Child Poverty Report

Reducing Child Poverty Benchmark Analysis Multnomah County, Oregon



Department of Support Services

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MULTNOMAH COUNTY LONG-TERM BENCHMARK APPROACH

ALLEVIATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF CURRENT CHILD POVERTY,
REDUCING THE CAUSES OF FUTURE POVERTY

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How do We Define Poverty? See section A

- 1. Since 1996, one of the three Multnomah County long-term benchmarks has been to reduce the number of children living in poverty. It is not clear how this benchmark is being defined or pursued. What kind of poverty? What kind of reduction? And what measure? What kind of time frame?
- 2. We can become clearer about this Benchmark by, first, selecting from the different ways poverty is defined and counted: pre-tax income; pre-tax income and benefits; earnings; wages; program participation; job availability; societal indicators; assets; levels of hardship, etc.
- 3. Second, we need agreement on what level of wage, assets, earnings, etc. means you are poor. Some people say that the Federal Poverty Level is too low a level. Others argue that we need to count people as poor even if they are 200% of the Federal Poverty Level as they are the "working poor."
- 4. Third, we need agreement on the way we are going to measure poverty. Is it using a program participation count? A survey of income? A survey of hardship? The way we count is related to what we count. Using the American Community Survey means that we are choosing to count poverty as a measure of parental income.
- 5. The present benchmark is an idea of what we want. We need a goal to aim for. For instance, the goal could be 100 families a year out of poverty. Or, we can aim for reducing poverty by 2% in Rockwood area. Or, 50% of people in job training get a job at a living wage.

WHAT CAUSES POVERTY? SEE SECTION B

- 6. Child poverty is caused to a large degree by adult poverty. One can decrease child poverty by decreasing adult poverty.
- 7. Adult poverty is caused by both personal factors (e.g., lack of skills and readiness to work) and structural factors (e.g., lack of local job opportunities and racism).
- 8. Poverty is transitional for about 2/3 of families and persistent for about 1/3. This means that strategies to help families to get out of poverty will differ depending on the family. Some families will always need amelioration activities as parents have too few assets and too many risks to be able to take care of their children or themselves.

WHAT ARE THE CURRENT BEST IDEAS TO REDUCE POVERTY? SEE SECTION C

- 9. The two strategies most commonly identified by poverty researchers are:
 - Strategy 1: Increase the level of education, training, skills, and other human capital characteristics of those at the bottom of the capability distribution. (e.g., job training, school success, school-to-work, unpaid community service; readiness-to-work training).
 - Strategy 2: Increase the return that the least capable member of society receives on the use of their human capital, (e.g., wage subsidies, earned income tax credits, individual development accounts, living wages, child tax credits).
- 10. The literature review for this paper has found 20 successful social programs that have been evaluated using an experimental design. The main intervention in these programs is intensive case management using a range of amelioration and self-sufficiency programs.
- 11. The two main outcomes of these programs are increases in employment and earnings.
- 12. The learnings from best and proven practices suggest that programs to reduce poverty should:
 - Emphasize self-sufficiency activities to build human capital while providing needed amelioration.
 - ♦ Measure effectiveness in terms of self-sufficiency. Employment and earnings are valid and required outcomes of programs claiming to reduce poverty.
 - ♦ Intensive case management reduces poverty for youths, low income people, public assistance recipients and the unemployed. Promote linkage at the level of coordinated services for clients rather than at the level of administration.
 - Provide services at an adequate intensity.

What is Multnomah County Currently Doing to Reduce Poverty? See section D

- 13. Multnomah County is only one actor in the Multnomah county region helping low-income people. This report provides a view of only County-funded activities.
- 14. The County's focus on school success and support for the Workforce Development Board is consistent with the Strategy One to build human capital. Multnomah County has also lobbied for living wages for its employees and contractors. Recently, there are also discussions about County support for individual development accounts.
- 15. Generally speaking, however, we are focused on alleviating consequences of current poverty rather than reducing causes. Analysis of the current budget shows that 28% of the entire \$840 million County Budget serves people with low incomes.
- 16. 17% of the entire budget goes to amelioration programs.

- 17. 11% of the entire County Budget goes to programs to reduce causes by building self-sufficiency. These programs aim for short-term gains (e.g., GED completion) or long-term gains (e.g., quality childhood development). Most of our self-sufficiency programs focus on children and invests in long-term self-sufficiency. For adults, Multnomah County spending to build self-sufficiency and marketable assets is limited.
- 18. The system of services is fragmented and frustrating for staff and clients. There is little, if any sharing of client information across Departments. Planning, delivery and coordination of services to people with low incomes seem to be ad hoc. Further, amelioration programs are not adequately connected to self-sufficiency programs. We can help increase the coordination by measuring how programs that help parents impact the children in their families.
- 19. People with low incomes in Multnomah County access services from a large variety of providers. There is no cross-departmental system to ensure that they are receiving adequate outreach, adequate services or how they are moving out of poverty due to existing programs. The fragmentation of funding, of funds.

What Else Can Multnomah County Do to Reduce Poverty? See section E

This Report supports the strategies of investing in people and providing a good return on people's efforts. Multnomah County has a record of investing in its children, as School Success is also one of our long-term Benchmarks. Recent conversations regarding the Individual Investment Account and Living Wages for County contractors are two examples of how we are working to increase the financial return for people in or near poverty.

In general, however, Multnomah County programming focuses on alleviating current poverty and reducing the causes of future poverty by improving child well-being. This Report reminds us that we can also reduce child poverty by reducing parental poverty. For instance, we could check if clients to our amelioration programs are linked with self-sufficiency programs if they need them. No matter what kind of programming menu Multnomah County chooses to fund, it is important that we ensure that clients to our programs have maximum, if not seamless, access to opportunities to become self-sufficient, if they need them.

Measurement for results checking, programming to increase adult self-sufficiency, and linkage for appropriate full service are the three issues this Report has identified as being important to reducing child poverty for Multnomah County. Research presented in this report shows that a self-sufficiency emphasis and linked programming helps reduce poverty for many groups of people in the poor population. Section E outlines some activities we may want to consider on a small program-by-program scale as well as at policy and institutional levels.

Multnomah County can discuss measurement, program redirection and linkage issues at the cross divisional and cross-departmental level as well as at the county-wide regional level.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

I. GOAL

In the Summer of 1998, the Department of Support Services, Evaluation/Research Unit began to study current and potential responses to child poverty. The work plan included: (1) a best practices review; and (2) a mapping of the current system (funding, services and accountability) funded by Multnomah County. This study on child poverty addressed two questions:

- 1. What is Multnomah County's current approach to reducing child poverty?
- 2. What are important elements for a Multnomah County plan to reduce child poverty?

This document is a combination of a literature review and an analysis of Multnomah County administrative data. It provides a national view of poverty causes and best practices to better analyze current Multnomah County funding.

It has not, however, analyzed the system for the entire Multnomah County region and its many actors. Such an effort would require an extended collaborative effort with these many actors sharing data and time.

II. DATA COLLECTION

There were three main types of data collection for this report: (1) interviews with selected experts and professional staff; (2) a review of available literature; and (3) an analysis of County administrative data.

This report required about 0.60 FTE of direct staff time. Many Multnomah County colleagues and numerous interested and helpful people also assisted in providing suggestions and needed information.

III. RELATED INFORMATION

Multnomah County is issuing two other publications on poverty this year.

In the Fall of 1996, the Department of Community and Family Services, Division of Community Programs and Partnership, published a report on child poverty entitled *Poverty in Multnomah County: A Descriptive Report.* The Division also has a follow-up report called *Child Poverty Reduction Initiative*. Janet Hawkins, Community Action Coordinator at the Commission for Children, Families and Community is the lead author. Also, in the Fall of 1997, the Domestic Violence Workgroup began working, in conjunction with planning for the May 1998

Women's Economic Conference, on a report on the status of women, poverty, and domestic violence. This report will be completed by June 1999 and is titled Facing the Challenge: A Report on the Economic Status of Women in Multnomah County. Chiquita Rollins, Multnomah County Domestic Violence Coordinator is the lead author. Joy Webber and Allison Suter are assisting her.

SECTION A: How Do We Count Poor Children?

There is no particular reason to count the poor unless you are going to do something about them. When it comes to defining poverty, you can only be more subjective or less so. You cannot be nonsubjective. Orshansky (1969)

I. Introduction: Three Issues Related to Counting the Poor

It is common to equate "poor people" with "people with low incomes." It is also "people with low common to equate incomes" with those whose incomes are lower than the published Federal Poverty Level. This mental shorthand emphasizing one type of poverty/resource (financial) and one calculation of adequacy (the Federal Poverty Level) is being reconsidered by many, including the US Government Accounting Office, the US Census Bureau, and the National Academy of Sciences. The Institute for Research on Poverty (1998) has documented at least 30 federal government projects to redefine the current poverty measure.

This national reconsideration of who is poor can have implications for our local work on the benchmark Reducing the Number of Children Living in Poverty. Currently, we count the poor in Multnomah County by using the 1996 American Community Survey to make estimates based on the above mental shorthand. Perhaps we could be counting the number of poor children in other ways.

There are three steps to counting the poor. The first step is to decide what kind of poverty (or conversely, what kind of resources) to count and what not to count. The Commission on Children, Families & Community's Asset Survey is part of the work to expand thinking expanding the list of resources beyond pure financial (e.g., income, earnings) considerations.

After we have decided which resource(s) to count, the second step is to determine the adequate level for the resource that we are counting. For example, if we decide to count income, what level is enough income? Those who do not have enough of this resource are "poor" and those who have enough are "non-poor."

After we decide the type of poverty and how to calculate the poverty, we will need to think about existing or new data collection methods that will count people using the new formula. This last step allows us to regularly report on the benchmark using a consistent method. Having a dependable measure also allows us to set a goal for the benchmark.

