(Un)Supportive Workplaces:

Experiences of Workplace Climate for Formerly Systems-Involved Young Workers

Executive Summary

Every year, nearly 1.5 million young people are arrested, and an estimated 200,000 minors enter foster care.[1] Thus, by early adulthood, millions of young people have had early life experiences interacting with the juvenile justice or child welfare systems. In this report, we describe the employment experiences of formerly systems-involved (FSI) young adults. Prior research finds that FSI young people face lower rates of employment and lower wages, yet little is known about the jobs that they do get—their environments and conditions—and how those jobs impact their lives.

Using data from the Shift Project collected between August and November 2024, we examine workplace experiences among FSI young people (ages 18-29 years old) employed in the service sector. For this study, we developed novel survey measures with input from practitioners to examine (un)supportive workplace environments. Our key findings are:

- **Formerly systems-involved workers often experience unsupportive workplace environments.** We find consistent evidence that formerly systems-involved young workers tend to experience relatively fewer workplace supports, such as supportive relationships with supervisors and coworkers, and relatively higher rates of workplace harms, such as discrimination, customer abuse, and punitive discipline. For example, more than one-third of formerly systems-involved young workers report having experienced discrimination at work, and more than two-thirds have been sworn at or verbally abused by customers

- **Workplace environments are strongly related to job satisfaction and well-being for young workers and have implications for employers.** Across measures, we found that workplace environments matter a great deal for the workplace success and personal well-being of young workers. One clear illustration is the impact of supervisor bullying, which decreases job satisfaction by 50 percentage points and increases psychological distress by 28 percentage points. Unsupportive workplace environments are strongly predictive of job turnover intentions. High rates of turnover can have significant financial implications for employers, with combined costs of onboarding and lost productivity adding up to considerable sums.[2] Additionally, high turnover rates can negatively impact employee morale, which can impact both sales and customer service quality in predominantly customer-facing positions.[3]

- **Formerly systems-involved young workers report somewhat less supportive work environments compared with non-systems-involved young workers.** Compared to their peers without a history of systems involvement, FSI young workers have

HARVARD Kennedy School
MALCOLM WIENER CENTER for Social Policy
UCSF
Daniel Schneider
Harvard Kennedy School
dschneider@hks.harvard.edu
Kristen Harknett
UC, San Francsico
kristen.harknett@ucsf.edu
shift.hks.harvard.edu

relatively less supportive work environments and are relatively more likely to face workplace harms. Although the majority of young workers report often or always being respected by supervisors and coworkers, reports of respect are 6 and 9 percentage points lower, respectively, for FSI young workers, compared with their non-FSI peers. Likewise, FSI young workers report relatively higher rates of workplace harms, such as punitive discipline and discrimination, compared with their non-FSI peers.

- **While workplace environments matter for all workers, they can make an even bigger difference for the well-being of formerly systems-involved workers compared with their counterparts.** Formerly systems-involved workers are more sensitive to some workplace stressors, including stressful onboarding experiences, when compared to their non-systems-involved peers. Although stressful onboarding experiences reduced job satisfaction and the intention to remain in one's job for all young workers, stressful onboarding experiences had an outsized influence on FSI workers. As such, careful attention to reducing stress in the onboarding process would be particularly beneficial for FSI workers.

- **FSI young workers are overrepresented in industries that tend to provide less supportive working conditions.** FSI young workers are overrepresented in fast food, an industry which is known for more job instability and poor job quality. Likewise, they are underrepresented in some of the most supportive subsectors, such as retail apparel and grocery.

The difference between having a job and not having one matters. But, a narrow focus on employment without examining the quality of the job and work environment may unintentionally contribute to job and health disparities for formerly systems-involved young people. Our results show that many FSI young workers face job hostility, instability, and toxic working environments that jeopardize their mental health and economic stability. These conditions impact employee experience and can also affect employer bottom lines. Interventions aimed at improving outcomes for FSI young workers must acknowledge not only the social and structural constraints on employment, but also the vital role of workplace conditions.

Introduction

Every year, nearly 1.5 million young people are arrested[4] and an estimated 200,000 minors enter foster care.[5] Upon turning eighteen many of these young people, who we refer to as formerly systems-involved (FSI), enter adulthood with few social and structural supports, which has long lasting consequences for their economic stability and health over the course of their lives and implications for their experiences entering the workforce and navigating workplace conditions and demands.

Prior research provides a portrait of wide-ranging health and economic challenges faced by FSI young people, which may affect their job opportunities and experiences. Youth incarceration has been linked to low rates of employment and education, early mortality, recidivism, substance dependence, long term mental health issues, and housing instability upon exiting the system.[6] [7] Foster care is associated with housing instability, low rates of employment, and low rates of education in adulthood.[8] Additionally, incarcerated and foster youth are much more likely to come from high poverty backgrounds, be people of color, and identify as LGBTQ+.[9] As such, they contend with interlocking systems of structural inequity including racism, classism, and LGBTQ+ discrimination, alongside harms directly related to their systems involvement.

Early career experiences can form the bedrock that leads to career development and upward mobility, but unsupportive early career experiences can also provide a shaky foundation that leads to stagnation, precarity, and pessimism about future opportunities. Recent research has shown the importance of wages, benefits, and stable and predictable work schedules for early career workers' job quality and mobility.[10] For FSI young workers, early career experiences of any kind can be hard to come by. FSI young people face higher levels of unemployment overall, despite the improvements that policies such as Ban the Box and fair chance laws have brought to some states and localities.[11] Former foster youth and youth with juvenile detention records face employment rates 10-31% lower than their peers in the general population.[12] These disparities often result from compounding structural disadvantages such as trauma-related mental health difficulties, life and school disruptions

which create barriers to academic credentials, and a lack of social capital.[13] Even seemingly minor hurdles such as obtaining identification required for job applications can serve as considerable barriers for FSI young workers who may not have easy access to their own records[14]. And, crucially, discrimination from employers who may be less willing to hire FSI young workers is a persistent barrier, particularly for those with juvenile detention records.[15]

However, even when FSI young people are able to find employment, having a job does not guarantee the ability to meet basic needs such as housing and food security. FSI young people who do find employment tend to work fewer hours and receive lower wages than their non-systems-involved peers.[16] While little is known about the specific sectors and industries FSI young workers are in, it is likely that many are employed in the retail and food service sector. The service sector employs 37% of all workers under 25 years old and is the largest low-wage sector in the U.S. economy, characterized by few benefits, unstable schedules, and limited autonomy at work.[17] Additionally, service sector jobs do not typically require occupational licensing, which can pose a barrier to entry in other industry sectors. Looking beyond these basic conditions, research has shown that hostile workplaces are a key driver of job turnover and job leaving, and that mistreatment on the job can increase likelihood of a variety of mental health struggles, physical illness, and poor sleep.[18] On average, workers are willing to forego between 15% and 30% of their wages to avoid hostile work environments, indicating the critical importance of work environment to employees.[19]

These job quality and work environment dynamics may be particularly significant for FSI young workers, who are disproportionately exposed to the long-term consequences of systemic inequalities—including criminalization, surveillance, and family separation—which shape their mental and physical health as well as economic and social well-being. While there is existing research on employment rates and income among FSI young workers, little is known about the quality and environment of their jobs. For FSI young workers, early career experiences represent a pivotal juncture.[20] While supportive workplaces may create stability, opportunity, and the conditions for upward mobility, unsupportive workplaces could further entrench disadvantage and reinforce alienation from formal institutions like education and employment. In this analysis, we examine the positive impacts of supportive workplace environments and the detrimental effects of unsupportive, and even toxic, workplace environments. For this study, dimensions of toxic workplaces include feeling physically unsafe at work, experiencing discrimination, and enduring abusive workplace interactions and/or punitive environments.

In the sections that follow, we describe our data and methods, then offer foundational context for the daily lives, needs, and basic job conditions of FSI young workers. We then describe how workplace experiences of FSI young workers compare with their peers without systems involvement. We then examine how supportive or unsupportive workplace conditions matter for outcomes at and beyond work. Finally, our results address where FSI young workers might be able to find particularly supportive jobs. In our discussion, we highlight how FSI young workers are constrained by the difficulties of meeting their basic needs, how leaving a harmful workplace environment can be an act of self-preservation, the critical role of workplace relationships, and the particular sensitivities of FSI workers to stress and hostility. We conclude with pathways and practices to support FSI young workers in coping with unsupportive workplaces and in seeking out more supportive employers. We also provide recommendations for practitioners and employers.

Data and Methods

For this report, we draw on survey data collected in Fall 2024 as part of The Shift Project. Our total sample includes 4860 young adult respondents (defined as 18 to 29 years of age), and 623 young adult respondents reporting former systems involvement.

Shift Project researchers developed and designed survey measures to address systems involvement and adverse childhood experiences (ACEs). Researchers also held a learning session with staff from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and practitioners who regularly work with systems-involved young people, who were able to share their expertise and knowledge regarding the strengths, challenges, and key supports

salient for this population. Using this knowledge as our foundation, we developed new measures and included them in the Fall 2024 survey covering many elements of workplace environments.

To measure juvenile justice system involvement, we asked respondents three questions indicating if they had been arrested, confined, or under any form of court-ordered supervision for an alleged crime before their 18th birthday. To measure child welfare system involvement, we asked respondents if they had ever been placed in any type of foster care under the legal responsibility of child welfare. The "formerly systems-involved" group in this report includes respondents who answered yes to at least one juvenile justice question or to our child welfare question. Details on the measures utilized in this analysis can be found in the Methodological Appendix.

In addition to this survey data, we also include a few quotes from qualitative interviews with service sector workers conducted in 2022.

Portrait of Formerly Systems-Involved Young Workers

Table 1 presents a descriptive portrait of the demographic attributes of formerly systems-involved (FSI) young workers compared with those young workers of the same ages without systems involvement.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics

	Formerly SI	Not SI
Gender		
Cisgender man	25.4	26.5
Cisgender woman	65.6	65.2
Transgender / non-binary	9.0	8.2
Race		
White	71.1	75.5
Black	4.2	4.2
Hispanic	13.9	13.0
Other / 2+ races	10.8	7.4
Age	22.9	22.5
Educational attainment		
High school or less	52.0	34.5
Some college / associate degree	40.9	48.1
Bachelor's degree or more	7.1	17.5
Domestic partnership		
Living with partner	52.7	39.8
Parental status		
Has children	21.5	7.7
Systems Involvement		
None	0	100
Juvenile Justice	36.6	0
Child Welfare	44.6	0
Dual	18.8	0
N	623	4237

Table 1 shows that FSI workers were slightly more likely to identify as transgender or nonbinary and were less likely to be white, non-Hispanic compared with their counterparts. The average age among all young workers in our sample was 22.5 years old, with a range of 18 to 29. FSI young workers are less likely to have attended or completed college compared with their peers without systems involvement. More than half of FSI young workers had a high school degree or had not completed high school. FSI young workers were also considerably more likely to live with a partner and have children. More than half of FSI young workers were living with a partner and more than 20% had children. Among those with systems involvement, 36.6% were involved in the juvenile justice system, 44.6% in the child welfare system, and 18.8% in both.

Table 2. Work and Economic Characteristics

	Formerly SI	Not SI
Hourly wage (USD)	15.6	16.8
Scheduling		
Less than 2 weeks' notice of schedule	58.0	49.4
Access to employer-sponsored benefits		
Health insurance	58.7	62.4
Paid sick leave	42.5	52.7
Paid vacation	54.2	61.1
Material hardship		
Difficulty paying bills	87.2	76.3
Experienced hunger (past month)	51.9	27.5
Experienced shelter hardship (past month)	6.1	1.3
Job Tenure		
Less than 1 year	35.0	29.0
1-2 years	35.6	34.0
3-4 years	16.4	21.1
5-6 years	6.3	8.7
7+ years	6.7	7.2
N	623	4237

Many of the jobs that FSI young workers hold offer low pay and few benefits. Table 2 shows that FSI workers in our sample are paid $15.60 on average, $1.22 less per hour than their counterparts. FSI workers are also more likely to have their work schedule assigned with short notice and receive fewer fringe benefits from their employer such as health insurance, paid sick leave, and paid vacation relative to their non-systems-involved peers. Additionally, FSI tend to have shorter job tenure with many concentrated in an average job tenure range of less than 2 years.

