# Center on Urban \& M etropol itan Policy 

## Unfinished Business: Why Cities M atter to Welfare Reform C al ifornia

An analysis of welfare caseloads' in the 89 urban counties that contain the 100 largest US citiesi' between 1994 and 1999 found that:

■ In 1999, ten states, including California, accounted for nearly 70 percent of the nation's welfare caseloads, up significantly from 42.5 percent in 1994. The bulk of the national welfare population can be found in: C alifornia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, N ew York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington. These ten states contained 53 percent of the overall national population in 1999. C alifornia contained more than a quarter (26.1 percent) of all welfare cases in the nation.

- While urban welfare caseloads are declining rapidly, they are shrinking more slowly than national caseloads. C alifornia and twelve of its largest urban counties also all lagged behind the national declines. While the nation's welfare caseloads dropped by 51.5 percent between 1994 and 1999, the state reduced its caseload by only 28.7 percent, to 640,989 cases. U rban county declines ranged from a low of 12.0 percent in Kern County (Bakers-
field) to a high of 51.1 percent in Santa Clara County (San Jose). Los Angeles C ounty, the county with the largest caseload in C alifornia and the nation, saw its welfare cases decline by only 23.8 percent, to 235,321 cases in 1999.

■ The share of state welfare caseloads stayed stable in the majority of urban counties in California. Los Angeles County experienced a slight increase in its share of the state caseload, growing from 34.4 percent in 1994 to 36.7 percent in 1999. Two counties-San Diego and Santa C lara- experienced small decreases in their shares of California's welfare rolls (1.1 percentage points). The remaining nine counties' shares did not fluctuate by more than 1.0 percent in that five year period.

- H alf of C alifornia's large urban counties are shouldering a disproportionate share of their state's welfare cases when compared to their share of the state's total population. Six out of the twelve counties surveyed contained a larger percentage of the state caseload than their share of the total state population: Fresno, Kern, Los Angeles, Sacra-
mento, San Bernadino, and San Joaquin counties. The remaining six counties-Alameda, Orange, Riverside, San Diego, San Francisco, and Santa C lara-contained caseloads proportionate to or less than their "fair share," relative to their shares of the total state population.ii
- Racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented on the C alifornia welfare rolls compared to their numbers in the total population. In all four counties where data was available, whites comprise at least half of the total population, but in no counties do they represent more than 30 percent of the welfare rolls. Blacks are seriously over-represented on the welfare rools in all four counties, and Hispanics are over-represented in all counties except San Francisco County.'v


