



More Lessons Learned From 50 Years of Subsidized Employment Programs

An Updated Review of Models

KALI GRANT & NATALIA COOPER

AUGUST 2023

Georgetown Center on Poverty & Inequality

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Foreword

This report is a second edition of GCPI's 2016 report, Lessons Learned from 40 Years of Subsidized Employment Programs. This second edition features an updated "Review of Models."

2023 marks the 60th anniversary of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called for a "massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages." In support of our collective march toward expanding and advancing employment strategies that create opportunity and security for all, GCPI presents a second edition of our 2016 review of models that examines the lessons learned from the last 50 years of efforts to support structurally excluded workers through subsidized employment opportunities.

Since the publication of the first edition of this review of models in 2016, new research has emerged that provides additional support for the proven and promising benefits of subsidized employment. This second edition includes a review of the latest research and updated key findings. The cumulative evidence of impact has widened the support base for subsidized jobs as an adaptable, scalable, effective policy tool to address economic exclusion and inequity. Examining and metabolizing the lessons learned from the last half-century of research and experimentation on subsidized employment will help us achieve a more inclusive economy.





Introduction & Key Findings

Subsidized employment—a policy tool that uses public and private funds to provide subsidized job opportunities, on-the-job training, and wraparound supports—is an engine for greater economic opportunity, stronger labor markets, and healthier communities. During economic downturns, supportive paid work opportunities can help stabilize the economy and maintain labor force attachment by mitigating systemic barriers to employment. In times of general economic prosperity, subsidized employment can be a powerful policy tool for supporting the workers and places that are continuously excluded from national economic prosperity when national unemployment rates are low.

Research demonstrates that subsidized employment—especially programs that connect participants to other wraparound resources that support work and well-being—makes work pay for participants and their families, as well as for employers and communities.

The programs profiled in this report have shown that subsidized employment is good for the economy, workers, and employers. Specifically, subsidized jobs programs:

- Connect workers to employment and training opportunities and improves the earnings and well-being of workers and their families;
- Help participating employers expand their businesses and support their communities;
- Are cost-effective in the long term;

- Remove barriers to work for structurally excluded workers, including Black and Latinx workers, people experiencing poverty, workers with previous criminal legal system involvement, and disconnected young people; and
- Can be adapted, scaled, and tailored to address specific place-based, employer, and worker needs throughout the business cycle.

This report highlights key findings from an extensive review of 50 years of subsidized jobs programs in the United States, and details dozens of specific models that focus on workers facing serious or multiple barriers to employment. It also describes several notable unsubsidized employment and work experience (paid and unpaid) programs that can offer constructive lessons on subsidized employment program and policy design and implementation. Finally, the report briefly reviews a few promising youth-focused subsidized employment models.

Taken together, the models presented in this report demonstrate that subsidized employment is an effective policy tool for increasing economic opportunity and advancing equity. Fifty years of evidence on subsidized jobs programs indicate that subsidized employment is scalable and adaptable to varying community needs. A national, permanent program would make subsidized jobs on a large scale possible.¹

Key Findings

Subsidized jobs connect participants to the labor market, improve economic security and well-being, and advance racial equity. Research demonstrates that subsidized employment programs with wraparound supports enable employers to:

- hire workers who would otherwise not be hired into jobs that otherwise would not exist;
- provide a wide range of benefits to participants, families, businesses, and communities; and
- support structurally excluded workers.

This section details several key findings and observations based on the review of research on 50 years of subsidized employment programs.

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS BOOST ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY & WELL-BEING

Subsidized jobs with wraparound supports benefit workers, their families, and employers. The programs connect workers to employment and training opportunities and wraparound services, such as health care, child care, and transportation; provide an important source of income to participating workers; and provide an on-ramp to competitive, unsubsidized employment opportunities. Several programs successfully increased earnings and employment for workers after completing the program and the impacts on earnings and employment lasted for years beyond the ends of some programs.¹ Many programs provided a range of positive effects, such as increased family economic stability, improved educational outcomes among the children of workers, higher rates of workers' school completion, reduced criminal legal system involvement among both workers and their children, improved physical and mental health and well-being, and lowered rates of longer-term poverty.

i For example, the AFDC Homemaker-Home Health Aide Demonstration resulted in positive labor market effects at the final follow-up survey, almost two years (on average) following program entry; the National Supported Work Demonstrations resulted in positive labor market effects for many targeted groups up to three years following program entry; and New Hope for Families and Children showed positive effects among some with moderate disadvantages eight years following program entry.

For employers, participating in subsidized employment reduces the risks typically associated with hiring and training new workers, while allowing employers to grow their businesses. Research shows when participating employers hire subsidized employment participants, their businesses' productivity and customer satisfaction increases.²

LONGER-LASTING PLACEMENTS & WRAPAROUND SUPPORTS IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Longer-lasting job placements and wraparound supports are two key characteristics of program design that best position subsidized employment programs to remove barriers to employment and improve employment rates and earnings. Even though many subsidized jobs programs have been relatively temporary and transitional, the review of models in this report suggests that the longer the program, the more likely it is to raise employment and earnings after the program has ended. In particular, the programs in this study with subsidies lasting longer than 14 weeks had the most consistent record of improving employment and earnings in the medium- to long-term.

Wraparound services in subsidized employment programs, such as health insurance, child care, legal assistance, financial counseling, and case management, help address the barriers to work that are not directly work-related that structurally excluded and under-resourced workers face. The package of wraparound supports allows workers to consistently access the job and training opportunities provided by subsidized employment. Strong employer engagement, longer-term post-placement retention services, pre-training, program entry screening processes, job preparation services, matching processes, and peer support mechanisms also appear to be promising features of effective programs and merit further rigorous examination.ⁱⁱ

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT IS GOOD FOR THE ECONOMY

Subsidized employment enables employers to hire workers who would otherwise not be hired, in jobs that otherwise would not exist. Consistently, the number of structurally excluded people who want to work exceeds the number of available jobs in the labor market.^{3,4,5} Even when topline unemployment rates are low, millions more workers that have been structurally excluded from the labor market are in search of a job opportunity but are not included in the official count, with stark racial and geographic disparities.^{6,7,8} Voluntary participation in large-scale subsidized jobs programs over the past 50 years indicates that subsidized employment is an effective policy tool for bridging this gap and supporting workers and places that are left out of the labor market. Subsidized employment connects workers to the labor market and increases their earnings, resulting in a host of positive effects, including increased consumer spending power.⁹ During times of economic downturn, subsidized employment can also serve as an effective countercyclical intervention to boost local economies and support workers.

ⁱⁱ Rigorous research evaluating the particular effects of individual program features—as opposed to research evaluating the impact of a subsidized employment program and its collection of wraparound supports—is limited.

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ARE COST EFFECTIVE

Connecting workers to employment and boosting their economic opportunities through subsidized jobs can reduce the long-term costs of unemployment and disconnection,¹⁰ including expenditures related to criminal legal system involvement.^{11,12} Of the 27 rigorously evaluated models described in this report, eight have been subject to published cost-benefit analyses. All eight were determined to be socially cost-effective for some intervention sites (for models implemented at multiple sites) and some target groups. Four of these eight models were found to be definitively or likely socially cost-effective overall.

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ARE VERSATILE, SCALABLE, & ADAPTABLE

The evidence shows that subsidized employment is adaptable to varying community needs and can be scaled up or down depending on program design and purpose. The variety within the programs profiled in this report illustrates the adaptability and breadth of design options for subsidized employment programs to meet varying goals, target worker populations, and community needs. (See Appendix for Figure 9.) Several of the programs have also been successfully adapted and replicated in different communities. And some programs have been implemented at a large scale, sometimes rapidly, to meet emergent community needs.

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT CAN BE A POWERFUL POLICY TOOL FOR ADVANCING RACIAL EQUITY

Systemic racism and discrimination in the U.S., especially in the labor market,^{13,14} education,^{15,16} housing,^{17,18} the financial system,¹⁹ and health care,²⁰ have created significant barriers to employment for workers of color. Many programs cataloged in this report successfully connected majority-Black and Latinx workers with limited incomes who were disconnected from work and education or returning from incarceration to jobs, which suggests that subsidized employment can mitigate some of the harms of systemic racism. Due to historical and ongoing underinvestment and policies of exclusion,^{21,22} communities of color typically experience higher unemployment than predominantly white communities, a disparity that is exacerbated during recessions.²³ Subsidized employment can address geographic racial disparities in employment because it creates jobs that would not otherwise exist and prioritizes workers routinely left out of the labor market throughout the business cycle.

DISCONNECTED YOUTH CAN BENEFIT FROM SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Subsidized job programs designed for youth and young adults help set youth up for success when entering the labor market. Rigorous evaluations show that these programs increase earnings, employment, and educational attainment and reduce criminal legal system involvement during the program and after. While more definitive research is needed, the existing evidence base on long-term impact indicates that some programs may improve long-term employment and earnings of participating adolescents, while other programs have had more temporary but still meaningful impacts, including some beyond employment and earnings. Policymakers can emulate design elements of the many successful program models focused on youth to build subsidized employment programs that increase economic opportunity for young people.

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT REMOVES OBSTACLES TO EMPLOYMENT FOR PREVIOUSLY INCARCERATED WORKERS

Subsidized employment is an effective policy tool for mitigating the systemic barriers to employment that workers re-entering the labor market face. Through connecting re-entering workers to employment, training, and vital wraparound supports, such as legal assistance, subsidized employment provides a holistic package of supports and services for workers who face disproportionate discrimination in the labor market, among other barriers. Programs in this report designed for workers with previous criminal legal system involvement showed increased earnings and lowered recidivism rates among participants. Policymakers can build upon the successes of these particular subsidized jobs programs that serve re-entering workers through additional and expanded programming.

OLDER WORKERS & WORKERS WITH DISABILITIES REMAIN UNDER-SERVED & UNDER-STUDIED

Few subsidized jobs models profiled in this report reach adults over the age of 59 and few were designed to serve workers with disability- or health-related barriers to work. Additionally, relatively few older adults participated in programs for which they were technically eligible. The few 20th-century programs included in this report that did target people with disabilities (Transitional Employment Training Demonstration and the Structured Training and Employment Transitional Services) demonstrated positive effects on labor market participation or earnings among participants with intellectual disabilities—suggesting there is room for new models with modernized, disability justice-informed subsidized employment programming and evaluation for all workers with disabilities. Subsidized employment may thus represent a desirable policy solution for providing income support to workers who are older or who have disabilities and are not receiving disability or retirement benefits.



Review of Models: 50 Years of Evidence & Promise

This section provides a review of 57 subsidized employment models, divided into three subsections:

1. Rigorously Evaluated Models;²⁴
2. Notable Models without Rigorous Evaluations Completed or Underway; and
3. Rigorously Evaluated Unsubsidized Employment & Work Experience Models.

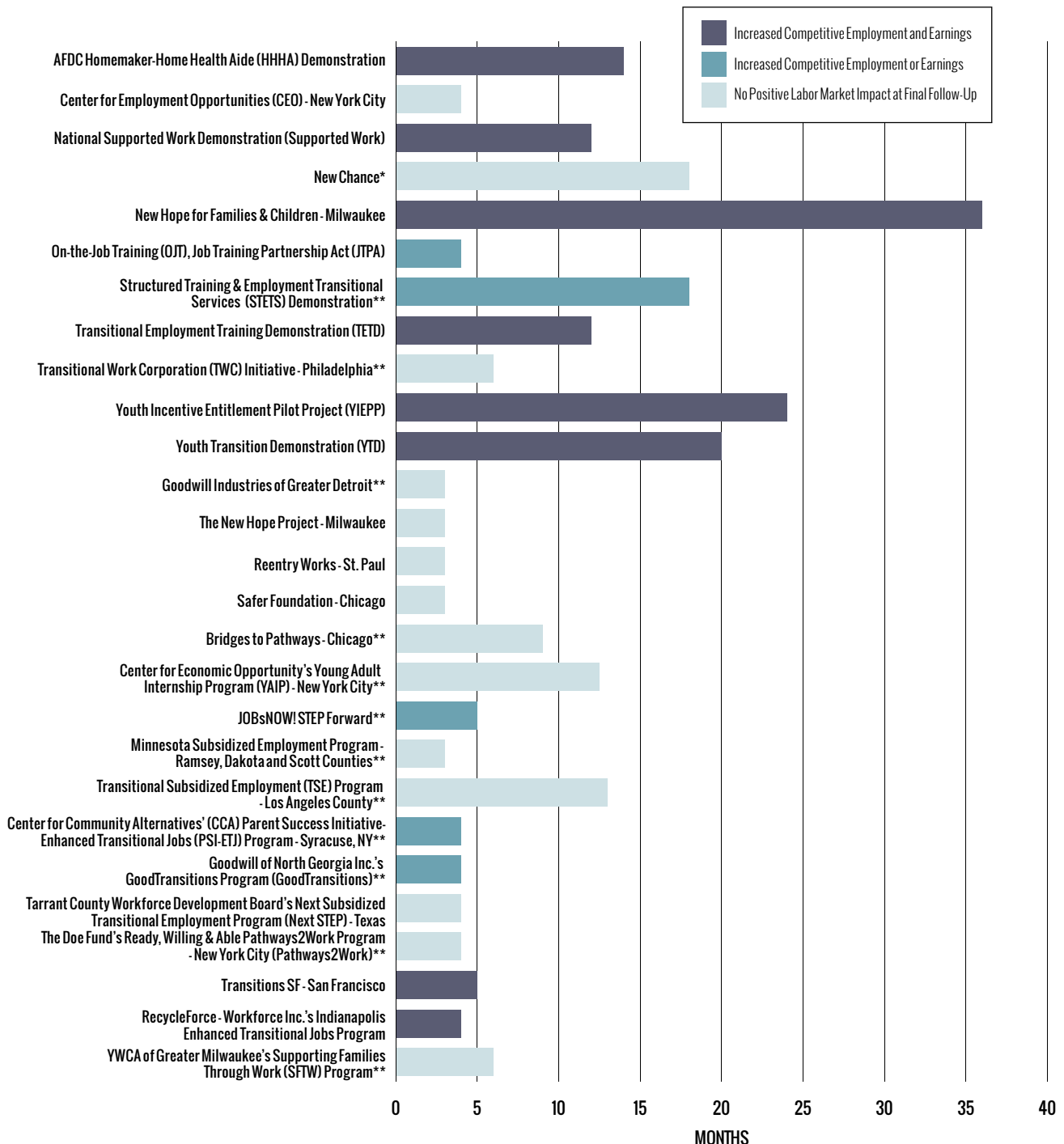
The review also describes several notable unsubsidized employment and work experience (paid and unpaid) programs that can offer constructive lessons on program and policy design and implementation. This section concludes with a brief review of a few promising youth-focused subsidized employment models.

Rigorously Evaluated Models

The following models have been evaluated through an experimental or quasi-experimental study, with published final results. Figure 1 depicts the range of benefit durations for each rigorously evaluated subsidized employment program, and denotes which programs had positive labor market impacts observed at final evaluation follow-up. Figure 2 presents a summary view of the rigorously evaluated models (listed in alphabetical order).

FIGURE 1. INCREASED BENEFIT DURATION CAN SUPPORT MODELS' LABOR MARKET IMPACT

Benefit duration & labor market impact of rigorously evaluated subsidized employment programs



Note: These data are derived from the typical duration of subsidized employment plus training services as reported in program evaluations or other program materials. Transitional Work Corporation had significant effects during the first year following program entry, but those effects faded by the four-year follow-up. TJRD refers to the Transitional Jobs Reentry Demonstration. New Chance's impacts were evaluated in comparison to a control group that did not participate in subsidized employment but did receive an array of other support services. In addition, the paid internship was arguably not a significant component of the program.

** Effectiveness is based on whether effects observed at the final follow-up were statistically significant. Some programs produced increases in competitive employment or earnings at various intervals before but not extending through final follow-up.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

FIGURE 2. MOST RIGOROUSLY EVALUATED MODELS PRODUCED POSITIVE EFFECTS

Summary table of rigorously evaluated subsidized employment models

PROGRAM	YEARS	TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS	OUTCOMES (positive effects bolded)
AFDC Homemaker-Home Health Aide (HHHA)	1983 - 1986	AFDC recipients, primarily single mothers	Occupational training as a home health aide; supervised OJT; 12 months' subsidized employment	(An average of) 22 months after program entry, * earnings & unsubsidized employment increased
Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO) - New York City	1970s - present; evaluated 2004 - 2005	Formerly incarcerated	5-day pre-employment class; subsidized positions in work crews; professional development; job placement assistance; counseling with retention specialist post-placement in unsubsidized jobs for 12 months max	36 months after program entry, did not increase earnings, but did significantly reduce recidivism , especially among high-risk individuals
National Supported Work Demonstration (Supported Work)	1975 - 1979	"Multi-year AFDC mothers; recovering addicts; formerly incarcerated; young high school dropouts"	Subsidized supervised transitional jobs for 12-18 months; job placement assistance	19-36 months after program entry, improved labor market outcomes (earnings & employment) for most participants; reduced recidivism ; no lasting effect for high school dropouts
New Chance	1989 - 1992	Young single mothers who dropped out of high school	Pre-employment training; life skills training; part-time internships (limited participation); ABE; GED preparation; child care; counseling and other community-based services	42 months after program entry, no positive labor market effects, but some positive effects on GED receipt, college education ; impact difficult to isolate because control group also received some services
New Hope for Families and Children - Milwaukee	1994 - 1998	Low-income people seeking full-time work	Earnings supplement; subsidized health insurance; subsidized child care; community service jobs for persistently unemployed recipients	8 years following program entry, positive effects on earnings, employment, poverty, marriage rates, mental health, child achievement & behavior ; effect faded for some by year 3; low benefit uptake rate
Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) On-the-Job Training (OJT)	1983 - 2000	Welfare participants; young people not in school; young males arrested since age 16	Service tracks included: classroom training; subsidized OJT and JSA	30 months following program entry, small positive effects on earnings for adults; positive effects on GED receipt for young women; no positive earnings effect for youth/young men
Structured Training and Employment Transitional Services (STETS) Demonstration	1981 - 1983	Youth with intellectual disabilities ages 18-24	Training; supervised work and OJT; job placement assistance	22 months after program entry, increased earnings , but did not increase in employment
Transitional Employment Training Demonstration (TETD)	1985 - 1987	SSI recipients with intellectual disabilities, ages 18-40	Subsidized employment; externally-administered OJT; post-placement retention services	36 months after program entry, increased earnings & employment

