Employment, Earnings, and Recidivism among Georgia's TANF Leavers: Findings from the TANF Follow-Up System

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Executive Summary

The TANF Follow-Up System tracks the employment, earnings, and return to TANF of adult recipients who have left TANF. It uses administrative data from the Department of Human Resources' management information system and the Georgia Department of Labor's Unemployment Insurance (UI) wage report files. This report focuses on four annual groups of leavers ("annual cohorts") who left TANF from 1999 through 2002.

Welfare Environment

- In January 2001 the US economy began an economic downturn that resulted in substantial and persistent job loss here in Georgia. Although recovery began in 2003, the effects of that recovery have not been seen in the employment of TANF leavers.

- Also in January 2001, recipients began to reach the 48-month State lifetime limit on receipt of TANF benefits. A year later, recipients who had been granted waivers of the State limit began to reach the 60-month Federal lifetime limit. The convergence of these two events created a harsh economic reality for long-term TANF recipients.

Population of TANF Leavers

- During the period from 1999 through 2002, 111,277 adult recipients left TANF. Of these, 64 percent have appeared in only one annual leaver cohort since 1997. The remaining 36 percent have appeared in two or more cohorts.

- The demographic characteristics of the TANF leavers remained relatively stable from 1999 through 2002, with modest decreases in the proportion of black leavers, their average number of dependent children, and the percentage who were high school graduates. In 2002, the leavers' median age was 27, their average number of dependent children was 1.9, and the median age of their youngest child was 2. Only fifty-eight percent of the leavers were high school graduates.

- At the time they left, 50 percent of the 2002 leavers had accrued 1 to 12 lifetime limit months and 73 percent had accrued fewer than 25 months. These leavers were younger, had fewer children, and were more likely to be high school graduates and to be married or to have been married than longer-term recipients.

- Five percent of the 2002 leavers left TANF after accruing 49 to 70 months. These leavers had an average of 2.8 children, and only 45 percent had graduated from high school. Eighty-four percent had never been married, compared to sixty-nine percent of the leaver population as a whole.

Patterns of Employment and Recidivism

- From 1999 through 2002, the percentage of leavers who were employed during at least one quarter of the first year after leaving TANF decreased from 77 to 71 percent. The percentage who returned to TANF increased from 23 percent in 1999 to 29 percent in 2001 but decreased slightly in 2002 as lifetime limits prevented some leavers from returning.

- Within each annual cohort, the majority of those who returned to TANF in the first year after exit had also been employed during that year. Among the 2001 leavers, those employed leavers who returned to TANF worked fewer quarters, earned less in each quarter of employment, and earned less than half as much over the course of the year as those who did not return – $3,981, compared to $8,423. They also were younger, had more children, and had accrued more lifetime limit months.

- There was a strong relationship between number of accrued lifetime limit months and employment and earnings in the first year after exit. In the 2001 leaver cohort, as number of accrued months increased, number of quarters worked, average earnings in quarters worked, and average annual earnings all decreased. Only 7 percent of those who had accrued more than 48 months when they left TANF had average monthly earnings in the first year after exit that exceeded the TANF Gross Income Ceiling for their family size, compared to 27 percent of those who had accrued only 1 to 12 months when they left TANF.

- There was a strong relationship between continuity of employment and earnings. Higher earnings motivate, support, and result from steady employment. Consequently, the more quarters leavers worked in the year following exit from TANF, the more they earned in each quarter worked. Leavers who worked in all four quarters had annual earnings that were 12 times higher than those who worked in only one quarter. Other factors that had a substantial impact on earnings were having a high school diploma and, among high school graduates, living in a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). Graduates who were employed earned an average of $8,235, while non-graduates averaged $5,367.

Longer Term Outcomes and Dimming Prospects for Self-Sufficiency

- Within annual leaver cohorts, employment decreased in successive post-exit years, but the earnings of those who were employed increased. Within each post-exit year, employment rates decreased with each successive cohort. The decline in percentage of leavers employed in all four quarters of a year is of particular concern because they are the leavers who make the most economic progress.

- The economic downturn that began in 2001 undoubtedly contributed to decreasing employment. By the first quarter of 2003 – the most recent quarter for which earnings data are available – the quarterly employment rates of TANF leavers across all cohorts were the lowest recorded since follow-up began in 1997 and about nine percentage points lower than they had been before the downturn began. The net effect of Georgia's job loss on those who left TANF from 1999 to 2002 is that an estimated 10,000 fewer were employed by the first quarter of 2003, with a corresponding loss of about $25,000,000 in earnings a quarter.

- When the annual earnings of employed leavers are compared to the Federal Poverty Guidelines, which are keyed to family size and adjusted annually for cost of living, it is clear that, as a group, TANF leavers are losing ground. While it continues to be true that the longer it has been since recipients left TANF, the greater the probability that their annual earnings exceed the Poverty Guidelines, the percentage of leavers whose earnings have exceeded this measure of economic well-being has decreased with every successive annual cohort since 1997.

- Among the 1999 leavers, 85 percent worked at some time in the 3 years following exit, and 20 percent worked in all 12 quarters. Number of quarters worked was strongly associated with whether a leaver had earnings in the third year after exit that exceed the Poverty Guidelines. Forty-three percent of those who had worked in every quarter had earnings above the Poverty Guidelines, compared to thirteen percent of all 1999 leavers. However, leavers with three or more children were very unlikely to have earnings that exceeded the Poverty Guidelines, regardless of how many quarters they had worked.

- A "snapshot" of dependency on public assistance, taken in June 2003, showed that the longer it had been since an annual cohort had left TANF, the smaller the percentage of leavers who received Food Stamps, Medicaid, or Child Care Assistance that month. Thirty-five percent of the 1997 cohort received Food Stamps in June 2003, although only 8 percent received TANF that month. Among the 2002 cohort, 57 percent received Food Stamps and 15 percent received TANF. Those who received Food Stamps generally received Medicaid as well. Dependency on public assistance was strongly associated with accrued lifetime limit months at time of exit. In the 2001 leaver cohort, 43 percent of those who had 1 to 12 accrued months at exit received Food Stamps in June 2003, and 51 percent received Medicaid. However, 80 percent of those who had accrued 48 to 60 months received Food Stamps in June 2003, and 73 percent received Medicaid.

- As job growth returns, we should begin to see increased employment among TANF leavers. However, the prospects for the small percentage of leavers who reach the lifetime limits and exhaust their eligibility for TANF are likely to remain very grim.

Industries Employing TANF Leavers

- Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes are available for leavers' employers. These codes provide information at three levels of detail: industrial divisions, major industrial groups, and specific industries. Eighty percent of the 2001 leavers who were employed in the fourth quarter after exit worked in the industrial divisions of Retail Trade or Services. At the next level of detail, 57 percent of the 2001 leavers were employed in just ten major industrial groups. The top three industrial groups were Eating and Drinking Places, Personnel Supply Services, and Nursing and Personal Care Facilities.

- Overall, 42 percent of the 2001 leavers had not graduated from high school, but only 37 percent of those who were employed were non-graduates. Among industries employing 75 or more leavers, there was an inverse relationship between average quarterly earnings and the percentage of leavers employed in the industry who had not graduated from high school. Telephone Communications had the highest average quarterly earnings ($4,998) and only 13 percent of the leavers working in telephone communications lacked a high school diploma. At the other extreme, Variety Stores had the lowest average quarterly earnings ($1,632) and 50 percent of those working in that industry had not graduated from high school.

Introduction

Georgia began implementation of Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF) on January 1, 1997. With TANF came more stringent work requirements for welfare recipients, a lifetime limit on receipt of welfare payments, and an end to the concept of entitlement. The Georgia Department of Human Resources (DHR) established the TANF Follow-Up System to track the employment, earnings, and recidivism of adults leaving TANF. Over 168,000 adults have left TANF since 1997. This report summarizes the post-TANF outcomes of those who left TANF during the period from 1999 through 2002.

Methodology

The TANF Follow-Up System is a data base containing information on adult recipients from closed TANF cases. In this data base, DHR data on TANF recipients are matched to quarterly earnings data from the Georgia Department of Labor (GDOL).

Identifying Adult Leavers. The event that triggers inclusion in follow-up is case closure. However, because families may go on and off TANF as their circumstances change or they go in and out of compliance with program requirements, it is not always clear when a case is truly closed. Therefore, for purposes of follow-up, a case is considered closed when no benefits are received in two successive months.

Recipients are added to the TANF Follow-Up System the first time they meet the criterion for inclusion during a calendar year. If they receive additional benefits at a later date, they are considered recidivists. However, they only appear once in the follow-up file for that year. The adults who left TANF during a calendar year make up the “annual leaver cohort” for that year.

Only those adults who were actually TANF recipients are addressed in this report. Excluded are adults who received a benefit on behalf of a dependent child but who were not, themselves, part of the TANF grant.

Data. All of the data in the TANF Follow-Up System come from administrative data systems. The advantages of such data are low cost and continuity over time. The disadvantage is that neither what is collected nor how it is organized and maintained is likely to be ideal for research purposes.

