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WHAT WORKS FOR OLDER YOUTH DURING THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD: Lessons from Experimental Evaluations of Programs and Interventions

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OVERVIEW

Major strides have been made in the field of youth development. However, youth transitioning into adulthood have not received similar attention. These older youth have frequently been overlooked by policymakers and practitioners who have been more focused on designing programs and services for adolescents and young children. Because older youth face a unique set of challenges and risks as they move into adulthood,ⁱ it is important to identify intervention strategies that can enhance the development and success of these individuals in domains such as employment, independent living, drug and alcohol use, pregnancy, parenting, life skills, mental health, release from the foster care system, homelessness, violence, education, and literacy.

This synthesis examines the role that programs designed to serve older youth can play in promoting positive development and subsequent self-sufficiency in adulthood. We synthesize the findings from 31 studies that implemented random assignment intent-to-treat experimental evaluations to examine the impacts of various intervention strategies on youth well-being outcomes during the transition to adulthood (ages 18 to 25). While all programs evaluated outcomes for these *emerging adults*, programs varied in the ages of targeted youth: 10 programs targeted youth from as early as 12 years and into their early twenties; eight programs served youth from 16 years and into their early twenties; and 11 programs began at 18 years of age.ⁱⁱ

This review of experimental evaluations indicates that education and career programs can be effective, especially for low income youth and for youth targeted from younger ages, for example, those under age 18. Furthermore, specific intervention strategies, such as mentoring, case management, and providing child care for young parents, are associated with program success across outcomes. However, existing substance use and reproductive health programs have not consistently been found to be effective across outcomes for this age group.

WHAT WORKS

To identify programs that work and identify the features of programs that contribute to success, we have synthesized findings from the Child Trends database of experimental intent-to-treat evaluations of social interventions for children and youth – LINKS (Lifecourse Interventions to Nurture Kids Successfully).ⁱⁱⁱ LINKS currently includes 31 programs whose impacts on youth development during the transition to adulthood have been experimentally evaluated.

It is important to note that 31 experimentally evaluated programs geared towards an entire age group is a small number, especially given that the programs address a variety of topics and outcomes. Therefore, few themes were pervasive within each of the outcome areas (i.e., education, career, substance use, and

reproductive health). However, we were able to identify several approaches that characterize programs that were effective across outcomes and ones that appear promising for future research and development in specific domains.

Below we highlight strategies that worked across outcome areas, as well as promising findings for education, career, reproductive health, and substance use outcomes. A number of additional outcomes were measured in some studies, including parenting and family formation, civic engagement, socioemotional health, relationship, and delinquency outcomes; however, they were not examined in enough programs for us to discern any patterns of success across interventions. Results for these additional outcomes can be found in the table at the end of the brief.

Themes Across Outcomes

- **Programs targeting low income youth are often effective in the education and employment domains.** Of the 12 programs targeting low-income youth, 10 had a statistically significant¹ positive impact for at least one school or career outcome. Positive impacts for low-income youth occurred for educational attainment, school attendance, school engagement, college attendance, employment, earnings, and welfare dependence.
- **Mentoring can be an effective technique for improving youth outcomes.** Of the five programs that provided youth with mentors, four, ([Career Academies](#), [Career Beginnings](#), [Job Corps](#), and [Upward Bound](#)), had a positive impact for at least one indicator of youth well-being. The strategy was especially effective for school and employment outcomes, but was also associated with decreased delinquency.
- **Case management can be effective at improving education and employment outcomes.** Three programs ([New Chance](#), [Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program](#), and the [Teenage Parent Demonstration](#)) provided youth with individual case managers. Case managers assessed the needs of the participants, coordinated ongoing services, tracked participant progress, and provided ongoing support and guidance. Each of these programs had at least one positive impact on an education or employment outcome, including improvements in educational attainment, school attendance, employment, earnings, and welfare dependence.
- **Providing child care for program participants has been associated with success across youth outcomes.** Of the five programs that provided child care to their participants, four ([New Chance](#), [JOBSTART](#), the [Ohio Earning, Learning, and Parenting Program](#), and the [Teenage Parent Demonstration](#)) had a positive impact on at least one indicator of youth well-being. This strategy was primarily associated with improvement in education and employment outcomes for the young parent, including education attainment, school attendance, employment, earnings, and welfare dependence, but was also linked to decreased delinquency.
- **Programs targeting youth early during their transition to adulthood are frequently effective at improving education and employment outcomes.** Of the 16 programs that began targeting youth at the age of 16 or younger, 10 had positive impacts for at least one indicator of education or career success. Positive impacts for younger youth occurred for education attainment, school attendance, school engagement, college attendance, employment, earnings, and welfare dependence outcomes.

