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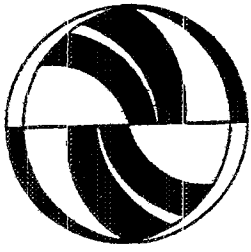
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**Uneven Access to Opportunities
Welfare Recipients, Jobs, and Employment
Support Services in Los Angeles**

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UCTC No. 545

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**Uneven Access to Opportunities
Welfare Recipients, Jobs, and Employment Support Services in
Los Angeles**

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Uneven Access to Opportunities Welfare Recipients, Jobs, and Employment Support Services in Los Angeles

I. Introduction

Implementing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 in Los Angeles is a difficult task in part because of the size and diversity of the problem. Los Angeles County -- the unit of government responsible for administering welfare programs -- is one of the largest counties in the country spreading across 4,083 square miles. The Los Angeles County is so large that it comprises its own metropolitan area. The County includes neighborhoods that are both highly urbanized as well as rural, areas of great affluence and areas of concentrated poverty, and neighborhoods that are racially and ethnically diverse.

As of February of 1999, 231,766 people were on welfare in Los Angeles, comprising 37 percent of the state's caseload. To put these figures in perspective, Los Angeles has more welfare recipients than every state except New York and California and more recipients than Ohio, Georgia, and Massachusetts combined (U S Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). With this large and highly diverse caseload comes an enormous bureaucracy, one that has had difficulty responding to the shift in the welfare system from one that guaranteed public assistance to those in need to a program that now offers temporary financial assistance and mandates employment.

To meet the employment targets established by the federal government, agencies in Los Angeles County must implement programs and services that enable welfare recipients to make rapid transitions into the local labor market. Some studies suggest

that, among other obstacles to employment, welfare recipients face a spatial separation from jobs and other employment-related services. Evidence from metropolitan areas such as Boston and Cleveland show that welfare recipients disproportionately live in inner-city neighborhoods, far from entry-level employment opportunities located in the suburbs. This spatial mismatch between welfare recipients and jobs can result in costly commutes in terms of both time and money; limit recipients' access to informal job networks, make it difficult for recipients who work far from home to respond to household crises; and lead to unpredictable arrival times. Recipients' limited geographic access to employment may hinder their ability to both find and keep jobs.

Geographic data for Los Angeles show that there *is* a spatial mismatch between the residential location of welfare recipients and the location of low-wage jobs. However, the mismatch is not one between central city and suburbs, despite job growth in suburban neighborhoods, the highest concentration of jobs in Los Angeles remains in the central city. Data on the travel behavior of welfare recipients supports this argument. On average, welfare recipients commute less than 6 miles to work, significantly less than the average Los Angeles commuter. Although most recipients do not make long-distance commutes from the central city to the suburbs, many still live in job-poor neighborhoods. Therefore, most welfare recipients will have to commute to destinations outside of their immediate neighborhoods and, thus, will rely on modes of transportation other than walking.

Data on welfare recipients in Los Angeles show that recipients with access to a car, regardless of their residential location, have good access to both jobs and services. In contrast, transit-dependent recipients who live in job-poor neighborhoods – whether those

are located in the suburbs or the central city – have extremely limited access to employment. Finally, for many welfare recipients who live in job-rich neighborhoods, public transit can serve their transportation needs, particularly if current transit service is expanded.

To meet the transportation needs of welfare recipients, the Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services established the Transportation Inter-Agency Task Force (TIATF). The purpose of the TIATF was to involve a diverse group of agencies and organizations in a planning process that would culminate in a transportation plan for welfare recipients. On paper, this task force created the opportunity for collaborative planning that cut across functional areas (transportation, employment, social service), sectors (public, private, and non-profit), and geographic areas. However, in practice, the process has been dominated by traditional regional transit and planning agencies. Their dominance has resulted in an emphasis on programs to enhance recipients' access to fixed-route public transit services to the exclusion of alternative modes of transportation that might better meet the needs of welfare recipients who live in job-poor neighborhoods.

II. Welfare Recipients and Welfare Reform in Los Angeles

In response to the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, California passed the Welfare to Work Act of 1997 (AB 1542) and created CalWORKs, California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids. The goals of CalWORKs include reducing child poverty and welfare dependence, promoting employment and economic self-sufficiency, removing barriers to employment,

and minimizing adverse outcomes. To accomplish these objectives the CalWORKs program provides temporary financial support, establishes mandatory work requirements, and gives the counties wide flexibility in designing employment-related programs to rapidly move recipients in the labor market. Table 1 lists specific program requirements intended to reduce the caseload and achieve a work participation rate of 50 percent by the year 2002 (California Department of Social Services, 1997)

Table 1: California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids Welfare to Work Act of 1997, AB 1542	
Time Limits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aid time limit Five-year cumulative lifetime limit on aid, • Work time limit Adult applicants cannot receive aid for more than 18 consecutive months
Work Requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recipients must participate in an initial 4-week period of job search, following job search, adults are required to work or be in work activities • Work activities include on-the-job training, job search and job readiness assistance, community service, vocational training, job skills training or education directly related to employment, • Those who need it will receive subsidized child care
Earn Your Check	Grants to recipients who do not meet their work participation requirements are reduced by the adult's portion of the grant
Diversion Assistance	Lump-sum services or one-time cash payments can be issued if they are likely to make TANF assistance unnecessary
County Fiscal Incentives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Counties are given wide flexibility to design their own programs and set their own goals for getting recipients work, • Counties keep 100% of the saving achieved for successful results; • Federal penalties for failure to meet work requirements
Immunization	Applicants must provide documentation that children not enrolled in school have received appropriate immunizations
School Attendance	All school-age children must attend school to receive aid
Child Support	Child support payments are subject of a \$50 income disregard, refusal by the recipient to cooperate with child support collection efforts results in a grant reduction

State law requires that each California County develop a plan to meet federal and state mandates. Accordingly, on January 6th, 1998, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors approved the "Los Angeles County CalWORKs Plan." The overall goal of

this plan is to “ . improve the lives of children and families by assisting adults/caretakers to become economically self-sufficient (Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services, 1998).” While the Los Angeles CalWORKs program falls within the overall framework established by state law, the County program places a greater emphasis than the State on helping welfare recipients achieve economic self-sufficiency

The major objectives of CalWORKs in Los Angeles include:

- (1) helping participants to secure employment,
- (2) helping participants to retain employment, and
- (3) helping participants to secure employment with sufficiently high earnings to no longer qualify for cash assistance

To accomplish these objectives, the Los Angeles CalWORKs program not only provides services to current recipients but also continues to provide services to former recipients who are now employed. These work-oriented services are available through Greater Avenues to Independence (GAIN) which, prior to welfare reform, was the largest welfare-to-work program in the country. Historically, the GAIN program has included job search and job readiness assistance, vocational education and training, education directly related to employment, work experience, and adult basic education. Since welfare reform, the GAIN program has been enhanced with the addition of substance abuse, mental health, and domestic violence services.

Coordinating this array of employment and social service programs in a county the size of Los Angeles will depend on the collaboration of multiple, large governmental and quasi-governmental agencies and non-profit service providers. Over 1,000 people were involved in drafting the Los Angeles CalWORKs plan and in developing detailed implementation plans for domestic violence, mental health/substance abuse, child care,

welfare-to-work programs, post-employment services, diversion, transportation, and job creation programs

Federal and state funding for welfare and welfare-to-work programs is largely allocated to Los Angeles in the form of a block grant. These funds are controlled by the Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) which has exercised its option to contract out many of the required services. The main responsibility for welfare-to-work activities lies with the GAIN Division of the Bureau of CalWORKs, a division that is located within DPSS. However, the initial orientation of new GAIN participants has been contracted out to the Los Angeles County Office of Education (LACOE). They also are responsible for Job Club, the first GAIN component to which most participants are assigned. The responsibility of finding child care providers and paying these providers has largely been contracted out to community agencies. Finally, mental health services and substance abuse services have been contracted out to the Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health and the County Department of Health Services respectively. (See Appendix A.)

Although DPSS controls a majority of the funds directed toward welfare recipients, other agencies and organizations have access to additional funds targeted to welfare recipients. For example, the U.S. Department of Labor grants “welfare-to-work” funds to states and local communities to provide employment-related services to long-term welfare recipients or recipients who face multiple barriers to employment (U.S. Department of Labor, no date). These funds can be used to subsidize job placement services, transitional employment, and other support services recipients need to make the successful transition into long-term unsubsidized employment. Additionally, the Access

to Jobs program funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) provides competitive grants to local governments and non-profit organizations to develop transportation services to connect welfare recipients and low-income persons to employment and support services (U.S Department of Transportation, no date)

One of the major challenges for agencies and other organizations involved in the implementation of welfare reform is the enormity of the county. Los Angeles County has the largest population of any County in the United States. The number of potential agencies and organizations with responsibility for some aspect of Los Angeles' welfare-to-work program is extensive. In addition to the Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services, agencies with functional responsibility for welfare reform include:

- Los Angeles County Office of Education
- Los Angeles County Office of Mental Health
- Los Angeles County Office of Health Services
- Private Industry Councils (PICs)
- Los Angeles Unified School District
- Community Colleges
- Adult Schools and Regional Occupation Centers/Programs
- Employment Training Panel
- Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation/Community Development Commission (LAEDC/CDC)
- Housing Authorities
- Transportation Agencies
- County Department of Community and Senior Services
- Child Care Resource and Referral (R&R) agencies
- Faith-Based, Civic, Charitable, and Community-Based Non-Profit Organizations

Appendix A lists these agencies and organizations and the services that each agency provides

The welfare caseload. The welfare system in California and in Los Angeles has been fundamentally transformed. The previous program of guaranteed long-term financial assistance has been replaced with one that provides short-term aid and an array

of employment services to help recipients enter and remain in the labor market. Since 1995 the number of families on welfare has declined significantly – around the country and in Los Angeles. The Clinton Administration has attributed the decline in caseloads to the success of federal welfare reform efforts. In President Clinton’s 1998 State of the Union Address, he stated.

