

## **Racial and Ethnic Differences in the Impact of Work-First Policies on College Access**

**Sara Goldrick-Rab**

*University of Wisconsin-Madison*

**Kathleen M. Shaw**

*Temple University*

*The college participation rates of African Americans and Latinos continue to lag behind those of other racial and ethnic groups in the United States, despite the efforts of financial aid and affirmative action policies. Two recent federal policies that are “work-first” in nature threaten to further exacerbate racial and ethnic disparities in college access. This article examines the complex ways in which the 1996 welfare reform and the 1998 Workforce Investment Act differentially affect opportunities for college enrollment among disadvantaged adults. Utilizing national and state-level data, the authors argue that both policies restrict access to postsecondary education through the implementation of their guiding philosophy, “work-first,” which emphasizes rapid job placement as the strategy of choice in achieving stable employment and moving out of poverty. These policies have reduced the size of the clientele receiving welfare and restricted access to education and training for those who remain on the rolls. Moreover, this reduction in access is particularly acute among African Americans and Latinos. Thus, the findings indicate that these work-first federal policies serve to limit higher education opportunities available to these already disadvantaged populations.*

**Keywords:** *college access, federal policy, racial and ethnic differences*

A CLEAR and consistent narrative permeates American discourse regarding the unique role of education in our society. In particular, a college education is viewed as the gateway to the contemporary American Dream—a prerequisite of social mobility. Indeed, recent polls conducted by the Kellogg National Forum on Higher Education and the Public Good indicate that fully 98% of U.S. citizens believe that all people, regardless of race, ethnicity, social class, or gender, should have equal opportunity to attend college (2003). Most acknowledge that postsecondary

education yields both private and public benefits, providing an opportunity to overcome poverty and increase one’s social standing, greater access to well-paying jobs, a steady stream of well-trained workers, reductions in crime and incarceration, and increasing civic engagement in activities such as voting.

Confidence in the ability of higher education to increase individual and collective prosperity is generally well placed. Recent studies on the economic benefit of higher education report a 5% to 12% annual increase in income for every year of

---

We gratefully acknowledge research support from the Russell Sage Foundation, Atlantic Philanthropies, and the Annie E. Casey Foundation. We thank our collaborators on the project, Christopher Mazzeo and Jerry A. Jacobs, and David Stevens for providing us with data. An earlier version of this article was presented at a Civil Rights Project and Pew Hispanic Center roundtable at Harvard University in 2003. All opinions offered are those of the authors alone.

full-time college enrollment, with greater benefits accruing for individuals receiving a credential (Grubb, 2002). Federal and state governments have facilitated college attendance by providing an array of assistance for those who wish to attend college, including federal and state financial aid, state subsidies to public higher education, and state savings plans to assist parents in saving for their children's education (Heller, 2002).

However, the college enrollment rates of African Americans and Latinos<sup>1</sup> continue to lag behind those of Whites and Asians. In 2001, 40% of African Americans and 34% of Hispanics attended college, compared with 45% of Whites (Harvey & Anderson, 2005). These racial and ethnic disparities in college entry translate into large gaps in educational attainment, gaps that have grown over the past 10 years. As of 1994, only 9% of Hispanics and 13% of Blacks over the age of 25 had obtained a bachelor's degree, compared with 23% of non-Hispanic Whites. By 2004, rates of attainment had increased, but the gaps had also widened—only 12% of Hispanics

and 18% of Blacks over the age of 25 had obtained a bachelor's degree, compared with 31% of non-Hispanic Whites (see Table 1). Today, nearly 25% of Latinos and 24% of Blacks live below the poverty line (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2003). Given the strong association between education and income and the persistence of poverty among African Americans and Latinos, it is clear that increasing the participation of minorities in higher education is crucial in ensuring their full economic and social participation in society.

Despite the obvious benefits of postsecondary education, in this article we argue that two pieces of federal legislation that emerged in the late 1990s erected new barriers to college attendance, particularly for African Americans and Latinos. In sharp contrast to the goals of other federal policies designed to move more minorities into higher education, welfare reform—otherwise known as the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA)—and the 1998 Workforce Investment Act (WIA) have actually worked to keep minorities out. Mar-

TABLE 1

*Bachelor's Degree Attainment of the Population 25 Years and Over, by Race and Hispanic Origin, Citizenship, Nativity, Region and Selected States: 1994 & 2004 (Civilian noninstitutionalized population)*

Parameter	1994 (%)				2004 (%)			
	All Races	Non-Hispanic White	Black	Hispanic	All Races	Non-Hispanic White	Black	Hispanic
Overall	22	23	13	9	28	31	18	12
Nativity and Citizenship								
Native	*	*	*	*	28	30	17	15
Foreign born: citizen	*	*	*	*	32	35	28	16
Foreign born: noncitizen	*	*	*	*	24	42	21	8
Region								
Northeast	25	26	14	9	31	32	19	14
Midwest	21	21	14	10	26	26	16	12
South	20	22	12	12	25	27	17	13
West	24	27	24	6	30	29	22	10
State								
Florida	21	22	12	15	26	29	14	22
Illinois	24	24	15	8	21	21	13	6
Massachusetts	30	31	15	17	35	39	27	16
Pennsylvania	20	20	11	10	25	26	15	13
Washington	25	26	*	*	30	31	24	13

*Note.* Calculations done by authors. Rhode Island data not available, as only top 25 largest states' data provided in Table 14.

*Source.* U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey 1994 and 2004*, Tables 10, 12, 14.

\*indicates data not available.

shall national and state-level data on both sets of policies, we contend that both welfare reform and WIA restrict access to postsecondary education through the implementation of their guiding philosophy, which is known as "work-first."

Work-first emphasizes rapid job placement as the strategy of choice in achieving stable employment and moving out of poverty. As such, it cements a gradual movement away from the human capital philosophy that guided preceding policies,<sup>2</sup> a philosophy that emphasizes skills and education as the most effective long-term path to economic self-sufficiency. This philosophical shift, from human capital approaches to work-first, has had widespread consequences for the direction of federal and state policy toward the disadvantaged and the working poor. As a consequence of welfare reform and the WIA, access to postsecondary education for low-income adults has diminished significantly; and where access is available, it is most often to short-term training programs rather than to credit-bearing courses or those that count toward a degree (Shaw, Goldrick-Rab, Mazzeo, & Jacobs, n.d.), ensuring significantly lower economic returns for participants.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, work-first is far from a "race-neutral" policy. As we will demonstrate, its effects are disproportionately limiting for racial and ethnic minorities.

Another factor further exacerbates the negative effects of these policies on college access for the poor. Increasingly, one's ability to access federal program dollars depends on citizenship status. In the last several years, a number of policies have emerged that restrict or deny access to social services for non-U.S. citizens, such as the 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (Fix & Tumlin, 1997). Welfare reform, in particular, restricts benefits for non-U.S. citizens (Fremsted, 2002).

