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ABSTRACT

Initially this report presents a summary of three Work Incentive Programs (WIN) undertaken by a consortium of schools of social work at the University of Chicago, University of Michigan, and Case Western Reserve University, discussing in detail the design, major findings, and recommendations made. The next two chapters are devoted to discussions of study questions and design. Major demographic and social characteristics of WIN participants, such as sex, race, age, residence, marital status, education, welfare status, and employment are described. Chapters 5 and 6 contain an analysis of incentive and disincentive features associated with the personal characteristics and living situations. The following three chapters consider the effects of the requirements to participate in WIN, the monetary incentive, and other program features (training, job placement). The next two chapters compare the incentive-disincentive responses to one another and identify patterns among the responses. Finally the details of how the WIN program evolved among the study cities is discussed in detail. The WIN interview schedule is included as an appendix and tabulated responses to the questionnaire are used throughout the document as the basis for the discussion. (BP)

INCENTIVES AND DISINCENTIVES TO PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM

Final Report

Submitted to:
The Office of Research and Development
Manpower Administration
Department of Labor

Edited by

Charles D. Garvin

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School of Social Work
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16. Abstracts The study explores the effects of different incentives and disincentives on participation in the work incentive (WIN) program for various categories of enrolees. The types of incentives-disincentives included economic incentives, mandatory features, career objectives, WIN program features and environmental and personal supports and constraints. The sample consisted of 1203 persons in Cleveland, Chicago and Detroit stratified as to represent one of three statuses: (A) new and admitted; (B) participants for over two and one-half months and (C) terminated. Structured and semi-structured components were included in each interview schedule. Because of the time frame of the study, some of the enrolees were chosen and served under the procedures of the 1967 legislation; others under those of the 1971 amendments. This enabled some comparisons of the effects of the two procedures, at least in the early days of the 1971 ones.

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INTRODUCTION

by
Charles Garvin

Overview of the Study

The study described here began in 1971 as an outgrowth of an investigation entitled, "Decision-making in the Work Incentive Program," which was conducted by a consortium of schools of social work at Case Western Reserve University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan. The interest of these schools in manpower research was reinforced by the steadily increasing involvement of social welfare personnel in manpower training and employment programs. Schools of social work, therefore, have been striving to develop research, course curricula and practical training in this field.

The Work Incentive Program (WIN) itself represents a key intersection of the interests of Labor and Welfare personnel. This type of joint interest began 10 years ago when major efforts were established by the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act to train and employ welfare recipients. The WIN Program was established several years later by the 1967 Social Securtiy Act Amendments.

The purposes of the earlier study on decision-making were: "(1) to contribute to knowledge of decision-making in the WIN Program, and (2) to develop recommendations designed to improve such decision-making."[1] Three sets of participants were focused on in that study: The Department of Welfare caseworkers, who refer individuals to the program; the AFDC public assistance recipient, who has been referred to the WIN Program; and the members of the WIN teams.

In the process of completing the earlier research, gaps were identified in our understanding of the decisions made by the AFDC recipients. The sample of 318 female clients was also inadequate for identifying the quite divergent groups serviced by the program. This was true despite a research design including two client interviews at different points in time. It was likely that different subgroups of clients made different kinds of decisions and were under varying inducements and constraints. Precisely what these subgroups might be and the forces under which they operated were not clear. If, for example, different program experiences were required for different types of clients,

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[1]Reid William J., editor, Decision-making in the Work Incentive Program, Final report Submitted to the Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, School of Social Service Administration, The University of Chicago, March, 1972.

more information was needed for effective planning of such variations.

In selecting a frame of reference for an extension of our earlier examination of how welfare clients can be helped to prepare for and secure employment, the motivational factor stood out. We had seen from our interviews with Welfare and Labor Department workers that they placed this variable highest in considering client facotrs related to program success. Seventy percent of welfare workers considered client motivation as important in "all" or most cases in the decision to refer clients to the WIN Program, ahead of such other variables as availability of child care, children's ages, and potential for job placement.[1] WIN team members, in describing their reasons for their decisions regarding alternative training for clients, for example, cited client motivation as "the single most important factor affecting their decisions."[2]

Data were obtained in the earlier study directly from the clients about their motivations to participate in the WIN Program. The findings on this subject were summarized as follows:

> ...clients were asked to state what they liked best or least about WIN and to rate various aspects of the program. In response to what was most liked, the largest group of clients (44 percent) cited, in one way or another, the opportunities given by WIN... only 14 percent mentioned the financial benefits of the program as the most liked aspect. In respect to things least liked the most noteworthy finding was the majority of clients (51 percent) were unable (or at least unwilling) to say there was anything they disliked about WIN.[3]

In another question, however, where aspects of the program were specifically listed, the lowest rating were given to incentive checks and transportation arrangements.[4] Further insight into the motivational factor was secured by a question about reason for drop-out asked of the 19 percent of clients who had dropped out by the second interview. Reasons most frequently given were health and child care.[5]

Based on the above findings, we decided to launch a much more comprehensive examination of what motivated clients to participate in the WIN Program. Motivation is important, we assumed, if more is desired than the client's presence at a series of interviews or his name on a training roster. The client's active participation must be sought in education, training, and job

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[1] Ibid., p. 92.

[2] Ibid., p. 194.

[3] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 135.

placement activities if the purposes of the program are to be achieved.

We therefore sought to have a sufficient sample to uncover major variations in motivational patterns, if they existed, and an interviewing approach which would provide the best data on client motivation. For example, as just noted, clients may have been hindered from communicating factors impinging on their motivation to participate because of our limited approach to this topic. There were also likely to be subtleties in the various motivational areas which were not discovered in our earlier study, with its broader focus and its structured approach to the interview. The researchers believed that a different interviewing approach, with a more extensive sample, would produce subtle information vitally important to sophisticated program planning.

In conceptualizing the motivational issue, the terms incentives and disincentives were used. As will be described in the second chapter, these terms come close to describing how various contingencies which can be controlled by program design can secure positive attitudes toward a program and, hoepfully, behaviors of enrollees relevant to skills and employment.

In summary, then, the general purposes of this study were (1) to identify sources of incentives and disincentives to participation in WIN for various categories of enrollees and (2) to recommend program variations which will be likely to secure meaningful participation.

Organizational Changes in WIN

During the period of data gathering, major changes were taking place in the administration of the WIN Program. These changes were based upon the Social Security Amendments of 1971 (Public Law 92-223), usually called the Talmadge Amendments.

The earlier program (hereafter called WIN I) was changed by the Talmadge Amendments (WIN II) in order to select people differently for the program. Additional changes were also made in approaches to training and job placement. As we will see in this study, these changes had effects on the incentives and disincentives experienced by clients which would be identified—as the changes developed at different rates among the three study cities of Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit.

The major changes of relevance to this study are as follows:[1]

1. In WIN I welfare caseworkers made decisions regarding referrals while

[1] A more extended description of these changes is presented in Chapter II.

under WIN II clients are registered for WIN as a condition of receiving welfare benefits. This registration by welfare personnel is a service which is paid for by the employment agency.

2. A special unit is to be established in the welfare agency to "certify" registrants who are ready for WIN services by virtue of having solved such problems as those posed by health and child care.

3. Service levels as priorities for WIN are established with the highest priority being those who are job-ready, followed by those who need social services, then manpower services, then both social and manpower services.

4. A higher priority is placed by WIN II, then WIN I, on early placement on a job rather than long-term training. A limitation is set of one year of training for any participant, with an average of six months per participant in the program. Under WIN I clients could have two-year training programs, and the average could be one year.

5. Changes are made also in time allowable in "holding" categories and in incentive and expense payments.

As stated in the extensive treatment of these changes in Chapter 12.

> In summary, the Talmadge Amendments contained a series of provisions: (1) to select more likely candidates for the labor market; (2) for candidates to be placed or "brought" into lower level jobs; and (3) for somewhat increased monetary incentives for participation and payment reductions for non-participation. As one federal official in the Department of Labor put it, "The name of the game is no longer training, but placement." This change in emphasis, as we shall later see, had a marked effect on the programs included in this study. The effect, however, was not uniform across our three study cities.[1]

In our extended series of interviews, one of the members of our research team (George Mink) ascertained that the WIN II requirements were being implemented differently among our study cities. As he wrote

> There is almost a continuum in the implementation of the Talmadge Amendments from Chicago, where implementation was almost complete from the earliest part of our interviewing period, through Detroit, where there was partical implementation from the beginning, to Cleveland, where almost no implementation took place until the last month-and-a-half of our interviewing.[2]

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[1] See below, p. 157.

[2] See below, pp. 163-164.

The reader who is interested in the details regarding these inter-city differences is urged to examine Chapter 12. Extended information is presented there on job placement, education, and training activities, registration, and many other elements of WIN. The fact that such inter-city differences exist must be kept in mind, however, as a major basis for an interpretation of our findings.

Organization of Report

The report begins with a chapter summarizing the findings of the study as well as recommendations derived from the findings. The next two chapters are devoted to discussions of study questions and design. The quantitative data presentation begins with Chapter 4 where the characteristics of our sample are described.

Chapters 5 and 6 contain an analysis of incentive and disincentive features associated with the personal characteristics and living situations of the enrollees.

The next three chapters consider incentive and disincentive features stemming from the program itself. The effects of requirements to participate are described in Chapter 7, the monetary incentive in Chapter 8, and other program features (e.g., training, job placement) in Chapter 9.

Chapter 10 and Chapter 11 compare the incentive-disincentive responses to one another and identify patterns among the responses. Chapter 12 presents, for the interested reader, the details of how the WIN Program evolved differentially among the study cities and, thus, serves as a good backdrop for the conclusions and recommendations of the study which follow.

As in our previous study, this project was a "closely coordinated effort among the three schools, to be carried out under a single design and utilizing common instruments." Again, "each school was to take responsibility for the investigation of the WIN Program in its own locale,"[1] the report is a combined effort of the three schools, with each school contributing chapters.

[1] Reid, op.cit. p. 1.

CHAPTER I

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by
Charles Garvin

This report presents a study of three WIN Programs (Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit) undertaken by a consortium of schools of social work at the University of Chicago, The Universtiy of Michigan, and Case Western Reserve University. This chapter provides a summary of the purposes, design, major findings, and recommendations of the study.

Purposes and Design

The purposes of this study were to identify sources of incentives and disincentives to participation in the Work Incentive Program for various categories of enrollees and to recommend program variations which would be most likely to secure meaningful participation. The study was suggested by the findings of a previous study, "Decision-making in the Work Incentive Program," also done by the three schools of social work, in which client motivation was found to be a major consideration in referral of the client to the program as well as client success in the program.

The types of incentives-disincentives generated from the previous study, as well as from pilot phases of this study, included: (1) financial; (2) mandatory features; (3) career objectives of enrollees; (4) program features within WIN; and (5) environmental and personal supports and constraints.

While we intended originally to study both the client's attitudes toward participation as well as agency data, the study only examined the former because of administrative changes in the agencies, as well as other limitations on securing this information. The timing of the study turned out to be propitious for examining incentives and disincentives, because the 1971 amendments to the Social Security Act (the "Talmadge" Amendments) had just been enacted. As we discovered, the three study cities implemented these amendments at different rates with Chicago implementing the earliest and Cleveland the last. This presented an ideal opportunity to us to utilize the study to examine the effects of these amendments.

The design of the study, therefore, involved sampling, in approximately equal numbers, from the WIN enrollees in the three study cities. The sampling plan called for a sample stratified, in addition to division by city, by sex (one-half male, one-half female) and status in the program. There were three statuses related to the amount of time spent in the program: new enrollees (15 to 45

days in the program), current enrollees (at least two-and-a-half months in the program), and terminated enrollees. The final distribution consisted of 344 new, 494 current, and 365 terminated. The interviews all took place between September 1, 1972, and January 31, 1973.

In total, 1203 persons were interviewed through a semi-structured questionaire with as much of a random selection as intake procedures and rate of referral in the three cities permitted. After data had been collected, the sample was compared with known characteristics of the total enrollee population in the study cities. Despite the stratification requirements, the sample was representative of the larger group. The sample consisted of 81 percent black enrollees and 19 percent white enrollees (with a small Spanish-surname subgroup). Ninety percent of the men in the sample were married and living with spouses while this was true of only six percent of the women. The median number of children per family was two, and the median grade completed by respondents was the 11th.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The findings of the study are presented in three chapter groupings. The first group describes the nature of incentives and disincentives stemming from the life circumstances of the enrollees. The second group indicates incentives and disincentives generated by features of the Work Incentive Program. The third group presents interactions which exist among the various incentives and disincentives.

Career Aspirations

The first type of incentive examined in relationship to life experiences is that of enrollee career aspirations. These career aspirations constituted the major incentive and consisted of the type of jobs for which enrollees sought to prepare themselves and the type of training they believed would further that objective. A high proportion (86 percent) of the respondents listed the goal of securing a job through the program as important. It should be noted, however, that the enrollees did not mean any job as 70 percent indicated there were positions which were unacceptable to them; primarily those for which little skill or training was required such as low level institutional service positions. We found this pattern reoccurring throughout our analysis—enrollees difinitely want skilled jobs that will produce sufficient earnings to enable them to live well above the welfare standard.

The enrollees, moreover, were not unreasonable in their expectations. The median annual income expected by the interviewees was slightly over $7,000 "close to what would be needed to maintain the lowest of three budget standards projected by the 1971 Urban Family Budget for a family of four."[1] Only a few (less than 10 percent) hoped to secure an income at the "intermediate" level of $11,000. Despite these modest aspirations, we believe that few enrollees

[1] See p. 59.

will attain them—if the findings from our terminee sample are any idication. As we stated in our conclucion to Chapter 5, "The powerful incentive for WIN participation arising from the participants' job aspirations appears then to be based more on illusion than reality."

We did find that job and educational aspirations differed for different sample subgroups. Persons with higher previous education had higher job aspirations. The "new" enrollees (those most affected by WIN II criteria) had lower aspirations and this was interpreted as the effect of the different selection procedures stemming from the Talmadge Amendments. Enrollees were also queried as to their motivation for leaving the welfare rolls. Men more often cited financial reasons while women were particularly concerned about independence from welfare restrictions. Those who had received welfare assistance for a longer period of time were most concerned about independence—a finding which contradicts assumptions about the long-term dependency effects of the welfare program.[1]

Child Care, Health, and Transportation

Three additional enrollee experiences, outside of the WIN Program itself, were examined as incentives or disincentives: child care arrangements, health, and the availability of transportation to training and job sites.

Child care problems did not appear to be a major disincentive to participation in WIN as only 15 percent of those using child care expressed any problems with this arrangement. On the other hand, child care payments were not a significant incentive as three-fourths of the sample did not receive pay for child care.

We examined the child care arrangements that were used in an effort to identify the problems that did exist. Only 10 families in the sample used licensed day care homes, and the most frequent arrangement (70 percent of the families) was through relatives—who received no pay. When problems existed in child care arrangements, they occurred three times more often for female enrollees then male (most men used their wives for child care).

When problems existed, they were most often found when care was provided by non-relatives through arrangements that were neither licensed nor institutional. Problems also most often occurred in making arrangements for younger children, and self care by older children was not seen as presenting too many difficulties. When persons in the terminated sample had child care problems, they were less likely to secure jobs than those without problems (54 percent compared to 39 percent). New enrollees were twice as likely to have problems

[1] Although respondents did express concern for the lost of fringe benefits such as medical assistance.

as current ones—again probably due to the referral procedures generated under the Talmadge Amendments.

Health was also not a major disincentive as three-quarters of the respondents stated they were in good health. Only one percent said that they were in such poor health that this would interfere with their functioning in the program. The proportion of enrollees with health problems did increase, however, with age and length of time as a welfare recipient. Persons with health problems were also less likely to be employed in the terminee sample (34 percent as compared to 58 percent of the healthy respondents).

Transportation problems were more frequently a disincentive than either health problems or child care problems. Twenty-two percent of the respondents had transportation problems, and this was even larger (30 percent) for the interviewees in Cleveland.

Mandatory Features

The first program feature to be examined, one that is often seen as a disincentive, was the requirement for selected categories of welfare clients to participate in the program as a condition of receiving assistance. Chapter 7 demonstrates that this feature functions as a disincentive by comparing responses of those enrollees who saw their participation as voluntary as compared to those who saw it as compulsory.

It is important to mention, however, that there was considerable confusion among respondents as to the requirement to participate. We were able to ascertain this by comparing known characteristics of the interviewees with the legal requirements and with the individuals beliefs on the matter. Forty-nine percent of the interviewees believed they would lose their AFDC benefits if they failed to participate, although most of the new enrollees expected this—this was probably again an example of the effects of the Talmadge Amendments. Men were also more likely to believe that non-participation will result in benefit loss than women.

Persons who indicated they had initiated their own referral to WIN expressed more positive responses to the program than those who saw the referral as mandatory. The self-referred were also, interestingly enough, much more likely to make demands of the program in order to achieve their goals. They had high expectations of training, and they were more likely to indicate they would drop out of the program if exposed to a long waiting period. As we concluded in Chapter 7, "Persons whose participation in WIN is self-initiated (rather than percieved as required) seem to have a greater sensitivity to the various incentives and disincentives to participate."

Finally, we determined that those who participated in the program and saw this as required were more likely to stay in the program than the self-referred. They were, however, less likely to have a job after their participartion than the self-referred. We, therefore concluded that the requirement to participate may secure the empty shell of program participation but not the real intent of the legislation, which is employment.

WIN Program Experiences

After we examine how the enrollee reached the program (mandatory or voluntary referral), we scrutinized the actual experiences within the program for clues to incentives and disincentives. The program features noted included the immediately job-related ones of training and job placement as well as the supportive ones such as orientation sessions and counseling.

Inter-city differences predominate in our findings. Chicago enrollees spent less time in the program and were offered job placement more frequently. We see this, however, as a result of the more rapid implementation of WIN II in Chicago than in Cleveland or Detroit. Chicago enrollees, nevertheless, experienced more waiting periods than interviewees in the other cities, and we interpreted this as the difficulty in locating sufficient jobs.

The completion of training was not accomplished by the majority of enrollees as only 38 percent indicated they had attended for the full length of training when they left the specified training program. Women were more likely to complete training and spent more time in training than men. This pattern was found repeatedly in our sex group comparisons in that women placed greater emphasis on training while men placed more emphasis on early job placements. Completion of training is still important as, in our terminee sample, those who had attained this were more likely to be employed. As we stated in Chapter 9, "these findings support previous conclusions that moving enrollees in and out of WIN quickly is dysfunctional to the goals of skill improvement and job upgrading."[1]

Aside from whether enrollees attained from WIN what they had hoped, they had interesting observations to make about what they liked and disliked in the program. The most frequently liked feature was the WIN staff itself. Disliked features included limited choices, program restrictions, and expense payment limitations. There was a small proportion of enrollees, however, who expressed quite definite negative reactions to staff members of the program, and as we

[1] This was further supported by the finding that only 19 percent of terminees felt they had attained from WIN what they had hoped they would.

shall comment on shortly, the satisfaction with staff was the most important predictor of how enrollees felt about the program.

The Monetary Incentive

One of the most widely discussed program features is the monetary incentive. We found, however, that financial payments for incentives and for expenses did not function in the manner expected. May persons did not understand the nature of these payments; only four percent knew about them prior to referral, and one-third found out about these matters only after enrollement. Of those who did know about the financial arrangements, 43 percent thought the combined incentive and expense payments were insufficient just to meet the expenses of participation.

To substantiate, to some degree, the enrollee's concern for finances, we computed a surplus-deficit variable out of details on payments and expenses supplied by the client. The preponderance of respondents experienced a deficit (see Chapter 8), and the mean deficit was $11. Women had higher deficits than men enrollees. We concluded, therefore, that most enrollees continue to participate in WIN at a financial sacrifice.

Interaction Among Incentives and Disincentives

In Chapter 10 and 11 in which the relative weights of incentives and disincentives were assessed and patterns identified, we concluded that incentives and disincentives must be viewed in two categories: those incentive-disincentives which describe motivation for entering (and probably remaining in) the program, and those which describe subjective feelings toward the program—and which also affect remaining in the program and participating actively.

The incentive which affects the enrollee's entrance into the program the most is undoubtedly the desire for job upgrading. Immediately consequent to this is his or her desire (with women emphasizing this most strongly) for training. Again this in not "any" training, but the training program that will enhance a specific career objective. The financial incentive to participate does not function as an incentive although few could participate without it. (This is not an argument for eliminating the financial incentive but, as we shall see in our recommendations, an argument for increasing it.)

Major disincentives include the mandatory features of the program (for those who perceive it this way), the inadequacy of expense payments, and child care, health, and transportation problems for those who have these.

Program features emerged, when a multivariate predictive model of analysis was employed, as major predictors of positive attitudes to participation. The

key feature was whether or not the staff were seen as encouraging. When the staff were rated positively, many negative experiences could be withstood. The most positive responses were found when staff were encouraging and when the training program was satisfying. The latter was more important for women than men. Women's attitudes toward the program were then strongly influenced by the adequacy of child care.

Inter-city differences showed up in this analysis, also. For example, the least educated favored the Chicago program the most. This was undoubtedly due to less emphasis in Chicago on extended training, as compared to other two study cities, at the time of our interviewing. The opposite finding was true for Cleveland, where the more educated enrollees were more positive about the program compared to these less educated.

Recommendations[1]

Based on the findings of this study summarized above, a series of recommendations are offered. Each recommendation is first presented in a summary statement. This is followed by a brief elaboration, including citations of the sections of the report which provided tha basis for the recommendation. Some of the recommendations were first made in our earlier study[2] and have secured additional support from the current study.

It should be understood that the recommendations are based on data collected from the three study cities during a period beginning in September, 1972, and ending January, 1973. They, therefore, apply most directly to the programs studied. The recommendations should have some applications to WIN Programs generally, in particular those in large urban areas. The recommendations are made with the WIN Program, as now in operation, in mind; they may well fit, however, any successor program which has as its major feature the training and job placement of welfare recipients.

Based on the data of our study, we were able to make recommendations in nine areas: (1) intake and eligibility features; (2) enrollee orientation; (3) expense payments; (4) job placement activities; (5) child care; (6) training of WIN staff; (7) WIN training programs for enrollees; (8) special programs; and (9) service planning.

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[1] The recommendations have been written, in the main, by the authors of the chapters related to the recommendations.

[2] Reid, op. cit.

1. INTAKE AND ELIGIBILITY FEATURES

Self-selection should be the primary basis for deciding which AFDC recipients should be referred to and accepted by WIN.

This recommendation was made in identical form in our first study and we repeat it. Substantial additional support for this recommendation is provided by Chapter 7 of the current study. In this chapter we demonstrated that meaningful participation in the program and job placement afterwards is highly predicated upon motivation, and self-referral is a major source of such motivation. People who do not want to be in the WIN Program and people who want jobs for which WIN does not provide training, or want basic education, which is not provided by the WIN Program, may, if required, stay in the program, but they will not benefit from the training, they will not enjoy it, and apparently, it will not help them get jobs.

2. ENROLLEE ORIENTATION

A. The AFDC client should be better informed of consequences of not participating in WIN.

The recommendation was also made in our first study because enrollees then had contradictory and inaccurate conceptions of what will happen to them if they refuse to participate. As we see in Chapter 7 of the current study, these incorrect perceptions continue to exist. On the basis of these, enrollee motivations were seen to suffer, and beneficial consequences of the program were affected.

B. Better ways should be found to orient enrollees to the limitations, as well as the advantages, of the WIN Program.

As we see in Chapter 5, the enrollees aspirations were very frequently out of line with program possibitities, and many adverse reactions were traced to this discrepancy. There is something amiss if the majority of participants in a program expect that program to help them achieve goals that will, in fact, be realized only for a small minority. While this study did not examine what WIN participants were, in fact, told about the program before or after they entered it, we do know that their expectations were badly out of line with the objectives of the program, laying the groundwork for subsequent disappointment and resentment. Even though "new" participants were somewhat more realistic than other groups, which suggests that more accurate information about the program's capabilities is now being conveyed, even the new participants' expectations were quite excessive.

3. EXPENSE ALLOWANCES

A. Expense allowances should accurately reflect realistic expenditures resulting from program participation (see Chapter 8).

These allowances would need to be figured on an individual basis in order to take into account actual costs. Some expenses are easily itemized or are susceptible to reasonable estimates; these include cost of lunches, transportation, child care, and school or work supplies. Other expenses are more difficult to itemize or to estimate precisely. For example, the amount needed for an adequate supply of appropriate clothing for a particular training program or job over and beyond the regular welfare clothing allowance is not easily determined. The upkeep (that is, cleaning and laundering costs) of clothing worn regularly to work or training programs also represents a program-related expense. Allowances for extra personal appearance items—cosmetics, beauty shops, barber shops, etc.—are not easy to estimate and may be overlooked altogether as program expenses.

Another added cost of participation for women particularly is that of higher grocery bills because of less time available for bargain shopping and for cooking. A frequent result of the latter is the purchase of the more expensive quickly prepared foods. In addition, less time is available for such things as shopping for clothes, household equipment, and children's needs, doing laundry and coin-operated cleaning, and running errands, which results in increased financial costs to WIN participants—who are at the same time responsible for the management of their households.

Such expenses, while realistic program-related costs, defy attempts at precise estimation and many participants and program staff may not be fully aware of these additional costs. Expenses of this kind are, in effect, "hidden" financial costs. Since some of the program-related expenses are easily itemized while others are difficult to specify, the following recommendation is made to supplement the previous recommendation:

B. All program-related expenses that can be itemized should be reimbursed up to the amount spent by the participant within reasonable limits. In addition, a training allowance should be given each participant to cover the costs of less tangible expenses. This training allowances should be fixed amounts at two different levels: the higher amount for participants carrying the major responsibility in the family for household management (cooking, cleaning, care of children, shopping, etc.) and the lower amount for all other participants.

C. If participants' program-related costs can be compensated

by a training allowance and reimbursement for expenses, then the incentive as such is no longer needed.

Since the "incentive" payment does not function as a bonus and is not perceived as such by participants, this money is more accurately described as a training or work allowance. In this context, referring to this money as an incentive is misleading and confusing for participants. We think it is also demeaning to them, since a financial "bonus" is not necessary to engage this highly motivated group. The opportunity to obtain jobs they want is all the incentive these WIN participants need. However, they should not be penalized financially for their aspirations as most are now by not having their program-related expenses covered.

4. JOB PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

A. In their decision making about the types of jobs toward which placement efforts will be directed, program planners should give weight to the enrollees' reluctance to accept low-paying, unskilled positions.

This recommendation was made in our last study and appears to be even more valid at this time. As we see in Chapter 5, the majority of enrollees had quite different aspirations than were likely to be fulfilled through WIN. We also note in Chapter 12 that the Talmadge Amendments had created what we termed the "opposite of creaming," i.e., the program appears to be moving toward recruiting the least skilled who will accept the poorest jobs with the least effort on the part of the WIN Program. We believe that this will have little ulitmate effect upon solving the difficult problem of finding employment which will permanently reduce economic dependency.

B. The role of the Labor Market Advisory Committee should be increased.

Chapters 5 and 7 demonstrate the importance of an articulation between client aspirations, program capabilities, and actual market conditions. These committees provide one important resource for accomplishing this.

5. CHILD CARE

A. Design child care services to facilitate the quality of informal care of children (i.e., care in their own homes and in the homes of relatives and neighbors).

This finding is also repeated from our first study, but considerable additional support is provided by Chapter 6 of the current study. This is the most preferred means of child care (outside of spouse care—something primarily

available to male respondents).

B. Develop more flexible reimbursement rules which will allow for suitable reimbursement for child care provided by relatives and through relatively informal local arrangements.

Chapter 6 demonstrates that child care payments were not functioning as an incentive, and Chapter 8 shows, nevertheless, that the costs associated with child care were a major proportion of the expenses of participation. For those who had child care problems, also, these were often seen when arrangements were made informally—often with neighbors. If some plan were devised (such as the Oregon Day Care Neighbors Project) which will allow for greater ease of reimbursement of child care providers, the mother might be given more control of the alternatives and more inducements might be available to the child care provider to eliminate some of the negatives the enrollee experienced as a disincentive to WIN participation.

6. TRAINING OF WIN STAFF

A study should be executed as to staff-enrollee interactions most and least associated with the enrollee's positive evaluation of the encounter. The findings should be used as the basis of an intensive staff training program.

One of the strongest findings of this study (see Chapter 9 and 11) is that the enrollee's attitude to the program and much of his incentive to participate was the quality of the staff described as encouraging or discouraging. The most potent factors in this interaction should be clarified and enhanced if the desired outcome is the client's strong motivation to participate in the program.

7. WIN TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR ENROLLEES

Current limitations on training in the WIN Program should be relaxed. Provision should be made for participants with the interest and capacity to utilize more extensive courses for better quality jobs. Such training programs need not be made available across the board but special programs can be devised for selected participants.

As stated in Chapter 5, it may be in the public interest for WIN to provide more of the kind of training that participants appear to want. Even if WIN is successful in placing welfare recipients in jobs that fall considerably short of their expectations, there is the likelihood, as our data suggest, that many of them will leave these jobs and return to welfare. Even if not

rejected outright, low-level jobs may not call forth the kind of commitment and effort that ex-welfare recipients may need to have to hold them. While they may perceive a return to welfare as a poor alternative, they may see it as a better alternative than work with few rewards. Moreover, it can be argued that the dependent poor should be given an opportunity to prepare for the kind of jobs that will enable them to achieve a standard of living above a bare subsistence level. (One way of giving the recipient more choice in training is through one of the voucher systems being proposed for "purchase" of training.)

Given the considerable pressure from participants for more extensive training and the possible dysfunctional consequence of not providing it, we recommend generally that the current limitations on training in the WIN Program be relaxed.

Such training opportunities need not be made available to everyone. Fiscal and job market realities provide further constaints. There may be merit, however, in developing special programs for selected participants. Such programs can be designed to offer extensive training for jobs at higher skill levels. An effort can be made to select participants who will be likely to succeed. Criteria relating to motivation, educational attainment, and previous work and training records should be among those used as a basis for selection. Ways should be developed to enable WIN participants who have demonstrated their capacity to utilize training in shorter programs to move up to the more extended programs in the same skill area. Thus, a successful trainee in a typist training program will be able to advance to a program of training in stenography. These programs also should be made available to former WIN participants who wish to increase their employment level.

Special programs of this kind will have the following advantages: (1) they will provide a track upward for the more able, highly motivated participant—an opportunity that is currently lacking because of the excessively rigid restrictions of the present program; (2) they will constitute an incentive for accomplishment in potential feeder programs, and in so doing will capitalize on the natural and powerful incentives provided by the aspirants carreer aspirations; (3) since by design they will be special programs, limited to a proportion of the trainees in the WIN Program, their size and expense can be readily controlled and the monitoring of their operations and outcomes facilitated. In this way the large-scale—and, in the opinion of some, excessive—investments in long-term training and educational programs that occurred under WIN I can be avoided.

The creation of elite programs will naturally give rise to certain problems, not the least of which might be the resentment of interested participants who were not selected. This problem can be minimized, however, by the development of explicit criteria for selection and the equitable application of such criteria. In principle, there is no reason why such WIN oriented programs cannot provide the kind of accommodation to persons of superior potential

and high aspiration that are provided in other training and educational organizations.

8. SPECIAL PROGRAMS

> Special program components should be created, in addition to those noted in recommendation section (7). These should serve some of the special requirements of men and women.

Almost every chapter of this study demonstrates some of the differences in the WIN careers of men and women. These appear to be related to many differing elements in the lives of men and women enrollees. The women largely head one-parent families while the men do not; the women appear to be more invested in training activities than the men; the women may will have different transportation needs; the women have different responsibilities for child care. All these appear to point to program operations in which these differences are identified and varying services developed to enhance the solution of these problems. We do not believe that the undifferentiated program as it now exists can cope with these diverse sets of concerns.

9. SERVICE PLANNING

> A comprehensive approach must be taken to the problems of poor people which relate to such widely separate problems as housing, health, child care, transportation, and basic education.

As we demonstrated in Chapter 6, a wide range of problems interact to hinder the effective career planning of welfare recipients. The fragmented approaches now taken to these problems lead to inefficiency at best and further confusion and incapacitation of the individual at worst.

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM: CLIENT INCENTIVES TO PARTICIPATION IN WIN

by
Staff at Case Western Reserve

In conceiving the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and other major manpower programs, a principal means for encouraging potential clients to participate has been through monetary incentives. One such monetary incentive is the $1.50 per training day incentive payment clients receive while participating in WIN—in addition to $2 per day for expenses. Other monetary incentives include the ability to keep a portion (1/3 to 1/2) of earned income while continuing to receive basic income maintenance support during the early stages of work.

Research related to WIN has questioned just how important the monetary incentive is in a client's choice to participate or continue in the WIN Program. Personal motivation,[1] expectancy of a job at the end of training,[2] the opportunity for personal enhancement and growth,[3] and other factors have been identified as salient in clients' choice of whether or not to participate in manpower programs. Earlier research by this three-university consortium[4] indicated that professional staff members, from both the Welfare Department and the WIN Program, consider the monetary incentive as more important to clients' choice to participate in WIN than clients consider it. Monetary incentives do clearly play a role in clients' choice, but a range of other monetary and non-monetary factors encourage and discourage clients' choices.[5]

Systematic knowledge of the relative importance of monetary incentives, in light of other incentives and disincentives to participate, can be of major help in designing manpower programs which will encourage clients to become and remain active. Programs will be most effective when they maximize those forces

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[1]Goodwin, Leonard, "A Study of the Work Orientations of Welfare Recipients Participating in the Work Incentive Program," final report submitted to Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, Brookings Institute, August 1971.

[2]Gurin, Gerald, "National Attitude Study of Trainees in MDTA Institutional Programs," final report to Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Contract #OS64-47, August 1970, Survey Research Center, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan.

[3]Reid, William, op. cit.

[4]Ibid., pp. 86, 208.

[5]Ibid.

which encourage active and successful program involvement, and when they minimize factors which discourage such involvements.

This study sought to document, from the WIN client's perspective, how monetary and other inducements affect his choice to participate in WIN. In addition to incentive payments, a range of other factors encourage clients to participate in WIN and similar programs. Similarly, there may exist negative forces such as financial costs, difficulty in child care arrangements, fears for personal safety, etc., which offset some of the factors which encourage participation.

Client Perception and Program Participation

Through counseling, testing, work sampling, and orientation aspects of the program, the WIN staff acts to match each client with the training, job finding, monetary, and supportive services which he or she needs to complete the program and become productively involved in a job.

Identification of which program-related, situation-home-related, monetary-related, and client-attribute-related factors encourage or discourage participation by various categories or groups of clients will help WIN personnel make the most effective arrangements for clients.

Figure 1 illustrates the model of client choice to participate which underlies this study. Both client attributes and program attributes act as inputs to the client's assessment (perceptions) of the various incentives and disincentives to participate in WIN.

FACTORS INFLUENCING CLIENT PERCEPTIONS

The framework underlying this study emphasizes four distinct factors which affect a client's perceptions of the incentives and disincentives to participate in WIN. Two of these factors relate to the client.

The first to be considered are the attributes of the client himself: his work and welfare history, the numbers and ages of children, demographic characteristics, etc. These factors identify groups of clients for whom the same program or supportive arrangements may have different impacts.

The second factor to be considered reflects the orientations which a client may bring to the program—the importance of a specific career objective, etc. Such attitudes may act as filters in a client's interpretation of various features of a manpower program.

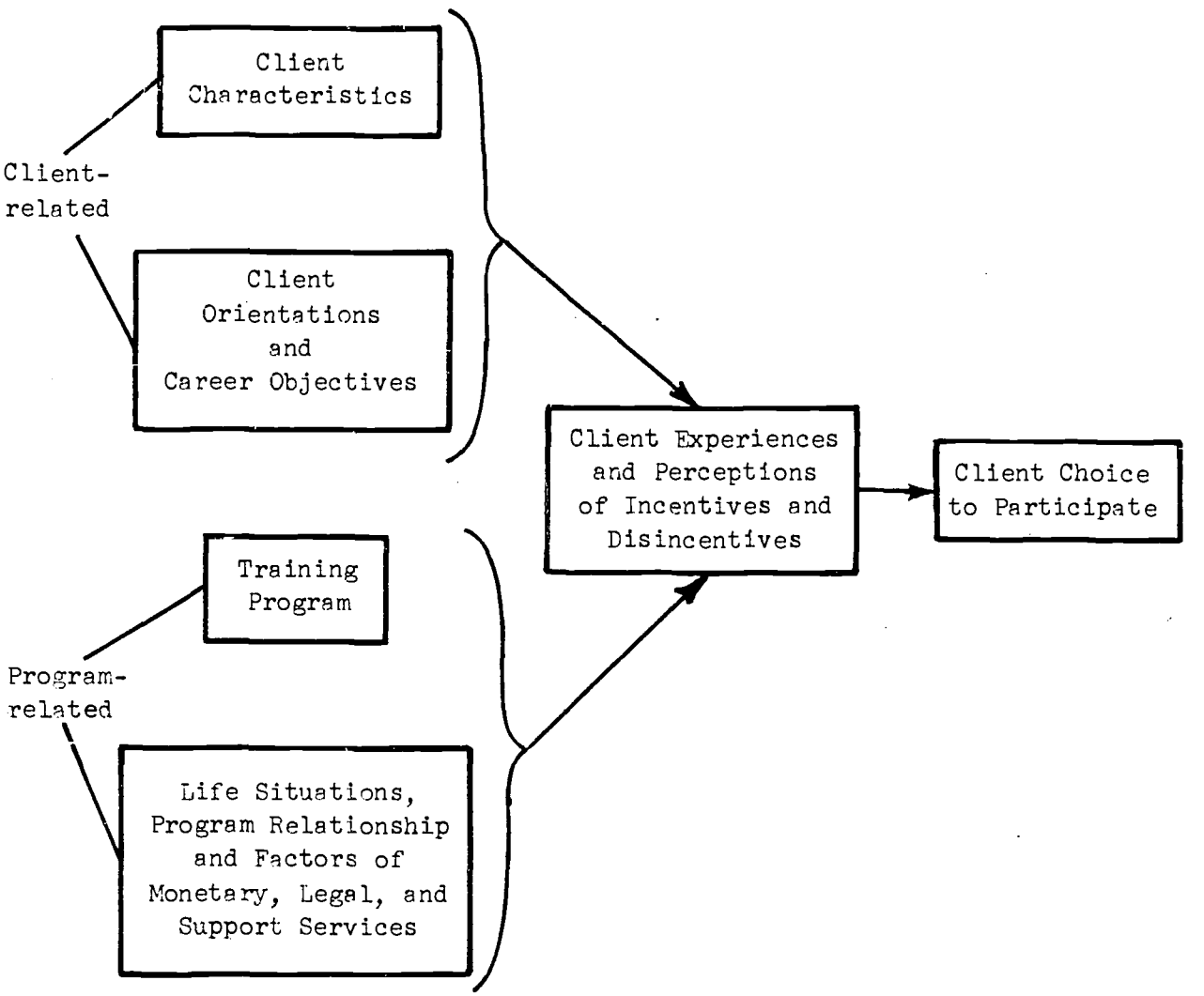

Figure 1. Factors influencing client perceptions of incentives and disincentives.

