

EXAMINING DETERMINANTS OF CALWORKS RECEIPT
AMONG AFRICAN AMERICANS

A Thesis

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by

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Abstract
of
EXAMINING DETERMINANTS OF CALWORKS RECEIPT
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Since its implementation in 1997, the CalWORKs program, California's version of the federal Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program, has served hundreds of thousands of families throughout the state. A high percentage (12.5%) of these families are African American, considering that they represent only 4.6% of the overall population. Disconcertingly, this minority is also over-represented in state-wide unemployment and poverty rates.

In order to better understand what variables may be influencing the disproportionate TANF receipt by African Americans, this thesis uses a mixed method approach. Using data from the 2011-2012 California Health Interview Survey for Adults, I ran a logistic regression analysis to isolate the African American ethnicity effect, controlling for ethnicity, citizenship status, poor health, age, gender, educational level, wealth, marital status, family size, place of residence and existence of support networks. As a quantitative analysis by itself does not explain the underlying reasons, behaviors or conditions for disproportionate CalWORKs receipt, I furthered my investigation by performing a qualitative analysis. More specifically, I interviewed academics with expertise in social welfare about factors that might influence TANF use, such as

employment barriers, incarceration, generational welfare use and caseworker mistreatment of African American clients.

The results from my logistic regression confirm that being of African American ethnicity significantly increase the likelihood of CalWORKs receipt. The academics from my qualitative analysis were in agreement that employment barriers and generational welfare use perpetuate African American use of welfare. However, academics were in disagreement or had mixed views about other factors.

Based on my findings, I recommend that policymakers consider making greater investments in early childhood education programs, which studies show to significantly increase soft skills and reduce likelihood of welfare receipt for African Americans. I also recommend that the state implement an Earned Income Tax program, which would provide some economic relief to poor families. Additionally, policymakers should also consider investing in research to better evaluate both caseworker performance and the overall effectiveness of the TANF program.

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Date

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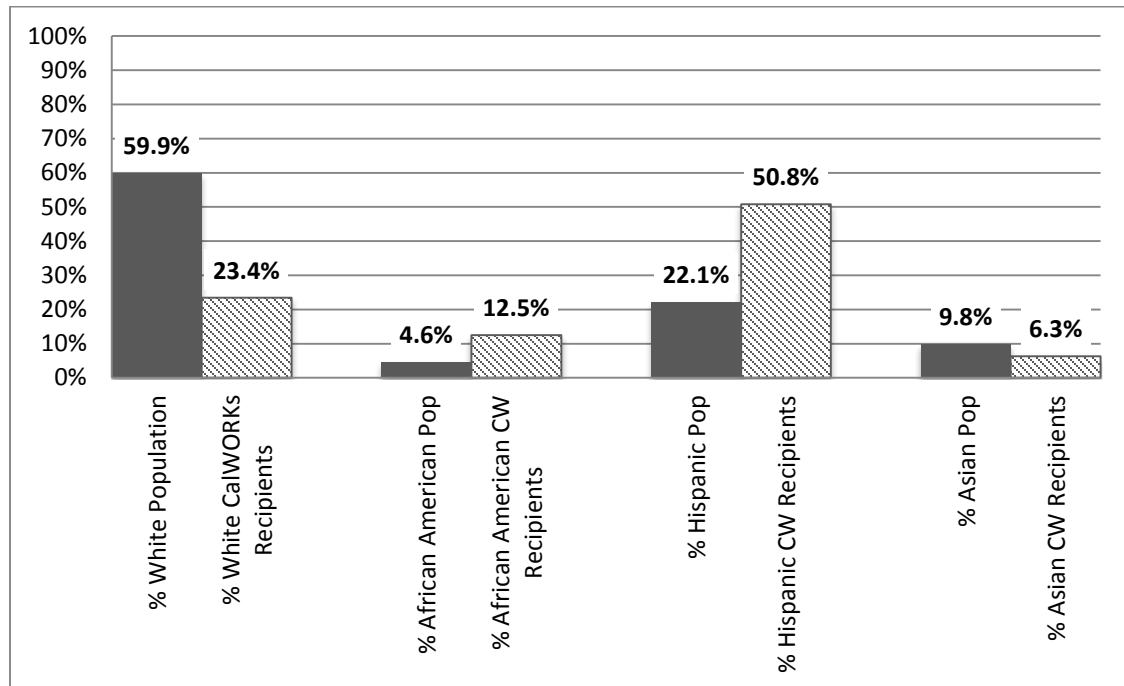
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In response to the growing demand for welfare reform, the federal Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program was established in 1996, essentially transferring the majority of responsibility in administering this program to states. While the CalWORKs program, (California's implementation of the federal program), has received both praise and criticism, what has been an equally contentious discussion is what factors contribute to whether someone receives welfare. Many studies have examined the influences of various demographic, family-level and geographic factors as explanatory variables. Though many factors have been isolated, race and ethnicity as a variable has received much attention- specifically being of African American or Hispanic descent.

Both of these minorities are over-represented in the California welfare system. As is portrayed in Figure 1, despite composing approximately 60% of the population, individuals who are white made up only 23.4% of the CalWORKs case load, state-wide, in 2011-2012 (California Health Interview Survey). In comparison, individuals of Hispanic descent composed of 22.1% of the population while representing 50.8% of CalWORKs recipients, and at a slighter higher ratio, African Americans, who made only 4.6% of California's population, represented 12.5% of the CalWORKs population (California Health Interview Survey). In contrast, Asians, who consist of 9.8% of the overall population make up only 6.3% of CalWORKs recipients. While the rates of CalWORKs participation among both of these minorities are concerning, the rate of African American participation demands particular consideration, as African Americans appear to face greater odds than do the rest of the ethnic populations.

Figure 1: Ethnicity by Population and CalWORKs Use



Because African Americans are disproportionally over-represented in the welfare system, this potentially indicates that socio-economic, racial and/or culture differences may be at play, which I wish to investigate further. In order to create effective social welfare policy, I believe that it is important to have a better understanding of the current academic thinking on the reasons why African Americans are overrepresented among TANF recipients in CA. I do this in the remainder of my master's thesis by means of a regression analysis data, using data from the 2011-2012 California Health Interview Survey (CHIS) for adults, to examine the isolated influence that a declared race of African Americans has on TANF participation after controlling for other factors (including education level, age, gender, wealth, family size and marital status, place of residence, general health condition, and citizenship status) expected to influence it. I also perform an analysis of the qualitative variables that influence TANF receipt, first by a review of the literature of what others have found on this topic, and then finally with my own survey of practitioners and prominent academics on this issue. The findings from my research shape the concluding policy recommendations, which aim to address these factors.

The remainder of this first chapter of my thesis better frames this by providing a historical context of TANF receipt among African Americans and tracking its relationship to the evolution of the welfare program. I will then describe the development of the TANF and CalWORKs programs, making note of influences, characteristics, criticisms and concerns. Lastly, by highlighting figures in the areas of unemployment, poverty, educational levels and welfare use, I argue that African Americans experience greater disadvantages in comparison to other populations which deserve investigation, thus purporting the significance of this study.

Conventional Wisdom on the Topic

The concern with African Americans' participation in welfare programs has been exacerbated by media coverage and political discourse alike. As is explained by Littlefield (2008), mass media

coverage, which has historically served as a means of “perpetuating the dominant culture’s perspective” (p. 677), has portrayed the African American woman as a sexually promiscuous and immoral creature for decades, if not centuries. Little has changed in their imagery as sexual deviants, used since the times of slavery to demonize them and justify their oppression (Littlefield, 2008). Media to this day continues to objectify them in music videos, songs, movies, etc., depicting them as uninhibited, philandering women (Littlefield, 2008). This negative representation is damaging both to this minority and to society in general as it perpetuates racism, it continues to institutionalize discrimination, and it enables the public to blame the African American woman for her circumstances (Littlefield, 2008).

The fixation and concern over welfare receipt among African Americans is traceable through the evolution of welfare programs in the United States. Government’s provision of aid to families in need is dated prior to the implementation of TANF in 1996, all the way back to when the Social Security Act of 1935 established the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program. The original intent of the program, which offered cash assistance to families in which the father was absent from the home, was to protect single (primarily widowed) mothers from having to work so that they would be able to stay at home and focus on raising their children (Congressional Research Service [CRS], 2014a). Because federal government granted states with flexibility in implementing the program, there were great variations among states in regards to cash aid amounts and eligibility requirements. Greatly influenced by local policies and subjective sentiments regarding who was in fact worthy of aid, case workers often denied assistance to women of color, who were viewed principally for their role in the work force rather than their role as mothers (Nadasen, 2007).

Further eligibility requirements were implemented in the 1940s and 1950s, which allowed social workers to deny applicants based on “suitable home” laws. These dictated that children on

the applicant's case mustn't have been born out-of-wedlock, that no men (other than the biological father) be present in the home, and that women who were physically capable of working might not be eligible for aid. As social workers were able to exercise these denials at their own discretion and judgment, poor African American women were often denied aid, and white women were greatly over-represented in the welfare system (Nadasen, 2007).

As the composition of welfare recipients changed over the years, public concern over welfare programs- and who was making use of them- grew. In 1939, several other Social Security programs were expanded to include services to widows, thus decreasing the amount of widow caseloads from 43% in 1937 to only 7% by the 1960s (Nadasen, 2007). The majority of women receiving were single mothers, who had either divorced or never married. Additionally, the ethnic composition shifted as well, as the number of African Americans in need increased dramatically from the 1930s to 1960s. As explained by researcher Priscilla Nadasen (2007), the increase in ADC numbers (whose name changed in the 1960s to Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]) was largely due to migration, poverty and racism that African Americans faced. Prior to the post World War II era, African Americans had largely served in physical labor jobs, often working in crops and fields. After World War II with the rise in technological advancements, many found themselves replaced by machines and without jobs. Cities and urban areas experienced a great influx as African Americans relocated in search of work, but due to discrimination and lack of education or skills, African Americans faced high unemployment rates (Nadasen, 2007). Out-of-wedlock birth rates, which were occurring at a greater rate among African Americans than white women, were the subject of public scrutiny. However, as noted by Nadasen (2007), this was exacerbated by the fact that white women, with greater resources, were able to make private arrangements to conceal their "indiscretions". Alternatively, African American women, who comparatively lacked both fiscal assets and support systems, were not

able to either discreetly place babies in adoption or remove themselves from the public eye during their pregnancy (Nadasen, 2007).

Welfare receipt among African Americans received great attention from politicians and the press alike, despite the fact that, after controlling for poverty and out-of-wedlock birth rates, African American women were actually a minority of welfare cases (Nadasen, 2007). Welfare programs and their reform became a racially charged topic, and political candidates, such as Ronald Reagan, campaigned for welfare reform on the basis that “welfare queens”- lazy, black single mothers with children from multiple fathers- were gaming the welfare system and committing fraud. In reality, there were very few incidents of welfare fraud reported- official data revealed that at its height in 1978, the prosecution rate stood at 0.7 percent of all AFDC caseloads (Coughlin, 1989). Painting black women as the majority of welfare caseloads and as sexual deviants who would avoid work at all costs, politicians and conservative media called for welfare-to-work requirements and time limits on aid. The negative attention that welfare participation received effectively transformed how the public viewed welfare programs’ intent and purpose. What were once viewed as programs meant to help poor and deserving mothers, victims of circumstance, to be able to stay at home to raise their children, had become programs that enabled lazy, promiscuous mothers, responsible for their own economic condition (Nadasen, 2007). This sentiment shaped the development of later welfare reform and programs.

Development of PRWOA and TANF

Growing public dissatisfaction, criticism and debate regarding the welfare system through the 1980s and early 1990s increased pressure for welfare reform. Republicans, who argued that the current welfare system was both corrupt and created dependency, clashed with Democrats, who felt that vulnerable populations required a safety-net (Zuckerman, 2000). President Bill Clinton, a moderate Democrat who campaigned for his presidency based on promises of both health care

and welfare reform, vowed to end welfare as the people knew it when he came to term. However, once in office, though he and his administration drafted plans to alter the welfare system, health care policy demanded more of his attention (Zuckerman, 2000). After the 1994 congressional elections, in which Republicans took majority control of both the Senate and House of Representatives, Speaker Newt Gingrich and other Republican leaders focused their energy on welfare reform. After publicly criticizing Clinton for his lack of initiative in addressing welfare reform, Gingrich promised to push forward legislation that would (Zuckerman, 2000). After submitting several bills to the President that were vetoed, Gingrich and Republican Party were ultimately successful when in 1996, Clinton, succumbing to political and public pressure to modify welfare, passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWOA) (Zuckerman, 2000).

Once passed, PRWOA initiated the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program. While partially funded by federal monies, the program shifted a majority of power and discretion to the states in regards to implementation of the program (Zuckerman, 2000). Some of the notable changes under PRWOA and TANF include the implementation of a 60 month time limit, and the requirement that welfare recipients participate in a specified amount of welfare-to-work activity each week (Zuckerman, 2000). Should the recipient fail to comply with welfare-to-work regulations, she can be sanctioned, which pauses the disbursement of a portion of her cash aid and other welfare benefits (but she continues to receive aid for her child(ren)). If and when she exhausts her time limit, she will no longer receive cash aid for herself, but for a limited time she will continue to receive for her children. Other policies under PRWOA and TANF encourage two-parent families, discourage illegitimate births, and apply stricter enforcement of child support (Zuckerman, 2000). By ending welfare as an entitlement program, setting time limits and work

requirements, and discouraging single-parent families, politicians implemented policy that made the low-income individual personally and solely responsible for her economic condition.

TANF Participation Rates among African Americans

Soon after its implementation, supporters and the public alike credited and praised the program for the dramatic reduction in national welfare caseloads: between 1997 to 2011, the number of TANF caseloads declined by 50% (Loprest, 2012). Despite overall decline, the percentage of African American participation in TANF caseloads has remained steady (see Figure 2) (CSR, 2014). Additionally, the relationship between ethnicity by population and TANF caseload is concerning. In 2011, African Americans made up 13.1% of the national population, but represented 33.9% of adult TANF recipients (USCB, 2011 & CRS, 2014a). In comparison, whites made up 65% of the population and 33.2% of TANF recipients, and Hispanics were 16.7% of the population and 25.9% of TANF recipients (see Figure 3) (USCB, 2011 & CRS, 2014). This data suggests not only that TANF has done little to impact welfare use among African Americans, but also casts doubt on the underlying rationale- that taking personal responsibility for one's economic situation will decrease the need for welfare. Rather, it suggests that other, broader socio-economic or cultural issues may be at play.

