

# NOTA BIJ IMPACTEVALUATIE OPROEP WERKINLEVING BIJ JONGEREN (WIJ!)

Verslag van interviews met medewerkers van VDAB en bijkomende statistische analyses

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# **Nota ESF Impactevaluatie**

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### 1 Introduction

Recently, the Centre for Research on Impact Evaluation (CRIE) of the European Commission conducted a counterfactual impact evaluation of the "WerkInleving voor Jongeren!" (WIJ!) program that originated from ESF-call 312. In the WIJ program, NEET¹ youth were given extensive guidance in order to better prepare them for the labor market. However, one of the main shortcomings of the evaluation, as acknowledged by the researchers, was the lack of insight into how individuals were allocated to the WIJ by the caseworkers from the VDAB², the Flemish Public Employment Services (PES). Unfortunately, this weakens the conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis³. To gain additional insight into this allocation process, we have performed several interviews with caseworkers from the PES. In this report, we will discuss the findings of these interviews. Furthermore, the PES supplied us, after CRIE had finished their report, with additional information on whether or not the job seekers in our control group have participated in a tender. This data is also exploited in additional analyses that are included in an appendix. The results of these analyses and their implications for the CRIE report are briefly discussed in the conclusion as well.

The ESF-call that was evaluated by CRIE was extended in another ESF-call (404) in which some small changes were made to the WIJ program. When we talk specifically about this follow up program, we will refer to it as WIJ3, while the program that was evaluated by CRIE will be labeled as WIJ2. The interviews that were carried out can shed light onto the general allocation process<sup>4</sup> and can both be used to help in assessing the validity of the findings in the evaluation of WIJ2 as well as support an upcoming evaluation of WIJ3. We will therefore also give specific recommendations for future evaluations at the end of this note.

### 2 The interviews

### 2.1 Participants

To find suitable interview candidates, we have requested contact information for caseworkers from the PES that had experience in assigning young job seekers to the WIJ program. Subsequently, they provided us with a list of caseworkers that had assigned people to the WIJ. Several caseworkers on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Not in Education, Employment or Training

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vlaamse Dienst voor Arbeidsbemiddeling en Beroepsopleiding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Because the WIJ specifically targeted young people that had difficulties in finding a job, simply comparing those that participated in the program to those who did not participate would yield a biased estimate of the impact of the program on the chances of being in employment or education. To enable comparisons between program participants and non-participants, a matching approach was used in this evaluation report. The key assumption in this approach is that, after every participant has been matched to similar non-participants based on observable characteristics, both groups are similar on all relevant dimensions, except for the treatment itself. If unobserved differences between both groups remain due to characteristics that were not taken into account, the selection bias will not completely be accounted for. Therefore, it is crucial that there is sufficient insight into which individuals were selected to participate in the WIJ. However, as indicated by the researchers, it was unclear how caseworkers from the PES decided to allocate certain individuals to the WIJ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As will be discussed below, caseworkers generally didn't see big differences between both programs and therefore did not change their allocation strategy.

these lists were contacted and were asked if they were willing to participate in an interview<sup>5</sup>. In total, seven caseworkers were interviewed. To ensure that our sample represents caseworkers that work in different environments, we have selected caseworkers from both bigger cities as well as from smaller cities.

### 2.2 Contents of the interview

During semi-structured interviews, PES caseworkers were asked a series of questions on how they assigned people to the WIJ and how they perceived the WIJ. Although each interview is of course unique, in general they were asked the following things. First, they were asked how they decided to assign a person to the WIJ or not. After they had talked about all things that they could think of, they were also asked if other factors such as age, their gut feeling, perceived chance of employment, language proficiency, work experience, digital literacy, having a realistic job target and the preferences of the job seeker him- or herself played a role. Next, they were asked if capacity at the external partner influenced the decision. To finish the interview, they were asked if they had a clear view on what happened to job seekers in the WIJ program and what the differences and similarities were between the WIJ and other tenders/programs.

### 3 Findings

### 3.1 Differences between WIJ2 and WIJ3

About half of the caseworkers that we have interviewed only had experience with assigning young job seekers to WIJ3, the successor of the WIJ program that was evaluated by CRIE. However, those that had experience with both ESF-calls did not see any significant differences in how young job seekers were allocated to the program. They argued that the target group did not change, so their allocation strategy did not change either. As such, we assume that our findings apply to both WIJ2 as well as WIJ3.

