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Latinas and the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program: Factors Associated with Participation and Outcomes for Boston Latinas in ET

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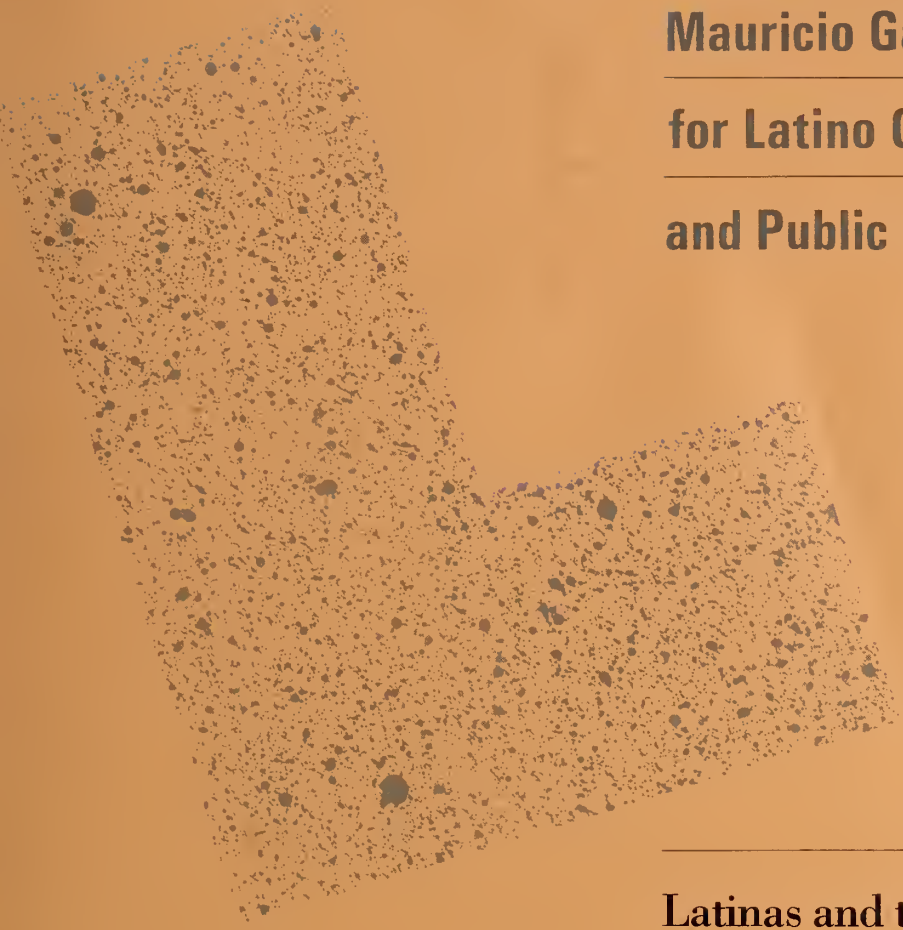

Mauricio Gaston Institute

for Latino Community Development

and Public Policy

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Miren Uriarte, Ph.D.

This paper is one of a series on Latinos in Massachusetts and education. The research for this paper was funded by a grant of the Inter-University Program on Latino Research and the Social Science Research Council (IUP/SSRC). Miren Uriarte is a sociologist on the faculty of the College of Public and Community Service of the University of Massachusetts at Boston and the director of the Gastón Institute.

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José Durán, former planner at ET Choices and current Director of the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation produced two important pieces for this project. The first was an analysis of policy changes in the ET Choices program from 1986-88 and their impact on services to Latinos. The second, a report on interviews with community-based providers of employment and training programs funded by ET, focused on the program factors that affect participation and outcomes for Latinas in these programs. The contribution of his work to the analysis of the experience of Latinas in these programs was substantial, as is evident in the report; his work provides an important framework for the overall understanding of the experience.

Ann Withorn, Edwin Meléndez and Jaime Talero read an earlier version of this report and provided very helpful comments. Conversations with Aida Rodriguez of the Rockefeller Foundation and Harriet Romo of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research were very helpful as well. Many thanks go to them all. A very special word of gratitude goes to the researchers at the Urban Institute in Washington, D. C., for a first rate evaluation of ET Choices. Their work made mine much easier.

This report is dedicated to the Latinas who participate in ET. I hope, most of all, that what I have written here is faithful to their experience.

Executive Summary

This report presents the results of an assessment of the participation and outcomes of Latinos in the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program. From the start of the ET program, there has been evidence that Latinos participate at rates comparable to that of other groups, but that their outcomes in terms of job placements and wages fall well below the outcome rates of any other group of participants. The main goal of this report is to ascertain the experience of Latino participants in ET and the individual and program factors that present barriers to their successful participation in this program.

The study, conducted with the collaboration of the Department of Public Welfare (DPW), focuses on the experience of 300 Latinos in Boston who began their participation in ET in the summer and fall of 1987. It follows their participation through the program until the spring of 1990. In addition, 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with a self-selected group of participants from the above sample. Interviews with contractors with large Latino caseloads (over 50%) were also conducted.

Main Findings

The study found that Latinas participated actively in ET. Their participation rate (48%) was comparable to that of the overall ET population and higher than that of the population of employment and training participants nationwide. Although active Latino participation in employment and training programs is a nagging problem across the nation, it is high in Boston.

The study tested both the individual participants' demographic characteristics and program factors in order to ascertain the factors associated with these rates of participation. Individual demographic characteristics examined included age, education, prior work experience, length of last welfare spell, number and age of children, and English proficiency. Program factors tested included method of registration (whether through the Welfare Department or a community-based program) and whether or not the person had received an initial appraisal. The finding is that the most important factor in the rates of active Latino participation was the involvement of community-based programs in the recruitment of participants. Seventy percent of the participants joined ET through a community-based program. Latino community-based programs recruited and retained a high rate of participants. Of the demographic factors, only the number of dependents was weakly but positively correlated with participation in ET.

The study also found that Latinas participated most often in educational programs; over 50% of Latinos participated in English as a Second Language programs (ESL), Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Education Diploma (GED) or college programs. But, contrary to most assumptions, the study found that neither language, nor education, nor age—in fact, no demographic variable—is as important as the programmatic characteristics of ET in determining both the level of

participation and the specific program in which Latinas participate. How Latinas enter the program, the problems they face in the process of enrollment and appraisal, and the impact—both positive and negative—of the structure of ET contracts on service delivery were found to be as important—and in some cases more important—than the individual characteristics of the participants.

Although Latino participation was comparable to that of other ET participants, Latino job placements and wages fell well behind. The overall ET participant population had twice the rate of job placements as Latinos. Placement was not associated with any demographic factors except work experience; Latino job placements were more strongly associated with the type of program in which they participated. None of the relationships were very strong. Latino placements were highest among those programs that combined skills training and education as well as the job placement services. They were lowest among those in ABE, GED and ESL programs.

Wages for Latinos were also considerably lower than those of overall ET participants. The average wage for Latina job finders was $6.25. At this wage, 72% of Latino job finders earned less than 100% of the federal poverty standard. Work experience was the only demographic factor associated with the wages Latinas earned in ET jobs. Program variables—specifically, in which programs Latinos participated—were more strongly related to wage outcomes than the characteristics of individuals.

Other Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

This study's main finding is that program variables are more critical to the participation and outcomes of Latinas in ET than any characteristics of the individual. Participation rates were high because the program structured ways to reach the population—through community-based programs. Placements and wages were low because of the tracking of Latinas into education-only programs, well known for low job-placement rates and wages. Placements and wages were higher in those programs that combined skills training with education and job-placement services.

This study supports the basic assumption of ET Choices that women on Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) want to work and would work under the right conditions. The right conditions for Latinas include wages that are high enough to support their families, child care that they can trust, the support of their families, and the nurturing of the skills and confidence that is required to succeed in the job market. In employment and training programs, the problems the women face in attaining jobs at good wages are the result of an interaction of program factors with the characteristics of participants and not the lack of motivation to join the programs or to work.

Massachusetts, at the time of this study, ran a noncompulsory program. Choice and the programmatic implementation of choice made it safe for Latinas to participate without risk, and they did so actively. A compulsory program will not improve Latino

job placement rates or wages; in fact, it may reduce the high levels of participation as it introduces the factor of coercion into the process.

Recommendation 1: Choice should remain a part of the Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices Program.

It was found that although overall rates of participation were high, rates of substantive participation were lower. Substantive participation was related to the type of registration and orientation participants received. Latinos were found to fall through the cracks in the enrollment/appraisal/orientation process.

Recommendation 2: The Department of Public Welfare needs to take a more active role in providing outreach and information to Latinos. This can take the form of both increased publicity in mediums that will reach Latinos as well as the improvement of communication between Latino clients and workers in the Department of Public Welfare.

Recommendation 3: The Department of Public Welfare needs to make a stronger effort in hiring bilingual (preferably bicultural) personnel. Language barriers are a strong impediment for Latino participation in all benefit programs, including ET. It is the responsibility of the department to address this issue effectively.

Latinos registered in ET primarily through community-based programs and not the Welfare Department. Neither the Department of Public Welfare (DPW) nor the program operators see orienting the clients that enter the program through community-based programs as their responsibility. For clients coming into the program through the community, this orientation appears most effective at the time of enrollment in the program.

Recommendation 4: The Department of Public Welfare and Boston's Office of Jobs and Community Services need to clarify who is responsible for orientation/appraisal of those participants who come into ET through the backdoor.

Recommendation 5: Community-based programs should be allowed to bill for orientation and referral services, they should be instructed to appraise the overall needs of clients, and they should be encouraged to refer clients to other programs when they need them. This would encourage a more client-oriented approach versus the current outcome orientation.

The type of programs in which Latinos participate was constrained by the range of programs open to Latino enrollments and available at the community level. The participation in supported work programs and in skills training programs, especially programs sponsored by the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and the Bay State

Skills Corporation, both of whom have higher job placement rates, was negligible to none.

The DPW and the Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services have to acknowledge in practical ways the critical importance of community-based programs to Latino enrollments and to Latino participation in ET. Without such programs, the DPW and the city would be hard pressed to serve Latinos. The lack of recognition of this fact in the face of the growing Latino AFDC caseload was a missed opportunity on the part of the DPW. The DPW could have invested in the development of the capacity of the programs at the community level, programs with a proven track record of reaching and serving this group. Instead it chose to invest large amounts of funds in programs—JTPA and Bay State Skills Corporation, for example—whose only track record in relationship to the Department's fastest growing caseload (Latinos) was its documented incapacity to reach them and serve them.

Recommendation 6: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives for the development at the community level of the range of program options that Latinos need. Emphasis should be placed on skills training and supported work programs.

Recommendation 7: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives for the development of programs that involve the following:

- **Integration of basic education and/or ESL with skills development. Options of this type are extremely limited in Boston and this is a model that has proven effective with Latinos.**

- **Links between programs and concrete employment opportunities. Specific employment links that should be encouraged include hospitals, banks, construction of the harbor tunnel and central artery and other government construction projects.**

Recommendation 8: The Department of Public Welfare and the city should review the policies and practices of the Bay State Skills Corporation and the programs funded by the Jobs Training Partnership Act in Boston to ascertain the factors that contribute to the lack of access of Latinos to those programs.

In studies of the impact of JTPA on minorities, performance-based contracting has often been mentioned as a disincentive to the inclusion of minorities in the programs. This study found that this type of funding system tends to promote tracking of participants into some programs and not others. Also, the lack of participation on the part of Latinos in skills training programs bore a relationship to performance-based contracting, since contractors feared investing in clients who

showed many of the characteristics prevalent among Latinos. The limitations posed by performance-based contracting hampered their efforts to develop more effective program opportunities for Latinos at the community level.

Recommendation 9: The Office of Jobs and Community Services should review the implementation of performance-based contracting and determine the extent to which it contributes to tracking clients deemed harder to serve into some programs and away from others. Measurements of program compliance that take into account the characteristics of the population served, as well as the outcomes, would be an incentive for serving Latinos in the programs that are not available to them at this time.

Program operators often commented on the contradiction between ET program goals and guidelines and the development of quality programs for Latinos. If the participation and outcomes of Latinos in employment and training programs are a concern—as their representation among the population, the economically disadvantaged and the welfare rolls underscores—then policy makers and program administrators at the state and city level need to recognize that the expertise in successfully reaching and retaining Latinos lies at the community level and not in the larger mainstream programs. The lack of experience and success of the larger, better-funded employment and training programs—JTPA funded programs, Bay State Skills Corporation, etc.—in serving Latinos needs to be noted. The fact that the latter also set the pace in the development of criteria, standards and programs in the field presents a major problem to those organizations attempting to develop programs more attuned to the needs of Latinos. The programs at the community level should set the pace in the program innovations that are necessary to reach and serve better this rapidly growing group.

Recommendation 10: The Department of Public Welfare and the city should provide incentives for the development and evaluation of pilot employment and training programs at the community level along the lines of those in Recommendation 7.

Recommendation 11: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives and rewards for initiatives on the part of contractees in assessing and evaluating the effectiveness of their own programs.

Child care support is essential to the participation of Latinas in employment and training programs and in jobs. It remains a critical factor in the welfare-to-work transition.

Recommendation 12: Support for child care should remain a component of employment and training programs in Massachusetts.

Latinas overwhelmingly prefer day care centers to any other form of child care. They prefer centers that offer educational opportunities for their children and those that socialize their children into becoming students. They prefer centers close to their work and those that have personnel who are bilingual and bicultural.

Recommendation 13: If Latinas are to be encouraged to participate in ET programs and in work, day care needs to be made available at a cost that is affordable to single mothers working for low wages. Subsidized day care slots need to be made available, particularly in those centers that give priority to a multiracial, multicultural experience for children and have bicultural people on their staffs.

The Latinas interviewed had substantial distrust of family day care. The number of children, the lack of supervision and the lack of assessment of the personal habits of the day care providers were some of the reasons for this distrust.

Recommendation 14: The Office for Children needs to take seriously the perception Latina women have of family day care services. If that perception proves correct, dramatic changes in the licensing of family day care providers is necessary to insure the safety of children. If the perception is incorrect, educational and informational campaigns on the value of family day care need to reach Latinas.

Introduction

This report presents the results of an assessment of the participation and outcomes of Latinos[1] in the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program. From the start of the program, there has been evidence that Latinos participate at rates comparable to those of other groups, but their outcomes in terms of job placements and wages fall well below those of any other group of participants in the program. The main goal of this report is to ascertain the experience of Latino participants in ET and the individual and program factors that present barriers to their successful participation in this program.

This assessment of Latino participation and outcomes in ET analyzes the experience in what is, clearly, the best of times and represents in many ways a best case scenario for the implementation of employment and training programs in general and for Latinos in particular. The period covered by this study is July 1987 to December 1989. This time represents a period of buoyant economic conditions for the state of Massachusetts, a period of rapid economic growth and full employment for the state. It was also the peak time for the implementation of ET. Funding for ET was at its highest[2] and the program enjoyed considerable attention and support from state policy makers. It was also, by then, a well established program. Since its start in 1983, there had been considerable programmatic development and experience. By 1987, ET had begun to prioritize the hard-to-serve and an important piece in those priorities was a new Hispanic Initiative. Finally, by 1987, the program had integrated Latino community-based agencies to its service network, thereby increasing educational and training opportunities for Latinos. Under these circumstances, the study of the Latino experience in ET represents a unique opportunity for assessing the participation and outcomes in a successful program on the part of Boston Latinos, one of the poorest and neediest Latino populations in the United States.[3]

The important contexts for the analysis of the Latino participation in ET are the issues facing Latinos in employment and training programs across the United States and the specific issues that have framed the implementation of the ET program. This report begins with an exploration of these issues followed by a description of the study. The second section focuses on the participation of Latinas in the programs sponsored by ET Choices. The third section describes and analyzes the outcomes of Latinas in ET. A final section presents the study's conclusions and specific recommendations.

Latinos and Employment and Training Programs

The lack of participation of Latinos in employment and training programs is a well established fact. Although there are few analyses of participation in employment and training programs specifically focused on Latinos, studies of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) as well as local employment and training initiatives point to Latino underrepresentation in the programs as a major concern. Most of these studies point to structural and

program factors in the underrepresentation of Latinos in employment and training programs.

Concern over issues of access permeate the literature on CETA and, later, the programs funded under JTPA. Perhaps the most encompassing piece describing the problems facing Hispanics in CETA was conducted by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in 1980. In studying 30 programs across the United States, MALDEF found that programs failed to meet their participation and employment goals for Hispanics, failed to include adequate representation of Hispanics on advisory councils, underserved persons of limited English proficiency and, by using inadequate data to plan and document services, failed to serve Latinos.[4]

Analyses of Latino participation in JTPA point to similar as well as additional problems. Some have focused on the implications of the structure of the program, both its decentralization and its reliance on private sector partnerships. Escutia, for example, in her report for the National Council of La Raza, points to the decentralized structure of JTPA as endangering equal access by minorities since it erodes the federal government's capacity to target and monitor the program.[5]

In different studies, Escutia, Meléndez and the National Commission on Employment Policy point to JTPA's reliance in partnerships with the private sector as a factor in the lack of access of Latinos to the program. Escutia focuses on its effect on Latino representation in JTPA policy-making forums and reports that Latino representation in State Job Training Coordinating Councils and Private Industry Councils has been found to be spotty and uneven because of Latino underrepresentation in business organizations and because of the failure of state officials to appoint Latinos to these bodies.[6] Others point to JTPA's exclusive reliance on private sector partners as having the effect of excluding from participation the most prevalent institutions in Latino communities, Latino community-based organizations (CBOs). The lack of articulation of a relationship between the JTPA system at the local level and Latino CBOs has hampered Latino participation in JTPA.[7]

Documentation of eligibility requirements has also been found to contribute to the lack of Latino participation in JTPA. Selection requirements that emphasize participation in the federal Food Stamp Program, for example, tend to exclude Latinos who are grossly underrepresented among the recipients of Food Stamps. Similarly, requirements for proof of name and age may be a problem for Latinos who are refugees.[8]

Allocation formulas and performance standards have been found to affect Latino participation. Allocation formulas that emphasize the unemployed rather than the disadvantaged tend to favor non-urban areas and disfavor those areas where Latinos live and discourages programs from reaching out to minority communities.[9] Emphasis on performance standards based solely on positive placements may cause organizations to "cream" by selecting those participants most likely to succeed. Latinos, because of language barriers and low educational levels, will tend to be excluded since they will be determined to be harder to serve.[10]

Finally, the failure to hire Latinos in JTPA-funded programs discourages Latino participation. According to the National Commission for Employment Policy, Latino staff "can be especially sensitive to Hispanics' difficulties with documentation requirements, ...(and) put potential participants at ease in what could otherwise be an intimidating documentation process." In addition, they point out that the presence of Hispanics "signals to economically disadvantaged Hispanics that the program is intended for them as well as others."[11]

Issues of access also appear in broader strategies for program development and implementation. For example, Duany, in a paper prepared for Commissioner Cesar Perales of New York State's Department of Social Services, emphasizes the role marketing and word of mouth play as methods of involving Puerto Rican welfare recipients in employment and training programs.[12]

In terms of the models of service that are deemed to be effective with Latinos, the research points to the following:

- **Programs that integrate skills training and remedial education and/or ESL are more effective.** Burghardt and Gordon's evaluation of the effectiveness of the four projects involved in the Rockefeller Foundation's Minority Female Single Parent Demonstration Project found that programs that integrate education and skills training are more effective in achieving earning gains for the participants. The program that was judged most effective happened to be one whose primary clientele was Latino.[13] Duany's recommendations for the development of employment and training opportunities for Puerto Ricans in New York also include both skills training and education as key elements, although he does not specifically recommend that they be offered jointly.[14]

- **The integration of Latino community-based organizations in the planning and delivery of the programs increases access and participation.** Both Meléndez and Duany, in their work on employment and training programs in New York City, argue for strong links at the community level. Integration would increase access, provide needed supports, encourage participants' input in the planning of programs and provide them with a sense of ownership that would enhance results.[15]

- **Linking programs to economic development initiatives increases the chances for job placement.** Meléndez argues that planning employment and training programs around real economic development possibilities such as construction projects, industrial expansions and government needs would increase the probability of successful outcomes.[16]

- **Providing needed supports such as child care, counseling and transportation increases participation in the program.** This is a recommendation that is overwhelmingly put forth as an important factor in assuring success of these programs among Latinos.