¹ Reported impacts are those reported by the evaluators to be significant at the $p \leq 0.05$ level. Note that this review does not focus on the magnitude or duration of the impact, though this information is included in the LINKS program summaries.

For Education

- **Programs that were implemented over a long period of time were more effective at improving educational attainment.** Two programs, [New Chance](#) and [JOBSTART](#), were successful at increasing high school diploma and GED attainment rates among participants. Both programs required a high number of contact hours and were implemented over an extended period of time; [New Chance](#) had participation periods lasting up to 18 months, and [JOBSTART](#) was implemented for between 200 and 500 hours. Furthermore, programs producing mixed reviews for educational attainment often had short-term implementation periods or open entry and exit policies.
- **Requiring youth to take topically relevant classes may lead to higher levels of school engagement.** Three out of four programs assessing engagement found positive impacts. The [Career Academies](#) and [Upward Bound](#) programs provided students with academic coursework relevant to their vocational goals. These programs were associated with improved levels of school engagement in participating youth. One program, [Youth Corps](#), required youth to take topically relevant classes and produced mixed reviews on school engagement; however, the strategy was never entirely unsuccessful.

MIXED REVIEWS

Across Outcomes

- **Programs that implement skills training techniques have been found to be effective at improving some outcomes, but not reproductive health outcomes.** In the employment realm, skills training involves teaching youth basic job skills (e.g., word processing) for high demand jobs. In the education domain, skills training often involves teaching youth how to make better decisions about their academic choices. In the substance use and delinquency domains, youth are taught how to resist peer pressure to engage in harmful activities. Five out of six programs using skills training and aimed at improving educational attainment, employment, substance use, and delinquency outcomes were found to have positive impacts on at least one outcome. However, of the seven programs implementing this technique that were geared towards improving reproductive health, only one had positive impacts on even one outcome.

For Careers

- **Program strategies specifically geared towards increasing employment have had mixed impacts.** Interventions aimed at improving employment rates among older youth typically use targeted strategies such as vocational training, career counseling, and/or job placement assistance. These strategies were implemented in many of the programs we synthesized, but they were not consistently associated with either success or failure.

For Substance Use

- **Programs targeting substance use have not generally been found to affect all substance use outcomes. Rather, they affect one substance or another substance and therefore are categorized as “mixed” in this brief.** Of the eight programs addressing problematic substance use, only two, the [Alcohol Skills Training Program](#) and [Brief Strategic Family Therapy](#), had positive impacts on all of the assessed substance use outcomes. The other six programs were either

ineffective or only effective for some substances. These programs targeted youth with existing substance use problems.

WHAT DOESN'T WORK

For Reproductive Health

- **None of the sexual risk-taking programs are consistently successful at changing behaviors among youth.** Evaluated programs addressing sexual risk-taking behaviors have focused on encouraging consistent condom and contraceptive use and decreasing instances of casual sex and an individual's number of sexual partners. Though sexual risk-taking programs can have positive impacts on intent to use and attitudes towards condoms and contraceptives, they are less successful at impacting the actual use of methods among older youth; of the nine programs aimed towards sexual risk-taking, five had these mixed reviews. Furthermore, none of the programs we reviewed had consistent, positive impacts on frequency of casual sex or number of sexual partners, and most programs had no impact on these outcomes at all. One program, [FOCUS](#) (which provides participants with information on sexually transmitted infections and unintended pregnancy, and equips them with behavioral skills to engage in preventive behavior) had positive impacts on unintended pregnancies but not on other reproductive health outcomes.

