

PUBLIC TRANSIT AND WELFARE-TO-WORK: A PAPER
EXPLORING ISSUES OF ACCESS AND MOBILITY
RELATED TO THE FEDERAL
PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND WORK
OPPORTUNITY RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1996

January 2000

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Abstract

This paper discusses some of the issues related to public transportation and welfare reform. Consideration is given to socioeconomic characteristics of welfare recipients at the enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act and how these characteristics might influence travel behavior. There also is some discussion of land use, market forces, and other factors in U. S. society that may create barriers to public transportation for the target population. Strategies to address the barriers, including funding and service opportunities are provided. Suggestions for additional research are included.

OVERVIEW

This research effort was created to enable the National Urban Transit Institute (NUTI) to investigate the state-of-the-practice of transportation research in support of moving welfare recipients into the workforce. The results of this effort will be used to focus more intensive research on transit and its relation to welfare reform and to suggest future research needs related “Welfare to Work” initiatives.

Welfare-to-work is a critical issue facing transportation planners. Over the next few years, this issue is expected to grow in importance as the eligibility policies result in increased efforts by persons currently on welfare to become employed. Public transportation will be a key element for many urban residents who do not now and are not likely to have other transportation options. Accordingly, targeted research to understand the needs of this consumer group will be of great value to both the transportation community and the individuals who may benefit by having quality transportation options available.

Understanding transportation needs may provide benefits at multiple levels extending from the individual, to local communities, the state, and nation.

This project was developed to ensure that efforts carried out by NUTI were complementary to the growing body of knowledge in this subject area. The rapid increase of interest in this area with its appeal to several disciplines required considerable coordination to ensure research efforts were complementary and nonduplicative.

STATE-OF-THE-PRACTICE IN “WELFARE-TO-WORK” RESEARCH AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

The PRWORA and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996, Public Law 104-193, signed into law by President Clinton August 22, 1996, ended “welfare as we [knew] it.” Peter Edelman, former Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the Department of Health and Human Services stated, “The bill closes its eyes to all the facts and complexities of the real world and essentially says to recipients, Find a job” (1997).¹ One complexity that was not overlooked by others in the Administration was the need for public transportation. Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater on the introduction of an amendment to help get welfare recipients to job sites stated, “Transportation truly is the ‘to’ in ‘welfare-to-work’” (1997). The ‘to’ has to do with access to job opportunities under the new Act. Without access and mobility to job sites, and as discussed later, training and education, personal responsibility may not be realized. There is a heightened sense of urgency because the new legislation places lifetime time limits – as few as four years in some States – on program participation.

Many public transportation experts share Secretary Slater’s view of transit’s role in welfare reform. There are, however, several characteristics about this segment of the U. S. population, land use issues, service delivery features, and labor market concerns that are expected to provide unique challenges for public transportation.

Characteristics of Participants in the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) Program

PRWORA replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program with the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) Program, which operates as a state block grant program. It requires participants to become employed within two years of receiving assistance and sets a lifetime limit on the receipt of benefits. Under TANF, States may set lower limits on the time families receive assistance. An understanding of the socioeconomic characteristics, settlement patterns, and other behaviors and needs of participants may be beneficial.

TANF PARTICIPANTS: DEMOGRAPHICS, EDUCATION, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

According to the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), at the end of fiscal year 1996, October 1995 through September 1996, the average monthly number of AFDC families was 4.6 million, of which nearly four million persons were adults (1997). The families averaged 1.9 recipient children. Seventy percent of families had only one adult recipient. Men represented only 13 percent of recipients. Of the adult female recipients, the average age was 30 years; 14 percent were 40 years of age or older.

Figure 1 shows the average ethnic or racial characteristics of the AFDC caseload in 1996. Members of ethnic and racial minority groups were represented at a higher rate than the general population. While members of ethnic or racial minority groups comprised one-third of the U. S. population, 60 percent of AFDC families were of minority races or ethnic groups. According the 1996 U. S. Census Bureau estimates, nearly 37 million people or 14 percent of the population lived below the poverty level. Only 11.2 percent of whites were estimated to live below the poverty level;

