First Steps on the Road To Financial Well-Being: Final Report from the Evaluation of LISC’s Financial Opportunity Centers

Summary

Anne Roder
Economic Mobility Corporation
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The Economic Mobility Corporation (Mobility) identifies, develops and evaluates programs and policies that enable disadvantaged individuals to acquire the education, skills and networks needed to succeed in the labor market so that they can support themselves and their families.

This report is based upon work supported by the Social Innovation Fund (SIF), which unites public and private resources to evaluate and grow innovative community-based solutions with evidence of results. The Social Innovation Fund is a program of the Corporation for National and Community Service, a federal agency that engages more than 5 million Americans in service through its AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, Social Innovation Fund, and Volunteer Generation Fund programs, and leads the President’s national call to service initiative, United We Serve.

LISC also acknowledges the philanthropic contributions that, together with SIF resources, helped bring this evaluation report to fruition. Thank you to the following funders for their generous support of this report: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Citi Foundation, JPMorgan Chase, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, MetLife Foundation, and Walmart Foundation.
Acknowledgments

Mobility would like to thank the individuals who participated in the study for completing lengthy surveys about their finances and allowing us to access their credit reports so that others can learn from their experiences.

We thank the Financial Opportunity Center program directors and staff members at Association House, Instituto Del Progreso Latino, Metropolitan Family Services, North Lawndale Employment Network, and The Cara Program for helping us with enrollment, allowing us to observe the programs, taking part in interviews, and arranging focus groups with participants. We also thank staff at the Chicago Department of Family and Support Services and at the Garfield, Mid-South, Northside, Pilsen, and Southwest Workforce Centers for allowing us to recruit job seekers at the centers to be part of the study.

We are grateful to the funders who have supported the evaluation. We thank Craig Howard, director of community and economic development at the MacArthur Foundation, for introducing us to LISC’s work in this area. We thank LISC for the opportunity to work on the project. We also thank the Corporation for National and Community Service, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Citi Foundation, JPMorgan Chase, MetLife Foundation, and Walmart Foundation for making grants to LISC that have supported Mobility’s work.

We would like to thank Laura D’Alessandro, Kevin Jordan, Katrin Kark, Seung Kim, Jennifer McClain, Sarah Rankin, and Chris Walker at LISC for their valuable insights and feedback on early drafts of this report. We are grateful to Ricki Lowitz, formerly at LISC and now with Working Credit, for her help in developing the project early on. Several other people contributed to this report. Audrey Waysse pulled and prepared the credit report data for analysis. Caitlin Van Dusen edited the report. Penelope Malish designed the publication.
Low-income families face substantial challenges to achieving financial security and upward mobility. Since the end of the recession, the real median wages of workers in the lowest-wage quintile have declined, and the number of all workers involuntarily employed part-time remains unusually high. Periods of unemployment, low wages, and part-time work make it difficult for families to cover basic expenses and to save. In 2011, 78 percent of low-income households were liquid-asset poor, meaning they did not have enough savings or other financial assets to cover basic living expenses for three months at the federal poverty level. These families must borrow to weather crises such as job loss, illness, or unexpected expenses. However, they often lack access to mainstream forms of credit due to their limited credit histories or low credit scores. About 30 percent of consumers in low-income neighborhoods are “credit invisibles”—they have no credit report with the three major credit-reporting agencies. Low-income families’ lack of financial assets and lack of access to affordable forms of credit hinder their ability to accumulate assets, such as homes, vehicles, and retirement savings, as well as to afford quality education, further limiting their potential for increasing their net worth and achieving economic mobility.