The ET Choices Program

In 1983, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Department of Public Welfare (DPW) began the implementation of the Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program. The program began as a demonstration program under the provisions of the federal Work Incentive (WIN) Program which required all states to develop programs where adult recipients of General Relief and Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) were also involved in work.

At the time of its development, ET Choices represented some important departures from the traditional ways these programs were implemented across the nation.[17] Foremost among these was its concept of choice. Unlike other states that often required participants to be involved in work activities in order to qualify for benefits, ET Choices was based on the assumption that AFDC clients wanted to work and that, given the right kinds of supports and opportunities, they would do so without coercion. Massachusetts' AFDC recipients were required to register for ET (so that the state could qualify for WIN reimbursements) but actual participation in employment and training was not forced upon them.

Massachusetts also took into account that AFDC recipients needed substantial supports to make the transition from training to education and eventual employment. Along with an array of educational and training opportunities, the state also offered child care and transportation as an integral part of the program.

Another important difference of ET Choices, when compared to other workfare programs, is that Massachusetts made a considerable investment, financial and political, in ET Choices. The State expended considerable funds to subsidize the program. During fiscal years 1983-87, the expenditures for ET Choices increased almost fourfold and the State's investment in the program increased more than fivefold.[18]

With "Opportunity for All" as a slogan, ET became the way that the prosperity of the state in the 1980s was to filter down to the poor. Public announcements by politicians explaining and praising ET were commonplace, and the DPW invested considerably in publicizing the program to clients, employers and the public at large. That ET was important in Massachusetts and for Massachusetts reverberated from the top political leaders, through the administering bureaucracy, to the field staff on the line and from them, to the clients and recipients.

Design and Implementation of ET Choices

The actual design of the program attempted to integrate choice on the part of clients, concrete assessment and evaluation mechanisms, and an array of services meant to meet in a flexible way a variety of client needs. Figure 1 presents the ideal client flow through ET.

According to the program design, the client's benefit worker would *register* in ET all new clients and clients being re-determined eligible for AFDC. Those clients who wished to participate in the program would then be referred to the ET worker. Clients who did not participate after registration were regularly sent letters explaining the program and encouraging them to join. Colorful posters and newsletters, and at times even videos of ET participants, were regularly available to AFDC clients in the waiting rooms of welfare offices.

Once a client agreed to participate, the ET worker would conduct an *appraisal* and employment plan. This appraisal might include basic assessments of client plans for employment, discussion of choices of programs and of employment strategies (if the client is ready for work) and assessment of the need for support services. From the appraisal, the client would move to the core of available *employment, training and educational programs.* They ranged from intensive assessment of skills and educational training needs to a wide array of educational and skills training options to supported work and direct job search and job placement services. Table 1 presents the descriptions of programs available.

The implementation of the ET Choices Program evolved over several years in response to program priorities and needs as well as the overall needs of the Department.[19] In the first years, the program established a statewide presence through the deployment of ET workers in the local welfare offices. The main source of employment and training programs in the early years came through interagency agreements with existing state services (Department of Education, Board of Regents, the Division of Employment Security) and federally funded programs of the Jobs Training Partnership Act. Beginning in 1986, the DPW emphasized accountability on the part of local offices for ET performance standards (including participation rates and job quality standards). This gave considerable responsibility to local welfare offices for the way that ET was implemented.

In the fourth year, DPW established a priority of the harder to serve. There were indications that the profile of ET success stories did not involve large numbers of welfare recipients who had substantial barriers to job placement. These harder-to-serve clients included ET participants who had a limited work history and job skills, and language and educational barriers to jobs paying wages that met ET minimum wage standards. Hispanics were one of the primary harder-to-serve groups from the perspective of the DPW. During FY 1987 the Department moved to develop strategies to serve mothers under 18 and Latinos, who became the target harder-to-serve groups. Initiatives developed included improved data collection and monitoring capacity of their performance in ET, expansion of services targeted to these groups and training of field staff.

The inclusion of contractees specifically charged with serving the harder to serve coincided with the DPW's change in contracting practices from a cost-reimbursement to performance-based method of compensation.[20] Modeled after the JTPA

Figure 1
ET Choices Client Flow Chart

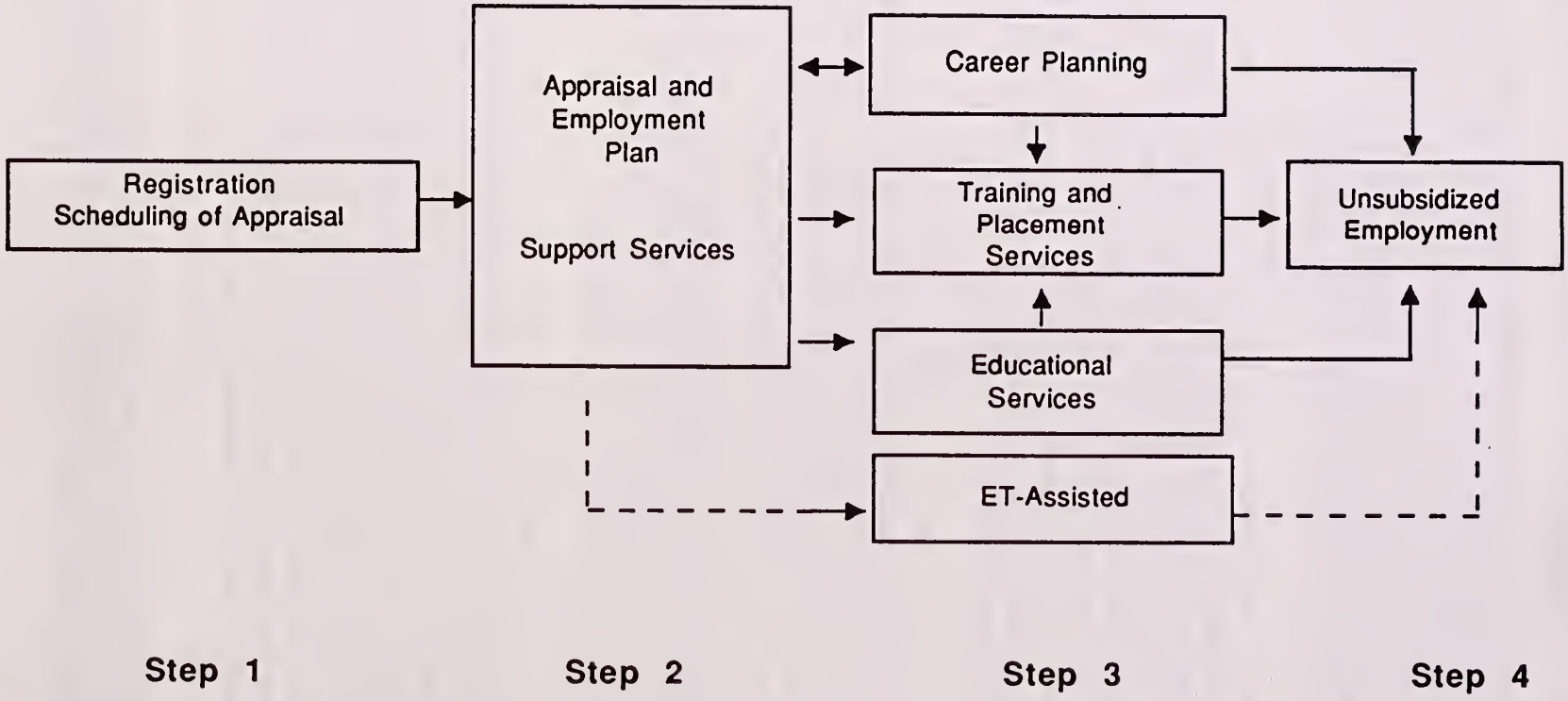


Table 1
Programs Available through ET Choices

Program	Description
Career Planning/ Assessment	Involves skills testing and evaluation, educational testing and career guidance for clients who need support and guidance in making career plans.
Job Placement	Job search and job placement services including "job clubs" and "employment network" services are run under contract by Department of Employment Security workers located in local welfare offices.
Supported Work	On-the-job training is provided for participants with little work experience. The program stresses gradual movement toward full-time employment, peer support and close supervision.
Skills Training	Vocational education and skills training is provided in a range of areas through contracts with JTPA, Bay State Skills Corporation and nonprofit skills training vendors.
Education	An array of educational services includes: • Adult Basic Education • English as a Second Language • General Equivalency Degree • College and University vouchers.

Source: Department of Public Welfare, Program Plan and Budget Request, FY 1987.

reimbursement guidelines, the DPW's performance-based compensation guidelines allowed contractors to charge all costs to the program without a line-item budget but provided payment only in the case of concrete and measurable attainments on the part of participants. This placed a large burden on ET contractors for achieving successful terminations since they could not charge the full cost of the program unless "positive" outcomes were attained.

In the final year of the demonstration, the DPW aimed to fine tune, through retraining, the emerging role of Department workers as case managers in the ongoing goal of transforming the Department into the specialists in the development of employment and training opportunities and as a marketer of these opportunities to its clients.

Evaluation of ET Choices

By and large, ET Choices has been evaluated very positively, although some important concerns have remained. An early evaluation conducted by the DPW pointed to active participation in ET (63% of registrants participated) and, overall, registrants were representative of the AFDC population (although they were somewhat more job-ready). In the first 19 months of the program 14,935 ET clients found jobs averaging wages of $5.11. While pointing out the success ET had achieved in promoting participation and in placing participants in jobs, the evaluation pointed out that wages that were high enough to encourage welfare recipients to continue working were critical to the ultimate success of the program.[21]

The first independent evaluation of ET conducted under the auspices of the American Friends Services Committee in 1986 praised the program for its success in job placement but underscored the problem of placing many ET participants in low-wage jobs. Low wages in jobs found through ET, particularly for non-white women, were found to be the program's most serious shortcoming. In their study, Ammott and Kluver compared the pre-ET package (AFDC) and the post-ET package (including continued food stamps and fuel assistance and minus work expenses such as health, child care and transportation) and found that the difference was only $59.00. They concluded that ET "has made truly important steps towards helping people on welfare move into employment but the program still fails to lift many women and their children out of poverty."[22]

Two studies sought to assess the cost effectiveness of ET for Massachusetts taxpayers. The first, sponsored by the Massachusetts Taxpayers' Foundation, attempted to determine whether the program was responsible for the decline in the AFDC caseload or if it was solely a factor of the buoyancy of the Massachusetts economy. The study concluded that both the program and the economy were responsible for the decline of the AFDC caseload and pointed out that "ET benefits both taxpayers and clients" because it represents savings for the state of at least $150

million and "helps remove the barriers to labor market participation that many welfare clients face."[23]

The second study, sponsored by the Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research also assessed the impact of ET on the reduction of welfare caseloads. The evaluation refuted the state's claims that ET reduced caseloads by 25%, arguing that changes in the AFDC eligibility guidelines brought about by the Omnibus Budget Reduction Act of 1981 and the buoyant Massachusetts economy had more effect on caseload reduction than ET. The report argues that ET has been costly and that these costs have been offset minimally by the decrease in the welfare expenditures that are due to the program.[24]

The program's formal independent evaluation was conducted by the Urban Institute under contract to the DPW in 1987 and 1988. The evaluation concluded that AFDC clients participate at a high rate, that a high proportion of them were placed in jobs and that "the overall impacts of the program on the length of welfare stay, monthly AFDC grant, employment and earnings were significant".[25] Some of the Urban Institute's major findings were that: (1) ET reduced the amount of time on AFDC by 29%; (2) ET reduced the average monthly AFDC grant by 8% (or $26), slightly higher than other workfare programs; (3) ET participants had earnings about 34% (or $390) higher than nonparticipants; (4) that 12 to 16 months after leaving ET to start a job, 72% of the job finders remained employed, 77% had left AFDC and that 76% of those who had left AFDC had not returned to the rolls; and (5) child care services for women with children under six and health insurance were strongly related to whether participants remain employed.[26]

In spite of the debate on its cost effectiveness, all agree that Massachusetts' model of employment and training represented a good strategy to upgrade the human capital of the poor. Overall, it can be said that ET provided strong incentives and opportunities for men and women on welfare who want to work to upgrade their education and skills with public support and--due to the strong positive support from political and social leaders--without the stigma usually attached to workfare programs. The main criticisms have been its cost and its relative lack of success in placing participants in good jobs--jobs at wages and with benefits that will help them stay employed or make it worthwhile for them to leave AFDC.

Latinos and ET

During the 1980s, the Latino population of Massachusetts grew dramatically. Figures from the 1990 census indicate a 70% growth. By 1990, Latinos had become the largest minority group in the state.[27] More than half of the Latino population of Massachusetts lives in Boston.

There is ample evidence that the Latino population benefitted little from the economic growth experienced by Massachusetts during the 1980s. A 1989 Boston Foundation study of poverty in Boston reported that although economic growth led to

declines in the rates of poverty for all groups and significant declines in the rates of poverty among blacks and whites, Latino poverty had declined little during the 1980s in Boston.[28] In fact, among Latino single-parent families poverty had increased. A full 75% of the Latino children in Boston live in poverty.[29]

National comparisons of economic status across states and among different racial groups have found that the socioeconomic conditions of Latinos in Boston and Massachusetts are among the worst of any racial group in the United States. A 1985 study by Chicago's Urban League comparing economic indicators among blacks and Latinos in 11 large U.S. urban areas found that Boston Latinos were the poorest of all groups.[30] By 1990, the situation was unchanged. A study conducted by the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin/Madison reported that Massachusetts Latinos had the lowest incomes and the highest rates of poverty of any Latino group in the United States.[31]

Both supply and demand factors appear to be behind these high rates of poverty among Latinos in Boston and Massachusetts. The educational attainment of Latinos in Massachusetts is quite low. In Boston, for example, 52% of Latinos over 25 had no high school diploma compared to 31% of all residents over 25. A full 34% had an educational level of less than eight years.[32] A 1985 survey conducted by the Boston Redevelopment Authority found that 39% of Latino respondents reported not speaking English well or at all. A large percentage of Hispanic families are headed by single women, keeping many Hispanic women from being able to be engaged in gainful employment.[33]

But a critical factor in explaining the pervasively negative economic experience of Latinos in Boston is the transformation of the region's economy. The division of the labor market into high skills, high-paying good jobs and low skills, low-paying marginal jobs appears to have relegated Latinos to the least hospitable sectors of the economy. Evidence from recent studies shows that most poor Latinos work, but their wages are not enough to allow them to escape poverty.[34]

By mid-decade, Latino poverty began to be reflected strongly in the AFDC caseload in the state. From 1983 to 1987, Hispanics in the caseload increased by 32%, while the number of white and black families on AFDC decreased by 11%. By October 1987, Latinos accounted for 22% of the AFDC caseload in Massachusetts.[35] In areas such as Holyoke and Lawrence, Latinos accounted for over 60% of the AFDC caseloads. In Boston, Latinos accounted for 24% of the AFDC cases in the city.[36]

In early 1985 word began to circulate among service providers in the Latino community that ET was not working for Latinos. The main argument of the Latino leaders was the lack of access of Latinos to the program. At that point, very few Latino community-based programs had been contracted by the DPW. That meant that there were both limited avenues for Latinos to enter the programs and, once there, limited opportunities for choices that met Latinos' needs (such as ESL programs, Adult Basic Education programs in Spanish, etc.).

Although this was clearly true, Amott and Kluver's evaluation of ET in 1986 pointed to additional problems as well.[37] Latino participation in ET closely approximated their representation in the AFDC caseload. The problem was that Latinos were underrepresented among ET job finders and their wages were the lowest of any group.

The Urban Institute's evaluation of ET also pointed to the fact that ET's worst program outcomes took place among Latinos. In 1987, Latinos participated in ET at rates equal to their representation in the AFDC caseload (22 percent of the ET participants were Latinos), but they accounted for only 14% of the job finders. The Urban Institute evaluators pointed out that the lower placement rates, in comparisons to both blacks and whites, "may in part reflect the fact that nearly half of the Hispanics in ET attended remedial education, from which there is a fairly low entered employment rate."[38]

Although there was never any public recognition that the worst performance and outcomes by ET Choices were taking place among Latinos, in early 1987, the Department began to develop plans to improve services to Latinos as part of a broader strategy to reach the harder-to-serve clients. Planning documents outline ambitious strategies for improving the performance of Latinos in ET. They included: changes in data collection about the group to expedite the planning process for services and job development and the monitoring program outcomes for the population; changes in ways of assessing employment opportunities in the labor market; changes in program practices and implementation; changes in the delivery of child care services; changes in the numbers of Latino/Spanish-speaking staff in local offices; training of local office staff on both the characteristics of the population and resources available to it at the community level; and individual strategies to be implemented in each of the eight local offices targeted for the initiative.[39]

The more visible evidence of the priority on the harder-to-serve Hispanics was the announcement in the spring of 1987 of the increase in the numbers of Latino community-based agencies that would receive contract for services to ET participants. In a press conference at Oficina Hispana in Boston, Governor Michael Dukakis announced the contracts being awarded to Latino community-based agencies across the state that would begin to provide services to Latino ET participants.