Data on TANF recipients and households come from DHR’s SUCCESS system. Data on employment and earnings come from GDOL’s unemployment insurance (UI) wage record. This record is a report of quarterly earnings submitted by all employers in the state whose workers are covered under the UI system. It does not include information on wage levels, number of hours worked, or whether employment was continuous. However, it does provide total earnings in the quarter and the employer’s Standard Industrial Classification code. Leavers are considered to have been employed in a particular quarter if they had any reported earnings for that quarter.

UI earnings data provide a low-cost way of tracking employment over time. However, they have two important limitations. First, UI earnings data are only available for those jobs covered under the unemployment insurance system. Notable exclusions are federal jobs and self-employment, including informal work arrangements. For example, if a TANF leaver supplements her income by providing occasional childcare to a neighbor, the resulting earnings are unlikely to be reported to the UI system. In addition, the earnings of Georgians who work in neighboring states are not included in Georgia's UI data base. Therefore, UI data consistently *underestimate* employment and earnings (especially in interstate labor markets) and the figures contained in this report reflect *minimum* levels of employment and earnings among former TANF recipients.

Second, because of the time required for employer reporting and State processing of UI earnings data, complete data on earnings for any quarter are not available until three quarters later. Therefore, in this report, data on employment in the exit quarter are available for all adult recipients who left TANF during 1999 though 2002. However, post-exit earnings data are only available through the first quarter of 2003.

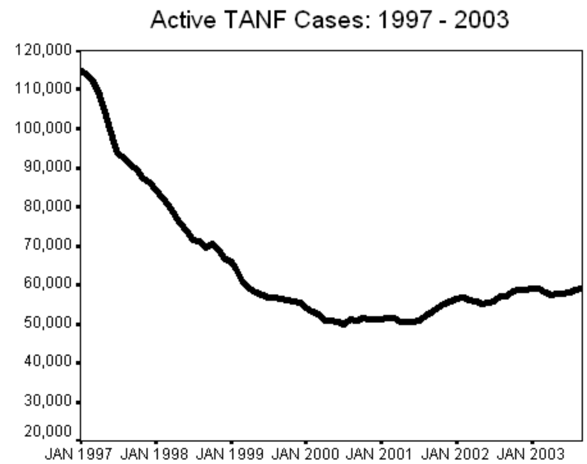
Data on recidivism come from SUCCESS files of active TANF recipients. This report includes data on recidivism through September 2003. This year, "snapshot" data for the month of June 2003 on receipt of Food Stamps, Medicaid, and Child Care Assistance have been added to leaver's follow-up records.

The Welfare Environment

Changing TANF Caseload

Prior to the implementation of TANF in January 1997, Georgia had introduced a "work first" approach to services that had resulted in a steady decrease in the number of households receiving welfare benefits each month. TANF mandated work requirements and set a 60-month lifetime limit on receipt of family assistance. At the same time, Georgia established a more stringent State limit of 48 months. While these limits may be waived for reasons such as domestic violence or disability, the message went out to recipients that TANF benefits are limited and should be saved for when they are needed most.

Figure 1



From 1997 through 1999, the number of Georgia households receiving TANF declined rapidly as monthly counts of closed cases exceeded the number of new cases being opened. (See Figure 1.) Undoubtedly, the transformation of welfare from an entitlement to a limited benefit contributed to this decline. Early leavers were those most able to leave. However, a strong economy and low unemployment rates also helped families leave TANF.

In 2000, the monthly caseload leveled off, with the number of households coming into TANF balancing the number of households leaving TANF. However, beginning early in 2001, the number of households receiving TANF began to increase. By October 2003, the TANF caseload had reached a level last seen in May 1999.

Lifetime Limits

In January 2001, TANF recipients began to reach the 48-month State limit on receipt of TANF benefits. A year later, recipients who had been granted waivers of the State limit began to reach the 60-month Federal limit. Again, some waivers have been granted, but about five percent of the 2001 and 2002 leaver cohorts are former recipients who have exceeded the lifetime limits.

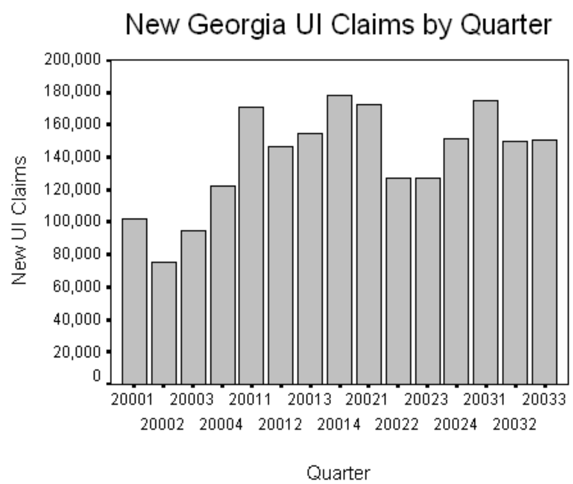
Reduced Employment Opportunity

The increase in households receiving TANF coincided with an economic downturn that caused substantial job loss here in Georgia. Figure 2 shows the number of new unemployment insurance claims over the period from the first quarter of 2000 through the third quarter of 2003. Workers are eligible for unemployment insurance when they lose their jobs through no fault of their own, and the number of new claims is a useful indicator of labor market conditions. That is, high numbers of new claims are indicative of a loss in the total number of jobs available combined with an increase in the number of workers seeking employment. [1]

[1] Data on new claims were obtained from the Georgia Department of Labor website at www.dol.state.ga.us.

The effects of the economic downturn on new claims for unemployment insurance were first seen in the first quarter of 2001. Since then new claims have remained relatively high. During this period, the quarterly employment rates of the leavers tracked through the TANF Follow-Up System have reflected overall job loss in Georgia. This effect has been seen across all cohorts. While there were many signs of economic recovery in 2003, that recovery was not seen by Georgia's workers during the period covered by this report.

Figure 2



Growing Urban Regions

Georgia experienced very substantial population growth between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses. While many counties in Georgia remain rural, Georgia's Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) were redefined and expanded in 2003 to reflect the state's expanding urban areas. Under the 2003 map, 70 counties are part of 15 MSAs, including MSAs for smaller cities such as Rome, Brunswick, and Valdosta.[2] Under the current definition, an MSA is an area with a population of 50,000 that is centered on an urban core and linked by commuting patterns. Workers residing in MSAs have access to larger and more diverse labor markets than those residing in areas outside of the MSAs. The impact of living with one of Georgia's MSAs on employment and earnings is examined in this report.

[2] Information on Georgia's 2003 MSAs was obtained from the Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia at www.ced.gatech.edu.

The TANF Leaver Population

Leaver Characteristics

This report focuses on adult TANF recipients who left TANF during the period from 1999 through 2002. The demographic characteristics of these leavers are shown in Table 1, below. In general, the four annual cohorts are very similar. However, there were several modest trends over the four year period. Specifically, the proportion of black leavers declined slightly while the proportion of white leavers made a corresponding increase. The average number of dependent children also decreased steadily, as did the percentage of leavers who had graduated from high school. While none of these changes is large, in each case the direction of change has been consistent over time.

Table 1
Leaver Characteristics by Annual Leaver Cohort

Characteristic	Annual Leaver Cohort			
	1999	2000	2001	2002
Number of Leavers	38,244	33,407	32,359	35,566
Women	95%	96%	96%	95%
Median Age	28	27	27	27
Black	76%	76%	74%	72%
White	23%	24%	24%	26%
Other	2%	1%	1%	2%
Married, Living Together	7%	7%	7%	8%
Never Married	68%	71%	70%	69%
Divorced, Separated, Widowed	22%	22%	23%	23%
Average Number of Dependent Children	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9
Median Age of Youngest Child	3	3	2	2
High School Graduate	61%	60%	58%	58%
Median Accrued Lifetime Limit Months	---	---	13	13
Resides in MSA	72%	71%	71%	72%

Repeated Exits

One reason why the cohorts are so similar is that there is considerable overlap between them. During the period from January 1999 through December 2002, 111,277 adult recipients left TANF. Of these, 64 percent have appeared in only one annual leaver cohort since 1997. The remaining 36 percent were members of at least one other leaver cohort.

Table 2 compares the characteristics of those who left in 2000, based on the number of cohorts in which they have appeared since 1997.[3] The differences between those who appeared in only one cohort and those who have appeared in three or more cohorts are striking. Those who have appeared repeatedly in the leaver population are younger but they have more children. They are less likely to be or to have been married, less likely to have graduated from high school, and more likely to be black. They are less likely to live in an MSA.

