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Evidence Matters

Transforming Knowledge Into Housing and Community Development Policy





Housing Assistance, Employment, and Self-Sufficiency

TUD provides rental subsidies f 1 to 2 million nonelderly and nondisabled households; of these, 57 percent reported some form of earned income at the end of 2017. Having earned income, however, does not mean having enough income to afford housing. The average monthly earned income for tenants with earnings was \$1,664, whereas the average gross rent for housing was \$1,230. To be able to afford housing without assistance, families need to have a consistent income, more working hours, and higher wages. Currently, many assisted tenants frequently enter and exit the labor force, have part-time rather than full-time employment, and seldom earn more than the minimum wage. Residents of **HUD-assisted housing face numerous** barriers to better employment, including chronic health problems, childcare and other family care responsibilities, and a lack of skills and education,

and individuals experiencing homelessness may face challenges specific to homelessness in addition to these impediments. HUD has several programs and local initiatives designed to overcome these barriers.

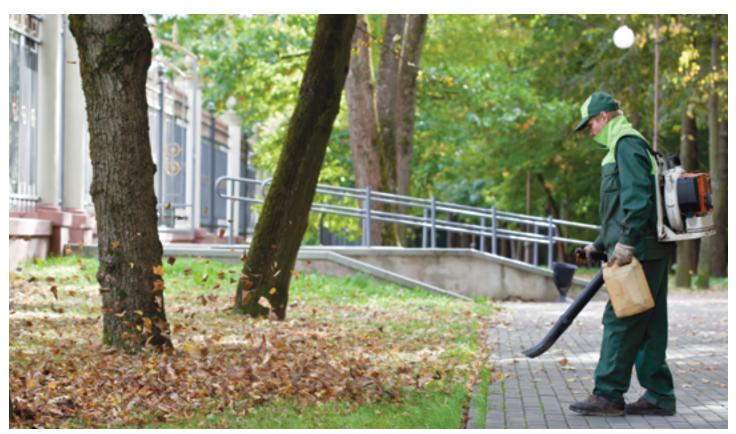
Barriers to Higher Earnings

HUD provides annual rental subsidies to 4.6 million households; approximately 42 percent of these are nonelderly and nondisabled households. HUD's administrative data over a threeyear period show that 80 percent of these 2 million households have had earned income, with 40 percent having earned income in every quarter over the three-year period. At any given time, approximately 60 percent are employed. In other words, about 20 percent of these households have not worked during the previous three years, 40 percent have been in and out of the labor force, and 40 percent have been

HIGHLIGHTS

- Most recipients of HUD assistance are elderly, children, disabled, or already connected to the labor force, but many who work earn insufficient income to afford housing without a subsidy.
- HUD, local public housing agencies, and other stakeholders administer programs aimed at helping HUD-assisted households achieve self-sufficiency through various supports such as counseling, job training, child care, health services, transportation assistance, and savings incentives.
- Research has found that HUD's Jobs Plus program, which consists of employment services, financial incentives, and community supports, is associated with increased annual earnings for nondisabled, working-age residents of public housing.

consistently employed. Based on survey data, HUD estimates that approximately half of those who are working are employed full time (more than 35 hours per week), with average hourly wages at



Even when working full-time, it can be difficult to afford housing. Housing choice vouchers offer critical assistance and, when coupled with additional supports, can help households achieve self-sufficiency.

Editor's Note

Fifty-seven percent of working-age, nondisabled recipients of housing assistance have earned income over the past year, and most people experiencing homelessness are working or wish to do so. Yet, because of insufficient wages, job churn, dependent care obligations, and other factors, many still are unable to afford housing without assistance. Federal, state, and local efforts to promote self-sufficiency among HUD-assisted households and individuals experiencing homelessness have shown mixed results in earnings and employment outcomes for participants. This issue of *Evidence Matters* focuses on these efforts and related research that offer insight into promising practices and lessons for improving programs and supports aimed at fostering economic independence among HUD-assisted households.

The lead article, "Housing Assistance, Employment, and Self-Sufficiency," discusses the barriers that can keep HUD-assisted households and individuals experiencing homelessness from achieving self-sufficiency; profiles programs administered by HUD, public housing agencies, and other stakeholders to help overcome those barriers; and surveys research findings on the effectiveness of such programs. The Research Spotlight, "Jobs Plus: Self-Sufficiency in Public Housing," by Brian Stromberg, discusses the evolution and evaluations of HUD's Jobs Plus program, which has successfully increased earnings of participating assisted residents. Finally, the In Practice article, "Programs Integrate Workforce and Housing Services," discusses initiatives in Chicago and King County, Washington, that have helped participants improve basic skills and access job training and stable housing.

We hope that this edition of *Evidence Matters* provides a helpful overview of this critical topic. Our next issue will focus on landlords and HUD's Housing Choice Voucher program. Please provide feedback on any of our issues at **www.huduser.gov/forums**.

Rachelle Levitt, Director of Research Utilization Division

or near local minimum wage, and the same surveys indicate that only half of those who are working are employed for all 12 months in a year.

The economic upturn and falling unemployment rates nationally have increased employment for nonelderly and nondisabled tenants from 50 percent in 2011 to 57 percent in 2017. Although this uptick in employment rates has improved the quality of life of many families, earned incomes remain low. The average monthly wage income for these workers was \$1,394 in 2011 and \$1,664 in 2017. To put this in context, full-time income at the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour is approximately \$1,208 per month.

As part of the Rent Reform Demonstration, a survey of 5,263 nonelderly and nondisabled tenants (average age of 39) from 2015 to 2016 at 4 public housing agencies (PHAs) in Lexington,

Kentucky; Louisville, Kentucky; San Antonio, Texas; and Washington, DC, asked detailed questions about likely barriers to employment and higher paid work. In total, 54 percent of respondents reported having a barrier to work. The most common barrier was health related. Although none of the respondents were technically disabled, 28 percent reported that their physical health limited their ability to work, and 14 percent reported facing limitations due to mental health.

Sixty-four percent of the surveyed households had children under 13, and for 21 percent of the respondents, childcare costs were listed as a barrier to employment. Approximately 16 percent of the households reported having limited ability to work because they needed to care for a sick or disabled family member.

Although the survey did not ask households whether their level of education

was a barrier to employment, low educational attainment certainly contributes to low wages. Of the families surveyed, 26 percent did not have a high school degree nor passed the general educational development test. Only 12 percent had a college degree, and most of those held only associate's degrees. Notably, 31 percent had a trade license or certificate, and 13 percent reported attending college or vocational school at the time of the survey.¹

Connecting HUD-Assisted Residents to Employment

HUD can and does influence relationships between housing and work through its community development initiatives and investments that improve transit options, preserve and develop affordable housing, and revitalize neighborhoods; however, the agency has a special opportunity to deliver employment opportunities and workforce development for individuals who

live in HUD-assisted housing. Individuals in HUD-assisted housing may face several barriers to employment that are common among low-income earners. The supports and services needed to secure employment or increase wages vary considerably. For some, a bus pass, a childcare voucher, or some training is sufficient to help secure and maintain employment, but others may need intensive mental health services or significant additional education before they can find employment.²

These barriers and challenges, although daunting, can often be overcome with sufficient effort and targeted supports. Several past and present HUD programs have targeted these barriers with varying degrees of success. Evaluations of these programs offer helpful insights on which strategies work best and under what conditions they could be applied to ongoing and future initiatives.

Jobs Plus. HUD launched its original Jobs Plus demonstration in 1998 in collaboration with The Rockefeller Foundation and MDRC as a randomized controlled trial. Jobs Plus is a locally based, job-driven program to increase earnings and advance employment outcomes. The program creates incentives for employment through income disregards for working families and through services designed to support workers, including linkages to employers, job placement and counseling, educational advancement, and financial counseling. Ideally, these incentives will saturate the developments, building a culture of work and making working families the norm. The Jobs Plus model consists of three components: employment services, such as help with job searches or high school equivalency classes for securing and maintaining jobs; financial incentives that reduce or eliminate possible disincentives to work; and formal and informal community supports for work.3

The original demonstration ran from 1998 through 2003. A 2010 report by

MDRC analyzed earnings data during this period and for three years after the program ended. MDRC found that Jobs Plus "caused a 16 percent increase in average annual earnings over the full seven years (an average gain of \$1,300 per year) for nondisabled, working-age public housing residents."