FSI young workers also report higher rates of difficulty paying bills, vastly higher rates of hunger, and higher rates of shelter hardship.

Figure 1. Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) by Systems Involvement

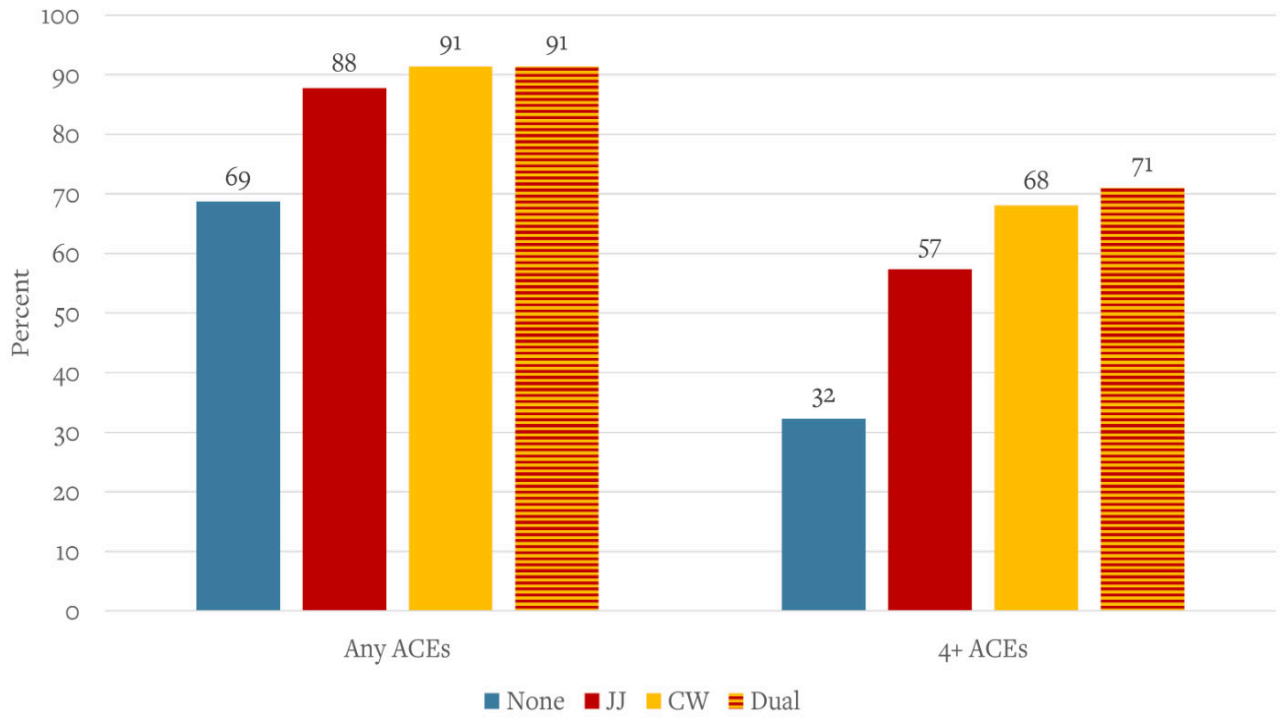


Figure 1 compares the extent of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) for FSI young workers and their counterparts without systems involvement. Exposure to any ACEs is almost 70% for those without systems involvement but closer to 90% for those with systems involvement. The differences are even larger when we compare reports of experiencing 4 or more ACEs, a commonly cited threshold indicator of considerable trauma exposure linked to prolonged stress and other negative health outcomes.[21] Here, less than one-third of those without systems involvement experienced 4+ ACEs compared with 57% of those with juvenile justice involvement, 68% of those with child welfare involvement, and 71% of those with dual systems involvement.

These comparisons reveal that FSI young workers face many disadvantages. They contend with a high degree of material hardship that may force them to enter or remain in low paying jobs or unsupportive work environments. Even within the low-wage service sector, FSI young workers face particularly low wages and lack of benefits. They are also more likely to carry the burden of childhood trauma, which may make them more sensitive to stressful experiences and less confident in their abilities.[22] This foundational adversity makes on-the-job experiences even more critical for these workers, for whom a supportive environment might offer a path forward and an unsupportive environment might entrench profound difficulties.

What are workplaces like for formerly systems-involved young workers?

Going beyond conventional job measures such as employment rates, pay, and benefits, we explore what on-the-job experiences are like for formerly systems-involved (FSI) young workers and compare their experiences to those of their non-systems-involved, same-age peers. First, we examine training and onboarding experiences along with workers' reports on whether they know what is expected of them at work. Next, we measure experiences of respect and bullying from supervisors, coworkers, and customers. Then, we assess workers' experiences with supportiveness or punitive management practices. Finally, we consider the experiences of physically and emotionally unsafe workplaces (discrimination, physical safety, customer abuse). Throughout, we focus on the levels for FSI young workers and how those compare to their non-systems-involved, same-age peers. We find that FSI workers experience workplace environments that often fall short of supportive and that are, in general, less supportive than those of their peers.

Workplace Experiences of Training & Onboarding

Practitioners emphasized the importance of training and onboarding processes for FSI young workers who may not have the same awareness of common workplace expectations as their non-involved peers. As such, training and onboarding processes represent a key opportunity to set FSI young workers up for success in their new positions. To understand these processes, we assess the types of training FSI young workers received, their relative understanding of their job duties, and whether they felt more stressed or welcomed by their onboarding experience.

As shown in Table 3, FSI young workers report overall high rates of training received and understanding of their job duties. On average, they report receiving 6.4 out of 9, or 71%, of measured types of job training, similar to their peers. 94% report that they often have a good understanding of their responsibilities at work and that they know what is expected of them, slightly lower (by 2 percentage points) compared with their peers. Larger inequalities are apparent in the onboarding process: FSI workers were somewhat more likely than their peers to be stressed by the onboarding experience and somewhat less likely to feel welcomed.

In service sector environments, it is likely that training processes are highly standardized for all employees, accounting for the unexpected lack of group differences in training and understanding. The more subjective and nuanced question of how workers feel about their onboarding process, however, sees more substantial group differences. So, while FSI young workers receive similar rates of training and report similar levels of understanding to non-FSI peers, their emotional experience of the onboarding process is one of greater stress and less welcome.

Table 3. Training and Onboarding Experiences by Former Systems Involvement

	Formerly SI	Not SI	Diff.
Job training			
Duties	93.3	96.0	-2.7**
Calling in sick	58.6	54.2	4.5*
What to do if running late	63.1	58.8	4.2*
Changing shifts	60.8	59.5	1.2
Asking for time off	66.0	69.8	-3.8
Handling problems with coworkers/customers	71.8	75.3	-3.5
Uniform expectations	85.9	89.7	-3.9**
How to interact with coworkers/customers	77.5	80.1	-2.6
Phone use expectations	65.7	63.3	2.3
Total (0-9)	6.4	6.5	-0.0
Understands job responsibilities	94.0	95.9	-2.0*
Knows what is expected	93.8	96.0	-2.2*
Onboarding			
Felt welcomed	86.3	90.5	-4.3**
Felt stressed	36.0	30.6	5.3*
N	622	4237	4859

Workplace Experiences of Respect and Bullying

Service sector work typically involves interacting with coworkers, supervisors, and customers on a day-to-day basis. Each of these relationships has the potential to shape workplace experiences for better or for worse. Measuring FSI young workers' relational experiences at work across these three different relationship types, we find that FSI young workers report less respect and more bullying in nearly all their workplace relationships.

Table 4. Respect and Bullying at Work by Former Systems Involvement

	Formerly SI	Not SI	Diff.
Feel respected by supervisor			
Never/rarely	21.1	13.6	7.5***
Sometimes	20.5	21.9	-1.4
Often/always	58.4	64.5	-6.1**
Feel respected by coworkers			
Never/rarely	11.9	7.0	4.9***
Sometimes	25.5	21.7	3.8*
Often/always	62.6	71.3	-8.7***
Feel respected by customers			
Never/rarely	25.0	20.4	4.6*
Sometimes	35.8	41.2	-5.4*
Often/always	39.2	38.3	0.9
Bullied by supervisor			
Never/rarely	74.3	81.4	-7.1***
Sometimes	16.0	11.5	4.5**
Often/always	9.7	7.1	2.6*
Bullied by coworkers			
Never/rarely	73.3	78.7	-5.4**
Sometimes	18.2	15.2	3.0
Often/always	8.5	6.2	2.3*
Bullied by customers			
Never/rarely	48.4	48.2	0.2
Sometimes	24.3	30.1	-5.8**
Often/always	27.3	21.6	5.7**
N	605	4155	4760

Supervisors play an important role in the work lives of FSI young workers. The majority of FSI young workers (58.4%) report they are often or always respected by their supervisors, a smaller share than among non-systems-involved workers (64.5%). FSI young workers are more likely to report that their supervisor never or rarely treats them with respect (21% v. 14%).

The same pattern appears for coworker respect. FSI young workers are less likely to report that their coworkers often/always treat them with respect (63% v. 71%) and more likely to report that their coworkers rarely/never treat them with respect (12% v. 7%). Levels of respect from customers are more similar for FSI young workers and their counterparts.

FSI young workers experience more bullying at work from supervisors, coworkers, and customers compared with their peers. They are more likely to report that they are sometimes bullied by supervisors (16% v 12%) and their coworkers (18% v 15%), and they are more likely to report often/always being bullied by customers (27% v 22%).

The unsupportive nature of supervisor relationships for FSI young workers is underscored when we turn to a more nuanced measure of supervisor support. Table 5 compares eight specific types of supervisor support such as fair treatment, caring about well-being, and giving supportive feedback. FSI young workers report less supervisor support compared with their peers across all eight support types. For example, FSI young workers are 6 percentage points less likely to report that their supervisor treats them fairly, provides opportunities for growth, and is available to help with problems, and 5 percentage points less likely to report that their supervisor cares about their goals, forgives honest mistakes, and provides supportive feedback.

Table 5 also compares four types of coworker support, showing even larger gaps between FSI and non-FSI young workers. FSI young workers report a nearly 8 percentage point lower incidence of coworkers forgiving mistakes and a 7 percentage point lower incidence of coworkers being socially accepting.

Lastly, Table 5 compares punitive disciplinary practices at work. We compare eight types of punitive discipline, such as a disciplinary talk or reduced hours, that a worker reports as "likely" or "very likely" as a consequence for a minor infraction at work. These comparisons reveal disparities in experiences of punitive discipline between systems-involved workers and their counterparts.

