TANF in

**Puerto Rico** 

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# Editorial coordinator

This research is sponsored by Building Human Services Research Partnerships in Puerto Rico, a project of Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Metro Campus, under grant 90YR0072, from the Office of Research, Planning and Evaluation, Administration of Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

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### 2

Building Human Services Research Partnerships: Puerto Rico

TANF in Puerto Rico

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Editorial coordination: Carmen R. Nazario

Printed in Colombia by Editorial Nomos, S.A.

Cover and interior design: GMP

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TANF in Puerto Rico 3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prologue

5

Profile of temporary assistance to needy families

# Prologue

The main purpose of the Building Human Services Research

*Partnerships in Puerto Rico* project is to promote effective research and the development of a culture and practice of evidence-

based policy making on low-income families and children in Puerto Rico. Under the leadership and support of Inter-Metro, the Project has brought together key stakeholders to develop partnerships in

order to advance research and eventually lead to effective policies and programs, particularly Head Start and Public Assistance. The

Project's website can be accessed at www.metro.inter.edu/hsrppr.

The Project is carried out through a collaborative network, led

by a Work Group that promotes awareness of the need for re-

search, spearheads the development of research questions, and

guides the studies undertaken by various researchers financially

supported by the Project. Key members of the Faculty and Staff

at IAUPR-MC, work in partnership with academics from other

universities, the Administrators of the Administration for So-

cioeconomic Development of the Family (ADSEF) and of the

Administration for Integral Care and Early Childhood Develop-

ment (ACUDEN), and top executives from various NGOs and

think tanks to formulate questions and guide research.

While there is an ample body of research, very little of it has

been performed locally or recently, or specifically about Head Start and Temporary Assistance to Needy Families. There is insufficient information that can validate the policies regulating these two

5

6

6

#### Prologue

programs among Puerto Rican children and families, particularly since the onset of the economic crisis of the last ten years. Why are there so few families participating in the TANF program? Why are there so many eligible children not benefiting from Head Start or Early Head Start? What are the reasons women stay in TANF for such a short time? The lack of answers to these and other questions because of insufficient research leads to the development of stereotypes that contribute to the ongoing oppression and marginalization of the disadvantaged.

Completed Studies are reported in four volumes including this one, as follows:

1. Puerto Rican children and families: Our starting point

- 2. TANF in Puerto Rico
- 3. Head Start and TANF: Moving forward
- 4. Poverty in Puerto Rico

The researchers whose work is included in these four volumes

are making substantial contributions to the level of knowledge

about the poor, their needs and characteristics, the challenges

they face, the range of services received, the gaps in service, and the identification of best practices and opportunities for collaboration in the services provided by these programs.

The expectations that we had as members of the work group

were surpassed as we analyzed the outcomes of the research, the

willingness and openness of government officials to share data

and information and to incorporate recommendations offered by

the group members, and the interest demonstrated by program

providers to identify best practices.

In summary, this project has created new opportunities for

young professionals and emerging leaders to participate in re-

search activities and to use the results of these activities in the decision making process.

TANF in Puerto Rico 7

Profile of temporary assistance to

needy families and the current status

of the economy of Puerto Rico

Carlos Rivera-Galindo & José I. Alameda-Lozada

# Introduction

This paper addresses the Temporary Assistance to Needy

Families (TANF) program in Puerto Rico. It provides a profile of TANF participants and explores changes in their

characteristics, including by rural and urban geographical areas, and describes the diverse family's socioeconomic profile. The

information is organized in three sections: Section 1 assesses the general information of the TANF program in Puerto Rico and the United States. It pays attention to the TANF profile in Puerto Rico and its difference to that of United States. Section 2 assesses the Puerto Rican economy, the labor market, transfer payments

and the underground economy. Section 3 describes the general

profile of TANF beneficiaries.

# The TANF program: Puerto Rico and United States

In general terms, the TANF program in the United States

provides temporary financial assistance for women and families

with one or more dependent children. It provides financial

assistance to help pay for food, shelter, utilities, and expenses other than medical. The U.S. Congress created the Temporary

7

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8

C a r l o s R i v e r a - G a l i n d o & J o s é I. A l a m e d a - L o z a d a Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program in 1996 as a

block grant to "*end welfare as we know it*." TANF replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC),1 which had provided

cash assistance to poor families with children since 1935. TANF

introduced a 60-month time limit on program participation

and increased work and work-related activity requirements on

participants.

The Law also gave the states incentives to shrink their welfare

caseloads and forced them to limit families to five years or less of federal money. That federal money was converted into block

grants, and the states got flexibility to spend it as long as their state plans were consistent with TANF goals of self-sufficiency

and family preservation and stability. Some states, if they

could afford it, gave poor families fairly wide latitude in how

they "earned" their aid. School, job training, substance-abuse

treatments, and other socially oriented programs were part of

the offer.

TANF work participation standards were one of the most

important goals of this welfare reform. This is so because TANF

work participation was meant to establish some fairness between

taxpayers and welfare recipients by requiring recipients to work, or prepare for work, as a condition of receiving assistance.

Nonetheless, the TANF program in Puerto Rico has been framed

differently than in the United States. Unlike the U.S., Puerto Rico and the rest of the territories do not have Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Therefore, economic assistance to the Aged

(category A), the Blind (category B) and the Disabled (category

D) is still covered under TANF, in addition to the *regular* TANF, 1 In 1996, Congress enacted Welfare Reform through the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). This law replaced AFDC with TANF. At the core of the TANF program were the work participation requirements in Section 407 of the act.

TANF in Puerto Rico 9

(Category C). The SSI program provides monthly benefits to

low-income in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the

Northern Mariana Islands. The states and other jurisdictions

have the option of supplementing their residents' SSI payments and may choose to have the additional payments administered by the federal government.

Nearly 90% of TANF participants in the U.S. are women with dependent children. Locally, because of the inclusion of the other categories under TANF, only 60% are women, mostly living alone, with some sort of disability. Therefore, the TANF program in Puerto Rico has been mainly moving toward a social safety net for elderly and persons with disabilities rather than temporary assistance and work participation. Finally, the current and long-lasting economic recession has undermined governmental financial resources to complement federal funds of TANF programs.

#### A general trend of Puerto Rican economy since 2006

#### General background

Puerto Rico has undergone a rapid economic transformation since the 1940's Post-War era. In sixty five years, the Island's economy changed from being a predominantly agricultural economy to an industrial one. But even in the midst of very fast output growth rates in the industrialization process, the Island suffered from high unemployment rates; low participation rates in the labor force; and significant levels of poverty and income inequality among social classes.

Rapid economic growth and increases in the labor force

were experienced from the 1950s until the 1970s. During that time, a set of federal incentives, known as Section 936, of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code, buoyed a positive growth 10

10

C a r l o s R i v e r a - G a l i n d o & J o s é I. A l a m e d a - L o z a d a rate under a U.S. Congress special tax for U.S. manufacturing

corporations. Section 936, signed at end of 1976, supported industrial development based on high-technology firms such as pharmaceuticals, electronics, computers, medical devices and canned-foods. Meanwhile, profits from companies funded local banking sectors, including commercial banks and mortgage banks, by providing low financing costs.

More recently, the Puerto Rican economy has entered into a deep and sustained recession. In 2006, the special federal tax breaks for U.S. corporate income were finally repealed. Although the repealing action was undertaken originally in 1996, Congress and President Clinton signed a ten-year phase-out period (1996 to 2006). After 2006, many American businesses left their Island operation. Also, expected investment from mainland firms stagnated or were abandoned and excluded from the firms' operational plans.

Labor market profile and underground economy The labor market has always been a disturbing element in the economic growth process. One significant challenge is the size and prevalence of the underground or concealed employment in the informal economy.2 Fernando Ramos (1989), in his Harvard thesis, found that concealed employment was a significant phenomenon for the end of the 1980's. Ramos stated as follows:

... If we include these individuals as employed, the male

unemployment rate would fall from 15.7 to 10.4 and the

female rate would fall from 13.9 to 11.2. The evidence is

consistent with the view that concealed workers are constrained from formal sector employment.

2 See Ramos, Fernando A. (1989), *The Concealed Labor Market in Puerto Rico; Three Essays of Labor Essays on unemployment, migration, and labor market adjustment: The case of Puerto Rico* (p. 138). (Ph.D. Dissertation). Harvard University.

TANF in Puerto Rico 11

Research done by the consulting firm Estudios Técnicos in

2010, suggested that the informal (underground) economy in

Puerto Rico ranged between 23.6% and 27.2% of total Gross

National Product (GNP);3 that is close to \$17 billion of non-

reported and/or under-reported earnings and/or profits from

employees and business.

A recent study from Congressional Research Services, (CRS),

(2016) confirms underground economy association with poverty

rates.4 At 2014, 46.2% of the population in Puerto Rico had

family income below the federal poverty threshold, representing

approximately 1.62 million people. Children's poverty rate

(58.4%) is over the general poverty rate for persons aged 18 to

64 (43.5%). Furthermore, children's rates are also over persons

aged 65 and older (40.4%). The CRS report states that the large informal economy has also implications for the level of poverty in Puerto Rico.

...If individuals omit informal-sector earnings when reporting their incomes in official surveys, family income may be undercounted, which may result in an overestimate of families with incomes below the official poverty threshold. That is, some families identified as being in poverty may have incomes that are above the federal poverty threshold when income from both formal- and informal-sector work is considered.

Furthermore, most recent studies raised the issue of the labor
participation rates of men and women, and their relationship to
the transfer payments. The next section summaries such studies.
3 Estudios Técnicos, Inc. (August 2010). *Estudio sobre la Economía Informal*.
Sponsored by Government Development Bank.

4 Mach, A. L. (February 3, 2016). *Puerto Rico and Health Care Finance: Frequently Asked Questions*. Congressional Research Services.

12

12

Carlos Rivera - Galindo & José I. Alameda - Lozada Employment and transfer payments

A group of empirical studies supported such previous

conclusion about concealed workers (Burtless and Sotomayor,

2006; Enchautegui and Freeman, 2006, and Segarra, 1999).5

Burtless and Sotomayor examined the effects of five transfer

programs: the Nutritional Assistance program, unemployment

insurance, Social Security retirement and disability benefits,

government-provided health insurance, and TANF. According to their conclusion, all of these programs have important work-discouraging effects because they reduce benefit payments to

recipients who find employment. The study documented cases

in which an increase in earned income may be more than offset

by reductions in various public assistance payments.

...Low-income Puerto Ricans enjoy relatively generous

income supplements and retirement benefits without

imposing heavy tax burdens on highly compensated workers.

The transfers received by less affluent citizens depress the

incentive for them to work or to migrate to the mainland to

find better jobs or wages. Because the Commonwealth does

not have to pay for all these transfers, benefits are almost

certainly more generous than would be the case if their full

cost fell on Island taxpayers. As a result, relatively generous redistribution on behalf of Puerto Rico's poor, aged, and

disabled populations reduces employment rates below where they would be if all transfers in the Island were financed with taxes imposed on Puerto Rican residents.

The authors emphasized the importance of linking program

benefits with incentives to seek employment or to increase the

hours of work. An example of such a program is the Earned Income

5 In: S. Collins, B. Bosworth y M. Soto-Class (Eds.), *The Economy of Puerto Rico: Restoring Growth* (pp. 152-188). Washington D.C.: CNE/Brookings.

Tax Credit in the United States, which provides a supplement to earnings. In contrast, a typical assistance program, such as Puerto Rico's Nutritional Assistance Program, discourages work among recipients by reducing benefits to those who find employment.

About the TANF program, the authors concluded:

... The low workforce participation rates in Puerto Rico's

TANF program indicate that the program has been less

successful than most in pushing aid recipients into jobs or job preparation. On the other hand, Puerto Rico has been more

successful than most states in reducing the number of adults

and households collecting benefits under TANF.

The TANF's work participation rates for local residents were

found to be at 6.6% (2002), while that for United States is

33.4%, ranging from the lowest rate of 8.3%, in Maryland and

the highest rate of 84.9%, in Kansas. This conclusion is consistent with Román-Oquendo and Pérez (2002).

In the case of Puerto Rico, has resulted in both an insufficient proportion of women making the transition to work and

precarious employment outcomes for those who find jobs...

TANF implementation data show that only 28% of recipients

in Puerto Rico have entered the labor force, as of 2002.

Data from 2013 TANF work participation is shown in Table

1. Puerto Rico's rate was 21.5%; while the U.S. average reached

33.5%. The lowest rates belong to Rhode Island with 11.6% and

Washington, 13.3%. The top two ranked states were Wyoming

and Maine, 78.6% and 76.6%, respectively. Meanwhile,

there were ten U.S. jurisdictions that had not fulfilled work

participation adjusted standards. Among them is Puerto Rico,

which has not been able to meet the target of 45.3%.

	ALL-	FAMILIES RATE		
		Adjusted		
STATE	Participation Rate	Standard 2/	Met Target	
Wyoming	78.6%	48.4%	Yes	
Maine	76.6%	50.0%	Yes	
New Hampshire	76.3%	50.0%	Yes	
North Dakota	74.1%	7.8%	Yes	
Illinois	69.0%	50.0%	Yes	
Mississippi	63.0%	50.0%	Yes	
Georgia	61.9%	0.0%	Yes	
South Dakota	57.3%	50.0%	Yes	
Kentucky	54.7%	30.6%	Yes	
Michigan	53.3%	•	Yes	
New Mexico	51.7%	20.6%	Yes	
Nebraska	51.3%	0.0%	Yes	
Idaho	51.1%	50.0%	Yes	
Ohio	50.9%	50.0%	Yes	
Maryland	50.4%	30.5%	Yes	
Alabama	48.8%	30.4%	Yes	
Connecticut	47.8%	22.8%	Yes	
Massachusetts	47.4%	44.5%	Yes	
Hawaii	46.8%	0.0%	Yes	
Oregon	46.5%	50.0%	No	
Minnesota	45.1%	38.4%	Yes	

14

14

C a r l o s R i v e r a - G a l i n d o & J o s é I. A l a m e d a - L o z a d a María Enchautegui and Richard Freeman (2006) focused on the

strikingly low employment rates of men. The main finding is that

men's low employment rate is "off the map" in comparison with

other countries. The primary reason for the low men employment

rates, is because Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States has produced an economic environment that discourages work

on both, the supply and demand sides of the labor market. This

hypothesis suggests that the close ties between the Island and the mainland have been double edged, offering Puerto Ricans many

of the benefits of living in a highly advanced economy but also

contributing to the employment problem.

### TABLE 1.

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families combined TANF

and SSP-MOE work participation rate. Fiscal year 2013.

Continued on the next page.

Florida	44.6%	33.4%	Yes
District of Col.	44.3%	43.3%	Yes
North Carolina	43.8%	19.8%	Yes
Virginia	43.1%	34.6%	Yes
Alaska	42.8%	42.2%	Yes
Montana	40.2%	39.2%	Yes
Arkansas	39.5%	0.0%	Yes
Delaware	39.3%	19.3%	Yes
Vermont	39.3%	41.5%	No
West Virginia	36.5%	29.1%	Yes
lowa	36.4%	19.7%	Yes
Nevada	36.4%	50.0%	No
Guam	35.5%	50.0%	No
Wisconsin	33.8%	50.0%	No
United States	33.5%		
Indiana	32.8%	24.5%	Yes
Kansas	32.5%	6.5%	Yes
New York	32.5%	18.6%	Yes
South Carolina	31.9%	29.2%	Yes
Utah	29.9%	11.9%	Yes
Tennessee	28.6%	20.6%	Yes
Oklahoma	27.1%	20.8%	Yes
Pennsylvania	25.8%	30.6%	No
California	25.1%	50.0%	No
Colorado	24.2%	40.3%	No
Louisiana	23.6%	2.8%	Yes
Missouri	22.4%	23.1%	No
New Jersey	21.8%	5.4%	Yes
Puerto Rico	21.5%	45.3%	No
Arizona	20.8%	12.1%	Yes
Texas	20.2%	2.2%	Yes
Virgin Islands	16.0%	0.0%	Yes
Washington	13.3%	21.1%	No
Rhode Island	11.6%	6.1%	Yes

Continued from the previous page.

2/Statutory standards of 50% for all-families rate and 90% for 2-parent rate are adjusted by each state's caseload reduction credit.

Source: TANF http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/resource/wpr2013

Eillen Segarra-Alméstica (1999) investigated the effects of

changes in the Nutritional Assistance program (NAP) program

upon men's labor supply in Puerto Rico in 1982-1985. She

focused on two-parent families with a working-age husband.

The study concluded that changes in NAP had not significant

effects over the married-men work efforts, but it may have

perversely affected the work efforts of wives.

	Female		Male			Both Sex			
2015 v 2004	Pr(E)2015	Pr(E)2004	2015 v 2004	Pr(E) 2015	Pr(E)2004	2015 v 2004	Pr(E)2015	Pr(E)2004	Age
-0.042	0.290	0.333	-0.092	0.430	0.521	-0.062	0.356	0.418	Total
-0.093	000.0	0.093	-0.139	0.020	0.159	-0.106	0.020	0.126	16 a 19
-0.116	0.244	0.360	-0.145	0.417	0.562	-0.124	0.331	0.455	20 a 24
000.0-	0.469	0.529	-0.123	0.654	0.777	-0.084	0.559	0.642	25 a 34
-0.037	0.489	0.526	690.0-	0.720	0.788	-0.039	0.600	0.639	34 a 44
0.031	0.472	0.440	690.0-	609.0	0.679	-0.010	0.536	0.546	45 a 54
0.024	0.240	0.216	-0.085	0.347	0.432	-0.024	0.288	0.312	55 a 64
0.000	000.0	000.0	-0.018	0.094	0.112	-0.006	0.067	0.073	65 +

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TANF in Puerto Rico 17

The probability of formal employment

Table 2 depicts the probability to find formal employment for years 2004 and 2015. For the year 2004, the probability for women, between 20 to 24 years old, was 0.36, but it was 0.24 for the year 2015; a drop of 11.6 points. The probability for a male in 2004 was 0.52 but dropped to 0.43 at year 2015. For all women, the declined was from 0.33 to 0.29. The highest level of probability for both sexes was found at age cohort (class) of 34 to 44 years old. Even then, it was higher for men at 0.788 and 0.72, while for women, the ratios were 0.53 and 0.49. In both cases, the probability to find a formal job declined but, the probability for males is higher than females for any given age cohort.

The data on employment status suggests that the probabilities

have deteriorated significantly since the beginning of the recession in Puerto Rico and that the drop has been more pronounced

among males than among females. Even so, the probabilities for men to find jobs is higher than for women. The data suggest that the demand for employment in Puerto Rico has collapsed and this has impacted the probability of employment.

#### **General Profile of TANF Participants**

General Program Description of TANF in Puerto Rico

The TANF program was reauthorized under the 2005 Deficit Reduction Act. According to the data base of the Administration for Socioeconomic Development of the Family (ADSEF in Spanish) there were 65,744 participants in the TANF program 2015 (see Table 3). This figure represented 12,216 persons less than the number of participants in June 2013 that was 77,960 persons, for a decline of 15.6%. The adjusted benefits per month were close to \$130.00 per month or \$7.37 less than 2013.

	2013 a/	2014 a/	2015 a/	2013-2015
Number of cases (N)	77,960	71,461	65,744	-12,216
Benefits w adjustments (\$)-monthly	137.22	134.87	129.85	-\$7.37
Months receiving TANF, mean	14.64	14.84	14.39	-0.3
Age, mean	38.21	39.59	41.09	2.9
Persons per household, mean	2.02	1.98	1.92	-0.1
Number adults per case	1.05	1.05	1.05	0.0
Number children per case	0.97	0.93	88.0	-0.1
a/As of June				

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The mean age of participants depicted suggests an increase of

2.9 years; from 38.21 at 2013 to 41.09 at 2015; persons per

household have kept almost unchanged at 2.00 persons.

Table 4 shows percentiles of TANF program participants.

The 50% percentile, the median, depicts that years of age

has been increasing; 37 at 2013; 40 at 2014 and 43 at 2014.

Notwithstanding, the benefits have been declining from \$72

(2013); \$70 (2014) and \$64 (2015).

The TANF program has a significant proportion of women

participation. By 2013, there were 48,296 female and 29,661 male

cases (see Table 5). Close to 62% of participants were female. This proportion has kept steadily for years 2014 and 2015, although

the female participants have declined by 7,493 overall between

2013 and 2015. Meanwhile, male participants declined by 4,723.

Table 6 provides information on the different TANF categories.

The two main categories are regular (C) and disabled (D); both

amounted 49,249 persons for a 75% of total participants in 2015.

By 2013, these two categories represented 80% of the total. The

third category was aged for 24.4% in 2015. This category showed

an increasing trend; from 15,104 in 2013 to 16,609 at 2015;

while regular TANF depicted a strong decline from 37,413 at

2013 to 28,866 in 2015.

#### Participants by municipality

As shown in Table 7, municipalities with high population density, such as San Juan, Ponce and Bayamón, were the three main losing TANF participants (3,532) for 29% of total decline.

Top ten municipalies, including Humacao, Carolina, Vega Baja,

Caguas, Toa Alta, Guayama and Trujillo Alto, amounted to 5,288

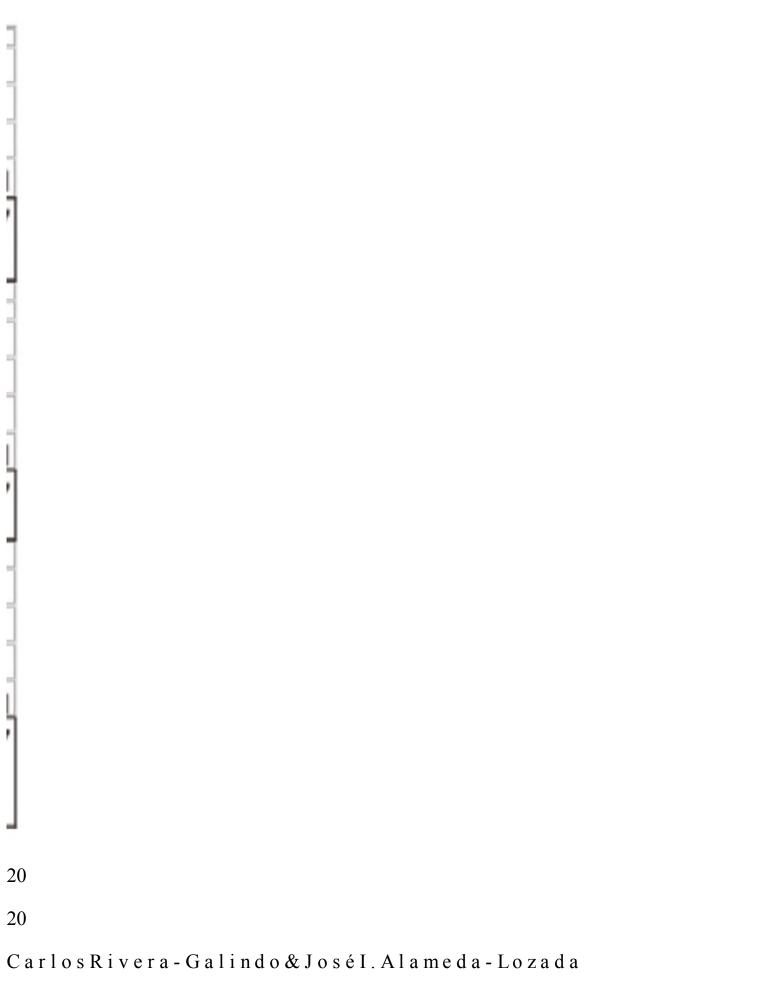
losses, for a 43.3% of the total drop. Conversely, San Lorenzo,

Culebra and Cayey gained participants. Garrochales and

Sabana Hoyos; both wards of Arecibo, gained 28 participants.

Clearly, there are many municipalities in which participants

Persons per						
household unit	Months rec TANF	Benefits w adj	# Children	# Adults	Age	AS of June, 2013
						Percentiles
1	0	\$64.00	0	1	13	25.0%
1	2	\$72.00	0	1	37	50.0%
3	28	\$207.00	2	1	09	75.0%
Persons per household unit	Months rec TANF	Benefits w adj	# Children	# Adults	Age	AS of June , 2014
						Percentiles
1	0	\$64.00	0	1	14	25.0%
1	1	\$70.00	0	1	40	50.0%
3	28	\$207.00	2	1	62	75.0%
Persons per household unit	Months rec TANF	Benefits w adi	# Children	# Adults	Age	AS of June , 2015
						Percentiles
1	0	\$64.00	0	1	15	25.0%
1	0	\$64.00	0	1	43	50.0%
3	27	\$207.00	2	1	65	75.0%



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Gender Distribution

%	2015	%	2014	%	2013	
%00.0	1	»%00.0	2	٥.00%	3	Valid
62.06%	40,803	61.98%	44,295	61.95%	48,296	F 7
0.00%	2	»%00.0	0	0.00%	0	L
37.93%	24,938	38.01%	27,164	38.05%	29,661	M
100.00%	65,744	100.00%	71,461	100.00%	77,960	Total

2013-2015	%	2015	%	2014	%	2013	
-2	0.00%	1	%00.0	2	٥.00%	3	Т
-7,493	62.06%	40,803	61.98%	44,295	61.95%	48,296	
2	0.00%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	
-4,723	37.93%	24,938	38.01%	27,164	38.05%	29,661	
-12,216	100.00%	65,744	100.00%	71,461	100.00%	77,960	

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Percent, 2015	Frequency, 2015	Percent, 2014	Frequency, 2014	Percent, 2013	Frequency, 2013	Types of services
24.4%	16,069	21.8%	15,556	19.4%	15,104	AEA
0.3%	203	0.3%	218	0.3%	221	AEB
43.9%	28,866	46.2%	33,007	48.0%	37,413	AEC
31.0%	20,383	31.4%	22,405	31.9%	24,876	AED
0.1%	97	0.2%	115	0.2%	143	AEG
0.2%	126	0.2%	160	0.3%	203	AE-T
100.0	65,744	100.0%	71,461	100.0	77,960	Total

22

22

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Changes, 2013-2015	Frequency, 2015	Frequency, 2014	Frequency, 2013	
-2,514	6,109	7,258	8,623	SAN JUAN
-517	3,068	3,298	3,585	PONCE
-501	2,213	2,387	2,714	BAYAMON
-408	993	1,214	1,401	HUMACAO
-313	1,960	1,987	2,273	CAROLINA
-304	858	990	1,162	VEGA BAJA
-271	1,846	1,931	2,117	CAGUAS
-265	785	895	1,050	TOA ALTA
-251	1,090	1,227	1,341	GUAYAMA
-244	709	862	953	TRUJILLO ALTO
-223	845	971	1,068	LAS PIEDRAS
-212	1,144	1,204	1,356	YABUCOA
-207	909	721	813	JUANA DIAZ
-204	851	906	1,055	TOA BAJA
-201	633	755	834	NAGUABO
-177	516	622	693	AGUAS BUENAS
-175	730	825	905	FAJARDO
-171	885	965	1,056	RIO GRANDE
-170	824	928	994	SAN SEBASTIAN
-168	1,065	1,085	1,233	MANATI
-163	796	894	959	CATAÑO
Changes, 2013-2015	Frequency, 2015	Frequency, 2014	Frequency, 2013	
4	110	110	106	GARROCHALES
6	1,025	1,072	1,016	CAYEY
12	24	32	12	CULEBRA
24	229	223	205	SABANA HOYOS
64	998	964	934	SAN LORENZO
-12,216	65,744	71,461	77,960	Total

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	2013		2014		2015		2013-15
Total	77,960	100.0%	71,461	100.0%	65,744	100.0%	-12,216
HEAD FAMILY	45,448	58.3%	42,572	59.6%	40,091	61.0%	-5,357
SON	12,385	15.9%	10,988	15.4%	9,624	14.6%	-2,761
DAUGHTER	11,565	14.8%	10,227	14.3%	9,078	13.8%	-2,487
SPOUSE	3,428	4.4%	3,265	4.6%	3,106	4.7%	-322
GRANDSON	1,497	1.9%	1,254	1.8%	1,084	1.6%	-413
GRANDAUGHTER	1,431	1.8%	1,186	1.7%	1,019	1.5%	-412
BROTHER	365	0.5%	340	0.5%	307	0.5%	86-
SISTER	330	0.4%	313	0.4%	280	0.4%	-50
NEPHEW	222	0.3%	202	0.3%	214	0.3%	8-
		98.3%		98.4%		98.6%	

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TANF in Puerto Rico 25

have declined while only few show an upward trend in TANF

participants.

Table 8 shows the composition of the households in the

TANF program. The main household category is head of family

representing 61% in year 2015; and 58.3% in year 2013. Family

head of household dropped 5,357 representing a 43.9% of total

decline of TANF participants. Son and daughter accounted for a

combined rate of 28.4% in year 2015.

Table 9 depicts beneficiaries of TANF by need. The first category, beneficiaries with no income to support basic needs, accounts for 61.7% (2013) to 63.4% (2015) of total. The second category

seems to be quite similar and is related to little or no income to fulfill basic needs across the threeyear span.

Age, disability and employment status

Tables 10 and 11 show TANF Participants by Age, Disability

and Employment status. Table 10 assesses the number of

participants and Table 11 does it as a percentage. Persons of 60

years and over account for 19% of the total; Disabled persons are 14% of total; Persons unemployed and disabled and searching

for a job is 22%. Unemployed persons 50 years and older, is

nearly 4%.

Information gathered about TANF categories during the last

four-years in Puerto Rico, show that Regular TANF beneficiaries

have decreased at an annual average rate of -12.5%. Other

categories trended similarly at an average rate of -4.9%. The total TANF beneficiaries decreased at a rate of -8.5%. Table 12 depicts basic information using total period rates.

	2013	%	2014	%	2015	%
Total	77,960	100.0%	71,461	100.0%	65,744	100.0%
NO INCOME FOR BASIC NEEDS	48,106	61.7%	44,858	62.8%	41,697	63.4%
LITTLENOINCOMERESOURCES FOR NEEDS	14,035	18.0%	12,592	17.6%	11,678	17.8%
NOFFICIENAPPLIED	9,607	123%	8,344	11.7%	7,338	11.2%
NEEDS TO ECONOMIC SUPPORTS	1,327	1.7%	1,181	1.7%	1,030	1.6%
CHILD WITH SPECIAL NEEDS	1,173	1.5%	1,094	1.5%	937	1.4%
NOINCOME TO PAY BASIC UTILITY SERVICES	1,125	1.4%	977	1.4%	877	1.3%
NEEDS OTHER MERCHANDICES FOR PERSONAL USES	607	<b>%8.0</b>	547	~8.0	529	0.8%
OTHERNEEDSANDSERVICES	594	~8.0	522	0.7%	465	0.7%
UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISABILITY	444	0.6%	424	0.6%	361	0.5%
UNEMPLOYMENT	393	0.5%	367	0.5%	320	0.5%
PERSONWITH ADDRESS	188	0.2%	192	0.3%	178	0.3%
		99.5%		99.5%		99.5%

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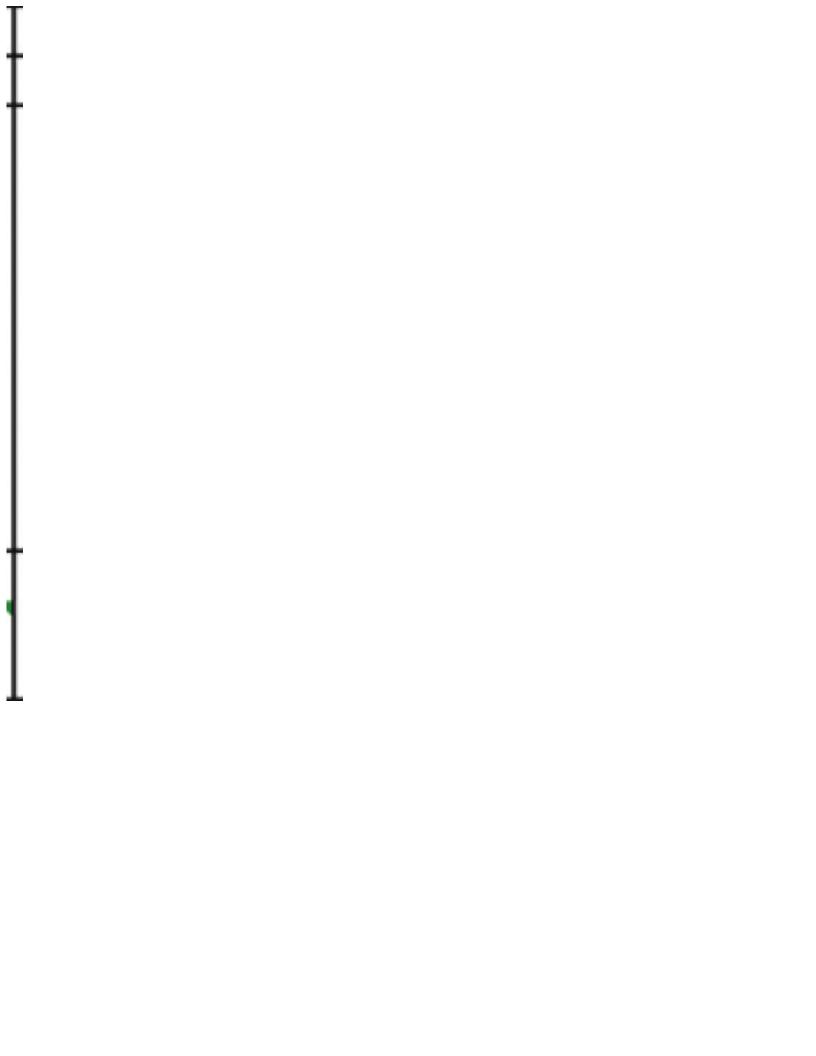
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Date: month, year'	June, 2013	June, 2014	June, 2015
Total	77,960	71,461	65,744
person of 60 years and over	13,412	13,033	12,720
less than 21 years old	14,754	12,892	11,200
do not apply	11,058	10,342	9,429
disabled physically/mentally	10,556	9,873	9,324
unemployed and disabled	10,264	9,455	8,734
searching for job	6,980	6,230	5,750
one parent taking care of child less than 6 years	2,237	1,957	1,807
unemployed with 60 years old and over	1,459	1,439	1,435
unemployed with 50 years old and over	1,148	1,128	1,100
Other categories	6,092	5,112	4,245
Sub-total sum	71,868	66,349	61,499
Sub-total sum (%)	92.2%	92.8%	93.5%



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Date: month, year'	June, 2013	June, 2014	June, 2015
person of 60 years and over	17.2%	18.2%	19.3%
less than 21 years old	18.9%	18.0%	17.0%
do not apply	14.2%	14.5%	14.3%
disabled physically/mentally	13.5%	13.8%	14.2%
unemployed and disabled	13.2%	13.2%	13.3%
searching for job	%0.0	8.7%	8.7%
one parent taking care of child less than 6 years	2.9%	2.7%	2.7%
unemployed with 60 years old and over	1.9%	2.0%	2.2%
unemployed with 50 years old and over	1.5%	1.4%	1.4%
Other categories	7.8%	%8.8	5.4%

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% Changes	2016	2015	2014	2013	TANF Categories
-37.4%	23,439	28,866	33,007	37,413	Regular
	40.4%	43.9%	46.2%	48.0%	% Regular
-14.8%	34,534	36,878	38,454	40,547	Others
	44.3%	47.3%	49.3%	52.0%	% Others
-25.6%	57,973	65,744	71,461	77,960	Total

TANF in Puerto Rico 29

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Carlos Rivera - Galindo & Jos é I. Alameda - Lozada Conclusions

The Administration for Socioeconomic Development of the

Family (ADSEF) is in charge of the TANF program in Puerto

Rico. The scope of TANF in Puerto Rico goes beyond its

counterpart in the U.S. because of high participation levels by

the elderly, children and the disabled. This suggests the need for particular strategies and a new approach to address the challenges faced by persons in poverty and joblessness. This report leads

to the following conclusions: The program focuses mainly on

females; two out of three are women. The typical family is main

headed by a woman. Participants are mainly adult, and the mean

age is increasing. Nearly a third of participants are disabled.

Participants live in urban and in high population density areas.

Participants have no-income or little income to fulfill basic needs.

TANF participants are heterogeneous in at least five concrete

categories: (a) developmental age stages; (b) educational level; (c) place of residence: urban or rural; (d) type of neighborhood; (e) non-traditional family structure.

It is recommended that the TANF agency explore the possibility

of enhancing its data system to incorporate more detail information about TANF participants. Many fields within the data base were

not completed. The exit reason for example, was not available.

TANF categories should be more clearly defined. Category C heads

of households were not clearly identifiable. It is also recommended that the agency follow up on clients after termination to document success and stability in participation in the labor market or

document level of need among former participants.

Although many efforts have been made, the actual work

participation rates are low and are really unreachable work

targets relative to the states. TANF program objectives should

be reexamined in view of the dire economic circumstances

affecting the Island and the extreme needs of the most vulnerable populations it is intended to serve.

TANF in Puerto Rico 31

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32

TANF in Puerto Rico 33

The characteristics

of participants in the TANF program

in Puerto Rico in April 2016

Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán

### **Executive summary**

The purpose of this report is to present and discuss the char-

acteristics of participants in the Temporary Assistance to

Needy Families (TANF) program in Puerto Rico. The TANF

program provides cash assistance to individuals and families that live below poverty and are undergoing difficult economic circumstances. This report is part of the project on Building Human

Services Research Partnerships in Puerto Rico supported by the

Office of Policy, Research and Evaluation (OPRE) of the U.S.

Department of Health and Human Services.

A detailed analysis of the TANF case data for the month of

April 2016 suggests that:

• In the months between June 2015 and April 2016 there were an average of 62,815 monthly participants in the TANF

program.

• The number of participants has been declining significantly over time from 65,689 in June of 2015 down to 57,973 in

April 2016 for a decline of 7,716 cases over the eleven-month

period or a rate of decline of close to 701 cases per month.

• There are 6 separate TANF categories in Puerto Rico:

Category A for the elderly, Category B for blind persons,

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- Héctor R. Cordero Guzmán
- Category C also known as the "regular TANF program,"
- Category D for disabled persons, Category G, known as
- the "general category," and the sixth Category T includes
- children not living with their relatives.
- There are three large categories in the TANF program in Puerto Rico. About 16,488 (or 28.4%) of participants are in Category
- A covering the elderly, close to 23,439 (or 40.4%) are in Cat-
- egory C or the regular TANF program, and 17,651 persons
- (or 30.4%) are in Category D for persons with disabilities.
- The age distribution of participants in the TANF program by category varies significantly as some of the eligibility criteria for the various categories include age as a factor.
- The vast majority of TANF cases only have one adult in the household and there is not much difference across TANF categories.
- In TANF Category C, close to 37% of the households have one child, 38.2% of households have two children, 19.2% of the households have three children, and 5.5% of the households have four children or more.
- The most common answer given in terms of the type of challenge that the applicant or participants in the program are facing and that leads families to participate in the program was "No Tiene Ingresos Para Necesidades Básicas [does not

have enough income for basic needs]" with 70.1% for Category A, 69.6% for Category B, 57.3% for Category C, 67% for Category D, 42.6% for Category G, close to 53% for Category T and 63.9% for the total TANF caseload.

• The bulk of participants in the TANF program have completed less than a high school education and between 15% and 30%, depending on the category, have completed a high school degree.

About 31.4% of participants in the Regular TANF Category
C program were young males not disabled and 30.3% were
young females not disabled. Another 30.9% of participants in
the regular TANF Category C were female adults not disabled.
Close to 19.6% of participants in TANF program Category
A for seniors were males not disabled and about 10.5% were
TANF in Puerto Rico 35

disabled senior males. Close to 47.2% of participants were senior females not disabled, and the rest, about 21.8% of participants in TANF program Category A, were senior disabled females.

• In terms of TANF program Category D for disabled persons, about 46.6% of participants in this category were disabled adult males, and the other 50% were disabled adult females.

• In terms of overall participation in the TANF program the

proportion of male adults not disabled was 1.1% or 640 cases out of a total caseload of 57,973.

• The average monthly benefit level for participants in TANF program Category A for the elderly was \$66, it was \$68 for participants in TANF Category B for the blind, it was \$68 for participants in TANF program Category D for the disabled, close to \$32 on average for TANF program participants in category G, and \$35 on average for participants in TANF program category D.

• Participants in TANF program Category C received an average monthly household benefit of \$207.89.

#### Data on the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families

#### (TANF) program in Puerto Rico

The purpose of this report is to present and discuss the characteristics of users in the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program in Puerto Rico. The TANF program provides cash assistance to individuals and families that live below poverty and are undergoing difficult economic circumstances. This report is part of the project on Building Human Services Research Partnerships in Puerto Rico supported by the Office of Policy, Research and Evaluation (OPRE) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. One of the main goals of the project is to produce information on the characteristics of children and families living below poverty in Puerto Rico 36

36

#### Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

with a particular emphasis on the population participating in the TANF program and the Head Start program and to provide research information and support that can help improve policymaking. This paper focuses on the caseload data for the month of April 2016 and supplements reports produced by professors Alameda and Rivera-Galindo with more detailed profiles on the characteristics of the population participating in the TANF program over the last few years.

#### Sources of data

The data for the project comes from administrative records of the Department of the Family, the government agency that administers the TANF program in Puerto Rico. The Department collects information on program participants and keeps a record with basic information for every case that is enrolled in the TANF program. The record includes information on the relevant dates related to the management of the case; the type of program the persons are participating in; information on the head of household and the relation of each case to the head of household; the municipality where the person resides; the level of benefit; the number of months in the program; the age of the person; their gender; the number of adults in the household; number of children in the household; marital status of the person; whether the person has any documented disabilities; a code for the type of issue or challenge that led each case into the program; the employment status; the number of years and type of completed schooling; and whether the person receives any additional income. The data for each active recipient and case is added to the master data file every month. The period under study includes the last 11 months between June of 2015 and April 2016 but the focus of the detailed data analysis and recipient profile are the cases that were active for the month of April 2016. TANF in Puerto Rico 37

#### Types of TANF programs in Puerto Rico

TANF cases in Puerto Rico are listed under six different type

of sub-programs: Category A provides support for persons older

than 65 years of age that meet the eligibility criteria for TANF

and is labeled "ancianos [elderly];" Category B provides support

for blind persons that meet TANF eligibility criteria and is labeled

"ciegos [blind];" Category C, known as "regular TANF," provides

support for children from birth until the age of 18 and their families; Category D provides support for persons older than 18 with

a total and permanent disability that meet other TANF eligibility requirements and is labeled "Incapacitados [disabled];" Category

G provides support for adults that have a temporary disability

and to children under 18 with a permanent disability that meet

other TANF eligibility criteria and is labeled "general;" and Category T provides support for children up until the age of 18 that do not live with their relatives and is labeles "niños con tutores

[children with caregivers]."

