

Scaling Up a Place-Based Employment Program: Highlights From the Jobs Plus Pilot Program Evaluation



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Disclaimer

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Executive Summary

Public housing developments are among the most economically challenged communities in the United States. In fact, many public housing residents face substantial personal and other challenges, all of which could be barriers to employment and advancement. Jobs Plus aims to help address this problem by providing employment services, offering earned income disregards—so that earnings increases are not counted when determining rent—and building community support for work.¹

The original Jobs Plus demonstration,² which was the subject of a rigorous evaluation, found that program operators faced many daunting implementation challenges. The Jobs Plus developments that fully implemented the model (three of the six demonstration sites) saw the program boost annual earnings.³ Having achieved these positive results, Jobs Plus was replicated through the Social Innovation Fund (SIF) of the Corporation for National and Community Service in 2011 in the Bronx, New York, and in San Antonio, Texas.⁴ The City of New York expanded Jobs Plus to seven additional locations in 2013. In 2015, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded \$24 million to nine public housing authorities (PHAs) to operate the model as part of its Jobs Plus Pilot program, with funding ranging from \$1.9 million to \$3 million to each of the sites, along with their leveraging additional resources through cost sharing or matching. To date, HUD has awarded approximately \$62 million to 24 PHAs to implement Jobs Plus.

The first nine public housing authorities to be awarded 4-year grants—from April 2015 to March 2019—are the subject of an implementation study. The grantees include housing developments operated by PHAs in Boston, Massachusetts; Charlotte, North Carolina; Chicago, Illinois; Cuyahoga County, Ohio; Houston, Texas; Memphis, Tennessee; Roanoke, Virginia; St. Louis, Missouri; and Syracuse, New York. These sites were selected because their proposals demonstrated strong partnerships, ties to community organizations, and experience running adult education, workforce, and economic self-sufficiency programs to meet the needs of public housing residents.⁵ The developments in these nine sites represent a wide diversity in terms of size, geographic location, and the degree of employment in these communities. They range in size from 240 to more than 1,500 residents who are working age and able to work, and their employment rates range from 21 to 49 percent.

To begin documenting HUD's expansion, or scale-up, of Jobs Plus, this first report looks at the early startup phase from April 2015 to October 2016 for the first cohort of nine sites, when their programs were in operation for roughly 1 year. Past iterations of Jobs Plus have shown that

¹ The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Rockefeller Foundation, and MDRC conceived the original Jobs Plus demonstration in the mid-1990s. See Bloom, Riccio, and Verma (2005) for a detailed description of the original Jobs Plus model and its results based on a random assignment evaluation. Longer-term results are available in Riccio (2010). For a complete list of MDRC publications on Jobs Plus, see www.mdrc.org/project/jobs-plus-community-revitalization-initiative-public-housing-families#related-content.

² The original model was named Jobs-Plus (with a hyphen), but the current program being replicated by HUD is referred to as Jobs Plus (without the hyphen). This report uses the current treatment, Jobs Plus, for all iterations of the program.

³ Riccio (2010).

⁴ The Social Innovation Fund targets public-private funds to expand effective solutions across three issue areas: economic opportunity, healthy futures, and youth development and school support.

⁵ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (2014).

programs often needed 1 to 2 years to reach operating scale. In the original demonstration, the model development and implementation process took about 2 years, and its replication during the SIF intervention underwent a startup period of about 9 months, with improvement often noted over time.

Sites in the current Jobs Plus Pilot were given 6 months to start up operations and begin serving residents. The report examines their experiences launching Jobs Plus and the progress they made getting staff in place, building partnerships, delivering services, and structuring the program on the ground during this initial roll-out period. These early insights and observations may help inform the sites, HUD, and other stakeholders on practices that may be worth emulating and obstacles that may be encountered, as HUD continues to build and strengthen the intervention.

Program Model

Jobs Plus is a place-based program that is rooted and operationalized in a specific locale, to serve the needs of that particular population. The program is designed to help people living in public housing increase their levels of employment and earnings.

At its core, Jobs Plus is structured around three mutually reinforcing parts, all of which focus on improving residents' employment, earnings, and well-being:

1. **Employment-Related Services and Activities.** This component can include help with job searches, coaching to help residents adjust to the world of work, referrals to educational and training courses, subsidized supported work positions to help especially hard-to-employ residents make the transition to the world of work, and a range of support services (such as childcare) that make it easier for residents to work. Additionally, as a place-based initiative aiming to serve everyone in the housing development, the employment services are also intended to help people, who are already employed or who eventually become employed, stay in their jobs, advance to better jobs, and become reemployed if they lose their jobs. The program provides some services onsite, at a job center in the housing development, while others are available in the broader community. In contrast to the original demonstration, HUD's current Jobs Plus Pilot program places more emphasis on employment services and training that lead to advancement and career opportunities over time.
2. **Rent-Based Financial Incentives To Help "Make Work Pay."** To counter the extent to which higher earnings from work result in increases in rent, which could discourage work, the Jobs Plus rent-based incentive allows for families to see a higher net financial return from work. HUD's Jobs Plus Pilot program includes the Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard (JPEID), which offers a 100-percent disregard of incremental earned income for the entire period of the program and is available to all residents of the Jobs Plus development.
3. **Community Support for Work.** Inspired by a growing recognition of the importance of social networks and social capital, this component seeks to strengthen social ties and activities among residents to support job preparation and work efforts. Examples of mutual support could include everything from sharing information about available jobs to carpooling to work to watching after each other's children during different job shifts. Another function of the community support for work component is to propagate the message that "work pays" and that "employment goals are attainable," thereby creating an environment where the theme of work is more pervasive than it had been previously.

As a self-sufficiency initiative, a distinctive facet of Jobs Plus is its attempt to operate this multicomponent model at *saturation levels* within the target public housing developments—that is, not just target a small share of residents but, rather, everyone who lives in the development and is of working age and able to work. By bringing together the three mutually reinforcing components of the model, Jobs Plus seeks to boost employment levels in public housing communities that have high rates of joblessness, support those who are already working, and help those who become employed to stay employed.

Moreover, unlike other employment programs, the Jobs Plus employment services are uniquely situated to reap the benefits of being part of a *place-based* initiative, which could potentially include opportunities for staff to know the context in which participants live, to know their families, and to have informal interactions at the housing developments. Additionally, by being a place-based initiative, Jobs Plus offers the potential to provide continued support after residents find work. Whereas many traditional employment programs only provide assistance through job placement or perhaps provide retention services for up to 90 days after employment, Jobs Plus participants are eligible for program support as long as they live in the development (until the end of the Jobs Plus grant).

HUD’s current Jobs Plus Pilot program has made slight changes to the original model in an effort to incorporate lessons learned and adapt to new contexts and circumstances. One feature of the original demonstration that was not replicated in the current version was the “mandatory collaborative,” a feature of the model promoting governance, accountability, and support and that was intended to craft, fund, and operate this comprehensive initiative. Mandatory collaboratives in the original Jobs Plus sites included local public housing authorities, resident representatives, local human services agencies, and local workforce development agencies, which worked together and were accountable to one another. In the HUD replication, sites are encouraged to build local partnerships and develop governance structures to manage the collaboration with partners.

Evaluation

In 2015, HUD selected MDRC to lead the implementation evaluation of the scale-up effort. Jointly with the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities at Case Western Reserve University, the evaluation team is documenting the efforts of the first cohort of Jobs Plus grantees, including how they have begun to operationalize and implement Jobs Plus in their particular settings, the partnerships they have established, how their programs have matured over time, and the extent to which they have achieved saturation; that is, the extent to which all eligible residents living in the developments are exposed to and receive employment services, rent incentives, and community support for work (CSW). The evaluation will also examine participation outcomes and the cost of implementing Jobs Plus. The diverse characteristics of the sites offer a good opportunity to further understand the program’s operation in different environments. The evaluation will end in 2018.

The findings and observations in this first report are meant to characterize the early implementation experiences of the programs. The report draws on site visits and interviews that the research team conducted between August and October 2016, roughly 16 to 18 months after the grantees were selected to operate Jobs Plus. Programs had been in operation for roughly one

year—some a bit more, some less—at the time of the site visits. Quantitative data included in this report were reported to HUD by the sites from April 2015 through September 2016.

Key Findings

Within the first 18 months of followup, all nine sites had begun structuring their programs, building partnerships, and implementing the core components of the Jobs Plus model. While they continued to make refinements, the early implementation experiences of the nine Jobs Plus grantees suggest the following key findings.

Developing Partnerships

- All sites had begun to develop partnerships to implement Jobs Plus; however, they varied in terms of the types of partners involved, their roles in delivering Jobs Plus services, the value that they brought to the program, the formality of the partnerships, and the level of ongoing engagement of the partner organizations.

Partnerships are critical to running a successful Jobs Plus program, since each partner brings its own area of expertise to the program, and the program requires an array of partners to work with residents who may have multiple needs and barriers to employment. In addition to tapping into existing relationships, sites sought new organizations as partners to deliver services to residents. Some structured formal agreements with their partners and others kept the arrangements informal. Given the program’s focus on employment, most sites had developed partnerships with their local Workforce Investment Boards and education, training, and support services organizations but had not yet put in place direct relationships with employers and business-related organizations; this connection with the business community is even more important for the Jobs Plus programs that had yet to employ job developers, which would have been another way to connect with employers.

Delivery of Employment Services

- Employment services were more generic and not especially tailored to meet the specific needs and skills of individual participants. In addition, although staff are interested in preparing participants for career-path jobs, they have found this goal difficult to achieve.

All sites provide general pre-employment services such as job-readiness assessments, résumé writing assistance, and interview preparation. Job search assistance is offered in a variety of ways that can be found in most employment programs. In some sites, case managers post job lists in the main office so that residents can scan the list. When asked, case managers provide assistance with job searches, but for the most part participants conduct their own job searches. In this early period, a few sites had developed strong relationships with their workforce development agencies, but most sites had yet to begin working with job developers—either hired by the program or through partnerships—or otherwise engage employers to help identify career-path jobs or in-demand industries; rather, job searches tend to be for any jobs that are available, regardless of pay or career opportunity provided. Site-reported data covering July 2015 through September 2016, the early implementation period, indicate moderate levels of participation in employment services and relatively low levels of reported employment gains.

JPEID Implementation

- The JPEID has served to generate resident interest in Jobs Plus and getting residents connected to program services. However, many sites found it challenging to implement this component.

By disregarding any additional earned income from the rent calculation, the JPEID provides a generous financial incentive to “make work pay.” Staff responded positively to the JPEID and its potential to help recruit program participants, to motivate them to increase their earned incomes, and to help them make progress toward self-sufficiency. Staff, however, struggled with various aspects of implementing the JPEID component of Jobs Plus. They expressed confusion over *how* residents enroll to receive JPEID and *which* income sources are subject to the JPEID exemptions. Additionally, several sites struggled to develop data systems to track and report JPEID outcomes and to get the “buy-in” of property managers, who were critical to its implementation. In early 2017, HUD released extensive guidance to address many of these concerns. In addition, to address sites’ enrollment concerns, HUD sanctioned automatic enrollment for all residents at the site, dropping the requirement to enroll in JPEID and Jobs Plus separately. The ongoing implementation research will look at the extent to which the sites embrace this option.

Community Support for Work

- Grantees launched various types of discrete CSW activities, but most expressed a need for more clarity about what counts as CSW.

Community support for work intends to create “sustained support for work during and beyond the period of the Jobs Plus program” (HUD, 2014)—in other words, creating an environment where there is mutual support among residents to help each other become employed and stay employed. Despite the language that clearly describes the *goals* of CSW in HUD’s Notice of Funding Availability, expectations for exactly *how* to implement this component have been less clear. This elusiveness has contributed to a challenging dynamic in which most sites are grappling with how to define CSW activities. HUD, Jobs Plus PHAs, and other stakeholders are working to more clearly define the efforts to implement CSW and come to a clear agreement on how to operationalize and effectively measure outcomes. In early 2017, HUD released new guidance on what counts as a CSW activity.

- As intended, some sites are beginning to take a “universal” approach to implementing CSW, one that requires the commitment and engagement of all staff, residents, and partners (and not the sole responsibility of particular Jobs Plus staff members).

One facet of CSW is its central role in contributing to the Jobs Plus goal of saturation by infusing the entire public housing development with messages about the importance of work, the availability of employment, and the opportunity for support in obtaining it. Many sites had been relying on community coaches—residents of the developments hired to promote Jobs Plus and a “culture of work” and to facilitate mutual support—to carry this out. Over time, some sites began to operationalize CSW as an effort to establish a more holistic approach to surrounding residents with formal and informal supports. Conceived in this way, CSW becomes more universal, in that it is built into everything that everyone does and touches all aspects of the community, rather than being the responsibility of only certain members of the Jobs Plus staff. A recent HUD CSW

policy overview document for grantees also reflects this same orientation: “CSW is something that engages the entire public housing community” (HUD, 2016).

In addition, sites reported logistical challenges as they relate to operationalizing this component. Issues of trust and personal barriers also have surfaced that keep participants from engaging in activities related to Jobs Plus. For example, the perception of the community coaches as employees of the PHA (or a contracted organization) sometimes presented difficulties when it came to their ability to build trust or relationships with other residents.

Technical Assistance

- Overall, site program staff voiced the need for more frequent and concrete guidance and clearer program standards to guide their implementation of Jobs Plus.

In addition to funding the program, HUD provides technical assistance and support to sites, holds sites accountable for good performance, and ensures that sites are compliant with the grant requirements. HUD also provides feedback so sites can make corrections and continuous improvements to their program delivery. HUD staff provide some of this assistance directly, along with modest support from a technical assistance subcontractor. HUD liaisons make in-person visits and coordinate remotely with sites to support planning activities, to troubleshoot contractual or operational issues, and to offer general advice. The liaisons also hold standing monthly check-in meetings with sites by telephone, and HUD uses conferences and periodic webinars to provide guidance to the sites. While most sites reflected positively on their relationships with HUD liaisons and program management staff and appreciated the creativity and flexibility afforded by HUD during the startup phase, they also noted significant gaps in HUD guidance during the early startup phase.

HUD provided guidance in January 2016 encouraging, but not requiring, sites to dedicate 4 to 5 percent of their budgets to procure the services of technical assistance providers to help them effectively implement the Jobs Plus program. The final report will describe the way in which, if at all, sites sought out technical assistance and engaged providers.

Recommendations

The findings discussed in this executive summary suggest the following recommendations for program managers, practitioners, and HUD to consider:

- Sites might benefit from deeper, earlier, and more frequent technical assistance that is focused squarely on helping to strengthen implementation quality.

Some sites struggled to operationalize the more technical aspects of the model—for example, the JPEID—and to conceptualize CSW. Given some of the complexities, early stages of implementation of these Jobs Plus components might have benefited from timelier, more frequent, and more direct technical assistance guidance and support.

- To meet HUD’s goal that Jobs Plus be demand-driven—that is, informed and shaped by employers’ needs for individuals with certain skills to fill available jobs—sites ultimately need input from employers and business-oriented organizations that can help them understand which industries and occupations are in local demand. Although some sites receive this kind of input and information, many do not, and room exists for improvement at all sites.

This information could then help guide residents toward a focus on occupations for which they are more likely to be hired, hopefully at a better wage than what one site called “survival jobs” —entry-level jobs without much promise of advancement. To achieve this objective, sites would be best served by hiring job developers who have or can develop the necessary relationships with employers or by deepening their relationships with the local Workforce Investment Boards and workforce agencies, which can serve as intermediaries with employers, as well as a link to training, or both.

- Sites should strive to minimize residents’ confusion about enrolling in the JPEID. This effort requires that sites ensure that they are ready to implement JPEID and that property managers both understand and endorse it. They might also identify messaging about work incentives that appeal to those who are working and those who are not.

HUD’s provision for automatic enrollment, which was not yet in place at the time of the field research visits, offers one way to simplify the JPEID enrollment process. Jobs Plus staff should also ensure that JPEID messaging is both consistent and accurate. One way to do this is to designate certain individuals—perhaps the community coaches—as lead messengers for JPEID and provide them with additional training on the disregard. Staff reported that some residents, who were working before the launch of Jobs Plus, feel the JPEID is unfair to them, as their baseline rents were set higher than rents for those who began working after enrolling in Jobs Plus. Staff should clarify that those who are already working can still benefit if they increase their earnings through working more hours or increasing their wage rates, which may also be an incentive to get training to help them do so.

- HUD, Jobs Plus sites, and other stakeholders could enhance implementation by working collaboratively to define CSW efforts and coming to clear agreement on how to operationalize and measure outcomes effectively.

