WHAT WE KNOW WORKS
An overview of research about what works (and what doesn’t) in social service programs
The Pew Partnership for Civic Change is a civic research organization. Our mission is to identify and disseminate promising solutions to tough community issues. Wanted: Solutions for America is an action research initiative of the Partnership to pioneer a new model of documenting best practices and communicating results. The Pew Partnership is funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts and administered by the University of Richmond.

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Design: Gibson Design Associates, Charlottesville, Virginia

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WE KNOW WHAT WORKS. Contrary to the popular beliefs that nothing works or that everything works to solve tough community problems, we know that some things do work. Decades of experience and research have identified strategies that are more effective than others at producing results and changing lives. However, the sheer volume of this research is overwhelming. The challenge to busy people trying to lead communities, mobilize citizens, and manage organizations is sorting through this wealth of riches for succinct and reliable information about promising solutions. What We Know Works provides a foundation of effective practices for people who need information and who need it now.

This guide translates complex evaluation research into actionable strategies needed to build stronger communities. What We Know Works is a primer that summarizes current research in four broad areas: healthy families and children, thriving neighborhoods, living-wage jobs, and viable economies. These are issues of paramount concern to citizens and of critical importance to the future of all communities. This resource provides a road map through the array of social service programs and a starting point to address discrete issues—from quality childcare to homelessness to downtown revitalization.

What We Know Works is the tip of the iceberg of this wealth of information. The Pew Partnership for Civic Change has only begun to mine the field for available evidence—beyond the anecdotal—about which interventions are effective, which strategies are promising, and which investments leverage the best results. The challenge for us all is to use what we know, acknowledge what we don't know, and pool our collective resources to meet the challenges facing every community.

Introduction
Healthy Families and Children

SOLUTIONS
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Healthy Families and Children
COMMUNITIES ARE FIRST AND FOREMOST about people. All too often we get caught up in the statistics of the moment—a percentage change of this or that—without the benefit of seeing the human face. The people affected by problems in our communities often remain invisible except by category. It doesn't have to be this way. Individuals and their circumstances can change for the better. We know that there are predictors of individual and community success. While we still treat symptoms at an alarming rate, certain kinds of interventions can make a significant difference.

Research on children and families is a good example of what we know about systemic causes. The Annie E. Casey Foundation reported in the KIDS COUNT Data Book 1999: “that children born into families at risk are more likely to suffer damage later in life. There are 9.2 million children who have four or more risk factors in their families (p. 5). “These children are ten times more likely to have later negative consequences” (Schorr, 1991, pp. 261-262).

We know instinctively and from documented research that the physical, economic, and social well-being of the entire family is crucial to creating positive futures for children and youth. “Successful interventions for children see the child in the context of the family and the family in the context of its neighborhood and surroundings” (Schorr, 1991, p. 267). Programs that have sustained effectiveness over time are designed to help children and their parents. According to The Annie E. Casey Foundation, “... connecting our most fragile families is the most important thing we can possibly do if we want to improve the life prospects of our nation’s children” (KIDS COUNT Data Book 2000, p.17). We cannot separate aid and support for children from the aid and support of their families.

### Potential Risk Factors for Children

- Child not living with two parents
- Household head is high school dropout
- Family income is below the poverty level
- Child is living with parent(s) who do not have steady, full-time employment
- Family is receiving welfare benefits
- Child does not have health insurance

STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

To support and nurture families and the children who live in them, we are learning more about how to reach families and what to do and say when we approach them. First and foremost, we must determine what is going wrong as well as understand and support what is going right. Building on the assets of a family is the key to forming trust and having the door opened, literally and figuratively, for greater assistance. Second, services and providers must be available to help families before crises occur. In our world of too few resources and too much demand, this can be difficult. The key to success may be in building relationships, however superficial, before the need is the greatest. Third, services should be developed and provided within the context of a close, cooperative working partnership with the families while being mindful of their interests, fears, and pressures. Fourth, parents should receive the skills and knowledge to advocate for themselves and their children. All too frequently, the people who need the services most cannot access them. In addition to knowledge, parents must know how to maneuver around the barriers. Fifth, programs must be multidisciplinary in both approach and staffing to reflect a comprehensive solution to families’ needs and situations (Helping Families Grow Strong: New Directions in Public Policy, 1990; The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Transforming Neighborhoods Overview, 1999).

PRINCIPLES OF FAMILY SUPPORT

- We must know the needs of families—not what someone else thinks they need. Most families need help at some time or another, but not all families need the same intensity of support.
- The stability of the adult environment in which the child lives and the strength of the parent-child relationship have an important effect on the child’s development. In other words, home matters.
- Most parents want to and are able to help their children grow into capable adults but they may need some help along the way.
- Parents are people—they have strengths and weaknesses. They do not have fixed capacities any more than their children. They need support through difficult transitional phases of their lives.
- Children and their families are influenced by cultural values and societal pressures in their communities. Individuals and whole families do not exist in a vacuum.
Parents are likely to become better parents if they feel competent in other important areas of their lives such as their jobs, their schooling, and their family or social relationships. Effective parenting is a multidimensional issue (Helping Families Grow Strong: New Directions in Public Policy, 1990).

The most effective family support programs promote certain kinds of behavior in the home. Family environments in which everyone is encouraged to express his or her own views in a constructive way and where differences of opinion are tolerated, contribute to a positive identity for family members—particularly for adolescents.

Another good family practice is to distribute responsibility throughout the family. Many ethnographic reports have found that early responsibility, when properly managed and channeled, contributes to later social mobility, enhances self-esteem, promotes positive gender role identity, and facilitates family cohesion (Jarrett).

Finally, research has found that several parenting practices are associated with positive school experiences for children and youth: college aspirations for children, monitoring day-to-day progress of school work, parental supervision, and spending time at least once a week talking with each other.

While this list of research-based “tips” seems second nature for some families, it is not for others. Family support programs encourage these skills and build on existing strengths within the family.
PARENTING EDUCATION

Parenting education is based on the assumption that as parents acquire greater understanding of child development and their children’s needs, they are more likely to provide the sensitive, nurturing, and attentive care that promotes healthy development in children and youth.

There are four categories of parenting programs:

- Programs designed to improve parenting in general, typically used by parents whose children are functioning normally but who want additional knowledge.
- Programs focused on specific parenting issues, such as substance-abuse prevention, appropriate discipline, and antisocial behavior.
- Programs aimed at specific populations of parents, such as parents with children at critical periods of development, single parents, and parents with low incomes.
- Programs for parents of specific populations of children, such as children with disabilities or children with special needs.

At a minimum, effective parenting programs address the following issues:

- Stages of child development. Good parenting practices differ across several developmental stages of childhood.
- Cultural differences and their effects.
- Needs related to the family structure, such as helping divorced parents meet the challenges of co-parenting.
Principles of successful parenting programs

Parent behavior is the main factor in positive child and youth development. The content and strategies of effective parenting programs are built around this fact. Specifically:

- They are targeted to specific ages of children and have clear goals and outcomes.
- They are focused on critical periods to prevent problems. They are provided at transition points, such as the first year of life, divorce, step-family formation, and puberty.
- They build on parents’ existing strengths. They do not focus on parents’ failures.
- They involve parents in choosing program design and content.
- They develop collaborations to provide services that support parents.
- They are long term and provide incentives.
- Staff members have excellent interpersonal and facilitative skills, are very sensitive to individual needs, and have good emotional health.
- Program plans recognize the ecological nature of parenting. For example, they focus on changing neighborhood patterns to include more monitoring and support, and they address issues such as education and employment (Brown, 1998).

Factors that limit the effectiveness of parent education

Parenting beliefs are deeply held, often unconscious, and not easily changed. Under stress, parents may rely on familiar ways of parenting—even when they have learned new parenting skills and want to change their behavior. Research shows several factors that may limit the effectiveness of parental education:

- INSUFFICIENT PROGRAM INTENSITY. One reason that some parenting-education programs show relatively small gains for parents is that program delivery is not intensive enough to bring about the desired change within the allotted time.

Parent Education and Support Programs Should Match Family Strengths and Needs

- Parents who lack transportation or who have other young children at home may benefit more from an individualized, home-based approach; more socially oriented parents, including adolescents, might prefer peer discussion groups.
- Parents of infants may find a home-based approach more effective; as their babies become toddlers, they may prefer a combination of a play group and group discussion.
- Working parents might find it more sensible to have parent education and support tied to a childcare program.
- Parents of children with special needs may find it helpful to participate in groups headed by other experienced parents. Such parent-to-parent support networks have been established in virtually every state.
- Parents living in rural areas, where groups might be more difficult to assemble, might seek advice and support from professionals and other parents via computer networks or teleconferencing.

PARENTS’ DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS. A parent who has a poor developmental history, psychological difficulties, and/or a drug or alcohol addiction may not be “emotionally available” to learn skills that build better parent-child relationships. Parents’ own developmental needs may be so great that they are not able to participate in programs that focus on their children.

PERSONAL FACTORS. Cultural values, negative experiences with social-service providers, and language barriers may limit interest in parent-education programs. Time commitment, scheduling issues, travel, and general lack of interest can also lead to non-participation.

FAMILY STRESSORS. Parental depression, drug addiction, alcoholism, low literacy, limited education, domestic violence, marital conflict, blending of families after divorce, and excessive punishment of children may reduce the effectiveness of programs.

PARENTAL BELIEFS. Parents with less education and lower incomes are less likely to believe that they have control over their infants’ and children’s development than parents with higher levels of education and income. Parents in rural areas often perceive that their children are at less risk for problems than parents in urban and suburban environments.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS. Parents who are stressed by environmental conditions (e.g., neighborhoods with recurrent violence, few adult role models, persistent unemployment) may be less able to benefit from parental education programs. Programs must first recognize and address the concerns and obstacles of these parents (Brown, 1993).

When a parent-education program is working it is likely to produce a number of positive spin-off effects. For example, mothers who have participated in such programs provide more age-appropriate toys and spend more time reading to their children than do mothers who have not. Participants also report increased self-confidence and satisfaction with parenting (Carnegie Corporation, 1994, p. 38).

Parental involvement at home and school
Research suggests that parents’ involvement in their children’s learning at home and at school is vital to their academic and personal success. The evidence indicates the importance of these specific types of parental involvement:

- High expectations and moderate levels of parental support and supervision.
Appropriate monitoring of television viewing and homework completion.

- An emphasis on effort over ability.

- Engagement of both father and mother in children’s education.

- Participation in joint learning activities at home (Baker & Soden).

Likewise, schools and programs that are the most successful in engaging parents and other family members in support of their children’s learning look beyond traditional definitions of parent involvement—Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) membership or signing quarterly report cards—to a broader concept of parents as full partners in the education of their children. These schools and programs are:

- Finding ways to overcome time and resource constraints of both parents and teachers. They provide newsletters and handbooks and offer creative scheduling of home visits to help parents learn how to work with teachers and be more involved in their child’s education.

- Bridging school-family differences, particularly those related to familial and cultural practices.

- Forming external partnerships with local businesses, health care organizations, and other community agencies (Reading Today, 1998).

