

Research Brief

January 2004

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES
Chief Administrative Office
Service Integration Branch
Research and Evaluation Services



Reaching Welfare Time Limits in Los Angeles County: A Study of an Early Cohort

Why the County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors Requested this Study

On January 1, 2003, the first group of welfare participants in the County of Los Angeles reached their five-year time limits on cash assistance received through the California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids (CalWORKs) program. The County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors was concerned about how CalWORKs participants and their families have fared after reaching time limits. As a result, on January 21, 2003, the Board adopted a motion instructing the Director of the Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) to:

- Collect data for a six-month period to determine how the time limits have affected employment, family structure, housing stability, supportive services needs, and income.
- Select a sample of individuals who have not timed-out and collect the same data for comparison purposes.

DPSS contracted with the Chief Administrative Office, Service Integration Branch-Research and Evaluation Services to carry out the evaluation. The present report encapsulates the research conducted to comply with the Board motion.

An Armenian woman was asked about what she would tell the Board of Supervisors about what her family needs:

"If I and my husband could have a full-time job, really we will not have the need for this [welfare]. If both of us get a good job."

Executive Summary

Employment: Participants in the timed-out cohort had higher employment rates and a longer average length of employment, but they also tended to work in lower-paying jobs than participants in the comparison group.

- Participants in the timed-out cohort were 2.6 times more likely to be employed between January and June 2003 than the comparison group.
- The likelihood of earning more than the minimum wage was 59 percent higher among the comparison group compared with participants in the timed-out cohort.

Family Structure: The reduction in cash assistance did not seem to be associated with major disruptions in the family structure of the timed-out cohort.

- Participants in the timed-out cohort were twice as likely as participants in the comparison group to get married between January and June 2003.
- There was no significant change in the number of people living in timed-out and comparison group households.

Housing Stability: Participants in the focus group interviews revealed that, with the loss of cash aid, Section 8 housing support saved several timed-out families from eviction.

- The likelihood of housing problems between January and June 2003 was 17 percent higher among the comparison group compared with participants in the timed-out cohort.
- The likelihood of utilization of shelters was higher among the timed-out participants relative to the comparison group.

Supportive Services: A high demand for supportive services was reported among both the timed-out and comparison groups.

- Participants in the timed-out cohort were 2.5 times more likely to need drug and alcohol counseling services between January and June 2003 relative to the comparison group.
- Participants in the timed-out cohort were 41 percent less likely to need child care compared with the comparison group. This may be because more households in the timed-out cohort were two-parent families.

Income: Although earnings improved for timed-out participants, they were not sufficient to replace the reduction in cash assistance.

- Annualized median household income for the timed-out cohort declined from \$17,956 before January 1, 2003, to \$17,250 after January 1, 2003, and increased during this period from \$14,968 to \$15,776 for the comparison group.
- The impact of the reduction in cash assistance was greater in timed-out households with three persons or less.

Scope and Methods

To understand how CalWORKs families have fared after reaching time limits in January, CalWORKs households were tracked for six months, between January and June 2003. A substantial proportion of the 2,100 CalWORKs participants that timed-out in January 2003 had two parents living in the household¹. Because the purpose of the study was to examine the changes in the lives of the participants at their household level, one person from each timed-out household was randomly selected. Therefore, 1,753 timed-out participants were studied in this report.

For comparison purposes, a second, stratified equally-sized group of CalWORKs participants who have not reached time limits was also randomly selected and tracked for six months. The use of stratified sampling enabled the construction of a comparison group that was demographically similar to the timed-out group.

Data on employment, family structure, housing stability, supportive services needs, and income were collected for the selected CalWORKs participants for the six-month period from January through June 2003. Differences between the timed-out and the comparison group were compared and tested to understand how timed-out households were doing after reaching time limits.

Administrative records from DPSS were used to collect demographic, income, and program data for both samples. Unemployment Insurance records from the State

of California Employment Development Department were merged with administrative records from DPSS to understand changes in employment patterns.

A survey with questions on family structure, housing stability, supportive services needs, income, and employment was designed for and administered to both samples in May and August 2003. In addition to English, surveys were conducted in Spanish, Vietnamese, and Armenian.

Several focus group interviews were conducted in July and August 2003 to provide qualitative information which helped illustrate general themes revealed in survey data and administrative records. Participants for 12 focus groups were recruited from regionally concentrated populations that were representative of the main languages spoken among the timed-out population, i.e., English, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Armenian. Each focus group had an average of 8 to 10 participants. Additional follow-up telephone interviews were conducted with available focus group participants.