"Interviewer: if you would compare the WIJ2 to the WIJ3, was the allocation there different? No, no. My experience is that this isn't the case" -Caseworker 1

#### 3.2 Differences between WIJ and tenders

When asked about the difference between the WIJ and tenders, most caseworkers did not really seem to differentiate between the two. One interviewee just stated that the WIJ was "specifically for younger people", so young people would be sent to the WIJ and others to another tender. The major decision for caseworkers seemed to be if they would assign a job seeker to an external partner or not, rather than to which specific partner or program.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Out of nine people, only two people were not interviewed. The first was not interviewed due to a temporarily higher workload than usual. The interview would have needed to be postponed for a couple of months. The other potential interviewee already had a colleague who had done the interview earlier and could thus have discussed the questions with her beforehand. All other caseworkers agreed to be interviewed.

This would mean that allocation to an external partner is somewhat random and suggests that using these other people in tenders to construct a control group could be a viable strategy. After CRIE finished their report, the PES supplied us with additional information on whether or not people in our control group participated in a tender. This allowed us to perform such additional analyses using only those who were in a tender as potential controls. The results of these analyses are shown in the appendix and are discussed in the conclusion of this note.

### 3.3 Personal factors that influence allocation to the WIJ

### 3.3.1 Age and education

The WIJ was primarily focused on NEET young. As such, it targeted young job seekers below 26 years old who were low- or medium educated. Although exceptions were allowed, almost all participants fell into this category.

### 3.3.2 Being ready for the labor market

When asked about what they based their decision to allocate individuals to the WIJ on, several factors emerged. One interviewee noted that those who were ready for the labor market were rarely assigned to the WIJ. For example, if they were not actively applying for jobs, or they were not very proficient at it, they were a lot more likely to be allocated to the WIJ.

"[...] And if I notice that these young people really need intensive guidance, than I start to talk about the WIJ project. What it is about...

### Interviewer: And how do you notice this?

Euh.. So I always ask people to bring proof that they applied for jobs to the first meeting. If they don't bring anything, or they say 'I haven't applied for anything yet', then I ask them 'do you have a resume? Do you have a motivation letter? Are you familiar with these?' and if they say 'well, no I don't have a resume', then I start talking about this WIJ project." — Caseworker 2

"I first look at 'Can they make their own resume, can they make a motivation letter on their own, does the client know which channels he can use to find jobs?' Then I also give them the room to do this. If I then see that it doesn't work, then I start to think 'okay, now I can use an external partner' so that there, the client can get intensive guidance and the client can take care of himself. Actually, we try to make an assessment of whether or not someone is self-reliant and that we did based on, in our conversations, ask about things. For example, ask them to bring proof of job applications that they have done." - Caseworker 3

All other caseworkers also mentioned this as an important factor. If information on how often job seekers have applied for jobs would be available, this could be used in the matching procedure. This would probably greatly increase the quality of the matches.

### 3.3.3 Motivation

Related to this, one interviewer noted that how the young job seeker interacted with her was an important indicator for how engaged someone was. Those who were more proactive where seen as more motivated and therefore more likely to find a job without additional guidance. These people where thus less likely to be inscribed in the WIJ. She mentioned that

"But if I notice that these young people are really entrepreneurial, that have a resume, a motivation letter and they apply for jobs daily... I won't send those to the WIJ. But if after, for example, six months, I see that they have applied for jobs and nothing comes of it, then I will talk about the WIJ project, because it shows that something is wrong to get a job." — Caseworker 2

"Interviewer: But that interaction, you can also see it in 'My Career' [VDAB-tool "Mijn loopbaan"], if they fill in a lot of things there...?

Yes, yes, absolutely [enthusiastically], we can deduce a lot from that. Even amongst the elder, you can learn a lot from that. We're actually no longer allowed to say this, but these people are really self-reliant. They don't really need the help." — Caseworker 1

That is not to say that all WIJ-participants were less motivated. One caseworker, from a major city in Flanders, noted that some interviewees specifically asked for more intensive guidance and were very motivated to participate in the WIJ. In general, it seems that there are two groups of people in the WIJ. One group of people that were motivated to join and wanted to do this as soon as it was suggested and another group of people that wanted to postpone participation in the WIJ and first wanted to try to find a job without this additional guidance.

"So I suggest it [to go to the WIJ project], and then I look at how they react and I must say, that those who I suggest it to, they do go for it, they seem to be interested.

