PRISON-TO-WORK
The Benefits of Intensive Job-Search Assistance for Former Inmates

Aaron Yelowitz
Associate Professor of Economics,
University of Kentucky

Christopher Bollinger
Professor of Economics,
University of Kentucky
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Of the 650,000 inmates released from prisons and jails in the United States each year, as many as two-thirds will be arrested for a new offense within three years. This study evaluates the impact of enhanced job-readiness training and job-search assistance on reducing recidivism rates among ex-offenders.

Programs offering enhanced job assistance are far from the norm. The program used in this study—developed by an employment agency that assists ex-offenders, welfare recipients, and other “hard-to-serve” clients—differs from other job services in scope and focus.

The program, America Works, is condensed into an intense one- or two-week period. It uses a tough-love approach, stressing interpersonal communication and such “soft” skills as time and anger management. It places special attention on teaching practical skills that many former inmates never acquired, such as résumé preparation, search strategies, and interview techniques. And it uses a network of employers, who are open to hiring ex-offenders and with whom it has long-term relationships, to place clients. Its goal is not only to help former inmates find jobs but also to keep jobs, and it provides follow-up services for six months. In 2005, the program provided job-readiness classes to 1,000 ex-offenders, placing 700 in jobs.

America Works receives referrals from agencies in New York City, including the city government’s Human Resources Administration (HRA), work-release centers, and the city’s Rikers Island Correctional Facility. By contrast, typical services offered to ex-offenders provide far less job-readiness training over a less concentrated period. Instead of providing placement services, such programs generally limit assistance to self-directed job searches.

This paper’s key finding is that training designed to quickly place former inmates in jobs significantly decreases the likelihood that ex-offenders with nonviolent histories will be rearrested. Only 31.1 percent of nonviolent ex-offenders who received enhanced training were arrested during the 18 to 36 months in which they were tracked, compared with 50 percent of similar participants who received standard training. In contrast, former inmates with histories of violence were rearrested at virtually the same pace, whether they received enhanced training or not: 44.6 percent versus 42.6 percent, respectively. Findings for criminal convictions show similar patterns for arrests. These results suggest that extra help in looking for work upon release from jail or prison can pay off in a big way but not for all types of former offenders. Enhanced assistance is most effective for those without a history of violence and with few prior charges—while the additional help is far less effective for those with a more difficult history, including violence or many prior charges.

Very little research has been conducted on this topic. The results of this study have important implications for government policymakers, public and private social welfare agencies, and, of course, employers. Indeed, at a time of ever-tightening federal and state budgets and ever-rising costs of incarceration, the Obama administration and many state governments are seeking ways to reduce swollen prison populations, particularly the number of nonviolent criminals, partly by using new guidelines for early release. Likewise, many states are scrambling to find programs to sharply cut the number of repeat offenders.

Inmates nevertheless face formidable hurdles in securing employment following release back into society. Often lacking skills to find a job, they typically receive little help, increasing the odds, especially in a still-weak economy, that they will come up empty—and revert to a life of crime and return, eventually, to prison.
By linking enhanced training to a targeted group of ex-offenders, this study points toward a breakthrough in reducing not only the rate of recidivism but also the cost to society. The program used by America Works, which has offices in New York and six other states and the District of Columbia, costs about $5,000 for each former inmate. While the benefits to society from averted crimes are very hard to calculate in dollar terms, the study estimated average savings of about $231,000 for each nonviolent ex-offender who received extra help, based on the lower crime record posted by the group as a whole, following training. This figure represents a 46-fold return on the cost of the training, not counting impossible-to-quantify benefits to individuals involved, their families, and communities.

The intervention of enhanced services was conducted from June 2009 to December 2010, with a randomized trial involving 259 ex-offenders in New York. Participants, all men, had been released from a prison, jail, or youth correctional facility within six months of acceptance into the program. Approximately half of the participants received enhanced employment services from America Works while the other half received typical services, also provided by America Works. Criminal recidivism for 219 ex-offenders was measured from administrative records in July 2012, tracking arrests and convictions of participants in six-month intervals from the point they joined the study for up to 36 months.

Enhanced services had no significant impact on recidivism for the group as a whole. Yet that result masked significant differences among varied segments that formed the group. As previously noted, former inmates with histories of violence were little affected by the extra help while those with nonviolent histories benefited substantially. Even within the latter group, however, significant differences appeared, offering additional clues about where to focus job-training dollars.

Further exploration revealed that enhanced services had the largest impact among nonviolent criminals with the fewest prior charges. Differences were also found among the three subsets of nonviolent offenders: those who had committed offenses involving property, those who had committed crimes involving the sale or possession of drugs, and those who had been involved in minor offenses. Ex-offenders with property crimes and those with minor offenses were found to be most responsible for positive recidivism results. The subset with a history of drug crimes appeared to have no significant impact on recidivism results. Given the small samples, however, caution must be used when interpreting such results.

Collectively, these results suggest that enhanced job-search assistance is most effective for the easiest of the hard-to-serve population—and that focusing future efforts on this group is the most cost-effective approach.
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

AARON YELOWITZ is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics at University of Kentucky. He also is a joint faculty member in the Martin School of Public Policy and Administration at University of Kentucky, and an adjunct scholar with the Cato Institute.


Dr. Yelowitz received his Ph.D. from MIT in 1994 and has previously worked at UCLA as an assistant professor.

CHRISTOPHER R. BOLLINGER is a Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Kentucky and holds a Gatton Professorship in the Gatton College of Business and Economics. He is also an affiliate of the U.K. Center for Poverty Research and an Associate Editor of the Journal of Econometric Methods.

Professor Bollinger’s research has focused on data quality issues in estimation of micro economic models. His work on measurement error has been published in, among others, Review of Economics and Statistics, Journal of the American Statistical Association, and Journal of Econometrics; his research on urban and labor economics has been published in, among others, the Journal of Labor Economics and Journal of Urban Economics. More recent work has focused on item non-response and has been published in the Journal of Labor Economics. He has also served as co-editor of the Southern Economic Journal.

Dr. Bollinger earned his Ph.D. in economics at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors thank Jamie Sharpe, Lewis Warren, and Diana David for research assistance.
I. INTRODUCTION

Approximately 650,000 people are released from federal and state jails and prisons in the U.S. annually. Ex-offenders face daunting challenges in returning to society. Upon release, they are likely to struggle with substance abuse, lack of adequate education and job skills, limited housing options, and mental health issues.

A great deal of taxpayer money has been spent on programs devoted to foster job training and employment for this group. The U.S. has a long history of providing federal funding for community employment programs for ex-offenders, generally involving some combination of job-readiness (résumé writing, interview techniques, and the like), job-training (teaching skills related to specific jobs), and job-placement services (Visher et al. 2005, p. 296). Although the direct benefits that come from such programs accrue to ex-offenders and are therefore private in nature, such programs also create social returns by lowering an individual’s likelihood of recidivism (Drake et al. 2009; Bushway and Apel 2012). Having a legitimate job reduces the likelihood of recidivism for ex-offenders (Sampson and Laub 1997; Harer 1994).

Recidivism rates are extremely high; roughly two-thirds of ex-offenders are arrested for a new offense within three years of their release (Beck and Shipley 1989; Langan and Levin 2002). If job-assistance programs reduce subsequent criminal activity as well as the chance that ex-offenders will be rearrested, social returns will be large; in the U.S., more than 23 million criminal offenses were committed in 2007, resulting in approximately $15 billion in economic losses to victims and $179 billion in government expenditures on police, judicial, and legal activities, as well as corrections (U.S. Department of Justice 2004, 2007, 2008).
McCollister et al. (2010) show, even relatively small crimes—like vandalism and larceny/theft—entail social costs of several thousand dollars, while major crimes—rape/sexual assault and murder—impose extremely high costs on society.

With respect to finding employment, ex-offenders face many challenges because of supply-side factors as well as demand-side factors. One important supply-side factor is the low level of education, training, and job experience possessed by many ex-offenders. Researchers have found that 40–70 percent of ex-offenders are high school dropouts (Harlow 2003; Travis et al. 2001; Freeman 1992). Harlow (2003) also found that 21–38 percent were unemployed when initially incarcerated.

Ex-offenders also face important demand-side barriers; most employers are very reluctant to hire individuals with criminal records (Holzer et al. 2003). Some jobs or occupations are legally closed to those with felony convictions (Hahn 1991), while other jobs require significant levels of trustworthiness that ex-offenders are unlikely to have (Holzer et al. 2003). Many companies are also averse to employing ex-offenders because of the legal risk from negligent hiring (Glynn 1988; Bushway 1996; Connerley et al. 2001).

Widespread use of criminal background checks increases the difficulty for ex-offenders to find employment. The National Task Force on the Commercial Sale of Criminal Justice Information notes an “explosion” in criminal background checks since September 11, 2001, with millions of additional criminal-record checks routinely conducted. Approximately two-thirds of employers conduct criminal background checks on all job candidates (Society for Human Resource Management 2012). Roughly half conduct such checks to reduce liability for negligent hiring and to ensure a safe work environment. Nonviolent felonies, in addition to violent crimes, are very influential in decisions not to extend job offers.

To the extent that job-assistance programs can overcome inherent barriers that ex-offenders face obtaining employment, such programs could play a role in reducing criminal recidivism. This paper evaluates the impact of one such program—the enhanced job-search assistance offered by America Works—in an experimental setting.

Why evaluate America Works? For three decades, America Works, a New York–based private employment company with operations in seven states and the District of Columbia, has been committed to the mission that employment leads to self-sufficiency and self-assuredness. To that end, the program provides job-readiness training as well as job-placement and job-retention services to groups that have typically faced great barriers in the labor market. The program consists of intensive, short-term job-readiness training, job placement, re-placement in cases where the initial placement does not last, and regular follow-up and support for six months to ensure successful employment. In the early 2000s, America Works started a program targeting ex-offenders. In 2005, that program provided job-readiness classes to 1,000 ex-offenders, placing 700 in jobs. America Works receives referrals from agencies in New York City, including HRA, work-release centers, and Rikers Island Correctional Facility.

Several features distinguish America Works from other employment programs. As with many of the chronically unemployed, overwhelming numbers of ex-offenders lack work experience, have little education (only a handful have a high school diploma or GED), and do not know how to look for a job. Ex-offenders appreciate the short-term nature of the America Works program (one to two weeks) and respond well to its tough-love approach. Above all, the program stresses interpersonal communication: listening to coworkers and supervisors, following instructions, and being honest and responsive. Other “soft skills,” such as time and anger management, are also important. For the ex-offender population, this training has particular resonance, as it reinforces coping and communications skills learned in prison.

Notably, America Works strives to go beyond providing training and placement, to secure long-lasting employment for ex-offenders. Too often, employment programs focus primarily on job training and
placement, without ensuring that people stay on the job—which is critical for long-term stability. By contrast, America Works operates exclusively through performance-based contracts: it does not receive payment for services until clients are placed and retained for a stipulated period in a job. The company’s contracts with HRA and other agencies ensure that the jobs that America Works finds for its clients are good matches and that its clients are paid fairly and have opportunities to advance.

The company actively engages in finding further placements if initial placements are not successful. This is critical for ex-offenders eager to work, especially those who must work to meet parole obligations. For these clients, it is important to quickly place them in jobs, even if such jobs don’t meet all their needs—and then, if necessary, move them to second jobs with greater opportunities within weeks or months after the first placement. Importantly, America Works considers employers to be clients as well, not just placements for ex-offenders. As a result, it guarantees that it can successfully fill employers’ positions, ensuring that, should problems arise, employers can discuss their concerns. Given employers’ reluctance to consider ex-offenders, such a guarantee can be an important impetus to hiring high-risk applicants.

This study provides results from an experimental evaluation of the America Works enhanced training program. The experiment initially involved 259 ex-offenders, with about half entered on a random basis in the enhanced program and the other half enrolled in a typical program (one offering less intensive job-readiness skills teaching and help with self-directed job searches, not formal placement). Training sessions were administered between June 2009 and December 2010. Participants were then tracked for 18 to 36 months for differences in criminal recidivism; and for at least 36 months for differences in labor-market outcomes.

This study finds significant reductions in recidivism—in terms of arrests and convictions—for ex-offenders with nonviolent arrest histories; there are no reductions in recidivism for violent ex-offenders. Results are especially pronounced for those with fewer arrests prior to entering the program.

The authors’ interpretation is that short-term enhanced job-readiness training can reduce recidivism but only for those whose criminal histories would have made them relatively attractive job candidates in the first place. More difficult clients—those with violent arrest histories or many arrests—do not benefit from enhanced training.

Section II summarizes existing evidence on reintegrationing ex-offenders into society. Section III describes the aforementioned randomized controlled trial. Section IV discusses various limitations of the authors’ analysis and explains their focus on criminal recidivism. Section V provides data description and empirical results. Section VI illustrates the costs and benefits of enhanced job placement. Section VII offers concluding thoughts.

II. EXISTING EVIDENCE ON REINTEGRATING EX-OFFENDERS INTO SOCIETY

As Visher et al. (2005) note, community-based employment interventions for ex-offenders date as far back as the 1960s, with a series of well-known federal job-training programs following in the 1970s and 1980s, including the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), the 1983 Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA), and the 1998 Workforce Investment Act (WIN). However, virtually all evaluations of prisoner reentry and crime-abatement programs use nonexperimental techniques. Drake et al. (2009) identify 545 program evaluations, of which fewer than 5 percent used randomized controls. As a consequence, relatively few studies are comparable with this paper.

Visher et al. (2005) conduct a meta-analysis of experimental evaluations of noncustodial employment programs for adult ex-offenders, where the program had to include, at a minimum, job training or placement. They note that only eight studies using random assignment could be identified in English-language publications; they characterize
the knowledge about the effects of such programs as “hampered by inadequate contemporary research.” The eight studies, implemented between 1971 and 1994, involved the Baltimore Living Insurance for Ex-Prisoners (LIFE); Transitional Aid Research Project (TARP); National Supported Work Demonstration (NSW), a job-training program for probationers; JTPA; JOBSTART; Job Corps; and Opportunity to Succeed (OPTS). In these studies, recidivism measures included arrests, based on official records or self-reported behavior, for periods of up to 36 months after participation in the employment program. Based on their meta-analysis, Visher et al. (2005) conclude that the “eight interventions had no significant effect on the likelihood that participants would be rearrested.”

Raphael (2010) discusses a number of more recent experimental studies of prisoner reentry efforts, including the Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO), based in New York City. The one-year evaluations of this program show little impact on recidivism (Bloom et al. 2007), but the second-year results showed that the treatment group was 7.7 percentage points less likely to be convicted of a crime and 7 percent less likely to have experienced a post-release incarceration in prison or jail (Redcross et al. 2009). Raphael concludes that there is some evidence that income support, transitional employment, and human capital investments in ex-offenders may reduce criminal behavior and recidivism.