Description of the Study

This study focuses on the experience of Boston Latinos participating in ET. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the patterns of participation of Latinos in ET?
   (a) What are their most prevalent patterns?
   (b) What are the patterns of participation of
      - women of different ages
      - women with children of different ages

- women with different levels of education, different work experience and different lengths of welfare spell.

2. What is the relationship between the paths of participation and the outcomes for Latinos in ET?

3. What are the factors that affect the performance of Latinos in ET?
   (a) What are the individual characteristics that affect Latinos' performance in ET?
   (b) What are the program characteristics that affect Latinos' performance in ET?

The project was designed as a longitudinal panel study involving two samples of Latino participants in ET drawn from the DPW's ET Tracking System (ETTS). The first sample uses the first 75 registrants in ET beginning on July 1, 1987. It represents the universe of registrants between July 1 and October 22, 1987. Because the focus of this study is participation, and not all those who register in ET go on to participate, a second sample of participants was drawn. That includes the first 225 people who began active participation beginning on July 1. The sample represents the universe of those who began their participation between July 1 and October 27, 1987.

This sample of registrants is expected to be more reflective of the natural history of overall participation as well as of the behavior of all Latino participants in the early stages of the program (registration/enrollment/appraisal) which will not be reflected accurately in a sample of active participants. It is used on its own to establish the rate of overall participation, to describe the patterns of registration, enrollment and overall participation and to determine attrition from the registration/enrollment/appraisal process. Individuals from the sample of registrants who meet the criteria of participants (began active participation between July 1 and October 27, 1987) are included with the sample of participants in the analysis of participation paths and of outcomes.

The period of observation is July 1, 1987 through January 1990 and tracks the participants' trajectory through those 30 months. In some cases, participation preceded registration. The data set permits observation of those previous activities, so they are included in the analysis of the rates and paths of participation.

Sources of Data

The two samples were drawn by the DPW from their ETTS, which maintains data on ET participation. The samples were matched with data in the Financial Management Control System Database (FMCS) to obtain demographic and other data.[40] The data include a range of demographic variables of Latino ET participants and entry and exit dates of each program activity in which participants engaged; and for those who obtained jobs, it allows for the determination of the wages of job finders.

A self-selected sample of 30 of the 300 registrants and participants followed above was interviewed in-depth about their participation in ET. All 300 people were sent two letters requesting participation in the study; all who responded to the request were interviewed. (A full description of the interview protocol and methodology is presented in Appendix 5.)

Interviews were conducted with the directors and program managers of seven ET contractees with caseloads over 50% Latino.[41] This sample includes, primarily, community-based programs that offer a range of educational and training services.

The DPW did not give permission for a case record review to ascertain the accuracy of the ETTS and FMCS data provided by them. Errors found in the ETTS included: components listed more than once, and also entry errors (listing one program instead of another).[42] FMCS data also raised questions: the day care use data was deemed completely unreliable and discarded. Again, in this instance, the DPW did not give access to records of day care transactions available at the Department and at the Department of Social Services. To remedy the lack of information on day care use, the interviews were enhanced with additional questions on the topic to allow us to provide some information on this important area.

Although, overall, the tape data provide a good picture of the Latino participation in ET, it can be used with confidence only when triangulated with the interview data. In reporting findings, emphasis will be placed on those findings that are validated by the qualitative data.

Definitions of Concepts and Terms

Backdoor Registration/Regular Registration

Regular registrants are defined as those who registered before beginning a component. This usually takes place when the client is recruited into the program by the DPW. Backdoor registrants are those registrants who began any program component before registration. This usually took place when program contractors recruited participants to their programs and then referred them to the DPW for registration and enrollment.

Participation Path

Participation path is an individual's history of participation through ET. It describes the set of activities engaged in from the time of registration/enrollment to the outcome.

Latinos exhibited 55 distinct patterns of participation in the program. These ranged from no participation beyond registration to patterns that involved up to five different program components. Each individual's path was graphed indicating both content and timeline for the path through the program. Only paths of participation

that meet minimum standards of time on task (see substantive participation below) were included in the analysis of participation and outcomes.

Substantive Participation

Observation of the program participation data provided by the DPW showed that in many instances program participation lasted a very short time. In some cases, participation of one day or one week in ESL and Adult Basic Education programs was listed, although, clearly, this did not constitute sufficient time on task to allow for any possibility of achieving educational goals.

The concept and measurement of substantive participation was developed to differentiate those participants whose participation could potentially lead to increases of skills or knowledge that would make them more job ready. It is recognized that the assessment that substantive participation has taken place should include evaluations of curriculum, instructional approaches, teaching staff and time in the program as well as pre and post measures of achievement and competency attainment. But, in this instance, due to the limitations of the data, only time in the program could be used to measure substantive participation. Substantive participation as measured here provides the most minimal criterion--the fact that people were actually present in the program--for measuring program effectiveness or achievement of program goals and serves, primarily, to discard those instances where substantive participation is not possible due to lack of time in the program.

The specific criteria for measuring substantive participation in educational programs were based on Massachusetts Department of Education Guidelines for Program Design for ESL, ABE and GED courses.[43] These were adjusted to reflect the experience of ET clients in programs in consultation with experienced program operators.[44] The criteria for measuring substantive participation in skill training programs were more difficult to determine because of the wide variety of program types. Experienced program operators were asked what was the minimum time required for the acquirement of basic skills in skills training programs. The work of MacEachron, Wyngaarden and Holt was also useful in determining the measures.[45] In the case of Assessment and Job Placement, one day was used as the measure. Table 2 presents the definitions of substantive participation used in this study for each type of educational, training and assessment program.

Outcomes

The following outcomes from participation in ET Choices were measured for Latino participants.

1. **Job Placement**: Job placement was measured by observing if the participant obtained a job as a result of any level of participation in ET. The minimum requirement for any level is defined as enrollment, which is the least stringent criterion possible.

2. **Wages:** Wages for ET job placements were measured for all job finders. The following measures are reported:
   (a) Hourly wage in the job
   (b) Wage at or below 150% of federal poverty level adjusted for family size.

Latino Participation in ET Choices

Latinas participated actively in ET. Of the Latinas who registered (enrolled) in ET between July and October of 1987, 92% went on to receive some form of appraisal and **48% went on to participate in a program.** The overall program participation rates for Latinos in ET were comparable to those found among the overall ET population (50%),[46] and well above the program participation rates prevalent among Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients nationwide, which hovers around 40%.[47]

But participation rate, as it is generally measured, represents the rate at which people join a program, not necessarily the rate at which they actually participate. For example, in the Urban Institute's evaluation of the Massachusetts ET Program, participation is defined as "having done something beyond simply attending initial orientation and assessment".[48] "Having done something" may mean in some cases having taken ESL classes for a week, or skills training for a day, and in others a full year of college courses and over 300 days of ESL. Clearly, there are differences in participation.

In this study, the rate of substantive program participation was also measured. Substantive program participation goes beyond the usual measure of participation and assesses whether the person was enrolled in the program for a sufficient amount of time for actual benefits to accrue. (The criteria for substantive participation in the different ET programs is discussed in the previous section.) As expected, when the more stringent criteria for participation are applied, the rates decrease substantially. **Substantive participation for Latinos, that is, participation that has the potential of leading to increased skills or knowledge, was 41%.**

Analysis of the data show that both participation and substantive participation of Latinos is not associated with individual background variables. In the case of participation, defined as having done something beyond appraisal, only the number of dependents was weakly associated. On the other hand, program-related variables had a much stronger association. Both method of registration and appraisal were associated with the participation of Latinas in ET. The same was true for substantive participation.

The analysis of the program participation data illuminated several patterns in the participation of Latinos in ET. The first, already pointed out by the Urban Institute in its evaluation, was the overwhelming presence of Latinos in educational programs; 66% of the Latina participants were involved in an education program,

Table 2
Definition of Substantive Participation
in Employment and Training Programs

Program	Definition of Substantive Participation
Assessment	One day. Rationale: A person could receive a battery of tests in this time period.
Adult Basic Education	Twenty weeks. Rationale: This is the time necessary for a participant to go from one ABE level to another.
College Education	Fourteen weeks. Rationale: This is the time period equivalent to one semester.
ESL	Twelve weeks. Rationale: This is the time period necessary to go from one ESL level to the next.
Job Placement	One day. Rationale: A person could attend a workshop or receive a referral for a job in this time period.
Skills Training	Four weeks. Rationale: This is the minimal time period required to achieve competence in a skill.
Supported Work	Four weeks. Rationale: This is the minimal time period required for participation.

most of them in Adult Basic Education and ESL (56%). The study documents the lack of participation in skills training and supported work programs. The study documents also that the factors associated with participation in each of the programs vary and that, although there is evidence that Latinos are tracked into some programs and away from others, both individual and program factors are important in understanding this pattern of participation.

Secondly, Latinos tend to participate in single programs rather than in a combination of programs. Eighty-one percent were involved substantively in a single program. By contrast the pattern of participation of the overall ET population is one characterized by participation in far more programs in combination with other

programs than single programs on their own.[49] This is important because it has been found elsewhere that integration of skills and educational programs is the most successful strategy with this population.

The next part of the report describes the findings on the participation of Latinas in ET. It describes first the characteristics of Latinos in ET and compares them with those of the overall ET population. Secondly, it describes Latino participation in each of the program junctures: in enrollment and appraisal, in assessment and in the activity programs themselves. Finally, it discusses the factors associated with participation.

In the first section, the data includes both men and women, but since only a small percentage of the participants were men, the discussion of all aspects of program participation is based on the data on Latinas only. Throughout, the findings include reports of analyses of the program participation data provided by the DPW as well as the data from interviews with program contractors and participants.

Characteristics of Latinos in ET

Marta is Dominican, 35 years old. She has four children, from toddler age to early teens.

> *I worked in a factory when I was 17, then in another one in Puerto Rico after I left my country. From that in a restaurant, a cafeteria, wherever I could find work, because I like to work.*
>
> *I was on welfare for a few months when I first arrived in Boston, then I got the job in the hotel and that was it. Welfare, you know, they give it to you, but they control your life. I felt like a woman tied, it feels like if you were an animal tied to a tree. I am much too independent to allow anyone so much control over me.*
>
> *I wanted to get a good job. But I need to increase my education and I need more English to get a good job. I saw a sign on the street and it said "English as a second language: come and learn". I went and signed up. From them I found out about ET and they showed me where I could get a job. I went and I got a job in the hotel the same day.*" (#2;3/13/91)

Marta, a single mother with young children, less than a high school education and no English ability, is typical of many Latinas in ET. She found ET through her efforts to learn English in order to get a good job. Although happy that she is earning a living independently, she worries about the kind of job she has.

> *I want to better my job. It's hard for a single mother with so many kids.*

Mora's story begins somewhat differently in Peru, where she worked as a teacher after going to college. But, once she arrived in Boston six years ago with her husband, mother and four children, she was able to get work only in a food packing plant. Mora wants to work as a teacher.

> *I would like to begin as an aide in a school. What I aspire to is to give from the experience gained from what I was before.*
>
> *I went on my own to apply for an English language class. To tell you the truth I knew nothing about ET. I just wanted to work, I did not want to continue on welfare. But I found that my lack of English was an obstacle. To work, I feel, would help me to develop little by little, would help me to become more independent. I need English very badly, to work, to communicate with the teachers and to be able to share what is going on with me."* (#24;4/4/91)

I, thank God, don't have that problem, says Ana, *I speak English better than Spanish.* Ana has lived in Boston for six years. Before that she lived in New York and Pennsylvania. She came to the United States from Puerto Rico in 1965. Ana left school in the 11th grade and, as she says, *have been working since I was 14.* She has worked as a stock person, a cleaning worker, and security guard, all jobs with very low wages. She is the mother of two children ages 7 and 2 and cares for her nephew, 14.

> *I was looking to finish school. It was impossible to study and work and take care of the children. I wanted to finish school and get a job and get out of welfare, that's why I got into welfare in the first place. And they helped me. I went through high school and then some college, working full time sometimes, but mostly part time at night. ET helped me with child care and the bus fare. I knew I was capable of learning and I had to try everything. I had to do it for my children.* (#31;3/22/91)

Like Ana, Jenny is from Puerto Rico. She has lived in the South End for more than 20 years. She came from Puerto Rico at age 7, returned at 14, came back in Boston at 17 and stayed. She went through Boston public schools until 10th grade when she became pregnant.

> *Two years later, I went to Roxbury Community College for my GED. I just went, took the test and passed and I said to myself, hey I'm more intelligent than I thought. So I enrolled in the courses for legal secretary, but after two years I had to leave when I got pregnant again.* (#12;3/7/91)

But she returned. This time she heard about ET through a teacher and went to her welfare worker and requested training in computers and word processing. Nine months later she got a job in city hall.

The different life stories and the similar goals provide a good entry point to the description of who are the Latinos in ET. The Latinos in ET are overwhelmingly

women in their 20s and 30s; the average age is 31. The majority of Latino participants have a high school education or less, and, although many have work experience, the interviews with ET participants indicate that some work experience has taken place in the country of origin (in some cases immigration has meant considerable downward mobility) and that most employment in Boston (and in the United States) has been in low-wage jobs, such as receptionists, housekeepers, factory workers, and cooks.

Interviews also indicate that Latinos/as who participate in ET come from a variety of Latin American countries, although most are Puerto Rican. Of the 30 people interviewed, 15 came from Puerto Rico and 11 came from the Dominican Republic. The rest came from Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia and Peru.

Table 3 presents the demographic characteristics of Latino participants in ET and contrasts them with the characteristics of all participants as reported in the evaluation conducted by the Urban Institute and in reports of the DPW. In general, Latino participants share with other groups the over-representation of women in ET, although it is more pronounced among Latinos. Latinos appear to be a somewhat older group of participants than the general population, but the differences are very slight. The average age of Latinos, 31 years, reflects the mid-age range among Latino poor in Boston.[50] It also reflects the fact that, as is substantiated by interviews, Latinas tend to wait until their children are older to begin participation in work, education and training.

Differences in educational and work experience are considerably more pronounced. Latino participants have three times the rate of those persons with less than 8 years of schooling and a lower rate of people who have completed high school or gone on to college. In terms of employment experience, Latinas have a much higher percentage (three times higher) with no previous work experience than the early ET participants, as reported by the DPW.[51]

Finally, Latinos appear to have less of a welfare experience than the overall participant population. Fifty-six percent of Latinos compared to 43% of the overall population had been on welfare (last spell) for a year or less. Conversely, a slightly lower percentage of Latinos had a last spell of more than 5 years. This may reflect both the well-reported underrepresentation of Latinos in need of social welfare and income maintenance programs as well as the frequent movement between welfare and low-wage jobs that is apparent from the interviews conducted for this study.

Getting into ET: Enrollment and Appraisal

The method for entry into the program was a factor in Latinas' participation although not in their outcomes. This section discusses the registration/enrollment/appraisal process, including analysis of how Latinos entered the ET program, the extent to which Latinos were oriented to the program and the attrition of Latinos from

the program following the registration/enrollment and appraisal process. Beginning in this section, and for the rest of the report, only the experience of Latinas will be reported since the participation of men is so small.

Table 3
Characteristics of Latino Participants and All Participants in ET Choices, 1987
(Percent of Participants)

Characteristics	Latino Participants*	All Participants**
Gender		
Female	96.44	89.47
Male	3.56	10.53
Age		
Under 18 yrs	2.03	11.55
19 to 25 yrs	24.39	21.46
26 to 35 yrs	45.53	44.51
Over 36 yrs	28.05	22.39
Education		
8 yrs or less	17.59	6.44
9 to 11 yrs	27.59	13.89
High school	15.17	20.70
College	9.66	13.32
Unknown	30.00	45.65
Primary language		
English	52.65	n/a
Work experience		
Never worked	30.05	
		13.20 ***
Current AFDC spell		
12 months or less	56.00	42.73
Over 60 months	13.79	15.99
Dependents		
No child	4.48	1.08
Child 5 or less	59.76	
Youngest child 5 or less	n/a	62.13

*N = 246
**Source: The Urban Institute, pp. 32-34 (Participant Group, FY 1987)
***Source: Department of Public Welfare, 1986

Registration and Enrollment

Interviews show that Latinos got to the ET program in two ways. Some were registered and enrolled by their DPW social worker and others were enrolled in ET after beginning in a training or educational program in an agency with a contract for ET services. Backdoor registration, as this latter path is known, indicates the extent to which clients are being recruited to the program from outside the DPW, that is, by agencies providing employment and training services.

Table 4 presents the rates of backdoor registration among the registrant and participant samples. For the purposes of analysis, we are defining backdoor registrants as those registrants that began a component before registration. Regular registrants are defined as those who registered before beginning a component. Although backdoor registration is not a large phenomena in the context of the overall program, it does seem to be significant among those who do go on to become active participants.

Table 4
Backdoor Registration

	Percent of Registrants	Percent of Participants
Registration after the start of a component	8	78

While only 8% of the registrants registered through the backdoor, 78% of the participants did so. This seems to indicate that **agencies providing employment and training services play a large role in the recruitment of Latino participants in the ET program.** Interviews with ET contractors serving Latinos confirm this. They report that the main source of referrals for their ET-funded programs came from their own waiting lists and from self-referrals and that the fewest referrals came from the ET offices.

Table 5 presents a comparison of the subsequent path through the program of backdoor and regular registrants. Among backdoor registrants, appraisal was the first activity after enrollment for 84%, while 77% of the regular registrants received this initial orientation and information about program choices and assessment of the need for support services. There appears to be substantial difference among the groups in terms of attrition after the registration/enrollment process. **Among backdoor registrants, 29% do not go on to start a program component while 55% of the regular registrants end their participation at this point.** The association

between registration and program participation (r=-.378, p=.05) is the strongest factor of all the factors tested against participation.

Of the backdoor registrants, 70% went on to participate substantively in ET programs, while 30% of the regular registrants did so. There is a strong association between method of registration and substantive participation (r=.295, p<.001) that appears to indicate that ET contractors not only are recruiting Latinos to the program but that they are involving them actively.