PROGRAM	YEARS	TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS	OUTCOMES (positive effects bolded)
Transitional Work Corporation (TWC) Initiative - Philadelphia	1998 - early 2010s	Long-term and potential long-term TANF recipients, especially single mothers	Subsidized employment; training; behavioral health services	48 months after program entry, earlier 12-month positive effects on employment & earnings , & TANF receipt had faded with time; high attrition rate after program entry
Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP)	1978 - 1980	Low-income or welfare-household youth, especially African American & Hispanic	Subsidized employment	Approximately 36 months after program entry, increased employment, especially for African American males; smaller effects for Hispanic females; no effects for Hispanic males; no effect on school graduation rates
Youth Transition Demonstration (YTD)	2006 - 2012	Individuals ages 14-25 receiving or likely to be eligible to receive at SSI or SSDI	Subsidized employment; on-the-job-training; volunteer work; job shadowing; job placement assistance	36 months after program intervention, intense interventions had positive impacts on employment & earnings ; more ambiguous but still positive findings on criminal legal system interaction
TRANSITIONAL JOBS REENTRY DEMONSTRATION (TJRD)				
Goodwill Industries of Greater Detroit	2007 - 2008	Recently incarcerated men	Transitional subsidized employment at Goodwill light manufacturing plant; job placement assistance; follow-up services	24 months after program entry, no significant effect on labor market or recidivism
The New Hope Project - Milwaukee	2007 - 2008	Recently incarcerated men	Transitional subsidized employment at local small businesses; job placement assistance; follow-up services	24 months after program entry, no significant effect on labor market or recidivism; within 3 years of operation, program had boosted employment , improved academic performance & fewer disciplinary conflicts among boys, & created more sustainable familial environments
Reentry Works - St. Paul	2007 - 2008	Recently incarcerated men	Transitional subsidized employment at Goodwill; job placement assistance; follow-up services	24 months after program entry, no significant effect on labor market or recidivism
Safer Foundation - Chicago	2007 - 2008	Recently incarcerated men	Transitional subsidized employment in waste management; job placement assistance; follow-up services	24 months after program entry, no significant effect on labor market or recidivism
SUBSIDIZED & TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION (STED)				
Bridges to Pathways - Chicago	2013 - 2016	Young men, ages 16-20, recently released from juvenile detention centers	3-month paid work experience (also referred to as an "internship"); GED or high school diploma education throughout the 6-month program; behavioral health services; mentoring	Decreased rate of of arrest for felonies & violent crimes; modest, but unsustained, increase in access to education, training, & employment services; increased short-term employment

PROGRAM	YEARS	TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS	OUTCOMES (positive effects bolded)
Center for Economic Opportunity's Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP) - New York City	2007 - 2014	Disconnected (not in school or working) young adults ages 16-24 who already have some necessary skills	2-3 week orientation: 10-12 weeks of paid 20-hours/ week internship: weekly paid educational workshops: job placement: and retention assistance	Increased short- & long-term earnings & employment
JOBSNOW! STEP Forward (STEP Forward) - San Francisco	Began 2009	Low-income public assistance recipients	5-month subsidized employment: two-tiered wage subsidy based on level of compensation	Higher likelihood of employment and higher average earnings within four year of assignment: of programs studied, largest earnings impact and least expensive implementation
Minnesota Subsidized Employment Program - Ramsey, Dakota and Scott Counties	Began 2009	Low-income TANF participants: excludes parents who are minors, full-time students, youth ages 18-24, & those exempt from TANF work requirements	16-week, subsidized, part-time public sector or non-profit employment for less-ready participants: subsidized private sector employment for more-ready participants	Significant increase in employment one year after enrollment and modest increase over a two-year period
Transitional Subsidized Employment (TSE) Program - Los Angeles County	2009 - present:** evaluated 2012 - 2013	TANF participants	2 tracks (each 6 months): 1. OJT: Private sector subsidized employment: case management: job placement assistance 2. Paid Work Experience: Public sector or nonprofit subsidized employment: case management: job placement assistance	Increased short-term earnings & employment : decreased short- & long-term public benefit receipt
ENHANCED TRANSITIONAL JOBS DEMONSTRATION (ETJD)				
Center for Community Alternatives' (CCA) Parent Success Initiative-Enhanced Transitional Jobs (PSI-ETJ) Program - Syracuse, NY	2011 - 2012	Non-custodial parents, especially those previously incarcerated	Transitional jobs: job placement assistance: legal assistance: ongoing case management	Increased short- & long-term earnings & employment : decreased long-term public benefit receipt : modest impact on criminal legal system involvement: better health : improved rate of child support payments
Goodwill of North Georgia Inc.'s Good-Transitions Program (GoodTransitions) (also in STED)	2011 - 2013	Low-income, noncustodial parents with child support orders: some are previously incarcerated	Subsidized transitional employment: occupational skills training: follow-up support: job retention services	Increased short-term earnings & employment : increased education & training : reduced recidivism : improved rate of child support payments : near 100% participation in transitional jobs
Tarrant County Workforce Development Board's Next Subsidized Transitional Employment Program (Next STEP) - Texas	2011 - 2014	Low-income, previously incarcerated individuals	Skills assessment and training: private sector subsidized employment: job placement assistance: legal aid: parenting skills classes: behavioral health services: transportation assistance: job retention services	Increased short-term earnings & employment : increased education & training
The Doe Fund's Ready, Willing & Able Pathways2Work Program - New York City (Pathways2Work)	2011 - 2014	Formerly homeless and/or incarcerated individuals	Paid internships: training: job placement assistance: support services for individuals with substance use disorders: case management: educational assistance: housing placement: job retention services	Increased short-term earnings & employment : increased education & training
Transitions SF - San Francisco (also in STED)	2011 - 2015	Non-custodial parents ages 18-59: may have criminal legal system involvement, owe child support, or not job-ready	Assessment & job-readiness training: 5-month subsidized transitional employment	Increased short-term earnings : increased short- & long-term employment

PROGRAM	YEARS	TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS	OUTCOMES (positive effects bolded)
RecycleForce - Workforce Inc.'s Indianapolis Enhanced Transitional Jobs Program (ETJP)	2006 - present; evaluated 2011 - 2014	Formerly incarcerated individuals	Transitional employment; housing assistance; GED assistance, legal aid, & peer counseling	Significantly reduced recidivism ; increased short- & long-term earnings & employment ; increased education & training
YWCA of Greater Milwaukee's Supporting Families Through Work (SFTW) Program	2011 - 2015	Non-custodial parents with child support order; may be formerly incarcerated	Subsidized employment; occupational skills training; earnings supplements	Modest increase in long-term earnings

Note: *The term "program entry" is used as shorthand in this section to refer to 1) the time of random assignment, when experimental random assignment evaluation methods have been used, and 2) the time of enrollment when such methods have not been used.

**After the TSE Program was evaluated, it has continued to operate in a modified form. <https://pathwaystowork.acf.hhs.gov/intervention-detail/524>

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

Figure 3 below describes results, if any, from cost-benefit analyses conducted for each of these experimentally- or quasi-experimentally evaluated models, listed in alphabetical order.

FIGURE 3. COST-BENEFIT ANALYSES SHOW SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT IS GENERALLY COST-EFFECTIVE

Cost-benefit analyses of rigorously evaluated models

PROGRAM	COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS
AFDC Homemaker-Home Health Aide (HHHA) Demonstration (1983 - 1986)	Counting the value of the work itself, researchers estimate that social benefits from HHHA outweighed costs in 6 out of 7 demonstration states.
Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO) (1970s - Today)	Researchers estimate that CEO was very likely cost-effective due primarily to reduced criminal legal system expenditures.
National Supported Work Demonstration (Supported Work) (1975 - 1979)	Researchers estimate that Supported Work's social benefits far outweighed social costs for mothers participating in AFDC. There were smaller net benefits among those who recently participated in drug treatment. Cost-benefit results were unclear for the formerly incarcerated, & negative for the youth-dropout group.
New Chance (1989 - 1992)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
New Hope for Families and Children - Milwaukee (1994 - 1998)	Researchers estimate that New Hope was highly cost-effective, in large part due to the improved behavior among boys.
On-the-Job Training (OJT) in Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) (1983 - 2000)	Researchers estimate that JTPA's OJT was cost-effective for adults, but not for youths.
Structured Training and Employment Transitional Services (STETS) Demonstration (1981 - 1983)	Researchers estimate that STETS was likely socially cost-effective for participants within 4.5 years of enrollment.
Transitional Employment Training Demonstration (TETD) (1985 - 1987)	As a result of higher net incomes among participants & savings from reduced public outlays, researchers estimated TETD was likely cost-effective from a social standpoint.
Transitional Work Corporation (TWC) - Philadelphia (1998 - early 2010s)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.

PROGRAM	COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS
Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP) (1978 - 1980)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Youth Transition Demonstration (YTD) (2006 - 2012)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
TRANSITIONAL JOBS REENTRY DEMONSTRATION (TJRD)	
Goodwill Industries of Greater Detroit (2007 - 2008)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
The New Hope Project - Milwaukee (2007 - 2008)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Reentry Works - St. Paul (2007 - 2008)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Safer Foundation - Chicago (2007 - 2008)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
SUBSIDIZED AND TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION (STED)	
Bridges to Pathways - Chicago (2013 - 2016)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Center for Economic Opportunity's Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP) - New York City (2007 - 2014)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
JOBsNOW! STEP Forward (STEP Forward) - San Francisco	No final rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Minnesota Subsidized Employment Program - Ramsey, Dakota and Scott Counties	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Transitional Subsidized Employment (TSE) Program - Los Angeles County (2009 - Today)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
ENHANCED TRANSITIONAL JOBS DEMONSTRATION (ETJD)	
Center for Community Alternatives' (CCA) Parent Success Initiative-Enhanced Transitional Jobs (PSI-ETJ) Program - Syracuse, NY (2011 - 2012)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Goodwill of North Georgia Inc.'s Good-Transitions Program (GoodTransitions) (also in STED) (2011 - 2013)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
Tarrant County Workforce Development Board's Next Subsidized Transitional Employment Program (Next STEP) - Texas (2011 - 2014)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
The Doe Fund's Ready, Willing & Able Pathways2Work Program - New York City (Pathways2Work) (2011 - 2014)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.

PROGRAM	COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS
Transitions SF - San Francisco (also in STED) (2011 - 2015)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.
RecycleForce - Workforce Inc.'s Indianapolis Enhanced Transitional Jobs Program (ETJP) (2006 - Today)	The overall benefits to society outweighed ETJP costs by approximately \$2,200 per person.
YWCA of Greater Milwaukee's Supporting Families Through Work (SFTW) Program (2011 - 2015)	No rigorous cost-benefit analysis is available.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

The table below (Figure 4) indicates which support services were offered by each model.

FIGURE 4. RIGOROUSLY EVALUATED MODELS PROVIDE A RANGE OF VITAL WRAPAROUND SUPPORTS

Summary table of support services for rigorously evaluated models

	SUPPLEMENTAL TRAINING/ EDUCATION	ON-THE-JOB TRAINING	COMPETITIVE JOB PLACEMENT	FOLLOW-UP SERVICES	HEALTH SERVICES	CHILD CARE SERVICES	LEGAL SERVICES	FINANCIAL LITERACY/ ADVICE	TRANSPORTATION	HOUSING
AFDC Homemaker-Home Health Aide (HHHA) Demonstration	●	●								
Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO)	●	●	●							
National Supported Work Demonstration (Supported Work)			●							
New Chance	●	●				●				
New Hope for Families and Children - Milwaukee		●			●	●				
On-the-Job Training (OJT) in Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)	●	●	●							
Structured Training and Employment Transitional Services (STETS) Demonstration	●	●	●							
Transitional Employment Training Demonstration (TETD)	●	●	●	●					●	
Transitional Work Corporation (TWC) - Philadelphia	●		●	●	●	●			●	
Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP)										

	SUPPLEMENTAL TRAINING/ EDUCATION	ON-THE-JOB TRAINING	COMPETITIVE JOB PLACEMENT	FOLLOW-UP SERVICES	HEALTH SERVICES	CHILD CARE SERVICES	LEGAL SERVICES	FINANCIAL LITERACY/ ADVICE	TRANSPORTATION	HOUSING
Youth Transition Demonstration (YTD)	●	●	●	●						
Goodwill Industries of Greater Detroit	●	●	●	●					●	
The New Hope Project - Milwaukee	●	●	●	●					●	
Reentry Works - St. Paul	●	●	●	●					●	
Safer Foundation - Chicago	●	●	●	●					●	
Bridges to Pathways - Chicago	●		●	●	●	●		●	●	
Center for Economic Opportunity's Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP) - New York City	●		●	●	●					
Transitional Subsidized Employment (TSE) Program - Los Angeles County		●*	●	●						
Center for Community Alternatives' (CCA) Parent Success Initiative-Enhanced Transitional Jobs (PSI-ETJ) Program - Syracuse, NY			●	●			●			
Goodwill of North Georgia Inc.'s Good-Transitions Program (GoodTransitions) (also in STED)	●	●	●	●					●	
JOBsNOW! STEP Forward (STEP Forward) - San Francisco				●						
Minnesota Subsidized Employment Program - Ramsey, Dakota and Scott Counties		●								
Tarrant County Workforce Development Board's Next Subsidized Transitional Employment Program (Next STEP) - Texas	●		●	●	●				●	
The Doe Fund's Ready, Willing & Able Pathways2Work Program - New York City (Pathways2Work)	●		●	●	●					●
Transitions SF - San Francisco (also in STED)	●			●	●	●				

	SUPPLEMENTAL TRAINING/ EDUCATION	ON-THE-JOB TRAINING	COMPETITIVE JOB PLACEMENT	FOLLOW-UP SERVICES	HEALTH SERVICES	CHILD CARE SERVICES	LEGAL SERVICES	FINANCIAL LITERACY/ ADVICE	TRANSPORTATION	HOUSING
RecycleForce - Workforce Inc.'s Indianapolis Enhanced Transitional Jobs Program (ETJP)	●		●			●			●	●
YWCA of Greater Milwaukee's Supporting Families Through Work (SFTW) Program	●		●	●		●	●			

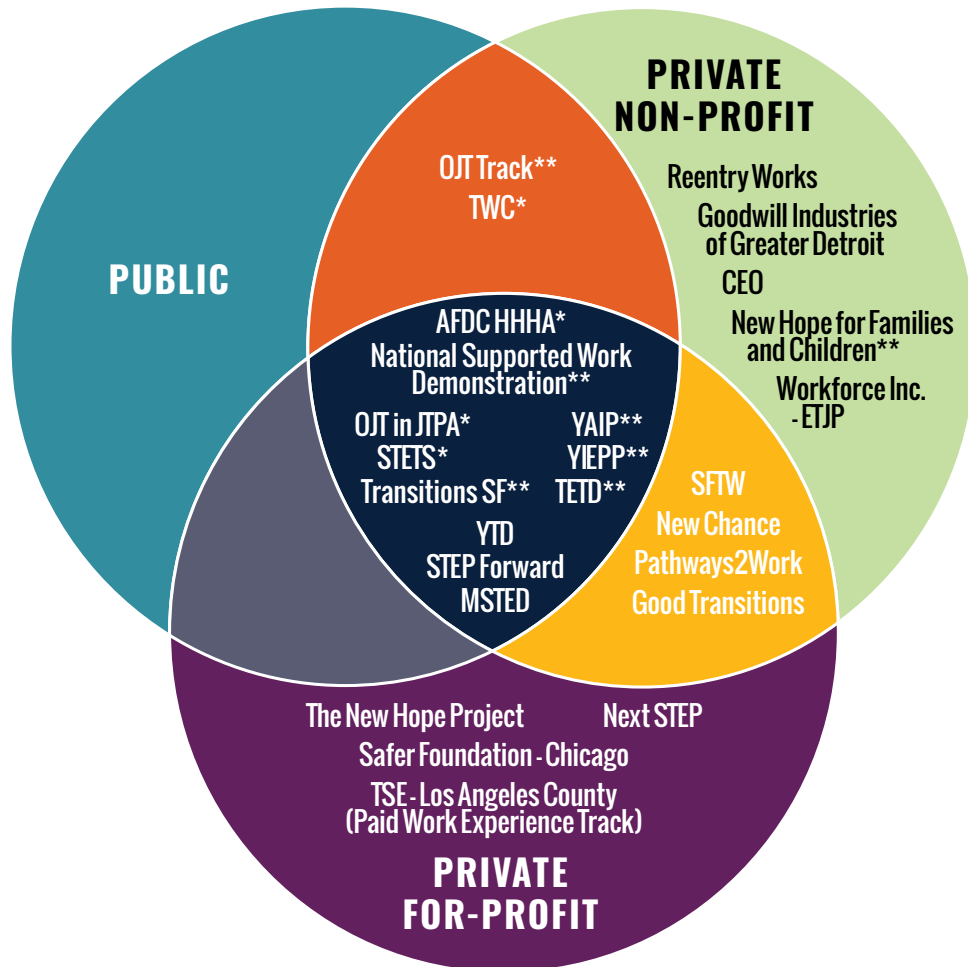
Note: * For the OJT Track only.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

The diagram below (Figure 5) indicates whether each model used public, private non-profit, and/or private for-profit placements.

FIGURE 5. RIGOROUSLY EVALUATED MODELS SPAN PUBLIC, PRIVATE NON-PROFIT, & PRIVATE FOR-PROFIT SECTORS

Sectors of subsidized employment offered by rigorously evaluated programs



Note: *Increased either employment or earnings

**Increased both employment and earnings

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

1. AFDC HOMEMAKER-HOME HEALTH AIDE (HHHA) DEMONSTRATION

From 1983 to 1986, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Homemaker-Home Health Aide (HHHA) demonstration targeted AFDC participants, primarily single mothers. To be eligible, an individual had to be currently eligible for AFDC, must have received AFDC benefits for the previous 90 days, and must not have been employed as a homemaker or home health aide during that period.²⁵ Created in 1935, the AFDC program provided cash assistance to children with at least one unemployed, disabled, or deceased parent.²⁶ Family size and earned income levels determined the amount of financial assistance provided to participants, with the expectation that parents and guardians adhere to certain work requirements to maintain eligibility. Run in seven states, HHA demonstrations were mandated by Congress and administered by the Health Care Financing Administration to test the effectiveness of employment programs that also involved the delivery of home care to “elderly and infirm clients.”²⁷ The demonstrations were designed to train and subsidize employment of AFDC participants to provide home health aide services to older people and people with disabilities.²⁸ This program provided 4-8 weeks²⁹ of formal classroom training of a home health care curriculum, as well as 26 hours’ worth (on average) of closely supervised practicum experience in nursing homes and private residences³⁰ Participation in each component was voluntary.³¹ Once participants completed the occupational training, they were guaranteed placement in up to 12 months of full-time, subsidized employment as a homemaker or health aide.³² Participants were generally employed by established service providers.³³

Evidence: AFDC HHA was evaluated through a random assignment evaluation of 9,520 participants at 70 sites within Arkansas, Kentucky, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, South Carolina, and Texas.³⁴ Approximately 85 percent of those assigned to the treatment group went through the training and 72 percent eventually entered subsidized employment.³⁵ The evaluation looked back at participants an average of 22 months after program entry and found that the program significantly increased participants’ earnings.³⁶ Participants in Arkansas, New Jersey, Ohio, and Texas sites also experienced a statistically significant increase in hours worked per month.³⁷ Counting the value of the subsidized work itself, researchers estimate that social benefits from the program outweighed costs in six out of seven demonstration states; benefits exceeded the costs by an amount ranging from \$2,200 to \$13,000 depending on the state.³⁸ The gain in participants’ income in five of the seven states was between \$1,200 to \$2,600 per year in 1984 dollars.³⁹ Despite efforts to reach individuals with multiple or serious barriers to employment, some sites were not able to include workers who lacked access or ability to drive a car, had minimal literacy skills or education, or appeared to have little future in the profession.⁴⁰ Due to the random assignment nature of the evaluation, these restrictions cast little doubt on the intervention’s effectiveness, however.⁴¹

2. CENTER FOR EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES (CEO) – NEW YORK CITY

Founded as a demonstration project in the 1970s,⁴² the Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO) in New York City strives to boost labor market outcomes and reduce recidivism by

providing transitional jobs and other services to people who were formerly incarcerated.⁴³