### Interviewer: Would you ever not suggest it because you think they would not be interested?

Well, they have to do something, right? I have to evaluate them, so I have to let them make a choice [to join the WIJ project or to get a negative evaluation]. I let them ... If they would offer a solution themselves like applying for more jobs, and being able to provide more proof of that, than I will allow that. Then I give them one month of respite. Then I say: 'I will invite you again next month, we'll see how it went in the last month. If you haven't done enough of an effort, well then it will be the WIJ project.'" — Caseworker 2

It appears as if motivation can also be captured by looking at how much interaction there is between the young job seeker and the caseworker. The degree to which the online profile by the PES ("Mijn Loopbaan") is completed could be used as an indicator for this. Furthermore, there seemed to be two types of participants in the WIJ. In an attempt to differentiate between these two groups of job seekers, it could be interesting to look at differences between those who have joined the WIJ quickly

after they were registered as job seekers at the PES and those who assigned after a longer period of unemployment.

### 3.3.4 Previous work experience

Another factor that emerged was previous work experience. In general, those with less experience would be more likely to be allocated to the WIJ. This is also illustrated in the following fragment.

"Like I said, if it's someone that has no work experience whatsoever, those are young people that have just left school. They have been looking for a job for a couple of months. They try to find a job. They don't get any responses [from employers]. Then I'm prone to think about the WIJ. If it is someone that has recent experience and that would like to continue in that sector, and that works. Well, then I won't send them to the WIJ. So yes, indeed, work experience definitely plays a role. But there are those who have recent job experience but they are thinking 'I really would like to do something else, and I really want guidance'. Then I can also say that the WIJ-traject would be an added value." — Caseworker 4

As has been done in the CRIE study, previous work experience should thus be taken into account when using a matching approach.

### 3.3.5 Not having a job target

In general, caseworkers don't require the job seeker to have a clear job target before they send them to the WIJ. This makes sense, as there is also an orientation phase in the WIJ.

"If they indicate 'I'm still doubting. I'm not sure if I want to work or continue studying'. Well this is also an option you can look at in the WIJ. It's not just the work-part that is important, but also education, if they want to keep on studying, if they want to follow a training. There is a lot of time invested into this." -Caseworker 4

One caseworker noted that sometimes he will try to let the job seeker have a clear job target before being sent to the WIJ. However, this seemed to be an exception.

# "Interviewer: Orientation of those people, that they know what they want, is that something that has an influence?

Euhm... I try to have as many clients as possible leave here with a clear job target. When they are with me. Or I give them assignments for that. Possibly via one of our own options. So before I send them to one of our partners, I try to have a pre-orientation. I know there have been projects from the WIJ, I can't remember exactly which ones, that also had an orienting stage Then we were like 'okay, now we have looked at certain things, but there you will get additional support.[...] and then we send them there faster. To say... Maybe without a specific job target, but with, for example, a specific sector in mind. That we said okay. But then what I often did was to say what was not possible." — Caseworker 3

If preferences on job targets are available, this could be used to match participants to non-participants. Given that the majority of the WIJ-participants did not have a clear job target, a lack of registered job preferences could be an indicator that a young job seeker is a potential candidate for the WIJ.

### 3.3.6 Having previously participated in a tender

Caseworker 6 noted that people who would have participated in another tender, would have been less likely to be assigned to the WIJ, because following an additional tender, after having just had extra guidance, would, in general, not be seen as really useful. They would need time to apply what they had learned in the tender before being sent to a new tender. As such, having previously been in a tender would probably reduce the probability of being sent to the WIJ, despite possibly being a suitable candidate for the WIJ.

This would mean that "being in another tender" could not directly be used as a variable for matching. Matching on this variable would result in using mostly those who did not participate in another tender for the control group. However, this group would have been judged by the caseworkers as being significantly more likely to find a job without additional guidance. It would therefore be more sensible to compare those who have participated in the WIJ to those who have participated in other tenders.