In line with the current direction that HUD offers, staff, residents, and partners should consider CSW through a universal lens, engaging a wider range of people to contribute to CSW efforts. Stronger resident engagement in the planning and execution of CSW efforts may be necessary to achieve sustained support for work within public housing communities beyond the grant period. Finally, creating bridges between residents and new social networks and career opportunities needs to be more concretely operationalized through strategic innovations. For example, in addition to bringing resources from the broader community *into* public housing developments, more opportunities should be sought for residents to engage in activities *outside* of the developments—for example, to attend offsite job fairs, workshops, and classes—where they can hopefully meet and network with people connected to employment.

The focus of this initial report is on elevating overall early startup experiences in the HUD Jobs Plus Pilot program evaluation, rather than exploring individual site-level experiences in depth. The second and final report for the evaluation, scheduled for mid-2018, which will look at the nine programs through late 2017, will describe longer-term implementation and how the programs mature over time, the extent to which they saturate the communities, and whether or not they take full advantage of the opportunities afforded them by being place based. The final report will also examine the costs of the initiative and draw lessons for future scale-up of the program.

Introduction

Public housing developments are among the most economically challenged communities in the United States. In fact, many public housing residents face substantial personal and other challenges, which could be barriers to employment and advancement. To help address this problem, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Rockefeller Foundation, and MDRC conceived Jobs Plus in the mid-1990s.⁶ The model encourages economic mobility by providing employment services, offering rent-based work incentives—so that earnings increases are not counted when determining rent—and building community support for work (CSW).

First put into practice in six cities from 1998 to 2003, Jobs Plus was replicated through the Social Innovation Fund (SIF) of the Corporation for National and Community Service in 2011 in the Bronx, New York, and in San Antonio, Texas.⁷ The City of New York expanded Jobs-Plus to seven additional locations in 2013. In 2015, it became part of federal housing policy when HUD launched another variation of the model to increase employment and earnings among public housing residents. Each replication effort made slight changes to the original model in an effort to incorporate lessons learned and adapt to new contexts and circumstances.

In 2015, HUD awarded \$24 million to nine public housing authorities (PHAs)—or the first cohort of grantees—that were selected to operate the model as part of HUD’s Jobs Plus Pilot Program, a scale-up and replication effort of the original Jobs Plus model.⁸ This report summarizes the startup experiences of those first nine sites. The early experiences of this cohort of HUD grantees are important, because they can be instructive to current and future housing authorities that operate this program.⁹ The original demonstration, which was the subject of a rigorous evaluation, found that program operators faced many daunting implementation challenges, and only the Jobs Plus developments that fully implemented all the components of the model saw the program boost annual earnings (Riccio, 2010).

To begin documenting HUD’s expansion—or *scale-up*—of Jobs Plus, this first report looks at the early startup phase, from April 2015 to October 2016, for the first cohort of nine sites and when their programs were in operation for roughly 1 year. The report examines their experiences launching Jobs Plus and the progress made getting staff in place, building partnerships, delivering services, and structuring the program on the ground during this initial roll-out period. These early insights and observations may help inform the sites, HUD, and other stakeholders on practices that may be worth emulating and obstacles that may be encountered as HUD continues

⁶ The original model was named “Jobs-Plus” (with a hyphen), but the current program being replicated by HUD is referred to as Jobs Plus (without the hyphen). This report uses the current treatment, Jobs Plus, for all iterations of the program.

⁷ The Social Innovation Fund targets public and private funds to expand effective solutions across three issue areas: economic opportunity, healthy futures, and youth development and school support.

⁸ See Bloom, Riccio, and Verma (2005) for a detailed description of the original Jobs-Plus model and its results based on a random assignment evaluation. Longer-term results are available in Riccio (2010). For more publications on Jobs Plus, see <http://www.mdrc.org/project/jobs-plus-community-revitalization-initiative-public-housing-families#related-content>.

⁹ In 2016, HUD awarded Jobs Plus funding to an additional six PHAs. To date, HUD has awarded approximately \$62 million to 24 PHAs to implement the Jobs Plus Pilot program. See Appendix A.

to build and strengthen the intervention. The report also examines key challenges and accomplishments and provides a starting point for a final implementation report on the sites included in this evaluation.

Jobs Plus and Its Evolution

The Original Model

In 1998, HUD and MDRC, with a consortium of public and private funders, sponsored the Jobs Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families as a place-based demonstration program designed to (1) help people living in public housing increase their levels of employment and earnings; (2) by doing so, help foster the emergence of a broader mix of incomes within those places; and (3) achieve improvements in residents' quality of life as a result of the gains in employment and earnings.¹⁰

At its core, Jobs Plus was—and continues to be—structured around three parts, all of which were focused on improving residents' employment, earnings, and well-being.

1. **Employment-related services and activities.** This component included services and activities such as help with job searches, coaching to help residents adjust to the world of work, referrals to vocational training (usually short term), high school equivalency and English as a Second Language courses, subsidized supported work positions to help especially hard-to-employ residents make the transition to the world of work, and a range of support services (such as childcare) that make it easier for residents to work. Additionally, as a place-based initiative aiming to serve everyone in the housing development, the employment services were also intended to help people who were already employed or who eventually became employed, including helping them stay on their jobs, advance to better jobs, and become reemployed if they lost their jobs. The program provided some services on site, at a job center in the housing development, whereas others were available in the broader community.
2. **Rent-based financial incentives to help “make work pay.”**¹¹ By reducing the extent to which higher earnings from work resulted in rent increases, which could discourage work, the rent-based incentive offered by Jobs Plus was designed to enable families to see a higher net financial return from work. In the original demonstration, the Jobs Plus programs either offered a flat rent—one that did not rise with household income—or an income-based rent set lower than the usual 30 percent of income stipulated by HUD.
3. **Community support for work.** Inspired by a growing recognition of the importance of social networks and social capital, this component sought to strengthen social ties and activities among residents to support their job preparation and work efforts. Examples of mutual support include everything from sharing information about available jobs to carpooling to work to watching after each other's children during different job shifts. Another function of the CSW component was to propagate the message that “work pays”

¹⁰ This description draws on previously published reports. See Blank and Wharton-Fields (2008); Bloom, Riccio, and Verma (2005); and Greenberg et al. (2015).

¹¹ The demonstration included safety-net provisions for residents who lost jobs (for example, the option for residents to revert from a Jobs Plus flat rent to the normal public housing income-based rent if they could no longer afford the flat rent). See Blank and Wharton-Fields (2008) for details.

and that “employment goals are attainable”—thereby creating an environment where the theme of work was more pervasive than it had been previously. CSW typically involves recruiting, training, and supervising a small group of residents who encourage their neighbors to use Jobs Plus services and to try to improve their employment situations. Residents who are selected for this role usually receive stipends as compensation.

A distinctive facet of Jobs Plus was its attempt to operate this multicomponent model at *saturation levels* within the target public housing developments—that is, not just target a small share of residents, but rather everyone who was working age and able to work. The designers of Jobs Plus believed that bringing together the three mutually reinforcing components of the model in one comprehensive program would be an effective way to boost employment levels in public housing communities with high rates of joblessness, support those who are already working, and help those who become employed to stay employed and advance.

Moreover, unlike other employment programs, the Jobs Plus employment services are uniquely situated to reap the benefits of a *place-based* initiative, which potentially include opportunities for staff to know the context in which participants live, know their families, and have informal interactions at the housing developments. Additionally, as a place-based initiative, Jobs Plus offers the potential to provide continued support after residents find work. Whereas many traditional employment programs only provide assistance through job placement or perhaps provide retention services for up to 90 days after employment, Jobs Plus participants are eligible for program support as long as they live in the development (until the end of the Jobs Plus grant).

Another feature of the demonstration was a component promoting governance, accountability, and support—the mandatory “collaborative”—which was intended to craft, fund, and operate this comprehensive initiative. Collaboratives in the sites where the program was implemented included local PHAs, resident representatives, local human services agencies, and local workforce development agencies, which all worked together and were accountable to one another.

The original Jobs Plus initiative operated from 1998 to 2003 and was the subject of a rigorous evaluation, where six public housing developments in six cities were chosen randomly and then were compared with similar developments, in the same cities, that did not participate in the program.¹² Results from this experiment showed that in the three sites where all three components of the model were in place, implemented properly, and sustained,¹³ residents earned 16 percent more per year than residents in comparison developments, an effect that endured for at least 7 years.¹⁴

¹² The six cities in the original Jobs-Plus demonstration were Baltimore, Maryland; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Dayton, Ohio; Los Angeles, California; Seattle, Washington; and St. Paul, Minnesota. These sites were also chosen through a national competition to participate in the demonstration.

¹³ Four of the six original Jobs Plus sites implemented programs of reasonable quality. In three of those four sites—Dayton, Los Angeles, and St. Paul—Jobs Plus had a positive effect on earnings. The fourth site, Seattle, also experienced earnings effects, but they disappeared when a federal HOPE VI renovation relocated residents.

¹⁴ The 7 years included 4 years of full-program operations, which followed a 2-year rollout period, plus a 3-year post-program period.

Initial Replication Efforts

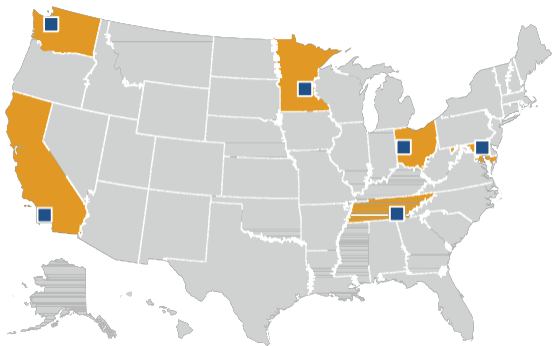
In 2011, the Mayor’s Fund to Advance New York City along with the New York City Center for Economic Opportunity launched the replication of Jobs Plus in San Antonio and the Bronx through the SIF. Under the SIF, Jobs Plus providers—the San Antonio Housing Authority (SAHA) and BronxWorks, a community organization in New York City—implemented the program in contexts that were different economically, institutionally, and organizationally from those in the original demonstration, resulting in some important implementation lessons (Greenberg et al., 2015). Figure 1 illustrates the evolution of Jobs Plus. Further, one of the program operators also had to modify the rent incentive component of the model. In the original demonstration, housing authorities had the ability to develop a variety of rent incentives, because they were all Moving to Work sites with the authority to do so.¹⁵ In the SIF version of Jobs Plus, BronxWorks was only able to use a preexisting HUD benefit known as the Earned Income Disregard (EID), which was limited in its ability to serve as an effective rent incentive.¹⁶ In contrast, SAHA, the other SIF Jobs Plus site, had Moving to Work status, and when it recognized the limitations of the EID it developed a modified version that, among other things, extended the benefit for a longer period. Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons, relatively low levels of participation still existed in the EID at SAHA (Greenberg et al., 2015).

¹⁵ Moving to Work is a demonstration for PHAs that, among other things, gives PHAs exemptions from many existing public housing and voucher rules and more flexibility with the use of federal funds; among the goals is allowing for the PHAs to design and test innovative strategies to help residents find employment and become self-sufficient.

¹⁶ The EID enables eligible public housing residents to receive a disregard of new wages from their rent calculations. The EID is limited to 2 years and decreases in value after the first year.

Figure 1. The Evolution of Jobs Plus

The Evolution of Jobs Plus



1990s

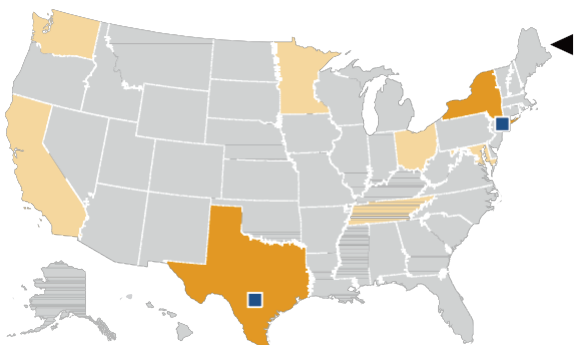
PROGRAM DEVELOPED

Jobs Plus was developed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), The Rockefeller Foundation, other private funders and family foundations, and MDRC to address the growing concentration of joblessness, underemployment, and poverty in public housing communities.

1998–2006

TESTED IN SIX CITIES

An MDRC study of six public housing authorities, located in different housing and labor markets, found that nondisabled and working-age residents in the three developments that fully adopted Jobs Plus earned 16 percent more than residents in comparison developments in the same cities.



2011

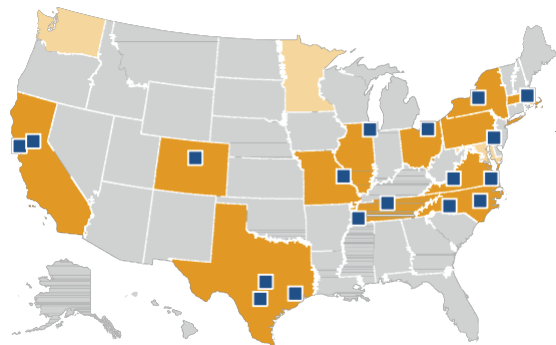
REPLICATED IN TWO MORE CITIES

The Mayor's Fund to Advance New York City and the New York City Center for Economic Opportunity used Social Innovation Fund money to replicate Jobs Plus in the Bronx and San Antonio. MDRC conducted an implementation study that offered analyses of program experiences and costs.

2013

EXPANDED IN NEW YORK CITY

The city of New York announced a \$24 million investment in Jobs Plus, increasing the program's reach into 23 of the city's public housing communities.



2015–2017

HUD LAUNCHES NATIONWIDE REPLICATION

HUD selected 24 housing authorities across the country for an expansion of Jobs Plus and is expected to select more locations for expansion in 2017.

MDRC will evaluate the federal implementation of Jobs Plus at nine sites through 2019.

Key findings from the SIF replication of Jobs Plus include—

- After a 9-month startup period, providers in the Bronx and in San Antonio were able to enroll substantial proportions of residents of very large housing developments, which represented a strong early indication of program saturation—that is, saturating the target population with services and activities related to the three Jobs Plus components.
- At the same time, providers found that the three components of Jobs Plus—and especially their integration and coordination with each other—were difficult to manage in practice. Both providers generally placed residents in low-wage work and struggled to find ways of helping residents who were already employed.
- Jobs Plus members used rent-based financial incentives very seldom, but these incentives were hard to implement and were also not as flexible as the incentives in the original Jobs Plus demonstration.

Building off the SIF replication experience, in 2013, New York City’s Human Resources Administration launched seven additional Jobs Plus programs across the city. These programs received a combined total of \$24 million over 3 years, 2013 to 2016, and they served 23 New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) developments across all five boroughs and aimed to place more than 4,400 NYCHA residents in jobs. This investment acknowledged the persistent need for and growing body of evidence backing the comprehensive employment services and support provided by Jobs Plus to the development’s residents.

HUD’s Scale-Up of Jobs Plus

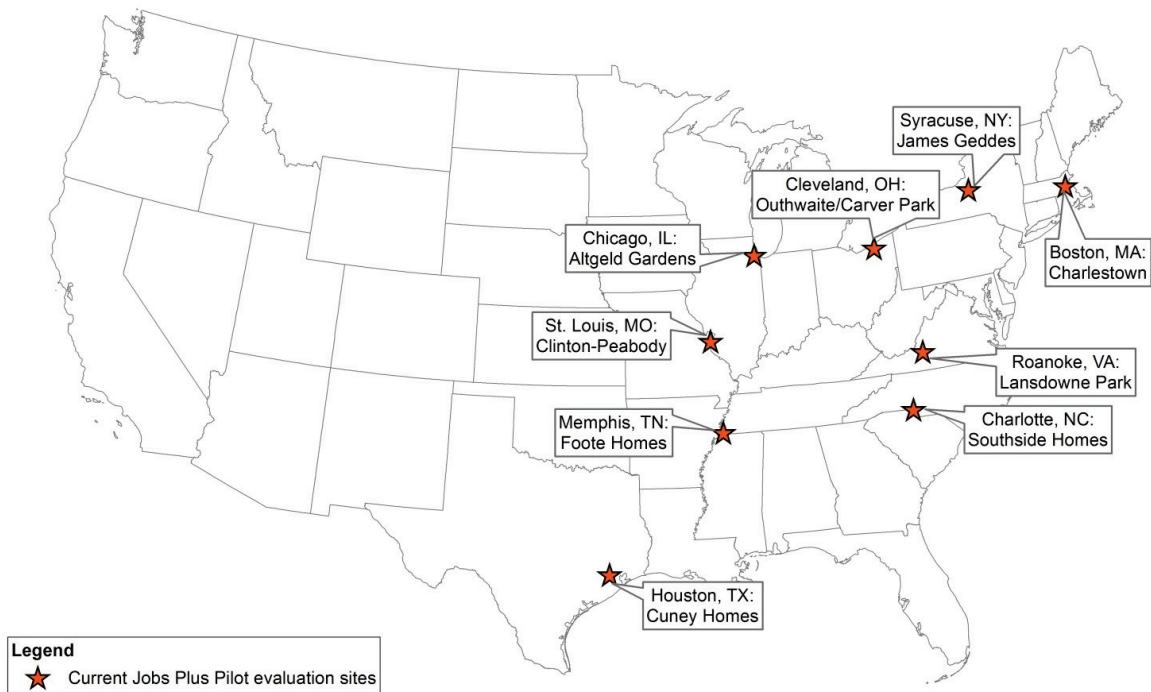
In 2014, HUD issued a Notice of Funding Availability (NOFA)¹⁷ to announce the availability of \$24 million for the Jobs Plus Pilot Program for Public Housing Agencies “to develop locally-based approaches to increase earnings and advance employment outcomes for Public Housing residents” (HUD, 2014: 1). Keeping with the original demonstration and the later SIF replication, the Jobs Plus Pilot Program includes three core components: employment-related services, financial incentives to promote work, and CSW. However, the financial incentive—the Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard (JPEID)—was simplified from the regular EID (as there is now a 100-percent disregard of incremental earned income for the entire period of the program) and made available to all enrolled residents of the Jobs Plus development. This iteration of Jobs Plus also emphasizes employment services that attempt not only to place residents in jobs, but also to provide training that leads to advancement and career opportunities over time.