A substantial proportion of the minority population, particularly those living in poverty, are not native to the United States and are not U.S. citizens. Moreover, there has been a great deal of growth in immigration-related poverty (Camarota, 1999). Among non-Caucasian immigrants, levels of educational attainment are most often lower than those of native citizens, and this is particularly true when comparing citizens to noncitizens. In other words, there are significant differences in higher education attainment within racial groups according to citizenship status. As Table 1 indicates, native-born and foreign-born Latinos who

are citizens (or naturalized citizens) have higher rates of bachelor's degree completion than foreign-born adults who are noncitizens. Native-born African Americans who are U.S. citizens have higher levels of bachelor's degree attainment than foreign-born noncitizens but lower levels than foreign-born citizens.<sup>4</sup> Yet federal policies providing access to postsecondary education and training are increasingly hostile to immigrants. Later in this article we provide data to support the argument that both welfare reform and the WIA are particularly unlikely to provide avenues to education for immigrants. As such, it is essential to acknowledge that these federal policies may have differential impacts based not only on race and ethnicity, but on citizenship and nativity status as well. Wherever possible, we attempt to differentiate within groups in the discussion of our findings; however, in some cases we must note that the limited data available do not allow for such fine-grained dissections.

Although social scientists have long recognized that public policies may have differential effects on subgroup populations (Savner, 2000), relatively little attention has been paid to the impact of either welfare reform or WIA on racial or ethnic minorities. This article provides a partial corrective by examining how welfare reform and WIA work together to erect significant and unprecedented barriers to postsecondary education for Blacks and Latinos. Specifically, we illustrate how the "work-first" philosophy that dominates the implementation of these two policies negatively affects the ability of Latino and Black adults to obtain postsecondary education. To construct our argument, we first provide an overview of each policy and the ways in which it embodies a work-first philosophy, paying particular attention to how welfare reform and WIA affect access to education for Latinos and Blacks. We then examine the impact of these policies on the college enrollment rates of Latinos and Blacks along several measures, using quantitative data from a number of national and state-level sources. We conclude with a discussion of the potential impacts of these barriers on the likelihood of closing racial and ethnic gaps in educational attainment in the near future.

### **An Overview of Welfare Reform and WIA**

The work-first philosophy, which contends that the fastest route to social mobility for the poor is via rapid employment, played a central role in

the development of the 1996 welfare legislation (Katz, 2001; Rogers-Dillon, 2004; Weaver, 2000). While work-first is discussed less often in the context of WIA, the philosophy is clearly present in the subtext of this legislation as well, largely because of the idea's strong, popular political influence at the time WIA was being crafted. As a result, work-first migrated from the rhetoric of the welfare reform debates and was infused, by the same Congress, into WIA.

As others have documented, welfare reform requires a significant percentage of recipients to be engaged in work, and defines work in narrow terms that include very few forms of education (Greenberg, Strawn, & Plimpton, 1999). States were required by 2002 to have 50% of all families that received cash assistance participate in 30 hours a week of work activity or face fiscal penalties. According to the federal rules, "vocational educational training" can count toward work requirements but only for up to 12 months, and for no more than 30% of the caseload. All recipients are also required to engage in work within 24 months of receiving cash assistance (Golonka & Matus-Grossman, 2001).

The WIA, which replaced the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), employs a three-tiered system of workforce development strategies designed to move the unemployed worker into employment as quickly as possible. The first two tiers focus on job search and resume services, and the third tier provides access to education and training. However, the third tier can only be accessed after efforts at the other two tiers have failed to place a client in a job. Thus, quite literally, WIA puts work first. This is a distinct departure from its predecessor, which provided relatively easy access to education and training for nearly all clients (Andrews & Simon, 2000; Social Policy Research Associates, 1999).

WIA also contains an extensive and multi-level accountability system. For example, training providers that serve WIA clients must provide employment retention and wage progression outcome data for every student (WIA or not) enrolled in each training program. Performance on these measures determines whether an educational institution will be included on the "approved vendor" list. Requiring such data has provided an incentive for caseworkers and training providers to screen entrants based on their ability to succeed in the program (Shaw et al., n.d.). Such screening is known as "creaming" and has

been demonstrated to lead to the inclusion of fewer minorities (Heckman & Smith, 2004).

While rapid employment and reduction in the size of the rolls are clearly the targeted outcomes of both policies, the federal government has given states some leeway in how to respond to the policies. Devolution, a recent trend in federal policy-making that grants states more autonomy in how to implement policy, leaves some room for states to support and even promote postsecondary access for low-income adults. For example, states have latitude in defining the activities that can count toward work participation and activity requirements for welfare recipients. They may also choose, under certain circumstances, to forgo WIA's tiered delivery of services and provide training sooner and more directly.

As a result of this relatively high level of state autonomy, states vary in their response to the federal legislation with regard to access to postsecondary education for welfare recipients. According to an analysis of welfare reform conducted by the Center for Law and Social Policy, as of 2002, 30 states (and the District of Columbia) allowed access to postsecondary education to count toward work requirements for longer than 12 months; 11 states allowed postsecondary participation for up to 12 months; and four states did not allow postsecondary participation at all (save the 30% allowed to participate in vocational education) (Center for Law and Social Policy, 2002). States also vary in the extent to which they mandate the three-tiered system of services contained in formal WIA policy. However, there are no currently available survey data to document the precise variations with regard to that matter (our conclusions come from qualitative work we conducted; see Shaw et al., n.d.).

As we discuss in more detail elsewhere (Mazzeo, Rab, & Eachus, 2003; Shaw et al., n.d.; Shaw & Rab, 2003), there is no question that state-level welfare and WIA policy regarding access to postsecondary education varies significantly. Indeed, these policy variations do have some effect on the proportion of welfare recipients who are engaged in postsecondary education. Yet when we look more closely at the implementation of welfare reform and WIA across states, we see that, by and large, the work-first idea dominates. In other words, access to postsecondary education for welfare recipients and WIA clients has been reduced across the board in favor of rapid attachment to the

workforce, despite variation in states' formal policies that would suggest otherwise.

**Methodology and Data Sources**

The data for this article are derived from a larger study supported by the Atlantic Philanthropies, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Annie E. Casey Foundation. Because the overarching purpose of the project was to compare how variations in state-level policy affected access to education and training, in constructing our sample we selected six states that varied significantly in terms of their general approaches to welfare reform and the WIA: Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington. A summary of these states' welfare reform and WIA policies can be seen in Table 2.

Importantly, because the states in our sample were selected based on variation in their formal policies rather than the demographics of their populations, we do not have data on a state in the Southwest, a region with a significant Latino population, although such data would have been desirable in this particular study. As Table 1 indicates, bachelor's degree attainment rates among Blacks and Latinos varies by U.S. regional area. Blacks living in the West and Northeast have higher levels of educational attainment than Blacks living in the Midwest and South. Among Latinos, those living in the West have the lowest rates of bachelor's degree completion, compared to other regions. There is also variation in attainment among our six states. Data differentiated by race and ethnicity are available for five of our six states

TABLE 2  
*State Welfare Reform and WIA Policy*

State	Access to Postsecondary Education Under TANF	WIA Policy
Florida	Moderate. State has 48-month lifetime limit. Recipients may attend college for 12 months without work requirement, and in some instances continue past this point.	Movement toward decentralization; local public/private boards have enormous responsibility for both WIA and welfare reform, and the two are coordinated to a greater extent than in many states.
Illinois	High. Recipients may attend college full time for 36 months without a work requirement. To continue after that time, they must work 29 hours per week. State uses Maintenance of Effort funds to "stop the clock" for recipients pursuing postsecondary education.	Community colleges are allowed to serve as one-stop centers if other local community agencies agree.
Massachusetts	Low. College attendance without work requirement is not allowed. Recipients must work 20 hours a week while attending college.	No unified coordination with welfare reform. Technically, community colleges may serve as one-stop centers, but they do not.
Pennsylvania	Moderate. Recipients must conduct job search. If unsuccessful, they may attend college for 24 months without a work requirement.	Community colleges may serve as one-stop centers if local Workforce Investment Boards allow. In major urban areas, they do not.
Rhode Island	High. State employs a human capital approach to welfare reform. Recipients may attend college for 24 months without a work requirement. May continue full-time postsecondary education if necessary after this point.	Department of Human Services and Department of Labor and Training are coordinating services to co-locate one-stop centers. Technically, community colleges may serve as such centers, but they do not.
Washington	Low. Recipients may attend college for 12 months without work requirement, but only vocational education is allowed. May attend college only if mandated job search fails.	State Board of Community and Technical Colleges is a required partner in system of one-stop career centers. However, Employment Security Dept. is administering delivery system.

