	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	172	170	146	488
		89.6%	88.1%	87.4%	
	No	20	23	21	64
		10.4%	11.9%	12.6%	
Total		192	193	167	552
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .43; *df* = 2, *p* = .80

Wave 5

	Yes	106	107	104	317
		87.6%	89.2%	80.6%	
	No	15	13	25	53
		12.4%	10.8%	19.4%	
Total		121	120	129	370
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .4.24; *df* = 2, *p* = .12

Table B3 (continued)
Educational Level of Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Did not complete HS	Certificate Diploma, or GED	Some post-HS	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	77	82	79	238
		92.8%	85.4%	82.3%	
	No	6	14	17	37
		7.2%	14.6%	17.7%	
Total		83	96	96	275
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .4.36; *df* = 2, *p* = .11

Wave 11					
	Yes	67	101	105	273
		93.1%	93.5%	91.3%	
	No	5	7	10	22
		6.9%	6.5%	8.7%	
Total		72	108	115	295
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .43; *df* = 2, *p* = .80

Table B4
Grade Level of Oldest Child for Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Grade Level of Oldest Child

Wave 3

		Grade Level				
		Too Young for School	Preschool or Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or above	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	2	53	207	69	331
		100.0%	85.5%	88.5%	98.6%	
	No	0	9	27	1	37
		.0%	14.5%	11.5%	1.4%	
Total		2	62	234	70	368
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 7.91; *df* = 3, *p* = .04*

Wave 5

	Yes	4	52	143	45	244
		100.0%	91.2%	86.1%	81.8%	
	No	0	5	23	10	38
		.0%	8.8%	13.9%	18.2%	
Total		4	57	166	55	282
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.77; *df* = 3, *p* = .42

Table B4 (continued)
Grade Level of Oldest Child for Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

		Grade Level				
Wave 8		Too Young for school	Preschool Kindergarten	Elementary School	Jr. High or above	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	2	32	139	57	230
		100.0%	94.1%	85.8%	85.1%	
	No	0	2	23	10	35
		.0%	5.9%	14.2%	14.9%	
Total		2	34	162	67	265
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.20; *df* = 3, *p* = .53

Wave 11						
	Yes	2	9	117	59	187
		100.0%	100.0%	93.6%	96.7%	
	No	0	0	8	2	10
		.0%	.0%	6.4%	3.3%	
Total		2	9	125	61	197
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.45; *df* = 3, *p* = .69

Table B5
Time On Families First for Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Time On Families First

Wave 3

		Time On			
		Less than 12 months	12-35 months	36 months or more	Total
Childcare Assistance	Yes	143	107	89	339
		94.1%	84.3%	91.8%	
	No	9	20	8	37
		5.9%	15.7%	8.2%	
Total		152	127	97	376
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 7.90; *df* = 2, *p* = .01*

Wave 5

	Yes	99	64	66	229
		90.8%	85.3%	93.0%	
	No	10	11	5	26
		9.2%	14.7%	7.0%	
Total		109	75	71	255
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.50; *df* = 2, *p* = .28

Table B5 (continued)
Time On Families First for Respondents with and without Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Time On: Less than 12 months	Time On: 12-35 months	Time On: 36 months or more	Total
	Yes	136	54	45	235
		93.2%	84.4%	72.6%	
	No	10	10	17	37
		6.8%	15.6%	27.4%	
Total		146	64	62	272
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 15.95; *df* = 2, *p* = .00**

Wave 11					
	Yes	96	49	34	179
		99.0%	96.1%	97.1%	
	No	1	2	1	4
		1.0%	3.9%	2.9%	
Total		97	51	35	183
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.39; *df* = 2, *p* = .49

APPENDIX C

Crosstabs—Transportation Support and Dependent Variables

Table C1
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Employment Status

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Currently Employed	Yes	185	358	543
		34.0%	28.9%	
	No	359	879	1238
		66.0%	71.1%	
Total		544	1237	1781
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.57; *df* = 1, *p* = .03*

Wave 5

	Yes	124	266	390
		25.1%	28.2%	
	No	371	678	1049
		74.9%	71.8%	
Total		495	944	1439
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.60; *df* = 1, *p* = .20

Table C1 (continued)
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

		Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Employed	Yes	120	208	328
		35.2%	29.1%	
	No	221	507	728
		64.8%	70.9%	
Total		341	715	1056
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.60; *df* = 1, *p* = .20

Wave 11				
	Yes	166	174	340
		47.7%	49.9%	
	No	182	175	357
		52.3%	50.1%	
Total		348	349	697
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .32; *df* = 1, *p* = .03**

Table C2
Employment Status (Full or Part Time) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Full or Part Time Employment

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Type of Employment	Full-time	72	161	233
		38.9%	45.0%	
	Part-time	113	197	310
		61.1%	55.0%	
Total		185	358	543
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.82; *df* = 1, *p* = .17

Wave 5

	Full-time	50	138	188
		40.3%	51.9%	
	Part-time	74	128	202
		59.7%	48.1%	
Total		124	266	390
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.52; *df* = 1, *p* = .03*

Table C2 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Employment Status (Full or Part Time)

		Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Type of Employment	Full-time	53	114	167
		44.2%	54.8%	
	Part-time	67	94	161
		55.8%	45.2%	
Total		120	208	328
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 3.44; *df* = 1, *p* = .06