Financial Opportunity Centers

In an effort to improve low-income families’ financial well-being, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) provides community organizations financial support and technical assistance to operate Financial Opportunity Centers (FOCs). The FOC model operates in over 75 centers in 30 cities around the country. Based on the Center for Working Families model developed by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, FOCs seek to increase low-income families’ financial prospects by providing integrated services in three core areas: employment assistance, financial counseling, and assistance accessing public benefits. Employment services include basic job readiness training and job placement as well as connections to education and occupational skills training. Financial services include education and individual financial coaching on budgeting, saving, banking, and credit as well as assistance solving specific problems. Income support counselors help families navigate public benefit systems’ complex eligibility and enrollment processes in order to access benefits to supplement income from work. The FOC model maintains that the three core services work best when they are integrated.
The Evaluation

In 2010, the Corporation for National and Community Service awarded LISC a Social Innovation Fund grant to expand and evaluate the FOC model. LISC contracted with the Economic Mobility Corporation (Mobility) to conduct an independent evaluation of the effectiveness of five FOCs in Chicago, where the network had been operating for several years and, therefore, we expected the programs would provide a fair test of the fully implemented model. The study was also supported by grants from the MacArthur, Annie E. Casey, Citi, JPMorgan Chase, MetLife, and Walmart foundations. The organizations included in the study were Association House, Instituto Del Progreso Latino, Metropolitan Family Services, North Lawndale Employment Network, and The Cara Program. We selected these organizations because (1) they built the FOC services into employment programs, which was the model we were interested in testing; (2) they served a diverse group of low-income job seekers; and (3) they represented a mix of agency types and service offerings.

Study enrollment took place from October 2011 to August 2012. Study participants were seeking the FOC’s assistance with employment and training, and the FOCs sought to engage them in financial and income support counseling as well in order to help them become consistently employed, improve their credit rating, and increase their net income and net worth. To assess the FOCs’ effectiveness, the study used a quasi-experimental design that compared program participants’ outcomes to those of a similar group of job seekers who sought assistance with employment and training from the city’s workforce centers. We used propensity score matching to select the final study sample based on participants’ demographics, recent employment experience, and financial situation. Only FOC and comparison group members who were sufficiently close matches were included in the final sample. This approach produced a strong comparison group of individuals who were similar to the FOC participants in their financial situations and motivation to find employment and in the labor market they faced. The final analysis sample includes 500 FOC participants and 649 comparison group members.

Our final report presents the findings on the FOCs’ impacts on low-income job seekers’ employment, net income, credit, and net worth two years after entering the programs. The report uses data on participants’ employment, income, expenses, assets, and debts gathered during telephone surveys as well as data on credit scores and credit activity from participants’ TransUnion credit reports. This summary highlights our main findings. The full report can be found on Mobility’s website.
Main Findings

FOC participants faced substantial barriers to achieving financial stability, including low education levels, unemployment, a lack of assets, and limited or negative credit histories.

The FOCs sought to serve low-income individuals living in or near the Chicago communities in which the programs were located. Most participants were either African American or Latino (Figure 1). Most had only a high school diploma or GED, and 23 percent had no diploma or degree. Half had not worked at all during the year prior to program entry. Nearly 83 percent had either no credit score or a subprime score—defined as a score below 620 (Figure 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 1</th>
<th>FOC Participants’ Characteristics at the Time of Program Entry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>71.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had no high school diploma or equivalent degree</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had a college degree</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed at any time during the past year</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had zero or negative net worth</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 2</th>
<th>FOC Participants’ Credit Status at the Time of Program Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Scored</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scored</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 620:</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620 to 699:</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 or higher:</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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</table>
FOCs increased participants’ receipt of integrated services, particularly assistance with employment and financial issues.

As presented in Figure 3, FOC participants were more likely than comparison group members to report receiving assistance with finding a job and with financial issues while comparison group members were somewhat more likely to receive assistance with accessing income supports. FOC participants were more likely than members of the comparison group to report receiving integrated services; that is, services in at least two of the three core areas that the FOC model targeted.

**Figure 3** Percent of Participants Who Reported Receiving Assistance in the Core FOC Service Areas

![Bar chart showing percent of participants who reported receiving assistance in the core FOC service areas.](chart)

- **Employment**: 79.8% (FOC Group) vs. 35.2% (Comparison Group)
- **Financial**: 44.0% vs. 12.7%
- **Income Supports**: 48.5% vs. 41.2%
- **At Least 2 of the 3 Core Services**: 54.2% vs. 24.2%

FOC participants were more likely than comparison group members to work year-round in the second year after program entry, but annual earnings were similar between the groups.