In 2015, HUD announced the first cohort of Jobs Plus Pilot Program grantees (shown in Figure 2), the focus of this evaluation. Nine PHAs were selected and were awarded grants for a period of 4 years (April 2015 to March 2019): Boston, Massachusetts; Charlotte, North Carolina; Chicago, Illinois; Cuyahoga County, Ohio; Houston, Texas; Memphis, Tennessee; Roanoke, Virginia; St. Louis, Missouri; and Syracuse, New York. These PHAs were chosen because their proposals indicated that they had strengths, such as strong ties to community organizations, local employers, foundations, and citywide workforce agencies; local referral networks with community partners; streamlined and tailored hiring processes for local employers based on their

¹⁷ All references in this report to the “Jobs Plus NOFA” or the “NOFA” refer to the 2014 NOFA for the first nine sites funded to operate this program (HUD, 2014).

needs and open positions; and experience running adult education programs, lease-compliance programs, and other workforce and economic self-sufficiency programs to meet the needs of public housing residents. (HUD, 2014) The sites represent a wide diversity in terms of size, location, and other contextual factors, which offer a good opportunity to further understand the program’s operation in different environments. For example, they range in size from 240 to more than 1,500 residents who are working age and able to work, and their employment rates range from 21 percent to 49 percent as shown in Table 1.¹⁸

Figure 2. Public Housing Authorities and Developments in the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation



¹⁸ As defined in the NOFA, the target population includes work-able adults—that is, residents between the ages of 18 and 64 who are mentally and physically able to become employed.

Table 1. Selected Characteristics of Sites in the HUD Jobs Plus Pilot Program Evaluation

City (Public Housing Development)	Development Characteristics			Local Economic Context	
	Number of Units	Residents Able To Work	Employment Rate (%)	Employment Rate (%)	Living Wage (\$)
Boston, MA (Charlestown)	1,094	1,016	49	68	14.11
Charlotte, NC (Southside Homes)	381	331	21	72	10.53
Chicago, IL (Altgeld Gardens)	1,264	1,352	44	66	22.78
Cuyahoga, OH (Outhwaite/Carver Park)	1,462	1,584	21	59	9.61
Houston, TX (Cuney Homes)	553	423	39	68	10.5
Memphis, TN (Foote Homes)	414	406	22	64	10.77
Roanoke, VA (Lansdowne Park)	300	288	32	64	10.02
St. Louis, MO (Clinton-Peabody)	358	240	47	65	16.58
Syracuse, NY (James Geddes)	474	448	25	57	12.77

Source: Data reported by the PHAs to the evaluation team in December 2015

In addition to funding the program, HUD provides technical assistance and support to the sites, holds the sites accountable for good performance, and also ensures that the sites are compliant with the grant requirements. HUD also provides feedback so that sites can make corrections and continuous improvements to program delivery. HUD staff provide some of this assistance directly, along with modest support from a technical assistance subcontractor. This report documents the early technical assistance that sites received and the extent to which it addressed the startup needs of the grantees.

About the Evaluation

In 2015, HUD selected MDRC to lead the implementation evaluation of the scale-up of Jobs Plus. The MDRC-led evaluation team includes the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities at Case Western Reserve University. The research team is charged with documenting the programs established by the first cohort of nine Jobs Plus Pilot Program grantees and laying the groundwork for a future outcomes evaluation.¹⁹ Specifically, this first phase of the evaluation will describe the set of activities and partnerships the grantees establish to operate their Jobs Plus programs. Taking a comparative approach, the evaluation is designed to speak to the following types of questions: How do the grantees start up and operationalize Jobs Plus in their particular settings? What types of local and federal support do they receive to

¹⁹ Additional cohorts of grantees selected to operate Jobs Plus are not part of the implementation evaluation. At the time of this writing, HUD released a request for proposals for an outcomes evaluation, which will include all the sites selected by HUD to implement Jobs Plus.

launch the programs? To what extent is saturation achieved at these sites—that is, do all eligible residents receive employment services, rent incentives, and CSW? What early outcomes are achieved? What are the costs of implementing Jobs Plus?

The evaluation uses a mixed-methods, comparative approach to document and analyze implementation strategies and outcomes related to the model’s three components. The findings and observations in this first report are meant to characterize the early implementation experiences of the programs. The report draws on a range of data collection activities undertaken by the research team, including visits to all nine sites, in-depth interviews with key PHA staff and partner organizations, focus groups with participants, observations of practice, and review of aggregate quantitative data that the sites supplied to HUD.²⁰

As shown in Box 1, site visits and interviews were conducted between August and October 2016, roughly 16 to 18 months after the selection of grantees to operate Jobs Plus; programs had been in operation for roughly 1 year—some a bit more, some less—at the time of the site visits. The sites reported the quantitative data included in this report to HUD from April 2015 through September 2016.

Box 1. Key Dates for This Early Startup Report on Jobs Plus

- April 2015: HUD announces the selection of the first cohort of Jobs Plus grantee sites.
- June 2015: HUD convenes Cohort 1 grantees for Jobs Plus conference in Washington, D.C.
- July 2015 to December 2015: Sites begin enrolling residents into Jobs Plus activities.
- July to August 2015: HUD conducts initial visits to Cohort 1 grantees.
- March 2016: HUD convenes Cohorts 1-2 grantees for Jobs Plus conference in Washington, D.C.
- August to October 2016: Evaluation team conducts site visits to Cohort 1 Jobs Plus grantee.

²⁰ The Jobs Plus grantees are required to submit quarterly reports to HUD by drawing on data from their property management and case management information systems, their accounting systems, and their Public and Indian Housing Information Center data systems. The data for the reporting period covered in this report are not fully fact-checked, and therefore, are used selectively throughout this report. (HUD technical assistance staff were not interviewed, and their perspectives are not reflected in this report.)

Report Structure

This report highlights early operational and startup experiences across the nine sites, capturing program activities in roughly the first 18 months following award notification. As an early look, its goal is to draw out implementation insights from the startup period and consider the extent to which sites are beginning to implement the model as intended. Because Jobs Plus is an ambitious federal initiative still in the early stages of operation, it is important to assess and contrast the strategies that sites use and the choices they make toward becoming fully operational.

The report begins by examining sites' staffing strategies, the support provided by HUD and the technical assistance provider, and the development of service partnerships. It then turns to how sites conceptualized and started to implement the three components of Jobs Plus: employment services, the rent-based financial incentive to promote work, and CSW. The discussions of each of these components also include recommendations for practice. The report concludes by looking forward, identifying primary upcoming evaluation activities. In the end, the success of Jobs Plus will depend on the extent to which the grantees are able to operate and effectively deliver all three parts of the model at saturation levels and integrate them well. A final report, slated for 2018, will speak more definitively to the extent to which the grantees were able to replicate the model and deliver the Jobs Plus program as expected.

Staffing, Technical Assistance, and Partnerships

Much is involved and at stake as Jobs Plus programs begin to expand, given the effort required to achieve the model's ambitious goals—leveraging the capacities of multiple housing authority stakeholders and service partners in support of a multipronged program effort to saturate a housing development with activities and supports.²¹ Past iterations of Jobs Plus have shown that programs often needed 1 to 2 years to reach operating scale (Bloom, Riccio, and Verma, 2005; Greenberg et al., 2015). In the original demonstration, the model development and implementation process took about 2 years, and its replication during the SIF intervention underwent a startup period of about 9 months, with improvement often noted over time (Bloom, Riccio, and Verma, 2005; Greenberg et al., 2015). Sites in the Jobs Plus Pilot Program had 6 months to start up operations and begin serving residents.

Program staff working to launch Jobs Plus often faced numerous challenges typical for large, new initiatives, including but not limited to procuring necessary physical space, recruiting, training, and retaining staff, launching program marketing and outreach campaigns, establishing data systems, and building working service partnerships. The experience of rolling out Jobs Plus in each site was also facilitated by strengths that were specific to the stakeholders and communities involved, such as experience operating programs for similar populations of assisted households.

Staffing the Program

Hiring a program director and deciding whether to operate Jobs Plus case management in-house (chosen by four sites) or to contract with another organization to run this major feature of the program (chosen by the remaining five sites) were critical steps in the startup of Jobs Plus operations. For sites operating Jobs Plus in house, the recruitment and deployment of staff in support of the programmatic components of the model was the next priority. These staff included *case managers*, who are expected to link residents with employment-related services and other community services; *community coaches*, who are residents of the developments hired to promote Jobs Plus and a culture of work in the developments; and *job developers*, who are expected to link residents with available jobs in the community.

Given the multiple aims of Jobs Plus, staffing the program with workers who possess the skills and aptitude necessary to succeed can be difficult. The program must persuade residents with different interests and needs to participate in Jobs Plus. Case managers are responsible for assessing and screening participants for needs across employment and other domains and for connecting them successfully to services that can meet those needs. All staff—in particular the community coaches, who are tasked with promoting a work-positive environment within the Jobs Plus developments—must connect with the Jobs Plus target population in proactive and creative ways to begin the work of delivering services at saturation levels.

Housing authorities took a variety of approaches to hiring case management staff. Some recruited case managers from existing housing authority staff, and others hired new staff or contracted with outside agencies. Although program directors from some sites characterized the initial staffing process as smooth, others reported delays or difficulty recruiting qualified

²¹ Stakeholders include, but are not limited to, housing authority management, property management, case managers, and service providers.

case management staff. Institutions with the ability to staff Jobs Plus positions from existing housing authority personnel appear to have had an early advantage in staffing quickly. However, one site specifically sought to hire staff from the outside in order to gain external expertise.

A few sites experienced turnover among case management staff during the first year of operation; and the circumstances varied, in a few cases attrition was attributed to poor employee fit. Some program directors spoke of a certain benefit to staffing Jobs Plus with employees who had experience working in public housing contexts or in low-income communities. One program director remarked that she sought to recruit a job developer who could “feel the heart of the community.”

Attrition among community coaches also had already occurred at the time of the field research visits in 2016 or was expected soon. However, the nine sites differed in whether these positions were permanent staff or were envisioned primarily as a work experience opportunity for individuals in the housing developments, and some turnover occurred when staff advanced into better jobs or left to pursue further education. Some sites indicated that their conceptions of an ideal fit for the community coach role were still evolving.

Around the time of the field research visits, roughly 1 year into operation, most program directors expressed comfort with the staff in place and overall staffing models. Some sites had recently added or were contemplating adding new case management positions in order to increase service delivery capacity, as caseloads began to grow and the needs of participants were better understood.

Development of Program Services

The core mandate of Jobs Plus to serve all nonelderly residents within a public housing development who are able to work (the saturation idea) requires the design and maintenance of service pathways to meet the diverse needs of this population. Residents may have vastly different barriers, skill levels, expectations, and objectives in seeking connections to the workforce, requiring Jobs Plus to be in a position to connect them to programs that can provide a wide array of resources and services.

Many program directors and case managers described service flows and partner relationships that were evolving as the program matured, although the extent to which service offerings were being refined varied greatly by site. In addition to the services offered directly by the Jobs Plus program, many staff indicated that the program was increasingly connected to external services to best respond to residents’ needs.

By mid-2016, most sites were building modestly on the service relationships that existed before the launch of Jobs Plus. Some sites prioritized enrollment into Jobs Plus during their early startup period, including a primary focus on ensuring that individuals received the JPEID, and only later began investing effort in developing service delivery pathways. In one site, staff rationalized that the first program year would be devoted to developing relationships with residents, and the second year would bring a focus on building on those connections and placing residents into a variety of services.

Prior experience with self-sufficiency programs may have advantaged some sites during planning and early implementation, as they could borrow elements from these programs in designing operations for Jobs Plus. In fact, many staff framed Jobs Plus in relation to other self-

sufficiency programs offered by housing authorities, such as the Family Self-Sufficiency program,²² and some housing authorities delivering Jobs Plus services in house described modeling service delivery procedures and tools on these existing programs. For example, some sites described developing Jobs Plus resident assessments from assessments used in other programs. At one site, case conferencing for Jobs Plus participants—that is, meetings of staff to discuss the particular situations of individual residents, including their challenges and the services provided—included representatives from other housing authority programs to avoid service duplication.

Internal Coordination and Program Infrastructure

Saturating a development with comprehensive employment services, work-promoting activities, and a rent-based work incentive program requires coordination efforts beyond the scope of typical PHA program management and involves multiple administrative units at the housing agencies. About a year into Jobs Plus operations (that is, a year after the end of the 6-month startup period), program directors described several approaches to improving communication and coordination with internal stakeholders. Some sites hold standing Jobs Plus coordination meetings with all stakeholders—including housing authority management, property management, and case managers—with conferencing on resident cases routinely on the agendas, whereas other sites relied on more informal, as-needed coordination.

Although the involvement of housing authority senior management was characterized as supportive in most sites, program directors at a few sites expressed a desire for more active involvement of housing authority management in setting program strategy and facilitating both internal and external partnerships. Some program staff were uncertain about whether housing authority management had any role in Jobs Plus beyond monitoring. Along these lines, housing authority management in one site aspired to make time to become more involved in and aware of the day-to-day operations of Jobs Plus.

Many sites described challenges or delays launching new or customizing existing data systems to track and report on Jobs Plus enrollment and service participation, and some sites reported significant work remaining to deploy those systems.²³ Some sites used shared spreadsheets or other manual data-sharing methods for recording participant case notes and participation activity across service providers at the time of the evaluation team visit, although sites were working toward implementing case management systems dedicated exclusively to Jobs Plus. Jobs Plus programs that faced reporting challenges described the effort of quarterly reporting to HUD on program activity in costly terms. One site described a week-long exercise in “hair pulling” each quarter to compile aggregate program activity reports from various data sources. Another site reported that inadequate reporting capabilities led HUD to question the accuracy of their data. In contrast, sites that were able to deploy dedicated case management systems spoke favorably of

²² HUD’s Family Self-Sufficiency program provides referrals to services to help HUD-assisted families become self-sufficient and reduce dependency on public assistance and rental subsidies. To provide an incentive to increase earned income, any increases in the family’s rent as a result of increased earned income during the family’s participation in the program results in a credit to an interest-bearing escrow account that is established for the family. Once a family graduates from the program, they may access the escrow and use it for any purpose.

²³ Sites are required to submit a quarterly report to HUD that covers site data elements such as demographics, education and training participation, job outcomes, educational advancement, financial literacy activities, support services receipt, JPEID enrollment, and activities related to CSW.

those systems and their effect on day-to-day operations. Rather than having to manually collect information about participants' activities from multiple service providers, case managers at these sites could access all information about services provided to residents in a single system, which eased reporting and monitoring burdens.

Technical Assistance Structure

Given the challenges inherent to Jobs Plus startup, sites often required external supports and guidance to help them conceptualize and operationalize the program model. Following award notification in April 2015, HUD provided various supports to the sites as they worked to start and scale up operations. Several staff members from HUD's Office of Public and Indian Housing were designated as site liaisons, tasked with administering grant oversight and delivering technical assistance to the sites. Each site worked with HUD staff to propose action plans defining objectives and outcomes during the 4-year grant period for each program intervention. Additionally, HUD provided guidance in January 2016 encouraging, but not requiring, sites to dedicate 4 to 5 percent of their budgets to procure the services of technical assistance providers to help them effectively implement the Jobs Plus program.