Because program contractors have such a hand in bringing Latinas into the program, backdoor registration does have a relationship to the path that participants take through the program. The primary feeder programs for Latinos into ET are the English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, the Independent Development and Placement program (IDP) of the Division of Employment Security and the Adult Basic Education programs. Among backdoor registrants, most participated in educational programs--25% participated in ESL and 17% participated in an ABE program. Among regular registrants, the most frequent program was the IDP program; 23% of the women participated in this program.

Table 5
Path after Registration for Backdoor and Regular Registrants
(Percent of All Participants)

Path	Backdoor Registrants	Regular Registrants
Appraisal was the first activity after enrollment	84	77
Left ET before participating in a program	29* **	55* **
Received intensive assessment/career planning	26*	14*
Most frequent first program after registration	ESL	IDP***
Substantive participation after registration	70*	30*
Placed in a job	28	28

*Chi square probability = .01
**Of Latino ET registrants sample n = 75
***Individual Development and Placement, the job placement service offered through the Division of Employment Security

Although, backdoor registration appears to be a factor in program participation, it is not a factor in the eventual outcome. **The same percentage of backdoor and regular registrants were placed in jobs.**

Characteristics of Backdoor and Regular Registrants

Overall, backdoor registrants tend to be substantially older than regular registrants and a higher percentage are Spanish speakers than regular registrants. In terms of education and work experience, the groups are comparable. But they differ rather dramatically in both the number and the age of their dependents. Women entering the program in the regular manner tend to have fewer children and their children tend to be younger (pre-school age). Among backdoor registrants, the number of children range from none to seven; 29% of the women have one child or less, one third have two children and 37% have three or more children. Among regular registrants, 46% have one child or less, 23% have two children and 31% have three or more children; the number of children range from none to six.

A higher percentage of women who enter ET in the regular manner have pre-school children (65%); less than one-third of those entering through the backdoor have children of this age. Conversely, the children of backdoor registrants tend to be of school age, 68%; 53% of the children of regular registrants are in that age bracket. There are also differences among the groups in terms of their tenure as welfare recipients, as reflected in the length of their last welfare spell. For one-third of the backdoor registrants, their last welfare spell was six months or less; 43% of the regular registrants had been in welfare for six months or less. Conversely, one-quarter of the regular registrants had a last spell of over two years while one-third of the backdoor registrants had experienced a last spell of that length.

More than anything else, the differences among the two groups of registrants reflect the differences in client reach of the welfare department and the ET contractors. The department seems to reach the younger woman with fewer and younger children and with a shorter welfare spell. They are also slightly more proficient in English. On the other hand, the ET contractors are reaching the older woman, with children of school age and with a longer welfare spell and less English proficiency. Both are attracting hard-to-serve clients, but ET contractors seem to be recruiting Latinos that are slightly **harder to serve--in terms of age, English proficiency, length of welfare spell and number of children--and involving them actively in programs.**

Orientation and Appraisal

Orientation and appraisal are usually part of the program registration and enrollment process. The responsibility for enrolling, orienting and appraising AFDC clients entering ET is that of the social workers in the DPW's field offices. In fact,

Table 6
Demographic Characteristics of Backdoor and Regular Registrants
(Percent of Registrants)

Characteristics	Regular Registrants	Backdoor Registrants
Age		
Under 18 yrs	5	0.6
19 to 25 yrs	33	20
26 to 35 yrs	38	50
Over 36 yrs	23	29
Primary language		
English	56	51
Education		
8 yrs or less	21	27
9 to 11 yrs	41	38
High school	26	21
College	12	14
Children		
No children	46	29
Two children	23	34
More than 2 children	31	37
Child <= 5 years	65	32
Child >= 6 years	53	68
Work experience		
Never worked	37	36
Duration of last welfare spell		
6 months or less	43	34
Over 2 years	26	33

there is interview evidence that clients were encouraged by social workers to seek alternatives to AFDC, to get educated and look for jobs, and many referred to their social workers as helpful, particularly in arranging child care and transportation.

There is also evidence from DPW records that a high rate of Latinos received some orientation and appraisal, but that, in fact, appraisal was negatively associated with subsequent participation ($r=-.157, p=.05$). Interview data sheds light on what appear to be important deficiencies in the way Latinos were oriented to the program.

Several members of focus groups (conducted in preparation for the in-depth interviews) indicated that they did not know they were in the ET program. Several participants responded *no* to initial questions about ever having been involved in ET

yet indicated they had participated in one or more program component. Many had not been exposed to any formal orientation about how the program functioned nor were they given enough information to discern one type of program from another or the offerings of one type of program or another.

Interviews with participants and program contractors point to two reasons for the ineffectiveness of the appraisal and orientation process: language barriers, affecting primarily those persons appraised by the DPW, and lack of definition of the responsibility for orientation of clients, particularly those who register through the backdoor.

Language was a major barrier between Latino clients and the DPW's social workers in this process. Several of the women interviewed referred to language barriers as an impediment to communication and guidance in the ET process. The women said they could not understand the worker's directions and explanations and, even when told of the problem, workers seldom made efforts to alleviate it by using a translator. *He kept talking as if I understood even though I told him I couldn't,* one said, *he would not get an interpreter.* Or, another would say: *She said that I understood enough, but I didn't,* reflecting the problems of the person who knows enough English to get by but not enough to understand clearly the complexities of a program such as ET. Although communication is an essential part of the role of the case manager in any casework process, it appears that in many cases this communication could not take place adequately because of language.

Another issue that affected the extent of the orientation of Latinas in ET concerned program operators of contracted services--who recruited many Latino clients to the program--who did not claim responsibility for orienting clients in the overall ET Choices program or explore with them options available elsewhere. Program operators said their responsibility was to recruit clients to *their* programs, to provide a good program and to ensure that program participants had the necessary paperwork to enroll in ET and receive support services, such as day care and transportation, when they were needed. Both **orientation and program selection were seen by contractors as the responsibility of the DPW and not as part of their contract.**

With the effectiveness of the DPW workers hampered by language barriers and without clear lines of responsibility and accountability for the overall orientation of Latino clients enrolling in ET from the programs, the orientation of Latinas fell through the cracks. Both the case data and the interviews provide evidence that the lack of information and overall understanding of the extent and implications of the program had an effect on attrition from the program at this point. Of those appraised, 20% did not go on to participate in any program; 27% did not participate substantively. As one woman who left the program expressed it,

> *...maybe if they would have explained well the program and the benefits that it would have provided me for the future--like work--maybe I would have made more of a sacrifice and would have benefitted more from the program.* (#26;4/4/91)

Program Participation of Latinas in ET

In their time in the ET Choices Program, Latinas in the study participated in 1,571 distinct activities which spanned from assessment to job placement services and through most of the programs offered by ET Choices. Most of those who participated in programs participated in educational ones; more than half of the Latinas were involved in Adult Basic Education (ABE), a General Education Diploma (GED) program or English as a Second Language (ESL). Much less utilized were the skills training programs. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) accounted for less than 6% of the participation, and only two participants used supported work programs.

Table 7 compares the rate of participation by Latinas in the different programs with those found in the overall ET participant population. Lower percentages of Latinos underwent assessment and career planning than the overall participant group. Latino percentages were also lower in all vocational and skills training programs, in direct job placement and in supported work. They were underrepresented in college educational programs. Latinos were more strongly represented only in basic education and ESL programs.

The analysis of the participation of Latinos in employment and training programs has three goals: (1) to describe the paths of participation through the program, (2) to describe the paths of participation of different subgroups (age groups, women with children of school age, women of different educational levels, etc.), and (3) to check for evidence that program placement was affected by the tendency to select applicants perceived to be more job-ready in some programs (creaming) or if there was a

Table 7
Program Activities of Latinas in ET
(Percent of Participants)

Activity	Latina Participants*	All Participants**
Career planning/assessment	21	24
Job placement	22	33
Supported work	1	11
Skills training	22	33
Basic education/ESL	56	24
College education	10	27

*N = 73
**Source: The Urban Institute, 1990

tendency to steer participants with given characteristics to predetermined programs (tracking).

We begin with the assessment process and then proceed to the discussion of the educational, skill training and job placement programs.

The Assessment Process

Assessment involves the in-depth evaluation of participants' educational and skill development needs to help them become job-ready. Of the Latino registrants, 15% received this service; 21% of the active participants were assessed.[52]

Demographically, those assessed tended to be in the mid-age cohorts, Spanish speakers and with less than a high school education. Those who participated in assessment tended to have a prior employment history and to have earned slightly lower wages in their last job than those not assessed. Those assessed also tended to have a slightly shorter last welfare spell. Assessment is more frequent among those with children over six. But none of these variables were statistically associated with receiving assessment.

Recruitment from contracting agencies appears to have a bearing on Latinas receiving this service. The rate of assessment among backdoor registrants was twice that of the regular registrants although the association was weak and not statistically significant. Those who had assessment tended to have lower rates of substantive participation, but this association was also not statistically significant. A rather strong tendency to route Latinos to esl appears regardless of whether they are assessed or not. In the evaluation of ET conducted by the Urban Institute, assessment showed a slight effect on job placement and wages. Among Latinos there was no association between having assessment and either job placement or wages.

Overall the assessment process seems to have little significance in the participation and outcomes of Latinos in ET. Interview data shed no light on this issue since only two interviewees reported having participated in any kind of testing, in-depth evaluation of their skills and educational level or any other assessment-like activity.

Participation Paths

This section focuses on substantive participation and the paths that Latinas took through the program. A participation path is the set of programs that participants engaged in during the observation period. Latinas exhibited over 55 distinct combinations of programs. Some involved one program (such as ESL) taken over and over as the person advanced over time from one level to another. Others involved combinations of programs (such as ABE, GED, and then a Skill Training Program) taken in sequence. Although, in concept, the process should be one of orderly progression, as in those examples above, seldom was it completely that way. Still

some patterns emerged that allowed for the organization of the 150 different sets of activities into seven paths of substantive participation. They are:

1. **The ESL Path.** By far the most frequent, it involved participation in ESL only.

2. **The Basic Education Path.** Another frequent route, this path involved primarily remedial education and GED programs.

3. **The College Education Path.** Participants in this path were involved in college-level educational programs, sometimes in combination with other educational programs or ESL.

4. **The Job Placement Path.** This involved participation in the Independent Development and Placement (IDP) Service of the Division of Employment Security. This was the second most frequent path.

5. **The Skills Training Path.** This involved participation in a variety of skill training programs.

6. **The Combined Skills Training and Education Paths.** This involved the sequencing of educational and skills training programs.

7. **The Combined Skills Training, Education and Job Placement Paths.** Same as above but with the addition of the job placement service.

Table 8
Participation in and Path after Assessment
(Percent of Participants)

Participation/Path	Assessment	No Assessment
Percent of all ET participants	24*	76*
Percent of Latino participants	21	79
Percent of backdoor registrants	14	86
Percent of regular registrants	15	85
Percent that became substantive participants	68	77
Most frequent path	ESL Skill Training	ESL IDP**
Job placement rate	31	27

*Urban Institute, 1990, p. 38
**Individual Development and Placement offered through the Division of Employment Security

Although most major program areas offered by ET are represented, there is a strong prevalence of remedial educational programs. ESL is the most frequent path for Latinos, highlighting the value placed by Latinos on learning English. Overall, **more than 60% of Latino substantive participants were involved in a path that included educational programs.**

On the other hand, skills training paths were underrepresented. These include JTPA programs, programs run by the Bay State Skills Corporation, supported work programs and programs run by other contractors. **JTPA accounted for only 2.8% of substantive skills training; no Latinos were involved substantively in programs run by the Bay State Skills Corporation or supported work.** The bulk of the Latinos involved in skills training programs were involved in programs run by other contractors.

Table 9
Paths of Substantive Participation by Latinos
(Percent of Participants)

Path	Substantive Participants
ESL Path Participation only in ESL programs	26.73
Basic Education Path Participation in ABE and GED programs	17.97
College Education Path Participation in educational activities at a college or university	7.37
Job Placement Path Participation only in job placement and job development	20.28
Skills Training Path Participation in JTPA and other skills training programs	14.74
Combined Skills Training and Education Paths Participation in a combination of skills training and education programs	7.83
Combined Skills Training, Education, Job Placement Paths Participation in a combination of education, skills training and job development/job placement programs	5.99

Characteristics of Participants in the Program Paths

Table 10 presents the demographic characteristics of the participants in the different paths. There are some important differences between the types of people who engage in the different programs. The differences seem to suggest, although not conclusively, that some programs--particularly the skills training programs--tend to select with a demographic profile that favors both job readiness and the capacity to earn higher wages--i.e., higher educational attainment, previous work experience, shorter welfare spells, younger women and women with fewer children.

ESL Path: Those participants who participated only in ESL programs tended to be women over 26. Age was the only factor associated statistically with participation in ESL programs, although it was not a strong relationship ($r=.113$, $p<.05$). Although one would expect language to show a strong association, this was not the case; almost half of the women in ESL programs spoke English, although they may not have been completely proficient in the language.

Although more than a quarter of them had a high school education or more, women in these programs had comparable educational attainment to even those in the Basic Education Path. Women in ESL programs tended to have more children and a larger percentage of them had children of school age in comparison with the women in the other paths. Women in ESL programs had substantially longer welfare spells than those attending other programs although most of them had worked before.

Although the high participation of Latinos in ESL programs is expected, it was surprising not to find a statistically significant association between language and participation in ESL. It is unclear, though, whether this is a result of error in the determination of language proficiency, or a reflection of the structure of ESL programs, or a reflection of the tracking of Latinos to ESL regardless of language ability. There is evidence that welfare workers--who determine the language proficiency of clients in filling out the forms, overestimate the extent of English proficiency among Latinos. That is, a person who can get by in English for routine matters in the welfare office may in fact not be English proficient and require ESL. It is also known that ESL courses, especially at the higher levels, include people who may be fluent in speaking English but less able to read and write English and therefore continue in ESL courses. Nevertheless, the finding that such a large percentage of persons whose *primary language* has been determined to be English in ESL programs is unexpected.

Basic Education Path: Participants in ABE/GED programs spanned all the age ranges but tended to have more representation from the older cohorts. They tended to be English speakers with less than a high school education, the vast majority with children of school age. The majority of the women in this path had a last welfare spell of more than six months and had never worked before. Participants

Table 10
Selected Demographic Characteristics of Participants by Participation Path

Character-istics	No Sub	ESL	Basic Ed	Coll Ed	Job Place	Skills Train	Comb Sk/Ed	Comb Sk/Ed/IDP
Age								
< 18 yrs	4.11	0.00	5.13	0.00	2.27	2.41	0.00	0.00
19-25 yrs	23.29	20.69	25.64	43.75	11.36	25.17	40.00	15.38
26-35 yrs	47.95	44.83	43.59	50.00	43.18	45.52	40.00	61.54
> 36 yrs	24.66	34.48	25.64	6.25	43.18	26.90	20.00	23.08
Primary language								
English	52.05	48.28	53.85	68.75	44.19	62.50	66.67	53.85
Children								
0 to 1 child	36.99	25.86	30.77	37.50	45.45	53.13	20.00	30.77
2 children	32.88	29.31	33.33	25.00	20.45	21.87	46.67	30.77
3 children	30.14	44.83	35.90	37.50	34.09	25.00	33.33	38.46
< 5 yrs	57.53	50.00	61.54	87.50	45.45	71.87	86.67	46.15
> 6 yrs	64.38	72.41	66.67	43.75	70.45	43.75	46.67	61.54
Last welfare spell								
6 mos	54.79	31.03	40.24	25.00	43.18	37.50	26.67	30.77
> 2 yrs	33.16	46.16	37.50	34.48	22.73	18.75	53.34	30.77
Education								
< 8 yrs	26.42	25.00	25.00	8.33	31.82	17.39	0.00	16.67
9 to 11 yrs	45.28	47.50	41.94	8.33	40.91	39.13	40.00	8.33
High schl/GED	22.64	15.00	12.90	16.67	22.73	26.09	40.00	58.33
College	5.66	12.50	6.45	66.67	4.55	17.39	20.00	16.67
Work exp								
Never wkd	32.08	42.50	54.84	41.67	18.18	39.13	30.00	16.67

in basic education programs in fact had the highest rate of women without prior work experience in comparison to participants of other programs. Both work experience and length of last welfare spell were statistically associated with participation in this path ($r=-.162$, $p<05$ and $r=.132$, $p<.05$, respectively). This is the path for the mother of school age kids who has a low level of education and has never worked before.

College Education Path: Participation in the college programs offered through ET was associated with age ($r=-.121$, $p<.05$), education ($r=.122$, $p<.05$) and having younger children ($r=.140$, $p<.05$). Most of the women going to college under the ET program were 19 to 36 years of age; most had gone to college before joining ET. Most were women with preschool age children. Women in these programs tended to have worked before and were overwhelmingly English speakers. This is the path for the younger, more educated mother with work potential.

Job Placement Path: By contrast, women who had only job placement as an ET service tended to be older, with substantially less education, and no preschool children. All were found to be significantly associated with this path ($r=.165$, $p<.01$; $r=-.184$, $p<.01$; $r=-.116$, $p=.05$, respectively). What they share with the college group is their work experience. An overwhelming amount of these women (82%) had worked previously and this association was also found to be significant ($r=.162$, $p<.05$). Women in this path tended to be Spanish speakers. This is the path for the older mother, with little education, who has worked before.

Skills Training Path: Skills training on the other hand was the path for the younger mother with children of preschool age, with less than a high school degree but who had worked before. Both age and age of children were associated with participation in this path ($r=-.182$, $p<.01$ and $r=-.138$, $p=.01$, respectively). Women in skills training programs had had a shorter last welfare spell and the majority were English speakers.

Combined Skills Training and Education Paths: Like that of the college path, the profile of the participants in this path are among the most job ready. Women were 19 to 36, most had a high school education, most had less than two preschool children, most were English proficient and an overwhelming number had worked before. But unlike the college path participants, this was the path for the younger, less educated mother who had a longer welfare spell. Both the length of the last welfare spell and having a child of preschool age were associated statistically with participation in this path ($r=.125$, $p<.05$ and $r=.132$, $p<.05$, respectively).

Combined Skills Training, Education and Job Placement Paths: Women in these paths tended to be the older, English-speaking, with school age children and with more education. Education, in fact, was the only characteristic associated with this path ($r=.139$, $p<.05$).

Finally, the data show the demographic makeup of those who are not substantive participants. Their profile is similar to that of the participants in basic education programs in terms of age, language, education and age of children. But unlike them, most have work experience. This indicates that Adult Basic Education programs were reaching out to those women most likely not be involved in ET programs and helping them become active participants.

