This paper proposes a model for a neighborhood program to help enough low-income individuals improve their employment and financial standing so that the impacts are meaningful at a neighborhood scale. Section I describes the project. Section II explains why neighborhood-focused employment programs are an important part of the solution for neighborhoods with concentrated poverty. Section III describes these six components of the model: (1) outreach/recruitment; (2) individualized career planning via career advisors; (3) income enhancement via financial advisors; (4) job readiness and retention support groups; (5) employment center with resource room; and (6) access to training programs and other employment resources. Section IV describes nine implementation steps: define the neighborhood; conduct a neighborhood assessment; set goals based on neighborhood need; determine program components for resident subgroups; compile a city-wide inventory of workforce development resources; determine the organizational structure of the neighborhood employment program; locate the employment center; hire staff; and implement a tracking system. Section V considers these questions of feasibility: Can the model attain outcomes needed to make a meaningful impact on neighborhood employment? What will it cost to implement? Is it possible to fund the model? Section VI concludes that this strategy opens up new options for individuals and also expands the possibilities for all residents of a disadvantaged place. Appendixes A-F include information about sites and resources. (Contains 74 references.) (YLB)
Providing the Missing Link

A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

by

Wendy Fleischer and Julie Dressner

Submitted to

The Annie E. Casey Foundation

June 2002
About the Authors

Wendy Fleischer and Julie Dressner assist nonprofits, intermediaries and foundations to design, implement and document workforce development strategies. They are independent consultants and writers who often work as a team. Wendy and Julie lead the Corporation for Supportive Housing's effort to design and implement Next Step: Jobs, a three-city, place-based employment demonstration program for residents of supportive housing. Joint consulting projects include co-authoring "Keeping the Door Open: Addressing Drug Problems as Barriers to Work" and "Next Door: A Concept Paper for Place-Based Employment Initiatives" – both are distributed by the Corporation for Supportive Housing.

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We welcome any feedback you have on this report. Feel free to contact us at Wendyfly@msn.com or Jdressner@aol.com

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We were extremely privileged to speak with many knowledgeable and committed people in the fields of workforce and community development. We are grateful to each person who took the time away from their important work to share their ideas and experiences with us. A full list of the people we interviewed is included at the end of this report. We especially would like to thank the staff, clients and board members of the neighborhood employment programs that we visited. In all cases they extended us gracious hospitality and were very generous in supplying us with enormous amounts of information. We appreciate their patience in answering our questions and their understanding in seeing their programs featured only in sidebars in the report.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments 2

Section I: Introduction 4

Section II: Rationale for Neighborhood-Focused Employment Strategies 8

Why are some neighborhoods poor?
Workforce development as part of the solution.
What works in workforce development?
Roles for regional organizations
The role for neighborhoods

Section III: A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program 14

Six core components:
- Outreach/recruitment
- Individualized career planning via career advisors
- Income enhancement via financial advisors
- Job readiness and retention support groups
- Employment center with resource room
- Access to training programs and other employment resources

Program quality: the successful organizational personality

Section IV: Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program 27

Define the neighborhood
Conduct a neighborhood assessment
Set goals based on neighborhood need
Determine program components for resident subgroups
Compile a city-wide inventory of workforce development resources
Determine the organizational structure of the neighborhood employment program
Locate the employment center
Hire staff
Implement a tracking system

Section V: Testing Program Feasibility: Outcomes, Budget and Funding 39

Can the model attain the outcomes needed to make a meaningful impact on neighborhood employment?
What will it cost to implement?
Is it possible to fund this model?

Section VI: Conclusion 44

Appendices:
A. Resources for youth employment 45
B. Milwaukee Making Connections neighborhood assessment planning documents 46
C. Workforce development tracking systems 48
D. Outcome projections for a hypothetical neighborhood employment program 49
E. Budget for a hypothetical neighborhood employment program 52
F. Lincoln Action Program receipts and programs 54

List of People Interviewed for the Report 55

References 57
I. INTRODUCTION

Even when the country's economy was booming, some neighborhoods were still going bust. In good times and bad, millions of people live in neighborhoods devastated by poverty. Community-based, neighborhood-focused workforce development strategies have the potential both to help individual residents improve their economic standing and to improve neighborhood conditions. By combining individualized assistance with systematic links to top-notch training, education, work supports and jobs, neighborhood-focused employment programs will spur neighborhood revitalization and create vital links to the metropolitan workforce development system for residents. This report outlines a model for a neighborhood-focused workforce development strategy.

By workforce development, we mean nearly any work-supporting intervention, from cultural competence to childcare. As Bennett Harrison and Marcus Weiss define it, workforce development is "the constellation of activities from recruiting, placement, and mentoring to follow-up, of which the actual [job] training is but one element." Workforce development for low-income people involves not just improving skills and finding jobs but also helping workers solve the difficult dilemmas of juggling childcare, family health problems and work on a low budget. It involves designing strategies for job seekers to navigate worksites controlled by managers of different racial, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. It includes providing the basic skills that enable the worker to become eligible for job training or promotion. It requires disseminating information, providing personal support and linking job seekers with the appropriate next step on their career path.

The niche for neighborhoods
Not all workforce development activities are best undertaken from a neighborhood platform. Regional actors play certain roles most efficiently. We believe that these include employer-customized job training, sectoral strategies and regional economic development. At the same time, we recognize that regional programs rarely strive to make impacts on neighborhoods. Indeed, residents of very poor neighborhoods often do not find their way to regional programs; when they do, they often do not fare well.

Neighborhood workforce programs seek to improve the employment outcomes of their clients, like all good employment programs. But neighborhoods have the added goal of serving a place. How can they accomplish this part of their mission? The Neighborhood Jobs Initiative (NJI), the only multi-city initiative we are aware of with the goal of revitalizing neighborhoods through employment, was a feasibility demonstration program that aimed to transform neighborhoods through increased employment. NJI, drawn to a close at the end of 2001, was intended to substantially raise the percentage of working adults in five high-poverty urban neighborhoods. NJI set out to attain "saturation"-level employment. Saturation is achieved when a critical mass of residents are gainfully employed, potentially reaching a sort of reverse "tipping point" that turns around the negative, neighborhood effects of high rates of unemployment. According to this hypothesis, substantially increasing the rate of employment would positively impact other social indicators such as public safety, health and school graduation rates.

We think it is important to set targets as NJI did, such that, if residents remained in place, the neighborhood would attain high rates of employment. However, we are cautious about setting employment saturation as the goal of the neighborhood-focused employment program. Neighborhoods are very dynamic. If many newly employed residents move out, the neighborhood may not improve the neighborhood rate of employment even if the program succeeds at assisting large numbers of people to go to work. Conversely, if a large number of working residents move in to a neighborhood for any number of reasons, the neighborhood rate of employment will go up even if the original residents did not improve their employment standing. In our view, this would not be the desired result because the original residents might not be better off. But even if neighborhood programs do not change the rate of neighborhood employment, we believe they can transform the neighborhood by bringing opportunities to places where there are otherwise few. If the neighborhood employment program can link residents with the range of high-quality services they need to gain a secure foothold in the metropolitan economy, the program succeeds in diminishing the disadvantages of living in the high-poverty neighborhood.

1 Harrison and Weiss, 1998.
3 The tipping concept describes a critical mass of idleness, crime, and other social perils that, once apparent, accelerates overall neighborhood decline and makes it difficult for neighborhood residents to resist the trend by working, staying in school, improving their surroundings, etc. According to this theory, every resident is affected and every resident's economic mobility and opportunity decreases; Wilson and Kelling, 1982, and Kelling and Coles, 1997.
We would add increased income to employment as a core program objective. Emerging research suggests that increases in employment alone do not enhance family well-being; increases in both employment and income are needed. We would hypothesize that this is true for neighborhoods, as well as individuals and families.

As we see it then, the dual goals of the neighborhood program are to 1) increase residents' employment and income and 2) to increase the quantity and improve the quality of career opportunities available to the neighborhood's residents, to transform the neighborhood from a trap to a springboard.

There are value judgments implicit in the program design we are recommending. We believe that ultimately, the purpose of the neighborhood-focused employment program is to improve the lives of individuals who most need assistance. It can be argued that neighborhoods would benefit most if the people most likely to succeed are assisted first. But these might be people who would find their way to and qualify for centralized programs and services on their own. We have seen evidence that convenient, quality and user-friendly services provided by a trusted community-based organization will draw residents who do not use centralized one-stops and are not effectively served by other programs. This is one of the advantages of neighborhood-based services. We would suggest that the neighborhood program should be the open end of the funnel in the workforce system. All residents are eligible; nobody is turned away. In this way, neighborhood programs fill in a critical missing link in a metropolitan area's workforce development system.

By serving as a recruitment, assessment and support mechanism, neighborhood programs can bridge the gap between residents of low-income neighborhoods and high quality regional programs. They lower the bar for access to good jobs and training by arranging the basic education and "pre-job training" needed to qualify. They create partnerships with training programs that help neighborhood residents move up in the queue for participation. Furthermore, neighborhood organizations can provide the formal and informal credentials and references that help residents access better jobs, educational programs and job training.

Neighborhood-focused vs. neighborhood-based
In order to achieve the dual goals of assisting individuals and improving the neighborhood, the neighborhood workforce effort must be not only community-based but neighborhood-focused. The defining difference between a community-based and a neighborhood-focused program is the emphasis on neighborhood-level needs, opportunities and outcomes. Some organizations are based in a residential neighborhood but may not set goals for the neighborhood; they may not primarily serve residents of the neighborhood; or, hold themselves accountable to a geographic constituency as a neighborhood-focused program would. The neighborhood-focused program sets targets to reach large enough numbers of people within a geographic community such that the impacts can be meaningful at a neighborhood scale. The neighborhood-focused program listens to residents; it tailors its program to the universe of people within its geographic borders. It seeks to transform the community from a place where people get stuck to one where people can and do improve their prospects.

The model
How can a neighborhood program help enough low-income individuals improve their employment and financial standing so that the impacts make a difference to the neighborhood as a whole? In this report, we recommend a model for a neighborhood-focused employment program based on our conclusions about the role for neighborhoods in workforce development and the experiences of the small number of place-based employment programs. We also draw upon the research on employment and training. From the research on welfare-to-work and other workforce development programs for low-income people, we concluded that the best package of activities for low-income people includes financial incentives to make work pay and a mix of job search/job development, training and education. The package should also include work-related supports, especially childcare and transportation. Workforce development services should be tailored to the individual so that they are appropriate and immediately accessible. At the same time, they must meet the specifications of employers. Of utmost importance in the delivery of all workforce development activities is the high quality of the service.

To deliver this package of services, the neighborhood workforce development program encompasses these six core program elements:

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4 For example, "Raising employment without increasing income may not be sufficient to boost the healthy development of children in low-income families." (Morris, et al. 2001, p. 63).
Providing the Missing Link

1. Strategic outreach/recruitment to those that do not otherwise fare well in centralized workforce development systems;
2. Outcome-oriented career advisors who act as brokers, mentors, advocates and allies to enable residents to take the most appropriate career steps for them;
3. Financial advisors who help residents maximize their income by using the Federal Earned Income Tax Credit and all other cash and in-kind benefits for which they are eligible;
4. Job readiness and retention support groups to foster peer support, enhance soft skills and provide forums for problem solving;
5. An employment center in the neighborhood with a resource room for residents to conduct their own self-directed job search and to get help from career advisors and financial advisors; and,
6. Access to quality training programs and other employment resources identified as neighborhood priorities, through systematic partnerships and neighborhood-level brokering.

The greatest challenge of the neighborhood-focused program is to serve a high volume of people who are very diverse. It requires pulling together resources and partnerships to meet the workforce development needs of a diverse resident base. Few, if any programs, are reaching a scale that make a difference at a neighborhood level. To do so will require building the program to a large enough size. This will most likely require collaboration among many organizations.

Implementation
This report describes nine steps to consider in implementing this model. Nearly each one is fraught with confounding issues that require deliberate and thoughtful action. These include: 1) define the neighborhood; 2) conduct a neighborhood assessment; 3) determine program components for resident subgroups; 4) set goals based on neighborhood need; 5) compile a city-wide inventory of workforce development resources; 6) determine the organizational structure of the neighborhood employment program; 7) locate the employment center; 8) hire staff; and 9) launch a tracking system.

Feasibility
Workforce development is a slow, incremental process unlikely to yield dramatic results in the short-term. However, based on our best assumptions and the evidence from the programs we've visited, we believe that the model we are recommending would make a meaningful difference in increasing income and employment prospects for the residents of a low-income neighborhood. We think that over a ten-year period, this model has the potential to reach significant numbers of people and to improve their employment and earnings. According to our assumptions, it would cost an average of $2,100 per participant and $4,150 per successful participant.

The Workforce Investment Act offers localities the flexibility to implement this model. Innovative Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs) are already going in the direction of creating neighborhood-based one-stops. We advise WIBs and neighborhoods to partner in this way, but even in the absence of such collaboration, we urge community organizations and other funders to test neighborhood-focused employment programs.

Background
We feel very fortunate that the Annie E. Casey Foundation offered us the opportunity to write this report. Through its Making Connections Initiative, the Foundation is seeking to transform very low-income neighborhoods into family-supportive environments. The Foundation is supporting efforts to revitalize up to 20 urban neighborhoods through enhancing economic opportunities, social networks, and services and supports. A critical component of this initiative is to improve and expand the employment opportunities available to neighborhood residents and to increase families’ income and assets. This report was commissioned by the Annie E. Casey Foundation to stimulate ideas and provide concrete suggestions for designing and implementing workforce development strategies that can make a meaningful neighborhood impact.

This project has given us the opportunity to visit several neighborhood employment programs that graciously hosted us and provided us with generous assistance. These include:
- In Chicago: Bethel New Life Community Development Corporation; The West Haven collaboration between The Central West Community Organization, the Near West Side Community Development Corporation and Project Match; and, The North Lawndale Neighborhood Employment Network;
- In Fort Worth: The Near Northside Partnership Council;
- In New York City: The Fifth Avenue Committee/ Brooklyn Workforce Innovations; and the New Bronx Employment
Services of the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program; and,
• In Philadelphia: Frankford Career Services of the Community Development Corporation of Frankford Group Ministry.

We also had the pleasure of interviewing over 100 knowledgeable people in the fields of workforce and neighborhood development in person or by phone. These include representatives of community development corporations, employment programs, settlement houses, national intermediaries, research organizations, foundations and government agencies (listed at the end of this report). Finally, we researched the literature on comprehensive community initiatives, workforce development and neighborhood poverty.

We bring to this undertaking our individual experiences in community development corporations, in government and at the Corporation for Supportive Housing, where, together, we developed and implemented Next Step: Jobs, an initiative to increase employment among the formerly homeless residents of supportive housing. We have learned a lot from two other place-based initiatives, the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative, mentioned above, and Jobs Plus, an employment initiative in public housing also overseen by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. And, as noted throughout the report, we have taken great inspiration from the work and research of Project Match.

Organization and Style of the Paper
The original concept of this paper was to write case studies about neighborhood employment programs. But, for two reasons, we took another tack. First, while there are many neighborhood-based programs, we saw few neighborhood-focused programs. Second, the neighborhood employment programs we visited all offered a number of great ideas and valuable lessons but none offered the full complement of services we came to believe would be ideal. In reviewing the literature, we came across many case studies but very few reports that presume to make recommendations. Given the early evolutionary stage of the neighborhood workforce development field, however, we thought recommendations would be most helpful. So we took the risk of recommending. We propose a model, think through what it would take to implement it and make some preliminary projections about its feasibility for success. We know this model is not the only answer. Many will disagree with our assumptions. We hope, in fact, that the report will provoke ideas and discussion and even some attempts at implementing variations. We look forward to participating in and learning from the discussion, debates, and mostly, the implementation of such programs.

The next section of the paper, Section II, explains why we think neighborhood-focused employment programs are an important part of the solution for neighborhoods with concentrated poverty and includes some background on the employment and training research from which we drew lessons. Section III describes the six components of the model. It also describes its "personality" since we find that the spirit and principles behind the program elements matter as much as the core components themselves. Section IV describes nine implementation steps. Section V addresses three questions to evaluate the feasibility of the program: 1) Can the model attain the outcomes needed to make a meaningful impact on neighborhood employment? 2) What will it cost to implement? and, 3) Is it possible to fund the model we described? Finally, in Section VI we draw the report to its conclusion.

Whenever we thought it would be helpful to provide an illustration, we did so in sidebars throughout the report. These examples come from our site visits, interviews and literature about the programs we explored. The Appendices include some information provided by these sites and other information that we thought would be useful to practitioners.
II. RATIONALE FOR
NEIGHBORHOOD-FOCUSED
EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES

Not everyone agrees that neighborhood workforce development strategies are needed. Indeed, most government funding for workforce development is not specifically targeted for geographic communities and many practitioners believe that workforce development is in the domain of regional organizations. In this section we explore whether we need neighborhood workforce development programs and, if so, what roles they play. We address the questions: 1) Why are some neighborhoods poor? 2) What role could workforce development play in making poor neighborhoods less so? 3) Which workforce development strategies are most effective for low-income people? 4) What roles are best suited to regional organizations? and, finally, 5) What roles should neighborhoods play in remediating neighborhood poverty?

1. Why are some neighborhoods poor?
The largest single factor in creating high-poverty communities is diminished economic opportunity in the larger metropolitan area, argues Paul Jargowsky in Poverty and Place. Therefore, as metropolitan economic conditions improve, poor neighborhoods shrink; as economic opportunities decline, neighborhoods of concentrated poverty grow. Inner-city neighborhoods are further disadvantaged by the relocation of businesses to the suburbs, making jobs less accessible to urban residents. Residents’ plight is further aggravated by the continually increasing importance of skills and education in the labor market. The premium on education puts less-skilled, less-educated workers at a serious disadvantage. Because people live where they can afford to live, poor people move to or get stuck in very poor neighborhoods. These neighborhoods can often also be identified by race for a mix of reasons related to racial inequities, racist practices and personal preferences.