DISCUSSION

Despite the turbulence and importance of the transition to adulthood, there are relatively few experimental evaluations of social programs that target the well-being of *emerging adults*. This synthesis reviews the strategies implemented, targeted demographics, and results from evaluations of these interventions.

In general, results from the rigorously evaluated interventions completed to date suggest that it is possible to have positive impacts on outcomes for older youth. About half of the programs evaluated (16 out of 31) had positive impacts on at least one outcome. While *all* 13 education- and career-focused programs had mixed results or proved successful for at least one outcome (eight were successful at their targeted outcomes), interventions for substance use and reproductive health tended to have either mixed results or were unsuccessful. Six out of eight substance abuse programs or programs targeting substance abuse outcomes had mixed results or were proven successful (two were proven successful at their targeted outcomes). Eight out of 12 reproductive health programs or programs targeting reproductive health outcomes had mixed results or were proven successful (one was proven successful at its targeted outcome). These results suggest that current evaluated programs geared towards education and career success are more often effective for older youth than programs aimed at improving substance use and reproductive health outcomes.

During the transition to adulthood, more youth begin to experiment with harmful substances and sex. For example, statistics from 2007 indicate that 26% of 12th graders reported engaging in binge drinking.^{iv} In 2006, 19% of 12th graders reported using marijuana.^v Also, roughly nine out of 10 young men (89%) and women (92%) have engaged in sexual intercourse by the time they turn 24 years old,^{vi} and the incidence of both sexually transmitted diseases and unintended pregnancy is very high during these years.^{vii} Accordingly, the need for stronger interventions is clear.

Risk-Taking Behavior

Recognizing that many emerging adults are engaging in risky behaviors, many programs for this age group refrain from encouraging complete abstinence from substance use and sex. Instead, the programs that we reviewed focused on encouraging youth to engage in these activities in a more responsible

manner; however, few were highly successful in this endeavor. This may be at least partially explained by research findings on the risk-taking tendencies of youth during this developmental stage. Specifically, studies have found that *emerging adults* (those between the ages of 18 and 25) report significantly higher levels of risk-taking and sensation-seeking behaviors than individuals who have reached young adulthood (ages 26 to 34).^{viii} At the same time, family co-residence and influence are declining. However, it is important to note that findings for those receiving the intervention were in comparison to findings among control groups; therefore, though we might expect risk-taking behaviors to increase over time, effective programs would cause a smaller increase among intervention participants. Given that this didn't necessarily occur, we can conclude that most of the programs did not convince youth to completely refrain from engaging in these behaviors. However, given that some of the programs we reviewed significantly reduced use of one substance or had impacts on intentions to engage in safer sex, practitioners may be on the right track towards reducing these risk-taking tendencies. More research needs to be conducted in order to determine the combination of strategies necessary to change behavior.

Target Population

While these experimentally-evaluated programs were generally found to have impacts on improving education and employment outcomes, programs geared towards specific groups of youth were especially effective in these two domains. For example, we found that programs targeting low-income youth and younger individuals just beginning their transitions into adulthood were more often effective for education and career gains. It is encouraging that programs designed for low-income youth were generally effective as this is a population that is disadvantaged in the education and career domains. It is also interesting that education and career programs were more effective for younger youth than older youth (specifically, youth in their late teens than young adults). This indicates that these programs should target youth earlier, perhaps as a means of putting them on a positive life track during the beginning stages of this transition period. Also, we were unable to discern any patterns across racial and ethnic groups because the majority of the reviewed programs did not specifically focus on particular racial or ethnic groups or provide subgroup analysis for these groups.

Intervention Strategies

Mentoring and case management are two related program strategies that were associated with positive education and career outcomes. Both mentoring and case management provide youth with individualized support and aid from caring adults. Youth likely benefit from mentors and case managers who provide stable, caring, and positive relationships, something that might otherwise be lacking.^{ix} Previous research has noted that these mentoring relationships can be successful if they remain intact over a long period of time.^x Given that the successful programs examined here utilizing mentoring and case management strategies lasted between a year and a half and up to 4 years and that the one unsuccessful program was six weeks long, the findings from this synthesis align with previous research.