In sum, the college and combined skills training and education paths include the younger, more educated women with some work experience and more likely to get a good job. The skills training and job placement tracks, on the other hand, seem to be populated by job ready women, but not necessarily those who will attain good wages. ESL and ABE programs, the most popular paths, include women who are less job ready due to educational deficiencies and less work experience. Although there is no consistent pattern of creaming, there is indication of a tendency for those who have the potential for both job placement and higher wages to be in college and combined skills training and education paths.

Within-Group Patterns of Participation

The within-group participation paths tell a similar story. In this case, the comparison involves looking at how the women with different characteristics participated in the program. The participation patterns of age and educational groups, of English and Spanish speakers, of women with differences in the numbers and ages of dependents, of women with different work experience and length of welfare spell will be summarized.

The Participation Paths of Women of Different Age Groups: Latinas under 18 had the lowest rate of substantive participation of any age group. (They also had one of the lowest overall participation rates of any age group of Latinos). Most Latinas under 18 participated in ABE/GED programs, and to a lesser extent in the Independent Development and Placement program. This reflects the fact that most Latinos in ET in this age group had not finished high school. Their paths are exclusively single program paths; no Latinos of this age level participated in more than one program type. (See Figure 2.)

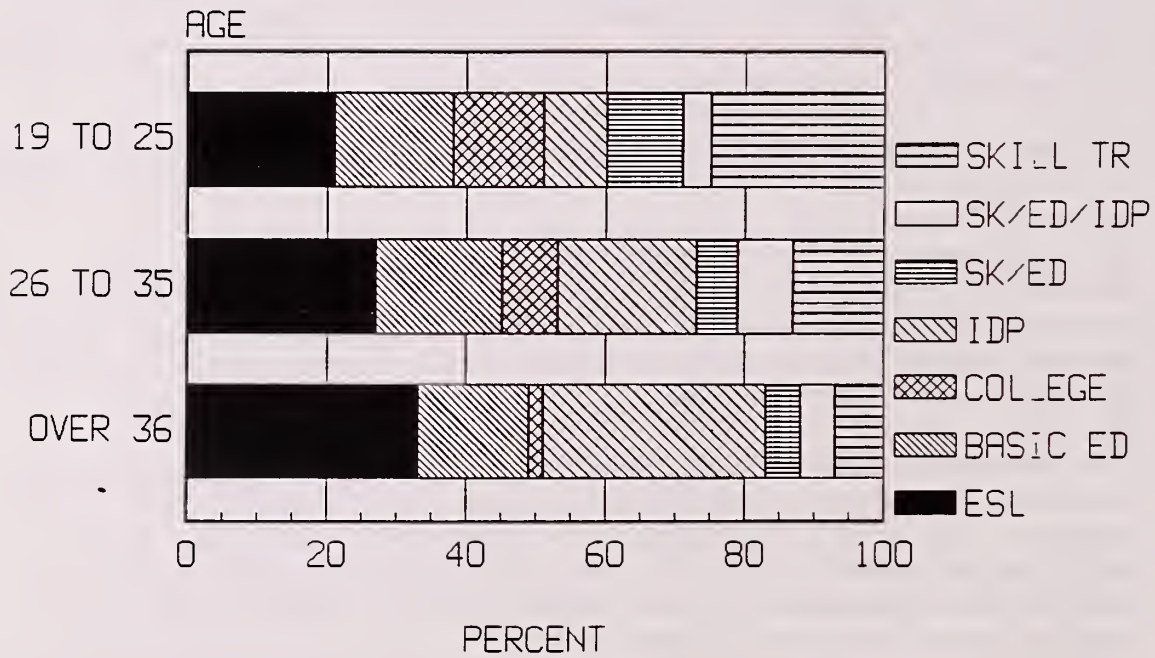
Among those aged 19 to 25, the pattern is somewhat different. The largest proportion participated in skills training programs, followed by ESL, ABE and GED programs. This group had somewhat more involvement in combined skills training and education program than the younger cohort, but less than those who are older. Latinos in this age group also had the highest rates of substantive participation.

Participants aged 25 to 35 showed the most even distribution of their numbers through all the programs. The least amount of tracking occurs among this group. ESL programs claim the largest percentage of age 36 and over.

The Participation Paths of English and Spanish Speakers: The most salient observation of the paths of participants with different primary languages is their similarity. They resemble each other in their rates of substantive participation (with Spanish speakers being somewhat higher), in their rates of participation in ABE/GED programs, combined paths, and even in their rates of participation in ESL. When participants' primary language was listed as English and they appeared to have the same rates of participation in ESL programs, we may be seeing how primary language was determined at the time of collecting this data for the DPW. This might not reflect the actual English proficiency of the participants. Also the higher levels of ESL programs may have been used by persons who spoke some English in order to perfect the dominance of the language. Both of the above are supported by data from participant interviews. (See Figure 3.)

The Participation Paths of Women of Different Educational Groups: Latinos with an educational level of less than 8th grade tended to be concentrated in ESL and ABE/GED programs or not have had any substantive participation at all.

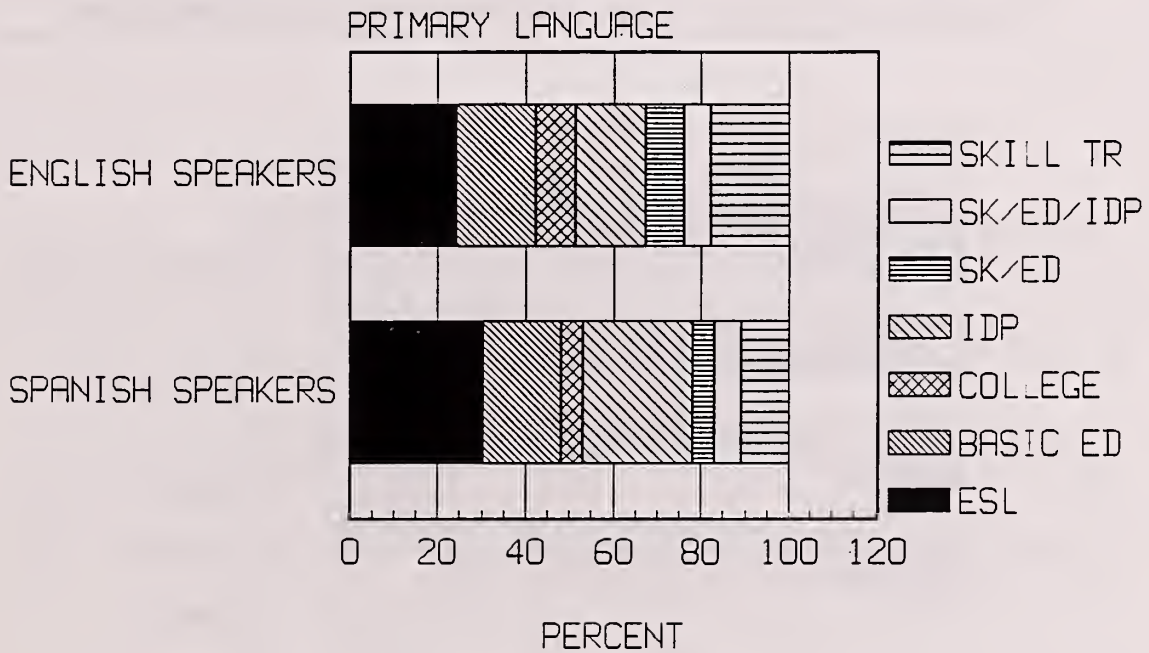
Figure 2
Participation Path of Women of Different Age Groups



Very low percentages of their group participated in other types of programs. Latinos with an educational level between 9th and 11th grade and those who have graduated from high school tended to have similar rates of substantive participation and have had similar rates of participation in ABE/GED and combined basic education paths. A lower percentage of high school graduates were participants in ESL and IDP paths and a higher percentage of them were participants in combined program paths. Those with a college level education had the highest rates of substantive participation and the highest rates of participation in skills related paths. (See Figure 4.)

The Participation Paths of Women and Their Work Experience: The highest percentages of Latinos who had never worked before joining ET were participating in ESL and ABE/GED programs while those who had worked had higher rates of participation in skills training and combined skills training paths as well as in the job placement services (IDP). (See Figure 5.)

Figure 3
Participation Path of English and Spanish Speakers

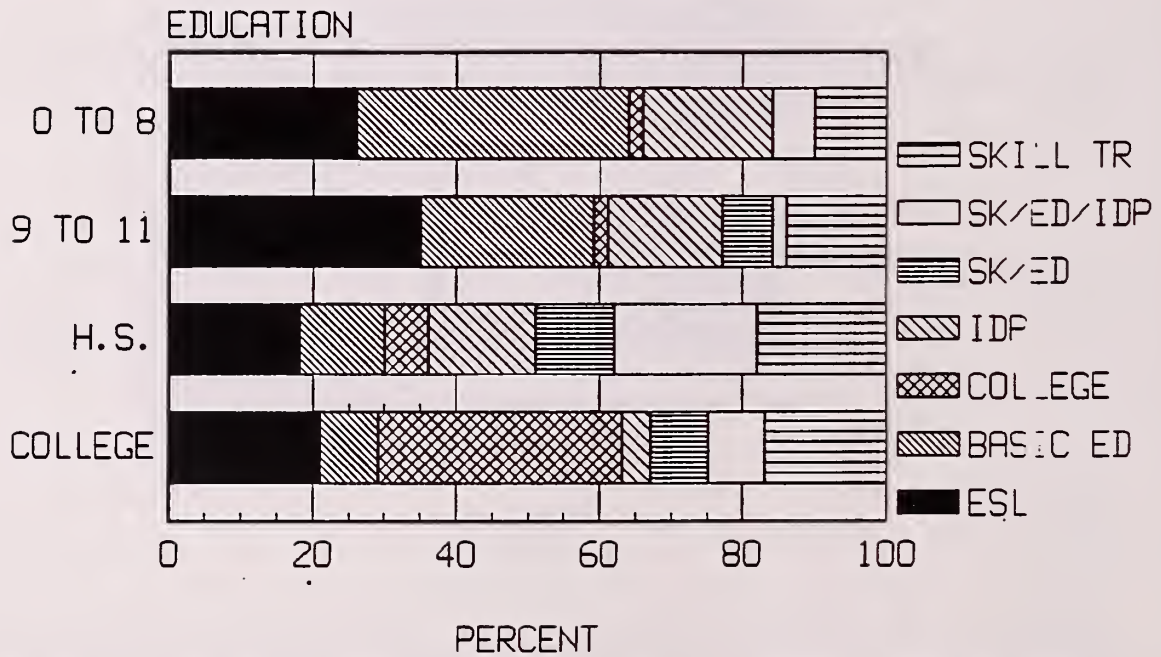


The Participation Path of Women and Their Last Welfare Spell. Women with longer welfare spells (over two years) tended to be concentrated in ESL and basic education programs, while those with shorter welfare spells tended to be found in ESL, job placement and skills training programs. (See Figure 6.)

The Participation Paths of Women and the Number and Age of Their Dependents. Women with children 5 years and under also had an even distribution of their participation, perhaps the best of any group. They tended to concentrate in single program paths, emphasizing ESL, ABE/GED and skills training. By contrast, the highest percentage of those with school age children were participating primarily in ESL and the job placement programs. The tendency was for those with school to be less represented in skill training programs. (See Figure 7.)

Those women with only one child or with no children tended to be participating in IDP and skills training program, although this is much influenced by age as well. Women with two or more children (almost 50% of them) were participating in either ESL or basic education programs. (See Figure 8.)

Figure 4
Participation Path of Women of Different Educational Groups

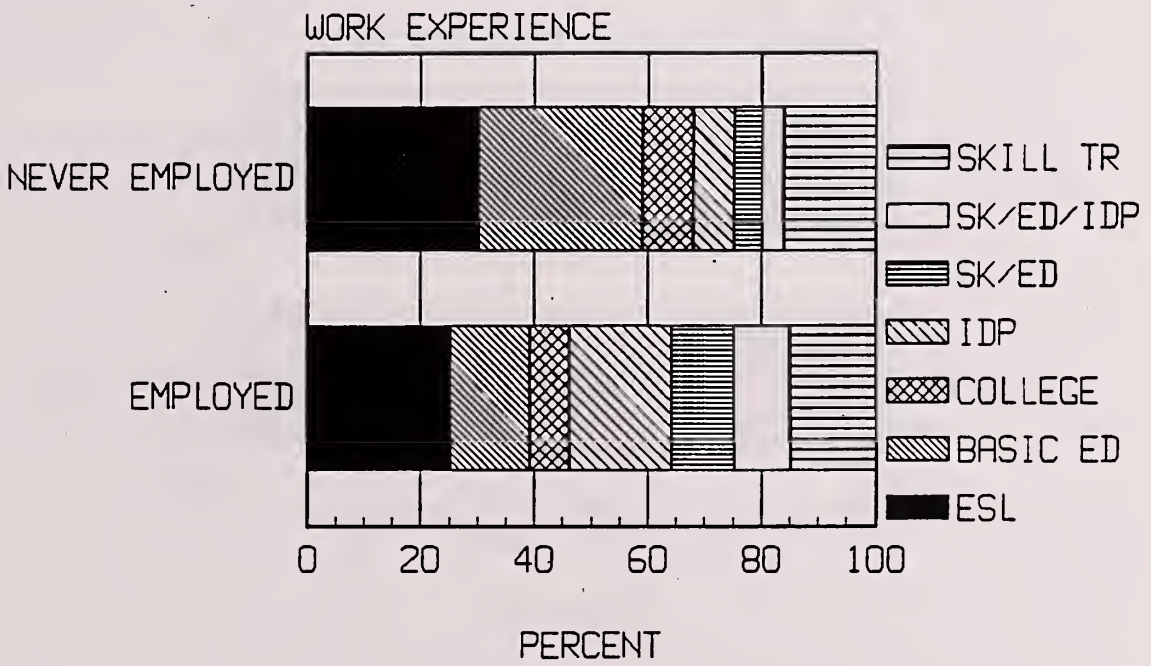


Patterns in the Participation of Latinos in ET

The profile of Latinas in ET is the profile of those determined to be the harder-to-serve client. They are older and less educated. For many, English is not the primary language. They also have less experience in the labor market and tend to have more and younger children. But of these variables, so often mentioned as the reason that women do not participate in employment and training programs, only the number of children was found to be significantly associated, although weakly (r=.128, p=.05), with participation. Similarly, demographic factors are not associated with the women's substantive participation. **None of the demographic variables examined here--age, education, primary language, work experience, duration of last welfare spell, number and age of dependents--was found to be associated significantly with the women's ongoing participation.**

The importance of contractors in the enrollment and overall participation in ET is clear. Without them, the program would have largely by-passed Latinas in Boston. As was described earlier, how women arrived at the program made a large difference

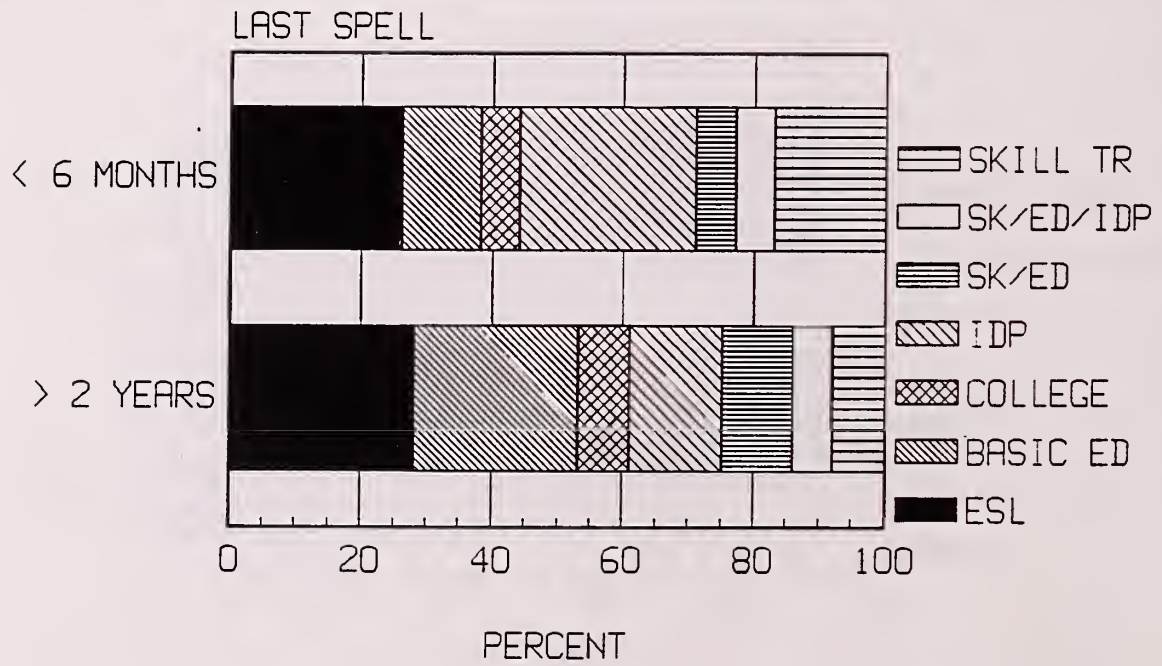
Figure 5
Participation Path of Women and Their Work Experience



in their participation. But the actual content of the participation--the specific programs in which the women participated--appears to be associated with both individual and program factors. As is evident from the preceding discussion, demographic characteristics are associated with the participation in specific programs. For example, an older age, low educational attainment and work experience are associated with participation in a job placement path. The older, least educated Latinas with work experience were routed into the job placement service. Latinas with the same profile but without work experience were in ABE and ESL programs. The younger, more educated Latinas with work experience were the participants of the skills training and combined skills training and education programs. As educational level reached high school, so did the participation in skills training programs and programs that combined skills training with other programs.