The percent of FOC group members who were employed year-round increased almost 21-percentage points from the year before to the second year after program entry—a change that was significantly greater than that among comparison group members (Figure 4). Both FOC and comparison group members experienced about a $2,000 increase, on average, in annual earnings in the second year after program entry (Figure 5).
FOCs did not have positive impacts on net income two years after program entry, as participants’ income and expenditures both increased.

The FOC model anticipated that participants would experience an increase in net income as their earnings from work and income supports increased and financial coaches helped them identify ways to reduce expenses. However, the increased employment did not translate into positive impacts on participants’ net income two years after program entry. As shown in Figures 6 and 7, study participants’ income and expenditures both increased two years after program entry. The small differences between the FOC and comparison groups were not statistically significant. While participants’ earnings from work increased, their receipt of monetary support from family and friends and unemployment insurance benefits decreased. At the same time, participants’ expenditures on basic living expenses—including rent, utilities, and food—increased.
The FOCs helped participants build positive credit histories and helped certain subgroups improve their credit status.

The FOCs had significant positive impacts on participants’ credit outcomes. Two years after program entry, FOC participants were more likely to have positive activity on their credit reports in the form of on-time payments on loans, credit cards, and other lines of credit, as well as trade accounts with positive ratings (Figure 8). Among individuals who lacked a credit score at program entry, FOC group members were significantly more likely than those in the comparison group to have a score after two years—a 9.3 percentage-point difference (Figure 9).

Despite the progress participants made in building positive credit histories, there was no significant impact overall on average credit scores or on the likelihood that they had a prime credit score two years after program entry (Figure 10). Among those who had more-recent credit activity at program entry (that is, those who had thick credit files with three or more open accounts), FOC participants were significantly more likely than comparison group members to have prime credit scores after two years—a 13.8 percentage-point difference (Figure 11).
The FOCs did not have a significant impact on participants’ net worth, but FOC participants were less likely to have certain types of debt.

There were no significant impacts on participants’ net worth (the total value of assets minus the total value of debts) or on the percent of participants with net worth greater than zero (Figure 12). However, as shown in Figure 13, two years after program entry, FOC participants were less likely than comparison group members to have any debts unrelated to asset accumulation, such as medical or legal debts, child support arrears, or back taxes.
Program impacts on employment and credit were greater among individuals who were more engaged in financial and employment counseling.

Engaging individuals in ongoing integrated services was important but challenging. Thirty-seven percent of all study participants who sought assistance from the FOCs had at least two meetings with both the financial and employment counselors. For these participants, the FOC programs produced more consistently significant positive impacts. On average, in the second year after program entry, FOC participants who had two or more meetings with the financial and employment counselors earned $436 more than comparison group members (Figure 14). The counseled FOC participants were also significantly more likely than comparison group members to have a prime credit score after two years—a 6.4 percentage-point difference (Figure 15).
Conclusions

In sum, in the two years after program entry, the FOCs helped individuals take some initial steps to improve their financial stability. Relative to the comparison group, FOC participants were more likely to be employed year-round, to have reduced certain types of debt, and to have built more-positive credit histories as reflected on their credit reports. These advances had not translated into increases in net income or net worth, which perhaps was not surprising given the FOC participants’ limited recent attachment to the labor market, lack of assets, and level of debt when they entered the programs.

The findings indicate that integrating financial coaching and employment services can be an effective strategy for helping low-income individuals improve their financial situations. In particular, educating individuals about credit and their own credit situations is a powerful tool for helping them take steps to build positive credit histories. Achieving financial stability and mobility is a long-term process, and programs need to structure services to promote long-term engagement with counselors. Policies that support integrated service strategies need to recognize the time needed to achieve financial goals and support efforts to establish lasting relationships between participants and program staff.