The income eligibility criteria for these programs is very similar in that families have to live below poverty and have access to minimal assets or other economic resources. Each of the programs supports a different sub-population and there are separate program categories for the elderly, blind persons, regular TANF (low income parents with dependent children), disabled persons, the general category, and the sixth category that includes children not living with their relatives.

#### Main characteristics by program type

Given the different eligibility rules for the different TANF subcategories we would expect significant demographic variation in the characteristics of participants depending on the type of TANF program that they are eligible for and enrolled in. The data presented in this report do confirm that demographic characteristics

5	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
201506	65689	9.5	9.5	9.5
201507	65388	9.5	9.5	19.0
201508	65501	9.5	9.5	28.4
201509	64702	9.4	9.4	37.8
201510	64665	9.4	9.4	47.2
201511	63607	9.2	9.2	56.4
201512	63256	9.2	9.2	65.5
201601	61088	8.8	8.8	74.4
201602	60217	8.7	8.7	83.1
201603	58881	8.5	8.5	91.6
201604	57973	8.4	8.4	100.0
Total	690967	100.0	100.0	

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38

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

of clients vary depending on the particular TANF subcategory

that they are enrolled in.

Characteristics of program participants between

June 2015 and April 2016

In the months between June 2015 and April 2016 there were

an average of close to 62,815 monthly participants in the TANF

program but the data suggest that the number of participants has

been declining significantly over time from 65,689 in June of 2015

down to 57,973 in April 2016 for a decline of 7,716 cases of over the 11-month period or a rate of 701 cases per month. The decline in the number of cases is puzzling and it is not immediately clear whether it has to do with a lower entry rate into the program, a

faster exit rate or other form of attrition, more cases reaching the 60-month time limit, or some other factor. (See Table 1.)

#### TABLE 1.

Date (year/month) of emission.

				Valid	Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent
Valid	Ancianos	1 <b>6</b> 488	28.4	28.4	28.4
	Ciegos	194	.3	.3	28.8
	Regular TANF	23439	40.4	40.4	69.2
	Incapacitado	17651	30.4	30.4	99.7
	General	101	.2	.2	99.8
	Niños con Tutores	100	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	57973	100.0	100.0	

### TANF in Puerto Rico 39

Characteristics of participants in the program in April 2016

### by TANF program category

In the month of April 2016, there were about 57,973 partici-

pants in the TANF program in Puerto Rico. About 16,488 (or

28.4%) in Category A covering the elderly, about 194 (or .3%)

in Category B covering the blind, about 23,439 (or 40.4%) in

Category C or the regular TANF program, about 17,651 persons

(or 30.4%) in Category D for persons with disabilities, about

101 persons (.2%) in Category G or the general program, and

100 persons (.2%) in Category T for persons under 18 not living

with their relatives. The largest category, with about 40.4% of the cases, is Category C or the regular TANF program, the second

largest category with 30.4% of the cases is Category D for per-

sons with disabilities, and the third largest category is Category A for the elderly with about 28.4% of the participants. Categories

B, G, and T are relatively small and together amount for less than 1% of all TANF cases in Puerto Rico. (See Table 2.)

### TABLE 2.

Category of emission/service (April 2016).

Participants in the TANF program receive their grants on a

monthly basis but there are provisions in the program that enable

Categoría de emisión/servicio. Regular Niños con Ancianos Ciegos TANF Incapacitado General Tutores Total								
Total	Saloini	General	Incapacitado		Ciegos	Ancianos		
53522	97	88	15760	21292	185	16100	Count	EMISIÓN REGULAR
92.3%	97.0%	87.1%	89.3%	<b>%8.0</b> 0	95.4%	97.6%	% within Categoría	
4451	3	13	1891	2147	6	388	Count	EMISIÓN SUPLEMENTARIA
7.7%	3.0%	12.9%	10.7%	9.2%	4.6%	2.4%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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supplementary payments. Supplementary payments accounted for about 7.7% of the total payments with a slightly higher proportion for the disabled (at 10.7%) and the general category at 12.9%. (See Table 3.)

Demographic characteristics of participants in April 2016 In terms of the gender composition of the various TANF categories we can see that overall about 37.8% of the participants in the TANF program in Puerto Rico were males and about 62.2% of the participants were female. In Category A, about 69.5% of the participants were female, Category B is more evenly balanced with 47.4% female, in Category C close to 65.1% of the participants were female, and Category D includes 51.9% female. The last two categories, Category G and Category T have 46.5% female and 56% female respectively. The categories that include persons with disabilities have a more even gender balance compared to Category A for the elderly and Category C that includes the regular TANF program which have a much higher proportion of females at 69.5% and 65.1% respectively. (See Table 4 and Figure 1.)

The age distribution of participants in the TANF program by

category varies significantly as some of the eligibility criteria for the various sub-categories include age as a factor. Category A

for the elderly includes persons that are over 65 years of age; Category B for blind persons includes participants across a wide range of ages; about 63% of participants in Category C are younger than 19 years of age and another 30% are between the ages of 20 and 39. Participants in Category D for persons with disabilities concentrate in the ages between 30 and 69 years of age with about 40% being between 50 and 59 years of age. The bulk of participants in the general Category G and Category T are persons under the age of 19 years. (See Table 5.)

	liños con	1						
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
21911	44	54	8491	8191	102	5029	Count	Hombre
37.8%	44.0%	53.5%	48.1%	34.9%	52.6%	30.5%	% within Categoría	
36061	56	47	9160	15247	92	11459	Count	Mujer
62.2%	56.0%	46.5%	51.9%	65.1%	47.4%	69.5%	% within Categoría	
57972	100	101	17651	23438	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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42

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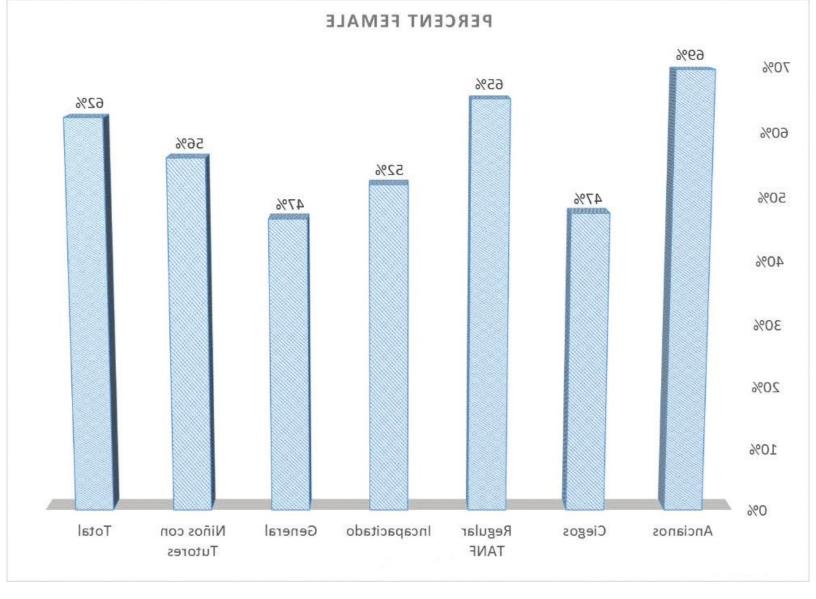
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TANF in Puerto Rico 43

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			Cat		nisión/servicio.		- 14	
		Ancianos	Ciegos	Regular TANF	Incapacitado	General	Niños con Tutores	Total
) to 9	Count	0	1	9308	1	30	33	9373
	% within Categoría	%0.0	.5%	39.7%	%0.	29.7%	33.0%	16.2%
0 to 19	Count	0	4	5466	86	48	55	5659
	% within Categoría	%0.0	2.1%	23.3%	.5%	47.5%	55.0%	<b>%8.0</b>
20 to 29	Count	1	22	4022	1381	4	0	5430
	% within Categoría	%0.	11.3%	17.2%	7.8%	4.0%	%0.0	9.4%
80 to 39	Count	4	20	2875	2086	12	3	5000
	% within Categoría	<b>%0.</b>	10.3%	12.3%	11.8%	11.9%	3.0%	8.6%
10 to 49	Count	11	36	1064	3870	3	2	4986
	% within Categoría	.1%	18.6%	4.5%	21.9%	3.0%	2.0%	<b>%8</b> .6%
50 to 59	Count	56	69	461	7064	4	9	7660
	% within Categoría	.3%	35.6%	2.0%	40.0%	4.0%	6.0%	13.2%
60 to 69	Count	5450	39	181	3142	0	1	8813
	% within Categoría	33.1%	20.1%	%8.	17.8%	%0.0	1.0%	15.2%
70 to 79	Count	7123	3	60	16	0	0	7202
	% within Categoría	43.2%	1.5%	.3%	.1%	%0.0	%0.0	12.4%
80 to 89	Count	3001	0	2	3	0	0	3006
	% within Categoría	18.2%	%0.0	%0.	<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	%0.0	5.2%
90 to 99	Count	784	0	0	2	0	0	786
	% within Categoría	4.8%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	%0.0	1.4%
over 100	Count	58	0	0	0	0	0	58
	% within Categoría	.4%	%0.0	%0.0	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%
	Count	16488	194	23439	17651	101	100	57973
	% within Categoría	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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#### TABLE 5.

Date (year/month) of emission.

TANF in Puerto Rico 45

Close to 99% of the participants in the Category A for the elderly were over age 65, 93.3% of participants in Category B for the blind are persons between the ages of 18 and 64 years of age, 62.1% of

participants in the regular TANF Category C are under the age of

17 and 37.4% are between the ages of 18 and 64. Close to 98.9%

of participants in the TANF program Category D for persons with

disabilities are between the ages of 18 and 64 while 75.2% of participants in TANF Category G were under the age of 17 and 85%

of participants in Category T were under the age of 17. Clearly, the TANF category C program serves a high proportion of children

and a more limited number of parents. (See Table 6.)

Differences in age by type of TANF program are confirmed in

Figure 2 that shows differences in the average age of participants for each TANF category.

The information on head of household suggests that close to 90%

of participants in Category A were considered heads of household, 74.4% of participants in Category B for the blind, 32.6% of participants in TANF regular Category C were considered as heads

of household, about 78.4% of TANF participants in Category D

were considered heads of household, about 14.9% of participants

in Category G and close to 18% of participants in Category T

were considered heads of household. The number of household

heads in TANF C is relatively modest at 7,640 cases out of a total caseload of 57,973 persons. (See Table 7 and Figure 3.)

Data on the number of adults in the household suggest that the

vast majority of TANF cases only have one adult in the house-

hold and there is not much difference for the other main TANF

categories. (See Table 8.)

In terms of the number of children the focus will be on Cat-

egory C were about 37% of households had one child, 38.2%

of households had two children, 19.2% of the households have

three children, and 5.5% of the households have four children

or more. (See Table 9.)

			isión/servicio.					
Total	∖liños con Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
14726	85	76	5	14557	3	0	Count	Lo thru 17
25.4%	85.0%	75.2%	<b>%0</b> .	62.1%	1.5%	%0.0	% within Categoría	
26578	14	25	17455	8763	181	140	Count	18 thru 64
45.8%	14.0%	24.8%	<b>%0.80</b>	37.4%	93.3%	<b>%8</b> .	% within Categoría	
16669	1	0	191	119	10	16348	Count	65 and over
28.8%	1.0%	%0.0	1.1%	.5%	5.2%	99.2%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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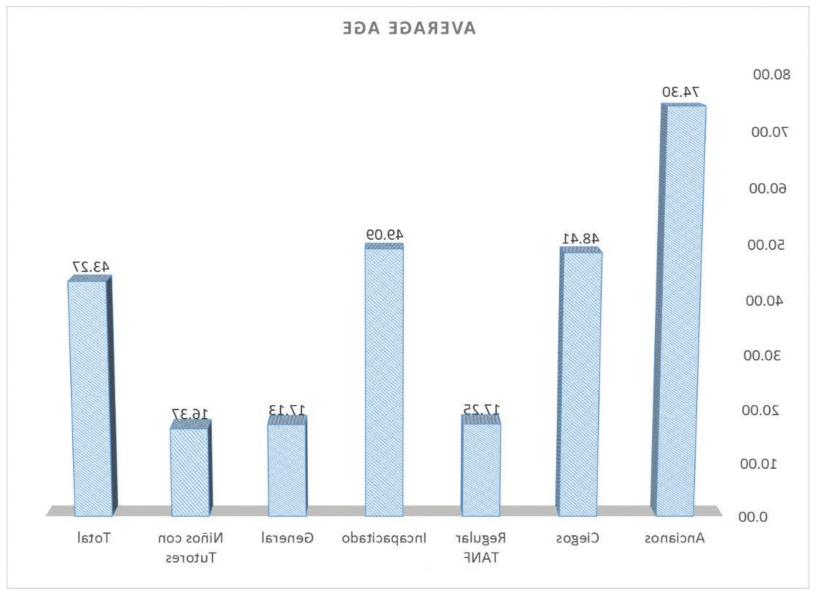
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Total	√iños con Tutores	1 General	iisión/servicio. Incapacitado	tegoría de em Regular TANF	Car Ciegos	Ancianos		
21476	82	98	3817	15799	49	1643	Count	Miembro
37.0%	82.0%	85.1%	21.6%	67.4%	25.3%	10.0%	% within Categoría	
36497	18	15	13834	7640	145	14845	Count	Jefe de Familia
63.0%	18.0%	14.9%	78.4%	32.6%	74.7%	90.0%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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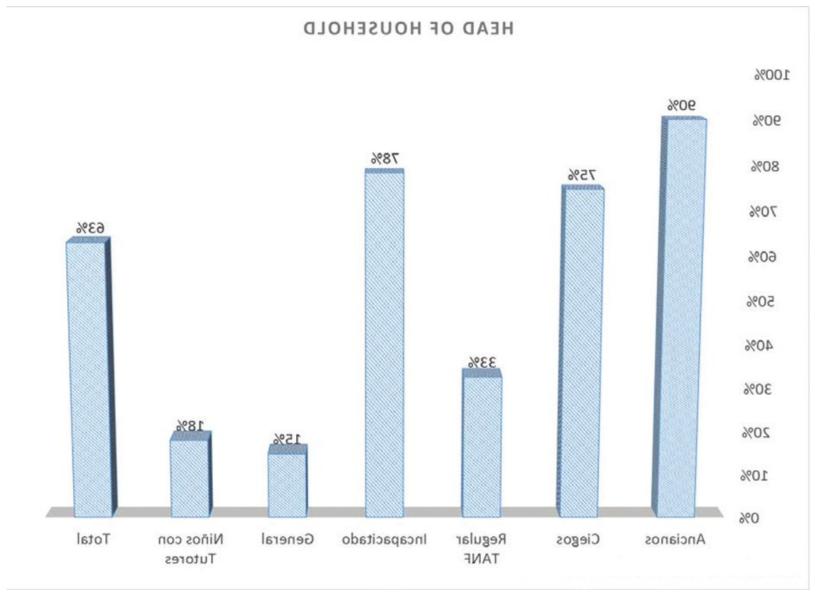
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Head of household b



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	Categoría de emisión/servicio. Regular Niños con											
Total	Vinos con Tutores	r General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos						
468	72	55	0	339	2	0	Count	0				
<b>%8</b> .	72.0%	54.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	1.4%	1.0%	%0.0	% within Categoría					
54472	26	24	17034	21242	186	15960	Count	1				
94.0%	26.0%	23.8%	96.5%	90.6%	95.9%	<b>%8.8</b> %	% within Categoría					
2946	2	18	613	1779	9	528	Count	2				
5.1%	2.0%	17.8%	3.5%	7.6%	3.1%	3.2%	% within Categoría					
82	0	4	4	74	0	0	Count	3				
.1%	%0.0	4.0%	<b>%0</b> .	.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría					
5	0	0	0	5	0	0	Count	4				
<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría					
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count					
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría					

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Number of adults b

	liños con	1	isión/servicio.	egoría de em Regular	Cat			
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
34330	3	1	17638	10	190	16488	Count	0
59.2%	3.0%	1.0%	<b>99.9%</b>	<b>%0</b> .	97.9%	100.0%	% within Categoría	
8855	84	88	13	8666	4	0	Count	1
15.3%	84.0%	87.1%	.1%	37.0%	2.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
8971	13	7	0	8951	0	0	Count	2
15.5%	13.0%	%e.ə	<b>%0.0</b>	38.2%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
4496	0	5	0	4491	0	0	Count	3
7.8%	<b>%0.0</b>	5.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	19.2%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
1066	0	0	0	1066	0	0	Count	4
1.8%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	4.5%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
198	0	0	0	198	0	0	Count	5
.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%8</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
57	0	0	0	57	0	0	Count	ð
.1%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	.2%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

TANF in Puerto Rico 51

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Number of childr

	Niños con	1	isión/servicio.					
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF I	Ciegos	Ancianos		
1	0	0	0	1	0	0	Count	ADOL
<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
760	0	0	148	504	1	107	Count	MADRE ADULTO-SOLTERA
1.3%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%8</b> .	2.2%	.5%	<b>%</b> ∂.	% within Categoría	
4945	3	9	1676	757	23	2480	Count	CASADO
8.5%	3.0%	5.9%	9.5%	3.2%	11.9%	15.0%	% within Categoría	
576	0	2	248	203	2	121	Count	CASADO/SEPARADO
1.0%	%0.0	2.0%	1.4%	% <b>e</b> .	1.0%	.7%	% within Categoría	
2180	1	13	811	942	6	404	Count	
3.8%	1.0%	12.9%	4.6%	4.0%	4.6%	2.5%	% within Categoría	CONVIVENCIA
4977	1	0	2203	488	21	2264	Count	DIVORCIADO
%9.8	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	12.5%	2.1%	10.8%	13.7%	% within Categoría	
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	Count	MENOR EMANCIPADO
<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	

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407	0	0	29	371	0	7	Count	MADRE SOLTERA MENOR
%7.	%0.0	%0.0	.2%	1.6%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	% within Categoría	
3	0	0	1	2	0	0	Count	АИ
<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
449	0	1	67	277	0	104	Count	OTRO ESTADO CIVIL
<b>%8.</b>	%0.0	1.0%	.4%	1.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%</b> ∂.	% within Categoría	
6	0	0	1	7	0	1	Count	PADRE SOLTERO MENOR
<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	% within Categoría	
5	0	0	3	1	0	1	Count	RELA
<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	% within Categoría	
2377	1	0	1083	569	10	714	Count	SEPARADO
4.1%	1.0%	%0.0	6.1%	2.4%	5.2%	4.3%	% within Categoría	
38110	94	79	10944	19204	124	7665	Count	SOLTERO
65.7%	94.0%	78.2%	62.0%	81.9%	63.9%	46.5%	% within Categoría	
3173	0	0	436	113	4	2620	Count	VIUDO
5.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	2.5%	.5%	2.1%	15.9%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

TANF in Puerto Rico 53

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The information on the marital status of participants in the

TANF program suggests that there are significant differences by

TANF category. These differences reflect age variation across the categories but also reflect different incidence & rates by type of TANF program. The overwhelming majority of participants in

the TANF program, close to 65.7%, were considered single and

the proportion varies by TANF category from a low of 46.5% for participants in TANF program Category A for the elderly to 63.9% for Category B for the blind, 81.9% for participants in the regular TANF program category C and 62% of participants in Category D for the disabled. (See Table 10.) The proportion that is married varies by category from a high of 16.4% for participants in TANF program Category A for the elderly, 11.9% for participants in TANF program Category B for the blind, only about 3.2% of participants in the regular TANF Category C program, and 9.5% for participants in Category D persons with disabilities. (See Table 11 and Figure 4.)

Disability status also varies significantly by TANF program

category as disability is a criterion used to assign persons into a different TANF subprograms. Close to 32.6% of participants

in TANF program Category A for the elderly had a verified dis-

ability, 98.5% of participants in TANF program Category B

for the blind had a verified disability, 5.4% of participants in

the regular TANF program Category C had a verify disability,

97.5% of participants in TANF Category D had a verified dis-

ability as did 74.3% of those participating in Category G TANF

program. Overall, close to 41.6% of all TANF cases in Puerto

Rico had some disability including 5.4% of regular TANF cat-

egory C cases. (See Table 12 and Figure 5.)

The Department of the Family collects data on the type of

# challenge that the applicant or participants in the program are

	liños con	1						
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
53028	97	95	15975	22682	171	14008	Count	00.
91.5%	97.0%	94.1%	90.5%	96.8%	88.1%	85.0%	% within Categoría	
4945	3	9	1676	757	23	2480	Count	Married
8.5%	3.0%	5.9%	9.5%	3.2%	11.9%	15.0%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

## TANF in Puerto Rico 55

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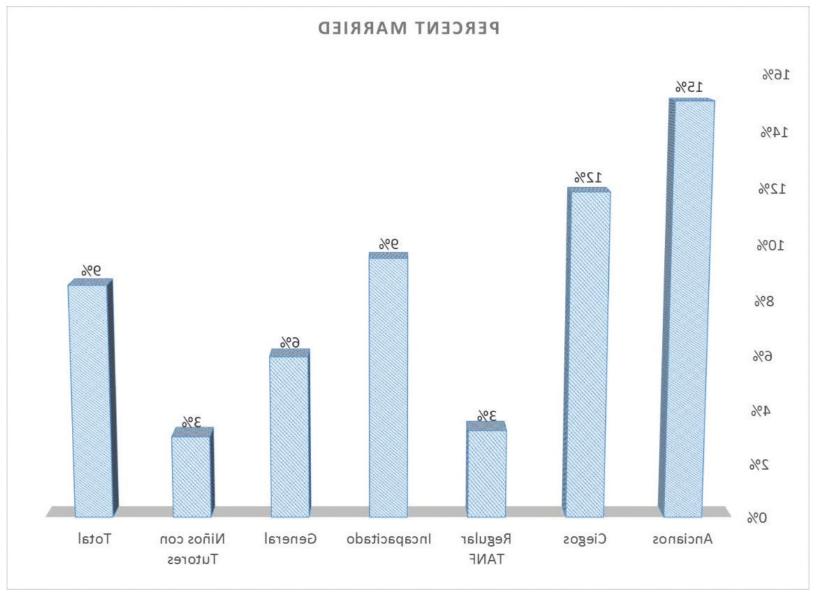
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Total	Niños con General Tutores T		Categoría de emisión/servicio. Regular Ciegos TANF Incapacitado			Ancianos		
33842	96	26	435	22171	3	11111	Count	Ν
58.4%	96.0%	25.7%	2.5%	94.6%	1.5%	67.4%	% within Categoría	
24131	4	75	17216	1268	191	5377	Count	S
41.6%	4.0%	74.3%	97.5%	5.4%	98.5%	32.6%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	£
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

## TANF in Puerto Rico 57

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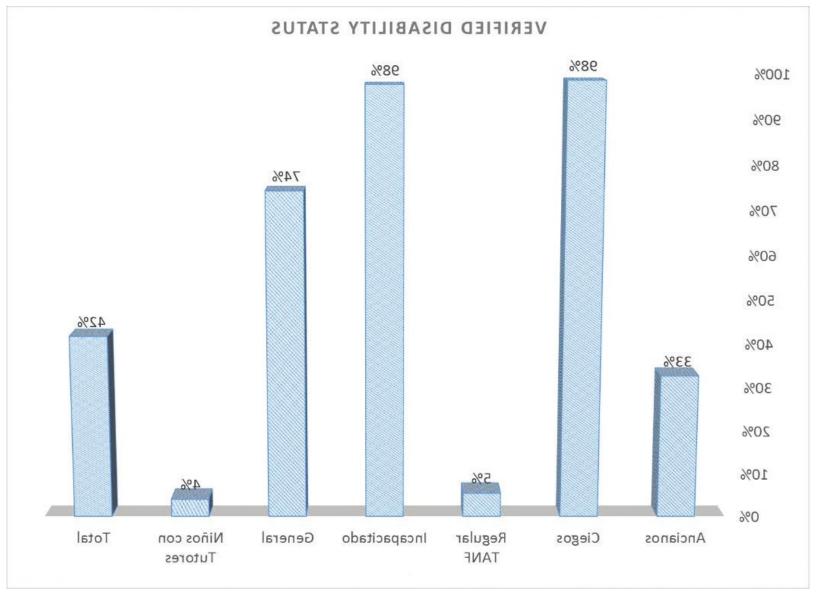
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TANF in Puerto Rico 59

facing and that leads families to participate in the program. These data, however, do not really provide the kind of information or level of nuance that can allow us to re-examine the particular circumstances that these households are going through and that leads them to continue in the program. The field descriptions appear redundant and are somewhat confusing and the overwhelming reason given for participating in the TANF program has to do with lack of access to income or other resources. This field likely serves as a way to flag and confirm that the income and resource verifications in the case have been made, or that other particular and relevant evidence have been submitted to the department and verified so that the case can be active.

The potential categories for this variable include: Necesidad De Albergue [needs chelter], Ref. Ayuda Legal [refered by legal aid], Persona Sin Dirección [person without address], Persona Con Dirección [person with address], Desempleo [unemployed], Desahucio Vivienda [evicted from home], Desempleo E Incapacidad [unemployed and disabled], No Tiene Ingresos Necesidades Básicas [does not have income for basic needs], No Dinero Para Pagar Agua/Luz/Renta [does not have income to pay water, electricity or rent], Necesidad Otros Artículos Uso Person/Hog [needs personal or household items], Poco/No Ingreso/Recursos Para Necesidades (Unidad Familiar) [little or no income for family needs], Necesidad De Sostén Económico [needs economic support], Compl. Estudios Secundarios/ Superior-Ref [completing studies], Empleado Público Cesanteado [laid off government worker], Familia Necesita Vivienda [family needs housing], Huelga Empleados/Lugar Empleo [strike in workplace], Indocumentado [undocumented], Información Sobre Servicios De Agencias [information about agency services], Referido Oficina De Seg. Soc. [referred by so-60

60

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cial security office], Información Protegida [protected information], Limitación Física O Mental [physical or mental limitation], Nec. Dinero Serv. Méd, Transp, R-Xs, Lab [needs money for medical needs], Menor Necesidades Especiales [minor with special needs], Problema No Aplica [problem does not apply], Niños Abandonados Por Uno O Ambos Padres [children abandoned by one or more parents], No Acepta Acción [does not accept action], Otras Necesidades Y/O Servicios [other needs or services], Perdió Empleo Por Lim Física/Mental [lost job due to physical or mental limitation], Pérdida Vivienda Por Fuego/Inund/Desas [lost housing due to fire, flooding, disas-

ter], Solicitud Para Localizar Familiares [looking for relatives], Anciano/Incapacitado Sin Vivienda [elderly/disabled without

housing], Vivienda Pésimas Condiciones-Ref. [housing in substandard conditions].

The most common answer given in terms of the type of challenge that the applicant or participants in the program are facing and that leads families to participate in the program was "No Tiene Ingresos Necesidades Básicas [does not have income for basic needs]" with 70.1% for Category A, 69.6% for Category B, 57.3% for Category C, 67% for Category D, 42.6% for Category G, close to 53% for Category T and 63.9% for the total TANF caseload. The second most common category was "Poco/No Ingreso/Recursos Para Necesidades (Unidad Familiar) [little or no income for family needs]" with 16.6% for Category A, 15.5% for Category B, 18.6% for TANF Category C, 17.6% for Category D, 17.8% for Category G, 14.0% for Category T and 17.7% for the total TANF caseload. The third most popular category was "Problema No Aplica [problem does not apply]" which likely refers to young children who are not coded individually but get the code assigned to their head of

household. (See Table 13.)

			)	Categoría de er	misión/servicio.			
		Ancianos	Ciegos	Regular TANF	Incapacitado	General	Niños con Tutores	Total
IECESIDAD DE ALBERGUE	Count	4	0	1	11	0	0	16
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0 <b>.0</b> %	<b>%0</b> .	.1%	%0 <b>.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EF. AYUDA LEGAL	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within TANF	%0.	<b>%0.0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0. <b>0</b>	%0.
PERSONA SIN DIRECCIÓN	Count	13	0	0	59	0	0	72
	% within TANF	.1%	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0 <b>.0</b>	.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b>	.1%
PERSONA CON DIRECCIÓN	Count	32	0	2	141	0	0	175
	% within TANF	.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.	<b>%8</b> .	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0. <b>0</b>	.3%
DESEMPLEO	Count	43	0	93	140	0	0	276
	% within TANF	.3%	<b>%0.0</b> %	.4%	<b>%8</b> ₋	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0. <b>0</b>	.5%
DESEMPLEO E INCAPACIDAD	Count	50	1	13	238	0	0	302
	% within TANF	.3%	<b>%</b> 7.	.1%	1.3%	%0 <b>.0</b> %	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%</b> ē.
IO TIENE INGRESOS	Count	11559	135	13435	11825	43	63	37060
IECESIDADES BÁSICAS	% within TANF	70.1%	69.6%	57.3%	67.0%	42.6%	63.0%	63.9%

# TANF in Puerto Rico 61

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GUA/LUZ/RENTA % V ECESIDAD OTROS COL	Count	274	1	260	239	4	1	779
	% within TANF	1.7%	.5%	1.1%	1.4%	4.0%	1.0%	1.3%
	Count	116	1	252	130	1	2	502
ARTÍCULOS USO PERSONHOG	% within TANF	.7%	.5%	1.1%	.7%	1.0%	2.0%	%e.
POCO/NO ING/REC PARA	Count	2729	30	4366	3101	18	14	10258
NECESID.(UNID.FAMI)	% within TANF	16.6%	15.5%	18.6%	17.6%	17.8%	14.0%	17.7%
NECESIDAD DE SOSTÉN	Count	207	4	406	240	7	2	866
ECONÓMICO	% within TANF	1.3%	2.1%	1.7%	1.4%	6.9%	2.0%	1.5%
ED15	Count	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b> %	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EDPA	Count	0	0	1	9	0	0	7
	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
COMPL. ESTUDIOS	Count	4	0	11	1	0	0	16
SECUNDARIOS/SUPERIOR-REF	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b> %	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	%0. <b>0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%</b> 0.
EMDE	Count	9	0	4	3	0	0	13
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b> %	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	%0 <b>.0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .

62

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Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

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EMDI	Count	15	0	0	6	0	0	24
	% within TANF	.1%	<b>%0.0</b> %	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EMPLEADO PÚBLICO	Count	1	1	10	10	0	0	22
CESANTEADO	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	%O.	.1%	%0 <b>.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
FAMILIA NECESITA VIVIENDA	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b> %	0.0%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
INDOCUMENTADO	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	%0. <b>0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
INFORMACIÓN PROTEGIDA	Count	1	0	20	2	0	0	23
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b> %	.1%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	%0 <u>.</u>
LIMITACIÓN FÍSICA O MENTAL	Count	1	0	0	8	0	0	6
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	%0 <b>.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
NEC.DINERO SERV.	Count	3	1	0	8	0	0	12
MED,TRANSP,R-XS,LAB	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
MENOR NECESIDADES	Count	0	0	776	8	2	2	788
ESPECIALES	% within TANF	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	3.3%	<b>%0</b> .	2.0%	2.0%	1.4%

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PROBLEMA NO APLICA	Count	1250	19	3662	1292	25	14	6262
	% within TANF	7.6%	%8.e	15.6%	7.3%	24.8%	14.0%	10.8%
NIÑOS ABANDONADOS	Count	0	0	46	1	0	0	47
POR UNO Ó AMBOS PADRES	% within TANF	%0.0	% <b>0</b> .0	.2%	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	.1%
OTRAS NECESIDADES	Count	159	1	77	158	1	2	398
Y/O SERVICIOS	% within TANF	1.0%	.5%	.3%	%e.	1.0%	2.0%	%7.
PERDIO EMPLEO POR LIM	Count	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
FISICA/MENTAL	% within TANF	%0.0	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
SOLICITUD PARA	Count	r	0	0	0	0	0	1
LOCALIZAR FAMILIARES	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
SADA	Count	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
SAFI	Count	5	0	0	9	0	0	11
	% within TANF	%0.	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
SAME	Count	3	0	0	8	0	0	11
	% within TANF	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>

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SMCN	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within TANF	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>
SMLF	Count	7	0	0	2	0	0	6
	% within TANF	<b>%0.</b>	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% <b>0</b> .
SMML	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within TANF	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0 <b>.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
SIN VIVIENDA	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
	Count	16488	194	23439	17651	101	100	57973
	% within TANF	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

In terms of employment status, The Department of the Family

collects some data meant to verify employment status related to

the eligibility of participants in the program. The categories for the employment variable includes categories that are based on

age, childcare responsibilities, connection to the labor market,

disability status, persons in school in part-time or full-time status.

The most common categories mentioned for persons in TANF

category C were "menor de 21 años [under 21 years of age]" with

38.8%, "no aplica [does not apply]" with 24.9%, "desempleado

buscando empleo [unemployed looking for work]" with 13.6%,

"familia un solo padre cuida niño menor 6 años [family with one

parent that cares for children under 6 years of age]" with 5.8%,

"padr/madr/enc.cuida niño<5 [father, mother caring for children under 5]" with 2.7%, "incapacitado fisica o mentalmente [physically or emotionally disabled]" with 2.4%. "padr/madr/enc.cui-

da niño<12 meses [father, mother caring for children under 12

months]" with 2.2%, "desempleado e incapacitado [unemployed

and disabled]" with 2.1%. (See Table 14.)

The bulk of participants in the TANF program have completed

less than a high school education and between 15% and 30%

depending on the category have completed a high school degree.

(See Table 15.)

As part of the analysis, I combined information in the variables

for gender, age category, and disability status (disabled or not disabled) to create a new variable that includes the information on

all three. If a person was age 17 and under they were labeled

"young," if a person was between the ages of 18 and 64 they were

classified as "adult" and if the person was age 65 and older they were classified as "senior." (See Table 16.)

About 31.4% of participants in the Regular TANF Category C

program were young males not disabled, another 30.3% young

females not disabled. This means that close to 61.7% of partici-

pants in TANF C were under 17 years of age. Another 30.9%

of participants in the regular TANF program Category C were

TANF in Puerto Rico 67

female adults not disabled. TANF Category C, then, is essentially a program for adult women (30.9%) with children (61.7%).

Close to 19.6% of participants in TANF program Category A for senior were males not disabled, about 10.5% were disabled senior males, close to 47.2% were senior females not disabled, and about 21.8% of participants in TANF program Category A were senior disabled females. In terms of TANF program Category D for disabled persons, about 46.6% of participants in this category were disabled adult males, and the other 50% were disabled adult females. In terms of overall participation in the TANF program the proportion of male adults not disabled was 1.1% or 640 cases out of a total caseload of 57,973. In terms of number of persons in the household, close to 96.8% of TANF program participants in Category A, 95.9% of TANF program participants in Category B, and 96.5% of participants in TANF program Category D are in households with only one

participant in the program. Looking at TANF program Category

C it appears that about 34.1% of the cases are in households with two participants, 37.4% of the cases are households with three

participants, 20.7% of the cases are in households with four per-

sons, and 7.9% are in larger households. (See Table 17.)

Figure 6 includes information on the average number of chil-

dren, adults, and total number of persons in the household for

participants in the different categories of the TANF program.

In terms of the number of months participating in the TANF pro-

gram the data suggest that 95.3% of participants in TANF program

Category A have been in the program for less than one year, 83.5%

of participants in TANF program Category B for the blind, 87.1%

of participants in TANF category D, also do not appear to be on the time clock. Looking at TANF program Category C it appears that

26.5% of participants have been in the program for one year, 21.6%

have been in the program for two years, 18.8% have been in the program for three years, 17.4% have been in the program for four years, and 15% are in their fifth year in the TANF program. (See Table 18.)

			nisión/servicio.	Categoría de en	)			
Total	Niños con Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
12841	1	0	740	130	5	11965	Count	PERSONA DE 60 AÑOS O
22.1%	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	4.2%	% <b>ə</b> .	2.6%	72.6%	% within TANF	MÁS
8	0	0	3	4	0	٢	Count	RECIBE COMPENSACIÓN
<b>%0</b> .	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	% within TANF	ESEMPLEO
525	0	0	4	521	0	0	Count	PADR/MADR/ENC.CUIDA NIÑO<12 MESES
% <b>e</b> .	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	2.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within TANF	
633	0	0	7	626	0	0	Count	PADR/MADR/ENC.CUIDA
1.1%	% <b>0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	2.7%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within TANF	NIÑO<5 AÑOS O INCAP.
1390	0	3	19	1364	1	3	Count	FAM.UN SOLO PADRE
2.4%	% <b>0.</b> 0	3.0%	.1%	5.8%	.5%	<b>%0.</b>	% within TANF	CUIDA NIÑO MEN.6 AÑOS
47	0	0	20	5	0	22	Count	CUID
.1%	% <b>0</b> .0	<b>%0.</b> 0	.1%	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	.1%	% within TANF	
79	0	1	8	69	0	1	Count	PADR.SOLO CON NIÑO
.1%	<b>%0.</b> 0	1.0%	<b>%0.</b>	.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b>	% within TANF	INC.REQ.CUID.CONTINUO

68

68

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

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DESEMPLEADO MAYOR DE	Count	79	9	113	815	1	2	1016
50 AÑOS	% within TANF	.5%	3.1%	.5%	4.6%	1.0%	2.0%	1.8%
DESEMPLEADO MAYOR DE	Count	1336	0	17	81	0	0	1434
60 AÑOS	% within TANF	8.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b> 0	2.5%
DESEMPLEADO E	Count	873	72	502	<b>6</b> 05 <b>0</b>	2	1	7500
INCAPACITADO	% within TANF	5.3%	37.1%	2.1%	34.3%	2.0%	1.0%	12. <b>9</b> %
DESEMPLEADO	Count	428	7	3191	1093	10	4	4733
BUSCANDO EMPLEO	% within TANF	2.6%	3.6%	13.6%	6.2%	<b>%e.e</b>	4.0%	8.2%
DESEMPLEADO NO BUSCA	Count	114	٢	185	178	1	1	480
EMPLEO	% within TANF	%7.	.5%	<b>%8</b> .	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	<b>%8</b> .
DESEMPLEO TEMPORERO	Count	1	0	5	12	0	0	18
	% within TANF	<b>%0.</b>	%0.0	<b>%0.</b>	.1%	%0.0	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0</b> .
EMBARAZO MENOR 5	Count	0	0	31	0	0	0	31
MESES/COND.MÉD.CERTIF	% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	.1%	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	% <b>0.</b> 0	.1%
EMBARAZO DE 6 MESES O	Count	0	0	90	0	0	0	06
MÁS CERT.MÉDICA	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.4%	% <b>0.</b> 0	<b>%0.0</b>	% <b>0.</b> 0	.2%
EMPLEADO HASTA 23	Count	4	0	8	4	0	0	16
HORAS	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EMPLEADO HASTA 24	Count	0	0	4	1	0	0	5
HORAS	% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.</b> 0	<b>%0</b> .

TANF in Puerto Rico 69

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EMBA	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	%0 <b>.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EMPLEADO A TIEMPO	Count	31	0	82	20	0	1	134
PARCIAL	% within ⊤ANF	. <b>2%</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	.3%	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	1.0%	.2%
EMPLEADO TIEMPO	Count	6	0	138	13	0	1	161
COMPLETO	% within ⊤ANF	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%</b> ∂.	.1%	%0.0	1.0%	.3%
ESTUDIANTE EMPLEO A	Count	0	0	10	3	1	0	14
TIEMPO COMPLETO	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
ESTUDIANTE A TIEMPO	Count	0	1	480	51	1	1	534
COMPLETO	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	.5%	2.0%	.3%	1.0%	1.0%	% <b>e</b> .
ESTUDIANTE A TIEMPO	Count	0	0	75	2	0	0	77
PARCIAL	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	%0.0	.3%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%
PARTICIPANTE EXENTO EN	Count	7	1	31	31	0	0	70
TANF	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	.1%	.2%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%
ME18	Count	0	0	177	13	۲	9	197
	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	%0.0	<b>%8</b> .	.1%	1.0%	<b>6</b> .0%	.3%
MENOR DE 21 AÑOS	Count	1	1	9106	178	30	56	9372
	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	38.8%	1.0%	29.7%	<b>56</b> .0%	16.2%
NO APLICA	Count	894	12	5839	854	29	25	7653
	% within ⊤ANF	5.4%	6.2%	24.9%	4.8%	28.7%	25.0%	13.2%

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Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

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	Count	17	0	0	9	0	0	23
	% within ⊤ANF	.1%	% <b>0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	₩0.	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
NP20	Count	8	0	0	2	0	0	10
	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
EGOCIO PROPIO MÍNIMO 25	Count	10	0	20	11	۲	0	42
HORAS	% within ⊤ANF	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	.1%	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%
OTRO STATUS DE EMPLEO	Count	64	1	41	100	1	0	207
	% within ⊤ANF	.4%	.5%	.2%	<b>%</b> ∂.	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	.4%
INCAPACITADO	Count	593	85	554	7245	19	1	8497
FÍSICA/MENTALMENTE	% within ⊤ANF	3.6%	43.8%	2.4%	41.0%	18.8%	1.0%	14.7%
PROG. REHAB. DE ADICTO A	Count	2	1	2	76	0	0	81
DROGAS/ALCOHOL	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	<b>%0</b> .	.4%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%
PREA	Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
RETIRADO DE EMPLEO	Count	25	0	5	3	0	0	33
	% within ⊤ANF	.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0. <b>0</b>	.1%
PARTICIPA TANF BAJO TÍTULO	Count	0	0	13	9	0	0	19
VI	% within ⊤ANF	<b>%0</b> .0	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
	Count	16488	194	23439	17651	101	100	57973
	% within ⊤ANF	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

# TANF in Puerto Rico 71

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			Cat	egoría de	emisión/servicio			
		Ancianos	Ciegos	Regular TANF	Incapacitado	General	Niños con ⊤utores	Total
3ACHILLERATO	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
	Count	58	7	155	244	0	0	464
	% within TANF	.4%	3.6%	.7%	1.4%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%8</b> .
	Count	5	0	1	10	0	0	16
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.1%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
DUCACIÓN ESPECIAL	Count	15	3	473	1265	45	5	1806
	% within TANF	.1%	1.5%	2.0%	7.2%	44.6%	5.0%	3.1%
STUDIANTE ESCUELA TEC	Count	1	0	97	24	0	0	122
VOCACIONAL.	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	.4%	.1%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	.2%
ST.TIEMPO COMPLETO 1ER	Count	0	2	333	39	0	0	374
NO POSTSEC.	% within TANF	%0.0	1.0%	1.4%	.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% <b>∂</b> .