The other two factors relate to the training offered and supports which a manpower program offers. The characteristics of a particular training program—the type of training offered, the teaching quality, the assurance of a job, etc.—are the third factor. Non-programmatic supports and their relevance to the client's home situation is the fourth factor.

Incentives to Participants

Based on the above conceptual framework, the results of earlier research and pilot interviews, 11 areas of incentive and/or disincentive have been identified. These incentive/disincentives are subsumed under five categories: finances, legal requirements, client career objectives, program features, and environmental or personal supports or barriers. This study pursued the importance of these major categories of incentives and disincentives as they applied to choices to participate in WIN by groups of newly enrolled, currently enrolled, and terminated WIN clients in Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland. Originally, it was thought that such categories could be easily classified as incentive or disincentive. As will be shown in the later presentation of findings, this is a more complex issue.

Finances[1]

INCENTIVE AND/OR EXPENSE PAYMENTS

Although these payments are considered more important by professional staff than by clients, there are instances where clients would not have continued without them.

EXPENSES LINKED TO PARTICIPATION

Clients receive reimbursement for expenses related to child care, transportation, etc. Often there may be expenses related to being involved in training which exceed or are not covered by an allowance. Out-of-pocket expenses in excess of reimbursement or which use up incentive monies can reduce the effect of incentive payments.

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[1]See Chapter 8 for findings.

Legal Requirements[1]

CONTINUANCE OF WELFARE PAYMENTS

As noted earlier, the implementation of the 1972 amendments to the Social Security Act has strengthened the requirement to participate in WIN for many individuals on welfare and has increased the threat of loss of assistance for non-participation. By remaining in WIN at some level of participation, clients continue to receive their regular welfare payments. Discontinuance in the program will jeopardize the continuance of these payments. This is, of course, related to the whole issue of remaining on welfare, itself a complex incentive/disincentive issue, as we shall see.

Client Career Objectives[2]

PROSPECT OF A JOB

Our previous findings[3] indicate that while many clients consider almost any paying job to be appropriate, most of the clients indicated the incentive provided by the prospect of a job will be modified by several outcomes. This includes the rate of pay for such a job, the type of work involved (requiring that it be at least as good but preferably better than any previous employment), and certainly the likelihood of obtaining the job itself.

THE PROSPECT OF SELF-FULFILLMENT OR ENHANCEMENT

Beyond the increased income afforded by a job, completing a high school education and working in a job which offers dignity and prestige were important values for many in the WIN Program. There was evidence of a strong motivation to carry through the fairly rigorous education and training often offered by the WIN Program.

THE PROSPECT OF BEING OFF WELFARE

The clients we had questioned earlier indicated an eagerness to leave the system of Aid to Dependent Children. The two principal reasons noted were

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[1]See Chapter 7 for findings.

[2]See Chapter 5 for findings.

[3]Reid, op. cit., pp. 157-163.

their desire to escape continued public disapproval and personal shame and to be relieved of the continued scrutiny and regulation of the welfare system.

Program Features[1]

PLEASANT EXPERIENCE WITH THE PROGRAM

Clients indicated that their personal relationships with members of the staff as well as fellow enrollees have been a consideration in their participation in the WIN Program.

EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTIES IN PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

Some of these difficulties center around the conditions at the site: This may involve, for example, shabby conditions in the buildings where the training occurs. The unpleasantness of certain types of training activities can also be a problem. Included in this unpleasantness is the client's inability to perform as well as expected. In some instances, difficulties include transportation problems, particularly where long distances are involved between the home and the work or training sites.

PERSONAL DEGRADATION OR EMBARRASSMENT FROM PROGRAM PERSONNEL

Clients indicated, on occasion, that they were ignored or their wishes were overridden by training program personnel. Some had indicated that in training or education situations, they had experienced public humiliation.

Environmental or Personal Supports and Barriers[2]

TIME AWAY FROM OTHER ACTIVITIES

On the negative side, program participation takes time away from such activities as earning money on a job, being with one's children, having time for shopping, and socializing with friends. On the positive side, program involvement may offer a variety of activities such as a chance to have children cared

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[1]See Chapter 9 for findings.

[2]See Chapter 6 for findings.

for by someone else, an opportunity to get out of the house, and to talk with other adults.

BAD HEALTH OR THREAT TO HEALTH BY PARTICIPATION

Available statistics as well as those gathered from our own samples indi- that health is a primary factor impeding program participation and causing client termination. There are indications from our previous study that some clients felt that their health problems were remediable and that medical assistance through the program was not forthcoming.

ADEQUACY OF PARENTING SURROGATES

Particularly for mothers in the WIN Program, but also for some fathers, the issue of both adequate child care for younger children and appropriate supervision for older children is a continuing concern. Knowledge that their children are adequately taken care of is, for many women, an absolute necessity before any participation is possible.

In conclusion, then, this study examines two kinds of associations. First, for what kinds of WIN enrollees are various incentives and disincentives in operation? Secondly, which incentives and disincentives are most potent in enhancing program participation? Some specific questions related to the above and noted in our original proposal are:

1. To what extent does the work incentive payment influence the client's decisions to participate in the WIN Program?

2. In what ways (and to what extent) do other monetary and nonmonetary factors influence the clients' decisions to participate in WIN?

   a. How important to client choice are the various requirements regarding participation (e.g., the need to participate in order to continue receiving assistance) in comparison with the offering of positive incentives to participate in WIN?

   b. How important an incentive is the prospect of a job at the completion of training and what kinds of jobs constitute the greatest incentives?

3. Do clients with different lengths of experience in the WIN Program place different degrees of importance on various monetary and nonmonetary factors in making choices about participation in WIN?

4. How do male and female enrollees differ in their assessments of these factors?

5. Do these assessments vary according to such characteristics as the client's level of education, work experience, and length of time on welfare?

Before we move on, however, to present our findings, in the next chapter we will describe the design of our study in terms of such issues as definitions of concepts, instrumentation, and sampling procedures.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

by
Staff at Case Western Reserve

In order to identify the importance and evaluate the impact of the various incentives and disincentives discussed in the previous chapter, interviews were conducted with representative samples of WIN clients from the cities of Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. These interviews were structured[1] and were conducted by trained and experienced personnel.

Interview Samples

In the three-city consortium, 1203 respondents were interviewed. These were divided into three groups of male and female enrollees: terminees, currently enrolled clients, and new enrollees. These three groups of enrollees represented individuals with different levels of experience in the WIN Program. The terminees had either completed training or had dropped from the WIN Program. The current enrollees were enrolled in the program and had been in this status for a period of at least two-and-a-half months. The new enrollee had been in the program not less than 15 days nor more than 45 days.

These interviews all took place between September 1, 1972, and January 31, 1973. This supposedly meant that "new" enrollees will have been referred under the procedures derived from the Talmadge Amendments. However, the three cities varied in their implementation of these procedures with Chicago operationalizing them earliest (see Chapter 12). Data derived from "new" enrolles is, therefore, not an indication of the revised program. On the other hand, some of the "current" and "terminated" clients also were enrolled under the later procedures, again particularly in Chicago.

Prior to conducting these structured interviews, pilot interviews were undertaken in all of the three cities to identify factors which clients consider in making their decision to participate in WIN. Beginning with these unstructured pilot interviews with individuals who had experience with WIN, a structured survey instrument was developed to assess the relative importance of various factors in client choices to participate in WIN. Following pretests with small samples of WIN clients in all the cities, the instrument was further

[1]See the Appendix for instrument.

refined in joint meetings of the consortium, and then administered.

In developing the instrument, it was important to further define the key concepts of incentive, disincentive, and participation. An incentive was viewed as a personal, situational, or program feature which the client valued and perceived as making participation more likely. A disincentive was seen as a similar feature which the client experienced as unpleasant and which the client believed would make participation less likely. For research purposes we also intended to study, however, features which we assumed were pleasant and unpleasant and whose validity as an incentive or disincentive was to be tested by association with participation variables.

Participation was defined in several ways: (1) as a postive attitude toward the entire program or some of its features; (2) as a positive attitude toward attendance at program components; (3) as evidence of attendance at a component derived from the client; (4) as client satisfaction with his accomplishments in program components. We had originally intended to use data from WIN files on participation as an objective measure, but time constraints and changes in agency procedures (decentralization of files) made this impossible with the available research resources.

The sampling plan called for a sample stratified by city, sex, and status (i.e., new, current, terminee). Status (length of time in WIN) was chosen as a stratifying variable because our previous research[1] indicated that people, when they are new to WIN or have been in WIN for only a short time, have different needs and perceptions of the program than they have after they have been in the program for some length of time. Sex was chosen as a stratifying variable because the mandatory provisions of the program affect men more strongly than women, and because our previous research indicated significant differences in the needs, perceptions, and incentives of men and women. City was chosen as a stratifying variable because our previous research indicated significant differences between the cities, based on historical, organizational, job market, and other factors, and because the new mandatory participation regulations were influenced by local conditions and interpretations.

We did not stratify the sample by race because the three cities have such a preponderance of blacks in the programs that finding a large quota of whites would have been impossible. Further stratification would also have made the analysis extremely difficult to carry out and interpret as one tried to untangle the interactive effects of more than three cross-cutting strata.

We planned to interview 1200 individuals: 400 in each of the three categories (with roughly a 50-50 breakdown between males and females) with one-third of the interviews in each city. This did not represent the relative size of the programs in the different cities (Chicago's program was more than twice

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[1]Reid, op. cit.

the size of Detroit's, which was almost twice the size of Cleveland's), but it did provide for a more equal interview load in the three cities and facilitated cross-city comparisons. Anticipating some difficulty in obtaining interviews with some of those in the sample, we deliberately selected more than 1200 names so that we could substitute for unreachable respondents. Also, anticipating that some interviews would subsequently have to be discarded as unreliable or unuseable, we planned to interview more than 400 clients in each city; no definite number was set since we were periodically reviewing the interviews and planned to stop once we reached or exceeded 400. Since very few interviews were actually discarded, no significant bias was introduced by this procedure. This sampling plan had to be modified slightly because of programmatic changes and difficulty in contacting the interviewees.

A cursory look at the known demographic characteristics of the non-contactable clients in the sample does not show any particular distinguishing characteristic except that they tended to be somewhat less likely to have a telephone and were more likely to have moved. Whether this represents mobility or transiency we don't know. Beyond saying we have an unsubstantiated feeling that they are not very significant, we feel it would be futile to speculate on the possible biases in our findings introduced by non-contact. The original plan would have yielded a sample with proportional N's in the cells to facilitate Analysis of Variance and other statistical analysis. However, since we could not achieve this without unreasonable effort and expense, we dropped that condition and decided to keep and analyse all the useable interviews. The actual number of interviews was 1203, divided as follows:

	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Total
New enrollees	170	101	73	344
Current enrollees	132	179	183	494
Terminees	110	123	132	365
Total	412	403	388	1203

Terminees were difficult to interview because it was not a simple matter to contact or locate them, primarily because many had moved, more than once in most cases. Despite repated efforts by interviewers, some could not be reached. For the new enrollees, the problem was somewhat different. As noted, the Talmadge Amendments were taking effect at different times in the three cities, and this required many administrative changes, resulting in differences in the rates at which new enrollees were being taken into the program during the fall of 1972 when the interviews were conducted. In Chicago, where the impact of Talmadge was strongest, new enrollees were deliberately over-sampled because of the large influx of new participants.

In Cleveland we obtained access to WIN files and selected every fifth name in the files of current enrollees and of terminees. When an insufficient number of interviews were obtained from this sample, we drew a random sample from the remaining names in order to obtain the required total number, as well

as the stratification requirements. To obtain a sufficient sample of new applicants, all those who fell within the time dimensions defining new applicants were selected, and attempts were made to interview them. There is, therefore, acknowledged possible bias in the findings from our sample, although the direction of the bias is difficult to specify.

In Chicago the WIN team was supplied monthly printouts listing current WIN clients in the state. Two procedures were then used to obtain names from which the current enrollee sample was drawn.

a. Using the printout reflecting the WIN population of July 1, 1972, a sample of 500 names, half men and half women, enrolled prior to May 1, 1972, was selected by using a systematic probability sampling technique. A table of random numbers was used to select the pages of the printout to be used. For each page selected, the table of random numbers was used to select the first name of the page; then every fifth name on the page was selected. This procedure was continued until names of 250 men and 250 women were chosen. From this listing a sample of 218 men and 237 women were selected to be interviewed.

b. Using a printout reflecting the WIN population as of September 15, 1972, 300 names of persons enrolled in Cook County WIN during June and July, 1972, were chosen. From these a sample of 251 persons—133 men and 118 women—was selected.

The Cook County WIN office supplied addresses and phone numbers, when available, for the two samples described above. Everyone who could be contacted by phone or mail who agreed to participate and who kept his appointment (two or three attempts were made by interviewers of failed appointments) was included in the final sample. Those persons still in WIN at the time of the interview constituted Chicago's current enrollee sample.

The new enrollee sample was selected from names furnished over an 11-week period (beginning October 24, 1972) by the Cook County WIN office of all new enrollees. This procedure yielded 395 names. Everyone who could be contacted by phone or mail and who was subsequently interviewed was included in the final sample. Those persons still in WIN at the time of the interview made up Chicago's new enrollee sample.

The terminee sample consisted of the persons selected for the current and new enrollee samples who had terminated from WIN by the time of the interview. Because of the number of terminees obtained in this manner, no other effort was made to obtain names of terminees.

In Detroit terminated clients were selected on a reverse time basis. Current females were a one-fifth random sample from alphabetical listings. All the names of current males in the files were used as the program had mostly female participants. All the names of new enrollees who were available during the interviewing period were utilized as each list collected from WIN teams

required the 50-mile trip from Ann Arbor to Detroit.

Interviewers and Coding

In Cleveland the interviewers were all graduate students. They scheduled their own interviews making use of the secretarial services of the University. Money payments of $5 to each interviewee were forwarded from the University after each interview. Each interviewer was instructed to make maximum possible effort to contact those on his list; in the event no phone was listed and no response was received from an appointment letter, in most cases a home visit was made to try to reach the clients. In Cleveland over half of the total interviews were secured by four men—one an unemployed recent graduate in physics (white), a law student (Indian), a social work student (black), and a college graduate awaiting admission to law school (white). Other interviewers were mainly students from the schools of Social Work, Psychology, and Education.

Michigan employed three full-time interviewers who did the bulk of the interviewing—two men and one woman, all white. These three had between two years of college and one year of graduate school. About 20 interviews, however, were done by two black female graduate students.

Chicago used a total of 18 interviewers, all but two of whom were graduate students. Two were used only in the pretest phase; two others were full-time. Eleven interviewers were male, seven were female, and they were about evenly divided between black and white.

In all locations interviewers were carefully trained, given information about the WIN Program, and rehearsed in use of the questionnaire through mock interviews and role play. Each school provided careful supervision and checking of its own field operations, coding, and transcription of data. Interviewers were, in most cases, used as coders. A system of coding and codebooks were developed through a series of consortium meetings, and coders were trained in each location. To determine coding consistency among the three schools, coders from each school independently coded the open-ended questions from the same fifteen interview protocols. Percentages of disagreements among coders were low (less than 15 percent) for all but a small number of items. None of these items proved to be of major importance in the findings of the study.

Interview Refusals

Almost two participants were contacted in each study city for each one actually interviewed. While we have little data on participants who refused

to be interviewed, we do know that a greater proportion of men refused to be interviewed and those who were interviewed were more likely to have telephones than those who were not.

While we do not know the effects of this kind of bias, it is possible that those who refused to be interviewed were likely to have negative reactions to the program. On the other hand, the fact that a greater proportion of those who were interviewed had telephones might also indicate that we had reached a more stable group. Despite these possible sources of bias, the sample obtained did appear to resemble closely the participant population of the three programs studied—as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Coordination and Analysis

Close coordination was maintained through the entire planning, development, and data collection and coding phases of the project by means of frequent meetings of the research staffs and telephone and written communication. The task of analyzing the data was divided, with each school taking responsibility for performing various segments of the analysis and writing up the findings. These findings are presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

by
Audrey Smith and George Mink

Major demographic and social characteristics of WIN participants and terminees interviewed for this study will be described in this chapter. In particular, distribution of the sample by sex and program status within the three cities should be kept in mind in reading the results of the study. This chapter also compares the sample with the WIN populations in the study cities on several important characteristics. (Data on the WIN populations are submitted to the federal government from county WIN offices.)

Description of Sample

The total sample consisted of 1203 individuals stratified according to city, status in the WIN Program at the time of interview, and sex. The following table shows the distributions of respondents for the city and status breakdowns.

TABLE 4-1

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY STATUS AT TIME OF INTERVIEW AND CITY

Status at Time of Interview	Chicago		Cleveland		Detroit		Combined	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New enrollee	170	41	101	25	74	19	345	29
Current enrollee	132	32	179	44	183	47	494	41
Terminee	110	27	123	31	131	34	364	30
Totals	412	100	403	100	388	100	1203	100

SEX AND RACE

As can be seen from Table 4-2, the combined sample was half male (49.6 percent) and half female (50.4 percent). Of the three sample cities, only Cleveland had a larger proportion of men. Eighty-one percent of the sample

was black, and 19 percent was white, including Latin-Americans. (Latin-Americans comprised two percent of the sample.) Although black women (47 percent) comprised almost half of the sample, black men (34 percent) were well represented. The small number of whites in the sample were predominantly male; only three percent of the sample were white women. The major city difference regarding race was the large proportion of white males in Cleveland. The new participant subsample contained proportionately more black males (44 percent) and fewer black females, white males, and white females than did the current or terminees groups.

TABLE 4-2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE BY RACE, CITY, AND SEX

Race	Total	Chicago		Detroit		Cleveland		Combined	
		Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
White	19	4	1	4	1	8	1	16	3
Black	81	13	17	11	16	10	14	34	47
Totals	100	17	18	15	17	18	15	50	50

AGE

The respondents ranged in age from 17 to 62. The mean age was 30 and the median, 29; 87 percent of the respondents were in the 21-39 age range. The Chicago subsample (mean=29, median=27) was slightly younger than the other two subsamples. Women in the combined sample were slightly younger than the men. Black respondents were younger than their white counterparts; for example, 57 percent of the blacks were under 30 years of age as compared to 44 percent of the whites.

RESIDENCE

The majority of the respondents (80 percent) had resided in their respective cities for more than 10 years. A negligible number were newcomers with only one percent having lived in their current city for less than a year; in fact, only 6 percent of the combined sample had resided in their respective cities for less than five years.

MARITAL STATUS

Ninety percent of the men were married and living with their spouses in contrast to only 6 percent of the women. The latter were either separated from their husbands (35 percent), divorced (25 percent), or single (33 percent). Only 3 percent of the men were separated, one percent divorced, and 5 percent single. The median number of children per family was two.

EDUCATION

Almost all of the respondents had some high school education (80 percent), but only 45 percent had completed high school. Nine percent of the sample had attained some college education. The median grade completed across all three city subsamples was 11 years. Black respondents were better educated than white respondents. Almost half (47 percent) of the former had completed high school while less than 40 percent of the latter had, and 22 percent of the whites and 8 percent of the blacks had only a grammar school education or less. Similar differences are found with respect to sex: 55 percent of the women and 35 percent of the men completed high school while 18 percent of the men and 5 percent of the women had an eighth grade education or less. (It will be remembered that the majority of the whites are males and most of the blacks in the sample are female.)

WELFARE

As expected, the overwhelming majority of respondents (85 percent) were on welfare. Over half (56 percent) of those on welfare had been receiving public assistance for less than two years and only 4 percent had been on welfare for over 10 years. The Chicago subsample was even newer to the welfare rolls as over half (52 percent) had been on welfare less than a year and only one person in the entire subsample had been on welfare for as long as 10 years. This is probably due to sampling procedures for terminated clients. Women had been on welfare considerably longer than men, blacks longer than whites, and current participants and terminees much longer than new participants. Only one-fourth of those currently on welfare had received public assistance before.

EMPLOYMENT

Of the three-fourths of the sample who were not employed at the time of the interview, almost all (95 percent) had previously held jobs. The median length of unemployment for this group was 19 months. Men had held jobs more recently than women, and new enrollees had been out of work a shorter period of time than current participants or terminees. Blacks tended to have been unemployed for a shorter period than whites; the percentages unemployed for less than a year were 29 and 19, respectively.

At the time of interviewing, a fourth (26 percent) of the respondents were employed. While men tended to be employed slightly more than females, and blacks slightly more than whites, not surprisingly the major differences occurred with respect to status in WIN. Fifty-two percent of the terminees were employed, compared to 8 percent of the new and 20 percent of current participants in WIN. Most of the jobs were full-time (80 percent) and were recently acquired—three-fourths of them were of six months or less duration.

Not all of these jobs were obtained through WIN. In fact, only 40 percent of these 314 employed respondents said they were placed through WIN: 47 percent said they got the jobs on their own, and 13 percent indicated help from other resources. City differences were extreme here as 70 percent of the Chicago subsample said they obtained their present employment through WIN as compared to only 20 percent of the Cleveland and 31 percent of the Detroit subsamples. Men, whites, and terminees were more likely to have obtained jobs on their own—and conversely, less likely through WIN.

Salaries varied considerably. While the median net weekly income of the combined sample was $100, this figure was considerably higher in Chicago ($111) than in Detroit ($81) and Cleveland ($85). Again, currently employed men, whites, and terminees reported considerably higher salaries than did their counterparts. Net weekly salaries of $130 or higher were reported by 43 percent of the employed men compared to 6 percent of the women, 33 percent of the whites compared to 23 percent of the blacks, and 37 percent of the terminees compared to 12 percent of the new and 9 percent of the current participants.

Comparison of Sample and WIN Population in Study Cities

Our sample was stratified according to three characteristics: sex, status in WIN, and location. We sought to obtain roughly an equal number of respondents in each category of these three variables. For this reason, it was not expected that our sample would accurately reflect the distribution of these characteristics in the population. An extreme example is that of location; during the time of our survey, the average participant load in Chicago was 3,858 while the corresponding figure in Cleveland was 956. The male enrollment in Detroit was 24.5 percent instead of the 46.6 percent used in our sample. Moreover, in order to obtain the desired sample of new enrollees, it was necessary to employ a non-random time sampling procedure.

In view of these considerations, we were interested in seeing how much our sample compared to the WIN population in each city in terms of important characteristics not used for purposes of stratification. Race, age, and educational level were used first to compare the subsamples from each city with the populations of their respective WIN Programs.

As is shown in Table 4-3, the sample is representative of the racial and age characteristics of the population of the three WIN Programs. In other words, stratification by sex and status did not result in sample biases in respect to these attributes.

TABLE 4-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE AND WIN POPULATION IN THREE STUDY CITIES ON SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS[a]

Selected Characteristics	Chicago		Cleveland		Sample	
	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population
Race[b]						
White[c]	14.6	14.8	27.8	25.9	12.0	11.5
Black	85.4	85.2	72.2	74.1	88.0	88.5
		Sample N=1197		Population N=8950[d]		
Age						
21 or under	11.4	9.5	11.4	9.2	10.6	9.7
22-44	83.0	82.2	84.0	83.9	80.7	81.7
45 and over	5.6	8.3	4.6	6.7	8.8	8.6
		Sample N=1203		Population N=8950[d]		
Education						
Less than high school	50.0	56.5	53.8	58.0	62.2	60.0
High school or more	50.0	43.5	46.2	42.0	37.8	40.1
		Sample N=1203		Population N=8950[d]		

[a]Source, MA5-98, WIN Program activity monthly summary and MA5-99, WIN monthly summary of participant characteristics.

[b]Because of the different proportion of whites in males and females, the figures for race are adjusted to represent the proportion of each sex in the population according to race. This is particularly important for Detroit where only 24.5 percent of the WIN population are males as compared to 46.6 percent of the stratified sample.

[c]All non-blacks.

[d]Cumulative totals, July 1, 1972, through January, 1973.

The secondary characteristics of education, which does not match as well, is particularly vulnerable to the sample stratification. Not only are women likely to be better educated than men, but those who are new to the program differ significantly from those who have been in longer. Nevertheless, the sample and populations are reasonably close in respect to the educational level of participants.

It is also difficult to know how the program participation characteristics of the sample compared with the population in the programs. The major difficulty occurs with the over-representation in the sample of those who are new. In the sample from each of the cities, there is a larger proportion of new clients than is true of the populations. This distorts somewhat the proportion of people in training since those who are new in the program are less likely than current participants to have progressed into training. If we take only the "current" portion of our sample, it will be somewhat over-represented in training, but may indicate whether the sample is at all like the WIN population in our cities.

During the period of our interviewing, approximately 19 percent of all the participants in the Chicago program were in training or education, compared to 22 percent of our Chicago current participant sample. In Detroit, the comparable statistics were 32 percent for the population and 37 percent in our sample. The discrepancy is greater in Cleveland, where the sample statistics showed 78 percent in training and educational programs compared to 56 percent in that city's program. However, taking into account the expected over-representation because of not including new enrollees in our sample statistics, our sample data are in close proximity to actual program data.

In conclusion, our sampling design and methods did not appear to produce samples that differed markedly from their parent populations in respect to characteristics not deliberately manipulated through stratification. Therefore, we assume our findings and recommendations are applicable to these three WIN Programs and others having similar characteristics. The reader should be cautioned, however, that this does not include the great bulk of WIN Programs. Striking differences exist between our sample and the national WIN population as evidenced by several important demographic variables. For example, while our sample was predominantly black (81 percent), nationally WIN participants are mostly white (60 percent).[1] A larger proportion of our sample had at least a high school education (45 percent) than is true for the national program (42 percent). A negligible percentage of our sample (2 percent) was under 19 years of age while 10 percent of WIN participants nationally are this young.

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[1]Data on national WIN Program are for fiscal year 1972 and are found in the Manpower Report of the President: A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, Prepared by the United States Department of Labor (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 234.

Probably the major factor accounting for these disparities is the urban, middle western, nature of our sample. Conclusions and recommendations applicable to WIN Programs in large metropolitan areas may well be inappropriate for those in rural and smaller urban areas. This should be kept in mind as one reads this report.

CHAPTER 5

THE PARTICIPANTS' CAREER ASPIRATIONS

by
William J. Reid

In this chapter we shall examine incentives for WIN participation arising from the respondents' typically current status as a welfare recipient and his typically hoped-for status as an economically self-sufficient job-holder. As Goodwin has suggested, public assistance recipients aspire as much toward work careers as other groups in our society, although many recipients, sometimes by choice but more often by necessity, remain in careers of public dependency or shift between work and welfare careers.[1]

A central purpose of WIN is to help individuals achieve economic self-sufficiency through employment. Theoretically the prospects of obtaining a job that would enable the recipient to leave welfare should constitute a major incentive for participation in WIN. But many questions arise. How important to the recipients is obtaining a job through WIN? What kind of jobs do they want to obtain? What kind would they not want? How realistic are their aspirations? What factors determine their career goals and how, in turn, do they affect the participants' involvement in WIN? What, specifically, are the incentives, as the participant sees them, for leaving welfare? What does he think he would give up by his departure? Do different groups of recipients view these gains and losses in different ways? Our findings will hopefully provide some answers to such questions.

General Importance of Getting a Job

The opportunity to become re-employed (or employed at a higher level) appeared to be a major incentive to participate in WIN. When they first entered WIN, the overwhelming majority of our respondents (nine out of ten) thought that the program would either help them get a job or a better job. The same proportion regarded these goals as either very important or important to them when they began the program. Of respondents still in the program at the time of the research interview, almost the same proportion (86 percent) viewed these goals as important. It is possible that the importance of securing a job

[1] Goodwin, Leonard, Do the Poor Want to Work?: A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1972).

through WIN declined somewhat between the time the participant first entered the program and the time of the research interview; 45 percent of the sample viewed this reason for participation as "very important" at the first of these times as opposed to 33 percent at the second. Nevertheless, respondents consistently viewed securing employment as a central reason for participating in WIN, and as subsequent data will show, this reason appeared to overshadow all others.

Unacceptable Jobs

It was clear, however, that just any kind of job would not do. Respondents were asked, "Is there any kind of job you would not want to take, even if it meant you would have to stay on welfare?" Over 70 percent answered "yes." Women were more likely (79 percent) than men (62 percent) to say there was a job they would not accept. For these respondents even welfare status might be preferable to employment below an acceptable level. In general, just the opportunity to obtain work of any description did not appear to be an effective incentive.

Through open-ended questions we attempted to learn more about these "unacceptable" jobs. The 837 respondents who had answered "yes" to the questions above were asked to describe the kind of job they would not want to take. The type of unwanted employment most frequently cited (by over 85 percent of these respondents) was work requiring little skill or training. Most of the respondents were able to give examples of specific kinds of jobs they would not want to take. Low-level jobs in "institutional service" (waitress, dishwasher, nurse's aide, janitor, orderly, etc.) were most frequently mentioned (by 35 percent of the respondents answering). Factory work came next (cited by 23 percent), followed by private household employment (21 percent). Respondents were then asked why they would not want to do the kind of work they had mentioned. Reasons differed according to the sex of the respondent. For men, the most frequently cited reason (mentioned by a third of the male respondents) was "low pay"; the largest group of women—also about a third—objected to the "boring" nature of the kind of work they would not want.

The great majority of respondents were then able to supply us with a "lower limit" of acceptable employment. If given a choice between low-paying, boring work—one way of defining "menial employment"—and remaining on welfare, it is likely that most of our participants would opt for welfare.

Level of Expected Employment

Since almost all of the respondents (as will be subsequently shown) expressed a desire to "get off welfare" and viewed employment as a means of accomplishing this goal, the next question becomes "What kinds of jobs do they hope to obtain as a means of becoming self-supporting?" All respondents, including those already working, were asked if they hoped to obtain a particular type of job. A very large majority (88 percent) said they did. Of those respondents, almost all (over 90 percent) said that securing the job of their choice was an important objective of their participation in WIN.

Since this item, and another based upon it (expected take-home pay for the desired job), are central in the findings presented in this chapter, the characteristics of the 12 percent who did not respond are of interest. The non-responders were primarily men who did not initiate their own referral and who were less likely than other respondents to be seeking nothing of the WIN Program. New participants were more likely to fall into this group than current participants or terminees. Employed respondents were as likely to have a desired job in mind as those unemployed.

The specific kind of job each respondent wanted was elicited and classified in terms of the amount of training normally required for an acceptable level of performance on that job. Our reason for this particular mode of classification was to make the data as relevant as possible to the job training mission of WIN. Coded in this way, the data provide an estimate of the amount of investment in training that WIN would need to make in order to meet the expectations of its participants.

The coding system was based on information contained in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles[1] and the Occupational Outlook Handbook,[2] and data on specific occupations obtained by project staff. An abridged version is presented below:

1. Professional or academic training of at least three years required. Examples: accountant, registered nurse, teacher.

2. Extensive training—usually eight months to two years—required; jobs are usually technical, semi-professional or skilled. Examples: air conditioning repairman, computer programmer, electrician, stenographer, welder.

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[1]U.S. Department of Labor, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, 3rd edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

[2]U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Outlook Handbook (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

3. Moderate amount of training—usually six weeks to seven months—required; jobs are often semi-skilled. Examples: cashier, clerk-typist, keypunch operator, machine operator (complex machines), postal clerk.

4. Minimal or no training—usually less than six weeks—required. Examples: assembly line worker, domestic, machine operator (simple machines), stock clerk, truck driver.

When jobs the respondents hoped to obtain were classified according to this scheme, it became readily apparent that the training expectations in the sample as a whole were quite high. As can be seen from Table 5-1 the majority of the respondents had in mind jobs requiring either professional-academic training (13 percent) or extensive training (46 percent). Thirty percent wanted jobs needing a moderate amount of training. Only 11 percent hoped to get jobs that required minimal or no training. Thus, a manpower program designed to meet the expressed needs of this sample would have to concentrate on programs lasting from eight months to two years. As was observed above,[1] length of training in WIN II is limited to one year for any participant, and the average expected course of training is supposed to be six months. The majority of our respondents appear to want jobs requiring more training than the current WIN Program is prepared to provide.

As Table 5-1 shows, the level of jobs currently desired far exceeds the level of jobs held previously (or currently, for those employed at the time of the interview). Thus, the majority of the sample came to WIN from (or with) jobs at the lowest level of training requirements. The majority was apparently striving for jobs at the two highest levels.

TABLE 5-1

PREVIOUS AND EXPECTED JOBS BY TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

Job Training Requirements	Previous Job[a] %	Expected Job %
Professional-Academic	1.3	12.7
Extensive	9.7	46.2
Moderate	34.3	29.7
Minimal	54.7	11.4
N =	1152	1041

[a]Current job used for respondents (313) currently employed.

[1]See p. 3.

Factors Influencing Level of Expected Employment

Since the level of desired jobs seemed to be an important variable, we were interested in ascertaining factors that might influence it. Of all factors that seemed to affect this variable, the strongest was the sex of the respondent. In Table 5-2 are given the differences between male and female respondents for both desired and prior levels of employment.

TABLE 5-2

TRAINING REQUIREMENTS OF PREVIOUS AND DESIRED JOBS BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

Job Training Requirements	Previous Job		Desired Job	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Professional-Academic	0.8	2.3	8.3	16.5
Extensive	11.6	7.6	50.3	42.7
Moderate	20.6	48.9	19.9	38.2
Minimal	67.0	41.2	21.5	2.7
N =	597	556	483	558
	$p < .001$*		$p < .001$*	

*Probability values given for contingency tables in this chapter are derived from χ^2 tests.

Looking first at the desired level of employment, we see that there is only a small difference between men and women if we lump together the top two levels on the one hand, and the two lowest levels on the other. Thus, 58.6 percent of the men, as opposed to 59.2 percent of the women, want jobs requiring either professional-academic or extensive training; 41.4 percent of the men and 40.9 percent of the women desire jobs requiring either moderate or minimal training. Major sex differences occur, however, in respect to particular categories. Men are more likely than women to prefer jobs at the extensive and minimal levels of training; the converse is true for jobs at the professional-academic and moderate training levels.

As can be seen from the remainder of Table 5-2, sex differences in respect to level of prior employment are in the same direction. Variations between men and women in respect to both previous and expected levels of employment may reflect a general sex difference in low-income occupations. Men are perhaps more

likely than women to have jobs (e.g., heavy manual labor, truck driving) requring little or no training.

Additional analysis of antecedent variables possibly affecting the level of the respondents' job aspirations was carried out separately for men and women. Two such variables were found to be associated (for both sexes) with the type of job the respondents wanted: (1) level of education, and (2) participant status.[1]

The first of these associations was not unexpected: the higher the respondent's educational level, the higher the level of his job aspirations. While perhaps predictable, the finding provides evidence on the internal consistency of the respondents' replies and suggests that their job aspirations had some basis in the reality of their educational attainments. For example, over 70 percent of men and women aspiring to jobs requiring professional or academic training had completed high school. By contrast, less than a fifth of the men and only two percent of the women wanting jobs with minimal training were high school graduates.

The second association is more complex and puzzling. As Table 5-3 shows, current participants and terminees had higher levels of job aspirations than new participants, with peak levels occurring with the current enrollee categories. Thus, for women, we find that 69 percent of the current participants want jobs at the two highest training levels as opposed to 39 percent of the new participants and 60 percent of the terminees. A similar curvilinear pattern can be observed for the men.

TABLE 5-3

TRAINING REQUIREMENTS OF DESIRED JOBS BY PROGRAM STATUS AND SEX

Job Training Requirements	Male			Female		
	New %	Current %	Terminee %	New %	Current %	Terminee %
Professional-Academic	6.1	10.9	7.0	4.9	20.6	20.1
Extensive	40.5	57.3	51.0	34.5	49.0	40.2
Moderate	21.6	16.1	23.1	54.9	28.3	38.5
Minimal	31.8	15.6	18.9	5.6	2.0	1.2
N =	148	192	143	142	247	169
		$p < .01$			$p < .001$	

[1]Unless otherwise specified, associations between variables reported in this chapter are statistically significant at the .05 level (Chi-square test).

The association was found to hold up when control variables were introduced. The most important of these was city, since new participants were heavily over-represented in Chicago. Status and level of aspiration were found to be significantly associated, however, for respondents in each of the three cities.

One explanation for the relationship may be found in the changes in the WIN Program brought about by the Talmadge Amendments, which applied to the new participants but not to the other groups. As we will see in Chapter 7, new participants were more likely to view their participation in WIN as compulsory. Thus, we may have in the recent entrants a less well-motivated group with lower aspirations. Also, WIN II, with its more limited educational and training options, may not have stimulated aspirations to the extent that WIN I might have in the case of current enrollees or terminees. These interpretations do not explain, however, the tendency for terminees to have lower aspirations than current participants. Another kind of explanation may need to be considered, perhaps as a supplement to the first. Quite possibly exposure to WIN serves to elevate the participants' aspirations, which then may decline, at least to some extent, as participants come to realize that these aspirations cannot be fully achieved. If so, one might expect, as we find, a higher aspirational level among the current enrollees.

Expected Occupational Mobility

Another way of viewing the participants' aspirations is in terms of the "distance" between their previous and desired levels of employment. Two participants may want jobs requiring extensive training, but one may have previously held a job at this level while the other may have been an unskilled worker. The distinction is of obvious importance: participants who wish to make a great leap forward will place more demands on a training program and may be vulnerable to greater disappointment if their expectations are not fulfilled. While previous data (Table 5-1) have shown that our respondents as a group expect jobs at appreciably higher levels than the ones they had, they provide no picture of desired change in levels for individual respondents.