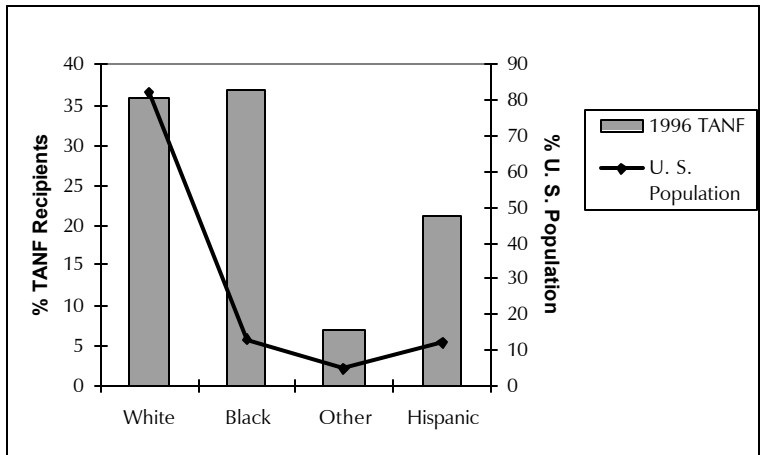


Figure 1 Comparison of TANF Participation to U. S. Population by Ethnicity or Race (U. S. Department of Commerce 1999b, 1999c; U. S. Department of Health and Human Services 1997)

however, the estimate for female heads of households with children was 32.6 percent; blacks, 28.4 percent; persons of Asian or Pacific Island descent, 14.5 percent; and persons of Hispanic origin, 29.4 percent. (See Figure 2.)²

Due to such factors as housing segregation patterns and income, ethnic and racial adult TANF participants generally reside in inner cities or rural areas where there are fewer employment opportunities (Massey and Denton 1993:148-185; Hughes and Sternberg 1992:19-24). This loss of

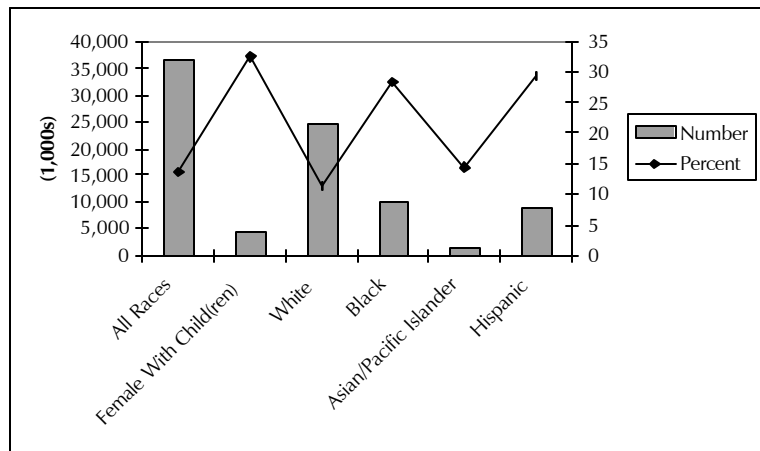


Figure 2 Selected Characteristics of Persons in Poverty (U. S. Census Bureau, 1997).

interconnectivity between residence and place of employment and services was first described by geographers in the 1950s as spatial mismatch. Again, U. S. Census Bureau figures on persons in poverty support these findings, as shown in Figure 3. While 13.2 percent of persons in poverty lived in metropolitan areas, 19.6 percent lived inside central cities and 15.9 percent lived outside metropolitan areas.

The PRWORA emphasizes “work first.” Among the 1996 national TANF adult caseload, 69

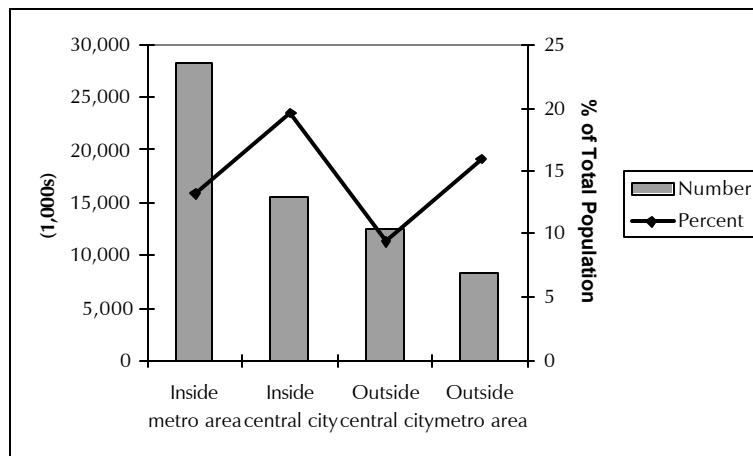


Figure 3 Residential Characteristics of Persons in Poverty (U. S. Census Bureau 1999)

percent of recipients had recent employment. Thirty percent of recipients had no work experience. When consideration is given to the amount of education attained by welfare recipients, the prospects for self-sufficiency are quite a challenge. According to Cohen (1998),

A study of a nationally representative sample of single welfare mothers found that 64 percent lacked high school diplomas (Spalter-Roth et alia 1995). Almost two-thirds of welfare recipients test scores on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT) fall in the bottom quartile; 31percent fall in the bottom decile. Researchers have estimated that between 25 and 40 percent of welfare recipients have learning disabilities (Nightingale 1991:*passim*). Studies show that people with more education and training have higher

earnings and a greater likelihood of being employed (Holzer 1996; Bloomer, Finney, and Gault 1997). Moreover, studies suggest that in many areas there are not enough low-skilled jobs for the welfare recipients who are qualified only for such work (Kleppner and Theodore 1997:*passim*; Cochrane, Horst, and Koropeckyj 1997). Even when jobs require minimal skills, employers may be unwilling to hire some people who fail to meet certain minimum standards (Holzer 1996; Newman and Lennon 1995).