While we oversimplify here, we are convinced that the most significant causes of high-poverty urban neighborhoods are economic, rather than somehow caused by the people who live there, as some others argue. But while metropolitan economic conditions have improved during our country’s ten-year economic boom, very poor neighborhoods persisted in otherwise thriving cities.

Joblessness is a prominent feature of persistently poor communities. William Julius Wilson emphasizes joblessness as a primary cause of social problems in poor neighborhoods; “the consequences of high neighborhood joblessness are more devastating than those of high neighborhood poverty.” He links joblessness to “broken families, antisocial behavior, social networks that do not extend beyond the confines of the ghetto environment, and a lack of informal social control over the behavior and activities of children and adults in the neighborhood.” These negative social problems can be self-perpetuating. Children in such neighborhoods grow up without working role models. The social networks that lead to employment are weak or perpetuate connections to low-wage, dead-end jobs.

It is not only that there are few opportunities in the neighborhood, it is that neighborhood conditions are devastating and that residents are not well connected beyond their community’s borders. Some residents of very low-income neighborhoods do not have the information, the resources or the wherewithal to benefit from even the best economic times.

2. Workforce development as part of the solution
Macro-level changes are one part, perhaps the most significant part, of the solution to concentrated poverty. Jargowsky suggests certain federal and regional-level changes that would be needed if we were to rally the political will to eradicate neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. He recommends changes in federal fiscal and tax policy as well as increased enforcement against discrimination and the elimination of housing, zoning and transportation policies that increase economic and racial segregation. In addition, we would add reforming the federal Unemployment Insurance program, wage policies, and aspects of the childcare, welfare, education and criminal justice systems, all of which impact the employment and financial prospects of very low-income people.

But, locally implemented workforce development is also an essential response to joblessness and isolation. Jargowsky rec-
ommends increased educational, training and retraining opportunities as well as measures that “help remove the penalty associated with inner-city location.” Such measures include increased information and services to prepare people to take advantage of new economic opportunities. If workforce development efforts are successful at a neighborhood level, a higher proportion of working residents will, itself, improve conditions, according to Wilson’s hypothesis. Of course, in the absence of a robust economy, workforce development strategies will be less effective. But even in bad times, workforce development solutions targeted at poor neighborhoods can help equalize labor market prospects for residents in poor neighborhoods.

3. What works in workforce development?
If workforce development is a critical response to neighborhood poverty, then we need to learn which workforce development activities show the most promise. Most of the research is about programs that target individuals or particular populations (e.g., women on welfare) irrespective of place. Still, it is essential, in designing a neighborhood strategy, to know what workforce strategies are effective. While some workforce development efforts are producing promising outcomes, much of the literature on welfare-to-work and employment efforts for low-income people is sobering. The National Evaluation of Welfare to Work Strategies (NEWWS), for example, the most recent and largest of the country’s welfare-to-work evaluations, finds that most participants leaving welfare worked more but the majority did not attain stable employment after five years or substantially increase their income. To make a difference for poor neighborhoods, we have to do better than that.

Below, we summarize some of the findings we found most relevant for designing an effective workforce strategy for low-income neighborhoods.

- NEWWS tells us that assisted job search helps welfare recipients work more. Employment-focused welfare programs that mix job search and education/training do better than programs that focus on one or the other. Qualitative research done as part of The NEWWS evaluation suggests that getting a GED and vocational training can result in employment and earnings gains for those who achieve these milestones.

- One of the clearest, most compelling findings from the research is that work incentives – cash payments to supplement the earnings of low-income workers, such as the Federal Earned Income Tax Credit – both encourage work and increase income among people leaving welfare. Programs that combine financial incentives with employment-related services such as employment counseling and job placement assistance produce larger impacts than work incentives alone. Similarly, health benefits, publicly or employer-provided, are associated with more sustained work. Not surprisingly, for incentives to work, people need to know about them, therefore, marketing is a key feature of implementation.

- The Center for Employment Training (CET) in San Jose, CA has consistently shown high placement rates in higher paying jobs, with longer retention and more earnings than control groups in evaluations. CET integrates six months of skills training with remedial education and holistic, individualized counseling and supports. The organization’s close relationships with employers are a noted hallmark. Some believe that CET’s implicit respect and empowerment of each individual are also key to its success. Replications

16 Ibid, p. 211.
18 For a succinct summary of the research, see Strawn, Steady Work and Better Jobs. 2000.
21 Strawn, 2000, pp. 115-16.
Providing the Missing Link

of CET have fallen short of expectations, perhaps because the evaluations were premature given the amount of time it takes to develop employer and service networks.23

- Other employer-focused training programs, not evaluated by controlled experiments, show promising results. The sites in the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Jobs Initiative that provided occupational skills training targeted at high-paying industries and organized close collaborations with employers led to substantial wage increases and relatively high retention rates.24 Inconsistent research results from other training programs suggest that the quality of the training matters a great deal.25

- Sectoral initiatives help low-income people get jobs by targeting training to particular industries, intervening in the practices of the industry, and creating systemic change within that labor market.26 A one-year follow-up survey of participants in the Aspen Institute's Sectoral Employment Development Learning Project found that participants worked more, earned substantially more and were more likely to have health insurance and other benefits than program participants of other rigorously evaluated programs including the National JTPA Study, among others.27

- The New Hope Demonstration Program combined four program components: wage supplements, affordable health insurance, childcare subsidies and a full-time job for those unable to find one for residents of two Milwaukee neighborhoods. A rigorous evaluation found that each of the program's components played a major role in yielding important employment and earnings impacts as well as a "chain of beneficial effects for participants' families and their children."28 (For more details see text box in Section V).

- The Bridges to Work demonstration program, intended to correct the geographic mismatch of good jobs in the suburbs with workers in urban neighborhoods, was designed to test whether information, job placement assistance and transportation could connect job-ready inner-city workers to suburban employment. Final evaluation data is not yet available, however, early implementation reports indicate that transportation alone will do little to connect inner-city residents to suburban jobs.29 More attention to both job readiness and retention was needed than program opera-

tors originally believed. Because neighborhood recruitment did not yield sufficient numbers of worker-commuters, recruitment target areas had to be expanded.30 Employers did hire the inner-city workers, but program directors found providing transportation to be extremely challenging and costly. They conclude that reverse-commute programs require government or employer subsidies to work.31

- Project Match in Chicago highlights the utility of long-term, individualized services provided by employment counselors.32 Project Match found that a tailored, one-to-one approach enables clients to "start at an appropriate point for them, take different routes to self-sufficiency, receive assistance when it is needed, and get recognition from a trusted advisor for small steps along the route."33 A study of Project Match's participants, which tracked monthly progress over as many years as they stayed involved with the program, found that 36 percent of participants attained steady employment within five years,34 about the same as the most effective NEWWS site (Portland, OR).35

- The first and only large-scale demonstration program to test the effectiveness of case management services as a way to promote job retention, the Post-Employment Services Demonstration (PESD), concluded that the program had little effect.36 However, in practice, numerous nonprofit programs find that case management improves outcomes, including retention.37 As evaluations of training programs have found, this discrepancy may be due to the importance of the quality and design of program services.38

- The Rockefeller Foundation funded three place-based employment initiatives to test the benefits of an employment saturation model. Next Step: Jobs, the initiative we ran

25 Brawner and Martinson, 2000, p. 73.
26 Clark and Dawson, 1995.
30 This is attributed in part to the strong local economy (people could get jobs close to home) and the weak organizational credibility and referral networks. Eliot, et al., 1999.
33 Ibid. p. 7.
36 Rangarajan, 1999.
for formerly homeless residents of supportive housing, was found to be cost-effective, increasing participants' earnings by 50% over a comparison group. The strategy included "vocationalizing" the culture of the buildings to support work; providing case management services to link tenants with jobs, education, training and services; and making tenants a "standing offer of work," by hiring them within the supportive housing organizations and through job placement. The initiative suggests that clients' next steps must be developmentally appropriate and immediately available. Jobs Plus, created to significantly increase employment in six public housing residences is being rigorously evaluated by MDRC but data is not yet available. The Neighborhood Jobs Initiative (NJI) was a feasibility demonstration; program outcomes have not yet been disseminated.

- Across the board, workforce programs find that increasing retention in the labor market is much harder than job placement. There is little evidence about what works to increase long-term retention or wage progression. Virtually all retention strategies include post-placement supports; some suggest that combining education and training with work can improve advancement potential. We need to learn more about why people lose their jobs or otherwise fail to attach to the labor market. A recent study by the Urban Institute surveyed 3,000 employers to learn about their experiences hiring welfare recipients. The authors found that while most welfare recipients are considered as good or better than the typical employee in the same job, sizable fractions of recipients have problems with absenteeism (40%), attitudes toward work (15-20%) and/or relations with co-workers (14-20%). Causes of absenteeism are mostly due to difficulties with childcare (64%), transportation (41%) and health problems (34%). Welfare leavers with formal childcare arrangements sustain work longer than those who rely on relatives.

The research suggests to us that no single employment strategy can be depended upon to assist the diverse pool of low-income workers that would characterize a neighborhood's residents. Rather, low-income individuals are most likely to succeed with a package of workforce development activities that includes:
- financial incentives to make work pay;
- job search/job development with an emphasis on getting the best possible job;
- work-focused education;
- high-quality, employer-focused training; and,
- work-related supports, especially childcare and transportation.

A challenge in designing neighborhood employment strategies is to provide diverse residents with the appropriate resources to advance in the workplace. It would be impossible for most neighborhood programs to create all the services, education, training and employer linkages needed by every resident. It is critical, then, to sort out what neighborhoods can and should do from roles that are best played by others.

4. The role for regional organizations
We would argue that job training and sectoral strategies are most efficiently implemented at a regional scale. In order to ascertain which sectors are growing or shrinking, regional analysis is needed. It is not efficient for every neighborhood to conduct this type of analysis. Regional actors are best positioned to coordinate job and industry-wide training with a city's economic development policies. Job training and sectoral approaches must be employer-focused, and employers, with the exception of neighborhood mom and pop shops, draw their labor force from areas larger than neighborhoods. Training programs too, most often draw their participants from beyond neighborhood boundaries to recruit sufficient numbers of workers.

When neighborhood organizations operate job training programs, they inevitably serve people from outside the neighborhood. In itself, that is not a problem but the great organizational efforts needed to launch and operate these programs often comes at the expense of the program's focus on...
neighborhood residents. What is more, “Not all job seekers match up with the entry requirements ...related to basic skills, job readiness, aptitudes, aspirations, and work experience.” Some people get left out. Community-based organizations that focus their workforce development efforts on job training programs often wind up serving the small subset of their neighborhood that has the skills, interests and aptitudes needed to benefit from the particular training programs they run. Often the programs that put community-based organizations “on the map” as workforce providers actually result in the employment of relatively few people from the target neighborhood.

5. The role for neighborhoods

At the same time, regional organizations do not strive to make an impact on particular neighborhoods. Therefore, regional job training programs typically do not recruit from specific neighborhoods and rarely generate neighborhood-level impacts. Indeed, residents from distressed neighborhoods are often not well served by centralized workforce development programs. Residents, community organization staff and workforce development agency staff alike report that residents from the poorest communities do not know about their city’s one-stop centers. They feel “intimidated” by them, “can’t get to them” and/or “don’t find them helpful when they do go.” Many residents of isolated neighborhoods do not have the credentials or the wherewithal to find and join the best training programs. Often, other workforce-related public benefits programs and services are not well used (e.g., childcare subsidies) because residents in poor neighborhoods do not hear about them or know how to access them.

In order to accomplish the dual goals of achieving positive employment outcomes for individuals and increasing the level of opportunity in a geographic community requires workforce programs that specifically target neighborhoods. Programs that have developed a neighborhood constituency have meaningful advantages in engaging community residents that are not well served by mainstream systems. In our experience, neighborhood-oriented, community-based organizations – including community development corporations, churches, settlement houses, youth programs and other neighborhood organizations – are more likely to successfully recruit and engage residents of isolated neighborhoods than regional organizations or government agencies. These organizations are more likely to be trusted than government agencies and convenient, neighborhood locations are more likely to be visited by residents seeking basic employment services.

Rather than creating the full spectrum of workforce development services, the neighborhood program leverages its advantage in engaging residents and systematically links the neighborhood to job training and other resources and opportunities that will lead to improved employment outcomes. By providing a combination of convenient, user-friendly workforce development services in the community and tailoring them to the residents of the targeted neighborhood, neighborhood-focused employment programs have the potential to connect both employed and unemployed low-income residents to better jobs, training, education and support services from throughout the region than they would find on their own.

Thus, the primary roles for neighborhood-focused workforce development programs are to focus on the supply side of the labor market equation by:
1. recruiting and engaging the people and places that are not effectively being served by centralized systems;
2. bridging the gap between where residents are and the first rung of a career ladder by providing pre-job training and soft skills enhancement; and

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43 Giloth, 2000, p. 342.
44 For example, the Jobs Initiative of the Annie E. Casey Foundation designated impact communities, however, the sites were more focused, and therefore, more successful, in attaining ambitious employment outcomes (high wages in good jobs) than geographic outcomes.
45 For example, Strive “clients seldom use the state’s one-stop job development centers because there aren’t adequate staff resources to explain how to use the systems or to encourage regular use.” (Barr, et al., 2001, p. 20). Also, from interviews with Patrick Clancy, Philadelphia Workforce Development Corporation, Tom Orr, Indianapolis PRC, residents from Frankford, Philadelphia, and program operators at numerous CDCs.
46 For example, in three low-income New Jersey communities, “Many parents with low incomes do not make use of childcare subsidies, job search assistance, or other services for families experiencing hardships. ... Approximately one in three unemployed parents turn to government workforce agencies to find a job, only about one in ten receive a job offer through these agencies, and only three in 100 accept such an offer.” (Hails, et al., 2001, p. xv-xvi).
47 For example, MDRC found that, “where the lead agency had already laid the groundwork for neighborhood connections — where the hard work of door-to-door organizing had been accomplished — NJl has been able to build on these connections to draw large numbers of participants.” (MDRC memo to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, January 2002.)
48 See Independent Sector Report (June 8, 2001) Charities Rank Higher than Government Institutions and Big Business in Public Confidence. The report finds: “When measured against levels of confidence in other institutions, Americans ... expressed high confidence in nearly all charitable organizations such as youth development groups (72 percent) and human service agencies (68 percent) as opposed to major corporations (29 percent), federal government (27 percent), and Congress (22 percent).” www.independentsector.org/media/FactFind3PR.html
A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

3. Moving neighborhood residents up in the queue for quality training, education, jobs, and other vital resources and support services through partnerships.

In suggesting this resident focus, we are not in any way diminishing the importance of employer-focused workforce strategies—the most effective training programs are employer focused. We are suggesting that the tasks be rationally sorted. Employer-focused programs maintain that focus while relying on a pipeline of workers that are engaged and supported in the neighborhoods where they live. This allocation of roles has the potential to both create an important missing link in the workforce development system with minimal duplication of effort and to foster neighborhood revitalization. To accomplish these goals, neighborhoods need to provide access to a broad array of services that are appropriate to the diverse skills, education, aptitudes and interests of the neighborhood’s residents. They need to be advocates and arbiters for first-rate services. And they need to be able to bring together sufficient resources to serve large numbers of residents.

Neighborhood workforce development strategies can “remove the penalties” of living in high-poverty neighborhoods by meaningfully increasing the level of opportunity available to neighborhood residents. At the same time, they can create a missing link in the workforce development system by funneling people from such neighborhoods into appropriate jobs, training, education and services. Neighborhood-focused employment programs do not substitute for needed macro-economic or other public policy changes, nor do they replace the need for quality, regional, employer-focused training and sectoral programs. Rather, they compliment such efforts by making services easy to get to and use for residents with the least ability to access services on their own. We “cannot work miracles or reverse fundamental economic changes.” But neighborhood-focused employment programs can make a difference to the individuals living in poor neighborhoods by helping these communities become places of opportunity.

The next section describes the core elements of a model neighborhood-focused employment program.

III. A MODEL FOR A NEIGHBORHOOD-FOCUSED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Like many other programs, neighborhood-focused employment programs seek to assist a significant number of workers to progress toward stable employment that provides family-sustaining income. Neighborhood-focused programs assume the additional goal of making a meaningful impact to the poor community as a whole. Therefore, a challenge of neighborhood programs is to address the needs of a large number of diverse people. As we concluded in the prior section of this report, we think that the way to accomplish this objective is to focus on engaging and supporting the residents - the supply side of the labor market - while systematically partnering with businesses, organizations and government agencies that provide access to jobs and career advancement opportunities. The neighborhood program is a broker, matching residents with resources and opportunities that will lead to improved employment outcomes. It is a gap-filler, building the missing lowest rungs on career ladders by enabling residents to qualify for training or jobs. It is also a bridge, bringing strategic resources in and providing a connection out to regional services. The program focuses on neighborhood residents but neither jobs nor other resources should be limited to those found within the neighborhood itself.

While we recommend a conceptual model for neighborhood-focused employment programs, the actual program would vary from one neighborhood to another. An advantage of a neighborhood-focused program is that it can be adapted to meet the specific needs of each community. One community might need to emphasize English as a Second Language (ESL), while another would focus on removing transportation barriers. By knowing the characteristics and needs of neighborhood residents, a program can tailor its recruitment and program strategy accordingly.

Two communities implementing the model that we are recommending, then, are likely to have substantially different program designs. But even if the exact same program design were implemented in two strikingly similar communities, the outcomes could still differ dramatically. This is because the magic is in the details of how each program is implemented. That is why we try to emphasize the qualities and characteristics that can make or break a program.

That said, we defined six core components of a model neighborhood-focused employment program. The six components include:

1. Outreach/recruitment
2. Individualized career planning via career advisors
3. Income enhancement via financial advisors
4. Job readiness and retention support groups
5. Employment center with resource room
6. Access to quality training programs and other employment resources via neighborhood-level brokering

Through these core components, residents have access to: assessment, job readiness, job search, job development, wrap-around support services, income enhancement, retention support and career advancement.