Parenting education is not a panacea. Rather, it should be thought of as one of a set of strategies to provide for the information needs of families, and to address and support their overall social and economic well-being. It is clear from available research, however, that positive parenting skills have a significant impact on children’s development and their path to adulthood.

**EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT**

Over the last few decades, researchers and practitioners have documented the importance of the first three years of life. We now know that much of who we are later in life is imprinted developmentally, socially, and emotionally in the toddler years. Further, research has also revealed the permanent effects of limited or no prenatal care. Statistics on low-birthweight babies, babies born with multiple risk factors, and the connection of early socialization to quality childcare and early childhood education point once again to the need to implement programs that concentrate on the critical elements that doom too many of our children to “failure to thrive.”
PRENATAL CARE

Caring for pregnant mothers has profound effects on the health of their babies. In general, women who receive prenatal care during the first trimester have better pregnancy outcomes than women who have little or no prenatal care. Research has indicated that early, comprehensive prenatal care can reduce the risk of some adverse birth outcomes by detecting and managing pre-existing medical conditions, by providing health behavior advice, and by offering a gateway into the health care system for socially disadvantaged women (Kogan et al., 1998). The risk of dying during the first year of life is 20 times higher for low-birthweight babies than for normal-weight babies. “Research shows that women who do not receive adequate early prenatal care are more likely to give birth to a low-birthweight baby and mothers who lack health insurance are less likely to seek and obtain prenatal care” (Kids Count Data Book 2000, p. 25).

Effective strategies for prenatal care programs include:

■ Building community-based consortia. Create partnerships with non-traditional players.

■ Recruiting and enrolling clients most in need of care with creative and diverse outreach strategies, including employment of indigenous outreach workers and continuous outreach-worker training, coordination with case managers, and offering special services for substance-abusing and incarcerated women.

■ Improving women’s access to and enrollment in health and social services through:
  • centralized school services
  • convenient operating hours
  • culturally sensitive staff

■ Offering times and locations that encourage the active involvement of male partners.

■ Providing risk-prevention and risk-reduction services, such as mental health counseling, smoking cessation, and substance-abuse treatment.

■ Linking services that increase access, such as language translation, transportation to prenatal appointments, and on-site childcare.
EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Early childhood interventions can be divided into two categories: child-focused programs and family-focused programs. Child-focused programs include: (1) preschool, Head Start, and prekindergarten; and (2) childcare programs. Since both may share common goals and activities but may not produce equivalent effects, early childhood education and quality childcare are treated as separate categories (Gomby, et al.).

Research from hundreds of studies of demonstration and large-scale programs indicates that preschool and prekindergarten programs of relatively high quality have meaningful short-term effects on cognitive ability, early school achievement, and social adjustment. There is also increasing evidence that interventions can produce middle- to longer-term effects on school achievement, special education placement, grade retention, disruptive behavior and delinquency, and high school graduation (Reynolds, et al.).

While no single model or prototype exemplifies universal success, there are aspects of high-quality programs that are associated with longer-term effectiveness. Combinations of the following elements characterize effective programs (Frede):

- Class sizes are small with low ratios of children to teachers. This allows stable relationships to develop between individual children and teachers.

- Teachers receive support to reflect on and improve their teaching practices. Supervision and support from researchers and curriculum experts are provided for both new and experienced teachers.

- A concentrated or long-lasting intervention.

- Ongoing, child-focused communication between home and school. Programs strive to establish a collaborative relationship with parents in order to share knowledge about the child in both the classroom and the home.

- A developmentally appropriate curriculum based on child-related activities. Curricula that engage children as active learners and

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Successful Comprehensive Preschool Programs

- Reach out to homes and neighborhoods where families live.
- Provide medical checkups to pregnant women.
- Hire parent educators who show parents how to help their children learn by reading, playing, and talking with them.
- Offer childcare for young children and older brothers and sisters.
- Prepare children for school and assist with their passage to kindergarten.
- Help parents talk freely to teachers and school officials.
- Provide adult education and job training so parents can earn a high school diploma and secure employment.

Academy for Educational Development and Center for Law and Education. (1996).
complement what children are likely to encounter when they enter school are particularly important.

- Sensitivity to the non-educational needs of the child and family.

**QUALITY CHILDCARE**

“Quality childcare supports the intellectual, social, and emotional development of children. Children who receive warm and sensitive caregiving are more likely to trust caregivers, to enter school ready and eager to learn, and to get along with other children. Conversely, children who receive inadequate or barely adequate care are more likely to feel insecure with teachers, to distrust other children, and to face possible later rejection by other children” (Carnegie Corporation, 1994, p. 49). The problem of inadequate childcare is particularly acute in low-income communities. A 1995 study found that 59 percent of low-income children attend early childhood centers that fail to provide the range of services needed to support school readiness (U.S. General Accounting Office).

**Hallmarks of quality childcare programs include:**

- A safe and comfortable environment.
- A low children-to-staff ratio and small class size.
- Well-prepared and adequately paid personnel.
- Evidence shows that training makes a measurable difference; when providers have learned more about how children learn and develop, they are more likely to offer warmer and more sensitive care than providers with less training (Carnegie Corporation, 1994). One study showed that when childcare workers receive even 15 hours of training, results for children improve and overall program quality is enhanced (KIDS COUNT Data Book 1999).
- The program encourages parent involvement and communication and is linked to comprehensive health and nutrition services (Carnegie Corporation, 1994).
- Continuity of care is maintained. Studies have found turnover rates of 40 percent for childcare teachers, assistants, and family support providers.

Quality childcare and positive experiences in early childhood affect the growth and maturity of adolescents. As we are learning more about the development of cognitive and social skills, we know that they are influenced and shaped early in life.
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Each school day, America’s 19 million adolescents decide how they will spend at least five of their waking hours when they are not in school (Carnegie Corporation, 1996; Timmer, Eccles, & O’Brien; Medrich & Marzke). More and more, we are learning that our investments of time, energy, and money in the positive decisions and development of young people have enormous payoffs in adulthood.

Youth development is the ongoing process that allows young people to meet their basic personal and social needs and to build the skills and capacities they will need later in life (Academy for Educational Development). Effective youth development programs strengthen aspects of a young person’s sense of identity and ability to contribute to the larger world.

Teenagers and young adults, like most of us, need environments that provide options, support, nurturing, and instruction. Those environments are found in a variety of places that include home, school, clubs and service activities, religious institutions, after-school jobs, and in the neighborhoods where they live.

EFFECTIVE PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

■ THEY PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTIVE AND SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING. Research consistently demonstrates that instruction contributes to desirable youth outcomes when young people have the opportunity to be active learners and critical thinkers—to collect information from various sources and experiences, to be encouraged to extrapolate their own meaning from it, and to express the implications of their new-found knowledge to themselves and others.

■ THEY GIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEW ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES. Current studies indicate that active and experience-driven learning promotes desirable outcomes most readily when it is done with a purpose that is perceived as relevant by the young person. Challenging roles and responsibilities motivate youth to take advantage of opportunities instead of letting them pass by.

■ THEY PROVIDE EMOTIONAL SUPPORT FROM ADULTS. Young people require emotional support from family and other adults. While the strongest source of support is the family, young people can benefit fully from ongoing support from other significant adults in their lives. A caring adult is one who consistently demonstrates acceptance, affirmation, warmth, interest, and friendliness.

The problem here is that they don't teach you how to dream.

Parent
Big Ugly Creek, WV
THEY MOTIVATE, SUPPORT, AND HAVE HIGH STANDARDS. While emotional support is a vital source of affirmation, it is the addition of high expectations that motivates young people to excel. Research has consistently shown that young people benefit when they are asked to abide by clear rules and standards and when they are guided and monitored. Structure and predictability can be critical elements that young people crave.

THEY OFFER STRATEGIC SUPPORT AND SOCIAL NETWORKS. Young people achieve desirable outcomes when they are involved in positive social networks. Extended social networks—including bonds with school teachers and administrators—are a prime source of strategic support for young people, especially those at high risk (Zeldin).

Research is showing that young people who are connected to people and the community in a positive way achieve more academically and make better decisions. Milbrey McLaughlin in Community Counts found that youth who participated in community organizations were more likely to have good grades and to rate the possibility of graduating from high school and going to college “very high” than their peers who were not involved in positive activities sponsored by community organizations. He concludes that despite the challenges young people face at home, school, and in their neighborhoods, participation can make a measurable difference in their outcomes (April 2000).

Two strategies that are getting considerable attention for connecting children and young people to the larger community are mentoring and after-school programs. While both are promising strategies, research is showing how these programs can be structured to be most effective.

MENTORING
Interest in mentoring as a strategy to help at-risk youth has intensified throughout the past decade. The common-sense nature of this approach and its reliance on volunteers have also contributed to the appeal of mentoring from a policy perspective.

However, not all mentoring programs are effective, and some can even have a negative impact on a child’s development if the relationship is ill-suited or short-lived. The critical aspect of successful mentoring is that the adult and youth develop a positive, trusting relationship. A number of recent studies have examined the effect mentoring has on the behavior of at-risk young people and the program components that contribute to success.
A Comprehensive Literature Review Identifies Three Components That Are Crucial to Successful Mentoring Programs

- SCREENING OF VOLUNTEERS to select adults who are aware of the commitment they are making and understand the importance of building a caring relationship with the youngster. Screening processes include interviewing the volunteer, requesting personal references, and checking police records. Volunteers who primarily wish to “transform” a young person rather than focus on building a friendly relationship with a youth are much less likely to be successful mentors.

- ORIENTATION AND TRAINING of adults and youngsters to set realistic expectations and establish a shared understanding about the mentoring experience. Orientation and training vary in length and intensity from program to program. Research has not identified the ideal training experience— but numerous studies document that some kind of training is critical.

- SUPPORT AND SUPERVISION of the matches to help adults and youngsters overcome misunderstandings or problems that may occur in the relationship. “Programs in which professional staff provide regular support to volunteers are more likely to have matches that meet regularly and participants who are satisfied with their relationships” (Grossman, 1999).

While mentoring programs benefit enormously from volunteer labor, they should not be regarded as no-cost approaches. The cost of infrastructure to deliver the essential components outlined above ranged from $1,000 per child per year in 1995 (Big Brothers/Big Sisters) to $1,500 per child per year in 1996 (Sponsor-A-Scholar).

The Benefits of High-Quality Mentoring

One-on-One Mentoring
- Less likely to initiate drug and alcohol use
- Less likely to hit someone
- Skipped fewer days of school
- Felt more competent about their ability to do well in school
- Received slightly higher grades
- Reported more positive relationships with friends and parents

One-on-One Mentoring Embedded in a Broader Academically Oriented Program
- Improved academic performance
- More likely to participate in college-preparatory activities
- More likely to attend college immediately after high school graduation
- Remained longer in college

One-on-One Mentoring Embedded in a Substance-Abuse Prevention Program
- Better attitudes toward school and the future
- Used substances less frequently
- Better school attendance

Group Mentoring
- Better attitudes toward school, their family, and communities
- Better school attendance

AFTER-SCHOOL PROGRAMS
The parents of more than 28 million children work outside the home. The quality of care in the after-school hours has become a pressing personal and community issue. Research from a number of sources has documented that “school-age children who are unsupervised during after-school hours are more likely to use alcohol, drugs and tobacco; engage in criminal and other high-risk behaviors; receive poor grades; and drop out of school” (Safe and Smart, 1998, p. 5). A 1994 Harris poll found that “one-half of teachers singled out ‘children who are left on their own after school’ as the primary explanation for students’ difficulties in class” (National Education Commission on Time and Learning, 1994).

