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Community Colleges, Welfare Reform, and Workforce Development

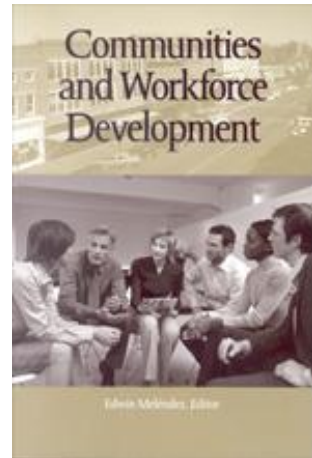
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Federal policies in employment training and assistance for the nation's low-income population have changed dramatically since welfare reform was officially launched with the enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA). A major component of federal welfare reform has been the Welfare-to-Work (WtW) grant to states to facilitate the transition of welfare recipients into the workplace. These grants target the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) participants who are considered least employable: those without a high school education and those with low reading or math skills, substance abuse problems, or poor work histories. In addition, WtW grants focus on participants about to reach their time limit on TANF. These major changes in federal welfare have resulted in a policy shock to the federally assisted employment training sys-

tem at the state and local levels. The employment training system is now oriented towards serving the most disadvantaged populations and emphasizing job placement over training and education.¹

The objective of this paper is to ascertain how community colleges have responded to the WtW initiative and to assess the implications of their participation in these programs for local workforce development systems. Community colleges serve as key institutions in the restructuring of local labor markets. With a long history as sponsors of employment and training programs targeting both disadvantaged populations and specific local industry needs, community colleges are well positioned to occupy a central role as local and regional labor market intermediaries. Whether they can take advantage of welfare reform to maintain or advance their position as labor market intermediaries will depend on the ever-changing local policies governing work requirements for TANF participants and the internal dynamics of the colleges themselves.

Overall, we found that community colleges responded effectively and creatively to the challenges posed to them by welfare reform, and they have shown that they are capable of playing a major role in regional labor markets. They have benefited from favorable state regulations regarding welfare programs, but beyond that, the extent to which community colleges have responded successfully to welfare reform initiatives at the local level has been determined largely by internal factors. These factors include the college leadership's commitment to a comprehensive mission for the college, the existence of programs and prior experiences serving the disadvantaged at the college, favorable faculty and staff attitudes toward non-degree programs, and a proactive leadership promoting and articulating ongoing relations and collaborations with local labor, businesses, industries, and social service agencies.

We adopted a two-step method for the study. First, we conducted a survey of 251 community colleges in the United States. This sample was drawn from a sampling frame of more than a thousand community colleges throughout the country, compiled from various lists including the membership rolls of the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), and the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU).² In the survey, we asked administrators about their involvement in WtW programs as well as other programs serving socially dis-

advantaged students. In particular, we collected information on the level of staff dedication, support services, and case management in programs targeting welfare recipients; on the linkages between TANF and degree programs; and on the extent of employer participation in the programs.

The survey of community colleges indicates that about 80 percent of community colleges nationwide offer some kind of TANF program. Most of these are spinoffs of programs that existed prior to the enactment of PRWORA, although a large proportion of the colleges surveyed designed completely new programs to meet the stricter requirements of WtW regulations. TANF programs were designed to respond directly to policy regulations emphasizing job placement and work experience. Almost all TANF programs that we surveyed offered short-term training and internships with employers. In general, we found that student outcomes from these programs were comparable to outcomes for other training providers such as community-based organizations (CBOs) operating under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Administrators at community colleges interviewed for the study estimate that two-thirds of students complete the programs in which they enroll and slightly more than three-quarters find jobs in the areas in which they train. However, our most interesting finding is that, contrary to JTPA-like classroom-based skills training, nearly all of these programs (90.4 percent) also offer college preparatory courses and most of the short-term training (71.2 percent) is articulated to degree programs, so that academic work is conducive to one's long-term educational goals. This makes community colleges important regional labor force intermediaries because they can train the unemployed for entry-level jobs and provide a stepping stone for academic and career advancement.

The survey data provided a general picture, based on quantitative indicators, of how much relative progress community colleges had made in responding to local WtW initiatives. We used this information to rank the colleges in terms of their degree of institutional involvement with WtW initiatives. We categorized community colleges according to whether each one 1) had already implemented WtW programs and was actively developing new ones; 2) had some relatively small WtW programs or was in the initial stages of program development; or 3) indicated that it was not actively engaged in adapting existing programs or designing new programs targeting WtW participants.

In the second phase of the study, based on findings from the survey data, we selected seven community colleges to visit for in-depth case studies. The seven campuses selected represent the first group, those who have pursued the development of WtW programs more aggressively. These campuses are examples of what we classified as the “most advanced” community colleges in terms of their involvement with WtW programs. In general, they also offered multiple employment services and programs and were integral participants in local workforce development networks. The selected colleges are not representative of all community colleges, either in the survey sample or nationwide, but rather represent community colleges’ “best practice” in the workforce development field. We selected colleges for the case studies from each of the three size clusters identified in the study. We chose two community colleges each from two large urban areas (Los Angeles and New York), two from medium-sized cities (Fresno, California, and Denver), and one from a small city (Valencia, New Mexico).

A listing of the case studies involving these seven colleges is presented in an appendix to this chapter. The case studies provide an in-depth look at the patterns identified by the survey data, and we present our findings in more detail in subsequent sections.³ The comparative analysis of the case studies is based on the assessment of four critical areas for programs that specialize in meeting the job training needs of disadvantaged populations. Based on prior research, these four important functions of programs serving the disadvantaged include 1) case management and social support services, 2) instruction and academic support services, 3) overall program design and integration with other academic units, and 4) links to industry and employers.⁴ Serving welfare participants requires significant resources and changes in all four of these institutional functions. The institutional functions facilitate training by taking into account participants’ social and educational needs and barriers, by making program participation easier, and by providing students with necessary support and connections to employers and entry-level jobs.

The next section of the paper begins with an overview of the potential of community colleges in the current realignment of employment and training systems. Like other institutions, community colleges have responded with several strategies, including adapting existing programs and courses to comply with WtW regulations. Many community colleg-

es have also begun to design and develop entirely new programs. The section ends by explaining why, in our opinion, community colleges have the potential to become premier regional workforce development intermediaries. The potential role of community colleges depends on the colleges' ability to convert WtW programs from a short-term option into the first rung of a longer-term career ladder for disadvantaged workers. In this context, community colleges are in a unique position to benefit from the new Workforce Investment Act (WIA) and federally sponsored training programs.