Each site's HUD liaison made in-person visits during the second half of 2015, which served to mark the transition from a planning phase to the beginning of program operations. During this period, HUD liaisons also communicated regularly with sites by phone to support planning activities, to troubleshoot contractual or operational issues, and to offer general advice. The liaisons also held standing monthly check-in meetings with sites by telephone.

To assist with managing and overseeing the Jobs Plus sites and their performance, HUD procured technical assistance services from Abt Associates Inc. Although Abt Associates' staff periodically joined standing site check-in meetings with some Jobs Plus sites, their technical assistance role did not assume individual, one-on-one coaching with sites. Rather, their main role was to support HUD by creating program metrics, developing data collection tools, and drafting guidance documents for the sites. Abt Associates also helped to coordinate and support the annual Jobs Plus conferences and convene periodic cross-site webinars. These included cross cutting topics, such as implementing CSW, data collection, and data reporting. A few Jobs Plus staff members found the webinars helpful, stating that they served as an occasional forum across all nine sites for discussion of discrete topics. However, many interviewees remarked that the webinars occurred infrequently, could not recall the content covered in these sessions, or did not find them helpful for their needs.

HUD also used annual meetings, such as the Jobs Plus grantee conferences in June 2015 and March 2016 in Washington, D.C., to bring together site management and staff. The conferences included presentations and discussions on the Jobs Plus model, networking sessions, and workshops devoted to specific facets of Jobs Plus; workshops included creating trust and organizing within resident communities, serving residents via Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs), and managing partnerships. Impressions of the 2016 grantee conference among Jobs Plus staff were generally positive. Participants seemed to value the opportunity to interact in person, meet other practitioners implementing the program, and share perspectives and discuss common questions.

Most site staff also reflected positively on their relationships with HUD liaisons and program management staff, suggesting that the support and assistance were welcome, both during site visits and on an ongoing basis. Sites often praised HUD's suggestions for improving certain

program practices, such as strengthening a resident orientation in certain ways. A few Jobs Plus staff appreciated the “creativity and flexibility” afforded by HUD during the startup phase, with one staff member suggesting that HUD was “helping us by allowing us to be a true pilot.”

However, site staff also expressed a desire for more concrete guidance and clearer program standards during the early startup phase. One site, for example, shared the impression that HUD’s technical assistance was more focused on compliance with the grant requirements than on improving program implementation. Several sites seemed to expect that they would receive more direct technical assistance. Subsequent sections of this report describe some challenges that sites experienced operationalizing the more technical aspects of the model—for example, the JPEID—and conceptualizing CSW, where early implementation might have benefited from more timely, more frequent, and more direct technical assistance guidance and support.

Collaboration and Partnerships

Partnerships are critical to running a successful Jobs Plus program, because each partner brings its own area of expertise to the program, and the program requires an array of partners to work with residents who may have multiple needs and barriers to employment. When working with such a population, a broad array of services is necessary to move participants into work, and these services can best be provided through partnerships with organizations that have them available. According to the NOFA, a successful Jobs Plus program—

... is collaboratively designed and implemented by high-performing local housing authorities, residents of public housing developments, Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs) and American Job Centers (also known as One Stop Career Centers), local businesses and employers, and other organizations that provide supportive services within that community. Other suggested partners include higher education institutions, philanthropic organizations, human service agencies, vocational rehabilitation agencies, business-related and other nonprofit organizations, and community and faith based organizations. (HUD, 2014: 2)

Elsewhere in the NOFA, guidelines provide a list including some of the same suggested partners, omitting others (like business-related organizations), and adding some different kinds of organizations to be included in the partnerships. This list of partners is much more expansive than the types of partners involved in the original Jobs Plus demonstration’s collaborative.

As discussed in the following section, within the early implementation followup period (roughly the first year), all sites had developed partnerships to implement the Jobs Plus program; however, the partnerships varied in terms of the types of partners involved, their roles in delivering Jobs Plus services, the value that they brought to the program, the formality of the partnerships, and the level of ongoing engagement of the partner organizations. Most sites developed partnerships with their local WIBs and a variety of education, training, and support services organizations. Direct relationships with employers and business-related organizations were missing from most partnerships, which is discussed in the following sections. This was especially problematic, because most Jobs Plus programs also did not employ job developers, which would have been one way to establish relationships with employers.

Strategies Used To Develop Partnerships

Jobs Plus implementers made decisions about partnerships based on a combination of factors, including previous history of collaboration, alignment of services provided with perceived Jobs

Plus goals, the perceived need for those services in the development, and the perceived capacity of the partner. All sites relied on existing partnerships that the PHAs had developed over the years. For instance, Syracuse partnered with an organization with which it had more than a decade-long relationship to provide case management for the program. Similarly, in St. Louis, an employment and training agency, which was contracted to implement and manage the Jobs Plus program, had worked with the PHA under a HOPE VI grant.²⁴ In fact, it was the partner agency's leadership that brought the Jobs Plus NOFA to the attention of the PHA, and it was the partner agency that put together the proposal.

In some cases, like in Roanoke and Charlotte, in addition to tapping into existing relationships, new organizations were sought as partners to meet the perceived service needs of residents. In Roanoke, for example, program implementers conducted a pre-enrollment survey to learn about the most pressing needs of residents and guided their decisions to engage partners based on these needs. Many sites developed relationships with multiservice agencies, childcare centers, and agencies offering legal and health services to be able to provide an array of support services to residents. Several sites sought new partnerships once the program was under way, and staff learned through interactions with residents that residents had a need for a particular type of service.

Many sites sought partnerships that would leverage other funding streams that could be used to benefit residents. For example, many sites were able to refer residents to local WIB programs that are supported through Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act funds. Other partners brought other types of resources directly to Jobs Plus participants; for example, the Center for Community Alternatives (CCA) in Syracuse, which was subcontracted by the Syracuse Housing Authority to provide case management, has a legal clinic that offers services to individuals with criminal backgrounds. Still other partners made in-kind donations for events organized by the PHA, such as back-to-school events or health fairs. Implementers indicated that onsite services were particularly desirable. Onsite services are easier for residents to access, which is especially important for sites with little public transportation. Many interviewees valued being able to refer public housing residents to services such as childcare, legal services, financial literacy classes, and the like.

Although sites had a broad array of education, training, and support services partners, few had yet to involve employer or business-oriented partners, despite the NOFA's suggestion that such partners be included. Most sites also did not employ or connect with job developers at external agencies, although the NOFA suggested that they should. There are a number of possible reasons for this relative lack of emphasis on developing an employer-facing feature of Jobs Plus.

- The PHAs' general orientation is to focus on residents and their barriers more than on employers and their skill needs.
- The sites were relying on the WIBs and American Job Centers to make these employer connections, given that the PHAs did not have experience working directly with employers.
- Connecting with employers and businesses was just a lower priority within the relatively short time frame that sites had to get Jobs Plus up and running.

²⁴ HOPE VI was established to eradicate severely distressed public housing and to revitalize public housing communities through physical improvements, management improvements, and social and community services to address residents' needs.

Given that sites are still in the early period of program implementation, they may yet develop these relationships. The final report on Jobs Plus will explore this aspect of program implementation more closely.

Though some sites did have training partners that had connections with employers, and most sites had relationships with their local WIBs, it is not clear yet whether or to what extent these connections facilitated employer input into the Jobs Plus programs. The lack of sufficient connections with employers and business-oriented organizations roughly 1 year into program implementation may have hindered the sites' ability to fulfill a major goal stated in the NOFA—

These grants will employ several principles of the President's Job Driven training checklist to ensure that public housing residents are connected to a program that is using evidence-based practices that work for job seekers and employers. (HUD, 2014: 2)

Those principles included using labor market data to inform employment services, promoting career pathways—"a seamless progression across work-based training and education"—and incorporating work experiences such as on-the-job training, internships, and apprenticeships. Without solid employer partnerships, either directly or through local WIBs, workforce agencies, or other partners, it is likely that the Jobs Plus programs were not as driven by local employer demand as intended during the early stages of implementation and that career pathway and work experience components were as yet underdeveloped.

Types of Partnerships and Roles

Although Jobs Plus programs were expected to develop partnerships to deliver the services that would best meet participants' needs, HUD gave sites the flexibility about the types of partners to involve and the types of arrangements or agreements to develop with those partners. This flexibility contrasts sharply with the original Jobs Plus demonstration, which called for mandatory partners in each site's collaborative. A mandatory collaborative comprising government agencies brings with it a certain level of accountability from each agency. In the absence of mandatory partners and a formal collaborative leadership structure, and with a mix of multiple public and private partners of all sizes and with different types of partnership agreements, the sites in the current Jobs Plus Pilot were more challenged to hold partners accountable for delivering the expected Jobs Plus services.

The level of formal arrangements that the Jobs Plus Pilot PHAs had with partners varied widely by site. Four kinds of partnerships were observed, and they differed in their level of formality: (1) contractual partnerships in which funding was passed through for delivered services (this could involve a partner executing a core Jobs Plus function, such as providing case management or a complementary function, such as providing an English as a Second Language class or a specific training program onsite); (2) less formal partnerships based on mutual agreements via memoranda of understanding (MOUs); (3) referral partnerships; and (4) ad hoc partnerships.

Five sites contracted key components of Jobs Plus to an external agency. In all five cases, the partner had worked with the PHA in the past and was perceived as having the capacity to undertake the work and a level of expertise that the PHA did not have. In Memphis and Syracuse, for instance, the PHAs contracted with external organizations to provide all the Jobs Plus case management services. Given that these partners undertook a key aspect of the

implementation of the program, these kinds of partnerships required constant communication, extensive levels of coordination with the PHA, and involvement of partners in some aspects of Jobs Plus program decisionmaking.

Some PHAs developed MOUs with external organizations with the intention of gaining priority access to services for residents or establishing more formalized collaborations in providing services for residents. Although the MOU increased levels of communication and coordination in some cases relative to more informal partnerships without MOUs, with perhaps a few exceptions—notably Boston—the MOUs did not lead to stronger partner relationships, priority treatment of residents, or coordination of their service delivery.

All sites developed informal relationships with agencies to which Jobs Plus could refer residents for services. Referral partners varied in terms of the level of coordination between PHA implementers and the partner. In some cases, like in Charlotte, a childcare partner served as a liaison between residents and childcare providers and helped verify and process residents' childcare subsidies. In other cases, like in Syracuse, case managers referred Jobs Plus members to the WIB, but no close communication or coordination existed between the Jobs Plus case manager and WIB staff.

Finally, in some cases, the PHAs developed more ad hoc relationships with external organizations to bring specific information about available services to events or to receive donations for events. Ongoing field research will continue to examine the results of these partnerships and whether program operators found some arrangements more beneficial than others for programs and participants.

Partner Engagement and Dynamics

Sites often found it challenging to maintain a high level of engagement from partners. In some sites, implementers held regular meetings with partners to provide updates on the program, learn about new services that partners were providing, and in some cases request advice from partners about the direction of the program. In Syracuse, partner organizations served as a formal advisory board to the program. As described by one member, monthly meetings helped partners open up to and discuss new ideas and be “in the know” about what was going on in the community. However, many Jobs Plus staff noted that not having contractual agreements or funds to entice partners made it difficult to engage them during the duration of the program or to expect that partners would tailor their programs to the needs of residents. Contractual agreements and resource sharing seemed to be most effective in promoting continued engagement and communication.

At two sites, misunderstandings about HUD's grant award process and the partners' expected roles in Jobs Plus led to unanticipated tensions. In both cases, the partners were involved in the drafting of the Jobs Plus proposal, which created the expectation that they would automatically be the key partners for their respective projects. In fact, it was the leadership of one partner that brought the Jobs Plus Notice of Funding Availability to the attention of the PHA, and the leadership of that partner expected to receive the HUD funds directly. However, HUD required that contractual agreements with partners undergo a competitive bidding process. This situation created some tension, as the partners had to compete for roles in the project and for funds they had helped secure. The early misunderstandings led to tensions that persisted into the early implementation of that site's program.

Some agencies that were contracted for services have in turn subcontracted parts of their services. In Syracuse, CCA subcontracted with an agency to provide management information system services. The subcontractor provided expertise in developing a case management system that both CCA and the PHA adopted to track residents, their needs, and progress in the program. A similar arrangement took place in Cuyahoga, where a financial literacy partner subcontracted with another agency to offer one-on-one assistance for residents interested in starting a small business. In both of these cases, the subcontracting resulted in a benefit to the program and enhancement of services for residents.

Considerations for Staffing, Technical Assistance, and Building and Maintaining Partnerships

The experiences thus far of the Jobs Plus sites suggest some important lessons and modifications for consideration.

- Program managers might want to plan for the possibility of increasing Jobs Plus staff in year 2, as more residents get involved with the program. Early rollout and implementation experiences should enable program managers to hire staff who have the right set of skills to meet those needs.
- Sites might benefit from deeper, earlier, and more frequent technical assistance that is focused squarely on helping them strengthen implementation quality.
- For Jobs Plus to be demand driven—that is, informed and shaped by employers’ needs for individuals with certain skills to fill available jobs—sites ultimately need input from employers and business-oriented organizations that can help them understand which industries and occupations are in local demand. This information could then help guide residents toward a focus on occupations for which they are more likely to be hired, hopefully at a better wage than what one site called “survival jobs”—entry-level jobs without much promise for advancement. Although some sites receive this kind of input and information, many do not, and room exists for improvement at all sites. To achieve this objective, sites would be best served by hiring job developers who have or can develop the necessary relationships with employers, deepening relationships with local WIBs and workforce agencies, which can serve as intermediaries with employers, as well as a link to training, or both.
- PHAs might benefit from more formal contracts with partners that can provide key services, such as training. Formal contracts may help ensure that essential partners are committed to the success of the program and that program components are delivered as expected. Implementing more formal contracts would be difficult to achieve, however, under the current NOFA guidelines for partnerships, which require partners to provide matching funds or in-kind services. Additionally, formal contracts currently require a competitive procurement process, which would further complicate the process of establishing partnerships if they were to be contract-based. For future iterations of Jobs Plus, the advantages and disadvantages of these various types of partnership arrangements should be weighed to determine which types would be most beneficial to the Jobs Plus programs.
- Sites might benefit from developing formal advisory boards for the program that comprise the principal service partners and local employer partners; this arrangement

could ensure that the program adapts as necessary to changes in local labor market conditions and remains demand-driven. Advisory board members need to be key partners that are not only expected to provide services to the program but that also stand to benefit from the relationship. For example, they might gain access through board involvement to information about other activities in the community that could have an effect on their own programs.

- Finally, sites should strive to maintain open communication with partners, manage expectations about roles, and help partners stay focused on the program mission.

Delivery of the Jobs Plus Employment Component

As is clear from the name Jobs Plus, employment is the program's main focus, and employment services are a key element. The Jobs Plus NOFA states—

The purpose of the Jobs Plus Pilot program is to develop locally-based, job-driven approaches to increase earnings and advance employment outcomes through work readiness, employer linkages, job placement, educational advancement technology skills, and financial literacy for residents of public housing. (HUD, 2014: 2)

This section explores how well the Jobs Plus sites understood what they were expected to deliver in terms of employment services, what they prioritized during this early period of implementation, which kinds of services they provided, early take-up of services, and some of the challenges they faced. It shows that—

- The array of employment services provided is generally similar among sites. They tend mostly to be job preparation and job search services, along with some occupational skills training.
- For the most part, the employment services do not yet seem to be rooted in local labor market data or to be employer-driven, although these expectations are stated in the NOFA.
- Employment services are not especially individualized to meet the specific needs and skill levels of each participant. Although some sites have taken steps to customize their approach to working with participants, most sites tend to take the same approach with all participants—for example, by referring all participants to a similar set of available services. This approach is likely the result of several factors, including a general lack of assessment, partnerships that make a particular (and limited) set of services available, and the sites' overall approach to case management.
- There seems to be an interest among most sites in preparing participants for living-wage employment and creating opportunities for advancement, as specified in the NOFA. To achieve this goal, two sites in particular emphasized training and developed partnerships to deliver training and advancement services.
- Creating opportunities for more career-oriented jobs presents a number of challenges for implementers, including those related to—
 - Program requirements and time commitment.
 - Participants' expectation of being placed into a job after training.
 - Creating partnerships and ensuring accountability.
 - Funding restrictions.
- There is a tension between sites' interest in promoting career-oriented, living-wage jobs, which can include an investment of time spent in training, and residents' need for immediate employment. Some sites responded to these dual needs by developing plans to help residents find immediate job placements while continuing to work with them on skill upgrades that would lead to better employment opportunities later. Future research

will explore whether participants in fact achieved these skill upgrades and/or obtained better employment, and findings will be included in the final report on Jobs Plus.

