“MAKING WORK PAY” FOR SEATTLE PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENTS: JOBS PLUS and the Challenges of Serving a Diverse Population (A)

Training Day

At 7:45 on a Monday morning in October, 1998, Alice Rhodes was hurrying to put the finishing touches on teaching materials for an 8:00 employment training session. She was anxious to begin the first of a series of trainings for the Jobs Plus National Demonstration Project at Rainier Vista, a public housing site in Seattle, Washington. As she set out the teaching materials, Rhodes thought about her role in the Jobs Plus program and the residents she had come to know and care about. Never before had she worked in a community as diverse as Rainier Vista or come into contact with people who had lived such complex and disparate lives. Rhodes felt committed to ensuring that Jobs Plus reached its goal of improving the overall quality of life for all public housing residents at the Vista. Yet, achieving that goal in a community where twenty-two different languages were spoken and a wide array of cultures, ethnicities, nationalities, and religions were represented was sure to be a challenge.

The Jobs Plus National Demonstration Project aimed at “making work pay for public housing residents” through the implementation of rent incentives, employment training, and supports for community mobilization activities. Jobs Plus administrators hired a local nonprofit, Washington Works (WAW), to provide employment training to Ranier Vista residents. Nationally recognized for its high retention and graduation rates and for its innovative “personal transformation” approach to moving women on welfare into gainful employment, WAW struck Jobs Plus administrators as the most qualified organization to deliver the training. Thus, in the summer of 1998, WAW sent Rhodes to serve as the Employment Coach for Jobs Plus at Rainier Vista.
A native of Washington in her fifties at the time of the Jobs Plus contract, Rhodes had considerable service delivery and management experience. Prior to working for Washington Works, she had managed professional wait staff for high-end restaurants around Seattle. She took pride in the notion of serving others, yet was unfulfilled by that particular area of service. To realize her desire to work in communities of need, Rhodes had volunteered with various nonprofit organizations in Seattle on the side. She eventually took her service-oriented management style to WAW, where she worked on contracts with the Department of Social and Health Services and the Port of Seattle. Although she had been with WAW for a few years, the Jobs Plus contract was the first instance in which she had worked away from the WAW office in downtown Seattle. Indeed, Jobs Plus was the first contract where WAW ever located an employee on-site for a particular client.

Rhodes spent the summer situating herself within Rainier Vista and working alongside Jobs Plus administrators to reach out to the community and publicize the future WAW employment training sessions – a voluntary program for residents. They were also successful, in creating, along with residents, a Jobs Resource Center (JRC) at Rainier Vista. A small building next to the Jobs Plus office, the JRC would not only house the job training program and Employment Coach, but would also provide seven computers for residents to conduct job searches and learn new computer skills. Despite the development of the JRC and other outreach efforts, some residents remained skeptical of Rhodes and the WAW training. Residents had seen programs like this arrive at the public housing site before, offer valuable services, and then leave.

Yet, the innovative rent incentive of Jobs Plus piqued the residents’ interest, and toward the end of the summer Rhodes noticed that they were starting to respond more positively to her outreach efforts. They began to recognize her and call out to her by name, and they appeared more receptive when she knocked on their doors to share information about the employment training. By early October, Rhodes was confident that the Jobs Resource Center was ready to offer its first WAW employment training session. She approached this first session as a trial run, understanding that she might have to modify the training to suit residents’ needs. Given the positive personal responses from residents and the housing community’s general interest in the Jobs Plus program, Rhodes was sure at least thirty people would attend the workshop. At 8:30, Rhodes was thoroughly dismayed when only five residents had arrived for the first day of training.

Rainier Vista: A “Garden Community”

Located within the Rainier Valley of Seattle, Rainier Vista was one of forty public housing sites owned and operated by the Seattle Housing Authority (SHA). Consciously landscaped into what SHA called “Garden Communities,” the site resembled a quiet, urban, residential neighborhood. The Vista’s 1,200 residents lived in cozy, tree-shaded, duplex housing units situated around common courtyards or community spaces. During the day, the neighborhood appeared safe and clean, but this contrasted sharply with insidious nighttime activities that sometimes seeped into the community from surrounding areas.
Once an area of mostly white, middle class households, since the late 1960s the Rainier Valley had come to be Seattle’s most diverse neighborhood, home to recent immigrants and refugees from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and to other ethnic-American minorities, altogether sixty different cultural and ethnic groups. The Rainier Valley also had the greatest concentration of low- and moderate-income households in Seattle, with many pockets of poverty.¹