Accordingly, an "expected mobility index" was constructed by obtaining the difference between the level of the respondent's most recent job and the level of the job he desired. For example, if an individual last held a job calling for minimal training but now wanted a job requiring extensive training he would receive a mobility score of +2. Negative scores would describe an individual whose expected job was at a lower level than his most recent employment.

Table 5-4 gives a breakdown by sex for various categories of expected mobility. The majority of respondents (64 percent) expect to move ahead at least one level; only a handful are headed in a downwardly mobile direction. Of

particular interest is the large proportion (29 percent) in the "considerably upward" category. Further analysis of the data revealed that these respondents for the most part wished to move from jobs at the lowest level (requiring minimal training) to jobs requiring extensive training. In fact, this particular mobility pattern was the one most common for the sample as a whole, accounting for approximately a quarter of the respondents.

TABLE 5-4

EXPECTED MOBILITY BY SEX

Categories of Mobility	Men %	Women %	Total %
Downward (-1 to -3)	2.7	3.0	2.9
Same level (0)	39.3	28.3	33.6
Slightly upward (+1)	20.9	37.2	29.4
Considerably upward (+2)	32.6	25.4	28.8
Extremely upward (+3)	4.4	6.1	5.3
N =	473	508	981
		$p < .001$	

The sex differences merit some comment. A somewhat higher proportion of women than men are upwardly mobile overall, but men are more likely than women to fall in the considerably upward mobile category.

Associations between the expected mobility index and other variables revealed a pattern similar to the previously reported relationships between other variables and the level of expected job. The strongest association was with status in WIN: higher proportions of upwardly mobile respondents were found among the current participants than the other groups.

Job Aspirations and WIN Participation

The data thus far presented have given us a picture of the respondents' aspirations in terms of level of jobs desired and expected occupational mobility. Some of the factors that may have affected these measures of aspiration have also been considered.

We will not turn to the question of whether or not the respondent's aspiration (as measured by the level of job desired) affected the nature or degree of the respondent's investment in the WIN Program. While it seems clear that wanting a job is an important incentive for participation in the WIN Program, it remains to be seen if the type of job the respondent wants makes a difference.

The data strongly suggest that respondents desiring higher level jobs had a different interest in the program than those wanting lower level jobs. As Table 5-5 reveals, respondents wanting higher level jobs hoped to obtain training or education from the program; by contrast, respondents seeking lower level jobs were inclined to see the program as providing them with work.

TABLE 5-5

LEVEL OF JOB DESIRED BY REACTION OF RESPONDENTS TO PROSPECT OF TRAINING

Training Requirements	Wanted:	Training		Education		Job	
		Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Professional-Academic		5.5	13.9	29.4	25.8	4.8	10.6
Extensive		62.5	47.0	52.9	46.8	39.9	38.4
Moderate		18.9	37.8	11.8	25.8	22.2	45.4
Minimal		13.1	1.3	5.9	1.6	33.1	5.6
	N =	275	381	51	124	248	216
		$p < .001$		$p < .10$		$p < .001$	

The relative importance of training as an incentive for respondents with aspiration for higher level jobs is also revealed in Table 5-6. Respondents were asked how they would react if they could get training for a job they wanted but no guarantee of a job. As the table shows, respondents desiring higher level jobs were more likely to say that such a contingency would "make no difference" in respect to their WIN participation.

So far it has been suggested that the participant's job aspirations shape the nature of his incentives for participating in WIN. We will now turn to the question of the effect of these aspirations on the amount of incentive. For example, do aspirations for better jobs provide a greater incentive for participating in WIN?

TABLE 5-6

LEVEL OF JOB DESIRED BY WHAT RESPONDENT WANTED FROM WIN AND BY SEX

Training Requirements	Male		Female	
	Make No Difference %	Would be Bad or Might Leave %	Make No Difference %	Would be Bad or Might Leave %
Professional-Academic	41.0	59.0	34.4	65.6
Extensive	38.5	61.5	25.8	74.2
Moderate	26.9	73.1	17.5	82.5
Minimal	22.2	77.8	6.7	93.3
N =	1010			
	$p < .001$		$p < .001$	

As Table 5-7 shows, respondents wanting jobs requiring professional-academic or extensive training were more likely to initiate referral into WIN than respondents preferring jobs with lower training requirements. This finding suggests that the former respondents may have been somewhat more highly motivated at point of entry into the program.

TABLE 5-7

LEVEL OF JOB BY INITIATION OF REFERRAL AND BY SEX

Training Requirements	Men		Women	
	Respondent Initiated %	Others Initiated %	Respondent Initiated %	Others Initiated %
Professional-Academic	20.0	80.0	82.6	17.4
Extensive	29.3	70.6	74.8	25.2
Moderate	15.6	84.3	61.0	38.9
Minimal	14.4	85.6	46.7	53.3
N =	482		558	
	$p < .01$		$p < .001$	

Although the respondents with greater job aspirations may have had a greater incentive to enter the program, there is little evidence that they continued to be influenced by any extra incentive margin once they got in. Thus, no relationship was found between the level of job desired and either the importance attached to getting the job wanted or the training needed to prepare for the job. As noted earlier, an overwhelming proportion of the respondents (about 90 percent in each instance) thought that getting the job or training they wanted was either "very important" or "important." The lack of discrimination in these variables would make it difficult, of course, to detect any special effect of level of job aspirations.

Expected Pay

Still another measure of the participant's career aspirations is the amount of money he expects to earn on the job he hopes to get. After the type of job the respondent desired was ascertained, he was asked to estimate the weekly take-home pay he expected to obtain from the job.

As was the case with our first measure, the strongest predictor of this measure was the sex of the respondent. Table 5-8 presents breakdowns by categories of expected income and by sex. The great majority of men (almost 70 percent) expect a take-home pay in excess of $150 per week. Only slightly more than a quarter of the women expect to earn this much. Median weekly expected pay for men was $155; for women, $115. The bulk of respondents who fell in the $200 or more category hope to make $200 a week. Only 10 percent of the sample, mostly men, expected their earnings to exceed that amount.

TABLE 5-8

EXPECTED WEEKLY TAKE-HOME PAY BY SEX

Expected Pay	Men %	Women %	All %
Less than $100	1.8	19.4	11.0
$100 to $149	29.1	53.5	41.9
$150 to $199	36.1	16.6	25.9
$200 or more	33.0	10.6	21.3
N =	457	501	958
		$p < .001$	

The median expected net earnings for the sample as a whole was $140 per week, which would produce a net yearly earning in excess of $7,000. Since public assistance grants for the three cities averaged less than $3,500 per year for a family of four, the respondents as a group hoped to more than double their net income.

Table 5-9 and 5-10 show the relationship between our two principal measures of aspiration: (1) the training requirements, and (2) the expected take-home pay for the type of job the respondent hopes to obtain. The relationship between the variables is presented separately for men and women because of sex differences in the degree and pattern of association between the measures. On the whole the two measures are significantly associated, although the degree of association is not particularly high. The variables are more closely related for women (gamma=.40) than for men (gamma=.29). In the case of the women, the degree of association is lowered by the large cluster of respondents who hope to get jobs with high training requirements with expected low pay. In the case of the men, the situation is reversed: the level of the relationship is lowered by the large numbers who expect to get high-paying jobs with low training requirements.

TABLE 5-9

LEVEL AND EXPECTED PAY OF JOBS DESIRED BY MEN

Expected Weekly Take-Home	Professional-Academic %	Extensive %	Moderate %	Minimal %
Less than $100	--	1.8	--	4.2
$100-$149	26.3	22.5	33.7	42.7
$150-$199	26.3	33.0	46.7	36.5
$200 or more	47.4	42.7	19.6	16.7
N =	453			
		$p < .001$		

Because the degree of relationship between the two measures of aspiration was not particularly strong and because of the sex differences in patterns of association, it was decided not to combine the measures into a single index of aspiration. Rather, expected take-home pay was related separately to the same set of potential predictor and outcome variables that was used for the first measure.

TABLE 5-10

LEVEL AND EXPECTED PAY OF JOBS DESIRED BY WOMEN

Expected Weekly Take-Home	Professional-Academic %	Extensive %	Moderate %	Minimal %
Less than $100	5.2	15.8	29.0	18.2
$100-$149	41.6	56.3	54.9	63.6
$150-$199	20.8	19.5	11.4	18.2
$200 or more	32.5	8.4	4.7	--
N =	496			
		$p < .001$		

This analysis produced meager results. When sex of the respondent was controlled for, the only predictor variable found to be significantly related to the respondent's wage expectations were educational level (in the case of women only) and age (men only). The better-educated women and the older men had higher expectations, although the relationship in neither case was strong. Of factors that might have been influenced by the respondent's wage expectations, again only two were found, with neither holding for both men and women. Women who had high wage expectations were less likely to express concern at lack of guarantee of a job if they could get the training they wanted. (This was the only instance in which both principal measures of aspiration were significantly related to the same dependent variable.) In the case of men, respondents with high wage expectations tended to be those who had said specifically they did not want a low-paying job (in their answer to questions concerning jobs they did not want). The relationship between status and expected wages was close to significant for men ($p=.06$), with new participants expressing somewhat lower wage expectations than either current or terminated participants.

Jobs Obtained After WIN

From findings presented thus far, one may conclude that an important incentive for WIN participation for most respondents is the prospect of obtaining the kind of work they want, which, as we have seen, generally represents at least one step up from the kinds of jobs they had. The extent to which they can achieve their objectives through WIN must be considered in assessing this kind of incentive. Its importance could be diminished in the long run if jobs obtained following completion of the program fall short of what respondents

expect. Such a result assumes that participants would eventually learn through the "grapevine" that the kind of jobs they wanted were not likely to be obtained, and we think that it is reasonable to assume that such feedback would occur.

Since we secured data on jobs actually obtained by terminees, we were able to compare the job aspirations of respondents against the level and wages of terminees' jobs, using these characteristics as indices of the employment realities participants might expect after termination from WIN. Data on job levels are presented in Table 5-11.

TABLE 5-11

PREVIOUS, DESIRED, AND OBTAINED JOBS BY TRAINING LEVEL

Training Requirements	Previous Job %	Desired Job %	Job after WIN %
Professional-Academic	1.3	12.7	2.2
Extensive	9.7	46.2	17.8
Moderate	34.3	29.7	34.6
Minimal	54.7	11.4	45.4
N =	1152	1041	185

Jobs obtained by terminees (who, like the sample as a whole, were about equally divided between men and women) tend to resemble more the types of jobs respondents held previously than the type of jobs they expect to get. Jobs actually obtained are at a somewhat higher level than previous jobs but fall far short of what respondents appear to expect.

Table 5-12 compares wages respondents expect from jobs they hope to get with wages terminees report receiving. (Data on wages from previous jobs were not obtained.) Again there is a rather wide discrepancy between expectations and "reality," particularly at higher wage levels. The gap is particularly wide for men. While 70 percent of the men expected to earn more than $150 per week, only 29 percent of the male terminees report earning that amount.

Another estimate of income reality was derived from WIN Program termination data obtained from the three cities. These data report gross hourly earnings of 591 terminees (about two-thirds of whom were men) for the last six months of 1972. The gross hourly earnings were converted into approximate weekly net earnings to make the data comparable with ours. These data correspond closely with those in Table 5-12. Approximately 36 percent in the larger sample have reported net weekly earnings of less than $100 per week; 45 percent

TABLE 5-12

WEEKLY TAKE-HOME PAY FOR DESIRED AND OBTAINED JOBS BY SEX

	Total %	Less than $100 %	$100-$149 %	$150-$199 %	$200 or More %
Men					
Expected jobs (N=457)	100.0	1.8	29.1	36.1	33.0
Jobs obtained by terminees (N=111)	99.9	23.4	47.7	22.5	6.3
Women					
Expected jobs (N=501)	100.1	19.4	53.5	16.6	10.6
Jobs obtained by terminees (N= 73)	100.0	68.5	28.8	2.7	0.0
Combined					
Expected jobs (N=958)	100.1	11.0	41.9	25.9	21.3
Jobs obtained by terminees (N=184)	100.0	41.3	40.2	14.7	3.8

earn between $100 and $150, and the remaining 19 percent earn over $150.

In assessing the gap between the respondents' expectations and the realities they will probably face, we must also bear in mind that 170 (43 percent) of our terminee sample did not obtain jobs at all. If that number were entered in Table 5-12, as a group reporting no earned income, the discrepancy between what respondents expect to earn and their chances of earning that much becomes even larger. For example, while 70 percent of our male respondents expect to earn $150 or more a week, only about nine percent will probably earn this much.

It is clear that most of our respondents will not fare as well in the labor market as they expect. One consequence might well be a negative reaction to WIN. Data obtained from terminees suggest this kind of reaction may have occurred. First, there was a significant relationship between whether or not a terminee found a job after WIN and his attitude toward the program. Of terminees who did not receive jobs after WIN, the majority (54 percent) had a negative attitude toward WIN, that is were basically critical of the program or expressed dissatisfaction with it; an additional 19 percent were neutral in their attitude. Only 27 percent were positive. By contrast, of those who obtained jobs, only 37 percent expressed a negative attitude toward WIN; 14 percent took a neutral position, and almost half—49 percent—had a positive attitude. Moreover, the greater a respondent's take-home pay, the more positive his attitude toward WIN. This relationship was particularly strong in the case of men. About half the men earning over $100 a week felt positively toward the program as opposed to less than 10 percent of the men who earned under this amount.

Leaving Welfare: Gains and Losses

Our first question in this area was addressed to how the participants in general connect their welfare status to participation in WIN. To what extent do participants regard WIN as a means of getting off public assistance?

We asked respondents if they though WIN would help them get off welfare. Ninety percent thought it would. We then queried them on the importance that getting off welfare had for their participation in WIN. Virtually all the respondents not already off welfare had an opinion on this question. Of those responding, almost half (45 percent) said that this incentive was "very important"—that they wouldn't stay in WIN if they didn't think it would help them get off welfare. A similar proportion (47 percent) regarded this incentive as "important," but they would stay in WIN even if they did not think it would help them get off welfare. Thus, over 90 percent of the sample seemed to regard departure from public assistance as an important reason for their participation in WIN. There were no strong associations between this variable and others, perhaps because of the one-sided nature of the responses.

A comparison between participants' initial expectations of getting off welfare and the proportion of terminees who actually did proved to be of interest, however. While nine out of 10 of the respondents expected WIN to help them get off welfare and regarded this goal as important, only a third of the terminees were no longer receiving public assistance. These data suggest another source of disappointment for our respondents, one already experienced by the bulk of the terminees and one that may be the end of the road for the majority of new and current participants.

An attempt was made to obtain more discriminating data on the respondents' attitudes toward their welfare status through two open-ended questions: the first asked the respondent to tell us what he thought he would gain by going off welfare; the second, what he though he would lose.

In answering the first question, respondents almost universally assumed that they would not go off welfare unless they were able to secure an alternate means of financial support, which they generally viewed as coming from employment. As in other open-ended questions, up to three responses per respondent were elicited.

The types of responses given are in themselves of interest since they provide a "map" for the kinds of incentives that may serve to motivate AFDC clients to leave the welfare system. Generally the responses could be grouped under the following categories: (1) financial gains, which included both specific financial and material benefits, such as more money and better housing, and more general benefits of this kind—i.e., a better standard of living; (2) psychological gains, which included relief from feelings of being stigmatized or of resentment over invasions of privacy and increases in feelings of self-respect and personal competence; (3) greater "independence," which usually represented some combination of increased financial and psychological freedom.

Almost all of the respondents (96 percent) perceived some gain in going off welfare. This result could perhaps be expected, given their assumption that they would be leaving welfare for a job and given the generally high expectations concerning the employment they would obtain. It is still noteworthy that almost all the respondents mentioned some benefits from leaving welfare, a finding that contradicts the notion that a large proportion of recipients are basically content with their dependency status.

Also of interest is how the perceived gains fell among the three categories and how these perceptions varied according to respondent characteristics. These data are presented in Table 5-13. As can be seen, financial gains are most frequently mentioned, although psychological gains rank a close second. The spread among categories suggests that the incentive motivating respondents to leave their welfare status is better seen in terms of a configuration of material and psychological elements rather than in terms of one or the other.

TABLE 5-13

PROPORTIONS OF RESPONDENTS MENTIONING FINANCIAL GAINS PSYCHOLOGICAL GAINS, AND GREATER INDEPENDENCE BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS[a]

Characteristics	Financial Gains %	Psychological Gains %	Greater Independence %
Sex			
Male	54.9[b]	41.5	29.9[b]
Female	46.1	43.8	49.8
Race			
White	53.7[b]	59.0[b]	27.4[b]
Black	49.6	39.0	44.0
Status			
New	56.4[c]	34.9[c]	37.3[c]
Current	50.1	47.8	42.0
Terminee	41.1	45.0	42.0
Length of time on welfare			
Less than 1 year	56.2[c]	35.9[c]	30.6[c]
1-2 years	56.5	43.1	38.6
Over 2 years	43.4	48.7	49.2

[a] Percentages of respondents not mentioning gains (100 percent-reported value) are omitted.

[b] $p < .01$, χ^2, 1 degree of freedom.

[c] $p \geq .001$, χ^2, 2 degrees of freedom.

This formulation is supported by variations among different groups of respondents. Thus, men are somewhat more likely than women to cite financial gains, but a much higher proportion of women than men give greater independence as a reason for leaving welfare. Possibly the explanation for the latter difference lies in the fact that women are more likely than men to have to contend with both the financial and psychological deprivations of welfare—for example, having to justify extra expenses for children—hence, they may be more likely to see "independence" in general as the gain in leaving welfare.

Differences between white and black respondents are also apparent. Those differences relating to financial gains and greater independence can be accounted for by the disproportionate number of women in the black sample. One

cannot so easily explain, however, the large variation between the black and white samples in respect to psychological gains, which, as can be seen, does not follow the pattern of differences between men and women. White respondents appeared, then, to place more value on the psychological benefits of leaving welfare than did their black counterparts. Next we note that the less exposure to the WIN Program, the more likely financial gains are to be emphasized. Conversely, current enrollees and terminees place relatively greater stress on psychological gains and independence than do new enrollees.

The last variable in Table 5-13 produces a quite interesting relationship. The longer participants have been on public assistance, the more likely they are to mention greater independence and psychological gains as advantages of leaving. The association holds for both men and women, although it was somewhat stronger for the latter. This result challenges the notion that welfare recipients become increasingly comfortable in their roles as time passes. In spontaneous responses to an open-ended question, it was the old-timers on welfare, not the newcomers, who were most likely to speak of greater independence, relief from stigma and restrictions, and enhancement of self-image as gains from leaving welfare.

When asked what they would lose by going off welfare, respondents continued to assume that their departure from welfare would coincide with entrance into the labor market. Thus, it is not surprising that only a small minority of respondents (eight percent) mentioned "loss of financial benefits." That only two percent cited "loss of security" was somewhat unexpected, because it was thought that more respondents would be reluctant to surrender the stability of a public assistance income. Possibly this low proportion suggests that respondents perceive reentry into the welfare system as relatively easy to accomplish.

The most frequently mentioned losses were in the area of "fringe benefits," which would not be replaced if they left welfare for a job. The loss of medical benefits was the one most often cited (by 19 percent of the respondents, women more frequently than men). Fifteen percent mentioned "other benefits," such as food stamps and day care. The economic importance of these fringe benefits should not be underestimated. According to one recent study, the value of Medicaid benefits was $1,200 for a welfare family of four in New York City. The value of food stamps was placed at $360, and free lunches, $95 per child.[1]

In all, 30 percent of the sample reported some kind of anticipated loss. A significantly higher proportion of white than black respondents (38 percent versus 29 percent) mentioned one or more losses. Other than those variations mentioned (the sex difference in respect to medical benefits and the race

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[1]Kihss, Peter, "U.S. Study Scores City Aid Programs," New York Times, July 8, 1973, p. 1.

differences just reported), there were no associations between antecedent variables and perception of losses from leaving welfare.

Measures of the participants' attitudes toward welfare were cross-tabulated with various measures of attitude concerning the WIN Program and employment. Only one clear pattern of association emerged. Respondents who had mentioned some type of job they would not take even if it meant staying on welfare were more likely to perceive losses in leaving welfare than respondents who said they would accept any job. Although these associations were not strong (only several reached statistical significance), they were quite consistent. Perhaps respondents who placed restrictions on the jobs they would take were those who found welfare more tolerable and hence were more inclined to perceive losses in leaving it. Other explanations are possible, of course. In any event, this relationship provides further support for the notion advanced earlier that many participants may be reluctant to give up welfare benefits just for the sake of achieving independence from welfare.

Conclusions

The major incentive for participation in WIN is the participant's expectation that the program will provide the opportunity to secure a job that he or she wants. This conclusion has been amply justified by the data presented in the present chapter and in the report as a whole. It is also quite consistent with the findings of other major studies of the Work Incentive Program.

The data just presented have hopefully added to our understanding of the kind of employment opportunities that will serve as effective incentives. Almost all of our participants wanted jobs better than the low-paying, unskilled work most of them have had. They are an upwardly mobile group, most of whom want skilled jobs that will produce sufficient earnings to enable them to live well above the welfare standard. Their aspirations seem more influenced by these pragmatic considerations than by the "work ethic." That is, they do not see themselves as taking any job just for the sake of "getting off welfare." It must be a job that will enable them to achieve a better quality of life than public assistance can provide.

Their expectations may strike us as unrealistic if we consider them from the vantage point of what a program like WIN and what the market place can provide, but they appear to be quite realistic in light of societal norms. To achieve an adequate standard of living is certainly a legitimate goal in our society. Our typical respondent hopes to achieve a standard that can scarcely be considered more than modest. In fact, the median annual income expected by our respondents, slightly over $7,000 per year, is close to what would be needed to maintain the lowest of three budget standards projected by the 1971

Urban Family Budget for a family of four.[1] This lowest standard, based on estimations of basic consumption needs, averages approximately $7,200 for the three study cities. Only a small fraction of the sample, less than 10 percent, hopes to achieve an income that would permit a standard of living at the intermediate level, an average of approximately $11,000 for the three cities.

Regardless of what one thinks of the legitimacy of expectations, our participants' aspirations have placed a strong demand upon the training and placement facilities of the WIN Program. Recent directions taken by the program—for example, curtailments in the length of training and increased emphasis on placement in lower-skilled jobs—have run counter to this demand. Such conflict between what the consumer wants and what WIN can deliver must be taken into account in program assessment and planning, even if the conflict itself proves irreconcilable.

The findings reveal the very large gap between the participants' aspirations and their probable attainments. Judging from evidence available, the great majority of our respondents will be far short of achieving their occupational goals by the time they finish WIN. Most will either not obtain jobs at all or will secure jobs falling beneath their expectations. Many of the disappointed will blame inadequacies in the program, whether or not the blame is justified.

The powerful incentive for WIN participation arising from the participants' job aspirations appears then to be based more on illusion than reality. There are, of course, some qualifying considerations. For example, some respondents may have exaggerated their expectations as a way of enhancing their own self-image or as a way of presenting a better image to our interviewers. Deep down they may have expected less. Others may have regarded participation in WIN as a gamble with long odds. If so, expectations could have been high, but tempered with the realization that they might well not be met. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to conclude that many participants expect WIN to enable them to achieve their aspirations as they expressed them. Their experience of failure, whether they see it as their own or as WIN's, must be reckoned with. Public assistance recipients do not need another failure in their lives. Moreover, if WIN cannot produce in the way that its participants expect, incentives growing out of their job aspirations may well lose their force.

Recommendations

Recommendations are based on the sizable gap between our respondents' expectations of WIN and what they will probably achieve as a result of

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[1]Ruiz, Elizabeth, "Urban Family Budgets Updated to Autumn, 1971," Monthly Labor Review, 95 (June 1972), pp. 46-50.

participation in the program. Obviously, our respondents wanted much more than WIN could give them.

We assume that it may be in the public interest for WIN to provide more of the kind of training that participants appear to want. Even if WIN is successful in placing welfare recipients in jobs that fall considerably short of their expectations, there is the likelihood, as our data suggest, that many of them will leave these jobs and return to welfare. Even if not rejected outright, low-level jobs may not call forth the kind of commitment and effort that ex-welfare recipients may need to have to hold them. While they may perceive a return to welfare as a poor alternative, they may see it as a better alternative than work with few rewards. Moreover, it can be argued that the dependent poor should be given an opportunity to prepare for the kind of jobs that will enable them to achieve a standard of living above a bare subsistence level.

Given the considerable pressure from participants for more extensive training and the possible dysfunctional consequences of not providing it, we recommend generally that the current limitations on training in the WIN Program be relaxed. More provision should be made for participants with the interest and capability to utilize more extensive courses of training for better quality jobs.

Such training opportunities need not be made available across the board. Many participants do not want them. Fiscal and job market realities provide further constraints. There may be merit, however, in developing special programs for selected participants. Such programs could be designed to offer extensive training for jobs at higher skill levels. An effort would be made to select participants who would be likely to succeed. Criteria relating to motivation, educational attainment, and previous work and training records might be among those used as a basis for selection. Ways should be developed to enable WIN participants who have demonstrated their capacity to utilize training in shorter programs to move up to the more extended programs in the same skill area. Thus, a successful trainee in a typist training program might be able to advance to a program training in stenography. These programs also might be made available for former WIN participants who wished to increase their employment levels.

Special programs of this kind would have the following advantages: (1) they would provide a track upward for the more able, highly motivated participant—an opportunity that is currently lacking in the excessively rigid restrictions of the present program; (2) they would constitute an incentive for accomplishment in potential feeder programs, and in so doing would capitalize on the natural and powerful incentives provided by the aspirant's career aspirations; (3) since by design they would be special programs, limited to some proportion of trainees in an overall WIN Program, their size and expense could be readily controlled, and monitoring of their operations and outcomes would be facilitated. In this way the large-scale—and, in the opinion of

some, excessive—investments in long-term training and educational programs that occurred under WIN I could be avoided.

The creation of elite programs would naturally give rise to certain problems, not the least of which might be the resentment of interested participants who would not be selected. This kind of problem could be minimized, however, by the development of explicit criteria for selection and their equitable application. In principle, there is no reason why such programs cannot provide for WIN the kind of accommodation to superior potential and high aspiration that comparable programs provide for other kinds of training and educational organizations.

Whether or not this direction is followed, there is a definite need to develop better ways of orienting participants to the limitations of WIN. There is something amiss if the majority of participants in a program expect that program to help them achieve goals that will, in fact, be realized for only a small minority. While the study did not examine what WIN participants were in fact told about the program before or after they entered it, we do know that their expectations were badly out of line with the objectives of the program, laying the groundwork for subsequent disappointment and resentment. Even though new participants were somewhat more realistic than other groups, which suggests that more accurate information about the program's capabilities is now being conveyed, even the new participants' expectations were quite excessive.

Perhaps there is need for much more leveling with the prospective or new participant about what the program can and cannot do for him. Participants' attitudes toward the program might be more favorable, and their participation improved in the long run, if they understand more clearly what they can expect. This does not have to be done in a way to vitiate their quite legitimate career aspirations. WIN can be presented to them as a small step toward realization of their goal of higher-level employment. It may not be able to give them the training they want, but it can possibly help them toward a better job than the one they had. This kind of presentation may not be well accepted, but WIN participants, we think, have a right to know what the realities are and will do better in the program if they have this knowledge.

CHAPTER 6

ADDITIONAL FEATURES IN THE LIFE SITUATION OF THE CLIENT: CHILD CARE, HEALTH, AND TRANSPORTATION

by
Dorothy Herberg

Three aspects of the client's everyday life are examined in this chapter. These topics—child care, health, and transportation—are only distantly related, but each is expected to have some effect as incentives and disincentives for subgroups of clients. Each topic is examined separately and, finally, the interaction among these problems is examined. Child care is considered first.

Child Care

Child care is a very complex issue. It involves the parent's attitudes toward substitute care for their children, the quality and comprehensiveness of care, who should provide it, what care is perceived as available, and the cost of care. In this study much of the attitudinal material was excluded. The background data on child care was viewed in terms of a few simple but crucial family-related variables, particularly the number and ages of the children, as well as who provided the care and whether or not the care was paid for by WIN.

There were a great and complex variety of sources of child care problems, including great unevenness in the provision of child care services and presence of child care resources. However, in this study this complexity was reduced to the simple question: "Are there any problems with the (child care) arrangement for your children?" Responses to this question and the background data were divided by sex of the respondent, city of residence, and status in the program. Child care problems were further analyzed in terms of WIN participation variables.

The child care function was a consideration for all but 4 percent (44) of the total sample. This small subgroup of youth had no children, and they were excluded in the following analyses.[1] They were between 15 and 19, and were children of AFDC parents. Only 13 percent of the total sample (159) reported child care problems, and of the terminees, less than one percent (12) gave child care problems as a reason for terminating from WIN.

[1]Also excluded from the analysis were 98 families where there were no children under 13.

CHILD CARE RESPONSIBILITIES

The youngest age group of parents in the sample—the 15- to 19-year-olds—was composed of four times as many women as men: 27 women as compared to seven men. Twenty percent of men and 14 percent of women were over 40 years. However, men with children had a larger average number of children than women: men had an average of 2.8 children while women had an average of 2.5 children, and 63 percent of the women but only 36 percent of the men had one or two children (see Table 6-2). It is possible that this was a result of the referral process where the child care problems of women with large families were considered.

A family structure variable was developed based on children's ages. This variable was used to provide information about children's ages relevant to substitute child care. Substitute care varies with the age of the children. Very young children need constant supervision as well as nurturance and discipline. Older children need less care and are often used for providing care for younger siblings. This structural variable was used to present an array of families by age—those with young children only, with older and younger children, and with older children only. This variable, as it was operationalized, and its frequency distributions are displayed in Table 6-3.

The family structure array shows an inverse relationship between ages and numbers of respondents with children in a given age range. Thus, families with only children under six comprise 38 percent of the sample under consideration, whereas families where all children are over six and some are over 13 as well comprise 13 percent of the sample. The families where children go from preschool all the way to teenagers are least numerous and comprise six percent of the sample. Men had younger families. Seventy-seven percent of the men had children under six compared to 60 percent of the women (see Table 6-3).

The number of children of respondents and their family structure were compared by their city of residence and status in the program, but no significant differences were found. In other words, family size and age of children did not appear to affect selection of newly-recruited participants in the program under Talmadge[1] procedures as compared to selection under earlier procedures. The sex of respondents appears to be, by far, the most differentiating factor with regard to child care.

CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

In what way, if any, do arrangements made for children differ for subgroups of clients? The most striking difference in child care arrangements are those for men and women. Men use "spouse" care 87 percent of the time.

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[1]See Chapter 12 for details on those procedures.

TABLE 6-1

THE RELATIONSHIP OF PARENT-
RESPONDENT'S AGE TO THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENT

Age	Male Parents %	Female Parents %
15-19	1.0	5.0
20-24	25.0	27.0
25-29	22.0	25.0
30-34	21.0	18.0
35-39	11.0	12.0
40-44	10.0	8.0
45-49	5.0	4.0
50-54	2.0	2.0
55-59	3.0	<1
60-over	<1	0.0
N =	562	587

TABLE 6-2

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN
RESPONDENT'S FAMILY BY SEX OF RESPONDENT (N=1158)

Number of Children	Male Parents %	Female Parents %
1	24.0	33.0
2	27.0	30.0
3	20.0	15.0
4	12.0	9.0
5	9.0	7.0
6	4.0	3.0
7	4.0	3.0
N =	567	591

TABLE 6-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES
OF FAMILY STRUCTURE BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

Family Structure	Male %	Female %
Under 6 only	41.0	35.0
Under 6 & 6-13	31.0	19.0
Under 6 & 6-13 & over 13	5.0	6.0
6-13	12.0	23.0
6-13 & over 13	10.0	17.0
N =	539	537

TABLE 6-4

TYPE OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENT BY
SEX OF RESPONDENT AND CITY OF RESIDENCE

Child Care Arrangements	Male %	Female %	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Total %
Spouse	87.0	2.0	43.0	46.0	44.0	44.0
Relative in-home	3.0	20.0	7.0	10.0	17.0	11.0
Relative out-home	2.0	13.0	9.0	5.0	8.0	7.0
Non-relative in-the-home	2.0	10.0	6.0	4.0	9.0	6.0
Non-relative out-of-home	3.0	21.0	20.0	12.0	4.0	12.0
Licensed home	< 1	2.0	< 1	2.0	< 1	1.0
Day care center	< 1	14.0	7.0	11.0	3.0	7.0
Self care	3.0	19.0	7.0	11.0	14.0	11.0
N =	520	530	156	169	144	1059

Only 6.4 percent of women had a spouse living with them, and only a few would use spouses for care and otherwise had a great variation in child care plans. When cities are compared, more differences emerge. Twenty percent of Chicago clients used unlicensed day care homes compared to only four percent of the clients in Detroit. Relatives in the home were used by 17 percent of the clients in Detroit compared to 7 percent of the clients in Chicago. Cleveland had the most frequent use of licensed day care homes and day care centers. These findings are related to WIN policies, incidentally, which will be discussed in the next section.

Does the child care arrangement vary with family structure? In Table 6-5 few trends in child care usage are evident. However, spouse care is less frequent as children get older, and self care increases dramatically. Day care centers and licensed homes are used almost entirely for younger children.

TABLE 6-5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY
STRUCTURE AND CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

Child Care Arrangements	Under 6 %	Under 6, 6-13 %	Under 6, 6-13, 13+ %	6-13 %	6-13, 13+ %
Spouse	50.0	57.0	43.0	26.0	31.0
Relative in-home	12.0	7.0	15.0	14.0	10.0
Relative out-of-home	10.0	3.0	0.0	12.0	3.0
Non-relative in-home	4.0	7.0	10.0	9.0	6.0
Non-relative out-of-home	14.0	13.0	13.0	12.0	5.0
Licensed home	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	<1
Day care center	8.0	10.0	13.0	3.0	2.0
Self care	1.0	3.0	7.0	22.0	42.0

PAID CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

Is paid child care an important incentive in WIN? Differences in policy regarding child care payments appear to affect directly the proportion of clients who are paid. In Cleveland payments are only made to licensed caregivers (e.g., licensed day care homes and day care centers). Chicago and Detroit are more permissive about paid arrangements, and twice as many persons fall into this category than in Cleveland (see Table 6-6). Paid arrangements, however, account for only 21 percent of all arrangements although another 6 percent of clients expected to get paid. Therefore, for three-quarters of the sample, paid child care was not given and, therefore, was not an incentive.

TABLE 6-6

EXPECTED CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CITY OF RESIDENCE

Does WIN pay for child care?	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %
Yes	28.0	13.0	23.0
No	64.0	87.0	68.0
Expect yes	8.0	--	9.0
N =	357	362	322

The percentage paid by WIN for various arrangements ranges from one percent of care by spouse to 70 percent of care in licensed homes. (However, there were only 10 cases of the latter.) Fifty-two percent of all relatives giving care, in and out of the child's home, received no pay for their child care services. Relatives other than spouse provided 20 percent of all child care (excluding self care). Including spouse care, 70 percent of all care is provided by relatives. Only 9 percent of care is provided in licensed homes or day care centers. The most commonly paid arrangement is the non-relative, out-of-home unlicensed day care home, which accounts for 26 percent of such arrangements.

Finally, family structure had little effect on which arrangements were paid; however, fewer families with older children received paid child care.

SUMMARY

Men have larger and younger families than women. Male child care arrangements are primarily by spouses, whereas women can use a spouse infrequently and must use many other types of care. Cleveland respondents use licensed homes and day care centers more than the other cities, and this appears to be related to policies about paid arrangements. Chicago and Detroit programs paid for proportionately twice as many recipients as Cleveland, and in these cities there was more latitude about what types of arrangements were to be paid. Overall, only 21 percent of all persons in the sample had paid child care. Therefore, for three-quarters of the sample, paid child care cannot be considered an incentive. Twenty percent of all care was provided by relatives, excluding spouses, and half of these were not paid for their child care services. The unlicensed home is the arrangement most commonly reimbursed.

CHILD CARE PROBLEMS

Which respondents reported problems with their child care arrangements, and for whom were child care problems a disincentive to participation? City and status showed few differences, whereas problems showed up differently by sex. Female respondents reported almost three times as many problems as male respondents (see Table 6-7).

TABLE 6-7

CHILD CARE PROBLEMS BY CITY, STATUS, AND SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Yes %	No %	Total %
City			
Chicago	15.0	85.0	100.
Cleveland	17.0	83.0	100.
Detroit	13.0	88.0	101.
Status			
New	13.0	87.0	100.
Current	14.0	86.0	100.
Terminee	19.0	81.0	100.
Sex			
Male	8.0	92.0	100.
Female	22.0	78.0	100.
N =	159	895	

Spouse care produced the lowest proportion of problems, whereas care by non-relatives in and out of the home, including licensed homes, produced the most problems. Self care and day care centers do not produce many problems (see Table 6-8). (The former might not hold up if the 98 cases with teenage children only had been included in the study.)

The presence of few problems associated with relative care in the home corroborates the finding from our previous report as those respondents also stressed their preference for relative care.[1] This continues to be an important finding as there is a difference in the form of care preferred by experts in early childhood education as compared to WIN mothers; the former prefer day

[1]Reid, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

care centers and licensed homes and the latter in-home relative care. Nevertheless, some findings in this study are ambiguous. Day care centers and relatives in the home present few problems, whereas non-relatives in the home and licensed homes have more. As was the case in the previous study, the clients using the more institutionalized programs are few compared to those using informal modes of care, making comparisons unsatisfactory. Certainly, formal programs are reliable and may provide good care, and the lack of problems associated with day care centers is understandable.

TABLE 6-8

CHILD CARE PROBLEMS CLASSIFIED
BY TYPES OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

Child Care Arrangements	Proportions Having Problems		Total Users	
	Yes %	No %	No.	%
Spouse	7.0	93.0	466	44.0
Relative in-home	15.0	85.0	116	11.0
Relative out-of-home	26.0	74.0	78	7.0
Non-relative in-home	31.0	69.0	65	6.0
Non-relative out-of-home	32.0	68.0	130	12.0
Licensed home	30.0	70.0	10	1.0
Day care center	14.0	86.0	76	7.0
Self care	11.0	89.0	108	10.0
N =	159	890	1049	98

It should be noted here that in a few cases interviewees reported that spouse care for children of male respondents was not what they wanted. In these cases the woman either wished to work also or to go to school herself. She was unable to do either since WIN will not pay for child care in her absence. Twice as many problems occur in families with children under six and under 13, and problems decrease as the children grow older (see Table 6-9).

