

## Executive Summary

### *Impacts on children in experimental studies of welfare-to-work programs<sup>1</sup>*

***Martha J. Zaslow, Jennifer L. Brooks, Kristin A. Moore, Pamela Morris,  
Kathryn Tout and Zakia Redd***

*It is a longstanding irony that welfare policies were launched decades ago out of concern for children, and yet most of the research on policies for families receiving welfare has focused on adult outcomes, such as welfare receipt, employment, earnings, and income. This article builds on an important development in this research: the launching of a set of rigorous experimental studies focusing simultaneously on impacts on adults and children. It is our goal to integrate the findings from these studies in order to inform the process of welfare reform reauthorization at the Federal and state levels.*

*To briefly anticipate the key themes and conclusions of this overview of the evidence, we find that:*

- ?? The welfare-to-work programs included in this review generally targeted adult economic outcomes, such as welfare receipt, employment, earnings and income. They did not explicitly target child outcomes by including program components aimed directly at children, such as screening for child health or developmental problems, or providing high quality early childhood intervention, despite the fact that welfare policies have their roots in concerns about the well-being of children.***
  
- ?? Given the limited emphasis on children in the programs themselves, it is perhaps not surprising that many of the results for children point to only weak impacts or an absence of impacts. Looking across all of the studies, overall, there was neither widespread harm nor benefit to children from welfare-to-work programs examined thus far (though there is an important caveat here that not all program approaches, or combinations of approaches, currently being employed by states have been examined empirically).***
  
- ?? Nevertheless, some impacts on child outcomes did occur in these programs. In terms of effect sizes, the magnitude of these impacts, when they did occur, fell within the range of impacts for programs that target children directly, but were not as strong as the largest impacts found in some early intervention programs.***
  
- ?? When they did occur, the impacts on children were both favorable and unfavorable. There were unfavorable as well as favorable impacts in each of***

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper was prepared for the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation as a basis for an article to appear in the 2001 *Future of Children* Volume on The Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families.

*the three aspects of children's development examined: cognitive, behavioral and health. Thus, while they were not associated with widespread impacts on children, these programs did have the potential to affect children's outcomes both for the better and worse.*

*?? In addressing the question of what tips program impacts on children toward the favorable or unfavorable direction, the results of these studies suggest that four sets of factors are related to the occurrence of favorable and unfavorable program impacts on children: program goals and components, related patterns of economic impacts, family characteristics, and child characteristics.*

*Specifically, our review of the literature suggests the following patterns regarding what may "tip" child outcomes in the direction of favorable or unfavorable impacts:*

*?? Favorable impacts on children tended to occur:*

*☞☞ For school-age children in programs that resulted in improvements in family economic status not only in terms of employment and earnings, but also in terms of overall family income and proportion of families in poverty. This pattern of economic impacts occurred most consistently in programs that had strong financial work incentives and supports for working.*

*☞☞ On measures of cognitive development for school-age children in programs that resulted in increases in maternal educational attainment. This pattern of impacts for adults occurred primarily in programs that included education and training components as precursors to job search and the transition to employment.*

*?? Unfavorable impacts on children tended to occur:*

*☞☞ When families in the program did not show progress, on average, on any of the set of core economic outcomes (employment, earnings, overall income, or proportion of families in poverty) despite program supports and requirements.*

*☞☞ When children of the adults targeted by the programs were adolescents. Unfavorable impacts for adolescent children of welfare recipients occurred in programs taking very different approaches (for example, programs emphasizing the provision of financial work incentives and supports for working, and programs focusing on enforcement strategies more heavily). Since impacts on adolescent children of recipients were examined in only a minority of the studies, more information is needed to*

*determine whether this pattern holds up in other studies<sup>2</sup>. Still, these findings suggest that age of child is very important to consider, and that programs taking a range of approaches should consider the implications for older as well as younger children.*

*✂✂Unexpectedly, for children in families that entered welfare-to-work programs at lower rather than higher initial levels of disadvantage (for example, who entered the evaluations as recent rather than long term welfare recipients). This pattern also cut across very different program approaches. These findings suggest that we may need to reexamine and redefine the concept of initial disadvantage in families applying for welfare. For example, it is possible that those at apparently lower initial disadvantage (for example, with a shorter history of welfare receipt, or with higher educational and literacy skills) may apply for welfare because of an acute change or stressor (such as the birth of a baby, job loss, or marital disruption). Having their mothers enter a program that encourages or requires a transition to employment, when their families are already in a period of acute change, may compound the number of adaptations that children need to make. A closer examination of the circumstances of families at lower as well as higher initial risk is warranted.*

**?? Finally, even when these welfare-to-work programs had favorable impacts on children, the level of risk for poor developmental outcomes in the children remained high.**

---

<sup>2</sup> Data on adolescents will soon be available in many other studies including the five year follow-ups of the NEWWS Child Outcomes Study and the New Hope project, as well as reports from state welfare waiver evaluations.

## **Impacts on children in experimental studies of welfare -to-work programs <sup>3</sup>**

**Martha J. Zaslow, Jennifer L. Brooks, Kristin A. Moore, Pamela Morris,  
Kathryn Tout and Zakia Redd**

### **I. Introduction**

It is a longstanding irony that welfare policies were launched decades ago out of concern for children, and yet most of the research on policies for families receiving welfare has focused on adult outcomes, such as welfare receipt, employment, earnings, and income<sup>4</sup>. This article builds on an important development in this research: the launching of a set of rigorous experimental studies focusing simultaneously on impacts on adults *and* children.<sup>5</sup> It is our goal to integrate the findings from these studies in order to inform the process of welfare reform reauthorization at the Federal and state levels.

### **Harvesting Findings of Multiple Experimental Evaluations with a Focus on Two Generations**

Between the late 1980s and the present, a set of ten experimental evaluations of programs to enhance the economic self-sufficiency of families receiving welfare<sup>6</sup> extended their studies to include a focus on children (see Tables 1a and 1b for an overview of the designs of the ten evaluations). These evaluations examined different program approaches (e.g., “work first” strategies, “education first” strategies, financial incentives to work), thus providing a context for examining how impacts on children differ given different program goals and components. These studies also substantially extended the range of adult outcomes examined to include factors related to children’s immediate (“proximal”) caregiving environments, such as parenting behavior and

---

<sup>3</sup> This paper was prepared for the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation as a basis for an article to appear in the forthcoming *Future of Children* Volume on The Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families.

<sup>4</sup> Zaslow, Tout, Smith & Moore, 1998

<sup>5</sup> See also reviews of some of the experimental studies by Duncan and Chase-Lansdale (2001), and the Next Generation synthesis of research findings on welfare reform and children (Morris, Huston, Duncan, Crosby & Bos, 2001). These reviews focus on five of the seven studies for which results are reported on here. Both of these further reviews base their conclusions on new analyses completed for the Next Generation synthesis using four of the multiple child outcome measures available in each study. These new analyses hold constant the age range of children and also use similar, though not identical, covariates. The present article incorporates findings from two additional studies and provides a summary of all of the child outcome measures available within each study. Findings are summarized as they have been reported on in the original reports, rather than based on new analyses.

<sup>6</sup> One of the studies considered here, the New Hope Evaluation (Bos, Huston, Granger, Duncan, Brock, & McLoyd, 1999), while including many families receiving welfare, was not restricted to these families (nor to single parent families). Because all of the remaining studies, and many of the families in the New Hope Evaluation, had applied for or were receiving welfare at the start of the evaluations, for the sake of brevity, in the present article, we refer to the set of programs considered here as focusing on families receiving welfare.

maternal psychological well being, which could be important in explaining how impacts on children come about.

We are at the point of “harvesting” the findings of these studies. This is an opportune moment for such a harvest from two perspectives. First, while results are not yet available from all ten of the experimental evaluations with a focus on children, findings from the first seven studies have now been reported. This is a sufficient number to begin to discern key patterns. As results from the further studies become available, it will be possible to examine the consistency of the patterns and to extend the picture through consideration of additional program approaches. Second, to assure that results regarding children are taken into account in the upcoming policy discussions for reauthorization of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), a summary and integration of the complex set of findings regarding children will be important.

This paper begins with a description of the goals and components, the “blueprints” of the seven programs for which evaluation results are thus far available. We identify key dimensions on which the plans for the programs have differed, and using these dimensions, develop a typology for characterizing these programs. We then turn to an overview of the programs’ impacts on adults’ economic situations, and the degree to which programs of different types have actually produced differing patterns of economic impacts. As will be seen, the pattern of economic impacts has sometimes diverged from what was intended. A distinction between program blueprint and observed economic impacts is then maintained in the examination of program impacts for children. In particular, we examine patterns of impacts for children in light of program type, and then in light of pattern of economic impacts on adults, asking whether the pattern of results for children corresponds more closely to the program goals and type, or rather to the pattern of economic impacts actually achieved.

Outcomes for children are examined separately in the areas of cognitive development and academic progress; behavioral adjustment; and health. Distinguishing among the outcomes in these three broad “domains” or areas of children’s development makes it possible to ask whether patterns are consistent across different aspects of development, more marked in one area than others, or discrepant across the different areas of development. A key remaining question is the extent to which the programs examined have produced impacts on non-economic outcomes for families, and the role that such impacts have played in shaping results for children. It is important to determine, for example, whether this set of programs has encouraged fathers’ involvement with their children, and whether such involvement goes beyond the provision of child support. It is also important to determine whether the set of programs has produced changes in measures of maternal psychological well being (such as depression), or parenting. While we are still at an early and exploratory stage of understanding how impacts on these aspects of children’s proximal environments may be contributing to child impacts, preliminary examinations of this issue will also be summarized.

## Underlying Questions in This Set of Studies

A set of eight underlying questions will organize and guide the discussion of program impacts on children:

***(1) Should we expect children's development to be affected either consistently or strongly by welfare-to-work programs that primarily seek to bring about change in adult economic outcomes, and typically do not include program components specifically for children?*** The welfare-to-work programs studied here sought to change the economic activities of adults and the economic status of families. In most instances, they did not include components aimed directly at improving the development of children<sup>7</sup>. For example, with few exceptions, these programs did not include such elements as screening for health or developmental problems in the children of recipients, home visiting or parenting education to enhance mother-child relations, or high quality early childhood care and education programs. This orientation towards adults sets these programs apart from interventions that target outcomes for children directly, and, as noted by McGroder and colleagues, raises the questions of whether we should expect to see impacts for children in these programs that are either pervasive, cutting across multiple measures of development, or that are of substantial magnitude<sup>8</sup>.

On the one hand, with few or no components in this set of welfare-to-work programs aimed directly at enhancing the development of children, one might expect few or weak program impacts on children. On the other hand, as discussed by Huston<sup>9</sup> substantial evidence indicates that the outcomes that *are* targeted by this set of welfare-to-work programs, such as maternal educational attainment and family income, are of importance to children's cognitive development, behavioral adjustment, and health. Accordingly, to the extent that welfare-to-work programs succeed in changing these adult outcomes, one might expect to see changes in child outcomes.<sup>10</sup> A fundamental opening question in looking at the evidence across these seven evaluations is that of whether impacts on children do indeed occur with any consistency or strength in the context of these welfare-to-work programs.

---

<sup>7</sup> New Chance (Quint, Bos & Polit, 1997), one of the programs for teenage mothers, was explicit in aiming to improve outcomes for children as well as adults. The Teenage Parent Demonstration (Kisker, Rangarajan & Boller, 1998) was not explicitly "two generational," but did include parenting education and family relations as topics in the set of workshops that started the program.

<sup>8</sup> See McGroder, Zaslow, Moore & LeMenestrel, 2000 for a discussion of this issue.

<sup>9</sup> Huston, 2000. Draft of paper on Reforms and Child Development prepared for *Future of Children* volume on the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families, and discussed at First Draft Working Session, July 20-21, Washington, D.C.

<sup>10</sup> It is important to note, however, that the relationship between variables reflecting economic status and child outcomes may differ in experimental evaluations like those summarized here, and descriptive studies that are correlational in nature. The associations between child outcomes and family economic variables in the correlational studies may reflect self-selection on variables of importance both to the economic outcomes and to child outcomes. In the experimental studies, particularly those involving a mandate to participate in work-related activities, the patterns of self-selection may be altered and we may not see the same associations with child outcomes (McGroder, Zaslow, & Papillo, 2001; Zaslow, McGroder, Cave & Mariner, 1999).

**(2) If impacts on children do occur, what is the direction of the impacts?** Another fundamental question across the set of evaluation studies is that of whether impacts for children, if they do occur, are favorable or unfavorable in direction. Children in families below the poverty line, including children in families receiving welfare, are at elevated risk for adverse developmental outcomes (such as poor school performance, behavior problems, and poor health).<sup>11</sup> The generally elevated risk for poor developmental outcomes among these children heightens the importance of effects in these studies. Policymakers are particularly concerned about the possibility of causing any harm to children already at elevated risk, and want, at a minimum, to know that welfare-to-work programs they are implementing do not bring about unfavorable impacts for children. At the same time, this group of children is virtually the same group that many child-oriented programs (such as early childhood interventions) are targeting in trying to improve children's outcomes directly. If welfare-to-work programs enhance the well being and development of children (while seeking to bring about economic progress in adults), then an important mechanism will have been identified for improving the well being of children in poverty.

As the starting hypotheses in a number of the evaluation studies make clear, impacts in both directions, favorable and unfavorable, are plausible.<sup>12</sup> Movement off of welfare and into educational or employment activities, even in the absence of improvements in overall family income, could affect children's development favorably because children are exposed to a positive role model who is "taking personal responsibility" for her own economic self-sufficiency (a key focus of the 1996 welfare law, aptly named the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act). This transition could also benefit children by exposing them to new and potentially stimulating child care environments, or because mothers feel a greater sense of competence or control over their lives when they are engaged in work or work-preparation activities, and this results in improved maternal psychological well-being and improvements in parenting behavior. Improvements in overall family income stemming from these programs could also be very important to children, resulting in enhanced resources (such as safer housing, improved nutrition, more cognitively stimulating materials available in the home), and/or enhanced socialization practices (for example, because the mother is less stressed about the adequacy of resources, making her less irritable and more attentive in interactions with the child).

Unfavorable impacts on children could occur if requiring mothers to participate in a welfare-to-work program results in a decrease in overall family income. This might occur, for example, if mothers have difficulty fulfilling work requirements and are sanctioned, or if they move into low wage and/or unstable jobs. Unfavorable impacts on children could also occur if children are placed in child care that that is unstable or of

---

<sup>11</sup> See summary of findings on developmental status of children in families receiving welfare *apart from any welfare-to-work programs* in Zill et al., 1995; Zaslow, McGroder, Moore & Le Menestrel, 1999; Chapter 5 in McGroder et al., 2000; Kisker & Boller, 1999.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Bloom, Kemple, Morris, Scrivener, Verma & Hendra, 2001; Bos et al., 1999; Gennetian & Miller, 2000; McGroder, Zaslow, Moore & LeMenestrel, 2000; Moore, in press; Morris & Michalopoulos, 2000. See also, Huston, paper for *Future of Children*.

poor quality, or if their mothers' psychological distress increases (for example because they are worried about fulfilling work requirements or about the quality of child care their children are receiving, or because they are stressed by their job conditions).

***(3) Do impacts on children differ according to the nature of the program? According to the impacts actually achieved by programs on adults' educational attainment, employment, and income?*** The studies encompassed in this review focus on programs taking very different approaches to the same goal of increasing economic self-sufficiency for families receiving welfare. As will be noted in greater detail below, the programs differed in terms of whether their goals focused on increasing employment and decreasing welfare dependence solely (without any explicit focus on increasing overall family income), or whether they had an added emphasis on increasing income and bringing families above the poverty line. Programs also differed in terms of the breadth of supportive services they offered and their emphasis on enforcement of program requirements.

A fundamental question in reviewing the evidence across these studies is whether impacts for children differ for programs with varying goals and program components (i.e., the "blueprint" of the programs), and, further, whether impacts on children differ for programs with varying economic impacts on adults (i.e., what actually took place in terms of adult economic outcomes as a result of the blueprint). The distinction between what the programs planned and what they actually achieved is important, given that the economic impacts sometimes fell short of intended goals, and sometimes surpassed them. Results for children will therefore be examined in light of both the intent and impacts of different programs.

***(4) Do impacts for children vary by the characteristics of their families when they entered the evaluations?*** Stereotypes about families receiving welfare (for example, that they have many children; that welfare-receiving mothers have limited education; that recipients are not motivated to work) have been contradicted by descriptive portrayals of families at the point of entry into these evaluations. Above all, families in the samples were found to be quite heterogeneous on a range of background characteristics, despite the fundamental similarity in their economic circumstances. In addition, descriptive statistics often contradicted the stereotypes. For example, in one such descriptive portrayal, about two-thirds of families (65%) had only one or two children, a substantial proportion (61%) of mothers had completed high school, and similarly, most of the mothers in the sample expressed positive attitudes about working and negative attitudes towards welfare. Heterogeneity in the children's developmental status was also documented (prior to and apart from the influences of welfare-to-work programs on the families), with variation in measures of the children's cognitive and behavioral development and health found to be related systematically to such characteristics of the families as the mothers' work and welfare history, educational attainment and literacy, depressive symptoms and social support, and family configuration (family size and closeness of births) at the start of the evaluation. Measures of the children's development

were also found to be associated with the *accumulation* of risk and also protective factors in their families.<sup>13</sup>

Given this heterogeneity in the background characteristics of families receiving welfare, and given that children's development varies in light of these characteristics, a key question for this set of evaluation studies is that of whether program impacts on children differ in families that entered the programs at greater or lesser disadvantage (in terms of such characteristics as mother's educational attainment, previous work history, duration of welfare receipt, psychological well-being, and number of young children and closeness of their births). If, for example, programs focus their attention on the most disadvantaged families, and mothers in these families feel the most encouraged and supported, and go on to show the greatest economic gains, children in these families might be the most likely to show improved development. Yet if mothers in more disadvantaged families, to the contrary, are least able to respond to program requirements and supports because of barriers to moving into employment, and face reprimands and financial sanctioning as a result, children in these families might be particularly likely to lose ground and show unfavorable impacts<sup>14</sup>. It is important to distinguish among these possibilities. Concerns about program impacts on children, given the generally elevated risk among children in these samples, is further heightened for children in those families at the greatest disadvantage.

**(5) Do impacts for children vary by the age of the child?** The first in the series of experimental studies was launched just prior to the passage of (and anticipating the provisions of) the Family Support Act of 1988, the first national welfare law to require participation in work-related activities by mothers with children three years of age or older (with state option to lower this to one year of age or older). Out of concern that young children in these studies would be more likely to experience changes in the circumstances of their daily care than children already in school, much of the evaluation work has focused on children who were of preschool-age when their mothers entered the evaluations. An important finding in the research on child poverty also concerns age of child: recent findings have suggested that poverty (and especially deep poverty) may have its most serious consequences for cognitive functioning during the earliest years of development<sup>15</sup>. Likewise, there has been some, albeit limited, evidence suggesting that maternal employment is problematic for young children<sup>16</sup>. Accordingly, if welfare-to-work programs affect family income and/or poverty, the influence might be greatest on children who were youngest when their mothers enrolled in the program.

---

<sup>13</sup> Moore, Zaslow, Coiro, Miller & Magenheimer, 1995

<sup>14</sup> See discussion in McGroder et al., 2000 for these contrasting hypotheses regarding child impacts in families at higher and lower initial risk.

<sup>15</sup> Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997. It should be noted, however, that there have been few studies investigating this point and those that exist are not all in agreement. For instance, one study (Guo, 1998) suggests that, whereas cognitive skills are most affected by poverty in early childhood, academic achievement is more sensitive to poverty in adolescence. Another study (Brooks & Shanahan, 2000) has suggested that the relationship between early poverty and children's outcomes is an artifact of the relationship between the timing and duration of poverty, with those experiencing poverty at younger ages more likely to experience it for longer periods of time.

<sup>16</sup> Baydar & Brooks-Gunn (1991); Belsky & Eggebeen (1991)

Only some of the studies described here have reported child outcomes for children in different age ranges<sup>17</sup>, and as a result, we have relatively little information about whether the same programs have differing impacts on children of different ages. In general, as the summary tables for this article will indicate, there is little data as yet on impacts of welfare-to-work programs on children who were infants or toddlers, or who were in adolescence, when their mothers enrolled in the evaluations. However, where such contrasts by child age are available, a critical question will be whether child impacts, both within and across programs, varied by the age of the child. Further, in light of the descriptive findings on cognitive development in children according to timing of poverty, it will also be important to ask whether impacts on children were strongest for very young children, particularly in the area of cognitive development, in programs that resulted in either an improvement or deterioration in income.

**(6) *Do impacts vary by aspect of the children's development?*** Previous research suggests that while child poverty can affect all aspects of development, it may be most closely tied to children's cognitive development.<sup>18</sup> Other bodies of research on contexts for children's development, such as the research examining the implications for children of exposure to formal child care settings, also underscore the importance of giving separate consideration to different aspects of development, with patterns of outcomes differing for children's cognitive and socioemotional development and health. These findings suggest that it may be important to consider the possibility that welfare-to-work programs affect different aspects of children's development in different ways. Accordingly, results will be summarized separately for impacts on children's cognitive, behavioral, and health outcomes. Special attention will be given to the possibility that changes in income and poverty are especially important to children's cognitive development.

**(7) *Were there impacts on non-economic adult and family outcomes that were not typically targeted by these programs, such as maternal depression or parenting? Is there any initial evidence that these impacts play a role in shaping the child impacts?*** The outcomes targeted by this set of welfare-to-work programs are primarily economic in nature, involving employment, earnings, welfare receipt and family income. The possibility exists, however, that these programs affected a broader range of family factors, including those that are non-economic in nature as well as those that are economic. For example, as noted above, these programs may have effects on parenting behavior, and maternal psychological well being. The programs may also affect domestic violence, and/or the home and neighborhood environments.

---

<sup>17</sup> Exceptions are the evaluation of child impacts in the Minnesota Family Investment Program (Knox, Miller & Gennetian, 2000), New Hope (Bos et al., 1999), Canada's Self Sufficiency Project (Michaelopoulos et al., 2000; Morris & Michalopoulos, 2000), and Florida's Family Transition Program (Bloom et al., 2001). However, in these studies, a more extensive set of outcomes is examined for school-age children than for younger or older children.

<sup>18</sup> Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Yeung, Linver, & Brooks-Gunn, 2001

Very little is known about the extent to which welfare-to-work programs affect these “non-targeted” family variables. Just as it is reasonable to have modest expectations for child impacts, given that the programs generally not directly targeted these further variables, it is also reasonable to have limited expectations for impacts on non-targeted family outcomes. If such important aspects of the children’s immediate environment as parenting, the home environment, or domestic violence were affected by these programs, evidence on children’s development suggests that these effects could be important contributors to child impacts.<sup>19</sup> A final set of key questions for these studies, then, is whether and to what extent these variables were affected (particularly in those programs that narrowly targeted economic outcomes), and to begin to explore the role that such impacts play in shaping child impacts.

**(8) *What was the magnitude of the child impacts?*** Having discussed the consistency of the impacts of these programs on children, we then turn to a discussion of the size of these effects. While there may be consistent patterns of statistically significant impacts on children, it is also important to address the issue of whether the size of these impacts is large enough to make them of practical significance. Given that there is little consensus regarding what constitutes a “meaningful” impact on children, this issue is addressed by comparing the range of the magnitude of the impacts to a widely-cited set of “guidelines”, as well as to other experimental evaluations examining impacts on children.<sup>20</sup>

This set of underlying questions will organize our summary of child impact findings.

### **Strengths and Limitations in This Set of Studies**

There are several characteristics that make this set of experimental evaluations an invaluable resource to policymakers, practitioners, and researchers. Above all, the experimental design used in each of the studies permits us to attribute impacts on children to mothers’ assignment to participate in a welfare-to-work program (or other program aimed more broadly at low income families). Random assignment was used to assure that characteristics of families and children in the program and control groups in these studies did not differ prior to assignment to a research group. Hence, differences that do emerge over time in these two groups are interpreted as impacts caused by the program. Experimental designs using random assignment, the design used in each of these studies, allow causal attributions to be made that cannot be made with full confidence in studies using other methodologies.