(Rhode Island data are not available because it is not one of the top 25 largest U.S. states.). Twenty-seven percent of Blacks in Massachusetts and 24% of Blacks in Washington have bachelor's degrees, compared to 13% to 15% of Blacks living in Florida, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. In comparison, 22% of Latinos living in Florida have bachelor's degrees, compared to only 6% of Latinos in Illinois, and 13% to 16% of Latinos in the other three states. These differences in the educational attainment levels of the racial and ethnic minority populations must be taken into account when considering the outcomes of these policies in our states. For example, states with a more educated group of Latinos—such as Florida, which has a disproportionately large number of Cuban-Americans—may be more likely to provide training services to that group, or perhaps less likely to provide training, since they may perceive less demand.

Since the federal government does not require states to report complete data on participation in education or training in either welfare reform or WIA, it has been quite difficult to develop concrete measures of the ways in which these policy changes have affected the college-going rates of individuals who participate in these programs. In other words, no source of national data exists on the effects of these policies on educational outcomes. However, we have gathered quantitative pre- and postdata in our six states on both sets of policies that allow us to empirically examine the impact of these policies on access to college. Importantly, we were able to obtain WIA data that are disaggregated by race and ethnicity in only three of our six states, and only descriptive statistics are available. Yet these data are unique and important because they represent some of the only available data about the participation of Black and Latinos in college or other forms of training under these federal programs.

Data used to analyze the effects of WIA are culled from two sources. Pre-WIA data on the number of adults receiving training are drawn from 1997 Standardized Program Information Reports for the JTPA, which preceded WIA. Post-WIA data are drawn from 2003 state Workforce Investment Act reports. We also present data on services received by adults under WIA using Workforce Investment Act Standardized Record Data, as analyzed by the Jacob France In-

stitute (Stevens, 2003a, 2003b), and by the Department of Labor.

The data for our pre-post analysis of the number of welfare recipients in postsecondary education were provided by individual states directly to the authors (we present data from FY 2001, the latest year we were able to obtain). In addition, we compiled data on the characteristics of welfare recipients using reports from the Department of Health and Human Services. Finally, we also present analyses on the impact of welfare receipt on Black and Latino enrollment in postsecondary education, using data from the 2000 Current Population Survey (CPS).

### **Access to Postsecondary Education Under Welfare Reform**

As noted earlier, substantial portions of the Black and Latino populations in the United States live below the poverty line, and thus are qualified to receive services under both welfare reform and WIA. And, given their relatively low educational levels (relative to non-Hispanic Whites), both Blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately in need of education and training through these programs. But as we have reported elsewhere (Mazzeo, Rab, & Eachus, 2003), welfare is much less likely to act as a vehicle to access postsecondary education since 1996 than it had prior to reform. This is due to two separate factors that result from the work-first philosophy driving welfare reform. First, caseloads have dropped so dramatically that far fewer individuals are accessing welfare reform in general. And second, welfare reform policies create barriers to postsecondary education for welfare recipients. When taken together, these factors have effectively eliminated postsecondary education as a possibility for many of the nation's poor, and for Latinos and Blacks in particular.

#### *Caseload Reduction*

Six years after welfare reform was passed, there was a 65% decrease in the number of adults receiving cash assistance. Data collected from the six states in our study reflect this trend, and provide additional detail of the scope of the reduction in caseloads. As Table 3 shows, the reduction in monthly adult caseloads from 1996 to 2002 varied from a low of 37% in Rhode Island to a high of 85% in Florida and Illinois. The number of people affected by this reduction is

**TABLE 3**  
*Trends in Welfare Adult Caseload Reduction From AFDC (Monthly Averages)*

State	AFDC 1996 <i>N</i>	TANF 2002 <i>N</i>	Caseload Change (1996–2002)	
			<i>N</i>	%
U.S. Total	3,973,334	1,390,148	-2,583,186	-65
Florida	165,764	24,614	-141,150	-85
Illinois	199,805	29,486	-170,319	-85
Massachusetts	84,021	31,001	-53,020	-63
Pennsylvania	175,631	56,783	-118,848	-68
Rhode Island	19,376	12,138	-7,238	-37
Washington	96,935	43,423	-53,512	-55

*Source.* U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families TANF 6th Annual Report to Congress. "Proportion of Children and Adults in State AFDC/TANF Caseloads Fiscal Years 1996 and 2002." <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/annualreport6/chapter01/0103chartdata.htm>.  
 "Change in number of AFDC/TANF Recipients—Fiscal Years 1996–2002" <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/annualreport5/0204.htm>.

quite striking. Looking at the state of Illinois, for example, we see that its caseload dropped from nearly 200,000 to just under 30,000. In these six states alone, welfare reform reduced the caseloads by over one-half million people (544,087).

An examination of caseload characteristics reveals a number of changing trends with regard to racial composition. First, as Table 4 illustrates, welfare recipients are increasingly Latino (a 6% increase from FY 1992 to FY 2002), while the proportion of White welfare recipients dropped 7% during that same period, and the proportion of Black recipients remained essentially unchanged. These changes may be due to a number of factors. The American Latino population has been increasing at a rate that exceeds the growth of the general population, and is projected to account for 20% of the U.S. population by the year 2020 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2004). In ad-

dition, we know that those with higher levels of education are more likely to exit the welfare system and succeed in the job market under work-first policies than are those with little formal education (Peterson, Song, & Jones-DeWeever, 2002). Thus, the overall growth of the U.S. Latino population, when coupled with their relatively low levels of education, likely contributes greatly to Latinos' overrepresentation on the welfare rolls.

Specific aspects of the welfare reform legislation decrease the ability of nonnative minorities in particular to access services. The restrictions placed on immigrants in the original 1996 welfare reform legislation were among the most controversial aspects of this already controversial piece of legislation (Fremsted, 2002). At that time, noncitizens were deemed ineligible for a broad range of federally funded social services,

**TABLE 4**  
*Trends in Ethnic/Racial Composition of Welfare Family Caseload From AFDC to TANF: United States*

Race	AFDC %				TANF %			
	FY 92	FY 94	FY 96	FY 98	FY 99	FY 00	FY 01	FY 02
White	39	37	36	33	31	31	30	32
Black	37	36	37	39	38	39	39	38
Latino	19	20	21	22	25	25	26	25

*Note.* The composition of the total active family caseload is provided, rather than total adults, due to data limitations. Years included were also subject to data availability.