The next two subsections outline the main conceptual choices for the first two steps. Subsection four presents alternate methods available to us in our reconsideration of who is poor and how many are poor in Multnomah County. The last subsection is a list of policy questions to assist discussion on this topic.

Ruby Payne's (1998) framework for describing types of poverty presents a broad framework for understanding the different types of poverty/resources. And, although we are not talking about solutions to poverty in this section, it is clear that some resources are associated with particular strategies. This means that decisions about who to count as poor (e.g., unemployed people, people with low-wage jobs) can have consequences for

the strategies that we select to reduce poverty.

According to this view of poverty, our current method of counting only financial resources misses out on crucial needs and capacities. Which of these resource(s) are appropriate to track as a way to monitor our progress in Reducing the Number of Children Living in Poverty?

	POVERT(IES) IN DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLDS					
FINANCIAL RESOURCES	INCOME	Having the money to purchase goods. Income can come from savings, employment or programs that provide tax credits or cash benefits.				
	EMPLOYMENT	Having a job provides earnings as well as some of the other types of resources.				
	NONCASH BENEFITS	These resources (e.g., medical benefits) come from programs seeking to alleviate poverty.				
NON- FINANCIAL RESOURCES	EMOTIONAL	Being able to choose and control emotional resources, particularly in negative situations. This is an internal resource and shows itself through stamina, perseverance, and choices.				
	MENTAL	Having the mental abilities and acquired skills (reading, writing, computing) to deal with daily life.				
	SPIRITUAL	Believing in divine purpose and guidance. This can be a powerful resource because the individual does not see him/herself as hopeless and useless, but rather as capable and having worth and value.				
	PHYSICAL	Having physical health and mobility.				
	SUPPORT SYSTEMS	Having friends, family, and backup resources available to access in times of need. Support systems can help when an individual needs more financial, emotional, or informational help.				
	RELATIONSHIPS/ ROLE MODELS	Having frequent access to adults who are appropriate, who are nurturing to the child, and who do not engage in self-destructive behavior. It is largely from role models that the person learns how to live life emotionally.				
	KNOWLEDGE OF HIDDEN RULES	Knowing the unspoken cues and habits of a group. This is crucial to whatever class in which the individual wishes to live. Generally, in order to successfully move from one class to the next, it is important to have a spouse or a mentor to model and teach the hidden rules.				

Adapted from Payne, A Framework for Understanding Poverty, 1998

Family Size	1998 Oregon monthly income	1996 Oregon monthly budgets for		
	threshold as set by the US	typical families as calculated by the		
	Department of Health and Human	Northwest Job Gap Study		
	Services			
1 person	\$ 671 (\$ 8,052/year)	\$1,745 (\$20,948/year)		
2 people	\$ 904 (\$10,848/year)	\$2,267 (\$27,204/year)		
3 people	\$1,138 (\$13,656/year)	\$2,835 (\$34,020/year)		
4 people	\$1,371 (\$16,452/year)	\$2,433 (\$29,196/year)		
5 people	\$1,604 (\$19,248/year)	\$3,117 (\$37,404/year)		

Sources: Federal Register, 1998 and the Northwest Policy Institute, 1999.

Once we have decided what to count, we will need to decide on what is "enough." The Table above has two different conceptualizations of what is enough for a family living in Multnomah County. US Department of Health and Human Services publishes annual poverty guidelines (the cost of the Thrifty Food Budget multiplied three times). In contrast, the Northwest Policy Institute has created budgets for typical Oregon families.

Generally speaking, families whose pre-tax income is lower than the poverty threshold are designated as poor and are eligible for a variety of cash and noncash benefits. Congress recognizes that the Federal Poverty Level is too low. Most programs give benefits to families who have up to 185% of the monthly threshold in the Table above. Programs range in benefits and can offer cash (e.g., utility subsidies) or non-cash benefits (e.g., food stamps) to poor families. It is also important to note that Congress also gives benefits to non-poor families (e.g., school loans, tax credits, and deductions) and corporations and these benefits are not counted as pre-tax income.

The Institute for Research on Poverty (1998) describes the many recommendations to improve the current poverty measure. The

two main ideas for improving the current poverty measure require: 1) raising the poverty threshold; and 2) calculating it in a way that reflects the economic realities for today's families.

Raising the threshold could be as simple as deciding that the number of poor people are those under 185% of the federal income threshold. This is in fact the strategy being used by many federal (e.g., school meals) and state (e.g., Oregon Health Plan) programs needed by low-income people.

One way to reflect economic realities (e.g., cost of living, and average wage) is by calculating the median income for all families in a region. According to the 1997 American Community Survey, the annual median income for a Multnomah County family was \$42,718, or \$3,560 a month. This is a relative measure of poverty, and families with income below the median would be considered poor, regardless of family size.

These two new policies to change the threshold would result in a different number and profile of people who we count as poor. An example of this result can be seen in Appendix A.

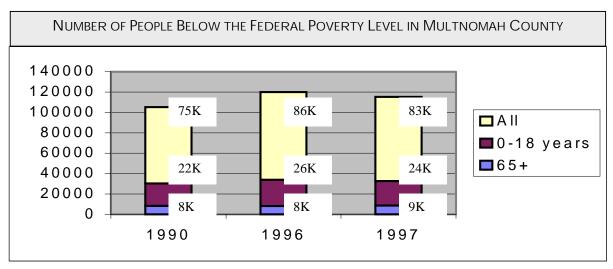
The previous subsections outlined considerations on who is poor. This subsection describes existing measures for counting the poor in Multnomah County. Each measure has assumptions about what to count and what is enough. By deciding what to measure we make it easier to set a goal and make it possible to self-evaluate our progress with the benchmark.

Method 1: Estimate the number of poor children from US Census data or Oregon

Population Survey about their parents' income. Children in families with incomes below the Federal Poverty Level are counted as poor. This measure is appropriate if we decide that County-funded programs are intended to increase the level of parental pre-tax income.

Please note that the American Community Survey results and the Oregon Population Survey results differ. We will have to decide which survey to depend on.

CONFLICTING DATA ON POVERTY IN MULTNOMAH COUNTY							
Source	Number	1990	1992	1994	1996	1997	1998
Center for Population Studies,	Total						
Portland State University	Multnomah	583,887	605,000	620,000	628,447	632,823	637,199
	population						
US Census ('90) and the American	All in	13.1%	N/A	N/A	14.1%	13.6%	N/A
Community Survey ('96 and '97)	poverty						
Oregon Population Survey	All in	12%	20.2%	14.5%	8.6%	N/A	11.8%
	poverty						
US Census ('90) and the American	0-18 years	16.3%	N/A	N/A	18.9%	17.4%	N/A
Community Survey ('96 and 97)							
Oregon Population Survey	0-18 years	10.6%	21.8%	20.5%	11.7%	N/A	16.4%
US Census ('90) and the American	65+ years	10.4%	N/A	N/A	10.1%	11%	N/A
Community Survey ('96 and '97)							
Oregon Population Survey	65+ years	N/A	26.1%	16.6%	9.6%	N/A	14.2%



Sources: 1990 data: Bureau of Census. 1996 and 1997 data: American Community Survey

Method 2: Calculate the living wage for each year and survey County-funded program users each year to find out people's wages and household composition. This measure also emphasizes a financial view of poverty but at a higher threshold. The "working poor" will be included in this count and we will have a higher number of "poor" people in Multnomah County.

We should choose this method only if we feel that the programs the County funds, partially or wholly, are designed to increase people's wages. Also, if we want to focus on reducing child poverty then we should focus efforts at increasing the wages of adults who have children in their household

Method 3: Collect data about the level of program use. Concentrate on programs that are used by poor children. These are programs that have income testing and eligibility is based on parental financial scarcity. Two excellent examples are the Oregon Health Plan and the Federal School Meals Breakfast. We could also choose programs like the County Library reading programs and keep track of the number or percentage of children and their parents who use the programs each year. This would move us away from a financial view towards other types of poverty.

The biggest constraint in using program participation numbers is that such numbers are greatly influenced by outreach and access factors. For example, if a district increases advertising and recruitment then the numbers of participants in School Meals programs will increase though poverty may not have.

Conversely, when program participation numbers decline for Adult & Family Services caseload, it is not accurate to assume that poverty has decreased the same amount, if at all. In July 1997, there were 10,561 children

on cash assistance. In July 1998, the number had decreased to 8,511. However, child poverty has not decreased by 20% in one year.

Method 4: Use social trends data to infer the trend for child poverty. Every year, Children First for Oregon (1998) publishes data on 12 indicators to profile Multnomah County children. Child Trends (1998) reports that this effort is only one of about 40 projects around the country that is tracking and publishing indicators of child, youth, and family well-being.

Multnomah County could choose another set of child related measures (e.g., child immunization, readiness-to-learn) and report on an annual basis as part of a report on how well or poorly is Multnomah County doing at reducing child poverty.

Also, the US Department of Health and Human Services (1998) presents an annual report to Congress on predictors or risk factors of welfare dependence. Indicators include: percentage residing in high poverty neighborhoods, adult literacy, and teen alcohol substance arrest rate. We could use these indicators to measure poverty in Multnomah County.

This method moves away from the purely financial view of poverty towards a mental and physical view of child poverty. This method will produce a different profile of who is poor.

Method 5: Measure the level of children's assets. Just as the US Department of Health and Human Services Department sets the Federal Poverty Level, the Search Institute has suggested that children need at least 30 developmental assets of the 40 they have identified.

In 1997, the Commission on Children, Families & Community surveyed a sample of Multnomah County children. The Search Institute (1997) analysis of the data showed that only 8% have the recommended number of 30 or more assets. 16% of our children have 10 or fewer.