Several studies have suggested that a substantial percent of TANF recipients may be persons with disabilities (Loprest and Acs 1996; Meyers et alia 1996; Young et alia 1997). While PRWORA and State statutes delineate those persons exempt from TANF work activity requirements, including recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) or Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibits discriminating against an individual with a disability by recipients of federal financial assistance. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) also provides for certain accommodations to access services and protections from improper treatment. Although SSI or SSDI recipients are exempt from TANF work activity requirements, the U. S. Department of Labor (DOL) has established a Welfare to Work Disability Initiative. DOL encourages state planners and welfare agencies “. . .to build into their state plans links with disability community organizations to provide information and assistance.”

Overall, there is considerable overlap between the characteristics of TANF participants and general transit ridership. As seen in Table I, women, particularly women of ethnic or racial minority groups living in central cities, are overrepresented in the TANF program and as transit users. While this may suggest that TANF users already may be users of public transit, the changes in travel behavior brought on by TANF may present new challenges to providers.

Table I. Characteristics of Public Transit Users and TANF Participants³

Characteristic	Percent Transit Users	Percent TANF Participants
Female	56 ³	87
Black	31	37
Hispanic	18	21
Other	6	6
White	45	36
Central City Residence	30	20
Zero Vehicle Household	15.35 ³	93

(APTA 1997; DHHS 1997; Hu and Young 1999)

Public Transit and the Challenge of Improving Accessibility

As suggested above, TANF participants may be large consumers of public transit. The challenge for transit is to improve access to employment, education, training, and childcare (USDOT 1998). On average, however, public transportation accounts for about 5 percent of worktrips. The intersection of some of the characteristics of TANF participants discussed earlier may make transit even less feasible for this group.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND ACCESS OR "SPATIAL MISMATCH"

The theory of spatial mismatch, discussed for more than 30 years (Kain 1968), purports that the suburbanization of employment and residential segregation has led to difficulties in inner city [and rural] residents reaching suburban employment opportunities.⁴ Spatial mismatch is thought to have created a reverse in traditional commute patterns. That is, the central business districts of cities are no longer the primary destinations of employees.⁵ Pisarski found that the number of workers in central cities is

increasing faster than the number of jobs and the converse is true in the suburbs (1996:78). As more and more suburban residential areas become employment centers, inner-city and rural residents then must commute to suburban employment locations.

Given the USDOT estimate that 93 percent of TANF participants do not own automobiles, access to employment opportunities is anticipated to come from public transit. Several studies have indicated that this is not a viable option. First, CTAA estimates that 38 percent of rural residents have no public transit (1994). In many rural areas that are served by public transit, the level of service is low, for zero-vehicle rural households, about 38 trips per year per household.

While public transit may be more available in urban areas, barriers to its use still exist for TANF participants. Some of the most notable studies have been conducted by the Center on Urban Poverty and Social Change (CUPSC) at Case Western Reserve University. Beginning in 1995, CUPSC examined the public transit routes in Cleveland from neighborhoods with large concentrations of public assistance recipients to prospective job sites. The researchers found an 80-minute commute allowed less than 44 percent of residents to reach the job sites (Leete and Bania 1995; Leete, Bania, and Coulton 1998).

A study of TANF recipients' access to transit service, work opportunities, and connectivity between service and opportunities in Boston conducted by the Volpe National Transportation Systems Center also found gaps (Lacombe 1998). While 98 percent of program participants lived within one-quarter mile of transit services, only about 32 percent of potential employers were within one-quarter mile of transit; 43 percent within one-half mile; and 58 percent within one mile (1998:7). Temporal gaps similar to those in Cleveland also were found. Only 14 percent of potential employers were accessible with a 60-minute transit commute; 31 percent with a 90-minute commute; and 48 percent were within two hours' distance (1998:8-9).

Joseph Coughlin and Michael Rich conducted a similar analysis of Cobb County, Georgia. Using a geographic information system (GIS), entry level jobs advertised in a local newspaper were plotted, along with recipients' residences, support services, e.g., daycare, training centers, and available transportation in metropolitan Atlanta. Only 43 percent of entry-level job opportunities were accessible via the Metropolitan Atlanta Regional Transit Authority (MARTA), most involving a one- to two-hour commute (Rich 1997).