Several key points should be kept in mind about existing literature. First, almost all the studies are quite dated; the most recent study in Visher et al.’s meta-analysis was from 1999. They note that the lack of federal funding for ex-offender programs in the 1980s created a gap in the development and implementation of such programs. Second, the types of offenses and number of arrests may matter for the efficacy of employment services. The OPTS program, initiated in 1994, targeted ex-offenders with histories of alcohol and drug offenses. The LIFE program targeted those with high likelihoods of future arrest for property crimes and no history of drug or alcohol dependence. The NSW evaluation distinguished drug addicts from ex-offenders.

This paper contributes to existing knowledge in several ways. The America Works experiment is contemporary; the evaluation occurred in 2009 and 2010, with recidivism measured through 2012. It explicitly separates results by offenders’ arrest histories: violent ex-offenders are separated from nonviolent ex-offenders. Certain results also explore the importance of the number of charges associated with arrests. Perhaps as a consequence, this paper’s results on recidivism differ markedly from those of some previous studies.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE RANDOMIZED CONTROLLED TRIAL

The randomized controlled trial (RCT) was overseen by Public/Private Ventures (P/PV)—a nonprofit, nonpartisan, social research and policy organization whose mission was to improve the effectiveness of policies, programs, and community initiatives, especially as they affect vulnerable communities—at the America Works offices in 2009 and 2010. The authors rely on the P/PV records submitted to the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research to describe the recruitment of ex-offenders and the RCT.

As mentioned, America Works has, for nearly three decades, helped ex-offenders, welfare recipients, and other hard-to-serve groups. Services provided include job-readiness training, job placement, and job retention. Obtaining and keeping a job require a set of skills. Former prisoners receiving the services of America Works develop self-presentation skills through such techniques as interview rehearsals and résumé preparation, in programs lasting from one to two weeks. Following training, America Works arranges job interviews with employers and, when the placement is made, stays in contact with new hires and their employers for six months. Throughout its involvement in the program, America Works plays an essential role in helping former offenders deal with barriers (e.g., finding child care and housing) that might interfere with their ability to find and hold jobs.

Such features set the America Works program apart from others. Indeed, studying it offers a valuable
opportunity to explore the effectiveness of job-readiness training on criminal recidivism for at least four reasons: (1) America Works is well established; (2) it maintains a network of employers who have demonstrated their willingness to hire former prisoners; (3) unlike many other employment programs, it provides a comprehensive set of services to returning prisoners; and (4) despite its history serving former offenders, America Works has not been involved in a program evaluation.

Recruitment of this study’s 254 participants (and an additional five hardship cases) took place at the New York offices of America Works from June 15, 2009, to December 17, 2010. Participants were all men who had been released from a prison, jail, or youth correctional facility within six months prior to their acceptance in the program. When a potential participant was identified, America Works described its program and completed typical intake procedures. America Works explained that a study of the program was being conducted and that participants had a 50/50 chance of receiving enhanced services, while other participants would receive typical employment services. America Works then distributed written informed consent forms to potential participants.

The key difference between the treatment and control group is the scope and focus of services offered. P/PV documentation described enhanced services as: (1) intensive job-readiness training, (2) rapid-attachment job-placement services, and (3) retention services. Typical services involved: (1) job-readiness training and (2) self-directed job-search assistance.

This RCT therefore aims to increase knowledge about the effectiveness of rapid attachment to the labor market; given data constraints discussed later, the authors extensively examine the causal effect of enhanced services on criminal recidivism. Although the underlying causal mechanism is that enhanced services lead to better labor-market outcomes and less dependence on government programs—both of which, in turn, lead to reductions in recidivism—it is more difficult to convincingly examine intermediate steps.

IV. RESEARCH QUESTIONS: OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS

Although P/PV successfully carried out the randomized intervention of enhanced job placement at the offices of America Works, collecting demographic and socioeconomic data at the time of the trial as well, P/PV was unable to gather data on certain outcomes that might have resulted from the intervention—outcomes pertaining to the labor market, use of government welfare programs, and criminal activity. Such data are necessary to determine if enhanced services have beneficial effects in those areas.

As a result, the University of Kentucky’s Center for Business and Economic Research (CBER) assumed responsibility for data analysis in 2012, relying on the original RCT conducted by P/PV and America Works. Although gathering data on welfare use and labor-market outcomes was deemed infeasible, it was possible to obtain comprehensive data on criminal histories, both before and after interventions. With the cooperation, financial assistance, and research support of the Manhattan Institute, criminal-history record searches were conducted through the New York State Unified Court System in early August 2012. The court system website describes the record search:

The New York State Office of Court Administration (OCA) provides a New York Statewide criminal history record search (CHRS) for a fee of $65.00. You can submit a CHRS request via our on-line Direct Access program or by mailing in a CHRS application form. The search criteria is strictly based on an exact match of Name and DOB (variations of Name or DOB are not reported). Background checks for companies are also part of the CHRS program. The search results are public records relating to open/pending and convictions in criminal cases originating from County/Supreme, City, Town, and Village courts of all 62 counties. Sealed records are not disclosed. Town & Village criminal disposition data is limited.

Therefore, this paper’s authors attempted to obtain criminal histories for felony and misdemeanor cases.
V. DATA DESCRIPTION AND RECIDIVISM RESULTS

1. Data Description

Data provided on the ex-offenders derive from two main sources. The primary source, which identifies ex-offenders in the experiment, is the baseline survey given to them at the initial intake interview, as well as information on whether individuals were assigned to the enhanced America Works program (treatment group) or the standard program (control group).

While data collected by P/PV concerning the treatment and control groups are complete, the baseline survey data were often incomplete, with many missing observations on specific questions. All these data were then matched to the secondary source, public records on arrests and convictions (primarily from New York State), to form a criminal history of each participant. That history starts prior to the experiment and ends in July 2012.

As noted, 259 ex-offenders were enlisted for the study, including five “hardship case assignments.” They joined the study on a rolling basis from June 15, 2009, to December 17, 2010, with 130 in the treatment group and 129 in the control group.

From this initial group of 259 ex-offenders, the authors were able to obtain redacted arrest records for 226, using public records from OCA and national search records. Overall, 1,027 pages of arrest records were collected for the 226 individuals. Because arrest records for the remaining 33 ex-offenders could not be found, those individuals were excluded from the analysis below. Almost all the arrest records were obtained from New York State; the arrest histories for seven individuals, obtained from national search records, were sufficiently different that they, too, were excluded from the analysis.

Using these detailed arrest records, the authors placed the 219 remaining participants in the study into four categories based on criminal acts prior to enrollment in the America Works experiment. Categories, listed in order of severity, are: Violent Criminals; Property Criminals; Drug Criminals; and Other Minor Criminals. The last three categories comprise nonviolent criminals. When classifying study participants in these four groups, we assumed a hierarchical structure under which an individual was included in only one group. In other words, if the individual had been arrested for a violent crime and a property crime, he would be classified in the violent bin, not the property bin. Violent criminals were defined as those who had committed any violent crime, as defined by the FBI Uniform Crime Reports, prior to participating in the America Works experiment. Under that definition, violent crime includes murder, rape/sexual assault, assault, and robbery. Property criminals are those who committed crimes against another person's property (burglary, grand larceny, trespassing, etc.). Drug criminals had been incarcerated for selling or possessing controlled substances but not for any other major crime included in the violent group or property-crimes group. The remaining group of other minor offenders committed only petty crimes (petit larceny, traffic/motor vehicle violations, criminal contempt, harassment, and minor drug offenses, etc.).

2. Summary Statistics

Table 1 presents a breakdown of the sample used in the analysis below. Ultimately, 219 ex-offenders were included in the empirical work on recidivism. Of the 219, 110 (50.2 percent) were assigned to the treatment group and 109 (49.8 percent) to the control group. A simple test of whether this proportion is significantly different from the ideal 50 percent finds no such evidence.

This table presents sample sizes by criminal-history type (i.e., violent histories versus nonviolent), broken down by treatment and control group. Randomization appears good across multiple measures. For example, of the total sample, 126 of the participants, or 57.5 percent, had violent crimes associated with their most recent arrest. These 126 violent offenders...
were split nearly equally, with 65 (51.6 percent) in the treatment group and 61 (48.4 percent) in the control group. A formal test of whether this proportion is significantly different from the overall proportion assigned accepts the null hypothesis that there is no statistically meaningful difference in assignment ratios. Likewise, similar tests for assignment within the nonviolent category and subsets of the nonviolent offenders accept the null hypothesis that the assignment remained statistically indistinguishable from the ideal of 50 percent each in the treatment and control groups.

Table 2 presents information on the length of time that the authors were able to observe participants after they entered treatment programs. Earliest participants (enrolled in June 2009) were observed for 18 months more than latest participants (enrolled in December 2010). Criminal histories were obtained in early August 2012; in the analysis below, the cutoff for being observed is July 31, 2012.

Thus, the authors observed all 219 ex-offenders for at least 18 months after they entered the America Works program. Since the intensity—and perhaps the length of time—of the job-placement services varied by treatment and control group, the authors simply used the time of entry into the program as the start time of treatment. The authors were able to follow 188 ex-offenders for at least 24 months, including 98 for 30 months. Of the 110 ex-offenders in the treatment group, 92 were followed for at least 24 months, including 51 for 30 months. Of the control group’s 109 members, 96 were tracked for at least 24 months, including 47 for 30 months. Again, the authors were unable to reject the null hypothesis that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. General Statistics on Inmates by Group and Treatment Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inmates Arrested Posttreatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=109)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Sample Sizes by Treatment and Initial Offense Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample observed for at least 18 months (full sample)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=109)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the subgroups by length of time were not randomly assigned. Table 2 also presents the observation window for ex-offenders, categorized by initial offense.

As mentioned, a baseline survey was administered to all participants, one asking fairly standard demographic and socioeconomic questions: age, race, ethnicity, gender, marital status, primary language, income, welfare benefits, citizenship, military service, schooling, work history, children, health status, and housing/transportation situation. The survey (Appendix 3) also asked more sensitive questions about criminal histories—arrests, convictions, types of convictions, training while incarcerated, and current legal status—and substance abuse and mental health.

Table 3 presents averages derived from the baseline survey. Descriptive statistics are provided for the 219 individuals included in the full analysis. As Table 3 reveals, there were many nonresponses, with one ex-offender refusing to answer any question. (Discussion below focuses only on those who responded to all questions.)

The average age of ex-offenders was 39, with little variation across treatment and control groups. Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Treatment Group</th>
<th>Control Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment status</td>
<td>219 0.502</td>
<td>110 1.000</td>
<td>109 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total days observed</td>
<td>219 879.150</td>
<td>110 882.960</td>
<td>109 875.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>218 39.193</td>
<td>109 39.505</td>
<td>109 38.881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently married</td>
<td>217 0.074</td>
<td>109 0.064</td>
<td>108 0.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma or GED</td>
<td>129 0.721</td>
<td>65 0.738</td>
<td>64 0.703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have children</td>
<td>219 0.557</td>
<td>110 0.545</td>
<td>109 0.569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you in excellent, very good, or good health?</td>
<td>199 0.940</td>
<td>101 0.931</td>
<td>98 0.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covered by any health insurance</td>
<td>197 0.721</td>
<td>100 0.710</td>
<td>97 0.732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any physical, mental, or emotional condition</td>
<td>198 0.091</td>
<td>101 0.089</td>
<td>97 0.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you currently homeless?</td>
<td>212 0.278</td>
<td>109 0.248</td>
<td>103 0.311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have a current driver's license?</td>
<td>217 0.281</td>
<td>109 0.284</td>
<td>108 0.278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you own or lease a vehicle?</td>
<td>209 0.048</td>
<td>103 0.049</td>
<td>106 0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>136 0.022</td>
<td>69 0.029</td>
<td>67 0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American/Black</td>
<td>136 0.735</td>
<td>69 0.739</td>
<td>67 0.731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>136 0.235</td>
<td>69 0.232</td>
<td>67 0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>136 0.007</td>
<td>69 0.000</td>
<td>67 0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>136 0.022</td>
<td>69 0.029</td>
<td>67 0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>136 0.007</td>
<td>69 0.014</td>
<td>67 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any vocational training</td>
<td>215 0.726</td>
<td>108 0.731</td>
<td>107 0.720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational programs</td>
<td>213 0.610</td>
<td>107 0.654</td>
<td>106 0.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job-training programs</td>
<td>216 0.611</td>
<td>110 0.664</td>
<td>106 0.557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes in life skills</td>
<td>211 0.445</td>
<td>107 0.495</td>
<td>104 0.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prerelease program</td>
<td>216 0.620</td>
<td>110 0.682</td>
<td>106 0.557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever paid to work in prison</td>
<td>213 0.404</td>
<td>108 0.380</td>
<td>105 0.429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever received drug or alcohol treatment</td>
<td>125 0.728</td>
<td>65 0.738</td>
<td>60 0.717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever received job training in prison</td>
<td>211 0.417</td>
<td>106 0.472</td>
<td>105 0.362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gained employment within six months of last release</td>
<td>166 0.651</td>
<td>86 0.593</td>
<td>80 0.713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.4 percent of participants were married: those in the control group were slightly more likely to be married (8.3 percent) than those in the treatment group (6.4 percent). Education level was an important question that many refused to answer: only 129 (58 percent) of ex-offenders responded. Of those who did, over 72 percent reported having a high school or high school–equivalent degree, with the treatment group having a slightly higher rate, nearly 74 percent. (This suggests that nonresponders were predominantly not high school or equivalent graduates—as such, the educational level of the entire sample was likely far lower than indicated here.) More than half of ex-offenders had children and more than 90 percent reported themselves as being in good, very good, or excellent health. More than 25 percent of respondents reported being homeless and fewer than 5 percent said that they owned an automobile. These last two factors alone likely significantly inhibited ex-offenders from obtaining employment.

Race was another factor for which the nonresponse rate was high, with only 136 ex-offenders answering. Of that group, the vast majority (over 73 percent) reported African-American/black and over 23 percent reported Hispanic. Nearly 73 percent of ex-offenders possessed some kind of vocational training, and more than 60 percent had participated in job-training programs (of which nearly 42 percent participated while in prison). Fully 62 percent of the ex-offenders participated in a prerelease program. Nearly 73 percent reported receiving drug or alcohol treatment. It is quite clear from these statistics that this is, overall, a group that would struggle to obtain work.