Building on these results and lessons, New York City and the NYC Center for Economic Opportunity began to replicate the Jobs Plus program. HUD also has begun scaling up Jobs Plus. Since 2014, HUD has awarded roughly \$62 million to 24 grantees.⁵ This effort includes a process study of the first 9 grantees and an outcomes study of the first 24 grantees. Jobs Plus has provided the strongest available evidence to support the success of a specific initiative.

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(See "Jobs Plus: Self-Sufficiency in Public Housing," p. 11, for a more detailed discussion of the Jobs Plus program and related evaluations.)

Family Self-Sufficiency program.

Established in 1990, the Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program allows PHAs to enter into a five-year contract (that PHAs can extend for two additional years) with participating households to set goals and coordinate services that help residents become self-sufficient. The program has three main components: an escrow account, case management, and referrals to supportive services. If a participant's income rises during the contract period, prompting an increase in their required rent contribution, the PHA issues a credit into an escrow account.6 The participant can use the escrow account for

goal-related expenses and receives the account in full after completing the program — meaning that they have secured employment and exited housing assistance without receipt of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) benefits.⁷ The program allows for considerable local variation, which makes evaluating the overall program difficult. Evidence on the program's effectiveness is mixed, especially for those facing the most severe challenges; only a small portion of FSS participants graduate and claim their escrow savings, although those who did attained steady employment and higher incomes.8 Some local programs have demonstrated limited success, however, justifying further experimentation and study. A randomized trial of an FSS program in New York City that combined FSS with cash work incentives, the Opportunity NYC – Work Rewards demonstration, found consistent positive effects for those who were not working at the time of enrollment. This intervention, however, did not reduce participants' poverty rates or their reliance on public benefits, nor did it significantly change any outcomes for those who were already working at the time of enrollment.9 HUD is currently undertaking a random assignment study of FSS in 18 cities.

Resident Opportunities and Self Sufficiency (ROSS) Grant Program. The ROSS program provides grants for hiring service coordinators to empower residents of public or Indian housing to increase earned income and progress toward economic independence and housing self-sufficiency. HUD has an evaluation of the program underway.

Section 3. Taking a somewhat different approach to encourage employment more directly, HUD's Section 3 program requires that grantees receiving certain HUD funds, such as community development block grants and Public Housing Capital Fund grants, employ low-income individuals, especially recipients of housing assistance. Affected entities include PHAs, states, local



Recipients of HUD housing assistance have varied work situations and work readiness, so different levels of services are required to achieve self-sufficiency.

governments, and other grantees and subgrantees. Section 3 requires that 30 percent of new hires for projects receiving HUD funds qualify as Section 3 residents. Research indicates that some agencies subject to Section 3 devote staff and resources to proactively comply, but other efforts are insufficient.¹⁰ Unruh and Dahlk interviewed local leaders in five cities and found that officials believe that contractors make only superficial efforts to hire public housing and low-income residents because of insufficient compliance enforcement. The leaders also note that workforce development officials have to spend considerable time verifying hiring requirements for a relatively small number of Section 3 hires.¹¹ HUD reports that from 2012 to 2015, the Section 3 program led to 110,500 jobs for new program employees and trainees and \$4.8 billion in contracts awarded to 26,000 businesses, indicating great potential for the program with increased compliance.12 Research conducted by Walter, Caudy, and Ray

found that agencies with active Section 3 programs have difficulty securing employment for residents with criminal records.¹³

Moving to Work demonstration. HUD's Moving to Work demonstration program gives PHAs greater flexibility to design and test new programs and strategies, which some have used to experiment with work requirements. In 2015, nine PHAs implemented some type of work requirements for recipients of housing assistance.14 PHAs that have implemented work requirements have used various work thresholds, exemptions, and supportive services, but nearly all have offered case management.15 In one-third of the Charlotte Housing Authority's 15 public housing developments, for example, heads of households are required to work a minimum of 15 hours per week, and those who fail to meet the requirement face sanctions. An evaluation of the program finds that the requirement was effective in increasing employment

but not in increasing hours worked, and it did not lead to households being able to exit public housing. The researchers caution against drawing definitive conclusions from the research; rather, they suggest that the topic needs more investigation and note that the particular supports and policies that the Charlotte Housing Authority implemented may have influenced the outcomes found in the study.16 An Urban Institute overview of the programs estimates that the work requirements apply to less than 10 percent of HUDassisted renters and therefore would have only a small effect on overall work output. More research and evaluation of such programs is needed, particularly as a growing number of PHAs are designated as Moving to Work agencies and are likely to impose work requirements.¹⁷

PHA initiatives. Local PHAs can implement programs that promote employment among residents in conjunction with or independent of the HUD programs discussed above, particularly if they

enjoy the flexibility afforded by the Moving to Work demonstration. For example, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, through its preapprenticeship program, employs residents directly while also training them to pursue employment in trades elsewhere. The PHA partners with three unions to train laborers, painters, and maintenance mechanics, who can then work for the PHA. The PHA commits to having a quarter of its workforce consist of residents. Residents gain experience and transferrable skills while benefiting their communities.¹⁸

Many PHAs partner with local Workforce Investment Boards. In Boston, for example, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) and the Boston Private Industry Council (PIC) collaborated under a memorandum of understanding to offer workforce development through training, job fairs, and other investments. BHA funded resident services

through PIC and hired Resident Service Coordinators to help residents navigate the services. BHA also partnered with the city's Office of Jobs and Community Services (now known as the Mayor's Office of Workforce Development) to extend its workforce development services to more BHA residents.19 The partners have continued to build on their work together; in 2015, HUD awarded BHA a Jobs Plus grant, and the city of Boston allocated additional funds to promote work readiness for families in the Charlestown public housing development.20 In Portland, Oregon, Home Forward and Worksystems, Inc., established the Bridges to Success program, which worked with industries to provide tailored training and education coupled with case management to help residents navigate various services provided by additional partnering stakeholders. The program achieved a 50 percent employment rate

for graduates, and those who secured employment earned an average annual income of more than \$30,000.21

Home Forward is also one of four PHAs (including Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC) to have worked with the Urban Institute on the Housing Opportunity and Services Together (HOST) demonstration, which tests approaches centered on making housing a platform for services and supports that improve economic well-being. Building on the Chicago Family Case Management demonstration, which provided wraparound case management to public housing residents, HOST takes a twogeneration, or whole-family, approach, providing intensive wraparound services to the most vulnerable families in public housing. The HOST model tailors its services to an individual's needs, recognizing that residents may need different types and levels of supports. The



HUD's Jobs Plus program has successfully increased earnings among program participants.

demonstration keeps case managers' caseloads low to allow them more contact with families and to build trusted relationships with their clients.²²

Another set of PHAs is working with MDRC to test a demonstration project called MyGoals for Employment Success, which combines structured coaching with financial incentives to help recipients of housing assistance improve labor market outcomes. The approach is based on evidence that the stresses associated with poverty can weaken executive functioning skills. In response, the program uses a highly structured coaching method, based on behavioral psychology that helps participants set goals and make and execute plans. In the process, coaches assist participants in addressing executive functioning challenges that may be getting in the way of their success in work or training. The program offers a stipend for remaining engaged in the coaching process and financial bonuses for entering and sustaining employment. MyGoals recognizes that voucher recipients may also need more than just employment-specific supports, and thus offers help with setting and achieving financial goals, such as building credit and savings.23

Connecting Individuals Experiencing Homelessness to Employment

Individuals experiencing or at risk of homelessness may also benefit from HUD programs to promote self-sufficiency. Stable housing plays an essential role in transitioning those experiencing homelessness to work, but in many cases, additional services and supports are needed to achieve the desired employment and earnings outcomes. Individuals experiencing homelessness face a number of barriers to employment. HUD's Family Options Study finds that 83 percent of adult respondents surveyed had not worked during the previous week, and 45 percent had not worked in the past year.24 Some of the more prevalent barriers to employment for this population include the

experience of homelessness itself as well as the lack of a fixed address, technology needed for job searches and applications, and, often, transportation. As with the HUD-assisted population and the low-income population generally, individuals experiencing homelessness have a considerable diversity of skills, experiences, and challenges and therefore have varied needs regarding work readiness.²⁵