PRWORA mandates that TANF recipients "work first." The profile of the recipients at time of enactment suggests that those subject to employment mandates of the Act faced significant challenges in meeting this requirement. Lack of transportation seemed to be chief among the challenges. For many rural recipients there may be no transportation – no private automobile and no public transportation. Where public transportation is available in rural areas, temporal gaps may pose barriers. The service may be available days or hours during the week not compatible with commuting needs. Studies from three major metropolitan areas found that geographic and temporal gaps existed in areas with public transit systems ranked among the top 25 in the nation.⁶

Three years have passed since the enactment of PRWORA. Many TANF participants have passed the critical 24-consecutive month period of program participation. Although PRWORA addresses transportation as an allowable support service for participants, few states have transportation elements as part of their statewide plans. Former Federal Transit Administration (FTA) Administrator Gordon Linton stated that the failure of the legislation and state plans to address transportation needs of TANF participants was "poor planning" (1999).

STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS THE ISSUES AND NEEDS

Since the enactment of PRWORA, several initiatives have been undertaken to address transportation service gaps. In 1998, the federal agencies, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Transportation, issued joint guidance on the *Use of TANF, WtW, and Job Access Funds for Transportation* “ . . . to encourage states and communities to take full advantage of existing resources to develop seamless integrated services addressing the transportation challenge of moving people from welfare to work.”

Job Access Planning, Operations, and Financing Practices

Although we know, on the aggregate level, that transportation is a barrier to employment, particularly for TANF recipients in central cities and rural areas, and that participants already are major users of public transportation where it exists, the origin and destination information for individual users is needed to plan job access effectively. FTA and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) have identified six major transportation analysis data sets necessary for job access planning:

- @ Welfare population: household location, number of working adults, children, and vehicle availability;
- @ Employment: location and availability of job opportunities;
- @ Job training center locations;
- @ Transportation: location and schedule of public transportation routes; availability and extent of social service transportation, paratransit, carpooling and vanpooling services;
- @ Hours of operation: frequency of transportation services; business hours for employment, child and day care facilities (1998).

This data is analyzed to understand what services are available, what services to improve, and what services are still needed. Several states and communities have developed effective strategies using data sets and analyses of this nature to meet the needs of TANF participants. The bibliography lists publications and Internet sites.

IMPACT ON EXISTING SERVICES

There is some difficulty in measuring the impact of welfare reform on existing transportation services. First, the number of TANF participants subject to work participation is relatively small. PRWORA standards for FY 1998 are 30 percent for all families and 75 percent for two-parent families. During FY 1998, approximately 700,000 adults participated in work activities (DHHS 1999:35). Second, In areas where transit is available, TANF participants may only change their destinations or the number of trips, causing no significant impact. Also, DHHS estimates that recidivism rates may range from 8 percent for leavers who return to welfare after one quarter to as great as 23 percent for leavers after one year (1999:192). This “churning” may have little or no impact on transit ridership.

The most significant impact on existing services has been changes to meet unmet needs. One indicator is the federal Job Access and Reverse Commute Program. The Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21) §3037 Job Access and Commute Grants provides competitive grants to local governments and nonprofit organizations to develop transportation services to connect welfare recipients and low-income persons to employment and support services. The program has \$750 million authorized and \$500 million guaranteed through FY 2003. The projects must focus on new or expanded transportation services targeted at filling transportation gaps, targeting welfare recipients’ and low income persons’ travel to and from jobs and other employment-related activities. For FY 1999, FTA awarded 167 grants, averaging \$424,120.

TANF funds may be used for a broad range of transportation services if the expenditure promotes job preparation and work. Eligible expenditures include transportation reimbursement; contracting for transportation services; purchase of transportation services; vehicle loans and leases; vehicle donation and repair; start up or operating costs of new or expanded services; entrepreneurial transportation capitalization expenses of TANF-eligible individuals; and transportation planning.

DOL administers the Welfare to Work (WtW) Formula and Competitive Grant Program. Only 25 percent of funds are available for competitive grants to communities. This funding is authorized from the same source as TANF fund and can be used for the same activities, if specifically targeted to “[moving] individuals into and [keeping individuals in lasting unsubsidized employment]” (DOL, DHHS, DOT 1998).

It is difficult to assess the impact on existing transportation services by assessing the amount of funds expended through TANF and WtW. Transportation services are viewed as a support service that allows TANF-eligible individuals to meet program mandates. DHHS and DOL historically associated expenditures with program-eligible individuals versus program services provided. While the agencies have issued guidance on how the three funding sources can be co-mingled, it is difficult to separate transportation expenditures due to differences in cost allocation practices. Since 1996, however, DOL has awarded 16 competitive grants totaling \$65 million for transportation and other services. One concern, however, is that while job access continues to be a problem, states have not made use of the available funds for TANF. In 1997 and 1998, \$3 billion set aside for welfare reform went unspent (DeParle 1999; Wolf 1999). Some states, however, have begun to draw down these funds, using them in programs to assist the working poor, e.g., childcare, transportation, etc.