⁴⁴ As of 2023,⁴⁵ the initiative includes a five-day pre-employment class, followed immediately by placement into a subsidized position in a work crew, intended to promote soft skills development.⁴⁶ Participants work four days a week (seven hours a day) and are paid daily.⁴⁷ On average, the jobs last for nine weeks.⁴⁸ CEO also provides weekly support and guidance (on the day the participant is not working) and weekly meetings with a job developer once the participant is ready.⁴⁹ After transitioning to unsubsidized employment, participants continue to work with CEO retention specialists for up to a year, focusing on the retention of employment and development of job skills.⁵⁰ Since 2011, CEO has expanded into 12 different states, including California and Oklahoma.⁵¹ CEO currently serves approximately 4,500 people a year, including 2,500 participants in the New York program.⁵²

Evidence: In the mid-2000s, nearly 1,000 participants were randomly assigned to a program group or control group for a rigorous evaluation.⁵³ Study participants were disproportionately men, people of color, unmarried, not-cohabiting, and had limited education.⁵⁴ About half of the participants had children under age 18.⁵⁵ Both groups had access to a pre-employment class, though the class was longer for the program group and only the program group received professional development and job placement assistance.⁵⁶ The study found that 36 months following program entry, CEO did not improve employment and earnings, aside from the subsidized job itself. However, the program did significantly lower recidivism, especially among people most recently released from prison.⁵⁷ The evaluation concluded that CEO was cost-effective “under a wide range of assumptions ... for taxpayers, victims, and participants,” due primarily to reduced criminal legal system expenditures.⁵⁸

3. NATIONAL SUPPORTED WORK DEMONSTRATION (SUPPORTED WORK)

From 1975 to 1979, the National Supported Work Demonstration (Supported Work) provided 12- to 18-month transitional jobs with close supervision and a small crew of peers.⁵⁹ Participants were subject to gradually increasing expectations of workers to the point of approximating competitive employment.⁶⁰ Job search assistance also was provided as subsidized jobs neared completion.⁶¹ The supported work program focused on mothers who were multi-year participants⁶² of AFDC; people who had recovered from a substance use disorder; people formerly incarcerated; and youth, aged 17-20 at the time of program enrollment, who had exited high school before degree completion.⁶³ A majority (excluding AFDC participants) had experienced an arrest,⁶⁴ and participants were overwhelmingly people of color, had limited education, and had little work experience in the previous year.⁶⁵

Evidence: Of the 15 sites around the country, 10 were part of a random assignment evaluation, in which the 6,600 total participants were divided evenly into a control and treatment group.⁶⁶ The evaluation found that Supported Work led to sizeable labor market gains (measured by average monthly earnings and percent of months employed) for long-term AFDC participants, and was also effective at improving labor market and criminal legal system outcomes for a large portion of the adults who had enrolled in treatment for a substance use disorder (“ex-addict” target group) during the previous six months.⁶⁷ The demonstration had modest impacts on the earnings and recidivism rates of formerly incarcerated people and significant reductions in the percent of youth and “ex-addict” target groups arrested, although no lasting impact on youth who had exited school before completion.⁶⁸ Indeed, the program was generally more effective among

older adults (typically those over age 35) within each non-youth target group.⁶⁹ A three-year follow-up study found the program’s social benefits far outweighed social costs for participants who were mothers participating in AFDC—per AFDC participant, long-term benefits exceeded costs by an estimated \$8,000.⁷⁰ And there were smaller but sizeable net benefits among workers who recently participated in treatment for a substance use disorder.⁷¹ Cost-benefit results were unclear for workers who were formerly incarcerated, and negative for youth who had not completed high school.⁷² A 1999 analysis of the demonstration data found that individuals with substantial substance use disorders assigned to supported work did not experience lower substance use, but were significantly less likely than their control group counterparts to be arrested for robberies or burglaries at the final follow-up.^{73, 74} Furthermore, analysis of Supported Work participants’ survey responses about the quality of their employment suggested that participants without substantial substance use disorders and in “high-quality” jobs (those that were both economically rewarding and personally satisfying) had lower rates of substance use and arrests following Supported Work. These results suggest a potential relationship between job quality and future substance use or criminal legal system involvement.⁷⁵

4. NEW CHANCE

From 1989 to 1992, the New Chance program targeted mothers ages 16-22 years old who had not completed high school, had first given birth as teenagers, and were eligible for cash assistance.^{76, 77, 78} The program model was designed according to guidelines created in consultation with academics, program operators, and other experts who believed that a holistic approach would best mitigate the complex challenges that young mothers face.⁷⁹ Accordingly, the program offered participants a wide menu of wraparound services and supports: pre-employment training; life skills training; part-time work internships; adult basic education; General Educational Development (GED) preparation; child care; counseling; and other services through schools, community colleges, and community-based organizations.^{80, 81, 82}

New Chance operated in 16 communities in 10 states and was voluntary, with most participants joining the program to earn their GED certificates.⁸³ Access to all New Chance services, including on-the-job training as part of work internships for participants, ended after 18 months.⁸⁴ New Chance was unique in its “two-generational” approach, seeking to enhance the health and socioemotional well-being of both participating workers and their children.⁸⁵ This approach is reflected in the program’s Phase I services, which included parenting courses, pediatric health, and child care for parents participating in the educational services.⁸⁶

Evidence: Evaluated in a random assignment study, New Chance was not found to have statistically significant positive effects overall 42 months after program entry.⁸⁷ However, the evaluation was limited, as it compared the treatment group to a control group that also was offered an array of wraparound services.⁸⁸ As a result, there was increased difficulty in isolating the specific effects of individual aspects of the New Chance program from the effects of the other wraparound services being offered.⁸⁹ Additional statistical analyses found that more than 18 weeks of education participants’ likelihood of earning GEDs and that skills training and college attendance facilitated higher wages.⁹⁰ However, it was not possible to determine the potential impacts of the work internship component of the program, as it was not a significant component of the intervention.⁹¹ Despite these limitations in the evaluation design, the study’s findings suggest the positive impacts of comprehensive wraparound supports for addressing barriers to work for this population of young mothers.⁹²

5. NEW HOPE FOR FAMILIES & CHILDREN – MILWAUKEE

From 1995 through 1998, two sites in Milwaukee connected jobseekers with low incomes to benefits and services to help “make work pay.”⁹³ The principle guiding New Hope was that “anyone who works full time should not be poor.”⁹⁴ Most participants had worked in the prior year but were unemployed upon program entry.⁹⁵ Most participants also had a GED or high school diploma and already received public assistance.⁹⁶ New Hope had four eligibility requirements: individuals had to live in one of the two targeted service areas in Milwaukee, be at least 18 years old, be available to work at least 30 hours per week, and have a household income at or below 150 percent of the federally-defined poverty level.⁹⁷ Participation was voluntary, and adults were eligible regardless of whether they had children or were participating in AFDC/TANF.⁹⁸ Workers with full-time jobs and low incomes could also participate in New Hope.

For participating workers without pre-existing full-time work, they were placed in wage-paying subsidized jobs, called “community service job[s].”⁹⁹ All New Hope participants were offered an earnings supplement, subsidized health insurance, and subsidized child care.^{100, 101} Workers could participate in the New Hope program for up to three years. The uptake of available benefits was neither universal nor consistent during the three years.¹⁰² New Hope targeted families with low incomes generally, but primarily enrolled women and single mothers of color with primary school- or preschool-aged children.¹⁰³ The program’s wraparound supports were designed to support participants’ families as a whole.¹⁰⁴ Subsidized employment placements with nonprofit organizations paid minimum wage, were six months long, were part- or full-time,¹⁰⁵ were not guaranteed, were “at will,” and were limited to two jobs (for a total of up to 12 months) during the three-year participation period.¹⁰⁶

Evidence: Evaluated through a random assignment study for five years after completion of the three-year program, New Hope increased employment, earnings, and incomes (which includes the program’s earnings supplement and the EITC).¹⁰⁷ Some parents also experienced improvements in their psychological well-being.¹⁰⁸ Effects were concentrated in the three years of program participation, but adults with moderate barriers to employment saw higher employment, earnings, and income through the five-year follow-up period.¹⁰⁹ Employment effects were driven in large part by the subsidized employment placements, which were utilized by about a third of participants.¹¹⁰ Another study on the five-year post-program effects also found that among participating mothers who had never been married, New Hope increased post-participation marriage rates and decreased levels of depression.¹¹¹

In addition, New Hope increased the time that children, including adolescents, spent in “structured, supervised out-of-school activities” and care, though effects diminished a few years after child care subsidies ended.¹¹² New Hope improved children’s performance in school during and up to two years after the intervention¹¹³ and appears to have persistently increased children’s engagement in school, positive social behavior, and passage from one grade to the next, while lowering special education placements through the five years following program completion.¹¹⁴ Five years after the program, youth—especially boys between the ages 6-16—had more positive attitudes about work and had engaged in work-related activities at higher rates than those not randomly assigned to New Hope.¹¹⁵ New Hope appears to have been highly cost-effective, in large part due to the improved behavior among boys that resulted in a reduction in participants’ interaction with the criminal legal system and the associated savings to taxpayers.¹¹⁶ The societal savings from transitioning just 1 in 16 of the boys out of the “high-risk” category is estimated to be more than sufficient to cover the program’s full cost to taxpayers.¹¹⁷

6. JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT (JTPA) ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Subsidized on-the-job training—a complement or alternative to subsidized wages and benefits—was incorporated into the workforce development system under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) in the 1980s. In practice, on-the-job training allowed participants to enroll in job search assistance while searching for an on-the-job training opportunity or unsubsidized job.¹¹⁸ On average, JTPA on-the-job training participants received 435 hours of training for a typical duration of 13 weeks.¹¹⁹ The interventions (ranging from 7-34 weeks in total) targeted workers, regardless of gender, participating in AFDC, as well as youth ages 16-21 who were not in school.¹²⁰ Targeted youth included boys and young men who had experienced an arrest any time after their 16th birthday.¹²¹ Although on-the-job training participants received training in a variety of occupations, over 40 percent of JTPA on-the-job training was in lower-paid occupations, such as custodians, domestic workers, dishwashers, laundry workers, and laborers.¹²²

Evidence: In the late 1980s, DOL funded a random assignment study for over 20,000 applicants across 16 sites.¹²³ Each eligible applicant was randomly assigned to either treatment (allowed to enroll in a JTPA Title II-A program) or a control group (not allowed to enroll in a Title II-A program for 18 months), with two-thirds assigned to a treatment group and one-third assigned to a control group.¹²⁴ For those in the treatment group, staff recommended participant placement into one of three service strategy subgroups: classroom training, subsidized on-the-job training mixed with job search assistance, or other services.¹²⁵

Overall, adults experienced, on average, modest earnings gains for at least 30 months following random assignment (generally 24 months following the end of the intervention). Among adult women participants, those who received combined on-the-job training and job search assistance experienced these positive results over 30 months following the treatment, though the “other or no services” treatment may have been even more effective.¹²⁶ Adult women saw statistically significant earnings gains due to the treatments; while adult men had modest earnings gains, they were not statistically significant for any particular treatment.¹²⁷ Youth without recent arrest records, regardless of gender, did not experience significant earnings gains from any treatment.¹²⁸ Earnings impacts for boys and young men with a recent arrest record were inconclusive due to contradictory data.¹²⁹

Participating girls and young women who had not completed high school, especially adult women, experienced substantially higher GED or high school completion within 30 months of random assignment.¹³⁰ There were no impacts on AFDC or food stamp usage.¹³¹ Researchers found that the program was cost-effective for adults, but not for youths.¹³²

7. STRUCTURED TRAINING & EMPLOYMENT TRANSITIONAL SERVICES (STETS) DEMONSTRATION

From Fall 1981 through 1983, the Structured Training and Employment Transitional Services (STETS) Demonstration attempted to build on the National Supported Work Demonstration (also discussed in this section) and place younger workers with cognitive disabilities (ages 18-24) in gradually intensifying positions in five cities nationwide.¹³³ Participants had intelligence quotients (IQs) between 40 and 80, limited previous work experience, and mostly lived with and depended on other adults for daily and longer-term needs.¹³⁴ Participants were grouped by the extent of their cognitive disabilities as “mild,” “moderate,” or “borderline” based on their

IQ scores. Participants' secondary disabilities, as assessed by local program administrators, could not be so severe that successful job placement within a year would not be feasible.^{135, 136} The (approximately) 11-month subsidized positions included close supervision and peer-group support.¹³⁷

The program lasted up to 18 months in total and included three sequential phases.¹³⁸ In the first phase, participants started with work-readiness training, support services, and up to 500 hours of paid subsidized employment.^{139, 140, 141} The second phase consisted of on-the-job training emphasizing performance and work stress to simulate the demands that workers without disabilities face in similar jobs.¹⁴² STETS placed participants in subsidized or unsubsidized positions with local organizations, intended to roll over into unsubsidized employment.¹⁴³ The third phase of the program included up to six months of postplacement support services.¹⁴⁴ Phase three could only begin once the employer was no longer receiving program subsidies, the program had significantly scaled back counseling and other services to the employer and the participant, and the participant was considered to be a staff member (rather than a trainee) in their once-subsidized role.¹⁴⁵

Evidence: A random assignment study of more than 220 STETS participants and a similarly sized control group found that STETS was effective at shifting many participants away from sheltered workshops¹⁴⁶ and into competitive employment, especially people with moderate intellectual disabilities.¹⁴⁷ As a result, participants' earnings increased substantially through higher-paying work, even though STETS did not increase overall employment rates.¹⁴⁸ STETS was more effective for older youth and those who were relatively independent of other adults.¹⁴⁹ STETS was also more effective for men than women—the program had little to no discernible impact on women's earnings—and for participants with “mild to moderate” intellectual disabilities relative to participants with borderline intellectual disabilities.¹⁵⁰ There is evidence that the program struggled to place women in subsidized positions, particularly during transitional program phases, such as during start-up and wind-down.^{151, 152}

The STETS program was found to be effective in reducing participants' enrollment in alternative schooling and training programs for youth with cognitive disabilities.¹⁵³ Evaluators determined that this was a positive finding because these programs were often more expensive and less efficient at helping youth develop job skills and readiness.¹⁵⁴ STETS provided a cost-effective option for workers with disabilities, offering job training with employment specialists throughout the three phases of the program.¹⁵⁵ By providing job training and support, STETS helped youth with cognitive disabilities gain the skills and experience they needed to integrate into the competitive labor market.¹⁵⁶ In addition, STETS reduced Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) benefit receipt but did not have enduring effects on other public benefits.¹⁵⁷ With reduced cash benefit receipt offsetting some part of the earnings gains from STETS, it did not appear that STETS led to significant changes in lifestyle, such as shifts to independent living.¹⁵⁸ Based on 22-month post-enrollment follow-up (approximately 11 months post-program) findings, evaluators estimated that STETS was likely to be socially cost-effective within four and a half years of enrollment.¹⁵⁹

8. TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT TRAINING DEMONSTRATION (TETD)

From June 1985 to June 1987, the Social Security Administration (SSA) funded the Transitional Employment Training Demonstration (TETD) operations for eight organizations

in 13 communities.¹⁶⁰ TETD offered subsidized training and support in a transitional job to Supplemental Security Income (SSI) participants ages 18-40 with a diagnosed intellectual disability.¹⁶¹ The program aimed to assess the extent to which the provision of time-limited jobs,¹⁶² on-the-job training, and support services could increase employment and earnings and reduce the SSI payments of SSI participants with intellectual disabilities.^{163, 164} The demonstration gradually phased out on-the-job training during each placement, but provided post-placement job retention services to facilitate success in competitive employment.¹⁶⁵ Sponsoring organizations at each site provided core services for up to one year, and developed support plans to ensure subsequent job retention.¹⁶⁶ Long-term job-retention services, arranged on a case-by-case basis, were only funded by TETD within the one year.¹⁶⁷

Evidence: An evaluation found that TETD substantially increased participants' employment and earnings, while modestly reducing SSI benefit receipt and the utilization of other services—and that these effects persisted for six years following participants' entry into the program.¹⁶⁸ The TETD intervention was evaluated through random assignment; participants were followed 36 months after random assignment.¹⁶⁹ The intervention was assigned to 375 people, who were compared over six years following enrollment to a control group of 370 that could not receive TETD services but could receive other services.¹⁷⁰ In addition to the positive financial outcomes, the TETD evaluation found that the services also led to non-pecuniary benefits for participants, such as the adoption of roles held by peers without disabilities and increased social interactions.¹⁷¹ As a result of higher net incomes among participants and savings from reduced public outlays, researchers estimated that TETD was likely cost-effective from a social standpoint.¹⁷²

9. TRANSITIONAL WORK CORPORATION (TWC) INITIATIVE – PHILADELPHIA

Operating from 1998¹⁷³ until the early 2010s, the Transitional Work Corporation (TWC) initiative in Philadelphia targeted TANF participants—primarily single mothers—who the welfare agency determined might need greater assistance.¹⁷⁴ Eligibility requirements included TANF participation for at least 12 months since 1997, less than a high school diploma or equivalent, and no current participation in work activities or employment.¹⁷⁵ TWC offered transitional jobs and activities intended to remove barriers to employment.¹⁷⁶ In addition to the 25 hours of work required each week, participants enrolled in 10 hours of professional development activities (which included classes focused on developing job-readiness skills and preparing for the GED, among other activities) aimed at helping participants overcome barriers to employment.¹⁷⁷ TANF participants who were added to the control group for the evaluation of TWC were required to participate in the transitional jobs program to receive TANF benefits.¹⁷⁸

Evidence: From 2004 to 2006, nearly 2,000 people were randomly assigned to one of three groups: a transitional jobs program, barrier removal activities, or neither intervention (control group).¹⁷⁹ During the first year of follow-up, transitional jobs group members experienced slightly higher earnings and employment rates compared to their peers in the other two groups. After a year and a half, those impacts faded. Although the group in transitional jobs saw their earnings grow, they were offset by a corresponding decrease in TANF cash assistance, resulting in the transitional jobs and control groups having roughly the same income.¹⁸⁰ Impacts faded during the four-year follow-up period (following program entry), with few differences with the control group after the first year.¹⁸¹ However, only about half of those assigned to the subsidized employment group worked in a transitional job.¹⁸² Similarly substantial attrition occurred in the group that

engaged in barrier removal activities, with nearly 80 percent participating, but for less than the equivalent of three weeks full-time, on average.¹⁸³ The barrier removal group ultimately showed no significant earnings, employment, or benefit receipt impacts compared to the control group.¹⁸⁴ TWC also served people who were formerly incarcerated, though that effort was not evaluated.