Criticisms of TANF

As has already been mentioned, a heavy criticism of and concern with the TANF program is that its emphasis on welfare-to-work requirements supports the idea that participants are solely responsible for their economic situation. By stressing the importance that the individual take personal responsibility for her financial hardship, and enforcing that she engage in some type of welfare-to-work activity, the TANF program does not account for greater contributing social issues at play (Nadasen, 2007). These may include socio-economic problems such as high

Figure 2: Percentage of African American TANF Caseloads, 1988-2011

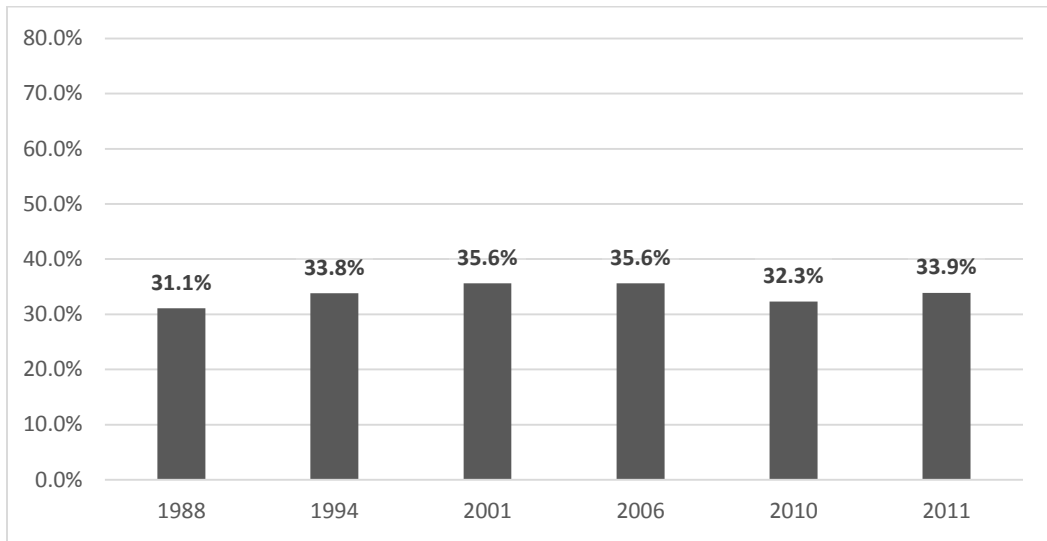
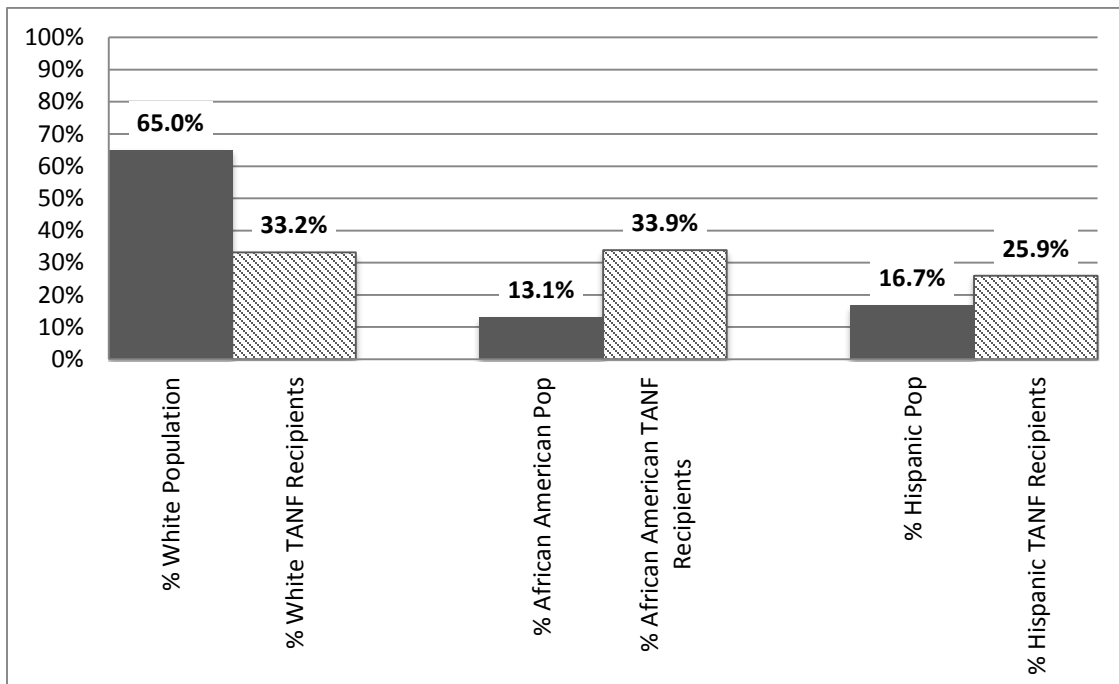


Figure 3: Ethnicity by Population and TANF Use



unemployment rates, insufficient or inadequate childcare, poor or nonexistent health coverage, and poor education (Nadasen, 2007).

Additionally, though it was initially praised as an immediate success, later studies have indicated that the decline in welfare caseloads was not necessarily caused by TANF, but instead was the result of the then-booming economy. A longitudinal study that examined the effects of both labor market conditions and welfare policies in California between 1983 and 1998 found that the economy had a statistically significant impact on welfare receipt, decreasing welfare entry among families by 6% each month (Albert & King, 2001). As a result of the strong economy, more jobs were available to the poor and poverty rates decreased. Once called “welfare queens”, working mothers instead became heroes in the public eye, which attributed the turn-around to the new welfare system (DeParle, 2012). However, the economic recession in 2007 tested the resounding faith. Despite being one of the worst economic recessions in recent history, the TANF caseloads did not increase (DeParle, 2012). Rather, many states became even more restrictive in their eligibility policies, and states like Arizona further reduced both cash aid grants and time limits (DeParle, 2012). While they decreased TANF programs, and effectively the number of caseloads, states encouraged participants to enroll in Food Stamps, a program that is fully funded by the federal government. As a result, the number of people receiving food stamps skyrocketed from 23 million in December of 2003, to 31 million in 2008, to 47 million in 2012 (Food Research and Action Center, 2010).

TANF is also criticized for the time limits it sets for time on aid. Meant to decrease dependency on aid, many argue that the time restrictions instead cut recipients off who are still in need. While recipients can still access programs like Food Stamps and Medic-Aid, the halt of cash aid leaves many poor families even worse off. Critics point out that adults are not the only ones who suffer- their children are also punished for the parent’s inability to find self-sustaining

work during her time on aid (DeParle, 2012). Since the implementation of TANF in 1996, the number of children living in extreme poverty (incomes that are less than half the poverty line) has increased from 636,000 to 1.65 million in 2011 (Shaefer & Edin, 2014).

PRWOA and TANF have been regarded as irresponsible policy, as many researchers have pointed out that they weren't created around solid or hard data. In the years leading up to the implementation of TANF, 46 states had received approval from the federal government to experiment with welfare-to-work programs, to better understand whether this policy was effective. While these natural experiments were in progress at the time of TANF development, hard data was not available until 1997, after TANF's implementation. Studies found that 18,000 participants had been sanctioned from aid, 99% of which were for welfare-to-work non-compliance because the participant's chose to stay at home to raise children, or declined low-wage jobs (Zuckerman, 2000). The little research that was available, which upheld time-limited welfare-to-work programs as a success, was based on findings in Vermont where employment and monthly income had increased among working parents (Zuckerman, 2000). However, Vermont was unique in that it had much lower numbers of welfare recipients in comparison to the majority of states (Zuckerman, 2000). It also had increased its budget for social services by 50% during this same period of time (Zuckerman, 2000). Because the program would have such far-reaching effects, impacting the lives of poor families all throughout the US, many criticized politicians for pushing a reform program that would so dramatically change welfare, without yet having proven its success (DeParle, 2012 & Zuckerman, 2000).

TANF and Differences across the States

Under TANF, states have been granted a large amount of flexibility in how they choose to implement their welfare programs. Though federal government provides a block grant to states, a "maintenance of effort" requirement is in place, which mandates that states must contribute some

of their own state dollars towards their TANF program, in order to receive the federal funding. States may use either source of funding to achieve the goals outlined in the original TANF law, which mandates that states: “(1) provide assistance to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives; (2) end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage; (3) prevent and reduce the incidence of out of wedlock pregnancies and establish annual numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and (4) encourage the formation and maintenance of two parent families”. Beyond this, states have few limitations. They cannot use federal funding to extend the 60 month time limit for families, they cannot use federal funding to provide aid to legal immigrants who have not been living in the US for at least five years. States also must meet specific work participation rates among its caseloads: 50% of single-parent families and 90% of two-parent families must be involved in a work activity for a specified amount of time each week. If the state fails to comply, the federal government may reduce funding (CRS, 2014b).

As a result of the discretion conferred upon states to implement the program as they see fit, policies and programs vary widely state to state. Some offer minimal cash aid benefits and strict work requirements to discourage welfare use (Loprest, 2012). States may also invest resources and/or energy into encouraging diversion programs, such as Food Stamps or work assistance programs (Loprest, 2012). And while TANF mandates that recipients cannot be on aid for longer than 60 months, states have the option of reducing the amount of time on aid, if they so desire (Loprest, 2012).

California’s Implementation of TANF: CalWORKs

In 1997, California’s Welfare-to-Work Act established the California Work Opportunities and Responsibility to Kids Program, the state’s implementation of TANF. Under the current

Welfare-to-Work requirements of the CalWORKs program which dictate that recipients must satisfy a specified weekly hourly requirement (determined by the family's status), the participants may fulfill the Welfare-to-Work activity by participating in either a job or internship, or by participating in vocational training/education. Though it has been viewed as a more generous in comparison to other states, the state's budget has gradually cut funding and enforced stricter policies and time limits over the last decade (Cadelago, 2015). While it initially offered a 60 month time limit on aid to recipients, this was cut to 48 months during the economic recession in 2011, in an effort to close budget gaps (Cadelago, 2015). The time on aid was again adjusted in 2013, when state budgets targeted the CalWORKs program in an effort to save state dollars. Policy makers dramatically altered the standard 48 month time clock for benefits by shortening it to 24 months for those adult participants who were unable to secure employment within the first 24 months of program participation (Yamamura, 2012). Cash aid amounts have also been dramatically reduced, from \$723 for a family of three in 2008, to \$670 in 2014 (Cadelago, 2015). This drop in cash aid was further compounded when the practice of making adjustments for cost of living was also eliminated (Cadelago, 2015). These changes to the CalWORKs program have affected the hundreds of thousands of families who receive welfare in California.

California, by the Numbers

While it boasts the 8th largest economy in the world, California also struggles with the highest poverty rate in the United States. A recent study by the Public Policy Institute of California indicated that in 2011, the state's poverty rate of 16.9% surpassed that of the national unemployment rate, which was 14.7% (Dohn & Levin, 2013). Poverty rates were even higher among minorities in California, with 24.2% for African Americans and 23.6% for Hispanics (see Figure 4). Unemployment rates have also been an issue. In 2011, the state's unemployment rate was 12%, 3% over the national unemployment rate of 9.1% (Austin, 2012). Unemployment rates

among ethnicities mirrored poverty rates- African Americans and Hispanics faced 21.3% and 18.7% unemployment rates, respectively; in comparison, whites had a 10% unemployment rate (see Figure 5) (Austin, 2012). California's record numbers do not stop here. In 2010, California's TANF caseload made up 30 percent of national TANF caseloads- in comparison, New York accounted for eight percent, while Ohio accounted for only five percent (Loprest, 2012). As is evident from these figures, the recent budget cuts to the CalWORKs program was certainly not due to a lack of need.

Significance of Research

As previously mentioned, the state budget cuts that have targeted the CalWORKs program over the last decade have impacted many Californians. Rather than reducing benefits and time on aid in an effort to either decrease dependency or to save state dollars, the state should aim to make its program more effective. To better understand how the program can perhaps be made to be more efficient, supporting and guiding its participants to employment, it is important to understand the variables that influence why the recipient is receiving CalWORKs (such as family status, race and education). Specifically concerning is welfare use among African Americans, who continue to be a very vulnerable minority population. By identifying both the likelihood of their CalWORKs receipt, and the different socio-economic conditions and variables that contribute to their vulnerability, policymakers could shift or invest resources in a way that works to mediate their effects and to eliminate barriers. As future budgets are considered, studies such as this one will help to inform policymakers.

Understanding the factors that influence CalWORKs program participation and creating policy to address those variables is an important investment that California should make, both for the estimated 530,000 families that the program currently serves and for preventative welfare dependence efforts. Within this thesis, I will attempt to identify some of those variables and to

Figure 4: Poverty Rates in California, 2011

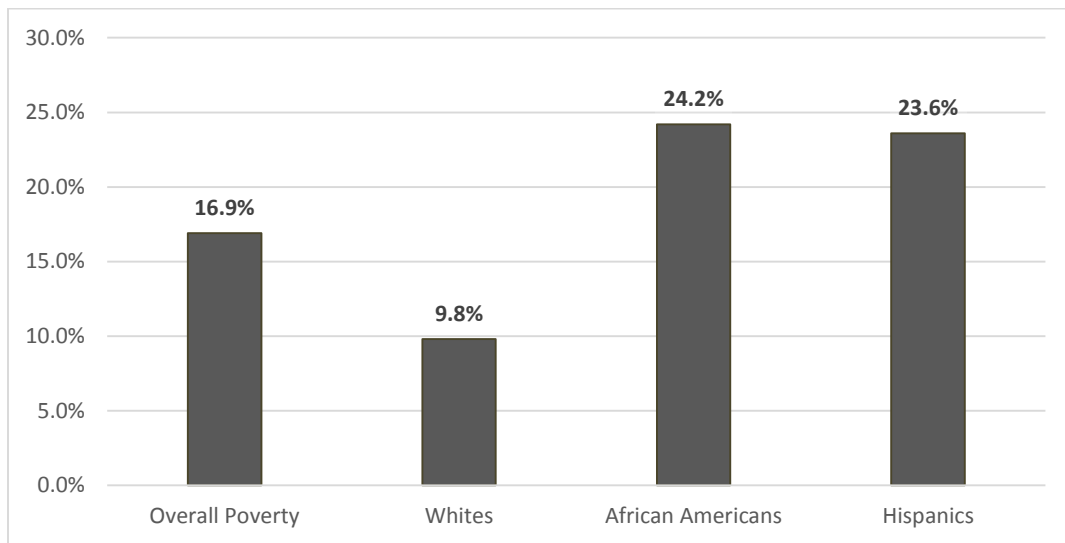
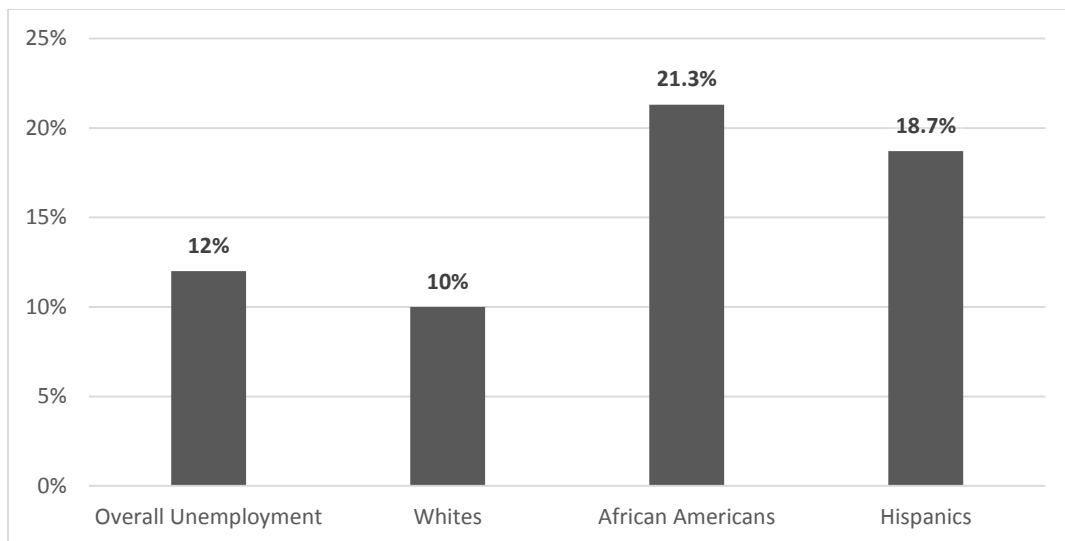


Figure 5: Unemployment Rates in California, 2011



measure both the significance and magnitude of their impact. I do this by offering four more chapters. The second chapter will provide a literature review that will examine a number of analytical studies that have identified various characteristics and conditions, both quantitative and qualitative, that influence welfare participation. The third chapter provides my methodology for both my regression analysis and my qualitative analysis (specifically, how I chose to construct and conduct my interviews of academics). In the fourth chapter, I will report the results from the logistic regression analysis, interpreting coefficients, as well as the responses from the interviews. and My final chapter provides my ultimate policy recommendations based on the findings of this thesis, considerations for how this thesis might be improved, and potential for further research.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the implementation of the CalWORKs program in 1997, numerous researchers and analysts have conducted studies to scrutinize and better understand the factors that determine CalWORKs receipt. While across the board, experts agree that the race of the recipient correlates with participation in welfare programs, research identifies and explores the effects of a number of other explanatory variables. As this paper uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis to study determinants of CalWORKs receipt, I structure the review of existing literature accordingly. In the first section, I will identify variables believed to influence CalWORKs receipt, for which I will control in my regression. Under the qualitative section, I will explore other socio-economic and cultural phenomena (for which I cannot control in my regression analysis) known to influence CalWORKs receipt among African Americans. The findings from both sections help to inform and structure the methodology section that follows.

Quantitative Analysis

The following section is a review of a small sample of the existing literature on the topic, organized into several themes: demographics, family situation, and place of residence. I will begin my review by summarizing the individual-level characteristics found to strongly influence whether or not one participates in a welfare program. Next, I will examine the types of family situations, including the marital status of the parents and the household size, known to affect welfare receipt. Finally, I will consider how factors related to place of residence (such as differences among urban, suburban and rural residencies, and the existence of support networks) influence the likelihood that one will participate in a welfare program. Appendix A provides a summary of the regression studies used within this thesis, outlining each study's methodology, dependent and independent variables, general conclusions and statistically significant findings.

Demographics

Race/Ethnicity

Examining the relationship between race and welfare participation, Teitler, Reichman and Nepomnyaschy (2007) analyzed data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study to study the responses of a sample of 3,201 unmarried mothers. Using multilevel logistic regression models and controlling for factors such as education, family status, number of children, and type of residence, they found that African American mothers, in comparison to white mothers, were 62% more likely to receive TANF, and nonwhite, non-Hispanic mothers were approximately 77% more likely (Teitler, Reichman and Nepomnyaschy, 2007). Other studies have reported similar findings. In their study of a sample of 1,867 adolescents who participated in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health between 1995 and 2001, a group of researchers found that, after conducting weighted multivariate logistic regressions, young African American and American Indian mothers were 4.2 and 19 times (respectively) significantly more likely than white mothers to receive public assistance (Casares, Lahiff, Eskenazi, Halpern-Felsher, 2010). The authors lacked sufficient data to analyze the Hispanic or Asian effect on the dependent variable. It is important to note the limitations of this research, as the original study only surveyed students who were in school, excluding adolescents who might have dropped out.