In the section after that, we present the findings from the seven case studies conducted in five cities, summarizing key lessons from the field. The intent of this discussion is to provide concrete examples of how community colleges have implemented WtW programs and to discuss how these examples illustrate the institutional dynamics affecting community colleges and their emerging role as local labor market intermediaries. In the last section we discuss how welfare reform has strengthened the position of community colleges as regional labor force intermediaries. Their innovation in response to the WtW policy shock has expanded their opportunities to engage in long-term partnerships with local labor and social agencies, employers, and community groups.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

The workforce development field has evolved tremendously since the enactment of PRWORA. An early study by Public/Private Ventures, a social policy demonstration and evaluation organization, that examined how WtW policy affected the employment training system in 13 states concludes that welfare reform "overwhelmed" the system (Elliott, Spangler, and Yorkievtz 1998). However, the authors recognize that even within the context of the limitations imposed by the work first approach, which emphasizes short-term placement goals for participants, community-based organizations and other service providers have explored programmatic directions that are now leading the way to a more comprehensive restructuring of the local employment training system. It is generally acknowledged that employment training programs are not typically synchronized with job-specific demand for workers; in-

stead they focus primarily on general skills acquisition for participants regardless of relevancy (Grubb 1996). The study indicates that employers are taking a more proactive role in designing and supporting training programs targeting welfare recipients. Job training programs' proactive coordination of WtW initiatives with the private sector has encouraged employer participation.

Other evidence suggests that employment training administrators have redesigned programs to take into account best practices in workforce development, specifically the simultaneous provision of skill acquisition, job-readiness processes, and industry-specific skills (Greenberg, Strawn, and Plimpton 1999a; Grubb 1999; Meléndez and Suárez 2001). Among the practices incorporated in the redesign of old programs and the design of new ones are the targeting of specific industry sectors and occupations (sectoral strategies) and the simulation of workplace dynamics in job training programs (Elliot and King 1999). Researchers have also identified a significant number of programs providing post-placement support for inexperienced workers (Golonka and Matus-Grossman 2001). These reports confirm the findings from an earlier survey of effective CBO-based programs that assist welfare recipients with the transition to work. Stokes (1996) and the U.S. General Accounting Office (USGAO) (1996) found that effective programs provide case management to participants, offer job-readiness training that includes life management skills, and serve as a reliable connection to employers. When necessary, vocational training is part of the program and targets the identified needs of local employers. These programs screen participants for the appropriate skills and match them to the most suitable jobs given their profiles and experiences.

Within this context of policy changes and responses from employers and other service providers, community colleges have become key players in the system of delivery of training services to the population targeted by WtW grants (Bosworth 1997; Carnevale and Desrochers 1997, 2001; Falcone 1994; Fitzgerald 2000; Fitzgerald and Jenkins 1997; Gennett, Johnstone, and Wilson 2001; Golonka and Matus-Grossman 2001; Gooden and Matus-Grossman 2001; Grubb, 1999a,b, 2001; Grubb et al. 1999; Meléndez and Suárez 2001; McCabe 1997; Strawn 1998). Traditionally, community colleges have served different populations than four-year colleges, in both socioeconomic status and level of academic preparation. In addition, some of the training programs of-

ferred by community colleges' short-term programs are consistent with PRWORA demands for an accelerated transition into the workplace. Still, for many community colleges, the necessity of participating in the training activities flowing from the new legislation has prompted them to develop new programs and structures to meet a stringent set of program requirements (Katsinas et al. 1999).

Community colleges typically offer a mix of academic programs to TANF participants. Most liberal arts programs in community colleges, along with social sciences and business, have so-called articulation agreements with four-year colleges where credits taken as part of an associate's degree program are transferable to a bachelor's degree program. In some states, like Florida, the state mandates the transferability of credits for the higher education system as a whole, rendering such articulation agreements unnecessary. However, not all of the vocational courses taken as part of an associate's degree are transferable to programs in four-year colleges. In our study we paid particular attention to the articulation of non-degree programs to degree programs. Most new programs designed to serve welfare recipients have a significant component of continuing education or noncredit courses. These courses, such as General Equivalency Degree (GED) preparation and English as a Second Language, are helpful in advancing participants' basic skills to the level required by basic academic courses. Most programs enacted prior to PRWORA that serve the disadvantaged or engage in contract-based employee training have a strong component of noncredit courses. In particular, job readiness and life skills courses and workshops, which are so essential to the design of WtW programs, are not generally college level courses. So, not all courses are transferable to more advanced degree programs; however, the importance of articulation, where work in preparatory training courses is counted as a prerequisite for more advanced courses and awarded college credits, cannot be overstated. Short-term vocational training programs that are designed to feed participants into certificate and degree programs create, by definition, an opportunity for advancement.

Providing the opportunity for academic and career advancement is, theoretically, the greatest advantage of community colleges over other employment training institutions, such as community-based job-training organizations and employer-based training. In a survey of the research on work-oriented programs for welfare recipients, which in-

cluded the National Supported Work Demonstration, Work Incentive Program (WIN), and Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS), Gueron (1990) concludes that these programs offer valuable lessons about the potential for large-scale and effective transformation of the welfare system. However, she also warns that the evidence suggests that program impacts have been modest, that many trainees remain dependent on some form of assistance or work-related support, and that poverty is not significantly reduced. Community colleges that link short-term vocational and job readiness training to long-term education and structured advancement opportunities can overcome some of the most critical limitations of past efforts at work-based welfare reform (Greenberg, Strawn, and Plimpton 1999).⁵ As such, community colleges offer the best opportunity for disadvantaged workers to advance their skill level and training.

Community colleges have shown employers in many parts of the country that their programs can become reliable sources for well-trained workers. And many state labor and social service agencies have seen that community colleges have the capacity and experience to serve a large number of disadvantaged students by creating specialized support programs and adapting their existing infrastructure to meet these students' needs. Community colleges have demonstrated that they can engage in mutually beneficial collaborations with community-based and church-based organizations as well as with business and industry groups. Above all, community colleges can provide numerous educational programs for any partnership and can connect short-term vocational training with long-term education.