- Barriers to employment that residents face are not unusual among low-income, low-skilled individuals who tend to be served by similar employment programs. Such barriers include limited literacy and math skills; lack of adequate childcare and transportation; having a criminal record; and substance abuse, health, and mental health issues. The sites are trying to address these challenges through a variety of strategies, discussed in the following sections.

Goals of Jobs Plus Employment Services

The Jobs Plus NOFA set HUD's expectations for delivering employment-related services. In addition to the pre-employment services that employment programs typically offer, including career exploration, job-readiness training, and job search and placement assistance, the NOFA indicated that Jobs Plus programs should also provide work experiences. Work experiences could include on-the-job training, internships, and Registered Apprenticeships.²⁵ The Jobs Plus program should also facilitate connections to education and training opportunities; provide rapid reemployment assistance in the event of job loss; and offer proactive post-placement job retention support and career advancement coaching. Additionally, case managers should work one on one with participants to develop Individual Training and Services Plans to establish participants' employment goals, barriers, service strategies, and to track their progress.

Finally, the NOFA stated that job developers—who can be grantee staff or staff of the local WIB or American Job Centers—should work directly with the business community to identify and create employment opportunities and the previously referenced work experiences. Employment opportunities should be in industries that offer career advancement opportunities, as identified by local labor market data, and training should be focused on these demand-driven opportunities. The overall goal of delivering this array of employment services is to connect public housing residents to the needed resources to build up their skills so that they move into in-demand jobs in industries with opportunities for career advancement, thereby meeting the needs of both the residents and local employers.

Unlike other employment programs, the Jobs Plus employment services are uniquely situated to reap the benefits of being part of a place-based initiative, which could potentially include opportunities for staff to know the context in which participants live, to know their families, and to have informal interactions at the housing developments. Additionally, by being a place-based initiative, Jobs Plus offers the potential to provide continued support after residents find work. Whereas many traditional employment programs provide only assistance through job placement or perhaps provide retention services for up to 90 days post employment, Jobs Plus participants are entitled to support from the program for as long as they live in the development (until the end of the Jobs Plus grant). This feature positions the program well to take a career pathways approach in which participants may start employment based on their current skills, then work to build skills through short-term training, enabling them to advance

²⁵ Registered Apprenticeship is a program of the United States Department of Labor that connects job seekers looking to learn new skills with employers looking for qualified workers. It combines job-related technical instruction with structured on-the-job learning experiences.

into higher-paying jobs. Compared with other employment programs, Jobs Plus could also have more opportunities to engage participants while they are employed, especially if the Jobs Plus staff have extended or weekend hours, because they are providing services where the participants live. It remains to be seen whether or not the Jobs Plus programs will take full advantage of opportunities afforded to them by being place-based, and an ongoing evaluation will explore this question further.

Conceptualizing Employment Services

In previous iterations of Jobs Plus, implementers provided employment services using a variety of approaches. Some used a case management approach, with emphasis on removing barriers to employment by providing support services. Others emphasized immediate job placement as a way to address immediate income needs of residents. In the NOFA for the current version of Jobs Plus, HUD emphasized career pathways, work experience, and access to training. Given that many public housing residents have an immediate need for employment and income, it is not surprising that, at least at some sites, tensions arose over what aspect of employment services to prioritize—helping residents get into jobs more quickly, although they may not be the kinds of quality jobs envisioned by the NOFA, or having residents delay employment while building skills first in order to obtain a better-quality job with more career advancement opportunities.

Staff in Memphis, Roanoke, and St. Louis, for example, were explicit about the need to provide assistance with immediate placement and making sure that the program provided supports for retaining employment and advancing in the future. In St. Louis, staff adopted an approach that intended to place most participants into jobs or on-the-job training opportunities right away and then worked on a longer-term plan of improving educational and career credentials (such as earning a high school equivalency certificate and other types of educational certificates or degrees) to help facilitate advancement into better-paying jobs with better career opportunities in the future. Staff in Roanoke also mentioned that during the first year of the program, they focused on providing survival jobs to residents, because that was residents' immediate need. Only after a year of program operations did staff think they could start having conversations with residents about obtaining a better-paying job or registering for training.

In contrast, Memphis staff were emphatic about the need to ensure that residents knew that the program was more comprehensive than traditional job placement. As a staff member noted—

We work with residents to place them in employment with the promise that once they get stabilized, you know, to catch up on arrears on rent, utility bill, or whatever the situation is that requires them to be in immediate need of funds, they will open themselves to appropriate training down the road in a few months.

In these three cases, the tension was resolved in favor of immediate placement first, with attention to skill building and advancement later.

At some sites, like Cuyahoga and Roanoke, practitioners talked about the Jobs Plus program as a “step-by-step” process, noting that the role of the program in terms of employment services was to “meet residents where they were” and provide supports needed to aid them in the process of moving forward toward jobs and careers. As a result, rather than move every participant through the same set of services in the same order, services would be more tailored to the particular needs of each participant. For example, participants with minimal skills who needed employment right

away might be placed in low-skill jobs while also taking high school equivalency classes to prepare them for more advanced training later on. In contrast, participants who had basic skills but needed more advanced skills might go into a short-term training program before being placed into more mid-level jobs.

Practitioners at most sites talked about the need for offering career and advancement opportunities, even if at first the focus was on survival jobs. Boston and Chicago were the two sites where staff particularly emphasized training and advancement as important components of the program. A Chicago staff member noted—

The service that I see that Jobs Plus offers is identifying growing industries that are hiring, that will provide full-time, permanent jobs, with benefits. That's our mantra: full-time, permanent jobs, with benefits. That's our goal.

This orientation to employment services seems most closely aligned with the vision for the program described in the NOFA. When speaking more broadly about Jobs Plus, many practitioners described the program as one that required staff to help build the confidence of residents, change their mindsets about work, provide encouragement, and foster introspection on the part of residents to be able to assess their own skills and future goals.

Employment Services Provided

Given the diversity of views about the goals of the program and the expectations for delivering employment services in particular, one would expect to find a broad range of services offered across the sites. Other contextual factors also influenced the services offered, such as service delivery infrastructure, capacity, and partnerships. With a few exceptions, employment services offered are generic—that is, they are not tailored to the specific skill set or needs of the participant, nor to the workforce needs of local employers—and are not particularly intensive.

All sites provide general pre-employment services such as job-readiness assessments, résumé writing assistance, and interview preparation. Some sites structure these services as part of classes offered to residents, and others offer more individualized assistance through the relationship between the participant and the case manager. Some sites use existing assessment tools to gauge whether residents are ready to start employment, to identify potential barriers to employment, and to develop action plans with residents. Others assess residents more informally, through one-on-one conversations with case managers. Pre-employment services are necessarily general in nature, rather than tailored to specific types of jobs or specific sectors or industries, because Jobs Plus participants could end up in a wide range of different kinds of jobs.

Job search assistance is offered in a variety of ways that can be found in most employment programs. At some sites, case managers post job lists in the main office so that residents can scan the list. When asked, case managers provide assistance with job searches, but for the most part participants conduct their own job searches. At other sites, community coaches provide one-on-one assistance with job searches. Several other sites have organized onsite hiring events where residents can talk to employers directly and apply for openings. In this early period, a few sites had developed strong relationships with local workforce agencies, but most sites had yet to begin working with job developers—either hired by the program or through partnerships—or otherwise engage employers to help identify career-path jobs or in-demand industries; rather, job searches tend to be for any jobs that are available, regardless of pay or career opportunity provided. Sites that did engage job developers or other staff with strong ties to employers, either by hiring them

directly or through closer relationships with partner organizations, included Charlotte, Roanoke, and St. Louis. Memphis had recently brought on an employment specialist at the time of the research visit there, and Houston was looking to hire a job developer but had not done so yet. Other sites attempted to establish closer connections to employers through local WIBs or other business-related organizations. However, it is unclear whether any of these efforts led to job search assistance in higher-paying fields with career opportunities.

Early Program Participation and Employment Outcomes

Sites are required to report to HUD on Jobs Plus participants' use of employment services such as job search assistance, job-readiness training, occupational skills training, and the start of employment. Site-reported data covering July 2015 through September 2016, the early implementation period, indicate moderate levels of participation in employment services and relatively low levels of reported employment gains. Although data reported to HUD by the sites have not been verified and precise participation levels are not reported here, there appears to be a general trend of greatest participation in initial assessment and drop-off with each subsequent activity in what might be considered a typical service flow. Job search assistance is the second most popular service, after the initial assessment, which at some sites seems to represent not much more than enrollment into Jobs Plus, rather than an assessment using the suggested Individual Training and Services Plan, for example. Still fewer people, on average, are enrolled in job-readiness training, and fewer still are enrolled in training or certificate programs. The percentage of residents who gain full-time employment appears to be in the single digits for most sites.

Focusing on the early implementation period, it is difficult to tell whether approach, services provided, and early employment outcomes are related, beyond noting that some of the sites that focused on placing participants into jobs immediately had the highest reported placement rates, which is to be expected. For example, St. Louis focused on on-the-job training (essentially employment and training concurrently), and Charlotte emphasized removing barriers to employment, and these two sites appear to have the highest percentages of residents beginning full-time employment.

Employment-Related Challenges and Support Services

It is not unusual that residents in the Jobs Plus housing developments faced many of the same barriers to employment that are common among many low-income individuals with minimal vocational skills. What is unusual about Jobs Plus compared with many programs that serve similar populations is that Jobs Plus was expected to serve *all* residents in the development who were working age and able to work, regardless of their needs or skill levels. Additionally, the 2014 Jobs Plus NOFA made clear that HUD hoped that the services provided would be along the lines of sectoral or other career advancement initiatives, with a strong focus on meeting the demands of employers and working with participants to advance along a career pathway. Serving the entire population of a public housing development presents challenges on its own, but serving them with an advancement-focused, demand-driven set of services compounds those challenges. The Jobs Plus Pilot program provides an opportunity to explore how PHAs might approach this task.

- **Literacy and math skills.** Jobs Plus staff mentioned that many public housing residents grapple with limited literacy and math skills, which can prevent them from accessing training and advancing their careers, as well as limit the ability of the site to offer training and place

individuals in living-wage jobs or on a path to advancement. To address limited literacy and math skills, some sites offer additional services such as adult literacy and high school equivalency classes. In cities like Boston, Houston, and Syracuse, where a significant proportion of the population in the developments has limited English proficiency, English as a Second Language classes were provided. Staff were challenged to find job placements that did not require English language proficiency.

- **Childcare.** Childcare was a common challenge of residents. Most sites offer assistance with childcare either by providing the service directly on site or by making referrals to childcare providers. Boston, for instance, offers onsite childcare for residents who take adult literacy classes.
- **Transportation.** Many sites mentioned lack of sufficient transportation as a challenge for residents who are trying to obtain employment. Some sites offered transportation assistance such as providing bus passes or gas cards. Some sites provided this service once a Jobs Plus member received the first paycheck, leaving the participant to figure out transportation before then.
- **Criminal record and legal services.** Staff at some sites mentioned that having a criminal record, an issue faced by a number of residents, limited their ability to access jobs, training, and credentialing. Some sites partnered with institutions that offer legal assistance to public housing residents to correct errors or expunge records. In Syracuse, for instance, the Center for Community Alternatives has an in-house legal clinic. Jobs Plus members with a criminal background are referred to the legal clinic, where staff review their records for any errors, provide assistance in correcting errors, and inform residents of their rights about what information in their records to disclose or not.
- **Substance abuse, health, and mental health.** Some staff also flagged challenges of substance abuse, health, and mental health issues. In some situations, substance abuse could be detrimental to enrolling residents in training and placement. A number of sites offered referrals to mental health services, and a few sites offer substance abuse assistance.

Other support services that sites make available include food assistance, student loan assistance, and youth services (table 2).

Table 2. Support Services Available at Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation Sites

Site	Child Care	Transportation	Legal Services	Adult Literacy	Mental Health Services	Substance Abuse Assistance
Boston	✓			✓	✓	
Charlotte	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Chicago	✓	✓		✓		✓
Cuyahoga	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Houston	✓	✓		✓		
Memphis		✓				
Roanoke	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Louis	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Syracuse	✓	✓	✓	✓		

Source: Analysis from 2016 field research conducted as part of the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation

Career-Focused Employment Services and Advancement

Many interviewees agreed that advancement opportunities were necessary if residents were to obtain living-wage employment. “In my opinion, the only way they’re [public housing residents] gonna get out of a minimum-wage job and move out of [subsidized housing]—they have to have a credential of some kind,” said a partner in Roanoke. As a result, nearly all the sites developed partnerships with community colleges and other institutions that offer an array of skill-building and credentialing opportunities.

The range of opportunities varies across sites, with some sites like Syracuse offering a job-readiness certification and referrals to the local WIB for on-the-job training to sites like Chicago that offer training in several fields. The most common industries in which sites offer training are manufacturing, healthcare, and hospitality. A few sites, like Chicago, Houston, and Roanoke, selected industries based on local market demands, but most made these decisions based on residents’ interests and available partner institutions.

Most training programs offered by sites are offered to the general public and do not tailor training programs in any way to meet the needs that might be more common among public housing residents, such as a need for classes in basic literacy skills. One exception is Roanoke, which adopted a training model that includes occupational training and built-in academic skills, such as reading, writing, and math, while in training. Offering academic skills instruction in the context of occupational skills training was an approach that resulted from staff recognizing that residents had low literacy levels.

Challenges in Delivering Career-Focused Employment Services

- **Investment of time.** Implementers mentioned that one challenge related to taking up career-focused opportunities is that some of the training offered requires time investments of weeks, months, or even years. In many cases, residents are searching for employment to address immediate economic needs and are unwilling or unable to invest the time required for skill-building that would lead to better-quality jobs.
- **Training prerequisites.** Another challenge associated with taking up training opportunities is related to the requirements of many training programs. Some programs require certain

literacy levels, paperwork, drug screenings, or criminal background checks. According to practitioners, these requirements make it difficult for public housing residents to access programs.

- **Job placement.** One way the sites have attempted to facilitate job placement has been to create partnerships with employers or employment services organizations. In Boston, for example, the program offers home health aide training and has partnered with three home health aide agencies to place trainees. The program has an MOU with these agencies to give priority to Boston Housing Authority trainees, and the agencies attend training sessions where participants can fill out job applications directly. Charlotte partnered with a local employment services nonprofit to place a staff person on site to assess residents' skills and certify residents as qualified for particular kinds of work. The employment services organization has relationships with many of the area employers. When employers have one or more openings, the employment agency sponsors a hiring fair and invites only residents who are qualified for particular positions to attend. Employers meet with residents at the public housing site, interview, and hire on the spot.
- **Funding.** One challenge that one site ran into is related to funding restrictions. In St. Louis, the program had allocated a certain amount of its grant funding for paying the salaries for some of the on-the-job training slots. However, the site reported that it later learned that HUD has restrictions about the use of grant funds for training. Although the site tried to resolve this issue with HUD and preserve the program, it was ultimately too difficult to resolve, and the program was dropped.

Considerations for Future Work on Employment Services

The Jobs Plus sites' early experiences delivering employment-related services point to some lessons that can help inform the delivery of these services going forward.

- **Sites might benefit from taking a more individualized employment services approach with participants.** Sites tend to favor immediate job placement first or training first for everyone and to connect people to services that are available through their partners but that are not necessarily tailored to the individual. Instead, sites might consider using more of an individualized approach—that is, they could focus on assessing individuals' skills and needs and then working with them on next steps for employment based on those skills and needs. One possible way to assess skills on an individual basis is to be more diligent about completing the Individual Training and Services Plans with each participant, as directed by the NOFA.
- **To support the employment goals of the program, sites will need to develop stronger direct (or indirect ties) to employers.** In spite of the emphasis in the Notice of Funding Availability on ensuring that the Jobs Plus programs are meeting employer needs, there does not yet seem to be an employer-facing component of the program at many sites. For example, most sites had not yet hired job developers, and many were not yet working closely with job developers or business services representatives at the WIBs who have strong relationships with employers. Establishing an employer-facing component—either directly or through stronger and clearer relationships and expectations with local WIBs—will eventually be necessary for the employment services to be demand-driven.