10. YOUTH INCENTIVE ENTITLEMENT PILOT PROJECT (YIEPP)

From early 1978 through Summer 1980, the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP) provided a package of subsidized, after-school and full-time, private and public summer jobs to more than 76,000 disadvantaged young people, ages 16-19, in 17 demonstration areas across the U.S.¹⁸⁵ All participants were high school students in households with low incomes or that participated in public benefits programs.¹⁸⁶ YIEPP offered work at minimum wage for high-schoolers through part-time jobs during the school year and full-time jobs during the summer, on the condition they remained in or returned to high school, or an equivalent, and met academic and job performance standards.^{187, 188} YIEPP targeted youth of color, especially Black and Hispanic youth, though over one-fifth of participants were white.¹⁸⁹

Evidence: A quasi-experimental study of YIEPP used a combination of matched program and comparison sites and analytical methods to observe the program's impact.^{190, 191} The study found that YIEPP did not improve school enrollment, but did substantially increase earnings among Black youth during the short post-program follow-up period, about three and a half years after program entry (Fall 1981).¹⁹² Smaller effects were found for Hispanic adolescent women, most noticeably during the summer period; however, no statistically significant effects were found for white adolescent women.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, both white and Hispanic adolescent men only experienced marginal effects.¹⁹⁴ The study concluded that the gap in employment rates between Black and white youth resulted from a shortage of jobs, not differing levels of motivation.¹⁹⁵ Black young people joined the program in greater numbers and participated for a longer duration.¹⁹⁶ In the limited post-program follow-up period that was studied, YIEPP led to increased labor force participation of Black youth by over 50 percent and decreased their unemployment rate by about one-third.¹⁹⁷

11. YOUTH TRANSITION DEMONSTRATION (YTD)

In 2003, the SSA created the Youth Transition Demonstration (YTD) evaluation to provide opportunities for youth with disabilities to develop economic independence in the transition from school to adulthood.¹⁹⁸ YTD's target population was young adults ages 14-25 who were either already receiving SSDI or SSI, or deemed to be at high likelihood of receiving them in the future.¹⁹⁹ Youth with disabilities confront specific challenges in the labor market, such as health challenges, service or accessibility needs, stigma or social isolation, and the risk of employment earnings jeopardizing access to disability benefits.²⁰⁰ From 2006 to 2014, the YTD evaluation sought to identify the most compelling strategies to address these challenges,²⁰¹ which involved combining SSA waivers of certain disability program rules with various wraparound services—including benefits counseling, work experience, and family supports.^{202, 203} YTD designed this waiver and wraparound support combination so that participants could keep more of their earnings, save earnings, and continue their education.²⁰⁴ Specifically, the waivers allowed students—regardless of age—to save earnings and funds from government and local providers by providing individual development accounts. Under the Plan for Achieving Self-Support (PASS) waiver, program participants were allowed to designate post-secondary education or career exploration as individual goals.²⁰⁵ This waiver exempted funds allocated towards participants' PASS goals from SSI eligibility assessments, ensuring participants' benefits remained unaffected during their pursuit of career or educational opportunities.²⁰⁶ The Continuing Disability Review

(CDR) waiver ensured uninterrupted access to SSI benefits for participants, irrespective of the outcomes of disability reviews or eligibility reassessments conducted at age 18.²⁰⁷

As part of the evaluation, seven organizations partnered with SSA to implement YTD projects focused on employment and youth empowerment at six sites (located in NY, CO, FL, MD, and WV).²⁰⁸ Over 5,000 young people with disabilities participated.²⁰⁹

Evidence: The evaluation used rigorous random assignment and site-specific analysis to determine the impact of the package of waivers and services on employment, educational attainment, income, earnings, and receipt of SSI or SSDI benefits, one and three years after enrollment.²¹⁰ The final report found that projects with more hours of employment-focused services for a higher proportion of treatment group participants generated the most positive impacts on employment. In the third year after enrollment, participants in three of the six YTD projects were seven percent more likely to have worked for pay (a statistically significant impact).²¹¹ The projects in Pennsylvania and Florida both resulted in a statistically significant increase in employment and earnings three years after enrollment.²¹² Two of the projects also significantly reduced participants' interaction with the criminal legal system three years after enrollment.²¹³ There was no cost-benefit analysis performed by the researchers, as the relatively short follow-up period would not allow for the full scope of potential cost savings to be evaluated.²¹⁴

TRANSITIONAL JOBS REENTRY DEMONSTRATION (TJRD)

Jointly funded by the Joyce Foundation, the JEHT Foundation, and the DOL, the Transitional Jobs Reentry Demonstration (TJRD) analyzed transitional employment programs for re-entering citizens at four sites from 2007 to 2008. Programs at each site provided a similar set of services, with some differences in implementation. Re-entering individuals selected for the program received a transitional job lasting approximately 90 days, providing 30 to 40 hours of paid work per week, along with basic case management services.²¹⁵ The nature and structure of transitional employment varied across the four demonstration sites. The programs run by the organizations at each site—the Safer Foundation in Chicago, IL; Goodwill Industries in Detroit, MI and St. Paul, MN; and New Hope in Milwaukee, WI—are described in more detail below.

In TJRD, more than 1,800 recently released participants across the four sites were assigned to either a transitional jobs program (treatment) or a job search assistance program (control). Members of the treatment groups were placed in a short-term subsidized job and received basic case management. Members of the control groups received job search assistance along with some ancillary services such as resume counseling. The evaluation found significant effects on earnings and employment for the treatment group while the program was being administered. However, in the year after the program ended, the final evaluation—which followed participants for two years after program entry—found that transitional jobs had no significant impact on the rates of either unsubsidized employment or recidivism.²¹⁶ Study authors note that the demonstrations concluded during the 2008-2009 economic crisis, which made post-program placement challenging. Programs 12-15 (below) comprised TJRD.

12. GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF GREATER DETROIT

Founded in 1921, and continuing through 2023,²¹⁷ the Goodwill Industries of Greater Detroit aims to help individuals with disabilities, though its efforts have expanded to provide services that emphasize skills development to adults facing barriers to employment.^{218, 219} Chosen to administer the transitional jobs program for the Detroit site of the TJRD, Goodwill placed 224 participants who have been formerly incarcerated in transitional employment (the control group was the same size).²²⁰ Most of the participants were employed in an existing Goodwill enterprise such as retail stores or an on-site, light industrial facility that contracted with local manufacturers for assembly work and related tasks.^{221, 222}

Evidence: The Goodwill Industries program was evaluated as part of the TJRD (2007-2008), which required rigorous random assignment evaluations.²²³ The evaluation revealed that the program’s positive impacts on employment and earnings were limited to effects derived directly from the transitional employment aspect.²²⁴ Neither the experiment nor the control group reported increases in earnings or employment in the competitive job market within a year of program participation, nor were there significant differences in recidivism rates over the two years following program entry.²²⁵

13. THE NEW HOPE PROJECT – MILWAUKEE

The New Hope Project was created in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1994 and lasted through 1998.²²⁶ The project formed part of an anti-poverty demonstration project that has been providing varied advocacy and employment services in Milwaukee ever since (see “New Hope for Families and Children” earlier in this report). As part of TJRD, New Hope placed 256 individuals who had been formerly incarcerated in transitional jobs based on a “scattered site” model, meaning individuals worked at various organizations but remained employed by and received their wages from New Hope.²²⁷ New Hope prioritized placements in local small businesses. A similar number was assigned to a control group. As at other TJRD sites, participants were provided 90 days of paid work, along with some ancillary services. New Hope offered participants retention bonus payments that could total up to \$1,500 or so over six to nine months for finding and securing an unsubsidized job.²²⁸ In addition to New Hope’s participation in TJRD, the organization ran transitional employment and community service jobs programs designed to help families with low incomes.

Evidence: The New Hope Project was evaluated as part of the TJRD (2007-2008), which required rigorous random assignment evaluations. While transitional jobs increased earnings and employment throughout the intervention, the New Hope Project evaluation found no significant increase in earnings from or employment in subsequent unsubsidized jobs, nor did it find any change in recidivism over the two years following program entry. Despite these findings, a later 2009 evaluation found that within three years of operation, the program boosted employment among participants by nine percent.²²⁹ The program significantly impacted the behavior of participants’ children, especially among boys. The boys in New Hope families observed an increase in academic achievement along with greater positive social behaviors resulting in fewer disciplinary conflicts—less arguing, disruptions, or social withdrawal.²³⁰ The program evaluation found that the New Hope Project was especially successful in establishing sustainable familial environments.²³¹

14. REENTRY WORKS – ST. PAUL

The Reentry Works program, led by Goodwill/Easter Seals in St. Paul, Minnesota, was part of TJRD from 2007-2010. The program assisted men who were recently incarcerated (within

90 days of their release from prison) in the form of transitional job placement within 24 hours of enrollment. Upon enrollment in the program, half of the men (167) were assigned to a transitional job, while the other half (also 167) were assigned to a control group. The first month of transitional work—generally at one of Goodwill’s two retail stores—ran concurrently with the program’s assessment period.²³² The temporary jobs provided 30 to 40 hours of minimum wage-paid work each week, and participants also received an assortment of services and supports. The transitional job experience did not focus on developing skills for a particular occupation, but rather provided an opportunity to “identify and address behavior or performance issues that emerged at the work sites.”²³³ After the initial assessment period, participants could transition to the program’s job development phase or apply for on-site, paid training in areas such as construction and automotive repair.²³⁴ While these training programs varied by total and weekly time requirements, generally participants completed the first half of the training on-site at Goodwill facilities and, as in the case of the construction program, completed the other half on-the-job at a construction site. Job search assistance was also provided. When participants did obtain unsubsidized employment, they could then receive up to \$1,400 if they maintained employment for six months.²³⁵ Since the end of the TJRD, this model has continued in the form of the Goodwill/Easter Seals Reentry Services Program. Like New Hope, Reentry Works offered participants who obtained and held unsubsidized jobs retention bonus payments of up to \$1,500 or so over six to nine months.²³⁶ (Reentry Works began offering these retention bonuses 12 months into the enrollment period, starting in December 2007.²³⁷) Reentry Works ended operations in 2009, winding down transitional jobs through 2010.

Evidence: Reentry Works was evaluated for the TJRD (2007-2008), which required rigorous random assignment evaluations. Researchers found that Reentry Works’ job retention bonuses had promising effects on earnings and employment, but those effects tended to decrease over time.²³⁸ Over the demonstration’s two-year follow-up period, Reentry Works and the other programs evaluated showed little effect on key measures of recidivism.²³⁹

15. SAFER FOUNDATION – CHICAGO

Since 1972, the Safer Foundation has developed employment opportunities for people with criminal legal system records.²⁴⁰ The foundation administered the Chicago transitional jobs treatment of the TJRD, placing 189 people who have been formerly incarcerated in paid work for approximately 90 days.²⁴¹ A similar number was assigned to a control group. Most participants obtained transitional employment through the foundation’s staffing firm, Pivotal Staffing, working on garbage recycling and waste management contracts for the City of Chicago.²⁴²

Evidence: The Safer Foundation was evaluated for the TJRD (2007-2008), which required rigorous random assignment evaluations. While the Chicago study found positive impacts on earnings and employment due to the transitional job, it found no significant effects on unsubsidized earnings or employment over the two years following program entry. It also found no impact on recidivism. Study authors noted that the Safer Foundation participants had the highest rates of arrest among the four TJRD sites.

SUBSIDIZED AND TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION (STED)

The Subsidized and Transitional Employment Demonstration project rigorously evaluated several of the subsidized employment programs that were created through the TANF EF which was established by the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (or ARRA) in 2009 - 2010 in 15 states. By the time the Emergency Fund had expired in September 2010, over 250,000 individuals had been placed in subsidized jobs—the largest national subsidized employment initiative since the 1970s.²⁴³ In contrast to earlier subsidized employment initiatives, STED project programs served a wider population (only one-third of states limited eligibility to TANF participants) and offered a broader, more comprehensive combination of services. The STED project involved eight programs, two of which were also included in the DOL ETJD and are thus described in this report's ETJD section (Goodwill of North Georgia and Transitions SF). (The eighth program, Paycheck PLUS, is out of the scope of this report.) The following five STED programs (programs 16-20) are those that have final evaluations published.

16. BRIDGES TO PATHWAYS – CHICAGO

The Chicago Department of Family and Support Services' (DFSS) Bridges to Pathways program connected men ages 17-21 who had been previously incarcerated and had no high school credential, with educational and employment services as a violence prevention measure.^{244, 245} Bridges to Pathways did not require additional screenings or eligibility criteria so they could more easily recruit highly disconnected and hard-to-reach individuals.²⁴⁶ The program model intended to recruit only from the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice, but providers weren't able to enroll enough participants from this source alone.²⁴⁷ The program pulled from word-of-mouth referrals, probation offices, the Cook County Jail, reporting centers that offered reentry services and resources for youth under parole, and other community service organizations.²⁴⁸

Bridges to Pathways aimed to help participants obtain a high school credential, secure unsubsidized employment, and reduce their involvement in the criminal legal system.²⁴⁹ The program offered four core services to reach its goals: academic enrichment, socio-emotional learning, workforce-readiness training, and mentorship and case management.²⁵⁰ The six-month pilot program enrolled participants in online academic education (GED or high school), placed participants in a 12-week subsidized job known as an "internship," and provided participants with wraparound supports.²⁵¹

Evidence: Bridges to Pathways evaluated 480 participants enrolled between June 2015 and July 2016 for the STED program. The evaluation involved analysis of qualitative and quantitative data and a small-scale random assignment study.²⁵² The program decreased participants' rate of arrest for felony crimes and violent crimes and modestly increased access to education, training, and employment services.²⁵³ However, no sustained impact was observed on employment rates, receipt of a high school credential, or training certification.²⁵⁴ The evaluation notes that mentoring and case management were key tools for maintaining participants' engagement, but ongoing attendance challenges undermined the program's goals.²⁵⁵ The program's below-Chicago minimum wage could have hindered the program's efficacy. Staff members and participants noted that the program's low pay deterred potential participants and frustrated enrolled participants.²⁵⁶

17. CENTER FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY'S YOUNG ADULT INTERNSHIP PROGRAM (YAIP) – NEW YORK CITY

The Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP) utilized a short-term approach to help disconnected young adults in New York City enter the labor market or an educational program. The program targeted individuals ages 16-24 who, although not in school or working, would benefit from a formal conduit like YAIP to connect them to employment or educational opportunities in service of furthering their career potential.²⁵⁷ YAIP did not accept applicants who had recently graduated high school or exited high school without a diploma, could not read at the sixth-grade level, or had obtained a postsecondary degree.²⁵⁸ Participants in the program attended a two-to-three-week (25 hours per week) orientation, followed by a 10-12 week paid internship (20 hours per week) with weekly paid educational workshops (five hours per week).²⁵⁹ Case management was available throughout each of the phases.²⁶⁰ Follow-up services provided job placement and retention assistance for nine months upon completion of the internship.²⁶¹

Evidence: Evaluation of YAIP was based on three cohorts of participants, who were enrolled every four months from July 2013 to March 2014 and followed for 30 months.²⁶² In total, 2,700 young people were assigned randomly to either a program group or a control group.²⁶³ Approximately 94 percent of the participants were Black and/or Latinx, one-third did not have a high school diploma or GED, and a quarter had been involved with the justice system.²⁶⁴ Short-term earnings of participants increased by \$1,464 per year and long-term earnings increased by \$523 per year. There was no measurable effect on educational attainment after the 30-month follow-up on program participants.²⁶⁵ Employment increased in the short term by eight percent and in the long term by three percent.²⁶⁶ However, these increases in employment and earnings of the program participants as compared to increases seen in the control group, were not statistically significant.²⁶⁷

18. JOBSNOW! STEP FORWARD (STEP FORWARD) – SAN FRANCISCO

Run by the Human Services Agency of San Francisco County, the STEP Forward wage subsidy program has placed over 13,000 people in subsidized positions as of 2020.²⁶⁸ An older version of STEP Forward was established in 2009 with ARRA funds but was modified as funding wound down.²⁶⁹ The current program, which involves 25 hours per week of work for five months, is available to all people with low incomes who participate in public benefits programs. The wage subsidy has two tiers, depending on the employee compensation level.²⁷⁰ For positions paying at least \$13.50 an hour, STEP Forward reimburses employers fully for wages during the first month (up to \$35 an hour), at a 75 percent rate during the second month, and \$1,000/month for three additional months (not to exceed wages paid).²⁷¹ For positions with wages of less than \$13.50 an hour, STEP Forward reimburses employers for up to \$1,000/month in wages over six months (not to exceed \$5,000 in total).²⁷² Upon completion of the program, workers starting an unsubsidized job can continue to access their case managers and are eligible for re-admittance to the program should they become unemployed.²⁷³

Evidence: STEP Forward was rigorously evaluated under the HHS STED program between 2009 and 2011.^{274, 275} Results from the one-year cost analysis of STEP Forward in 2020 found program group members were more likely than control group members to have been employed in the first year after random assignment. Program group members also had higher average earnings than control group members, and these impacts on earnings continued into the program's fourth year, though by year five the impacts on employment were no longer statistically significant.^{276, 277} A separate synthesis

report from 2020 examining the findings across several STED and ETJD evaluations identified that, despite relatively low gains in employment, the STEP Forward program produced the largest earning impacts among evaluated programs.²⁷⁸ The STEP Forward evaluation identified that the effects of the program’s wage subsidy were most pronounced among participants with recent work experience before their participation.²⁷⁹ Among all the programs evaluated, STEP Forward was one of the least expensive to implement.²⁸⁰ STEP Forward was also part of a non-rigorous evaluation of five TANF-subsidized jobs programs that lacked a comparable control group.²⁸¹

19. MINNESOTA SUBSIDIZED & TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION (MSTED) – RAMSEY, DAKOTA, AND SCOTT COUNTIES

Minnesota funded the Minnesota Subsidized and Transitional Employment Demonstration (MSTED) to assist Minnesota Family Investment Program (MFIP) participants find employment.²⁸² MFIP is Minnesota’s TANF program. MSTED served long-term cash assistance participants who experienced difficulties obtaining employment but did not have significant barriers to working.²⁸³ Until mid-2015, MSTED determined individuals could qualify if they received MFIP cash assistance for at least six months, earned income of less than \$1200 in the previous six months, were not minors who were parents, were not parents between the ages of 18-24 pursuing full-time education, and were not exempt from MFIP work activity requirements.²⁸⁴ In mid-2015, DHS limited the criteria to unemployed individuals receiving MFIP cash assistance who were not pursuing an approved education plan and were not exempt from work activity requirements to participate in the program.²⁸⁵ MFIP employment counselors determined whether individuals would qualify on a case-by-case basis.²⁸⁶ A total of 799 adults were enrolled in MSTED between November 2014 and June 2016—and half were randomly chosen as the control group with the other half randomly assigned to the program group that received MSTED services.²⁸⁷ This evaluation, as part of the STED program, was funded to explore the effectiveness of the MSTED services in providing sustained employment among long-term MFIP participants.²⁸⁸ These services included working with “employment counselors” who assessed job readiness, provided employment supports, and assisted with finding subsidized employment.²⁸⁹

The MSTED model included two subsidized employment options: temporary paid work experience in the nonprofit or public sectors or a subsidized job with a private firm designed to transition into permanent, unsubsidized employment.²⁹⁰ Individuals were referred to one of the two options by MFIP employment counselors,²⁹¹ who determined workers’ relative “job readiness” through initial job-readiness assessments.²⁹² The participants determined to be “less job ready” were referred to the temporary paid work experience option and were placed at a public agency or nonprofit agency where they could improve workplace skills while earning fully subsidized wages at \$9 an hour, up to 24 hours a week, for up to eight weeks.²⁹³ The participants identified as “more job ready” were placed in subsidized jobs with a private employer, earning fully subsidized wages up to \$15 an hour, up to 40 hours per week for the first eight weeks, and then earning 50 percent subsidized wages for the next eight weeks.²⁹⁴ Individuals were referred to the program by MFIP “employment counselors.”²⁹⁵ Their relative “job readiness” was determined by initial job-readiness assessments.²⁹⁶

