

**WELFARE REFORM AND THE DEVOLUTION OF DECISION MAKING
AUTHORITY: CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TANF
IMPLEMENTATION**

by

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University of Pittsburgh, 2005

The growing demand for welfare reform represented a devolution of authority from federal administration and enabled state governments to seek ways to improve efficiency and enhance coordination in managing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) programs. This shift in authority from the federal government to the state and from the state to county administration empowered interagency collaboration and partnership by expanding organizational linkages between state agencies and local governments, nonprofit, and for-profit agencies for the shared goal of welfare reform.

Based on a theoretical framework from New Public Management and governance theories, this research is a small-n comparative case study that explores how the shift in authority emerged at state and local administrative levels, and how states have changed TANF implementation structure in two states: New York and Pennsylvania. It also examines whether the evolution in TANF administrative infrastructure changed the decision making capacity of organizations at state and local welfare jurisdictions and contributed to economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients. The practices of Albany County, New York and Allegheny County, Pennsylvania are examined to explore how county government has implemented TANF programs in partnership with other organizations.

This research conducts qualitative, quantitative, and network analysis using data from interviews, surveys, and archival records. It finds that state and county governments in New York and Pennsylvania have not substantially reinvented internal structures, but have expanded the collaboration and partnership with state or county sister agencies and nongovernmental organizations for improving efficiency. The experimentation of New York and Pennsylvania reveals that the involvement of other organizations made a substantial contribution to the decision making capacity of the organizations involved in TANF implementation. It did not yet contribute significantly to an increase in family income for TANF clients. The data also show that a larger proportion of TANF clients left welfare not for employment, but for other reasons. States sought to reduce welfare rolls without a thorough assessment of the impact of participation on the real lives of TANF clients and the reasons why clients left the program until the reauthorization in 2002. TANF clients still face difficult circumstances in becoming economically self-sufficient.

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PREFACE

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1.0 WELFARE REFORM AND THE DEVOLUTION OF DECISION MAKING AUTHORITY: CHANGE IN POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

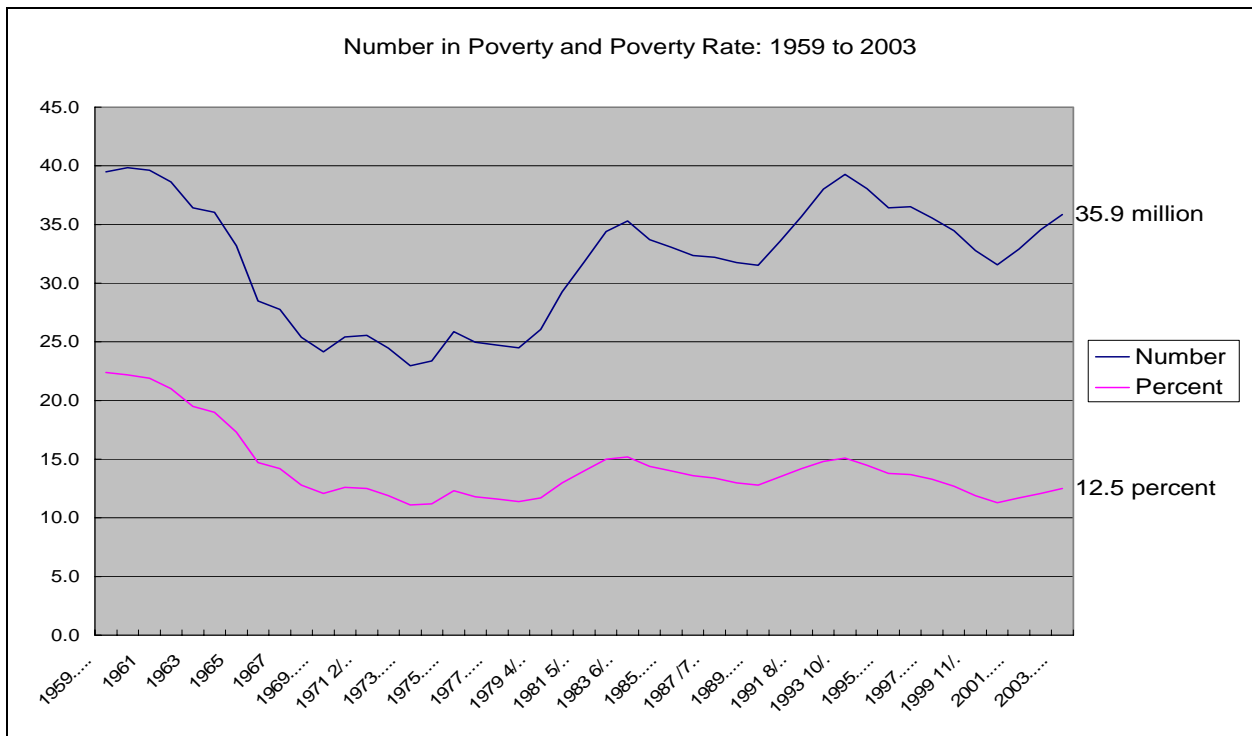
1.1. WELFARE POLICY AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Welfare policy has evolved in the United States with the growing interaction of federal and state policy makers. Since the mid-1960s, the federal government had come to dominate policy making, so that in many aspects, states have played secondary roles in the policy making process, responsible only for policy implementation, but not for policy formation (Bryner, 1998). As the demand for reforming welfare policy grew during the 1970s, the relationship between the federal and state governments became more interactive. With a movement toward returning responsibility to states in the 1980s and 1990s, states could develop different ways of helping welfare recipients become economically self-sufficient. More importantly, welfare policy has become a state and local enterprise in which state and local governments work with nongovernmental partners to find out how best to help welfare families (Bryner, 1998).

1.1.1. Poverty as a Public Value for Welfare Policy

The debate on welfare policy has focused on the ability of programs to achieve specific values and to secure the common good by building strong families through social adjustment (Epstein, 1997). “Classic liberal social policy is designed to enhance the opportunities of individual”, but government policies should be carefully examined for their indirect effects on social capital, if social capital is important (Putnam, 1993). Poverty has become an important issue of economic

well-being and a critical public value for welfare policy. Poverty is inextricably intertwined with several factors such as race, marital status, education, and geographic location, as well as economic conditions. It is often viewed as the inevitable consequence of a capitalist economic system from one perspective. One of the primary goals of welfare policy has been to reduce poverty among poor families, particularly, single-mother families.



Numbers in millions; Rates in percent
 Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, 1960 to 2004 Annual Social and Economic Supplements¹

Figure 1.1: Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate: 1959 to 2003

Poverty as a measure of social inequality has continued to be a problem for poor families, women, and children despite the fact that the welfare system in the United States has greatly

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census (2005). Current population survey: Historical poverty data, available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/poverty/histpov/hstpov9.html>.

evolved and expanded over the past four decades, and the federal government expanded its social role in alleviating poverty by the 1980s. As shown in Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1, poverty declined dramatically in the 1960s when the Great Society and the War on Poverty were undertaken, and remained fairly constant with some fluctuations in the 1970s. It then began increasing from the late 1970s to the early 1980s and decreased from 1983 to 1990. It increased again in the early 1990s, but decreased from 1993 to 2000 due to strong economy. Poverty has been reduced among the elderly, but it has persisted among women and children. The rise of single-mother families has influenced the incidence of poverty (Bryner, 1998).

Table 1.1: All Persons and Number of Poor Female-Headed Families below the Poverty Level and Poverty Rate during Pre-Welfare Reform Era from 1960 to 1996

Year	All Persons		Female-Headed Families	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
1960	22.2	39,851	42.4	1,955
1965	17.3	33,185	38.4	1,916
1970	12.6	25,420	32.5	1,951
1975	12.3	25,877	32.5	2,430
1980	13.0	29,272	32.7	2,972
1985	14.0	33,064	34.0	3,474
1990	13.5	33,585	33.4	3,768
1995	13.8	36,425	32.4	4,057
1960-1969 Average	17.5	32,960	37.4	1,873
1970-1979 Average	11.8	24,792	32.2	2,360
1980-1989 Average	13.8	32,542	34.3	3,460
1990-1996 Average	14.2	36,798	34.2	4,154
Total Average	14.6	31,446	34.8	2,804

Numbers in thousands; People and families as of March of the following year

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, 1960 to 2004 Annual Social and Economic Supplements

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a widespread concern about the limited ability of social welfare programs, because welfare policy in the United States faced unprecedented challenges during that period (Chelf, 1992). As shown in Table 1.1, during the 1970s and 1980s, the growth

in income inequality caused dramatic changes in family structure in which single-mother families increased, which resulted in the great growth of economic vulnerability of those families. The welfare system was very complex and the administrative structure of public assistance program was inefficient, since decisions regarding welfare implementation were made separately at federal, state, and local levels of administration as well as in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of governments (Zastrow, 1993).

During the Great Society and the War on Poverty, in designing programs, the federal government played an activist role in social welfare system as well as their respective public policy. The more authoritative role of the federal government constrained the capacity of state and local governments in devising policy choices. This role failed to reduce poverty rates (Burton, 1992) in the late 1970s, which resulted in increasing criticism against welfare system. The criticism and the economic recession during the 1980s led the Reagan Administration to completely reconfigure the welfare system by reducing the federal role and returning more responsibility back to the states for the welfare system (Chelf, 1992). Since the mid-1980s, more attention has been paid to the roles of the federal, state and local governments in the design and implementation of public policy as well as social welfare system.

1.1.2. Welfare Reform and Shift in Responsibility

In 1996, the Clinton Administration passed welfare reform legislation, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) that has transformed American public assistance provisions, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) by replacing it with a new block grant system, the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. This program is designed to provide families with temporary

financial support within federal time limits and help them move into employment through more stringent work requirements. The legislation allowed states to pursue a wider variety of policy innovations and choices for welfare recipients. At the same time, it imposed forceful mandates that constrained the policy options or initiatives available to state lawmakers and bureaucrats to promote work and reduce welfare usage (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Kincaid, 1998). Thus, most state welfare policy makers tend to shift the balance in welfare policy making from rights to obligations.

The debate over welfare reform has been interwoven with issues of new federalism that drive the declining support for federal agencies and the growing demand for devolution of programs and authority to state governments. One of the key issues in this debate has been whether states should be given primary responsibility for welfare policy, although it is known that states have always had a great deal of discretion in setting benefit levels (Bryner, 1998). The debate is consistent with the “New Public Management” or “reinventing government” view of modern government that it should be mission-driven, decentralized, and entrepreneurial through having a smaller policy core, empowering employees, and overseeing a less hierarchical structure (Kettl, 1995; Moe, 1994; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Osborne & Plastrik, 1997).

Welfare reform is a complex story of state and local efforts to translate welfare reform goals and policies into operational environments. Before TANF, federal AFDC regulations mandated that state welfare agencies’ highest priority was minimizing eligibility errors and issuing benefits on a timely basis. Even decisions that were left to state governments had to be applied uniformly across the state (Watson & Gold, 1997). In contrast, TANF gave states unprecedented fiscal and policy authority to achieve the goals of welfare reform, and states used this flexibility to establish a mix of policies designed to promote and reinforce employment

among welfare recipients. With primary responsibilities for administration shifted from the federal government to the states, states reconsider their policies in relation to local governments in ways that increase the responsibility of local governments in administering the TANF program. Under this second order devolution, local governments respond effectively to local needs through providing a wider range of services with other organizations outside the state and local governments.

The new mission of policy reform has been a catalyst for changes in design and implementation of welfare policy, and for institutional and organizational changes in the welfare service delivery system. In response to this new mission, states' efforts are ongoing, with the system continually evolving as states set out to address new challenges and continue to build on the experiences gained to date (Martinson & Holcomb, 2002). Creating a new welfare service delivery system is time-consuming and labor-intensive, requiring significant financial and human resources at several levels. As the complexity of the TANF service delivery system increases, the states become more responsible for ensuring the quality and accountability of their decision making processes. Since no single organizational or program model predominates, the welfare service delivery system needs to evolve and change with new institutional partners and greater emphasis on services.

1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM: CHANGES IN TANF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE AS A NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

The PRWORA in 1996 reformed welfare by changing the underlying assumptions as to how we look at poverty and what governments do, and what governments and individuals should do in welfare system. As shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2, the poverty rate and the number of people

below the poverty level during welfare reform era from 1997 to 2003 were lower than those during pre-welfare reform era from 1960 to 1996. Both the poverty rate and the number of people below the poverty level decreased during the first enactment period of welfare reform law, but surprisingly, increased after the reauthorization of the law. The percentage of female-headed families out of families below the poverty level since welfare reform is lower than that during the pre-welfare reform era. The number of these families after 1997 is less than in the early 1990s when a need for completely reformed welfare system emerged as an important policy agenda for the Clinton Administration although it is more than the average during the pre-welfare reform era.

Table 1.2: All Persons and Number of Poor Female-Headed Families below the Poverty Level and Poverty Rate during Welfare Reform Era from 1997 to 2003

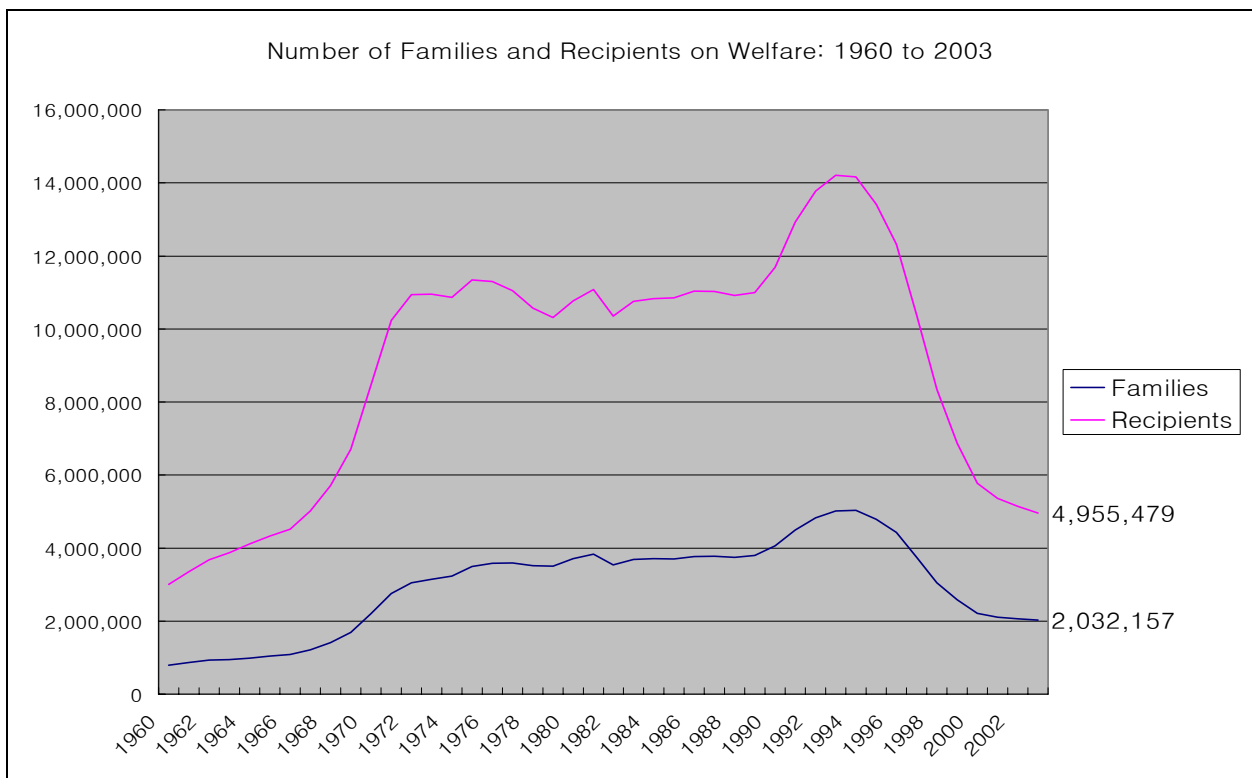
Year	All Persons		Female-Headed Families	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
1997	13.3	35,574	31.6	3,995
1998	12.7	34,476	29.9	3,831
1999	11.9	32,791	27.8	3,559
2000	11.3	31,581	25.4	3,278
2001	11.7	32,907	26.4	3,470
2002	12.1	34,570	26.5	3,613
2003	12.5	35,861	28.0	3,856
1997-2001 Average	12.2	33,465	28.2	3,626
2002-2003 Average	12.3	35,215	27.2	3,734

Numbers in thousands; People and families as of March of the following year

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, 1960 to 2004 Annual Social and Economic Supplements

With regard to welfare rolls, as shown in Figure 1.2, at the time the amendment to the Social Security Act in 1962 implemented the renamed cash assistance welfare program, AFDC, the number of families receiving AFDC steadily increased until the early 1970s, but during the early 1970s and 1980s, it remained fairly constant, at about 3.5 million families. However, welfare

rolls increased by nearly 30 percent between 1989 and 1994, with most of the increase due to the economic recession between 1990 and 1992. In 1994, welfare rolls peaked at about 5.1 million families and more than 14.2 million persons. The rapid growth in the welfare rolls in the early 1990s raised concern about the growing number of people who had become dependent on public assistance. Most importantly, this growth fueled demands for the states to change welfare in ways that would reduce the financial pressure on the states.



Source: Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families (2003). U.S. welfare caseloads information: Number of families and recipients on welfare by years since 1960

Figure 1.2: Number of Families and Recipients on Welfare from 1960 to 2003 (June)

Welfare caseloads had declined at the beginning of 1996, and more than a half of welfare caseloads have left welfare since the implementation of welfare reform, because TANF

fundamentally altered the theoretical underpinning of welfare by emphasizing individual responsibility and changing the welfare system from cash assistance to employment assistance. Many have found jobs, but have faced barriers in retaining their jobs in a tight labor market due to low skills, lack of education, and lack of work experience. Some still want to depend on welfare and many single-mother families suffer from difficulties in meeting the basic needs of families with dependent children and even while working, live in poverty (DeParle, 2004)².

From an administrative perspective, welfare reform not only allowed state governments to pursue a wider range of policy innovations and choices, but shifted the burden of managing welfare policy from the federal government to state governments. It sought to change management within the state and local administrations from a process-oriented and agency-based approach under the entitlement program of AFDC to a results or performance-oriented and system-based approach under the TANF block grant. Some of the state and local administrations sought to make restructuring or reorganizing efforts to be client-focused “steering” rather than “rowing”, creative, and flexible.

Since the services required to meet the needs of welfare recipients often transcend the typical experience and expertise of TANF agency staff, many state and local welfare agencies seek to expand in-house capability and explore ways to work more effectively with other public and nonprofit or private agencies to meet the new demands of welfare reform. This change further creates a new administrative infrastructure that connects the resources and functions of

² DeParle, in *American dream* (2004) and his two lectures in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Atlanta, Georgia in 2004, provided insights from keeping track of the real lives of three female-head families with dependent children for more than two years and presented implications for the gap between welfare policy making in “Washington” and its impacts on poor families in “Milwaukee” where the families moved from Chicago for the higher welfare checks and the lower living expenses.

welfare services with the interacting or interdependent elements needed for TANF implementation.

As the shift in decision making authority from federal to state and local levels of administration appears to expand organizational linkages between state agencies and local governments, nonprofit, and private agencies, a holistic approach from a view of the system is needed to examine the dynamic interactions in the organizational linkages. A holistic approach places more emphasis on the functional integrity of organizational linkages, and the interdependence and interactions among the actors in the administrative infrastructure for TANF. This approach emphasizes interagency collaborative efforts (Bardach, 1998) that enable agencies in the administrative infrastructure to work together to increase efficiency by facilitating resource and information exchange and integrating services in a range of partnerships to assist welfare recipients to achieve long-term economic self-sufficiency.

In this research, I explore the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure with responsibilities shifted from the federal to state governments under the TANF in two states: New York and Pennsylvania. To capture the dynamic, complex interactions among the organizations involved in the administrative infrastructure for TANF, I examine patterns of interagency collaboration and partnership among the actors. I assess whether or not strategies for the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure initiated from the theoretical perspective of New Public Management and governance achieve their intended results. That is, I seek to determine whether the TANF is able to help poor families and people become economically self-sufficient and independent.

1.2.1. Purpose of the Research

Based on a holistic approach, the purpose of this research is to explore how the shift in decision making authority for the administration of welfare services has emerged at each of the federal, state, and local levels of administration. It also examines how states and counties have carried out their TANF programs and changed their implementation structures in dynamic policy environments where a range of governmental entities and nongovernmental partners are interdependent and interact with each other to achieve the goal of welfare reform. As a reinventing government and New Public Management strategy, this research examines emerging challenges and environments for organizational changes and administrative reform in boundaries within government such as restructuring or reorganizing efforts. It also examines the challenges and context for the emergence of interdependent and boundary-spanning interorganizational relationships outside government, as a governance characteristic.

I also examine the extent to which the decision making capacity of the organizations engaged in administrative infrastructure for implementing the TANF programs has changed in dynamic interactions with other actors. Finally, this research examines to what extent the devolution of decision making authority emphasized by welfare reform has contributed to achieving the goal of welfare reform, economic self-sufficiency of welfare recipients, since the New Public Management and governance place greater emphasis on performance of a system.

Through the research process, this research aims at providing additional opportunities and implications to reconsider the role of the federal, state, and local governments within a coherent national system. This effort is needed to make decisions about where funding and administrative responsibilities should rest as the federal and state governments further restructure their welfare service systems.

1.2.2. Research Questions

Through the whole research process, this research seeks to answer the following four research questions to explore how states and localities carry out their TANF programs. These questions seek evidence of change in the implementation or administrative infrastructures of welfare service system with responsibilities shifted from the federal level of authority, and seek to evaluate the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure on administration and policy.

- What are the administrative requirements of welfare reform as enacted in the TANF legislation?
- What are the characteristics of the current TANF administrative infrastructure compared to the former AFDC administrative infrastructure?
- How does the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure affect decision making capacity of organizations for the TANF program design and implementation?
- To what extent does the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure contribute to economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients?

1.3. SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

With increased responsibilities, states have adopted the packages of state-level policy choices that vary widely across states. Despite the new set of policy mandates and increased state discretion, critical questions arise regarding whether states have used their flexibility in developing appropriate strategies for welfare reform, how they have used it, or whether states have advanced the philosophy of the 1996 federal legislation. Moreover, I question whether states have developed diverse, efficient approaches to welfare services designed to help clients

move from welfare to work in response to different economic conditions and political environments. Also, I ask what states' efforts suggest about policy implications to achieve the goal of this comprehensive policy reform.

Chapter 2 reviews both policy-focused and administration-focused theoretical and empirical literature on the evolution of welfare policy in the United States, the implications of the 1996 welfare reform, and challenges of welfare reform implementation. It reviews structural changes in administrative system for TANF as the New Public Management (NPM) and governance strategies with more latitude given to local governments, nonprofit or for-profit agencies. Based on this literature review, I propose a set of research propositions and a conceptual framework that examines the NPM and governance strategies embedded in TANF administrative infrastructure.

Chapter 3 presents a research design and methodology for an exploratory and small-n comparative case study on the evolution and changes in the administrative infrastructure for TANF programs. This chapter describes how an extensive set of data is collected from different sources such as documentary evidence, archival records, semi-structured interviews and structured surveys. This chapter also explains how the data are used for analyses by employing multiple analytical methodologies such as qualitative analysis to understand administrative systems for TANF in two states, social network analysis to explore collaboration and partnership among multiple actors, and analysis of variance to compare means for a range of groups to examine the effect of TANF implementation.

Chapter 4 describes the characteristics of TANF programs in New York and Pennsylvania, administrative requirements, and the first-order and second-order devolution of decision making authority in two states. It also explores administrative or structural

arrangements for TANF program implementation based on the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 2: a state-administered system with little discretion for the TANF program given to counties for Pennsylvania, and a state-supervised and county-administered system with more discretion given to counties for New York.

Chapter 5 explores the evolution and changing process of the administrative infrastructure in dynamic interactions with other organizations engaged in the TANF administration at the state level. It examines how state welfare agencies in Pennsylvania and New York collaborate, partner, and communicate with other agencies for the TANF design and implementation.

Chapter 6 examines in what specific ways two counties interact with organizations participating in the TANF implementation in Allegheny County for Pennsylvania, and Albany County for New York for yielding better outcomes in multiorganizational networks. Using both qualitative and social network analysis, this chapter examines the local practices of the two counties for the TANF implementation to characterize its mode of operation and its performance.

Chapter 7 examines and compares the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for TANF programs in New York and Pennsylvania on the decision making capacity of the organizations as an administrative outcome and the effect of TANF programs on economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients as a policy outcome. Using the survey data, I conduct an analysis of variance that compares the means of a range of groups for a set of variables that capture the characteristics of the decision making of the organizations in the TANF administrative infrastructure in two states. Using the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) data administered by the Urban Institute, this research also uses an analysis of variance

that compares the means of two groups in response to programmatic changes of TANF, in comparison with AFDC to examine if TANF helps clients become economically self-sufficient.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings from the analyses based on the research propositions and the challenges of the TANF administrative infrastructure in terms of an administrative or management perspective and a policy perspective. I interpret the characteristics of the TANF administrative infrastructure based on the theoretical perspective from NPM and governance, and present emerging challenges in implementing TANF programs with a wider range of organizations with different interests and culture. I present policy implications and conclude the study with limitations of the research and directions for a future study with emphasis on a micro-level and client-focused study.

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Previous researchers have examined fragmentary aspects of devolution (e.g., varying experiments at the state level only or functions of local governments for implementing TANF programs) and emphasized visible changes of the policy reform (e.g., the determinants of welfare caseload decline, differences in benefit levels and time limits or changes in welfare usage). Although these studies made a significant contribution to knowledge on practice and theory of welfare reform and welfare policy, they have not been based on a holistic approach. It is critical to view the operation of the welfare system from a perspective in which all elements are recognized as interdependent.

Based on a holistic approach to examine closely the devolution of decision making authority for TANF, this research explores the systemic, actual experiences of the shift in authority in which devolution occurs at each of federal, state, and local levels of administration

to achieve the goal of welfare reform. It compares and contrasts aspects of the administrative infrastructure designed to deliver TANF programs in two states selected to examine the implementation process in different policy and institutional environments in association with the New Public Management and governance strategies. This research provides insight into how governments at different levels of jurisdiction function in dynamic interactions with other organizations and learn to adapt to their administrative infrastructure to changing environments.

Three results are expected from this research: (1) an administrative system or model for TANF design and implementation with responsibility shifted from the federal government that helps us better understand a sequence of the devolution of decision making authority; (2) a case study on the state and local practices of New York and Pennsylvania for TANF implementation that provide empirical evidence of the NPM and governance strategies for the study on the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure for welfare service system; and, (3) an evaluation of the effect of the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure for TANF on outcomes that examines whether or not the NPM and governance strategies in administering the TANF programs are able to contribute to the empowerment of governments and other organizational participants, and economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients.

2.0 THE EVOLUTION OF WELFARE POLICY AND WELFARE REFORM IMPLEMENTATION AS NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) fundamentally alters the theoretical underpinning of welfare by emphasizing individual responsibility and changing the welfare system from cash assistance to employment assistance. Major policy changes, such as work requirements or time limits, and the flexibility resulting from the devolution of decision making authority allow state and local governments to experiment with a wide variety of their own programs through developing comprehensive welfare service systems (Ragan & Nathan, 2002). It is important to understand what the 1996 welfare reform legislation implies in regard to administrative requirements for TANF design and implementation, and how states change the administrative infrastructure of their service delivery systems with a range of other organizations outside the state governments.

The devolution of decision making authority shifted not only responsibilities from the federal government to states, but also introduced practices from the New Public Management (NPM). Few studies took a holistic approach based on NPM and governance strategies to explore the devolution of decision making authority and changes in administrative infrastructure for TANF that were emphasized by welfare reform. This chapter compares and contrasts alternative explanations of the empirical studies on social welfare policy and the 1996 welfare reform, NPM, and change in governance to provide a theoretical basis for this research. Based on reviews of both policy-focused and administration-focused empirical studies, this conceptual

framework serves as a tool for exploring changes in the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation.

2.1. THE EVOLUTION OF WELFARE POLICY AND THE 1996 WELFARE REFORM

The American welfare system originated in an economic crisis and changed a way of thinking regarding how government looks at poverty. The welfare system was created during the Great Depression in the 1930s, expanded during the War on Poverty in the 1960s, limited in the 1980s, and substantially revised by the 1996 welfare reform (Cammisa, 1998). This section focuses on the evolutionary process of welfare policy in the United States and the implications of the 1996 welfare reform. It also examines challenges of the implementation of the 1996 law in changing policy environment.

2.1.1. Evolution of Welfare Policy and Decision Making Authority

Through the New Deal in the 1930s, welfare became a federal-state program in which government viewed poverty as a structural problem that requires governmental assistance, rather than interpreting it as a personal problem. Through the Social Security Act of 1935, the revolutionary New Deal sought to deal with poverty and unemployment during the Great Depression (Cammisa, 1998). It created the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC, which later became Aid to Families with Dependent Children) that gave cash grants to families with minor children and no father. The New Deal brought the involvement of the federal government in the American welfare system and national politics into what had once been a state and local function. The New Deal also established a state-federal partnership in the provision of welfare

services, creating the system of federal grants that became entrenched during the Great Society and the War on Poverty in the 1960s. These programs expanded the scope of welfare designed for the New Deal by giving greater emphasis to the role of the federal government as well as allowing local input.

The Kennedy Administration was “the first to promise a war on poverty and created new programs across the executive branch” (Bryner, 1998, p.67). As a result, the former cash grant welfare program was renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in 1961 to emphasize its attention to poverty among children. All states operated an AFDC program and determined benefit levels. The Johnson Administration made another revolutionary effort to realize economic and social rights for Americans.

Starting with Nixon in the 1970s, federal policy-makers began to consider giving more authority to the states. The increasing power of the federal government was seen as one of the key reasons for problems with the Great Society programs. Nixon proposed a “New Federalism” to shift power from the federal government to the states. This proposal helped to shape the subsequent debate over welfare and other policies. In the 1980s, power devolved partially to state governments based on the “New Federalism”. Whereas the Great Society expanded the role of the federal government in providing welfare under creative federalism, the Reagan Administration sought to delegate more authority and discretion back to the states. He proposed running federally funded programs through block grants and giving the states permission to place new restrictions on welfare recipients through the Family Support Act of 1988 (Bryner, 1998; Cammisa, 1998).

Historically, there have been two approaches to welfare reform - comprehensive plans and incremental plans (Ragan & Nathan, 2002). Since the unprecedented economic crisis, the

Great Depression, enabled the country to view poverty as a structural problem rather than an individual problem, the federal and state governments have long been involved in dealing with poverty through the welfare system. From the progressive movement in the early 1900s to the Reagan Administration in the 1980s, the government has reformed the American welfare system in an attempt to assist the poor. Each reform addressed problems within the welfare system, sometimes to the point where the poverty seems peripheral. The reforms have involved incremental changes based on how the successive administrations viewed poverty.

Having recognized that welfare programs had failed to solve the problem of poverty through the course of its history, the U. S. Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996. Signed by President Bill Clinton, the law moved from a national-state and national-local function created by the New Deal and Great Society to a substantial devolution of federal authority to the states. Under PRWORA, state responsibility has been greatly increased. More importantly, welfare reform with a block grant gave the states not only more flexibility to create their own rules, but also gave the federal government responsibility for providing funds to the states and establishing the parameters for welfare programs within which the states must operate (Bryner, 1998; Cammisa, 1998). The evolutionary process of the welfare system and its corresponding exercise of decision making authority are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: The Evolution of Welfare Law and Policy, and Exercise of Decision Making Authority

Era	Welfare Law and Policy	Exercise of Decision Making Authority
Roosevelt Administration in the 1930s	Social Security Act of 1935 by the New Deal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) is created • Federal government is involved in American welfare system • Welfare becomes a federal-state program • Government funds at the national level what the states had been doing at the local level
Truman Administration in 1950	Amendments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ADC is changed with Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
Kennedy Administration From 1960 to 1962	Public Welfare Amendments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AFDC benefit is extended • Gives states more discretion in creating and administering rehabilitation program
L. B. Johnson Administration in 1964	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 by the Great Society and War on Poverty in the 1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourages a sense of community in creating federal programs implemented at the local level • Community action agencies and other local initiatives are emphasized within the federal program
Reagan Administration in the 1980s	Family Support Act of 1988 by the ‘Waiver State’ under Reagan Administration’s ‘New Federalism’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JOBS program is created • Attempts to devolve power partially to state governments • States receive complete funding and administrative responsibility for AFDC
Clinton Administration in 1996	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AFDC is replaced with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) • Power is further devolved to the states • States are given more flexibility to spend a federal block grant in running their welfare programs at their own discretion

Source: Bryner, G. (1998). *Politics and public morality*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

2.1.2. Previous Difficulties with Job Training Programs for Welfare Recipients

This study primarily explores employment and training programs for TANF recipients relevant to the work-first philosophy of welfare reform. The employment and job training program was introduced after a disappointing experience with training and education as strategies for reducing poverty when the economy contracted and unemployment rates increased. These strategies have created substantially more conflicts and produced protracted political struggles. Over the past two decades, the key theoretical underpinnings that frame job training programs have been fundamentally abandoned or transformed. As the former Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) expanded in the 1970s, so did its troubles because the local governments that were authorized to run the programs had objectives that were not congruent with those emphasized by the federal government (Mucciaroni, 1990).

The Reagan Administration replaced the CETA with the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) in 1982. It focused more on job training than job creation in the effort to increase earnings for low income individuals and reduce welfare dependency in the environment in which poverty and unemployment rates increase (Heinrich & Lynn, 2000). Lafer (2002) argues that JTPA failed to improve the employment and earnings of its participants, due to the inevitable incompetence or inefficiency of programs that were run by government. The JTPA program remained politically functional even when it proved economically dysfunctional, because it was adopted politically as a response to high unemployment rates in the early 1980s. The structure of JTPA was crafted not by the urgent labor demands of employers, but by the cross-currents of conflicting political interests (Lafer, 2002). It has suggested that training programs cannot address more than a small fraction of the poverty problem.

The Family Support Act of 1988 in the Reagan Administration instituted an employment and training program, called the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program designed to move employable welfare recipients into jobs. JOBS was the last federal welfare legislation before TANF. However, neither the Family Support Act nor its regulations gave localities much guidance about how to run JOBS (Mead, 1997). More importantly, the Act failed to provide the necessary funding for training programs, job search and placement activities and did not create sufficient incentives for parents to leave the system. Because of their own limited funding, states have been unable to claim all the federal matching funds available for JOBS (Bryner, 1998; Hagen & Lurie, 1994). This practice has resulted in a large number of people into poor jobs instead of a smaller number into good jobs.

Mucciaroni (1990) argues that there are three dimensions of the political failure of these employment and training policies and all three dimensions are interconnected. These dimensions are: 1) “unfulfilled agenda and truncated mission from ideas”; 2) “confused and conflicting objectives from interests”; and, 3) “breakdown in performance or the way in which the policy was carried out from institutions” (Mucciaroni, 1990, pp. 258-260). He asserts that “the institutional structure made it very difficult to adopt comprehensive and far-reaching approaches to the problem of unemployment and facilitated the proliferation of incremental, specific programs” (1990, p.262). Institutions may have blocked certain alternatives, shaped the packaging of programs, influenced the timing of changes, and led to implementation failures. Struggles over the employment and training policies have been fundamentally about demarcating the appropriate role of government in the economy and its obligations toward individual citizens.

2.1.3. The 1996 Welfare Reform Legislation

2.1.3.1. Goals of Welfare Reform

One of the most important goals of welfare reform is to save money. Under the federal entitlement program of AFDC, benefits were guaranteed to everyone who met the eligibility standards. By replacing it with TANF, the size of a state's grant relies on the amount of federal money it received in fiscal years 1995, 1994, or an average of 1992 through 1994, whichever is higher. The TANF block grant cut "spending by \$54.1 billion through fiscal year 2002 from what would have been spent if the old AFDC had remained in effect" (Bryner, 1998, p. 182). To ensure that tax dollars are spent wisely for welfare programs, administrators of the welfare program seek to increase the integrity of its services and to simplify program administration.

Another goal of welfare reform is to discourage welfare dependency and encourage work by welfare recipients through time limits and strict work requirements. Welfare reform also pursues improved economic well-being for welfare recipients and enhanced parental responsibility to strengthen families (Jennings & Ewalt, 2000). In theory, it changes the focus of welfare from a human capital model to a work-first approach that emphasizes the importance of work and economic self-sufficiency (Hayward, 1998). Welfare reform legislation prohibits states from using their block grants to provide benefits for adults who do not begin working after receiving benefits for twenty-four months or who have reached their sixty months' lifetime limits. These work requirements and time limits on receiving benefits are clear and straightforward in the practice of states.

Another important goal of welfare reform is to create the TANF block grant. With a lump-sum payment, the TANF block grant encourages states to experiment with new approaches

for their own public assistance programs, although it imposes some restrictions, such as work requirements. As long as states follow the requirements of the grant, they can make their programs as restrictive as they want without the consent of the federal government. It not only gives the states more authority, but also limits the responsibility of the federal government (Cammisa, 1998). “Devolution prohibits the federal government from requiring all states to pursue reforms that work” (Bryner, 1998, p. 187). It prompts states to ensure the cost effective, efficient and flexible administration of programs (NYS OTDA, 2002).

2.1.3.2. Implications of Welfare Reform Legislation

Unlike all past reforms of welfare, welfare reform in 1996 changed the perception of poverty. It is comprehensive and rational rather than incremental, with a focus on significant changes in the assumptions underlying the welfare system. Reformers started by changing the tenets of welfare and then changed policy to reflect the new principles (Cammisa, 1998). The most significant change is the replacement of the old AFDC with TANF. Unlike the past system, which was infused with numerous and often competing federal regulations (Nightingale, 1990), TANF gives the states broad latitude to redesign their programs, albeit with some mandates. It also emphasizes the role of individual responsibility in alleviating poverty instead of viewing poverty as a structural problem. The change implies that there is no way out of poverty unless poverty is considered an individual problem. Rather, the assumption is that every person is responsible for becoming long-term, economically self-sufficient through work. The federal law encourages personal responsibility by requiring work after two years of assistance and limiting the former lifetime benefits to five years.

This comprehensive policy reform was based on the major criticisms of the past reforms of welfare system by the mid-1990s (Bane & Ellwood, 1994; Cammisa, 1998)³. These criticisms assumed that the federal welfare system:

- discouraged state innovation due to the lack of flexibility in running states' own programs;
- cost too much money;
- discouraged recipients from working; and,
- caused family breakdowns among low-income people.

For those reasons, the critics assumed that welfare has not eliminated poverty problem even though welfare policy has changed incrementally over the last sixty years. Despite several earlier welfare reforms, Bane and Ellwood (1994) argued that the former welfare system produced an “eligibility compliance culture” that encourages long-term welfare dependency. Critics of earlier welfare reform efforts proposed that policy officials failed to link their policy reforms to appropriate administrative and organizational reforms (e.g., Brodtkin, 1997; Meyers & Dillon, 1999; Meyers, Glaser, & MacDonald, 1998).

The 1996 law terminated welfare as a federal entitlement where all persons who meet the qualifications receive benefits by establishing a block grant that can be used by states to devise their own welfare program (Bryner, 1998). Since new federalism that aims to decentralize government and turn rights and responsibilities back over to states (Nathan, 1997) drove welfare reform, it is more precisely described as welfare devolution. With the enactment of federal welfare reform, the AFDC program was replaced by TANF. Under AFDC, there were no work

³ Cammisa (1998) argues that the reason why welfare has not been working well for alleviating the problem of poverty lies in the nature of the welfare policy making process. From a political perspective, a certain policy is tinkered with based on incrementalism when we discover a program isn't working. AFDC had been tinkered with since the 1930s, and as a result, we couldn't distinguish whether it alleviated poverty. She also argues that welfare is regarded as an easy target since its constituents are not likely voters. As a result, particular public attention has not been paid to welfare.

requirements and time limits on receiving benefits and remaining in the program, other than eligibility. TANF included strict work requirements and time limitations among eligible clients. These changes altered the basic premise and mission of state welfare agencies from that of benefit provider to a work-transition facilitator (Nathan & Gais, 1998). Welfare policy became more of a state and local enterprise, where state policy makers work with local governments, nonprofit or for-profit organizations to develop means for aiding the poor.

The new law also had the effect of changing management within state administrations from a process approach under the entitlement program of AFDC to a results-oriented approach under the TANF block grant (Nathan & Gais, 1998). After TANF went into effect, states increased power and opportunity to implement welfare reform legislation and to pursue innovative solutions to welfare policies (GAO, 1998). Individual state welfare agencies increased authority in both implementation practices and program modification. State agencies now have discretion to design programs to meet federal goals under the block grant program rather than the quality-control requirements found under an entitlement program (Nathan & Gais, 1998).

In some respects, TANF legislation shifted the burden of delivering welfare services from the federal government to states. Since welfare reform, most policy makers and even welfare case workers have been interested in only goal-oriented numbers in terms of the reduction of welfare caseload and the amount of budget sitting in states' treasuries. No attention has been paid to an individual's problems in this organizational context. For those reasons, Congress paid close attention to the reauthorization of the new welfare legislation in 2001, and the reauthorized welfare legislation attempted to reflect these underlying realities. It placed more emphasis on states' education and training programs for job retention and skill development in a tight labor

market. To deliver better services, the revised law also gave states more discretion to interact and cooperate with local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private sector companies.

The legislation itself did not mandate organizational or administrative reform of welfare agencies, and welfare agencies have been resistant to such changes in the past. Despite that, the 1996 law stimulated a wide range of administrative or institutional changes within the welfare service system due to the strong message of the policy reform about economic self-sufficiency through employment. The administrative changes include restructuring staff responsibilities and integrating services within the welfare agency and greater involvement by other organizations outside the welfare agency (Martinson & Holcomb, 2002). Corbett (1995) stressed the importance of developing a consistent message about vision of economic self-sufficiency throughout the welfare delivery system. He emphasized reinforcing that vision with adequate resources for on-going training and development of staff as they re-orient themselves to their new mission. Changing the way in which the welfare system works and increasing the capacity of state governments to restructure their welfare bureaucracies through consolidating programs, reducing administrative costs by eliminating duplicate programs, focusing on outcomes rather than rules, and reorienting welfare agencies toward work are critical elements of welfare reform.

The law has faced challenges as it has been implemented in states. Bryner (1998, p. 294) argues that “the most difficult administrative challenges involve making significant investments in case management and administrative procedures”. The new legislation fundamentally changed the structure of welfare service provision by shifting the mission of welfare programs from establishing categorical eligibility, to encouraging participants to actively work toward gaining self-sufficiency through employment. These changes in combination with a strengthened economy appear to have produced substantial reductions in welfare caseloads (Bartik & Eberts,

1999). Because people who left welfare benefits have had low-wage employment, despite welfare caseload decline, they are vulnerable economically insufficient. Although welfare reform focused on the transition of recipients from welfare to work, the new law did not provide means to enable them to maintain their jobs in a tight labor market, nor did it support appropriate education or training programs for meeting their employment needs.

2.1.4. Challenges of Welfare Reform Implementation

The work training programs or personal social services implemented after welfare reform have not demonstrated an ability to increase the work participation of welfare recipients or to solve the personal problems that interfere with their work. Access to job training and personal social service programs is too low to affect the social or economic behavior of the poor who receive welfare benefits. In particular, making more people available for work without providing more jobs at adequate wages may tear at social cohesion and social equality. The refusal of welfare policy to provide a livable income, to improve welfare recipients' capacity and function socially, and to provide sustainable compensation for family and themselves perpetuates social problems (Epstein, 1997).

Welfare reform raised a question whether welfare reform only reduced public assistance caseloads, or whether it also inspired low-income adults to seek greater financial security through ongoing investment in new work skills. More than 50 percent of welfare recipients have left welfare since welfare reform. Bartik (1998) argues that welfare reform is a shift toward a greater willingness by state and federal governments to drop welfare recipients from the welfare rolls by imposing work requirements on welfare recipients. Others argue that the decline of welfare caseloads does not necessarily mean the success of welfare reform. Some recipients

leaving welfare benefits have suffered from low-wage employment, so they still are not economically self-sufficient.

Welfare caseload reduction raised another concern whether enough jobs are available to employ those induced to enter the job market. Kaye and Nightingale (2000) argue that, in the short run, many welfare recipients leaving the welfare rolls may have trouble finding employment and low-wage workers leaving welfare for work are likely to experience little wage growth. The major potential barrier facing welfare recipients entering the low-wage market is skills mismatch. This mismatch is a serious difficulty for many disadvantaged workers, since they do not meet the basic job readiness requirements of employers (Kaye & Nightingale, 2000). Most welfare recipients have low levels of education, low skills, and lack of recent work experience (Zedlewski, 1999). The jobs for which most welfare recipients can qualify are concentrated in the labor market with low wages, little opportunity for advancement, and high job turnover.

More job availability and a continued increase in the wage level are important policy considerations for economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients. In general, the earnings of former welfare recipients during the 1990s have been quite low and they have experienced financial hardship as they continue in the workforce (Cheng, 1995; Meyer & Cancian, 1998). Hence, wages that bring those who work out of poverty should be an essential concern of policymakers. This can be done by increasing their wage, providing more substantial job training programs for an advanced skill building, and making educational opportunities that enhance human capital more accessible to people who left welfare and accepted employment.