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Count	1	0	87	16	0	0	104
% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	.4%	.1%	%0.0	%0.0	.2%
Count	0	0	90	9	0	0	96
% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	.4%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.2%
Count	0	0	20	4	0	0	24
% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	.1%	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
Count	0	2	39	9	0	0	47
% within TANF	%0.0	1.0%	.2%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.1%
Count	0	0	16	4	0	0	20
% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.1%	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .
Count	0	0	26	6	0	0	35
% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	.1%	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.1%
Count	1	0	7	4	0	0	12
% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
Count	0	0	10	5	0	0	15
% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
% within TANF	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .
) ) ) ) ) ) ) )	% within TANF Count % within TANF	% within TANF.0%Count0% within TANF0.0%Count0% within TANF0.0%% within TANF0.0%% within TANF0.0%% within TANF0.0%% within TANF0.0%% within TANF0.0%	% within TANF         .0%         0.0%           Count         0         0         0           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%           Count         0         0         0         0           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%           Count         0         0         0         2           % within TANF         0.0%         1.0%         1.0%           Count         0         0         0         2           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%	% within TANF         .0%         0.0%         .4%           Count         0         0         90         90           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .4%           Count         0         0         0         20           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .1%           % within TANF         0.0%         1.0%         .1%           Count         0         2         39           % within TANF         0.0%         1.0%         .2%           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .1%           % within TANF         0.0%         0.0%	% within TANF         .0%         0.0%         .4%         .1%           Count         0         0         90         6	Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         4%         1%         0.0%           Count         0         0         0         90         6         0           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         4%         0.0%         0.0%           Count         0         0         20         4         0           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         1%         0.0%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         1%         0.0%         0.0%           Sount         0         2         39         6         0         0           Methin TANF         0.0%         1.0%         .2%         .0%         0.0%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .2%         .0%         0.0%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .1%         .1%         0.0%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .1%         .1%         0.0%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%         .1%         .1%         .1%         0.0%           Methin TANF         0.0%         0.0%	Methin TANF         .0%         0.0%         .4%         .1%         0.0%

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Count	11	1	1285	9	3	5	1311
% within TANF	.1%	.5%	5.5%	<b>%0</b> .	3.0%	5.0%	2.3%
Count	24	1	666	4	1	9	1035
% within TANF	.1%	.5%	4.3%	<b>%0</b> .	1.0%	6.0%	1.8%
Count	20	0	906	10	2	6	947
% within TANF	.1%	%0.0	3.9%	.1%	2.0%	9.0%	1.6%
Count	31	1	842	8	0	10	892
% within TANF	.2%	.5%	3.6%	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	10.0%	1.5%
Count	24	1	732	8	1	3	769
% within TANF	.1%	.5%	3.1%	<b>%0</b> .	1.0%	3.0%	1.3%
Count	33	0	614	18	1	9	672
% within TANF	.2%	%0.0	2.6%	.1%	1.0%	6.0%	1.2%
Count	14	0	676	18	3	7	718
% within TANF	.1%	%0.0	2.9%	.1%	3.0%	7.0%	1.2%
Count	15	0	569	18	0	9	809
% within TANF	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	2.4%	.1%	%0.0	6.0%	1.0%
	% within TANF Count % within TANF Count % within TANF Count % within TANF Count % within TANF Count % within TANF % within TANF Count % within TANF	% within TANF.1%Count24% within TANF.1%Count20% within TANF.1%% within TANF.1%% within TANF.2%% within TANF.2%% within TANF.1%% within TANF.1%	% within TANF         .1%         .5%           Count         24         1           % within TANF         .1%         .5%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%           % within TANF         .1%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         0           % within TANF         .1%         0	% within TANF         .1%         .5%         5.5%           Count         24         1         999         4.3%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%           Count         20         0         906         906           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         5%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         5%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         5%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.6%         5%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.1%         5%           % within TANF         .1%         .0%         2.6%         5%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         2.6%         5%	% within TANF         .1%         .5%         .0%           Count         24         1         999         4           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%         .0%           Count         20         0         906         10           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.6%         .0%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.6%         .0%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.1%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%         .0%         .1%         .1%           % within TANF         .1%	% within TANF         .1%         .5%         5.5%         .0%         3.0%           Count         24         1         999         4         1           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%         .0%         1.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%         .0%         1.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .1%         3.9%         .1%         0.0%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.6%         .0%         1.0%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.1%         .0%         1.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .0%         1.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .10%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .10%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         .1%         .10%         .0% <t< td=""><td>% within TANF         .1%         .5%         5.5%         .0%         3.0%         5.0%           Count         24         1         999         4         1         60.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%         .0%         1.0%         6.0%           Count         20         0         906         10         2         9           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.1%         .0%         10.0%         3.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%         3.0%         .10%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%         .10%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%</td></t<>	% within TANF         .1%         .5%         5.5%         .0%         3.0%         5.0%           Count         24         1         999         4         1         60.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         4.3%         .0%         1.0%         6.0%           Count         20         0         906         10         2         9           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         0.0%         3.9%         .1%         2.0%         9.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%         .1%           % within TANF         .2%         .5%         3.1%         .0%         10.0%         3.0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%         3.0%         .10%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%         3.1%         .1%         .10%         .0%           % within TANF         .1%         .5%

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NOVENO GRADO,	Count	23	0	518	39	1	9	587
ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	2.2%	.2%	1.0%	%0.ə	1.0%
SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA	Count	7	0	419	16	2	5	449
SUP., ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	1.8%	.1%	2.0%	5.0%	<b>%8</b> .
TERCER AÑO ESCUELA	Count	12	1	284	21	1	2	321
SUP., ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	.1%	.5%	1.2%	.1%	1.0%	2.0%	<b>%</b> ∂.
CUARTO AÑO ESCUELA	Count	57	1	231	94	0	2	385
SUP., ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	.3%	.5%	1.0%	.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	2.0%	<b>%</b> 7.
GRADO ASOCIADO	Count	28	2	251	228	0	1	510
	% within TANF	.2%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	1.0%	% <b>e</b> .
KINDERGARDEN	Count	0	0	1100	0	1	3	1104
	% within TANF	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	4.7%	<b>%0.0</b>	1.0%	3.0%	1.9%
VAESTRÍA	Count	2	0	12	19	0	0	33
	% within TANF	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	.1%	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.1%
GRADO ESCOLAR NO	Count	1306	10	4056	759	14	7	6152
APLICA	% within TANF	7.9%	5.2%	17.3%	4.3%	13.9%	7.0%	10.6%
PRIMER GRADO, NO	Count	733	3	35	257	0	0	1028
ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	4.4%	1.5%	.1%	1.5%	%0.0	%0.0	1.8%

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TERCER GRADO, NO         Count         1436         5         35         380         0         0         1866           ESTUDIANTE CUARTO GRADO, NO         Count         1361         10         58         467         1         1         1898           CUARTO GRADO, NO         Count         1361         10         58         467         1         1         1898           CUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1153         5         56         473         0         0         0         1687           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1153         5         56         473         0         0         0         1687           COUNT         1153         5         56         473         0         0         0         2.9%           SETUDIANTE         Count         1744         10         138         817         1         0         2.9%           SETUDIANTE         Sety         2.6%         .9%         4.6%         1.0%         2.9%         2.9%           CUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1744         10         138         817         1         1         1         2.9%           ESTUDIANTE <t< th=""><th>SEGUNDO GRADO, NO</th><th>Count</th><th>1011</th><th>4</th><th>22</th><th>270</th><th>0</th><th>1</th><th>1308</th></t<>	SEGUNDO GRADO, NO	Count	1011	4	22	270	0	1	1308
ESTUDIANTE         So within TANF         8.7%         2.6%         .1%         2.2%         0.0%         0.0%         3.2%           CUARTO GRADO, NO         Count         1361         10         58         467         1         1         1888           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1163         5.2%         .2%         0.0%         1.0%         3.3%           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1163         5         56         473         0         0         0         667         3.3%           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         10%         2.6%         .2%         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%         3.3%           GUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1163         5.2%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           SEXTO GRADO, NO         Count         11744         10         138         817         1         0         0         4.7%           ESTUDIANTE         9         within TANF         10.6%         5.2%         .6%         4.6%         1.0%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           ESTUDIANTE         0         0.6%         5.2%         .6%	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	6.1%	2.1%	.1%	1.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	1.0%	2.3%
Swithin TANF         8.7%         2.6%         .1%         2.2%         0.0%         0.0%         0.0%         3.2%           CUARTO GRADO, NO         Gount         1361         10         58         467         1         1         1898           QUIINTO GRADO, NO         Swithin TANF         8.3%         5.2%         .2%         2.6%         1.0%         1.0%         3.3%           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1153         5         56         473         0         0         6         1687           SEXTUDIANTE         % within TANF         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         3.3%           SEXTUDIANTE         6         473         0         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           SEXTUDIANTE         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           SEXTUDIANTE         6         1174         10         138         817         1         0         2.9%           SEXTUDIANTE         6         10.6%         5.2%         .9%         1.0%         1.0%         2.9%         2.9%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%         2.9% <td< td=""><td>•</td><td>Count</td><td>1436</td><td>5</td><td>35</td><td>380</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>1856</td></td<>	•	Count	1436	5	35	380	0	0	1856
ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         8.3%         5.2%         .2%         2.6%         1.0%         1.0%         3.3%           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1153         5         56         473         0         0         1687           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           SEXTO GRADO, NO         Count         1744         10         138         817         1         0         2710           SETUDIANTE         Count         1744         10         138         817         1         0         2.9%           ESTUDIANTE         Count         1744         10         6%         4.6%         1.0%         0.0%         4.7%           ESTUDIANTE         Count         939         10         249         889         1         1         2.9%           ESTUDIANTE         Serrition TANF         10.6%         5.2%         1.1%         5.0%         1.0%         3.6%           SEPTIMO GRADO, NO         Count         933         10         249         889         1         1         1         2089           SETUDIANTE <t< td=""><td>ESTUDIANTE</td><td>% within TANF</td><td>8.7%</td><td>2.6%</td><td>.1%</td><td>2.2%</td><td>%0.0</td><td>%0.0</td><td>3.2%</td></t<>	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	8.7%	2.6%	.1%	2.2%	%0.0	%0.0	3.2%
Within TANF         8.3%         5.2%         .2%         2.6%         1.0%         1.0%         3.3%           QUINTO GRADO, NO         Count         1153         5         56         473         0         0         1687           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%           SEXTO GRADO, NO         Gount         11744         10         138         817         1         0         2710           ESTUDIANTE         Count         1744         10         138         817         1         0         2.9%           ESTUDIANTE         Gount         1744         10         138         817         1         0         0%         0.0%         4.7%           ESTUDIANTE         Count         939         10         249         889         1         1         1         2089           SÉPTIMO GRADO, NO         Count         939         10         249         889         1         1         1         2089           SÉPTINO GRADO, NO         Count         939         10         249         889         1         1         1         2089		Count	1361	10	58	467	1	1	1898
ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9% <td>ESTUDIANTE</td> <td>% within TANF</td> <td>8.3%</td> <td>5.2%</td> <td>.2%</td> <td>2.6%</td> <td>1.0%</td> <td>1.0%</td> <td>3.3%</td>	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	8.3%	5.2%	.2%	2.6%	1.0%	1.0%	3.3%
SextO GRADO, NO         % within TANF         7.0%         2.6%         .2%         2.7%         0.0%         0.0%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.9%         2.10         2.10         2.10         2.10         2.10%         2.9%         2.10%         2.9%         2.10%         2.9%         2.10%         2.9%         2.10%         2.9%         4.7%         0.0%         0.0%         4.7%         <		Count	1153	5	56	473	0	0	1687
ESTUDIANTE         Martin         Mar	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	7.0%	2.6%	.2%	2.7%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	2.9%
SÉPTIMO GRADO, NO         % within TANF         10.6%         5.2%         .6%         4.6%         1.0%         0.0%         4.7%           SÉPTIMO GRADO, NO         Count         939         10         249         889         1         1         2089           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         5.7%         5.2%         1.1%         5.0%         1.0%         1.0%         3.6%           OCTAVO GRADO, NO         Count         938         15         331         857         4         4         2149           OCTAVO GRADO, NO         Count         938         15         331         857         4         4         2149           OCTAVO GRADO, NO         Count         938         15         331         857         4         4         2149           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         5.7%         7.7%         1.4%         4.9%         4.0%         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Count         1144         14         558         1288         2.0%         0.0%         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Count         1144         14         558         1288         2         0         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO<	l.	Count	1744	10	138	817	1	0	2710
ESTUDIANTE       % within TANF       5.7%       5.2%       1.1%       5.0%       1.0%       1.0%       3.6%         OCTAVO GRADO, NO       Count       938       15       331       857       4       2149         ESTUDIANTE       % within TANF       5.7%       7.7%       1.4%       4.9%       4.0%       3.7%         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Count       1144       14       558       1288       2.0%       3.7%         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Count       1144       14       558       1288       2.0%       5.7%       3.7%         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Count       1144       14       558       1288       2.0%       0.0%       5.2%         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Swithin TANF       6.9%       7.2%       2.4%       7.3%       2.0%       0.0%       5.2%         SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA       Count       430       5       478       614       0       2.4%       5.2%	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	10.6%	5.2%	<b>%</b> ∂.	4.6%	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	4.7%
% within TANF         5.7%         5.2%         1.1%         5.0%         1.0%         1.0%         3.6%           OCTAVO GRADO, NO         Count         938         15         331         857         4         4         2149           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         5.7%         7.7%         1.4%         4.9%         4.0%         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Count         1144         14         558         1288         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Count         1144         14         558         1288         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Secund         1144         14         558         1288         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Secund         1144         14         558         1288         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA         Count         430         5         478         614         0         2.4%         7.3%         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%	,	Count	939	10	249	688	1	1	2089
ESTUDIANTE       % within TANF       5.7%       7.7%       1.4%       4.9%       4.0%       4.0%       3.7%         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Count       1144       14       558       1288       2       0       3006         NOVENO GRADO, NO       Count       1144       14       558       1288       2       0       3006         SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA       % within TANF       6.9%       7.2%       2.4%       7.3%       2.0%       0.0%       5.2%         SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA       Count       430       5       478       614       0       2       1529	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	5.7%	5.2%	1.1%	5.0%	1.0%	1.0%	3.6%
% within TANF         5.7%         7.7%         1.4%         4.9%         4.0%         4.0%         3.7%           NOVENO GRADO, NO         Count         1144         14         558         1288         2         0         3006           ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         6.9%         7.2%         2.4%         7.3%         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA         Count         430         5         478         614         0         2.2%		Count	938	15	331	857	4	4	2149
ESTUDIANTE         % within TANF         6.9%         7.2%         2.4%         7.3%         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA         Count         430         5         478         614         0         2         1529           SUP_NO ESTUDIANTE         NO ESTUDIANTE         430         5         478         614         0         2         1529	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	5.7%	7.7%	1.4%	4.9%	4.0%	4.0%	3.7%
% within TANF         6.9%         7.2%         2.4%         7.3%         2.0%         0.0%         5.2%           SEGUNDO AÑO ESCUELA         Count         430         5         478         614         0         2         1529           SUP_NO ESTUDIANTE         0         5         478         614         0         2         1529	•	Count	1144	14	558	1288	2	0	3006
SUP NO ESTUDIANTE	ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	6.9%	7.2%	2.4%	7.3%	2.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	5.2%
SUP., NO ESTUDIANTE % within TANF 2.6% 2.6% 2.0% 3.5% 0.0% 2.0% 2.6%		Count	430	5	478	614	0	2	1529
	SUP., NO ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	2.6%	2.6%	2.0%	3.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	2.0%	2.6%

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TERCER AÑO ESCUELA	Count	494	8	556	837	3	0	1898
SUP., NO ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	3.0%	4.1%	2.4%	4.7%	3.0%	%0.0	3.3%
CUARTO AÑO ESCUELA	Count	2381	49	3265	5359	8	5	11067
SUP., NO ESTUDIANTE	% within TANF	14.4%	25.3%	13.9%	30.4%	<b>%</b> e.7	5.0%	19.1%
1ER AÑO NO	Count	88	5	874	556	1	1	1525
EST.POSTSECUNDARIA	% within TANF	.5%	2.6%	3.7%	3.1%	1.0%	1.0%	2.6%
2DO AÑO NO	Count	141	10	546	680	1	1	1379
EST.POSTSECUNDARIA	% within TANF	% <b>e</b> .	5.2%	2.3%	3.9%	1.0%	1.0%	2.4%
3ER AÑO NO	Count	55	2	153	267	0	0	477
EST.POSTSECUNDARIA	% within TANF	.3%	1.0%	%7.	1.5%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%8</b> .
4TO AÑO NO	Count	64	1	113	261	1	1	441
EST.POSTSECUNDARIA	% within TANF	.4%	.5%	.5%	1.5%	1.0%	1.0%	<b>%8</b> .
5ΤΟ ΑΫΟ ΝΟ	Count	25	0	45	93	0	0	163
EST.POSTSECUNDARIA	% within TANF	.2%	<b>%0.0</b>	.2%	.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.3%
SIN NINGUNA	Count	662	9	1078	384	3	0	2133
ESCOLARIDAD	% within TANF	4.0%	3.1%	4.6%	2.2%	3.0%	%0.0	3.7%
	Count	16488	194	23439	17651	101	100	57973
	% within TANF	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
1	0	0	0	1	0	0	Count	Missing
<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
7400	42	4	2	7352	0	0	Count	Male, Young, Not Disabled
12.8%	42.0%	4.0%	<b>%0</b> .	31.4%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
640	2	5	196	394	1	42	Count	Male, Adult, Not Disabled
1.1%	2.0%	5.0%	1.1%	1.7%	.5%	.3%	% within Categoría	
3261	0	0	5	19	0	3237	Count	Male, Senior, Not Disabled
5.6%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	19.6%	% within Categoría	
111	0	44	0	64	3	0	Count	Male, Young, Disabled
.2%	%0.0	43.6%	<b>%0.0</b>	.3%	1.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
9898	0	1	8224	353	91	17	Count	Male, Adult, Disabled
15.0%	%0.0	1.0%	46.6%	1.5%	46.9%	.1%	% within Categoría	

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1813	0	0	64	0	-		1 0	
			40	6	7	1733	Count	Male, Senior, Disabled
3.1%	%0.0	%0.0	.4%	<b>%0</b> .	3.6%	10.5%	% within Categoría	
7158	42	2	3	7111	0	0	Count	Female, Young, Not Disabled
12.3%	42.0%	2.0%	<b>%0</b> .	30.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
7527	6	15	217	7233	2	51	Count	Female, Adult, Not Disabled
13.0%	9.0%	14.9%	1.2%	30.9%	1.0%	.3%	% within Categoría	
7855	1	0	12	61	0	7781	Count	Female, Senior, Not Disabled
13.5%	1.0%	%0.0	.1%	.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	47.2%	% within Categoría	
56	1	26	0	29	0	0	Count	Female, Young, Disabled
.1%	1.0%	25.7%	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría	
9725	3	4	8818	783	87	30	Count	Female, Adult, Disabled
16.8%	3.0%	4.0%	50.0%	3.3%	44.8%	.2%	% within Categoría	
3740	0	0	110	30	3	3597	Count	Female, Senior, Disabled
6.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% <b>ð</b> .	.1%	1.5%	21.8%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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			- 1 - 1 1 1 1 1		4-0			
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Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
33430	63	56	17028	137	186	15960	Count	1.00
57.7%	63.0%	55.4%	96.5%	% <b>ə</b> .	95.9%	<b>%8.</b> 8%	% within Categoría	
9193	34	20	616	7987	8	528	Count	2.00
15.9%	34.0%	19.8%	3.5%	34.1%	4.1%	3.2%	% within Categoría	
8795	3	12	3	8777	0	0	Count	3.00
15.2%	3.0%	11.9%	<b>%0</b> .	37.4%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
4871	0	8	4	4859	0	0	Count	4.00
8.4%	%0.0	7.9%	<b>%0</b> .	20.7%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
1350	0	5	0	1345	0	0	Count	5.00
2.3%	%0.0	5.0%	%0.0	5.7%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
270	0	0	0	270	0	0	Count	6.00
.5%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	1.2%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
56	0	0	0	56	0	0	Count	7.00
.1%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	.2%	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
8	0	0	0	8	0	0	Count	00.8
<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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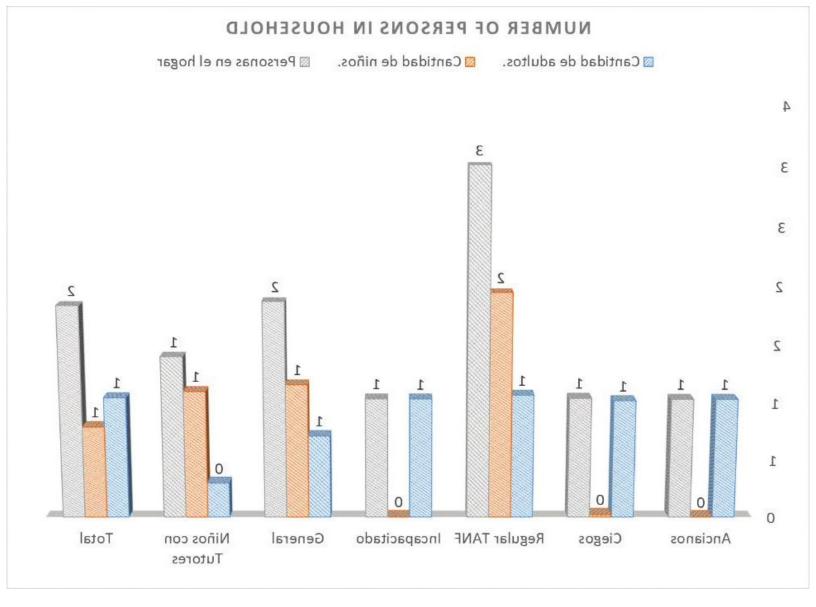
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# TABLE 17.

Number of persons in the household

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			nisión/servicio.	∍goría de em	Cate			
	Niños con	1		Regular				
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
37638	86	91	15369	6211	162	15707	Count	1.00
64.9%	<b>98.0%</b>	90.1%	87.1%	26.5%	83.5%	95.3%	% within Categoría	
5677	0	0	427	5052	3	195	Count	2.00
<b>9.8</b> %	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	2.4%	21.6%	1.5%	1.2%	% within Categoría	
4857	2	0	326	4398	5	126	Count	3.00
8.4%	2.0%	%0.0	1.8%	18.8%	2.6%	<b>%8</b> .	% within Categoría	
4524	0	2	310	4077	7	128	Count	4.00
7.8%	<b>%0.0</b>	2.0%	1.8%	17.4%	3.6%	<b>%8</b> .	% within Categoria	
4955	0	8	1109	3519	16	303	Count	5.00
8.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	7.9%	6.3%	15.0%	8.2%	1.8%	% within Categoría	
194	0	0	103	99	1	24	Count	6.00
.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% <b>ð</b> .	.3%	.5%	.1%	% within Categoría	
39	0	0	2	34	0	3	Count	7.00
.19	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.1%	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	% within Categoría	
35	0	0	4	31	0	0	Count	00.8
.19	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.1%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoria	
54	0	0	1	51	0	2	Count	9.00
.19	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.2%	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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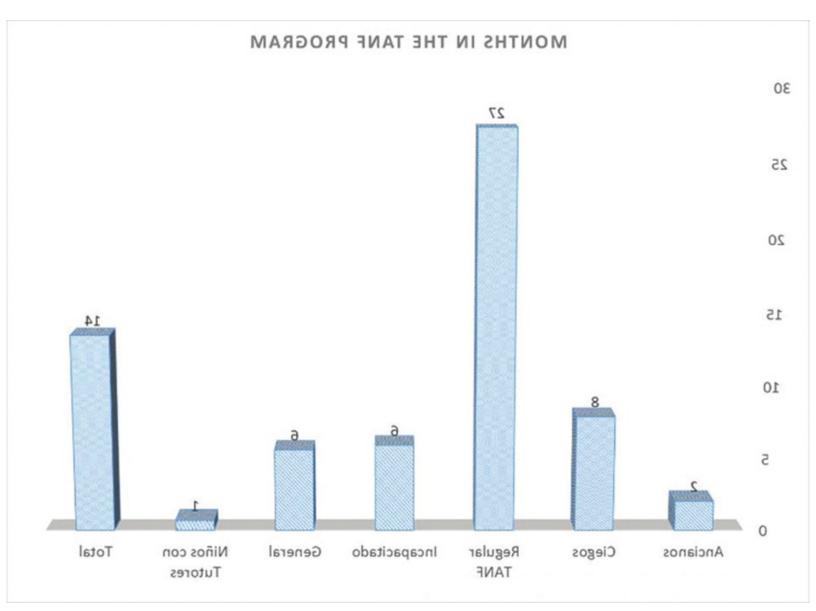
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# TANF in Puerto Rico 83

In terms of average number of months in the program, it appears that participants in TANF regular program Category C have been an average of 27 months or slightly over two years. (See Figure 7.)

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Only a small proportion of participants in the TANF program

of any type had some earned income. (See Table 19.)

Similarly, a very small fraction had access to other forms of

income. (See Table 20.)

Figure 8 suggests that a very small proportion of less than 5% of participants in any of the categories have direct income or receive some other form of income.

In terms of benefit levels, close to 98.4% of participants in

TANF Category A for the elderly receive less than \$99 dollars

per month, about 96.4% of participants in TANF Category B

for the blind receive less than \$99 per month. Close to 96.3%

of participants in TANF Category D for disabled receive less

than \$99 dollars per month and all of the participants in TANF categories G and T also receive less than \$99 dollars per month. Close to 5.5% of participants in TANF program Category C receive less than \$99 dollars, about 33.3% receive between \$100 and \$199, close to half, 49.1%, receive between \$200 and \$299, and about 11% of participants in TANF program Category C receive between \$300 and \$399 per month for their household. (See Table 21.)

The average monthly benefit level for participants in TANF program Category A for the elderly was \$66, it was \$68 for participants in TANF Category B for the blind, it was \$68 for participants in TANF program Category D for the disabled, close to \$32 on average for TANF program participants in category G, and \$35 on average for participants in TANF program category D. Participants in TANF program Category C received an average monthly benefit of \$207.89 for participants in their household. (See Figure 9.)

Cases sometimes undergo penalties or other administrative

challenges or sanctions and are rendered inactive or are flagged in the file pending a particular review. The overwhelming majority

of cases in the month of April 2016 close to 57,713 out of 57,973

were considered still active. (See Table 22.)

-								
Categoría de emisión/servicio. Regular Niños con Ancianos Ciegos TANF Incapacitado General Tutores Total								
57510	86	101	17572	23119	194	16426	Count	00.
99.2%	%0.8e	100.0%	99.6%	98.6%	100.0%	<b>99.6%</b>	% within Categoría	
463	2	0	79	320	0	62	Count	Con Ingreso Devengado
<b>%8</b> .	2.0%	%0.0	.4%	1.4%	<b>%0.0</b>	.4%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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	Categoría de emisión/servicio.									
Total	√liños con Tutores	Ceneral	Incapacitado	Regular TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos				
55855	86	97	17009	22712	187	15752	Count	00.		
96.3%	<b>%0.8</b> e	96.0%	96.4%	<b>%6.96</b>	96.4%	95.5%	% within Categoría			
2118	2	4	642	727	7	736	Count	Con Ingreso No Devengado		
3.7%	2.0%	4.0%	3.6%	3.1%	3.6%	4.5%	% within Categoría			
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count			
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría			

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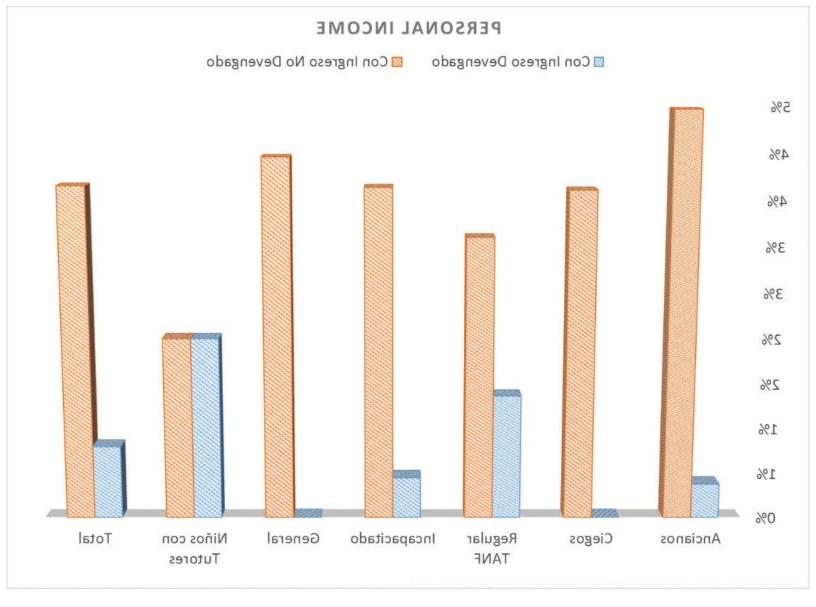
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	√liños con	1	isión/servicio.	egoría de em Regular	Cate			
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
34924	100	101	17006	1299	187	16231	Count	Lowest thru 99
60.2%	100.0%	100.0%	96.3%	5.5%	96.4%	98.4%	% within Categoría	
8712	0	0	645	7803	7	257	Count	100 to 199
15.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	3.7%	33.3%	3.6%	1.6%	% within Categoría	
11517	0	0	0	11517	0	0	Count	200 to 299
19.9%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	49.1%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría	
2586	0	0	0	2586	0	0	Count	300 to 399
4.5%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0.0</b>	11.0%	%0.0	%0.0	% within Categoría	
227	0	0	0	227	0	0	Count	400 to 499
.4%	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	1.0%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría	
7	0	0	0	7	0	0	Count	500 to 599
<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.0</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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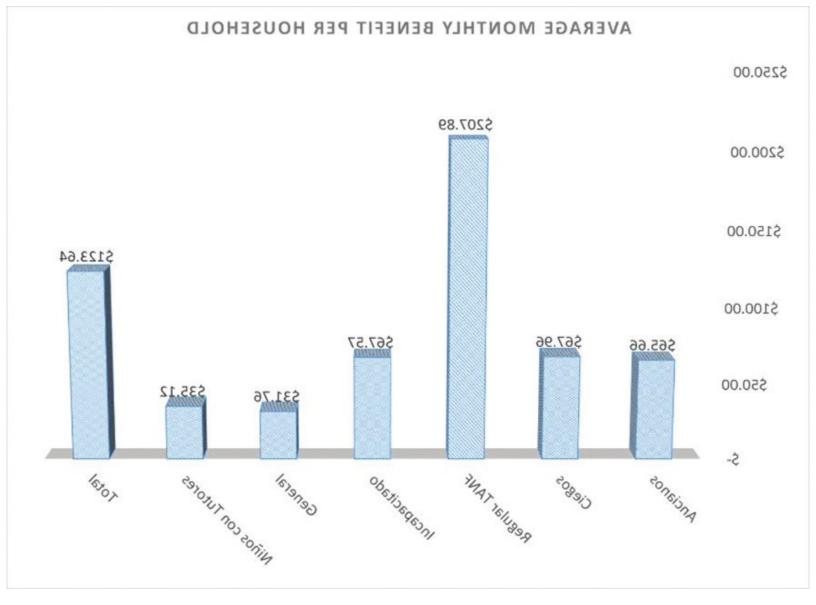
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			isión/servicio.		Cat			
	Viños con		- h - Ma - was ad	Regular				
Total	Tutores	General	Incapacitado	TANF	Ciegos	Ancianos		
133	0	0	5	128	0	0	Count	ACCNEG
.2%	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	.5%	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría	
57713	100	101	17594	23247	194	16477	Count	ACTIVO
99.6%	100.0%	100.0%	99.7%	99.2%	100.0%	<b>99.9%</b>	% within Categoría	
9	0	0	2	4	0	0	Count	INACTIVO
<b>%0</b> .	%0.0	%0.0	<b>%0</b> .	<b>%0.</b>	<b>%0.0</b>	%0.0	% within Categoría	
121	0	0	50	60	0	11	Count	PENDREVI
.2%	%0.0	%0.0	.3%	.3%	<b>%0.0</b>	.1%	% within Categoría	
57973	100	101	17651	23439	194	16488	Count	
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	% within Categoría	

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TANF in Puerto Rico 91

#### Some conclusions

This report discussed the characteristics of users in the Tem-

porary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program in Puerto

Rico. The TANF program provides cash assistance to individuals

and families that live below poverty and are undergoing difficult economic circumstances. The TANF program in Puerto Rico appears to be relatively small and focuses very poor populations of elderly, disabled persons, and women with young children in the

household. Program benefits are very modest and appear unlikely

to cover household needs.

There are very few able bodied adult males participating in

the TANF program (640 cases out of a total caseload of 57,973)

and the 30.9% of participants in the regular TANF program

Category C that were female adults without a disability were

caring for one or more young children in their home. In order

for these participants to enter the labor force, there is a need

to better understand work scheduling and employment avail-

ability issues; their residential location, how accessible it is and any transportation challenges; access and costs of childcare

for young children; and a range of other personal, family and

household related issues and labor market challenges. Close to

13% of TANF category C participants, or 3,191 cases said that

they were unemployed and looking for work and 49 partici-

pants appeared to have some connection to employment. Ef-

forts to connect TANF participants to work should start with

those cases and recognize that without a better understanding of

barriers to employment, the kinds of resources that are needed

to sustain employment, and the individual and public policy

benefits of having young women with young children seek fulltime employment versus other forms of employment training and labor market supports.

92

92

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

There are some conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis

of the program data and the detailed comparative analysis of the

case data for the month of April 2016:

• In the months between June 2015 and April 2016 there were an average of around 62,815 monthly participants in

the TANF program.

• The number of participants has been declining significantly

over time from 65,689 in June of 2015 down to 57,973 in

April 2016 for a decline of 7,716 cases of over the 11-month

period or a rate of 701 cases per month.

• There are 6 separate TANF categories: Category A for the

elderly, Category B for blind persons, Category C known

as the regular TANF program, Category D for disabled per-

sons, Category G, the general category, and the sixth Cat-

egory T includes children not living with their relatives.

• There are three large categories in the TANF program. About

16,488 (or 28.4%) of participants are in Category A cover-

ing the elderly, close to 23,439 (or 40.4%) are in Category

C or the regular TANF program, and 17,651 persons (or

30.4%) are in Category D for persons with disabilities.

• The age distribution of participants in the TANF program by category varies significantly as some of the eligibility criteria for the various categories include age as a factor.

• The vast majority of TANF cases only have one adult in the household and there is not much difference across TANF categories.

• In TANF Category C, close to 37% of the households have one child, 38.2% of households have two children, 19.2% of the households have three children, and 5.5% of the households have four children or more.

• The most common answer given in terms of the type of challenge that the applicant or participants in the program

are facing and that leads families to participate in the pro-

gram was "No Tiene Ingresos Para Necesidades Básicas

[does not have income for basic needs]" with 70.1% for

Category A, 69.6% for Category B, 57.3% for Category C,

TANF in Puerto Rico 93

67% for Category D, 42.6% for Category G, close to 53%

for Category T and 63.9% for the total TANF caseload.

• The bulk of participants in the TANF program have completed less than a high school education and between 15% and 30%, depending on the category, have completed a high school degree.

• About 31.4% of participants in the Regular TANF Cat-

egory C program were young males not disabled, another 30.3% young females not disabled. This means that close to 61.7% of participants in TANF C were under 17 years of age. Another 30.9% of participants in the regular TANF program Category C were female adults not disabled. TANF Category C, then, is essentially a program for adult women (30.9%) with children (61.7%).

• Close to 19.6% of participants in TANF program Category A for seniors were males not disabled and about 10.5% were disabled senior males. Close to 47.2% of participants were senior females not disabled, and the rest, about 21.8% of participants in TANF program Category A, were senior disabled females. In terms of TANF program Category D for disabled persons, about 46.6% of participants in this category were disabled adult males, and the other 50% were disabled adult females.

• In terms of overall participation in the TANF program the proportion of male adults not disabled was 1.1% or 640 cases out of a total caseload of 57,973.

• The average monthly benefit level for participants in TANF program Category A for the elderly was \$66, it was \$68 for participants in TANF Category B for the blind, it was \$68 for participants in TANF program Category D for the disabled, close to \$32 on average for TANF program participants in category G, and \$35 on average for participants in

TANF program category D.

• Participants in TANF program Category C received an av-

erage monthly benefit of \$207.89 for participants in the

household.

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94

94

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

# Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Carmen Nazario from Inter American

University, Wendy DeCourcey and Andrew Keefe from the Of-

fice of Policy, Research and Evaluation (OPRE) of the U.S. De-

partment of Health and Human Services, and Marta Elsa Fernán-

dez, Jenice Vázquez and the staff of the Department of the Family for their support and access to the data.

All disclaimers apply. Any opinions expressed or errors are the

sole responsibility of the author.

This project was funded by the Office of Policy, Research and Evaluation of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services via a grant to Inter American University in Puerto Rico.

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TANF in Puerto Rico 95

Welfare (TANF) benefits

for eligible women vs.

federal minimum-wage salary

Vicente Feliciano

## Executive summary

Welfare transfers are an important support for the income of

disadvantaged people in Puerto Rico, but they have also

created an imbalance in the incentives that people have in order

to participate in the labor market. This is not the only factor, but is one of the factors responsible for the lack of dynamism in the Puerto Rican labor market.

One of the main findings of this study is that the total value of the benefits from welfare, in some cases, is greater than income

from a minimum wage salary. If the salary available in the market is the same or less than the welfare benefits a person could access by being out of the labor force, then it would be irrational—in the economic sense—to try to find and maintain a job (i.e. employment). In fact, since leisure has an economic value, the decision to enter the labor market will be influenced by the difference of the minimum salary available with the sum of the different transfer (i.e. welfare) payments a person could obtain outside the workforce.

The low minimum salary for a part-time job makes it unat-

tractive for a person to enter the workforce. In the case of a full-time job, the scenario changes. In this case, for a family of one 95

96

#### 96

VicenteFeliciano

individual, it would be attractive to enter the workforce since the salary for a full-time job exceeds the benefits package of the transfer payments.

Another important consequence of this situation is that an un-

determined number of people who benefit from welfare benefits

work in the informal job market, which is part of the under-

ground economy. This situation is a matter of concern in terms

of allocation of resources because some families that have certain levels of income are receiving benefits from welfare programs,

perhaps to the detriment of families with lower levels of income

and more need.

Federal programs such as Head Start and Early Head Start

could help mothers with full-time jobs, particularly if they are combined with other programs (i.e. childcare and pre-kinder) so that children could be in a supervised and safe environment for the whole day.

There are a few alternatives that have focused on closing the gap between the welfare benefits package and income from a minimum-wage salary. In 2006, the government of Puerto Rico established a public policy giving work credit to people with incomes below \$10,000 a year. However, this credit was eliminated in 2014 as part of the fiscal restructuring of the Puerto Rico government.

TANF in Puerto Rico 97

#### I. Introduction

The Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Metropolitan Campus together with Human Services Research Partnership Puerto Rico (HSRPPR) has developed an initiative in which, together with the private and public sectors of the Island, promote the need to evaluate the approach, services and practices in relation to poor families and children in Puerto Rico. One of the programs under evaluation by the research committee is the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Program. TANF Program purpose is to help needy families achieve self-sufficiency. The program provides temporary financial assistance while aiming to get people off that assistance through employment. States receive block grants to design and operate programs that accomplish at least one of the purposes of the TANF Program.

Preliminary results show that some women who are eligible to receive TANF benefits choose not to work in the formal economy at a minimum-wage salary and instead, continue to receive government assistance.

Throughout the document, it is discussed whether it is ben-

eficial or disadvantageous to work at a minimum-wage salary or

decide not to work in order to receive all the welfare benefits.

	Federal Poverty Threshold 2015													
<u>400%</u>	300%	<u>250%</u>	<u>200%</u>	<u> </u>	133%	<u>   100%</u>	Total Household Members							
\$47,080	\$35,310	\$29,425	\$23,540	\$17,655	\$15,654	\$11,770	1							
\$63,720	\$47,790	\$39,825	\$31,860	\$23,895	\$21,187	\$15,930	2							
\$80,360	\$60,270	\$50,225	\$40,180	\$30,135	\$26,720	\$20,090	3							
\$97,000	\$72,750	\$60,625	\$48,500	\$36,375	\$32,253	\$24,250	4							
\$113,640	\$85,230	\$71,025	\$56,820	\$42,615	\$37,785	\$28,410	5							
\$130,280	\$97,710	\$81,425	\$65,140	\$48,855	\$43,318	\$32,570	9							
\$146,920	\$110,190	\$91,825	\$73,460	\$55,095	\$48,851	\$36,730	7							
\$163,560	\$122,670	\$102,225	\$81,780	\$61,335	\$54,384	\$40,890	8							

98

98

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#### **II.** Family structure analysis

To perform the following analysis in the table below, the federal poverty threshold for 2015 was taken into consideration.

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TANF in Puerto Rico 99

The profiles that will be presented in the following section were produced using the database Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). This tool is one of the biggest databases that feed the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey from

2000 to 2013, and the Puerto Rico Community Survey (also part

of the Census Bureau) from 2005 to 2013. The variables that were

used for Advantage's estimates were: total family income, number

of family members in a household, marital status, any health in-

surance coverage and number of children in the household.

When the profiles developed for Puerto Rico are analyzed, de-

mographic changes in the population from 2010 to 2013 can be

observed. The age cohorts that have been affected the most by the demographic changes are the youngest groups, where a considerable reduction is observed. These groups are the ones that show

the biggest percentages without health insurance.

As shown on Table 2, when age cohorts are analyzed, the popu-

lation 19 years old and younger has shown the largest decrease in recent years. In contrast, the population 65 years old and older is increasing.

Table 3 shows the annual family income per household mem-

ber for Puerto Rico in 2013. It is important to note that the

family composition that prevails in the Island is a household

with three individuals. The data also indicates that 16.4% of

the total population has an income of less than \$5,000 a year.

However, 19.2% of the total population has an income more

than \$50,000 a year.