Education

Research has also examined the influence of one's education-level on his or her participation in the TANF program. In a study conducted by Parisi, McLaughlin, Grice and Toquino (2006), the authors used data from the Mississippi Department of Human Services' monthly administrative TANF files, dated between 1996 and 2004, to compare various independent characteristics among a sample of 94,465 African American and white female TANF recipients. In doing so, they hoped to determine if these variables had different effects for the two ethnicities on the duration of time

that they received TANF. Using spell data and life table techniques, the authors found that while the possession of a high school diploma or having had completed some college courses did significantly increase the probability that one would exit from the TANF program before exhausting her 60 month time limit, the magnitude of the effect was greater for African Americans (35% more likely to exit) than it was for whites (24% more likely to exit). Teitler, Reichmann and Nepomnyaschy's work (2007) supports these findings, as they identified that mothers who had acquired a high school degree were 29% less likely to enroll in the TANF program. What might be considered a limitation in both of these studies is that neither one considers the influence of possessing a college degree or higher on TANF participation.

Citizenship Status

Citizenship status has also been a variable that has received attention from subject matter experts. This variable was also considered in Teitler, Reichmann and Nepomnyaschy's study (2007), who looked at whether being foreign born had an effect on CalWORKs receipt. The results from their study indicated that mothers who were born in the US were 77% more likely than foreign-born individuals to receive CalWORKs. The authors suggest that this might likely be due to eligibility restrictions or language barriers that foreign-born recipients grapple with.

Wealth

Research has shown that the amount of assets that a family has can influence whether it receives TANF. To ensure that there is a need for services, many states have policies in place which limit the amount of income, property and resources that the applicant may have. Specifically in California, the family's net monthly income must be less than the maximum aid payment for family size, and there is a property limit of \$2,000 (which applies to bank accounts, stocks or cash on hand) (Department of Public Social Services [DPSS], 2015). Additionally, if the family owns a vehicle that has over \$9,500 in equity value, any dollars over that amount are

counted against the property limit (DPSS, 2015). However, resources that do not count towards the property limit include furniture and personal items, tools, and owner-occupied housing equity (DPSS, 2015).

Studies indicate that families with greater wealth and assets are less likely to be on welfare than are families without the same amount of assets. Those families that do have assets are often more stable, and able to make more long-term and future plans (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995). Families who own their own home possess security in that they have a protection of sorts in the event of a financial crisis, and can depend on this in hard times (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995). Furthermore, research indicates that policies which limit property assets can actually discourage poor families from accumulating wealth, for fear that this will make them ineligible to receive program benefits (Sullivan, 2006). These policies thus further perpetuate poor economic status, as families do not participate in activities which might lead to asset building, which would in turn create opportunity and economic security (Sullivan, 2006).

Family Situation

Parental Relationship Status

One's family status is also a strong indicator of welfare participation. In their previously mentioned study, Teitler, Reichmann and Nepomnyaschy (2007) also discovered that in cases where the parents were cohabiting, the family was 71% likely to receive TANF. While cohabitation of the parents correlates with reduced participation in welfare, it is also important to consider the quality of the relationship between parents. Using data from the 2001 California Women's Health Survey, one study used a weighted sample of 3,617 women to determine the effect of intimate partner violence (IPV) on welfare use (Kimerling & Baumrind, 2004). Controlling for all other variables and using a 95% confidence interval, a logistic regression

analysis revealed that women who had experienced (IPV) in the past year doubled the odds-ratio that they would utilize CalWORKs (Kimerling & Baumrind, 2004).

Family Size

Research has also indicated that the size of one's family can also influence TANF receipt, and the duration of participation. Using a sample size of 549 women from a panel study in Michigan County, several analysts conducted applied logistic regression analyses to examine the effects of various family-level and personal characteristics variables on welfare participation (Seefeldt & Orzol, 2005). The results revealed that participants who had more children were 32% more likely to exhaust the maximum amount of time allowed on TANF, than were those participants with fewer children (Seefeldt & Orzol, 2005). These findings suggest that having a larger family size can increase the likelihood and duration of TANF participation, possibly due to difficulties in finding and affording childcare, which can negatively impact employment and income and thus increasing dependence on welfare.

Place of Residence

Urban vs. Suburban

In examining potential external variables that influence welfare receipt, many researchers have also questioned whether geography plays a role. As several studies have determined that job growth and accessibility is more prominent in suburban regions, while segregation by both class and race continues to be an issue in urban areas, analysts have worked to examine whether this affects welfare recipients' ability to obtain employment (S. Allard, 2002). Building upon conclusions from an earlier study that job accessibility is positively related to the likelihood that one will voluntarily exit TANF, S. Allard (2002) uses both administrative data (ranging from 1992-2008) on welfare receipt in the Detroit metropolitan area and data from two employer surveys in Detroit to determine work earnings among welfare recipients. By constructing logit

models and controlling for individual characteristics, job accessibility and poverty rates, S. Allard concludes that welfare recipients residing in the suburbs are 26% more likely to report job earnings than recipients living in the city. This suggests that the place of residency does have a significant influence on CalWORKs participation.

Social Network

Research also aims to understand whether social networks, commonly defined as a measure of the number of people that one can rely on and interacts with on a frequent basis, are related to TANF receipt (Brown & Riley, 2005). Researchers Brown and Riley (2005) used longitudinal data from a study conducted in Houston, TX, which consisted of a sample of 534 female TANF recipients, to identify the effects of social networks on employment, drug use, income and TANF receipt. The results from their regression analyses determined that when an individual has a network of people that he or she can turn to for help in an emergency, he or she is less likely to receive TANF by 22% (Brown & Riley, 2005). These results suggest that having a support system of people nearby can possibly discourage the use of TANF, as the individual feels that he has other alternatives or resources.

Qualitative Analysis

The previous section provided an overview of the literature regarding key variables known to influence CalWORKs receipt, for which I could proxy and measure in a logistic regression. While the data that is available in the 2011 California Health Interview Survey (which I will use in my regression) is considerably comprehensive, there are other variables and phenomena which academics have also found to influence CalWORKs receipt, but are too difficult to measure in the same fashion and could not be captured in a regression.

The following is a review of literature that examines other socio-economic factors at play that have been found to either directly increase CalWORKs receipt among African Americans, or to

make them more vulnerable (higher poverty rates, etc.). While academics have identified a wide array of factors, this thesis focuses on four areas found to have significant influence: caseworker treatment of African Americans, barriers to employment, incarceration rates, and generational welfare use.

Caseworker Treatment

The attitude among front-line caseworkers and their treatment of welfare recipients has been the focus of many studies. Specifically, many have examined how caseworkers' management of and attitude towards the recipient can impact her likelihood of becoming economically self-sufficient, thus leading to her subsequent exit from TANF. Caseworkers have a large amount of responsibilities that include conducting assessments of the client's needs, identifying their barriers to employment, assigning and monitoring welfare-to-work activities, disbursing aid, and providing clients with necessary supportive services (Gooden, 1998). Though state welfare policies provide general implementation rules, the amount of discretion that has been allotted to caseworkers regarding program implementation has consequently bestowed unto them a great amount of power over their clients (Gooden, 1998). This discretion creates opportunity for subjectivity to influence program implementation, which can be particularly problematic when caseworkers possess racist or discriminatory beliefs.

One vein of this research has scrutinized caseworker attitudes towards vocational education as a welfare-to-work activity. Under current welfare-to-work requirements of most TANF programs, regulations dictate that recipients must complete a specified amount of welfare-to-work activity each week, which can include participation in a job, internship, volunteer activity, or vocational training/education. TANF caseworkers are known for emphasizing a "work-first" mentality, often enforcing program participants to secure employment, rather than permitting them to engage in vocational training (which typically involves the pursuit of an Associate's

Degree or enrollment in a Certificate program) (Mazzeo, Rab & Eachus, 2003). This emphasis on work-first contradicts academic research, which identifies that the attainment of an Associate's Degree can lead to both stable, professional and higher level jobs, and greater income levels (Grubb, 2002). While these advantages are particularly pronounced for women and minority populations (Grubb, 2002), studies show that in comparison to whites, African Americans receive considerably less support and experience poor treatment in the social welfare system.

In a survey of welfare recipients in Virginia, a majority of white respondents felt that their caseworker had encouraged their participation in vocational education; alternatively, not a single African American respondent reported that their caseworker had encouraged them to pursue a higher degree (Gooden, 1998). Rather, African Americans reported that their caseworker had discouraged it, even in situations in which the respondent was only several classes away from completing an Associate's Degree (Gooden, 1998).

The effects of racism have not been limited to whether caseworkers support vocational education. Both research on TANF and research specific to California have found that whites receive more favorable treatment from caseworkers than African Americans and other minorities (Carroll, 2001, Gooden, 1998 & Grubb, 2002). Reports from the Virginia study noted that 20% of white respondents and 50% of African American respondents felt that they were not treated equally (as whites were given preferential treatment) (Gooden, 1998). Not only were caseworkers more responsive to white clients, but it was also noted that whites were often granted exceptions to program requirements while African Americans were not (Gooden, 1998). Of the 66% of respondents who reported that transportation was a barrier, 47% of white recipients indicated that the worker had offered additional transportation assistance, beyond the standard gas card, including help with obtaining a driver's license, a car, or mechanical repairs (Gooden, 1998). Not a single African American recipient reported that she had received the same offer (Gooden,

1998). Additionally, white welfare recipients receive more support and are more likely to find employment than are African Americans (Holzer & Stoll, 2000 & Gooden, 1998). While 59% of white respondents felt that their caseworker was very helpful in notifying them of potential job opportunities, only 36% of African American respondents reported the same sentiment, while 23% of African Americans indicated that they had not received any notifications at all (Gooden, 1998).

Research has even identified racism among African American caseworkers towards their African American clientele. While in some cases, African American caseworkers might empathize with African American clients as they may quickly recognize and sympathize for the challenges and inequalities that this minority faces, it can also at times have an adverse effect. As described by Pearson (2007), it can sometimes be the case that African American caseworkers have an “I made it, so why can’t you?” attitude. Frustrated that their African American clientele have not had the same outcomes, research reveals that African American caseworkers can take on a harsher approach with these clients, emphasizing that personal choices, not circumstances, are to blame for the client’s participation in welfare programs (Pearson, 2007).

The racial preference that is apparent within the welfare system decreases the likelihood that the African American recipient will be able to be economically self-sufficient, and perpetuates her dependency on welfare.

Barriers to Employment

Much academic research and attention have focused on obstacles to employment among African Americans. Barriers such as poor economic conditions, unemployment rates and criminal records have a greater impact among this minority population in comparison to whites, and indoctrinated racism often intensifies these effects. At these issues complicate the likelihood of

employment, this adversely impacts poverty among African Americans, thus increasing the likelihood of CalWORKs receipt.

Accessibility

Employment discrimination research has produced numerous findings that indicate the prevalence of racism towards African Americans in the work force. Studies have found that in low-wage job markets, employers believe that African Americans lack both work ethic and skill (Monnat, 2010). Additionally, they believe that white women are more likely to possess the soft skills that they are looking for (Monnat, 2010). As African Americans encounter so much prejudice from employers of entry-level jobs, this is problematic for welfare recipients who often depend on the accessibility of these job markets (Monnat, 2010). Pager et al. (2009) produced similar findings in their study of applicants in the low-wage labor market in New York City. Despite having identical qualifications and experience, in comparison to whites, African Americans were less likely to be selected for an interview, to receive a second interview, or to be selected for the position. Furthermore, employers who hired African Americans directed them into manual labor positions over customer services positions at a higher rate than their white counterparts, who possessed identical skills sets and background (Pager et al., 2009). Prior research also indicates that the strength of the economy and the structure of local labor markets can greatly influence TANF receipt among African Americans, in comparison to white recipients. Studies have found in areas with high unemployment rates, African Americans face greater difficulty in attaining jobs than whites (Parisi et al., 2006).

Wage discrimination

Once employed, studies have also determined that African Americans face the issue of wage discrimination. One such study surveyed 9,000 households in the cities of Los Angeles, Boston and Atlanta to examine the relationship between skin tone and wages (Goldsmith et al., 2006).

After controlling for variables including demographics, occupation, and workplace, family and neighborhood characteristics, researchers found that participants who reported having a darker shade of skin color received 10% less in wages relative to white participants (Goldsmith et al., 2006). Coleman (2003) also found a wage gap among African Americans and whites in his analysis of data provided by the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality Employer Survey.

Coleman (2003) found that even when the employer assigned identical scores in his evaluation of the worker's skill, African American employees still received a lesser wage than white employees. Coleman (2003) concluded that, contrary to recent studies which purport that the wage gap is a result of the employee's human capital, the variation is indeed a result of racial discrimination.

Workplace discrimination

Research also finds that once African American have accessed the low-wage job market, they face greater discrimination and likelihood of termination. More common in the low-wage job market, the status and stability of African American women is vulnerable, as this population often has "low levels of power" and is subjected to "significant managerial discretion" (Ortiz & Roscigno, 2009, p. 341). While African American women also face higher rates of discrimination when it comes to hiring, promotions, and workplace harassment in comparison to white women, illegitimate and discriminatory firing is one of the greatest issues that African American women face in the workforce (Ortiz & Roscigno, 2009).

Criminal Records

Research has found that having a criminal record has a greater effect for African Americans than it does for whites. In a study conducted in Milwaukee, an analyst examined the percentage of call backs among African Americans and whites with a criminal record (Pager, 2003). After controlling for other variables, he found several significant findings. He identified that only 5% of

African Americans with a criminal record received a callback, compared to 17% of whites with a criminal record (Pager, 2003). However, what was perhaps even more surprising was that while 34% of whites without a criminal record received a callback, only 14% of African Americans without a criminal record received a callback- a figure that was smaller than whites with a criminal record (17%) (Pager 2003).

Extensive literature and research has also connected unemployment to crime, indicating that lower rates of employment are associated with increased crime rates. This is particularly concerning for African Americans, as not only do they face greater unemployment rates than whites, but they are also policed at higher rates, and endure harsher prosecution and sentencing (Wheelok & Uggen, 2006). This creates a vicious cycle, as incarceration is in turn linked to increased poverty.

Incarceration

While imprisonment has increased overall in the United States, it has been especially problematic among African Americans. Not only do African Americans make up 40% of the incarcerated population, but studies estimate that African American men are incarcerated at nine times the rate of whites, and that one in three African American men will at some point spend time in jail or prison (Mechoulan, 2011). The statistics are also dismal for African American women, as research estimates that they are eight times more likely to be imprisoned than white females (Alfred & Chlup, 2009).

Research indicates that this is greatly due to skewed policies and politics, which emphasize a “tough on crime” attitude and unfairly target minority populations (Alfred & Chlup, 2009). Academics suggest the over-representation of African Americans in prisons is a result of structural racism in the criminal justice system, and the backlash against civil rights. As a means of silencing and subduing protests in the 1960s, the Republican Party launched its war on crime,

which largely targeted the social disorder that had erupted (López, 2010). Funding for state and federal prisons increased three and four times, respectively, between the 1960s and 1990s, and numerous pieces of legislation passed which hardened government's approach to crime control (López, 2010). Studies indicate that higher percentages of African Americans in a community can trigger higher rates of policing, incarceration and death penalties, which academics suggest is the response to a perceived racial threat (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006). Additionally, research has found that police, judges and parole boards (Wheelock & Uggen, 2006) treat African Americans more harshly within the criminal justice system.

Empirical research indicates that mass incarceration has perpetuated poverty rates (Defina & Hannon, 2013). Using state-level panel data from 1980 to 2004, one study found that, despite economic growth, incarceration significantly increased the poverty rate by 2.54% (Defina & Hannon, 2013). The authors suggest that this increase in poverty results not only from the negative consequences on the individual's earnings and employment post-incarceration, but also from the economic effect that it has on the family of the individual (Defina & Hannon, 2013). Not only does incarceration decrease the overall family income, but it can also be costly as the family members struggle with legal bills and other increased costs (collect phone calls, prison visits, etc.) (Wildeman & Western, 2010).