HUD and other federal agencies have attempted to address the employment challenges for this population through several approaches. The Ending Chronic Homelessness through Employment and Housing initiative, a partnership between HUD and the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) in the early 2000s, combined permanent supportive housing with wraparound services and customized employment strategies developed with One-Stop Career Centers. Customizing employment situations allows the service provider, the prospective employee, and the employer to use the skills and abilities of an employee to set appropriate and productive expectations.26 An evaluation of the program's Los Angeles site found that participants were "significantly more likely to have worked" than members of the study's comparison groups.27

More recently, the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act of 2014 aims for better coordination of federal programs — including employment and training for adults, dislocated workers, and youth — through DOL formula grants to states, adult education and literacy programs, and state programs administered by the U.S. Department of Education to help individuals with disabilities obtain employment.²⁸ For example, Friendship Place, a nonprofit in the Washington, DC area, administers a job matching program called AimHire that typically secures employment for participants within 90 days.29 Citing the success of the Housing First approach to ending homelessness, president and chief executive officer of Friendship Place Jean-Michel Giraud

urges a similar emphasis on employment — "Employment First" — that prioritizes the pursuit of employment in conjunction with (not as a precondition for) securing housing. In 2017, 69 program participants secured employment.³⁰

Research Lessons

"The evidence base on what works is thin," says MRDC policy area director James Riccio, pointing to the need to innovate and continue conducting rigorous evaluations, including more randomized controlled trials.31 To that end, MDRC and HUD are currently evaluating the FSS program with a randomized controlled trial, and an evaluation of the ROSS program is also underway. The positive outcomes of the Jobs Plus demonstration and the limited but illuminating findings from the Opportunity NYC – Work Rewards demonstration, for example, point to program components and principles worth replicating and that merit further testing. In addition, PHAs, particularly those participating in the Moving to Work demonstration, have the flexibility to experiment with various approaches that can then be evaluated.

Research to date offers some general lessons and promising principles to guide ongoing and future efforts to improve the employment outcomes and earnings of low-income individuals, including HUD-assisted households and individuals experiencing homelessness.

Mobility strategies show mixed impact.

Based largely on the theory of spatial mismatch, the Bridges to Work demonstration of the mid- to late 1990s attempted to match individuals with jobs in suburbs and support their commute. The program struggled with recruitment, developing partnerships, and sustaining transportation. Evaluation of Bridges to Work found few statistically significant outcomes for the treatment group compared with the control group. ³² Research on the Moving to Opportunity demonstration — a random assignment research effort designed to relocate low-income



HUD and its local partners offer various supports to help HUD-assisted residents achieve self-sufficiency.

voucher recipients to low-poverty, high-opportunity neighborhoods also shows the limits of using mobility strategies alone to affect outcomes for adults; the program had no significant impacts on employment, earnings, or welfare receipt. Moving to lower-poverty neighborhoods, however, did correlate with positive impacts on future earnings for children in the demonstration. One study found that children in families that used a voucher to move to a lowerpoverty neighborhood when they were 13 or younger had an annual income in their mid-20s that was 31 percent higher than the mean annual income of the control group.³³ These findings support two-generation approaches that seek improved outcomes for youth as well as adults.

Employment readiness needs vary widely. Most HUD-assisted residents who can work are already attached to the labor market, although many could increase their earnings with additional training or other supports such as transportation or child care assistance.³⁴ Other residents need more intensive supports to be prepared for employment. Initiatives such as HOST address these needs through a tiered approach, offering different levels of services according to need. Matching residents with the appropriate level of supports requires one-on-one attention and is aided by the development of a trusted relationship between service providers or coordinators and clients.

Evaluation of DOL's Ready to Work program, which prepares long-term unemployed people for jobs in high-growth industries, likewise finds that in addition to skills training and one-on-one career coaching assistance, additional mental or behavioral health services might also be necessary.³⁵

Housing assistance alone is insufficient for many. Stable, affordable housing, which can be obtained through use of housing assistance, can be a platform for securing employment, but for many individuals eligible for housing assistance or experiencing homelessness, housing assistance alone is likely to be insufficient for achieving economic independence. Evaluation of the Welfare to Work voucher program, for example, in which recipients of cash welfare in six cities were awarded housing vouchers but received few additional services to help them obtain or retain employment, found no evidence of improved labor outcomes. Instead, the evaluation found reduced work and earnings that faded over time until at 3.5 years no statistically significant differences existed between the treatment and control groups.³⁶

A study of a randomized waitlist lottery for housing vouchers in Chicago found that the use of housing vouchers by households previously in the private market reduced labor force participation by 4 percentage points and reduced earnings among working-age, able-bodied adults.³⁷ Another study, however, points to "a large positive effect"

of housing assistance on the future earnings of teenage females, although the effects were not the same for males. The study estimates that young adult females who had ever lived in voucherassisted housing earn 14 percent more than the comparison group, and those who had ever lived in public housing earn 29 percent more than the comparison group; moreover, these effects increase with every year lived in assisted housing.³⁸

Need for collaboration. Because many people need more than just housing to be well situated to increase earnings or find employment, housing providers often need to collaborate with other entities that provide a range of additional services. Partner organizations can provide education, training, and employment skills; in addition, other services and supports, including transportation, child care, and physical and mental health care, are beyond the typical purview and expertise of housing

providers and are often essential. Riccio points out that public housing residents are among the nation's poorest people and may also interact with other federal programs such as TANF, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or Medicaid. Federal agencies and their local offices that share constituents with PHAs, he says, would do well to collaborate and coordinate services and resources that can support their efforts to work, which was an important feature of the original Jobs Plus demonstration.³⁹ Likewise, at the local level, increased collaboration across workforce development and housing and community development silos could increase efficiency and strengthen efforts to increase employment and earnings among low-income individuals.40 Based on its experience with collaboration in Seattle, Building Changes suggests that cross-system coordination, which does not happen naturally, is most effective when each partner serves clients in areas in which

it has expertise and refers clients for matters in which other partners have expertise. 41 Such coordination is a challenging but critical component of successful efforts to achieve stability in housing and employment. (For additional examples of cross-sector collaboration, see "Programs Integrate Workforce and Housing Services," p. 16.)

Looking Forward: EnVision Centers

Building on lessons from previous programs, HUD has recently launched a new initiative — the EnVision Centers demonstration — to offer HUD-assisted families the tools to achieve self-sufficiency. Recognizing that financial assistance alone is insufficient for many to realize long-term economic independence, the EnVision Centers serve as a centralized hub to connect people to supports in four main areas: economic empowerment, educational advancement, health and wellness, and character



Benning Terrace in Washington, DC, was a site of the Urban Institute's Housing Opportunity and Services Together (HOST) demonstration, which tailors services and supports to an individual's needs.

and leadership. The centers will bring in a range of public, private, and nonprofit partners, including PHAs, to efficiently and effectively coordinate needed services and supports.⁴² In June 2018, HUD announced the designation of EnVision Centers in 17 communities across the nation.43 In February, the Urban Institute released a brief that included nine specific recommendations for EnVision Centers based on research on past programs, including setting realistic expectations and timelines for building assets, using a trauma-informed approach for mental health care, and using two-generation strategies, among others.44

Continuing evaluation of existing HUD programs to promote self-sufficiency as well as evaluation of the EnVision Center demonstration should yield additional insights for shaping future efforts. The hope remains that these programs can help HUD-assisted families discontinue assistance on solid financial footing with long-term economic independence and stability in housing and employment. As families exit assistance, they will free resources for low-income families that until now have been unable to access housing assistance and the employment-related supports that target the HUD-assisted population. Ultimately, EnVision Centers, like their programmatic antecedents, seek to help families flourish and "climb the ladder of opportunity." 45 EM

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- 45 "Envision Centers," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development website.

Jobs Plus: Self-Sufficiency in Public Housing

As an agency that serves millions of low-income households across the country, HUD is responsible for creating effective programs that help those households achieve self-sufficiency. The introduction of EnVision Centers is the most recent example of HUD's capacity to positively impact communities, but there are several others. One of these self-sufficiency programs, Jobs Plus, has been shown to be both particularly effective and replicable. This article describes the basic structure of Jobs Plus, its implementation, and the evidence supporting its efficacy.

