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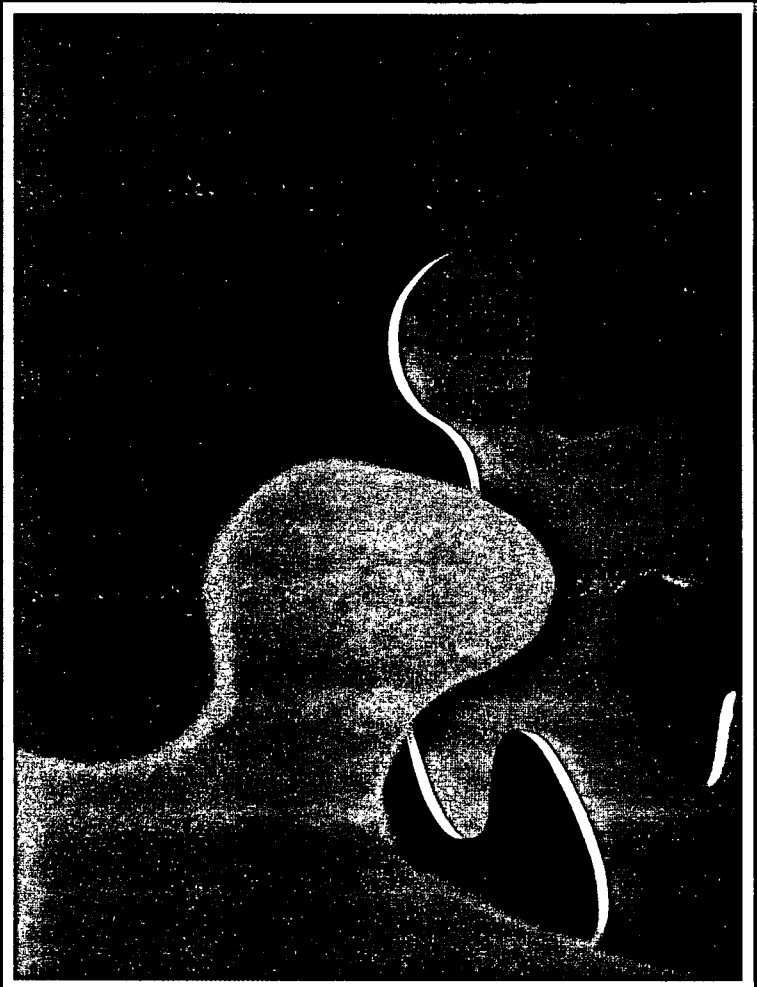
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ABSTRACT

This publication identifies the front-line lessons learned to date on the role of education in the next phase of welfare reform. It presents the voices of leading welfare administrators, educators, business people, and current and former welfare recipients. Part 1, "Identifying the Issues," presents "The Case for Investing in Welfare Families." Part 2, "One Dozen Ways for States and Colleges To Make Work Pay," includes the 12 lessons: (1) "Aggressively Use Education To Meet Federal Work Requirements"; (2) "Cash in on Pell Grants, Work-Study, and Other Student Financial Aid"; (3) "Use State Funds To Extend Education beyond 12 Months"; (4) "Forge Partnerships between Welfare Offices and Community Colleges"; (5) "Use Comprehensive, Cooperative Assessment"; (6) "Identify and Support Welfare Recipients Who Are Already in School"; (7) "Encourage Concurrent Education and Work"; (8) "Redesign Classes for Working Parents"; (9) "Offer Students the Support They Need to Stay in School"; (10) "Send Former Recipients Back to School Too"; (11) "Expand Private-Sector Partnerships"; and (12) "Give Tax Credits to Employers Who (Really) Train." Examples of lessons in practice for each lesson are included. An appendix presents measures of skill in the National Adult Literacy Survey. (SM)

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A Piece of the Puzzle



How States Can Use Education to Make Work Pay for Welfare Recipients

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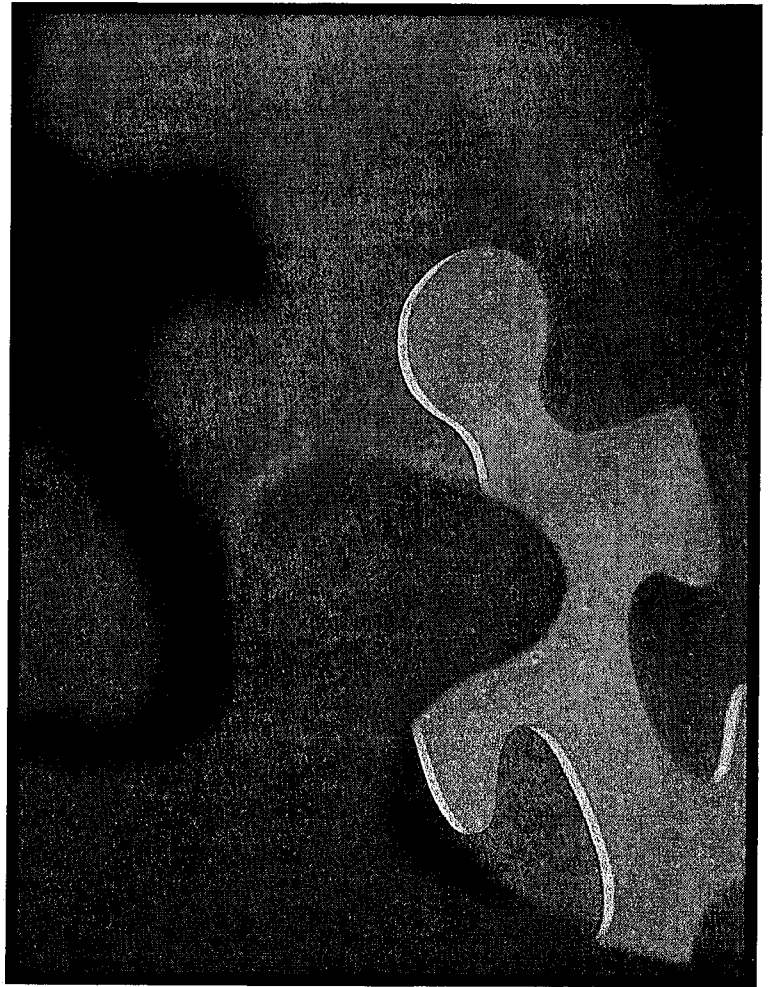
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Anthony P. Carnevale and Kathleen Reich
with Neal C. Johnson and Kathleen Sylvester

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A Piece of the Puzzle



**How States Can Use Education to
Make Work Pay for Welfare Recipients**

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**Anthony P. Carnevale and Kathleen Reich
with Neal C. Johnson and Kathleen Sylvester**

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Preface

In early 1999, Educational Testing Service (ETS) published *Getting Down to Business: Matching Welfare Recipients' Skills to Jobs That Train*. In that report, two senior ETS researchers, Vice President for Public Leadership Anthony P. Carnevale and Senior Economist Donna M. Desrochers, used the most recent data from the National Adult Literacy Survey—developed and conducted by ETS for the U.S. Congress and the Department of Education—to focus on the skills of welfare recipients.

These researchers assessed the hours of education and training necessary to move recipients into jobs with earnings, training, and a future. And they went further, matching those skills with the skills required for jobs projected through 2006.

The reception to *Getting Down to Business* in the broad community of individuals who are in the business of mapping out welfare strategy and making it work has been heartening. We have shared these findings on Capitol Hill and at meetings of the American Public Human Services Association, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Governors' Association, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, and many others. In this fast-changing policy climate, a growing number of policymakers, educators, business people, and human services administrators from all points on the political compass have begun to recognize that, for many families, targeted education and training can improve their chances of self-sufficiency.

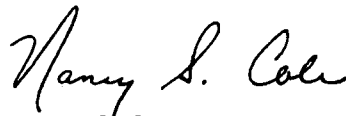
It is with great pleasure that we pick up the next thread in the continuing national dialogue on these matters. In *A Piece of the Puzzle: How States Can Use Education to Make Work Pay for Welfare Recipients*, Dr. Carnevale joins with Kathleen Reich and Kathleen Sylvester of the nonprofit Social Policy Action Network, and with ETS Senior Research Partner Neal Johnson, to identify the front-line lessons learned to date on the role of education in the next phase of welfare reform.

In this fast-changing policy climate, a growing number of policymakers, educators, business people, and human services administrators from all points on the political compass have begun to recognize that, for many families, targeted education and training can improve their chances of self-sufficiency.

In these pages you will hear the voices of leading welfare administrators, educators, business people—and perhaps most movingly, of current and former welfare recipients themselves. I cannot think of a more fitting way to launch our new *ETS Leadership 2000 Series: Conversations* than with the ideas and experiences synthesized in *A Piece of the Puzzle*.

We at ETS have been assessing the abilities of students and adults in the service of learning for more than 50 years. As the world's largest private nonprofit educational measurement institution, we are committed to using our assessment information to help create opportunities for adults as well as children and young people.

I commend this discussion to you, and look forward to continuing to engage in the national conversation on the issues it raises.



Nancy S. Cole

President

Educational Testing Service

Princeton, New Jersey

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the many individuals and organizations who participated in this policy conversation, as well as those who assisted in conceptualizing, researching, and producing *A Piece of the Puzzle*.

Special thanks to Grantland Johnson, Kevin Concannon, and Shirley Carson, who were so generous with their time and ideas. Thanks as well to Sharon Miller of Oakland Community College, Kathleen Nelson of the California Community Colleges, John Ream of the Metropolitan Community Colleges Business and Technology Center, Beverly Waldrop of the Illinois Community College Board, and all of the other wonderful post-secondary education professionals who helped us in the preparation of this study.

We are especially grateful to each of the inspiring college students and graduates profiled in these pages. It was truly courageous of them to share the challenges they have faced in their lives. We wish each of them and their families all the best in their careers and their personal lives.

A Piece of the Puzzle has truly been a team effort. We acknowledge the debt we owe to Donna Desrochers' research on the skills of welfare recipients, which provided the foundation for these discussions. Special thanks to June Elmore of the Educational Testing Service public leadership staff for her editorial, administrative, and production contributions to this effort, and to Heather C. McGhee of the Social Policy Action Network for her invaluable research assistance.

The work of John Scardino and Richard Price of Scardino Associates in assembling a nationwide team of photographers to capture the participants in this conversation was professional and sensitive to the nature of the assignment. We thank the photographers as well—from Cape Cod to California—for their excellent images.

As always, the editorial and design skills of Betsy Rubinstein of InForm have taken our material to a new level of clarity and usefulness. And Lisa Black and her colleagues at Westland Printers have once again helped us produce a document we can be proud of.

Anthony Patrick Carnevale
Anthony P. Carnevale

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Kathleen Reich

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Part 1: Identifying the Issues

Over the past few years, millions of former welfare recipients have joined the ranks of working Americans. But for most of these people, the journey from welfare to work has not yet taken them far enough. It has not yet helped them leave behind the poverty and isolation that characterized their lives on welfare.

Three years after Congress and the president transformed the welfare system, our nation would do well to remember the promise of welfare reform: It was a promise of opportunity and self-sufficiency. For the average woman leaving welfare and still struggling to support her children with a job that pays less than \$7 an hour, the promise of welfare reform has yet to be realized.

The time is right, and the means are at hand, to fulfill that promise now. Our nation has a long tradition of providing opportunity for real self-sufficiency through its public colleges and universities—still the best in the world—and through thousands of vocational training programs nationwide. Generations of our children and each new wave of immigrants have been well served by our nation's education and training system. America's newest workers deserve access to that system—and the opportunities it offers—as well.

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The key question,
summarized by Kevin Concannon,
Maine commissioner of the
Department of Human Services,
is simply this:
"What is it going to take to get you into the
workforce and be successful?"

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The Case for Investing in Welfare Families



During the decade-long national debate about welfare, the notion of education as an element of the reform effort was set aside. Instead, two well-worn slogans dominated the debate: work-first and make work pay. Three years after enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), the goal of work-first has largely been accomplished. In 1998 alone, an estimated 1.5 million people who were on welfare in 1997 joined the ranks of working Americans. The success in achieving work-first has surprised even the most skeptical observers.

However, the goal of making work pay is proving far more elusive. Many former welfare families have progressed only one or two rungs up the economic ladder; they now rank among our nation's working poor families. To help these families cope with their new circumstances, state governments are trying to ease their burdens by continuing to subsidize child care, transportation, and health care. In the long term, however, these subsidies cannot provide the opportunities new workers need to become self-sufficient, build stable families, and engage in their communities.

A better solution for these families is making work pay—in the true sense—by using short-term, targeted education and training to help them raise their earnings.

The potential returns to investment in education are clear. In March 1999, Educational Testing Service (ETS) released the results of a major study by Anthony P. Carnevale and Donna M. Desrochers, **Getting Down to Business: Matching Recipients' Skills to Jobs That Train**. The study found that while one-third of welfare recipients do not have the preparation they need to pursue advanced education, one-third of welfare recipients could benefit greatly from short-term training programs, and another one-third could benefit from either additional postsecondary education or training. With as little

During the decade-long national debate about welfare, the notion of education as an element of the reform effort was set aside. Instead, two well-worn slogans dominated the debate: work-first and make work pay.

This study makes the case for a renewed and substantial public investment in the education and training of current and former welfare recipients. Without bringing education back into the equation, we are likely to succeed only in replacing welfare with working poverty.

as one semester of full-time training, the resulting skill improvements could provide access to jobs that pay up to \$10,000 more a year.

Simply put, self-sufficiency is within the reach of millions of poor families if states, communities, and educational institutions work together to help these families. Promising models from across the country demonstrate the ways in which some of these new partnerships are working—and the notable results they are achieving.

This study makes the case for a substantial public investment in the education and training of current *and former* welfare recipients. In addition to the empirical evidence that argues for education and training and substantiates the results of such investments, the study draws on the experiences of the policymakers, educators, and business leaders who have learned how to use education and training effectively. We include our discussions with three state human services directors, Kevin Concannon of Maine, Grantland Johnson of California, and Shirley Carson of Wyoming, who shared their observations about the uses of education and training in welfare reform.