Perception of Use/Welfare Culture

Generational Welfare Use

Research also studies the values and attitudes towards welfare use within the family unit, to examine whether the parent's receipt of welfare impacts the likelihood that her children will participate in welfare as adults. Studies indicate that when the parent in a household receives welfare, it increase the probability that her daughter will participate in welfare as an adult by 50% for whites, and by over 100% for African Americans and Hispanics (Gottschalk, 1992). A study

by Vartanian (1999) looked to expand upon these findings by also incorporating neighborhood conditions in a logistic regression, to account for whether children were shaped by the economic conditions, relationships and role models in the areas in which they grew up. While he found that neighborhood conditions had a significant impact on the welfare use of white recipients, it had no significant impact for African American recipients (Vartanian, 1999). However, the study did uphold that the parent's welfare receipt increases the likelihood of the adult child's welfare receipt by 60% (Vartanian, 1999). Additionally, he found that welfare receipt among African Americans was more sensitive to the parent's level of income and education level than whites (Vartanian, 1999).

Values versus Opportunity

Though studies concur that there is an increased likelihood of TANF receipt among individuals whom grew up in households in which their parents received TANF, there is debate around why this occurs. Some academics have asserted that intergenerational welfare use occurs as a result of the values that are cultivated among poor families, who are socialized to believe that there are limited work opportunities, to have poor work ethics, and to become dependent on welfare programs (Moffitt, 1992). Recent studies have challenged this theory, suggesting that intergenerational welfare use is the result of deprivation and lack of resources, passed down between generations (Lee et al., 2008). As poor families have fewer opportunities, this shapes the adult child's ability to succeed and be economically self-sufficient, ultimately increasing her chances of welfare receipt (Lee et al., 2008). Through the analysis of panel data, Lee et al. (2008) also found that parents' use of welfare predisposed their children to an increased probability that they would receive welfare as adults. However, they found that parents' welfare use did not impact their child's values in regards to welfare use- adversely, their study found that participants' values do not significantly differ from those of the general population (Lee et al.,

2008). Therefore, they concluded that values do not impact TANF participation. The study did find that the mother's socioeconomic background, including her accessibility to education and employment opportunities, not only increases the likelihood that she will receive CalWORKs, but also shapes the background of her children, thus increasing their chances of TANF receipt in the future as well (Lee et al., 2008).

Literature Review Conclusion

As identified in the literature, a variety of factors, both quantitative and qualitative, can influence participation in TANF. Applying the findings from this review, I will control for independent variables including educational levels, race, family size and marital status, wealth, type of geographical residence, existence of social networks, and citizenship status in my logistic regression analysis. Additionally, through interviews with experts and academics in the field, I hope to determine the extent to which the identified qualitative variables – including caseworker treatment, barriers to employment, incarceration and welfare culture-impact welfare receipt in California, or whether there are other factors that I have not yet considered. The findings from these analyses inform and shape the policy recommendations in the final chapter of this thesis. It is my hope that these synopses will provide the reader with a foundational basis of the determinants of welfare receipt, and will highlight areas that require further research, thus purporting the significance of the research conducted within this thesis. In order to better understand the CalWORKs program and the variables that influence its program participation rates, it is important to use data that is specific to California, as the implementation of TANF policies and regulations can vary drastically at the state level. To my knowledge, this has not been done using data extracted from the California Health Interview Survey from 2011-2012 for adults, which I will be using as my data source for my regression analysis.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

This thesis uses a mixed-methods approach to better understand African American use of TANF and the variables that influence receipt among this population. Through the use of a logistic regression, I conduct a quantitative analysis by controlling for variables known to influence CalWORKs receipt, to isolate the effect of African American ethnicity. By holding variables constant that are known to influence TANF receipt, we may determine whether ethnicity plays a role, and if so, whether it positively or negatively influences welfare receipt, and to what magnitude. While this is helpful in identifying the effect of ethnicity, a logistic regression cannot account for all variables known to influence whether or not one receives TANF. Socio-economic and cultural factors that are correlated with TANF receipt, such as incarceration rates, employment barriers, caseworker mistreatment of clients, and intergenerational welfare use, can be difficult to measure and quantify in a logistic regression analysis. These variables must also be weighed and considered in their relationship to TANF; therefore, a qualitative analysis is also necessary to examine the effects these other factors on TANF use among African Americans. The following section provides a breakdown of the methodology used for both the quantitative and qualitative analyses in this thesis.

Quantitative Analysis

In the previous chapter, I provided a review of the existing literature and studies that have worked to determine which specific explanatory variables influence whether or not one is receiving CalWORKs. This review provided the foundational basis and direction necessary to develop the model that I used within this thesis. Within this section, I will describe the form of my model, explaining my choice of dependent variable and making note of the causes and factors that are expected to produce variation in my dependent variable. After outlining the independent

variables that I used in my regression that I believe best represent the broader causes, I will then discuss the anticipated direction of effect for each of these variables, as well as the source of my data and the specification of my regression.

Data and Model

The secondary data set used for the regression in this thesis was borrowed from the 2011-2012 California Health Interview (CHI) Survey. Conducted by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, the purpose of the survey is to provide a comprehensive and representative picture of the health of Californians throughout the state. Administered on an on-going basis (via random-dial telephone surveys), the results are calculated and reported annually. Researchers obtained data for 42,935 adult participants in this survey, and weights were applied to the data to correct for both over- and under-coverage of various populations. Though the original intent of this survey is to report on the health of Californians, it also provides numerous data that are related to TANF use. Of the 42,935 Californians surveyed, interviewers asked all eligible adult survey participants (23,056 participants) whether or not they were currently receiving CalWORKs. (The survey participant was considered eligible if his or her total annual household income was equal to or less than 300% of the federal poverty level.) 778 of the 23,056 eligible participants responded that they were receiving CalWORKs. As American Indian and Alaska Natives were oversampled in this survey, I applied the same weights used in the original CHIS to my own data set, to adjust for these issues.

I believe that this data is representative of the California population as a whole, as the CHIS is an annual survey that randomly selects its survey participants from throughout the state of California. By determining the number of eligible participants who are receiving CalWORKs and identifying the variables that influence their receipt, this will help to inform policymakers striving to decrease the need for this welfare program, as it will highlight those populations that are at

greater risk of receiving CalWORKs. The unit of analysis in this study is individuals living in California who are eligible for the CalWORKs program, with 23,056 eligible survey participants included in my regression- 778 of which answered that they were receiving CalWORKs.

As the focus of this paper is to analyze the effect of African American ethnicity on the receipt of CalWORKs, I used the dichotomous variable of receipt of CalWORKs (yes or no) as the dependent variable in my study. In a specific question within the CHIS, researchers ask eligible respondents whether or not they are receiving CalWORKs. How respondents answered this question is used as the dependent variable in my regression analysis. The independent variables that are expected to cause variation in my dependent variable are grouped under three broad causes: demographics, family situation, and place of residence. The relationship between the dependent variable and these three broad causes can be depicted in the following mathematical form: **Currently receiving CalWORKs= f(Demographics, Family Status, Place of Residence)**. Each of these broader causes is represented by a set of specific variables, which together work to measure the cause.

Demographics= f(race (+/-), citizenship status (+), general health condition (+), age (-), female gender (+), education level (-), home ownership (-))

Personal demographics have received much attention in previous studies. Research has identified that after controlling for other factors, a person's race/ethnicity has exhibited both positive and negative correlations with whether someone is receiving TANF. Specifically, African American or American Indian individuals of ethnicity have been found to be significantly more likely to receive TANF. To isolate the effect of different races on CalWORKs participation, I will be using dummy variables to represent a survey respondents reported race/ethnicity based upon the choices *Hispanic, American Indian, African American, Asian, Pacific Islander* and *Other Races* (using data provided by the 2011-2012 CHIS). The dummy variable that represents

White race is not included, so that it may serve as the reference to which the other variables are compared. Citizenship status also impacts welfare receipt, as studies have found that those who are U.S. born are more likely than naturalized or undocumented citizens to be receiving CalWORKs. Again, I use a dummy variable for citizenship status, which indicates whether the survey participant is *U.S. born*. Studies also show that one's health condition can influence welfare receipt- specifically, if they are in poor health. Research has revealed that individuals in poor health are more likely to be receiving CalWORKs than those who are in good health. For my regression, I will be using a dummy variable that captures whether or not the individual answered if he/she is suffers from general *Poor Health* in the CHIS. Age and gender are also each associated with whether one is receiving CalWORKs. As studies have shown that females are significantly more likely to receive CalWORKs, I anticipate that my regression will produce similar findings (using a dummy variable that determines whether the individual is *Female*). In regards to age, I expect the results from my regression to show that younger individuals are more likely to be receiving CalWORKs; however, as they age (and likely grow in their skill sets, experience and knowledge) they are less likely to receive CalWORKs. *Age* is represented in my data set as a continuous variable. While one's education level has also been found to play a role, many studies have only gone so far as to examine whether the recipient possesses his/her high school diploma. I would like to identify whether having a college education, and the type of college degree, significantly impacts whether one is receiving CalWORKs; I expect to find that the higher the level of educational attainment, the less likely the individual will be to receive CalWORKs. I will be using several proxies to indicate the highest level of educational attainment, each captured using dummy variables: *Grades 1 to 8*, *Grades 9 to 11*, *High School Degree*, *Associate's Degree*, *Bachelor's Degree*, *Master's Degree* and *PHD*. (Within Bachelor's Degree, I group those who have completed a Bachelor's Degree with those who have completed some

graduate school, but did not receive a Master's Degree or PHD). The dummy variable *No Formal Education* will not be included in this regression, as I will be using it as a comparison. Research also finds that one's wealth can play a role in determining whether he/she will receive CalWORKs, as those with greater assets often have greater fiscal stability and are less likely to receive CalWORKs. To proxy for wealth, I will be using the dummy variable of *Home Ownership*, to measure for whether the participant owns his/her home.

Family Situation= f(marital status (-), household size (+))

One's family status also plays a significant role in determining whether one is receiving CalWORKs. According to the literature, the marital status of the parents, and whether the parents were cohabitating, had a strong impact; in homes where both parents were present, the family was less likely to be receiving CalWORKs. This is captured using the dummy variables *Married with Kids*, and *Single with Kids*. (Within the CHIS, the researchers marked all parents who were cohabitating as *Married with Kids*, even if the parents were not actually married.) It was also identified that families with a greater number of children are more likely to be receiving CalWORKs. While this data was not available in the CHIS, I was able to use data that captured the *Household Size*. Though this might capture households in which other family members or friends are living with the individual (and not necessarily a greater number of children), I believe that this is still a strong proxy, as the results may indicate that greater household sizes in general mean fewer resources and greater economic strain for the individual. I will also be incorporating and examining this data in my regression, measured as a continuous variable.

Place of Residence= f(geography (urban vs. suburban vs. rural)(+/-), helpful neighbors (-))

The type of community in which one lives has also been found to have an impact on CalWORKs receipt. While a variety of conditions were identified in the literature, my specific data source was somewhat limited in that the interview asked about a limited number of

community conditions. For my thesis, I used data that asked about whether the participant agreed that he/she lived in an area with *Helpful Neighbors* (I converted this into a dummy variable) and the data that identified whether the participant lived in an *Urban, Second City, Suburban* or *Rural Environment* (also converted into dummy variables). I will not include *Rural Environment* in my regression, as this will serve as the comparison variable. The literature revealed that those who live in urban areas are more likely than those in suburban areas to receive TANF; other reports also indicated that in areas where the participant had access to “social capital” (strong supportive networks), the participant was less likely to receive CalWORKs. I expect to find similar results.

Descriptive Statistics

In the previous section, I described the source of my secondary data set, the three broad causes under which I have grouped my independent variables, I provided justification for my selection of these variables based on the academic literature, and predicted the direction of the effect for each. In this section, I will provide the descriptive statistics and correlations for the data that I use to measure the different influences of CalWORKs receipt.

In Table 1, I provide descriptions for each of the variables used and indicate the source of each data, all of which were derived from the 2011-2012 CHIS for adults. As was previously mentioned, researchers obtained data for 42,935 participants in this survey, and weights are applied to the data to correct for both over- and under-coverage of various populations. In Table 2, the descriptive statistics, including the mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values, are provided for all variables used within this regression. As is evident from this table, a small percentage of the participants responded that they receive CalWORKs (about 3%, or 778 participants). The particular survey question that captures this information was only asked of those participants whose total annual household income was equal to or less than 300% of the Federal Poverty Level (making the participant eligible for the CalWORKs program) or if the

Table 1: Description of Regression Variables

Dependent Variable	Description
CalWORKs Receipt	Dummy variable for whether the individual receives CalWORKs
Independent Variable	
<i>Demographics</i>	
African American	Dummy variable for whether the individual is African American
Asian	Dummy variable for whether the individual is Asian or Filipino
American Indian	Dummy variable for whether the individual is American Indian
Latino	Dummy variable for whether the individual is Hispanic
Pacific Islander	Dummy variable for whether the individual is Pacific Islander
Other Race	Dummy variable for whether the individual is one or more Other Races
US Born Citizen	Dummy variable for whether the individual is a US Born Citizen
Poor Health	Dummy variable for whether the individual is in poor health
Age	Continuous variable that identifies the individual's age
Female Gender	Dummy variable for whether the individual is female
Grades 1 to 8	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is between grades 1 to 8
Grades 9 to 11	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is between grades 9 to 11
High School Diploma	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is a high school diploma
Associate's Degree	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is an Associate's Degree
Bachelor's Degree	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is a Bachelor's Degree
Master's Degree	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is a Master's Degree
PHD	Dummy variable for whether the individual's highest level of educational attainment is a PHD
Home Ownership	Dummy variable that identifies whether the individual owns his or her home

* Source of all data: 2011-2012 California Health Interview Survey for Adults

Table 1: Description of Regression Variables, Cont'd

Independent Variable	
<i>Family Status</i>	
Married with Kids	Dummy variable for whether the individual is married with kids
Single with Kids	Dummy variable for whether the individual is single with kids
Household Size	Continuous variable that identifies the size of the individual's household
<i>Place of Residence</i>	
Urban	Dummy variable for whether the individual resides in an urban area
Second City	Dummy variable for whether the individual resides in a second city area
Suburban	Dummy variable for whether the individual resides in an suburban area
Helpful Neighbors	Dummy variable for whether the individual feels he/she has helpful neighbors

* Source of all data: 2011-2012 California Health Interview Survey for Adults

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
CalWORKs Receipt	0.034	0.181	0	1
Independent Variable				
<i>Demographics</i>				
African American	0.047	0.211	0	1
Asian/Filipino	0.098	0.298	0	1
American Indian	0.011	0.104	0	1
Latino	0.221	0.415	0	1
Pacific Islander	0.001	0.038	0	1
Other Race	0.022	0.146	0	1
US Born Citizen	0.741	0.438	0	1
Poor Health	0.058	0.234	0	1
Age	55.068	17.975	18	85
Female Gender	0.584	0.493	0	1
Grades 1 to 8	0.061	0.240	0	1
Grades 9 to 11	0.050	0.218	0	1
High School Diploma	0.389	0.488	0	1
Associate's Degree	0.110	0.312	0	1
Bachelor's Degree	0.227	0.419	0	1
Master's Degree	0.112	0.316	0	1
PHD	0.043	0.202	0	1
Home Ownership	0.643	0.479	0	1
<i>Family Status</i>				
Married with Kids	0.186	0.389	0	1
Single with Kids	0.053	0.224	0	1
Household Size	2.601	1.559	1	10
<i>Place of Residence</i>				
Urban	0.394	0.489	0	1
Second City	0.256	0.437	0	1
Suburban	0.168	0.374	0	1
Helpful Neighbors	0.848	0.359	0	1

household's poverty level was not known. This limited my sample size from 42,935 participants to 23,056.

Appendix B provides the simple correlation coefficients between all of my explanatory variables. As evident in this Appendix, my dependent variable of CalWORKs receipt has a statistically significant correlation with nearly every independent variable (excluding the variables of Poor Health, High School Diploma, Associate's Degree and Second City residency). While the magnitudes and directions of relationship vary, it is worth noting that the variable Single with Kids has a positive relationship with CalWORKs receipt (magnitude .25), as does household size (magnitude.13). The magnitude of correlation is also greater between Age and receipt of CalWORKs and Home Ownership and receipt of CalWORKs, but in the opposite direction (magnitude of -.14 and -.13, respectively). However, these are simply preliminary findings. To better understand the relationship between my dependent variable and explanatory variables, I will conduct the logistic regression in the following section.

Specification of Regression Model

As my dependent variable is dichotomous, I chose to use a logistic regression in order to study the effect of African American ethnicity on CalWORKs receipt. While I might have used an Ordinary Least Squares regression (which fits a line that minimizes the squared residuals between the predicted responses and the observed data) to conduct my analysis, I elected to use the logistic regression for several reasons.