We can be proud that after decades of finger-pointing and failure, together we ended the old welfare system. And we’re now replacing welfare checks with paychecks. Last year, after a record four-year decline in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to move 2 million more Americans off welfare by the year 2000. I’m pleased to report we have also met that goal, two full years ahead of schedule.

Despite the President’s claims, however, numerous studies have shown that a strong economy has also contributed to the declining welfare caseloads (Blank, 1997, Council of Economic Advisors, 1997, Ziliak and Figlio, forthcoming).

In California, Los Angeles County contains the lion’s share of the welfare cases. As of February of 1999, there were 231,766 welfare recipients in Los Angeles comprising approximately 37 percent of the State caseload. Again, it is important to put these figures in perspective, Los Angeles County has more welfare recipients than every state except New York and California and more welfare recipients than Ohio, Georgia, and Massachusetts combined (Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). Table 2 shows the demographic profile of welfare recipients in Los Angeles. The greatest percentage of adult welfare recipients is Hispanic (44%), followed by African Americans (27%), non-Hispanic whites (22%), and then Asians (8%). Welfare usage rates vary considerably by race/ethnicity; the welfare usage rate among African American is approximately 17 percent compared to 8 percent among Hispanics, 4 percent among Asians, and 3 percent among non-Hispanic Whites (Los Angeles Chief Administrative

Office, 1999, California Department of Finance, 1999) Given the large numbers of immigrants in Los Angeles who are not United States citizens, it is not surprising that Los Angeles has a sizable population of child-only cases (18%), cases where the children receive aid but the parents are ineligible. Typically this type of case includes a non-citizen parent who is ineligible for aid and his or her citizen children who are entitled to benefits.

	Los Angeles	Rest of State
Sex		
Female	83%	78%
Case Type		
One-parent	67%	61%
Two Parent	15%	21%
Child Only	18%	17%
Age		
19 to 34	53%	57%
35 to 50	40%	39%
50+	7%	4%
Race/Ethnicity		
Non-Hispanic White	22%	37%
Hispanic	44%	29%
African American	27%	17%
Asian/other	8%	16%
Education		
Less than H S degree	45%	53%
H.S. Degree	43%	29%
Some College	11%	15%
College	.9%	2%
Post-Bachelor's Degree	2%	9%
Percentage of Long Term Recipients (over 30 months on welfare)	67%	60%
Source: Q5 (1997-1998)		

As Figure 1 shows, welfare caseloads peaked in Los Angeles in March of 1995, prior to the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation

Act, and have continued to decline Caseloads dropped by approximately 32 percent from March of 1995 to February of 1999

**Figure 1: TANF Cases and Unemployment Rate
Los Angeles
January 1990 -- February 1999**

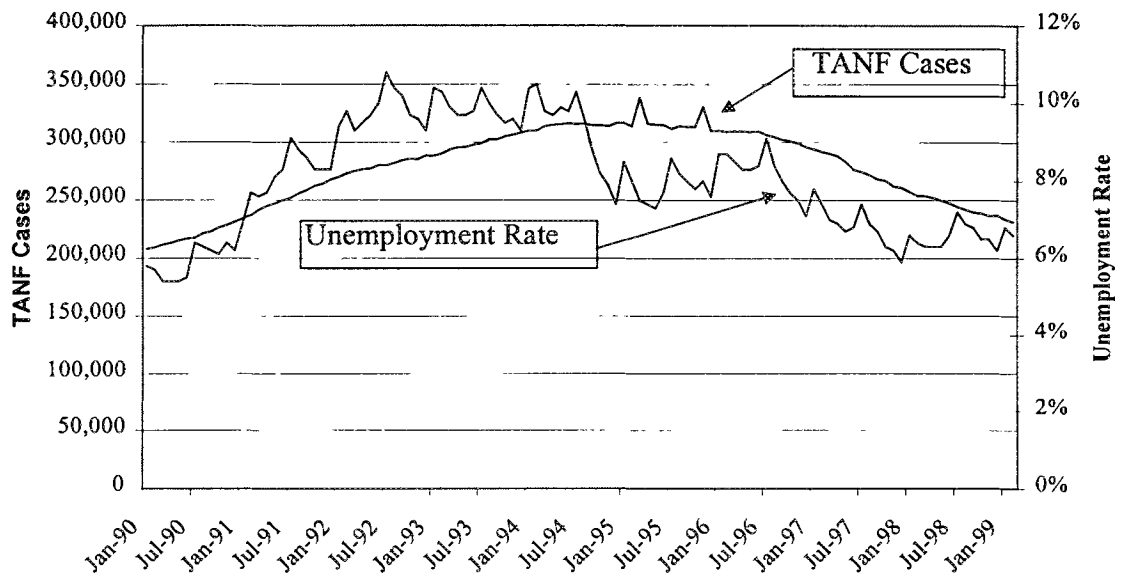


Figure 1 also shows the unemployment rate along the secondary y axis. During the early 1990s, Los Angeles experienced a recession in which employment fell by more than 7 percent (California Employment Development Department, 1999). The Los Angeles economy was affected by significant defense downsizing in which thousands of jobs were lost in the aircraft, missiles, instruments, and electronics industries. Unemployment rates in the County soared to 10.5 percent in February of 1994 (California Employment Development Department, 1999). Relative to the rest of the state, the Los Angeles economy was slow to recover from the recession. In the mid-1990s, when California had recovered all of the jobs that it had lost, employment in Los Angeles had barely increased (Dardia and Luk, 1999). Since 1994, employment in the County has

expanded such that by 1998 there were more jobs than there had been in 1990 (EDD, 1999) As of August 1999, the unemployment rate had dropped to 5.8 percent, the lowest rate since the beginning of the decade (California Employment Development Department, 1999)

Table 3 shows the industrial composition for Los Angeles County and for the City of Los Angeles. The table reveals the dramatic growth of jobs in the service sector and the relative decline in jobs in both manufacturing and, recently, in finance, insurance, and real estate. Historically the source of relatively high-wage, unionized employment, manufacturing employment declined by 16 percent from 1972 to 1997, it now comprises, 19 percent of the county's employment down from 32 percent in 1972. Conversely, employment in the service sector grew by 63 percent during this time period and now constitutes 40 percent of employment in the County.

Table 3: Employment by Industry – Los Angeles

Industry	1972	1982	1992	1997	% Change 1992-97	% Change 1972-97
Los Angeles County	2,436,753	3,130,772	3,536,964	3,588,831	2%	32%
Agricultural Services, Forestry and Fishing	3%	3%	5%	5%	4%	54%
Mining	4%	3%	2%	1%	-16%	-122%
Construction	4%	4%	3%	3%	-9%	8%
Manufacturing	32%	29%	21%	19%	-9%	-16%
Transportation and Public Utilities	7%	6%	6%	6%	5%	19%
Wholesale Trade	8%	8%	8%	8%	5%	34%
Retail Trade	18%	17%	17%	17%	-3%	25%
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	7%	8%	8%	7%	-14%	26%
Services	22%	27%	37%	40%	12%	63%
Unclassified Establishments	7%	2%	1%	0%	-13%	-840%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, County Business Patterns (various years)

A comparison of the caseload and unemployment trends suggests that, in part, caseload dynamics are related to the relative robustness of the economy. During the early part of the decade, caseloads and the unemployment rate rose simultaneously. However, in 1995 and 1996 this relationship breaks down as the welfare caseload is unaffected by either the rise or fall in the unemployment rate. In recent years, the welfare caseload and the unemployment rate have fallen in tandem. Undoubtedly a strong economy has enabled many welfare recipients to find employment who were not previously able to find work. However, the imperfect relationship between unemployment rates and caseloads trends suggests that other factors influence fluctuations in the caseload including recent policy changes.

