

Women in Virginia's Comprehensive Health Investment Project Saw Increased Employment After One Year

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Introduction

Families with low incomes often need support to attain economic security. However, ensuring economic security for families requires programs and policymakers to address both immediate challenges (e.g., food, housing) and longer-term goals (e.g., finding employment and gaining education). Comprehensive services, such as Virginia's Comprehensive Health Investment Project (CHIP; see Box 1), aim to both address families' most immediate needs and support their more long-term outcomes.

Home visiting and other comprehensive parenting support programs have a long history of addressing family economic security outcomes. These programs routinely address families' immediate needs by, for example, connecting families to emergency services, providing them housing or rental assistance, and linking them with food pantries. However, evaluations of their effectiveness for longer-term outcomes have been somewhat mixed. Some research suggests that participating in home visiting positively influences maternal employment after 12 months^{i,ii}; educational attainment, including for those who have less than a high school degree^{iii,iv,v}; and parent income when the child is 5 years old.^{vi} However, a large national evaluation found that home visiting had no significant impact on family economic self-sufficiency—specifically, on the outcome of receipt of education or training 15 months after enrollment.^{vii}

Box 1. Virginia's Comprehensive Health Investment Project (CHIP)

[Virginia's CHIP](#) takes a two-generation and whole-family approach to promoting child and family well-being among families with incomes below 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Line who have children under age 6. The program provides support to eligible families across a host of domains, including family economic security, child and adult physical and mental health, children's healthy development, and parenting confidence and competencies.

The program pairs each family with both a registered nurse and a parent educator, who visit families in their homes to provide services. Nurses provide comprehensive adult and child health assessments, prenatal and postpartum care coordination, health and developmental education, and care coordination. Parent educators provide parenting support, developmental screenings, and connections to community resources, and help families set goals for family well-being and economic security.

Over 35 years, CHIP has partnered with urban and rural communities to serve families. CHIP has reached nearly 40,000 children and families with low incomes.

Virginia's CHIP is a comprehensive case management program designed to serve families with low incomes. CHIP addresses family economic security through tailored supports that both address immediate basic needs and promote employment and educational attainment goals. (See Box 2 for more information about CHIP's comprehensive services aimed at promoting long-term economic security outcomes for families.) This study aims to assess whether CHIP improved employment and educational attainment outcomes for participating families.

Box 2. CHIP Services That Aim to Promote Long-term Economic Security Outcomes for Families

- Share job postings
- Coach on interview skills
- Conduct mock job interviews
- Teach coping strategies for the hiring process
- Provide resources that meet immediate financial needs (i.e., food deliveries, short-term rent support, other concrete supports)
- Share information about continuing education opportunities
- Make connections to child care providers
- Offer support with education- and employment-related paperwork
- Address physical and mental health concerns that create barriers to education and employment

Research questions and key findings

The study had three research questions:

1. Do economic self-sufficiency outcomes (i.e., education, employment) change from pre-enrollment to one year later among mothers enrolled in Virginia's CHIP?
2. How do changes in economic self-sufficiency outcomes differ between mothers who enrolled in CHIP and a comparison group of similar mothers?
3. How do changes in economic self-sufficiency outcomes differ by mothers' demographic characteristics across the CHIP and comparison groups?

Our study found that CHIP program participants were significantly more likely to gain employment after one year of enrollment in the program compared to a similar group of women not enrolled in CHIP. The study also found no impact on educational attainment after one year.

This brief will first provide a description of the study methodology and data sources. Next, it will review our findings and discuss both key findings and study limitations.

Methodology and Data

Study design and procedures

The goal of this study was to examine both 1) change over time in employment and educational attainment among mothers participating in CHIP, and 2) CHIP's influence on maternal employment and education outcomes. To achieve the first goal, we collected CHIP administrative data and compared average employment and educational attainment at baseline and at a one-year follow-up. To achieve the second goal, we developed a comparison group of mothers who were demographically similar to CHIP participants but who did not receive CHIP services. We then used a quasi-experimental difference-in-difference (DID)

design to test whether changes in maternal employment and education over a one-year period differed between those who received CHIP services and those who did not. To achieve balance across the samples at baseline, we used entropy balancing weights.¹

Data sources

For this analysis, we used administrative data on mothers participating in CHIP across five program sites from 2021 to 2025. These sites represent a combination of rural, suburban, and urban communities. Data were collected by home visitors during routine service delivery and stored electronically. All data were de-identified and shared with Child Trends for research purposes. We included cases with data at both baseline (the start of CHIP services) and follow-up (approximately one year later; 80% of cases with baseline data also had follow-up data).