Multivariate regression analysis and chi-square tests of association were conducted to test for differences between timed-out and comparison groups. These statistical tests do not explain if the differences between the two groups are due to the impact of reaching time limits. However, comparing these group differences provides insight into how timed-out households are faring after reaching time limits. A separate methodological appendix accompanies this report and discusses in detail the methods used to provide the findings for this report².

Welfare Time Limits: Policy at a Glance

Welfare Reform

One of the central policy features of the Federal law that overhauled the nation's welfare system in 1996 was the imposition of time limits on cash assistance for families receiving public assistance under the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program³. Welfare reform law prohibits states from using Federal TANF block grants to provide cash assistance to needy families in excess of 60 months. However, under a provision of the Federal welfare legislation, states may continue to provide welfare cash assistance to needy families past the Federal time limits, but must do so utilizing their own funds. In addition, CalWORKs participants are eligible to receive transitional services after their time limits have elapsed. These services are designed to assist timed-out participants in finding employment⁴.

CalWORKs Time Limits

In California, the five-year time limit on cash receipt began on January 1, 1998 in accordance with the passage of the Welfare-to-Work Act of 1997 (AB 1542) by the State Legislature. California enacted its own version of welfare reform in 1997, in conformity with the Federal policy

initiative, paving the way, for the implementation of the State's CalWORKs program.

Children Retain Eligibility

California is one of several states that continues to provide cash assistance to children under 19 years of age after participants exhaust the adult portion of their cash assistance under CalWORKs. Therefore, approximately 4,300 children of the 2,100 parents have remained eligible for cash aid while their parents had their cash assistance reduced. All timed-out households experienced a reduction in the adult portion of the grant. The amount of the reduction in cash assistance depends on the family's household size, the number of adults aided in the household, and family income. After reaching time limits, families with no earned income experienced a cash reduction of at least \$103⁵.

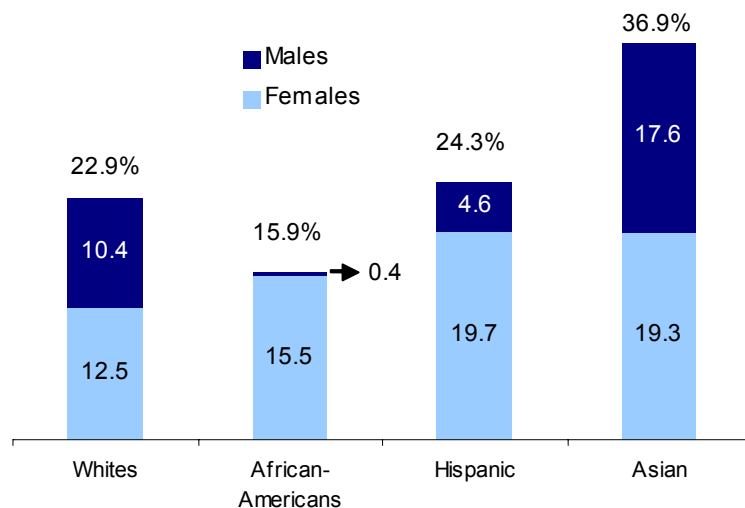
Description of the First Cohort of Timed-Out Participants

Figure 1 shows the overall gender and ethnic distribution of the participants in the timed-out cohort. More than one-third (37 percent) of the participants in the timed-out cohort were Asian (i.e., Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese, Cambodian, and Laotian). Hispanic recipients comprised 24 percent of the timed-out cohort. White participants accounted for 23 percent, and African-American participants comprised 16 percent. Of all the ethnic groups examined, Asians had the highest proportion of males, whereas African-American had the lowest proportion of males. An average of three children lived in timed-out households. Fifty-nine percent of these households had both parents present as compared to 40 percent "mother only" households. Less than 1 percent were "father only" households. The average size of the timed-out households was 4.3 people (1.8 adults and 2.5 children per household).