2.2. NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE FOR WELFARE REFORM IMPLIMENTATION

2.2.1. Emergence of New Public Management for Redesigning Government

New Public Management (NPM) is a “new paradigm” for design of government (Hood, 1991) and is a “post-bureaucratic paradigm” (Barzelay, 1992). Behn (2001, p.26) defines it as “the entire collection of tactics and strategies that seek to enhance the performance of the public sector - to improve the ability of government agencies and their nonprofit and for-profit collaborators to produce results”. As a public management reform theory and practice, NPM emphasizes competition, decentralization through the devolution of responsibility, contracting out, privatization, and entrepreneurial government. NPM strives to create a management culture that emphasizes customer-oriented administration and its results or performance (Kettl & DiIulio, 1995; Kettl & Milward, 1996). In order to gain better results, it replaces formal bureaucracy and reduces the size of governments. It also designs structural or organizational choices with an overwhelming trend toward working together with nongovernmental partners and private enterprises, which results in improvement in the capacity of civil society. Finally, it promotes means to improve efficiency and responsiveness in governmental performance.

The theoretical perspective of NPM suggests that the goal for reforming public sector institutions and process is to produce better results and minimize agency costs. The basic guidelines directing NPM reform are summarized as follows (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992)⁴:

- Public management should shift its emphasis on procedure and input control to results or output control.

⁴ These basic guidelines represent 10 fundamental principles for reinventing government presented by Osborne and Gaebler. They view government as an instrument in governance to solve our problems and meet our society’s needs.

- Government should become community-owned government in that communities are more creative and flexible than bureaucratic structure.
- Clearly stated mission-driven government has to be built.
- Competition is desirable between service providers through privatization and contracting out as well as other market mechanisms.
- Citizens should be redefined as customers to whom the public sector should be responsive.
- Government ought to ensure public goods and services are provided, rather than produce those goods, or provide the services by itself, in other words, steering rather than rowing.
- Centralized, hierarchical bureaucratic control and monitoring of government operations is not consistent with result-oriented public administration, and is to be replaced by competition, customer service incentives, and accountability to customers.
- Front-line operators should be delegated and empowered decision making authority to exercise creativity and innovation in the pursuit of more effective services to customers.
- Public organizations should be as entrepreneurial, innovative, and flexible as the private sector.
- Management should focus on anticipatory prevention rather than curing.

2.2.2. Multiple Perspectives on New Public Management

Since the practice of NPM was introduced in the 1980s, there have been substantial debates and controversy regarding NPM over the past two decades. It is critical to examine the distinctive debates and the theoretical underpinnings of the divergent explanations as a way to contribute to a wide range of policy dialogues about NPM. It is also a basis for advancing scholarly argumentation on NPM to apply it to welfare policy implementation.

2.2.2.1. Perspectives from Proponents

Proponents of NPM emphasize mostly changes in traditional bureaucratic system and market mechanisms for improving efficiency in managing public services. NPM is a “new paradigm” for design of government (Hood, 1991; Hood & Jackson, 1991) and a narrative about comprehensive public management policy change. The institutional reforms of the NPM are

influenced by the theoretical assumptions of the public choice approach, principal-agent theory, and transaction cost economics (Kaboolian, 1998). Based on principal-agent theory⁵, Aucoin (1995) claims that NPM is a valid framework for making decisions about how to structure and manage the public service. It is an empirical public management style of organizing public services (Hood, 1994). Instead of traditional bureaucracy, it brought “quasi-markets” that focused more on results rather than procedures in managing and organizing public services (Robinson & LeGrand, 1993). It also encompassed changes in government-wide systems of financial management, human resource management, procurement, and audit and evaluation (Schick, 1996). NPM identified two paradigms of ideas: public choice and managerialism (Aucoin, 1990).

NPM represents a trend in administrative redesign initiated in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand in the early 1980s. The dialogue regarding market strategies for improving governmental performance was spread from these source countries to others throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s (Kettl, 1997). NPM appeared to be a shift from the traditional bureaucratic model of administration over the past two decades to the use of markets as a tool for public sector management reforms. The traditional bureaucratic model of administration has been challenged on the grounds that it is intellectually inept, inefficient and unaccountable. In the United States, by the Clinton Administration’s reinventing government campaign in the 1990s, the National Performance Review (NPR) became a facilitator in public sector management reform in the U.S. federal government (Barzelay, 2001). Using the principles

⁵ As one of the public choice theories on which privatization and contracting out is based, principal-agent theory views organizations as sets of contracts between buyers (“principal”) and sellers (“agent”) of services. Principals and agents are assumed to be motivated by self-interest, while their purposes and objectives are not identical. For more detail, see Chan, H. S., & Rosenbloom, D. H. (1988). Agency theory. In J. M. Shafritz (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration*. Boulder, CO: West View Press.

of employee empowerment, downsizing and reengineering, and customer-oriented quality management advocated by Osborne and Gaebler (1992), the NPR sought to make the federal government work better and cost less. The Clinton Administration enacted the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, and sought the devolution of responsibility from the federal level to state and local authorities, as well as changes in the federal procurement system.

While the NPM movements vary in scope and success, each country's effort has sought to maximize productive and allocative efficiencies in government. Nagel (1997) asserted that such efficiencies are hampered by public agencies unresponsive to the demands of citizens and that bureaucrats use power and incentives to expand their administrative empires. NPM uses administrative technologies such as customer service, performance-based contracting, competition, and deregulation, and relies on market forces to hold the public sector accountable and the satisfaction of preferences as the measure of accountability (Kaboolian, 1998).

2.2.2.2. Perspectives from Critics

Critics of NPM question the usefulness, as well as the normative and positive contributions of NPM. Many argued that a shift from administrative bureaucracy to entrepreneurial organizations ignores the very nature of democratic government and how it evolved in the United States. Moe (1994) asserts that the NPR ignores the importance of constitutional premise that democratic government is based on a rule of law and not market mechanisms. He asserts that the president relies on the constitutional powers granted to the executive branch and that subordinates are more accountable to the president than customers of government for the implementation of the law. Moe (1987) also argues that the privatization movement will face limitations that stem

mostly from the idea of sovereignty. To Moe, government is a sovereign body that has special rights and privileges, but privatized organizations do not possess sovereignty.

While NPM and NPR focus more on results and customer satisfaction than the administrative and political processes, it fails to account for the reality of the legislative role and politics (Rosenbloom, 1993). Lynn (1998, p. 232) argues that NPM is “an ephemeral theme likely to fade,” just as enthusiasm for innovations has passed on to newer tools and strategies. Finally, NPM has failed to advance the field in terms of intellectual inquiry, since it fails to maintain the precepts supported and advanced by the traditional public management (Ricucci, 2001).

There has been much controversy over the practice of NPM in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. Gregory (1995) doubts that its emphasis on outputs can be applicable to other types of government programs. He claims that the New Zealand model seems “insufficiently sensitive to differences among the kinds of tasks that public organizations are required to carry out” although it encourages “all public agencies to treat all their tasks as if they were or could be made into production ones” (1995, p.58; quoted in Barzelay, 2001, p. 136). Because situations within government and bureau’s specific operation conditions differ significantly, any single approach to public management does not work (Wilson, 1989). Based on theoretical categories, Wilson argues that the effects of any given set of administrative systems or any given course of executive actions differ due to the varying operating conditions of bureaus⁶. Wilson’s framework becomes a basis for critiquing the principal-agent theoretic approach to public management.

⁶ Wilson (1989) identifies four types of situations and defines their specific operating conditions by creating a two-by-two matrix of situational types based on “outputs” and “outcomes.” He defines output as a performed task and outcomes as the goals of the programs operated by bureaus or the bureau’s mandate. The four types of situations he

In the mid-1990s, NPM was criticized due to the lack of effort for securing accountability in the case of New Zealand. Schick (1996) argues that securing output accountability should be balanced with management processes oriented toward achieving policy outcomes by criticizing government-wide institutional rules and routines affecting the planning and resourcing of government's activities in New Zealand. While Aucoin and Schick are in favor of the practice of New Zealand, Schick presents more critical observation and takes account of a wider range of professional thought about management. Based on management accounting and control, Schick claims that government departments in New Zealand have not developed adequate costing or resourcing system that includes not only budget information arrayed by output, but also good cost information. Schick finally draws on ideas of strategic management for increasing the capacity of the government, arranging departments' plan for future changes in environments, specifying desired future outcomes, reallocating resources, and measuring progress (1996, p.53).

Contracting out and privatization emerged as one of the key new public management strategies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the early years of the Clinton Administration (1992-1994), the Gore report on reinventing government stimulated the federal, state, and local levels of administration to contract out their functions for service delivery (Gore, Davidson, & National Performance Review, 1994; National Performance Review & Gore, 1993). As many local governments contracted out local social services, scholars have expressed concern with contracting out the social service delivery. Contracting out may not be initiated successfully due to the increased competition among nonprofit and for-profit service providers, the problem of

identifies include: production organization; coping organization; procedural organization; and, craft organization. For more detail, see Wilson, J. Q. (1989). *Bureaucracy: What government agencies do and why they do it*. New York: Basic Books.

accountability, and the growth of political and commercial influences on the social services (Kramer & Grossman, 1987).

Advocates of privatization claim that because the public sector is inherently inefficient, the quality of services can be improved when the services are delivered by private sector at lower cost (Savas, 2000). In contrast, critics argue that “public institutions are the principal vehicles for expressing common public concerns” and must provide “the services in an equitable fashion and remain accountable to the public for their actions” (Kolderie, 1986; quoted in Duman, 2003, p.43).

While opponents point out critical problems of NPM, many acknowledge that efforts have been made to increase executive power at the expense of other critical values within a democratic state. Whether NPM represents a new paradigm or not, its attempt to transform the public sector through organizational reforms that focus on results appears to fit nicely into the larger, political theory of governance (Stoker, 1998). The NPM model emphasizes the utility of adopting private sector practice in reforming the public sector and assumes managerial values and practices as a priority in the operations of governmental programs and agencies.

In sum, the fundamental limitation of NPM is that has yet to become a vital area of policy research. One of the most critical factors to enrich policy debates about NPM is “to develop and assimilate knowledge and perspectives about the policy making dynamics that drive the public management policy reform.” This knowledge and perspectives can be “developed and assimilated through the comparative study of public management policy change” (Barzelay, 2001).

2.2.3. Governance Theories and New Public Management

Governance is defined as “regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goods and services” through formal and informal relationships with agents in the public and private sectors (Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2001, p.7). Kettl (2002, p. 119) defines that “governance is a way of describing the links between government and its broader environment – political, social, and administrative. It is also a way of capturing the initiatives that governments around the world have deployed to shrink their size while struggling to meet their citizens’ demands”. Pierre and Peters (2000, p.7) describe governance as being “about government’s changing role in society and its changing capacity to pursue collective interests under severe external and internal constraints”. Governance distributes resources and responsibility for functions and operations within and between organizations in the public and private sectors. It seeks to increase efficiency in the administration and management of public goods and services by way of direction, control, and coordination.

The movement toward governance as an organizing concept for public administration and management is based on the belief that the core of administrative practice has been shifting from the bureaucratic state and direct government to the hollow state and nongovernmental parties such as nonprofit or for-profit organizations (Milward, 1994; Milward & Provan, 1993; Salamon, 1981). This movement builds on New Public Management or reinventing government approach (Kettl, 2002; Salamon, 2002). Recent American public policy has developed a strong movement that devolved federal policy to states and this movement has stipulated a new form of governance. Kettl (2002) argues that command-and-control government in the past must be transformed into decentralized governance, because earlier governmental solutions will fail to

resolve the problems that face governments now. Salamon (2002) argues that “new governance” attempts to shift both the unit of analysis from programs and agencies to tools of action, and move the focus of administration from hierarchy to networks. With Kettl, Salamon (2002, p.12) asserts that the traditional functions of personnel systems, budgetary procedures, organizational structures, and institutional dynamics have become “far less central to program success”, compared to network operations.

Kettl argues that government will increasingly rely on nongovernmental partners for service delivery, and these nongovernmental partners will be more dependent on government revenue as an important source of their revenue stream through a contract. He asserts that “this interdependence will create new challenges for institutional integrity and operating effectiveness for both parties (Kettl, 2000, p.69)”. These nongovernmental partners have to redefine and incorporate their missions into the specific program goals for which they have responsibility in delivering services. Government needs to transform its role from a service provider to a coordinator who administers service delivery. Putnam (1993, p.37) argues that “networks of civic engagement facilitate coordination and communication, and amplify information about the trustworthiness of other individuals”.

Governance places greater emphasis on networks of organizations rather than hierarchies of organizations involved in public service delivery and administration. It differs from a privatization perspective that relies more on the private sector to deliver public services and replace government. It also differs from a New Public Management or reinventing government perspective that focuses on contracting out and indirect government forms (Salamon, 2002). Rather, governance builds collaboration and partnerships with both private and nonprofit organizations and gives strong support to networks of organizations for public service delivery.

The essence of governance focuses on “mechanisms that do not rest on resource to the authority and sanctions of government”, but many critics find this aspect to be the most troublesome, simultaneously (Peters & Pierre, 1998; Rhodes, 1996, 1997; Stoker, 1998; quoted in Ewalt, 2001, p.9-10). This context raises a concern with “the potential for leadership failure, differences among organizational participants in goal priorities, and social conflict, all of which can result in governance failure” (Ewalt, 2001, p.11).

In linking NPM to governance, “logic of governance” embodied in NPM practices is seen as a “dynamic, interactive, and continuous sociopolitical process that induces the performance of public programs and mediates the consequences of particular strategies for change or reform of government activities” (Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2000). Governance is about process, while NPM is about outcomes (Peters & Pierre, 1998). NPM strategies appear to be broad concepts, while governance “appears in different institutional forms in different national context” (Peters & Pierre, 1998, p. 233), as it is a process sensitive to political and cultural environment. Both governance and NPM commonly emphasize the constrained scope of formal government and the operation of public program or policy in a network with private partners. Governance and NPM allow researchers to explore thoroughly the determinants of policy and policy impacts without becoming entangled in the alleged dichotomy between top-down or street-level explanations of outcomes or performance. In both governance and NPM, “steering” that requires people who see the universe of issues and missions holistically is a key concept, instead of “rowing” that requires people who emphasize intently one mission.

2.2.4. New Public Management and Governance Strategies for TANF Implementation

State welfare agencies now encounter the new organizational environments that have emerged under welfare reform. These environments include a range of institutional changes, structure of welfare, and implementation issues encountered as the new system was put into practice. These new organizational and institutional environments under welfare reform are seen to be consistent with the emergence of reinventing government embraced by the movement of NPM.

Welfare agencies expanded in-house capability to meet the new demands of welfare reform in a way that adopt new staffing arrangements to facilitate moving larger number of individuals into employment activities (Hercik, 1998; Martinson & Holcomb, 2002). Existing organizational routines changed (O'Toole & Montjoy, 1984). Some states completely restructured the relations between central state offices and local entities (Adams & Wilson, 2000; Kaplan, 2000). This restructuring has proven to be more effective in producing institutional support for reform, instead of retaining their older relationships between those agencies.

The institutional reforms in association with NPM are unprecedented in the formal separation between policy making and service delivery, while the control of administrative bureaucracies by political leadership is a traditional concern (Light, 1997). State-level comprehensive administrative reforms are relatively rare (Chackerian, 1996; Garnett, 1980), since it is largely seen as a function of the general skepticism about the likelihood of comprehensive reform success (Chackerian & Mavima, 2000). Despite this skepticism, comprehensive administrative reforms that emerged in states have adopted some changes that are consistent with reinvention recommendations (Brudney, Hebert, & Wright, 1999). Although the types of reform vary and cut across a wide variety of methods, they are typically justified as means to greater efficiency, effectiveness, and responsiveness (Conant, 1986).

Government reorganization is much more difficult and remarkably political because of “the embeddedness of agencies in long-standing institutions” (Fountain, 2001). Implementing structural reforms may require a wide variety of participants to reexamine agencies’ roles and responsibilities, and to innovate. It is evident that state agencies confronting a dynamic policy or organizational environment are more likely to implement reinvention (Brudney, Hebert, & Wright, 1999).

In addition to reorganizing or restructuring that occurs within government, public, nonprofit and for-profit agencies construct a multiorganizational relationship that occurs outside government and become interdependent for welfare service delivery. In many states, devolution appears to have moved the boundaries of program authority and responsibilities both downward, to local governments, and outward, to nongovernmental contractors to provide a wider range of social services formerly assumed by the federal government (Gais, et al., 2001; Meyers, Riccucci, & Lurie, 2001; Nathan & Gais, 1999; Weissert, 2000). The shift of service delivery from a single agency to multiple agency networks has important implications for improving efficiency.

The multiple dependencies of other organizations increase the capacity of state government to shape services. Multiorganizational arrangements are solutions for interorganizational problems that cannot be achieved by a single organization (Radin, et al., 1996). As Agranoff and McGuire (1998) asserted, increased federal-state programming, the continuation of some federal-state programs, and expanded roles for state government have changed the context of public administration from single-organization operations to boundary-spanning operations. No single agency or organizational model deals with dynamic policy environments including a varying degree of institutional change across and within states. The

mechanisms used to implement such changes require close examination, because the quality of state and local governments' administration is critical to their success (Mead, 1996, 1997).

In the multiagency, multiprogram framework, governance regards collaboration as “a byproduct of the important complementarities that exist among the sectors” and cross-sectoral partnerships as a “source of opportunity” that produce important dividends to help actors in networks solve public problems (Salamon, 2002, p.14). Bardach (1998) is concerned with the potential of public and nonprofit agencies to work together as a way of adding public value to explain “interagency collaborative capacity” (ICC). Bardach (1998, p.17) defines interagency collaboration as “activities by agencies intended to increase public value by having the agencies working together rather than separately”. By focusing on NPM in improving performance and increasing flexibility in rules and procedures, Behn (2001) argues that compacts of mutual, collective responsibility must be established and responsibility for performance must be shared, because public managers are accountable to many stakeholders. Collaboration among the people and organizations in the accountability environment is a key to making this informal compact work.

As a new form of collaboration, Klitgaard and Treverton (2004, p.25) define a public-private partnership as “a cooperative venture between the public and private sectors, built on the expertise of each partner, that best meets clearly defined public needs through the appropriate allocation of resources, risks, and rewards”. E. S. Savas (2000, p. 258) argues that the partnership between the public and private sectors provides “a solution for governments that are seeking funds to develop the infrastructure needed to satisfy people's needs and promote economic development.” Networks of civic engagement including nongovernmental partners embody past

success at collaboration and this serves as a cultural template for addressing new problems of future collaboration and collective action (Putnam, 1993).

Collaboration and partnership between the public and private sectors result in interdependence among organizations. Interdependence gives government reduced capability for command and control over its program operation, since it creates a network that involves a range of nonprofit or for-profit organizations in the operation of programs. Linking network structures to effectiveness, Provan and Milward (1995) predict that network effectiveness will be greater when the network is integrated through centralization, when external control is direct, and when the network is more stable. An important issue in the delivery of human services at state or local level is the integration and coordination of a broad range of organizations into service-delivery networks (Provan & Milward, 2001). Using a reduced-form logic of governance⁷ with data from the national Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) study, Heinrich and Lynn (2000) find that centralization of authority and increased levels of coordination in the provision of employment and training services had the largest positive effect on program performance. Jennings (1994), and Jennings and Ewalt (1998) find that increased coordination and administrative consolidation had significant, positive effects on program outcomes.

⁷ A reduced-form logic of governance is not a theory of governance, but identifies an array of dependent and independent concepts that investigators encounter in empirical governance research. Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill (2001, pp. 80-83) argue that an outcome (O) is a function of the new governance, represented by environmental factors (E), client characteristics (C), treatments (T), structures (S), and managerial activities (M), and “a complex causal structure undoubtedly underlies the reduced-form components: Interdependencies often exist among E, C, T, S, O, and M.”

2.3. AN EVOLUTIONARY MODEL FOR ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TANF IMPLEMENTATION

Although the first New Public Management (NPM) research appeared in the early 1990s and the theoretical foundations on which NPM relies have extensively been developed in the United States since 1990s, NPM has widely been viewed as a theoretical model in public policy and administration research. For instance, Ewalt (2001) used NPM and governance as a theoretical model for welfare policy implementation, and Milward and Provan (1993) adopted the theoretical underpinnings of NPM to explain a transition in the administration of human service to the hollow state and nongovernmental parties. Welfare reform legislation fundamentally changed the structure of welfare service provision and shifted the mission of welfare programs from establishing categorical eligibility to encouraging participants to actively work toward gaining self-sufficiency. With substantial amount of the devolution of decision making authority and decentralization, the implementation of welfare reform can be better understood when it is applied to the framework of the NPM and governance.

2.3.1. Characteristics of Administrative Infrastructure for TANF Implementation

This research proposes a theoretical framework for the study of welfare reform implementation by synthesizing theoretically consistent concepts of NPM and governance. In order to apply NPM which provides more specific implementation strategies and governance which offers organizing theories to the field of welfare reform implementation study, this research examines the objectives of NPM and the characteristics of state and local welfare agencies in administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation. The characteristics of state and local welfare agencies with NPM and governance strategies explain the inefficiency of the former

AFDC administrative system and set forth a new direction in the administration of welfare services.

First, NPM redefines citizens as customers or clients to whom the public sector should be responsive with a focus on private market mechanism. It also transforms government from a rule-driven organization to a mission-driven organization where employees can pursue the organization's mission with the most effective and efficient methods (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Public organizations stress the contribution of clearly articulated missions and goals (Rainey, 1991; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999). Goal clarity plays an important role for policy achievement (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989; Sabatier, 1986).

The significant changes such as strict work requirements and time limits on benefits represented by the PRWORA enable state and local governments to clarify vision of the states' welfare reform initiative and redefine their roles and responsibility to implement the TANF program. To clarify the goals or vision of the states' welfare systems, states and localities must add new processes and requirements, give greater power to institutions with strong employment missions, and devolve greater discretion and responsibility down to the local governments and front-line workers (Gais, et al., 2001). When organizational responsibility and roles were not well defined under new environments, difficulties, such as a need for complex information-sharing system or conflict with other agencies' roles and jurisdictions, would result.

Second, public sectors need to respond with flexibility to complex and rapidly changing environments. It is difficult for bureaucratic governments to do this easily if policy makers use only one method produced by the bureaucracy. Governments ensure that public goods and services are provided, rather than producing those goods. As a result, entrepreneurial governments increasingly rely on steering in which organizations need to find the best methods

to achieve their goals, rather than rowing in which organizations defend their existing methods at all costs (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992).

The nature of the TANF block grant system presumes that states are prepared and are able to assume responsibility for program implementation. The intent of the devolution is to enhance the responsiveness and efficiency of the federal system, based on the belief that states and local governments can better provide citizens with services (Watson & Gold, 1997). Although state welfare departments are designated as the leading agencies for TANF program implementation, cooperation of other public agencies is required. Success of the welfare reform effort might well turn on the degree to which the diverse organizations and programs integrate their efforts (Jennings & Krane, 1994). States' welfare agencies respond to more employment-focused welfare services for TANF clients by transferring some or all of their TANF program responsibility to county governments and a range of service providers.

Third, NPM focuses on competition between service providers through privatization and contracting out, as well as other market mechanisms that seek for greater efficiency. Public or private organizations can better respond to the needs of their customers through competition that ensures the quality and timeliness of public services. NPM also forces governments to become community-owned governments based on the belief that communities are more flexible and creative than large service bureaucracies and understand their problems better than service professionals.

As states gain more experience in implementing the TANF programs, they must provide services to a significant number of people with multiple barriers to employment (Sussman, 2000). The services required to meet the needs of welfare recipients often transcend the typical experience and expertise of TANF agency staff. This is why welfare reform requires the

involvement and support of a broad range of agencies. Policy must be translated into successful interactions between organizations involved in the TANF implementation. Many state and local welfare agencies explore ways to work more effectively with other public and private agencies. Under second-order devolution, the challenge at the local level is to build connections between the resources to create a new system that responds to local needs, and functions with interacting or interdependent elements forming the system. Many local agencies create new systems for delivering services through structural and procedural strategies⁸ in order to reach the goals of economic self-sufficiency (Ragan & Nathan, 2002). This mechanism enables governments to make a transition of their roles from service to empowerment in implementing the TANF programs.

Fourth, NPM shifts its emphasis on procedures to results or performance to achieve a goal of public policy or program. It focuses more on output control than input control. The new welfare reform legislation changes management within the state and local administrations by focusing a results-oriented and system-based approach under the TANF block grant rather than a process-oriented and agency-based approach under the AFDC. One of the most important implications of welfare policy devolution is the responsibility and decision making capacity of state governments for implementing the new law. Under second-order devolution, local governments increasingly depend on nongovernmental partners to reduce inefficiency in the bureaucratic administration of welfare services and to gain better results through performance-based contracts.

⁸ According to Ragan and Nathan (2002, p.12), the effects of devolution on system building can be characterized as structural and procedural. They argue that structural changes include “changes in the agencies administering human service programs, an increase in the number and types of service providers, and blending of funding streams”, and procedural changes include “changes in client-related processes, integration of staff from multiple agencies into teams, and integration of client data in shared information systems”.

But, for changes in policy and devolution to make a difference, successful implementation is essential. Implementation not only demands new rules, but requires changes in standard operating procedures and the infusion of new purposes throughout the structures that administered welfare programs (Gais, et al., 2001). Implementation is a problem of transforming organizations, creating new organizations, or forging linkages among organizations to fuse the new purposes with the required capacities.

Lastly, the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation is an evolutionary system. As the interaction among participating organizations increases along with changing policy environments, the system changes administrative procedures, rules and regulations, collaboration and partnerships. Administrative infrastructure for welfare services has evolved from the old AFDC implementation in the 1960s in response to changes in the role of governments and policy goals. With new policy goals and environments, state and local welfare agencies encompass its mission, including a consensus about its role in achieving public policy goals. This consensus involves reaching an agreement about how their agencies relate to other agencies and levels of government, and communicating this new mission within and across agencies.

Through the restructuring and reorganization processes of the evolutionary system, TANF agencies come to expand the administrative infrastructure in ways that share information and resources to function more efficiently. Within the administrative infrastructure, each organization pursues a substantial amount of collaboration, partnership and communication that enhance decision making capacity by giving and taking more precise information. Feedback helps top policy-makers or organizations to obtain accurate information about what is working

and what is not working. This feedback strengthens policy-makers' decisions in making changes to the way 'business is done' in welfare and related agencies that depends on the NPM strategies.

2.3.2. Shift in Decision Making Authority for Flexible Government

Welfare was a state program in progressive era of the early 1900s. It then became a federal-state program with the New Deal of the 1930s, and changed to a federal-local function in the Great Society of the 1960s. Now it is devolving back to a state function (Cammisa, 1998). Under the federal welfare reform of 1996, states were given discretionary power to implement specific programs that reflect their socio-economic, political, and demographic characteristics within their own states (Breux, et al., 2002).

The shift in the relationship between the federal government and states reflects a changed philosophy of governmental roles and functions. In addition to instituting the TANF, the law readjusts the balance between the federal and state governments in the administration of welfare in a way that not only gives the states more flexibility to create their own rules, but also retains the federal government responsibility for providing funds to the states. The federal-state relationship is a recurrent concern in national policy making, and federalism promises to continue as an important dimension in policy considerations (Ladenheim & Kee, 1998). The role of the federal government continues to be important in the administration of social welfare policy. Blank (1998, p. 217) argues that "while in many cases there has been too much hands-on micro-management by the federal government, the solution to this problem is not to eliminate all federal oversight, but to be more balanced about the division of responsibilities between the federal and state governments".

The devolution of decision making authority and responsibility from federal jurisdiction to states initiates and facilitates other strategies to achieve efficiencies embodied in NPM and

governance research. As the federal government has shifted responsibility to states, many states similarly reconsider their policies in relation to local governments in administering or funding certain government functions. They develop new responsibilities and authority down to local entities to engage in second-order devolution, which depending on the state may include local governments, local offices of state agencies, or public or private entities (Gais, et al., 2001; Meyers, Riccucci, & Lurie, 2001; Nathan & Gais, 1999; Weissert, 2000). Watson and Gold (1997, p.2) argue that “this shift may occur in two ways: through the explicit intent to devolve responsibilities to local governments or through decisions about state aid and other policies affecting local governments that do not explicitly seek to change state-local relations”. Despite the trend toward greater devolution from states to local governments, a few states instead consider changes that reduce or eliminate local governments’ involvement in program funding or administration while increasing the role of the state government.

Under the NPM and governance strategies, centralized, hierarchical bureaucratic control and monitoring of government operations is not consistent with result-oriented public management. NPM emphasizes that decentralized government is more flexible and is able to respond quickly to rapidly changing circumstances and customers’ needs, thereby producing greater productivity (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Front-line operators in local welfare agencies closely interact with welfare customers and, as a result, they have better knowledge and understanding of what the customers’ needs are for becoming economically self-sufficient.

2.3.3. Changes in Administrative Infrastructure for Performance

Salamon (2002) argues that the new governance moves the focus of attention to the distinctive tools or technologies used to address public problems instead of focusing on public programs or

public agencies. It also moves the focus of administration from hierarchy to network in which the command and control by the federal government is no longer effective. Yet, in the social welfare policy area, the federal government still plays a major role in holding states accountable for how they spend TANF block grants and in accumulating evidence from states about what policy initiatives work and don't work.

Under devolution, as states look for ways to reduce benefit cuts, improve efficiency, and enhance program coordination and collaboration in the delivery of welfare services, they may consider ways to reform or reorganize their agency structure. Agency reorganization may involve internal restructuring, program consolidation or elimination, and operational procedure changes. States also may consider reorganizing at the cabinet-level to address overlapping jurisdictions, to improve coordination and efficiency, and to facilitate collaboration among executive branch agencies. States may consider merging and restructuring executive branch agency relationships to create a single workforce development agency or dividing agencies to streamline administrative processes.

Two of the most cited works in frontline or street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky, 1980; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984) argue that policy-makers must change the culture of the front-line workplace if they want to change the way policies are implemented. Organizational changes are proposed as ways to improve government efficiency by consolidating like activities in order to reduce overhead and duplication. Similarly, the extent of administrative reform success is importantly influenced by interactions among reform components (Chackerian & Mavima, 2000), and these interactions are constrained by the institutional or organizational environment (March & Olsen, 1995; Scott & Meyer, 1994). Changes in organizational relations and in organizational structures are important components of the evolution and change in administrative

infrastructure for TANF implementation. These changes are likely to be a continuing interest as states and localities seek to improve program outcomes across a wide array of services and programs.

The degree of first-order devolution from the federal government to states is differentiated from the degree of second-order devolution from states to local governments by the characteristics of the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation. These characteristics include a state-supervised and county-administered system, and a state-administered system. Under the state-supervised and county-administered system, local governments seek to use the NPM and governance strategies extensively with nongovernmental partners and seek to be as entrepreneurial, innovative and flexible as the private sector. If states hold decision making authority and grant little discretion to county governments, it becomes a state-administered system. In this type of administrative system, the decision making capacity of local governments is limited to seeking extensively to place the NPM and governance strategies and activities with nongovernmental partners into operations.

Within the expanded organizational linkage as an administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation, collaboration and partnership enable agencies to work together to craft more comprehensive strategies to increase efficiency, facilitate resource exchange, and reduce duplication of services. Clear assignment of responsibility, jointly agreed upon outcomes, mutual trust, and a willingness to share ideas, time, and other resources are critical components to the success of interagency collaboration and partnership. Collaboration is also enhanced by flexibility in the design for a specific program that enables the partners to adjust to changing environments and by the ongoing support of agency and program management. Collaboration works best when all of the partners are willing to make compromises to achieve group goals and

to consider different methods and strategies from those used in their home organization (Sussman, 2000).

Communication for sharing the states' vision and coping with a shared problem plays a crucial role in harmonizing and converging different interests and goals of a range of agencies on the shared goal of welfare reform. Administrative infrastructure with multiagency workgroups can be an effective way to use each agency's capacity for external and internal communication. Establishing communication linkages can provide feedback to policy-makers and program administrators at different points in different organizations, including frontline workers, mid-level managers, top decision makers, and nongovernmental partners (Sussman, 2000). In a multi-agency network structure, communication relies more on negotiation and persuasion. Traditional command and control in hierarchical structures are no longer effective to improve efficiency. Feedback measures which agency is responsible for a specific part of the new vision and shared problem among a wide array of actors in the structure. It can also provide a continual reassessment of what aspects of the vision and policy are working properly and what aspects need to be revised.

This requires greater attention to how the cultures of different agencies will interact in the relationship. Multiple organizations are administered by different levels of government, and have different goals, rules, and administrative processes (Chackerian & Mavima, 2000; Ragan & Nathan, 2002). One of the key elements for the success of this effort may be the extent to which state and local welfare systems can align the varying interests or boundaries of multiple organizations and their staff with new policy goals enacted in the legislation (Meyers, Riccucci, & Lurie, 2001). In some respects, leadership from the governor or legislature is often needed to harmonize productive interagency collaboration around welfare reform. Many states attempt to

create ‘cross-agency councils’ for the purpose of coordinating states’ welfare reform efforts, of applying agencies’ diverse culture to identify the challenges to TANF implementation, and of resolving some of the confusion over agencies’ roles and responsibilities (Hercik, 1998).

In the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation, interactions among organizations are able to enhance the decision making capacity of the organizations in carrying out their responsibility and to gain better results in administering or delivering TANF services to customers. Through the interactions, each actor is able to learn with and learn from each other in ways that depend on the strengths of other actors and share better practices, information, and resources with mutual trust and clearly assigned responsibility. Increasing collaboration and partnership with sister agencies within state and local governments, as well as nongovernmental partners is able to help the TANF customers to retain their employment and become economically self-sufficient and independent.

2.4. RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

This research explores how the devolution of decision making authority has occurred and examines how the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation has changed and evolved in interactions with diverse actors that promote an extensive application of New Public Management and governance strategies in administering and delivering welfare services to customers. In light of managing welfare services in the administrative infrastructure of multi-agency networks, the conceptual framework with the application of NPM and governance strategies presents the following research propositions:

- The passage of the Federal Welfare Reform Act (PRWORA) in 1996 has resulted in a significant shift in authority from the federal government to state governments for TANF design and implementation of welfare reform.
- State governments, in practice, devolve their responsibilities to local governments for TANF implementation to a significant degree.
- With shifted responsibility, state and local governments redefine the mission, restructure staff responsibility, and reorganize the operating structure for mission-driven and customer-oriented structure.
- Current practice shows greater involvement and support among public, nonprofit or private organizations for TANF implementation at the local level.
- State and local governments are likely to pursue interagency collaboration and partnership based on performance and market-oriented interactions in administering TANF services with nongovernmental partners.
- Interagency collaboration and partnership among actors in the administrative infrastructure is likely to contribute to better administrative outcomes (decision making capacity of the participating organizations) and policy outcome (economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients).

2.5. SUMMARY

Welfare policy makers argued that economic self-sufficiency was a very American puritan concept. Policy-focused and administration-focused literature explains that practice approaches used to achieve this goal were not proper for assessing whether people really become economically self-sufficient, without considering crucial problems with earnings, maintaining jobs, and meeting the needs of their families. As a comprehensive policy change, welfare reform changed not only the way of viewing poverty as a structural problem to an individual problem and responsibility, but also the way of designing, implementing, and delivering welfare services to customers (Cammisa, 1998). Based on this underpinning, this chapter offers a conceptual framework for this research.

In light of the NPM and governance strategies for welfare reform implementation, state and local governments with responsibility shifted from the federal government are likely to restructure and reorganize the operating structure for mission-driven and customer-oriented administration. There will be greater involvements from nongovernmental partners in administering and delivering welfare services to TANF customers. It builds a network for TANF implementation at the local level, and governments and nongovernmental partners become interdependent. State and local governments are likely to collaborate and partner with nonprofit and for-profit agencies that are close to community and better understand what the customers' needs and barriers are. Interagency collaboration and partnership is likely to be operated in a market-oriented and results-focused way.

Based on the performance-oriented NPM strategies, increasing interagency collaboration and partnership among the state and local governments, nonprofit and private organizations in interdependent, multiorganizational networks is likely to enhance the decision making capacity of the organizations for TANF implementation and contribute to economic self-sufficiency of the TANF customers through providing a wider range of employment and training services to the customers.

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design and methods to explore the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure for designing and implementing TANF program. It states the rationale for conducting an exploratory and small-n comparative case study (or multiple-case studies) as a research strategy, and discusses research method to be used, research questions to be examined, selection of the cases, unit of analysis and observation, validity and reliability of the research, and steps and processes taken to collect and analyze data.

3.1. RESEARCH METHOD: AN EXPLORATORY AND SMALL-N COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

3.1.1. Exploratory Case Study

Case study research includes both single-case studies and multiple-case studies. Multiple-case studies have often been used as the comparative case method to distinguish two approaches in disciplines such as political science and public administration (Agranoff & Radin, 1991). Unlike solely qualitative research, case studies can be based on a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence (Yin, 2003a).

This research conducted a small-n comparative and explorative case study for two states selected to illustrate varying implementation conditions in different policy or institutional contexts: New York and Pennsylvania. The goal of an exploratory case study is to discover

theory by directly observing a social phenomenon in its raw form (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The case study method is appropriate when the research problem is not yet clearly structured, and it is necessary to construct detailed information of the components and their interactions that form the research problem in order to design more rigorous research (Yin, 2003a, 2003b).

3.1.2. Small-n (Multiple) Comparative Case Study

Evidence from multiple cases is often regarded as more compelling, and therefore, the study is generally considered to be more robust (Herriott & Firestone, 1983). The rationale for multiple-case designs relies heavily on the clear understanding of literal replications (direct and similar results) and theoretical replications (contrasting conditions). Thus, “the simplest multiple-case design would be the selection of two or more cases that are believed to be literal replications” (Yin, 2003b, p.52). Whereas a single case study copes with the rare case, the critical case, or the revelatory case, a multiple-case study requires more extensive resources and time. In general, single-case studies are often criticized due to their uniqueness or artifactual condition surrounding the case. Since having more than two cases produces stronger effects on the phenomena researchers seek to explain, multiple-case studies may be preferred over single-case studies. Given the nature of the exploratory study of dynamic systems in social science research, a small-n comparative research design appears to be the most appropriate for this research on the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation.

3.1.3. Selection of Cases

This case study compares the implementation of TANF programs in two states - New York and Pennsylvania. As a subset of the fifty states, these two offer geographic, economic, ethnic, and

cultural diversity, as well as divergent political contexts in which to observe the implementation of the TANF legislation. While this selection does not claim the representativeness for all fifty states, it does offer a range of perspectives that is useful in examining the TANF administrative design for the implementation of welfare reform.

Within each state, one county was selected to examine, in detail, how the TANF programs have been implemented at the local level in interactions with other organizations. The subset of counties included Albany County for New York and Allegheny County for Pennsylvania. These counties were selected on the basis of their proximity to state agencies and administrative load of present and past welfare recipients.

3.1.4. Unit of Analysis and Unit of Observation for the Research

Selecting the unit of analysis is a crucial step in policy research, since it signals a basic conceptual orientation. The definition of the unit of analysis is related to the way that the initial research questions have been defined (Yin, 2003b). In particular, the main unit of analysis is likely to be at the level being addressed by the main study questions. The unit of analysis in this comparative case study is an organization. In exploring administrative or structural arrangements for implementing TANF program, this research focuses on organizations engaged in TANF implementation, and places more emphasis on their interactions in the administrative infrastructure or structural arrangement in which interdependence among organizations exists.

Organizations are the aggregate concerns of individuals who share problems and reflect their concerns as a collection (Scott, 1992). Organizations are vehicles for individuals as a component of the organizations to learn and adapt to rapidly changing environments (Argyris & Schön, 1996). This analysis includes organizations that are responsible for the design and

implementation of the TANF program at the state level, as well as organizations involved in the implementation of the TANF program at the county level. These organizations are analyzed and compared to examine the proposed research propositions and research questions.

Within the administrative infrastructure or structural arrangement for managing the TANF program, each of the participating organizations requires a substantial amount of interdependence and interaction with other organizations to provide better results. All issues, activities, plans, and performances for managing TANF program at both state and county levels of administration are taken into account and addressed at organizational levels to provide services to help TANF clients move into work without barriers. In administering employment and training programs for the rapid transition of TANF clients to workforce, state governments, county governments, contract nonprofit and for-profit agencies involved making decisions with regard to assisting them to find jobs to meet work requirements and retaining jobs with advanced skills and higher education. Each key decision maker represents his or her organization as a component of the organizations. The unit of observation for this research is the individual manager or director of the organizations engaged in the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation. This research follows action or behavior from the individual to the organizational to the systemic level of the administrative infrastructure.

3.1.5. Validity and Reliability of the Research

A central goal of a generalizing research strategy is to evaluate the scope within which a theory is said to be valid. This research takes internal validity, construct validity, external validity, and reliability issues into account. Do the research findings have significant effects only during certain time periods or in certain regions of the country or do they have consistent effects across

time and space? This question raises concerns for threats to internal validity and external validity. A threat to internal validity may arise in assessing the effect of the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure on outcomes. The assessment in this research relies on a theoretical framework that guides the whole research process to avoid a threat to internal validity. External validity may be concern when research findings are applied to other cases, because this case study used only two states. Based on my approach to that question and the level of generalization that this research expects to attain, more attention is paid to deciding how many and what types of states are to be included in this research. This research also reviews other case studies on state and local practices for TANF implementation with NPM and governance strategies. This research takes construct validity into consideration with greater emphasis on many empirical evidence from a wider range of sources and a theoretical framework on which the operationalizations for inferences are based. Due to the small cases for some data, I also present some of the analyses as preliminary and exploratory analyses that can be validated in further research with a large dataset to increase statistical validity and reliability regarding statistical power of these analyses⁹.

3.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

King, Keohane, and Verba (1994, p.15) argue that all research projects in the social sciences should satisfy two criteria: a research question should be important in the real world and it

⁹ 42 people responded to the structured survey for this research (19 respondents for New York and 22 respondents for Pennsylvania). Although the response rates, on average, are greater than 50 percent and the Central Limit Theorem provides a basis for the number of observation (at least 30 observations) in a robust data analysis, a relatively small number of observations might result in low statistical power. For that reason, I conduct analysis of variance that compares means of a range of groups for variables in examining the effect of change in TANF administrative infrastructure on an administrative outcome, instead of OLS regression analysis based on a logic of governance (Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2001).

should make a specific contribution to the framework of the existing social scientific literature. The first criterion places more emphasis on understanding the real world of social phenomena including the current and historical context of the problems that significantly affect people's lives. The second criterion can be achieved by increasing our collective ability to make verified scientific explanations of the problems.

This research addresses the problem of how states and counties carry out their TANF programs and change the implementation or administrative infrastructure of their welfare service systems with decision making authority shifted from the federal level of administration. It assesses the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure on administrative and policy outcomes. As stated in Chapter I, this research seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What are the administrative requirements of welfare reform as enacted in the TANF legislation?
- What are the characteristics of the current TANF administrative infrastructure compared to the former AFDC administrative infrastructure?
- How does the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure affect the decision making capacity of organizations for the TANF program design and implementation?
- To what extent does the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure contribute to economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients?

3.3. DATA COLLECTION

Case studies conduct the data collection procedure using six different sources of evidence: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical

artifacts. There are three principles to consider in collecting data for a case study: using multiple sources of evidence rather than using just single source of evidence; creating a case study database as a formal assembly of evidence; and maintaining a chain of evidence to make explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected, and the conclusions drawn (Yin, 2003b, p.85). Every piece of data or information that researchers gather should specify observable implications of the theory they wish to explore (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994).

This exploratory and small-n comparative case study research extensively used four different sources of evidence: review of documentary evidence; archival records; survey of managers; and semi-structured interviews. Since all sources of evidence are complementary and no single source has a complete advantage over all the others, this research used as many sources as possible for ensuring quality of the study. Data were collected through two primary processes: preliminary data collection and data collection during field trips to visit each site. The preliminary data collection has been undertaken since early 2003, and some of the data, such as identifying the organizations that are primarily responsible for TANF program or TANF programs of the state, were collected before 2003 during an internship with the New York State Division of the Budget. After becoming more familiar with socio-economic conditions and practices of both states and counties for welfare reform, I made field trips to visit each of the sites.

3.3.1. Preliminary Data Collection

During the preliminary data collection process, most of the documentary evidence and archival records were collected.

3.3.1.1. Review of Documentary Evidence

For the case of Pennsylvania and Allegheny County, I contacted a coordinator in the Allegheny County Department of Human Services and performed a pilot test for survey with her before conducting the survey. I also obtained documentary materials regarding the practice of Allegheny County and Pennsylvania before and after welfare reform. Regarding the practice of Albany County and New York, it is fortunate to have kept documentary materials such as letters, policy memoranda, policy briefs, and reports of the New York State Assembly's Ways and Means Committee that explain their practices and experiments before and after welfare reform. Those materials appeared to be very helpful to obtain more in-depth knowledge on those practices.

I reviewed a substantial amount of documentary evidence and materials on both paper-based and computer-based forms. Both paper-based and computer-based materials were primarily collected and reviewed before visiting each of the sites and provided more in-depth knowledge and information on the recent administrative or structural changes of key stakeholder organizations in two states and two counties, collaboration and partnership, primary programs that they have operated for TANF clients since welfare reform, and their mission and history. Accessing those materials prior to field trips to multiple sites served as a milestone to identify most of key stakeholder organizations and other participating organizations for TANF implementation in two states and two counties. The documentary evidence included:

- State TANF plans and annual reports for each state and county
- The Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance of the New York State's Department of Family Assistance, available at <http://www.otda.state.ny.us/>
- The Albany County Department of Social Services, available at <http://www.albanycounty.com>

- The Office of Income Maintenance of the Pennsylvania’s Department of Public Welfare, available at <http://www.dpw.state.pa.us>
- The Allegheny County Department of Human Services, available at <http://www.county.allegheny.pa.us/dhs/>
- Formal reports of the U.S. Government Accountability Office, available at <http://www.gao.gov/docsearch/repandtest.html>
- TANF Annual Reports of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services to Congress from 1998 to 2004, available at <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/indexar.htm>
- Formal studies or evaluations of professional research institutions
 - ‘State Capacity Study’ of the Rockefeller Institute of Government, available at http://www.rockinst.org/publications/federalism/2001_Annual_Report.pdf
 - Study of ‘Assessing the New Federalism’ of the Urban Institute, available at <http://www.urban.org/Content/Research/NewFederalism/AboutANF/AboutANF.htm>
 - Resources of ‘Governance and Management’ of the Welfare Information Network, available at <http://www.financeprojectinfo.org/>
 - Formal studies of welfare reform and TANF of the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), and the Institute for Research on Poverty (IRP).