But program factors also had a role in determining the actual path of the participants. First of all, method of registration was associated with participation in some paths, but not in others. Basic education, ESL and combined education and skills training paths all had a relationship to having registered through a contractor

Figure 6
Participation Paths of Women and Their Last Welfare Spell

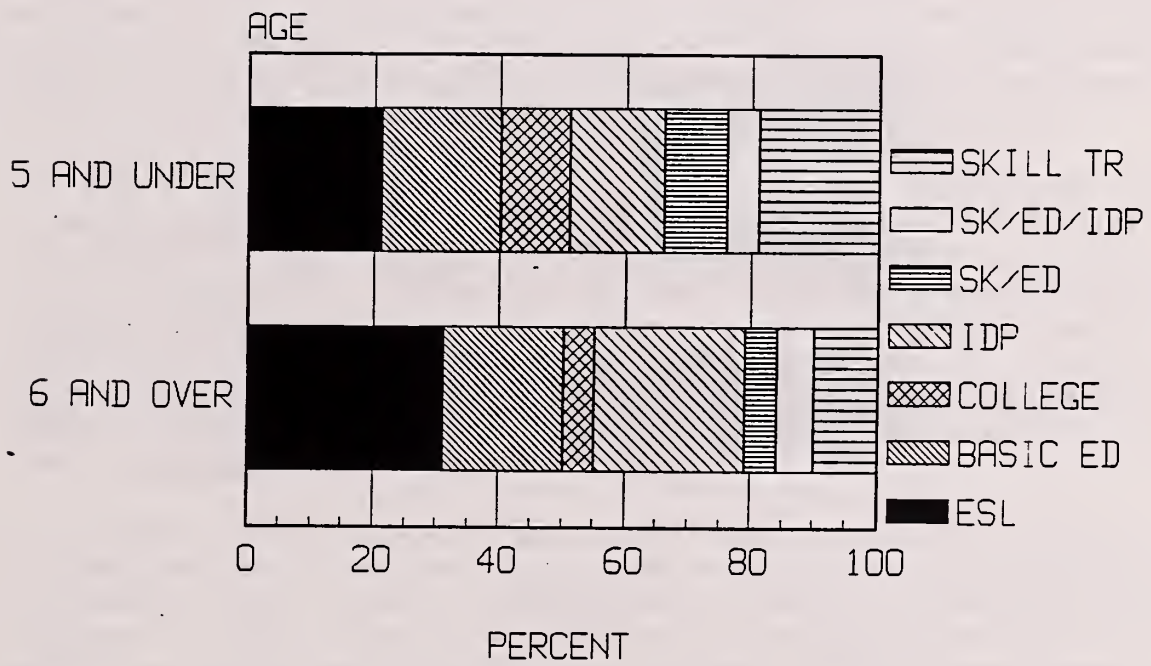


(backdoor registration) (r=.144, p=.01; r=.145, p=.01; and r=.183, p=.001, respectively). Participation in the Job Placement path, on the other hand, was associated with having registered through the welfare department (regular registration) (r=-.181, p=.001).

Interviews with program contractors revealed other ways in which program characteristics affect the funneling of participants to some programs and not others. First of all, from the perspective of program operators, demographic characteristics do make a difference. And they make a difference, say contractors, because current contracting practices base financial reward for the contractor on the performance of their clients.[53] A good assessment of the type of client that will be successful in the program was not only a programmatic decision but a financial one.

Under the performance based contract system, contractors are allowed to charge all costs without submitting a line item budget; in exchange, they are held to strict performance standards in order to secure payment. Contractors would be paid in three installments: 30% of their contract value was paid for meeting their enrollment

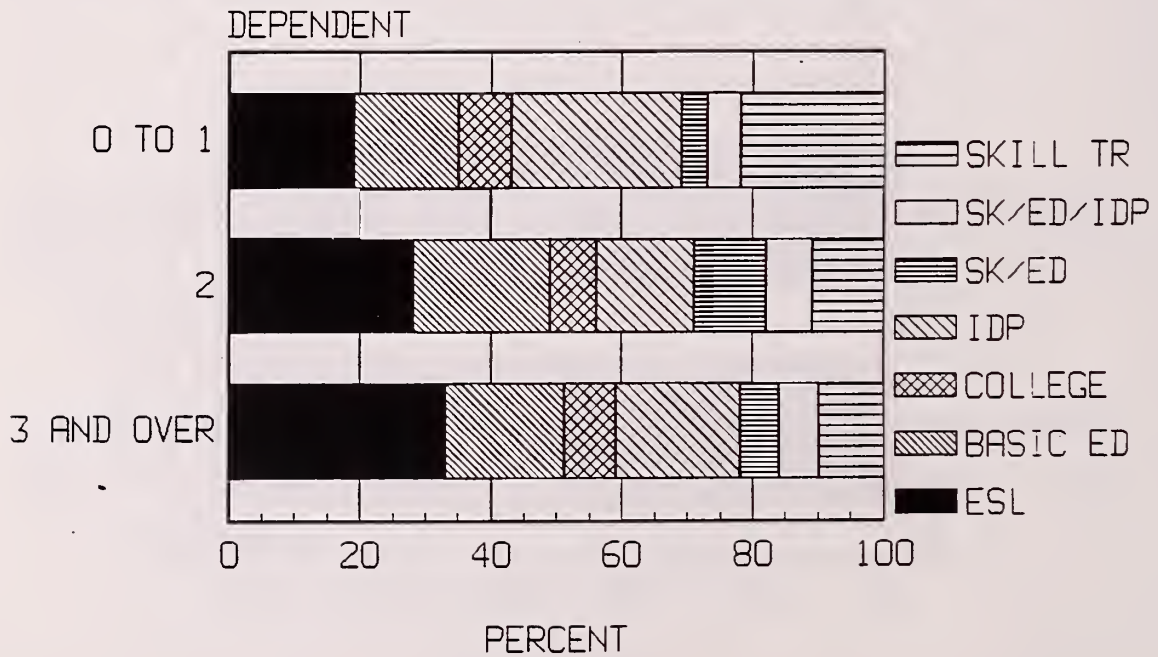
Figure 7
Participation Path of Women and the Age of Their Dependents



goals, 40% would be paid when 80% of the participants completed the program; the remaining 30% was paid if at least 70% of the participants achieved positive terminations. Contractors were also held to strict outcome standards. For example, a positive termination from a skills training program was not only a job, but a job at a certain rate of pay. Outcome standards for educational programs were somewhat more lenient. Educational programs could count enrollment in a higher level of the program (Beginning ESL to Intermediate ESL), moving participants from one type of educational program to another (from and ESL program to an ABE program) or from an educational program to a skills training program (from ABE to a skills training).

Since performance-based contracts leave no margin between revenue and actual costs, they also leave no margin for error on the part of program operators. Whoever they enroll has to have a good chance of participating through the program and, if at all possible, achieve a positive termination. Therefore, performance-based contracting appears to have had a hand both in the high rates of participation on the part of Latinos and in the tracking of Latinos into specific programs and away from others.

Figure 8
Participation Path of Women and the Number of Their Dependents



Performance-based contracting promotes high rates of participation and substantive participation because contractors gain from both. First of all, contractors gain when they enroll clients. In the case of Latinos, the data show that program contractors are very successful at achieving this goal, in part because of the high motivation to participate among Latinas. Secondly, they also gain when clients maintain their participation. In the case of Latinos, the rates of substantive participation are high, meaning that Latinos remain in the programs they join. Substantive participation is especially high among backdoor registrants, signifying that community-based contractors are emphasizing the retention of participants in the programs.

The problem arises with the different standards for successful terminations, which triggers the final reimbursement for program costs. In the case of educational programs, a successful termination is defined as advance toward the next educational level. In skills training programs, a successful termination is a job. In the case of Latinos, who are perceived to be harder to serve, less job ready and less capable of terminating successfully, the rules of performance-based contracting result in some contractors not taking a risk on enrolling Latinas in their programs.

Contractors report that program operators tend to have standards for entry into the program in order to mitigate the risk of enrolling people who will not complete the program positively.[54] Skills training contractors, who have fewer options of positive terminations, reported making creaming intake decisions more often that did education contractors.[55] Admissions standards for entry into skills training programs can include, for example, a particular level of education and the requirement that participants speak only English during the time in training. This is reflected in the findings reported above. Overall, skill training programs tend to have participants with higher level of education and better command of the English language.

Performance-based contracting has another unintended consequence: the encouragement of single program participation, especially with educational programs. Again, contractors gain when they can positively terminate clients by moving them into other programs; they gain even more if a client remains in a program offered by the agency. Most community-based agencies are specialists rather than generalists: they specialize in skills training or education, very few specialize in both. Therefore, the movement of clients from an educational to a skills training program often requires a referral outside the agency and the risk of losing a participant who has proven herself to be serious in her participation.

In addition, say contractors, the little margin between revenues and actual costs that result from performance-based contracts have prevented agencies from developing the necessary range of services needed by this population. Contractors with experience with Latino clients state that delivering programs simultaneously would make sense. In fact, some experimentation in integrating ESL and basic education has taken place.[56] But the investment in the development of integrated skills training and education is greater because it often requires expertise not available within the agencies, which usually specialize in one type of service or another.

The implications of the pattern of reliance on sequential use of single programs rather than participation in combined or integrated programs are important in a population with such great educational and skills deficiencies. Take the example of a woman with less than an 8th grade education and no prior work experience. This person would first have to go through basic education, get her GED, and only then is she a candidate for skills training programs. If the person is not English proficient, the length of time in the educational programs is even greater. The pattern of single program use is particularly salient precisely among the older, Spanish-speaking participant with children six and over with less than a high school education.

This pattern differs markedly from that reported by the Urban Institute for all ET participants. For all ET participants, percentages participating in a combination of programs was consistently higher across all programs that participation in each program singly.[57] Combined participation is also important because there is evidence that those who participate in programs that integrate, for example, skills training and education, are more effective precisely with populations demographically similar to that of Latino participants.[58] **The important point here is that Latino participation in ET is quite different from participation patterns reported for ET participants as well as participation patterns that have been shown to be effective with similar populations.**

Finally, as is evident by the data, Latinos are very dependent on programs at the community level to make their way to ET and to participate substantively in the programs. And they are also dependent, therefore, on the range of services offered in these agencies. The lack of broad availability at the community level of skill training programs, supported work programs and programs that combine and integrate different types of educational and skills training has an impact on Latino participation in these areas, explain contractors. Conversely, ESL programs are plentiful at the community level and the percentage of participation in these programs among Latinos is very high.[59]

Participation: The Perspective of the Women

Latinas participated in ET programs at rates higher than the national average for all groups. And they did so in a program that is not compulsory. Latinas, like all AFDC recipients, register for ET, but that does not mean they will either enroll or participate in the program. Latinas in the study had, therefore, the choice to participate, and further, they had the choice to participate substantively, that is, to maintain their participation in the program. On both counts, Latinas in the study fared better than the national averages for all groups and they rated comparably with other ET participants.

By and large, the women interviewed did not feel forced to participate. Of the women interviewed, very few among those who came into the program at the urging of their welfare worker felt that their welfare benefits were dependent on their participation. Program operators also reported that clients referred by the DPW often

stated that they had been sent by welfare and seemed to understand their participation as mandated by the DPW. Overall, though, the interview data does not suggest coercion or even active recruitment by the DPW. It was rather the contrary. In many cases, AFDC recipients were left mostly alone until they requested the service from their social worker or signed up on their own in one of the programs in the community.

Goals of Participation

Interviews with the women explored their objectives and motivations for joining ET. Of the 30 Latinas interviewed for this study, all had participated in some program component of ET Choices. Overwhelmingly, Latinas said they participated in ET to better their employment possibilities. Most women spoke eloquently about their uncomfortableness with welfare, and their desire to obtain a job that allowed them to support their families independently. Most of the women interviewed had worked or were working at the time they participated in ET; many had worked on and off for most of their adult life. Yet, they needed the support of welfare, either because they did not make enough money in their current jobs to support their families (their salaries still made them eligible for AFDC) or because they were on welfare after losing a job, or because they were not working because their children were young.

A good job was the goal of participation--a job that would allow for economic independence. The women interviewed identified their educational level, their skills and (especially among non-English speakers) their lack of English proficiency as important barriers to obtaining a good job. *Learning English* or *improving my English* were important motivators for participation because, from the perspective of many of the women, the barrier of language is an important factor in obtaining a good job. For the women who had worked or were working, "*developing myself* through education was also an important factor in joining a program, because they felt it would lead to a better job. For these women, learning a concrete skill that would lead to a different and better job was often an important reason.

But there were other reasons. Education and learning English, whether or not it led to a job, was important. Many women spoke of the need to educate themselves better for the sake of their children and of a desire to learn English in order to be more independent and assertive about their needs. For many of the women, the ET programs became the means to break through a profound isolation imposed by language barriers, newness to Boston and the care of large families with young children. And ET, or the programs offered through ET, were seen as opportunities to reach these goals.

Underlying the comments related to personal development is a profound sense of isolation, an inability to master their environment, a lack of understanding of the world around them and the resources available to them. Yet the women interviewed had been in Boston an average of 10 years; many of them had lived elsewhere in the United States. They expressed themselves in terms of lack of knowledge of resources

and ability *to fend for myself* and most often, barriers of language. In many ways the employment and training programs became the means to break out of this situation. Many women spoke about the importance of the programs to learn *how things worked, how to do things, to understand the rules.* Others spoke about the sense of independence and mastery that the participation in the programs brought to them. They, by and large, felt supported in their learning and appeared to have learned far more than English and earned far more than a GED in their time in ET.

Constraints on Participation

But the women also faced important constraints in making their decision to participate and in following through. Many women spoke of the **demands placed on them by family and children** as a factor in their decision and as something other women considering ET needed to attend to seriously.

Most married women expressed the importance of having a husband supportive of their efforts to better themselves through education and training or in getting a job. Some women reported conflicts arising from their participation, but these were few. A family that was supportive of their efforts *to better myself* was an important ingredient in the women's initial decision to participate and, even more significant, in their ability to remain engaged with the programs.

But most of the women were single parents, which posed a somewhat different set of problems in their decision to participate in ET. Emergencies with their children (illness, problems in school) or in their life in general (apartment evictions, meetings with welfare workers or others on which they depended for benefits, illness in the family) were often mentioned as issues that prevented some women from joining the programs the programs and, especially, in attending consistently.

Child care was an important consideration as well. All of the women who requested child care services received them and, overall, were satisfied. But many women did not request them at all. The Urban Institute in their evaluation of ET found that Latinas were the least likely to use child care vouchers when compared to black and white participants. Only 10% of Latina ET participants used day care vouchers; of those with children under six, 15% used them. Among those with children over six, only 3% used day care vouchers provided as part of the program.[60] The data on day care vouchers was not made available by the DPW for this study, but extensive information was obtained from the interviews with the 30 participants.

Although the findings of the study of day care use by these Latina ET participants will be reported separately, they are summarized here.[61] Overall, the lack of availability of day care options with which the women feel comfortable was an important factor in their participation. The women expressed a fear for the safety of their children as an important barrier in their seeking child care, especially family day care. Overwhelmingly, the women preferred day care centers that provide a positive educational and socialization experience for their children, where children can learn English--and be understood in Spanish--and where (and this was the most

utilized expression) they would be treated *con carino* (in a loving way). The main findings of this part of the study were the following:

1. Sixty-seven percent of the women had children cared for in a day care center. Such care was the preferred option of Latina mothers. Latinas looked for a center near the place of work of the mother and, above all, looked for an environment where children were treated *con carino*. A caring environment was the most often mentioned characteristic of a good day care center. Mothers would also like to see their children learn in a day care center and prefer those with an academic content, where children are taught to read and write and where children are socialized in the manners necessary for school.

2. Twenty-three percent of the women had children cared for in family day care. This was the least preferred choice of Latina mothers. Latinas felt that children received less attention in these settings because caretakers took responsibility for too many children. They were also quite wary of the environment to which their children would be exposed, i.e. the skills and education of the providers and the perception of a high incidence of child abuse. Mothers who use this service look for a family that is similar to them in culture and customs, families *with no vices*, families that live in safe areas of the city, and families that are able to communicate with outsiders in case of an emergency. They look for an environment that is quiet and clean, with materials for children to play with. A place located close to their home is preferable.

3. Forty percent of the women had used members of their families as regular child care providers. Most used their mothers, and other members of their immediate family. Mothers demonstrated a great deal of ambivalence about using their families for child care on a regular basis, except their own mothers, and said they use them only when they were not able to find a child care center. Reasons included unreliability of younger members of the family, no education for their children and offensive habits of family members.

Overwhelmingly, the mothers preferred child care centers, especially centers with an educational content and staff that was bilingual-bicultural. The lack of availability of what mothers feel is a good setting for their children prevents them from going to work or going to employment and training programs. Mothers spoke highly of those programs that provided day care on site; they were also the mothers who were most able to maintain their participation. Overall, the lack of available day care options is an important factor in the women's ability to seek employment as well as their decision--given the choice--to join and to maintain their participation in the ET programs.

Program Factors

In spite of the barriers posed by child care responsibilities, the predominant context was motivation to participate. In many instances, it appears that program factors made a difference in whether or not a woman participated actively in the

program. Interview data shows that the availability of programs at the community level made the connection between the women and programs possible. In many cases, women found programs on their own or through other women who were participating. By and large they joined through a community-based program, although they were also recruited by the DPW.

The process of entering the program was sometimes not easy. Many women reported that DPW workers were very helpful in arranging for child care and transportation, in referring them to programs and even in getting them jobs. Several pointed out their unwillingness to deal with the language differences.

But many of the participants would learn about ET from other women or from the people who ran the programs that they joined at the community level. Here, they would not necessarily get the whole story. Contractors did not see it as their responsibility to inform women about other programs or about the overall structure of ET.

Their lack of knowledge about the programs and program options available to them was very apparent in the interviews. Although, clearly, many of the participants interviewed had an idea of what they wanted ("learn English" was by far the most prevalent) and many found the programs by themselves, they had no knowledge to discern one type of program from another or the offerings of one type of program and another. For example, some expressed dismay about the length of time it took to take ESL and then ABE or GED, not knowing that some agencies offered these programs in an integrated manner. Others required child care, which for different reasons they had not requested from their welfare worker, and participated in programs in agencies that did not have the service when other agencies offered the same program and had child care available on the premises. Still others wanted to learn a specific skill, such as nurse's aide or teacher's aide skills. The skills programs they found, however, offered only secretarial training and so they took that. Another wanted skills training programs but was consistently referred by her welfare worker to ESL or told that there were no skills training programs available. She took a GED course. In some cases, not getting what they felt they needed led the women to leave the program. As one woman expressed it, *I told him that I wanted training many, many times but he said there were no training programs. So I took the GED course but I dropped it and wound up with nothing.*

In the context of limited knowledge and information about possibilities, the concept of choice in terms of avenues of involvement was clearly limited in the case of Latinas. Choice was constrained by barriers of access (language) to the services offered by the DPW, by the lack of clarity by both DPW and its contractors in the implementation of the appraisal and orientation process for Latinos and, perhaps most importantly, by the limitations on the availability of program at the community level. The result is that the women, by and large, do not benefit from the process of determining what they need and making a choice about how they are going to go about getting it. Although the interviews do not reflect women being coerced into choosing one program or another, their lack of knowledge about what may have been available hampered them from getting what they needed or what they wanted. The

participants often expressed this in terms akin to *I'd better take what they give me or I won't get anything*. This sense of disempowerment and lack of control over their future runs counter to the basic assumptions underlying this aspect of the issue of choice in the ET Choices Program.