FUNDING AND SERVICE STRATEGIES

A key feature of the TANF legislation is the flexibility allowed to States in program design. In many States, this has been passed down to the local area allowing programs to be more responsive to local conditions. One drawback in this process has been local interpretations of federal policies. This has affected some transportation providers in attempting to co-mingle funds. An example would be the use of TANF funds to support a vanpool. The transportation provider would not have a problem with mixing TANF riders with the general public or other sponsored riders. The TANF agency could view this mix as the use of funds to support persons who are not eligible for TANF. These types of interpretations led to the issuance of the earlier-referenced guidance by DHHS, DOL, and DOT in May 1998. The guidance was revised and reissued in December 1998.

Many public transit providers have developed a number of strategies to address the needs of TANF recipients. Several of these efforts predate PRWORA. As early as 1993, APTA, FTA, and the Ford Foundation sponsored a one-day workshop on reverse commute programs. While this workshop and the Bridges to Work demonstration focus on the transportation needs of the working poor, there are obvious parallels between the two groups. A number of providers do address the reverse commute, however, most have found that multiple strategies are needed. A sample of local strategies is provided in Table II (CTAA 1999a).

The success of the funding and service strategies lies in agencies combining multiple partners and techniques. CTAA stated, "The methods that work are responsive to the needs of local clients and employers, take into consideration the unique geography and resources of the regions they serve and identify, coordinate with or build upon existing public and human service transportation (1999). FTA lists six keys to success for transportation providers:

- @ Local stakeholder collaboration – leveraging each other;
- @ Coordination of local service;
- @ Getting transportation into state welfare reform planning;
- @ Getting welfare issues into local transportation planning;
- @ Integrating transportation and employment support services;
- @ Applying ITS technology to welfare to work (1999).

Table II. Local Innovative Welfare-to-Work Transportation Practices

Local Provider	Key Practices						
	Car- or Vanpool	Employer Assistance	Express Bus	Late-Night Service	Planning or Coordination	Reverse Commute	Transportation Coordinator
Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition, Baltimore, MD	U				U	U	
Kentuckiana Regional Planning and Development Agency, Louisville, KY			U	U		U	U
Hennepin County Training and Employment Assistance		U			U		U
Niagara Frontier Transportation Authority, Buffalo, NY	U			U	U		
PACE550 and Suburban Job-Link Corporation, Chicago, IL			U		U	U	
Suburban Mobility Authority for Regional Transportation,		U			U	U	U
Zuni Entrepreneurial Enterprises, Inc., Zuni, NM	U		U				U

Integration and Coordination of Transportation and Social Services

In addition to the joint guidance on funding, DOT and DHHS work together through the Coordinating Council on Access and Mobility. As with some of the initiatives mentioned above, the Council, established in 1986, predates the most recent welfare reform initiative. The purpose of the Council is to create a forum . . . to identify, document, and disseminate successful coordination practices to recipients of federal assistance . . . in order to achieve the basic objective . . . improving mobility (1999). Member agencies include several administrations of HHS; FTA, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, and the Offices of the Secretaries of both Departments. Partners include national advocacy and professional organizations representing transportation, welfare, and aging. The Council's goals continue to include "[achieving] the most cost-effective use of federal, State, and local resources for specialized and human service transportation . . . [and removing] federal barriers which adversely affect the coordination of transportation services among recipients and transportation providers" (1999).

The enactment of PRWORA has revitalized Council activities. Three publications prepared for the Council are expected to be available soon. While these focus on general planning and coordination, access and mobility for welfare recipients are given ample coverage. It is anticipated that the work of the Council in removing federal barriers and information dissemination will serve to improve State and local coordination activities. One soon-to-be released publication is *The Coordinating Council on Access and Mobility: Survey of State Coordination Programs and Policies*.

Labor Market Concerns

In addition to the concerns discussed earlier regarding employment rates and recidivism, there are a few general concerns about the labor market. These include number of work hours, time of day,

and occupation or industry. Each factor alone or combined with characteristics discussed earlier may contribute to barriers in addressing transportation needs.

NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED

Several studies have found that while more than half of employed welfare leavers worked 30 hours or more, the average number of hours was less than 40 (Brauner and Loprest 1999; General Accounting Office 1999; Loprest 1999). The number of hours worked may create difficulties for recipients relying on public transportation as travel times are likely to occur during off-peak hours when services are less frequent. If the worktrip comprises a chain stop, e.g., a childcare facility, travel time is further exacerbated.