The study also profiles three highly successful community college programs that have helped welfare recipients get and keep good jobs. Oakland Community College in Pontiac, Michigan, has partnered with major corporations to design an intensive 20-week training program that guarantees its graduates full-time jobs with benefits in the high-tech industry. The Metropolitan Community Colleges system in Kansas City, Missouri, squeezes its 180-hour Call Center Training Program into just six weeks, and matches its graduates to customer service positions with more than 20 area employers. And the Portland and Mount Hood Community Colleges in Oregon place upwards of 6,000 welfare recipients into jobs each year, through an innovative combination of job search and short-term training.

There are many paths in to welfare dependency: teen motherhood, substance abuse, divorce, abusive marriages, troubled relationships. Gathered here are firsthand stories of women who found their way out of welfare by going back to school: Diana Spatz, Elaine Gomez, Tanya Jackson, Brenda Rogers, Pamela Butler, Lydia Rogers, Cherie Taylor-LeRoy, Tara Vargas, and Debra Miller. Indeed, their stories make the best case for a renewed public investment in education and training.

Welfare Recipients: Leaving Welfare, but not Leaving Poverty

The current welfare system, which was overhauled in 1996, places its emphasis on work first. PRWORA stipulates that welfare recipients can meet the work requirements through education for one year only, and that this education must be vocational. Recipients may continue in "on-the-job training" or "job-skills training directly related to employment" right up until the time their benefits expire, but more often than not, caseworkers urge welfare recipients to seek jobs first and opt for training only if they cannot find employment. Indeed, many states require welfare recipients to conduct a job search for six weeks before they can request job training. Others make it difficult or impossible for welfare recipients to pursue education and training full time.

To an extent, work-first is working. Most people who have left welfare have found jobs. But as three major studies in 1999 demonstrated, welfare leavers are not leaving poverty behind.

An August 1999 study by the Urban Institute, **Families Who Left Welfare: Who Are They, and How Are They Doing?**, examined data from the National Survey of America's Families. The study focused on 1,289 former welfare recipients who had exited the rolls between 1995 and 1997.

The study found that more than two-thirds of these welfare leavers had exited welfare because of increased earnings or a new job. A majority of this group was working full time. In addition, the jobs they found were similar to—or better than—jobs held by low-income women who are not on welfare. Most of these jobs were in service occupations or wholesale and retail trade.

But not all the news is good. The Urban Institute also found that the average wage for welfare leavers is only \$6.61 an hour. Even if a welfare leaver works full-time and year-round at this wage, she still will make only \$13,748—just above the poverty line for a family of three.

While low-income families who do not receive welfare generally earn about the same wages as welfare leavers, the Urban Institute found that they are

To an extent, work-first is a great success. In 1998 alone, an estimated 1.5 million people who were on welfare in 1997 joined the ranks of working Americans. But as three major studies in 1999 demonstrated, most of those succeeding in leaving welfare are not succeeding in leaving poverty.

more likely than welfare leavers to have jobs with health insurance and enough money for basic necessities such as food and rent. By contrast, only 23 percent of welfare leavers receive health insurance from their employers. More than one-third sometimes run out of money for food and rent. It is not surprising, then, that of the 2.1 million adults who left welfare between 1995 and 1997, 29 percent returned to the welfare rolls by 1997.

An April 1999 General Accounting Office (GAO) report, **Welfare Reform:**

Information on Former Recipients' Status, which examined studies of welfare leavers in seven states, confirmed many of the Urban Institute's findings. The GAO found that, depending on the state, between 61 and 87 percent of adults leaving public assistance have gotten jobs.

Most of these former recipients, however, are working in low-wage occupations such as restaurant and retail sales. Their average hourly wage ranges from \$5.67 in Tennessee to \$8.09 in Washington state. Five of the states reported that a significant number of welfare leavers still qualify for Medicaid and food stamps after they start working.

Finally, in August 1999 the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP) released **The Initial Impacts of Welfare Reform on the Incomes of Single-Mother Families**. The Center used Current Population Survey data to compare income trends among households headed by single mothers from 1993 to 1995, and 1995 to 1997. The study found that incomes of single mothers rose between 1993 and 1995, largely due to growth in the economy and expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

But from 1995 to 1997, the incomes of single mothers actually fell. The major reason for the decline? A drop in means-tested benefits. This benefits decline was much more rapid than the drop in poverty among families headed by single mothers. For instance, the welfare rolls dropped 22 percent between 1995 and 1997, but poverty among single mother-headed families dropped only 5 percent during the same period. The CBPP study essentially argues that welfare has been replaced by working poverty.

Taking these realities into account, advocates for poor families have concentrated on making work pay by helping families cobble together packages of post-welfare public benefits—including subsidized health insurance, child care,

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and transportation—that increase their effective earnings. In the short term, those strategies are critical for providing low-income families the support and incentives they need to survive without Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF).

But these post-welfare benefits are not reaching all welfare leavers who need them. The Urban Institute study shows that in the first three months after leaving welfare, only 57 percent of ex-recipients received Medicaid; only 19 percent received subsidized child care; and only 15 percent received help with retaining a job or upgrading their skills.

And as the time-limit countdown nears for many TANF recipients, longer-term questions are beginning to arise. How will welfare leavers cope when transitional child care and Medicaid end? How will they be able to raise earnings and move their families out of poverty?

One Answer: Making Work Pay

Making work *really* pay—moving former welfare recipients to self-sufficiency—will require new investments in education and training. Boosting the skills of former welfare recipients will enable them to move into higher-skilled, better-paying jobs. Work-first must be complemented and fortified now with targeted education and training strategies.

The ETS study by Carnevale and Desrochers, *Getting Down to Business*, found that most women leaving welfare for work could earn higher incomes and keep their jobs longer with the help of better job placement and targeted education and training to improve their skills.

Using data from the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), Carnevale and Desrochers determined that 32 percent of women on welfare have superior, advanced, or competent skills as defined in the NALS. This means that their skills are similar to people with some college education (*see Figure 1*).

As the time-limit countdown nears for many recipients of post-welfare public benefits—subsidized health insurance, child care, and transportation—longer-term questions are beginning to arise. How will welfare leavers cope when transitional child care and Medicaid end? How will they be able to raise earnings and move their families out of poverty?

With 200 hours of targeted education and training—equivalent to one semester of full-time coursework—competent-skilled women could move up to the advanced or superior skill levels, where jobs pay \$30,000 a year or more. In America, the average woman with advanced or superior skills earns \$32,100 annually.

Carnevale and Desrochers found that an additional 37 percent of women on welfare have basic skills similar to high school graduates in the lower half of their class. These women have the skills to get a job, but generally lack the skills to advance in their careers, or obtain jobs that provide additional training.

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With 200 hours of education and training, recipients with basic skills could move up the career ladder into jobs that require competent skills. Jobs at this level generally pay \$20,000 to \$30,000 per year. The average woman with competent skills earns \$23,000 annually.

For the least skilled welfare recipients, however, Carnevale and Desrochers found that it might not be practical to pursue full-time education and training. A full 31 percent of women on welfare have minimal skills, similar to those of school dropouts. Boosting their skills to the basic level, where jobs pay between \$15,000 and \$20,000 per year, would require as much as 900 hours of education and training, or more than two years of full-time coursework.

For these women, Carnevale and Desrochers recommend extensive counseling and support services to help them get and *keep* jobs—preferably jobs that offer opportunities for training and advancement. Once their work situations have stabilized, it may be possible for women with minimal skills to pursue education and training part-time, and gradually increase their skills to a level where they can benefit from intensive, short-term education programs.

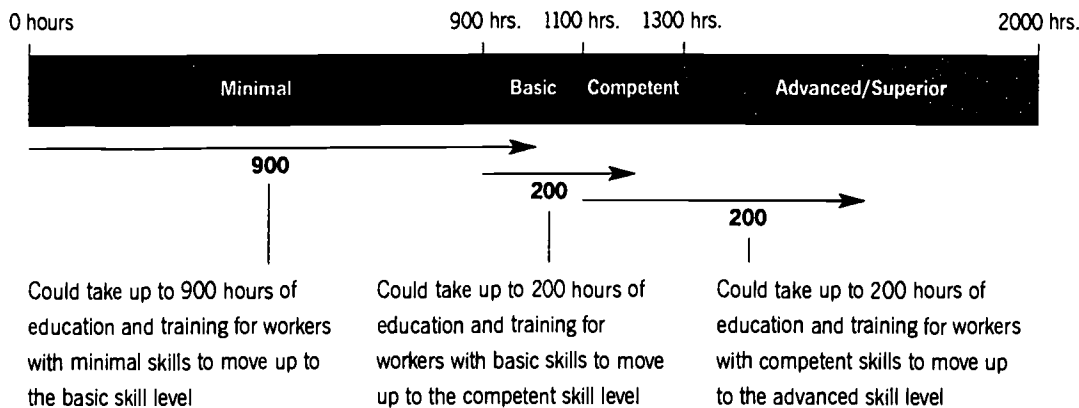
Skill patterns of women on welfare break down along racial and ethnic lines. While 51 percent of White women on welfare have competent, advanced or superior skills, only 17 percent of African-American and 16 percent of Hispanic women on welfare do. However, an additional 46 percent of Black women and 29 percent of Hispanic women on welfare have basic skills and could raise their skills and their earnings potential through one semester of full-time coursework.

FIGURE 1

Welfare Recipients' Skills Are Concentrated at Lower Skill Levels, While the Real Growth Is in Higher-Skilled Jobs

Skill Level, Jobs, Women's Average Annual Earnings	Growing Occupations	Projected Growth		
		% Increase	Net New Jobs	
Level 1: Minimal Skills				
<i>(Dropout)</i> 12% of jobs in 2006 1996 earnings: \$15,200	Hand packers and packagers	23%	222,000	} 31% of welfare recipients have minimal skills typical of a limited number of occupations expecting moderate growth
	Groundskeepers, gardeners, and nursery workers	19%	166,000	
	Building janitors, cleaners, and maids	4%	135,000	
	Vehicle washers, equipment cleaners	25%	69,000	
Level 2: Basic Skills				
<i>(Below-average H.S. graduate)</i> 25% of jobs in 2006 1996 earnings: \$19,000	Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	37%	726,000	} 37% of welfare recipients have basic skills typical of occupations that are growing somewhat faster
	Cashiers	17%	530,000	
	Cooks	16%	349,000	
	Dental assistants, and health aides	38%	198,000	
Level 3: Competent Skills				
<i>(Some postsecondary)</i> 38% of jobs in 2006 1996 earnings: \$23,000	Health technologists and technicians	38%	524,000	} 32% of welfare recipients have competent skills typical of fast-growing occupations that tend to require some postsec- ondary skills, or advanced or superior skills typical of the fastest-growing occupations
	Sales workers	10%	408,000	
	Teacher aides	38%	370,000	
	Receptionists and information clerks	30%	318,000	
	Guards	20%	249,000	
	Bill and account collectors	42%	112,000	
Level 4: Advanced/Superior Skills				
<i>(Bachelor's degree)</i> 26% of jobs in 2006 1996 earnings: \$32,100	Computer system analysts and scientists	108%	1,004,000	
	Registered nurses	21%	411,000	
	Teachers, special education	59%	241,000	
	Health therapists	56%	236,000	

Education and Training Hours Needed to Move Through to Each Skill Level

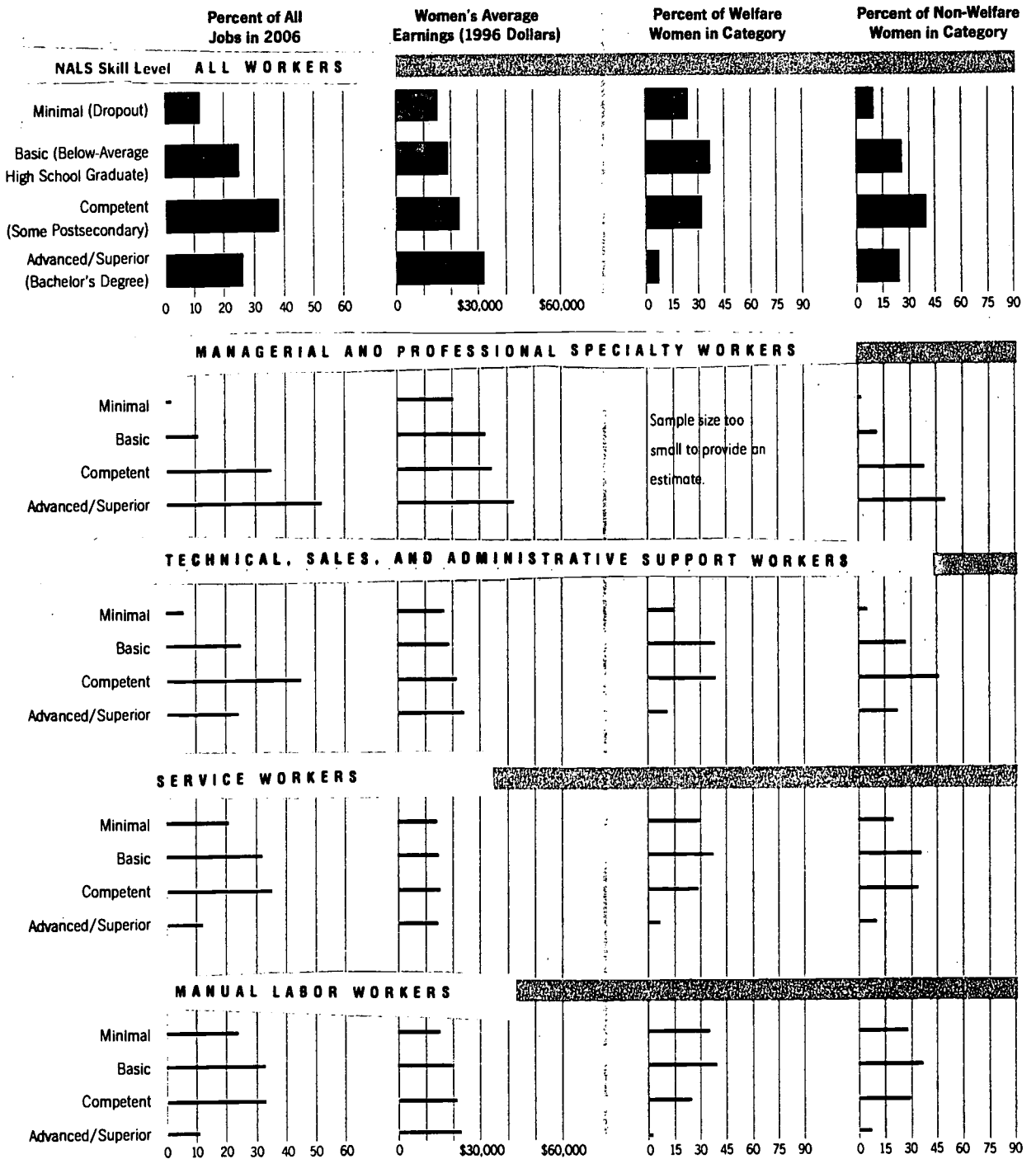


ETS analysis of National Adult Literacy Survey (1992), and Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Projections, 1996-2006.