WIA has established a framework for long-term reform of the system in which community colleges are positioned to benefit as much from the new policy framework as any other type of service provider. In a policy briefing to its membership, the American Association of Community Colleges (1998) noted that WIA provides the conditions for community colleges to become the workforce development intermediary of choice, a concept endorsed by Raymond Bramucci (1999), then Assistant Secretary of Labor for the Employment and Training Administration. Among other advantages granted by WIA, the law mandates that community colleges have representatives on state and local workforce development boards. Community colleges have positioned themselves to become One-Stop Career Center (OSCC) administrators

or designated satellite offices for other OSCCs. Among other functions, OSCCs serve as an entry point for employment and training services. Many community colleges now also provide Individual Training Accounts (ITAs) and customized training services (Gutierrez 1997). The favorable policy climate and the recent success of community colleges in serving low-income and disadvantaged populations as well as local industry have led many experts in the field to propose a more central role for colleges in regional workforce development systems (Barnett 1995; Carnevale and Desrochers 1997; Grubb 2001; Grubb et al. 1999; Jenkins and Fitzgerald 1998).

In this section we have provided a brief overview of the literature assessing the role of community colleges in workforce development, particularly their experience and potential as employment service providers for welfare recipients. The challenge of welfare reform has induced community organizations to improve delivery systems and employers to become more active in WtW programs. Community college programs are often articulated with degree programs, facilitating students' transfer from short-term vocational training to long-term education. By creating this organic link between programs, colleges are setting in place a mechanism to close the gap between education and training, as has been proposed by Grubb (1996), Bailey (1998), and others. Given the existing network of community colleges throughout the nation, community colleges have the potential to make the greatest impact on workforce development efforts of any type of service provider. In the next section, we present evidence of community college participation in programs targeting welfare recipients and the implication of this participation for the workforce development field.

LESSONS FROM THE FIELD

In our fieldwork, we identify a cluster of factors that have influenced community colleges' responses to WtW legislation. Some factors, like federal and state laws and regulations, are external to the colleges and, therefore, out of their control. However, the community colleges included as case studies are among the many around the country that have implemented proactive strategies to participate in WtW programs.⁶ They have designed and implemented programs that consider the spe-

cial circumstances of welfare recipients as prospective students. Such factors as prior experience with programs serving the disadvantaged, the college leadership's beliefs about the mission of the college and its role in the local economy, the availability of an adequate infrastructure of social and educational services to support disadvantaged students, and ongoing collaborations with local state agencies and employers, all have been instrumental in the rapid response of community colleges to WtW policy initiatives.⁷

This discussion details key aspects of the colleges' responses to welfare reform legislation and their experiences in implementing new programs. Their experiences may encourage federal and state policymakers to adjust regulations to better serve the needs of welfare recipients. At the same time, these lessons can also help program managers reflect on their practices and share their experiences with colleagues who struggle with similar issues.

Case Management and Support Services

Conventional wisdom would suggest that community colleges are far from the ideal institutional setting to house programs targeting the disadvantaged. In contrast to community-based organizations that provide more focused and individualized attention in a smaller setting, community colleges are often large institutions with programs that serve hundreds or thousands of students with widely divergent needs and circumstances. Community colleges of this type may remind some students of the indifference that they may have experienced in large inner city high schools, which ultimately may have reinforced their decision not to continue their education. Traditionally, social and academic support services have been embedded in systems geared to serve hundreds of students. As a result, there is not enough time, nor are there enough resources, to provide individual attention. The question of whether community colleges are the most appropriate institution to provide employment and training services to disadvantaged populations hinges upon whether these mass gateways of education can create an effective support system for needy students, one that is similar to those provided by community-based organizations.

The evidence gathered in this study suggests that community colleges have implemented many successful programs over the years and

that this prior experience allowed them to respond relatively quickly to the WtW initiative. WtW grants motivated community colleges to design programs that field a strong case management component. Through these programs, counselors can devote personal attention to participants and organize group sessions for life management and job readiness workshops. Counselors report that group sessions and collective discussions are usually more effective than individual counseling for helping students move from understanding their problems to finding solutions. In group sessions, students share experiences of coping with particular problems and their knowledge of what resources are available to them. Meléndez and Suárez (2001) write that dedicated programs that structure the student's experience within the college tend to promote solidarity among students and create peer support groups. These programs create an enabling environment in which students help each other and do not necessarily have to rely on staff for instruction or advice.

In addition to a strong case management system and group activities, students are formally organized into cohorts and assigned a shared "block" schedule. The combined effect of this type of program structure is to provide a smaller and more manageable environment within the larger community college infrastructure. A "small school" environment is particularly important when students begin attending the program. Over time, students are referred to different services and resources on campus in order to become familiar with the institution and develop an understanding of how to solve an array of problems.

Although students are occasionally referred to outside resources, for the most part community colleges have the necessary infrastructure in place to deal with students' social and academic problems. For example, the colleges included in the case studies provided a variety of support services, from special programs for women and the disabled to referrals for housing or substance abuse counseling and treatment. Almost all provided day care facilities or made arrangements with outside providers to serve students. The Valencia, New Mexico, campus created a specialized program to respond to the reality of domestic violence as a critical problem for program participants. A CBO sent a representative to each student orientation to provide literature and general information. As a result, the CBO relates that a large percentage of women—as high as 12–15 percent of the student body, which numbers 1,700—have

contacted it through a confidential telephone number provided during orientation for women to discuss their problems or those of a friend.

Despite all the similarities among the programs highlighted in the case studies, each campus adopted a unique strategy and program structure to provide support services appropriate for its student body. In Fresno, for example, Fresno City College adopted a “community job center” strategy modeled after two existing programs: a successful center targeting the needs of immigrant workers and a program serving disabled students. The flagship community job center, located in a Manchester, California, shopping center, provides job counseling and offers a range of job readiness classes and workshops. The center has adopted the structure of a one-stop center in partnership with the local Private Industry Council. To facilitate mentoring of WtW participants experiencing multiple barriers to employment, the two organizations developed a “coach” model, in which community volunteers and part-time workers devote intensive individual attention to a small number of program participants.

Alternatively, the Community College of Denver has adopted a “track” model, where the counselor serves as case manager for a small cohort of program participants who have chosen a vocational training track, such as bank teller. The case managers also serve as job readiness instructors—administrative coordinators who monitor internships and relations with employers, job developers, and post-placement support staff. The core idea of this model is that a single mentor simultaneously establishes relationships with employers, targeting a particular industry or sector, and serves as an all-purpose case manager for program participants. The college’s partnership with Norwest Bank is a textbook case of a successful sectoral model: almost all students that go through the program find employment at the bank or at other financial institutions in the city. Retention rates for Winning Independence Nurtures Greater Strength (WINGS) participants after six months were similar (53 percent for the first cohort and 65 percent for the second cohort) to those of regular hires—an impressive achievement considering the work experience and educational differences of the two groups.