3.3.1.2. Review of Archival Records

In addition to the documentary evidence and materials, I also referred to the “National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF)” data set¹⁰ administered and managed by the Urban Institute. The third round of the survey in 2002 offered a broad range of information on the social, economic, and demographic characteristics of national household. Among this survey data, this research utilized TANF and AFDC recipients’ family income range with respect to the federal poverty

¹⁰ The National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) measures the quality of life in America and pays particular attention to low-income families. The survey is representative of the noninstitutionalized, civilian population under age 65 in the nation as a whole and in each of the 13 focal states: Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. These states are home to more than half the nation’s population and represent a broad range of state characteristics. Three rounds of the NSAF were conducted in 1997, 1999, and 2002. In each round, over 40,000 households participated providing detailed information on more than 100,000 people. Each survey round includes questions on economic, health, social, and demographic variables. Data collection for the third round of the survey was conducted from February 2002 through October 2002.

threshold, support and assistance from government programs, and their participation in job training programs from “Welfare Program Participation” section of the “Family Respondent” file of the NSAF data.

This research also paid attention to the “Welfare Rules Database” administered by the Urban Institute that contains well-arranged information on changes in welfare rules across states, time, and geographic areas to compare and contrast those changes in two states. Archival records reviewed included:

- “Welfare Program Participation” section under the “Family Respondent” file of the National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) data set to examine the extent to which statewide TANF implementation contributes to providing support and assistance to TANF recipients, and their family income, available at <http://www.urban.org/Content/Research/NewFederalism/NSAF/Overview/NSAFOverview.htm>
- “Welfare Rules Database” (WRD) of the Urban Institute, which accounts for detailed information on changes in welfare rules across states, time, and geographic areas within states from 1997 to the present, available at <http://www.urban.org/Content/Research/NewFederalism/Data/ANFData.htm>

3.3.2. Field Trips

I conducted field trips to three main sites for this research: Harrisburg for the case of Pennsylvania, Greater Pittsburgh Area for the case of Allegheny County, Albany Area for the cases of both New York and Albany County. Field trips were undertaken between August 2, 2004 to December 3, 2004. Multiple and relatively short-period field trips to three sites were conducted due to the practical limitation of expenses for these trips and the difficulty of scheduling appointments with interviewees. The purpose of these field trips was to visit each of the sites and each of the key stakeholder organizations, interview directors or managers in the participating organizations in TANF administration, survey members of the organizations, if

necessary, and collect other documentary materials or evidence such as program brochures, evaluation reports conducted by professional research institutes and internal progress reports.

3.3.2.1. Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to design a sample to conduct semi-structured interviews with directors or managers, I identified the key stakeholder organizations in the TANF administration in two states. I referred to their organizational charts, missions, and main activities of each division or bureau within the key organizations. I then classified these bureaus or divisions into two groups: highly TANF-related activities and low TANF-related activities, and used this classification as the basis of a stratified sampling design. A stratified sampling design represents all groups in the population proportionately and reduces both the variance and the cost of data collection (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000). Among organizational participants in TANF-related activities, I identified the headers of the organizations: directors, managers, coordinators or supervisors.

In two counties, I identified the key stakeholder organizations responsible for TANF implementation and contract nonprofit and private service providing organizations. For the case of Allegheny County, I identified more than 150 contract service providing organizations, but obtained a list of organizations engaged in TANF implementation from a coordinator in the Allegheny County Department of Human Services. I then reviewed the size of the organizations, the number of staff, and the programs administered by the organizations. Based on this characterization of the participating organizations, I drew a representative stratified sample for the semi-structured interviews and structured survey. The sample designs for the survey and semi-structured interviews at each of the administrative levels are summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Sample Summary for Survey and Interview

Level	Case	Survey		Semi-Structured Interviews	
		Sample	N	Sample	N
Federal		N/A		1 office director & 2 program managers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Family Assistance of the Administration for Children & Families of the Department of Health and Human Services 	3
	Subtotal				3
State	NY	A sample of directors and managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance of the Department of Family Assistance: - Division of Temporary Assistance - Division of Transitional Supports and Policy Welfare-To-Work Division of the Department of Labor 	7	3 division directors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance of the Department of Family Assistance: - Division of Temporary Assistance - Division of Transitional Supports and Policy 	1
			7		1
			6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Department of Labor Welfare-to-Work Division 	1
	Subtotal		20		3
State	PA	A sample of directors and managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Income Maintenance of the Department of Public Welfare: - Bureau of Program Support - Bureau of Policy - Bureau of Program Evaluation - Bureau of Employment and Training Programs County Assistance Office 	3	1 office director & 2 bureau directors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Income Maintenance of Department of Public Welfare Bureau of Employment and Training Programs Bureau of Program Evaluation 	1
			3		1
			8		1
	Subtotal		20		3
County	Albany County	A sample of directors and managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Division of Temporary Assistance of the Department of Social Services 11 nonprofit or for-profit agencies 	9	1 division director, 1 office director, & 3 program directors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Division of Temporary Assistance of the Department of Social Services 	1
			11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Employment and Training Services of the Division of Temporary Assistance Contract Service Providers 	3
	Subtotal		20		5
County	Allegheny County	A sample of directors and managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Community Services of the Department of Human 		1 office director, 1 bureau director, and 3 program managers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of Community Services of the Department of Human 	1

	Services: - Bureau of Employment and Training Services • City of Pittsburgh • 12 nonprofit or for-profit agencies and city government	6 2 12	Services • Bureau of Employment & Training Services • Contract Service Providers	1 3
	Subtotal	20		5
Total		80		19

In order to conduct the interviews and survey, I first contacted the sampled organizations either by a formal letter with an approval letter for this research from the Institutional Review Board or by making a phone call and made follow-up contacts via email or phone call. Many were contacted and scheduled for an interview and survey, and most of the interviews took 40 to 45 minutes, but some took more than an hour.

A representative stratified sample of total 19 key decision-makers from federal, state, and local levels of administration for the semi-structured interviews was designed. Although I used varying methods to contact the sampled organizations, I was not able to secure all the interviews and survey I planned. As shown in Table 3.2, I interviewed 29 directors, managers, or coordinators both at the state level and at the county level for this research. These interviews provided a good profile of the performance of the entire administrative system to corroborate with information from other sources. However, I was unable to secure interviews from directors or managers at the federal level of administration.

More specifically, I interviewed 5 directors and managers at different levels and in different offices for the state of Pennsylvania and interviewed 8 directors, managers, coordinators, and policy analysts at different levels and in different departments for the state of New York. For the case of Pennsylvania, 5 interviewees represented the Pennsylvania

Table 3.2: Sampled Organizations and Results of Interviews and Survey Completed

Level	Case	Organizations	Interviewees	Survey Respondents	
			N	N	%
State	NY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance - Division of Temporary Assistance - Division of Transitional Supports and Policy ● Welfare-To-Work Division of the Department of Labor 	4	4	20.0 %
			2	1	5.0 %
			2	3	15.0 %
		Subtotal	8	8	40.0 %
	PA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Office of Income Maintenance of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare - Bureau of Policy - Bureau of Program Evaluation - Bureau of Employment and Training Programs ● Allegheny County Assistance Office 	1	2	10.0 %
		2	2	10.0 %	
		1	4	20.0 %	
Subtotal		5	9	45.0 %	
County	Albany County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Department of Human Services - Division of Temporary Assistance - Office of Employment and Training Services of the Division of Temporary Assistance ● Contract Service Providers - Altamont Program - RSS - Career Links - Cornell Cooperative Extension - Maximus ● Department of Labor Welfare-to-Work Division 	1	6	30.0 %
			1		
				1	5.0 %
			1	1	5.0 %
				1	5.0 %
		1	1	5.0 %	
		2	1	5.0 %	
Subtotal	6	11	55.0 %		
County	Allegheny County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Office of Community Services of the Department of Human Services: - Bureau of Employment and Training Services ● Contract Service Providers - Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh - YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh - Hosanna House - Allegheny Intermediate Unit ● City of Pittsburgh 	4	5	25.0 %
			1	1	5.0 %
			2	2	10.0 %
			1	2	10.0 %
			2	1	5.0 %
Subtotal	10	13	65.0 %		
Total			29	41	51.2 %

N: Number of People; % Percentage of Total Sample for Each Case (N=20)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

Department of Public Welfare (DPW)'s Office of Income Maintenance (OIM), the Bureau of Employment and Training, the Bureau of Policy, and the Bureau of Program Evaluation of the Office of Income Maintenance, and the County Assistance Office in Allegheny County. For the case of New York, 8 directors, managers and supervisors were interviewed from the Division of Temporary Assistance and the Division of the Transitional Supports and Policy of the New York State Department of Family Assistance (DFA)'s Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA) and from the New York State Department of Labor (DOL)'s Welfare-To-Work Division.

In order to explore how county governments implement their TANF programs, and change administrative infrastructure for implementing those programs in their jurisdictions, 10 directors, managers, and coordinators at different levels and in different organizations were interviewed for the case of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and 6 directors and managers at different levels and in different organizations were interviewed for the case of Albany County, New York.

3.3.2.2. Conducting Surveys

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I also conducted a structured survey. The survey produced both quantitative and qualitative data as part of the case study evidence, with a representative stratified sample of directors and managers. The target population for the survey is directors and managers engaged in designing and implementing TANF programs in two states and two counties, and they must have been at work at the time of welfare reform for a comparison with the former AFDC administration. Each of the representative stratified samples for the survey is 20 directors and managers of the organizations engaged in the TANF

administrative infrastructure for the two states and two counties. At the state-level, the representative stratified sample was drawn from state agencies and the representative stratified sample at the county-level was drawn from county government and contract nonprofit and for-profit agencies. More samples were assigned to state and county governments, since they administer directly funding stream.

The anonymity and confidentiality was informed to all informants prior to conducting the interview and survey. I explained that all information would be strictly confidential, would not be revealed to anyone, and would be used for this research purpose only. All interviewees, except for one interviewee from a nonprofit organization in Allegheny County, agreed that the interview would be tape-recorded for a transcription.

In order to gain better response rates, I used different and varying methods depending on survey participants' preferences: email survey; mail-in survey; survey via phone and fax; and, in-person survey during the site visits. As shown in Table 3.2, this research achieved a response rate of 52.5 percent from the survey: 42.5 percent response rate at the state level and 62.5 percent response rate at the county level, on average. The survey respondents represented different types of organizations that range from state governments to for-profit organizations involved in the implementation of TANF programs in two states and two counties.

3.3.3. Research Questions and Sources of Data

Although the quantity and quality of data collected may vary from case to case, datasets show significant common denominators that ensure a comparative case study. The sources of data used to explore each of the proposed research questions are summarized in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Research Questions and Sources of Data

Research Questions	Sources of Data
RQ1: What are the administrative requirements of welfare reform as enacted in the TANF legislation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentary Materials: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State TANF plans, legislations, and annual reports - Formal reports of U.S. General Accounting Office • Archival Records: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ‘Welfare Rules Database’ (WRD) of Urban Institute • Semi-structured interviews with directors and managers of welfare agencies
RQ2: What are the characteristics of the current TANF administrative infrastructure compared to the former AFDC administrative infrastructure?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentary Materials: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Annual reports of two states and formal studies or evaluations from professional research institutes • Semi-structured interviews with directors and managers of welfare agencies • Structured Survey of directors and managers of the organizations in the TANF administrative infrastructure
RQ3: How does the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure affect decision making capacity of the organizations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews with directors and managers of welfare agencies • Structured Survey of directors and managers of the organizations in the TANF administrative infrastructure
RQ4: To what extent does the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure contribute to economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archival Records: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ‘Welfare Program Participation’ section from the ‘Family Respondent’ file of the National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) data set • Semi-structured interviews with directors and managers of welfare agencies

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

In conducting data analysis, this research seeks to identify the mechanisms that generate significant changes in operations, activities, and environments of the administrative infrastructure that has emerged for implementing states’ TANF programs. This research reviewed all documentary materials, archival records, semi-structured interviews, and structured surveys, coded the survey responses, and built a small database for an analysis.

With the database, analysis of the research is composed of three parts: 1) a descriptive analysis as to administrative or structural arrangements for TANF program implementation; 2)

an analysis as to a dynamic changing or evolution process of the TANF administrative infrastructure; and, 3) an analysis as to the effect of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure on administration and policy, the decision making capacity of the organizations for an administrative outcome and economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients for a policy outcome. These analyses compared the current TANF administrative or structural arrangements since welfare reform, the evolution of the administrative infrastructure and its effect to the former AFDC administrative or structural arrangements.

In analyzing data, the administrative infrastructure is regarded as a product of dynamic interaction among the organizations involved in the administrative infrastructure as well as between the organizations and environments. Thus, based on the analytic framework, this study emphasizes involvement in an actual situation as one of the most important part of the learning process in individual and organizational behavior (Argyris, 1982, 1985; Comfort, 1985, 1999).

3.4.1. Descriptive Analysis

A descriptive analysis addresses the current characteristics of the states in terms of socio-economic and welfare programmatic capacity. It also identifies a list of organizations engaged in the design and implementation of TANF programs through stakeholder analysis and their primary responsibilities for the TANF programs in a given administrative jurisdiction. This analysis describes administrative requirements of welfare reform as enacted in the TANF legislation, if any, in terms of both administrative and policy aspects that lead state or county governments to make an evolution or change in the administrative or structural arrangements for the TANF programs. It identifies a primary administrative system or model for TANF administration in both states.

3.4.2. Qualitative Analysis and Network Analysis

Table 3.4: Indicators and Measurements

Indicators	Measurements
Devolution of Decision Making Authority and Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The extent to which directors of state governments perceive responsibility shifted from the federal government to states for TANF program • The extent to which directors or managers of county governments perceive flexibility in implementing TANF programs
Adoption of Market Mechanism for TANF program implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The extent to which state and county governments redefined their goals and missions after welfare reform • The extent to which state and county governments restructured staff responsibility and reorganize the internal structure • What are market mechanisms on which state and county governments adopted for better results
Collaboration and Partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The extent to which state and county governments need the support and involvement of other organizations for TANF implementation • With what other types of organizations an agency is mostly doing a cooperative teamwork for TANF implementation • In what specific ways, state and county governments collaborate and partner with a range of other organizations - How organizations exchange information in a multi-agency network for TANF implementation
Patterns of Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How organizations communicate with other agencies • The extent to which communication occurs among agencies

An analysis as to a dynamic changing or evolution process of the TANF administrative infrastructure explores the devolution of decision making authority after welfare reform and a process of change in governance for TANF program implementation. As Heinrich and Lynn (1999)¹¹ examine, it presents the primary characteristics found in the relationship between the stakeholder organizations and participating organizations. Identifying such mechanisms can give people more leverage over a theory by making observations at a different level of analysis into

¹¹ Heinrich and Lynn (1999, p. 125; quoted in Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2001) examine “the degree to which power and authority were shared among local JTPA entities involved in program administration, as well as the extent to which public-sector versus private-sector administrative authority or control are related to the structure of local service delivery networks”.

implications of the theory so that it is a popular way of doing empirical analyses (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). These mechanisms help us trace the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for the TANF implementation and a shift in responsibility, in practice. Qualitative analysis and social network analysis are used to examine these mechanisms. The indicators and measurements to explore the primary characteristics of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure are presented in Table 3.4.

3.4.3. Analysis of Variance

An analysis of the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation consists of two parts: 1) the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure on the decision making capacity of the participating organizations; and, 2) the effect of TANF implementation on economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients. Using the structured survey data, this research conducts analysis of variance with a set of dependent variables that capture the characteristics of the decision making capacity of the organizations for an administrative outcome. In the analysis of variance, the means of New York and Pennsylvania for decision making capacity are compared. To examine decision making capacity by funding source and jurisdiction, a cross-tabulation for Chi-square test is presented. Due to the small number of cases, however, it serves as a preliminary and exploratory analysis that examines a trend in the relationships for further research with large datasets. Variables and measurements for this analysis are presented in Chapter 7.

Using the NSAF data, this research also uses analysis of variance to examine the effect of TANF implementation on policy. As stated, among a wider range of variables from the “Family Respondent” data file of the NSAF data set, this research refers to variables that explain the

circumstances of the TANF clients in two states. These represent earnings, job training, and other support and assistance from government programs for the TANF clients, and reasons for leaving welfare. The analysis of variance compares means of two groups in response to treatments (e.g., AFDC or TANF) to explain the effect on the TANF clients, in comparison with the effect on the old AFDC clients. These variables and measurements for this analysis are presented in Chapter 7.

3.5. SUMMARY

The purpose of a case study is to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result (Schramm, 1971; quoted in Yin, 2003b). Yin (2003b, p.13) argues that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident despite common concerns about the lack of rigor and providing little basis for scientific generalization. This research relies on an exploratory small-n case study, because a case study is essential for description, and is fundamental to social science.

For data collection, this research used extensive data and materials from a range of sources: utilization of documentary materials; review of archival records; the semi-structured interviews; and, the structured survey with a representative stratified sample. With the data collected from different sources, this research conducted three main analyses: 1) a descriptive analysis as to the administrative or structural system for the implementation of TANF programs in two states and two counties; 2) an analysis of the dynamic changing or evolution process of the administrative infrastructure and governance for TANF implementation; and, 3) an analysis

of the effect of TANF implementation on administration (decision making capacity of the participating organizations) and policy (economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients).

4.0 A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM FOR TANF IMPLEMENTATION

Social science research that can be quantitative or qualitative in style is designed to make inferences either in a descriptive or explanatory way on the basis of empirical information about the world (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). Particularly, descriptive inference is “the process of understanding an unobserved phenomenon on the basis of a set of observations” (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994, p.55) while explanatory or causal inference is “learning about causal effects from the data observed” (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994, p.8). Among various types of social science research, a case study is particularly important because our explanatory power is too weak to know a great deal of social phenomena. Framing a case study around an explanatory question may lead to more focused and relevant analysis.

This chapter explores the primary components of welfare reform in Pennsylvania and New York, and what specific program in two states has been operated for employment and training of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) clients to help them move into work. It also depicts administrative or structural arrangements for TANF design and implementation in two states as New Public Management (NPM) and governance strategies, and administrative requirements of the structural arrangements, if any. In particular, it addresses local practices for administering TANF program in two counties with a focus on a shift in decision making authority: Allegheny County for Pennsylvania and Albany County for New York.

4.1. TANF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA

4.1.1. Welfare Reform

Governor Ridge dramatically signed into law (Act 1996-35) in May 1996, revolutionary changes to the state's public assistance program and its implementation was effective on March 3, 1997. The first reauthorization of the law was effective on October 1, 2002. The provisions of the Act encourage personal and parental responsibility, emphasize self-sufficiency through employment, strengthen child support requirements, and increase penalties for welfare fraud. The program provides temporary assistance to families as they move to self-sufficiency through work.

The TANF Program is designed to provide not long-term support under the old Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), but short-term assistance to families when the support of one or both parents is interrupted. It also provides supplemental support when family income from employment and other sources is not sufficient to meet their basic needs. Although the TANF program replaced the former federal cash benefits program, most of the rules and procedures under the AFDC administration remain in effect as part of the TANF Program¹². The primary goal of the Pennsylvania's TANF program is to provide support to families as they make a transition from dependence on welfare to work for economic self-sufficiency and independency, and long-term self-support¹³:

¹² For instance, SPOC (Single Point of Contact) program, which aims at providing the clients all relevant services for job placement at one site, has still remained in effect since it was introduced in 1987.

¹³ According to Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (2000), the following goals provide the framework on which the program is designed:

- promote personal responsibility;
- move recipients into jobs;
- provide work incentives and supports;
- break the cycle of dependency through education;
- strengthen families and support children; and,
- simplify program administration.

4.1.2. Time Limit and Work Requirements

Receiving TANF assistance in Pennsylvania is limited to a total of 60 months in an adult's lifetime. The periods of a receipt of the assistance need not be consecutive to count toward the 60 months. However, Pennsylvania reserves the right to exclude up to 20 percent of its average monthly TANF caseload from the 60-month time limit due to situations determined to constitute a hardship¹⁴.

Since the Pennsylvania's TANF legislation was effective on March 3, 1997, all persons who receive TANF benefits on or after March 3, 1997 are subject to the 60-month lifetime limit and all work requirements of the TANF Program. During the first 24 months from the first day of a receipt of the assistance, as an initial activity, the individuals must conduct a job search for a minimum of eight weeks or until they are employed, whichever occurs first. This is one of the primary work requirements of the "Road to Economic Self-Sufficiency through Employment and Training" (RESET) program, Pennsylvania's TANF program for helping welfare clients move into the workforce. All nonexempt persons who are receiving cash assistance when TANF is implemented are required to conduct a job search within eight weeks of their next redetermination. If at the end of eight weeks the recipient has not found employment, the individual is required to participate in additional work-related activities specified in the "Agreement of Mutual Responsibility" (AMR)¹⁵, which may include additional job search. After receiving assistance for the first 24 months, an individual required to meet the work requirements

¹⁴ According to the federal guidelines, states can exclude up to 20 percent of their monthly TANF caseload from the time limit that they set up. It is called "exemption."

¹⁵ For receiving cash assistance, each client must complete an Agreement of Mutual Responsibility (AMR) that outlines their plan for self-sufficiency.

must be working or participating in any one or a combination of allowable work activities¹⁶ other than job search or education or training for at least an average of 20 hours per week.

Regarding financial circumstances of TANF families, maximum monthly cash benefit levels for two children in Pennsylvania has been \$ 403 since 1997, slightly above the national average, as reported in Table 4.1. Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1 show that the number of TANF families and recipients in FY 2003 in Pennsylvania has been cut by 57.7 percent, slightly below the national average, since the enactment of TANF.

Table 4.1: Caseload, Benefit Levels, and Work Participation Rate in Pennsylvania

	FY96 - FY02 Caseload Change		Benefit Levels for a Family of Three with No Income ^a	Work Participation Rate for All Families in FY 03 ^b		
	Percent	Rank		Participating Families	Percent	Rank
U.S. Average	-59.2 %	N/A	\$ 362	320,910	31.3 %	N/A
Pennsylvania	-57.7 %	19	\$ 403	4,882	9.9 %	50

^a Three families for benefit levels are 1 adult and 2 children as of June 2002

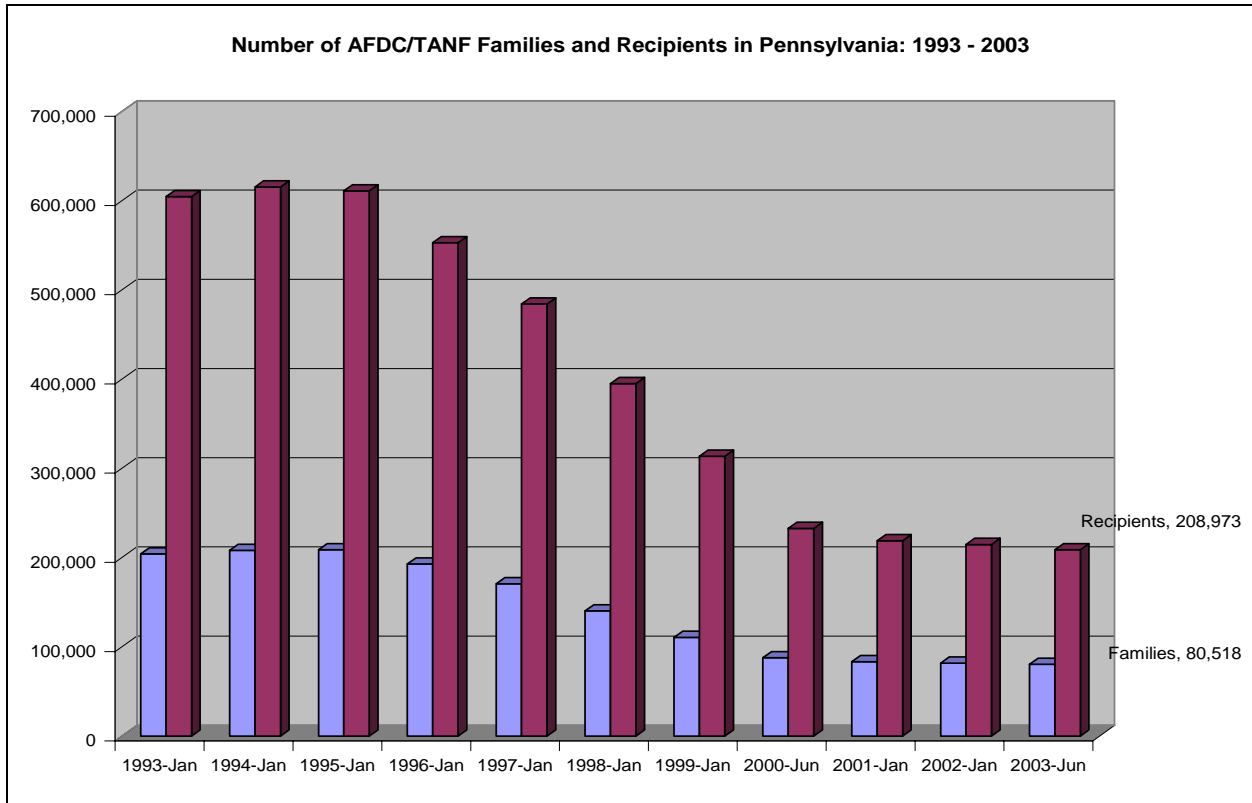
^b Work participation rate as of September 2003

Source: U. S. Department of Health and Human Services (2004). TANF sixth annual reports to Congress.

Work participation rates measure the degree to which parents in TANF families are engaged in work activities that lead to self-sufficiency. Every state must meet work activity participation rates for TANF recipients to avoid a penalty imposed on the grant from the federal government. On the national average, 31.3 percent of non-exempt TANF adults in FY 2003 met federal all-family work participation standards by averaging monthly participation in qualified work activities for at least 30 hours per week, or 20 hours per week if they had children under age six. This rate remains below the 38.3 percent peak achieved in FY 1999. Surprisingly,

¹⁶These activities include: subsidized employment; work experience; on-the-job training; community service; or workfare. According to Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (2004), SPOC offers those activities and mandatory TANF clients move to SPOC program after receiving 24 months of cash assistance.

Pennsylvania's work participation rates in FY 2003 were 9.9 percent and ranked the 50th among 50 states and 4 territories¹⁷. Work participation rates in Pennsylvania have met the federal requirement since FY 1998, because welfare caseload reduction credit has been applied to the rates.



Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. US welfare caseloads information: State by state welfare caseloads since 1983¹⁸

Figure 4.1: Number of AFDC/TANF Families and Recipients in Pennsylvania: 1993-2003

¹⁷ These include District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands. Work participation rates of only four states and territories are below than Pennsylvania: Maryland, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands.

¹⁸ Available at <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/news/stats/caseload.htm>

4.1.3. RESET Program

As established by the Act 35, TANF recipients in Pennsylvania are enrolled in an employment and training program, known as the “Road to Economic Self-Sufficiency through Employment and Training” (RESET), which enables them to find employment and become long term, economic self-sufficient. This approach emphasizes a work-first approach as part of a continuum of services that can establish a work history, with increasing wages and benefits that lead, over time, to economic independence and self-sufficiency. To this end, contractors are engaged to supplement the County Assistance Offices’ efforts, which are state agencies located in 67 counties directed by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. These Offices assist clients find, retain and advance in employment. A county manager describes this program briefly:

The state was very focused on immediate attachment to workforce. That’s the phrase they like to use, “the quick attachment to workforce”. They built into the process something called, the work-first concept, what they’re out front., so what they say is if you come on public assistance, then you have to agree that you’re going to participate in working, job-readiness or job search program.

As a condition of eligibility for cash assistance, each client must complete an “Agreement of Mutual Responsibility” (AMR) that outlines their plan for self-sufficiency. Prior to completion of the AMR, the client’s RESET enrollment status is determined as either mandatory, mandatory with good cause, or voluntary due to an exemption. A client’s length of time on TANF and their RESET enrollment status determine in which activities they participate and what participation requirements must be met.

With regard to RESET requirements after 60 months of cash assistance, mandatory clients who are enrolled in the “Single Point of Contact” (SPOC) program, upon reaching 60 months of TANF, must remain in the program. The County Assistance Offices conduct a 60-

month review and update the AMR to indicate that the client will continue to participate. If the client is not working and is required to participate in the RESET, the County Assistance Offices will refer the client to the other program.

4.1.4. SPOC Program

Pennsylvania has run another program designed to help welfare recipients move into workforce without barriers before the federal welfare reform, entitled the “Single Point of Contact” (SPOC) program. This program has been operated statewide since 1987 as a primary employment and training program in the state. It has aimed at providing all employment relevant services at one site for employment and job retention of welfare recipients to become economically self-sufficient. The SPOC offers the following work activities: unsubsidized employment; subsidized employment; paid work experience; and, community service¹⁹. A county manager states the SPOC program as follows:

They were actually doing some programming for AFDC population, which preceded the legislation and they needed to make some adjustments, of course, when the legislation actually came out. But we already had something in place to serve those clients in employment and training programs before welfare reform happened. We had a program, PA calls SPOC, which stands for “Single Point of Contact”. The purpose of it was not to have the clients chase from one provider to another, but to let them receive all their services, not only employment and training services, but even support services through one organization or at least through one central site.

The SPOC program is closely associated with the RESET, although it was established 10 years earlier. According to the RESET requirements, mandatory clients who have received the 24 months of cash assistance or more are required to participate in any one or a combination of work activities, including enrollment in the SPOC program for an average of 20 hours a week.

¹⁹ Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (2004). TANF employment and training master guidelines.

Mandatory clients who are enrolled in the SPOC must remain in the program after the 60 months of TANF. All employment and training programs for the TANF clients have been run through both RESET and SPOC programs.

Pennsylvania's approach is one of the nation's most generous and liberal. From the first day on welfare, welfare recipients must enroll in a work activity and begin taking steps to support their families. During the first two years, a work activity can include a paid job, an education or training program, an independent job search, community service or some combination of all of these. There is no minimum number of hours of the work activity to receive cash assistance. A County Assistance Office's manager explains the liberal approach of Pennsylvania:

I think Pennsylvania has always taken a very liberal approach for being such a conservative state in so many other aspects. We still have state stores in Pennsylvania for liquor consumption. But I think that Pennsylvania on the welfare side has always been a pretty liberal state. I think we cover more people with health benefits than any other states. In the height of the riot, when Martin Luther King was killed, I have a lot of histories with this agency. Even back in 1969, Pennsylvania was allowing a father and mother to live in the same household and collect welfare. Most states were not. Most states said, if there were both parents in a household, and both were healthy, you were not eligible for welfare. But, Pennsylvania, you were. These are kinds of things that I think. When welfare reform came about, a lot of states cut welfare benefit. We did not.

4.1.5. State-Administered System for TANF

4.1.5.1. Requirements for Administrative Structure

Pennsylvania's administrative system for TANF program is a state-administered system²⁰ without giving discretion to county, as shown in Table 4.2, in which the state government administers the TANF programs in 67 counties directly through the County Assistance Offices as

²⁰ 28 states in the United States use a state-administered system for TANF implementation with discretion given to states for both eligibility/benefits and available services. Some states such as Georgia or Texas use the same system, but they give discretion to county for available services for TANF recipients' employment and job retention.

they did for the old AFDC. The state relies more on the role of 67 County Assistance Offices in operating the TANF programs in counties since welfare reform.

Table 4.2: TANF Administrative System of Pennsylvania

Effective Date of TANF Legislation	Effective Date of Reauthorization	System of Administration	Discretion	
			Eligibility and Benefits	Available Services
March 3, 1997	October 1, 2002	State- Administered	State	State

Source: U. S. Department of Health and Human Services (2004). Sixth annual report to Congress: Specific provisions of state programs.

Despite that, the County Assistance Offices are still controlled from the Department of Public Welfare. Through the state-administered system, they run the RESET and SPOC programs following the rules, guidelines, and instructions set by the Department’s headquarters. Under this system, the relationship between the state and counties has not changed. The state has run the TANF programs in the existing structure established for the old AFDC in which the state has directed and administered, and the counties have followed the rules and instructions established by the state. A director of the Department of Public Welfare explains the role of the County Assistance Offices as follows:

As far as the structural operations, we left the work with our County Assistance Offices. What we did is just to continue to increase our reliance on the job training network and we provided even more money there. And our County Assistance Offices are involved in planning through, what we call, Local Management Committee (LMC). So they sit on the board as either local director or managers and they technically oversee sub-contract and review performance of training providers.....But County Assistance Offices answer to us that they have relatively little devolution and freedom in terms of how they operate their programs, because they are subject to federal laws, they are subject to our regulations and they are subject to our eligibility requirements and policies. They don’t make a policy at the county level. They have some freedom in terms of how to structure their work, but the work that they do is as what we give them to do.

The Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (DPW)²¹ is responsible for administering the TANF Programs in 67 counties. Program requirements are applied consistently statewide, however the maximum TANF benefit will vary from county to county. The Department has continued the use of private contractors to supplement the work of the County Assistance Offices to provide services, such as job search, job readiness and preparation, education and training services, and to assist clients to enter the work force, retain jobs and advance in employment. Within the Department of Public Welfare, the Office of Income Maintenance primarily administers the statewide implementation of Pennsylvania's TANF programs as well as other public assistance programs through its headquarters and the 67 County Assistance Offices.

Pennsylvania has not made significant structural changes with NPM and governance strategies in the administrative system for the TANF programs. Most offices and duties of the department have remained the same as those under AFDC administration. There are no specific administrative requirements in the federal guidelines and state legislation that lead the state to rearrange the administrative infrastructure both inside and outside the department for designing and implementing the TANF programs. A director of the Department of Public Welfare observes:

As far as I remember, there was no information in the federal guidelines that require administrative changes. That was the whole thrust of the changing dynamics because the federal government was going to try to move out of the strict administrative regulations, guidelines and procedures, and gave states a chance to develop their own state plans and how they are going to administer. We began TANF here in March of 1997. And so neither were there any federal requirements, nor did Pennsylvania take any action to change the structure that was established.

²¹ The Department of Public Welfare is the Pennsylvania's largest state agency and one of the largest state human service agencies in the nation. The DPW employs more than 22,000 people in its headquarters in Harrisburg, four regional offices, 67 County Assistance Offices, and other centers. The Department funds services through a various network of county administered or privately operated programs and administers or oversees several federal and state programs to assist the clients.

While no massive administrative, structural changes for TANF implementation were required by the law, there have been restaffing patterns within the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare to reflect the work-first philosophy in the TANF legislation. This change aimed at changing the priority for investment in an employment and training program for TANF clients from a long term program to a short term program. The purpose was to move clients into the workforce as quickly as possible. A director of the Department of Public Welfare states this change for TANF implementation.

Well, we had to change since April of our program although our Act 35 was written in anticipation of TANF and indeed, was written by some other people who had contributed to drafting the TANF. They had come up here with Tom Ridge, who was elected a Governor. Yes, we did. The state legislation was redrafted in anticipation of TANF and we did have to reconfigure our programs and we deployed staffs largely to conform to the work-first philosophy associated with both Act 35 and TANF. Our investment of money was diverted from longer term education and training to more immediate job placement to ensure we met the federal participation rate.

4.1.5.2. Local Management Committee (LMC)

At the local level, Pennsylvania has managed and administered some of their contracted programs through a single committee statewide. Contracted employment and training programs funded through the Local Workforce Investment Area (LWIA)²² fiscal agent have been managed locally by a single committee, called the “Local Management Committee” (LMC). This committee consists of a range of the primary organizations involved in the operation of the programs. The LMC manages and directs the local operation of contracted programs on the local level, and is responsible for the delivery of services, the bidding and selection of subcontractors,

²² It is established by Workforce Investment Act to improve employment. The Workforce Investment Area is mostly a county, and each Workforce Investment Area is required to have Workforce Investment Board to make decisions. Funding is from the Federal Department of Labor.

the provision of case management, the offering of supportive services, and the job placement and job retention strategies for the programs. There is one LMC for each LWIA fiscal agent. The voting members of the LMC must be decision-making representatives from the following agencies:

- The Local Workforce Investment Area fiscal agent²³;
- The County Assistance Office²⁴;
- The Bureau of Workforce Development Partnership²⁵;
- A local education agency²⁶; and,
- The local economic development agency that is chosen by the LMC²⁷.

The Bureau of Employment and Training Programs of the Office of Income Maintenance of the Department of Public Welfare reconfigures the LMC and enables the LMC to function when performance is seriously jeopardized based on performance reports and monitoring reviews. Since various members are involved in the Committee, the success of the program depends largely on the collaboration, commitment, cooperation and contribution that each member agency makes to the program. The Committee's major decisions affecting program operation are primarily made by achieving consensus among the voting members in a range of areas²⁸. The LMC has not been established as a method of subverting the local chain of command of each of the agencies involved in contracted programs for TANF clients. Rather, it is a way of fostering

²³ The LWIA is contracting agency for the contracted programs utilizing the Master Guidelines established by the Department of Public Welfare.

²⁴ The CAO has a major role in the design of each program, its operation and the services provided.

²⁵ It provides labor market information, employer services and tax credit information

²⁶ It includes a community college or vo-tech, and provides guidance on educational requirements and training for jobs in demand within the local area.

²⁷ It provides current labor market information as well as projections of economic downturns or upward trends within a local area.

²⁸ According to Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (2004, p.13), these areas include: program design; staffing; location of program sites; choice of contractors for education, training and work activities; types and amounts of supportive services; types and amounts of pre-placement retention and job retention incentives; fiscal oversight and procurement procedures; assessment procedures; mix of activities; attendance policies; and, program monitoring by own monitors.

constant communication among those agencies. Through communication, the LMC discusses its progress to achieve the performance requirements for each contracted program and plans a corrective action for each goal that is not being met.

4.2. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

4.2.1. Requirements for Administrative Structure

The Allegheny County Department of Human Services (DHS) with the oversight by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare is primarily responsible for operating the SPOC program in the county, but not for designing it. The Office of Community Services (OCS)²⁹ in the Department is responsible for operating the program in a range of partnerships with service providers that subcontracted with the county. Most components of the program have been operated by the Bureau of Employment and Training Services of the OCS. This Bureau provides programs and opportunities for TANF recipients to learn the skills needed to earn gainful employment.

The Department was created in July 1996 by the Allegheny County Board of Commissioners, in response to the recommendations of ComPAC21 (DHS, 1999)³⁰. It promised greater collaboration across categorical program lines and partnerships with community-based organizations and providers. It also proposed a holistic approach to service delivery that encompassed the full continuum of services, and enhanced communication within the

²⁹ The office of Community Services was established in 1997 and is composed of four bureaus: the Bureau of Family and Community Services, the Bureau of Employment and Training Services, the Bureau of Hunger and Housing Services, and the Bureau of Outreach and Prevention. OCS collaborates and coordinates services with other DHS offices and other community-based agencies.

³⁰ Allegheny County Department of Human Services (2000). 1999 Annual Report.

Department and with consumers and stakeholders. The Department of Human Services has been operating three Regional Service Centers in McKeesport, Downtown Pittsburgh, and Wilkinsburg. Each center works in partnership with a host organization and other community-based agencies to assist unemployed and underemployed people who receive case welfare benefits in their job-seeking efforts³¹.

Its creation changed the way of doing business in ways that enabled county employees to look at service delivery more comprehensively, to maintain consistent priorities across services areas, and to link with available resources within the Department and in the community. All Department staff could be located ideally in a single central facility to enhance the efficiency of the all Department operations and optimize interaction across program areas³². Despite that, its creation was not directly related to welfare reform. The Bureau of Employment and Training Services and the Office of Community Services have not changed, despite the overall structural change in the organization. A primary change was that other bureaus were newly created and added to the Department to deal with more comprehensive issues. A director of the Allegheny County Department of Human Services observes:

It really wasn't much of change. I think that our administrative structure that handles SPOC and other labor program is pretty much the same. Our providers, the mix has changed and what we're requiring of them has changed. But I think at higher level here, administratively it really hasn't changed that much. We had same people that coordinated, planned, and ran our SPOC programs as it is now. Even if DHS was completely redesigned in 1996, the Bureau of Employment and Training Services in charge of TANF program at the county level hasn't changed. What happens is that we have child welfare, aging, behavioral health, and then there is OCS.....Overall administrative structure has changed, but the same bureau was there and we've been doing the same thing.

³¹ The Regional Service Center in McKeesport has a partnership with Goodwill Industries and one in Downtown Pittsburgh has a partnership with YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh. The Regional Service Center in Wilkinsburg is operated by Hosanna House, while the other two Centers are administered by the Allegheny County Department of Human Services in partnerships with these two nonprofit agencies.

³² Allegheny County Department of Human Services. (2001). 2000 Annual Report.

Because the state has administered all welfare programs, Allegheny County has not operated welfare programs independently. Rather, Allegheny County has been given the number of clients only that they had to serve from the state-administered system. All local level contracts are coming from the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. The County Department perceives that they are under oversight by the state through the state-administered system. Through the LMC meeting, the County Assistance Office in Allegheny County has played a pivotal role in overseeing whether or not the county's practice is consistent with the plan which was submitted and approved by the state before the practice. A county manager of the Department of Human Services observes:

Well, certainly when new requirement has come out for SPOC, one of difficult things is that the state of Pennsylvania had whole series of programs to deal with this population. The biggest one is SPOC and then they had a lot of sub-programs in there. We get a certain number of people referred to us by welfare. That's the way it has always been as far as I know.....One of things that state requires is that we have an oversight body, what is called, LMC, 'Local Management Committee', and it's made up of county, and education people, and people from welfare.....They have monthly meetings and they have to agree to all our plans and see them before we can submit our plans to the state. And, I guess the strongest law in Allegheny County is played by a representative from the Department of Public Welfare.

In Allegheny County, there are two local entities that have operated the TANF programs with funding from the state. Not only has the City of Pittsburgh had funding from the state, but also Allegheny County has had state funding to run the TANF programs. While their target populations and components are different each other and Allegheny County has served more populations with more funding from the state, both local governments operate the TANF programs under the same law. As of January 2004, the Office of Community Services of the Allegheny County Department of Human Services subcontracted with 12 nonprofit and for-profit organizations to implement the SPOC and RESET programs for TANF clients through the state-

administered system. These 12 organizations and services to be delivered in the county are stated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Subcontract Service Providers in Allegheny County

Name	Types of Organization	Services
Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training & Education • Employment Assistance
YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training & Education • Employment Assistance
Hosanna House	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training & Education • Job Readiness
Allegheny Intermediate Unit	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher Aide Training • Job Development
Pittsburgh Mediation Center	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Counseling • Mediation Trainings
Allegheny County Community College	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurse Aide Training Program (NATP) • Modern Office System Training (MOST)
Educational Data System, Inc.	For-profit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Retention • Job Development
Pittsburgh Catholic Educational Programs	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paid Work Experience • Academic Enrichment
Susquehanna Rehabilitation Services	For-profit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case Management
Life's Work of Western PA	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School-to-Work Transition • Job Readiness
Northwest Multi Services	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Assistance • Job Development
Forbes Road	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vocational Education • Skills Training

4.3. TANF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF NEW YORK

4.3.1. Welfare Reform

The New York's Welfare Reform Act of 1997 was signed into law on August 20, 1997. Because the final legislative compromise softened some of the most dramatic plans for overhauling the

existing welfare system that Governor Pataki had put forward in 1996, it took some time to work out the program's final form. Before the Act, Family Assistance (FA) program, which later became the New York State TANF program, was effective on December 3, 1996. The welfare reform legislation reinforced its emphasis on work. For more than 60 years, New York State has provided financial assistance to low income families and individuals who have fallen upon hard times and found themselves in need. In particular, the state's public assistance programs have afforded millions of people the opportunity to maintain a degree of financial stability until successfully transitioning back into the workforce.

The implementation of welfare reform legislation promoted a philosophical shift from the skills enhancement activities that had previously been the norm to work-first. Rather than postponing employment until recipients received training for a job that would eliminate the need for public assistance, recipients are now expected to take any job. Short-term training and work-related activities are more emphasized³³:

4.3.2. Time Limit and Work Requirements

New York's lifetime limit on cash benefits is five years, whether or not consecutive, beginning with the TANF-funded assistance from December 3, 1996. The temporary cash assistance is permissible for 24 months before work requirements are invoked. After an adult has received

³³ According to New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (2002), The primary goal of the new program is to:

- provide assistance to needy families with children and promote individual responsibility and family independence;
- require a parent or caretaker receiving assistance under the program to engage in work;
- take reasonable steps as the state deems necessary to restrict the use and disclosure of information about individuals and families receiving assistance;
- establish goals and take action to prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies, and establish numerical goals for reducing the illegitimacy ratio of the state; and,
- conduct a program that provides education and training on the problem of statutory rape to prevent teenage pregnancy.

such assistance for 60 months, he or she is ineligible for such assistance unless exempted from the limit. TANF recipients are responsible for finding jobs within the 60 months of their time limit of the cash assistance benefit.

In addition to the state’s 60-month time limit on TANF-funded assistance, the Welfare Reform Act specified a two-year lifetime limit on receiving cash assistance through the Safety Net Assistance (SNA), another public assistance program for those who do not find a job after the time limit, starting from August 4, 1997. The 60-month and the 24-month time limits are inter-related and affect each other. It provides continued cash welfare payments to families exceeding the 60-month time limit on TANF assistance. In contrast to Pennsylvania’s time limits, New York’s 60-month time limits are flexible, since the state provides the same amount of family’s TANF grant to people who exceed the limit through the SNA. Under the law, an exemption to application of the time limit is made on the basis of hardship when the adult family member is unable to work because of an independently verified physical or mental impairment³⁴. Despite the exemption, all individuals are required to be assessed and assigned to work requirements by the law, provided there is no exemption from the 24 month work requirement.