Age, Marital Status, and Education

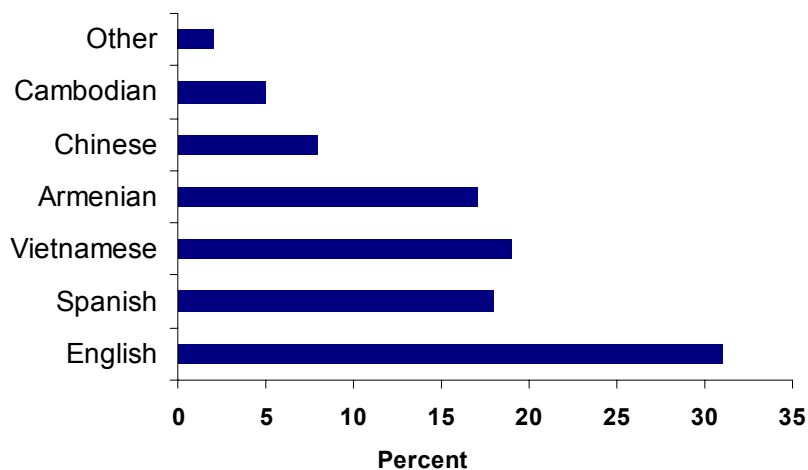
The mean age of CalWORKs participants in the timed-out cohort was 41 years. Approximately 54 percent of the timed-out cohort were currently married and 46 percent were currently not married.

Figure 1 Ethnic and Gender Distribution of the Timed-Out Cohort, January 2003



Source: Los Angeles Eligibility, Automated Determination, Evaluation and Reporting, (LEADER), Department of Public Social Services, Los Angeles County, 2003.

Figure 2 Primary Language of Participants in the Timed-Out Cohort, January 2003



Note: The "Other" category includes Russian, Farsi, Arabic, Korean and Laotian.
 Source: Los Angeles Eligibility, Automated Determination, Evaluation and Reporting, (LEADER), Department of Public Social Services, Los Angeles County, 2003.

Vietnamese mother talks about the impact on her children of not having money for needed clothes:

"Beginning next month, my son enters 9th grade, and I don't know where I'm going to get the money to buy clothes for him because now he grows very fast. He's growing up so he doesn't want to wear the old clothes cuz they are all too small, don't fit anymore, and he has to go to school. He doesn't want his friends to make fun of him. I don't want him to wear raggedy clothes. He would be looked down upon, creating self-consciousness for him and insecurities that will affect him for life. That's why I feel so depressed."

Most of the currently married households were either Armenian or Vietnamese. Nineteen percent had some college experience, at least one adult in half of these households had a high school education or its equivalency, and 31 percent had less than a high school education.

Primary Language

Participants whose primary language was English comprised slightly more than 30 percent of the timed-out cohort examined in this report. The other three primary languages were Vietnamese (19 percent), Spanish (18 percent), and Armenian (17 percent). A more detailed breakdown of the timed-out cohort by primary language is provided in Figure 2.

Employment

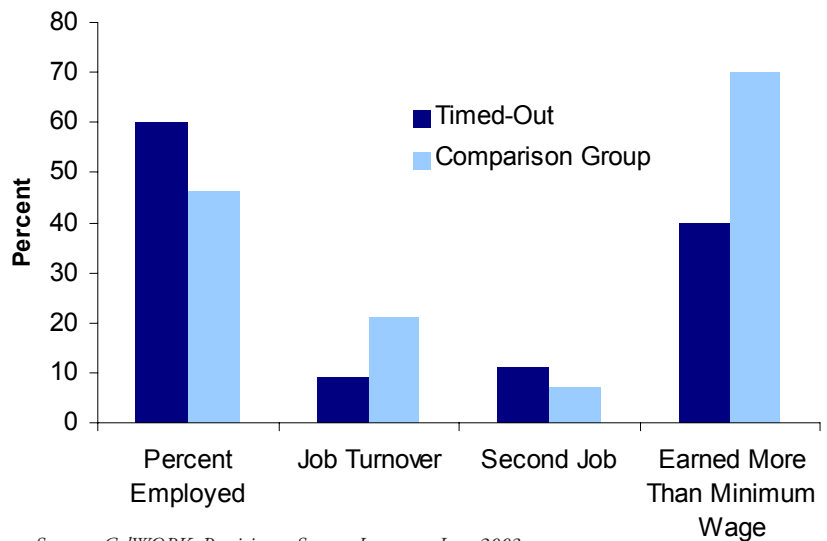
Higher Employment Rates Among Timed-Out Participants

Participants in the timed-out cohort maintained higher rates of employment. In fact, participants in the timed-out cohort were 2.6 times more likely to be employed between January and June 2003 than the comparison group. Some of the most salient employment characteristics for both the timed-out and comparison groups are presented in Figure 3.