III. The Problem: Spatial Analysis of the Welfare-to-Work Challenge

A number of scholars have argued that among other obstacles to employment, welfare recipients face a spatial separation from jobs that can make it difficult for them to find and keep jobs (Osterman, 1991, Rosenbaum and Popkin, 1991, Rosenbaum, 1995; Ihlanfeldt, and Sjoquist, 1998). They often point to the fact that welfare recipients in some metropolitan areas live in inner-city neighborhoods, far from job vacancies disproportionately located in the suburbs (Lacombe, 1998, Coulton, Leete, and Bania, 1997). Other studies show that recipients' relative access to employment may influence their earnings, employment and welfare usage. In the now famous Gautreaux housing experiment, researchers find that relocating participants from job-poor, inner-city neighborhoods to job-rich, suburban neighborhoods increases employment levels among welfare recipients (Rosenbaum and Popkin, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1995). Ong and

Blumenberg (1998) find that welfare recipients who have long commutes earn less than those who find work closer to home, contrary to the pattern for higher income workers. The authors' results demonstrate that proximity to low-wage jobs benefits welfare recipients through reduced commuting expenses and increased earnings. In addition, Blumenberg and Ong (1998) find that, controlling for other factors, welfare usage rates are lower in job-rich neighborhoods.

However, a review of the literature on the spatial mismatch hypothesis suggests that low-income residents in Los Angeles face less of a spatial mismatch than residents living in other cities such as Atlanta, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia (Pugh, 1998). Similarly, data from this study show that most welfare recipients in Los Angeles do *not* face a spatial mismatch between inner-city residential locations and job opportunities in the suburbs. Although jobs are growing faster in the suburbs than in the central city, the highest concentrations of jobs remain in the central parts of Los Angeles. Still, many welfare recipients reside in job-poor areas and will require some form of transportation to allow them to travel to destinations outside of the immediate neighborhoods. For recipients living in these job-poor neighborhoods, transportation may pose a significant barrier to their employment.

Figure 2 shows the geographic location of welfare recipients in our study area as of the third quarter 1998.¹ The map shows that welfare recipients live in neighborhoods throughout the County, however, high concentrations of welfare recipients can be found in a few neighborhoods including Boyle Heights, Little Phnom Penh (City of Long

¹The residential location of welfare recipients is based on administrative data from the County of Los Angeles, that includes the address of each welfare recipient, these were then geocoded by census tract. The study area contains the central part of Los Angeles County and excludes areas north of the San Fernando

Beach), Monterey Park, Pacoima, Pico-Union, Watts, and West Adams. As Table 4 shows, the racial and ethnic composition of welfare recipients in these neighborhoods varies significantly. Hispanic welfare recipients are located in each of the neighborhoods; however, they are particularly concentrated in Boyle Heights, Pacoima, and Pico-Union. African American recipients are concentrated in neighborhoods directly south of downtown in West Adams and Watts. Asian recipients are concentrated in Little Phnom Penh and Monterey Park, communities with large Southeast Asian populations many of whom qualified for welfare as part of refugee assistance programs (Ong and Blumenberg, 1994). Finally, there does not seem to be a spatial concentration of non-Hispanic white welfare recipients in our study area. Non-Hispanic white welfare recipients may be more spatially dispersed than other welfare recipients – either within our study area or in some of the outlying communities that were excluded from our analysis.

Table 4: Racial and Ethnic Composition of Welfare Recipients by Neighborhood

	Non-Hispanic White	African American	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander
Boyle Heights	1%	1%	98%	1%
Little Phnom Penh	6%	26%	28%	39%
Monterey Park	4%	1%	32%	63%
Pacoima	12%	16%	68%	4%
Pico-Union	2%	8%	85%	4%
West Adams	1%	65%	33%	1%
Watts	0%	65%	34%	0%

Table 5 shows the geographic concentration of the adult population, the poverty population, and TANF recipients. First, the figures show that TANF recipients are slightly more concentrated close to the downtown area than the population as a whole.

Valley due to the difficulty of geocoding data for this area. The study area accounts for 87 percent of all

While 12 percent of the adult population live in close proximity to downtown, 17 percent of all TANF recipients live within 5 miles from the CBD. However, TANF recipients are less concentrated in the downtown area than the poverty population of which 23 percent live within a 5-mile radius from downtown.

Table 5 also examines several different measures of the spatial concentration of welfare recipients. The first measure is the percentage of welfare recipients living in census tracts with high concentrations of welfare recipients or high concentrations of households living in poverty. The second measure is the index of dissimilarity or the D-index. In this case, the index represents the percentage of welfare recipients who would have to move to another census tract in order to have equal representation in each census tract across the county, a higher D-index signifies greater levels of segregation.² The final measure is the P-index that measures the probability of welfare recipients encountering non-welfare recipients within their census tract, higher figures signify lower levels of segregation. The figures suggest that welfare recipients are less concentrated close to the central business district and in neighborhoods with high poverty rates than the poverty population. The two measures of segregation result in contradictory findings. The dissimilarity index shows that welfare recipients are slightly more spatially concentrated than the poverty population; the D index shows that welfare recipients are less spatially segregated.

welfare recipients in the county

²The dissimilarity index is calculated as $D = 5 \sum_i |q_i - r_i|$ where q_i represents the share of all welfare recipient living in census tract i and r_i represents the share of all persons who do not receive welfare living in census tract i

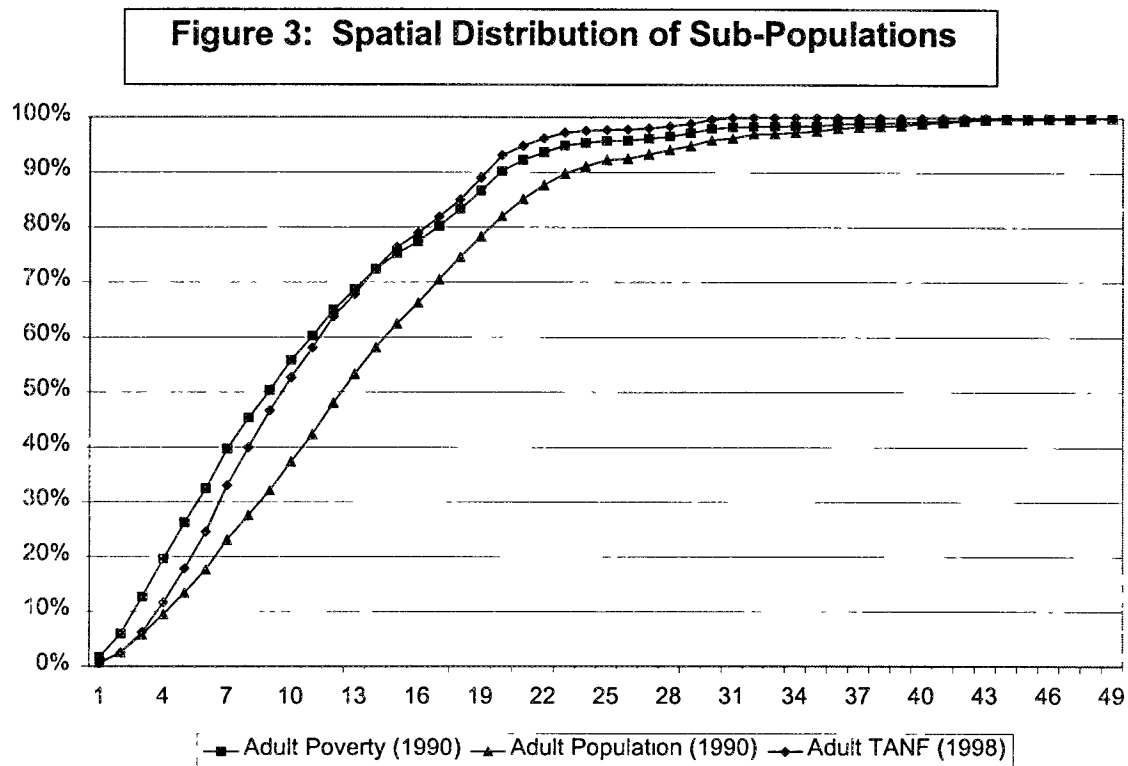
	Adult Population (1990)		Poverty Population (1990)		TANF Recipients (1998)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Los Angeles County	5,658,517	100%	731,546	100%	187,149	100%
Within 5 miles from CBD	755,898	13%	191,858	26%	33,307	18%
Over 5 miles from CBD	4,902,619	87%	539,688	74%	153,842	82%
Census tracts with 15+% poverty	1,895,609	34%	456,893	63%	109,672	59%
Census tracts with 40%+ in poverty	62,197	1%	29,134	4%	3,997	2%
D-Index				34%		36%
P-Index				80%		94%

Finally, Figure 3 shows the proportion of TANF recipients that live within a specific distance from the central business district. As the data already suggests, welfare recipients are more highly concentrated toward the center of the county than the adult population as a whole. However, in Los Angeles they are less concentrated toward the center of the county than the poverty population.