Providing child care for participants who are parents also was associated with success on a variety of education and career outcomes. This allows parents to devote more time to furthering their education and career, which is likely one of the main reasons behind the success of this strategy.

For education programs, success was associated with long-term implementation periods and providing youth with opportunities to take academic coursework relevant to their vocational goals. Implementing long-term programs was associated with attainment of high school diplomas and GEDs, indicating that providing consistent aid and training likely provides needed time and keeps youth motivated to continue on a positive education path. Providing youth with academic coursework relevant to their vocational goals was associated with higher levels of school engagement. Youth are perhaps more likely to take an interest in school when they are provided with opportunities to learn about subject matter that interests them.

NEEDED RESEARCH

Unfortunately, surprisingly few programs for older youths have been rigorously evaluated. As a result, many questions about the impacts of such programs remain unanswered. While this synthesis has highlighted some successful strategies and certain demographic groups that can benefit from programs, the effectiveness of other components is still unclear. Researchers may not be focusing on developing programs for this age group because of an assumption that these young adults are already benefitting from the receipt of general social services. Future research should determine if these youth are in a special developmental period that requires programs targeting unique challenges or if they can benefit from the services provided for adults. Developing more programs for this age group will reveal whether or not interventions specifically designed for 18 to 25 year olds are more effective.

Programs are especially needed to effectively target sexual risk-taking and substance use outcomes. There are some promising findings for the use of media in sexual risk-taking programs, as programs that used videos or computer tutorials were more likely to have mixed reviews, while interventions that did not use this strategy often were unsuccessful. However, future programs should attempt to combine media resources with additional strategies in order to see if media is more effective in conjunction with other techniques. Though few substance use programs employed media usage, this may be a technique that warrants expanded use within substance use programs as well as other risk-taking behaviors.

To provide sound, practical suggestions for practitioners, many more experimental studies of existing programs need to be carried out, and evidence about successful program implementation strategies needs to be developed. Furthermore, program evaluations should also examine the long-term impacts of the interventions and the impacts that they have on various demographic subgroups. In addition, studies are needed on program take-up, participation, and retention, so that efforts can reach those who might benefit but who are less willing or able to participate.

CONCLUSION

This synthesis provides both insights into effective practices and a basis for future research on effective components and strategies for programs designed to increase the well-being of emerging adults. Researchers and practitioners need to develop a greater number of programs for young adults. Youth in this age range are often labeled as adults, but they face unique challenges relative to individuals over 25 who have generally entered into full adulthood.^{x1}

While our analysis was able to pair some specific intervention strategies with specific outcomes (e.g., mentoring had positive impacts on education outcomes), further research needs to be conducted, as few findings were pervasive. Researchers designing sexual risk-taking and substance use interventions have an especially challenging task, as many programs aimed at impacting these outcomes were either unsuccessful or had mixed reviews. These findings are summarized below by the outcomes targeted:

- Education: **seven out of 12** programs were found to be effective in improving at least one education outcome, including educational attainment, school attendance, school engagement, and college attendance.
- Career: **six out of 11** programs were found to be effective in improving at least one career outcome, including employment, earnings, and reduced welfare dependence.
- Delinquency: **three out of six** programs were found to be effective in reducing delinquency.

- Reproductive Health: **one out of 12** programs was found to be effective in improving at least one reproductive health outcome--unintended or subsequent pregnancies. However, seven programs were found to have positive impacts for at least a sub-sample of the studied population or at least one study out of multiple studies of the program found positive outcomes.
- Parenting and Family Formation: **two out of five** programs were found to have positive impacts on at least one parent and family formation outcome--parenting.
- Substance Abuse: **two out of eight** programs were found to be effective in improving at least one substance abuse outcome among young adults. However, four programs were found to have positive impacts for at least a sub-sample of the studied population or at least one study out of multiple studies of the program found positive outcomes.