Many parents are struggling to find quality, safe experiences for the after-school hours. The challenge is to determine what is both available and appropriate. After-school programs have a broad range of purposes and missions. However, all types of programs are in great demand. Current research shows that demand exceeds the supply by two to one. Even though many parents can and are willing to pay more for after-school programs, data show that there are just not enough programs.

After-school programs that are available generally fall into three types:

■ Daycare programs.
■ After-school programs sponsored by an array of organizations.
■ School-based academic extended-day programs.

Each type of program has different goals and objectives with the overall mission of occupying children in those critical hours from 3 p.m. until 6 p.m. In addition to those broad categories, there are three primary functions for after-school care: 1) supervision, 2) enriching programs and experiences and positive social interaction, and 3) academic improvement (Fashola, October 1998, p. 1). Generally, effective after-school programs should have an academic component, a recreational component, and a cultural component (Fashola, pp. 49-51). As communities and families face the after-school challenge, it is important that they examine different program strategies and the needs of their children.

Program sponsorship also varies. Schools are frequent sponsors, as are nonprofit, for-profit, and religious organizations. Schools have the advantage of credibility, continuity, accessibility, resources, and expertise. However, there are also disadvantages of school-run programs, such as

We recognize that to develop our children is a shared responsibility. We must all work together to create a better future for all children.

Dr. John Bryant
Cincinnati Youth Collaborative
Cincinnati, OH
higher personnel costs if after-school staff salaries must be equal to teachers’ salaries, the possibility of program budget cuts, and the perception of children that after-care is an extension (positive and negative) of the school day. In the case of other community-sponsored programs, they are generally freer than schools to use innovative curricula and activities to promote student learning. However, staff may not be able to provide academic enrichment (Latchkey Guidelines, 1987).

Available research on the effects of after-school care is minimal. However, qualitative data and anecdotal evidence suggest that children who participate regularly in after-school programs experience more positive outcomes than those who have little supervision. Positive outcomes include improved school performance and attendance, improved social skills and self-confidence, and a healthier use of time.

**Elements of effective after-school programs:**

- Clear goals, on-site management, and coordination.
- Qualified staff.
- Strong focus on safety, health, and nutritional needs of children during the program.
- Effective collaborations and linkages with community agencies.
- Strong involvement of parents.
- Coordination with school-day learning and personnel.
- Ongoing evaluation of programs.

The available research and data leave little doubt that quality after-school care must be a priority for communities and families. It is an opportunity not only to provide a safe space for children but also to develop strong programs that enrich their learning and positive development. A report, *Extending Learning Time for Disadvantaged Students*, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education, found that a challenging after-school curriculum accommodates individual student needs, coordinates with in-school academics, and focuses on more than remedial work. It also includes other learning opportunities such as computer use, art, music, and leadership development. The combination of these learning approaches and topics has proven to be an effective way for students to build life skills and expand personal interests (Funkhouser).

Finally, the purpose of after-school programs is being considered in light of the standards of learning movement. Government, private agen-
cies, and foundations are now suggesting that students use the after-school period for additional educational activities, both enrichment and remedial. Despite the desirability of meshing the school day to the after-school period, there are still many organizational and staff issues to maneuver. The final analysis of the research is that after-school programs vary in content. There is mounting evidence to support content that is more academic and less recreational. The challenge to communities is to begin and sustain collaborative efforts among and between organizations, parents, and schools so that the after-school hours create the opportunity for children to be safe, to increase their academic prowess, to learn social development skills, and to enjoy the time.

**ADDRESSING RISKY BEHAVIOR**

As a rule, adolescents are physically and emotionally healthy. Significant progress has been made toward reducing juvenile motor vehicle deaths; the use of alcohol, cigarettes, and illegal substances; and the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases.

While the positive statistics ebb and flow, there are still significant areas of concern related to young people and their futures. Too many are dropping out, too many are at-risk physically and emotionally, and too many lose their lives needlessly. Homicide remains the second leading cause of death for young people. Therefore many communities are tackling the risk factors early and directly.
REDUCING ALCOHOL AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Family relationships, parental presence, and school connectedness are associated with less frequent use of alcohol and substance abuse among youth. Researchers are finding that the content and structure of prevention programs also affect outcomes.

Effective prevention programs for children and adolescents:

■ Are designed to be age-specific, developmentally appropriate, and culturally sensitive.
■ Target all forms of drug abuse, including the use of tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, and inhalants.
■ Build skills to resist drugs when offered, strengthen personal commitments against drug use, and increase the social ability to reinforce attitudes against drug use.
■ Use interactive methods such as peer discussion groups rather than didactic teaching techniques alone.
■ Include a parents’ or caregivers’ component that reinforces what the children are learning and creates opportunities for family discussions about drug use.
■ Act long-term throughout the school career with repeated interventions to reinforce the original prevention goals.
■ Address the specific nature of the substance-abuse problem in the local community.
■ Focus on the entire family as opposed to parents only or children only (Slobada).

PREVENTING TEEN PREGNANCY

More than a half a million teens give birth each year and three million teens acquire sexually transmitted diseases (STD) (When Teens Have Sex: Issues and Trends, 1998). Teen pregnancy is not a random or erratic event. Rather, it is correlated with a set of definable characteristics. Young women at greatest risk for teen pregnancy are more likely to live in areas with high poverty rates, low levels of education, high residential turnover, and high divorce rates. Other variables related to early sexual activity include use of tobacco, alcohol, and other drugs; school problems; delinquency; and physical aggression. Conversely, having better educated parents, supportive family relationships, parental supervision, sexually
abstinent friends, good school grades, and attending a religious organization frequently are all associated with later onset of sexual activity. Family characteristics that encourage teens from early sexual intercourse and pregnancy include parent/family connectedness, perceived parental disapproval of sex and contraception, and a greater number of shared activities (Blum & Rinehart).

Compared to young women who delay their first birth until age 20 or older, teen mothers complete less school, are more likely to have large families, and are more likely to be single parents. Children born to teens aged 15 to 17 tend to have less supportive and stimulating home environments, poorer health, lower cognitive development, worse educational outcomes, higher rates of behavioral problems, and higher rates of teen childbearing themselves. “Eight to 12 years after birth, a child born to an unmarried teenage, high school dropout is 10 times as likely to be living in poverty as a child born to a mother with none of these characteristics” (KIDS COUNT Data Book 2000, p. 27).

**Summary of teen pregnancy prevention strategies:**

Education and STD/HIV-prevention programs can significantly delay sexual activity and reduce the occurrence of disease. Effective programs:

- Focus clearly on reducing one or more sexual behaviors that lead to unintended pregnancy or STD/HIV infection.
- Incorporate behavioral goals, teaching methods, and materials that are appropriate to students’ age, sexual experience, and culture.
- Base educational programs upon theoretical approaches that have been demonstrated to be effective in influencing other health-related risky behaviors.
- Last long enough to allow participants to complete important activities.
- Provide basic, accurate information about the risks of and methods to avoid unprotected intercourse.
- Use a variety of teaching methods designed to involve the participants and personalize the information.
- Include activities that address social pressures related to sex.
- Provide models of and practice in communication, negotiation, and refusal skills.
- Select teachers or peers who believe in the program and provide them with sufficient training to participate.
The role and effectiveness of family-planning clinics and services on adolescent birth rates is still not clear. Some studies suggest that teens were more likely to access clinics when barriers were reduced and more likely to use contraception when non-medical issues were addressed. Education programs for families consistently increase parent-child communication about sexuality, as well as parents’ and children’s comfort with conversation about sexual matters. However, these positive effects appear to dissipate with time. No longitudinal studies to date have conclusive evidence on the effect of abstinence-only programs on delaying intercourse.

**Evaluations of interventions that make use of several prevention components suggest that:**

- Some multi-component programs reduced sexual risk-taking or teen pregnancy rates while others did not, indicating that simply having multiple components does not ensure success.
- The most effective programs appear to be those that were the most intensive.
- Making condoms or contraceptives available to youth does not hasten an increase in sexual activity, nor does it appear to significantly decrease pregnancy or birthrates.
- Programs must be maintained if they are to continue to have an effect.

Youth-development programs designed to improve life skills or life options, rather than focus specifically on sexual issues or pregnancy prevention seem to work. One extensive evaluation of such a program found that the program reduced pregnancy rates during the year in which the youth participated. However, more research is required in order to ascertain which components of youth-development programs are most critical to reducing pregnancy rates (Kirby 1997).
STOPPING VIOLENCE

Too many teens find themselves in high-risk, violent situations. According to the Centers for Disease Control, in 1997 17 young people, on average, were homicide victims every day in the United States. Homicide is still the second leading cause of death for young people 15 to 24 years of age despite evidence of a downward trend. Deaths from accidents, suicide, and homicide account for 88 percent of all deaths of teens 15 to 19 years of age (KIDS COUNT Data Book 2000, p. 27).

A key public health strategy for preventing violence is to identify, understand, and act on the factors that put young people at risk as victims or perpetrators of violent behavior. Likewise, there are personal qualities in youth that are associated with reductions in violence, including problem-solving and reasoning skills, social capacities, and a productive sense of purpose, independence, and power. In order to foster these types of qualities in youth, it is recommended that teachers and parents expect children to achieve high standards, provide meaningful opportunities for participation, recognize positive accomplishments, and provide positive role models for them (Pereira).

Research suggests that the lives of youth at risk for criminal behavior are most positively affected by strategies that focus on early intervention, such as parent training, graduation incentives, and delinquent supervision.

Youth violence prevention programs that work:

- Address the highest-priority problem areas and identify the risk and protective factors to which children in a particular community are exposed.
- Focus most strongly on populations exposed to a number of risk factors.
- Address multiple risk factors in a variety of settings, such as school, family, and peer groups.
- Offer comprehensive interventions across many systems, including health and education, and deal simultaneously with many aspects of young peoples’ lives.
- Ensure that programs are intensive and involve multiple contacts weekly or even daily with at-risk juveniles.

Risk Factors for Violent Behavior

**Individual**
- History of early aggression
- Beliefs supportive of violence
- Social cognitive deficits

**Family**
- Poor monitoring or supervision of children
- Exposure to violence
- Parental drug/alcohol abuse
- Poor emotional attachment to parents or caregivers

**Peer/School**
- Association with peers engaged in high-risk or problem behaviors
- Low commitment to school
- Academic failure

**Neighborhood**
- Poverty and diminished economic opportunity
- High levels of transience and family disruption
- Exposure to violence

Nine Key Components of School-Based Violence Prevention

- A comprehensive, multifaceted approach that includes family, peer, media, and community components was viewed by experts as critically important. This approach allows for the reinforcement of new skills at home, at school, and in the community. Such interventions should be both universal (i.e., classroom instruction) and targeted (i.e., mediation programs). Increased parental involvement is crucial.

- Programs that begin in the primary grades (1st grade if possible) and are reinforced across grade levels.