Access to Jobs Figure 4 depicts the relative job richness of census tracts throughout Los Angeles using 1998 employment data.³ Welfare recipients generally do not have the skills and experience to qualify for most available jobs, and, consequently, are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage, low-skilled occupations (Harris, 1993; Brandon, 1995; Ong and Blumenberg, 1997). Given that most welfare recipients are women who face high levels of occupational sex segregation, it is likely that welfare recipients will find jobs in feminized occupations that require minimal levels of

³ The source of the employment data is the American Business Directory produced by American Business Information (ABI), Inc. The data have been enhanced and cover the period from July 1998 to July 1999.

education⁴ Using employment data, data from the U S Bureau of Labor Statistics on the sex composition of occupations, and an occupational and industrial matrix developed by



the California Employment Development Department, we estimated the number of less-educated, feminized jobs by census tract

The data show, not surprisingly, that employment in Los Angeles is not characterized by a simple monocentric pattern. The darkest areas on the map represent the job richest census tracts. The highest concentration of jobs is in downtown (the approximate center of the map) and along what is known as the Wilshire Corridor, the major boulevard that extends from downtown, through Beverly Hills, West Los Angeles, Santa Monica, and terminates at the coast. Other job-rich Los Angeles neighborhoods

⁴ As of 1990, 53 percent of all women would have to change occupations for the occupational distribution of men and women to be the same (Blau, Simpson, Anderson, 1998)

include areas to the far South of downtown such as the Port of Los Angeles and Long Beach (located at the bottom of the map) The white colored census tracts indicate areas in which job access is relatively poor. These include neighborhoods in the urban periphery as well as census tracts in South Central Los Angeles, the predominantly black and Hispanic areas south and east of Downtown.

Table 6 shows the percentage of feminized jobs requiring low levels of education in Los Angeles County and those that are located within 5 miles from a census tract in the central business district (CBD) Eighteen percent of all recipients live within 5 miles of the central business district, within this same radius are 14.2 percent of all less-educated, feminized occupations ⁵ The data in Table 6 show that neighborhoods surrounding the central business have much higher proportions of employment in manufacturing industries and lower proportions in the retail trades

Table 6: Employment in Feminized Occupations Requiring Low Levels of Education		
Industry	Los Angeles County	% within 5 miles of CBD
Agricultural Services, Forestry and Fishing	05%	.01%
Mining	03%	08%
Construction	.2%	09%
Manufacturing	18%	37%
Transportation and Public Utilities	2%	2%
Wholesale Trade	6%	7%
Retail Trade	40%	23%
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	6%	6%
Services	29%	25%
Total	990,876 (100%)	141,143 (100%)

⁵These figures overestimate the difference between the proportion of jobs and recipients located within 5-miles from the central business district since the data on welfare recipients include only those recipients living within the study area

A comparison of the spatial distribution of TANF recipients and low-wage, feminized occupations (Figures 2 and 4) shows two types of neighborhoods. The first type of neighborhood is one where there are high concentrations of welfare recipients living in close proximity to areas with ample employment.⁶ These areas include neighborhoods just east and southwest of the downtown area (Boyle Heights and Pico Union). The second type of neighborhood is one with high concentrations of welfare recipients and relatively few jobs. Neighborhoods that fit into this category include neighborhoods such as Watts, south of downtown, and some low-income suburban neighborhoods such as Pacoima in the northeast San Fernando Valley.

Access to Transportation In a front page article, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that weaknesses in the existing public transportation system make it difficult for transit-dependent recipients to get around efficiently (Baily, 1997). The author highlights the travels of Zakıya Kyle, a 26-year old former welfare recipient, who arrives at her job at “ about 9 a m , three hours and six buses after starting ” Survey data of welfare recipients’ barriers to employment confirm that transportation is a key ingredient to employment success. In a job readiness survey conducted by the California Department of Social Services in 1996, 24 percent of recipients who had problems finding a job stated that transportation was a barrier to their employment success; transportation problems ranked fifth in importance out of the 15 barriers mentioned. Other studies also find that transportation problems are widespread among welfare recipients. Danziger et al., (1999) find that 47.3 percent of welfare recipients in their sample faced a transportation problem,

defined as the percentage of recipients who lacked access to an automobile and/or did not have a driver's license. Among African American recipients, the percentage facing transportation problems was even higher.

Additional studies shed light on *why* transportation poses obstacles to the employment of welfare recipients. Most welfare recipients travel outside of their immediate neighborhood to find employment; and often these trips are made difficult by recipients' limited access to reliable forms of transportation that enables them to travel to their destinations within a reasonable amount of time. The evidence suggests that welfare recipients have fewer reliable transportation options than higher income commuters. First, most welfare recipients do not own automobiles. Estimates of the percentage of welfare recipients in California who own cars vary widely from 7 percent to approximately 25 percent (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1998; California Department of Social Services, 1996, Ong, 1996). According to data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1998), automobile ownership among welfare recipients is 6.7 percent nationally and 19 percent in California. Other California surveys place auto ownership among recipients at approximately 25 percent (California Department of Social Services, 1996; Ong, 1996). In Los Angeles, data from a quality control survey administered by the California Department of Social Services shows that 18 percent of welfare recipients own an automobile compared to 35 percent for the rest of the state.⁷

⁶ Ong and Blumenberg (1998) show that welfare recipients who live in job-rich neighborhoods are more likely to find jobs closer to home than welfare recipients who live in job-poor neighborhoods.

⁷ These figures likely underestimate the percentage of welfare recipients that own a car since families are not eligible to receive benefits if they own a car worth more than \$4,650.

However, a much higher percentage of welfare recipients commute to work in a car. The difference between the percentage of recipients that own automobiles and the percentage that commute by car likely reflects welfare recipients who carpool or borrow a car, modes that offer recipients less reliable access to an automobile. The results of a five-day transportation survey of recipients traveling to the offices of the county's employment program (Greater Avenues for Independence or GAIN) show that one-half of the recipients arrived to the GAIN offices by car (Los Angeles Public Social Services, 1999).⁸ Of the 50 percent that arrived by car, 44 percent used their own car; 34 percent asked for a ride, and 22 percent borrowed a car (Los Angeles Public Social Services, 1999). In contrast, only 4.5 percent of all Los Angeles commuters traveled to work on public transit (National Personal Transportation Survey, 1995).

Those recipients who do not travel by car are largely transit dependent, relying on the existing public transportation system for their travels around the region. For the transit-dependent recipient, the existing network of buses and trains may fail to accommodate their complicated travel needs. In the welfare-to-work transportation plan passed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the authors cite some of the weaknesses in the current system that may deter some recipients from using public transportation: “. 1) public transportation was not convenient or reliable, 2) they [welfare recipients] did not know how to access transportation services, 3) they [welfare recipients] were not aware of transportation services, or 5) they [welfare recipients] could not afford transportation services” (Los Angeles County Public Social Services, 1999).

⁸The survey found that 50 percent used a car, 46 percent used the bus, and 4 percent used other forms of transportation (Los Angeles Public Social Services, 1999).

An analysis of the current public transportation system in Los Angeles shows that welfare recipients have uneven access to public transportation. For the purpose of this analysis, “access” includes three measures: (1) proximity to bus stops (2) once at a bus stop, the ability to board a bus; and (3) the extent to which welfare recipients can travel to their destinations within a reasonable amount of time.⁹ The findings from our analysis of Los Angeles show that welfare recipients that live in job-rich neighborhoods can reach a fair number of jobs using public transit. However, recipients who live in job-poor neighborhoods – whether those neighborhoods are located in the suburbs or the central city – have extremely limited access to employment.

While Los Angeles has the reputation as the nation’s most car-loving metropolis, this is far from the case. Of the 273 metropolitan areas in the U.S., per capita transit use is higher in only six of these areas (National Personal Transportation Survey, 1995). As Figure 5 illustrates, there are seventeen major public transportation agencies in Los Angeles County. Our analysis focuses on the service area covered by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and examines welfare recipients’ access to MTA *buses* in particular. Despite the MTA’s controversial rail-construction program, trips using rail – either light rail or heavy rail – comprise a small percentage, less than 10 percent, of all trips made on MTA lines. MTA buses carry 342 million passengers (as measured by one-way boardings) which is more than 75 percent of all bus riders in Los Angeles (National Transit Database, 1997). The MTA service area contains approximately 76 percent of the county’s TANF recipients.

⁹Costs are not included in this analysis of transportation access. The Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services gives transit-dependent welfare recipients a monthly bus pass to subsidize their travel costs (source). However, the bus passes do not allow for unlimited travel, nor do they cover the costs of transfers across different systems.

Travel to a bus stop is *not* a major transportation obstacle since bus stops are within a reasonable walk for most welfare recipients. Data on the location of welfare recipients relative to bus stops on the MTA system show that 87 percent of welfare recipients in our study area live within a quarter-mile buffer from a bus stop. The primary concern is whether welfare recipients can get on the bus once they get to a stop and, once they are on the bus, whether welfare recipients can get to somewhere meaningful – a job, a day care center, a welfare office – in a reasonable amount of time.