What lessons can be drawn from the experiences of community colleges that have implemented WtW programs? Experiences with the provision of case management and support services point to a set of common strategies. First, community colleges can create a manageable

small school environment by forming student cohorts and assigning case managers to work closely with them. Many colleges have structured programs this way in the past. In particular, they have established grant-based projects targeting a diverse, disadvantaged population. Their new programs stand out because of the rapid deployment of resources and the magnitude of the effort in response to the WtW initiative—an effort that is particularly intriguing since community colleges are not generally perceived as having programmatic flexibility and the capacity for innovation. These colleges have responded with much determination and have adapted existing programs to a design that fits the needs of a hard-to-serve population.

Second, the effort to serve a large group of students with specific needs seems to have been made possible by the network of existing resources supporting adult learners in community colleges. The key is that the network of resources leveraged to support the WtW initiative is both internal and external to the college. On campus, community colleges have numerous specialized service centers and offices. At the same time, partnerships with community-based organizations and local social service agencies play a pivotal role in sustaining programs.

Instruction and Academic Support

In comparing the job readiness of the initial waves of program participants with the more recent ones, practitioners supervising WtW programs in community colleges observe that participants in recent cohorts are in greater need of extensive remedial education and have had fewer workplace experiences than earlier participants. Regardless of whether prospective students have completed high school, the functional English literacy of most new intakes is below the ninth grade level. Determining the literacy level of prospective students is essential for community colleges since state regulations require that students test at a minimum level before they are allowed to enroll in college level courses and receive tuition reimbursement. How well a student tests determines the amount of remedial education he or she must complete before enrolling in vocational skill training and basic academic courses.

One might argue that the rigorous assessment of students' basic academic proficiency level is a bureaucratic exercise by community colleges. After all, how much education is required for an entry-level job? But

from a practical point of view, the restructuring of the economy means that more education is likely to be required of future students than has previously been the case. The economic sectors that are growing—particularly those industries generating the bulk of new entry-level positions—are creating jobs in which cognitive and functional literacy is necessary.

Consider two sectors targeted by most WtW programs: office assistants and bank tellers. Office assistants need to know basic keyboarding, filing systems, business correspondence, and communication with customers and supervisors; bank tellers need a minimum understanding of computerized accounting and financial systems. In a competitive job market, not only do WtW students need a minimum literacy level to understand core job competencies, they need to master this knowledge at a performance standard set by other workers competing for the same jobs. Expectations for the success of welfare reform must consider that an increasing number of program participants are in need of remedial education to attain basic skills and that, as more people are trained, the job market becomes more competitive for entry-level positions. In an economic downturn, the task of training and placing disadvantaged students in entry-level jobs becomes even more challenging.

If practitioners are correct in their assessment of incoming students and the challenges of the workplace, the current focus of community college programs on basic skills remediation for WtW participants is both appropriate and necessary. To the extent that community colleges are in a better position to provide basic skills instruction more effectively than community- or employer-based training programs, the enrollment of welfare recipients in community college programs should continue to increase in the near future. Community colleges are well positioned to provide basic skills instruction for adult and non-traditional students (Martin 1999). Most colleges have basic skills learning centers and labs that specialize in remedial education for incoming students. Special programs adapt basic academic skills instruction to vocational contexts, either as separate modules or integrated into vocational skills courses. In many cases, GED preparation is offered to prospective students as a part of short-term vocational training programs. Typically, funding for these programs is a permanent appropriation through the state's education department.

Some of the colleges selected for this study are good examples of innovators in providing academic support services for welfare recipients and other disadvantaged populations. For example, Los Angeles Trade Technical College (LATTC) utilized state funding for WtW programs to create a new Learning Skills Center. Prior to the creation of the center, LATTC offered basic literacy and computer instruction as separate programs scattered across the campus. The new center consolidated academic improvement programs already in existence into one location, added computer-aided, self-paced instruction, lab monitors, and additional instructors, scheduled workshops and discussion sessions on a regular basis, and extended its hours of operation. All services are open to the full student body, not just to WtW program participants, but WtW students have priority for one-on-one tutoring and other activities at the center. In addition, Los Angeles City College (LACC, not to be confused with LATTC) has operated a learning skills center for over a decade and now offers special sessions for students enrolled in the WtW program.

In Denver and New Mexico, GED preparation was incorporated into the basic program curriculum. Denver's sectoral strategy is based on vocational tracks and requires students to have a high school diploma, which is a prerequisite for entry-level positions in targeted occupations such as banking and health technologies. The Valencia campus of the University of New Mexico, primarily a two year institution, faced a particularly challenging situation because of the relatively low literacy of students coming into the WtW program. The college served as the local social agency, receiving more than 2,000 WtW participants from 1997 to 1999. Eighty percent of the participants did not have a high school degree. Eighty-five percent tested below the ninth grade level in English and more than half tested below the sixth grade level. With such low literacy levels, basic education was central to the college's employment training program. At the same time, 40 percent of the population had never held a job and the majority of trainees had been out of a job for many years. In response to this reality, the University of New Mexico created several centers to assist students with their education and employment needs. The Student Enrichment Center provides one-on-one tutoring and study groups in math and English. The Adult Education Center covers GED preparation, basic education, English as a Second Language, employability skills, and time management and

study skills. The college also operates a leadership skills center, Building Leadership through Adult Student Training (BLAST), of whose clients about 30 percent are WtW program participants.

Like the other colleges reviewed above, Fresno Community College offers a comprehensive package of academic support services. One of the most innovative services is the Vocational Training Center, which aims for highly adaptive responsiveness to local job market conditions. Having been in operation for more than a decade, this center is modeled after best practices in community-based employment training.⁸ During any given year, the center offers over a dozen training modules on occupations in high demand in the local job market; the modules last from seven to 30 weeks. The center offers an open entry–open exit format so students can enroll at the start of every week after a brief orientation and proceed through the training modules at their own pace. Training consists of hands-on, contextual learning so students start practicing and modeling the occupation from the beginning of the module. In addition to the job training that the center offers, the college has 13 additional short-term vocational skills certificate programs designed for WtW program participants. Free tuition encourages enrollment from the target group of WtW students, among others. The results of this approach are strong: the center has a job placement rate of 97 percent.

Perin (1998) suggests that instructional practices make up the hardest area to change in community colleges, particularly in the context of integrated academic and vocational education. However, there are some qualitative indicators that point to the potential effect of WtW initiatives on improving instructional practices in community colleges. For example, the human services department at LACC offers two certificates (general, and drug and alcohol rehabilitation) designed to incorporate pedagogy that has proven effective with disadvantaged students. Courses are student-focused and participatory, and experiential learning is integral to the program. Students rotate through internships with three employers in a program that takes from one and a half to two years to complete.