In addition, these studies simultaneously provide impacts on outcomes for adults and children, rather than focusing on one generation or the other. The detailed examination of adult economic impacts has not been lost in extending the focus to children; indeed the

---

<sup>19</sup> Chase-Lansdale & Pittman, 2000: Paper prepared for *Future of Children* volume on the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families and discussed at First Draft Working Session, July 20-21, 2000

<sup>20</sup> See also memo by Gennetian and Morris, 2000 on this issue as well as the discussion of this issue in Morris, Huston, Duncan, Crosby & Bos, 2001.

range of adult outcomes examined has simultaneously been extended. This added data makes it possible to consider the way impacts on adults and on children correspond. The available evaluation studies consider a range of programmatic approaches, and also ask how impacts on children vary by certain family and child characteristics.

While this set of studies has been pioneering in both content and methodology, there are nevertheless limitations that must also be kept in mind in interpreting the findings. Experimental studies must, of necessity, examine program impacts against a backdrop of the current economic context (to which both program and control group families are exposed) as well as the package of other benefits and resources available to families in both research groups. The economic trends of the late 1980s and the 1990s provide the context for findings reported here. As one example, the study of Florida's welfare-to-work program during the period of waivers, the Family Transition Program,<sup>21</sup> occurred during years of precipitous declines in welfare caseloads, and these declines were apparent in outcomes for the study's control group, affecting the extent to which program-control group differences could occur on such outcomes as welfare receipt. As another example, child care and child health insurance benefits were available to members of both the program and control groups without difference in a number of the studies (as for example, in the JOBS programs<sup>22</sup>). While not available exclusively to members of the program group, such benefits may nevertheless be critical to whether and how program group mothers respond to the program. Yet we may fail to take this broader context into account in interpreting findings.

These programs also tend to study "packages" of variables, limiting our ability to gauge the effect of one program component from another. For example, in the Family Transition Program, the program put in place in Florida through a waiver prior to (and anticipating some of the components of) PRWORA, time limits on benefit receipt did not occur alone, but were coupled with small financial incentives for working, enhanced case-management, an extra year of subsidized transitional child care after leaving welfare, and one-stop "service centers", in which various services – such as social and health services and access to expanded funding for child care – were more easily accessible because they were available under one roof<sup>23</sup>. It is difficult to isolate which variable in such a package underlies child impacts.

These studies also tell us little about how policies are affecting groups of families beyond the immediate populations studied. They do not help us understand, for example, whether or how new welfare policies affect working poor families. Such policies could perhaps affect working poor families by attaching stigma to applying for child care or health benefits, or by taking away jobs that might otherwise have been available. Working poor families, if they are more reluctant to "fall back" on public assistance, might also remain in some low wage jobs for longer periods. Further, welfare policies have been evolving as these studies have been implemented. We need to be cautious, for example, about what can and cannot be gleaned from the existing experimental studies of

---

<sup>21</sup> Bloom et al., 2001

<sup>22</sup> see Hamilton et al., 2000

<sup>23</sup> Bloom et al., 2001

very young mothers receiving welfare given that these evaluations focused on program approaches that did not require that the young mothers reside with their parents or other responsible adults, as is now required<sup>24</sup>.

The experimental studies focused upon here should be viewed as one key piece in a broader research literature. Complementary pieces include indicators studies tracking employment and child poverty rates among single mothers as policies for welfare families have changed<sup>25</sup>; research looking descriptively at children's development in welfare-receiving but also working poor families<sup>26</sup>; research describing in some detail the child care and home experiences of children in families receiving welfare since passage of the 1996 welfare law<sup>27</sup>; and research considering the implications of a broader array of policies related to children and families as they cluster and co-occur within states<sup>28</sup>. These complementary approaches are reflected in other articles in this volume.

We turn now to (1) a description of program goals and components; (2) an overview of program impacts for adults on targeted economic outcomes; (3) consideration of child impacts in light of program goals as well as adult economic impacts; and (4) an overview of findings on non-targeted family outcomes and exploratory analyses of their role in shaping child impacts. We will summarize the findings to date in light of the seven underlying questions noted above.

## **II. Overview of Program Goals and Components**

Researchers have noted both the complexities, but also the value, of developing a typology to describe the programs that have been put in place by states in response to welfare reform. In discussing the complexities, Weil<sup>29</sup>, for example, notes that a typology makes it necessary to focus on one or two dimensions from among the multiple dimensions on which programs may differ (including work requirements, cash assistance, time limits, child care subsidies, medical assistance eligibility, eligibility for other forms of assistance or support). Further, in seeking to characterize programs on particular dimensions, it becomes necessary to array them on a continuum of some kind. Yet some state policies may not be linear.

While acknowledging that a typology involves focusing on a delimited set of key dimensions rather than the full set, as well as some simplification in assigning programs

---

<sup>24</sup> see Greenberg, Levin-Epstein, Hutson, Ooms, Schumacher, Turetsky & Engstrom 2000: paper prepared for *Future of Children* volume on the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families and discussed at First Draft Working Session, Washington, D.C. July 20-21, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Schoeni & Blank, 2000

<sup>26</sup> The Three-City Study of Welfare, Children and Families: A Multidisciplinary Approach for Science to Influence Policy. Symposium chaired by L. P. Chase-Lansdale at the Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, April 20, 2001, Minneapolis, MN

<sup>27</sup> Growing Up in Poverty Project, coordinated by B. Fuller and S. L. Kagan. See for example, Fuller, Casparly, Gauthier, Kagan, Carroll & McCarthy, 2001; Three-City Study of Welfare, Children and Families, as above.

<sup>28</sup> Meyers, Gornick, & Peck, 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Weil (2000). Program redesign by states in the wake of welfare reform: making sense of the effects of devolution. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

along these dimensions, Weil nevertheless notes the importance of developing a typology: “At a minimum, a typology helps make sense of the complex choices states have made, simply helping to describe what the policy consequences of devolution have been. In addition...a typology can help with the analytic tasks of judging states’ progress against their own goals and expanding the data available for analysis by grouping states together” (p. 19). That is, sets of programs that are similar in where they fall on the dimensions chosen may be grouped together, and studied as a set or type.

From among the multiple dimensions on which state programs differ, Weil chooses two as particularly important, and uses them to characterize programs in all 50 states in the early stages of welfare reform: (1) the strength of the barriers that states place to remaining on cash assistance without working; and (2) how strong their incentives are for working. These two primary dimensions essentially reflect the intensity with which states have chosen to use “sticks” (penalties of different kinds for failing to fulfill program requirements), and combinations of these and “carrots” (supports and incentives for working).

We have built on Weil’s conceptualization in developing a typology of the welfare-to-work programs focused upon here.<sup>30</sup> The typology is portrayed in Figure 1. We use the same two underlying dimensions, labeling them slightly differently, with the horizontal axis noting “Increasing Emphasis on Services and Financial Incentives for Work” and the vertical axis noting “Increasing Emphasis on Enforcement.” The categories that we have developed within each dimension differ somewhat from those used in Weil’s typology, with those used here chosen in order to best capture the particular features of the programs encompassed in the present review.

On the horizontal axis, we distinguish between six categories in terms of emphasis on services and incentives. At one extreme is a category for programs with no intensified case management, services or financial work incentives, while at the other extreme is a category for programs with strong financial work incentives combined with

---

<sup>30</sup> The decision to build a typology based on Weil’s primary dimensions grows in part out of discussion by participants in the Project on State Level Child Outcomes on February 26, 2001. The five evaluations being carried out in the Project on State Level Child Outcomes comprise half of the ten evaluations identified here (with the findings from the evaluation of Minnesota’s waiver policy and Florida’s waiver policy included in the present summary, and results not yet reported out for the Child Outcomes Studies from Iowa, Indiana and Connecticut). The group of researchers and state and federal policymakers present felt that the primary dimensions in Weil’s work of generosity in financial incentives and services and “strictness” of repercussions for not working (e.g., whether work is mandatory and sanctioned, presence of time limits) present would be a good- important starting place-points for characterizing the policies being evaluated in the project. The evaluation teams for these waiver studies include researchers from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (the evaluations of the programs in Minnesota, Florida and Connecticut), Mathematica Policy Research (the evaluation of the program in Iowa), and Abt Associates (the evaluation of the program in Indiana). Together with staff from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, researchers from Child Trends coordinate the project and have provided starting points for the team discussions on conceptualization, measurement, and analysis strategies. The common set of child outcome and family process measures across the evaluations was developed by Child Trends based on the conceptual framework developed by the team, building on work in the Child Outcomes Study of the National Evaluation of Welfare -to-Work Strategies.

intensified case management and/or other services. Between these extremes, programs are distinguished in terms of whether they involved intensified case management with work-preparation program services; intensified case management along with a broader array of services (personal development as well as work preparation); intensified case management with some financial work incentives, and strong financial work incentives with and without intensified case management or additional services.

It is noteworthy that the category of programs involving intensified case management and a broad array of services was targeted especially at teenage welfare recipients (in keeping with the range of personal as well as economic problems that these very young recipients faced). Accordingly, the programs in this column differ in terms of population served as well as program approach. It is also important to note that the set of programs falling in the two columns furthest to the right all involved financial incentives for working with an explicit goal of reducing family poverty. More modest financial work incentives, without an explicit goal of reducing family poverty, are currently used in numerous states. To distinguish between these, we designate columns in terms of “some” financial work incentives (the third column from the right) and “strong” financial work incentives (the two columns furthest to the right). The distinction between “some” and “strong” financial work incentives may be important. Yet because the programs contrasted here differed in terms of components other than the strength of the financial work incentives, we will not be able to draw conclusions specifically about the differential impacts of programs with stronger and weaker financial incentives<sup>31</sup>.

On the vertical axis, we distinguish between just three categories in terms of emphasis on enforcement: programs in which participation was not mandatory; those in which participation in work or work preparation activities was mandatory and failure to participate resulted in sanctioning; and those in which there were both sanctions for nonparticipation as well as time limits. Here, by contrast with the horizontal axis, there are a number of programs falling in the first category, involving no requirement to participate.

As noted by Weil, one of the purposes for developing a typology is to identify sets of programs that group together. As can be seen in Figure 1, we see four groupings of programs as emerging from the set considered here. We note that the last grouping (“IV” in the table) is the only instance in which evidence from only a single program can be drawn upon. In the three other groupings, we can consider the consistency of impact findings for both children and adults across different programs taking a similar approach. Accordingly, we view the results presented in this last grouping more tentatively. Data from the final three evaluations that have not yet reported out results (in the full set of ten evaluation studies) will help provide further information regarding effects on children and families of approaches that combine some financial work incentives and intensified case management with both sanctions and time limits. We turn now to a brief overview of the four groupings of programs.

---

<sup>31</sup> While the FTP program had more moderate financial incentives, it also had the added component of a time limit, making it impossible to determine whether differences between the impacts of this program and those with stronger financial incentives were due to the weaker incentives or the presence of time limits.

**(I.) Broadly Targeted Programs for Teenage Welfare Recipients.** A first set of programs (New Chance<sup>32</sup> and the Teenage Parent Demonstration<sup>33</sup>) provided a broad array of services to teenage welfare recipients, addressing personal development as well as economic issues, in keeping with concerns about the range of difficulties faced by these young parents. Research on teenage parents, and especially those in poverty, indicated an unusually high prevalence of such problems as depression, exposure to domestic violence, limited parenting skills, curtailed education, and limited work skills.<sup>34</sup> In keeping with these findings, the New Chance and the Teenage Parent Demonstration included components focusing on life skills and personal development (e.g., parenting behavior, psychological well-being, family planning), as well as education and work preparation, aimed at encouraging a transition off of welfare and into employment. New Chance was the only program among those examined here that was explicitly two-generational, articulating a goal of improving outcomes for children as well as their mothers. Parenting education, improved access to health services for children, and child care provided in developmentally appropriate center-based programs, were provided to program participants with the explicit aim of benefiting children.<sup>35</sup>

As can be seen in Figure 1, the two programs differed in that New Chance was a voluntary program<sup>36</sup>, while participation in the Teenage Parent Demonstration was mandatory. New Chance enrolled a particularly disadvantaged population of teenage mothers: those who had already dropped out of school. Mothers stepped forward to volunteer for the program and then were randomly assigned to have access to the enhanced services provided by the New Chance program or to have access only to those services already existing in their communities (with information on those services provided). By contrast, the Teenage Parent Demonstration sought to enroll all first time parents newly applying for welfare during the enrollment period in three sites (Newark, NJ; Camden, NJ; and Chicago, IL). Mothers were randomly assigned to a control group, receiving AFDC without enhanced services or participation requirements, or to a program group that received the enhanced services provided by the Teenage Parent Demonstration while also being subject to a mandatory participation requirement (with sanctioning, or reduction in welfare benefits, for nonparticipation).<sup>37</sup>

**(II.) Mandatory Work-First and Education-First Programs.** A second set of programs, the six JOBS<sup>38</sup> programs studied in the Child Outcomes Study of the National

---

<sup>32</sup> Quint, Bos & Polit, 1997; Zaslow & Eldred, 1998

<sup>33</sup> Kisker, Rangarajan & Boller, 1998

<sup>34</sup> Quint & Musick, 1994

<sup>35</sup> This is the only program among those examined here that explicitly sought to bring about improvements in the children's development.

<sup>36</sup> A few participants were assigned in order to fulfill the requirements of the JOBS program.

<sup>37</sup> In summarizing the findings of these and the other five evaluation studies, we follow the presentation of findings in the particular reports. Impact findings in the New Chance Evaluation are summarized in the aggregate, across all sixteen sites (in ten states) in which the demonstration took place, while impacts in the Teenage Parent Demonstration are summarized separately for the three sites.

<sup>38</sup> Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training

Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies (NEWS/COS)<sup>39</sup>, aimed to reduce welfare dependency through a combination of intensified case management and the requirement to participate in work-preparation or work activities. Failure to participate in program activities could, as in the Teenage Parent Demonstration, result in sanctioning, or a reduction in welfare benefits. Participants in the evaluation were randomly assigned to one of *two* contrasting program approaches or to a control group. The two program approaches encouraged participants either to make a rapid transition into the workforce through assignment first to job search activities (the labor force attachment approach), or to engage in education or training activities first in order to obtain better jobs (the human capital development approach). The control group received AFDC without intensified case management or a requirement to participate in activities through the JOBS program.

By contrast with the set of programs describe above, the NEWS/COS focused on mothers who were 19 years of age or older at the time they enrolled in the evaluation (although mothers could have been teenagers at the birth of their first child). In addition, while the prior set of programs encompassed components aimed at the personal development of the mothers, the JOBS programs explicitly targeted only economic and labor force outcomes.

Although the JOBS programs aimed to enhance the long term economic self-sufficiency of families, there was no program component guaranteeing that the combined income from earnings and welfare would be greater than what a recipient would receive from welfare alone (as is the case for financial work incentives, which help to address the fact that income from employment may otherwise replace rather than complement welfare benefits). As can be seen in Figure 1, while this set of programs involved sanctioning for non-compliance with participation requirements, the JOBS programs did not have a time limit on receipt of benefits. This set of programs, implemented nationally in response to the Family Support Act of 1988, required participation in JOBS work-preparation activities, whereas programs put in place through waivers or since passage of PRWORA focus much more heavily on employment requirements *per se*, with little emphasis placed on acquiring further education or job skills to prepare for employment. The labor force attachment approach within JOBS, with its emphasis on a rapid transition to employment, more closely resembles the emphasis on work within PRWORA.

As we have noted, the Family Support Act, for the first time, required mothers of preschool-age children to participate in work or work preparation activities. Out of concern for how these young children would fare when their mothers were assigned to a mandatory work first or education first program, the NEWS/COS evaluation focuses on children who were of preschool-age when their mothers enrolled in the evaluation.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> McGroder, Zaslow, Moore & LeMenestrel, 2000; Zaslow, McGroder & Moore, 2000. See also Freedman, Friedlander, Hamilton, Rock, Mitchell, Nudelman, Schweder & Storto, 2000; Hamilton, 2000

<sup>40</sup> In the NEWS Evaluation, a limited set of questions was asked of mothers regarding all of the children in their families. The impact results for these questions are summarized in Freedman et al., 2000 and Hamilton, Freedman & McGroder 2000. In the present summary of research findings, we focus on the results within each study that concern a particular “focal” child, rather than on results of items that pertain to multiple children across a very wide age range. Accordingly, the summary of findings for the NEWS in the present paper come from the Child Outcomes Study results reporting on the focal child, rather than

**(III.) Strong Financial Work Incentive Programs.** A third group of programs involves the provision of financial incentives and other supports to “make work pay”. The programs described in the previous section were intended to encourage work and reduce welfare among single parents by requiring participation in programs designed to increase the likelihood of employment. What differentiates the programs in this section from those previously discussed is that, in addition to encouraging employment, the programs in this set include components designed to substantially increase the financial rewards from work, and therefore have an explicit goal of reducing poverty. They attempt to achieve this goal by providing a generous earnings supplement that is tied to work. We note that other programs that provide financial work incentives do not involve earning supplements that are as generous. These less generous programs may not be designed explicitly to reduce poverty, but rather to strengthen the incentive to work.

Three studies examined in this paper include generous earnings supplements and are categorized as involving strong financial work incentives: The Minnesota Family Investment Program (MFIP) (that tests the effects of two programs, Full MFIP and MFIP Incentives Only),<sup>41</sup> New Hope,<sup>42</sup> and Canada’s Self-Sufficiency Project (SSP)<sup>43</sup>. As can be seen in Figure 1, MFIP Incentives Only did not have a participation mandate, whereas the full MFIP program required participation in work activities and sanctioned families for nonparticipation. MFIP Full is the only program among the programs involving strong financial work incentives with elements of both work incentives and mandatory work requirements. Contrasting the impacts of MFIP Incentives Only and Full MFIP (given that families were randomly assigned to one of these groups or to a control group), makes it possible to determine which impacts are attributable to the incentives, and how impacts on children and adults change when the participation requirement is added to the incentives. The MFIP evaluation also builds in a contrast of impacts for families that had applied for welfare recently and long term recipients<sup>44, 45</sup>

The common feature of all of these programs is the provision of a cash supplement to participants who work. However, there were some important differences between the program models implemented in the three studies. First, they differ in regard to the amount of work that was required to receive the earnings supplement. In the case of MFIP, any amount of work made a recipient eligible for the earnings supplement, while in New Hope and SSP, the supplement was contingent on full-time employment

---

the “any child in the family” items in the full evaluation sample or as reported in the Child Outcomes Study.

<sup>41</sup> Gennetian & Miller, 2000; Knox, Miller & Gennetian, 2000

<sup>42</sup> Bos, Huston, Granger, Duncan, Brock & McLoyd, 1999; Huston, Duncan, Granger, Bos, MvLoyd, Mistry, Crosby, Gibson, Magnuson, Romich, & Ventura, 2001.

<sup>43</sup> Michalopoulos et al., 2000; Morris & Michalopoulos, 2000

<sup>44</sup> The summary tables for the present article provide impact results for MFIP Full and MFIP Incentives Only—that is, contrasting each program approach with the control group. The full report also provides a statistical contrast of the impacts in MFIP Full vs. Incentives Only, and this is a further important resource.

<sup>45</sup> The MFIP results are presented for single-parent recipients in urban counties only. It is also important to note that while long-term welfare recipients were immediately subject to the program’s mandatory employment and training services upon random assignment, recent applicants were mandated to participate in these services only once they had received welfare for 24 months.

(defined as 30 hours per week). Thus, SSP and New Hope rewarded only full-time employment, while the two programs in MFIP rewarded both full and part-time work. A second major distinction between these programs is the source of the earnings supplement. In both programs in MFIP (the Full program and Incentives Only), the supplement was provided within the welfare system by increasing the earnings disregard (i.e., the amount of earnings that are not counted in calculating a families' welfare benefit) so that welfare recipients could keep more of their welfare dollars when they went to work. In the New Hope and SSP programs, the earnings supplement was provided outside the welfare system in the form of cash supplements. Third, the form of the supplement varied, with the supplement in both programs in MFIP and in SSP providing cash supplements to families, while those in New Hope provided in-kind benefits such as child care and health insurance subsidies in addition to the cash payments. Finally, the programs differed in regard to their provision of other program components in addition to the earnings supplement. For example, as noted in the figure, New Hope and both programs in MFIP provided fairly intensive case management in their programs, while SSP did not.

**(IV.) Programs with time limit components.** The fourth grouping noted in Figure 1 involves a program approach with a further enforcement strategy: time limits. The 1996 federal welfare reform law introduced sweeping changes to our system for supporting low-income families with children. The most controversial of these changes was the institution of time limits on benefit receipt. The federal legislation set a maximum lifetime limit on assistance of 60 months, although states can impose shorter limits. More than 40 states have established limits on the receipt of cash assistance, ranging from 21 months to 60 months.<sup>46</sup> Time limits are intended to reduce dependence on welfare, encouraging parents to work in order to support their families.

Only one program thus far has data on the effects of time limited welfare on children: Florida's Family Transition Program (FTP).<sup>47</sup> This program combined a small financial work incentive with a participation mandate and a time limit. Parents in FTP were limited to cash assistance during 24 months in any 60 month period, or 36 months in any 72 month period for those who were thought to be the least job ready. A small financial incentive was provided through the welfare system in the form of an enhanced earnings disregard, to allow recipients to keep more of their welfare benefits as they increased their earnings. However, because the grant levels in Florida are so low, the increased earnings disregard provided only a small cash benefit to families who took advantage of the offer. Program staff in FTP did not emphasize that FTP was an antipoverty program nor did they encourage recipients to use the income support component to "make work pay". Caseworkers in FTP had very small caseloads, and provided access to enhanced education, training, job placement, and other services (with specialists for other services often brought under the same roof as FTP workers). At the same time, those families

---

<sup>46</sup> [\(\\*\\*Jen, could you please add footnote? Thanks\) Because federally -mandated time limits applied to federal cash assistance only, states had the option of providing benefits to recipients who have reached the five-year time limit using state funds. Only a handful of states have chosen to take this option and therefore do not have time limits.](#)

<sup>47</sup> Bloom et al., 2001

assigned to FTP were generally required to participate in employment-related activities; thus there was a mandatory participation element along with the time limit. Control group families were not assigned simply to receive public assistance, but instead were assigned to a program (Project Independence; the prior welfare-to-work program in the state) that required participation in work-related activities<sup>48</sup>.

Over time, other evaluations (for example, the evaluation of Connecticut's welfare waiver program) will extend our understanding of the impacts on children of programs with time limit components. It should be noted that in this first evaluation of programs with time limit components, only an initial cohort of families in the evaluation (17%) received welfare benefits for the maximum number of months, and were therefore subject to the time limit. It should also be noted that some families were exempt from FTP, and were not included at all in the evaluation, (including those incapacitated and unable to work). Thus, this evaluation provides a first look at the impacts of time limits, before a substantial number of families became subject to the limit, and excluding certain families who might be especially likely to hit the limit. Accordingly, this is a conservative or initial examination of the implications of more fully realized time limit approaches for families and children.

### **III. Impacts on Adult Economic Outcomes**

Table 2 provides a condensed overview of the impacts that each of the evaluations has reported, both for adult and child outcomes<sup>49</sup>.