Introduction

Jobs Plus has three components: onsite employment services, a financial incentive to encourage work, and a community-based support network.1 The goal of the program is to make regular employment a "common aspect of life in public housing."2 Jobs Plus is one of several self-sufficiency programs that HUD has introduced over the years, including the Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program, the Rent Reform Demonstration (RRD), and certain implementations of the Moving to Work (MTW) demonstration program in which participating public housing agencies (PHAs) have used their special authority to institute work requirements.3 These three programs have contributed to the landscape of work-oriented policy in slightly different ways.

FSS, the program most explicitly linked to self-sufficiency, is similar to Jobs Plus in that it involves a collaboration between PHAs and other local service organizations. Households participating in FSS sign a contract that outlines their plan to achieve self-sufficiency; their financial incentive consists of funds placed into an escrow account. By contrast, the rent-based incentives in the Jobs Plus program

offer households a more immediate benefit.⁴

The goal of RRD is twofold: it makes certain changes to reduce PHAs' administrative burden, and it minimizes the disincentive to increase earnings. An evaluation of RRD is ongoing, with a baseline report released in 2017.⁵ The House of Representatives has proposed legislation that will give PHAs more flexibility in setting rents.⁶ However, neither the demonstration program nor the proposed legislation include the employment services or community-building elements of Jobs Plus.

MTW exempts participating PHAs from certain public housing and voucher rules so they can develop innovative programs that use federal money efficiently, encourage self-sufficiency, and increase housing choice. Nine of the PHAs that have this special authority have used it to implement work requirements. Although none of these programs are exactly the same, they all have some form of supportive services in place.7 The impact of work requirements has also been studied in Charlotte, North Carolina, where the PHA's specific program has had mostly positive effects.8

Although Jobs Plus is similar to other self-sufficiency programs, it is distinguished by its focus on a comprehensive approach to encouraging work rather than a single strategy. Jobs Plus also supports entire developments rather than individual households, encouraging work throughout the community — a strategy known as saturation. Jobs Plus is also notable for the body of evidence showing its lasting positive impact on earnings and employment rates in public housing communities. Other programs have yet to demonstrate a comparable consistency in their impact.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Jobs Plus differs from other self-sufficiency programs with its comprehensive approach to encouraging employment and focus on entire public housing developments rather than individual households.
- An evaluation of the first implementation of Jobs Plus at six sites shows that participating households increased their earnings and employment rates. The impact was greater in sites with strong, well-implemented programs, and the increase in earnings persisted after the program ended.
- The third, ongoing iteration of Jobs Plus preserves the structure of the original program but also builds on the successes and outcomes of the previous phases.

Three Generations of Jobs Plus

Jobs Plus: 1998 to 2003. The first iteration of Jobs Plus started in 1998 and ran until 2003. It was funded by a group of public and private organizations led by HUD and The Rockefeller Foundation. This group included MDRC, which was involved in the program's creation and has provided technical assistance and evaluations for each iteration of the program. To be eligible for participation, applicants were required to create a collaborative that included representatives from the PHA, public housing residents, the local welfare department, and local workforce development organizations.

The six sites chosen were Baltimore, Maryland; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Dayton, Ohio; Los Angeles, California; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Seattle, Washington. Despite a carefully considered selection process, only three of the sites were able to achieve full implementation of the program. Four of the six sites were ultimately able to build "coherent programs of reasonable quality," and a disruption in one of those four late in the program's implementation resulted in its exclusion from the final evaluation. 10



Following the promising findings of the original Jobs Plus demonstration, the Social Innovation Fund supported an expanded, large-scale implementation of the program in San Antonio and at three public housing sites in the Bronx.

These failures were not entirely due to shortcomings of the collaborators themselves. In Seattle, many residents of the city's Rainier Vista development were displaced by the demolition of their units for a HOPE VI redevelopment. The components of Jobs Plus were then integrated into the HOPE redevelopment (renamed "HOPE-Plus"). However, the circumstances of the Rainier Vista residents had become too different from the residents of the other three cities to keep Seattle in the national demonstration. The results of this combination of HOPE VI and Jobs Plus were evaluated separately.11

New leadership in the Chattanooga PHA, who arrived after site selection, decided to privatize the management of its developments. The strain of this transition adversely affected the PHA's implementation of Jobs Plus and made the service-heavy components of the program untenable. In 2002, concerns about the capacity of the PHA to handle both the privatization effort and

the Jobs Plus program led the PHA to pursue only the financial incentives component of the program. Chattanooga's departure from the program highlights how difficult it can be to implement an initiative as comprehensive and collaborative as Jobs Plus.

Seattle and Chattanooga each had difficulty with different aspects of starting the program. Some sites took more than two years to implement the community component of Jobs Plus, and all but one took at least a year to offer the financial incentives. ¹²

MDRC evaluated this first implementation of Jobs Plus, finding that the program helped to increase the earnings and employment rate of households that participated. The impacts are discussed in more detail later in this article.

San Antonio and New York City: 2010 to today. The second iteration of Jobs Plus arose independently of HUD. Seven years after the first round of Jobs Plus ended, the East River Development

Alliance in Queens, New York, adapted the original program for the Queensbridge Houses. Soon after, the New York City Center for Economic Opportunity funded a replication of Jobs Plus in a housing development in Harlem. These two small-scale implementations were followed up by a larger implementation in San Antonio, Texas, and three public housing sites in the Bronx. This expansion was supported by the Social Innovation Fund (SIF),¹³ a federally administered, public-private partnership funding program, and was administered by the Mayor's Fund to Advance New York City and the NYC Center for Economic Opportunity.14

After these SIF-funded programs ran their course, New York City's Human Resources Administration expanded the program to eight more sites in New York City as part of the city's Young Men's Initiative. Jobs Plus is currently active in 27 developments in the city's 5 boroughs through various partnerships and reaches more than 4,000 residents.¹⁵

The Jobs Plus program in San Antonio was developed in partnership with the New York City agencies and served residents at two of the city's most impoverished public housing developments: Alazan-Apache Courts and Mirasol Homes. These two developments have a combined 1,196 units.

A major difference between the first generation of Jobs Plus and the SIF implementation of the program was the lack of MTW authority at the sites in the Bronx, which left them with less budgetary flexibility than the six original Jobs Plus sites had.16 This restriction left the SIF programs with limited options for financial incentives. The MTW agencies used either flat/ stepped rents or a reduction in the percentage of income that went to rent as a financial incentive to encourage work. As an alternative financial incentive, the SIF programs in San Antonio and the Bronx turned to a little-known tool called the Earned Income Disallowance (EID).

The EID is a cumulative, 24-month, once-in-a-lifetime disregard of increased earnings in a household's rent calculation.17 The tool allows PHAs to disregard 100 percent of a resident's increased income for the first 12 months of occupancy. In the second 12 months, the disregard decreases to 50 percent. The EID is more limited than the rent incentives available to MTW PHAs because it can be used only once in a tenant's life, and it can be applied for a total of only 24 months. In addition, PHAs rarely use the EID; most PHA staff and residents have little to no awareness of the tool or how to implement it. PHA staff in the SIF programs had to develop the capacity to implement and track the EID as well as inform residents about the tool's structure and benefits.

According to MDRC, these limitations greatly decreased the effectiveness of the financial incentive component of Jobs Plus in this second iteration.¹⁸ Take-up for the incentive was very

low; an estimated 1 percent of working-age adults in the Bronx and 3 percent in San Antonio used it.¹⁹ San Antonio eventually used their MTW status to convert the EID to a five-year benefit late in the implementation and saw an improvement in the take-up rate.

Scaling up the model: 2015 to today.

The third iteration of the Jobs Plus program expands the program through the Jobs Plus Pilot, which began in fiscal year 2015 and is ongoing.20 To date, HUD has awarded roughly \$62 million to 24 grantees to implement this version of the program, which builds on the previous implementations and includes two parallel evaluations: a process study and an outcomes study. The interim report from the process study was published in 2017, the final report from the process study is set to be published in 2018, and the final report from the outcome study is due in 2021.

The scaled-up version of Jobs Plus largely preserves the structure of the original program. One significant change is that the requirement to form a collaborative has been removed. Instead, the current program simply encourages PHAs to build local partnerships with public housing residents, local businesses, philanthropic organizations, nonprofits, or other organizations.²¹ This new flexibility resulted in different types of partnerships with varying degrees of formality.²²

Another difference from the original HUD program is the use of the newly created Jobs Plus EID (JPEID). Because not all of the Jobs Plus participants have MTW authority, HUD added JPEID to the program to make program benefits consistent across all sites. JPEID allows PHAs to disregard 100 percent of a tenant's rent increase due to additional earnings for the duration of the Jobs Plus program, unlike the EID, which limits the disregard to a total of 24 months.