Table 4.4: Caseload, Benefit Levels, and Work Participation Rate in New York

	FY96 - FY02 Caseload Change		Benefit Levels for Three Families with No Income ^a	Work Participation Rate for All Families in FY 03 ^b		
	Percent	Rank		Participating Families	Percent	Rank
U.S. Average	-59.2 %	N/A	\$ 362	320,910	31.3 %	N/A
New York	-63.8 %	8	\$ 577	27,531	37.1 %	20

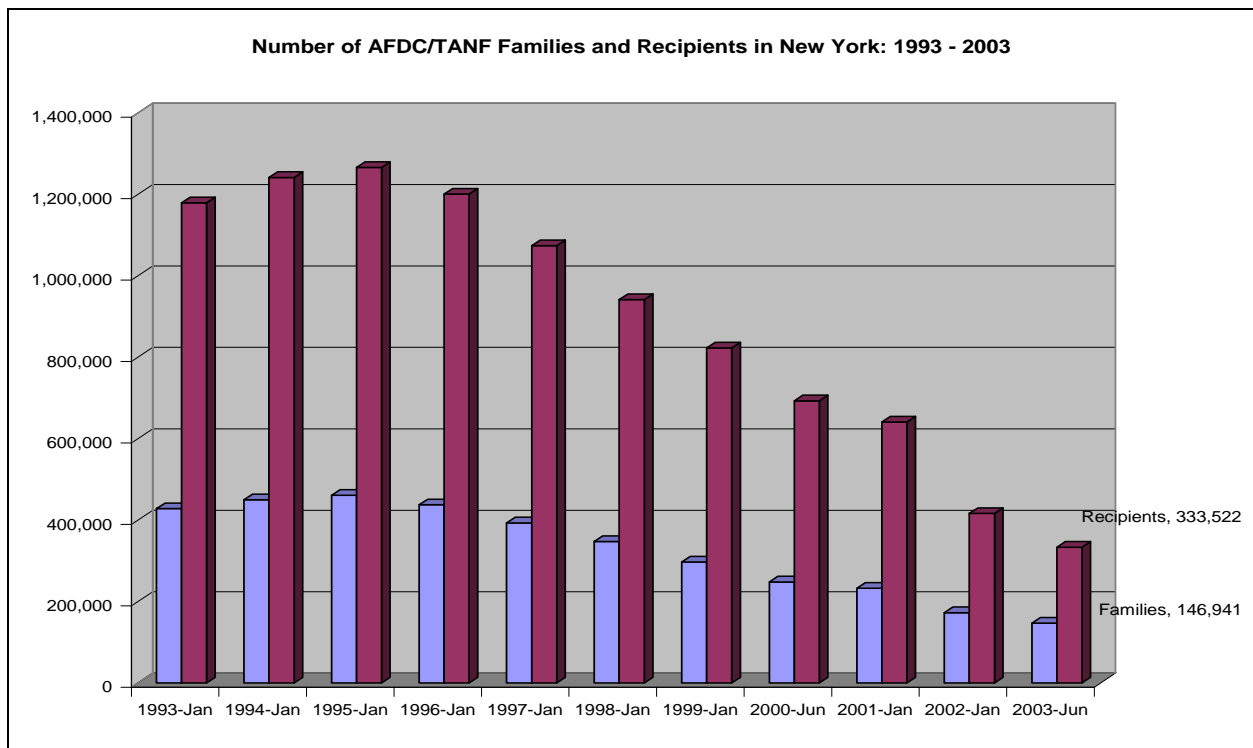
^a Three families for benefit levels are 1 adult and 2 children as of June 2002

^b Work participation rate as of September 2003

Source: U. S. Department of Health and Human Services (2004). TANF sixth annual reports to Congress.

³⁴ The category of the exemption is: mothers of children younger than 12 months old for up to three months for any single child; and, heads of household if they are ill or incapacitated (or caring for someone who has such a condition), age 60 or older, or in their ninth month of pregnancy.

New York's maximum monthly cash benefit levels for three families with one adult and two children has been \$577 since the enactment of TANF in 1997, as shown in Table 4.4. Figure 4.2 and Table 4.4 show that the number of TANF families and recipients in New York has decreased by 63.8 percent, above the national average, since the enactment of TANF. New York's work participation rates in FY 2003 were 37.1 percent, above the national average of 31.3 percent, met the federal requirement, and ranked the 20th among 50 states and 4 territories. An average of 37.1 percent of non-exempt TANF adults in FY 2003 met federal work participation standards for all family by averaging monthly participation in qualified work activities for at least 30 hours per week, or 20 hours per week if they had children under age six.



Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. US welfare caseloads information: State by state welfare caseloads since 1983³⁵

Figure 4.2: Number of AFDC/TANF Families and Recipients in New York: 1993-2003

³⁵ Available at <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/news/stats/caseload.htm>

4.3.3. Family Assistance (FA) Program

Family Assistance (FA) program is a New York State's version of TANF program. The FA program is one of the federally funded temporary assistance programs for families in New York State³⁶. The FA can only be provided to a family that includes a minor child living with a parent or caretaker relative, or to a pregnant woman³⁷. The new FA included a five-year lifetime limit on benefits, as required by the federal law with 24 months of permissible cash assistance before work requirements are invoked and a range of sanctions for a client's failure to participate in the FA work requirements.

4.3.4. Safety Net Assistance (SNA) Program

The Safety Net Assistance (SNA), as another public assistance program authorized by the law, is financed with state and local funds, but no federal funds. The SNA enables New York State to continue to provide relatively generous benefits to welfare recipients in the nation because It provides cash benefits to those not eligible for FA and income-eligible families exceeding the 60-month TANF time limits on benefits for two years. After two years of receiving cash assistance from the SNA, eligible recipients move to the noncash SNA system to receive voucher payments for rent and utilities, and a small cash grant.

³⁶ These programs include Family Assistance (FA), Safety Net Assistance (SNA), Emergency Assistance to Needy Families with Children (EAF), Emergency Assistance for Adults (EAA), including the Interim Assistance Program and certain parts of the Supplemental Security Income Program (SSI). This research primarily focuses on Family Assistance due to a practical limitation of the study.

³⁷ New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (2004). Temporary assistance source book, Ch 9, p. 1.

4.3.5. State-Supervised and County-Administered System for TANF

4.3.5.1. Requirements for Administrative Structure

Table 4.5: TANF Administrative System of New York

Effective Date of TANF Legislation	Effective Date of Reauthorization	System of Administration	Discretion	
			Eligibility and Benefits	Available Services
December 3, 1996	November 1, 2002	State-Supervised & County-Administered	State	County

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2004). Sixth annual report to Congress: Specific provisions of state programs

Most social welfare programs in New York are state-supervised and county-administered with maximum flexibility given to county³⁸ as shown in Table 4.5. Under this system, state agencies set overall policies and rules, determine eligibility criteria, set benefit levels, monitor local practices, and provide technical assistance to counties to ensure that state policies are put into practice. The state welfare reform legislation provided counties with a substantial amount of discretion in administering their welfare programs, in comparison to the AFDC administration (Fender, et al., 2002).

At the state level, the Family Assistance program is administered by the Department of Family Assistance's Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA). In August 1997, as part of major restructuring efforts at the state level, the existing Department of Social Services (DSS) was replaced by the newly created Department of Family Assistance (DFA). The DFA is comprised of two autonomous state offices: the OTDA and the Office of Children and Family

³⁸ Only three other states such as Maryland, Ohio, and Oregon use this administrative system. Some other states such as Virginia, Wisconsin, and North Carolina use county-administered system with maximum discretion given to county.

Services (OCFS). The DFA and OTDA supervise the administration of their programs by 57 county Departments of Social Services and by New York City's Human Resources Administration. The Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA) is responsible for providing policy, technical and systems support to the state's 58 social services districts, which mean counties, including New York City. The OTDA administers and oversees cash assistance both at the state and local level. It provides transitional supports to public assistance recipients, such as services for domestic violence, drug and alcohol, and mental health problems, while they are working toward self-sufficiency. A manager of the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance describes this restructuring as a "dismantling" or "decentralizing" process:

This Department used to be the Department of Social Services and we handled welfare, Medicaid, employment programs and children's services and adult services. As part of welfare reform, the Department was dismantled and decentralized, and it became the Department of Family Assistance. OTDA is one part of that and we have cash programs and food stamps. The other part is OCFS, the Office of Children and Family Services who has adult and children's services, foster care, and things like that. Our employment programs went to the Department of Labor and Medicaid went to the Department of Health.

Since the enactment of welfare reform legislation, no single agency has been responsible for New York State's welfare program. To ensure the efficient administration of welfare programs, the law encouraged the state to increase intergovernmental and interagency cooperation in areas of crosscutting policy implementation. The OTDA, in partnership and interaction with other human service agencies, ensures the range of quality services and programs that will accomplish the welfare system goals³⁹ (NYS OTDA, 2002). Although responsibilities lie in other state and

³⁹ The welfare system goals are to:

- increase self-sufficiency of New York State residents;
- increase program integrity;
- ensure the cost effective, efficient and flexible administration of programs; and,
- ensure effective and efficient management of human resources.

local agencies, as well as the OTDA, many agencies regard the OTDA as an overall supervising agency. The OTDA often needs to be very responsive in terms of holding accountability for TANF administration and faces more challenges in supervising other agencies' activities.

At the state level, the New York State Department of Labor (DOL) as another stakeholder organization is involved in the TANF implementation. Another significant change in employment and training system was made since the enactment of welfare reform law. New York's employment and training system had numerous programs administered by 15 government agencies⁴⁰ including the Department of Labor. While there have been some efforts to coordinate employment and training programs at one-stop centers, these centers typically included only a subset of the employment and training services available in the state. To place greater emphasis on the employment aspect of FA program, all state supervisory responsibility for employment programs was moved to a single state agency, the Department of Labor. The transition facilitated the state to consolidate all employment and training programs in one single agency. It also enabled the state to create an integrated workforce development system, while the Department of Labor often needed collaboration and partnership with other human service agencies, such as the Department of Education, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Health, as well as the Department of Family Assistance. New York State determined that the best fit for employment programs for public assistance, low-income people, and welfare recipients should be within the Department of Labor with a natural connection to jobs and employment. A director of the Department of Labor explains this change:

⁴⁰ NYS Workforce Development System (1997). Shaping a new workforce development system for New York State. *Briefing Paper*. No. 1.

Basically, federal welfare reform changed the way states were funded to operate programs. It offered a lot of flexibility to the states. New York State decided that the employment aspect of TANF was appropriate to be administered through the Department of Labor. That decision was made at the upper levels of state government. The TANF changed the overall funding streams to support this program. Well, the funds are now block granted and funding for these particular services comes to the Department of Labor. With this funding, we do what we have to do.

As not in the federal law, the New York State welfare reform legislation did not specify and mandate these changes to ensure that state and county welfare agencies across the state implement the state's TANF program successfully. These structural changes in administering the TANF programs have occurred as state's initiatives to put the law into operation.

At the local level, 58 social services districts operate employment and training programs for public assistance recipients. The result of these structural changes, some of which slightly predated FA implementation, is that local social service districts are now required to interact with and answer to four separate state agencies⁴¹ on policy and regulation related to services provided by their offices. These local agencies coordinate services to recipients across different employment and training programs. Because FA is a county-administered and partially county-financed program, there was a substantial amount of variation in service provision and organizational structure among the 58 jurisdictions. "Front door" employment activities, designed to help divert individuals into employment rather than a receipt of public assistance, are in place in many localities throughout the state, while the state does not have an official diversion policy⁴². Some counties require applicants to conduct a job search as a condition of eligibility, but some counties use very similar operating procedures to other counties.

⁴¹ These include the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, the Office of Children and Family Services, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health.

⁴² Rowe, G. (2000). *Welfare rules databook: State TANF policies as of July 1999*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Under the state-supervised and county-administered system, the local social service districts share 25 percent for the FA and 50 percent for the SNA cash benefits with federal and state funds. New York is one of the eleven states in the nation that still require cost sharing by their counties (Fender, et al., 2002). Because of their contribution to the total cost of cash benefits, county governments have an important stake in employment and training program operations. Through a TANF block grant, counties are given substantial flexibility and latitude to develop initiatives and case management activities that can best assist clients as long as their services and programs meet the federal and state requirements. Since most of the services and programs are locally driven, a wide range of local agencies work with county governments. A director of the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance states:

We are a state-administered, locally operated TANF program. So the state develops guidelines, policies, and procedures. We have statute regulations. And then each social services district follows those rules and regulations to provide services including employment programs to applicants and recipients of public assistance, food stamps, as well as some other types of employment related services. So local organizations work with these social services district, which is basically a county entity. They work with these local social services agencies to provide services. A lot of it is locally driven. We try to provide as much local flexibility as we possibly can, ensuring that the services and programs that are provided meet federal and state requirements.

4.4. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ALBANY COUNTY

4.4.1. Requirements for Administrative Structure

The Albany County Department of Social Services with the discretion shifted from the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance is primarily responsible for administering the FA and SNA programs in the county. The Department of Social Services offers a broad range of protective, preventative, social and financial services, such as employment and training services, child support and effective case management, to help welfare

recipients leave welfare rolls and move into work for economic self-sufficiency. Within the Department, the Division of Temporary Assistance strives to ensure that each recipient has the opportunity to become self sufficient, thereby reducing or eliminating their need for public assistance and that recipients' responsibilities to take advantage of such opportunities are fulfilled.

The Albany County Department of Social Services is more responsive to the implementation of state and locally-funded SNA program as well as federally-funded FA program. Albany County has developed and contracted out many small programs in administering the FA program, in an effort to help TANF clients move from welfare to work. The Department of Social Services has reviewed its structure and looked for a better way of doing business with two programs. A director of the Albany County Department of Social Services observes:

There was a time when we had our eligibility at both Safety Net, which is the state program and TANF, which is the federal program. We have broken those apart and now have just specialists in TANF and specialists in Safety Net. So administratively and as far as we're organized, we have more of a structure focusing on each program area, because having people juggle both programs was really causing some problems. We feel that a better way of doing business is having people focus on the TANF side and then others on the Safety Net side.

From an administrative standpoint in managing welfare services, a primary impact of welfare reform is a separation of Medicaid applications and eligibility for TANF applications. The Department of Social Services has dealt with an additional eligibility determination and afterwards, determination of ineligibility processes, which is different from what the Department did before. The impact was negligible, but nevertheless, it is one area where an inherent change caused by the law occurred. In addition to the change in program integration, the Department of Social Services has dealt with cultural changes after welfare reform rather than dealing with the

way that the organization was operated, because welfare reform changed the way of viewing welfare and personal responsibility with greater emphasis on work. While the cultural changes were anticipated, the Department has experienced a range of trial and errors in delivering services. Albany County has also reoriented their responsibilities, corresponding to the regulation, to become more familiar with new mandatory responsibilities. Their responsibilities have substantially been expanded due to the maximum discretion.

Although the restructuring of the former State Department of Social Services intended to integrate the administration of welfare services for efficiency, the way of the Albany County's doing business has become relatively inconvenient. A county director perceives that Albany County has used fewer resources and put more efforts and time to utilize those resources due to the fragmented administration at the state level. Under the former structure, all services they dealt with were under a single state agency and they contacted one state agency for any services that they needed to communicate with. Now, they have to contact a range of state agencies for the services. A director of the Albany County Department of Social Services states:

There used to be a Department of Social Services at New York State with every person associated with our programs under one umbrella. Now, we have the Department of Mental Health, the Department of Labor, and the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance. It has become more fragmented and more broken up. I think when it was all under one umbrella, we had more resources at the state level, certainly.

The Albany County Department of Social Services has made a substantial amount of effort to improve employment program components although these programs have often been implemented with co-location of the Department of Labor staff. As of September 2004, to implement FA program, in particular, employment and training services of the program to help TANF recipients find and retain jobs, the Albany County Department of Social Services

contracted with 11 nonprofit and for-profit organizations. These 11 organizations and services to be delivered in the county are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Contract Service Providers in Albany County

Name	Types of Organization	Services
Adult Learning Center	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vocational Training Programs
Altamont Program	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Vocational Training
America Works	For-profit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Employment Placement and Retention
RSS	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Employment Placement and Retention
Capital District Child Care Coordinating Council	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childcare • Educational and Technical Support
Career Links	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Placement and Retention
CHOICES	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult Basic Education
Cornell Cooperative Extension	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Education
EOC-Bridge	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Employment Retention
INTERFAITH	Nonprofit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training • Job Development
Maximus	For-profit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Readiness Training

4.5. SUMMARY

New York’s administrative system is a state-supervised and county-administered system in which 58 local social service districts have maximum discretion to run FA and SNA programs. Administration of the FA and SNA programs are supervised by the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and all employment programs for TANF clients have been operated by a single state agency, the Department of Labor, through the restructuring in 1997. Pennsylvania uses a state-administered system in which 67 counties have little discretion to implement TANF

program. Although the state has not made massive structural changes in administrative infrastructure since welfare reform, staffing patterns and the priority of investment in education and training programs have changed.

In order to look at how TANF programs have been implemented in different ways on the local level of the two states, the local practices of two counties, Allegheny County for Pennsylvania and Albany County for New York, were examined. Allegheny County has operated the TANF programs in the existing structure for the old AFDC program and the Allegheny County Assistance Office of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare has overseen a match between the county's practice and plan through the Local Management Committee. Albany County has changed the administrative structure in ways that reorient its responsibility and respond to cultural changes to find a better way of doing business with the TANF programs.

5.0 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EVOLUTION IN ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TANF IMPLEMENTATION: A FOCUS ON NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE STRATEGIES

This chapter examines the concepts of New Public Management (NPM) and governance strategies embedded in administrative infrastructure for better service delivery to the clients. It looks closely at how the devolution of decision making authority has occurred for the implementation of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program in Pennsylvania and New York. It also compares how these two state governments devolve responsibilities for TANF implementation to the local level of administration under different administrative systems.

5.1. EVOLUTION IN ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR SPOC AND RESET IMPLEMENTATION

5.1.1. First-Order Devolution of Decision Making Authority

First-order devolution refers to the devolution of decision making authority from the federal government to states. When, with “new federalism”, the Reagan Administration emphasized a shift in responsibility from federal to state agencies to increase efficiency in government and public program operations during the 1980s, many argued that states should become more fiscally responsible and independent of fiscal supervision. In the 1990s, with Reinventing Government and New Public Management (NPM) movement, the concept of devolution was introduced to the design of interorganizational and intergovernmental relations.

Welfare reform made it possible to give more discretion and latitude to states in designing and implementing support programs for TANF clients through a block grant system. States were able to set their own time limits on receipt of benefits, strict work requirements for TANF clients, a wider range of sanctions when TANF clients fail to meet the rules and agreements on benefit, employment and training programs, and ancillary support programs for TANF clients. Most states set a five year time limit that corresponds to the federal legislation.

Giving more flexibility to states assumes that states are now responsible for taking care of their clients and helping them to leave welfare and move into work. In recent, more consideration in states' program design for TANF clients has been given to how to help the clients retain their employment. Indeed, many people who were employed faced barriers in retaining their jobs due to the lack of advanced skills and knowledge. Because TANF clients have been involved in low-wage jobs that cannot meet their families' basic needs, states have paid more attention to developing education and training programs to help them learn advanced skills and knowledge to retain their employment.

Some states do not regard this change in the federal-state authority after welfare reform as real devolution that enables states to use responsibility without any penalties in designing and implementing TANF programs. To qualify for money from the federal government, states need to meet work participation rates. As long as there are the strict federal regulations and penalties enforced for states that fail to meet the regulations, it is not total devolution. In Pennsylvania, the reality of devolution is not as flexible as would be expected from a comprehensive change of the welfare system. The federal government still oversees and controls what Pennsylvania has done and how Pennsylvania have spent the money although many responsibilities have been shifted to

state administration in comparison to the old Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) administration. A director of the Department of Public Welfare explains this:

I think there was some real devolution in terms of program design and structure, but the federal government retained a lot of control and structure. So it wasn't as much devolution as they claimed. As long as there are work participation rates to meet, it is less free to design. They think it is more suitable for themselves. So, there were some, but it wasn't total devolution. To my mind, total devolution will be 'here are the outcomes that we want' in terms of reduction of caseload or job placement and something like that rather than 'here are the activities we demand people to be in', perhaps, the number of hours per week. That's not devolution, but still a federal structure.

5.1.2. Lack of Flexibility of County under the State-Administered System

Second-order devolution refers to a shift in responsibility from state to local administration. With increased responsibility shifted from the federal government, states are devolving some of their responsibility to help counties better serve TANF clients through taking a holistic, more direct approach to them. Under a state-supervised and county-administered system, counties play a pivotal role in implementing TANF programs. Counties are able to make contracts with nonprofit or for-profit agencies for service delivery and make a policy regarding the implementation of employment program.

Under Pennsylvania's administrative rules, the state has not given responsibility directly to 67 counties as stated in Chapter IV. Rather, the County Assistance Offices operating under the direction of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare have more rights to run, monitor, and evaluate TANF programs across the state. Because Pennsylvania has a good monitoring system that oversees county operations in the 67 County Assistance Offices, state officials believe that it is unnecessary to devolve responsibility to counties. Without responsibility for making a policy for TANF clients, the counties' activities must correspond to the federal law, the

state regulation, requirements, and policies. The state-administered system for TANF implementation in Pennsylvania is briefly illustrated in Figure 5.1.

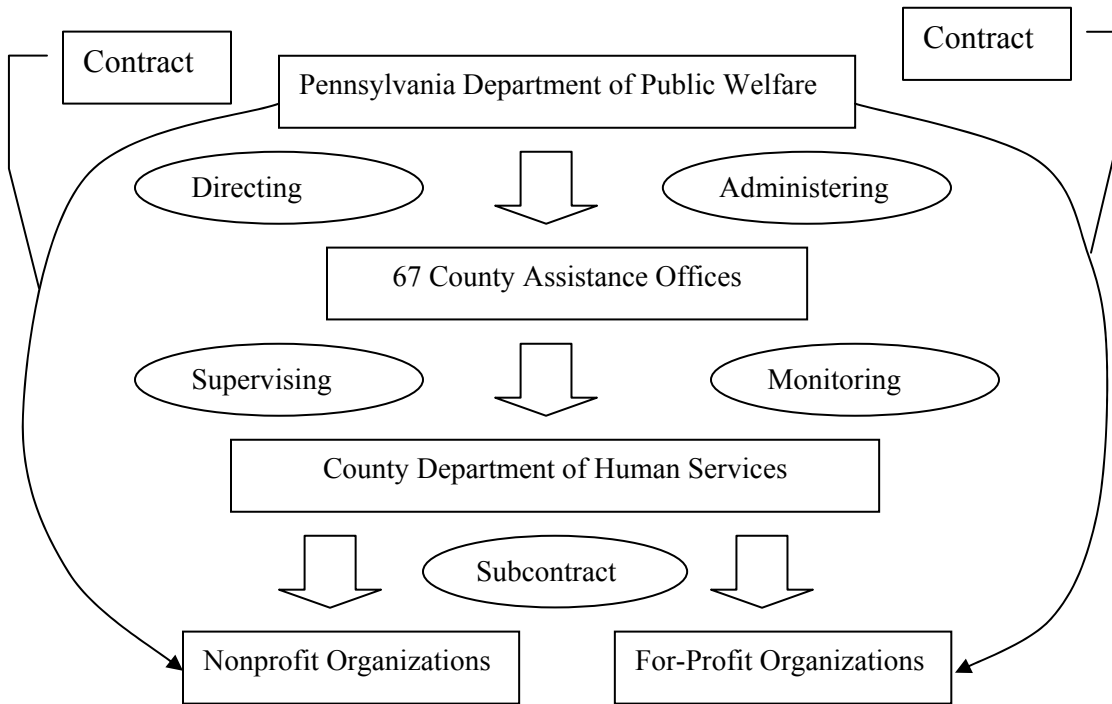


Figure 5.1: State-Administered System of Pennsylvania

The state administered AFDC directly and still has control over TANF even after welfare reform. Under the old AFDC administration, Pennsylvania operated many employment and training programs for public assistance recipients within the 67 County Assistance Offices. Pennsylvania contracted with private businesses rather than counties' social service departments. Under TANF implementation, the Department of Public Welfare has contracted more with nongovernmental, private businesses that include nonprofit and for-profit organizations. Having more contracts with private businesses under the same state-administered system with little discretion given to

county is the only difference between the former AFDC implementation and the current TANF implementation. A director of the Department of Public Welfare observes:

Previously, we operated a lot of employment and training programs through the County Assistance Offices under the direct administration of the Department of Public Welfare. We now contract more with private businesses that organize and develop themselves just to do services for clients. Those contractors might be locally owned and locally run.....A lot of the community involvement has changed. Some of the community services other than TANF have been able to work with people that we're working with. But for the TANF employment and training activities, there are more private contractors.

5.1.3. Contracting Out and Market Mechanism for RESET and SPOC Program

Under the state-administered system, Pennsylvania has delivered some services and has contracted out other services. The state has directly contracted with nonprofit or for-profit agencies for employment and training services such as skill training, assessment, outreach, and case management. All of the contracts are performance-based and are made by the state's Department of Public Welfare. For many of the contracted services, nonprofit and for-profit organizations are not limited to provide services in only one county, but may provide services in several counties. During the request for proposal process, those organizations are able to choose the service area where they want to provide the services when they submit proposals. They are able to choose the number of counties and submit proposals for each of those counties.

The administrative system for TANF program in Pennsylvania is different from that of other states, such as New York, while both systems equally place more emphasis on county administration at the local level. The County Assistance Office is the entry point in the state-administered system for operating "Road to Economic Self-Sufficiency through Employment and Training" (RESET) and "Single Point of Contact" (SPOC) as primary employment and training programs. When the state issues request-for-proposals for designated services, the

County Assistance Offices review the proposals and give their recommendations to the Department of Public Welfare, following strict state rules and regulations. A County Assistance Office's manager clarifies the state-administered system and the role of the County Assistance Offices in Pennsylvania:

All of our contracts are out of Harrisburg, our State Capital, and performance-based. Once they have negotiated the contract for a county, we here locally in our administration may review the proposals and give our recommendations. We follow strict state controls, rules and regulations regarding proposals and request for proposals. So, that is very different.....I think it's a little bit confusing because we always have a county in our name, but yet we are state agency. So, we are different from other states.

5.1.4. Interactive Collaboration and Partnership among Agencies for Performance

Pennsylvania had a substantial amount of collaborative arrangement and partnership with other agencies both at the state-level and at the county level even under AFDC administration. Collaborative arrangements and partnerships between state agencies and between state agencies and contract service providers have been on-going activities, but have evolved by expanding the relationships with other state agencies through the Workforce Investment Area and local entities through the Local Management Committee (LMC) since the implementation of SPOC program.

It was not until 1987 that Pennsylvania considered close collaboration and partnership with other state agencies as an important element in implementing the welfare program. When the state initiated the SPOC program to provide all relevant services at one site to the clients who seek for employment, state officials recognized that they needed input simultaneously from other state departments to provide services as it was designed. Later, under the Joint Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) in the late 1980s, which was replaced by the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) in the late 1990s, the need for working closely together with relevant departments created

the “Joint Jobs Initiatives”. In this initiative, state agencies such as the Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Transportation worked together to implement the JTPA program through interactive collaboration and partnership. This initiative had local agencies to participate actively in the JTPA programs as well. A County Assistance Office’s manager explains this history:

I think that we really started in the late 1980s, SPOC program. It was bringing those groups together. And our administration even from the state level said, “we have to bring together these departments that have clients in common. It was like a breath of fresh air because so often we sit over here as welfare and Department of Education sit over there begging for people who participate in programs that they got funded in. We’ve never been connected. The same with the Department of Labor and the Department of Transportation. All these other departments are really needed. I think the thrust began in the late 1980s. So we had to join to do what they call, “Joint Jobs Initiatives”, and we all had to work together.

The Local Management Committee (LMC) has played a joint decision maker’s role in SPOC program implementation in counties. With local representatives from a wide range of areas as described in Chapter IV, Pennsylvania has made a substantial effort to expand its capability in ways that make consensus-based joint decisions for refining requirements, ensuring more performance-based contracts, and training local staff to become more knowledgeable and competent. Mutual respect and mutual involvement exist in most LMCs across the state. The state recognizes that problems cannot be solved without taking local collaboration and partnership into consideration. The role of the Local Management Committee to expand the state’s partnership and collaboration with local actors is documented by the following statement from a director of the Department of Public Welfare:

A lot of interactions and partnerships just continued. With great emphasis, I think that we have worked over the years through the Local Management Committee that truly became a joint decision maker early on the process. There were battles and resentments. WIA hadn’t even listened to our local directors.....I think we’ve worked very hard over the years to train, develop,

refine the requirements, make sure the contract is more performance-based, and more specific, and train the local staff to be more knowledgeable. In the end, both sides have come to understand the joint ownership. In most areas, there is mutual respect and mutual involvement. Questions can't be asked and answered without caring local relationships.

As many actors both at the state level and at the local level have become involved in RESET and SPOC program implementation in Pennsylvania, there is a range of ways in which they communicate with each other. Communication with the state Department of Public Welfare needs to occur on a regular and timely basis, as RESET and SPOC programs are state-administered and the state plays a leading role in designing the hierarchical and multiorganizational infrastructure for implementation. In order to coordinate the different interests of many actors and to incorporate a wide range of their activities into a shared goal, Pennsylvania operates many joint meetings between state agencies. These joint meetings review all contracts, make adjustments in the means of transferring fund to local agencies, and oversee how the local agencies spend the money. Through joint meetings, feedback is exchanged between the state-level (i.e., feedback from other state agencies) and the local-level (i.e., feedback from the 67 County Assistance Offices). A director of the Department of Public Welfare describes communication through joint meetings:

There have been joint training sessions and joint oversight meetings with State Department here. There have also been a lot of the contract review committees and there are joint members in these committees even at the state and local level. So I think collaboration and communication has been improving. We've made adjustments on how we give the money.....So feedback has been exchanged very positively between state agencies, WIA agencies and local managers. So I think partnerships have been evolving. If we would keep that for another hundred years, we might get it good.

Between the Department of Public Welfare and the 67 County Assistance Offices, communication flows both upward and downward. The County Assistance Offices as

representatives of the state's oversight agency do not directly report to the headquarters, but their records are reviewed and incorrect records are refined by the Department of Public Welfare through a collaboration process. They both rely on each other in ways that give feedback on local operations and reflect feedback in state's administration. The County Assistance Offices depend on the Department of Public Welfare's guidance and information for a benchmark. The Department of Public Welfare evaluates the administration of TANF in counties and changes its process in response to reports from the 67 County Assistance Offices.

5.2. EVOLUTION IN ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE OF NEW YORK FOR FA AND SNA IMPELMENTATION

5.2.1. First-Order Devolution of Decision Making Authority

New York State now has more flexibility through a TANF block grant system than they had under AFDC in which every guideline about programs was prescriptive. TANF allowed the state to address how they operated, what they operated, what they funded or did not fund in designing programs for clients. It changed the way of doing welfare services by providing a holistic view of the whole process. The block grant and the new rules about program development gave New York State more freedom. A manager of the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance observes:

The block granting of the TANF funds in and of itself allowed much greater flexibility than was possible before. Previously, ideas might surface and might bubble from even the local level or state initiatives. The whole waiver process that would have to be undertaken in order to implement any kind of innovation was really difficult and stifling. So the block grant and the new rules around program development as a result of the block grant certainly exercised a little more freedom than we had before.

Despite that observation, welfare directors and managers of New York State do not regard the shift in responsibility from the federal government to states after welfare reform as real devolution. Directors and managers perceive that the federal government still controls the state's practices in many areas such as a requirement for work participation rates of TANF recipients and imposing a penalty if the state fails to meet the rates. They perceive that some responsibility shifted from the federal government to the state, but it's now being shifted back to the federal government due to many reporting requirements. In any policy they make, they must take into account how it affects their efforts to meet the requirements.

While they have been given more flexibility than they had before TANF, both states perceive that the federal government still controls and oversees their practices in many areas. New York places more emphasis on micro-level and program-specific aspects, such as meeting many federal requirements and avoiding penalties, whereas Pennsylvania points out macro-level and policy-focused aspects, such as the lack of responsibility in designing and implementing supportive services to help TANF clients retain their employment.

5.2.2. Increased Flexibility of County under the State-Supervised and County-Administered System

The state-supervised and county-administered system for TANF implementation in New York is briefly illustrated in Figure 5.5. A TANF block grant (about \$200 million) for New York State has been allocated to both the New York State Department of Family Assistance's Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA), responsible for cash assistance and transitional supports, and the Department of Labor (DOL), responsible for employment and training program. New York has designed the TANF program to allocate the block grant to the local social service districts, ensuring a substantial amount of flexibility in designing a broad range of

projects to serve TANF recipients and people below 200 percent of the poverty threshold. As long as counties meet one of the four TANF purposes and are within the realm of the requirements, the state gives them a substantial amount of flexibility. A perspective from the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance is described below:

Local social service districts had a lot of flexibility in designing projects to serve TANF recipients and people below 200 percent of poverty with service-type programs.....We had about 700 projects initially in the local social service districts. Most of them were enhanced drug and alcohol or domestic violence, but there were programs that helped people with housing, case management, mentoring, and a variety of different programs. So, that really was due to the greatest extent that we gave the local social service districts in a sense of block grant approach to designing projects to provide services to clients and people under 200 percent of poverty.

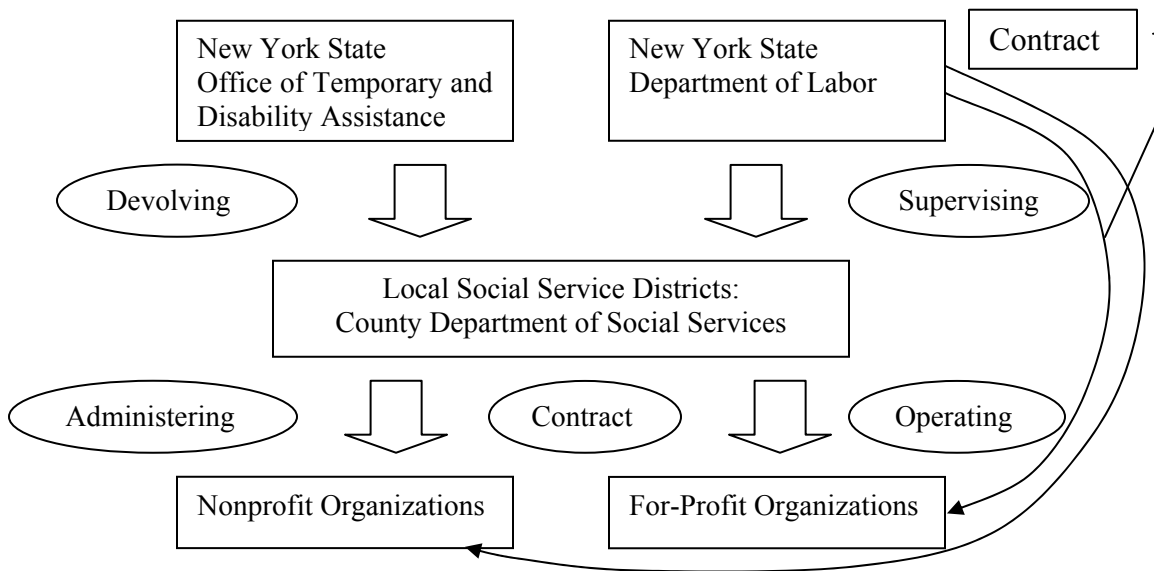


Figure 5.2: State-Supervised and County-Administered System of New York

The Department of Labor has also allocated the money to the local social service districts through the block grant approach in ways that give a substantial amount of discretion in operating employment and training programs for TANF clients. In comparison to the AFDC

process, the Department of Labor regards local discretion as a positive change. Despite local discretion, a state official of the Department of Labor perceives that most administrative relationships, in particular, the nature of operations between the Department of Labor and the local social service districts have not changed since welfare reform. The local social service districts have operated under the Department of Labor since 1997 instead of the Department of Social Services. A director of the Department of Labor observes:

TANF funds through OTDA are sub-allocated to the Department of Labor in the form of a block grant and we allocate those funds to the local social services districts. They use those funds within certain boundaries and criteria, and can develop programming that works for them. That's been a positive change. Our relationship with the counties is probably not much different than it has been. The administrative chain is somewhat different, but they have been within the Department of Labor. As far as funding or legislative initiatives that appear in the budget to operate programs, the nature of the operation is basically the same.

5.2.3. Contracting Out and Market Mechanism for FA and SNA Program

Under the state-supervised and county-administered system, New York State sets rules, regulations, benefit, and guidelines, and counties are responsible for administering TANF programs locally and providing transitional support services, such as case management, drug and alcohol, domestic violence, mentoring, or assistance with housing, through contracts with mostly nonprofit organizations and sometimes, for-profit agencies. Through a decentralization or devolution process, this mechanism seeks for the empowerment of county governments in administering FA and SNA programs. The Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance has kept eligibility determination and cash assistance functions under TANF as well as under AFDC. The state has been unwilling to devolve these functions to counties and counties also have wanted the state to cope with these functions, since they perceive that state government has expertise on these functions.

The employment and training programs are operated at two different levels: at the state level and at the local social service district level. For local level implementation, the local social service districts first submit their plans for the program to the Department of Labor biannually. The Department of Labor reviews those plans to ensure that the local social service districts are consistent with federal and state requirements. A state official states “local organizations have such ability to review and comment on those plans as well, because they have some inputs as to what types of services the districts may or may not provide”. For state level implementation, the Department of Labor occasionally makes an agreement with other state agencies to run separate programs and contracts directly with nonprofit or for-profit organizations to provide services in the local social service districts. A director of the Department of Labor explains this:

We try to provide as much local flexibility as we possibly can, ensuring that the services and programs that are provided meet federal and state requirements. So there’s a process that they follow to submit comments on the plan. They’re also involved in the delivery of services that individuals receive. Some organizations provide services through social services department and other organizations contract out. The state contracts with a number of organizations. And we have agreements with other state agencies to provide separate programs and such things.

The Department of Labor has a number of state initiatives to make state level contracts with service providers that target specific types of populations and these state level contracts are done through a solicitation or a request for proposal. The availability of services is different in each of the local social service districts. More importantly, a conflict or duplication of services may appear between the state level contracts for the Department of Labor and service providers, and the local level contracts for the local social service districts and contract service providers. In order to avoid it, the Department first asks each of the service providers to contact the local social service districts, provide a copy of the proposal, and coordinate their efforts and the availability of services with what the local social service districts have already done.

5.2.4. Extensive Collaboration and Partnership among Agencies for Performance

The Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance does not contract out one of their primary services, cash assistance, while the Office has ongoing interactions with the state's sister agencies for administering transitional support programs, such as the Department of Education and the Department of Taxation, the Office of Alcohol and Substance Abuse Services, and the Office of Mental Health. They also collaborate with the local social service districts and nonprofit organizations to better administer the programs. Initially, it was extremely hard to make the collaborative partnerships work in the first year of the implementation. The partnerships took a longer time to be fully effective than anticipated. As a result, the state had a large amount of unspent funds during the first year. For most local social service districts, it took time to work out the contracts and come to a compromise among a range of participating organizations. By the second year, the partnerships were substantially enhanced and strengthened, and the state was better able to implement more programs through the collaboration.

Ironically, collaborations did not foster good relationships among agencies in the early years. Most of the agencies with whom the local social service districts worked were advocacy agencies and local nonprofit organizations that have criticized the practices and operations of the local social service districts and the state before welfare reform. As a block grant has been granted to administer TANF programs, counties look for other organizations that have ability to work with them through a contract. Those organizations now rely on the block grant funds for their revenue. This finding is consistent with an argument (Kettl, 2000) that nongovernmental partners will be more likely to form partnerships with governments and will become more

dependent on government revenue as an important source of their revenue stream through a contract. A director of the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance observes:

I think that a lot of the agencies that they worked with were advocacy agencies and local nonprofit organizations. They were the ones that were criticizing the administration of public assistance and food stamps, and delays in eligibility. Now, all of a sudden, it was the districts that had the money if they wanted to get some TANF dollars to do some good service programs. They had to work through this agency that they previously did not have good relationships although it varied from county to county. It means that to be able to get the funding, you have to have collaboration.

Under AFDC administration, the state's partnerships with other organizations were not as extensive as they are now under TANF administration. The old Department of Social Services had only two or three state initiatives to work with other agencies across the state to provide the services through state contracts, whereas the local social service districts had historically many programs to operate at the local level or contracts with other agencies. Now, with a substantial amount of additional funding available from the TANF block grant for employment services, the Department of Labor has more than a hundred on-going state's initiatives to work with other nonprofit or for-profit agencies through state contracts.

While part of welfare services such as employment program were broken out from the old welfare service system, the relationship between the state and the local social service districts in administering TANF is almost the same as under the old AFDC as far as policy and regulations. Similarly, the relationship between the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and the local social service districts or service providers did not much change, but there are a substantial number of partnerships and more contracting-out, in comparison to practices under AFDC.

Communication occurs at a range of levels between state agencies, between the state and the local social service districts, and between counties and their contract providers. As in

Pennsylvania, New York State holds monthly meetings as one of the most important methods to communicate between agencies. Representatives from each of the agencies discuss a wide range of welfare reform issues, and coordination and collaboration between agencies. Conferences with service providers and workshops encourage the state agencies, the local social service districts, and the state's federal partners such as IRA or USDA to share better ideas or best practices. Communication between the two primary state TANF agencies, the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and the Department of Labor, on a regular basis is essential. A director of the Department of Labor describes the monthly meeting:

There's a monthly meeting with representatives from each of the agencies that discuss some of the areas that come up. We have the agreements and then we have ongoing contact with different state agencies to talk about. Because sometimes some of our programs like the Office of Temporary Disability Assistance provides cash assistance, while our employment programs require public assistance recipients to participate in work activities, so we, on occasion or on a regular basis, will have conversations with representatives from OTDA to discuss how various components fit together or to answer questions that an area may have or a provider may have. In addition to that, we also develop policies and procedures.

Communication occurs both horizontally and vertically in administrative infrastructure. The Department of Labor has an employment manual that they have issued to the local social services districts, which is an outline of the regulations and the policy directives. Based on the state's employment manual, each local social service district develops its own local employment program procedures and local plan to provide services. They contact the Department of Labor directly for clarification on the manual and procedures. The Department of Labor has a team of technical advisers located in various parts of the state, and each works with a selected group of the local social services districts and answers questions posed by the local social service districts. During the contract process, if organizations that apply for funds are not selected, the

Department of Labor keeps them in a loop and makes them aware of when additional initiatives become available to help them reapply.

5.3. SUMMARY

Directors and managers of state welfare agencies in Pennsylvania and New York do not regard the devolution of decision making authority from the federal government as complete devolution due to the federal requirements. Yet, there has been a substantial amount of responsibility shifted from the federal government to states. Both states have used it to develop their own initiatives for administering employment and training programs with a broader range of agencies in TANF administrative infrastructure. Pennsylvania has not devolved their responsibility to the local level of administration under the state-administered system, while New York has devolved many responsibilities to the local social service districts under the state-supervised and county-administered system. Both states with NPM and governance strategies have collaborated and partnered extensively with other state agencies and nongovernmental organizations in administrative infrastructure for administering TANF programs⁴³.

⁴³ I contacted two county governments, nonprofit and for-profit organizations to obtain further information to validate the reports of interviews regarding expanded interagency collaboration and partnership for TANF implementation in comparison to AFDC implementation, but the information was unavailable. I first contacted the Albany County Department of Social Services and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services in order to obtain quantitative information, such as a list of contractors by year or the number of contract by year. The Albany County Department of Social Services has the record from FY 1997 to 1998 under TANF program and has lists of contractor since 2003. The Allegheny County Department of Human Services no longer has those administrative records. Rather, they explained their activities with nonprofit and for-profit organizations for AFDC administration and confirmed these activities have been expanded under TANF implementation. I then contacted nonprofit and for-profit organizations involved in TANF implementation in both counties to obtain information such as when they started working with the county department, but respondents do not keep this information and some of them did not respond at all. A respondent of a nonprofit organization in Albany County has the same administrative data (11 contracts in 2004 and 4 contracts in 2005) as what I presented in Chapter 4.

6.0 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL PRACTICE FOR TANF IMPLEMENTATION: EXPLORING COLLABORATION AND PARTNERSHIP

This chapter explores how two county governments, respectively in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and Albany County, New York, perceive the second-order devolution of decision making authority from the state governments to county agencies. It reviews the practice in two counties that have a broad range of participating organizations with different organizational cultures, jurisdictions, diverse interests, and a shared goal in assisting TANF clients to achieve economic self-sufficiency. It examines how county agencies collaborate and partner with other public organizations and nongovernmental agencies to implement the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. This research uses both qualitative analysis and social network analysis using UCINET.

6.1. PRACTICE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY FOR SPOC PROGRAM

6.1.1. Lack of Second-Order Devolution of Decision Making Authority

Allegheny County welfare directors and managers perceive the degree of change in responsibilities shifted from state to county administration to be weak due to a state-focused administration. While the primary interest of the state is “getting people to work as quickly as possible”, the County directors and managers place more emphasis on retaining TANF clients’ employment for the long term through providing a range of supportive services, such as

transportation or mediation. In Allegheny County, more comprehensive and thorough assessment processes for the clients are emphasized to figure out what their interests are, what their strengths and weaknesses are, and where they are to retain their employment. While Allegheny County is the closest agency to assess those problems for clients and carry out in-depth activities, the state has not handed responsibilities down to the county.