Finally, those parents who had school-age children were asked whether they would use an after school center if their school had one. Parents who report child care problems are more likely to say they would use such a center (63 percent as compared to 31 percent).

TABLE 6-9

CHILD CARE PROBLEMS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family Structure	Proportions Having Problems		Total Users	
	Yes %	No %	No.	%
Under 6 only	18.0	82.0	406	39.0
Under 6 & 6-13	18.0	82.0	265	25.0
Under 6 & 6-13 & over 13	10.0	90.0	61	6.0
6-13	11.0	89.0	183	18.0
6-13 & over 13	8.0	92.0	125	12.0
N =	158	882	1040	100

In summary, only 15 percent of those using child care reported problems. There were no significant differences by city or status for problems, but women had three times as many problems as men, and younger families had more than older ones. Spouse care produced fewest problems, and non-relative care produced most.

WIN PARTICIPATION AND CHILD CARE PROBLEMS

In order to associate child care more closely to WIN participation and ascertain its place as an incentive or disincentive, some attitudes toward the program were compared with child care problems.

Child care problems were not associated with amount of education or length of time in the program. However, child care problems were associated with length of time on welfare. Half of those with problems had been on welfare between two and five years. Eighteen percent of those with problems had been on welfare less than one year compared to 34 percent of those without problems. Of those with problems, fewer had been on welfare over five years (9 percent compared to 13 percent).

Several measures of optimism and positiveness about the WIN Program were compared with child care problems, but no significant relationships were found. However, in terms of an actual effect, it was found that of those who had problems, only 39 percent (23) got a job when they left the program compared to 54 percent (133) of those without problems.

HEALTH

The health of respondents was hypothesized to have an important effect on WIN participation. Ideally, screening processes will exclude medically inappropriate people from the program. However, problems were found in our sample, and either the screening processes had not been adequate or else the participants had views about their health that differed from those of medical personnel. In this section the nature and extent of such problems are described and related to WIN participation.

Almost three-quarters of the respondents regarded themselves as healthy. Less than one percent were coded as viewing their state of health as "poor, interferes with functioning." The remainder said they had some problems or were in poor health, but it did not interfere with functioning.

It is quite possible that these findings represent an underreporting of poor health as impressions gained during our previous study suggested there are many health problems among WIN participants.[1] There are at least two possible reasons for underreporting. First, men are culturally expected to play down the importance of physical problems, and, second, both men and women might believe that reporting health problems would adversely affect their status in WIN if the information became known. If these reasons were true, women and terminees would report most problems. In fact, it was found that more women than men said their health was poor. Terminees also were highest in this category, even though only a few gave health as a reason for termination from WIN (25 percent for terminees compared to 2 percent for current and 10 percent for new). With such small numbers, these conclusions remain speculative; there is some support for underreporting, but there are many alternative explanations of these differences such as the older age of male respondents than female.[2]

HEALTH PROBLEMS REPORTED AS HINDERING WIN PARTICIPATION

Respondents were asked whether there were any health problems that might affect their participation in WIN. Differences between the cities were not great: about one-fifth of respondents answered "yes" to this question in Chicago and Detroit and 15 percent in Cleveland.[3] There were slight sex differences with 20 percent of men and 23 percent of women mentioning a problem.

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[1]Reid, op. cit., p. 135. Eight percent of the WIN dropout sample gave health reasons for dropping out.

[2]Differences, by city, in responses to questions about health were not significant.

[3]Reporting of actual problems was higher in Chicago with 109 (27 percent) mentioning at least one problem.

The nature of the problem was asked for in an open-ended question, and the results were coded according to a list adapted from the Cornell Medical Index code for histories of specific diseases.[1]

Frequencies for any one problem did not exceed 26, and all but five categories (TB, underweight, paralysis, venereal disease, and malaria) had at least one client reporting that disease category. The most commonly reported problem was hypertension (26 cases), and in rank order below this category was the client-labeled category backache or back operation (24 cases), optical problem (20 cases), nerves (19 cases), and respiratory problems such as asthma and bronchitis (18 cases). The most common problem reported by women was nerves (16 cases) and then hypertension (12 cases), and reproductive system problems (10 cases). For men the most commonly reported problem was backache or back operation (18 cases) and then hypertension (14 cases) and optical problems (12 cases).

HEALTH PROBLEMS AS A DISINCENTIVE

As was the case with child care problems, health problems did not have a significant effect on attitudes toward the program. However, health problems did increase with age and length of time on welfare. There was also an effect on whether terminated clients got jobs after they left the program (see Tables 6-10 and 6-11). Of those with health problems (93), 34 percent found jobs after leaving the program compared to 58 percent of those without health problems (273).

TABLE 6-10

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE TO HEALTH PROBLEMS

Age	Proportions Having Problems	
	Yes %	No %
15-19	12.0	88.0
20-24	16.0	84.0
25-29	17.0	83.0
30-34	19.0	81.0
35-39	17.0	83.0
40-44	34.0	66.0
45-49	15.0	85.0
50-54	33.0	67.0
55-59	36.0	67.0
60-over	0.0	100.0
N =	225	976

[1]Brodman, Keene, Albert J. Erdmann, Jr., Harold G. Wolff, "Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire," Cornell University Medical College, 1949, p. 8.

TABLE 6-11

RELATIONSHIP OF LENGTH OF TIME ON WELFARE
TO HEALTH PROBLEMS

Time on Welfare	Proportions Having Problems		Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Under 6 months	7.0	93.0	100.
6-12 months	14.0	86.0	100.
1-2 years	21.0	79.0	100.
2-5 years	23.0	77.0	100.
5-10 years	23.0	77.0	100.
10 years & over	31.0	69.0	100.
N =	188	789	

Transportation

About 22 percent of the sample said they had transportation problems related to WIN participation. Cleveland respondents had this problem to the greatest extent (see Table 6-12).

TABLE 6-12

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS COMPARED BY CITY

City	Proportions Having Problems		Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Chicago	14.0	86.0	100.
Cleveland	30.0	69.0	99.
Detroit	23.0	77.0	100.
N =	271	927	

Types of transportation differed widely by city. Half of Cleveland's problems were money problems, such as lack of bus tickets. In Chicago money problems and public transportation were viewed as major problems, and in Detroit public transportation was the major problem (see Table 6-13).

TABLE 6-13

TYPES OF TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS FOR EACH STUDY CITY[a]

Type of Problem	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %
Money problems (e.g., no bus tickets)	41.0	50.0	34.0
Public transport	41.0	20.0	42.0
Car problem	1.0	29.0	17.0
Distance	17.0	2.0	7.0
N =	69	126	90

[a]Categorized and coded from a series of open-ended items.

Nevertheless, in the question, "What makes it easy for you to participate in WIN?", transportation was given one of the most favorable ratings. There were 96 positive transportation responses in Chicago, 104 in Cleveland, and 66 in Detroit.

RELATIVE IMPACT OF CHILD CARE, HEALTH, AND TRANSPORTATION ON WIN PARTICIPATION

This section summarizes data about life situation problems perceived by clients. Overall, a general comparison of the problems by city indicates a similar order of problems present in child care, health, and transportation—an average of about 20 percent of responses. In particular, transportation ranges somewhat higher, from 14 percent to 30 percent, and child care somewhat lower, from 11 percent to 16 percent, and health from 15 percent to 20 percent, ranging over several related categories.

More frequent mention of transportation may be related to its being more easily conceptualized as a problem or an asset. Transportation was given 266 positive responses and 129 negative responses; child care was given 247 positive responses and 120 negative responses; and health was given no positive responses and 41 negative responses. It is hard to believe that good health is unimportant, for example, or that transportation could be of greater interest than child care.

The very dissatisfied with child care arrangements or those very unhealthy comprise, at most, no more than 4 percent of the sample. Termination from WIN for health, child care, or transportation reasons is also under 4 percent. The fact of expenses not covered for child care and transportation is mentioned by 5 to 11 percent for child care and 10 to 12 percent for transportation. Only between 11 and 24 percent of respondents had any child care expenses paid by WIN.[1]

THE EXTENT OF PROBLEM OVERLAP

These three problem areas were linked in a composite way to see to what extent problems overlap or accumulate in the same clients. Who these clients are and what disincentive effect the cumulation or overlap of problems had is also analyzed.

The problem overlap variable is distributed in the following ways (N=488):

		Percent
1.	Health problems only	25.0
2.	Child care problems only	18.0
3.	Transportation problems only	33.0
4.	Health and child care problems	5.0
5.	Health and transportation problems	10.0
6.	Child care and transportation problems	7.0
7.	Health, child care, and transportation problems	3.0
	Total	101.0

When analyzed by sex and race, some significant differences emerge. For men transportation looms as the largest single problem, whereas for women the three problem areas are each equally problematic. Health and child care are found together more often for women, whereas health and transportation occur more often for men. Only 14 people are affected by all three problems, and more women are likely to have all three (see Table 6-14).

Spanish-surname participants had health problems to a proportionately large degree compared to whites and blacks; one-half of these persons fell in this category compared to a quarter of the blacks and whites. Transportation was also a very large problem for Spanish-surname clients. However, no child care problems were mentioned by the group, whereas 20 percent of blacks mentioning problems noted child care problems which was, in turn, double the proportion of that of whites. Transportation alone was the greatest problem area for whites, and health and transportation together was the second greatest.

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[1]The ranges cover several related categories generated from coding an open-ended item.

TABLE 6-14

OVERLAP OF HEALTH, CHILD CARE,
AND TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS BY SEX AND RACE

Problem Overlap	Male	Female	White	Black	Spanish Surnamed
	%	%	%	%	%
Health problems only	25.0	24.0	20.0	25.0	54.0
Child care problems only	8.0	26.0	11.0	20.0	0.0
Transportation problems only	45.0	22.0	42.0	30.0	39.0
Health and child care	3.0	8.0	2.0	6.0	0.0
Health and transportation	12.0	8.0	16.0	9.0	8.0
Child care and transportation	5.0	8.0	7.0	7.0	0.0
Health, child care, and transportation	2.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	0.0
Total	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
N =	226	262	97	377	377

Finally, only 14 cases were found with all three problems present. However, of these 14, 10 were black women.

The problem overlap variable was also analyzed by city of residence and status in the program. Health problems alone and health and child care together are highest for Chicago (32 percent and 11 percent of group with problems) and lowest for Cleveland (17 percent and 2 percent). Transportation problems are highest for Cleveland (81 percent of group with problems). Child care problems alone are roughly equal for each. The four categories showing problem overlap showed very small differences by city. Examined by status in the program, the terminated clients who report health problems alone are the largest group in the terminated category because, of the three problem areas, health problems will remain after termination and be reported, whereas the others cease. Somewhat surprisingly, new clients report twice as many child care problems as current clients. This may mean that with the implementation of the Talmadge Amendments child care needs are not getting the advance attention that they have had in the past (see Table 6-15). The next three overlapping problem categories show a slight increasing trend from new to terminated which might be expected from simply the factor of greater time in the program leading to the development of more problems.

TABLE 6-15

OVERLAP OF HEALTH, CHILD CARE,
AND TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS BY CITY AND STATUS

Problem Overlap	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	New %	Current %	Terminee %
Health problems only	32.	17.	27.	20.	23.	29.
Child care problems only	17.	20.	15.	29.	12.	17.
Transportation problems only	20.	42.	33.	34.	39.	24.
Health and child care	11.	2.	5.	4.	5.	7.
Health and transportation	10.	8.	13.	7.	10.	13.
Child care and transportation	6.	8.	5.	3.	7.	8.
Health, child care, and, transportation	3.	3.	3.	3.	3.	2.
Total	99.	100.	101.	100.	99.	100.
Percent of total sample	30.	40.	30.	21.	45.	34.
N =	144	193	151	103	218	167

The problem overlap variable may be associated with other measures about attitude to the WIN Program. Numbers are very small, but there is some indication that as problems develop, positive feelings toward WIN may decrease. For example, among those who believe WIN will help them to do what they want when they finish, fewer are in the multiproblem groups than among those who do not believe WIN will help them (see Table 6-16). In another question, "How did you feel when you first got into WIN?", the proportion in the strongly positive group that had multiproblems were much fewer than the proportion in the strongly negative group (see Table 6-17).

TABLE 6-16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROBLEM OVERLAP
AND BELIEF WIN PROGRAM WILL BE HELPFUL

Problem Overlap	WIN Will Help		WIN Won't Help	
	%	No.	%	No.
Health and child care	23.	11	16.	3
Health and transportation	37.	18	42.	8
Child care and transportation	23.	11	26.	5
All three	15.	7	16.	3
Totals	100.	47	100.	19

TABLE 6-17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROBLEM OVERLAP
AND INITIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD WIN

Problem Overlap	Strongly Positive		Strongly Negative	
	%	No.	%	No.
Health and child care	15.	6	31.	4
Health and transportation	51.	21	38.	5
Child care and transportation	22.	9	23.	3
All three	12.	5	23.	1
Totals	100.	41	100.	13

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

These three life situation variables have quite distinct distributions by race and sex. For males and whites, transportation is reported as a problem to a much greater degree than by females and blacks. Here expectations may play a large part; e.g., men, especially white men, may expect to travel independently by car to work, and as their financial situation may not permit this, it shows up as a deprivation or problem. Women and blacks, on the other hand, may not expect to travel by their own car to the same degree and, hence, experience the lack of independent means of transport as less of a problem; the problems derived from not having an independent means of transport are not felt as keenly. Women experience child care problems three times as frequently as men; have child care and health problems overlapping twice as frequently as

men; and black women are more likely to have all three problems. In addition, twice as many blacks had child care problems as whites. Finally, Spanish-surname people, although a small subgroup in the study, had a very high proportion of health problems but did not report child care problems.

Problem overlap by city and status show less marked differences than race and sex, but nevertheless, health problems alone and health and child care problems together are much more likely in Chicago than in Cleveland. In Cleveland transportation problems are twice as frequent as in Chicago. New enrollees report a higher proportion of child care problems suggesting that with the advent of the Talmadge Amendments that child care needs are not given advance attention prior to enrollment as was the case under WIN I.

Finally, analysis of these life situation variables suggests that there are marked differences in the life situations of men and women, blacks and whites, and that while the problem areas do not show up in this survey as marked program disincentives, they can certainly be considered impediments to program participation. This is particularly true as problems overlap in the same person. For example, transportation problems appear to loom as quite marked problems for men, especially white men. On the other hand, women, especially young black women with young children, are particularly vulnerable to child care problems. More flexibility is needed in what forms of the care the program will pay for.

Likewise, factors external to the participant and associated with city of residence and status in the program can be shown to have differential effect on these same life situation variables. For example, advance consideration about child care needs has some marked effect on reducing later problems.

In conclusion, it is evident from this study that a successful WIN Program cannot be attained without a comprehensive approach to all other problems of poor people such as access to child care, good transportation, and good health services.

CHAPTER 7

MANDATORY FEATURES OF WIN: PERCEIVED CLIENT INCENTIVES AND DISINCENTIVES

by
Gregory O'Brien

The passage and implementation of the 1972 amendments to the Social Security Act—as discussed in Chapter 12—has increased for many enrollees the mandatory nature of WIN participation. It also has made the possibility of removal from welfare eligibility more visible for those who are required to, but refuse to, participate in WIN training. This chapter will review briefly the effect which the perceived requirements to participate in WIN have on client choices regarding their participation. Three general questions will be pursued in this chapter: (1) which groups of clients perceive their participation as mandatory; (2) what are the relationships between perceived requirements to participate and (a) attitudes toward the program, (b) participation in the program, and (c) program outcomes; and (3) what is the impact of perceived requirements on the evaluation of other incentives.

Who Perceives the Program as Required

While WIN II does specify individuals for whom program participation is required (mothers with children over six years old, male heads of households, etc.), the implementation of these requirements is subject to guidelines influenced by local conditions and differential interpretation of these guidelines by enrollees based on their prior experiences (see Chapter 12).

Two questions were asked regarding the respondents' perceptions of the compulsory nature of the program. Question 39, "What do you think will happen to you if you refused to participate in WIN?"[1], assesses a client's viewpoint regarding the mandatory nature of the program at the time of the interview. In both closed- and open-ended responses formats, clients identified five major alternative consequences ranging from absolute loss of AFDC benefits, to a cut in those benefits, to insistence that they continue in the program, to being spoken to about participating in the program, to, finally, no negative consequences. Most respondents identified one of the two extreme alternatives—loss of all AFDC benefits (49 percent) or nothing at all (33 percent)—as the

[1] See Appendix I.

most probable consequence. Another item (Question 1) asks, in an open-ended format, "How did you happen to get into the WIN Program?" The responses to this question were coded to indicate the degree of requirement the enrollee felt when he first enrolled in the program and whether his enrollment was self-initiated, initiated by others (i.e., because of the client's belief that he was required to participate), or some ambiguous combination of these two alternatives. Responses to the question of perceived consequences for refusing to participate in WIN are presented in Tables 7-1 and 7-2.

TABLE 7-1

CLIENTS FEAR OF "LOSS OF AFDC" FOR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THREE CITIES AND THREE ENROLLMENT STATUS

City	Enrollment Status		
	New	Current	Terminee
Chicago	89 (61%)*	39 (43%)	37 (38%)
Cleveland	52 (65%)	79 (54%)	45 (47%)
Detroit	31 (48%)	58 (41%)	38 (48%)

*Figures in parentheses are percentages. Other figures are number of respondents believing they would lose their AFDC benefits.

New enrollees in Detroit demonstrated notably less fear of loss of AFDC benefits (48 percent) than did new enrollees in Cleveland (65 percent) or in Chicago (61 percent). Generally, most new enrollees expected to lose AFDC benefits if they refused to participate. The possibility of inter-city differences in the interpretation of regulation or their implementation because of local conditions is also illustrated in these data. Cleveland respondents, in general, more frequently expected to lose AFDC benefits if they refused to participate than did Chicago or Detroit respondents (see Table 7-1).

A more detailed examination of client responses to the question of consequences of refusal to participate indicated that the perception of no adverse consequences for refusal was higher in Chicago than in other cities (40 percent as opposed to 27 percent and 32 percent in Cleveland and Detroit; see Table 7-2). Also, completed or otherwise terminated clients more often perceived that nothing would happen than did current or new enrollees. This may be because many of them have observed from personal experience that there were no consequences when they stopped participating, or because the possible consequences are no longer imminent and relevant for them, or because many of them began the WIN Program before the compulsory features were in effect and they have never realized the nature of those features.

TABLE 7-2

CROSS TABULATION OF CITY AND STATUS BY PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN WIN

City & Status	Off AFDC		Minor Consequences**		Nothing		Row Total
Chicago							
New	89 (61.4)*		9 (6.2)		47 (32.4)		145
Current	39 (43.8)		13 (14.6)		37 (41.6)		89
Terminee	37 (38.5)		11 (11.5)		48 (50.0)		96
Total		165 (50.0)		33 (10.0)		132 (40.0)	330
Cleveland							
New	52 (65.0)		17 (21.2)		11 (13.8)		80
Current	79 (54.5)		22 (15.2)		44 (30.3)		145
Terminee	45 (46.9)		18 (18.7)		33 (34.4)		96
Total		176 (54.8)		57 (18.8)		88 (27.4)	321
Detroit							
New	31 (47.7)		17 (26.1)		17 (26.2		65
Current	58 (40.8)		42 (29.6)		42 (29.6)		142
Terminee	38 (38.4)		22 (22.2)		39 (39.4)		99
Total		127 (41.5)		81 (16.5)		98 (32.0)	306
Column Total	468 (48.9)		171 (17.9)		318 (33.2)		957

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row totals. Other figures are number of respondents.

**These minor consequences include (a) being kept in WIN anyway, (b) a reduction (but not total severance) of AFDC monies, and (c) being "talked to."

Since program requirements were more explicit for adult males enrolled in the program than for females (since age of children is more often a cause for not enrolling for females than for males), the finding that males more frequently expected loss of AFDC as a consequence of refusal is not surprising. It is interesting to note that the fear of loss of AFDC was slightly more frequent among white male enrollees than among non-white male enrollees, while, on the other hand, non-white female enrollees were more fearful of AFDC loss than were white female enrollees (see Table 7-3). The possibiltiy that previous experience on welfare might account for this apparent interaction between sex and race was examined. This apparent difference, however, remained even when prior welfare experience or exemption status were controlled.

TABLE 7-3

PERCEIVED OUTCOME FOR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN WIN BY SEX AND RACIAL CATEGORY

Sex and Race	Off AFDC	Minor Consequences**	Nothing	Row Total
White male	94 (69.6)*	22 (16.3)	19 (14.1)	135
Non-white male	223 (61.9)	66 (18.4)	71 (19.7)	360
White female	5 (21.7)	4 (17.4)	14 (60.9)	23
Non-white female	146 (33.3)	79 (18.1)	213 (48.6)	438
Column totals	468 (49.0)	171 (17.9)	317 (33.1)	956

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row totals. Other figures are number of respondents.

**These minor consequences include (a) being kept in WIN anyway, (b) a reduction (but not total severance) of AFDC monies, and (c) being "talked to."

The largest portion of all respondents expected to lose AFDC if they refused to participate. Persons exempt from the mandatory program features expected this loss to a much lesser extent, but still 31 percent of exempt respondents indicated an expected loss in AFDC benefits (see Table 7-4).

TABLE 7-4

PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE
FOR EXEMPT AND NON-EXEMPT ENROLLES

Exemption	Consequence				
	Nothing	Coercion	Cut in AFDC	Loss in AFDC	Total
Not exempt	177 (26%)*	40(6%)	83 (12%)	378 (51%)	678 (100%)
Exempt	130 (54%)	13 (5%)	23 (10%)	74 (31%)	240 (100%)

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total.

While WIN is generally viewed as a compulsory program—which it is for most respondents—considerable numbers of both exempt (31 percent) and non-exempt (26 percent) enrollees predicted an outcome for refusal to participate which is different from the one indicated in the 1972 amendments.

The degree of misconception by the non-exempt enrollees may not be as great as it first appears since they may be accurately perceiving a situation in which the penalty provisions of the law are not being applied; however, there is not likely to be a similar explanation for the misconception on the part of the exempt enrollees. This indicates a fairly high level of misconception about the mandatory nature of the program which also raises the question, "If there is this much misunderstanding about this aspect of WIN, how much misunderstanding is there about other aspects of the program?"

The question regarding what would happen to an individual if he refused to participate taps the respondent's view of the program at the time of the interview. Clients were also asked how they got into the program—whether they were required to participate, whether they initiated enrollement themselves, or some mixture of these circumstances. This question draws on a client's perception at the time of entry into the program.

At the time of enrollment, new clients more often perceived the program as required (23 percent) than did current (21 percent) or terminated (13 percent) respondents (see Table 7-5). As was the case with the perceived consequences of refusing to participate, more Cleveland respondents (40 percent of the men, one percent of the women, and 23 percent of all enrollees) saw the program as required than did respondents in Chicago (23 percent male, six percent female, 14 percent all) or Detroit (19 percent male, three percent female, 10 percnet all). Since the program is required for all males, it is not surprising that more males (28 percent) than females (three percent) perceived the program as required. It should be noted, however, that 16 percent of the males saw their participation as entirely voluntary and 56 percent saw their participation as at least partially self-initiated.

TABLE 7-5

LEVEL OF PROSCRIPTION PERCEIVED AT TIME OF ENROLLMENT

	Chicago		Cleveland		Detroit		All Male	All Female	All
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
New Enrollee									
Required	28 (30.3)*	9 (11.8)	26 (47.3)	1 (2.4)	12 (32.4)	0 (0.0)	66 (36.1)	10 (15.0)	76 (22.6)
Ambiguous	54 (59.3)	26 (34.2)	19 (34.5)	8 (19.0)	23 (62.2)	9 (25.0)	96 (52.4)	43 (27.9)	139 (41.2)
Self-initiated	9 (9.9)	41 (54.0)	10 (18.2)	33 (78.6)	2 (5.4)	27 (75.0)	21 (11.5)	101 (65.6)	122 (36.2)
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Current Enrollee									
Required	6 (11.1)	1 (1.5)	33 (37.1)	0 (0.0)	15 (19.5)	2 (1.9)	54 (24.6)	3 (1.2)	57 (11.9)
Ambiguous	35 (64.8)	10 (14.7)	48 (53.9)	22 (26.2)	46 (59.7)	39 (36.8)	129 (58.6)	71 (27.5)	200 (41.8)
Self-initiated	13 (24.1)	57 (83.8)	8 (9.0)	62 (73.8)	16 (20.8)	65 (61.3)	37 (16.8)	184 (71.3)	221 (46.2)
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Terminated Enrollee									
Required	8 (19.0)	2 (3.4)	24 (38.1)	1 (1.9)	7 (10.6)	3 (4.9)	39 (22.8)	6 (3.5)	45 (13.1)
Ambiguous	23 (54.8)	13 (22.0)	32 (50.8)	20 (37.7)	43 (65.2)	24 (39.4)	98 (57.3)	57 (32.9)	155 (45.0)
Self-initiated	11 (26.2)	44 (74.6)	7 (11.1)	32 (60.4)	16 (24.2)	34 (55.7)	34 (19.9)	110 (63.6)	144 (41.9)
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
All Enrollees									
Required	42 (22.5)	12 (5.9)	83 (40.1)	2 (1.1)	34 (18.9)	5 (2.5)	159 (27.7)	19 (3.3)	178 (15.4)
Ambiguous	112 (59.9)	49 (24.1)	99 (47.8)	50 (27.9)	112 (62.2)	72 (35.5)	323 (56.3)	171 (29.2)	494 (42.6)
Self-initiated	33 (17.6)	142 (70.0)	25 (12.1)	127 (71.0)	34 (18.9)	126 (62.0)	92 (16.0)	395 (67.5)	487 (42.0)
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

*Figures in parentheses are percentages. Other figures are the number of respondents perceiving the program as required, self-initiated or some ambiguous combination of the two.

Self-initiates more often said they had positive attitudes toward WIN initially (73 percent) then did persons seeing the program as required (60 percent). Of those for whom we could ascertain attitudes when they left WIN, the self-initiates were more likely to have changed their attitudes by the time they left the program. Self-initiated men (N = 24) tended to shift to a more negative attitude (42 percent) or a more positive attitude (25 percent) while required men (N = 29) tended to maintain the same attitude (62 percent) or become more negative toward WIN (31 percent). Women (N = 81) had a pronounced tendency to remain the same (30 percent) or become more negative in attitude (56 percent). Not enough of these women (N = 4) were in the required bracket to report them separately. Unfortunately, the pattern appears to be one of alienating the enrollees in the WIN Program. This appears to be a stronger likelihood for women than for men, and stronger for volunteer (self-initiated) enrollees than for required participants.

Of the respondents rating the importance of getting a job (N = 1189), it was rated as very important by 45 percent of the respondents. Self-initiated respondents (48 percent) rated the prospect of getting a job as very important slightly more often than required participants (42 percent); this difference was most pronounced in male respondents (53 percent versus 41 percent for women; see Table 7-9). At the time of interview, more self-initiates (43 percent of the males, 41 percent of the females) than required participants (34 percent male, 24 percent female) were very satisfied with their progress in WIN (see Table 7-6).

TABLE 7-6

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS IN PROGRAM:
REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Total
Required					
Male	33 (28.0)*	17 (14.4)	28 (23.7)	40 (33.9)	118
Female	5 (29.4)	1 (5.9)	7 (41.2)	4 (23.5)	17
Self-Initiated					
Male	20 (25.0)	11 (13.7)	15 (18.8)	34 (42.5)	80
Female	72 (20.4)	34 (9.6)	103 (29.2)	144 (40.8)	353

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total. Other figures are number of respondents.

Participation and Program Outcome

Persons viewing participation in WIN as compulsory (required to participate) and self-initiated respondents were about equally likely to stay in the program until they completed it or got a job. They were also about equally likely to get a job if they stayed with the program, and, if they stayed with the program until they completed it (or got a job and left), they were somewhat more likely to be employed at the time we interviewed them—particularly women (see Table 7-7). Unfortunately, it was very difficult to tell the type of termination for many clients, and if it was not clear, we did not include that respondent in the data of Table 7-7. The numbers of respondents in Table 7-7 are not large enough for us to make very firm statments, but they do indicate a trend. Those people who completed the program tend to do better when it comes to getting jobs, but requiring them to participate in the WIN Program does not have much effect upon the likelihood that they will stay in the program until completion. This lack of effectiveness of the participation requirements is further supported when we consider the percentage of required participants and self-initiates who have completed an educational or training program component in WIN (see Table 7-8). The percentage who have completed such a program component is between 34 percent and 39 percent for male and female [illegible] in both classes.

Along with the self-initiates attaching greater importance to getting a job compared to persons in WIN because they felt required to participate goes a greated willingness to leave the program if it did not help to achieve their objectives. Requirees are more willing to stay in a non-useful program in order to fulfill the requirements for participation than are self-initiates. As can be seen from Table 7-9, self-initiating respondents are more willing to leave the program when it is being non-productive for them. Male participants who see the program as required, in particular, are willing to accede to WIN's decisions regardless of appropriateness or inappropriateness rather than act independently.

TABLE 7-7

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT TIME OF INTERVIEW
FOR REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED RESPONDENTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Employment Status					
	Male			Female		
	Working	Unemployed	Total	Working	Unemployed	Total
Required						
Completed or got a job	11 (68.8)*	5 (31.3)	16	2	0	2
Dropped out or terminated by WIN	11 (57.9)	8 (42.1)	19	1	3	4
Total	22 (62.9)	13 (37.1)	35			
Self-Initiated						
Completed or got a job	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	14	23 (88.5)	3 (11.5)	26
Dropped out or terminated by WIN	10 (55.6)	8 (44.4)	18	16 (20.5)	62 (79.5)	78
Total	20 (62.5)	12 (37.5)	32	39 (37.5)	65 (62.5)	104

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total for each sex. Other figures are number of respondents.

TABLE 7-8

NUMBER OF REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED ENROLLEES COMPLETING AN EDUCATIONAL OR TRAINING PROGRAM

Degree of Proscription	Male		Female	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Required	19 (33.9%)	37 (66.1%9	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)
Self-initiated	18 (39.1%)	28 (60.9%)	84 (38.4%)	135 (61.6%)

TABLE 7-9

RESPONSES TO INAPPROPRIATE TRAINING FOR SELF-INITIATED AND REQUIRED PARTICIPANTS

(By Sex)

Participants	Response			
	Accept WIN's Decision	Act Independently	Other	Total
Required				
Male	48 (30.6)*	58 (36.9)	51 (32.5)	157
Female	3 (15.8)	12 (63.1)	4 (21.1)	19
All	51 (29.0)	70 (39.8)	55 (31.2)	247
Self-Initiated				
Male	22 (24.4)	53 (58.9)	15 (16.7)	90
Female	110 (28.1)	210 (53.7)	71 (18.2)	391
All	132 (27.4)	263 (54.7)	86 (17.9)	481

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row totals. Other figures are number of respondents.

Compulsion and Incentives to Participate

In the previous two sections of this chapter an emergent pattern of compliance to requirements and acceptance of whatever good or bad comes with those requirements have been identified as the differentiating characteristics between self-initiating clients and clients who perceive the program as required (particularly among males rather than females). This distinction is drawn more clearly into focus when one examines respondents' reactions to

various incentives and disincentives for participating in the WIN Program. In briefly reviewing self-initiating and required clients' views regarding incentives and disincentives to participation in WIN, this pattern reappears.

IMPORTANCE OF A JOB

Forty-eight percent of all self-initiating respondents rated the importance of a job as very important when they started the program, while 42 percent of required participants rated getting a job as very important at that time. The difference was even stronger among males where 53 percent of self-initiating males and only 41 percent of required males saw getting a job as very important at the beginning of the program (see Table 7-10).

TABLE 7-10

IMPORTANCE OF GETTING A JOB
FOR REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Number of Respondents
Required					
Male	11 (6.9)*	10 (6.3)	72 (45.3)	66 (41.5)	159
Female	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	8 (42.1)	9 (47.3)	19
Self-Initiated					
Male	2 (2.2)	3 (3.2)	38 (41.3)	49 (53.3)	92
Female	14 (3.6)	21 (5.4)	169 (43.7)	183 (47.3)	387

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total.

MONETARY INCENTIVE

The importance of the incentive pay as a motivation for participating was indicated by nearly all respondents (only 10 percent said it was unimportant). Self-initiating women and, to a lesser extent, self-intitating men perceived the incentive as slightly more important than did participants who saw the program as required anyway (see Table 7-11).

When asked what he or she would do if the incentive pay were reduced for any reason, most clients indicated that they would stay in the program even if difficulties were encountered (90 percent for males, 92 percent for females). Self-initiated clients were somewhat more inclined to leave the WIN Program

(15 percent and seven percent of self-initiated males and females) than those participating because they felt required to do so (eight percent of the required males and none of the required females). Thus, for most respondents in either category, the incentive payment was important but not very important, and the difference between self-initiates and requirees on this issue is rather slight.

TABLE 7-11

IMPORTANCE OF MONETARY INCENTIVE
FOR REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Number of Respondents
Required					
Male	17 (12.4)*	20 (14.6)	76 (55.5)	24 (17.5)	137
Female	0 (0.0)	1 (5.6)	16 (88.8)	1 (5.6)	18
Self-Initiated					
Male	8 (9.3)	10 (11.6)	49 (57.0)	19 (22.1)	86
Female	31 (8.3)	38 (10.2)	229 (61.6)	74 (19.9)	372

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the tow total.

GETTING OFF WELFARE

For 92 percent of all respondents the prospect of getting off welfare was either an important or a very important incentive. For most male self-initiated respondents it was very important (57 percent), while it was very important for only 39 percent of the required male respondents. There were no differences in the importance of the prospect of getting off welfare among female respondents; 50 percent of both required and self-initiated respondents rated as very important (see Table 7-12).

LONG WAITING PERIODS

Consistent with the findings regarding the differences between self-initiates and required participants in other areas and with the investment which self-initiates have in using the WIN Program and in getting a job, 70 percent of self-initiating respondents indicated that waiting periods of one month or more were strongly discouraging while only 58 percent of required participants felt this to be strongly discouraging. If they had to wait for a period of 90 days or more, 28 percent of the self-initiated males and 20 percent of the self-initiated females would probably leave the WIN Program; this compares to 21 percent of the required males and 17 percent of the required females who would probably leave (see Table 7-13).

TABLE 7-12

IMPORTANCE OF GETTING OFF WELFARE
FOR REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Number of Respondents
Required					
Male	7 (5.5)*	5 (4.0)	65 (51.6)	49 (38.9)	126
Female	1 (5.6)	1 (5.6)	7 (38.8)	9 (50.0)	18
Self-Initiated					
Male	3 (5.4)	1 (1.8)	20 (35.7)	32 (57.1)	56
Female	23 (6.6)	12 (3.5)	139 (39.9)	174 (50.0)	348

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total.

TABLE 7-13

IMPORTANCE OF GETTING RIGHT TRAINING
FOR REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Number of Respondents
Required					
Male	10 (7.5)*	7 (5.2)	61 (45.5)	56 (41.8)	134
Female	1 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	5 (26.3)	13 (68.4)	19
Self-Initiated					
Male	0 (0.0)	5 (5.9)	33 (38.8)	47 (55.3)	85
Female	8 (2.1)	11 (2.9)	129 (33.7)	235 (61.3)	383

*Figures in parentheses are percentages of the row total.

TRAINING

Given the investment in using the WIN Program to get a better job which self-initiating respondents have, it is not surprising that 55 percent of self-initiating males and only 42 percent of required males indicated that getting the right training was very important. For 95 percent of both required and self-initiating females, getting the right training was either important or

very important. There was a slight difference in that 68 percent of required female participants and only 61 percent of self-initiating female participants indicated that this was very important (see Table 7-14).

TABLE 7-14

EFFECT OF LONG WAITING PERIODS UPON
REQUIRED AND SELF-INITIATED PARTICIPANTS

Degree of Proscription Perceived	Effect of a Long Wait (90 Days or More)				Number of Respondents
	Would Stay in Program	Probably Stay in Program	Probably Leave Program	Would Leave Program	
Required					
Male	38 (25.0)*	82 (53.9)	20 (13.2)	12 (7.9)	152
Female	4 (22.2)	11 (61.1)	1 (5.6)	2 (11.1)	18
Self-Initiated					
Male	12 (13.2)	54 (59.3)	17 (18.7)	8 (8.8)	91
Female	93 (24.0)	215 (55.4)	54 (13.9)	26 (6.7)	338

*Figures in parentheses are percentages. Other figures are number of respondents.

Summary

Persons whose participation in WIN is self-initiated (rather than perceived as required) seem to have a greater sensitivity to the various incentives and disincentives to participation. They rate the monetary incentive, the prospect of getting a job, the prospect of getting off welfare, and the inportance of getting the right kind of training without long delays higher in importance than those persons participating because they are required to participate. They are more willing to leave the program if they are not getting the right training, are forced to wait long periods, or have their monetary incentive reduced.

The required participant, most notably the male participant, is more likely to stay in the program without the incentive, despite the inappropriateness of training, and despite poor prospects for a job; but even he is as likely to leave as he is to stay under those circumstances. He may be as likely to complete the program, but he is less likely to complete the program with a job. Unless he leaves the program to get a job independently, he is

more likely to end up without a job than the person who initiated his own referral to the program.

While some of the differences described above may be slight, there is a consistency—all the differences are in the same direction and they all support the same conclusions: the great majority of persons enrolled in WIN, required or not, are motivated by a desire to get a job and leave welfare; self-initiated enrollees have, as expected, a somewhat higher level of motivation; requirements to participate do not increase the motivation level or increase the likelihood of a successful outcome from training.

We seriously question the cost effectiveness of having a program of required participation in which there may not be jobs at the end of the training. If required, people may go through steps, but they will not reap the benefit of a relatively expensive manpower program unless they see that program as leading them to the desired outcome of a job that they want. The mandatory characteristics of the WIN Program, then, seem to do little good. Self-initiating people, who want WIN training and use it, are more apt to obtain jobs, tend to be more positive about the program, and tend to be more sensitive to programmatic characteristics. People who do not want to be in the WIN Program and people who want jobs for which WIN does not provide training, or want basic education which is not provided by the WIN Program, may, if required, stay in the program; but they will not benefit from the training, they will not enjoy it, and, apparently, it will not help them get jobs. Nor, then, will the society realize a benefit commensurate with the cost of the program. This would seem to call into question the mandatory nature of the program.