For community college programs serving WtW participants, the focus on remedial basic education and GED preparation appears to be determined by the academic profile of the student population. These activities are complementary to components of existing programs and are not exclusively intended for WtW program participants, as may

have been the case in the past. As related earlier, one common lesson from these case study experiences is that community colleges are using the academic support infrastructure already in place to accommodate the needs of a new type of student in WtW programs. The new LATTC Learning Skills Center, for example, consolidated operations from mainstreamed services to target a population presumed to be more difficult to serve.

Some programs complemented instruction in existing support centers with new staff or arranged for special attention and resources to be assigned to program students. In some cases, special measures were taken, but for the most part, existing academic support services are used to provide services to the WtW program. Making changes in instruction methods beyond offering basic remedial education courses is a relatively slower process and more difficult to track and monitor. However, early signs indicate that some departments are beginning to implement pedagogy that better fits the WtW student profile (Martin 1999; Dirks 1999). The institutional response of community colleges to the challenge of serving educationally disadvantaged students suggests that they have the infrastructure and the experience to continue to develop and establish appropriate and effective programs.

Program Design and Development

Program design and development is one area in which state policies and the views of state officials affect the role of community colleges. For example, the state of California designated \$66 million to help colleges assimilate WtW programs. As a result, the community colleges in this state had the most dramatic response to the WtW initiative of any state. Virtually all staff interviewed as part of the survey sample in California stated that their college was undertaking the redesign of old programs and the design of new ones. That initial impression was confirmed by in-depth research undertaken during the site visits at the three California campuses.

Two factors have been most important in shaping California's state policies regarding community college participation in welfare initiatives. First, the governor's office and community colleges reached an agreement regarding the appropriate framework for the colleges' participation in reform efforts and assigned the necessary financial resources

to facilitate policy implementation. Second, college administrators reported that the state political leadership sent a clear message to all campuses: “Your involvement is important. We will support your efforts, and we will reward those who take the task seriously.” The combination of assigning substantive funding and sending a strong political message to relevant bureaucracies, such as the state social and labor agencies and the community college system, was very effective. State funding allowed department heads to pay faculty and staff additional compensation to develop new courses and file necessary paperwork. Colleges were able to hire additional staff to coordinate program activities with employers and local social agencies. Also, during the initial implementation phase the colleges took a risky approach to getting their programs under way: they offered some courses without meeting the state’s minimum enrollment standard, which determines state reimbursement to the college for the costs associated with the course. However, the risk paid off as the WtW grant reimbursed the colleges for salaries and other uncovered expenses.

The California cases document the extent to which departments have adapted existing programs to meet WtW program requirements. The basic restructuring of these courses involved grouping existing introductory vocational courses (for jobs like office assistant) with remedial courses in basic education, life management skills, and job readiness. To accommodate the minimum work hours required by the state, these courses were offered for more hours during the week, often based on a nine-week schedule that corresponded to about half a semester. Almost all programs placed students in internships that qualified as a work-related activity or in work-study jobs. The end result of such a packet was to achieve the state mandated total of 32–35 hours per week of work-related activities. Whether the credits for vocational or basic math and English courses could be transferred to a certificate or degree program depended on a host of factors that varied from campus to campus. Typically, at least some credits were transferable. New programs served as an extension of existing departmental programs, often starting at a lower level of basic academic skill requirements.

The initial phase of program development was followed by an effort by community colleges to replicate their successful programs. The new programs often targeted segments of the job market not previously served by the college. They expanded departmental programs target-

ing welfare program participants and replicated the model of short-term training developed during the initial phase of program development. The California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids (CalWORK) office at LACC organized an advisory board comprising the department chairs of the largest and most active departments, such as business, human services, and dietetics, as well as representatives from the president's office and other government offices on campus. The strategy paid off handsomely.

The departments began to assess what job market areas they could target for the development of new short-term training (about six months) that could be designed as part of one-year certificate and two-year degree programs. In developing these programs, the departments used some of the same elements of program design previously employed, including more contact hours per week and internships to satisfy WtW program requirements. However, in this second round of program design, the college leadership began to use block scheduling to combine new program courses with other departmental programs. The business department's marketing stresses that students can take "back to back" courses and go "back to work." Courses are offered in sequence so that students who attend "2 afternoons + 2 evenings" can get their degree in "2 years." By design, the new programs targeted fast growing occupations and depended on already existing relationships with industry partners for internships, curriculum design, and recruitment of adjunct faculty to teach new courses. LATTC followed a similar strategy in the expansion of the programs targeting WtW participants.

In Denver, the second phase response to the WtW initiative involved the replication of short-term training with new occupational tracks. The tracks have two basic design characteristics. The first is the targeting of particular entry-level positions within an expanding industry, such as bank teller or health technician. The sectoral focus is intended to establish long-term relations with key industry groups and employers. Through those consultations, the program determines the job-specific training preferred by employers. The second aspect of the program is to train candidates specifically for anticipated job openings in the region. At the Community College of Denver, training is organized into three stages that combine classroom discussions with a workplace internship. During the first month, training focuses on job readiness workshops and a minimum of work with participating employers. Over the next three

months, students spend 18 hours in basic and vocational education at the college and 22 hours at work each week.

In conjunction with employers, the program trains supervisors in effective supervision strategies for program participants and maintains regular communication with them about how the trainees are performing at work. In these sessions, any problems with work performance or attendance are discussed with the supervisors. Students are also assigned a workplace mentor, a more experienced worker who can answer work-related questions and help solve everyday problems. During the last stage of the program, students work full time but attend weekly sessions with the track coordinator, who continues to monitor their progress for the next three months. The staggered training design of the track model seems to work well for introducing inexperienced workers to the rigors of the workplace and has produced very high placement and retention rates. Of the 99 participants in the first training cohort, 90 percent were placed in internships and 66 percent in unsubsidized employment.

These examples suggest that community colleges are pursuing two somewhat different strategies in taking WtW programs to scale. The Los Angeles experience portrays the colleges as “widening” the number of programs that comply with WtW requirements and articulating short-term training with certificate and degree programs. They have focused on working within academic departments to create new programs to accommodate an increasing number of students. In Denver and to some extent in New Mexico, the colleges are pursuing a “deepening” strategy which replicates the sectoral short-term vocational training modules that target new occupations. Fresno follows a blended model: its Vocational Training Center pursues a sectoral strategy similar to the Denver example, while the academic departments’ strategy resembles more closely the Los Angeles experience.