Funding is closely associated with the lack of second-order devolution. The Allegheny County Department of Human Services receives two kinds of funding regarding the implementation of the Single Point of Contact (SPOC) program in the County. One is Workforce Investment Area (WIA) funding from the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and the second is TANF funding from the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. Both types of funding are directly related to employment and training programs, as the County Department is not only a TANF agency, but also a WIA agency. The Pennsylvania Department of Labor gives money to the County with flexibility in operating employment and training programs. It is done through an agreement between the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and the County Department of Human Services. The Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare gives money to the county based on size of the client population and program, but without flexibility in administrative practice. Rather, the Department of Public Welfare tells the County “we want you to operate programs for us.” A county manager observes:

DOL gives us money based on formula. DPW says, “we want you to operate programs for us based on the size of your population, how many TANF recipients are given so much money. What they have done in Pennsylvania has been very prescriptive in terms of what the program looks like, how it will be organized and developed. Very different from the way, the Labor says, “you got the law, we give you money and these are the things that you are supposed to do. And you look at them once in a while. Welfare just says “well, we got these things called TANF, and now we’re going to design program”. So what they have done is essentially to design some broad programs at the state level, and then, to ask the Workforce Investment Area to implement their programs.

6.1.2. Interaction: Community and Results-Focused Collaboration and Partnership

In most cases, Allegheny County subcontracts with nonprofits, including community-based organizations or for-profit organizations due to an inability to contract directly with service providers under this system. A partnership was already conducted between the state and the Workforce Investment Area (WIA) agencies under the administration of the former Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program.

For the SPOC program, funding has come from two sources, TANF and WIA, since the Clinton Administration passed the Workforce Investment Act and signed it into the law in the late 1990s. With these funding sources and the SPOC program, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania linked welfare to labor both at the state level and at the local level in ways that make TANF agencies work with WIA agencies. The state has also contracted with other organizations for services, and has linked those organizations to primary agencies that receive funding. This practice led to creating a one stop model, the SPOC program, for employment and training program that is fairly prescriptive in the state. Since these two systems are incorporated into the one stop model of SPOC program, all of the employment and training services of the TANF programs in Allegheny County are run by the same people who run the one stop model for WIA. This is a unique way of implementing the employment and training program. A county manager from the Department of Human Services describes this:

They linked welfare to labor, two funding streams. By doing that, they didn't do what the other states did. They linked contract organizations to a primary agency that receives public dollar for labor and welfare. . . . That's fairly prescriptive in the state. It created this one-stop model. So you have the world that is creating this one-stop and the same world that is creating this one-stop that also receive the welfare dollars. Because you put it inside the same structure, there is a close relationship between these two systems.

While partnership was not a requirement for Allegheny County, the state allowed the County to make subcontracts with private businesses to get more involved in the community. Since WIA was implemented in the late 1990s and gave additional money to the state, Allegheny County opened regional service centers at three sites to serve all of the additional clients with more funding from the state under the SPOC program, and opened one more regional service center at Wilkinsburg. But as the money shrank, Allegheny County closed one of them, and now three regional service centers are being operated as stated in Chapter 4. Each regional service center partners with Goodwill Industries, Hosanna House, and YWCA where they are housed. These partnerships are not just physically in the same building, but provide a wider range of services to the community in which they are located. Since a large proportion of TANF clients in Allegheny County include women, one of the regional service centers partners with the YWCA. These organizations are the biggest subcontractors for Allegheny County.

These partnerships are a mix of public, nonprofit, and for-profit organizations that provide employment and training services to the clients. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania regards the Allegheny County Department of Human Services as one of the components that is called a public-and-private vendor. The vendors have brought a mix of service providers, including nonprofit and for-profit organizations. Some, such as Educational Data System, Inc. (EDSI) and Susquehanna Rehabilitation Services (both are for-profit organizations) or Pittsburgh Mediation Center, have been working with the County for many years. These organizations provide a range of services from education and training for job retention; case management; and, counseling to the clients. They have a strong record of performance in operating these programs and providing essential services to the clients.

To initiate partnerships, Allegheny County sends out a request for proposals laying out the types of services needed for their clients. In most cases, contracts are awarded to nonprofit, community-based organizations that know people who live in the community better than the County. In some cases, contracts are awarded to for-profit organizations for specific services. Allegheny County has collaborated with those organizations based on their strengths. The goal of Allegheny County as a vendor is to figure out the most effective way to utilize all of the resources in public, nonprofit, and for-profit organizations to make the program work better. This is stated by a county manager as follows:

As we see something could work better, we added the components. So, case management is a very important part of helping the welfare clients to become self-sufficient. We've always had a fairly strong component, but we found out about organizational units, also for-profit. They had a very strong case management component in their program. We were not satisfied with the case management that we were getting from our staff. So we hired them to do more intensive case management. Even that we'll probably change it next year, because we contracted with them for a current year to look at a total case management system and make some recommendations as to how we can strengthen. In the end, they may actually be the people who are employers or all our case managers, because they have a very high standard for them and we think that we will get better results..... We're always looking for better ways to do things. We don't do that through our own staff although we train our own staff to work better, too. But, very often we go to mostly not-for-profit.

Another Workforce Investment Area in the County, City of Pittsburgh, has also used a substantial amount of partnership and collaboration. The partnership never changed, even under AFDC. As stated, the "Joint Job Initiative" has contributed to building extensively the partnership and collaboration with nonprofit and for-profit organizations even before welfare reform. A director from the City of Pittsburgh explains:

We believe we've been doing the right thing. Even when I was in AFDC, I was always a good partner. So, we used to have those kinds of interactions and partnership even under AFDC because in the state of Pennsylvania, we had the SPOC program since 1987. That's the JJI, "Joint Job Initiative" and that's the job program federally. So we had this partnership for a really long time.

6.1.3. Patterns of Communication

Communication between Allegheny County and subcontract nonprofit or for-profit organizations is frequent. One means of communication between the Allegheny County Department of Human Services and subcontractors is through a monthly meeting where they all come to report their progress and results, and share better ideas. A substantial amount of staff training and meetings to discuss important issues has emerged during the program operations, and has helped service providers perform their work better.

Because there is no single good way to implement TANF programs, communication among participating organizations is very important. Every client to whom subcontractors provide services is in different circumstances and has different needs. It is very hard for any of those agencies to come up with a single right answer to questions for all clients. Through constant communication, it is critical to share the best practices, current information, and useful resources to help the clients achieve necessary skills and knowledge, and retain their jobs in a tight labor market. A manager from the Allegheny County Department of Human Services describes the communication:

I think, certainly what we've done is we've challenged those providers to come up with the right answers. Some of them are doing it in different ways, some of them have brought on board staff who are more knowledgeable and experienced working with people. And we've had conferences and meetings where we want to share information about the best practices, quarterly meetings where we bring the providers together and talk about the goals and objectives that we had and see anybody has come up with special ways or examples because there is no one good way. Every individual is different, in different situations and in different circumstances. So it really is hard for our providers to engage with the clients and try to come up with ways to help them to negotiate the system and help retain them in work.

6.1.4. A Multi-Agency Network for Collaboration and Partnership

6.1.4.1. Organizational Characteristics

This section characterizes the organizations that responded to the structured survey for network analysis and presents the frequency distributions of the survey questions regarding interorganizational communication and collaboration with other organizations. Data from the survey is entered into network analysis to examine the information exchange among the organizations participating in TANF implementation.

Sixteen organizations engaged in the SPOC and RESET program implementation in Allegheny County and Pennsylvania were identified through the contact with key stakeholder organizations to administer this survey. The size of the organizations, the number of staff, and the programs administered by the organizations were then reviewed. Based on this assessment, a representative stratified sample of 40 directors, managers, or coordinators was drawn from the state agency (N=20), the county agency (N=6), city government (N=2), and subcontract nonprofit or for-profit organizations (N=12). I conducted this structured survey from August 2 to December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During that period, I used a range of survey methods that include email survey, mail-in survey, survey via phone and fax, and in-person survey during the site visits, depending upon survey participants' preference to obtain better response rates (see pp. 68-72 for details on how the survey was administered and how the sample was designed).

Although all organizations and samples were contacted for the survey, some did not respond to the survey. The organizations and samples to which the survey was administered, and the number of directors or managers that responded to the survey are presented in Table 6.1. The

response rates are based on the number of respondents: 22 directors, managers, coordinators, or supervisors from 8 organizations responded to the survey, for a total response rate of 55.0 percent. These organizations include 3 key stakeholder organizations including the Allegheny County Assistance Office, which is one of the 67 County Assistance Offices of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, as well as 5 other public and nongovernmental agencies engaged in TANF implementation in Allegheny County.

Table 6.1: Summary of Survey Respondents for Allegheny County, PA

Organizations	Survey Administered	Survey Respondents	
		N	%
Public	N=28	16	40.0 %
Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare	17	8	20.0 %
Allegheny County Assistance Office	3	1	2.5 %
Allegheny County Department of Human Services	6	5	12.5 %
City of Pittsburgh	2	2	5.0 %
Nonprofit	N=10	6	15.0 %
Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh	1	1	2.5 %
YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh	1	2	5.0 %
Pittsburgh Mediation Center	1	0	0.0 %
Allegheny County Community College	1	0	0.0 %
Hosanna House	1	2	5.0 %
Life's Work of Western PA	1	0	0.0 %
Northwest Multi Services	1	0	0.0 %
Allegheny Intermediate Unit	1	1	2.5 %
Pittsburgh Catholic Educational Programs	1	0	0.0 %
Forbes Road	1	0	0.0 %
For-profit	N=2	0	0.0 %
Educational Data System, Inc.	1	0	0.0 %
Susquehanna Rehabilitation Services	1	0	0.0 %
Total	40	22	55.0 %

N = Number of People; % = Percentage of Total Sample (N=40)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Interorganizational Communication

Survey questions were asked about the primary channels of communication with other organizations and the perception of the extent of communication with other organizations to

examine how each organization communicates with other organizations for TANF implementation. As shown in Table 6.2, among varying channels of communication, 30.8 percent of the respondents rely on monthly or weekly regular meetings as a primary channel of communication with other organizations. 21.2 percent of the respondents use e-mail and 19.2 percent of the respondents use a phone for communication with other organizations. Mail (15.4 percent) and fax (13.5 percent) are least used.

Table 6.2: Channels of Interorganizational Communication in Allegheny County

<i>“How do you usually communicate between agencies for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Phone	10	19.2
E-mail	11	21.2
Regular Meetings	16	30.8
Mail	8	15.4
Fax	7	13.5
Total ^a	52	100.0

N = Number of Responses; % = Percentage of Responses

^a Multiple Responses Accepted (22 Respondents from 8 Organizations)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Table 6.3: Extent of Interorganizational Communication in Allegheny County

<i>“How would you best describe the amount of communication between agencies for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Great Extent	11	50.0
Moderate Extent	9	40.9
Small Extent	2	9.1
Total ^a	22	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents

^a 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

As shown in Table 6.3, 50 percent of the respondents perceive that a substantial amount of communication with other organizations occurs for TANF implementation. 40.9 percent of the

respondents believe that there is a moderate extent of communication with other organizations. Only 9.1 percent of the respondents believe that a small extent of communication with other organizations occurs.

Collaboration with Other Organizations

Survey questions were asked about how each organization collaborates with other organizations for TANF implementation in Allegheny County. A measure of the extent to which an organization needs the involvement and support from other organizations is shown in Table 6.4. Most of the respondents perceive that they need a substantial amount of the involvement and support from other organizations (great extent = 72.7 percent and moderate extent = 27.3 percent).

Table 6.4: Need for the Involvement of Other Organizations in Allegheny County

<i>“To what extent does your organization need the involvement and support of other organizations outside your organization for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Great Extent	16	72.7
Moderate Extent	6	27.3
Total ^a	22	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents

^a 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

As shown in Table 6.5, 56.6 percent of the respondents report that they are doing cooperative teamwork mostly with state agencies or nonprofit organizations for TANF implementation. 26.4 percent of the respondents perceive that they are doing cooperative teamwork mostly with the county agency. 15.1 percent of the respondents are doing cooperative teamwork mostly with for-profit organizations.

Table 6.5: Cooperative Teamwork in Allegheny County

<i>“With what types of organizations is your organization mostly doing cooperative teamwork for TANF design and implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
State Agency	15	28.3
County Agency	14	26.4
Nonprofit Organization	15	28.3
For-Profit Organizations	8	15.1
Others	1	1.9
Total ^a	53	100.0

N = Number of Responses; % = Percentage of Responses

^a Multiple Responses Accepted (22 Respondents from 8 Organizations)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

6.1.4.2. Patterns of Information Exchange for Collaboration and Partnership

Network analysis is the mapping and measuring of relationships and flows (ties in the network), between groups, organizations or other entities (nodes in the network). Hanneman (2001, pp. 41-42) claims that “fully saturated networks are empirically rare, particularly where there are more than a few actors in the population. It is useful to look at how close a network is to realizing this potential, that is, to examine the density of ties, which is defined as the proportion of all ties that could be present that actually are”.

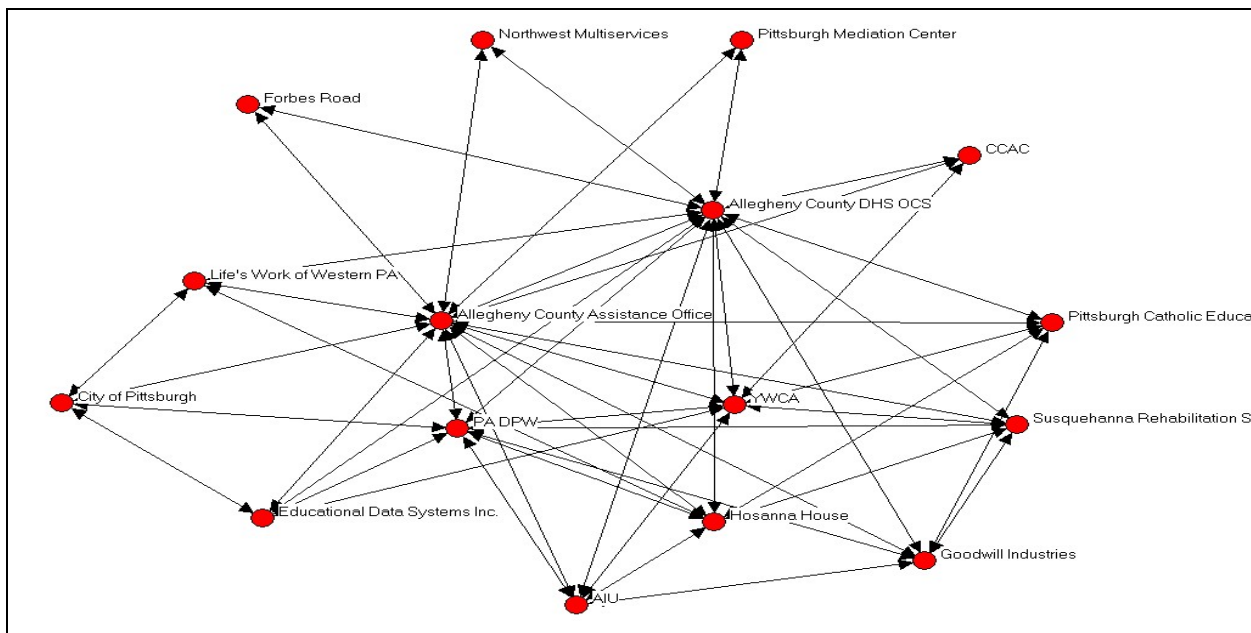
Information exchange for the implementation of the SPOC and RESET programs is measured as an indicator to examine collaboration and partnership among the organizations involved in interdependent administrative infrastructure in Allegheny County. Information exchange is critical in the interdependent system since “the timely flow of information through the system enables participants with different responsibilities operating in different locations to adjust more quickly to the changing environment and adapt their performance in reciprocal actions to achieve their shared goal in the system” (Comfort, 1999, p. 197).

Network data focus on actors and relations, while conventional data focus on actors and attributes (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). I used network data from the structured survey in order to measure information exchange among the organizations. The survey aimed at collecting network data based on ordinal measures of relations among the organizations to measure the strength of the relations as well as the existence of binary relations. Among several strategies for network data collection methods, I relied on ego-centric networks with alter connections method. This approach begins with a selection of focal nodes, identifies the nodes to which they are connected, and then determines which of the nodes identified are connected to one another (Hanneman, 2001, p.8). I began with a selection of focal nodes, the Allegheny County Department of Human Services and the Albany County Department of Social Services, and identified other organizations to which they are connected, such as contract nonprofit or for-profit organizations. To determine which of the nodes identified in the first stage are connected to one another, I contacted participants in each of the nodes. Each of the survey respondents was asked to identify organizations with which they exchanged information from a list of organizations that are involved in TANF implementation for a given county. They were then asked to rate the degree of information exchange ranging from an extensive amount with a high degree of confidence and trust to a negative linking without confidence and trust. Since some organizations indicated binary measures of the relations only without rating ordinal measures of the relations, ordinal data were binarized by rescore⁴⁴.

The scale of measurement for information exchange was based on binary measures. Binary data are usually represented with zeros and ones, indicating the presence or absence of

⁴⁴ Hanneman (2001, pp. 12-13) argues that “the most commonly used algorithms for the analysis of social networks have been designed for binary data. Ordinal data, consequently, are often binarized by choosing some cut-point and rescore”, while there are some risks.

each logically possible relationship for information exchange between pairs of actors. I employed UCINET (Version 6.87) for the network analysis of the data. Representing the relationship in matrices allows the application of mathematical measures to analyze and find patterns. A symmetric matrix (see Appendix D) that includes pending organizations was first created in which element i,j would be equal to element j,i by symmetrizing the data to look at the relationships for information exchange in a whole network. For small networks, it is useful to examine a graph of the relationships. The graph from the symmetric matrix is illustrated in Figure 6.1.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Figure 6.1: A Graph from the Symmetric Matrix for TANF Implementation in Allegheny County

The graph shows that a limited number of actors (16) are all connected. Some connections are likely to be reciprocated (if actor A exchanges information with actor B, actor B also exchanges information with actor A), but some other actors are more likely to send information than receive

information. As a result of the variation in the connections, the relationships among groups of actors differ from each other. For example, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, the Allegheny County Assistance Office, and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services are in the center of the connections, while the Forbes Road, the Pittsburgh Mediation Center, and the Northwest Multiservices appear to be peripheral in the network of connections.

Although a careful examination of the graph can provide a good intuitive sense of what is going on in the interactions among organizations, the descriptions of what we see are imprecise. Sometimes, with large populations or more connections, graphs may not be very helpful. To obtain more precise mathematical measures of graph and network properties, it is necessary to work with the adjacency asymmetric matrix in which element i,j does not equal the element j,i . This matrix represents directed relations that go from a source to a receiver and indicates the presence or absence of the relationships.

Table 6.6: Adjacency Matrix for Information Exchange Network in Allegheny County

	PA DPW	ACAO	AC DHS	Goodwill	YWCA	Hosanna	City	AIU
PA DPW	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
ACAO	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
AC DHS	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
Goodwill	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
YWCA	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Hosanna	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
City	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AIU	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Density (matrix average) = 0.6250; Standard deviation = 0.4841								
Reciprocity = 0.7500								
Transitivity: % of ordered triples in which $i \rightarrow j$ and $j \rightarrow k$ that are transitive: 67.14%								

Legend: PA DPW - Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare

ACAO - Allegheny County Assistance Office

AC DHS - Allegheny County Department of Human Services

Goodwill - Goodwill Industries

Hosanna - Hosanna House

City - City of Pittsburgh

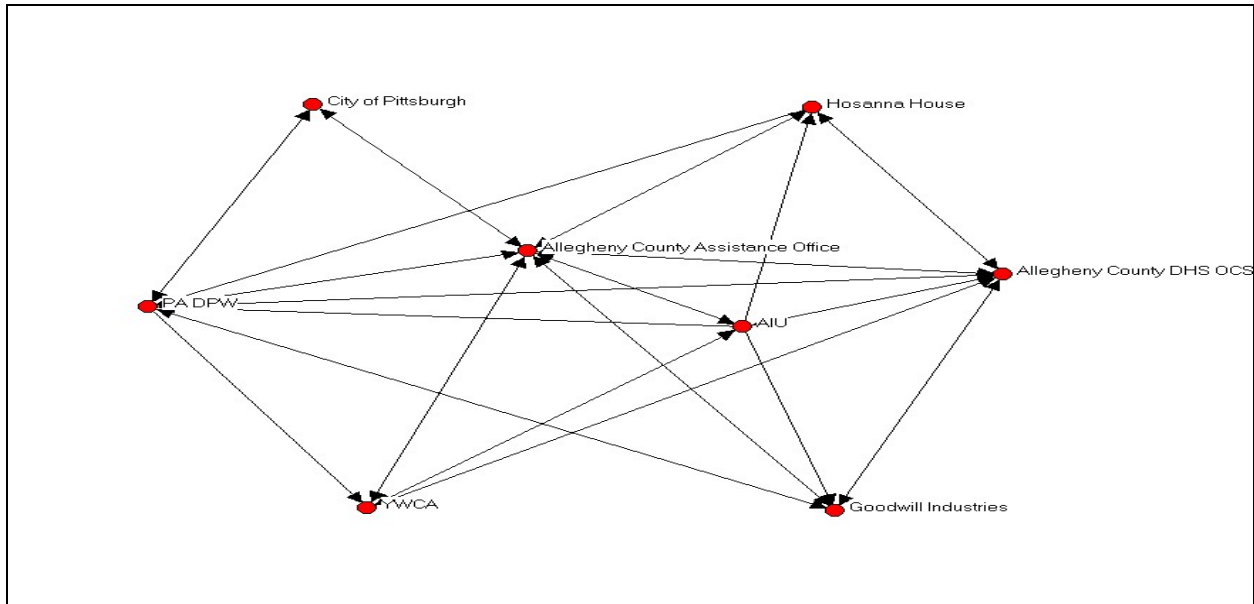
AIU - Allegheny Intermediate Unit

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

For in-depth network analysis purposes, pending organizations were deleted. The adjacency asymmetric matrix for the interorganizational relationship on information exchange among 8 organizations engaged in the SPOC and RESET program implementation is presented in Table 6.6. This matrix has nine rows and columns, and the data are binary. Each row is treated as the source of information and each column as the receiver of information. This matrix makes it possible to develop systematic and useful measures of the network properties that we may discern in the graph. In this section, I measure relations among organizations, centrality and power (degree, closeness, and betweenness), and similarity of position and structural equivalence in the network.

The descriptive statistics show that the density of the matrix is .625, that is, the mean strength of relations across all possible relations is .625, or 62.5 percent of all possible relations that exist. This strong density makes possible frequent and substantive exchanges of information among the organizational participants in the TANF implementation. The standard deviation is .4841, which is the average variability from one element to the next and indicates a substantial amount of variation in relations between and among the organizations in the whole matrix. It shows that a considerable proportion of the dyadic relationships (75.0 percent) are reciprocated in which a substantial amount of pair-wise interactions occur. The data show that 67.14 percent of all of the triadic relationships that could be transitive are transitive. The transitivity principle means that if A is connected to B and B is connected to C, then A should be connected to C (Hanneman, 2001). For instance, if the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (PA DPW) sends information to the Allegheny County Assistance Office (ACAO) and ACAO sends information to the Allegheny County Department of Human Services (DHS), then the PA DPW

sends information to the Allegheny County DHS. This finding suggests a relatively strong tendency toward transitivity in triads.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Figure 6.2: Interorganizational Network for Information Exchange in Allegheny County

The interorganizational relationship is illustrated in Figure 6.2. The figure shows that there are a limited number of actors (8) and that while all actors are connected, every possible connection is not present. There are some differences among the actors in connections for information exchange (e.g., the Allegheny County Assistance Office vs. the City of Pittsburgh). Many connections are likely to be reciprocated (e.g., the relationship between the Allegheny County Assistance Office and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services), but some other actors (e.g., AIU) are more likely to send information than receive information (e.g., Goodwill Industries or YWCA). As a result of the variation in the connections, the relationships among the groups of actors differ from each other. For instance, the Allegheny County Assistance Office and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services are again located in the center of the

connections, while the City of Pittsburgh and the Hosanna House appear to be peripheral in the network of connections.

Relationships of Information Exchange among Actors

Because asymmetric data are used, the analysis can distinguish between information being sent and information received. The density for each actor that sends information and for each actor that receives information shows which actors are embedded in the overall density (Hanneman, 2001). The sum of the connections from one actor to others is called the out-degree, whereas in-degree means the connections of actors that receive information from other actors, since each row represents an actor that sends information. “The degree of points is important because it tells us how many connections an actor has” (Hanneman, 2001, pp. 42-43). Both degrees represent a measure of how influential the actor may be in a network. Descriptive statistics for both degrees in the following Tables 6.7 and 6.8 are based on the data presented in the adjacency asymmetric matrix in Table 6.6.

Table 6.7: Descriptive Statistics for Actors that Send Information in Allegheny County

	Mean	Std Deviation	Sum	Variance
	-----	-----	-----	-----
1 ^a PA Department of Public Welfare	0.714	0.452	5.000	0.204
2 Allegheny County Assistance Office	1.000	0.000	7.000	0.000
3 Allegheny County DHS	0.857	0.350	6.000	0.122
4 Goodwill Industries	0.429	0.495	3.000	0.245
5 YWCA	0.429	0.495	3.000	0.245
6 Hosanna House	0.429	0.495	3.000	0.245
7 City of Pittsburgh	0.286	0.452	2.000	0.204
8 Allegheny Intermediate Unit	0.857	0.350	6.000	0.122

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Legend: Allegheny County DHS - Allegheny County Department of Human Services

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

As shown in Table 6.7, there is variation in the roles that these organizations play as sources for information exchange. Since binary measures are used, mean indicates a proportion of the number of relations that sends information to 7 possible relations. For instance, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare sends information to 71.4 percent of the remaining actors (5 of 7 actors). The Allegheny County Assistance Office sends information to all actors; the Allegheny County Department of Human Services and the Allegheny Intermediate Unit send information to six actors; the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare sends information to five of seven actors; Goodwill Industries, YWCA, and Hosanna House send information to three other actors; and, the City of Pittsburgh sends information to only two other actors. Three actors, the Allegheny County Assistance Office, the Allegheny County Department of Human Services, and the Allegheny Intermediate Unit have a higher potential to be influential, whereas four actors, the Goodwill Industries, the YWCA, the Hosanna House, and the City of Pittsburgh have a lower potential to be influential.

Table 6.8: Descriptive Statistics for Actors that Receive information in Allegheny County

		PDPW	ACAO	DHS	Good	YWCA	Hosanna	City	AIU
		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1	Mean	0.857	1.000	0.857	0.571	0.571	0.429	0.286	0.429
2	Std Dev	0.350	0.000	0.350	0.495	0.495	0.495	0.452	0.495
3	Sum	6.000	7.000	6.000	4.000	4.000	3.000	2.000	3.000
4	Variance	0.122	0.000	0.122	0.245	0.245	0.245	0.204	0.245

Legend: PDPW - Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare
 ACAO - Allegheny County Assistance Office
 DHS - Allegheny County Department of Human Services
 Good - Goodwill Industries
 Hosanna - Hosanna House
 City - City of Pittsburgh
 AIU - Allegheny Intermediate Unit

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Each column in the adjacency matrix is the in-degree of the point that measures receivers of information for collaboration and partnership in TANF implementation in Allegheny County. Table 6.8 shows that the roles of the organizations differ in receiving information. Actors that receive information from many actors are regarded to be prestigious and powerful in the network. At the same time, these actors may suffer from an overload of information or the duplication of information “due to contradictory messages from different information sources” (Hanneman, 2001, p.43).

Mean indicates a proportion of the number of relations that receive information to 7 possible relations, because binary measures for a presence or absence of relations are used. Three actors, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (.857), the Allegheny County Assistance Office (1.000), and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services (.857) are very high in receiving information. Since the Allegheny County Assistance Office and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services are also high in sending information, these two organizations act as the primary initiators or facilitators for information exchange in the TANF administrative infrastructure of Allegheny County. The Hosanna House and the City of Pittsburgh do not receive information from many actors directly and appear to be “out of the loop.” The City of Pittsburgh appears to be an “isolate” in the network in Allegheny County, as the City of Pittsburgh does not appear to send information for collaboration and partnership to many agencies. This is because the City of Pittsburgh acts as another local principal entity and collaborates more with WIA agencies rather than these TANF agencies through other funding from the state, as stated in Chapter 4.

The distance among actors in a network is an important characteristic of the network as a whole. Actors who are closer to many others may be able to exert more influence than those who

are more distant. “One particular definition of the distance between actors in a network is used by most algorithms to define more complex properties of individual’s positions and the structure of the network as a whole. This quantity is the geodesic distance” (Hanneman, 2001, pp. 50-52). This examines not only how far each actor is from each other as a source of information, but also which actor’s behavior is most predictable and least predictable.

Table 6.9: Geodesic Distance for Information Exchange Network in Allegheny County

# of Geodesic Paths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	P	A	A	G	Y	H	C	A
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 ^a Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
2 Allegheny County Assistance Office	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3 Allegheny County Department of Human Services	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1
4 Goodwill Industries	1	1	1	0	2	2	2	2
5 YWCA	2	1	1	2	0	2	2	1
6 Hosanna House	1	1	1	2	2	0	2	2
7 City of Pittsburgh	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	2
8 Allegheny Intermediate Unit	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

As shown in Table 6.9, the geodesic path distances are small, since the density of this network is high (.625 in Table 6.6). This implies that information may reach every actor in the network very quickly. Most of the geodesic connections among these actors are not only short in distance, but also there are multiple shortest paths from actors who send information to actors who receive. Three government entities, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, the Allegheny County Assistance Office, and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services, have mostly single paths to other actors, but subcontract nonprofit organizations have multiple paths to three government entities as well as other actors. Three government entities are likely to be most predictable and influence other actors very quickly in exchanging information for

collaboration and partnership. They each have authority to manage funds and as a result, play an essential role in initiating information exchange with subcontract nonprofit organizations. Behavior of nonprofit organizations to exchange information is likely to be least predictable, because they have alternative efficient ways of connecting with other actors. Among these three public agencies, the Allegheny County Assistance Office sends information to all actors and receives information from all actors most quickly, and its behavior is most predictable in exchanging information.

Centrality and Power of the Allegheny County Assistance Office in Network

“Network analysis depicts the way that an actor is embedded in a relational network as imposing constraints on the actor and offering the actor opportunities” (Hanneman, 2001, p.60). Actors with fewer constraints and more opportunities than others are in favorable structural positions. As measures of centrality, the degree centrality measure indicates that actors with more ties have greater opportunities, because they have many alternatives. Those actors tend to be more central to the structure, because they have more connections, and they tend to be in a favored position to have more power. In the closeness centrality measure, if an actor is closer to more actors than any other actor, the actor is considered to be more powerful. This logic of structural advantage underlies approaches that emphasize the distribution of closeness and distance as a source of power. In the betweenness centrality measure, if an actor lies between a pair of actors and no other actors lie between this pair of actors, the actor is regarded to be in a more central and favored position in the structure. This logic of structural advantage emphasizes the location between other actors. Each of the three approaches measures the centrality in different ways, but

each describes the locations of individuals in terms of how close they are to the center (Hanneman, 2001; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Table 6.10: Degree Centrality Measures for Allegheny County

FREEMAN'S DEGREE CENTRALITY MEASURES				
	OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
2 ^a Allegheny County AssistanceOffice	7.000	7.000	100.000	100.000
3 Allegheny County DHS	6.000	6.000	85.714	85.714
8 Allegheny Intermediate Unit	6.000	3.000	85.714	42.857
1 PA Department of Public Welfare	5.000	6.000	71.429	85.714
5 YWCA	3.000	4.000	42.857	57.143
6 Hosanna House	3.000	3.000	42.857	42.857
4 Goodwill Industries	3.000	4.000	42.857	57.143
7 City of Pittsburgh	2.000	2.000	28.571	28.571
Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 42.857%				
Network Centralization (Indegree) = 42.857%				

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an 'actor number'

Legend: Allegheny County DHS – Allegheny County Department of Human Services

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

As shown in Table 6.10, degree centrality measures indicate that the Allegheny County Assistance Office has both the greatest out-degrees and in-degrees, that is, it may be regarded as the most influential. The Allegheny County Department of Human Services has greater out-degrees and in-degrees than other actors, and it may be regarded as influential. Although the Allegheny Intermediate Unit also has high out-degrees, it has relatively low in-degrees. The Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare has relatively mid-level out-degrees, but has more in-degrees than out-degrees. It implies that the Department of Public Welfare has many inputs from other organizations in Allegheny County, but fosters collaboration and partnership through the Allegheny County Assistance Office. The degree centrality measures imply that the Allegheny County Assistance Office plays an activist role in administering the SPOC and

RESET programs in Allegheny County. Under the state-administered system, Allegheny County’s efforts to exchange information for collaboration and partnership through subcontracts are administered, supervised, and monitored by the Allegheny County Assistance Office with the direction of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare.

Freeman’s graph centralization measures that describe the population as a whole explain the degree of inequality or variance in the network as a percentage of a perfect network of the same size (Hanneman, 2001; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). In this case, both the out-degree and in-degree network centralization are 42.857 percent. Because there is a substantial amount of concentration or centralization in this whole network, positional advantages for initiating information exchange for collaboration and partnership are unequally distributed and accrue to the Allegheny County Assistance Office and the Allegheny County Department of Human Services. This finding is consistent with that from the geodesic distance measure.

Table 6.11: Closeness Centrality Measures for Allegheny County

CLOSENESS CENTRALITY MEASURES				
	inFarness	outFarness	inCloseness	outCloseness
2 ^a Allegheny County Assistance Office	7.000	7.000	100.000	100.000
1 PA Department of Public Welfare	8.000	9.000	87.500	77.778
3 Allegheny County DHS	8.000	8.000	87.500	87.500
4 Goodwill Industries	10.000	11.000	70.000	63.636
5 YWCA	10.000	11.000	70.000	63.636
6 Hosanna House	11.000	11.000	63.636	63.636
8 Allegheny Intermediate Unit	11.000	8.000	63.636	87.500
7 City of Pittsburgh	12.000	12.000	58.333	58.333
Network in-Centralization = 61.72%				
Network out-Centralization = 61.28%				

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Legend: Allegheny County DHS – Allegheny County Department of Human Services

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Table 6.11 reports closeness centrality measures. “Closeness centrality approaches emphasize the distance of an actor to all others in the network by focusing on the geodesic distance from each actor to all others. The sum of the geodesic distance for each actor is the farness of the actor from all others” (Hanneman, 2001, p.65). Actors who connect to other actors (out-farness) or are more connected by other actors (in-farness) at shorter path lengths have favored structural positions and power. The Allegheny County Assistance Office is the closest and most central actor, because the sum of its geodesic distances to other actors is the least (a total of in-farness and out-farness, 14, across seven other actors). It implies that the Allegheny County Assistance Office reaches other organizations at the shortest, single path lengths and is reached by many organizations at the shortest, single path lengths (see Table 6.9 for geodesic distance). The Allegheny County Department of Human Services and the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare are nearly as close, but the City of Pittsburgh has the greatest farness, which means the City of Pittsburgh reaches other organizations and is reached by other organizations at longer path lengths.

Table 6.12 reports betweenness centrality measures among the actors. The betweenness centrality views an actor as being in a favored position to the extent that the actor falls on the geodesic paths between other pairs of actors in the network (Hanneman, 2001; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). If more people depend on an actor to make connections with other people, the actor is likely to have more power. By adding up the proportion of times that they are between other actors for exchanging information, we get a measure of betweenness centrality. It notes there is a wider range of variation in actor betweenness from zero to 10.833 and the overall network centralization is relatively low (22.34 percent), because many of the connections in the network are made without the aid of any intermediary actors. The Allegheny County Assistance Office

appears to be the most central and powerful agency in the TANF administrative infrastructure of Allegheny County. It implies that it is a coordinator that administers an array of activities of the organizations for implementing the SPOC and RESET programs in Allegheny County. The Allegheny County Department of Human Services is relatively more powerful than others in the network, because it plays an initiator's role in subcontracting out for employment and training service delivery and case management.

Table 6.12: Betweenness Centrality Measures for Allegheny County

FREEMAN BETWEENNESS CENTRALITY MEASURES		
	Betweenness	nBetweenness
2 ^a Allegheny County Assistance Office	10.833	25.794
1 PA Department of Public Welfare	4.500	10.714
3 Allegheny County DHS OCS	4.333	10.317
8 Allegheny Intermediate Unit	1.000	2.381
5 YWCA	0.333	0.794
6 Hosanna House	0.000	0.000
7 City of Pittsburgh	0.000	0.000
4 Goodwill Industries	0.000	0.000
Network Centralization Index = 22.34%		

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an 'actor number'

Legend: Allegheny County DHS – Allegheny County Department of Human Services

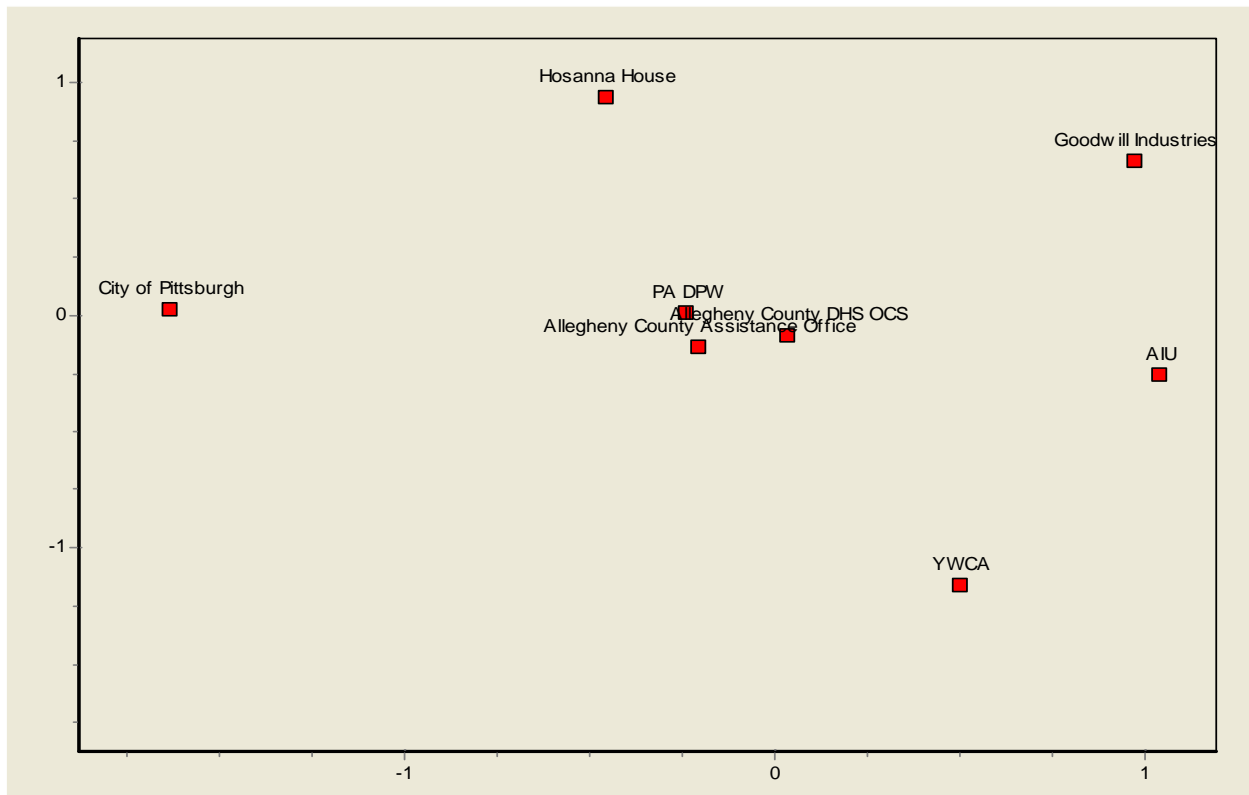
Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Similarity and Structural Equivalence: Multi-Dimensional Scaling

A third dimension in the analysis of networks is the degree of structural equivalence or similarity of network position among actors. Structural equivalence means that actors have the same pattern of relationships with all other actors (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Because exact structural equivalence of actors is rare in most social structures, the degree to which actors

are similar is often measured as the basis to identify sets of actors that are very similar to one another and distinct from actors in other sets (Hanneman, 2001).

Among a range of measures of similarity and structural equivalence, multidimensional scaling is a data analytic technique that represents similarities or dissimilarities among a set of actors in low dimensional space. This technique enables us to see how close actors are, whether they cluster in multi-dimensional space, and how much variation there is along each dimension (Scott, 2000). The x-axis is the first co-ordinate set and the y-axis is the second co-ordinate set. Actors that are more similar to each other are closer in the space and actors that are less similar to each other are farther apart in the space.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Figure 6.3: Similarity and Structural Equivalence Measures: Multi-Dimensional Scaling

The result from UCINET's non-metric multi-dimensional scaling routine applied to generate a two dimensional map of the adjacency asymmetric matrix is presented in Figure 6.3. The stress in two dimensions is very low (.115), that is, the goodness-of-fit is high. The Allegheny County Assistance Office (ACAO) and the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare are the most similar in structural positions. The ACAO shows remarkable structural similarity with the Allegheny County Department of Human Services as well. Other nonprofit organizations (YWCA or AIU) and the City of Pittsburgh are in the most dissimilar structural positions, because the City of Pittsburgh interacts more with other WIA agencies as another local principal entity for the SPOC program, as stated. As a cluster, public agencies have strong structural similarities, while nonprofit organizations have mostly structural dissimilarities.

6.2. PRACTICE OF ALBANY COUNTY FOR FA PROGRAM

6.2.1. Substantial Second-Order Devolution of Decision Making Authority

Through the TANF block grant, the local social service districts have used their discretion to design and implement services that reflect local circumstances, and contract directly with service providers. County directors and managers regard this substantial amount of second-order devolution as a positive change after welfare reform. Albany County has used this substantial amount of discretion to operate employment programs and provide transitional services, including case management, working with disabled people, and working with other vulnerable segments of the TANF population in different ways. This change is unique and different from the second-order devolution in Pennsylvania.

While there has been a substantial amount of discretion shifted from the state to county administration, Albany County occasionally has to follow the state's decision without other alternatives. Since the New York State legislation authorized another public assistance program, the Safety Net Assistance (SNA), financed by state and local money only, Albany County must provide services to eligible families as long as the state makes an eligibility decision. A county manager observes:

I know there are certain things that county has latitude to do in what they can implement. They're certainly free to contract with providers that they want to. I think one of the biggest issues for New York State when national welfare reform was passed was that in the New York State Constitution, there's a vague line that says that the state is responsible for the care of the needy families. So that's been interpreted to mean that even if families aren't eligible for federal TANF funds, the state is going to provide that. Because the state has determined that they're going to provide welfare through the Safety Net system, counties have to provide it. Counties really don't have a choice over that.

6.2.2. Interaction: Community and Results-Focused Collaboration and Partnership

The Albany County Department of Social Services has kept partnerships with sister agencies since welfare reform, such as the Department of Mental Health, the Department of Health, and the Department of Children, Youth, and Families⁴⁵ for providing supportive services to TANF clients. These services address mental health issues, drug and alcohol issues, substance abuse, physical health problems, domestic violence, and child TANF caseload concerns in Albany County. To deal with drug and alcohol, and substance abuse problems of the TANF clients, a County director states that Albany County created a "managed addiction treatment system", wherein funds were transferred from the Department of Social Services to the Department of

⁴⁵ Traditionally, most of the social services departments in any area across the country have included public welfare benefits as well as children's services. However, Albany County has two separate departments, since there has been found a number of programs for child TANF caseload, foster care, and protective services: the Department of Social Services and the Department of Children, Youth, and Families.

Mental Health to expand their assessment and monitoring capacity. Both agencies have collaborated in a way that adds professional staff from the mental health department to social services department locations. Rather than referring mentally impaired applicants to welfare workers without expertise, the Department of Social Services has referred them to professional counselors, staff social workers, registered nurses and part-time physicians who give advice about the employability of the prospective applicants.

From an administrative standpoint, the Albany County Department of Social Services sees itself as a facilitator and a collaborator because it provides funds to initiate the partnerships. Partnerships among sister agencies with different interests and organizational cultures do not cause cacophony in service delivery and program operation at the county level since the Department of Social Services designed a system to reflect and respect all of those interests, simultaneously. The Department of Social Services argues that although each of these sister agencies provides services to its target population with different interests, all of these interests aim at helping the clients in different ways. The system considers all of the different interests and expertise of sister agencies in delivering services. This pattern of interaction is documented in an interview with the Department of Social Services:

We're taking the example of the managed addiction treatment system. This is a whole continuum of services that we've tried to develop with our sister agencies at the county level with the Department of Health, Mental Health, and Children, Youth, and Families. We recognize that there's a partnership. Each entity has its own interest. We've designed a system that respects those interests. The mental health department approaches their client population from a completely different standpoint from the Department of Social Services, but we realize that the intersection or nexus, is at the client level. If we're to be consistent in delivering a county-based service, then we need to respect the expertise in other agencies. The cultural change has been fairly broad-based. Yet, I believe that we've been pretty effective in delivering these changed services. That's the friction that we have, but that's a healthy dynamic.

The Department of Social Services collaborates with nonprofit and for-profit organizations for a wider range of supportive services. The main areas where they interact with these nongovernmental sectors are work placement and preparation, and retention services for the TANF clients. There is both informal and formal collaboration among contract service providers in ways that link an organization to other organizations that provide similar services and complement the weaknesses of the organization with the strengths of other organizations. Contract service providers find these interactions with the Department of Social Services and other service providers to be very positive, since there are no difficulties in working in the system and recognizing changes through interactions.

Albany County has had elaborate procurement rules that govern how solicitations for professional services are conducted and identify when a contract is approved by authority. Albany County has adhered to these rules. As of 2004, the Department of Social Services had 11 contracts with nonprofit or for-profit organizations for employment programs. All these contracts were three-year performance-based with annual renewals within the three-year term, but were limited to money on performance standards. Based on the assessment of their performance during a previous year and a recently released request for proposals, these 11 contracts lasted until December 31, 2004. Since January 2005, the Department of Social Services has only 4 contracts.