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Experimental Intent-to-Treat Evaluations of Social Programs that Examined Impacts on One or More Youth Outcomes and Whether They Were Found to Work, Not Proven to Work, or Had Mixed Findings

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
Education			
Education Attainment		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job Corps participants were more likely to attain GEDs than controls; however, the program reduced the likelihood of receiving a HS diploma for those enrolled in school at the time they began participating in the program. The program significantly increased the likelihood of receiving a HS diploma or GED among 16 and 17 year-olds. - One study evaluating the Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program found that the program led to higher rates of HS diploma and GED attainment, while two other studies found no differences between participants and controls. - Students who were at high-risk academically earned more HS credits after participating in the Upward Bound program, however the program was not as effective for other participants. Furthermore, the program did not impact high school completion rates. - Black males and white females participating in Youth Corps were more likely to earn an associates degree than their control counterparts. However, this effect was not seen among other demographic groups. - Female participants in the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) were significantly more likely than their control counterparts to have received a HS diploma or GED at follow-up; this impact was not found for males. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in the New Chance program were more likely than control participants to earn HS diplomas or GEDs. - Participants of JOBSTART were more likely to earn a HS diploma or GED than controls. - The Career Academies program reduced drop out rates and increased academic course taking for youth at-risk of dropping out of high school.
Education Achievement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Career Academies program did not impact reading or math achievement scores. - There were no differences between those participating in the New Chance program and controls on measures of basic educational achievement. - The Upward Bound program did no impact participant GPA's. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nineteen-year-old youth participating in the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD) had higher math achievement scores than their control counterparts, but this difference was not found across other age groups. 	
School Attendance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students in the School Attendance Demonstration Project had higher rates of school attendance than controls at the long- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Career Academies program improved school attendance for youth at-risk of dropping out of high school.

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
		term follow-up but not at the short-term assessment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students in the Career Beginnings program had fewer unexcused school absences than control students. - The Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program increased student retention in schools and led to higher attendance rates among participants. - Youth participating in the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD) had higher rates of school attendance than controls at the long-term follow-up.
School Engagement	The Summer Career Exploration Program (SCEP) did not impact attitudes towards educational achievement.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hispanic and white females participating in Youth Corps reported having higher educational aspirations than their control counterparts. Furthermore, black male participants had changed their educational outlooks. However, these impacts were not seen among other demographic groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students participating in the Career Academies program reported a greater motivation to attend school and a greater appreciation for the connection between education and future success than students in the control group. - Youth enrolled in the Upward Bound program reported significantly higher levels of college engagement than controls.
College Preparedness		Youth participating in the Summer Career Exploration Program (SCEP) were more likely than controls to have visited a College Access Center and to be enrolled in a college preparatory program; however, there were no differences across groups regarding intentions to attend college.	
College Attendance	- Job Corps did not improve college attendance rates among participants.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hispanic youth and students with low academic expectations attending the Upward Bound program were more likely to enroll in college and to earn more college credits than their control counterparts; however, other participants did not experience these benefits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students in the Career Beginnings program were more likely to attend college than control students.
Career			
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Control participants were more likely to be employed than New Chance participants in the six months following the intervention, and there were no differences across groups in long-term employment rates or earnings. - At various follow-up assessment points, control participants were more likely to be employed than JOBSTART participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Summer Career Exploration Program (SCEP) led to higher rates of employment at the short-term follow-up, but did not increase rates of employment during the school year. - Participants in Youth Corps were more likely to work for pay and worked more hours. With the exception of white males, participants were more likely to be employed than controls. - With the exception of 18 and 19 year-old Hispanic youth, the Job Corps program led to increased likelihood of employment for participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students in the Career Academies program were more likely to participate in job shadowing activities and to be employed than control group participants. - Participants in the Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program were more likely to be employed at the long-term follow-up. - Youth participating in the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD) had higher rates of employment than controls at the long-term follow-up. - Students in the Career Beginnings program were more likely to be employed during college