The Research

What we know so far. Several reports have been published that document the implementation process for Jobs Plus. As one of the organizations primarily responsible for developing and studying the program, MDRC has published more than 20 articles, reports, and papers on Jobs Plus. The only impact evaluations that have been published so far, however, are the MDRC papers and reports on the original six cities.23 The Jobs Plus programs that followed either did not have impact evaluations as part of the implementation or have not yet had their evaluations published.

Despite this limitation, the similarity among the different iterations of Jobs Plus suggests that the impacts reported in the existing evaluations can be considered valid for the program in general.²⁴ Indeed, the new features of the current iteration are based on lessons learned from the previous versions, suggesting that the current round of Jobs Plus implementations will demonstrate even greater benefits.

For the original Jobs Plus demonstration, each of the six participating PHAs chose two or three similar developments to implement the program. The research team randomly selected one of these developments as the Jobs Plus site with the others as controls. The earnings of residents in both the treatment and control groups were tracked over time and then compared. The program implementation was slightly different in each city but had the same general structure.²⁵

The results of this evaluation show that Jobs Plus, when implemented well, has a positive impact on residents' earnings. ²⁶ Across all six sites combined, the average annual earnings of all residents in the treatment developments increased by 6.2 percent (see chart on p. 14).

The impact of Jobs Plus was greater in sites that had built stronger programs. In Dayton, Los Angeles, and St. Paul,

annual impacts averaged 14 percent per year and were accelerating through the duration of the program (see chart on p. 14).

By the time the program ended, residents of these three sites were earning an average of \$1,540 more per year than those in the comparison developments — an increase of nearly 20 percent.

In 2010, MDRC published a followup study to the 2005 evaluation.²⁷ This study found that the increase in earnings for the participating households had persisted after the program ended in 2003. In the post-program period (2004 to 2006), the earnings increase averaged \$1,517 per year (see chart on p. 15).

The cumulative earnings impact for the entire extended period (2000 to 2006) ranged from 14 percent in Dayton to 19 percent in St. Paul. This impact on earnings could be substantial. For example, in St. Paul, the average cumulative earnings from 2000 to 2006 were \$13,181 greater than the earnings of residents in comparison developments.²⁸

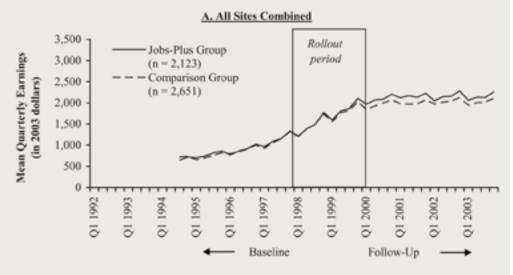
What we don't know. Researchers don't vet know the outcomes for the current Jobs Plus demonstration. The analyses of the two previous generations suggest that the implementation process was the largest hurdle for participants to overcome. Being able to draw on these previous experiences will potentially strengthen the program moving forward. Evaluations of the third generation of Jobs Plus will provide researchers with a much better understanding of the impact of Jobs Plus on HUD residents, although the findings to date provide some of the most convincing evidence of a program's effectiveness that HUD has ever produced.

Conclusion

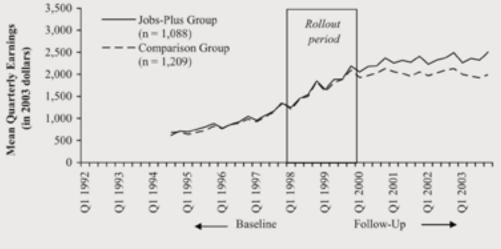
Encouraging the self-sufficiency of families is one of HUD's primary goals. Indeed, attaining this goal is the impetus behind all the programs discussed in this article, including the implementation of work requirements in MTW developments and the introduction of the EnVision Centers initiative. Current evidence suggests that Jobs Plus is one of HUD's best options for advancing that goal. When implemented well, Jobs Plus can greatly improve the earnings of assisted households. In addition, the 2010 followup study by MDRC suggests that these benefits continue after the end of the intervention. Although it's possible that the current demonstration will have different outcomes than the previous iterations did, integrating the lessons learned from the previous programs into the current version increases the likelihood that those results will be replicated or improved upon, allowing HUD to further its mission of empowering communities. EM

— Brian Stromberg, HUD Staff

Pooled Average Quarterly Earnings for the Jobs-Plus Group and Its Comparison Group (1998 Cohort)

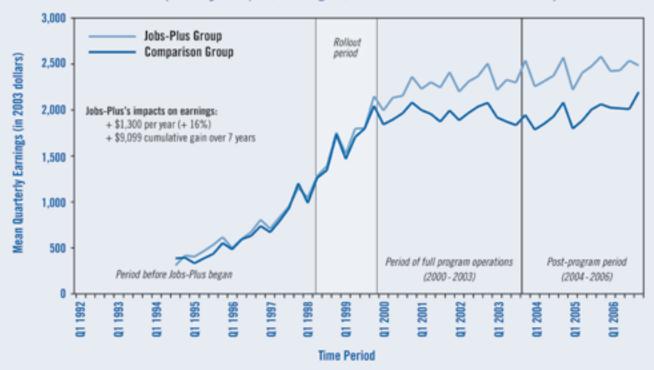


B. Stronger Implementation Sites Combined



Reprinted from Howard S. Bloom, James A. Riccio, and Nandita Verma, *Promoting Work in Public Housing: The Effectiveness of Jobs-Plus* (New York: MDRC, 2005). Used with permission.

(Results for Dayton, Los Angeles, and St. Paul combined, 2000-2006)



SOURCE: MDRC calculations using data from state Unemployment Insurance (UI) wage records. NOTES: Sample includes all working-age, nondisabled residents who lived in the Jobs-Plus or comparison developments in Dayton, Los Angeles, or St. Paul in October 1998. Trend lines show residents' earnings pre- and post-October 1998, whether or not they were living in the developments before or after that time. The annual and cumulative earnings impacts for the period 2000-2006 are statistically significant.

Reprinted from James A. Riccio, Sustained Earnings Gains for Residents in a Public Housing Jobs Program (New York: MDRC, 2010). Used with permission.

- ¹ The original title of the program included a hyphen (Jobs-Plus) that has since been dropped. The most recent spelling of the name is used throughout this report for consistency.
- ² James A. Riccio. 2010. "Sustained Earnings Gains for Residents in a Public Housing Jobs Program," MDRC.
- ³ For an early review of self-sufficiency programs at HUD, including FSS, *see*: Amy S. Bogdon. 1999. "What Can We Learn from Previous Housing-Based Self-Sufficiency Programs?" in *The Home Front*, Sandra J. Newman, ed. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 149–74.
- ⁴ Lalith de Silva, Imesh Wijewardena, Michelle Wood, and Bulbul Kaul. 2011. "Evaluation of the Family Self-Sufficiency Program: Prospective Study," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research; Judy Geyer, Lesley Freiman, Jeffrey Lubell, and Micah Villareal. 2017. "Evaluation of the Compass Family Self-Sufficiency Programs Administered in Partnership with Public Housing Agencies in Lynn and Cambridge, Massachusetts," Abt Associates. Abt research is ongoing.
- ⁵ Betsy L. Tessler, Nandita Verma, Jonathan Bigelow, Victoria Quiroz-Becerra, Kirstin P. Frescoln, William M. Rohe, Michael D. Webb, Amy T. Khare, Mark L. Joseph, and Emily K. Miller. 2017. "Scaling Up a Place-Based Employment Program: Highlights from the Jobs Plus Pilot Program Evaluation," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.
- ⁶ A copy of the proposed bill, the "Promoting Resident Opportunity through Rent Reform Act of 2018," is available at financialservices.house.gov/uploadedfiles/ bills-115_rossfl022_pih.pdf.