FIGURE 2

Lower-Skilled Workers Earn Less in Every Occupation

Women age 16-64 with recent work experience; earnings include year-round workers and have been converted to 1996 dollars



ETS analysis of National Adult Literacy Survey (1992) and Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Projections, 1996-2006.

Carnevale and Desrochers found that skill also holds the key to the jobs of the future. According to labor market projections, by 2006, 69 percent of new jobs will employ workers with competent, advanced, or superior skills. In contrast, only 10 percent of new jobs will employ workers with minimal skills.

While many recipients may be able to improve their earnings prospects by finding jobs in higher-paying occupations, solid skills will still be needed to generate the payoff. In every occupation, women with high levels of skill earn more than their lower-skilled co-workers (see Figure 2). Because the skills of welfare recipients are more heavily distributed toward the lower end of the skill range than are those of other workers, without skill improvements many welfare recipients will be positioned to earn less than their co-workers.

Overall, two-thirds of welfare recipients have basic skills or better. For these women, short-term, targeted education and training may hold the key to escaping poverty.

Additional evidence of the important role of education in welfare reform comes from **On the Edge: A Progress Report on Welfare to Work in Los Angeles**, a report by the Los Angeles Economic Roundtable. The study examined the Greater Avenues to Independence (GAIN) welfare-to-work program in Los Angeles County, which is strongly work-focused. Only 12 percent of GAIN participants in Los Angeles pursued education and training activities.

However, the report found that after three years, these participants enjoyed earnings 16 percent higher than those of untrained GAIN workers. The returns on education and training increased over time; earnings among the group with training were 39 percent higher after five years.

Similarly, a 1998 Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation study of Portland, Oregon's Steps to Success welfare-to-work program, **The National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies: Implementation, Participation Patterns, Costs, and Two-Year Impacts of the Portland (Oregon) Welfare-to-Work Program**, found that the program increased welfare recipients' employment and earnings much more sharply than traditional work-first programs. Although Portland's

One report notes that only 12 percent of the participants in a Los Angeles County welfare-to-work program pursued education and training activities. After three years, however, those 12 percent had earnings 16 percent higher than the other participants. And after five years, their earnings were 39 percent higher.

program focuses on employment, it also emphasizes short-term training and finding *good* jobs with opportunities for training and advancement.

Lydia Rogers is one Steps to Success alumna. The mother of three dropped out of school after the seventh grade. For eight years, she cycled on and off welfare. Even after obtaining her GED in 1994, she had little success finding a job. "There was nothing I was qualified for," says Rogers. "I realized that with three girls, and all the things they needed and all the things they were going to need, I had to do something."

When Rogers began her most recent spell on welfare in late 1997, Oregon required her to enter the Steps to Success program. Her 45-day job search turned up nothing, so she took computer classes at Mount Hood Community College while she continued to look for work. She was hired first as a part-time student worker, then moved into a full-time job with the same employer in April 1998. A year later, Rogers' job provided full benefits, and she was off welfare. Last fall, she began taking classes for her associate's degree.

The Time Is Right for States to Act

So far, few states have pursued education-based strategies for either current or former welfare recipients—even though state laws and regulations allow more education and training than recipients are receiving.

Thus far, few states have pursued education-based strategies for either current or former welfare recipients—even though state laws and regulations allow more education and training than recipients are receiving. Of the approximately 700,000 welfare recipients who met the TANF work requirements in fiscal year 1998, only about 63,000—fewer than one in ten—used educational activities to meet the work standards. (An additional 16,000 recipients were under age 20 and still attending high school.)

The reasons for the work-first bias have been both practical and political. In practical terms, PRWORA put strict time limits on assistance and the amount of education that could be counted as allowable work activity. In addition, states felt pressure to meet their work participation rates and rushed to cash in on a booming economy.

The political reasons, however, are even more significant. When Congress passed the Family Support Act of 1988, the electorate was

promised that a significant public investment in education and training would move large numbers of welfare recipients into the workforce. When that investment did not pay off, the public lost patience with the failed welfare system—and confidence in education and training as a strategy for welfare reform.

Now, the policy equation has changed—and states and communities are taking a second look at education and training.

First, the political and administrative pressures on states to put welfare recipients to work have eased. Welfare rolls have dropped so dramatically in many states that caseload reduction credits are decreasing the number of welfare recipients required to work.

All 50 states met the federal government's work participation requirements for all families in FY 1998. And in FY 1999, several states had work participation requirements of zero because their caseloads had fallen to historic lows.

Second, as caseloads drop, states are carrying large TANF surpluses. After the first quarter of 1999, states had access to \$4.2 billion in unobligated TANF funds; one estimate suggests this could balloon to \$24 billion by 2002.

Some of this money could easily be spent on education, particularly under new U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) regulations that define "assistance" as cash or non-cash services to cover basic needs only. With these new rules, HHS has made it possible for states to use TANF funds for a broad range of new activities without triggering work requirements and time limits.

Third, states and colleges are learning how to make education and training work for welfare recipients. New strategies described in this study are making education and training a much more practical and attractive option for welfare recipients than it was a decade ago.

Finally, the political climate has moderated. As large numbers of welfare recipients join the ranks of the working poor, public attitudes are changing. In the view

Today, the policy equation has changed. Welfare rolls have dropped dramatically, funds are available, and new strategies are making education and training a much more practical and attractive option. As a result, states and communities are taking a second look at education and training as a way of permanently moving people out of poverty.

of many of their fellow citizens, these new workers have crossed the line from "undeserving" to "deserving"—a crucial distinction in political terms.

That is why Grantland Johnson, California's secretary of Health and Human Services, is optimistic that the public will support increased investments in education and training. "We're building consensus for strategies that will assist working families to survive and to maintain a decent standard of living in the marketplace. That goal is of vital interest across the board," he says. "And I think that is a prerequisite for political success down the road."

Part 2: One Dozen Ways for States and Colleges to Make Work Pay

As most states enjoy strong economies, unanticipated budgetary windfalls, and new administrative flexibility, some are partnering with their college systems and their business communities to advance the goal of moving former welfare recipients toward self-sufficiency and independence. The key ingredient: funding. These states are making creative use of the flexible rules regarding use of federal TANF block grants, state maintenance-of-effort spending, and federal education grants to help provide education and training for current and former welfare recipients.

A few states also are allowing welfare recipients who need more than two years to complete education and training to do so without running out the clocks on their two-year time limits. And finally, states and educational institutions are learning to accommodate working parents by offering shorter classes and vocational training focused on specific skills needed by local employers.

Some early lessons from the states' experiences, which we discuss in the following pages, are emerging.

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When the state of Michigan began requiring welfare recipients to work 25 hours a week, the business community started contacting legislators. "We told them, 'This program is highly successful, but it's counterproductive to have them working and in school 55 hours a week. They've got homework to do, and most are single parents, and they've got transportation problems.'"

—Larry Healy, Director of Business Partnerships,
Electronic Data Systems—Troy, Michigan

Lesson 1: Aggressively Use Education to Meet Federal Work Requirements

States and colleges must present a unified front when dealing with the federal government in order for their programs to meet federal work requirements. States can count vocational education toward federal work requirements for only one year—but “job-skills training directly related to employment,” “on-the-job training,” and “work experience” can be counted indefinitely.

Example: Training programs designed and administered in conjunction with local employers can count toward federal work requirements for as long as recipients stay on welfare, as long as these programs lead directly to employment.

In some cases, welfare recipients may even complete associate's or bachelor's degrees while meeting the federal work requirements. Wyoming's Department of Family Services persuaded the federal government that its two-year and four-year degree programs for people on welfare qualify as training directly related to employment because students must focus on work-oriented education (*see letter, next page*). As a result, some Wyoming welfare recipients attend college full-time toward the goal of earning degrees, working only in the summers.

Federal work requirements, however, are not the only concern for TANF administrators and college officials. Some states explicitly prohibit full-time education and training. But as the value of these activities becomes clearer, at least one state has reversed course.

Michigan's welfare reform law originally allowed welfare recipients to count only five hours of training toward meeting their 25-hour weekly work requirements. For participants in Oakland Community College's rigorous Advanced Technology Program (ATP), this meant that each week they had to layer 20 hours of work on top of 30 hours of training—while juggling responsibilities for homework and



Donna Shalala, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, agreed that Wyoming's degree programs for people on welfare qualified as training directly related to employment.

States and colleges must present a unified front when dealing with the federal government in order for their programs to meet federal work requirements. States can count vocational education toward federal work requirements for only one year—but “job-skills training directly related to employment,” “on-the-job training,” and “work experience” can be counted indefinitely.

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THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, DC 20201

RECEIVED

DEC 24 1997

DEC 24 1997

The Honorable Jim Geringer
Governor of Wyoming
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82003

Dear Governor Geringer:

Thank you for your letter concerning Wyoming's proposed amendments to its Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) plan. You were concerned about three issues with respect to the proposed amendments. The first related to work activities which included post-secondary education and training (e.g., a first baccalaureate degree or two vocational training programs). The second pertained to counting tribal members in participation calculations. The third concerned hardship for adults living on Native American reservations.

With respect to your first concern, the Department is committed to providing States with maximum flexibility to design and implement welfare reform plans that will be most effective in moving recipients into the work force. You pointed out that Wyoming has submitted a TANF amendment permitting a client to obtain a baccalaureate degree or a vocational education certificate in excess of 12 months as "job skills training directly related to employment" under certain tightly controlled conditions to ensure a work focus.

We agree this is a reasonable interpretation of the provision. Such flexibility and our recently published Notice of Proposed Rulemaking for TANF would allow the States the flexibility to define each of the work activities. Under our proposed rule, States would be permitted to provide us with their definitions. Such definitions, along with other State-reported data on welfare, will be published as part of overall State characteristics. Your amendment will be incorporated into the TANF plan which has already been certified as complete.

With respect to the second and third issues concerning tribal participation calculations and the hardship exemption for adults living on Native American reservations, you pointed out that these matters were successfully resolved through discussions with our ACP National Office staff.



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Excerpt from the December 24, 1997 letter from U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala to Wyoming Governor Jim Geringer:

"[T]he Department is committed to providing states with maximum flexibility to design and implement welfare reform plans that will be most effective in moving recipients into the work force. You pointed out that Wyoming has submitted a TANF amendment permitting a client to obtain a baccalaureate degree or a vocational education certificate in excess of 12 months as 'job skills training directly related to employment' under certain tightly controlled conditions to ensure a work focus.

"We agree this is a reasonable interpretation of the provision. Both PRWORA and our recently published Notice of Proposed Rulemaking of TANF would allow the States the flexibility to define each of the work activities. Under our proposed rule, States would be required to provide us with their definitions. Such definitions, along with other State-reported data we receive, will be published as part of overall State characteristics. Your amendment will be incorporated into the TANF plan which has already been certified as complete."

Page 2 - The Honorable Jim Geringer

I appreciate your thoughtful letter and continued commitment to moving your citizens to self-sufficiency.

Sincerely,

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motherhood. Oakland Community College joined with Electronic Data Systems (EDS), Kelly Services, and other major corporations that employ ATP graduates to push for a legislative change, citing the high job placement and retention rates of program graduates (*see page 60*).

Larry Healy, director of business partnerships for EDS in Troy, Michigan, says that when the state began requiring welfare recipients to work 25 hours a week, the business community started contacting legislators. "We told them, 'This program is highly successful, but it's counterproductive to have them working and in school 55 hours a week. They've got homework to do, and most are single parents, and they've got transportation problems.'"

The business community's bottom line changed the legislature's mind: Michigan's welfare recipients can now meet their work requirements through full-time training for up to six months.

Like many in the business community, Healy's awareness of obstacles that welfare families face has translated into a stronger partnership with local human services agencies. "We know these are transition issues," says Healy. "If someone's not showing up, it's usually not because they're not getting out of bed. It's because they're not getting help with transportation or child care."

"If someone's not showing up, it's usually not because they're not getting out of bed. It's because they're not getting help with transportation or child care."



Shirley Carson ran the Wyoming Department of Family Services from 1995 to late 1999.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

A State Commits to Higher Education: A Conversation with Shirley Carson

Shirley Carson is the former chief executive officer of the Wyoming Department of Family Services. Prior to joining the Department, she served in the Wyoming Department of Administration and Information. She also served twenty years in the United States Air Force, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Wyoming allows recipients with proven work experience to pursue postsecondary education full time for up to six years. To qualify, recipients must undergo an assessment by their caseworker, maintain a C average, and work during the summers.

Q: Wyoming uses postsecondary education more than other states do. How did that happen?

A: The idea came from one of our legislators, who felt that 12 months of technical training may not be sufficient, and that a person with either an associate's degree or a bachelor's degree would have a much better opportunity of obtaining a higher-paying job.

As we progressed through legislation related to the 1996 Act, quite a few of the legislators did come together and put together the program. I believe the intent of our legislators was to give welfare recipients enough incentive and enough support that they did not have to go to school part-time—that their work was to be in school. And that if recipients attended school full-time, there would be more likelihood of them completing a program and completing it within a reasonable time.

Q: What does your program look like?

A: Students must attend college full time. That means carrying a minimum of 12 credit hours, and they must maintain a 2.0 grade point average. I believe that under a 12-hour program it actually takes them about four and a half years until they can graduate.

The other thing that the legislators did was to require that an individual must work during the summer time. And they had to have a number of hours of work experience in order to qualify for this program.

Q: How are you able to count full-time education as meeting the federal work requirements for more than 12 months?

A: Initially that was not a part of the welfare reform act, as you're aware. The act states that no more than 12 months of education will be counted. We did challenge that at a national level. Then we received a letter stating that our educational program would count as work—that in the federal law where it states that a state is to define work, we had done that by defining work as full-time education.