### 3.4 External factors that influence allocation

### 3.4.1 Differences between caseworkers

The interviews also illustrate that every caseworker is different in how much people they send to the WIJ. One caseworker noted that one of her colleagues was responsible for 90% of the assignments to the WIJ and another person said that, every year, he would send the most people to tenders out of everyone in his team. This suggests that the chance that someone is allocated to the WIJ also strongly depends on which caseworker someone is assigned to. This is something that the job seeker has no control over. Two caseworkers also noted that the personal connection with the external partner was very important. Especially when alternatives are available. If they had bad experiences in the past (sometimes due to external factors such as staff turnover), they would be less likely to send people there. One caseworker noted that

"Sometimes it happened that the contact with the partner did not go really well. That eroded the trust a little bit. Then you are less prone to, if there are alternatives, send people to that partner." – Caseworker 3

Another caseworker said that sending people to tenders is a more recent option. She suspected that older employees are still getting used to sending people to partners, so she assumed that younger caseworkers would be more likely to send people to tenders.

Perhaps in future research, this could be taken into account by exploiting differences between caseworkers in order to construct a control group. This could be done by selecting those who were assigned to a caseworker who rarely sent people to the WIJ (and were thus, regardless of their other characteristics, less likely to be sent to the WIJ) as a control group. However, to be able to determine

if this would be a sensible approach, we would require additional information on how young job seekers are assigned to caseworkers and about who is "supposed to" send job seekers to the WIJ. Additionally, we would also have to assume that certain caseworkers send fewer people to the WIJ because they themselves are less likely to make that decision, rather than that this lower forwarding rate is the result of differences in the young job seekers that they assist. The feasibility of this option would of course also depend on the availability of data on caseworkers.

### 3.4.2 Regional differences

In addition to caseworker specific characteristics, there can also be regional differences that affect how people are allocated to the WIJ. For instance, the importance of certain characteristics can differ between regions. An example of this is caseworker 7 who works in a city close to Brussels and Wallonia and she noted that, for her, sufficient knowledge of Dutch was not a requirement to send someone to the WIJ. Given that these young people often find jobs in the neighboring Francophone regions, she did not consider Dutch to be essential to find a job. Most other caseworkers required at least a minimum level of Dutch.

When another caseworker, from a large city, talked about the differences between her city and other, smaller cities, she said

"We just have way more means [...] we have way more services and people who work on this. But it's also more fragmented. [...] For example, I used to work in a smaller city north of this city. And in that city... well to join the WIJ they would have to come here... They won't get here. It takes an hour and fifteen minutes on the bus. So then I have the tendency to keep the young people under my guidance." — Caseworker 5

When asked about the role of capacity at the local external partner, most interviewees revealed that there never seemed to be a shortage of spots in the WIJ. On the contrary, sometimes they would be reminded that there were still spots open in the WIJ program that needed to be filled. Then, some extra people would be assigned to the WIJ. Caseworkers claimed that this never really was a reason to assign someone to the WIJ.

"I'm going to be honest, we also have to send a certain number of people to the WIJ. But for me personally, that never was a reason to send people to the WIJ. But, every month, they looked at how much people we've sent there. 'How much do we still need to send there? How much have come back?' So that was something that was being tracked. Because we wanted to give our partner the guarantee that they would get enough people. But, for me, that was not a deciding factor to send someone there." — Caseworker 3

However, two caseworkers indicated that they could not always send young people to the WIJ due to a lack of capacity at the external partner. For example, one caseworker from a large city noted that she frequently experienced a shortage of available spots for potential WIJ-participants. There were people that she wanted to allocate to the WIJ, but couldn't because there were no spots. When asked what she did in that situation, she responded that she simply "waited".

"[...] except that, the problem is, it's often, but this is not just in the WIJ, it's also in other tenders, except for the TIBB, that there are no spots available.

### *Interviewer: there are no spots?*

And then you've just told your entire story to the client and then two weeks ago, there were no spots open. And then that's annoying.

### Interviewer: is it often that there are no spots?

*yes* " – Caseworker 5

Although this finding is interesting, it is probably not feasible to establish whether someone was assigned to the WIJ because caseworkers were reminded to send some people to the WIJ or not. Likewise, it will probably not be possible to identify people who would have been sent to the WIJ, but weren't because of a lack of available spots. Because the region a person lives in may be tied to the accessibility of the WIJ, simply matching based on region (e.g. on postal code) would lead to dropping those for whom it would be more difficult to participate in the WIJ, although they may have been better candidates for the control group than those who had easy access to the WIJ. Nonetheless, these regional differences should also be captured by differences between caseworkers, who are tied to certain regions. Exploiting differences between caseworkers could thus also account for differences between regions.