Wave 11				
	Full-time	65	87	152
		39.2%	50.0%	
	Part-time	101	87	188
		60.8%	50.0%	
Total		166	174	340
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.04; *df* = 1, *p* = .04*

Table C3
Job Quality (Promotions) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Promotions

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Received Promotion	Yes	13	26	39
		12.9%	12.9%	
	No	88	175	263
		87.1%	86.6%	
	Missing	0	1	1
		.0%	.5%	
Total		101	202	303
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .50; *df* = 2, *p* = .77

Wave 5

	Yes	6	16	22
		9.7%	11.2%	
	No	55	127	182
		88.7%	88.8%	
	Missing	1	0	1
		1.6%	.0%	
Total		62	143	205
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .2.39; *df* = 2, *p* = .30

Table C3 (continued)
Job Quality (Promotions) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Wave 8		Transportation Assistance: Yes	No	Total
Received Promotion	Yes	10	17	27
		15.4%	14.3%	
	No	55	102	157
		84.6%	85.7%	
Total		65	119	184
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .04; *df* = 1, *p* = .84

Wave 11				
	Yes	11	9	20
		10.5%	9.8%	
	No	94	83	177
		89.5%	90.2%	
Total		105	92	197
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .02; *df* = 1, *p* = .87

Table C4
Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Paid Sick Leave

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Paid Sick Leave	No	140	278	418
		75.7%	77.7%	
	Yes	45	80	125
		24.3%	22.3%	
Total		185	358	543
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .26; *df* = 1, *p* = .60

Wave 5

	No	97	193	290
		78.2%	72.6%	
	Yes	27	73	100
		21.8%	27.4%	
Total		124	266	390
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.42; *df* = 1, *p* = .23

Table C4 (continued)
Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

		Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Paid Sick Leave	No	82	145	227
		68.3%	69.7%	
	Yes	38	63	101
		31.7%	30.3%	
Total		120	208	328
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .06; *df* = 1, *p* = .79

Wave 11				
	No	127	135	262
		76.5%	77.6%	
	Yes	39	39	78
		23.5%	22.4%	
Total		166	174	340
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .05; *df* = 1, *p* = .81

Table C5
Job Quality (Paid Holidays) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Paid Holidays

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Paid Holidays	No	132	255	387
		71.4%	71.2%	
	Yes	53	103	156
		28.6%	28.8%	
Total		185	358	543
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .00; *df* = 1, *p* = .97

Wave 5

	No	85	170	255
		68.5%	63.9%	
	Yes	39	96	135
		31.5%	36.1%	
Total		124	266	390
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .80; *df* = 1, *p* = .37

Table C5 (continued)
Job Quality (Paid Holidays) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

		Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Paid Holidays	No	79	135	214
		65.8%	64.9%	
	Yes	41	73	114
		34.2%	35.1%	
Total		120	208	328
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .02; *df* = 1, *p* = .86

Wave 11				
	No	113	118	231
		68.1%	67.8%	
	Yes	53	56	109
		31.9%	32.2%	
Total		166	174	340
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .00; *df* = 1, *p* = .96

Table C6
Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Retirement Benefits

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Retirement Benefits	No	144	293	437
		77.8%	81.8%	
	Yes	41	65	106
		22.2%	18.2%	
Total		185	358	543
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.24; *df* = 1, *p* = .26

Wave 5

	No	100	202	302
		80.6%	75.9%	
	Yes	24	64	88
		19.4%	24.1%	
Total		124	266	390
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.07; *df* = 1, *p* = .30

Table C6 (continued)
Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

		Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Retirement Benefits	No	90	159	249
		75.0%	76.4%	
	Yes	30	49	79
		25.0%	23.6%	
Total		120	208	328
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .08; *df* = 1, *p* = .76

Wave 11

	No	125	137	262
		75.3%	78.7%	
	Yes	41	37	78
		24.7%	21.3%	
Total		166	174	340
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .56; *df* = 1, *p* = .45

Table C7
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Health Insurance Benefits

Wave 3

		Transportation Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Health Insurance	No	126	256	382
		68.1%	71.5%	
	Yes	59	102	161
		31.9%	28.5%	
Total		185	358	543
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .67; *df* = 1, *p* = .41

Wave 5

	No	88	176	264
		71.0%	66.2%	
	Yes	36	90	126
		29.0%	33.8%	
Total		124	266	390
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .89; *df* = 1, *p* = .34

Table C7 (continued)
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Wave 8		Transportation Assistance: Yes	Transportation Assistance: No	Total
Health Insurance	No	78	140	218
		65.0%	67.3%	
	Yes	42	68	110
		35.0%	32.7%	
Total		120	208	328
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .18; *df* = 1, *p* = .67

Wave 11

	No	117	122	239
		70.5%	70.1%	
	Yes	49	52	101
		29.5%	29.9%	
Total		166	174	340
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .00; *df* = 1, *p* = .94

Table C8
Economic Well-Being and Receipt of Transportation Assistance

Transportation Assistance			WTWB			
Wave 3			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
	Yes		159	14	3	2
		%	89.3%	7.9%	1.7%	1.1%
	No		301	28	5	7
		%	88.3%	8.2%	1.5%	2.1%
Wave 5						
	Yes		108	5	0	2
		%	93.9%	4.3%	0.0%	1.7%
	No		214	28	10	6
		%	82.9%	10.9%	3.90%	2.3
Wave 8						
	Yes		102	12	3	1
		%	86.4%	10.2%	2.5%	0.8%
	No		160	18	7	9
		%	82.5%	9.3%	3.6%	4.6%
Wave 11						
	Yes		137	16	4	5
		%	84.6%	9.9%	2.5%	3.1%
	No		144	19	4	3
		%	84.7%	11.2%	2.4%	1.8%