Table 5. Workplace Support and Punitive Discipline by Former Systems Involvement

	Formerly SI	Not SI	Diff.
Support from supervisor			
Treats me fairly	78.2	84.0	-5.9***
Cares about my opinions	71.4	75.1	-3.7
Cares about my wellbeing	75.9	79.4	-3.5
Cares about my goals	70.0	74.7	-4.7*
Is available to help with problems	74.6	80.4	-5.7**
Forgives honest mistakes	83.4	87.9	-4.5**
Provides opportunities for growth	69.5	75.1	-5.5**
Is supportive when giving feedback	75.7	80.3	-4.6**
Support from coworkers			
Sense of unity	72.0	77.3	-5.3**
Forgives mistakes	70.6	78.2	-7.6***
Socially accepting	62.8	70.0	-7.2***
Easy to ask for help	72.2	78.6	-6.4***
Likely to experience punishment for minor mistakes			
Disciplinary talk / getting written up	58.4	54.7	3.7
Being ridiculed or excluded	22.5	16.9	5.7***
Having hours cut or worsened	36.6	30.0	6.6**
Having requests for time off denied	21.1	16.3	4.8**
Having pay deducted	7.1	3.6	3.5***
Threatened with consequences	26.0	18.4	7.5***
Being demoted or denied a promotion	29.1	21.4	7.7***
Being fired	21.5	15.1	6.4***
Total (0-8)	2.2	1.8	0.5***
N	615	4182	4797

FSI young workers are 6 percentage points more likely to be ridiculed or excluded at work (23% v 19%), 7 percentage points more likely to have their hours cut or worsened (37% v. 30%), and 8 percentage points more likely to be demoted or denied a promotion (29% v 21%) compared with their peers.

Experiences of Toxic and Unsafe Environments

Table 6 compares experiences of FSI young workers and those without systems involvement on experiences of unsafe, discriminatory, and abusive workplace environments. Overall, we find that FSI young workers are more likely to feel physically unsafe at work, report higher rates of discrimination, and experience more customer abuse than their non-FSI counterparts.

Practitioners indicated that physical safety at work was a key concern given that FSI young workers may be more likely to have faced physical violence or to live and work in an unsafe area than their non-involved peers. 12% of systems-involved workers report feeling physically unsafe at work—a higher rate (+4pp) than that reported by their non-FSI peers.

Table 6. Discriminatory, Unsafe, and Abusive Workplace Climates by Former Systems Involvement

	Formerly SI	Not SI	Diff.
Feel physically unsafe at work	12.0	8.4	3.6**
Experienced discrimination on basis of...			
Race	9.4	5.1	4.2***
Gender	16.5	12.7	3.8*
Age	20.1	18.6	1.5
Sexual orientation	9.9	6.0	3.9***
Disability	13.0	7.6	5.4***
Any discrimination	43.0	36.3	6.8**
Experience of customer abuse (past year)			
Swearing / verbal abuse	62.5	53.7	8.8***
Threats	32.3	23.4	8.9***
Objects thrown / mess made	24.8	18.2	6.6***
Sexual harrassment	20.0	15.1	4.9**
Violence	11.8	5.8	6.1***
N	623	4237	4860

FSI young workers are more likely to report experiencing discrimination than their non-FSI peers. A remarkable 43% of systems-involved young workers report at least one kind of discrimination, 7pp higher than their non-FSI peers.

One of the reasons FSI young workers may feel unsafe at work is due to an environment of customer incivility. FSI young workers report higher rates of customer abuse of all types. They are more likely than their counterparts to report verbal abuse (+9pp), threats (+9pp), objects thrown (+7pp), sexual harassment (+5pp), and violence (+6pp) from customers.

How do workplace conditions impact job outcomes?

Having documented broad challenges to accessing supportive workplace environments and widespread inequalities in supportive or hostile workplace climates for formerly systems-involved (FSI) and non-FSI workers, we now turn to an examination of how these workplace conditions are related to young workers' job satisfaction and intentions to search for a new job. Here, we consider the association between each of these aspects of workplace environment and these outcomes for the pooled sampled of FSI and

non-FSI young workers, attending to differences in the strength of the associations between FSI and non-FSI workers where notable. These results show relationships from multiple-regression models with adjustment for a large set of other worker characteristics. More details on this analysis are provided in the Methodological Appendix.

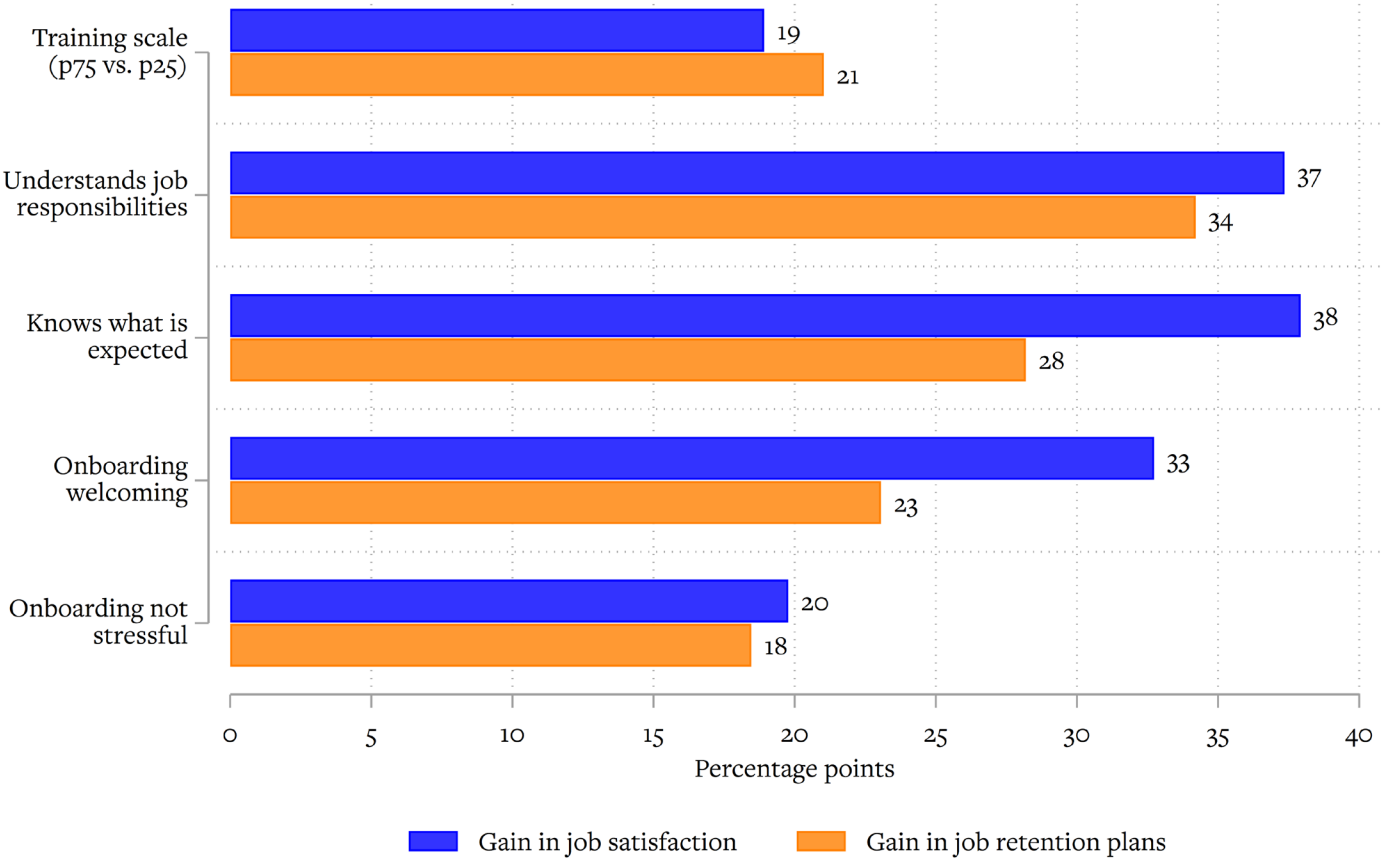
Figure 2 summarizes the relationship between training and onboarding experiences and worker reports of job satisfaction and intent to stay in their job rather than seek a new one. While we showed in Table 3 that job training is common and fairly standardized, this figure shows that for the minority of workers who did not receive full training and onboarding, job satisfaction and intention to stay at the job are much lower.

The blue bars in Figure 2 display the average change in job satisfaction associated with each measure of workplace climate. Figure 2 shows that receiving all types of training is associated with a 19 percentage point gain in job satisfaction compared with those who received only partial training. Among those with less training, 67% were satisfied with their jobs compared with 86% of those with all types of training (shown in Appendix Table 1), a 19 percentage point difference.

Understanding job responsibilities and knowing what is expected at work were even more strongly related to job satisfaction. Compared with a relatively small group of workers (~5%) for whom responsibilities and expectations were unclear, job satisfaction was 38 percentage points higher on average for those with solid understandings of job responsibilities and expectations.

The onboarding experience was also highly consequential. Among the very large share of workers who felt welcomed by their onboarding process, job satisfaction was 33 percentage points higher than for the small minority who did not. If the onboarding process was not experienced as stressful, job satisfaction was 20 percentage points higher compared with those who found the onboarding to be stressful.

Figure 2. Training and Onboarding Experiences Strongly Related to Job Outcomes



The orange bars display the change in intentions to stay at one's job associated with each measure of workplace climate. Similar to the results for job satisfaction, training, understanding one's role, and onboarding were each strongly related to intending to stay at one's job rather than look for a new one. For example, thorough training increased the intention to stay at one's job by 21 percentage points and understanding one's job responsibilities increased intentions to stay by 34 percentage points.

Formerly Systems-Involved Young Workers are More Sensitive to Stressful Onboarding Experiences

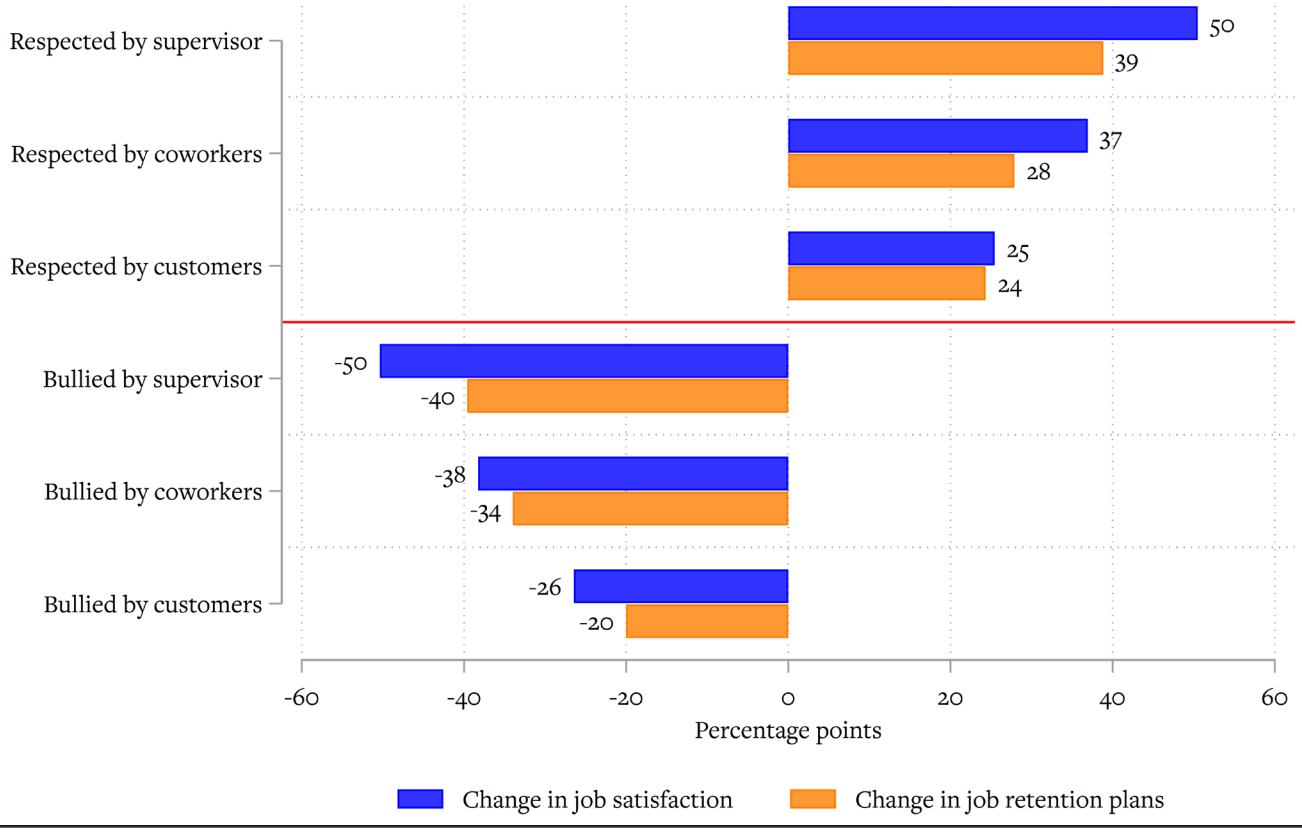
Stressful onboarding experiences were influential for the job outcomes of all young workers, but were more influential for formerly systems-involved (FSI) young workers' job satisfaction and intention to stay at their jobs than for their non-systems-involved counterparts.