The population in Puerto Rico that does not have medical in-

surance total a little more than 239,000 people, which represents about 6.62% of the population. The average family size of the

uninsured population is a family of three individuals. From this

group (meaning households of three), more than 9,000 people

have incomes of \$10,000 a year. There is a significant group of

families that are comprised of only one individual.

	Changes in Total Population - Puerto Rico													
Change %	<u>Change #</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2010</u>											
$-8.3^{\circ}/_{\circ}$	(83,877)	928,533	1,012,410	Less than 20 years										
-5.2%	(38,703)	708,843	747,546	20 to 34 years										
-2.8%	(13,663)	473,876	487,539	35 to 44 years										
-2.7%	(24,746)	904,171	928,917	45 to 64 years										
9.9%	53,942	599,663	545,721	65 years or more										
-2.9%	(107,047)	3,615,086	3,722,133	Total										

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							. (		C				-
Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	9	5	4	3	2	1	
593,290	0	0	0	2,066	3,860	8,076	16,334	42,549	101,821	131,056	127,264	160,264	Less than \$5,000
397,526	0	0	0	0	1,918	7,097	10,955	39,797	61,949	83,861	97,810	94,139	\$5,001- \$10,000
383,029	0	0	4,188	690	0	4,353	12,772	30,086	71,147	75,966	106,682	77,145	\$10,001-\$15,000
356,939	0	0	0	1,553	1,873	7,119	9,755	35,105	58,661	86,339	107,401	49,133	\$15,001-\$20,000
298,909	0	0	0	667	2,184	10,138	13,657	30,245	50,635	74,060	85,542	31,481	\$20,001-\$25,000
240,889	0	0	0	738	2,621	2,162	8,057	22,689	50,140	70,718	64,511	19,253	\$25,001-\$30,000
205,670	0	0	0	0	644	1,264	10,836	25,974	52,775	47,859	52,084	14,234	\$30,001-\$35,000
182,501	0	0	0	0	1,501	6,333	11,461	17,883	55,714	44,377	32,502	12,730	\$35,001-\$40,000
136,204	0	0	0	1,236	0	1,306	4,969	20,523	37,916	35,492	29,778	4,984	\$40,001-\$45,000
124,714	0	0	0	1,282	971	1,371	7,260	18,594	33,359	30,873	24,974	6,030	\$45,001-\$50,000
694,542	1,401	2,107	991	3,031	1,699	9,860	33,961	85,277	213,660	164,208	107,183	68,161	More than
													\$50,000
873	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	497	227	0	149	0	No Data
3,615,086	1,401	2,107	5,179	11,263	20,271	59,379	140,020	369,219	788,004	844,809	835,880	537,554	Total

Annual Family Income by Family Size: Puerto Rico 2013

## TANF in Puerto Rico 101

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Total	12	11	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
35,703	0	0	141	119	0	1,680	2,897	4,517	6,335	20,091	Less than \$5,000
22,164	0	0	0	0	561	1,267	3,191	4,550	6,889	5,706	\$5,001- \$10,000
28,283	0	0	0	238	831	2,541	4,432	5,694	6,877	7,670	\$10,001-\$15,000
28,930	0	0	0	413	219	2,060	2,698	7,955	8,120	7,465	\$15,001-\$20,000
22,309	0	0	0	184	202	1,488	4,090	7,447	5,588	3,310	\$20,001-\$25,000
15,978	0	0	0	0	0	342	2,759	6,521	4,557	1,799	\$25,001-\$30,000
16,345	0	0	62	51	1,023	3,163	4,535	4,211	2,352	948	\$30,001-\$35,000
8,891	0	0	553	56	0	1,689	2,947	2,028	1,111	507	\$35,001-\$40,000
11,138	0	0	0	0	144	3,463	2,893	2,777	1,638	223	\$40,001-\$45,000
10,305	0	0	102	104	1,775	1,618	1,718	3,172	1,435	381	\$45,001-\$50,000
39,277	228	935	0	687	2,615	5,737	9,530	8,150	4,328	7,067	More than \$50,000
239,400	228	935	858	1,852	7,370	25,048	41,690	57,022	49,230	55,167	Total

Annual Family Income by Family Size: Without Medical Insurance 2013

102

## 102

VicenteFeliciano

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## TABLE

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TANF in Puerto Rico 103

Among the population without medical insurance, about

58,000 people should qualify for the Puerto Rico government's

"Mi Salud" program for the medically indigent since their in-

comes are less than \$10,000 annually. (See Table 4.)

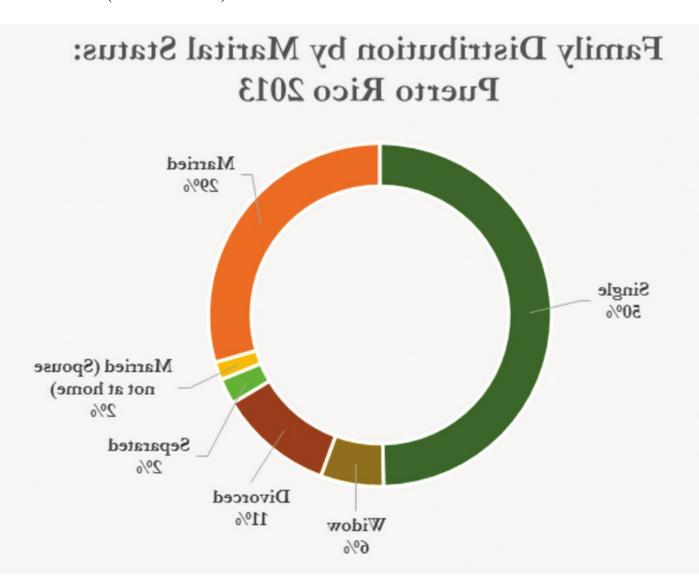
Figure 1 and Tables 1 through 10 are categorized by marital

status and annual family incomes. It is important to note that half the population in Puerto Rico is single, while 29% is married.

About 48% of the single individuals in 2013 were women.

Of these women, more than 207,000 have incomes of less than \$5,000 a year. (See Table 11.)

When the information is broken down and distributed by number of children in the home, the data shows there are more than 700,000 households in Puerto Rico comprised of single women with no children. (See Table 12.)



104

104

VicenteFeliciano

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Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Married

Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	9	5	4	3	2	]
64,791	0	0	0	0	827	470	2,912	5,801	13,522	13,3/3	27,916	Less than S5,000
77,632	0	0	0	0	688	472	922	7,836	13,877	17,138	36,699	\$5,001- \$10,000
98,449	0	0	1,432	0	0	593	2,965	6,661	18,811	18,987	49,000	\$10,001-\$15,000
114,095	0	0	0	296	733	874	1,839	9,532	17,750	27,032	56,039	\$15,001-\$20,000
89,456	0	0	0	161	326	1,427	2,718	8,035	14,822	20,225	41,742	\$20,001-\$25,000
87,182	0	0	0	300	697	412	3,201	5,687	16,840	23,997	36,048	\$25,001-\$30,000
78,168	0	0	0	0	0	500	2,930	8,759	20,661	18,269	27,049	\$30,001-\$35,000
63,595	0	0	0	0	386	1,701	3,534	4,579	18,5.54	16,662	18,179	\$35,001-\$40,000
54,595	0	0	0	0	0	362	2,038	5,185	15,794	13,966	17,250	\$40,001-\$45,000
49,473	0	0	0	155	204	468	2,521	5,993	12,269	12,536	15,327	\$45,001-\$50,000
287,668	270	118	0	379	1,121	3,148	12,880	28,748	89,230	77,877	73,897	More than \$50,000
301	0	0	0	0	0	0	180	121	0	0	0	No Data
1,065,405	270	118	1,432	1,291	4,982	10,427	38,640	96,937	252,130	260,032	399,146	Total

## TANF in Puerto Rico 105

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## TABLE

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_	Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Married (Spouse not at home)														
Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	]		
9,015	0	0	0	0	0	0	487	1,009	677.	1,049	2,722	2,969	Less than \$5,000		
4,802	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	372	375	1,011	864	2,180	\$5,001- \$10,000		
5,630	0	0	0	0	0	3.34	313	494	665	1,646	6.56	1,522	\$10,001-\$15,000		
6,470	0	0	0	0	109	500	142	521	1,191	2,262	764	981	\$15,001-\$20,000		
4,953	0	0	0	0/	88	310	187	483	943	1,68/	259	926	\$20,001-\$25,000		
4,976	0	0	0	0	225	517	191	633	953	1,323	824	310	\$25,001-S30,000		
3,085	0	0	0	0	219	61	418	384	552	494	6.34	323	\$30,001-S35,000		
3,673	0	0	0	0	172	0	255	887	1,006	579	213	561	\$35,001-540,000		
1,45/	0	0	0	98	0	202	108	0	35	604	237	1//3	\$40,001-\$45,000		
2,718	0	0	0	0	0	133	0	369	367	1,359	301	189	\$45,001-\$50,000		
14,551	84	73	2.75	0	479	89	693	1,838	2,669	1,928	382.	6,041	More than \$50,000		
61,330	84	73	275	168	1,292	2,146	2,794	6,990	9,535	13,942	7,856	16,175	Total		

106

106

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## TABLE

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Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Separated

Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	]
20,675	0	0	0	0	0	0	161	1,241	2,189	3,306	5,211	8,567	Less than \$5,000
13,716	0	0	0	0	74	775	68	1,406	1,852	2,777	2,464	4,279	\$5,001-\$10,000
10,672	0	0	117	36	0	0	155	237	1,718	1,518	1,623	5,268	\$10,001-\$15,000
9,361	0	0	0	0	0	0	299	707	976	2,225	3,267	1,887	\$15,001-\$20,000
6,488	0	0	0	0	0	206	501	433	350	1,200	1,775	2,023	\$20,001-525,000
6,345	0	0	0	0	0	0	411	.378	1,326	2,030	1,641	559	\$25,001-530,000
2,804	0	0	0	0	0	0	106	325	407	298	942	726	\$30,001-535,000
2,863	0	0	0	0	0	0	δċ	110	0//	712	303	912	\$35,001-\$40,000
1,909	0	0	0	0	0	0	73	386	664	156	362	268	\$40,001-545,000
3,941	0	0	0	0	0	1.38	142	503	972.	1,576	136	474	\$45,001-\$50,000
8,878	56	223	0	70	0	247	200	880	1,295	2,451	2,133	1,323	More than \$50,000
VV	U	U	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.	0	No Data
87,729	56	223	117	106	74	1,366	2,193	6,606	12,519	18,249	19,934	26,286	Total

## TANF in Puerto Rico 107

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## TABLE

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Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Divorced													
Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	]
71,912	0	0	0	131	111	106	284	1,389	4,211	866'6	13,460	42,222	Less than \$5,000
52,021	0	0	0	0	81	240	298	1,769	2,947	6,555	11,511	28,620	\$5,001- \$10,000
48,489	0	0	149	240	0	272	391	1,242	2,191	8,034	11,345	24,625	\$10,001-\$15,000
38,612	0	0	0	0	0	299	600	1,591	2,911	6,462	10,708	16,041	\$15,001-\$20,000
38,600	0	0	0	0	0	862	314	1,690	3,276	8,569	10,246	13,643	\$20,001-S25,000
26,083	0	0	0	158	0	0	261	1,742	2,887	6,363	7,343	7,329	\$25,001-\$30,000
21,242	0	0	0	0	0	0	460	562	1,607	6,538	6,161	5,614	\$30,001-\$35,000
18,600	0	0	0	0	0	332	931	1,048	2,187	4,714	4,281	5,107	\$35,001-S40,000
11,610	0	0	0	68	0	0	66	1,156	1,100	3,840	3,454	1,893	\$40,001-545,000
10,190	0	0	0	249	0	185	582	952	1,515	1,625	2,705	2,377	\$45,001-\$50,000
53,684	175	239	0	508	699	502	2,034	4,981	7,248	12,360	8,370	16,598	More than \$50,000
391,043	175	239	149	1,354	861	2,798	6,254	18,122	32,080	75,058	89,884	164,069	Total

108

108

Vicente Feliciano

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## TABLE

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	Annual Family income by Family 5ize - Marital Status: Widow													
Total	12	10	6	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1			
33,577	0	0	0	0	105	175	706	1,497	1,564	6,795	22,735	Less than \$5,000		
43,047	0	0	0	0	127	0	638	943	2,361	8,871	30,107	\$5,001- \$10,000		
33,226	0	334	0	0	155	372	810	488	2,224	8,493	20,350	\$10,001-\$15,000		
22,407	0	0	0	97	107	449	1,142	1,051	3,684	8,169	7,708	\$15,001-\$20,000		
20,173	0	0	0	0	606	397	849	2,334	4,232	7,371	4,384	\$20,001-\$25,000		
11,532	0	0	0	0	0	0	575	1,122	3,373	3,685	2,777	\$25,001-\$30,000		
9,103	0	0	0	60	0	390	383	1,038	2,636	2,994	1,602	\$30,001-\$35,000		
7,399	0	0	0	0	0	460	208	1,157	1,613	1,740	2,221	\$35,001-\$40,000		
6,627	0	0	191	0	0	122	1,021	665	1,709	2,471	448	\$40,001-\$45,000		
3,299	0	0	0	0	0	0	230	825	524	1,407	313	\$45,001-\$50,000		
24,192	186	0	51	356	437	803	2,659	2,786	5,382	4,259	7,273	More than \$50,000		
214,582	186	334	242	513	1,537	3,168	9,221	13,906	29,302	56,255	99,918	Total		

#### Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Widow

## TANF in Puerto Rico 109

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## TABLE

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					ingle	irital status: 5	nity Size - Mi	some by ran	at Family Inc	Annua			
Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	9	5	4	3	2	1	]
393,320	0	0	0	1,935	2,922	7,395	12,315	32,403	79,623	101,796	71,160	83,771	Less than \$5,000
206,308	0	0	0	0	1,075	5,483	9,646	27,776	41,955	54,019	37,401	28,953	\$5,001- \$10,000
186,563	0	0	2,156	414	0	2,999	8,576	20,642	47,274	43,537	35,365	25,380	\$10,001-\$15,000
165,994	0	0	0	1,257	934	5,339	6,426	21,612	34,/82	44,674	28,454	22,516	\$15,001-\$20,000
139,239	0	0	0	436	1,770	7,027	9,540	18,755	28,910	38,147	24,149	10,505	\$20,001-\$25,000
104,771	0	0	0	280	1,699	1,233	3,993	13,674	27,012	33,632	14,970	8,2.78	\$25,001-\$30,000
91,268	0	0	0	0	365	703	6,532	15,561	28,510	19,624	14,004	5,969	\$30,001-\$35,000
86,371	0	0	U	0	943	4,300	6,225	11,051	32,040	20,097	1,186	3,929	\$35,001-\$40,000
60,006	0	0	0	879	0	742	2,529	12,775	19,658	15,217	6,004	2,202	\$40,001-\$45,000
55,093	0	0	0	878	767	447	4,015	10,547	17,411	13,253	5,098	2,677	\$45,001-\$50,000
305,569	630	1,454	716	2,023	2,074	5,437	17,354	46,171	110,432	64,210	18,142	36,926	More than \$50,000
495	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31/	106	0	./2	0	No Data
1,794,997	630	1,454	2,872	8,102	12,549	41,105	87,151	231,284	467,713	448,226	262,805	2.31,106	Total

#### Annual Family Income by Family Size - Marital Status: Single

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110

Vicente Feliciano

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Annual Family Income by Family Size - Single Women													
Total	12	11	10	6	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
207,200	0	0	0	1,5.50	1,671	3,893	5,494	17,628	41,645	55,567	38,454	41,298	Less than \$5,000
102,544	0	0	0	0	648	3,042	4,202	13,834	23,195	26,668	17,158	13,797	\$5,001- \$10,000
88,502	0	0	1,357	156	0	1,982	3,874	10,825	22,091	19,262	18,112	10,843	\$10,001-\$15,000
73,042	0	0	0	198	387	2,786	3,217	8,932	16,612	19,048	13,012	8,850	\$15,001-\$20,000
63,840	0	0	0	151	1,089	2,086	4,653	9,593	13,300	17,956	9,823	5,189	\$20,001-\$25,000
49,825	0	0	0	169	941	717	2,044	6,544	12,039	16,185	7,668	3,518	\$25,001-\$30,000
45,874	0	0	0	0	179	512	3,338	7,102	14,757	8,634	7,716	3,636	\$30,001-\$35,000
42,981	0	0	0	0	762	2,551	3,813	3,818	16,289	9,895	3,954	1,899	\$35,001-\$40,000
30,365	0	0	0	158	0	359	1,448	6,326	11,446	6,641	2,859	1,128	\$40,001-\$45,000
25,926	0	0	0	605	665	141	1,897	5,924	6,889	5,198	3,201	1,106	\$45,001-\$50,000
137,018	326	658	320	709	632	2,798	9,332	20,953	51,509	29,666	8,597	11,518	More than \$50,000
205	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	205	0	0	0	0	No Data
867,322	326	658	1,677	3,696	6,974	20,867	43,312	111,684	229,772	215,020	130,554	102,782	Total

TANF in Puerto Rico 111

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Total	8	7	9	5	4	3	2	1	0	
207,200	0	0	66	861	2,773	6,553	17,751	22,254	156,909	Less than \$5,000
102,544	0	0	0	339	1,001	2,280	6,218	8,050	84,656	\$5,001- \$10,000
88,502	0	53	0	62	450	2,883	2,039	7,077	75,938	\$10,001-\$15,000
73,042	0	0	0	40	71	930	2,979	5,307	63,715	\$15,001-\$20,000
63,840	0	0	0	0	213	1,040	3,035	3,509	56,043	\$20,001-\$25,000
49,825	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,843	3,750	44,232	\$25,001-\$30,000
45,874	0	0	0	0	0	606	818	2,994	41,456	\$30,001-\$35,000
42,981	0	0	0	0	0	275	1,353	2,844	38,509	\$35,001-\$40,000
30,365	0	0	0	0	50	321	313	2,216	27,465	\$40,001-\$45,000
25,926	0	0	0	0	0	0	905	1,503	23,518	\$45,001-\$50,000
137,018	0	0	0	98	79	390	1,139	5,133	130,179	More than \$50,000
205	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	205	No Data
867,322	0	53	99	1,400	4,637	15,278	38,393	64,637	742,620	Total

#### Annual Family Income by Number of Children - Single Mother Household

#### 112

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TANF in Puerto Rico 113

#### **III. Eligibility criteria for welfare programs**

Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP)

The Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program known as

SNAP offers economic assistance to poor families and individuals

so they can fulfill their nutritional needs. SNAP recipients must use 75% of the benefits in food and 25% in cash.

SNAP requirements in Puerto Rico are as follows: a resident of

Puerto Rico with a maximum \$2,000 in capital (i.e. savings ac-

counts, checking accounts, etc.). Households with a family mem-

ber 60 years or older can have a capital of \$3,000. In order to

qualify, households in Puerto Rico must fulfill a net income limit that varies according to the number of members in the household. The net income is calculated subtracting the deductions per type of income and number of family members, as well as some

allowed expenses to the household's total income. The maximum

benefits per month and maximum annual incomes are presented

in Table 13.

<u>Maximum Annual</u> <u>Income</u>	<u>Maximum Net</u> <u>Income</u>	<u>Maximum</u> <u>Benefit</u>	<u>Family Size</u>
\$2,796	\$233	\$112	1
\$5,592	\$466	\$216	2
\$7,188	\$599	\$315	3
\$8,556	\$713	\$410	4
\$9,912	\$826	\$499	5
\$11,316	\$943	\$599	9
\$12,708	\$1,059	\$679	7
\$14,076	\$1,173	\$776	8
\$15,468	\$1,289	\$874	6
\$16,908	\$1,409	\$972	10
\$18,276	\$1,523	\$1,069	11
\$19,632	\$1,636	\$1,167	12
\$21,036	\$1,753	\$1,264	13
\$22,428	\$1,869	\$1,362	14
\$23,796	\$1,983	\$1,459	15
\$25,152	\$2,096	\$1,557	16
\$26,556	\$2,213	\$1,654	17
\$28,116	\$2,343	\$1,752	18

Supplemental Nutrional Assistance Program (SNAP) Benefits and Maximum Net Income

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114

VicenteFeliciano

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## Section 8

The Section 8 Program was created under the U.S. Department

of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1974. The objec-

tive of the program is to provide housing for low-income families, as well as elderly and disabled people, by providing financial assistance in the form of vouchers to cover a portion of monthly

housing rentals. Eligibility for the program is based on meeting

income and employment requirements. The program is available

- to U.S. citizens and legal immigrants.
- In Puerto Rico, municipal and central government agencies ad-

minister the Section 8 Program. The program benefits are pro-

vided in the form of vouchers that help families with the cost of finding a house or apartment rental that fulfills their needs. The vouchers are limited and there are waiting lists.

In order to qualify for the program, HUD established that a

household's income must be 50% or less than that of the median

income of the designated area where the family will reside. Family size and composition also is taken into account. Table 14 shows

the income limits in Puerto Rico for fiscal year 2015.

Table 15 shows the Fair Market Rent1 (FMR), which is deter-

mined by HUD according to the number of bedrooms in various

metropolitan areas of Puerto Rico. See the Appendix for more

information.

1 Fair Market Rent is a term in real estate that indicates the amount of money that a given property

would command, if it were open for leasing at the moment. The term is an important concept both in the Housing and Urban Development's ability to determine how much of the rent is covered by the government for those tenants who are part of Section 8, as well as by other governmental institutions.

				am - 2015	n 8 Progra	co: Section	Puerto Ri	e Limits	Incom	
	8 Persons	7 Persons	6 Persons	5 Persons	4 Persons	3 Persons	<u>2 Persons</u>	1 Person	Family Median Income	
									\$19,700	
	\$9,400	\$8,850	\$8,250	\$7,700	\$7,100	\$6,400	\$5,700	\$5,000		Extra Low Income
	\$15,600 \$24,950	\$14,650	\$13,700 \$34,950	\$12,750 \$20,450	\$11,800	\$10,650	\$9,450	\$8,300		Very Low Income
	\$2 <b>4</b> ,950	\$23,450	\$21,950	\$20,450	<b>\$18,90</b> 0	\$17,050	\$15,150	\$13,250		Low Income
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#### Fair Market Rent Documentation System

#### Final FY2015 Metropolitan Area Summary

	Efficiency	<u>One</u>	Two	<u>Three</u>	Four	FMR
Metropolitan Area Name	Vanapatist	<u>Bedroom</u>	<u>Bedroom</u>	<u>Bedroom</u>	$\underline{Bedroom}$	Percentile
Aguadilla-Isabela-San Sebastián, PR MSA	\$420	\$443	\$530	\$683	\$725	40
Fajardo, PR MSA	\$432	\$455	\$545	\$792	\$850	40
Guayama, PR MSA	\$331	\$412	\$558	\$691	\$773	40
Mayagüez, PR MSA	\$375	\$396	\$475	\$630	\$798	40
Ponce, PR MSA	\$400	\$422	\$506	\$734	\$884	40
San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR MSA	\$335	\$354	\$425	\$599	\$718	40
Arecibo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$370	\$390	\$468	\$647	\$660	40
Caguas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$415	\$423	\$550	\$799	\$901	40
San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Barranquitas-Aibonito-Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$314	\$350	\$420	\$519	\$570	40
Yauco, PR MSA	\$330	\$349	\$419	\$560	\$730	40
Puerto Rico Average	\$381	\$409	\$500	\$679	\$780	-

## TANF in Puerto Rico 117

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118

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WIC Program

The Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Program provides food to low-income pregnant, post-partum and breastfeeding women, infants and children until the age of five. The program also provides nutritional education and support for pregnant and breastfeeding women. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) funds the WIC Program and each state administers its own program. To qualify, the woman must live or work close to the WIC Clinic and meet certain income criteria. The WIC eligibility Table 16 is shown in the next page.

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Program

The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Program

is designed to help needy families achieve self-sufficiency. The

program provides temporary financial assistance while aiming to

get people off that assistance through employment. States receive block grants to design and operate programs that accomplish at

least one of the purposes of the TANF Program.

The program goal is to reduce poverty by helping and training people to get employment. In order to achieve that, the program offers counseling and assistance through a network of community resources to participants and employers. The program also provides incentives to employers that hire TANF participants, such as a 100% subsidy in salaries for 12 months. Tables 17a and 17b show the amount of monthly benefit a fam-

ily can receive, given the number of members and the adjusted

categories of basic needs. These needs include food, clothing, personal effects, electricity, water and

gasoline.

	C Program	y Guide* - WI	Eligibilit	Income	
<u>Bi-weekly</u>	<u>Bi-monthly</u>	<u>Semi monthly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Annual</u>	<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>
\$416	\$831	\$900	\$1,800	\$21,590	1
560	1,120	1,213	2,426	29,101	2
705	1,409	1,526	3,051	36,612	3
849	1,698	1,839	3,677	44,123	4
993	1,986	2,152	4,303	51,634	5
1,138	2,275	2,465	4,929	59,145	9
1,282	2,564	2,778	5,555	66,656	7
1,427	2,853	3,091	6,181	74,167	8
145	289	313	626	7,511	Aditional Member

TANF in Puerto Rico 119

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## Needy Families Puerto Rico: TANF

Monthly Amount of Cash according to Household Size by Category

#### A.CATEGORY

Recognized Basic Needs 185%	Adjusted Basic Needs (50%)	Recognized Basic Needs 100%	Household Size
\$307.00	\$83.00	\$166.00	1 person
\$537.00	\$145.00	\$290.00	2 persons
\$766.00	\$207.00	\$414.00	3 persons
\$995.00	\$269.00	\$538.00	4 persons
\$1,225.00	\$331.00	\$662.00	5 persons
\$1,454.00	\$393.00	\$786.00	6 persons
\$1,684.00	\$455.00	\$910.00	7 persons
\$1,913.00	\$517.00	\$1,034.00	8 persons
\$2,142.00	\$579.00	\$1,158.00	9 persons
\$2,372.00	\$641.00	\$1,282.00	10 persons
\$2,601.00	\$703.00	\$1,406.00	11 persons
\$2,831.00	\$765.00	\$1,530.00	12 persons
\$229.00	\$62.00	\$124.00	Additional persons

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# B.CATEGORÍA DE ELDERLY (A), BLIND (B), HANDYCAP (D), GENERAL (G) & CHILDREN (T)

\$64.00	\$64.00	ELDERLY (A)
\$64.00	\$64.00	BLIND (B)
\$64.00	\$64.00	HANDYCAP (G)
\$32.00	\$32.00	CHILDREN WITH GUARDIANS (T)

TANF in Puerto Rico 121

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122

VicenteFeliciano

"Mi Salud" Program

"Mi Salud" is the public health insurance offered by the Govern-

ment of Puerto Rico to the population that has no access or cannot afford private medical insurance. The program is administered by

the Puerto Rico Health Insurance Administration. Mi Salud offers

a very complete medical coverage compared with available private

insurance in the market. The maximum poverty threshold to qual-

ify for the program is up to 200%, which translates to a maximum

income for one individual of \$800 a month. The maximum income

for one individual under the federal section of Mi Salud is \$400 a month. Table 18 shows the eligibility categories for Mi Salud.

*Subsidy for telephone service through the Universal Service Fund* This program provides a subsidy of \$12.75 a month for tele-communication services to the low-income population. The sub-

sidy is earmarked for regular landline telephones or cellphones,

and can be used with any service plan. In Puerto Rico, \$9.25 of

the subsidy is given through the Lifeline of the Universal Service Fund and the remaining \$3.50 by the central government. The

eligibility guidelines are similar to those of other programs.

Water and electricity subsidies

The Puerto Rico Aqueduct and Sewer Authority (PRASA) of-

fers a subsidy of around 30% of the eligible person's monthly

water bill. To qualify, the beneficiary must be a participant of the SNAP or TANF Programs, or be 65 years or older. These income

and age requirements are the same as those needed to qualify for

a similar subsidy with the Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority

(PREPA), but in this case, the subsidy only applies to the first 425 kilowatts (kW) of consumption. College students can also qualify for the subsidy. Depending on the fuel adjustment, this subsidy can vary between \$7 and \$9 a month.

4	3	2	1	0	evel PRHIA	Indigence I
Not Eligible	131% to 200%	101% to 1 <b>30%</b>	51% to 100%	0% to 50%	Medical Assistance	Indigence Level I
and ranging	0/002 01 0/101	0/UCI 01 0/101	0/ 001 OJ 0/ 1C	0/ UC UI 0/ U	<b>Basic Income</b>	Family Size
	\$521 to \$800	\$401 to \$520	\$201 to \$400	\$0 to \$200	\$400	1
	\$645 to \$990	\$496 to \$644	\$249 to \$495	\$0 to \$248	\$495	2
	\$768 to \$1,180	\$591 to \$767	\$296 to \$590	\$0 to \$295	\$590	3
	\$892 to \$1,370	\$686 to \$891	\$344 to \$685	\$0 to \$343	\$685	4
	\$1,015 to \$1,560	\$781 to \$1,014	\$391 to \$780	\$0 to \$390	\$780	5
Income	\$1,139 to \$1,750	\$876 to \$1,138	\$439 to \$875	\$0 to \$438	\$875	6
exceeds	\$1,262 to \$1,940	\$971 to \$1,261	\$486 to \$970	\$0 to \$485	\$970	7
maximum in	\$1,386 to \$2,130	\$1,066 to \$1,385	\$534 to \$1,065	\$0 to \$533	\$1,065	8
level 3. Not	\$1,509 to \$2,320	\$1,161 to \$1,508	\$581 to \$1,160	\$0 to \$580	\$1,160	6
eligible	\$1,633 to \$2,510	\$1,256 to \$1,632	\$629 to \$1,255	\$0 to \$628	\$1,255	10
	\$1,756 to \$2,700	\$1,351 to \$1,755	\$676 to \$1,350	\$0 to \$675	\$1,350	11
	\$1,880 to \$2,890	\$1,446 to \$1,879	\$724 to \$1,445	\$0 to \$723	\$1,445	12
	\$2,003 to \$3,080	\$1,541 to \$2,002	\$771 to \$1,540	\$0 to \$770	\$1,540	13
	\$2,127 to \$3,270	\$1,636 to \$2,126	\$819 to \$1,635	\$0 to \$818	\$1,635	14
	\$2,250 to \$3,460	\$1,731 to \$2,249	\$866 to \$1,730	\$0 to \$865	\$1,730	15

Criteria	Eligibility	Salud"	IM"
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TANF in Puerto Rico 123

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124

VicenteFeliciano

## IV. Part-time and full-time income analysis

Congress is the entity that determines the federal minimum wage. In Puerto Rico, Act 80 of 1998, also known as The Minimum Wage, Vacation, and Sick Leave Act of Puerto, established that federal minimum-wage regulations automatically apply to Puerto Rico. In addition, businesses that are not covered by the federal law must pay a minimum salary that is at least 70% of

the current minimum wage

In the past few years, increases in minimum wage have taken

place gradually within a three-year period. The last time that the minimum wage was increased was in 2009, and this is the rate

that prevails today (\$7.25 per hour).

A person with a part-time job working 20 hours a week at

the minimum wage (\$7.25 per hour) would earn a gross salary

of \$7,540 a year. However, taking into account the regulatory

deductions such as Social Security (6.2% of the salary), Medi-

care 1.45% and disability (0.30%), this person would have a

net income of \$6,942 annually, or \$579 monthly. Using the

same analysis for a full-time worker (40 hours a week) earning

minimum wage, means this individual would earn \$13,905 net
income annually, or \$1,158 monthly. (See Table 19.)
Both full-time and part-time employees would qualify for the
Christmas Bonus, which is stipulated by Puerto Rico law, as long
as they work more than 700 hours a year. (See Figure 2.)

<u>Full Time</u> <u>Worker</u>	<u>Part Time</u> <u>Worker</u>	eduction %	De
2,080	1,040		Worked Hours
\$7.25	\$7.25		Wage per Hour
\$15,080	\$7,540		<b>Gross Salary</b>
			Deductions
\$934.96	\$467.48	6.20%	Social Security
\$218.66	\$109.33	1.45%	Medicare
\$21.00	\$21.00	0.30%	Disability
\$1,174.62	\$597.81		Total Deductions
\$13,905	\$6,942		Net Annually Salary

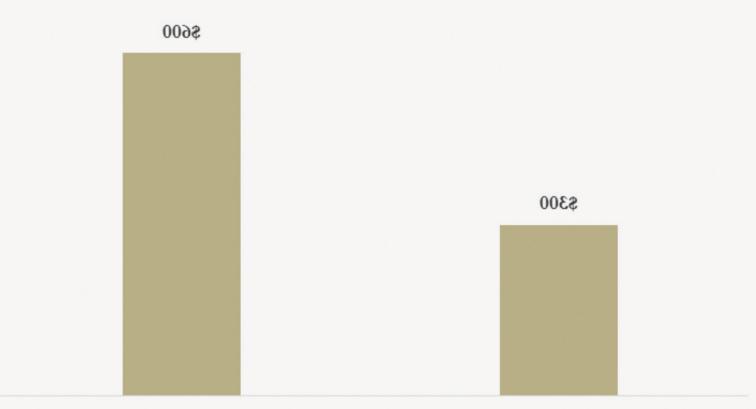
# Part Time and Full Time Minimum Salary Analysis

TANF in Puerto Rico 125

9.1

TABLE

# **Christmas Bonus**



Companies with less than 16 employees Companies with 16 employees or more

126

126

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. 2

#### FIGURE

TANF in Puerto Rico 127

#### V. Quantitative analysis of benefits

Transfers, or welfare benefits, are an important means of financial support for basic living expenses for the low-income population in Puerto Rico. However, they have created an imbalance in the incentives that people have to participate in the labor force. This is not the only factor, but is one of the factors that are responsible for the lack of dynamism of the Island's labor market. Some studies have demonstrated that the decision

to participate in the labor market with a minimum-wage job is

influenced by the relative value of the welfare programs avail-

able in the Island.

Transfers, especially those from the federal government, have

strong repercussions in Puerto Rico's economy. Even though

Puerto Rico does not qualify for several federal programs under

the same conditions as those of the 50 states, the higher pov-

erty level in the Island results in federal transfers representing a relatively a bigger portion of an eligible individual's income compared with the same individual in the U.S.

It is important to differentiate between two types of transfers:

entitlements and those that are awarded. The first ones are those in which individuals have entitlement because of past contributions, such as Social Security, unemployment and retirement

plans. The second ones are those received by individuals who

have not made contributions. In this category would be in-

cluded SNAP transfers, Medicaid and the Pell Grant for college

students.

The majority of transfers from the Puerto Rican government

are entitlements since they are mostly payments of retirement

plans. The exact amount of Puerto Rico government transfers in

this category are unknown, but the amount should be small and

consist of payments to the government's health plan and some

contributions to public housing.

128

128

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TANF gives cash and support services to help families with children under 18 years old to reach economic self-sufficiency. The individuals who received TANF benefits lack resources to satisfy their basic needs.

TANF benefits have a limited length of time. Normally, indi-

viduals that qualify for this program also qualify for other gov-

ernment transfers. Some of these programs are SNAP, Medicaid,

Early Head Start, Head Start and WIC. These participants also

qualify for subsidies in the payments of electric power, water and telephones.

The PRASA subsidy is around 30% of the monthly water bill.

To qualify, the beneficiary must be a participant of the SNAP or

TANF Programs, or be 65 years or older. These income and age

requirements are the same as those needed to qualify for a similar subsidy with PREPA, but in this case, the subsidy only applies to the first 425 kilowatts (kW) of consumption. College students

can also qualify for the subsidy. Depending on the fuel adjust-

ment, this subsidy can vary between \$7 and \$9 a month.

It is undeniable that welfare benefits to individuals and fami-

lies sometimes exceed the income they could have if they work

at a minimum-wage job. For example, the public medical in-

surance (Mi Salud) has a very comprehensive coverage com-

pared with private medical insurance. However, if an individual

would have to pay for a private medical plan with "Mi Salud"

benefits, he/she would be paying around \$200 monthly. This

amount was obtained by asking for an estimate for a medical

plan with the same benefits as Mi Salud. The Platinum coverage was the private insurance category that most fits the Mi Salud coverage. They were used as estimates for individual, couple and family plans.

On the other hand, the majority of families qualify for Section

8, but the vouchers are subject to availability. To assign a value to

TANF in Puerto Rico 129

this benefit, the fair market value (FMR) numbers were analyzed

to quantify the value. The number was adjusted by the number of

individuals in the household.

The individuals who qualify for all of the aforementioned ben-

efits can also qualify for WIC and Head Start benefits. The value of these programs is difficult to quantify because their approval is subject to evaluation in a family-by-family basis.

The next table (Table 20) shows the additional assistance that

an individual can receive if he/she qualifies for the TANF Pro-

gram. For a household of two individuals, the total benefit pack-

age is estimated at nearly \$965 a month. As previously mentioned

before, the benefits package could be higher if the individuals or families also qualify for other programs, such as WIC and Head

Start, which require individual evaluations.

						nly Benefit	Month
	ly of	Subsid					
<u>Total</u> Benefits	PRASA	PREPA	Puerto Rico Telecommunications Regulatory Board	Departamento de Salud	Department of Housing	Department of I'amily Affairs	
	<u>Water</u>	<u>Electric</u> <u>Power</u>	<u>Telephone</u>	"Mi Salud"	Section 8	<u>SNAP</u>	ousehold <u>Size</u>
\$705	\$7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$156	\$409	\$112	1
\$965	\$7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$312	\$409	\$216	2
\$1,329	\$7.11	8\$	\$12.75	\$487	\$500	\$315	3
\$1,424	\$7.11	8\$	\$12.75	\$487	\$500	\$410	4
\$1,692	\$7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$487	\$679	\$499	5
\$1,792	\$7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$487	\$679	\$599	9
\$1,973	<b>\$</b> 7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$487	\$780	\$679	7
\$2,070	\$7.11	\$8	\$12.75	\$487	\$780	\$776	8

## 130

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## TABLE

TANF in Puerto Rico 131

## Including TANF:

A traditional worker-consumer will not dedicate time to work

if the opportunity cost of working is equal or higher than the income from working those hours. In other words, if the available

salary in the market is equal or less than the benefits the individual could be receiving without work, it would be irrational—in the economic sense—to try to get and maintain a job.

In fact, since leisure has an economic value for individuals, the decision to be active in the labor market requires the available

salary to be higher than what the individual could get without

working. The problem that this situation creates in Puerto Rico is that for the majority of workers, the available salary is the minimum wage, which is below that of the value of the welfare ben-

efits for people who do not work.

A similar analysis was made in 2006 by the Center for a New Economy (CNE by its Spanish acronym)) and the Brookings Institution.2 Using the minimum wage and the public welfare programs available in 2003, the authors calculated the net monthly benefits for different types of consumers-workers and how that affected the decision of working versus not working and receiving transfer benefits. The possibility of working at minimum wage, even with two minimum-wage salaries in the family, is small since the net monthly income of a full-time worker at minimum wage will

cause the loss of the majority of welfare benefits. In most cases, if a family sees that their benefit package will be affected by the salary obtained from working, family members decide to stop

working.

2 Burtless, G. & Sotomayor, O. (2006). Labor Supply and Public Transfers. In chapter 3 of *The economy of Puerto Rico: Restoring growth*. Brookings Institution and Centro para la Nueva Economía, Washington, D.C.

132

132

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The next table (Table 21) shows the benefits package includ-

ing the TANF Program. TANF classifies a family's basic needs in

three categories: 50%, 100% and 185%. These basic needs are

adjusted according to food, clothing, personal effects, electricity, water and fuel. Basic needs do not include housing.

Clearly, when Section 8 is included, the benefits package is ex-

tremely attractive. Section 8 is a determinant factor in the decision to participate in the labor market.

	Household Size	PAN	TANF	Telephone Subsidy	Water Subsidy	PREPA Subsidy	"Mi Salud"	Sub-total	Section 8	Total
	1	\$112	\$83	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$156	\$379	\$109	\$788
	2	\$216	\$145	<b>\$12.</b> 75	\$7.11	\$8	\$312	\$701	\$409	\$1,110
Basic	3	\$315	<b>\$2</b> 07	<b>\$</b> 12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,036	\$500	\$1,536
	4	\$410	\$269	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,193	\$500	\$1,693
AINF 50%	5	\$499	\$331	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,344	\$679	\$2,023
	6	\$599	\$393	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,506	\$679	\$2,185
	7	\$679	\$455	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,648	<b>\$</b> 780	\$2,428
1	8	\$776	\$517	<b>\$</b> 12.75	\$7.11	\$8	<b>\$</b> 487	\$1,807	\$780	\$2,587
	Household	14AG	TANF	Telephone	Water	PREPA	"Mi		0 . 0	г. <b>т</b>
Needs TANF 50% Basic Needs TANF	Size	PAN TAN	Subsidy Subsid	Subsidy	Subsidy	Salud"	Sub-total	Section 8	Total	
	1	\$112	\$166	<b>\$12.</b> 75	\$7.11	\$8	\$156	\$462	\$409	\$871
Basic	2	\$216	\$290	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$312	\$846	\$109	\$1,255
Needs	3	\$315	\$414	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,243	\$500	\$1,743
TANF	4	\$410	\$538	\$12.75	<b>\$</b> 7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,462	\$500	\$1,962
100%	5	\$499	\$662	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,675	\$679	\$2,354
	6	\$599	\$786	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$487	\$1,899	\$679	\$2,578
	7	\$679	\$910	\$12.75	\$7.11	\$8	\$187	\$2,103	\$780	\$2,883
Needs TANF	8	\$776	\$1,034	<b>\$12.75</b>	<b>\$</b> 7.11	\$8	\$487	\$2,324	<b>\$</b> 780	\$3,104

#### Estimated Benefits Adjusted by TANF Monthly Benefits and Family Size

TANF in Puerto Rico 133

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## TABLE

Total	Section 8	Sub-total	"Mi	PREPA	Water	Telephone	TANF	PAN	Household	
10131	o nonooc	Sub-total	Salud"	Subsidy	Subsidy	Subsidy	1/1/1	<b>M</b> IVI	Size	
\$1,012	\$409	\$603	\$156	\$8	<b>\$</b> 7.11	\$12.75	\$307	<b>\$1</b> 12	1	
\$1,502	\$409	\$1,093	\$312	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$537	\$216	2	Basic
\$2,095	\$500	\$1,595	\$487	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$766	\$315	3	Needs
\$2,119	\$500	\$1,919	\$187	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$995	\$110	4	TANF
\$2,917	\$679	\$2,238	\$487	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$1,225	\$499	5	185%
\$3,246	\$679	\$2,567	\$487	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$1,454	\$599	9	
\$3,657	\$780	\$2,877	\$487	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$1,684	\$679	7	
\$3,983	\$780	\$3,203	\$487	\$8	\$7.11	\$12.75	\$1,913	\$776	8	

134

134

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evious page om the pr *ued* fr Contin TANF in Puerto Rico 135 VI. Quantitative evaluation and analysis of monetary and non-monetary benefits transferred to eligible TANF beneficiaries versus minimum-wage salary The following tables present a comparative analysis of the economic value of welfare programs versus a full-time and parttime job at minimum wage (\$7.25 per hour). This benefit package is a conservative one and does not include 100% of the assistance that families can get.