In turning first to a summary of the primary economic impacts that have been reported for each of the four sets of programs, it is important to recall that the outcomes for which impacts were expected differed across these sets. For example, the programs targeted to teenage recipients, and the mandatory work-first and education-first programs started with an educational or work preparation component (such as basic education or training in job search skills), and there were clear expectations that these programs would have impacts on program participation and in some instances educational attainment. By contrast, the work incentive and support programs did not systematically emphasize or expect participation in preparatory activities, and in some instances the evaluations did not even measure these. In a similar manner, it was a primary goal of the programs for teenage recipients and the mandatory work-first and education-first programs to reduce welfare receipt, and impacts on extent, duration, and/or amount of receipt were measured in each of these evaluations. In the time limited program, there were counteracting influences on duration of welfare receipt, with the program's financial work incentive

---

<sup>48</sup> Under Project Independence, most recipients were required to participate in employment and training activities. Yet, recipients were less likely to be sanctioned for noncompliance under Project Independence than under FTP, hence the mandate was not as strong under Project Independence. Also, unlike FTP, Project Independence did not present a message that welfare receipt is temporary, since participants in Project Independence were not subject to a time limit. Further, Project Independence did not provide enhanced case management and services or financial work incentives.

<sup>49</sup> An appendix of tables detailing the impacts of these programs on children and adults is available from Child Trends upon request.

involving a disregard of earnings so that families could continue to receive welfare while working (with the likely results of increasing the duration of welfare receipt), but the time limit curtailing welfare receipt. Thus, diminutions in welfare receipt were expected only at the end of the follow-up period, as some families reached the time limit. In the strong financial work incentive programs, which encouraged combining income and welfare receipt, there was much less of an expectation that assignment to the program would diminish the receipt of cash assistance over the follow-up period, and indeed it was considered possible that the program would increase the duration of benefit receipt in the short term<sup>50</sup>.

While expectations regarding such variables as program participation, maternal educational attainment, and welfare receipt differed substantially across the program types, there was also a “common core” of economic variable that all of the evaluations examined for evidence as to whether the families assigned to the program group made greater progress towards economic self-sufficiency. All of the programs sought to bring about increases in employment and earnings. In addition, all of the programs measured overall income and/or percent of families in poverty as indicators of economic progress, despite the fact that some of these programs did not explicitly target these outcomes.

In summarizing the findings for the four program types, we will note, as appropriate, whether there were impacts on program participation and educational attainment. We will also summarize findings regarding welfare receipt, describing these findings within the context of program goals regarding receipt. For the common core of economic variables (employment and/or earnings; % in poverty or with low income; and average income) we will note four basic patterns:

- ?? *No favorable impacts.* Programs that had no favorable impacts on employment or earnings, percent of families in poverty or with low income, or average income. This category will include programs that had a lack of impacts as well as the few programs that had unfavorable impacts on these outcomes.
- ?? *Employment/earnings but not income.* Programs that succeeded in increasing employment and/or earnings, but did not result in increases in income;
- ?? *Fadeout of employment/earnings and income effects.* Programs that increased both employment and/or earnings as well as income, but in which effects in both areas faded out over time, and were no longer significant at the end of the follow-up period; and
- ?? *Favorable impacts on employment/earnings, % in poverty, and income.* Programs with favorable impacts in all three areas (increases in employment and/or earnings, decreases in percent of families in poverty or with low income, and increases in average income), and at least some impacts continuing at the end of the follow-up in the study.

---

<sup>50</sup> Yet it's important to note that these programs were expected to decrease the percentage of recipients' relying solely on income from welfare.

**(I.) Broadly Targeted Programs for Teenage Recipients.** Analyses are reported on here and in the sections that follow in the way they are in the study reports. For New Chance impacts are reported aggregating the findings across the study sites, while for the Teenage Parent Demonstration impacts are reported on separately for the three study sites (Newark, Camden and Chicago). As can be seen in Table 2, each of the programs had more than one follow-up wave, and the impacts of the programs differed across these waves. In the initial follow-up, each of the programs significantly increased program participation, with increases occurring quite consistently for participation in both educational and work-preparation activities. However, by the final follow-up there was no longer a clear pattern indicating that the program groups had participated more in educational or training activities than the corresponding control groups<sup>51</sup>.

Impacts on educational attainment occurred at the first follow-up in two of the programs, TPD Camden and Chicago. (For New Chance the mixed pattern noted in the table reflects the fact that while GED completion increased for program group members, attainment of a high school diploma declined). As for program participation, by the final follow-up there was little indication that the difference in educational attainment had been sustained, suggesting that the control group had caught up to the levels of education attained by program group members. All of these programs sought to reduce dependency on welfare, and three of the programs (the TPD programs in each site) did so initially. However, by the final follow-up, none of the programs showed an impact on welfare receipt.

This set of programs did not show a consistent pattern of improvements on the core set of economic outcomes. At the final follow-up, three of the programs (New Chance, TPD Newark and TPD Chicago) had no favorable impacts across employment, income, and percent in poverty. Only TPD Camden showed signs of more favorable economic impacts, with favorable impacts on income and poverty at the final follow-up.

Because child care participation was closely tied to adult program participation and employment, we summarize child care impacts under the rubric of adult economic outcomes (rather than as a further non-targeted family outcome or as a child outcomes)<sup>52</sup>. All of the programs in this group increased the children's overall participation in child care and especially formal, center-based arrangements (with increases in use of informal care occurring in only half of the programs). However, none of these impacts on children's participation in child care were sustained. By the final follow-up, there were no significant increases in reliance on child care. These findings likely reflect the fadeout of both participation and employment impacts over time.

**Summary.** In general, this group of programs showed *initial* increases in participation, and most also showed initial decreases in welfare receipt and increases in

---

<sup>51</sup> This set of results is one of many pointing to substantial progress or “forward momentum” made by mothers in the control groups in the studies of teenage welfare recipients.

<sup>52</sup> In the Child Outcomes Study of the National Evaluation of Welfare -to-Work Strategies, child care participation is conceptualized as derivative of the primary targeted economic outcomes, rather than as a child outcome or as a non targeted family outcome (see McGroder et al., 2000)

educational attainment. However, these initial impacts often faded, and they did not generally result in sustained improvements in family economic status. As noted by the researchers, this set of findings underscores the special challenges of bringing about sustained improvements for the particularly disadvantaged subgroup of welfare recipients who are very young parents.

**(II.) Mandatory work-first and education-first programs.** Impacts have been reported separately for the six JOBS programs studied in the Child Outcomes Study of the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies. Three of these assigned program group members to programs encouraging a rapid transition into the labor force (labor force attachment (LFA) programs in Atlanta (AT), Rapids (GR), and Riverside (RI), and three assigned program group members to programs encouraging education and training as first activities (human capital development (HCD) programs in the same three sites).

As for the set of teenage-targeted programs, this set of programs clearly increased participation in work-preparation activities, with increases occurring in different patterns for the LFA and HCD programs. While the HCD programs all significantly increased participation in both educational activities (such as basic education) and work preparation activities (such as a job club, orienting participants to job search), the LFA programs generally increased participation in the latter only. All three of the HCD programs increased educational attainment, and interestingly, Atlanta's LFA program (though neither of the other LFA programs) also increased educational attainment. The JOBS Program in Atlanta historically placed an emphasis on education, and this finding may reflect the overall ethos in this site (although it is clear that HCD and LFA programs were nevertheless implemented differently in this site).

In terms of the common core of economic outcomes, most of the JOBS programs studied (five of six) had impacts that fell in the category of increasing employment or earnings, but in the absence of increasing overall income (with one program, Grand Rapids' HCD program not showing the increase in employment that the other programs did). There were no impacts on overall family income for this set of programs. There were, however, some shifts in the proportion of families in poverty or deep poverty. Atlanta's LFA program diminished the percent of families living in deep poverty, and Riverside's HCD program increased the proportion of families with incomes at or above the poverty line at the follow-up. By contrast, two of the programs reduced the proportion of families living at or above the poverty line at the follow-up (Grand Rapids' HCD and LFA programs).

**Summary.** Like the teenage-targeted programs, this set of programs increased participation in work-preparation activities and, in a number of programs (primarily the education-first programs), also educational attainment. These programs more consistently affected employment than the teenage-targeted programs, at least through the follow-up carried out two years after mothers enrolled in the evaluation. (A further follow-up, carried out five years after enrollment, will be reported on in the near future). There were no program impacts on income, although some impacts were found with respect to the proportion of families living in poverty. In the present policy context,

some welfare-to-work programs seek primarily to diminish dependence on welfare and increase work, while others seek especially to reward work and increase overall family income. Impacts for children in the JOBS programs, especially those for the LFA programs, may be particularly informative with respect to programs that seek to increase employment without attempting explicitly to increase income.

**(III). Strong Financial Work Incentive Programs.** In this set of studies, we report findings separately for the Full and Incentives Only versions of the Minnesota Family Investment Program, or MFIP (with impacts reported separately for long-term welfare recipients and recent applicants in each variant of the program); New Hope (with impacts reported separately for boys and girls), and Canada's Self-Sufficiency Program (SSP).<sup>53</sup>

This set of programs did not emphasize program participation, and not all studies provided evidence regarding impacts on such participation. Where reported (in New Hope and MFIP for some variables), however, there were few significant impacts on participation in either educational or work preparation activities. Similarly, impacts on educational attainment are not universally reported for this set of programs. However, one of the programs, MFIP Incentives Only, increased educational attainment for long term welfare recipients.

All of the programs in this set increased employment, particularly for the most disadvantaged members of the sample, and these effects were typically sustained over the two to three years of follow-up. However, some of the program models were more effective at increasing part-time employment, and others at increasing full-time employment. The programs in SSP, New Hope and the Full MFIP all increased full-time work, while MFIP Incentives Only increased part-time, but not full-time, work.

All of the programs increased parents' receipt of cash transfers of some kind. However, the effects of these programs on welfare use, in particular, depend largely on the way in which the supplement was provided. The programs that provided the earnings supplement inside the welfare system (i.e. Full MFIP and MFIP Incentives Only) *increased* welfare use as they increased employment, as families could keep more of their welfare as they went to work. However, both programs in MFIP did reduce the number of families relying solely on welfare. The programs that provided the supplement outside the welfare system (i.e. SSP and New Hope) reduced the use of welfare but, at the same time, increased families' receipt of the cash transfers that were provided as part of the earnings supplements offered to families.

These programs were intended to reduce poverty, and all of the programs described in this section were successful in achieving this goal to some extent. The major

---

<sup>53</sup> The decision was made to summarize impacts within New Hope separately for boys and girls because findings were quite different by gender, and this is especially important in shedding light on possible processes underlying differing patterns of impacts for children. For example, there is no indication that economic impacts differed in families with boys and girls. However, utilization of after school care and activities differed by gender.

exception is that MFIP did not reduce poverty for recent applicants to welfare in either the Full or Incentives Only versions of the program. Further, we note that the income impacts in New Hope faded out over time, and were no longer significant at the end of the follow-up.

Because these programs supplemented the earnings of families who went to work, the income levels of families in the program groups where there were impacts were typically much higher than those of families in the control groups. For example, program group members in the Full MFIP program had income levels about \$1300/year higher on average than those in the control group. While this is a substantial impact on income when viewed from the perspective of results of other types of welfare-to-work programs, the average income difference in Full MFIP can also be seen as relatively small in absolute terms. As Moorehouse notes, it is noteworthy that differences in income of this magnitude, which would average only about \$110 more per month per family, appear to be associated with impacts on other family and child outcomes (although it is likely that these impacts represent economic increases that occurred for only a portion of the families in the study, and so the average change may reflect larger income increases for some families and no increases for others).<sup>54</sup>

Just as the poverty impact was not found for all subgroups within MFIP, increases in employment and income were also not found for all subgroups in these studies, particularly for the most advantaged of these low income samples. For example, in New Hope, families who were already working full-time when they entered the study modestly *reduced* their employment and earnings, and actually experienced a small income decline. In MFIP increases in employment were smaller for families who were recent welfare applicants than for families with longer welfare histories, and the employment impact was not statistically significant for recent applicants in the Incentives Only version of the program. Impacts on income for the recent applicant group did not reach statistical significance for those participating in either the Full or Incentives Only versions of the program.

Again, we include child care impacts here because of their close association with maternal program participation and economic activities. Impacts on use of child care varied by the specific programs within this set. In the four analytic groups for MFIP, only the Full program with long term recipients increased use of child care, doing so for both formal types of child care (such as center care) and informal types of care (such as care by a babysitter in the child's home or another home). New Hope increased use of formal child care and decreased reliance on informal arrangements. The Self-Sufficiency Project increased reliance on both formal and informal types of child care for preschool-age children (3 to 5) while also increasing the number of changes in child care that these children experienced. For school-age children (6 to 11), SSP increased only reliance on informal types of child care.

---

<sup>54</sup> Discussant comments at symposium on Effects on Children of Differing Welfare and Employment Policies, chaired by V. Knox, at the Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, MN, April 19, 2001. We note, however, that MFIP included benefits beyond the earnings disregard (such as child care benefits) that could also have been important to the child impacts.

**Summary.** This set of programs stands apart as increasing not only employment, but also improving income and diminishing poverty (albeit not for all subgroups). Impacts in these areas were generally sustained over the follow-up. Only the recent applicant group within MFIP (which did not improve income or poverty), and New Hope (which showed fadeout over time of the income impact), depart from this pattern. This set of studies, then, will help to identify the effects on children when both employment and income increase and when such changes are fairly strong and sustained. In the new policy context, where numerous states are using earned income disregards as part of their TANF programs, it is important to understand the impacts for children of programs with financial work incentive components. Given that many of the financial incentives offered by states are not as strong as those studied here, the examination of program impacts of this set of financial work incentive programs should be seen as an indication of the potential of strong versions of such programs to bring about impacts on children.

**(IV.) Programs with a time limit component.** The single program with impact results available to date with findings for children is Florida's Family Transition Program (FTP). As we have noted, FTP provided intensified case management, with the co-location of other services at FTP offices. Perhaps reflecting the availability of job-preparation specialists and services at FTP offices, this program increased participation in both educationally-oriented and work-oriented job preparation activities in the early stages of the follow-up. Welfare receipt declined as a result of assignment to FTP, with these declines occurring at the end of the follow-up, as some of the families became subject to the time limit.

In terms of the common core of economic variables, this program had favorable impacts, increasing employment and earnings as well as overall family income (the percentage of families living in poverty was not reported in the evaluation, although the percentage of families with income below a given level, such as \$1,500 a year, was). The increases in income were modest (smaller than the impacts obtained by the Strong Financial Work Incentive programs described above). However, each of these favorable impacts diminished over time, so that by the end of the follow-up periods, impacts were no longer significant for employment, earnings, or income. This places this program in the category of showing a fadeout of favorable economic effects. Further, there was an increase in the percentage of families in the lowest income bracket, between \$1 and \$1500 a year at the end of the follow-up.

**Summary.** FTP increased program participation, employment, earnings and overall income. However, the impact on income was modest, and further, by the time of the final follow-up, the impacts on employment, earnings and income had all disappeared, and there was some indication of an increase in the proportion of families with extremely low annual income. The results of this study are particularly important for consideration of the effects of programs that *combine* enforcement strategies with incentives and services. Such combinations are increasingly prevalent under PRWORA. In addition, the findings of this study can shed light on outcomes for children when families experience a period of modest improvement in economic status that is not

sustained. Some research indicates that fluctuations in family economic status, and especially declines in economic status, can have impacts especially in the area of behavioral development.<sup>55</sup> This aspect of children's development appears to respond more rapidly to such change. Measures of cognitive development, by contrast, appear to change more slowly, and reflect the cumulative economic picture more than fluctuation.

#### IV. Program Impacts on Children

We turn now to an examination of program impacts on children within the context of the four sets of program approaches and their economic impacts. The findings are summarized as they reflect on the questions noted in the introduction to this paper.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 provide summaries of the child impacts in the areas of cognitive development, behavioral adjustment, and health respectively as they relate to the pattern of economic impacts on adults. Separate summaries are provided for these three domains of development to permit us to examine the possibility of differing patterns by developmental domain.

As noted above, findings are provided for the primary analytic groups reported on in each evaluation report. For example, because the Teenage Parent Demonstration reported findings separately for its three sites, we summarize the site findings separately here. Similarly, MFIP results are summarized for the Full program (incentives plus participation mandates) and the version of the program involving Incentives Only. Results of each of these program variations within MFIP are reported for recent and longer term welfare recipients, as presented in the evaluation report. Where impacts for children of different age ranges have been reported on separately, (as in FTP, MFIP, New Hope, and SSP), we present these separately. Because analyses by child gender are central in the reporting of results for New Hope, we summarize the child impact findings of that evaluation separately by gender. In every instance, the results summarized are for comparisons of the program group with a control group (rather than for contrasts across different program groups where program variations were tested).<sup>56</sup>

The summary number for child impacts given in Table 2, and the results presented in Tables 3-5, attempt to provide a cautious assessment of the extent and consistency of statistically significant impacts for children in this set of programs. The summary number given is cautious in two ways: First, the summary measure provided for each analytic comparison is a measure of the *pervasiveness* of the pattern of impacts for each domain of development, rather than a measure of the presence or sheer number of impacts. The summary figure given within the table reflects the number of favorable

---

<sup>55</sup> Hofferth, Smith, McLoyd & Finkelstein 2001; Moore, Gleib, Driscoll, Zaslow & Redd 2001

<sup>56</sup> It is important to note that because this set of studies was opening a new area of research, and were considered exploratory in nature (i.e., without hypotheses about the specific direction of the impacts), p values were generally set at .10 rather than .05. The reader should take into account that the summary of statistically significant impacts provided here reports findings, as did the original studies, using this cutoff for significance.

impacts minus the number of unfavorable impacts, divided by the total number of child outcome measures examined within the domain of development. For example, in the first set of results presented within Table 3, the figure given for TPD Newark for impacts in the domain of cognitive development, -.19, reflects the numbers that follow in parentheses (3-/16): of 16 measures of cognitive development examined in this evaluation, impacts were found for three, and all of these were “-“ or unfavorable.

This number takes into account the total number of measures reported in a domain of development, and provides a summary figure reflecting the balance of findings where impacts occurred in both a favorable and unfavorable direction (as can be seen, a relatively rare occurrence). Columns further to the right indicate programs in which a higher proportion of findings fell into a favorable pattern; findings further to the left-hand side suggest patterns falling in the unfavorable range. Thus, the summary figure given attempts to capture the consistency of the pattern of findings within a domain of development, taking into account the total number of outcomes reported.

Second, in Tables 3-5, we have shaded three columns: the center column notes findings in which no statistically significant impacts for a domain of development were found. On either side, columns are shaded in which the pattern of significant findings is weak and should be viewed with caution (10% or fewer of the findings were statistically significant and fell within the pattern described). Our discussion of impacts will focus on findings that fall beyond the shaded area.

In the table, programs that had a significant impact on maternal educational attainment are also noted, with an asterisk and the direction of the impact (favorable or unfavorable) noted in parentheses. For example, for the TPD Newark finding, the (-\*) indicates that there was an unfavorable impact on maternal education in this program (that is, the control group exceeded the program group in educational attainment). Each set of findings entered in the tables includes the Roman numeral indicating the set of programs the findings reflects on (e.g., “I” for programs targeting teenage recipients, etc.). In addition, the tables are organized to permit examination of findings in light of the four primary patterns of economic impacts summarized above, focusing on the common core of economic outcomes (findings for evaluations indicating no favorable impacts on employment, poverty or income; an increase in employment in the absence of an increase in income; fadeout of favorable employment and income impacts; and sustained favorable impacts for employment, poverty, and/or income).

We turn now to a summary of findings for each of the seven questions regarding program impacts on children.

***(1) Given that these programs generally targeted adult rather than child outcomes, do we see impacts on children that are either consistent or strong?***

Tables 3 through 5 give a sense of the prevalence of different impact patterns in these evaluations. In general, it is only in the domain of cognitive outcomes for children that the number of reasonably strong patterns outnumbers the number of patterns

involving no or weak impacts. For behavioral and especially health outcomes, the predominant pattern is one of no or weak impacts.

Thus, while these studies clearly did yield patterns of impacts on child outcomes, caution about the pervasiveness of these impacts is important. Overall, these programs that targeted outcomes in adults rather than children had relatively few impacts for children. Despite the general pattern, particularly in the domains of child behavioral and health outcomes, it is nevertheless important to determine whether impacts were more or less consistent, and more or less favorable for children, in certain types of programs. The programs varied a great deal in their components and goals, and as we have seen, in the economic impacts that they brought about. The question of whether and how different types of programs, and differing patterns of economic impacts, were associated with different patterns of child impacts is of critical importance to policymakers.

Measures of the strength of child impacts (effect sizes) were not reported consistently across this set of evaluations. Accordingly, we continue our review of the evidence, addressing the remaining questions concerning child impacts, using the measure of patterning and consistency of impacts (which is available for each evaluation). We return to the issue of magnitude of impacts at the end of this section, summarizing the effect size findings that are available.

***(2) Does the mother's assignment to a welfare-to-work program increase or diminish the already high level of risk among the children in these samples?***

Given the prevalence of no and weak findings in these studies, the question is not whether the predominant pattern of impacts across the evaluation studies is one of favorable or unfavorable impacts on children, but rather, when impacts *did* occur, what direction they fell in. The results summarized in Tables 3-5 indicate that overall (that is, setting aside the issues of program type, nature of economic impacts, family characteristics and age of children) impacts on children, when they occurred, included both favorable and unfavorable impact patterns. In broad terms, this set of welfare-to-work programs had the potential to increase as well as decrease children's developmental risk in these samples, although in most instances it did neither. As will be discussed below, while the overall picture is one of a wide range in the direction of impacts for children when they did occur, program type, pattern of economic impacts, family characteristics, and child age, help to explain the direction of impacts.

***(3) (a) Do the patterns of impacts for children vary by program type? (b) By pattern of economic impacts?***

We turn now to the question of whether the pattern of finding (both consistency and direction of impacts) differed by program type. Findings for each of the four sets of programs are summarized below. In brief, the findings indicate few impacts for children in the teenage-targeted, mandatory work-first or education-first programs, and the program with a time limit component. Where patterns of impacts did emerge, these were unfavorable in the teenage-targeted programs, but mixed as to direction in the mandatory

work-first and education-first as well as time limited programs. Favorable impacts were found much more consistently for young children in the programs involving strong financial work incentives. However, the pattern did not extend to all families and all children (with less favorable or unfavorable impacts reported for children of recent recipients in MFIP, girls in New Hope, and adolescents in SSP and MFIP).

***I. The programs targeted at teenage mothers had impacts on children falling in the range of neutral (no impacts or weak impacts) to unfavorable. No favorable patterns were identified across this set of studies.*** Most findings for TPD were neutral or weak, but New Chance showed a pattern of unfavorable impacts. Findings from New Chance and from the Newark site of the Teenage Parent Demonstration accounted for all of the unfavorable impacts. Apart from the Newark findings, involving unfavorable patterns of impacts in the cognitive and behavioral areas, all other findings for the Teenage Parent Demonstration fell in the range of no or weak impact patterns (shaded areas of Tables 3 through 5). In New Chance, the pattern was unfavorable for behavioral and cognitive outcomes.

The New Chance findings were unexpected: of all the programs reviewed here, as we have noted, this is the one that had the most explicitly two-generational focus, seeking to improve outcomes for the children as well as mothers (with parenting education, developmentally appropriate child care, and access to health care, along with expected increases in maternal education and improvements in family economic status, assumed to contribute to improved outcomes for the children). However, unfavorable impacts were detected for children, especially in the area of behavioral adjustment, but also in the area of cognitive development. Mothers' reports of children's behavior problems (both overall and for specific subscales of the Behavior Problems Index) were higher in the program group, and their reports of their children's positive behaviors (again overall and for subscales of the Positive Behavior Scale) were significantly lower. In addition, mothers in New Chance rated their children's academic performance as significantly lower than mothers in the control group<sup>57</sup>.

In the Newark TPD program, unfavorable impacts were found on two direct assessments of the children's cognitive development (the Woodcock Johnson-Revised Letter-Word Identification test and Calculation test) as well as a measure of the children's perception of their school (their evaluation of their teachers). In addition, mothers in the program group gave their children less positive ratings on the Adaptive

---

<sup>57</sup>In New Chance, there were reports from teachers on a similar range of child outcomes for a select subset of the sample. Interestingly, there were no impacts on teachers' reports of the children's behavioral or academic functioning. The discrepancy in reports by teachers and mothers might indicate that the program-related differences in children's behavior and indications of academic functioning occurred only in the home, but not the school, context. Alternatively, the differences may reveal changes in mothers' perceptions of their children as a result of the program, rather than differences in the child's actual functioning. Although the latter explanation suggests that these impacts on children are not "real", in the sense that they do not capture actual changes in child functioning, it is important to note that parents who perceive their children as behaving problematically or performing poorly in school might treat their children less positively, which may have important implications for children's development.