Both strategies have proven successful in different contexts. The key is to apply the correct strategy in the appropriate situation. Sectoral strategies are more commonly associated with dedicated (or self-standing) programs and short-term training modules. The academic departments’ strategy is appropriate for short-term vocational training programs that are more closely related to, and serve as feeders to, established certificate and degree programs. This also involves the redesign and expansion of existing certificate and degree programs.

Links to Industry

Labor market intermediaries have a dual responsibility to simultaneously serve workers in need of training and employment and employers who prefer to hire the best available candidates in the job market. This is a balancing act indeed. The previous sections detailed how community colleges have served the needs of disadvantaged populations by providing short-term vocational training and educational programs in a variety of occupations with market demand. This section expands on the experiences of the community colleges and employers interviewed in site visits regarding their working relationship for the implementation of WtW programs.

One of the salient characteristics of the colleges included in the study is the maintenance of long-term, well-established relationships with employers and local social and labor agencies. These ongoing relations contribute to the ability of community colleges to respond in an effective and timely way to WtW initiatives. In particular, community colleges in California established relations with industry through the different academic departments as part of their regular program operations. As a technical school with a focus on training for trade industries, LATTC naturally established relations with industry. For decades, LATTC has invited industry leaders to become advisors to its programs and help the college design internships, projects, and curricula. Departments also hire adjunct faculty from industry to teach vocational courses on a regular basis.

A similar process is in place at LACC. There, the human services department requires not one but three internship rotations of about ten hours a week, with each rotation lasting a semester. This regime is part of the student's socialization to a profession, through which practitioners learn many of the core competencies from experience. The implication is that departments must constantly coordinate activities with industry and foster a vast set of relationships to satisfy student demand for internships and placements. Similarly, Fresno Community College has an aggressive policy of work-study internships implemented through different departments. The college's vocational skills training relies on cooperative work agreements with all the trades. In addition, the college subsidizes up to 75 percent of work-study internships.

The Denver Community College sectoral strategy is built on the concept of a progressive transition of interns to the workplace. In some cases, employers fully absorb the internship cost. Norwest Bank's WINGS program absorbs the cost of the internship in compliance with local banking industry regulations and pays its interns wages that are above the federal minimum. The bank promotes almost all participants to full-time employees after four months of training. After six months of employment, the retention rates of WtW program participants compare very favorably with those of regular hires.

The WINGS program's success is explained by some of the factors that define effective practices for labor market intermediaries. The program trains interns for the specific teller position that the bank needs to fill at the moment. The training module is designed in collaboration with the bank so that the skills that trainees learn are specific to bank operations. The program then recommends interns for "on-time" interviews for openings in the different branches—that is, when the branches have an opening, not before or after. The program only sends candidates on interviews when they are "job ready" and a good match for a particular position at the bank branch. Aside from technical qualifications, a good match is also determined by assessing subjective factors such as personalities (of both workers and supervisors) and objective factors such as the availability of public transportation to work and commute length.

A key factor boosting retention rates in the WINGS program is the post placement support offered to participants and employers. Personal problems experienced by participants are addressed away from the attention of supervisors. Absenteeism is dealt with promptly and is a major impetus for rotating students from one site to another to accommodate transportation needs or family responsibilities. Appropriate corrective measures to support students in overcoming the particular issues behind a problem or unexpected behavior are also provided. When difficult situations arise, the track coordinator meets with the line supervisor and the participant to evaluate the situation and discuss solutions to the problem. Supervisors are trained in strategies that have proven effective in motivating program participants and in methods to teach trainees appropriate procedures and techniques.

The simplest formula for job retention, we were told, is to ensure that employees are effective and happy in their jobs. One of the most

interesting observations about the benefits of the college-employer partnership is that, in addition to all the factors already mentioned, collaboration with the college has simplified the bank's relations with government agencies and reduced the paperwork associated with the WtW initiative. The more the program functions like other business operations, the more satisfied the bank is with the community college partnership.

Holzer (1999), examining data from an employer survey in Michigan, suggests that employers hiring welfare recipients are concerned with issues of job readiness and basic skills preparation before they hire and with issues of absenteeism and attitude in the workplace after they hire. Given what we know of employers' concern about participating in WtW initiatives, how do community colleges design programs, operations, and practices to respond to these concerns? The examples presented above illustrate some of the strategies employed by specific programs to respond to industry concerns. All programs share a design that places emphasis on the various issues identified by employers. Substance abuse and absenteeism are detected early on by requiring participants to follow a full-time schedule during training. Students benefit routinely from counseling services and participate in life management skills workshops. Workplace attitudes are identified and adjusted by a combination of job readiness workshops and practice during internships before participants are referred to jobs. These activities socialize students to the routines and cultures of the workplace.

The degree to which WtW programs provide basic and job-specific skills instruction varies by program, but all the programs visited for this study offer a combination of basic and vocational instruction at a level sufficient to be competitive in the job market. One of the key functions of the programs is to screen candidates for job readiness, work attitudes, and functional basic and vocational skills required by the job. Students are referred to employment interviews only when the program staff determines that they are ready for a permanent job. Once the students are successfully placed with an employer, most programs offer at least minimum post-placement services. Some programs, such as Norwest Bank and Community College of Denver, offer more comprehensive post-placement follow-up for participants.

The appropriateness of the community colleges' responses to the WtW initiative is ultimately defined by how well they are serving the

needs of both students and employers. One aspect of the program is incomplete without the other. The disconnect between training and post-training employment opportunities is well documented (Grubb 1996). However, the programs reviewed in this study have helped us understand how to close the gap between the education and training needs of disadvantaged populations and the needs of employers for a well-trained and job-ready supply of entry-level workers. The cases presented here provide evidence that programs designed to incorporate both aspects of the job matching process are more effective than other training programs in terms of placement rates, starting wages, and retention rates. Colleges have implemented several strategies to remove barriers to employment, improve skills, and connect students to jobs. Academic departments tend to engage many employers and to design programs that offer more generic training that can be adapted to different contexts. Self-standing, short-term vocational training programs that follow more focused sectoral strategies create programs that target the specific needs of one or a few employers and engage industry leaders more intensively in the design and implementation of the program.