Compared to other public housing sites participating in the Jobs Plus Demonstration, Rainier Vista was distinct in the ethnic, linguistic, and national origins of its residents. Besides speaking twenty-two different languages, they represented many religions and cultures. More than half of all residents were born outside of the United States; a majority of these emigrated from East African or Southeast Asian nations. (See Exhibit 1: Country of Origin.) Such a rich diversity had not only proven to be challenging to service providers, but for residents as well. While some SHA administrators assumed the Vista was a “community,” residents self-segregated, and it was not uncommon even for residents of the same nationality to avoid socializing with one another, owing to differing political ideologies, ethnicities, or other backgrounds.

Jobs were a major concern for both foreign- and U.S.-born Vista residents, who faced a multitude of challenges in securing better, or any, employment. Although 53 percent were employed, on average they worked less than twenty hours a week. Many complained that their jobs were unstable, with constantly changing hours or unhealthy or unsafe work environments. Many cited lack of qualifications, not understanding the Seattle job market, problems in their personal lives, and lack of English proficiency as the main obstacles to improving their employment status. Some people tried English as a Second Language classes, but others were discouraged when they saw everything as strange and new, and they could not acclimate to this country. Both foreign- and U.S.-born residents said racial, ethnic, or age discrimination impeded access to jobs. According to one resident, “The majority of each people that come here cannot find a job because if they are forty, fifty, sixty years of age: no company wants to accept them as a worker.” Further, a handful of recent immigrants were highly educated, yet because of language barriers and poor understanding of the job market, they were unsuccessful at attaining proper employment. Others were highly trained and carried professional qualifications, but these were not always officially recognized in the U.S. A few even had prior experience as a successful entrepreneur, but as new residents, were unfamiliar with markets and opportunities for small business financing. (See Exhibit 2: Characteristics of Household Heads.)

Language barriers were especially salient for refugee residents who had experienced the travails of war. Some suffered from post-traumatic stress or other psychological and physical afflictions that they often could not articulate with limited English proficiency, or they obeyed cultural norms that made it difficult to express details of one’s life. Traditional gender roles, religion, and other cultural norms also contributed to difficulty in obtaining employment, as customs and ideals

¹. From Seattle City Hall “Rainier Valley Fact Sheet” and 1990-2000 Census.
about family sometimes clashed with American work ethics and business practices. Alice Rhodes noted this when she observed a WAW trainer asking another nonprofit’s staff member, who was Muslim, “if she had to wear that scarf to work.” Rhodes, being a Caucasian woman, was keenly aware that some residents might feel hesitant in approaching her. She consciously tried not to make the same mistakes as some of her WAW colleagues, yet as she came to learn more about the Rainier Vista community, Rhodes realized it would take more than sensitivity to help residents overcome employment challenges and attend her training sessions.

Welfare and Work

Despite efforts in the 1990s to reform public housing and welfare, many public housing sites continued to represent the most economically disenfranchised communities throughout the United States. Under the restrictions of time-limited welfare, there had been a push to find employment for public housing residents, yet higher incomes also meant rent increases under most public housing rules. Furthermore, with the federal welfare system that operated through 1996 under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), residents on welfare were threatened by the potential loss of Medicaid coverage and increased childcare costs as they took on new employment. While the federal government placed a strong emphasis on jobs and income to effectively move people out of poverty, through the 1990s the system offered welfare recipients few incentives to work.

Rainier Vista’s residents were no strangers to this situation. Le Tram, a resident hired by Jobs Plus to serve as the Community Organizer, described the realities facing welfare recipients at Rainier Vista, “People [didn’t] want to go work because welfare was [important] to them. Right now, the people are very sensible to know that even a poor job [means] higher rents. But no more welfare is too little to live on. Most people have a skill in their hands already yet don’t use them because the jobs are poor.” A colonel in the Vietnamese military, who had immigrated to the U.S. with his wife during the height of the Vietnam War, Tram had lived in the Vista for almost twelve years before being employed as the Community Organizer. In Tram’s mind, if he was going to have to pay for higher rents, he would prefer a job that paid more than the average wage of $5.15–$7.75 an hour. Yet attaining such employment required training, skills, or levels of education that many residents did not have. Tram explained, “Jobs Plus could help us to move up to better jobs and be independent soon. If Jobs Plus opens, maybe in about three or four years, newcomers could move out. Now, what can we do?”