We constructed a comparison group using data from the 2021-2025 [Current Population Survey](#) (CPS) [Annual Social and Economic Supplement](#) (ASEC). The CPS is a monthly national survey that collects information on social and economic indicators, including employment and education, and the ASEC is a supplemental household survey that collects additional information every March on employment, income, health insurance, and taxes. CPS ASEC cases can be linked over one-year time periods, making it possible to compare one-year changes in employment and education in the CHIP sample to one-year changes in the same outcomes in the CPS ASEC sample.

See Table 1 for each sample’s inclusion criteria.

Table 1. Inclusion criteria for the CHIP and comparison samples

CHIP sample	Comparison (CPS ASEC) sample
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All CHIP participants must have a family income less than or equal to 200% of the Federal Poverty Line (FPL), have a child under age 6, and live in a Virginia community with a CHIP site • Additional sample characteristics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mothers with baseline and follow-up data ○ Average time between baseline and follow-up approximately 12 months (range of 8-16 months) ○ Excluded participants from one site due to different data collection procedures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mothers with baseline and follow-up data • Mothers with their own child under age 6 in the household at the first time point • Must meet one of the following family economic requirements at the first time point: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Family income less than or equal to 200% of the FPL ○ Have WIC, Medicaid, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, or other means-tested coverage (as defined by the CPS) • Located within the South Atlantic geographic division (includes DE, MD, DC, VA, WV, NC, SC, GA, and FL)

¹ The project received an exemption from the Child Trends Institutional Review Board (FWA00005835).

Methods

Measures

Our two outcomes of interest were changes in maternal education and changes in maternal employment. Maternal education was defined using two outcomes: high school attainment or more (compared to those with less than a high school diploma or GED), and some college attainment or more (compared to those with a high school diploma or GED). Employment was defined as either full-time or part-time employment (compared to being unemployed or out of the labor force).

Covariates in all models included maternal age, race, marital status, and current educational enrollment.

Missing data

Missing data on employment and education variables ranged from 2-5 percent within the CHIP sample. There were no missing data on education or employment in the comparison sample from the CPS ASEC. Missing data on covariates (age, race, marital status, and current school enrollment) ranged from 1-13 percent of cases within the CHIP sample. One percent of cases in the comparison sample were missing data on current school enrollment. To maintain the largest possible sample size, we used multiple imputation to impute missing data on all outcome and covariate variables within both samples. Multiple imputation is a technique that uses information from the variables in the model to predict values for missing cases.

We first assessed patterns of missingness using summary diagnostics and confirmed that data were missing at random. We then performed multiple imputation using chained equations (MICE) in Stata to generate 20 imputed datasets. Analyses were estimated separately in each imputed dataset and results were pooled to estimate the effect of CHIP on employment and educational attainment.

Examining change over time in maternal employment and education among CHIP participants

We analyzed CHIP program data to calculate average employment and educational attainment for mothers participating in CHIP at baseline and at a one-year follow up. We used t-tests to compare averages over time for each outcome.

Examining CHIP's influence on maternal employment and education

We used the comparison sample described above to increase certainty that any observed differences between the groups in changes to employment and education outcomes were due to participation in CHIP, rather than to other pre-existing differences between the groups. We tested whether changes over time in employment and education outcomes differed significantly between the two groups over a similar timeframe. See below for more details.

Achieving balance between the CHIP and comparison samples

Following similar studies,^{viii,ix} we used entropy balancing techniques to achieve balance on covariates (i.e., maternal age, race, marital status, and current educational enrollment) between the CHIP and comparison group samples. This technique creates and then applies a set of entropy balancing weights to adjust for differences between the treatment and comparison groups.^x While propensity score methods are often used to adjust for covariate imbalance between treatment and control groups, these methods often require

time-consuming iterative model specification, do not guarantee covariate balance, and sometimes do not use all available data if some observations do not have a match. By contrast, entropy balancing has the benefit of directly balancing covariate distributions and retaining all available observations by reweighting (rather than removing) unmatched cases.

Entropy weights were created and then applied to all DID analyses.

Outcome models

To test the influence of CHIP on employment and educational attainment outcomes, we ran a set of DID models, which compare over-time differences in the CHIP group to over-time differences in the comparison group, controlling for demographic characteristics of women in both samples. DID models produce near-causal estimates. Each model controlled for the alternate outcome variable to account for the interrelationship between education and employment: Specifically, education outcome models controlled for employment status and employment outcome models controlled for educational attainment.