*Source.* U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families TANF 5th and 6th Annual Reports to Congress.

such as Supplemental Security Income benefits and food stamps, as well as Medicaid (Fix & Tumlin, 1997). While these benefits were essentially reinstated by the Balanced Budget Act of 1997, what remains is a new distinction between legal immigrants and citizens that had not existed prior to this legislation. Under welfare reform, large categories of legal immigrants that had previously been entitled to basic welfare benefits are not eligible for an array of federally funded welfare benefits (Zimmerman & Tumlin, 1999) creating what Fix and Tumlin (1997) have titled a "bright line between legal immigrants and citizens that was formerly drawn between illegal and legal immigrants" (p. 1). In other words, whereas legal immigrants enjoyed many of the same rights and privileges as did citizens prior to welfare reform, the new legislation stripped away many of these rights from legal immigrants, essentially equating them with illegal immigrants.

Newly arrived immigrants have been particularly hard hit. Currently, legal immigrants who entered this country before August 22, 1996 are generally ineligible for federally funded benefits, with the exception of food stamps. Eligibility for legal immigrants who entered the United States after this date is based upon such factors as immigrant status, disability status, or designation as a minor or elderly. The largest number of immigrants—those designated lawful permanent residents, and most especially working-age adults in this category—are generally ineligible for federal Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Medicaid benefits until they have lived in the country for five years or have worked for 40 quarters. Although those admitted to the country for humanitarian reasons are eligible for some benefits, they are subject to timeline and benefits restrictions as well.

Just as importantly, devolution allows states the autonomy to decide whether, and how, basic benefits for immigrants will be restored by utilizing state or local funds. Whereas states can elect to provide immigrant populations with state or locally funded TANF and Medicaid, they are not required to do so (Fremsted, 2002). Because states have more discretion in decisions to provide state-funded benefits, and because immigrants in general have a much smaller federally funded safety net, the end result of welfare reform is a substantial reduction in social services

for immigrants in general, and a lack of consistency across states in terms of providing benefits for immigrants (Zimmerman & Tumlin, 1999). Most states have not been able to fully restore to immigrants the TANF and Medicaid benefits they lost under federal welfare reform. And according to a study conducted by the Urban Institute, more than half of states do not provide cash assistance to newly immigrant families during their first five years in the United States (Zimmerman & Tumlin, 1999).

Not surprisingly given these policy shifts, access to welfare benefits has decreased even more sharply for most categories of immigrants than is the case for the general population. A recent analysis of CPS data by Fix and Passel (2002) reports steep declines in the use of TANF by immigrants between 1994 and 1999, with legal noncitizen use falling 53%, from 18.7% to 8.7% (pp. 16, 27). Thus, there is strong evidence to suggest that welfare reform disproportionately impacts native-born Latinos, whose low levels of formal education prevent them from exiting the welfare rolls, and Black and Latino immigrant populations, whose access to welfare benefits of any sort have been sharply curtailed.

#### *Participation in Postsecondary Education*

In the decade or so prior to the 1996 welfare reform legislation, college attendance among welfare recipients was increasing. The number of recipients engaged in higher education through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Employment and Training Program rose steadily during the early 1990s, reaching a peak in 1994. However, the numbers began to decline starting in 1995, when early implementation of TANF in several major states (including Florida) began (see Figure 1).

Data gathered from our six states indicate that all states but one enroll a smaller percentage of welfare recipients in postsecondary education under welfare reform than they did prior to welfare reform. As Table 5 and Figure 2 illustrate, even prior to welfare reform the percentage of recipients who were enrolled in postsecondary education was not high; none of our six states enrolled more than 10% of welfare recipients in postsecondary education prior to 1996. Yet 5 years after welfare reform was enacted, these percentages dropped to even lower levels, with no state



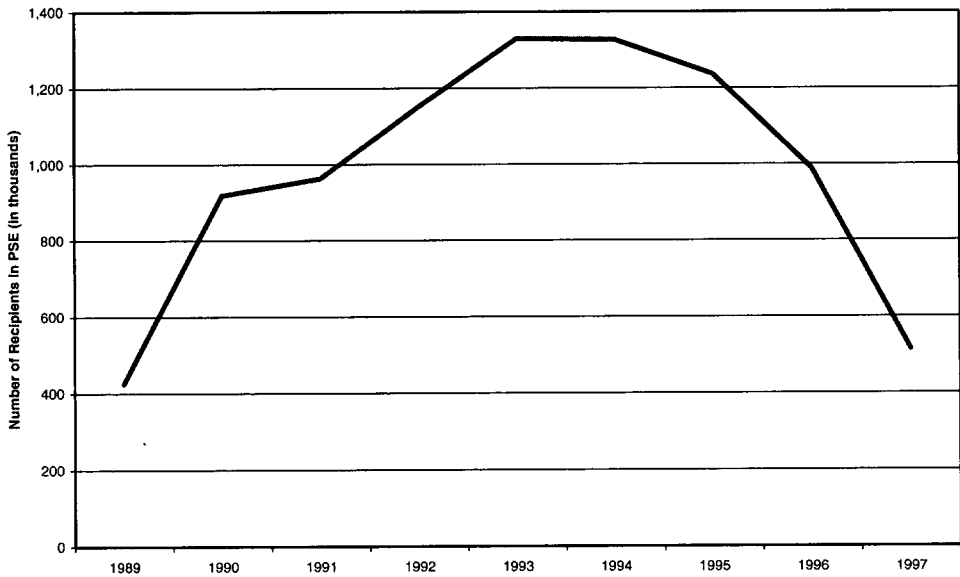


FIGURE 1. Welfare recipient participation in postsecondary education: 1989–1997. Source: AFDC Microdata, <http://afdc.urban.org>.

enrolling more than 7% of recipients, and most states enrolling under 4%.

Moreover, comparing the raw number of welfare recipients enrolled in postsecondary education prior to welfare reform to the number 5 years after welfare reform reveals a precipitous drop in access. Pennsylvania reduced its total enrollment in postsecondary education by more than 90%,

and Illinois by 86%; Massachusetts has reduced the number of participants in postsecondary education by 73%; and Washington's numbers have dropped by 67%. Even in Florida, where the percent of recipients in postsecondary education went up slightly over time (from 2.18 % to 2.78%), the actual number of adults declined by 86%. The smallest drop is seen in Rhode Island, which

TABLE 5

Welfare Recipient Enrollment in Postsecondary Education by State: AFDC and TANF

State	Data Type	AFDC: FY 1996*			TANF: FY 2001*			Overall Caseload Change		Overall PSE Change	
		Adults	# in PSE	% in PSE	Adults	# in PSE	% in PSE	N	%	N	%
FL	Year	383,016	8,361	2.18	109,417	3,044	2.78	-273,599	-71.43	-5,317	-63.59
IL	Month	199,805	8,674	4.34	39,739	1,204	3.03	-160,066	-80.11	-7,470	-86.12
MA	Month	84,021	2,558	3.04	28,864	703	2.44	-55,157	-65.65	-1,855	-72.52
PA	Year	196,417	6,714	3.42	63,093	377	0.60	-133,324	-67.88	-6,337	-94.38
RI	Year	16,557	561	3.39	14,341	479	3.34	-2,216	-13.38	-82	-14.62
WA	Month	96,935	9,311	9.61	43,650	3,071	7.04	-53,285	-54.97	-6,240	-67.02

Note. PSE = postsecondary education. Time periods: FL, PA, and RI are yearly PSE totals, divided by yearly adult total caseload (states provided denominator). Other states are a monthly avg in PSE, divided by a monthly avg adult caseload. AFDC # in PSE is for FY 1996 [IL, PA], Fall 1995 [WA], or May 1997 [RI]. TANF # in PSE is for FY 2001 (7/00–6/01) except for MA (1/01) and WA (Fall 00). Please note that in WA, PSE is reported by the college system rather than DHS. Welfare recipients may attend college in all states without DHS knowing about it, which means in the other five states, these are likely underestimates. Of the 3071 TANF PSE known to the college system in WA, 1957 are known to DHS. We do not know similar figures for AFDC in WA. PSE means 2- or 4-year degree-granting programs only.