### 3.5 Perceptions of effectiveness of WIJ-trajectory

Despite the negative results in the evaluation report, six out of the seven caseworkers that were interviewed were positive on the WIJ. For example, one caseworker said

"[...] and that is not possible and that is something the WIJ can do and that is why I send people to the WIJ. And I am very satisfied with what they do. They do everything, they take care of internships, they... There is also a lot of outflow to work, well at least for my clients, not that I have that many, there is not a bad outflow to work I think." – Caseworker 5

Caseworker 6, that was less positive on the WIJ, acknowledged that additional guidance for young people is helpful, but she argued that she would be able to do that better than the external partner, if she would be given enough time. In general, these assessments by caseworkers were very positive which stands in sharp contrast to what was found in the CRIE report.

There are two possible explanations for why there is a discrepancy between what the case workers have reported and what was found in the counterfactual impact evaluation study that was done by CRIE. The first explanation is that case workers do not have a good view on what happens with these people and that they tend to overestimate the effectiveness at the WIJ. The second explanation is that the matching approach that was used in the study by CRIE suffered from a selection bias. We can of course also not rule out that both explanations could partially explain this discrepancy.

### 4 Conclusion

As our findings have illustrated, there are a multitude of factors that determine whether or not a young job seeker is assigned to the WIJ or not. Comparing these factors with the data that was available for matching in the evaluation of the WIJ, leads to doubts on whether or not participants have been adequately matched to non-participants. Apart from previous work experience and level of education, none of the relevant characteristics that were mentioned above were taken into account due to a lack of available data. It is therefore likely that the results from the evaluation report reflect a selection bias, as discussed in footnote 3, rather than the actual impact of the WIJ program. Given that the control group likely has more favorable characteristics for the labor market, we would expect that the overall effect of the WIJ on employment chances is underrated. We can make no conclusions on the degree to which it would be underrated.

There are several possible ways to alleviate these concerns in future evaluation research on the impact of the modified version of the WIJ (see ESF call 404). The optimal approach in this type of research would be to introduce some randomness into the allocation of participants to the program. This would completely eliminate any selection effect which could distort the result. However, this would have to be done before the implementation of the program and is not always feasible from a practical or ethical point of view. The most viable approach in this case, and most feasible in the short term, would be to improve the matching by including more variables. The evaluation report by CRIE also discusses alternative approaches, such as a regression discontinuity design and their limitations. For a more extensive discussion on these alternative approaches, and why they were deemed to be unfeasible, we refer to this report.

The quality of future research that uses matching will strongly depend on what additional variables can be used to match on, which, in turn, depends on the data that is available. As an additional check, the list of variables that is being used to match on could be validated by PES caseworkers who assign people to the WIJ. They could confirm that the amount of information used in the matching procedure would be sufficient (or not) for them to be able to decide on whether or not they would assign a person to the WIJ. In addition to the data that was available for the evaluation of WIJ2, it would be very useful to have information on how often job seekers have applied for jobs, the degree to which the online profile by the PES ("Mijn Loopbaan") is completed, preferences on job targets and whether or not they have (previously) participated in another tender.

Because the PES was able to supply us with additional information on whether or not people have participated in a tender, after CRIE had finished their report, we were able to perform additional analyses. As discussed in section 3.2, caseworkers do not see significant differences between tenders and the WIJ-project, both are for job seekers who benefit from additional guidance in finding a job. This suggests that those who have participated in a tender are very similar to those who have participated in the WIJ. Instead of comparing those who have participated in the WIJ to all other possible job seekers, it is interesting to see how WIJ-participants compare to those who have participated in tenders. The results of these analyses can be found in the appendix. The overall impact of the WIJ-project seems neutral in comparison to that of tenders. In other words, the WIJ-participants

perform as good on the labor market as those who have participated in tenders. This leads us to conclude that it is very likely that the original analyses by CRIE suffered from a selection bias due to which the WIJ-participants were mostly compared with job seekers who had a stronger position on the labor market<sup>6</sup>.