Table 4 presents details on the criminal charges associated with the sample. (Note that a single arrest will often involve multiple charges.) As explained earlier, criminal histories were obtained from public records in New York State and merged with data collected by P/PV. Since criminal histories were limited to arrests and charges in New York, they represent an understatement if arrests and charges occurred in other states or were associated with aliases not linked to the individual. Criminal charges included all charges discovered for the individual at the time of data collection (August 2012).

Table 4’s Column 1 presents descriptive statistics on the number of charges prior to entry into the program. Overall, the average individual had 26.9 prior charges, ranging from misdemeanors to felonies and violent crimes. The treatment group had an average of 22.0 prior offenses, while the control group had an average of 31.9. In testing the hypothesis that these samples were drawn from populations with the same overall averages, no evidence of a statistical difference was found. However, the control group’s slightly higher count and much higher spread (not reported) suggest some differences between that group and the treatment group. Such differences are not statistically significant; but they suggest that, in comparing outcomes, factoring in the pretreatment arrest record may be important.

Column 2 presents posttreatment charges filed. The typical ex-offender was charged with 4.4 posttreatment charges. However, more than half in the sample (57.5 percent) were never charged after entry into the program (column 3). Considering columns 2 and 3, only 39.1 percent of the treatment group was rearrested, with an average of 2.9 charges. Still, 45.9 percent of the control group were rearrested after entering treatment, with an average of 5.9 charges. While the overall arrest rate is not statistically different, the total number of posttreatment arrests is statistically lower for the treatment group, evidence that the treatment group has a lower posttreatment charge count than the control group.

Results in Table 4 are most interesting when broken down by type of pretreatment charges. Violent offenders in the treatment group have a rearrest rate of 44.6 percent, while violent offenders in the control group have a rearrest rate of 42.6 percent. These rates are not statistically different and are clearly not different in interpretation: overall, more than 40 percent of violent offenders in the sample are rearrested during the observation window, and treatment does not appear to have any significant impact on rearrest.

Yet for nonviolent offenders, the difference is much larger: only 31.1 percent of nonviolent offenders in the treatment group were rearrested during the observation period, compared with 50 percent in
the control group. The difference is economically important and statistically significant. Similarly, we see that the average nonviolent offender in the treatment group had 1.6 posttreatment charges, while nonviolent offenders in the control group had a 5.1 average. Here again, the difference is both statistically significant and economically important.

Put another way, these differences provide evidence that the enhanced services program is effective for nonviolent offenders. No such evidence exists for violent offenders, who, as a group, register no response to treatment.

Columns 4–8 of Table 4 examine differences in
arrests at different times after treatment began. Focusing on column 6—which tracks the 18-month window, the longest period for which all subjects were observed—one witnesses the same pattern noted previously for overall arrests and charges. Only 27.3 percent of the treatment group was rearrested in this period, while 34.9 percent of the control group had been rearrested. Violent offenders displayed the opposite result: 35.4 percent of participants in the treatment group were arrested, compared with only 29.5 percent of their control group peers. The overall difference is statistically significant at the 10 percent level, while the difference for violent offenders is not statistically significant.\(^{10}\) The difference for nonviolent offenders is nonetheless stark: only 15.6 percent of nonviolent offenders in the treatment group had been rearrested within 18 months of the start of treatment, compared with 41.7 percent in the control group.

In short, the overall pattern of arrests is consistent at any time window, but differences for those followed after 18 months become less statistically significant because of much smaller samples (see Table 2 for sample sizes over time).

### 3. Survival Analysis on Arrests

While Table 4 begins to provide a picture of recidivism among ex-offenders, the need to break posttreatment time into large bins for presentation in tables, and the difficulty of controlling for individuals with shorter windows of observation, suggest that a clearer picture can be obtained by using survival analysis.

Survival analysis is a statistical estimation procedure that models the time until an event occurs. Its history is rooted in medical studies, often referring to actual survival after a medical procedure or diagnosis. This paper refers to “survival” as time after beginning the treatment program until the individual is arrested on a new charge (the authors also examine convictions). Although many statistical approaches can be used, the Kaplan-Meier estimation procedure is often preferred when researchers are interested in comparing two or more well-defined groups. This paper seeks to compare the treatment and control group and to compare treatment and control for two different criminal histories: violent and nonviolent.

Figure 1 presents the estimated Kaplan-Meier survival function for all participants in this study. The horizontal axis measures the number of months since ex-offenders entered the treatment program; the vertical axis measures the proportion of ex-offenders who had not been rearrested at that point in time. At time zero (entry into the program), 100 percent of ex-offenders had not been rearrested. At approximately six months, the graph crosses the 90 percent line. Given the July 2012 data cutoff, tracking beyond 36 months is not possible. This paper observes that at 36 months, about 40 percent of ex-offenders had not been rearrested.
Figure 2 presents the estimated survival function for the treatment and control groups. The treatment group is slightly higher than the control group, suggesting slower recidivism. Initially, the two groups differ little, but as the months proceed, the slower recidivism of the treatment group seems to dominate. By 30 months, 57 percent of the treatment group still had not been rearrested, compared with only 50 percent of the control group. (That spread, however, does not amount to a statistical difference.)

A very different picture emerges in Figure 3, which provides survival analysis for violent offenders. Although the difference is also not statistically significant, the treatment group has higher rates of rearrest than the control group. While at the end, near 36 months, the two graphs come together, there are periods just prior to two years where violent offenders in the treatment group appear to hit a period of high recidivism.

Figure 4 demonstrates that the overall conclusion is determined by nonviolent offenders: the treatment group clearly has significantly lower arrest rates than the control group. Indeed, at 30 months, approximately 50 percent of the control group has been rearrested while nearly 70 percent of the treatment group remains arrest-free. The difference between these two survivor functions is highly significant statistically and supports the basic findings from the descriptive statistics in Table 4.

Overall, the survival analysis provides a clear picture: enhanced employment services are effective for nonviolent criminals but do not have an impact on violent criminals.

4. Regression Analysis on Arrests

Table 5 contains initial regression results, which present formal tests for the simple differences described in previous figures. The dependent variable indicates whether the ex-offender was rearrested after entering treatment (similar to Table 4’s third column). As previously noted, the nonviolent sample shows modest statistical differences but large economic ones between treatment and control groups. In general, the coefficient on receiving enhanced job services (the treatment group) is negative, meaning that enhanced services reduce arrests. Results are strongest for nonviolent criminals and the subset of nonviolent criminals with prior arrests for drugs or other minor offenses (excluding those with property crimes).

Table 6 presents initial regression results corresponding to Table 4’s column 2—total arrests after entering treatment group. Again, coefficients on treatment are all negative, indicating that those in the treatment group have slightly lower counts of arrests, posttreatment. Results are statistically significant for nonviolent criminals.
As noted earlier, observable differences exist between control and treatment groups—most notably, the number of charges prior to entry into the America Works program. In Table 7A, the authors modify the empirical specification used in Table 6. In particular, the authors allow criminal history prior to entering America Works (the “Total Pretreat Charges” variable) to influence arrests after the program is completed. The authors also allow participation in the enhanced America Works program (“Treat*TotPre-Charges”) to influence subsequent arrests differently, depending on the individuals’ histories. Finally, the authors include the main effect of the enhanced program (“Treatment”). The dependent variable indicates whether the ex-offender was rearrested (comparable with Table 4’s column 3 and Table 5’s regressions).

The results that emerge are extremely useful. Consider the first column, which uses the full sample. The coefficient on treatment is negative, indicating that, on average, holding constant pretreatment charges at a level of zero, members receiving enhanced services (treatment group) were 24.8 percentage points less likely to be rearrested after treatment than those in the control group. Overall, this means that the treatment group experienced lower recidivism. The second coefficient in this column, for total pretreatment charges, is small and statistically insignificant (this coefficient will be discussed in detail for later columns).

The third coefficient is the interaction between participating in enhanced services and criminal history prior to America Works. At the 99 percent level, this coefficient is positive and statistically significant: it implies that for every additional pretreatment charge, the difference between treatment and control group falls by 0.78 percentage points. Meanwhile, the average ex-offender had 26.9 pretreatment charges,
implying that for the average ex-offender, treatment reduced the probability of posttreatment arrest by only 3.9 percentage points. The authors arrive at this number by multiplying the coefficient on the interaction term (0.00775) by the average number of pretreatment charges (26.9), and then subtracting the increase in arrests (20.9 percentage points) from the reduction from the main effect of treatment (24.8 percentage points).

Nevertheless, the distribution of pretreatment charges is highly skewed. One individual had more than 900 pretreatment charges, driving the average quite high. The median ex-offender had only 15 pretreatment charges, and for the median ex-offender, treatment reduces the probability of rearrest by 13.2 percentage points. For the 25 percent of ex-offenders with eight or fewer pretreatment charges, treatment reduces rearrest probabilities by 18 percentage points. The main implication: enhanced services were most effective at reducing arrests for ex-offenders with fewer charges prior to entering the program.

The second column, examining violent criminals, displays a nearly opposite story—albeit one statistically insignificant. The coefficient on enhanced job training is actually positive, while the coefficient on the interaction term is negative. This indicates that treatment is generally associated with higher rates of rearrest (for violent criminals with the most prior charges, such effect is admittedly smallest). Yet the lack of statistical significance indicates that this result is weak and essentially should not be relied upon. However, total pretreatment charges (second row) are positive and statistically significant: violent criminals with more pretreatment charges are more likely to be rearrested. This result (combined with others) suggests that the program is generally not effective for violent criminals.

The third column is similar to the first but with higher magnitudes for the two treatment coefficients. Enhanced job services, it reveals, largely reduces the probability of being rearrested. Notably, for nonviolent criminals, having more pretreatment arrests (second row) is associated with a slightly lower probability of rearrest. As with the first column, more pretreatment charges dilute the effect of treatment. The average nonviolent ex-offender had 25.3 charges prior to enrollment in America Works. For this average ex-offender, treatment reduces the probability of rearrest by 5.3 percent. Again, though, distribution is highly skewed, with half of ex-offenders experiencing ten or fewer pretreatment charges. For this median ex-offender, treatment reduces the probability of rearrest by an impressive 24.3 percent. For the 25 percent of nonviolent criminals with six or fewer prior charges, treatment reduces rearrest probabilities by 29.3 percent.

| Table 7A. Arrested Posttreatment, Controlling for Number of Pretreatment Charges |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                                | Treatment                       | Total Pretreat Charges           | Treat*Total Pre-Charges         | Treatment                       | Total Pretreat Charges           | Treat*Total Pre-Charges         | Treatment                       |
|                                |                                 |                                 |                                 |                                 |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| All Criminals                  | -0.248***                      | -0.0000472                      | 0.00775***                      | -0.248***                      | -0.0000472                      | 0.00775***                      |                                 |
|                                | (0.0824)                       | (0.00510)                       | (0.000510)                      | (0.0824)                       | (0.00510)                       | (0.000510)                      |                                 |
| Violent Criminals              | 0.160                           | 0.0106***                      | -0.00528                        | 0.124***                      | 0.0124***                      | -0.00528                        | 0.124***                      |
|                                | (0.129)                        | (0.00177)                       | (0.000144)                      | (0.114)                        | (0.00176)                       | (0.000144)                      | (0.114)                        |
| Nonviolent Criminals           | -0.367***                      | -0.000470***                   | 0.0124***                      | -0.353                        | -0.000622***                   | 0.0107**                        | -0.353                        |
|                                | (0.114)                        | (0.000144)                      | (0.00176)                       | (0.257)                        | (0.000176)                      | (0.00176)                       | (0.257)                        |
| Property Criminals             | -0.353                        | -0.000622***                   | 0.0107**                        | -0.0950                        | 0.0253***                      | -0.0127*                        | -0.0950                        |
|                                | (0.181)                        | (0.000527)                      | (0.00057)                       | (0.157)                        | (0.00550)                      | (0.000527)                      | (0.157)                        |
| Drug Criminals                 | 0.0631                         | 0.0253***                      | -0.0127*                        | 0.0218***                      | 0.00789                        | 0.0115***                       | 0.0218***                      |
|                                | (0.181)                        | (0.00550)                      | (0.000527)                      | (0.131)                        | (0.00147)                      | (0.000147)                      | (0.131)                        |
| Drug and Other Minor-Offense   | -0.353                         | -0.000451***                  | 0.0115***                       | -0.309**                      | -0.353                         | 0.0631                         | -0.309**                      |
| Criminals                      | (0.257)                        | (0.000147)                      | (0.000147)                      | (0.131)                        | (0.257)                        | (0.181)                        | (0.131)                        |
| Drug and Property Criminals    | -0.0950                        | 0.0115***                      | 0.0631                         | -0.309**                      | 0.0253***                      | -0.0127*                        | 0.0631                         |
|                                | (0.157)                        | (0.00147)                      | (0.181)                        | (0.131)                        | (0.00550)                      | (0.000527)                      | (0.181)                        |
| Observations                   | 219                            | 126                            | 93                             | 26                            | 51                             | 67                             | 77                             |
| R-squared                      | 0.059                          | 0.00207                        | 0.00322                        | 0.0146                        | 0.146                          | 0.00289                        | 0.124                          |
|                                | 0.124                          | 0.00391                        | 0.00747                        | 0.162                         | 0.0124                         | 0.00747                        | 0.162                          |
|                                | 0.146                          | 0.00719                        | 0.00719                        | 0.162                         | 0.0253                         | 0.00719                        | 0.162                          |
|                                | 0.124                          | 0.00298                        |                                  | 0.208                         | 0.0146                         |                                  | 0.208                          |
|                                |                                  |                                 |                                 | 0.196                         | 0.0289                         |                                  | 0.196                          |
|                                |                                  |                                 |                                 | 0.104                         | 0.00289                        |                                  | 0.104                          |

Note: Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.
Indeed, Table 7A’s third column highlights this paper’s main finding: enhanced services are most effective on nonviolent criminals with fewer pretreatment charges. Focusing future efforts upon this group is thus the most cost-effective strategy. Enhanced job placement is far less effective for those with violent criminal histories and numerous prior charges.

Table 7A’s four remaining columns offer a number of interesting patterns. While statistical significance is difficult to establish because of the small samples (resulting from dividing nonviolent criminals into three subsets), the authors find that ex-offenders guilty of property crimes and minor offenses mostly drive the positive results for nonviolent criminals. Drug offenders collectively appear to have no baseline impact, though the treatment is most effective for drug offenders with the most pretreatment charges. (Given the small samples, caution is advised when interpreting these results.)