Source. State-reported data, collected by authors.

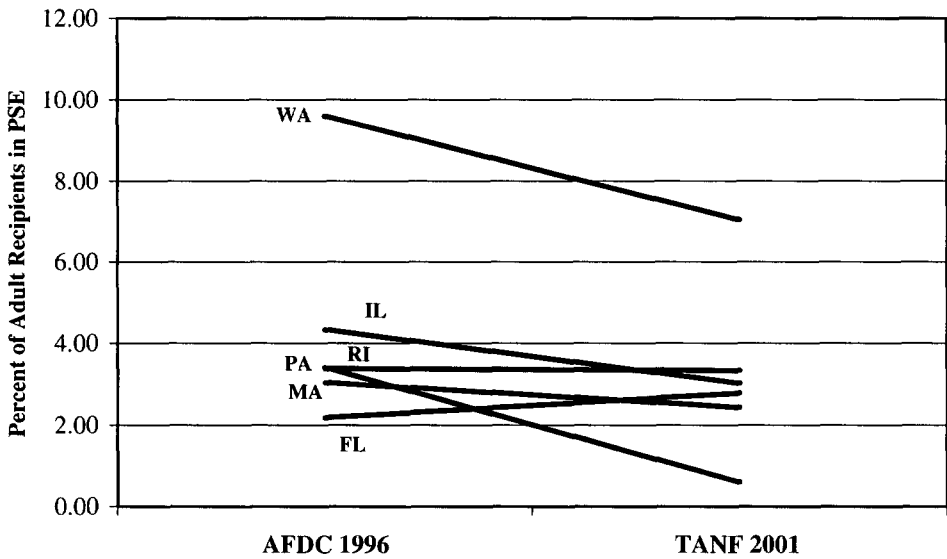


FIGURE 2. *Percent of welfare recipients enrolled in postsecondary education: AFDC and TANF.*  
 Sources. Caseload Data: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families TANF 5th Annual Report to Congress. "Proportion of Children and Adults in State AFDC/TANF Caseloads Fiscal Years 1996 and 2001" <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/annualreport5/0203charidata.htm#2001>. Provided by state officials in FL, PA, and RI. Postsecondary Enrollment Data: Provided by state officials directly to the authors.

has reduced the number of participants in postsecondary education by only 15%. However, the overall downward trend is quite clear.<sup>5</sup>

Analyses of 2000 CPS data can also give us a rough picture of how enrollment in postsecondary education varies by racial or ethnic group and welfare receipt. As Table 6 demonstrates, Latino welfare recipients are less likely to be enrolled in postsecondary education than other recip-

ients. In addition, the disparity in enrollment between recipients and nonrecipients among Latinos is especially large (nearly 28 percentage points) compared to Blacks (about 8 percentage points), although it is smaller than for Whites (38 percentage points). These descriptive statistics suggest that the negative effect of welfare receipt on postsecondary enrollment may be stronger for Latinos than for Blacks; however this hypothesis cannot be tested with a multivariate analysis due to small sample sizes.

In examining these data, it is clear that the work-first philosophy embodied in several elements of welfare reform has had a cumulative negative effect on access to postsecondary education. First, welfare reform has greatly reduced the size of the welfare caseload, thus eliminating these benefits for a large proportion of the poor who had previously been covered by this safety net. Second, access to postsecondary education dropped as well, in terms of both the overall number of individuals who are able to access postsecondary education as welfare recipients, and in terms of the percentage of welfare recipients obtaining postsecondary education. Our analyses suggest that this trend may be particularly strong for Latinos receiving welfare.

TABLE 6  
*Percent of Female High School Graduates (Ages 16–24) Enrolled in Postsecondary Education, by Race and Welfare Receipt*

Race	Welfare	
	Recipients	Nonrecipients
White	11.38	49.16
Black	27.58	34.91
Latino	3.03	30.70
Other	17.90	61.76
LR Chi-Square	7.98 <sup>a</sup>	105.85 <sup>b</sup>

Note. LR = Likelihood ratio.

<sup>a</sup>Sample size is low for welfare recipients.

<sup>b</sup>Chi-square may not be a valid statistic.

Source. Current Population Survey 2000. Analysis conducted by Jerry Jacobs and Sarah Winslow (2003).

## The Workforce Investment Act: Working for Minorities?

WIA, which is work-first in orientation despite the investment in workforce development that its title suggests, has also eroded access to education and training. Yet it has received relatively little attention from the popular press and from academic researchers when compared with welfare reform. Below, we trace WIA's effects by first examining shifts in the caseload since the policy was enacted. Next, we examine the types of services that WIA clients can access by examining data from three of our six states. Finally, we look specifically at whether several demographics groups have differing degrees of access to education and training via WIA.

### *Shifts in Caseload Demographics*

As can be seen in Table 7, during the last year of JTPA, 147,717 adults received services and exited the JTPA system. Five years after WIA was enacted, that number had risen to 253,053—a significant increase of 71%. Yet when data are disaggregated at the state level, we see that there is tremendous variation in these increases. Whereas Florida had a WIA caseload increase of 69%, Illinois only increased its caseload by 3%, and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania have smaller caseloads under WIA than under JTPA, representing declines of 34% and 54% respectively. Thus, whereas WIA was intended to widen access

to services, the caseload did not expand uniformly across the nation.

As Table 8 demonstrates, the racial and ethnic composition of the adult clientele has also shifted to some degree under WIA. While the representation of Whites and Latinos has remained essentially steady, there was a decline in Black participation (from 35% under JTPA to 31% under WIA in 2003). In addition, fewer low-income adults access WIA services compared with JTPA. Whereas 98% of the adults receiving more than basic assessment under JTPA qualified as low-income, only 64% of adults under WIA did so. This is to be expected, since JTPA was targeted at low-income individuals, whereas WIA is designed to provide universal access to its services across all income levels. The percent of clients receiving cash welfare (AFDC under JTPA, TANF under WIA) also declined, from nearly one-third of the caseload (31%) to just over one-tenth (13%). This is also not unexpected, given that the welfare caseload has dropped so sharply. Yet these data do suggest that low-income adults are not as well served under WIA as they had been under previous federal workforce development policies.

### *Access to Training*

As noted earlier, WIA provides services sequentially using three tiers of services. Under this model, training is only provided to adults who cannot find employment using more basic levels

TABLE 7  
*Trends in Adult Caseload from JTPA to WIA: United States and Six States*

State	JTPA 7/97–6/98 <i>N</i>	WIA 10/02–9/03 <i>N</i>	Caseload Change (1997–2003)	
			<i>N</i>	%
U.S. Total	147,717	253,053	105,336	71
Florida	6,746	11,395	4,649	69
Illinois	6,241	6,454	213	3
Massachusetts	2,626	1,727	–899	–34
Pennsylvania	9,663	4,405	–5,258	–54
Rhode Island	495	627	132	27
Washington	3,618	3,958	340	9

*Note.* Participants in this chart are limited to adults only; dislocated workers are excluded in PY 2001; Title III is excluded in PY 1997 (PY 1997 includes Title II-A only; PY 2001 included adults only).