Separate analyses show that onboarding stress reduced job satisfaction by 33 percentage points for FSI young workers compared with 18 points for their counterparts–15 percentage points larger for formerly systems-involved workers than for their counterparts.

We found a similar pattern for job retention plans. The reduction in job retention plans from onboarding stress was 16 percentage points greater for FSI young workers compared with their counterparts.

Figure 3 turns to respect and bullying from supervisors, coworkers, and customers. As previously discussed, while training and onboarding are fairly standardized in our sample, workers have a wide range of experiences with bullying and respectful treatment at work. As seen in Figure 3, supervisor relationships are exceptionally impactful for these workers. Supervisor respect is associated with dramatically higher job satisfaction (+51pp) and higher job retention plans (+39pp) as compared to those reporting never or rarely receiving supervisor respect. Supervisor bullying was associated with much lower job satisfaction (-50pp) and lower job retention plans (-40pp).

Figure 3. Frequent Respect and Bullying Strongly Related to Job Outcomes



Coworker relationships are also highly impactful for young workers. Reporting coworker respect is associated with higher job satisfaction (+37pp) and higher job retention plans (+28pp), while reporting coworker bullying is associated with lower job satisfaction (-39pp) and lower job retention plans (-34 pp).

Both of these relationships may be particularly influential for FSI young workers, who are more likely to report low rates of supervisor (+8pp) and coworker (+5pp) respect and less likely to report low rates of supervisor (-7pp) and coworker (-5pp) bullying.

Customer relationships also have a substantial influence on job outcomes. Being respected by customers was associated with higher rates of job satisfaction (+26pp) and job retention plans (+25pp), and customer bullying reduced job satisfaction and retention plans by 27 percentage points and 21 percentage points, respectively. However, the experience of customer respect and bullying was not particularly stratified between FSI and non-FSI young workers.

Formerly Systems-Involved Young Workers are More Sensitive to Coworker Relationships

Coworker relationships were influential for the job outcomes of all young workers, but were more influential for FSI young workers' job satisfaction and intention to stay at their jobs than for their non-FSI counterparts.

Separate analyses show that coworker respect increased job satisfaction by 47 percentage points for FSI young workers compared with 34 points for their counterparts. The job satisfaction dividend from coworker respect was 13 percentage points greater for FSI young workers.

We found a similar pattern for job retention plans. The gain in job retention plans from coworker respect was 10 percentage points greater for FSI young workers compared with their counterparts.

Coworker bullying also had an outsized effects on FSI young workers' job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was an extra 24 percentage points lower for FSI young workers who experienced bullying compared with their counterparts.

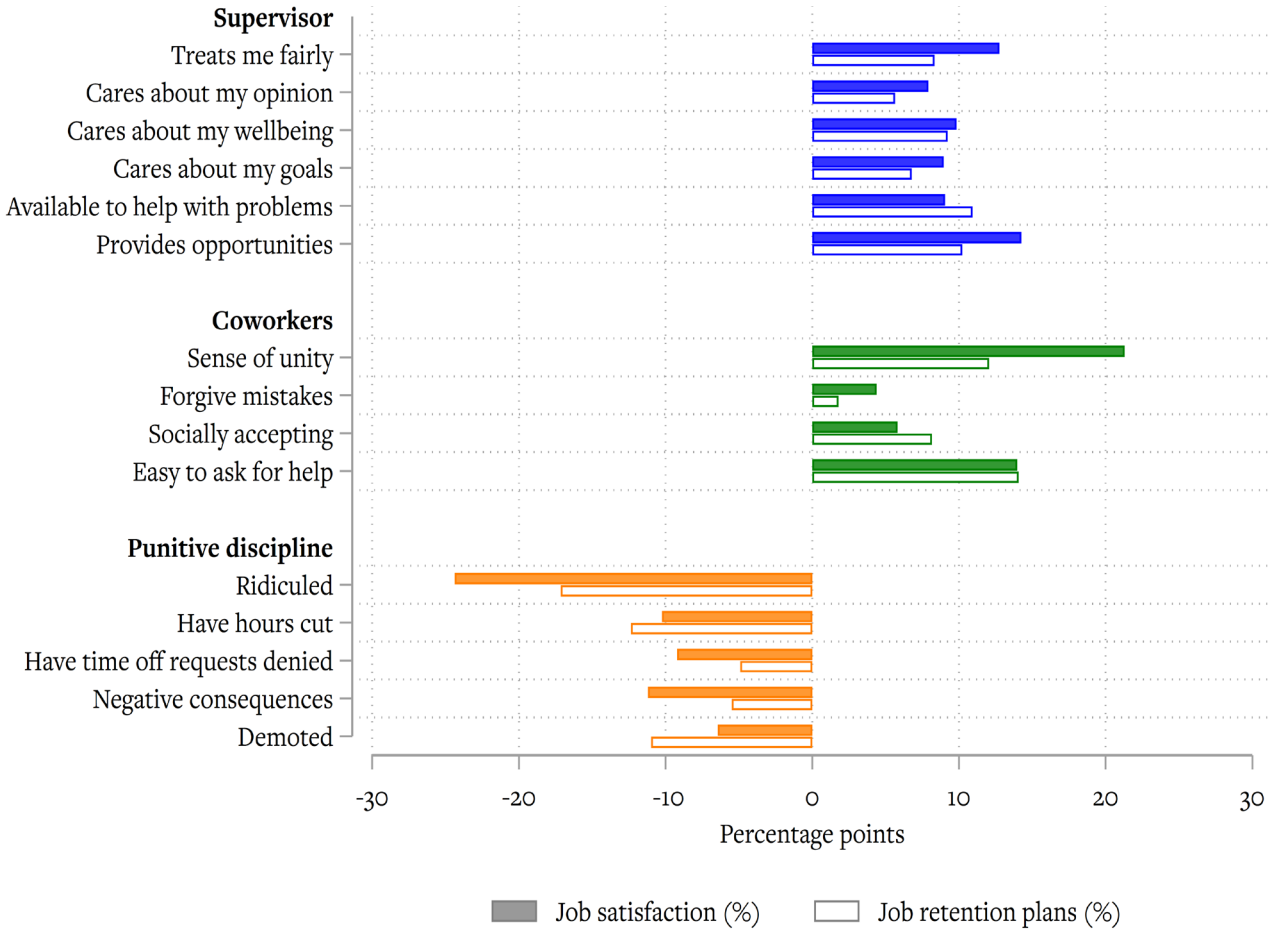
Figure 4 summarizes the impacts of supervisor and coworker support, as well as workplace punishment, on job satisfaction and intent to remain in one's current job. All forms of support make a positive difference, and all forms of punishment make a negative difference, for both job outcomes.

Young workers experienced variable rates of supervisor support, with a quarter of workers consistently reporting a lack of supportive supervisory activities (Table 5). As seen in Figure 4, having access to supportive supervisors matters. Each type of supervisor support is associated with a meaningful increase in both job satisfaction and job retention plans.

When it comes to job satisfaction, believing that their supervisor treats them fairly (+13pp) and provides opportunities for growth (+14pp) are particularly impactful and are, in parallel, the two forms of support in which FSI young workers saw some of the largest gaps compared to their non-FSI peers. Which is to say, FSI young workers are particularly unlikely to receive the two most effective forms of supervisor support when compared to their non-FSI peers.

Where the different types of supervisor supports are relatively similar in their positive effects, coworker supports have a wider range of magnitudes. Reporting a sense of unity among coworkers is associated with a remarkably large 21 percentage point increase in job satisfaction, while reporting that coworkers offer forgiveness for mistakes is associated with a much smaller 4 percentage point increase in job satisfaction.

Figure 4. Workplace Support and Punitive Discipline Strongly Related to Job Outcomes



The largest effect in Figure 4 is seen in punitive discipline. Standing out from all other punishment types, ridicule has an enormous negative effect on both job satisfaction (-24pp) and job retention plans (-17pp). Earlier, we saw that FSI young workers were more likely (23%) to report having experienced ridicule than non-FSI workers (17%), making this outsize effect particularly powerful for FSI young workers.

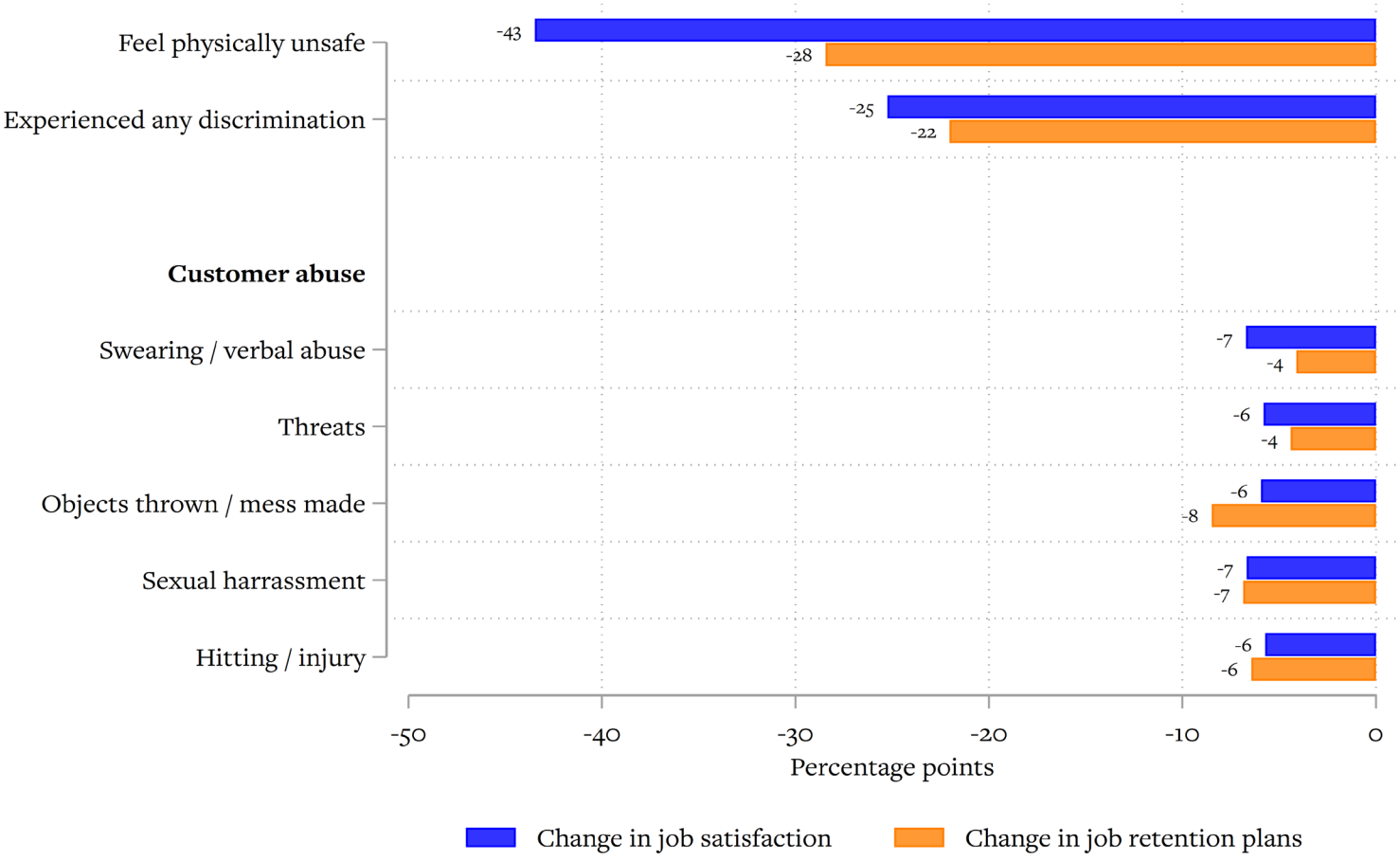
Figure 5 shows that toxic and unsafe work environments, as measured by experiences of discrimination, feeling physically unsafe at work, and various forms of customer abuse, all have a negative impact on job outcomes.