In addition to our main findings, we also conducted sensitivity analyses to examine the impact of CHIP on educational attainment among a subsample of women ages 15-24, since people in this age range may be more likely to seek out additional education.

To answer our third research question—to understand whether certain baseline demographic groups were more likely to see an impact from CHIP on employment and education outcomes—we conducted multiple subgroup analyses. We examined subgroups for age, marital status, number of children in the household, education level, and school enrollment. We examined whether DID estimates differed by subgroups using three-way interaction models (treatment x timepoint x subgroup).

Findings

Sample characteristics

Table 2 contains information about the CHIP and CPS ASEC (comparison) samples at baseline, before applying entropy balancing weights to adjust. There were several differences in the two samples' descriptive characteristics, with women in the CHIP sample overall more likely to have characteristics associated with economic disadvantage. Specifically, women in the CHIP sample were slightly younger, less likely to be married, and less likely to be employed than women in the comparison sample. While women in both samples were similarly likely to have a high school degree as their highest level of education (47% for CHIP and 43% for the comparison sample), women in the CHIP sample were more likely to have had less than a high school education (28% versus 13%) than women in the comparison group. In addition, the CHIP sample included relatively more Black women (31%) than the comparison sample (23%) and slightly fewer Hispanic/Latina women (26%) than the comparison sample (33%).

Table 2. Baseline demographic characteristics of women in the CHIP and comparison samples (before applying entropy balancing weights)

	CHIP		Comparison	
	%	N	%	N
Total		805		707
Age group				
<=17	2%	18	0%	2
18-20	8%	64	2%	16

	CHIP		Comparison	
	%	N	%	N
21-24	18%	142	11%	76
25-29	27%	215	25%	175
>=30	45%	366	62%	439
Race				
American Indian/Alaska Native ^a	0%	0	1%	6
Asian	2%	16	4%	27
Black	31%	252	23%	161
Hispanic/Latino	26%	206	33%	232
Multi-racial	3%	22	2%	13
Other	1%	11	0%	0
Pacific Islander	0%	0	0%	3
White	37%	297	37%	264
Marital status				
Not married	70%	562	47%	332
Married	30%	243	53%	375
Employment status				
Not employed	64%	516	46%	327
Employed	36%	289	54%	380
Enrollment status				
Not enrolled in school	87%	697	93%	657
Enrolled in school	13%	108	7%	50
Highest level of education				
Less than HS	28%	224	13%	92
HS degree/GED	47%	381	43%	306
Some college	1%	5	13%	95
Vocational/trade school	1%	4	5%	38
Associate degree	10%	80	6%	44
Bachelor's degree	14%	111	14%	102
Master's degree or higher	0%	0	4%	29

^a In the CHIP data, this group is referred to as “Native American” and in the CPS ASEC data it is referred to as “American Indian/Aleut/Eskimo.” The Census refers to this demographic group as “American Indian and Alaska Native,” which is the term we use here.

Note: Estimates for the CPS ASEC comparison sample use survey weights supplied by the CPS ASEC to make the sample nationally representative. The weighted N for this group is 1,490,583.

Source: Authors’ analysis of CHIP program data and CPS ASEC data.

Table 3 shows baseline characteristics of both samples separately for each outcome of interest after applying the entropy weights to create a comparison sample that was similar to the CHIP sample in average levels of all included characteristics. Employment and educational attainment characteristics are marked as N/A in each column when they represent the outcome of interest. As intended, applying entropy balanced weights resulted in a similar distribution of demographic characteristics across the CHIP and comparison samples at baseline.

Table 3. Baseline demographic characteristics of women in the CHIP and comparison samples (after applying entropy balancing weights)