Up to this point, the authors have excluded P/PV’s baseline survey information from statistical analysis. The nonresponse rate, as discussed, was exceedingly high for the majority of questions, rendering much of the survey unusable. Another potential problem, as with all survey data, involves measurement error—specifically, the veracity of individual responses. Given the sensitivity of the survey’s questions, this risk is particularly relevant.

To explore such issues, the authors make use of the availability of two data sources on criminal history. Participants were initially categorized as violent or nonviolent based on actual arrest histories obtained from administrative records. But the baseline survey from P/PV also asked participants to discuss past convictions. Together, the two data streams allow the authors to separate the sample into four groups: (1) violent offenders based on actual arrest records; (2) nonviolent offenders based on actual arrest records; (3) self-reported violent offenders; and (4) self-reported nonviolent offenders.

When comparing these four groups, it becomes clear that relying on self-reporting is problematic. Using arrest records, the authors classify 126 of 219 ex-offenders as violent; using P/PV’s baseline, on the other hand, the authors classify 76 as violent (of 213 ex-offenders who responded). This discrepancy suggests that many program participants were not forthcoming about their most egregious crimes. By relying on self-reported criminal histories, therefore, many participants with official records of violent offenses would (erroneously) be classified as nonviolent.

From previous estimates, one would expect the treatment effect on the self-reported nonviolent group to be less than the treatment effect on the true group of nonviolent inmates (based on administrative records). Table 7B confirms this intuition. For convenience,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>-0.367***</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>-0.286***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.114)</td>
<td>(0.156)</td>
<td>(0.104)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pretreat Charges</td>
<td>0.0106***</td>
<td>-0.000470***</td>
<td>0.0141***</td>
<td>-0.000267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00177)</td>
<td>(0.000144)</td>
<td>(0.00461)</td>
<td>(0.000372)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treat*Total Pre-Charges</td>
<td>-0.00528</td>
<td>0.0124***</td>
<td>-0.00722</td>
<td>0.00815***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00322)</td>
<td>(0.00289)</td>
<td>(0.00572)</td>
<td>(0.00269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.146</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Columns (1) and (2) are identical to specifications in Table 7A for columns (2) and (3). Self-reported status comes from P/PV’s baseline interview. Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.
columns 1 and 2 reproduce Table 7A’s previous findings, using administrative arrest records for violent and nonviolent ex-offenders, respectively. Columns 3 and 4 estimate the treatment effect using self-reported criminal histories: although one observes a continued significant, negative impact of treatment on the probability of being rearrested, the estimate is lower than before. Further, the results suggest that violent ex-offenders are less likely to be rearrested when using self-reported criminal histories. Both results, together, imply that many violent criminals self-report into the nonviolent group. One should, accordingly, be cautious of relying solely on self-reported survey data.

Table 8—which presents regression results for the dependent variable counting total post-program arrests—is comparable with column 2 of Table 4 and Table 6. Table 8, like Table 7, controls for pretreatment arrests. Results, likewise, are qualitatively similar to those in Table 7. Overall, the treatment program is effective, with effectiveness decreasing as pretreatment charges rise. For violent criminals, the program has no statistical effect. Nonviolent criminals, in other words, entirely drive the main patterns in the full sample column.

Using the three levels examined above, this paper finds that for the average ex-offender, treatment reduces the number of arrests by 3.1. For the median ex-offender with only ten prior arrests, treatment lowers arrests by 3.9. For the lowest quartile, with only six prior arrests, treatment cuts arrests by 4.1. (Much of this reduction, admittedly, comes from the lack of arrests previously documented.)

5. Criminal Convictions

This paper has thus far explored effects on arrests, an approach consistent with a number of studies discussed in the literature review (Section II), such as Visher et al.’s eight surveyed RCTs. One important motivation for using arrests is that criminal activity that leads to an arrest—even if insufficient to lead to a conviction due to, say, lack of evidence or a skilled legal team—may still create important societal costs. At the same time, many arrests may be baseless—in which case, criminal convictions might better measure societal costs.

Accordingly, the authors duly replicated their analysis on convictions, in particular, conducting regression analyses where the outcome of interest was convictions, not arrests. Formal results are presented in Appendix 4, along with tables analogous to those on arrests. Findings, it turns out, are remarkably similar to those on arrests: of 104 ex-offenders arrested after enrolling in the RCT, 82 were convicted, while 22 were observed as neither convicted nor acquitted. Stated differently, no ex-offender who, in the period studied, was later arrested was afterward acquitted. The link between arrests and convictions is plainly very high; the results are largely the same.

| Table 8. Total Arrests Posttreatment, Controlling for Pretreatment Charges |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                | All Criminals   | Violent         | Nonviolent      | Property         | Drug Criminals  | Drug and Other  | Drug and Other  |
|                                |                 | Criminals       | Criminals       | Criminals        | Criminals       | Criminals       | Criminals       | Criminals       |
| Treatment                      | -4.9343***      | 2.9664          | -4.4824***      | -6.8460          | -0.04420        | -4.2086         | -3.3458*        |
|                                | (1.4816)        | (2.8354)        | (2.0784)        | (5.9345)         | (1.1649)        | (3.6709)        | (1.8852)        |
| Total Pretreat Charges         | 0.0045          | 0.2828**        | -0.0063**       | -0.0095          | 0.0947*         | -0.0474         | -0.0046*        |
|                                | (0.0120)        | (0.1417)        | (0.0031)        | (0.0074)         | (0.0497)        | (0.1407)        | (0.0026)        |
| Treat*Total Pre-Charges        | 0.0933***       | -0.1735         | 0.0550**        | 0.0478*          | -0.0401         | 0.1033          | 0.0521*         |
|                                | (0.0363)        | (0.1488)        | (0.0262)        | (0.0284)         | (0.0697)        | (0.1480)        | (0.0264)        |
| Observations                   | 219             | 126             | 93              | 26              | 51              | 67              | 77              |
| R-squared                      | 0.036           | 0.188           | 0.039           | 0.056           | 0.099           | 0.038           | 0.031           |

Note: Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.
VI. COSTS AND BENEFITS OF ENHANCED JOB PLACEMENT

This paper’s main findings are best captured in measures of recidivism. However, given that it costs approximately $5,000 to place someone in a job through an America Works program, it is important to obtain some estimate of the social benefit of the reduction in arrests.\(^\text{(12)}\)

Establishing social costs of crime is extremely difficult. This project, moreover, is not designed to provide new estimates. Instead, the authors use existing economic literature and other basic information to assign a dollar value for each crime committed by an ex-offender, both pre- and posttreatment. Table 9 summarizes the estimated social costs for various crime categories from eight different studies. Unsurprisingly, social costs for violent crimes—especially murder—are extremely high, while many nonviolent crimes impose relatively modest social costs. In the following analysis, the authors rely on estimates in comprehensive studies by Cohen and Piquero (2009); and McCollister et al. (2010).

Table 10 presents average social costs of crimes. The average ex-offender has committed crimes imposing social costs of more than $1.3 million. As with total arrests, total social costs are highly skewed, with a few prisoners generating very high social costs. Median

### Table 9. Summary of Unit Crime Cost Estimates Reported in Literature (2008 dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crime</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>4,423,614</td>
<td>11,350,687</td>
<td>4.6–5 million</td>
<td>4,144,677</td>
<td>4,380,559</td>
<td>8,982,907</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape/Sexual assault</td>
<td>369,739</td>
<td>97,962</td>
<td>286,277</td>
<td>290,000</td>
<td>80,403</td>
<td>124,419</td>
<td>240,776</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated assault</td>
<td>105,545</td>
<td>23,025</td>
<td>84,555</td>
<td>85,000</td>
<td>24,987</td>
<td>21,451</td>
<td>76,829</td>
<td>107,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>219,286</td>
<td>24,168</td>
<td>280,237</td>
<td>39,000</td>
<td>33,036</td>
<td>18,591</td>
<td>33,143</td>
<td>42,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>41,900</td>
<td>53,629</td>
<td>21,103</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny/Theft</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>3,532</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicle theft</td>
<td>6,006</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>5,720</td>
<td>1,723</td>
<td>10,772</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>2,575</td>
<td>30,197</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>1,974</td>
<td>6,462</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk-driving crash</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embezzlement</td>
<td>5,480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stolen property</td>
<td>22,739</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
<td>7,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery and counterfeiting</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>5,265</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution, false statements, etc.</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


pretreatment social cost is $381,500. For violent criminals, costs are significantly higher, with average pretreatment costs exceeding $2.1 million. Again, the distribution is skewed, with a median of $834,500 (more than double the overall median). Nonviolent crimes impose markedly lower social costs: an average of $201,530 for pretreatment costs, with a median of $109,250.

Table 10’s second column displays posttreatment costs. Since more than half of ex-offenders are not rearrested in the sample period, many of these ex-offenders display a social cost of $0. While the overall sample average is $103,040, the treatment group generated only $65,068 and the control group generated $141,360. For violent criminals, the posttreatment average of $104,573 was similar to the overall average. The treatment group generated $81,684; the control group, $128,963. Meanwhile, the overall average for nonviolent criminals was $100,962. Here, the difference between treatment and control was far higher. At $157,114, the control group displayed the high-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Average and Median Social Costs by Time Since Enrollment (dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Inmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=219)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(226,397)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(391,408)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(227,141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(376,072)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(641,513)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(374,177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonviolent Criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(35,942)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36,532)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(60,950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Offenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample (N=51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24,950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment Group (N=24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39,625)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group (N=27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31,619)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard deviation in parentheses
The estimated cost of recidivism; the low cost for the treatment group was $41,066.

As with total arrests, total social costs posttreatment are dominated by the large proportion of individuals who do not commit crimes. Simple linear regression models (not discussed here) are typically statistically insignificant but do show a reduction in social costs similar to the pattern seen in Table 10. An alternative approach when data have a preponderance of zero values is to use censored regression. This approach models the zeros, estimating the intensive margin (i.e., the effect of treatment on those who do commit crimes posttreatment). This latter technique provides a clearer measure of the marginal effect of treatment.

Table 11 presents such estimates for this paper’s three main models of interest: overall sample, violent crimes sample, and nonviolent crimes sample. The authors find patterns similar to those discussed previously. Overall, the treatment group displays lower post-program social costs of $289,993 in reduced criminal activity. Such savings shrink as the number of charges faced by the ex-offender, prior to participation, rises: each additional charge reduces savings by $5,565. For an average ex-offender with 26 pretreatment charges, a net savings of $145,303 is realized.

As before, social costs of violent offenders are statistically unrelated to treatment. The authors’ best estimate is that treatment may raise social costs. However, for nonviolent criminals, the strong results demonstrate that the typical ex-offender would see a reduction of $231,661 in social costs after treatment. The authors arrive at this number in a similar fashion to the way they computed Table 7A’s 3.9 percentage-point reduction in recidivism: multiply Table 11’s interaction term ($14,226.41 for nonviolent criminals) by the average number of pretreatment charges, then add that to the main effect (-$601,537.10).

These results help establish the cost-benefit analysis of the America Works program. Treatment cost for one ex-offender is approximately $5,000. Reducing recidivism yields expected average savings in social costs well in excess of this amount. While some caution should be taken in using these estimates, the overall result is striking: providing intensive job-training and job-search services to nonviolent offenders more than pays for itself by reducing the social costs of crime.

VII. CONCLUSION

This paper examines the impact of intensive job-readiness training and job-search assistance on criminal recidivism and labor-market outcomes among ex-offenders, using recently gathered data from a randomized controlled trial conducted at the America Works job-placement agency. Overall, such training and assistance had no effect on recidivism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11. Social Costs of Arrests Posttreatment, Tobit Model Estimation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Criminals</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(129,032.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pretreat Charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(944.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treat*Total Pre-Charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3294.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.
This result nonetheless masks substantial heterogeneity of outcomes.

For the roughly half of program participants with nonviolent arrest histories, intensive job-search assistance significantly decreased the likelihood of recidivism. Only 35.6 percent of nonviolent offenders receiving intensive job training were subsequently rearrested; among participants receiving standard training, on the other hand, 52.1 percent were subsequently rearrested. Such results suggest that enhanced job-search assistance is most effective for the easiest of the hard-to-serve population (i.e., those without histories of violence and few charges) and far less effective for clients with more difficult histories of arrests and charges.

Although these results on criminal recidivism are noteworthy, the authors were unable to convincingly answer a number of other important questions originally posed when P/PV set up the experiment, including: (1) Did participation in America Works enhanced program increase ex-offenders' likelihood of finding and maintaining employment over those who did not receive intensive services? (2) Did the enhanced program help ex-offenders find jobs of a higher quality than they would otherwise have found on their own? (3) Did participation in the program reduce reliance on cash assistance from the government? (4) Did participation increase formal participation in the child-support system?

Data constraints preclude the authors from answering these questions. To address them, the authors would require high-quality administrative data or the opportunity to reinterview ex-offenders many years after initial contact with America Works. Such approaches, while conceptually possible, are difficult, given budgetary and privacy constraints.

Nonetheless, this paper's findings on recidivism suggest that the obvious path to improvement in the lives of ex-offenders—as well as the welfare of society at large—runs through the labor market.
ENDNOTES

1 See http://www.justice.gov/archive/fbci/progmenu_reentry.html. Holzer et al. (2003) note that more than 600,000 offenders are released, while Raphael (2010) notes that 725,000 inmates were released from either state or federal facilities. In 2011, more than 688,000 were released (Carson and Sabol, 2012).


3 The recidivism rates are quite dated. The latest published Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) study on recidivism comes from prisoners released in 1994 from 15 states. A different research report found that the three-year recidivism rate was 45.4 percent for inmates released in 1999 and 43.3 percent for those freed in 2004 (Pew Center on the States 2011). The BJS notes that a new study on the recidivism rates of state prisoners released in 2005 was due in 2013. See http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=datool&surl=/recidivism/index.cfm.

4 Holzer et al. (2003) note that supply-side factors include limited education, cognitive skills, and work experience, as well as substance abuse and other physical/mental health problems. Many ex-offenders also face racial discrimination.


6 The description of America Works programs closely follows internal memos produced by Public/Private Ventures, “Moving Men into the Mainstream: Study Brief,” April 2006.

7 The discussion in this section follows directly from P/PV’s document “AW Study Rationale Brief,” August 2006.

8 On its website, America Works describes four steps that it takes to get program participants back to full-time work rapidly. One step is a job-readiness program focusing on the “hard” and “soft” skills that employers are looking for. A second is sending participants to interviews and matching them with specific jobs. A third is continuing support for the participant after he finds a job (i.e., have a case manager follow up to ensure that the client is getting to work on time each day). A final step is working with participants to ensure that they are taking advantage of opportunities to increase their human capital (work-training programs, GED classes, etc.). See http://www.americaworks.com/partners/how-we-work. Appendix 1 provides a greater description of these services from site visits conducted by P/PV in late 2005, several years prior to the experiment.