Table 22 presents the benefit package without TANF and Sec-

tion 8. Without these two programs, there is a substantial difference in the package. When the family size gets bigger, the ben-

efits package also gets bigger, increasing the difference between the package and a minimum-wage job. This situation discourages the decision to get a job when family sizes increase.

Table 23 shows the benefits package including TANF and Sec-

tion 8. The analysis was made using the TANF basic needs at

100%. The inclusion of these programs make the benefits package more attractive and discourage even more the decision to enter or return to the labor force. It is important to note that Section 8 has a limited amount of vouchers, which results in many eligible individuals unable to benefit. In summary, for an eligible family, it becomes very unattractive for individuals to work part-time at a minimum-wage job. In a full-time job scenario, the situation changes. It could be more attractive to work full-time at minimum wage because that salary would exceed the benefits package. Table 24 indicates that without TANF and Section 8, a full-time salary at minimum wage is attractive. However, when these two programs are incorporated into the analysis, the scenarios change. (See Table 25.)

136

136

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Welfare transfers are an important support for the income of

disadvantaged people in Puerto Rico, but they have also cre-

ated an imbalance in the incentives that people have in order to

participate in the labor market. This is not the only factor, but is one of the factors responsible for the lack of dynamism in the Puerto Rican labor market.

According to the scenarios presented throughout the docu-

ment, there are no big differences in income that could encour-

age an individual to enter the labor force. The eligibility criteria of federal and Puerto Rico welfare

programs are tied to income

criteria. Therefore, any additional formal income to the family would affect the benefits package. This is why many families decide not to work in the formal job market.

However, due to the Island's economic situation and the relatively high cost of living in Puerto Rico, an indeterminate number of individuals who benefit from welfare benefits work in the informal job market. Thus, these families can complement their income without losing their welfare benefits.

This situation is a matter of concern in terms of allocation of resources because some families that have certain levels of income are receiving welfare benefits, perhaps to the detriment of families with lower levels of income and more need.

# Benefits Estimate without TANF and Section 8 v. Part Time Salary at Minimum Wage

<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>	Estimate of Economic Assistance	<u>Part Time at</u> <u>Minimum Wage</u> <u>Estimate</u>	Difference
1	\$296	\$579	\$283
2	\$556	\$579	\$23
3	\$829	\$579	\$251
4	\$924	\$579	\$346
5	\$1,013	\$579	\$435
6	\$1,113	\$579	\$535
7	\$1,193	\$579	\$615
8	\$1,290	\$579	\$712

TANF in Puerto Rico 137

**TABLE 22.** 

Benefits Estimate with TANF and Section 8 v. Part Time Salary at Minimum Wage

<u>Difference</u>	<u>Part Time at</u> <u>Minimum Wage</u> <u>Estimate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Section 8</u>	TANE	Estimate of Economic Assistance	<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>
\$292	\$579	\$871	\$409	\$166	\$296	1
\$676	\$579	\$1,255	\$409	\$290	\$556	2
\$1,165	\$579	\$1,743	\$500	<b>\$414</b>	\$829	3
\$1,384	\$579	\$1,962	\$500	\$538	\$924	4
\$1,776	\$579	\$2,354	\$679	\$662	\$1,013	5
\$2,000	\$579	\$2,578	\$679	\$786	\$1,113	9
\$2,305	\$579	\$2,883	\$780	\$910	\$1,193	7
\$2,526	\$579	\$3,104	\$780	\$1,034	\$1,290	8

138

138

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TABLE

# Benefits Estimate without TANF and Section 8 v. Full Time Salary at Minimum Wage

<u>Difference</u>	<u>Full Time at</u> <u>Minimum Wage</u> <u>Estimate</u>	Estimate of Economic Assistance	<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>
\$863	\$1,159	\$296	1
\$603	\$1,159	\$556	2
\$329	\$1,159	\$829	3
\$234	\$1,159	\$924	4
\$145	\$1,159	\$1,013	5
\$45	\$1,159	\$1,113	9
\$35	\$1,159	\$1,193	7
\$132	\$1,159	\$1,290	8

TANF in Puerto Rico 139

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TABLE

Benefits Estimate with TANF and Section 8 v. Full Time Salary at Minimum Wage

<u>Difference</u>	<u>Full Time at</u> <u>Minimum Wage</u> <u>Estimate</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Section 8</u>	<u>TANF</u>	<u>Estimate of</u> <u>Economic</u> <u>Assistance</u>	<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>
\$288	\$1,159	\$871	\$409	\$166	\$296	1
\$96	\$1,159	\$1,255	\$409	\$290	\$556	2
\$585	\$1,159	\$1,743	\$500	\$414	\$829	3
\$804	\$1,159	\$1,962	\$500	\$538	\$924	4
\$1,196	\$1,159	\$2,354	\$679	\$662	\$1,013	5
\$1,420	\$1,159	\$2,578	\$679	\$786	\$1,113	9
\$1,725	\$1,159	\$2,883	\$780	\$910	\$1,193	7
\$1,946	\$1,159	\$3,104	\$780	\$1,034	\$1,290	8

140

140

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### TABLE

TANF in Puerto Rico 141

#### VII. Conclusions and public policy recommendations

This report concludes that it is not convenient for a family that receives welfare benefits to work parttime at minimum wage.

This result changes with a full-time job scenario and an increase in family size. However, economic conditions must be created in

order for individuals to find full-time jobs opportunities. A few alternatives have been developed by the Puerto Rico government

to reduce the gap between a welfare benefits package and the in-

come from a minimum-wage salary.

In 2006, a law was established to give a work credit to those in-

dividuals earning less than \$10,000 a year. This credit was eliminated in 2014 with the fiscal

restructuring of the Puerto Rico

government.

Today, a new tax credit for working families with children, with households making between \$7,500 and \$25,000 a year is being negotiated in the Puerto Rico Legislature. This new tax credit would help families that comply with their tax contributions but cannot benefit from any welfare program because they do not meet the income-eligibility criteria. This new tax credit would encourage family members to find full-time jobs.

Other programs such as Head Start and Early Head Start could help mothers get full-time jobs. To reinforce this effort, changes should be made in the provision of services to extend service hours to children, provided this is achieved with the same budget. According to Head Start's Performance Standards (45 CFR 1301-1311), classes in Head Start should be a maximum of six hours daily, with 4 hours of optimum time.

According to the findings and conclusions of this report, Advantage presents the following recommendations:

• Evaluate the option of more Head Start Centers operating in two shifts of four (4) hours daily. (There are more than 40 centers already operating with AM/PM Programs.)

142

142

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• The full-day service of the Head Start Centers should give priority to working families. These families also should have priority in selecting between the morning and afternoon programs.

• Evaluate the feasibility of payments for additional daycare hours to complete a full-day care service between Head Start and other programs.

• Evaluate the feasibility of providing complementary services to Head Start through childcare vouchers.

• Coordination between The Administration for Integral Development of Childhood (ACUDEN, in Spanish) and the Education Department to share facilities and services with the Head Start and Pre-Kinder programs. Between these two programs, children could receive services the whole day.

• Re-evaluate the TANF requirement criteria and program implementation in order to meet program goals.

• Re-incorporate the tax credit for low-income working families.

TANF in Puerto Rico 143

Appendix

## Fair Market Rent Documentation System

#### Final FY2015 Puerto Rico FMR Local Area Summary

FMR Percentile	Four- Bedroom	Three- Bedroom	Two- Bedroom	One- Bedroom	Efficiency	Metropolitan Area Name	Locality Name
40	\$615	\$527	\$405	\$327	\$319	Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	Adjuntas Municipio, PR
40	\$725	\$683	\$530	\$443	\$420	Aguadilla-Isabela-San Sebastián, PR MS A	Aguada Municipio, PR
40	\$725	\$683	\$530	\$443	\$420	Agnadilla-Isabela-S an S ebastián, PR MSA	Aguadilla Municipio, PR
40	\$975	\$810	\$601	\$502	\$464	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	Aguas Buenas Municipio, PR
40	\$570	\$519	\$420	\$350	\$314	Barranquitas Aibonito Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	Aibonito Municipio, PR
40	\$725	\$683	\$530	\$443	\$420	Aguadilla-Isabela-San Sebastián, PR MSA	Añasco Municipio, PR
40	\$660	\$647	\$468	\$390	\$370	Arecibo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	Arecibo Municipio, PR
40	\$773	\$691	\$558	\$412	\$331	Guayama, PR MS A	Arroyo Municipio, PR
40	\$975	\$810	\$601	\$502	\$464	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	Barceloneta Municipio, PR
40	\$570	\$519	\$420	\$350	\$314	Barranquitas-Aibonito- Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	Barranquitas Municipio, PR

144

144

VicenteFeliciano

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Bayamón Municipio, PR	San Juan Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Cabo Rojo Municipio, PR	San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR MS_4	\$335	\$354	\$425	\$599	\$718	40
Caguas Municipio, PR	Cagnas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$115	\$123	\$550	\$799	\$901	40
Camuy Municipio, PR	Arecibo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$370	\$390	\$168	\$617	\$660	40
Canóvanas Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Carolina Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Cataño Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Cayey Municipio, PR	Caguas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$415	\$423	\$550	\$799	\$901	40
Ceiba Municipio, PR	Fajardo, PR MS_4	\$432	\$455	\$545	\$792	\$850	40
Ciales Municipio, PR	Barranquitas Aibonito Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$314	\$350	\$420	\$519	\$570	40
Gidra Municipio, PR	Caguas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$415	\$423	\$550	\$799	\$901	40
Coamo Municipio, PR	Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
Comerío Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$161	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
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TANF in Puerto Rico 145

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Corozal Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PK HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Culebra Municipio, PR	Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
Dorado Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Fajardo Municipio, PR	Fajardo, PR MSA	\$432	\$455	\$545	\$792	\$850	40
Florida Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Guánica Municipio, PR	Yawa, PR MSA	\$330	\$349	\$419	\$560	\$730	40
Guayama Municipio, PR	Guayama, PR MS_A	\$331	\$412	\$558	\$691	\$773	40
Guayanilla Municipio, PR	Yawa, PR MSA	\$330	\$349	\$419	\$560	\$730	40
Guaynabo Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Gurabo Municipio, PR	Cagnas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$415	\$423	\$550	\$799	\$901	40
Hatillo Municipio, PR	Arecibo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$370	\$390	\$468	\$647	\$660	40
Hormigueros Municipio, PR	Mayagitez, PR MS.4	\$375	\$396	\$475	\$630	\$798	40
Humacao Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Isabela Muncipio, PR	-Aguadilla-Isabela-S an Sebastián, PR MS-A	\$420	\$443	\$530	\$683	\$725	40
Jayuya Municipio, PR	Pucrto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
Juana Díaz Municipio, PR	Pouce, PR MSA	\$400	\$422	\$506	\$734	\$884	40

146

146

VicenteFeliciano

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San Juan Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR MS:4	\$335	\$354	\$425	\$599	\$718	40
Aguadilla-Isabela-San Sebastián, PR MS-A	\$420	\$443	\$530	\$683	\$725	40
Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Fajardo, PR MS-4	\$432	\$455	\$545	\$792	\$850	40
San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Puerto Rico HUD Nommetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$105	\$527	\$615	40
Barranquitas-Aibonito- Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro 1'MR Area	\$314	\$350	\$420	\$519	\$570	40
Mayagiiez, PR MSA	\$375	\$396	\$475	\$630	\$798	40
Aguadilla-Isabela-San Sebastián, PR MS-A	\$120	\$113	\$530	\$683	\$725	40
San Juan-Guaynabo, PR IIUD Metro FMR Area	\$161	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
San Juan-Guaynaho, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
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TANF in Puerto Rico 147

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Naranjito Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Orocovis Municipio, PR	Barranquitas-Aibonito- Quebradillas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$314	\$350	\$420	\$519	\$570	40
Patillas Municipio, PR	Guayama, PR MSA	\$331	\$412	\$558	\$691	\$773	40
Peñuelas Municipio, PR	Yauco, PR MSA	\$330	\$349	\$419	\$560	\$730	40
Ponce Municipio, PR	Ponce, PR MSA	\$400	\$422	\$506	\$734	\$884	40
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Sabana Grande Municipio, PR	San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR MS.4	\$335	\$354	\$425	\$599	\$718	40
Salinas Municipio, PR	Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
San Germán Municipio, PR	San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR MSA	\$335	\$354	\$425	\$599	\$718	40
San Juan Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
San Lorenzo Municipio, PR	Caguas, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$415	\$423	\$550	\$799	\$901	40

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Vega Baja Municipio, PR	San Juan-Guaynabo, PR HUD Metro FMR Area	\$464	\$502	\$601	\$810	\$975	40
Vieques Municipio, PR	Puerto Rico HUD Nonmetro Area	\$319	\$327	\$405	\$527	\$615	40
Villalba Municipio, PR	Ponce, PR MS_4	\$100	\$122	\$506	\$734	\$884	40
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Yauco Municipio, PR	Yauco, PR MS A	\$330	\$349	\$419	\$560	\$730	40

TANF in Puerto Rico 149

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ousing and Urban D t of H evious page tmen epar om the pr U.S. D ued fr ce: Contin Sour 150 TANF in Puerto Rico 151 Comments on ABC Consulting study for HSRPPR "Beneficios de las personas elegibles al TANF vs. escenario de salario mínimo federal" Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán This study is divided into seven sections that cover three main topics: the first is a demographic analysis of the low-income population using IPUMS data from the Puerto Rico Community Survey (PRCS) for 2013. More details need to be presented as to exactly what file was used (lyr, 3yr or 5ys) and the actual years covered. The report mentions that the variables analyzed include: *total family income, number of own family members in the household, marital status, any health insurance coverage, and number of own children in the household*.

The demographic section starts by showing population change

for the major age groups and then proceeds to prepare a table

of family income by number of household members. While this

is interesting information, it is hard for the reader to get a clear sense of the proportion of the population below poverty by family size and that critical information can be presented in a separate table or highlighted in the present table. There are too many numbers and the table is hard to follow.

On page 105 of the report the authors highlight that there are

over 58,000 persons that qualify for health subsidy but do not

appear to be receiving the health plan (Mi Salud) because they

did not have health insurance. This is an important point to

consider later on when making estimates of the cost/benefit of

151

152

152

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

participating in programs compared to working. It is important

to know the proportion of the population that is eligible for

various subsidies (the denominator) compared to the propor-

tion of the population that actually receives each of the sub-

sidies (the numerator) in order to produce accurate estimates

of program participation and an adequate cost-benefit analysis.

The paper appears to include evidence that not all those eligible actually participate in every program but the cost-benefit analysis does not take this probability of program use and participation into account.

The tables on family income by household members by marital

status are interesting but the information needs to be summarized in a way that is easier for the reader to understand and follow the trends in the data from table to table. What is the relationship

between marital status, number of household members, and in-

come? How do these tables help us understand the eligible popu-

lations for the various programs? It is not clear from looking at all these panels what that relationship is between marital status, number of household members, and household income and that

should be clarified.

The data seems to suggest that there are close to 1 million per-

sons married and about 1.7 million that are single. Also on page

105 the authors argue that 48% of the 1.7 million single persons

in Puerto Rico are women and they suggest that about 207,000

received incomes of less than \$5,000 a year. These are persons in extreme poverty that presumably qualify for various programs

but that is not stated clearly in the report. *The authors then proceed to show a table with the number of single women by number of own children in the household and find that of the 867,322 single women about 742,620 do not have any own children. This suggests that according to the author's data 85.6% of single women in Puerto Rico not have any own children in the household.* This is quite relevant for understanding the prevalence of single moth-

TANF in Puerto Rico 153

erhood in Puerto Rico and for understanding the proportion of

the population that will be eligible for TANF and other related

programs mentioned in the report that focus on families with

young children (such as WIC and Head Start). Again, there is a

need to be clear on what proportion of the population of single

women is actually eligible for the various subsidies and programs that are mentioned in the report and what proportion actually

receives them.

It is critical to stress that while the demographic narrative is

interesting, it is somewhat confusing to try to understand what

percent of the population is eligible for the different types of programs based on their characteristics and, more importantly, what

proportion of the eligible population is actually enrolled and, in fact, receiving subsidies from the various programs. Information

on actual take-up rates and program participation is critical to

understanding the actual trade-offs between "welfare participa-

tion" and work.

Section III of the report provides a detailed analysis of main eligibility criteria for the various programs including PAN, section 8, WIC, TANF, Mi Salud (Health Plan), telephone, water, and

electricity subsidies. The data presented in the section discusses some basic eligibility criteria and includes tables on the various income thresholds for the different programs and estimates of

what look like the maximum payments allowed for recipients in

each of the programs. The TANF benefit estimates on pages 135-

136, for example, presents estimates of payments under three

different need scenarios and family sizes. This section does not

include information on the actual proportion of the population

that is eligible for each subsidy and the proportion of the population that actually receives each subsidy.

It is important to note that eligibility for the PAN program

and for the health program (Mi Salud) allow for some family in-

come which needs to be taken into account when evaluating the

154

154

HéctorR.Cordero-Guzmán

cost/benefits of participating in the programs versus working. It is not an "all or nothing" proposition as many families that receive some work income are also eligible for PAN and Mi Salud. Some

portion of the subsidy is retained even if some income is gener-

ated and the report does not acknowledge or incorporate that.

The next section IV of the report focuses on estimating how

much a minimum wage worker in Puerto Rico would earn un-

der a part-time scenario and a full-time scenario. This section is relatively clear but, again, the earnings estimates from work do

not incorporate the fact that some subsidies remain even after

some work income is generated. There are households where all

the income comes from aid, there are households where all the

income comes from work and related (and receive no subsidies),

and there are households that have work related income *and also receive some subsidies* and the estimates in this report, particularly Table 25 on page 142, do not account for this.

Section V of the report tries to engage in a quantitative analysis of benefits compared to the potential income received from work.

Table 20 on page 132 presents some estimates of the monthly

benefit by household size of the family receiving subsidies from

the PAN program, section 8, the health subsidy program (Mi

Salud), telephone, electricity, and water subsidy. It presents the total benefits estimated for households with one and up to 8

persons.

Section VI presents the quantitative analysis comparing a fam-

ily working full or part-time at the minimum wage of \$7.25 per

hour. The authors argue that their estimate of subsidies received is a conservative estimate because they do not include all of the programs that a family could receive and particularly mentions

the WIC program and the Pell grants. These two programs are

received by families and individuals with particular characteristics and under particular circumstances including pregnant women

(or with young children) or college students. Rather than specu-

TANF in Puerto Rico 155

lating that some families could also receive these subsidies, the study could have provided an estimate of the proportion of the

population in each of those two categories (low income college

students and women with children under 1, 2 or 3 years of age)

and included those numbers in the estimates for the relevant

households. It is also debatable whether the Pell Grant program

can be considered "welfare" in any meaningful sense.

The first scenario that the paper presents is a scenario where

the person receives some subsidies but not the TANF program or

section 8 and compares estimated subsidies with earnings from

part-time work. It finds that for one and two person households

working part-time yields more than relying on subsidies.

Adding the TANF subsidies (as estimated in the paper) and sec-

tion 8 subsidies in Table 23 on page 140 the authors suggest that there is an advantage of receiving all subsidies over working part-time. Again, these estimates do not account for the fact that some subsidies remain with part-time work.

Comparing subsidies without the TANF program and section 8

compared to full-time earnings in Table 22 on page 139 suggest

that full-time earnings are a considerable advantage over partial subsidies.

The key table in the paper is Table 25 on page 142 that com-

pares total subsidies, including what this study estimates of the value of TANF and section 8 benefits, compared to the estimates

of full-time earnings for households of various sizes.

The table would appear to show that a family with one member

working full-time would earn \$1,159 and a family of three per-

sons would also earn \$1,159 and if a family of three received all of the subsidies including TANF and section 8 they could receive

\$1,743 per month in subsidies and benefits and that appears to

be an advantage of \$585 over full time minimum wage work.

These were the numbers that were used in the "Krueger Report"

to argue that there was an "advantage of welfare over work."

#### Benefits Estimate with TANF and Section 8 v. Full Time Salary at Minimum Wage

<u>Difference</u>	<u>Full Time at</u> <u>Minimum Wage</u> <u>Estimate</u>	<u>Total</u>	Section 8	TANE	<u>Estimate of</u> <u>Economic</u> <u>Assistance</u>	<u>Household</u> <u>Size</u>
\$288	\$1,159	\$871	\$409	\$166	\$296	1
96\$	\$1,159	\$1,255	\$409	\$290	\$556	2
\$585	\$1,159	\$1,743	\$500	\$41 <b>4</b>	\$829	3
\$804	\$1,159	\$1,962	\$500	\$538	\$924	4
\$1,196	\$1,159	\$2,354	\$628	\$662	\$1,013	5
\$1,420	\$1,159	\$2,578	8679	\$786	\$1,113	6
\$1,725	\$1,159	\$2,883	\$780	\$910	\$1,193	7
\$1,946	\$1,159	\$3,104	\$780	\$1,034	\$1,290	8

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156

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

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TANF in Puerto Rico 157

There are several challenges with the numbers in this Table 25 of the ABC Report on page 142.

1. The table assumes that all households use all subsidies. Data presented in the report shows not all eligible persons use health (Mi Salud) or housing subsidies, for example. The report needs to factor the probability of participation and take-up rates into the estimates of the value of subsidies over work. Does the report include any data on what proportion of households of different sizes that actually receive all the mentioned subsidies?

2. The estimates in the table assume everyone gets the maximum potential payment. This is in theory and we need to examine actual program data to see what are the actual benefit levels by household size. Very few cases get maximum potential benefit in all the programs because funds are capped.

3. Assumes a household labor supply of one person that is

the same (and unaffected) by household size or the age\ gender composition of the household. Larger households, depending on the age of members, are likely to have higher labor supply and it is unreasonable to assume that a household with 8 members will have the same labor supply as a household with one member. Estimating earning for just one member in large households lowers the estimates of earned income and increases the relative value of the subsidies. The report should look at actual household composition, household size, and labor supply data in order to make more realistic estimates of potential earnings for households of different sizes and composition.

4. The estimates do not account for fact that many households would still be eligible for Mi Salud and PAN subsidies if earning at minimum wage or earning below poverty level. The estimates assume either all subsidy income or all work income but the authors do not contemplate or analyze the cost\benefit calculation for households that receive some subsidies and also generate some income.

158

158

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

5. The report does not provide nuanced estimates of cost/benefit analysis for households with different composition and various mixes of adults and children. A household of three per-

sons could have one adult and two children, two adults and

one child, or three adults, and the eligibility for benefits and subsidies will be different for different types of households. The report does not take this into account.

In the next page, I present two corrections to the estimates presented in the report.

1. First, I corrected the numbers for TANF payments based on actual TANF Data for June 2015 on average benefit levels by household size. The column labeled "TANF real" is the actual average amount of TANF benefits by household size.

2. Second, I make some adjustments to the labor supply. Households with up to three members are left with one worker. Households with 4 members have a 1.25 labor supply. Households with 5 and 6 members have 1.5 labor supply, and households with 7 and 8 members have labor supply of 2.0. Changes in labor supply assumptions for larger households follow empirical trends in labor supply by household size.

3. I also added data on TANF participation from the case load data for June 2015. In June 2015, there were 65,733 TANF cases out of over 1.6 million persons in poverty (estimated using 2013 PRCS data).

# Adjusted TANF Payment and Work Supply Estimates

# lune 2015

Cumulative Percent	cases TANF	% of cases	<u>ttib j</u>	<b>b</b> 6	worker	ipe	jb6		gi10		orker	W	i tota	06	tanfreal	al original	tot	OUS6	hc	ANE	Ī	vudas	A	amily Size
54.2	35657	54.2	(387)	Ş	1,159	Ş	(387)	Ş	(288)	Ş	1,159	Ş	772	Ş	\$ 67	871	Ş	409	Ş	166	Ş	296	Ş	1
71.0	11045	16.8	(55)	Ş	1,159	Ş	(55)	Ş	96	Ş	1,159	Ş	1,104	Ş	\$ 139	1,255	Ş	409	Ş	290	Ş	556	Ş	2
87.6	10876	16.5	380	Ş	1,159	Ş	380	Ş	584	Ş	1,159	Ş	1,539	Ş	\$ 210	1,743	Ş	500	Ş	414	Ş	829	Ş	3
96.5	5852	8.9	242	Ş	1,449	Ş	532	Ş	803	Ş	1,159	Ş	1,691	Ş	\$ 267	1,962	Ş	500	Ş	538	Ş	924	Ş	4
99.3	1833	2.8	273	Ş	1,739	Ş	853	Ş	1,195	Ş	1,159	Ş	2,012	Ş	\$ 320	2,354	Ş	679	Ş	662	Ş	1,013	Ş	5
99.8	378	9.	431	Ş	1,739	Ş	1,011	Ş	1,419	Ş	1,159	Ş	2,170	Ş	\$ 378	2,578	Ş	613	Ş	786	Ş	1,113	Ş	9
100.0	84	.1	29	Ş	2,318	Ş	1,188	Ş	1,724	Ş	1,159	Ş	2,347	Ş	\$ 374	2,883	Ş	780	Ş	910	Ş	1,193	Ş	7
100.0	8	0.	369	Ş	2,318	Ş	1,528	Ş	1,945	Ş	1,159	Ş	2,687	Ş	\$ 617	3,104	Ş	780	Ş	1,034	Ş	1,290	Ş	8
	65733	7	7		$\uparrow$										$\uparrow$									

Adjusted difference

Adjusted work supply Adjusted TANF

TANF in Puerto Rico 159

### . 2

#### FIGURE

160

160

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

• Making adjustments using actual TANF benefit amounts and modifying the labor supply estimates for larger households reduces the purported advantages of "welfare" (subsidies) over work significantly. It is also important to keep in mind that not all those eligible receive aid and that not all aid ends with paid work. • Data shows 71% of cases are 1 or 2 person households (where the economic advantage of work over program benefits are largest).

• 16.7% of all TANF cases (or close to 10,876 cases) are in 3 person households where there is presumably some advantage of program participation over work.

• For discussion purposes, 3 person households are assumed to include one female adult and two minor children. For those limited number of households, there may be a small advantage of program participation over work. There should be discussion about the costs and desirability, from a social and public policy perspective, of reducing benefits for low income women with small children.

• If we assume a 3 person household with two working adults and one child, the advantages of work over welfare are clear [ $$1,159 \times 2 = $2318$  compared to between \$1,539 (my estimate) and \$1,743 (the report's estimate) of the value of benefits].

• The revised data in the report, particularly when compared to the actual caseload data by household size, suggest that for 71% of TANF cases the value of benefits and subsidies is lower than what they could receive from work. For close to 27% of TANF cases in households between 3-6 members there could be (assuming the household can get all subsidies) some advantage of the value of subsidies over full time minimum wage work. Note that this includes less than 20,000 persons out of an estimated poverty popula-

tion of 1.6 million persons.

TANF in Puerto Rico 161

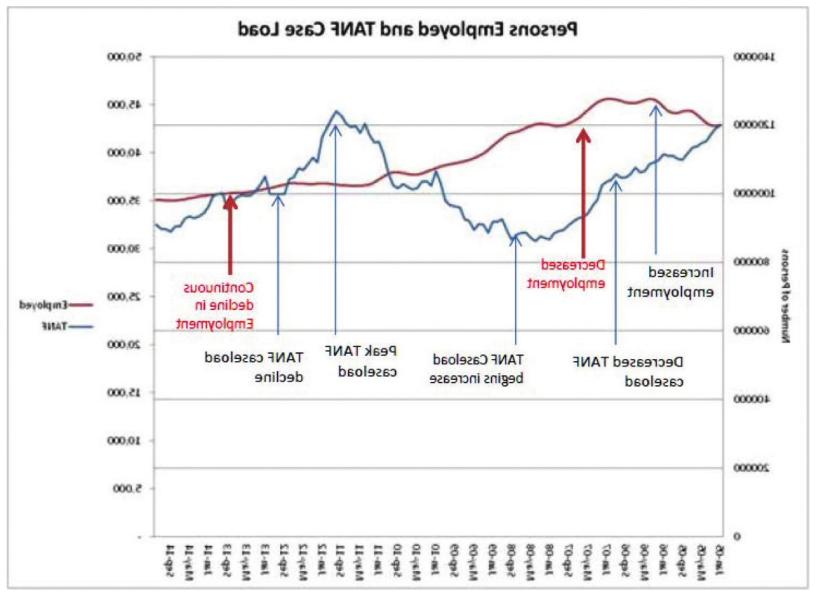
Some additional observations on the relationship between

TANF caseload and employment in Puerto Rico:

• Looking at the historical trend of employment levels and TANF caseloads in Puerto Rico helps clarify the relationship

between employment and TANF participation.

The data show that as employment grew, TANF participation declined but about a year after employment started to collapse there was an increase in TANF use until the rate of employment decline leveled off—and time limits started to kick in—starting a reduction in the TANF case load.
The timing of the data is clear that changes in the TANF caseload follows changes in employment and not the other way around. Declines in employment drive TANF use and it is clear that TANF use is not what drives employment levels in Puerto Rico.



162

162

Héctor R. Cordero - Guzmán

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### FIGURE

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TANF in Puerto Rico 163

The ABC Consulting report: "Beneficios de las Personas Elegibles

al Tanf Vs. Escenario de Salario Mínimo Federal" concludes with a series of recommendations. My sense is that the comments in the

first two paragraphs of the recommendations are not sustained by

the data. The employment collapse in Puerto Rico is not due to

TANF or welfare programs and there is abundant labor supply and

people willing to work in Puerto Rico with an unemployment rate

consistently over 10 percent and over 100,000 people looking for

work. As was stated, the employment pattern in the table above is not explained by patters of use of the TANF program.

The third and fourth paragraphs of the recommendations on a

work credit through the tax code seem sensible as does the recom-

mendation that the head start program adjusts to work schedules.

The list of recommendations offered on TANF about redesign

are not clearly spelled out and the reader has no idea what the

authors mean by "Re-evaluate and redesign the TANF program."

In what ways? How? Exactly why?

Many of the recommendations focus on Head Start which is not a program that was analyzed in the report. It is not clear where many of these recommendations come from and what they have to do with the materials presented in the report.

In sum, this report is interesting but has a number of challenges that compromise its conclusions:

1. The demographic analysis is confusing and limited.

2. It does not present precise estimates and information on the size and composition of eligible populations by program including TANF, the PAN program, section 8, the health sub-

sidy program (Mi Salud), telephone, electricity, and water

subsidy.

3. It does not present information on take-up rates and access to the various programs and subsidies [including TANF, the PAN program, section 8, the health subsidy program (Mi Salud), telephone, electricity, and water subsidy] and the
164

HéctorR.Cordero-Guzmán

proportion of eligible persons that actually receive each subsidy. In fact, the only table that helps us understand eligibility and access is on health insurance (Table 4 on p. 104) and it provides evidence that not all eligible persons receive the health care subsidy (Mi Salud).

4. The report does not distinguish between the labor supply or men and the labor supply of women and how they are affected by access to subsidies and household composition and sizes. The report also does not consider how disability status impacts both program participation (particularly in TANF) and work status. 5. Some of the subsidy estimates included and used in the re-

port are theoretical and therefore inflated and not derived

from actual program data. Actual TANF program data

shows that average TANF payments are lower than those

used in this report.

The study provides a lot of valuable information and a very use-

ful framework that should be discussed and can be revised, updat-

ed, and improved but, as is, the report is fine for academic discussion but without an analysis of the actual population eligible and participating in the various programs and subsidies considered,

and without more accurate estimates of the size and availability

of the subsidies to the actual population, it is of limited use and applicability for public policy making.

TANF in Puerto Rico 165

Aiding in the domestic violence

survivors, TANF services and

independent self-sufficiency

in Puerto Rico

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

### Abstract

This essay presents the results of the first phase of a broader project that seeks to examine the effects of domestic violence on the capacity of participants of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program to transition into self-sufficiency and independent well-being in Puerto Rico. We are interested specifically on how domestic violence hinders TANF participants from complying with program mandates and thwarts their efforts to obtain a job and maintain it. In this first phase of the research, we conducted a literature review from which we identified key issues and factors to be explored in subsequent phases. We also gathered preliminary data on the prevalence of domestic violence among TANF participants in Puerto Rico's western region. Ultimately, we aim to investigate how the physical, emotional and mental health problems resulting from the experience of domestic violence pose challenging life conditions which hamper the ability of survivors to meet TANF's requirements and benefit fully from its resources as well as achieve and sustain TANF's goal of economic independence.

165

166

166

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado Our research expects to identify lapses in TANF's current application of its domestic violence policies and provide useful recommendations for successful implementation of mandated benefits as well as additional services needed to better serve that population. 166 Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado TANF in Puerto Rico 167

#### I. Introduction

Domestic violence (DV) is one of the many challenging life situations faced by women seeking or receiving benefits from the welfare state, including the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program. At first glance, DV seems unrelated to TANF's core mission of assisting needy families achieve self-sufficiency. However, DV is correlated with a number of situations and problems that overlap with TANF's service area, such as single headed households, unemployment and poverty. DV is a painful cause of separation and/or divorce, which leads some women with children to form single headed households and experience financial hardships due to loss of income. Also, DV imposes a number of obstacles, including health and mental health problems, which limit survivors from seeking or maintaining employment. Finally, the experience of domestic violence becomes so cumbersome for some women that it impedes the achievement of their educational and/or employment goals, both of which are key determinants of poverty and welfare assistance. Thus, the presence of DV among TANF participants is not incidental or irrelevant. DV is imbricated in a number of factors/problems that mire women in unemployment, poverty and welfare assistance.

The relation of DV with poverty and welfare assistance has

been noted by policy makers and addressed in important welfare policies. The inclusion of the Family Violence Option (FVO) in Title I of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation ACT (PROWRA) of 1996, which transformed the longstanding Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) into TANF, is an example of the incorporation of DV considerations in welfare policies. As its title suggests, PROWRA substituted the need-based, open-ended AFDC with the more requirement-based TANF, which had a 168

168

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado five year time limit and required participants to enroll in human capital formation programs and obtain employment during the participant's lifespan in the program. PROWRA'S heavy emphasis on personal responsibility was counterbalanced by the FVO, a clause that acknowledged that DV constitutes a barrier for women trying to transition out of both poverty and welfare assistance programs (Orloff, Zarnow & Cornwall, 2011). The recognition of DV as a factor that interferes with the efforts of TANF participants to achieve self-sufficiency was significant, especially in a policy reform guided by the notion that personal responsibility and individual effort was the key to achieving individual well-being. The FVO offered states managing TANF

services the option of offering "good cause waivers" of some of

the new TANF requirements, such as time limits, child support

cooperation and employment securement (*ibid.*, p. 3). It also required TANF caseworkers to screen participants for DV and to

refer those with DV experiences to support services. The FVO,

then, functioned as an oasis for women attempting to overcome

poverty while dealing with domestic violence in their lives.

However, the FVO has been underutilized. DV has not received

the same attention as other barriers impeding the successful

transition of participants into the workforce, such as ineffective training programs, lack of access to transportation and childcare, mental health problems, and a depressed labor market for people

with low education levels. In Puerto Rico, DV's impact on TANF

recipients has been under-examined despite the increasing vis-

ibility and acceptance of DV as a problem negatively impacting

women's lives.

In response to that oversight, our study seeks to examine the

effects of DV on the capacity of TANF participants to transition

into self-sufficiency and independent well-being in Puerto Rico.

Our research is interested specifically on how DV hinders TANF

participants from complying with program mandates and thwarts

TANF in Puerto Rico 169

their efforts to obtain a job and maintain it. In order to do so, our research aims to investigate how DV's physical, emotional

and mental health problems generate challenging life conditions

which hamper the ability of TANF women to pursue, achieve and

sustain economically independent lives.

This research agenda aims to achieve three main objectives.

First, we seek to broaden the prevailing understanding of the
needs and challenges faced by TANF participants beyond the
commonly documented barriers. We will do this by documenting
the DV experience among TANF participants. This will allow us
to further contextualize the life of TANF participants in relation to a central feature of power in
contemporary Puerto Rico: Patriarchy. Second, we attempt to clarify how the DV experience impedes TANF participants from meeting program requirements,
including securing and maintain gainful employment. We are
particularly interested in exploring the effects of the following on participant outcomes:
Direct or indirect actions by the participant's partner or ex-partner;
The physical, emotional and mental problems resulting from

the exposure to violence;

• The level of awareness and sensitivity to DV exhibited by

TANF case managers;

• The access to and quality of domestic violence support services.

Finally, we aim to transform our findings into relevant recommendations for future analysis of TANF participants and necessary changes and innovations in TANF services and requirements. The analysis of domestic violence and its meaning and repercussions for TANF participants will point to key areas of future considerations for both TANF caseworkers and evaluators.

170

170

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

## **II.** Literature Review

## Methodology

We conducted a thorough search for relevant scientific research

that intersected TANF, DV, employment and poverty in Puerto

Rico and the United States in order to identify the keys issues and factors on which to focus our research in subsequent phases. Our

search relied on various databases, specifically EBSCOhost and

ProQuest, and targeted specialized journals in the social sciences dealing with the welfare system, domestic violence, family issues and poverty. We sought research from all social science disciplines in order to develop an interdisciplinary perspective on the issue.

We intentionally searched for research studies with a variety of

methodological orientations in order to evaluate different types

of data and evidence: Quantitative and qualitative studies, sur-

vey research as well as case studies, evaluation studies and policy analysis. We also expanded our search to non-published master

and doctoral studies produced in the University of Puerto Rico,

Río Piedras Campus. Furthermore, we searched for reports pro-

duced by nonprofit advocacy organizations in the U.S. who have

examined the Family Violence Option. Finally, we examined the

available statistics from the 2010 U.S. Census, national police

records and domestic violence advocacy agencies. The following

literature review was produced based on this literature search.

DV, Gender and Poverty

Although the concept of domestic violence captures any vio-

lent incident occurring between intimate partners regardless of

who generates it, the reality is that women bear the brunt of the weight of this phenomenon. A comparative study sponsored by

the World Bank on gender violence in Latin America and the Ca-

ribbean, which also included U.S. data, found that between 80%

TANF in Puerto Rico 171

and 90% of female homicides were perpetrated by their male

partners (Beihl, 2005). In Puerto Rico, the DV statistics gathered by the Puerto Rican Police Department confirm the staggering

gender inequality documented throughout the hemisphere. For

example, women were the victim in 9,785 of the 12,045 DV in-

cidents reported in 2014.1 Moreover, the statistics on female ho-

micides reveal that 84% of women murdered died at the hands

of their partner or ex-partner (Oficina de la Procuradora de las

Mujeres, 2004). Thus, domestic violence manifests the gender in-

equality faced by women in all areas of their lives.

DV's gender dynamic implies that all women are exposed to the

risk and actual manifestations of intimate partner violence regardless of their socioeconomic status. However, studies have shown that poverty can be predictive of male partner violence against women

(Bassuk, Dawson & Huntington, 2006). For example, the above

cited World Bank study found that while women from all social

classes throughout Latin America and the Caribbean are exposed

to DV those with lower incomes exhibit higher rates of physical

abuse: 12% of women with incomes between \$7,500-\$14,000 as

opposed to only 4.4% of women earning from \$50,000-\$74,000

(*ib*í *d*., p. 11). In the U.S., a study on violence in lower income communities sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice found

that women living in these communities were twice as likely to

experience intimate partner violence as women living in higher income neighborhoods (Benson &

Litton Fox, 2004, p. 1).

Low income status is associated not only with higher incidence of DV, but also with more severe manifestations of violence. A review of several U.S. national surveys on family violence led Bassuk, Dawson & Huntington (2006) to conclude that "severe violence against both women and children is greatest among

1 Data retrieved on June 14, 2015 from http://policia.pr.gov/estadisticas-de-violencia-domestica/ 172

172

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

families with low incomes or with male partners who are unem-

ployed or have lower occupational status" (p. 388). Highlight-

ing the male partner's employment status is important because it

re-enforces the gender dynamics inherent to DV. Lenton (1995)

suggest that there is an association between men's low income

status and their patriarchal values, particularly the strong belief in the legitimacy of violence in their interactions with intimate partners. Thus, women in the lower end of the income scale

confront domestic violence as a particularly acute expression of

patriarchy.

Finally, some studies have correlated DV with poverty. Laurie

Pompa's (2007) research on TANF's Family Violence Option in

Texas led her to conclude that "[t]he threat of poverty and the

inability to support themselves and their children is one of the

many reasons low income victims of domestic violence stay with

their abusive partners" (p. 242). Many women experiencing DV

opt against leaving their partners not because they have resigned themselves to a life of violence, but rather because they do not

have the financial means to live independently and provide for her children. Andrea Hetling's (2005) study on DV as a barrier to self-sufficiency also emphasizes the financial aspects of DV: "High on the list of obstacles for women escaping abuse is the lack of the financial resources to move and support themselves and their children. As mentioned above, the lack of money, credit or belongings is the most commonly recognized barrier (sic)" (p. 24).

The literature on DV and poverty documents the pervasive presence of intimate partner violence. Therefore, DV emerges from this literature as a relevant issue for all poverty-reduction programs, including TANF. These programs would benefit from acknowledging the presence of DV in the lives of impoverished women and addressing its effects on their economic goals of selfsufficiency, income generation and/or employment. TANF in Puerto Rico 173

# DV and employment

Unlike the research on poverty, research studies on the relationship between DV and unemployment has produced mixed and contradictory results. Some studies find that DV limits women's capacity to obtain and maintain employment, while others suggest that DV might actually motivate survivors to find work as a means to leave their abusive relationship (Meisel et al. 2003, pp. 1192-1193). Although there is no clear correla-

tion between DV and employment history (Tolman & Rapha-

el, 2000), the literature suggests a number of factors associated with DV that negatively impact women's capacity to secure and

maintain employment.