The LIN-LIN and Quadratic regressions (the two forms of OLS regressions that were applicable to my analysis) represent the linear probability model, which differs from the logit model (represented by the logistic regression). In a linear probability model, the slope coefficient measures the marginal effect of a one-unit change in the explanatory variable on the probability of moving from 0 to 1. However, in the logit model, the slope coefficient shows how the log of

the odds in favor of moving from 0 to 1 changes, as the value of the explanatory variable changes by one unit. OLS regressions force a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variables (using a straight line to measure the best fit between squared residuals), and assume that the probability value moves in a linear motion with the explanatory variable as it increases or decreases in value. Another issue is that, as I am using a dichotomous variable in my regression, the probability value of receiving CalWORKs must lie between 0 and 1; however, the OLS does not consider these boundaries. In contrast, the logistic regression allows for a nonlinear relationship (using more of an “S” curve to measure the best fit between squared residuals), which better predicts the variation among variables, and also incorporates the 0 and 1 boundaries.

Qualitative Analysis

While a quantitative analysis is useful in that I am able to control for other variables and isolate the effect and magnitude of specific factors on TANF receipt, a quantitative analysis on its own cannot fully explain high rates of welfare receipt among African Americans. Quite literally, a quantitative analysis quantifies and measures data. However, in order to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons, behaviors and motivations that lead to higher TANF receipt among African Americans, a qualitative analysis is necessary. Such an analysis can help to provide greater insight and a more theoretical understanding of TANF use among this minority.

In order to evaluate the relevancy of the qualitative variables, which include barriers to employment, incarceration, caseworker treatment of African American clientele and intergenerational welfare use, I conducted interviews with five experts in their respective fields. Permission to interview human subjects was granted by the California State University of Sacramento Institutional Review Board. My interview questions were based on the findings from the literature review, and numbered five in total. In addition to measuring relevancy, the questions aimed to determine if any other qualitative variables should be considered, whether

TANF policies adversely impact African American receipt, and what policy recommendations do experts suggest to address disproportional use of TANF among African Americans. In the following sections, I discuss the development process for these interviews.

Interview Participants

In order to determine the relevancy of the qualitative variables that I identified through an extended literature review, I felt it would be most appropriate to provide my findings to academics in the field, and to solicit their feedback and commentary. I chose to interview academics that have produced papers on the topic of TANF, poverty, incarceration, and employment barriers. While the identity of the academics will remain confidential in this thesis, they range both from across the country, and in their field of study and expertise. Several are sociology professors- one of whom has studied employment barriers and their relationship to welfare use, one whose focus is race, class and gender inequalities, and another who also specializes in criminology and has extensively studied the effect of incarceration rates on poverty in the United States. Another is a professor of public policy and administration, who has produced several papers on social equity and social welfare policy. One is a professor of demography, whose research focus is inequality and poverty. A social work professor with similar research interests participated in an interview, who studies the impact of inequality poverty on child and family health and well-being. All of these academics have been widely cited in the literature, and are regarded as experts in the field. I chose to interview academics instead of CalWORKs case managers or department heads in order to avoid the personal bias that could be problematic among case managers. In addition, academics can offer broader perspective and responses, which are founded in research rather than anecdotal evidence.

Structure of Questions

My interview questions aimed to better understand the extent to which my qualitative variables influence TANF receipt among African Americans. Additionally, I hoped to address the gap in the literature regarding whether intergenerational welfare use results from structural poverty, or the transmission of culture and attitudes towards welfare use. I have listed my interview questions in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Interview Questions

1. Please indicate whether you think each of the following four qualitative variables is a **major, moderate, minor or insignificant factor** in causing TANF receipt among African Americans.

Qualitative Variable

Caseworker treatment of African American welfare recipients	_____
Barriers to employment	_____
Incarceration	_____
Intergenerational welfare/welfare culture	_____

Please explain your choice of the assigned values.

2. Do you feel that any socio-economic or cultural variables are not included here, which should be considered?
3. Some researchers disagree about the causes of intergenerational welfare use. While some believe it is the result of a transmission of values towards ethnic and welfare use, others believe structural poverty perpetuates welfare use. What is your professional opinion?
4. Are there any TANF policies, regulations or rules that disproportionately impact African Americans? To your knowledge, does California TANF policy vary from other states in a way that influences disproportional TANF use among African Americans?
5. Do you think that any policies should be implemented to address African Americans' disproportional use of TANF?

The first question aims to understand the extent to which the interviewee feels that each variable influence TANF receipt, and why he/she perceives it as being a major/minor factor. The purpose of the second question is to capture any other qualitative variables that I did not identify or consider, and is open-ended to encourage creative responses. In my third question, I asked for the interviewee's professional opinion regarding the cause of intergenerational welfare use, as this is a debated topic in the literature. I solicited the interviewee's opinion, rather than asking him/her to simply choose one or the other, so that it leaves it open for additional feedback and thought. As TANF policies vary state-to-state and I am interviewing academics across the country, the fourth question aims to understand whether the interviewee feels that there are any specific policies that disproportionally impact African American TANF use. As the focus of this thesis is California TANF policy, I furthered this by asking whether the academic feels that CalWORKs policy affects African American receipt. The final question is open-ended, again to allow for creative responses that would not limit the interviewee. The responses to this question helped to inform the ultimate policy recommendations that are suggested in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Interview Method

To interview the participants, I elected to use both methods of telephone interviews and self-administered electronic surveys. I established initial contact by sending an email to all of the academics I had pre-selected to participate, explaining the purpose of my research and soliciting their participation in the interview (please refer to Attachment C). Within the body of the email, I indicated that while a telephone interview would be preferable, an emailed response to the interview questions would be appreciated as well in the circumstance that the academic's time was limited. Both methods have considerable benefits and limitations.

While face-to-face interviews would have been the optimal method of interviewing, both for the high response rates and greater depth that they yield, the academics reside in states across the country (Singleton & Straits, 2010). Both time and monetary constrictions eliminated face-to-face interviews as a possibility. Accordingly, I conducted the interviews by telephone and email. Both of these methods offer great savings in time and money, in comparison to face-to-face interviews (Singleton & Straits, 2010). However, in comparison to emailed interviews, telephone interviews provide the opportunity for immediate probing and clarifying questions, and therefore potentially more in-depth answers (Singleton & Straits, 2010). While I was able to send follow-up questions to interviewees who participated via email, it was more difficult to immediately address clarifying concerns. With the emailed and self-administered interviews, more questions are potentially left unanswered. Another disadvantage to both telephone and electronic interviews is that it is more difficult to establish trust with the interviewees, which is an advantage with face-to-face interviews that encourages more reliable and honest responses (Singleton & Straits, 2010).

Once I had confirmed the academic's participation in the interview, I emailed him/her the consent form (please see Attachment D). The responses from these interviews were collected and analyzed to determine commonalities or themes. The answers are reported in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results from both my quantitative and qualitative analyses. I begin by presenting the findings from my logistic regression, making note of whether they align with my earlier predictions, and discussing the magnitude of statistically significant results. While the logistic regression indicates that African American strongly increases the likelihood of CalWORKs receipt (by 143%), I further explore the reasons for TANF receipt among African Americans through a discussion of the findings from my qualitative analysis. I report the results from my interviews with academics, and structure them according to identified themes.

Quantitative Analysis: Results

Within this section, I will provide the results from my logistic regression, discuss significant findings, and examine how those findings compare to my earlier predictions. As my dependent variable is dichotomous, I conducted a logistic regression to examine and analyze determinants of CalWORKs receipt, the results of which are depicted in Table 4. In my initial logistic regression, I incorporated the squared continuous variables for *Age* and *Household Size*. However, when the results indicated that these were not statistically significant, I dropped them and re-ran the regression (these are the results displayed in Table 4).

After running my final logistic regression, I then determined which of the variables had statistically significant Odds-Ratios, and reported them in Table 5. This table lists the explanatory variables in order from largest positive influence to largest negative influence. To interpret the results from a logistic regression, I took the reported odds ratio for each value, subtracted one (1) from that number, and multiplied the remaining difference by 100%. The final percentage determines the magnitude of effect that the independent variable has on CalWORKs receipt. If the sign is positive it indicates the percentage by which the variable increases likelihood of

Table 4: Results from Logistic Regression

Dependent Variable:	Logistic	
	CalWORKs Receipt	
Independent Variable	Odds Ratio	Robust S.E.
<i>Demographics</i>		
African American	2.428***	0.344
Asian	1.251	0.243
American Indian	2.938***	0.707
Latino	1.232*	0.156
Pacific Islander	3.007**	1.609
Other Race	1.247	0.302
US Born Citizen	1.629***	0.197
Poor Health	1.761***	0.243
Age	0.980***	0.003
Female Gender	1.415***	0.127
Grades 1 to 8	0.498***	0.132
Grades 9 to 11	0.603*	0.160
High School Diploma	0.418***	0.110
Associate's Degree	0.336***	0.095
Bachelor's Degree	0.208***	0.062
Master's Degree	0.150***	0.066
PHD	0.137**	0.107
Home Ownership	0.322***	0.036
<i>Family Status</i>		
Married with Kids	3.174***	0.355
Single with Kids	8.904***	0.904
Household Size	1.096***	0.028
<i>Place of Residence</i>		
Urban	1.080	0.129
Second City	0.951	0.121
Suburban	1.076	0.168
Helpful Neighbors	.696***	0.059
Number of Significant Results	20	

Notes:

(1) Sample size is 23,056

(2) * Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

** Indicates statistically significant with 95% confidence

*** Indicates statistically significant with 99% confidence

Table 5: Results from Logistic Regression, Listed by Magnitude

Variable	Logistic Regression				
	Odds Ratio	Robust S.E.	Significance	90% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Single with Kids	8.904***	0.904	0.000	7.535	10.522
Married with Kids	3.174***	0.355	0.000	2.640	3.816
Pacific Islander	3.007**	1.609	0.040	1.247	7.251
American Indian	2.938***	0.707	0.000	1.978	4.365
African American	2.428***	0.344	0.000	1.923	3.066
Poor Health	1.761***	0.243	0.000	1.403	2.209
US Born Citizen	1.629***	0.197	0.000	1.336	1.988
Female Gender	1.415***	0.127	0.000	1.220	1.641
Latino	1.232*	0.156	0.099	1.001	1.518
Household Size	1.096***	0.028	0.000	1.051	1.144
Age	0.980***	0.003	0.000	0.975	0.985
Helpful Neighbors	0.696***	0.059	0.000	0.606	0.800
Grades 9 to 11	0.603*	0.160	0.056	0.390	0.932
Grades 1 to 8	0.498***	0.132	0.008	0.322	0.770
High School Diploma	0.418***	0.110	0.001	0.272	0.644
Associate's Degree	0.336***	0.095	0.000	0.210	0.536
Home Ownership	0.322***	0.036	0.000	0.267	0.388
Bachelor's Degree	0.208***	0.062	0.000	0.125	0.339
Master's Degree	0.150***	0.066	0.000	0.072	0.311
PHD	0.137**	0.107	0.011	0.038	0.495

Number of Significant Results	16
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Notes:

(1) Sample size is 23,056

(2) * Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

** Indicates statistically significant with 95% confidence

*** Indicates statistically significant with 99% confidence

CalWORKs receipt, and if negative, it indicates the percentage by which the variable decreases likelihood.

Per Table 5, most of the effects of the independent variables are consistent with my prior predictions about the direction of effects. As many studies have determined that being African American, of female gender or of poor health increase the likelihood that one will receive CalWORKs, I predicted that these variables would have a positive effect on CalWORKs receipt. The results from my regression support these findings. In addition, I also accurately predicted that being single with kids would increase CalWORKs receipt, as would being from a larger household size and being a US born citizen. The results also support my expectation that those with higher levels of educational attainment (Bachelor's Degree, Master's Degree and PhD) would be less likely to receive CalWORKs. I also accurately predicted that age has a negative impact on CalWORKs receipt, as does living in an area with helpful neighbors (indicative of the presence of support networks), and owning a home (indicative of wealth). I did not make a prediction about the effect of American Indian ethnicity or Pacific Islander ethnicity. However it is interesting to note that both of these identities have a positive relationship with CalWORKs receipt.

Turning now to the magnitude of different effects, I found that the variables that have the largest influence are being single with kids or being married with kids, which result in a 790% and 217% greater likelihood (respectively) that the participant is receiving CalWORKs. While these probabilities are high, this is simply a result of the institutional requirements of TANF which dictate that the adult recipient must have dependent children. Therefore, the only two options are to be single with kids, or married with kids. The next greatest positive influences of CalWORKs receipt were being of Pacific Islander, American Indian and African American ethnicity (increased probability by 200%, 194%, and 143%, respectively). While Pacific Islander

and American Indian ethnicities both have a strong positive influence on CalWORKs receipt, it is important to warn that these populations were oversampled in the CHI survey, and represent very small percentages of the overall population of those surveyed (Pacific Islanders are less than 1%, and American Indians are just slightly over 1%). Therefore, these numbers should be considered with extreme caution. While at not quite the same magnitude, other variables that still had a strong positive effect on welfare participation were suffering from poor health (increased probability by 76%), being a US born citizen (63% more likely), being of female gender (42% more likely), and being of Latino ethnicity (23% more likely). While found to be a positive factor, the magnitude of the effect of a one unit change in household size only increased odds of receiving welfare by 10%. Similarly, age had a small negative effect on CalWORKs receipt, as a one-unit change in age decreased the likelihood of such receipt by approximately 2%. In contrast, participants who reported they felt that they had helpful neighbors were 30% less likely to receive CalWORKs. Higher levels of education resulted in decreased probability of CalWORKs receipt. Having an educational level between Grades 9 to 11 or Grades 1 to 8 decreased likelihood by 40% and 50%, and those who possessed a High School Diploma or Associate's Degree were 58% and 76% less likely to receive CalWORKs, with lack of formal education as the reference category. While Home Ownership decreased likelihood of CalWORKs by 68%, variables that had the greatest negative magnitude were having Bachelor's Degree, Master's Degree or PhD, which decreased likelihood by 79%, 85% and 86%, respectively.

Interaction Terms

In addition to the explanatory variables that I have explained and included thus far in my regression, I also examined a variety of interaction terms. As I wanted to better understand whether race influences CalWORKs receipt, I used logistic regression to interact variables that were found to have a significantly positive impact on CalWORKs receipt with the dummy

variable that represented African American ethnicity. As being of *African American* ethnicity increases the likelihood of CalWORKs receipt by 143%, I first attempted to interact this variable with numerous education dummy variables, but found no interaction terms that were statistically significant. Next, I interacted the *Female* variable (which increases the probability of receiving CalWORKs by 42%) with different education dummy variables, but again produced no statistically significant findings. Despite other attempts at interaction variables, I did not identify any interaction terms that held statistical significance.

Hit Ratios

In order to understand how accurately my regression predicted when someone is or is not receiving CalWORKs, I ran a Count R-Squared calculation of my values. According to results from this analysis, of the 778 observations of participants who are receiving CalWORKs, my logistic regression accurately predicts approximately 51.9% of the time that the participant is receiving CalWORKs. While this percentage is somewhat low, of the 22,278 observations of participants who are not receiving CalWORKs, my logistic regression accurately predicted 93% of these participants were not receiving CalWORKs. It is likely that any lack of accuracy is due to omitted variable bias. However, it is difficult to correct for this, as I am limited by the variables that are available in the CHI Survey.

In evaluating the results of my logistic regression, I do find evidence here to suggest that, after controlling for other variables, being of African American ethnicity does significantly increase the likelihood that one will receive CalWORKs. However, a quantitative analysis does not control for all variables known to influence CalWORKs receipt, nor does it explain why the African American variable is so strong. A qualitative analysis furthers this finding, as it may reveal hints as to why this is so.

Qualitative Analysis: Results

As previously mentioned, I interviewed five prominent academics from a variety of fields, including sociology, social work, demography, public policy and administration and criminology. I chose academics that have written seminal papers either on the topic of racial inequalities and/or determinants of TANF receipt. Given their expertise, I felt that their feedback would offer valuable insight into understanding the qualitative variables that might be influencing greater risk of TANF receipt by African Americans. In examining their responses, it is clear that there are areas of both agreement and discord among academics over causes of TANF participation. The following is a discussion of the results from my interviews with academics. First, I report on how academics rated the significance of the variables that I identified, including caseworker treatment of African Americans, employment barriers, incarceration and generational welfare use. I also address whether academics feel that generational results from the transmission of values and culture, or from structural poverty. I then discuss other variables that academics suggest are important, and examine whether academics feel there any TANF policies, regulations or rules that disproportionately impact African Americans. I consider academics' policy recommendations to address African Americans' high risk of TANF use in Chapter Five.