It also suggests that the provision of vocational training should be in the context of a broad range of manpower programs which also provide an opportunity to work. For those who want upgrading or training for a specific job, a job training program like WIN is indicated; for those who want better basic education to increase their general employability, there should be a basic education program like Chicago's welfare rehabilitation program. Only with such a broad range view can the program improve the completion rate if it is focused on the requirement that welfare recipients have to register for a manpower program.

CHAPTER 8

MONETARY INCENTIVES

by
Audrey D. Smith

A provision for monetary incentives was included in the legislation creating the Work Incentive Program as a major inducement to encourage potential clients to participate in the program. These financial incentives include the $30 per month or $1.50 per training day incentive clients receive while participating in WIN, as well as the portion of earned income they are permitted to keep while receiving public assistance during the early stages of their employment. Like the program planners, those responsible for implementing the WIN Program believe that these monetary features provide a strong inducement to entice AFDC recipients into the program and continue to function as an incentive—although perhaps not as strong—to keep them participating.

Our previous study found that 70 percent of the welfare caseworkers referring AFDC mothers to WIN thought that the specific feature of incentive pay was important or, in some cases, the decisive factor in referral, to these women.[1] That study showed, however, that the clients themselves gave no indication that the monthly incentive check was a major factor attracting them to the program. On the contrary, this incentive seemed to be a major source of friction due to delayed payments, misunderstandings about eligibility rules, etc.[2] The present study explored this question in much greater depth, and the findings are presented in this chapter.

It might be helpful to state at this point what we consider to be necessary conditions for the money provided by WIN to act as an incentive. These conditions vary with the purpose of the incentive: to encourage enrollment or to enhance continued participation once in the program. In order to serve effectively as an inducement initially, potential program participants would need to be aware of this extra money. Subsequently, to function as an incentive to keep participants in WIN, this money would need to be in excess of any uncovered expenses necessitated by program participation. This chapter presents data on the WIN participants' perceptions of the $30 monthly incentive, the expenses involved in participation, and the net financial gain or less to the WIN participant. It also suggests the function that the incentive, in fact, seems to serve.

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[1] Reid, op. cit., p. 82.

[2] Ibid., pp. 132-133.

Perception of Incentive

As previously stated, a necessary prerequisite for the money payment to serve as an incentive to enroll in WIN is that prospective participants know of the existence of the payment. In order to ascertain the degree of knowledge possessed by our sample prior to enrollment, two different types of questions were posed. In response to an open-ended question as to what they knew about WIN before joining, only 50 respondents (4 percent of the sample) mentioned the incentive or money payment, although they were allowed multiple responses to the question. When specifically asked when they learned they would receive this bonus or incentive pay, 3 percent replied that they learned about it before their WIN referral, and an additional 16 percent said before their enrollment. Forty percent learned of the incentive at the time of their enrollment, and a third of the sample stated that they did not find out about it until after they were enrolled in WIN. Apparently, 8 percent of the sample (almost equally divided among new enrollees current participants, and terminees) either did not remember when they learned of the incentive or were still unaware of this feature. Thus, fewer that 20 percent of the sample knew about the monetary incentive prior to the enrollment interview. This finding is particularly interesting in view of the fact that 45 percent of the respondents stated that they initiated the WIN referral themselves. Apparently, the monetary incentive does not enter into the initial decision of most AFDC clients to enroll in WIN.

In order to ascertain the number of people in the sample who receive—and are aware that they receive—an incentive payment, the following question was asked: "Do you (or did you) get any money just as a bonus or incentive for participation in WIN; that is, money in addition to allowances for expenses?" As Table 8-1 indicates, only half of the combined sample responded that they did. However, an additional 20 percent (all from the Detroit subsample) reported that they received money but did not know if this was considered an incentive payment. Over a fourth of the sample (56 percent of whom were new enrollees) stated that they did not receive the financial incentive, although half of those not currently receiving the payment expected to do so. Thus an eighth of these respondents either did not receive, or were not aware that they received, the financial incentive nor were they expecting to receive it.

Although there was a wide range in the reported size of the WIN incentive, the median amount received or expected was $30. Respondents were asked to rate the importance of the incentive to them using a four-point scale. Nineteen percent of those responding rated it as "very important," 60 percent as "important," 10 percent as "slightly important," and another 10 percent as "totally unimportant." The incentive tended to be slightly more important to women than to men. At first glance, this seems to confirm the welfare caseworkers' impression mentioned earlier from a previous study. That this is, in reality, a more complicated issue will soon become apparent.

TABLE 8-1

"DO YOU GET AN INCENTIVE?" BY CITY

Get an Incentive?	Chicago %	Detroit %	Cleveland %	Combined %
Yes	73.0	19.0	64.0	52.0
No	27.0	18.0	36.0	27.0
Gets money, but not sure if it's incentive[a]	--	63.0	--	20.0
N[a] =	411	387	401	1199

[a]Not answered codes are eliminated from the tables in this chapter.

In order to gauge the importance of the incentive in a different manner, the following hypothetical question was asked: "If this bonus or incentive payment had to be discontinued or sharply reduced, what effect would this have on your participation in the program?" The three choices were: (1) "I would leave;" (2) "It would be bad, but I would try to stay;" (3) "It wouldn't matter." Twenty-nine percent of those responding chose the first alternative, 63 percent the second, and only 9 percent the third. Thus, the bulk of our sample see the $30 per month incentive as important, but would stay in WIN if it were discontinued, although they either wouldn't like it or it would create a financial hardship for them. That the latter was probably what they meant by "it would be bad" is supported by the data presented below.

Any attempt to understand the role the incentive plays is incomplete without knowing how WIN participants view this money. In response to a direct question about their perceptions of this money, over three-fourths of the people who responded replied that it was money to cover expenses. Only 10 percent saw it as a bonus, which is the intent of WIN. Seven percent saw the incentive as pay, and 6 percent gave other responses. These revealing data seem to indicate that the incentive payment is not large enough or that expenses of participation are not reimbursed well enough for the incentive to function as intended. In view of this, the more meaningful question is one concerning how well the payment covers extra expenses incurred by participation in WIN rather than the original one regarding its effect as an incentive.

Responses to a direct question about whether or not the money from WIN was enough to cover their expenses of being in the program were as follows: 53 percent replied "enough," 43 percent said "not enough," and only 4 percent responded "more than enough." Many of those responding "enough" qualified this by saying that they "had to make do on it" or "they learned to manage." (Those who responded that they received no money from WIN are excluded from the above figures.) Exact amounts were obtained from participants regarding

money received for participating in WIN, as well as their itemized WIN-related expenditures. These are reported later in the chapter.

In responding to open-ended questions concerning what they liked or disliked about WIN and about what made their participation easy or difficult, relatively few participants mentioned money in spite of being encouraged to give multiple responses. For example, only 14 percent mentioned the incentive, expense money, or money in general as things they liked. Five percent of the sample mentioned insufficient money, and 9 percent mentioned money snafus, such as delays, as dislikes about WIN. Participants responded in a very similar manner concerning what made their participation easy or difficult. Since 43 percent of the sample had said the money received from WIN was not enough to cover the extra expenses due to participation and many others had indicated that they "make do," it is surprising that there were so few complaints about the money. One possible explanation is that welfare recipients soon learn how futile it is to complain about money. Another interpretation—one that a previous study lends support to—is that WIN clients participate in the program at some sacrifice to themselves and their families in efforts to obtain training and jobs.[1]

Expenses of Participation

What, then, are some of these extra expenses incurred by WIN participants? What proportion of the sample mentioned these extra expenses? Which of these extra items are not covered adequately—or perhaps not at all—by the WIN Program? To obtain the answers, respondents were asked to estimate the amounts spent the previous month for specific items neceasary only because of their participation in WIN. In addition, an open-ended question concerning what WIN expenses were not covered was asked of the 43 percent of the sample who indicated that the money from WIN was inadequate to balance these costs.

Ninety percent of the entire sample listed extra expenses for the previous month. As Table 8-2 shows, these expenditures, in order of decreasing frequency of being mentioned, were: transportation (mentioned by 85 percent of the combined sample), lunch (64 percent), clothes worn to work or training (45 percent), personal appearance (29 percent), child care (18 percent), school supplies (18 percent), time-saving foods (15 percent), and other (5 percent). By far, the costliest item listed above was child care, with a median of $43 having been spent the previous month by participants having this expense. Next in terms of median amount spent was transportation ($18), followed closely by lunch money and time-saving foods, both with medians of $15. The median amount spent on work clothing and its upkeep was $10; for personal appearance, $6;

[1] Ibid.

for school supplies, $5; and for other WIN-connected extras, $10.

TABLE 8-2

EXPENSES OF PARTICIPATION,
REPORTED IN MEDIAN NUMBER OF DOLLARS, BY CITY

Expenses	Chicago $	Detroit $	Cleveland $	Combined $
Transportation	9 (333)[a]	16 (332)	20 (361)	18 (1026)
Lunch	10 (208)	15 (270)	20 (291)	15 (769)
Clothing	10 (190)	12 (163)	10 (188)	10 (541)
Personal appearance	7 (148)	6 (86)	5 (111)	6 (345)
Child care	60 (103)	60 (70)	31 (48)	43 (221)
School supplies	5 (62)	4 (67)	5 (87)	5 (216)
Convenience foods	15 (59)	15 (76)	10 (51)	15 (186)
Other	6 (13)	15 (9)	10 (37)	10 (59)
Total Expenses (median)	25 (359)	45 (436)	50 (380)	43 (1085)

[a]Numbers in parentheses refer to number of respondents reporting that expense.

As expected, new participants had far smaller expenditures for the previous month than did current participants or terminees. Had the figures presented above been limited to current participants and recent terminees, all of the medians would have been much higher. Generally, women reported higher expenditures than did men. Women spent considerably more on personal appearance, and more on clothing, child care, and time-saving foods. Men spent more than women on transportation and supplies for school or work. No differences were found according to sex on money spent for lunch or other unspecified expenditures.

In response to the question concerning which of these extra expenses were not covered by the money received from WIN, many participants (including some who said the money was enough) replied to the effect that none were covered adequately but that they (the respondents) stretched the money they received as best they could. As one participant philosophically remarked, "What one receives, one learns to live with," Other's, however, specified some of the hardships created by the inadequate funds. Typical is the remark made by one women who said, "It's not enough for lunch; I just have to do without." Another bitterly remarked, "It just wasn't enough. It wasn't nothin'. I can't keep up with other working people." A recently terminated women responded in this manner: "Not enough for food, because by going to school,

it was like an eight hour a day job and you couldn't prepare a full dinner. Sometimes I would buy cold cuts—less time-consuming, but cost more." Another explained, "Sometimes I would run out of art supplies and I would have to buy them. They (WIN) only gave them to you at the beginning of the school year." A woman attending a business school reported, "I have been sent home from school because they have a dress code and sometimes I don't have acceptable clothes to wear."

Of the 481 participants who stated that the WIN money did not cover the expenses of participating in the program, about half (47 percent) cited adequate clothing or the upkeep of clothing as an expenditure not covered. Thirty-two percent mentioned lunch, 27 percent transportation, 17 percent child care, 16 percent personal appearance, 10 percent school and work supplies, and 7 percent time-saving foods. Many respondents listed more than one item, and 19 percent made inclusive statements like "everything," or "nothing was adequately covered."

Thus, it appears that many people, particularly women, discovered that participation in WIN created unexpected expenses that the program was unable to meet. This made it not only difficult to budget their limited funds, but actually created financial hardships and interfered—or so some participants believed when they perceived job interviews to be unsuccessful because of their personal appearance—with their chances of obtaining jobs. Some participants found that expenses usually paid by WIN, such as transportation, lunch money, school and work supplies, and child care, were inadequately covered. Sometimes payments were insufficient to cover actual costs, sometimes delays in payments caused hardships, and occasionally payments were not forthcoming at all.

Surpluses and Deficits

For each respondent a surplus or deficit figure was calculated by totaling his list of itemized expenditures for the previous month (as listed in Table 8-2) and subtracting this from the extra money he received from WIN or welfare during the same period of time. The latter amount was to include the incentive and expense allowances. Ninety-six percent of the sample are included in the following analyses. The 48 respondents in the Emergency Employment Act program in Chicago were not included because it was believed that by being in this special program their financial situation might be atypical from that of most WIN participants. Underestimates of expenses were used for 51 respondents; the maximum amount that could be recorded in our coding scheme for any individual expense was $99. Although only a negligible number of respondents reported amounts in excess of $99 for most itemized expenditures, 37 respondents gave larger figures for clothing.

The total amount respondents reported receiving for the previous month

due to their WIN participation ranged widely with a median of $30 and a mean of $50. For total expenses due to WIN for the previous month, the median was $43 and the mean $47. Respondents reported deficits up to $245 and surpluses as high as $281 per month. Only nine percent of the sample broke even. The median for the sample was a deficit of $2, and the mean was a deficit of $11.[1]

We are aware that there are problems with the above figures. Some of the amounts reported as WIN incentive and expense money connected with the program are far to high to be reasonable. Apparently some respondents reported all of the money they received from WIN and welfare, including their regular welfare grant. Moreover, it is likely that some respondents included some ongoing expenses not related to their WIN participation. The latter situation is partially offset by the $99 maximum placed upon itemized expenditures. On the whole, it seems likely that the surpluses discussed here are inflated amounts and that the deficits are underestimates.

The surplus-deficit amounts were grouped into five categories and cross-tabulated against a number of variables of interest. In addition, the surplus-deficit means of these selected variables were compared through the use of one-way analysis of variance.[2] For purposes of this discussion, the variables tested will be grouped into the following descriptive categories: (1) selected characteristics of respondents, (2) monetary factors, and (3) program participation variables.

Of the characteristics of respondents selected for these analyses, only age of respondent resulted in no significant differences.[3] More women than men reported deficits in excess of $20 per month. The mean for women—a deficit of $14 per month—was significantly higher ($p < .01$) than the mean for men—a deficit of $7. City of residence made no difference except when men were considered separately. Men living in Cleveland were more likely to have both larger surpluses and larger deficits (over $20) than those residing in Detroit or Chicago. Respondents in the sample—and women in particular—were less likely to report large deficits if their education was limited to grammar school. New enrollees were less likely to have either large surpluses or deficits than current enrollees or terminees; however, their means were not significantly different (deficits of $9, $14, and $8, respectively). The longer respondents had been on welfare, the more likely they were to experience larger deficits.

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[1] If these statistics had been limited to respondents actively participating in WIN (that is, excluding terminees and people in holding), the median would be a deficit of $7 and the mean a deficit of $15.

[2] These analyses were also performed on the subsample of active WIN participants. Since these results were very similar to those for the larger sample, they will not be reported.

[3] The .05 level was used for the Chi square statistic and for the F test.

TABLE 8-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SEX AND STATUS BY SURPLUS/DEFICIT

Selected Characteristics		Deficit of $21 or More %	Deficit of $1-$20 %	No Surplus or Deficit %	Surplus of $1-$20 %	Surplus of $21 or More %	Significance Level of χ^2
Sex							
Male	(N=576)	24.0	27.0	11.0	23.0	15.0	< .01[a]
Female	(N=579)	32.0	24.0	6.0	25.0	13.0	
Status							
New	(N=346)	21.0	36.0	11.0	23.0	8.0	
Current	(N=445)	32.0	21.0	6.0	23.0	17.0	< .001[b]
Terminee	(N=364)	29.0	20.0	10.0	25.0	17.0	

[a] $\chi^2 = 16.49$, df = 4.

[b] $\chi^2 = 52.84$, df = 8.

The second group of variables—those related specifically to money—also produced a number of significant associations with the surplus-deficit scale as one would expect. The most obvious relationship is that between respondent's report regarding the adequacy of money from WIN and the dollar estimates which corroborate these reports. The people who said the money from WIN (incentive and expense money) was not enough reported the largest deficits (mean = $28 deficit), while those who stated that the money was more than enough reported the largest surpluses (mean = $8 surplus). The means of these groups were significantly different at the .01 level.

A related finding was that the respondents with the largest deficits were more likely to mention money as one of the things they disliked about WIN or that made program participation difficult. Again, the means—$15 deficit for those mentioning money and $4 deficit for those not mentioning money—differed significantly.

Not surprisingly, respondents who said they did not receive the WIN monetary incentive were more likely to report deficits or breaking even and much less likely to report surpluses than people who received the incentive or "some money" from WIN. However, the means (all deficits) were not significantly different; these were a deficit of $8 for those who reported receiving the incentive, $13 for those who said they received money, and $13 for those not receiving the incentive. Regardless of whether the money referred to by the second group was intended as incentive pay or expense money, it was obviously direly needed by most and consequently could function as a bonus for only a small proportion of this group.

How WIN participants have to use the incentive payment affects the way they perceive it. Respondents who badly needed this money to help defray otherwise uncovered costs of participating were likely to view it as expense money or, if it permitted them to come closer to covering expenses, as a bonus. Those who considered it pay were more likely to be persons who broke even. Means, according to interpretation of the incentive (significantly different at the .01 level), were as follows: $14 deficit for respondents viewing it as expense money, $5 deficit for those seeing it as bonus, no surplus or deficit for those perceiving it as pay, and $2 deficit for those giving some other response.

People who suffered the largest deficits tended to view the incentive payment as very important. However, they were people who seemed determined to continue in the program regardless of financial cost. Generally, they responded in one of two ways to the hypothetical question concerning the elimination or drastic reduction of the incentive: either it wouldn't matter or it would be very difficult but they would not leave WIN. The respondents who would drop out of WIN were likely to be those who had small surpluses or deficits (mean = $4 deficit). Thus, it seems that some people now in WIN would not participate in the program if their financial burden were greater, and some would not if there were no financial incentive regardless of surplus or deficit.

TABLE 8-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED MONETARY VARIABLES BY AMOUNT OF SURPLUS OR DEFICIT

Monetary Variables		Deficit of $21 or More %	Deficit of $1-$20 %	No Surplus or Deficit %	Surplus of $1-$20 %	Surplus of $21 or More %	Significance Level of χ^2
Adequacy of money from WIN							
Not enough	(N=463)	47.0	24.0	5.0	16.0	8.0	
Enough	(N=570)	16.0	27.0	7.0	31.0	19.0	< .001[a]
More than enough	(N= 37)	14.0	11.0	0.0	32.0	43.0	
Things disliked about WIN that make participation hard							
Money mentioned	(N=656)	34.0	23.0	8.0	22.0	13.0	
Money not mentioned	(N=477)	21.0	28.0	9.0	27.0	15.0	< .001[b]

[a] $\chi^2 = 163.34$, df = 8.

[b] $\chi^2 = 22.7$, df = 4.

However, most participants continue in WIN in the pursuit of job training and the hope of employment, at a financial sacrifice.

Of the third group of variables—those considered as indicators of program participation or respondent involvement in WIN—few produced significant results, although several indicated interesting trends. By far the most important finding here related to what respondents were currently doing in the program. Whether or not new and current participants were involved in active components in WIN or were in holding (43 percent of the sample still in WIN) made quite a difference as to the size deficit they were likely to be experiencing. While the mean for respondents in holding was only a $8 deficit, it was as high as $16 for those in OJT or the work experience program, $15 for respondents in educational or other training programs, and $16 for participants in other components of WIN.

Men in OJT or the work experience program were especially likely to have large deficits; their mean was a deficit of $23. On the one hand, people in holding would not be expected to have many program-connected expenses since they are temporarily inactive, but on the other hand, the WIN incentive payment is suspended during this time. The reason that the WIN expenses and payments for people in holding were not zero is because of the way we asked the question (people in holding at the time of the interview were asked about their expenses and payments during the last month) as well as because of the fluidity of the holding categories. Probably few people in holding at the time of the interview had been in holding for the entire month previously.

These figures indicate that participation in WIN involves a financial cost for most participants. This cost averages between $15 and $16 per month per participant. As previously stated, these figures are probably underestimates because of problems in the raw data from which they were derived. Even using our conservative figures, active participants in WIN not only do not benefit from a financial bonus but, in fact, pay out of their meager AFDC budgets in most cases for the privilege of being in WIN.

How do WIN participants react to the price tag attached to their participation? How does it affect their attitude toward, involvement in, and commitment to the program? The variable that yielded the most impressive statistical evidence in answer to these questions was how respondents felt when they first got into WIN. Since people in our sample were responding retrospectively, many also volunteered subsequent changes in attitudes. People who indicated a strongly negative attitude toward WIN and those who entered the program with a positive attitude that later changed to a negative one had the largest deficits. Respondents who started out with negative feelings that later changed to positive ones were the only group not having a deficit. (This group broke even on the surplus/deficit scale.) This association was primarily due to the men in the sample, as the differences here were extreme. The mean for men who were strongly negative to WIN and for those who were first positive, then negative, was a deficit of $22 in each case. For men whose

TABLE 8-5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED INCENTIVE VARIABLES BY SURPLUS/DEFICIT

Incentive Variables		Deficit of $21 or More %	Deficit of $1-$20 %	No Surplus or Deficit %	Surplus of $1-$20 %	Surplus of $21 or More %	Total %	Significance Level of χ^2
Get incentive or bonus								
Yes	(N=593)	26.	22.	5.	28.	19.	100.	
No	(N=314)	27.	37.	19.	12.	5.	100.	< .001[a]
Gets money	(N=244)	34.	20.	5.	28.	13.	100.	
Interpretation of incentive								
Bonus	(N=104)	21.	28.	4.	28.	19.	100.	
Expenses	(N=818)	31.	26.	7.	23.	12.	99.	< .02[b]
Pay	(N= 69)	13.	25.	10.	29.	23.	100.	
Other	(N= 69)	29.	19.	6.	26.	20.	100	
Importance of incentive								
Very important	(N=207)	38.	21.	8.	22.	10.	99.	
Important	(N=634)	26.	27.	6.	26.	16.	101.	
Slightly important	(N=111)	30.	23.	6.	26.	14.	99.	< .02[c]
Totally unimportant	(N=106)	23.	31.	12.	20.	14.	100.	
Effect of elimination or reduction of incentive (hypothetical)								
Wouldn't matter	(N= 89)	34.	20.	10.	26.	10.	100.	
Bad, but would stay	(N=659)	31.	25.	6.	24.	14.	100.	< .01[d]
Would leave	(N=296)	20.	29.	8.	25.	18.	100.	

[a] $\chi^2 = 134.53$, df = 8. [b] $\chi^2 = 24.70$, df = 12. [c] $\chi^2 = 24.11$, df = 12. [d] $\chi^2 = 20.41$, df = 8.

TABLE 8-6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY CURRENT ACTIVITY IN WIN AND SURPLUS/DEFICIT

Current Activity in WIN		Deficit of $21 or More %	Deficit of $1-$20 %	No Surplus or Deficit %	Surplus of $1-$20 %	Surplus of $21 or More %	Total %	Significance Level of χ^2
Education or training	(N=254)	34.	20.	2.	25.	19.	100.	
OJT or work experience	(N= 37)	38.	24.	3.	11.	24.	100.	< .001[a]
Holding	(N=361)	20.	29.	13.	27.	11.	100.	
Other	(N=138)	33.	40.	9.	13.	5.	100.	

[a] $\chi^2 = 76.74$, df = 12.

attitudes shifted from negative to positive, the mean was a surplus of $15. Quite possibly, men's attitudes can be influenced by monetary factors.

Thus, it seems that as long as participants are satisfactorily achieving their immediate goal of training, they will endure the concomitant financial hardship. But these data suggest that WIN's hold on those suffering most is tenuous, while those faring better financially seem less inclined to leave WIN.

Conclusions

The main conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that the intended monetary incentive clearly did not function as such for the majority of WIN participants. Only a small proportion of respondents knew about this program feature prior to the enrollment interview. Later, most of our sample discovered that the expenses involved in program participation were so high that the incentive pay was depleted in an effort to defray some of these extra costs. According to our respondents, some of these expenses were not fully reimbursed, while others were not recognized as liegitimate program costs. Since participants had to use the incentive payment as expense money, it is not surprising that most viewed it as such.

In spite of applying the incentive payment to program participation expenses incurred, the WIN participant lost at the rate of $11 per month on the average (mean). If he was actively participating in the program—that is, not in holding—this loss rose to $15 per month. Participants managed these deficits by spreading the loss—that is, cutting costs on a range of necessary items—and by "doing without." They endured this financial sacrifice in order to obtain the training and jobs they wanted. If these goals began to seem elusive or dissatisfactions occurred, participants with the largest deficits were more apt to leave WIN to try on their own or elsewhere. These findings are consistent with the highly motivated and upwardly mobile characteristics of the sample described in other chapters of this report.

By serving as expense money, the incentive payment helped to reduce the costs of participation. Few participants could have afforded to stay in WIN without the incentive; their monthly deficits would have been unmanageable. Thus, while the incentive payment did not serve as an inducement to participate for the vast majority of participants, its absence would have prohibited participation for many.

Two alternative approaches seem feasible to remedy this situation. We are referring both to the fact that the incentive payment is being held out as a bonus which, in fact, it is not, and to the financial sacrifice most people have to make to participate in WIN. One way to enable the incentive money to serve as intended would be to increase the amount over and beyond the extra

expense of participation. Alternatively, a superior and fairer method, we think, would be to provide adequate expense money to cover actual realistic costs of participation. If the later approach is taken and participants understand clearly what the various amounts are for, the monetary incentives for participating in WIN and for working would then be able to function as promised.

Recommendations

Details will be found in the first chapter of the report.

1. Expense allowances should accurately reflect realistic expenditures resulting from program participation.

2. All program-related expenses that can be itemized should be reimbursed up to the amount spent by the participant within reasonable limits. In addition, a training allowance should be given each participant to cover the costs of less tangible expenses. These training allowances should be fixed amounts at two different levels: the higher amount for participants carrying the major responsibility in the family for household management (cooking, cleaning, care of children, shopping, etc.) and the lower amount for all other participants.

3. If participants' program-related costs can be compensated by a training allowance and reimbursement for expenses, then the incentive as such is no longer needed.

CHAPTER 9

EXPERIENCES IN THE WIN PROGRAM

by
Ilana Hirsch-Lescohier

The main thrust of the WIN Program has been to prepare AFDC recipients for employment by means of various educational, training, and counseling activities and place them on jobs which will enable them to get off welfare. Their preparation for employment through program activites will be examined in this chapter.

Since one of WIN's goals (at least for WIN I) is to promote enrollees to better paying jobs and more satisfying occupations, the question arises whether the program provides the necessary training and education to achieve this goal. Furthermore, it is of importance to know to what extent WIN is responsive to its users' wishes concerning choice of activities and of what consequence these program activities are for the participants. This study extends the notion that particular activities and experiences in the WIN Program may act as inducements or restraints for participation. A major part of this chapter therefore will be devoted to the participants' evaluations of their experiences and the implications of these experiences for incentives and disincentives to participate in WIN.

Factors Influencing Enrollees' Careers in WIN

In our previous study[1] enrollee careers from enrollment to jobs were presented by flow charts. The actual career patterns of enrollees may deviate greatly from the charts. The reason is that although an employability plan is required for each new enrollee, such a plan may vary for each individual according to the assessment of his abilities and skills and the counselor's evaluations of options for training programs and jobs available in the particular locations at a given period of time.

Once the plan is established, the actual experiences of the enrollee may not follow the original employability plan for a number of reasons: Suitable training programs may not be available when the enrollee is ready for them; moreover, the personal circumstances of the enrollee, like illness, lack of child care, etc., may prevent engagement in the outlined activity. As a

[1] Reid, op.cit., pp. 47-56.

result, the enrollee may experience periods of interrupted activities which then affect his future career. These "holding" periods can occur at any point of the participant's progress.

Similarly, a participant may be terminated from the program at any time for a wide range of reasons. Pregnancy, ill health, personal problems, lack of progress, and long waiting periods, as well as employment or program completion, are some of the reasons given for either termination by the program or the client's dropping out.

The impact of organizational and legislative directives in each of the study's cities may also have an influence on the speed with which enrollees are brought in and out of the program. All of the above factors make it difficult to develop a set of realistic career patterns which could be compared with the model career.

Differences in Client Careers

Using the length of stay in the program as one facet of the career pattern, it is evident that city and sex have bearing upon the type of career which an enrollee can expect (see Table 9-1). The data indicate that Chicago's enrollees are moved through the program at greater speed than in the other two cities. This may be due in part to the different sampling method used in Chicago which is explained in Chapter 3. But the sampling differences do not explain the entire picture.

TABLE 9-1

RESPONDENTS' LENGTH OF STAY
IN WIN BY CITY, BY SEX, AND BY STATUS[a]

Length of Stay	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Male %	Female %	Current %	Terminee %
6 months or less	59.7	34.7	33.1	44.0	39.0	38.3	45.9
7-12 months	14.7	22.1	22.3	24.6	15.9	23.2	15.4
13-24	21.4	29.8	25.5	26.2	25.4	25.7	26.0
25 months or more	4.2	13.3	19.0	5.2	19.6	12.8	12.7
Total	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
N =	238	271	305	386	428	483	331

[a]This table excludes the new enrollees, who by definition spent less than three months in the program. For current enrollees, the length of time was calculated up to the last quarter of 1972 when the bulk of the interviewing was done.

As we noted, in Chicago the Talmadege Amendments were implemented earlier than in Detroit or Cleveland, and therefore a greater emphasis was put on job placements along with a reduction in training opportunities. Large numbers of newcomers to Chicago's program were placed on jobs through EEA allotments.[1]

Men tend to pass through WIN faster than women. Almost 69 percent of the current and terminated men spend a year or less in WIN as compared with 35 percent of the women. Only 5 percent of the men in these groups spent more than two years in the program as compared with 20 percent of the women. This may be explained by the fact that more women than men participate in the various WIN activities such as education and training porgrams (which take substantial time to complete). In contrast, greater proportions of the men are placed on jobs.

In Chapter 5, which dealt with the participants' career aspirations, it was pointed out that six out of 10 enrollees expected jobs which required professional or extensive training. Professional training may take at least three years, and extensive training may last eight months to two years. It is also assumed that the WIN participants may need a longer period to complete their training because of their family responsibilities and their need for remedial education.

As shown in Table 9-1, the majority of the terminees (60 percent) spent 12 months or less in WIN, and only 13 percent stayed more than two years. It is obvious that enrollees who stay in WIN less than a year can hardly achieve completion of extensive training for the kind of jobs which they desire.

Past Activities in WIN

The most important aspect of the enrollees' WIN career is the nature of activities in which they have participated. All respondents were asked to identify these without regard to their sequence. The findings show that most of the respondents participated in activities not directly related to job placement, education, or training, but preparatory or guiding in nature (e.g., counseling, testing, orientation, etc.). In contrast, fewer people participated in those educational and training activities which may act to upgrade participants' skills and qualification.

The difference between the cities was quite remarkable. In Chicago the rate of participation in all activities except job placement and on-the-job training was much lower than in the other two cities. This may be also due to the earlier implementation of the Talmadge Amendments in that city,

[1] See Chapter 12 for details on Chicago's use of EEA.

shifting the emphasis from the rehabilitative approach to quick placements in any job. About half as many respondents in Chicago experienced training or education than in either Detroit or Cleveland.[1] On the other hand, higher proportions of respondents in Chicago (45 percent as compared with nine percent in Cleveland and 23 percent in Detroit) stated that efforts had been made to place them on a job while at WIN,[2] and an additional 10 percent mentioned placements through EEA, a program which did not exist in other cities.

There are considerable differences between males and females in program careers. Women consistently reported higher rates of participation in all activities but job placement. It seems, therefore, that the career patterns of women are more varied than those of men.

Because our interest centered on the career patterns of enrollees in WIN, a variable was developed describing certain combination of the types of activities in which an enrollee might have participated. All the identified activities were classified into four major areas: (1) education (including basic education, GED, and college courses); (2) training (including training for specific job, work experience, and OJT); (3) job (including job placement and EEA); (4) services (including counseling and the preparatory activities of orientation, testing/assessment, work samples, and physical examination). As we indicated before, a large proportion of participants went through the "service" activities; therefore, an attempt was made to identify those enrollees whose sole career experience in WIN was of this nature. On the other hand, "services" were disregarded for enrollees whose activities included education, training, and job, or a combination thereof.

Enrollees' careers became more varied for those who stayed longer in WIN (see Table 9-2). About half of the participants who had been in the program up to six months did not start on any education or training program, nor was there an attempt to place them on a job. For the remaining half, however, there was a greater emphasis on job placement than on education or training. Of 305 respondents who indicated any kind of job placement attempt, about two-thirds spent a short time in the program (six months). More than 80 percent of the respondents who experienced job placement but not education or training also come from this group. In contrast, the probability of obtaining both education and training increased over time.

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[1] Basic education: Chicago, 17%; Cleveland, 33%; Detroit, 25%. GED: Chicago, 11%; Cleveland, 18%; Detroit, 26%. Training for specific job: Chicago, 17%; Cleveland, 34%; Detroit, 36%.

[2] It must be noted, however, that the positive indication of "job placement" in this item does not mean that the respondent indeed retained the job or was terminated as a result of the placement. Rather, it shows that an attempt was made to place the respondent in a job.

TABLE 9-2

LENGTH OF TIME IN THE PROGRAM BY CAREER PATTERN

(For all three sample groups)

Career Pattern	6 Months or Less %	7-12 Months %	13-24 Months %	25 Months or More %	N %
Education only	10.0	28.2	21.9	19.2	180
Training only	7.0	23.3	17.6	23.1	147
Job only	19.3	12.9	2.9	1.0	160
Education & training	4.7	14.1	26.2	29.8	141
Education & job	1.9	2.4	2.9	4.8	28
Training & job	4.8	5.5	6.2	4.8	60
Education & training and job	2.6	3.1	9.5	13.5	57
Services only	46.7	10.4	11.9	3.8	365
No activities	2.9	0.0	0.9	0.0	22
Total	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	
N =	683	163	210	104	1160[a]

[a] Forty-three respondents were excluded from the analysis because of insufficient information.

It should be emphasized that placing enrollees on jobs as quickly as possible does not necessarily mean that the participants have achieved their occupational goals.[1] The jobs which participants received after termination were not of the level desired by the majority of them. It is likely, therefore, that people who terminate from the program after a short time (and in our sample 45 percent of the terminees spent six months or less in WIN) will not benefit much from WIN. Even if they obtain employment, they do not acquire better education or occupational skills and therefore are likely to stay within the cycle of low wages, low prestige, and high turnover jobs which lead back to periods of dependency on welfare.[2]

[1] See Chapter 5 for corroboration of this.

[2] A discussion of the relationship between the welfare poor and working poor is presented in Joe A. Miller and Louis A. Ferman, Welfare Careers and Low Wage Employment, a report by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, in print.

Present Activities in WIN

Respondents were also asked about the kinds of activities in which they were engaged at the time of the interview. Of 836 respondents who were actually enrolled in WIN at the time of the interview (i.e., nonterminees), only 56.5 percent were actually engaged in active participation while the rest were not doing anything (see Table 9-3)

TABLE 9-3

WHAT RESPONDENTS WERE DOING
IN WIN AT TIME OF INTERVIEW, BY CITY

Doing Now?	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	N
Active:				
Education	3.9	19.2	5.8	115
Training & OJT	9.6	21.9	13.5	179
EEA	10.8	--	--	44
Other activity	3.4	22.1	8.1	134
Total active	27.7 (N=113)	63.2 (N=254)	27.3 (N=105)	472 (39.5%)
"Holding" for:				
Education	1.5	0.2	3.1	19
Training	5.6	1.7	8.3	62
Employment	24.9	1.0	8.6	135
Other	15.4	3.5	18.4	148
Total "Holding" (non-active)	46.6 (N=190)	6.5 (N= 26)	38.4 (N=148)	365 (30.5%)
Total terminated from WIN	25.7 (N=105)	30.3 (N=122)	34.3 (N=132)	359 (30%)
	100.0 408	100.0 402	100.0 385	1195 (100%)

This period of inactivity was found to be a discouraging factor for the respondents. Almost half of all participants experienced waiting periods of a month or more while at WIN; 28 percent of them found it hard to take, and an additional 38 percent thought it to be bothersome. It seems that WIN II tends to increase the likelihood of spending time in waiting because of the greater pressure to terminate enrollees to jobs in large numbers and in a short time, and the reductions of training provisions. This trend is first observed in the city comparisons. In Chicago, which implemented WIN II first, 63 percent of actual participants were in a non-active status at the time of

interview. In contrast, only 9 percent were waiting in Cleveland, which implemented the new directive last (see Table 9-3).

The comparison between the status cohorts shows a similar trend. "New" enrollees who entered the program since the WIN II implementation tended to be non-active in a greater proportion (65 percent) than the "current" enrollees. Most current participants entered the program before WIN II, and many of them were already engaged in educational and training programs before the new directives took effect.

Completion of Education and Training Programs

As we have shown, participants are more likely to engage in education and training programs if they stay longer in WIN. The question than arises as to how many of them complete their course of study and how long it takes. Respondents who had participated in basic education, GED courses, and training for specific jobs were asked about the particular programs which they took, whether they completed the course of study or training and obtained a certificate or diploma.

Of 586 respondents who received basic education, GED, or specific training, only 38 percent completed their programs. Very few new enrollees participated in such programs, and almost all of them were in the beginning stage. But even of the terminees, less than half completed their studies, while for currents, approximately a third completed.

Women have better completion rates than men and they also participate in larger numbers in education and training programs. Fifty-seven percent of the 586 participants who got into education or training were women, while they compose only a half of the entire sample. This is consistent with the finding mentioned earlier in this chapter that women reported higher rates of participation in all activities but job placement. Of those who finished their training or education programs (224 respondents in the sample), 73 percent received the appropriate certificate or diploma.

The most important predictor for program completion was found to be the length of time spent in WIN. Participants who stay in WIN longer than a year have a much better change of completing some program—be it education or training—than those participants who stay in WIN less than a year. This finding was statistically significant.[1] It was also found that a greater proportion of these completers got jobs after termination than the

[1] $X^2 = 39.6$, $p < .05$

noncompleters. This result was also statistically significant.[1] These findings support previous conclusions that moving enrollees in and out of WIN quickly is dysfunctional to the goals of skill imporvement and job upgrading.