9 An example of a redacted criminal history can be found in Appendix 2.

10 Statistical significance is the probability that an effect is not likely due to chance alone. Statistical significance at the 10 percent level means that there is a 10 percent probability that the results are due to chance.

11 Question 26 of the baseline survey asks about convictions for different crime types, including violent crimes. A respondent is supposed to check “yes” or “no” for each of 15 crime types. See Appendix 3.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX 1. AMERICA WORKS: A CLOSER LOOK

In November 2005, P/PV made site visits to a number of America Works offices in New York, conducting confidential interviews with various stakeholders. From these interviews, the authors summarize the kinds of services offered by America Works to facilitate job placement for ex-offenders, as well as the unique challenges that such individuals face—including overcoming inherent distrust from employers, learning to handle difficult questions about their backgrounds, and dealing with probation officers’ inflexibilities.

On the challenge of helping ex-offenders truthfully reveal criminal histories while not getting passed over for openings, one America Works trainer remarked: “Normally, I provide a three-day workshop giving them job-readiness training [including] telling them how to answer that difficult question. It avoids you getting fired three months later. And [telling them] that work will keep them out of trouble. So just motivating them and encouraging them to work and telling them that working is a good thing. Also trying to get them jobs.” The same trainer describes the training:

> It’s three days. I come from a training background, so I designed the training. On day 1, I start with tunnel vision and opportunity blindness. Then, what is an interview? What is your packaging? What is your experience? People hire you because you made an impression on them, because they like you. Then how to dress and getting them to see experiences as work experience. Videos that we use include the applications; they watch the interviews and then they critique the videos. Also, how to handle tough questions in the interview.

Second day—cold calling. What is that? Networking—start networking with family and friends. Telling them to carry their résumé with them. When you call some employer, ask to talk to the manager directly, not the receptionist. We show them how to use the fax machine. We review the employer contact sheet. We tell them that they need to make sure they keep track of who they contacted for work. Teaching them to focus and structure and strategize their job search, not just go out there.

Third day—incorporating everything, reviewing everything. And making sure they’re on point with their dress attire. Then we actually start putting into effect what they’ve been learning. Third day, we start with cold calls.

And interactions with probation officers:

> For ex-offenders coming from the HRA, we work with their probation officers. Working with probation officers is difficult. They don’t want to be flexible with their appointments. [Ex-offenders] cannot come and meet with [the probation officer] because they have to work. Their boss is not going to let them take off to see a probation officer.

> I end up doing a lot of case management hands on. Everyone does their best to help out with the problems that come up with the probation officers. And so we try to help them out as much as we can.

At a different America Works office, another trainer notes:

> It’s a job training that lasts two weeks. It consists of job-readiness training, learning how to fill out job applications, mock interviews, learning about job attitudes, interpersonal skills, things to do and not to do in a job. It’s sort of an interpersonal skills building workshop and at the same time building their soft skills.
They leave the training knowing a lot of things—[for instance], how to put a résumé together. Some of these things they’ve never heard about before. Some don’t know how to fill out job applications [or] learning strategies for looking for work. They don’t realize that the Yellow Pages is a great resource for employment. They don’t realize that on 100 pages of a telephone book you have 10,000 potential employers. So I utilize a telephone book. Also, why would they be posting their résumés on Monster.com? These sites are looking for more educated and seasoned workers. When they leave here, they have a sense of knowledge about looking for jobs, about successful interviewing. We do mock interviews. A lot of people don’t know how to present themselves. A lot of people don’t have the ability to keep a job. I also go through anger management with them and how to deal with different situations. Those skills are very important. And hopefully, they will help them in their personal lives.

Yet another America Works trainer observes:

I make sure the candidates’ résumés are acceptable and they have the right interview skills and they can represent themselves and AW well when they go out. What to say, what to do, a lot of things they wouldn’t know because no one ever told them. A new start class is with me for a two-week period. Monday, day 1, is paperwork, and I give them an overview of the class and go into my expectation of them, their expectation of me, and, if there’s anything the participants want to focus on, I leave that open as well. We do résumé building, a whole day on interview skills, I have guest speakers and recruiters and hire candidates out of the classroom: that’s the first week. Videos. Retention workshops [teach] getting there on time, interaction with coworkers. The second week, I get them out on interviews and use their own resources and what’s in their neighborhood. Three interviews is the minimum that we ask them to do, and you can’t get jobs sitting in here—I try to shove them out the door. Once they’re in the WEP [Work Experience Program] schedule, it becomes very easy for them to get settled into that.
APPENDIX 2. EXAMPLES OF REDACTED CRIMINAL-HISTORY RECORDS

With support from the Manhattan Institute, the authors obtained detailed criminal histories in redacted form for the vast majority of ex-offenders in the America Works experiment. Comprehensive criminal records for New York State and its municipalities were obtained online (http://www.nycourts.gov/apps/chrs) for $65 per person.

Arrest histories—totaling 1,027 pages—were obtained for 226 ex-offenders. In all, the group accounted for 1,591 arrests, ranging from one to 43 per ex-offender (including both the time before and after the experiment). Earliest recorded arrests dated to 1977; the most recent, to July 2012. Each arrest came with at least one charge. Most featured between one and six charges, though a small number had many more. For example, hundreds of charges related to forgery were involved in a single arrest of one individual.

The following pages (27-30) offer examples of redacted criminal-history records analyzed in this paper. One such example, “Person 1008,” born in 1985, was arrested for the first time in January 2003, aged 17, on nine charges, including second- and third-degree attempted robbery, fourth-degree attempted grand larceny, second- and third-degree menacing, third-degree attempted assault, and attempted petit larceny. Charges were transferred to a superior court, with Person 1008 pleading guilty in April 2003 and receiving a two-year sentence. Person 1008 was subsequently arrested in January 2011, June 2011, July 2011, and August 2011.

In coding individuals such as Person 1008, the authors develop a hierarchy. All individuals who were scrutinized experienced one or more arrests, each featuring one or more charges. As with Person 1008’s first arrest, charges may later be transferred to a higher court. When this occurs, the authors take care not to include duplicate charges. (Individuals may reach a plea deal for a limited set of charges, too.) If the sentencing outcome is resolved, the authors code that as well.

In creating models of recidivism, coding is straightforward: When (if at all) was the person arrested after participating in the America Works experiment? In creating models for the social cost of crime, coding becomes more complicated. The authors assign each charge listed in a given arrest to one of Table 9’s categories. They then add costs for all such charges to compute the total social cost for a given arrest. Such an approach explicitly gives greater weight to more serious crimes and recognizes that an arrest with many charges (e.g., ten assault charges relative to one assault charge) is more costly to society.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1007</td>
<td>NEW YORK</td>
<td>12/08/1989</td>
<td>02/27/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjourn/Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2011NY020201
Court Control Number: 64685462R
Plead Guilty Date: 03/30/2011
Adjourned To: 06/02/2011

Charge: PL 155.25 00 AM - PETIT LARCENY
Disposition/Status: PLED GUILTY
Sentenced to: CONDITIONAL DISCHARGE 1 YEARS, COMMUNITY SERVICE 3 DAYS,

Charge: PL 165.40 00 AM 5TH DEGREE - CRIMINAL POSSESSION OF STOLEN PROPERTY
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1008</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>10/16/1985</td>
<td>01/07/2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjourn/Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2003KN001519
Court Control Number: 56332789Z
Adjourned To: 01/10/2003

TEMPORARY ORDER OF PROTECTION ISSUED

Charge: PL 110-160.10 01 DF 2ND DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ROBBERY
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 110-160.05 00 EF 3RD DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ROBBERY
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 110-155.30 05 AM 4TH DEGREE - ATTEMPTED GRAND LARCENY
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT
Charge: AC 10-131.G1 00 UM - - NO DESCRIPTION AVAILABLE
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 120.15 00 BM 3RD DEGREE - MENACING
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 120.14 01 AM 2ND DEGREE - MENACING
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 110-120.00 01 BM 3RD DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ASSAULT
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 110-160.10 28 DF 2ND DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ROBBERY
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Charge: PL 110-155.25 00 BM - ATTEMPTED PETIT LARCENY
Disposition/Status: TRANSFERRED TO SUPERIOR COURT

Supreme Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 00208-2003
Court Control Number: 56332789Z
Plead Guilty Date: 04/04/2003
Last Disposition Date: 07/08/2004

TEMPORARY ORDER OF PROTECTION ISSUED

Charge: PL 110-160.10 01 DF 2ND DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ROBBERY
Disposition/Status: PLED GUILTY
Sentenced to: IMPRISONMENT 2 YEARS, FINAL ORDER OF PROTECTION, 5 YEARS,

Charge: PL 110-155.30 05 AM 4TH DEGREE - ATTEMPTED GRAND LARCENY
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

Charge: PL 110-155.25 00 BM - ATTEMPTED PETIT LARCENY
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

Charge: PL 110-160.05 00 EF 3RD DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ROBBERY
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

OCA Remarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1008</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>10/16/1985</td>
<td>01/13/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjourn/Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2011KN012201
Court Control Number: 64807939M
Plead Guilty Date: 02/16/2011
Adjourned To: 07/21/2011

Charge: PL 165.15 03 AM - THEFT OF SERVICES
Disposition/Status: PLED GUILTY
Sentenced to: IMPRISONMENT TS ,

Charge: PL 140.05 00 V - TRESPASS
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

OCA Remarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1008</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>10/16/1985</td>
<td>07/05/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjourn-Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2011KN053308
Court Control Number: 64917093N
Adjourn To: 09/10/2012

TEMPORARY ORDER OF PROTECTION ISSUED

Charge: PL 120.00 01 AM 3RD DEGREE - ASSAULT
Disposition/Status: NOT DISPOSED YET

Charge: PL 240.26 01 V 2ND DEGREE - HARASSMENT
Disposition/Status: NOT DISPOSED YET

Charge: PL 120.15 00 BM 3RD DEGREE - MENACING
Disposition/Status: NOT DISPOSED YET

Charge: PL 280.10 01 AM - ENDANGERING THE WELFARE OF A CHILD
Disposition/Status: NOT DISPOSED YET

OCA Remarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1008</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>10/16/1985</td>
<td>08/10/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjourn-Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2011KN064489
Court Control Number: 64982276J
Plead Guilty Date: 09/07/2011
Last Disposition Date: 03/30/2012

TEMPORARY ORDER OF PROTECTION ISSUED
Charge: PL 145.00.01 AM 4TH DEGREE - CRIMINAL MISCHIEF  
Disposition/Status: PLED GUILTY  
Sentenced to: IMPRISONMENT 40 DAYS, FINAL ORDER OF PROTECTION, 5 YEARS,

Charge: PL 120.00.01 AM 3RD DEGREE - ASSAULT  
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

Charge: PL 240.26.01 V 2ND DEGREE - HARASSMENT  
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

Charge: PL 110-120.00.01 BM 3RD DEGREE - ATTEMPTED ASSAULT  
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

Charge: PL 120.15.00 BM 3RD DEGREE - MENACING  
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

### OCA Remarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1008</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>10/16/1985</td>
<td>06/07/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Adjudgment/Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2011KN045433  
Court Control Number: 64868384L  
Plead Guilty Date: 06/08/2011  
Adjourned To: 09/08/2011

Charge: PL 165.15.03 AM - THEFT OF SERVICES  
Disposition/Status: PLED GUILTY  
Sentenced to: CONDITIONAL DISCHARGE 1 YEARS, COMMUNITY SERVICE 5 DAYS,

Charge: PL 140.05.00 V - TRESPASS  
Disposition/Status: COVERED BY THE PLED TO CHARGE

### OCA Remarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (A.K.A.)</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Arrest Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID #1009</td>
<td>KINGS</td>
<td>07/17/1978</td>
<td>03/18/2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Adjudgment/Disposition Date, Charge, Disposition, and Sentence Information

Criminal Court

Docket/Case/Serial Number: 2005KN016818  
Court Control Number: 57387972Q  
Plead Guilty Date: 03/19/2005  
Last Disposition Date: 03/19/2005
Prison-to-Work

Appendix 3. Baseline Survey

P/PV’s baseline survey—consisting of 26 pages, 121 questions, and also available in Spanish—is presented on the following pages (32-57). The survey, which some participants declined to complete, aims to measure and control for a range of personal, attitudinal, and psychosocial characteristics that may affect labor-market success or criminal recidivism, including:

1. Demographic information, such as racial background and marital status
2. Education level
3. Current and past employment
4. Income and reliance on public assistance
5. Orientation to work
6. Employment barriers
7. Current and past job-training attendance
8. Arrest, conviction, and incarceration history
9. Type and stability of housing
10. Transportation availability and willingness to use it
11. Number of children and contact with children
12. Child-support information
13. Social support
14. Health and health insurance
15. History of mental health treatment
16. History of substance-abuse treatment
17. Self-efficacy
America Works Survey

Please answer these two questions to find out if you can participate in this survey.

A. Are you male or female?
   ☐ 1. Male
   ☐ 2. Female → Please return the survey to America Works staff.

B. Have you been released from a prison, jail or a youth correctional institution like a training school or reform school in the past 6 months or less than 6 months?
   ☐ 1. Yes
   ☐ 2. No → Please return the survey to America Works staff.

If you are male AND have been released from prison, jail or youth correctional institution in the past 6 months or less, please continue filling out the survey.

Instructions:

Thanks for agreeing to participate in this survey.

Please read each question carefully and mark the applicable response. Some questions may require more than one answer. Please print clearly any response that you need to write in.

Your information will remain confidential. We will not share this information with anyone. The page with your identifying information will be removed and kept separately from the rest of the survey.

When you finish this survey, please put it in the attached envelope and seal the envelope.
ID#: __________

1. Today’s Date: 
   (Month) (Day) (Year) 

2. What is your name?
   Last name: ________________________________
   First name: __________________ Middle name: __________________

3. Any other names you’re known by: ________________________________

4. What is your date of birth?
   (Month) (Day) (Year of birth) 

5. Social Security Number: _____ - _____ - ______

6. Are you male or female?  
   □ 1 Male  □ 2 Female 

7. What is your primary language?  
   □ 1 English  □ 2 Spanish  □ 3 Other (what?): __________________

8. What is your current marital status?  
   □ 1 Never married  □ 3 Married  □ 5 Separated  
   □ 2 Divorced  □ 4 Widowed 

9. What is your current home address?
   Address: ________________________________
   (Street) (Apartment number)
   __________________________________________
   (City) (State) (Zip code) 

10a. Is this a temporary address?  
   □ 1 Yes → 10b. Until what date will you be at this address? ________________  
   □ 2 No 

10c. Home phone number: 
   (area code + number) → In whose name is this phone listed? ________________

10d. Cell phone number: 
   (area code + number) → In whose name is this phone listed? ________________

10e. Beeper number: 
   (area code + number) → In whose name is this number listed? ________________

11. Which best describes your race or ethnic background? (Check all that apply):  
   □ 1 African-American/Black  □ 4 Asian  
   □ 2 Hispanic or Latino  □ 5 American Indian or Alaskan Native  
   □ 3 White  □ 6 Pacific Islander  
   □ 7 Other (what?): __________________
12. Considering all income sources (including jobs, public assistance or unemployment insurance) what was your personal income for the previous month? Exclude illegal income.