WORK TIME OF DAY

While work time of day is somewhat related to the number of hours of work, the concern specifically relates to the beginning and ending of work shifts. The above-referenced studies also indicate that employment among welfare leavers is highly concentrated in specific industries and occupations that have shift hours extending beyond the traditional 8:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. As with hours worked, when work shifts extend beyond traditional commute times, transit services may be less frequent or nonexistent. The childcare and transportation also are factors.

OCCUPATION OR INDUSTRY

Again, the studies of welfare leavers found that about two-thirds of are employed in service, sales, or clerical or administrative occupations. About three-quarters of leavers are employed in the service or trade industries. The occupation and industry concerns for public transportation are related to geography. As discussed earlier, welfare recipients generally do not reside near potential places of employment.

There are ancillary factors that do not have a direct impact on public transit, but may be expected to affect travel behavior of the target group. First, the average earnings of welfare leavers are between \$5.50 and 7.00 per hour (National Governors' Association et alia 1998). This may contribute to frequent changes in travel needs as leavers look for better wages or return to TANF. Second, many jobs in the service industry may be seasonal, particularly those associated with the tourist industry. This may contribute to frequent changes in employment or return to TANF. And finally, changes in the economy. The U. S. is experiencing a major economic boom. Welfare leavers are beneficiaries of this growth, however, as the economy slows down, they may be among the first to be "laid off" due to their lack of seniority, experience, or skills.

PRWORA mandates "work first." As welfare rolls decrease, it appears that most people are leaving welfare for employment. The types of employment that many are finding, however, do not suggest that leavers will be able to assume "personal responsibility." Numerous studies have indicated that education has a positive effect on earnings. To date, there has been little emphasis on education and training, beyond on-the-job training and education mandates for teenage TANF participants. States, however, are allowed some flexibility in education and training programs. Access to education and training facilities may become more of a factor for leavers in the future.

Geographic or Regional Issues

In addition to the spatial mismatch issues discussed above, there are several geographic and regional issues related to the availability of public transit. As discussed earlier, more than 40 percent of rural residents live in areas without any public transportation services. The preponderance of "edge cities" ". . . combining residential, business, social, and cultural areas that are removed from older central cities and overlaid on earlier patterns of suburbanization . . ." presents problems in urban areas where public transportation may be more readily available. Whether through spatial mismatch or being

left behind, there are areas or neighborhoods in the U. S. where poverty is concentrated. Van Kempen (1999:435) states “place” has meaning for social life and on attainment and place of residence can be a factor in the poverty problem. Many persons in poverty areas lack not only access to goods and services, but also information on job opportunities and requirements. Here, transportation and information have considerable overlap in regard to social and economic mobility.

Many of the geographical or regional issues cannot be addressed in the near term. As former FTA Administrator Gordon Linton stated, “Reverse commute programs are, at best, short-term, stop gap measures” (1993). In fact, a 1967 Business Week article stated, “For Washington’s [D.C.] big (63%) Negro population, rapid transit offers the prospect of better access to jobs in the suburbs, where warehouses and plants have been fleeing in search of cheaper land” (60). Today’s spatial patterns of poverty pockets, edge cities, exurbs, and “fortified enclaves have been developing for more than 30 years and are part of the economic and other social characteristics of the U. S. Place may carry economic, social, and cultural capital. Public transportation may contribute to the enhancement of capital or fortify the enclaves.

AREAS FOR ADDITIONAL RESEARCH

Although PRWORA was enacted in 1996, the first and, perhaps, most critical milestone for many TANF recipients was not reached until two years later, the end of the 24-consecutive month time period. Little more than one year has passed since that time, hence much of the early research has been limited to state-level analyses or small samples. In addition, the lack of transportation guidance in State TANF plans may have contributed to delays in coordination between TANF providers and transportation providers. In sum, there are few findings available on national transportation issues related to TANF. Future efforts should focus on better understanding of TANF recipient transportation

needs; developing strategies that recognize and are responsive to the evolution of these transportation needs; and using the lessons learned from serving this subgroup of the population to make public transportation more accessible in general.

Understanding TANF Recipient Needs

As discussed under the Characteristics of TANF Recipients, the group is perhaps more racially or ethnically heterogeneous than the general public. Income, residence, and gender also may influence travel behavior. Overall, little research has been done that segments travel behavior by gender or ethnicity. Fewer exist that combine some of the other socioeconomic conditions. Surveys, travel diaries, and other instruments are needed to collect data on the travel behavior of TANF recipients. Researchers are encouraged to include TANF participants in research design and analysis. Multiple approaches and methods also are encouraged.

Some of the early data suggest that the need for better understanding among providers of services to TANF participants. That is, agency barriers may contribute to transportation difficulties. The Coordinating Council on Access and Mobility may be interested in focusing on coordination as related to welfare-to-work.