In Los Angeles, welfare recipients may have difficulty boarding a bus since many of the buses in the central part of the city are already filled to capacity (Rubin, 1996). The issue of overcrowding on the MTA buses was the focus of a lawsuit filed against the MTA in 1994. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund representing the plaintiffs argued that the MTA intentionally discriminated against minority bus riders and, therefore, violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Taylor and Garrett, 1998). The plaintiffs argued that the MTA's expenditures on subway and light rail construction and regional commuter rail were taking place at the expense of the MTA's central city bus operations which service primarily low-income, minority riders (Taylor and Garrett, 1998). In October of 1996, the parties signed a consent decree that legally bound the MTA to expand existing bus services. Unfortunately, there is little evidence of an imminent shift in the priorities of the MTA since the agency has defied the court-ordered consent decree claiming that they do not have the resources to purchase additional buses. Hence, overcrowding is still a frequent problem causing many buses to bypass waiting passengers. The problem is particularly acute in many low-income neighborhoods during peak-commute times.

The influx of welfare recipients into the labor market will clearly exacerbate a bad situation particularly since many recipients live near bus lines that are already overcrowded. To examine the issue of capacity, we estimated the base capacity of MTA lines. We then adjusted these figures to account for current ridership and to get a measure of the adjusted capacity on these lines, in other words, the number of seats that are available. Finally, we assumed that one-half of all current welfare recipients will enter the labor market and two-thirds of these recipients would rely on public transit. Based on these estimates and the residential location of welfare recipients, we identified the top 20 most problematic lines (Figure 6), bus lines that will experience the most overcrowding as a result of welfare reform

Even if welfare recipients are able to board a bus, they still may not have good access to employment. Using data from the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), the metropolitan planning organization, we calculated how far welfare recipients could travel by either auto or public transportation within 30 minutes and the number of jobs available within a 30-minute commute.¹⁰ In general, welfare recipients who travel using a car have fairly good access to jobs regardless of the neighborhood in which they live. Transit-dependent recipients face uneven access to employment depending on whether they live in job-rich or job-poor neighborhoods. Figure 7 shows the 30-minute contours around the Pico-Union area, a neighborhood just southwest of the job-rich central business district. Within a 30-minute commute by bus, recipients who live in Pico Union have access to a substantial number of low-wage jobs

¹⁰The data on travel time does not include the time it takes recipients to walk to the bus stop, to wait for the bus, to stop at any other destinations along the way such as the day care center, or to travel from the bus stop to their final destination. Consequently, a 30-minute trip in transit is equivalent to a 45- to 60-minute trip door-to-door

(118,990) However, compared to recipients that rely on the bus, welfare recipients who travel by car have access to five times as many low-wage jobs (615,700) within a 30-minute commute. In Watts (Figure 8), the disparity between the job access of transit-dependent recipients and auto-dependent recipients is much greater. Recipients who travel by bus have access to 8,001 jobs, those that rely on a car have access to more than 59 times as many jobs (468,561) Figure 9 presents data on job access by car or public transit based on 30-minute and 60-minute commutes from seven neighborhoods In each case, commuting by car allows recipients to access many more jobs than traveling by bus However, in job-rich neighborhoods such as Pico-Union, West Adams, and Boyle Heights transit-dependent recipients still have access to a reasonable number of jobs

Access to Child Care The travel patterns of welfare recipients are much more complicated than a straight line from home to work and back again. Welfare recipients, who are disproportionately single women with children, will likely be responsible for paid work as well as the care of their children Among the trips that welfare recipients will make include trips to the day care center, schools, and after-school programs Therefore, not only do welfare recipients need good access to jobs, they need convenient access to the array of support services, including child care centers, that will enable them work and, at the same time, provide a safe and secure environment for their children.

Data from the National Personal Transportation Survey show that women in female-headed households with young children (under 6 years) make 3.6 trips per day, making more than 11 percent more trips than men who live in households with young children (Rosenbloom, 1994) Frequently, women's trips are strung together in a pattern transportation planners term "trip chaining." Working women rarely commute directly

from home to and from work, they frequently link non-work and work trips together (Strathman and Dueker, 1994). The likelihood that the work commute will include at least one non-work trip is 37 percent higher for women than for men (Strathman and Dueker, 1994). Single parents with young children who have no other adult to share in the household responsibilities are the most likely to have complex commute chains both to and from work (Strathman and Dueker, 1994)

To address the child care needs of welfare recipients, the California State Legislature established a three-stage child care system. The program is structured to help recipients transition from the short-term child care needed to begin work activities to the "...stable, long term child care necessary for the family to leave and remain off of welfare" (California Department of Social Services, 1997). Stage One, administered by DPSS, begins as soon as a family enters the new CalWORKs program. The County's 10 Resource and Referral agencies administer Stage Two and Three of the child care program. Stage Two begins after a recipient has been working for six months, when a recipient's work or work activity has stabilized, or when a family transitions off welfare (California Department of Social Services, 1997). Stage Three begins when a funded space is available for current and former CalWORKs recipients and families who have received diversion services (California Department of Social Services, 1997). Subsidized child care is guaranteed for CalWORKs children age 10 and under and, if funding is available, for children ages 11-12 (Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services, 1999). Parents can choose from among the following three options of care:

- *Licensed Center Care*: licensed, center-based care
- *Licensed Family Child Care Home*: licensed, home-based care

- *License Exempt Care*: care by any person providing care for the children of one family in addition to their own; care of children by a relative or guardian; certain before and/or after-school care, enrichment and recreation programs, care as part of cooperative arrangements between parents that involve no payment, or care provided on federal lands.

However, studies show that Los Angeles faces a shortage of available child-care slots. A study by Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE) shows that there are approximately 13 preschool or child-care center slots for every 100 eligible children ages five and under (Policy Analysis for California Education, 1997). Additionally, as Figure 10 shows, available slots are not distributed equally throughout the County. Figure 10 presents data on the ratio between licensed child care and family day care centers in Los Angeles and the number of children under the age of 5. The map shows a high ratio of child-care slots to young children in many neighborhoods on the west side of Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley. However, the map shows a scarcity of child care centers in a number of neighborhoods, particularly Hispanic neighborhoods east and southeast of downtown and in the eastern part of the San Fernando Valley (Pacoima). This geographic pattern might indicate a scarcity of day care centers in Hispanic neighborhoods, a finding that has also emerged from other studies (PACE, 1997, Buriel and Hurtado, 1998). Researchers at the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute examined the child care barriers facing low-income Latino families in Southern California (Buriel and Hurtado, 1998). The authors found that one out of three low-income Latino families have difficulties finding adequate childcare and that one out of four Latina mothers had lost employment because of child care problems. The spatial distribution of childcare centers may also be influenced by racial and ethnic variation in the demand for certain types of care. For example, the limited supply of childcare slots in Hispanic

neighborhoods could also be explained by a preference by Hispanic families for informal child care arrangements. License exempt care – such as care by family members and neighbors – are not reflected in these data.

This spatial analysis of childcare centers presents only a partial picture. First, it does not incorporate license exempt care; those data are not available. Second, it does not incorporate the actual availability of childcare slots. Evidence suggests that subsidized day care centers are more likely to operate at close to full capacity (Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services, 1999). And, finally, it does not address the availability of different types of care, particularly the shortage of infant care, special needs care, and child care that operates during non-traditional hours. For example, among licensed family child care homes in California, 29% provide evening, overnight, or weekend care; of licensed and license-exempt centers, only 2 percent provide care during non-traditional hours (California Child Care and Resource & Referral Network, 1997). What is clear, however, is that systematically organizing and arranging for appropriate childcare for welfare recipients will be a tremendously complex task.

Access to Employment Training. Finally, as part of the new program requirements, many welfare recipients will participate in employment-related services aimed at helping them get a job. Most of these services are located in One-Stop Workforce Development sites. In some ways the consolidation of services makes it easier for recipients to apply and participate in multiple programs; however, it also requires that recipients travel to a central location that can be many miles from their homes. Table 7 and Figure 11 summarize the employment programs and services in which welfare recipients might participate and the location of these services.

Service	Description	Location
Intake	Initial filling out of forms and determination of eligibility	CalWORKs District Office or GAIN Regional Office
Orientation and Appraisal	A one-day orientation program that begins with motivational training and concludes with a one-on-one interview with the CalWORKs case manager.	CalWORKs District Office
Job Club	A three-week activity, the first week of which is a job search skills workshop and the rest of which is job search – seeking job leads, arranging for interviews, discussing interview experiences with a job counselor	Job Club site
Welfare-to-Work Activities	Work experience programs, remedial education, vocational programs	Various sites throughout the County

IV. The Response: Institutional Arrangements for Addressing Transportation Challenges

Among social service agencies in California, transportation has emerged as the most significant barrier in implementing a work-first welfare program (Ebener, 1999). Therefore, groups of local planners from diverse areas of expertise have been called on to develop strategies for addressing the transportation problems of welfare recipients, an issue that received scant attention prior to welfare reform. In Los Angeles, the challenge of developing a transportation plan for welfare recipients has fallen to the Transportation Inter-Agency Task Force (TIATF). This task force is comprised of agencies and organizations with varied functional responsibilities related to welfare reform, that represent diverse geographic areas, and include members from the public, private, and non-profit sectors.