This measure may also produce a different profile of who needs programs in Multnomah County. One potential constraint on this measure lies in the fact that it is not clear how much effort is required to change the results. Consequently, we should decide to measure asset wealth/poverty only if we feel that County-funded programs are focused on increasing the level of assets in Multnomah youth.

Method 6: Survey people about the "level of hardship" in their lives. Kurt Bauman (1998), a researcher at the US Census Bureau is studying a new measure of "household wellbeing" as a supplement to their traditional counting. One survey question asks, "During the past 12 months, has there been a time when your household did not meet its essential expenses. By essential expenses, I mean things like the mortgage or rent payment, utility bills, or important medical care?"

Analysis of data from a pilot project using this survey shows that these types of hardship have "a significant influence on high school dropout regardless of the level of poverty." Multnomah County could use this same survey locally on an annual basis to measure the level of hardship reported by residents.

A survey of this nature is conducted annually by the Oregon Hunger Relief Task Force. Multnomah County could choose to adopt and publicize these findings as a way to describe its progress, or lack of progress, at reducing the number of children living in poverty.

We also have regular surveys by the Department of Community and Family Services that ask program clients about their current situation. Results from surveys conducted since welfare reform concurs with the Oregon Hunger Relief Task Force in that there are more people needing food though welfare caseload has reduced.

Method 7: Count the number of stories in the major media each year about child poverty. How many stories describe an increase in poverty? How many stories describe a decrease? This is certainly not a formal way to count poverty but it is a way to assess the level of concern and general public awareness on whether poverty is going up or down in Multnomah County.

Deciding on a method will make it easier for us to decide a goal. An example of a concrete goal, rather than a conceptual benchmark, can be seen in Opportunities 2000 project in Waterloo Region. The University of Guelph (1998) is researching how this region will accomplish the goal of bringing 2000 families out of poverty by the year 2000. The entire community is focused around this goal and it is being carefully evaluated.

This section suggests that three "counting" issues are fundamental when we try to reduce poverty in Multnomah County. The issues relate to what kind of poverty count, what is enough, and not enough, and how to collect data.

This paper suggests that these issues are important no matter what programs or strategies Multnomah County chooses to highlight. This is also true no matter what segment of the population we choose to prioritize.

The type of resource we focus on (e.g., the kind of poverty we want to reduce) should relate to: 1) the type of programs we choose to fund; 2) the amount of funding we support; and 3) how we will measure the results of our interventions is connected to the way we define poverty. Consequently, any plan that seeks to reduce poverty in Multnomah County should address these issues.

These four questions are intended to help resolve the issues in this section.

- 1. Given the range of poverty/resources that we could try to reduce, what is Multnomah County's niche in relation to other actors in the region?
- 2. Parental financial poverty seems to be a key type of poverty. What does it mean to reduce the number of children living in poverty if Multnomah County does not focus on reducing parental financial poverty?
- 3. Should we check for results in reducing child poverty on a region-wide basis or just with residents who use County-funded programs? If it is the latter, can we frame the benchmark as goals for specific programs?
- 4. At present, we have no annual reporting on how well or poorly Multnomah County is funding or progressing towards the benchmark in the long-term. Would it be appropriate or useful to have such a report?

SECTION B: What Causes Child Poverty?

I. Introduction

The previous section questioned the type of poverty we should focus on in Multnomah County. This section reviews the literature about poverty to answer questions about the causes of poverty.

The majority of the literature reviewed for this section was based on the assumption that poverty is a condition of financial scarcity. Also, there was also a great deal more literature on the topic of general poverty than adult poverty.

Consequently, for this section and the remainder of this paper, descriptions about poverty will mean by-and-large financial poverty and poor people will equate to people with low incomes. When possible, the paper will focus on child poverty but the general discussion from this point on will be about adult and specifically family poverty.

Personal vs. Structural Causes			
"It's the people and their problems!"	"It's the society and its structure!"		
Unprepared/poor parenting: teenager and	Job/housing mismatch : the poor and minorities live		
households with a single adult cannot	in places where there is no job growth and little access		
provide sufficiently.	to job-rich social networks.		
Family changes : divorce or the death of a	Lack of jobs, low wages: low skilled manual labor		
spouse reduce the number of earners in the	jobs moved overseas and union jobs decreased so		
household while increasing the expenses.	working families have fewer job choices and less		
	benefits.		
Low human capital: adults in the household	Discrimination : racism and sexism in hiring, renting,		
do not have skills that allow them to work at	and lending practices create unfair and difficult		
living wages.	obstacles for families seeking to improve their status.		
Personal value system: low readiness-to-	Societal trends : declines in public assistance for		
work or unwillingness to work on the part of	children, increases in income taxes and cost of living,		
adults in the household.	intergovernmental fragmentation make it difficult for		
	families to get out of poverty.		

Adult poverty is due to personal problems, systemic inequalities, plus barriers. George Galster (1996) summarizes theories about adult poverty. Some emphasize a combination of personal problems while other theories emphasize systemic inequalities as the causes of poverty.

Historically, there has been a divide between those who emphasized one set of causes over another. Joan Walsh (1997) describes one of the achievements of complex community initiatives is to recognize that "the chronically poor today lack not just jobs or income, but positive relationships with people and institutions that can help them improve their lives."

The growing consensus that there are varied causes and mixtures of causes is also consistent with the findings in the next section that best practices to reduce poverty must match the level and type of causes.

The literature is also clear that current adult poverty is a cause of child poverty. The Center for the Future of Poverty (1997) describes a study that found 26% of

children's poverty spells began at birth, 12% began with the loss of a parent, and 42% began with reductions in the earnings of an adult household member. Current child poverty can also cause later adult poverty, according to Jay Teachman in Greg Duncan's (1997) book on the consequences of growing up poor:

Children who had spent one to three years of their adolescence in a family below the poverty line were about 60% less likely to graduate from high school than children who had never been poor. Children who had spent four years of their adolescence living in a family below the poverty line were about 75% less likely to graduate from high school.

In the same book, Donald Hernandez describes parental influence on child poverty:

While the rise of mother-only families is without doubt increasingly important as a proximate cause of childhood poverty, the historical analysis presented here strongly suggests that employment insecurity and low earnings for fathers continue to be

prime determinants of the levels of and the trends in childhood poverty, both because of their direct effect on family income and because of their indirect contribution to the rise in mother-only families. This analysis also strongly suggests that mothers' employment has become increasingly important in determining childhood poverty levels and trends, both directly because of the income mothers bring into the home and indirectly by facilitating separation and divorces.

While this section does not aim to identify particular segments in Multnomah County that are suffering "more poverty" than others groups*, it is clear that some segments in society have a higher risk for longer periods of poverty. There are also segments of society for whom poverty is a lifelong and intergenerational hazard. This subsection reports the findings in the literature about patterns in poverty experience.

No matter what the cause, or configuration of causes, it seems that poverty is a transitional or situational condition for most people. Karl Ashworth (1994) analyzed the Panel Study of Income Dynamics data (a national longitudinal survey that began in 1968 and is still continuing) to find that "it is possible to predict adequately the kind of poverty experienced by children on the basis of their sociodemographic characteristics." The data from families in the survey does not speak about causes, but does show the following patterns of poverty:

- ❖ 79% of African-American (A-A) children experienced poverty vs. 31% of Caucasian (C) children
- One in 12 (A-A) children was permanently poor vs. one in 200 (C)
- ❖ 50% of children where the household head failed to graduate high school spent at least a year in poverty vs. 14% from better educated homes

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings is that 6% of Caucasian children

Reports by Chiquita Rollins and the Division for Community Partnership and Planning both give demographic and topical analysis about

Multnomah County poverty and women's poverty.

with well-educated parents will experience poverty during their childhood.

Oregon State University researchers, Elizabeth Davis and Bruce Weber (1997), summarized research on the topic of transitional and persistent poverty.

Despite popular stereotypes of long-term poverty and welfare dependence, there is a high level of turnover in the poverty population each year. Using national longitudinal survey data, Gottschalk, et.al. (1994) find that nearly 60% of poverty spells last only one year. While many experience repeated spells of poverty, Blank's (1997) analysis found that 59% of Americans who were poor between 1979 and 1991 were poor for three years or less out of the 13 year time period studied. While long-term poverty is a major concern, for many households' poverty spells do not last more than one or two years.

Davis and Weber's diagram shows that entries into poverty and exits from poverty are influenced by the two main supports in most people's lives: family and earnings. Earnings decrease (e.g., job loss) send 45% of people into poverty and an earnings increase brings 52% of the people out of poverty.

A combination of personal (e.g., recent work experience, eligibility for free job training) or background assets (e.g., family loan, neighbor child care) can create enough resilience to take the family out of poverty. Two thirds of families who are poor are transitionally poor and return to self-sufficiency for at least short periods of time.

[This graphic is not electronically available. Please contact Van Le for the full report if you are interested in this Appendix.

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Source: Davis and Weber, Linking Policy and Outcomes, 1997.

Tufts University Center on Hunger (1998) and Poverty concurs with this research about the profile of people on welfare:

Roughly a third of welfare recipients primarily need short-term assistance, and are likely to move into jobs that enable them to become self-sufficient within a relatively short time period. Another third (approximately) of recipients face greater barriers to employment, and need more supports, but can eventually achieve some level self-sufficiency... component recipients of characterized by severe barriers to employment, and is not likely to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

Lisbeth Schorr (1992) describes groups of families. Families in transition "may need help with job search and placement, and they need income support to get back on their feet, but these are the families whose behavior and life choices are not a subject of great concern."

The second group of families leaves welfare but remains in poverty and cycles back in because they "lack the skills, support, or capacity to find and keep work that pays enough to get the family out of poverty."

The third group of families are "unwilling and unmotivated" to work because they have obstacles like clinical depression or substance abuse. Or, they cannot find work that pays better than welfare.