DV entails not only physical and emotional abuse, but also economic abuse. After all, DV is about power and control and employment offers women an independent source of income which can be leveraged against the partner's attempts to control their lives. Thus, for many women, DV expresses itself in the form of economic dependence. Abusive partners create conditions which impede women from working, including outright prohibitions against seeking employment and/or enforcing a lone breadwinner family arrangement (Hetlin, 2005; Pompa, 2007). Moreover, a number of studies have linked DV to job loss. Raphael & Tolman (1997) found that DV survivors do seek employment and have significant work history, but they are unable to maintain their employment due to DV incidents. Denise Findlay's study of employment discrimination against DV survivors in North Dakota found that two thirds of the DV survivors surveyed reported being harassed by their abusers at work and half admitted to missing work due to DV incidents (p. 991). This study also found that women were either fired or had to quit their jobs due to DV related "work interferences," such as emotional instability, loss of productivity and absences. 174

174

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado Finally, Findlay found that some employers fired DV survivors as a means to avoid the risk of violence in the workplace. Other research studies highlight an indirect relation between DV and employment. In our current post-industrial economy, education is positively correlated with employment and income. A number of studies have linked DV to lower educational achievements and human capital deficiencies (Anne Lowan, Schmidt, & Wiley, 2006; Hetling, 2005; Pilkinton, 2010). Hetling (2005) contends that abusive partners interfere with women's academic aspirations and sabotage their job training experiences by refusing to babysit or denying them transportation. Pilkinton (2010) argues that inadequate education and poor job training translates into a lack of job experience and/or low paying jobs for survivors. DV's web of power and control extends into women's educational goals, thwarting them and, therefore, preventing women from obtaining a job or moving up the ranks. Besides education, DV is also indirectly linked to unemploy-

ment due to the serious health and mental health consequences

of abuse. Tolman & Raphael's (2000) literature review on the

relation between welfare and DV found that DV is consistently

associated with a number of health and mental health issues

that negatively impact the survivors' physical well-being and

emotional stability: Depression, anxiety, drug and/or alcohol

use and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), among others.

Besides affecting their health, all of these conditions interfere with women's job performance. Recent case studies of employment barriers for DV survivors receiving TANF conducted in

California (Anne Lowan, Schmidt, & Wiley, 2006; Meisel et al., 2003) and Maine (Butler et al., 2008) confirm the presence of mental health problems among survivors-especially depression, anxiety and PTSD—and document their impact on their employment status: higher rates of unemployment and lower TANF in Puerto Rico 175 rates of job retention. Meisel et al. (2003) emphasize that PTSD and controlled substance abuse among DV survivors are associated with lower employment rates. Finally, Carasco-Portiño et al. (2007) points out that DV's impact on women's lives is cumulative and, therefore, women who have been exposed to abuse over longer periods of time express more severe health and mental health issues (p. 56). Highlighting DV's cumulative effect on women's health and mental health is important because it provides a basis for understanding the employment history of survivors with chronic conditions.

In sum, the literature suggests that the impact of DV on a woman's work history is something that needs to be questioned

and assessed. Although every case will be different, the literature reviewed consistently identifies three factors should be examined in order to determine if DV interfered or is interfering

with a woman's ability to find and keep a job: DV's physical

and mental health effects (especially depression, anxiety and PTSD), DV's impact on women's educational goals, and DV's work interference. However, the literature cautions against establishing a spurious casual relation between DV and its effects and unemployment. Determining the role played by these factors in a woman's work history requires much more than merely establishing their presence. The severity, type and onset of DV abuse needs to be specified and connected to job search, qualification and performance (Meisel et al., 2003). More research is needed to help clarify how DV affects employment, particularly the timing of DV and its impact on productivity (*ibid.*, p. 1209). Research of these issues in Puerto Rico can contribute to clarify the complex dynamics of this phenomenon and help suggest policy solutions to such problems. Nevertheless, programs focused on aiding women transition into the workforce, such as TANF, should invest time and effort in documenting and addressing these factors.

176

176

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado *DV and the Welfare State* The above documented prevalence of domestic violence in the lives of impoverished and unemployed women implicates DV in another experience common to these women: welfare assistance. Women facing violence and poverty, unemployment and/or financial hardship often seek assistance from the state to help cope and/or overcome their life situations. The welfare state, with its educational and cash assistance programs and counseling services, is one of the primary resources used by women dealing with both violence and financial insecurity (Casey et al., 2010; Hetling, 2005). In fact, research studies have firmly established numerous correlations between DV and welfare assistance.

Research studies have confirmed that DV is very much present in the population of female welfare recipients. Tolman & Raphael (2000) found that there is a higher prevalence of domestic violence among welfare recipients in the U.S. than in the general population. According to their study, between 34% and 65% of welfare recipients reported lifetime experience with domestic violence, rates that exceed the averages (ranging around 20%) found for women in the general population (p. 660). Anne Lown, Schmidt & Wiley's (2006) more recent study found a much lower percentage, 28%. However, whether DV's presence is equal to the general population or over-represented among welfare recipients, the point is that DV cannot be overlooked by those working in or researching welfare state programs. Meisel et al.'s (2003) study on the effects of DV on employment among welfare recipients in California found that DV

survivors were more likely to being unemployed, on welfare and not transitioning off welfare (p. 1,200). Studies like these expose the intricate connection among DV, unemployment and welfare assistance. DV's correlation with unemployment and TANF in Puerto Rico 177 poverty leads to its disproportionate presence among welfare program participants. Despite this indirect relation, DV's impact on women's lives is not irrelevant to their participation in welfare assistance programs. DV is one of the underlying reasons for noncompliance with welfare program requirements. For example, Tolman & Raphael (2000) reviewed studies in the U.S. that document how women experiencing DV have problems transitioning off welfare programs. Conversely, they also discuss studies in which women who obtained restraining orders against abusive partners were six times more likely to abandon welfare assistance programs (p. 668). Thus, whether keeping women on welfare programs or contributing to high dropout rates, DV seems to matter in the way impoverished women relate to the welfare state. There are cases in which DV has a direct relation with welfare assistance. Research studies have demonstrated that DV survi-

vors use the welfare state as a tool to contend with and overcome DV (Casey et al. (2010). Some survivors seek assistance from

welfare programs to alleviate their financial hardships resulting from economic abuse in their relations. Other survivors apply

for welfare programs in order to secure the economic resources

necessary-disposable income, health benefits, housing, and

food stamps—to leave their abusive relations and provide for themselves and their children. Interestingly, programs designed to address a different set of needs, such as income or housing, are being used strategically and surreptitiously by DV survivors to pull together enough resources to achieve the economic independence necessary to leave their abusive partners. The welfare state's failure to recognize that DV is the underlying problem motivating the use of some of its programs often leads to a mismatch between the resources needed and sought and program requirements and goals.

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178
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Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

TANF and DV

TANF is the most recent reformed version of a welfare assistance

program originally authorized under Title IV of the Social Secu-

rity Act of 1935: *Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children* (ADC). The original goal of ADC was to secure the welfare of

minors growing up in single (mostly female) headed households,

either because the women had children out of wedlock or due to

spousal death (Smith Barusch, 2012). The economic challenged

faced by these household often resulted in children being sent to live with relatives or abandoned in orphanages. ADC sought to

improve the welfare of these minors by providing the economic

assistance that would help keep them living with their biological families. To be sure, ADC was not a novel welfare proposal, but

<sup>178</sup> 

rather was based on existent state funded mother's and widow's

pension programs. Like those pension programs, ADC reflected

the ideological prominence of the nuclear family sustained by the male breadwinner at the foundation of the U.S. welfare system

(Trattner, 1999). The newly emerging federal welfare state would

substitute the male breadwinner in his absence.

Over time, ADC underwent a series of reforms that changed its

coverage and modified its focus. These changes stand as a testa-

ment to the transformations undergone by the U.S. welfare state

over the twentieth century. In 1950, ADC was substituted by the

Assistance to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). As part

of the expansionist era of the U.S. welfare state, AFDC offered

pensions to both dependent children and adult caretakers, and

also added a social service component to the program (*ibid*.). In 1961, AFDC was expanded further to include families in which

both parents were present, but the breadwinner was unemployed

or incapacitated. Although these reforms increased the resources

available, they changed the focus of the program from children

to the family or caretakers. This change is significant because the

TANF in Puerto Rico 179

notion of family or parental pensions seems to divert attention

away from the fundamental premise that gave birth to the pro-

gram: Guaranteeing the well-being of dependent children. Today,

the program is much more associated in the collective imagination as a pension to unemployed mothers than to dependent children

in need, an association that impacts how this program is perceived by the public.

The conservative reforms that have restructured the U.S. wel-

fare state since the 1980s also left their mark on AFDC. In 1988, the Family Support Act transformed the program from an open-ended income support program for dependent children in needy

homes to one that would offer temporary assistance to parents

who were now required to find employment. In other words,

AFDC was no longer going to be conceived as a pension, but

rather as a temporary assistance program whose main goal was to

aid caretakers' transition into the workforce. This new emphasis

was made apparent by the new Jobs Opportunity and Basic Skills

Program (JOBS) that is now an integral part of AFDC.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconcili-

ation ACT (PROWRA) of 1996 substituted AFDC with TANF

and, in so doing, solidified the program's focus on caretaker self-sufficiency and independence from the welfare state (Colón,

2011). Although TANF retained its original goal of assisting fam-

ilies take care of their dependent children, this goal was no longer going to be pursued through an open-ended income support

strategy. In fact, this strategy was now conceived as part of the problem trapping these families in poverty and the welfare state.

According to the PROWRA, AFDC undermined its participant's

work ethic by providing financial incentives to those who stayed

out of the workforce (Butler et al., 2008, p. 51). AFDC provided

participants with a steady income that displaced the need for ob-

taining a salary from the private sector. By contrast, TANF con-

ceives that children's well-being will be attained through caretaker

180

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

employment, not welfare benefits. Thus, the notion that welfare

assistance was a response to problems in the labor market and

social barriers facing those in poverty gave way to a conservative view of the social safety net and its participants. According to this view, welfare assistance, despite its well-intentioned goals, ended up undermining the sense of personal responsibility.

This loss of personal responsibility was perceived as generat-

ing other problems. According to welfare reformers, AFDC also

promoted non-nuclear family structures, such as single female

headed households, by making resources available to women

and children living without a male breadwinner. According

to reformist policymakers, citizens were adapting their family

structure to fit the program's eligibility criteria (Velázquez Torres, 2010). In response to this, TANF's new goals included pro-

moting self-sufficiency by ending caretaker welfare dependence,

reducing out of wedlock pregnancies and promoting nuclear or

two-parent households (Pilkinton, 2010). By addressing both is-

sues, employment and family structure, TANF sought to address

the problems faced by both welfare participants and the overbur-

dened welfare state.

To be sure, TANF still provides cash assistance to its partici-

pants. However, its goal of economic self-sufficiency is pursued

by means of a dual strategy: human capital development and la-

bor force attachment (Hildebrandt and Stevens, 2009). TANF

stimulates its participants to complete their high school diplo-

mas and obtain new entre-level job skills through workshops. The

program also requires its participants to enter the labor force as soon as possible (six months after entering the program for those that are work ready and thirty months for those who enter with

less than a high school diploma and very little work experience).

According to TANF, these strategies will help participants, mostly single mothers, work their way out of poverty by securing a job

that provides them with income as well as work experience to

TANF in Puerto Rico 181

move up to better paying jobs and achieve economic indepen-

dence in five years ( *ibid*.).

Interestingly, PROWRA included the issue of domestic violence

as a factor to consider in evaluating the capacity of participants to comply with TANF's new educational and work requirements. DV

was incorporated through the Family Violence Option (FVO) au-

thorized by PROWRA. The FVO is not a mandated part of TANF,

but rather is an optional resource that states could choose to implement. Initially, only a few states chose to adopt it, but currently almost all jurisdictions provide participants with its benefits. The FVO offered participants a number of waivers from TANF requirements in order to allow DV survivors the flexibility necessary to successfully complete the program. The FVO allowed TANF administrators to exempt DV survivors from time limit, residency

requirements, child support cooperation and family cap provisions (PRWORA, Title IV, Subtitle A, Section 402(a)(7)). It also called for TANF caseworkers to screen for DV survivors and refer those

identified to programs that could assist them. In all, the Family Violence Option is a tacit recognition that the personal responsibility emphasized by the program is conditioned and often limited by social factors impinging on participant's lives. Domestic violence is an important enough factor in the lives of TANF participants that PROWRA offered states the option of considering it in the process of assisting its participants achieve self-sufficiency.

PROWRA's inclusion of the FVO marks the first time in this

program's long history (ADC-AFDC-TANF) that DV is identi-

fied as a relevant issue. Its inclusion, however, was not a response to a recent sudden increase in DV

among program participants.

In all probability DV was present in the lives of ADC and AFDC

participants as well and played a role in generating their need for and continued presence in these programs. However, DV was not

consciously integrated into these programs' considerations in part because both programs were conceived as need-based pensions.

182

182

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado DV is tangential to the goals of such a program. TANF's restructuring of AFDC introduced new goals, such as ending prolonged reliance on welfare assistance and promoting employment. These new goals brought DV to the fore due to its correlation with poverty, unemployment and reliance on welfare benefits. All three converge problematically in TANF's new mission. Thus, the FVO's inclusion in PROWRA responds much more to the new goals introduced by TANF than to the identification of DV as an emerging trend impacting participants.

Research studies on TANF's implementation of the FVO and its efficacy addressing DV have produced mixed results. A recent report on TANF's impact on domestic violence survivors funded jointly by two advocacy-oriented nonprofit organizations, Legal Momentum and the National Resource Center on Domestic Violence, summarize these mixed results. According to the report, some studies have shown that TANF has played an important role in assisting DV survivors leave their abusive relations (Casey et al., 2010, p. 3). According to DV survivor's interviewed, TANF

made an important financial contribution that allowed them to

break with their partners. Moreover, the authors identified a

number of factors that account for those cases in which TANF

proved to have a positive effect on DV survivors:

• Good communication between TANF personnel and DV assistance programs;

• The presence of TANF personnel in DV assistance programs;

- Waivers that facilitated entry into the program;
- TANF's cash transfers and assistance with referrals to DV

programs.

Besides being factors identified with TANF's success in particu-

lar states, these factors are presented as best practices that should be heeded and adopted by other jurisdictions.

TANF in Puerto Rico 183

However, the report also documents cases in which TANF was

found to be failing DV survivors. This report, as well as other

research studies, identifies poor implementation as the underly-

ing cause of TANF's ineffective dealings with DV survivors. Poor

implementation expresses itself primarily through ineffective case management. The report points to caseworker indifference and/

or hostility towards DV survivors as one of the main problems.

Some caseworkers are not aware of the FVO and, therefore, do

not screen for domestic abuse (p. 10). Others are judgmental of

participant's lifestyles and withhold the FVO benefits because

they believe that female participants brought the violence upon

themselves. Still others are insensitive to the DV experience and, therefore, deter participants from being forthcoming about their

DV situation. Finally, caseworker insensitivity is manifested

through burdensome requirements: They require police reports

and hospital records before they even accept that DV is occurring.

Other research studies on TANF's dealings with DV survivors

find similar case management deficiencies. The National Law

Center on Homelessness & Poverty produced a report based on

their analysis of TANF programs in New York City, Washington,

D.C. and San Francisco. The study revealed that implementation

of the FVO was ineffective and inadequate (National Law Center

on Homelessness & Poverty, 2009, p. 4). The report emphasized that TANF offices were failing to screen and offer social services to DV survivors. Without proper screening, participants were unable

to receive FVO waivers and, thus, were at a higher risk of losing benefits due to DV-related noncompliance with program requirements. Likewise, Lindhorst, Casey & Meyers' (2010) observation-al study of TANF intake interviews in Georgia, Michigan, New

York and Texas found that only 9% of participants were asked

about their previous or current DV experiences. In many cases, the interview questionnaires used by TANF personnel did not even

have a DV question. Moreover, the study mentions cases were the

184

184

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

case manager did not follow up on cues about the presence of DV

expressed independently by participants. Lastly, research studies have found that participants lacked knowledge about the FVO,

which points to deficiencies in case manager's orientation about

TANF's benefits (Pompa, 2007, pp. 251-2).

The report by the National Law Center on Homelessness &

Poverty also found that less than 10% of domestic violence sur-

vivors reveal their DV experience to TANF caseworkers. Like the

Casey et al. study, they found that caseworker insensitivity due

to their belief system, which justifies DV or blames women for

it, explained why women hesitate to reveal their DV situation.

Other studies argue that nondisclosure is a result of participant fear of further governmental involvement in their lives (Butler

et al., 2008, p. 52). According to them, some participants fear

that case workers might use that information to justify removing

their children. This same study also documents cases in which

women were not aware they were living in a violent relation-

ship until the TANF case worker inquired about DV as part of

the screening process (*ibid.*, pp. 57-58). This datum proves the importance of the FVO since it makes TANF's screening process

another place in which DV can be identified, especially among a

population in need.

Other studies found that case workers simply documented the

presence of DV in participants, but did not refer them to service programs nor did they offer waivers from TANF time and work

requirements. Even worse, some case workers dissuaded partici-

pants from using the waivers. The overall effect of this pattern of dismissing the FVO has resulted in very few participants benefiting from its waivers. Lindhorst, Casey & Meyers's study revealed that only 3% of participants received good cause waivers under

the FVO. Tolman & Raphael's (2000) research found a higher

percentage of TANF participants with FVO waivers, between 5%

and 10%. However, both findings present percentages that are

TANF in Puerto Rico 185

significantly lower than the percentage of women known to have

experienced DV among the welfare seeking population, which

range between 28% and 65%. These percentages suggest that DV

survivors are being under-identified and not being offered the

benefits available to them.

Finally, some studies suggest that despite TANF's commitment

to assist DV survivors, its financial benefits are inadequate for participants trying to leave their abusive partners. As discussed above, many survivors seek assistance from the welfare state in

order to secure the financial means necessary to break with their partners. Many survivors who cannot secure those means return

to live with their abusers. Thus, while screening and service referral are important, they are not as crucial for survivors in helping them make the decision to leave as access to disposable income.

Studies like Casey et al. (2009) and Butler et al. (2008) contend that if TANF is really committed to assist DV participants achieve self-sufficiency, it should increase the financial benefits offered.

This would help retain those participants that would otherwise

leave the program to return to live with their violent partners.

In all, the literature documents how TANF benefits and FVO

implementation have worked against complying with its objec-

tive of assisting DV survivors who qualify for TANF benefits. Re-

search in Puerto Rico focusing on these barriers could help con-

firm their presence as barriers in the island as well as enhance our understanding of how they function as such. In the meantime,

we offer the following suggestions on how to address current de-

ficiencies based on the insights gained from the literature:

 Case worker training and capacity-building
 TANF programs need to provide comprehensive training to its case workers and administrators on domestic violence, its relation to TANF and the FVO. TANF employees should be aware of the FVO policy and related benefits.

186

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado • Case workers should receive training on interpersonal communicative practices with DV survivors, including how to conduct interviews, appropriate language use and how to read linguistic and body cues.

• Case workers need to develop empathy and supportive strategies that promote participant disclosure and facilitate information-gathering.

2. The TANF programs need to develop standardized protocols for DV screening

Intake questionnaires should include a mandatory and appropriate section dedicated to DV screening. This section should include much more than simply asking whether they have experienced DV.
It should include variables and scales that detect

<sup>186</sup> 

past and current experiences with DV, assess its severity, identify services needed and evaluate its impact on the participant's capacity to comply with program requirements.

• Case workers should be offered a standardized definition of DV as well as clear guidelines on how to communicate TANF's interest in DV to survivors. This will ensure that participants are receptive to the screening process rather than fearful or suspicious.

• TANF should develop and implement program evaluations to ensure the effectiveness of its screening process and personnel.

TANF should establish clear guidelines on how to manage
 DV survivors once identified

• TANF needs to develop standardized processes for service program referrals according to the type and severity of DV identified.

• TANF needs to develop standardized guidelines on the benefits or waivers offered to participants depending on the type and severity of DV identified. TANF in Puerto Rico 187

• TANF should develop an evaluation protocol in order to assess and monitor DV survivor program compliance and progress. 4. TANF should invest in outreach and training of pertinent public and private agencies

• TANF should educate community-based DV programs, welfare to work agencies and job training and placement agencies on its FVO and DV's relevance to their effort to help participants achieve self-sufficiency. These efforts will improve awareness of TANF's benefits for DV survivors.

• TANF should integrate DV advocate and service agencies to their screening and service provision processes.

• TANF personnel should visit DV shelters and service agencies to screen for possible participants.

• TANF should publish and share with public and private agencies brochures and posters advertising its FVO.

5. TANF should improve benefits for DV survivors

• TANF should increase financial benefits for DV survivors.

• TANF should partner with DV organizations to ensure the availability of comprehensive services to their DV participants.

TANF in Puerto Rico

Most of the available research on TANF in Puerto Rico was

conducted at the end of the newly installed five year benefit time limit, 2001. Therefore, these studies focus primarily on two issues: welfare reform implementation and the impact of the new

time limits and work requirements on current and former par-

ticipants' well-being (Boujouen Ramírez, 2001; Guemárez-Cruz

188

188

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado & Guzmán-López, 2002; Hernández-Angueira, 2001; Pérez Alvarado, 2002; Román Oquendo & Pérez, 2004; Segarra, 2000). More recent studies have has developed these same lines of research, but with the benefit of a broader historical understanding of the context of policy reform that engendered TANF (Colón, 2011; Nieves Rosa, 2007; Velázquez Torres, 2010). Finally, other studies have incorporated that broader historical view into their economic analysis TANF's effectiveness in light of the island's acute economic crisis (Rodríguez Martínez, 2009; Segarra, 2006).

The literature as a corpus expresses a general consensus regarding the welfare reform that produced TANF and its consequences for Puerto Ricans beneficiaries. It contends that TANF was part of a U.S. welfare reform agenda that was ill-suited for Puerto Rico's social and economic reality. In the mid-90s, the U.S. was in the midst of an economic boom with a solid labor market and low unemployment rates. Its ideological bearings notwithstanding, PROWRA's emphasis on reducing welfare rolls through labor market integration was not unreasonable given the U.S.'s economic situation at the time. However, Puerto Ricoś economy presents a different picture, one with limited growth and an official unemployment that has never been under 10% since the mid-1950s. In particular, Nieves Rosa (2007) emphasizes the inaptness of PROWRA's reforms given the disparities between the U.S. and Puerto Rican economic scenarios. According to her research, Puerto Rico underwent the same welfare reform but under very different economic conditions: A recession, limited growth, high unemployment, recent loss of the 936 exemptions to foreign corporations and a growing informal economic sector (pp. 7-8). Thus, Nieves Rosa concludes that the high levels of social welfare reliance in the island expose the inability of the island's economy to employ the population

rather than the lack of a work ethic.

TANF in Puerto Rico 189

Puerto Rico's economic situation has deteriorated since the late

2000s. The state's fiscal crisis has now combined with an almost

decade long depression. That the island is in the midst of one of its worst economic situation is evidenced by the sustained migration of thousands of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. in the last decade.

As Boujouen and Nieves Rosa highlighted a decade earlier, Puerto

Rico's economic profile questions the viability of a welfare reform based on transferring welfare participants to the labor market.

In terms of evaluating TANF's success in light of its own self-

defined goals, the Puerto Rican literature mostly replicates the

findings in the U.S. literature. TANF has been successful in meeting its goal of significantly reducing

its rolls both in the U.S. and P.R. However, this reduction has not been the result of the overwhelming success of participants transitioning to the workforce.

In the U.S., Butler et al. (2008) found that the decrease in TANF

caseload was associated with participant non-compliance with

program requirements. Hildebrandt & Stevens (2009) also found that a significant portion of TANF caseload reduction was a result of participants exceeding their federally mandated five year time limit rather than achieving work-readiness, employment and financial independence.

In Puerto Rico, the research literature also has documented the

reduction in participant's labor market entry. A recent case study in the Mayagüez region revealed that 71.7% of participants left

the program without having secured an employment. Only 16%

of participants left being employed (Velázquez Torres, 2010). This study also found that unemployment among TANF former participants is on the rise: In 1998 17% were employed as opposed

to only 8% in 2007. Finally, Nieves Rosa found that 42% of par-

ticipants who left TANF between 1997 and 2002 were dropped

due to program noncompliance. Another 10% left because they

no longer had children under 18 years old. She found that only

25% of participants left TANF being employed (2007, p. 55).

190

190

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

Thus, the reduction of TANF's welfare rolls is not indicative necessarily of TANF's success since former participants are not leaving with a steady income source. Welfare roll reduction was one

part of a dual agenda; the other part being moving participants

to the workforce. Having one without the other leaves TANF's

success incomplete.

Studies of TANF participants that have left the program with a

job have questioned whether they stand as evidence of program success. Pilkinton (2010) found that participants who do find employment do not fare much better than those who remain unemployed (p. 1012). Many women leave TANF to join the ranks

of the working poor in jobs that pay minimum wage, and offer

few benefits and limited opportunities of career advancement.

Most of these jobs do not even pull former TANF participants

out of poverty given their economic responsibilities with multiple children. Pilkinton argues that TANF has focused on participants

getting a job, any job, rather than on its goals of self-sufficiency and financial independence. Studies have shown that many of the

jobs available to TANF participants do not offer enough pay or

benefits to achieve either of those goals. These jobs end up being short term fixes that are not effective in ensuring the economic

sustainability of participants and their families. Thus, as Pilkinton documents, many who leave TANF for such jobs end up re-

turning to the welfare state.

Research in Puerto Rico has consistently produced similar find-

ings to those presented by Pilkinton. Sociologist Linda Colón

produced a comparative analysis of TANF and the Supplemental

Nutrition Assistance Program in Puerto Rico. She found, among

other things, that TANF participants mostly get part-time jobs

with low salaries, poor job security and almost no benefits

(Colón, 2011, p. 206). Nieves Rosa (2007) documents some of

the more common jobs obtained by TANF participants: cooks

TANF in Puerto Rico 191

and cashiers in fast food restaurants, adult and child caregivers, janitors and employees at retail stores (pp. 42-43, 57). She also found that many TANF participants are not re-hired once their

TANF subsidy ends. Ironically, then, their employment is tied

to TANF benefits to employers. Moreover, these jobs require

time flexibility, including working nights and weekends, that is

incompatible with being a single mother because they imposes

expensive child care costs. Finally, she found that many supple-

ment their TANF and employment income working in the in-

formal sector cleaning houses and selling AVON and clothes

from their homes (*ibid.*, p. 105). The need to work in the informal sector is in itself an indictment of the formal sector jobs available to them.

To be sure, the literature in the U.S. and Puerto Rico does

not hold TANF totally responsible for the quality of jobs avail-

able to its participants or for its inability to help participants transition into the workforce. The problem lays not in TANF's

goals or efforts, but rather in a depressed labor market and the

participant's lack of education and work skills. Velázquez Tor-

res is clear on this issues when she argues that in Puerto Rico

women have augmented their presence in the labor market over

the last forty years: In 1970, 28% of women were employed

while in 2006 that number had risen to 38% (2010, p. 37).

However, she clarifies that women with less than a high school

education have seen their presence in the labor market reduced

over that same period. Hildebrandt & Stevens (2009) present

similar findings for the U.S.: young educated women are get-

ting better paying jobs, but women with children or who have

not completed high school are struggling to get hired. Having children and not having a high school degree are common characteristics of women who use the welfare system, including TANF. Unfortunately, both U.S. and P.R.'s economies simply 192

192

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado do not produce enough good jobs for people with that profile. Therefore, self-sufficiency and independent well-being is increasingly an unachievable expectation for female TANF participants with multiple children, little work experience and insufficient education.

The literature in the U.S. and P.R. seems to suggest that TANF's

educational and work requirements helped all those participants

with education and work experience transition into the work-

force. TANF's biggest challenge is dealing with those participants that are hard to place because they face multiple barriers. In fact, many of TANF's current participants might not be able to make

the transition. In light of that reality, TANF needs to reconsider some of its premises, expectations and practices.

## TANF and DV in Puerto Rico

Our literature review on TANF in P.R. did not produce any

study that focused on the FVO or on DV in general. Unlike the

U.S., the FVO and the issue of DV among TANF participants

has not been a relevant research topic. We found that two stud-

ies mentioned that DV is part of the life circumstances faced by

TANF and former TANF participants, but do not pursue this

issue further (Guemárez-Cruz & Guzmán López, 2002; Segarra,

2000). Moreover, Nieves Rosa (2007) found that most of the

women she interviewed were unaware about their right to receive

social services as part of their TANF benefits (p. 83). In theory, this oversight could include referrals to DV survivors.

This gap in the TANF literature is part of a greater gap in Puerto Rican studies. Tragically, there is no major line of research on

women's lives in Puerto Rico that intersects domestic violence,

poverty and welfare assistance. Our research seeks to redress this important research gap and contribute to develop a research agenda that integrates the multiple life challenges faced by women in contemporary Puerto Rico.

TANF in Puerto Rico 193

# III. DV and TANF in Puerto Rico:

## **Preliminary Research**

Our research seeks to examine how domestic violence hinders

TANF participants from complying with program mandates

and thwarts their efforts to obtain a job and maintain it. In

particular, our research aims to investigate how the physical,

emotional and mental health problems generated by the experi-

ence of domestic violence generate challenging life conditions

which hamper the ability of TANF women to pursue, achieve

and sustain economically independent lives. In the first phase of this research agenda, we decided to focus on the following two

research objectives:

• Document the prevalence of domestic violence among

TANF participants based on the information available on

participant's records kept by the Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia's (ADSEF), TANF's managing agency in Puerto Rico.

• Document the use of TANF benefits by domestic violence survivors based on the information available on participant's records kept by nonprofit organizations running domestic violence programs.

The data generated in this phase will allow us to develop a

baseline of the incidence of DV among TANF participants. This

information is crucial in helping us determine DV's prevalence

among TANF's participants and in demonstrating the need for

strengthening the implementation of the FVO in Puerto Rico.

After meeting with both ADSEF and several nonprofit admin-

istrators, we found that there is no available data set from which we could compile or document DV's prevalence among TANF

194

194

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

participants. Consequently, the data sets had to be produced by

opening TANF's as well as nonprofits' participant's records and

examining their intake interviews, specifically the sections where they are asked about their experience with DV. Due to the preliminary character of our research in this first phase, the data sets were not national in scope, but rather focused on two regions:

Mayagüez and Aguadilla.

#### ADSEF Data

With ADSEF's collaboration, we asked its Mayagüez and Agua-

dilla Regional Directors to provide us with number of TANF participants who had been screened as DV survivors, were referred to services and/or were given program exemptions during the June 2013 to June 2014 time period. Both offices responded by indicating that they did not have any record of DV survivors in their service population. We asked these regional offices to have their case managers open participant's files and re-examine their intake interview to verify if any participant had indicated a history of DV during that interview. That search provided the

following results:

Active cases with DV (June 2014)	TANF participants that indicated some history with VD at intake	TANF participants by local offices	Agency
Añasco – 0	Añasco - 5	Añasco – 50	ADSEF
Cabo Rojo - 0	Cabo Rojo - 9	Cabo Rojo - 34	Mayagüez
Guánica - 0	Guánica - 7	Guánica - 23	Data as of
Hormigueros - 1	Hormigueros - 3	Hormigueros - 13	June 2014
Lajas - 0	Lajas - 7	Lajas - 50	
Maricao - 0	Maricao - 4	Maricao - 17	
Mayagüez - 1	Mayagüez - 41	Mayagüez - 236	
Sabana Grande - 0	Sabana Grande - 13	Sabana Grande - 69	
San Germán 0	San Germán 4	San Germán 39	
Total: 2	Total: 93	Total: 531 (13 men)	

TANF in Puerto Rico 195

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# TABLE

## Result summary:

- 17.5% of participants indicated having some DV experience during their intake interview
  - All participants who indicated having some experience with DV are women
- None of them were offered referrals to support services or received any FVO-related waivers

196

196

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

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Active cases with DV (June 2014)	TANF participants that indicated some history with VD at intake	TANF participants by local offices	Agency
Aguada - 0	Aguada - 4	Aguada – 68	ADSEF Aguadilla
Aguadilla I – 0	Aguadilla I – 28	Aguadilla I – 98	Data as of
Aguadilla II – NO DATA PROVIDED	Aguadilla II – NO DATA PROVIDED	Aguadilla II – 86	June 2014
Isabela - 0	Isabela - 28	Isabela – 110	
Las Marías – 0	Las Marías – 7	Las Marías – 36	
Moca -0	Moca -13	Moca – 52	
San Sebastián – 0	San Sebastián – 29	San Sebastián – 107	
Rincón – 1	Rincón – 1	Rincón – 20	
Total: 1	Total: 110	<b>Total – 577</b>	

TANF in Puerto Rico 197

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TABLE

Result summary:

- 19% of participants indicated having some DV experience during their intake interview
- None of them were offered referrals to support services or received any FVO-related waivers
- ADFAN's Associate Director for the Aguadilla Regional Office, Mrs. Milagros del Río Cruz,
- confirmed that her office does not service any DV participant that also receives TANF benefits

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TANF in Puerto Rico 199

Preliminary conclusions:

The most significant finding was the lack of awareness about the

FVO and, in general, TANF's responsibilities towards DV survi-

vors. To be sure, ADSEF's current Procedural Manual, entitled

"Camino a la Autosuficiencia" (Road to Self-sufficiency), includes a discussion of the FVO policy in chapter VI (Administración de

Desarrollo Socioeconómico, 2011). In this chapter, ADSEF agrees

to comply with the FVO in the following areas (*ibid.*, p. 25):

- Identify program participants with a history of DV;
- Provide referrals to counseling and social services;
- Exempt survivors from the federal time limits;
- Determine whether to also exempt participants from man-

dated child support claims.

However, neither ADSEF's principal administrators nor their

Mayagüez and Aguadilla Regional Directors were aware of the

policy. As a result, the FVO in Puerto Rico seems to be dormant.

The lack of awareness translates into an ineffective screening process, which does not lead to survivors benefitting from the ser-

vices and waivers authorized under the FVO.

Despite this ineffective screening, both regional offices were fairly consistent in terms of the percentage of women indicating some experience with DV, 17.5% and 19%. This percentage is lower than those found in the U.S., but that could be explained by the ineffective screening process. A more thorough and systematic screening process could reveal higher incidence of DV among Puerto Rico's TANF participants. Nevertheless, the close to 20% of women with DV experience that are TANF participants are being potentially underserviced due to FVO non-implementation in the island.

200

200

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado Nonprofit Agencies Data

We contacted four nonprofit agencies that provide support services to DV survivors in the Mayagüez and Aguadilla region: Casa Julia de Burgos, Programa SIEMPRE VIVAS and Matria. We requested and were granted permission to examine participant records for the June 2013 – June 2014 period. Our goal was to re-examine their intake interviews to verify if they receive TANF benefits. That search provided the results shown on Table 3.

Preliminary conclusions:

Like their ADSEF counterparts, nonprofits in Mayagüez and Aguadilla seem to be unaware of the FVO and underutilizing TANF's benefits for the DV survivors whom they assist. The low percentage of TANF beneficiaries is a result of poor participant orientation by nonprofit personnel of TANF's FVO. Moreover, the percentage of potential TANF participants in each organization hovers around the figures expected based on the U.S. data and the preliminary results offered by the Mayaguez and Aguadilla TANF offices. These figures, preliminary as they are, suggest the urgency of research on this issue in the nonprofit sector.

Nonprofit Organization	Total participants	that indicated having TANF	Percentage of participants receiving TANF benefits	Total participants that could potentially be receiving TANF*	Percentage of participants that could potentially could receive TANF
SIEMPRE VIVAS	135	6	$4\%_{0}$	26	19%
Casa Julia de Burgos, Aguadilla	43	2	4.6%	13	30%
Matria, Mayagüez	27	3	11%	7	26%
*We used the fol	9				

Single parents with minors who declared PAN as their only income

TANF in Puerto Rico 201

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TABLE

202

202

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

## IV. Future Research Agenda

The data gathered during the first phase confirms the relevance

of our line of research. There is a high incidence of DV among

TANF participants, all of whom are missing out on the benefits

of the FVO. Moreover, DV survivors receiving services from non-

profits are not being referred to TANF as an important resource

available to them. Therefore, much more research needs to be

carried out in this area. Based on the literature reviewed and the data gathered, subsequent research phases should focus on the

following areas:

- ADSEF and nonprofit personnel knowledge of FVO;
- ADSEF screening of TANF participants for DV experiences;
- Nonprofit agencies referral of DV participants to TANF;
- ADSEF referral for support services;
- ADSEF exemptions or waivers;
- Factors associated DV that interfere with TANF compliance.

This first phase of our research has demonstrated, at the very least, the need for comprehensive research in this area in Puerto Rico. We expect to address these issues in future phases of our research.

TANF in Puerto Rico 203

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204

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206

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TANF in Puerto Rico 209

## Appendix

### Cernimiento de violencia doméstica

**Instrucciones:** Este instrumento será cumplimentado por el profesional o la profesional a cargo de cada participante.

### Definición de violencia doméstica:

Violencia doméstica es un patrón de conducta en el que una persona usa la violencia física, verbal, psicológica y sexual para ejercer poder sobre y controlar a su pareja, expareja, persona con quien haya sostenido una relación consensual o persona con quien se haya procreado un/a hijo/a.

### Importancia de violencia doméstica para TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families: Asistencia temporera para familias necesitadas)

TANF es un programa que proporciona asistencia económica en efectivo (cash) y servicios de apoyo para ayudar a las familias con hijos/as menores de 18 años de edad en el logro de la autosuficiencia económica. TANF reconoce las repercusiones que tiene la violencia doméstica en las vidas de sus participantes y provee servicios de ayuda y exenciones en algunos casos.

210

210

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

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	Cuestionario sobre violencia doméstica										
ió	Indica con un $\sqrt{3}$ si has experimentado alguno de estos actos de violencia y cuando ocurrió										
En tu vida	Últimos 5 años	Último año	Actualmente	Tipo de violencia							
				Abuso físico							
				Te ha golpeado							
				Te ha empujado							
				Te ha agrarrado por la fuerza							
				Te ha tirado con algún objeto							
				Te ha agredido frente a tus hijos/as							
				Abuso emocional/psicológico							
				Te ha insultado							
				Te ha humillado ante tus hijos e hijas							
				u otros familiares							
				Te ha humillado ante tus amigos y							
				amigas							
				Te ha amenazado con dejarte							
				Te ha amenazado con herirte o herir a							
				algún familiar o mascota							
				Te ha amenazado con no proveerte							
				dinero ni proveer los bienes que tú y							
				tu familia necesitan							

TANF in Puerto Rico 211

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	Te ha amenazado con quitarte tus
	hijos e hijas
	Te ha limitado el contacto con tus
	familiares, amigos y amigas
	Te ha criticado tu apariencia física

Te ha obligado a darle todo o parte de
tus ingresos
Te ha quitado dinero
Te ha negado ayuda económica
No te informa sobre todos sus
ingresos
No te permite hacer la compras para
ti, tus hijos e hijas y el hogar
Abuso relacionado al empleo
Te ha prohibido que trabajes
Te ha impedido llegar a tu trabajo
Te ha hostigado o agredido en tu
lugar de trabajo
Te llama frecuentemente o envía
mensajes de texto mientras trabajas

212

212

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Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

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	ı	
Abuso relacionado al estudio		
Te ha impedido que estudies		
Te ha impedido llegar a tu lugar de		
estudio		
Te ha hostigado o agredido en tu		
lugar de estudio		
Te llama frecuentemente o envía		
mensajes de texto mientras estudias		
Abuso sexual		
Te ha exigido tener relaciones		
sexuales		
Te ha exigido prácticas sexuales no		
deseadas		
Te ha causado dolor no deseado		
durante el acto sexual		
Te ha causado daño intencionalmente		
durante el acto sexual		
Te ha obligado a ver películas		
pornográficas		
Te ha obligado a tener relaciones		
sexuales con sus amigos u otras		
personas		

TANF in Puerto Rico 213

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l		
		Ha utilizado armas para obligarte a
		tener relaciones sexuales
		Restricción de la libertad
		Te ha privado de visitar a tu familia o
		recibirles en tu casa
		Te ha privado de participar en
		actividades religiosas
		Te ha privado de participar en
		actividades recreativas o culturales

		Te ha privado de utilizar el teléfono

214

214

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

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Cernimiento para determinar severidad del abuso

Sí No ¿Cuándo?

2. ¿Ha solicitado una orden de protección?

Sí\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_ ¿Cuándo?\_\_\_\_\_\_ ¿Cuántas veces?\_

3. ¿Ha recibido algún servicio para víctimas/sobrevivientes de violencia doméstica?

Sí\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_ ¿Cuándo?\_\_\_\_\_\_

¿Qué tipo de servicios?

4. ¿Ha visitado una sala de emergencia o ha sido hospitalizada como resultado de un incidente de violencia doméstica?

Sí\_\_No\_\_\_\_¿Cuándo?

¿Qué servicios recibió?

TANF in Puerto Rico 215

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5. ¿Ha desarrollado alguna condición de salud física como resultado de la experiencia de violencia doméstica?

Sí No ¿Cuál(es)?

¿Algunas de estas condiciones le impide trabajar? Sí \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

6. ¿Ha desarrollado alguna condición mental o emocional como resultado de la experiencia de violencia doméstica?

Sí\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_ ¿Cuál(es)?\_\_\_\_\_

¿Algunas de estas condiciones le impide trabajar? Sí \_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

7. ¿Ha sido despedida en uno o varios empleos por algún acto o actos de violencia doméstica?

Sí \_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_ ¿Cuándo? \_\_\_\_\_

- 8. ¿Ha renunciado a uno o varios empleos por algún acto o actos de violencia doméstica?
  - Sí \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Cuándo? \_\_\_\_\_

216

216

Rafael A. Boglio-Martínez & Luisa R. Seijo-Maldonado

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### Guía para interpretar resultado de cernimiento

- I. Cualificar para coordinación de servicio:
- El contestar afirmativamente en cualquiera de las categorías y que la violencia haya ocurrido durante los últimos cinco años cualifica a la participante para ser referida a algún profesional en violencia doméstica
  - II. <u>Cualificar para posible exención de requisitos de TANF</u>:
  - Participante con dos o más indicadores de abuso físico, emocional, sexual o restricción de libertad durante los últimos cinco años
  - Participantes que indique abuso relacionado al empleo o estudio durante los últimos cinco años
    - Abuso físico, sexual o emocional severo:
  - o Contestar afirmativamente en tres de las ocho preguntas sobre severidad del abuso
    - o Contestar afirmativamente en cualquiera de las preguntas 4 al 8
      - Abuso que provocó algún problema de salud física o emocional

Posibles exenciones:

- Eximir de requisitos de conseguir y mantener empleo en 30 meses
  - Eximir del límite de tiempo en el programa 5 años
    - Eximir del requisito de solicitar ASUME

TANF in Puerto Rico 217

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218

TANF in Puerto Rico 219

Welfare reform implementation

in Puerto Rico 19 years later

Jaime Santiago-Pérez & Rosalie Rosa-Soberal

Abstract

This research studied the implementation of the

Welfare Reform in Puerto Rico that began in 1997. The methodology of this research combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Specifically the current socioeconomic context of Puerto Rico in which the administration and development of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (TANF) is inserted was examined. The perspective of TANF program administrators related with strengths, weaknesses and challenges in its implementation was explored through in depth interviews. Focus groups were conducted with participants who achieved self-sufficiency and those who were not able to do so during the years 2013 and 2014. A qualitative methodology was used to address these two dimensions. Quantitatively the sociodemographic characteristics of TANF's-Category C participants for the years 2013 and 2014 were analyzed using the data base provided by the Department of the Family of Puerto Rico.