Q: In Wyoming, recipients have up to six years to complete a bachelor's degree, but the five-year lifetime limit on TANF collection still applies. How does that work?

A: Under the welfare law, maintenance-of-effort must be spent first, before federal funding. We are able to sponsor this program beyond the five-year limit by utilizing our own state money as opposed to the federal money. But we've not had an individual go that long yet. We're just into this—just a couple of years now. We're not sure if a person is really going to need six years or not.

Q: What are the education levels of welfare recipients in Wyoming?

A: About one-third of our population is ready to go to work. They've got their high school diploma. They may even have some community college hours or some technical work behind them, cosmetology, welding, or something.

About one-third may not have their high school education and need their GED. While they work on a GED program, we also encourage them to go into a technical program. If they want to progress into a college environment, [we try to determine whether that is] an appropriate goal for them and, if so, what their goal should be in a college environment.

Then we have about one-third who are very hard-to-serve clients, who have disabilities or are caring for a family member who has a severe disability.

Q: How do you decide whether to recommend college to recipients? Do you use testing?

A: That's really a decision between the caseworker, the recipient, and the college. There's quite a bit of talking to the individuals about their desires, their history, and their personal initiative. If the client and the school case manager feel that there needs to be testing, then they do that. It's a team

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effort, and we have very good communication between our local offices, our case managers, and the community colleges.

Q: Where do recipients go to school—is the program focused more on community college or four-year universities?

A: Well, it's really up to the individual. We have seven community colleges throughout the state of Wyoming. We have one four-year, on-campus college, the University of Wyoming. We have several four-year colleges that have a presence in Wyoming. Park College, for example, has a presence at several community colleges. And, of course, we're moving more and more to the virtual university—that helps us because we are such a rural state. Governor Jim Geringer is a very strong supporter of the virtual university, so that individuals can obtain a college education regardless of their ability to travel long distances.

Q: How is the program working so far?

A: We feel that it has been quite successful. In the past, recipients would begin a community college program, maybe stay there for one semester, drop out and either not come back or discover that they were in a program that was beyond their capabilities. Now, an individual gets extensive counseling by both their state caseworker and the college they're enrolled in. They are followed. There's encouragement for individuals to move on with their program.

Many of our programs are just very personal. Part of that is probably our low caseload numbers. We look at the individual. We talk to the local case manager. And I think that's part of the reason why we've been as successful as we have.

Q: A lot of critics would say this might work well in Wyoming, which has a very small caseload. But could the Wyoming model be translated to larger states?

A: I would think that it could be done as a pilot, from the perspective of what might be unique and different in [a larger state]. Our program was, in essence, a pilot, [even if] it was a statewide initiative from the perspective of the legislators.

I think in our case, it has worked. It doesn't work for everyone, but it does work for a few who are highly motivated, who have the internal desire to succeed, and who want to do it through a degree program. I would think that even in a different state, you would see the same thing.

Lesson 2: Cash in on Pell Grants, Work-Study, and Other Student Financial Aid

Education programs for welfare recipients can be subsidized by federal funds that are not TANF-related. In most cases, federal financial aid is not counted as income for the purposes of determining TANF eligibility.

Since 1997, at the urging of the Clinton Administration, states and colleges have been placing welfare recipients in work-study jobs and allowing them to continue their schooling. Pell Grants, Perkins loans, and other federal and state financial aid also are available to welfare recipients who are making satisfactory progress toward an associate's or bachelor's degree. Satisfactory progress is generally interpreted as full-time or part-time college attendance that the college can reasonably expect will lead to a degree.

Alarming—if perhaps not surprisingly—the number of independent welfare recipients who receive Pell Grants has dropped by almost one-third since work-first kicked into high gear. In 1995, 408,000 independent welfare recipients accessed the Pell system, but by 1998 the number had dropped to 290,000—a fall-off of 118,000 recipients.

Unfortunately, many welfare recipients simply don't apply for financial aid. In California alone, 96,000 community college students are poor enough to qualify for welfare, but do not receive federal financial aid, according to a recent investigation by the *Los Angeles Times*. This aid could be key to getting students off welfare and keeping them in degree programs that will ensure their economic well-being.

Diana Spatz's story is all too common (see page 33). When she first tried to attend college in California, no one told her that she could apply for financial aid without losing her welfare benefits. Financial and child-care problems forced her to drop out after one semester. When she returned to college for another try and obtained financial aid, the local welfare office mistakenly reduced her grant.



Unfortunately, many welfare recipients simply don't apply for financial aid—even though that could be the key to getting them off welfare and keeping them in degree programs that will ensure their economic well-being.

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Diana Spatz's story is all too common. No one told her she could apply for a school loan without losing her welfare benefits. Money and child-care problems forced her to drop out after one semester. When she returned for another try and did get aid, the local welfare office mistakenly cut her grant.

Such stories are not unique to California. Lack of information—and misinformation—are serious problems. Frequently, no one tells welfare recipients that they are eligible for financial aid. Or welfare offices mistakenly inform students that financial aid will reduce their welfare grants.

California community college Chancellor Thomas J. Nussbaum is now emphasizing “personal care and handling” for students who might qualify for financial aid. Welfare recipients, who may be entering college after many years away from academic life, are especially likely to need such treatment.

Illinois works actively with students on welfare to take full advantage of federal financial aid, including Pell Grants. “We encourage students to use Pell Grants first, and then the program picks up everything else that they need,” says Beverly Waldrop, director for Welfare-to-Work Programs for the Illinois Community College Board.

Community college tuition averages \$1,518 annually, according to the American Association of Community Colleges. Thus a \$3,000 Pell Grant, which can be used for tuition and education-related expenses, can substantially leverage state support for a welfare recipient who goes to college.

States may want to go one step further: packaging benefits for students to facilitate exiting welfare while they are still in school. Such a package could include Pell Grants, federal work-study positions, state-subsidized tuition assistance, Medicaid, and subsidized housing. It also could include child care, transportation, and case management services funded with state maintenance-of-effort dollars.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

An Education Advocate Is Born

Diana Spatz fought hard to get the education that helped her leave welfare behind. These days, she spends her days fighting to help other welfare mothers win the same opportunity.

Spatz's story begins the same way stories of many women on welfare begin. It includes a series of dead-end jobs, a bad relationship, and a period of near homelessness. Spatz recalls: "I was doing odd jobs, cleaning houses for \$4.75 an hour." After fleeing a violent boyfriend, she had no stable place to live. "In the middle of all this," says Spatz, "I found out I was pregnant. I had no job, no home, no medical coverage." Welfare seemed to be her only choice.

After Spatz gave birth to her daughter, she looked for work, but her search was fruitless because she couldn't afford child care. She tried to enroll in California's GAIN program, which offered job training and placement assistance to welfare recipients, but her caseworker told her that mothers with school-aged children had priority.

Spatz went back to cleaning houses, but soon realized "this wasn't going to cut it. I was taking my daughter with me, and she was getting to the age where she was creating two messes for every mess I cleaned up." Desperate to upgrade her skills, Spatz began attending classes at City College of San Francisco. She assumed that she was ineligible for financial aid, so she paid her own tuition and fees. When her child-care arrangements fell apart, she dropped out after one semester.

By the time Spatz found stable child care, two years had passed. She enrolled in a word processing certificate program. But a school counselor told Spatz that she could do more and urged her to get a college degree. Spatz recalls that conversation well. "She changed my life. Suddenly there was a real future for me and my kid."

College wasn't easy for Spatz. It took her three years to complete her associate's degree, then another three years to complete her bachelor's degree at the University of California at Berkeley. And she had to fight for her education. When she applied for financial



Classes at City College of San Francisco have provided a path to opportunity for many students.

Diana Spatz's story begins the same way those of many women on welfare begin. It includes a series of dead-end jobs, a bad relationship, and a period of near homelessness.

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It is now Spatz's mission to make sure that as many women on welfare go to college as possible. "I was a first-generation college graduate, and my kid is going to follow in my footsteps," she says. "I've broken the cycle of poverty. And I am never going back on welfare, I can promise you that."

aid, her welfare caseworker responded by cutting off her welfare check, even though financial aid does not count as income under California's welfare program. Getting her benefits reinstated took months.

In 1996, Spatz graduated. In her first job after graduation, she made almost \$40,000 a year. Now, Spatz is trying to help other women use education to get off welfare. She runs LIFETimeE, a non-profit that she founded to help welfare mothers go back to school. The organization advises California welfare recipients about their right to meet the work requirements through postsecondary education for two years, as long as they are enrolled in approved, career-oriented programs. LIFETimeE also helps women develop strategies for pursuing four-year degrees after leaving welfare.

It is now Spatz's mission to make sure that as many women on welfare go to college as possible. "I was a first-generation college graduate, and my kid is going to follow in my footsteps," she says. "I've broken the cycle of poverty. And I am never going back on welfare, I can promise you that."



Lesson 3: Use State Funds to Extend Education Beyond 12 Months

A majority of states allow up to 12 months of postsecondary education or training if recipients are enrolled in a program directly related to employment. At least eight states allow welfare recipients to pursue more than 12 months of postsecondary education and training without having to meet other work requirements, according to the Washington, DC-based Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP). States usually fund extended education using their own funds—the maintenance-of-effort dollars they are required to spend to receive the federal TANF block grant.

At least eight states are using TANF or state maintenance-of-effort funds to support welfare recipients who attend school even longer—to pursue four-year degrees or to spend extra time to complete two-year degrees. And a few—like Illinois—allow welfare recipients to attend college full time. Under a program established by former Governor Jim Edgar, Illinois uses state maintenance-of-effort funds to allow welfare recipients to attend two-year and four-year colleges. Because these are state dollars, welfare recipients in the program don't have to adhere to rigid federal time limits on education. In fact, Illinois exempts college students from *state-imposed* time limits for up to three years. To qualify, participants must carry full courseloads while maintaining a 2.5 grade point average.

Other states are offering similar opportunities for welfare recipients. Colorado, for example, uses TANF funds for a tuition voucher program that gives selected welfare recipients an opportunity to attend community or technical colleges. Maine's Parents as Scholars program allows up to 2,000 welfare recipients to attend the state's technical schools or four-year colleges full time without having to work off-campus or worry about time limits.

State maintenance-of-effort funds provide maximum flexibility for college programs because programs funded exclusively with these funds are not subject to federal work requirements and time limits. Wyoming is using state funds to support welfare recipients who have not completed their education by the time their federal five-year lifetime limit on cash assistance expires.

Some states are using TANF or state maintenance-of-effort funds to support welfare recipients who pursue four-year degrees or need extra time to complete two-year degrees.



Kevin Concannon suggests that businesses should be awarded tax credits only when they offer training certified as valid by a state institution.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Creating Flexibility and Incentives in Welfare Reform: A Conversation with Kevin W. Concannon

Kevin W. Concannon has been Maine's commissioner of the Department of Human Services since February 1995. Before coming to Maine, he served as director of the Oregon Department of Human Services for more than seven years. He is a former president of the American Public Human Services Association.

Q: In Maine, you're pulling together all types of post-employment support because welfare recipients are getting jobs, but they're not getting good jobs.

A: They're not getting good jobs, but they're still better off than they were on AFDC. And I personally believe the American people are very supportive of putting more money into either training or child care—if it can be demonstrated to them that those investments produce different outcomes.

And that's another thing that I think may have deterred people from making either the policy or political judgment to go into more beefed-up education and training—the sense that it often doesn't produce enough change for us. It doesn't convert into people whose lives are appreciably better.

Q: In Maine, you're willing to let people go to college to get a four-year degree through the Parents as Scholars Program. What was the thinking behind that?

A: It's a somewhat unique adjunct to our jobs-first strategy. The first thing coming in the door isn't 'Welcome to the SAT.' Our main event is our effort to ask 'What is it going to take to get you into the workforce and be successful?' And we've actually retained some work obligations in our Parents as Scholars program. That helped us sell it; there's no question about that. That helped us persuade people to support us. By the way, we have about 900 heads of households in our Parents as Scholars program at any given time.

Q: Historically, at least a fair share of the education and training money in the employment training system has basically been Pell Grants. To what extent is that strategy open to welfare mothers and why isn't it used more?

A: We use it here. We use the Pell Grant strategy, absolutely. My guess would be that in some states—where Pell Grants haven't been as widely used—it may

reflect the fact that those states haven't focused their resources on helping parents enrolled in higher education.

And some of that underutilization of Pell Grants or just the formal education strategy generally may be in places where they haven't figured out they have to get the child care aligned with it and the transportation aligned with it. That's a big issue in this state—getting people in the rural states to the education centers.

We know one of the major things that we have to attend to here is the child care. But we've aligned child-care prioritization with people on TANF. So, even though we don't have enough child care in the state generally, if you're on TANF, if you're going into training, or if you're leaving TANF for a job, we guarantee it. We'll pay for that child care.

Q: You've worked a lot with employers. What kind of training do employers support?

A: Pre-employment. To be perfectly honest with you, I'm not optimistic that they're going to do much on the post-employment training once workers are in their employment other than what they view they need to satisfy them. The reason I say that is I haven't seen much movement anywhere in the country by employers on the child-care side—even in a full economy.

Q: So, you would say that if we're going to do some post-employment training to get people up from the \$6 an hour job, it's probably going to have to come from the public sector?

A: I'd say so. Or some variation on either tax credits or subsidies. Probably both.

Q: Tax credits for employers?

A: Yes, for training. I think there might be some interest in that.

Q: The tax credit idea always comes up in any discussion about policy because it's sexy. But what if you had a tax credit for employers who provide training that was certified by state certification agencies, so that you would then encourage community colleges and other providers to work with the employer in order to use the money? And the employer would have to work with them.

A: My preference would be state education agencies. I wouldn't want it dependent on either the state human services agency or the state labor

agency. I'd want to pull in some educators to define the outcomes of this education . . . so it isn't just shipping money over. I think what happened with the Welfare-to-Work money that was largely unspent across the country may be the strongest example of that.

Here's millions of dollars lying fallow largely because, in my view, it was more of a provider entitlement than a client entitlement. It was targeted to a very narrow band of the education and training spectrum I think there's a lesson in that not to lock it into a provider entitlement.

Q: How is it a provider entitlement?

A: The Welfare-to-Work law required it to go through just certain providers. It has to go to the Private Industry Councils at a local level. And to me, that's a provider entitlement, that's not a client's entitlement.