APPENDIX D

Crosstabs – Childcare Assistance and Dependent Variables

Table D1
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Employment Status

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Currently Employed	Yes	245	38	283
		50.2%	59.4%	
	No	243	26	269
		49.8%	40.6%	
Total		488	64	552
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.90; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .16

Wave 5

	Yes	160	34	194
		50.5%	63.0%	
	No	157	20	177
		49.5%	37.0%	
Total		317	54	371
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.88; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .08

Table D1 (continued)
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

		Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Currently Employed	Yes	152	31	183
		63.9%	83.8%	
	No	86	6	92
		36.1%	16.2%	
Total		238	37	275
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 5.70; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .01*

Wave 11				
Currently Employed	Yes	208	12	220
		76.2%	54.5%	
	No	65	10	75
		23.8%	45.5%	
Total		273	22	295
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 5.03; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02*

Table D2
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Full or Part-Time Employment

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Type of Employment	Full-time	124	17	141
		50.6%	44.7%	
	Part-Time	121	21	142
		49.4%	55.3%	
Total		245	38	283
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .45; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .50

Wave 5

	Full	88	20	108
		55.0%	58.8%	
	Part	72	14	86
		45.0%	41.2%	
Total		160	34	194
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .16; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .68

Table D2 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Childcare Assistance Yes	No	Total
Type of Employment	Full-time	95	23	118
		62.5%	74.2%	
	Part-time	57	8	65
		37.5%	25.8%	
Total		152	31	183
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.53; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .21

Wave 11				
	Full-time	102	9	111
		49.0%	75.0%	
	Part-time	106	3	109
		51.0%	25.0%	
Total		208	12	220
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 3.05; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .08

Table D3
Job Quality (Promotions) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Promotion

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Received Promotion	Yes	24	4	28
		16.0%	16.0%	
	No	126	20	146
		84.0%	80.0%	
	Missing	0	1	1
		.0%	4.0%	
Total		150	25	175
		100.0%	100.0%	

Wave 5

Received Promotion	Yes	12	5	17
		14.1%	23.8%	
	No	73	15	88
		85.9%	71.4%	
	Missing	0	1	1
		.0%	4.8%	
Total		85	21	106
		100.0%	100.0%	

Table D3 (continued)
Job Quality (Promotions) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Childcare Assistance: Yes	Childcare Assistance: No	Total
Received Promotion	Yes	15	5	20
		15.3%	27.8%	
	No	83	13	96
		84.7%	72.2%	
Total		98	18	116
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.65; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .19

Wave 11				
	Yes	17	1	18
		13.7%	12.5%	
	No	107	7	114
		86.3%	87.5%	
Total		124	8	132
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .00; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .92

Table D4
Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Paid Sick Leave

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Paid Sick Leave	Yes	62	12	74
		25.3%	31.6%	
	No	183	26	209
		74.7%	68.4%	
Total		245	38	283
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .67; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .41

Wave 5

	Yes	41	12	53
		25.6%	35.3%	
	No	119	22	141
		74.4%	64.7%	
Total		160	34	194
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.32; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .25

Table D4 (continued)
Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

		Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Paid Sick Leave	Yes	62	16	78
		40.8%	51.6%	
	No	90	15	105
		59.2%	48.4%	
Total		152	31	183
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.23; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .26

Wave 11				
	Yes	61	7	68
		29.3%	58.3%	
	No	147	5	152
		70.7%	41.7%	
Total		208	12	220
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.47; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .03*

Table D5
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Paid Holidays

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Paid Holidays	Yes	82	15	97
		33.5%	39.5%	
	No	163	23	186
		66.5%	60.5%	
Total		245	38	283
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = .52; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .46

Wave 5

	Yes	58	17	75
		36.3%	50.0%	
	No	102	17	119
		63.8%	50.0%	
Total		160	34	194
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.23; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .13

Table D5 (continued)
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Childcare Assistance: Yes	No	Total
Paid Holidays	Yes	74	19	93
		48.7%	61.3%	
	No	78	12	90
		51.3%	38.7%	
Total		152	31	183
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.63; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .20

Wave 11				
	Yes	76	8	84
		36.5%	66.7%	
	No	132	4	136
		63.5%	33.3%	
Total		208	12	220
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.36; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .03*

Table D6
Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Retirement Benefits

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Retirement Benefits	Yes	58	12	70
		23.7%	31.6%	
	No	187	26	213
		76.3%	68.4%	
Total		245	38	283
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.10; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .29

Wave 5

	Yes	39	15	54
		24.4%	44.1%	
	No	121	19	140
		75.6%	55.9%	
Total		160	34	194
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 5.44; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02*

Table D6 (continued)
Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

		Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8		Yes	No	Total
Retirement Benefits	Yes	52	14	66
		34.2%	45.2%	
	No	100	17	117
		65.8%	54.8%	
Total		152	31	183
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.33; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .24