In an analysis that included controls for demographic factors, reporting any discrimination at work is associated with lower job satisfaction (-25pp) and lower job retention plans (-22pp). Discrimination is perhaps particularly impactful for this population given that FSI young people are disproportionately likely to be members of often-discriminated-against groups—such as people of color and LGBTQ+ people.

Feeling physically unsafe at work is hugely impactful for young worker's job satisfaction (-44pp) and also quite impactful for job retention plans (-29pp). In comparative analysis, however, FSI young workers do not appear to be overall more sensitive to physical safety than their non-FSI peers. This is somewhat surprising, given that FSI young workers may be more likely to have faced physical violence or to live and work in an unsafe area than their non-FSI peers. Overall, however, the effects of physical safety for young workers are profound and highlight a need for both practitioners and employers to be attentive to the impacts of physical safety in the workplace.

As noted, one of the reasons workers may feel unsafe at work is incivility and abuse from customers, which can include physical assault. All types of incivility measured have a negative effect on job satisfaction and job retention plans, with only minor differences between them. This is somewhat surprising given that more extreme forms of abuse, such as hitting or injury, might be expected to have a larger impact on job outcomes.

Figure 5. Discriminatory, Unsafe, and Hostile Workplaces are Strongly Related to Job Outcomes



How Do Workplace Conditions Impact Workers Beyond Work?

The impacts of these workplace conditions do not end with a worker's shift. Many of them have profound effects on workers' psychological distress in both positive and negative ways.

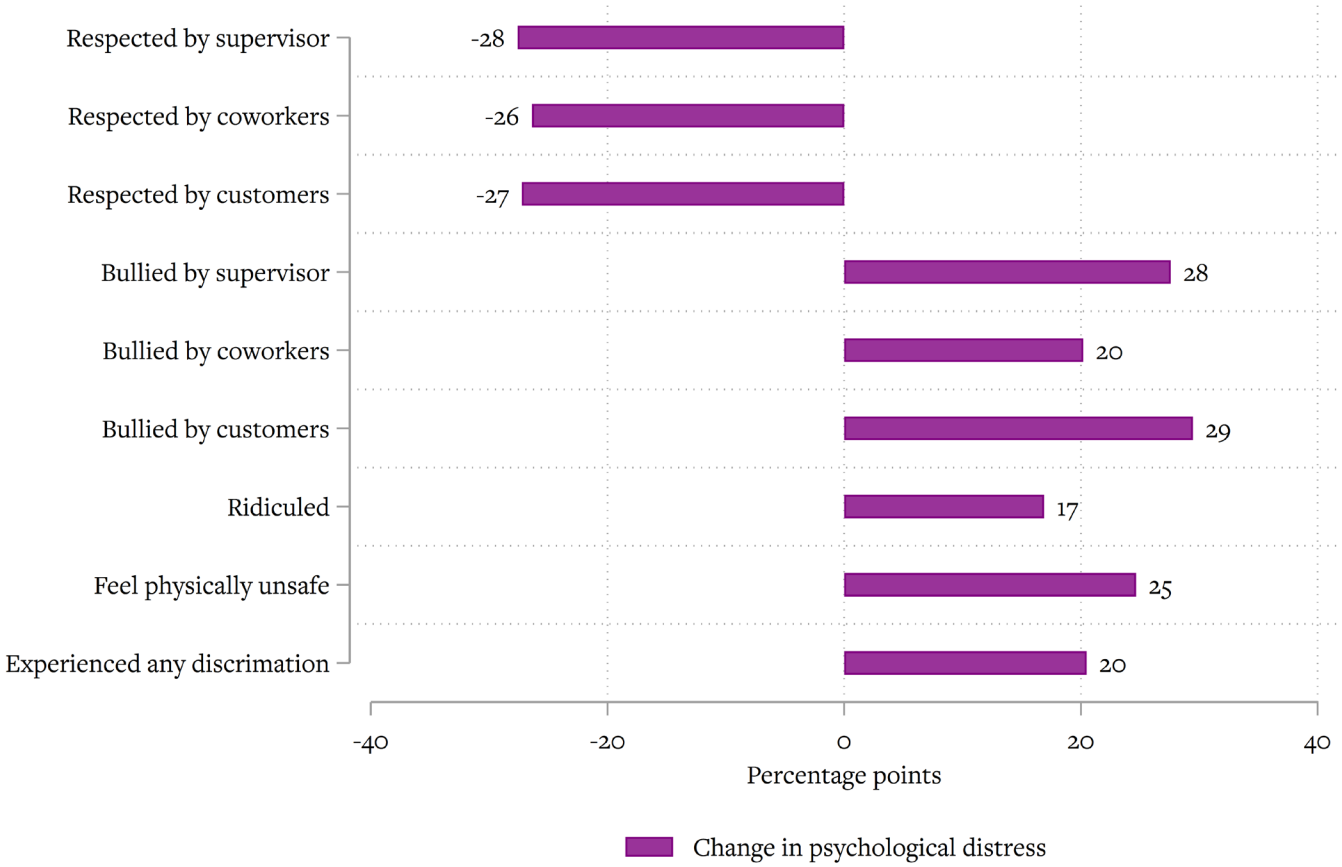
Figure 6 presents several examples of how workplace conditions spill over to affect the mental health of formerly systems-involved young workers.

Workplace relationships are strongly related to young workers' psychological distress. Those who report always or often being treated with respect by supervisors, coworkers, and customers are far less likely (by 26 to 28 percentage points) to report psychological distress. Conversely, bullying is associated with large increases in distress. Bullying from supervisors and customers is associated with a 27 to 30 percentage point increase in distress and bullying from coworkers is associated with a 21 percentage point increase.

Figure 6 also shows that experiencing ridicule as a form of discipline or punishment at work and experiencing any discrimination are also associated with sizeable increases in psychological distress. The impact of these negative relational experiences reinforces the importance of interpersonal dynamics at work and their impacts well beyond the job.

Finally, feeling physically unsafe at work is associated with a 24 percentage point increase in psychological distress, on par with many of the relational effects examined. This high impact, combined with the fact that 12% of FSI young workers reported feeling physically unsafe at work, speaks to the importance of a basic sense of security for workers.

Figure 6. Workplace Relationships and Climate Strongly Related to Psychological Distress



Complementing the findings from the survey, in-depth interviews with FSI workers also highlighted how relationships with coworkers and supervisors could have meaningful effects on worker feelings of well-being and mental health. A Dollar General worker with a supportive manager discussed how that relationship made them feel "safe and secure," while a worker from Taco Bell described "mental anguish" resulting from uncomfortable and abusive relationships with coworkers, which led them to quit their job.

> *"I loved my manager... I made so many hours. They work with you if you wanted to go on vacation. I actually liked that store because that was the only store that really understood people with learning disabilities...like, when I was working for them, they didn't make me do things at a fast pace. They just said do it at your own pace. Which, in my eyes, that made me feel safe and secure."*
>
> - A Dollar General worker with former child welfare systems involvement.

> *"There was this one co-worker who I had a very bad experience with... I was left alone with this one guy and I was assaulted. That is the main reason why I quit, because we worked the same shift some days and it was really hard being there. Then there was another co-worker...It sounded like he was obsessed with me... It got really uncomfortable. I proceeded to go to work for a week or two and then I just couldn't go anymore. It was bringing me a lot of mental anguish. I was crying at night because the thought of going to work in the morning. That led me to just quit."*
>
> - A Taco Bell woker with former child welfare systems involvement.

Where can FSI young workers find supportive workplaces?

Having established that supportive workplace experiences are important for formerly systems-involved (FSI) young workers' both on and off the clock, we turn to the employer landscape. First, to understand where FSI young workers are employed and what the conditions of those jobs are like, and then to identify more supportive workplaces.

FSI young workers are strongly overrepresented in the fast food industry. In an examination of major industries in our sample, about 30% of workers without systems involvement are employed in fast food compared with 45% of FSI young workers. In contrast, FSI young workers are underrepresented in grocery. Around 12% of workers without systems involvement were employed in grocery stores compared with just 6% of formerly systems-involved workers. FSI young workers are also slightly underrepresented in retail apparel stores, pharmacy, general merchandise, and miscellaneous retail industries.

Figure 7 compares select measures of workplace climate across these industries.

The table is color coded as a heatmap such that green represents workplace supports and red represents workplace harms, with darker shades of each indicating a high relative percentage.

The very high rates of customer bullying seen in fast food stand out, particularly as compared to the very low rates seen in retail apparel. This is striking as workers in both industries have a high degree of customer interaction. However, it is important to note that the degree of customer interaction a worker has may still vary by job type, with those in warehouse jobs, for example, less likely to interact with customers than those in fast food. As such, workers in high customer interaction jobs, such as fast food, may face higher rates of customer abuse. Across industries, fast food stands out as a particularly unsupportive sector. And, as noted, it is also the sector where FSI young workers are particularly overrepresented. Given the impacts of unsupportive workplaces, the sorting of FSI young workers into sectors with some of the least supportive practices matters a great deal.

Figure 7. Workplace Climate Measures by Industry

	Fast food	*Restaurant*	*General merch.*	*Grocery*	*Clothing*
Supervisor respect	62%	58%	58%	68%	72%
Coworker respect	68%	62%	69%	74%	85%
Customer respect	36%	37%	35%	40%	43%
Feel phys. safe	90%	93%	87%	90%	93%
Supervisor bullying	10%	12%	8%	6%	10%
Coworker bullying	10%	9%	6%	6%	3%
Customer bullying	28%	18%	22%	19%	12%
Any discrim.	32%	34%	31%	31%	18%
Customer swearing	65%	52%	51%	54%	18%
Customer threats	32%	19%	22%	19%	18%
Customer throwing	23%	17%	20%	15%	20%
Customer sexually harrass.	18%	25%	13%	15%	7%
Customer violence	8%	5%	5%	5%	4%

Even within the overall unsupportive industry of fast food, however, there are supportive jobs. As seen in Table 7, 97% of In-N-Out employees in our survey indicate that their supervisors respect them, and 100% indicate that their coworkers respect them—rates 9-14 percentage points higher than McDonald's workers. Inversely, 24% of McDonald's workers state that their supervisor bullies them, a rate nearly three times higher than that of In-N-Out workers (9%). Unsurprisingly, In-N-Out employees report much higher rates of job satisfaction.

While there are unique constraints in the service-sector, supportive employers such as In-N-Out show that more supportive environments are possible.