Evidence: After 12 months, the early impact findings suggested that program members were more likely than control group members to be employed—that impact on employment was modest but persisted after the subsidies ended.²⁹⁷ After two years, program and control group members were employed at similar levels and the increase in earnings for program group

members was no longer statistically significant compared to the control group.^{298, 299} It is possible that the long-term impacts of the program were depressed by initial difficulty in enrolling participants (due in part to improving economic conditions during the enrollment period and limitations on referrals from MFIP) and challenges identifying private employers for subsidized-employment track participants.³⁰⁰ Generally, the findings indicate that MSTED modestly increased employment.³⁰¹ Further supporting these findings, a 2020 synthesis evaluation report highlights that participants in MSTED experienced modest, positive employment impacts over a two years.³⁰² These impacts, observed in comparison to the control group, spanned several measures including employment rate, total earnings, and the number of quarters of employment.³⁰³ Additionally, MSTED was one of the twelve evaluated programs³⁰⁴ that significantly increased participants' employment in the year following enrollment.³⁰⁵

20. TRANSITIONAL SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT (TSE) PROGRAM – LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Run by the L.A. County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS), the Transitional Subsidized Employment (TSE) Program provided eligible individuals with six-month subsidized positions with the government or non-profits.³⁰⁶ The TSE Program consisted of two tracks: paid work experience and on-the-job training. Both tracks targeted TANF participants, including participants in sanction status, who could choose to meet TANF's work reporting requirement or resolve their sanction status by participating in TSE.³⁰⁷ Other eligibility criteria for both tracks included: the ability to work the hours required; at least five months remaining of TANF eligibility;³⁰⁸ no participation in TSE in the last year; no additional employment barriers beyond economic insecurity; and a demonstrated ability and desire to work, as assessed by TSE staff.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, workers must not have been able to secure unsubsidized work during a four-week job search through Los Angeles's Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) program.³¹⁰

In the paid work experience ("PWE") track, participants spent six months at a government or non-profit agency. Participants were paid the minimum wage by the South Bay Workforce Investment Board and participated in 16 hours of paid job search with assistance from a case manager. In the on-the-job training ("OJT") track, participants were placed with private for-profit or non-profit employers for six months.³¹¹ In the OJT track, meant to provide an experience more akin to a "real world" work experience, the program covered wage costs for employers up to the local minimum wage, with 100 percent subsidies for the first two months and differential subsidies based on the number of hours worked for the remaining four months, with the expectation that employers would add the workers to their payrolls for the remaining four months of the program.³¹² Employers received a partial subsidy of up to \$550 per participant per month based on the number of hours worked by the participants.³¹³

When the state-funded program had monetary support from the TANF EF from April 2009 through September 2010, the program was also able to serve dislocated workers,³¹⁴ non-custodial parents, and participants in a layoff aversion program, but these workers accounted for only 11 percent of subsidized placements.³¹⁵ In the six years before the EF program, about 500 individuals participated each year.³¹⁶ With the EF funding (\$149.9 million), the program was able to expand greatly, placing over 10,000 individuals into jobs.³¹⁷ After the EF funding ended, the program decreased considerably but was still able to keep eligibility open to people who have reached TANF time limits, in addition to active TANF participants.³¹⁸

Evidence: The evaluation of TSE utilized a random assignment design, with 2,622 participants being randomly assigned into either a program group—which offered either the PWE or OJT tracks—or into a control group without those tracks. The 12-month findings indicate that the PWE track was associated with higher subsidized job placement rates, faster placement into subsidized jobs, and longer placement durations than OJT track. The 30-month findings suggest that PWE had a small positive effect on employment, with the longer-term effects of the program concentrated among those with limited recent work experience before the program. Job placement rates and durations varied significantly in both program tracks. The study found easier implementation with placing participants with employers in the public and nonprofit sectors. Both program tracks increased employment and earnings for those who had been struggling to find employment. In the year after enrolling in the study, TSE was able to quickly place participants in jobs who had previously struggled to find employment. Participants readily accepted the placements—even when low-paying and low-skilled jobs—which signaled a willingness from participants to work (one of the study’s soft criteria). Longer-term impacts were more limited, with small long-term impacts on employment for the PWE track and no noteworthy long-term effects for the OJT track.³¹⁹

ENHANCED TRANSITIONAL JOBS DEMONSTRATION (ETJD)

The Enhanced Transitional Jobs Demonstration was a nearly \$40 million grant program to rigorously test seven transitional employment programs, sponsored by the Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration (DOL ETA). The seven programs targeted people returning to the community from prison or noncustodial parents with low incomes that owed child support.³²⁰ Each of the seven programs enrolled about 1,000 people in the study. The typical participant in an ETJD program was a Black or Brown man between 30 and 40 years old with a high school diploma and prior work experience that was not very recent. Private nonprofits, working closely with government agencies, operated most of the programs. The grant period for the programs was four years.³²¹ The ETJD programs each had to “partner with employers, One-Stop Career Centers, child support enforcement agencies and criminal legal system agencies to leverage specialized expertise in delivering support services.”³²² The program grants ended in 2015 and the final evaluation concluded in 2018.³²³ Programs 21-27 are overviews of each ETJD program (including Goodwill of North Georgia and Transitions SF, which were also part of the HHS STED program), and the evidence presented in their rigorous evaluations.

21. CENTER FOR COMMUNITY ALTERNATIVES’ (CCA) PARENT SUCCESS INITIATIVE-ENHANCED TRANSITIONAL JOBS (PSI-ETJ) PROGRAM – SYRACUSE, NY

Through a collaboration of community- and faith-based groups under the guidance of the Center for Community Alternatives (CCA) and Greater Syracuse Works (GSW), the Parent Success Initiative-Enhanced Transitional Jobs (PSI-ETJ) program provided transitional job and job readiness services for non-custodial parents in the Syracuse, NY area, including those previously incarcerated.³²⁴ Individuals were eligible if considered “hard-to-employ” and had active child support or arrears-only orders in New York State.³²⁵ CCA defined “hard-to-employ” as: no high school diploma or equivalent; a lack of past consistent (i.e., four consecutive financial quarters) full-time work history for the same employer; actively looking for a job for 60 days with a “criminal

history;” or a release from jail or prison custody in fewer than 60 days before receiving a program referral.³²⁶ Although CCA had several referral partners, such as the county’s Bureau of Child Support Services and the state’s Division of Parole, almost 60 percent of participants were walk-in clients.³²⁷

Program participants completed a two-week workshop before being placed in fully subsidized, temporary jobs at partner organizations.³²⁸ Transitional jobs lasted four months.³²⁹ Wraparound services for participants included ongoing case management, assistance finding permanent, unsubsidized employment, legal assistance for child support, parenting education, and—where relevant—counseling regarding criminal legal system involvement during both the temporary work experience and the subsequent unsubsidized employment periods.³³⁰ The average age of participants was 35.³³¹ Approximately 44 percent of participants had been incarcerated previously and 59 percent of participants had worked fewer than six months or not at all in the three years prior to their PSI-ETJ program involvement.³³²

Evidence: As part of the ETJD project, evaluated participants were tracked for several years based on their random assignment.³³³ An early evaluation found that the program had large and statistically significant impacts on employment in the first year; much of the impact was a result of employment in transitional jobs.³³⁴ Employment duration was longer and earnings were slightly higher for program group members compared to control group members.³³⁵ The program had a small impact on participants’ criminal legal system involvement based on an analysis of participants’ rates of arrests, convictions, and incarceration.³³⁶ Program group members were slightly more likely to report being in good health and significantly less likely to report experiencing serious psychological distress than their control group counterparts.³³⁷ The final year of ETJD evaluation—30 months after the start of the evaluation—found that PSI-ETJ’s program group participants had significantly higher earnings than the control group, though by this point the increase in employment was no longer statistically significant.³³⁸ Participants also reported higher rates of employment at the 30-month evaluation than control group members.³³⁹ PSI-ETJ produced statistically significant improvements in the percentage of participants paying child support.³⁴⁰ Overall, evaluators concluded that the fairly traditional transitional jobs model produced modest impacts in employment and payment of child support.³⁴¹

22. GOODWILL OF NORTH GEORGIA INC.’S GOODTRANSITIONS PROGRAM (GOODTRANSITIONS)

Led by the Goodwill of Northern Georgia, GoodTransitions provided supportive services and transitional jobs to help participants secure employment in high-demand occupations or industries.³⁴² The program targeted non-custodial parents with low incomes and child support orders (some participants also had prior involvement in the criminal legal system) in the metropolitan Atlanta area.³⁴³ To address participants’ specific barriers to employment, the program offered services such as short-term (approximately one month) “contextualized occupational skills training” before subsidized job placement, follow-up support services, and retention services for the 12 months following the start of unsubsidized employment.³⁴⁴ The program implemented a two-stage employment model.³⁴⁵ The first stage began with a one-month placement in a Goodwill store. During this time participants received employment coaching on work-readiness and work-related skills.³⁴⁶ The second stage of the program included a three-month job placement, typically at participating retail stores or nonprofit organizations.³⁴⁷ The two stages together provided exposure to different working environments.³⁴⁸

Evidence: GoodTransitions was evaluated under both the DOL ETJD and the HHS STED programs. The ETJD program evaluation found that GoodTransitions reduced recidivism among participants in the program's first year.³⁴⁹ During the last year of the evaluation's follow-up period, GoodTransitions participants paid an average of \$1,987 monthly in child support compared to control group members' payments of \$1,652 each month, a statistically significant improvement.³⁵⁰ Participants retained statistically significant increases in employment over the final year of follow-up and had modest (though not statistically significant) increases in earnings as well.³⁵¹ ETJD evaluators also noted that GoodTransitions' rate of participation in transitional jobs was nearly 100 percent, the best participation rate among the ETJD projects, indicating successful execution of the program.³⁵²

23. TARRANT COUNTY WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT BOARD'S NEXT SUBSIDIZED TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (NEXT STEP) – TEXAS

The Next STEP subsidized employment program served adults with low incomes in the Arlington, Dallas, and Fort Worth areas who were previously incarcerated and had been released from prison custody in the 120 days prior.³⁵³ Participants also needed to meet two of the following criteria related to barriers to work: no skilled employment in the past three years; long-term unemployment in the last three years; a conviction preventing their return to their last profession; no high school diploma or its equivalent; a high school diploma with less than a ninth-grade reading level; homelessness; no "right-to-work" document; a mental or physical disability; or no degree or credential obtained in the last five years for a high-demand occupational field.³⁵⁴

Following a two-week "boot camp" that included intensive assessments and training for job readiness and skills, participants were responsible for interviewing for a 16-week subsidized job placement with a private employer. Next STEP followed a step-down wage model, where Next STEP paid 100 percent of a participant's wages for the first eight weeks, and then paid 50 percent of the participant's wages the following eight weeks, with the participant's employer covering the remaining 50 percent. Participants had access to wraparound services such as job placement assistance, case management, legal assistance, academic classes, peer-directed support groups, counseling (including cognitive behavioral therapy, or CBT) related to behavioral health and relationships, assistance with transportation and other work-related expenses, and financial incentives for achieving employment-related milestones.^{355, 356} Employers were expected to keep participants hired beyond the transitional job period, if they performed well.³⁵⁷

Evidence: Rigorous evaluations under the DOL ETJD program found that Next STEP did not produce statistically significant results for participants' employment or recidivism rates.³⁵⁸ Next STEP was unique among DOL ETJD programs in that it attempted to solely place participants in transitional jobs with private employers, a strategy that evaluators note reduces placement rates, particularly for structurally excluded workers.³⁵⁹ As a result, under 40 percent of Next STEP participants were able to work in a transitional job through this program.³⁶⁰

24. THE DOE FUND'S READY, WILLING & ABLE PATHWAYS2WORK PROGRAM – NEW YORK CITY (PATHWAYS2WORK)

The Doe Fund's Ready, Willing and Able Pathways2Work program provided paid internships and wraparound services to incarcerated individuals.³⁶¹ Participants needed to speak English and satisfy the following requirements: at least age 18; convicted for a federal or state crime as an adult; not convicted of a sex offense; released from prison custody in the last 120 days; no associate's degree or higher; no professional trade license or one of certain information technology

certifications and not a member of a union; passed regular drug tests; less than a fifth-grade reading level; physical ability to work; no participation in the last five years in a Doe Fund program; no receipt of more than 700 dollars in Social Security funds; and not living in a shelter. Available wraparound services included case management, relapse prevention for individuals with substance use disorders, educational assistance, job and housing placement, and long-term employment retention and advancement follow-up services.³⁶² Participants began the program with a one-week orientation, followed by six weeks of work with street cleaning crews, and then shifted into two months of a paid internship.³⁶³ The Pathways2Work program also provided financial incentives to participants that secured and maintained unsubsidized employment, with participants receiving up to \$1,000 if they were employed for 32 hours per week for 5 months.³⁶⁴

Evidence: Evaluation findings of the Doe Fund’s Ready, Willing and Able Pathways2Work program are mixed. Participants received their first paycheck in their transitional job in fewer average days in the Doe Fund program compared to other ETJD programs, leading to a higher overall rate of employment for New York participants than participants in other evaluated programs.³⁶⁵ However, the difference between members of the control group and members of the program group receiving transitional jobs was small enough that evaluators could not conclude that the Pathways2Work program had a significant impact on employment.³⁶⁶ Additionally, while the program significantly reduced the rate of participants’ felony convictions and admissions to prison for new crimes, overall recidivism increased among participants, which evaluators note as a puzzling finding,³⁶⁷ especially considering an earlier evaluation published in November 2016 reported statistically significant reductions in recidivism.³⁶⁸

25. TRANSITIONS SF – SAN FRANCISCO

The City and County of San Francisco’s Office of Economic and Workforce Development launched the Transitions SF program to offer subsidized transitional jobs to non-custodial parents ages 18-59 in 2011.³⁶⁹ Eligible participants were previously incarcerated individuals, had child support arrears, or were deemed not “job-ready.”³⁷⁰ The program featured a one-week assessment period followed by two weeks of job-readiness training.³⁷¹ Participants were placed into transitional jobs that lasted up to five months and provided 24-30 hours of paid work each week.³⁷² Job placements were tiered by employment sector and based on job readiness—tier one was non-profit (mainly at Goodwill); tier two was public; tier three was private sector.³⁷³ Transitions SF also offered a range of supportive services to mitigate employment barriers, including legal resources, skills trainings, behavioral health care, and case management at an “adult education charter school.”³⁷⁴ Participants could also earn modest financial incentives and child support-related assistance.³⁷⁵

Evidence: Evaluation of Transitions SF began in 2011, with a sample size of 994 participants.³⁷⁶ The program had a statistically significant impact on participants’ employment and earnings.³⁷⁷ Participants’ short-term earnings increased by \$4,016 per year, and long-term earnings increased by \$1,736.³⁷⁸ Employment increased by eight percent in the short term, and by six percent in the long term.³⁷⁹ Transitions SF helped noncustodial parents increase their employment and earnings, enabling them to meet child support obligations and improve their financial stability.³⁸⁰ However, the program also faced several implementation challenges, including low placement rates and lengthy job placement periods.³⁸¹ Moreover, the program did not have significant impacts on recidivism rates given the difficulties of connecting participants with unsubsidized employment opportunities.³⁸² Despite these challenges, Transition SF proved to be beneficial for noncustodial parents, their children, and the overall strength of the local economy and labor market.³⁸³

26. RECYCLEFORCE – WORKFORCE INC.’S INDIANAPOLIS ENHANCED TRANSITIONAL JOBS PROGRAM

RecycleForce connects people transitioning from incarceration with services to help facilitate their re-entry into the community, including securing unsubsidized employment in emerging and high-growth industries (particularly electronic recycling) at three social enterprises.³⁸⁴ During the program evaluation, subsidized jobs lasted up to four months.³⁸⁵ Participants were also offered occupational training, case management, job development, work-related financial support, and assistance with child-support.³⁸⁶ Workforce, Inc. collaborated with two other social enterprises in Marion County (New Life and Changed Life) and the City of Indianapolis’ Transitional Jobs program.³⁸⁷ Participants received financial incentives and supports (such as assistance with housing, driver’s license reinstatement, GED assistance, tutoring, and legal issues) and had access to peer counseling and group support during evaluation.³⁸⁸

Evidence: RecycleForce’s rigorous evaluation found that RecycleForce was one of the two evaluated programs in EJTD that proved effective at reducing recidivism.³⁸⁹ Participants also experienced statistically significant increases in both employment and earnings overall.³⁹⁰ All evaluated participants worked in transitional jobs and over 90 percent received work-related support.³⁹¹ Half of the participants continued with the program for more than the four months designated in the program design—requesting extensions if they had not found unsubsidized work or were not deemed ready for unsubsidized employment.³⁹² The overall benefits to society outweighed program costs by approximately \$2,200 per person.³⁹³

27. YWCA OF GREATER MILWAUKEE’S SUPPORTING FAMILIES THROUGH WORK (SFTW) PROGRAM

The YWCA of Greater Milwaukee’s Supporting Families Through Work (SFTW) program sought participants from 2011 to 2013 who were non-custodial parents with a child support order (who may also have been previously incarcerated).³⁹⁴ The program helped equip participants with the tools to maintain economic stability for themselves and their families by connecting them with a paid subsidized work experience opportunity and other support services. SFTW participants started the program with a three- to five-day job-readiness workshop before being placed in transitional jobs. This program model supplemented wages for up to six months to ensure all participants earned \$10 an hour in their unsubsidized transitional employment.³⁹⁵ Participants had access to an on-site child support representative. Some participants were able to get their interest on child support debt owed to the state forgiven.³⁹⁶

Evidence: The YWCA did not recruit its goal number of participants, and less than two-thirds of the participants received transitional jobs.³⁹⁷ The program faced implementation challenges, including staff turnover and a shortfall in referrals, resulting in fewer participants receiving the earnings supplement or occupational skills training.³⁹⁸ Accordingly, the difference between the program and control groups in terms of receipt of services was relatively small.³⁹⁹ The YWCA led to a statistically significant increase in child support payments, with participants paying more child support on average compared to the control group.⁴⁰⁰ In the final year of the 30-month follow-up, the annual earnings of the participant group were \$567 greater than those of the control group; this modest impact on earnings during the final year was not statistically significant.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, the YWCA did not have a significant effect on criminal legal system interaction outcomes or the financial well-being of participants.⁴⁰²

Notable Models without Rigorous Evaluations Completed or Underway

The following models have been profiled positively by independent experts, in some instances as part of non-rigorous evaluations.⁴⁰³ Figure 6 provides a summary view of the models, listed in alphabetical order.