Schorr points out that some people in these last two groups may lack the education and educational qualities to get and hold onto a job. The Brookings Institution analyzed results of the Armed Services Qualifying Test and found that 68% of long-term AFDC recipients (three or more years of benefits in the last five years) scored so low "that none of these women would be eligible for the armed forces."

Schorr quotes Robert Haveman of the Institute for Poverty Research who estimates that no matter what the causes of poverty may be, up to one quarter of welfare recipients encounter "insurmountable barriers to employment, including chronic mental and physical health problems, lack of basic skills, or serious language deficiencies."

This national finding concurs with the conclusions from the Social Support

Investment Work Group (1997) who conducted a year-long study about self-sufficiency in Oregon. Their report to Governor Kitzhaber recognized the variety of risks and the variety of supports Oregonians need. Some Oregonians need more supports than others at different times in their lives. "For example, a person who is at-risk for access to health care as a child, may or may not be at-risk for affordable housing as an adult." The report states that, "some individuals will consistently require state support."

The National Association of Counties (1998) surveyed 80 county governments as to the status of welfare reform implementation in 1998. While 98% of the counties reported a reduction in total number of welfare recipients, "a serious concern exists about the ability to place those people with multiple barriers to employment."

In conclusion, the research on the causes of poverty shows that there is a variety of contributing causes. Some of the causes are so overwhelming that there is a population that will always need public support and the benefits of asset building activities will be drastically limited for these families. There is also a variety of families in poverty.

The next section will report on the best thinking and best practices to reduce poverty and increase resources. The multiple causes described in this chapter lead to a need for varied and multiple interventions, depending on the individual and context.

The questions for this section about causes of poverty include the following:

- 1. No matter how families get into poverty, can we agree that the combination of risks and assets in each family vary substantially and it will be easier to help some more than others? Do we want to focus our poverty reduction efforts on any particular group of families or everyone?
- 2. Compared to other actors in the region, how important is Multnomah County's role to reduce adult poverty?
- 3. Compared to other actors in the region, how important is it for Multnomah County programs to deal with causes of poverty compared to the consequences of poverty?

SECTION C: What are Promising and Best Practices to Reduce Poverty?

I. Introduction

The Council of State Policy and Planning Agencies (Schorr, 1992) conducted research into best practices in antipoverty programs. The working group concluded, "successful programs recognize and respond to the needs of the community; they reflect the character of its people; ... they build capacity in people and in neighborhoods...[and] best practices are whatever works in a given context."

This is a disheartening conclusion but not surprising given the wide variety of causes and families portrayed in the previous section. Reports of program success are often in the eye of the beholder. Edward Zigler (1996) describes how efforts to synthesize our current knowledge tend to be non-conclusive.

- More successful schooling is perceived to be linked to lower delinquency rates.
- The involvement of parents in the preschool program may have helped them establish a supportive home environment.
- Others have proposed the combination of the early preschool education and the parental support may have generated the dramatic effects of these interventions.

Michael Darby's (1996) synthesis about best programs to reduce poverty is equally non-committal:

The bad news is that there do not seem to be any programs that reduce poverty in a cheap and effective way. There seems to be some programs that do not work. Others seem modestly successful at meeting limited objectives in a cost-effective way. Most observers would say that those programs are well worth pursuing or even enlarging. But no programs seem to be on the horizon that will fundamentally and dramatically reduce the incidence of poverty in the United States.

However, while social science is unwilling to create a formula for reducing poverty there have been efforts by the Institute for Research on Poverty and the Urban Insitute to collect learnings based on social experiments.

David Greenberg (1997) has produced a digest of such experiments. This section reports on successful experiments to reduce poverty as well as a summary of best advice about strategies and program characteristics. And, while there is a tendency in this section to present poverty as financial scarcity there is also a great deal of best practice understanding that other assets need to be built and/or strengthened.

Welfare reform is currently one of the most powerful strategies for reducing poverty. Oregon, like Wisconsin, is emphasizing immediate work experience over extended job training in a "Workfirst" approach.

And while there is celebration about Oregon's caseload declines, a recent US Government Accounting Office (1999) study concluded that "it was still too early to tell what the most efficient and effective model" is for welfare reform across the country.

It is unclear in Oregon because "effective" can mean reducing caseload and/or reducing poverty. And, conclusions about the failure or success of welfare reform, in Oregon and elsewhere, depends on one's definition of poverty. For example, is a family earning above the federal poverty level poor, or not poor? Larry Brown (1998) of the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy, says that the "claim that [Adult & Family Services] moves people from poverty to self-sufficiency has no evidence to support it.*

While there are poverty researchers who are trying to improve Welfare-to-Work programs, others are trying to develop different strategies.

In September 1998, the Levy Institute funded a symposium on the topic of strong economic growth and persistent poverty. Ideas offered at the conference by leading economists included the following: a guaranteed income, increases in the

minimum wage, public job creation, improving the K-12 school system, on-the-job-training subsidies, school-to-work opportunities, and improving the English skills and education of immigrants.

Representative of this thinking, Robert Haveman and Andrew Bershadker (1998), both of the Institute on Poverty Research offer their best advice on how "to reduce poverty and help low income families transition from welfare." They identified two strategies that are broader than the policy of "Workfirst":

Strategy 1: "Increase the level of education, training, skills, and other human capital characteristics of those at the bottom of the capability distribution." These are educational programs that build academic credentials, relationships, readiness to work, and readiness-to-learn skills. These skills prepare people to be the most self-sufficient they can be.

This strategy includes concentrated opportunities for asset building from pre-K to on-the-job training for career advancement as well as school-to-work and lifelong learning. Ensuring readiness to learn, increasing school success, increasing the level of educational attainment, matching training opportunities to aptitude and local labor demands all speak to the fact that everyone needs skills to earn an income to support themselves and their families.

However, when there are few living wage jobs available, or in economic downturns, or there is profound regional economic changes, or the individual is simply not able to produce a living income then, Haveman and Bershadker argue that poverty can only be reduced by subsidy and wage-type supports.

^{*}Adult and Family has just contracted a year long study to look at what happens when Oregon families leave welfare. A report is expected in Summer 2000.

Strategy 2: "Increase the return that the least capable member of society receives on the use of their human capital." These are programs that raise the minimum wage, give subsidized wages rates, or directly subsidize the earnings of low-income workers.

This second strategy has examples like the assisted savings in Individual Development Accounts and Multnomah County's Contractor Living Wage Ordinance. Recently, both the Northwest Policy Institute (1999) and the Oregon Coalition of Community Non-Profits (1998) have studies to define living wages for Oregon and Multnomah, respectively.

Oregon currently has state Earned Income Credit along with the federal Earned Income Credit. However, the state credit is not refundable. Making it refundable, like the Federal credit, would help more working families.

It is not enough to help people build job skills if current low-skill jobs available do not pay enough to support a family. This situation is especially true for women and minorities whose average wages are still lower than that of men's. In fact, a recent study by the Institute for Women's Policy Research found that women lose about \$200 billion of income a year because of gender wage inequality. According to Lewin Tamar (1999), we can increase the return that women and their families get from their work by enforcing equal pay legislation.

One further way to "increase the return "is by helping more people take advantage of programs that are already available. Oregon Health Plan, Food Stamps, Earned Income (Tax) Credit, School Meals are examples of programs that need to be promoted more.

For example, the National League of Cities says that "many eligible workers do not receive the credit because they do not know it exists or how to apply."

The Government Accounting Office (1997) audit, *Food assistance: working women's access to WIC benefits*, is an example of how federal programs should and must increase their outreach to low-income people.

Multnomah County could make it a goal that every resident who uses County-funded services receives all the federal benefits they qualify for.

III. BEST PRACTICES: FULL-SERVICE PROGRAMS LINKING OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND AMELIORATION

The literature review for this subsection set a high standard for programs to be included as best practices. The programs described below have these three characteristics:

- Program has been evaluated with a control group
- Program ended or was evaluated in 1990, or later
- Program demonstrated significant gains in reducing different types of poverty.

Using these criteria, this review found 20 studies. Appendix B describes the studies and their findings. This subsection will only summarize the findings common across studies.

The evaluations for these 20 studies cost over \$50 million and have been summarized by Greenberg (1997) in the Urban Institute compendium of social experiments.

Two main points are clear from the Table below. First, intensive case management helps reduce poverty for a variety of people. Second, programs that claim to reduce poverty must measure changes in employment and earnings.

This emphasis on decreasing financial poverty through work development is tempered by the recognition that through case management, people will also receive a range of amelioration services.

Best Practices for Reducing Poverty					
Group	Outcomes Measured				
Homeless (1 study)	❖ Intensive case management, full-services	Employment, income, and homelessness			
Low Income (2 studies)	❖ In-home case management. Employment and training services	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt, and academic credentials			
Low Income Children and Their Families (1 study)	❖ High quality preschool program	Cognitive development, academic achievement, delinquent behavior, employment, welfare receipt			
Public Assistance- AFDC (7 studies)	 Individual case management Full complement of services and supports or education and job related assistance 	Employment, earnings, and welfare receipt			
Youth (3 studies)	 A variety of life, summer, community, educational services for four years 190-hour classroom curriculum on social and emotional goals, pre-employment and counseling 	Academic, social competency, graduation, post-secondary attendance, teen pregnancy, employment, involvement in community service			
Unemployed (4 studies)	Intensive case management, full-servicesReemployment bonus	UI payments, employment and earnings			
Single/Teen parents (2 studies)	 Intensive case management, full-services Unpaid internships with local businesses and mentors 	Educational attainment, employment, welfare receipt			

The literature review for this subsection looked for a different kind of evidence: evidence that is more qualitative and less conclusive but still promising. These ideas may prove useful to those thinking about how to check and improve programs aiming to reduce poverty.

One of the foremost thinkers on children, families, community building, and poverty is Lisbeth Schorr of Harvard University. She has researched and published extensively on these topics. The following is a summary of the four program characteristics she has identified in her book, *Common Purpose*.