- ⁷ Diane K. Levy, Leiha Edmonds, and Jasmine Simington. 2018. "Work Requirements in Public Housing Authorities: Experiences to Date and Knowledge Gaps," Urban Institute.
- ⁸ William M. Rohe, Michael D. Webb, and Kirstin Frescoln. 2016. "Work Requirements in Public Housing: Impacts on Tenant Employment and Evictions," Housing Policy Debate 26:6, 909–27.
- ⁹ Howard S. Bloom, James A. Riccio, and Nandita Verma. 2005. "Promoting Work in Public Housing: The Effectiveness of Jobs-Plus," MDRC. This is the final report on the first demonstration. A complete list of Jobs Plus-related publications by MDRC is available at www.mdrc.org/project/jobs-plus-community-revitalization-initiative-public-housing-families.
- 10 Bloom et al., 33.
- The Seattle site also demonstrated benefits from Jobs Plus beyond an increase in earnings. The Seattle program's community engagement component empowered residents and gave them a more influential voice in the HOPE VI redevelopment process. See: Edward B. Liebow, Carolina Katz Reid, Gabrielle E. O'Malley, Scott Marsh, and Susan Blank. 2004. "Resident Participation in Seattle's Jobs-Plus Program," MDRC.
- 12 Bloom et al.
- ¹³ More information on SIF can be found at www.nationalservice.gov/programs/social-innovation-fund.
- ¹⁴ David M. Greenberg, Aurelia Aceves, Victoria Quiroz-Becerra, David H. Greenberg, and Ari Oppenheim.
 2015. "The Second Generation of Jobs-Plus Programs: Implementation Lessons from San Antonio and the Bronx," MDRC. See also www.saha.org/index.php/about-saha/jobs-plus; More information on these organizations

- can be found at www1.nyc.gov/site/opportunity/index.page and www1.nyc.gov/site/fund/index.page.
- ¹⁵ See opportunitynycha.org/workforce-development/ jobs-plus for more information on Jobs Plus in New York City, including specific site information.
- ¹⁶ The San Antonio site did have MTW status at the time of the evaluation but chose not to use it to keep the programs the same at both sites.
- ¹⁷ More information on the EID is available at www. hudexchange.info/resources/documents/EID_Training.pdf.
- 18 Greenberg et al.
- 19 Ibid.
- $^{\rm 20}$ Tessler et al.
- ²¹ Ibid., 15.
- ²² Ibid., 17.
- 23 Bloom et al; Riccio.
- 24 The interim process report for the current Jobs Plus program suggests that lessons have been learned from the previous iterations. Some sticking points in the implementation remain, such as PHA staff being unfamiliar with JPEID and the difficulty of building and managing partnerships among large-scale organizations.
- ²⁵ See Liebow et al. for a discussion of the specifics of the Seattle implementation. For descriptions of each city's implementation, see: Linda Yuriko Kato. 2003. "Participating in a Place-Based Employment Initiative," MDRC, 119–26.
- 26 Bloom et al.
- ²⁷ Riccio.
- ²⁸ Ibid.

Programs Integrate Workforce and Housing Services

Housing and employment are inextricably linked, and families vulnerable to homelessness rely jointly on workforce and housing systems.1 Often, however, providers in the two systems operate independently of each other. Families receiving housing services may have to search for employment assistance on their own, and employers may have expectations that do not consider the urgent situations of families experiencing homelessness. More information sharing and collaboration across silos could help put households on the path to self-sufficiency.² This article discusses two programs that successfully bridged workforce and housing services. Opportunity Chicago identified and placed Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) residents in more than 5,500 jobs in 5 years by enrolling them in different workforce development initiatives such as transitional jobs, bridge programs

renovate or rebuild about 25,000 public housing units in Chicago with mixedincome housing.3 According to Mary Howard, chief resident services officer at CHA, the Plan included a commitment to current tenants that they could return to the newly renovated mixed-income units provided that they complied with their leases and met the criteria established in each property's Tenant Selection Plan, which included the requirement that all work-abled persons over age 18 must be employed for at least 30 hours per week or enrolled in job training or education programs. Although the Plan was designed to better integrate low-income residents into the broader socioeconomic dynamic of the city, it lacked a strategy to help residents satisfy this work requirement. To fill this gap, a public-private partnership known as Opportunity Chicago was created in 2006 to focus on workforce development initiatives. Supported through

As a Moving to Work (MTW) public housing agency, CHA has the flexibility to integrate workforce services into its programs and develop staff capacity.

with City Colleges of Chicago (CCC), and adult education classes. In King County, Washington, the integration of rapid rehousing and Employment Navigator services helped improve the circumstances of families experiencing homelessness. Both programs led to positive outcomes for participants looking to improve job skills and readiness for employment and stable, permanent housing, and offer lessons that other communities can build upon.

Opportunity Chicago

In 2000, CHA adopted the 15-year Plan for Transformation (the Plan) to

the Chicago Community Trust, Opportunity Chicago included several key partners, including the Partnership for New Communities, CHA, the Chicago Jobs Council, the local workforce investment board, philanthropic organizations, and city agencies. The goal of the 5-year initiative was to help 5,000 low-skilled, low-income CHA residents attain employment and self-sufficiency. The partners appointed the Chicago Jobs Council — a nonprofit workforce development coalition composed of organizations, businesses, and individuals — to administer and facilitate the program. Opportunity Chicago's

HIGHLIGHTS

- Strategies to better integrate workforce and housing systems, such as reducing system-specific jargon, sharing data, and colocating services, can help families achieve self-sufficiency.
- Opportunity Chicago's six workforce pathways helped Chicago Housing Authority residents access job training, explore careers, improve literacy, develop basic skills, and enter the labor market.
- The Rapid Re-Housing for Families Pilot in King County, Washington, combined rapid rehousing and workforce services to mitigate employment barriers and improve job stability so that participants experiencing homelessness could afford long-term housing costs after rapid rehousing supports ended.

partners also formed a Strategic Advisers Group that advised partners on best practices, evaluated the program's activities, developed additional resources, and advocated for policy change.⁴

As a Moving to Work (MTW) public housing agency, CHA has the flexibility to integrate workforce services into its programs and develop staff capacity. In 2009, CHA instituted a work requirement for residents of traditional public housing stating that those between the ages of 18 and 61 must work at least 20 hours per week or be actively engaged in activities that will lead to work.5 Through a range of marketing strategies, Partnership for New Communities contractors reached out to CHA residents, and CHA also connected residents to workforce programs. CHA residents often accessed employment services through a case manager at FamilyWorks, CHA's case coordination program. Another common strategy for recruiting residents, according to Howard, was for workforce and housing providers to collaborate to identify families waiting for new mixed-income housing and help them successfully meet the tenant requirements. Although the CHA work requirement

came toward the end of the Opportunity Chicago initiative, the idea was to encourage residents to be prepared to meet the requirements of the Tenant Selection Plans in mixed-income housing, Howard noted.6

Fostering Positive Outcomes

More than 6,700 CHA residents participated in Opportunity Chicago, and more than 5,500 were placed in jobs, exceeding the initiative's 5,000 goal. A total of 77 percent of participants attained employment after exiting the program, and the number of participants securing jobs increased each year. Residents retained more than half of the job placements for at least two years, and more than half of the participants reported wage increases.⁷ Vital to these successes, according to Howard, was testing different workforce models that met people at various stages of employment readiness. By issuing contracts to service providers, Opportunity

Chicago tested six different workforce pathways: FamilyWorks, Transitional Jobs (TJ), CCC, Workforce Investment Act (WIA) initiatives, Industry Skills Training, and Contextualized Literacy. Although not every provider in these workforce pathways was part of the Strategic Advisers Group, they met to share experiences and lessons learned. In addition, Opportunity Chicago led to much broader collaboration between city agencies that had never worked together, and CHA became more integrated with other agencies and organizations to better serve its residents.8

Central to Opportunity Chicago was the involvement of partners and providers around a clear and measurable goal for a specific population.9 In 2008, FamilyWorks replaced the previous Service Connector system to provide residents with more wraparound case management and job placement and retention services. FamilyWorks was also instrumental in helping residents

fulfill the CHA work requirement, and it had the largest participant enrollment out of the six program types. By the time Opportunity Chicago ended, a total of 4,532 residents had sought employment services from FamilyWorks or Service Connector, and 82 percent of FamilyWorks participants were working after exiting the program. With the overall goal of helping at least 1,000 CHA residents obtain unsubsidized jobs, TJ was the next largest of the program types, enrolling a total of 1,793 individuals. TJ offered job training and time-limited, subsidized employment placement to help residents with minimal or no previous work experience enter the labor market.¹⁰ Over the course of Opportunity Chicago, 1,260 (70%) of TJ participants worked in subsidized jobs earning an average of \$8.49 per hour. Of those placed in subsidized jobs, 63 percent worked at least 30 hours per week, and 80 percent went on to secure unsubsidized employment.11



Chicago Housing Authority residents living in traditional public housing are required to work a minimum of 20 hours per week or engage in activities that will lead to work.