Social Behavior Index- Expressiveness subscale, though the total score for the Adaptive Social Behavior Index did not differ by group.

These findings caution that it may be particularly difficult to bring about not only positive economic impacts but also positive impacts on children's development in the population of very young welfare recipients. It will be critical to determine whether new residence and participation requirements for teenage mothers under PRWORA are having more favorable impacts.

***II. The mandatory work-first and education first programs had mostly neutral patterns (of no or weak impacts) for children of about 5 to 7 years of age. The patterns that did occur in this set of programs, however were both favorable and unfavorable.***

As can be seen in Tables 3-5, most of the impact patterns for the JOBS programs fall in the shaded areas of the tables, indicating no or very weak impacts. When they did fall outside of the shaded area, the impact patterns were favorable in the area of cognitive development, unfavorable in the area of health, and mixed for behavioral outcomes. Those impacts that did occur in patterns indicating some consistency tended to be favorable for children of mothers in the two Atlanta programs (especially the LFA program), but unfavorable (specifically in the area of health) for the Riverside programs.

Favorable impacts occurred on measures of cognitive development in three programs (both the LFA and HCD programs in Atlanta, and Grand Rapids' HCD program). These impacts reflected higher mean scores on the Bracken Basic Concept Scale School Readiness Composite (for Atlanta's LFA program) and better distributional scores on this measure (fewer children scoring at the low end of the distribution or more at the high end) in all three of these programs. Interestingly, the favorable impacts on measures of cognitive development all occurred in programs in which mothers had shown increases in educational attainment.<sup>58</sup>

While impacts on measures of cognitive development were all favorable, impacts on behavior outcomes were mixed. Atlanta's LFA program showed somewhat of a favorable pattern of behavioral impacts, on balance, with lower mean scores for externalizing behavior problems on the Behavior Problems Index, and a higher proportion of children in the upper end of the distribution of positive social behavior as measured by the Positive Behavior Scale. Yet at the same time, a smaller proportion of children in Atlanta's LFA program had scores in the low end of the distribution (indicating fewer behavior problems) in their total number of behavior problems. Grand Rapids' LFA program, however, showed somewhat of an unfavorable pattern of behavioral impacts, with a higher mean score than the control group for externalizing behavior problems and fewer children scoring at the low end of the distribution for this measure.

---

<sup>58</sup> Such an increase was apparent in one further program, however, (Riverside's HCD program) that did not result in favorable cognitive impacts for children.

Unfavorable impact patterns for health outcomes occurred in both of Riverside's programs. In both programs, mothers gave lower overall health ratings to their children, and were specifically less likely to rate their children as in very good or excellent health.

While mixed as to direction, it is noteworthy that this is the first set of programs among the types considered so far to show any favorable impacts on children. Further, some of these impacts occurred on direct assessments of cognitive development. If mothers' perceptions are affected by the experience of being assigned to a welfare-to-work program, this may also color rating of the child's behavior or development<sup>59</sup>. In general, findings that come from multiple informants give greater confidence in the pattern of findings.

***III. Strong financial work incentive programs showed clear patterns of favorable impacts for young children in the areas of cognitive development and behavioral adjustment. However, impacts were not uniformly favorable. In particular, there were unfavorable impacts for adolescents of mothers in some of the programs, and also for the recent applicant group in MFIP.***

As can be seen in Table 3, there is a concentration of findings indicating favorable impacts on cognitive development for school-age children of mothers assigned to strong financial work incentive programs. The pattern of impacts for cognitive development was favorable for children ages 5 through 12 years of long term recipients assigned to the full MFIP program, as well as for children 5 through 12 of long term recipients assigned to the MFIP Incentives Only program. In addition, school-age sons (ages 6 to 12) of mothers assigned to the New Hope program, and school-age children (ages 6 to 11) of mothers in Canada's Self-Sufficiency Program, showed patterns of positive impacts on cognitive outcomes. For example, in SSP, school-age children in the program group scored higher on a test of math achievement, and their mothers rated their academic achievement higher. In New Hope, teachers gave higher ratings to school-age boys in the program group on the Academic Subscale of the Social Skills Rating System, and ratings of the children's classroom behavior skills, independence skills and skills in handling transitions in school. Boys in the program group were more likely to indicate that they expected to attend college, and to have higher occupational expectations. In MFIP, school-age children of mothers assigned to both the Incentives Only and Full versions of the program received higher average maternal rating of school performance and school engagement. It is noteworthy that across the studies, the favorable cognitive impacts come from achievement test scores, teacher ratings, child self-report measures, and maternal ratings. The range of sources for this set of findings increases confidence in its robustness.

As can be seen in Table 3, however, positive impacts on measures of cognitive development were not found uniformly for children of mothers assigned to the strong financial work incentive programs. Adolescents aged 12 through 18 in SSP and aged 13 through 18 in the Full MFIP program (especially in the recent applicant subgroup) showed some unfavorable impacts. For example, in SSP, mothers in the program group

---

<sup>59</sup> Morris & Michalopoulos 2000

rated their adolescent children's academic achievement slightly less favorably. In the full MFIP program, for adolescents of long-term recipients, the proportion rated by their mothers as performing above average in school was significantly lower in the program group. Further, school-age girls in New Hope, and young children in SSP (3 to 5 year olds) showed little indication of impacts on measures of cognitive development.

For behavioral adjustment, some patterns again point to positive impacts, but there are many more instances showing no or very weak impacts. The greater concentration of null impacts is partly due to the availability of data on young children (which never showed impacts) in the behavioral, but not the cognitive, domain. School-age children of long term welfare recipients assigned to MFIP's Full and Incentives Only programs, as well as sons in the New Hope program group showed positive patterns in this domain of development. For example, Full MFIP decreased the total score on the Behavior Problems Index as well as the externalizing subscale. For the Incentives Only group, in addition to the impacts on the behavior problems total and externalizing scores, there were also decreases in internalizing behavior problems, and increases in children's positive social behavior. New Hope resulted in higher teacher ratings of school-age boys' positive social behavior, social competence, compliance and autonomy, and decreased scores on ratings of total behavior problems, externalizing problems, hyperactivity, and frequency of disciplinary action.

No favorable impacts for behavioral development were detected for younger children (ages 3-5) in New Hope or SSP. There were no favorable behavioral impacts for school age children of recent welfare recipients in the MFIP variant involving Incentives Only, and the pattern for school-age children of recent recipients in the Full MFIP program was unfavorable. Adolescents of mothers assigned to these programs showed either no behavioral impacts, or in two programs (children of recent recipients in Full MFIP, and children in SSP), unfavorable impacts. In Full MFIP, there was a single unfavorable impact for adolescents in the behavioral domain (on the percent of mothers reporting having been contact by the child's school about a behavior problem). However, in SSP, unfavorable impacts occurred across a number of outcomes, some of a more serious nature, including maternal reports of school behavior problems, and the adolescents' own reports of frequency of delinquent activity, smoking, drinking once a week or more, and drug use. Morris and Michalopoulos caution that there was substantial attrition in the adolescent sample for the Canadian Self Sufficiency Study, and that overall sample size for the adolescent-reported impacts was perhaps biased<sup>60</sup>. These findings suffice to raise the possibility, however, that there may be unfavorable impacts on adolescents even when the same programs had favorable behavioral impacts on younger children.

There were very few instances of significant child health impacts in this set of programs, and the few that did occur were in opposite directions. For long term recipients, MFIP (both the Full and Incentives Only variants) increased the proportion of families reporting that a child had had an accident or injury requiring a visit to an

---

<sup>60</sup> It is important to note, however, that the impacts on adolescents in SSP were also found on parent-reported variables, for which there were fewer concerns about sample attrition.

emergency room or clinic. This impact might indicate either an increase or accidents or injuries among these children or an increase in the use of emergency rooms by program group families. By contrast, in SSP, program group mothers gave their school-age children higher overall health ratings and were less likely to indicate that their children had long term health problems.

In sum, these programs had strong potential to enhance children's cognitive and behavioral outcomes, but did not do so in every instance. As noted, however, the fact that mothers were assigned to a strong financial work incentive program did not assure a pattern of favorable impacts for employment, poverty and income. Perhaps these discrepancies reflect differences in economic impacts within these programs for particular subgroups of families (such as recent and long term welfare recipients). Alternatively, the findings may reflect on characteristics of the children. It will be very important to determine if the neutral or negative findings occur even in the context of favorable income impacts. Such a pattern would suggest that income facilitates but does not assure favorable impacts. These possibilities are examined below in responding to question 3(b).

***IV. Child impact findings for the single program with a time limit component were few and mixed as to direction. Some unfavorable impacts emerged for children who were adolescents at the follow-up.***

In Florida's Family Transition Program, for children aged 5-12 at the follow-up, there were no impacts in the area of cognitive development, a slight indication of unfavorable impacts on behavioral adjustment, and favorable health impacts. In the cognitive domain, no impacts were found on maternal report measures of the children's school achievement, engagement in school, whether they had ever repeated a grade, or whether they were in special education. In terms of behavioral adjustment, the program did not affect the frequency of problem behavior as perceived by the mother, either overall or for the specific subscales indicating internalizing and externalizing problems. However, a maternal rating scale focusing on the children's positive social behavior indicated lower scores for children in the program group. While statistically significant, the difference in mean scores was small. FTP resulted in higher maternal report ratings of the children's general health for children in this age range (also a very small difference in mean score), and decreased the proportion of children perceived to be in poor health. The researchers hypothesize that the favorable health impacts may be related to improvements in the physical environment of the home and a diminution in reported problems regarding housing in the program group, which could diminish the exposure of children to environmental risks related to health conditions (for example, dust or pollution which could trigger asthma).

Cognitive and behavioral outcomes are also available for children who were adolescents at the follow-up. Adolescents of mothers assigned to FTP were more likely to have been suspended from school, although they were no more likely to have had contact with the police, to have been arrested or convicted, or to have had a baby. In

addition, their mothers rated their achievement slightly lower, although they were not more likely to be below average in achievement or to be in special education.

This first look at child impacts in a program with a time limit component does not point to a consistent or strong pattern of impacts, as some had feared. However, as noted above, only about one fifth of the sample studied had reached the time limit at the follow-up point in this study (although other may have been affected by the anticipation of a time limit in their future). Similarly, these results come from a single study of time limits, precluding our ability to consider the consistency of findings across programs (something that has been possible for each other type of program). Further work is needed examining child impacts in other programs and at further follow-up points. In the future, results will be available from two further studies with time limits: the evaluations of Indiana and Connecticut's welfare waiver policies.

***(3b) Do the programs' impacts on children differ in light of pattern of impacts on employment, income, and percent in poverty?***

Here we focus on patterns of economic impacts, setting aside whether the program fell into the groupings of programs identified in Figure 1 of teenage-targeted, mandatory work-first or education-first, strong financial work incentive, or time limited approaches. Tables 3 through 5 permit consideration of child impact findings in light of pattern of economic impacts. Columns to the left of the table indicate the pattern of findings for employment, percent in poverty and income. The four patterns described in the section on economic impacts are used to categorize programs.

As we have noted, programs even within one set or program type sometimes varied in their economic impacts. For example, as can be seen in Tables 3 through 5, TPD's three sites fall into three different economic patterns. The JOBS programs, similarly, fall into two of the patterns. The MFIP program did not have the same pattern of strong economic progress for recent applicants (in either variant of the program) as it did for long term recipients. Examining child impacts in light of the pattern of economic impacts may provide a closer "fit" in terms of patterning of findings than examining child impacts in light of program type. Here we move beyond consideration of child impacts in light of the program "blueprint" to pattern of economic impacts.

Looking at Tables 3-5, it is apparent that findings in the area of child health are neither as strong nor as related to patterns of economic impacts as are findings in the area of child cognitive development and behavioral adjustment. The discussion that follows will focus on the findings for cognitive and behavioral outcomes for children.

Examination of Tables 3 and 4 suggests the following general conclusions:

***?? Child impact findings for the least and most favorable economic patterns do fall in predicted directions for school-age children.*** For impacts on child cognitive and behavioral outcomes, we do see a patterning of findings by economic outcomes, with a set of unfavorable impacts for children occurring in programs in

which families made no progress across the three core economic outcomes, and a set of favorable impacts in the programs in which families made strong and sustained economic progress. However, for each of these more extreme economic patterns, there are also findings in the weak or neutral range for children's cognitive and behavioral outcomes. That is, the unfavorable pattern of economic impacts did not suffice to assure that there would always be unfavorable child impacts, and similarly, the favorable pattern of economic impacts did not suffice to assure that there would be favorable child impacts.

- ?? ***There are, however, further patterns in the table that appear to be related to family and child characteristics rather than to pattern of economic impacts.*** In particular, as can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, impacts for adolescents (noted in italics in the tables to help identify them) were unfavorable even in the context of the strong favorable economic outcome pattern. Indeed, unfavorable impacts for adolescents cut across different patterns of economic outcomes. These patterns related to child characteristics are discussed in greater detail below. At this point, however, it is important to underscore that economic outcomes are one of several factors that emerge as helping to explain the patterns of child impacts, with child and family characteristics also playing a role.
- ?? ***Findings also diverge from what might be expected based on primary economic outcomes when mothers made progress in terms of educational attainment. Increases in maternal educational attainment were associated in a number of instances with favorable child cognitive impacts. This occurred even in the presence of the least optimal pattern of impacts on the core economic outcomes.*** Significant impacts on mothers' educational attainment are noted in parentheses at the very end of each entry in the table, with a plus sign and asterisk indicating that the program resulted in a significant increase in educational attainment, and a minus sign and asterisk indicating a significant unfavorable impact, with control group mothers exceeding program group mothers on educational attainment at the final follow-up. As can be seen in the tables, favorable cognitive impacts for children occurred beyond the set of programs with strong employment, income, and poverty effects in three of the four JOBS programs in which mothers achieved higher educational attainment. One of the TPD programs in which there were impacts on mothers' educational attainment, TPD Chicago, also showed a weak pattern of impacts in this direction for child cognitive outcomes (falling in the shaded area). Not all programs in which mothers made educational progress resulted in favorable impacts on child cognitive outcomes (note findings for Riverside's HCD program and Camden's TPD program). However, the findings suffice to suggest the further hypothesis that increasing educational participation and improving the educational attainment of welfare-receiving mothers can have positive implications for their children's cognitive development. This hypothesis is being explored further in work taking into account selection factors in terms of which mothers obtain the further education in the context of the JOBS welfare-to-

work programs<sup>61</sup>. Findings to date from this further work support the hypothesis that increasing mothers' educational participation may be another means of improving outcomes for children in welfare-receiving families, specifically in the area of cognitive development.

?? ***The intermediate patterns of economic impacts were not associated with strong child impact patterns, either favorable or unfavorable, beyond those noted above pertaining to child characteristics, family characteristics, and maternal educational attainment.*** In the programs in which mothers showed either (1) impacts in employment in the absence of gains in income and/or reductions in the proportion of families in poverty, or (2) in which there was a fadeout of impacts on income or poverty over the course of the follow-up, impacts for children's cognitive and behavioral development were generally weak, falling in the shaded areas, *except in the instances noted above of patterns related to child age, level of initial family disadvantage, and impacts on maternal educational attainment.* There is only a single exception to this generalization (a pattern of unfavorable behavioral impacts for children occurring in Grand Rapids' LFA program). It is interesting to note that this program had an unfavorable impact on mothers' educational attainment.<sup>62</sup> It is important to underscore here that programs in which mothers made limited economic progress were not systematically associated with unfavorable impacts for children (nor with favorable impacts) when one sets aside the further patterns related to child and family characteristics or educational attainment.

In general, the findings on economic patterns underscore the potential importance for children of developing programs that support sustained economic progress for families. The results also caution that in some instances, welfare-to-work programs have had no or unfavorable economic impacts for families (especially families headed by teenage recipients), and that such programs sometimes have had unfavorable impacts for children. It is equally important to understand when and why such patterns of economic impacts have occurred and to seek alternative approaches. The findings also caution that family and child characteristics, and not only pattern of economic impacts, are related to child impacts, an issue to which we now turn.

#### ***(4) Did impacts for children differ by initial characteristics of the families?***

The contrasting findings of recent and longer term welfare recipients within MFIP highlight the issue of the potential importance of family characteristics. Contrary to expectations, this set of subgroup findings points to a generally less favorable pattern of child impacts, including some unfavorable impacts, for children in families that might be

---

<sup>61</sup> This work is being carried out by Magnuson and McGroder. Preliminary results were presented at the meeting of the NICHD Family and Child Well-being Research Network, Washington D.C., April 27, 2001.

<sup>62</sup> The Newark TPD program, which also had unfavorable impacts on mothers' educational attainment, showed a very similar pattern in terms of children's behavioral outcomes. The possibility exists that unfavorable impacts on maternal educational attainment may signal a lack of progress or an unfavorable economic pattern irrespective of employment outcomes.

considered at lower initial risk (i.e., in families that were newly applying for welfare, or who had been receiving welfare for less than two years, by contrast with long term recipients, who had been receiving welfare for two or more years). Findings for children in these “higher risk” families, who had been receiving welfare longer, by contrast fell into a favorable range for cognitive and behavioral outcomes, with some of the findings quite consistent across developmental outcomes.

This pattern of findings is not alone across this set of evaluations. Two other studies have also found that child impacts tended to be unfavorable in subgroups of families that entered the evaluation at lower risk. Although risk is not defined in exactly the same way in these three studies, the subgroups hypothesized to be at *lower* risk showed a pattern of unfavorable impacts on children across all of these studies.

In the Child Outcomes Study of the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies focusing on the JOBS programs<sup>63</sup>, the researchers intentionally varied how they defined risk. Outcomes for children were examined in families at higher and lower risk at baseline in terms of maternal psychological well-being, educational background, work history, and cumulative risk (with higher risk involving a larger cumulative number of the preceding four categories in which the family was at the higher risk level).

For *control group* children, examination of mean and proportion scores on developmental outcomes indicated that children in the higher risk group consistently had less positive scores. However, *impacts* for children, as in MFIP, did not fall in a pattern indicating that children in the higher risk groups showed unfavorable or less favorable impacts. In three of the six JOBS programs (both programs in Riverside and Grand Rapids’ LFA program), children in the lower risk subgroups (irrespective of which definition of risk was used) showed a concentration of unfavorable impacts in the areas of child behavior and health. Further, while the impacts of the JOBS programs on children in the aggregate (i.e., overall, and not looking at subgroups) tended to be small in magnitude, these impacts for lower risk families in three programs were larger, a number of them showing effect sizes of .50 or greater. The consistency in the pattern of unfavorable impacts for lower risk families across different definitions of risk suggests that this is a robust pattern.

In FTP, using yet a different approach to defining risk, findings again point to unfavorable impacts for children in lower rather than higher risk families. Here risk was defined based on baseline characteristics predictive of longer term welfare receipt, using a regression-based subgroup approach. Unfavorable impacts for focal children were concentrated in the subgroup at least initial risk. For example, for children 5-17, most of the negative impacts occurred only for those at least risk (including unfavorable impacts on average achievement, children being rated as below average in achievement, and for children 10 and older, suspensions from school). Further, for older children, only the lowest risk group showed a significant increase in involvement with the police, and a significant increase in the proportion ever arrested or convicted.

---

<sup>63</sup> McGroder et al., 2000

While the findings for child impacts in higher and lower risk families are consistent across these studies, pointing to concentrations of unfavorable impacts in lower risk families, the underlying economic patterns are not as consistent. Unlike the findings in MFIP, increases in family income were concentrated in the least at risk subgroup in FTP, while income impacts were not significant for the highest and medium risk subgroups in this study. Thus, the finding of unfavorable impacts on children in these “lower risk” families cannot be attributed to less favorable impacts on economic variables in these families.

These findings suggest that we may need to reconsider the issue of risk as it relates both to economic impacts and child impacts in families that receive welfare. Previous research suggests that the presence of risk factors and the accumulation of risk are associated with less favorable outcomes for children apart from any intervention. Some previous intervention studies, such as the Infant Health and Development Program,<sup>64</sup> have also documented differential impacts by family risk level, but in the pattern initially predicted here, with children responding more favorably to the intervention in *lower* risk families.

Why, in the present set of evaluations, might lower family risk be associated with unfavorable child impacts? Perhaps we need to think in terms of acute as opposed to chronic stressors within families. Recent applicants and “lower risk” families in these studies may be newly applying for welfare because of a fairly recent crisis (such as loss of a job, separation or divorce, or incidence of domestic violence) or life change (such as birth of a baby). The baseline characteristics of recent and long term welfare recipients in MFIP indicate that recent applicants were much more likely to have had some earnings in the past 12 months, and were also more likely to be married but living apart from their spouse,<sup>65</sup> patterns that would be in accord with the recent application for welfare occurring in the context of a job loss or separation. If a recent change has resulted in application for welfare in these families, then being encouraged or pushed towards work may add a further transition in the lives of children already adapting to major recent changes. Unfavorable impacts for children could reflect not long term risk factors such as low maternal literacy or limited work history, but rather recent upheavals in family life.

Another hypothesis<sup>66</sup> is that, for these “lower risk” families, applying for welfare may be associated with greater stigma. For such families, there may be a greater sense of obligation and anxiety about needing to fulfill program requirements, and/or sense of shame about difficulty doing so. Such responses to program requirements could be detected by, or conveyed to, children and result in unfavorable impacts.

---

<sup>64</sup> See discussion of impact findings by level of family risk in Brooks-Gunn, 1997.

<sup>65</sup> Gennetian and Miller, 2000

<sup>66</sup> Suggested by Kate Marsland, Department of Psychology, Laura Sosinsky, Department of Psychology, and Sean Moundas, Department of Psychology, Yale University, in response to presentation by Martha Zaslow at the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, Yale University, March 2, 2001.

Future work should seek to provide insight into the patterns reported here and their underlying bases. New programs are focusing increasingly on the hard to serve welfare recipients, generally thought of as those with the most barriers to employment. For example, such programs seek to deal with issues of maternal depression, low literacy, and substance abuse.<sup>67</sup> However, in addition to these families (traditionally considered high risk families), welfare caseloads may also be comprised of a second group of families facing acute rather than chronic difficulties. Thought should go into whether program design should reconceptualize risk as long-term and acute, rather than high and low, and whether programs should be designed to address the needs of families and children facing both types of risk.

***(5) Do impacts vary by child age?***

Findings at both ends of the age range, for the youngest and oldest children in these studies, contradict initial hypotheses. Regarding very young children, research suggests that changes in family economic well-being, especially movement into and out of poverty, as well as duration of time in deep poverty, should have the strongest effects on children in the first years of life, and particularly in the domain of cognitive development. Favorable impacts for children, especially in the studies involving strong favorable economic impacts, should therefore be particularly evident for very young children.

However, results pertaining to the youngest children in these studies do not support this hypothesis. In general, in instances where school-age children showed favorable (or unfavorable) impacts, the children who would have been very young during the studies' follow-up period showed no significant impacts. For example, in SSP, although children aged 6-11 at follow-up showed favorable cognitive impacts, children of 3-5 did not.

It is also the case that measures for very young children have the least reliability and validity. Further, relatively few measures were used in these studies in the examination of impacts for very young children (for example, note the difference in the number of behavioral outcomes by age of child in New Hope). The lack of program impacts for very young children may thus reflect measurement issues.

Given that work requirements under PRWORA now extend to mothers when a youngest child is 12 months old, and that many states extend work requirements downward to the first months of life, new work is needed examining impacts on these very young children.