TABLE 9-4

COMPLETION OF EDUCATION OR
TRAINING PROGRAM BY LENGTH OF STAY IN WIN

Length of Stay in WIN	Completed %	Did Not Complete %
6 months or less	17.7	41.5
7-12 months	18.1	21.6
13-24 months	38.1	24.6
25 months or more	26.0	12.3
N =	215	342

Desired Activities

An important question is whether WIN participants received from the program the kinds of activities which they desired; namely, is there a matching between their expectations and the program reality. In an open-ended question, respondents were asked what they wanted from WIN when they first enrolled. The multiple responses to this item were classified in a similar manner to the career pattern variable. A comparison was made between the activities which participants desired at the time of enrollment and the activities which they experienced while at WIN for the entire sample and for the terminated respondents (see Table 9-5).

The figures in Table 9-5 indicate that an overwhelming majority (80 percent) of all respondents wanted only a job, training for a job, or combination of training and job. Only a small proportion (7 percent) were interested in education for its own sake, and very few expected other activities and education, training, or job. Looking at their experiences in WIN, one observes that the largest group of respondents received services only, that is, preparatory activities like orientation and testing or counseling. Also, a larger group received education than received either training or job.

[1] $\chi^2 = 5.28$, $p. < .05$.

TABLE 9-5

ACTIVITIES WHICH ENROLLEES EXPECTED AND EXPERIENCED BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR ALL RESPONDENTS AND TERMINEES

Activities	Expected When Enrolled		Experienced at WIN	
	All Respondents %	Terminees %	All Respondents %	Terminees %
Education only	6.7	6.9	15.7	20.3
Training only	36.5	35.9	12.4	11.5
Job only	25.9	21.8	13.4	11.8
Education & training	5.3	6.6	12.3	14.0
Education & job	3.3	4.4	2.5	3.3
Training & job	17.4	17.0	5.2	5.8
Education & training & job	1.7	2.8	5.0	9.6
Other (services) only	2.3	3.6	31.6	22.5
No activities	0.8	0.8	1.8	1.4
N =	1199	362	1199	365

Because most of the respondents were still in WIN at the time of the interview and their future activities could not be predicted, an examination of the terminees alone provides a better measure of the matching between expectation and experience. This examination shows that most of the terminated respondents did not get what they expected from WIN. Whereas three-quarters of them wanted a job, training, or combination thereof, less than a third (29 percent) received these activities. When the desired and experienced activities were cross-tabulated, it was found that only 19 percent of the terminees got exactly what they wanted. The rest may have partially received desired activities, or the WIN decisions concerning assigned activities may have been out of line with what respondents wanted. An expression of this mismatch was illustrated by one of the participants in the following words:

> I had my hopes on job training of some sort. My worker told me that possibly I could get the training but then it would take too long. So they looked into job placement instead. I was kind of depressed at that but happy 'cause they had got me a job.

Later, he continues, "I lost a little hope in it (WIN) when I found out I could't get the training I wanted."

A women who left WIN because of a pregnancy, and who participated in

education programs only, told the interviewer:

> She (ADC worker) told me they trained you for a job. I thought they trained you on the job, but I had to go to school. Mainly what I was looking for, I wanted to learn a certain kind of job but instead I had to go to school.

Another respondent, in describing the reasons for leaving WIN, said:

> I didn't leave—they said I had reached the termination date. I was told that 10 months was the limit on being in WIN without a vocational objective, which I had. Then they said that as of July 1s their priorities were jobs and not training, so they tried to place me on a job. I was boiling inside when I found they'd been wasting my time since I have been in the program. I wanted training and they wanted to put me in a job.

If WIN cannot be responsive to the expressed wishes of its clients, it is hard to see how these participants can continue in a program that does not meet their expectations and creates feelings of disappointment and resentment.

Satisfaction with Training

Because so many enrollees (60 percent) expressed the desire to take up job training, it is of interest to examine their feelings concerning the progress they have made in getting training. All respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with the progress they were making in getting training for the job they wanted or for any job. The responses were distributed as follows:

Very satisfied	40.7%
Somewhat satisfied	27.2
Not particularly satisfied or dissatisfied	10.7
Very dissatisfied	21.4

The majority of respondents felt satisfied with the progress which they were making in getting training. The positive responses do not reflect a reality of training engagement but indicate the measure of optimism in progressing toward a desired goal. One can say, therefore, that about 70 percent felt more or less optimistic about their progress. No marked differences were found by sex, but the status of the respondents did affect outlook.

Among the new enrollees few were dissatisfied (17 percent) and many chose the neutral category of not particularly satisfied or dissatisfied (17 percent).

The reason perhaps is that they had had less chance than the other groups to assess their possible progress in the program. The group of current enrollees expressed the highest satisfaction with their progress (very satisfied, 48 percent; somewhat, 28 percent).

This finding for current enrollees may be due to the fact that they were engaged in training programs in larger proportions than the other two groups—both in the past and at the time of the interview. Therefore, their optimism and expectation of progress in WIN were higher. On the other hand, the group of terminated enrollees indicated the highest measure of dissatisfaction and lowest optimism (very satisfied, 31.5 percent; very dissatisfied, 32 percent). This was particularly true for terminees who spent a year or less in WIN. But even the terminees who stayed longer periods in WIN were less satisfied than either the currents or the new enrollees—probably because they did not get from WIN what they expected.

Because the terminees evaluated the program in retrospect, those who got a job after termination had a more favorable reaction to WIN. They expressed more satisfaction with the training than did the terminees who did not get a job (see Table 9-6).

TABLE 9-6

GETTING JOB AFTER TERMINATION COMPARED WITH SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS IN GETTING TRAINING

Satisfaction with Training	Got a Job %	Did Not Get a Job %
Very satisfied	41.6	.21 0
Somewhat satisfied	24.2	27.4
Not particularly satisfied or dissatisfied	10.1	12.1
Very dissatisfied	24.2	39.5
Total	100.1	100.0
N =	149	157

In spite of the fact that getting a job did not always follow experience or completion of training program, termination without a job seemed to bring about more feelings of dissatisfaction. The difference in expressed satisfaction between the two groups shown in Table 9-6, is statistically significant.[1] However, not merely getting a job, but getting a satisfactory job,

[1] $\chi^2 = 16.59$, $p < .05$.

was found to be more closely related to viewing past training as satisfactory. Almost three-quarters of respondents who were satisfied with their present jobs reported satisfaction with progress in training while at WIN, but only about 40 percent of those who were dissatisfied with their present jobs were so satisfied with past training. This means that not only actual experiences but also outcomes may affect the participants' perceptions and evaluations of activities in WIN. Undesired outcome may even overshadow particular experiences which the participant enjoyed.

Now let us look at the relationship between satisfaction with training and general attitude toward WIN, as expressed by terminees. A close association exists between feelings about training progress and general attitude toward WIN (see Table 9-7). The causal interpretation is unclear. As mentioned above, outcomes as well as actual experiences influence the terminees' perceptions in recalling their feelings about training. Nevertheless, negative attitudes toward WIN were very strong among those terminees who felt dissatisfied with the progress they made in getting training. This highlights the conflict of goals between the majority of participants who desire job training and the organization, under WIN II, which attempts to process clients as quickly as possible with a lower emphasis on training.

TABLE 9-7

SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS IN GETTING TRAINING
BY ATTITUDE TOWARD WIN

(For terminees)

Attitude	Very Dissatisfied %	Not Satisfied or Dissatisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Very Satisfied %
Negative	73.4	39.1	41.5	20.4
Neutral	8.9	26.1	22.6	18.5
Positive	17.7	34.8	35.8	61.1
N =	79	23	53	54

Respondents' Evaluations of Their Experiences in WIN

In the introduction to this chapter, the importance of the participants' evaluations of their experiences in WIN as incentives or disincentives was noted.

Two major open-ended items were introduced in the questionnaire aiming at

gaining insights into the participants' perceptions of their WIN experiences. These questions were phrased in the following way:

Q # 6. Whether people want to be in WIN or not, there are some things they like and dislike about being in the program.
   a. Would you tell me all the things you like about being in WIN?
   b. Now, all the things you dislike?

Q # 7. People also find that there are things which make it easy for them to participate in WIN and other things which make it hard for them. These may be things about WIN itself, about a person's family, about his personal life, or about a lot of other things.
   a. What are the things that make participation in WIN easy for you?
   b. What are the things that make participation in WIN difficult for you?

A coding scheme was subsequently developed on the basis of the actual responses from each city. Some of the respondents presented very sophisticated and exciting evaluations of their experiences, and some gave only very sparse responses. Their richness of expression was, unfortunately, lost in this process of analysis which was based on content categories.

The following report of things that enrollees liked or disliked and things that made it easy or difficult for them is based on the total responses given to these items, which were more numerous than the number of respondents because some of them gave two or three responses to the same item. The responses were classified into the following categories:

1. Activities in WIN (including specific activities like orientation, education, training, job placement, and general references to activities).

2. Personnel (including references to attitudes and treatment by the WIN personnel and people at other training and educational sites).

3. Opportunity (references made about specific opportunity for acquiring education, training, and job through WIN, and general opportunity for bettering self and getting off welfare.

4. Program features (including particular features of the WIN Program like incentive pay, child care pay and services, bureaucratic aspects of the program, requirements and restrictions, etc.).

5. Outcomes (related mainly to jobs and their nature).

6. Client-related aspects of participation (home situation with children, available money, transportation, and client characteristics which may help or impede participation).

The preceding section of this chapter (as well as Chapter 5) has shown that acquiring job training and better jobs were of major concern to the study's respondents. However, when respondents came to evaluate their experiences in WIN, these topics (training and jobs) did not take a prominent place. Apparently, the respondents made some distinction between their job and training aspirations and aspects of participation which affect their day-to-day involvement in the program.

Things Which Enrollees Liked About WIN

Throughout the cities the dominant responses about things which respondents liked were related to personnel.[1] Examining favorable responses about personnel, we found that a quarter mentioned the personnel helpfulness, another quarter described the personnel as "nice people." Understanding and concern by personnel were cited in a fifth of the responses, and another fifth expressed the belief that the workers had good intentions and tried to help. Many of these responses were phrased in general terms, like the woman who said, "People are nice, understanding, they are trying to do their jobs and trying to help you."

Lack of painful experience with personnel was also brought out as a positive aspect of t ationship. Another woman enrollee told the interviewer:

> They are very nice people to deal with. They take pains to listen to your problems. Everybody tries to be helpful. They didn't snub you, and they were very nice.

Although many of the responses relating to personnel were vague and general in nature and could be viewed as "socially accepted" answers, the volume of the voluntary responses indicating personnel as a positive experience is quite impressive. Table 9-8 also displays city differences which follow similar lines to previous findings. In Cleveland and Detroit larger proportions of the responses related to activities, or liking the WIN activities, than in Chicago where fewer respondents have been participating in program components like education and training. In contrast, almost none of the responses in Cleveland and Detroit mentioned a job as the thing they liked

[1] This finding was reinforced by the multivariate analysis of these variables presented in Chapter 11.

whereas about 3 percent of Chicago's responses mentioned it.

TABLE 9-8

RESPONSES INDICATING THINGS
WHICH ENROLLEES LIKED ABOUT WIN BY CITY

Like About WIN	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Total Sample %
Activities	13.6	21.5	23.1	19.3
Personnel	35.8	25.0	33.4	31.6
Opportunities	18.1	29.4	18.4	21.8
Program feactures	15.1	13.9	12.6	13.9
Outcomes	2.9	--	0.1	1.1
Nothing	5.4	3.6	3.3	4.1
Everything	2.3	1.7	4.7	2.9
Other responses	6.9	4.9	4.4	5.5
N[a] =	830	749	788	2367

[a]The N given refers to number of responses given. One should note that 407 respondents gave only one response, 404 gave two responses, 384 gave three responses each.

Things Which Enrollees Disliked About WIN

The major aspects of their experiences which enrollees disliked were items related to program features. What are the particular program features which emerge strongly as disliked experiences? Thirty-nine percent of the disliked program features mentioned were related to the fact that few or no choices were allowed, that restrictions and limitations were set on time schedules and programs, and that WIN was "coercive." A larger proportion of Detroit's responses indicated these issues (53 percent). An additional 21 percent mentioned problems with money either the money amount was too small or there was a bureaucratic "mess-up" of payments. These complaints were particularly strong in Cleveland (34 percent). Another 21 percent of program features responses presented the bureaucratic "snafus" and waiting periods as dislike aspects.

It should be noted that responses indicating lack of any disliked aspects amounted to a fifth of the total responses. Men were more likely to respond in this manner (24 percent as compared with 17 percent for women), although

women tended to give a greater number of responses. Throughout the open-ended questions dealt with in this section, more responses were recorded for women then for men, in spite of the fact that the sexes distributed almost evenly in the sample.

TABLE 9-9

RESPONSES INDICATING THINGS
WHICH ENROLLEES DISLIKED ABOUT WIN BY CITY[a]

Dislike About WIN	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Total Sample %
Activities	10.5	14.8	16.5	13.7
Personnel	12.9	11.9	19.7	14.8
Opportunity	5.5	4.4	5.2	5.1
Program features	34.8	43.2	26.7	34.8
Outcomes	8.6	4.2	5.6	6.3
Nothing	20.8	17.5	22.8	20.4
Other responses	6.9	4.1	3.4	4.9
N =	712	590	613	1915

[a]To this question 685 respondents gave only one response, 300 gave two responses, 210 gave three responses.

It is of interest to note that in contrast to the large number of responses (36 percent) indicating positive attitudes toward personnel, only 13 percent of the "dislike" responses mentioned problems with personnel. However, these later responses were expressed in strong terms. Participants identified particular aspects of their relationships with personnel which caused them discomfort. One woman told the interviewer that a WIN worker "could not understand why I wanted to go to college when my parents had not gone." She said that this incident upset and discouraged her. Another respondent said.

> I dislike the way the counselors attack the way you talk, your personality, your outer features. Just the way they put me down. Everything you say they don't believe it. I dislike the fact that they antagonize you. My counselor told me I was a "slick." They don't trust you at all.

It can be assumed that the respondents have been exposed to bureaucracies in the past, especially to the welfare bureaucracy, and have experienced indifferent or impersonal attitudes by officials. In Win, however, they met

with personnel who view personal services like counseling as an integral part of their role. This dimension of the WIN counselor's role can contribute to feelings of pleasantness for participants in the program even if their ultimate aspirations are not met. On the other hand, thsse participants who felt abused by the personnel may be greatly discouraged in their participation.

Things That "Make it Easy"

With regard to things that make it easy to participate in WIN, program features appear again as a major category. It can be seen that similar aspects of the program may be viewed either positively or negatively by different or even the same participants according to the nature of the exposure the participant had or his perception of his particular situation.

TABLE 9-10

RESPONSES INDICATING THINGS
WHICH MAKE IT EASY TO PARTICIPATE IN WIN BY CITY[a]

What Makes It Easy	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Total Sample %
Activities	4.8	4.0	4.7	5.1
Personnel	16.5	9.9	10.8	12.9
Opportunity	15.6	8.3	9.6	12.1
Program features	35.3	43.1	30.8	33.0
Client-related	13.9	21.7	31.3	22.1
Nothing	7.9	9.9	10.8	10.3
Other	6.0	3.0	2.1	4.5
N =	671	626	575	1872

[a]To this item ("make easy") 163 respondents gave three responses, 376 gave two responses, and 631 gave one response.

The aspects mentioned in relation to program features which made it easy to participate were: easy requirements, efficiency and effectiveness of program, child care payments and arrangements, money, and transportation. Thirteen percent of all responses indicated that child care payments, proper child care arrangements, or the fact that children were in school and did not need special care, made it easy for the parent to participate in WIN. Fourteen percent mentioned available transportation as an easy factor. In this question,

too, women gave more responses than men, while the latter used the category "nothing" two-and-a-half times more frequently than women.

Things That "Make It Difficult"

Surprisingly, 512 of the respondents did not find anything that makes it hard to participate in WIN. It may be that the preceding open-ended items had already exhausted much of what respondents had to say, and it is possible that some of them did not distinguish the phrasing of what may seem similar probes—"things that you dislike about WIN" and "things that make it hard for you." Nevertheless, the remaining group (672 people) who had something to say gave 1022 responses between them. The responses of the "nothing type were excluded. Table 9-11 identifies several areas of hardship which were mentioned more frequently than others.

TABLE 9-11

SELECTED AREAS OF HARDSHIP FROM THOSE RESPONSES INDICATING SOMETHING WHICH MAKES IT HARD TO PARTICIPATE IN WIN BY CITY

Makes It Hard for You	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %	Total Sample %
Requirements (hours, red tape)	17.7	11.3	14.6	14.7
Child care problems (arrangements, money)	11.5	11.6	13.2	12.0
Transportation (location inconvenient)	7.9	13.7	9.0	10.2
Money (insufficient, delays)	8.7	25.3	13.5	15.6
All other responses	54.1	38.1	49.6	47.5
N =	390	344	288	1022

A very strong complaint about money was frequently noted in Cleveland—that is, the incentive pay and expense money from WIN. In addition, the payment for child care arrangements, for Cleveland's respondents, was worse than in the other two cities. Only 13 percent of the respondents to this question reported that WIN or welfare paid for their child care arrangements as compared with 23 percent in Detroit and 28 percent in Chicago. The disparity is

even greater considering the fact that none of Cleveland's respondents expected such a payment to be made in the future, whereas about eight or nine percent of respondents in the other two cities did.[1]

Cleveland also had the largest proportion of responses indicating problems with transportation. Indeed, a different questionnaire item corroborates this finding. Asked directly whether they had any problems with transportation, three out of 10 respondents in Cleveland affirmed the probe. Child care problems were mentioned, as may be expected, mostly by women. Only 12 out of 123 responses dealing with child care were given by men. On the other hand, these problems comprised about one-fifth of all the responses given by women.[2]

Here again the difference between men and women in regard to number and type of response continues. Whereas 30 percent of the women's responses were of the "nothing" kind, for men this answer appeared in 40 percent of the responses.

Selected Experiences as Incentives or Disincentives for Participation

This section is based on several items of the questionnaire which attempted to evaluate specific situations which WIN participants were likely to encounter. Phrases such as "encourage," "discourage," "hard to take," and "bother me some," were used. These expressions may represent particular motivation for or adverse effect on participation.

Four given situations were examined. The first two deal with the home environment; i.e., leaving the house and being away from children in order to be in WIN activities. The others, which are related to the program itself, deal with contacts with WIN staff and waiting periods between activities.

It is generally assumed that mothers who live on welfare may have particular difficulty in adjusting to the routine of regular employment, which required regular hours and absence from the house every day. Our findings show that for the women interviewed in this study, leaving the house for WIN activities, training, or job is mainly a source of encouragement. Three-quarters of the women said that leaving the house encourages them greatly or somewhat. Only 4 percent viewed it as a discourageing factor. For the entire sample, 70 percent were encouraged by leaving the house, a quarter felt neutral, and only about 5 percent were discouraged. (This picture did not change much when city or status comparisons were made.)

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[1] See Chapter 8 for details on other reactions to monetary features.

[2] These issues are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6.

Another aspect of leaving the house every day is that mothers see less of their children. A question was posed to respondents whether being in WIN caused them to be away from their children more than before, and, if so, whether this separation tended to encourage or discourage their participation. Those who responded negatively to the first probe were presented with the hypothetical situation and asked to reply on a similar encourage/discourage scale. An interesting picture emerges; people who experienced leaving their children because of WIN were more likely to be encouraged and less likely to be discouraged by this experience than those for whom WIN participation did not mean seeing less of their children. In fact, the differences in outlook between the respondents who spent less time with their children as a result of WIN involvement and those who were not separated from their children are statistically significant both for males and females. However, women who have been away from their children more felt more encouraged and less discouraged than the men who have had similar experience. The differences were not, however, statistically significant. On the other hand, women who have not been away from their children more were more likely than the men to believe that such an experience would have discouraged their participation. This last difference was statistically significant.

Turning now to the specific experiences relating to WIN, respondents were asked whether they had any waiting periods of a month or more between activities since they participated in WIN, and, if so, whether they found these waiting periods hard to take. A similar hypothetical question was posed to respondents who had not experienced such waiting. It was assumed that waiting periods have an adverse influence on the participants and may affect their motivation to continue in their activities. People who had waiting periods did find them harder to take than those who had not experienced such a wait (see Table 9-13).

It should be mentioned, however, that more than a third (39 percent) of all respondents did not mind the wait or thought that they would not mind if such a wait occurred. This group did not differ greatly in their career patterns in WIN from the people who saw a hardship or bother in waiting. Their activities seemed to be slightly less varied, and they were somewhat more likely to have spent their time in WIN doing preparatory or counseling activities; nevertheless, these differences were not marked. On the other hand, participants who have had waiting periods also tended to participate in training programs to a much greater extent than the others. While 44 percent of the people with waiting periods have been engaged in training programs (disregarding their other possible activities), only 28 percent of those who did not have had this activity. About 10 percent more of this latter group have received services only or no activity.

TABLE 9-12

BEING AWAY FROM CHILDREN MORE AS AN ENCOURAGEMENT OR DISCOURAGEMENT TO PARTICIPATION BY SEX AND EXPERIENCE

	Men[a]		Women[b]	
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %
	Does being in WIN cause you to be away from kids more?			
Encourages greatly and somewhat	33.4	21.0	36.0	24.6
Both/neither	35.7	55.9	47.0	42.2
Discourage greatly and somewhat	20.0	23.2	17.1	33.2
N =	135	376	281	277
	Does being away from kids encourage or discourage?			
Encourage greatly and somewhat	33.4	36.0	21.0	24.6
Both/neither	46.7	47.0	55.9	42.2
Discourage greatly and somewhat	20.0	17.0	23.2	33.2
N =	135	281	376	277

[a] $\chi^2 = 8.23$, $p < .05$.

[b] $\chi^2 = 21.14$, $p < .05$.

[c] $\chi^2 = 0.61$, not significant

[d] $\chi^2 = 12.69$, $p < .05$.

TABLE 9-13

FEELING ABOUT WAITING
PERIODS OF A MONTH OR MORE BY EXPERIENCE[a]

Feel About It	Waiting Periods? Yes %	No %
I have found/would find them hard to take.	27.6	15.1
They have/would me some	38.2	42.2
I haven't/wouldn't mind it.	34.2	42.7
N =	532	654

[a] $\chi^2 = 28.65$, $p < .001$.

As for the contacts with WIN staff, participants in general tended to view such relationships as an encouraging factor. Two-thirds of the respondents felt positively encouraged by their contacts with the WIN staff, and only 12 percent viewed these contacts as discouraging. New enrollees and men were slightly more positive about the staff, as were respondents in Detroit.

In summary, four specific situations, which may act as incentive or disincentive for participation, were examined. The effects of acutal experiences on respondents't perceptions were also analysed. Leaving the house in order to be in WIN-related programs and the contacts with WIN staff were found to be an encouraging factor to the majority of participants. Waiting periods, however, tended to create an adverse feeling, especially for those who have actually experienced them. Being away from children as a result of participation in WIN showed a more complex pattern of response. Whereas less of the men had such an experience, those men with this experience did not differ significantly in their feelings from the women with this experience; at the same time, men who were presented with the hypothetical situation tended to feel less discouraged and more neutral about it than their female counterparts. In general, though, the outlook about separation from children changes with experience to the effect that the possibility of being away from them may seem more threatening than the actual experience shows. This was true for both sexes.

CHAPTER 10

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INCENTIVES AND DISINCENTIVES

by
Jon Bushnell

This is the first of two chapters in which the relationship of the various incentives and disincentives to one another and to the client's participation in the WIN Program is assessed. In our earlier chapters we considered each incentive separately in terms of identifying the clients who most emphasized the incentive in question as well as the impact of the specific incentive on participation. Our analysis of the way incentives interact to promote or discourage participation brings us closer to the actual determinants of client behavior.

This chapter presents the relative frequency with which clients emphasized incentives and disincentives and the consequences of such forces for participation. This is a first step in describing the relationship among such variables. The following chapter offers an analysis of the way in which these incentives and disincentives interacted for particular subgroups within the sample.

The importance of the various incentives was ascertained by three series of questions. One series of five questions asked the client to indicate how important a particular outcome or program feature was. This response was further modified by phrases linking the response to a hypothetical effect upon program participation. An example of this type of question is as follows:

14. How important is this bonus or incentive to you?
    Very important, you wouldn't stay in WIN without it;
    Important, but you'd stay in WIN without it;
    Slightly important;
    Totally unimportant, really makes no difference at all;
    Don't know/Not applicable.

15. If this bonus or incentive had to be discontinued or sharpy reduced, what effect would this have on your participation in the program?
    I would leave;
    It would be bad, but I would try to stay;
    It wouldn't matter;
    Don't know/Not applicable.

Another set of questions asked the clients whether leaving the house, being away from their children, and their contacts with the WIN staff encouraged or discouraged their participation.

Primary Importance Placed on Training

While clients generally feel the monetary incentive is important to them, it is less important than the propsect of getting a job, getting off welfare, and getting good teaching and the right training (presumably to enable them to get a job and get off welfare; see Table 10-1). While the percentages varied somewhat, this same general pattern is obtained if the responses are tabulated separately for each status (new, current, terminee) in each city. Also of interest is that while the clients rate the ultimate goal of getting a job and/or getting off welfare as important to very important, they tend to focus upon the immediate process, i.e., getting training, as being most important to them. Thus, they are saying in effect that the principal service provided by a manpower program such as WIN—that of providing job training—is quite important and valued by them. They are also saying, however, that they want and need "the right kind" of training where we may interpret "the right kind" to mean training that will in fact—not just in theory—enable them to achieve the ultimate goal of getting a job that they want.

TABLE 10-1

IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS INCENTIVES TO MALE AND FEMALE WIN CLIENTS

	Not Important %	Somewhat Important %	Important %	Very Important %	N
Incentive Money					
Male	11.0	11.0	60.0	18.0	533
Female	9.0	9.0	61.0	21.0	565
Getting a Job					
Male	5.0	5.0	45.0	45.0	594
Female	3.0	6.0	46.0	45.0	595
Getting Off Welfare					
Male	5.0	3.0	51.0	41.0	438
Female	5.0	3.0	43.0	49.0	517
Good Teaching					
Male	6.0	6.0	40.0	48.0	450
Female	4.0	3.0	43.0	50.0	550
Getting Right Training					
Male	5.0	5.0	41.0	49.0	528
Female	2.0	3.0	35.0	60.0	585

The importance of getting the right kind of training is even more dramatically pointed out in the responses to four questions asking the client what action he would take in certain circumstances (see Table 10-2). Again, we find that the monetary incentive is of some importance to the client but that it rates as substantially less important than getting training, getting a job, and getting them without undue delay. This is not to say that the monetary incentive is unimportant and should be discontinued; on the contrary, as pointed out in Chapter 8, this is viewed as necessary expense money needed to offset expenses incurred as a result of program participation and is important to facilitate participation. What the clients are saying is that even though the incentive (expense) money is important to them, they would probably make sacrifices to obtain the more important goal of job producing training.

TABLE 10-2

CLIENTS LIKELY REACTION TO CERTAIN HYPOTHETICAL ADVERSE SITUATIONS

Effect of:	Make No Difference %	Disappointed; Probably Stay %	Might Leave Program %	Would Leave Program %	N
Reduced Incentive					
Male	30.0	60.0	--	10.0	528
Female	27.0	65.0	--	8.0	553
No Job Guarantee After Training					
Male	32.0	54.0	6.0	8.0	574
Female	24.0	58.0	8.0	10.0	589
90-Day Wait During Training					
Male	24.0	55.0	14.0	7.0	573
Female	24.0	55.0	13.0	8.0	583
Wrong Kind of Training					
Male	27.0	24.0	11.0	38.0	437
Female	26.0	21.0	11.0	42.0	447

Most significantly, we find that the WIN clients feel strongly enough about getting the right type and quality of training that substantial numbers of them would leave the program if they did not receive it.

Having to leave home to go to the WIN training site is viewed as an encouraging factor—an opportunity to "get out of the house." Also, being away from one's children is viewed in a positive sense—more so by the men than by the women as would be expected (see Table 10-3). From these responses and from some of the comments we received, it is evident that there are two aspects to the good feelings associated with leaving the house and children. One is the opportunity to "get out of the house," to relieve a sense of social isolation and to get away from the demands and "hassle" of the wife (for the men) and the kids (for both men and women). The other aspect is, for men particularly, the opportunity to fulfill the usual role of leaving the house to provide for the family.

TABLE 10-3

EFFECTS OF LEAVING HOME,
LEAVING CHILDREN, AND HAVING CONTACT WITH WIN PERSONNEL

Effect of:	Discourages Greatly %	Discourages %	Both Encourages and Discourages %	Encourages %	Encourages Greatly %	N
Having to Leave House						
Male	2.0	4.0	30.0	28.0	36.0	548
Female	1.0	3.0	20.0	33.0	43.0	582
Having to Leave Children						
Male	5.0	17.0	54.0	10.0	14.0	511
Female	5.0	20.0	45.0	19.0	11.0	558
Contact with WIN Staff						
Male	6.0	4.0	12.0	26.0	52.0	571
Female	6.0	8.0	14.0	24.0	48.0	596

Contacts with the WIN staff have an encouraging effect upon program participation, from the standpoint of the staff having been perceived as helpful and providing assistance as well as being friendly and providing social contact.[1]

The degree of importance placed upon getting the right kind of training is further demonstrated when we link the perceived consequences of leaving the WIN Program with the clients' probable action if the right kind of training is not provided (see Table 10-4). Of those who said they would leave the program (N=372), 44 percent thought they would lose their AFDC payments. Or, to turn matters around, of those who thought they would lose their welfare payments if they refused to participate, 48 percent said they would drop out of WIN if they

[1]As we will see in the next chapter, this is most likely the factor which sustains enrollees in the face of the many stresses of program participation.

were not getting the right training. As expected, an even higher proportion (59 percent) of those who perceived no adverse consequences of refusing to participate said they would drop out of the program (see Table 10-5).

TABLE 10-4

PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN WIN FOR CLIENTS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR STATED RESPONSE TO THE WRONG KIND OF TRAINING

Effect of Wrong Kind of Training	Lose AFDC Benefits	Nothing	Decrease in AFDC Benefits	Other	Total
Would or Might Leave Program	165 (44.4)[a] (48.1)	131 (35.2) (58.5)	51 (13.7) (58.6)	25 (6.7) (53.2)	372
Would Stay or Probably Stay	174 (54.1) (51.9)	93 (28.3) (41.5)	36 (10.9) (41.4)	22 (6.7) (46.8)	329
Totals	343 (48.9)	224 (32.0)	87 (12.4)	47 (6.7)	701

[a]Figures without parentheses are number of respondents in that class. Numbers in parentheses to the right are percentages of the row total. Numbers in parentheses below are percentages of the solumn total.

TABLE 10-5

PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF TYPE OF TERMINATION FOR RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR STATED RESPONSE TO WRONG KIND OF TRAINING

Effect of Wrong Kind of Training	Completed Program %	Dropped Out, Got Self Job, or Terminated by WIN %	Type Unclear %	N
Make no difference	35.0[a]	57.0	8.0	29
Disappointed, but probably stay	42.0	54.0	4.0	11
Might leave program	18.0	73.0	9.0	24
Would leave program	24.0	66.0	10.0	26

[a]For each class of respondent (grouped by response to the question about the effect of getting the wrong kind of training), the percentage receiving each type of termination is tabulated. This table contains the responses of only those terminees who through they would lose their AFDC benefits if they quit WIN.

When we consider those people who had already terminated their WIN participation, we find (in Table 10-6) that those who said they would leave if they were not getting the right kind of training did leave the program before completing it at a higher rate than those who said they would stay. In this case, their actions appear to have matched their words. This is also true if we consider only those terminees who thought that dropping out of WIN could cause them to lose their AFDC benefits.

TABLE 10-6

TYPE OF TERMINATION

	Completed Program %	Dropped Out Got Self Job, or Terminated by WIN %	Type Unclear %	N
Make no difference	40.0	53.0	7.0	107
Disappointed, but probably stay	37.0	59.0	4.0	26
Might leave program	19.0	69.0	12.0	68
Would leave program	21.0	74.0	5.0	68

Classifying the respondents according to the degree to which they initiated their own WIN participation or enrolled because they felt they were required to enroll, we find that 51 percent of those required and 57 percent of those self-initiated said they would quit WIN if it were not providing the training they wanted.

When we link the various questions regarding incentive to outcome events, we again find the most interesting results concern the desire to get the right kind of training. One outcome which we measured was whether or not the client had completed any education or training program (see Table 10-7). Those who said they would leave the program if they were not getting the right kind of training were somewhat less likely to have completed an education or training program. The degree to which the client was encouraged by getting out of the house, leaving the children, and contacts with the staff also had a noticeable effect upon the likelihood that he had completed such a program. Interestingly, we find that fewer of those who attached importance to the monetary incentive had completed an educational or training program. This would indicate that the monetary incentive not only is not rated as high in importance as the other incentives (as mentioned above), but is not functioning effectively as an inducement to stay and participate in the WIN Program. This issue has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

TABLE 10-7

CROSS-TABULATION OF PERCENTAGES OF MALES AND FEMALES COMPLETING AN EDUCATIONAL OR TRAINING PROGRAM BY IMPORTANCE OF INCENTIVES

	Completed Educational or Training Program?					
	Males			Females		
	Yes %	No %	N	Yes %	No %	N
Effect of Wrong Kind of Training						
Make no difference	43.0	57.0	47	47.0	53.0	74
Probably stay	34.0	66.0	41	49.0	51.0	51
Might leave	12.0	88.0	26	35.0	65.0	34
Would leave	38.0	62.0	87	35.0	65.0	121
Importance of Incentive Money						
Unimportant	38.0	62.0	16	59.0	41.0	22
Somewhat important	44.0	56.0	25	48.0	52.0	23
Important	35.0	65.0	136	41.0	59.0	189
Very important	31.0	69.0	62	42.0	58.0	81
Effect of Having to Leave Home						
Discourages	21.0	79.0	14	22.0	78.0	9
Both discourages and encourages	27.0	73.0	63	39.0	61.0	70
Encourages	37.0	63.0	158	44.0	56.0	245
Effect of Having to Leave Children						
Discourages	30.0	70.0	37	33.0	67.0	86
Both encourages and encourages	39.0	71.0	108	44.0	56.0	138
Encourages	45.0	55.0	42	45.0	55.0	84
Effect of Contact with WIN staff						
Discourages	31.0	69.0	16	30.0	70.0	43
Both discourages and encourages	16.0	84.0	32	42.0	58.0	50
Encourages	36.0	64.0	193	42.0	56.0	239

If we consider the outcomes of getting a job and the level of satisfaction associated with that job, we find that those clients who said they would leave if they didn't get the right kind of training did not fare as well as those who would stay in the program. A smaller percentage of them got jobs, and of those who got jobs, a smaller percentage of them were satisfied with their jobs (see Tables 10-8 and 10-9). The smaller percentage getting jobs correlates with the fact that people who did not complete their WIN training were less likely to get a job than those who did complete their training (see Table 10-10).

TABLE 10-8

PERCENTAGE OF WIN TERMINEES GETTING JOBS
TABULATED ACCORDING TO THEIR SEX AND REACTION
TO RECEIVING THE WRONG KIND OF TRAINING

Effect of Wrong Kind of Training	Did Client Get a Job?					
	Male			Female		
	Yes %	No %	N	Yes %	No %	N
Would leave or might leave program	55.9	44.1	68	37.8	62.6	66
Would stay or would probaly stay in the program	71.8	28.2	71	47.8	52.2	69

TABLE 10-9

PERCENTAGE OF WIN TERMINEES SATISFIED WITH THEIR JOBS,
TABULATED ACCORDING TO THEIR SEX AND REACTION
TO RECEIVING THE WRONG KIND OF TRAINING

Effect of Wrong Kind of Training	Male			Female		
	Satisfied or Very Satisfied %	Dissatisfied or Very Dissatisfied %	N	Satisfied or Very Satisfied %	Dissatisfied or Very Dissatisfied %	N
Would leave or might leave program	84.2	15.8	38	69.6	30.4	23
Would stay or would probably stay in the program	70.0	30.0	50	80.6	19.4	31

TABLE 10-10

TABULATION OF THE PERCENT OF MALES
AND FEMALES IN EACH TERMINATION CATEGORY WHO GOT JOBS

Type of Termination	Did Client Get a Job?					
	Male			Female		
	Yes %	No %	N	Yes %	No %	N
Completed program	83.0	17.0	52	89.0	11.0	44
Dropped out, got self job, or terminated by WIN	58.0	42.0	115	28.0	72.0	131
Type unclear	17.0	83.0	12	0.0	100.0	6

Effect of Job Aspirations

Those who rated the prospect of getting a job as being important were more successful in actually getting jobs than those who did not attach much importance to getting a job (Table 10-11). This, of course, is not unexpected since they have a higher level of motivation and self commitment to the goal of getting a job. They also are more likely to stay in the program in the hopes that WIN will help them get a job. Interestingly though, among the male terminees who got jobs, those who initially deemed it very important to get a job were less satisfied with the jobs they actually got than were the individuals who placed less importance on getting a job.

TABLE 10-11

PERCENTAGE OF WIN TERMINEES GETTING JOBS,
TABULATED ACCORDING TO THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO GETTING A JOB

Importance of Getting a Job	Did Client Get a Job?					
	Male			Female		
	Yes %	No %	N	Yes %	No %	N
Unimportant or only somewhat important	38.9	61.1	18	28.6	71.4	14
Important or very important	65.0	35.0	163	43.0	57.0	165

Recommendations

The ultimate goal of the WIN Program and the real goal of most of the people participating in WIN is to get the enrollees into a satisfactory job. As Table 10-10 shows, those who completed their WIN training had a higher rate of getting jobs than those who terminated before completion. This fact, in conjunction with the evidence that the kind of training provided strongly influences a client's decisions to participate in the WIN Program, argues for making a very substantial effort to insure that the training offered is training that the client perceives will, with high probability, lead him to a job. The role of the Labor Market Advisory Committee (LMAC) should be of prime importance. The LMAC should be used to identify the areas where there will be jobs available six months to a year in the future, so training programs will be geared to training people for those jobs.

The WIN Program should also continue to place a substantial effort upon marketing their graduates to industry. Helping clients to find suitable jobs must always be "the name of the game."

CHAPTER 11

PATTERNS OF INCENTIVES AND DISINCENTIVES: IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

by
Charles Garvin

Throughout our study, we anticipated locating groups of individuals with different attributes and incentive-disincentive patterns who, on the basis of these, will have varying attitudes to the WIN Program. The significance of locating such groups is to be able to recommend different approaches to enhancing the effective WIN participation of such persons. We hope, therefore, that this research will enhance the sensitivity of team members and program planners to the diverse forms the WIN Program must take to be effective for large populations.