*Source.* PY 2003 # Adults: Department of Labor, 2004, WIA Performance Measures by State, [http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/State\\_WIA\\_Performance\\_Measures\\_Adult\\_2003.pdf](http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/State_WIA_Performance_Measures_Adult_2003.pdf).

PY 1997: Social Policy Research Associates. 1999. PY97 SPIR Data Book. Prepared for Department of Labor, Employment & Training Administration. Menlo Park, CA: author. <http://wdr.doleta.gov/opr/spir/spir97/>.

TABLE 8

*Trends in Composition of Adult Caseload from JTPA to WIA: United States*

Parameter	JTPA 1997	WIA 2003
Total adult exiters	198,033	219,979
Racial breakdown of adult exiters		
% White (not Latino)	44	45
% Black (not Latino)	35	31
% Latino	17	18
Of those adult exiters receiving more than objective assessment/core services		
% Low income	98	64
% Receiving cash welfare (AFDC/TANF)	31	13

*Note.* Due to data limitations, total adult exiters includes all adults served. In addition, data limitations mean that % low income and % on welfare can only be calculated for adults receiving beyond core services, whereas racial breakdown is calculated for all adults served.

*Source.* Department of Labor, 2004, WIA PY 2003 Exiters, National Summary Report. Social Policy Research Associates. 1999. PY97 SPIR Data Book. Prepared for Department of Labor, Employment & Training Administration. Menlo Park, CA: author.

of service (core or intensive services, which essentially assist in searching for employment). It is important to note that existing WIA data do not distinguish among types of education or training provided; thus, an unknown (but likely small) percentage of individuals who have obtained "training" under WIA have actually gained access to postsecondary education. Nevertheless, an examination of changes and trends in obtaining access to training, even when broadly defined, is instructive.

Devolution has led to much more state control over the implementation of WIA than had been the case with JTPA. Therefore, one important question regards the extent to which access to training under WIA varies among states. An examination of data culled from annual WIA reports submitted to the U.S. Department of Labor by each of our six states sheds light on the variation in access to training among those states. As Table 9 illustrates, in 1997 the majority of our states provided education and training to more than 90% of JTPA clients. But by 2003, all six states provided education and training to a far smaller percentage of their client base. All states cut access by at least 10%, and in several states (Illinois, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Washington) access was diminished by more than one-third. Overall, rates of access to education and training across the states ranged from a high of 69% in Pennsylvania to a low of 50% in Illinois in 2003. Figure 3 illustrates the marked decline in the percent trained across these six states and the United States total. The decline in the percent trained,

even when coupled with the increase in overall access to WIA, results in far fewer individuals receiving training across five of the six states. Clearly, WIA has become a much less sure route to education and training for adults than was the case before its implementation.

To what extent is there variation among states in access to training for Latinos and Blacks? The data available to address this question are limited because states are not required to provide breakdowns of service delivery by race in their annual reports. However, a recent analysis by Stevens (2003) of WIA Standardized Record Data allows us to examine three states from our larger sample of six: Florida, Illinois, and Washington. Table 10 shows the proportion of WIA clients in core or intensive and in training services, by racial and ethnic category and English proficiency, across all three states.<sup>6</sup>

In Florida, the proportion of Black and Latino adult WIA clients that receive training is relatively small when compared with other racial and ethnic groups. On average, 47% of WIA clients in Florida obtain training. However only 27% of Latino WIA clients and 48% of Black clients obtain training, compared to 65% of White clients. Moreover, adult clients with limited English proficiency, have particularly low levels of training (26%). Latinos are disproportionately likely to speak English "not well" or "not at all" and thus be eligible for English as a Second Language training, which they are unlikely to access via WIA (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

TABLE 9

Percent of Adult Exiters Receiving Training in 6 States and United States: JTPA and WIA  
(Universe: Adult Exiters Who Received Services Beyond Objective Assessment/Core Services)

State	JTPA July 1997–June 1998			WIA Oct 2002–Sept 2003			Change Over Time (1997–2003)		
	Adults	# Trained	% Trained	Adults	# Trained	% Trained	Adults	# Trained	% Trained
U.S. Total	147,717	134,422	91	253,053	102,950	56	105,336	-31,472	-35
FL	6,746	5,060	75	11,395	6,836	60	4,649	1,777	-15
IL	6,241	5,617	90	6,454	3,219	50	213	-2,398	-40
MA	2,626	2,442	93	1,727	993	57	-899	-1,449	-36
PA	9,663	8,987	93	4,405	3,056	69	-5,258	-5,931	-24
RI	495	470	95	627	356	57	132	-114	-38
WA	3,618	3,401	94	3,958	2,165	55	340	-1,236	-39

Note. Adults are exiters who received more than basic assessment (JTPA) or core services (WIA). Therefore, the national data is different than that presented in Table 5.1, which includes all adults. Participants in this chart are limited to adults only; dislocated workers are excluded in PY 2001; Title III is excluded in PY 1997 (PY 1997 includes Title II-A only; PY 2001 included adults only). Number Trained for 2003 comes from Table B, Employment and Credential denominator. Number Trained for PY 1997: Only percents were provided, raw numbers were then calculated.

Source. States: PY 2003 # Trained: State Annual WIA Reports: <http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/AnnualReports/annual-report-03.cfm>. States: PY 2003 # Adults: Department of Labor, 2004, WIA Performance Measures by State, [http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/State\\_WIA\\_Performance\\_Measures\\_Adult\\_2003.pdf](http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/State_WIA_Performance_Measures_Adult_2003.pdf). States: PY 1997: Social Policy Research Associates. 1999. PY97 SPIR Data Book. Prepared for Department of Labor, Employment & Training Administration. Menlo Park, CA: author. <http://wdr.doleta.gov/opr/spir/spir97/>. National PY 2003: Department of Labor, 2004, WIA PY 2003 Summary Report-Adults [http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/WIA\\_Summary\\_03\\_adult.pdf](http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/WIASRD/PY2003/WIA_Summary_03_adult.pdf). National PY 1997: Social Policy Research Associates. 1999. PY97 SPIR Data Book. Prepared for Department of Labor, Employment & Training Administration. Menlo Park, CA: author. <http://wdr.doleta.gov/opr/spir/spir97/nation97.pdf>.

In Illinois, the story is remarkably similar to that in Florida. Whereas on average 47% of WIA clients receive some form of training, the rates of access among Latinos and Blacks are significantly lower (36% and 33% respectively). In contrast, 63% of the White WIA population in

Illinois is able to access training. Of those with limited English proficiency in Illinois, only 27% obtain access to training.

The story of access differs somewhat in Washington. In contrast to Florida and Illinois, in Washington the majority of Latino adults receive

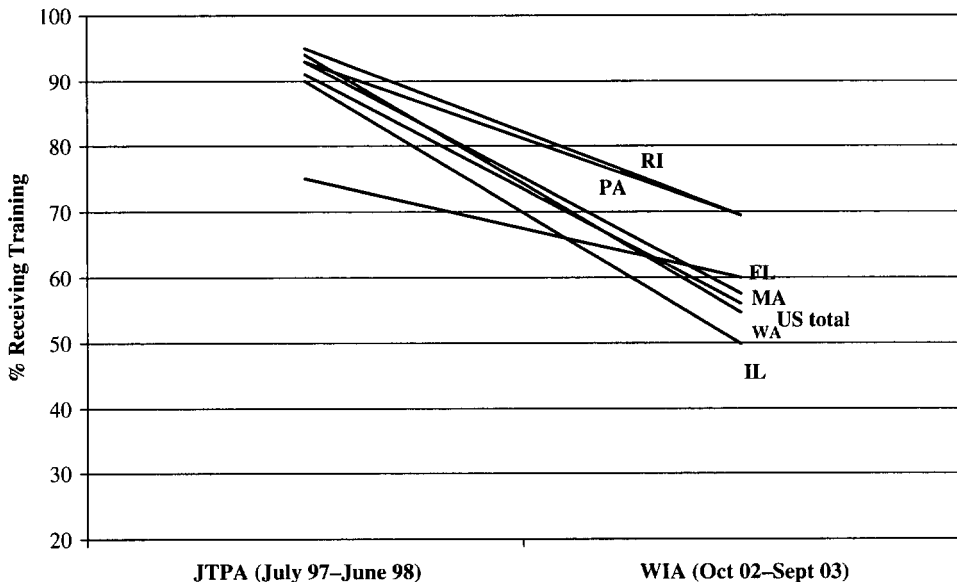


FIGURE 3. Percent of exiters receiving training: JTPA and WIA.