Ratings

After conducting the extensive literature review in Chapter Two of my thesis, I identified four key causal factors that qualitative research links to greater poverty and risk of TANF participation among African Americans. The first of these is caseworker treatment of African Americans, as the high amount of discretion allotted to caseworkers creates opportunity for personal prejudices to shape and influence treatment of recipients. Intuitively, this factor could influence TANF receipt among this population in either direction. On the one hand, poor treatment could potentially discourage use and move African Americans off of aid. Prejudiced caseworkers might

be more likely to defer African Americans from using TANF, or African Americans might voluntarily leave or avoid aid due to discrimination that they experience. On the other hand, it could possibly perpetuate TANF use, as studies find that prejudiced caseworkers offer less support, encouragement and/or opportunities to African Americans in comparison to white clientele (Holzer & Stoll, 2000). African Americans therefore have greater difficulty in improving their economic situation, and subsequently remain longer on aid (Gooden, 1998). Research also finds that, in comparison to whites, African Americans experience greater barriers to employment in areas such as accessibility, wage discrimination and workplace discrimination. Because these issues decrease the likelihood that African Americans will secure employment, this adversely impacts poverty among African Americans, thus increasing the likelihood of CalWORKs receipt (Coleman, 2003, Monnat, 2010 & Ortiz & Roscigno, 2009). Analysts also find that incarceration increases TANF use among African Americans. Due to structural racism within the criminal justice system, African Americans are incarcerated at exponentially higher rates than whites (nine times greater likelihood for men, and eight times greater likelihood for women) (Mechoulam, 2011 & Alfred & Chlup, 2009). Incarceration has negative economic consequences both for the individual's earnings and employment post-incarceration, and for the family, which incurs legal bills and other increased costs (Defina & Hannon, 2013). Because incarceration increases the chances that African Americans will suffer from poverty, this also increases the likelihood that the minority will participate in TANF. Lastly, the literature indicates that generational welfare increases the risk of welfare receipt among African Americans. Studies find that when the parent in a household received welfare, it increased the probability that the daughter would participate in welfare by 50% for whites, and over 100% for African Americans (Gottschalk, 1992). However, there is contention regarding whether this results from structural poverty and lack of opportunity,

or from a transmission of values, culture and work ethic. I posed this question to the academics in my own interviews, in the hopes of discerning the cause of generational welfare use.

I presented all of these qualitative factors to the academics, and asked them to indicate whether they felt that each factor was a major, moderate, minor or insignificant factor in influencing TANF receipt by African Americans.

Caseworker Treatment of African Americans

As aforementioned, caseworker treatment of African Americans could influence TANF receipt among this population in either direction. Responses among academics reflected both viewpoints. Two academics felt that if caseworker treatment were to have an impact on TANF receipt of African Americans, it would be insignificant to minor, and it would actually have an adverse effect. As one academic explained, many states and counties have incentives to defer enrollment, and instead direct recipients to participate in Food Stamps or offer other non-assistance programs. Non-assistance programs, which may include services such as transportation, childcare, work subsidies or employment services, are still funded through TANF monies but allow counties not to count these recipients towards their TANF caseload numbers (Loprest, 2012). While both of these academics expressed that deferrals are applied generally to all potential TANF recipients and the policy does not necessarily target African Americans, one academic felt that it might still have a unique effect for this minority. As a result of the discretionary power bestowed to caseworkers, general discrimination could come into play when determining client eligibility and appropriate services for the client, ultimately decreasing TANF enrollment by African Americans.

In contrast, several felt that it was a major determinant, explaining that this is in large part due to the amount of discretion that is granted to caseworkers in policy implementation. One academic noted that this discretion is necessary as policies and agency goals can be ambiguous,

and welfare cases should be handled on a case-by-case basis to ensure that clients are given support and treatment tailored to their needs. However, the academic pointed out that this often leads to both disconnect between the original goals of government policy and actual policy in practice, and inequalities in application of rules and supportive services. The academic used the example of the use of sanctions to highlight the uneven implementation of policies. If a client has a violation that qualifies for sanction, different caseworkers with different rules of thought will undoubtedly have different approaches to handling that situation. While a strict caseworker might enact a sanction immediately upon the client's violation, a more forgiving caseworker might choose to discuss it with the client before considering action; another still might elect to use a "three strikes and you're out" policy with the client. Racial prejudice might make a typical caseworker more likely to apply sanctions to African Americans. Some clients never return to TANF after being sanctioned. However, of those who correct the violation(s) that led to the initial sanction and return to TANF, many are more economically disadvantaged due to the lapse in time when they did not receive aid. In this way, sanctions can create greater need and perpetuate the longevity of use. The academic pointed out that the caseworker's interpretation of meaningful education and training is also problematic. When caseworkers allow education and training as welfare-to-work activity, some may guide clients towards high level skill building (such as computer skills), while others may direct clients to pick up general skills training which does not translate into marketable skills. Both she and another academic emphasized that studies have shown that there is racial difference for African American clients in comparison to whites. While biases and preferential treatment towards white clients often leads to greater support and opportunities for that population, African Americans, in comparison, receive less support, guidance and opportunity to pursue vocational education and training programs. Ultimately, this perpetuates receipt, as it leads to longer use and need for TANF.

Employment Barriers

All five academics felt that barriers to employment play a major role in perpetuating TANF receipt among African Americans. Several academics cited a variety of obstacles, such as proximity to jobs, access to childcare, and access to transportation. While these challenges would be significant for recipients of any ethnicity or race, four of the academics pointed to labor market discrimination as a key barrier for African Americans. One academic expressed that this is partly due to racial stereotypes, which construct the African American identity as being loud, obnoxious, and possessing poor work ethic. Gilens (1999) supports this claim, who in his own work notes how this negative stereotyping evolved during times of slavery as a means of justifying oppression and devaluing the African American role in society.

Two academics referenced studies that found that labor market discrimination has negative outcomes for African Americans. In one such study, researchers Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) sent out 5,000 resumes to potential employers in Boston and Chicago, and recorded which ones received callbacks. The results indicated that those with stereotypical “white-sounding names” were 50% more likely to receive a call back than those with stereotypical “African American names”, despite there being no difference in experience and education. One academic elaborated on this, explaining that if discrimination in the labor market did not exist, than we should find greater heterogeneity in racial compositions among positions that call for higher levels of education. However, the academic explained that this is not the case, as the majority of those in higher paying positions that require advanced degrees are of white, European-American descent.

Incarceration

Academics were again divided on the magnitude of the effect of incarceration on TANF participation among African Americans. Only one academic felt that it was a major factor in

increasing TANF receipt. He explained that, as minorities face greater likelihood of incarceration due to a criminal justice system which unfairly targets people of color, this often removes the “breadwinner” from the home, reducing income for the family unit and thus increasing the likelihood of both poverty and welfare receipt. Other academics felt it was a moderate determinant. One academic pointed out that the possession of a criminal record could potentially discourage employers from hiring those clients with a criminal background, or could delay promotions for those who are already employed but in entry-level, low-paying positions. Another explained that although incarceration rates have historically been higher for African American men, incarceration rates among women, regardless of race, have increased dramatically over the last day, thus exacerbating poverty within their families.

One academic felt that although it plays a moderate role, incarceration actually decreases the likelihood of TANF receipt. In states with eligibility requirements that would disqualify a potential recipient based on prior drug convictions, many African Americans would likely be prohibited from the TANF program. As African Americans are charged and convicted for drug-related crimes at a higher rate than any other minority, he explained that this would thus decrease TANF use.

Generational Welfare Use

Though all academics felt that generational welfare use is a moderate-to-major factor in determining TANF receipt among African Americans, there were differences in opinion regarding whether generational welfare use is perpetuated by culture and values or by structural poverty. Several felt the two were inter-related. As explained by one academic, there is a dichotomy between individual behavior and structural poverty, but generational welfare use really results from the interaction between the two, and as such, their individual impacts cannot be segregated. A response from another academic supported this claim, as he purported that the adult

recipient's cultural views, beliefs and attitudes towards welfare receipt are passed on to and shape the child's own views and behavior. In effect, these cultural views "trigger" generational welfare use; however, structural poverty helps to fuel and maintain the cycle. He asserted that when faced with extreme poverty and lack of opportunity, the participant is not granted with the chance or means to change behavior. In this way, the two are heavily integrated.

Three academics felt that generational welfare use results either heavily or mainly from structural poverty. While one academic acknowledged that individual behaviors play a role, she explained that individual factors- such as work ethic and intrinsic values and motivation- are influenced significantly in a structural manner. She approximated that 95% of individual factors come down to structural dimensions, as structural, systematic barriers largely impact behaviors. For example, behaviors that are typically exhibited at a young age are heavily influenced by early education, pre-natal care, and parental care, all of which are structural factors. Lack of opportunity or exposure to these elements influences behaviors, perceptions and values.

Another academic cited the Harlem Children's Zone Project as evidence that generational welfare results from structural poverty, and not beliefs or values. In this project, a non-profit group raised millions of dollars in donations to invest into the poverty-stricken neighborhoods of Harlem, in an effort to break the cycle of generational welfare and poverty. The group transformed a 96-block through the implementation of after school programs, child-oriented healthcare programs, youth violence prevention efforts and early childhood education programs. There was so much demand for these services that the group eventually had to rely on a lottery system, by means of which eligible participants would be selected to receive services. Following the theory that generational welfare results from transmission of values, the academic explained that the demand would not have been so overwhelming. The third academic used similar logic in his justification that structural poverty perpetuates generational welfare use. He pointed to the

economic boom of the 1990s, during resulted in greater affluence and availability of jobs.

Subsequently, the amount of concentrated poverty fell dramatically. The academic noted that if welfare use is perpetuated by culture and values, than this dramatic reduction in poverty would not have occurred.

Other Variables Not Considered

In addition to a discussion of the above factors, I asked academics to identify other variables that they felt significantly influence TANF receipt among African Americans. The following is a review of those variables, which were not controlled for in my quantitative regression or identified as a key qualitative variable in my previous literature review.

Community Conditions

Two academics stressed that community conditions, such as the existence of support networks and the degree of racial and class segregation, are also important in determining TANF receipt. (Though I controlled for the existence of support networks in my regression analysis, I did not consider and could not control for the presence of racial and class segregation in the community.) As explained by one academic, being poor in a place that lacks support networks (such as nonprofits and churches) will make it more difficult to get out of the poverty cycle, in comparison to living in a place that has many of those elements. Additionally, if a community has deep racial and class segregations, this can further promote perpetuate feelings of isolation. Ultimately, if the poor feel that they have no alternatives or resources, their only option may be to rely on the assistance offered by state welfare programs. In this way, if the community itself has undermining problems, it can play a big role in understanding why some remain longer on TANF than others.

Another academic pointed out that in communities where racism is problematic, one might actually see a drop in TANF enrollments among white populations. In such areas, there are poor

whites who qualify for TANF but don't want to participate in a program that they identify as a program for African Americans. Essentially, they don't want to be associated with a handout that goes to African Americans. While this doesn't necessarily increase the risk of TANF among African Americans, it does work to explain the disparities in some areas between high numbers of African American recipients and low numbers of white recipients.

Labor Market Conditions

Two academics suggested that the decline of labor market conditions can impact TANF use among African Americans. Both made note of the fact that the decline of dignified wages has greatly impacted this minority. Partly due to labor discrimination, African Americans have great difficulty in accessing jobs that offer higher paying salaries. As a result, they and other minorities constitute the majority of those in low paying, minimum wage jobs. Though cost-of-living expenses have risen dramatically over the last few decades, the minimum wage has not- the academics explained that this greatly contributes to the risk that these minorities will experience poverty. One academic also pointed to insecurity in the labor market, as it has moved from stable to unstable over the last two decades. Unable to depend upon long-term, secure work, African Americans have greater difficulty in accumulating wealth and assets. This, coupled with the growth of temporary and part-time positions, perpetuates the economic instability that African Americans suffer.

Returns on Education

Related to labor market discrimination, three academics pointed out that the returns on education are lower for African Americans and Hispanics, in general. Despite having the same level of education as non-Hispanic whites, studies show that African Americans in similar positions will have smaller salaries. As expenses for education and college degrees have mushroomed in the last twenty years, one academic emphasized that the growing costs coupled

with small returns discourages minorities from investing in education. Though this can affect values and attitudes towards education, the academic argued that at its core, the cost and returns of education is a structural issue that should receive greater academic attention.

Structure of TANF program

Many academics also looked to the structure of the TANF program itself, pointing out that both the level of benefits offered and the program rules themselves can influence program participation. One explained that states which offer higher levels of monthly benefits (like cash assistance) often have greater enrollment numbers. Additionally, enrollment rates can depend on whether the state couples the enrollment process for TANF with other social welfare programs (such as Medicaid) or creates two independent processes. If the processes are more complicated rather than being streamlined, this could decrease enrollment numbers. Using a basis for difference in culture as his argument, the academic asserted that in particular, African Americans, who are experienced with welfare programs, know how to work economic strategies within such programs. As such, they make rational decisions when considering the added costs or loss in benefits of enrolling in multiple programs. The academic argued that the policy environment- specifically the level of benefits and enrollment processes- influences TANF receipt among African Americans. If the program offers greater benefits with more simplistic enrollment steps, this will increase receipt among this population.

Another academic criticized that the TANF program in general does not account for labor market discrimination, which in her opinion is a major failure of the program. She explained that the program fails to acknowledge labor-market discrimination and its relationship to TANF recipients, despite findings from numerous studies and organizations that indicate labor market discrimination exists and can impact labor market outcomes. The academic expressed that there is a significant gap in TANF policy in addressing the role of labor markets and its effect on

outcomes. The program is largely based upon securing employment but only concentrates on the individual's actions, efforts and abilities, without acknowledging external factors or conditions. Currently, TANF doesn't offer any additional support, efforts, or employment programs to participants (largely African Americans) in order to counter the effects of labor market discrimination. This highlights a major empirical disconnect. The failure of TANF to address the impacts of labor market discrimination thus inadvertently perpetuates African Americans' dependency on the welfare program.

Do Policies Disproportionately Impact African Americans?

Academics were divided in regards to whether they felt that TANF policies have a disproportional impact for African Americans. For some, the answer was a clear yes. Reflecting on the discussion of the impact of caseworker treatment, one academic pointed out that structure of the TANF program itself- specifically, the discretionary powers that are allotted to caseworker- inadvertently has negative consequences for minorities. While intended to make the program flexible, the power of choice and implementation granted to caseworkers also leaves room for personal biases and prejudices, which ultimately shape outcomes for the clients.

Several academics also felt that the TANF policy that prohibits those with drug related felonies from participating in the welfare program unfairly targets minority populations. While this policy has a disproportional impact on African Americans, it actually decreases their participation in TANF. (Though federal TANF policy forbids individuals convicted of a drug-related felony from receiving either TANF or food stamps benefits, it grants the discretion to states to choose to either opt out partially or entirely from enforcing this rule.) One academic noted that because women of color constitute the majority of females with drug-related convictions, the policy targets this minority, and will have disproportional impacts across ethnicities. A study by P. Allard (2002) supports these criticisms, as P. Allard identified that in

states that uphold the ban, nearly 50% of those affected are African American or Hispanic. In five states, African American women alone represented the majority of those impacted. The academics voiced concern that this policy unfairly targets those who, because of socioeconomic inequities, already face greater risk of experiencing economic hardship and poverty. Not only does banning them from welfare use increase likelihood of extreme poverty, but it also punishes the children in those homes, who also go without. Additionally, another academic pointed out that the ban does little to discourage drug abuse.

While California has historically excluded those with such felonies since its implementation in 1997, at the time of writing this thesis, the California State Legislature enacted legislation that amended this rule. AB 1468, which is effective as of April 1, 2015, revised California Welfare and Institutions Code to provide TANF to individuals with drug-related convictions, on the condition that they are in good standing with parole and are participating in a drug rehabilitation program (as applicable). This change in policy will likely increase the percentage of African Americans participating in TANF. I will further discuss the effects of this legislation in Chapter Five.

While not directly related to TANF policy, one academic voiced concern that licensing requirements for employment (such as childcare) that prohibit drug offenses also target African Americans. The academic expressed that these rules are written in a way to subtly exclude specific minorities. The result is that these vulnerable populations are then even more susceptible to experiencing poverty, as rules make the job market inaccessible.

Other academics felt differently. One expressed the opinion that welfare policies are not inherently race biased. He asserted that TANF policies apply evenly across all ethnicities and races, and that there are no differentiating qualities for African American families which would cause policies to work differently for them. Another elaborated on the same concept. He

emphasized that while African Americans might experience the effects of policies differently than other races, this is dependent upon elements within community. Specifically, he argued that divisions across class and social lines perpetuate inequality. When groups are divided and there are few support networks or resources available to families, who then feel isolated, those families come to rely upon welfare assistance. While cultural divisions might subconsciously impact how individuals treat and support each other in a community, the academic asserted that the disproportional use of TANF among African Americans is not a result of policies that implicitly target them.