- **Finally, sites may be missing an opportunity to deliver services to residents as a group and take advantage of the benefits that residents could reap by experiencing training and other services in cohorts with other residents.** A place-based program may present a good opportunity to send groups of qualified participants together to training programs in areas where common interest and local demand exist, including sector-focused programs. By training together in cohorts instead of individually attending a virtually unlimited variety of training programs, residents can study together at the development, discuss and reinforce what they are learning, and support each other in a way that classmates not living in the same development cannot. This can work only if sufficient common interest exists among participants in the same industries or occupations. Encouraging cohort training opportunities, preferably in industries with local demand, must be balanced with meeting the individual participant needs and interests.

Implementation of the Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard

Many have criticized public housing rents—which calculate tenants’ contribution on 30 percent of adjusted household income—for potentially discouraging work, because approximately one-third of any increase in earned income goes to increased rent. By disregarding any additional earned income from the rent calculation, the JPEID seeks to counteract this work disincentive and, in turn, to make work pay.

This section presents early experiences implementing the JPEID across the nine pilot sites. In doing so, it reviews the JPEID goals and early outcomes and implementation challenges reported by Jobs Plus staff. It also presents key recommendations based on this experience and identifies issues to monitor in the evaluation going forward.

Program staff across all nine sites were generally excited about the JPEID and its potential to help recruit program participants, to motivate them to increase earned incomes, and to help them make progress toward self-sufficiency. Many interviewees noted the JPEID’s particular effectiveness in generating resident interest in the overall Jobs Plus program and in getting participants connected to other Jobs Plus services. One case manager remarked, “I think [the JPEID is] a great recruiting tool ... it’s probably what got them in the door in the first place.”

Uncertainty about JPEID implementation, however, has both hampered enrollment in the earnings disregard and limited the number of households that have benefited from it. Staff members across all sites expressed confusion and frustration about what they perceived as unclear or limited guidance from HUD and the technical assistance provider, particularly concerning *how* residents enroll to receive JPEID and *which* income sources are subject to the JPEID exemptions. Additionally, several sites have struggled to develop data systems to track and report JPEID outcomes.

Design and Goals of the Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard

Rent-based employment incentives for nonelderly public housing residents who are able to work can take many forms, and prior Jobs Plus iterations incorporated several variations with quite different results. In the original demonstration, each site designed its own rent-based incentives. Most sites opted for either flat rents—some of which escalated over time—or income-based rents below the standard 30 percent adjusted incomes (Miller and Riccio, 2002). Implementation of rent incentives was delayed, however, due to negotiations between HUD and Congress about how to fund the lost rental revenue. As a result, most sites did not implement rent incentives until 2 years after the program began. Overall, 48 percent of participants benefited from these incentives; this figure varied across sites from 19 to 77 percent. Several sites complemented rent incentives with other financial incentives, such as escrow and rent credits (Bloom, Riccio, and Verma, 2005).

In the SIF replication of Jobs Plus, however, the only rent incentive was the already authorized, but little used, EID. EID implementation is highly complex, and staff reported difficulty explaining it to residents. EID roll-out was delayed as staff contended with modifying rent calculation procedures, and the EID’s time frame—a 100 percent EID the first year and 50 percent disregard the second—was not as attractive as the incentives offered in the initial Jobs

Plus demonstration. Taken together, these issues help explain the very low rates of residents benefiting from the EID in the two SIF replication sites—3 percent in San Antonio and 1 percent in the Bronx (Greenberg et al., 2015).²⁶

Unlike the original Jobs Plus demonstration program, the rent incentive in the HUD scale-up iteration was specifically prescribed in the Jobs Plus NOFA and applies to all sites. The JPEID provides a 100 percent disregard of any additional earned income (that is, wages) throughout the entirety of the Jobs Plus grant period. Thus, participants' rent contributions do not rise following an increase in earned income, thereby removing the "tax" on increased work effort.

According to Section 2(a) of the 2014 Jobs Plus NOFA—

All targeted residents in the Jobs Plus development are eligible to receive the JPEID benefit, but they must sign up for the Jobs Plus program, even if they do not actively participate in other Jobs Plus activities. (HUD, 2014: 4)

Residents can benefit from the JPEID from the time they enroll through the end of the demonstration for as long as 4 years. Thus, those who sign up for the program earlier have the potential to benefit longer from the JPEID. The NOFA also specifies that once enrolled, participants can receive the JPEID without participating in any additional Jobs Plus activities—although Jobs Plus staff hope that the JPEID encourages residents to avail themselves of other Jobs Plus services.

The NOFA also specifies that HUD will reimburse sites for JPEID costs (for example, administration and forgone rent revenue) through their Jobs Plus grants. The NOFA required applicants to estimate the amount of forgone rent and to include that figure in their proposal budgets. To trigger reimbursements, sites must calculate participants' rents both with and without the JPEID and provide those figures to HUD. Thus, even though rent contributions will not rise, residents must continue to report income increases in the same manner as they did before enrolling in the JPEID. The NOFA also specified that further JPEID guidance would be available when the grants were awarded.

Findings From Early Implementation

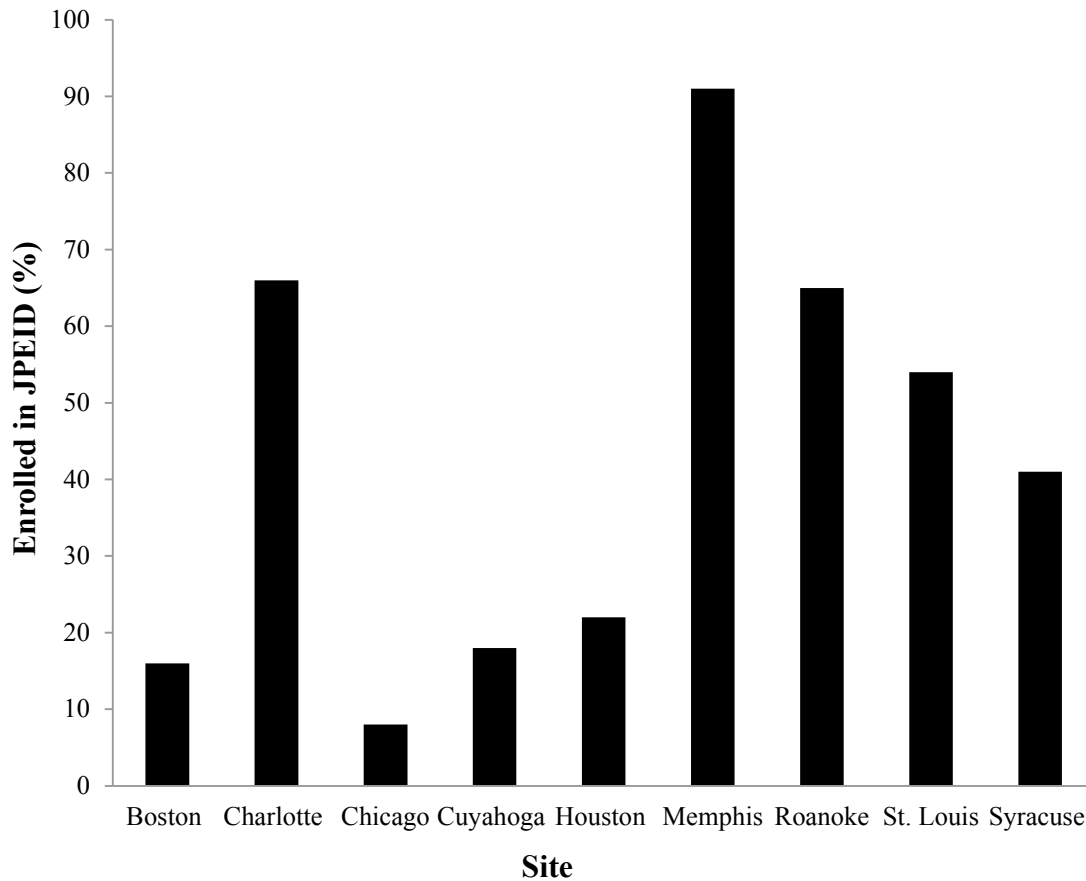
Site-reported quarterly data indicate substantial variation in JPEID enrollment. From April 2015 through September 2016, the percentage of eligible residents (nonelderly residents who were able to work) who were enrolled in the JPEID varied from 8 percent in Chicago to 91 percent in Memphis, as shown in figure 3. The average across all sites is 42 percent. High enrollment numbers in Memphis are attributable to the site's Choice Neighborhoods Initiative implementation grant. As residents receive relocation counseling, they are simultaneously enrolled in Jobs Plus and the JPEID.²⁷ Among enrolled households, the percentage reporting a JPEID benefit varied from 9 to 39 percent across sites (not shown).²⁸

²⁶ Over time, even as sites worked through early EID implementation challenges, not many eligible residents took advantage of this incentive.

²⁷ The Choice Neighborhoods Initiative implementation grant involves the physical redevelopment of the entire housing development, requiring relocation of its residents.

²⁸ The summary report used for this analysis did not include data for two of the nine sites.

Figure 3. Share of Residents Able To Work Enrolled in JPEID, From Program Inception Through September 2016



JPEID = Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard.

Source: Quarterly site data reported to HUD from April 2015 through September 2016 (not independently verified)

Conceptualizing and Targeting

Staff interviewed generally believe that the JPEID is crucial to the success of the Jobs Plus program, as it eliminates a major disincentive for gaining employment or increasing earnings. Although many believe that the JPEID is especially beneficial to participants who are not employed but who could secure work quickly, as they can easily gain wage income following enrollment, none of the sites reported limiting marketing to that group. One interviewee, although, suggested that those who are already working can benefit from JPEID the most, as they are likely in a better position to work more hours or secure a second job.

Despite broad agreement on its importance, emphasis placed on the JPEID in the recruiting process varied across sites. Some have prominently featured the JPEID in recruitment efforts and noted that it was especially helpful in getting hard-to-serve residents in the door. Other sites see the JPEID as complementing job-training opportunities rather than as a major selling point. Some staff at these sites cautioned that overemphasizing the JPEID could lead to participants' enrolling in the benefit without using other Jobs Plus services.

One conceptualization challenge faced by numerous sites concerns property managers' role implementing the JPEID. At nearly all sites, property management staff are responsible for day-to-day JPEID implementation, including entering income sources, calculating the amount of forgone rent, and communicating the details of the disregard to participants. Interviewees across sites, however, indicated that many had not included property managers in planning and conceptualizing the JPEID, and that this omission hampered initial implementation. For example, property managers at several sites were unenthusiastic about the additional work caused by the JPEID or did not communicate the JPEID clearly to participants.

Implementation Challenges

Overall, many interviewees found JPEID implementation challenging, with three processes proving especially problematic: enrollment, calculation, and data collection and reporting. One senior PHA executive reported, "Conceptually, it's a great idea. It is a little difficult to implement and it's ... [a] bit of a data nightmare to keep up with." Another staff member said, "I think that [property management] is having a difficult time with getting their arms around what they actually need to do to make [JPEID] happen ... that's an area that I think we're going to be challenged with."

To receive the JPEID, residents must first enroll in the benefit; however, Jobs Plus staff both within and across sites expressed disagreement and confusion about resident enrollment procedures. Some of this confusion stemmed from HUD's guidance on how residents should enroll in the JPEID—an issue reported across sites. Many interviewees elevated the need for more timely, accurate, and complete technical assistance. They also felt that more frequent JPEID webinars would have been useful for getting the needed guidance, or even clarifying their understanding of what was being communicated.

Another source of confusion, which played out mainly within sites, stemmed from variation in the messaging on how residents could enroll. Broadly, it appears that sites adopted one of four JPEID enrollment processes.

1. **Simultaneous enrollment in Jobs Plus and the JPEID.** When residents enrolled in Job Plus, Jobs Plus staff forwarded their information to property managers, who noted each resident's current rent contribution.
2. **Separate enrollment in Jobs Plus and JPEID.** Residents who enrolled in Jobs Plus were referred to the property manager's office to enroll in the JPEID. Residents then had to meet with the property manager to enroll in the JPEID.
3. **Enrollment following assessment.** Following completion of a basic assessment administered by the Jobs Plus staff (which collected data on work status, education, and other items), residents were enrolled in the JPEID.
4. **Enrollment following income increase.** In at least two sites, staff enrolled residents in the JPEID when they reported income increases to property managers. Since the research team's data collection visits, HUD provided guidance that those sites are to discontinue that process.

To simplify enrollment procedures in the JPEID and help sites meet saturation goals, HUD now allows sites to use automatic enrollment so that residents in a Jobs Plus development no longer need to sign up for Jobs Plus or for the JPEID in particular to benefit from the disregard. As of the data collection visits for this report, the sites were not implementing this option. Nonsimultaneous

enrollment in Jobs Plus and the JPEID led to implementation difficulties at a few sites, as residents who had enrolled in Jobs Plus (but not in the JPEID) increased their incomes. At least one program back-dated JPEID enrollment so that participants who had enrolled only in Jobs Plus initially could benefit from the income disregard. The ongoing evaluation will follow the implications of the policy change allowing for automatic enrollment into the JPEID.

Another implementation challenge concerns calculation of the JPEID. While the NOFA states that the JPEID disregards only earned income (that is, wages), several site staff suggested that they—at least initially—believed the JPEID applied to other income sources as well (such as child support payments). As a result of this confusion, the Boston program had yet to implement the JPEID at the time of the field research visit, but it is promising rent credits once it receives HUD guidance.²⁹ A separate JPEID calculation challenge occurred when residents were participating in other rent programs, like the Family Self-Sufficiency program and the regular EID. For example, Cuyahoga and St. Louis have had to struggle with balancing Family Self-Sufficiency escrow and the JPEID, as participants cannot receive both.

Finally, many interviewees cited data collection and reporting as a significant challenge to JPEID implementation. To calculate and report the JPEID, sites are either using a HUD-provided spreadsheet, their own spreadsheets, or paper records—all of which they find time-consuming. Sites also require accurate income data to receive reimbursement for forgone rent. However, several case managers indicated that getting participants to report income increases was a challenge, as residents did not understand the necessity to report increases if those increases do not affect rents. Interviewees at a couple of the sites that had implemented the regular EID noted that this experience helped them implement the JPEID, as they had experience in explaining income disregards and developing data systems to track the benefit.³⁰

Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard Marketing and Financial Empowerment

As discussed previously, many Jobs Plus staff believe that the JPEID is particularly effective in generating resident interest in Jobs Plus. Confusion about JPEID implementation, however, appears to have hampered JPEID marketing efforts. At several sites, residents received conflicting information about how the JPEID works from different staff members or partners involved in the program. Some interviewees believe that this inconsistent messaging eroded trust between residents and staff, potentially discouraging program participation.

Some sites' marketing efforts also caused resident confusion about the JPEID. Several initially marketed the JPEID as a rent freeze, which led to confusion when residents learned that the JPEID excludes only earned income. One promotional flyer, for example, said, "When you get a job, your rent freezes," which does not clearly specify that the "rent freeze" applies only to earned income. In several sites, staff reported that HUD officials who visited at program launch used similar language, potentially adding to the confusion. As the program progressed, many sites changed their messaging to clarify that the JPEID applies only to increases in earned income. Several interviewees recommended keeping the message simple but clear, such as "Increase your paycheck, not your rent!"

²⁹ As of September 2016, only 16 percent of nonelderly residents who were able to work in Boston had enrolled in the JPEID, the second-lowest figure across the nine sites.

³⁰ Four sites—Boston, Chicago, Cuyahoga, and Roanoke—had previously implemented the regular EID.

Many sites integrated financial empowerment initiatives with the JPEID, including budget and credit counseling, helping participants to open savings accounts or Individual Development Accounts,³¹ and connecting participants to homeownership opportunities (table 3). Among these programs, the most frequently adopted include financial literacy, credit counseling, and household budgeting assistance.

Table 3. Financial Empowerment Activities at Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation Sites

Site	Financial Literacy	Credit Counseling	Credit Repair	Budgeting	Tax Assistance	Benefits Counseling	Savings Promotion
Boston	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Charlotte	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Chicago	✓	✓		✓		✓	
Cuyahoga	✓	✓		✓			
Houston	✓	✓			✓		✓
Memphis	✓	✓		✓			
Roanoke	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Louis	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Syracuse	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓

Source: Analysis from 2016 field research conducted as part of the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation

Several Jobs Plus staff noted the importance of connecting financial empowerment with the JPEID, as it enables participants to leverage the increased earnings that result from both the JPEID and greater employment. Further, financial empowerment training can help participants save money needed to move out of public housing or cushion increases in rent following the expiration of the JPEID. To that end, one program director shared that “[participants’] rent is not going up ‘til 2019. So we want to make sure [that], as people obtain employment ... they’re budgeting their money better” to prepare for that day.”