Among the timed-out respondents in this survey, 70 percent indicated they were employed at some point between January and June 2003. Consistent with the survey findings, the employment rate of the timed-out cohort in the administrative data was also significantly⁶ higher than the comparison group, and held firm at 75 percent, while it increased slightly from 49 to 52 percent among the comparison group.

Employed participants in the timed-out and comparison groups were working in low-wage sections of the economy. More often than not, these jobs were in the services sector. Two-thirds of the participants in both groups were employed in industries such as business services, eating and drinking places, health services, textile and apparel, educational services, food stores, general merchandise stores, and social services⁷.

Figure 3 Employment Characteristics of CalWORKS Participants between January and June 2003



Source: CalWORKS Participant Survey, January - June 2003.

Timed-Out Participants Worked More Hours at Lower Wages

- Timed-out participants had lower job turnover (they were 69 percent less likely to change jobs than the comparison group).
- Timed-out participants had longer average length of employment than the comparison group.
- Timed-out participants worked a second job more frequently (they were 60 percent more likely to work a second job than the comparison group).
- Timed-out participants worked more hours (47 percent of the timed-out cohort worked 30-40 hours a week versus 40 percent of the comparison group).

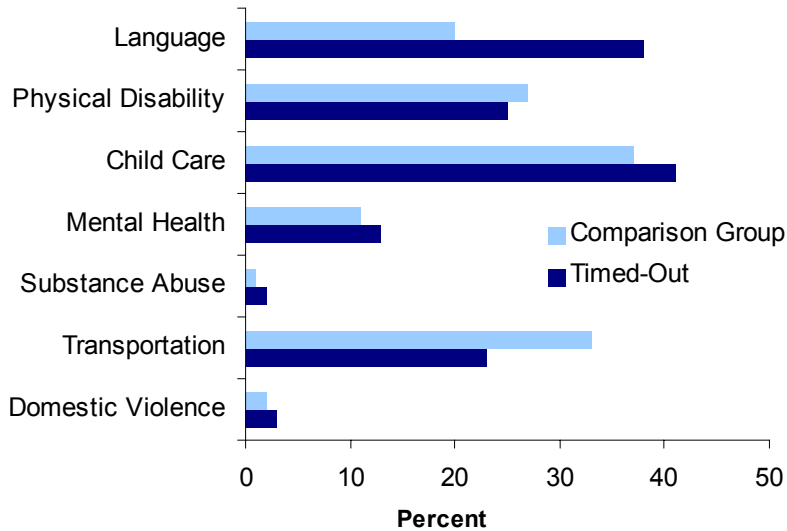
However, participants in the timed-out cohort were 59 percent less likely to earn more than the minimum wage relative to the comparison group. Therefore, in spite of working more hours and sometimes holding two jobs, the total earnings of the timed-out cohort were not significantly higher than those of the comparison group due to their lower hourly wages.

What were the Major Barriers to Employment?

In considering the reasons for certain employment outcomes, it is useful to pose the question of whether there are barriers that prevent particular groups of people from obtaining employment. The survey asked the unemployed timed-out and comparison group participants about seven such barriers: domestic violence, transportation problems, drugs and alcohol, mental health problems, lack of child care, disability and/or health barriers, and language barriers. Individuals in each group experienced an average of between one and two barriers to employment. The timed-out cohort experienced significantly higher rates of domestic violence, child care problems, and language barriers, while comparison group participants

experienced more transportation barriers (Figure 4). Multivariate analysis showed that regardless of differences in background characteristics, participants in the timed-out cohort were 37 percent more likely to experience child care as a barrier to employment compared with the comparison group.

Figure 4 Employment Barriers Among CalWORKs Participants between January and June 2003



Source: CalWORKs Participant Survey, January - June 2003.

To further gauge the effects of the reduction in cash assistance benefits on income, change in median household income from immediately before time limits (July to December 2002) to immediately after time limits (January to June 2003) was assessed. The annualized median household income for the timed-out group declined by 4 percent, from \$17,956 to \$17,250, and increased for the comparison group by 5 percent, from \$14,968 to \$15,776. There was no decline in the median income among households in the timed-out cohort that had more than one wage earner.

A comparison of participant's household income before and after January 1, 2003 shows that a majority of the timed-out cohort experienced a decline and a majority of the comparison group experienced an increase in their household income (Figure 5).