Developing Strategies That Recognize and Are Responsive to the Evolution of Needs

It is anticipated that as the TANF program matures, there will be a continuum of participants from new entrants to leavers who have exceeded the lifetime limit. Participants' place in the program will be another factor to consider in providing transportation services. Program place may generate changes in funding eligibility, education, and employment and, consequently, transportation needs. Transportation providers will need to develop tools to capture changes in service demand and to put

in place services that are flexible to be responsive. (A welfare-to-work typology is included in this paper.)

Some of the practices that have evolved from commuter assistance programs are being heavily adopted by transportation providers. One drawback, however, is that the commute trip only accounts for about 20 percent of all travel. Understanding the needs of TANF recipients may improve our understanding of these other trips and how they enable this group to get to work. Developing transportation services to other support services for potential employees and other household members may be necessary. Again, these needs may change over time.

Using the Lessons Learned to Make Public Transportation More Accessible

Hank Dittmar asked in 1996 (667), “. . . how can research and policy analysis help to better define . . . issues so that legislation and spending can be targeted to dealing with the real problems of the so-called “soccer moms” and “welfare mother,” along with everybody for whom a category has not yet been invented”? The answer has not been found, yet. As suggested earlier, however, better understanding of the various segments of the population will help us better understand and meet their needs. Many of the social issues faced by TANF recipients are experienced by other subgroups of the population, however, the research does not exist that could inform transportation planning. Building on the approaches to and findings of research on the transportation needs of TANF recipients, similar studies should be conducted that compare and contrast this group to other subgroups of the population. There is an overall need to investigate fully the relationship between land use and transportation. And, finally, the research process must be iterative. The findings should inform the legislative and policy processes and these, in turn, the services.

TYPOLOGY FOR WELFARE-TO-WORK TRANSPORTATION

(Cambridge Systematics 1991:1-7; Gregg 1998)

- I. Identify TANF Household Employment Customers and Travel Needs
 - A. Employee or Trainee
 - B. Child or Day Care
 - 1. School
 - 2. Daycare
 - a. Afterschool
 - 3. Older Person
 - 4. Person with Disability
 - C. Travel Times
 - D. Travel Destinations
- II. Identify Employment Opportunities
 - A. Employment Location
 - B. Opportunities Available
- III. Job Training Center Location
- IV. Mobility and Access Network
 - A. Transportation
 - 1. TANF Household Travel Training
 - a. Public Transit Use
 - b. Ridesharing Information
 - c. Private Automobile Maintenance
 - 2. Public Transit
 - a. Systems or Services
 - (1) Fixed Guideway
 - (2) Bus Fixed Route
 - (3) Circumferential and Local Bus Service
 - b. System or Service Improvements
 - (1) Route and Schedule Modifications
 - (2) Schedule Coordination
 - (3) Park and Ride Service
 - (4) Subscription Service
 - (5) Point or Route Deviation
 - 3. Social Service Transportation
 - a. Service Coordination Opportunities
 - 4. Paratransit
 - a. Service Coordination Opportunities
 - 5. Schoolbus
 - a. Service Coordination Opportunities

6. Ridesharing
 - a. Ridematching Services
 - b. Carpooling Services
 - c. Vanpooling Services
 - d. Guaranteed or Emergency Ride Home
7. Private Automobiles
 - a. Ridesharing
 - b. Leased or Pre-owned Vehicles
 - c. "Charity" Cars
 - d. Vehicle Maintenance Program
 - e. Mileage Reimbursement
 - f. Gasoline Vouchers
8. Nonmotorized Alternatives
 - a. Bicycles
 - b. Walking
 - c. Telecommuting
 - d. Nonmotorized Transportation Education
 - (1) Safety
 - (2) Connecting to other Modes
 - (a) Bike-on-Bus
 - (b) Transit Stops or Stations
9. Employer-Based Programs
 - a. Employee Financial Incentives
 - (1) Reduced or Designated Parking for Ridesharers
 - (2) Subsidized Transit use
 - (3) Transportation Allowances
 - b. On-site Employer Transportation Coordinator
 - c. Rideshare Services
 - (1) Ridematching Services
 - (2) Rideshare Marketing
 - (3) Rideshare and Nonmotorized Facilities
 - (4) Subscription or Bus Services
 - (5) Midday and Park-and-Ride Shuttles
 - d. Guaranteed Ride Home
 - e. Work Schedule Changes
 - (1) Telecommuting
 - (2) Flextime
 - (a) Coordinate Work Hours with Transit or Other Ridesharing Arrangements
 - (3) Compressed Work Week
 - (a) 4-Day Week, 10-Hour Work Day
 - (b) 5/4-9 Plan (80 Hours in 9 Days)
 - (4) Staggered Work Hours