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
			<p>than controls.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth participating in the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) were more likely than controls to be employed at the follow-up assessment.
Earnings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program did not impact earnings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - With the exception of white males, participants in the Youth Corps program received higher earnings than their control counterparts. - With the exception of 18 and 19 year-old Hispanic youth, the Job Corps program led to increased earnings for participants. - Only male participants with arrest records and males who had previously dropped out of high school experienced increased earnings relative to their control counterparts after taking part in JOBSTART; other demographic groups did not experience earnings benefits. - The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) led to increased earnings for older, adult participants, but not for youth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth participating in the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD) had higher earnings rates than controls at the long-term follow-up.
Welfare Dependence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in the New Chance program were more likely than control participants to have ever received welfare during the intervention period and were on welfare for longer periods of time than controls. - There were no differences in welfare rates between controls and those attending the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD). - The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) did not impact AFCD and food stamp receipt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Females who were not mothers when they entered the JOBSTART program were less likely than their control counterparts to receive AFDC during later follow-up years; however, no other demographic groups experienced these impacts. - Women with multiple risk factors participating in the Nurse-Family Partnership spent a shorter time on welfare and receiving food stamps than their control counterparts; however, these effects did not occur for the full sample. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in the Ohio Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program were less likely to be on welfare at the long-term follow-up. - Job Corps participants received significantly less public assistance than controls.
Reproductive Health			
Sexual Risk-Taking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There were no differences between controls and participants in the FOCUS program on consistency of condom use or number of casual sex partners. - There were no differences between New Chance participants and controls on rates of contraceptive use. - The PARTNERS program did not impact consistency of condom use, unprotected sex, or use of other types of contraception. - There were no differences between youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Varving the Timing of an HIV-Prevention Intervention led to significantly fewer sex partners and fewer instances of unprotected sex in one study, but another study revealed no differences across intervention and control groups. - Participants who watched the intervention video and attended discussions in the Video-Based STD Patient Education program were more likely than their control counterparts to redeem coupons for condoms; however black 	

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
	<p>participating in the Skill-Based Intervention on Condom Use and control youth on number of sexual partners, rates of refusing sex without a condom, or rates of condom use with steady partners.</p>	<p>participants were less likely than their counterparts to redeem their coupons.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth participating in the Computer-Delivered Sexual Risk Reduction Intervention increased their condom use knowledge and their frequency of keeping condoms handy but did not have greater motivation to use condoms or more condom-use behavior skills relative to controls. - The Condom Intervention with Women had positive impacts on condom use intentions and positive attitudes towards condoms. Intervention participants were also significantly more likely than controls to carry condoms; however there was no difference across groups on rates of purchasing condoms or discussing condom use with partners. - The Condom Promotion Videos for College Students led to greater condom use intentions and more positive attitudes towards condoms among intervention participants. Additionally, intervention participants were more likely to use condoms with regular partners; however there were no differences across groups on condom use with casual sex partners. 	
Unintended or Subsequent Pregnancies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in the New Chance program had shorter time periods, on average, between subsequent pregnancies than controls. - There were no differences in pregnancy rates between controls and those attending the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD). Furthermore, black program participants had higher birth rates than their control counterparts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Black females participating in Youth Corps were less likely to be pregnant than their control counterparts at follow-up. However, these effects did not occur for other racial and ethnic groups. - Women with multiple risk factors participating in the Nurse-Family Partnership had fewer subsequent pregnancies and births and a longer time between the births of their first and second children than their control counterparts; however these impacts did not occur for the full sample. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There were lowered rates of unintended pregnancies for youth participating in the FOCUS program.
Parenting and Family Formation			
Parenting		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Social Learning Parent Training program decreased the number of problems associated with parenting risk, but did not improve rates of praise, criticism, or negative behaviors towards children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children with parents participating in the Nurse-Family Partnership had fewer trips to the emergency room and were less likely to be subject to child abuse and neglect than children with control parents. - Infants with mothers participating in the