Poverty Increasing in Timed-Out Households

More than half of the adults in both the timed-out and comparison groups lived below the Federal Poverty Threshold both before and after January 1, 2003. However, Figure 6 shows that almost twice as many adults in the timed-out group (16 percent) moved below the poverty threshold after January 1, 2003, compared with 8 percent of adults in the comparison group.

During the first six months after January 1, 2003, the poverty rate among the timed-out cohort increased by 8 percent (from 61 to 69 percent) and declined by 6 percent among the comparison group (from 72 to 66 percent).

Cash Reduction is More Significant For Smaller Families

The combination of minimum wage employment, coupled with reductions in cash assistance, caused the median income of the timed-out cohort to decline in the six months following January 2003. Since these households were already near the poverty threshold before the reduction in cash aid, the drop in aid pushed a significant proportion of these families into poverty. These differences were especially pronounced for small families. In families with three people or less, 21 percent fell below the Federal Poverty Threshold after reaching time limits as opposed to 12 percent among larger families, i.e., five or more people.

Income and Poverty

A CalWORKs household's total income consists of the earned income of the primary earner in the household and that of other earners; cash assistance; Food Stamps; and other income components, such as disability benefits and child support. A reduction in cash assistance therefore leads to a decline in the household income of timed-out participants.

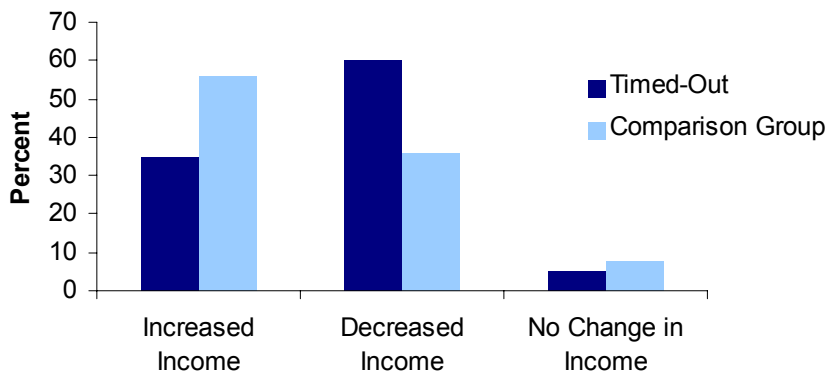
Although timed-out participants had higher employment rates and worked more hours, their earnings were not high enough to replace the reduction in cash assistance. Administrative records showed that the average cash aid for the timed-out cohort declined by 34 percent, from \$485 to \$320 per month. Reduction in cash aid due to time limits is higher among two-parent households. Since the timed-out cohort had a substantial proportion of two-parent households, it experienced a sharp decline in cash assistance.

Among smaller households (three people or less), the reduction in cash aid was more pronounced (38 percent), from \$370 to \$230 per month.

A Spanish-speaking mother talks about self-esteem:

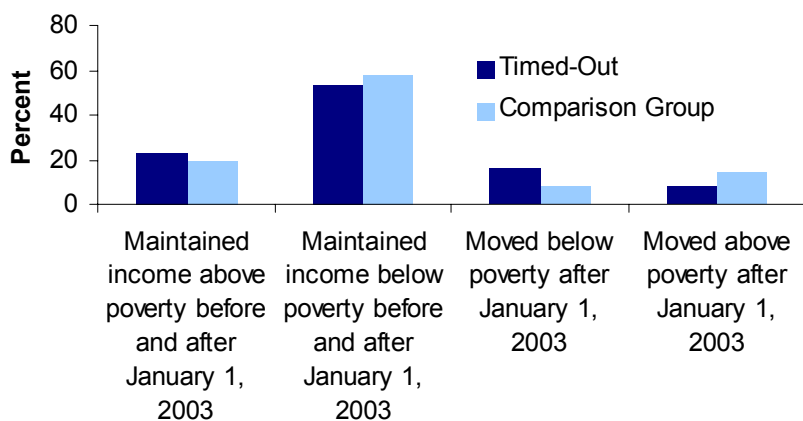
"When I went to GAIN, my self-esteem was raised, and now that I am studying (cake decorating), I know that I will be doing something positive in my life."

Figure 5 Change in Household Income Among CalWORKs Participants Six Months Before and After January 1, 2003



Source: Unemployment Insurance Records, Employment Development Department, California, 2002-03.