Leadership in a People Business

Workforce development is by nature a people business. It is about improving the education and experience of entry-level workers and about providing a reliable supply of ready workers to the job market. Workforce development is also labor-intensive, as it requires program staff and instructors to engage actively in the provision of services. And, it is a people business in a final, important dimension—leadership within institutions is crucial for developing ideas, structuring resources, and designing and operating programs. On each campus, we found that it took a combination of leaders to get new programs off the ground. We identified at least three levels of leadership that play specific, key roles in the design and implementation of WtW programs: presidents or other senior level executives, deans, and program directors.

Program and departmental directors play the role of social entrepreneurs. For the most part they are responsible for putting all the pieces together. In many cases, they are already heading ongoing programs, and new WtW funding represents an opportunity to renew, consolidate, or expand existing programs. All of the directors we talked to had

shown themselves to be creative in combining funding streams, designing programs to meet state regulations for participant work, mobilizing the college's internal resources to provide support services to students, and developing links to employers.

A few examples of effective practices are worth mentioning as illustrative of directors' creativity. At LACC, Mark Gunderson, the CALWORK director, created an advisory board consisting of the department chairs of programs with the greatest potential for development. The board also included representatives from the labor department on campus and from the president's office. It was instrumental in mobilizing college resources and in setting priorities for how to use the state's grant to the college. In Denver, Elaine Baker, the program director, used her experience in the design and operation of a workplace learning project to design a model that incorporates contextual learning and practical work experience from the very beginning of the program. The track model has proven to be very successful and appealing to industry leaders.

College presidents and other executives in campus administration played a critical role in crafting external partnerships with community groups and mediating relations with the political establishment. In New Mexico, for example, Alice V. Letteney, the college executive, saw WtW as one more step toward building a comprehensive education and training campus. She actively sought designation of the Valencia campus as the administrator on behalf of the state government of the region's welfare program. As a result, the program operates as a social agency housed within the college and is responsible for the intake, assessment, referral, and monitoring of clients in a three county region. The campus also houses the regional office for the state labor department.

In Fresno we observed a similar pattern in a much larger metropolitan area. The college president was instrumental in assembling an impressive partnership with local social service and labor agencies. The local welfare department has field offices located on campus and actively participates in the design and implementation of programs serving welfare recipients. In partnership with the Fresno Private Industry Council, it has opened a community job center that combines the job readiness activities of the campus with the intake, referrals, and monitoring functions of an OSCC. At the time of the study, the partnership was planning to expand the number of community job centers from

three to eight, in collaboration with a church-based coalition and the social services and labor departments. In all of these partnerships, the college functions as the managing partner and administrator of a multi-sectoral partnership.

Deans are the administrators of the academic system. No program can be implemented without their support, whether that support is enthusiastic or not. Behind every successful departmental program there is an administrative team taking responsibility for its implementation. At LATTTC, Bobby McNeel, the dean in charge of designing programs, insisted on starting a program to train women for non-traditional occupations in the trades. His purpose was to create opportunities for women in occupations with significantly higher starting salaries and more structured advancement opportunities than those in traditional female occupations. The idea is based on the principle that it will take more than entry-level jobs for female-headed families to achieve financial self-sufficiency.

A final story ends this discussion of lessons learned from the case studies. It encompasses the dynamics of institutional change, social entrepreneurship, and leadership. At the request of college leadership, the real names of characters and the college are not identified in this example.

At one of the colleges, we were most impressed with the political astuteness of the dean in charge of designing and developing new courses and programs in one of the most important college divisions. At first, full-time faculty in this division resisted participating in the new WtW program. Some professors questioned the work first approach and honestly believed that any short-term training program did a disservice to students over the long term. However, most professors were simply indifferent. They did not want to accommodate a new schedule, nor did they want to spend time developing a new course syllabus.

Despite faculty objections, the dean designed very successful certificate programs in “hot” occupations where most students have job offers before they graduate from the program. The new certificate programs, all staffed with adjunct faculty, offer a compact schedule and a state-of-the-art curriculum. The success of the student-friendly certificates quickly attracted the attention of regular students, who began to enroll in the program along with the targeted welfare recipients. As students shifted their demand in favor of more certificate courses, enrollment in

regular courses declined and even forced the closing of some sessions (courses require a minimum enrollment for state reimbursement of student tuition).

Soon after, full-time faculty began inquiring about participating in the new certificate programs. The dean understood faculty dynamics and never criticized faculty for lack of interest in the certificate program or mandated that they teach sessions they did not want to. As he explained in an interview, the dean reasoned, “What is the point of trying to recruit full-time professors that do not want to teach in the program? I’d rather have enthusiastic adjuncts who empathize with students and share the goals of the program than reluctant faculty who may not give the students their best efforts.” Eventually, when the department was able to add permanent positions as a result of the increase in enrollment, this dean hired some of the more dedicated adjunct faculty. The dean also attracted dedicated full-time faculty to teach in the program as they changed their views about the value of the certificates. In the end, all students benefited from the new certificate programs. A major lesson derived from this example is that the enrollment of “regular” students in new certificate programs almost guarantees that the certificates will become an integral and permanent part of the college program.

CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATION FOR THE WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT FIELD

Federal Welfare-to-Work policies transformed the role of the primary federal assistance program from providing income maintenance to the poor to providing work transition services along with time-limited income maintenance. Similarly, WtW policies have shaken the nation’s employment training system. The emphasis has shifted from offering training and education programs to providing job readiness training and placement. The special federal grants for Welfare-to-Work initiatives, and the immensity of the task of placing so many people in entry-level jobs, have attracted numerous actors to the employment training field. Our study was designed to assess how community colleges, the primary educational institutions serving the educational needs of disadvantaged adult populations, have responded to the challenge posed by the welfare policy changes.

Based on our the findings from a national survey of community colleges, we selected seven colleges to study in depth in terms of how they serve the social and educational needs of welfare recipients and other disadvantaged students. We selected these case study sites from among those colleges that were more experienced and involved with Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients and other disadvantaged populations. Our intent was to provide examples of community colleges that engage in effective WtW practices and to examine their program components. Although the findings from a limited and (by design) biased sample of colleges cannot be generalized to apply to all colleges nationwide, case study research illustrates the institutional dynamics behind the intriguing trends revealed by the survey data.

We found that the implementation of successful TANF programs was not an isolated or random phenomenon but an outgrowth of community colleges' historical, institutional commitment to serving the educational needs of disadvantaged populations. The community colleges that offer effective job training have developed an internal infrastructure of social and academic support services and external partnerships with government and community groups that enabled them to respond rapidly and effectively to the Welfare-to-Work initiative. Our data analysis and comparison of programs revealed some common patterns of program design that can be attributed to state policy regulations. These common elements include individualized case management, provision of child care and other social services, on-the-job internships, job readiness and soft skill courses, remedial courses in basic academic skills, and short-term vocational training. Beyond these common elements, we found great variation in how colleges combined these program elements.