The graphic on the following page represents the relationship among the six core components of the model.
A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

Please note: Because the graphic that is printed on page 15 of the report, "Providing the Missing Link: A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program" is not complete, we have included this insert with the complete graphic representation of the proposed model for a neighborhood-focused employment program.

**THE SIX CORE COMPONENTS OF A MODEL NEIGHBORHOOD-FOCUSED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM INCLUDE:**

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The following graphic represents the relationship among the six core components of the model:

![Diagram of the proposed model for a neighborhood-focused employment program]
A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

Six core components of neighborhood-focused employment programs

1. Outreach/recruitment
The ability to engage clients who would otherwise not be served by the workforce development system is one of the presumed advantages of neighborhood-focused programs. Effective recruitment and subsequent program enrollment, then, is a key to achieving the potential of such programs. While the goal is to meet the needs of all residents, given the inevitable capacity limitations, everyone in need of employment services will not be able to be served during the first few years of the program. Therefore, it is useful to develop an outreach strategy after a neighborhood assessment is undertaken to gather information and clarify priorities (the neighborhood assessment process is discussed in the following section of this report). A strategic outreach plan targets individuals so that:
- the program establishes and maintains credibility and the buy-in of residents by achieving early and continuing successes,
- the benefit to the community is optimized,
- individuals who can benefit the most are reached, and
- the program’s capacity is maximized without being overwhelmed.

To accomplish these objectives, recruitment planners should consider these strategies:

- Target neighborhood residents who would otherwise not have access to employment opportunities. In our view, the priority is to engage the most isolated neighborhood residents. While some may argue that resources will go farther if residents who require the least amount of assistance to work are served, those residents may be more likely to find employment on their own. As we discuss in this paper’s introduction, the neighborhood-focused program seeks to create opportunities where there are few, balancing its goals for the neighborhood as a whole with a focus on people who do not benefit from other workforce services.

- Identify priority groups for recruitment depending on the specific needs of the community. Targeting recruitment to certain sub-populations might be most effective in creating positive neighborhood effects. For example, the neighborhood program may decide to first target residents who hang out on street corners, residents of public housing who are being relocated, ex-offenders who have recently been paroled,

50 MDRC memo to Annie E. Casey Foundation, January 2002.
Providing the Missing Link

welfare recipients who are reaching the end of their time limits or teenagers. Different groups are likely to require different recruitment strategies: low-wage workers must be contacted outside of work hours while youth respond to different incentives than adults.51

• Targeting particular buildings, blocks, a housing authority development or other geographic subsets of the neighborhood. A more intense impact may be felt in a smaller target area than the full neighborhood. For example, if recruitment is conducted in a single apartment building or on a single block, residents within that target area may notice role models, support each other more, and, seeing more of their neighbors going to work in the morning, become more motivated to attempt work themselves. For certain communities, a strategy based on neighborhood geography makes most sense.

• Reach out to personal networks of clients. Asking clients to supply the program with the names of the significant people in their lives and getting the clients’ help in reaching out to them is both a way to recruit new clients and to support those already in the program. There are convincing theories that posit that job seekers will be more successful if the people in their personal network are involved and/or supportive.53 For example, supportive spouses and children are likely to aid in retention. The more people in the household that are working, the more household income has the potential to increase. This strategy may lead to the program’s serving people who reside outside of the targeted neighborhood.

• Balance program capacity with open enrollment. While recruitment is an essential program component, our fieldwork taught us that, unlike many centralized programs, trusted community-based organizations with well-developed, pre-existing constituencies generally do not have trouble recruiting residents for quality services. In fact, many programs are overwhelmed by demand.54 Neighborhood employment programs intending to serve all residents will not want to turn anyone away. It helps to stage recruitment efforts to reflect staff capacity and community need. Walk-ins are the most motivated but not necessarily the first target group of the program; a balance should be struck between walk-in and recruited clients. Staff should try to encourage the most independent people to use the resources of the program that require the least staff involvement.

Once engaged, the participant has the opportunity to work with her own career advisor.

2. Individualized career planning via career advisors55
The career advisor is the programmatic version of the trusted, well-connected relation who is willing to use her contacts in the client’s best interest. The advisor knows where to go and who to call for the appropriate, accessible and readily available jobs, training, education and work-related supports that best suits the client in front of her. At the same time, the advisor invokes reciprocity, expecting the client to follow-through, stay in touch and be a proactive participant in the process. She has high expectations of the client and encourages her to explore options and opportunities that the client would not have thought of on her own.

We know from the research on welfare-to-work programs that the most effective programs offer their participants a range of options and career paths, rather than a single, step-wise approach.56 Career advisors are available to each resident who chooses to use their services, to create an individualized career plan that will work for the client, given her work history, education, aptitudes, skills, interests, level of motivation and job readiness. Through this process, the client is provided with options included in a broad inventory of jobs, training and wrap-around services.57

The career advisor does not simply write down the address of the employer, drug treatment program, or school and send the client on her way. Rather, the advisor makes personal

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51 Youth employment can be an important part of a neighborhood-focused workforce development program. This report does not adequately address specific strategies for youth although distinct strategies are often needed. We refer the reader to Appendix A, which includes a list of resources related to youth employment.

52 CSH’s Next Step: Jobs initiative was run in large, multi-unit buildings and found positive changes in the buildings’ culture of work. Jobs Plus, targeting public housing, incorporates community supports for work as a key program component; in part, the initiative relies on resident building or court captains and community events to create momentum for work.


54 For example, in the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative: the Near Northside Partnership Council typically serves 600 individuals participating in one month; Hartford received 1000 service requests/year; Project Jobs in Chicago served 600 residents/quarter (MDRC Memo on NJ), presented to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, January 2002). Similarly, all the organizations we visited were at or above capacity.

55 The career advisor title can be substituted with other titles, such as jobs counselor, service coordinator, employment specialist or employment case manager.

56 See literature on GET, Project Match, NEWWS evaluations, and others.

57 Clients may already have caseworkers, parole officers, or case managers from other systems. The career advisor would try to compliment and leverage rather than duplicate their efforts.
eral reasons: In this model, the career advisors are held accountable to employment outcomes, maintaining a strong employment focus for the program. A single, identifiable staff contact for each participant makes it less likely that participants will slip through the cracks; the advisor is responsible for that participant over the life of her program involvement and is aware of all her activities.62 We also like the idea of the retention specialist being the same person who initially helped the client prepare her career plan. This structure maximizes the opportunity to develop a long-term, trusting relationship, a critical component of effective career advising. Clients will only confide in, ask for, and accept assistance from someone they trust.63

To be effective, career advisor to client ratios have to be maintained at reasonable levels. In a series for welfare-to-work practitioners, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation advises that, “low caseloads are essential if staff are to keep in frequent contact with each worker and have time for in-depth, face-to-face conversations.”64 Regular contact is a hallmark of quality retention services. Project Match, for example, finds that “monthly contact is central to the success” of the program.65 Immediately after placement in a job and during other kinds of transitions, clients are contacted more frequently. Career advisors maintain monthly contact for at least one year, longer for clients who need more services.

At the Vocational Foundation for Youth, a successful youth employment program, case managers work with 40 young people (Proscio & Elliott, undated); the case managers working with welfare recipients at the Lincoln Action Program work with 15 families (Brian Mathers, LAP); the Strive Chicago program operates effectively with case-loads of up to 120, but refers out for most services (Steve Redfield, Strive); while the case managers at Project Match work with 75 adults (Herr and Wagner, 1998.).

Some employment programs divide these jobs up among two or three different staff positions, for example, among a job developer, case manager, and retention specialist. While it is possible to divide these roles effectively, it is important to do it so that the program components, from assessment to retention, are integrated and client focused.60 We recommend Project Match’s model of integrating these functions into one position61 for several reasons. In this model, the career advisors are held account-

referrals, vouching for her clients and opening doors that are usually shut to residents of isolated neighborhoods.58 Clients should only be referred to programs and services that have been pre-screened for quality. Likewise, the career advisor screens clients so that referrals are appropriate to the program’s partners’ needs. The program should maintain an inventory of employment resources. (Steps to assemble the inventory are discussed in the next section of this report).

The career advisor works one-on-one with clients to:
• administer a career assessment and help the client design an appropriate career plan for getting a job and advancing in the workplace.
• provide individualized job readiness assistance including enhancing soft skills and life skills, providing assistance writing a resume or filling out a job application, developing interview skills, obtaining appropriate clothing, and developing skills for coping with racism in the workplace.
• make referrals to high quality, employer-focused hard-skills training programs.
• provide individualized job development/placement services encouraging clients to hold out for the best possible job, emphasizing full-time jobs with benefits, good wages and opportunities to build skills and advance in a career.
• provide access to quality support services. Career advisors ensure that childcare is adequate and will refer clients to other needed services, such as: substance abuse treatment, mental and physical health care, domestic violence programs, housing, immigration services, ex-offender services and legal assistance. The career advisor may also be able to help the client get work clothing and transportation.
• provide post-placement support with at least monthly contact, emphasizing advancement and speedy job replacement.
• track client progress with a tracking system that can be used to manage individual client service delivery and detect trends in service utilization and needs.59

58 Residents of isolated neighborhoods need an agent to "reconstruct and negotiate....social and business connections." (Harrison and Weiss, 1998, p. 38.)
59 The tracking system, which is discussed in more detail in the next section, will also be used to systematically analyze program strengths and weaknesses, manage the overall program, and report on outcomes.
60 For example, the Vocational Foundation, Inc. splits these functions. (Proscio and Elliott, undated.)
62 Ibid.
64 MDRC series for practitioners on welfare-to-work. See www.mdrc.org
The model employment program also offers specialists who provide financial advice.66

3. Income enhancement via financial advisors
Income subsidies, access to health insurance and childcare subsidies can improve a family's material and emotional well-being67 and are proven labor force retention strategies.68 Therefore, the model neighborhood employment program includes specialists who are responsible for ensuring that residents obtain all of the income enhancements to which they are entitled. They also help clients with savings and other forms of asset-building. We recommend that financial advisors meet with clients as their status changes and at regular intervals, about twice per year. The financial advisors' job is to:

- Promote the use of the Federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and state and local tax credits by offering assistance with tax preparation, providing one-to-one financial counseling and organizing campaigns.
- Increase access to financial and in-kind enhancements to household income including health insurance, childcare subsidies, transportation assistance, public assistance income disregards and grants, food stamps, Individual Development Accounts69 (IDAs), and benefits packages provided by employers.
- Provide counseling on money management and budgeting, including assistance with banking.

The EITC is available to families earning less than 200% of poverty. In 2001, a family with two children could qualify for $4,000; the average credit received was about $1,500. According to studies commissioned by the IRS, between 15 and 25% of taxpayers eligible for the EITC do not receive it (Pacenza, 2002). Who is missing out? Residents of central cities, families with very low incomes, former welfare recipients, minorities and people with language barriers, particularly low-income Hispanic households.

The value of increasing residents’ use of the EITC can be substantial for a neighborhood as well its households. For example, households of South Lawndale, Chicago received over $20 million in EITC refunds in 1998. (Berube and Forman, 2001).

The financial advisor will coordinate partnerships with other organizations to develop resources. For example, a network may be needed to develop an Earned Income Tax Credit campaign or to raise funds for an IDA program. Partnerships with the local public agencies that provide childcare and transportation subsidies may also be needed.

Peer supports are an important complement to individualized staff assistance.

4. Job readiness and retention peer support groups
Sometimes the only thing between a client and a job is a chance. More often, however, there are skills that clients need to develop in order to succeed in the workplace. Soft skills, "the skills, abilities and traits that pertain to personality, attitude and behavior rather than to formal or technical knowledge,"70 are critical to address in a neighborhood employment program that serves people with limited work experience. These skills are among employers’ most important hiring criteria71 and account for many of the reasons that new workers lose their jobs.72

Group work to help participants succeed in the labor force offers more than just job readiness and retention information. Groups that address soft skills can also build peer support networks that extend into the neighborhood, beyond the walls of the program. They provide inspiration and support, offering participants recognition for success and the comfort of realizing that others are grappling with similar circumstances and challenges.

66 Even though it may be feasible to charge the career advisors with income enhancement responsibilities, we believe making specialists available ensures a programmatic emphasis on income, appropriately distinguishes between different skill sets required by career and financial advisors, and takes into account the already broad scope of services being offered by the career advisors.
69 An IDA is a restricted savings account (similar to an Individual Retirement Account) that is used for a specific purpose (education, business start-up, or home-ownership) in which savings are matched by private or public funds.
70 Conrad and Leigh citing Moss and Tilly, 1999.
71 Ibid. p. 2.
A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

**STRIVE's job readiness workshop**

One of the best-known job readiness training programs is the STRIVE program, featured on the television program “60 Minutes,” and since replicated in 20 cities. The 3-week class, followed by job placement and 2-year follow-up, is best known for its tough-love approach, though some sites have moved to a less aggressive model. STRIVE’s instructors, many of them former clients, drill students on shaking hands while looking someone in the eye, body language and taking responsibility for one’s actions, even in the face of a racist boss. Given its tested track record, we would recommend learning about the STRIVE model whether or not neighborhood organizations decide to become a replication site. For more information, go to: http://www.STRIVEcentral.com/academy/index.htm or contact: Jose M. Adorno, Director STRIVE Academy, (212) 828-4762.

While it can be hard to motivate individuals to attend group meetings in voluntary programs, we have repeatedly seen that clients are inspired, comforted and challenged by their peers. For this reason, the model employment program provides an array of different meetings and workshops where clients have the opportunity to interact with their peers: orientation; full-time, two-to-four week job readiness training; periodic workshops on specific topics of interest; and ongoing support groups. Though we are calling them workshops or training, we think it is important to emphasize that we do not envision a teacher in front of the room and clients at their desks taking notes. These settings are highly interactive and participatory including role plays, one-to-one exercises and circle meetings to share thoughts, feedback and laughs. These forums are a purposeful combination of group therapy, instruction and neighborhood get-togethers.

**Job readiness training**

A significant number of neighborhood residents can be expected to benefit from group job readiness workshops that develop skills to:

- prepare for jobs including learning to fill out a job application, improving interviewing techniques, knowing what to wear at interviews and on the job;
- assume control and responsibility for a broad array of health, family, transportation, and personal circumstances that can interfere with career advancement;
- learn how to find help when needed;
- get along with peers and supervisors including how to confront racism, manage conflict and understand the unspoken rules and code of ethics of the workplace.

**Workshops and ongoing support groups**

Regular one-time workshops can provide helpful tune-ups for graduates, people who are working or residents who are unwilling to commit to a three-week course. Topics might include: “how to clean the house, get the kids to school and still make it to work on time,” “dealing with that creepy boss or co-worker,” “when your partner wants you to stay home,” or “how to get the raise you deserve.” Ongoing support groups can provide continuing opportunities for peer interaction and support, though according to many programs, it is difficult to keep up enrollment. Bethel New Life finds that keeping the classes short improves enrollment and attendance. Some system of recognizing class completion, like providing a certificate of completion, might encourage people to attend. Events that recognize progress such as graduations and awards ceremonies can help boost morale and build peer support.

Participation in workshops should be voluntary; clients who do not need or wish to attend should be able to receive all other services. As with all program services, the onus is on the provider to entice participants who could benefit to attend

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**The Ex-Offender Services Network job readiness training**

The North Lawndale Employment Network developed an impressive job readiness training program for ex-offenders. Their 4-week program is run in a neighborhood church by the staff of 8 collaborating organizations, most of which were recruited from outside the neighborhood. The curriculum includes a 1-week Violence Interruption Program to help participants resolve conflicts; a 1-week Right Thinking program that emphasizes personal responsibility; and a job readiness curriculum called Workin’ It Out that emphasizes social skills on the job, identifying one’s support network for attaining work goals, understanding the unspoken rules of the workplace, and decision-making and problem solving. For more information on Workin’ It Out, contact: Patricia Veasley at The Piton Foundation in Denver, CO, 303-825-6246.

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73 For information on soft skills programs see: Houghton and Prosci, 2001.
the workshops and support groups. “Graduates” can receive a certificate and a letter of reference from the facilitator. The training could be marketed to employers who might choose to hire graduates only. The workshops should be marketed to clients by their career and financial advisors as well as by posting fliers. Providing refreshments at meetings helps draw participants and sets a communal tone.

5. Neighborhood Employment Center
A neighborhood employment center provides a place for connections to be made — to jobs, to people with job leads and links to supports and resources. It is easiest to imagine and implement one centralized center with services provided by one or many organizations. However, there may be several employment centers housed within pre-existing organizations spread through a neighborhood. In any configuration, it is an important part of changing the employment prospects of the community to have at least one place in the neighborhood to go for help with employment.

The model employment center is operated by a trusted community-based organization or network of organizations. It is a convenient, friendly, bustling place, not bureaucratic or intimidating. Staff are welcoming and respectful. Residents feel a sense of ownership and they use the resources there as if they belonged to them. In addition to the career advisors and financial advisors described above, the center may (or may not) house the job readiness training and other services such as childcare, computer training or ESL classes. In all cases, the center provides residents with access to a resource room.

Self-service resource rooms, that is, resource rooms that are not staffed, have not been found to be effective. A Department of Labor evaluation of self-service resource rooms in one-stop centers found that, “For those persons with little work or job-search experience or for those lacking technical skills, staff assistance is especially critical. Moreover, because the job search or career change process can be stressful even for persons with advanced skills, the ‘human touch’ is often appreciated.” (Amico, et al. 1999, Sect 10, p. 1-8)

At the orientation to the Transaford Career Center, new clients are given a packet of materials including a list of resource room rules and regulations, information about Pennsylvania’s health coverage plan, a list of employers’ job hotlines, job leads, “Ten Steps to a Successful Job Search,” a sample job application, sample cover letters and resumes and fliers about resources such as a free clothing resource, a free community phone voicemail service, child care resources, food banks, college programs, free computer literacy training, legal and senior services.

The resource room
An essential space in the employment center is a staffed resource room available to residents for their job search and related activities. The resource room is equipped with:
- computers that have access to the internet and email service, and are equipped with software for resume writing and computer-based, self-guided training/education;
- printers;
- phones and voice mail service;
- a copier;
- fax machine;
- job listings; and,
- other resource materials including career assessment and exploration tools, sample job applications and thank you letters and materials on education and training providers.