Figure 6 Percent of CalWORKs Participants in Poverty Before and After Timing-Out on January 1, 2003



Source: Unemployment Insurance Records, Employment Development Department, California, 2002-03.

Family Structure

It May be Too Early To Tell

The reduction in cash assistance did not seem to be associated with major disruptions in the family structure of the timed-out cohort. However, it may be too early to detect such effects. This is a vital issue because the State Legislature has made clear that welfare reform must not negatively affect children and families.

Change in Household Size

The survey tracked changes in the number of adults living in households between January and June 2003. The results indicated that 96 percent of respondents in both groups reported no change over this time period.

Increase in Marriage Rates

There was a significant difference between the timed-out group and the comparison group in terms of change in marital status. Participants in the timed-out cohort were twice as likely to get married between January and June 2003 than the comparison group.

Reaching Time Limits is Stressful for Many Families

Most timed-out adults participating in the focus group interviews reported stress related to the experience of timing out from CalWORKs. This stress was associated with difficulties finding jobs that paid a living wage, having to do with less resources, constantly budgeting, trying to make ends meet on a weekly and monthly basis, juggling the responsibilities of working, going to school, caring for children, and always worrying about the immediate and long-term future of their families.

However, different families had different responses to exhausting their 60-month benefits on CalWORKs cash assistance. A few timed-out families experienced internal discord, but most were brought closer together. Parents and older children pulling together to deal with money problems was a consistent finding throughout the focus group interviews.

Adults in the comparison group reported some of the same challenges and responses, suggesting that the stresses and strains reported by the timed-out cohort are less an effect of time limits and more an effect of simply being poor.

An African-American mother talks about the ways the CalWORKs program assisted her:

"The whole idea of the program, it motivated me to get out there and get a job. And clothes, they give free vouchers for clothes. And the uniforms, the equipment, stuff like that. They really, really help you along and I like that."

Housing Stability

The likelihood of housing problems between January and June 2003 was 17 percent higher among the comparison group compared with the participants in the timed-out cohort. This may have been partly because focus group interviews revealed that some timed-out households moved up in their priority for Section 8 housing after reaching time limits.

Timed-Out Participants Benefit From Section 8 Housing

Housing expenses tend to be the largest item in a CalWORKs family's budget. Many timed-out families in the focus groups were worried about their ability to pay rent and the possibility of eviction. However, reaching time limits brought a major housing benefit to timed-out families—priority on the long Section 8 housing list. With the loss of aid, housing support saved several timed-out families in the focus groups from eviction. Given the level of income after timing out, receipt of Section 8 or low-income housing support was a critical factor in maintaining housing stability.

However, the advantages of Section 8 housing assistance were not evenly shared among the different language and ethnic groups that were interviewed. Among the timed-out focus group interviews, Armenian, English, and Spanish-speaking participants were more successful in getting Section 8 housing. However, Vietnamese participants seemed to be hampered by language barriers and less education, and thus were less successful in obtaining Section 8 housing.

Single Latina with two teenagers tells how she deals with her loss of cash aid:

"Less groceries and, you know, and your kids have to wear socks with holes in it for a while, and they have to wear uniforms that feel tight. Well they have to wear them, and you have to deal with a lot of stuff like that."

Increased Utilization of Shelters

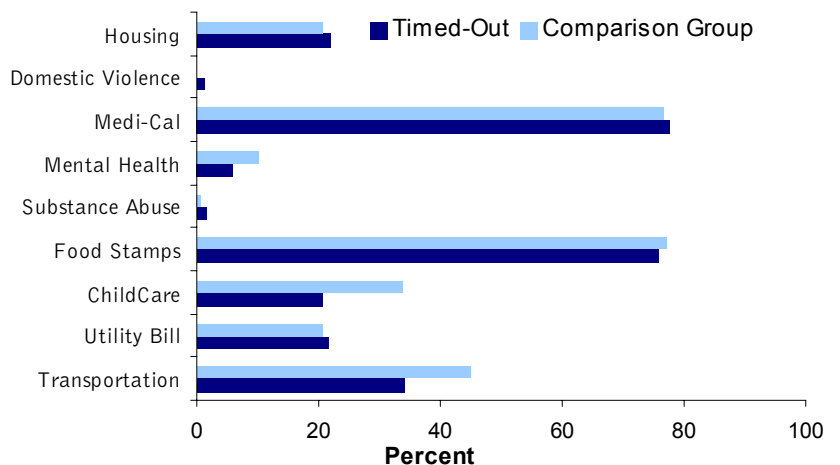
The likelihood of utilization of shelters between January and June 2003 was higher among the timed-out survey respondents (1.5 times) relative to the comparison group respondents. In terms of other housing problems, participants in the timed-out cohort were 15 percent less likely to experience problems paying rent, but 14 percent more likely to experience problems paying their utility bills, compared with the comparison group.