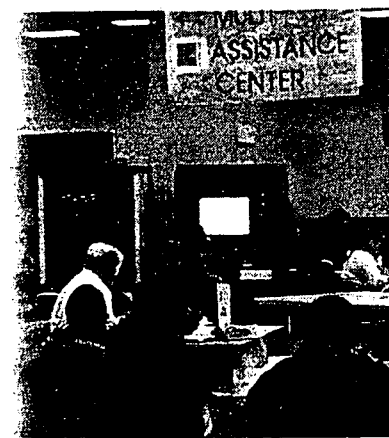
I think that's a mistake, because they're not the strongest players in the whole range of services to these clients. I'd rather say give the states the options. And among those options: maybe the PICs, maybe the community colleges, maybe the adult education programs. Leave the options open to the states, and I think you get a much stronger response not only from the executive branch but from the legislative branch. And you get better value.

Lesson 4: Forge Partnerships Between Welfare Offices and Community Colleges

For most welfare recipients who need to jump-start their education, community colleges are the place to be. They're "more permeable" than four-year colleges, in the words of Kevin W. Concannon, commissioner of the Maine Department of Human Services.

Community colleges generally don't require students to make a long-term commitment—or even to choose a course of study. They're tailor-made for nontraditional students, offering more flexibility and much less pressure. An added bonus for job-seekers: community and technical colleges are increasingly market-driven by the skill needs of local employers.

Some states, including Vermont and Oregon, are aggressively leveraging their community college assets by contracting with them to manage chunks of their welfare-to-work systems. In Oregon, for example, the community colleges actually help administer the welfare program. College staffers test welfare applicants to determine what jobs might be suitable for them, then act as career placement specialists during the recipients' 45-day job searches.



Community colleges are tailor-made for nontraditional students, offering more flexibility and much less pressure.



Thousands of welfare recipients find full-time jobs each year through partnerships between Oregon's community colleges and welfare agencies.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

At the Center of the Welfare System: Oregon's Community Colleges

In Portland and Gresham, Oregon, welfare recipients get the chance to go to college from the first day they walk into the local welfare office. That's because community college staff members are stationed in each office to act as "career placement specialists" for welfare recipients.

Terri Greenfield, divisional dean for industrial technology at Mount Hood Community College, explains that Oregon's Department of Human Resources is divided into districts, with TANF funding allocated by district. In the greater Portland area, the state awarded the Mount Hood and Portland Community Colleges a contract to help administer employment and training programs for welfare recipients.

The college staffers at the welfare offices test welfare recipients to help determine which jobs they might be suited for as they begin the state-required 45-day job search. "Unless their literacy levels are really low, or high enough to finish soon, they usually do the 45-day work search first," says Greenfield.

If welfare recipients don't find work during the job-search period, or if college staffers determine that they can benefit from education right away, they are referred to the adult training centers at Mount Hood Community College or Portland Community College. There, they undergo more testing and career counseling to help them determine what skills they need to build careers. The college also employs job development specialists, alcohol and drug specialists, job retention specialists, and teen parent specialists.

Once welfare recipients choose a field of study—including electronics, landscaping, specialized customer service, medical assistant, paralegal, and carpentry—they attend classes and job-search workshops at the college for 40 hours each week. All of this work counts toward meeting Oregon's work requirements, so welfare recipients don't have to juggle training with part-time jobs.

Throughout the program, students are encouraged to continue looking for work. To help students graduate and begin work quickly, train-

In Portland and Gresham, Oregon, community college staff members are stationed in each welfare office to act as "career placement specialists" for welfare recipients.

ing modules have been condensed into six- or eight-week segments. Students also participate in job-search support groups every morning.

The college also focuses on teaching students the soft skills they need for employment. In the Steptronics program, students who complete a six-week course are guaranteed entry-level electronics jobs. "About 60 percent of the training focuses on the soft skills of how to work in a corporate environment," Greenfield says.

The Portland program differs from many other college programs for welfare recipients because the school works with an array of recipients, not only those who have some education and skills. By the time recipients enter the college's training programs, most have been unable to find jobs for 45 days. For those not ready for employment and training programs, the colleges offer GED and English-as-a-Second-Language courses.

But even with these harder-to-place recipients, Portland Community College is experiencing unexpected success. The reason? There are three reasons, says Greenfield: "The Department of Labor Welfare-to-Work money, the fact that rolls have dropped and we have a lot more money per client, and the successful economy." With these supportive factors in place, 6,000 welfare recipients find full-time jobs each year through the program.

Now, Mount Hood and Portland Community Colleges are looking ahead to the next step—career advancement. Recipients who complete their GEDs receive tuition waivers so that they can pursue 16 units of postsecondary education free of charge. And the college is working with the welfare agency to offer career improvement classes, such as computer training, for recipients and former recipients who are already working.

L Lydia Rogers, a junior high dropout, cycled on and off welfare for years. "There was nothing I was qualified for," she said. "With three girls, and all the things they needed and were going to need, I had to do something." After an unsuccessful 45-day job search in 1997, she began computer classes at Mount Hood Community College. Two years later, her job provides full benefits, she is off welfare, and she is working toward an associate's degree.

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Lesson 5: Use Comprehensive, Cooperative Assessment



Community colleges, job search counselors, and caseworkers are discovering the versatility of standardized tests and other evaluations for the first stages of assistance. In addition to assessing skill levels for education and training placement, a number of tests can evaluate “soft skills”—elements of employability—to be used by job counselors.

Community colleges in Portland, Oregon, and Kansas City, Missouri, work with corporate sponsors to design tests for specific training programs, then feed the results back to caseworkers, who use the data to better address their clients' needs. Arkansas and Texas require assessment tests for all welfare recipients.

Commonly used tests include those developed by the Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS), including the Basic Adult Skills Inventory System (BASIS); the ACT WorkKeys assessment; and the CTB/McGraw-Hill Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE).

In addition to assessing skill levels for education and training placement, standardized tests and other evaluations can measure “soft skills”—elements of employability—to be used by job counselors.



Programs like the one at Metropolitan Community Colleges prepare participants to enter the telephone customer service business.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Taking the Quick Path to Employment: Metropolitan Community Colleges, Kansas City, Missouri

Kansas City, Missouri's Call Center Training Program is what John Ream, its director, calls a "competency-based and employer-driven partnership." The six-week program also is a quick way to prepare participants for higher-paying jobs in the telephone customer service business. The program offers 180 hours of instruction time—close to the 200 hours that *Getting Down to Business* estimates can significantly increase the skill levels and earnings of most welfare recipients.

At Metropolitan Community Colleges, the screening process is essential to securing employer commitments to hire program graduates. If students successfully complete the program, local employers guarantee them full-time jobs between \$8 and \$11 an hour, plus benefits.

Metropolitan Community Colleges began its program after the colleges' Business and Technology Center collaborated with major call center companies in Kansas City on an employer needs assessment. The assessment revealed that there were 40,000 telephone customer service jobs in the Kansas City area, with 350 job openings every month.

The Business and Technology Center then worked with call center employers to design the curriculum and find funding. In 1997, Metropolitan started up its program with funds from the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation and equipment donations from major corporations with call centers in Kansas City, including Citibank, Sprint, Gateway, AT&T, and Lucent Technologies.

Two years later, the program has placed nearly 400 graduates in more than 20 area call centers (although not all graduates are welfare recipients). About 90 percent of students who enroll complete the program; 84 percent of graduates find jobs; and 84 percent of those placed remain with their new employers for at least three months.

The program selects students through a rigorous application process; only about 40 percent of applicants are admitted. John Ream acknowledges that this means some classes go unfilled. However, he says the screening process is essential to securing employer commitments to hire program graduates. If students successfully complete the program, local employers guarantee them full-time jobs between \$8 and \$11 an hour, plus benefits.

Students who enter the program learn more than the basics of word processing and office work. They also learn about the skills essential for getting and keeping jobs. "They taught me listening skills, how to dress professionally, how to talk professionally," says Debra Miller, who graduated in November, 1998 (see page 68). "They taught me how to talk to customers—and not to take things personally."

Program counselors also help students learn how to identify jobs that offer benefits and continuing education. Miller found one of those jobs. She now earns over \$9 an hour, plus full benefits, in her job as a program assistant at the Metropolitan Community Colleges. Within three months of getting her job, she had left welfare.

The Missouri welfare program, FUTURES, pays students' \$1,600 tuition. Students also receive assistance with child care and transportation, and they are able to count time in class toward meeting their work requirements under welfare reform. Because the program does not grant a degree, however, students are ineligible for Pell Grants.

For Debra Miller, the Call Center Training Program led to a new career path. "The jobs I had before—well, you didn't need a whole lot of brains to do them," she says. "They didn't require me to do anything but sit there. In this job, I build classes, enroll students, do the invoicing and billing, play hostess, meet a lot of different people. For me, it's very challenging. It's a fast-paced job, which I love."

Word has spread about the success of graduates like Miller. Kansas City Metropolitan Community Colleges is now replicating the Call Center Training Program in another Missouri community college as well as a vocational school in the state.

For Debra Miller, who ended up on welfare when her ex-husband stopped making child-support payments, the Call Center Training Program opened the door to a new career path. "The jobs I had before—well, you didn't need a whole lot of brains to do them," she says. "In this job, I build classes, enroll students, do the invoicing and billing, play hostess, meet a lot of different people. For me, it's very challenging. It's a fast-paced job, which I love."



At John Wood Community College, Christina Evans frequently works with the welfare department to resolve students' problems.

Lesson 6: Identify and Support Welfare Recipients Who Are Already in School

As many as two-thirds of community colleges don't identify students who receive public assistance, according to a recent survey by the American Association of Community Colleges.

John Wood Community College in Quincy, Illinois, is typical: because of privacy considerations, the college does not ask students whether they receive any public assistance, and only 65 of the school's 2,000 students self-identify as welfare recipients. Career Services Director Christina Evans is sure there are many more, but only these 65 take advantage of extra support services that help them stay in school.

Welfare departments and community colleges need to work through important—but manageable—privacy issues to determine how many welfare recipients are already attending school, and how the welfare system can enable them to finish their programs while fulfilling work and other welfare requirements. Identifying students on welfare also will help colleges make sure that they are taking full advantage of federal financial aid programs.

As many as two-thirds of community colleges don't identify students who receive public assistance—which means that students miss out on supportive services, and colleges miss out on revenues to pay for them.



LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Education as a Fresh Start

Tanya Jackson, a teenage mother, escaped welfare through a secretarial certificate program offered by a vocational school on the campus of Tallahassee Community College.

Tanya Jackson knows all too well about dead-end jobs. For nearly a decade, she cycled between jobs that didn't pay enough to support her children and the welfare system. In 1996, determined to get off of welfare permanently, she went back to college. A year later, Jackson got the first good job of her life. And she is hopeful that there will be more good jobs in her future.

Jackson, a teenage mother, ended up on welfare for the first time in the late 1980s after a difficult marriage ended. For a while, she attended community college in the hopes of getting a nursing degree to better support her three sons. In 1991, Jackson left school and got a full-time job in a nursing home in Tallahassee. She earned only \$4.90 an hour, equivalent to an annual salary of about \$9,000.

Tanya Jackson began a secretarial program in 1996, just as PRWORA became law. The welfare department began pressuring her to leave school and find a job. "I didn't have enough qualifications to find a job that would get me off welfare," Jackson said, "and minimum wage jobs are just a dead end. I wanted to get off welfare, permanently."

At the age of 34, she became pregnant again. When her boyfriend found out, he left her, and the family lost more than half its income. When Jackson started having complications with the pregnancy and was forced to leave her job, she returned to welfare.

When her daughter turned two, Jackson wanted to go back to school. In those pre-welfare reform days, however, her caseworker discouraged her. "My worker said, 'Why go?'" Jackson recalled. "She said, 'You're getting your housing taken care of, you're getting food stamps. Stay at home.'"

One year later, Jackson was still determined to return to school. Her experience in the nursing home, however, had convinced her that nursing was not the right career for her. Luckily, Jackson had attended high school in Tallahassee, and she remembered the Lively Technology Center, a vocational school located on the campus of Tallahassee Community College. She decided to attend the secretarial certificate program at Lively, figuring that it would give her marketable skills in a short time. The local Job Training Partnership Act program paid tuition for a courseload that included word processing and other computer skills, shorthand, business English, and consumer law.

Jackson started school in August 1996—the same month that PRWORA was signed into law. By October, the same welfare department that

urged her to stay home just a year before was pressuring her to leave school and find a job. "They had me going to job search, and I knew it was a waste of time," Jackson said. "I didn't have enough qualifications to find a job that would get me off welfare, and minimum wage jobs are just a dead end. I wanted to get off welfare, permanently."

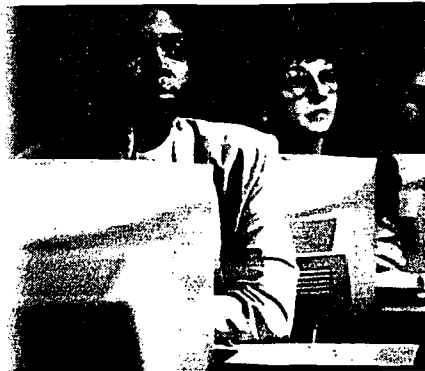
To meet welfare reform's work requirements, Jackson completed her mandatory job search and found a part-time job. She continued part-time at Lively, frustrated at her slower progress. But she got a new caseworker who shared her frustration. "My worker was great," she says. "He pushed for my education. He could see that I wasn't going to slack off."

Jackson spent a difficult year juggling work, school, homework, and four children. In July 1997, she got a break. A Lively alumna working at the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice was looking for a new secretary. Jackson failed her first typing test because of nerves but passed her second and ultimately got the job.

Two years ago, Jackson left welfare for a full-time job with benefits. She has worked for the state ever since, and now plans to seek additional training—a goal that her supervisor at the Florida Department of Children and Families strongly supports. "I want to learn network support systems and programming," says Jackson. And she may not stop there. "I have it in the back of my mind to go back to college."

Two years ago, Jackson left welfare for a full-time job with benefits. She has worked for the state ever since, and now plans to seek additional training in network support systems and programming. And she may not stop there. "I have it in the back of my mind to go back to college."