Wave 11				
	Yes	57	6	63
		27.4%	50.0%	
	No	151	6	157
		72.6%	50.0%	
Total		208	12	220
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 2.80; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .09

Table D7
Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Health Insurance

Wave 3

		Childcare Assistance		
		Yes	No	Total
Health Insurance	Yes	76	16	92
		31.0%	42.1%	
	No	169	22	191
		69.0%	57.9%	
Total		245	38	283
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.84; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .17

Wave 5

	Yes	61	17	78
		38.1%	50.0%	
	No	99	17	116
		61.9%	50.0%	
Total		160	34	194
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 1.64; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .20

Table D7 (continued)
Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance

Wave 8		Childcare Assistance: Yes	No	Total
Health Insurance	Yes	68	20	88
		44.7%	64.5%	
	No	84	11	95
		55.3%	35.5%	
Total		152	31	183
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 4.03; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .04*

Wave 11				
	Yes	69	7	76
		33.2%	58.3%	
	No	139	5	144
		66.8%	41.7%	
Total		208	12	220
		100.0%	100.0%	

x-square = 3.17; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .07

Table D8
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Economic Well-Being

Childcare Assistance			WTWB			
Wave 3			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
	Yes		200	32	6	2
		%	83.3%	13.3%	2.5%	.8%
	No		32	3	1	1
		%	86.5%	8.1%	2.7%	2.7%
Wave 5	Yes		125	21	4	3
		%	81.7%	13.7%	2.6%	2.0%
	No		22	7	1	3
		%	66.7%	21.2%	3.0%	9.1%
Wave 8	Yes		115	28	5	1
		%	77.2%	18.8%	3.4%	.7%
	No		20	3	2	4
		%	69.0%	10.3%	6.9%	13.8%
Wave 11						
	Yes		153	37	7	8
		%	74.6%	18.0%	3.4%	3.9%
	No		6	1	2	1
			60.0%	10.0%	20.0%	10.0%

Table D9
Relationship between Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Economic Well-Being

	Correlation	*t*-score	*p*-value	*df*
Wave 3	No	-.08	.93	275
Wave 5	No	-1.74	.08	37
Wave 8	No	-1.79	.08	30
Wave 11	No	.19	.66	74

APPENDIX E
Crosstabs – Urban/Rural Status and Dependent Variables

TRANSPORTATION ASSISTANCE

Table E1
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

Currently Employed

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	151	299	450
			33.1%	29.7%	
		No	305	709	1014
			66.9%	70.3%	
	Total		456	1008	1464
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	34	54	88
			39.5%	25.2%	
		No	52	160	212
			60.5%	74.8%	
	Total		86	214	300
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 1.75; df = 1; p-value = .18 Rural x-square = 6.05; df = 1; p-value = .01*

Table E1 (continued)
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	96	232	328
			22.9%	29.1%	
		No	323	566	889
			77.1%	70.9%	
	Total		419	798	1217
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	27	31	58
			39.1%	23.7%	
		No	42	100	142
			60.9%	76.3%	
	Total		69	131	200
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 5.29; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02* Rural *x*-square = 5.25; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02*

Table E1 (continued)
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	107	172	279
			35.4%	28.3%	
		No	195	435	630
			64.6%	71.7%	
	Total		302	607	909
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	12	31	43
			32.4%	31.0%	
		No	25	69	94
			67.6%	69.0%	
	Total		37	100	137
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 4.77; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02* Rural *x*-square = .02; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .87

Table E1 (continued)
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	148	149	297
			47.1%	51.6%	
		No	166	140	306
			52.9%	48.4%	
	Total		314	289	603
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	17	19	36
			58.6%	38.0%	
		No	12	31	43
			41.4%	62.0%	
	Total		29	50	79
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 1.17; df = 1; p-value = .27 Rural x-square = 3.14; df = 1; p-value = .07

Table E2
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

Full or Part-Time Employment

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	57	138	195
			37.7%	46.2%	
		Part	94	161	255
			62.3%	53.8%	
	Total		151	299	450
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	15	21	36
			44.1%	38.9%	
		Part	19	33	52
			55.9%	61.1%	
	Total		34	54	88
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 2.88; df = 1; p-value = .08 Rural x-square = 2.36; df = 1; p-value = .62

Table E2 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	39	119	158
			40.6%	51.3%	
		Part	57	113	170
			59.4%	48.7%	
	Total		96	232	328
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	11	16	27
			40.7%	51.6%	
		Part	16	15	31
			59.3%	48.4%	
	Total		27	31	58
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 3.09; df = 1; p-value = .07 Rural x-square = .68; df = 1; p-value = .40

Table E2 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	47	95	142
			43.9%	55.2%	
		Part	60	77	137
			56.1%	44.8%	
	Total		107	172	279
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	6	15	21
			50.0%	48.4%	
		Part	6	16	22
			50.0%	51.6%	
	Total		12	31	43
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 3.37; df = 1; p-value = .06 Rural x-square = .00; df = 1; p-value = .92

Table E2 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	59	73	132
			39.9%	49.0%	
		Part	89	76	165
			60.1%	51.0%	
	Total		148	149	297
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	6	10	16
			35.3%	52.6%	
		Part	11	9	20
			64.7%	47.4%	
	Total		17	19	36
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 2.50; df = 1; p-value = .11 Rural x-square = 1.09; df = 1; p-value = .29