Demand for Supportive Services

In addition to cash aid, CalWORKs provides a number of supportive services to participants attempting to make the transition from welfare to work. These services include transportation subsidies, child care services, Food Stamps, drug and alcohol counseling, mental health services, Medi-Cal, domestic violence counseling, and homeless prevention services. Participants continue to be eligible for these services after reaching their time limits on cash assistance.

More than 75 percent of timed-out and comparison group respondents reported a need for Medi-Cal and Food Stamps between January and June 2003. Between 21 and 22 percent of the timed-out and comparison group reported a need for housing (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Demand for Supportive Services Between January and June 2003 Among CalWORKs Participants



Note: Participants in the comparison group did not report any incident of domestic violence. Rates of Medi-Cal and Food Stamps usage are under-reported in survey data. Administrative data show more than 80 percent of CalWORKs participants using any of these two supportive services.

Source: CalWORKs Participant Survey, January-June 2003.

Increased Need for Drug and Alcohol Counseling Services

Multivariate analysis of group differences in the need for supportive services showed that participants in the timed-out cohort were 2.5 times more likely to need drug and alcohol counseling services between January and June 2003 than the comparison group. However, they were 41 percent less likely to need child care than the comparison group. This may be because most of the timed-out households had two parents living in them.

Policy Implications

This report has focused on the first cohort of CalWORKs participants in the County of Los Angeles to reach time limits in January 2003. The Board of Supervisors requested that the timed-out cohort be compared with individuals who have not yet timed out to see how CalWORKs participants and their families have fared after reaching time limits. Significant differences between the two groups were observed in the areas of employment and income, supportive services, family structure, and housing stability.

Some of the outcomes observed in this report are likely to change as the demographics of participants who reach time limits change in the future. An additional demographic comparison of CalWORKs participants who reached time limits in January 2003 with participants who reached time limits between February and September 2003 indicates that the latter population has a considerably higher proportion of African-American, Hispanic, and English-speaking participants, and a considerably lower proportion of male, Vietnamese, and married participants. This indicates that the cohort of participants studied in this report are demographically different from the majority of the participants who continue to receive aid, but are now at risk of reaching time limits in the months ahead. Nevertheless, a number of the findings presented here have implications for what is likely to happen to participants who reach time limits in the future.

Employment and Income

The research for this report indicates that the timed-out cohort had a significantly higher employment rate relative to the comparison group. This cohort also experienced more stable employment, such as longer period of employment and more hours worked. However, this cohort also tended to work in low-paying jobs at minimum wage.

This is likely one of the reasons that, in spite of greater employment stability, a higher employment rate, and participation in the Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) Welfare-to-Work program, primary earners in timed-out households did not earn considerably more than the participants who continued to receive their adult portion of their cash assistance through CalWORKs. Therefore, it seems that CalWORKs participants reaching time limits are not prepared for higher wage or more skilled employment.

Research conducted for this report also found that reaching time limits tended to push some households into poverty, though it should be

emphasized that the household incomes were already near the Federal Poverty Threshold levels before time limits were reached. Prior to reaching time limits, the percentage of households in poverty among the timed-out cohort was lower than the comparison group. After reaching time limits, the percentage of households in poverty increased among the timed-out cohort, and exceeded the percentage of comparison group households living in poverty. These findings emphasize the need to improve the skill level of participants reaching time limits in order to move CalWORKs participants towards self-sufficiency.

Supportive Services Use, Family Structure, and Housing Stability

Predictions prior to time limits suggested that they would have a negative impact on health, family, and housing, but they have generally not occurred. Although more participants in the timed-out cohort reported staying in shelters, some participants in this cohort were also able to avail themselves of Section 8 housing benefits and thereby maintain their housing stability. In addition, marriage rates increased among the timed-out cohort. At the same time, with the exception of an increase in drug and alcohol services, the reduction in cash assistance did not increase the use of other supportive services among the timed-out cohort. While it may be too early to assess the impact of reaching time limits, there seems to be some evidence of stress among families in the timed-out cohort that participated in the focus group interviews. In addition, participants in the focus group interviews had better knowledge regarding Food Stamps, Medi-Cal, or transportation subsidies than knowledge of other subsidies.