The goal of the TIATF was to facilitate a collaborative planning process that resulted in a coordinated transportation for welfare recipients. Coordination has been

emphasized through federal and state funding requirements which emphasize matching grants and good faith efforts at collaboration. The results thus far suggest that, although ostensibly collaborative, the planning process has been dominated by certain players, particularly major transit agencies. They have sought to ensure that the outcomes of the process will be beneficial to their organizations.

The result has been a plan with a set of transportation programs that fall under the jurisdiction of the same players who dominated the planning process, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). Their programs, expansions of existing services, do not significantly change the range of transportation options available to welfare recipients. Traditional fixed-route public transit has been favored as the preferred, dominant mode of travel for welfare-to-work participants. Funding and the authority to implement new transportation programs have been concentrated in the two government agencies that have always made and implemented transportation policy for low-income Angelenos. Although wrapped in the guise of a new institutional arrangement, the outcomes so far have served to reinforce the status quo.

Transportation Planning for Welfare Recipients. In Los Angeles County, the Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) operates the county welfare system. The planning process for implementing CalWORKs in the County began in September 1997. DPSS formed fourteen workgroups to address various policy issues. The Welfare-to-Work Workgroup, to which the transportation issue was assigned, formed the Welfare-to-Work Transportation Subgroup to address transportation specifically. Soon, the subgroup

renamed itself the “Transportation Inter-Agency Task Force” (TIATF) The TIATF has met monthly since its inception

The welfare-to-work TIATF is not directed by the Department of Public Social Services. Instead, two transportation organizations, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG) have assumed the role of leading the welfare reform transportation planning process. The MTA is both Los Angeles County’s primary transit provider and transportation planning agency It oversees the implementation of transportation alternatives like commuter rail, carpool lanes, bikeways, and transportation demand management (TDM), as well as the county bus system

SCAG is the metropolitan planning organization for Southern California It provides information to local governments on regional issues such as the environment, regional growth, and transportation, as well as acting as a forum for local governments to work with each other SCAG develops forecasts on regional travel growth and compiles the regional transportation plan, which determines whether the transportation network meets national air quality standards. It also operates Southern California Rideshare, an agency that facilitates carpooling across the region Neither SCAG nor the MTA is a traditional social service agency, nor do they gear their programs and services specifically toward people on aid. However, because of their predominantly lower-income clientele, public transit operators such as the MTA are often considered to be transportation “social service providers” (Wachs and Taylor, 1998). As a consequence, public transit agencies are often seen as the logical liaison between traditional social service providers and the transportation field.

DPSS had little experience with transportation issues, so initially it handed leadership on the issue to outside transportation organizations – the MTA and SCAG. Recently, DPSS has reasserted more control and has been actively involved in the transportation needs assessment mandated by the County Board of Supervisors. Therefore, DPSS remains involved in the collaborative planning process and, ultimately, retains the legal responsibility for getting the transportation plan approved and implemented. The other organizations on the Taskforce represent a broad swath of public and private interests, including housing, education, municipal transit, paratransit, and community-based organizations. These organizations have all come together to develop a transportation plan that will provide programs and services that help welfare recipients find and keep work. Appendix C lists the names and types of organizations involved in the process.

In June 1999, the Transportation Plan submitted by the TIATF to the county Board of Supervisors was approved. However, the plan submitted was split into two “phases.” Phase I consisted of transportation solutions that would be implemented as soon as possible upon approval of the plan by the Board. Phase II of the plan is composed of solutions that will not be implemented until a transportation needs assessment is completed, ostensibly by April 2000. Comparing the two phases, it becomes evident that Phase I of the plan is composed of informational and organizational programs making use of existing public transportation services and prolonging the current planning process. Phase II contains any programs that might actually alter the transportation options available to welfare recipients, such as expansion of alternative public transportation services or automobile-oriented programs.

At the time of writing, although approved by the Board of Supervisors, the transportation plan is only partially complete. The first part of the plan provided funds for the MTA to hire staff to focus on the issue of transportation for welfare recipients. County staff began developing the needs assessment in August 1999. Meanwhile, the TIATF has not been disbanded. It still must supervise progress on the yet-to-be-implemented aspects of Phase I of the plan, and it awaits the completion of the transportation needs assessment before addressing the more substantive changes to the transportation network of recipients contemplated in Phase II. The TIATF seems positioned to become a permanent institution. Supervised by the MTA, the TIATF will provide the agency with an “entrée” to DPSS and its cohort of social service providers.

The transportation planning process We used two methods to investigate the transportation planning process – a focus group and a survey. These approaches were used to assess (a) the perceptions that administrators have of the transportation problems facing welfare recipients (b) existing transportation programs for welfare recipients, and (c) the collaborative planning process. We describe the methodology for both of these approaches in Appendix D.

The data suggest that in many respects, the TIATF is a collaborative planning process. Such collaboratives are ideally composed of a broad group of stakeholders with relatively equal levels of investment in the process and its outcomes (Helling, 1998). In theory, this process should be directed by a neutral facilitator, as opposed to “chaired” by one stakeholder (Innes and Booher, 1999). The TIATF, however, has come to rely on the

leadership of the MTA and SCAG, two stakeholders very much invested in the outcomes of the process

From the outset, DPSS established that the MTA and SCAG would be co-chairs of the welfare reform transportation planning process. Because DPSS had little knowledge of transportation issues, and the MTA and SCAG are leaders of local transportation policy, particularly for the low-income population, the decision to make them co-chairs was logical. However, giving them leadership status on the TIATF has ensured that their perspectives will dominate the TIATF. Although a new institutional arrangement, the TIATF has come to advocate traditional transportation policy as advocated by the two traditional transportation planning agencies. The result has been a reliance on fixed-route public transit as the transportation solution for welfare recipients moving into paid employment

One issue in particular, car-oriented programs for welfare recipients, highlights how the MTA and SCAG have dominated the TIATF and narrowed its recommendations. The TIATF was founded by DPSS to bring together the broadest possible coalition of groups with knowledge about transportation for recipients. Private Industry Councils (PICs) have been involved in welfare-to-work for years and therefore have a unique perspective to provide the TIATF. However, the dominance of the process by agencies with a stake in public transit has prevented the PICs from truly joining in the development of the plan. Having the planning process chaired instead of facilitated from the outside may have given primacy to certain perspectives, causing the PICs' support of car-ownership programs to be stifled.

When asked “What transportation programs might best help recipients?” all but one of the representatives from the PICs suggested that car ownership, car repair, or car insurance programs were the programs that would best help recipients find and hold work. This differs markedly from the responses of transportation organization representatives, who almost always felt that expansion of the “current system,” meaning public transit for recipients, was the best way to go.

In the early meetings when the TIATF had just started, the PICs and some other social service organizations had been pushing for the inclusion of car-oriented services for welfare recipients in the plan. However, the transportation organizations on the taskforce, almost all of which are transit providers, were unhappy with a focus on car-ownership. A vote was called, and the TIATF agreed not to discuss car-oriented services, at least until the completion of a transportation needs assessment (to be completed in April 2000)

Both TIATF co-chairs, the MTA and SCAG, are deeply involved in promoting alternatives to the private, single-occupant automobile. SCAG, an under-funded regional government, earns money by selling its electronic transit route-finder, TRANSTAR, to other agencies. The MTA is the largest public transit operator in Southern California. Although its members refer to the TIATF as a collaborative process, the process is more like a series of traditional board meetings, with an “asymmetrical distribution of power” – the chairs having greater say than other participants (Golich, 1991:235). Notably, all meetings for the TIATF are held at MTA headquarters.

The plan. A transportation plan has been produced by the TIATF. However, as mentioned earlier, it has been divided into two phases for implementation. Phase I,

currently in the implementation process is outlined in Figure 12 (next page) Solution #5, which would have paid for rideshare, guaranteed ride home, or vanpool services for recipients, is omitted from the list above because, although listed in Phase I, implementation of Solution #5 was postponed until completion of the transportation needs assessment, like the issues in Phase II

Figure 12

PHASE I - ISSUES/SOLUTIONS

- Issue #1 - Participant transportation needs are not documented
 - Solution #1 - Complete a comprehensive participant needs assessment
- Issue #2 - Lack of dedicated staff to address transportation needs of the welfare-to-work population
 - Solution #2 - Dedicate a team of staff to coordinate solutions in the transportation plan between the transportation agencies and the human services agencies
- Issue #3 - Lack of access to public transportation information
 - Solution #3A - Purchase and install the TranStar/Ridestar programs
 - Solution #3B - Upgrade/provide transportation information services
 - Solution #3C - Provide informational material
- Issue #4 - GAIN transportation expenses for employed participants
 - Solution #4 - Pay for employment related transportation costs
- Issue #5 - Omitted
- Issue #6 - Lack of coordination between public transportation agencies and Human Services Agencies
 - Solution #6A - Transportation and Human Services Executive Council
 - Solution #6B - Establish a universal fare medium
 - Solution #6C - Seamless transportation system

Solution #4, paying for the employment-related transportation costs of recipients, basically continues the current subsidies that DPSS already provides recipients looking for work. These subsidies will in large part go towards bus tokens and passes for fixed route public transit DPSS will also pay car mileage. However, because the bulk of recipients do not have operable cars, transit agencies will receive most of this subsidy.