FIGURE 6. MANY NOTABLE MODELS HAVE BEEN POSITIVELY PROFILED

Summary table of notable models without rigorous evaluations completed or underway

PROGRAM	YEARS	WORKERS TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS
JobsNOW! Community Jobs Program (JobsNOW!) - San Francisco	Began 1999	TANF and GA participants	6-month transitional subsidized placements at non-profits; professional development & skills training; case management
WorkFirst's Community Jobs Program (Community Jobs) - Washington State	Began 1997	"Hard-to-serve" TANF participants	6-month, part-time, transitional subsidized public sector or non-profit employment; education; language learning services; domestic violence support; soft skills training; mental health services; services for individuals with substance use disorders
Connecticut Platform to Employment (P2E)	Began 2011	Long-term unemployed workers	8-week transitional subsidized employment; coaching; training; skills development; behavioral health services
Connecticut Subsidized Training & Employment Program (Step Up)	Began 2012	Unemployed workers	6-month subsidized job training; job placement assistance; support services for individuals with substance use disorders; case management; educational assistance; housing placement; job retention services
Florida Back to Work	Began 2010	Low-income parents	12-month, subsidized, for-profit, non-profit, & public sector employment meant to transition to unsubsidized employment
Georgia GoodWorks! (GoodWorks!)	Began 1999	TANF participants designated "hard to employ" & near the end of benefit limit	6-9 months of subsidized supervised employment; coaching; job placement assistance; follow-up support
Michigan Earn & Learn Initiative (Earn & Learn)	Began 2011	Low-income youth ages 18-24 not in school or work; focus on young Black & Hispanic men, previously incarcerated individuals, & chronically unemployed adults	5-19 weeks subsidized transitional employment (some longer); case management; education; training
Minnesota Emergency Employment Development (MEED)	1983 - 1989	Unemployed, ineligible for UI or workers' compensation	6-month subsidized employment; employers pay back portion of subsidy if worker not retained for a year or additional MEED participant not hired
Mississippi Subsidized Transitional Employment Program and Services (STEPS)	2010 - 2011	Low-income parents; prioritized TANF & SNAP participants; majority of program participants were women, Black, and under age 30	(Up to) six months of subsidized employment for up to 40 hours/week
Placing Individuals in Vital Opportunity Training (PIVOT) - Erie County, NY	Began 2000	TANF recipients	6-month subsidized employment; education; job placement assistance; mental health services; transportation assistance; day care

PROGRAM	YEARS	WORKERS TARGETED	PAID WORK EXPERIENCE & SUPPORTS
Rubicon Programs, Inc. - Richmond, California	Began 1973	Very low-income individuals, especially with mental health or other employment barriers	Temporary subsidized employment (duration unclear); training; services for individuals with substance use disorders; mental health services; job placement assistance; housing placement assistance
Wisconsin Transitional Jobs Demonstration Project (TJDP)	2010 - 2013	Low-income, ages 21-64, parent or young adult, ineligible for UI, not participating in TANF; especially non-custodial parents, criminal legal system involvement, & individuals with substance use disorders	3-12 months of subsidized employment; job placement assistance; legal services; skills training; GED support; transportation; follow-up & retention services
Wage Subsidy Program NYC	Began 2005	Low-income, unemployed, ages 18-21 or parent of a child under age 18	Subsidized employment; job placement assistance

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

The table below (Figure 7) indicates which support services were offered by each model.

FIGURE 7. NOTABLE MODELS PROVIDE AN ARRAY OF WRAPAROUND SUPPORTS

Summary table of support services for notable models without rigorous evaluations completed or underway

	SUPPLEMENTAL TRAINING/ EDUCATION	ON-THE-JOB TRAINING	COMPETITIVE JOB PLACEMENT	FOLLOW-UP SERVICES	HEALTH SERVICES	CHILD CARE SERVICES	LEGAL SERVICES	FINANCIAL LITERACY/ ADVICE	TRANSPORTATION	HOUSING
JobsNOW! Community Jobs Program (JobsNOW!) - San Francisco	●				●					
WorkFirst's Community Jobs Program (Community Jobs) - Washington State	●		●	●	●	●				
Connecticut Platform to Employment (P2E)	●		●		●					
Connecticut Subsidized Training & Employment Program (Step Up)		●								
Florida Back to Work										
Georgia GoodWorks! (GoodWorks!)		●	●	●						
Michigan Earn & Learn Initiative (Earn & Learn)	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Minnesota Emergency Employment Development (MEED)										

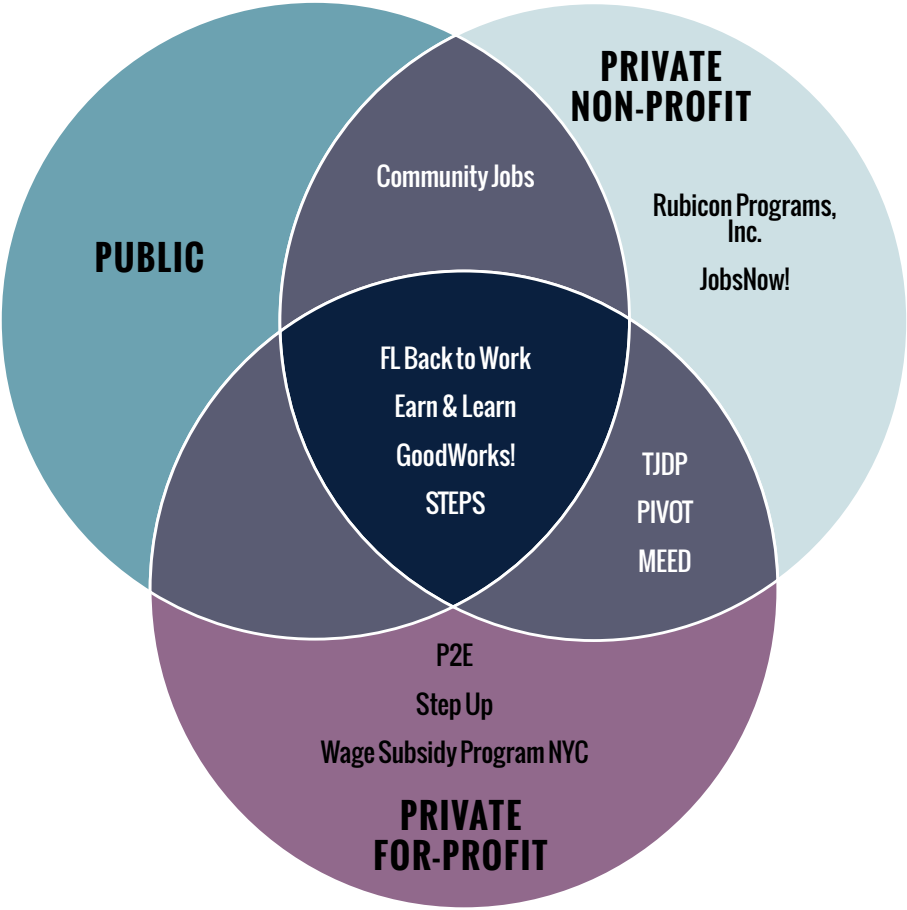
Mississippi Subsidized Transitional Employment Program and Services (STEPS)										
Placing Individuals in Vital Opportunity Training (PIVOT) - Erie County, NY	●	●	●	●	●	●		●		
Rubicon Programs, Inc. - Richmond, California	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●
Wisconsin Transitional Jobs Demonstration Project (Wisconsin TJDP)	●		●	●			●		●	
Wage Subsidy Program NYC		●	●							

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

The diagram below (Figure 8) indicates whether each model used public, private non-profit, and/or private for-profit placements.

FIGURE 8. MOST NOTABLE MODELS OFFER EMPLOYMENT IN A MIX OF SECTORS

Sectors of subsidized employment offered by notable models without rigorous evaluations completed or underway



Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

28. JOBSNOW! COMMUNITY JOBS PROGRAM (JOBSNOW!) – SAN FRANCISCO

Developed in 1999 and still in operation, the Community Jobs Program provides CalWORKs participants (California’s TANF program) with subsidized job placements for six months in local community non-profit organizations.⁴⁰⁴ Individuals are eligible for JobsNOW! if they live in San Francisco, are authorized to work in the U.S., are at least 18 years old, and receive public benefits through the San Francisco Human Services Agency.⁴⁰⁵ Participants work either 25 or 32 hours per week based on self-selected career goals.⁴⁰⁶ The overall goal of the program is to provide an opportunity for participants to develop marketable skills in their subsidized role to support a transition towards unsubsidized employment.⁴⁰⁷ Participants engage in professional development, skills training, barrier remediation, and job coaching throughout the program.⁴⁰⁸ Additionally, participants in JobsNOW! receive approximately six to ten hours of remedial education or computer skills training to further support their transition to competitive employment.⁴⁰⁹ After the passage of ARRA in 2009, the San Francisco Human Services Agency utilized appropriations from the act to establish JobsNOW! and incorporated the Community Jobs Program as the first tier of JobsNOW!⁴¹⁰ Through this merger, the San Francisco Human Service Agency increased its capacity to provide transitional employment to individuals with limited experience or vocational barriers.^{411, 412, 413, 414}

Promise: No rigorous evidence of San Francisco’s Community Jobs Program exists. An examination of JobsNOW! in 2017 found that the average earnings among participants doubled and steadily increased after the completion of their JobsNOW! employment.⁴¹⁵ The study found that the tiered structure of JobsNOW! provided participants with the opportunity to access employment opportunities in several tiers; individuals in multiple placements experienced higher employment rates than those placed in only one tier.⁴¹⁶

29. WORKFIRST’S COMMUNITY JOBS PROGRAM (COMMUNITY JOBS) – WASHINGTON STATE

Established in 1997, Community Jobs, an extension of Washington’s WorkFirst program, continues to provide TANF participants with up to nine months of paid, full- or part-time, subsidized employment as of 2023.⁴¹⁷ Participants in the program have a choice of selecting work opportunities from a nonprofit organization or a tribal or government entity.⁴¹⁸ After receiving a Community Jobs referral, participants connect with their employment contractor to outline job responsibilities, future employment goals, and action plans for reducing employment barriers.⁴¹⁹ Individuals may qualify for Community Jobs if they aren’t viable candidates for placement through WorkFirst’s Job Search, are open in WorkFirst sanction and are interested in curing the sanction, have child care and transportation plans in place, are working on known barrier removal issues (e.g., mental or physical health, substance use disorders, and family violence).⁴²⁰ Full-time participants may not simultaneously hold another unsubsidized job unless the hours are minimal and career progression is unlikely, as determined on a case-by-case basis.⁴²¹ Part-time participants may not simultaneously hold another unsubsidized job.⁴²²

Full-time Community Jobs program participants work approximately 20 hours per week in an employment setting and an additional 20 hours in stacked employability workshops and other activities designed to support participants with mental or physical health, substance use, or family violence challenges.⁴²³ Part-time participants, who are single parents with a child under the age of six, work subsidized roles for 20 hours per week and spend an additional three hours per week

in life skill” workshops and barrier reduction services.⁴²⁴ The workshops are designed to reduce potential employment barriers by providing training and activities, such as high school equivalent education lessons, English as a Second Language courses, domestic violence support, community service opportunities, counseling services for behavioral health conditions or substance use disorders, and “soft skills” training.⁴²⁵ Additionally, participants receive barrier reduction services such as child care assistance, work clothing, transportation subsidies, and monthly workplace visits from program staff.⁴²⁶ Participants are paid the state minimum wage and receive a 50 percent wage disregard against TANF.⁴²⁷ Upon the completion of the program after nine months or a participant’s obtainment of unsubsidized employment, contractors perform a final review of participants’ unsubsidized job readiness and provide supportive next steps to guide participants as they enter competitive employment or the labor market.

Promise: A January 2000 study to evaluate program outcomes using surveys and focus group data found that, of those who completed their participation in the Community Jobs program a year or more before, 76 percent had found employment within two quarters after exiting the program, and 53 percent were employed in the fourth quarter after exiting the program.^{428, 429}

30. CONNECTICUT PLATFORM TO EMPLOYMENT (P2E)

Since 2011, the Connecticut Department of Labor has funded the P2E model of subsidized job placement developed by The WorkPlace.⁴³⁰ The program operates as a four-week paid work experience for individuals experiencing long-term unemployment (more than 26 weeks) or those with limited employment histories.^{431, 432} Eligible individuals can enroll in P2E at no cost and receive services that support participants in developing their job search skills while engaging in a subsidized work placement.⁴³³ Businesses, in turn, can hire participants on a risk-free basis for a four-week work experience funded by the program.⁴³⁴ Platform to Employment Re-Entry and Platform to Employment for Veterans were modeled after this program to address the needs of these particular groups that face barriers to employment.⁴³⁵ In 2020, The WorkPlace announced the launch of P2E 2.0 to assist workers who had lost employment due to the COVID-19 pandemic through a pilot program in Southwest Connecticut.⁴³⁶

Promise: P2E is a nationally recognized program, with nearly 90 percent of participants in the work experience component successfully progressing to unsubsidized employment.⁴³⁷ In 2021, the program served 150 workers.⁴³⁸ Though there has been no rigorous evaluation of P2E, one report found that the Connecticut pilot program had achieved an 80 percent placement rate into work experience programs for its participants and that of that group, almost 90 percent transitioned to full-time employment following the end of the program.⁴³⁹

31. CONNECTICUT SUBSIDIZED TRAINING & EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (STEP UP)

Established in 2011, Connecticut’s Step Up program is a cooperative program between the Connecticut Department of Labor and the state’s regional Workforce Development Boards.⁴⁴⁰ In 2012, state legislators expanded the program to incorporate unemployed armed forces members.⁴⁴¹ Connecticut’s Step Up program provides wage and training subsidies for employers to hire unemployed workers.⁴⁴² Employer eligibility in the Step Up program is limited to organizations with 100 or fewer full-time employees.⁴⁴³ The program offers six-month subsidy or training grants of up to \$12,500 per employee, with the grant amount gradually decreasing, starting at \$2,500 in the first month and decreasing by \$100 or \$200 each month until the sixth month.⁴⁴⁴ Participants

in the program are employed in a wide variety of jobs, such as engineering roles and office assistant positions.⁴⁴⁵ Since its inception in 2011, Step Up has operated primarily through bond issuances, with approximately \$40 million distributed into the program.⁴⁴⁶ In 2014, a study of the program found that 705 employers participated in the program, employing 2,590 individuals.⁴⁴⁷ In 2021, an annual review of Step Up found that approximately 5,191 individuals had participated in the program.⁴⁴⁸

Promise: Step Up has not been rigorously evaluated. State legislators recognized Step Up’s efficacy in 2014 when they authorized an expansion of the program to allow for apprenticeship opportunities, citing that the program “ha[d] already helped hundreds of companies hire employees and put thousands of unemployed individuals back to work.”⁴⁴⁹ Through Fiscal Year 2021, Step Up created a total of 2,129 jobs—including participation from 849 small businesses and 363 small manufacturers.⁴⁵⁰

32. FLORIDA BACK TO WORK

The Florida Back to Work program was run by Florida’s Agency for Workforce Innovation (now the Department of Economic Opportunity), from March to September of 2010.⁴⁵¹ The program offered up to 12 months of subsidized employment in the for-profit, non-profit, and government sectors to parents with low incomes.⁴⁵² Individuals eligible for TANF benefits and “job seekers with family incomes at or below 200 percent of the poverty level and a child under age 18” were eligible to participate.⁴⁵³ Program participants were selected from community partner referrals and evaluations of job-ready TANF participants; individuals seeking services would also be considered if deemed eligible.⁴⁵⁴ Selected participants were placed in jobs that paid a standard wage for the occupation (which could be up to \$19.51 per hour), and their employers were reimbursed for 80 to 95 percent of costs, including wages and other payroll costs.⁴⁵⁵ The program asked for-profits and encouraged non-profits to commit to hiring at the end of the subsidy.⁴⁵⁶ Approximately 5,600 participants were placed into subsidized positions by the end of the program, with TANF participants or applicants making up 35 percent of this group and the remaining spots being filled by other eligible job seekers.⁴⁵⁷

Promise: Florida Back to Work was part of a non-random-assignment evaluation of five TANF-subsidized job programs.⁴⁵⁸ Florida officials provided data for a plausibly comparable group of eligible non-participants.⁴⁵⁹ The evaluation found positive results for participants’ finding of unsubsidized employment and earnings.⁴⁶⁰ Participants’ income grew by about \$2,500 from the year before participating in the program to the year following their participation.⁴⁶¹ Overall, program participants observed significantly greater increases in employment rates and earnings compared to the proxy control group of Florida workers.⁴⁶² The results of the evaluation indicate that the program was especially beneficial for long-term unemployed participants.⁴⁶³

33. GEORGIA GOODWORKS! (GOODWORKS!)

In 1999, Georgia developed GoodWorks! to provide supported employment for “hard-to-employ” TANF participants who are not participating in any work activities and who are nearing Georgia’s four-year time limit for TANF participation.⁴⁶⁴ The transitional jobs program expanded statewide in 2001 and reached more than 6,200 participants as of 2010.^{465, 466}

GoodWorks! used a supported employment model that is common for workers with disabilities.⁴⁶⁷ At its core, GoodWorks! offered long-term TANF participants (those with more than 30 months of participation) paid, subsidized jobs.⁴⁶⁸ Program participants had limited work experience and education, and were provided an array of other services, including assessments, social supports, job coaching, eventual individualized job placement in an unsubsidized job, and follow-up supports.⁴⁶⁹ These fairly intensive services included a “personal advisor.”⁴⁷⁰ Personal advisors supported participants throughout the program by assisting with child care arrangements, providing transportation to work and other appointments, and attending appointments with various service providers.⁴⁷¹ Additionally, personal advisors provided 24 hours per day, seven days a week of service to program participants to maximize potential job retention.⁴⁷² Work placements could be either on-site at the administering agency in sheltered or structured positions or community placements in entry-level positions with other employers.⁴⁷³ Subsidized work experience began with a 20-hour-a-week “work evaluation” period paying minimum wage for 3-4 weeks.⁴⁷⁴ Then, workers began a “work adjustment” period that offered slightly higher wages.⁴⁷⁵ GoodWorks participants worked 20-30 hours per week in these entry-level jobs over a six- to nine-month period before they were linked to permanent, unsubsidized employment.⁴⁷⁶

Promise: A 2002 evaluation of GoodWorks! found that many participants secured unsubsidized jobs, typically in clerical, health care, or service-related positions—with job placement rates at the study sites ranging from 35 percent to 70 percent.⁴⁷⁷ These rates increased to a range of 54 percent to 85 percent for individuals who completed the program.⁴⁷⁸ The study indicated the program’s responsiveness to individual needs as contributing to its success but noted that further evaluation was needed.⁴⁷⁹

34. MICHIGAN EARN & LEARN INITIATIVE (EARN & LEARN)

From February 2011 through 2014,⁴⁸⁰ the state of Michigan, in partnership with local governments and service providers, operated the Earn and Learn program in three Michigan cities historically impacted by unemployment (Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw). Earn and Learn targeted disconnected youth, particularly youth of color, formerly incarcerated people, and chronically unemployed adults.⁴⁸¹ Transitional jobs typically last 5-19 weeks, though they can be fewer than four weeks or longer than 30 weeks.⁴⁸² In the program’s evaluation period (during the first 18 months of the program) the subsidy was equal to Michigan’s minimum wage (\$7.40), and 63 percent of workers were paid wages equaling the subsidy amount.⁴⁸³ Earn and Learn provided case management, supportive services, education, and training to complement subsidized employment.⁴⁸⁴

Promise: An evaluation published in 2014 produced encouraging implementation findings based on more than 1,200 participants during the first 18 months of the program, but no rigorous impact findings are available.⁴⁸⁵ This program is profiled in the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities’ Building Better Programs website.⁴⁸⁶