- Interventions that are developmentally tailored.

- Program content that promotes personal and social competencies, specifically information about the negative consequences of violence, including:
  - Anger management
  - Social perspective-taking
  - Decision-making and social problem-solving
  - Peer negotiation
  - Conflict management

- Interactive techniques, such as group work, cooperative learning, discussions, and role plays, or behavioral rehearsal that facilitate the development of personal and social skills.

- Ethnic identity/culturally sensitive material that is matched with the characteristics of the target population.

- Staff development and teacher training that ensure a program will be implemented as intended by the program developers. Interactive techniques, in particular, require training.

- Activities that foster norms against violence, aggression, and bullying.

- Activities that promote a positive school climate or culture, including effective classroom management strategies promoting good discipline (Dusenbury, et al.).
Begin as early as possible in a child’s life (1st grade, not 12th grade).

Deal with young people in the context of their relationships with others rather than focus solely on the individual (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Build on individual strengths rather than focus on deficits.

**Program components that may not work as well or have mixed results:**

- Use of scare tactics that show pictures or videos of violent scenes.
- Involve adding a violence-prevention program to a school system that is already overwhelmed with academic standards of learning requirements.
- Segregate aggressive or antisocial students into a separate group.
- Use instructional programs that are too brief and not supported by a positive school climate. Research in the area of drug-abuse prevention suggests that programs should be at least ten sessions long in the first year, at least five sessions long in the subsequent years, and at least three years in duration if programs are to be effective.
- Implement approaches that focus exclusively on self-esteem enhancement.
- Adopt strategies that only provide information.
In conclusion, we know that successful youth programs share several key components—regardless of focus, setting, participants, size, and location. Communities and organizations that are reviewing their youth development programs should include both content and delivery systems in their evaluation.

**Key components in successful youth programs include:**

- **ASSESSMENT.** Youth are comprehensively assessed as a part of the enrollment process.
- **ENGAGEMENT.** Youth are engaged in setting their developmental goals.
- **RESOURCE CONNECTIONS.** Youth are connected to community resources, which can provide them with opportunities and supports to help meet their goals.
- **MONITORING.** Youth are regularly evaluated and assessed in their progress toward those goals.
- **DIVERSE OPPORTUNITIES.** Youth are offered an array of opportunities to gain skills that directly relate to their goals.
- **QUALITY EXPERIENCES.** Youth are offered high-quality work or educational experiences to develop employable skills and options for careers.
- **CARING RELATIONSHIPS.** Youth are provided with a one-to-one ongoing relationship with at least one caring adult who is readily accessible and approachable. This caring relationship with a parent is sometimes lacking. [“One in five children in grades 6 through 12 say they have not had a good conversation lasting more than 10 minutes with either parent in more than a month” (National Issues Forums, 1997).]
- **COMMITTED AND TRAINED STAFF.** Frontline staff, managers, and supervisors are committed to the positive development of youth and have training and experience in the core competencies of youth development.
- **TAILORED OFFERINGS.** Programs offer youth opportunities in youth-adult partnerships, in decision-making, in age- and stage-appropriate participation in planning, and in program implementation (Carnegie Corporation, 1996).
HEALTHY FAMILIES AND CHILDREN
STARTING-POINT RESOURCES:

Websites

The Annie E. Casey Foundation
   www.aecf.org

Center for Youth Development and Policy Research,
   Academy for Educational Development
   www.aed.org/us/cyd

Chapin Hall Center for Children
   www.chapin.uchicago.edu

Children's Aid Society
   www.childrensaidssociety.org

Children's Defense Fund
   www.childrensdefense.org

Family Resource Coalition of America
   www.frca.org

Mott After-School Initiative
   www.mott.org

The Search Institute
   www.search-institute.org

U.S. Department of Justice, Justice for Kids and Youth
   www.usdoj.gov/kidspage

Publications

Strengthening Families

Farrow, F. (February 1996). Systems change at the neighborhood level:
   Creating better futures for children, youth, and families. Washington, DC:
   Center for the Study of Social Policy.

Henderson, A.T., & N. Berla. (Eds.). (1997) The family is critical to student
   achievement. Washington, DC: Center for Law and Education.


   Baltimore, MD: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Schorr, L.B. (1997). Common purpose: Strengthening families and neighbor-

Early Childhood Development


Youth Development


Blum, R.W., & P.M. Rinehart. ("n.d."). Reducing the risk: Connections that make a difference in the lives of youth. Minneapolis, MN: Division of General Pediatrics and Adolescent Health, University of Minnesota.


Thriving Neighborhoods
A CRITICAL ELEMENT OF FAMILY SUPPORT is improving where families live. Neighborhoods should provide shelter, safety, and relationships. Too many of the places we call home offer none of these. Many families find themselves as prisoners in their own physical locale—no way to get out and no way to let people in. This is particularly true in low-income urban areas where “almost 20 percent of households do not have a telephone at home and 50 percent do not have a car” (Kids Count Data Book 2000, p. 9).

Two important ways to improve the quality of all neighborhoods are through decent, affordable housing and by improving the safety of streets and whole communities. While a number of other interventions are important to maintaining and restoring neighborhoods, housing and safety are crucial to thriving neighborhoods and to the relationships among people that sustain and maintain quality communities. However, thriving neighborhoods are not only places where families are physically safe, but also where they are connected to networks of social and emotional support. According to Mack McCarter, “the greatest need is to discover ways to restore safe and caring communities. Unless we find a way to do that, we will continue with the process of disintegration and decline” (Westerfield, 2001, p. 49).

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Despite the fact that two-thirds of households in the United States own their homes, many people are struggling to find decent shelter. According to a report from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (1999), in no local jurisdiction in the United States can a full-time, minimum-wage worker afford Fair Market Rent (FMR) for a one-bedroom unit in his community, and in 70 metropolitan areas, minimum-wage workers must work more than 100 hours a week to afford FMR in their area. In addition, the 800,000 people who are homeless continue to be underserved.
Most affordable-housing programs focus on providing access to decent, modestly priced shelter—to solve a family’s immediate housing problem. However, many housing programs offer much more. When people connect to a comprehensive housing strategy, they connect to a set of relationships that often dramatically changes their lives (Schubert).

Nonprofit developers, community groups, and government have been instrumental in addressing the availability of housing and the stabilization of neighborhoods in the following ways:

■ Developing and building new units of affordable rental housing.
■ Rehabilitating existing rental- and owner-occupied housing and bringing it up to code.
■ Developing supportive housing to provide affordable housing and services to individuals with special needs.
■ Developing programs to expand home ownership among low-income families.
■ Working to prevent homelessness by helping individuals and families avoid eviction and by providing emergency aid and transitional housing for the homeless.

A variety of reports that draw on case studies, focus-group discussions with residents and homeowners, analyses of program documents and financial statements, property inspections, and interviews with program staff indicate that affordable-housing efforts require multiple funding sources, deep subsidies, and a long-term strategy. Funding for predevelopment activities is important to long-term success, but increasingly difficult to obtain (Rohe, et al.). Sponsors need to develop long-term partnerships with a variety of community institutions and groups, including financial institutions, lenders, foundations, government agencies, and other nonprofit groups.

Programs that build or rehabilitate affordable rental property have been successful in providing decent, affordable housing to low-income persons, maintaining the properties, keeping residents satisfied, and meeting their day-to-day financial obligations (Rohe, et al.; Bratt, et al.; Community Information Exchange, 1995). Likewise, programs that promote home ownership among low-income families are also successful in providing decent housing and generally show low default rates (Applied Real Estate Analysis).

Finally, affordable housing is not one-size-fits-all. As communities analyze their housing needs and their response, it is important to be aware of affordable-housing options and the different areas of demand.
HOMEOWNERSHIP

Several studies suggest that homeownership is positively linked to family stability, improved property maintenance, improved residential satisfaction, neighborhood stability, and increased civic participation (Rossi & Weber; Rohe & Stewart; Schubert). Expanding homeownership among low-income families is seen as a way to contribute to community improvement as well as individual satisfaction.

Strategies for increasing access to owned housing include reducing the cost of buying a home for low-income residents by lowering down payment requirements or monthly payments, increasing access to credit, and educating potential buyers about the responsibilities of homeownership. Although there is no conclusive evidence to show that pre-ownership counseling is effective (Quercia & Wachter), homeownership programs that are considered to be successful typically provide pre-purchase counseling, training, and screening, and pre-qualify buyers in addition to offer-
What Works in Programs Offering Counseling and Training to Low-Income Homebuyers

The Enterprise Foundation’s case studies of assistance programs for low-income homebuyers concluded that programs that combine marketing, intake screening, counseling, training, and secondary financing are fairly typical and seem to be effective. They recommend the following practices:

- Rely on clients and partners to market the program.
- Set some minimum entrance requirements, do basic screening over the phone, and require clients to bring financial documentation to an intake interview.
- Engage clients early in the homebuying process.
- Pre-qualify and counsel clients in the intake interview.
- Screen out unqualified clients early on, but don’t turn people away without giving them a plan to become eligible.
- Offer classroom training after, not before, intake and initial counseling.
- Require about eight hours of group training.
- Provide group training early in the program and counsel clients separately.
- Make one-on-one counseling available throughout the purchase process.
- Adopt better approaches to lead-hazard abatement in older homes.

Despite successful counseling programs, consistent cash flow continues to be a major challenge for first-time homeowners. However, while default rates vary among different programs, research shows clearly that all programs should be cognizant of the additional financial demands that home ownership may bring (Rohe, et al.; Werwath; Applied Real Estate Analysis).

Post-purchase financial assistance and other supports (e.g., home-maintenance training, home-maintenance service, and foreclosure preven-
tion) are considered critical elements in programs that offer them (Applied Real Estate Analysis; Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation). The Enterprise Foundation recommends, in addition, more timely intervention and better debt-collection policies to reduce default and delinquency rates (Werwath).

Two program models—Habitat for Humanity (which uses sweat equity, socially motivated volunteers, and a revolving loan fund capitalized with grants and contributions) and the Neighborhood Development Foundation (which helps buyers obtain conventional mortgages and subsidies from other sources and provides homebuyer training and counseling)—have been cited for their effectiveness and potential replicability (Werwath).

**AFFORDABLE RENTAL HOUSING**

Common sense dictates characteristics of successful rental-housing efforts. Such basic ingredients of good property management include resident screening and selection; timely rent collection; setting and enforcing rules; implementing eviction procedures; maintaining accurate records; providing maintenance and repairs; and maintaining building safety and security (Rohe, et al.; Bratt, et al.; Sullivan). Over and above these basic functions, enriched or enhanced property management is also concerned with providing services or organizing activities that contribute to the well being of individual tenants and that build a sense of community. These can include social work and counseling, employment and training, daycare, activities for children and youth, health services, and services for the elderly (Sullivan; Bratt, et al.). However, while sponsors view the ability to provide services to low-income residents or to link them to services as critical to maintaining the well being of the tenants and property, as yet the cost-effectiveness of this approach has not been proven (Bratt, et al.).