“Making Work Pay” at Rainier Vista

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4. These figures were taken from baseline data (sample size of 160 residents) prior to the implementation of Jobs Plus.
Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), a nonprofit conducting research on low-income communities in the United States, received funding and support from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Rockefeller Foundation to better align incentives for becoming gainfully employed. MDRC’s program would take a more holistic approach to transforming low-work, high-welfare public housing developments into high-work, low-welfare communities. The five-year project, which began in 1996, was called Jobs Plus.

In 1997, MDRC selected eight public housing developments in seven cities across the United States to serve as Jobs Plus demonstration sites. The main goal of Jobs Plus was to improve the overall quality of life at participating public housing locations. MDRC labeled the project “a place-based, ‘saturation’ initiative,” proposing that “saturating” a housing development with services, incentives, and social supports will result in steady employment for a substantial majority of working age residents. The guiding principle of the program was to take a step back from previous stereotypes of public housing residents and welfare recipients as “lazy” or unwilling to work. Jobs Plus assumed all working age residents wanted and needed jobs, and that with the right supports would be able to maintain gainful employment.

Jobs Plus at Rainier Vista focused on three integrated objectives:

- **Rent incentives**—reforming rent regulations at the housing sites so that rents do not increase as wages grow.
- **Employment related services and support**—job search assistance, job development, education and training, childcare, and transportation assistance (under the guidance of the Employment Coach and the Job Developer).
- **Community support for work**—increasing support and communication among housing community residents, and increasing community participation and input for the Jobs Plus program.

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8. The Seattle Housing Authority and the Department of Housing and Urban Development negotiated the guidelines for this initiative. All demonstration sites wanted to establish rent incentives, but Rainier Vista was one of the first to receive approval and successfully implement them. An early survey of residents indicated this was the most popular of all program activities offered by Jobs Plus.

9. In 1994, Rainier Vista residents established the Rainier Vista Leadership Team (RVLT)—a self-sustained community organization governed by participating residents. In 1998, with the help of Jobs Plus administrators, the RVLT became an official 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. The RVLT became a member of the Jobs Plus Collaborative and was essential for community mobilization. The team held meetings on the first Monday of every month.
Located at Rainier Vista, the Jobs Plus “Site Team” shared office space with the Seattle Housing Authority. Staffing included the Program Administrator, MDRC’s on-site Operations Representative, a Community Organizer, one full-time Employment Coach (Alice Rhodes), and a full-time Job Developer. Additional support came from an advisory board referred to as the Collaborative, which assisted the local housing authority and Jobs Plus administrators in program planning and implementation throughout the demonstration period. Although these advisors had no direct authority over the project, Jobs Plus administrators highly valued the Collaborative’s input, as its members represented key social service providers and government and nonprofit agencies in the Seattle area. (See Exhibit 5: Jobs Plus Collaborative Members.) Washington Works was first introduced to Jobs Plus as a Collaborative member and later became the service provider for the employment training component.

Washington Works: Employing “Rigorous Compassion”

Started in 1992, WAW had a simple mission: “[I]n partnership with employers and communities, Washington Works creates opportunities for people to achieve and maintain successful futures through employment.” The organization was founded by three women who believed strongly in moving beyond providing jobs to preparing people individually, personally, and spiritually for employment. This focus on “personal transformation” served as the core of the organization’s activities and employment training programs and distinguished WAW from other agencies and organizations providing similar services.

WAW’s application of “personal transformation” evolved from *est*, a new age organization that emphasized, through a strict sixty-hour training and inquiry, a self-realization of the way one’s life has functioned versus the potential of one’s future. Conducted in large groups of up to two hundred people, *est* trainings encouraged participants to “dis-identify” from their problems in order to liberate themselves from their pasts and realize their futures. Participants were encouraged to talk about their personal lives and histories as a mode for improving communication. Effective, or “win-win,” communication, was seen as a necessary skill for “getting what you want” out of life. These trainings had a profound effect on the founders of WAW, who were convinced that if women on welfare could “dis-identify” with their often tumultuous pasts, they could achieve fulfillment and success in their personal and professional lives. Their approach was described as “rigorous compassion.” WAW sessions were held Monday through Friday, 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., and clients were expected to dress in professional attire, except on Fridays. The organization employed a strict attendance policy.