A career advisor or other staff person who can help people use the equipment and resources effectively, should always staff the resource room.

Self-directed clients
The resource room is there both for people working with career advisors and for people who prefer to conduct their own job search. We estimate that 20-25% of residents that use the program will not want or need to work with the career advisors. These “self-directed” clients may use the resource room or walk-in to other services arranged by the program (such as the workshops, training programs, or financial advice offered through the program) but they will, by and large, conduct their own job search. Staff will suggest that self-directed users work with a career advisor if the client appears to need additional assistance. Staff will follow up with clients who use the resource room using

74 The neighborhood employment center is the same concept as a neighborhood-based one-stop, sometimes also called one-stop affiliates or walk-in jobs center, or in the case of Philadelphia, mini-one-stops. MDRC is a proponent of Work Support Centers, another term that describes a similar concept (Wallace and Ivry, 2001).
the resource room's sign-in lists. This contact will occur less frequently than the follow-up with clients who are working with career advisors—to conserve staff time for the clients who need it most—but still enabling the program to track the outcomes of this group. Again, during a follow-up conversation, the staff person can encourage clients who need additional assistance to work with a career advisor.

6. Access to quality training programs and other employment resources via neighborhood-level brokering

In addition to finding steps and solutions for individual career paths, the neighborhood-focused program works more systematically on behalf of the neighborhood by identifying prominent neighborhood needs and locating quality resources to address them. Thus, the program improves the opportunities for the neighborhood as a whole.

The neighborhood program identifies priority needs by conducting periodic neighborhood needs assessments, through case conferences among career and financial advisors and by reviewing tracking reports. For example, at one program, a case manager recognized that they were seeing more and more people with criminal records but that they were not having much success with them. The role of that neighborhood program is to scour the landscape for quality programs for ex-offenders and to link residents needing those services to them, whether by bringing them in to the neighborhood, as the North Lawndale Employment Network did through their Ex-Offenders Services Network (see text box, above), or by creating a referral partnership.75

By identifying and partnering with high-quality job training, education, childcare and other city and regional services, the program moves the neighborhood residents to the front of the line for the city's best workforce development programs, and, ultimately, jobs. To accomplish this, the neighborhood-focused program should designate staff with the entrepreneurial and relationship-building skills to develop and manage these partnerships.

Job training

Given the impressive outcomes of sectoral and other employer-customized training programs, an essential part of the neighborhood model is providing residents with access to such programs. But, as we discussed in the previous section, it is most efficient if the neighborhood program links with existing training providers rather than becomes one. The principle roles for neighborhood-focused employment programs in training are to recruit, engage and support trainees and, if needed, to develop the pre-training assistance needed to enable residents to qualify for existing programs. Ideally, the partnership will create the kind of access that residents would have if the training program were operated directly by the neighborhood program. For example, residents would have priority admission to the training program and it would be tailored to accommodate neighborhood residents' needs by including remedial classes or providing transportation.

Bethel New Life has several partnerships with independent training programs. At the outset of one such partnership, staff at the Greencorp landscaping training program and Bethel New Life knew each other by reputation only. Through an introductory fax, the two programs began collaborating. Greencorp, a nonprofit, provides 6-9 months of paid training. The program is open to any low-income resident of Chicago but, according to Cheryl Williams, the Coordinator for Greencorp, the program likes working with Bethel. "Bethel funnels the people from their program to us. They support their students, they give them carfare, they coach and encourage them. If trainees are having babysitting problems or need boots to work, Bethel helps them out. They even offer counseling to all trainees, not just the ones they recommended and they do whatever we ask them to do." Through this collaboration, Bethel opens up quality training slots for their clients without having to pay for or provide the training.

The neighborhood program's career advisors provide support to trainees to foster program and job retention and advancement.

Our idea of a first-rate training program includes high placement rates (75% or more within three months of training completion), one-year retention rates of 65% or better, wage progression, career advancement, and high customer satisfaction. Training programs should involve employers in frequently updating curriculum design and be able to document current and growing job demand. Because no one training program can meet the needs and interests of the community, a number of partnerships with an array of training programs is optimal. The pool of training programs should capitalize on the major growth industries in the region and provide ample career choices for residents. These kinds of collaborations are the most efficient way to create training opportunities for neighborhood residents without investing a lot of staff time in new program development.

If an effective training program already exists but the formal or informal credentials and entrance requirements bar most residents from participating, the neighborhood program and/or the training provider can develop a short-term "bridge-training" or "training-readiness" program that will enable neighborhood residents to enroll in the training program. The agencies can work together to examine the entry requirements. A construction training program that requires a high school degree might refine its requirements, for example, if what they need is eighth grade math proficiency. In that case, the neighborhood organization and the training program might jointly develop a pre-training educational workshop that teaches the precise math skills needed to pass the test and succeed in the training program. Similarly, if a program is hard for neighborhood residents to get to, the neighborhood program might arrange for transportation or induce the training operator to do so or to run a satellite program in the neighborhood.

The Fifth Avenue Committee's Brooklyn Workforce Innovations (BWI) developed a cable installation training program with a community college. In this partnership, BWI coordinates recruitment, support services and job placement. Their vocational counselor provides soft skills training in the classroom and in one-to-one meetings. The college provides the hands-on, hard-skills training and certification upon completion. The Communications Workers of America, a large labor union, helps design the curriculum and helps graduates access jobs. In this case, BWI conducted the research to learn that cable installation was a growing occupation, sought funding and engaged the community college and union. The creation of this program took a lot of staff time to develop, but they are hopeful that their partners will assume lead roles in implementation now that it is up and running.

Some providers say that there are no quality training programs in their city. We acknowledge that most often, there are insufficient high quality job training programs. We also observe that many neighborhood programs do not link to the best resources in their town. If, after conducting a thorough search, there are insufficient training resources to meet neighborhood needs, the next step is to develop partnerships to create new training programs without running them. For example, the Near Northside Partners Council developed a partnership with a nursing home provider that needs certified nurse assistants (CNAs). The employer provides the training while NNPC recruits and supports the trainees. In this case, NNPC hired an instructor to provide a vocational ESL class that teaches trainees the specific vocabulary they need to succeed as CNAs. In addition to employers, neighborhood programs can develop partnerships with regional intermediaries, community colleges or other training entities.

Alternatively, neighborhood organizations can join regional alliances to advocate for and/or create high quality training. These alliances might include other community-based organizations working through a trade association or collaboration. They may also include organizations with training capacity, especially community colleges, regional employment intermediaries, and employers.

Finally, there may be some cases where it makes sense to do the training at the neighborhood level. For example, some
A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

Project QUEST, a high-quality, two-year training program in San Antonio, TX that serves approximately 800 people annually, was organized by two Industrial Areas Foundation affiliate organizations — Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) and Metro Alliance. COPS and Metro Alliance realized that there were good jobs to be had in their city while unemployment rates were soaring in their church and neighborhood communities. They listened well to residents who were frustrated with a sorely inadequate workforce development system. They learned that their city's workforce system should:

1) train for jobs in high demand; 2) train for jobs that offer good pay and advancement opportunities; and 3) incorporate intensive client services to overcome financial and personal barriers to training completion. Through organizing and advocacy, Project QUEST won the political and financial support to start as a small demonstration program in 1993. Since then, the program has grown. More than 1,200 disadvantaged city residents have become employed in high paying jobs. (Rademacher, Bear and Conway, 2001, and interview with Patricia Ozuna, Metro Alliance.) While this was clearly a worthwhile effort, we are not encouraging individual neighborhood programs to set out to reform the system. Rather, the neighborhood program might want to participate in regional alliances with that mission.

Providing basic education services locally

One of the major employment barriers for residents of the Near Northside in Fort Worth is limited English language proficiency but the Near Northside Partner's Council's (NNPC) referrals to existing programs were not getting good results. Therefore, the NNPC partnered with the county school district to bring high quality ESL classes to their neighborhood. They provided classroom space in their employment center and set new standards. They required the school district, for example, to tailor the ESL classes to different grade levels rather than mixing many levels in one class as they had been doing. Residents enrolled in the ESL classes because they were being offered by a trusted neighborhood organization. The school district, which provides the teachers, is happy with the partnership because they now have full classrooms and the site attains the best outcomes in the county.

organizations find a niche in training for the jobs that they create themselves, for example, maintaining the buildings they have developed.

Remedial, Computer and Continuing Education

As in NNPC's Vocational ESL class for CNAs, basic education programs are most effective in attaining employment outcomes when they are well integrated with other workforce development efforts. An important role for the neighborhood program is to encourage participants to enroll in education programs that can increase their earning potential. Adult education should not be a one-time, up-front referral but a steady resource for people interested in advancing their careers.

If the available educational resources do not prove adequate, partnerships need to be developed to ensure that residents have access to remedial education, English as a Second Language instruction (ESL), GED instruction and continuing education. Here again, the rule is, if there is another organization that can do it well, bring them into the neighborhood or create access in such a way that residents will be well served. Neighborhood organizations offer value to community colleges by recruiting and providing supports to students. The colleges can be valuable allies, offering classroom space, certified training and credited classes. Employer partnerships that allow employees to attend classes during work hours are a good solution for people who cannot attend classes on weekends or evenings.

Computer training is frequently requested by employment program participants and is often unavailable at affordable prices in poor communities. By 2006, nearly half of all US workers will be employed in industries that produce or intensively use information technology products and services. To meet that demand many workers will require computer training. It is likely that bringing affordable computer training into the neighborhood would be a valued and important workforce development service.

76 For examples of integrated training and employment see: Stillman, undated.
The Lincoln Action Program (LAP), a case management-based community action agency in Lincoln, Nebraska, has a computer lab open 65 hours each week where people can sign up for classes in 5 different languages. Their employment specialist assists people to use the Internet and work on software tutorials. LAP set up the lab because employers were increasingly requiring computer skills, while most clients had neither the skills nor a way to learn them. LAP provides clients with the opportunity to earn their own computer by taking classes. Every year businesses donate computers; volunteers install software before the computers are awarded to program graduates. Last year LAP distributed 160 free computers.

Wrap-around services
Certain services, childcare and transportation in particular, frequently arise in the research and among program operators as prevalent and critical needs of new workers.

- Childcare: As noted in the prior section, reliable childcare, particularly formal childcare, helps parents retain their jobs. In any community where many of the targeted residents have young children, it is therefore essential to emphasize childcare assistance. In the model neighborhood program, career advisors help clients develop childcare plans and backup plans. Financial advisors are equipped with all possible subsidies. And, when developing new resources for the neighborhood, childcare is a high priority.

Options for increasing childcare resources include working with public agencies to make public childcare subsidies available at the employment center; partnering with a childcare provider to develop additional centers and/or home-based childcare slots; and partnering with childcare training organizations for which the neighborhood organization would recruit and support residents who can be trained to become licensed childcare providers. If possible, it is helpful to provide childcare at the employment center for short-term use when clients do not have other childcare available.

- Transportation: Like childcare, transportation is often, though not always, a prominent neighborhood barrier to work. If established public transit routes do not serve the neighborhood well, even a close partnership with the local transportation authority will not lead to immediate results. In some cases, short-term solutions will be needed. Some programs get employers or job training programs to arrange a van to pick up clients in their neighborhood, purchase a van that is used to help clients access public transportation, organize car pools, or provide emergency loans for car repairs.

Work support fund
By having access to a pool of funding or in-kind or cash assistance to address client needs, a program can avert potential job losses. The Near Northside Partners Council in Ft. Worth, Texas has a no-interest loan fund that provides loans of up to $1,000. So far, it has been used exclusively for car repairs. Other potential uses include purchasing work clothes or tools, assistance to pay for public transportation, housing vouchers or cash payments/loans for rent, and test or licensing fees.

Other wrap-around support services: In addition to childcare and transportation, there is a wide range of supports that clients are likely to need. While individual referrals by career advisors may address most of these needs, particular issues will rise to the surface in most neighborhoods as prevalent and especially problematic. These are issues that either cannot be resolved through individual referrals, or, are so widespread that it would increase program effectiveness to develop close partnerships. For example, in many high-poverty neighborhoods, ex-offender services are desperately needed. Other neighborhood needs may include services related to: domestic violence, depression or other mental health issues, drug addiction, housing and legal problems.

The Baltimore Jobs Plus site is located in the heart of one of the country’s largest heroin markets. Jobs Plus staff report that nearly all their clients have been affected—either directly or indirectly—by drug addictions. Jobs Plus organized a partnership with the Visions for Health Consortium to address this and other health issues. This consortium of public and private health organizations located a clinic on site where Jobs Plus participants can obtain health assessments and referrals to health services, including priority referrals for substance abuse treatment slots.

A Model for a Neighborhood-Focused Employment Program

Jobs
In addition to the work that the career advisors do to develop jobs throughout the region, the employment program works to negotiate priority hiring arrangements and job set-asides with employers. Neighborhood revitalization efforts are an obvious but sometimes overlooked source for jobs. With over 300 employees, Bethel New Life is a major employer in its community. But even when diverse neighborhood revitalization efforts are not housed under one roof, nonprofit organizations located in the neighborhood can be recruited to hire residents. These positions can provide special opportunities for residents who may not be ready to leave the neighborhood for work and/or who want to “give back” by doing something for the community. These jobs may be structured as part-time, flexible positions that can be used as transitional employment. The Jobs Plus program in Baltimore used funding from the Department of Labor to pay salaries for internships with their collaborating partners. They found that many of the interns were eventually hired into permanent positions and that those positions had among the site’s highest retention rates.

In some neighborhoods, public projects present opportunities. For example, the Central West Community Organization organized for jobs when the City of Chicago and the Chicago Bulls were looking to develop a stadium in their neighborhood. The organizing effort was successful and when the United Center was developed, neighborhood residents were hired to work there. The United Center also funds the organizations’ efforts to provide housing stabilization and employment services to neighborhood residents. Of course private employers are also important partners. Some organizations have created successful partnerships with day labor and staffing agencies.

We wish to emphasize that the neighborhood-focused employment program seeks to assist residents into jobs with high earning and career advancement potential, not just any job. This requires implementers to be informed partners in its relationships with employers and training programs. Some knowledgeable skeptics of a supply-side approach, such as this model is, question whether the neighborhood employment program would assist residents into good jobs. Because this model links residents with the best possible jobs, training, education and support services appropriate to each individual, certain cohorts of neighborhood residents will attain comparable outcomes to the training and sectoral programs that attain high wages and career advancement for their clients.

Others will take the first steps toward a career path; some, already on a career path when they come to the program, will move to better positions; and, still others will qualify for selective, effective training and sectoral approaches who otherwise would not. An open door program will not attain the same outcomes for all residents. However, we think this model will serve more people who would not otherwise be served and attain meaningful outcomes for participants and the neighborhood.

Program Quality: The Successful Organizational Personality

As important as the substantive components of the neighborhood-focused employment program are their more amorphous qualities, the program’s soft skills. A program with all the components described above will not serve residents well if it has inadvertently alienated residents, for example, by hiring the wrong staff or creating an intimidating atmosphere. It is very difficult to capture in writing the spirit and culture that differentiates successful organizations from those that are just muddling through, but we know it when we see it. They are mission-driven, responsive to their neighborhood constituents and well managed. The following attributes also describe the model neighborhood-focused employment program:

- Outcome focused: First and foremost, the model neighborhood-focused employment program is outcome-driven. A danger in providing wrap-around support services is that the program can become too social services oriented. It is often a difficult line to draw. Career advisors will listen attentively to clients’ traumatic problems with domestic violence, asthmatic children, car troubles, or housing problems and they will want to help and may have to help for the client to succeed. It is very difficult to draw boundaries. But all the research and our experience tells us that it is best for the client if the program stays focused on employment outcomes. “What can I do to help the client move beyond this barrier to get to gainful employment?” is the question career advisors have to keep asking themselves. In the model program, all staff are held accountable to achieving employment and income outcomes rather than process outcomes. The program sets targets at reasonable levels for the popula-
tion being served and reviews them monthly using the tracking system. The program managers recognize triumphs and also hold staff accountable for poor results.

- **Optimistic**: The best programs believe in their clients. They have high expectations of their clients, are respectful of their decisions and optimistic about their potential. Clients are never stigmatized and staff are not patronizing.

- **Trustworthy**: The program delivers. Staff do what they say they are going to do. Referrals are made only to quality operations. Follow-up is consistent. Contact is persistent. Client confidences are kept confidential. Staff have the good judgment, training and experience to do their job well. Trust is facilitated when staff are racially, ethnically and socially representative of their clients. The program is accountable, first and foremost, to the clients and the neighborhood. Clients of excellent programs say, "They are really there for you. They'll do whatever it takes."

- **User friendly**: The program is responsive to residents. Services are designed to be convenient in location and open during the hours that are easiest for clients to use them. Materials are well organized and clearly identified in the resource room.

- **Client driven**: Clients are assisted to set goals for themselves and to attain them. They are not steered to inappropriate training because a training partner needs recruits or to a job that is not what they want. While options and opportunities are constantly presented, the client makes the decisions.

- **Integrated**: The services brought into the neighborhood are coordinated behind the scenes to minimize duplicative intake processes, applications and waiting times. Staff of all the multiple partner organizations know their own roles and each other, are familiar with all the programs' components and believe in their partners.

- **Continuously improving**: The model program is always striving to improve. It uses tracking data to measure successes and identify problems. If retention is a problem, the program finds out why people are losing their jobs and what it can do to help. Clients have many opportunities to provide feedback; neighborhood residents are gathered in focus groups and town hall meetings and asked if they think the program is working and how it could do better; problems are systematically addressed.

In the next chapter, we talk about how to implement the six components of the neighborhood-focused employment program model with these characteristics in mind.
IV. IMPLEMENTING THE NEIGHBORHOOD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

This section provides suggestions about how to implement the neighborhood-focused employment program model we described in the previous chapter. It includes nine activities needed to start up and implement the model. Since most neighborhood-focused employment programs will not start from scratch—they will be developed by existing community programs—all or parts of these activities may already have been accomplished or be in process. These tasks are to: 1) define the neighborhood; 2) conduct a neighborhood assessment; 3) determine program components for resident subgroups; 4) set goals based on neighborhood need; 5) compile a city-wide inventory of workforce development resources; 6) determine the organizational structure of the neighborhood employment program; 7) locate the employment center; 8) hire staff; and 9) launch a tracking system.