Yet most participants expressed satisfaction with the programs. Many women spoke eloquently about their accomplishments--learning *a bit of English* or *understanding math*, getting their GED, learning to read or getting the skills necessary to be a surgical assistant, a secretary or a public relations assistant. **If there is one overarching theme to characterize clients' perspectives on their participation in ET, it is that ET offered opportunities that they did not previously have to reach very critical personal goals.**

Jobs and Wages: The Outcomes of Latinas in ET

At the end of participation is a job at a good wage. That is the stated goal of ET Choices and that's what Latinas who participated in ET wanted most. But very few achieved it. While 44% of all the participants in ET are placed in a job,[62] the placement rate for Latinas was only 28%. The median wage for Latino job finders was $6.25, the equivalent of a salary of $13,000 per year. At that wage, more than 70% of the Latino job finders remained below the federal poverty standard.

The goals of this section are to:

1. Describe the outcomes in ET of different demographic groups.

2. Describe outcomes of participants involved in specific program components.

3. Identify the individual and program factors associated with job placement and wages for Latinas in ET.

Characteristics of Latino Job Finders

Table 11 presents the demographic characteristics of Latino job finders and contrasts them with the background variables of those participants who did not find jobs as well as the demographic characteristics of all ET participants in the study. Latino job finders were primarily over age 26, with children over six, with the highest levels of educational attainment and who had been employed previously.

The most striking differences between job finders and non job finders was the underrepresentation of those who had never worked before among the job finders. Another sharp contrast between both groups was the duration of the last welfare spell. Among job finders, there was an overrepresentation of those with short welfare spells and an underrepresentation of those with a longer last spell. Those who did not find

Table 11
Demographic Characteristics of Job Finders and All Latino Participants
(Percent of Participants)

Characteristics	Job Finders	No Job	Participants
Age			
Under 18 yrs	2.47	2.39	2.03
19 to 25 yrs	17.28	28.23	24.39
26 to 35 yrs	49.38	44.02	45.53
Over 36 yrs	30.86	25.36	28.05
Primary language			
English	50.00	54.55	52.65
Children			
0 to 1 child	38.27	34.92	34.15
Two children	30.86	28.71	29.27
More than 3 children	30.86	36.37	36.59
Child < 5	50.62	62.20	59.76
Child > 6	64.20	62.20	63.41
Education			
8 yrs or less	25.00	24.50	25.15
9 to 11 yrs	32.69	41.72	39.18
High school/GED	26.92	21.19	21.64
College	15.38	12.58	14.04
Last welfare spell			
6 months or less	44.44	34.93	33.33
More than 2 yrs	17.40	33.49	32.52
Work experience			
Never worked	15.38	43.71	35.67

a job had a profile along this dimension that was similar to that of the overall group of participants.

Educational attainment also showed some differences, but these were not as sharp as the other two. In this instance the group of job finders was comparable to the overall participant group while those who did not find jobs were considerably younger.

Tables 12 and 13 summarize the outcomes (placement and wages) of ET participants by demographic group and by participation path, respectively. As was stated earlier, both the rate of job placement and the wages earned among job finders are low. A sharp discontinuity appears between the active participation reported previously and the results of that activity in terms of jobs and good wages.

Job Placement

Job placement rates by demographic groups are presented in Table 12 and those by participation path in Table 13. Looking at the demographic factors first, the data indicate that job placement rates tended to be highest among those over age 36, Spanish speakers, those with fewer and older children, those with a high school education and those who had previous work experience.

Unexpectedly, Spanish speakers had a higher rate of placement than English speakers, but the difference was slight. Education by itself was not found to be significant in the job placement of Latinos; this too was unexpected. The only demographic factor that was shown to be significant in job placement was previous work experience; those who had worked before were more likely to find a job through ET ($r=.219$, $p<.01$). The assumption that education and language are critical factors in job placement for Latinos was not confirmed by this study.

The Urban Institute concluded that the low Latino outcomes were the result of their active participation in educational programs from which job placement is low.[63] This study confirms that observation, but with some refinement. Indeed, job placement outcomes were lowest among those participating in ESL and ABE/GED programs *alone*; participation in these programs was negatively associated with finding a job through ET. Also, skills training and job placement paths did have much higher job placement rates; the participation in the job placement service (IDP) had a strong association with finding a job through ET ($r=.316$, $p<.001$).

High job placement rates were also found among participants in programs that combined educational with skills programs and particularly when both were enhanced with job placement services. In fact the latter was also statistically associated with finding a job through ET. But the fact that the association is not a strong one may indicate that significantly higher job placement rates were not the result of different

Table 12
Outcomes by Demographic Characteristics
(Percent of Participants)

Characteristics	Has Job	Median Wage	Wage < Poverty
Age			
Under 18 yrs	28.57	$4.75	85.71
19 to 25 yrs	19.18	$7.16	86.30
26 to 35 yrs	30.30	$6.35	81.06
Over 36 yrs	32.05	$6.05	74.36
Native language			
English	25.97	$6.31	80.52
Spanish	28.57	$6.21	80.74
Children			
0 to 1 child	29.81	$5.83	75.96
Two children	29.41	$6.25	77.65
3 or more children	24.75	$6.85	88.12
Child < 5	23.98	$6.31	83.63
Child > 6	28.57	$6.25	81.32
Education			
8 yrs or less	27.08	$6.39	91.67
9 to 11 yrs	21.25	$5.90	98.75
High school/GED	30.43	$6.50	76.09
College	29.63	$6.50	77.78
Last welfare spell			
6 months or less	33.03	$6.00	75.23
More than 2 years	22.22	$6.45	86.67
Work experience			
Never worked	10.81	$6.00	94.59
Has worked	34.11	$6.10	78.29
Last wage*			
< $5.50	22.73	$5.60	81.82
$5.50 - $7.49	48.98	$6.01	69.39
$7.50 or more	33.33	$6.57	88.89

*adjusted to 1987 dollars

programs taken sequentially, as was true of the combined paths examined here, but rather that the important factor is the integration of the programs as was found by Burghardt and Gordon.[64]

Factors Associated with Job Placement

No other piece of the mosaic of components that constitutes ET appears to be as important to job placement as the specific program in which the participant was involved. Those in educational paths had very low job placements; those in skills training paths and in paths that combined some sort of skill training and job placement program had higher rates of job placement. No other program characteristics (i.e., registration, having appraisal, having assessment, or having substantive participation) were associated with job placement.

With the exception of previous work experience, demographic variables, often mentioned as the critical factor in job placement for Latinos (and others), had no association to the job getting experience of Latinas in ET. For Latinas, their language and education, the number and ages of their children and the length of their last welfare stay had no bearing on their rate of job placement.

Table 13
Job Placement Rate and Wage in ET Job by Participation Paths
(Ranking in Parenthesis)

Characteristics	Has Job	Median Wage	Wage < Poverty
No subs part	19.18	$5.96	86.30
ESL	10.34 (6)	$6.00 (5)	93.10 (2)
Basic Educ	7.69 (7)	$5.25 (6)	97.44 (1)
College Educ	25.00 (5)	$7.48 (1)	81.25 (3)
IDP	63.64 (1)	$6.00 (5)	59.09 (7)
Skills Train	43.75 (3)	$6.83 (2)	65.62 (5)
Comb SK/ED	33.33 (4)	$6.25 (4)	73.33 (4)
Comb SK/ED/IDP	53.85 (2)	$6.50 (3)	61.54 (6)
All participants	27.93	$6.25	71.96

The question of whether the program makes a difference in job placement for Latinos is an important one. Most Latinas who participated in ET in Boston were in an education only component. Education only participants had a lower rate of job placement than those who did not participate in a substantive component at all. If job placement is the goal, it is evident from these findings that for employment and training programs to lead to a job, participants must be involved in skills training and job placement components.

Wages

Wages are perhaps a better indicator than job placement of the success of employment and training programs in providing a route out of poverty, that is, the potential for an independent subsistence. In the case of Latinos median wages were uniformly low. For most Latinas, getting a job through ET did not represent a route out of poverty; for more than 70% of them, the wages they received for their work in ET jobs did not bring them up to the federal poverty standard.[65] The median wage for Latino job finders was $6.25, the equivalent of a salary of $13,000 per year.

Turning to Table 12 once more, the data show that there were differences in the median wage obtained by different groups. Participants under 18 earned the lowest median wage of all age groups, $4.75 an hour; 85% of them earned a wage that kept them in poverty. Those with 9 to 11 grades of schooling had the lowest wages, even lower than those with less than 8 grades. Wages also tended to be lower for Spanish speakers than for English speakers as well as for those with shorter welfare spells when compared with those whose last spell was longer. In both cases the differences were slight.

As in the case of job placement, work experience was one of two individual variables that had association with wages for ET participants. The other was wages earned in the last pre-ET job, which correlates with work experience. Both were significantly associated with wage outcomes (see Appendix 4). As in the case of job placement, education and language--both of which would have been expected to impact on wages--were not found to be factors in the wages obtained by Latinas in ET.

Looking at the wages of those who participated in specific program paths presented in Table 13, the data show that the highest wages were earned by those job finders in the college path, those who had gone through a skill training program or those involved in a combined skills training, education and employment service path. The lowest wages were those of job finders who participated in ABE/GED, the Basic Education path. Job finders who participated in ESL and in the job placement service (IDP) both earned below the median wage for all Latino ET participants. But, in reality, the differences between job finders were small: the difference between the mean wage of high earners and the low earners was $1.51.

The only program paths that proved to be statistically associated with wages were the basic education and ESL paths, both negatively, and the job placement and

the combined education/skills training/job placement paths, both of which proved to be positive.

These findings indicate that program activities are a factor in the wages that Latinas get from their participation, but that overall, the wages for Latinas, regardless of path, are low. The findings suggest that the low-wage outcomes for Latinas result from their high participation in those programs that lead to very low-wage jobs (Basic Education, ESL and Job Placement). Those programs that enhance the labor market skills of participants and therefore lead to higher paying jobs--such as skills training, supported work, etc.--are not as readily accessible to Latinas.

But the fact is that the correlations between background or program variables and wages (or even job placement) are not very strong. Therefore, for this group of Latinas, the factors that most affect their job placement rates and wages appear to be independent of both the characteristics of the individuals and the program. As one program operator put it, *the Welfare Department actually believed it could control the forces of the private sector labor market.* That is not a reasonable expectation, as the experience of Latinas in ET so clearly evidences.

Jobs and Wages: The Perspective of the Participants

A good job was the goal for participation for many of the Latinas in ET. Of the women interviewed, 20% were working and more than half wanted to work. Several of the women who were now working wanted to change jobs because of salary or working conditions. About one third had made a conscious decision not to work.

For many of the women, ET gave them skills and training that brought them closer to their goal--to get a job or to get a better job. In some cases, it was learning English or perfecting their English. For others, the results of participation were the concrete skills of a secretary, a word processing clerk or a nurse's aide. For still others, the accomplishments were the work habits of punctuality, discipline and dedication to task that the programs emphasized. Concrete and measurable advances toward their goal were made possible through their participation in the ET programs, according to the women.

For many of the women, an important outcome of the programs was breaking through the isolation that newness in the city and language barriers impose. Like the old settlement houses that brought immigrants together to learn English and to learn the skills necessary to master the new environment, the ET programs seem to serve this same purpose for the newcomers. Many women spoke about the importance of the programs as a means of learning *how things worked, how to do things, to understand the rules* and to *desenvolverme* (fend for myself). Others spoke about the sense of independence and mastery that the participation in the programs brought to them. This process of emerging independence is a critical contribution of the ET programs and one that should not be overlooked or underrated.

But although there have been advances, many still do not feel ready to look for a job. *It takes time* to learn English well enough, to learn a skill, to get a GED and, in some cases, *to lose the fear* of venturing out into the unknown. For many of the women who were venturing out for the first time, the ET programs gave them the opportunity to try themselves out in a safe environment that was more often than not supportive of their efforts and understanding of the in fact that it does take time to move with confidence into the world of work. All the women were asked if the programs prepared them for a job. Almost without fail, the answer was that they had gained skills and knowledge, but for many the level of skill attainment or of English proficiency was not sufficient to give them confidence to move aggressively to look for work or, for those that were already working, to look for a better job.

In some cases, the women had in fact looked for and found jobs. Of these, some had also left their jobs and returned to welfare. In these cases, the wages that they received in their jobs was the primary reason for abandoning them. Two of the women explained it this way:

> *After I got my job as a teacher assistant, I called my ET worker and told her. As soon as I got my first paycheck, my welfare was gone. I said to myself: Oh God, if I would have known I wouldn't have gone to work. I only earned $173 and when there were no classes I didn't earn anything because I was not permanent. When there was a week's vacation, I didn't get paid. But they didn't understand that. I have two children. If I'm not on welfare my rent goes up, I have no food stamps and no medicaid. This is not a job where I earn $8 or $9 an hour, where I can make do.* (#10; 3/13/91)

The impact of the insecurity of work in low-wage jobs makes itself strongly felt among these mothers.

> *After working there a month I realized that I had made a mistake. I had to pay more to get to work and to have someone take care of the younger one all day and the other after school than I was making in the job. My food stamps had been reduced and I was spending more on food. I also had to get clothes to go to work. And thank God I did not tell the building manager or my rent would have gone up. I had to borrow money at the end of the month. I had made a mistake.* (#5;4/8/91)

The mistake, according to the woman in this situation, was leaving the relative security of welfare for the insecurity of a low-wage job. It was much too risky for the single mother of three children. She went back to welfare.

Conclusions and Recommendations

General Observations

One of the basic assumptions of the ET Choices Program is that women on AFDC want to work and would do so under the right conditions. The right conditions are a job at a good wage and the necessary medical and child care supports that make working possible for women with children. All the evidence from this study supports that assumption. Latinas on AFDC want to work, already work and many more would do so under the right conditions. For Latinas, the right conditions include wages they can live with, child care they can trust, the support of their families and the nurturing of the courage to more aggressively gain control of their lives.

Latinas participated actively in ET Choices. Although participation did not necessarily lead to job placements, the main findings of this study indicate that the problems women face in attaining placement and wages are the result of the interaction of program factors with the characteristics of the participants and not the lack of motivation of the participants to join the programs or to work. A compulsory program will not improve Latino job placement and wage outcomes, particularly in the new economic environment of Boston. And there is reason to believe that it may in fact reduce the levels of substantive participation on the part of Latinas in these programs.

Latinas took ET up on its rhetoric that the route out of poverty required a long-term commitment to the education and skills development of people who don't have either one. At rates higher than in any other city in the country, Latinas sought language programs, adult education and skills training programs. They participated actively and consistently, building skills, knowledge, language fluency and confidence along the way. In many ways the long-range perspective on the development of women that underlies ET Choices and the programmatic implementation of that perspective made it safe for women to participate without risk, and they did so in large numbers. Choice and the empowerment that comes with choice made the women's participation possible.

But it was in its implementation of an employment and training program that relied extensively on community-based resources where ET made its mark in relationship to the participation of Latinas. Access has been the problem that has plagued Latinos most in employment and training programs across the United States. Because of its involvement of community-based contractors and the reach of these contractors into the population, ET Choices represents a model that has proven successful in providing access to these programs
for Latinas. It is now left to ET to expand that access to all areas of the program, particularly skills training.

Other findings of this study include the following:

1. The process of orientation and appraisal was ineffective in providing information to Latinas about alternatives and options within the program. Language barriers impacted the effectiveness of welfare workers in carrying out their responsibility in this regard. The orientation of Latinas coming to the program through the contractors was affected by a lack of definition of the responsibility of contractors in orienting clients to the overall ET program rather than just their own agency's offerings. The ineffectiveness of this process is a factor in attrition in the early stages of the program.

2. There is a tendency to track Latinos into the educational programs and away from the skills training programs. The background of the individuals is not a direct factor in this tracking, but rather the constraints placed on skills training contractors to meet performance standards that they perceive are hard to achieve with a group that has the profile one finds among Latinos. The individual background of the participants in interaction with the contracting process provides the context for the tracking of Latinos into those programs that have the worst job placement and wage outcomes.

3. The same process tends to encourage Latino participation in single programs rather than in combined or integrated programs, which have proven more effective in both job placement and wage outcomes with populations with similar profiles. The current contracting process discourages contractors from making referrals to other types of programs that may not be found in their agencies and, more importantly, discourages the development of more effective integrated program strategies in their own agencies.

4. The tracking of Latinos into the employment service program, without the benefit of improvement in skills, tends to funnel Latinas into low-wage jobs. In 1987 and 1988, it was not hard to get a job in Boston and the employment service found jobs for Latinos. The problem is that the jobs they found were low-wage jobs, among the lowest attained by Latinos in the program. Although this may have led to better job placement outcomes, it is doubtful that it led to a better life for the women. Therefore, many of them returned to welfare. In many ways, the reliance on the employment service to achieve job outcomes among Latinos represents a revolving door rather than an adequate and humane alternative to welfare.

5. Child care remains an important barrier to Latinas. Although vouchers were offered, they did not use them primarily because the alternatives acceptable to them are not available. Latinas interviewed felt most comfortable leaving their children in a day care center; they distrusted family day care and did not appear to have the networks of support within their own families to make that a viable alternative. Availability of day care slots is critical to the involvement of Latinas in employment and training programs and, eventually, in the world of work.

Perhaps the thorniest policy question raised by the experience of Latinas in ET was posed by the program operator quoted earlier: Is it reasonable to expect that employment and training programs can on their own change the forces in the labor market that keep Latinos out of the good jobs--the kinds of jobs for which Latina

women with children can risk leaving welfare support? The finding of this study is that the answer is clearly no.

The current assumption is that employment and training programs are the route out of poverty and, therefore, the solution to the expenditures in entitlement programs. But this position does not take into account the forces in the labor market that keep people out of jobs. This study suggests that neither the individual nor the program have an overwhelming impact on the job placement and wage outcomes for Latinos. The present implementation of the employment and training programs which focuses almost exclusively on the supply side of the labor equation--the upgrading of the human capital of the poor--places little attention on what awaits the participants at the end of the program. In Massachusetts, at a time of full employment and buoyant economic conditions, Latino women were placed in jobs with low pay--jobs that were too risky for the women to take and to keep.