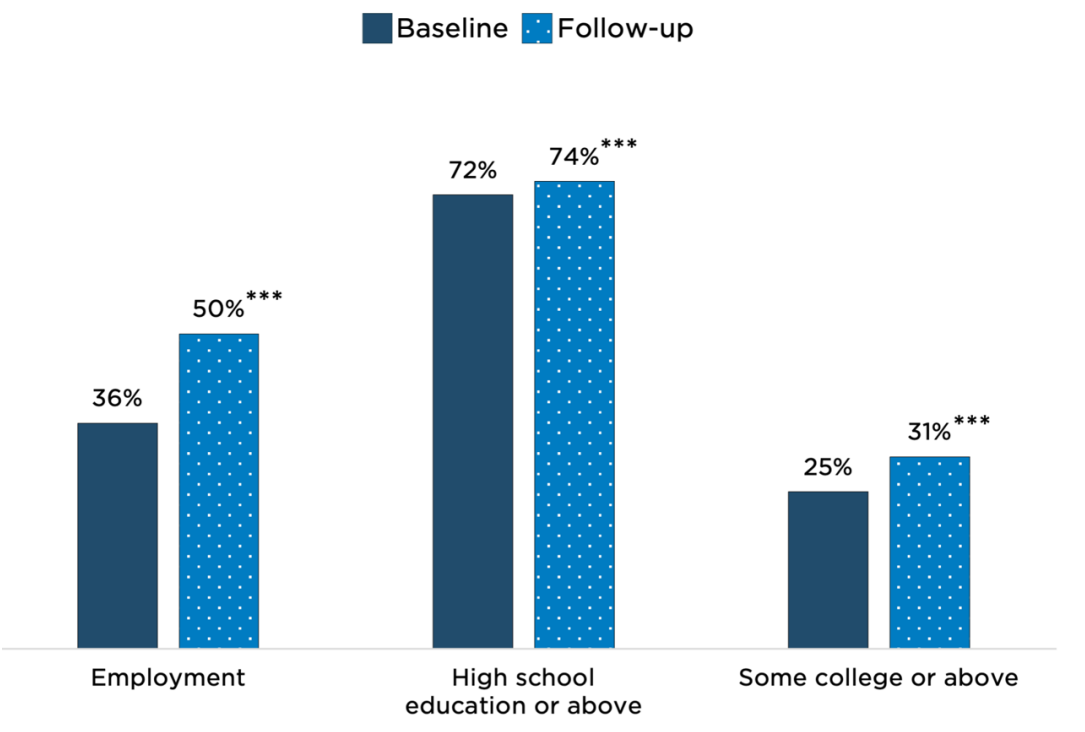
	Employment outcomes		Educational attainment outcomes	
	CHIP	Comparison	CHIP	Comparison
	%	%	%	%
Age group				
<=17	2%	2%	2%	2%
18-20	8%	8%	8%	8%
21-24	18%	17%	18%	17%
25-29	27%	27%	27%	26%
>=30	45%	47%	45%	47%
Race				
American Indian/Alaska Native ^a	0%	2%	0%	1%
Asian	2%	2%	2%	2%
Black	31%	32%	31%	31%
Hispanic/Latino	26%	23%	26%	26%
Multi-racial	3%	3%	3%	3%
Other	1%	0%	1%	0%
Pacific Islander	0%	0%	0%	0%
White	37%	38%	37%	37%
Marital status				
Not married	70%	70%	70%	70%
Married	30%	30%	30%	30%
Employment status				
Not employed	N/A	N/A	64%	64%
Employed	N/A	N/A	36%	36%
Enrollment status				
Not enrolled in school	87%	86%	87%	86%
Enrolled in school	13%	14%	13%	14%
Highest level of education				
Less than HS	28%	28%	N/A	N/A
HS degree/GED	47%	47%	N/A	N/A
Some college	1%	1%	N/A	N/A
Vocational/trade school	1%	1%	N/A	N/A
Associate degree	10%	10%	N/A	N/A
Bachelor's degree	14%	14%	N/A	N/A
Master's degree or higher	0%	0%	N/A	N/A

^aIn the CHIP data, this group is referred to as “Native American” and in the CPS ASEC data it is referred to as “American Indian/Aleut/Eskimo.” The Census refers to this demographic group as “American Indian and Alaska Native,” which is the term we use here. Source: Authors’ analysis of CHIP program data and CPS ASEC data.

Changes in employment and education among CHIP participants

At the one-year follow-up, mothers participating in CHIP had higher levels of employment, high school educational attainment, and attainment of some college than at their baseline levels (Figure 1). The largest change was seen for employment, with 36 percent of CHIP mothers employed at baseline and 50 percent employed at the one-year follow-up.

Figure 1. Changes in average employment and education levels among CHIP participants



Source: Authors' analysis of CHIP program data.
*** indicates a significant difference from baseline to follow-up at the $p < .001$ level.