Table E3
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

Promotions

Wave 3			Transportation Assistance: Yes	Transportation Assistance: No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	11	22	33
			13.4%	12.4%	
		No	71	154	225
			86.6%	87.0%	
		Missing	0	1	1
			.0%	.6%	
	Total		82	177	259
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	4	6
			10.5%	19.0%	
		No	17	17	34
			89.5%	81.0%	
	Total		19	21	40
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.50; *df* = 2; *p*-value = .77 Rural *x*-square =.56; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .45

Table E3 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	5	15	20
			10.0%	11.9%	
		No	44	111	155
			88.0%	88.1%	
		Missing	1	0	1
			2.0%	.0%	
	Total		50	126	176
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	1	1	2
			9.1%	6.3%	
		No	10	15	25
			90.9%	93.8%	
	Total		11	16	27
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square =2.63; df = 2; p-value = .26 Rural x-square =.07; df = 1; p-value = .78

Table E3 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	10	13	23
			16.9%	13.5%	
		No	49	83	132
			83.1%	86.5%	
	Total		59	96	155
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	0	3	3
			.0%	16.7%	
		No	5	15	20
			100.0%	83.3%	
	Total		5	18	23
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.33; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .56

Table E3 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	9	8	17
			9.4%	10.3%	
		No	87	70	157
			90.6%	89.7%	
	Total		96	78	174
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	1	3
			22.2%	10.0%	
		No	7	9	16
			77.8%	90.0%	
	Total		9	10	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.03; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .84

Table E4
Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	39	72	111
			25.8%	24.1%	
		No	112	227	339
			74.2%	75.9%	
	Total		151	299	450
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	6	7	13
			17.6%	13.0%	
		No	28	47	75
			82.4%	87.0%	
	Total		34	54	88
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.16; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .68 Rural *x*-square =.36; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .54

Table E4 (continued)

Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance –Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	24	66	90
			25.0%	28.4%	
		No	72	166	238
			75.0%	71.6%	
	Total		96	232	328
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	5	8
			11.1%	16.1%	
		No	24	26	50
			88.9%	83.9%	
	Total		27	31	58
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.40; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .52 Rural *x*-square =.30; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .58

Table E4 (continued)

Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance –Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	35	58	93
			32.7%	33.7%	
		No	72	114	186
			67.3%	66.3%	
	Total		107	172	279
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	4	7
			25.0%	12.9%	
		No	9	27	36
			75.0%	87.1%	
	Total		12	31	43
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.03; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .86 Rural *x*-square =.92; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .33

Table E4 (continued)

Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance –Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	35	32	67
			23.6%	21.5%	
		No	113	117	230
			76.4%	78.5%	
	Total		148	149	297
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	4	7	11
			23.5%	36.8%	
		No	13	12	25
			76.5%	63.2%	
	Total		17	19	36
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.20; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .65 Rural *x*-square =.74; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .38

Table E5
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

Paid Holidays

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	42	96	138
			27.8%	32.1%	
		No	109	203	312
			72.2%	67.9%	
	Total		151	299	450
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	11	6	17
			32.4%	11.1%	
		No	23	48	71
			67.6%	88.9%	
	Total		34	54	88
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.86; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .35 Rural *x*-square =6.04; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .01**

Table E5
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance -- Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	35	83	118
			36.5%	35.8%	
		No	61	149	210
			63.5%	64.2%	
	Total		96	232	328
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	4	12	16
			14.8%	38.7%	
		No	23	19	42
			85.2%	61.3%	
	Total		27	31	58
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.01; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .90 Rural *x*-square =4.12; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .04*

Table E5
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance -- Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	36	63	99
			33.6%	36.6%	
		No	71	109	180
			66.4%	63.4%	
	Total		107	172	279
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	4	8	12
			33.3%	25.8%	
		No	8	23	31
			66.7%	74.2%	
	Total		12	31	43
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square =.25; df = 1; p-value = .61 Rural x-square =.24; df = 1; p-value = .62

Table E5 (continued)
Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	49	49	98
			33.1%	32.9%	
		No	99	100	199
			66.9%	67.1%	
	Total		148	149	297
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	4	7	11
			23.5%	36.8%	
		No	13	12	25
			76.5%	63.2%	
	Total		17	19	36
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.00; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .96 Rural *x*-square =.74; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .38

Table E6
Job Quality (Retirement) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

Retirement Benefits

Wave 3			Transportation Assistance Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	32	62	94
			21.2%	20.7%	
		No	119	237	356
			78.8%	79.3%	
	Total		151	299	450
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	9	3	12
			26.5%	5.6%	
		No	25	51	76
			73.5%	94.4%	
	Total		34	54	88
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.01; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .91 Rural *x*-square =7.75; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .00**

Table E6 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	22	55	77
			22.9%	23.7%	
		No	74	177	251
			77.1%	76.3%	
	Total		96	232	328
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	9	11
			7.4%	29.0%	
		No	25	22	47
			92.6%	71.0%	
	Total		27	31	58
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.02; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .87 Rural *x*-square =4.39; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .03*

Table E6 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	28	42	70
			26.2%	24.4%	
		No	79	130	209
			73.8%	75.6%	
	Total		107	172	279
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	6	8
			16.7%	19.4%	
		No	10	25	35
			83.3%	80.6%	
	Total		12	31	43
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square =.10; df = 1; p-value = .74 Rural x-square =.04; df = 1; p-value = .83