Table 2
2000 Leaver Characteristics by
Number of Cohorts in which Leaver has Appeared

Characteristic	Number of Cohorts		
	1	2	3 or More
Percentage of Leavers	48%	32%	19%
Median Age	28	27	26
Women	93%	98%	99%
High School Graduate	62%	59%	55%
Married, Living Together	10%	5%	3%
Never Married	66%	75%	78%
Divorced, Separated, Widowed	25%	20%	19%
Ave. Number of Children	1.8	2.0	2.2
Median Age of Youngest Child	3	2	2
Black	68%	80%	86%
White	31%	20%	14%
Other	1%	.4%	.2%
Resides in MSA	73%	71%	65%

Long-Term Recipients

Patterns of TANF receipt vary widely. The majority of recipients receives TANF for a relatively short period of time and does not return. However, some recipients leave and returned to TANF repeatedly, while others receive TANF steadily over a period of years before leaving. Therefore, the characteristics of those who appear in multiple cohorts reflect the TANF recidivist population, but not necessarily the population of long-term recipients.

Table 3 compares leaver characteristics by number of tracked TANF months. It is based on leavers from the 2002 cohort since that cohort includes those leavers who received TANF the longest before they left.

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[3] The 2000 cohort was chosen because it is the most recent cohort in which all members have had the opportunity to appear in at least 3 cohorts.

The majority of the 2002 leavers were in no immediate danger of reaching their lifetime limits. Seventy-three percent left TANF with fewer than 25 accrued lifetime limit months. These leavers were younger, had fewer and younger children, were more likely to be married or to have been married, and were more likely to have graduated from high school than those who left after accruing more than two years of lifetime limit months.

Table 3
2002 Leaver Characteristics by Accrued Lifetime Limit Months

Characteristic	Accrued Lifetime Limit Months				
	1 – 12	13 – 24	25 – 36	37 – 48	49 – 72
Percentage of Leavers	50%	23%	13%	10%	5%
Women	92%	97%	99%	99%	99%
Median Age	26	26	27	28	30
Black	62%	76%	85%	90%	94%
White	36%	23%	15%	9%	6%
Other	1%	1%	1%	1%	.4%
Married, Living Together	12%	6%	4%	3%	2%
Never Married	62%	72%	76%	81%	84%
Divorced, Separated, Widowed	26%	23%	20%	16%	14%
Average Number of Dependent Children	1.7	1.9	2.3	2.5	2.8
Median Age of Youngest Child	2	2	3	3	4
High School Graduate	61%	59%	55%	50%	45%
Resides in MSA	72%	70%	70%	72%	81%

Recipients may only remain on TANF after reaching the 48-month State lifetime limit if they receive a waiver from their county TANF program. Just three counties – Fulton, Richmond, and Dougherty – accounted for 55 percent of all the 2002 leavers who had received TANF for more than 48 months, although together these large counties served just 22 percent of the 2002 leaver population. Nevertheless, the characteristics of those who had received TANF for more than 48 months fit the trends seen as the number of accrued lifetime limit months increases. Clearly, those who remained on TANF longer had more strikes against them with regard to their ability to support their families – more children, less education, and less apparent connection to the fathers of their children.

Because of the inter-relationships between leaver characteristics, Table 3 does not make it clear whether each of the observed differences is important in understanding those most at risk of becoming long-term TANF recipients. Table 4, below, shows the results of the linear regression of key leaver characteristics on number of accrued lifetime limit months.[4] Each of these characteristics makes a statistically significant contribution to accounting for accrued lifetime limit months, and together they account for 20 percent of the variance in number of accrued months across the 2002 leavers. That percentage is substantial, but it also points to the importance of other, unknown factors and individual differences.

Table 4
Predicting Accrued Lifetime Limit Months from 2002 Leaver Characteristics

Model	B*	Standard Error	T	Significance
(Constant)	-3.766	.404	-9.328	.000
Age	.265	.014	19.528	.000
Children in Grant	3.757	.067	55.905	.000
Age of Youngest Child	.326	.022	14.645	.000
Male	-8.720	.361	-24.180	.000
Black	5.729	.177	32.403	.000
Never Married	4.897	.195	25.089	.000
Married, Together	-1.657	.304	-5.460	.000
High School Graduate	-3.220	.149	-21.635	.000

* Unstandardized regression coefficient

Variables within this model can be understood, for example, as "when all of these variables are taken into consideration together, each child in the grant adds 3.757 months to a recipient's predicted accrued lifetime limit months at exit" or "when all of these variables are taken into consideration together, never having been married increases a recipient's predicted accrued months by 4.897."

Within the model, the characteristic accounting for the most variation in number of accrued lifetime limit months is the number of children in the grant. Because TANF eligibility rules take number in family into consideration in evaluating income eligibility, recipients with larger families can earn more without becoming ineligible. As a practical matter, the more children recipients have, the more they must earn to support their families and the more complex the problems they must resolve in order to be able to go to work. Both factors – eligibility and feasibility – probably contribute to keeping larger families on TANF longer.

[4] Residing in an MSA was also tested, but did not make a significant, independent contribution to accounting for number of tracked months.

Patterns of Employment and Recidivism

Outcomes in the First Year after Exit

The TANF work requirements, combined with lifetime limits on receipt of benefits, reflect a belief that most recipients *can* make the transition to steady employment, capable of supporting themselves and their families, within the benefit period. The employment, earnings, and recidivism of TANF leavers over the first year after they leave TANF reveal the efforts of former recipients to meet the challenge set by TANF policy, and the extent to which they are successful.

Table 5, below, looks at employment and return to TANF in the first year following exit for the leaver cohorts from 1999 through 2002. Over this period, the percentage of leavers who were employed during the year (i.e. had earnings in at least one of the four quarters following their exit from TANF) decreased from 77 to 71 percent. Nevertheless, a small majority of each cohort was employed and did not return to TANF. From 1999 through 2001, an increase in recidivism mirrored the decrease in employment. However in 2002, as recipients began to reach the 60-month Federal lifetime limit, recidivism decreased slightly and the number of leavers who were neither employed nor returned to TANF increased.

Table 5
Employment and Return to TANF in the First Year after Exit by Annual Exit Cohort

Employment/Return Group	1999	2000	2001	2002*
Employed, Did not Return	58%	54%	52%	51%
Employed, Returned	19%	21%	22%	20%
Not Employed, Returned	4%	5%	7%	8%
Neither Employed nor Returned	18%	20%	20%	22%
Total Employed	77%	75%	74%	71%
Total Returned	23%	26%	29%	28%

*Based on the 8,864 2002 leavers for whom a full year of follow-up data is available.

Outcomes by Number of Accrued Lifetime Limit Months

The effect of lifetime limit policies on recidivism can be seen in Table 6. This table presents data on employment and return to TANF by number of accrued TANF months for those who left TANF in 2001. Among the 2001 leavers, the employment rate was highest among those with 1 to 12 accrued months and lowest for those with 49 to 60 accrued months. Recidivism was highest for those with 25 to 36 accrued months, due in part to a relatively high proportion of leavers who were employed, but who also returned to TANF. Those who had reached the State lifetime limit had the lowest recidivism rate – 20 percent – in spite of the fact that their employment rate was also the lowest. The proportion of this group that neither worked nor returned to TANF was much higher than for any other group.

We do not know what those who were not found in either the Georgia unemployment insurance records or the TANF rolls were doing. They may have married and stayed home with their children, depended on family members, moved out of Georgia, received disability payments, worked in a neighboring state, or held a job that was not covered by unemployment insurance. However, the high proportion of these leavers among those who left TANF after reaching their State lifetime limits points to a group of leavers who were unable to make a successful transition off welfare within the time allowed by TANF. Over time, as more recipients reach their limits, it is likely that this segment of the leaver population will increase.

Table 6
Employment and Return to TANF in the First Year After Exit by Number of Tracked TANF Months among 2001 Leavers*

Employment/Return Group	1-12	13-24	25-36	37-48	49-60
Percentage of Leavers	47%	23%	13%	11%	6%
Employed, Did not Return	56%	50%	46%	46%	49%
Employed, Returned	19%	26%	29%	26%	13%
Not Employed, Returned	5%	7%	9%	9%	7%
Neither Employed nor Returned	20%	17%	17%	19%	32%
Total Employed	75%	76%	75%	72%	62%
Total Returned	24%	33%	38%	33%	20%

*Based on the 29,609 2001 leavers for whom data on accrued lifetime limit months are available.

Until they reach their lifetime limits, longer-term recipients who leave TANF are more likely to return to TANF than those who have received benefits for fewer months. The reason for this pattern may be seen in Table 7, which presents data on employment and earnings in the first year after exit by number of accrued lifetime limit months. Most leavers do not work steadily in the first year after they leave TANF, so they may experience periods of TANF eligibility. On average, however, longer-term recipients earn less when they work and so are more likely to return.

The plight of those who have reached their lifetime limits, most of who are unable to return to TANF, is very clear in Table 7. They work less, they earn less when they work, and their incomes are very low.