11. *est* (nominally Erhard Seminars Training) created by Werner Erhard in 1971, drew on the human potential movement of the 1960s and the work of the Esalen Institute, and reflected the ideas of Abraham Maslow, among others. *est* later became the foundation for the Landmark Forum (or Landmark Education), a worldwide forum of educational seminars that emphasize “personal transformation.” The founders of Washington Works were familiar with *est*, and were participants of Landmark.

whereby if clients missed, left early, or were late to five sessions during the twelve-week training period (sixty sessions total), they were suspended from the program.

The Curriculum and Clientele

Maintaining good attendance at a training session that spanned twelve weeks was often difficult for participants. Yet, part of the “personal transformation” technique was to teach women that they were responsible for their own futures and that it was not up to the trainers to get jobs for them. In this way, the founders viewed “personal transformation” as a step toward self-empowerment and personal responsibility.

In fact, “personal transformation” was the first instructional module of the WAW curriculum. Step one in this transformation was showing up—on time, dressed for success, and ready to learn. Module One was a four-week course that emphasized “personal effectiveness” training similar to the est approach. Topics included in this course were work maturity, dependability, responsibility, and professional behavior. During the course, women were encouraged to talk about their personal lives or histories, so they could learn how their past lives may have kept them from being most effective. One student noted, “Other programs were more of a school. [Washington Works] made you concentrate on who you are, what you are doing, and how you can change that. It made you think and become more confident.”

Gaining confidence and “personal transformation” were complemented by two final instructional courses. Module Two was an intensive seven-week course that focused on occupational training, such as customer service, computer-based and administrative skills, and other skills necessary for those with limited education in reading, writing, and math. Finally, Module Three, a one-week course, focused on job readiness and preparation.

Unlike other agencies, WAW structured its employment trainings specifically for unemployed women on welfare. All participants were required to have at least a GED or to demonstrate proficiency at the ninth grade level. WAW focused its outreach by recruiting clients through the Department of Social and Health Services and other welfare to work agencies, and by posting flyers at shelters or public housing sites. In 1992 WAW started with only fifteen clients, but saw a consistent rise in enrollment to 250 by 1996. The average participant was thirty years old with two children, and had been on welfare for at least five years. Clients were mostly African American and Caucasian American, and all were native English speakers. Owing to positive results in job retention and graduation rates—greater than 75 percent—and significant increases in starting wages, WAW received national attention for its unique emphasis on “personal transformation.” The Washington State Department of Social and Health Services lauded WAW as a place to send many clients who were harder to serve and see improvements.

Such recognition did not go unnoticed by MDRC or Jobs Plus administrators, who wanted to bring the WAW model of “personal transformation” to Rainier Vista. Although they were unsure how residents would respond to the “rigorous compassion” approach, they contracted with WAW to provide trainings to a targeted thirty-two residents per session. At least three trainings would occur each year. According to Anna Maher, MDRC’s on-site Operations Representative, “Washington Works was very well respected nationally because they had a lot of really good outcomes and because they had a model that was known . . . For people doing research in the employment training field, people knew about that model.” The WAW training, however, had never been taken out of WAW’s downtown office and training center, nor had it ever been done with a population as diverse as Rainier Vista’s. The Executive Director of WAW said, “Washington Works has never before been involved in a training program where the language issues are quite so salient.”

Local Advocates, Outside Trainers

Anticipating the challenges that the diversity of Rainier Vista residents posed to the delivery of employment services, specifically with regards to language, Jobs Plus administrators called upon a local nonprofit, Refugee Women’s Alliance (REWA) to provide language-specific employment trainings and English as a Second Language (ESL) courses to women at Rainier Vista. Jobs Plus administrators considered REWA, highly regarded for its advocacy work on behalf of recent immigrant and refugee women, to be the most experienced organization in providing employment training to non-English speaking residents. Like WAW, REWA was a Collaborative member, yet unlike WAW, REWA had a twenty-year history within Rainier Vista. REWA needed to conduct relatively little outreach, owing to its strong standing in the community, its location one-block from the housing site, and its employment of a handful of Vista residents. While WAW was contracted to focus largely on employment training and was paid according to a set number of residents going through the personal effectiveness training, REWA’s contract was more loosely defined, according to the number of hours spent with residents needing additional language or employment assistance and placements.