- 1. **SELF-SUFFICIENCY**: Programs need to help people learn skills that they have not acquired or had equal opportunity to acquire. The following programs have increased client self-sufficiency through building assets (e.g., jobs, training, community service, credentials, etc.) and offering incentives (e.g., income, subsidies, tax credits) at various levels of success.
- Success for All is a national pre-K to sixth grade program which provide one-to-one tutoring to primary-grade students who are struggling in reading as well as family support teams to build positive home-school relations and deal with such issues as attendance, behavior, health, and mental health elements.
- ❖ The Neighborhood Academic Initiative in California provides a full range of academic and social service supports to 50 low-income minority students and their families each year. James Fleming (1998) reports findings that Initiative students score better on math & reading tests than the control class of gifted students.

- 2. **RESULTS**: Programs need to measure their results to stay on track. The National Partnership for Reinventing Government has stressed the importance of measurable results as a driver in solving intractable social problems. The following programs attribute their success to the ability to focus on results, analyze data, and measure results.
- Tampa Bay-Hillsborough County Seamless Systems reduced domestic violence homicides from 34 to 5 cases in three years. Tampa Bay County homicides have also dropped 35%.
- ❖ Youthbuild has job preparation courses, trades training and apprenticeship, paid internships, and GED credentialing for low-income minority men. Successful Youthbuilds retain above 70% of their students and 95% of those completing the program are placed in college or jobs averaging above \$7.00/hour.
- ❖ In 1993, Allen County Healthy Families
 Home Visitors to high-risk families served
 125 high-risk families with 312 children. In
 its first year, 97% of the families had no
 reported incidents of abuse or neglect. This
 model originated from Hawaii's Healthy Start
 program. The 241 families in Hawaii's first
 three years reported zero incidents of abuse or
 neglect. Home Visitors have caseload limits
 and link families to an array of needed
 programs: medical care, housing applications,
 parent education, job training, and crisis
 interventions day and night. There is also a
 follow-up commitment for as long as five
 years.

3. FULL-SERVICE & **FULL** COMMUNITY MINDSET: Many researchers have documented the value of a full-service mindset to build the person within a family and community context. Full-service programs emphasize dealing with whole situations instead of piecemeal responses due to barriers in thinking, funding, innovation. Programs do more than give referrals and business cards.

A full-service mindset is not the same as administrative integration. Schorr (1992) warns that service integration is "coming to be seen as an end in itself rather than as a means to achieve improved outcomes." She explains that the difficulty of integration, "has deflected attention from the possibility that the services being integrated may be inappropriate, of mediocre quality, rendered grudgingly, wholly inadequate to actual needs.'

- Beacon Schools full-service mindset integrated services for high-risk families while student activities include a voter registration booth. Public School 194 reading achievement level went from 580th place to 319th place in three years. Each Beacon School maintains local variations but all share a holistic emphasis.
- ❖ Hamilton, Ontario's recent evaluation of 800 families on public assistance shows that serving people's whole circumstance with proactive, comprehensive health and social services for mothers and quality childcare and recreation services for children is less expensive and has more short-term benefits and long-term societal gains. Gina Browne (9998), MacMaster University researcher says, "Serving the whole circumstances means offering a menu of services, instead of leaving individuals to fend for themselves in a fragmented system."

4. ADEQUATE RESOURCES AND INTENSITY: Programs need to have a balance of resources and goals so that they can deliver what they promise. Children's Defense Fund hired Karen Pittman to identify successful teenage pregnancy prevention programs and she reported that the most striking factor in all programs was caring relationships.

Stanford's Milbrey McLaughlin studied effective schools and found that the teachers' ability to connect with students' families and life outside school mattered more than any other factor in a student's willingness to work hard. The National Academy of Science's Panel on High-Risk Youth survey of programs for high-risk youth found that the opportunity to develop sustained, trusting, relationships with caring adults was central to their effectiveness.

Programmatically, this has meant limited caseloads, comprehensive outreach and intensity of services in terms of variety and amount.

- ❖ Payne (1998) writes, "For students and adults from poverty, the primary motivation for their success will be in their relationships." Walsh (1997), concurs, "Persistent urban poverty is not just about money but also about relationships."
- ❖ In May 1998, Oregon State Department of Human Resources announced at a press conference that 91% of Multnomah County teen parents eligible for JOBS had returned to school as mandated. These teens received comprehensive outreach and a continuum of amelioration services while completing their education. The liaisons who work with the teens talk about the importance of personal contact, modeling problem-solving behavior, and getting to know the teens.

These four program characteristics could be applicable to any segment of the population and any type of program that seeks to reduce poverty. The Table below shows a range of such programs.

The National League of Cities (1998) printed a list of ideas for cities to reduce poverty: identify growing jobs target economic development, monitor public subsidies, use job creation, build computer literacy, promote lifelong learning, promote the Earned Income Tax Credit, and build partnerships. They also advise "targeting job creation and training to city residents most in need."

However, this emphasis on work must be provided with the necessary amelioration. In fact, one of the most interesting findings from the National Association of Counties (1998) survey on welfare reform was the need for transportation, "the need for transportation services is tremendous. It was the most common thread that linked all counties and outpaced all other concerns."

So, while the focus of welfare reform is "Workfirst" we are also finding that barriers like transportation need to be ameliorated. The 1995 research update by the National Research Council, New Findings on Children, Families, and Economic Self-Sufficiency, found that "transitions from welfare to work requires child care."

Urban Institute researcher, LaDona Pavetti (1996), analyzed eight Welfare-to-Work programs for the types of issues recipients must overcome to become self-sufficient. She found that the provision of supportive services to families who experience various personal and family challenges "to reduce the barriers to employment was key to self-sufficiency."

Transportation and childcare are amelioration-type needs and these types of supportive services are required. Further, the 20 proven programs in the previous subsection prove that services need to be coordinated and linked.

Promising Programs to Reduce Poverty					
Unprepared/poor parenting: teen pregnancy reduction, second child teen motherhood reduction, family strengthening and support (e.g., child care, child nutrition)	Job/housing mismatch: enterprise zones, housing mobility, community building and community organizing, eliminate or reduce barriers to work				
Family changes: family planning, child support collection, children's health and development, domestic violence reduction, fatherhood responsibility	Lack of jobs, low wages: economic development for living wage jobs, wage subsidies, child tax credits, national and state (refundable) Earned Income Tax Credits, wage subsidies, child tax credit				
Low skills, no skills: school success, literacy, on-the-job training, vocational training, school-to-work, apprenticeships	Discrimination : better schools in poor neighborhoods, micro loans for small businesses, individual development accounts, subsidized housing, housing vouchers				
Personal value system : readiness-to-work supports, substance abuse reduction, self-sufficiency oriented amelioration	Societal trends : poverty simulations to change beliefs, better program linkage, better program outreach, better inter-agency collaboration				

Last, the research reminds us that to reduce future poverty, the success of programs must be measured in terms of their effects on children. A program may be successful at helping a parent find a job, but it also needs to take into account the effect on the children. Aletha Huston (1991) and other researchers propose that we judge family programs in terms of their impact on child well being, no matter what the goal.

Is the program helping or hurting the child? This child-centered strategy may also be a convenient way to improve the coordination of services a family may need.

This child-centered strategy is how the National Center for Children in Poverty proposes to evaluate the effectiveness of welfare reform: does it help or hurt children?

This section has summarized a brief review of the literature for best advice, best practices and best ideas for reducing poverty. In general, the lessons from this review include the following:

- Emphasize self-sufficiency activities to build human capital.
- Measure effectiveness in terms of selfsufficiency. Employment and earnings are valid and required outcomes of programs claiming to reduce poverty.
- ❖ Intensive case management reduces poverty for youths, low-income people, public assistance recipients and the unemployed. Promote linkage at the level of coordinated services for clients rather than at the level of administration.
- Provide services at an adequate intensity.
- Provide enough resources to people who cannot be self-sufficient.

It is obvious that Multnomah County will not be able to apply all of these lessons on its own even if there is interdepartmental consensus. Multnomah County needs to continue to coordinate, leverage, and collaborate with a variety of other actors.

The programs that have been identified are certainly worthwhile candidates for Multnomah County. However, it may be wiser to find programs that currently work well in Multnomah County to reduce poverty and build those programs up and measure them to see if they can meet the success of interventions in other locales.

For example, it would be useful as a follow up to this paper to find out examples of "local best practices."

The purpose of this section is to describe the range of good thinking about how to help families in poverty. Some of the policy questions that come out of this section include:

- 1. This Report has presented two strategies for increasing skills or increasing the return on low skills. Are these two strategies applicable to Multnomah County? Are there better strategies that fit with the causes that are particular to our County?
- 2. This Report has identified four characteristics of any program that seeks to reduce poverty. Is this a credible description of characteristics of model programs? Is there a better set of characteristics as shown by a different set of programs that successfully build self-sufficiency? Which, if any, programs in Multnomah County demonstrate these four characteristics?
- 3. What programs in the Multnomah County region are currently the most successful programs in terms of building self-sufficiency? Is there an organization in the region that could regularly identify these programs so that we can all become more informed?

SECTION D: How is Multnomah County Reducing Poverty?

I. Introduction

sections Previous identified poverty causes, profiles of people in poverty as well as strategies, programs, model characteristics, or programs to reduce poverty. The purpose of this section is to analyze the 1998-1999 Multnomah County budget for patterns in its spending to accomplish the benchmark Reducing the Number of Children Living in Poverty. While it is certainly true that Multnomah County is only one actor in the entire region that assists poor people, it is also true that Multnomah County is the largest actor that has adopted this specific benchmark.

The main concept to be used in this analysis is the distinction between amelioration and self-sufficiency programs. The best practices identified in the previous section provided amelioration (e.g., housing, childcare, transportation) to assist with clients whose goal was to build personal self-sufficiency experience, (e.g., work academic credentials).