The only substantive program for recipients actually included in Phase I is Solution #3, the TRANSTAR/RIDESTAR computer programs in DPSS welfare offices. TRANSTAR allows its users to find the best public transit route between two points This program will be made available to recipients at welfare offices, giving them the information they need to use the existing transit system when going to interviews and

work RIDESTAR is a database of vanpools and carpools which will also be made available to recipients at welfare offices. Currently, only TRANSTAR is being installed at DPSS offices. Both are existing programs provided by SCAG, which earns money by selling the systems to DPSS.

The remaining solutions prescribed in Phase I are geared toward the continuation of the TIATF planning process. Solution #6 essentially recommends a continuation of the current collaborative planning process. Solutions #1 and #2 refer to the transportation needs assessment, which will be a research study in the vein of traditional rational planning. Surveys, focus groups, and administrative data analysis will be conducted by a group of professional planners and researchers to determine the transportation needs of welfare recipients transitioning to work. All new programs for recipients (other than TRANSTAR) have been delayed until this study is completed.

The welfare reform transportation planning process has produced a significant new institution, the Transportation Interagency Taskforce. The TIATF will likely continue after its original goal, the development of a transportation plan for welfare-to-work has been completed. However, while a new structure, the TIATF reflects traditional transportation policy for low-income workers. Specifically, the only policies to come out of the collaborative planning process so far reinforce traditional, fixed-route public transit. The work of the TIATF is incomplete, and after the completion of a needs assessment, more innovative policy options such as car-ownership or demand-responsive transportation may will be revisited. Nevertheless, the first two years of the TIATF have shown a marked preference policies of its leaders, the MTA and SCAG. The result has

been a plan that favors the traditional transportation solution for low-income workers, public transit

V. Conclusions: Challenges and Opportunities

In Los Angeles, transportation services for welfare recipients are quite limited pending a transportation needs assessment to be completed by Spring 2000. Thus far, Los Angeles County has addressed the problem of high transportation costs by offering welfare recipients free bus passes and reimbursing recipients for their auto travel, they have also established programs to provide welfare recipients with information on bus routes and schedules. An effective transportation program for welfare recipients will necessarily include an array of services that will vary depending on the type of neighborhood in which recipients live. In addition to offsetting the costs of travel, counties should pursue the following four policy directions intended to make it easier for welfare recipients to travel to both work and non-work destinations.

(1) Enhance Public Transportation Services in Job-Rich Neighborhoods

Public transit will only be effective in job-rich neighborhoods where welfare recipients can travel to jobs and other destinations within a reasonable length of time. In job-rich neighborhoods, therefore, policymakers should focus on enhancing existing public transportation services. Enhancements might include adding bus lines in areas with limited service; increasing capacity by adding additional vehicles and shortening headways, and adding off-peak service to better accommodate night and weekend work schedules as well as non-work travel.

Over time, transit planning and policy has increasingly emphasized services such as commuter services and rail development, aimed at suburban riders (Garrett and Taylor,

1999) In an era of limited funds, enhancing transit services for low-income riders in central city neighborhoods will require public transit agencies to shift their funding priorities away from services aimed at attracting white, male commuters out of their cars. In Los Angeles, this approach would mean investing additional resources on buses that serve central city neighborhoods. Unfortunately, there is little evidence of an imminent shift in the priorities of Los Angeles' major transit agency, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA). The MTA has defied a court-ordered consent decree mandating that they buy additional buses. And in a recent radio talk show, the former chairman of the MTA, Larry Zarian, stated.

Transit dependent people are always going to take the bus, are always going to need buses. We need to help them. But what about those that are causing our congestion? They are not the transit-dependent people. It is people like you, me, the Professor and Zev and the rest of us, they are hitting those highways and freeways. We need to find a way to get them out of the car. Otherwise it is not going to resolve the problem." (Which Way LA, 1999)

In other words, the MTA takes for granted low-income, transit-dependent riders who comprise the disproportionate share of their riders. Instead, their goal is to attract "people like you, me, the Professor and Zev," all white, professional men.

(2) Establish auto programs and non-fixed route transportation services in job-poor neighborhoods

In many job-poor neighborhoods, even if welfare recipients could easily walk to a bus stop and board a bus, they would not get to their destinations within a reasonable amount of time. In these neighborhoods, welfare recipients would benefit from programs to increase their access to an automobile and programs that provide non-fixed route transportation services. Counties around the country are experimenting with a variety of car programs including providing low-cost auto loans, car-sharing and carpooling

programs, reduced-rate auto insurance, and auto maintenance services. In these neighborhoods, other non-fixed route transportation services might also work such as employer-sponsored vanpools, shuttles, or paratransit.

Unfortunately, auto programs have been politically controversial and have raised concerns with public transit advocates and environmentalists who believe that these programs will result in increased traffic congestion and pose a threat to public transit and air quality. In Los Angeles, the task force responsible for developing a transportation plan for welfare recipients initially included an auto component in the plan; the County Board of Supervisors later eliminated this component of the plan.

(3) Provide services that ease the burden of long-distance commutes

Although most welfare recipients commute relatively short distances, some will inevitably find jobs far from where they live. For those recipients, it is important to establish services that ease the burden of long-distance commutes. Guaranteed ride home programs would enable recipients to travel home whenever they needed in case of an emergency.

(3) Adopt non-transportation solutions to transportation problems

New public policies that are not directly transportation related may also improve employment access among welfare recipients. For example, local economic development is intended to increase economic opportunities in areas of concentrated poverty. These programs have included financial incentives, regulatory relief, and social services targeted toward preserving, attracting, and/or creating jobs to revitalize poor neighborhoods. The evidence on the effects of local economic development programs varies depending on the type of program as well as the measures used to evaluate these

programs. Additionally, similar to transportation services, many existing local economic development strategies are tailored around creating job opportunities for low-income men (Blumenberg 1998). This approach has played limited role in the overall policy response to welfare reform in Los Angeles, most likely because it is a long-term solution in a policy environment in which welfare recipients must find jobs immediately.

Policies that contribute to greater housing mobility can also offer improved access to housing in job-rich neighborhoods. The most prominent example of this strategy is the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program in Chicago in which African-American families receive assistance to move from public, central-city housing to housing in suburban, predominantly white neighborhoods (Rosenbaum and Popkin, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1995). In Los Angeles, TANF funds will be used to subsidize the one-time relocation of welfare recipients who want to move to new neighborhoods.

Non-transportation policies to increase women's access to employment may improve economic opportunities for some welfare recipients but, by themselves, will not solve recipients' job access problem. Local economic development programs, if effective, are slow and may not meet the immediate needs of welfare recipients. Housing mobility programs do not address racial and ethnic discrimination in housing markets and the shortage of affordable housing units in many job-rich neighborhoods. Since a perfect balance between jobs and housing is unlikely, transportation services are essential components to effective welfare-to-work programs.

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APPENDIX A: Agencies Involved in Providing Welfare-to-Work Services

Agency	Role
Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services (DPSS)	GAIN (welfare-to-work programs)
Los Angeles County Office of Education (LACOE)	Initial orientation; Job Club
Los Angeles County Office of Mental Health	Mental health services
Los Angeles County Office of Health Services	Substance abuse services
Private Industry Councils (PICs)	Eight jurisdictional Service Delivery Areas (SDAs) in Los Angeles County responsible for providing employment training services authorized by the federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and the Department of Labor's Welfare-to-Work grant program
Los Angeles Unified School District	After-school care
Community Colleges	13 community college districts and 22 campuses in Los Angeles County who have received State funds for curriculum development, student services, and job placement for CalWORKs participants
Adult Schools and Regional Occupation Centers/Programs	42 school districts administering adult education and 12 regional occupation centers/programs (ROC/Ps) in Los Angeles County receive State funds for general public education based on attendance and have also received added State funds to serve CalWORKs participants
Employment Training Panel	A joint business-labor board to administer programs which use a small part of the tax employers pay into the State's unemployment insurance fund to train new employees or retrain existing employees; some funds are committed to CalWORKs welfare-to-work.
Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation/Community Development Commission (LAEDC/CDC)	Administer a Job Creation Investment Fund grant to develop industry-specific strategies designed to promote growth in those industry sectors that offer both low skills entry-level jobs as well as living wage career opportunities
Housing Authorities	A variety of services/programs aimed at welfare recipients who residents of Section

	8 or public housing
Transportation Agencies	"Access to Jobs" transportation programs
County Department of Community and Senior Services	Direct service delivery partnership to increase the direct service and coordination capabilities of domestic violence contractors
Resource and Referral (R&R) agencies which are also funded Alternative Payment Program (APP) (funded by the California Department of Education [CDE])	Administration of voucher-type subsidized child care programs for Stage Two and Stage Three child care
Faith-Based, Civic, Charitable, and Community-Based Non-Profit Organizations	