Table 7 Employment and Earnings in the First Year after Exit by Number of Accrued Lifetime Limit Months among 2001 Leavers					
Employment and Earnings	**1-12**	**13-24**	**25-36**	**37-48**	**49-60**
Ave. Quarters Worked (All)	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.7
Employed in All Quarters	38%	35%	35%	29%	23%
Average Quarterly Earnings in Quarters Worked	$2,629	$2,319	$2,122	$1,950	$1,756
Ave. Annual Earnings (Employed Only)	$8,009	$6,913	$6,302	$5,527	$4,800
Ave. Monthly Earnings above TANF Gross Income Ceiling[5] (All)	27%	22%	18%	12%	7%
*Based on the 29,609 leavers for whom data on accrued lifetime limit months are available.					

Those Who Return to TANF

The majority of TANF leavers work during at least one quarter in the year following their exit from TANF. Among those who are employed, most do not return. However, those who do reflect the tension inherent in TANF – the need to work, the difficulty of sustaining employment over time, and approaching lifetime limits.

Employed leavers who do and do not return to TANF can be compared in two respects – their characteristics and their employment experiences. Table 8 compares the characteristics of the 2001 leavers who were employed during the first year after they left TANF based on whether or not they returned to TANF during that year. Those who returned to TANF were younger but had accrued more lifetime limit months. They were less likely to have graduated from high school and to be or have been married.

Those employed leavers who did not return to TANF worked more quarters, earned more in the quarters in which they worked, and had annual earnings that were, on average, more than twice as high as the earnings of those who returned to TANF. (See Table 9.)

[5] See Appendix A.

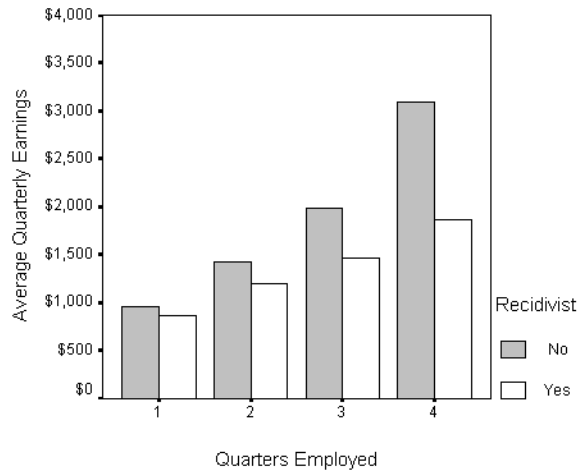
Table 8 Characteristics of 2001 Leavers Employed in the First Year After Exit by Recidivism Status*		
Characteristics	**Returned**	**Did Not Return**
Percentage of Employed Leavers	30%	70%
Women	99%	96%
Median Age	25	27
Black White Other	84% 15% 1%	74% 24% 1%
Married, Living Together Never Married Divorced, Separated, Widowed	4% 78% 18%	7% 69% 24%
Ave. Number of Dependent Children	2.1	2.0
Median Age of Youngest Child	2	2
High School Graduate	54%	63%
Median Accrued Lifetime Limit Months	16	12
Resides in MSA	70%	72%
* Based on 23,791 2001 leavers employed in the first year following exit.		

Table 9 First Year Earnings and Quarters Worked by Recidivism Status: Employed 2001 Leavers		
Outcome	**Returned**	**Did Not Return**
Quarters Worked: One Two Three Four	 22% 25% 25% 28%	 14% 14% 17% 56%
Average Earnings in Quarters Worked	$1,538	$2,679
Average Annual Earnings	$3,981	$8,423

Labor Force Attachment

Labor force attachment is the strength of a worker's connection to the workforce. Number of quarters worked is an indicator of labor force attachment, with more quarters indicative of steadier employment. Higher earnings promote labor force attachment by motivating and supporting continued employment. In turn, as workers remain in the workforce, their earnings increase.

Figure 3



The relationship between labor force attachment and earnings is seen in Figure 3, which shows average quarterly earnings by number of quarters worked for employed 2001 leavers who did, and did not, return to TANF. In both groups, average quarterly earnings increased as number of quarters of employment increased. However, the rate of increase was substantially higher for those who did not return to TANF.

Another way of understanding the role of earnings in sustained employment is by looking at the relationship between employment and earnings in one quarter and employment in the next quarter. The experience of the 2001 leavers in the third and fourth quarters after they left TANF is typical. Among those who were employed in the third post-exit quarter, 83 percent were also employed in the fourth quarter, while only 16 percent of those who were not employed in the third quarter were employed in the fourth. But among those who were employed in the third post exit quarter, those who earned more were more likely to work in the fourth quarter as well. (See Figure 4.) At the very lowest earning levels, the probablility of subsequent employment was less than 60 percent, but for those who earned $2,500 or more, it was over 90 percent.

Figure 4

Both local labor market conditions and what workers have to offer affect the price they can get for their labor. Table 10 shows average annual earnings by quarters worked, high school graduation, and MSA/non-MSA.

Table 10
Average Annual Earnings by Quarters of Employment, High School Graduation and MSA Residence*

Quarters of Employment	High School Graduate		Non-Graduate	
	MSA	Non-MSA	MSA	Non-MSA
One	$1,078	$932	$785	$822
Two	$3,045	$2,845	$2,293	$2,296
Three	$6,078	$5,472	$4,567	$4,701
Four	$12,935	$11,260	$9,693	$9,282

* Based on the 23,788 2001 leaver who were employed in the first year following their exit from TANF.

The importance of working steadily is seen across all groups. Those who worked four quarters had average annual earnings that were more than *12 times* higher than the average annual earnings of those who worked only one quarter. Among high school graduates, those who lived in counties located within one of the state's MSAs consistently made more then those who lived in rural counties whose labor markets were not linked to urban centers. Overall, graduates who lived in MSAs averaged $8,575 for the year, while those living outside of MSAs had average annual earnings of $7,321. However, among the non-graduates, residence within an MSA did not mean consistently higher earnings. As a group, non-graduates living in MSAs averaged $5,461, while those in non-MSAs earned an average of $5,149. Regardless of where they lived, leavers who had not graduated from high school were at the bottom of the labor market.

Longer Term Outcomes and Dimming Prospects for Self-Sufficiency

Building economic stability and well-being is a gradual process. Longer term outcomes provide evidence of the extent to which leavers are – or are not – improving their circumstances and becoming more self-sufficient. In addition, longer term outcomes provide evidence of the effects of the economic downturn that began on 2001 on the employment and earnings of TANF leavers.

Table 11
Employment, Earnings and Recidivism by Annual Leaver Cohort and Post-Exit Year*

Outcome	1999	2000	2001	2002
First Year				
Employed in at Least One Quarter	77%	75%	74%	71%
Employed in All Four Quarters	40%	38%	35%	33%
Ave. Annual Earnings (Employed Only)	$7,336	$7,199	$7,097	$7,199
Ave. Earnings per Quarter Worked	$2,365	$2,350	$2,384	$2,431
Returned to TANF	24%	27%	29%	28%
Ave. Months on TANF (Returned Only)	5.4	5.3	5.4	5.5
No Known Outcomes	18%	20%	20%	22%
Second Year				
Employed in at Least One Quarter	72%	68%	66%	
Employed in All Four Quarters	40%	34%	31%	
Ave. Earnings (Employed Only)	$8,361	$7,880	$7,672	
Ave. Earnings per Quarter Worked	$2,673	$2,604	$2,579	
Returned to TANF	22%	29%	31%	
Ave. Months on TANF (Returned Only)	6.2	6.3	6.3	
No Known Outcomes	22%	24%	24%	
Third Year				
Employed in at Least One Quarter	66%	64%		
Employed in All Four Quarters	35%	32%		
Ave. Earnings (Employed Only)	$8,956	$8,400		
Ave. Earnings per Quarter Worked	$2,889	$2,771		
Returned to TANF	23%	26%		
Ave. Months on TANF (Returned Only)	6.4	6.3		
No Known Outcomes	27%	28%		

* For cohorts 2000 to 2002, the most recent data shown are for leavers who left TANF between January and March of the cohort year, as these are the only cohort members for whom complete data are available.

Reduced Employment Opportunity

Table 11 compares employment, earnings, and recidivism across three annual cohorts and three post-exit years. In each successive cohort, employment rates declined within post-exit years. For the 1999 through 2001 cohorts, recidivism rates increased as employment rates decreased. However, in 2002, as leavers began to reach the 60-month Federal lifetime limit, the recidivism rate did not go up in response to the lower employment rate. Within post-exit years, earnings generally decreased across successive cohorts. However, between post exit-years, earnings have consistently increased. That is, the more time that has passed since a cohort left TANF, the more those who were employed earned, both per quarter worked and annually.

Comparisons of employment rates across post-exit years is complicated by the fact that, over time, more former recipients are likely to have moved out of Georgia. Increasing percentages of leavers for whom no outcomes are known supports the hypothesis that the available leaver population does shrink over time. Nevertheless, a substantial proportion of the decreasing employment rates can be attributed to the effects of the economic downturn that began in the first quarter of 2001. The first full years in which reduced job opportunity as a result of the economic downturn were seen in each cohort were the third year after exit for the 1999 cohort, the second year after exit for the 2000 cohort, and the first year after exit for the 2001 and 2002 cohorts.