Yet, if REWA had one handicap, it was limited experience with employment training. REWA administrators and language coordinators were mostly advocates for immigrant rights, although the organization also provided ESL courses. The Jobs Plus Site Team felt it important that both REWA and WAW work from the same employment model, thus Jobs Plus administrators paid for REWA Job Coaches to receive some employment training from WAW. According to Anna Maher, the Jobs Plus administrators hoped for a marriage between the two organizations to adequately serve the unique resident community. She explains, “Washington Works was highly regarded, it seemed like a good choice, and people were more familiar with what Washington Works was doing than say a REWA, which is a new organization to anybody who is not local. We believed they could teach each other. In terms of service delivery, we thought that we had our bases covered . . . People were really excited about this, both locally and at MDRC. It just made sense on paper, it felt like we were addressing a diverse community that had a high
immigrant-refugee population, but also had a significant American-born population, and acknowledging that their needs might be different.”

Yet, what appeared to be good on paper turned out to be an unlikely marriage, as relatively little collaboration occurred between the two organizations. Maher explains, “Their interaction was mostly at the meeting level . . . I think [both] were really seen as serving separate functions, but they just sort of peacefully coexisted . . . We originally thought, maybe there [would] be more interaction in both directions, they would be able to teach each other. But to be honest, there just wasn’t that much interaction.” Alice Rhodes and the REWA Job Coaches had positive interactions, but the apparent lack of broader collaboration between the two organizations reflected different approaches and ways of framing how best to tackle unemployment for those harder to serve, such as immigrants and refugees. While WAW would encourage these residents to “dis-identify” with their pasts, some REWA Job Coaches did not see how they could expect these residents to get over what were sometimes life-altering experiences.

Intake and Assessment at Rainier Vista

Assessment of residents’ needs and readiness to work occurred as interested residents entered into the Jobs Resource Center (JRC). Rhodes greeted residents and asked them to fill out a series of forms in English that asked for personal history, work status, and citizenship, a process that took about an hour. During this time, Rhodes had informal conversations, or conducted what she called “asset-based assessments,” where she encouraged residents “to identify skills they have that they didn’t even know they had.” For instance, she asked questions related to household finances, and if the resident was in charge of keeping a household budget and paying bills, she encouraged the person to recognize that he or she had some basic accounting skills.15

During the intake process, Rhodes also looked for signs of English proficiency. If she noted difficulty in filling out the paperwork or in conversation, she referred female residents to REWA, or males to other local organizations that provided ESL courses. At REWA, residents were assessed again, yet REWA’s approach focused more on past employment histories. Residents referred to REWA could receive English language courses as well as language-specific job training. Because REWA’s experience with employment training was limited, however, residents with more diverse skill sets would return to Rhodes or try to take courses through the JRC.

Further assessment took place when residents filled out an intake form, which resembled a job application. Again, Rhodes looked for signs of English proficiency. Even if some residents had returned to her after being referred to a REWA Job Coach, if Rhodes felt their proficiency

levels were not high enough to attend her trainings, she would refer the residents back to REWA.

**Doing “Whatever it Took”**

Working on-site at Rainier Vista was a new step for WAW. Rhodes would normally have remained at WAW’s downtown Seattle office, but it became apparent that participating in the Jobs Plus Demonstration provided WAW with a unique opportunity to prove that its model could be successful in a diverse environment. In the end, Rhodes found her location at Rainier Vista essential for working with Jobs Plus administrators and the Job Developer, and important for reaching out to potential employment trainees there. While Jobs Plus and WAW worked out kinks in their contract, Rhodes had dedicated the summer to getting acquainted with the residents of the housing community and advertising the employment training workshops. Knowing that residents had poor experiences with social service programs prior to her arrival, Rhodes’ attitude was to do “whatever it took” to get residents to overcome any reluctance they may have had toward her or the WAW training. Rhodes’ outreach efforts went a step beyond traditional WAW outreach strategies. Her approach was “to provide tangible benefits,” such as computer tutorials, “paperwork nights” when she would stay late with incoming residents to fill out administrative paperwork, and tax preparation weekends when Rhodes invited volunteer CPAs to assist residents with their tax forms. Aside from providing services at the JRC, Rhodes sometimes drove residents to interviews and provided dress for success workshops on proper job interview attire. During this time, Rhodes also regularly attended resident gatherings, cultural festivals, and community meetings, introducing herself to residents and handing out business cards, multi-lingual flyers, and brochures about the upcoming WAW employment training sessions.