A few caveats of affordable rental-property management and development include:

- The ability of affordable-housing property managers to provide quality asset management and to ensure the long-term financial stability of affordable-housing developments is a major concern (Rohe, et al.; Bratt, et al.).
Careful screening of applicants and the rapid removal of problem tenants can help keep the occupancy rate high and avoid financial problems (Rohe, et al.).

Many sponsors consider tenant-organizing a tool of good property management that contributes to the smooth functioning of the building (Bratt, et al.).

Housing developments should be located in close proximity to transportation or have access to employment and educational opportunities and services such as daycare and shopping (Rohe, et al.).

The quality of the initial construction and soundness of the financial underpinning have long-term effects on property management and resident satisfaction. Developments that are poorly constructed and under-financed will have more difficulty maintaining the property in good condition and satisfying the tenants (Rohe, et al.; Bratt, et al.). Further, scattered-site housing is inherently more difficult and more expensive to manage than developments with a larger number of units (Bratt, et al.).

**SUPPORTIVE HOUSING**

Special-needs housing or supportive housing is for people who cannot maintain housing stability on their own and need supportive services to meet their needs. The target group typically includes people with mental illness, developmental disabilities, physical disabilities, HIV/AIDS, substance abusers in recovery, at-risk single parents, at-risk youth, and programs that serve low-income or formerly homeless individuals. Supportive housing can be either transitional or permanent, but the development trend is toward providing permanent housing (Community Information Exchange, 1995).

Services are an integral part of supportive housing and typically require strong partnership arrangements with other community groups. Sponsors debate whether they should be mandatory or voluntary and whether to offer them onsite or offsite, but there is general agreement that the quality of the services is the most important factor affecting performance of the service delivery system (Rohe, et al.; Community Information Exchange, 1995).

Employment programs are increasingly viewed as an important part of a comprehensive service agenda in supportive housing (Community Information Exchange, 1995). Early evidence from an evaluation of an intensive multi-site initiative shows encouraging results in placing residents with disabilities in employment (Proscio).
A key financing principle of supportive housing developments is that they must be economically self-sustaining, with the long-term cash flow built into the basic project underwriting. Funding uncertainties are particularly acute in supportive-housing programs because of uncertainties about the long-term availability of resources needed to fund the social services; much of it is annual funding that is very vulnerable to budget cuts. Despite the need for deep subsidies, supportive housing is far less expensive than institutionalization. The early success that programs have shown in reducing the frequency and duration of spells of institutionalization among tenants also suggests that supportive housing can produce cost savings (Rohe, et al.; Community Information Exchange, 1995).

HOMELESS PREVENTION AND TRANSITIONAL HOUSING

Statistics show that as many as half of all homeless adults become homeless because they are evicted or experience some other problem with the landlord or with paying their rent.

Prevention programs fall into two basic categories:

- Programs that provide legal assistance to tenants who are facing or involved in formal eviction procedures.
- Programs that provide cash assistance to enable tenants to pay all or part of their back rent—this approach can reach people who are not involved in eviction procedures but are still in danger of losing an apartment.

A comprehensive review of a range of homeless prevention programs provides the following information and conclusions:

- Several studies show that providing legal assistance or legal representation to tenants in eviction proceedings greatly increases the likelihood that the tenant can win the case or reach an agreement with the landlord.
- The effectiveness of less intensive and comprehensive legal-assistance programs that provide guidance and coaching, but not direct legal representation, is not so clear. They are more likely to result in delaying but not preventing eviction.
The effectiveness of the more intensive and comprehensive legal-assistance model probably would be increased if programs targeted assistance to those most in danger of becoming homeless without an intervention, as indicated by the profile of the homeless population.

There are several models of programs that provide emergency cash assistance to prevent families from falling into homelessness. Because they typically serve a more functioning and less disadvantaged group of at-risk families, some questions are raised about their effectiveness in preventing homelessness.

Emergency cash-assistance programs that provided case-management assistance (household budgeting training, family counseling, and help in accessing welfare benefits) were found to be no more successful in preventing homelessness than programs that did not. This is probably because the programs target basically functional families. If a more at-risk group were targeted, case-management assistance would probably be quite beneficial.

Transitional programs for the homeless typically provide temporary or interim housing and services to homeless individuals and families living in public places to help facilitate the transition to long-term or permanent housing. Depending on the project, transitional programs may provide assistance for several days or weeks or for as long as two years. Another model is to place homeless people or families directly into permanent housing and then provide the services to build self-sufficiency.

Several studies provide evidence that a range of services can improve housing and employment outcomes for the homeless. The research methodology, however, is not very rigorous.

A national evaluation of programs in operation from 1987 through 1990 under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Transitional Housing Program, which funded innovative approaches combining housing and supportive services, presents descriptive data showing that program participants made progress towards independent living on three separate indicators: the majority entered stable housing after leaving the program (most in unsubsidized housing without services); employment levels were higher at program completion than at program entry; and a small percentage had increased their monthly income and reduced their dependency on welfare. Staff considered case management to be a particularly important factor in their
program’s success. The study did not use a comparison or control group and did not examine longer-term outcomes (Matulef, et al.).

■ A comparison group study of participants (mostly males) in transitional programs for the street homeless in New York City found that close to two-thirds of the experimental group members (who were provided with temporary housing as well as access to support services) were in permanent housing three months after leaving the program, compared to only one-third of the comparison group members (who had the same level of services but were not provided with temporary housing) (Barrow & Soto).

■ A very small random-assignment study of a rural Maine program that offered a community-wide system of integrated case-managed services to help homeless persons find housing and secure employment enabling them to live independently, found that the homeless participants who received on-going case management and on-going referrals to services received more services than participants who received only initial case management and referrals. At the end of the two-year program, participants in both groups had increased their employment and employability skills, and most had moved into safe, affordable housing (Ideas that Work).

■ Case studies of award-winning housing programs also stress the importance of integrating housing and social services in transitional housing programs (Rohe, et al.).
MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS SAFE

Americans are fearful of each other. No matter the locale, crime and violence have limited our mobility and separated us as citizens. According to the National Research Council, this fear permeates everything we do. “The diminished quality of life ranges from the ability to sit on the front porch in neighborhoods where gang warfare has made gunfire a common event to the installation of elaborate security systems in suburban homes where back doors were once left open. Surveys show that large percentages of the population fear even walking in their neighborhoods” (Reiss & Roth, 1993, p. 1).

Communities have put in place a variety of interventions to reduce crime and prevent violence. Strategies range from the popular community-policing model to installation of metal detectors to gun buybacks. While crime continues to be present in every community, research has identified why and where it is most likely to happen, as well as promising steps to take toward prevention.

Community-level breeding grounds for crime include:

■ Illegal drug markets that are closer than are prenatal and pediatric care.
■ Poor and violent schools.
■ Few legitimate employment opportunities (Reiss & Roth, 1993, p. 14).

In addition, factors of community disorganization further place communities at risk for crime. According to the National Research Council, such things as “high housing density, high residential mobility, high percentages of single-parent families, and the occurrence of neighborhood transitions—both economic decline and gentrification...[a]ppear to account for more of the geographic variation in violent victimization rates than do measures of poverty or income inequality” (Reiss & Roth, 1993, p. 15).

What may distinguish safe neighborhoods from unsafe ones is not the ratio of police to residents or the frequency of probation offenses but rather the social fabric of the neighborhood and the condition of families (Safety and Justice for Communities, 1999).

Reporting on poor communities, The Annie E. Casey Foundation says:

The reality and perception of danger clearly have an impact on whether and how families in poor communities spend time together or with their neighbors. Families are reluctant to gather in parks and playgrounds or venture out after dark with their kids. Grandparents
and other older residents—who have much to offer and much to gain from family and community networks—often remain home-bound, not because they are ill or frail, but out of fear for their safety (KIDS COUNT Data Book 2000, p.12).

To stop this vicious cycle of fear and lack of neighborhood connections, there are specific steps that communities can take to reduce the incidence of crime.

Communities are faced with decisions about funding priorities, time allocations, and staff assignments. Based on a review of more than 500 evaluations of federally funded prevention programs, a provisional list of what works, what’s promising, and what is less effective was created. Using a broad definition of “crime prevention,” researchers assigned strategies to each of these categories based on a minimum level of objective evidence (Sherman, et al.).

**WHAT WORKS**

**In families with the most risk factors for violence and crime**

- Arrange for frequent home visits to infants, newborn to 2 years of age, by trained nurses and other helpers to reduce child abuse and other injuries to young children.

- Establish preschool and weekly home visits by teachers to children under 5 years of age to substantially reduce arrests at least through age 15 and up to age 19.
Offer family therapy and parent training about delinquent and at-risk pre-adolescents to reduce risk factors for delinquency such as aggression and hyperactivity.

Support families’ ability to be self-sufficient and thriving.

**Within schools**

- Build the capacity of schools to initiate and sustain innovative prevention approaches through the use of school teams or other organizational strategies.
- Clarify and communicate norms to students about behavior through rules, reinforcement of positive behavior, and schoolwide initiatives (such as anti-bullying campaigns) to reduce crime, delinquency, and substance abuse.
- Teach social competency skills, such as stress management, problem-solving, self-control, and emotional intelligence, to reinforce positive behaviors over a long period of time.
- Use behavior-modification techniques and a system of rewards and punishments to coach high-risk youth in positive decision-making skills to reduce incidents of delinquency.

**With law enforcement**

- Reduce community nuisances by threatening civil action against landlords for not addressing drug problems on the premises.
- Assign extra police patrols in high-crime hot spots.
- Develop repeat-offender units that monitor known high-risk offenders and return them to prison more quickly.
Establish rehabilitation programs for adult and juvenile offenders using treatments appropriate to their risk factors in order to reduce their repeat offense rates.

Offer drug treatment in prison.

Build trust with citizens.

With neighbors

Ensure that parents know the neighborhood children and their children's friends.

Make occasions and opportunities for parents to talk with each other.

Encourage all neighbors to keep an eye on neighborhood activities and common areas.

Develop good relationships with local law enforcement and social-service providers.

WHAT’S PROMISING

Gang offender monitoring by community workers and probation and police officers can reduce gang violence.

Community-based mentoring can substantially reduce drug abuse.

Community-based, after-school recreation programs may reduce crime in the immediate area.

“Schools-within-schools” programs that group students into smaller units for more supportive interaction or flexibility in instruction are promising.

Job Corps, an intensive residential training program for at-risk youth, has reduced felony arrests and increased the earnings and educational attainment of participants.

Prison-based vocational education programs for inmates seem to reduce repeat offenses.

Relocating inner-city, public-housing residents to multiple-site suburban public housing may contribute to reduced incidents of crime.

Metal detectors can reduce the number of weapons carried into schools, although they do not reduce assaults within or outside schools.

Pro-active arrests for carrying concealed weapons made by officers on directed patrols in gun-crime hot spots have reduced crime.

Community policing with community meetings to set priorities has reduced perceptions of the severity of crime problems (Sherman, et al.).
STRATEGIES THAT MAY BE LESS EFFECTIVE

■ The effectiveness of gun-buyback programs operated without geographic limitations on the eligibility of people providing guns has not been proven.

■ Residents’ efforts alone to reduce crime in high-crime, inner-city areas of concentrated poverty do not seem to have a significant impact when they are not part of a comprehensive approach supported by other community institutions.