- 219
- 220
- 220

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l Among the most significant findings of this study are:

First, for more than one decade the Island has been

mired in a critical economic situation which made it more difficult for the program to comply with federal standards of employment placement. The rate of poverty in the island surpassed that of Mississippi, New Mexico and Louisiana the highest reported for the years 2010, 2011 and 2012. Second, 62% of the beneficiaries of the TANF program were under 18 years of age; women represented 65% of the participants and 97% of the adults did not earn any income. It was found that participants who achieved self-sufficiency were satisfied with the services received but still dealt with issues related to inadequate work placement because of distance from home or no congruent with their interests or areas of strengths, difficulties with child care and delay in receiving payments. Those who did not achieve self-sufficiency or abandoned the program identified these issues as well and added other barriers such as feeling stigmatized at their work place, losing other government benefits and poor decision making skills.

In the conceptual framework of any policy legislation directed to poor families it must be considered that this population is constituted by heterogeneous variables vulnerable to their social and economic context, structural conditions and family and personal circumstances. Recommendations are directed to policy makers who determine welfare public policy and are oriented to respond to the diverse socioeconomic reality of the states including Puerto Rico.

TANF in Puerto Rico 221

# Introduction

The Welfare Reform was formalized in the United States

through the adoption of the Act 104-193 of 22 August 1996

known as Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Rec-

onciliation Act (PRWORA). This act came into effect on July 1,

1997. The main objective of this legislation is to reduce poverty and control government spending through training and integration into the workforce of people who receive the benefits of the Government. Title I of this law created the Temporary Assistance

to Needy Families (TANF) program (which replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and absorbed the components of Economic Assistance, Emergency Assistance, and Supportive services. In addition, with this law the federal Government transferred to States the administration of assistance programs through the allocation of block grants and authorized them to develop their own programs.

In Puerto Rico the TANF program is under the Administration of Socio-Economic Development of the Family (ADSEF), which is part of the Department of the Family. This agency acquired responsibility for designing, implementing and administering the program and established its regulatory policies and procedures. In December 2008, ADSEF established the Regulation # 7653, containing standards of certification for the determination of eligibility to applicants and participants of the Temporary Assistance t

eligibility to applicants and participants of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program. Also, on October, 2011 AD-

SEF reviewed The Manual of Procedures for the TANF, Category

C, which was called *Road to self-sufficiency*.

In the first phase of the implementation of the reform (1997-

2001), ADSEF established contact with various private organiza-

tions called delegate agencies that provide employment location

services to recipients of TANF - Category C and offered support

to achieve the goal of economic self-sufficiency. In 2002, ADSEF

222

222

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal terminated the services of these agencies in Mayagüez and Arecibo regions and assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the program. By 2003, transfer of delegate agencies services had occurred in 9 of the 10 regions in Puerto Rico. The region of Ponce has maintained a contract with a nonprofit delegated agency named the Sister Isolina Ferré Center. In the first decade of the 21st Century several published papers regarding Welfare Reform in Puerto Rico were identified. In 2002 in a paper entitled Essays on poverty in Puerto Rico, Guzmán-López and Guemárez-Cruz analyzed the implications of the implementation of Welfare Reform for families led by women in Puerto Rico. The authors concluded that policies aimed to prevent the dependence of the State based on initiatives of work, would not be successful in securing economic independence unless they are complemented by programs that

address the pernicious effects of violence in families with female leadership. The authors also discussed the diversity of social

problems that those women faced, the almost total absence of

support networks for the care of children and disabled family members, low levels of education, and lack of formal employment experience (p. 143). Boujouen-Ramírez (2001) carried out a study entitled Welfare Reform implementation in Puerto Rico: A status report. The

author addressed topics such as: the context of Welfare Reform

implementation, TANF administration and implementation, job

placement strategies, caseload changes, profile of recipients, employment of TANF recipients and the effects of Welfare Reform.

In general terms, she concluded that TANF recipients, especially

those with low levels of education, are unprepared to meet the

demands of a labor market that increasingly requires a workforce

with higher levels of skills. She stated that:

"TANF recipients find jobs in what is called the secondary la-

bor market, which is characterized by low wages, poor working

TANF in Puerto Rico 223

conditions, few opportunities for promotion, little or no job se-

curity, and few or no fringe benefits" (p. 20).

Boujouen-Ramírez identified several areas to investigate the im-

pact of the welfare reform in the Puerto Rican families. Among

the areas recommended for further investigation were: the experi-

ences of recipients of services, reactions to the work requirements and the time limit, and the consequences of the reform of welfare on families and children. In addition, she recommended studies

which combine ethnographic strategies with statistical analyses

to determine the impact of the welfare reform in the women and

their families.

The present study addressed the following aspects covered by

Boujouen-Ramírez, such as: the consumer price index, labor par-

ticipation rate, and per capita income, labor distribution by gender, unemployment and literacy rates, housing conditions, home-

less rate, and poverty indexes. These areas provide a picture of the social and economic context of the status of Welfare Reform in

Puerto Rico. A second area suggested by Boujouen-Ramírez was

to examine the experience of program implementation and ad-

ministration by executive administrators. TANF administrators'

opinion about program procedures, as well as the approach and

strategies for participants' job placement and employment activi-

ties, were considered. Third, changes in active and inactive cases for 2013-2014, reasons for terminating services, labor activities and participants' sociodemographic profile were analyzed. Lastly, barriers experienced by participants in the job market were analyzed, according to Boujouen-Ramírez recommendation.

Boujouen-Ramírez does not include in her study the experience

of recipient of services. However, she made a specific recommen-

dation regarding this issue. In the present study a qualitative approach was addressed considering this issue, as well as statistical analyses were performed to determine the impact of the welfare

reform on the women and their families.

224

224

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l TANF participants' narratives regarding their program experiences, particularly in relation to their transition from dependency to the labor market, were analyzed. To obtain information, three

focus groups were established.

Using focus groups to contextualize other means of data collection in this study provided another

perspective to qualitative data and presented "the face behind the numbers." Instead of the analytical lens being focused on each individual's behavior, it offered the opportunity to analyze a collective management of data not attributed to any single individual. Thus, we selected this qualitative strategy as an information gathering technique to explore the opinions, perspectives and experiences of participants in TANF program.

Lastly, the ADSEF administrator, two regional directors and the director from the nonprofit delegate agency Sister Isolina Ferré Center, in the Ponce region, were interviewed to gather their perspective on program strengths, weaknesses and institutional barriers that impact the achievement of TANF outcomes. Sister Isolina Ferré Center is the only remaining delegate agency administering the case management and employment components of TANF. This research looks at program approaches and practices on behalf of TANF families and children within the current socioeconomic and fiscal crisis in Puerto Rico. We have looked

closely at those factors that influence impoverished families and move them to attain a better quality of life.

### Method

The methodology of this research combined quantitative and

qualitative methods. In regard to the quantitative aspect of the

project several of the indicators of the study conducted by Bou-

jouen-Ramírez (2001) was explored. Analysis was conducted from

the TANF data base on participants, related to caseload, charac-

teristic of recipients, work related activities and caseload changes such as case closures, during the years 2013 and 2014. In addition,

TANF in Puerto Rico 225

information was gathered related to barriers that inhibit employ-

ment opportunities, as well as job placement strategies to meet TANF goals and objectives. The data base contains monthly information about the demographic characteristics and other relevant information of the participants in TANF Category C. Each record has information about the head of the family, the geographical

region of service as well as the amount of income and benefits of the participants, age, sex, and education, among others.

Economic and social indicators were addressed, such as: the

consumer price index, labor participation rate, and per capita income, labor distribution by gender, unemployment and literacy

rates, housing conditions, homeless rate, food stamps recipients and poverty indexes among other economic indicators. These indicators provide a picture of the social and economic context of people on welfare in Puerto Rico.

### Focus Groups

The qualitative perspective was obtained from three Focus Groups conducted in Arecibo and Ponce regions. Two of the Focus Groups were composed of participants who completed the program and the other one was composed of participants who did not achieve this end. The criterion for region selection was based on the fact that Arecibo was the first region assumed by ADSEF, while Ponce region continues under the nonprofit delegate agency administration.

According to the research objectives and the information needed to be collected about these TANF's participants, an interview guide was developed. The guide consisted of 9 open ended questions aimed to promote interaction and to gather participants'

perspectives from their own point of view (see Appendix 1 for the Interview guide).

Of the three groups held, two were conducted in the Ponce

region, one was composed of participants who had successfully

226

### 226

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l completed the program and the other one was composed of participants who were not able to do so. This provided the opportunity to compare their experiences. The third group was held in the Arecibo region with participants who had successfully completed the program. The second group in this region had to be cancelled due to lack of participants.

## Administrators' in-depth interviews

Top TANF administrators were interviewed to obtain their opinions regarding strengths and weaknesses and their perception about their overall experience with program administration. Specifically, ADSEF Administrator at central office, two ADSEF Associate Directors at the regional level and the TANF program Director, Sister Isolina Ferré Community Center, a nonprofit delegate agency, were interviewed.

## Findings

# The Context of the Welfare Reform Implementation 1

This study is aimed to understand the socioeconomic and fiscal context of Puerto Rico during the years of the first and second

decades of XXI century. A descriptive analysis was done regarding the most important variables that explain the current situation.

The variables studied are: Gross National Product, unemploy-

ment rate, participation rate, labor trend, employment, migra-

tion trend, health care services, cost of living, literacy, poverty, and housing and homeless.

The economy of Puerto Rico has struggled with a long-lasting

recession since 2006. From 2006 to 2015, the real Gross National

Product has declining at a 7%. The unemployment rate has in-

creased from 11.0% to 13.0%, whereas the participation rate has

1 Economists Dr. José Alameda and Prof. Carlos Rivera Galindo conducted the economic analysis.

TANF in Puerto Rico 227

dropped from 48.6% to 39.9%, the lowest since a decade. Low

labor force participation, especially among younger and less edu-

cated workers, constitutes a limiting factor to local recovery but also to enhance the local economy competitiveness. While the U.S.

economy has risen by about 13% in real terms since the Great Re-

cession ended in 2009, but Puerto Rico's economy has contracted

by more than 5%, with a debt-GNP ratio over 95%.

The economy of Puerto Rico is suffering of a secular or structur-

al stagnation condition, exacerbated since 2006. This condition

is coupled with an unsustainable debt and the inability to fulfill regular payment schedules. Then, economic growth is unachievable because non-local or foreign savings cannot be transferred

into the economy. The absence of investments, and consequently

of the economic growth, leads to declining levels of per capita

income and of per capita savings. Given such conditions, large

portions of the private and public sectors are actually minimizing debt instead of maximizing profits.

The findings associated to the labor market are assessed stem-

ming from three relevant indicators such as: unemployment rates,

participation rates, and employment rate. The data collected point to a ten-year trend of labor market deterioration. Unemployment

rate increased from 11.1% to 13.0%; although a 16% rate was

experienced in 2010 and 2011. The labor market participation

rate declined from 48.6% to 39.8% and the employment rate

declined from 43.3% to 34.7%. From 2006 to 2015, the amount

of employed persons plummeted by 270,000 workers, a 30,000

worker losses per year (see Table 1).

The ten-year trend employment decline is observed over three

main sectors: government, manufacturing; and construction. In

terms of the private sector, employment dropped by 178,000 per-

sons which accounted for a 66% of total employment. One third

is due to government and other public utilities sector. This figure of 66% from the private sector is similar to the weight of Gross

National Product (GNP) by the private sector.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015p
Persons 16 years and over	2,899	2,906	2,908	2,910	2,915	2,911	2,895	2,880	2,861	2,836
Labor force	1,410	1,413	1,355	1,325	1,285	1,245	1,208	1,180	1,159	1,130
Employed	1,254	1,263	1,203	1,144	1,075	1,043	1,025	1,015	993	984
Unemployed	156	150	152	181	210	201	183	165	166	147
Participation rate	48.6%	48.6%	46.6%	45.5%	44.1%	42.8%	41.7%	41.0%	40.5%	39.8%
Unemployment rate	11.1%	10.6%	11.2%	13.7%	16.3%	16.1%	15.1%	14.0%	14.3%	13.0%
Employment rate	43.3%	43.5%	41.4%	39.3%	36.9%	35.8%	35.4%	35.2%	34.7%	34.7%

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228

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	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015p	2015-2006
TOTAL	1,254	1,263	1,203	1,144	1,075	1,043	1,025	1,015	993	<b>9</b> 84	(270)
	0.0	12.2							12272		
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	22	16	15	18	17	17	17	17	17	17	(5)
Manufacturing	135	137	128	111	101	97	94	94	85	82	(53)
Mining	a/	1	1	a/	1	1	a/	a/	1	1	a/
Construction	88	86	84	70	54	48	50	47	42	36	(52)
Trade	269	262	256	242	237	234	228	225	231	239	(30)
Wholesale	24	29	31	28	25	23	22	21	22	23	(1)
Retail	245	233	225	215	211	210	207	204	209	216	(29)
Finance, insurance, and real estate	46	44	42	42	40	39	34	29	30	34	(12)
Transportation	25	24	23	24	25	21	16	17	18	19	(8)
Communication	15	16	16	15	16	14	12	16	14	14	(1)
Other public utilities	16	14	15	18	16	13	12	13	13	12	(4)
Services	351	363	354	344	319	332	339	344	339	333	(18)
Government	285	290	269	259	250	229	223	213	204	197	(88)

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### TANF in Puerto Rico 229

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J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l The main single loser is the government sector with 88,000

workers (32.6%); manufacturing sectors had a 53,000 workers

- disappearing, while the construction sector dropped to 52,000.
- These sectors together imply a 71.5% of total employment de-
- cline (see Table 2).
- The labor market, however, has always been a disturbing ele-
- ment in the economic growth process. One significant challenge
- is the size and prevalence of the underground or concealed em-
- ployment in the informal economy. Research carried out by Es-
- *tudios Técnicos* (2010) suggested that the informal (underground) economy in Puerto Rico ranged between 23.6% and 27.2% of
- total Gross National Product (GNP); that is close to \$17 billion
- of non-reported and/or under-reported earnings and/or profits
- from employees and business.
- A recent study from Congressional Research Services (CRS)
- (Mach, 2016) confirms underground economy association with
- poverty rates. At 2014, 46.2% of the population in Puerto Rico

had family income below the federal poverty threshold, represent-

ing approximately 1.62 million people. Children are over the gen-

eral poverty rate of 58.4% than persons aged 18 to 64 (43.5%).

Furthermore, children rates are also over persons aged 65 and old-er (40.4%). The CRS report states that large informal economy

has also implications for the level of poverty in Puerto Rico.

Because the local labor market has remained weak, Island's resi-

dents of working aged have begun to migrate to the United States.

More than 10 percent of the Island's population has already fled

with 430,367 Puerto Ricans immigrating to a U.S. state at a

growing pace from 2009 to 2014. By 2013, near 25% of mi-

grant persons were between 18 to 29 years old (Puerto Rico

Institute of Statistics, (Velázquez Estrada, 2014). At the 20 to 64

cohort, 43,123 persons emigrated to U.S. representing 58.4%

of total emigration figure (see Table 3). It is important to note that emigration flow is concentrated on persons of working age.

Neto (E-I)	% Inmigrante	Inmigrantes (I)	% Emigrante	Emigrantes ( E)	Edades
18,841	24.8%	6,123	33.8%	24,964	1 a 19
27,116	64.9%	16,007	58.4%	43,123	20 a 64
3,237	10.2%	2,522	7.8%	5,759	65 y más
		24,652		73,846	Total
		34.4		28.5	Edad mediana

TANF in Puerto Rico 231

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232

232

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l That is, Puerto Rico is losing its human capital value because people have no choice other than search for employment in the U.S.

The effects on the economy of Puerto Rico are de-capitalization

of its main asset of production.

Another indicator that is related to the socioeconomic profile of the Island is the access to health services. This access is intrinsi-cally linked to Medicare and Medicaid payments and Puerto Rico's

Health Reform. Levis (2015) addresses the issue of health disparity and Medicare and Medicaid payments. Puerto Rico has the lowest

Medicaid expenditure (\$1,571 per enrollee vs. \$5,790) in the U.S.

The Medicare expenditure is \$5,208 per enrollee in Puerto Rico

vs. \$8,700 in the U.S., while cost of living remains comparable.

The average cost of healthcare in Puerto Rico is 55.6% of the average cost of healthcare in the United States. From March 2015 to

March 2016, Medical Care costs in Puerto Rico increased 3.3%

and United States showed the same rate. Nonetheless, the Medical

Care Commodities index in Puerto Rico was 7.3% but 2.4% for

United States; an almost 5% point lead for Puerto Rico.

The cost of living is another indicator to understand the pre-

vailing socioeconomic condition of Puerto Rico. A recent re-

port by Puerto Rico Institute of Statistics found that the cost of living in Puerto Rico was 13% higher than 325 urban areas in the

United States. The Institute also found that supermarket items

were 21% more expensive in Puerto Rico than in the U.S. The

cost of utilities was approximately 85% higher than in the United States, while housing and transportation were slightly lower than the United States average. Gasoline prices in Puerto Rico are also higher than the general average on United States.

Literacy is another issue that deserves special consideration

based on the economic and technological changes in the produc-

tive structure of the economy of Puerto Rico and its effect on the educational requirements of workers in the labor force (Puerto

Rico Department of Labor and Human Resources, 2015). The

schooling in Puerto Rico, according to U.S. Census 2010, is high

	2010	2011	2012	Change
<b>United States</b>	15.3	15.9	15.9	0.6
Puerto Rico	45	45.6	44.9	-0.1
Alabama	19	19	19	0
Mississippi	22.4	22.6	24.2	1.8
New Mexico	20.4	21.6	20.8	0.4
Louisiana	18.7	20.4	19.9	1.2

TANF in Puerto Rico 233

school level for the 71.5% for the adult population. Based on an

estimate of 2,858,000 persons of 16 years of age or over, the schooling median was 12.9 grades in 2014. Within that population,

75.9% or 2,153,000 persons had completed at least high school,

and 59.4%, or 1,278,882 persons had one year or more of postsec-

ondary studies. Moreover, 90.0% of the labor force in Puerto Rico has a high school diploma or more.

Educational levels notwithstanding, the economic circumstances

in Puerto Rico, as evidenced by previous socioeconomic indicators, result in widespread poverty. Laffer & Moore (2016) compares the poverty rates in Puerto Rico with similar states based on information from U.S. Census, and found that Puerto Rico's poverty rate

(45.0%) is the highest compared with another states of the U.S.

(See Table 4.) Puerto Rico's poverty rate is even worst when children are included. Official poverty rate for children according to the Census is 57%. However, according to the Kids Count (2014)

study, 84% of children live in high poverty areas, and 44% of those don't have access to preschool education. Poverty contributes to the exposure of families and children to psychosocial risk. Housing and homelessness can be analyzed as critical variables of this risk.

### TABLE 4.

Poverty rates: Puerto Rico, U.S., and selected states, 2010 to 2012.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Department of Commerce.

234

234

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l Government data indicates that close to 70% of households

spend over 30% of their income on housing, while 40% of the to-

tal households experience a severe cost burden, paying more than

50% of their income on housing. This group is at great risk of losing their homes and becoming homeless. There is a growing seg-

ment of the population in Puerto Rico with no stable residence or place to live. According to estimates by both public agencies and nonprofit organizations, there are approximately between 11,000

and 15,000 homeless persons in Puerto Rico. The same sources

note that the number of homeless persons under 23 years of age

appears to be on the rise.

A consequence of high rates of poverty and unemployment, es-

pecially among female single-parent families, is the need to rely on public assistance programs for survival. The accumulated factors in this socioeconomic profile show clearly the challenging

environment in which welfare reform has being implemented in

Puerto Rico.

# TANF administration and implementation:

# The administrators perspective2

The qualitative analysis is based on the administrators' response to the five research questions (see Appendix 2). Systemic interpre-tations contribute to produce a clear picture of TANF implemen-

tation in regards to the most relevant challenges the program is

facing during the research period. The administrators' voices produce a picture stemming from administrative standards, proce-

dures, strengths, weaknesses, challenges and achievements, based

on two program administrative modalities: private and public.

In this scenario, the analysis carried out examines those program components that contribute to TANF effectiveness: participation

and retention rates based on federal standards.

2 Dr. Rosalie Rosa conducted the administrators' interview.

TANF in Puerto Rico 235

The six thematic dimensions of the content analysis that

emerged from the narratives of four key administrators at central and regional levels are depicted in the Figure 1.

1. Administrators experiences in managing the TANF program From the beginning of their tenure, administrators were faced with the grim reality that the TANF program was out of compliance with federal regulations. They initiated a corrective action plan in order to avoid penalties and improve program performance. Administrators also restructured the program, took over the case management function from private providers and recruited or re-trained personnel to update their knowledge and skills required to implement the program in compliance with federal standards.

They stated that the program is now in compliance and federal penalties have been waived. Administrators indicated that they

are understaffed. Workers are carrying one-and-a-half caseload in the Arecibo office. This increases the challenge in devoting sufficient time for individual clients to enable them to participate in appropriate work-related activities. The following expression

illustrates the perception of administrators regarding training.

"Re training our personnel was key in order to update the

knowledge and skills related to TANF program."

2. Perceived strengths and weaknesses of the TANF program strengths The strengths are defined as those aspects of the program that

are functioning well and are considered to be strong points in the implementation. That is, program elements that have a positive

impact on TANF families and children's quality of live.

The most salient strength is the comprehensive vision of the

delivery of services, not only the subsidized employment, but

also social services support, based on psychological intervention,



# FIGURE

TANF in Puerto Rico 237

interdisciplinary team work in, and computerized individualized

assessment order to reduce the poverty conditions in new gen-

erations. Addressing domestic violence was perceived as neces-

sary for some families to succeed. Another relevant strength is

the monetary bonus incentive to promote participants retention

in the program and that addressing prevention is important not only with children, but also with adult family members. A strong

relationship between administrators and program personnel was

seen by administrators as a main program component for the at-

tainment of TANF outcomes.

The following quotes reflect administrators' views on strengths:

"Poverty is an inequality of opportunities. We have to con-

sider volunteer work as an opportunity for personal, fami-

lies, and communities' skills development to be transferred to other contexts.

"We realize that we have a generational problem that de-

mands greater emphasis in social services support."

"I think we have young mothers that do not have child rearing and personal skills."

"Family violence in TANF participants affects their quality of life and aspirations."

3. Weaknesses

Programmatic shortcomings are considered as those areas that

need to be improved, geared to achieve TANF goals and ob-

jectives. The content analysis revealed consensus regarding the

three main weaknesses. Administrators believed that the major

weakness is an institutional barrier associated with a lack of an efficient payment system for incentive payments which impacts

participants' retention rates. 'Participants are not able to get to their employment site, or purchase meals, or buy clothes, among

others. Difficulties in receiving their checks on time were related

238

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l to insufficient staff or delays by the Treasury Department is issuing payments. Lack of child care services for tweens or teens,

close to employment or to home, was also recognized by ad-

ministrators as a key challenge. Boujouen-Ramírez (2001) stated

that TANF single mothers are caught between two contradictory

family policies, having to leave children home alone and having

to participate in employment activities or risk sanctions. This

situation prevails after fifteen years.

Employment rates are also impacted by participants' delay in

notifying changes in circumstances that affect employment. Ad-

ministrators expressed frustration at having to spend time in dealing with penalties, either justifying them in order to avoid penalties for the program or having to discern whether sanctions for

participants are warranted. Lack of effective coordination with

the Department of Labor was seen by administrators as a hin-

drance, preventing higher participation of TANF beneficiaries in

the labor market.

Following are several expressions from the administrators re-

garding perceived program weaknesses:

"Interagency coordination is a cornerstone to achieve TANF program effectiveness."

"If we have an effective coordination, we have better outcome in a short term."

"In this region public transportation is not available"

"Lack of support services (transportation and meals) and pay-

ment delay affect participant's retention rate."

#### 4. Challenges

Challenges are viewed as those factors emerging from socioeconomic conditions and the fiscal crisis Puerto Rico is facing which constitute an uncertain scenario that impacts TANF TANF in Puerto Rico 239

administration and implementation. The socioeconomic and

fiscal crisis context lead to examine ADSEF administrative

structure in terms of delivery system services, and practices and approaches to TANF recipients.

Administrators see Puerto Rico's economic and fiscal situation

as a great challenge to effective implementation of the TANF

program. Specifically, compliance with federal standard related

to participation and retention rates is exponentially more dif-

ficult in Puerto Rico than any of the other jurisdictions within

the U.S. Many businesses have closed. Job opportunities are

simply not there to match the particular set of knowledge and

skills of the participants. Sanctions or reduction of benefits cannot be the answer, according to administrators. The answer to

this situation is not the reduction of benefits, the appropriate

response to this issue should be incentives instead of reductions.

Our position is to promote transition strategies to TANF

participants, not only to the labor market, but also to invest in training of participants to enhance their competitiveness in current economic and labor market conditions. An illustration is

what is being done as a transition period in the Nutritional As-

sistance Program (PAN), Participants' income is exempted for

12 months in order to enhance employment and retention. Case

managers receive an incentive allowance, around \$300-\$400

monthly, for connecting TANF participants to employment.

Payments, however, are often late, given the fiscal crisis. The incentives are losing their effectiveness as some workers are requesting to be transferred back to regular case management positions

without the added responsibility of connecting participants to

employment, even if this means losing the incentive allowance.

Participation in the TANF program is critical to participants'

success in the labor market. Once the five-year clock kicks in,

and they have to leave the program, it is very difficult to find

job opportunities without the program supports. Given the dire

240

### 240

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l economic conditions, participants are often placed in menial

jobs, or on-the-job-training, far away from home, with lack of

child care for older children, and frequently not receiving their incentive payments on time. This situation poses a great challenge to the participants' motivation. It is difficult for them to envision themselves in better life circumstances on a long-term

basis, without incentive pay, having to pay transportation and

child care while receiving minimum wage. The barrier is not

because of a high benefit level; it is low wages that do not match the expenses related to work.

Administrators expressed their apprehension as follows:

"After the TANF program experiences termination period,

participants do not have the opportunities for a job placement in the labor market."

5. Program Achievements

Achievements are those program outcomes related to TANF

participants that help them to advance from dependency to selfsufficiency.

Administrators see as the most important achievement the improvement in retention and job placements during 2013-2014. Island wide, ADSEF has established 70% as the job placement standard. One region (Ponce) boasts an 80% job placement rate and an employment retention rate of 82%. Additionally, the program has developed a comprehensive agenda towards the prevention of violence, maltreatment, and access to services, among others. The administrators see this as a human right. Administrative accomplishments include having taken back case management and employment services from private providers. This helped the agency retain federal funds and avoid penalties for previous non-compliance with participation rates.

TANF in Puerto Rico 241

6. Administrators' recommendations for TANF improvement Recommendations are those specific actions to be considered for TANF improvement, as well as policy decisions and programmatic best practices and approaches.

A strong consensus emerged related to administrative recom-

mendations that would boost TANF participation and retention.

The administrators intend to evaluate the incentive payments plan in order to determine its effectiveness towards the achievement of TANF goals. In the future the desire is to move from subsidized

employment to self-employment as well as micro-enterprises in

the job placement component of the program. This is consistent with current trends in the labor market.

A recommendation that deserves special consideration according to the administrators is the program's social services delivery system. Two key administrators recommend extending the Sister Isolina Ferré TANF services model to other regions. This model includes a wide array of social service supports and provides services through an interdisciplinary team that includes a psychologist, social worker, counselor along with the job promoter. The team makes visits to the home in order to support their social service needs. This model includes followup services for one year after termination from the program. The administrators also would like to establish (funds permit-

ting, giving the fiscal crisis) a payment system similar to that of child care for TANF supports services. Lastly, the administrators recognize the need to evaluate the TANF eligibility criteria and program requirements, particularly the standard of 50%

participation rate, given the current socioeconomic and fiscal

situation of Puerto Rico, in order to submit waivers at the fed-

eral level.

242

242

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal The profile of TANF'S participants-Category C

#### in Puerto Rico 2013-20143

This section presents the characteristics of the participants in the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF)-Category C Program in Puerto Rico between January 2013 and December 2014.

#### 1. Main characteristics

Between 2013 and 2014, there were a total of 66,543 participants of 24,494 families in the database of people receiving benefits from the TANF Category C program in Puerto Rico. From this total, 99.8% were active at any given moment during the two-year span. The number of active participants and families receiving TANF Category C decreased 16.2% and 15.6% respectively from January 2013 to December 2014 (see Table 5). This shows that the decreasing trend presented in previous studies like the Welfare Reform Implementation in Puerto Rico from 2001 continues. The mean number of people per family receiving TANF Category C also decreased, from 2.77 in January 2013 to 2.75 in December 2014. These means were lower than in 2000, where the mean number of people per family was 2.89. This could be the consequence of smaller families in Puerto Rico due to decreasing fertility.

Eligible people could participate in the TANF Category C program for a maximum of 60 months. Between 2013 and 2014, the participants who abandoned the program participated on average 137 days (nearly 4.5 months) between the day they started receiving the benefits and the day of termination, with a maximum of 488 days (16 months). Figure 2 shows a peak of around 5 months as the time participants spent in TANF Category C. 3 Demographer, Mr. Raúl Figueroa conducted the analysis of data base.

Month-Year	Active State	us of Service	Status of service other than active		
	Families	Recipients	Families	Recipients	
January-13	13,857	38,417	145	430	
February-13	13,820	38,253	119	330	
March-13	13,563	37,451	162	462	
April-13	13,404	37,087	148	425	
May-13	13,310	36,842	142	437	
June-13	13,374	37,048	122	349	
July-13	13,079	36,212	112	326	
August-13	13,020	36,099	113	301	
September-13	12,862	35,649	96	280	
October-13	12,731	35,248	140	407	
November-13	12,712	35,186	128	359	
December-13	12,657	35,000	90	261	
January-14	12,242	33,778	138	387	
February-14	12,039	33,206	97	279	
March-14	11,920	32,877	105	299	
April-14	11,857	32,716	104	304	
May-14	11,917	32,857	107	301	
June-14	11,840	32,741	87	233	
July-14	11,870	32,802	87	244	
August-14	11,910	32,895	77	219	
September-14	11,781	32,469	76	215	
October-14	11,823	32,528	66	188	
November-14	11,719	32,288	69	188	
December-14	11,696	32,208	60	176	

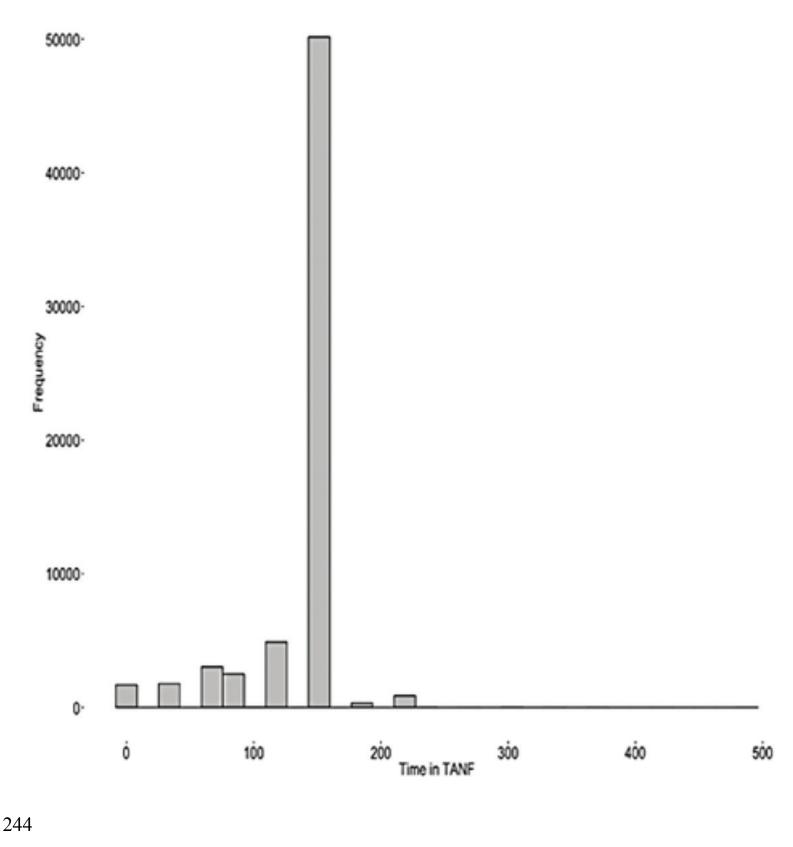
TANF in Puerto Rico 243

#### TABLE 5.

Caseload by status of service, Regular TANF (Category C), Puerto Rico.

January 2013 to December 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.



244

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal FIGURE 2.

Number of days in the TANF Category C program, from initial

benefits to termination, Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

50000 -

40000 -

30000 -

Frequency

20000 -

10000 -

0-

- -
- -
- -

0

100

200

300

400

500

Time in TANF

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.

Since the time variable in TANF Category C was skewed, it is

better to use the median as a central tendency measure. The me-

dian time in TANF Category C was 151 days, which means that

half the beneficiaries spent five or less months in the program. The median time in TANF Category C was the same for all age groups.

Caseload	July 2000	July 2014	% Change
Families	30,474	11,870	-61.0%
Recipients	88,152	32,802	-62.8%

### TANF in Puerto Rico 245

The caseload of families that received TANF Category C ben-

efits decreased by 61.0% between July 2000 and July 2014.

Similarly, there was also a decrease in the number of benefit re-

cipients. From July 2000 to July 2014, the recipients decreased

by 62.8% (see Table 6). There were 55,350 less recipients in

TANF Category C in July 2014 when compared to July 2000.

#### TABLE 6.

Regular TANF (Category C) caseload change July 2000 to July 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014 and Boujouen, N. (2001). Welfare reform implementation in Puerto Rico: A status report.

#### **Region of residence**

The distribution of TANF Category C participants by region showed interesting patterns. In 2013, San Juan, Arecibo, and Humacao regions had the highest number of family recipients of TANF Category C. By 2014, the region with the highest number of family participants was Arecibo; who was followed by Humacao, Bayamón, and San Juan regions. San Juan region had the highest reduction in the number of families (-21.2%) and number if recipients (-31.0%) between July 2013 and July

2014. Guayama and Aguadilla regions were the only ones that

had an increase of both families and recipients; the increase was higher (2.9% in families and 4.0% in recipients) in Aguadilla

lange	% Ch	2014	July	2013	July	Region
Recipients	Families	Recipients	Families	Recipients	Families	
4.0%	2.9%	2,434	875	2,340	850	Aguadilla
-3.5%	-3.7%	4,492	1,667	4,656	1,731	Arecibo
-9.8%	-8.3%	4,094	1,483	4,540	1,618	Bayamón
-8.5%	-9.5%	2,098	746	2,292	824	Caguas
-13.2%	-12.3%	3,169	1,164	3,651	1,327	Carolina
0.4%	0.9%	2,804	1,009	2,794	1,000	Guayama
-10.6%	-11.2%	4,146	1,540	4,638	1,734	Humacao
-6.8%	-6.5%	2,174	782	2,332	836	Mayagüez
-12.7%	-12.7%	3,381	1,174	3,875	1,345	Ponce
-21.0%	-21.2%	4,033	1,430	5,106	1,814	San Juan

region (see Table 7).

246

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TANF in Puerto Rico 247

# **Reasons to enter TANF-Category C4**

The majority of the participants (66.9%) started in the TANF

C program because they did not have sufficient income to meet

basic needs. This was followed by the people who said they had

little or no income to cover the family needs (23.1%). Apart from these two reasons, few other categories were chosen with regular-ity as the reasons to enter the TANF program (see Table 8).

### **Employment status**

Between 2013 and 2014, most of the TANF Category C par-

ticipants were not in the labor force or were unemployed when

they started receiving the benefits. There were a high number

of participants younger than 21 years of age (50.3%). Nearly

18% of participants were unemployed looking for an employ-

ment and less than 10% indicated that they were a single parent

who was taking care of a child less than 6 years of age (see Table 9). Taking only the head of the

family, 38% were unemployed

looking for an employment, 15.7% were single parent family taking care of children under 6 years of age, 6% were mother or father taking care of children under 5 years, and 5.6% were full time employees.

2. Demographic profile

For this report, we prepared a demographic profile for the TANF Category C participants in 2013 and 2014. I choose the mid-year point (month of July) each year as the population for the profiles. This allows the use of the U.S. Census Bureau data, based on July of each year, for comparison and rate calculations.

4 The valid percentage uses as a base the population for whom data were available and not the total.

Valid Percent	Percent	Frequency	Reasons
66.9%	55.9%	37,096	No income for basic needs
23.1%	19.3%	12,792	Little / no income / req for needs (family unit)
3.6%	3.0%	2,015	Special needs child
2.3%	1.9%	1,271	Need for breadwinners
1.4%	1.2%	790	No money to pay water / electricity / rent
2.6%	2.2%	1,461	Other
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Valid Percent	Percent	Frequency	Employment status
50.3%	38.5%	25,528	Under 21 years of age
17.9%	13.7%	680`6	Unemployed looking for employment
7.5%	5.7%	3,796	Single parent family taking care of under 6 years child
3.0%	2.3%	1,514	Full-time student
2.9%	2.2%	1,487	Father / mother taking care of child under 5 years or with disability
2.9%	2.2%	1,463	Disabled physically / mentally
2.7%	2.0%	1,348	Full time employee
2.6%	2.0%	1,311	Unemployed and disabled
2.2%	1.7%	1,120	Father / mother taking care of child under 12 months
1.9%	1.5%	973	Part-time employee
6.1%	4.7%	3,088	Others
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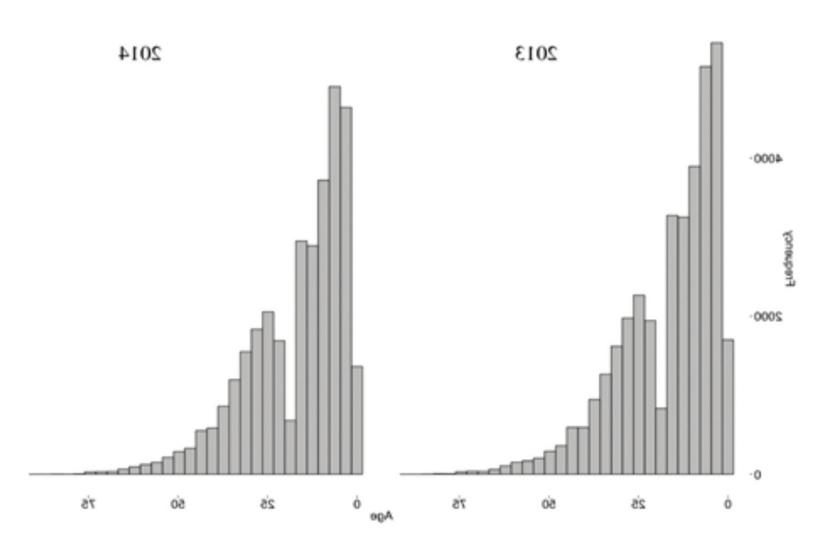
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TANF in Puerto Rico 251

#### Age and sex

The distribution of the participant by age was similar in both

years (2013 and 2014). There were more participants who were

children when compared to other age groups, especially younger

than 10 years old (see Figure 3). The median age for 2013 was

13.2 years of age and for 2014 the median age increased to 13.4

years of age. For both years, nearly 62% of the participants were younger than 18 years of age (see Table 10).

For both years, 65% of the participants were female. The sex

distribution was different by age. There were more male benefi-

ciaries younger than 18 years of age, but for the other age groups, females were the predominant sex (Figure 4). The largest difference between females and males occurred in the 18 to 24 age

group, where 96% of the beneficiaries where females. This is not

surprising given the cultural trait in Puerto Rico where women

are typically the children's caretakers. Most of the females between 18 and 24 years of age were single and head of the family (52%).

#### Family composition

The head of the family and their children compose the majority

of the families in the TANF program. Nearly 88% of the people

receiving TANF benefits are either the head of the family or their sons or daughters (see Table 11). In the majority of the cases, the head of the family was a single or divorce mother. Consistent

with the sanctions policy, there were some families in which the

head of the family was not receiving the TANF benefits.

#### Civil status

More than 60% of the beneficiaries with 15 years of age or more

were single. Following the single participants were the participants who lived with an unmarried partner (9%). There were differences

in the civil status by sex. Besides being single, males had higher percentages of being married or having an unmarried partner than

females (see Table 12).