Transitional Jobs programs in Opportunity Chicago offered Chicago Housing Authority residents job training and time-limited, subsidized employment placement.

For residents striving to improve basic skills, Opportunity Chicago's partnership with CCC offered career bridge programs and certificate, associate's degree, and general educational development (GED) and English as a second language programs to prepare residents to enter the labor force. The bridge programming helped residents learn the industry-specific vocabulary and skills necessary to be successful in their chosen field. Through an agreement between CHA and CCC, public housing residents could enroll at no cost. A total of 1,403 residents participated in CCC programs. Three additional workforce pathways - WIA, Industry Skills Training, and Contextualized Literacy — had lower enrollment numbers. Nearly 500 residents accessed WIA services, which included universal offerings such as job listings, résumé and interview tips, and career exploration tools; intensive services such as skills evaluation, case management, employment barrier mitigation, and job retention resources; and technical training through CCC and other providers. Although it was later

phased out because of lack of participation, Industry Skills Training prepared 345 residents for high-demand fields such as health care, manufacturing, hospitality, information technology, and eco-friendly enterprises.12 Part of what made the Opportunity Chicago initiative a success was the partners' willingness to reevaluate programs and make changes along the way. Recognizing the learning styles of adults was critical to tailoring programs to meet their needs.¹³ Opportunity Chicago added contextualized literacy after realizing that previous literacy programs were not having the desired outcomes. Because contextualized literacy began later in Opportunity Chicago's lifespan (2008), it attracted only modest participation, with 64 residents enrolled.14 Collectively, these workforce pathways contributed to the growth in the city of Chicago's labor participation rate, which is closely keeping pace with that of the state as a whole, Howard indicated. According to 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-year estimates, Illinois and the city of Chicago have a

65.6 percent and 66.4 percent labor participation rate, respectively.¹⁵

Continued Progress

At the end of the Opportunity Chicago initiative, partners were concerned that its positive gains would dissipate. As an MTW housing agency, however, CHA "continued the robustness [of Opportunity Chicago] ... to make sure that resident engagement in programming did not decline — and it hasn't," Howard emphasized. CHA continues to fund and operate FamilyWorks and CCC.¹⁶ Residents enrolled in bridge programs had more interest in earning credits toward a degree than in pursuing noncredit or certificate programs. After Opportunity Chicago concluded, CCC expanded its course offerings to improve career outcomes and earnings potential and motivate participants to pursue a 4-year degree.¹⁷ CHA and CCC created the Partners in Education Program, which provides CHA residents with the opportunity to take courses toward a degree or attend professional development classes to prepare for a

specific industry or trade at little or no cost. The program covers typical out-of-pocket costs such as tuition, fees, books, and work uniforms. ¹⁸ In addition, CHA now offers its own TJ programming and maintains an intergovernmental agreement with the Chicago Cook Workforce Partnership, the local workforce investment board, to further support residents who use American Job Centers. Although its contract is not programmatic, the Chicago Cook Workforce Partnership funds skills training for specific industries such as hospitality, technology, and health care. ¹⁹

Overcoming Challenges

Critical to Opportunity Chicago's success was a shared commitment among partners to reach the same goal. Nearly all unsubsidized transitional job placements were retained for 30 days, but long-term job retention was less successful, indicating the need for longer postplacement retention services to monitor and evaluate residents' reasons for remaining in or leaving

employment.20 Case management services in the six workforce pathways were vital to improving residents' job readiness; however, 37 percent of participants classified as "chronically unemployed" had major challenges concerning substance abuse, mental and physical health, and literacy that required longer interventions than the partners could provide. In addition, younger residents tended to be more educated and skilled than older adults, an age-skills mismatch that further underscored the vital role that case management played in tailoring services to residents' varied needs and skill sets.²¹ Opportunity Chicago prioritized engaging with potential employers to ensure that its training programs were keeping pace with demand in the current labor market. Some employers were hesitant to hire CHA residents, which reduced opportunities for employment. Executive-level discussions to establish partnerships with workforce centers and train residents for work in specific industries helped

mitigate this stigma. Opportunity Chicago worked to ensure that CHA residents would be viewed the "same as the general service population."²²

Rapid Rehousing and Employment in King County

For more than a decade, Building Changes — a nonprofit organization working to reduce homelessness in Washington state — has been developing and testing programs that link workforce and housing services to better meet the needs of vulnerable households.²³ The King County Employment Navigator is one such program that Building Changes funded and implemented from 2013 to 2015 as part of the overarching Rapid Re-Housing for Families (RRHF) Pilot.24 The RRHF Pilot, a joint initiative of city and county agencies and service providers in King County, combined rapid rehousing components (short-term financial assistance and housing-related supports) with workforce services to help about 350 families experiencing homelessness



Through the Partners in Education Program, Chicago Housing Authority residents can enroll in degree and certificate programs at City Colleges of Chicago at little or no cost.

Chicago Housir



Opportunity Chicago developed and maintained partnerships with area employers and workforce centers to ensure that Chicago Housing Authority residents were adequately trained to meet job requirements.

find and maintain housing.²⁵ As the workforce component of the RRHF Pilot, the Navigator program paired RRHF providers with workforce service providers to address barriers to employment and facilitate long-term housing and job stability for participants.²⁶ Building Changes sought to demonstrate that employment and an income were critical to ensuring that families could pay for housing costs once the short-term rapid rehousing supports ended.²⁷

Cross-Sector Team

King County's Coordinated Entry for All helps anyone within the county who is facing homelessness find stable housing through needs assessments and connections to housing resources.²⁸ As part of the RRHF Pilot, Catholic Community Services — an outreach agency of the Catholic Church of Western Washington that provides shelters, case management, mental health services, and employment services — led coordinated entry assessments for families within 11 shelters.²⁹ Families were referred to RRHF directly from the coordinated entry system.³⁰ To increase participation, very few entry criteria

were put in place for income limits and work, criminal, or substance abuse history. Tamilies experiencing homelessness faced a number of barriers, and, according to Nick Codd, former senior manager at Building Changes, "people were eager enough to get housed that they were willing to try rapid rehousing." Coordinated Entry for All helped identify families that needed long-term housing solutions and those willing to accept rapid rehousing assistance. 32

Families who participated in the RRHF Pilot had been living in a homeless shelter, in their cars, or in other situations.³³ Many of the families had either income from Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) or no income at all. About 90 percent of the heads of families were female, more than half were single parents, and their median age at the start of the program was 34. Nearly one-third of program participants had not finished high school or attained a GED — a barrier to employment. In addition to lack of education, participants also faced other barriers such as debt obligations; eviction, domestic abuse, and ex-offender history;

physical disabilities; mental health challenges; and lack of employment history.³⁴

Once families accepted rapid rehousing assistance, case managers from five rapid rehousing providers — Catholic Community Services, Neighborhood House, Wellspring Family Services, Solid Ground, and YWCA — referred them to Employment Navigators from three workforce service providers: Neighborhood House Employment and Training Services, YWCA Works, and King County's Career Connections program from the Department of Community and Human Services.³⁵ These workforce service and housing providers had an existing track record of serving people facing employment and housing barriers. The family, Navigator, and rapid rehousing case manager met to discuss employment resources, plans for increasing income, and goals for self-sufficiency. Based on families' circumstances, the cross-sector team could also include representatives from homeless shelters or the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, because some participants were receiving TANF

benefits. Members of this cross-sector team held monthly "learning circles" to discuss progress, suggest best practices, share data, and determine progressive engagement for clients.³⁶

The Employment Navigators played a vital role in coordinating service delivery among the housing and workforce systems and helping participants find employment, access job training, and explore career paths. During meetings with heads of families, the Navigators worked to understand and mitigate the barriers preventing them from finding and keeping a job. To tailor services, the Navigators paid attention to each family's unique experience with homelessness and helped them become more informed about available workforce programs and resources. The Navigators also worked to ensure that participants could eventually "self-navigate" the workforce system.37