Table E6 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement) – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	38	32	70
			25.7%	21.5%	
		No	110	117	227
			74.3%	78.5%	
	Total		148	149	297
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	5	8
			17.6%	26.3%	
		No	14	14	28
			82.4%	73.7%	
	Total		17	19	36
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.72; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .39

Table E7
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural Status

Health Insurance

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	48	94	142
			31.8%	31.4%	
		No	103	205	308
			68.2%	68.6%	
	Total		151	299	450
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	11	7	18
			32.4%	13.0%	
		No	23	47	70
			67.6%	87.0%	
	Total		34	54	88
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.00; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .94 Rural *x*-square =.4.82; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .02*

Table E7 (continued)
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	33	79	112
			34.4%	34.1%	
		No	63	153	216
			65.6%	65.9%	
	Total		96	232	328
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	9	12
			11.1%	29.0%	
		No	24	22	46
			88.9%	71.0%	
	Total		27	31	58
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.00; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .95 Rural *x*-square =.2.82; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .09

Table E7 (continued)
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	40	57	97
			37.4%	33.1%	
		No	67	115	182
			62.6%	66.9%	
	Total		107	172	279
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	9	11
			16.7%	29.0%	
		No	10	22	32
			83.3%	71.0%	
	Total		12	31	43
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.52; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .46 Rural *x*-square =..69; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .40

Table E7 (continued)
Job Quality (Health Insurance Benefits) and Receipt of Transportation Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Transportation Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	46	44	90
			31.1%	29.5%	
		No	102	105	207
			68.9%	70.5%	
	Total		148	149	297
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	8	11
			17.6%	42.1%	
		No	14	11	25
			82.4%	57.9%	
	Total		17	19	36
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.08; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .77 Rural *x*-square =.,25; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .11

Table E8
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Economic Wellbeing –Urban/Rural

	Transportation Assistance		WTWB			
Wave 3						
Urban			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
	Yes		129	12	2	1
		%	34.1%	33.3%	33.3%	12.5%
	No		249	24	4	7
		%	65.9%	66.7%	66.7%	87.5%
Rural	Yes		30	2	1	1
		%	39.0%	33.3%	50.0%	100.0%
	No		47	4	1	0
		%	61.0%	66.7%	50.0%	0.0%
Wave 5						
Urban	Yes		81	5	0	2
		%	30.8%	15.6%	0.0%	28.6%
	No		182	27	10	5
		%	69.2%	84.4%	100.0%	71.4%
Rural	Yes		26			0
		%	46.4%	-----	------	0.0%
	No		30			1
		%	53.6%	-----	------	100.0%

Table E8 (continued)
Receipt of Transportation Assistance and Economic Well-Being –Urban/Rural

			WTWB			
	Transportation Assistance					
Wave 8			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
Urban	Yes		91	11	3	1
		%	40.8%	37.9%	50.0%	14.3%
	No		132	18	3	6
		%	59.2%	62.1%	50.0%	85.7
Rural	Yes		10	1	0	0
		%	27.8%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	No		26	0	3	1
		%	72.20%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Wave 11						
Urban	Yes		119	16	4	5
		%	49.4%	47.1%	57.1%	62.5%
	No		122	18	3	3
		%	50.6%	52.9%	42.9%	37.5%
Rural	Yes		17	0	0	
		%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	----
	No		17	1	1	
		%	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%	-----

CHILDCARE ASSISTANCE

Table E9
Employment Status (Employed or Not) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance –Urban/Rural

Employment

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	210	29	239
			48.8%	55.8%	49.6%
		No	220	23	243
			51.2%	44.2%	50.4%
	Total		430	52	482
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	32	9	41
			62.7%	75.0%	65.1%
		No	19	3	22
			37.3%	25.0%	34.9%
	Total		51	12	63
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban *x*-square =.89; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .34 Rural *x*-square =.64; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .42

Table E9 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Employment Status (Employed or Not) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	134	27	161
			47.9%	61.4%	
		No	146	17	163
			52.1%	38.6%	
	Total		280	44	324
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	25	6	31
			71.4%	100.0%	
		No	10	0	10
			28.6%	.0%	
	Total		35	6	41
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.2.77; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .09 Rural *x*-square = 2.26; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .13

Table E9 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Employment Status (Employed or Not) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	133	24	157
			62.7%	80.0%	
		No	79	6	85
			37.3%	20.0%	
	Total		212	30	242
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	14	5	19
			66.7%	100.0%	
		No	7	0	7
			33.3%	.0%	
	Total		21	5	26
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.3.43; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .06

Table E9 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Employment Status (Employed or Not) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Currently Employed	Yes	188	10	198
			77.7%	71.4%	
		No	54	4	58
			22.3%	28.6%	
	Total		242	14	256
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	17	2	19
			68.0%	33.3%	
		No	8	4	12
			32.0%	66.7%	
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.29; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .58

Table E10
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time and Receipt of Childcare Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	104	12	116
			49.5%	41.4%	
		Part	106	17	123
			50.5%	58.6%	
	Total		210	29	239
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	19	5	24
			59.4%	55.6%	
		Part	13	4	17
			40.6%	44.4%	
	Total		32	9	41
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.67; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .41 Rural *x*-square = .04; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .83