35. MINNESOTA EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT (MEED)

From July 1983 through December 1989, Minnesota operated a large-scale program of generous subsidies for employers to hire and retain unemployed workers⁴⁸⁷ ineligible for UI or workers’ compensation benefits, for six months.⁴⁸⁸ Employers were required to pay back a portion of subsidies or hire another subsidized worker if subsidized employees were not retained for a year after the subsidy ended.⁴⁸⁹ The majority of workers were placed with private-sector employers.⁴⁹⁰ Administering agencies were charged with prioritizing participants that receive public benefits;

about half of MEED participants received public benefits.⁴⁹¹ At its peak, during the two-year budget period that ended in June 1987, MEED placed 6,562 workers subsidized private-sector jobs and 2,000 workers in subsidized public-sector jobs.⁴⁹²

Promise: One researcher found that, despite little evidence regarding MEED’s long-run effects and being administered by local job training agencies rather than as an employer entitlement, MEED achieved scale, and likely substantially increased net job creation. A state legislature report on MEED noted the program created 14,000 jobs from 1983 through 1985, increasing tax revenues and decreasing other state expenditures enough to cover the cost of the entire public investment in MEED.⁴⁹³ Additionally, studies conducted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Brookings Institute have demonstrated that MEED had a positive impact on small businesses.⁴⁹⁴ A study by the Jobs Now Coalition found that 95 percent of surveyed businesses hiring MEED workers had fewer than 100 employees.⁴⁹⁵ The same survey estimated that 79 percent of employers reported an expansion of production of the scale of operations.⁴⁹⁶ The success of the MEED program resulted in the passage of legislation in 1985, permanently establishing a wage subsidy program in Minnesota.⁴⁹⁷ Following this legislation, the program connected approximately 6,562 unemployed workers with private sector jobs and an additional 2,000 workers in public sector jobs until the program’s end in 1989.⁴⁹⁸

36. MISSISSIPPI SUBSIDIZED TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM AND SERVICES (STEPS)

From 2010 through 2011, the Mississippi Department of Employment Security (MDES) administered the Subsidized Transitional Employment Program and Services (STEPS) program, which provided approximately 3,200 parents with low and moderate incomes subsidized employment for up to 40 hours each week, for up to six months.^{499, 500} STEPS prioritized TANF and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) participants; participants were disproportionately women (75 percent), Black (67 percent), and under age 30 (45 percent).⁵⁰¹ Participants also had limited education, were often long-term unemployed, and had very low annual earnings before program participation.⁵⁰² Subsidized job placements were primarily at for-profits and non-profits, and occasionally at government agencies.⁵⁰³ The program did not directly provide additional wraparound supports to participants.⁵⁰⁴ The program also reimbursed employers for the specific job classification’s average pay, plus 11 percent to allow for increases.⁵⁰⁵ The subsidy gradually declined from 100 percent of wages and FICA tax costs in months one and two, to 25 percent by month six.⁵⁰⁶

Promise: STEPS was part of a non-rigorous evaluation of five TANF subsidized jobs programs without comparable control groups; no impact findings are available.⁵⁰⁷ STEPS was featured in publications that highlighted its potential to lower barriers to employment for jobseekers unable to find employment; economists praised the model of splitting the costs of hiring workers between employers and the state.^{508, 509, 510}

37. PLACING INDIVIDUALS IN VITAL OPPORTUNITY TRAINING (PIVOT) – ERIE COUNTY, NY

The Placing Individuals in Vital Opportunity Training (PIVOT) program was created in 2000 by the Erie County Department of Social Services (ECDSS) to connect TANF participants, some of whom face multiple barriers or lack work experience, to employment opportunities and to meet local employers’ hiring needs.⁵¹¹ PIVOT targets TANF participants who are work-ready, as determined by a series of standard screenings and assessments administered by a case manager to screen for potential substance use issues and determine the worker’s relative level of employability.⁵¹²

Since its inception, the program has had over 300 participating employers spanning a wide range of industries, including non-profits, retail, health care, manufacturing, hospitality, and professional services.⁵¹³ To ensure a quality and efficient placement matching process, candidates are pre-screened for job compatibility, and eligible employers must demonstrate they are existing organizations with permanent long-term staff positions.⁵¹⁴

Once matched with an employer, participants—in alignment with TANF’s 35-hour weekly work requirement—complete 20 hours of work experience and 15 hours of educational training per week for six months.⁵¹⁵ During that time, employers are reimbursed for 100 percent of the clients’ gross wages; employers are also eligible to request a 50 percent advance of the clients’ wages to cover hiring and other upfront costs.⁵¹⁶ In addition to the on-the-job training provided by the employer, the ECDSS offers wraparound services, such as case management, housing and transportation assistance, mental health counseling, nutritional education, and child care.⁵¹⁷ At the end of the program, well-performing participants receive assistance for competitive job placement.⁵¹⁸

To ensure effective service delivery, ECDSS has partnered with community agencies to develop neighborhood hub sites placed in communities with large concentrations of TANF participants. At the hub sites, participants complete their work experience and training, including computer skills, English as a Second Language (ESL), and High School Equivalency (HSE) programs.⁵¹⁹

Promise: A 2012 follow-up with participants found that 72 percent of clients were not participating in public benefits programs one year after participation⁵²⁰ and 85 percent transitioned into permanent, unsubsidized employment.⁵²¹ In addition, over two years, Erie County’s work participation rate for TANF increased by 15 percent.⁵²² No rigorous research on impacts is available.

38. RUBICON PROGRAMS, INC. – RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA

Since 1978, Rubicon Programs, Inc. has offered subsidized employment opportunities for people with very low incomes.⁵²³ Subsidized employment placements have included opportunities in landscaping services and bakeries.⁵²⁴ Targeted workers include people who are experiencing homelessness, people with mental health conditions or disabilities, and people who have been incarcerated, among other barriers to employment. Rubicon provides services in four main areas—Assets, Income, Wellness, and Connections—to assist participants in achieving economic mobility.⁵²⁵ After a two-week “Foundations Workshop,” participants are paired with Impact Coaches.⁵²⁶ For up to three years, the Impact Coach offers the participant resources for continued success and, when appropriate, connects the participant with the program’s Career Services team to help set immediate and longer-term career goals.⁵²⁷ The program is funded by a mix of private and public resources—in fiscal year 2021, 48 percent of Rubicon’s revenue came from government contracts, 30 percent from earned income, 21 percent from grants, and two percent from individual contributions.⁵²⁸

Promise: No rigorous evidence of Rubicon’s effectiveness exists. Rubicon’s Fathers Advancing Community Together (FACT) program was evaluated in 2020, and approximately 81 percent of participants surveyed after enrollment reported that they were satisfied with the services provided through the program.⁵²⁹ In 2021, Rubicon served 1,128 participants, and 232 participants secured jobs.⁵³⁰ The following year, in 2022, Rubicon’s services reached 2,282 participants, with 277 of these participants securing jobs.⁵³¹

39. WISCONSIN TRANSITIONAL JOBS DEMONSTRATION PROJECT (TJDP)

The Wisconsin Transitional Jobs Demonstration Project (TJDP), which included fully subsidized placements,⁵³² had more than 4,000 participants with low incomes from September 2010 through June 2013.⁵³³ Participants had to be aged 21-64, a parent or a young adult, unemployed for the most recent four weeks, ineligible for UI, and unable to participate in TANF.⁵³⁴ Providers targeted a variety of participants, including non-custodial parents, formerly incarcerated people, and people with substance use disorder-related barriers, leading to program group disproportionately composed of men (63 percent).⁵³⁵ Nearly one-third (31 percent) of participants were age 35 or older, 42 percent lived alone, and 39 percent were noncustodial parents with child support obligations.⁵³⁶ Demonstration participants were disproportionately Black (66 percent); 22 percent were white; six percent were Hispanic; and five percent were “other.”⁵³⁷

All TJDP programs operated with three phases: an orientation phase, a subsidized phase, and an unsubsidized phase.⁵³⁸ During the orientation phase (depending on the provider, the orientation could last from one day to six weeks), an employment plan was developed.⁵³⁹ Other orientation services included: “specific job skills training, GED attainment support, driver’s license recovery assistance, assistance in modifying a child support order, job search services, life skills training, and soft skills development.”⁵⁴⁰ During the subsidized phase, workers were employed in a transitional job (most placements were primarily with non-profits and for-profits) for 3-12 months, for a total of up to 1,040 hours.⁵⁴¹ Finally, during the 3-6 month unsubsidized employment phase, participants received assistance with workplace clothing, transportation, and legal services.⁵⁴² Retention strategies ranged from expectations setting with employers for hiring post-subsidy to providing worker bonuses for meeting benchmarks throughout the program.⁵⁴³

Promise: TJDP was part of a non-random-assignment evaluation of five TANF subsidized jobs programs,⁵⁴⁴ as well as a separate evaluation that lacked a control group for comparison,⁵⁴⁵ both of which found some positive outcomes. Approximately 54 percent of a randomized sample of TJDP transitional job workers had secured an unsubsidized job after the program, and 60 percent after two quarters. In that sample, transitional job workers, on average, saw their wages rise from \$872 in the two quarters before the program to \$2,703 in the two quarters following the program. No rigorous research on impacts is available.

40. WAGE SUBSIDY PROGRAM NYC

The Wage Subsidy Program is run jointly through Work First and the New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance; Work First operates the program directly.⁵⁴⁶ Work First was founded in 2005 to promote innovative strategies that alleviate poverty, promote bail reform, and improve public benefits programs. The program functions by placing individuals with low incomes into temporary, subsidized employment.⁵⁴⁷ The program targets unemployed people with a child under the age of 18 or between the ages of 18-20 themselves.⁵⁴⁸ Work First partners with big and small companies to host participants and subsidizes up to 75 percent of a new hire’s monthly wage.⁵⁴⁹ Upon placement in their subsidized positions, participants receive on-the-job training and gain valuable industry-specific skills.⁵⁵⁰ The program goals include participants’ completion of 30 days of subsidized employment, transition to unsubsidized employment, and completion of 90 days in unsubsidized employment (or 120 days in direct placement).⁵⁵¹

Promise: No rigorous research evaluating the Wage Subsidy Program has been published, however, the program’s reporting is encouraging. The Wage Subsidy Program reports successfully placing more than 1,000 New Yorkers into full-time jobs as of 2023.⁵⁵²

41. COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT TRAINING ACT’S (CETA, 1973-1982) PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (PSE)

One of the largest—if not the largest—subsidized employment programs in the last half century was the Public Service Employment (PSE) under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA, 1973-1982).⁵⁵³ CETA’s PSE offered classroom training, subsidized on-the-job training, and subsidized public service work experience. To illustrate the program’s size and scale, in 1980, of the 760,000 participants, 47 percent received classroom training, 13 percent received subsidized on-the-job training, and 40 percent received subsidized work experience for an average of about 20 weeks per participant.⁵⁵⁴

As a result of the 1974-1975 recession, CETA’s PSE developed a significant countercyclical emphasis.⁵⁵⁵ CETA was intended to target structurally excluded individuals, such as people that were unemployed for at least seven days, underemployed, or with an income below the poverty line.⁵⁵⁶ CETA was organized into five distinct title programs, each addressing different facets of unemployment and underemployment.⁵⁵⁷ Notably, Title I primarily served people experiencing poverty, people with fewer years of education, and younger people via training and part-time work.⁵⁵⁸ Conversely, CETA’s PSE, which provided full-time jobs, targeted the more-advantaged individuals within this Title I group, such as those over age 22 and those with more than 12 years of education.⁵⁵⁹ This disparity drew criticism that CETA was not fully serving the mandated population and was instead selecting individuals deemed most likely to succeed in the program (a practice known as “creaming”), which led to questions about the distribution of resources.⁵⁶⁰

Promise: Little can be said with certainty about CETA’s PSE. The program was not rigorously evaluated before its expiration. Non-experimental studies suggest sometimes contradictory findings: one analysis suggested positive effects only for women in classroom training, on-the-job training, and public service employment (not work experience),⁵⁶¹ and another analysis of the impacts of training on men found large positive effects from classroom training and smaller, positive effects from on-the-job training.⁵⁶²

Notable Paid Work Experience & Community Service Models

Traditional work experience and subsidized employment models typically aim to ultimately transition workers to competitive employment. For some workers, for whom competitive employment may not be the end goal or who face particularly intensive or intersecting barriers to employment, other work subsidy models offer proven and promising alternatives. These programs may be best characterized as compensated community service—such compensation is usually limited, as is the commitment of time and energy required of participants. Components of these programs may be useful when considering design elements for subsidized employment and other supportive models.

42. PARENT MENTOR PROGRAM, LOGAN SQUARE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION (LSNA) – CHICAGO, IL

The Logan Square Neighborhood Association's (LSNA) Parent Mentor Program places parents, many of whom experience economic insecurity and face multiple barriers to employment, in volunteer roles within their community classrooms to foster their leadership in the community.⁵⁶³ The program relies on strong partnerships between community organizations, schools, and teacher unions.⁵⁶⁴ Many participating parents are Black or Latinx mothers, some do not have a high school diploma, and some do not have strong English skills. Through the LSNA Parent Mentor Program, these parents gain access to on-the-job training, connect with their community and child's school, and develop soft skills.⁵⁶⁵ Parent mentors have organized successful campaigns on several issues, including community schools, immigrant rights, safety, and housing.⁵⁶⁶ The program offers a compelling community-based approach to support participants with low incomes. Nearly all women in the LSNA program are TANF-eligible based on income.⁵⁶⁷

Parents must apply to be parent mentors, and most are placed in a preschool through third-grade classroom. After completing an initial 15-hour training, the mentors provide two hours per day of social and emotional support in the classroom, for the first four days of the week, and receive two hours of skills development and other training and support outside the classroom on the fifth day.⁵⁶⁸ Once a mentor has worked a minimum of 100 hours, he or she is eligible for a \$500 stipend, which ordinarily results in one stipend being awarded at the end of each semester.⁵⁶⁹ In addition to the stipend, experienced parent mentors are often referred for job openings and other opportunities within the school, and many former parent mentors remain involved with the program and schools in other capacities.⁵⁷⁰

Promise: LSNA started the Parent Mentor Program nearly 30 years ago in partnership with its neighborhood schools. Ten years later, the Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP) in Chicago replicated the program. Together, the two organizations now run the Parent Engagement Institute, which provides guidance and training materials for communities looking to adopt the program.⁵⁷¹ The Chicago Teachers Union has included both LSNA and SWOP on their 2020/2021 Grantee List of organizations they support (at this time, the list has not been updated for subsequent years).⁵⁷² Data from a study conducted leading up to the program's 20th Anniversary reveals that 92 percent of children of parent mentors had graduated from high school, and 87 percent of those graduates were attending or had graduated college.⁵⁷³ The Parent Engagement Institute, which stewards the Stateside Parent Mentor Initiative in Illinois, advises 30 grassroots community organizations, as well as trains organizations in other states. As of this report's publication, the Parent Mentor Program is being used as a model in rural Colorado; rural Arkansas; Asheville, NC; Newark, NJ; and Boston, MA.⁵⁷⁴

43. PROJECT MATCH – CHICAGO

In 2010 and 2011, Project Match developed and implemented a subsidized employment program for “motivated non-workers”—adults with low incomes who were outside the labor force, had limited work experience, and were looking for opportunities to engage in activities related to their children or community.⁵⁷⁵ Public housing residents were targeted with opportunities “in an afterschool safety patrol, a grounds-keeping crew, and a community garden” in close partnership with community schools.⁵⁷⁶ Program leaders regarded these positions as one step short of subsidized employment, but the opportunities were structured and employed strong

supervision.^{577,578} The stipend positions paid participants no more than \$120 a month (2010 dollars), and payment took the form of retail store gift cards.⁵⁷⁹

Many Project Match participants were parents and grandparents caring for children facing behavioral, developmental, or academic challenges.⁵⁸⁰ A separate initiative was imagined to focus on incentivizing families to cultivate children’s development to address the lack of access to in-community, extracurricular opportunities for children in low-income households.⁵⁸¹ That idea, somewhat similar to conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs, would focus on how parents spend their time—and extend beyond the health and education domains that are the typical forms of existing CCT programs. The Project Match founder has indicated that the effort was conceptualized in response to a finding that parents often struggled to maintain employment because they were spending time on and with their children.⁵⁸² This separate initiative was never implemented.

Promise: The Project Match target population likely included people with disabilities, people with caregiving responsibilities, and men (and some women) with criminal legal system records. No evidence of impacts from this intervention is available. A major premise of this effort is that typically half or more of participants in welfare-to-work or other workforce development programs—regardless of the nature of the intervention—never become year-round, consistently employed workers. Thus, the intervention attempts to aim for goals more in alignment with participating workers’ specific needs and circumstances than that of more standard subsidized employment models.⁵⁸³

44. SENIOR COMMUNITY SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (SCSEP)

The Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCSEP), which has existed in some form since the 1960s, aims to employ seniors with low incomes who face barriers to employment in community service projects, to provide training and skills development to ease their transition back into competitive employment. Eligible participants are at least age 55, unemployed, and have a family income of no more than 125 percent of the federal poverty level.⁵⁸⁴ SCSEP, the “only federal employment and training program targeted specifically to older Americans,” provides participants with part-time, paid (with grant funds) community service opportunities at public agencies or non-profit organizations.⁵⁸⁵ Participants also have access to additional skill training and supportive services.⁵⁸⁶ Notably, amendments to the Older Americans Act in 2000 and 2006 increased the emphasis in SCSEP on economic stability and unsubsidized job market performance.⁵⁸⁷

Promise: While the program has not been evaluated rigorously, a process and outcomes evaluation showed that the 2008-2009 program years had higher-than-average American Customer Satisfaction Index (ACSI) scores compared with other federal programs.⁵⁸⁸ The 2019 Participant Evaluation of SCSEP reported findings based on responses from 9,693 surveys. Approximately 74 percent of respondents indicated that participation in the program had a positive impact on their lives and two-thirds reported that the supportive services they received were beneficial.⁵⁸⁹ The report states that the program could improve the computer training and supportive services provided.⁵⁹⁰ The 2012 report also notes that budget cuts may have undermined elements of the program focused on training and skills development.⁵⁹¹ In 2009, 46 percent of program participants entered unsubsidized employment in the quarter following participation, with 70 percent of those retaining employment for at least six months. These numbers varied considerably depending on individual characteristics and employment barriers.⁵⁹²

45. BIRMINGHAM SERVICE CORPS

The Birmingham Service Corps was a program run by Birmingham Strong as a public-private partnership, funded by a mix of federal CARES Act funding and corporate donations.⁵⁹³ The program was meant to support recently unemployed Birmingham, AL, residents during the COVID-19 pandemic when at least 25 percent of Birmingham's population applied for unemployment insurance.⁵⁹⁴ The plan was to engage people recently unemployed with paid community service work to support the workers economically and fill in gaps in Birmingham public services. Any Birmingham resident ages 18 or older could apply to participate in the paid community service projects. These projects included serving at a call center to screen nearly 10,000 public housing residents for viral symptoms, informing the deployment of mobile testing and providing patient referrals, and preparing and distributing lunches for 12,000 public school students.⁵⁹⁵

In June 2021, Birmingham Strong transitioned from pandemic response activities and rebranded as Birmingham Corps, in partnership with Baltimore Corps, an AmeriCorps offshoot.⁵⁹⁶ As of 2023, Birmingham Corps has dispatched two cohorts of twenty AmeriCorps members each, one in November 2022 and another in February 2023, with a third cohort set to begin fall of 2023.⁵⁹⁷

Promise: No rigorous outside research has been done on the program. Birmingham Service Corps provided paid work opportunities to over 300 residents of Birmingham during the COVID-19 pandemic, 62 percent of which were Black and 69 percent of which were women.^{598, 599} By providing employment and skills training opportunities to participating workers, who were disproportionately affected by the pandemic, the program helped bridge existing gaps in employment and work-related supports and support the recovery of communities in Birmingham.⁶⁰⁰

46. BALTIMOREHEALTH CORPS (BHC)

In 2020, as Baltimore responded to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Baltimore City Government brought a litany of partners together to launch the Baltimore Health Corps (BHC).⁶⁰¹ The goal of the pilot program, which has now evolved into the Baltimore Community Health Corps through a partnership with AmeriCorps, was to train and employ 275 new community health workers in Baltimore, mitigate unemployment due to the pandemic, and improve the city's public health capacity for contact tracing and care coordination.⁶⁰² BHC targeted community health workers who were unemployed, furloughed, or underemployed and living in areas hardest hit by COVID-19.⁶⁰³ BHC's three main objectives over its first six months were creating jobs with equitable hiring and career development, increasing COVID-19 contact tracing capabilities, and providing essential care coordination.⁶⁰⁴ BHC also provided training to candidates that were not originally hired for the program to increase their likelihood of being hired in the future.⁶⁰⁵

Evidence: An independent study showed that BHC helped support people with barriers to work exacerbated by the pandemic through equitable hiring. When they took BHC positions, 85 percent of program participants were unemployed, furloughed, or underemployed. At least 65 percent of all participants were Black, Indigenous, and people of color.⁶⁰⁶ The study also provides evidence of the value of the program to the community. BHC hires increased the size of the city's health department by 15 percent during a critical, unprecedented period of demand.⁶⁰⁷ Before BHC, the Baltimore contact tracing team was operating at 60 percent capacity. By January 2021, nearly six months after BHC hired its first contact tracers, the contact tracing unit was at full strength.⁶⁰⁸ The percentage of positive cases of COVID-19 that received a contact tracing interview increased from 67 to 73 percent, and the number of individuals contacted within 24 hours increased from 67 to 80 percent.⁶⁰⁹ The implementation of BHC brought a 126 percent

increase in referrals for care coordination.⁶¹⁰ These early findings suggest much potential for this model to continue to benefit Baltimore’s public health infrastructure and economy, as well as for the model to be replicated in other localities facing crises.