Retaining Employment and Housing

To find and keep a job, families experiencing homelessness and those at risk need assistance to resolve the most pressing barriers to employment. Through private dollars, Building Changes provided flex funds to families to cover car maintenance, transportation, child care, or interview and work clothes. Flex funds could also be used to pay for employment-related fees, such as a food handler's card or forklift training, as well as move-in costs and apartment application fees. Participants could not use flex funds to subsidize rent. Seventy percent of heads of families experiencing homelessness received flex funds.38

People who received assistance from an Employment Navigator were more likely to acquire permanent housing. After moving to permanent housing, families who had worked with an Employment Navigator did not return to homelessness during the two-year period following their move. Participants earned approximately \$12 per hour, typically in entry-level jobs. The urgent need to attain employment meant that very few people

(13%) participated in job training. Codd explained that because participants knew that their rental subsidies would eventually end, they eagerly sought employment. Some participants were already employed at the time they enrolled in the program. Of those who participated in the program, 58 percent either retained employment or became employed.³⁹ Families could still receive one-time rental assistance within six months of exiting the RRHF Pilot and maintain contact with Employment Navigators for up to two years.⁴⁰

Lessons and Ongoing Support

Several lessons emerged from King County's RRHF Pilot that may apply to other localities developing similar initiatives. Building Changes determined that workforce and housing service providers needed to improve cross-sector communication and information sharing while also avoiding system-specific jargon. Under the 2009 Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing Act, all communities must have a Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) — an online database with

information on families and individuals experiencing homelessness that informs local, state, and federal policymaking.⁴² Under Washington state's Employment Security Department, the Workforce Information and Technology Services (WITS) compiles data on employment, income, and occupations for the state's WorkSource online dashboard. 43 Although Building Changes attempted to adapt HMIS to the workforce sector, the effort was unsuccessful. Collecting more data about housing status and earned income at intake and program exit would have provided a more complete picture of participants' circumstances. Codd emphasized that workforce and housing providers should begin preparing families early for the eventual end of rapid rehousing assistance. Families should also anticipate that an increase in income may make them ineligible for public assistance programs.44

Although the RRHF Pilot and its related Employment Navigator services ended, the city of Seattle, King County, and the Seattle Housing Authority continue to collaborate to fund housing services for families experiencing homelessness.⁴⁵ In November 2015, the city of Seattle



Employment navigators from YWCA Works helped reduce participants' barriers to employment by providing job search assistance and career exploration resources.

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and King County each declared a state of emergency to alert officials about the rise in homelessness in the region and allocated about \$7.3 million to fund shelter beds, encampment outreach and cleanup efforts, rapid rehousing, and other services. ⁴⁶ The city also earmarked \$60,000 in flex funds after learning how crucial they were in addressing families' immediate needs. ⁴⁷

Building Changes chose King County Career Connections, Neighborhood House, and YWCA Works as service providers because these organizations had additional funding from the county that could help sustain vital services after the program ended. Codd noted that one way these organizations have continued to serve families experiencing homelessness is through the King County Homeless Employment Program (HEP). Although this project largely focuses on people experiencing homelessness rather than those enrolled in rapid rehousing, it represents an opportunity to sustain vital services.⁴⁸ As with the Employment Navigator program, the YWCA HEP helps reduce barriers to employment through job search assistance, mentorship, housing resources, and other work-related supports. 49

Looking Ahead

The programs in Chicago and King County demonstrated the positive outcomes that can occur by integrating two siloed systems. Howard explained that "[CHA] residents are more than interested and able to participate in job training programs and in the labor market," but they need the tools to do so. Administrators of future initiatives can learn from the successes and challenges of these programs and their commitment to evaluate progress along the way; taking stock of challenges and making corrections while a program is underway benefits participants much more than waiting until a program ends.⁵⁰ In King County, the most successful rapid rehousing staff were those who became "vocationalized" by inventing ways to link housing and employment, such as colocating employment services in housing developments and integrating employment status into the housing intake process.⁵¹ Identifying strategies to better unify the two systems, such as sharing data, reducing system-specific jargon, and communicating regularly, can improve services for vulnerable families.⁵² Although these programs have ended, Seattle and Chicago continue to ensure that positive gains are not lost by preserving partnerships with workforce and rapid rehousing providers, maintaining case management services, and continuing to provide job training and educational opportunities for vulnerable households. EM

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- 7 FSG. 2013. "Collective Impact Case Study: Opportunity Chicago," 3.
- ⁸ Interview with Mary Howard; Parkes et al., 4, 27.
- 9 Interview with Mary Howard.
- 10 Parkes et al., 4-6, 14.
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- ¹³ Interview with Mary Howard.
- 14 Parkes et al., 8.
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- ²¹ Parkes et al., 25.
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- Example 25 King County. 2013. "Rapid Re-housing pilot launched to help homeless families," 12 December press release
- ²⁶ Building Changes 2016, 6; Interview with Nick Codd, 11 May 2018; Email correspondence with Nick Codd, 22 May 2018 and 20 June 2018.
- ²⁷ Interview with Nick Codd; Email correspondence with Nick Codd, 20 June 2018.
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- 32 Interview with Nick Codd.
- 33 Ibid.
- ³⁴ Building Changes 2016, 6–7.
- 35 Ibid, 6; Email correspondence with Nick Codd, 20 June 2018.
- ³⁶ Interview with Nick Codd; Building Changes 2016, 8, 13.
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- ⁵² Interview with Mary Howard; Building Changes 2016, 14.

Additional Resources

- "Developing Inclusive Communities: Challenges and Opportunities for Mixed-Income Housing," (2017), by Renée Lewis Glover, Ann Carpenter, and Richard Duckworth, discusses the benefits of mixed-income communities, including those related to employment such as an enhanced sense of security and expanded social connections. www.frbatlanta.org/-/media/documents/community-development/publications/discussion-papers/2017/01-developing-inclusive-communities-challenges-and-opportunities-for-mixed-income-housing-2017-06-07.aspx.
- "Integrating Rapid Re-Housing & Employment: Program & Policy Recommendations for Enhancing Rapid Re-housing" (2017), by Caitlin C. Schnur, Chris Warland, Melissa Young, and Tara Maguire, explores the connections between homelessness and employment and suggests policies to help participants in rapid rehousing programs access employment and training. nationalinitiatives.issuelab.org/resources/27128/27128.pdf.
- "The Drive to Work: The Relationship between Transportation Access, Housing Assistance, and Employment among Participants in the Welfare to Work Voucher Program" (2017), by Evelyn Blumenberg and Gregory Pierce, emphasizes the importance of access to a car for improved employment outcomes for very low-income adults. journals.sagepub. com/doi/full/10.1177/0739456X16633501.
- "The Role of Neighborhood Social Networks in Scattered-Site Public Housing Residents' Search for Jobs" (2001), by Rachel Garshick Kleit, compares the ways dispersed residents and clustered residents use social networks in job searches. www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10511482.2001.9521418.
- "An Analysis of Public Workforce Development Resources" (2012), by the Chicago Jobs Council, examines federal, state, and local funding for several workforce development programs in the metropolitan Chicago region. cjc.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Regional-final-4.25.20121.pdf.
- "Implementing Transitional Jobs Under the Workforce Innovation & Opportunity Act: Why & How Workforce Investment Boards Should Leverage WIOA Dollars for Transitional Jobs" (2016), by Caitlin Schnur, summarizes the transitional jobs model and presents strategies to help communities implement transitional jobs programs. nationalinitiatives.issuelab. org/resources/23782/23782.pdf.
- "Practice Guides for Employment and Training" (2014), by the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness, presents best practices and resources for organizing job training and employment programs. www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset_library/Practice_Guides.pdf.
- "Employment Program Models for People Experiencing Homelessness: Different approaches to program structure" (2012), by Nathan Dunlap, Amy Rynell, Melissa Young, Chris Warland, and Ethan Brown, presents several examples of programs offering transitional jobs, adult education, and job placement support to help people experiencing or at risk of homelessness develop employment skills. nationalinitiatives.issuelab.org/resources/16921/16921.pdf.

For additional resources archive, go to www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/em/additional_resources_2018.html.

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