Table 12
Quarterly Employment Rates by Exit Cohort and Post-Exit Quarter

Exit Cohort	N	Exit Qtr	Post-Exit Quarter											
			Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
19991	11,678	61%	63%	59%	59%	58%	59%	57%	57%	55%	54%	53%	52%	50%
19992	10,485	63%	62%	59%	58%	58%	57%	57%	54%	54%	53%	52%	49%	51%
19993	8,390	64%	64%	61%	60%	58%	58%	56%	55%	54%	52%	50%	51%	50%
19994	7,691	65%	64%	61%	59%	57%	56%	56%	55%	53%	50%	52%	51%	50%
20001	9,243	61%	63%	58%	58%	55%	54%	53%	51%	49%	51%	49%	48%	46%
20002	8,595	64%	62%	60%	55%	55%	53%	52%	49%	50%	50%	49%	46%	
20003	7,852	62%	63%	58%	57%	55%	53%	51%	52%	51%	49%	47%		
20004	7,717	61%	60%	56%	54%	52%	49%	51%	49%	48%	46%			
20011	8,961	60%	60%	55%	53%	50%	52%	50%	48%	46%				
20012	8,579	61%	60%	54%	50%	52%	50%	49%	46%					
20013	7,627	61%	60%	55%	55%	53%	52%	49%						
20014	7,192	61%	58%	57%	54%	52%	50%							
20021	8,864	54%	57%	53%	51%	48%								
20022	9,399	57%	55%	53%	49%									
20023	8,869	57%	56%	51%										
20024	8,434	56%	53%											

Note: Shaded cells contain data for the 1st quarter of 2001 – the first quarter of the economic downturn.

These effects can be seen in Table 12, which presents quarterly employment rates by quarterly exit cohort and post-exit quarter. In this table, employment rates for the first quarter of 2001 are shaded. Figures below the shaded cells reflect employment taking place after the downturn began. Employment rates were generally lower than they had been in the previous quarter, and, for the most part, they have continued to decline since then. Rates in the final quarter of the table – the first quarter of 2003 – are the lowest seen in six years of TANF follow-up and are about nine percentage points lower than rates seen before January 2001. It appears that, in the first quarter of 2003, approximately 10,000 fewer of the 1999 through 2002 leavers were working as a result of reduced job opportunities, with a corresponding quarterly loss of about $25,000,000 in earnings. As the economy experiences job growth, this picture will improve, but it will be a long time before the employment rates of TANF leavers return to their old levels.

Progress toward Self-Sufficiency

The Federal Poverty Guidelines (Appendix A) are keyed to family size and adjusted annually for increases in the cost of living. Consequently, earnings relative to the Poverty Guidelines not only provide a measure of progress out of poverty, but they also provide an indication of how well leavers' earnings are keeping up with increases in the cost of living. Table 13 shows the percentage of employed leavers with annual earnings above the Federal Poverty Guidelines across five annual cohorts and four post-exit years. In each annual cohort, the percentage of employed leavers with annual earnings above the Federal Poverty Guidelines increases with each successive post-exit year. That is, the cohorts are making progress. But within post-exit years, the percentage with annual earnings that exceed the Poverty Guidelines has decreased with each successive cohort. That is, leavers' earnings are not keeping up with increases in the cost of living. Each year, as minimum wage has remained constant, the poverty level has become a tougher mark to hit, and fewer leavers have hit it.

Table 13
Percentage of Employed Leavers with
Annual Earnings in Excess of Federal Poverty Guidelines

Leaver Cohort	Post-Exit Year			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1997	18%	24%	29%	31%
1998	15%	20%	23%	24%
1999	14%	18%	20%	
2000	14%	17%		
2001	13%			

Still, those who work steadily over time do make progress. The 1999 leaver cohort illustrates the importance of stable employment in moving out of poverty. Over the three year-period following exit, 85 percent of cohort members worked in at least one quarter, and 20 percent worked in every quarter. (See Figure 5.)

As in the first year following exit, those who worked more quarters had higher average quarterly earnings and therefore much higher average earnings over the three-year period. (See Table 14.) While 13 percent of all 1999 leavers had earnings over the Poverty Guidelines for their family size in the third year following exit, 43% of those who had worked in every quarter had third-year earnings above the Poverty Guidelines. Because earnings were higher for leavers who resided in counties within the state's MSAs, a higher percentage of those who lived in MSAs (14 versus 11 percent) had earnings that exceeded the Poverty Guidelines in their third year following exit.

Figure 5

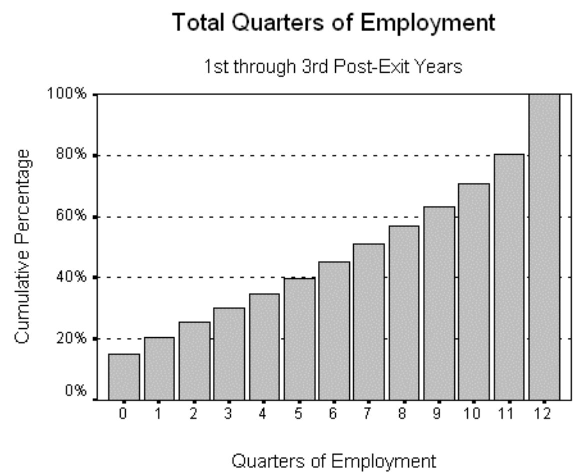
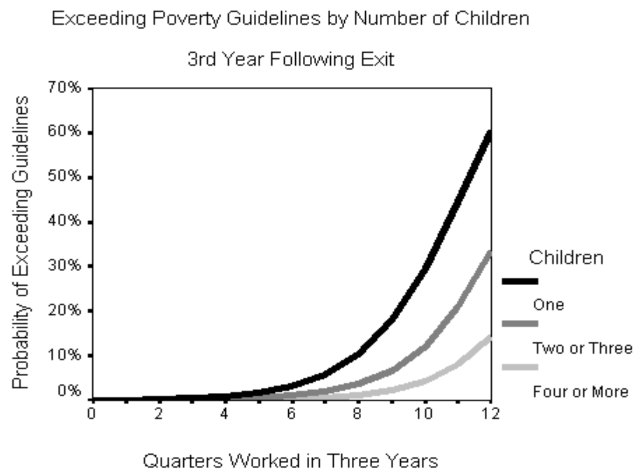


Table 14
1999 Leavers' Earnings by Number of Quarters Worked

Quarters Worked	Average Quarterly Earnings in Quarters Worked	Average 3-Year Earnings	Year 3 Earnings Exceed Poverty Guidelines
1	$991	$991	0%
2	$1,081	$2,162	<1%
3	$1,316	$3,947	<1%
4	$1,422	$5,688	<1%
5	$1,518	$7,590	2%
6	$1,686	$10,113	3%
7	$1,824	$12,766	4%
8	$1,986	$15,891	7%
9	$2,174	$19,565	9%
10	$2,417	$24,173	13%
11	$2,813	$30,939	23%
12	$3,517	$42,207	43%
All Leavers	$1,905	$17,537	13%

Number of children is also an important factor in whether or not leavers achieve earnings above the Poverty Guidelines, since the poverty level increases as family size increases. This increase, of course, reflects the fact that as family size increases, so do the resources required to meet the needs of family members. Figure 6 is based on the earnings of 1999 leavers in their third year following exit and shows the relationships between number of quarters worked, number of children, and the probability that a family will have earnings that exceed the Poverty Guidelines.[6] Very few larger families are able to make this transition within three years after leaving TANF, even with stable employment over time. On the other hand, a majority of those who have only one child and who work steadily achieve earnings above the Poverty Guidelines.

Figure 6



Even if TANF leavers are no longer dependent on TANF, or eligible to receive benefits under that program, they may still be receiving other forms of public assistance. Table 15 reflects a "snapshot" of dependency, based on benefits provided in the month of June 2003. The more recent the leaver cohort was, the higher the percentage of leavers who received assistance that month. Those who were receiving Child Care Assistance generally were employed and not receiving TANF. Food Stamps and Medicaid typically occurred together. That is, if leavers received one, the generally received the other as well. While relatively few of the leavers in any cohort were receiving TANF, a substantial proportion of each cohort was dependent on other forms of assistance.

Table 15
Receipt of Public Assistance in June 2003 by TANF Leavers

Leaver Cohort	TANF	Child Care Assistance	Food Stamps	Medicaid
1997	8%	6%	35%	35%
1998	10%	7%	43%	43%
1999	12%	9%	48%	48%
2000	14%	12%	52%	54%
2001	16%	14%	55%	59%
2002	15%	16%	57%	63%

[6] Probability of exceeding the Poverty Guidelines is based on the logistical regression of number of children (grouped data) and number of quarters worked on whether or not a leaver had 3rd year earnings above the poverty level.