After so much effort, Rhodes was surprised and distressed that only five residents had come to the first few training sessions. Initially, both Rhodes and the Jobs Plus administrators believed that the trainings would eventually gain popularity through word of mouth, but new students never entered the JRC—at least not for training. In particular, American-born residents seemed resolute against attending and even more difficult to reach. If Rhodes was to meet the contracted number of residents to go through the WAW training, she would need to change her approach sooner rather than later.
Exhibit 1

Country of Origin of Household Heads
Rainier Vista (1998–1999)\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Seattle-Rainier Vista</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born Outside of U.S. or U.S. Territory (%)</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Country of Origin of Foreign Born Residents (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa(^b)</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Number Baseline Survey Respondents**

158

\(^a\) Jobs Plus baseline survey of working-age household heads conducted in 1998 at Rainier Vista

\(^b\) The number of residents of East African origin grew steadily over the course of the demonstration.

### Exhibit 2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Seattle-Rainier Vista</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Seattle-Rainier Vista</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Characteristics of Household Heads</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Heads of Household Education (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (average)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>No High School or GED</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race (%)</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>High School or GED</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White (non-Hispanic)</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>More than High School or GED</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (non-Hispanic)</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td><strong>Receipt of Public Benefits</strong> in last year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Anyone in household receiving welfare</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Pacific Islander</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>Anyone in household receiving food stamps</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td><strong>Currently Employed (%)</strong></td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (%)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Average # of Hours Worked per Week</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly (62 yrs and over) (%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Average Hourly Wage ($)</td>
<td>7.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled (%)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Less than $5.15 (%)</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Characteristics of Households</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Reasons for Difficulty Finding Work (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Adults in Household (%)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>More than $7.75 (%)</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Lack of qualifications</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children in Household (%)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Not knowing how to find a job</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Problems reading, writing, or w/ English</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Problems in personal life</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Being a public housing resident</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Occupied Units</strong></td>
<td>467</td>
<td><strong>Sample Size</strong></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* The baseline survey did not distinguish between U.S. born African Americans and those from African nations.

*b* The baseline survey did not distinguish between U.S. born Asian Americans and those from Asian nations.

*c* The definition of race in the "other" category includes Native Americans and a small number of people for whom the data are ambiguous.

*d* This figure is taken from Linda Yuriko Kato, “The Special Challenges of Offering Employment Services in Culturally Diverse Communities: The Jobs-Plus Experience in Public Housing Developments” (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, New York City, 2002).

Source: Adapted for this case from John M. Martinez, “The Employment Experiences of Public Housing Residents: Findings from Jobs Plus Baseline Survey” (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, New York City, 2002). These are MDRC calculations based on baseline survey data collected prior to the start of Jobs Plus at each demonstration site.
Exhibit 3

Cities in the Jobs Plus National Demonstration Project

Exhibit 4

Jobs Plus Logic Model

**Program Outreach & Recruitment**

**Orientation, Assessment, & Enrollment**
- Introduction to program staff
- Overview of program services, financial incentives, and community support for work
- Assessment of skills, needs, and interests

**Program Services**
- Ongoing case management
- Job search assistance
- Job retention & advancement services
- Supportive services
- On-the-job training/work experience

**Financial Incentives**
- Rent incentives arranged for employed residents
- Incentives re-explained in relation to potential or actual changes in earnings

Exhibit 5

Jobs Plus Collaborative Members

Seattle Housing Authority
Department of Health and Human Services
Rainier Vista Leadership Team
Boys and Girls Club in Rainier Valley
Youth Tutoring (Catholic Community Services)
Rainier Park Medical Clinic/Puget Sound Neighborhood Health Clinics
Children’s Museum Art Program
PAAC (Promoting Assets Across Cultures, a joint venture between Asian Counseling and Referral Services and Horn of Africa Services)
Refugee Women’s Alliance (REWA, both a Collaborative member and a contractor)
Girl Scouts Council of Seattle
Seattle Neighborhood Group
Neighborhood House
Seattle Police Department
Seattle Community College District
Washington Mutual Savings and Loan Bank
Washington Works (WAW, both a Collaborative member and contractor)