Although many program staff expressed concern about low participation rates in financial empowerment programming, two sites devised strategies to encourage greater attendance at these classes. Roanoke implemented a policy that forgives back rent for those who enroll in Jobs Plus and attend a certain number of financial literacy classes. Participants who fail to attend those classes are responsible for paying the back rent owed. Staff in Cuyahoga, meanwhile, report increased participation in financial literacy workshops after combining them with professional development and job-training activities.

Considerations for Future Implementation of the Jobs Plus Earned Income Disregard

The sites’ early experiences implementing the JPEID point to some important lessons for the delivery of this component going forward.

- **Sites should strive to minimize residents’ confusion about enrolling in the JPEID.** One way to ease enrollment is to *make enrollment in Jobs Plus and the JPEID simultaneous*, in which case, the Jobs Plus program staff forward the names of new program participants to property managers, rather than requiring the participants to do so. HUD’s automatic

³¹ Individual Development Accounts are designed to encourage savings by providing financial matches to those who save and then use those savings for buying a home, furthering education, starting a small business, or some other approved use.

enrollment provision, which was not yet in place at the time of the field research visits, offers another way to simplify this process going forward.

Jobs Plus staff should also ensure that JPEID *messaging is both consistent and accurate*. One way to ensure consistency is to designate certain individuals—perhaps the community coaches—as lead messengers for the JPEID, as Syracuse did, and provide lead messengers with additional training on the disregard. Interviewees also noted that JPEID messaging from community coaches, who explain the benefit in ways that residents can understand, could be especially effective.

- **Sites should ensure they are ready to implement the JPEID and that property managers both understand and buy in to the JPEID.** Before implementation, Jobs Plus program directors, housing authority fiscal staff, and property managers should *develop policies and procedures* explaining JPEID eligibility and enrollment, which income sources are excluded, and how to market the benefit. They should also ensure that data systems could track and report the JPEID before enrolling participants. Since property managers have a critical role in its implementation, they should (1) be involved in developing implementation plans; (2) understand JPEID eligibility and which income sources are to be excluded; (3) be able to clearly explain the JPEID to residents; and (4) ensure that residents understand the need to report income increases, even if their rents will not increase.
- **Sites should identify messaging around work incentives that appeal to both those who are working and those who are not.** Staff reported that some residents who were working before the launch of Jobs Plus feel the JPEID is unfair, as their baseline rents were set at a higher level. This impression suggests the need for sites to clarify that those who are already working can still benefit if they increase their earnings—through working more hours or increased wage rates (which may also be an incentive to get training to help them do so). Given that many participants have not worked in some time and likely have little or no income, they may not see the value in learning about budgeting or saving. Jobs Plus staff should consider *innovative ways to encourage attendance* at financial empowerment classes.
- **Clearer technical assistance and guidance is needed to help sites implement the JPEID more effectively.** HUD should clearly outline who is eligible for the JPEID and the sources of income to be disregarded. The technical assistance providers should supply consistent information to local program staff on the JPEID, and the availability of more one-on-one technical assistance (from either HUD or the technical assistance subcontractor) would help sites implement this important aspect of the Jobs Plus program effectively.

Implementing Community Support for Work

The CSW component of Jobs Plus aims to strengthen the work-supporting relationships within public housing communities so that as many residents as possible are engaged in meaningful work-related activities. This section presents the goals of CSW and describes how grantees implemented it in the early phases of the pilot. Analysis reveals three main findings: (1) grantees launched various types of discrete CSW-focused activities; (2) as intended, some grantees embrace CSW as a universal paradigm—that is, an orientation where CSW infuses all aspects of life in the development and that requires the commitment of all staff, residents, and partners; and (3) early implementation issues experienced include operational, community, and individual challenges.

Defining Community Support for Work

As described previously in this report, CSW aims to connect residents to Jobs Plus services and employment opportunities, strengthen resident networks related to employment, and produce a lasting change within the social environment at the Jobs Plus development. As envisioned in the original demonstration, CSW intends to create “sustained support for work during and beyond the period of the Jobs Plus program” (HUD, 2014: 4)—in other words, creating a lasting environment where there is mutual support among residents to help each other become employed and stay employed. Four elements of CSW stand out as integral in prior demonstrations and were encouraged in HUD’s policy guidance for this round of Jobs Plus. Described in the following paragraphs, these elements include saturation, resident leadership, relationship building, and community expectations.

One facet of CSW is its central role in contributing to the Jobs Plus goal of saturation by infusing the entire public housing development with messages about the importance of work, the availability of employment, and the opportunity for support in obtaining it. In past demonstrations, these messages promoting work and career engagement were relayed not only by Jobs Plus staff but also by residents, property managers, PHA staff, and community-based partners.

A second element of CSW is its strong emphasis on resident leadership. The 2014 HUD NOFA highlighted the idea that residents must ultimately “own” the program so that they will be responsible for sustaining the norms, expectations, and networks after the Jobs Plus effort is completed. If residents are involved in planning, operating, and influencing the priorities of Jobs Plus, the benefits of the intervention may show greater sustained effect. This element has most often been facilitated by deploying outreach workers or community coaches, a small cohort of residents hired to spread the word about the program to neighbors and encourage them to participate (Blank and Wharton-Fields, 2008; Kato, 2004).

A third element of CSW is its focus on building networks and relationships that enhance the social capital of residents, which in turn broadens their connections to employment opportunities. At least two levels of relationship building are important in CSW: (1) among residents who live in the public housing development, and (2) between residents of the development and the broader community. Neighbor-to-neighbor exchanges of information, network building, mutual support, and efforts to make connections to community-based organizations are only a few approaches used in past Jobs Plus demonstrations. In addition, past demonstrations actualized this element through the facilitation of social connections that strengthen residents’ attachment to

work, such as offering babysitting; rides to interviews, work, or appointments; and emotional support.

A fourth element of CSW involves enhancing the shared expectations and aspirations for work. CSW helps to establish community expectations that every resident enriches the neighborhood by taking individual actions toward work, such as through paid employment and volunteer service. In this way, CSW can be conceptualized as promoting cultural or mindset shifts among resident populations to encourage them to think differently about themselves, their aspirations, and their life trajectories. Ultimately, CSW efforts result in a community where all residents support each other to become economically strong enough to move out of poverty.

Operationalizing Community Support for Work

Despite the language that clearly describes the *goals* of CSW in the NOFA, expectations for exactly *how* to implement this component are less clear. Grantees generally agree that CSW is the most nebulous component and the one that is hardest to put in place. This elusiveness has contributed to a challenging dynamic in which most sites are grappling with how to define the CSW scope. In general, grantees lack clarity about what constitutes CSW and hold differing ideas about the purpose of CSW relative to the other two Jobs Plus components.

Grantees' thinking about the purpose of CSW has been shaped by various messages from HUD and its staff. The HUD NOFA was quite clear that CSW was more than only recruitment and enrollment of residents.

Leadership, resident participation and empowerment and building relationships—between residents and from the development into the community—that will lead to sustained support for work during and beyond the period of the Jobs Plus program are key functions of community support for work. (HUD, 2014: 4)

However, implementing this directive is less straightforward, and grantees have also subsequently been directed to track several quantitative measurements that do not translate easily into this NOFA directive, including the number of events and number of residents who attended events. These quantitative measures may not accurately reflect a site that, on the ground, has implemented CSW in ways that are consistent with the four key elements previously described. For example, a site with very poor turnout at events, or even little offer of events, could nevertheless rank very high on implementation of CSW in general but in ways that cannot be easily quantified. One neighbor telling another about a job opportunity, in private, perhaps when passing by each other in the development, is an example.

Overall, most grantees expressed a need for more clarity about CSW. As an example of one source of confusion, the grantee conference hosted by HUD in March 2016 included sessions that presented different definitions of and approaches to CSW. While the Jobs Plus staff in attendance found it helpful to learn of innovative approaches, some suggested they needed more clarity on what constituted CSW activities, particularly those that engage residents in activities that on the surface may not include an explicit focus on work (such as social, cultural, artistic, and athletic activities).

Although HUD officials intended to leave the definition of CSW broad to give grantees flexibility in determining how to best implement it at their sites, steps have been taken since the March 2016 conference to offer more guidance and support. HUD officials created a document that provides a vision for CSW and outlines who is responsible for developing it, articulating

very clearly that “everyone has a role in building CSW” (HUD, 2016). Grantees’ responses to this document and how it will affect CSW strategies will be explored in the future.

Key Findings From Early Implementation of Community Support for Work

Focus of Community Support for Work Activities

All sites began to implement a set of activities, events, and programs within the first year. Sites moved with various levels of priority to get a CSW program in place. Five different programmatic strategies emerged that were most frequently described as the core elements of CSW: (1) community coaches, (2) enrollment and recruitment activities, (3) community events, (4) social support and network building, and (5) bridging to the broader neighborhood and metropolitan area. Most sites implemented a range of these strategies, with some implementing all strategies.

Community coaches. The core mechanism used across sites to implement CSW was to hire residents as community coaches. The goal of the coaching program centered on connecting residents to the Jobs Plus program, to each other, and to job opportunities. Some Jobs Plus staff suggested that coaches were available as facilitators and connectors to residents beyond the professional staff and physical office. Coaches made connections with residents while walking around the development and during hours beyond the typical work week. Site staff described four main roles held by coaches; the first three were as recruiters for the program, relationship builders, and peer leaders for other residents. A fourth role was as a beneficiary of the program; some sites, such as St. Louis, were explicit that the coach role was intended to be a stepping stone to employment and professional advancement for residents (table 4).

Every site hired at least one community coach, and most sites hired between two and four coaches. Coaches had different titles across sites, including ambassadors, weavers, and coaches. Most coaches worked on a part-time basis, and the positions were often structured as short-term, temporary positions (no more than 1 year), as shown in table 5. The available program data suggest that the coaches engaged only a limited portion of the population at each site. For example, during three quarters of 2016, sites reported that about one-fourth of adult residents across the sites were connected to a coach³² (not shown).

³² According to the *Jobs Plus Data Dictionary*, a document that HUD provides to sites for reference for quarterly data reporting to the agency, a Jobs Plus coach connects with an adult public housing resident by holding an in-person conversation or a phone call about Jobs Plus (HUD, n.d.).

Table 4. Typology of Roles Demonstrated by Coaches at Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation Sites

Roles	Description	Number of Sites	Illustrated Example From Field Research
Recruiters	Coaches as marketers of the Jobs Plus program. They disseminated information about Jobs Plus with the goal of getting residents enrolled in the program.	8	“They’re our initial face of Jobs Plus. They’re in the field 90 percent of the time spreading the word about what we have to offer in Jobs Plus. ... It’s their job to dispel all the myths, because believe it or not, there’s tons of myths that went around when the program first kicked off. So they were our myth-busters.”
Relationship builders	Coaches as connectors with and among residents. Coaches built trust with other residents. In the process of deepening relationships with residents, coaches also became a source of genuine support for residents who entered the workforce.	7	“They are the bridge. They are residents, and so once we have the residents, the trust factor in saying this is a program, and they can ask them questions that they may not be able to ask us [as staff]. And the ambassador can say, ‘Yeah, this is how it works. This is what we need to have done.’ ... So it’s critical to have a good ambassador who can explain what’s going on. And they’re that bridge from us, because they are our employees but they’re also residents.”
Beneficiaries	Coaches as participants of Jobs Plus. The coach position was considered a stepping stone into the workforce for the handful of residents who obtained the position. Coaches would be able to develop skills to allow them to succeed in the workforce and they would eventually graduate out of being a coach.	7	“If you’re residents here, I don’t expect you to stay in this [coaching] position. ... This empowers them to understand their abilities and what they can do because some of the individuals we hired thought that they could not do this job, didn’t think that they would be able to be successful, but they have been. So it helps their self-esteem and helps them to understand they have the ability to do anything they think they can. ... And so we’re using this as an opportunity to springboard them into training, school, work, whatever that looks like for them, wherever they are in that process.”
Peer leaders	Coaches as models. They were viewed as leaders and examples for other residents to emulate.	5	“I think that, again, leading by example is the most effective. And so being able to see the coaches in action, seeing them facilitating meetings. ... [Residents] get so excited when they see someone who lives in their community who is working like they’re working or trying to gain different skills like they are leading and facilitating these meetings, for example, and encouraging them to do the same.”

Source: Analysis from 2016 field research conducted as part of the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation

Table 5. Characteristics of Community Coaches at Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation Sites

Site, Employer, and Role Title	Current Number of Coaches	Hours per week	Wage (\$)	Reports to	Rotating vs. Long-Term Position	Typical Weekly Schedule	Caseload for Engagement	Activities Beyond Recruitment
Boston, MA, Boston Housing Authority: Community Coach	3	18	15.00/hr	Program assistant director	Long-term	The coaches typically work 18 hours a week. One coach works Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The second coach works Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. The third coach works every day and manages the front desk.	Individuals are assigned to coaches by referral source: people coming to Jobs Plus through the daycare are assigned to one coach, walk-ins are assigned to a second coach, and people who responded to marketing materials are assigned to a third coach.	Coaches are responsible for completing intake and enrollment into the Jobs Plus program. Two of the coaches are also responsible for making appointments for VITA (tax service) and following up with people after their appointment. The third community coach manages the front desk full time.
Charlotte, NC Charlotte Housing Authority: Community Coach	3	25	12.50/hr	Lead case coordinator	Rotating	Monday through Friday, 9:00 a.m.–2:00 p.m. and 12:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.	Community job coaches are not assigned a caseload.	Front desk, receptionist activities, monitor activity logs, produce event flyers, facilitate monthly support groups, work with resident organization.
Chicago, IL, Metropolitan Family Services: Program Supervisor	3	37.5	26,000/yr	Program supervisor	Long-term	8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m.; rotating late nights until 7:00 p.m. on Tuesdays and Saturdays.	50 clients per coach.	Intakes on clients, provide referrals, conduct followup, organize Jobs Plus events.
Cuyahoga, OH, Cuyahoga Metropolitan	3	15-20	8.10/hr	Weaver supervisor	Depends on weaver's interests and	Varies; 3–4 days per week; 2–3 hour shifts;	Divided into "projects" within a property.	Actively engaged at events/activities occurring at properties,

Site, Employer, and Role Title	Current Number of Coaches	Hours per week	Wage (\$)	Reports to	Rotating vs. Long-Term Position	Typical Weekly Schedule	Caseload for Engagement	Activities Beyond Recruitment
Housing Authority: Weaver					career goals	typical office hours.		resident meetings, Jobs Plus monthly team meetings, Weaver team meetings.
Houston, TX, Houston Housing Authority: Community Coach	2	26	15,000/year	Program manager	Long-term	Hours vary due to activities/events scheduled for the week. Hours can also fluctuate from weekday to weekend hours.	Community Coaches are not assigned a caseload. Coaches provide support to the Career Coaches & Service Coordinator.	Complete enrollment forms, facilitate orientations, facilitate resident council meetings, complete post-assessments, make referrals, and monitor the computer lab.
Memphis, TN, Memphis Housing Authority: Ambassador	6	10	10.00/hr	Lead case manager	Long-term	Monday–Friday; hours vary.	Families are divided by geographic location.	Meeting RSVPs, opportunity announcements, assistance at meetings, mail communication, and case manager support. Each community coach is also assigned to a case manager.
Roanoke, VA, Roanoke Redevelopment and Housing Authority: Ambassador	2	20	12.50/hr	Program manager	Rotating	11:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m., flex as needed.	As needed; use targeted focus. Residents are contacted for specific purpose.	Assist with events, staff meetings, attend training.
St. Louis, MO, St. Louis Agency Employment: Community Coach	4	20	10.00/hr	Project lead	Rotating	9:00 a.m.–2:00 p.m. and 12:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.; 4 days/week, can vary	Each coach is responsible for 1/4 of the development (approximately 91 households each).	Assist clients with enrollment; promote programs at meetings; promote community resources; babysit;

Site, Employer, and Role Title	Current Number of Coaches	Hours per week	Wage (\$)	Reports to	Rotating vs. Long-Term Position	Typical Weekly Schedule	Caseload for Engagement	Activities Beyond Recruitment
						depending on events.		assist with event setup, including job fairs; serve meals.
Syracuse, NY, Syracuse Housing Authority: Community Coach	1	20	10.00/hr	Program director	Rotating	7 hours a day Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.	Help case managers support all active participants (currently 107 participants).	Facilitate orientation, conduct outreach for events, help case managers with followup, plan activities/programming for Jobs Plus.