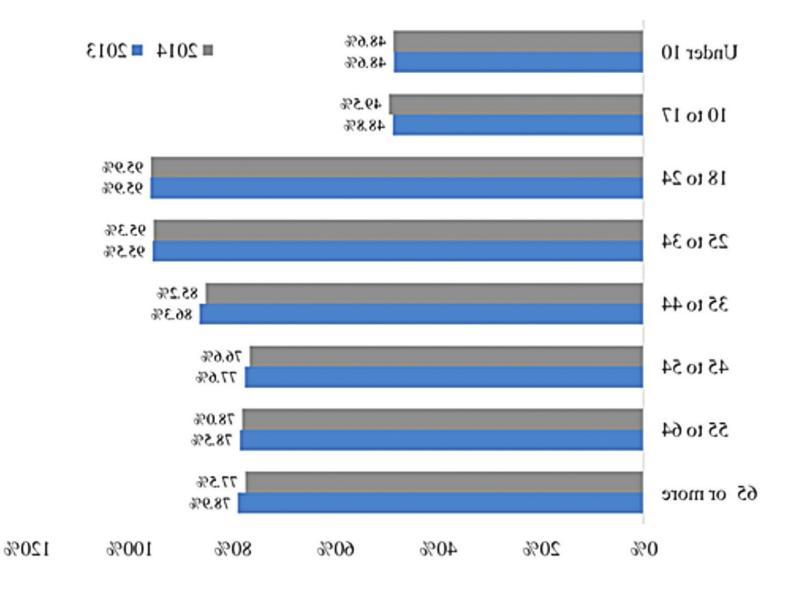
Age (Year 2013)	Frequency	Percent
Under 10 years of age	15,095	41.7
10 to 17 years of age	7,643	21.1
18 to 24 years of age	3,546	9.8
25 to 34 years of age	6,001	16.6
35 to 44 years of age	2,345	6.5
45 to 54 years of age	999	2.8
55 to 64 years of age	446	1.2
65 years of age or more	161	0.4
Total	36,236	100.0
	/	
Age (Year 2014)	Frequency	Percent
		<b>Percent</b> 41.1
Age (Year 2014)	Frequency	
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511	41.1
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age 10 to 17 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511 6,959	41.1 21.2
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age 10 to 17 years of age 18 to 24 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511 6,959 3,046	41.1 21.2 9.3
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age 10 to 17 years of age 18 to 24 years of age 25 to 34 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511 6,959 3,046 5,602	41.1 21.2 9.3 17.1
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age 10 to 17 years of age 18 to 24 years of age 25 to 34 years of age 35 to 44 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511 6,959 3,046 5,602 2,222	41.1 21.2 9.3 17.1 6.8
Age (Year 2014) Under 10 years of age 10 to 17 years of age 18 to 24 years of age 25 to 34 years of age 35 to 44 years of age 45 to 54 years of age	<b>Frequency</b> 13,511 6,959 3,046 5,602 2,222 965	41.1 21.2 9.3 17.1 6.8 2.9

252 Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal TABLE 10.

Distribution of Regular TANF (Category C) participants

by selected age groups, Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.



TANF in Puerto Rico 253

# FIGURE 4.

Females TANF Category C participants by age group,

Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

120%

2013

95.9% 95.9%

95.3% 95.5%

100%

2014

85.2% 86.3%

76.6% 77.6%

78.0% 78.5%

77.5% 78.9%

80%

60%

48.6% 48.6%

49.5% 48.8%

40%

20%

0

0%

10 to 17

18 to 24

25 to 34

Under 1

35 to 44

45 to 54

55 to 64

65 or more

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.

Family composition - 2013	Frequency	Percent
Head of family	11,520	31.8
Daughter	10,102	27.9
Son	10,092	27.9
Grandson	1,392	3.8
Granddaughter	1,352	3.7
Spouse	743	2.1
Others	1,035	2.9
Total	36,236	100.0
Family composition - 2014	Frequency	Percent
Head of family	10,555	32.1
Daughter	9,205	28.0
Son	9,148	27.9
Granddaughter	1,158	3.5
Grandson	1,145	3.5
	1,145	
Spouse	747	2.3
Spouse Others		

254

254

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal TABLE 11.

Family composition, Regular TANF (Category C).

Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.

<b>₀</b> ∕⁰	Total	0 <b>\0</b>	Male	0/0	Female	Civil Status (2013)
62.0%	9,838	64.3%	1,454	61.6%	8,384	Single
8.7%	1,384	13.5%	304	7.9%	1,080	Unmarried partner
7.0%	1,105	14.8%	334	5.7%	771	Married
6.3%	997	2.0%	46	7.0%	951	Separated
5.5%	867	0.0%	0	6.4%	867	Adult mother-maiden
4.6%	728	2.0%	45	5.0%	683	Divorced
2.7%	427	0.0%	0	3.1%	427	Minor single mother
3.3%	524	3.4%	77	3.3%	447	Other types of civil status
100.0%	15,870	100.0%	2,260	100.0%	13,610	Total
0/0	Total	<sub>0</sub> /0	Male	0/0	Female	Civil Status (2014)
61.3%	8,852	61.5%	1,282	61.2%	7,570	Single
9.0%	1,301	14.4%	299	8.1%	1,002	Unmarried partner
7.2%	1,041	16.4%	341	5.7%	700	Married
6.1%	880	1.7%	35	6.8%	845	Separated
5.5%	795	0.0%	0	6.4%	795	Adult mother-maiden
4.6%	659	2.0%	42	5.0%	617	Divorced
3.0%	433	0.0%	0	3.5%	433	Minor single mother
3.4%	488	4.0%	84	3.3%	404	Other types of civil status
100.0%	14,449	100.0%	2,083	100.0%	12,366	Total

TANF in Puerto Rico 255

### TABLE 12.

Civil status of Regular TANF (Category C) participants

with 15 years of age or more. Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.

256

256

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Verified disability

For the years 2013 and 2014, 5% of the beneficiaries in the

TANF Category C program in Puerto Rico had a verified dis-

ability. Beneficiaries between 55 to 64 years of age had the highest percentage of verified disability. There was no significant difference of disability by sex. There was no significant difference in the median time spent in TANF Category C when comparing people

with or without verified disability.

#### **Educational attainment**

More than half of the adults (18 years or older) in the TANF category C program in Puerto Rico had completed high school. During

the years 2013 and 2014, nearly 60% of the recipients completed

high school or higher level of education, but had finished postsecondary studies. Additionally, nearly 30% went to school but did not complete elementary, middle or high school (see Table 13). From

that group, more than half did not complete middle school. The

low education attainment between adults participating in TANF

was one of the reasons for the high unemployed rate in the group.

#### Income

In the years 2013 and 2014, most of TANF Category C recipients in Puerto Rico had none or low level of earned income. This was expected due to the eligibility criteria of TANF. For both years, 97% of the adult participants in TANF Category C had no earned income. This could be related with the high proportion of participants with low education and unemployed.

# Calculated benefits

Overall, families in TANF Category C in Puerto Rico received an average of \$195.30 and a median of \$207 in benefits in 2013 and an average of \$196.40 and a median of \$207 in benefits during 2014.

<b>0</b> /0	Frequency	Highest education level reached (2013)
34.2%	4,593	High school graduate (12)
21.8%	2,928	Postsecundary
14.1%	1,899	Middle school (7-9)
11.8%	1,588	High school (10-11)
5.8%	782	Student postsecondary
3.7%	500	Elementary school (1-6)
3.1%	414	Associate degree
5.5%	745	Other
100.0%	13,449	Total
<u>%</u>	Frequency	Highest education level reached (2014)
100 10		
34.8%	4,286	High school graduate (12)
34.8% 21.0%	4,286 2,583	High school graduate (12) Postsecundary
21.0%	2,583	Postsecundary
21.0% 13.9%	2,583 1,710	Postsecundary Middle school (7-9)
21.0% 13.9% 12.0%	2,583 1,710 1,479	Postsecundary Middle school (7-9) High school (10-11)
21.0% 13.9% 12.0% 6.4%	2,583 1,710 1,479 795	Postsecundary Middle school (7-9) High school (10-11) Student postsecondary
21.0% 13.9% 12.0% 6.4% 3.6%	2,583 1,710 1,479 795 445	Postsecundary Middle school (7-9) High school (10-11) Student postsecondary Elementary school (1-6)

TANF in Puerto Rico 257

## TABLE 13.

Education, Regular TANF (Category C) participants

18 years of age or more. Puerto Rico 2013 and 2014.

**Source:** Administración de Desarrollo Socioeconómico de la Familia (ADSEF). Database for 2013 and 2014.

# Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Voices wanting to be heard: Aspirations, possibilities

#### and barriers of women of poverty5

This section includes the perspectives of participants in the focus groups. Three focus groups were established. Two of the groups had participants who completed the program and were connected to employment, and the other group was composed of participants that abandoned the program. Participants shared their experiences freely and compared them to others in the group. All interview guide questions were answered. (See Appendix 1.)

Groups one and two were composed by women between the ages 26 to 39 years who had completed the program successfully. The socio demographic characteristics of both groups are included in Appendices 3 & 4.

Focus Group Findings

All but five participants were working part time. Five participants were unemployed. The majority have a very positive view of the program relate it to their personal growth and development. TANF to them meant independence, a boost, self-sufficiency,

growth as a person, and going forward in life. They also identified feeling stigmatized because of being participants in TANF and

one even said that she felt discriminated upon.

Regarding personal growth training received during their par-

ticipation in the program, most indicated having received no

training; six participants stated that they had received training in topics such as surviving domestic violence, self-esteem, leadership, positivism and endurance, and resume writing.

5 Dr. Alicia Rivero-Vergne, Qualitative Researcher Consultant and Assistants Researchers María Bravo-Saavedra and Rodny Arce conducted the focus group.

TANF in Puerto Rico 259

The following quotes illustrate this point of view:

"The only training I received was given by the company where

I am actually working."

"Negative, negative, I never received any training at all."

"I did not receive any training or anything similar..."

"I did receive training on going forward, be positive, not let anything stop us, not quitting..."

"One the center's technicians started talking about the pro-

gram gave us instructions. We spent a whole month receiving

training on different and interesting topics like domestic violence, leadership, problems of daily life."

Participants made a distinction between transitory work ex-

perience, which refers to the experience that prepares them to

maintain a permanent job, and permanent employment. They

discussed the transitory work experience in positive terms, ex-

pressing that the program took into consideration their inter-

ests. For example, those who liked working with children were

placed in a school or in a Head Start center, and those who

preferred cleaning or filing where placed in offices.

The following quotes illustrate this situation:

"Well they asked what I liked, and I told them I liked working with children, I like to talk to them

and help everybody so they found me placement as assistant teacher."

"I told them I love cleaning and they placed me in maintenance work."

"I love filing and they placed me in the Family department in the filing area."

However, most expressed not being pleased with the process of

permanent employment placement. They discussed it was not ad-

equate or congruent with their interests strengths or area of study.

260

260

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l There is no congruency between interests, studies, strengths and

transitory work experience, with permanent job experience. Par-

ticipants also stated that having to go from one place to another, looking for employment or evidence (signatures) that there was

no job available, was humiliating and stigmatizing. They stated

than instead of wasting time in this endeavor they should be giv-

en more training on how to be prepared for a job and on how to

handle problems arising in the work site.

The following statements evidence this sentiment:

"The permanent job placement is not adequate. They have to explore beforehand your strengths, areas of study or interests... And then they place you in a job that has nothing to do with what you have done or study."

"Obviously, most of us end up working in things that we did not even study. I recognize that I need a job and cannot de-

mand it to be on what I studied. However if they see you have some knowledge and studies in an area they should let you use that knowledge instead of placing you in a fast food."

"Sometimes we even had to buy something in the store and did

not have the money to do so, or go to nearby areas in order to comply with this requirement."

"I went to funeral homes, to bakeries, everywhere to get my

papers signed."

Most expressed being pleased with the interview group process

and motivated to work and acquire self-sufficiency when finally

placed in their permanent employment experience. However, they

stated that soon they became disappointed with treatment received from employees and supervisors as well. They felt they were being stigmatized for being TANF's participants and placed in difficult situations in order to make them fail. Some even stated having

their working hours shortened. Others also complained about not

receiving adequate help from TANF's technicians and perceived

TANF in Puerto Rico 261

that when problems arose they believed only the employer with-

out attending to participants needs. Most stated that their privacy should be respected and that workplace supervisors should not

be identifying them as participants of TANF in order to prevent

stigma. The following statements illustrate this situation:

"After 5 years I was very eager and motivated to work. I even called my mom crying and told her: "at last I am going to

work'. Soon I became very disappointed."

"Because I received help they looked to me above their shoulders."

"Our employer's word is more important than ours."

"We needed to be protected, to feel that those working in the program were defending us, but it did not happen."

"This has to do with the supervisor. He should not be telling others that we come from TANF program."

"I needed to be protected and defended by technicians in the

program but they did not have a true engagement with us."

All stated that they were called for a group interview with dif-

ferent fast food employers who then selected those more qualified for the job. Four of the participants stated that they did not even know with whom they were going to be interviewed. The following statements illustrate this situation:

"They tell us go to that place at that hour and that is that..."

"They called me and told me to go there. We were many and

were met by the restaurant manager."

"One of TANF's technicians called me and said: 'Listen we

have an interview for you at a restaurant'."

Regarding job stability, most explained that they had kept

their employment. It was interesting that one of the partici-

pants expressed that she had obtained her job by herself, not

262

262

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l because of TANF. This remark generated much interaction between participants as they tried to convey to that participant,

that if she was employed where TANF had placed her for her

work experience, TANF had helped her obtained the job. Of

the unemployed participants, four had resigned and one was

fired. Among the part time workers, one had changed her em-

ployment placement.

"I studied to be a health assistant at Sor Isolina Ferré where I also practiced and then stayed working."

Participants' perceptions about how the TANF program had

impacted them and their families were explored. All expressed

that the program had helped them significantly because it pro-

vided them with the opportunity of having a job, continued

their studies, taken care of their children and helped them going forward. Participants are grateful and believe the program has

impacted their lives and the life of their children in a positive way helping them to become more independent in their path to

self-sufficiency.

The following quotes are examples of these answers:

"Well, it has helped me a lot. You think that you want to do

something, but do not know how to do it and the program

gives you a push for you to achieve it."

"For me it was very positive! I had fought a lot to get where I was. But I had still a year to go and did not have any possibilities on how to pay my college studies." "They gave me the opportunity and even though I had looked for a job, when you

are in TANF they give you priority and found me a job. My

sons do not have a father and I feel satisfied because nobody is going to tell me I quitted. The program helped me get a job."

"Thanks to the help they gave me I have been able to raise my kids I don't have to depend of others if my sons lack something."

TANF in Puerto Rico 263

"Before, I did not have a salary, and now I can raise the kids by myself. I am alone; the father of my son does not pay me

child support."

"If the program had not helped me I would have hanged my-

self a long time ago. There are so many problems. Even though my brothers have always helped me, finally, I did not have to depend on their help."

Regarding the services participants considered necessary for the

program to be successful, participants seemed reluctant to share

their opinions. However, eventually, most began to participate in the discussion. They stated that in order for the program to succeed, monthly payment for providers of child care services should be received on time. Sometimes, because of delays with this payment, they had to change the child care service provider which

was not considered healthy for their child. The following quotes

are examples of these answers:

"I suggest that child care providers receive their payment on time. I had to change service care providers twice."

"Child care service influences greatly if you continue or quit the working experience."

They also felt that the incentive payment they were supposed to

receive because of their participation in the program often came

late. Sometimes they had to wait three months before receiving

it and they needed it for their living expenses. Even though two

participants were the most active in this discussion others nodded in agreement with their statements:

"The same thing happens with our payroll payment. I believe

this should be a priority of the program."

"You have to fill papers weekly and monthly. For example, we

are in April, you completed the payroll papers and then you

received them in November or December."

264

264

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l Needs regarding the transition from the program were discussed

with the participants. They felt they needed more training dur-

ing the program, but were most concerned about receiving it as

a preparation on how to deal with the problems related to their

jobs or adjustment to life once the program is over. Regarding this transition, they also felt that child care services ended abruptly and that they should continue for a while after the program concluded in order to give them time to be able to pay for these services on their own. The following quotes are examples of these answers:

"At least if they are not going to give you the opportunity of trainings, or work training that not relate at all with your

actual job, they should train you on how to deal with problems arising in the work force."

"I think we need training. Because of our life style we have

endured so much pressure. There are persons who go to work at a fast food (restaurant) and last only two weeks."

Finally, a minority of participants discussed the need for pro-

gram technicians to receive more training because some could not

answer their questions and seemed more lost than the participants themselves. The participants stated that even though recognizing

that they have written information about the program and should

read everything, they expressed sometimes they have doubts and

cannot receive the correct information from the technicians:

"I believe they should take training on how to give orientation to participants."

"Sometimes you had a question and asked a technician and he

could not give an answer, and then you went to another, and

that person also had the same doubts, and when you realized

it, nobody knew how the program was functioning."

"The problem is that people in Puerto Rico do not read, they gave you a series of papers that people signed without reading them."

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TANF in Puerto Rico 265

Participants made some suggestions regarding transition from

the program. One expressed that the program should follow participants for a while after the sixty month period and continue helping with job placement if a person had not found employment yet. Another suggested that the program should continue offering assistance on how to write a resume, which is a very important aspect when looking for a job.

Two participants indicated they thought they were going to be asked about how they had used their job opportunities. Interestingly, when one participant mentioned that she believed moderators were going to inquire about a private company that acted as subcontractor for the Family Department, all participants were in agreement that the services were not good, as evidenced by the following quotes: *"The services with...were horrible."* 

"I studied accounting and economics. The government could have saved what it paid for the contract with... and pay us more."

The third focus group was composed of participants who had left the program without completion. (See Appendix 4 for participants' profile.)

#### Findings

All participants were unemployed. Four of the six participants indicated that the first thing that comes to their mind when they hear the word TANF is *help* and *opportunity for growth*.

Two participants mentioned the words *mistake* and *horror*. Regarding the services received from TANF all identified train-

ing, and transitory work experience; three identified employ-

ment placement, although they were not able to stay in the job.

Four received transportation services, two received child care

266

266

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l services, and one received psychological and nutrition services.

Most participants had a positive view of the program. However,

two had an extremely negative opinion. The following quotes

illustrated their opinion:

"It was a mistake to participate in TANF."

"It was a difficult but a very good experience; you can improve and become a better person."

All participants described receiving training in different topics such as: how to write a curriculum vitae, prepare themselves for an interview, self-concept, and even on how to wear makeup. They

also described pleasant experiences in job fairs and activities in recreational parks. The following quotes illustrate their opinions:

"I learned how to write a curriculum vitae, and how to pre-

pare myself for an interview."

"I enjoyed it completely. Everybody was very friendly and

had excellent relations with the young woman who gave us

training."

"They took us to Monagas Park, and other activities, and gave us a stipend for our participation."

"It was great I worked with kindergarten children helping the teacher."

When asked about their permanent employment placement,

three stated being interviewed and hired at a fast food restaurant.

However, one could not fulfill job requirements because the job

was too far from her home; one did not have child care; and the other had to travel to USA because of health reasons. On the other hand, two were called for an interview but did not attend because they could not find transportation to get to the work site. One was illiterate and after the transitory job experience was

TANF in Puerto Rico 267

never called for an interview. This participant stated that in order to receive her stipend she had to go from store to store to obtain managers' signature in order to prove that she had sought employment. The following statements illustrate this situation:

"I did not actually start working. Even though I live with my mother she refused to help me. Child care places are too far

away so I had to resign before starting."

"It was very difficult to get there. I did not have transportation, and if you were late, they gave you a sanction."

"I don't know how to read or write. They never hired me."

Regarding how their participation in the TANF program im-

pacted their lives and their family lives, four participants ex-

plained the program helped them to take better care of their children, while two just added it was a means of entertainment. The

following quotes are examples of these answers:

"It helped me a lot with my children, because they were four

boys. But I only stayed four years in the program, because I

had problems with the father of my children, who wanted to

lower child support payments. It was very difficult."

"They paid my child care, transportation and food. It was not that bad for me."

"Before the program, I was always at home, and in the pro-

gram, I made friends with whom to share things and left for a while the routine I was living."

When asked what made them decide to leave the program, one participant said that she had problems because she thought she would lose her child support payments and nobody explained to her that this could not happen. Two participants stated that they left because their children had problems in school and it

268

268

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l was a source of stress. Two participants stated their mothers had convinced them that participating in the program was a waste of

their time and that it would cause them to not receive their food stamps. Finally, one participant explained that she had become

disappointed because she received sanctions and did not like to

be looking for signatures of prospective employers.

"Nobody explained to me about my benefits."

"I live with my mother and she was afraid she would lose her

food stamps because of me."

"I lost motivation; they sanctioned you for being late, and so many things, so I decided not to do anything."

When asked if not having completed the program had an im-

pact on participants or in their families, all participants expressed that leaving the program had not impacted them or their families

in any way, while two expressed regrets in doing so. The following quotes give evidence of their opinion:

"It didn't have an impact. I have always liked working, now I work cleaning houses so not much impact."

"If I had a say, I would never had bought the idea of the program... I regretted it."

"Same happens here, I feel regret of having participated in the program."

Participants were asked which services they considered neces-

sary for the program to be successful. One participant stated

that social services should not be called if they were late to pick their children at school because they were in a job interview.

Related to this topic, another indicated that they should be

given more child care options near their neighborhoods, while

another suggested that child care services must be paid on time

# All participants

considered these

services were needed

to achieve success in

the program

- Child care services
  - Child care payments on time
- Payroll to participants on time
- More training for technicians
  - More training
  - Transitory period after leaving the program
- Adequate job placement

# Other needs

considered in other

groups

- Opportunity to study
- Confidentiality
- Transportation

TANF in Puerto Rico 269

(see Table 14). All agreed with these recommendations. Similar to the other focus groups, participants strongly expressed themselves against the practice of looking for signatures from prospective employers. This caused them much inconvenience and

discomfort. They also suggested not using sanctions every time a

participant was not able to comply with program requirements.

The following quotes illustrate some of their suggestions:

"I was always visiting with the social workers, because when-

ever I was late to pick up my children, the school would call social services."

"They have to deal better with child care services, the centers are always too far away and they never pay them on time."

"I received sanctions for not bringing the signatures they asked in order to comply with program requirements."

# TABLE 14.

Participants' perspectives of services needed

in order for the program to be succesful.

270

270

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l In response to a query for additional recommendations for

program effectiveness and ways of preventing others from leav-

ing the program, participants added that they would have liked

to study but the program didn't offer the opportunity to do so.

Another stated that she was promised much but that they did

not do anything for her, while one participant said that the pro-

gram didn't develop in participants the trust to talk about fam-

ily problems. Some expressed technicians should motivate them

more. The following statements illustrate their perspective:

"I came here because I wanted to work, but nothing was as

promised..."

"They do not develop in you the trust to explain family prob-

lems and situations that you may be having."

"As I see it, the purpose of the program is to help in our development. But if someone does not know how to read and write

and does not receive help to learn in order to be able to find a job. What was the point?"

In conclusion, thoughts related to personal growth were found

in groups of participants who finished the program. Ambivalent

or negative thoughts emerged in the group of participants who

were not able to finish the program. Only transitory work experience was received in the Arecibo region, only on-the-job-

training was received by most participants who completed the

program in the Ponce region, while all participants of this same

region who did not finish the program received the benefit of

training and transitory work experiences.

In terms of job placement, although all participants from the Arecibo region were employed, they expressed job placement was not congruent with their interests, strengths, area of study or transitory work experience. Those participants who finished the program in the Ponce region were placed in a job, but felt TANF in Puerto Rico 271

stigmatized for being in TANF, and described on the job training and help from program technicians as inadequate. Of those in the group that did not finish the program, three were interviewed and hired but none kept their employment, mostly because of lack of transportation, child care needs and working sites to distant from their homes. Two had an interview scheduled but did not attend for lack of transportation and one was never called for an interview because of being illiterate. Problems in program placement were found in all three groups. Incongruence between job placement and interests, strengths or transitory experiences, stigmatization, distance from home, lack of transportation and child care needs were identified. Regarding the program impact upon participants and their families, those from the Arecibo and Ponce region who had finished the program evaluated very favorably the experience and expressed it provided them with an opportunity to take care of their children and become independent from their families. This feeling was also shared by most of the women who had not completed the program. In fact, four of the women who had not completed the program, acknowledged their stay in the program had helped them and only two stated that it was a means of entertainment. They expressed that leaving the program had not impacted them negatively but regretted having participated.

There was a great deal of agreement between groups regarding the services needed for the program to be successful particularly in areas related to payment to participants and their child care

providers, child care and transportation needs and training the

program technicians.

272

272

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

#### Discussion

This research establishes some findings that are important for

the implementation of the Welfare Reform in Puerto Rico. This

section provides a summary of these findings and will discuss its implications for the Transitory Assistance for Needy Families Program (TANF). As noted previously, the Island has experienced a

strong and long lasting depression since 2006. The last decade

in Puerto Rico has been characterized by a trend of labor market

deterioration, the decline of the Gross National Product, and in-

creased unemployment rate. On the other hand, the participation

rate in the labor force has dropped from 48.6% in 2006 to 39.8%

in 2015. Given this scenario, it is very difficult for a program

that holds as a main objective the integration of participants into the workforce, to succeed. It is even more difficult when the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act

(PRWORA) clearly expresses the intention to reduce poverty and

control government spending and integration of participants into

the workforce.

Although Puerto Rico has a precarious economy, cost of liv-

ing is more expensive than in many urban areas of the United

States. The supermarket items, the utilities, and the health care services are more expensive than in U.S. In Puerto Rico, 70%

of the households spend over 30% of their income on housing

and there is a growing segment of the population with no stable

residence or place to live.

An important finding reported is that the median time in

TANF program was five months. What we do not know is why.

It would be great news if participants leave for work. But that

is an unlikely possibility. This finding is important because the program provides up to 60 months for participants to achieve

TANF in Puerto Rico 273

the transition to economic self-sufficiency. Especially, if we notice the fact that 60% of the over 18 adult participants in 2013 and 2014 had a high school diploma or higher, which compared favorably with those beneficiaries as informed in the Eleventh Report to Congress by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families (2016). This report states that 56.5 percent of adult TANF recipients had completed high school (or its equivalent) in FY 2013, and only 7.6 percent of adult recipients had achieved more than a high school level of education. If TANF is the safety net for the poorest of the poor and for the most vulnerable (single mothers with children) it is not great news that the number of beneficiaries continues to decline at a time of extreme economic contraction.

On the other hand, it is important to note that for both years (2013 and 2014), children under 10 years are the most significant age group of participants (41.7% to 41.1%, respectively). When added to the group of 10-17 years of age (21.1% and 21.2%, respectively) this constitutes 62% of all people who participated in the TANF-Category C program. It is good news that these children received TANF benefits. But as a society we must take note of the large numbers of children growing up in poverty. This group of children are growing up under economic and social conditions that are not conducive to optimal development. Another age group that showed a significant characteristic for both years was the 18 to 24 years cohort, in which 96% of the beneficiaries are women and 52% of them are single heads of household. This finding is consistent with the cultural trait in Puerto Rico; women are typically the children's caretakers. This happens not only with children, women are also the caregivers of other family members.

With regard to administrative and implementation aspects of the TANF program in Puerto Rico, we found that structural and

274

274

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l systemic factors and administrative barriers are highly detrimental for program management in the context of the economic and

fiscal crisis of Puerto Rico. An interesting possibility emerged

from the administrators interviews. The government had to take

back the administration of case management and employment

services from private providers. Yet, a private (non-profit) organization is achieving better results than the government directly managed employment services. Sister Isolina Ferré (the only,

private, non-profit delegate agency remaining in the program)

consistently produces better results than those attained through

directly administered services. This provider utilizes an interdisciplinary team approach, with a job

promoter, counselor, social

work, and a psychologist. They visit participants' work place

and homes to reinforce the public assistance with social services, making sure all is going well at home and at work, providing

counseling, or other needed services such as transportation or help with meals. They also provide follow up for one year after program participation ends. This is seen by administrators as a key aspect for retention.

More careful analysis is advisable to learn about the merits

of these two different administrative models stemming from a

non-profit organization and government responsibility. It could

help in the understanding of how administrative structure, pro-

gram resources and social services delivery could make a differ-

ence within both modalities: public versus private social inter-

ventions with TANF participants.

Findings indicate that TANF participants who find jobs tend

to find mostly lower level jobs available within the labor market, which are characterized by low salaries, poor working conditions, no job security, no marginal benefits, health insurance or child

care facilities and lack of full time work opportunities. It is interesting to note that, in the focus groups, participants identified as

TANF in Puerto Rico 275

a social barrier that their participation in the program was not

kept confidential by employers. This left them feeling socially

stigmatized.

The previous analysis leads to examine multiple factors and

questions that for a future research agenda considering the im-

pact of welfare reform on families and children in Puerto Rico. TANF Program assessment is situated in the socioeconomic and critical fiscal condition Puerto Rico is facing during the first decades of the XXI century. The current political and policy environment in the United States and in Puerto Rico is closely related to TANF Program outcomes in the context of federal performance indicators and policy standards. This policy scenario probably remains unchanged because it is closely connected with exogenous variables over which local government has no jurisdiction. Even so, there is room to explore innovative strategies within the endogenous horizon of action, that acknowledge the reality of TANF prospective and actual participants in Puerto Rico, and what it means for them to advance up the ladder from dependency to self-sufficiency. The heterogeneous profile of TANF participants demand prompt attention as a strategic variable in the planning of social services delivery system. This finding suggests that policy decisions should focus primarily on situations involving poverty that occurs early in childhood. It is important to track rates of poverty, particularly occurring in early childhood, to inform

policy decisions regarding families and children's wellbeing in

this uncertain scenario Puerto Rico is facing.

The empirical data in this research suggests the importance

of a continuous assessment concerning the impact of systemic-

structural factors that impact TANF participants' quality of life in order to achieve a successful transition from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency.

276

276

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l We have to look closer to the lack of an agile payment system and those environmental factors such as rural geographi-

cal areas, in particular the lack of childcare and transportation services. A strong consensus emerged related to these concerns

from the two participants' focus group (those who completed and abandoned) as well as the key administrator personnel interviewed. These program weaknesses are constraint variables that affect the achievement of retention and employment rates. Another issue that deserves special consideration is how TANF participants construct their identities as welfare recipient, particularly stigmatized at their work place. We have to deconstruct the social discourse related to TANF participants' stereotype as lazy, single mothers, dependent of welfare, and with a big family.

We have to acknowledge the importance of work for selfworth, for diversity and social justice to all human beings, especially those families and children that live in poverty. Our findings provide new evidence addressing some of the central questions that current welfare reform debate has raised. Our results contribute to critically examine welfare reform and its effect in the last decade in Puerto Rico to inform policy decision.

Findings identified by Boujoen-Ramírez (2001) are still valid and may even be more widespread and more intensified.

TANF in Puerto Rico 277

#### Conclusion

#### Related to the economy of Puerto Rico

1. Puerto Rico is currently facing not only an economic crisis, but a social humanitarian one.

2. Welfare programs from the Federal Government are able to

lessen the negative effects of the economy, but are not enough.

3. Welfare programs effects are quite different from that of the mainland United States, in which welfare reform legislation

was crafted. In particular, positive labor market conditions,

low unemployment, and the strength of the overall econo-

my are critical precursors for welfare reform's success.

4. Given that the centerpiece of welfare reform is an emphasis

on work and movement into the labor force, the economic

indicators discussed in this investigation suggest that TANF

program recipients affected by time limits will have an espe-

cially difficult time simply getting a job.

5. Poverty reduction, which is not a goal of welfare reform, and economic improvements overall for women and their children will be even more elusive.

## Related to TANF administration and implementation

 The content analysis of the textual expressions of the four key administrators lead to conclude that structural-systemic factors and administrative barriers are the most important critical aspects related to TANF program administration in the context of socioeconomic and fiscal crisis of Puerto Rico.
 The lessons learned in this study from the administration and implementation of the TANF program provokes a continuous reflective process concerning how TANF participants accomplished the transition from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency.

278

278

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l 3. The presence of two different administrative models stemming from a non-profit organization and government responsibility require a careful analysis to understand how administra-

tive structure, program resources and social services delivery system could be the difference within both modalities: public versus private social interventions on TANF participants.

4. This findings portrays TANF administration during the researched period and invites us to look closer to those conditioning factors that contribute to perpetuate inequality that generate poverty among the most needed families and children.

5. Puerto Rico socioeconomic profile is worst today than the last decade.

## **Related to TANF participants Profile**

1. Between 2013 and 2014, there were a total of 66,543 unique participants from 24,494 families in the database of people receiving benefits from the TANF Category C program in Puerto Rico. The program is serving the people it is designed to serve but not enough of them. 2. The median time in the TANF program was 5 months. Exit reason is not clearly known.

3. Females make up 65% of all participants. Nearly 60% of adult beneficiaries graduated from high school.

4. Approximately, 88% were the head of the family, son or daughter. This is interesting given the fact that women are still mainly the caretakers in Puerto Rican society. Many grandparents are raising children and other children are in the foster care system.

5. 5% of the beneficiaries had a verified disability.

TANF in Puerto Rico 279

#### Related to participants experience with the program

1. In general terms participants who completed the program and were presently employed were satisfied with the opportunity for personal growth, receiving pre-employment skills and on the job training.

2. Being able to be self-sufficient and take care of their children's needs was a significant achievement for them and they felt

gratitude towards the program. They also had the opportuni-

ty to meet new people and had a variety of novel experiences.

3. They were committed to continuing their path to self-suffi-

ciency, knew what they needed and emphasized the need of

a transition period. Most of them were participants from the

Arecibo region.

4. Unpleasant job experiences and feeling stigmatized by su-

pervisors and fellow workers made the experience a very dis-

appointing and difficult one for some participants.

5. Analysis of the three focus groups held, offers evidence that all participants entered the program with great expectations and

wanted to achieve success, but personal, administrative, fam-

ily and social variables were too strong for some to deal with.

6. Barriers to achieve TANF's objectives were perceived by most participants as directly related to the administrative aspects of the program. Stipends for participants and child care providers not being on time, programs technicians not well trained

or too busy to attend to participants needs, inadequate job

placement in terms of distance from home, or not congruent

with their interest, strengths and area of study were identified.

7. The experiences of participants who were able to complete

the program pointed out very clearly that after completion

of program requirements a transition period is needed to

adapt to self-sufficiency.

280

280

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Recommendations

1. Consider developing memoranda of agreement between the

ADSEF agency and other relevant agencies such as the De-

partment of Labor and its WEA agency.

2. At the time of the next TANF reauthorization, or in the

meantime evaluate submitting a waiver to the Federal gov-

ernment in order to exempt Puerto Rico from certain re-

quirements, given the current fiscal crisis. Some specific rec-

ommendations are:

2.1 Assess geographical location within each ADSEF region in order to develop realistic work participation targets.

2.2 Amend TANF regulations to authorize the high school diploma, or post-secondary studies, as a primary training activity.

2.3 Develop demonstration projects to enhance TANF participants' skills and capabilities.

2.4 Examine the five years limits of TANF participation, particularly in the most deprived geographical regions in Puerto Rico.

3. Evaluate administrative procedures, including the Treasury Department and the Office of Management and Budget, in order to assess how the program meets participants' needs on time and reduce bureaucratic procedures by an agile mechanism for decision making aimed to achieve TANF goals and objectives.

4. Consider participants' interests and skills during the job selection process, in order to help retention rates.

5. Strengthen discussions about stigmatization issues with em-

ployers in order to reduce barriers by securing confidential-

ity from employers.

TANF in Puerto Rico 281

6. Follow up services for participants, for at least six months after program completion, in order to help them in achiev-

ing self-sufficiency.

7. Include decision making and family management skills, in

addition to pre-employment skills, occupational maturity

skills, and other topics related to self-growth, during the

pre-employment training.

\* The following researchers or collaborators contributed on this research, on the report, or on both of them: Alicia Rivero-Vergne, Carlos Rivera-Galindo, José I.

Alameda Lozada, Raúl Figueroa-Rodríguez, María Bravo-Saavedra and Rodney Arce-López.

282

282

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal References

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TANF in Puerto Rico 283

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284

284

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Appendices

TANF in Puerto Rico 285

#### **Appendix 1: Focus Group Interview Guide**

#### Interview guide

According to the research objectives and the information needed to be collected about these TANF's participants an interview guide was developed by Dr. Alicia Rivero-Vergne and questions were developed by the research group. The guide consisted of 9 open ended questions aimed to promote interaction and to gather participants' perspectives from their own point of view. Opening question: (5 minutes) We will like you to introduce yourselves indicate your family composition and if you are presently employed. Introductory question (5 minutes) What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of TANF program? (Free association question does not require any explanation as soon as it is answered, continue to the next question.) Transition question (30 minutes) How would you describe the experience in TANF program regarding the training received? (Explore the description of trainings received). How would you describe the experience in TANF program regarding employment placement (Explore this placement process). After having finished the training or process of employment placement: Were you able to be placed in a job similar to the training received? 286 286 Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Once you achieved a job placement, did you keep it, left it

for another job or are you unemployed at the time being? (If

# presently unemployed please inquire reasons.) Key questions: (40 minutes) How your participation in TANF program impacted your life and the life of your family? (Explore concrete benefits for participants.) The following first two questions are to be asked only to participants who were not able to finish the program. What reasons did you have to leave the program? Not having completed the program had any impact in your life and the life of your family? If you have the opportunity to participate again in TANF program, what services do you consider necessary to achieve success in training or job placements that would let you generate an income to take care of your family? (Explore changes suggested in the structuration of TANF services) Closing questions: (5 minutes)

Would you like to add any other observation related to your

experience in the program?

Is there is something that you were expecting to be asked

that was not requested?

#### Procedures

Focus groups were held in the conference rooms of the respective regional offices were they took place. When participants arrived at the meeting, moderators discussed the purpose of the group to be certain they understood the nature of their participation. They also discussed confidentiality issues and explained TANF in Puerto Rico 287

that conversations would be taped recorded and transcribed for analyses purposes but names would be maintained confidential. All participants signed informed consent forms in Spanish, which as well as the study protocol were approved by the main researchers' university institutional review board (IRB). After completing the consent form process, participants were given a short questionnaire on their demographic characteristics. Different strategies and techniques were used to facilitate group process. Participants were encouraged to be respectful of each other and to help moderators by listening without interrupting in order to help moderators create an atmosphere of safety within the group. Techniques such as rephrasing, clarifying and summarizing were utilized to clarify statements and to help participants felt valued. All participants were given an opportunity to speak. Less vocal participants

comments.

were encouraged to share their

Of the three groups held two were conducted in the Ponce region, one composed of participants who had successfully completed the program and the other of those who were not able to do, so which provided the opportunity of comparing their experiences. One was held at the Arecibo region with participants who had successfully completed the program, the second group had to be cancelled due to lack of participants.

#### Analysis

All focus groups were audiotaped and transcribed by the moderators themselves, and then they compared the transcript to the audiotaped data to confirm accuracy. Data analysis was conducted by the moderators and their supervisor Dr. Alicia Rivero-Vergne and begun after the first focus group was held, and continued after the three were groups were completed. Content analysis was used concentrating in the topics that were more

288

#### 288

J a i m e S a n t i a g o - P é r e z & R o s a l i e R o s a - S o b e r a l prominent in participants' discourse and how they reacted to

each question. Several techniques were implemented to increase the scientific rigor of the focus groups, Field notes and memos were maintained that helped solve discrepancies between the moderators and their supervisor regarding findings in order to enhance the auditability of the study. A summary of prominent topics that were raised by participants was conducted during the group and after the end of each group session. The moderator asked questions such as: "If there is something you want to add to the information discussed?" And where you were expecting to be asked something and we did not request it? Relevant quotations were chosen as evidence of salient themes.

#### Recruitment of participants

Once collaboration was obtained by the general director of the

Administration of Economic Development of the Family De-

partment in Puerto Rico, it was decided that the regional direc-

tors from Ponce and Arecibo regions would recruit participants.

This report discusses and analyzes each focus group individually, makes a comparison between focus groups per region and presents general findings and recommendations according to data

gathered in all groups.

TANF in Puerto Rico 289

# Appendix 2: TANF Administrators Interview Guide

1. How do you describe the administrative experience in the im-

plementation of TANF Program during your administration?

2. During your work as administrator:

a. What strengths can you identify for the

achievement of TANF objectives?

b. What weaknesses can you identify for the

achievement of TANF objective?

3. In your opinion, What challenges have you faced in the de-

veloping of the work plan related to TANF services delivery

in the current socioeconomic context of Puerto Rico?

4. Describe what you consider the most outstanding achieve-

ments during your tenure for the implementation of TANF

Program?

5. Based in your administrative experience, what recommendations can you make for TANF Program improvement?

290

Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Appendix 3:

### Arecibo region

## Participants who had completed the program

## TABLE OF SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(See next page.)

TANF in Puerto Rico 291

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## Housing

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- 292
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Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Appendix 4:

#### **Ponce region**

#### Participants who had completed the program

## TABLE OF SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(See next page.)

TANF in Puerto Rico 293

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Jaime Santiago - Pérez & Rosalie Rosa - Soberal Appendix 5:
Ponce region
Participants who had not completed the program
TABLE OF SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
(See next page.)
(See next page.) TANF in Puerto Rico 295
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TANF in Puerto Rico 297

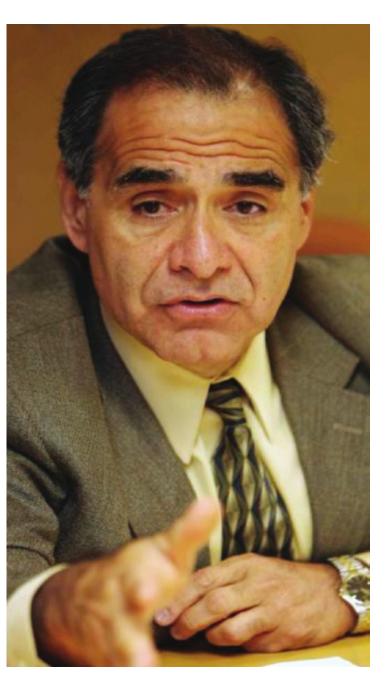
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297



298

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(1) La economía del diario vivir: análisis de los asuntos cotidia-nos desde la organización social y deportiva hasta el status políti-co (2004); (2) Ensayos en economía aplicada: Análisis y medición del impacto social, político y económico de las instituciones sobre la economía de Puerto Rico (2004); (3) La vivienda de interés social en Puerto Rico (2002), this last one with Prof. Carlos Rivera Galindo, written for the Puerto Rico Department of

Housing; (4) *Índice para la medición del bienestar económico en Puerto Rico* (2009), with Dr. Ivonne Díaz Rodríguez, Professor at UPR, Mayagüez and expert in environmental economics; (5)

#### TANF in Puerto Rico 299

La política neoliberal en Puerto Rico y la Ley Número 7: Impacto y consecuencias socioeconómicas: Años fiscales 2009 al 2011 (2012) (Editorial Situm); and (6) Una nueva estrategia de desarrollo: sus-tentabilidad, equidad y seguridad social (2013) with the Collective of University Economists (Editorial Situm).



300

300

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TANF in Puerto Rico 301

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In recent years, Mr. Feliciano has participated in presentations to credit-rating agencies (Standard & Poor's, Moody's Investors Service and Fitch Ratings) regarding Puerto Rico's credit rating. His consulting practice has included advising clients in New Mexico

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302

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TANF in Puerto Rico 303

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304

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## TANF in Puerto Rico 305

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TANF in Puerto Rico 307
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308