1. Define the neighborhood
It can be difficult to set boundaries around a neighborhood. Residents’ definitions of their neighborhood are not always uniform and don’t always conform to designated borders. Perceived boundaries may not, for example, neatly coincide with city council districts, real estate broker's titles or convenient units for tracking data like census tracts.

When defining neighborhood boundaries, it is important to take account of both resident and other stakeholders’ perceptions as well as potential tracking measures and political (funding) delineations.

In reality, the neighborhood-focused program is likely to draw dotted rather than firm lines around its borders. Each of the programs that we examined for this report served clients who resided outside of the targeted neighborhood. These programs may want to serve friends, family and neighbors of their clients. They may want to continue to provide services to clients who move out of the neighborhood. It is a good idea to set a target for the percentage of clients that will live in the neighborhood and then to track the data to make sure that the program stays on course, keeping in mind that the program’s ability to improve the neighborhood relies on a continued neighborhood focus. For example, the Near Northside Partnership Council sets a target that 70 percent of their clients should be from the neighborhood.

2. Conduct a neighborhood assessment
Like any business, neighborhood-focused workforce development programs need to know and be responsive to their market. A neighborhood assessment should answer these three questions:

1. What is the demand for workforce development services in the target neighborhood? An assessment should determine how many people would benefit from workforce development services.

2. What are the particular needs and strengths of the neighborhood’s residents? Demographic information about residents' skills, education, employment histories and barriers will inform the program design. Where are the working residents working now; how can their connections be leveraged for the neighborhood? Other strengths or needs may be identified for large numbers of residents and/or for specific subpopulations. For example, the Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation serves the largely

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Creating a community identity
The Near West Side Community Development Corporation and the Central West Community Organization carved out a neighborhood within a neighborhood. They essentially created the identity of West Haven, a neighborhood with approximately 8,000 residents located on the Near West Side of Chicago. By mobilizing a smaller, tighter community, neighborhood organizers negotiated successfully with the developers of the United Center, the new Chicago Bulls stadium. Through extensive neighborhood organizing, planning, and considerable neighborhood redevelopment, residents have come to see themselves as citizens and stakeholders of West Haven. The Near West Side Community Development Corporation tracks neighborhood-level income and employment data, which it measures against the goals of its comprehensive community initiative to create a stable, mixed-income community. (Site visit with Pat Dowell, Earnest Gates and Vorticcia Harvey, October 2001.)

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Providing the Missing Link

Dominican community of Washington Heights, NY and identified the fact that the neighborhood can provide area employers with a source of bilingual English/Spanish workers.

3. What are the particular barriers and opportunities of the neighborhood? Information specific to the target neighborhood itself is needed to inform program design. For example, information is needed about transportation, businesses in the community, crime and safety, distance from jobs and job training, and the availability of essential employment resources, such as childcare and education.

To answer these questions, organizations will need information that is available from public records as well as information solicited directly from neighborhood residents. This process can take several months to complete. For example, the Milwaukee Making Connections site, in partnership with the Milwaukee Jobs Initiative, undertook a five-month process that helped them understand residents' perspective on barriers to work, job availability, and potential strategies for improving employment opportunities. (The schedule, cost breakdown and some survey information about the assessment are included in Appendix B.)

Public records

Neighborhood groups are advised to seek the services of experts to gather and package data available through public records. Often, universities, community foundations, workforce intermediaries, city planning agencies, or other nonprofit data-banks can provide useful hard data. The Annie E. Casey Foundation is helping Making Connections localities to establish data warehouses, mostly through the National Neighborhood Indicators Project (NNIP) of the Urban Institute but also with other local partners. The warehouses will break out data for each Making Connections neighborhood. The most successful NNIP teams have focused on helping groups use data to develop policy and program interventions. They caution that more information is not always better, and it is important to identify the specific data that directly links to the follow-up steps for programmatic responses. Data sources include: the census, labor and employment security agencies including Unemployment Insurance records, the local welfare agency, criminal justice system records, the police, public schools, transportation agencies, and other public agencies as well as academia, the media and other research sources.

Public records may only confirm impressions rather than reveal new information. However, sometimes hard data contradict widely held beliefs. In any case, it is useful to document the data to determine the scale of need, to see trends and to create a baseline of information to measure against. Reviewing these data, perhaps with outside assistance from data analysts, may highlight particular subpopulations or programmatic issues that haven't been considered. This informa-

These are some of the questions that public records can answer:

- How many people live in the neighborhood? What is the median family and individual income? How many families live below the poverty line? How many families have family-supporting incomes?
- How many residents are working-age adults? How many adults are working? In which sectors are they working?
- How many residents are on public assistance? Claiming Unemployment Insurance? Have criminal records?
- What is the breakdown by age? Gender? Race? Ethnicity? Primary language? What are the ranges in levels of education?
- What percentage of residents own their homes?
- Which groups are working/not working? What are ranges of earnings? Income?
- How many households have access to a car?
- Are there geographic concentrations of poverty within the neighborhood?
- How does the neighborhood compare with the city as a whole in demographic, social, employment and income indicators?
- What are neighborhood rates of mobility? Are leavers representative or different in terms of income and employment from those who remain? What types of people move into the community?
- Who and how many work in the neighborhood? In other parts of the city? In the suburbs?

80 Interview with Thomas Kingsley, October 2001.
83 Currently only 1990 census data is available by census tract. Data from the 2000 census at the level of census tract is expected to be available by August 2002.
Information solicited from neighborhood residents
It is essential, in designing the neighborhood program, to listen to residents. Neighborhood surveys and focus groups can provide a finer-grain understanding of residents’ perceptions, opinions and desires. For example, the Milwaukee Making Connections initiative became more aware of a widespread interest in youth employment in their target neighborhood. Soliciting the input of neighborhood residents can help build trust, and, when the program design reflects residents’ priorities, the program establishes credibility and wins resident buy-in. Surveys of neighborhood employers can provide useful information about employer attitudes and experiences hiring local residents, whether geographic or racial/ethnic discrimination will be a barrier, and which employers are open to working with the program. Neighborhood nonprofit organizations should also be surveyed to look for ways to combine efforts to the benefit of the neighborhood.

Collecting, analyzing and using neighborhood data
The most important thing to know about collecting neighborhood-level information is that it is only useful if it is analyzed and acted upon. To achieve continuous program improvement, periodic neighborhood surveys and data updates will be needed. Once the program is running, program-tracking data is an important source of information for making programmatic mid-course corrections. This data is obtained through the tracking system (discussed later).

Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

The Near Northside Partnership Council (NNPC) in Fort Worth, Texas conducted a door-to-door survey and ran focus groups to find out what employment services residents were or were not getting from existing organizations. Residents were asked about what services they would want in a neighborhood employment center. According to Abby Gamboa, the Executive Director of NNPC, the survey validated what they knew rather than surprised them. However, survey results highlighted a few key issues. For example, the men in their community are working 2 to 3 jobs while a lot of women are not employed. They learned that the women wanted part-time work during the time that their children were in school and that they needed assistance in attaining skills and other kinds of support. It would be important to include the whole family in new work-oriented activities and NNPC would have to be aware of cultural values about women working in their largely Mexican community. Partly as a result of these findings, they created family-supporting activities that involve both parents and children.

3. Determine program components for resident subgroups
The neighborhood assessment will provide information about the types of jobs, training, education and support services most needed by neighborhood residents. In the prior section of this report, we outlined a basic model including certain workforce development activities that the research and our experience led us to conclude would be helpful for most low-income neighborhoods – job training, GED and other basic education, childcare and transportation. Is this validated by the data and resident input? Is the neighborhood comprised of mostly transient adults and, therefore, not in need of childcare? Does a transportation strategy have to be part of every partnership agreement? Do ex-offender services meet the needs of neighborhood residents? What other support services or educational programs would especially benefit this neighborhood given its demographics? What is particularly important to residents in the target area?

84 Interview with Eloisa Gomez and Caroline Schultz, October, 2001.
85 For a useful primer on neighborhood assessments see John P. Kretzmann and John L. McKnight: A Guide to Mapping and Mobilizing the Economic Capacities of Local Residents, A Community Building Workbook from The Asset-Based Community Development Institute. Chicago: ACTA Publications, 1996. Order at 1-800-397-2282. Also, Local Initiatives Support Corporation recently published “Building Neighborhoods of Choice,” about how to find, access, analyze and present data for small areas; Contact Roseann Abdu at the LISC Center for Home Ownership at 202-739-9285 or rabdu@liscnet.org
As part of this process, it is useful to identify prominent subgroups of neighborhood residents. For example, different age groups may have different needs; residents of public housing, ex-offenders, women on welfare may present specific needs. NNPC found that different genders need different types of services (see box). In addition, typical breakdowns in employment and training literature relate to skill and education levels. It may be useful to look at the resident population in terms of numbers and demographic characteristics of people who have: 1) literacy and math skills below 9th grade; 2) skills above 9th grade but do not have a high school degree or GED, limited work experience; 3) a high school degree and work experience but are not working or have a spotty work history; 4) a strong labor market attachment but earn low wages. In some neighborhoods, English literacy is a needed additional category within each of those cohorts. Additional details about the clients may be instructive. For example, are a majority of people who are unemployed and without a high school degree young people living at home who could attend full-day programs? Or, are they heads of households who could only attend GED courses if they were provided on weekends, or at the worksite? Many programs find that low-wage earners will not give up a paying job for unpaid training even if it has the potential to increase their wages in the long run. Therefore, paid training opportunities are desirable.

Segmenting the neighborhood population this way can help the program establish appropriate strategies in the quantities that ensure there are resources available as clients need them. We wish to stress however, that putting a client in a category for program design and analysis purposes should not limit the individual client's options, only enhance them.

4. Set numeric goals based on neighborhood need

Many community-based employment programs do not set long-term goals for their neighborhood employment programs. One community development corporation director said, "We just don't have the luxury to be that thoughtful." While we appreciate the constraints of organizations operating with lean staff and small budgets in the face of overwhelming neighborhood needs, we are convinced that it is worthwhile to step back to establish overarching program goals as well as interim benchmarks.

Our suggestion for determining neighborhood need is for the organizers to envision what their neighborhood would look like when it is thriving and to compare it to current conditions. Neighborhood rates of employment and household income are two critical indicators to consider in determining the level of need for workforce services. How many more people would be employed than are currently employed? How much will the average household income have to increase? How would the quality of the jobs have to change to improve quality of life? Programs may find that the need is overwhelming. In neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, it is possible that over half of the neighborhood's working-age residents are potential clients. The numbers and the range of services required could be scary to consider - one reason many organizations do not. But while it is daunting to try to meet neighborhood-level needs, this kind of analysis can lead to more effective targeting and move organizations to enter into strategic partnerships and programmatic linkages.

The Neighborhood Jobs Initiative (NJI) of the MDRC provides one example of how neighborhood-focused employment programs can determine the level of need in a neighborhood. NJI's goal was to improve neighborhoods by substantially raising the percentage of working adults in five high-poverty urban neighborhoods. MDRC's community-based partners set out to bring "community employment rates up to the regional norm, that is, to increase adult employment rates to the point at which the percentage of adults working in the NJI neighborhood is similar to the percentage of adults working in that neighborhood's surrounding region (generally, the Metropolitan Statistical Area, or MSA)." The initiative thus defined a saturation goal such that, a neighborhood has reached employment saturation when it is able to respond to local economic conditions as well (or as poorly) as "average" neighborhoods in the region.

According to program managers, articulating this initial ambition helped NJI's community-based partners to concretize a goal for a larger scale effort than they otherwise might have and, thus, to realize the need to collaborate. They then converted the overall goals into specific numeric targets for recruitment, intake, placement and retention. Some sites also set targets for wages and benefits and other standards of job quality. NJI sites did not measure the change in the neighborhood rate of employ-

87 Ibid.
88 Interview with Frieda Molina and Craig Howard, October 2001.
To illustrate, the Near Northside Partnership Council, an NJI site, calculated their initial employment targets as follows:

1) Establish neighborhood employment rate: # of employed adults/ total # of adults ages 16-64.
At the outset of the initiative, the neighborhood employment rate was 57.8% (6,269 employed out of a total of 10,844 working age adults).

2) Determine the regional employment rate: The employment rate for the Dallas/Fort Worth region as a whole was 69%.

3) Apply the regional employment rate to the target neighborhood; 69% of 10,844 working age adults on the Near Northside = 7,482 adults.

4) Subtract the number employed from the number that would be working if residents of the target area were working at the regional rate: 7,482 - 6,269 = 1,213.
Therefore, the overarching target for the NNPC was to newly employ 1,213 adults.

5) Breakdown the target goals by subgroups and program years. NNPC further broke down the population by gender given their different status. The employment rate for men was 70.9% compared to 77.1% in the region.

However, only 44.7% of women were working, compared to 60.5% of women in the region. The organization set the goal of increasing employment among men to the regional rate, but increasing the employment rate of women to 52.6%, half way to the regional rate, given cultural norms for this group.90 While the target numbers initially seemed daunting, NNPC rationed them over a five-year period making the targets more manageable.

The organization not only set goals for improving the rate of employment but also for increasing wages and job quality. NNPC used this visioning process to mobilize their partners.

As NNPC did in creating separate targets for men and women in their community, it is helpful to set different goals for various segments of the population. These may be according to literacy skills, education levels and work experience.

In setting these targets, it is more difficult to determine (or attain) income goals than employment goals. Ideally, the program would consider how many households are earning family-supporting wages in the neighborhood. To do this, the family-supporting wage must first be established.90 Then, a complicated analysis would determine which households are earning those family-supporting wages. Alternatively, poverty-level data from the census is also helpful. However, most people agree that many households who technically surpass the poverty line remain very poor. Therefore, a standard above the poverty level, say 180% of poverty, would be set for this purpose. Depending on base line data, over a ten-year period, a neighborhood may set an overarching goal to increase the income of a large percentage of low-income neighborhood households and more specific goals for particular population segments. For example, a goal may be to increase 25% of very low-wage workers' households' incomes above 180% of poverty. EITC campaigns can set targets to increase usage of the tax credit, for example, if only 60 percent of eligible neighborhood households are receiving the credit, the campaign might seek to achieve 90 percent coverage.

Once the program implementers have a good understanding of the type of resources needed and the numerical goals for the program, the next step is to determine which needs can be met with existing services and where there are key resource gaps.

5. Compile a city-wide inventory of employment and training resources
To effectively play the role of broker, the employment program needs an annotated list of high quality training, education, and support service resources. The list, most

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90 For more information on family-supporting wages, see Pearce, Diana, Wider Opportunities for Women” on Six Strategies for Family Self Sufficiency. The web site has a tool kit for establishing self-sufficiency standards and includes the standards for various states and municipalities: www.sixstrategies.org/sixstrategies/selfsufficiencystandard.cfm

Frankford Career Services (FCS) is a member of the Regional Workforce Partnership which provides periodic updates on emerging employment opportunities and training programs throughout the Philadelphia region. As a member, FCS ensures that they are aware of, and can, in turn, link their clients to new resources.
easily maintained and updated in a computer database, should include program name, staff contact information, class start dates, eligibility requirements, referral protocols, directions to the site and, importantly, an assessment of whether it meets the neighborhood employment program's standards. These assessments are based on subjective information, such as references, client reports, meetings with staff and visits to the programs as well as objective data such as placement and retention rates. It is, unfortunately, more difficult to collect employment program outcomes than it might seem at first glance. Programs track different things making them difficult to compare. (The Workforce Investment Act requires cities to make such information public but few have been able to implement this requirement to date.)

Even before opening its doors, the employment program should begin to compile this list as a database for the program. However, it will continue to grow as individuals’ and families’ interests and needs present themselves and additional resources are identified to address them. The first types of programs to research will be those that are the highest priorities, according to the neighborhood assessment.

Suggestions for new programs can come through regional networks, such as regional workforce development associations, public agencies, neighborhood residents, other nonprofit partners, or pre-existing databases or directories. The database should be updated each time a client interacts with a program and new feedback is obtained.

Protocols for making referrals should be established for each program. For example, a referral to a training program may start with a call to the designated staff person to let them know that a client is applying, and continue with periodic contact during the course of the training program, while a referral to a childcare program may need only a letter of introduction. Release forms are needed to obtain clients’ permission to communicate with the referral agency staff.

6. Determine the organizational structure for the neighborhood-focused employment program

Like many of the other decisions involved in establishing a neighborhood employment program, local conditions will largely determine the most appropriate organizational structure. The best solution ultimately provides residents with an operation they can trust, offers a seamless integration of services and remains accountable to neighborhood outcomes. While this ideal is difficult to attain, it is possible to approach it from a few different organizational structures depending primarily on the cast of characters involved. In communities where the landscape is dotted with numerous workforce development-related programs with varying expertise, the neighborhood-focused program is likely to require the collaboration of many groups. For example, Project Jobs in Chicago is a network of over 50 organizations that established a new intermediary to coordinate among them. Where a single, long-standing, respected institution such as a settlement house or community development corporation dominates the landscape, it is most likely to play the lead role, as is the case of the United Settlement House in Cleveland.

In all cases, respected community organizations must be involved to establish trust and credibility. Because trust is so important, we don't think the neighborhood employment program should be run by a government organization. Too often, low-income residents are suspicious of government. Clients rightly or wrongly perceive that the confidence they share, about their immigration status, drug addiction, criminal history, or other personal information needed to develop an appropriate career plan, may be used against them. Instead, the program should be run by one or more private, nonprofit organizations, such as a faith-based organization, a service provider, or a community development corporation. Several of the workforce programs we visited are part of a comprehensive community plan and involved with or part of organizations that conduct community organizing. The neighborhood employment program should be funded by government, can benefit from having government staff out-posted in the employment center, and collaborate with government in numerous ways, but it should have the agility and spirit of innovation afforded by a private organization.