☐ 1. No income
☐ 2. $1-199
☐ 3. $200-399
☐ 4. $1,000-1,199
☐ 5. $1,200-1,499
☐ 6. $1,500-1,999
☐ 7. $2,000-2,499
☐ 8. $2,500-4,999
☐ 9. $5,000-7,499
☐ 10. $7,500 or more
☐ 11. Do not know

Complete the following contact information for two relatives or friends who do not live with you and who are likely to know where to contact you 18 months from now. Please list people at different addresses.

13. Contact #1
Last name: ____________________ First name: _______________ Middle name: ____________________

Relationship to you: ____________________

Address: ____________________________________________________________

(street) (apartment number) ________________________________________

(City) (State) (Zip code) ____________________

Home phone number: ____________________ → In whose name is the phone listed? ____________________
(area code + number)

Work phone number: ____________________
(area code + number)

14. Contact #2
Last name: ____________________ First name: _______________ Middle name: ____________________

Relationship to you: ____________________

Address: ____________________________________________________________

(street) (apartment number) ________________________________________

(City) (State) (Zip code) ____________________

Home phone number: ____________________ → In whose name is the phone listed? ____________________
(area code + number)

Work phone number: ____________________
(area code + number)

15. Are you a US citizen?
☐ 1. Yes
☐ 2. No

16. In what country were you born?
☐ 1. United States → Skip to question 18.
☐ 2. Other (What?: ____________________ )
17. How long have you lived in the United States? Give a number and check one box.

☐ 1: months
☐ 2: years

18. Are you enlisted in or have you ever been sworn into any branch of the U.S. armed forces, including the National Guard or the Reserves?

☐ 1: Yes
☐ 2: No

19. Are you required to attend the America Works program (for example, by court, parole or probation)?

☐ 1: Yes
☐ 2: No

20. When you were growing up, were either of your parents incarcerated?

☐ 1: Yes
☐ 2: No

The following questions ask about your legal background.

21. How many times have you EVER been arrested, as an adult or a juvenile? Give a number: __________

22. When was the LAST TIME you were arrested?

(Month) ________ (Year) ________

23. Have you ever been convicted of or pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor or felony?  

☐ 1: Yes
☐ 2: No

24. How many times have you EVER been convicted, as an adult or a juvenile? Give a number: __________

25. When was the last time you were convicted?

(Month) ________ (Year) ________

26. Have you EVER been convicted for...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26a. Using or possessing of drugs, including marijuana?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b. Driving under the influence or driving while intoxicated?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26c. Engaging in drunk and disorderly conduct?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26d. Selling or manufacturing drugs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26e. Passing bad checks, forging checks, or using stolen credit cards?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26f. Dealing in stolen property including fencing?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26g. Breaking into a house, business, or vehicle to take someone else's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money or property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26h. Engaging in theft, such as pick-pocketing, purse-snatching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without force, shoplifting, or theft from motor vehicles?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26i. Having sex for money or drugs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26j. Using a weapon or physical force against someone to steal money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or property from them?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26k. Helping or planning to commit a crime?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26l. Committing attacks on persons such as homicide, manslaughter,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggravated assault, forcible rape, or kidnapping?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26. cont. Have you EVER been convicted for…
26m. Committing other offenses where people may be injured such as simple assault or offenses against family and children?
   □ 1: Yes □ 2: No
26n. Committing status offenses such as running away, curfew violations, or truancy?
   □ 1: Yes □ 2: No
26o. Committing any other offenses such as parole or probation violations, gambling, weapons offenses, or contempt of court?
   □ 1: Yes
   If yes, please specify:
   □ 2: No

27. Have you EVER been incarcerated in …
27a. A state prison?
   □ 1: Yes □ 2: No
27b. A federal prison?
   □ 1: Yes □ 2: No
27c. A local, city, or county jail?
   □ 1: Yes □ 2: No

28. In total, how many times were you incarcerated in a prison, jail or a youth correctional institution like a training school or reform school?
   Give a number: ____________

29. In total, how much time did you serve? Give a number and check one box.
   ___ ___ □ 1: weeks □ 2: months □ 3: years

30. How old were you the FIRST time you were incarcerated?
   (Years of age)

31. When was the LAST time you were ADMITTED to a prison, jail or a youth correctional institution like a training school or reform school?
   (Month) ____________ (Year) ____________

32. When was the LAST time you were RELEASED from a prison, jail or a youth correctional institution like a training school or reform school?
   (Month) ____________ (Year) ____________

33. What is the name of facility (jail, prison) where you were LAST incarcerated?
   ________________________________

34. What was the reason why you were MOST RECENTLY ADMITTED to prison, jail or a youth correctional institution?
   □ 1: Parole or probation violation
   □ 2: New arrest or charge
   □ 3: To await a revocation hearing
   □ 4: To await a trial
   □ 5: To await sentencing
   □ 6: Other, please specify ________________________________
35. **WHILE INCARCERATED as an adult or a juvenile, did you EVER participate in...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35a. Any vocational training that trains participants for a job in fields such as electronics, construction trades, food service, cosmetology, and computer electronics?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35b. Any educational programs such as high school classes to get a diploma or GED, college level classes, or English as a second language?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35c. Any job training programs that help you improve job skills (for example, how to find a job, interviewing skills, and how to learn a new job)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35d. Classes in life skills (for example, how to manage household finances)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35e. A religious study group (for example, Bible Study or Islamic Study group)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35f. Prisoner assistance groups (for example, inmate liaison, advisory, or worker’s councils) or prisoner counseling groups?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35g. Other prisoner self-help/personal improvement groups (for example, lifer group, Toastmasters, Jaycees, Gavel club, veterans club, a parent awareness group or classes in parenting or childrearing skills)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35h. An ethnic/racial organization (for example, NAACP, African American Or Black Culture Group, Hispanic Committee, Aztlan, or Lakota)?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35i. A pre-release program?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35j. Outside community activities?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35k. Classes or groups doing arts/crafts?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. **WHILE INCARCERATED, did you EVER do any PAID work for which you did NOT have to leave prison or jail grounds?**

- Yes
- No → Skip to question 38.

37. **In total, how long had you BEEN DOING PAID work for which you did NOT have to leave prison or jail grounds? Give a number and check one box.**

- 1 weeks
- 2 months
- 3 years

38. **WHILE INCARCERATED, did you EVER do any PAID work for which you HAD to leave prison or jail grounds?**

- Yes
- No → Skip to question 40.

39. **In total, how long had you BEEN DOING PAID work for which you HAD to leave prison or jail grounds? Give a number and check one box.**

- 1 weeks
- 2 months
- 3 years

40. **What is your current legal status?**

- 1 I am on parole.
- 2 I am on probation.
- 3 I am on work release.
- 4 I am on some other form of criminal justices supervision. → 40a. What?
- 5 I am not under any criminal justice supervision. → Skip to question 42.
41. What are the requirements of your parole, probation, work release or criminal justice supervision? Check all that apply.
- Drug testing
- Alcohol or drug treatment
- Counseling
- Report to probation/parole officer
- Employment
- Education
- Pay fines, restitution, or other financial obligations (for example, child support)
- Attend job training programs
- Person restriction(s)
- Place restriction(s)
- Weapon restriction(s)
- Operating a motor vehicle restriction
- Other (What?: ________________________________)

42. Since you were last released from prison, which of the following services have you received? Check all that apply.
- Vocational training that trains participants for a job in fields such as electronics, construction trades, food service, cosmetology, and computer electronics
- Educational programs such as high school classes to get a diploma or GED, college level classes, or English as a second language
- Job training programs that focus on improving job skills (for example, how to find a job, interviewing skills, and how to learn a new job)
- Job placement services that focus on finding jobs for participants
- Follow-up or job retention services that focus on helping participants stay at a job
- Life skills programs (for example, how to manage finances or time)
- Housing services
- Substance abuse services
- Mental health services
- Health-related services
- Family reunification services
- Parent education programs
- Child care services
- Mentoring
- I did not receive any of the services listed above.
- Other (What?: ________________________________)

43. Since you were last released from prison, how many different full-time jobs (working 30 or more hours per week) have you had?
- None
- 1 to 3 jobs
- 4 to 6 jobs
- 7 to 9 jobs
- 10 jobs and more

44. Since you were last released from prison, how many different part-time jobs (working less than 30 hours per week) have you had?
- None
- 1 to 3 jobs
- 4 to 6 jobs
- 7 to 9 jobs
- 10 to 12 jobs
- 13 jobs and more
45. Since you were last released from prison, did you personally receive income from any of the following? Check all that apply.
- Social security or supplemental security income (SSI)?
- Any other type of pension, including Federal or State employee retirement, veterans pension, or railroad retirement?
- Any type of welfare, charity or other public assistance, including AFDC (or ADC), Safety Net, food stamps, or WIC benefits?
- Compensation payments, including unemployment insurance, Workman’s Compensation, or Veteran’s Compensation?
- Alimony payments and/or child support paid to you?
- I did not receive income from any of the sources listed above.

The following questions ask about your training and education.

46. What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed? (Check only one)
- Less than 10th grade
- 11th or 12th grade (no HS diploma)
- High School graduate
- Some college
- Some graduate school

47. What is the highest degree you have earned? (Check only one)
- None
- G.E.D.
- High School Diploma
- Associate’s Degree
- Bachelor’s Degree
- Other (what?)

48. How many years of technical school have you completed?
- Did not go to technical school
- less than 1 year
- 1-2 years
- 3-4 years
- 5-6 years
- 7 and more

49. In what field(s), if any, have you received a certificate or diploma? Check all that apply.
- I have no certificates or diplomas
- General secretarial skills
- Computers/information technology
- Cosmetology
- Construction-related
- Medical technician
- Certified nursing assistant
- Automobile mechanic
- Other (What?: ______________________)

50. Did you complete your highest degree or get your GED while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional facility?
- Yes
- No
The following questions ask about your work history.

**Full-time** means working 30 or more hours per week.
**Part-time** means working less than 30 hours per week.
**Being self-employed** means having your own business or working for pay informally like providing child care, making home repairs, housecleaning, cooking, catering, or doing other paid work on your own.

51. When did you last work for pay, either full-time or part-time? Include odd jobs such as painting, repair work, temporary jobs or any other jobs including “off the books” or “under the table” jobs, BUT exclude any work done while in prison.
   Month:_________ Day:_________ Year:_________

   ☐ I have never worked for pay. → Skip to question 63.

52. Do you currently work for pay?
   ☐ 1. Yes, I work full-time.
   ☐ 2. Yes, I work part-time. → 52a. How many part-time jobs do you have? Give a number: ______
   ☐ 3. No, I do not currently work for pay, but have worked for pay in the past. → Skip to question 55.

53. Do you currently...
   ☐ 53a. only work for someone else, like for an employer at a business or a company?
         ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No
   ☐ 53b. only have your own business
         ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No
   ☐ 53c. only work for pay informally?
         ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No
   ☐ 53d. both work for someone else, like for an employer, and have your own business or work for pay informally?
         ☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

Tell us about your CURRENT FULL-TIME, PART-TIME, or SELF-EMPLOYED JOB. If you have more than one job, tell us about the one at which you worked the longest.

54. What kind of work do you do at this job? (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)

54a. When did you START working at this job?

   (Month) _______ (Year) _______

54b. How many HOURS PER WEEK do you typically work at this job?

   _______ hours per week

54c. How many WEEKS PER MONTH do you typically work at this job?

   _______ weeks per month

54d. How much do you earn at this job before taxes and other deductions?

   $__________ per hour

54e. Do you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?

   ☐ 1. Yes
   ☐ 2. No

54f. Which of the following, if any, do you have available at this job? Check all that apply.

   ☐ 1. I get paid when I take a sick day.
   ☐ 2. I get paid when I take a vacation day.
   ☐ 3. I have a pension plan, 401(K) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security.
   ☐ 4. I am offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan.
   ☐ 5. I do not have available any of the benefits listed above.
**54g. How did you find this job? Check only one box.**
- Through a friend
- Through a relative
- Newspaper ad
- Internet
- Private for-profit employment agency or program
- Private non-profit employment agency or program
- Public employment agency (for example, One-stop Career Center or Job Service)
- Temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)?
- School or university placement office
- Checked with employer directly
- Other (How?):

**54h. Is this job “off the books?”**
- Yes
- No

Tell us about your FIVE PAST full-time or part-time jobs. Start with the last full-time or part-time job you had. If you had less than five past jobs, fill out the information as it applies to you.

### Last Job

**55. What kind of work did you do at this job?** (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)

**55a. When did you START working at this job?**

(Month) ___ (Year) __

**55b. When did you STOP working at this job?**

(Month) ___ (Year) __

**55c. How many HOURS PER WEEK did you typically work at this job?**

_______ hours per week

**55d. How many WEEKS PER MONTH did you typically work at this job?**

_______ weeks per month

**55e. How much did you earn at this job PER HOUR before taxes and other deductions?**

$ _____ per hour

**55f. Did you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?**
- Yes
- No

**55g. Which of the following, if any, did you have available at this job? Check all that apply.**
- I got paid when I took a sick day.
- I got paid when I took a vacation day.
- I had a pension plan, 401(K) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security.
- I was offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan.
- I did not have available any of the benefits listed above.

**55h. Did you...**
- get this job through a temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)?
- Yes
- No
- work at this job while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional facility?
- Yes
- No
### 55i. Why did you leave this job? Check only one box.

- [x] I quit.
- [ ] I was fired.
- [ ] I was incarcerated.
- [ ] I was laid off without a date to return to work.
- [ ] I was laid off and given a date to return to work.
- [ ] It was a temporary job that ended.
- [ ] Other (Why? )

### 55h. Is this job "off the books?"

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If [ ] No, skip to question 60.