Table E10 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	70	18	88
			52.2%	66.7%	
		Part	64	9	73
			47.8%	33.3%	
	Total		134	27	161
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	18	1	19
			72.0%	16.7%	
		Part	7	5	12
			28.0%	83.3%	
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.1.88; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .16

Table E10 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	84	18	102
			63.2%	75.0%	
		Part	49	6	55
			36.8%	25.0%	
	Total		133	24	157
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	9	3	12
			64.3%	60.0%	
		Part	5	2	7
			35.7%	40.0%	
	Total		14	5	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.1.25; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .26

Table E10 (continued)
Employment Status (Full- or Part-Time) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Full or Part Time	Full	93	7	100
			49.5%	70.0%	
		Part	95	3	98
			50.5%	30.0%	
	Total		188	10	198
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Full	7	2	9
			41.2%	100.0%	
		Part	10	0	10
			58.8%	.0%	
	Total		17	2	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =.1.60; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .20

Table E11
Job Quality (Promotions) and Receipt of Childcare Assistance – Urban/Rural

Promotions

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	20	3	23
			15.4%	15.0%	
		No	110	16	126
			84.6%	80.0%	
		Missing	0	1	1
			.0%	5.0%	
	Total		130	20	150
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	4	1	5
			23.5%	20.0%	
		No	13	4	17
			76.5%	80.0%	
	Total		17	5	22
			100.0%	100.0%	

Table E11 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	10	4	14
			13.9%	23.5%	15.7%
		No	62	12	74
			86.1%	70.6%	83.1%
		Missing	0	1	1
			.0%	5.9%	1.1%
	Total		72	17	89
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	2	0	2
			16.7%	.0%	13.3%
		No	10	3	13
			83.3%	100.0%	86.7%
	Total		12	3	15
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E11 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	15	5	20
			17.0%	33.3%	19.4%
		No	73	10	83
			83.0%	66.7%	80.6%
	Total		88	15	103
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural	Received Promotion	No	5	1	6
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total		5	1	6
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E11 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Promotions) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Received Promotion	Yes	16	1	17
			13.8%	14.3%	13.8%
		No	100	6	106
			86.2%	85.7%	86.2%
	Total		116	7	123
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	1	0	1
			14.3%	.0%	12.5%
		No	6	1	7
			85.7%	100.0%	87.5%
	Total		7	1	8
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E12
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) – Urban/Rural

Paid Sick Leave

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	54	11	65
			25.7%	37.9%	
		No	156	18	174
			74.3%	62.1%	
	Total		210	29	239
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	7	1	8
			21.9%	11.1%	
		No	25	8	33
			78.1%	88.9%	
	Total		32	9	41
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square =1.92; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .16 Rural *x*-square = .51; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .47

Table E12 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	38	10	48
			28.4%	37.0%	29.8%
		No	96	17	113
			71.6%	63.0%	70.2%
	Total		134	27	161
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	3	1	4
			12.0%	16.7%	12.9%
		No	22	5	27
			88.0%	83.3%	87.1%
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban *x*-square =.80; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .36 Rural *x*-square = .09; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .75

Table E12 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	57	14	71
			42.9%	58.3%	45.2%
		No	76	10	86
			57.1%	41.7%	54.8%
	Total		133	24	157
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	1	1	2
			7.1%	20.0%	10.5%
		No	13	4	17
			92.9%	80.0%	89.5%
	Total		14	5	19
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban *x*-square =1.96; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .16

Table E12 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Sick Leave Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Sick Leave	Yes	59	6	65
			31.4%	60.0%	32.8%
		No	129	4	133
			68.6%	40.0%	67.2%
	Total		188	10	198
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	2	1	3
			11.8%	50.0%	15.8%
		No	15	1	16
			88.2%	50.0%	84.2%
	Total		17	2	19
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban x-square =3.52; df = 1; p-value = .06

Table E13
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) – Urban/Rural

Paid Holidays

Wave 3			Childcare Assistance: Yes	Childcare Assistance: No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	71	12	83
			33.8%	41.4%	34.7%
		No	139	17	156
			66.2%	58.6%	65.3%
	Total		210	29	239
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	10	3	13
			31.3%	33.3%	31.7%
		No	22	6	28
			68.8%	66.7%	68.3%
	Total		32	9	41
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban *x*-square =.64; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .42 Rural *x*-square = .01; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .90

Table E13 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	47	13	60
			35.1%	48.1%	
		No	87	14	101
			64.9%	51.9%	
	Total		134	27	161
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	11	3	14
			44.0%	50.0%	
		No	14	3	17
			56.0%	50.0%	
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 1.64; df = 1; p-value = .20 Rural x-square = .07; df = 1; p-value = .79

Table E13 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	64	16	80
			48.1%	66.7%	51.0%
		No	Yes	8	77
			51.9%	33.3%	49.0%
	Total		133	24	157
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	6	2	8
			42.9%	40.0%	42.1%
		No	8	3	11
			57.1%	60.0%	57.9%
	Total		14	5	19
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban x-square = 2.79; df = 1; p-value = .09

Table E13 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Paid Holiday Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Paid Holidays	Yes	72	7	79
			38.3%	70.0%	39.9%
		No	116	3	119
			61.7%	30.0%	60.1%
	Total		188	10	198
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural		Yes	4	1	5
			23.5%	50.0%	26.3%
		No	13	1	14
			76.5%	50.0%	73.7%
	Total		17	2	19
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table E14
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) – Urban/Rural