Some colleges began self-standing (not directly affiliated with departments) short-term vocational training focusing on a specific occupational sector within an industry. Others adapted their certificate and degree programs to short-term certificate programs that complied with state welfare policy guidelines. The evidence from our case studies suggests that sectoral strategies are very effective at engaging employers and supporting the participants' transition to work, whereas academic department initiatives are more effective in articulating short-term training to certificate and degree programs. Welfare reform has served to strengthen community colleges' role as regional labor force interme-

diaries. It has induced them to examine and redesign existing programs, seek partnerships more proactively with regional businesses and industry, and to engage employers more rigorously in the design and operation of their programs.

Community colleges are well positioned to capitalize on a favorable political environment and establish themselves as leading regional labor market intermediaries. Regional workforce development systems integrate a diverse group of institutions and actors that mediate the training and development of workers and connect them to employers. Some of these institutions, such as temporary employment agencies and headhunters, specialize in screening and matching workers to specific positions. Others, like community-based organizations, provide disadvantaged workers with training and support systems necessary for the transition to work. In general, community colleges are perceived as educational institutions with limited resources, which they devote to serving disadvantaged populations or to responding to employers' specific job training needs. The results of our survey and the site visits conducted as part of this study suggest that community colleges are more actively engaged in workforce development than we anticipated.

If welfare reform has provided the spark to engage community colleges more proactively in workforce development, WIA provides a favorable policy framework for community colleges to become the anchors of the emerging workforce development system. Community colleges' efforts in designing and redesigning programs to reach "backwards" to accommodate students who might not be ready to participate in certificate and degree programs have given them the ideal opportunity to compete effectively in the market for WIA-sponsored training. Programs may include adult short-term vocational training, out-of-school youth vocational and educational programs, and contracts for job-specific and work-placed training in partnership with employers. Based on the data from our case studies, it is evident that various community college programs targeting welfare recipients provide effective training and meet the standards of WIA.

The community colleges' effective and creative responses to the challenges posed to them by the new WtW policy have demonstrated that they are capable of playing a major role in regional labor markets. Community colleges have shown employers and community organizations that they can design mutually beneficial collaborations and that

their programs can reliably provide well-trained workers. To social service agencies, community colleges have demonstrated that they have the capacity and experience to serve a large number of disadvantaged students by creating specialized support programs and by adapting their existing infrastructure to meet these students' needs. Community colleges, in fact, can provide educational programs for any partnership. They are positioned to adapt short-term training to long-term education, and to help students climb career ladders and achieve occupational advancement. Of all the service providers engaged in WtW training, community colleges are the best-positioned institutions to design programs that aim beyond entry-level jobs. Finally, from a national perspective, community colleges have campuses in all cities and regions of the country. Their active engagement in workforce development provides a tremendous infrastructure to serve disadvantaged populations.

Notes

1. See Hayes (1999) for a general review of federal legislation affecting employment services, and Fisher (1999) for a more specific review of the empirical research on WtW programs.
2. Three different samples were drawn from the national list we compiled. The first sample, referred to as the general sample, includes 116 colleges selected randomly. In addition to the general sample, two further samples were gathered for Hispanic serving and African American serving community colleges. These were defined as institutions with a minimum of 10 percent of the student body classified as Hispanics or African Americans, respectively. We surveyed 83 Hispanic serving community colleges and 52 African American serving community colleges.
3. The cases are taken from Meléndez et al. (2002).
4. See for instance Grubb et al. (1999) on the critical role of teaching methods and course design, and Meléndez and Suárez (2001) on effective programs serving disadvantaged Hispanics. Recent research has addressed the specific needs of welfare recipients as they participate in community college programs. Ganzglass (1996) offers an early assessment of the challenge to community colleges in redesigning programs and financial systems to take advantage of TANF funding, while Strawn (1998) and Greenberg, Strawn, and Plimpton (1999) offer an analysis and review of the policies that affect welfare recipients' participation in colleges programs. Grubb et al. (1999) and Golonka and Matus-Grossman (2001) offer a comprehensive analysis of the interaction of program design, support services, and policies in community college programs serving welfare recipients.

5. Fitzgerald (1999) identifies a major limitation of past WtW reform programs: these programs focus almost entirely on welfare participants and do not pay enough attention to the quality of jobs available to them once they get training. She suggests that jobs that provide high wages, benefits, and the opportunity for advancement benefit recipients most, reduce employee turnover, and help workers develop lifelong changes in attitudes toward work and work habits. To attain better paying jobs, welfare recipients must improve their skills beyond the minimum level required for entry-level jobs.
6. The reader should bear in mind that the colleges selected for case study are not intended to be representative of all colleges. On the contrary, the intent is to portray select examples of colleges that have implemented effective WtW programs and reflect regional labor market variability. It should be noted that there are many other community colleges that have proactively implemented WtW programs but could not be included in this study. The experiences related in the case studies are not unique nor do they apply to all community colleges. However, it is our hope that the good practices discussed below will become more common among community colleges in the near future.
7. In part, the availability of a support services infrastructure is the direct result of the many programs before TANF supporting such infrastructure in community colleges and other community settings. See Bell and Douglas (2000) for a full discussion of work-related programs under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and other federal funding streams. For a general discussion on how partnerships with community, school, and employer groups facilitate reform efforts in colleges see Golonka and Matus-Grossman (2001), Liebowitz, Haynes, and Milley (2001), and Roberts (2002).
8. See Meléndez (1996) for a detailed case study of the San José-based Center for Employment and Training.

Appendix 9A

Case Studies

- 1) *Welfare-to-Work Initiatives in Los Angeles: Los Angeles City College and Los Angeles Technical College*
Alexandra de Montrichard and Edwin Meléndez
- 2) *Community Colleges as Primary Skill Developers and Labor Market Intermediaries: Fresno City College*
Carlos Suárez and Edwin Meléndez
- 3) *Making Connections to Jobs, Education and Training: The Essential Skills Program of the Community College of Denver*
Carlos Suárez and Edwin Meléndez
- 4) *The SU PARTE Welfare-to-Work Initiative of the University of New Mexico, Valencia Campus*
Alexandra de Montrichard and Edwin Meléndez
- 5) *Innovators Under Duress: Community College Initiatives in “Workfare” Settings*
Lynn McCormick

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