Lesson 7: Encourage Concurrent Education and Work



For welfare recipients with minimal skills, or in states where education doesn't count toward the work requirements, the best approach may be to combine work experience with targeted education and training. In Maryland and Iowa, where welfare recipients work part- or full-time, many community colleges maintain flexible schedules with evening and Saturday courses. Although Oregon requires all welfare recipients to participate in job-search activities immediately, recipients also can enroll immediately in education and training activities.

There's one big problem with concurrent work and education. For single parents, combining work, school, and child rearing is an ambitious undertaking. In California, for example, college students on welfare also have to work at least 26 hours a week. Many have either reduced their courseloads as a result, or dropped out of school entirely.

To guard against burnout, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Kentucky have set guidelines—even limitations—on the number of hours student recipients may spend working outside of the classroom.

For single parents, combining work, school, and child rearing is an ambitious undertaking. To guard against burnout, some states have set limits on the number of hours student recipients may work.



LESSONS IN PRACTICE

From Accidental Student to Ph.D. Candidate

Brenda Rogers went from welfare to community college to a four-year university to a Ph.D. program.

Brenda Rogers, who is working toward a Ph.D. at the University of California at Irvine, makes \$13,500 a year as a teaching assistant. That's not a lot of money; she and her son are still poor enough to qualify for some types of public assistance. But for Rogers, who spent eight years on welfare, it's an important step on the path to self-sufficiency—and a chance to be the kind of mother she wants to be.

For Brenda Rogers, life changed when she became pregnant at the age of 21. She enrolled at a local community college primarily for the child care. She also took part in the Extended Opportunity Programs and Services, a state program that helps disadvantaged students stay in college.

Rogers' life history would seem to make her an unlikely scholar. She began smoking marijuana at 13 and drinking at 14. At age 16, she dropped out of school. Over the next five years, she held 10 different jobs, never making more than \$10 an hour. When she was 21, while working as a telephone operator in Orange County, California, she became pregnant.

"I had the baby. I straightened up my life," she remembers. "I quit smoking, drinking, pot, and speed." And she applied for welfare. "I didn't know what else to do. It was the first time I'd been sober since I was 13, and I was 22 years old."

For one year, Rogers stayed home with her infant son. Then she began to worry about the future. Comparing herself to her parents, she realized, "They had a house at least. They had a car. They provided basic things for me, and I couldn't do that for my son . . . I had nothing to offer him." She went to her local GAIN office to ask for job training, but the office had adopted an exclusively work-first approach to welfare, and Rogers didn't see the point of taking another low-wage job.

Soon afterward, Rogers learned that a friend had enrolled her child in a subsidized child-care program at a local community college. When Rogers asked how she could get subsidized care for her son, she was told that only students were eligible. So she enrolled at the college. "I didn't know what I was going to do there," she says. "I really did go for the child care. I didn't know I could do school because I'd failed all my life. In first grade, second grade, third grade, fourth grade, I wasn't passing."

Nevertheless, Rogers attended classes faithfully, afraid that if she skipped school she would lose her child care. In her first class, Rogers earned an A—her

first ever. She applied for financial aid and was stunned to receive a check for \$1,200. She also took part in the Extended Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS), a state program that helps disadvantaged students stay in college.

It was Rogers' EOPS counselor who first encouraged her to attend a four-year college. "I never would have transferred if my EOPS counselor hadn't told me I could," she says. "The truth is, I thought it was a mistake. I'm a loser, I'm a single mother, I'm alone with a kid."

Rogers proved herself wrong. In 1998, she graduated from the University of California at Irvine with a degree in criminology and was accepted to the university's Ph.D. program in sociology. That acceptance brought with it her teaching assistant position. The job is essential for Rogers because last year, the state cut her off welfare for failing to meet the work requirements. Rogers was only six months away from graduating at the time, and taking a 26-hour a week job would have meant dropping out of school.

Rogers is glad to be off welfare, but she still struggles to make ends meet. "I have HUD Section 8, and my son gets Medi-Cal. I have no health insurance. If I didn't have subsidies, I'd be desperately poor. I'm in debt up to my ears." She also fights constantly to find a balance between work, school, and motherhood. "It's hard. It's hard to do the reading [for my classes] fast enough and handle domestic responsibilities and the teaching assistant position. There's no concession for the fact I'm living in poverty. I'm a single mom with no extended family."

In 1998, six months short of graduating from UC-Irvine, Rogers was cut off welfare for failing to meet work requirements. Taking a 26-hour a week job, however, would have meant dropping out of school. Fortunately, Rogers was accepted to the Ph.D. program, which brought a teaching assistant position that allowed her to finish her degree.

Lesson 8: Redesign Classes for Working Parents



To accommodate the needs of working parents more fully, states also can encourage community colleges to condense their classes for welfare recipients into shorter blocks of full-time attendance. Shorter instruction times not only enable states to move clients into employment faster, but they also help recipients meet work requirements and complete their studies before benefits expire.

Both Oregon and Washington state have done just that. Oregon welfare officials sat down with community college administrators to explain the time constraints on welfare recipients, asking the schools to design courses that would not be interrupted by lengthy summer vacations or long holiday breaks.

Washington state's community and technical colleges have developed two-month training courses to help welfare recipients break down their education into modules that are easier to complete. Moraine Technical College in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, now offers 10 to 12 week courses in child care, basic office skills, and hospitality/housekeeping.

John Wood Community College runs two six-week job-training programs—in welding and in institutional housekeeping and food services. The college partners with local employers to help welfare recipients who get certified find full-time jobs with benefits. And to make it easier for welfare recipients who need to fulfill work requirements, John Wood schedules classes for the job-training programs on nights and weekends.

To accommodate the needs of working parents more fully, states can also encourage community colleges to condense their classes for welfare recipients into shorter blocks of full-time attendance, to schedule classes nights and weekends, and to assist with job placement.



LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Trying to Break the Welfare Cycle

Pamela Butler made it through community college with a patchwork of part-time work, financial aid, and occasional public assistance.

To provide for her family, Pamela Butler is back on the welfare rolls—for now. But with her associate's degree already in hand, the honor student is determined to earn a bachelor's degree—and leave welfare for good.

Butler first began collecting welfare 14 years ago, as a teenage mother. Public assistance enabled her to finish high school, take a few community college courses, and land a job as a community health outreach worker. "I've been a jack of all trades in the health-care field," Butler says. She's done everything from clinic intake and pregnancy tests to serving as a substance abuse counselor and a peer counselor to teen parents.

But without a postsecondary degree, Butler's jobs were low-paying and unstable. During the difficult periods between jobs, she sometimes had to return to welfare. Even when she got a job working for a child-development program, Butler was one of the lowest-paid employees. Her colleagues—many of whom had advanced degrees—urged her to go back to school. But Butler needed to earn money to support her two children.

When the funding for the child-development program was cut, Butler found herself out of a job once more. She tried selling life insurance, but couldn't make a living at it. Then it struck her: "To make the money I want to make, the only way short of winning the lottery is to get a degree."

Butler made it through community college with a patchwork of part-time work, financial aid, and occasional public assistance.

Earlier this year she began studying for a bachelor's degree at California State University at Hayward. But to take a full courseload and finish her degree in two years, Butler had to make a difficult decision: She decided to go back on welfare.

And it hasn't been easy. CalWORKS, the state's welfare program, is balking at approving her counseling major even though Butler's previous work history demonstrates that she could obtain a much higher-paying job with a bache-

Without a postsecondary degree, Pamela Butler's jobs were low-paying and unstable. Her colleagues—many of whom had advanced degrees—urged her to go back to school. But Butler needed to make money to support her two children.

lor's degree in counseling. "Sometimes they get so caught up in the paperwork that they forget the goal of the system," Butler says.

She also feels that the state's 32-hour weekly work requirement is too much for full-time students. Her caseworker wants her to work part-time, even though Butler is taking more than a full course load—up to six classes each semester. "Doing that and working is not realistic," she says.

So Butler is already looking for ways to leave welfare. She has applied for a job as a Head Start production manager. The job would slow her academic progress, but she is determined to complete her bachelor's degree. She wants to set that example for her children, especially for her daughter, a 14-year-old who—like her mother—is an honor student.

"With the welfare system, it's a cycle," Butler says. "It's something that starts with the grandmother, then it's the mother, then it's the daughter. My children realize how important a college education is."

“With the welfare system, it's a cycle,” Butler says. “It's something that starts with the grandmother, then it's the mother, then it's the daughter. My children realize how important a college education is.”

Lesson 9: Offer Students the Support They Need to Stay in School



Too often, welfare recipients fail in postsecondary education because they can't find child care during classroom and study hours, or because they can't find transportation to school. Successful education and training programs for people on welfare help recipients solve these problems.

Elaine Gomez, a teenage runaway who became a single mother at the age of 17, is one former welfare recipient who got the support she needed to earn an associate's degree. Gomez, now 23, completed high school with the help of a teen parent program. She then enrolled at Rio Hondo Community College and credits her peer advisor at the teen parent program with getting her through. "She picked me up from school," says Gomez. "She even gave me a job. I've said to her, 'I owe my life to you.' If not for her, I don't know if I would have gone to college."

Many colleges nationwide now offer on-site child care or babysitting cooperatives. Legislatures in Wyoming and other states have boosted child-care support in their welfare programs. Shirley Carson (*see page 28*) says Wyoming's reason was quite practical: to allow student mothers to spend more time studying before having to pick up their children.

Many colleges provide bus service or subsidized transportation to their campuses. And in rural areas, a few colleges even help welfare recipients purchase cars—an allowable expenditure of state funds under federal TANF rules. In Michigan, Oakland Community College's Advanced Technology Program buys bus passes to help participants get to school. If no public transportation is available, the ATP helps buy students cars.

At John Wood Community College, Christina Evans frequently works with the welfare department to resolve students' problems. "If someone needs child care," she says, "we get together on the phone: 'I can pay \$7 a day. It costs the mother this much. How much can you pay?'" Evans has even raised money to help students pay off past-due utility bills so they can have heat and hot water during finals.

Many colleges nationwide now offer on-site child care or babysitting cooperatives, and provide bus service or subsidized transportation to their campuses.



Larry Healy, director of business partnerships for Electronic Data Systems in Troy, Michigan, has forged strong partnerships with community colleges and local human services agencies.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Partnering with the Private Sector: Oakland Community College, Pontiac, Michigan

The Oakland Community College Advanced Technology Program was the brainchild of a state senator who also happens to be a professional headhunter.

When Senator Hubert Price noticed a shortage of qualified information technology workers in the area around Pontiac, he saw the potential for a connection between employers who needed qualified personnel and welfare recipients who desperately needed jobs.

The senator, says ATP Program Manager Sharon Miller, thought there must be a way to train workers, and he asked the college to propose it. Miller says that

Price essentially "dared" the college to prove that such an idea could work. With \$100,000 in seed money from Michigan's Family Independence Agency to launch the program, Oakland Community College rose to the challenge.

Four years later, the ATP is an education and training success story. The 20-week, full-time course has trained 200 welfare recipients for careers in information technology. The course has an 89 percent completion rate and 94 percent of graduates have found jobs.

The jobs that graduates find are high-skilled and relatively high-paying, with guaranteed starting salaries of \$20,000 annually, plus full benefits and opportunities for advancement. An impressive 67 percent of graduates have remained with the same employers for at least three years—a sharp contrast to the low job-retention rates of welfare recipients in other fields.

What are the secrets of the ATP's success? First, the program recruits students carefully, selecting only those who are likely to succeed. "Recruitment is the hardest part," says Miller. "If you can fill a class and convince the people it's going to work, then it's a sure success."

In the program's first year, the staff found recruits by combing through the welfare rolls, sending out mass mailings, and weeding out unsuitable appli-

In four years, the 20-week, full-time Advanced Technology Program has trained 200 welfare recipients for careers in information technology. The course has an 89 percent completion rate and 94 percent of graduates have found high-skilled and relatively high-paying jobs.

cants through interviews and testing. Successful applicants must be able to read at the 10th grade level.

Second, the ATP works closely with employers to ensure that students are learning the specific skills they need for the jobs that are available in the community. Miller says "The corporations are what make the program work." The program's staff works with companies to create lists of "competencies" needed for particular job openings, then tailors a curriculum that includes technical as well as life-skills training.

Third, the ATP makes sure that students get the support they need to stay in school. The state's Family Independence Agency pays for child care, while the ATP buys bus passes so that participants can get to school. If no public transportation is available, the ATP can help buy students cars.

And with funds donated by a local law firm, the ATP even handles legal problems that could be impediments to graduation and successful employment—everything from unpaid traffic tickets to divorce actions to eviction appeals to bail postings.

Finally, the ATP invests in the future success of its graduates. The program gives each graduate \$500 to purchase a professional wardrobe, and—with funding from the United Way—opens Individual Development Accounts that match every dollar students save. The ATP does not offer formal retention services because graduates are paired with workplace mentors.

Cherie Taylor-LeRoy says that the ATP changed her life. Although she had an associate's degree in marketing, LeRoy found herself jobless and homeless when her then-husband began having severe personal problems. She ended up on welfare in a transitional housing facility, where a counselor steered her to the ATP.

The program challenged her so much that she frequently thought about quitting. "All of a sudden, I was learning COBOL, word processing, Excel, Access—you might as well have been teaching me Russian," she recalls. Her study groups sometimes met until 2 a.m. But she stuck with it. "It felt weird going back to school, but it was the only way not just to support myself and my son, but to create a life."

What are the secrets of the Advanced Technology Program's success? Careful recruitment of students, training tailored to locally available jobs, giving students the support they need to stay in school, and investing in their future success through Individual Development Accounts.

Today LeRoy has a full-time job with Electronic Data Systems in Troy, Michigan. She already has rotated through three assignments with the company, and each one has taught her something different and valuable. Most importantly, EDS will pay for additional education and training, and offers her generous health benefits. When she needed surgery this summer, LeRoy was thrilled to learn not only that the operation was covered by insurance, but also that her job would be waiting for her when she recovered.

Cherie Taylor-LeRoy says that the ATP changed her life. Although she had an associate's degree in marketing, LeRoy found herself jobless and homeless when her then-husband began to have serious personal problems. She ended up on welfare in a transitional housing facility, where a counselor steered her to the ATP. Today LeRoy has a full-time job with Electronic Data Systems.