6.2.3. Patterns of Communication

As in Allegheny County, Albany County has monthly meetings and weekly meetings for the employment program and supportive services, such as mental health issues, with representatives

from sister agencies, contract nonprofit or for-profit service providers⁴⁶, and the New York State Department of Labor's Welfare-to-Work Division. Through these regular meetings, the Albany County Department of Social Services harmonizes the different interests of sister agencies and integrates a range of nongovernmental partners in the service delivery system into a shared goal.

Contract service providers perceive that communication with the Department of Social Services through the regular monthly or weekly meetings is very positive. Communication is regarded as a process to review what they have done and to share what better practices are. They depend more on these meetings because a vision about changes and processes in the service delivery system is shared through communication. While the difficulties of working in the system are recognized through communication, communication enables these nongovernmental contractors to share a goal of helping the clients move from welfare to work. A perspective from a nonprofit service providing organization describes this positive communication in Albany County:

We have weekly meetings between our program staff and county representatives including representatives from the Department of Health, the Department of Mental Health and the Department of Social Services. They meet weekly, they review cases, they talk about cases, and they strategize. The administrators of the organizations meet on a monthly basis and we review data. We talk about problems, we review forms for better ways of screening people. We talk about things that are coming and happening within the county. There's a lot of conversation and open dialogue. Communication is very, very good. I think that the vision is shared about moving things, realizing that there are kinks and difficulties of working in the system, massaging the system to get what you want, moving people from welfare to work and ending welfare as we know it.

⁴⁶ The Doorways program provides counseling, job readiness, and placement for those who have mental illness as a barrier to employment. As of December 2004, Albany County Department of Social Services contracted it out to RSS, a nonprofit human service organization.

6.2.4. A Multi-Agency Network for Collaboration and Partnership

6.2.4.1. Organizational Characteristics

Table 6.13: Summary of the Survey Respondents for Albany County

Organizations	Survey Administered	Survey Respondents	
		N	%
Public	N=29	14	35.0 %
NYS Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance	14	5	12.5 %
NYS Department of Labor	6	3	7.5 %
Albany County Department of Social Services	9	6	15.0 %
Nonprofit	N=9	4	10.0 %
Adult Learning Center	1	0	0.0 %
Altamont Program	1	1	2.5 %
RSS	1	1	2.5 %
Capital District Child Care Coordinating Council	1	0	0.0 %
Career Links	1	1	2.5 %
CHOICES	1	0	0.0 %
Cornell Cooperative Extension	1	1	2.5 %
EOC-Bridge	1	0	0.0 %
INTERFAITH	1	0	0.0 %
For-profit	N=2	1	2.5 %
America Works	1	0	0.0 %
Maximus	1	1	2.5 %
Total	40	19	47.5 %

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Total Sample (N=40)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

A representative stratified sample of 40 directors, managers, or coordinators (N = 40) from sixteen organizations engaged in the Family Assistance (FA) and the Safety Net Assistance (SNA) program implementation was created in the same way as the survey for Allegheny County and Pennsylvania to administer this survey. This representative stratified sample was drawn from two state agencies (N=20), county agency (N=9), and contract nonprofit or for-profit organizations (N=11). I conducted this survey from August 2 to December 10, 2004 in Albany, New York and used a range of survey methods for better response rates. The organizations and

samples to which the survey was administered, and the number of directors or managers that responded to the survey are shown in Table 6.13. 19 directors, managers, or supervisors from 8 organizations responded to the survey, for a total response rate of 47.5 percent based on the number of respondents. These organizations include 3 key stakeholder organizations and 5 nongovernmental partners engaged in the TANF implementation in Albany County.

Interorganizational Communication

I examined the characteristics of interorganizational communication for TANF implementation in Albany County from the survey data. Table 6.14 reports that 32.4 percent of the respondents use e-mail as a primary channel of communication with other organizations, while the greatest proportion of the respondents in Pennsylvania rely on regular meetings (30.8 percent). 26.5 percent of the respondents rely on monthly or weekly regular meetings and 20.6 % of the respondents use a phone for communication with other organizations. Mail (8.8 percent) and fax (11.8 percent) are least used, as in Pennsylvania.

Table 6.14: Channels of Interorganizational Communication in Albany County

<i>“How do you usually communicate between agencies for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Phone	7	20.6
E-mail	11	32.4
Regular Meetings	9	26.5
Mail	3	8.8
Fax	4	11.8
Total ^a	34	100.0

N = Number of Responses; % = Percentage of Responses

^a Multiple Responses Accepted (19 Respondents from 8 Organizations)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.15 reports that 31.6 percent of the respondents perceive that a substantial amount of communication with other organizations occurs for TANF implementation, in comparison with 50 percent for Pennsylvania. 57.9 percent of the respondents believe that the extent of communication with other organizations is moderate.

Table 6.15: Extent of Interorganizational Communication in Albany County

<i>“How would you best describe the amount of communication between agencies for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Great Extent	6	31.6
Moderate Extent	11	57.9
Small Extent	2	10.5
Total ^a	19	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents

^a 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Collaboration with Other Organizations

Table 6.16 shows the extent to which an organization needs the involvement and support from other organizations for TANF implementation in Albany County. As in Allegheny County, Most of the respondents perceive that they need a substantial amount of the involvement and support from other organizations (47.4 percent for both great extent and moderate extent).

Table 6.16: Need for the Involvement of Other Organizations in Albany County

<i>“To what extent does your organization need the involvement and support of other organizations outside your organization for TANF implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
Great Extent	9	47.4
Moderate Extent	9	47.4
Small Extent	1	5.3
Total ^a	19	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents

^a 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.17 reports the frequency of cooperative teamwork. 68.6 percent of the respondents believe that they are doing cooperative teamwork for TANF implementation mostly with the state agency or county agency. 22.9 percent of the respondents perceive that they are doing cooperative teamwork mostly with nonprofit organizations. 8.6 percent of the respondents are doing cooperative teamwork mostly with for-profit organizations.

Table 6.17: Cooperative Teamwork in Albany County

<i>“With what types of organizations is your organization mostly doing cooperative teamwork for TANF design and implementation?”</i>		
	N	%
State Agency	12	34.3
County Agency	12	34.3
Nonprofit Organization	8	22.9
For-Profit Organizations	3	8.6
Total ^a	35	100.0

N = Number of Responses; % = Percentage of Responses

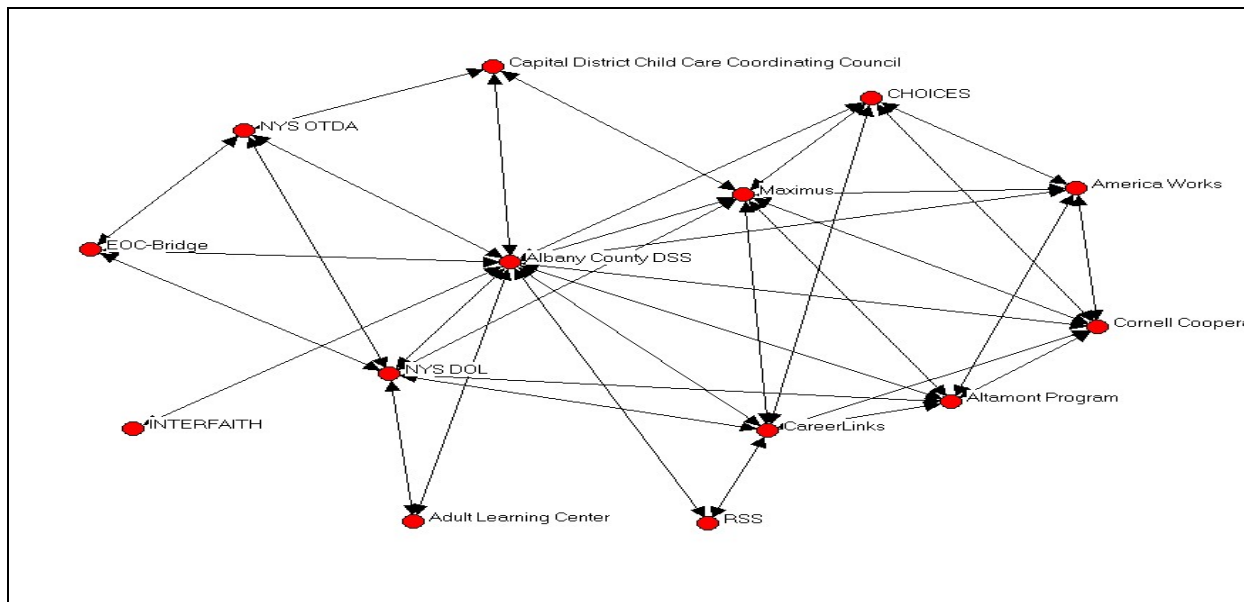
^a Multiple Responses Accepted (19 Respondents from 8 Organizations)

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

6.2.4.2. Patterns of Information Exchange for Collaboration and Partnership

Albany County has collaborated and partnered with other organizations to administer TANF programs in its multiorganizational TANF administrative infrastructure under the state-supervised and county-administered system, but in a substantially different pattern from Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Information exchange for the implementation of the FA and SNA programs serves as an indicator to examine collaboration and partnership among the organizations involved in the administrative infrastructure of Albany County. I used network data from the survey in order to measure the information exchange among the organizations. The scale of measurement for information exchange was based on binary measures that distinguish

between relations being absent and relations being present. By symmetrizing the data, a symmetric matrix (Appendix E) that includes pending organizations was first used to look at the relationships for information exchange in a whole network. The graph based on this symmetric matrix is illustrated in Figure 6.4.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Figure 6.4: A Graph from the Symmetric Matrix for TANF Implementation in Albany County

Figure 6.4 shows that there are a limited number of actors (14) and they are all connected. As in the network for Allegheny County, some connections are likely to be reciprocated. Some other actors are more likely to send information than receive information. The variation in the connections shows that the relationships among groups of actors differ from each other. For example, the Albany County Department of Social Services and Maximus are in the center of the network of connections, while Interfaith, RSS, and Adult Learning Center appear to be peripheral in the network of connections.

The adjacency asymmetric matrix in which pending organizations are excluded was created for more precise mathematical measures of graph and network properties. The adjacency matrix for the interorganizational relationship on information exchange among 8 organizations participating in the FA and SNA program implementation of Albany County is presented in Table 6.18. As stated, each row in the adjacency asymmetric matrix is regarded as the source of information and each column as the receiver of information. The data present measures of relationships among organizations, centrality and power, and similarity of position and structural equivalence in the network.

Table 6.18: Adjacency Matrix for Information Exchange Network in Albany County

	NYS OTDA	NYS DOL	AC DSS	Altamont	RSS	Career	Cornell	Maximus
NYSOTDA	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
NYS DOL	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
AC DSS	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Altamont	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
RSS	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Career	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Cornell	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Maximus	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Density (matrix average) = 0.5357; Standard deviation = 0.4987								
Reciprocity = 0.7647								
Transitivity: % of ordered triples in which i-->j and j-->k that are transitive: 57.69 %								

Legend: NYS OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance

NYS DOL – New York State Department of Labor

AC DSS – Albany County Department of Social Services

Altamont – Altamont Program

RSS – RSS

Career – Career Links

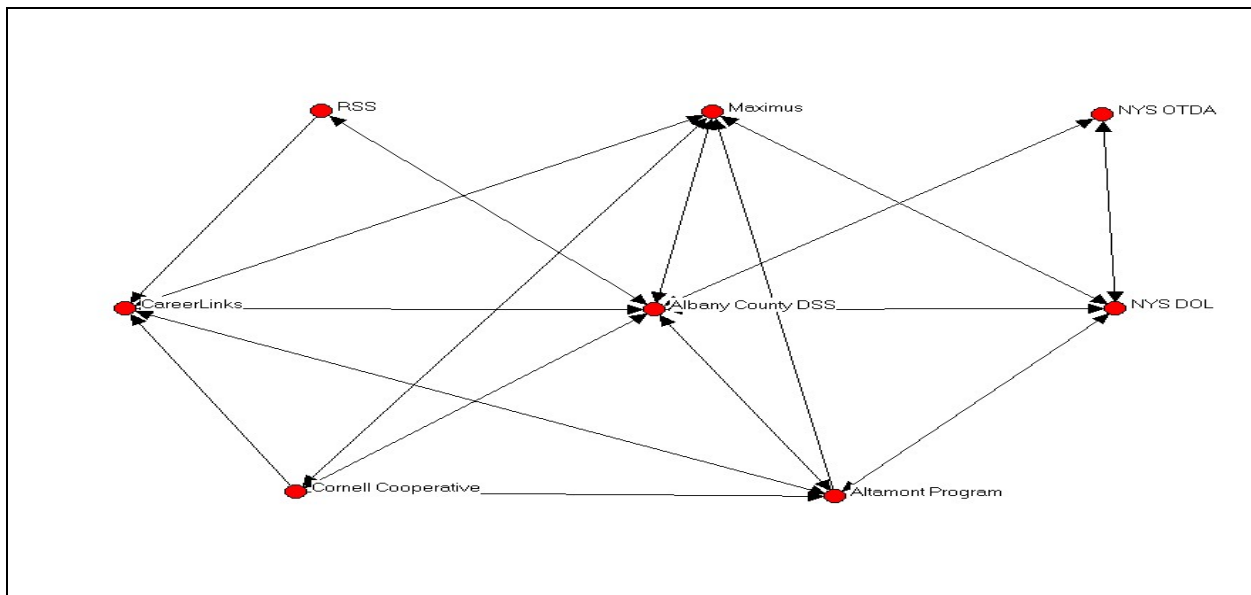
Cornell – Cornell Cooperative Extension

Maximus – Maximus

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.18 shows that the density of matrix is .5357, that is, the mean strength of relations across all possible relations is .5357 or 53.57 percent of all possible relations that exist. The density of

this whole network is less than the density of a network for Allegheny County (.625). The standard deviation is .4987, which indicates a substantial amount of variation in relations between and among the organizations. It shows that 76.47 percent of the dyadic relationships are reciprocated in which a substantial amount of pair-wise interactions occur frequently in the network. This high reciprocity is similar to that in the network for Allegheny County (75 percent). The data also report that 57.69 percent of all of the triadic relationships that could be transitive are transitive. For instance, if the New York State Department of Labor (NYS DOL) sends information to the Albany County Department of Social Services (DSS) and the DSS sends information to Maximus, then the NYS DOL sends information to the Maximus. This finding suggests a relatively strong tendency toward transitivity in triads, but this transitivity is lower than the transitivity of the network for Allegheny County (67.14 percent). Pair-wise interactions are more embedded in the networks than transitive triadic relationships for both Albany County and Allegheny County.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Figure 6.5: Interorganizational Network for Information Exchange in Albany County

Figure 6.5 illustrates the interorganizational relationship in Albany County. There are a limited number of actors (8) and all actors are connected, although every possible connection is not present. Connections for information exchange among the actors differ (e.g., the Albany County Department of Social Services vs. RSS). Many connections are likely to be reciprocated (e.g., the relation between the Albany County Department of Social Services and the New York State Department of Labor), but some other actors (e.g., Cornell Cooperative Extension) are more likely to send information than receive information (e.g., Career Links). This variation in the connections indicates that groups of actors are different from each other in the information exchange network. For instance, the Albany County Department of Social Services is in the center of the connections, while the RSS and the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance are on the periphery of the network of connections. This substantial interdependent infrastructure facilitates greatly the exchange of information among the organizations involved in the FA and SNA program implementation.

Relationships of Information Exchange among Actors

Table 6.19: Descriptive Statistics for Actors that Send information in Albany County

	Mean	Std Dev	Sum	Variance
	-----	-----	-----	-----
1 ^a NYS Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance	0.286	0.452	2.000	0.204
2 NYS Department of Labor	0.571	0.495	4.000	0.245
3 Albany County Department of Social Services	1.000	0.000	7.000	0.000
4 Altamont Program	0.571	0.495	4.000	0.245
5 RSS	0.286	0.452	2.000	0.204
6 CareerLinks	0.429	0.495	3.000	0.245
7 Cornell Cooperative Extension	0.571	0.495	4.000	0.245
8 Maximus	0.571	0.495	4.000	0.245

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Based on the data in the adjacency matrix presented in Table 6.18, the following Tables 6.19 and 6.20 show descriptive statistics for actors that send information and receive information. Table 6.19 examines how each actor is embedded in the overall density of the network as a source for information. Each organization plays a different role as a source for information exchange. With the responsibility shifted from the state, the Albany County Department of Social Services sends information to all actors in the network and has a higher potential to be influential. The New York State Department of Labor, the Altamont Program, the Cornell Cooperative Extension, and Maximus send information to four other actors. These organizations send information to 57.1 percent of the remaining actors, because binary measures for the relationships are used. Career Links sends information to three actors, and the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and RSS send information to only two other actors in the network and have lower potential to be influential.

Table 6.20: Descriptive Statistics for Actors that Receive information in Albany County

	OTDA	DOL	DSS	Altamont	RSS	Career	Cornell	Maximus
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1 Mean	0.286	0.571	1.000	0.571	0.143	0.714	0.286	0.714
2 Std Dev	0.452	0.495	0.000	0.495	0.350	0.452	0.452	0.452
3 Sum	2.000	4.000	7.000	4.000	1.000	5.000	2.000	5.000
4 Variance	0.204	0.245	0.000	0.245	0.122	0.204	0.204	0.204

Legend: OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance
DOL – New York State Department of Labor
DSS – Albany County Department of Social Services
Altamont – Altamont Program
Career – Career Links
Cornell – Cornell Cooperative Extension
Maxim – Maximus

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.20 shows how receivers of information in Albany County are embedded in the TANF network. Actors that receive information from many actors are regarded to be prestigious and

powerful. The Albany County Department of Social Services is the greatest in receiving information for collaboration and partnership. Two actors, the Career Links and the Maximus, are relatively high in receiving information. Because the Albany County Department of Social Services is also the greatest in sending information, it acts as the primary initiator or facilitator for information exchange in the TANF administrative infrastructure for Albany County. In contrast, the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, the RSS, and the Cornell Cooperative Extension do not receive information from many actors directly and appear to be “out of the loop.” The RSS appears to be an “isolate” in the network since it does not send much information to other actors for collaboration and partnership. This is because RSS is primarily responsible for providing employment assistance to those who have mental illnesses and interacts more with mental health agencies than TANF agencies.

Table 6.21: Geodesic Distance for Information Exchange Network in Albany County

# of Geodesic Paths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	N	N	A	A	R	C	C	M
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 ^a NYS Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
2 NYS Department of Labor	1	0	1	1	2	2	2	1
3 Albany County Department of Social Services	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
4 Altamont Program	2	1	1	0	2	1	2	1
5 RSS	2	2	1	2	0	1	2	2
6 Career Links	2	2	1	1	2	0	2	1
7 Cornell Cooperative Extension	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	1
8 Maximus	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	0

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’
 Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.21 shows that since the network is relatively dense (.5357 in Table 6.6), the geodesic path distances are small, which indicates that information may reach every actor very quickly in the network. Most geodesic connections among these actors are short in distance, and some

connections have multiple shortest paths from actors who send to actors who receive. One single agency, the Albany County Department of Social Services, has single paths to all other actors, but contract nonprofit and for-profit organizations have mostly multiple paths to other actors. Behavior of the Albany County Department of Social Services is likely to be most predictable and influence other actors very quickly in exchanging information for collaboration and partnership, since it sends and receives information most quickly. This agency has a substantive responsibility to administer employment and training programs for the TANF clients through contracts and plays a key role in initiating information exchange with contract nongovernmental partners. Behavior of the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and nonprofit and for-profit agencies is likely to be least predictable in exchanging information because they have alternative efficient ways of connecting to other actors.

Centrality and Power of the Albany County Department of Social Services

Table 6.22 reports degree centrality measures in the information exchange network for the TANF implementation in Albany County. Since the Albany County Department of Social Services has both the greatest out-degrees and in-degrees, it is regarded as the most influential in the network. This implies that the Albany County Department of Social Services uses the substantive responsibility shifted from the state to exchange information on the FA and SNA program implementation with a broad range of other organizations through an array of contracts. Under TANF administration, they are taking a holistic approach that brings more opportunities to look at the quality of TANF clients' lives in ways that track where they are and identify what their interests are by assessing the impact of the employment.

Table 6.22: Degree Centrality Measures for Albany County

FREEMAN'S DEGREE CENTRALITY MEASURES				
	OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
3 ^a Albany County Dept of Social Services	7.000	7.000	100.000	100.000
2 NYS Department of Labor	4.000	4.000	57.143	57.143
7 Cornell Cooperative Extension	4.000	2.000	57.143	28.571
4 Altamont Program	4.000	4.000	57.143	57.143
8 Maximus	4.000	5.000	57.143	71.429
6 Career Links	3.000	5.000	42.857	71.429
1 NYS OTDA	2.000	2.000	28.571	28.571
5 RSS	2.000	1.000	28.571	14.286

Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 53.061%
 Network Centralization (Indegree) = 53.061%

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Legend: NYS OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

The New York State Department of Labor, the Altamont Program, and the Maximus have relatively high out-degrees and in-degrees because the Department of Labor has state contracts with WIA agencies in the Albany County area, and these two agencies are included in the state contracts⁴⁷. Interestingly, the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance has very low out-degrees and in-degrees. This indicates that it is primarily responsible for temporary cash assistance and transitional support, and does not interact with local agencies for these services. More importantly, this implies that Albany County accepts more responsibility shifted from the state for the FA and SNA program implementation in the County. This is a different characteristic from the practice of Allegheny County.

⁴⁷ As of 2004, New York State Department of Labor contracts with more than 100 service providers across the state and contracts with six service providers in Albany County. These include: Adult Learning Center; Altamont Program; Capital District Educational Opportunity Center (EOC); Capital District Transportation Authority; Catholic Charities of Schenectady County; and Maximus. Among those organizations, Adult Learning Center, Altamont Program, Capital District Educational Opportunity Center (EOC), and Maximus also contract with Albany County Department of Social Services.

Freeman’s graph centralization measures indicate that both the out-degree and in-degree network centralization are 53.061 percent, which means that there is a highly substantial amount of concentration or centralization in this whole network. This implies that the positional advantages to initiate information exchange for collaboration and partnership are more unequally distributed than the network for Allegheny County (42.857 percent). The greatest positional advantages in this network accrue to the Albany County Department of Social Services and its positional advantages are greater than the Allegheny County Assistance Office in the network for Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

Table 6.23: Closeness Centrality Measures for Albany County

CLOSENESS CENTRALITY MEASURES				
	inFarness	outFarness	inCloseness	outCloseness
3 ^a Albany County Dept of Social Services	7.000	7.000	100.000	100.000
6 Career Links	9.000	11.000	77.778	63.636
8 Maximus	9.000	10.000	77.778	70.000
2 NYS Department of Labor	10.000	10.000	70.000	70.000
4 Altamont Program	10.000	10.000	70.000	70.000
1 NYS OTDA	12.000	12.000	58.333	58.333
7 Cornell Cooperative Extension	12.000	10.000	58.333	70.000
5 RSS	13.000	12.000	53.846	58.333
Network in-Centralization = 72.41%				
Network out-Centralization = 74.19%				

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Legend: NYS OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Table 6.23 reports closeness centrality measures. As stated, in the closeness measures, actors who connect to other actors (out-farness) or are connected more by other actors (in-farness) at shorter path lengths have favored structural positions and power. The closeness centrality measures indicate that the Albany County Department of Social Services is the closest and most

central actor because the sum of its geodesic distances to other actors is the least (a total of in-farness and out-farness, 14, across seven other actors). The Albany County Department of Social Services reaches other organizations at the shortest, single path lengths and is reached by many other organizations at the shortest, single path lengths (see Table 6.21 for geodesic distance). The Maximus is nearly as close and the RSS has the greatest farness, which means the RSS reaches other organizations and is reached by other organizations at longer path lengths.

Table 6.24: Betweenness Centrality Measures for Albany County

FREEMAN BETWEENNESS CENTRALITY MEASURES		
	Betweenness	nBetweenness
3 ^a Albany County Dept of Social Services	18.750	44.643
8 Maximus	2.500	5.952
2 NYS Department of Labor	2.250	5.357
6 Career Links	1.250	2.976
4 Altamont Program	1.000	2.381
7 Cornell Cooperative Extension	0.250	0.595
1 NYS OTDA	0.000	0.000
5 RSS	0.000	0.000

Network Centralization Index = 42.18%

^a UCINET labels each of organizations an ‘actor number’

Legend: NYS OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

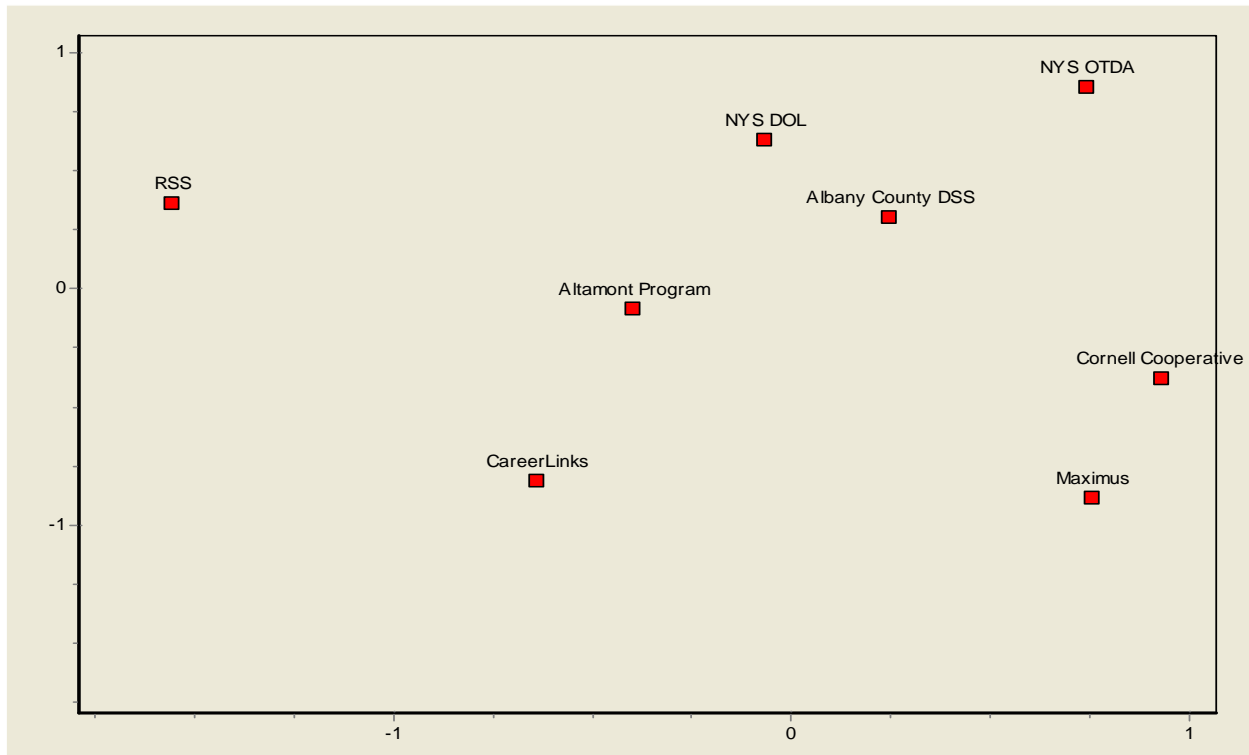
Table 6.24 reports betweenness centrality measures among actors. The betweenness centrality measures indicate that there is a wider range of variation in actor betweenness from 0 to 18.750. Since most connections in the network are made between two actors through short paths, the overall network centralization, 42.18 percent, is fairly high and greater than the network for Allegheny County (22.34 percent). The Albany County Department of Social Services appears to be the most central and powerful in the network under the state-supervised and county-

administered system. It implies that the Albany County Department of Social Services plays a coordinator's role in implementing the TANF programs in Albany County by administering a wider array of activities of the organizations with different interests and culture. Because four of the six nonprofit or for-profit organizations that contract with the New York State Department of Labor also contract with the Albany County Department of Social Services, the New York State Department of Labor, the Altamont Program, and the Maximus have some power in the network.

Similarity and Structural Equivalence: Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Based on multi-dimensional scaling stated in the network for Allegheny County, I measured the degree of structural equivalence or similarity of network position among actors. The result from a non-metric multi-dimensional scaling routine for a two dimensional map of the adjacency matrix is presented in Figure 6.6. The stress in two dimensions is very low (.102), that is, the goodness-of-fit is high, but is slightly lower than the goodness-of-fit for Allegheny County (.115).

The multi-dimensional scaling reports that the Albany County Department of Social Services and the New York State Department of Labor are the most similar in structural positions, but the distance is farther than the distance of the most similar structural positions in Allegheny County. The Cornell Cooperative Extension and the Maximus show their structural similarities. The New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance and the RSS are in the most dissimilar structural positions. As a cluster, public organizations have relatively weak structural similarities, in comparison with the similarities of public organizations in Allegheny County, while nonprofit organizations have relatively strong structural dissimilarities.



Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Figure 6.6: Similarity and Structural Equivalence Measures: Multi-Dimensional Scaling

6.3. SUMMARY

Using both qualitative and network analysis, this chapter finds that county governments in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and Albany County, New York have a substantial amount of interactions with the organizations engaged in TANF implementation. The high density of the interorganizational network for TANF information exchange in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania (.625) documents the relationships for information exchange that exist among organizations. The density of the TANF information exchange network in Albany County, New York (.535) is less than that for Allegheny County. Among the relationships, many of the dyadic relationships are reciprocated, and pair-wise interactions are more embedded in the networks for both counties

than transitive triadic relationships, due to the high reciprocity. These substantial interorganizational networks facilitated greatly the information exchange among public organizations with different jurisdictions and nongovernmental agencies with diverse interests participating in the TANF implementation.

The interorganizational network for TANF information exchange in Albany County is more concentrated and centralized than the network in Allegheny County. The Albany County Department of Social Services has the greatest centralization and power in administering the New York's Family Assistance (FA) program in the County and plays a primary facilitator's role for information exchange. The Allegheny County Assistance Office under the direction of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare has the greatest power in administering the Single Point of Contact (SPOC) program. It plays a primary facilitator and coordinator's role in implementing the SPOC program with a range of organizations, although the Allegheny County Department of Human Services plays an initiator's role for information exchange through subcontracts with other organizations. The Albany County Department of Social Services does not have strong structural similarities with other organizations, while the Allegheny County Assistance Office has relatively strong structural similarities with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. These findings illustrate the fact that the two states use different TANF administrative systems as a holistic approach and have different policy directions toward the second-order devolution of decision making authority for TANF implementation at the local level.

7.0 AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT OF THE EVOLUTION AND CHANGE IN TANF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE ON OUTCOMES

This chapter examines the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) programs on both administration and policy. This examination consists of two parts: (1) analyzing the effect on change in the decision making capacity of the organizations engaged in TANF implementation; and, (2) analyzing the effect on economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients. In this chapter, I use analysis of variance to compare means for the decision making capacity of a range of organizations in New York and Pennsylvania, using the structured survey data. I also compare two groups in response to treatments of AFDC or TANF programs, using the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) data administered by the Urban Institute.

7.1. ANALYZING THE EFFECT OF THE EVOLUTION IN TANF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE ON DECISION MAKING CAPACITY

Governance research explains results or outcomes in ways that identify the influence of governance arrangements and public management on outcomes of interest and recognize the “configurational characteristics of administration” (Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2001). To analyze the effect of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for the TANF programs on the administration, I examined change in the decision making capacity of the organizations involved in TANF implementation as an administrative outcome. This analysis is based on data

from a structured survey of organizations participating in the TANF program implementation in Albany County, New York and Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

7.1.1. Organizational Characteristics

Table 7.1: Summary of the Survey Respondents and Organizations

Organizations	Survey Administered	Survey Respondents	
	N	N	%
New York			
Public			
NYS Office of Temporary & Disability Assistance	14	5	12.5 %
NYS Department of Labor	6	3	7.5 %
Albany County Department of Social Services	9	6	15.0 %
Nonprofit			
Altamont Program	1	1	2.5 %
RSS	1	1	2.5 %
Career Links	1	1	2.5 %
Cornell Cooperative Extension	1	1	2.5 %
5 Other Nonprofit Organizations	5	0	0.0 %
For-profit			
Maximus	1	1	2.5 %
1 Other For-profit Organization	1	0	0.0 %
Total	40	19	47.5 %
Pennsylvania			
Public			
Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare	17	8	20.0 %
Allegheny County Assistance Office	3	1	2.5 %
Allegheny County Department of Human Services	6	5	12.5 %
City of Pittsburgh	2	2	5.0 %
Nonprofit			
Goodwill Industries	1	1	2.5 %
YWCA	1	2	5.0 %
Hosanna House	1	2	5.0 %
Allegheny Intermediate Unit	1	1	2.5 %
6 Other Nonprofit Organizations	6	0	0.0 %
For-profit			
2 For-profit Organizations	2	0	0.0 %
Total	40	22	55.0 %
Grand Total, New York and Pennsylvania	80	41	51.2 %

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Total Sample

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY, and Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Table 7.1 presents a list of the organizations that responded to the survey and the number of respondents for each of the organizations (see Table 3.2 on p.71, Table 6.1 on p. 133, and Table 6.13 on p. 157 for a full list of organizations to which the survey was administered). The response rates are based on the number of respondents. For New York, 19 directors, managers, coordinators, and supervisors from 8 different organizations responded to the survey, for a total response rate of 47.5 percent. In comparison, in Pennsylvania, 22 directors, managers, coordinators, and supervisors from 8 different organizations responded to the survey, for a total response rate of 55.0 percent. For New York and Pennsylvania, total 41 directors, managers, and coordinators from sixteen organizations responded to the survey, for a total response rate of 51.2 percent.

Survey questions were asked about the primary characteristics of decision making in the organizations participating in TANF program implementation. I examined three variables: levels of decision making; information for decision making; and, the involvement of other organizations in decision making. Variables, measurements, and ordinal scales of measurements are presented in Table 7.2.

For levels of decision making, I examined positions of authority in the organizations at which TANF program decisions are primarily made and whether the prominent characteristics of this process change decision making routines in the organizations. More specifically, I sought to determine whether decisions are made widely throughout the organization, regardless of level of authority, whether broad policy decisions are made at the top of the organization and specific decisions are made at lower levels, or whether most decisions are still made at the top of the organization with a relatively strong prescribed framework.

Table 7.2: Variables and Measurements for Decision Making Capacity

Variables	Measurements	Ordinal Scales of Measurements
Levels of Decision Making	Levels at which decisions for TANF programs are formally made in organizations	5 – Decisions made widely throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups 4 – Broad policy decisions made at the top of the organization, but more specific decisions made at lower levels 3 – Policy decisions made at the top, many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels, but usually checked with the top before action 2 – Most decisions made at the top of organization 1 – Not applicable
Information for Decision Making	The adequacy and accuracy of the information available for decision making at the place where the decisions are made	5 – Relatively adequate and accurate information available based on efficient flow of information 4 – Reasonably adequate and accurate information available 3 – Information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate 2 – Information is generally inadequate and inaccurate 1 – Not applicable
Involvement of Other Organizations in Decision Making	The extent to which the involvement and support of other organizations in decision making contributes to the decision making capacity of an organization	5 – Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 4 – Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 3 – Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process 2 – Other organizations contribute little or nothing to the implementation of decisions 1 – Not Applicable

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY, and Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

The criteria I used included how adequate and accurate was information available at the level at which decisions for TANF programs are made because “timely, accurate information available to key decision makers simultaneously is likely to increase the system’s efficiency in operation” (Comfort, 1999, p. 198). I also examined the extent to which the involvement and support of other organizations contributed to decision making capacity to implement TANF programs since a range of organizations became engaged in joint decision making for TANF implementation. In an interdependent TANF administrative system, the amount, quality, and timeliness of information from other organizations at different locations in the system affects the decision making capacity of actors in the system to perform their responsibilities effectively in a changing environment.

Table 7.3: Frequency Distribution of Level at Which Decisions are Formally Made

<i>“At what levels in the organization are decisions for TANF programs formally made?”</i>	NY		PA		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
5 – Decisions made widely throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups	2	10.5	1	4.5	3	7.3
4 – Broad policy decisions made at the top of the organization, but more specific decisions made at lower levels	7	36.9	10	45.5	17	41.5
3 – Policy decisions made at the top, many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels, but usually checked with the top before action	8	42.1	9	40.9	17	41.5
2 – Most decisions made at the top of organization	2	10.5	2	9.1	4	9.7
Total ^a	19	100.0	22	100.0	41	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

Table 7.3 shows positions of authority in the organization at which decisions for TANF programs are formally made. 36.9 percent of the respondents in New York and 45.5 percent of the respondents in Pennsylvania perceive that broad policy decisions are made at the top of

organization, but more specific decisions are made at lower levels of organizations. 42.1 percent for New York and 40.9 percent for Pennsylvania perceive that policy is made at the top of organization, many decisions within prescribed framework are made at lower levels of authority, but usually checked with the top before implementation. 10.5 percent for New York and 4.5 percent for Pennsylvania believe that decisions are made widely throughout organization, although decisions are well integrated through linking processes provided by overlapping groups.

Table 7.4: Frequency Distribution of Information for Decision Making

<i>“How adequate and accurate is the information available at the place where the decisions are made?”</i>	NY		PA		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
5 – Relatively adequate and accurate information available based on efficient flow of information	6	31.6	7	31.8	13	31.7
4 – Reasonably adequate and accurate information available	12	63.1	13	59.1	25	61.0
3 – Information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate	1	5.3	2	9.1	3	7.3
Total ^a	19	100.0	22	100.0	41	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

Table 7.4 shows how adequate and accurate the information available is at the place where the decisions are made. 63.1 percent of the respondents in New York and 59.1 percent of the respondents in Pennsylvania perceive that reasonably adequate and accurate information is available for decision making. A similar proportion of the respondents in New York (31.6 percent) and Pennsylvania (31.8 percent) perceive that relatively adequate and accurate information is available for decision making through efficient flow of information. A relatively low proportion for both states indicates that information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate.

Table 7.5 presents the extent to which the involvement and support of other organizations contributes to the decision making capacity of organization. A substantial proportion of the respondents in New York (57.9 percent) and Pennsylvania (63.6 percent) perceive that the involvement and support of other organizations made some contributions to the decision making capacity of their organizations to implement. Interestingly, 26.3 percent of the respondents in New York believe that the involvement and support of other organizations made relatively little contribution to the decision making capacity, while 31.8 percent of the respondents in Pennsylvania believe that other organizations made a substantial contribution to the decision making capacity.

Table 7.5: Frequency Distribution of Involvement of Other Organizations in Decision Making

<i>“To what extent do the involvement and support of other organizations help you make decisions?”</i>	NY		PA		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
5 – Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions	2	10.5	7	31.8	9	22.0
4 – Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions	11	57.9	14	63.6	25	61.0
3 – Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process	5	26.3	1	4.6	6	14.6
2 – Other organizations contribute little or nothing to the implementation of decisions	1	5.3	0	0.0	1	2.4
Total ^a	19	100.0	22	100.0	41	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

7.1.2. Analysis of Variance for Decision Making Capacity of Organizations

Analysis of variance provides methods for comparing the means of a single variable for several populations. It examines whether the means of a range of groups for a dependent variable are significantly different or not (Weiss, 2002). In the analysis of variance, levels of decision

making, information for decision making, and the involvement of other organizations in decision making are regarded as dependent variables to explain change in the decision making capacity of the organizations. State is an independent variable in this analysis⁴⁸. I compare means for each of the dependent variables between New York and Pennsylvania to examine if two states with different TANF administrative systems show differences in decision making capacity. I combine the data for both New York and Pennsylvania to create a dataset of 41 cases.

Table 7.6: Descriptive Statistics of Decision Making Capacity of Organizations in New York and Pennsylvania

Variables	Case	N	%	Mean	Std. Dev.
Levels of Decision Making	NY	19	46.3	3.47	.841
	PA	22	53.7	3.45	.739
	Total ^a	41	100.0	3.46	.778
Information for Decision Making	NY	19	46.3	4.26	.562
	PA	22	53.7	4.23	.612
	Total	41	100.0	4.24	.582
Involvement of Other Organizations	NY	19	46.3	3.74	.733
	PA	22	53.7	4.27	.550
	Total	41	100.0	4.02	.689

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Total Respondents

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

The descriptive statistics of the variables that explain the characteristics of the decision making capacity of the organizations are shown in Table 7.6. There is no significant difference between the means of the two states, New York and Pennsylvania, for two variables, levels of decision making and information for decision making. The difference between the means for involvement of other organizations in decision making is significant. Table 7.7 presents the comparison of means for New York and Pennsylvania.

⁴⁸ State is coded 0 for Pennsylvania and coded 1 for New York.

Table 7.7: Analysis of Variance of Decision Making Capacity of Organizations in New York and Pennsylvania

Variables	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Levels of Decision Making	41 ^a	Factor	.004	1	.004	.006	.939
		Error	24.191	39	.620		
		Total	24.195	40			
Information for Decision Making	41	Factor	.013	1	.013	.038	.847
		Error	13.548	39	.347		
		Total	13.561	40			
Involvement of Other Organizations in Decision Making	41	Factor	2.928	1	2.928	7.115	.011*
		Error	16.048	39	.411		
		Total	18.976	40			

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

* Significant at less than .05 level

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

The analysis of variance in Table 7.7 shows that the means of New York and Pennsylvania for two variables, levels of decision making (p-value = .939) and information for decision making (p-value = .847), are approximately equal. Means for levels in organization at which decisions for TANF programs are formally made, and the adequacy and accuracy of information available for decision making are not significantly different between New York and Pennsylvania. It also shows that the means for the extent to which the involvement and support of other organizations contributes to the decision making capacity differ significantly from each other at .05 significance level (p-value = .011). The descriptive statistics or plots can be used to examine how different the two population means are. Table 7.6 shows that the involvement and support of other organizations makes a more substantial contribution to the decision making capacity of the organization in Pennsylvania than in New York.

7.1.3. Chi-Square Test for Decision Making Capacity by Funding Source and Jurisdiction

I examined whether there is an association between types of organizations and decision making capacity. I used a cross-tabulation and Chi-square test to examine the decision making capacity by types of organizations with different funding source and jurisdiction. Due to the small number of cases (N = 41), this analysis is a preliminary analysis that explores a pattern of the relationship for further analysis with large datasets. I do not claim that the data support any hypothesis, because the small datasets have not met the assumptions of Chi-Square test that all expected frequencies in a cross-tabulation of each of the three variables by types of organizations must be greater than 1 and at most 20 percent of these frequencies must be less than 5. Rather, through this preliminary and exploratory analysis, I seek for a trend in the relationship that can be validated in further research.

I combined state agencies, county agencies, and city government in New York and Pennsylvania into public organizations, and combined nonprofit organizations and for-profit organizations into nongovernmental agencies to examine the decision making capacity by these two sectors with different funding source and jurisdiction. Table 7.8 reports the frequency distribution of 41 survey respondents by funding source and jurisdiction. 73.2 percent of the respondents represent public organizations, 26.8 percent of the respondents represent nongovernmental organizations.

Table 7.8: Frequency Distribution of Respondents by Funding Source and Jurisdiction

Public		Nongovernmental		Total ^a	
N	%	N	%	N	%
30	73.2	11	26.8	41	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

Table 7.9 reports the result of a cross-tabulation of involvement of other organizations in decision making by funding source and jurisdiction in the two states. This preliminary and exploratory analysis presents a significant relationship only among three variables. Chi-square test shows a significant association between types of organizations and involvement of other organizations in decision making. This finding reveals that organizations with different funding source and jurisdiction are associated with the extent to which the involvement and support of other organizations help the decision making. More importantly, it underlies the critical characteristic of interorganizational relationships for collaboration and partnership in implementing TANF programs to changes in the decision making capacity of organizations.

Table 7.9: Cross-Tabulation of Involvement of Other Organizations by Funding Source

<i>“To what extent do the involvement and support of other organizations help you make decisions?”</i>							
Extent	Value	Public		Nongovernmental		Total ^a	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Substantial contribution	5	9	30.0	0	0.0	9	22.0
Some contribution	4	19	63.3	6	54.5	25	61.0
Relatively little	3	2	6.7	4	36.4	6	14.6
Little or nothing	2	0	0.0	1	9.1	1	2.4
Total ^a		30	100.0	11	100.0	41	100.0

Chi-Square = 10.980 (df = 3); p = .012*

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^a NY = 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; PA = 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

* Significant at less than .05

Legend: 5 – Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions

4 – Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions

3 – Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process

2 – Other organizations contribute little or nothing to the implementation of decisions

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh

7.1.4. Decision Making Capacity by Different Types of Organizations in Each State

I compare means for each of the three variables by four different types of organizations in each state to examine if the different types of organizations engaged in TANF implementation show

differences in their decision making capacity. I conducted analysis of variance to compare the means of these different types of organizations for the three variables and also conducted Chi-Square test to examine whether there is an association between four different types of organizations and change in decision making capacity for both New York and Pennsylvania. However, the results of these analyses were not included in this research, due to the limitations of a small number of cases that did not meet the criteria for application of these methods. For example, the Chi-square test has not met the assumptions, because some expected frequencies in the cross-tabulation were less than 1 and more than 50 percent of these frequencies were less than 5, regardless of p-values. Instead, I presented the number of cases for each type of organizations with the percentages and examined a pattern of the means of these different types of organizations using descriptive statistics and means plot.

Table 7.10 reports the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics of the three variables that capture the characteristics of the decision making capacity of organizations by different types of organizations in New York. 42.1 percent of the survey respondents represent state agencies, 31.6 percent represent county agency, 21 percent represent nonprofit organizations, and 5.3 percent represent for-profit organizations. Although sample size is small, state agencies appear to have more positive changes in their decision making capacity than other organizations in New York, particularly for two variables, information for decision making and involvement of other organizations in decision making. In contrast, for-profit organizations appear to have relatively negative changes in the decision making capacity, in reference to these two variables, information for decision making and involvement of other organizations in decision making.