Analysis Conclusion

Having reported on the results for my logistic regressions analysis and the findings from my interviews with academics, I find evidence to support the hypothesis that there is a positively strong African American effect on TANF receipt. The interviewed academics overwhelmingly supported the idea that employment barriers and generational welfare use both perpetuate this effect, though they were divided on both the extent and direction to which caseworker treatment and incarceration play a role. Additional influencing factors were also identified in the interviews, such as community conditions, labor market discrimination and the structure of the TANF program. In the concluding chapter I will consider policy implications and recommendations that aim to address these variables and mitigate their influence. I will also discuss limitations of this study and area for further research.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSION

In order to create effective social welfare policy which both adequately addresses the needs of its recipients and reduces the risk that they will rely on aid, we must have a comprehensive understanding of the variables that influence welfare receipt. As noted in Chapter One, as African Americans compose a disproportionately high number of welfare recipients, (considering they represent only 4% of the overall population), this issue demands attention from policymakers. Contributing to a large and growing body of research, this thesis has not only identified via a regression analysis that African Americans face significantly higher odds (143%) of receiving CalWORKs, but it also has identified variables that perpetuate this minority's risk of welfare receipt. In this final chapter, I will consider the findings from my analyses, the consequential policy implications and recommendations, limitations of this study and area for further research.

Summary of Findings

In reviewing the results from my logistic regression, I find evidence to support my hypothesis that there is an African American effect on TANF receipt. Specifically, African Americans are 143% more likely to receive TANF after controlling for citizenship status, health condition, age, gender, educational level, wealth, marital status, household size, type of residency and the existence of support networks. However, the regression analysis leaves the unanswered question of why this is so. In order to gain a deeper understanding of why this African Americans face greater risk, I explored the literature on the topic and identified four key qualitative causal factors which could not be controlled for in a regression analysis.

Caseworker Treatment

As discussed in Chapter Four, academics were divided in regards to whether they felt that caseworker treatment increased the likelihood of TANF receipt of African Americans. Some felt

that caseworker mistreatment could discourage use entirely, as prejudiced caseworkers might defer enrollment among this population or unfairly determine African Americans as ineligible. Others felt that it was a significant factor in increasing the likelihood of TANF use, as caseworkers might unevenly apply regulations or rules that would work to the disadvantage of the African American client. For example, caseworkers might guide African American clients to minimum wage jobs, rather than encouraging meaningful welfare-to-work activities such as skills training or vocational education that lead to long-term self-sufficiency.

While I see the validity in both viewpoints, I find that I lean more towards the argument that caseworker treatment perpetuates TANF use, rather than decreasing it. Though poor treatment and discrimination could very likely discourage use among African Americans, I think that faced with few choices, many do not have the luxury of choosing to turn down necessary economic support. I also believe that discrimination can be very subtle, and difficult to detect. Many times, a client who is guided towards one welfare-to-work activity over another may not even know what options are available to her. As TANF rules can be quite complex and confusing, clients rely upon the caseworkers to explain the process and to guide them through the system. Caseworkers possess a great amount of discretion, and in determining the appropriate course of action with the client, may not reveal the full list of options to her. While I feel that it is definitely a significant influence, I believe further research is necessary to determine the extent to which caseworker treatment is a contributing factor.

Incarceration

Again, there was contention among the academics in regards to whether incarceration impacts TANF use among African Americans. Some felt that the negative economic impact that this would have on the families of the individual would significantly increase the likelihood that the family would receive TANF. Several academics felt that it would actually discourage TANF use,

as those with a felony drug conviction are prohibited from using the welfare program in many states, and African Americans make up the majority of those convicted of drug-related crimes. Up until 2015, California was one of the states that turned away convicted drug felons from both CalWORKs and food stamps; however, recent changes have altered that rule.

Interestingly, during the writing of this thesis, the California state legislature passed AB 1468 which effectively repealed the drug felony rule entirely. This rule has had a disproportionate impact for African Americans, who, despite only making up 5% of the overall California population, consisted of 14% of felony drug arrests made in 2013, and 22% of felony drug arrests related to narcotics (California Department of Justice, 2013).

Without the repeal of the drug felony rule in California, I might have agreed with those academics that feel that incarceration reduces the likelihood of TANF use among African Americans. However, with the implementation of AB1468, I anticipate that California will witness a dramatic increase in the number of African Americans on TANF in the months to come as those who were previously ineligible may now enroll. Additionally, because having a felony or misdemeanor criminal record can serve as a serious obstacle in gaining employment, I believe that this will further impact this population's dependence on TANF, and the state will need to prepare accordingly.

Employment Barriers

I agree with the evidence cited by the academics which indicate that employment barriers play a moderate to major role in increasing the likelihood of TANF receipt. While I feel that barriers such as wage discrimination and criminal records are important, I believe that labor market discrimination is a key barrier. While the former two obstacles often come into play after an individual has been hired, labor market discrimination prevents this minority from even accessing employment. I think that in areas where labor market discrimination is especially

prevalent, it could significantly reduce the chances of securing employment among African Americans. In turn, this perpetuates the risk that this population will experience poverty, and will at some point turn to TANF.

Generational Welfare

Academics also cohesively felt that generational welfare use is a major factor in determining TANF receipt among African Americans. In my exploration of this area, I also sought to answer a secondary question- is generational welfare use the result of cultural values and attitudes, or the result of structural poverty? In reviewing the responses, I find evidence within this study to support the concept that the two are interlinked, and the effects of each cannot be separated from one another.

Based on my findings from both the literature review and the interview, I would assert that structural poverty shapes individual behaviors, values and attitudes. Structural and systematic barriers influence and limit opportunity, and can restrict a person to poor environments and low socio-economic status. Culture and values are heavily shaped by these restrictions and experiences, and in this way, perpetuate generational welfare use. As more African Americans live in poverty in California than any other ethnicity (Dohn & Levin, 2013), I believe that the opportunities and resources of this minority are heavily restricted by structural poverty. Though culture, values and attitudes are shaped by and the result of one's environment, I think that structural poverty is the key causal factor in generational welfare use, and triggers attitudes/behaviors that may increase likelihood of TANF receipt.

Policy Recommendations

To address both labor discrimination and caseworker mistreatment, I recommend that policymakers conduct ongoing research to create data-driven policy. If research indicates that there is a high prevalence of discrimination in labor markets in California, than policymakers

should seriously consider creating programs or policies to assist those who are especially vulnerable. A study by Reed and Cheng (2003) that looked at racial wage gaps in California between 1979 to 2000 indicated that labor market discrimination is problematic for African Americans. When comparing hourly wages in 2000, African American women made 86 cents for each dollar earned by white women, and African American men earned only 74 cents for each dollar earned by white men. Though this study determined that labor market discrimination is indeed prevalent in California, it failed to address in which cities or counties it is more problematic. Further research to identify where labor market discrimination is widespread might help to direct policymaker attention to those areas, and to determine appropriate action.

In addition, policymakers should be evaluating TANF implementation. While many studies have focused on those going into system, and how and when they exit, one academic pointed out that there are very few studies which evaluate the program itself, and whether it is working. Aside from this, while caseworkers require a certain amount of discretion in order to treat individual on a case-by-case basis, it is also important to be evaluating caseworker performance. Either by means of surveying recipients or perhaps tracking their progress while on TANF, efforts should be made to assess whether caseworker discrimination is occurring.

To address the rise in program participation that will result with the repeal of the drug felony law, California policymakers should also consider making expungement workshops available for TANF recipients with drug-related felonies. As criminal records are a large obstacle for many offenders in obtaining work, many who will now be eligible for TANF may be rely on the program for longer periods of time. It's important that the state plan accordingly, and invest resources in helping this population to secure employment.

Academics also suggested making investment in early childhood education programs, such as pre-k programs and head start, which offer earlier support to low-income individuals. Findings

from a study by Heckman et al. (2010) support the idea that investments in early education are critical for African American at-risk youth, and can increase returns on education and help participants to gain employment later on in life. Some are critical of early education programs, and point out that though there is an initial increase in school performance, these academic benefits can fade out after about four years (Currie, 2001). However, long-term studies find that these students often learn soft skills through these programs, which are relevant to a decline in TANF dependency in that these skills help them to secure employment. Additionally, studies find that participation in early education programs increased the likelihood of high school graduation rates among at-risk youth, reduced risky behaviors, and reduced incarceration rates (Heckman et al., 2010).

Several academics also suggested extending the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) to California, which would likely decrease TANF use among all races. The federal EITC program, which is a refundable tax credit for low-income families, is offered to residents in California. However, unlike many other states, California offers no state version of this program. Studies show that the federal EITC program protects thousands of families from experiencing poverty or from turning to welfare (Danielson, 2014). While it greatly benefits many families with children, it is only a short-term solution that does not permanently fix the issue of poverty (Gilens, 1999).

Limitations

As this study suffers from several limitations, it is important that the reader consider the findings of this study with caution. In addressing the limitations in this section, it is also my hope that some of these might be avoided in future research, if allotted greater resources.

Quantitative Analysis Limitations

As previously discussed, I used a secondary data set for the purpose of my logistic regression, borrowed from the 2011-2012 CHIS. Because the original purpose of the CHIS is to capture a

comprehensive picture of the overall health of Californians, the questions in the survey are not designed to investigate variables or factors associated with TANF receipt. While I feel that this is a strong data set in that it does ask many questions that are related to TANF receipt, I couldn't control for all variables associated with TANF receipt, and it was challenging to proxy for others.

I was somewhat limited in the availability of data that I felt would serve as the most appropriate proxy to measure the overarching broader cause. Specifically, this was an issue for the measurement for family situation, for which I would have preferred to use data that measured number of children in the household, and for the measurement of social capital/support networks available to the individual, for which I would have preferred to capture whether the individual felt as though he or she had support systems that he or she could turn to in time of need. As these data was not captured in the 2011-2012 CHIS, I used data that I felt was a suitable substitute. While household size might also be a measurement of other relatives or friends living in the household, I believe that this would likely still influence CalWORKs receipt, as resources might be stretched thin. As neighbors often can serve as a form of support, especially if the individual feels that they are willing to help, I felt that this was an appropriate proxy. However, it does not capture whether the individual has other external support networks, outside of those relationships with his or her neighbors. Additionally, while I did control for level of education, the quality of education varies widely among public schools depending on location. Again, I could not control for this in my regression. It is also important to mention that the literature has found that TANF state policies and regulations have been found to influence TANF receipt; however, as the CHIS did not collect information regarding these variables, they are not controlled for in this study.

Omitted variable bias is also prevalent within my regression. The inclusion of specific explanatory variables like whether parents were on welfare, or if the participant had been incarcerated, would have allowed me to answer some of the questions I raised in the qualitative

portion of this thesis. As the results from my Count R-Squared calculation indicate, my regression accurately predicts approximately 51.9% of the time that the participant is receiving CalWORKs, and approximately 93% of the time participants are not receiving program benefits. However, as mentioned, the use of a secondary data set makes it impossible to control for omitted variable bias. While the findings from this study are still significant, it also underscores the need for an original data set that looks exclusively at determinants of CalWORKs.

Qualitative Analysis Limitations

In conducting my interviews, I also ran into several obstacles that are worth noting. I encountered great difficulty in obtaining responses from academics who I had selected to participate based on their level of expertise, not location. As academics were spread out among universities throughout the country, I relied heavily on email solicitation, and reached out to a total of 21 academics- only five of whom agreed to participate in an interview. There may be several reasons for why the participation rate was low. As all of the academics are distinguished in that they have written seminal papers on the topic of TANF receipt and/or racial inequalities, I anticipate that many were perhaps too busy to participate in the interview. Due to time restrictions, I was unable to invest in ongoing follow up with those academics. I also speculate that some could potentially have been on sabbatical, and might not have been checking work email regularly. Another possibility to consider is that the topic of TANF and race in and of itself can be both uncomfortable and sensitive, and perhaps some academics were wary about discussing the subject with someone with whom they were not well acquainted. The findings from a study by Trawalter and Richeson (2008) support the idea that race can be an uncomfortable topic, as it found whites exhibit greater discomfort and higher levels of anxiety when discussing race-related issues. I feel that feedback from a greater number of academics would have made my analysis stronger, as it would have potentially encompassed even more

perspectives and would therefore be more representative of academics as a whole. Additionally, I might have been able to identify stronger patterns among responses.

I conducted the majority of interviews over the phone, which made it difficult to interpret true meaning of responses. As discussed in Chapter Three, in-person interviews allow for greater trust between the researcher and the interviewee, greater clarity, and the ability to interpret body language and true meaning of responses. However, time and fiscal restrictions did not allow for in-person interviews.

Further Research

Having completed this study, I feel that the results indicate a need for greater research. As has been emphasized throughout this chapter, I feel that policymakers and researchers alike would benefit greatly from an original data set that focuses solely on understanding determinants of TANF receipt. This would allow for researchers to isolate the effect of a key explanatory factor, as they could control for other variables. Additionally, such a project could highlight other problem areas not considered, and could help to inform policymakers regarding how and where to invest resources.

Further studies should also investigate the relationship between American Indian and Pacific Islander ethnicities and TANF receipt. Though this study did indicate a greater likelihood of receipt among these two minorities (200% for Pacific Islanders and 194% for American Indians), these groups were not the focus of this study. Further research might validate whether these minorities face such high risk, and could investigate why.

Due to the concern among academics regarding labor market discrimination and returns on education, as afore-mentioned, I also think that policymakers should invest resources into identifying the extent to which labor market discrimination is problematic in California. If studies

reveal that this issue is prevalent in certain cities or counties, than policymakers might consider what TANF policies or programs should be implemented to counter its effects.

Lastly, I feel that we need to consider the bigger picture in policy analysis. As explained by one of the interviewed academics, social welfare policy is only one small piece of a much bigger social structure, all of which impacts one another and ultimately influences poverty among African Americans. For example, as education is linked to economic self-sufficiency, structural K-12 education policies and inequities in public school systems impact employment outcomes. This translates to employment differences, and helps us to understand the differences in outcomes in regards to wealth attainment, credit, asset building, etc. Employment differentials also impact housing policy. As housing and mortgages are tied to location and public school systems, those with low paying jobs don't have access to better situated housing, which in turn is tied to environmental and health policies. Those who live in unfavorable areas and are exposed to health concerns such as lead based paint, nearby treatment plants, pollution, etc. are more likely to experience asthma and other negative health impacts. With few resources and opportunities, many will turn to social welfare programs for aid. From this perspective, TANF policy is one small part of a saturation of inequalities that are heavily race based. Ultimately, it is inappropriate to isolate social welfare policy and assume that by only altering policies in this one area, we can change poverty that is so prevalent among minorities. We should instead focus our efforts on creating comprehensive, strategic approaches across disciplines and policy areas to address the issue of poverty.

APPENDIX A

REGRESSION ARTICLES

Author, Publication Date	Data and Functional Forms (Sample, Method, etc.)	Dependent Variable	Key Explanatory Variable(s)	General Conclusions	Significance of Findings
Allard (2002)	Data Source: Administrative data files from State of Michigan Family Independence Agency between 1992 and 2000, employer data from the Detroit component of the 1992 Multi-City Survey of Urban Inequality, and employer survey data conducted by Harry Holzer in the Detroit metropolitan area. Method of Analysis: Examines changes in number of TANF caseloads and uses logit models to estimate the probability of receiving welfare. Sample Size: 1,867 welfare recipients	Two outcomes: whether characteristics of welfare recipients vary geographically, and work rates of welfare participants	Welfare reform; spatial proximity of job opportunities in relation to urban and suburban areas	Allard found that although welfare caseloads decreased in suburban areas after welfare reform, it did not decrease in urban areas. He also found that rates of employment and reports of earnings for welfare recipients are positively associated with job accessibility, which is more prominent in suburban areas.	Supportive programs and services need to be in place so that those that are not ideally located can be connected to job opportunities.
Brown & Riley (2005)	Data Source: Longitudinal data between 2003 and 2005 from the National Longitudinal Institute on Drug Abuse Method of Analysis: Conducted multivariate regressions Sample Size: 534 TANF Recipients	Employment, drug-use and income	Social support networks	Brown and Riley found that when individuals perceived that they had strong support networks, there was a significant decrease in welfare reliance by 22%.	The results suggest that when an individual feels that she can rely on others for support, or that she has someone to turn to in difficult economic times, she is less likely to participate in welfare.
Casares, Lahiff, Eskenazi & Halpern-Felsher (2010)	Data Source: Longitudinal data between 1995 and 2001 from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health Method of Analysis: Conducted weighted multivariate logistic regressions Sample Size: 1,867 adolescents	Self-perception of health, educational attainment, and public assistance use in young adulthood	Self-reported race/ethnicity	The study found that African American and American Indian young women faced significantly higher probability of using public assistance, which increased even more so if they became pregnant. If they had given birth as an adolescent, white women are comparatively less likely to accomplish high educational attainment.	Despite common belief, white women who become pregnant as youth are more disadvantaged in regards to educational attainment; African American women are comparatively less disadvantaged.
Kimerling & Baumrind (2004)	Data Source: 2001 California Women's Health Survey Method of Analysis: Bivariate and multivariable logistic regression analyses Sample Size: Weighted sample of 3,617 women	Welfare/CalWORKs Use	Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)	The researches found that women who had experienced IPV within the last year of participating in the survey were significantly twice as likely to use CalWORKs, even after controlling for other variables	As there is a strong association between domestic violence and welfare, its necessary that resources be invested in the prevention and detection of this violence.