ATP's comprehensive approach to postsecondary training is not cheap. The program has a \$200,000 annual budget, and also receives about \$5,000 in donations for students' emergency needs. Most funding comes from the Family Independence Agency, but the local Workforce Development Board, Oakland Community College, the local transit authority, and a number of non-profits also contribute.

Sharon Miller notes that one of the program's greatest challenges has been Michigan's strict work requirement. When Michigan implemented welfare reform, the ATP's recruiting tasks became more difficult. New state regulations required all welfare recipients to work *before* they could enroll in training programs.

Moreover, training did not count as meeting the work requirements, so participants had to work 20 hours a week in addition to attending classes 30 hours a week. This policy, combined with a dramatic drop in welfare caseloads, left the ATP scrambling for students.

"It's hard for students to work and learn at the same time," Miller points out. The state legislature recently amended its welfare law to allow welfare recipients to meet their work requirement through full-time job training courses for up to six months.

And Miller says the Family Independence Agency is becoming more "patient and farsighted" about the need for education and training.

That farsightedness is paying off. The Family Independence Agency recently allocated \$4 million to take the ATP model statewide. Five other Michigan counties are now replicating the ATP model.

Lesson 10: Send Former Recipients Back to School Too



Some states are providing support, such as child-care and transportation assistance, to former recipients in postsecondary education or training. Others are subsidizing higher education or advanced training for former welfare recipients.

Utah's program is among the most generous. The state helps those who have left the welfare rolls for work by subsidizing up to two years of education and training and continuing to provide food stamps and Medicaid for the same time period. Former recipients also keep their child-care subsidies for as long as they are needed, with no time limits.

Some states help with
child care and transportation
to enable former welfare
recipients to attend school.



LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Nine Months Change a Teen Mother's Life

"What I make barely covers everything, but it feels so good to pay my own bills," Tara Vargas says. She plans to continue her education so that she can become a legal secretary or paralegal.

Tara Vargas is struggling to create a stable life for her young daughter, Tanisha. She is high school dropout with no family support. But Vargas thinks she and her daughter are going to be just fine.

Why? Because Vargas got a chance to go back to school and she grabbed it. Now, after a nine-month office assistant training program at a community college, she's got a job that she likes and an apartment of her own.

Vargas grew up in New Hampshire in a family where neither of her parents had finished high school. She got pregnant when she was 14 and dropped out of school after her daughter was born. "I wanted to finish high school so bad," she remembers now. "I wasn't trying to work in a supermarket the rest of my life. I loved high school. It was just too much at the time." She began working as a hotel maid—a job with no health insurance and no benefits.

After moving out of her parents' home, she had no stable place to live. "I was going from one friend's place to another. I wasn't paying rent. All my money was for my daughter and food for us."

With the help of a residential program for teenage mothers and a nine-month office assistant training program at a community college, Tara Vargas—a high school dropout and single mother with no family support—has begun to build a stable life.

With no support from her baby's father or her parents, Vargas moved in with her grandmother on Massachusetts' Cape Cod. "I got on welfare because she was on SSI and couldn't afford to fend for us." In Massachusetts, Vargas tried to get her life back on track. She got along well with her welfare caseworker, and obtained her GED.

But when her grandmother died, Vargas found herself homeless again. She moved in with an aunt, then returned to friends in New Hampshire, but her living situation remained highly unstable, and she despaired of ever leaving welfare. So she contacted her Massachusetts caseworker, who told her about Visions, a residential program for teenage mothers on Cape Cod that is funded by the state welfare department. She moved to Visions in 1998.

The Visions program staff helped Vargas enroll in a nine-month office assistant training program at Cape Cod Community College, where she

learned computer and business communications skills. In a town with no public transportation, Visions staff members drove her to class.

In April 1999, Vargas earned a certificate from the office assistant program and got a full-time job with benefits as a receptionist at a local housing authority. "I love it," she says of her job. "I'm always on my feet, always on the go." With Visions' help, Tara also obtained a Section 8 housing voucher, enabling her to move into her own apartment. And though she still receives housing and child-care subsidies, she is now off the welfare rolls.

"What I make barely covers everything, but it feels so good to pay my own bills," Vargas says. She plans to continue her education so that she can become a legal secretary or paralegal. And she has no intention of having another baby any time soon. "I'm not crazy!" she laughs.

In April 1999, Vargas

earned a certificate from the

office assistant program, got

a full-time job with benefits

as a receptionist at a local

housing authority, and moved

into her own apartment. She

is now off the welfare rolls.

Lesson 11: Expand Private-Sector Partnerships



Community and technical colleges should continue and expand their long tradition of responsiveness to market trends and the needs of local employers. By building close ties with the business community, colleges can identify new jobs and provide tangible incentives for welfare recipients to enroll in their programs.

In Quincy, Illinois, career counselors from John Wood Community College meet every two weeks with welfare caseworkers and the Private Industry Council (PIC), building strong links among the education, welfare, and work-force development systems.

The Metropolitan Community Colleges in Kansas City, Missouri, also built close ties with the private sector to promote self-sufficiency for welfare recipients (*see page 44*). When the colleges' Business and Technology Center surveyed Kansas City businesses in 1996, they found 40,000 telephone service jobs in the region—and more than 300 job openings every month. This information spurred the community colleges to launch a 180-hour, six-week Call Center Training Program, using equipment donations from potential employers and tuition subsidies from federal TANF funds.

Three years later, the program boasts completion, placement, and job retention rates of nearly 90 percent. And, because the program is classified as short-term skills training, the state allows welfare recipients to meet their work requirements by enrolling.

Debra Miller (*see next page*) enrolled when she had been out of school for nearly 20 years. In six weeks, the Call Center Training Program taught her word processing skills along with communication and the interpersonal skills that are essential for getting along in the workplace. She now has a full-time job with benefits, and she has left welfare.

New graduates of a nursing program for previously homeless, poor, or underemployed people celebrate. The training program is administered by New Community Corporation, which partners with Bloomfield College and tailors its training to the needs of Newark Beth Israel Hospital.

By building close ties with the business community, colleges can identify new jobs and provide tangible incentives for welfare recipients to enroll in their programs.

Short-Term Training Leads to Long-Term Payoff



Debra Miller credits her ability to leave welfare to a partnership between a support program for welfare recipients and a community college.

Debra Miller is trying to ensure a stable future for her family. And with the new skills and confidence she gained from a six-week training course in telephone customer service, she hopes that this time, she has left the welfare system for good.

Like many other women, Miller ended up on public assistance when her child-support payments stopped. Though she had completed high school, Miller could find only low-wage, part-time jobs—carpet cleaning, babysitting, service jobs. None paid enough to help her leave welfare.

Debra Miller describes the Liberty Housing Authority program as “amazing.” After completing the program, Miller found a full-time job and, within three months, was completely off welfare.

In 1997, to meet welfare reform’s work requirement, Miller found a part-time job, earning \$6 an hour with no benefits. After four years on the rolls, she knew that things had to change. “I had to provide a better living for my family. I couldn’t survive on the money.” So in July of 1998, she recalls, “I just said, ‘I’m done. I’m going back to school.’”

Miller was lucky. She was enrolled in a Liberty Housing Authority program that helps women on welfare pay their rent, upgrade their skills, and establish savings accounts. Liberty Housing encouraged her to go back to school and pointed her toward a six-week customer service training program at the Kansas City, Missouri Metropolitan Community Colleges (see page 44).

Miller describes the program as “amazing. When I think of my attitude going in—I was insecure, I had low self-esteem. I was 36 years old and hadn’t been back to school since high school.” After completing the program, Miller found a full-time job as a program assistant at the Metropolitan Community Colleges.

Miller has been working for nearly nine months. “Within three months, I was completely and totally off welfare,” she says. The 180 hours she spent in the Call Center Training Program have boosted her annual earnings to more than \$19,000, with good benefits and opportunities for advancement. Liberty Housing still subsidizes her rent, but cash assistance, Medicaid, and food stamps are now only unpleasant memories.

Lesson 12: Give Tax Credits to Employers Who (Really) Train

Tax credits for employers who train welfare recipients are always popular. But some evidence suggests that employers don't hire workers to get tax credits; they are more motivated to hire when they receive reassurances that workers are reliable and trainable.

Maine's Kevin Concannon (see "A Conversation with Kevin W. Concannon," page 36) suggests an alternative: award businesses tax credits only when they offer training certified as valid by a state institution. Concannon also thinks that the certification agency should be educational—not a human services or labor agency. Educational institutions like community colleges know how to define a particular body of knowledge or set of skills—and how to determine whether an individual has acquired it.



A former welfare recipient working at Detroit's Superb Manufacturing, which trains and hires workers in an empowerment zone designated by the federal government for tax breaks for business.

To maximize training quality, some advocate giving businesses tax credits only for training certified by a state institution.



Grantland Johnson is optimistic that the public will support increased investments in education and training.

LESSONS IN PRACTICE

Building Political Will for Education and Training: A Conversation with Grantland Johnson

Grantland Johnson is secretary of the California Health and Human Services Agency, which oversees the largest welfare caseload in the nation. Prior to joining the Health and Human Services Agency, Johnson was a regional administrator for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, based in San Francisco. He also served as a Sacramento County supervisor and a member of the Sacramento City Council.

Q: What's the political climate like nationally? Will the public support increased education and training for former welfare recipients to move them up the job-skill ladder?

A: The public is open to that; their receptivity depends a lot on how policy-makers frame the issue and convey it to the public. My sense is that the public would embrace a strategy that talks about not only encouraging folks to get jobs, but also encouraging folks who have the commitment to obtain the necessary skill upgrades to enable them to compete for better jobs.

One of the problems about this discussion of welfare reform is that people have always simplified the task and, as a result, have perpetuated some mythologies among the public. At times things get confused.

This is an issue of leadership, of trying not to divide the public, but basically talking about how, given what we're learning, education seems to be an important mid-course correction to enhance effectiveness.

Q: Is there a sense that in order for people to get more training, they're going to have to demonstrate they're worthy by working first? Is work-first going to be the condition on which all other policies follow?

A: I think there are many ways of demonstrating individual responsibility and a commitment to move toward the labor market. I think it's a situation where you don't have a one-size-fits-all approach.

In California, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation did an analysis of Alameda, Riverside, and a couple of other counties. Alameda, for example, took the extreme approach in comparison to Riverside [where work-first was the sole emphasis of the program]. In Alameda, participants went

through a long-term skill upgrade before getting into a job, to such an extent that there was little emphasis on job attachment as an initial step into the labor market.

Either of these courses—taken without understanding that you can mix the two strategies—falls in the category of a narrow-minded, one-size-fits-all approach. We should be flexible and open to employ those strategies that make the most sense, given the individual that we're dealing with. That, to me, is a pragmatic approach to policy implementation that I would argue in the long run would probably lead to optimal success.

Q: Do you think, if you're going to take a case-by-case look at people and figure out what's best for each individual, one issue is whether or not there are sufficient tools to get that done? Those tools are assessment, counseling, and sufficient knowledge about what the real job opportunities and skill requirements are.

A: I think that's a real challenge—an issue of state capacity building.

I do think that information systems, particularly market information readily available at the local level where this effort is actually implemented, become critical.

One of the challenges for states is to make sure that through our employment development departments' local welfare-to-work that practitioners have access to labor market data; local labor market data that enable them to think about job matches and all the different kinds of efforts needed for specific participants. This would make sense.

Unfortunately, I don't think that in all instances—or in most instances—we really have the capacity to do that. Do I think we can develop a capacity? Absolutely. But we have to make a commitment based on the acknowledgment that we need to develop that kind of capacity.

Q: The Los Angeles Economic Roundtable study showed that participation by welfare recipients in community college programs in California has dropped right through the bottom in the last couple of years. Do you think that can be changed?

A: I think there's a disconnect between the community colleges and the state agencies and the Private Industry Councils and what we call service delivery areas. One of the things that we're looking at is the relationship

between those three networks: community colleges, the Department of Employment Development, and the Department of Social Services.

And not only initial placement, but also what you do once a person is in a placement, both in terms of retention and skill upgrades. I think the employers and employees have real stakes in this regard. Employees should go to college as they're working so that over time their skills are upgraded. The employer gets a more productive employee and the employee has a brighter future.

In order to achieve this balance, colleges have to understand the importance of being flexible in terms of transforming what they do on the campuses to meet the needs of employees and the employers.

Q: How can the state encourage that?

A: I think that we can incentivize it through our investment strategy with some monies from the Department of Labor. On top of that, building relationships between employers and the state could go a long way.

As we implement the Workforce Investment Act, there seems to be a real divided opinion, particularly in terms of the local level, about what has to happen for us to be effective in terms of workforce investment and workforce preparation, particularly as it pertains to folks on TANF. I happen to be one who believes in using community-based not-for-profits and for-profit organizations to contract for training people for jobs and working with them around retention and skill upgrades. It's really the way to go.

There has to be a commitment to go beyond the narrow approach. I think the Private Industry Council approach is too narrow, because it hasn't been effectively tied to the idea that we have distinct regional economies in California. When you're talking about getting people into the job market, you're talking about getting them into jobs being generated on a regional basis within that geographical area.

You need a regional network of jobs to effectively connect folks who've been trained to jobs, hopefully jobs that generate meaningful income. Then once they've been placed, you have to think about helping them upgrade their skills. There's a natural reinforcing set of incentives there, when you think about it. Once you get into the workplace, you think a lot more about earning levels than you do before you're placed.

So, I think that using both training based, not-for-profit and for-profit contract organizations in conjunction with a strong connection to regional economic job generators becomes key to making a real difference.

Q: You talked about getting business involved in this. Most of the evidence shows that giving business tax credits doesn't work. How else could you encourage businesses to continue education and training?

A: I've never been enamored with relying solely on tax breaks as an incentive for employers. I think there are other big incentives for employers.

First, since at the end of the day, at the end of the process, they want an employee who can do the job and do it well, it is important to recognize soft skills are important too. In addition to the hard skills necessary to operate equipment or operate processes, they want workers who can serve customers.

Second, I think they want to be less hassled, which is directly associated with employees who can do the job. Employees often bring a lot of—I'm reluctant to use the term baggage, because it sounds pejorative, but I can't think of a better term. They have a lot of needs. They've been marginalized for a long time in many cases and employers are not necessarily positioned to meet their needs.

Our support of the employers, helping these employees learn to adjust and to do the kinds of things to fit in, becomes an important effort.