Table 7.10: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of Decision Making Capacity by Different Types of Organizations in New York

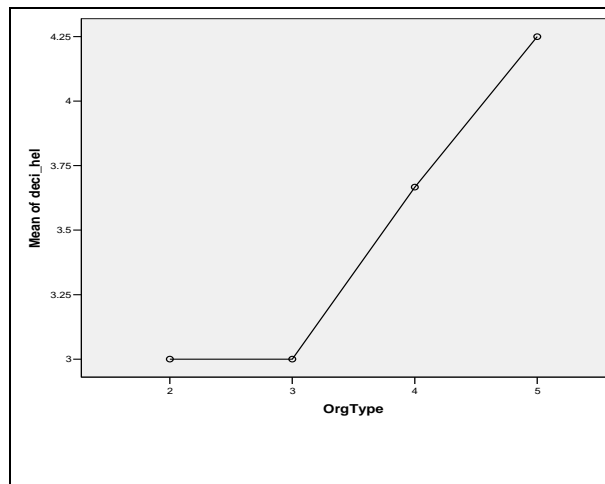
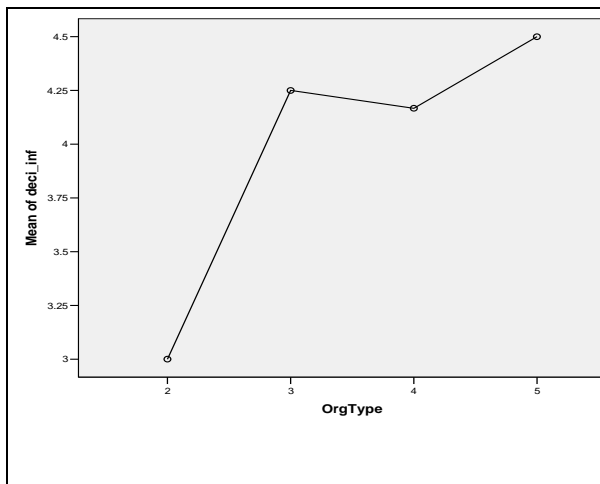
<i>Variable: Levels of Decision Making</i>											
<i>“At what levels in the organization are decisions for TANF programs formally made?”</i>											
Level	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Widely in organization	5	1	12.5	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	2	10.5
Specific at lower level	4	4	50.0	1	16.7	1	25.0	1	100.0	7	36.9
Policy at top	3	3	37.5	4	66.7	1	25.0	0	0.0	8	42.1
Most decisions at top	2	0	0.0	1	16.7	1	25.0	0	0.0	2	10.5
Total ^a		8	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	19	100.0
Mean		3.75		3.00		3.50		4.00		3.47	
Std Dev		.707		.632		1.291		N/A ^b		.841	
Legend: 5 – Decisions made widely throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups 4 – Broad policy decisions made at the top of the organization, but more specific decisions made at lower levels 3 – Policy decisions made at the top, many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels, but usually checked with the top before action 2 – Most decisions made at the top of organization											
<i>Variable: Information for Decision Making</i>											
<i>“How adequate and accurate is the information available at the place where the decisions are made?”</i>											
Extent	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relatively adequate	5	4	50.0	1	16.7	1	25.0	0	0.0	6	31.6
Reasonably adequate	4	4	50.0	5	83.3	3	75.0	0	0.0	12	63.1
Somewhat inadequate	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	5.3
Total ^a		8	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	19	100.0
Mean		4.50		4.17		4.25		3.00		4.26	
Std Dev		.535		.408		.500		N/A ^b		.562	
Legend: 5 – Relatively adequate and accurate information available based on efficient flow of information 4 – Reasonably adequate and accurate information available 3 – Information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate											
<i>Variable: Involvement of Other Organizations</i>											
<i>“To what extent do the involvement and support of other organizations help you make decisions?”</i>											
Extent	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Substantial contribution	5	2	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	10.5
Some contribution	4	6	75.0	4	66.7	1	25.0	0	0.0	11	57.9
Relatively little	3	0	0.0	2	33.3	2	50.0	1	100.0	5	26.3
Little or nothing	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	5.3
Total ^a		8	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	19	100.0
Mean		4.25		3.67		3.00		3.00		3.74	
Std Dev		.463		.516		.816		N/A ^b		.733	
Legend: 5 – Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 4 – Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 3 – Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process 2 – Other organizations contribute little or nothing to the implementation of decisions											

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percent of Respondents Column

^a 19 Respondents from 8 Organizations; ^b N/A due to only 1 respondent

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Means plots in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show how different the means of four different types of organizations for these two variables are. Due to the limitations of a small number of cases for the two states, means plots were presented instead of other statistics, such as multiple comparisons that examine which pairs of means are different among the means of four different types of organizations. As shown in Figure 7.1, in New York, state agency, county agency, and nonprofit organizations appear to have a positive perspective that relatively adequate and accurate information is available for decision making based on a flow of information, while for-profit organizations appear to have a negative perspective that information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate for decision making. Figure 7.2 shows that, in New York, the state agency appears to have a positive perspective that the involvement and support of other organizations makes a substantial contribution to the decision making capacity for the implementation of TANF programs, while nonprofit and for-profit organizations appear to have a negative perspective that it makes relatively little contribution to the decision making capacity.



Legend: 5 for state agency, 4 for county agency, 3 for nonprofit, and 2 for for-profit organization
 Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

Figure 7.1: Means Plot for Information for Decision Making: New York

Figure 7.2: Means Plot for Involvement of Other Organizations: New York

Table 7.11: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of Decision Making Capacity by Different Types of Organizations in Pennsylvania

<i>Variable: Levels of Decision Making</i>											
<i>“At what levels in the organization are decisions for TANF programs formally made?”</i>											
Level	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Widely in organization	5	1	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5
Specific at lower level	4	5	55.6	3	60.0	1	16.7	1	50.0	10	45.5
Policy at top	3	3	33.3	2	40.0	3	50.0	1	50.0	9	40.9
Most decisions at top	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	0	0.0	2	9.1
Total ^a		9	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	22	100.0
Mean		3.78		3.60		2.83		3.50		3.45	
Std Dev		.667		.548		.753		.707		.739	
Legend: 5 – Decisions made widely throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups 4 – Broad policy decisions made at the top of the organization, but more specific decisions made at lower levels 3 – Policy decisions made at the top, many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels, but usually checked with the top before action 2 – Most decisions made at the top of organization											
<i>Variable: Information for Decision Making</i>											
<i>“How adequate and accurate is the information available at the place where the decisions are made?”</i>											
Extent	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relatively adequate	5	2	22.2	2	40.0	1	16.7	2	100.0	7	31.8
Reasonably adequate	4	6	66.7	3	60.0	4	66.7	0	0.0	13	59.1
Somewhat inadequate	3	1	11.1	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	2	9.1
Total ^a		9	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	22	100.0
Mean		4.11		4.40		4.00		5.00		4.23	
Std Dev		.601		.548		.632		.000		.612	
Legend: 5 – Relatively adequate and accurate information available based on efficient flow of information 4 – Reasonably adequate and accurate information available 3 – Information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate											
<i>Variable: Involvement of Other Organizations</i>											
<i>“To what extent do the involvement and support of other organizations help you make decisions?”</i>											
Extent	Value	State Agency		County Agency		Nonprofit		For-Profit		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Substantial contribution	5	3	33.3	3	60.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	7	31.8
Some contribution	4	6	66.7	2	40.0	5	83.3	1	50.0	14	63.7
Relatively little	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	4.5
Total ^a		9	100.0	5	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	22	100.0
Mean		4.33		4.60		3.83		4.50		4.27	
Std Dev		.500		.548		.408		.707		.550	
Legend: 5 – Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 4 – Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions 3 – Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process											

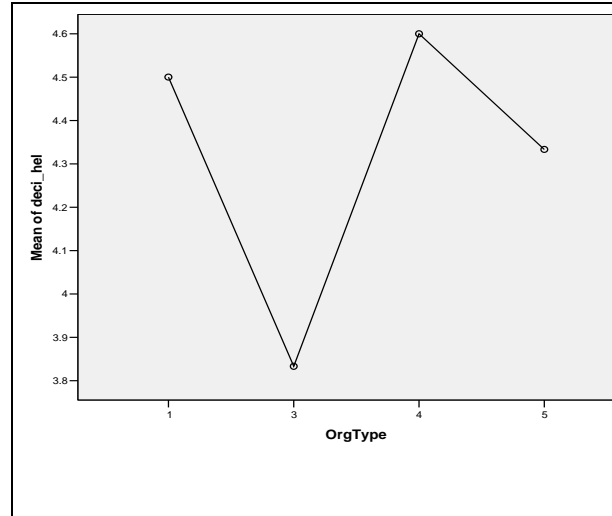
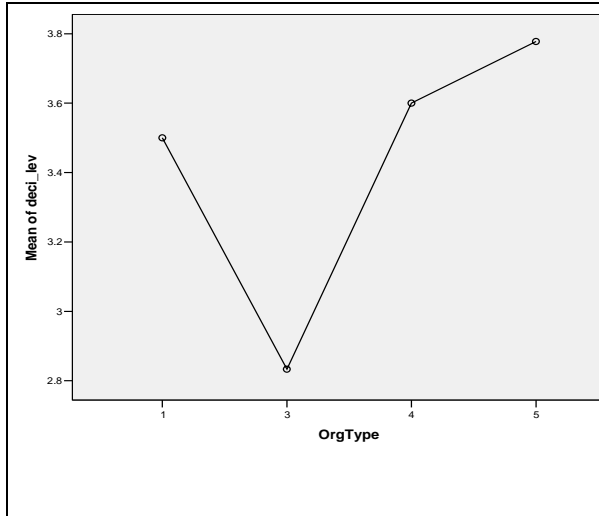
N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^a 22 Respondents from 8 Organizations

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Table 7.11 reports the frequency distribution and descriptive statistics of the variables by four different types of organizations in Pennsylvania. 40.9 percent of the total respondents represent state agencies, including the Allegheny County Assistance Office of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, 22.7 percent represent county agency, 27.3 percent represent nonprofit organizations, and 9.1 percent represent city government. In contrast to New York, the county agency and the city government in Pennsylvania appear to have more positive changes in their decision making capacity than other organizations, while nonprofit organizations appear to have relatively negative perspectives on two variables, levels of decision making and involvement of other organizations in decision making.

As in New York, plots of means were presented to show the differences in means of four different types of organizations for these two variables, due to the small samples. Figure 7.3 shows that, in Pennsylvania, state agency, county agency, and city government appear to have a positive perspective that broad policy decisions are made at the top of organization and more specific decisions are made at lower levels of authority, while nonprofit organizations appear to have a relatively negative perspective that many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels of authority are usually checked with the top of organization before implementation. Figure 7.4 shows that, in Pennsylvania, state agency, county agency, and city government appear to have a positive perspective that the involvement and support of other organizations makes a substantial contribution to their decision making capacity for the implementation of TANF programs. In contrast, nonprofit organizations appear to have a relatively weak perspective that it makes some contributions to their decision making capacity for the implementation of TANF programs in Pennsylvania.



Legend: 5 for state agency, 4 for county agency, 3 for nonprofit, and 1 for city government
 Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

Figure 7.3: Means Plot for Levels of Decision Making: Pennsylvania

Figure 7.4: Means Plot for Involvement of Other Organizations: Pennsylvania

7.2. ANALYZING THE EFFECT OF THE EVOLUTION AND CHANGE IN TANF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE ON TANF CLIENTS

7.2.1. National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) Data

To analyze the effect of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure on policy, I examined changes in the circumstances of TANF clients by using the “Family Respondent” data file of the National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) data set. Although the NSAF data were based on all 50 states across the nation, it provided a more comprehensive assessment of the well-being of adults and children, and disclosed striking differences among 13 focal states⁴⁹. Since the “Family Respondent” data file among 9 data files of the NSAF dealt with

⁴⁹ Each of 13 focal states occupies more than 5 % of the total respondents and each of other states occupies less than 5 % of those respondents. In the third round of the survey, New York occupies 5.42 % of the total respondents

most of “welfare program participation” data, data from this file taken during the third round of the survey were used in this analysis⁵⁰. Among a wider range of variables from the file, I selected variables that explain the circumstances of TANF clients, in comparison with the former AFDC recipients. These variables include transitional support, job training from a government-sponsored program, job retention services, earnings of families, and reasons for leaving welfare. Although most scales of measurements are binary (e.g., yes or no and below or above), the scale of measurement for a question of reasons for leaving welfare is nominal that are classified into 14 categories. Variables, survey questions, description of measurements, and scale of measurements are presented in Table 7.12.

I first compare and contrast change in each of three variables for AFDC recipients and TANF recipients in New York and Pennsylvania: transitional support; job retention services; and, reasons for leaving welfare. I then compare the mean responses of the two groups for earnings and job training program participation using analysis of variance. Table 7.13 shows the number of survey participants for New York and Pennsylvania, as well as the nation. 43,806 people in the nation participated in the survey. 2,377 people in New York participated in the survey and this subset represents 5.4 percent of the total number of survey participants. In Pennsylvania, 646 people participated in the survey and represent 1.5 percent of the total number of survey participants.

(2,377 respondents out of 43,806 respondents), and Pennsylvania occupies 1.47 % of the total (646 respondents out of 43,806 respondents).

⁵⁰ The NSAF is composed of nine data files: Focal Child, Adult Pair, Random Adult, Childless Adult, Family Respondent, Person, Household, Social Family, and CPS Family. Each of the files deals with different social program for low income people (e.g. Random Adult Data file deals with health care or Family Respondent data file deals with welfare program).

Table 7.12: Variables, Questions, and Measurements for Descriptive Analysis and Analysis of Variance

Names of Variables	Characteristics	Questions	Description of Measurements	Scale of Measurements
KASHLP1C: Helps with expenses after welfare	Transitional Support/Client Assessment	In the first 3 months after leaving welfare, did you get help from government programs with the following needs for your family?	In the first 3 months after leaving welfare, whether AFDC or TANF clients received vouchers, coupons, or some other type of help from government programs to pay for expenses like rent or costs for transportation to work.	Yes(1)/No(2)
KASJOBT: Help with finding a job or training	Job Retention Services/Client Assessment	Did you get any help from a government program in finding a job or special training for a job?	In the first 3 months after leaving welfare, whether AFDC or TANF clients were enrolled in a government-sponsored program designed to help people find a job or train people for a job. This definition included programs sponsored by federal, state, or local governments, even if they were run by private or non-profit organizations.	Yes(1)/No(2)
KASLEFTA: Left welfare reason	Reasons for Leaving Welfare	Why did you leave welfare?	Why TANF clients left welfare.	14 categories ^a
LTRAIN: Taken job training courses by welfare recipient	Job Training	During 2001, did [you or spouse] take courses or apprentice programs that trained for a specific job, trade, or occupation?	Whether or not AFDC or TANF clients took courses or participated in a job training program the previous year.	Yes(1)/No(2)
JABPOV: Income with respect to the poverty line	Earnings	For the purpose of this survey, it would be important to get at least a range for the total income received by all the members of your family in 2001. Would you say that this income was?	Whether the family income of AFDC or TANF clients in 2001 fell above or below the federal poverty level.	Below(1)/Above(2)

^a Scale of measurement for a reason for leaving welfare is as follows: 1 = got a job; 2 = same job, worked more hours, or got a raise; 3 = got a better job; 4 = married/remarried; 5 = moved in with family; 6 = moved to another county/state; 7 = did not want it or need it/uninterested; 8 = received money from another source; 9 = system too frustrating/too much hassle; 10 = earnings too high; 11 = income too high; 12 = assets were too high; 13 = did not follow programs rules; and, 14 = unclassifiable

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File Codebook

Table 7.13: Frequency Distribution of NSAF Survey Participants of New York and Pennsylvania

	New York		Pennsylvania		U.S. Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Survey Participants	2,377	5.4	646	1.5	43,806	100.0

N = Number of Participants; % = Percentage of U.S. Total Participants

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

I classified these survey respondents into former AFDC recipients and TANF recipients since 2000 by using two variables. These two variables identify people who ever received AFDC benefits and people who have received TANF benefits since January 2000⁵¹. Table 7.14 reports that, in New York, 88 respondents out of 2,377 survey respondents are former AFDC recipients and represent 2.7 percent of the AFDC recipients in the national sample. Twenty-one (21) respondents are TANF recipients and represent 5.6 percent of the TANF recipients in the national sample. In Pennsylvania, 26 respondents of 646 survey respondents are AFDC recipients and 8 respondents are TANF recipients.

Table 7.14: Frequency Distribution of AFDC and TANF Recipients among NSAF Respondents

	New York		Pennsylvania		U.S. Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
AFDC Recipients	88	2.7	26	0.8	3,213	100.0
TANF Recipients	21	5.6	8	2.1	374	100.0
Total	109	3.0	34	0.9	3,587	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of U.S. Total Respondents

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

⁵¹ Questions for these two variables are as follows:

- KAFDC - Have you ever received benefits from AFDC in your name or in that of any of your children?
- KARJAN95 - Did you or your children receive any TANF benefits since January 2000?

Source: The Urban Institute. (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File Codebook

7.2.2. Transitional Support

In order to assess transitional support for welfare recipients, I examined whether or not the old AFDC clients and TANF clients received vouchers, coupons, or some other type of assistance from government programs to pay for expenses, such as rent or costs for transportation to work, in the first 3 months after leaving welfare. Assistance from government programs in the first 3 months after leaving welfare is one of the most important ways to help welfare recipients retain their jobs, and to track where they are after leaving welfare. A survey question for this variable and frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for New York and Pennsylvania, as well as the nation are presented in Table 7.15 below.

Table 7.15: Transitional Support for AFDC and TANF Recipients

Variable	KASHLP1C - Helps with expenses after welfare											
Question	<i>"In the first 3 months after leaving welfare, did you get help from government programs with the needs for your family to pay for expenses like rent or costs for transportation to work?"</i>											
	New York				Pennsylvania				U.S. Total			
	AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients		AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients		AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Received	2	20.0	5	55.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	28	11.4	32	21.9
Not received	8	80.0	4	44.4	4	100.0	4	100.0	218	88.6	114	78.1
Total	10	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	4	100.0	246	100.0	146	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.15 reports that a small number of AFDC and TANF recipients responded to this question for New York and Pennsylvania. As in most states, New York and Pennsylvania did not provide a substantial amount of assistance from government programs to the AFDC clients in the first 3 months after leaving welfare. In contrast, 55.6 percent of the TANF recipients in New York

received assistance from government programs to pay for the expenses in the first 3 months after leaving welfare, a proportion greater than 21.9 percent of the TANF clients in the national sample. None of the TANF clients in Pennsylvania received any assistance from government programs to pay for the expenses in the first 3 months after leaving welfare. Interestingly, New York provided more support and assistance from government programs to pay for the expenses in the first 3 months after leaving welfare to both AFDC recipients and TANF recipients than Pennsylvania and the national average.

7.2.3. Job Retention Services after Leaving Welfare

Table 7.16 reports job retention services after leaving welfare of welfare recipients in New York and Pennsylvania, as well as the nation. I examined, in the first 3 months after leaving welfare, whether or not AFDC and TANF clients were enrolled in a government-sponsored program designed to help people find a job or train people for retaining a job. This program includes programs sponsored by the federal, state, or local governments, although these programs are run by for-profit agencies or non-profit organizations through contracts or subcontracts in two states.

Table 7.16: Job Retention Services for AFDC and TANF Recipients

Variable	KASJOBT - Help with finding a job or training											
Question	<i>“In the first 3 months after leaving welfare, did you get any help from a government program in finding a job or special training for a job?”</i>											
	New York				Pennsylvania				U.S. Total			
	AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients		AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients		AFDC Recipients		TANF Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Received	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	7.7	13	8.8
Not received	10	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	4	100.0	228	92.3	135	91.2
Total	10	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	4	100.0	247	100.0	148	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

In the national sample, more than 90 percent of both AFDC recipients (92.3 percent) and TANF recipients (91.2 percent) did not receive assistance from government programs in finding a job or training for a job in the first 3 months after leaving welfare. None of the AFDC recipients and the TANF recipients in either New York or Pennsylvania was enrolled in government-sponsored programs in finding a job or special training for a job in the first 3 months after leaving welfare. New York and Pennsylvania did not provide assistance for job retention to the TANF recipients in the first 3 months after leaving welfare and the assistance for the TANF recipients in the national sample was not significantly different from the assistance for the former AFDC recipients. This is because, until the reauthorization of welfare reform law in 2002, states invested a substantial amount of resources and money in reducing welfare rolls and helping the TANF recipients find jobs before leaving welfare rather than helping them retain their jobs after leaving welfare.

7.2.4. Reasons for Leaving Welfare

Table 7.17: Number and Percentage of TANF Recipients Who Left Welfare

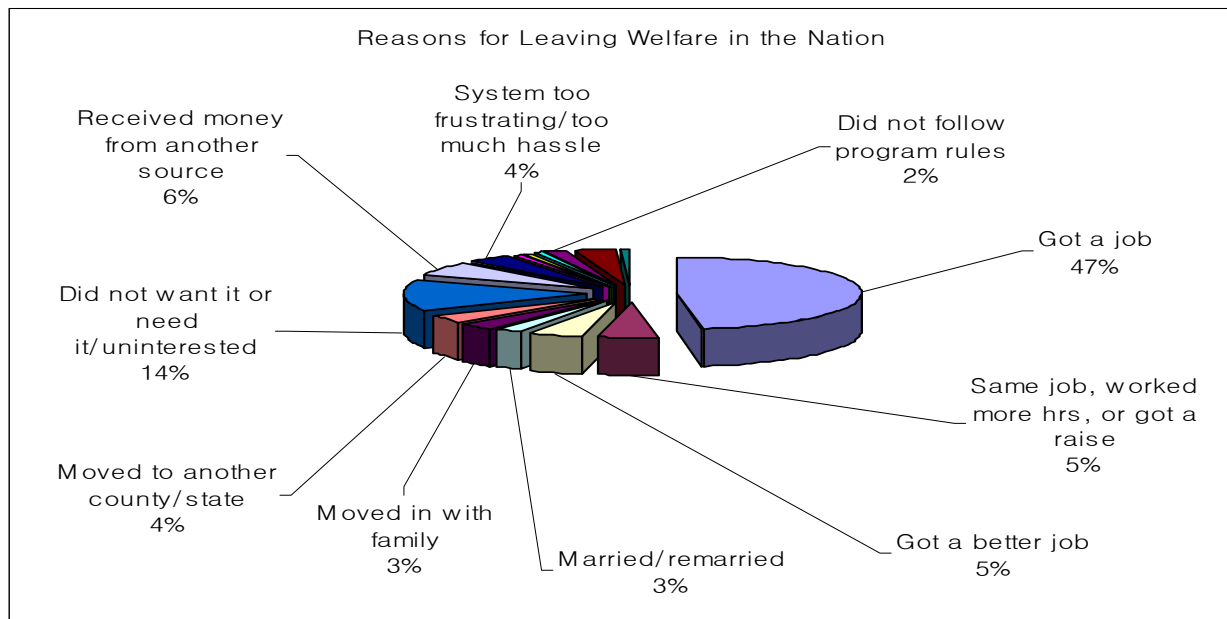
Variable	KASLEFTA					
Question	“Why did you leave welfare?”					
	New York		Pennsylvania		U.S. Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TANF Recipients	21	5.6	8	2.1	374	100.0

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of U.S. Total Respondents

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

It is important to examine why the TANF clients left welfare because more than a half of the clients on welfare rolls have left welfare since the implementation of welfare reform in 1997. A survey question for this variable and frequency distributions for New York and Pennsylvania, as

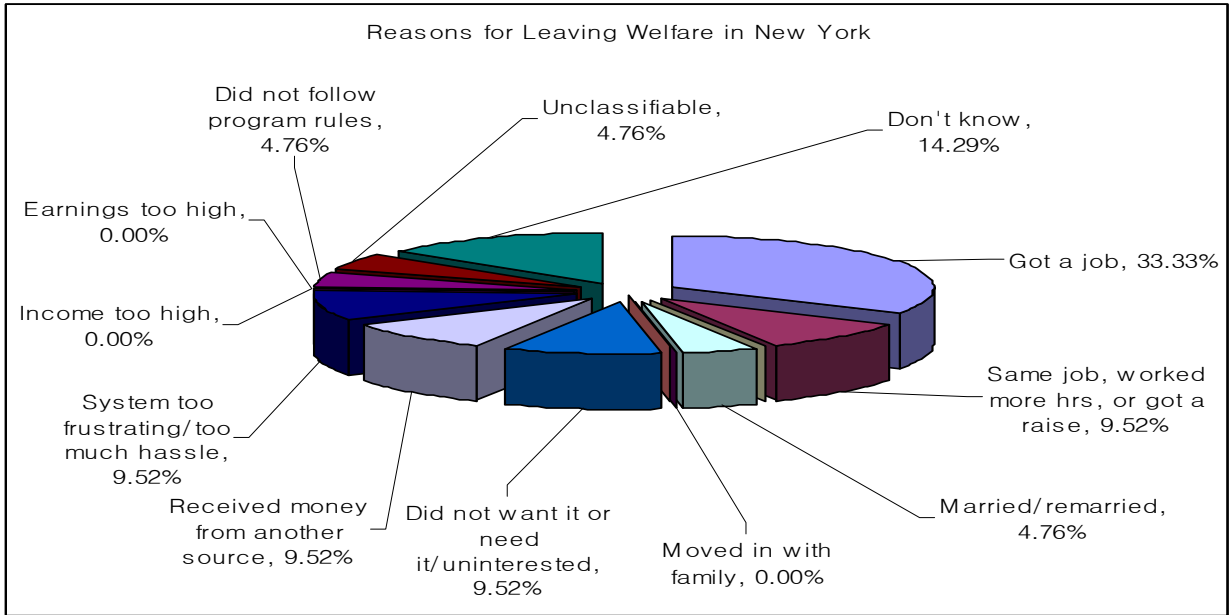
well as the nation are presented in Table 7.17 and the following three Figures. Figure 7.5 demonstrates that 57 percent of the TANF clients in the national sample left welfare due to finding a job, working more hours, or finding a better job. Interestingly, 24 percent of these clients left welfare, as they did not want to depend on welfare, received money from other sources, and became frustrated about welfare system. 10 percent of the TANF clients in the national sample left welfare due to their moving or marriage.



Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

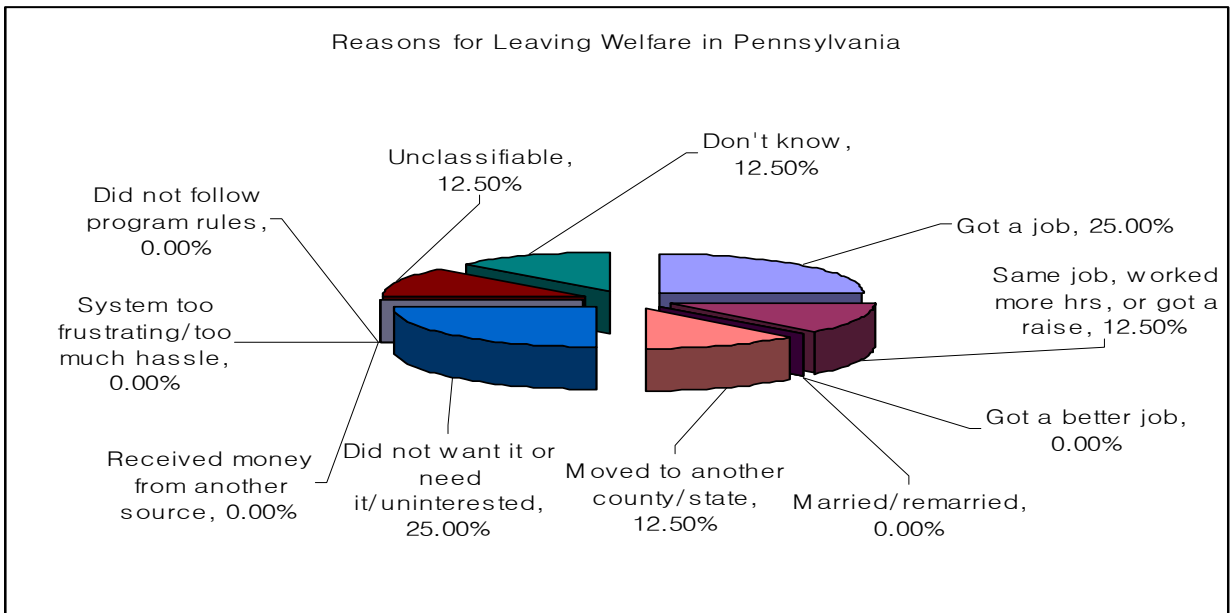
Figure 7.5: Reasons for Leaving Welfare of TANF Recipients in the Nation

In New York, as shown in Figure 7.6, about 43 percent of the TANF clients left welfare after finding a job, working more hours, or finding a better job, but this proportion is less than the national average (57 percent). It is interesting that about 28.5 percent of these clients left welfare, because they did not want it, received money from other sources, or felt the system too frustrating, and this proportion is greater than the national average (24 percent).



Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Figure 7.6: Reasons for Leaving Welfare of TANF Recipients in New York



Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Figure 7.7: Reasons for Leaving Welfare of TANF Recipients in Pennsylvania

In contrast, Figure 7.7 shows varying reasons for leaving welfare of the TANF clients in Pennsylvania. 37.5 percent of the TANF clients in Pennsylvania left welfare due to employment. This proportion for employment in Pennsylvania is less than in the national sample (57 percent) and in New York (43 percent). A fourth of the TANF clients in Pennsylvania left welfare, because they no longer wanted to depend on welfare. The proportion of people who left welfare due to employment related issues in New York and Pennsylvania is less than in the national sample, although these two states have used different administrative systems for the TANF programs.

7.2.5. Analysis of Variance for Family Income of AFDC and TANF Recipients

I used analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explain the effect of different patterns of TANF implementation in New York and Pennsylvania on the TANF clients, in comparison with the effect on the old AFDC clients. The ANOVA compares the means of the two groups in response to treatments (e.g., AFDC or TANF) and examines whether the difference between the means of the two groups is significant.

In order to examine earnings of the former AFDC recipients and TANF recipients, I examined the NSAF data regarding whether family income in 2001 fell above or below the federal poverty threshold⁵² (see Appendix F for the measure in 2001), since the NSAF used binary measures for family income below or above the poverty threshold rather than asking directly about how much family income is. The NSAF defines family income as the total income

⁵² The federal poverty threshold is one of the federal poverty measures with the poverty guidelines. The thresholds are used mainly for statistical purposes in that all official poverty population figures are calculated using the poverty thresholds, not the poverty guidelines. Both measures are updated each year by the Census Bureau. For poverty thresholds by size of family and number of children since 1980, see poverty thresholds of the Census Bureau, available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/poverty/threshld.html>.

received by all the members of a family in 2001. Since it coded 1 for family income below the poverty threshold and coded 2 for family income above the poverty threshold, as shown in Table 7.12, I first examine frequency distributions of the respondents who report family income below or above the poverty threshold. Based on these frequency distributions, I then compare mean responses of a pair of groups for family income that is below or above the poverty threshold.

The analysis of variance compares the mean responses of three pairs of groups for family income below or above the poverty threshold. I first compare the mean responses of AFDC recipients and non-AFDC recipients in New York and Pennsylvania to assess family income in reference to the poverty threshold. I then compare the mean responses of TANF recipients and non-TANF recipients in each of the two states. I finally compare the AFDC recipients and the TANF recipients mean responses for family income that is below or above the poverty threshold to examine the effect of TANF implementation on family income of the TANF clients, in comparison to the AFDC recipients.

A survey question from the NSAF regarding whether family income of AFDC and non-AFDC recipients fell above or below the federal poverty threshold, and the frequency distributions and descriptive statistics of the responses of the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients in New York and Pennsylvania are presented in Table 7.18. Table 7.18 shows the small subsamples of AFDC recipients in both states, in comparison to the non-AFDC recipients. The NSAF asked a question of whether the survey respondents have ever received AFDC benefits to classify the survey participants into AFDC recipients and non-AFDC recipients. A small number of respondents in New York, in Pennsylvania, as well as in the national sample reported that they have ever received the AFDC benefits, while a large number of respondents reported that they never received the AFDC benefit.

Table 7.18: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients Responses for Family Income Below or Above Poverty Threshold

Variable	JABPOV - Income with respect to the poverty threshold							
Question	<i>“For the purpose of this survey, it would be important to get at least a range for the total income received by all the members of your family in 2001. With respect to the federal poverty level, would you say that this income was?”</i>							
	New York				Pennsylvania			
	AFDC Recipients		Non-AFDC Recipients		AFDC Recipients		Non-AFDC Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1=Below	10	62.5	65	36.3	3	30.0	14	20.9
2=Above	6	37.5	114	63.7	7	70.0	53	79.1
Total	16	100.0	179	100.0	10	100.0	67	100.0
Mean response	1.375		1.637		1.700		1.791	
Std Dev	.5000		.4823		.4830		.4096	
Total N ^a	195				77			

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^aTotal N = Sum of Number of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.18 shows that 16 AFDC recipients and 179 non-AFDC recipients in New York, and 10 AFDC recipients and 67 non-AFDC recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether their family income was below or above the poverty threshold. Table 7.18 reports that the family income of 62.5 percent of the AFDC recipients in New York was below the federal poverty threshold, while the family income of 30.0 percent of the AFDC recipients in Pennsylvania was below the poverty threshold. In contrast, the family income of 36.3 percent of the non-AFDC recipients in New York and 20.9 percent of the non-AFDC recipients in Pennsylvania was below the poverty threshold. Referring to the coding of the binary measures of the NSAF for family income below the poverty threshold (=1) or family income above the poverty threshold (=2), in New York, the mean responses of 179 non-AFDC recipients (1.637) and 16 AFDC recipients (1.375) show that a larger proportion of the non-AFDC recipients have family income that is above the poverty threshold than a proportion of the AFDC recipients. In Pennsylvania, the mean responses of 67

non-AFDC recipients (1.791) and 10 AFDC recipients (1.700) do not show significant differences. An analysis of variance in Table 7.19 shows whether these mean responses of the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients differ significantly.

Table 7.19: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients for Family Income Below or Above Poverty Threshold

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	195	Factor	1.007	1	1.007	4.306	.039*
		Error	45.147	193	.234		
		Total	46.154	194			
Pennsylvania	77	Factor	.072	1	.072	.411	.524
		Error	13.175	75	.176		
		Total	13.247	76			

N = Sum of 16 AFDC and 179 Non-AFDC Recipients for NY, Sum of 10 AFDC and 67 Non-AFDC Recipients for PA

* Significant at less than .05 level

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.19 compares the mean responses of the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients in New York and Pennsylvania for family income below or above the federal poverty threshold. For New York, 16 AFDC recipients and 179 non-AFDC recipients mean responses for family income with respect to the poverty threshold differ significantly at .05 significance level (p-value = .039). Data presented in Table 7.18 show that, in New York, a larger proportion of the non-AFDC recipients have family income above the federal poverty threshold (mean = 1.637) than a proportion of the AFDC recipients (mean = 1.375). In contrast, for Pennsylvania, the analysis of variance shows that there is no significant difference between the mean responses of 10 AFDC recipients and 67 low-income people who did not receive the old AFDC benefits for family income that is below or above the federal poverty threshold.

Table 7.20: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients Responses for Family Income Below or Above Poverty Threshold

Variable	JABPOV - Income with respect to the poverty line							
Question	<i>“For the purpose of this survey, it would be important to get at least a range for the total income received by all the members of your family in 2001. With respect to the federal poverty level, would you say that this income was?”</i>							
	New York				Pennsylvania			
	TANF Recipients		Non-TANF Recipients		TANF Recipients		Non-TANF Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1=Below	6	100.0	7	53.8	0	0.0	3	30.0
2=Above	0	0.0	6	46.2	0	0.0	7	70.0
Total	6	100.0	13	100.0	0	0.0	10	100.0
Mean response	1.000		1.462		N/A		1.700	
Std Dev	.0000		.5189		N/A		.4830	
Total N ^a	19				10			

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^aTotal N = Sum of Number of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.20 reports the frequency distributions and descriptive statistics of the responses of TANF recipients and non-TANF recipients in New York and Pennsylvania for family income below or above the poverty threshold. 6 TANF recipients and 13 non-TANF recipients in New York, and 10 non-TANF recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether their family income in 2001 fell above or below the federal poverty threshold. None of the TANF recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether their family income was below or above the poverty threshold. Table 7.20 shows that the family income of all TANF recipients in New York was below the federal poverty threshold and their mean response is 1.000. The family income of 53.8 percent of the non-TANF recipients in New York was below the poverty threshold, while the family income of 46.2 percent of the non-TANF recipients was above the poverty threshold. The mean response of 13 non-TANF recipients is 1.462. The difference in the mean responses of 6 TANF recipients and 13 non-TANF recipients shows that, in New York, a larger proportion of the non-TANF

recipients have family income above the poverty threshold than a proportion of the TANF recipients. Findings from an analysis of variance in the following table show whether the difference in the mean responses of the TANF recipients and non-TANF recipients in New York is statistically significant. In Pennsylvania, 30 percent of the non-TANF recipients reported that family income was below the poverty threshold, while 70 percent of these people reported that it was above the poverty threshold.

Table 7.21: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients for Family Income Below or Above Poverty Threshold

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	19	Factor	.874	1	.874	4.602	.047*
		Error	3.231	17	.190		
		Total	4.105	18			

N = Sum of 6 TANF and 13 Non-TANF Recipients

* Significant at less than .05 level

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.21 reports that, in New York, 6 TANF recipients and 13 non-TANF recipients mean responses for family income below or above the poverty threshold differ significantly at .05 significance level (p-value = .047). Because the number of cases are not sufficient to support this significant finding⁵³ (N = 19, 6 TANF recipients and 13 non-TANF recipients as shown in Table 7.20). I marginally argue that, based on data presented in Table 7.20, in New York, a larger proportion of the non-TANF recipients have family income above the poverty threshold (mean = 1.462) than a proportion of the TANF recipients (mean = 1.000). Since none of the TANF recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether their family income was below or above the poverty

⁵³ A small number of cases (19 cases) were available for this analysis of variance, in comparison with 195 cases available for the analysis of variance for the AFDC clients and other low-income people without a receipt of the AFDC benefits in New York.

threshold, it made it impossible to compare the mean responses of the TANF recipients and non-TANF recipients in Pennsylvania.

Table 7.22: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of AFDC Recipients and TANF Recipients for Family Income Below or Above Poverty Threshold

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	22	Factor	.614	1	.614	3.273	.085
		Error	3.750	20	.187		
		Total	4.364	21			

N = Sum of 16 AFDC Recipients and 6 TANF Recipients

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Based on data presented in the preceding Tables 7.18 (p.201) for the AFDC recipients responses and 7.20 (p. 203) for the TANF recipients responses for family income below or above the poverty threshold, I examined whether the mean responses of 16 AFDC recipients (1.375 from Table 7.18) and 6 TANF recipients (1.000 from Table 7.20) in New York for family income below or above the poverty threshold differ significantly. A finding from an analysis of variance in Table 7.22 shows that the mean responses of the old AFDC recipients and the TANF recipients in New York for family income with respect to the poverty threshold do not differ significantly at .05 significance level. Due to the small number of cases for the TANF recipients and AFDC recipients (N = 22, 16 AFDC recipients as shown in Table 7.18 and 6 TANF recipients as shown in Table 7.20), I can marginally argue that, in New York, the proportions of the TANF recipients with family income below or above the poverty threshold do not significantly differ from the proportions of the AFDC recipients. It implies that the implementation of TANF programs with a wider range of organizations in New York did not

significantly contribute an increase in family income of the TANF clients with respect to the poverty threshold, in comparison to the AFDC recipients.

7.2.6. Analysis of Variance for Job Training Program Participation of AFDC and TANF Recipients

I examined the participation of AFDC and TANF recipients in job training programs in New York and Pennsylvania. In order to compare the participation of AFDC and TANF recipients in job training programs provided by a range of service providers for skill or experience building, I examined the NSAF data regarding whether or not the AFDC or TANF recipients took job training courses or programs in 2001. The NSAF used binary measures for whether they took job training programs (shown in Table 7.12). Since it coded 1 for “yes” (taking job training programs) and 2 for “no” (not taking job training programs), I first examine frequency distributions of the respondents who took or did not take job training programs. I then compare mean responses of a pair of groups for whether or not they took job training programs based on these frequency distributions.

Through a sequence of analyses of variance, I compare the mean responses of three pairs of groups for whether or not they took job training programs. I first compare the mean responses of the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients in New York and Pennsylvania for job training program participation. I then compare the mean responses of the TANF and non-TANF recipients in each of the two states for job training program participation. I finally compare the AFDC recipients and the TANF recipients mean responses for whether or not they took job training programs to assess the effect of the implementation of work-focused TANF programs on job training program participation of the TANF recipients, in comparison to the AFDC recipients.

Table 7.23: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients Responses for Taking or Not Taking Job Training Programs

Variable	LTRAIN - Job training programs taken by welfare recipient							
Question	<i>“During 2001, did [you or spouse] take courses or apprentice programs that trained for a specific job, trade, or occupation?”</i>							
	New York				Pennsylvania			
	AFDC Recipients		Non-AFDC Recipients		AFDC Recipients		Non-AFDC Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1=Yes	9	11.0	12	2.1	2	7.7	2	1.4
2=No	73	89.0	551	97.9	24	92.3	141	98.6
Total	82	100.0	563	100.0	26	100.0	143	100.0
Mean response	1.890		1.979		1.923		1.986	
Std Dev	.3145		.1446		.2717		.1178	
Total N ^a	645				169			

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^aTotal N = Sum of Number of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

A survey question from the NSAF regarding whether the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients took job training programs, and the frequency distributions and descriptive statistics of the responses of these two groups in New York and Pennsylvania are presented in Table 7.23. Table 7.23 shows that 82 AFDC recipients and 563 non-AFDC recipients in New York, and 26 AFDC recipients and 143 non-AFDC recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether or not they took job training courses in 2001. 89 percent of the AFDC recipients in New York and 92.3 percent of the AFDC recipients in Pennsylvania did not take job training courses or programs for a specific job. The proportion of people who did not take job training programs was higher for the non-AFDC recipients samples in both states (97.9 percent for New York and 98.6 for Pennsylvania). In New York, the mean responses of 82 AFDC recipients (1.890) and 563 non-AFDC recipients (1.979) show that a larger proportion of the AFDC recipients took job training courses or programs than the non-AFDC recipients, due to the coding of the binary measures of the NSAF (1 = they took

job training programs and 2 = they did not take job training programs). In Pennsylvania, the mean responses of 26 AFDC recipients (1.923) and 143 non-AFDC recipients (1.986) show a similar result to New York. Findings from an analysis of variance in Table 7.24 show whether these mean responses of the AFDC and non-AFDC recipients for participation in job training programs differ significantly.

Table 7.24: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of AFDC Recipients and Non-AFDC Recipients for Taking or Not Taking Job Training Programs

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	645	Factor	.560	1	.560	18.221	.000**
		Error	19.756	643	.031		
		Total	20.316	644			
Pennsylvania	169	Factor	.087	1	.087	3.811	.053(*)
		Error	3.818	167	.023		
		Total	3.905	168			

N = Sum of 82 AFDC and 563 Non-AFDC Recipients for NY, Sum of 26 AFDC and 143 Non-AFDC Recipients for PA

**Significant at less than .000 level; (*) significant at .05 level (marginal)

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.24 shows that, in New York, the mean responses of 82 AFDC recipients and 563 non-AFDC recipients for taking or not taking job training programs differ significantly ($p\text{-value} \leq .0001$). Data presented in Table 7.23 report that the mean response of 82 AFDC recipients (1.890) is less than that of 563 non-AFDC recipients (1.979). It shows that, in New York, a larger proportion of the AFDC clients took job training programs in 2001 than a proportion of other low-income people who did not receive AFDC benefits. For Pennsylvania, the mean responses of 26 AFDC recipient and 143 non-AFDC recipients differ, but the significance is marginal at .05 level. Data presented in Table 7.23 report that the mean response of the AFDC recipients (1.923) is less than that of the non-AFDC recipients (1.986). I marginally argue that, in

Pennsylvania, a larger proportion of the AFDC recipients took job training courses or programs in 2001 than the non-AFDC recipients.

Table 7.25: Frequency Distributions and Descriptive Statistics of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients Responses for Taking or Not Taking Job Training Programs

Variable	LTRAIN - Taken job training courses by welfare recipient							
Question	<i>“During 2001, did [you or spouse] take courses or apprentice programs that trained for a specific job, trade, or occupation?”</i>							
	New York				Pennsylvania			
	TANF Recipients		Non-TANF Recipients		TANF Recipients		Non-TANF Recipients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1=Yes	4	30.8	6	8.5	0	0.0	2	8.3
2=No	9	69.2	65	91.5	2	100.0	22	91.7
Total	13	100.0	71	100.0	2	100.0	24	100.0
Mean response	1.692		1.915		2.000		1.917	
Std Dev	.4804		.2801		.0000		.2823	
Total N ^a	84				26			

N = Number of Respondents; % = Percentage of Respondents Column

^aTotal N = Sum of Number of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients

Missing values excluded

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

I examined whether the responses of the TANF and non-TANF recipients for taking or not taking job training program differ. Table 7.25 presents the frequency distributions and descriptive statistics of the responses of the TANF and non-TANF recipients in New York and Pennsylvania for job training program participation. 13 TANF recipients and 71 non-TANF recipients in New York, and 2 TANF recipients and 24 non-TANF recipients in Pennsylvania reported whether they took job training courses or programs in 2001. In New York, 30.8 percent of the TANF recipients took job training programs, while 69.2 percent of the TANF recipients did not take job training programs in 2001. None of the TANF recipients in Pennsylvania took job training courses or programs in 2001. For both states, the majority of the non-TANF

recipients did not take job training courses or programs in 2001 (91.5 percent for New York and 91.7 percent for Pennsylvania).