APPENDIX A, CONTINUED

REGRESSION ARTICLES

<u>Author, Publication Date</u>	<u>Data and Functional Forms (Sample, Method, etc.)</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>	<u>Key Explanatory Variable(s)</u>	<u>General Conclusions</u>	<u>Significance of Findings</u>
Parisi, McLaughlin, Grice & Toquino (2006)	Data Source: Administrative Data from the Mississippi Department of Human Services, between 1996-2004, 2000 Department of Commerce data, and monthly unemployment data from the Mississippi Department of Employment Security Method of Analysis: Used spell tables, lifetable techniques, proportional hazard models and logistic regression models Sample Size: 94,465 TANF recipients	Exit from TANF	Race (African American or white), age, number of children, age of children, monthly unemployment rates in the county, total employed in the county, industry structure, and residence type	Found that limited education, number of children, and limited economic opportunities decreased the probability that the recipient would exit TANF. In comparing results for African Americans and whites, the study deduced that African Americans' exits from TANF are influenced at a greater magnitude by economic and spatial factors than are whites.	The work requirement piece that is inherent to the TANF program needs to be flexible and supportive of those who do not have the same accessibility to job opportunities. Resources should be invested to increase programs in poorer communities that promote education and economic development.
Seefeldt & Orzol (2005)	Data Source: Data from Panel Study in Michigan County Method of Analysis: Logistic regression analysis Sample Size: 549 women	Welfare participation	Family level and personal characteristics	Results indicated that with a one unit increase in the number of children present in the household, the likelihood of TANF receipt increased by 32%.	This is relevant to my study as it indicates that a larger household can increase the likelihood of TANF receipt.
Teitler, Reichman, Nepomnyaschy (2007)	Data Source: Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study Method of Analysis: Multilevel logistic regression models Sample Size: 3,201 unmarried mothers with 1-year-old children	Two outcomes: TANF Participation among unmarried mothers with 1-year old children; rate of participation at city level	Individual characteristics, local economies and state policies; contributions of different sets of factors to participation rates among cities	If the mother is African American, she is more likely to receive TANF. Possessing a high school degree, being foreign-born, not having previous children, living with the father of the child, and being healthy are all strongly and negatively associated with TANG receipt. If the father has a job and has not been incarcerated, this is also negatively related to TANF receipt. The study also found that most local economic and state-levels predictors have an insignificant effect on TANF participation; those that are explain the between-city variance.	The results highlight the need for additional supportive programs and policies in urban areas. Further research is also necessary to determine the effects of higher levels of education on TANF receipt, as the study only examined the effects of a high school diploma.

APPENDIX B
SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	CalWORKs Receipt	African American	Asian	American Indian
CalWORKs Receipt	1.0000			
African American	0.0603*	1.0000		
Asian	-0.0268*	-0.0730*	1.0000	
American Indian	0.0294*	-0.0231*	-0.0346*	1.0000
Latino	0.0770*	-0.1178*	-0.1762*	-0.0558*
Pacific Islander	0.0179*	-0.0085*	-0.0127*	-0.0040
Other Race	0.0052	-0.0330*	-0.0493*	-0.0156*
US Born Citizen	-0.0172*	0.0908*	-0.4028*	0.0599*
Poor Health	0.0101	0.0102*	0.0609*	0.0268*
Age	-0.1413*	-0.0100*	-0.0475*	0.0021
Female Gender	0.0482*	0.0115*	-0.0150*	0.0111*
Grades 1 to 8	0.0177*	-0.0323*	0.0244*	-0.0154*
Grades 9 to 11	0.0592*	0.0064	-0.0108*	0.0357*
High School Diploma	0.0099	0.0334*	-0.0670*	0.0375*
Associate's Degree	-0.0075	0.0092*	-0.0406*	0.0029
Bachelor's Degree	-0.0490*	-0.0111*	0.0730*	-0.0305*
Master's Degree	-0.0336*	-0.0110*	0.0198*	-0.0230*
PHD	-0.0192*	-0.0148*	0.0185*	-0.0121*
Home Ownership	-0.1316*	-0.0872*	-0.0719*	-0.0024
Married with Kids	0.0592*	-0.0458*	0.0496*	-0.0131*
Single with Kids	0.2504*	0.0570*	-0.0358*	0.0165*
Household Size	0.1351*	-0.0354*	0.0662*	-0.0033
Urban	0.0242*	0.1185*	0.1889*	-0.0411*
Second City	-0.0023	-0.0349*	-0.1028*	-0.0109*
Suburban	-0.0139*	-0.0365*	0.0042	-0.0157*
Helpful Neighbors	-0.0723*	-0.0433*	-0.0034	-0.0182*

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Latino	Pacific Islander	Other Race	US Born Citizen	
CalWORKs Receipt					
African American					
Asian					
American Indian					
Latino	1.0000				
Pacific Islander	-0.0204*				1.0000
Other Race	-0.0796*				-0.0057
US Born Citizen	-0.3789*	0.0102*	0.0635*	1.0000	
Poor Health	0.0103*	-0.0017	0.0126*	-0.0521*	
Age	-0.2857*	-0.0175*	-0.0314*	0.1064*	
Female Gender	-0.0027	-0.0010	0.0041	-0.0069	
Grades 1 to 8	0.3214*	-0.0072	-0.0301*	-0.3397*	
Grades 9 to 11	0.1453*	-0.0032	0.0008	-0.0910*	
High School Diploma	0.0257*	0.0094*	0.0253*	0.1080*	
Associate's Degree	-0.0292*	0.0119*	0.0196*	0.0658*	
Bachelor's Degree	-0.1560*	-0.0063	-0.0135*	0.0494*	
Master's Degree	-0.1272*	-0.0079	-0.0051	0.0517*	
PHD	-0.0875*	-0.0021	-0.0149*	0.0167*	
Home Ownership	-0.2271*	-0.0159*	-0.0118*	0.2102*	
Married with Kids	0.1704*	-0.0012	-0.0157*	-0.2001*	
Single with Kids	0.1060*	0.0045	0.0132*	-0.0341*	
Household Size	0.3283*	0.0078	-0.0034	-0.2314*	
Urban	0.1028*	0.0089*	-0.0184*	-0.1931*	
Second City	0.0256*	-0.0002	0.0042	0.0484*	
Suburban	-0.0818*	-0.0010	-0.0086*	0.0559*	
Helpful Neighbors	-0.1479*	-0.0007	-0.0002	0.1103*	

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Poor Health	Age	Female Gender	Grades 1 to 8
CalWORKs Receipt				
African American				
Asian				
American Indian				
Latino				
Pacific Islander				
Other Race				
US Born Citizen				
Poor Health	1.0000			
Age	0.1111*	1.0000		
Female Gender	0.0132*	0.0558*	1.0000	
Grades 1 to 8	0.0806*	0.0053	0.0234*	1.0000
Grades 9 to 11	0.0707*	-0.0344*	0.0076	-0.0587*
High School Diploma	0.0235*	-0.0494*	0.0117*	-0.2035*
Associate's Degree	-0.0062*	0.0087*	0.0351*	-0.0895*
Bachelor's Degree	-0.0607*	-0.0006	-0.0186*	-0.1384*
Master's Degree	-0.0552*	0.0489*	-0.0083*	-0.0908*
PHD	-0.0279*	0.0526*	-0.0709*	-0.0538*
Home Ownership	-0.0926*	0.2676*	-0.0052	-0.1572*
Married with Kids	-0.0721*	-0.3368*	-0.0210*	0.0642*
Single with Kids	-0.0069	-0.1764*	0.1008*	0.0327*
Household Size	-0.0620*	-0.5226*	-0.0504*	0.1145*
Urban	0.0254*	-0.0619*	-0.0099*	0.0607*
Second City	-0.0069	-0.0107*	0.0121*	0.0073
Suburban	-0.0286*	0.0410*	0.0004	-0.0613*
Helpful Neighbors	-0.1074*	0.0899*	-0.0114*	-0.0880*

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Grades 9 to 11	High School Diploma	Associate's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
CalWORKs Receipt				
African American				
Asian				
American Indian				
Latino				
Pacific Islander				
Other Race				
US Born Citizen				
Poor Health				
Age				
Female Gender				
Grades 1 to 8				
Grades 9 to 11	1.0000			
High School Diploma	-0.1834*	1.0000		
Associate's Degree	-0.0807*	-0.2800*	1.0000	
Bachelor's Degree	-0.1247*	-0.4328*	-0.1904*	1.0000
Master's Degree	-0.0818*	-0.2839*	-0.1249*	-0.1930*
PHD	-0.0485*	-0.1683*	-0.0740*	-0.1145*
Home Ownership	-0.1184*	-0.0669*	0.0240*	0.0981*
Married with Kids	0.0403*	-0.0978*	-0.0168*	0.0387*
Single with Kids	0.0485*	0.0112*	0.0176*	-0.0394*
Household Size	0.0828*	0.0056	-0.0188*	-0.0490*
Urban	0.0168*	-0.0424*	-0.0356*	0.0145*
Second City	0.0031	0.0149*	0.0148*	-0.0189*
Suburban	-0.0340*	-0.0314*	0.0038	0.0456*
Helpful Neighbors	-0.0808*	-0.0413*	-0.0055	0.0742*

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Master's Degree	PHD	Home Ownership	Married with Kids
CalWORKs Receipt				
African American				
Asian				
American Indian				
Latino				
Pacific Islander				
Other Race				
US Born Citizen				
Poor Health				
Age				
Female Gender				
Grades 1 to 8				
Grades 9 to 11				
High School Diploma				
Associate's Degree				
Bachelor's Degree				
Master's Degree	1.0000			
PHD	-0.0751*	1.0000		
Home Ownership	0.1242*	0.0719*	1.0000	
Married with Kids	0.0266*	0.0171*	-0.0100*	1.0000
Single with Kids	-0.0288*	-0.0236*	-0.1565*	-0.1131*
Household Size	-0.0592*	-0.0353*	-0.1174*	0.5301*
Urban	0.0129*	0.0055	-0.1694*	-0.0002
Second City	-0.0097*	-0.0158*	0.0260*	0.0144*
Suburban	0.0391*	0.0353*	0.1015*	0.0111*
Helpful Neighbors	0.0750*	0.0443*	0.1706*	-0.0080*

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Single with Kids	Household Size	Urban	Second City
CalWORKs Receipt				
African American				
Asian				
American Indian				
Latino				
Pacific Islander				
Other Race				
US Born Citizen				
Poor Health				
Age				
Female Gender				
Grades 1 to 8				
Grades 9 to 11				
High School Diploma				
Associate's Degree				
Bachelor's Degree				
Master's Degree				
PHD				
Home Ownership				
Married with Kids				
Single with Kids	1.0000			
Household Size	0.1603*	1.0000		
Urban	0.0194*	0.0251*	1.0000	
Second City	0.0002	0.0158*	-0.4732*	1.0000
Suburban	-0.0225*	-0.0037	-0.3623*	-0.2637*
Helpful Neighbors	-0.0656*	-0.0775*	-0.0825*	0.0046

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Suburban	Helpful Neighbors
CalWORKs Receipt		
African American		
Asian		
American Indian		
Latino		
Pacific Islander		
Other Race		
US Born Citizen		
Poor Health		
Age		
Female Gender		
Grades 1 to 8		
Grades 9 to 11		
High School Diploma		
Associate's Degree		
Bachelor's Degree		
Master's Degree		
PHD		
Home Ownership		
Married with Kids		
Single with Kids		
Household Size		
Urban		
Second City		
Suburban	1.0000	
Helpful Neighbors	0.0545*	1.0000

* Indicates statistically significant with 90% confidence

APPENDIX C

EMAIL TO ACADEMICS, SOLICITING PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEW

Introduction of Research:

I am a graduate student at California State University, Sacramento in the Public Policy and Administration program, and would greatly appreciate your help with the research that I am conducting for my Masters thesis on TANF receipt among African Americans. I am only writing to people I believe are experts in the field, and having read your paper "Determinants of TANF Participation: A Multilevel Analysis", I think that you would offer invaluable insight.

I am interested in this topic because of what I found from my quantitative work in an earlier class. Using data from the 2011-2012 California Health Interview Survey for adults, I analyzed determinants of CalWORKs receipt by controlling for variables including race, age, gender, wealth, educational level, general health condition, citizenship status, family size and marital status, place of residence, and presence of social networks. After controlling for all of these factors, I was surprised to find that race was a major determinant.

I really want to dig deeper to understand the causes of TANF receipt among African Americans, by interviewing experts such as you on the subject matter. Having controlled for quantitative variables, I returned to the literature to identify what other socio-economic and cultural factors may be at play, and identified four significant areas that are correlated with TANF receipt:

- **caseworker treatment of welfare recipients** (studies have found that caseworkers give preferred treatment to white clientele, which increases the likelihood of extended duration of TANF use among African American recipients)
- **barriers to employment,**
- **incarceration,** and
- **intergenerational welfare use**

If you are willing, I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to interview you, either by phone or email. While I would prefer the interaction and depth that an over-the-phone interview permits, I understand that your time may be limited, and greatly appreciate your participation via either method. The interview questions are below for your review.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will send you an **Informed Consent Form**. Because these interviews are being conducted to support the findings of my research, my university requires that a consent form be signed by any interviewed participants. All interviewees' information and identities will be kept completely confidential and anonymous, and I will not be including any identifiable information in the write up and summaries from these interviews.

Please feel free to contact me as specified below with any questions. Thank you so much for both your time and your consideration of this request; I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,
 Hannah Blodgett, MPPA Candidate
 California State University, Sacramento
 Email: xxxxxxxxxxxx@xxxxxx.com
 Telephone: (xxx) xxx-xxxx

Interview Questions:

1. Please indicate whether you think each of the following four qualitative variables is a major, moderate, minor or insignificant factor in causing TANF receipt among African Americans.

Qualitative Variable

Caseworker treatment of African American welfare recipients	_____
Barriers to employment	_____
Incarceration	_____
Intergenerational welfare	_____

Please explain your choice of the assigned values.

2. Do you believe that any socio-economic or cultural variables are not included here, that should be considered?
3. Some researchers disagree about the causes of intergenerational welfare use. While some believe it is the result of a transmission of values towards ethic and welfare use, others believe structural poverty perpetuates welfare use. What is your professional perspective? What evidence do you cite to support your perspective?
4. Are there any TANF policies, regulations or rules that disproportionately impact African Americans? To your knowledge, does California TANF policy vary from other states in a way that influences disproportional TANF use among African Americans?
5. Do you think that any policies should be implemented to address African Americans' disproportional use of TANF? Specifically, do you suggest ways that we can provide earlier/more support to help people either not use TANF or to stop using TANF more quickly?

***Please note that I will likely be following each interview question with probing questions, depending on the original answer. These probing questions are not included here.

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Understanding TANF Receipt among African Americans

You are invited to participate in a research study which will involve identifying variables that cause disproportional TANF receipt among African Americans. My name is Hannah Blodgett, and I am a Master's candidate at California State University, Sacramento, with the Public Policy and Administration Department. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your expertise in the field of TANF receipt, and/or other socio-economic variables known to adversely impact African Americans.

The purpose of this research is to understand the variables that influence the disproportional use of TANF receipt among African Americans. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer several structured interview questions. These questions will cover a variety of topics, including your opinion on the relevancy of several socio-economic and cultural variables and their impact on TANF receipt among African Americans, your suggestion of other variables not considered, and your opinion on policy recommendations to address disproportional use of TANF among African Americans. Your participation in this study will last approximately 30 minutes.

There is very low risk involved for participants. The research will be published as a thesis and may be publicly accessible in digital or print formats. You may decline to answer any question if you wish. Your participation in the interview is entirely voluntary. There are some benefits to this research, particularly that your insight will enlighten the ultimate conclusions and policy recommendations of this thesis. It is my hope that this research will help to better inform policymakers, regarding how to create effective welfare policy that addresses needs and inequities among minority populations.

If you have any questions about the research at any time, please call me at (xxx) xxx-xxxx, or contact my advisor Rob Wassmer at (xxx) xxx-xxxx. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in a research project, please call the Office of Research Affairs, California State University, Sacramento, (xxx) xxx-xxxx or email irb@csus.edu.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential. Measures to insure your confidentiality include the safe-keeping of all transcripts, emails and notes from interviews in a locked safe, to which only I have access. The thesis will be submitted on May 8th, 2015, and all data will be destroyed six months afterwards (November 8th, 2015).

Your participation is entirely voluntary and your decision whether or not to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are

otherwise entitled, that you will receive a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

You will be offered a copy of this signed form to keep.

Signature

Date

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