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
			<u>Early Intervention Program for Adolescent Mothers</u> spent fewer days in the hospital during their first six weeks of life than infants of mothers receiving traditional public health nursing care.
Family Formation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in the <u>Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD)</u> were more likely to establish paternity; however, only Hispanic participants were more likely than their control counterparts to be in contact with their children’s fathers. - <u>Job Corps</u> did not impact the likelihood of having a child or living with and providing support for a child. However, program participants were significantly more likely to be married than controls. There were mixed results across studies regarding the likelihood of living with a partner. 	
Civic Engagement		- At the follow-up, black youth participating in <u>Youth Corps</u> were more likely to have voted in the previous election and reported higher levels of social responsibility than their control counterparts; however this difference did not exist for other racial and ethnic groups.	
Socioemotional Health	- Participants in the <u>New Chance</u> program reported higher rates of depression, stress, and parenting stress than control participants.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Black you in the <u>Youth Corps</u> program reported higher levels of personal responsibility than their control counterparts; however this difference did not exist for other racial and ethnic groups. - Students participating in the <u>Penn Resilience Training for College Students</u> experienced significantly fewer depressive episodes than controls. However, results on anxiety are mixed; some studies find that the intervention has positive effects, while others do not. 	
Relationship Issues			- Couples receiving the <u>Prevention and Relationship Enhancement Program (PREP)</u> reported higher relationship satisfaction, better communication and conflict management, and lower levels of problem intensity than control participants.
Substance Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The <u>Varving the Timing of an HIV-Prevention Intervention</u> did not impact substance use. - <u>Job Corps</u> did not impact alcohol and illegal drug use or utilization of drug treatment services. 	- Youth participating in the <u>Adolescent Community Reinforcement Approach</u> experienced greater continuing care linkage and retention, better adherence to continuing care criteria, and longer abstinence from marijuana than adolescents receiving usual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth participating in the <u>Alcohol Skills Training Program</u> experienced positive effects on a wide range of alcohol use indicators. - Those participating in <u>Brief Strategic Family Therapy</u> were significantly less likely than controls to be abusing drugs by the end of

OUTCOME AREA	NOT PROVEN TO WORK	MIXED FINDINGS	FOUND TO WORK
		<p>care. However, there were no differences in abstinence from alcohol or other drugs between the two groups of adolescents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Brief Alcohol Screening and Intervention for College Students (BASICS) had positive impacts on some substance use outcomes, but not on others. - Areas implementing the Communities Mobilizing for Change on Alcohol program saw decreases in drunk driving arrest rates among adolescents but did not experience decreases in traffic accidents. - Women with multiple risk factors participating in the Nurse-Family Partnership had fewer behavior problems resulting from substance use than their control counterparts; however, this impact did not occur on the full sample. 	<p>treatment.</p>
<p>Delinquency</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Summer Career Exploration Program (SCEP) did not decrease rates of delinquency. - Male participants in the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), who did not have an arrest record before entering the program, experienced significant increases in arrest rates at both follow-ups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women with multiple risk factors participating in the Nurse-Family Partnership had fewer arrests than their control counterparts; however, this impact did not occur on the full sample. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants in Youth Corps were less likely to be arrested than control group members. - The Job Corps program led to decreased arrest rates, conviction rates, and time spent in jail among participants. - Youth participating in JOBSTART were less likely to be arrested after the intervention than control participants.

ⁱ Arnett, J. (2005). The developmental context of substance use in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 35(2), 235-253.

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ⁱⁱ While these programs may have targeted youth from as early as 12 years old, their samples included a substantial percentage of emerging adults (aged between 18-25 years) or their evaluations included sub-sample analysis of emerging adults. On the other hand, several programs that may have included some emerging adults but constituted a small percentage of the sample or whose evaluations did not include sub-sample analysis were not included.

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.childtrends.org/links>

^{iv} Child Trends Data Bank. (2008). Binge drinking. Washington, DC: Child Trends.

^v Child Trends Data Bank. (2008). Marijuana use. Washington, DC: Child Trends.

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^x Ibid.

^{xi} Todesco, P. (2005). Developmental differences in sensation-seeking, risk-taking and perceptual appraisals. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A*, 65, 4106.