The effects of CHIP on employment and education

Table 4 reports estimates from the DID models for employment and education outcomes. Results are displayed as odds ratios, which represent the relative odds of each outcome occurring in the treatment group compared to the comparison group. Values greater than 1 indicate higher odds, values less than 1 indicate lower odds, and a value of 1 indicates no difference in odds between groups.

The most important estimate in this table is the “Treatment x Time” estimate, which represents the estimated effect of CHIP, or the additional change in educational attainment or employment for the treatment group relative to the comparison group. The other two estimates (“Treatment” and “Time”) are reported to provide context about baseline differences and overall time trends, but do not provide information about the role of CHIP. The “Treatment” estimate shows whether the treatment and comparison groups were already different in education or employment at baseline. The “Time” estimate shows how education or employment changed over time for the comparison group only.

Table 4. Difference-in-difference regression results for employment status and educational attainment (odds ratios)

	Employment Higher odds = more likely to gain full or part time employment	High school Higher odds = more likely to attain a high school degree/GED	Some college Higher odds = more likely to attend college	Key takeaways: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating in CHIP <i>increases the likelihood</i> that mothers attain full or part time employment after one year Participating in CHIP <i>does not change the likelihood</i> that mothers attain a high school degree or some college after one year
Treatment x Time (DID estimate)	▲ 1.827***	0.830	1.269	
Treatment	0.543***	0.412***	0.482***	
Time	1.014+	1.362*	1.133***	

Note: N=2,920.

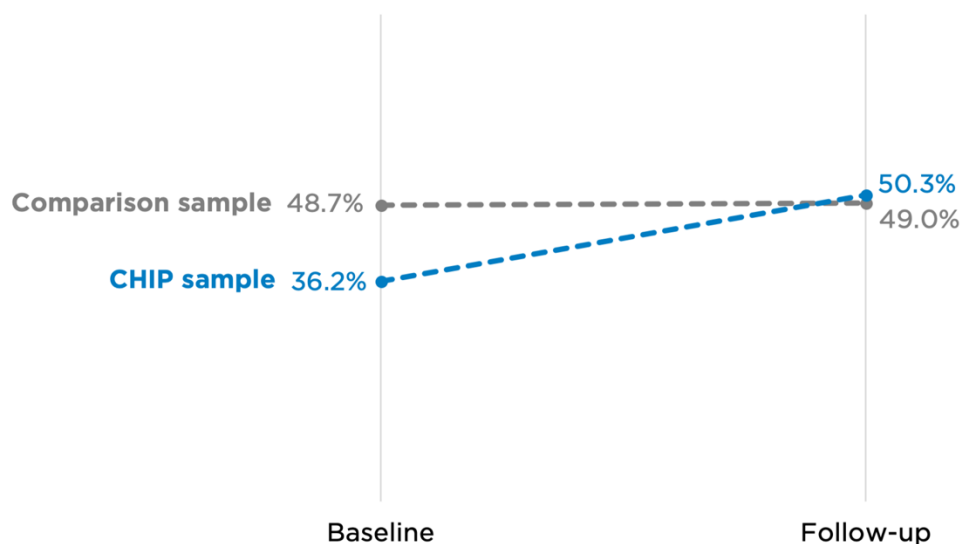
***p<0.001, *p<.05, +p<.10

Source: Authors' analysis of CHIP program data and CPS ASEC data.

Employment

Results show a positive and significant effect of CHIP on employment outcomes. Specifically, CHIP participants were 83 percent more likely to become employed than the comparison group after one year ($p<.001$). Figure 2 shows the predicted probability of employment for CHIP vs the comparison sample.

Figure 2. Predicted probability of employment for CHIP versus comparison sample



Source: Authors' analysis of CHIP program data and CPS ASEC data.

Educational attainment

There was no effect of CHIP on high school or college attainment after one year. We ran sensitivity tests restricting the sample to mothers age 15-24, since women in this age range may be more likely to attain additional education. We did not find any statistically significant findings for high school or college attainment among the sample of women in this age range.

Subgroup analyses

To further explore the strong association between CHIP and employment outcomes, we also ran a series of subgroup models to investigate whether the association differed based on marital status, current school enrollment, number of children in the household, high school/GED completion, and maternal age. We found mostly consistent findings across subgroups. In one exception, we found a larger impact of CHIP on employment for mothers with less than a high school degree/GED than among those with a high school degree/GED or higher ($p=0.04$), suggesting that CHIP has the largest impact on employment for mothers who may face greater barriers to employment. This result should be interpreted with caution, however, as the group of mothers without a high school degree/GED was significantly smaller than the group who had a high school degree/GED or higher; as a result, our estimates are less certain.