Finally, looking again at the 2001 leavers who have reached their lifetime limits (Table 16), we see that in June 2003 relatively few were receiving TANF or Child Care Assistance, presumably because they were not eligible for TANF and relatively few of them were employed. But proportionally more of them were receiving Food Stamps or Medicaid than were those who had accrued fewer months when they left TANF. Although no longer on TANF, the great majority were still dependent on public assistance. Unfortunately, it does not appear that this dependency is likely to change for most of them in the foreseeable future.

Table 16
Assistance Received by 2001 Leaver Cohort in June 2003

Type of Assistance	Accrued Lifetime Limit Months				
	1–12	13–24	25–36	37–48	48-60
TANF	13%	20%	22%	14%	11%
Child Care Assistance	14%	17%	16%	10%	8%
Food Stamps	43%	58%	67%	75%	80%
Medicaid	51%	63%	67%	73%	73%

Industries Employing TANF Leavers

The UI wage record does not provide information on a worker's occupation. However, it does include the employer's Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code. This coding system identifies industries at three levels of detail: industrial division, major industry group, and specific industry. Although SIC codes tell us where TANF leavers are working, their usefulness as an indicator of what the leavers are doing is varied. Some occupations, such as child care worker, are strongly associated with a particular industry while others, such as computer programmer, are found in many different industries. Nevertheless, industries of employment enrich our understanding of the experiences of adults who leave TANF.

Table 17 shows the top ten major industry groups of the 2001 TANF leavers who were employed in the fourth quarter of their first year following exit. Together, these industry groups account for 57 percent of the 16,597 employed 2001 leavers for whom valid SIC codes are available.

Table 17
2001 Leavers' Top Ten Industries of Employment

Major Industry Group	Percent of Total Employment	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
Eating and Drinking Places	19%	$1,668	5%
Personnel Supply Services*	9%	$1,884	11%
Nursing & Personal Care Facilities	6%	$2,406	11%
Grocery Stores	4%	$2,102	12%
Department Stores	4%	$2,464	15%
Child Day Care Services	3%	$2,264	10%
Hospitals	3%	$4,017	40%
Hotels & Motels	3%	$1,836	8%
Elementary & Secondary Schools	3%	$2,523	15%
Miscellaneous Business Services**	2%	$2,480	18%

* Includes temporary agencies and providers of contract workers.
** Includes companies providing office cleaning and security services.

The list of industry groups in which TANF leavers work has remained very stable over time. In fact, the same industry groups were the "top ten" for the 2000 leaver cohort as well. All of these industries employ large numbers of low-skill workers. Given that full-time employment at minimum wage yields earnings of about $2,678 a quarter, it is clear that part-time or temporary employment was common within the industry groups employing the majority of TANF leavers.

Nine of the top ten industry groups were the same for leavers who did and did not reside within an MSA. “Miscellaneous Business Services” was replaced in the list of top ten industry groups by “Manufacturers of Meat Products” for leavers who lived in counties not located with an MSA. In each of the remaining industries, average quarterly earnings were higher for leavers who lived in an MSA.

Eighteen percent of the 2001 leavers who were employed in the fourth quarter of the year following exit had earnings in that year that exceeded the Poverty Guidelines. Table 18 lists their top ten industry groups. These industry groups employed 40 percent of the 2,921 leavers with annual earnings above the Poverty Guidelines. Seven industry groups appear in both Table 17 and Table 18, suggesting diversity in the quality of employment opportunities they offer.

Again, differences between those who lived within and outside the state’s MSAs were small. “Manufacturers of Meat Products” and “Public Safety and Order” were among the top industry groups of leavers with annual earnings above the Poverty Guidelines who resided outside of the state’s MSAs, while the list for those who lived in an MSA included “Miscellaneous Business Services” and “Offices and Clinics of Medical Doctors.”

Table 18
Top Ten Major Industry Groups for 2001 Leavers with Annual Earnings Exceeding Federal Poverty Guidelines*

Major Industry Group	Percent of Total Employment	Average Quarterly Earnings
Hospitals	7%	$4,376
Personnel Supply Services	6%	$5,182
Eating & Drinking Establishments	5%	$4,264
Offices & Clinics of Medical Doctors	4%	$4,475
Nursing & Personal Care Facilities	3%	$5,267
Department Stores	3%	$4,150
Grocery Stores	3%	$3,871
Executive & Legislative Combined**	3%	$3,901
Meat Products	3%	$5,672
Elementary and Secondary Schools	3%	$4,064

* Based on 2,921 leavers with earnings in their first year after exit that exceeded the federal poverty guidelines.
** This industry group refers to government agencies.

Table 19
Relationship Between Average Quarterly Earnings and Employment of Leavers Lacking High School Diploma by Industry Group

Major Industry Groups with 75 or More Employed Leavers	Average Quarterly Earnings	Leavers Lacking a High School Diploma
Telephone Communication	$4,998	13%
Offices & Clinics of Medical Doctors	$4,424	15%
Hospitals	$4,017	24%
Health & Allied Services	$3,447	18%
Executive & Legislative Combined	$3,412	24%
Individual & Family Services	$3,281	25%
Administration of Public Health Programs	$3,275	32%
Colleges & Universities	$3,238	25%
Meat Products	$2,908	48%
Residential Care	$2,791	30%
Management & Public Relations	$2,566	38%
Elementary & Secondary Schools	$2,523	22%
Miscellaneous Business Services	$2,480	30%
Department Stores	$2,464	30%
Nursing & Personal Care Facilities	$2,406	45%
Laundry, Cleaning, & Garment Services	$2,326	36%
Home Health Care Services	$2,309	28%
Child Day Care Services	$2,264	32%
Gasoline Services Stations	$2,206	46%
Family Clothing Stores	$2,170	32%
Miscellaneous Shopping Goods Stores	$2,165	33%
Grocery Stores	$2,102	42%
Job Training & Related Services*	$1,965	48%
Services to Buildings	$1,897	53%
Personnel Supply Services	$1,884	39%
Hotels & Motels	$1,836	50%
Miscellaneous General Merchandise Stores	$1,683	34%
Eating & Drinking Places	$1,668	48%
Variety Stores	$1,632	50%

* Includes community service employment and participation in work experience programs.

Table 19 lists the major industrial groups in which 75 or more leavers were employed, with the average quarterly wage earned by the leavers working in the industry group and the percentage of those leavers who had not graduated from high school. Overall, leavers lacking high school diplomas made up 42 percent of the 2001 leavers, but only 37 percent of the leavers who were employed in the fourth quarter after exit. While there were leavers who had not graduated from high school in all of the industry groups listed in Table 19, the association between education and earning potential is clear. Generally, as average quarterly earnings decreased, the percentage of non-graduates in an industry increased. Non-graduates made up the majority of workers in Services to Buildings, Hotels and Motels, and Variety Stores.

Table 20 shows the number of 2001 leavers employed in each of the ten SIC industry divisions in the fourth quarter of their first year following exit. Included in this table are average quarterly earnings and the percentage of leavers with annual earnings that exceeded the Poverty Guidelines for their family size. This table summarizes information provided in Appendix B, in which all of the industries of employment are listed by major industrial group. Thirty-five percent of the employed 2001 leavers worked in Retail Trade – the industry division with the second lowest average quarterly earnings. Among the industry divisions employing large numbers of leavers, average earnings were highest in Manufacturing. Unfortunately, manufacturing employment in Georgia declined throughout 2001 as a result of the economic downturn. Although it remained stable in mid-2002, Georgia has continued to lose manufacturing jobs since then.[7]

Table 20
Employment and Earnings in the Fourth Quarter After Exit by SIC Industrial Division: 2001 Leaver Cohort

Industrial Division	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
Agriculture	109	$2,352	7%
Mining	3	$5,217	33%
Construction	163	$3,733	39%
Manufacturing	1,209	$3,822	30%
Transportation, Communications, Electric, Gas, and Sanitary Services	390	$4,439	37%
Wholesale Trade	346	$3,666	32%
Retail Trade	5,761	$2,589	9%
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	340	$4,861	46%
Services	7,510	$2,772	18%
Public Administration	634	$2,881	30%

[7] "Georgia Manufacturing Vital Signs," July/August 2003, Center for Economic Development, Georgia Institute of Technology at www.ced.gatech.edu.

Appendix A

TANF Gross Income Ceiling and Federal Poverty Guidelines

Family Size	TANF Gross Income Ceiling (Monthly)	Federal Poverty Guidelines (Annual)			
		1999	2000	2001	2002
1	$435	$8,240	$8,350	$8,590	$8,860
2	$659	$11,060	$11,250	$11,610	$11,940
3	$784	$13,656	$14,150	$14,630	$15,020
4	$925	$16,452	$17,050	$17,650	$18,100
5	$1,060	$19,260	$19,950	$20,670	$21,180
6	$1,149	$22,056	$22,850	$23,690	$24,260
7	$1,243	$24,853	$25,750	$29,710	$27,340
8	$1,319	$27,660	$28,650	$32,750	$30,420
9	$1,389	$30,468	$31,550	$35,770	$33,500
10	$1,487	$33,276	$34, 450	$38,790	$36,580
11	$1,591	$36,084	$37,350	$41,810	$42,740

Note: The TANF Gross Income Ceiling is established by the Georgia legislature and is one of the factors used in determining income eligibility for TANF. The Federal Poverty Guidelines are set by the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services and used in determining eligibility for a variety of federal programs.