TABLE 10

2003 WIA Client Flow by Race/Ethnicity &amp; Limited English Proficiency: Florida, Illinois, Washington

Race by State	Total <i>N</i>	% of Total <i>N</i>	Core & Intensive		Training	
			<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Florida</b>						
Latino	4,152	27	3,022	73	1,130	27
White	3,975	26	1,382	35	2,593	65
Black	6,838	45	3,589	52	3,249	48
Asian	92	1	31	34	61	66
Other	86	1	45	52	41	48
Limited English proficiency	1,475	10	1,093	74	382	26
Total	15,143	100	8,069	53	7,074	47
<b>Illinois</b>						
Latino	274	8	176	64	98	36
White	1,604	46	594	37	1,010	63
Black	1,463	42	974	67	489	33
Asian	118	3	83	70	35	30
Other	31	1	17	55	14	45
Limited English proficiency	243	7	178	73	65	27
Total	3,490	100	1,844	53	1,646	47
<b>Washington</b>						
Latino	187	8	87	47	100	53
White	1,648	74	669	41	979	59
Black	136	6	71	52	65	48
Asian	59	3	24	41	35	59
Other	195	9	126	65	69	35
Limited English proficiency	174	8	98	56	76	44
Total	2,225	100	977	44	1,248	56

Source. Stevens, David. (2003). WIA One-Stop Client Flow Demographics and Status. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy and Research, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor.

training (53%), albeit at lower rates than either Whites or Asians (59%). In fact, the majority of every racial and ethnic group except Blacks receives training (48% of Blacks in Washington receive training). This is true despite the fact that Washington's WIA clientele is overwhelmingly White (74%) and Latinos comprise only 8% of the population. However, adults with limited English proficiency are still less likely than any other group to obtain training in Washington (44%).

Clearly, the overall degree of access to training varies across these three states. While access is relatively low in both Florida and Illinois, Washington has maintained a relatively high level of training for its WIA clients, although it is still lower than had been the case under JTPA. Generally, we see from these data that access to training for non-White WIA clients is lower than that for White clients, often markedly so. Across all

three states, individuals with limited English proficiency access training at rates far below that of the general WIA population.

### Discussion

This article provides evidence that the work-first philosophy can be particularly hostile to Blacks and Latinos, and to non-native Latinos with limited English proficiency. In some cases these policies restrict and guard access to education, closing doors to the minority populations most likely to benefit from them. By pushing less-educated adults into work, without first providing access to training and education, welfare reform and WIA may help to ensure that they will be employed at low wages.<sup>7</sup>

There is little doubt that welfare reform and WIA embody a work-first philosophy that has resulted in a significant shift away from providing

access to education and training to minorities. This outcome is due to several factors that work in concert to produce this effect. First, welfare reform reduced the size of the welfare clientele dramatically, thereby eliminating postsecondary education as an option for many who were once served by AFDC. Second, access to education and training for those who remain on the rolls has been reduced: a smaller percentage of both welfare reform and WIA clients now enroll in postsecondary education and training than was the case under AFDC and JTPA.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this reduction in access is particularly acute for some groups. In the case of welfare reform, access is formally restricted due to provisions directed at both legal and illegal immigrants. In contrast, WIA contains no such provisions, yet nevertheless disproportionately limits access for Blacks and Latinos generally, and to individuals with limited English proficiency as well. This is most likely due to WIA accountability measures that discourage both caseworkers and educational institutions from serving high-risk clients. As a result of these mechanisms, welfare reform and WIA have reduced both the type and the amount of education and training available to Latinos, Blacks, and those with limited English proficiency.

We also note some disconnects between the overall levels of bachelor's degree attainment of the population in a state and the level of college access provided to that state's neediest citizens. To increase the human capital in their state, it would seem most efficient for states with lower levels of bachelor's degree attainment overall to provide liberal access to college, particularly for disadvantaged adults. Conversely, states that have high levels of college participation might be less likely to work hard to increase access. However, we do not see a negative linear relationship between levels of bachelor's degree attainment and levels of college access under these federal policies. Illinois, the state with the lowest levels of bachelor's degree attainment across all racial and ethnic groups, restricted access to college most significantly under WIA and welfare reform, particularly for Blacks. Massachusetts, a state where on average 35% of the population has at least a bachelor's degree, provided less access to college under WIA and welfare than did Florida, which has overall lower levels of bachelor's de-

gree attainment. And in Florida, where Latinos enjoyed the highest levels of bachelor's degree attainment, they had particularly low levels of access to training under WIA—and Blacks received relatively high levels of access to training. These disparities may be explained by factors such as political power or political will—well-educated poor and minority populations may have a more difficult time, or less interest, in arguing for the advancement of their poorer constituents. Or, states with fewer educated citizens may be less invested overall in a college-for-all ethic. Whatever the reason, it is clear that not only did the impact of work-first vary by race and ethnicity, but there were differences in that variation across our six states.

### **Policy Implications and Conclusion**

While many have taken an interest in promoting college access and completion among Latinos and Blacks, until now the role of welfare reform—and the Workforce Investment Act in particular—received little attention from the popular press or the public. But, as our findings demonstrate, the shift from a human capital approach to the work-first philosophy has had important consequences.

More than two-thirds of the jobs being created in the fastest-growing sectors of the U.S. economy require at least some postsecondary education. At the same time, the number of jobs that do not require postsecondary education is falling. Yet Blacks and Latinos are overrepresented in low-wage service jobs, and continue to lag behind other racial and ethnic groups in their representation in high-wage, high-growth industries (Education Commission of the States, 2004). For example, minorities make up a disproportionate number of individuals employed in low-wage semiskilled or unskilled jobs, and their participation in these fields is growing.

As the nature of the U.S. economic structure changes, it becomes increasingly important to maintain avenues of access to postsecondary education for minorities. Moreover, it is particularly important to provide low-income minorities with the educational and training tools needed to successfully enter the labor market. The growth of high technology fields, for example, does not typically accommodate movement from manual

or low-wage work—unless, as the Education Commission of the States argues, “they have the ways and means to go back to schools” (Education Commission of the States, 2004, p. 6). While we recognize that education and training represents only a portion of the solution to the problems faced by poor Black and Latino adults in this country, it is clear that closing racial and ethnic gaps in college access and completion would be a solid step toward improving the economic standing of these groups.