Ideally, employers would work to encourage more supportive workplaces across all sectors, particularly for workplace environments that are lacking. However, a complementary strategy is to support FSI young workers to access jobs at the supportive workplaces that do currently exist. Providing FSI young workers with information on which industries and employers are likely to provide more supportive workplaces at which they can thrive could be an important intervention, and one that does not rely on wholesale change of corporate or sectoral practices.

Table 7. Contrast in Workplace Climates: In N Out and McDonald's Fast Food

	In-N-Out	McDonald's
Supervisor respect	97	83
Supervisor bullying	9	24
Coworker bespect	100	91
Coworker bullying	26	32
Feel physically safe at work	91	86
High job satisfaction	91	67
Mean hourly wage	$21.96	$15.32
N	35	297

Discussion

Our results demonstrate the stratified nature of work for formerly systems-involved (FSI) young workers across multiple domains of working conditions, not just employment rates or wages received. It also underscores the need for structural interventions that address inequalities in hiring and workplace culture, while also identifying mechanisms to mitigate harms and consequences for those who do find themselves in unsupportive work environments. In this section, we synthesize our key findings and lay out blueprints for workforce development programs and employers, highlighting important considerations for supporting FSI young workers.

Workers Are Highly Constrained. FSI young workers enter the workforce with few supports and many constraints. They often carry legacies of early life trauma and have a difficult time meeting their basic needs of food and shelter. These constraints make workplace experiences that much more critical for these workers. For example, FSI young workers report high levels of bullying, which is associated with increased psychological distress, less job satisfaction, and greater intent to look for a new job. However, financial and material constraints may prevent these workers from finding a new, more supportive job. A gap between paychecks might mean going hungry

or becoming unhoused. The material precarity of these workers puts them between a rock and a hard place, thereby making them vulnerable to workplace mistreatment and exploitation.

If Work Can be Harmful, Leaving Can Be Self-Preservation. While many workers may not be able to leave their jobs, some do. Insights from this work, which demonstrate that toxic workplaces can be enormously harmful to FSI young workers' well-being, also serve to counter the harmful narrative that leaving or quitting a job is a personal failure or a result of a lack of work ethic. Instead, leaving a job in a hostile work environment can be seen as an act of self-preservation during a particularly precarious life transition when support and care is essential.

Workplace Relationships are Critical. We find that relationships are particularly powerful influences on job and well-being outcomes for FSI young workers. In our analysis, respect and bullying from supervisors and coworkers were enormously consequential for job satisfaction, job retention plans, and psychological well-being. Frequent respect in the workplace was beneficial and bullying and ridicule had pernicious effects.

Stress and Hostility are Particularly Harmful. It is important to keep in mind the high levels of early life adversity that FSI young workers have faced, with 70% reporting 4+ adverse childhood experiences (ACEs). In our analysis, these workers were also more impacted by stress in the onboarding experience. These findings align with literature showing that those facing high early life adversity are often more sensitive to stressors in adulthood.[23] As such, workplace stress is of particular concern for these workers.

A Blueprint for Supporting Formerly Systems-Involved Young Workers. We identify three broad pathways along which practitioners, workers, and employers might act to improve FSI young workers' success in the workplace given the challenging and often unsupportive environments that we have cataloged. Notably, some of the same pathways and practices that promote supportive workplaces for FSI young workers can also be more widely beneficial to young workers of all backgrounds, not just those with systems involvement.

First, practitioners could work to equip FSI young workers with the relational and cognitive tools to better cope with the unsupportive workplace practices detailed here. This might include instruction on how to recognize respectful communication or opportunities for growth, training on relational skills such as healthy boundary setting, assessing risk and safety, or how to seek support. This approach would seek to build the capacity of FSI young workers in identifying and navigating unsupportive workplace practices while diminishing the associated harms. Additionally, practitioners are well positioned to provide guidance to employers, utilizing their expertise to support FSI young people through employee trainings or workplace programs.

Second, while unsupportive workplaces are common in the service sector, they are by no means universal. We documented significant variability in the degree to which FSI young workers encounter such challenges as bullying, disrespectful treatment, punitive discipline, and unsafe conditions. More supportive workplaces can be found, especially in sub-sectors like grocery and retail apparel. Beyond sector, we also document wide differences between firms. Yet, ours is among the very first to reveal this variation and we know of no source that provides publicly available metrics on supportive workplace environments for FSI job seekers and those who seek to support them. Providing FSI young workers and practitioners with timely and actionable information on which sub-sectors and which firms are most likely to offer supportive workplaces to FSI workers of all ages could be of considerable value.

Third, perhaps the most ambitious, if challenging, pathway is to catalyze change within employers. High rates of job dissatisfaction and turnover intention, as well as depressed worker well-being, are strongly associated with less supportive workplaces. These outcomes are not good for workers, and they are not good for business. Employers in the service sector should seek to implement and/or strengthen Human Resources (HR) policies that support all workers, including protocols and practices for high-quality employee onboarding, which were strongly linked to job outcomes for FSI workers. Given the strong connections between supervisor and coworker relationships on job satisfaction and turnover,

employers may also benefit from identifying opportunities and initiative for workplace team building. While rarely seen in the service sector, such practices have been shown beneficial to employers and employees alike in other sectors.[24] Employers can also make workplaces more equitable, and increase worker retention, through standardizing workplace disciplinary practices for minor mistakes and infractions. Clear, consistent protocols and standards are beneficial for all workers, but perhaps especially FSI young workers who currently face higher rates of punitive discipline. Importantly, employers should consider leveraging the expertise of practitioners already working with FSI young people in other settings, as they may be able to efficiently and effectively support workplace programs aimed at this population.

For the millions of FSI young people in the service sector, workplaces can be a critical factor in determining their job and related economic outcomes, as well as their mental health and well-being. Very often, they face unsupportive and even harmful workplace environments and are consistently less supported at work than their non-systems-involved peers. In some cases, they are also differentially affected by these workplace conditions, with lower job satisfaction, lower intent to stay in their current job, and higher psychological distress compared to their non-FSI peers receiving the same treatment. And, in the service sector landscape, FSI young workers are overrepresented in less supportive industries and underrepresented in more supportive industries. Workplace environments matter deeply, and it is critical to give proper attention to employment beyond a signed contract and a paycheck. These findings represent a wealth of opportunity for employers to create more supportive workplaces through strategic policies and training, and for workforce development programs to comprehensively support formerly systems-involved young people in evaluating workplace conditions and finding more supportive workplace environments.

Authors

Kristen Harknett *is Professor of Social Behavioral Sciences in the School of Nursing at the University of California-San Francisco.*
kristen.harknett@ucsf.edu

Daniel Schneider *is the Malcolm Wiener Professor of Social Policy and Professor of Sociology at Harvard University.*
dschneider@hks.harvard.edu

Rebecca Wolfe *is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Harvard University.*
rwolfe@hks.harvard.edu

Paige Prater *is a Sociology PhD Candidate at the University of California-San Francisco.*
paige.prater@ucsf.edu

Acknowledgements

This research was supported through a grant by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. We thank them for their support but acknowledge that the findings and conclusions presented here are those of the author(s) alone, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Foundation. We are grateful to Shift Project team members Alessandra Soto, Kevin Bruey, and Connor Williams for their assistance with this research. We also appreciate the insightful feedback provided by participants in the Learning Session on Supportive Workforce Practices, which helped inform this report.

Methodological Appendix

Survey Data

The Shift Project has collected survey data from hourly service-sector workers employed at large retail and food establishments since the fall of 2016. This brief focused on a subsample of 4860 young adult respondents (ages 18-29) who were interviewed between August and November 2024. The Shift Project recruits survey respondents using online Facebook/Instagram advertisements, targeted to workers employed at large retail and food-service employers. Those who responded to the Shift survey invitation were automatically routed to a survey landing page where they were asked to consent to participate in the study, then began the online self-administered survey using the Qualtrics platform. As an incentive, those who completed the survey and provided contact information were entered into a lottery for an Apple iPad.

The survey included modules on job characteristics, work schedules, demographics, economic stability, health, parenting, and child outcomes. To screen out invalid survey responses, we used an attention filter that instructed respondents to select a particular response category to verify the accuracy of their responses.

For a detailed discussion of The Shift Project data collection, methodology, and data validation, see: Schneider, D. and K. Harknett. 2022. "What's to Like? Facebook as a Tool for Survey Data Collection." Sociological Methods & Research. https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124119882477.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data used in this report was collected by The Shift Project between 2022 and 2023. Potential interviewees were selected from among workers who had previously completed a Shift Project survey in 2022 and provided contact information for future follow-up. These workers participated in in-depth interviews between November 2022 and June 2023. All participants remained employed in a service sector job. Those included in this report voluntarily disclosed former systems involvement without being prompted.

Survey Measures

There are six sets of survey measures that make up the core of our analysis in this report.

Predictor Variables: Systems Involvement

Juvenile Justice System:

Answering "Yes" to any of these questions and/or indicating confinement in any facility placed respondents in our Juvenile Justice and Systems Involved categories.

Before your 18th birthday, were you ever arrested for an alleged crime?

1. *Yes*
2. *No*
3. *Prefer not to answer*

Before your 18th birthday, were you ever confined in any of the following facilities in connection to an alleged crime? Mark all that apply.

1. *Jail*
2. *Prison*
3. *Residential facility and/or group home*
4. *Juvenile detention center or correctional facility*
5. *Other court-ordered placement (specify):* [*Text Box*]
6. *None of these*
7. *Prefer not to answer*

Before your 18th birthday, were you ever on probation, alternative to detention, parole, aftercare or any other form of court-ordered supervision for an alleged crime?

1. *Yes*
2. *No*
3. *Prefer not to answer*

Child Welfare System:

Answering "Yes" to this question placed the respondent in our "Child Welfare and Systems Involved" category.

Before your 18th birthday, were you ever placed in any type of foster care (under the legal responsibility of child welfare)? Mark all that apply.

1. *Foster home with relatives (e.g., kinship care)*
2. *Foster home without relatives*
3. *Group care or residential treatment facility*
4. *None of these*
5. *Prefer not to answer*

Dual: If respondents indicated both juvenile justice and child welfare systems involvement, they were placed in our "Dual and Systems Involved" category..

Outcome Variables

Job Satisfaction:

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job at [*EMPLOYER NAME*]*?*

1. *Very satisfied*
2. *Somewhat satisfied*
3. *Not too satisfied*
4. *Not at all satisfied*

Intent to Look for a New Job:

Taking everything into consideration, how likely is it you will make a genuine effort to find a new job within the next 3 months.

1. *Very likely*
2. *Somewhat likely*
3. *Not at all likely*

Psychological Distress:

During the past month, how often did you feel so sad that nothing could cheer you up?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel nervous?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel restless?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel hopeless?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel that everything was an effort?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel worthless?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

During the past month, how often did you feel lonely?

1. *All of the time*
2. *Most of the time*
3. *Some of the time*
4. *A little of the time*
5. *None of the time*

Training, Onboarding, and Understanding:

The next two questions ask about any training you received when you first started your job at [*EMPLOYER NAME*].

Below is a list of items you might have received training or instructions on when you began working at [*employer name*]. *Please mark all items that you received training on:*

1. *Your job duties*
2. *How to call in sick*
3. *How to let people know you are running late*
4. *How to ask about changing your shift or getting coverage for your shift*
5. *How to ask for time off*
6. *Who to talk to if you encounter a problem with a customer or co-worker*
7. *Expectations for what you wear to work*
8. *Expectations for how you interact with customers and co-workers*
9. *Expectations about phone use at work*
10. *None of the above*

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about your onboarding experience at [*employer name*].

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Neither agree nor disagree*	*Strongly disagree*	*I did not receive any onboarding*
The onboarding process made me feel welcome in my new job	1	2	3	4	5	X
The onboarding process made me feel stressed in my new job	1	2	3	4	5	X

The following questions ask about your experiences at your current job. Please answer each question by selecting the response option that most closely matches your opinion.