Method

In order to identify such groups, we first selected the incentive-disincentive items with sufficient response variability to function as predictors of attitudes toward participation. We also considered the requirement that the item apply to a broad rather than narrow range of respondents. Even with these limitations, 10 items were located which covered all the major incentive-disincentive areas. Thus, consideration was given to the importance of the incentive payment, the amount of expenses, the adequacy of expense payments, the importance of securing a job through the program, satisfaction with training and child care arrangements, health of client, the desire to be with or away from children, the perceived helpfulness of WIN staff, and the income anticipated from employment.

In addition, predictor variables were chosen which were of a demographic or descriptive nature. These included the client's status in the program, city, race, sex, length of time on welfare, amount of schooling, and age.

The above two sets of variables were then utilized through a type of multivariate analysis, to be described below, to predict the client's attitude to participation in the WIN Program. Three measures of attitude to participation were considered separately and included: (1) how the client felt after first entering the program; (2) the client's current belief that the WIN Program will help; and (3) the client's reaction to a potential waiting period in excess of 90 days. These three dependent variables were chosen because they represented

the client's general attitude to participation, the belief that he or she will be specifically helped by such participation, and a readiness to withstand a program stress in order to continue to participate.

The analysis which was performed in order to locate the best set of predictors of participation was through a computer program entitled THAID.[1] This program is based upon statistics, Theta and Delta, which are "used as a probabilistic measure of strength of association in the multivariate prediction of a nominal scale by nominal and/or ordinal scales."[2]

As Morgan and Messenger, two of the key developers of this approach, state:

> The role of THAID and other model searching approaches is to provide an efficient and effective means for examining a large set of...alternative models. In the THAID program this search is conducted using a sequential binary split algorithm based on one of two possible "loss" or "criterion" statistics, Theta and Delta...what the user extracts from the results is a subset of predictors and possible interactions...which provide an explanatory model for the particular dependent variable chosen.[3]

In presenting the data from the THAID program, we utilized an array of final groups based upon four subdivisions (iterations) of the sample.[4] The tables in this chapter, therefore, present a series of "branches" which define each group and indicate how members of that group differed in their responses to the dependent variables from members of other groups—where the groups are selected by the program to maximize the probability of effective prediction. We then drew conclusions regarding these predictions by examining key differences between these subgroups in proportions of responses to values of the dependent variable.

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[1]The author of this chapter wishes to thank Kristin Driscoll for her untiring services in arranging for the computer set up for THAID, a process which required painstaking rearrangement of the data.

[2]Messenger, Robert and Lewis Mandell, "A Model Search Technique for Predictive Nominal Scale Multivariate Analysis," Journal of the American Statistical Association, LXVII (December 1972), p. 768.

[3]Morgan, James N. and Robert C. Messenger, THAID: A Sequential Analysis Program for the Analysis of Nominal Scale Dependent Variables. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1973), p. 2.

[4]The program provides for four permissible split constraints: (A) Predictor ordinality; (B) Minimum group frequency (we chose 10); (C) Minimum criterion improvement (we chose "0"); and (D) four splits (iterations) defining a group (see Ibid., p. 27).

General Discussion of Findings

Several features of our findings stand out. For all three of the attitudes toward participation utilized as dependent variables, the first predictive variable selected by the THAID program was the client's response to the question, "Do the contacts you have with the WIN staff tend more to encourage or to discourage your participation in the program?" (see Tables 11-1, 11-2, and 11-3). It can be inferred from this finding that one of the most important factors in predicting the client's attitudes to WIN is his experience with the WIN staff.

For each variable regarding attitudes to WIN, also, the second predictor selected was the city in which the respondent lived. As has been noted throughout this report, the three study cities had substantially different WIN procedures and were implementing the WIN II Program at different rates. The WIN Program experienced by the client does have many components, and the effect of city cannot easily be identified, but we have demonstrated that the rate of implementation of WIN II may well be the crucial issue.[1] In our later more detailed analysis of the findings, we shall have further comments on this.

A third variable which consistently appeared as a predictor was the respondent's satisfaction with training. In summary, then, WIN attitudes are strongly dependent on the client's experiences with the WIN staff and with the training program. In addition, the conditions present in the specific city have strong effects; these are complex and relate to client selection procedures as well as training and job placement activities (important aspects of WIN I).

Before presenting the detailed findings regarding interaction of the above variables with other descriptive and incentive-disincentive variables, it is interesting to note which items were not selected by the program as having predictive value. One such item was the race of the client which had virtually no value in improving such predictions. This is consistent with the other analyses presented in this report. The other item which added nothing to the predictions was the importance to the client of the incentive payment. Again, as we saw above in Chapter 8, the financial incentive did not effectively function as an incentive and was vastly overshadowed by such other program features as contacts with the WIN staff and the nature of the training offered.

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[1] See Chapter 12.

TABLE 11-1

HOW CLIENTS FELT AFTER THEY FIRST ENTERED WIN PROGRAM[a]

(A Squential Analysis of Predictive Variables)

(Key subgroup proportion differences are indicated by inequality signs (<,>).

	Contacts w/WIN Not Encourage Greatly								Contacts w/WIN Encourage Greatly							
	Very Dissat. Training or NA Training				Not Very Dissat. w/Training				Cleveland				Chicago/Detroit			
	NA		V. Dissat.		Cleveland WIN Staff		Chic./Detr. Child Care		Male Job through WIN		Female Child Care		Job Through WIN			
	Expect. Earn.												Not V. Imp. Grade		V. Imp. Away Child	
	>100	<100	F	M	Enc.	Dis.	Dissat.	Sat.	Not V. Imp.	V. Imp.	Not V. Imp.	V. Sat.	>10	<10	Dis.	Enc.
No Answer	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%
Strong. pos.	35 >	13	24	27	38	34	21 <	49	28	34	35 <	60	71 >	52	38 <	57
Smwt. pos.	24 >	15	9 <	23	8 <	29	40 <	18	31 <	17	30 <	10	14 <	22	21 >	13
Neut./mixed	4 <	21	11	9	17	20	12	12	13	10	13	12	5	5	6	11
Smwt. neg.	15	19	14	9	20 >	11	12	4	10 <	24	17	3	3	4	6	6
Strong. neg.	13	19	9	17	5	0	2	4	3	0	0	3	1	1	13	5
Pos. to neg.	0	0	31 >	14	6	3	14	8	2	12	0	3	1	7	10	3
Neg. to pos.	9	6	1	0	5	4	0	2	13	2	4	7	5	3	6	7
Percent of sample	4	4	7	6	5	6	4	15	5	3	2	5	7	12	4	9
N =	46	48	87	78	64	76	43	178	61	41	23	56	37	149	52	112

[a] For explanation of statistical approach, see Morgan and Messenger, op. cit.

TABLE 11-2

NEW AND CURRENT CLIENTS' BELIEF THAT WIN WILL HELP THEM

(A Sequential Analysis of Predictive Variables)[a]

Key subgroup proportion differences are indicated by inequality signs (<,>).

	Contacts with Staff Not Encouraging						Contact with Staff Encouraging					
	Chicago			Cleveland/Detroit			Poor Health			Good Health		
	Months on Welfare			Expense Money			Satisfied with Training			WIN Staff Encouraging		
	< 6		> 6	Not Enough		Enough	No		Yes	Less		More
Don't know; not applicable	23%	>	9%	34%	>	18%	26%	>	17%	17%	>	9%
Yes	49		38	45	<	68	55	<	75	75	<	85
No	29	<	53	21	>	14	19	>	8	9	>	6
Percent of sample	4		6	10		7	6		14	16		38
N[b] =	35		47	80		57	47		114	138		320

[a] Messenger, Robert, op. cit.

[b] The N is smaller here because this question was not asked of respondents who had terminated from the program.

TABLE 11-3

CLIENTS' REACTIONS TO POTENTIAL WAITING PERIOD IN EXCESS OF 90 DAYS

(A Sequential Analysis of Predictive Variables)[a]

Key subgroup proportion differences are indicated by inequality signs (<,>).

	Contacts w/WIN Staff Not Encourage Greatly								Contacts w/WIN Staff Encourage Greatly							
	Chicago				Cleveland/Detroit				<10th Grade				11th Grade or More			
	Away from Child				Training Progress				Time on Welfare							
	Disc.		Enc. School		Not Sat. School		Satisfied Expense Money		<2 Years Expect. Earn.		>2 Years Expenses		11th Grade Age		12th Grade + City	
	Curr.	Term.	<10	>10	<6	>6	Not Imp.	Imp.	<$150	>$150	<$60	>$60	>24	>24	Clev.	Chic./Detr.
Don't know	2%	9%	17%	3%	8	1	19%	5%	2%	1%	5%	0%	4%	2%	0%	11%
Wouldn't matter	10 <	18	26	9	18	30	19	30	28	30	61	28	19	17	52 >	16
Be bad	45 >	27	39	< 63	42	44	62	51	61 >	44	32	66	57	> 69	42 <	71
Likely leave	31	24	13	9	28 <	14	11	8	4 <	14	0	3	14	> 8	6	2
Would leave	12	21	[illegible]	17	5	11	7	6	5	11	2	3	6	4	0	0
Percent of sample	4	9	2	3	5	12	13	5	8	3	4	3	10	14	3	[illegible]
N =	49	103	[illegible]	[illegible]	65	139	151	55	101	37	[illegible]	32	122	169	33	[illegible]

[a] For explanation of statistical approach, see Morgan and Messenger, op. cit.

How Clients Felt About the Program

As noted above, the degree to which contacts with WIN staff encouraged participation was a major predictor of general attitudes toward the program.[1] The question, then, is which forces will promote more positive attitudes when experiences with the staff are negative. Satisfaction with training emerges as the important predictor (see Table 11-1). The most positive responses toward the program, however, were found when child care was satisfactory, particularly in Chicago and Detroit.

An examination of Table 11-1 also leads to the conclusion that when staff and training experiences were negative, the most positive attitudes were found among those whose earning expectations were least and among men. This finding suggests that some persons may generally have low expectations, for themselves and others, and may react positively to very meager resources. The men, on the other hand, as was shown in Chapter 9, were less oriented to education and training activities than the women.

Examining the portion of Table 11-1 which deals with the effects of positive experiences with staff, we see that the most positive responses in Cleveland had different determinants than in the other two study cities. Men in that city were more positive if it was not important for them to get a job through WIN; women were more positive if they were satisfied with their child care arrangements. This gives additional support to the interpretation that immediate jobs may well be most important to men while the broad range of program features, if going well, have more impact on women.

Finally, in Chicago and Detroit the most positive attitudes to the program were expressed by those who, if securing a job was most important, also wanted to be away from their children. If securing a job through WIN were less important, persons with less education were more favorably disposed to the program. This again supports the argument that education and training are very important incentives to participation—particularly for those with less education.

The Belief That WIN Will Help

An analysis, based on the THAID program, of responses to the question, "Do you think WIN will help you?" again showed the major effect of positive interactions with WIN staff (see Table 11-2). When staff contacts were detrimental, more positive reactions were found in Chicago when the respondent had

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[1]The specific question asked was, "How did you feel after you first got into WIN?"

been receiving welfare for less than six months. The interpretation which may be placed upon this finding is that such recent recipients may well have been more motivated to become independent and may have continued to react favorably to the "promise" of WIN despite negative staff interactions (something they may also have recently experienced with the welfare department and which may even have been generalized from that experience).

In Cleveland and Detroit, the belief among those with negative staff experience that WIN will help was found to be strongest among those who were receiving sufficient expense money as they perceived it. The actual number of such persons was small (57), but this demonstrates the positive effects expense money can have when it is seen as adequate.

When contacts with staff were encouraging, the most optimistic attitude toward WIN being helpful was found among those in good health with the WIN staff given the highest ratings on being encouraging. This leads to the conclusion that program features come first and that health of the individual enters in as a subsidiary consideration. For individuals in poor health, the most positive feelings about being helped by the program were elicited when there was satisfaction with training. This also demonstrates the important effects of program features in overcoming even personal physical discomfort.

Willingness to Withstand an Extended Waiting Period

An important test of the clients' reactions to the program, short of actual observations of behavior, is his or her willingness to persist in the program despite an extended inactive period. The item posed to the subjects inquired as to how they would respond to a waiting period in excess of 90 days. Responses were structured and ranged from the statement that "It wouldn't matter" to "It would be bad," the respondent would "likely leave" or "would leave."

The pattern illustrated in the above discussions continued for this item also. The first criterion selected by the THAID program was the quality of interaction with WIN staff (see Table 11-3). The variables which led to remaining in the program, even when staff-respondent interactions were poor were then identified. As we saw in the two previous discussions, different patterns were evident among the study cities. In Chicago attitudes toward being away from children were important, and the greatest willingness to remain in the program was found among those who were the least educated (less than 10th grade). This further demonstrates the eagerness for more education among those with the fewest qualifications (see Table 11-3).

For those who did not wish to be away from children, a willingness to remain in the program in the face of inaction was more prominent among new and

terminated recipients than current recipients. This is understandable in view of the fact that new enrollees had not yet been faced with waiting periods, and terminees were beyond this contingency.

In Cleveland and Detroit, the willingness to remain was found, for those with negative staff interactions, among those who were satisfied with progress in training and who attached importance to the expense money received. For those not satisfied with progress in training, a greater willingness to stay was presented among those with more than, as compared to less than, a sixth-grade education. This finding further supports our argument that program features are strongly evaluated by enrollees and are tied in with personal training aspirations.

When contacts with WIN staff were encouraging, the most willingness to stay in the program during a dormant period was expressed by persons in Cleveland if they had graduated from high school. This reinforces the argument that a major role in attitudes toward the program is played by educational aspirations. Persons with less than a tenth-grade education were willing to stay in WIN, if they had been on welfare more than two years and if they had less expenses than $60 a month. Those who had been welfare recipients less than two years were willing to remain in the program if they had high earning aspirations upon program completion.

The above findings regarding willingness to remain in the program during a long waiting period presents convincing evidence of the rational approach enrollees had to participation. In every case more positive attitudes were only found when something was "going for" the enrollee—whether this be expected earnings, low expense costs, or high vocational aspirations.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter identifed different patterns of incentives and disincentives to participation in WIN for different subgroups within the sample. These patterns were located through the use of a computer program, THAID, which is a "sequential analysis program for the analysis of nominal scale dependent variables." The measures of participation were derived from several questionnaire items asking about general attitudes to the WIN Program, the belief that WIN will help, and the willingness to withstand an extended waiting period.

Several conclusions were drawn from this analysis (which were also consistent with findings presented earlier in this report). Program features are very important in predicting client attitudes to participation in the WIN Program. The program aspect which was particularly emphasized was the kind of encouragement offered by the WIN staff. When staff-enrollee relations were enhancing, many other negative features of the program and within the client's

life played less of a role. Nevertheless, satisfaction with training also was very important, calling to attention the desire of clients to be upgraded by the program despite the diminishing of this component in WIN II.

The above two considerations of responses to staff and to training were seen to have different impacts on different subgroups. One such split was between men and women. The data presented in this chapter supports the conclusion that men are more interested in immediate job placement while women place more emphasis on training. Women's attitudes to the program were also strongly affected by the adequacy of child care arrangements.

Another major source of difference was the city in which the enrollee lived and the program conditions present in that city. This is a complex variable and one which we believe was heavily influenced by the rate of implementation of WIN II. In Cleveland major emphasis was placed by clients on staff relations to them, on expense money, and on training progress. In Chicago the most emphasis was placed on child care and being away from children. The least educated appeared, also, to favor the Chicago program more—perhaps a reaction to its rapid implementation of WIN II.

In Detroit child care was also a major distinguishing factor in WIN attitudes as well as the importance of securing a job. Detroit enrollees were also concerned about expense money and progress in securing training. These inter-city differences appear to be heavily linked to the program emphasis within the cities at the time of our interviews.

Another effect shown in this chapter was that expected earnings, when high, coupled with a short term on welfare, made recipients particularly impatient with potential WIN Program failings. This probably indicates the existence of an ambition factor for some less educated enrollees. The most educated were positive about remaining in the program in Cleveland—the city where it appears long-term education was the greatest possibility at the time of the study.

Several program recommendations can be made on the basis of these findings. One is that if a high commitment to participation is desired, the quality of interaction with WIN staff must be closely examined. Those features which enhance this relationship should be studied and staff chosen and trained so as to maximize the client's satisfaction with the quality of service.

Secondly, client attitudes toward participation are heavily determined by the quality of training offered. Any diminishing of this feature will lead to a program maintained largely by duress. Thirdly, separate approaches to program design may well be appropriate for men and women. Early job placement appears to be a major consideration for many men while training accompanied by strong personal support features (e.g., child care) is essential for women.

Lastly, we began to see the effects of previous education, length of time on welfare, and age upon program attitudes. It may be that a more intensive program can be devised for those with least ambition and ability stemming from previous adverse life experiences.

CHAPTER 12

WIN IN TRANSITION

by
George Mink

This chapter is concerned with the impact of the Talmadge Amendments as well as other organizational factors on clients in the three cities of our study. First we will describe the effect of the Talmadge Ammendments on local programming. Next, we will examine how their implementation in each of our study cities has altered the more general context. Finally, we will discuss the influence of the context on the perceptions and experiences of WIN participants. In our earlier study[1] we found that each city developed its own version of the WIN Program and thereby provided clients with different experiences. One of the most salient differences in the current study is the way in which the study cities implemented the Talmadge Amendments to the WIN Program.

The Social Security Amendments of 1971 (Public Law 92-223), usually called the Talmadge Amendments, retained the broad outline of the old WIN Program which was designed to place welfare clients into jobs. The old program (WIN I) sought to place persons in jobs paying enough to remove them permanently from welfare. It also sought sufficient numbers of jobs so as to reduce the welfare rolls. There was a strong emphasis on training programs as a way to gain higher-paying jobs. The Talmadge Amendments, in contrast, placed stronger emphasis on the need for larger numbers of placements.

This emphasis was secured in several ways. First, we will note the major provisions of both the legislated amendments and the subsequent regulations produced by the Labor Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. We will not examine all the changes brought about under Talmadge but rather attempt to describe only those that have relevance for this report on incentives and disincentives. One of the areas of the program where this impact is most immediately felt is in the client selection process.

Talmadge Amendment Provisions

REGISTRATION

The new amendments established slightly different criteria for the

[1] Reid, op.cit.

selection of people into the WIN Program. In WIN I the individual caseworkers often chose to exclude people from the program under the omnibus category of those whom "the welfare agency determines...(that) their...participation would be inimical to his or her family's welfare." Currently no such individual discretion is allowed. Exceptions are made only for those under 16, the ill, people too remote from a WIN Program, those needed to care for other members of the household, the caregiver of a child under age 6, and a mother in the family where the father is already registered. All others are considered to be mandatory registrants.

Clients are registered for the WIN Program as a condition of receiving AFDC payments. The first step in registration is the selection of all those who are eligible from the ADC rolls. This is done by the Department of Welfare as a service, and this service is paid for by the Labor Department. The regulations require a special unit called the "separate administrative unit" (SAU) in each state welfare department designed to see that the registration process is carried out. The registration provisions of the amendments produce large numbers of candidates for the program.

CERTIFICATION

Once people are registered, it is the responsibility of the SAU personnel to certify a portion of the registrants. Certification considers that child care will be available, that any health problems will be cared for or will be manageable, and that other supportive services will be secured for the client. In order to guarantee a supply of people ready to enter the program, the amendments require the certification of 15 percent of those eligible for the program by the state welfare departments. Departments which fall below this minimum will lose one percent of their federal matching grant for each percent less than 15 which they certify.

Both the process of finding people for the program—registration—and seeing that they are prepared to participate—certification—are much more automatic in WIN II than in WIN I. After a client has been certified, a choice is made about his participation. Welfare and labor personnel jointly select the participants. This is designed to change the WIN I procedure in which welfare caseworkers who are not expert in manpower programming exercised control over client flow.[1] Registration is programmed, and the decision about who participates is given to experts in manpower decisions.

PARTICIPATION

Two sets of priorities were established by the legislation and subsequent

[1] See Chapter 5 of our earlier report, Reid, op.cit.

regulations for the selection of participants. In the original legislation the priorities were (1) ADC-U (men) recipients, (2) volunteer mothers, (3) other mothers, (4) dependent children, and (5) all others. The Department of Labor regulations establish a second and possibly overriding set of priorities, depending on the service level requirements.

Four service levels were established. Level A includes those who are job-ready, needing neither welfare nor manpower services to enable them to take a job. Those in Level B require social services such as child care and medical attention, but not manpower services. Service Level C recipients need manpower services such as training or education or job preparedness, but not social services. Service Level D clients must have both manpower and social services.

In the regulations and in regional state meetings describing the implementation of WIN II, it has been stressed that persons should be selected from service Level A. This is a clear declaration that program personnel should select those already most able to work. Staff were admonished, in the jargon of the employment service, to "cream the best." At the same time, men were to be selected first. Program staff had, in effect, to choose between these two sets of priorities when they conflicted.

PLACEMENT EMPHASIS

Once the client is in the program, welfare and labor personnel will work with him to establish a joint employability plan which has proximate rather than optimal goals. Thus, if a client had a long-range goal of a semi-professional job, more immediate employment goals are established. The market is examined to determine the probability of achieving the higher job, and if if appears too remote the client is encouraged to accept a lower level job. Immediate placement of those who are job-ready is stressed.

In order to insure movement into jobs, the Talmadge Amendments establish that 33 1/3 percent of the funds of the program are to be spent for on-the-job training (OJT) and public service employment (PSE). On-the-job training subsidizes employers for a period while the new employee learns the job, and the employer is expected to hire the candidate at the end of the OJT period. Public service employment utilizes welfare recipients for subsidized jobs with public or non-profit agencies in the community. The legislation provides that the entire cost of PSE will be borne by the WIN Program for the first year; the second year, 75 percent; and the third year, 50 percent. Under WIN I there was no PSE, and the number of OJT contracts was minimal.

In addition to the emphasis on direct placement and provision of subsidized employment, there was a reduction in the training possibilities. A limitation of one year of training for any participant was set with the "average" not to exceed six months per participant in the program. Under WIN I, clients in training were often involved in two-year programs with a one year average.

As a part of the speeding-up process in WIN II, the time allowable for holding was reduced. Holding had been allowed up to 30 days in WIN I, but under WIN II it was reduced to two weeks. Holding is now called "stop" and is not to exceed two months per man/year of program participation.

INCENTIVE PAYMENTS

Finally, there were changes in the incentive and expense payments. They were fixed at $1.50 per training day for incentive and $2 or less for expenses (negotiable for higher travel costs). These payments are dependent upon the level of client participation. If the client is absent during the training, he will not receive expenses for that day and also might not receive the incentive money. This differs from the previous arrangement where, when the client was "actively participating," he received a fixed amount. Certain levels of non-participation had to be reached, such as six days out of 10, before the reduction in payment occurred. The amount now is tied directly to daily participation, but the client will be able to receive $70 a month, an increase over previous levels of payment.

In summary, the Talmadge Amendments contained a series of provisions: (1) to select more likely candidates for the labor market; (2) for candidates to be placed or "bought" into lower level jobs; and (3) for increased monetary incentives for participation and payment reductions for non-participation. As one federal official in the Department of Labor put it, "The name of the game is no longer training, but placement." This change in emphasis, as we shall later see, had a marked effect on the programs included in this study. The effect, however, was not uniform across our three study cities.

ORGANIZATION CHANGES

In order to implement the above requirements and to rectify what were seen as errors in WIN I, a number of organizational changes were made. First, there was to be greater cooperation between the Departments of Welfare and Labor. Unlike WIN I, joint regulations were issued by the two agencies instead of separate ones which under WIN I had been contradictory at times. Furthering the idea of a joint venture was the establishment of joint national and regional coordinating committees of the two agencies for the purpose of smoother WIN operations. In addition, the plans setting forth program goals within the state must be agreeable to <u>both</u> agencies.

Cooperation is made operational and binding by having registration contracted between the two agencies with labor paying for the registration determinations performed by welfare. A similar arrangement was made for services agreed upon by labor and provided by welfare which are paid for out of the WIN monies. In order to accomplish this payment, there is an increase in the

ratio of federal funds. Now the program is to be funded 90 percent by the federal government and only 10 percent, including in-kind services, by the state. This compares with an 80:20 ratio under WIN I. Those services which were deemed necessary by labor for active participation by the recipients are also paid to welfare at a rate of 90 percent federal funds and 10 percent state welfare funds, compared to the 75:25 ratio of the first WIN program.

There is a separate administrative unit in welfare and a separate administrative line for ES-WIN right to the central administration of the state employment service. Adjudication of disputes and the authority to make binding decisions for each agency is then much more available than had been true under WIN I. Thus, in addition to a refinement of placement objectives, there is a clearer definition of the working relationship between the two agencies responsible.

DEADLINE

Finally, the amendments established a deadline of July 1, 1972, as the time for the full implementation of the Talmadge Amendments. This allowed six-and-a-half months after the enactment of the legislation, but because the regulations from the Department of Labor and HEW came out in final form in May, there was a great deal of confusion. Due to some delays by the Department of Labor in defining costs, the funding was not available to carry out the implementation of the program by July 1. When the funding level was finally established, it fell victim to the President's veto in September, and the program was maintained by a resolution of the Congress. These factors explain why the implementation of the program varied considerably in the different study cities.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TALMADGE AMENDMENTS

The way a program operates at the local level is a composite of: (1) the original legislation and regulations; (2) the nature of the already-existing organization available in welfare and labor; and (3) the conditions of the city in which the program operates. The difference in situation again accounted for wide differences in the way the WIN II Program was implemented in our three cities.

The field operations of this study project began in August, 1972, and the client interviews were finished at the end of January, 1973—in the middle of the transition period from WIN I to WIN II. By the end of the period, each study city had accomplished most of its implementation of the Talmadge Amendments. The manner in which this came about, however, was different for each study city. One of the most significant differences was in the timing of the implementation.

CHICAGO: REGISTRATION

In Chicago, as in the entire state of Illinois, the employment service sought an extension of the deadline for implementing WIN II from July 1 to September 1. It was during this period that two things were accomplished: the registration of people who were appropriate for the new program under the guidelines of WIN II, and the restructuring of the Department of Public Aid liaison unit and the Illinois State Employment Service-WIN operations.

During the month of July there were 9,448 new registrants for the WIN[1] Program, due to a concerted effort by both the Department of Public Aid and the ES-WIN to have all eligible recipients registered. The number of registrants decreased in the months following to a rate of slightly below 1000 a month until January, when pressure from the regional WIN office for more complete registration increased the number to 4000 in a single month (see Table 12-1).

In order for the mass registration to take place, Talmadge procedures had to be incorporated into the pattern of activities of the two agencies. To accomplish this, three new organizational entities were created. The first was the appraisal unit, where personnel from the Department of Public Aid and ES-WIN were brought together to select registrants who are appropriate to become participants.

Secondly, the Separate Administrative Services Unit for WIN Program services was established by the Cook County Department of Public Aid. In an effort to improve cooperation, WIN units with caseworkers, supervisors, and personnel charged with counseling non-cooperating clients were placed in each of the two WIN offices.

A special Employment Service unit to work with the SAU unit in the local office also was formed to locate clients who were returned to the registrant pool and to return clients to the program when they are ready. This was particularly important since, under the new procedures, all basic education and most GED classes are under the jurisdiction of welfare as pre-WIN preparation.

CLEVELAND: REGISTRATION

In Cleveland, by contrast, it was at least December before large numbers

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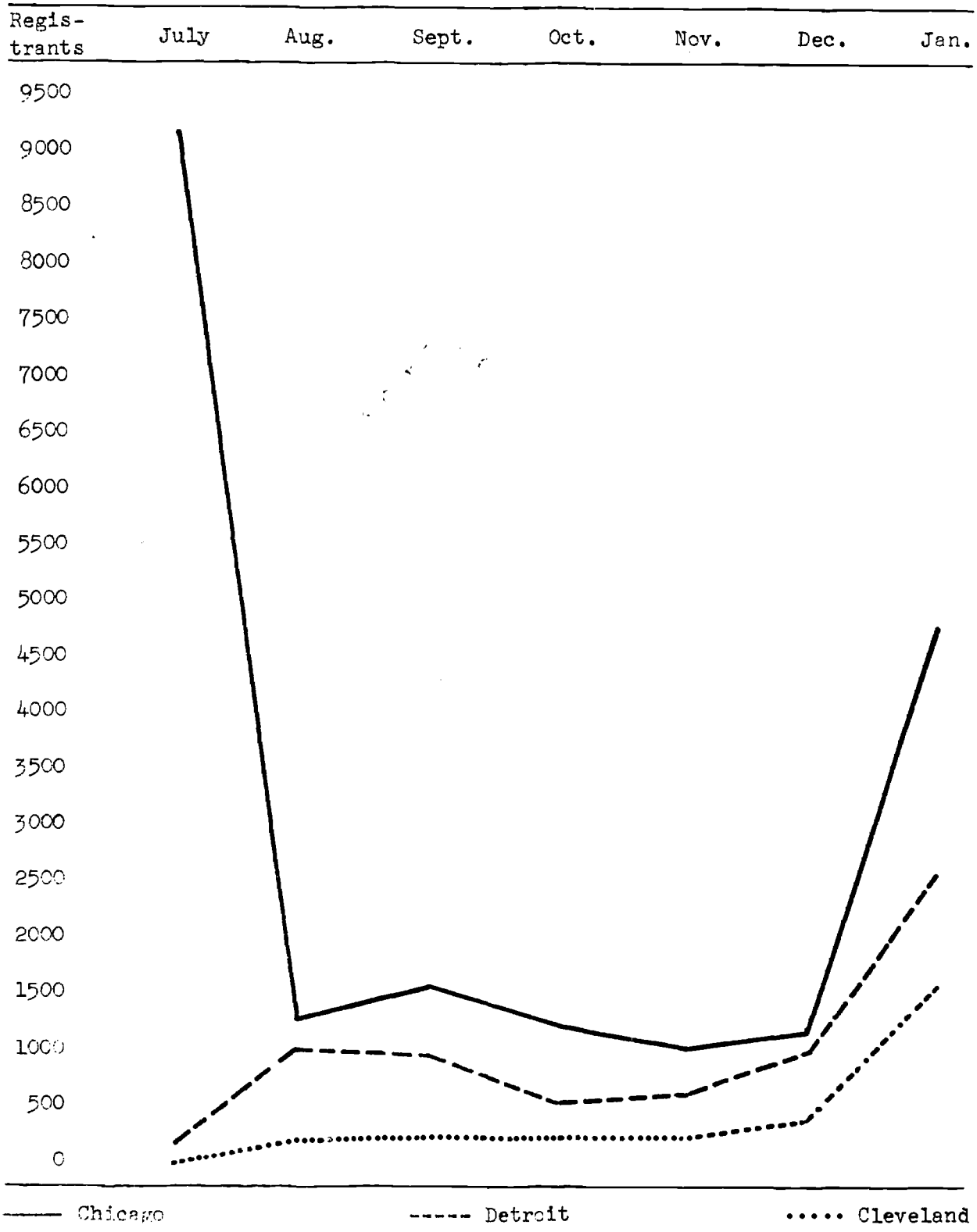
[1]This and subsequent program data are taken from "MA5-98, WIN Program Activity Monthly Summary" and "MA5-99, WIN Monthly Summary of Participant Characteristics" for each of the states.

TABLE 12-1

NUMBER OF WIN REGISTRANTS ADDED BY MONTH
IN CHICAGO, CLEVELAND, AND DETROIT, JULY, 1972, THROUGH JANUARY, 1973



of registrations occurred. The number of referrals in Cleveland actually remained quite low during the period after July 1 (see Table 12-2). The manager of the WIN operation in Cleveland asserted that they completed their backlog of registrants during this time because there were so few new registrants available. It was not until a team from the regional office arrived in December that a concerted effort was made by both agencies to recruit a large number of registrants. Apparently, the issue was that if there were no registration by a specified date, welfare would not receive registration evaluation payments.

TABLE 12-2

AVERAGE JOB ASPIRATION LEVEL BY CITY AND TIME IN PROGRAM

Time in Program	Chicago	Detroit	Cleveland	Differences Between Chicago and Cleveland
WIN I (enrolled before January 1, 1972)	1.38	1.42	1.58	.20
Pre-Talmadge (enrolled between January 1 and July 1, 1972)	0.75	1.21	1.38	.63
Talmadge (enrolled since July 1, 1972)	0.53	0.87	1.27	.74
Differences within city from WIN to Talmadge	-0.85	-0.55	-0.31	
N =	369	277	315	

Part of the problem stemmed from a bureaucratic event: There were no forms available to welfare for registration due to the requirement in Ohio for competitive bids. There was also a long waiting period before the forms were delivered after the low bid was received. From July through November, new procedures were learned and, in the words of one SAU official, there was "a lot of marking time." The WIN director in Cleveland complained that he had to absorb earlier rejects during this time and they required more extensive education and training. The dramatic increase that was attained in January after the regional pressure can be seen in Table 12-1.

In Cleveland the same mechanisms used in WIN I were initially retained

for WIN II. Careful medical screening was done by a joint committee.[1] This changed during the period of our interviewing. Welfare personnel assigned to work with WIN clientele were increased from seven to 17, although this did little to affect registration until December.

DETROIT: REGISTRATION

In Detroit the registration rush did not occur as early as in Chicago nor as late as in Cleveland. In June of 1972, prior to the Talmadge Amendments deadline, over 2000 AFDC-U (male) cases were registered. At the same time they were also given certification to participate in the program. These were, however, admittedly, only paper referrals with no concern for the current conditions of the AFDC-U recipients, and many of the AFDC-U males refused to show up for their enrollment interviews. At one point there were 150 referrals a month returned to welfare because male recipients had failed to respond.

Following this initial rush, the regular process of registration that obtained before WIN II reappeared. This provided larger numbers of recruits for Detroit than for Cleveland. In November and December, however, the liaison office of the Department of Social Services (DSS) in Detroit received 38,000 cases to be reviewed for WIN eligibility. The beginning of this bulge in registration in the month of January can also be seen in Table 12-1. Again, the pressure was from the regional office.

Organizationally, in Detroit the old liaison unit remained intact, although for reporting purposes it was called the "Separate Admininstrative Unit (SAU). This meant that some of the old welfare-labor antagonisms in Detroit under WIN I remained in WIN II.[2]

TEAM COMPOSITION

Both Cleveland and Detroit essentially retained the same team composition during most of the time of our interviewing. This meant that there was a counselor, a work and training specialist, a manpower specialist-team leader, and a coach on each of the teams in Cleveland and Detroit—giving, at least theoretically, a full range of services to the client. Detroit teams emphasized work with welfare and placement. In Chicago, however, due to the emphasis on placement, from the beginning in July the teams were reduced to three persons, with a manpower specialist, a coach, and a counselor. Job developers had their own unit, and there were no longer any work and training specialists. During the period of our study these three team members focused their activities on job placement.

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[1] See Chapter 3 of Reid, op.cit

[2] See Ibid.

TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

As far as the balance between an emphasis on training and on placement, the organizational set-up in Chicago, heavily favored placement, while in Detroit and Cleveland the earlier emphasis on both placement and training was maintained.

Another feature in Chicago was not directly attributable to the Talmadge Amendments, but provides a simulation of implementation of the Talmadge Amendments. This was a welfare expansion grant which allowed Chicago to use a large number of slots provided by the Emergency Employment Act (EEA). This HEW expansion grant made 1500 positions available for totally subsidized employment in the public sector to WIN participants. These were to be selected on a volunteer basis through a mutual agreement of the WIN counselor and participant. The directive for selection into EEA is that "the person can grow under a highly supervised job." The expansion grant was originally established for one year, and the agencies promised to move 50 percent of the people taken in under EEA into regular employment. This had not occurred to any great extent during during the time of our interviewing, however.

This use of EEA makes the implementation of Talmadge in Chicago the most nearly complete, of our three study cities, since it almost directly parallels the concept of public service employment which was not utilized during the time or our survey by any of the three study cities.

The Impact of Differential Implementation of WIN II on the Study

There is virtually a continuum in the implementation of the Talmadge Amendments from Chicago, where implementation was almost complete from the earliest part of our interviewing period, through Detroit, where there was partial implementation from the beginning, to Cleveland, where almost no implementation took place until the last month-and-a-half of our interviewing. The temptation is to see this report as a comparative study of the impact of the Talmadge Admendments on WIN clients. As we will see, there is some validity to this comparison in terms of results.

The differential impact of Talmadge is further presented by utilizing three kinds of data: (1) material from state WIN organizational records; (2) field reports; (3) findings from our survey.

JOB PLACEMENT

Foremost among the differences between WIN I and WIN II is the emphasis

on placement. If our conjecture about the significance of the way the study cities implemented is correct, we expected evidence for this emphasis to be greatest in Chicago and least in Cleveland with a greater percentage of participants processed for job entry in Chicago. This is borne out by the data. In Chicago an average monthly rate of 11.5 percent of those in the program were located in job entry. If we add, however, those placed in jobs under EEA, the figure increases to 36.8 percent. This compares with 13.6 percent for Detroit and 10.2 percent for Cleveland. In terms of perceptions of incentives, this represents the percent in the program who might be viewed by fellow participants as securing jobs through WIN. This difference is paralleled by the findings of our study.

In Chicago 45.2 percent of our sample indicated that they had received job placement services as compared with 22.7 percent in Detroit and 9.2 percent in Cleveland. Again, the differences are in the right direction to support the thesis of Chicago's greater implementation of Talmadge.

In terms of those currently employed, the evidence appeared less impressive at first. About 29 percent of those interviewed in Chicago had jobs, compared with 27 percent in Detroit and 22 percent in Cleveland. In part this difference is caused by the large number of new participants in Chicago (42 percent compared with 25 percent in Cleveland and 19 percent in Detroit). When we asked, however, how subjects found their current jobs, in Chicago 69 percent of the respondents cited WIN as a source compared to only 31 percent in Detroit and 20 percent in Cleveland.

Given these city differences in placement activity and numbers placed by the program, it is not surprising that job placement was more important in the minds of Chicago respondents. Asked to recall aspects of the program which were important to them when they first entered WIN, 32 percent of Chicago interviewees mentioned the prospects of a job and job placement, while about 11 percent of Cleveland and Detroit interviewees mentioned those categories. Asked what they liked about WIN, again the Chicago respondents had the largest proportion who mentioned some aspect of job placement (25 percent). Only nine percent of the respondents in Cleveland and Detroit gave the same response.