Appendix B

Industries of Employment

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
Agriculture			
013 Field Crops, Except Cash Grains	6	$1,241	0%
016 Vegetables & Melons	23	$730	4%
017 Fruits & Tree Nuts	7	$673	0%
018 Horticultural Specialties	20	$2,051	5%
019 General Farms, Primarily Crop	2	$1,179	0%
024 Dairy Farms	1	$5,055	100%
025 Poultry & Eggs	3	$2,601	0%
072 Crop Services	18	$1,009	6%
074 Veterinary Services	12	$2,092	25%
076 Farm Labor & Management Services	1	$856	0%
078 Landscape & Horticultural Services	15	$2,981	0%
081 Timber Tracts	1	$7,750	100%
All	109	$2,352	7%
Mining			
103 Lead & Zinc Ores	1	$3,797	0%
142 Crushed & Broken Stone	1	$6,081	0%
144 Sand & Gravel	1	$5,774	100%
All	3	$5,217	33%
Construction			
152 Residential Building Construction	17	$3,090	24%
153 Operative Builders	2	$4,898	50%
154 Nonresidential Building Construction	15	$4,267	47%
161 Highway & Street Construction	10	$4,939	40%
162 Heavy Construction, Except Highway	11	$4,231	45%
171 Plumbing, Heating, Air-conditioning	24	$3,884	38%
172 Painting & Paper Hanging	7	$1,834	29%
173 Electrical Work	29	$3,718	52%
174 Masonry, Stonework, & Plastering	14	$1,961	21%
175 Carpentry & Floor Work	5	$4,142	20%
176 Roofing, Siding, & Sheet Metal Work	10	$3,999	30%
177 Concrete Work	8	$4,399	38%
179 Misc. Special Trade Contractors	11	$3,161	55%
All	163	$3,733	39%
Manufacturing & Processing			
201 Meat Products	301	$2,908	28%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
202 Dairy Products	1	$6,481	0%
203 Preserved Fruits & Vegetables	4	$4,819	25%
204 Grain Mill Products	4	$2,528	25%
205 Bakery Products	34	$3,687	21%
206 Sugar & Confectionery Products	8	$1,372	0%
207 Fats & Oils	2	$6,333	100%
208 Beverages	3	$7,065	67%
209 Misc. Food & Kindred Products	10	$4,206	50%
221 Broadwoven Fabric Mills, Cotton	32	$4,646	44%
222 Broadwoven Fabric Mills, Manmade	4	$2,738	50%
223 Broadwoven Fabric Mills, Wool	1	$2,499	0%
224 Narrow Fabric Mills	1	$260	0%
225 Knitting Mills	38	$2,116	11%
226 Textile Finishing, Except Wool	2	$1,691	50%
227 Carpets & Rugs	55	$4,081	45%
228 Yarn & Thread Mills	56	$4,732	45%
229 Misc. Textile Goods	9	$4,323	67%
231 Men’s & Boys Suits & Coats	1	$3,375	0%
232 Men’s & Boys Furnishings	35	$2,004	6%
233 Women’s & Misses Outerwear	8	$3,124	25%
234 Women’s & Children’s Undergarments	13	$1,832	8%
235 Hats, Caps, & Millinery	2	$2,164	0%
236 Girls & Children’s Outerwear	3	$2,069	0%
238 Misc. Apparel & Accessories	4	$3,186	25%
239 Misc. Fabricated Textile Products	47	$2,834	21%
241 Logging	9	$4,832	44%
242 Sawmills & Planing Mills	7	$4,414	71%
243 Millwork, Plywood & Structural Members	23	$3,775	48%
244 Wood Containers	17	$2,880	18%
245 Wood Buildings & Mobile Homes	11	$2,758	18%
249 Misc. Wood Products	3	$3,705	33%
251 Household Furniture	12	$2,634	0%
253 Public Building & Related Furniture	2	$6,970	100%
254 Partitions & Fixtures	3	$2,761	0%
259 Misc. Furniture & Fixtures	5	$2,008	0%
267 Misc. Converted Paper Products	19	$4,532	53%
271 Newspapers	45	$2,304	7%
274 Misc. Publishing	2	$4,074	100%
275 Commercial Printing	13	$3,313	46%
278 Blankbooks & Bookbinding	7	$2,943	14%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
279 Printing Trade Services	2	$3,110	50%
282 Plastics Materials & Synthetics	2	$7,968	100%
283 Drugs	2	$2,858	0%
284 Soap, Cleaners, & Toilet Goods	8	$2,539	13%
285 Paints & Allied Products	1	$5,447	0%
287 Agricultural Chemicals	5	$1,984	0%
289 Misc. Chemical Products	3	$2,583	33%
306 Fabricated Rubber Products	6	$5,787	50%
308 Misc. Plastics Products	40	$3,329	33%
316 Luggage	3	$1,808	0%
323 Products Of Purchased Glass	3	$4,989	100%
327 Concrete, Gypsum, & Plaster Products	6	$5,676	50%
329 Misc. Nonmetallic Mineral Products	4	$5,820	25%
332 Iron & Steel Foundries	4	$7,068	100%
335 Nonferrous Rolling & Drawing	10	$4,148	60%
341 Metal Cans & Shipping Containers	6	$5,191	83%
343 Plumbing & Heating, Except Electric	3	$2,950	33%
344 Fabricated Structural Metal Products	20	$2,611	20%
345 Screw Machine Products, Bolts, Etc.	1	$1,289	0%
346 Metal Forgings & Stampings	6	$4,166	67%
347 Metal Services	2	$4,128	50%
348 Ordnance & Accessories	1	$5,059	0%
349 Misc. Fabricated Metal Products	21	$3,148	24%
351 Engines & Turbines	9	$2,710	11%
352 Farm & Garden Machinery	25	$2,039	12%
353 Construction & Related Machinery	2	$5,180	100%
355 Special Industry Machinery	1	$9,166	100%
356 General Industrial Machinery	1	$3,145	100%
357 Computer & Office Equipment	2	$6,035	0%
358 Refrigeration & Service Machinery	18	$3,824	44%
359 Industrial Machinery	3	$7,020	67%
361 Electric Distribution Equipment	1	$2,855	0%
362 Electrical Industrial Apparatus	4	$3,285	25%
363 Household Appliances	52	$2,412	0%
364 Electric Lighting & Wiring Equipment	5	$4,300	80%
365 Household Audio & Video Equipment	1	$6,301	100%
367 Electronic Components & Accessories	13	$3,064	46%
369 Misc. Electrical Equipment & Supplies	5	$4,776	80%
371 Motor Vehicles & Equipment	22	$4,898	50%
372 Aircraft & Parts	8	$5,304	88%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
373 Ship & Boat Building & Repairing	11	$2,880	18%
379 Misc. Transportation Equipment	4	$7,130	50%
384 Medical Instruments & Supplies	1	$5,560	0%
386 Photographic Equipment & Supplies	1	$1,438	0%
393 Musical Instruments	1	$1,495	0%
394 Toys & Sporting Goods	1	$3,637	0%
395 Pens, Pencils, Office, & Art Supplies	3	$3,229	33%
All	1209	$3,822	30%
Transportation, Communications, Electric, Gas, and Sanitary Services			
411 Local & Suburban Transportation	67	$3,190	25%
412 Taxicabs	4	$3,142	0%
413 Intercity & Rural Bus Transportation	1	$2,839	0%
414 Bus Charter Service	1	$951	0%
415 School Buses	16	$2,535	25%
421 Trucking & Courier Services, Ex. Air	68	$3,659	31%
422 Public Warehousing & Storage	16	$4,237	50%
441 Deep Sea Foreign Trans. Of Freight	1	$15,922	100%
449 Water Transportation Services	1	$1,122	0%
451 Air Transportation, Scheduled	41	$3,244	29%
452 Air Transportation, Nonscheduled	1	$7,643	100%
458 Airports, Flying Fields, & Services	16	$3,726	25%
461 Pipelines, Except Natural Gas	1	$10,626	100%
472 Passenger Transportation Arrangement	11	$2,420	27%
473 Freight Transportation Arrangement	7	$5,067	57%
478 Misc. Transportation Services	4	$1,071	0%
481 Telephone Communication	99	$4,998	53%
483 Radio & Television Broadcasting	7	$2,659	14%
484 Cable & Other Pay TV Services	16	$4,326	56%
489 Communication Services	2	$3,423	50%
491 Electric Services	3	$5,005	67%
492 Gas Production & Distribution	1	$5,885	100%
495 Sanitary Services	6	$4,400	50%
All	390	$4,439	37%
Wholesale Trade			
501 Motor Vehicles, Parts, & Supplies	17	$3,079	35%
502 Furniture & Homefurnishings	9	$4,569	44%
503 Lumber & Construction Materials	10	$3,693	40%
504 Professional & Commercial Equipment	29	$4,562	55%
505 Metals & Minerals, Except Petroleum	3	$6,372	67%
506 Electrical Goods	17	$3,692	47%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
507 Hardware, Plumbing & Heating Equip.	6	$5,956	67%
508 Machinery, Equipment, & Supplies	40	$4,018	35%
509 Misc. Durable Goods	8	$3,297	50%
511 Paper & Paper Products	13	$3,712	31%
512 Drugs, Proprietaries, & Sundries	7	$3,706	57%
513 Apparel, Piece Goods, & Notions	26	$2,412	8%
514 Groceries & Related Products	38	$3,359	32%
515 Farm-product Raw Materials	23	$1,835	4%
516 Chemicals & Allied Products	11	$2,149	0%
517 Petroleum & Petroleum Products	61	$2,534	21%
518 Beer, Wine, & Distilled Beverages	3	$3,422	67%
519 Misc. Nondurable Goods	25	$3,623	36%
All	346	$3,666	32%
Retail Trade			
521 Lumber & Other Building Materials	55	$3,318	36%
523 Paint, Glass, & Wallpaper Stores	1	$1,330	0%
525 Hardware Stores	4	$2,765	25%
526 Retail Nurseries & Garden Stores	6	$2,658	0%
527 Mobile Home Dealers	4	$3,722	50%
531 Department Stores	649	$2,464	15%
533 Variety Stores	133	$1,632	2%
539 Misc. General Merchandise Stores	93	$1,683	5%
541 Grocery Stores	733	$2,102	12%
542 Meat & Fish Markets	10	$1,235	0%
543 Fruit & Vegetable Markets	4	$1,456	0%
546 Retail Bakeries	20	$1,672	5%
549 Misc. Food Stores	2	$3,251	50%
551 New & Used Car Dealers	34	$4,485	56%
552 Used Car Dealers	6	$5,523	67%
553 Auto & Home Supply Stores	27	$3,448	44%
554 Gasoline Service Stations	308	$2,206	11%
555 Boat Dealers	2	$5,999	50%
556 Recreational Vehicle Dealers	2	$3,094	0%
561 Men’s & Boys Clothing Stores	6	$2,575	0%
562 Women’s Clothing Stores	57	$2,082	12%
563 Women’s Accessory & Specialty Stores	8	$1,494	13%
564 Children’s & Infants Wear Stores	9	$1,464	11%
565 Family Clothing Stores	116	$2,170	16%
566 Shoe Stores	26	$2,283	12%
569 Misc. Apparel & Accessory Stores	6	$2,182	17%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
571 Furniture & Homefurnishings Stores	36	$2,847	19%
572 Household Appliance Stores	2	$3,112	50%
573 Radio, Television, & Computer Stores	24	$3,378	33%
581 Eating & Drinking Places	3086	$1,668	5%
591 Drug Stores & Proprietary Stores	74	$2,188	15%
593 Used Merchandise Stores	30	$2,379	10%
594 Misc. Shopping Goods Stores	95	$2,165	13%
596 Nonstore Retailers	40	$1,965	8%
598 Fuel Dealers	3	$2,950	33%
599 Retail Stores	50	$2,245	10%
All	5,761	$2,589	9%
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate			
602 Commercial Banks	42	$3,861	50%
603 Savings Institutions	3	$2,540	33%
606 Credit Unions	5	$4,211	40%
609 Functions Closely Related To Banking	13	$3,732	54%
611 Federal & Fed.-sponsored Credit	3	$6,980	67%
614 Personal Credit Institutions	26	$3,613	31%
615 Business Credit Institutions	14	$5,943	43%
616 Mortgage Bankers & Brokers	33	$4,497	61%
621 Security Brokers & Dealers	1	$21,096	100%
631 Life Insurance	9	$6,138	56%
632 Medical Service & Health Insurance	24	$4,752	75%
633 Fire, Marine, & Casualty Insurance	15	$4,701	53%
636 Title Insurance	1	$7,589	100%
637 Pension, Health, & Welfare Funds	3	$783	0%
641 Insurance Agents, Brokers, & Service	50	$4,108	46%
651 Real Estate Operators & Lessors	38	$4,354	39%
653 Real Estate Agents & Managers	51	$3,835	35%
654 Title Abstract Offices	1	$306	0%
655 Subdividers & Developers	3	$2,785	0%
673 Trusts	1	$2,764	100%
679 Misc. Investing	4	$3,502	25%
All	340	$4,861	46%
Services			
701 Hotels & Motels	532	$1,836	8%
703 Camps & Recreational Vehicle Parks	1	$1,454	0%
721 Laundry, Cleaning, & Garment Services	116	$2,326	9%
722 Photographic Studios, Portrait	16	$1,793	0%
723 Beauty Shops	54	$2,603	15%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
724 Barber Shops	1	$4,228	0%
726 Funeral Service & Crematories	3	$1,783	0%
729 Misc. Personal Services	67	$1,968	13%
731 Advertising	8	$2,207	13%
732 Credit Reporting & Collection	62	$4,707	60%
733 Mailing, Reproduction, Stenographic	21	$3,848	48%
734 Services to Buildings	290	$1,897	7%
735 Misc. Equipment Rental & Leasing	15	$4,583	40%
736 Personnel Supply Services	1558	$1,884	11%
737 Computer & Data Processing Services	74	$3,214	38%
738 Misc. Business Services	359	$2,480	18%
751 Automotive Rentals, No Drivers	27	$2,705	19%
752 Automobile Parking	18	$3,221	17%
753 Automotive Repair Shops	14	$4,121	21%
754 Automotive Services, Except Repair	27	$2,637	22%
762 Electrical Repair Shops	3	$3,656	33%
764 Reupholstery & Furniture Repair	1	$3,068	0%
769 Misc. Repair Shops	5	$2,051	0%
783 Motion Picture Theaters	11	$1,715	0%
784 Video Tape Rental	32	$2,360	13%
792 Producers, Orchestras, Entertainers	2	$750	0%
793 Bowling Centers	5	$2,465	0%
794 Commercial Sports	1	$1,151	0%
799 Misc. Amusement, Recreation Services	50	$1,763	14%
801 Offices & clinics of medical doctors	217	$4,424	51%
802 Offices & Clinics Of Dentists	34	$4,183	41%
803 Offices Of Osteopathic Physicians	1	$1,576	0%
804 Offices Of Other Health Practitioners	28	$3,746	46%
805 Nursing & Personal Care Facilities	928	$2,406	11%
806 Hospitals	535	$4,017	40%
807 Medical & Dental Laboratories	14	$4,443	50%
808 Home Health Care Services	144	$2,309	13%
809 Health & Allied Services	118	$3,447	31%
811 Legal Services	39	$4,039	49%
821 Elementary & Secondary Schools	516	$2,523	15%
822 Colleges & Universities	130	$3,238	30%
823 Libraries	3	$3,331	33%
824 Vocational Schools	26	$2,085	15%
829 Schools & Educational Services	9	$4,090	44%
832 Individual & Family Services	180	$3,281	32%