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
I often have a good understanding of what my tasks and responsibilities are	1	2	3	4
I typically know what people expect of me at work	1	2	3	4

Respect and Bullying:

How often are you bullied, including things like being humiliated, constantly criticized, or excessively teased, at work by:

	Never	Rarerly	Sometimes	Often	Always
your supervisor?	1	2	3	4	5
your coworkers?	1	2	3	4	5
by customers?	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you feel respected by:

	Never	Rarerly	Sometimes	Often	Always
your supervisor?	1	2	3	4	5
your coworkers?	1	2	3	4	5
by customers?	1	2	3	4	5

Support and Punitive Discipline:

Below is a series of statements that represent possible feelings you might have about your supervisor. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
My supervisor treats me fairly	1	2	3	4
My supervisor cares about my opinions	1	2	3	4
My supervisor really cares about my well-being	1	2	3	4
My supervisor cares about my goals and wants to help me achieve them	1	2	3	4
Help is available from my supervisor when I have a problem	1	2	3	4
My supervisor would forgive an honest mistake on my part	1	2	3	4
My supervisor provides opportunities for growth and development at work	1	2	3	4
My supervisor is supportive when giving me feedback about my job performance	1	2	3	4

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your coworkers.

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
There is a sense of unity and solidarity among my coworkers	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
If I make a mistake, my coworkers often hold it against me	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
My coworkers sometimes reject others for being different	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
It is difficult to ask my coworkers for help	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*

NOTE: These measures of coworker support were re-coded in our analysis to all trend in the positive direction, and renamed as the following: Sense of unity, Offer forgiveness, Socially Accepting, Easy to Ask for Help

If you did not meet workplace expectations in a minor way (such as being late to work a few times or making mistakes with product) how likely are you to experience the following discipline or punitive practices? [*Randomized response option order*]

	Extremely Unlikely	*Unlikely*	*Neither Unlikely nor Likely*	*Likely*	*Extremely Likely*
A disciplinary talk, being written up, or greater supervision from your manager	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Being ridiculed, embarrassed, or excluded at work	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Having your hours cut or receiving worse hours	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Having time off requests refused	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Having your pay deducted	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Being threatened with negative job consequences	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Being demoted or denied a promotion or raise	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Being fired	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

Toxic and Unsafe Environments:

Thinking about your job at [employer name], how often do you feel that you are treated badly or unfairly by your coworkers or your supervisors because of your:

	Never	*Rarerly*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
Race/ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5
Gender	1	2	3	4	5
Age	1	2	3	4	5
Sexual Orientation	1	2	3	4	5
Disability (if any)	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.
I feel physically safe:

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
In my home	1	2	3	4
In my neighborhood	1	2	3	4
On my commute to work	1	2	3	4
In my workplace	1	2	3	4

NOTE: We utilized only one item within this larger measure – "in my workplace" to measure feeling physically safe at work.

Please tell us if you have experienced any of the following since you started working at your job at [EMPLOYER NAME]. Mark all that apply.

1. *A customer has raised their voice or yelled at me*
2. *A customer has sworn at or verbally abused me*
3. *A customer has threatened me*
4. *A customer has thrown things or intentionally made a mess to express anger at me*
5. *You have had to involve store security or call the police on a customer*
6. *A customer has sexually harassed me*
7. *A customer has tried to hit me with their hands, an object, or a weapon*
8. *A customer has actually hit me with their hands an object or weapon*
9. *A customer has injured me*
10. *None of these*
11. *Not applicable*

Please tell us if you have experienced any of the following in the past 12 months at your job at [EMPLOYER NAME]. Mark all that apply.

1. *A customer has raised their voice or yelled at me*
2. *A customer has sworn at or verbally abused me*
3. *A customer has threatened me*
4. *A customer has thrown things or intentionally made a mess to express anger at me*
5. *You have had to involve store security or call the police on a customer*
6. *A customer has sexually harassed me*
7. *A customer has tried to hit me with their hands, an object, or a weapon*
8. *A customer has actually hit me with their hands an object or weapon*
9. *A customer has injured me*
10. *None of these*
11. *Not applicable*

Models

Each of the Tables displayed in the body of the report as well as Figures 1 and 7 contain unadjusted mean values and percentages.

In Figures 2 through 6, we draw on regression model estimates to examine the association between supportive or unsupportive workplace indicators and key outcomes. In Figures 2 through 5, our outcomes are job satisfaction and intention to remain in a current job rather than seek a new opportunity. In Figure 6, the outcome is psychological distress. For each of these regression models, we include a pooled sample of formerly systems-involved (FSI) and non-FSI young workers and control for age, gender, job tenure, race/ethnicity, parenthood status, education, cohabitation with a partner, hourly wage, and work schedule conditions. The Figures display the differences in the predicted value of each outcome at high versus low levels of workplace supportiveness net of the control variables. Appendix Tables 1 through 4 present the results from Figure 2 through 5 in more detail, displaying predicted values of job satisfaction and intention to remain in one's current job for high versus low levels of each supportiveness indicator and the differences.

Appendix Table 1. Predicted Job Satisfaction and Job Retention Plans by Training and Onboarding

	Job satisfaction (%)			Job retention plans (%)		
	Complete	*Partial*	*Gap*	*Complete*	*Partial*	*Gap*
Training	86	67	19	61	40	21
	Yes	*No*	*Gap*	*Yes*	*No*	*Gap*
Understands job responsibilities	78	40	37	51	17	34
Knows what is expected	78	40	38	51	23	28
Onboarding welcoming	82	49	33	55	32	23
Onboarding not stressful	84	65	20	58	39	18

Tables

Appendix Table 2. Predicted Job Satisfaction and Job Retention Plans by Workplace Respect and Bullying

	Job satisfaction (%)			Job retention plans (%)		
	Often/always	Rarely/never	Gap	Often/always	Rarely/never	Gap
Respected by...						
Supervisor	94	44	50	64	25	39
Coworkers	87	50	37	58	30	28
Customers	90	65	25	64	40	24
Bullied by...						
Supervisor	29	80	-50	13	53	-40
Coworkers	40	79	-38	18	52	-34
Customers	53	80	-26	33	53	-20

Appendix Table 3. Predicted Job Satisfaction and Job Retention Plans by Workplace Supportiveness and Punitive Discipline

	Job satisfaction (%)			Job retention plans (%)		
	Yes	No	Gap	Yes	No	Gap
Supervisor support						
Treats me fairly	78	65	13	51	43	8
Cares about my opinion	78	70	8	51	46	6
Cares about my wellbeing	78	68	10	52	43	9
Cares about my goals	79	70	9	52	45	7
Helps with problems	78	69	9	52	41	11
Provides opportunities	80	66	14	53	42	10
Coworker support						
Sense of unity	81	60	21	53	41	12
Forgive mistakes	77	73	4	50	49	2
Socially accepting	78	72	6	53	44	8
Easy to ask for help	79	65	14	53	39	14
Punitive discipline						
Ridiculed	56	80	-24	36	53	-17
Hours cut	69	79	-10	41	54	-12
Time off denied	68	78	-9	46	51	-5
Negative consequences	67	78	-11	45	51	-5
Demoted	71	78	-6	41	52	-11

Appendix Table 4. Predicted Job Satisfaction and Job Retention Plans by Discriminatory, Hostile, and Unsafe Workplaces

	Job satisfaction (%)			Job retention plans (%)		
	Yes	No	Gap	Yes	No	Gap
Feel unsafe at work	37	80	-43	24	53	-28
Experience discrimination	58	84	-25	35	57	-22
Customer abuse (past year)						
Swearing / verbal abuse	69	75	-7	43	49	-7
Threats	70	76	-6	45	49	-4
Objects thrown / mess made	69	75	-6	41	50	-8
Sexual harrassment	69	75	-7	43	49	-7
Hitting / injury	69	75	-6	42	49	-6

Endnotes

1. Saha Shah and Strout, "Future Interrupted: The Collateral Damage Cause by Proliferation of Juvenile Records"; The Annie E. Casey Foundation, "Children Ages Birth to 17 Entering Foster Care | KIDS COUNT Data Center."
2. Batt, Lee, and Lakhani, "A National Study of Human Resource Practices, Turnover, and Customer Service in the Restaurant Industry."
3. Yee, Yeung, and Cheng, "The Impact of Employee Satisfaction on Quality and Profitability in High-Contact Service Industries"; Weakliem and Frenkel, "Morale and Workplace Performance."
4. Saha Shah and Strout, "Future Interrupted: The Collateral Damage Cause by Proliferation of Juvenile Records."
5. The Annie E. Casey Foundation, "Children Ages Birth to 17 Entering Foster Care | KIDS COUNT Data Center."
6. Curry et al., "Navigating Housing Instability and Substance Use"; Robertson et al., "Recidivism Among Justice-Involved Youth"; Silver, Semenza, and Nedelec, "Incarceration of Youths in an Adult Correctional Facility and Risk of Premature Death"; Youth Law Center, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: How California's Education Data & Accountability Systems Fail Youth in Juvenile Court School."
7. Havlicek, Garcia, and Smith, "Mental Health and Substance Use Disorders among Foster Youth Transitioning to Adulthood"; Powell, "The Age-Graded Consequences of Justice System Involvement for Mental Health."
8. Children Now, "Employment and Youth with Foster Care Experience: Understanding Barriers and Supporting Success"; Dworsky and Gitlow, "Employment Outcomes of Young Parents Who Age out of Foster Care"; Dworsky, Napolitano, and Courtney, "Homelessness during the Transition from Foster Care to Adulthood"; Geiger and Okpych, "Connected After Care."
9. Legislative Analyst's Office, "California's Child Welfare System: Addressing Disproportionalities and Disparities"; Males and Brown, "Teenagers' High Arrest Rates."; Children's Defense Fund, "State of America's Children Report"; The Sentencing Project, "Youth Justice By The Numbers."; Juvenile Law Center, "2020 Score Card"; Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, "Youth in the Adult Criminal Justice System | Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention."; Baams, Wilson, and Russell, "LGBTQ Youth in Unstable Housing and Foster Care"; Irvine, Wilber, and Canfield, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Questioning, and/or Gender Nonconforming and Transgender Girls and Boys in the California Juvenile Justice System: A Practice Guide."
10. Abrams, Harknett, and Schneider, "Older Workers With Unpredictable Schedules"; Harknett, Schneider, and Wolfe, "Losing Sleep over Work Scheduling?"; Schneider and Harknett, "Consequences of Routine Work-Schedule Instability for Worker Health and Well-Being."
11. Carter, "The Consequences of Adolescent Delinquent Behavior for Adult Employment Outcomes"; Hook and Courtney, "Employment Outcomes of Former Foster Youth as Young Adults"; Naccarato, Brophy, and Courtney, "Employment Outcomes of Foster Youth"; Saha Shah and Strout, "Future Interrupted: The Collateral Damage Cause by Proliferation of Juvenile Records"; Stewart et al., "Former Foster Youth."
12. Apel and Sweeten, "The Impact of Incarceration on Employment during the Transition to Adulthood"; Gómez and Courtney, "Employment and Earnings Outcomes Among Transition-Age Youth in Care"; Raphael, "Early Incarceration Spells and the Transition to Adulthood"; Western, "The Impact of Incarceration on Wage Mobility and Inequality."
13. Collins, Spindle-Jackson, and Yao, "Workforce Development Systems Efforts for System-Involved Youth."
14. Shah, "Improving Access to Career Pathways for Philadelphia's Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice System Involved Youth."
15. Gómez and Courtney, "Employment and Earnings Outcomes Among Transition-Age Youth in Care"; Saha Shah and Strout, "Future Interrupted: The Collateral Damage Cause by Proliferation of Juvenile Records."