We expect that jobs will not be as well paid when the stress is on quantity, not quality. In Chicago the monthly reports for the period of our study show Chicago enrollees who completed job entry (not including EEA) were less frequently placed in jobs paying over $3 an hour (51 percent) than Detroit (63.4) percent). In our sample this was borne out by the take-home pay of those employed. Of those employed full-time in Chicago, 38 percent received more than $1[illegible] weekly. This compared with 43 percent in Cleveland and 54 percent in Detroit.

JOB ASPIRATIONS AS A FUNCTION OF JOB PLACEMENT

Job aspirations in the three cities follow our developing pattern. We asked what jobs people had in mind for their employment and classified their answers in terms of the amount of training required. This also correlates with income. About 34 percent of the Chicago clients wanted jobs of professional or extensive training statuses while about 53 percent in Detroit and 67 percent in Cleveland desired such jobs.

In examining job aspirations we assumed that job level aspirations are conditioned by previous experience. In order to minimize the impact of this influence, a job aspiration index was devised (the difference between the training level required for the last job of the participant subtracted from the job level to which he aspired.[1] Using four training levels, the range of the index is from -3 (had highest job level, wants lowest job level) to +3 (had lowest level job, wants highest level job). There are differences on this scale among the three cities with the aspiration idex of Chicago's participants averaging 0.68, Detroit's, 1.09, and Cleveland's, 1.38. The differences bear out the differences attributed to the three cities in this chapter.

To describe the impact of Talmadge on employment aspirations, we will examine the effect on these mobility index averages of "time in the program." The sample was divided into three groups: those enrolled since July 1, 1972 (Talmadge), those who were enrolled before July 1, 1972, but after January 1, 1972 (pre-Talmadge), and those who have been in the program a considerable time since before January 1, 1972 (WIN I). We then compared each group by city. Chicago's WIN clients show the greatest drop in their mobility aspiration level, with Detroit and Cleveland having successively less decline (see Table 12-2). In addition, the disparity between the three study cities changes from a minor difference for those who have had the bulk of their experince under WIN I to striking differences for those having all or most of their experiences under Talmadge (as implemented in the three study cities).

Essentially, Chicago participants have very low mobility aspirations if they have come into the program under Talmadge. They appear to want little more than they had experienced before entering WIN. But this was less true of people who entered under WIN I and thus experienced the old regulations during most of their time in the program. The most dramatic change occurred in the pre-Talmadge proups who came into the Chicago program under the WIN I selection process but whose time in the program was influenced by the WIN II regulations. We conclude that the lowering of mobility aspirations is not as much a function of the screening process as it is a function of their experiences in the proram. It is impossible to determine whether these lower aspirations were the result of seeing the types of jobs that are offered in WIN or the effect of a new emphasis in counseling or some other reason. The differences were nonetheless, real.

[1] See Chapter 6.

JOB PLACEMENT EMPHASIS AND THE EFFECT ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Complementing the emphasis on quantity in place of quality was a reduction in training for quality upgrading. The WIN records showed a marked difference in the proportion of those in each of the cities who were enrolled in educational or training programs. As might be expected from the testimony of the Cleveland WIN manager, Cleveland had the highest proportion in training. He suggested that with the small numbers of registrants they had to choose from, it was necessary to take in persons needing a good deal of upgrading. Cleveland had an average of 60 percent of its clientele in some education or training program each month. By contrast, during the seven months from the implementation of Talmadge through the end of our survey period, Detroit averaged 37 percent and Chicago, 20 percent. In Chicago, particularly, there was a steay decline in the proportion participating in education and training over the entire period (see Table 12-4).

This decline in upgrading was reflected among respondents in our sample, but not as dramatically as that shown by the program statistics because of the large number of WIN I people in the sample. For basic education, the statistics of participation were: Chicago, 16.8 percent; Detroit, 24.9 percent; Cleveland, 32.8 percent. For job training, the percentages were: Chicago, 16.8 percent; Detroit, 35.7 percent; Cleveland, 34.2 percent. This latter set of figures showed a slight reversal between Cleveland and Detroit.

In order to understand the sources of this variance in relation to the Talmadge Amendments, we examined data on clients coming into the program since July 1, 1972. As Table 12-3 indicates, the differences are evident for both education and training. It is likely that the cities had a similar pattern under WIN I. We, therefore, examined data on those least contaminated by the effects of WIN II (i.e., persons who were enrolled befofe January 1, 1972). The pattern by city we have noted does not hold true for long-term enrollees. In education programs there was actually a slight reversal with the most participation in Chicago and the least in Cleveland.

TABLE 12-3

PARTICIPATION RATES OF CLIENTS ENROLLED BEFORE AND AFTER TALMADGE

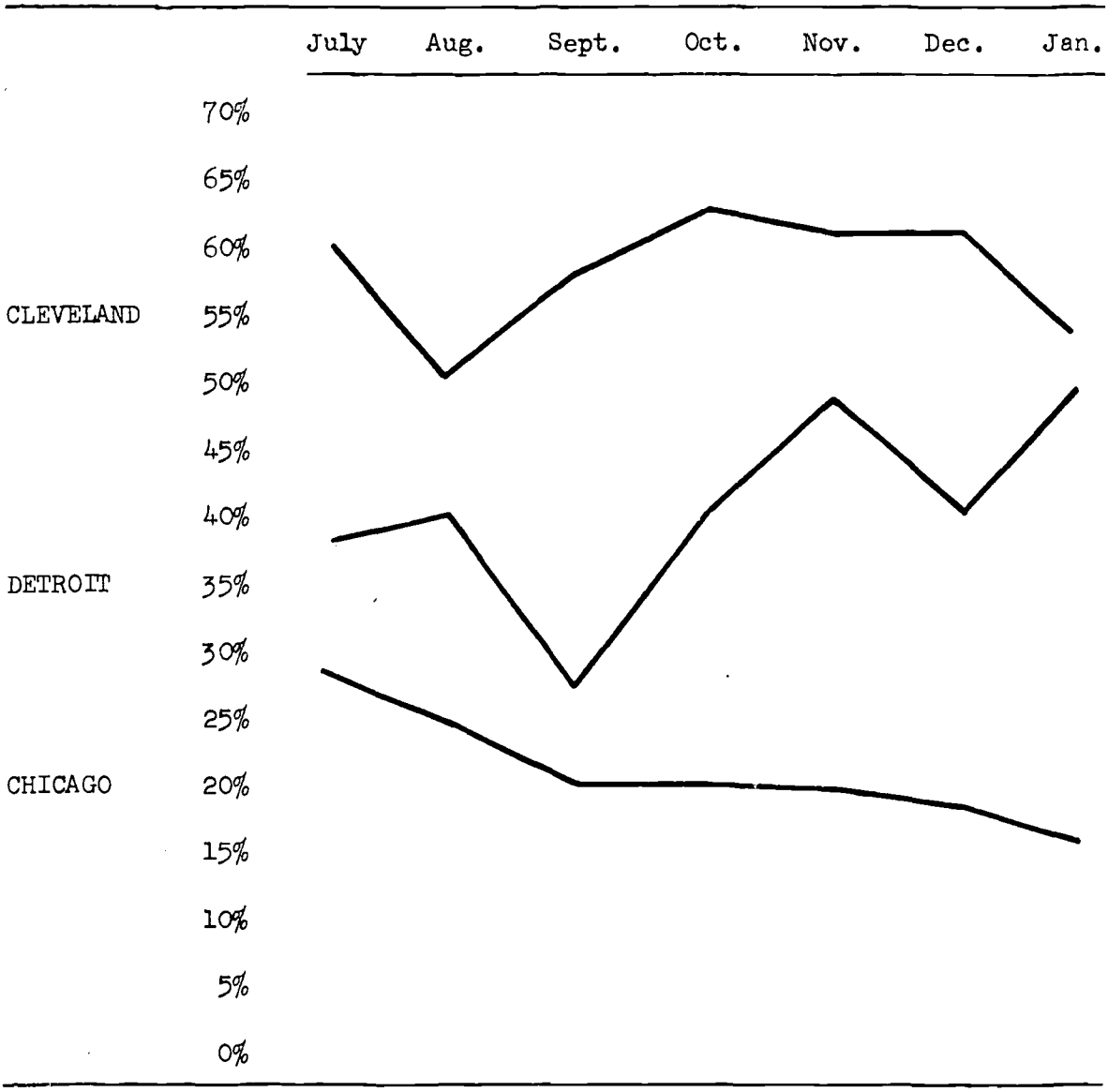
Participation	Chicago		Detroit		Cleveland	
	Before[a] %	After[b] %	Before[a] %	After[b] %	Before[a] %	After[b] %
Basic education	44.3	10.3	42.6	11.0	41.9	22.1
Training	52.5	9.3	60.3	13.2	56.4	20.0

[a]Before Talmadge indicates those clients enrolled before 1972.

[b]After Talmadge indicates clients enrolled after July 1, 1972, when the Talmadge Amendments went into effect.

TABLE 12-4

PERCENT IN EDUCATION OR TRAINING[a] PROGRAM IN CHICAGO, CLEVELAND, AND DETROIT BY MONTH—JULY, 1972, THROUGH JANUARY, 1973



[a] Includes work experience, skill training, other classroom, and suspense.

SOURCE: July 1, 1972, through January 31, 1973, MA5-98 reports from Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit.

Given the overall pattern, we anticipated that clients of the program in Chicago would cite they expected to receive training less often than clients in the other two study cities. In Chicago education and training were in fact mentioned by 59 percent of the respondents as something they wanted from WIN. These components were mentioned, in contrast, by 82 percent of the respondents in Detroit and 91 percent in Cleveland.

Once again the causal link is not entirely clear, but there was good correspondence between the program features as represented in program records and the experiences of our clients. These, in turn, appeared to have an influence on those things they saw as desirable.

Coupled with the reduction in training was a reduction in client counseling under the more leisurely, less pressured WIN I. This was particularly true in Chicago, where teams were focused on placement. There are no city records on volume of counseling activities, but our respondents among the three cities indicated a variation here also.

Chicago interviewees were less likely to state they received counseling (61 percent) than interviewees in Detroit (74 percent) or Cleveland (81 percent).

Also in our sample fewer people spent time in "stop" in Chicago (33 percent) than in either Detroit (50 percent) or Cleveland (51 percent). This is in the direction expected as a result of the emphasis on reduction of holding time in WIN II.

REGISTRATION

Registration procedures show the effect of a decrease in the voluntary nature of the program in Chicago where Talmadge was implemented earlier. The proportion of those in our survey who sought out the program by their own initiative was less in Chicago (39 percent) than in Detroit (46 percent) or Cleveland (50 percent).

Upon entry into the program, Chicago respondents were less likely to receive the time-consuming physicals (37 percent) than were Detroit (61 percent) or Cleveland (78 percent) respondents. It is most striking in the case of new enrollees, where the proportions were: Chicago, 8 percent; Detroit, 40 percent; Cleveland, 74 percent. Specific decisions influenced this difference. In Chicago physicals under WIN I[1] were routine. Under WIN II physicals are requested only upon demand of the employment service. This decision follows, however, the emphasis on quick placements with a minimum of services in Talmadge.

[1] In our earlier study of WIN I, Chicago clients were much more likely than Detroit clients to receive physicals.

"CREAMING"

In order to be able to provide more jobs and yet offer less education and job training, it was understood that is would be necessary to "cream for those who were the most nearly "job-ready." If the case is at all persuasive that Chicago represents the fullest implementation of Talmadge, followed by Detroit, then Cleveland, we expected that Chicago's participants enrolled since July 1, 1972, would be best qualified and Cleveland's least qualified. This was supported by the testimony of the manager at Cleveland who claimed the lack of registrants caused him to "dig to the bottom of the barrel."

We examined client characteristics considered helpful in job placement. We considered: (1) health, (2) previous employment, (3) education, and (4) previous vocational training.

To determine how the selection was influenced by WIN II regulations, we used the percentage in each category after July 1, 1972 (Talmadge) subtracted from the percentage level before January 1, 1972 (WIN I). If the level increased under WIN II, the figures should be positive. We expected the percentage increase to be greatest in Chicago if "creaming" is occurring most under the Talmadge Amendments. Table 12-5 shows the results.

TABLE 12-5

PERCENT CHANGE IN WIN CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN THOSE ENROLLED BEFORE JANUARY 1, 1972, AND THOSE ENROLLED AFTER JULY 1, 1972

	Chicago %	Cleveland %	Detroit %
Those without health problems	+17.5	+12.2	+ 5.0
Those with prevocational training	-13.7	+ 3.5	+ 6.5
Those with high school education (men)	- 5.5	+16.4	- 7.9
Those with high school education (women)	- 4.4	+ 14.6	-10.0
Those whose last job level was above minimum requirements	-15.7	+ 5.4	- 3.0

In Cleveland we expected the decrease because of the low numbers of clients available, but Chicago had the largest pool to select from. If

"creaming" means having better qualifications for good jobs, then it appears that the Talmadge Amendments have the opposite effect of "creaming."

On the other hand, there is the possibility of another selection process which on the surface appears to be the opposite of "creaming." The reader will recall the greatly lowered aspirations of Talmadge participants in Chicago. If quick placement is the only desired goal, then selecting clients who have had low level jobs and are willing to remain at these jobs is perhaps a more effective way of moving people through the program quickly. Employment at this level is much more readily available since turnover is much higher in these marginal jobs. The people have come from low-paying jobs and apparently value relatively low skill jobs as incentive enough for participation.

In contrast, the clients who have experienced higher skill level employment and who are interested in an increase in skills and education offer the problem of a time-consuming and costly education and training process. (Of course, there is also the possibility of upgrading and possible removal from the cycle of off-and-on welfare.)

For those clients with low skills, education, and aspirations, WIN under Talmadge may be simply augmenting the normal low-pay job/welfare cycling process. WIN may become another branch office of the employment service specializing in welfare clients. It may serve to keep people in the same level of employment as they had in the past. Events in the months immediately following our survey confirm this approach. We have noted regional pressure for more registrants on our three cities. In February of 1973, local WIN units were instructed to search the files of local employment service offices for people who had been placed in employment by those offices while on AFDC or AFDC-U. The names of those placed after July 1, 1972, were then to be pre-dated as having been enrolled in and placed by WIN using information from the book of registrants forms. If clients had been placed for more than 90 days, they were to be considered as de-registered. This occurred in all three of the study cities.

It is clear that the clients in our sample varied widely concerning their desire for training, education, and occupational mobility. It is also a reluctant conclusion that some people can be chosen for the program who, at least at this point in the work/welfare cycle, are willing to have WIN serve as a job broker and little more.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

It has been suggested that placements in the WIN Program are more likely

to correlate with unemployment rates than with program differences.[1] It is likely that this is true in the aggregate when the numbers are sufficiently large. If it were so in our cities, we would expect that we could explain much of the difference in our cities if Chicago had highest unemployment, Detroit next highest, and Cleveland the lowest rate of unemployment. The actual statistics for the three cities were: Chicago, 6.3; Detroit, 10.9; and Cleveland, 10.0. The unemployment figures for blacks in the central city are more pertinent to our program. They were: Chicago, 9.8; Detroit, 15.4; and Cleveland, 16.4.

The unemployment rates are just the opposite of what we would anticipate from program data and sample statisitics we have examined. With a large pool of AFDC recipients to choose from and higher employment rates, Chicago's WIN clients, under Talmadge, come from less, expect less, and get less, but in slightly larger numbers.

SUMMARY

The Talmadge Amendments placed a strong emphasis on the quantity of job placements rather than on the quality of the jobs. The effects of this emphasis were demonstrated in a natural experiment where Chicago implemented these amendments earliest, followed by Detroit and then Cleveland. The results suggest that the Talmadge Amendments, when carried out, provide less opportunity for training, produce fewer volunteers, cause the selection of less qualified clients, and place them in lower level jobs. The incentives of clients appear to be influenced by a selection process which secured clients with lower aspirations who were willing to participate in the program despite the lack of training or jobs which would lead to income levels higher than those provided by welfare.

[1] This finding is presented in Impact of Urban WIN Programs, Pacific Training and Technical Assistance Corporation, 1972, Contract No. 51-90-70-10, Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration.

APPENDIX

WIN INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

WIN INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEWER INSTRUVTIONS

THE INTERVIEWER SHOULD START THE INTERVIEW BY PRESENTING HIMSELF AND THE STUDY'S PURPOSE IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER: "I am from Case Western Reserve University/the University of Chicago/the University of Michigan. We are doing a study of people who have been participating in the WIN program. We would like to know about the experiences people have had with the program--what things encourage them to participate and what things discourage them, that is, what things people like or dislike about the program or what kinds of things make it easier or harder for them to participate.

We came to interview you because your name was among the 400 names which we picked up at the WIN office for this study. We would like to assure you that whatever you are going to tell us will be kept confidential. Only the research staff at (NAME OF SCHOOL) will see this interview. No one from WIN will see it or be told any of the individual answers. We will be sending you a $5.00 payment for the time you will be giving us for the interview."

THE FIRST SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONSISTS MAINLY OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS. KNOWLEDGE GAINED IN THIS SECTION SHOULD HELP THE INTERVIEWER WHEN HE COMES TO THE MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS IN FURTHER PARTS OF THIS INSTRUMENT. REFERRING BACK TO RESPONSES TO OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS SHOULD ENABLE THE INTERVIEWER TO IDENTIFY INCONSISTENCIES IN THE RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS LATER IN THE INTERVIEW. THE QUESTIONS ARE PHRASED IN THE PRESENT AND PAST TENSES AND ARE APPLICABLE FOR NEW AND CURRENT ENROLLEES AS WRITTEN. FOR TERMINEES, CONVERT ALL QUESTIONS TO THE PAST TENSE. WHERE ANSWERS ARE PROVIDED, CIRCLE OR CHECK IN THE APPROPRIATE PLACE, BUT DO NOT READ THE ANSWERS TO THE RESPONDENTS UNLESS SPECIFICALLY INSTRUCTED TO DO SO. DIRECTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER ARE WRITTEN ENTIRELY IN CAPITAL LETTERS.

IN CONDUCTING AND RECORDING THE INTERVIEW, PLEASE MAKE SURE TO DO THE FOLLOWING:

1. PROBE TO CLARIFY UNCLEAR RESPONSES OR INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN RESPONSES.
2. RECORD OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES VERBATIM--DO NOT REPHRASE THE RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS OR ADD YOUR OWN INTERPRETATION.
3. WRITE RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS FULLY AND LEGIBLY SO THEY CAN BE READ AND UNDERSTOOD BY OTHER STAFF MEMBERS. IF YOU NEED MORE SPACE USE THE BACK OF THE PAGE. BE SURE TO IDENTIFY THIS ADDITIONAL MATERIAL BY QUESTION NUMBER.

WIN: (1-3)-

Respondent ID No.: _____ (6-8)-

Card No.: 4-

City:

Chicago . . 5- 1
Cleveland . 2
Detroit . . 3

WIN INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Respondent's Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone No.: _____

Interview Scheduled:

Date: _____

Time: _____

Place: _____

Interview Completed:

Date: _____

Time: From _____ o'clock

To _____ o'clock

Place: _____

Date of Enrollment: _____ 1:(9-13)-

IF TERMINEE:
Date of Termination: _____ 1:(14-18)-

Respondent's Group Status:

At Time of Sampling:

New Enrollee. . .	1:19-	1
Current Enrollee.		2
Terminee.		3
Never Enrolled. .		4

At Time of Interview:

New Enrollee	1:20-	1
Current Enrollee . .		2
Terminee (includes enrollees in 90-day follow-up and drop-outs).		3
Never Enrolled . . .		4

Race (by observation):

White	1:21-	1
Black		2
Spanish surname . .		3
Other		4
DK/NA		0

Sex:

Male	1:22-	1
Female		2

Interviewer's Name: _____

General Information on WIN

1. First, would you tell me how you happened to get into the WIN program? (PROBE: FOR MOTIVATION, WHO INITIATED THE ACTION, FROM WHOM DID HE HEAR ABOUT IT, WAS HE LOOKING FOR TRAINING PROGRAMS, ETC.):

Client took some action to initiate referral 1:23- 1

Initiative for referral came solely from others. 2

Source of initiative unclear. 3

2. What did you know about WIN before you first signed up for the program? (USE NEUTRAL PROBES, e.g., IF RESPONDENT SAYS, "Nothing," ASK "Nothing at all?" IF HE DOES REVEAL SOME KNOWLEDGE, ASK "Anything else?"):

3. How did you feel after you first got into WIN? (PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDES.):

4. What did you want the program to do for you when you first got in it? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC EXPECTATION: IF MONEY, HOW MUCH?: IF TRAINING OR JOB, WHAT KIND?: ETC.):

5. I would like to ask you about things you have done since you have been in WIN (while you were in WIN). For each activity, tell me whether or not you have participated in it:

	ACTIVITY		YES	NO	UNSURE	DK/NA
1.	Orientation	1:24-	1	2	3	0
2.	Basic education	1:25-	1	2	3	0
3.	GED program	1:26-	1	2	3	0
4.	Training program for specific job . . .	1:27-	1	2	3	0
5.	Work experience without pay	1:28-	1	2	3	0
6.	On-the-job training (with pay).	1:29-	1	2	3	0
7.	Testing or assessment	1:30-	1	2	3	0
8.	Physical examination.	1:31-	1	2	3	0
9.	Counseling.	1:32-	1	2	3	0
10.	Job placement	1:33-	1	2	3	0
11.	Other (DESCRIBE):_____					
	_____	1:34-	1	2	3	0

a. What are you doing now in WIN?:_____

_____

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES," TO 2, 3, OR 4, IN Q.5 ABOVE, PLEASE ASK "b" AND "c," BELOW:

b. Did you complete any educational or training program while in WIN?:

DK/NA . . 1:35- 0

No. . . . 2

Yes . . . 1 ⟶ (1). What program was that?:_____

_____

c. Did you get any kind of certificate or diploma upon completion?:

DK/NA . . 1:36- 0

No. . . . 2

Yes . . . 1 ⟶ (1). What kind?:_____

6. Whether people want to be in WIN or not, there are some things they like and dislike about being in the program.

a. Would you tell me all the things you like about being in WIN?:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. b. Now, all the things you dislike?:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. People also find that there are things that make it easy for them to participate in WIN and other things which make it hard for them. These may be things about WIN itself, about a person's family, about his personal life, or about a lot of other things.

   a. What are the things that make participating in WIN easy for you?:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

   b. What are the things that make participating in WIN difficult for you?:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

INTERVIEWER: FOR TERMINEES--GO TO Q.10.
FOR NEW AND CURRENT ENROLLEES, CONTINUE WITH Q.8, BELOW.

8. When you finish WIN, what do you hope to be doing? (PROBE TO SEE IF CLIENT PLANS TO BE WORKING, WHAT KIND OF WORK, STILL ON ASSISTANCE, ETC.):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Do you think WIN will help you do this? (REFER TO GOAL MENTIONED IN Q.8):

DK/NA . . 1:37- 0

No. . . . 2 ⟶ Why not?:_____

_____

Yes . . . 1 ⟶ How?:_____

_____

INTERVIEWER: FOR NEW AND CURRENT ENROLLEES, SKIP TO Q.12
FOR TERMINEES ONLY, CONTINUE WITH Q.s 10-11.

10. Why did you leave the WIN program? (PROBE FOR WHO INITIATED TERMINATION. DETAILS OF REASONS IF OTHER THAN JOB, FEELINGS ABOUT TERMINATION, ETC.):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. Did you get a job when you left the program?:

DK/NA. 1:38- 0

No . . 2 ⟶ Even though you didn't get a job, do you think being in the WIN program helped you in any way?:

DK/NA. 0

No . . 2

Yes. . 1 How?:_____

_____

_____

Yes. . 1 ⟶ a. Did you get the job through WIN?:

Yes. . 1:39- 1

No . . 2 ⟶ How did you get your job?:

_____

_____

b. What kind of a job did you get?:_____

_____

c. Was it full-time or part-time?:

Full-time . . 1:40- 1

Part-time . . 2

Other 3

d. What was your weekly take home pay?:$_____
1:(41-42)-

e. How satisfied were you with that job? (READ RESPONSES) Would you say:

Very satisfied 1:43- 4

Somewhat satisfied . . 3

Somewhat dissatisfied. 2

Very dissatisfied. . . 1

DK/NA. 0

f. Are you still on that job?:

Yes . . 1:44- 1

No. . . 2 ⟶ Why not?:_____

_____

DK/NA . 0

(TRANSITIONAL STATEMENT FOR THE INTERVIEWER: "Now I would like to ask you some specific questions about things that might affect your participation in WIN. Let me start by asking a few questions about the incentive payment." DO NOT READ SCALES UNLESS SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS ARE GIVE TO DO SO.)

Incentive Pay

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

12. Do you get any money just as a bonus or incentive for participating in WIN, that is, money in addition to allowances for expenses?:

No, or
Unsure . . 1:45- 2 ⟶ a. Will you get such money?:

DK/NA . 1:46- 0

No. . . 2

Yes . . 1 ⟶ (1). How much will that be?:

$_____
1:(47-48)-

Yes. . . . 1 ⟶ b. How much bonus or incentive money do you get each month, not counting money for expenses?:

$_____
1:(49-50)-

13. When did you find out that you would get this bonus or incentive pay?:

Before referral to WIN. 1:51- 1

After referral but before enrollment. 2

At time of enrollment 3

After enrollment. 4

14. How important is this bonus or incentive to you? (READ LIST):

Very important, you wouldn't stay in WIN without it. . . . 1:52- 4

Important, but you'd stay in WIN without it. 3

Slightly important. 2

Totally unimportant, really makes no difference at all. . 1

DK/NA 0

15. If this bonus or incentive payment had to be discontinued or sharply reduced, what effect would this have on your participation in the program? (BE SURE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS ONLY A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION. READ LIST.):

I would leave	1:53-	3
It would be bad, but I would try to stay.		2
It wouldn't matter.		1
DK/NA		0

16. Some people see the incentive payment just as a bonus, some see it as money to cover extra expenses, and others see it as pay (salary). Could you tell me how you see this money? (DO NOT READ LIST, CIRCLE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.):

Bonus	1:54-	1
Expenses.		2
Pay		3
Other (SPECIFY)_____		
_____		4
DK/NA		0

17. How much money in all did you get last month (last two pay periods) because you participated in WIN? That is, how much did the incentive, if you got one, and the expense money come to? (DETERMINE TOTAL AMOUNT OF EXTRA PAYMENTS MADE DIRECTLY TO CLIENT, BY WIN OR WELFARE, INCLUDING INCENTIVE CHECK, CHILD CARE, AND TRANSPORTATION ALLOWANCES.):

Amount: 1:(55-57)- $_____

18. I would like to ask you about the expenses you have because you participated in WIN. Think of how much money you have actually paid out during the last month (last two pay periods) just because you are in WIN. (DETERMINE AMOUNTS PAID DIRECTLY BY CLIENT, REGARDLESS OF SOURCES OF INCOME. READ LIST.) How much did you spend for:

a.	Transportation (bus, taxi fares, gas, parking, auto repairs, etc.).	$____	1:(58-59)
b.	Lunch(meals outside of home)	____	1:(60-61)
c.	Clothes worn to work or training (cleaning, laundry)	____	1:(62-63)
d.	Personal appearance (hairdos, etc.).	____	1:(64-65)
e.	Child care (baby-sitters, etc.).	____	1:(66-67)
f.	School supplies.	____	1:(68-69)
g.	Extra money for foods that are easy to prepare because little time to prepare food.	____	1:(70-71)
h.	Other expenses	____	1:(72-73)
	(INTERVIEWER: LEAVE BLANK): Total	____	1:(74-75)

19. On the average, is the money you get from WIN enough to cover your expenses of being in the program?:

More than enough . . 2:9- 3

Enough 2

Not enough . . . . . 1 ⟶ a. What WIN expenses are not covered:

_____

_____

_____

Prospects of a Job

(NOTE: TERMINEES MAY HAVE ANSWERED Q.20 ALREADY. IF SO, FILL IN CORRECT RESPONSES WITHOUT ASKING RESPONDENT TO REPEAT.)

20. Are you working now, either full or part time, or are you unemployed?:

Unemployed . . 2:10- 2 GO TO Q.21

Working. . . . 1 ⟶ a. Are you working full or part time?:

Full time. . 2:11- 1

Part time. . 2

Other. . . . 3

b. What kind of a job do you have? (TYPE OF WORK):

_____

c. What is your weekly take home pay from this job? $_____ 2:(12-14)-

d. How long have you had this job? (RECORD IN MONTHS): Months:_____ 2:(15-16)-

e. How did you get this job?:

Self 2:17- 1

WIN. 2

Other. . . . 3

GO TO Q.22

IF CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED, ASK:

21. a. What type of work did you do on your last job?:_____

_____

Never employed . . 2:18- 2 GO TO Q.22

b. How long did you have that job?: No. of Months:_____ 2:(19-20)

c. Why did you leave?:_____

d. How long have you been unemployed: No. of Months:_____ 2:(21-22)

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

22. When you first entered WIN, did you think it would help you get a job/a better job than you had?:

Yes . .	2:23-	1
No. . .		2
DK/NA .		0

23. How important was the prospect of getting a job through WIN to you at the time you were referred to WIN? (READ LIST) Would you say it was:

Very important, wouldn't have agreed to participate in WIN without it.	2:24-	4
Important, but would have agreed to participate in WIN without it.		3
Slightly important.		2
Totally unimportant, really made no difference at all . .		1
DK/NA		0

24. Is there any kind of job you would not want to take, even if it meant you had to stay on (go on) welfare?:

DK/NA. . 2:25- 0

No . . . 2

Yes. . . 1 ⟶ a. What kind?:_____

_____

_____

b. Why would you not want to take that kind of job?:

_____

_____

_____

INTERVIEWER: FOR TERMINEES, GO TO Q.27
FOR NEW AND CURRENT ENROLLEES, CONTINUE WITH Q.s 25-26.

25. Do you now think WIN will help you get a job?:

Yes . .	2:26-	1
No. . .		2
DK/NA .		0

26. How important is the prospect of getting a job through WIN to you now? (READ LIST) Would you say it is:

Very important, wouldn't stay in WIN without it	2:27-	4
Important, but would stay in WIN anyway		3
Slightly important.		2
Totally unimportant, really makes no difference at all.		1
DK/NA		0

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

27. Do you have a particular type of job in mind?:

DK/NA. 2:28- 0 ⟶ GO TO Q.29

No . . 2 ⟶ GO TO Q.29

Yes. . 1 ⟶ a. What kind of a job is that?:_____

_____

b. How much would you expect to make a week from that job (take home pay)?:

Amount per week:$_____ 2:(29-31)

28. How important for your participation in WIN is getting this job? Would you say it is: (READ LIST)

Very important, wouldn't have continued to participate otherwise.	2:32-	4
Important, but would have continued to participate anyway		3
Slightly important.		2
Totally unimportant, really makes no difference at all.		1
DK/NA		0

29. Are you satisfied with the progress you are making in getting training for a/this job? Would you say you are (READ LIST):

Very satisfied.	2:33-	4
Somewhat satisfied.		3
Not particularly satisfied or dissatisfied		2
Very dissatisfied		1
DK/NA		0

30. What would be the effect on your participation if you could get training for a job you want, but no guarantee of a job? (READ LIST):

I would leave the program	2:34-	4
I might leave the program		3
I would probably stay in the program but I would be disappointed		2
It would make no difference to me . .		1
DK/NA		0

Welfare

31. Are you presently on welfare?:

No.	2:35-	3 → GO TO Q.39
Yes, grant in another person's name .		2
Yes		1

32. How long have you been on welfare? (SINCE LAST OPENING OF CASE):

Less than 6 months.	2:36-	1
6 months but less than 1 year		2
1 year but less than 2 years.		3
2 years but less than 5 years		4
5 years but less than 10 years. . . .		5
10 years or more.		6
DK/NA		0

33. Have you been on welfare before? (DETERMINE TOTAL AMOUNT OF PREVIOUS TIME ON WELFARE):

Never been on welfare before.	2:37-	1
Less than 6 months.		2
6 months but less than 1 year		3
1 year but less than 2 years.		4
2 years but less than 5 years		5
5 years but less than 10 years. . . .		6
10 years or more.		7
DK/NA		0

34. Do you think WIN will help you get off welfare?:

Yes . .	2:38-	1
No. . .		2
DK/NA .		0

35. How does this affect your participation? Would you say it is (READ LIST):

Very important, you wouldn't stay in WIN if you didn't think it would help you get off welfare.	2:39-	4
Important, but you'd stay in WIN even if you didn't think it would help you get off welfare.		3
Slightly important.		2
Totally unimportant, makes no difference, don't consider it		1
DK/NA		0

36. What do you think you would gain by going off welfare?:

_____

_____

_____

37. What do you think you would lose by going off welfare?:

_____

_____

_____

38. What do you think would happen to your welfare grant if you got a job?:

_____

_____

_____

Compulsory Features

39. What do you think would happen to you if you refused to participate in the program? (RECORD VERBATIM. PROBE, IF NECESSARY, BUT DO NOT READ THE CATEGORIES LISTED BELOW. AFTER RECORDING THE ANSWER, CIRCLE THE DOMINANT RESPONSE IN THE LIST BELOW.):

_____

_____

_____

Be kept in WIN anyway	2:40-	1
Get cut in ADC grant.		2
They would try to talk me into cooperating.		3
Get taken off ADC		4
Nothing		5
DK/NA		0

Child Care Arrangements

(TRANSITIONAL STATEMENT: "Now I am going to ask you about your arrangements for the care of your children when you are at WIN--by that I mean when you are at school or a training program or work or going to the WIN office.)

40. How many children do you have living at home with you?: No.:_____ 2:41

41. What are their ages?:_____

INTERVIEWER: IF THERE ARE NO CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13, GO TO Q.50.

42. What arrangement(s) do you make for the care of your children while you are at WIN? (DETERMINE THE DOMINANT ARRANGEMENT--THE ONE USED THE MOST NUMBER OF HOURS DURING THE WEEK--AND CODE BELOW):

Spouse.	2:42-	1
Relative in home.		2
Relative out of home.		3
Non-relative in home.		4
Non-relative out of home. . .		5
Licensed home (family/group).		6
Day Care Center		7
Self care		8

43. Are the arrangements for your children paid for by WIN?:

Yes	2:43-	1
No.		2
Expect WIN to pay		3
DK/NA		0

44. Are there any problems with the arrangement for your children?:

No . . 2:44- 2

Yes. . 1 → a. What problem(s)? (RECORD VERBATIM):_____

_____

_____

_____

45. How satisfied are you with the arrangement(s) for the children?:

DK/NA.	2:45-	0
Very satisfied		4
Somewhat satisfied . .		3
Somewhat dissatisfied.		2 →
Very dissatisfied. . .		1 →

ASK: Is there another arrangement you would prefer? (RECORD VERBATIM, BELOW):

_____

_____

_____

46. Do you have any other arrangement(s) for the care of your children if the plan(s) we discussed break down?:

DK/NA. 2:46- 0

No . . 2

Yes. . 1 ⟶ a. What other arrangement(s) would that be? (RECORD VERBATIM, BELOW):

_____

_____

_____

47. What do you do when your children are sick and you are supposed to be at WIN? (RECORD VERBATIM):

_____

_____

_____

ASK ONLY IF THERE ARE SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD:

48. Has the after-school period ever presented any child care problems for you?:

No . . 2:47- 2

Yes. . 1 ⟶ a. What problem was that?:_____

_____

_____

b. How would you like to handle the problem?:_____

_____

_____

49. Would you use an after-school center if your child's school had one?:

Yes . . 2:48- 1

No. . . 2

DK/NA . 0

Health

50. How would you describe your health at the present time?:

Healthy 2:53- 4

Generally healthy, some problems. 3

Generally poor health, but can function. 2

Poor health, interferes with functioning 1

DK/NA 0

51. Are there any particular health problems that might affect your participation in the WIN program?:

DK/NA. 2:54- 0

No . . 2

Yes. . 1⟶ a. In what way?:_____

_____

_____

b. How important are these health problems as far as your participation in the program is concerned? Would you say (READ LIST):

Very important, I might not be able to continue because of them. 2:55- 4

They will make it hard to participate but I expect to stay in the program 3

They should not interfere very much with my participation. . . 2

Unimportant, should not interfere at all in my participation. . . 1

DK/NA 0

Win Experience

52. Does the fact that you have to leave the house to be in WIN activities, training or job, tend to encourage your participation? (READ LIST):

Encourages greatly. 2:56- 5

Encourages somewhat 4

Both encourages and discourages. 3

Discourages somewhat. . . . 2

Discourages greatly 1

DK/NA 0

53. Does being in WIN case you to be away from your children more than before you got into WIN:

Yes. . 2:57- 1⟶ a. Does this tend to encourage or discourage your participation? (READ LIST):

Encourages greatly. 2:57- 5

Encourages somewhat 4

Both encourages and discourages. 3

Discourages somewhat. . . . 2

Discourages greatly 1

DK/NA 0

53. No . . 2⟶a. If being in WIN caused you to be away from your children more, would this encourage or discourage your participation? (READ LIST):

Encourage greatly	2:58-	5
Encourage somewhat.		4
Neither encourage or discourage		3
Discourage somewhat		2
Discourage greatly.		1
DK/NA		0

54. Have you had any transportation problems in getting to WIN, training or work?

No . . 2:59- 2

Yes. . 1⟶a. What problems?:_____

_____

55. Do the contacts you have with the WIN staff tend more to encourage or to discourage your participation in the program? (READ LIST):

Encourage greatly.	2:60-	5
Encourage somewhat		4
Both encourage and discourage.		3
Discourage somewhat.		2
Discourage greatly		1
DK/NA.		0

⟶How?:_____

_____

_____

_____

56. Have you had any waiting periods of a month or more between activities since you have been in WIN?:

Yes. . 2:61- 1⟶a. Which of the following best describes your feelings about these waiting periods? (READ LIST):

I have found them very hard to take .	2:62-	3
They have bothered me some.		2
I haven't minded them		1

No . . 2⟶b. If you had to wait a month or more between activities, how would you feel? Tell me which of the following statements would best describe your feeling (READ LIST):

I would find such a wait hard to take.	2:62-	3
It would bother me some		2
I wouldn't mind it.		1