Retirement Benefits

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	51	10	61
			24.3%	34.5%	
		No	159	19	178
			75.7%	65.5%	
	Total		210	29	239
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	7	2	9
			21.9%	22.2%	
		No	25	7	32
			78.1%	77.8%	
	Total		32	9	41
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 1.39; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .23 Rural *x*-square = .00; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .98

Table E14 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	33	13	46
			24.6%	48.1%	
		No	101	14	115
			75.4%	51.9%	
	Total		134	27	161
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	6	1	7
			24.0%	16.7%	
		No	19	5	24
			76.0%	83.3%	
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 6.09; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .01*

Table E14 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	Yes	46	12	58
			34.6%	50.0%	
		No	87	12	99
			65.4%	50.0%	
	Total		133	24	157
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	3	1	4
			21.4%	20.0%	
		No	11	4	15
			78.6%	80.0%	
	Total		14	5	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 2.07; df = 1; p-value = .15

Table E14 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Retirement Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Retirement Benefits	No	133	5	138
			70.7%	50.0%	
		Yes	55	5	60
			29.3%	50.0%	
	Total		188	10	198
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		No	15	1	16
			88.2%	50.0%	
		Yes	2	1	3
			11.8%	50.0%	
	Total		17	2	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 1.93; df = 1; p-value = .16

Table E15
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) – Urban/Rural

Health Insurance

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 3			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	67	14	81
			31.9%	48.3%	
		No	143	15	158
			68.1%	51.7%	
	Total		210	29	239
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	9	2	11
			28.1%	22.2%	
		No	23	7	30
			71.9%	77.8%	
	Total		32	9	41
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 3.04; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .08 Rural *x*-square = .12; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .72

Table E15 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 5			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	53	15	68
			39.6%	55.6%	
		No	81	12	93
			60.4%	44.4%	
	Total		134	27	161
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	8	1	9
			32.0%	16.7%	
		No	17	5	22
			68.0%	83.3%	
	Total		25	6	31
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban x-square = 2.35; df = 1; p-value = .12

Table E15 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 8			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	64	17	81
			48.1%	70.8%	
		No	69	7	76
			51.9%	29.2%	
	Total		133	24	157
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	1	1	2
			7.1%	20.0%	
		No	13	4	17
			92.9%	80.0%	
	Total		14	5	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 4.20; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .04*

Table E15 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Job Quality (Healthcare Benefits) – Urban/Rural

			Childcare Assistance		
Wave 11			Yes	No	Total
Urban	Health Insurance	Yes	67	6	73
			35.6%	60.0%	
		No	121	4	125
			64.4%	40.0%	
	Total		188	10	198
			100.0%	100.0%	
Rural		Yes	2	1	3
			11.8%	50.0%	
		No	15	1	16
			88.2%	50.0%	
	Total		17	2	19
			100.0%	100.0%	

Urban *x*-square = 2.42; *df* = 1; *p*-value = .12

Table E16
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Economic Well-Being – Urban/Rural Status

Childcare Assistance			WTWB			
Wave 3						
Urban			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
	Yes		170	28	5	2
		%	82.9%	13.7%	2.4%	1.0%
	No		25	2	1	1
		%	86.2%	6.9%	3.4%	3.4%
Rural	Yes		27	4	1	0
		%	84.4%	12.5%	3.1%	0.0%
	No		7	1	0	0
		%	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Wave 5						
Urban	Yes		104	17	4	2
		%	81.9%	13.4%	3.1%	1.6%
	No		17	7	1	2
		%	63.0%	25.9%	3.7%	7.4%
Rural	Yes		20	4		1
		%	80.0%	16.0%		4.0%
	No		5	0		0
		%	100.0%	0.0%		0.0%

Table E16 (continued)
Receipt of Childcare Assistance and Economic Well-Being – Urban/Rural Status

Childcare Assistance			**WTWB**			
Wave 8			In-Crisis	At-Risk	Safe	Thriving
Urban	Yes		99	26	4	1
		%	76.2%	20.0%	3.1%	0.8%
	No		15	3	2	2
		%	68.2%	13.6%	9.1%	9.1%
Rural	Yes		13	1	0	0
		%	92.9%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	No		4	0	0	1
		%	80.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Wave 11						
Urban	Yes		137	33	7	8
		%	74.1%	17.8%	3.8%	4.3%
	No		6	1	2	0
		%	66.7%	11.1%	22.2%	0.0%
Rural	Yes		13	4	0	0
		%	76.5%	23.5%	0.0%	0.0%
	No		0	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

VITA

Anne Wolfe Shumaker is the daughter of Thomas E. and Patsy B. Wolfe of Hixson, Tennessee. She received her bachelor's degree in journalism from East Tennessee State University, and worked in the field of advertising for several years before returning to school for her master's degree in social work. She received her MSSW from the University of Tennessee in 1987, and became a licensed clinical social worker in Tennessee and Virginia. She joined Virginia Intermont College in 1989 as adjunct instructor and counselor for the Women's Resource Center, becoming a full-time faculty member in 1992. She has served Virginia Intermont as chair of the social work department, chair of the Division of Leadership and Public Service, and as academic dean and provost of the College. She completed her doctoral work in public policy and administration at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the spring of 2011.