At the other end of the age continuum is the further unexpected result regarding adolescents. While these studies were launched out of concern about possible impacts on children who were of preschool age at baseline, the results of the present set of evaluations point quite consistently, instead, to unfavorable impacts for adolescents. Findings from MFIP, FTP and SSP all point to unfavorable behavioral and cognitive

---

<sup>67</sup> Knitzer, 2000

impacts for adolescents<sup>68</sup>. These findings cut across program types. They also occur in three of the four economic outcome patterns<sup>69</sup>. Unfavorable impacts for adolescents occur even in work support and incentive programs that had favorable impacts for younger children (see, for example, findings for SSP and Full MFIP for long term recipients on measures of cognitive development). Unfavorable impacts for adolescents occur on such measures as parental reports of the adolescents' school achievement and behavioral problems in school, and adolescents' reports of their participation in delinquent activities, their smoking, drinking and drug use.

These findings for adolescents are of concern, and suggest the need for programs that attend to the needs of adolescents. The research is not yet clear as to the underlying mechanism for this pattern, and differing mechanisms may be accounting for these<sup>70</sup>. For example, some findings suggest that a diminution in maternal supervision may explain these findings (for example, a decline in supervision occurred in FTP for younger children in the low risk group; the group showing unfavorable impacts for adolescents). Other findings suggest that adolescents of mothers in some of the welfare-to-work programs are more likely to be employed 20 or more hours a week (for example, findings reported in SSP). Previous research indicates that working 20 or more hours a week is related to higher levels of behavior problems and may decrease adolescents' participation and performance in school<sup>71</sup>. But these two possible bases would have differing program implications. The first suggests that mothers of adolescents might benefit from part time work and being available when their teenage children are home, or programs and activities where their children can be supervised while the mothers work. The second suggests a program approach discouraging teenage employment, or perhaps limiting the number of hours of juvenile employment. Distinguishing among these possibilities and exploring other possible bases of this set of findings is clearly important.

#### ***(6) Do impacts vary by domain of development?***

---

<sup>68</sup> Three other studies examining adolescents, the five year reports of the NEWWS Child Outcomes Study and the New Hope project, as well as the final report for Connecticut's Jobs First evaluation will be released over the next year. The findings of these studies will provide more information on the consistency of impacts on adolescents.

<sup>69</sup> In two of the three programs with negative impacts on adolescents, MFIP and FTP, data were not available to indicate whether the pattern of economic impacts differed for families as adolescents than for families with focal children. However, the findings from the Canadian Self-Sufficiency Project suggest economic and employment impacts that are identical in direction (though perhaps somewhat smaller) in families of older children to those in families of younger children. Hence, in the absence of data specific to families of adolescents, the general pattern of economic impacts for families of focal children is used here.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion of some possible explanations for the pattern of impacts on adolescents., see Brooks, J.L., Hair, E.C., & Zaslow, M.J. (2001). *Welfare reform's impact on adolescents: Early warning signs*. Washington, DC: Child Trends.

<sup>71</sup> Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (1995). The impact of employment on adolescent development. *Annals of Child Development* (Volume 11, pp. 131-166). London: Jessica Kingsley. Tienda, M., & Ahituv, A. (1996). Ethnic differences in school departure: Does youth employment promote or under mine educational attainment? In G. Mangum & S. Mangum (Eds.), *Of Heart and Mind: Social policy essays in honor of Sar A. Levitan*. (pp. 93-110). Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute.

In summarizing results, we have repeatedly noted that impacts on children follow a similar pattern for cognitive and behavioral child outcomes in relation to economic impacts, but not for health outcomes. We have also noted that impacts on child cognitive outcomes were the most pervasive, on behavioral outcomes intermediate, and health outcomes rare.

As noted above, previous research suggests that children's cognitive development reflects the cumulative influences over time of family economic status. The greater density of impacts for cognitive outcomes may reflect the fact that children's academic and achievement outcomes capture cumulative influences of economic change over the follow-up period.

There is some evidence that behavioral outcomes in children may be sensitive to transitions, and change more rapidly<sup>72</sup>. Impacts on child behavioral outcomes may perhaps be more sensitive to recent changes rather than cumulative economic influences within this set of evaluation studies. In FTP, the lack of favorable behavioral impacts despite the exposure of the children, at least to some extent, to improvements in income, may reflect the decrease in income impacts at the end of the follow-up period. That is, the slight unfavorable pattern of behavioral impacts may reflect the recent decline in economic well-being for some families, rather than children's cumulative exposure to increased income. This distinction between cumulative economic influences and responses to recent changes could be studied explicitly in approaches looking at economic impacts over time.

A further important possibility, as in the impacts for very young children, concerns measurement. Measures of behavioral development were most often collected through maternal report. Yet differences in the patterning of impacts by informant have been noted in those studies in which mother and a teacher have both reported on the child's behavioral development. The favorable impacts of New Hope for boys were detected primarily in the teacher report measures, with fewer impacts detected via maternal report.<sup>73</sup> More or different impacts might have been detected in the behavioral domain if information from further informants, especially teachers, had been sought in other evaluation studies. In addition, it is possible that the reliability and validity of behavioral measures may be weaker for behavioral than cognitive measures (especially the direct assessments) used in these studies.

The very different pattern for health impacts, both in terms of density of findings and patterning of results, suggests that a different set of factors may contribute to the health impacts than the cognitive or behavioral. The health measures encompass a wide range of outcomes, including for example, both overall health ratings and the incidence of accidents and injuries. There may be different bases for impacts on these very different health measures. For example, the greater likelihood of accidents and injuries for children of mothers in the New Chance program may be a reflection of program

---

<sup>72</sup> Hofferth, Smith, McLoyd & Finkelstein, 2000; Moore, Gleib, Driscoll, Zaslow & Redd, 2001.

<sup>73</sup> Though the opposite pattern occurs in New Chance, with fewer impacts in teacher report than maternal report measures

mothers' greater depression at the final follow-up, which may compromise vigilance for health and safety. By contrast, the impacts on overall health and the percentage of children in excellent or very good health in Riverside's LFA JOBS programs have been linked in exploratory mediational analyses<sup>74</sup> to hours of the mothers' employment (mothers in this site were more likely to be employed at the time of the follow-up). These health impacts may be rooted in a greater importance of health symptoms (even colds) for mothers who must depart for a job. Health symptoms in a child can delay or prevent the mother's departure for work, and so may become highly salient to her. Impacts on measures of child health might also reflect the transmission of infections in child care settings.

From the available findings, it seems appropriate to hypothesize a greater similarity in the underlying bases for the cognitive and behavioral than health findings. The cognitive and behavioral impacts seem more tightly linked to program type and pattern of economic impacts (though with the possibility that one may be more closely linked to cumulative economic influences, and the other to income fluctuations over time).

***(7) (a) Did impacts occur on non-targeted family factors? How widespread were these impacts? (b) Did they appear to play a role in shaping child impacts?***

As noted above, the programs included in this review generally did not seek to change parenting behavior, maternal psychological well-being, the housing or neighborhood environments that families live in, domestic violence, or the extent of children's contact with their biological fathers. Nevertheless, it is possible that assignment to a welfare-to-work or income support program may be accompanied by changes in these further non-targeted family factors. For example, participation in such a program, if it resulted in improvements in family economic status, could relieve maternal psychological distress; contact and stimulation from employment could result in improved parenting. Alternatively, failure to fulfill program requirements, or setbacks in economic status, could result in increased distress and harsher parenting.

Given the documented importance to children's development of these proximal variables, our summary will focus both on whether there were *any* impacts in a given area, and then how widespread the impacts in that area were. Even a single impact in a set of parenting variables might be important in shaping child impacts. For example, the research on parenting behavior identifies harsh parenting as particularly likely to vary with economic hardship. Studies indicate that among families in poverty, harsh parenting helps to explain the associations between family economic hardship and child socioemotional outcomes<sup>75</sup>. If, in one of the evaluation studies encompassed in the present review, a range of different parenting variables is examined, and impacts occur just on a harsh parenting variable, it may be appropriate to conclude both that there were very few program impacts on parenting behavior, *and* that the impact that was nevertheless documented may be important to child well-being. That is, changes on the

---

<sup>74</sup> McGroder et al., 2000.

<sup>75</sup> See discussions in McLoyd 1990; 2000

non-targeted family variables may be relatively limited in scope and strength, yet they may still have implications for children.<sup>76</sup>

The state of knowledge for understanding what underlies effects on children of welfare-to-work programs is still evolving. It is fairly straightforward to ask whether impacts occurred at all, and how widespread such impacts were on these further non-targeted family factors. Information addressing this question is important in its own right, in that it can indicate to policymakers how far welfare-to-work programs reach in affecting children's experiences. Yet the further question of whether and how such impacts help to shape impacts on children is a more complicated one. There are active discussions at present regarding the most appropriate methodologies for documenting how any such impacts on both targeted and non-targeted family outcomes might mediate (fully or partially help to convey) impacts to children, and different statistical approaches are currently being attempted.<sup>77</sup> We will therefore focus on broad conclusions from the research to date, rather than summarize specific findings on mediation.

***(a) How widespread were impacts on non-targeted aspects of family life?***

The evaluation studies encompassed in this review varied in the way they assessed non-targeted outcomes. As can be seen in Table 2, there was variation across the studies as to which dimensions were assessed. Studies most consistently collected data on parenting, maternal psychological well-being (usually depressive symptoms), residence with a partner/spouse, and the quality of housing and the neighborhood environment. Data were collected less consistently on father involvement, household composition and residence (other than residence with a partner/spouse), and domestic violence. It should be noted that policies regarding child support and paternity establishment were often included in the demonstration projects, making financial aspects of father involvement targeted outcomes in some studies. A key question, then, is whether the programs affected other aspects of father involvement, such as frequency with which the child saw his or her father.

Looking at the non-targeted aspects of family life for which data were most regularly collected, the picture that emerges is that impacts did indeed occur on these further aspects of family life, but with the incidence of such impacts varying by the outcome area (e.g., parenting behavior, mother's psychological well-being). Table 2

---

<sup>76</sup> See discussion in McGroder et al., 2000 on the role of relatively small impacts on measures of parenting in contributing to child impacts.

<sup>77</sup> Approaches used traditionally within child development research to document mediation have been questioned on the grounds that they do not take into account selection on the mediating variables. Other approaches, especially the use of instrumental variables to help control for selection, have been questioned on the grounds of the precision of the estimates they sometimes yield, and on the grounds that it may be useful and important to examine explicitly how processes of selection are operating (to the extent that this is possible with measured variables). "Mapping" approaches, simply looking at how sets of variables correspond, without engaging in a statistical test of the associations among variables, are free of problems of selection, as they simply involve asking whether there are impacts on non-targeted variables, and how these correspond to impacts on child outcomes. While findings from a mapping approach are a useful starting point, they do not test for statistical associations, and are exploratory in nature.

provides findings from seven evaluation studies, but (given that separate analyses may have been carried out for programs in particular sites or for particular population subgroups), a total of 20 analytic comparisons. Focusing on findings from the final follow-up in each evaluation, at least one parenting impact out of the set of measures examined in each study occurred in 16 of the 20 analytic comparisons; impacts on maternal depressive symptoms occurred in 7 of the 20; impacts on housing or neighborhood quality in 7, and impacts on residence with a spouse or partner in 6.

As noted above, nearly all of the analytic groups included in Table 2 showed at least one program impact on a measure of parenting. Yet this does not mean that impacts on parenting occurred across most or all of the measures considered within the studies, and indeed it was often the case that only a single impact or a small number of impacts were found relative to the number considered (as for example, in FTP and the Grand Rapids LFA program). In general, it was very likely for this set of programs to affect at least one aspect of parenting, but not typical for impacts to occur across most or all of the measures of parenting considered.

Impacts on parenting and the home environment occurred in both directions, with some impacts indicating improvements and some indicating deterioration. For example, both the LFA and the HCD programs in the Atlanta site of the NEWS Child Outcomes Study had favorable impacts on a summary index of positive parenting. In addition, Atlanta's LFA program had favorable impacts on interviewer ratings of maternal warmth, verbal interactions with the child, and harsh parenting; Atlanta's HCD program also increased mothers' perceptions of warmth in the mother-child relationship. The full MFIP program increased maternal supervision of the child for long term recipients, while the MFIP Financial Incentives program decreased harsh parenting for long term recipients. Mixed patterns, including both favorable and unfavorable impacts were found in two of the sites of the Teenage Parent Demonstration, with impacts in Camden including more outings and more participation in religious activities, but less frequent reading to the child; and impacts in Chicago including, by contrast, more daily reading to the child but also more television viewing. In the Newark site there were only unfavorable parenting impacts, including lower means scores on a measure of the supportiveness and stimulation available to the child in the home environment, lower maternal responsiveness, lower maternal acceptance, and a lower percentage with ten or more books in the home. In some evaluations, impacts appear to be related to time and parenting stress, including mothers reporting having less time for children in the two younger of the SSP age cohorts<sup>78</sup>. Further, program mothers of children in the youngest SSP cohort reported less warm parenting than control group mothers and FTP mothers reported providing less supervision of their children than control group mothers. In addition, in both Full and Incentives MFIP, substantial increases in reports of harsh parenting were noted for recent applicants. There was also a small diminution in maternal warmth in parenting in Grand

---

<sup>78</sup> It is important to note that decreases in time with children, although summarized as "unfavorable" in the tables, may only be problematic if parents have too little time available to spend with their children. Given that parents in SSP were more likely to be working, one would expect that they would have less time available. Yet, it is not possible to determine from these data just how much time parents are spending with their children.

Rapid's LFA program.<sup>79</sup> The incidence of program impacts on measures of harsh parenting in a number of the studies is noteworthy given the previous research identifying this as important to consider in families in poverty.

Impacts on maternal depressive symptoms occurred in about 1/3 of the analytic comparisons summarized in Table 2 (6/20). In most instances, average scores for the measure of maternal depressive symptoms indicated a worsening of symptoms. This was the case in the Grand Rapids LFA program, MFIP Incentives Only for recent applicants, New Chance, the Chicago site of TPD, and for parents of children aged 6-11 in SSP. Diminutions in mothers' depressive symptoms occurred in two analytic comparisons: MFIP Financial Incentives reduced average depressive symptom scores for long term recipients (though interestingly it increased symptoms for recent applicants as noted above), and the Newark site of TPD also diminished maternal depressive symptoms. Interestingly, impacts on depression did not always occur in conjunction with impacts on parenting in the expected direction, suggesting that impacts on maternal depression may not necessarily lead to impacts on parenting behavior.

Findings for marriage/cohabitation and for the quality of housing and neighborhood were also mixed. MFIP increased marriage or cohabitation (with impacts in three of four analytic groups: all but MFIP Full for recent recipients). But residence with a partner or spouse decreased in the Newark site of TPD, and there was a decrease in the proportion of families in which the child's biological father lived in the household in Riverside's LFA program. Further, SSP had impacts on marriage or involvement in common-law relationships in each of its two sites, though the increases in the New Brunswick site and the decreases in the British Columbia site served to cancel each other out in the full sample. There were impacts on the housing or neighborhood conditions in SSP for two of the three age cohorts (6-11 and 12-17), with both cohorts experiencing increases in moving and/or increased school changes<sup>80</sup>. Further, there were unfavorable impacts on housing and/or neighborhood conditions in New Chance and in the Camden site of TPD.

Financial aspects of father involvement, including formal child support and informal support as well as paternity establishment, were favorably affected in FTP, the three TPD sites, and both the LFA and HCD programs in Grand Rapids. In contrast, the predominant pattern on the non-economic aspects of father involvement was one of no impacts. The middle age cohort (children 6 to 11) of SSP was the only program to report an increase in the extent of contact and visits with the father<sup>81</sup>.

---

<sup>79</sup> See Chase-Lansdale and Pittman for a further discussion of program impacts on parenting.

<sup>80</sup> Note that these changes are summarized as unfavorable in the tables. Yet, while mobility and school changes can be detrimental for children's well-being, moves to higher quality neighborhoods or schools might actually be "favorable" and have positive implications for children. Hence, these impacts ought to be interpreted with caution.

<sup>81</sup> Although this impact has been summarized as "favorable" in the tables, increased contact with non-custodial fathers is not necessarily beneficial for children and may, if resulting in increased conflict between their custodial and non-custodial parent or exposing children to poor role models, have some unfavorable implications for children's development.

While pertaining to outcomes that were less regularly examined and reported on, there are two further impact findings that deserve comment. New Chance, respondents were more likely to be living without any of their children at the final follow-up. In MFIP, long term recipients in both the Full and Incentives Only variants of the program reported a diminution in domestic violence.

**In summary, overall, non-targeted aspects of family life appear to have been affected less frequently than targeted economic outcomes in these studies, yet such impacts did occur. Further, some of the impacts documented occurred on outcomes that could be of substantial importance in terms of the quality of children’s experiences in the family (such as harsh parenting, maternal depressive symptoms, residence of mother apart from the child, and domestic violence)<sup>82</sup>.**

*(8) What was the magnitude of the impacts on children?*

While the pervasiveness of program impacts on children has been discussed in detail, we have said little about the size of these impacts. It is important to know not only whether and how frequently differences resulting from these programs were statistically significant, but also whether these differences are meaningful for children’s lives. For instance, does a decrease in behavioral problems suggest that children receiving the program are less likely to be involved in delinquent behavior as they reach adolescence or does it suggest that they are merely talking back to their parent(s) a little less frequently, an effect that may or may not have important consequences in the future. This section addresses whether the size of impacts is large enough to suggest that these programs have a substantial effect on the lives of these children and their families - whether the effects are of practical (as opposed to statistical) significance.

The issue of whether an impact is of practical significance is quite complex. There is little consensus as to the point at which an effect has reached practical significance. Indeed, most research on child development ignores this issue, choosing instead to rely on indicators of statistical significance to indicate when an effect is considered meaningful in size.

One framework for analyzing the practical significance of these impacts is that proposed by Cohen<sup>83</sup> (1988), who provided guidelines for determining whether an effect is to be considered small, medium, or large in size. According to Cohen, a program’s effects are “small” in size when the effect size (a statistical indicator roughly indicating the size of the impact relative to the variation in scores that would have been found in the absence of the program) is .20. An effect size of .50 is considered “medium” in size, whereas an effect size of .80 is considered “large”. The programs discussed in this paper had impacts on children that roughly ranged from .10 to .80 (in certain subgroups) in size and therefore span the range from small to large according to Cohen’s framework. The

---

<sup>82</sup> See the section on “next steps” for a discussion of the ways in which impacts on non-targeted outcomes may be accounting for impacts on children.

<sup>83</sup> Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum and Associates.

majority of these impacts fall in the low range, with a few instances of impacts falling within the “moderate” category, and even fewer falling in the “large” category.

Yet, Cohen’s guidelines (1988) are by no means the only method available to assess the importance of these impacts for children’s lives. Cohen himself acknowledges that these guidelines are somewhat arbitrary and recommends their use only when there is no better available method of assessing the size of an effect. Indeed, a number of evaluations of interventions for children and their families exists that can be used to “gauge” where the impacts of welfare-to-work programs fall relative to other programs. To the extent that the programs examined here had similar or larger effects on children than other programs, these effects might be considered “meaningful”.

Prior to comparing the size of these effects, however, it is crucial to determine what to compare these effects to. Evaluations examining impacts on children exist for a wide variety of programs. Some programs worked with children directly, placing children in preschool settings or working with children in their own homes. It is reasonable to assume that these programs will have larger impacts on children than programs such as those examined here, in which children are expected to be affected indirectly through the program’s effects on their parents. A second set of programs falls between these child-oriented programs and the adult-targeted programs<sup>84</sup> examined here in its intensity of intervention with children, targeting both children and parents. These programs might be expected to have somewhat less strong impacts on children than those targeting children alone, given that resources must be split between the parents and their children. Alternatively, programs directed at both generations might be anticipated to yield the largest and most lasting effects on children<sup>85</sup>.

The first set of intervention programs, those directed toward children exclusively, include early childhood intervention programs such as Head Start. There is a wide literature on these programs, and it is most definitely beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the effects of all of these programs here. However, we have examined some of the published effect sizes for two programs that have been widely viewed as successful, the High/Scope Perry Preschool Program<sup>86</sup> and the Abecedarian Program<sup>87</sup>, which have had lasting effects on the children with whom they intervened. These programs are considered highly effective because of the size of their effects during childhood and the fact that they were able change the life-course of children receiving the program, despite an intervention limited to the preschool and early elementary school years. The effects of these programs during the first five years of follow-up (a time period roughly comparable

---

<sup>84</sup> New Chance, discussed in this chapter, differs from the other welfare programs examined in that it had goals and services targeted to children.

<sup>85</sup> Smith 1995; Smith & Zaslow 1995

<sup>86</sup> Schweinhart, L.J., Barnes, H.V., & Weikart, D.P. (1993). *Significant Benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study Through Age 27*. Ypsilanti, MI: High Scope Press.

<sup>87</sup> Ramey, C.T., Campbell, F.A., Burchinal, M., Skinner, M.L., Gardner, D.M., & Ramey, S.L. (2000). Persistent effects of early intervention on high-risk children and their mothers. *Applied Developmental Science*, 4, 2-14. Ramey, C.T., & Campbell, F.A. (1991). Poverty, early childhood education, and academic competence: The Abecedarian experiment. In A.C. Huston (Ed.), *Children in poverty: Child development and public policy* (pp.190-221). New York: Cambridge University Press.

to the studies presented here) were generally medium-to-large according to Cohen's definitions, ranging from about .20 to just above 1.00. The majority of these effect sizes fall above .40, depending upon the time of follow-up and the outcome measure of interest. Effects of these programs on behavior were typically smaller than those on cognitive outcomes - ranging between .20 and .50. Hence, while there is some overlap between the effect sizes of the programs discussed in this chapter and those of the Perry Preschool and Abecedarian programs, the effects of the welfare-to-work programs are far more modest and generally fall within the lower end of the range of effect sizes in these two programs.

Still, the Perry Preschool and Abecedarian programs are hardly representative of the range of programs directed toward children. Indeed, these programs are frequently discussed because of the size of the impacts they had on children and the fact that these effects lasted into adulthood. However, other child-oriented programs have had far more modest effects that are closer to the range of effects sizes of the welfare programs presented here. For instance, an evaluation of the Early Head Start programs rarely found effect sizes as large as .20<sup>88</sup>. Likewise, the Tennessee STAR program, a widely-cited program involving reducing class sizes in kindergarten through third grade classrooms, had impacts ranging between .15 and .35 in size<sup>89</sup>. Therefore, while the effects found in the programs described in this chapter are far smaller than those of the most successful programs intervening directly with children, they are comparable to those of other programs intervening directly with children.

Yet, a comparison of impacts on children from programs aimed at increasing parental employment to those from programs targeted toward children may create represent an unbalanced comparison. The programs discussed in this chapter had virtually no contact with children at all. Hence, the fact that their effects on children were even within the range of those having intense contact with children on a daily basis might be considered important. Perhaps a more comparable set of programs might be those that intervene with both parents and children, which are required to divide programmatic resources between the two generations and therefore likely to have less intense contact with the children. Two such programs are the Comprehensive Child Development Program<sup>90</sup> (CCDP) and the Even Start program<sup>91</sup>. Only one of the CCDP's sites had significant impacts on the children involved. Likewise, an early evaluation of the Even Start program found few significant effects on children. Still, the effect sizes of impacts that were significant in these evaluations can be used as a comparison for the effect sizes of the programs described in this chapter. The effect sizes for the three

---

<sup>88</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001). Building their futures: How Early Head Start programs are enhancing the lives of infants and toddlers in low-income families.

<sup>89</sup> Word, E., Johnston, J., Bain, H.P., Fulton, B.D., Zaharias, J.B., Achilles, C.M., Lintz, M.N., Folger, J., & Breda, C. (1990). *The state of Tennessee's Student/Teacher Achievement Ration (STAR) Project Final Report*. Nashville: Tennessee Department of Education; Krueger, A.B (1998). Experimental Estimates of Education Production Functions. Working paper #379. Princeton University.