- B. Relocation Assistance
- C. Implement Mobility Network
- D. Transportation Case Management
 - 1. Screen Customers
 - 2. Develop Customer Database
- E. Transportation Training
- F. Ridematch
 - 1. Geocode Origin and Destination Data
 - 2. Develop Travel Itineraries
- G. Provide Follow-up
- V. Develop and Implement Communication and Outreach Plans
 - A. Contacts
 - 1. TANF Case Managers
 - 2. Employers
 - 3. Human Service Agencies
 - 4. Transportation Providers
 - 5. Child and Day Care Facilities
 - 6. Education and Training Institutions
 - 7. TANF Customers
 - B. Information Dissemination
 - 1. Internet
 - 2. Electronic Mail
 - 3. Direct Mail
 - 4. Television and Radio
- VI. Develop and Implement Program Evaluation

ENDNOTES

1. Edelman resigned his post as Assistant Secretary in protest over the welfare-reform bill. He described the bill as “The Worst Thing Bill Clinton Has Done” in an article in *The Atlantic*.
2. The U. S. Census Bureau’s (1999a) definition of poverty includes money income before taxes, but does not include capital gains and noncash benefits, e.g. public housing, Medicaid, or food stamps. Persons living in military barracks, institutional groups quarters, and unrelated individuals under 15 years old are not included in the poverty universe. Persons receiving AFDC or TANF payments would be included in the poverty universe if their total family income is less than the threshold for the family size and composition. The poverty universe also may include individuals who do not receive AFDC or TANF payments, but whose money income is less than the threshold for the family size and composition. The U. S. Census Bureau data is introduced and used as it provides a more comprehensive range of variables, e.g. money income, region, ethnicity, and residence, than is available on AFDC or TANF recipients.
3. According to the American Public Transit Association (APTA) women comprised, on average, 50 percent of transit ridership. If areas with populations of one million or greater are removed from this average, this number increases to almost 60 percent. In areas with populations less than 50,000, this average is greater than 60 percent (1997:63). Hu and Young found that among zero-vehicle households that person trips by public transit averaged 1.9 percent in areas outside the MSA. In areas with populations over 250,000, the average was 8.2 percent; between 1 and 3 million, 13.8 percent, and areas over 3 million, 28.8 percent (1999:53).
4. According to the Community Transportation Association of America roughly one-fourth of welfare recipients live in rural areas. Census data estimates 20 percent of public assistance recipients live in central cities.
5. Closely associated to mismatch is the “left behind” hypothesis. “The central argument is that mass suburbanization of first the affluent and later the middle classes drained the central cities from their more well-to-do and better-educated population, leaving the inner city to those who are not able to move” (Van Kempen1997:435).
6. According to APTA, in fiscal year 1997, Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA), Boston, ranked five in number of unlinked passenger trips. MARTA ranked ninth and Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (GRTA), 22nd.

**ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, AND GLOSSARY OF COMMON TERMS USED IN THE
TRANSPORTATION AND HUMAN SERVICES (CTAA 1999b; 1999c)**

AFDC: Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Bridges-to-Work: A research demonstration project developed to link poor, job-ready, inner-city residents to suburban jobs at five demonstration sites in Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Milwaukee, and St. Louis.

Carpool: A ridesharing arrangement where individuals travel together using a privately-owned automobile.

Coordination: A cooperative arrangement between transportation providers and organizations needing transportation services.

Demand-Response Service: Transit service where individual passengers can request transportation from a specific location to another specific location at a certain time, usually requires advance reservations. Also known as "dial-a-ride."

Deviated Fixed Route: Hybrid of fixed-route and demand-response transit service. The vehicle may deviate from its fixed course to go to a specific location on demand.

DHHS: Department of Health and Human Services.

DOL: Department of Labor.

FHWA: Federal Highway Administration.

Fixed-route: Transit services where vehicles operate on regular, predesignated, prescheduled routes.

FTA: Federal Transit Administration.

Grant: The award of public or private funds to an organization to carry out a proposed activity.

Human Services Transportation: transportation services provided to individuals in order to participate in a human or social service program or based on eligibility for human or social service program participation.

MPO: Metropolitan Planning Organization.

Paratransit: Passenger transportation most often associated with demand-response van service. May also include subscription bus service, shared-ride taxi, and car- and vanpooling.

PRWORA: Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act.

Service Route: Hybrid of fixed-route and demand-response service established between targeted neighborhoods or service areas. Similar to deviated fixed-route, service routes are flexible.

TANF: Temporary Aid for Needy Families.

Trip: A one-way movement of a person or vehicle between two points.

USDOT: United States Department of Transportation

Vanpool: A prearranged ridesharing service where individuals travel together on a regular basis by van.

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