The implications of our analyses are clear: postsecondary education is no longer an accessible option for most individuals receiving either welfare or WIA services, and this is particularly true for Blacks and Latinos, especially those of limited English proficiency. As both welfare reform and WIA move toward reauthorization, it behooves us to continue to examine closely the trends in access to postsecondary education that are emerging in the wake of welfare reform and WIA. Despite variations across our states, the overall picture that is emerging does not bode well for poor minorities who wish to avail themselves of the benefits of postsecondary education. Moreover, the impacts of these policies in many ways directly contradict efforts of other policies (e.g., affirmative action) to build human capital among minorities. It is possible that welfare reform and WIA represent a sea change in this country’s beliefs about the role that education and training should play in providing opportunities for social mobility for our most disadvantaged citizens.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The terms African-American and Black, as well as the terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably throughout this article for ease of discussion.

<sup>2</sup>Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is the policy that directly preceded PRWORA; the Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) preceded The Workforce Investment Act.

<sup>3</sup>The terms “education” and “training” are sometimes used interchangeably in rhetoric, but in fact they have very different meanings when it comes to enhancing life chances. Training refers to short-term, occupation-focused learning that typically does not lead to a degree or a certificate. In contrast, the term “postsecondary education” most commonly denotes college-based programs that are delivered in traditional classrooms. Individuals with an associate’s degree earn approximately \$7,000 more annually than do high school graduates; and those with a four-year degree earn close to \$12,000

more annually (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002). The economic returns of short-term training are significantly smaller (and sometimes negligible), but when such training is integrated with or leads to further education, the returns are greater (Grubb, 1996).

<sup>4</sup>These differences may be explained in part by the historic legacy of discrimination and slavery perpetrated against African Americans by the U.S. government (Ogbu, 1998).

<sup>5</sup>Please note that in half of the states the postsecondary enrollment and caseload data are based on monthly averages, while the other half are yearly totals. This is due to data limitations. Thus, comparisons across states are only appropriate within each of those groups (monthly versus yearly), while assessing change over time within one state is appropriate.

<sup>6</sup>Although WIA offers three levels of services—core, intensive, and training—we have aggregated core and intensive services in Table 10 to illustrate more clearly patterns in access to training, the primary outcome variable in our analyses.

<sup>7</sup>Of course, the route to higher wages is not solely through postsecondary education. There are alternative pathways to self-sufficiency that can enhance the economic standing of minorities, such as apprenticeships and on-the-job training. Moreover, other federal and state-funded programs that fund job training serve larger numbers of minorities than WIA.

<sup>8</sup>This is true despite an overall increase in the numbers of adults served under WIA—in other words, limited access to training has resulted in fewer people receiving training, even though the population is larger.

### References

- Andrews, I. M., & Simon, R. (2000). *WIA Q&A: The questions from NYATEP teleconference for line staff*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor.
- Camarota, S. (1999). *Importing poverty: Immigration’s impact on the size and growth of the poor population*. Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.
- Center for Law and Social Policy. (2002). *Forty states likely to cut access to postsecondary training or education under House-passed bill*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Fix, M., & Passel, J. (2002). *The scope and impact of welfare reform’s immigrant provisions*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Fix, M., & Tumlin, K. (1997). *Welfare reform and the devolution of immigrant policy*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Fremsted, S. (2002). *Immigrants and welfare reauthorization*. Washington, DC: Center for Budget and Policy Priorities.
- Golonka, S., & Matus-Grossman, L. (2001). *Opening doors: Expanding educational opportunities for*



- low-income workers. New York & Washington, DC: MDRC & National Governors Association Center for Best Practices.
- Greenberg, M., Strawn, J., & Plimpton, L. (1999). *State opportunities to provide access to postsecondary education under TANF*. Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy.
- Grubb, W. N. (1996). *Learning to work: The case for reintegrating job training and education*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Grubb, W. N. (2002). Learning and earning in the middle, Part I: National studies of pre-baccalaureate education. *Economics of Education Review*, 21(4), 299–321.
- Harvey, W. B., & Anderson, E. L. (2005). *Minorities in higher education 2003–2004: Twenty-first annual status report*. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Heckman, J., & Smith, J. (2004). The determinants of participation in a social program: Evidence from a prototypical job training program. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 22, 243.
- Heller, D. (2002). *Condition of access: Higher education for lower income students*. Westport, CT: ACE/Prager Series on Higher Education.
- Katz, M. (2001). *The price of citizenship: Redefining the American welfare state*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Mazzeo, C., Rab, S., & Eachus, S. (2003). Work-first or work only: Welfare reform, state policy and access to postsecondary education. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 586, 144–171.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2002). *Chapter 5: Outcomes of education. Digest of education statistics*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- National Immigration Law Center. (2003). *Immigrants & employment: Immigrant priorities for WIA reauthorization*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Ogbu, J. (1998). Voluntary and involuntary minorities: A cultural-ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education (with H. D. Simons). *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 29(2), 155–188.
- Peterson, J., Song, X., & Jones-DeWeever, A. (2002). *Life after welfare reform: Low-income single parent families, pre- and post-TANF*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research.
- Rogers-Dillon, R. (2004). *The welfare experiments: Politics and policy evaluation*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Savner, S. (2000). Welfare reform and ethnic/racial minorities: The questions to ask. *Poverty and Race*, 9(4), 3.
- Shaw, K., Goldrick-Rab, S., Mazzeo, C., & Jacobs, J. A. (n.d.). *Putting poor people to work: How the work-first ideology eroded access to college for the poor*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University.
- Shaw, K., & Rab, S. (2003). Market rhetoric versus reality in policy and practice: The workforce investment act and access to community college education and training. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 586, 172–193.
- Social Policy Research Associates. (1999). *PY97 SPIR data book*. Menlo Park, CA: U.S. Department of Labor.
- Stevens, D. (2003a). *Mapping WIA one-stop client flows. ADARE project*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor.
- Stevens, D. (2003b). *WIA one-stop client flow demographics and status. ADARE project*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Nativity by language spoken at home by ability to speak English for the population 5 years and over. Sample data*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2003). *Current population survey: March 2002*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/ Administration for Children and Families. (2002). *Second annual report to Congress on the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2003). *TANF fifth annual report to Congress: Trends in AFDC/TANF recipient characteristics: FY 1992–FY 2001*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Weaver, K. (2000). *Ending welfare as we know it*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Zimmerman, W., & Tumlin, K. (1999). *Patchwork policies: State assistance for immigrants under welfare reform*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

## Authors

SARA GOLDRICK-RAB is an Assistant Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 210 Education Building, 1000 Bascom Mall, Madison, WI 53706; srab@education.wisc.edu. Her areas of specialization are college pathways and transitions, stratification in educational outcomes, and community colleges.

KATHLEEN M. SHAW is an Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Temple University, 246 Ritter Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19122; kshaw@temple.edu. Her areas of specialization are higher education policy, community colleges, and access and equity in higher education.

Manuscript received October 27, 2004

Revision received May 10, 2005

Accepted July 27, 2005

A vertical bar on the left side of the page, consisting of a series of yellow and orange rectangular segments. A small red diamond is located at the top of this bar.

COPYRIGHT INFORMATION

TITLE: Racial and Ethnic Differences in the Impact of  
Work-First Policies on C  
SOURCE: Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis 27 no4 Wint  
2005  
PAGE(S): 291-307  
WN: 0534903465005

The magazine publisher is the copyright holder of this article and it is reproduced with permission. Further reproduction of this article in violation of the copyright is prohibited. To contact the publisher:  
<http://www.aera.net/>

Copyright 1982-2006 The H.W. Wilson Company. All rights reserved.