Amelioration programs improve or maintain families' quality of life by providing needed services such as: food, housing, shelter, childcare, substance abuse, and transportation. For the general population (including people with low incomes) there is an equivalent group of programs building social infrastructure for everyone in the community. For example: taxation. program assessment and evaluation, library, and public safety programs.

Self-sufficiency programs focus on building assets that last beyond the client's enrolment in the program: income assistance, education, credentials, skills, child support, and so on.

While one theme of the last section was the need to link these two types of programs, it is also clear that this need arose because the majority of existing programs seem to work on single causes and on a single dimension.

The 1998-1999 Multnomah County Budget contained over 400 programs in ten departments. This analysis sought to identify the users and the purpose of the programs by asking three questions:

- 1. Where did the funding come from? Was funding from Multnomah County General Fund (i. e., County taxes) or other sources (e.g., federal funding, grants)?
- 2. Who uses the program? In some programs 60% or more of users were people with low incomes. In many cases, the programs are open to everyone but, by default, only people with low incomes used the services.
- 3. What is the main purpose of the program? The Budget description, Department staff, and the Key Result Measures provided information about the program purpose. Is it self-sufficiency or amelioration oriented?

When possible, we added administration to program costs since it is not possible to run a program without an infrastructure.

Mu	Multnomah County Budget Poverty Programming Pattern					
	Program users are poor or under 18	Program users are everyone in				
	years of age, by default or design	Multnomah County regardless of age or				
		income				
Program	➤ \$97 M dollars (11% of budget)	➤ \$36 M dollars (4% of budget)				
promises to build	➤ \$37 M from General Fund	➤ \$26 M from General Fund				
self-sufficiency to	➤ \$60 M from all Other Sources	➤\$10 M from all Other Sources				
reduce current or						
future poverty	Quadrant 1 (Q1)	Quadrant 4 (Q4)				
	Quadrant 2 (Q2)	Quadrant 3 (Q3)				
Program						
provides support,	>\$143 M dollars (17% of budget)	>\$565 M dollars (67% of budget)				
maintenance, or	➤ \$24 M from General Fund	➤ \$169 M from General Fund				
social	➤\$119 M from all Other Sources	➤ \$396 M from all Other Sources				
infrastructure						

Based on the three questions on the previous page, we identified the following pattern in Multnomah County's \$840 million Budget to answer the question: how are we helping poor people in Multnomah County?

This analysis shows that 28% of the 1998-1999 budget goes to programs that are by default or design used by people with low incomes. 11% of the entire budget is used for programs to build self-sufficiency for low-income people.

Of this, 11%, a large majority are to build self-sufficiency in children by building the health of poor children (Health Department budget) and assisting juvenile delinquents (Department of Community Justice).

County Departments, Program Focus							
	General Fund	Q 2	Q3	Q4			
Adopted	\$255,348,130	\$584,317,041	\$96,508,048	\$142,596,358	\$564,948,110	\$35,612,655	
98-99							
CFS	29,107,420	98,407,299	28,248,927	86,497,976	11,045,884	1,721,932	
HD	39,525,783	41,343,070	23,302,778	28,161,861	27,765,717	1,638,497	
DCJ	31,423,927	35,363,848	35,459,910	0	21,469,105	9,858,760	
MCSO	63,126,234	24,429,475	7,902,551	0	79,653,158	0	
ND	27,896,378	41,184,129	1,593,882	0	50,079,138	17,407,487	
ADS*	4,886,911	23,049,610	0	27,936,521	0	0	
DLS	17,752,326	21,344,251	0	0	38,146,420	950,157	
DSS	10,156,469	52,815,263	0	0	62,971,732	0	
DA	12,927,278	4,620,068	0	0	13,511,524	4,035,822	
DES	18,545,404	241,760,028	0	0	260,305,432	0	

^{*} The Department of Aging and Disability Services has an Employment Initiative that serves about 100 people. At this point, that program could not be tagged because we cannot determine its budget.

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Consequently, Multnomah County's approach can be described as twofold: 1) alleviating child and adult current poverty through amelioration programs; and 2) reducing causes of future poverty by building children's assets.

Further, contrary to the common view that helping the poor is the responsibility of one Department (e.g., the Department of Community and Family Services), one Divison, or one program, this analysis shows that poverty is a cross-departmental issue. Seven different departments build self-sufficiency and all ten provide amelioration and infrastructure.

It is also clear that we have limited ability to help families find and use services across programs, divisions, and departments. This need for linkage and coordination even just among County funded programs seems wise in light of findings by Laura Grandin (1991) that illustrate the overlap for one group of children:

The majority of at-risk children are involved with three or more human service agencies: the pregnant teen is likely to be Juvenile Court-involved, depressed, an abuse survivor, an unsafe driver, the sibling of other multiproblem youngsters in an underfunctioning family.

Multnomah County is well aware of the overlap in client populations across departments and the need for linkage.

In 1992, for example, the Board of County Commissioners passed Resolution 92-162 to build an integrated human services system plan.

Despite this and other efforts, programs still tend to be affiliated with particular departments. For example, the Attendance School Initiative Juvenile Department of and Adult Community Justice program; the currrent proposed Rockwood Project is a Health Department initiative; and there are four domestic violence programs in four departments. (We have a Domestic Violence Coordinator to ensure a crossdepartmental approach but we do not have a recognized person or position who could do the same for poverty.)

At the program level, programs are mainly one-dimensional by emphasizing either self-sufficiency or amelioration. This is contrary to the best practice identified in the previous section which emphasized the need for full or seamlessly linked services.

For example, a program to reduce teen pregnancy does not necessarily connect with a program developing individual development accounts. Clients to a family therapy program may or may not be receiving assistance for readiness to work. Vocational training program clients may not know about the Earned Income Credit.

At the client level, County databases are not designed to share client information. Part of the reason is related to database technology, another part may be due to

lack of resources, federal and state regulations as well as confidentiality priorities. These factors are some of the reasons why we cannot give an unduplicated count of the number of people who use Multnomah County programs.

In identifying and categorizing the various County programs used by poor people we came to concur with the conclusion of the 1997 Housing Audit, conducted by the City of Portland and Multnomah County Auditor's Office, that there is no County system for coordinating services for low income people. Each program may be acting as a separate service provider. Departments may budget, plan, and deliver services independent of other Departments that may be assisting the same family or population.

System fragmentation is a common finding in analyses of complex structures. At the federal level, the Government Accounting Office's evaluation of youth-at-risk programs conclude: "Not only are employment training programs part of a fragmented system but, despite spending billions of dollars a year, many federal agencies operating these programs do not know if their programs are really helping people." The titles of some recent audits on federal programs suggest a root cause of our fragmentation, as we are the local providers for many of these programs:

- ❖ Substance Abuse and Violence Prevention: Multiple Programs Raise Questions of Efficiency and Effectiveness, 1997
- ❖ At-Risk and Delinquent Youth: Multiple Programs Lack Coordinated Federal Effort, 1997
- ❖ Federal Education Funding: Multiple Programs and Lack of Data Raise Efficiency and Effectiveness Concerns, 1998
- ❖ Homelessness: Coordination and Evaluation of Programs Are Essential, 1999.

While we may look fragmented in terms of cross-departmental client connections we do have a strong system for measuring program effectiveness at the single program level.

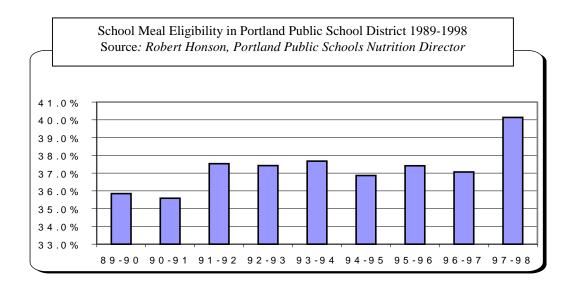
Since 1996, we have had Key Result Measures (KRMs) for most County These KRMs were begun as programs. part the idea that continuous of measurement allows us to better monitor quality. These are designed to answer the question whether each County program is really helping people. This, in itself, is progress of which Multnomah County should be proud and we are known internationally for having this kind of infrastructure.

However, our Key Result Measures may tell us the effectiveness of a particular program but they do not answer the question: How does our set of programs function together for a client? We do not know what happens to a poor person or family as they interact with all the services for which they may be eligible, whether the programs are County funded or provided by another agency or level of government.

Do clients who use our Departments become more self-sufficient? Are we reducing the number of children living in poverty? We cannot answer these macro-questions because we cannot systematically trace our clients across programs. As a set of indicators, Key Result Measures cannot give a coherent picture on whether child poverty is increasing or decreasing.

One of the key issues related to effectiveness is area of impact. We could hold ourselves accountable for having an impact over the entire Multnomah region or just with the programs that Multnomah County funds or administers.

If we choose to view "our system" as all Multnomah County residents then, the school meals eligibility trend says that we are doing poorly in reducing child poverty as the rate of student eligibility has increased over the years. Currently, over 40% of elementary school students in Portland Public Schools District receive free and reduced meals as their families are in poverty.



Regardless of how we define our parameters, we need to be able to answer questions about the effectiveness of our work beyond a program-by-program level.

Hennepin County (1998) can be used as an example of how we can learn about effectiveness beyond the single program level. In 1998, Hennepin County organized a study of their "Top 200" families in terms of County service usage. This study discovered the natural overlaps among clients through a linking of databases. One of the goals of the study was to determine the natural patterns where services need to be coordinated so that service districts and services could be redesigned to best help most effectively and clients most efficiently.

Multnomah County could do such a study on a small scale by analyzing the needs of one group of clients and their families. Such a study could help answer macro-questions about how we are doing with regards to reducing child poverty, our next step will need to be studies focused on the individuals and families who are using our service system.