Industry	Number Employed	Average Quarterly Earnings	Annual Earnings Above Poverty Guidelines
833 Job Training & Related Services	146	$1,965	14%
835 Child Day Care Services	538	$2,264	10%
836 Residential Care	157	$2,791	18%
839 Social Services	43	$3,137	28%
841 Museums & Art Galleries	2	$2,482	0%
842 Botanical & Zoological Gardens	6	$1,717	17%
861 Business Associations	3	$2,603	0%
864 Civic & Social Associations	42	$2,291	21%
865 Political Organizations	1	$2,778	0%
866 Religious Organizations	4	$2,461	0%
871 Engineering & Architectural Services	8	$5,076	75%
872 Accounting, Auditing, & Bookkeeping	37	$3,230	43%
873 Research & Testing Services	12	$2,328	17%
874 Management & Public Relations	175	$2,566	17%
881 Private Households	36	$2,763	17%
899 Services	5	$1,000	0%
All	7510	$2,772	18%
Public Administration			
911 Executive Offices	1	$59	0%
913 Executive & Legislative Combined	284	$3,412	31%
919 General Government	40	$3,620	38%
921 Courts	5	$3,995	60%
922 Public Order & Safety	59	$4,743	68%
931 Finance, Taxation, & Monetary Policy	48	$1,782	4%
941 Admin. Of Educational Programs	14	$2,281	14%
943 Admin. Of Public Health Programs	94	$3,275	32%
944 Admin. Of Social & Manpower Programs	36	$888	0%
951 Environmental Quality	14	$3,069	14%
953 Housing & Urban Development	17	$2,576	29%
962 Regulation, Admin. Of Transportation	11	$3,881	36%
964 Regulation Of Agricultural Marketing	2	$5,441	50%
965 Regulation Misc. Commercial Sectors	1	$1,136	0%
971 National Security	8	$3,051	13%
All	634	$2,881	30%
999 Nonclassifiable Establishments	132	$2,921	20%