While researching this report, the organizations that had programs closest to the model we describe for a neighborhood-focused employment program were organized in one of three ways. Two programs created new intermediaries to coordinate a network of existing direct service providers; two programs were led by community development corporations that provided core services and a resource room themselves, partnering with other organizations for training and support services as needed; and one community development initia-
Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

tive brought outside expertise into the neighborhood in order to implement the employment program. A discussion follows of the pros and cons of the models we observed.

The North Lawndale Employment Network (NLEN) was established after the Steans Family Foundation invited North Lawndale workforce development organizations to meet together. The Foundation, a Chicago family philanthropy that has dedicated its resources to improving North Lawndale, hired a consultant, a neutral agent, to coordinate the process of working with more than 50 agencies. After 18 months of planning meetings, groups mobilized around a welfare-to-work proposal, which they were awarded. The contract became a testing ground. Some partners did not perform and were diplomatically asked out; others voluntarily dropped out. As one member put it, "we went from being a touchy-feely planning organization to having a performance-based relationship." Where the initial concept was for a huge network, now they are a "small and mighty" neighborhood force.

According to Brenda Palms Barber, Executive Director, the groups remaining in the network now formalize their relationships in writing and the North Lawndale Employment Network both coordinates among them and brings in partners from outside the community to provide direct services to ex-offenders. The members developed the Ex-Offender Services Network in response to the high rate - 70% - of working-age men in their community with criminal backgrounds, and the lack of capacity among the members to address these residents' barriers to work.

The neighborhood intermediary: an assembler and coordinator (and sometimes direct services provider)
We visited two neighborhood employment programs led by intermediary organizations. Here, we use the term intermediary to describe a nonprofit that coordinates, networks and supports other organizations. It creates a forum through which an unlimited number of organizations can collaborate.

An intermediary structure makes a great deal of sense for a neighborhood-focused employment program in a community with a number of existing direct service providers, for the following reasons:

- **It does not compete with its member organizations**: The intermediary can be a neutral broker to mobilize and coordinate resources. An organization that is not a direct service provider itself does not compete for resources with the service providers it is attempting to coordinate. It avoids the dilemma of designating a lead organization when there is no obvious candidate, potentially alienating other important organizations. Instead, the intermediary works to better enable all of the participating organizations to achieve their mutual goals.

- **It can increase access to funding**: A broad collaboration, under the umbrella of an intermediary, may be able to access funding that individual service providers cannot. Both public agencies and private foundations often look kindly on collaborative networks that seek to coordinate, integrate and minimize the duplication of services. At the same time, the intermediary provides a designated, accountable point of contact. Funders usually view the intermediary as providing an essential added value by managing the collaboration process and controlling for quality.

As a community organizing and advocacy agency, the Near Northside Partnership Council (NNPC), in Ft. Worth was experienced in bringing together residents and numerous partners to effect neighborhood change. In the fall of 1998, MDRC invited the organization to participate in the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative. In developing a neighborhood-focused employment program, the NNPC took an inventory of service providers, matched this against what residents said they needed, took account of the outcomes they sought to reach and partnered with agencies that could help accomplish those goals. NNPC subleases space in the former church building in which it is housed to ESL and computer training programs as well as other partners. NNPC has formal Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) with the six partner agencies with which it works closely. NNPC quickly realized that it would have to provide direct services because certain quality services were not otherwise available. The organization hires its own job developers and other employment program staff to coordinate training program partnerships, manage the tracking system and oversee the employment program.
In addition to these advantages, an intermediary organization has to address the following challenges:

- **Integrating services provided by multiple agencies:** As Abby Gamboa, Director of the NNPC attests, “Using a team approach is difficult.” When multiple agencies are involved in providing the services offered at the employment center, extra effort is required to ensure that the partners are coordinated and offer their services as part of a single program. The client should not need to be aware of the fact that the staff come from different organizations, and should not be required to travel to numerous locations to receive the core services of the program.

- **Maintaining accountability to high standards:** The intermediary is responsible for the quality of all of the services but often finds itself in an awkward position in terms of enforcing high standards. Some intermediaries find that subcontracts with service providers give them the most leeway for selecting providers and holding them accountable. However, even in these cases it is difficult to escape the political fallout of having to hold nonperformers accountable.

- **Resisting the urge to become a direct service provider:** Intermediaries are likely to confront service gaps, lack of capacity among providers and the frustrations of trying to hold others accountable while often having little control over the partners. Both of the intermediaries that we visited fill gaps when necessary by providing direct services or assuming a direct service role when partners are failing. The draw to provide direct services was also a common theme among the intermediary organizations we interviewed by phone. Even temporary involvement, however, may put the intermediary into competition with its partner groups. In one instance, both the intermediary and one of its partner agencies were awarded performance-based Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding to provide services to the same clientele. The funding could only be drawn down for successful job placements. As a result, the two organizations negotiated an arrangement such that the partner agency would not draw down CDBG funding for clients that the intermediary was also serving even if the partner made the job placement. In cases where an intermediary provides direct services, it is imperative that it fully disclose and coordinate its activities and funding plans to its partner agencies. One way to preserve the benefits of the intermediary function is to create a separate entity to provide the direct services that would otherwise be assumed by the intermediary itself.

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**Bethel New Life Community Development Corporation (CDC)** is a multi-service CDC serving the West Garfield Park neighborhood in Chicago. In addition to developing housing, Bethel operates a day care center, a Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program, senior services, and a neighborhood-focused employment program. Founded over 20 years ago, Bethel New Life employs over 300 staff members. Bethel incorporates job training, job placement and job creation into its employment efforts, employing large numbers of residents in its own operations. In 1998, it won a welfare contract to run a program called “People Works,” which, according to Helen Foshee, the director of the employment program, “put Bethel on the workforce development map.” At the same time, the contract strains the resources of the employment staff and limits the program’s ability to provide the same level of service to all neighborhood residents.

**Frankford Group Ministry** is a coalition of faith-based groups that organized their neighborhood to develop a 10-year community plan when their main commercial street was shut down by the city of Philadelphia to make improvements on the elevated train. The plan includes physical development overseen by the Community Development Corporation of Frankford Group Ministry as well as a neighborhood-focused employment program operated by a fairly independent division of the CDC, **Frankford Career Services.** As in Bethel New Life’s employment program, Frankford’s career services are offered in a storefront office, apart from other programs of the CDC. Frankford Career Services offers employment assistance provided by employment case managers and a resource room as well as employment activities specifically designed for youth.

**The community-based organization as the lead agency** We visited two faith-based, community-development corporations with deep roots in their communities. These organizations act as the lead agencies to implement their neighborhood-focused employment programs. While both organizations play the lead role in developing neighborhood workforce development services and directly provide assessment, job readiness, case management and job development and retention services, they both partner with other organizations.
Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

While services integration is less of a challenge when a single organization provides all core program services, the program must still work to ensure that the various program components are fully coordinated. One advantage of a large multi-service agency operating the program is that it can readily use its own jobs as transitional and permanent employment opportunities for clients, and can create training programs linked to its own programs. Bethel New Life, for example, trains residents to be home healthcare workers and hires the graduates of the training program in its homecare program for neighborhood senior citizens. In addition, many support services can be provided in-house and it is typically easier for the client when those services are under one roof. In the case of Bethel, clients can, for example, get priority access to the childcare center operated by the agency.

A potential disadvantage of a single lead agency is that workforce development, being one of many activities of the agency, may not be considered a top priority program by the agency's executive staff. In that case, employment resources may be diverted to the larger organization and the program will not get the support it needs to truly thrive. CDCs developed their reputation for housing development and the one-by-one human capital development emphasized in the model we describe may be anathema to the culture of some. One executive director said, "They have too many staff," referring to her employment division, which struggles with caseloads of 200.

The community development initiative that brings in outside expertise
The third model we saw in our visits was a community development initiative that brought an experienced employment program into the neighborhood.

A community development initiative spearheaded by two community organizations, the Near West Side Community Development Corporation, a CDC, and the Central West Community Organization, a community organizing agency, saw the need for an employment program to serve the West Haven neighborhood of Chicago. They worked together with a public interest law and policy center and the Local Advisory Council of the neighborhood's public housing development to bring Project Match to the neighborhood. Project Match is an experienced employment program housed at another public housing site; the program's open-door policy and individualized, long-term engagement of participants were in line with the neighborhood's priorities. The employment program is part of a broader effort to stabilize the community and the housing by providing a variety of supportive services. Staff of the CDC and the Local Advisory Council conduct extensive outreach and refer clients to Project Match, which provides individualized career services and a staffed resource room. The Near West Side CDC also works on a number of other community improvement efforts, including extensive housing and economic development projects.

An advantage of this model is that all of the organizations involved had much of the needed capacity and expertise at the outset of the collaboration. In this case, Project Match brought an extensive network of contacts, developed over more than ten years of using a brokerage model of employment case management services. Though Project Match was a community outsider, it benefited from its association with the Near West Side CDC and Henry Horner Local Advisory Council, with their well-developed community networks. The CDC's new Home Visitors Program refers clients to Project Match, generating a steady stream of the area's residents who are most in need of services. Should the organizations want to fill in other compo-
Providing the Missing Link

nents of the model, such as income enhancement services, structured partnerships for specialized services, and training programs, additional capacity might be needed.

**Working with partners to implement a neighborhood-focused employment program**

Regardless of which organizational model is used, partnerships are essential. We do not want to minimize the challenges of partnering. Unfortunately, as described in the earlier example about the CDBG funding, performance-based contracts can make collaborations even more difficult because organizations are paid for placement and retention milestones. However, we have seen this problem overcome through negotiations between organizations and with the public funding agencies. Workforce Investment Act funds have the flexibility to encourage collaboration; localities are still learning how.

Partnerships are eased when partnering organizations have compatible cultures. Clear, agreed-upon roles are also critical. Where there is a financial exchange, agreements should be detailed in a written contract. Several organizations execute Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) with key partner agencies. But the written documents do not replace the underlying requirement for mutual interest. As the executive director of one organization put it, “If the partnership is truly mutually beneficial, nothing needs to be on paper. And if it is not a mutually beneficial partnership, no matter how much you put down on paper, it won’t help.” Staff from partner organizations should communicate frequently. Joint planning, case conferences, social events, and teach-ins should be organized to facilitate contact. Staff should readily pick up the phone and call their counterparts in partner agencies. Finally, organizations that form service partnerships need systems to ensure accountability. Systems should be in place to set standards and outcomes, monitor the quantity and quality of services, integrate services so that the client is presented with a seamless program and, finally, to terminate the relationship when it is not working. A good tracking system promotes accountability. And still, partnerships will be challenging.

7. Locate the employment center(s)

As we mentioned in the prior section, there may be one or more employment centers. In making that decision, convenience for residents is paramount. The neighborhood employment center should be located where people can get to it easily and open when people have time to use it. Basic employment services are most likely to be used if they are close to home or public transportation and/or other services frequented by a majority of the neighborhood’s residents (for example, near the elementary school or supermarket). Storefront settings in well-trafficked areas will often attract a steady flow of walk-in clientele. Location decisions should be made with the residents’ customs and habits in mind; in some communities, there are geographic boundaries that residents do not cross because of ethnic identification, perceived turf or gang activity.

In some neighborhoods there may not be a single location that can be easily accessed by neighborhood residents. More than one location may be needed. “Satellites” may be housed in the offices of existing organizations and facilities such as schools, community-based organizations, recreational centers, or health clinics. If a group of service providers are jointly developing the neighborhood-focused employment program, they could each operate satellite employment centers in their own facilities, or they could integrate all of their respective employment services under a single roof – depending upon what makes most sense for the community.

It is more difficult to operate the program in many locations. A good, remotely accessible tracking system and frequent meetings among all staff are even more important when the program staff are not housed under one roof.

8. Hire staff

The people behind this effort will make or break its success. The credibility (or lack thereof) of the staff extends to the program at large. The employment program depends on its staff’s ability to establish trusting relationships with clients and to maintain those relationships over the long term.

Hiring staff that are representative of the ethnic and/or racial backgrounds of community residents is really important. It is not that staff of different origins can not win the trust of clients but hiring staff of the same racial/ethnic make-up helps build trust much faster than otherwise. This is even more critical when residents have language barriers. Hiring neighborhood residents can provide multiple benefits, providing jobs and role models and winning the trust of the community. In hiring residents, it is important to know the neighborhood reputation of the job candidate. We have seen cases where a wrong hire...
becomes a difficult political situation; when the right residents are hired, they help establish the credibility of the program. Resident staff may know what’s going on in a neighborhood in a way that others will not; and residents can provide informal outreach, reconnaissance and follow-up simply by being there — walking home, shopping, or at a religious service.

High staff turnover, common in many community-based organizations, can seriously jeopardize an employment program that relies on relationships. Personnel policies and pay scales must be in place to support staff and keep them happy so they stay with the program. Staff development must be in place so that staff can grow professionally within the agency.

Since the neighborhood employment program might be a collaboration of existing programs, the partners might contribute their staff to the effort. Whether it is a stand-alone operation or an assembly of many programs, the model that we are describing would require the following staff lines:

- **A Program Director** responsible for developing and overseeing the entire program, hiring and managing all staff (even if they are from other organizations) and coordinating with other neighborhood revitalization efforts. The director is entrepreneurial, creative, open-minded — ideally a visionary with excellent management skills.

- **A Program Developer** establishes and manages the various training, education and work-support partnerships. She is entrepreneurial, can-do, self-motivated and able to motivate others. She is creative and flexible enough to find the win-win scenario.

- **Financial Advisors** ensure that each client accesses all of the financial supplements to which she is entitled, and establishes and manages the necessary partnerships that need to be in place to maximize this access. They are very detail-oriented, patient and know how to work the system.

- **Career Advisors** provide individualized employment assistance to residents. They are both worldly and compassionate, and have good judgment, patience and perseverance. They are ambitious, for themselves and their clients. They should have college degrees and other work experience because they are unlikely to be able to help a client go where they have not.91

- **Outreach Workers** recruit and engage residents; they are enthusiastic, outgoing and reliable.

- **Volunteers** can enhance staff resources. Some programs have achieved notable success engaging volunteers from the community to provide additional employment supports. Project Quest uses volunteers to conduct their initial orientations and to screen applicants for its two-year job training program. The Jobs Partnership, first developed in Raleigh, North Carolina relies almost exclusively on volunteer career advisors.92

**9. Launch a tracking system**

The tracking system, an absolutely essential core program tool in workforce development, is the cause for much frustration and wasted time and cash among employment providers. Funders and nonprofits invent and reinvent systems fast and furiously. We urge neighborhood employment programs to decide even before the doors are open on measures that the program will track and to choose a system to track them, preferably one that has been tested by others. A computerized tracking system is only better than a paper system if the staff are trained to use it. A well-implemented computerized system can:

- facilitate quality service provision;
- inform program management and development; and
- account for program progress and report on program outcomes, all of which are described in more detail below.

**Facilitating quality service provision**

A good computerized tracking system gives the employment program staff immediate access to client records including service needs, employment history, direct services provided,

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91 Advice from Toby Herr.

92 Public Private Ventures has written four technical assistance packets on mentoring published by the National Mentoring Center at the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory on Recruiting, Training, Supporting and Building Relationships with Mentors. They also have written a guide on "Combining Volunteerism and Paid Service: A Look at Roles and Relationships." (June 2001, 12 pages). Check: www.ppv.org
Providing the Missing Link

and information on referrals that have been made to services and jobs. If a client comes in looking for help to be placed in a new job, for example, the career advisor will be able to see that the client has been placed in three different jobs and did not manage to keep any of the jobs for more than one month. Having this information readily available prompts the career advisor to examine with her client why she is having trouble keeping a job and to develop steps to address the issues.

The tracking system can also help career advisors manage their follow-up schedule by generating a list that details when the last contact with each client occurred and when the client must be contacted next according to program protocols. Some programs generate an automatic email message to the career advisor with the list of clients that need to be contacted each day.

Informing program management and development
A computerized tracking system allows the program director to review the progress of the program as a whole, as well as the performance of individual staff. In addition, reports generated by the tracking system can be used to analyze patterns and trends that can inform the continual improvement of the program. For example, the tracking system can be used to identify the services that are most often needed and used, characteristics of clients for whom the program is working or not working well, how long it takes for residents to become stably employed, how quickly caseloads are turning over, which staff are yielding the best results, whether the program is reaching its target audience, etc. This information is only useful if program staff and managers regularly refer to it to make program improvements.

Reporting on outcomes
An effective tracking system generates customized reports on both process and performance outcomes. These reports should be designed to meet the reporting requirements of multiple funding sources without labor-intensive data assembly. Reports can improve accountability to the Board of Directors, neighborhood revitalization partners, employment program partners and neighborhood residents.

What to look for in a tracking system
A tracking system must be user-friendly or it will not be used. If it does not save people time, it is not worth using. The tracking system should be a tool for the staff that provide direct services. It is most efficient if the front-line staff, the career and financial advisors input new client information directly rather than transferring paper files to computer files. Security measures and spot checks can ensure sufficient data integrity.

The best tracking systems can:
• Track information on: selected client characteristics; budget and financial supplements including tax credits, benefits and subsidies; employment experience and barriers; skills; referrals; and program and employment outcomes including wage and other income data. The system should have the ability to track an unlimited number of placements and to update placement data to reflect advancement indicators (not all employment systems do this).
• Provide a quick update on the most important data for each client.
• Generate a series of customized reports, for example, “individual career advisor caseload outcomes,” “employment barriers at intake,” “reasons for job loss,” “all referrals by category,” etc.
• Conduct queries on any information that is tracked, so that staff can generate reports as they need information.
• Prompt service providers to follow program protocol and implement best practices.
• Provide a searchable database inventory of referral sources and employers as well as a job bank that can perform automated job matches.
• Allow remote access to enable multiple sites or multiple partners to collaborate and integrate service delivery. Web-based systems can be managed remotely by the system providers; this reduces the need for expensive hardware, software and in-house Management Information System (MIS) staff. Web-based systems also enable the users to contract with many users at multiple sites to share a common system. Passwords and information protocols allow for data to be available only to appropriate users.