APPENDIX B: Data Sources

Data	Source	Description	Application to this Study
The Integrated Benefits Payment System (IBPS)	Los Angeles Department of Public Social Services	The Integrated Benefits Payment System (IBPS) is an administrative database of CalWORKS recipients maintained by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS). IBPS tracks welfare case and benefit information on CalWORKS and Food Stamps-only cases. IBPS contains person- and case-level data, including gross and net earned income, monthly aid code, social security number, sex, date of birth, race, alien status, and so on.	Density map of welfare recipients
Business Establishment List (BEL202)	California Employment Development Department	Information on the firms in which welfare recipients find employment was based on the BEL 202 which identifies all firms in California, the monthly gross earnings of each firm, and the total employees of each firm. In addition, this data identifies the sector of each firm as well as the mailing and physical address, the legal name and the "Doing Business as" name.	Location of jobs in low-wage firms
Base Wage File	California Employment Development Department	Recipients' employment records were obtained through the Base Wage database which contains quarterly records of all workers in the unemployment insurance (UI) program. The UI program covers approximately 95 percent of all paid workers in the private sector. The data do not include self-employment, employment in firms not in the Unemployment Insurance Program, and some governmental agencies. This database identifies each firm (by employer identification number and branch number) that	Merged with recipient list, allows us to identify (a) whether recipients have employment and (b) the quarterly earnings of recipients

			employed an individual (listed by social security number) during each quarter. In addition, this file provides the total quarterly earnings that an individual made from each firm.	
Q5	California Department of Social Services		<i>The Q5 survey is an ongoing survey conducted the CDSS to ensure that welfare benefit levels are accurately set. The Q5 data set contains 36,716 records. About 13% of the records were from Los Angeles county. The Q5 survey was administered between October 1997 and September 1998.</i>	Characteristics of welfare recipients including auto ownership
Job Readiness Survey	California Department of Social Services		The Job-Readiness Survey was administered between May and July of 1996 and contains 1,319 records, all of which were considered valid. About one fifth of the respondents were in southern California (Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside and San Bernardino counties).	Recipient perceptions of transportation as a barrier to their employment
SCAG Modeling Data	Southern California Area of Governments		The "1994 SCAG Regional Transportation Model- Origin and Destination Data for Automobiles and Transit" contains the estimated travel times between traffic analysis zones (TAZs) in Los Angeles County by both automobile and public transit. TAZs are small areas, similar in size to census tracts, used in transportation analysis. In Los Angeles County, the TAZs are closely related to official Census tracts, but there are differences. These times between TAZs are derived from observed travel data on Los Angeles roads and transit systems.	Analysis of the distance that recipients can travel in 30 minutes by auto and public transit
Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS)	Bureau of Transportation Statistics, United States Department of		The Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS) measures travel of American households. Conducted in	

	Transportation	1969, 1977, 1983, 1990, and 1995 by the Federal Highway Administration and several cosponsors, the NPTS provides national level statistics on travel by all modes. The NPTS is designed primarily to cover local, repetitive travel, although long-distance trips are also reported.	
MTA Ridership Data	Metropolitan Transportation Authority	The Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) periodically collects ridership and capacity data for its bus lines. This data is collected both by overall bus line and at specific points along the line. The MTA uses this data to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of its service, as well as determine whether they are meeting the requirements of a court-enforced consent decree. Our data is composed of averages produced from data collected by the MTA over multiple years.	Analysis of the available capacity on MTA lines
TANF Caseload Data	California Department of Social Services	Data on welfare caseloads by county by month from October 1989 to February 1999 was obtained from CDSS. Caseload figures are listed separately for the Family Group (FG) and Unemployed Parent (U) programs.	Caseload trends from January 1990 to February 1999
1990 U S Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP)	U S Census	Based on employee responses to the long form census, the "1990 U S Census Transportation Planning Package-Journey to Work File for Los Angeles Area" summarizes transportation and travel information conducted during the 1990 Census. Data is based on trips between home and work. It can be categorized both by residence and place of work and summarized down to the census tract level.	Identification of high transit use neighborhoods

APPENDIX C: Welfare-to-Work Transportation Interagency Task Force Membership Affiliation

- Archdiocese of Los Angeles
- Access Services, Inc
- Career Planning Center
- City of Long Beach Private Industry Council
- City of Los Angeles
- City of Los Angeles Department of Transportation (L.A DOT)
- City of Los Angeles Housing Authority
- City of Torrance
- Carson/Lomita/Torrance Private Industry Council
- Community Joint Venture Partnership
- Compton Community College
- Culver City Bus Lines
- Diversified Paratransit, Inc
- Employment Development Department (EDD)
- Federal Transit Administration
- First African Methodist Episcopal (FAME) Church
- IBI Group
- International Institute of L A
- Los Angeles City Private Industry Council
- Los Angeles City Unified School District
- Los Angeles County Office of Education Head Start
- Los Angeles County Office of Education (LACOE)
- Los Angeles County Service Delivery Area
- Los Angeles County TAXI
- Los Angeles County Welfare-to-Work Business Coalition
- Los Angeles Southwest College
- Long Beach Private Industry Council
- Long Beach Transit
- Norwalk Transit
- San Fernando Valley Neighborhood Legal Services
- Santa Monica Municipal Bus Lines
- Service Employees International Union Local 660
- Shelter Partnership
- Southern California Rideshare
- State of California, Department of Rehabilitation
- Surface Transportation Policy Project
- The Human Services Network of Los Angeles
- UCLA/Occidental Community Food Security Project
- Verdugo Private Industry Council
- Watts Labor Community Action Committee

- Youth Corp/Southeast Los Angeles County Service Delivery Area/Private Industry Council (SELACO/PIC)

APPENDIX D: Methodology of Institutional Analysis

The focus group was conducted in December 1998, about six months before the Board of Supervisors approved the transportation plan. We included representatives from eight of the organizations working on the transportation welfare reform plan. Initially, the focus group was organized to assist in formulating the right questions to put in a survey of participants. However, it turned out to be a major source of data in its own right. The interactions among the various participants revealed much about their understandings of the issue and each other.

The focus group lasted two and one-half hours and was facilitated by researchers from UCLA. The first half-hour of the focus group was a discussion of what transportation programs were already available to welfare recipients. The remaining two hours were devoted to the planning process. First, the participants were split into two groups to brainstorm what challenges they faced when developing the transportation plan. Then, the two groups reported on what they had discussed. By vote, participants chose two obstacles from the list that they had brainstormed to discuss in depth. After splitting into two new groups, the participants focused on these challenges, one of which was collaboration. They defined the issue, elaborated its extent, discussed the consequences of not addressing the issue, and suggested ways of addressing the issue. Finally, they reported back to the entire focus group on their findings.

The other primary data source is a survey of transportation and welfare reform policymakers being conducted throughout the State of California. The full survey looks at the planning process and the transportation programs that have already been

implemented. It provides information about policymakers' perception of the problems and solutions that recipients' face when seeking work.

In Los Angeles County, the survey was conducted with DPSS administrators, transit agency representatives, members of the Private Industry Councils (PICs), other agency representatives, public advocates, private interests, religious and community representatives – twenty members of the TIATF, about half of the entire body. The members surveyed run the gamut of involvement in the TIATF, from the two co-chairs to people who had attended only one or two meetings. Interviews were conducted over the phone and because many of the questions were open-ended, each survey could last anywhere from thirty minutes to an hour.

We used “snowball sampling” to expand our sample from a core group of key players such as the MTA, DPSS, and SCAG other players, such as the PICs, who may have been more peripherally involved. Snowball sampling involves asking one participant who else they think would be able to contribute to the study. We also stratified the sample by type of organization, whether or not someone has recommended we interview them, to prevent sampling only from groups that had been heavily involved in the process. In this way, we managed to broaden our sample to include about half of the population of TIATF members.

APPENDIX E: Los Angeles Focus Group Agenda

1. **Introductory Remarks** (10 minutes)
 - a. Purpose of the project
 - b. Methodology
 - c. Agenda for today's focus group (put on the wall)

2. **Welfare-to-Work Transportation Programs:** What if any transportation programs directed at welfare recipients exist in [your county]? – group brainstorm (10 minutes)
 - a. Current programs
 - b. Programs in the works

3. **Institutional Response to Welfare Reform.** What are some of the challenges or obstacles to planning, developing, and implementing effective transportation programs aimed at welfare recipients? (1 hour)

(Ideas: limited resources, lack of political will, lack of organizational commitment, participation, differing perceptions of the problem, lack of collaboration, institutional structure, formal process of creating a county plan)

 - a. brainstorm in two groups (45 minutes)
 - b. report back to entire group (10 minutes)
 - c. prioritize list (5 minutes)

4. **Exploration of the 2-4 principal challenges facing organizations and agencies in [your county]** (1 hour)
 - a. small group discussion that includes extent of the issue, cause, consequence, proposal of what to do, a list of who needs to participate (individuals, organizations, constituencies) and why (45 minutes)
 - b. report back to the group (15 minutes)

5. **Survey Questions:** What sorts of questions would you put on a survey aimed at assessing the institutional response to the transportation aspect of welfare reform? (time permitting)