■ Individual counseling and peer counseling of students do not seem to reduce substance abuse or delinquency, if not complemented by other interventions.

■ Summer jobs or subsidized work for at-risk youth have not been proven to reduce crime or arrests.

■ Short-term, nonresidential training programs for at-risk youth do not seem to have a significant impact on crime prevention.

■ Citizen watch programs organized with police, especially in higher-crime areas where voluntary participation often fails, have not singularly demonstrated their impact on crime prevention (Sherman, et al.).
THRIVING NEIGHBORHOODS
STARTING-POINT RESOURCES:

Websites

**Affordable Housing**

Beyond Shelter  
www.beyondshelter.org

Center for Community Change  
www.communitychange.org

Corporation for Supportive Housing  
www.csh.org

Fannie Mae Foundation  
www.fanniemaefoundation.org

The Enterprise Foundation  
www.enterprisefoundation.org

Department of Housing and Urban Development  
www.hud.gov

Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC)  
www.liscnet.org

National Coalition of the Homeless (NCH)  
http://nch.ari.net

National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC)  
www.nlihc.org

**Crime Prevention**

Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence  
www.colorado.edu/cspv/

Child Net  
www.child.net

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention  
http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/

National Crime Prevention Council  
www.ncpc.org/
Publications

Affordable Housing


Crime Prevention


Living-Wage Jobs
FINDING COST-EFFECTIVE WAYS to increase economic opportunities for disadvantaged individuals and to lower poverty rates has been a public-policy priority for the past thirty years. Employment policy is increasingly concerned not only with placing disadvantaged individuals in jobs, but with keeping them in the workforce over the long term and helping them move into “good” jobs. In a national survey commissioned by the Pew Partnership for Civic Change, Americans listed the lack of living-wage jobs as the number one problem in their communities (Ready, Willing, and Able, 2001).

The emphasis on “good” jobs loses focus when unemployment rates are low. As Dewar and Scheie (1995) point out, “… it matters a great deal what kinds of jobs people are able to find and hold. Jobs with a future and with incremental income are particularly important. This is even more true for those who have few skills and have experienced dead-end jobs” (p. 6).

The sense of urgency has increased in the wake of welfare-reform legislation, which seeks to move welfare recipients quickly into work and limits the amount of time families can receive federal aid. The concentration of unemployment and poverty in inner-city neighborhoods has drawn attention to finding solutions that are rooted in the community, built on community assets, and sustainable.

**Two basic philosophies dominate:**

- **Work-first programs tend to focus on moving individuals fairly quickly into the workforce, believing that early work experience is the best foundation for building work skills and habits.**

- **Human resource development models focus on more intensive preparation before moving individuals into the workforce and seek to provide the supports people need to retain jobs before launching them into the workforce.**
Programs that seek to increase employment among disadvantaged populations or in persistently poor neighborhoods typically concentrate on one or more of the following strategies to alleviate conditions that are thought to contribute to high unemployment rates:

- Preparing people for jobs by developing the skills they will need in the workplace.
- Providing greater access to jobs and connecting job applicants with employers.
- Keeping people in jobs after a placement by providing necessary supports.
- Helping people move out of entry-level jobs into better jobs.

Not everyone needs intensive job-preparation services, and it is not cost effective to provide them. The difficulty lies in targeting the people who need and can benefit from intensive interventions.

Rigorous research shows several job-preparation models to be effective in increasing employment and earnings among a variety of disadvantaged groups—all are intensive programs that package vocational training or work experience with basic education and soft skills training, job development, and placement assistance, and have strong case management.

- Job-search programs can increase employment rates among female welfare recipients over the longer term, but they do not move participants into better-paying jobs.
- There is growing interest in the potential for packaging quick job-placement strategies at the front end with post-program supports aimed at retention, re-employment, and advancement. However, there is no evidence supporting the effectiveness of the strategy.
- Some job-brokering programs run by community-based organizations show promise in placing job-ready applicants into basic jobs and placing more disadvantaged workers into temporary jobs with the potential to move into permanent positions.
- Job-brokering organizations and training providers that develop strong ties with employers and find ways to meet employer needs as well as those of disadvantaged job seekers tend to be more effective (Cave; Harrison & Weiss; McGill).
Increasing participant retention is an issue in programs that offer longer-term, intensive preparation. Offering a variety of supports (including financial assistance or paid part-time work) and rewards and incentives are typical strategies (Cave; Wolf, et al.; Osterman). There is some evidence to suggest that shorter, more intensive programs may be more effective than sequencing several components over a longer period (Cave).

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Years of research suggest that the following components are vital to the success of employment programs that serve older, out-of-school youth:

- The integration of skills training and/or paid work experience with opportunities for improving basic education skills in alternative education settings and developing “job readiness skills.” Occupational training and work experience should be intensive, involve hands-on experiential learning, and be linked to real-world employment opportunities and employers.
- Opportunities for youth to have sustained involvement with, and support from, caring adults.
- Ongoing support that can continue after an initial placement in a job and, if needed, through several jobs (Walker; Ivry).

Programs that work with older youth who are very disconnected from mainstream society can benefit from the following components:

- Motivational strategies that recognize and encourage individual achievement (e.g., financial incentives and penalties) and that offer peer-group support.
- Connections to outside providers who can help meet a youth’s basic needs for housing, food, clothing, and medical care and can help solve family and personal problems.
- Opportunities for leadership development and civic participation.
- Work-experience programs that attempt to develop basic job skills in a work setting rather than in the classroom. Work-experience programs that integrate work and education and are based on a service-corps model (which uses small work teams on community-service projects and incorporates youth-development principles) have
shown promising short-term results for disadvantaged youths in carefully designed evaluations, but there is no evidence of their long-term effects (Wolf, et al.; Jasztrab).

School-to-work programs, now funded and authorized through federal legislation, provide opportunities for high school students to participate in school-based learning about work and careers, work-based learning opportunities, and “connecting activities” that link experiences in schools and workplaces. An implementation study of 16 pioneering school-to-work programs concluded that these programs can improve preparation for work, as well as increase opportunities to attend college and other postsecondary educational options.

Research has shown that job-search or pre-employment programs for youth initially increased employment rates, but the effects disappeared by the end of two years (Betsey, et al.).

PREPARING ADULTS FOR LIVING-WAGE JOBS

According to the skills-mismatch theory, many disadvantaged individuals have trouble in the job market because they lack the basic skills and education that employers require and, therefore, are not prepared to meet the demands of the workplace. It is argued that, as a result of structural changes in the United States economy, more entry-level jobs now require higher-skill levels than before, yet do not pay as well. It is also argued that many individuals who grow up in consistently poor neighborhoods, where large numbers of residents are unemployed, may lack knowledge of job opportunities and an understanding of appropriate workplace behavior.

Successful strategies to address these problems include a combination of the following:

Vocational skills training to prepare job seekers for work by developing technical skills in a classroom setting have demonstrated results.
Two rigorous experimental evaluations have shown that a vocational-skills training program operated by the Center for Employment Training (CET) in California is highly effective in increasing employment and earnings among older male youths, who are high school dropouts, and minority single mothers. The CET model, which is being replicated in a number of locations, provides hands-on training or experiential learning in a classroom setting using a self-paced curriculum with flexible starting and ending dates; integrates basic-education training and pre-employment training into the skills-training curriculum; and maintains strong ties with local employers who are involved in helping to design and deliver the training (Cave; Zambrowski & Gordon).

- Supported work programs that offer a closely supervised, intensive work experience, become increasingly demanding over time, and provide opportunities to develop peer supports in small work crews show promise. Rigorous experimental research showed that supported work raised employment and earnings and reduced welfare receipt among long-term Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients and had some positive outcomes among the target group of former drug addicts (MDRC Board of Directors). Several programs that work with special-needs populations (e.g., substance abusers and ex-offenders) are based on the supported work model.

- Basic education to develop literacy skills and increase General Education Diploma (GED) receipt among those who lack a high school diploma appears to work best when it is offered in an alternative education setting and when it is integrated with skills training rather than offered as the first segment in a sequence of services (Cave). Using creative forms of learning is also stressed (Smith). There is no evidence on the effectiveness of offering basic education as a stand-alone treatment to increasing employment among adults. There is some debate about whether it should be the initial component in a sequence of activities for adult welfare recipients (Herr & Halpern).

- Pre-employment training/career-exploration training designed to familiarize individuals with little work experience about the world of work is considered important. But there is little evidence about its effectiveness as a stand-alone treatment. More typically, it is offered in conjunction with skills training or job-search training. A new trend is to couple it with placement assistance and post-employment supports.
JOB-ACCESS AND JOB-PLACEMENT STRATEGIES

Another explanation of why people who may have the appropriate skills fail to get jobs is that they live in communities where jobs are scarce and they lack transportation to areas where jobs are available. In addition, they may lack the social connections that can provide information about job openings and supply references to employers.

A variety of strategies to address these problems are being used:

- Job-search/job-club programs typically teach disadvantaged individuals how to look for a job, prepare an application or resume, act in an interview, and monitor their progress in contacting employers.

- Group job-search programs that move adult women welfare recipients into employment have proven effective through rigorous experimental research but they have not been effective in increasing earnings levels, moving them into better jobs, or reducing poverty levels. The group interaction appears, however, to provide support and motivation (Bloom).
Job brokering done through community-based organizations, which function like employment agencies for certain neighborhoods or disadvantaged groups, has had success. The brokering organization develops contacts with employers, identifies job openings and hiring criteria, and recruits and screens applicants for specific job openings. Some may provide short-term, pre-employment training or refer applicants to occupational-training programs before referring them to employers. Case studies of job-brokering programs identify a number of promising models that place disadvantaged and minority workers from poor neighborhoods into mainstream economic jobs. Available data suggest that these programs are primarily working with the more-advantaged among their disadvantaged clientele (i.e., those with more education or work experience than is typical of the group as a whole). No data are available to assess the long-term effects of the programs (Ma & Proscio; Molina).

Some job-brokering programs have been successful, however, in placing very disadvantaged individuals (homeless persons, former convicts, individuals with serious substance-abuse histories, high school dropouts, welfare recipients, and disabled persons) into temporary jobs that are expected to lead to permanent hires. As yet there are no data to indicate whether workers are able to transition from temporary jobs into permanent jobs, to measure long-term retention, or to assess which placement practices are most effective (Seavey).

Generally, a job or employment brokerage initiative can bridge some of the obstacles job seekers face. It helps low-income people access jobs and be qualified to fill them; it helps employers find more capable employees in communities where
poverty and unemployment are highest. Such a program must also be realistic about discrimination and other barriers that keep good applicants from ever being considered, much less chosen, for some of the good jobs that are available. It works best in tandem with forceful and effective anti-discrimination efforts (Dewar & Scheie, 1995, p. 82).

Transportation linkage programs address the problem of spatial mismatch by providing inexpensive ways for inner-city workers to commute to jobs in outlying areas, under the assumption that jobs are more plentiful and better paying outside the inner city. Community-based organizations in several cities have successfully created a system of minibuses and vans to transport disadvantaged inner-city workers to jobs in the suburbs and within the city; in another location, a suburban transport authority worked with employers to establish two new bus routes to transport inner-city residents between the train station and suburban businesses. A multi-city demonstration to test the effectiveness of programs that provide job-placement assistance, transportation, and support services to inner-city residents who work in suburban jobs is currently underway (Stillman; Harrison & Weiss; Palubinsky).