## A. C alifornia U rban C ounties' Share of State Welfare C aseload, 1994



## B. C alifornia Urban C ounties' Share of State Welfare C aseload, 1999


C. C alifornia U rban C ounties' Share of Total State Population


## C alifornia D ata Table

|  | Welfare Cases 1999 | \% Decline in Welfare C ases 1994-1999 | $\%$ of State C aseload 1994 | \% of State C aseload 1999 | \% of Total State Population 1999 | Fair Share Index | City C oncentrated Poverty Rate 1990 ${ }^{\text { }}$ | $\%$ of County Population Central City 1998 ${ }^{\text {" }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CALIFORNIA | 640,989 | 28.7\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Alameda Co. <br> (Fremont, O akland) | 25,584 | 31.0\% | 4.1\% | 4.0\% | 4.3\% | 0.9 | 5.0\% | 40.8\% |
| Fresno Co. (Fresno) | 26,040 | 27.8\% | 4.0\% | 4.1\% | 2.3\% | 1.8 | 23.1\% | 52.7\% |
| Kern Co. (Bakersfield) | 19,191 | 12.0\% | 2.4\% | 3.0\% | 1.9\% | 1.6 | 0.0\% | 33.3\% |
| Los Angeles Co. <br> (Glendale, Long Beach, Los Angeles) | 235,321 | 23.8\% | 34.4\% | 36.7\% | 28.1\% | 1.3 | 6.6\% | 43.7\% |
| Orange Co. (Anaheim, Huntington Beach, Santa Ana) | 23,301 | 42.0\% | 4.5\% | 3.6\% | 8.3\% | 0.4 | 0.4\% | 29.2\% |
| Riverside Co. (Riverside) | 25,369 | 27.1\% | 3.9\% | 4.0\% | 4.6\% | 0.9 | 0.0\% | 17.7\% |
| Sacramento Co. (Sacramento) | 36,550 | 19.6\% | 5.1\% | 5.7\% | 3.6\% | 1.6 | 5.0\% | 34.6\% |
| San Bernadino Co. (San Bernadino) | 43,458 | 31.0\% | 7.0\% | 6.8\% | 5.0\% | 1.4 | n/a | 11.4\% |
| San Diego Co. (San Diego) | 40,466 | 39.5\% | 7.4\% | 6.3\% | 8.5\% | 0.7 | 3.5\% | 44.1\% |
| San Francisco Co. (San Francisco) | 7,710 | 41.1\% | 1.5\% | 1.2\% | 2.3\% | 0.5 | 1.7\% | 100.0\% |
| San Joaquin Co. (Stockton) | 16,363 | 24.8\% | 2.4\% | 2.6\% | 1.7\% | 1.5 | 11.1\% | 43.7\% |
| Santa Clara Co. (San Jose) | 15,480 | 51.1\% | 3.5\% | 2.4\% | 5.0\% | 0.5 | 0.0\% | 52.5\% |

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Los Angeles C ounty Racial and Ethnic C omposition: Total Population vs. Welfare C aseload, 1998


Santa Clara C ounty Racial and Ethnic Composition:
Total Population vs. Welfare C aseload, 1998


San Diego County Racial and Ethnic Composition: Total Population vs. Welfare C aseload, 1998


San Francisco County Racial and E thnic Composition: Total Population vs. Welfare C aseload, 1998


Right: The map indicates the change in concentration of state welfare caseIoads in the twelve California counties between 1994 and 1999. LosAngeles County experienced an increased concentration of C al ifornia's welfare cases; San Diego and Santa Clara counties experienced small decreases in concentration; the other nine counties' shares of the state caseload remained stable.

## Endnotes

i The caseload data reflect the number of welfare cases, not individual recipients. Welfare cases may include a two-parent household with children, a single-parent household with children, or cases where there is no adult in the assistance unit (child-only cases). The data also reflect the number of cases that received cash assistance under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and its successor, Temporary Assistance to N eedy Families (TANF).
ii Because welfare programs, both AFDC and TAN $F$, are typically administered at the county-level, the caseload data reflect the county caseloads, not the number of cases within the central cities. For the most part, the use of county-level caseload data may understate the central city welfare trends because of the inclusion of welfare cases from suburbs.
iii The Fair Share Index conveys the share of the state welfare population contained in a county, compared with the county's share of the overall state population. The Fair Share Index is a ratio of two figures: the county's percentage of the state welfare caseload in 1999 divided by the county's percentage of the state total population in 1999.

iv Percentages may not add up to 100 percent, since the ethnic category "H ispanic" may overlap with other racial categories.
v The concentrated poverty rate reflects the percentage of the city population that lived in census tracts where 40 percent of the residents were poor in 1990 (the most recent year for which concentrated poverty data is available). Concentrated poverty is associated with the social characteristics and behaviors that define the so-called "hard-to-serve" welfare population: illiteracy, chronic unemployment, poor work history, no high school diploma, low skills, teenage pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births.
vi The percentage of the county population that lives in the central city indicates how "urban" the county and, by extension, the welfare caseload actually is. Counties in the Southwest and West are relatively larger than the N ortheastern and M idwestern counties and contain larger suburban populations. We would expect that the welfare population is more urban even in relatively more suburban counties. The indicator serves as a rough estimate of how well the county welfare data captures cityspecific welfare trends.

## Full Report Available at: www.brookings.edu/urban

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