These interviews have also illustrated that, in addition to personal characteristics, there are some external factors that influence the possibility of participating in the WIJ. These external factors could be exploited in future impact evaluation. For example, by constructing a control group of people that may have been sent to the WIJ had these external factors been different for them. Instead of using the entire population as possible matches, we could restrict our sample to those were less likely to be in the WIJ due to external factors, as we have done in the additional analyses that we performed in the appendix. This would leave us with a pool of young jobseekers that, regardless of personal characteristics, were less likely to participate in the WIJ and would therefore, in theory, also include more people that would be suitable for the WIJ. During our interviews, two of these external factors that could influence the likelihood of being included in the WIJ have emerged. The first external factor that could influence the likelihood of being sent to the WIJ is the caseworker that a job seeker is assigned to. Those who were assigned to a caseworker that rarely sends people to the WIJ may have joined the WIJ if they had a different caseworker. The second external factor is the city where the individual lives. Although, in principle, the whole of Flanders is covered, there is not always a WIJ program close by. Because it's not always possible to go to another city to join the WIJ, some young people, who would have been in the WIJ had it been in their own city, will not participate in the WIJ. There are also differences between cities in the availability of places at the WIJ. If there are no more spots available, some job seekers will not be able to join the WIJ, while elsewhere, they would have. In order to be able to use these external factors, we would of course also require some data on these external factors.

# 5 Appendix

### 5.1 Additional analyses based on information on tenders

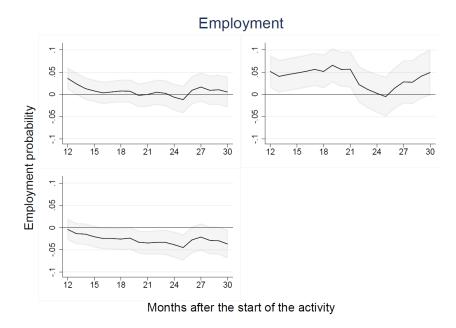
After CRIE had finished their report, the PES supplied us with additional data on whether or not job seekers have participated in tenders, which can be used to extend the analyses performed by CRIE. This data, however, is quite undetailed and therefore does not allow us to perform extensive analyses. It simply shows whether someone has participated in one of the large tenders of the PES<sup>7</sup>. It does not say anything about which tender they participated in, how long they participated in this tender, when they participated or who the organizing external partner was. Nonetheless, we can still expect that this group, in general, is a group that benefits from additional guidance when looking for a job and is thus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It is also worth noting that 19,15% of the controls that were deemed suitable and available for matching participated in a tender. After matching, the number of selected controls that has participated in a tender increased to 20,89% or 21,97%, depending on the specific matching procedure. This relatively small increase also indicates that the original matching procedure was unable to select those who are most similar to the WIJ-participants.

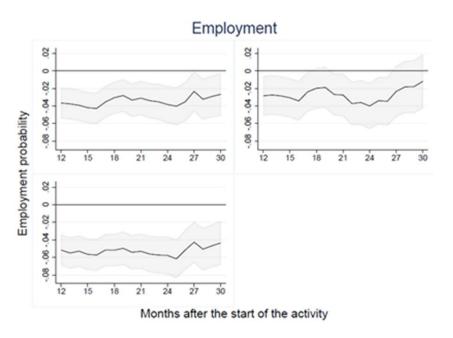
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There were also some smaller tenders on which there was no information available.

quite similar to the WIJ-participants. By restricting the controls available for matching to those who have participated in a tender, the number of available controls decreases from 132 160 to 25 315.

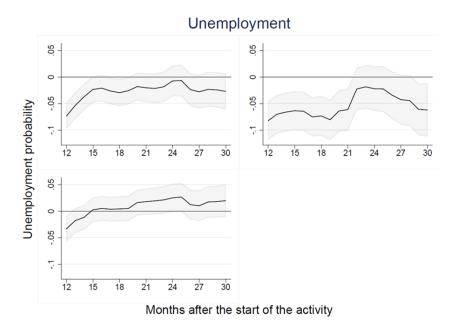
Using this restricted group of potential controls, we have rerun the matching algorithms used by CRIE. The estimated impact of the program on rates of employment, unemployment, education and inactivity can be found in figures 1 -8. In order to allow for an easy comparison between these results and those obtained by CRIE, we have also included the results previously found by CRIE on the same page on the right-hand side. As in the report by CRIE, three different ways of matching were used. The figures in the left top corner uses Coursened Exact Matching (CEM) for all variables. The figures in the right top corners shows the second specification (Exact Matching (EM) on relevant dates, controlling for other variables in the regression) and the figure in the bottom left corner uses a combination of CEM and Propensity Score Matching (PSM). More detailed information on these matching methods and the variables that they have used can be found in the report by CRIE. In figure 1, the impact of the WIJ-program on employment probability is shown for WIJ-participants in comparison to those who have been in a tender. The vertical axis indicates the employment probability in comparison to the control group and the horizontal axis shows the number of months since the start of the program. In general, the difference between these two groups is equal to around 0, with one matching method indicating a small positive effect and another indicating a small negative impact. This is in clear contrast to the findings in the report by CRIE (shown in figure 2) in which all three matching approaches have suggested that there is a negative impact of the WIJ-program. We can see similar results in figures 3 and 4 for unemployment rates. The original report by CRIE showed significantly higher chances to be unemployed after having participated in the WIJ-program (figure 4), while our new analyses reveal that there are no clear differences (figure 3). If any difference exists, figure 3 suggests that it lowers chances of unemployment slightly. For education (figures 5 and 6), we find similar results. After matching with those who have participated in tenders, there do not seem to be significant differences. Inactivity rates (figures 7 and 8) seem to suggest that those who have participate in the WIJ are slightly more likely to become inactive over time than others who have participated in tenders. However, this effect appears to be so small (about 2%) that it seems negligible. For a more elaborate interpretation of these types of figures, we refer to the CRIE report. All things considered, it appears as if there is no large difference between the WIJ and tenders concerning labor market outcomes.