We identified several tracking systems that are in use and available for purchase. We include this list in Appendix C as a starting point for programs researching potential systems.

The following section of the report addresses questions about the neighborhood-focused employment model’s feasibility.
Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

V. TESTING PROGRAM FEASIBILITY: OUTCOMES, BUDGET AND FUNDING

In the prior sections, we laid out our rationale for undertaking neighborhood workforce development programs, a model for a neighborhood-focused employment program and nine steps for setting the model in motion. Finally, in this section, we consider questions of program feasibility. We concede that we have not seen the full-blown model we recommend, though we saw several components of it in a number of sites. In order to test its feasibility, therefore, we explore these three most salient questions: 1) Can the model attain the outcomes needed to make a meaningful impact on neighborhood employment? 2) What will it cost to implement? and 3) Is it possible to fund the model we described? In this section, we respond to these questions using data from existing programs and a hypothetical neighborhood employment program.

1. Can the model yield meaningful neighborhood employment outcomes?

There are few place-based employment programs for which data is available. MDRC's Neighborhood Jobs Initiative (NJI) is one of few national initiatives with the express purpose of transforming neighborhoods through employment. That program was a feasibility demonstration and did not include a research component; data on program outcomes has not been made publicly available. Jobs Plus, also implemented by MDRC, is a research demonstration that uses comparison sites, however, the research is not yet published. New Hope (see text box in this section) was undertaken at the neighborhood scale and an MDRC evaluation provides us with useful data, though the evaluation does not emphasize its neighborhood focus. In the absence of clearly relevant program data to point to, we created a hypothetical example to test our model to address the question: can the model neighborhood-focused employment program make a meaningful impact on employment outcomes for large numbers of neighborhood residents? Detailed projections and information about our assumptions are included in Appendix D.

Both the real programs we visited and the hypothetical example give us some confidence that in practice, this model could reach large numbers of people given sufficient resources and time, that it could significantly increase employment, and make meaningful impacts on income. According to our admittedly rough projections and assumptions, the neighborhood-focused employment program could serve over 4000 people, about one-third of working-age residents in a neighborhood of 20,000 over a ten-year period. About half of the people served could be expected to attain sustained employment. This would bring the employment rate in the neighborhood on par to the regional employment rate. We also think it is reasonable to assume that at least 3000 households' incomes could be raised.

The New Hope Project provides a benchmark to compare our projections against. New Hope served nearly 700 people in two years; 65-80% of participants sustained employment in the two-year follow-up period. There was a 50% reduction in the number of participants who never worked and a significant increase in the number of quarters that participants were employed, about 21%. New Hope was able to increase income among its participants by 16% in two years. Participants with one barrier to employment benefited the most from the program, residents with two barriers also benefited. Participants with no barriers and those working at the time of enrollment did not increase employment or earnings more than control groups. (This increases our belief that serving the neediest residents will create the greatest impacts). Participants with one barrier increased earnings 29% more than controls. About 13% of participants earned income above the poverty line within two years, a 14% increase over control group members. Participants with two barriers increased earnings above the poverty line nine percent more than control group members after two years. Our projections (above and Appendix D) are less ambitious than the outcomes New Hope actually attained.

In order to accomplish the outcomes we projected, neighborhood employment program staff would include: a program director, ten career advisors, a program developer, a financial advisor (two after year five) and administrative staff.

94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid. pp. 150-162.
Providing the Missing Link

a total of 15 people at program maturity. This is more staff than most neighborhood-based programs we have seen. However, when accounting for intake coordinators, job developers, retention specialists and data processors some programs get pretty close to this number. In our model, career advisors assume all those functions.

Our projections show that outcomes are achieved gradually and that different segments of the population reach different milestones. Because the neighborhood-focused employment program is reaching out to the people least likely to succeed in other systems, we would not expect outcomes to be compara-

New Hope is a rare example of a rigorously evaluated neighborhood-based employment program. It served two low-income, ethnically-diverse communities of approximately 40,000 residents each in Milwaukee. New Hope increased employment and earnings among its 678 participants within the first two years as well as influenced a number of quality of life improvements. The four program components were: 1) Earnings supplements to complement state and federal Earned Income Credits so that all full-time workers would reach poverty level; 80% of participants used financial program benefits. 2) Affordable health insurance available to any participant who did not otherwise have access to coverage; 47% of participants used the health plan. 3) Childcare subsidies that paid the costs of licensed childcare arrangements made by the participant; 30% of participants used this service. 4) Six-month community service jobs with local nonprofit organizations for those who wanted to work full-time but could not find a job; 32% of participants worked in these jobs (Bos et al. 1999).

While we did not include all these features in the model we recommended because of their high costs (New Hope cost over $9,000 per participant), the model we recommend should strive to approximate the effects of these four components by accessing all available public financial incentives and health benefits, emphasizing childcare solutions in its wrap-around supports, and making appropriate jobs immediately available through neighborhood partnerships and other job development efforts.

ble to sectoral programs or job training programs with eligibility thresholds for education or work experience. However, because the neighborhood program screens training partners for quality, systematically cultivates partnerships with multiple organizations according to resident need, serves people who need workforce services where they are concentrated in large numbers, and arranges a broad array of services while providing individualized attention, we believe the neighborhood program can serve more people better than programs which focus on case management or training alone.

Residents who start with the credentials to enter quality training programs will be given access to them. They can be expected to achieve the wages, employment and career advancement outcomes associated with the regional programs the neighborhood has linked with. Residents who normally would not enter those programs will have access to them for the first time given the emphasis on pre-training. While this segment of the population may take a little longer, ultimately they will access high-paying jobs. Other residents will measure progress in smaller steps. With assistance, they will move onto the ramp that leads to family-supporting careers; some will need very basic training and education to complete even preliminary steps toward getting a job. This strategy will ultimately help thousands of people to progress on a career path while changing the neighborhood into a place where residents can access employment opportunities.

2. What will this model cost to implement?
In order to estimate the costs of implementing our model, we created a ten-year budget for a hypothetical program (included in Appendix E, along with our assumptions). When the program is fully staffed (with a program director, ten career advisors, two financial advisors, two outreach workers, a program developer and a program director), it would cost over $1 million per year. While this is a sizable sum for a neighborhood workforce development program, it is most likely that the staff and services would come from multiple organizations. Based on this budget and our projections of intake and outcomes, we estimate that the program model we are recommending will cost an average of $2,100 per participant including all the services described in the model, but not including the partners’ costs of providing training, education and specialized support services.
Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

These estimates fall in the range of comparable programs, though the scale of the model we are recommending is larger than some. Programs with components of the model we are recommending cost in the range of $1,980 to $9,000 per participant to implement. To illustrate:

- Project Match costs $684 per person, per year including both clients assigned to a case manager and self-directed clients (Project Match calls them service-only clients). The average length of stay in Project Match’s four-year-old program at West Haven is 2.9 years; therefore, the average total cost per participant is $1,984.77
- The NNPC spends approximately $1,010 per participant. This does not include the many costs, including case management, that are provided by NNPC’s partners.
- According to fiscal year 2001 data provided by the Philadelphia Workforce Development Corporation, the administrator of WIA and TANF workforce development funding for the city of Philadelphia, the average cost per placement for all of the programs was $6,565.92.
- The New Hope program spent $9,056 per person in the program to provide all program services, including income supplements and paid community service jobs, for two years.

It is difficult to compare program costs since each program includes different expenses in totaling its program costs, defines participant differently and, therefore, calculates cost per participant somewhat differently. Still, these numbers give implementers some idea of what to expect.

Costs per successful participant from other programs were not available to us. In our projections we defined a successful employment outcome as achieving sustained employment. Based on these criteria, our estimated average cost per person attaining successful outcomes over a ten-year period is $4,150. Because we assume that participants stay in the program up to three years and that participants attain positive outcomes gradually over the three years, the cost per person attaining steady employment is more expensive in the first years of the program’s operation. When the program is mature and operating at full staffing (ten career advisors) the cost per participant would be less, about $3,816 per successful participant. An important caveat, however, is that this cost does not include the training programs and other services that clients may use. Actual costs, including these expenses, could be significantly higher.

3. Is it possible to fund the neighborhood-focused employment program?

We know that the single biggest reason that we do not see more programs implementing versions of the model we are describing is that it is difficult to fund the services we recommend. In particular, job readiness, work-related education, and long-term retention services are difficult to support in a work-first environment. These services, therefore, tend to be in very short supply and high demand. Many neighborhood organizations recognize the need for these services but do not find the funding to support them. Indeed, one neighborhood program director told us her program had offered a walk-in counseling and job linkage program for nearly five years and closed it due to lack of funds. She said, “We

The Lincoln Action Program (LAP) supports a large program that relies on an outcome-driven case management approach. LAP’s mission is to “improve the quality of life and the economic self-sufficiency of people with low-incomes in and around Lincoln, Nebraska.” They offer a family case management in clients’ homes as well as in their community center. Eighty LAP staff members provide outcome-based case management services (out of a total of 160 staff). The organization’s total revenue in 2000-2001 was $7.85 million. In that year, LAP assisted over 3,300 households with more than 8,500 people. We include a copy of the revenue statement from their annual report in Appendix F.

had one counselor who placed several hundred people in jobs. People learned about it through word of mouth. They liked it. They found it more flexible and welcoming than the city one-stop and they like getting services in their own neighborhood. But we recently made a decision to postpone the program due to lack of funding. We haven’t been operating for the last few months.”

To date, few public funding streams have been structured to support neighborhood-focused employment programs. Most workforce development funding is structured to either support specific types of populations (e.g. welfare recipients) or specific types of training programs that are often required to accept referrals from throughout a large region. However, the Workforce Investment Act clearly allows for this type of pro-

97 Information supplied by Ria Majeske, Charles Chang and Toby Herr, Project Match.
Providing the Missing Link

Program funding. Visionary Workforce Investment Boards are already supporting them. Therefore, the Workforce Investment Board is an important partner in such efforts.

In addition to WIA funding, and, in places where WIA funds are not forthcoming, neighborhood-focused programs require a creative assembling of a combination of foundation, intermediary, corporate, and other public funding, including multiple categorical public funding streams. One way to support the career advisors and wrap-around supports is to combine public and private funds expressly for employment (e.g., Workforce Investment Act (WIA) and Welfare-to-Work funds) with funds that are for designated for special needs populations and that support self-sufficiency goals. Many public funding programs that pay for case management support employment-related services. For example, career advisors and other staff might be funded through sources that support services for people dealing with problems related to substance addiction, domestic violence, ex-offender status, low-incomes, dropping out of school, family problems, teen-age pregnancy, literacy, crime, health, mental health and housing. In assembling funding it is important to ensure that the requisite back-office accounting does not radically change the program design and the delivery of services. When funding drives the program it ends up getting derailed.

Neighborhood-focused employment programs will provide most services by coordinating in-kind, programmatic supports. Only rarely will neighborhood-focused employment programs start from scratch. Rather, implementers will gather their nonprofit, government and private partners and assemble a neighborhood-focused employment program from many programs. These collaborations are likely to provide a substantial part of the program. Space for the employment center, out-posted staff from public agencies and neighborhood partners, job readiness training conducted by outside organizations, computers and software, volunteer mentors, vans, vouchers, advertising space in the local newspaper, customized job training and work clothes for clients are just some examples of potential contributions from partners. As we mentioned in the prior section, partnerships work best when they are mutually beneficial. Organizations can be persuaded to provide services in or for the neighborhood residents when it is already in the organizational mission and budget to provide services for that constituency. For example, the Safer Foundation in Chicago now delivers ex-offender services in North Lawndale because the North Lawndale Employment Network's Ex-Offender Services, provides a forum where Safer can efficiently serve its target population. Similarly, employers will work with a neighborhood if the community provides an appropriate pipeline of job candidates. Job training organizations will do the same if they can recruit appropriate trainees. Crafting these partnerships takes organizational effort; that is the role of the neighborhood-focused employment program.

Some likely sources of funding to support the neighborhood-focused employment program model include:

• Workforce Investment Act (WIA) funding for one-stop employment centers provides localities with the ability to support neighborhood-focused, satellite one-stops.

Increasingly, localities are deputizing community-based providers to provide core and intensive services to neighborhood residents. When such services are only paid for based on placements, it causes organizations that would be good collaborators to compete, instead, for clients and funds.

For example, see Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and Pittsburgh WIA implementation.
Implementing the Neighborhood Employment Program

Workforce Investment Boards should create contracting systems and accountability measures that work for neighborhood-focused programs.

- Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding was used by many of the programs we visited and interviewed.
- Other US Department of Health and Human Services programs such as Job Opportunities for Low Income People (JOLI) and Refugee Assistance.
- The Federal Department of Labor’s Welfare-to-Work99 funding tends to be somewhat more flexible than dollars distributed by local welfare agencies. In order to support a neighborhood saturation strategy, for example, competitive Welfare-to-Work grant regulations allow the program to serve clients who are not welfare recipients. Local welfare agencies can be very important partners, for example, by allowing participation in the neighborhood-focused employment program to count toward work requirements, by referring clients and by supplying staff and/or expertise to assist residents in accessing benefits. We urge caution in accepting local welfare funding that requires the program to act as a sanctioning arm of the welfare agency. That role can damage trust between staff and clients and do damage to the credibility of the organization as a client-driven organization.

Illinois Workforce Advantage

In Illinois, the Governor’s office has created the Illinois Workforce Advantage initiative to direct state resources to distressed and isolated neighborhoods. Funding is available to build social capital, reduce economic and social isolation, and to identify community assets.

- Other federal, state and city sources include departments of health, mental health, corrections, housing, economic development, and commerce as well as support from the chamber of commerce and the Americorps and Vista programs.
- Foundation, intermediary and corporate support can be used to fill in the gaps, for example, to serve those neighborhood residents who do not meet the requirements of the public funders. The United Way is a strong supporter of such efforts in many cities. The Local Initiatives Support Corporation provides grants to neighborhood employment programs in Chicago that are using the Project Match model and tracking system; a requirement of the ongoing funding is to provide universal access to neighborhood residents.100

While we identified few neighborhood-focused employment programs, we found many community-based groups interested in providing neighborhood services of the kind described in this report. Long-term demonstrations to test the model in practice are needed to test whether, in fact, neighborhood-focused employment programs are a cost-effective component of a municipality’s workforce development system and a source of significant new opportunity for residents of high-poverty neighborhoods.

99 Welfare funds are an unpredictable source as TANF is being considered for reauthorization this year. State surplus funds may be the only funds available after July 1.
100 Funders of neighborhood employment programs may be interested in reviewing the grant agreement which details program protocols according to Project Match’s model. Copies may be obtained from Ricki Granetz Lowitz at LISC: rgranetz@liscnet.org; phone: 312-360-0800.
VI. CONCLUSION

This report recommends a model neighborhood-focused workforce development program for high-poverty neighborhoods that are also undertaking other neighborhood revitalization efforts. The model seeks to provide opportunities where there are very few, thus changing the neighborhood into a place where large numbers of people can and do have access to career paths that lead them out of poverty.

While we do not expect that the full model will be implemented exactly as described in this report, we hope that practitioners and funders, particularly Workforce Investment Boards, will be convinced of the important role to be played by neighborhood-focused employment programs. Such programs can meaningfully engage substantial numbers of low-income people where they live and help them improve their employment outcomes. They can connect otherwise isolated neighborhoods to employer, training, education and support networks. And, at the same time, they can provide a missing component of many municipal workforce development systems that often do not reach residents of the neediest communities.

Neighborhood-focused workforce development is one part of the solution for high-poverty neighborhoods. It is a strategy that opens up new options for individuals, one at a time. This model also systematically expands the possibilities for all the residents in an otherwise disadvantaged place. For this reason, it is important that neighborhood organizations and the agencies that support them amass the resources to test this model.
APPENDIX A:

RESOURCES FOR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

American Youth Policy Forum, AYPF has published two summaries of evaluations of youth programs. Contact: 202-775-9731, www.aypf.org

Leonard Resource Group, Inc, LRG has published “Sources of Funding for Youth Services” in cooperation with the US Department of Labor, ETA, Office of Youth Services (2001). Contact: 703-548-8535


New Ways to Work, NWW provides technical assistance. Contact: www.nww.org


The Youth Development Institute at the Fund for the City of New York, YDI published “Youth Building Strong Communities – Community Youth Employment Program.” Contact: Peter Kleinbard, 212-925-6675, www.fcny.org

Brandeis University, The Heller School, Center for Human Resources. Contact: Pamela Smith, 781-736-3859, www.gradauteschool.heller.brandeis.edu

APPENDIX B:

MILWAUKEE MAKING CONNECTIONS
NEIGHBORHOOD ASSESSMENT DOCUMENTS

Making Connections-Milwaukee (MC) and the Milwaukee Jobs Initiative (MJI), both supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, initiated a neighborhood employment assessment to learn about residents' work-related issues. The assessment included:

- 106 employment/labor market history interviews with neighborhood residents
- Neighborhood employment profile data prepared in cooperation with the Local Learning Partnership (LLP)
- Interviews with resident-focused job programs
- A meeting focused on workforce development and resident economic issues
- Involvement by the MC Resident Leadership council and other MC working groups.