In New York, the mean response of 13 TANF clients (1.692) is less than the mean response of 71 non-TANF recipients (1.915). A larger proportion of the TANF clients took job training programs than the non-TANF recipients. In contrast, in Pennsylvania, the mean response of 2 TANF clients (2.000) is greater than the mean response of 24 non-TANF recipients (1.917). The size of sample is not sufficient to argue that a larger proportion of the non-TANF recipients took job training programs than the TANF clients. Rather, findings from an analysis of variance in the following table show whether these differences in the mean responses are significant.

Table 7.26: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of TANF Recipients and Non-TANF Recipients for Taking or Not Taking Job Training Programs

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	84	Factor	.547	1	.547	5.432	.022*
		Error	8.262	82	.101		
		Total	8.810	83			
Pennsylvania	26	Factor	.013	1	.013	.168	.686
		Error	1.833	24	.076		
		Total	1.846	25			

N = Sum of 13 TANF and 71 Non-TANF Recipients for NY, Sum of 2 TANF and 24 Non-TANF Recipients for PA

*Significant at less than .05 level

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Table 7.26 shows that the mean responses of 13 TANF clients and 71 non-TANF recipients in New York for job training program participation differ significantly (p-value = .022). Based on data presented in Table 7.25, in New York, the mean response of the TANF clients (1.692) significantly differs from that of the non-TANF recipients (1.915) for taking or not taking job training programs. In New York, a larger proportion of the TANF clients took job training

programs than other low-income people who never received TANF benefits. In contrast, the mean responses of 2 TANF recipients and 24 non-TANF recipients in Pennsylvania do not differ significantly. Due to the small number of cases⁵⁴, I marginally argue that, in Pennsylvania, there is no significant difference between the proportions of the TANF recipients and the other low-income people who never received the TANF benefits for job training program participation.

Table 7.27: Analysis of Variance for Mean Responses of AFDC Recipients and TANF Recipients for Taking or Not Taking Job Training Programs

Case	N	Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
New York	95	Factor	.440	1	.440	3.792	.055(*)
		Error	10.781	93	.116		
		Total	11.221	94			
Pennsylvania	28	Factor	.011	1	.011	.155	.697
		Error	1.846	26	.071		
		Total	1.857	27			

N = Sum of 82 AFDC Recipients and 13 TANF Recipients for NY, Sum of 26 AFDC Recipients and 2 TANF Recipients for PA

(*) Significant at .05 level (marginal)

Source: The Urban Institute (2004). NSAF Family Respondent File

Based on data presented in the preceding Tables 7.23 (p. 207) for the responses of the AFDC recipients and 7.25 (p. 209) for the responses of the TANF clients for job training program participation, I examined the mean response of the TANF clients for taking or not taking job training programs, in comparison with the AFDC recipients in New York and Pennsylvania. Table 7.27 reports that, in New York, the mean responses of 13 TANF clients and 82 AFDC recipients for job training program participation differ, but the significance (.055) is marginal at

⁵⁴ It notes that a relatively small number of cases (26 cases) were available for this analysis of variance in comparison with 169 cases available for the ANOVA for the AFDC clients and low-income people without a receipt of AFDC in Pennsylvania and 645 cases available for the ANOVA for the TANF clients and low-income people without a receipt of TANF in New York.

.05 level. Data shown in Tables 7.23 and 7.25 report that, in New York, the mean response of the TANF clients (1.692) is less than the mean response of the AFDC recipients (1.890) for the participation in job training programs. I marginally argue that, in New York, a larger proportion of the TANF clients took job training programs than the AFDC recipients. Because a broader range of nongovernmental agencies in New York have become involved in the implementation of comprehensive job training programs since the integration of all statewide employment programs into a single state agency, the New York State Department of Labor in 1997, more job training programs have been provided for the TANF recipients to find jobs and retain jobs. In contrast, for Pennsylvania, the mean responses of 2 TANF clients (2.000) and 26 AFDC recipients (1.923) for job training program participation do not differ significantly. Due to the small number of cases, I marginally argue that, in Pennsylvania, there is no significant difference between the proportions of the TANF clients and the AFDC recipients for job training program participation.

7.3. SUMMARY

The examination of the effect of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure in New York and Pennsylvania shows that the involvement and support of other organizations makes a more substantial contribution to the decision making capacity of organizations in Pennsylvania than in New York. In New York, the state agency perceives that the involvement and support of other organizations makes a positive contribution to the decision making capacity for the implementation of TANF programs, in contrast to a negative perspective from nonprofit and for-profit organizations. In Pennsylvania, state agency, county agency, and city government directors and managers perceive that broad policy decisions are made at the top

level of authority and more specific decisions are made at lower levels. There is a positive contribution of other organizations to the empowerment of their decision making capacity, in contrast to a negative perspective from nonprofit organizations.

The examination of the effect on policy reveals that New York provided more support and assistance from government programs to pay for expenses, such as rent or costs for transportation to work in the first 3 months after leaving welfare to both the AFDC clients and TANF clients than did Pennsylvania or the national average. Until 2001, neither state provided much assistance from government programs to the TANF clients for job search and retention in the first 3 months after leaving welfare, although such assistance was critical for economic self-sufficiency of the TANF clients. ANOVA shows that, in New York, the proportions of the TANF recipients with family income below or above the poverty threshold do not significantly differ from the proportions of the AFDC recipients. Since more job training programs have been provided to the TANF clients than the AFDC clients in New York through a wide range of nongovernmental partners, a larger proportion of the TANF clients took job training programs than the AFDC recipients. In Pennsylvania, the proportions of the TANF clients for job training program participation do not significantly differ from the proportions of the AFDC recipients. This finding implies that TANF clients in both states still are in difficult circumstances to become economically independent and self-sufficient, in comparison to the AFDC recipients. The data show that states placed greater emphasis on reducing the welfare rolls through time limits and stringent work requirements rather than on helping TANF clients find relatively high-wage jobs and build advanced job skills.

8.0 IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES

In this chapter, I interpret and summarize the findings from the analyses in reference to both empirical and theoretical contexts. The findings help us to better understand the devolution of decision making authority and program, and changes in administrative infrastructure for the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program implementation, as well as practice and research on New Public Management (NPM) and governance. In this chapter, I discuss the characteristics of the TANF administrative infrastructure in New York and Pennsylvania in reference to the research propositions and research questions. Finally, I address challenges for the administrative infrastructure and the policy implications of the research findings, and conclude the study with limitations and directions for a future study.

8.1. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TANF IMPLEMENTATION

This comparative case study was guided by the following four research questions and six research propositions, and used a wide array of data and analytic methods. I interpret the research findings in reference to the research questions and research propositions.

8.1.1. The Devolution of Decision Making Authority

Research Question 1:

- What are the administrative requirements of welfare reform as enacted in the TANF legislation?

There are no administrative requirements of welfare reform in the TANF legislations of New York and Pennsylvania for the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for the TANF implementation. Rather, the legislation placed more emphasis on program requirements, such as the time limits and work requirements for TANF clients. Since welfare reform changed a basic assumption of welfare system in the United States with a focus on the transition of welfare recipients from welfare to work, New York and Pennsylvania changed their policy directions, expanded the interactive relationships with a broader range of organizations, and integrated employment programs. Both New York and Pennsylvania had five-year time limits on the receipt of temporary assistance and strict work requirements within the time limits, although both states have been known for taking a relatively liberal approach to the TANF clients. The examination of the following two research propositions provides the findings on the devolution of decision making authority.

Research Proposition:

- The passage of the Federal Welfare Reform Act (PRWORA) in 1996 has resulted in a significant shift in authority from the federal government to state governments for TANF design and implementation of welfare reform.

Welfare reform changed welfare service system in the United States in a way that gives more responsibilities to states through a TANF block grant system. A substantial amount of decision making authority has been shifted from the federal government to Pennsylvania and New York

since the passage of their welfare reform legislation in 1996 and 1997, respectively. With more discretion, both states have designed their own policy choices and have implemented these choices in different ways that provide more specified employment and training programs to help TANF clients find jobs and retain jobs in a tight labor market, although the analysis in a preceding chapter showed the implementation did not yet significantly contribute to earnings and job training program participation of the clients. At the same time, the clients have been forced to find jobs or participate in work or work-related activities within time limits through programs operated mostly by nonprofit and for-profit agencies. Directors and managers in both states did not regard the discretion and flexibility shifted from the federal government as true and total devolution, since the federal government imposed many policy mandates and requirements on the states' experiments, such as work participation rates.

Research Proposition:

- State governments, in practice, devolve their responsibilities to local governments for TANF implementation to a significant degree.

In practice, New York and Pennsylvania have taken very different approaches to the relationships with county governments. Since Pennsylvania has used the state-administered system for TANF design and implementation, state government has held responsibilities at the state level without giving discretion to county governments. County governments have operated programs designed by the state and their activities have been administered and monitored by the state through the County Assistance Offices. In contrast, New York has devolved a substantial amount of decision making authority to local social service districts under the state-supervised and county-administered system. In contrast to Pennsylvania, county governments in New York have had extensive capacity to administer most employment and training services of the TANF

programs, except for the eligibility determination and temporary cash assistance for which the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance has been responsible.

8.1.2. The Evolution and Change in Administrative Infrastructure for TANF

Research Question 2:

- What are the characteristics of the current TANF administrative infrastructure compared to the former AFDC administrative infrastructure?

The outer environment of the TANF administrative infrastructure in New York and Pennsylvania has evolved with the New Public Management (NPM) and governance strategies, in comparison to AFDC implementation. Unlike the AFDC administration, it placed great emphasis on the integration of services and programs, and expanded collaboration and partnership between state and county governments and a wide range of state or county sister agencies, nonprofit organizations, and for-profit agencies. This built a collaboration and partnership network for the TANF implementation at the local level. In New York, county governments have played a facilitator's role for information exchange to coordinate the Family Assistance (FA) and the Safety Net Assistance (SNA) programs. In Pennsylvania, instead of county governments, the County Assistance Offices of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare have played a facilitator's role for information exchange with nongovernmental partners to administer the Single Point of Contact (SPOC) and the Road to Economic Self-sufficiency through Employment and Training (RESET) programs. The examination of the following three research propositions provides the characteristics of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure.

Research Proposition:

- With shifted responsibility, state and local governments redefine the mission, restructure staff responsibility, and reorganize the operating structure for mission-driven and customer-oriented structure.

Welfare reform stimulated states to not only expand organizational linkages, but also initiate institutional or organizational changes within the inner environment of welfare service delivery system (Martinson & Holcomb, 2002). New York has made more efforts to consolidate TANF programs and integrate a statewide employment and training system by transferring responsibilities for this system from 15 government agencies to a single state agency, the New York State Department of Labor, while Pennsylvania has not adopted comprehensive, structural change strategies. Both states have not placed great emphasis on restructuring or reorganizing the internal structure of state and county governments, while some state agencies restructured staff responsibilities or reorganized through a decentralizing process to build mission-driven and customer-oriented structure. Rather, Albany County has enlarged the size of county government for a political reason. This finding is consistent with an argument by Fountain (2001) that government reorganization is much more difficult and remarkably political because of the embeddedness of agencies in long-standing institutions. A director of a nonprofit organization in Albany County observes:

We're one of the last political machines in the country. A lot of people are employed in county government, because that means votes for elected officials. They get votes from every one that they employ. So the more people they employ, the more likely they are able to stay in office. So it's important for me as the county executive, as a legislator or whoever else in the county to make sure a lot of people work for the county government. If I keep people working, you come to me and you got a brother that needs a job. Then I'll get your brother a job, you just know how to vote this fall, and you'll take care of me. These people get a job and they're unionized workers. There are a lot of people that work for the county department. It is huge.

Unwillingness to initiate organizational change is sometimes coming from the leadership. Behn (1991) asserts that governance will require public managers to play a constitutive role, because public managers not only can improve the performance of public institutions, but also can make government more democratic. However, with a shared vision, appointed leaders in New York and Pennsylvania put more emphasis on achieving a goal of policy and program as quickly as possible, such as focusing on reducing welfare caseload through integrating services and increasing collaborative projects with other organizations rather than seeking for organizational or institutional change through reorganizing or restructuring efforts.

Research Proposition:

- Current practice shows greater involvement and support among public, nonprofit or for-profit organizations for TANF implementation at the local level.

A new perspective on public administration has emerged as governance that shifts the unit of analysis from programs and agencies to tools of action, and moves the focus of administration from hierarchy to network (Salamon, 2002). Traditional routines of public administration are no longer effective and successful. The devolution of decision making authority has enabled the state and county governments in the two states to expand organizational linkages to state and county sister agencies and a wider range of nongovernmental partners to provide local control, client choice, and flexibility. This has led organizations to form a network for TANF implementation at the local level in which the organizations become interdependent in administering TANF services. The substantial interorganizational networks in Albany County, New York and Allegheny County, Pennsylvania facilitated greatly the information exchange among public organizations with different jurisdictions and nongovernmental agencies with diverse interests participating in the TANF implementation.

Research Proposition:

- State and local governments are likely to pursue interagency collaboration and partnership based on performance and market-oriented interactions in administering TANF services with nongovernmental partners.

In contrast to process-oriented management under the old AFDC, the state and county governments in New York and Pennsylvania have depended more on results-oriented and performance-based management to translate strict work requirements into practice and to facilitate employment, education, and training for the TANF clients. This trend of management strengthened states' initiatives designed to help the clients move into work, since penalties are imposed by the federal government on the practices of states that fail to meet the federal guidelines. Since no single agency is able to be responsible for designing and implementing the TANF programs, collaboration and partnership between the state and county governments and nonprofit or for-profit organizations have been more substantial and interactive to ensure better program implementation and service delivery for the needs of the TANF clients. The partnerships with a range of nongovernmental agencies have increased through contracts or subcontracts that are renewable based on their performance and ability in administering designated services. Interestingly, nonprofit and for-profit organizations regarded the relationship with state or county governments as a hierarchy based on command and control, since contracts or subcontracts were performance-based renewable. State and county governments regarded it as a horizontal partnership, because they have partnered with a wider range of nongovernmental agencies for specific services or programs where the expertise and strengths of these organizations rest.

Research Question 3:

- How does the evolution and change in administrative infrastructure affect the decision making capacity of organizations for the TANF program design and implementation?

Research Question 4:

- To what extent does the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure contribute to economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients?

Research Proposition:

- Interagency collaboration and partnership among actors in the administrative infrastructure is likely to contribute to better administrative outcomes (decision making capacity of the participating organizations) and policy outcomes (economic self-sufficiency of TANF clients).

The evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure affected change in the decision making capacity of the organizations. The involvement and support of other organizations made a more substantial contribution to the decision making capacity of the organizations in Pennsylvania than in New York. In both states, there were differences in perceived changes in the decision making capacity by organizations with different funding sources and jurisdictions.

However, it did not make it possible to conclude that the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure in New York and Pennsylvania contributed to economic self-sufficiency of the TANF clients. It did not provide more support and assistance from government programs to the clients for job retention. Although the two states have more interacted with state or county sister agencies and nongovernmental partners to better assist the clients to achieve economic self-sufficiency, it did not yet contribute significantly an increase in family income of the TANF clients in both states, in comparison to former AFDC clients. Although the TANF

clients took more job training programs in New York than the AFDC clients, the TANF clients in the two states still are in difficult circumstances to become economically self-sufficient. This indicates that states sought to reduce welfare rolls and place more TANF clients into work without a thorough assessment of the real lives of the clients until the reauthorization of welfare reform in 2002, although they invested a substantial amount of resources and money in partnerships with sister agencies and nongovernmental organizations to assist the TANF clients to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

8.2. THE CHALLENGES FOR TANF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE

As most research on federal and state welfare reforms of the late 1990s show, the findings from this research suggest that there is no evidence yet that welfare reform has substantially improved the real lives of TANF clients and former welfare recipients. Although one of the most important goals of welfare reform is to move welfare recipients into stable jobs, a large proportion of TANF clients in New York and Pennsylvania left welfare not for employment, but for other reasons. People who moved from welfare to work became involved in unstable, short-term jobs with few benefits and low wages and did not receive assistance from government programs to retain their jobs. It is too soon to assert that welfare reform has been successful in the shared goal of moving TANF clients into economic self-sufficiency (Johnson & Corcoran, 2003), although state and county governments have placed a substantial amount of effort in developing partnerships with nongovernmental agencies.

While welfare caseloads have been reduced in New York and Pennsylvania and this reduction has been a central issue in the political and scholarly discussion on the implementation of welfare reform, as Bartik (1998) argues, other outcomes suggest lower levels of success for

welfare reform. Many clients who did get jobs and left TANF, did not achieve a living wage or face barriers to employment due to the lack of work experience, advanced skills, and lower education levels. People who get jobs show high job-turnover rates and often continue to rely on support from government and very few of these people achieve economic success without some governmental assistance (Cancian & Meyer, 2004). Since most employment and training programs in New York and Pennsylvania focused on job placement before the reauthorization of welfare reform legislation, knowledge was limited about how to design and implement programs that promote job retention and job advancement for TANF clients.

This research reveals that many TANF clients in New York and Pennsylvania are struggling to get off the poverty rolls and achieve economic self-sufficiency. The family income of a small proportion of TANF clients in New York who became engaged in work is above the poverty threshold. This finding is consistent with the result from a recent study (Rockefeller Institute of Government, 2002) that cites 53.4 percent of households that were not on TANF had family income above the poverty level, while 13.4 percent of the households that were receiving TANF had family income above the poverty level. The finding is also consistent with the conclusions from other research that a high level of poverty is still pervasive among those who receive TANF benefits and who left states' TANF programs⁵⁵, and expected earnings and job stability for most TANF clients still remained low albeit increasing numbers of clients who left welfare (King & Mueser, 2005).

⁵⁵ Based on state policy variation under TANF and its impact on TANF clients, recent studies (Acs and Loprest, 2001; Cancian et al., 2003) suggest that between half and three-quarters of families entering TANF in New Jersey, Washington, and Wisconsin had a family income below the poverty line and nearly 60 percent of TANF leavers in Washington, Missouri, and Ohio had a family income below the poverty line. For more detail, see Cancian, M., Klawitter, M. M., Meyer, D. R., Rangarajan, A., Wallace, G., & Wood, R. G. (2003). Income and program participation among early TANF recipients: The evidence from New Jersey, Washington, and Wisconsin. *Focus*, 22(3), 2-10; and, Acs, G., & Loprest, P., with T. Roberts (2001). Final synthesis report of the findings from ASPE's "leavers" grants. Report to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Washinton, D.C.: Urban Institute.

8.2.1. Challenges from Management Perspectives

In the multi-agency networks for TANF implementation in New York and Pennsylvania, the expanded interagency collaboration and partnerships often yield critical difficulties and challenges for organizations with different interests and goals to function harmoniously with others in complex policy environments, although working together seeks to improve efficiency in administering employment and training programs for TANF clients. Collaboration and partnership are also the best fits among government agencies as resource and information providers or facilitators, client advocates, and service providers, since they seek to save resources and time, and enhance service quality, simultaneously. Successful collaboration and partnerships are relatively rare in reality, unless we carefully take into account service providers' incentives to collaborate and partner based on governance mechanisms with best chances of success (Hill & Lynn, 2003).

Under these environments, the culture of governments can clash with nonprofit organizations' culture, since governments place more emphasis on equity, accountability, and efficiency, while nonprofit organizations emphasize responsiveness, flexibility, and innovation (Kettl, 1981; Salamon, 1995). It can even clash with the culture of for-profit agencies that emphasizes making profits in a market. It is important to coordinate and balance the different cultures and diverse interests of a wide range of organizations to make collaboration and partnership work better. Jennings and Ewalt (1998) argue that increased levels of coordination for outer environments as well as administrative consolidation of agencies are important factors to achieve higher levels of performance in employment and training services under the former Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). This challenge is well documented in an interview with a director of a nonprofit organization:

Some of the challenges would be when you worked with certain for-profit agencies. It's almost a stereotype. But a lot of for-profit agencies were mostly concerned about whether they would get a benchmark and whether the benchmark would lead to money.....I think there was a clash between the providers and the Department of Social Services. Even though the decision making for the individual client was moved to higher levels in the DSS system, and we're working with people in the higher levels of the DSS, people in the higher levels of the DSS didn't really understand some of the realities of service providers.

The cultural differences between governments and nonprofit or for-profit organizations may cause tension among the organizations, while they all share a vision and common goal. It may create the dysfunction of administrative infrastructure and the lack of collaboration and partnership. Since governments are less likely to change their organizational culture and are more willing to maintain the status quo, the cultural differences sometimes make it extremely difficult to collaborate and partner with each other. This challenge drawn from the cultural difference is documented in an interview with a director of a nonprofit organization:

Getting the cultures of these different organizations together is a challenge. All the cultures are very different. And, trying to meld those cultures into a shared vision is difficult. So, we have had a lot of disagreements, people walked out of rooms, and walked out of meetings. It's much easier to implement organizational change, not tremendously, but through.....For instance, like IBM, you can do an organizational change easier than you can through the New York State Department of Labor. Lots of times, people view government employment as employment for life. They get there and they don't ever get out. I don't know whether I will be here next year or not. If I do a good job, I'll probably be here next year. If I don't do a good job, I won't be here next year. If I were a state or county worker, I'd be here forever.

Another challenge lies in how to share equal or similar power between the organizations. Partners and collaborators need to have not only a strategic fit, but also a cultural fit among the organizations. As analyzed in Chapter VI, any competitive advantage may make a larger partner stronger and a smaller partner weaker in exchanging information, because the smaller partner depends more on the information of the larger partner. The Albany County Department of Social Services has the greatest centralization and power in administering the FA program in Albany

County and the Allegheny County Assistance Office has the greatest power in administering the SPOC program in Allegheny County. Directors and managers of nongovernmental partners regarded a relationship with state and county governments as a command-and-control relationship, while directors and managers of the state and county governments viewed it as a horizontal, network relationship. Strategically, similar power is ideal among the partners and complementary resources or information should be available for the partnership.

8.2.2. Challenges from Organization Perspectives

The evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation represents evidence of complexity in environments for the welfare service system. This complexity primarily arises from the interactions among organizations, because any solution from a single organization does not function effectively in the environments undergoing changes. As a state and local enterprise, the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure can be viewed as an effort of the public, nonprofit, and for-profit organizations to adapt to complex and rapidly changing policy and organizational environments. Interactions and cooperation or collaboration between the organizations through interorganizational networks, and between the organizations and the environments occur frequently in operating employment and training programs. These interactions are expected to drive creative and continuously dynamic system.

The role of each of the organizations to facilitate organizational learning needs to be clearly understood in the interdependent system. In the interorganizational networks, the Albany County Department of Social Services plays a primary facilitator's role as a powerful contributor to organizational learning through information exchange, while the Allegheny County Assistance Office plays a primary facilitator's role in coordinating actions among agencies. As

organizational participants in TANF implementation, nonprofit and for-profit organizations exchange information about better practices, insights, and new knowledge from their experiences. The partners learn to work together to better respond to the clients and to create structures to handle communications and decision making (Lesky, O'Sullivan, & Goodmon, 2001). This pattern illustrates that organizational learning within and between organizations occurs to increase the capacity for communication and collaboration within the TANF administrative infrastructure.

8.2.3. Challenges from Policy Perspectives

Since welfare reform, most policy makers and program administrators have been interested in goal-oriented numbers, such as welfare caseloads or work participation rates. They have not paid close attention to the real lives of TANF clients and people who left welfare. Many people who left welfare still need an array of support that facilitates a transition from welfare to work and job retention, such as child care for people with dependent children, transportation to work, and health care, although more job training opportunities for sustainable employment have been provided to the clients.

Their wage level is too low to meet the basic needs of their families. Due to the lack of recent work experiences and low education level, the biggest barrier facing workers entering a tight labor market is a skills mismatch between the demand of prospective employers and the supply of TANF clients. Increasing needs for the development of education and training programs for the job retention of the clients did not become an important policy agenda when the TANF programs were first put into operations. This has been a critical concern since the first reauthorization of the law. The policy priority of New York and Pennsylvania has moved from

placing the clients into work to helping them retain jobs. This has led the states to invest more time, resources, money, and effort in developing the employment, training, and education programs designed to help the clients build advanced job skills and increase intellectual capabilities for job retention.

Although both states have not changed the administrative infrastructure for TANF programs much, in comparison to the old AFDC administration, TANF has allowed states to invest the money where they want rather than where the federal government tells them. New York is well known for providing the most generous benefits to clients, and Pennsylvania is known for taking a very liberal approach to clients. Despite these trends, more direct initiatives or policies that focus on the real lives of the clients need to be designed and put into practice. Both states must also ensure that the supportive services for the clients are helpful in ways that assess what the clients' needs actually are and what their barriers to sustainable employment are. A state official in Pennsylvania is concerned about this:

With our changes in being able to accept education and training as to meeting some other work requirements, we have again seen our sergeants in predatory schools.....training schools that maybe don't give them a full education that they should be. They promise a lot, but don't give so much. It's very difficult when you are working in the state agency. I cannot tell a client that 'you shouldn't go to that school', because I can be sued by that school for false information. But we see that so many times, school is taking advantage of clients. They are getting them to sign on papers, and they don't care whether these people finish the school or not.

8.3. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Based on the empirical evidence through the analyses using multiple sources of data and methods, this research provides policy implications for welfare reform as a comprehensive policy change, and for New Public Management and governance research.

First, a holistic approach and a system's perspective help us better understand the process of the evolution and change in the administrative infrastructure. This research takes a holistic approach to explore the systemic, actual experiences of a shift in decision making authority to achieve the goal of welfare reform. Most of the prior research focused on the fragmentary aspects of the practice of TANF programs, which resulted in the lack of power to explore how the system has evolved and changed with the devolution of decision making authority from upper levels of administration to lower levels of administration. In this research, the holistic approach provides a benefit of looking at the history, context, evolution and change, and evaluation of the administrative infrastructure, simultaneously.

Second, welfare reform is not an incremental policy change, but a comprehensive policy change. It required different roles of governments in complex policy environments and changed the way welfare service system works. Under the old federal entitlement AFDC administration, the relationship between the federal policy designer and state policy implementers built primarily on a hierarchy through command and control. The comprehensive policy change enabled states to design and implement their own policy choices. In relation to county human service departments, state and county governments created a multi-agency network with substantial collaboration, partnership, and communication with a wide range of nonprofit and for-profit organizations. By restructuring public assistance programs, welfare reform provided each level of administration with more opportunities to reconsider the roles of the federal, state, and local government within welfare system and to make decisions about where funding and administrative responsibilities should rest.

Third, this comprehensive policy change needed changes in management strategies and administrative systems, since no single agency was able to be responsible for the TANF

program. The NPM and governance strategies provided insights into how governments have functioned in dynamic interactions with other organizations for better results of the TANF implementation in changing policy environments. Since the reauthorization, welfare reform has shifted its focus from placing the clients into work to retaining jobs through providing more systematic training opportunities for an advanced skill building and supportive services. However, from a management perspective, administrative changes and strategies cannot be a single right answer to the problems and barriers that have faced the TANF clients in becoming economically independent. Analyses in the preceding chapters show that it is critical to take into account not only administration and policy simultaneously, but also positive and negative effects of changes in the administration to understand for what and for whom state and county governments implement the TANF programs with a substantial amount of responsibility shifted from the federal government.

8.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While this research took a holistic approach to explore how state and county governments with more responsibilities have changed their administrative infrastructure for TANF implementation in dynamic interactions with nonprofit and for-profit organizations, a more comprehensive micro level and client-focused study needs to be conducted. It is ideal to examine more comprehensively what their problems are and to trace where they are. It must pay attention to their motivation for working, employers and governments' willingness to create incentives for them, supporting universal benefits, and enhancing training and education for a better skill-building.

This research was a small-n comparative case study that explores the systemic, actual practices of two states - New York and Pennsylvania - due to the practical limitation of time, resources, and budget for the research. A small number of cases might cause a threat to external validity, in particular, generalization. Multiple-case studies may be preferred over single-case studies, since having more than two cases produces stronger effects and robust results on social phenomena. It is an important step for a future study to examine the practices of other states with different TANF administrative systems to compare diverse and different practices of states.

In this research, I sought to employ a regression model based on the logic of governance (Lynn, Heinrich, & Hill, 2001) to assess the effect of the evolution and change in the TANF administrative infrastructure on the administration. This logic regards an administrative outcome as a function of environmental factors, client characteristics, primary work, structures, and managerial roles and actions. Due to the small number of cases from the survey (N = 41 for New York and Pennsylvania), I was not able to present this model. In a future study with a large number of cases, it is worth examining this model based on the logic of governance. Due to the small samples, I also presented a cross-tabulation and Chi-square test for decision making capacity by funding source and jurisdiction as a preliminary and exploratory analysis that examines a pattern of the relationships that can be validated in further research with large datasets. Similarly, the NSAF did not provide as many samples for Pennsylvania as other thirteen focal states and did not make it possible to compare directly the mean responses of TANF clients for family income below or above the poverty threshold and job training program participation between New York and Pennsylvania. With a large dataset, a future study needs to compare the TANF clients between New York and Pennsylvania for these two critical variables.

Lastly, as states assume a greater welfare role and acquire expanded administrative flexibility, it becomes increasingly important to understand the factors that shape agency responses to their policy obligations. Contracting out employment and training services for TANF clients to nonprofit and private agencies raises new issues of accountability. It also adds an additional layer of bureaucracy between TANF clients and the state or county government. As many organizations with diverse interests, organizational culture, and different jurisdictions have become involved in welfare service system and have used money from tax payers, it is critical for a future study to clarify where accountability for performance should rest.

Interagency collaboration and partnership made it possible for elected officials to use decision making authority in legitimate and constructive ways. Yet it has appeared to make the state and county government hollow because it undermines the traditional system of administrative accountability in which a single agency is responsible for producing a single, complex result and makes its activities available for review by elected officials claiming to represent the citizenry as a whole (Bardach & Lesser, 1996). Brodtkin (1997) documents that clients' limited capacity to enforce street-level bureaucratic accountability limited the potential for clients to hold welfare agencies accountable for the quality of services. Embracing accountability to overseers and other constituents (Page, 2003), increasing opportunities for client advocacy (Brodtkin, 1997), and detailed auditing of expenditures of TANF funds allocated for narrowly defined objectives appear to be critical to hold a broad array of welfare agencies accountable for meeting their service obligations. Behn (1991) advises that we need to establish compacts of mutual, collective accountability, because public managers are accountable to many

stakeholders⁵⁶. These strategies are also useful to provide meaningful feedback on TANF program content and quality. In working with a wide range of organizations, it is critical to recognize that a wrong partner may undermine the entire partnership and collaboration.

⁵⁶ Behn (1991) argues that because New Public Management focuses on improving performance and increasing flexibility in rules and procedures, it is critical to ensure accountability for performance. He addresses the four basic questions of democratic accountability:

1. Who will decide what results are produced?
2. Who is accountable for producing these results?
3. Who is responsible for implementing the accountability process?
4. How will the accountability process work?

Behn asserts that accountability requires both discretion and trust and concludes that “we need to invent mechanisms and institutions to enhance the public’s trust.....to replace the traditional public administration paradigm with the new one of public management” (p.86).

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Your participation in this interview is very important, but all your responses will be strictly confidential. Your personal information will not be revealed to anyone and all the information you provide in this interview will be held in strict confidence. Also, this interview will be used for the purpose of this research only.

1. The federal welfare reform legislation did not seem to mandate changes in administrative structure for TANF. Are there any administrative requirements of state welfare reform to implement TANF as enacted in the TANF legislation? If any, what are those requirements?
2. How much do you think the devolution of authority in design and implementation of TANF programs from the federal to state governments has occurred by the passage of the federal welfare reform act of 1996?
3. To what extent do you think the state government has devolved their responsibilities to local governments for TANF implementation?
4. At local level, for what kind of services in TANF implementation have other public, nonprofit and private organizations engaged in the administrative structure? And why?
5. How have interactions and partnerships between your organization and other organizations occurred in TANF implementation?
6. In what specific ways do you think your organization has collaborated and communicated between organizations? And why?

7. Are there any major differences between the implementation structures for AFDC and those for TANF? If so, what are those?
8. Do you think increasing interactions, partnership, communication, and interagency collaborative efforts among organizations engaged in the administrative structure for TANF implementation have contributed to economic self-sufficiency of TANF recipients through providing broader range of services? And why?
9. Compared to the former AFDC implementation, to what extent does the administrative structure emerged by shift in authority for TANF implementation contribute to states' decision making capacity? Was the decision making capacity enhanced or not?
10. Do you have any challenges, difficulties or problems to share the common goal and vision and to coordinate with a range of other organizations with different culture and interests?

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this research is to explore how the shift in authority for the administration of welfare services has emerged at each of federal, state, and local jurisdictional levels, and how states and localities have carried out their TANF policy designs and changed their implementation structures in dynamic policy environments to achieve the goal of welfare reform.

For that reason, I am surveying managers and directors from a number of different divisions, bureaus, and programs at state and local agencies that are responsible for implementing or administering TANF programs in two states and one county for each state - New York and Pennsylvania, and Albany County and Allegheny County - and ask them to complete a brief (approximately 10 minutes) questionnaire.

If you are willing to participate, the questionnaire will ask about each organization's flexibility, the degree of interaction or partnership among the organizations at each administrative level, communication patterns among the organizations and the degree of interagency collaborative efforts, and decision making capacity.

There are no foreseeable risks associated with this research, nor are there any direct benefits to you. This is an entirely anonymous questionnaire, and so your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All responses are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this project at any time.

This study was approved by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board: IRB #0405270 and is being conducted by Hyunjoo Chang, a doctoral candidate at Graduate School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Pittsburgh. Please do not hesitate to contact me at hyc7@pitt.edu or (412)687-9545, if you have any questions.

Please take the time to fill out the questionnaire and return it to me via one of the varying methods that you most prefer:

Email : hyc7@pitt.edu

Mail : Box #445, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs,
3601 Posvar Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

Fax : (412)687-9545

I very appreciate your cooperation.

Hyunjoo Chang
Ph.D. Candidate
Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh

Please follow the instructions carefully and answer all questions as honestly as you can. Circle the response which best corresponds with the way you feel. All your answers are strictly confidential. Thank you for your cooperation.

Character of Organizational Change and Flexibility

1. What is the main responsibility of your organization, division, or unit for TANF implementation?

- 6. Eligibility Determination/Assessment
- 5. Cash Assistance
- 4. Case Management Services
- 3. Employment-Related Services including education and training services
- 2. Coordination/ Cooperation
- 1. Others, please specify _____

2. To what extent did your organization redefine the primary goal of the organization with regard to TANF after welfare reform?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Great extent | Moderate extent | Small extent | Not at all | Not applicable |

3. How would you best describe the reorganizing or restructuring degree of your organization for TANF design and implementation after welfare reform?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Great extent | Moderate extent | Small extent | Not at all | Not applicable |

4. To what extent did your organization change your responsibilities through reorganizing for TANF implementation after welfare reform?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Great extent | Moderate extent | Small extent | Not at all | Not applicable |

5. Compared to the former AFDC implementation, how would you best describe the amount of flexibility and discretion shifted from upper jurisdictional levels in rules and procedures for TANF implementation?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Great extent | Moderate extent | Small extent | Not at all | Not applicable |

Character of Communication Process

6. How do you usually communicate between agencies for TANF implementation? (Circle all that apply)

5	4	3	2	1
Telephone	E-mail	Regular meeting	Mail	Fax machine

7. How would you best describe the amount of communication between agencies for TANF implementation?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

8. To what extent are individuals encouraged to exchange ideas and information with other organizations through the main pattern of the communication?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

9. Which of the following characteristics would best describe the patterns of your organization's communication with other organizations? (Circle all that apply)

5	4	3	2	1
Negotiation	Persuasion	Command	Control	Not applicable

10. How would you best describe the direction of information flow?

5	4	3	2	1
Down, up, & with peers	Down & up	Downward	Upward	Not applicable

11. To what extent does the communication provide valuable feedback to policy makers or program administrators regarding decisions for TANF design and implementation?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

Character of Interaction-Partnership Process

12. To what extent does your organization need the involvement and support of other organizations outside your organization for TANF implementation?

5 4 3 2 1
 Great extent Moderate extent Small extent Not at all Not applicable

13. What types of other organizations is your organization working with for TANF design and implementation? (Circle all that apply)

5 4 3 2 1
 State Agency County Agency Nonprofit Private Others,
 please specify _____

14. From a list below, please **select** organizations with whom your organization interact to share information for TANF program implementation, and **rate** the degree of information share of your organization with the organizations for TANF program implementation on the basis of the following choices (For New York, please go to the first table, and for Pennsylvania, please go to the second table in a next page):

- 3. Extensive and friendly with high degree of confidence and trust
- 2. Moderate, often with fair amount of confidence and trust
- 1. Little and usually with some condescension by others
- 0. Not at all
- 1. Negative linking without confidence and trust

For New York

Organizations	Degree of Interaction
NYS Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance	
NYS Department of Labor	
Albany County Department of Social Services	
Adult Learning Center	
Altamont Program	
America Works	
RSS	
Capital District Child Care Coordinating Council	
CareerLinks	
CHOICES	
Cornell Cooperative Extension	
EOC-Bridge	
INTERFAITH	
Maximus	

For Pennsylvania

Organizations	Degree of Interaction
PA Department of Public Welfare	
Allegheny County Assistance Office	
Allegheny County Department of Human Services	
City of Pittsburgh	
Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh	
YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh	
Hosanna House	
Allegheny Intermediate Unit	
Pittsburgh Mediation Center	
Allegheny County Community College	
Educational Data System, Inc.	
Pittsburgh Catholic Educational Programs	
Susquehanna Rehabilitation Services	
Life's Work of Western PA	
Northwest Multi Services	
Forbes Road	

Character of Interagency Collaborative Efforts

15. How would you best describe the amount of your organization's collaborative efforts with other organizations aimed at achieving state's welfare reform goals?

- 5. Extensive, friendly interagency collaboration with high degree of confidence and trust
- 4. Moderate interagency collaboration, often with fair amount of confidence and trust
- 3. Little interagency collaboration and usually with some condescension by others
- 2. Not at all
- 1. Not applicable

16. With what types of organizations is your organization mostly doing cooperative teamwork for TANF design and implementation?

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------|---------|---------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| State Agency | County Agency | Nonprofit | Private | Others, |
| please specify _____ | | | | |

17. Please list three organizations in the order of the degree of collaboration that your organization is mostly collaborating with.

18. How would you best describe your organization's willingness to share information, time, and resources with other organization for TANF implementation?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

19. To what extent does your organization have mutual trust with other organizations for TANF implementation?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

20. To what extent does your organization use technical supports from other organizations to achieve the goals?

5	4	3	2	1
Great extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all	Not applicable

Character of Decision Making Capacity

21. At what level in the organization are decisions for TANF programs formally made?

- 5. Decisions made widely throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups
- 4. Broad policy decisions made at the top of the organization, bur more specific decisions made at lower levels
- 3. Policy decisions made at the top, many decisions within prescribed framework made at lower levels, but usually checked with the top before action
- 2. Most decisions made at the top of organization
- 1. Not applicable

22. How adequate and accurate is the information available at the place where the decisions are made?

5. Relatively adequate and accurate information available based on efficient flow of information in organization
4. Reasonably adequate and accurate information available
3. Information is often somewhat inadequate and inaccurate
2. Information is generally inadequate and inaccurate
1. Not applicable

23. To what extent are you aware of decision problems?

5. Generally quite well aware of problems
4. Moderately aware of problems
3. Aware of some, unaware of others
2. Often unaware or only partially aware
1. Not applicable

24. To what extent is the professional knowledge of other organizations used in the decision making?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Great extent | Moderate extent | Small extent | Not at all | Not applicable |

25. To what extent do the involvement and support of other organizations help you make decisions?

5. Substantial contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions
4. Some contribution by other organizations with capacity to implement decisions
3. Other organizations contribute relatively little to decision making process
2. Other organizations contribute little or nothing to the implementation of decisions
1. Not applicable

Demographic Questions

26. Age _____

27. Gender

1. Male
2. Female

28. What is your position in your organization?

Director Manager Others, please specify _____

29. Approximately how many years have you worked for your agency?

5	4	3	2	1
Over 21	16 ~ 20	11 ~ 15	6 ~ 10	Under 5

30. In what kind of organization do you work?

5	4	3	2	1
State Agency	County Agency	Nonprofit	Private	Others

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

APPENDIX C

A COVER LETTER SENT TO REPRESENTATIVE STRATIFIED SAMPLES

Dear Director of State or Local TANF Agency,

I am very grateful for the opportunity to contact your organization.

I am conducting a research on the devolution of authority for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) implementation after welfare reform, entitled “Welfare Reform and the Devolution of Authority: Changes in Administrative Infrastructure for TANF Implementation”.

The purpose of this research is to explore how the shift in authority for the administration of welfare services has emerged at each of federal, state, and local jurisdictional levels, and how states and localities have carried out their TANF policy designs and changed their implementation structures in dynamic policy environments to achieve the goal of welfare reform.

I will be surveying a representative stratified sample of 80 managers and directors from a number of different divisions, bureaus, and programs at state and local agencies that are responsible for implementing or administering TANF programs in two states and one county for each state - New York and Pennsylvania, and Albany County and Allegheny County - and ask them to complete a brief (approximately 10 minute) questionnaire. Also, I will be interviewing a representative stratified sample of 19 managers and directors from each of the federal, state, and county levels of administration (approximately 30 minutes).

If you are willing to participate, the survey questionnaire will ask about each organization's flexibility, the degree of interaction or partnership among the organizations at each administrative level, communication patterns among the organizations and the degree of interagency collaborative efforts, and decision making capacity. The interview questions will ask about shift in authority for TANF design and implementation, and practice at each of the jurisdictional levels, and how the TANF program, in detail, has been implemented in interactions with other organizations.

There are no foreseeable risks associated with this research, nor are there any direct benefits to you. This is an entirely anonymous questionnaire, and so your responses will not be identifiable

in any way. All responses are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this project at any time. Please let me know if you and your division/bureau are willing to participate in this research.

This study was approved by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board: IRB #0405270 and is being conducted by Hyunjoo Chang, a Ph.D. candidate at Graduate School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Pittsburgh. Please feel free to contact me at hyc7@pitt.edu or (412) 687-9545, if you have any questions.

I would be grateful for your cooperation for this research.

Sincerely,

Hyunjoo Chang
Ph.D. Candidate
Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh

APPENDIX D

ADJACENCY SYMMETRIC MATRIX FOR ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

	PA DPW	ACAO	AC DHS	Goodwill	YWCA	Hosanna	PCE	EDSI	SRS	PMC	Life's	NWM	CCAC	Forbes	City	AIU
PA DPW	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
ACAO	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
AC DHS	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Goodwill	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
YWCA	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hosanna	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
PCE	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
EDSI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
SRS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
PMC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Life's	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
NWM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
CCAC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Forbes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
City	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
AIU	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

Legend: PA DPW – Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare; ACAO – Allegheny County Assistance Office; AC DHS – Allegheny County Department of Human Services; Goodwill – Goodwill Industries; Hosanna – Hosanna House; PCE – Pittsburgh Catholic Educational Program; EDSI – Educational Data Systems, Inc.; SRS – Susquehanna Rehabilitation Services; PMC – Pittsburgh Mediation Center; Life's – Life's Work of Western Pennsylvania; NWM – Northwest Multiservices; CCAC – Community College of Allegheny County; Forbes – Forbes Road; City – City of Pittsburgh; AIU – Allegheny Intermediate Unit

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, PA

APPENDIX E

ADJACENCY SYMMETRIC MATRIX FOR ALBANY COUNTY, NEW YORK

	NYS OTDA	NYS DOL	ACDSS	ALC	Altamont	AW	RSS	CDCC	Career	CHOICES	Cornell	EOC	Interfaith	Maximus
NYS OTDA	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
NYS DOL	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
AC DSS	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ALC	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Altamont	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
AW	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
RSS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
CDCC	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Career	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
CHOICES	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Cornell	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
EOC	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interfaith	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maximus	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0

Legend: NYS OTDA – New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance; NYS DOL – New York State Department of Labor; AC DSS – Albany County Department of Social Services; ALC – Adult Learning Center; Career; Altamont – Altamont Program; AW – America Works; CDCC – Capital District Child Care Coordinating Council; Career – Career Links; Cornell – Cornell Cooperative Extension; EOC – EOC Bridge

Source: Structured Survey, August 2 - December 10, 2004 in Albany, NY

APPENDIX F

POVERTY THRESHOLDS FOR 2001 BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS (DOLLARS)

Size of Family Unit	Weighted Average Thresholds	Related Children Under 18 Years								
		None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight or More
One Person	9,039									
< 65 Years	9,214	9,214								
≥ 65 Years	8,494	8,494								
Two Persons	11,569									
Householder < 65 Years	11,920	11,859	12,207							
Householder ≥ 65 Years	10,715	10,705	12,161							
Three Persons	14,128	13,853	14,255	14,269						
Four Persons	18,104	18,267	18,566	17,960	18,022					
Five Persons	21,405	22,029	22,349	21,665	21,135	20,812				
Six Persons	24,195	25,337	25,438	24,914	24,411	23,664	23,221			
Seven Persons	27,517	29,154	29,336	28,708	28,271	27,456	26,505	25,462		
Eight Persons	30,627	32,606	32,894	32,302	31,783	31,047	30,112	29,140	28,893	
Nine Persons or More	36,286	39,223	39,413	38,889	38,449	37,726	36,732	35,833	35,610	34,238

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/poverty/threshld/thresh01.html>

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