16. Collins, Spindle-Jackson, and Yao, "Workforce Development Systems Efforts for System-Involved Youth"; Gómez and Courtney, "Employment and Earnings Outcomes Among Transition-Age Youth in Care"; Warner, Kaiser, and Houle, "Locked Out of the Labor Market?"
17. Osterman and Shulman, Good Jobs America: Making Work Better for Everyone; BLS. "Employed Persons by Detailed Industry and Age : U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics." 2024.
18. Osterman and Shulman, Good Jobs America: Making Work Better for Everyone; Schneider and Harknett, "Consequences of Routine Work-Schedule Instability for Worker Health and Well-Being."
19. Collis and Clémentine Van Effenterre, "Workplace Hostility."
20. Ross et al., "Pathways to High-Quality Jobs for Young Adults."
21. Felitti et al., "Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults."; Metzler, Marilyn, Melissa T. Merrick, Joanne Klevens, Katie A. Ports, and Derek C. Ford. "Adverse Childhood Experiences and Life Opportunities: Shifting the Narrative."
22. Rosemberg, Gultekin, and Pardee, "High-ACE Low Wage Workers."
23. Scorza et al., "Adverse Childhood Experiences and Perceived Stress in Early Adulthood in the Context of Disadvantage."
24. Klein et al., "Does Team Building Work?"

Works Cited

Abrams, Leah R, Kristen Harknett, and Daniel Schneider. "Older Workers With Unpredictable Schedules: Implications for Well-Being and Job Retention." The Gerontologist, May 18, 2022, gnac067. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnac067.

Apel, Robert, and Gary Sweeten. "The Impact of Incarceration on Employment during the Transition to Adulthood." Social Problems 57, no. 3 (August 2010): 448–79. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2010.57.3.448.

Baams, Laura, Bianca D.M. Wilson, and Stephen T. Russell. "LGBTQ Youth in Unstable Housing and Foster Care." Pediatrics 143, no. 3 (March 1, 2019): e20174211. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2017-4211.

Batt, Rosemary, Jae Eun Lee, and Tashlin Lakhani. "A National Study of Human Resource Practices, Turnover, and Customer Service in the Restaurant Industry." School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 2014.

Carter, Angela. "The Consequences of Adolescent Delinquent Behavior for Adult Employment Outcomes." Journal of Youth and Adolescence 48, no. 1 (January 2019): 17–29. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0934-2.

Children Now. "Employment and Youth with Foster Care Experience: Understanding Barriers and Supporting Success," 2022.

Children's Defense Fund. "State of America's Children Report," 2023. https://www.childrensdefense.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/SOAC-2023-Tables.pdf.

Collins, Mary Elizabeth, Adrianna Spindle-Jackson, and Mengni Yao. "Workforce Development Systems Efforts for System-Involved Youth: Opportunities and Challenges." Children and Youth Services Review 128 (September 2021): 106158. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2021.106158.

Collis, Manuela, and Clémentine Van Effenterre. "Workplace Hostility," February 2025. https://manuelacollis.com/research/.

Curry, Susanna R., Gina Miranda Samuels, Christine Cerven, and Amy Dworsky. "Navigating Housing Instability and Substance Use: Hidden Tensions Facing Youth in Small Town America." Journal of Social Service Research 46, no. 3 (May 3, 2020): 361–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2019.1575322.

Dworsky, Amy, Laura Napolitano, and Mark Courtney. "Homelessness during the Transition from Foster Care to Adulthood." American Journal of Public Health 103 Suppl 2, no. Suppl 2 (December 2013): S318-323. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301455.

Felitti, Vincent J., Robert F. Anda, Dale Nordenberg, David F. Williamson, Alison M. Spitz, Valerie Edwards, Mary P. Koss, and James S. Marks. "Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study." American Journal of Preventive Medicine 14, no. 4 (May 1, 1998): 245–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-3797(98)00017-8.

Geiger, Jennifer M., and Nathanael J. Okpych. "Connected After Care: Youth Characteristics, Policy, and Programs Associated With Postsecondary Education and Employment for Youth With Foster Care Histories." Child Maltreatment 27, no. 4 (November 2022): 658–70. https://doi.org/10.1177/10775595211034763.

Gómez, Anthony, and Mark Courtney. "Employment and Earnings Outcomes Among Transition-Age Youth in Care," 2024. https://ccwip.berkeley.edu/TAY/articles-memos/TAY-Hub%20Employment%20and%20Earnings%20Outcomes%20-%20Report%202.14.24.pdf.

Harknett, Kristen, Daniel Schneider, and Rebecca Wolfe. "Losing Sleep over Work Scheduling? The Relationship between Work Schedules and Sleep Quality for Service Sector Workers." SSM - Population Health 12 (December 2020): 100681. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2020.100681.

Havlicek, Judy, Antonio Garcia, and Douglas C. Smith. "Mental Health and Substance Use Disorders among Foster Youth Transitioning to Adulthood: Past Research and Future Directions." Children and Youth Services Review 35, no. 1 (January 2013): 194–203. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.10.003.

Hook, Jennifer L., and Mark E. Courtney. "Employment Outcomes of Former Foster Youth as Young Adults: The Importance of Human, Personal, and Social Capital." Children and Youth Services Review 33, no. 10 (October 2011): 1855–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.05.004.

Irvine, Angela, Shannan Wilber, and Aisha Canfield. "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Questioning, and/or Gender Nonconforming and Transgender Girls and Boys in the California Juvenile Justice System: A Practice Guide," January 2017. https://www.nclrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/cpoc.lgbq_.gnct_.practice.guide_.8feb2017.pdf.

Klein, Cameron, Deborah DiazGranados, Eduardo Salas, Huy Le, C. Shawn Burke, Rebecca Lyons, and Gerald F. Goodwin. "Does Team Building Work?" Small Group Research 40, no. 2 (April 1, 2009): 181–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496408328821.

Legislative Analyst's Office. "California's Child Welfare System: Addressing Disproportionalities and Disparities," April 2024. https://lao.ca.gov/reports/2024/4897/disproportionalities-disparities-child-welfare-042424.pdf.

Males, Mike A., and Elizabeth A. Brown. "Teenagers' High Arrest Rates: Features of Young Age or Youth Poverty?" Journal of Adolescent Research 29, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558413493004.

Metzler, Marilyn, Melissa T. Merrick, Joanne Klevens, Katie A. Ports, and Derek C. Ford. "Adverse Childhood Experiences and Life Opportunities: Shifting the Narrative." Children and Youth Services Review, Economic Causes and Consequences of Child Maltreatment, 72 (January 1, 2017): 141–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.10.021.

Naccarato, Toni, Megan Brophy, and Mark E. Courtney. "Employment Outcomes of Foster Youth: The Results from the Midwest Evaluation of the Adult Functioning of Foster Youth." Children and Youth Services Review 32, no. 4 (April 2010): 551–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.11.009.

Nielsen, Morten Birkeland, and Ståle Einarsen. "Outcomes of Exposure to Workplace Bullying: A Meta-Analytic Review." Work & Stress 26, no. 4 (October 2012): 309–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/02678373.2012.734709.

Nielsen, Morten Birkeland, Anne-Marthe Rustad Indregard, Line Krane, and Stein Knardahl. "Workplace Bullying and Medically Certified Sickness Absence: Direction of Associations and the Moderating Role of Leader Behavior." Frontiers in Psychology 10 (April 5, 2019). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00767.

Osterman, Paul. Good Jobs America. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011.

Powell, Kathleen. "The Age-Graded Consequences of Justice System Involvement for Mental Health." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 59, no. 2 (March 1, 2022): 167–202. https://doi.org/10.1177/00224278211023988.

Raphael, Steven. "Early Incarceration Spells and the Transition to Adulthood," May 2006. https://gspp.berkeley.edu/assets/uploads/research/pdf/raphael-draft-April-2006v2.pdf.

Robertson, Angela A., Zhou Fang, Doris Weiland, George Joe, Sheena Gardner, Richard Dembo, Larkin McReynolds, et al. "Recidivism Among Justice-Involved Youth: Findings From JJ-TRIALS." Criminal Justice and Behavior 47, no. 9 (September 2020): 1059–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854820922891.

Rosemberg, Marie-Anne, Laura Gultekin, and Michelle Pardee. "High-ACE Low Wage Workers: Occupational Health Nursing Research and Praxis Through a Trauma-Informed Lens." Workplace Health & Safety 66, no. 5 (May 1, 2018): 233–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/2165079917736070.

Ross, Martha, Kristin Anderson Moore, Kelly Murphy, and Nicole Bateman. "Pathways to High-Quality Jobs for Young Adults." Brookings Insititution, Child Trends, n.d.

Saha Shah, Riya, and Jean Strout. "Future Interrupted: The Collateral Damage Cause by Proliferation of Juvenile Records." Juvenile Law Center, February 2016.

Schneider, Daniel, and Kristen Harknett. "Consequences of Routine Work-Schedule Instability for Worker Health and Well-Being." American Sociological Review 84, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 82–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418823184.

Scorza, Pamela, Thomas Corbeil, Melanie Wall, Catherine Monk, Shakira Suglia, Milton Wainberg, Margarita Alegria, Glorisa Canino, Hector Bird, and Cristiane S. Duarte. "Adverse Childhood Experiences and Perceived Stress in Early Adulthood in the Context of Disadvantage." Child Abuse & Neglect 131 (September 2022): 105687. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2022.105687.

Shah, Riya. "Improving Access to Career Pathways for Philadelphia's Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice System Involved Youth," 2017.

Silver, Ian A., Daniel C. Semenza, and Joseph L. Nedelec. "Incarceration of Youths in an Adult Correctional Facility and Risk of Premature Death." JAMA Network Open 6, no. 7 (July 3, 2023): e2321805. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2023.21805.

Stewart, C. Joy, Hye-Chung Kum, Richard P. Barth, and Dean F. Duncan. "Former Foster Youth: Employment Outcomes up to Age 30." Children and Youth Services Review 36 (January 2014): 220–29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.11.024.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation. "Children Ages Birth to 17 Entering Foster Care | Kids Count Data Center." Accessed June 26, 2025. https://datacenter.aecf.org/data/tables/6268-children-ages-birth-to-17-entering-foster-care?loc=1&loct=2.

The Sentencing Project. "Youth Justice By The Numbers," 2023. https://www.sentencingproject.org/app/uploads/2024/08/Youth-Justice-By-The-Numbers.pdf.

Verkuil, Bart, Serpil Atasayi, and Marc L. Molendijk. "Workplace Bullying and Mental Health: A Meta-Analysis on Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Data." PLOS ONE 10, no. 8 (August 25, 2015): e0135225. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0135225.

Warner, Kaiser, and Houle. "Locked Out of the Labor Market? State-Level Hidden Sentences and the Labor Market Outcomes of Recently Incarcerated Young Adults." RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences 6, no. 1 (2020): 132. https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2020.6.1.06.

Weakliem, David L., and Stephen J. Frenkel. "Morale and Workplace Performance." Work and Occupations 33, no. 3 (August 2006): 335–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888406290054.

Western, Bruce. "The Impact of Incarceration on Wage Mobility and Inequality." American Sociological Review 67, no. 4 (August 2002): 526. https://doi.org/10.2307/3088944.

Yee, Rachel W. Y., Andy C. L. Yeung, and T. C. Edwin Cheng. "The Impact of Employee Satisfaction on Quality and Profitability in High-Contact Service Industries." Journal of Operations Management 26, no. 5 (September 1, 2008): 651–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jom.2008.01.001.

Youth Law Center. "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: How California's Education Data & Accountability Systems Fail Youth in Juvenile Court School," November 15, 2023. https://www.ylc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Out-of-Sight-Out-of-Mind-Report-Nov-2023.pdf.