African-American mother talks about how her desire to supervise her kids affects her job search:

“Right now I am in the process of trying to find something that’s graveyard, yeah. ...that way I’ll come home in the daytime, be there in time enough to get my daughter ready for school and still be home to take care of the bigger girls and watch over them, yeah. I have my oldest daughter, and she’s 16 years old, and I hear a lot of things about her friends, pregnancy, ditching school, you know, things like that. So, okay, this is what I think, starting a job can cause other, personal problems later on. Yeah, it can cause personal problems with your children, too much freedom. You have to think about that, no matter what kind of job you get, that’s very important, very important.”

Overall, the findings reported here reflect early group differences between participants who reached time limits and participants who did not time out in January 2003. The question of how these group differences will evolve in the future remains to be seen. A more comprehensive understanding of the long-term impact of time limits on the CalWORKs population in the County of Los Angeles will require analyzing a larger sample of timed-out participants over a more lengthy period of time.

An Armenian mother describes her stress in trying to balance work, study, being with her 12-year-old daughter:

"If I tell you that it is not stressful, will you believe me? Now I am trying to find a second job and secure an additional income, but physically, it is impossible to study, to work, and devote some time to my child the latter is a necessity."

This report was prepared for the Department of Public Social Services. The report is available at:

<http://www.ladpss.org/dpss/dss>

Author Information

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Acknowledgments

The authors are thankful for the reviews and helpful comments from the Department of Public Social Services.

ENDNOTES

¹The Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles passed a motion on January 21, 2003, to study the impact of time limits on CalWORKs participants. When the Board motion was passed, only 2,100 participants had been identified as reaching their 60-month time limits. The current study examined the impact of time limits on the households of these 2,100 participants. However, subsequently DPSS revised the number of participants who reached time limits, and as a result, 5,527 more CalWORKs participants reached their time limits, effective January 1, 2003.

²For details on sample selection and methodology, see the technical appendix for this report: Moreno, et al. *Methodological Appendix For "Reaching Welfare Time Limits in Los Angeles County: A Study of an Early Cohort."* County of Los Angeles, Chief Administrative Office, January 2004.

³For further research on welfare time limits and their impact, see the following: Bloom, Dan, Mary Farrell, Barbara Fink. *Welfare Time Limits: State Policies, Implementation, and Effects on Families.* New York: MDRC. July, 2002; Holcomb, Pamela A., Hartin Martinson. *Welfare Reform Across the Nation.* Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute. September 2002; *Welfare Reform: With TANF Flexibility, State Vary in How They Implement Work Requirements and Time Limits.* GAO-02-770. Washington, D.C.: July, 2002.

⁴In the County of Los Angeles, there are established criteria for determining whether welfare participants are able to receive an exemption from Welfare-to-Work requirements which in effect stop the participants "Clock" for reaching the 60-month time limit for CalWORKs CASH assistance. These "clock stoppers" lead to an extension on the time limit, and they are as follows: participant is disabled and deemed unable to work by DPSS; a victim of domestic violence; a teen parent participating in Cal-Learn; a teen parent exempted from Cal-Learn and/or other teen parent programs; caring for a dependent child of the court, a child at risk, or an ill person in their home; at least 60 years of age; in receipt of disability benefits, such as State Disability Insurance, Worker's Compensation, Temporary Disability Insurance, or In-Home Support Services. Exemptions and extensions last for as long as the participant meets one or more of these criteria. Participants are reevaluated at least once every 12 months, or sooner if the condition is expected to change at an earlier date.

⁵All timed out families with no earned income experienced a cash reduction of at least \$103. However, a family of three (one adult and two children) with no earned income experienced a cash reduction of \$131, whereas families with one adult and one child and no earned income experienced a cash reduction of \$212. In households with one child and two adults timing-out and no earned income, the reduction in cash assistance was \$343, and in households with two children and two adults timing-out, the reduction in cash assistance was \$271. However, there was an increase of \$40 in Food Stamps to all families reaching CalWORKs time limits.

⁶All results reported in this study were statistically significant at $p < .05$. Multivariate or chi-square tests that were statistically significant are denoted by using the word "significant."

⁷The job classification is based on the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code, U.S. Department of Labor. The SIC codes classify all businesses by the types of products or services they produce – regardless of the size or type of ownership.



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