Many of the entry-level jobs are second and third shifts, when traditional public transportation is not available. In the final analysis, people can’t get or keep a job without dependable transportation.

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MOVING UP THE LADDER

There is mounting evidence that many disadvantaged and minority workers get stuck in low-level entry jobs that do not pay well and offer no opportunities for advancement. Several strategies are designed to deal with this issue:

■ Helping entry-level workers plan and implement a progressive series of steps to achieve a “better” job. The developmental philosophy inherent in this approach is best articulated by Project Match, which argues that reaching the ultimate goal may take years and require a progression of employment and educational experiences that build on each other and are supported by post-placement services (Herr & Halpern).

■ Brokering temporary jobs that are designed to develop into permanent placements for very disadvantaged job applicants (Seavey).

■ Targeting job-brokering efforts to industries or occupations that have built-in potential for advancement and higher pay (Ma & Proscio; Stillman).

■ Using customized training programs as upgrade programs for disadvantaged workers who already have work experience. An intermediary organization identifies local industries or occupations that have difficulty filling higher-level jobs from the local labor pool and works with employers and other local groups to develop programs to train disadvantaged workers for those positions (Osterman; Ma & Proscio).

Although all these strategies are considered promising, and programs that use them have been successful in placing disadvantaged workers in good jobs, there are no evaluations to indicate whether they are more successful than traditional strategies in moving disadvantaged workers with few skills from temporary jobs into permanent jobs, or from entry-level jobs into better jobs, or increasing job retention. There is also no evidence of particular practices that are most effective.

Finally, mounting evidence about high job-turnover rates among welfare recipients and youths in entry-level jobs has created interest in the potential for providing post-placement supports to help entry-level workers maintain their jobs or quickly get new ones. Research suggests that the main problems new workers experience are adapting to the demands of the workplace and getting along with supervisors and co-workers; coping with the additional pressures that work places on family life and personal...
relations; and—for welfare recipients—adapting to the financial costs associated with working (Haimson, et al.). Strategies that are being used to address these issues include a menu of post-placement supports, including individual counseling or case-management assistance; peer-group support sessions; mentoring; staff intervention with an employer; help in arranging childcare, transportation, accessing benefits, medical insurance, and other supports; and assistance in getting another job.

A rigorous evaluation (Rangarajan, Meckstroth, & Novack) of a demonstration that provided job-acquiring AFDC recipients with post-placement services (counseling and moral support, help with accessing benefits and financial budgeting, and re-employment assistance) found that after one year, the program had small or modest effects on job retention and employment, increasing earnings, or reducing welfare receipt at three of the four sites. The service most used and most valued was the counseling and support provided by staff.

Living-wage jobs are critical for building self-sufficient individuals and families. Unemployment rates, no matter how small, do not reflect the adequacy of good jobs or promising opportunities. Training, access, availability, and personal motivation are keys to improving the jobs outlook.
LIVING-WAGE JOBS
STARTING-POINT RESOURCES:

Websites

Center for Community Change
www.communitychange.org

Department of Labor
www.dol.gov

Jobs for the Future (JFF)
www.jff.org

Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC)
www.mdrc.org

Public/Private Ventures (P/PV)
www.ppv.org

The Urban Institute
www.urban.org

Welfare Information Network
www.welfareinfo.org

Publications


Viable Economies
OVER THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES, communities have implemented numerous economic-development strategies with mixed results. Globalization, technology, specialization, and the demands on workers and their companies have changed the prospects of local and regional economies.

The primary purpose of economic development is to stimulate job creation and aggregate business activity. At the community level, economic development efforts can also have other objectives, such as improving residents’ access to services or consumer goods and other resources; improving the physical condition of the community; building a diverse economic and employment base; stemming leakage from the local economy; bringing more residents into the mainstream economy; and developing local organizational capacity and leadership.

Typical strategies in community economic development include efforts to:

■ Revitalize or redevelop old commercial centers and downtowns.
■ Nurture or “incubate” new business development.
■ Develop microenterprise businesses that can help bring disadvantaged individuals into the economic mainstream.
■ Develop new business ventures that can provide needed human services to community residents.
■ Lure major industries (auto plants, manufacturing units, etc.).
■ Make investment capital more accessible.

Economic-development projects are more difficult to implement successfully than other types of community-development initiatives, such as housing development, because there are no standard projects or solutions. Projects
require creative adaptation, not just applying an off-the-shelf model (Vidal; Okagaki; Bendick & Egan). We know that:

- Strategies and solutions must reflect local circumstances and be rooted in the local context. Nevertheless, local efforts are impacted by metropolitan, regional, and national markets (Okagaki; Blakely; About Main Street; Lichtenstein & Lyons).

- Successful economic development requires strong partnerships and open communication among a variety of players and stakeholders in the public and private sectors. The quality of leadership and day-to-day management is also important, as is effective marketing (National League of Cities; Stillman; About Main Street). Community organizations need to be innovative and flexible, able to maintain focus over the long term, and good at assessing markets (Stillman; Okagaki).

- Developing economically viable businesses or revitalizing a commercial area takes a long time. Having some early, visible products can demonstrate progress and build support in the meantime (Stillman; National League of Cities).

- Scale is an issue; projects may successfully serve businesses and create jobs but have little real effect on the economy of the community. This tension must be addressed (Okagaki).
DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

This approach seeks to restore economic activity in abandoned or dilapidated downtown areas. Revitalization efforts aim to make these areas economically profitable again, improve their physical appearance, and—especially in inner-city neighborhoods—increase access to consumer goods and services, and stem the leakage from the local economy that occurs when local residents shop and generate jobs elsewhere.

Revitalization projects typically include some of the following:

■ Efforts to improve the physical area by targeted real estate development, rehabilitation of abandoned commercial real estate property, renovation of building facades, restoration of storefronts, and streetscaping.

■ Efforts to improve the general business environment by sponsoring marketing campaigns, providing commercial strip management, or organizing a local business association.

■ Efforts to develop or attract businesses by providing small businesses with loans and/or technical assistance; establishing special incentives or marketing campaigns to attract new businesses into the area; and making special efforts to nurture new local businesses.

■ Efforts to find alternative uses for former commercial real estate, such as converting it to housing, museum space, or government office space.

A review of a broad array of initiatives in 11 cities stresses that physical improvements alone are not sufficient to revitalize a downtown area; it is critical to focus on the economic bottom line and develop or bring in economically viable enterprises. It takes several years to see marked success; early tangible results (e.g., filling vacant lots, renovating buildings, enhancing the streetscape, constructing a parking lot) are important to building support and motivation but should not be equated with long-term economic outcomes (National League of Cities).

One successful model for inner-city commercial revitalization combines physical redevelopment with efforts to bring in a major supermarket chain to serve as an anchor business in a revitalized shopping district or mall (Vidal; Bendick & Egan). Community development corporations have spearheaded such efforts in a number of communities, and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) has developed a national program to help urban and rural communities.
Case studies of several inner-city efforts show that the new stores or businesses became profitable, helped to stabilize the commercial area, and have enabled residents to change their shopping habits and save money. In some cases, the commercial redevelopment has sparked additional investments (both public and private) in housing construction or commercial development in the immediate area (Vidal).

A successful model used in major cities and small towns is the Main Street program developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Focusing on historic preservation and retention of the traditional community character, Main Street programs work on physically improving the area, encouraging new real estate development, marketing the district, organizing groups of businesses and merchants, and finding new uses for some of the old commercial space. The Main Street philosophy stresses that successful programs need to be comprehensive (involve a series of projects rather than a single project); incremental (use small projects to develop the skills and support needed for more complex projects); and work on changing community attitudes and habits (About Main Street).

NEW AND SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT
The substantial failure rate among new and small businesses has been well documented. Poor management and the lack of access to capital are the most frequently cited reasons for failure (Blakely). Strategies to improve the success rate have accordingly focused on providing loans or technical assistance or a combination of the two. The current wisdom is that small business assistance programs, now commonly known as business incubation programs, help self-employed individuals and new entrepreneurs with little or no business experience. They provide ongoing support, technical assistance, and training, as well as start-up assistance and loans.

A compendium guide to good business practices in community-based incubator programs stresses that success depends on the ability of the incubator staff to: 1) identify the kinds of enterprises that will add value to a community and be economically feasible to operate, 2) target their assistance to the specific needs of those businesses, and 3) design an incubator program that will be economically viable (Lichenstein & Lyons). Success can be measured in terms of the ability of the incubator program to increase the rate of new business formation; decrease the failure rate of new enterprises; increase the rate of development in new enterprises (i.e., help them grow faster and more efficiently); and increase the efficiency of the dissolution process if a business fails (Lichtenstein & Lyons; Blakely).
MICROENTERPRISE PROGRAMS

Microenterprise programs are meant to be “lenders of last resort,” providing small cash loans and credit to individuals or groups of individuals who seek self-employment but cannot obtain credit through traditional means. They are frequently targeted to low-income women and/or minority women. Designed to serve both economic development and poverty-alleviation goals, they are seen as a way to give disenfranchised populations an entry point into the mainstream economy. A 1994 survey documented more than 200 microenterprise programs in 44 states. Cumulatively over the previous 10 years, the programs had served more than 200,000 individuals, loaned more than $44 million, and assisted 54,000 businesses in disadvantaged communities, both urban and rural (Edgcomb, Klein, & Clark). Even with this level of activity, impact in many respects is inconclusive:

- Research on microenterprise programs in an early demonstration to test the potential of helping AFDC recipients to become self-employed or start their own businesses showed that the strategy was difficult to implement and unlikely to enable a large proportion of welfare recipients to work their way off welfare and out of poverty (Guy, Doolittle, & Fink).
More recent studies on the participants in microenterprise programs confirm that they do not lift low-income women out of poverty and cannot be counted on to provide a stable, reliable source of income. Many participants supplement their self-employment income with other sources, such as a spouse's earnings or their own welfare benefits (Servon). Microenterprise programs are considered to be successful in helping a more advantaged subset of poor women start or expand businesses and in bringing these women into the economic mainstream. A recent survey showed that the participants typically were very highly motivated, relatively well-educated, and had other sources of financial support (Servon).

Operational experience suggests there is a strong need for training as well as financing. Programs that initially offered little or no training have added more training over time. Programs are also increasingly tailoring their training and technical assistance to specific groups among the poor, such as welfare recipients or refugee populations. There is no evidence to indicate which of several training modes (formal courses of several weeks duration, peer-to-peer discussion groups, short workshops, or individual mentoring) is more successful (Servon; Edgcomb, Klein & Clark).

There is very limited information on the long-term success of the new businesses, but the rate of loan repayment is reported to be high (Servon).

The long-term financial stability and sustainability of microenterprise programs remain an open question. Measures of cost-efficiency are still being developed, but it appears that the most cost-efficient programs are mixed-service models that allow staff to offer shorter-term, low-intensity services to a large number of people, and longer-term, more-intensive services to a smaller number of clients. Achieving the scale necessary to maintain efficiency poses particular challenges for programs serving rural areas (Edgcomb, Klein, & Clark).

**RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Economic development in rural areas poses special challenges because of the geographic isolation and sparse population in many locations. Common problems that often have to be overcome include poor infrastructure including technology, difficulty in accessing resources and professional services, lack of access to capital, an inadequate supply of trained workers, and limited markets and job opportunities.
Rural economic development strategies in recent decades have tended to fall into two broad categories:

- Efforts to attract businesses to the area or deter existing firms from relocating by developing industrial parks and offering tax abatements and other financial incentives.
- Efforts to stimulate the creation or expansion of small businesses through microenterprise, business incubator, and related programs.

Currently, there is growing interest in:

- Sectoral approaches that combine a number of business-assistance strategies but focus on working with a business “cluster” (businesses that are located near each other and may have other features in common) or a business “sector” (businesses that produce similar products, use the same raw materials or technology, share a common market, or have other similarities).

- Promoting the growth of “homegrown” businesses by using telecommunications and Internet technology to provide isolated entrepreneurs with access to information, technical assistance, professional services and expertise, as well as opportunities to build networks and links to customers and other entrepreneurs within and outside their region.
Developing an “entrepreneurial culture” or environment in rural communities that will support and stimulate local businesses.

Promoting sustainable development by creating a process for citizen engagement and local capacity-building, as well as by initiating broad-based local decision-making that focuses on long-term goals, not just short-term outcomes, and balances the interests of the local economy, ecology, and equity.

Experience suggests that rural economic development efforts should:

- Begin with a rigorous strategic analysis.
- Involve many partners and many local businesses, including government.
- Develop strong local leadership.
- Keep economic development efforts focused and therefore manageable.
- Work for economies of scale in services (such as training).

Business-attraction strategies have a mixed record. While there are clear successes, as well as models and tools for communities to use, such efforts are not always successful because there is too much competition for too few businesses. Concerns are also raised about the cost-effectiveness of the approach and the influence that a large organization owned by “outsiders” can wield over the rural community [Center for Community Change (CCC), Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED), Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC)].

Microenterprise lending and small business incubation are considered promising strategies that have resulted in business start-up and expansion. But there are concerns that the scale will remain too small to have much effect on rural communities and about the long-term viability of the programs (Lichtenstein & Lyons).

A recent review of rural sectoral programs found that they offer a cost-effective way of helping indigenous rural businesses to survive or grow. They can also succeed in enhancing employment opportunities for disadvantaged populations and produce benefits for the community as a whole—e.g., by helping to preserve the local culture. Programs that aim to help disadvantaged workers need to make this goal an explicit part of the program’s mission and focus (Okagaki, Palmer, & Mayer).
Case studies of mature rural sectoral initiatives suggest there is no single formula for success. Efforts that focus on retaining and expanding existing businesses have been successful in a variety of economic settings, as have efforts that concentrate on creating and developing new businesses in a new sector (Okagaki).

**Successful sectoral programs appear to:**

- Develop strong connections to the industry they work with, which enables staff to establish credibility, respond to industry needs, and influence its future.
- Use a strategic analysis that focuses not only on the region's industries and economic potential, but also on the ways its history, culture, and geography influence the economy.
- Build supportive partnerships with other institutions that can provide expertise, training, or resources such as schools.
- Identify ways to add value to their members' products or services so the member firms can grow and survive. Typical strategies include direct service delivery, strengthening the support infrastructure, and creating new patterns of information flow and learning.
- Hire staff with specialized knowledge and marshal additional expertise through consultants, industry contacts, and local experts.

Recent research suggests that rural entrepreneurs are especially likely to need technical assistance on the following issues: marketing their products or services; accessing information about available funding sources; managing their workforce; and integrating advanced technology with workforce development efforts (Okagaki; Palmer; MACED).

While it is too early to have information about effective strategies for developing entrepreneurial communities and achieving sustainable development, on-going efforts to develop helpful tools and document effective practices are being undertaken by such groups as the Aspen Institute Rural Economic Policy Program, the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development, the Center for Community Change, Appalachian Regional Commission, and HandMade in America.
ACCESS TO CAPITAL

Members of minority groups and residents and institutions in poor neighborhoods have more difficulty than others accessing capital for household needs and business purposes from commercial banks and other for-profit financial institutions. The KIDS COUNT Data Book 2000 reported that “low-paying jobs and lack of access to financial institutions make it difficult for many families to save money, accumulate modest assets, establish reliable credit, or qualify for auto loans and mortgages. While the number of bank branches per capita declined between 1985 and 1995, two-thirds of the closures were in low- and moderate-income communities” (p.11).

The primary strategy being used to address the problem is the creation of non-traditional funding sources that offer credit and other financial services to low-income or otherwise disadvantaged individuals and communities in both rural and urban areas.

These can include the following:

■ Community development finance institutions (CDFIs) that provide loans and other financial services to individuals or locations that commercial institutions are unlikely to serve because the services are considered too risky or too expensive. CDFIs include community-development banks, bank-owned community-development corporations, community-development credit unions, and community-development loan funds, as well as venture capital funds.

■ Lending programs that provide funding to individuals to finance mortgages and other housing costs (home-ownership) programs or small business start-up or expansion (microenterprise) programs. These programs typically provide financial education and counseling as well as loans.

A recent review of CDFIs (Vidal) concludes that although there is only limited information about their financial performance and cost effectiveness, such institutions are “potentially attractive community development instruments” because they successfully target their services to people and places with restricted access to credit and other financial services and because they have pioneered effective business practices that can serve as models for commercial banks. Nevertheless, CDFIs operate on too small a scale and offer too limited a range of services to fill the gap alone left by mainstream institutions. For example, the inability of many CDFIs to provide checking accounts remains a particular problem.
An emerging strategy is to promote asset accumulation among low-income households through Individual Development Accounts (IDAs) that provide matching funds for deposits in savings accounts used for postsecondary education or job training, buying a first home, or starting a small business. Participants also receive financial education and counseling.

Results from a process evaluation (Lazear) of an early IDA program suggests that eligibility for an IDA facilitates saving in low-income households. However, life circumstances continue to make it difficult for low-income households to save money out of ordinary income and participants may need to re-evaluate their savings goals during the course of the program. The study noted that it is critical to provide ongoing support to savers and some participants may require fairly intensive case-management support. Financial-education seminars were an important program component for those who were saving for home ownership or microenterprise development but not as much for those who were saving for education or job training.

Because several studies show a positive correlation between asset-holding and a number of variables relating personal and family well-being and civic involvement at the neighborhood level, it is anticipated that IDA programs will produce positive outcomes in these same areas. Careful research is needed to determine whether the anticipated benefits materialize and if they are attributable to the program effects and not to other influences (Page-Adams & Sherraden).

Evidence on the effects of the IDA strategy on a range of personal, family, and community-level outcomes as well as operational lessons about how best to structure IDA programs will be available from an ongoing, 13-site “American Dream Demonstration” developed by the Corporation for Enterprise Development (www.cfed.org) (Sherraden, Page-Adams, & Johnson).

In conclusion, building viable local economies depends on many factors, not the least of which are state, regional, and federal initiatives. Internal to any strategy, however, is the ability to accurately assess the area’s strengths—and build on them—and its weaknesses—and reduce them.
VIABLE ECONOMIES
STARTING-POINT RESOURCES:

**Websites**

Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC)
http://arc.gov

Aspen Institute
www.aspeninst.org

Association for Enterprise Opportunity
www.microenterprise.org

Center for Community Change
www.communitychange.org

Center of Excellence for Sustainable Development (CESD)
www.sustainable.doc.gov

Corporation for Enterprise Development
www.cfed.org

Kellogg Collection of Rural Economic Development Resources
www.unl.edu/Kellogg

Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED)
www.maced.org

National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED)
www.ncced.org

**Publications**


WHAT WORKS NOW

SOLUTIONS
FOR AMERICA

MOVING FORWARD

WHAT WE KNOW WORKS
EQUIPPED WITH RELIABLE INFORMATION about what works, how do communities move forward to tackle tough problems? If so much is known about promising approaches, why haven’t we come farther faster in connecting all citizens to hope and opportunity?

The short answer is short-term thinking and tunnel vision. There are no quick and cheap solutions. We have focused too narrowly on specific interventions without confronting the complex interrelationship of issues in a community. For example, the existence of affordable housing is of vital importance to a community, but in and of itself, doesn’t create a thriving neighborhood unless residents have living-wage jobs and access to health care. Further, as the strategies profiled here demonstrate, it takes time and money to successfully address systemic issues. You cannot invest in any single strategy to improve a community at the expense of others.

This volume of What We Know Works is a wide-angle lens to examine the key ingredients of healthy communities—families, neighborhoods, jobs, economies—and their interrelationship. It is a tool to help communities build a comprehensive approach with concrete program strategies and new thinking.

Change doesn’t just happen. It demands gifted and persistent leadership. We must expand the ability of our communities to recognize and mobilize the wealth of leadership in their midst—of all ages and races, of all income levels and in all neighborhoods, and in all levels of organizations. Building a broad-based constituency for change is the key to implementing what works. In the words of Albert Einstein, “We cannot solve the problems that we have created with the same thinking that created them.”
References

HEALTHY FAMILIES AND CHILDREN


Blum, R.W., & P.M. Rinehart. (n.d.). Reducing the risk: Connections that make a difference in the lives of youth. Minneapolis, MN: Division of Pediatrics and Adolescent Health, University of Minnesota.


THRIVING NEIGHBORHOODS

Affordable Housing


**Making Neighborhoods Safe**


LIVING-WAGE JOBS


**VIABLE ECONOMIES**


What We Know Works has benefited from the expertise and energy of many national and community leaders, researchers, and practitioners. The Pew Partnership for Civic Change would like to thank the advisory board of Wanted: Solutions for America, who first articulated the vision for this publication. Chaired by Paul Grogan, the advisory board was very clear in its first meeting that there was much work to be done in documenting what we already know. Advisory board members Lisbeth Schorr and Daniel Yankelovich were particularly helpful in setting the stage for this research and extending the reach of its purposes. Thanks to a small group including Lisbeth Schorr, Anne Kubish, and Barbara Lee, the general parameters of information-gathering and specificity of the issues were sorted out, and a research team was established.

Special thanks go to two people external to the Pew Partnership staff who were key to the research process. Patricia Auspos was the lead researcher and writer on thriving neighborhoods, living-wage jobs, and viable economies. Bonnie Politz, with assistance from her colleagues at the Academy for Educational Development’s Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, was the lead researcher on healthy families and children.

We would also like to thank our colleagues who reviewed early drafts of this publication and offered valuable suggestions for revision: Becky Anderson, Julie Cooper, Paul Gilmer, Jo Granberry, Barbara Harnett, Catherine Jordan, George Kreiss, Joseph Montoya, Felicia Lynch, Don Munro, Teresa Merriweather-Orok, Carlyle Ramsey, Charles Royer, Susan Sellers, and Kim Tieman.

Finally, we want to thank those organizations, individuals, and foundations that have seen the importance of documenting what we know and adding the rigor of assessment, documentation, and evaluation to community initiatives. We know more than ever how important this work is in order to change the odds for success in communities.