### Second to last job

**56. What kind of work did you do at this job?** (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)

---

**56a. When did you START working at this job?**

(Month) __________ (Year) ______

**56b. When did you STOP working at this job?**

(Month) __________ (Year) ______

**56c. How many HOURS PER WEEK did you typically work at this job?**

_______ hours per week

**56d. How many WEEKS PER MONTH did you typically work at this job?**

_______ weeks per month

**56e. How much did you earn at this job PER HOUR before taxes and other deductions?**

$_______ per hour

**56f. Did you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?**

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

**56g. Which of the following, if any, did you have available at this job? Check all that apply.**

- [ ] I got paid when I took a sick day.
- [ ] I got paid when I took a vacation day.
- [ ] I had a pension plan, 401(k) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security.
- [ ] I was offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan.
- [ ] I did not have available any of the benefits listed above.

**56h. Did you... get this job through a temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)?**

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

**56i. Why did you leave this job? Check only one box.**

- [ ] I quit.
- [ ] I was fired.
- [ ] I was incarcerated.
- [ ] I was laid off and given a date to return to work.
- [ ] I was laid off without a date to return to work.
- [ ] It was a temporary job that ended.
- [ ] Other (Why? )

**56h. Is this job "off the books?"

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If [ ] No, skip to question 60.
### Third to last job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57. What kind of work did you do at this job? (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57a. When did you START working at this job?</td>
<td>(Month) ____________________ (Year) ____________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57b. When did you STOP working at this job?</td>
<td>(Month) ____________________ (Year) ____________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57c. How many HOURS PER WEEK did you typically work at this job?</td>
<td>__________ hours per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57d. How many WEEKS PER MONTH did you typically work at this job?</td>
<td>__________ weeks per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57e. How much did you earn at this job PER HOUR before taxes and other deductions?</td>
<td>$_________ per hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57f. Did you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?</td>
<td>□ 1 Yes □ 2 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57g. Which of the following, if any, did you have available at this job?</td>
<td>□ 1 I got paid when I took a sick day. □ 2 I got paid when I took a vacation day. □ 3 I had a pension plan, 401(K) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security. □ 4 I was offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan. □ 5 I did not have available any of the benefits listed above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57h. Did you...</td>
<td>get this job through a temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)? □ 1 Yes □ 2 No work at this job while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional facility? □ 1 Yes □ 2 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57i. Why did you leave this job? Check only one box.</td>
<td>□ 1 I quit. □ 2 I was fired. □ 3 I was incarcerated. □ 4 I was laid off and given a date to return to work. □ 5 I was laid off without a date to return to work. □ 6 It was a temporary job that ended. □ 7 Other (Why? ____________________ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57j. Is this job “off the books?”</td>
<td>□ 1 Yes □ 2 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 1 I did not have any more jobs. → Skip to question 60.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Fourth to last job

**58. What kind of work did you do at this job?** (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)

**58a. When did you START working at this job?**

(Month) ___ (Year) ___

**58b. When did you STOP working at this job?**

(Month) ___ (Year) ___

**58c. How many HOURS PER WEEK did you typically work at this job?**

_____ hours per week

**58d. How many WEEKS PER MONTH did you typically work at this job?**

_____ weeks per month

**58e. How much did you earn at this job PER HOUR before taxes and other deductions?**

$ _____ per hour

**58f. Did you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?**

- [ ] Yes
- [x] No

**58g. Which of the following, if any, did you have available at this job? Check all that apply.**

- [ ] I got paid when I took a sick day.
- [ ] I got paid when I took a vacation day.
- [ ] I had a pension plan, 401(K) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security.
- [ ] I was offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan.
- [ ] I did not have any of the benefits listed above.

**58h. Did you...**

*get this job through a temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)?*  
- [x] Yes  
- [ ] No

*work at this job while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional facility?*  
- [ ] Yes  
- [x] No

**58i. Why did you leave this job?** Check only one box.

- [ ] I quit.
- [ ] I was fired.
- [ ] I was incarcerated.
- [ ] I was laid off and given a date to return to work.
- [ ] I was laid off without a date to return to work.
- [ ] It was a temporary job that ended.
- [ ] Other (Why? __________)

**58j. Is this job “off the books?”**

- [ ] Yes  
- [ ] No

- [ ] I did not have any more jobs. → **Skip to question 60.**
## Fifth to last job

59. What kind of work did you do at this job? (For example: auto mechanic, cook, construction worker)

59a. When did you START working at this job?

(Month) ___ (Year) ___

59b. When did you STOP working at this job?

(Month) ___ (Year) ___

59c. How many HOURS PER WEEK did you typically work at this job?

______ hours per week

59d. How many WEEKS PER MONTH did you typically work at this job?

_______ weeks per month

59e. How much did you earn at this job PER HOUR before taxes and other deductions?

$_______ per hour

59f. Did you regularly receive overtime pay, tips, regular bonuses, or commissions?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

59g. Which of the following, if any, did you have available at this job? Check all that apply.

- [ ] I got paid when I took a sick day.
- [ ] I got paid when I took a vacation day.
- [ ] I had a pension plan, 401(K) or other retirement savings plan, aside from social security.
- [ ] I was offered an affordable medical insurance or health plan.
- [ ] I did not have available any of the benefits listed above.

59h. Did you...

get this job through a temporary, staffing or day labor agency (for example, Distinctive Temporaries or United Hispanic Construction Worker)?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

work at this job while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional facility?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

59i. Why did you leave this job? Check only one box.

- [ ] I quit.
- [ ] I was fired.
- [ ] I was incarcerated.
- [ ] I was laid off and given a date to return to work.
- [ ] I was laid off without a date to return to work.
- [ ] It was a temporary job that ended.
- [ ] Other (Why?)

59h. Is this job "off the books?"

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

60. Thinking about the longest paid job you ever had, estimate how long you worked at this job? Please give answer either in days OR weeks OR months OR years and check which one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of time</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61. Which one best describes the job in question 60?

- [ ] I typically worked 30 or more hours per week at this job.
- [ ] I typically worked less than 30 hours per week at this job.
62. How much did you earn per hour at the job in question 60 (before taxes and other deductions such as child support, etc.)?  $________ per hour

The following questions are about job training programs that you may have attended. What we mean by a job training program is one designed to help you find a job, improve job skills or learn a new job. It does not include high school, college, or GED programs.

63. Have you EVER ATTENDED any job training programs before enrolling at America Works?
   ☐ 1 Yes
   ☐ 2 No → Skip to question 67.

64. How many job training programs have you ATTENDED before enrolling at America Works?
   Give a number: _______

65. How many job training programs did you COMPLETE before enrolling at America Works?
   Give a number: _______

66. Did you COMPLETE any job training programs while you were in prison, jail, or other correctional institution?
   ☐ 1 Yes
   ☐ 2 No

The following questions are about your job search.

67. In total, how long have you BEEN WITHOUT A JOB since you were last released from prison? Give a number and check one box.
   ___ ___  ☐ 1 weeks
   ___ ___  ☐ 2 months
   ___ ___  ☐ 3 years

68. In total, how long have you BEEN WORKING since you were last released from prison? Give a number and check one box.
   ___ ___  ☐ 1 weeks
   ___ ___  ☐ 2 months
   ___ ___  ☐ 3 years

69. In total, how long have you BEEN LOOKING FOR WORK since you were last released from prison? Give a number and check one box.
   ___ ___  ☐ 1 weeks
   ___ ___  ☐ 2 months
   ___ ___  ☐ 3 years
70. In the past 4 weeks, which of the following activities did you do to look for work? Check all that apply.
- I did not look for work in the past 4 weeks.
- Contacted employer directly (for example, spoke to someone in a company’s employment office about a job).
- Contacted public employment agency or programs (for example, visited a Job Service).
- Contacted private employment agency (for example, called a recruiting or head-hunting agency).
- Contacted friends or relatives (for example, asked friends for job leads).
- Contacted a school or university employment or placement center (for example, visited a college placement office).
- Sent out resumes or filled out applications.
- Picked up job applications.
- Attended job training programs (for example, took a computer course).
- Looked at ads.
- Placed or answered ads.
- Checked union or professional registers.
- Other (What? ______________).

71. When looking for a job, how important is each of the following to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71a. Job security</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71b. Wage or pay</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71c. Good opportunities for advancement</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71d. A job that leaves a lot of leisure time</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71e. Health, dental, or medical benefits</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71f. An interesting job</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71g. A pleasant work environment</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71h. A job that allows someone to work independently</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71i. A job that allows someone to help other people</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71j. A job that is useful to society</td>
<td>□ 4</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72. What kind of a job would you like to have now?
- I would like a full-time job (30 hours or more per week).
- I would like a part-time job (10-29 hours per week).
- I would like a job with less than 10 hours per week.

73. How easy or hard will be for you to find the kind of job you would like to have?
- Very Easy
- Fairly Easy
- Hard
- Very Hard
- Probably Impossible
74. Thinking about the last time you were unemployed, how much did each of the following make it hard for you to find a job? If you are currently unemployed, please think about your current unemployment period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Not hard at all</th>
<th>Somewhat hard</th>
<th>Fairly hard</th>
<th>Extremely hard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74a. Not having enough money</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74b. Loss of self-confidence</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74c. Loss of respect from friends and acquaintances</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74d. Family tensions</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74e. Limited work experience</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74f. Limited education</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74g. Substance abuse problem</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74h. Mental health problem</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74i. Physical disability</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74j. Criminal record</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74k. Housing</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74l. Child care/babysitting</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74m. Health problem</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74n. Child support obligations</td>
<td>✑1</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75. Thinking of work in general, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75a. A job is just a way of earning money.</td>
<td>✑4</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75b. I would enjoy having a paying job even if I did not need that money.</td>
<td>✑4</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75c. Work is a person's most important activity.</td>
<td>✑4</td>
<td>✑3</td>
<td>✑2</td>
<td>✑1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following questions ask about your children.

76. Are you the biological father of any children? Please do not include any children who are not yet born or any children given up for adoption.
   ✑1: Yes (How old were you when your first biological child was born? _______ years old)
   ✑2: No → Skip to question 86.

77. How many biological children do you have?

(Number of children)

78. How many of your biological children live with you?

(Number of children who live with you)

79. How many of your biological children are 17 years and younger?

(Number of children who are 17 years and younger)

80. How many of your biological children are 17 years and younger AND live with you?

(Number of children who are 17 and younger and live with you)
81. For how many of your children do you have a court order to pay child support? _____ (number of children)

82. For how many of your biological children (ages 17 and younger) are you a primary caretaker? (The primary caretaker is someone who is primarily responsible for the child’s day-to-day care and supervision.)

(Number of children who are 17 and younger and for whom you are a primary caretaker)

Fill out the following information about your youngest child, your second-to-youngest child, and your third-to-youngest child, ONLY if they are 17 years and younger.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youngest Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>83. How old is he/she?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>83a. Does he/she live with you now?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>83b. How often do you talk to him/her?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>83c. How often do you see him/her in person?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>83d. Are you his/her primary caretaker?</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83e. Do you have a child support order issued by the court or child support agency that requires you to pay child support for him/her?

- 1 No
- 2 Yes → 83f. Which child support agency/county enforces your child support order?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall, how often have you made your child support payments on time?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hardly at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 About 25% of the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 About half the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 About 75% of the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83h. If you do not have physical custody of this child, do you provide any of the following to your child’s custodian (check all that apply) outside of a formal court order?

- 1 Money not as part of a formal support order (cash, checks or money orders)
- 2 Food
- 3 Clothing or shoes
- 4 School supplies or books
- 5 Transportation
- 6 Child care
- 7 Other (specify: ________________________________)

- 1 I do not have any more children or I do not have any more children who are 17 and younger. → Skip to question 86.
### Second to Youngest Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84. How old is he/she?</td>
<td>1: months  2: years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84a. Does he/she live with you now?</td>
<td>1: Yes  2: No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84b. How often do you talk to him/her?</td>
<td>1: At least once a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: At least once a week</td>
<td>3: At least once a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: At least once a year</td>
<td>5: Hardly ever/Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84c. How often do you see him/her in person?</td>
<td>1: At least once a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: At least once a week</td>
<td>3: At least once a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: At least once a year</td>
<td>5: Hardly ever/Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84d. Are you his/her primary caretaker?</td>
<td>1: Yes  2: No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84e. Do you have a child support order issued by the court or child support agency that requires you to pay child support for him/her?</td>
<td>1: Yes  2: No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84f. Which child support agency/county enforces your child support order?</td>
<td>1: Money not as a part of a formal support order (cash, checks or money orders) 2: Food 3: Clothing or shoes 4: School supplies or books 5: Transportation 6: Child care 7: Other (specify: ____________________________ )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84g. Overall, how often have you made your child support payments on time?
- 1: Hardly at all
- 2: About 25% of the time
- 3: About half the time
- 4: About 75% of the time
- 5: Always

84h. If you do not have physical custody of this child, do you provide any of the following to your child’s custodian (check all that apply) outside of a formal court order?
- 1: Money not as a part of a formal support order (cash, checks or money orders)
- 2: Food
- 3: Clothing or shoes
- 4: School supplies or books
- 5: Transportation
- 6: Child care
- 7: Other (specify: ____________________________ )

- 1: I do not have any more children or I do not have any more children who are 17 and younger. → Skip to question 86.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third to Youngest Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85. How old is he/she?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85b. How often do you talk to him/her?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: At least once a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: At least once a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: At least once a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: At least once a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5: Hardly ever/Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85d. Are you his/her primary caretaker?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85e. Do you have a child support order issued by the court or child support agency that requires you to pay child support for him/her?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: Yes → 85f. Which child support agency/county enforces your child support order?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85g. Overall, how often have you made your child support payments on time?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: Hardly at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: About 25% of the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: About half the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: About 75% of the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5: Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85h. If you do not have physical custody of this child, do you provide any of the following to your child’s custodian (check all that apply) outside of a formal court order?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: Money not as a part of a formal support order (cash, checks or money orders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: Clothing or shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: School supplies or books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5: Transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6: Child care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7: Other (specify:________)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following questions ask about your health.