Such studies must go beyond the Key Results, and our current databases, which in themselves are fragmented. Of necessity, these studies will rely more on clients and provider focused interviews. To determine whether our combination of programs has any lasting impact we may need to follow a sample of our clients over time. Using this approach we may be able to take the next steps in answering the questions: Are County programs reducing the number of children in poverty? Are there ways to improve our service system to improve our results?

This section analyzed the Multnomah County Budget to draw conclusions about the focus of our programming for people with low incomes. It also pointed out areas where our selection of programs and variety of programs need to be improved as compared against a best practice standard that emphasizes linkage and coordination.

Like the best practices identified in the previous section, the findings in this section regarding fragmentation and need for linkage have application to any segment of the population who is poor. Elderly poor, domestic violence poverty clients, poor ex-offenders, poor single mothers, AIDS patients who are poor all have quite distinct needs in programming. However, it is also probably true that programs they use can benefit from reduced fragmentation and increased linkage and coordination.

Darby (196) reports that the 1993 Conference on Reducing Poverty in America found:

Although numerous programs and initiatives have been instituted to combat these [poverty] problems, they suffer from major weaknesses...First, there is a lack of coordination among programs aimed at improving the life chances in poor communities. Second, only a few of efforts have existing systematically evaluated to ensure that the programs are effectively targeting the "hardest to serve"... Third, there is no comprehensive strategy for planning future resources allocations as needs change and as these communities expand in size.

Multnomah County's poverty programming suffers from lack of client

coordination among departments and there is currently no interdepartmental strategy for reducing the number of children in poverty.

What we do have is an approach to provide good quality service and programming, through RESULTS, to prevent future poverty. This is very difficult to evaluate, but it is a sound preventative policy. Nicholas Zill (1993) writes in the *Aspen Institute Quarterly*,

We do not yet know how to take a child born into multiple-risk family circumstances and transform him or her into a healthy, happy, productive adult... Therefore, much of our efforts must be directed to preventing the formation of high-risk families and the conception of children in circumstances that bode ill for their health and development.

Policy questions that may be relevant to this section include:

- 1. This Report recommends that we look at the effectiveness of our programs in terms of how individual clients "shop" the system for their multiple needs. Would you agree that we need to look at our system from a client perspective?
- 2. Who in Multnomah County is currently doing the best job at helping reduce fragmentation for low-income clients?
- 3. What role should Multnomah County have in helping reduce the fragmented system for low-income program users? "System" can mean the system made up of Multnomah County Departments or the system including non-County-funded programs.

4. We now know how much Multnomah County spends on reducing poverty. However, we do not know how much is spent by other actors. This Report has attempted to track this funding but has been unable to get an unduplicated number of dollars. Is it important that we find out? (See Appendix C.)

SECTION E: What Else Can We Do to Reduce Poverty?

This paper sought to answer two questions related to the poverty benchmark:

1. What is Multnomah County's current approach to reducing child poverty?

We currently spend 28% of the Multnomah County Budget on helping people with low incomes. This 28% divides into 17% towards alleviating consequences of current child poverty; and 11% to reducing causes of future poverty. We are, however, only one player in a complex system of actors to help people with low incomes.

2. What are the necessary elements for a Multnomah County plan to reduce child poverty?

The three needs outlined in this section include also a snapshot of the current picture and suggestions for next steps. The remainder of this section points to three types of needs in any coordinated effort to reduce poverty in Multnomah County: Measurement for results checking, programming to increase adult self-sufficiency, and linkage for appropriate full service.

One idea this study would discourage is an intensive project to document and inventory all existing programs to help low income people. The system to support poor people is complex and dynamic. It encompasses, all age groups (early childhood to grandparents); service sectors (housing, education, food, etc.) and a large array of actors. A comprehensive inventorying of services for all segments of the poor population would take a great deal of time. A detailed inventory would be out of date upon completion whereas macro level descriptions (clusters of services) may not be so useful.

This working paper is intended as a piece of technical assistance to support cross-departmental and perhaps cross-agency and provider deliberations. These ideas come with a clear caveat that they have been developed based on an analysis of national and local literature rather than direct departmental consultations. However, the local literature reviewed for this report (e.g. reports by Department of Community and Family Services, audits by local Auditors) do have local information sources.

1. A coordinated effort by Multnomah County to reduce child poverty should first define what we mean by poverty: *economic*, *social*, or *personal poverty*. If we mean economic poverty, then is it the number of children in families below the Federal Poverty Level or the Living Wage Level?

We need this definition and a measure so that we can check the results of our efforts.

We would benefit from a common understanding about how much poverty we aim to reduce. We could also choose to phrase the benchmark as a set of goals. Lastly, a plan to reduce child poverty needs a way to check if the goals are being accomplished. We need also a macromeasure for poverty that is related to the strategies we choose.

Status Quo: define poverty as financial poverty and use the annual American Community Survey				
to measure how many poor children there are in Multnomah County.				
Ideas to Actualize a Multnomah County Definition of Poverty	Relative Difficulty			
Produce an annual report reporting on the poverty benchmark progress.	Low			
Make sure new programs claiming to reduce poverty define their	Low			
specific definitions of poverty and have related Key Result Measures.				
Develop a description of what kind of poverty Multnomah County	Unknown			
would like to reduce.				
Set a goal describing how much poverty we would like to reduce.	Unknown			

2. A coordinated effort by Multnomah County to reduce poverty should increase self-sufficiency opportunities, funding, and outreach for already existing infrastructure.

If we choose not to add adult self-sufficiency programs then we should check whether clients to our amelioration programs are accessing self-sufficiency programs elsewhere.

Our current approach in alleviating the consequences of current poverty does not necessarily help families to become more able to provide for their families. Our other approach of reducing causes of future poverty by helping children in low income families does not necessarily help parents to become more able to provide for their families.

Status Quo: the State of Oregon, Department of Human Resources, is the main provider of self-sufficiency services for people with low incomes. Multnomah County is focused on alleviating consequences of current poverty and building children's well being to help reduce future causes of poverty.

of poverty.	
Ideas to Increase Self-Sufficiency Programming Orientation	Relative Difficulty
Develop a tagging system that analyzes Multnomah County programs in	Low
terms of their focus for residents: self-sufficiency building, amelioration,	
both, linked self-sufficiency and amelioration. Promote this system and	
encourage a policy whereby resources are focused on the latter two.	
Identify groups of clients who are using amelioration programs funded	Moderate
by Multnomah County. Find out if they have opportunities to increase	
their self-sufficiency. Increase the number of people in these programs	
who are in self-sufficiency programs.	
Create an annual event to identify the programs in Multnomah County	Moderate
that has increased self-sufficiency for the most people. We need to	
identify, support, and promote local best practices.	
Ensure that all programs promising to build self-sufficiency for adults	Moderate
use Key Result Measures related to employment and earnings. Give	
bonuses to programs that set high goals for client gains and achieve	
them.	
Ensure that all clients to County-funded programs are receiving the	Moderate
variety of benefits they are entitled to: for example, the Oregon Health	
Plan, Food Stamps, Child Tax Credit, and Earned Income Credit.	
Promote, fund, and increase opportunities for self-sufficiency activities	Unknown
for people with low incomes in all Departments. This could lead to a	
redefinition of Multnomah County's role compared to other actors in the	
region.	
Explore how the Workforce Development Board can serve the welfare	Unknown
population.	
Support any legislative effort to increase the return to people who are	Unknown
working. For example, making the Oregon Earned Income Credit into a	
refundable credit like the Federal program.	

3. A coordinated effort by Multnomah County to reduce poverty should link self-sufficiency programs to amelioration programs and use other identified best practices.

A review of best practices shows that families in most need, parents and children, benefit from quality case management that links amelioration and self-sufficiency programs.

Status Quo: Multnomah County's emphasis on children, prevention and re	¥ •
We also have existing and new attempts to link and coordinate services for	or children.
Ideas to Increase Coordination and Linkage on a Client Basis	Relative Difficulty
Evaluate and improve the one-stop type programs being funded by	Low
Multnomah County.	
Ensure that new County-funded programs have a way to track clients	Moderate
cross-departmentally. Ensure that these programs negotiate feedback	
loops to share client data between amelioration and self-sufficiency	
programs.	
Analyze key self-sufficiency building programs and explore what clients	Moderate
may need beyond the program mandate. Expand current maintenance	
programs to include self-sufficiency goals. Or, rather than adding goals,	
maintenance programs could stress inter-program and inter-department	
linkage so that 100% of their clients are getting exposure to self-	
sufficiency building options.	
Ask amelioration programs to identify how the populations they serve	Moderate
are becoming more self-sufficient. Ask self-sufficiency programs to	
identify unavailable amelioration resources that limit the effectiveness	
of their programs. Programs can use "We don't know" as a response.	
Assist the Department of Community and Family Services and Health	High
Department to build a cross-departmental client information system.	
Identify groups of people who are using self-sufficiency programs	Unknown
funded by Multnomah County. Find out if they feel they are receiving a	
coordinated set of services. Link programs where a majority of clients	
are already trying to link on their own.	
Encourage all County departments serving low-income people to be a	Unknown
part of the Poverty Advisory Committee.	

This Report is premised on the idea that we would like to identify and make changes that will allow us to reduce poverty in Multnomah County. There is a body of research that argues that the main reason why poverty continues is because it is socially acceptable.

Judith Chafel's (1993) research shows that a large majority of Americans think poverty is acceptable. And as we have done with other major social issues like racism. women's rights and the environment, we need to educate ourselves about poverty as an unacceptable problem. Chafel recommends that we start in school as children's beliefs mirror adult beliefs. We may choose to explore what our children think about poverty. We can also explore individually what we think is acceptable levels of poverty.

The individual angle in societal change in terms of poverty is being addressed by a new variety of experiential programs.