47. READI (RAPID EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE) CHICAGO

READI Chicago is a community-based approach to reducing gun violence in Chicago.⁶¹¹ READI begins by identifying men in Chicago’s neighborhoods with the highest rates of violence and engages them through street outreach before offering them two-pronged support; an 18-month subsidized supported job and a cognitive behavioral program made up of group sessions intended to recognize dangerous patterns of thinking.⁶¹²

Evidence: Researchers at the University of Chicago Crime Lab, the University of Chicago Inclusive Economy Lab, the University of Michigan, and Cornell University ran a randomized control trial to determine READI’s impact. Researchers identified 2,500 men as “very high risk” of being involved in gun violence and used a fair lottery to determine participation.⁶¹³ READI was very effective in this identification as 35 percent of men in the study had been previously shot and 98 percent had been previously arrested, with an average of 17 prior arrests.⁶¹⁴ The study found that READI participants are less likely than those that did not participate to be involved in shootings or homicides.⁶¹⁵ This same effect was not seen for less serious forms of violence like armed robbery or non-shooting aggravated battery.⁶¹⁶ This lack of effect led to the main outcome variable of this study, an average of all three measured forms of serious violence, which did not see a significant effect.⁶¹⁷ Even with this considered, READI still saw a 63 percent decrease in arrests and 19 percent fewer victimizations for shootings and homicides between READI participants and those that did not participate in the program.⁶¹⁸ Following an update 20 months after the program, READI was found to decrease the harm to society by violence by \$185,000 per participant, on average, \$122 million in total.⁶¹⁹ When separated by referral pathway, a starker effect emerged. Men referred by community organizations experienced a decrease of 79 percent in arrests and 47 percent victimizations from shootings and homicides when compared to men referred through correctional institutions or a data-driven algorithm.⁶²⁰ These initial results are highly encouraging. A 40-month update is planned for 2024.

Rigorously Evaluated Unsubsidized Employment & Work Experience Models

In addition to subsidized employment programs and models, there have been several rigorously evaluated unsubsidized employment and work experience⁶²¹ programs targeting structurally excluded workers that may offer constructive lessons on program design and implementation for subsidized jobs and paid work experience programs. Two such promising programs are profiled below.ⁱⁱⁱ

48. PERSONAL ROADS TO INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT (PRIDE) – NEW YORK CITY

Between 1999 and 2004, PRIDE, the New York City-based workfare program, served over 30,000 individuals.⁶²² The program, which targeted welfare participants with acute or chronic health conditions and disabilities, was part of the Employment Retention and Advancement

iii A more comprehensive review of workfare (work performed in exchange for public benefits) or unpaid community service work models, like those tested in the 1980s that placed workers at non-profit and public agencies, is outside the scope of this report.

(ERA) project under ACF.⁶²³ The objective of the program was to reach an “in-between” group of TANF participants, whose medical issues had previously exempted them from regular work activities but were insufficient to qualify them for SSI benefits.⁶²⁴

PRIDE’s employment services mirrored those of the state’s regular welfare-to-work program but with the addition of more holistic and in-depth screening and assessment services that better addressed the distinct needs of the target population.⁶²⁵ The screening process factored participants’ disabilities and health conditions into the decision about assigned work activities. Participants were then assigned to one of two tracks for pre-employment services: the Work-Based Education (WBE) track, which generally involved unpaid work experience three days per week and a classroom-based education activity for the other two days, or the Vocational Rehabilitation (VR) track, which also provided unpaid work experience but with a more individualized set of other activities.⁶²⁶ Upon satisfactory completion of the pre-employment service activities, participants in both tracks received job-search support.⁶²⁷ Participants also received post-employment follow-up support for the first six months following (unsubsidized) job placement.

Evidence: The program was evaluated using an experimental research design. Over 3,000 eligible participants were randomly assigned to either the PRIDE group or the control group, which allowed individuals to seek out other services but excluded them from the PRIDE program.⁶²⁸ Key findings from the evaluation’s final report in 2012 (covering the four years following random assignment) include: 1) PRIDE substantially increased participation in work experience and job search activities; 2) PRIDE produced moderate but sustained increases in employment over the four years among the target group; and 3) PRIDE led to a significant reduction in welfare payments.^{629, 630}

However, while it is impressive that PRIDE was able to result in employment gains for participants, “many lost their jobs quickly,” and the majority—55 percent of all PRIDE participants—still did not work at all in a UI-covered job during the study’s four-year period.⁶³¹ In addition, the reduction in TANF benefits is only partly due to employment increases: the PRIDE group also had a high rate of sanctioning (i.e., penalties for TANF noncompliance) that far exceeded that of the control group.⁶³² Nevertheless, the PRIDE program was successfully implemented through the coordination of several agencies and was able to identify and engage a traditionally structurally excluded group of individuals.

49. RAMSEY COUNTY INDIVIDUAL PLACEMENT AND SUPPORT (IPS) PROGRAM - MINNESOTA

Within Minnesota’s county-administered health and human services system, Ramsey County developed a subsidized employment pilot targeting TANF participants with disabilities.⁶³³ The pilot followed the Individual Placement and Support (IPS) model, which traditionally has been used for people with mental health conditions seeking competitive employment.⁶³⁴ The pilot incorporated colocation and integration of health—including mental health—and employment services, rapid job search, and personalized planning and placement in appropriate community jobs for all willing participants.⁶³⁵

Evidence: SSA and HHS included this pilot as part of the TANF/SSI Disability Transition Project (TSDTP).⁶³⁶ Pilot results were promising. According to the researchers, participants earned more on average than the control group during the first year, but the sample size was too small to produce definitive conclusions.⁶³⁷ The underlying IPS model has expanded in the U.S., but access to the services remains limited.⁶³⁸

Notable Youth-Only Employment Models

The full universe of subsidized employment program models targeting youth exclusively—including after-school and summer employment programs offering paid work experience—is substantial and beyond the scope of this report.⁶³⁹ Several models of rigorously evaluated, non-residential subsidized employment programs targeting solely young people have been profiled earlier in this report, including Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP), Youth Transition Demonstration (YTD), and Bridges to Pathways. Some additional unsubsidized employment or paid work experience and community service programs targeting youth are also noteworthy. These intensive programs, briefly discussed below, have been rigorously evaluated (American Conservation and Youth Service Corps, Career Academies, Job Corps, Mayor’s Summer Jobs Program, National Guard Youth Challenge, Year Up, and YouthBuild) or are amid a rigorous evaluation (SYEP), and are similar to and relevant for subsidized employment policy and programs focused on youth.

50. AMERICAN CONSERVATION AND YOUTH SERVICE CORPS

Since 1990, the American Conservation and Youth Service Corps has enrolled youth out of school in temporary, paid community service employment and other supportive services.⁶⁴⁰ Because there is no single model for Youth Corps, an experimental evaluation began with a random selection of sites and then used random assignment to evaluate each selected site.⁶⁴¹ While an earlier evaluation found significant positive impacts,⁶⁴² a more recent evaluation found no significant impacts on key labor market, educational, or civic participation outcomes in the roughly 30 months following random assignment.⁶⁴³ The more recent evaluation, however, did find improvements in educational expectations, fewer employers (likely indicating less churning), hourly wages, and income (potentially driven by the program’s stipend) among those who had worked for pay in the prior 12 months.⁶⁴⁴

51. CAREER ACADEMIES

Since their inception in 1969, Career Academies have combined education and work-based learning opportunities ranging from job shadowing to internships (paid and unpaid) for students at risk of not completing high school.^{645, 646} Career Academies have three core features: they are organized into “small learning communities,” or schools-within-schools in which students are grouped with the same teachers for three or four years of high school; they have an underlying “career theme” such as health or business that connects the combination of vocational and academic curricula; and they provide career development and work-based learning opportunities through partnerships with local employers.⁶⁴⁷ Multiple random assignment evaluations have demonstrated that Career Academies produce lasting positive effects for participating students’ employment and earnings, particularly boys and students identified as most likely to be at risk of dropping out of school.⁶⁴⁸ A 2015 report suggests that several features contribute to the sustained improvements in participants’ outcomes in the labor market: sector-oriented career development, the combined academic and career-related curriculum, employer partnerships that increase career awareness and provide development experiences both in and outside school, and interpersonal support from teachers.⁶⁴⁹

52. JOB CORPS

Job Corps, established in 1964, is a full-time residential program that connects young people (ages 16-24) who are not in school or working and are from a low-income household with vocational and academic training and supports, including a paid community work experience.⁶⁵⁰ Job Corps has three main elements: rigorous performance and accountability standards; an “intensive and holistic environment” with counseling services and health benefits;⁶⁵¹ and employer involvement.⁶⁵² Job Corps has strong partnerships with local and national employers, which influence program operations and help provide students with unpaid and paid work experience. Participants can earn a high school diploma (or equivalent) or career technical training credentials that include industry-recognized certifications.⁶⁵³ Job Corps has been rigorously evaluated through multiple rigorous studies that have found the \$1.6 billion per year program—one of the most expensive federally-funded education and training programs in the country—to be a cost-effective investment.^{654, 655} A 2008 evaluation found that participants in the program increased educational attainment, increased earnings for several post-program years, and reduced criminal activity.⁶⁵⁶ However, some of the study’s tax data showed that the earnings gains were only sustained among the older participants (ages 20-24). The report notes that the findings are still promising, as “Job Corps is the only federal training program that has been shown to increase earnings for this population.”⁶⁵⁷ A 2018 report of the 20-year impact findings reported consistent conclusions with past evaluations of the program.⁶⁵⁸

53. MAYOR’S SUMMER JOBS PROGRAM (SYEP)

Since its establishment in the 1980s, the Mayor’s Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) has annually connected approximately 10,000 young people, ranging between ages 14-22, with over 900 local employers in Boston.⁶⁵⁹ The Mayor’s Office coordinates the SYEP in partnership with the Boston Private Industry Council, Boston Public Schools, the City of Boston’s Youth Engagement and Employment Division, and other local, state, and non-profit agencies.⁶⁶⁰ These institutional partners connect youth with private, nonprofit, and governmental entities across various career fields providing meaningful opportunities for youth to develop “social skills, community engagement, job readiness, and academic aspirations.”⁶⁶¹ These employment opportunities include either subsidized or non-subsidized positions.⁶⁶² Youth workers work 25 hours per week and earn a minimum wage during a six-week-long program.⁶⁶³ Additionally, the SYEP has significant effects on disadvantaged youth: reductions in the frequency of youth interaction with the criminal legal system, increased academic attendance and course passage rates, and increased employment rates for older demographic groups in the program.⁶⁶⁴ Several studies have rigorously evaluated the cost-benefits of the \$10 million SYEP, finding that overall the program increased job readiness, postsecondary aspirations, and positive social connections with the community with the largest gains observed in youth of color.⁶⁶⁵ A study conducted in 2017 found that, in the short-term, SYEP participants “felt [more] connected to their neighborhood,” expressed increased desire to pursue four-year degrees, their education, and had overall improved their job readiness.⁶⁶⁶

54. NATIONAL GUARD YOUTH CHALLENGE

Since the early 1990s, the National Guard Youth Challenge intensive recovery program for students who have exited secondary school before degree completion has served over 100,000 young people.⁶⁶⁷ States administer the program in partnership with the National Guard Bureau, with most states serving about 100 young people per cycle, with two cycles each calendar year.⁶⁶⁸ It is not primarily a subsidized employment program, but some versions do utilize

subsidized jobs.⁶⁶⁹ More generally, the program offers older youth—typically around 17 years of age—a two-week residential orientation and assessment and a 20-week residential youth development experience, winding down through a year-long, non-residential mentoring effort.⁶⁷⁰ During the youth development phase, programs emphasize a wide range of skills development (professional and life) and values (leadership, service, and citizenship). ChalleNGe programs maintain a quasi-military environment and often are located at military bases.⁶⁷¹ A random assignment study included a follow-up survey of about 1,200 participants from 10 ChalleNGe programs an average of three years after entering the study. The evaluation found that ChalleNGe substantially increased educational attainment, significantly raised employment and earnings, improved health, and reduced antisocial behaviors.⁶⁷²

55. WASHTENAW COUNTY SUMMERWORKS SUMMER YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (SUMMERWORKS)

Since its launch in 2016, the Washtenaw County SummerWorks Summer Youth Employment Program (SummerWorks) has provided youth, ages 16-24, with a 10-week paid summer internship and mentorship program.⁶⁷³ SummerWorks was developed out of the partnership between MichiganWorks! Southeast, the Washtenaw County Office of Community and Economic Development, and the University of Michigan.⁶⁷⁴ SummerWorks is the first Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) to develop in partnership with a major university. SummerWorks's university-county partnership provides a unique opportunity for extensive research examining best practices for engaging and mentoring youth in the community.⁶⁷⁵ Since its inception, SummerWorks has connected more than 85 local businesses, including departments at the University of Michigan, with over 380 young adults; the program provides formal mentorship opportunities, skill-development sessions, and direct employer training.^{676, 677} Employers participating in the internship program bear the full cost of employing the participating youth, however, have the opportunity to receive a \$200 subsidy to offset a portion of the costs.⁶⁷⁸ Although the program has yet to be rigorously evaluated, preliminary findings suggest that university partnerships with SYEPs are a promising strategy for connecting youths from lower-income households with postsecondary career paths.⁶⁷⁹ Additionally, preliminary findings indicate that university-county SYEPs provide an effective tool for reducing the college application gaps among local youths from low-income households.⁶⁸⁰ SummerWorks job placements and mentorships are randomized to support future rigorous evaluation of the SYEP.⁶⁸¹

56. YEAR UP

Since 2000, Year Up has provided training and work experience to youth living in major cities, ages 18-24.⁶⁸² The yearlong program begins with a six-month technical, professional, and workplace skills training that can be converted into college credit.⁶⁸³ A subsequent six-month, full-time, intensively supported internship includes a weekly stipend.⁶⁸⁴ Employers bear the full cost of each internship.⁶⁸⁵ The program now has eight offices in major U.S. cities.⁶⁸⁶ Year Up was also part of a larger national randomized control trial, administered by HHS ACF, called Pathways for Advancing Careers and Education (PACE).⁶⁸⁷ The program's rigorous and competitive admissions process has prompted some assertions about program "creaming," or selecting applicants most likely to garner favorable outcomes.⁶⁸⁸

Year Up began the random assignment evaluation in 2007.⁶⁸⁹ Impact findings from the four years following random assignment indicate that Year Up increased earnings for participants over the three years following the program, primarily by boosting hourly wages.⁶⁹⁰ A 2018 report found that Year Up had a large positive impact: the treatment group earned 53 percent higher

quarterly wages than the control group six months after random assignment.⁶⁹¹ As of 2022, Year Up's positive earnings impacts have persisted and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic seemed to impact the treatment group less negatively than the control group. The favorable impacts of the program concentrated on financial outcomes, with minimal effects in other spheres of life.⁶⁹²

57. YOUTHBUILD

Since the late 1970s, YouthBuild has worked with youth ages 16-24, who have low incomes and are not in school.⁶⁹³ The “community-based alternative education program,”⁶⁹⁴ which has been administered by DOL since September 2006, connects participants to job skills training, educational opportunities, counseling and case management, life skills training, and other wraparound services and opportunities.⁶⁹⁵ YouthBuild operates with the goal of “positive youth development,” focusing on youth empowerment, leadership, and civic engagement. The program often includes a community service component and leadership development opportunities.⁶⁹⁶ Participants split their time between job skills training and classroom learning. Job skills training includes gaining construction skills while working on affordable housing for families with low incomes in their communities. Learning in the classroom encompasses progress toward a GED or high school diploma, with an emphasis on becoming community leaders and preparing for college and other postsecondary training opportunities.⁶⁹⁷ The program has nearly 300 affiliated sites across the country. YouthBuild was rigorously evaluated, with 75 program sites and 4,000 young people participating in the study.⁶⁹⁸ Evidence from the evaluation shows that YouthBuild participants have increased employment rates and earnings based on survey responses, an increased receipt of high school credentials, and increased enrollment in college.⁶⁹⁹ The researchers note that while the benefits for participants of YouthBuild during the four years of evaluation did not outweigh the program's costs, firm conclusions about YouthBuild as an investment cannot yet be drawn since benefits accrued over a longer period cannot yet be measured.⁷⁰⁰

Appendix

FIGURE 9. THREE OVERARCHING SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM STRATEGIES

	DURATION OF SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT	TIMING IN BUSINESS CYCLE	TARGET WORKERS	PRIMARY PURPOSE	DEMANDS ON WORKERS
STRATEGY 1	Transitional Employment	Anti-recessionary*	Long-term unemployed; low-income	Income support; increasing employment	Identical to unsubsidized employment
STRATEGY 2	Transitional Employment	Permanent	Structurally excluded workers with serious or multiple barriers	Increasing employment	Eventually approximating unsubsidized employment
STRATEGY 3	Long-Term Employment	Permanent	Structurally excluded workers with serious or multiple barriers	Income support	Significantly less than unsubsidized employment

Note: *Prospects for transitioning into unsubsidized employment may be small when the economy contracts, however, so longer term subsidies may be appropriate.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2023.

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