86. In general, how is your health?
   1: Excellent
   2: Very good
   3: Good
   4: Fair
   5: Poor

87. Are you covered by any type of health insurance, including private insurance or Medicaid?
   1: Yes
   2: No

88. Do you have any physical, mental, or emotional health condition that limits the kind or amount of work you can do at a job?
   1: Yes
   2: No

89. Have you EVER received treatment for a drug or alcohol abuse?
   1: Yes
   2: No → Skip to question 95.
90. For what problems did you have treatment?
- 1: Drugs
- 2: Alcohol
- 3: Drugs and alcohol

91. Have you EVER...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1: Yes</th>
<th>2: No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91a. Been in a drug or alcohol detoxification unit to dry out (up to 72 hours)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91b. Been in a drug or alcohol program in which you live in a special facility or unit?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91c. Been in counseling with a trained professional while NOT living in a special facility or unit?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91d. Used a maintenance drug to cut your high or make you sick, such as methadone, antabuse, or naltrexone?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91e. Attended self-help group or peer group counseling, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91f. Attended an education or awareness program explaining problems with drugs and/or alcohol?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91g. Attended any other drug or alcohol program?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If yes, please specify:

92. Have you EVER received treatment for a drug or alcohol abuse while you were in prison, jail, or youth correctional institution?
- 1: Yes
- 2: No

93. Were you EVER required to get treatment for a drug or alcohol abuse?
- 1: Yes
- 2: No

94. When was the last time your received treatment for a drug or alcohol abuse?

(Month) (Year)

The following questions are about services you may have received for emotional or mental health (for example, depression or anxiety) other than those related to drug or alcohol abuse.

95. Have you EVER received treatment for emotional or mental health?
- 1: Yes
- 2: No → Skip to question 98.

96. Because of EMOTIONAL OR MENTAL HEALTH, have you EVER...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1: Yes</th>
<th>2: No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96a. Taken a medication prescribed by a psychiatrist or other doctor?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96b. Been admitted to a mental hospital, unit or treatment program where you stayed overnight?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96c. Received out-patient counseling or therapy from a trained professional?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96d. Received any other mental health services?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97. When was the last time your received treatment for emotional or mental health?

(Month) (Year)
The following questions are about people who support you.

Please look at the following list and decide how much each person (or group of persons) is supportive of you at this time in your life. A supportive person is one who is helpful, who will listen to you, or who will back you up when you are in trouble.

98. How supportive are these people now?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A Lot</th>
<th>There is No Such Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98a. Your wife, girlfriend/partner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98b. Your children or grandchildren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98c. Your parents or grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98d. Your brothers or sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98e. Your other blood relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98f. Your relatives by marriage (for example: in-laws, ex-wife)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98g. Your neighbors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98h. Your co-workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98i. Your church members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98j. Your other friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99. Do you have one particular person whom you trust and to whom you can go with personal difficulties?

☐ 1 Yes → 99a. Which of the above types of person is he or she? (for example: girlfriend, parent, friend)

☐ 2 No

The following questions are about your housing and transportation.

100. Since you were last released from prison, how many nights have you slept in a shelter, car, abandoned building, park, or on the streets?

☐ 1 None

☐ 2 1-10 nights

☐ 3 11-20 nights

☐ 4 21-30 nights

☐ 5 30 nights and more

101. Where do you CURRENTLY live? Check only one box.

☐ 1 In a home that I own.

☐ 2 In a home or apartment that I rent.

☐ 3 In a home or apartment that somebody else owns or rents and I do not pay or contribute to the mortgage or rent.

☐ 4 In a home or apartment that somebody else owns or rents and I pay or contribute to the mortgage or rent.

☐ 5 In a group home such as a halfway house or recovery home.

☐ 6 In a rooming-house, hotel, or motel.

☐ 7 In a homeless shelter.

☐ 8 In another type of housing. (Where?: ______________________)

☐ 9 I am currently homeless. → Answer the next two questions, then skip to question 108.

102. How long have you been living there? Check “Entire life” or give a number and check one box.

☐ 1 Entire life

☐ 2 days

☐ 3 weeks

☐ 4 months

☐ 5 years
103. In total, how would you describe the condition of the place where you currently live?
   4: Excellent
   3: Good
   2: Fair
   1: Poor

104. Counting yourself, how many adults age 18 or older live in the your household?
   - 1
   - 2-4 adults
   - 5-7 adults
   - 8 adults and more

105. How many children ages 17 and younger live in your household?
   - None
   - 1-3 children
   - 4-6 children
   - 7 children and more

106. Do you live in a public housing project - that is, housing owned or operated by a local housing authority or other government agency?
   - Yes
   - No

107. Is your rent determined as a portion (like 1/3 or 1/4) of your income?
   - Yes
   - No

108. Are you a primary caretaker of a person age 18 or older who has a physical or mental health problem that keeps him or her from doing regular activities like walking or getting dressed?
   - Yes
   - No

109. How many times have you moved since you were last released from prison? Please do not count your move from the prison. Give a number: __________

110. Do you have a valid driver’s license? By valid, we mean current, and not expired or suspended.
    - Yes
    - No

111. Do you OWN or LEASE a car, truck, or van that you can use every day?
    - I own a car, truck, or van.
    - I lease a car, truck, or van.
    - I do not own or lease a car, truck or van.

112. How many minutes would it take to walk to the nearest bus or train stop from where you live if you did walk there?
    __________ minutes

113. How would you describe your willingness to use public transportation?
    - Completely willing
    - Somewhat willing
    - Somewhat unwilling
    - Completely unwilling
The following questions ask about your attitudes and opinions.

**114. For each statement below, check ONE of the five boxes to show how much each statement is LIKE or UNLIKE you.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Not at all like me</th>
<th>Not really like me</th>
<th>Sort of like me</th>
<th>Very much like me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>114a. Some of my friends think I am a hothead.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114b. When people are especially nice to me, I wonder what they want.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114c. I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114d. I am an even-tempered person.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114e. I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114f. I flare up quickly but get over it quickly.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114g. I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114h. At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114i. I have trouble controlling my temper.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114j. When frustrated, I let my irritation show.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114k. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114l. I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114m. Other people always seem to get the breaks.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114n. Know that “friends” talk about me behind my back.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114o. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**115. For each statement below, check ONE of the five boxes to show how much you AGREE or DISAGREE that you are like this.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115a. When I make plans, I am certain that I can make them work.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115b. One of my problems is that I cannot get down to work when I should.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115c. If I can’t do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115d. When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115e. I give up on things before completing them.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115f. I avoid facing difficulties.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115g. If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115h. When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it.</td>
<td>☐ 1</td>
<td>☐ 2</td>
<td>☐ 3</td>
<td>☐ 4</td>
<td>☐ 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
115. cont. For each statement below, check ONE of the five boxes to show how much you AGREE or DISAGREE that you are like this.

115i. When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it.

115j. When trying to learn something new, I soon give up if I am not initially successful.

115k. When unexpected problems occur, I don’t handle them well.

115l. I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult for me.

115m. Failure just makes me try harder.

115n. I feel insecure about my ability to do things

115o. I am a self-reliant person.

115p. I give up easily.

115q. I do not seem capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life.

116. For each statement below, check ONE of the three boxes to show whether you AGREE, DISAGREE, or are UNDECIDED about that statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes a person like me has to break the law to get ahead in life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most successful people broke the law to get ahead in life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You should always obey the law, even if it keeps you from getting ahead in life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s OK to break the law as long as you don’t get caught.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most people would commit crimes if they wouldn’t get caught.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is never a good reason to break the law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hungry man has the right to steal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s OK to get around the law as long as you don’t actually break it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You should only obey those laws that are reasonable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You’re crazy to work for a living if there’s an easier way, even if it means breaking the law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public Benefits Receipt History

117. As an adult, have you ever received food stamps before now?
- Yes
- No

118. As a child, did your family ever receive food stamps?
- Yes
- No
119. As an adult, are you now or have you ever received a cash assistance grant (i.e. welfare)? Please check all that apply.

- I am currently receiving a cash assistance grant
- I have received a cash assistance grant in the past or
- I have never received a cash assistance grant

120. As a child, did your family ever receive a cash assistance grant?

- Yes
- No

121. As an adult, are you now or have you ever received SSI? Please check all that apply.

- I am currently receiving SSI
- I have received SSI in the past or
- I have never received SSI

Thank you for completing this survey.
APPENDIX 4. ANALYSIS USING CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS

One concern that policymakers face is that arrests are, of course, different from convictions. Inmates, for instance, could be arrested on trivial charges (perhaps because of New York City’s “stop and frisk” policy during this period), with such arrests not producing convictions. If one’s primary concern is recidivism rates, it therefore makes sense to focus on convictions of ex-offenders enrolled in the America Works enhanced services program.

To do this, the authors use administrative data identifying results of all reported arrests resolved by July 2012. Accordingly, they observe three general results: found/pled guilty; dismissed/acquitted; and unknown. Of 104 ex-offenders arrested after enrolling in America Works, 82 were convicted at some point posttreatment, and the remaining 22 were neither convicted nor acquitted. Among the latter, 12 are in the control group, and ten are in the treatment group.

To replicate this paper’s baseline analysis, the authors treat the conviction status of these 22 ex-offenders as unobserved. This modeling assumption only threatens the validity of the paper’s results if the unresolved conviction data are correlated with treatment status. To test this, the authors use the sample of ex-offenders arrested post-enrollment and regress an indicator variable equal to one if the inmate is missing conviction data (zero otherwise) on treatment status (among other variables). The authors find no evidence (Appendix Table 4.1) that missing conviction data are correlated with treatment status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>(1) Arrest Outcome Missing?</th>
<th>(2) Arrest Outcome Missing?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment status</td>
<td>0.0188</td>
<td>-0.0228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current married</td>
<td>0.0188</td>
<td>-0.0228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth year</td>
<td>0.00881*</td>
<td>0.00478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth year (missing)</td>
<td>17.24*</td>
<td>(9.415)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, African-American</td>
<td>0.674</td>
<td>0.548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, Hispanic</td>
<td>0.638</td>
<td>0.514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, less than high school</td>
<td>-0.650</td>
<td>(0.432)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, high school grad</td>
<td>-0.730</td>
<td>(0.456)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, some college</td>
<td>-0.596</td>
<td>(0.443)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Next, the authors proceed to regression results using convictions as the posttreatment outcome (Appendix Table 4.2). The dependent variable indicates whether the ex-offender was convicted after entering treatment (similar to Table 5, main text). As in Table 5, the nonviolent ex-offender sample shows modest statistical differences, but large economic ones, between treatment and control groups. In general, the coefficient on receiving enhanced job services is negative, meaning that enhanced services also reduce convictions.

Next, the authors modify the empirical specification in Appendix Table 4.3, allowing criminal arrest histories prior to entering America Works to influence convictions. Results are directly comparable with Table 7A (main text). The dependent variable indicates whether the ex-offender was convicted of a crime after entering America Works. Again, the coefficient on treatment is negative, suggesting that the treatment group had lower recidivism (in terms of convictions). Holding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix Table 4.2. Convicted Posttreatment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.0656)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.0472)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix Table 4.3. Convicted Posttreatment—Controlling for Pretreatment Charges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.0767)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pretreat Charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.000478)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treat*Pre-Charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.00021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard errors computed using robust standard-error formulas. *** indicate significance at 99% level. ** indicate significance at 95% level. * indicates significance at 90% level. The null hypothesis holds that the intervention had no effect on recidivism; the alternative hypothesis holds that the intervention reduced recidivism.
constant pretreatment charges at zero, ex-offenders receiving enhanced services (treatment group) were, on average, 25.6 percentage points less likely to be convicted after treatment than those in the control group.

Without considering past criminal history, this result suggests that, compared with arrests, enhanced services have a larger negative effect on convictions. However, once the authors account for past criminal charges, treatment from America Works has a slightly lower impact on the average ex-offender’s probability of being convicted. Specifically, results suggest that enhanced treatment lowers the probability of being convicted by 1.4 percent for the average ex-offender and 12.1 percent for the median ex-offender. The key implication: treatment was most effective at reducing convictions for ex-offenders with fewer charges prior to entering the program.

The second column, examining violent criminals, reveals a nearly opposite story, though a statistically insignificant one. Again, the coefficient on enhanced job training is positive, while the coefficient on the interaction term is negative. This indicates that treatment is generally associated with higher rates of posttreatment conviction (for violent criminals with the most prior charges, the effect is smallest). The lack of statistical significance nevertheless indicates that this result is weak and should not be relied upon. The authors do note, however, that total pretreatment charges (second row) are positive and statistically significant: violent ex-offenders with more pretreatment charges are more likely to be convicted posttreatment. This result further indicates that enhanced services are ineffective for violent ex-offenders.

The third column, examining nonviolent ex-offenders, presents larger magnitudes than those for the full sample. Enhanced services reduce the probability of posttreatment conviction. Interestingly, for nonviolent ex-offenders, more pretreatment arrests (second row) are associated with a slightly lower probability of rearrest. Prior to enrollment in America Works, the average nonviolent ex-offender had 25.3 charges. For the latter, treatment reduces the probability of posttreatment conviction by 3.3 percent; and for the median ex-offender, 23 percent. The third column confirms this paper’s main finding, too: treatment is most effective for nonviolent criminals with fewer pretreatment charges. Focusing future efforts on this group is thus the most cost-effective strategy.

While many of Appendix Table 4.3’s results closely track those in Table 7A, subtle differences emerge in the remaining columns. In Table 7A, ex-offenders classified as “property criminals” and “minor-offense criminals” were important in driving the treatment effect. For convictions, however, minor offenders represent the lone group with no discernible baseline impact of enhanced services. For the three other groups, an economically significant baseline exists for impact of treatment on conviction rates. These results (which should be interpreted cautiously because of small sample sizes) seem intuitive: one might reasonably expect minor offenders, because of the less grave nature of their crimes, to form the group with fewer convictions.

In summary, results for criminal convictions mirror those for arrests. Enhanced services reduce both arrests and convictions—especially for nonviolent ex-offenders with few pretreatment charges.
The Manhattan Institute’s Center for State and Local Leadership (CSLL) promotes promising new approaches to reform of state and local government. CSLL works on a broad range of issues, including public sector reform (specifically of pensions and health benefits), education reform, prisoner reentry, policing, public housing, infrastructure, immigration, and public service delivery. By spotlighting new ideas, and providing the research and proposals to inform creative new policies, CSLL hopes to lay the groundwork for an environment in which commerce, employment, and a rich civic life can flourish.

CSLL operates across the country, working in states such as California, Illinois, and Rhode Island, and cities such as Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan. CSLL’s tools include regular writing and research reports by affiliated Manhattan Institute scholars and senior fellows, along with public events and media appearances. CSLL also annually hosts both the James Q. Wilson Lecture on Urban Affairs—a forum for distinguished policymakers and scholars to explore the challenges and opportunities facing American cities today—and the Manhattan Institute’s Social Entrepreneurship Awards, which recognize those who identify social needs and take it upon themselves to address them privately.

www.manhattan-institute.org/csll

The Manhattan Institute is a 501(C)(3) nonprofit organization. Contributions are tax-deductible to the fullest extent of the law. EIN #13-2912529