### Neighborhood Needs Assessment Project Time Line

*Courtesy of Milwaukee Making Connections* (modified for presentation in this report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who Leads</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 5</td>
<td>Presentation of research project plan at MC meeting</td>
<td>MC Site coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late June</td>
<td>Prepare draft questionnaire</td>
<td>MC Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early July</td>
<td>Recruit for advisory committee (including interviewers and service providers)</td>
<td>Site coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid July</td>
<td>Recruit interviewers (key informants/community volunteers/residents/leaders – about 10)</td>
<td>Project Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late July</td>
<td>Interview pre-existing workforce programs about resident career paths</td>
<td>MC Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late July</td>
<td>Meet w/advisory committee to review the draft questionnaire</td>
<td>Project Coordinator to set up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late July</td>
<td>Refine questionnaire instrument based on advisory committee input</td>
<td>Participants to determine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late July</td>
<td>Translate questionnaire into Hmong, Laotian, Spanish</td>
<td>Project coordinator to coordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late July</td>
<td>Centralized data warehouse team provides results of income-related data on MC's 13 census tracts</td>
<td>Data warehouse team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early August</td>
<td>Train interviewers</td>
<td>Local partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early – end of August</td>
<td>Recruit resident interviewees and conduct 100 interviews</td>
<td>Interviewers and project coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sept.</td>
<td>&quot;Reflective learning&quot; focus group of interviewers</td>
<td>MC committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sept.</td>
<td>Prepare neighborhood profile data – maps, charts, etc.</td>
<td>MC committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Sept.</td>
<td>Prepare 10-20 page summary of interview data – what does the labor market look like in the neighborhood?</td>
<td>MC Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early October</td>
<td>Meet with advisory committee to review and draw conclusions from data</td>
<td>Project Coordinator, Site Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late October or early Nov.</td>
<td>Stakeholder meeting including neighborhood residents, nonprofits, businesses, advisory committee, interviewers, interviewees, etc.</td>
<td>Project, Site Coordinator to organize</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B, CONTINUED

Organizations designing a neighborhood survey may want to review examples. To request copies of Milwaukee Making Connections or NNPC's survey and results contact:

Eloisa Gomez, Milwaukee Making Connections Initiative, 414-294-0555, egomez@execpc.com

To learn about the Near Northside Partnership Council's survey process and results contact:  
Abby Gamboa, Near Northside Partnership Council, 817-625-9816, abby@partnerscouncil.org

Milwaukee Neighborhood Needs Assessment Project Costs and Resources Required
Courtesy of Milwaukee Making Connections (modified for presentation in this report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To interviewees: 100 @ $25 stipend each</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To interviewers: 10 @ $500 each (includes their training session and</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communications with Project Coordinator)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire translation cost (1x only each language; interviewers will</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translate responses)</td>
<td>$ 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Coordinator position – (graduate student)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data purchase from UWM Employment and Training Institute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting costs (meetings with interviewers, advisory committee)</td>
<td>$ 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Assistant – Ruth Trujillo, administrative support (work study</td>
<td>$ 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJI fiscal role (distributing interviewer/interviewee payments, etc.)</td>
<td>$ 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research &amp; coordination assistance (~50 hours)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood profile data work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with pre-existing organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-day conference (report summary reproduction, meals, conference site)</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorarium for conference participants (10 @ $10/hr. x 8 hours)</td>
<td>$ 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total cost</strong></td>
<td><strong>$11,450</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the course of our research, we came across several tracking systems that are available for purchase. Some of these have been designed by employment programs working with Microsoft Access database software, often with the assistance of a consultant. Others have been developed by for-profit companies that will customize the system for each program and provide training and ongoing technical support. Most of these can be used as either web-based or network-based systems. The data tracking systems that we identified include the following:

**Case Manager 2000** developed by KidSmart Software Company.
Contact: Kelly Masters - 248-352-9600 x109 or kmasters@kssc.com or go to http://www.kssc.com

**Client Track** developed by Data Systems International.
Contact: Brian Bingel - 801-451-2885 or Brian@data-systems.com or info@data-systems.com or go to http://www.data-systems.com

**ETO (Efforts Toward Outcomes)** developed by Social Solutions.
Contact: Vince Griffith - 410-732-3560 or vince@socialsolutionsonline.com or go to http://demo.socialsolutionsonline.com/login.asp

**Frankford Career Services client tracking system and database** developed by Melissa Mckittrick.
Contact: Colleen M. Butler - 215-743-9201 or Frankford_career_services@yahoo.com

**Project Match Tracking System** developed by Families in Transition Association of the Erikson Institute.
Contact: Toby Herr - 312-755-2250 x 2296 or TobyHerr@aol.com

**MetSYS 2000** developed by MetSYS Client and Program Management Systems.
Contact: Fred Best or Jason Huhtala - 916-929-8615 or Fred@MetsysInc.com or jhuhtala@metsysinc.com or go to http://www.metsysinc.com/contacts/index.html

**STRIVE/Chicago Employment Service Tracking System** developed by STRIVE/Chicago.
Contact: Steven Redfield - 773-624-9700 or sdredfield@aol.com

**Virtual OneStop** developed by Geographic Solutions.
Contact: Ray Hollingsworth - 770-579-0438 or RHollingsworth@Geosolinc.com or go to www.geosolinc.com

In addition, we identified a tracking system that has been designed specifically for managing Individual Development Account (IDA) programs:

**Management Information System for Individual Development Accounts** developed by the Center for Social Development at Washington University.
Contact: Jenny Kraus - 314-935-4212 or jkraus@gwbbmail.wustl.edu or go to http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/Areas_Work/Asset_building/IDAs/MIS_IDA/index.html
APPENDIX D:

OUTCOME PROJECTIONS FOR A HYPOTHETICAL NEIGHBORHOOD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

To test our model, we created a hypothetical neighborhood, "Emerginghood," (based on composite information from actual communities), served by the Model Neighborhood Employment Program. This is a very hypothetical feasibility test. We use a fictitious example because there are only a few place-based programs and very little outcome data is available from them to date. Our projections suggest that this model could reach large numbers of people given sufficient resources and time, that it could significantly increase employment, and make meaningful impacts on income. Below we describe the hypothetical neighborhood, explain our assumptions and project what might happen.

Emerginghood is an urban community of 20,000 residents of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Fewer than half (6,720) of neighborhood adults (over 16) are employed. Over half (60%) of the households’ incomes are below 180% of the Federal poverty line and one quarter of the households depend on public assistance.

Emerginghood Data:
- Population: 20,000
- Adults (16 +): 14,000
- Employed (48%): 6,720
- Households: 5,000
- Average household size: 4
- Households below 180% poverty (60%): 3,000
- Households on public assistance (25%): 1,250

10-Year Goals:
- Employ: 1,960 people
- Increase Income: 3,000 households

The Neighborhood Focused Employment Program board members aim to increase the neighborhood’s low employment rate to bring the neighborhood on par with the region’s 62% employment rate.101 If Emerginghood was to attain this, then 62% of 14,000 total adults in Emerginghood or 8,680 total resident adults would be working. That is 1,960 more working-age residents (8,680-6,720 currently employed) than are currently working. They seek to assist 25% of their clients to move out of poverty; and the balance of all program clients to increase their income. Households who do not participate in employment services may increase their incomes through EITC campaigns. In all, the program seeks to raise the income of 3,000 households. It will target residents whose household income falls below 180% of the poverty level, including working residents.

A CDC that has operated for years will reorganize existing programs to create the neighborhood-focused employment model. They will combine resources through a job placement contract that has provided job developers to walk-in clients, a social service contract that enables them to provide advice to tenants in danger of eviction, grants from banks to provide financial counseling and flexible foundation money. In addition, they have received funding from an intermediary to pilot a tracking system. The center will be housed in a small storefront space in a building they own and manage. They will revise the job developers’ job descriptions to be career advisors and keep their caseloads down to 75 per person. The local credit union will provide a financial advisor to the center. A program developer will be loaned from one of the collaborative partners. A neighborhood resident will be hired to do outreach. The program plans to add additional career advisors every year until its sixth year when it stabilizes at ten career advisors. A number of neighborhood programs that employ case managers have agreed to outpost a staff person at the employment center over the next ten years. These include welfare, domestic violence, mental health and substance addiction programs. Every year, the majority of clients will work with career advisors but nearly one quarter (23%) of the program’s new clients will be “self-directed,” that is, clients who prefer not to work with a career advisor but who use the resource room or enroll directly in one of the training partnerships or other activities.

The following chart projects how many clients would be served by career advisors, how many would be self-directed, and how many can be expected to achieve sustained employment. We define sustained employment as working for at least three quarters of a year (nine months) with no spell of unemployment longer than two months.

101 We borrow heavily from the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative model for calculating a target employment goal.
## Projections of Intake and Employment Outcomes

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<th>Col. 1</th>
<th>Col. 2</th>
<th>Col. 3</th>
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<th>Col. 9</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td># Career Advisors (CA)</td>
<td>New CA clients this year</td>
<td>Continuing CA clients</td>
<td>Current year sustained employment outcomes (CA)</td>
<td>Subtotal sustained employment to date (CA)</td>
<td>New self-directed clients (self-dir)</td>
<td>Current sustained employment outcomes (self-dir)</td>
<td>Subtotal sustained employment to date (self-dir)</td>
<td>Current year sustained employment outcomes all clients</td>
<td>Program total sustained employment all clients</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>1771</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>2108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Key to the Chart

- **Column 1**: program year.
- **Column 2**: number of career advisors on staff each year. This represents a slow scaling up in the first four years to allow the program to develop systems, improve procedures and work out program kinks.
- **Column 3**: new clients signing up to work with the career advisors each year. New slots become available when clients reach sustained employment, new career advisors are hired. 75 new slots open each time a new career advisor is added.
- **Column 4**: clients remaining on the caseload of the career advisors who have not reached sustained employment or exited the program.
- **Column 5**: number of career advisor clients who worked nine months in a year with no spell of unemployment longer than two months.
- **Column 6**: cumulative outcomes for career advisor clients achieved to date.
- **Column 7**: number of new, self-directed clients, people who use program services but do not work with career advisors.
- **Column 8**: number of self-directed clients who worked nine months in a year following program participation with no spell of unemployment longer than two months.
- **Column 9**: cumulative outcomes for self-directed clients achieved to date.
- **Column 10**: each year's employment outcomes for all clients, including both self-directed and career advisor clients.
- **Column 11**: cumulative projections for all clients for each program year (adds the sixth and ninth columns).

### Explanation of assumptions

1. **The ratio of career advisors to clients is 1 to 75.** The career advisors have the extremely difficult task of trying to focus their services on clients who need them most. When clients appear to have attained sustained employment, the career advisor is encouraged to open the slot up for a new client, balancing provision of adequate support with the goal to meet neighborhood demand.

2. **The program is able to recruit enough residents to maintain career advisor client ratios of 1 to 75.**

3. **We estimated that 65% of the career advisors' clients would achieve sustained employment.** This is higher than welfare-to-work programs in which only about one-third of participants have been documented to attain steady employment.

---


103 Other neighborhood-based initiatives had much higher rates of enrollment. In its first year, New Hope received 1,357 applications, half of whom were assigned to a control group (Bos, et al 1999).
within five years. However, it is slightly lower than was attained in the New Hope Initiative that saw employment rates of 65-80%. We benchmarked our initiative more closely with New Hope's because it is similar; it is neighborhood-based, service-intensive, and open to a more diverse population than welfare-to-work initiatives. (See the sidebar on the New Hope program in section V).

4. Of the successful clients who work with career advisors, we assumed that 20% will attain sustained employment in the first year of their involvement; 20% will attain sustained employment in the second year of their involvement; and 25% will attain sustained employment in the third year of their involvement.

5. We assume that 35% of all new clients who work with career advisors will exit the program without attaining sustained employment.

6. Each year 23% of the program's clients will enter as self-directed clients. These clients do not work with, and so are not counted as clients of the career advisors.

7. We assume that 35% of self-directed clients attain sustained employment each year. This may be conservative since many self-directed clients will probably be more job-ready (or even working) while they use the resource room. However, by definition these clients are more difficult for the program to track.

Employment projections
According to these rough projections and assumptions, the neighborhood-focused employment program with this staffing pattern would serve 3,204 clients via its career advisors and an additional 961 self-directed clients over a period of ten years, serving a total of 4,165 clients. This number represents 30% of all the people over 16 years of age in the neighborhood. If these projections approximate actual program potential, the Model Neighborhood Employment Program would achieve its employment goals by the end of ten years; 2,108 people would attain sustained employment, 148 more people than its goal of 1,960. Just over half the total number of people who used the program would achieve positive employment outcomes.

Changing any one of our assumptions could alter the projections significantly. In some cases, the outcomes would increase. For example, through close partnerships with quality training programs, more residents might access training directly as self-directed clients. If these programs have high placement and retention rates, outcomes could go up considerably. Similarly, if the program could scale up more quickly, more career advisors would get to higher outcomes sooner.

Other changes might significantly decrease outcomes. For example, we may be overestimating the rates at which the targeted clients can achieve what we have defined as sustained employment. We may be over or underestimating the amount of time career advisors will continue to work with clients. We also are not accounting for the fact that some of the clients will already be working when they enter the program; these would not count toward the goal of improving the rate of neighborhood employment since they would have already been counted as employed at program start.

Income goals
The employment program does not want to simply employ people but to improve their income and overall quality of life. In addition to increasing wages, the program seeks to increase household well-being through subsidies, benefits and in-kind services. If there is one financial advisor on staff during years one through five, and two during years six through ten, we think it is reasonable to assume that they could assist 3,000 households to increase their income. We assume that each of the financial advisors could work individually with approximately 500 households per year to raise their incomes. Therefore, they would serve 2,500 households in the first five years and 5,000 households during years six through ten. All of the 4,165 clients would be invited to use the services of the financial advisors and some people would have benefited by EITC campaigns or other income enhancement activities who never, otherwise, became a client of the program. Also, some employed clients will get better jobs, improving their incomes.

106 This tracks with Project Match's findings that 60 of 307 participants tracked for three years or more attained steady employment quickly during the first year of engagement (Wagner et al., 1998, p. 16).
107 In Project Match's program, 17%, (51/307) attained stable employment after a slow start-up, some in year one, some in year two. (Wagner et al. 1998, pp. 16-17).
APPENDIX E:

BUDGET FOR A HYPOTHETICAL NEIGHBORHOOD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Following is an estimated ten-year program budget for a hypothetical neighborhood employment program. Given the staffing pattern described in Appendix D, we estimate that the program would cost $392,000 to implement in the first year of operation. As staff grows and salaries and expenses increase, the budget increases to over $400,000 in year two and $474,000 in year three. By the time the program is fully staffed up (with a Program Director, ten Career Advisors, two Financial Advisors, two Outreach Workers, and a Program Developer), it will cost over $1 million per year, a sizable sum for a neighborhood workforce development program.

We assumed higher-than-industry standard salaries, which vary widely in different parts of the country: in the first year the program director is paid $65,000, the program developer $50,000, career advisors $35,000, financial advisors $40,000 and the outreach worker $20,000. (We assume salary increases of 3% per year). We did so to be consistent with our belief

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated Program Budget for Neighborhood Employment Program, Years 1-10</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personnel Salaries:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Program Director (1 for 10 yrs)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Program Developer (1 for 10 years)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial Advisors (1 for yrs 1-5; 2 yrs 6-10)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Career Advisors (2 for yrs 1-2; 3 yr 3; 4 yr 4; 6 yr 5; 10 yrs 6-10 @ $35,000 in year 1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outreach Workers (1 for yrs 1-5; 2 yrs 6-10)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salary sub-total:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fringe benefits @ 25%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personnel sub-total:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Program Operating and Administrative Expenses</strong>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total program expenses:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Assumes annual salary increases of 3%; new staff start at average salary of prior year.
** The staffing level remains the same after year six.
*** 35% of the salary sub-total is estimated to cover the following program operating and administrative expenses: clerical services, bookkeeping and accounting, fundraising, tracking, rent, utilities, phone, equipment, materials, postage, supplies, an emergency assistance fund, printing, marketing, insurance, etc. This estimate is based on the budgets of actual programs.
that quality staff are essential to the program's success. Since we calculated program and administrative expenses as percentages of personnel costs, they also may be higher than costs in many parts of the country.

In addition to direct costs, the program will provide access to other resources and programs through developing partnerships. The costs of running those other programs are not included.

According to the chart of intake and outcome projections in Appendix D, the employment program assists only 46 people to attain sustained employment in year one. We divide total program costs by 46 to calculate average per person costs at a whopping $8,522 per sustained employment outcome the first year. Using that same calculation, the cost per person goes down over the life of the program, roughly estimated as shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average cost/Client attaining sustained employment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$8,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$7,341</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$4,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$4,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$3,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$4,132</td>
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<tr>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>$3,816</td>
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By the end of ten years, (adding across the total expense line of our budget) the program will have cost $8,752,600 to stably employ 2,108 people. Using the same gross calculation above, this averages to a cost of $4,152 per person attaining successful outcomes. Since the program would have served twice that many, the cost for the total number served would be about half that, or $2,100 per person served.
## APPENDIX F:

### LINCOLN ACTION PROGRAM RECEIPTS AND PROGRAMS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fiscal Year 2000-2001</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>From the Lincoln Action Program 37th Annual Summary:</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total Revenue Received:</strong></td>
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<table>
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<th>Americorps</th>
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<tr>
<td>Education Outreach</td>
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<td>Educational Continuum Team</td>
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<td>America Reads</td>
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<td><strong>City of Lincoln, Urban Development</strong></td>
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<td>Emergency Shelter – General</td>
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<td>Case Management – Mission</td>
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<td>WIA Youth Services</td>
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<td><strong>City of Lincoln &amp; Lancaster County</strong></td>
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<td>Bus Transportation</td>
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<td>Eviction Prevention</td>
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<td>Education Outreach</td>
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<td>Refugee –TAG</td>
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<td><strong>Community Health Endowment</strong></td>
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<td>Refugee-CHIRP</td>
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<td>Child Care for Ill Children</td>
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<td>Literacy (SPRING)</td>
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<td><strong>US Department of Commerce</strong></td>
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<td>Tech. Opportunity Program (TOP)</td>
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<td><strong>US Health &amp; Human Services</strong></td>
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<td>Community Food &amp; Nutrition</td>
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<td>JOLI</td>
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<td>Early Head Start</td>
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<td>Refugee Microenterprise</td>
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<td>HUD Supportive Housing</td>
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<td><strong>United Way of Lincoln &amp; Lancaster Co.</strong></td>
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<td>Education Outreach</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emergency Food</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gathering Place</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>United Way (Cornhusker)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saunders County</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Donations</td>
<td>290,875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Anthony Williams, North Lawndale Employment Network
Ferris Williams, Illinois Department of Employment Security
Elliott Wright, National Congress for Community Economic Development
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Providing the Missing Link


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