<sup>90</sup> St. Pierre, R., Layzer, J.I., Goodson, B.D., & Bernstein, L.S. (1997). National impact evaluation of the Comprehensive Child Development Program: Final Report. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc.

<sup>91</sup> St. Pierre, R., Swartz, J., Gamse, B., Murray, S., Deck, D., & Nickel, P. (1995). National evaluation of the Even Start family literacy program: Final report. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc.

significant impacts of the CCDP and Even Start programs were .17, .26, and .63. While these present only a small sample of effect sizes from two-generation programs, they are telling in that the range of effect sizes is very similar to those found in the studies presented here.

In sum, a comparison of the impacts on children resulting from the welfare programs discussed in this chapter with a statistician's recommendations and with the size of impacts on children in more child-focused programs suggests that these programs are generally having modest, though not inconsequential, effects on children. The effects fall in the small to medium range according to Cohen's guidelines and are within the same range as those found in two-generational programs and some child-focused programs. That these programs were able to have effects of a similar magnitude to programs having more direct contact with children is noteworthy. Yet, these impacts generally fall at the lower end of the range of impacts resulting from the several child-focused programs that are known to have long-term impacts on their participants.

Another issue of importance regarding the range of effects in these programs is whether the patterns of findings tipping in one direction or another tend to have differential effect sizes. For instance, are the favorable effects found in the programs increasing income and employment and decreasing poverty at the larger end of the range of effects in these studies? Unfortunately, there are little data available to draw firm conclusions on this issue. Many of the studies presented effect sizes only for the aggregate or for only certain variables. Having said this, however, it is important to note that the effect sizes for boys in the New Hope program (a program that substantially increased employment, income, and decreased poverty) fell at the high end of the effect sizes – at times having impacts that were .4 and .5 of a standard deviation in size. Additionally, the impacts in the groups deemed to be “least at risk” in the JOBS studies were the largest impacts found across all of these programs –ranging from .5 through .8 in some instances. Likewise, impacts on focal children in FTP tended to be larger among the “least at risk” than among those with moderate or high levels of risk. Thus, it is possible that impacts of programs increasing income-related and employment variables and impacts on families considered to be the “least at risk” were the largest in size.

Hence, we note that, while impacts were not pervasive or substantial for most of the child outcomes examined across these seven studies, the magnitude of the impacts is within the range of impacts from programs more directly focused on children.

## **V. Summary and Conclusions**

Our review of the evidence from the experimental studies examining the impacts of welfare-to-work programs on children and their families highlights some key issues and also results in the identification of a set of patterns in the findings. At the same time, our review points to areas where our knowledge base remains limited and should be extended.

## Key Issues and Findings

The most important themes and conclusions to emerge from this review include the following:

- ?? **The welfare-to-work programs examined in this review generally targeted adult economic outcomes only, such as welfare receipt, employment, earnings and income. They did not explicitly target child outcomes by including program components aimed directly at children, such as screening for child health or developmental problems or providing high quality early childhood intervention, despite the fact that welfare policies have their roots in concerns about the well-being of children.**

An important question to ask in considering the effects of welfare programs on children is the extent to which programs aimed solely at adults can reasonably be expected to alter children's lives. On the one hand, the immediate purpose of welfare reform was to alter the behavior of women receiving welfare, not to increase the well-being of low income children. On the other hand, both the original purpose of the welfare system, as well as the rationale provided for changing (or maintaining) the welfare system, has often included speculations about the implications of welfare receipt, income insecurity, and maternal employment behavior for low-income children. Hence, although these programs do not explicitly target children, concerns about how low income children might be affected by their mothers' welfare, employment, and financial status make it critical to contemplate effects on children when examining the "success" of these programs.

- ?? **Given the limited emphasis placed directly on services or program components for children, it is perhaps not surprising that many of the results for children in these evaluations point only to weak impacts or an absence of impacts. Looking across all of the studies, overall, there was neither *widespread* harm nor benefit to children from the welfare-to-work programs examined thus far (though there is an important caveat here that not all program approaches, or combinations of approaches, currently in place in states have been examined empirically).**

The majority of the analytic comparisons examined in the different program evaluations encompassed in this review showed few or no program impacts on children's well being. This is particularly true for impacts on children's health and, although to a lesser extent, behavioral functioning. Most of these programs did not cause widespread changes in development or well being, either favorable or unfavorable, to the children whose parents participated in them.

- ?? **Nevertheless, some impacts on child outcomes did occur in these programs. The magnitude of these impacts, when they did occur, fell *within* the range of impacts for programs that target children directly, but were not as strong as the largest impacts found in some early intervention programs.**

In some instances, there were program impacts on children that went beyond what we have defined as a weak pattern (with a weak pattern defined here as involving statistically significant impact for 10% or fewer of the child outcome measures considered within a particular domain of development, i.e., cognitive development, behavioral adjustment, or health). In fact, it was more common for impacts on children's cognitive functioning to fall outside of this range than within. Further, in terms of effect sizes, these impacts were of a comparable magnitude to some impacts found in intervention programs targeted directly to children, although they were typically weaker than the impacts on children found in the most successful programs targeted at young children.

**?? When they did occur, the impacts on children were both favorable and unfavorable. There were unfavorable as well as favorable impacts in each of the three aspects of children's development examined: cognitive, behavioral and health. Thus, while they were not associated with widespread impacts on children, these programs did have the potential to affect children's outcomes both for the better and worse.**

Where impacts did occur, it was not the case that these impacts were uniformly favorable or unfavorable for children, either across or within domains of developmental outcomes. Some programs had favorable impacts on particular aspects of children's development and well being, while others had unfavorable impacts.

**?? In addressing the question of what "tips" program impacts on children toward the favorable or unfavorable direction, the results of these studies suggest that four sets of factors are related to the occurrence of favorable and unfavorable program impacts on children: (1) program goals and components, (2) pattern of economic impacts, (3) family characteristics, and (4) child characteristics.**

While program design was important in understanding where patterns of impacts on children were tipped in one direction or another, the success of programs in affecting families' economic well-being (including their employment, earnings, and income) provides additional information for understanding how programs affected children. This finding suggests that it is not only the program's "blueprint" that matters for children's well-being, but also its success in meeting the goals of improving the economic conditions of the families participating in the program. Some programs aimed at increasing families' overall income or diminishing the proportion of families in poverty were not able to do so in all program variants or for all groups of families; in these instances, there tended to be few or unfavorable impacts on children. Some programs went beyond the explicit aims of increasing maternal employment and reducing welfare receipt to reduce poverty, and in these instances, favorable impacts on children tended to occur. Finally, it is important to note that there were key patterns of findings that were best explained by characteristics of the families participating in the programs or the children being studied. This suggests that the question of "What Works for Whom?" is

of great importance, with certain groups of families or children showing unfavorable impacts even in the face of what might be considered “generous” programs.

Specifically, our review of the literature suggests that the following patterns were associated with “tipping” child impact findings toward a favorable or unfavorable direction:

**?? *Favorable impacts on children tended to occur:***

☞☞ For school-age children in programs that resulted in improvements in family economic status not only in terms of employment and earnings, but also in terms of overall family income and proportion of families in poverty. This pattern of economic impacts occurred most consistently, though not only, in programs that had strong financial work incentives and supports for working.

☞☞ On measures of cognitive development for school-age children in programs that resulted in increases in maternal educational attainment. This pattern of impacts for adults occurred in programs that included education and training components as precursors to job search and the transition to employment.

**?? *Unfavorable impacts on children tended to occur:***

☞☞ When families in the program did not show progress, on average, on any of the set of core economic outcomes (employment, earnings, overall income, or proportion of families in poverty) despite program supports and requirements.

☞☞ When children of the adults targeted by the programs were adolescents. Unfavorable impacts for adolescent children of welfare recipients occurred in programs taking very different approaches (for example, programs emphasizing the provision of financial work incentives and supports for working, and programs focusing more heavily on enforcement strategies such as sanctions and time limits). ). Since impacts on adolescent children of recipients were examined in only a minority of the studies, more information is needed to determine whether this pattern holds up in other studies. Still, these findings suggest that age of child is very important to consider across a range of program approaches.

☞☞ Unexpectedly, for children in families that were at lower rather than higher initial levels of disadvantage (for example, families that entered the evaluations as recent rather than long term welfare recipients). This pattern cut across different ways of defining initial level of disadvantage and also across very different program approaches.

These findings suggest that we may need to reexamine and redefine the concept of initial disadvantage in families applying for welfare. For example, it is possible that those at apparently lower initial disadvantage (for example, with a shorter history of welfare receipt, or with higher educational and literacy skills) may apply for welfare because of an acute change or stressor (such as the birth of a baby, job loss, or marital disruption). The possibility exists that for children, having their mothers enter a program that pushes them towards employment (through supports and/or requirements) when their families are already in a period of acute change may compound the number of adaptations that the children need to make. A closer examination of the circumstances of families at lower as well as higher initial risk is warranted.

**?? Finally, even when these welfare-to-work programs had favorable impacts on children, the level of risk for poor developmental outcomes in the children remained high.**

That is, favorable program impacts did not bring these children to the level of national norms on measures of cognitive development or behavioral adjustment. These programs by no means offer a panacea for the developmental problems faced by many low-income children or children whose parents receive welfare. Further, unfavorable impacts worsened already elevated levels of risk in the children. These findings underscore the importance of strengthening program approaches that enhance developmental outcomes for children in families applying for or receiving welfare.

### **Uncharted Territory in Understanding How Welfare Reform is Affecting Children and Families**

While we have gained a tremendous amount of knowledge from the work of the pioneering studies examined here, there are still questions about how welfare reform might be affecting children and families that have not been well-addressed in experimental (and oftentimes in non-experimental) research thus far. Hence, this section outlines areas for future research, beginning with the question of what is accounting for the impacts described throughout this paper, an area in which research is currently underway and preliminary information is available, and following with a discussion of areas in which new information is needed.

***How do impacts on non-targeted aspects of family life relate to the impacts on children?***

A key question left unanswered here is that of whether the program impacts on non-targeted aspects of family life (e.g., depression, parenting) played a role in shaping the impacts on children. This question is fundamental to our understanding of how welfare-to-work programs are affecting children. Yet, this is an area where essential methodological and substantive issues are being actively addressed and analyses are in the early stages. This section will offer only a rough and preliminary set of conclusions,

which are not as specific as to indicate which non-targeted variables are operating to influence children under which circumstances.

Some indication of the potential importance of impacts on non-targeted aspects of family life comes from the work of Gennetian and Miller (2000) in analyzing data for specific subgroups within the MFIP evaluation. In a number of instances, the researchers observed very similar patterns of impacts across different subgroups on the key economic outcomes of employment and income, but different patterns of impacts on what they label as “intermediate outcomes,” including the variables we have been discussing as non-targeted aspects of family life. For example, among long term recipients in the full MFIP program, the researchers were able to subdivide the group into those who had received AFDC for more or less than 5 years at the time of enrollment in the study. Impacts on what the researchers call “intermediate outcomes” were found only in the group that had received welfare for more than five years. There was a significant difference between the impacts for these subgroups specifically on the measure of domestic violence (mother ever abused in the past 3 years). Further, while there were several statistically significant differences on child outcomes for the subgroup that had received welfare for 5 or more years prior to random assignment, there were no significant impacts on children in the subgroup that had received welfare for less than five years. That is, with similar economic impacts, child impacts occurred in the subgroup in which the further intermediate outcomes were also affected. The researchers note a similar “mapping” of findings for further subgroup analyses (such as analyses by race/ethnicity), with impact findings for children tending to occur in those subgroups in which the program altered not only the key economic outcomes, but also the intermediate outcomes related to children’s proximal environments.<sup>92</sup> While noting that the pattern in their subgroup impact analyses is not entirely consistent, the researchers find the evidence sufficient to articulate the hypothesis that it may be necessary for programs to alter the children’s immediate environments in order to bring about child impacts. Economic impacts, even impacts on key outcomes like overall family income, do not appear in themselves to assure that impacts on the intermediate outcomes will occur, or to suffice in every instance to “move” child outcomes.

Looking across the results of the different studies, and keeping in mind the caveat concerning the methodological considerations in this area of work, we see two broad conclusions that appear warranted at this point. First, the results do not point to a single consistent pathway as being activated across the different programs. Rather, the results to date suggest that different programs may be activating different pathways of importance to children. For example, the results of the New Hope evaluation, and especially the finding of favorable impacts occurring especially for boys but not girls, suggest that child care is a key underlying factor in this set of results: mothers tended to seek out organized care and activities in particular for their sons, most likely out of concern about boys’ potential exposure to street activity during out of school time.<sup>93</sup> Yet in other programs,

---

<sup>92</sup> We note, however, that Gennetian and Miller include child care variables in this set, along with a measure of the home environment, marriage and residence with spouse, maternal depressive symptoms, and domestic violence.

<sup>93</sup> Bos et al., 1999; Huston et al., 2001

other pathways of influence on children seem to have been activated. For example, exploratory mediational analyses focusing on impact findings in the JOBS Child Outcomes Study point to the likely importance of impacts on parenting and maternal psychological well-being variables as contributing to selected child impacts in that set of programs<sup>94</sup>.

Second, across studies there are indications that individual child impacts may rest on the simultaneous influence of impacts on multiple targeted and non-targeted family outcomes<sup>95</sup>. Further, some of the impacts on targeted and non-targeted outcomes may go in opposite directions. Child impacts may reflect the accumulation of such opposing influences. Indeed, small or null findings on child outcomes may sometimes reflect such opposing influences rather than an absence of program impacts on key family factors.

In sum, results to date suggest that impacts on targeted but also non-targeted aspects of family life may play a role in shaping child impacts. Different programs appear to activate different pathways of influence in producing child impacts; results do not point to a single pathways as occurring across all studies. Indeed, it appears that child impacts may reflect the simultaneous influences of impacts on multiple targeted and non-targeted family outcomes, sometimes functioning in opposing directions. Further methodological as well as substantive work is in process on these issues.

### ***What are the key areas in which more information is needed?***

While the information from the studies presented in this report allow us to discern some key patterns in the impacts of welfare-to-work programs on children, they also leave us more aware of the areas in which know very little. The following discussion will identify some of the key areas in which future research is needed before patterns of impacts can be identified.

First, it is important that the findings for the single program with a time-limited component be replicated and extended in other studies. Currently, two further evaluations of welfare waiver programs incorporating time limits, those of Connecticut's Jobs First and Indiana's program, are being undertaken as part of the Project on State Level Child Outcomes. The results of these evaluations will help us understand the degree to which the findings for FTP hold true for other programs incorporating time limits. In general, there is a need for evaluations of programs that *combine* enforcement strategies with supports for working, combinations that are being employed with some frequency by states.

---

<sup>94</sup> McGroder et al., 2000; McGroder et al., in press. The researchers note that these findings are exploratory in that they involve concurrent rather than longitudinal data, and use traditional mediational analyses. Further work is in process and planned more fully examining selection on the mediating variables (e.g., the work of McGroder & Magnuson, forthcoming) and extending the analyses to include a further longitudinal follow-up of the families and children.

<sup>95</sup> See discussions on this issue and examples of such patterns in McGroder et al., 2000 and Zaslow & Eldred, 1998

Further, we know little about how programs are affecting the youngest children, those who were infants or toddlers when their mothers enrolled in the program. Most of these studies did not examine outcomes for very young children, and those that did so provided only limited information about their well being. Evaluations examining the impact of programs requiring mothers to move to work at different stages of an infant's life (e.g., 3 months vs. 1 year) would help inform the debate over how welfare reform might alter the lives of very young children. The need for such work is also suggested by the conclusions of the Committee on Integrating the Science of Early Child Development, convened by the National Research Council and Institute of Medicine<sup>96</sup>.

We also are only beginning to learn about the effects (or lack of effects) of residence requirements for teenage parents receiving welfare, an important component of the 1996 legislation, on families and children. The present review identifies difficulties in bringing about positive outcomes for teenage welfare recipients and their children in earlier intervention strategies (that provided an array of supports with or without mandatory work requirements, but did not include residence requirements). The emerging results concerning adolescent recipients in the new policy context, and particularly in light of the co-residence requirements, are also sounding a cautionary note regarding the well being of this particular subgroup of welfare recipients<sup>97</sup>. Rigorous evaluations of the impacts of the new policies on adolescent recipients would help clarify the effects of the new policies.

Clearly, work is also needed clarifying the bases for the unfavorable impacts on adolescents who were the children of recipients participating in the set of programs summarized here. Without clarification of this set of findings, we run the risk of jumping too quickly to conclusions about what steps should be taken to improve outcomes for the older children of recipients. We do not know yet, for example, whether the findings reflect broadly on heightened responsiveness to a range of changes among adolescents (a possibility raised by recent findings of a parallel set of impacts for adolescent in a program to support low income families in moving out of low income neighborhoods<sup>98</sup>), or more specifically on a need to limit hours that adolescents work or to increase the availability of activities and supervision. We do not know if this set of outcomes for adolescents is specific to families making the transition off of welfare, or occurs more broadly among low-income families (perhaps with an employed single mother). Sharpening of our understanding of this set of findings is critical to taking appropriate next steps.

---

<sup>96</sup> National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2000). *From Neurons to Neighborhoods: The Science of Early Childhood Development*. Committee on Integrating the Science of Early Childhood Development, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. J.P. Shonkoff and D.A. Phillips, eds. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

<sup>97</sup> Kalil and Danziger, 2000

<sup>98</sup> Symposium on Child Well-being and Neighborhood Disadvantage: Results of Residential Mobility, chaired by T. Leventhal and J. Ludwig at the Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis MN, April 19, 2001

Finally, the studies to date make it difficult to separate out the effects of supports for working families from the influences of financial work incentives. We have little understanding of the specific contributions of differing levels and types of child care subsidies, the provision of on-site assistance in locating and assessing the appropriateness of different child care settings, of transportation assistance, or of enhanced case-management in altering the impacts welfare-to-work programs. Information in each of these areas would help us understand the types of programs that are most likely to be successful both in moving families toward economic self-sufficiency and improving their children's developmental outcomes.

## References

- Baydar, N., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1991). Effects of maternal employment and child-care arrangements on preschoolers' cognitive and behavioral outcomes: evidence from the children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. *Developmental Psychology, 27*, 932-945.
- Belsky, J., & Eggebeen, D. (1991). Early and extensive maternal employment and young children's socioemotional development: Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53*, 1083-1110.
- Bloom, D., Kemple, J.J., Morris, P., Scrivener, S., Verma, N., & Hendra, R. (2000). *The Family Transition Program: Final report on Florida's initial time-limited welfare program*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.
- Boller, K., & Kisker, E.E. (1999, April). *Child outcomes in the Teenage Parent Demonstration and their implications for new welfare policies*. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Bos, H., Huston, A.C., Granger, R., Duncan, G., Brock, T., & McLoyd, V. (1999). *New hope for people with low incomes: Two-year results of a program to reduce poverty and reform welfare*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.
- Brooks, J.L., & Shanahan, M.J. (2000). The impact of family economic history on pre-adolescent achievement. *Manuscript in preparation*.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. (1997, Summer/Fall). Early intervention, cognition, and school achievement: Findings from two generations of model programs. *Focus, 19*(1), 12-17.
- Chase-Lansdale, L.P. (Chair). (2001, April). *The Three-City Study of Welfare, Children and Families: A multidisciplinary approach for science to influence policy*. Symposium at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Chase-Lansdale, P.L., & Pittman, L.D. (2000, July). *Parenting and the home environment*. Paper prepared for *The Future of Children: Children and Welfare Reform* (Volume 11, No. 2, Fall/Winter 2001) and presented at the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children, First Draft Working Session meeting, Washington, DC, sponsored by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation.
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum and Associates.
- Duncan, G.J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Consequences of growing up poor*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Duncan, G.J., & Chase-Lansdale, P.L. (2001, February). *Welfare reform and child well-being*. Paper prepared for the New World of Welfare Conference, Washington, DC. (Paper available online at <http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/conferences/final.htm>).

Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Project (2001). *Building their futures: How Early Head Start programs are enhancing the lives of infants and toddlers in low-income families: Summary report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration on Children, Youth, and Families, Head Start Bureau and The Commissioner's Office on Research and Evaluation.

Freedman, S., Friedlander, D., Hamilton, G., Rock, J., Mitchell, M., Nudelman, J., Schweder, A., & Storto, L. (2000). *National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies: Evaluating alternative welfare-to-work approaches: Two-year impacts for eleven programs*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families and Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation; and U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary and Office of Vocational and Adult Education.

Fuller, B., Kagan, S.L., Caspary, G., Cohen, N., French, S., Gascue, L., Hands, A., Mensing, J., McCarthy, J., Kreischer, G., Carroll, J., Cool, K., Sprachman, S., Hoerz, G., & Kalovson, J. (2000). *Remember the children: Mothers balance work and child care under welfare reform. Growing Up in Poverty Project, Wave 1 Findings, California, Connecticut, Florida*. Berkeley, CA & New Haven, CT: University of California, Berkeley & Yale University.

Gennetian, L.A., & Miller, C. (2000). *Reforming welfare and rewarding work: Final report of the Minnesota Family Investment Program: Vol. 2. Effects on children*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Greenberg, M., Levin-Epstein, J., Hutson, R., Ooms, T., Schumacher, R., Turetsky, V., & Engstrom, D. (2000). *The 1996 welfare law: Key elements and emerging reauthorization issues*. Paper prepared for *The Future of Children: Children and Welfare Reform* (Volume 11, No. 2, Fall/Winter 2001) and presented at the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children, First Draft Working Session meeting, Washington, DC, sponsored by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation.

Guo, G. (1998). The timing of the influences of cumulative poverty on children's cognitive ability and achievement. *Social Forces*, 77, 257-288.

Hamilton, G., with Freedman, S., & McGroder, S.M. (2000). *Do mandatory welfare-to-work programs affect the well-being of children? A synthesis of child research conducted as part of the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families and Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation;

and U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary and Office of Vocational and Adult Education.

Hofferth, S.L., Smith, J., McLoyd, V.C., & Finkelstein, J. (2000). Achievement and behavior among children of welfare recipients, welfare leavers, and low-income single mothers. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(4), 747-774.

Huston, A.C. (2000). *Reforms and child development*. Paper prepared for *The Future of Children: Children and Welfare Reform* (Volume 11, No. 2, Fall/Winter 2001) and presented at the Impact of Welfare Reform on Children, First Draft Working Session meeting, Washington, DC, sponsored by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation.

Huston, A.C., Duncan, G.J., Granger, R., Bos, J., McLoyd, V., Mistry, R., Crosby, D., Gibson, C., Magnuson, K., Romich, J., & Ventura, A. (2001). Work-based antipoverty programs for parents can enhance the school performance and social behavior of children. *Child Development*, 72(1), 318-336.

Kalil, A., & Danziger, S. (2000). How teen mothers are faring under welfare reform. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(4), 775-798.

Kisker, E.E., Rangarajan, A., & Boller, K. (1998). *Moving into adulthood: Were the impacts of mandatory programs for welfare-dependent teenage parents sustained after the programs ended?* Princeton, NJ: Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.

Knitzer, J. (2000). Promoting resilience: Helping young children and parents affected by substance abuse, domestic violence, and depression in the context of welfare reform. *Children and Welfare Reform (Issue Brief 8)*. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty.

Knox, V., Miller, C., & Gennetian, L.A. (2000). *Reforming welfare and rewarding work: A summary of the final report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Leventhal, T., & Ludwig, J. (Chairs). (2001, April). *Child well-being and neighborhood disadvantage: Results of residential mobility*. Symposium at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Magnuson, K., & McGroder, S.M. (2001, March). *From ABEs to 1, 2, 3s: The effects of maternal education on young children's school readiness*. Poster presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Washington, DC.