In Oregon, we have the Northwest Institute for Children and Family's Walk-a-Mile program organized each year by the Oregon Hunger Task Force. In this program participants pair up with a family on public assistance and live at their level of income.

Nationally, we have the Institute for Educational Leadership's seminars and the Iowa State University's simulations. Both programs ask participants to take part in a role-play to fill out paperwork on a variety of programs to qualify for financial assistance.

All three programs report that participants often feel they are more informed and have reconsidered some of their attitudes about poverty and families struggling with low incomes.

Jane Knitzer, the Deputy Director of the National Center for Children in Poverty talked on a recent visit about the Center's work with advertising agencies to craft the message about poverty reduction in a way that can inform and win public support. This is a path that many nonprofits have taken and it is part of a larger strategy to change perceptions about the costs of poverty.

While public opinion generally supports work in helping children, there is less support for reducing poverty in general. It seems that if we are serious about the goal of reducing child poverty or any kind of poverty, we will have to make some changes in people's hearts and minds as well as strategies and programs.

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APPENDIX A: Two Alternatives to Measuring Poverty

This is excerpted from the National School-Age Care Alliance Public Policy Paper, *Quality School-Age Care*, 1998, pages 132-133.

[This Appendix is not electronically available. Please contact Van Le for the full report if you are interested in this Appendix.

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APPENDIX B: BEST PRACTICES IN REDUCING POVERTY

The following has been summarized from *The Digest of Social Experiments*, Second Edition, 1997 by David Greenberg & Mark Schroder. This is a compendium of evaluations using and experimental design.

	Best Practices in Reducing Poverty					
Group	Evaluation Cost	Study			omes Findings	
Homeless	1989-1992, 36-45K	Homeless Employment Partnership Act	E received full case management, employment and intensive services. C received regular services only.	Employment, income and homelessness	80% of E group had employment than compared to 40% of C. E also had more work benefits, higher pay and housing.	
Low Income Children and Their Families	1962-1993, 2M	Perry Pre- school program	E received a high quality preschool program. C received no preschool.	Cognitive development, academic achievement, delinquent behaviour, employment, welfare receipt	E had statistically significant gains in all areas except employment.	
Low income	1988-1990, 5K+	Emergency Food and Homelessness Intervention Project	E received inhome case management	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt	E gained significantly in wages and reduction in poverty. Program had an excellent costbenefit.	
Low income	1987-1991, 23M	National Job Training Partnership Act	E received three variations of employment and training services. C received no services.	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt, and academic credentials	E gained significantly in all outcomes.	
Youth	1989-1993, unknown	Quantum Opportunities Fund	E received a large variety of life, summer, community, and educational services for four years. C received none of the services.	Academic, social competency, graduation, post-secondary attendance, teen pregnancy, employment, involvement in community service.	At the end of the fourth year, E scored higher on outcomes than C. 63% of E graduated from high school, 42% of C graduated. 42% of E went to postsecondary school compared to 16% of C.	

Group	Evaluation Cost	Study	Intervention	Outcome	Findings
Youth	1985-1992, 1.3M	JobStart	E received education, vocational training, full services for two summers. C received none of the above.	Educational attainment, employment, welfare receipt	42% of E completed high school compared to 29% of C. No other results were statistically significant.
Unemploy	1991-1994, 12.5K	Minority Male Opportunity and Responsibility Program	E received intensive case management, educational skills development, job search and placement activities, and Job Club; C received limited services and engaged in independent job search	Employment and wages, educational levels, health and family functioning	Significant increase in employment (28% versus 10%), little difference in wages; no difference in educational achievement or health status; increase in family conflicts were reported (contrary to program hypothesis-no explanation given)
Unemploy	1986-1996, 1.3 M	New Jersey Unemployment Insurance Reemployment Demonstration	E groups received variations of job search assistance, training, and reemployement bonus payment.	UI payments, employment and earnings	E had higher earnings, more employment and more stable employment. All variations to the usual intervention produced net benefits to claimants and society.
Unemploy ed	1988-1990, 800K	Reemploy Minnesota	E received intensive case management	Duration and amount of UI	Net savings for UI savings of 15M. E was reemployed at a significantly higher rate than C (35% vs. 25%)
Unemploy ed	1988-1991	Pennsylvania Reemployment Bonus Demonstration	E received a reemployment bonus. C received no bonus	UI receipt, employment and earnings	E had significantly less UI receipt for the year as well as more employment and earnings. Bonus offers were not cost effective.

Group	Evaluation Cost	Study	Intervention	Outcomes	Findings
Unemploy	1989-1991, 2M	Washington and Massachusetts unemployment Insurance Self Employment Work Search Demonstration s	E received business start-up services, financial assistance, counselling, and workshops.	Self-employment, combined self and wage salary, earnings	E had significantly more self-employment (18%) and more earnings. MA generated net gains for E, C and society. WA generated net gains for only E.
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1987-1997, 6.3M	Teenage Parent Demo	E received individual case management and a full complement of educational, job training, employment, transportation, and childcare. C received no services.	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt, school attendance, subsequent childbearing and parenting outcomes	E had significantly higher gains in employment, school graduation, employment, and average monthly earnings than C. Welfare receipt was reduced did.
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1989-1994	Ohio Transitions to Independence Demonstration -JOBS	E received mandatory employment and training, community work service and job search assistance.	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt,	E had significantly higher employment. No significant increases in earnings or welfare receipt.
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1989-1995, 22K	Opportunity Knocks Program	E received intensive case management and assistance with employment related expenses. C received minimal counseling and referral	Employment, earnings, welfare receipt,	E had significantly higher employment (47% vs. 35%), higher earnings (\$1600 more). However, E still stayed below federal poverty level.
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1988-1994, unknown	Greater Avenues for Independence	E received basic education, job search, skills training and work experience, C was free to seek services on their own.	Participation in employment related activities, earnings, welfare receipt and employment	E significantly increased earnings.

Group	Evaluation Cost	Study	Intervention	Outcomes	Findings
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1988-1995, 1.2M	Child Assistance Program	E received financial incentives and intensive case management.	Establishment of child support orders, employment and earnings	E had significant increases in earnings. 27% more than C. E also backed more child support orders. There was no significant impact on receipt of welfare benefits. There were sizable savings in government outlays.
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1990-1993, 3.6M	Project Independence Florida	E received Project Independence services (job training and search assistance) with mandate; C was not eligible for services, was referred elsewhere and had no mandate	Employment, earnings, AFDC receipts	E resulted in a modest decrease in AFDC and food stamp receipts and achieved a modest increase in earnings; (Project independence had best results while handling fewer number of caseloads; best results for recipients with no pre-school age children
Public Assistance Recipients- AFDC	1990-1992, 350-500K	Paths Toward Self- sufficiency	E received in- home case management coupled with core support services, e.g. Ed/job training, living skills, child care; C received existing AFDC services	Employment, earnings, welfare receipts, other measures of self- sufficiency	Significant increase in salary and significant decrease in AFDC payments; significantly higher percentage of project participants continued education and gained on Goal attainment scale (GAS).

APPENDIX C: MAJOR ACTORS IN MULTNOMAH COUNTY HELPING AMELIORATE AND BUILD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Who are the major actors helping ameliorate and move families out of poverty? As part of this Report, we asked major actors in Multnomah County to estimate portions of their budget for programs used by low income families, by default or design. Estimates are illustrative and need confirmation before they can be totaled as actors are so intertwined that double, triple counting is very likely.

Federal	97	2.6M	Agriculture (received by Multnomah County)
Departments	97	63 M	Health and Human Resources (received by Multnomah County)
Departments	97	14 M	Housing and Urban Development (received by Multnoman County)
	97	2 M	Federal Emergency Management Agency, Energy, and Education,
	91	2 IVI	Corporation for National and Community Service (received by
			Multnomah County)
	97	3 M	Justice (received by Multnomah County)
State	98	4 M	Housing and Community Services (various sources, self administered
Departments	90	4 1/1	and contracted out.)
Departments	97	170 M	Human Resources: SCF and AFS only (various sources, all self
	97	1/0 M	
	00	20.34	administered)
	98	20 M	Judicial (received various sources, self-administered)
	-	N/A	Economic Development
	98	368 M	Education for all children (almost all State General Fund, sent to
			Multnomah County school districts budgets)
<u> </u>	00	0537	TA 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
County	98	27 M	Aging and Disability (various sources, self administered and contracted
Departments	00	4435	out)
	98	11 M	Community Justice (various sources, self administered and contracted
	00	44035	out)
	98	110 M	Community and Family Services (various sources, self administered and
			contracted out.)
ii	98	62 M	Health (various sources, self administered)
	98	4 M	Sheriff's Office (various sources, mainly self administered)
City of Portland	98	12 M	Housing Authority of Portland (federal funds, self administered)
Bureaus	98	28 M	Housing and Community Development (various sources, self-
			administered)
	98	1 M	Parks and Recreation (various sources)
	98	N/A	Portland Development Commission (various sources)
Community	98	2 M	Grantmaking organizations: Meyer Memorial Trust, Oregon Community
Based			Foundation (programs for children & families only)
	-	-	Select non-profits with expenses above 1 M: Insights Teen Parent
			Programs, Outside In, Sno Cap, Human Solutions, Portland Impact,
			Neighborhood House, Self Enhancement, Inc.,
	-	-	Select non-profits with expenses 2-5M: Portland Downtown Services,
			Inc., Comprehensive Options for Drug Abusers, Inc., Loaves and Fishes
			Centers, Janus Youth Programs, Inc
-		-	Select non-profits with expenses 5-10M: Central City Concern,
			Northeast Community Development Corporation, YMCA
	-	-	Select non-profits with expenses 10M+: Portland Habilitation Center,
			Workforce Development Board, FamilyCare, Inc. Oregon Food Bank,
			United Way of Columbia-Willamette