Source: Analysis from 2016 field research conducted as part of the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation

As sites implemented community coach strategies during their programs' startup period, they encountered a number of challenges. For example, the perception of the community coaches as employees of the PHA (or a contracted organization) presented difficulties when it came to building trust or relationships with other residents. Additionally, community coaches are at different stages in their professional lives and may require additional training and supports from the Jobs Plus staff. As interviewees explained, this need for training and support is essential because of the multifaceted nature of the coach job, as it requires a great deal of persistence and energy to build relationships with residents who are often skeptical of programs offered through the PHA.

Enrollment and recruitment strategies. A second CSW activity is aimed directly at recruiting and enrolling residents into Jobs Plus. Recruitment occurred in similar ways across sites, with staff and coaches leading the effort by going door to door and using word-of-mouth messaging, phone calls, and social media. Coaches and staff described the goals of engagement as sustained connection with residents, which typically may be more likely to occur through frequent interactions. The hope was that these connections result in residents' commitments to obtaining services and a high level of use of all the Jobs Plus components.

Community events. Site staff described a third type of programming as community-wide events. These events were created for purposes of educating residents on a specific topic, enhancing social connections, and ensuring enrollment into Jobs Plus. Almost all sites reported hosting at least one major event.³³ Examples of events included—

- Kick-off or welcome meetings in Chicago, Memphis, and St. Louis.
- March Madness, an event to help youth get ready for summer jobs in Houston.
- Back-to-school events in Cuyahoga and St. Louis.
- Move-in mixers in Cuyahoga.
- Job fairs in Boston, Houston, and Roanoke.

Community events are intended to function as part of sites' saturation strategies and get residents involved in Jobs Plus; however, as of roughly 1 year of implementation, it appears that resident engagement in community events has leveled off, potentially affecting sites' saturation levels overall.

Although community events in and of themselves may not be characterized as CSW efforts, it is possible to consider them as a CSW activity if a site is intentional about how these types of events are part of a larger strategy to engage residents around employment and career opportunities. For example, in St. Louis, program staff described having a Jobs Plus-themed trivia night, with questions related to employment. It is unclear at this point whether all sites are taking the extra step to ensure that the events they are hosting have a clear connection to work.

Social support and network building for residents. Site staff noted an emerging strategy focused on helping residents connect with each other for the purposes of social support and network building. In Charlotte, community coaches plan and host monthly Members Only meetings that are limited to participants and that provide opportunities for ongoing connection outside of staff-directed programs. Other examples include—

³³ According to the *Jobs Plus Data Dictionary*, events are any activities designed to introduce or expose residents to Jobs Plus, including but not limited to kick-off activities, workshops, and social activities that provide a forum for highlighting Jobs Plus (HUD, n.d.).

- Weaver (community coach) conversation meetings in Cuyahoga.
- A Resident of the Month board that posts member accomplishments in Chicago.
- A Jobs Café in St. Louis to facilitate connections between residents.
- Tell a Neighbor, Tell a Friend program in Charlotte, where Jobs Plus members are encouraged to bring a friend who has not heard about Jobs Plus to appointments with case managers. At that time, potential new Jobs Plus participants can learn about services and make an appointment to receive services.
- Neighbor Helping Neighbor barter boards in Roanoke, where residents can share resources with each other through a visual display by posting and retrieving contact information for needed services that other residents can offer.

Some Jobs Plus staff explained why social support is valuable and necessary, such as in Syracuse, where a respondent said it is helpful for “people who are going through the same thing...to bring us together for a commonality [of purpose].” Staff suggested that this social support would not occur organically; rather, it needed to be facilitated through actions led by both staff and residents—as done through barter boards that staff created in Roanoke and St. Louis. As one staff member described it, “We do know of individuals helping individuals, but this is a real organized effort.”

Similar to community events, social support and networking activities will not necessarily generate a work-supportive environment at the sites. However, with intentionality, the potential exists to link these activities to the CSW goals of changing work-related norms. Events that capitalize on building trust among residents and staff in order to promote work-related activities are considered congruent with Jobs Plus. Sites should be intentional about ensuring that these opportunities for social support and networking are connected to employment and career advancement.

Bridging to neighborhood and metropolitan area. Site staff acknowledged the need to connect with organizations, businesses, and resources beyond the housing development. Indeed, the 2014 Notice of Funding Availability indicates that sites’ CSW strategies include building relationships “from the development into the community,” but many staff suggested that these connections were difficult to make. The hope was that broader networks lead to new opportunities for career development. This type of strategy reflects the idea of social bridging that is necessary for low-income individuals to develop networks outside their communities in order to get ahead or enhance economic mobility. As one staff member in Syracuse described it, residents “don’t get to network outside the community,” so a need exists to “bring as many resources into” the public housing development as possible. Examples of sites’ attempting to make these bridges into the larger community include holding job fairs on site with employment partners and offering industry-specific trainings off site at community colleges or other educational institutions.

Holistic Approach to Community Support for Work

Many sites had been relying on community coaches to promote Jobs Plus and a “culture of work” and to facilitate mutual support. Over time, some sites began to operationalize CSW as an effort to establish a more holistic approach to surrounding residents with formal and informal supports. As some Jobs Plus staff are grappling with the need to sustain the prolonged work engagement of residents, they suggested it was more compelling to think about CSW as reaching beyond an array of programs and events. Instead, these staff described their work to cultivate an ongoing process

that sustains aspirational and behavioral change on individual and communal levels beyond the grant period. With this approach, and as intended in the design of the original Jobs Plus model, CSW philosophy would be infused throughout day-to-day operations and would manifest as an ongoing process or mode of thinking and acting. For example, a property manager in Chicago said CSW is about heart, going above and beyond in your job to do everything that it takes to genuinely engage residents and the entire community in the process of change.

In this way, CSW is built into everything that everyone does and touches all aspects of the community, rather than being the responsibility of only certain members of the Jobs Plus staff. Thus, the role of implementing CSW involves everyone within the community, including all staff, partners, and residents. As one interviewee explained, CSW “should be a collaborative effort and not something that just lands in someone’s lap or on someone’s desk.” The recent HUD CSW policy overview document for grantees also reflects this same orientation: “CSW is something that engages the entire public housing community (HUD, 2016). “In Syracuse, for example, this orientation is being operationalized through the use of meetings focused on lease recertification as an opportunity to tell residents about all components of Jobs Plus and refer them to become enrolled.

It is still too early to determine whether this universal orientation will be fully operationalized to any degree within any one site or across sites, but it appears to be emerging in some sites, including in Charlotte, Chicago, and St. Louis.

Implementation Challenges

At the end of the first year, most grantees reported encountering challenges in at least one or more of the following areas. Earlier iterations of Jobs Plus also experienced many of these challenges. This section highlights the issues that cut across the various components of CSW’s early implementation.

Operational challenges. Site interviews identified three main types of operational challenges: basic logistical challenges, organizational and institutional role challenges, and challenges associated with the physical redevelopment of buildings at some sites. At least seven sites faced at least one of these challenges. The basic logistical challenges that affected CSW included (1) the size of the development and numbers of residents targeted for engagement and (2) lack of access to buildings after hours when working residents are available for events, as well as access to particular homes and buildings for outreach. At least three sites faced these logistical challenges.

Five sites reported numerous challenges related to organizational and institutional roles, including (1) staff or partners not carrying out roles effectively or in concert with others; (2) a lack of adequate orientation or training for staff or partners, especially coaches; (3) perceived micromanagement by the PHA; (4) a lack of accountability to ensure that partners were following through on obligations, which affected the connections to broader neighborhoods; and (5) a lack of trust between the PHA and residents. At two sites, Boston and Memphis, the preparation for site-wide physical rehabilitation and redevelopment presented a major challenge to implementing CSW (and other aspects of Jobs Plus). Memphis secured a Choice Neighborhood Initiative implementation grant (described previously), and the Boston Housing Authority is undertaking a complete citywide conversion to the Rental Assistance Demonstration program, which provides a funding mechanism for the housing authority to do extensive rehabilitation to public housing units.

Community challenges. At the community level, three main types of challenges appear to constrain CSW implementation. In at least five sites, respondents noted issues focusing on lack of trust among residents, dynamics related to resident power and influence, and public safety concerns. Although the lack of trust among residents is a broader issue for the implementation of Jobs Plus as a whole, it is a particular challenge for the CSW imperative of connecting residents to one another for social support, information sharing, and bridging to opportunities. These challenges, as described in the following quote, make it more difficult for neighbor-to-neighbor community building to occur, given the social dynamics in place that create tension over space and behavioral norms.

There's a lot of distrust. A lot of neighbors live next door to each other in the same unit and don't interact with one another, other than passing by. There's a lot of tension. ... They just don't really get along and trust each other.

In addition, the perception of the community coaches as employees of the PHA (or a contracted organization) sometimes got in the way of building trust or relationships with other residents. Across sites, community coaches were seen as “just one of them” or being hand-picked by the Jobs Plus program directors, and consequently, some residents were more cautious about sharing work-related struggles with coaches. Balancing the roles as a resident and a Jobs Plus employee made community coaching complicated for residents, in some cases hindering the ability to connect openly with other residents due to the perception of being more closely allied with site staff.

A second community-level challenge involves the dynamics of resident power and influence. In large part, the resident councils and particularly the council presidents assert these dynamics. At some sites, resident council presidents positioned themselves as gatekeepers for the community, through whom all site initiatives must be negotiated. Thus, the responsiveness, openness, competence, and influence of the tenant council president were critical factors in the operationalization of Jobs Plus as a whole. The implementation of CSW was specifically challenged in this regard, because the presidents tended to see the efforts to organize and mobilize residents as a threat to their influence.

A third community-level challenge involved public safety. In particular, actual incidents and perceptions about the lack of safety had an effect on communities in Chicago, Cuyahoga, St. Louis, and Syracuse. Staff and contracted partners reported being afraid to conduct outreach at these sites because of safety concerns.

Individual challenges. Several forms of individual-level challenges inhibited CSW implementation, including helping residents overcome barriers such as mental health conditions, family issues, and substance abuse problems that prevented engagement. There were also challenges that residents and even staff faced related to a basic resistance to change and uncertainty about the value and risk of trying something new. Staff shared concern about getting residents to come out to meetings, in part because of individual and family situations that impeded engagement. Staff at some sites also expressed that residents were concerned about privacy and confidentiality and did not want other residents “in their business.” For example, some residents did not want others to know that they lacked high school diplomas. Finally, some staff shared how residents initially engaged with a facet of the program, such as a GED class, but later stopped attending sessions. In part, staff identified the lack of retention as related to specific individual challenges.

Considerations for Ongoing Community Support for Work

The Jobs Plus sites' early experiences implementing CSW suggest some important considerations for this component going forward.

- **Clarification and support of CSW: As is known from past experiences, this component is challenging to implement.** HUD officials, Jobs Plus PHAs, and other stakeholders should work collaboratively to define CSW efforts and come to clear agreement on how to operationalize and measure outcomes effectively. Jobs Plus sites and HUD officials should develop a process for proactively addressing the challenges that threaten to compromise the success of CSW. Arising challenges across most sites should take priority, including the operational, community, and individual challenges previously presented. HUD leadership is needed to establish an ongoing, collaborative, and accessible process for facilitating CSW problem solving among staff, coaches, and resident leaders.
- **Implement CSW through a universal orientation: Relationship building is essential to the early implementation of CSW, but also to the sustainability of the changes in the social environment that the pilot intends to make.** In line with the intent of the component and in keeping with the current direction offered by HUD, staff, residents, and partners should consider CSW through a universal lens, engaging a wider range of people in contributing to CSW efforts. As the CSW policy overview document said, “Everyone has a role in building CSW. ... PHAs should not assume that CSW is solely or even mainly the responsibility of the community coaches” (HUD, 2016). Attention to the community coaches' role is necessary in order to ensure that coaches can support the adoption of this integration approach, as well as maintain their specialized and unique contributions to Jobs Plus implementation.
- **Resident leadership: Sites could benefit from more technical assistance in cultivating their skills on topics related to resident leadership, neighbor-to-neighbor networks, and community-building efforts.** Stronger resident engagement in the planning and execution of CSW efforts may be necessary to achieve sustained support for work within public housing communities beyond the grant period. Furthermore, community coaches are the most concrete manifestation of CSW, although there remains a need for more training for coaches and program staff to support them. For coaches to balance dual roles as staff members and as residents expected to maintain peer trust, greater intention and investment in their professional development is needed.
- **Building relationships beyond developments: Jobs Plus staff need to engage and hold accountable partners who originally agreed to provide support services, linkages to employment, and other leverage opportunities, as well as to engage new partners in the broader neighborhood.** Creating bridges between residents and new social networks and career opportunities needs to be more concretely operationalized through strategic innovations. In addition to bringing resources from the broader community *into* the public housing developments, more opportunities should be sought for residents to engage in activities *outside* of developments—for example, to attend offsite job fairs, workshops, and classes, where they can hopefully meet and network with people who are connected to employment. Ultimately, most employment opportunities for residents will be outside of the developments in the surrounding communities, so activities that help facilitate residents' interactions in the surrounding communities are a crucial piece of what Jobs Plus can offer.

Looking Forward

This report provides a look into the early startup experiences of the nine grantees in the Jobs Plus Pilot Evaluation, the first round of sites funded as part of HUD's scale-up of this intervention. As a summary of early site experiences, this report offers insights into the basic approaches that sites have taken to frame each component of the Jobs Plus model, the pace at which sites have operationalized the components, and early participation outcomes where available. In doing so, this report describes the challenges that local site staff navigated regarding employment services, CSW, and rent-based work incentives (JPEID) and highlights emerging strategies at the time of data collection during site visits in mid-2016. These early insights—and proposed considerations for the program and practices—may help inform sites, HUD, and the technical assistance provider on issues that deserve attention and practices that are worth emulating, as they continue to build and strengthen the Jobs Plus Pilot program.

As a brief initial document, this report's focus is on elevating overall early startup experiences, rather than exploring individual site-level experiences in depth. The second and final report for the evaluation, scheduled for mid-2018, which will look at the nine programs through early 2018, will describe longer-term implementation, how programs mature, technical assistance needs and how to address them, the costs of the initiative, and lessons for HUD and future program implementers. The final report will also take into account new policy and programmatic HUD-developed guidance, particularly around the JPEID and CSW, and how the new guidance addresses some of the issues sites raised. The final report will take on more of a cross-site, comparative perspective of strategies, saturation, and outcomes to explore how program context and strategies evolved and supported Jobs Plus implementation. It will also include an assessment of how employment services were implemented to reach saturation goals, how deeply JPEID reached residents in the housing developments, how CSW operationalized and effected changes in work expectations among development residents, how the different model components interacted with each other to support employment outcomes, and whether and how the programs took full advantage of opportunities afforded them by being place-based. Drawing on a richer body of data, the final report will offer conclusions about the ability of the program to replicate the past success of Jobs Plus. The final report will also examine the costs of the initiative and draw lessons for future scale-up of the program.

Appendix A

Table A-1. Public Housing Authorities Selected To Operate Jobs Plus, by Funding Year

Funding Year/State	Public Housing Authority	Funding (\$)
2014		
Massachusetts	Boston Housing Authority	1,977,607
North Carolina	Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte	2,224,786
Illinois	Chicago Housing Authority	3,000,000
Ohio	Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority	3,000,000
Texas	Houston Housing Authority	3,000,000
Tennessee	Memphis Housing Authority	3,000,000
Virginia	City of Roanoke Redevelopment and Housing Authority	3,000,000
Missouri	St. Louis Housing Authority	3,000,000
New York	Syracuse Housing Authority	1,977,607
Total		24,180,000
2015		
California	Housing Authority of the City of Oakland	2,700,000
	Housing Authority of the City of Sacramento	2,700,000
Colorado	Housing Authority of the City and County of Denver	2,700,000
North Carolina	Housing Authority of the City of Goldsboro	2,700,000
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Housing Authority	2,700,000
Tennessee	Metropolitan Development and Housing Agency	2,700,000
Texas	Housing Authority of Austin	2,700,000
	San Antonio Housing Authority	2,700,000
Virginia	Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority	2,700,000
Total		24,300,000
2016		
Florida	Housing Authority of the City of Tampa	2,500,000
Arizona	City of Phoenix Housing Department	2,000,000
Maryland	Housing Authority of Baltimore City	2,489,734
Ohio	Greater Dayton Premier Management (Dayton MHA)	2,399,211
New York	New York City Housing Authority	2,000,000
Rhode Island	The City of Providence Housing Authority	2,999,608
Total		14,388,553

Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Services, *JPI Jobs Plus Initiative Program*

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