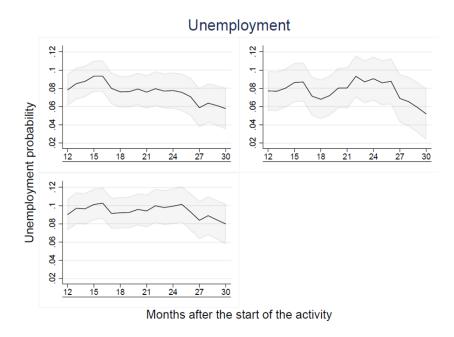
**Figure 1.** Differences in employment rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from tenders. Source: own analyses.



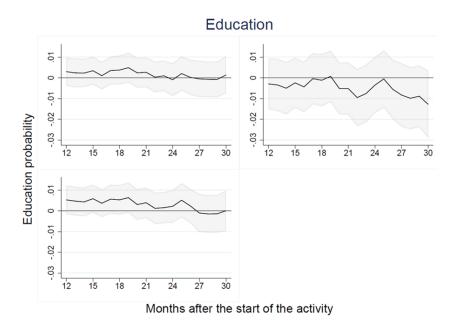
**Figure 2.** Differences in employment rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from all possible controls. Source: CRIE report.



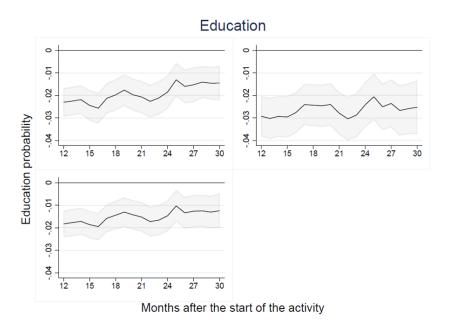
**Figure 3.** Differences in unemployment rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from tenders. Source: own analyses.



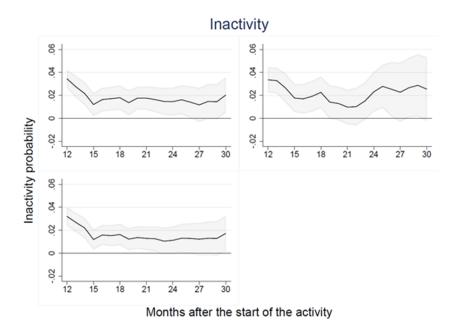
**Figure 4.** Differences in unemployment rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from all possible controls. Source: CRIE report.



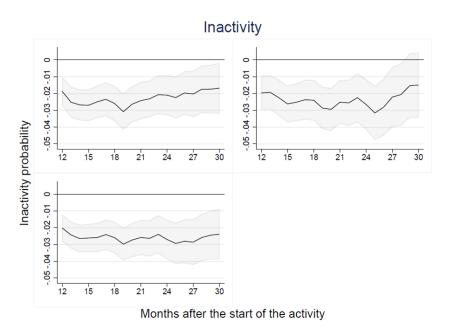
**Figure 5.** Differences in education rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from tenders. Source: own analyses.



**Figure 6.** Differences in education rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from all possible controls. Source: CRIE report.



**Figure 7.** Differences in inactivity rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from tenders. Source: own analyses.



**Figure 8.** Differences in inactivity rates between WIJ-participants and matched controls from all possible controls. Source: CRIE report.

# Colofon

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