The perspective that these programs are by themselves the route out of poverty also leads to unreasonable program goals and unrealistic expectations of participants. The experience from social welfare programs, well known for their unreasonable goals and unrealistic expectations, is that in time those expectations begin to be buttressed by increasingly punitive practices. In the case of employment and training programs, the dangers are that we will begin to blame the participants for not obtaining good jobs at good wages, that we will coerce women into participating, that at the end of the participation we will force them to take jobs that are just too economically risky for these women and their families and, finally, that we will actually remove the few economic supports that these women now have.

Recommendations

ET Choices also clearly represented an opportunity for Latinos. First of all, it provided educational and skills training services that AFDC women would have been hard pressed to come by otherwise. These are services that, according to the women interviewed, are greatly needed and greatly desired by women on AFDC. In the context of the opportunities represented by employment and training programs for Latino women in AFDC, some recommendations that will improve the reach and the outcomes of these programs are in order.

This study supports the basic assumption of ET Choices that women on Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) want to work and would work under the right conditions. The right conditions for Latinas include wages that are high enough to support their families, child care that they can trust, the support of their families and the nurturing of the skills and confidence that is required to succeed in the job market.

A non-compulsory program led to high rates of participation in employment and training programs. The problems the women face in attaining jobs at good wages are the result of an interaction of program factors with the characteristics of participants and not the lack of motivation to join the programs or to work. Choice and the

programmatic implementation of choice made it safe for Latinas to participate without risk, and they did so actively. A compulsory program will not improve Latino job placement rates or wages, in fact, it may reduce the high levels of participation as it introduces the factor of coercion into the process.

Recommendation 1: Choice should remain a part of the Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices program.

It was found that although overall rates of participation were high, rates of substantive participation were lower. Substantive participation was related to the type of registration and orientation participants received. Latinos were found to fall through the cracks in the enrollment/appraisal/orientation process.

Recommendation 2: The Department of Public Welfare needs to take a more active role in providing outreach and information to Latinos. This can take the form of both increased publicity in mediums that will reach latinos as well as the improvement of communication between Latino clients and workers in the Department of Public Welfare.

Recommendation 3: The Department of Public Welfare needs to make a stronger effort in hiring bilingual (preferably bicultural) personnel. Language barriers are a strong impediment for Latino participation in all benefit programs, including ET. It is the responsibility of the department to address this issue effectively.

Latinos are overwhelmingly backdoor registrants and neither the Department of Public Welfare nor the program operators see orienting these clients to the program as their responsibility. For clients coming in though the backdoor, this orientation appears most effective at the time of enrollment in the program.

Recommendation 4: The Department of Public Welfare and Boston's Office of Jobs and Community Services need to clarify who is responsible for orientation/appraisal of those participants who come into ET through the backdoor.

Recommendation 5: Community-based programs should be allowed to bill for orientation and referral services, instructed to appraise the overall needs of clients and encouraged to refer clients to other programs when they need them. This would encourage a more client-oriented approach versus the current outcome orientation.

The type of programs in which Latinos participate was constrained by the range of programs open to Latino enrollments and available at the community level. The participation in supported work programs and in skills training programs, especially

programs sponsored by JTPA and the Bay State Skills Corporation, both of whom have higher job placement rates, was negligible to none.

The DPW and the Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services have to acknowledge in practical ways the critical importance of community-based programs to Latino enrollments and to Latino participation in ET. Without such programs, the DPW and the City would be hard pressed to serve Latinos. The lack of recognition of this fact in the face of the growing Latino AFDC caseload was a missed opportunity on the part of the DPW. The DPW could have invested in the development of the capacity of the programs at the community level, programs with a proven track record of reaching and serving this group. Instead it chose to invest large amounts of funds in programs--JTPA and Bay State Skills Corporation, for example--whose only track record in relationship to the Department's fastest growing caseload (Latinos) was its documented incapacity to reach them and serve them.

Recommendation 6: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives for the development at the community level of the range of program options that latinos need. Emphasis should be placed on skills training and supported work programs.

Recommendation 7: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives for the development of programs that involve the following:

- **Integration of basic education and/or ESL with skills development. Options of this type are extremely limited in Boston and this is a model that has proven effective with Latinos.**

- **Links between programs and concrete employment opportunities. Specific employment links that should be encouraged include hospitals, banks, construction of the harbor tunnel and central artery and other government construction projects.**

Recommendation 8: The Department and the city should review the policies and practices of the Bay State Skills Corporation and the programs funded by JTPA in Boston to ascertain the factors that contribute to the lack of access of Latinos to those programs.

In studies of the impact of JTPA on minorities, performance-based contracting has often been mentioned as a disincentive to the inclusion of minorities in the programs. This study found that this type of funding system tends to promote tracking of participants into some programs and not others. Also, the lack of participation on the part of Latinos in skills training programs bore a relationship to performance-based contracting, since contractors feared investing in clients who showed many of the characteristics prevalent among Latinos. The limitations posed

by performance-based contracting hampered their efforts to develop more effective program opportunities for Latinos at the community level.

Recommendation 9: The Office of Jobs and Community Services should review the implementation of performance-based contracting and determine the extent to which it contributes to tracking clients deemed harder to serve into some programs and away from others. Measures of program compliance that take into account the characteristics of the population served as well as the outcomes would be an incentive for serving Latinos in the programs that are not available to them at this time.

Program operators often commented on the contradiction between ET program goals and guidelines and the development of quality programs for Latinos. If the participation and outcomes of Latinos in employment and training programs are a concern--as their representation among the population, the economically disadvantaged and the welfare rolls underscores--then policy makers and program administrators at the state and city level need to recognize that the expertise in successfully reaching and retaining Latinos lies at the community level and not in the larger mainstream programs. The lack of experience and success of the larger, better-funded employment and training programs--JTPA funded programs, Bay State Skills Corporation, etc.--in serving Latinos needs to be noted. The fact that the latter also set the pace in the development of criteria, standards and programs in the field presents a major problem to those organizations attempting to develop programs more attuned to the needs of Latinos. The programs at the community level should set the pace in the program innovations that are necessary to reach and serve better this rapidly growing group.

Recommendation 10: The Department of Public Welfare and the city should provide incentives for the development and evaluation of pilot employment and training programs at the community level along the lines of those in Recommendation 6.

Recommendation 11: The Department of Public Welfare and the Office of Jobs and Community Services need to provide incentives and rewards for initiatives on the part of contractees to assess and evaluate the effectiveness of their programs.

Child care support is essential to the participation of Latinas in employment and training programs and in jobs. It remains a critical factor in the welfare-to-work transition.

Recommendation 12: Support for child care should remain a component of employment and training programs in Massachusetts.

Latinas overwhelmingly prefer day care centers to any other form of child care. They prefer centers that offer educational opportunities for their children and those that socialize their children into becoming students. They prefer centers close to their work and those that have personnel who are bilingual and bicultural.

Recommendation 13: If Latinas are to be encouraged to participate in ET programs and in work, day care needs to be made available at a cost that is affordable to single mothers working for low wages. Subsidized day care slots need to be made available, particularly in those centers that give priority to a multiracial, multicultural experience for children with bicultural people on their staffs.

The Latinas interviewed had substantial distrust of family day care. The number of children, the lack of supervision and the lack of assessment of the personal habits of the day care providers were some of the reasons for this distrust.

Recommendation 14: The Office for Children needs to take seriously the perception of Latina women of family day care services. If that perception proves correct, dramatic changes in the licensing of family day care providers is necessary to insure the safety of children. If the perception is incorrect, educational and informational campaigns on the value of family day care need to reach latinas.

Appendix 1
Lambda and Significant Pearson's Correlations between Participation (FL-FPROG) and Participant's Background and Program Variables

	Lambda	Pearson's Correlation
Age	0	--
Education	0	--
Primary Spanish	0	--
Work experience	0	--
Last wage in non-ET job	0	--
Duration of last welfare spell	.011	--
Number of dependents	.032	.128
Has dependent 5 and under	0	--
Has dependent 6 and over	0	--
Registration	.252	.379*
Appraisal	0	-.157

p=.5
*p=.0001

Appendix 2
Lambda and Pearson's Correlations between Substantive Participation (FL-SUB) and Participant's Background and Program Variables

Background	Lambda	Pearson's Correlation
Age	0	--
Education	0	--
Primary Spanish	0	--
Work experience	0	--
Last wage in non ET job	0	--
Duration of last welfare spell	.039	--
Number of dependents	.011	--
Had dependent 5 and under	0	--
Has dependent 6 and over	0	--
Registration	.243	-0.295*
Has appraisal	0	-0.069
Has assessment	0	--

p=.05
**p=.0001

Appendix 3
Lambda and Pearson's Correlations between Job Placement (HASJOB1) and Participant's Background and Program Variables

Background	Lambda	Pearson's Correlation
Age	0	--
Education	0	--
Primary Spanish	0	--
Work experience	0	0.219*
Last wage in non ET job	.105	--
Duration of last welfare spell	--	--
Number of dependents	--	--
Had dependent 5 and under	--	--
Has dependent 6 and over	--	--
Has first program	0	--
Has ESL	0	-0.200**
Has basic ed	0	-0.166*
Has college ed	0	--
Has skills training	0	**
Has combined skills training and education	0	--
Has IDP	.148	0.316**
Has combined IDP, skills training and education	.012	0.136
Has substantive participation	0	--

p <.05
*p < .01
**p < .001

Appendix 4
Lambda and Pearson's Correlations between Wage in ET Job (J1WAGE2) and Background and Program Variables

Background	Lambda	Pearson's Correlation
Age	.038	--
Education	.024	--
Primary Spanish	0	--
Work experience	0	0.224**
Last wage in non ET job	.138	0.193
Duration of last welfare spell	.017	--
Number of dependents	.020	--
Had dependent 5 and under	.050	--
Has dependent 6 and over	0	--
Has first program	0	--
Has ESL	0	-0.187**
Has Basic Ed	0	-0.170*
Has college	0	--
Has skills training	0	
Has combined skills training and education	0	--
Has IDP	.026	0.295***
Has combined IDP, skills training and education	.013	0.132
Has substantive participation	0	.095

p <.05
*p <.01
**p <.001
***p <.0001

Endnotes

1. By Latino is meant those persons living in the United States whose background is from one of the countries of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, Central America or South America.

2. O'Neill, *Work and Welfare in Massachusetts: An Evaluation of the ET Program*, 1990,
p. 36.

3. Haveman, Danziger and Plotnick, *State Poverty Rates for Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in the Late 1980's*, FOCUS 13:1 Spring 1991.

4. Estrada, et al., *CETA: Services to Hispanics and Women*, July 1980.

5. Escutia, *The Job Training Partnership Act: An Overview from the Hispanic Perspective*, 1983.

6. See Escutia, *The Job Training Partnership Act*, 1983; and National Commission for Employment Policy, *Training Hispanics: Implications for the Job Training Partnership Act*, 1990.

7. See Meléndez, *The Impact of New York City E&T Programs on Latinos/as*, 1988; and National Commission on Employment Policy, *Training Hispanics*, 1990.

8. National Commission for Employment Policy, *Training Hispanics*, 1990, pp. 2-5.

9. Meléndez, *The Impact of New York City E&T Programs on Latinos/as*, 1988; National Commission on Employment Policy, *Training Hispanics*, 1990, pp. 10-11; Romero, *Services to Hispanics in JTPA: Implications for the System*, 1989.

10. Escutia, *The Job Training Partnership Act*, 1983; and Melendez, *The Impact of New York City E&T Programs on Latinos/as*, 1988.

11. National Commission for Employment Policy, *Training Hispanics*, 1990, p. 7.

12. Duany, *Puerto Rican Welfare Recipients in New York City: Effective Services To Those in Most Need*, 1990.

13. Burghardt and Gordon, *The Minority Single Parent Demonstration, More Jobs at Higher Pay: How an Integrated Program Compares with Traditional Programs*, 1990.

14. Duany, *Puerto Rican Welfare Recipients in New York City*, 1990.

15. Meléndez, *The Impact of New York City E&T Programs in Latinos/as*, 1988; and Duany, *Puerto Rican Welfare Recipients in New York City*, 1990.

16. Meléndez, *The Impact of New York City E&T Programs in Latinos/as,* 1988.

17. For a description of work-welfare programs in different states, see Nightingale and Burbridge, *The Status of State Work-Welfare Programs in 1986: Implications for Welfare Reform,* 1987.

18. See O'Neill, *Work and Welfare in Massachusetts: An Evaluation of the ET Program,* 1990, p. 36. Figures for 1986-88 coincide with those reported by The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program,* 1990, p. 4.

19. See Behn, *The Management of ET CHOICES in Massachusetts,* 1989; and The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program,* 1990, pp. 1-7.

20. See Duran, *Initial Report on ET Policies and Contracting Between 1986 and 1988,* 1991.

21. Office of Research, Planning and Evaluation, *An Evaluation of The Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices Program: Interim Findings on Participation and Outcomes, FY 1984-85,* 1986.

22. Ammott and Kluver, *ET: A Model for the Nation? An Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices Program,* 1986, p. 29.

23. Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation, *Training People to Live Without Welfare,* 1987.

24. O'Neill, *Work and Welfare in Massachusetts,* 1990.

25. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program,* 1990, p. 103.

26. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program,* 1990, pp. 103-110. For outcomes of other employment and training programs see Gueron, "Work and Welfare: Lessons on Employment Programs," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4(1):79-98, Winter 1990. Comparing the Urban Institute's findings on ET with Gueron's findings on performance of employment and training programs in seven other areas, ET's performance on the percentage of participants employed after one year and on percentage of participants on welfare at the end of one year far exceeds that of the others.

27. Rivera, *Massachusetts Latinos in the 1990 Census: Growth and Geographic Distribution,* 1991.

28. Osterman, *In The Midst Of Plenty: A Profile of Boston and Its Poor,* 1989.

29. Osterman, *In the Midst of Plenty,* 1989.

30. The Urban League, *A Perspective on the Socioeconomic Status of Chicago Area Blacks*, 1983.

31. Haveman, Danziger and Plotnik, "State Poverty Rates for Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in the Late 1980's," *FOCUS* 13:1 Spring 1991.

32. Borges-Mendez, Kluver and Vazquez-Fuertes, *Background Paper for Developing a Job Strategy for Hispanics in Boston*, 1987.

33. In Borges-Mendez et al., *Background Paper for Developing a Jobs Strategy for Hispanics in Boston,* 1987, pp. 22-23.

34. See Osterman, *In the Midst of Plenty*, 1989; and Sum, Fogg and Fogg, *Income and Employment Problems of Families in Boston's Low Income Neighborhoods: Persistence of Family Poverty Amidst Increasing Affluence in Boston and Massachusetts,* 1989.

35. Memo from Chester M. Atkins, Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, to Philip W. Johnston, Secretary, Executive Office of Human Services, "AFDC Caseload Trends," October 14, 1987, p. 8.

36. This varied much by field office. The percent of total AFDC cases that were Latino for each of Boston's five field offices were the following: Roxbury Crossing, 48%; Church Street, 35%; Bowdoin Park, 30%; Grove Hall, 14%; Roslindale, 10%; and South Boston, .5%.

37. Ammott and Kluver, *ET: A Model for the Nation?* 1986, p. 17.

38. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program,* 1990, p. 48.

39. See Ruiz, *Working Paper on Long and Short Term ET Issues with the Hispanic Population,* February 10, 1987; *Service Needs for High Hispanic Caseload Offices*, no date; *Ten Steps to Additional FY 88 ET Priority Jobs, Eight Office Strategy for Hispanics*, December 1987.

40. Appendix 1 provides a listing of all the variables obtained for each case.

41. In October 1987 there were 26 ET contractors in the Boston area; of these six were Latino community-based agencies. Those selected for interviews included contractors with 50% or more Latino clients and included all Latino programs.

42. In their evaluation of the ET Program, the Urban Institute also found the ETTS data to be somewhat unreliable when checked against case records. See the Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, p. A-22.

43. Massachusetts Department of Education, *Adult Basic Education, Instructional and Legalization Assistance ("SLIAG") Programs, Request for Proposals and Guidelines and Procedures for Multi-year Funding*, June 1990.

44. Among those consulted were Federico Borges, former director of adult education at Alianza Hispana, Beatriz McConnie Zapater, former director of adult education at Cardinal Cushing Center for the Spanish Speaking and Vicky Nuñez, former director of Mujeres Unidad en Acción.

45. See MacEachron, Wyngaarden and Holt, *Employability of AFDC Participants in the TEE Supported Work Program*, 1980; and *Prediction of Placement and Wage Level by Background and TEE Program Variables,* 1979.

46. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, p. 31.

47. Nationally, overall rates of participation--defined as a person is assigned to a program--are about 40%. See the Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, p. v.

48. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, p. v.

49. See the Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, pp. 37-38.

50. Osterman, *In the Midst Of Plenty,* 1990, p. 81.

51. Office of Research, Planning and Evaluation, Department of Public Welfare, *An Evaluation of The Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices Program,* 1986, p. 26. (represents participants in FY 1984-85).

52. Of note is that Hispanic are overrepresented according to their numbers in the overall ET population in the rate of assessment. See the Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts ET Choices Program*, 1990, p. 40.

53. Durán, *Summary of Interviews with Latino Community Based Agencies Contracted to Provide Services Through ET Choices Between 1986-1988*, September 1991.

54. Durán, *Summary of Interviews*, September 1991.

55. Durán, *Summary of Interviews*, September 1991.

56. Durán, *Summary of Interviews*, September 1991. See also Borges and McConnie Zapater, *Proposal to the Inter-University Program for Latino Research and the Social Science Research Council*, 1991.

57. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, pp. 37-38.

58. Burghardt and Gordon, *The Minority Female Single Parent Demonstration, More Jobs and Higher Pay,* 1990.

59. Durán, *Summary of Interviews*, 1991.

60. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program*, 1990, pp. 42-43. Blacks were the most likely to use day care vouchers (20%), particularly for children under six. 14% of white participants used day care vouchers.

61. Uriarte and Cardona, *Tratenlos Con Carino: Thirty Latinas Speak About Childcare Preferences*, forthcoming.

62. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program, 1990,* p. 45.

63. The Urban Institute, *Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices program,* 1990, p. 48.

64. Burghardt and Gordon, *The Minority Female Single Parent Demonstration, More Jobs and Higher Pay*, 1990.

65. The number of dependents was taken into account in determining the relationship of wages to the poverty standard.

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