McGroder, S.M., Zaslow, M.J., Moore, K.A., Hair, E.C., & Ahluwalia, S.K. (in press). The role of parenting in shaping the impacts of welfare-to-work programs on children. In J.G. Borkowski, S.L. Ramey, & M. Bristol-Power (Eds.), *Parenting and the child's world: Influences on academic, intellectual, and social-emotional development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

McGroder, S.M., Zaslow, M.J., Moore, K.A., & Le Menestrel, S. (2000). *National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies: Impacts on young children and their families two year after enrollment: Findings from the Child Outcomes Study*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families and Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation; and U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary and Office of Vocational and Adult Education.

McGroder, S.M., Zaslow, M.J., & Papillo, A.R. (2001, March). *Maternal employment and child outcomes in welfare families*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Washington, DC.

McLoyd, V.C. (1990). The impact of economic hardship on black families and children: Psychological distress, parenting and socioemotional development. *Child Development, 61*, 311-346.

McLoyd, V.C. (1998). Children in poverty: Development, public policy, and practice. In W. Damon (Series Ed.), I.E. Sigel & K.A. Renninger (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Child psychology in practice* (5<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 135-208). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Meyers, M.K., Gornick, J.C., & Peck, L.R. (2000, November). *Packaging support for low-income families: Policy variation across the U.S. States*. Paper presented at the Twenty-Second Annual APPAM Research Conference, Seattle, Washington.

Michalopoulos, C., Card, D., Gennetian, L.A., Harknett, K., & Robins, P.K. (2000). *The Self-Sufficiency Project at 36 months: Effects of a financial work incentive on employment and income*. Ottawa, Canada: Social Research and Demonstration Corporation.

Moore, K.A. (in press). How do state policymakers think about family processes and child development in low-income families? In G.J. Duncan & P.L. Chase-Lansdale (Eds.), *For better or for worse: Welfare reform and the well-being of children and families*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Moore, K., Gleib, D., Driscoll, A., Zaslow, M.J., & Redd, Z. (2000). *Welfare and poverty patterns: Implications for children*. Washington, DC: Child Trends, Inc.

Moore, K.A., Zaslow, M.J., Coiro, M.J., Miller, S., & Magenheimer, E. (1995). *How well are they faring? AFDC families with preschool-aged children in Atlanta at the outset of the JOBS evaluation*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and U.S. Department of Education.

Moorehouse, M. (2001, April). Discussant comments made during the *Effects on children of differing welfare and employment policies* symposium (V. Knox, Chair) at the

biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Morris, P.A., Huston, A.C., Duncan, G.J., Crosby, D.A., & Bos, J.M. (2001). *How welfare and work policies affect children: A synthesis of research*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Morris, P., & Michalopoulos, C. (2000). *The Self-Sufficiency Project at 36 months: Effects on children of a program that increased parental employment and income*. Ottawa, Canada: Social Research and Demonstration Corporation.

National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2000). *From neurons to neighborhoods: The science of early childhood development*. Committee on Integrating the Science of Early Childhood Development, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. J.P. Shonkoff & D.A. Phillips (Eds.). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Quint, J., Bos, J., & Polit, D. (1997). *New Chance: Final report on a comprehensive program for young mothers in poverty and their children*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Quint, J., & Musick, J. (1994). *Lives of promise, lives of pain: Young mothers after New Chance*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Ramey, C.T., & Campbell, F.A. (1991). Poverty, early childhood education, and academic competence: The Abecedarian experiment. In A.C. Huston (Ed.), *Children in poverty: Child development and public policy* (pp.190-221). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ramey, C.T., Campbell, F.A., Burchinal, M., Skinner, M.L., Gardner, D.M., & Ramey, S.L. (2000). Persistent effects of early intervention on high-risk children and their mothers. *Applied Developmental Science, 4*, 2-14.

Schoeni, R.F., & Blank, R.M. (2000). *What has welfare reform accomplished? Impacts on welfare participation, employment, income, poverty, and family structure* (NBER Working Paper No. W7627). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Schweinhart, L.J., Barnes, H.V., & Weikart, D.P. (1993). *Significant Benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study Through Age 27*. Ypsilanti, MI: High Scope Press.

Smith, S. (Vol. Ed.) (1995). *Two generation programs for families in poverty: A new intervention strategy*. Volume 9 in I.E. Sigel (Series Ed.), *Advances in applied developmental psychology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Smith, S., & Zaslow, M.J. (1995). Rationale and policy context for two-generation interventions. In S. Smith (Vol. Ed.) & I.E. Sigel (Series Ed.), *Advances in applied developmental psychology: Vol. 9. Two-generation programs for children in poverty: A new intervention strategy* (pp. 1-33). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.

Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (1995). The impact of employment on adolescent development. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of Child Development* (Vol. 11, pp. 131-166). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

St. Pierre, R., Layzer, J.I., Goodson, B.D., & Bernstein, L.S. (1997). *National impact evaluation of the Comprehensive Child Development Program: Final Report*. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, Inc.

St. Pierre, R., Swartz, J., Gamse, B., Murray, S., Deck, D., & Nickel, P. (1995). *National evaluation of the Even Start family literacy program: Final report*. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, Inc.

Tienda, M., & Ahituv, A. (1996). Ethnic differences in school departure: Does youth employment promote or under mine educational attainment? In G. Mangum & S. Mangum (Eds.), *Of heart and mind: Social policy essays in honor of Sar A. Levitan* (pp. 93-110). Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute.

Weil, A. (in press). Program Redesign by States in the Wake of Welfare Reform: Making Sense of the Effects of Devolution. In G. Duncan and P.L. Chase-Lansdale (Eds.), *For Better and For Worse: Welfare Reform and the Well-Being of Children and Families*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Yeung, W.J., Linver, M.R., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2001, March). *How money matters for young children's development: Human capital and family process*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Washington, DC.

Zaslow, M.J., & Eldred, C.A. (Eds.). (1998). *Parenting behavior in a sample of young mothers in poverty: Results of the New Chance Observational Study*. New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

Zaslow, M.J., McGroder, S.M., Cave, G., & Mariner, C. (1999). Maternal employment and measures of children's health and development among families with some history of welfare receipt. *Research in the Sociology of Work*, 7, 233-259.

Zaslow, M.J., McGroder, S.M., & Moore, K.A. (2000). *Summary report on the two-year follow-up of the Child Outcomes Study: National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families and Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation; and U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary and Office of Vocational and Adult Education.

Zaslow, M.J., McGroder, S.M., Moore, K.A., & Le Menestrel, S.M. (1999, April). *Behavior problems and cognitive school readiness among children in families with a history of welfare receipt: Diverging patterns and their predictors*. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Zaslow, M., Tout, K., Smith, S., & Moore, K. (1998). Implications of the 1996 welfare legislation for children: A research perspective. *Social Policy Reports of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. XII (3)*.

Zill, N., Moore, K.A., Smith, E.W., Stief, T., & Coiro, M.J. (1995). The life circumstances and development of children in welfare families: A profile based on national survey data. In P.L. Chase-Lansdale & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *Escape from poverty: What makes a difference for poor children?* (pp. 38-59). New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Figure 1: PRIMARY DIMENSIONS OF THE WELARE-TO-WORK PROGRAMS EXAMINED**

<b>Increasing Emphasis on Services and Financial Incentives for Work ?</b>						
	<b>No Intensified Case Management, Services, or Financial Work Incentives</b>	<b>Intensified Case Management With Work- Preparation Program Services</b>	<b>Intensified Case Management with Broad Array of Services (Personal Development as well as Work- Preparation Program Services)</b>	<b>Some Financial Work Incentives with Intensified Case Management</b>	<b>Strong Financial Work Incentives But Without Intensified Case Management or Further Services</b>	<b>Strong Financial Work Incentives With Intensified Case Management &amp;/Or Further Services</b>
<b>Participation Not Mandatory</b>			<b><u>I</u></b> New Chance [NC]		Canada's Self Sufficiency Program [SSP]	<b><u>III</u></b> New Hope Impacts for boys and girls reported separately [NH: Boys, Girls]  Minnesota Family Investment Program with Incentives Only. Studied in two subgroups: Recent and Long Term Welfare Recipients [MFIP Incentives Recent; Long Term ]
<b>Mandatory with Sanctions for Nonparticipation</b>		<b><u>II</u></b> JOBS Programs: (including Labor Force Attachment (LFA) Programs in Atlanta (AT), Grand Rapids (GR) and Riverside (RI); and Human Capital Development (HCD) Programs in these sites [AT LFA; GR LFA; RI LFA] [AT HCD; GR HCD; RI HCD]	Teenage Parent Demonstration in Newark NJ, Camden, NJ and Chicago IL [TPD Newark, Camden, Chicago]			Minnesota Family Investment Program with Incentives Plus Participation Mandate (Full Program). Studied in two subgroups: Recent and Long Term Welfare Recipients [MFIPFull: Recent ; Long Term]
<b>Mandatory with Sanctions and Time</b>				<b><u>IV</u></b> Florida's Family Transition Program [FTP]		

**Experimental Studies of Policies for Low-Income Families and Their Implications for Children**  
**TABLE 1a: Adult Studies in which Child Studies are embedded<sup>99</sup>**

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment	Sites	Follow-Up Points
<b>Programs for Teenage Welfare Recipients</b>				
<b>New Chance Demonstration</b>	<p>Mothers aged 16 to 22 who had first given birth at age 19 or younger, were not pregnant when they entered the program, were receiving AFDC, and did not have a high school diploma or GED. (11% were high school graduates but had lower than 9<sup>th</sup> grade reading level, or were economically disadvantaged but not on AFDC.) Participation in program was voluntary.</p> <p><u>Full Study Sample at 42-month follow-up:</u> 2,079 (of 2,322 randomly assigned) respondents. 52.4% Black, non-Hispanic; 22.8% Hispanic; 22.5% White; 2.3% other race/ethnicity; 6.1% had high school diploma or GED at random assignment; 27% held their longest job for less than 1 month to 3 months; 22.8% held their longest job for 4-6 months.</p>	August 1989 to July 1991.	Chula Vista, Inglewood, & San Jose, CA; Denver, CO; Jacksonville, FL; Chicago Heights, IL; Lexington, KY; Detroit, MI; Minneapolis, MN; Bronx & Harlem, NY; Portland & Salem, OR; Allentown, Philadelphia, & Pittsburgh, PA.	18 months and 42 months after random assignment.
<b>Teenage Parent Demonstration<sup>100</sup></b>	<p>All teenagers in the sites who, for the first time, were parents <i>and</i> receiving AFDC during enrollment period. In Chicago, teenagers with no children but who were in their 3<sup>rd</sup> trimester of pregnancy <i>and</i> receiving AFDC were also included. 75.5% Black, non-Hispanic; 17% Hispanic; 7.5% White, non-Hispanic/Other; 32.7% completed high school or GED; 51.6% ever held a job. Participation in the program was mandatory. 5,962 eligible for the study. 5,297 completed intake and were randomly assigned.</p> <p><u>Full Sample at two-year follow-up:</u> 3,867 (of 5,297 randomly assigned) respondents.</p> <p><u>Full Sample at 6.5-year follow-up:</u> 3,499 (of 5,297 randomly assigned) respondents.</p>	July 1987 to April 1990.	Chicago, IL; Newark & Camden, NJ.	Two years and six years and a half years after random assignment.

<sup>99</sup> Findings summarized in this paper generally focus on the Child Outcomes Study samples described in Table 1b. Because the Child Outcomes Study samples are typically a subsample of the Adult samples, the information in this table is provided for context.

<sup>100</sup> The program was called Project Advance in Chicago, and Teen Progress in Camden and Newark. Project Advance operated on the South Side of Chicago.

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment	Sites	Follow-Up Points
<b>Mandatory Work-First and Education-First Programs</b>				
<b>National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies</b>	<p>Individuals who had applied for or were receiving AFDC during enrollment period. (Oklahoma City randomly assigned applicants only.) Groups exempt from JOBS: ill or incapacitated, caring for ill or incapacitated household member, pregnant past first trimester, living in area where program services are unavailable, had a child younger than age 3 (age 1 in Grand Rapids site). Participation in JOBS was legislatively mandated.</p> <p><u>Full Impact Sample</u>: 44,569 (of approximately 60,000 randomly assigned) for which administrative records data were collected. Sample characteristics differed across the sites. Atlanta &amp; Detroit: mostly Black; Grand Rapids, Riverside, Columbus, Oklahoma City: about half White; Portland: 69.6% White; Riverside: 30.2% Hispanic. Excluding Riverside HCD, between 55.1% (Oklahoma City) and 65.9% (Portland) of participants had received high school diploma/GED prior to random assignment. (Riverside HCD program was limited to those “in need of basic education” [did not have high school diploma/GED, had low score on either the reading or math assessment, or required remediation in English].) Between 42.5% (Columbus) and 77% (Portland) had ever worked full time for 6+ months for same employer.</p> <p><u>Client Survey Sample</u>: 9,675 randomly selected from Full Impact Sample; data from both administrative records and from client survey are available.</p>	June 1991 to December 1994. (Random assignment occurred over a two-year period in each site.)	Riverside, CA; Atlanta, GA; Detroit & Grand Rapids, MI; Columbus, OH; Oklahoma City, OK; Portland, OR. [Note: Participants were drawn from the entire county in which the cities above are located; names of the main city in the county are used in the study for easy reference.]	Two years after random assignment. (Data from five-year follow-up is forthcoming.)
<b>Strong Financial Work Incentive Programs</b>				
<b>Minnesota Family Investment Program</b>	<p><b>Individuals applying for or receiving welfare (cash assistance in urban counties; cash assistance or Food Stamps in rural counties) during enrollment period, were at least 18 years old, and lived in one of the seven evaluation counties. Excluded families in which all parents received Supplemental Security Income (SSI).</b></p> <p><u>Full Sample</u>: 11,473 (of 14,639 randomly assigned; did not include those with missing baseline information, families only receiving Food Stamps, or AFDC/No Service families from Hennepin County).</p> <p><del>9,217</del> <u>9,217 single-parent families</u>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>Long-term recipients (3,208)</u>: had received welfare for 24 months or more out of the past 36 months when entered program. Participation in employment-focused services was immediately mandatory (except if had a child under age 1, had other “good cause” reasons, or were working 30+ hrs/wk). 52.8% White, non-Hispanic; 34.8% Black, non-Hispanic; 1.7% Hispanic; 7.8% Native American/Alaskan Native; 2.9% Asian/Pacific Islander; 56.6% high school diploma or GED was highest credential earned; 53.5% worked full time for 6+ months for one employer.</li> </ul>	April 1994 to March 1996.	3 urban counties: Hennepin, Anoka, Dakota; 4 rural counties: Mille Lacs, Morrison, Sherburne, Todd.	Three years after random assignment.

<sup>101</sup> Two-parent families that included a stepparent were subject to the same program requirements as the single-parent (not the two-parent) families.

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment	Sites	Follow-Up Points
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Recent applicants (6,009)</i>: applying for welfare or had been receiving benefits for less than 2 years when entered program. Participation in employment-focused services was mandatory when received welfare for 24 months. 65.1% White, non-Hispanic; 24.3% Black, non-Hispanic; 2.6% Hispanic; 5.2% Native American/Alaskan Native; 2.8% Asian/Pacific Islander; 60.2% high school diploma or GED was highest credential earned; 69.1% worked full time for 6+ months for one employer.</li> <li>≠ <u>2,256 two-parent families</u>:<sup>101</sup></li> <li>- <i>Recipients (1,523)</i>: had received welfare for at least one month. For those assigned to MFIP who had been on welfare for 6 of the past 12 months, participation in employment-focused services was immediately mandatory; otherwise, participants were subject when hit 6-month mark (except if had a child under age 1, had other “good cause” reasons, if 1 parent was incapacitated, or were working 30+ hrs/wk). 59.5% White, non-Hispanic; 16.2% Black, non-Hispanic; 2.7% Hispanic; 5.6% Native American/Alaskan Native; 16% Asian/Pacific Islander; 51.5% high school diploma or GED was highest credential earned; 52.4% worked full time for 6+ months for one employer.</li> <li>- <i>Applicants (733)</i>: applying for welfare. Participation in employment-focused services was mandatory when received welfare for 6 months. 79.7% White, non-Hispanic; 7.2% Black, non-Hispanic; 4.3% Hispanic; 2.2% Native American/Alaskan Native; 6.6% Asian/Pacific Islander; 61.5% high school diploma or GED was highest credential earned; 73.5% worked full time for 6+ months for one employer.</li> </ul> <p><u>36-Month Survey Full Sample</u>: 3,245 respondents (of 4,586 randomly selected from Full Report Sample) (2,837 single -parent families, 408 two-parent families); data from administrative records and from 36-month survey are available.</p>			
<b>New Hope Demonstration</b>	<p><b>Individuals who lived in one of two targeted areas in Milwaukee, were 18+ years old, were willing and able to work for 30+ hours/week, and had a household income at or below 150% of federal poverty level at the time of enrollment. Individuals were recruited by New Hope staff to attend an orientation. Those who attended, were eligible for the program, and stated that they were interested in the program were randomly assigned. Participation was voluntary.</b></p> <p><b>Full Sample at two-year follow-up: 1,086 (of 1,357 randomly assigned) respondents.</b>  <b>51.4% African-American, non-Hispanic; 26.5% Hispanic; 13% White, non-Hispanic; 5.8% Asian/Pacific Islander; 3.4% Native American/Alaskan Native; 57.3% had high school diploma/GED; 37.2 months in longest full-time job (average among those ever employed full time); 84.9% ever employed full time; 62.9% currently receiving assistance (AFDC, General Assistance, Food Stamps, or Medicaid); 46.0% currently receiving AFDC; 70.6% received assistance in past 12 months.</b></p>	August 1994 to December 1995	Two selected zip-code areas of Milwaukee, WI.	Two years after random assignment. (Five-year follow-up currently being conducted.)

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment	Sites	Follow-Up Points
<b>Self-Sufficiency Project</b>	<p><b>Single parents (randomly selected from Income Assistance rolls) who had received Income Assistance in month selected for program and in at least 11 of the previous 12 months, and were at least 19 years old. Participation was voluntary.</b></p> <p><u>Report Sample at 36-month follow-up:</u> 4,961 (of 5,729 randomly assigned) respondents. 9% First Nation [Native American] ancestry; 13.3% not born in Canada; 35.2% completed high school, no post-secondary education; had worked average of 7.4 years; 94.7% had ever worked for pay.</p>	November 1992 to March 1995.	New Brunswick and the lower mainland of British Columbia, Canada.	18 months (adults only) and 36 months (adults and children) after random assignment.
<b>Programs with Time Limits Components</b>				
<b>Florida's Family Transition Program</b>	<p><b>Individuals applying for or receiving cash assistance (5,430 randomly assigned). (Groups exempt from study: incapacitated or disabled adults, individuals under 18 attending school or working 30+ hours/week, adults caring full-time for disabled dependents, parents caring for children 6 months old or younger who were conceived before the beginning of FTP (person could be assigned at a future recertification interview), individuals 62 years or older, caretaker relatives whose needs are not included in the grant.) Both the FTP and AFDC groups were subject to mandatory welfare-to-work requirements. However, AFDC recipients were less likely to be sanctioned for noncompliance than FTP recipients; hence, the mandate under FTP was stronger.</b></p> <p><u>Report Sample:</u> 2,817 single-parent cases randomly assigned between May 1994 and February 1995. 45.4% White, non-Hispanic; 51.8% Black, non-Hispanic; 1.1% Hispanic; 1.7% Other race/ethnicity; 60.1% ever worked full time for 6+ months for one employer; 54.3% GED/high school diploma was highest degree earned.</p> <p><u>Full Sample at four-year follow-up:</u> 1,729 (out of 2,160 fielded) members of the Report Sample who were randomly assigned between August 1994 and February 1995.</p>	May 1994 to October 1996.	Escambia County.	Four years after random assignment. <sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Subsample follow-up studies: post-time-limit survey (n=237) beginning May 1997 (6, 12, and 18 month follow-ups); two-year client survey targeted to 750 people randomly assigned between 12/94 and 2/95.

**Experimental Studies of Policies for Low-Income Families and Their Implications for Children**  
**TABLE 1b: Child Studies<sup>103</sup>**

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment <sup>104</sup>	Ages of Focal Children at Random Assignment	Follow-Up Points
<b>Programs for Teenage Welfare Recipients</b>				
<b>New Chance Demonstration</b>	<p>Full Study Sample with Focal Children At the 42-month follow-up: 1,807 (of 2,322 randomly assigned) respondents. Characteristics of parents: 54.3% Black, non-Hispanic; 23.2% Hispanic; 20.3% White; 2.2% other race/ethnicity; 6.2% had high school diploma or GED at random assignment; 27.1% held their longest job for less than 1 month to 3 months; 22.5% held their longest job for 4-6 months. 82% of focal children were first-borns.</p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: all Adult Study sites (Chula Vista, Inglewood, &amp; San Jose, CA; Denver, CO; Jacksonville, FL; Chicago Heights, IL; Lexington, KY; Detroit, MI; Minneapolis, MN; Bronx &amp; Harlem, NY; Portland &amp; Salem, OR; Allentown, Philadelphia, &amp; Pittsburgh, PA).</p>	August 1989 to July 1991.	Average of about 18 months old. (Focal children were 1.5 to 8 years old at the time of the 18-month follow-up [average age was just under 3], and 3.5 to 10 years old at the time of the 42-month follow-up [average age was just under 5]).	18 months and 42 months after random assignment.
<b>Teenage Parent Demonstration</b>	<p>Child Study Sample: 2,097 (out of a possible 2,680) 5- to 8-year-old children of Full Sample members who still lived in program area and had custody of focal child. Most focal children were first-borns.</p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: all Adult Study sites (Chicago, IL; Camden &amp; Newark, NJ).</p>	July 1987 to April 1990.	Most were less than one year old, and over half were less than 6 months old. (Children were 5-8 years old at time of second follow-up.)	Child assessments only at six-and-a-half-year follow-up point after intake.

<sup>103</sup> NOTE: This table gives information specific to the samples used in the child studies of the evaluations reviewed. The child study samples are subsamples of the adult study samples described in Table 1a. Where information about how the adult study samples were selected is identical to how the child study samples were chosen, that information is included only in Table 1a.

<sup>104</sup> For MFIP and FTP, the child study samples were drawn from families randomly assigned during a specific period of the full random assignment period for the adult samples. Therefore, the Years of Random Assignment for MFIP and FTP shown here differ from those reported in Table 1a.

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment <sup>104</sup>	Ages of Focal Children at Random Assignment	Follow-Up Points
<b>Mandatory Work-First and Education-First Programs</b>				
<b>National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies</b>	<p><u>Child Outcomes Sample at two-year follow-up:</u> 3,018 female-headed families (of 3,670 selected to be interviewed out of 5,905 eligible) from Client Survey Sample with at least one 3- to 5- year-old child at time of enrollment. One 3- to 5-year-old child in each family was designated the focal child. Focal child had to be biological or adoptive child of female participant, could not be older than 99 months at time of follow-up, had to live within 100 miles of county, and had to have seen mother in last 3 months. Characteristics of parents at baseline: 3.6% (Atlanta) to 52.7% (Grand Rapids) White; 0.7% (Atlanta) to 31.4% (Riverside) Hispanic; 95.2% (Atlanta) to 19.6% (Riverside) Black, non-Hispanic; 50.5% (Riverside) to 59.7% (Atlanta) GED or high school diploma was highest degree completed; 66.5% (Riverside) to 67.9% (Grand Rapids) ever worked full time 6+ months for one employer.</p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: Riverside, CA; Atlanta, GA; Grand Rapids, MI. (Child Outcomes Study Sample drawn from 3 of the NEWWS Evaluation sites in which there were both a labor force attachment and an human capital development program.)</p>	June 1991 to December 1994. (Random assignment occurred over a two-year period in each site.)	Three to five years old. (Children were 5 to 7 years of age at the 2 year follow-up)	Two years after random assignment. (Data from five-year follow-up is forthcoming.)
<b>Strong Financial Work Incentive Programs</b>				
<b>Minnesota Family Investment Program</b>	<p><u>Focal Child Sample:</u> 1,531 urban, single -parent families out of 1,929 (of 2,639 fielded) families applying for or receiving welfare and with a 2- to 9-year-old child. Also, focal child had to be 5-12 years old at follow-up interview, predetermined before first interview, legal child of respondent, and lived with respondent at some time during past 3 months and for at least 2 days in past week. (Survey also included questions about each 5- to 18-year-old child in family.) Characteristics of parents: 879 <i>Long-term Recipients</i>: 46.4% White, non-Hispanic; 40.9% Black, non-Hispanic; 2.2% Hispanic; 8.8% Native American/Alaskan Native; 1.7% Asian/Pacific Islander; 57.7% high school diploma or GED was highest degree completed; 12.8% currently employed. 652 <i>Recent Applicants</i>: 63.5% White, non-Hispanic; 27.9% Black, non-Hispanic; 2.2% Hispanic; 5.3% Native American/Alaskan Native; 1.2% Asian/Pacific Islander; 63.5% high school diploma or GED was highest degree completed; 22.3% currently employed.</p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: The 3 urban counties that took part in the full study (Hennepin, Anoka, Dakota).</p>	April 1994 to March 1994.	Two to nine years old. (Focal children were 5-12 years old at time of follow-up.)	Three years after random assignment.