Last, for the most part, employers want to avoid the hassles of paperwork, of having to discipline people, of irregular work attendance, punctuality; those kinds of things. If the state can help employees deal with child care and with health care that would make a huge difference to employers. I think that this type of assistance may prove to be equally as important as tax breaks in the long run.

Q: This problem looks like it's dividing into two pieces. One is a working poverty problem that is much bigger than the welfare population. And the other is a genuine, severely disadvantaged group that requires lots of public assistance in order to become employable. Do you think that people will be interested in the working poverty problem? Do you have a way of reaching out to the people who are already gone in a sense, who could probably benefit from some kind of developmental treatment?

A: For public policy reasons, I would want to keep them melded together. I think that we can overcome the deserving/undeserving dichotomy by saying that we're talking about people who are working, and who have made a commitment to want to work for a living.

The fact that we now say as a precondition for public support, you've got to make a commitment to work, enables us to overcome that dichotomy between deserving and undeserving, because everybody is committed to working.

In terms of those folks who are more difficult to serve, we try to get them to the work place too. We have to basically engage in more intervention to get them there, but that's what they must get to.

Q: The one thing that still comes up for us is that welfare reform essentially creates the issue of working poverty.

A: Actually, that's a step forward. I would much rather be talking about the needs of the working poor as opposed to targeting marginalized groups with whom people don't necessarily identify. That enables us to overcome some divisions. For example, I would much rather be talking about the universal needs of child care for working families—working heads of households—than just talking about child care and Head Start for low-income population groups for whom people may have little regard in the political marketplace.

Continuing the Journey

The first step in welfare reform is complete. Welfare recipients have gone back to work and continue to leave the rolls in record numbers. Our nation's challenge now is to make sure that they stay off welfare—and that they earn enough to support and care for themselves and their families. The basic problem remains: Too many welfare recipients, current and former, lack the skills they need to succeed in the new economy.

As *Getting Down to Business* shows, education can be a quick and effective way for many welfare recipients to increase their employment and earnings. It also holds tremendous promise for former welfare recipients and the working poor, many of whom are at risk of needing welfare themselves.

Grantland Johnson sees education and training as a great opportunity for those who are willing to embrace its potential. "We have to send the same message to those still in the welfare system that we sent to those who are now working poor: 'You have to be prepared for the real world and these are the kinds of things that you have to do on your own behalf. And if you do so, we're prepared to help you.'"

Brenda Rogers agrees. The former welfare mother who now is earning her doctorate at the University of California at Irvine says that while education has dramatically improved her life, it is not a panacea. "It doesn't ensure me a job," she says. "All education gave me was the basis to compete."

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Making work really pay—
moving former welfare recipients to self-sufficiency—
will require new investments in education and training.

Boosting the skills of former welfare recipients
will enable them to move into higher-skilled, better-paying jobs.

Work-first must be complemented and fortified now
with targeted education and training strategies.

For Further Reading

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Appendix

Measures of Skill in the National Adult Literacy Survey

Skill Level	Prose	Document	Quantitative
Level 1 (0-225) Minimal Skills Skills typically exhibited by school dropouts.	Can read short text to locate a single piece of information that is identical to the question. <i>Examples: Identify a country in a short article; locate 1 piece of information in a sports article.</i>	Can locate a piece of information based on a literal match between the task and the document or enter personal knowledge onto a document. <i>Examples: Locate the time of a meeting on a form; use a pie graph to locate the type of vehicle having specific sales.</i>	Can perform a single, simple arithmetic operation such as addition. The numbers used are provided and the operation to be performed is specified. <i>Example: Total a bank deposit entry.</i>
Level 2 (226-275) Basic Skills Skills typical of average or below average high school graduates.	Can locate a single piece of information when there is distracting information, and can contrast or compare 2 or more pieces of information. <i>Example: Underline the meaning of a term in a government brochure; interpret instructions from an appliance warranty.</i>	Can match a single piece of information, with distracting information present, requiring little inference, and can integrate information from several parts of the document. <i>Examples: Locate an intersection on a street map; enter background information on a social security card application.</i>	Can perform a single arithmetic operation using numbers that are given in the task or easily located in the material. The arithmetic operation is either described or easily determined from the format of the materials. <i>Examples: Calculate postage and fees for certified mail; determine the difference in price between tickets for two shows.</i>
Level 3 (276-325) Competent Skills Skills typical of people with associate's degrees, postsecondary certificates, or some college but no degree.	Can match information in the text and in the task when low-level inferences are required, integrate information from dense or lengthy text, and generate a response based on information easily identifiable in the text. <i>Examples: Write a letter explaining an error on a credit card bill; read a news article and identify a sentence that provides interpretation of a situation.</i>	Can integrate several pieces of information from one or several documents and deal with complex tables or graphs containing information that is irrelevant to the task. <i>Examples: Enter information into an automobile maintenance form; identify information from a bar graph depicting source of energy and year.</i>	Can perform tasks where two or more numbers are needed to solve the problem and they must be found in the material. The operation(s) needed can be determined from the arithmetic relation terms used in the question or directive. <i>Examples: Use a calculator to calculate the difference between the regular and sale price; calculate miles per gallon from information on a mileage record chart.</i>

Skill Level	Prose	Document	Quantitative
<p>Level 4 (326-375)</p> <p>Advanced Skills Skills usually exhibited by people with bachelor's or advanced degrees.</p>	<p>Can match text with multiple features, integrate or synthesize information from complex/lengthy passages, and make more complex inferences.</p> <p><i>Examples: State in writing an argument made in a lengthy newspaper article; contrast views expressed in two editorials.</i></p>	<p>Can perform tasks that require them to draw higher-level inferences and numerous responses without being told how many, and can perform tasks that contain conditional information.</p> <p><i>Examples: Use a bus schedule to determine the appropriate bus for a given destination and time; use a table of information to determine the pattern of oil exports across years.</i></p>	<p>Can perform two or more operations in sequence or a single operation in which the quantities are found in different types of displays, or the operations must be inferred from the information given or from prior knowledge.</p> <p><i>Examples: Determine the correct change using information in a menu; calculate how much a couple would receive from Supplemental Security Income, using an eligibility pamphlet.</i></p>
<p>Level 5 (376-500)</p> <p>Superior Skills Skills typical of high-achieving, college-educated populations.</p>	<p>Can find information in a dense text that has considerable distracting information and can make high-level inferences or use specialized background knowledge.</p> <p><i>Examples: Compare the approaches stated in a narrative; summarize two ways lawyers may challenge prospective jurors.</i></p>	<p>Can search complex displays that contain several pieces of distracting information, make high-level inferences, and make use of specialized knowledge.</p> <p><i>Examples: Use a table to complete a graph, including labeling axes; use a table to compare credit cards and write about the differences between them.</i></p>	<p>Can perform multiple operations sequentially, and can also find problems embedded in text or rely on background knowledge to determine the quantities or operations needed.</p> <p><i>Examples: Use a calculator to determine the total cost of carpet to cover a room; use information in a news article to calculate the difference in time for completing a race.</i></p>

Adapted from Barton and Lapointe (1995).

About the Authors

Anthony P. Carnevale **ETS Vice President for Public Leadership**

Anthony P. Carnevale is an internationally recognized authority on education, training, and employment. Carnevale chaired the National Commission for Employment Policy during President Clinton's first term, while serving as vice president and director of human resource studies at the Committee for Economic Development. Earlier, he had been president of the Institute for Workplace Learning, an applied research center affiliated with the American Society for Training and Development. Carnevale has held senior staff positions in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was Director of Legislative Affairs for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Carnevale received his B.A. from Colby College in Waterville, Maine, and his Ph.D. in economics from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. While serving as a research economist with the Syracuse University Research Corporation, he co-authored the principal affidavit in *Rodriguez v. San Antonio*, a U.S. Supreme Court action to remedy unequal tax burdens and educational benefits. This landmark case sparked significant educational equity reforms in a majority of states.

Kathleen Reich **Director of Policy Development, Social Policy Action Network**

Kathleen Reich's policy and research interests include strengthening social support systems for low-income children and families, and the role of education and training in federal and state welfare reform. At the Social Policy Action Network (SPAN), she has co-authored *The Fatherhood Movement: Some Next Steps* with Kathleen Sylvester and Heather C. McGhee, and *Second Chance Homes: Advice for the States* with Kathleen Sylvester. While serving as a legislative assistant to Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, Reich focused on welfare, children's, and environmental issues. She also worked as a policy advisor to then-Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis (now Governor of California), and worked in the public interest office of the Harvard Law School.

Reich received her B.A. from Yale University, and her master's degree in public policy from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. She is the author of *Improving Outcomes for Mother and Child: A Review of the Massachusetts Teen Living Program*, which garnered Kennedy School prizes for best master's thesis and best work in the field of poverty policy.

Kathleen Sylvester

Founder and Director, Social Policy Action Network

Kathleen Sylvester is a nationally known authority on family policy, education, and governance. Prior to founding the Social Policy Action Network (SPAN), whose mission is to "transform the findings of research and the insights of front-line practitioners into concrete action agendas for policymakers," Sylvester was vice president for domestic policy at the Progressive Policy Institute. She has written numerous policy guides on teen pregnancy prevention, and has been a catalyst of the second-chance homes movement. Most recently, she co-authored *Strategies to Achieve a Common Purpose* with Lisbeth B. Schorr of Harvard University and Margaret Dunkle of the Institute for Educational Leadership. Sylvester has served as an advisor to efforts ranging from Vice President Al Gore's reinventing government initiative to Texas Governor George W. Bush's second-chance homes pilot project.

Sylvester received her B.A. from Georgetown University, her M.A. from Wesleyan University, and was a John S. Knight Fellow at Stanford University. She began her professional career teaching in inner-city New Haven, Connecticut, and also worked as a community organizer on the Cheyenne River Sioux Indian reservation in South Dakota. Sylvester spent the next two decades as an award-winning journalist, reporting and editing for news organizations such as *Governing* magazine, NBC News, National Public Radio, *The Washington Star*, and The Associated Press.

Neal C. Johnson

ETS Senior Research Partner

Neal C. Johnson, whose areas of expertise include higher education governance and management, K-12 education reform, workforce development, and welfare reform, conceived the series of dialogues that form the core of *A Piece of the Puzzle*. Prior to joining Educational Testing Service (ETS), Johnson served as executive editor of *The Public Innovator*, a newsletter on results-driven government, which he launched in collaboration with author David Osborne, syndicated columnist Neal Peirce, and state and local policy experts Scott Fosler and Barbara Dyer. Johnson spent 10 years as a state and federal government policy and budget analyst, including service in the office of Colorado Governor Roy Romer and the Michigan Senate Fiscal Agency.

Johnson received his B.A. from Reed College and his master of public administration from the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs. He was one of 200 young professionals annually awarded a Presidential Management Internship, serving at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the U.S. Senate Budget Committee. During his early career, Johnson served in city and county governments and worked for five years as a counselor with low-income children and families.

ETS Leadership on Public Issues

Through the Educational Testing Service Leadership 2000 Series, ETS researchers have contributed to national dialogues ranging from President Clinton's voluntary national test proposal to Americans' perceptions of their communities' schools.

School Satisfaction: A Statistical Profile of Cities and Suburbs

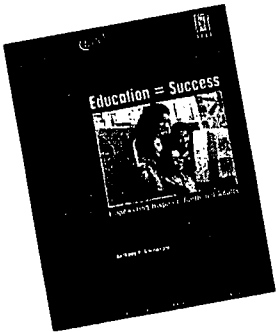
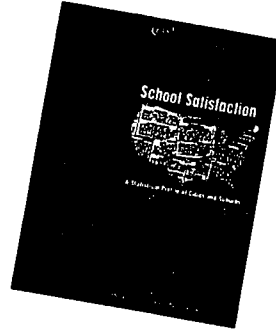
Anthony P. Carnevale and Donna M. Desrochers

ORDER NUMBER: 218500

School Satisfaction is the first [analysis] of its kind to look across the only national data set that permits public opinion about schools to be compared between individual cities.

—Lynn Olson, "ETS Analysis Tracks Parent Dissatisfaction,"

Education Week, October 27, 1999



Education=Success: Empowering Hispanic Youth and Adults

Anthony P. Carnevale

ORDER NUMBER: 218461

Education=Success affirms what we believe about the importance of higher education to the future of our children.

I am pleased to see and acknowledge the work of a New Jersey company, Educational Testing Service, and their efforts to help the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities put together this important and timely report.

—The Honorable Bob Menendez,

Congressman from New Jersey

Getting Down to Business: Matching Welfare Recipients' Skills to Jobs that Train

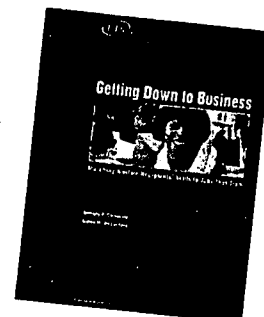
Anthony P. Carnevale and Donna M. Desrochers

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ORDER NUMBER: 218346; TECHNICAL REPORT ORDER NUMBER: 218350

The labor market, workforce, and demographic data included in Getting Down to Business are truly enlightening. This study has substantial relevance to national workforce development and welfare-to-work policy.

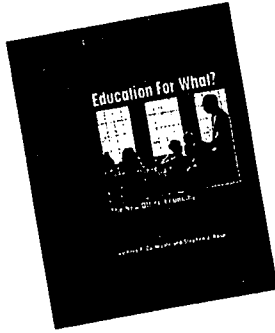
—William Waldman, Executive Director

American Public Human Services Association



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Education for What? The New Office Economy

Anthony P. Carnevale and Stephen J. Rose

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ORDER NUMBER: 212002; TECHNICAL REPORT ORDER NUMBER: 212003

The study by Carnevale and Rose raises questions about the type of education the economy now demands, emphasizing the need both to improve higher education and to make it more widely accessible.

—Jeff Madrick, "Computers: Waiting for the Revolution"

The New York Review of Books, March 26, 1998

A National Test: Balancing Policy and Technical Issues

Anthony P. Carnevale and Ernest W. Kimmel

ORDER NUMBER: 212001

'The public is very clear that it wants these tests,' says Anthony Carnevale, a vice president of Educational Testing Service, which is helping develop the tests. 'The decision-making structure is just as clear that it doesn't.'

—June Kronholz, "Opponents Sharpen Pencils Over National Testing Plan"

The Wall Street Journal, September 8, 1997

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