While there was no effect of CHIP on educational attainment in the main models, we also ran subgroup models for these outcomes to explore whether there might be an effect among certain subgroups. We did not find any significant differences in the association between participation in CHIP and education outcomes between any of the examined subgroups.

Discussion

Our study findings suggest that CHIP had a strong impact on maternal employment in the first year after enrollment in the program. Women who participated in CHIP were nearly twice as likely to find employment in the next year than similar mothers who did not participate in the program ($OR=1.8$)—a somewhat stronger effect than found in comparable studies.^{xi,xii} Mothers participating in CHIP also experienced gains in educational attainment after one year, although those gains were not significantly different from those in the comparison sample. These findings highlight how a comprehensive program for families has the potential to promote economic security through two-generation support provided by a nurse and parent educator. In fact, these findings are similar to programs solely focused on employment such as career pathways programs, which show substantially increased employment in targeted industries but only slightly increased overall employment^{xiii}—but do have the added benefit of comprehensive services that also improve other outcomes for children (e.g., birth outcomes, dental health use).^{xiv,xv}

In addition, although mothers participating in CHIP had incomes below 200 percent of the FPL, very few (8%) received TANF benefits and faced accompanying work requirements. While Virginia was considered to have family-friendly TANF policies in 2024,^{xvi} it is unlikely that these policies substantially contributed to the gains in employment for mothers participating in CHIP. Furthermore, families participating in CHIP lived in a mix of rural, urban, and suburban communities, which could have differences in job availability and other supports. To allow programs to maximize benefits, future work is needed to understand the mechanisms through which programs that provide comprehensive support strengthen outcomes for both parents and children and how this varies by community and policy environments.

On the other hand, the study also found that CHIP had minimal impact on improving maternal educational attainment. It is possible that the 12-month window between baseline and follow-up in our study was not long enough to see meaningful change in educational attainment; for example, for high school

graduates, applying to college and beginning classes can take several months. In addition, many student parents face challenges with enrolling in, persisting through, and graduating from college. For example, only 17 percent of student parents complete a degree in six years, compared with more than half of non-parenting students, despite having grades on par with their classmates without children.^{xvii,xviii} Finally, given that the majority of CHIP participants are ages 25 and older, it is possible that some—particularly those with less than a high school education—are not planning to return to school or obtain a degree. Future research in this area should include a longer timeframe of assessment and more nuanced information that can help programs and policymakers better understand the facilitators and barriers to enrolling in school.

Taken together, the findings present opportunities for CHIP to continue building and expanding on opportunities to support Virginia families via provision of comprehensive services. In addition to improving families' economic well-being through increased employment, providing comprehensive services for Virginia's families is a good investment: One recent assessment found that every dollar invested in comprehensive supports for Virginia's student parents would yield an estimated \$5.36 in tax revenue and public-benefit savings, resulting in an estimated \$1.9 billion in public benefit net of costs by 2035.^{xix}

Study Limitations

There are several limitations to consider when interpreting these findings. First, although we used entropy balancing to make the two groups comparable, there were initially considerable differences between the two samples at baseline. The women in the CHIP sample were younger and less likely to be married than the comparison sample—both factors to consider when examining employment and educational attainment. There may also be other important differences in the two samples that were not captured in the data. In addition, the comparison sample included other states in the South Atlantic geographic area, which likely differ from Virginia in unemployment rates, job markets and availability, educational opportunities, and student parent resources, among other things.

Second, it would have been ideal to look at employment and educational gains over a longer time—a modification that would have also strengthened the DID models—but this was not possible with the available data sources. It is possible that the gains in education in particular need more time to emerge: Student parents face considerable obstacles in pursuing education and may need additional supports to ensure they can remain enrolled. For example, recent research showed that nearly 55 percent of student caregivers reported that they had to leave school because they could not balance their coursework with their child care needs.^{xx} In addition, while most CHIP participants' second data point came from 12 months post-enrollment, some were slightly outside this range (ranging from 8-16 months after enrollment), leaving some with less time to gain education and/or employment than others.

Finally, the study relied on data collected from providers in the field: While real-time data entry is useful and can support programmatic activities, it can also lead to inconsistency. There were several data fields where missing or inaccurate data may have limited the validity of the findings and could not be fully accounted for through multiple imputation. In addition, a small portion of CHIP families were lost during the follow-up period and excluded from analyses.

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