Program	Description of Sample	Years of Random Assignment <sup>104</sup>	Ages of Focal Children at Random Assignment	Follow-Up Points
New Hope Demonstration	<p><b>Child and Family Study Sample: 591 (of 745) Full Sample members who had at least one 1- to 10-year-old child at baseline. Up to 2 children in these households were selected as focal children, resulting in a sample of 927 children. (812 adult applicants technically qualified for the Child Study Report Sample, but 67 who were Asian/Pacific Island immigrants were not included because measures were not culturally appropriate.) Characteristics of parents: 55% African-American, non-Hispanic; 29.3% Hispanic; 12.5% White; 3.2% Native American/Alaskan Native; 59.5% had high school diploma or GED; 31.3 months in longest full-time job (average among those ever employed full time); 82% ever employed full time; 80.7% currently receiving assistance (AFDC, General Assistance, Food Stamps, or Medicaid); 69.4% currently receiving AFDC.</b></p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: Both Full Study sites (two selected zip-code areas of Milwaukee, WI).</p>	August 1994 to December 1995.	One to ten years old. (Children were 3-12 years old at two-year follow-up.)	Two years after random assignment . (The five-year follow-up is currently being conducted. )
Self-Sufficiency Project	<p><b>Full Child Sample:</b> 3,259 Report Sample members who had at least one 4- to 18-year-old child in the home when the 36-month interview was conducted. Characteristics of parents: 8.6% First Nation [Native American] ancestry; 4.9% Asian; 13.7% French-speaking; 13.3% not born in Canada; 36% completed high school, no post-secondary education; had worked average of 6.8 years. Sample included 5,078 children; children had to have lived with parent participant at random assignment and be living with parent participant at 36-month follow-up. Children aged 3 at 36-month follow-up with siblings aged 4 to 18 were included; children aged 3 at 36-month follow-up but with no siblings aged 4 to 18 were excluded. Children were divided into three cohorts based on their age at the time of the 36 months follow-up: the younger cohort (ages 3-5 at the time of the 36 month follow-up, n=1,011), the middle cohort (ages 6-11 at the time of the 36 month follow-up, n=1,836), and the older cohort (ages 12-18 at the time of the 36 month follow-up, n=1,252).</p> <p>Child Study Program Sites: All Adult Study sites (New Brunswick and the lower mainland of British Columbia, Canada).</p>	November 1992 to March 1995.	Three cohorts: <i>Younger:</i> 0 to 2 years old (3 to 5 at follow-up) <i>Middle:</i> 3 to 8 years old (6-11 at follow-up) <i>Older:</i> 9 to 15 years old (12-18 at follow-up)	Three years after random assignment .
<b>Programs with Time Limits Components</b>				
Florida's Family Transition Program	<p><b>Full Sample who answered Four-Year Client Survey Sample: 1,729 single parents randomly assigned between August 1994 and February 1995. All sample members answered a few child-focused questions about all of their children under age 18.</b></p> <p><b>Focal Child Sample: 1,108 single-parent families (in the Four-Year Client Survey Sample) that had at least one child between 5 and 12 years old at the time of the four-year follow-up survey.</b></p> <p>Child Study Program Site: The Full Study site (Escambia County, FL).</p>	August 1994 to February 1995.	One to eight years old. (Focal children were 5-12 years old at time of follow-up.)	Child assessments only at four-year follow-up after random assignment.

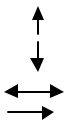
**Table 2: Impacts on economic, non-targeted and child outcomes**

Impacts in Experimental Studies-Programs Targeted at Teens																														
Program	Education and Work Prep Activities			Economic						Child Care			Child Activities			Household Composition					Other Family Variables					Child Impacts				
	Particip. in education	Particip. In Work Prep	Educational Attainment	Employment	Earnings	Welfare Receipt	Income	Poverty/Low Income	Medical Insurance	Employment Benefits	Total Participation	Formal Care	Informal Care	# Changes in Care	Extracurricular	Chores	Adolescent Employment	With Partner/Spouse	With Parents	Without Children	Pregnancies	Births	Father Involvement	Parenting/Home Environment	Mat. Depressive Symptoms	Other Mat. Psych. Well-being	Domestic Violence	Housing/Neighborhood	Cognitive/Academic	Social/Behavioral
New Chance	↑	↑	↕	↓	↓	↑	→		→	→	↑	↑	→				↑	↓	→	↑	→	∅	+	∅	+		∅	-0.20	-0.39	-0.10
TPD Camden	↑	↑	↑	↑	→	↓	→	↓	→	↑	↑	↑					→	→		↓	↓	+	+/-	∅	-	-	-	0	0	0
TPD Chicago	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↓	→	→	→	↑	↑	↑					↑	→		→	↑	+	+/-	-	∅	∅	∅	+0.06	0	0
TPD Newark	↑	↑	↓	↓	→	↓	→	↕	→	↑	↑	→					↓	→		→	→	+	-	+	+/-	∅	∅	-0.19	-0.11	0
Shaded = Not measured																									Number represents (# Significant favorable impacts - # Significant unfavorable impacts)/ #Total measures in domain					
Where there is more than one wave of data collection, sequential arrows are used																						↑ = Any Favorable Impact ↓ = Any Unfavorable Impact +/- = Both Favorable and Unfavorable Impacts ∅ = No Impacts								
↑ ↓ ↕ →			Program resulted in any increases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection Program resulted in any decreases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection Program resulted in both an increase and a decrease on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection Program had no impact on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection																											

Program	Education and Work Prep Activities										Economic				Child Care			Child Activities		Household Composition				Other Family Variables					Child Impacts		
	Particip. in education	Particip. In Work Prep	Educational Attainment	Employment	Earnings	Welfare Receipt	Income	Poverty/Low Income	Medical Insurance	Employment Benefits	Total Participation	Formal Care	Informal Care	# Changes in Care	Extracurricular	Chores	Adolescent Employment	With Partner/Spouse	With Parents	Without Children	Pregnancies	Births	Father Involvement	Parenting/Home Environment	Mat. Depressive Symptoms	Other Mat. Psych. Well-being	Domestic Violence	Housing/Neighborhood	Cognitive/Academic	Social/Behavioral	Health/Safety
ATHCD	↑	↑	↑	→	↑	↓	→	→	↑		↑	→	→				→					→	∅	+	∅	-		∅	+0.25	0	0
ATLFA	→	↑	↑	↑	→	↓	→	↓	↑		↑	→	→				→					→	∅	+	∅	-		∅	+0.75	0.09	0
GRHCD	↑	↑	↑	↓	↓	→	→	↑	→		→		→				→					→	+	∅	∅	∅		∅	+0.25	0	0
GRLFA	→	↑	↓	↑	→	→	→	↑	↓		↑		→				→					→	+	-	-	∅		∅	0	-0.2	0
RIHCD	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	→	→	↓	↑		↑	→	↑				→					→	∅	∅	∅	-		∅	0	0	-0.67
RILFA	↓	↑	→	↑	↑	↓	→	→	↔		↑	→	↑				↓					→	-	∅	∅	∅		∅	0	0	-0.67
Shaded = Not measured																											Number represents (# Significant favorable impacts - # Significant unfavorable impacts) / #Total measures in domain				
Where there is more than one wave of data collection, sequential arrows are used																															
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>↑ Program resulted in any increases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection</li> <li>↓ Program resulted in any decreases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection</li> <li>↔ Program resulted in both an increase and a decrease on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection</li> <li>→ Program had no impact on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection</li> </ul>																						<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ = Any Favorable Impact</li> <li>- = Any Unfavorable Impact</li> <li>+/- = Both Favorable and Unfavorable Impacts</li> <li>∅ = No Impacts</li> </ul>									



Impacts in Experimental Studies - Work Incentive and Support Programs. continued

Program	Education and Work Prep Activities			Economic							Child Care			Child Activities		Household Composition						Other Family Variables					Child Impacts						
	Particip. in Education	Particip. In Work Prep	Educational Attainment	Employment	Earnings	Welfare Receipt	Income	Poverty/Low Income	Medical Insurance	Employment Benefits	Total Participation	Formal Care	Informal Care	# Changes in Care	Extracurricular	Chores	Adolescent Employment	With Partner/Spouse	With Parents	Without Children	Pregnancies	Births	Father Involvement	Parenting/Home Environment	Mat. Depressive Symptoms	Other Mat. Psych. Well-being	Domestic Violence	Housing/Neighborhood	Child's Age	Cognitive/Academic	Social/Behavioral	Health/Safety	
MFIP Financial Incentives Long Term	→	→	→	→	→	→	→	←	→	←	→	→	→		→		→							+	+		+	∅	0-5				
																														5-12	0.4	0.5	-0.5
																														13-18			
MFIP Financial Incentives Recent		→	→	→	→	→	→	→	→		→	→	→				→					→		-	-		∅	∅ <sup>1</sup>	0-5				
																													5-12	-0.40	0	0	
Shaded = Not measured																											Number represents (# Significant favorable impacts - # Significant unfavorable impacts)/ #Total measures in domain						
Where there is more than one wave of data collection, sequential arrows are used																																	
 <p>                     ↑                      ↓                      ↔                      →                 </p> <p>                     Program resulted in any increases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection                      Program resulted in any decreases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection                      Program resulted in both an increase and a decrease on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection                      Program had no impact on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection                 </p>																						+ = Any Favorable Impacts - = Any Unfavorable Impacts +/- = Both Favorable and Unfavorable Impacts ∅ = No Impact											

<sup>1</sup>There was an increase in public or subsidized housing in the program group. This impact is not readily interpretable as favorable or unfavorable.

**Impacts in Experimental Studies - Work Incentive and Support Programs. continued**

Program	Education and		Economic						Child Care			Child		Household Composition					Other Family Variables					Child Impacts								
	Particip. in Education	Particip. In Work Prep	Educational Attainment	Employment	Earnings	Welfare Receipt	Income	Poverty/Low Income	Medical Insurance	Employment Benefits	Total Participation	Formal Care	Informal Care	# Changes in Care	Extracurricular	Chores	Adolescent Employment	With Partner/Spouse	With Parents	Without Children	Pregnancies	Births	Father Involvement	Parenting/Home Environment	Mat. Depressive Symptoms	Other Mat. Psych. Well-being	Domestic Violence	Housing/Neighborhood	Child's Age	Cognitive/Academic	Social/Behavioral	Health/Safety
New Hope- Girls	↓	↓	→	↑	↕	→	↕	↑	↓		↑	↓		↑	→								-	∅	+/-							
																													3-5		0	
New Hope- Boys											↑	↓		↑	→								-	∅	+/-							
																												3-5		0		
Self-Sufficiency Project				↑	↑		↑	↓		↑	↑	↑	↑	→			→					∅	-	∅			∅	3-5	0	0	0	
				↑	↑		↑	↓		↑	→	↑	→	↑			→					+	∅	-			-	6-11	+29	0	+50	
				↑	↑		↑	↓			→			→	↑	↑	↔					-	-	∅			-	12-18	-33	-0.63	0	
Shaded = Not measured																																
Where there is more than one wave of data collection, sequential arrows are used																																
<p>↑ Program resulted in any increases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection</p> <p>↓ Program resulted in any decreases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection</p> <p>↕ Program resulted in both an increase and a decrease on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection</p> <p>→ Program had no impact on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection</p>																						<p>+ = Any Favorable Impacts</p> <p>- = Any Unfavorable Impacts</p> <p>+/- = Both Favorable and Unfavorable Impacts</p> <p>∅ = No Impact</p>						<p>Number represents (# Significant favorable impacts - # Significant unfavorable impacts)/ #Total measures in domain</p>				

Impacts in Experimental Studies-Programs with Time Limit Components

Program	Education and Work Prep Activities			Economic					Child Care			Child Activities		Household Composition					Other Family Variables					Child Impacts							
	Particip. in Education	Particip. In Work Prep	Educational Attainment	Employment	Earnings	Welfare Receipt	Income	Poverty/Low Income	Medical Insurance	Employment Benefits	Total Participation	Formal Care	Informal Care	# Changes in Care	Extracurricular	Chores	Adolescent Employment	With Partner/Spouse	With Parents	Without Children	Pregnancies	Births	Father Involvement	Parenting/Home Environment	Mat. Depressive Symptoms	Other Mat. Psych. Well-being	Domestic Violence	Housing/Neighborhood	Child's Age	Cognitive/Academic	Social/Behavioral
FTP	↑ ↓	↑ ↓		↑ ↓	↑ ↓	↓ ↑	↑ ↓	→		↑	↑	↑	↓	→			↓	→	→	→	→	+	-	∅	∅	∅	+	5-12	0	-0.13	+0.67
																												13-17	-.33	-.20	
Shaded = Not measured																															
Where there is more than one wave of data collection, sequential arrows are used																															
↑↑ Program resulted in any increases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection ↓↓ Program resulted in any decreases on variable(s) within this domain for a given wave of data collection ↑↓ Program resulted in both an increase and a decrease on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection ↓ Program had no impact on variables within this domain for a given wave of data collection																	+ = Any Favorable Impacts - = Any Unfavorable Impacts +/- = Both Favorable and Unfavorable Impacts ∅ = No Impact					Number represents (# Significant favorable impacts - # Significant unfavorable impacts)/ #Total measures in domain									

**Table 3: IMPACTS ON MEASURES OF CHILDREN'S *COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT*  
BY IMPACTS ON ADULT EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND INCOME<sup>105</sup>**

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did: (1) Employment/Earnings Increase? (2) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease? (3) Income Increase?			CHILD COGNITIVE IMPACTS:								
			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE PATTERN ?				
(1) Emp- loyment/ Earnings	(2) %Poverty	(3) Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
<b><i>No Increase in Employment, Reduction in % in Poverty, or Increase in Income</i></b>											
No (Decr. at some point)	- (No Info)	No			(I) New Chance: -.20 (1-/ 5)						
No: (Decr. at some point)	No: (Incr. at some point)	No			(I) TPD Newark: -.19 (3 - /16) (-*)					(II) GR HCD +.25 (1+/4) (+*)	
No	No	No	(III) MFIP Incentives/ Recent CH 5-12 -.40 (2-/5)								
<b><i>Increase in Employment in Absence of Increase in Income</i></b>											
Yes	No (Incr. at some point)	No					(II) GR LFA (0/4) (-*)				

<sup>105</sup> Where possible, impacts on adult economic outcomes and educational attainment are presented for the specific sample of consideration (e.g., by age, gender, or welfare history). However, these data were not always presented in the reports, hence in some instances these impacts are based on data for the sample as a whole. Detailed tables indicating the variables impacted (and the size of these impacts) are available from Child Trends.

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did: (1) Employment/Earnings Increase? (2) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease? (3) Income Increase?			CHILD COGNITIVE IMPACTS:							? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN		INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE PATTERN ?	
(1) Emp- loyment/ Earnings	(2) %Poverty	(3) Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable		
Yes	No	No	(III) Full MFIP/Recent CH 13-18: -.75 (3-/4)				(II) RI LFA (0 /4)  (III) Full MFIP Recent CH 5-12 (0/5)	(I) TPD Chicago: +6% (1+/16) (+*)		(II) AT HCD: +.25 (1 + / 4) (+*)			
Yes	Yes	No					(II) RI HCD (0/4) (+*)				(II) AT LFA +.75 (3+/4) (+*)		
<b>Increase in Employment and Income But Neither Sustained</b>													
Yes	- (no info)	Yes	(IV) FTP CH 13-17: -.33 (1-/3)				(IV) FTP CH 5-12 (0 / 6)						
<b>Increase in Employment, Reduction in % in Poverty, Increase in Income</b>													
Yes	Yes	Yes	(III) SSP CH 12-18: -.33 (2-/6)	(III) Full MFIP/Long Term CH 13-18: -. 25 (1 - / 4)		(III) NH Girls CH 6-12 -.06% (1-/17)	(I) TPD Camden: (0/16)(+*)  (III) SSP CH 3-5 (0 / 1)			(III) SSP CH 6-11 +.29 (2+/7)	(III) MFIP Incentives/Long Term (+*) CH 5-12: +.40 (2+/5)  (III) Full MFIP/Long Term CH 5-12: +.60 (3+/5)  (III) NH Boys CH 6-12: +.53 (9+/17)		

**Table 4: IMPACTS ON MEASURES OF CHILDREN'S *BEHAVIORAL DEVELOPMENT*  
BY IMPACTS ON ADULT EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND INCOME<sup>106</sup>**

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did: (4) Employment/Earnings Increase? (5) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease? (6) Income Increase?			CHILD BEHAVIORAL IMPACTS:								
			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE PATTERN ?				
(1) Employment/Earning	(2) % in Poverty	(3) Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
<b><i>No Increase in Employment, Reduction in % in Poverty, or Increase in Income</i></b>											
No: (Decr. at some point)	No: (Incr. at some point)	No			(I) TPD Newark: -.11 (1 - / 9) (-*)		(II) GR HCD: (0/11) (+*)				
No (Decr. at some point)	- (no info)	No	(I) New Chance: -.39 (9 - / 23)								
No	No	No					(III) MFIP Incentives/ Recent CH 5-12 (0/4)				
<b><i>Increase in Employment in Absence of Increase in Income</i></b>											
Yes	No (Incr. at some point)	No			(II) GR LFA -.18 (2-/11) (-*)						

<sup>106</sup> Where possible, impacts on adult economic outcomes and educational attainment are presented for the specific sample of consideration (e.g., by age, gender, or welfare history). However, these data were not always presented in the reports, hence in some instances these impacts are based on data for the sample as a whole. Detailed tables indicating the variables impacted (and the size of these impacts) are available from Child Trends.

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did:			CHILD BEHAVIORAL IMPACTS:							? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN		INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE PATTERN ?	
(4) Employment/Earnings Increase? (5) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease? (6) Income Increase?			31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable		
(1) Employment/Earning	(2) % in Poverty	(3) Income											
Yes	No	No	(III) Full MFIP/Recent CH 13-18: -1.00 (1-1)	(III) Full MFIP/Recent CH 5-12: -.25 (1-4)			(I) TPD Chicago: (0/9) (+*)  (II) AT HCD: (0/11) (+*)  (II) RI LFA (0/11)						
Yes	Yes	No					(II) RI HCD (0/11) (+*)	(II) AT LFA: +.09 (2+,1-11) (+*)					
<b>Increase in Employment and Income But Neither Sustained (Fadeout)</b>													
Yes	No info.	Yes			(IV) FTP CH 5-12 -13 (1-8)  (IV) FTP CH 13-17: -20 (1-5)								

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did:			CHILD BEHAVIORAL IMPACTS:								
(4) Employment/Earnings Increase? (5) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease? (6) Income Increase?			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE PATTERN ?				
(1) Employment/Earning	(2) % in Poverty	(3) Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
<i>Increase in Employment, Reduction in % in Poverty, Increase in Income</i>											
Yes	Yes	Yes	(III) SSP CH 12-18: -.63 (5-/8)			(III) NH Girls CH 6-12: -.03 (1+, 2- /33)	(I) TPD Camden: (0/9)(+*)  (III) Full MFIP/Long Term CH 13-18: (0/1)  (III) SSP CH 6-11: (0/5)  (IV) NH Girls CH 3-5 (0/3)  (III) NH Boys CH 3-5 (0/3)  (III) SSP CH 3-5 (0 / 1)			(III) Full MFIP/Long Term CH 5-12: +.30 (3+/10)  (III) NH Boys CH 6-12: +.27 (10+,1- / 33)	(III) MFIP Incentives/Long Term (+*) CH 5-12: +.50 (5+/10)

**Table 5: IMPACTS ON MEASURES OF CHILDREN'S HEALTH  
BY IMPACTS ON ADULT EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND INCOME<sup>107</sup>**

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did:			CHILD HEALTH IMPACTS:								
			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				PATTERN ?		INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE		
(7) Employment/Earnings Increase?	(8) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease?	(9) Income Increase?	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
(1)Employment/Earnings	(2)%Poverty/	(3)Income									
<b><i>No Increase in Employment, Reduction in % in Poverty, or Increase in Income</i></b>											
No <i>(Decr. at some point)</i>	- <i>(No Info)</i>	No				(I) New Chance: -.10 (1-/10)					
No: <i>(Decr. at some point)</i>	No: <i>(Incr. at some point)</i>	No					(I) TPD Newark: (0/5) (-*)  (II) GR HCD: (0/3) (+*)				
No	No	No					(III) MFIP Incentives/ Recent CH 5-12 (0/1)				
<b><i>Increase in Employment in Absence of Increase in Income</i></b>											
Yes	No <i>(Incr. at some point)</i>	No					(II) GR LFA (0/3) (-*)				

<sup>107</sup> Where possible, impacts on adult economic outcomes and educational attainment are presented for the specific sample of consideration (e.g., by age, gender, or welfare history). However, these data were not always presented in the reports, hence in some instances these impacts are based on data for the sample as a whole. Detailed tables indicating the variables impacted (and the size of these impacts) are available from Child Trends.

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did:			CHILD HEALTH IMPACTS:								
(7) Employment/Earnings Increase?			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE				
(8) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease?			PATTERN ?								
(9) Income Increase?											
(1)Employment/Earnings	(2)%Poverty/	(3)Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
Yes	No	No	(II) RI LFA -.67 (2- /3)				(I) TPD Chicago: (0/5) (+*)  (II) AT HCD: (0/3)(+*)  (III) Full MFIP/ Recent CH 5-12: (0/1)				
Yes	Yes	No	(II) RI HCD -.67 (2-/3) (+*)				(II) AT LFA: (0/3) (+*)				
<b><i>Increase in Employment and Income But Neither Sustained</i></b>											
Yes	- (No info)	Yes									(IV) <a href="#">FTP5-12</a> +.67 (2+/3) 1

Over Follow-up, At Any Point, Did:			CHILD HEALTH IMPACTS:								
(7) Employment/Earnings Increase?			? INCREASINGLY UNFAVORABLE PATTERN				INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE				
(8) % Poverty/Low Income Decrease?			PATTERN ?								
(9) Income Increase?											
(1)Employment/Earnings	(2)%Poverty/	(3)Income	31% + unfavorable	21% - 30% unfavorable	11-20% unfavorable	Any-10% unfavorable	No Impact	Any-10% Favorable	11-20% favorable	21-30% favorable	31% + favorable
<b>Favorable Impact in all Three Outcome Areas: Employment/Earnings; % Poverty and Income</b>											
Yes	Yes	Yes	(III) Full MFIP/Long Term CH 5-12: -.50 (1-2)				(I) TPD Camden: (0/5)(+*)				(III) SSP CH 6-11: +.50 (2+/4)
			(III) MFIP Incentives/Long Term (+*) CH 5-12: -.50 (1-2)				(III) SSP CH 3-5 (0 / 3)				
							(III) SSP CH 12-18: (0/3)				