The Enhanced Transitional Jobs Demonstration

Implementation and Early Impacts of the Next Generation of Subsidized Employment Programs

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Chapter 8

Pathways
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Executive Summary

The Doe Fund, a 30-year-old nonprofit organization, operated the Ready, Willing and Able Pathways2Work program (commonly referred to as "Pathways") for individuals who were returning to New York City after being released from prison. The program used a staged model in which participants began in a transitional job, usually with a Doe Fund street-cleaning crew, and then moved to a paid internship with an employer partner that more closely resembled a real-world work environment. As described in Chapter 1, the staged approach to the subsidized job is considered a structural enhancement relative to previous transitional jobs programs. Pathways also offered case management, access to short-term training, follow-up services, and special assistance with parenting and child support for participants with minor-age children and child support orders. Participants who found and kept unsubsidized jobs could receive a series of cash bonuses.

Main Findings

- **Almost all of the study participants were black or Hispanic men; most had no recent work history and had other disadvantages.** About one-third of the study participants did not have a high school degree or equivalent, and nearly two-thirds had not worked in the past three years (a time when most were incarcerated). More than half of the study participants were living in someone else's home, and approximately one-fourth were in transitional housing. On average, participants had spent 7.5 years in prison or jail.

- **Pathways was generally implemented as designed.** All of the essential program components were put in place as planned, with some minor variations. One area where the program struggled was recruitment. Pathways relied heavily on parole officers for referrals and, while the program ultimately met its recruitment goal and enrolled 1,000 people into the study, staff members spent a great deal of time developing and tending to relationships with local parole offices. There are several large, established programs providing prisoner reentry services in New York City; officers were familiar with those other programs and could refer clients to them without having to consider the possibility that the client would be assigned to a control group.

- **Almost all program group members received at least some services from Pathways, and 79 percent worked in a transitional job.** About one in five program group members left Pathways before or during the initial pre-employment stage and never worked in a transitional job. Overall, about half

of the program group (two-thirds of those who worked in transitional jobs) ever worked in an internship, the second stage of subsidized employment.

- **A large proportion of the control group received employment services, and more than one-third participated in other transitional jobs programs.** New York City has many services available to help this population, and 80 percent of the control group reported receiving help with employment. The research team obtained data from another large transitional jobs program, the Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO), and found that 36 percent of the control group worked in a transitional job at CEO during the study period. The control group's access to services very similar to those available to the program group potentially affected Pathways' ability to produce statistically significant impacts.

- **Pathways substantially increased employment and earnings in the first year of follow-up. The program's effect on employment appears to have faded over time, but earnings gains persisted.** More than two-thirds of the control group worked in jobs covered by unemployment insurance in the first year of follow-up, but the employment rate was 89 percent for the program group (including Pathways jobs), resulting in a large increase in employment and earnings. By the end of the follow-up period, when the Pathways jobs had ended, the program group was no more likely than the control group to hold an unemployment insurance-covered job, but average earnings were still higher for the program group, possibly because program group members worked more hours per week, earned higher hourly wages, or maintained employment more consistently. In addition, survey data showed a higher employment rate for the program group at the end of the follow-up period, suggesting that Pathways may have increased employment in jobs that are not covered by unemployment insurance (for example, jobs in the informal economy or jobs where the worker is classified as an independent contractor).

- **Pathways increased formal child support payments among noncustodial parents, an effect that can probably be attributed to earnings from participants' subsidized employment. There is limited evidence that Pathways improved participant outcomes in other domains.** Among participants identified as noncustodial parents at the time of study enrollment, Pathways produced statistically significant impacts on the payment of formal child support during the follow-up period. However, by the end of the follow-up period, when participants were no longer working in sub-

sidized Pathways jobs, this effect diminished. There was no pattern of statistically significant impacts in other domains, including criminal justice involvement and economic and personal well-being.

The first section of this chapter provides background information on the city and the program, the Pathways model, and the characteristics of the study participants. The second section describes the program as it was implemented. The third describes the program's impacts on participation in services, employment, criminal justice outcomes, child support payments, and other measures of well-being in the first year after random assignment.

Pathways

Background

Founded in 1985, The Doe Fund has historically provided services for the homeless through residential programs. With a strong philosophy of "work works," The Doe Fund operates street cleaning crews that provide subsidized employment for individuals living in its shelters; the crews are a familiar sight in many New York City neighborhoods. Today, The Doe Fund has a $48 million budget and employs about 500 people. In the early 2000s, The Doe Fund set up a nonresidential program — the Day Program — that offered the same kinds of subsidized jobs and other services that are provided to residents. The Day Program was discontinued in 2009 when its funding lapsed, but the Enhanced Transitional Jobs Demonstration (ETJD) provided an opportunity to offer nonresidential services again. The official name of the ETJD program was Ready, Willing and Able Pathways2Work or "Pathways" for short.

Context

The Pathways program targeted individuals returning to New York City from the New York State prison system. Statewide, more than 20,000 people are released from prison each year, with nearly half returning to New York City.[1] New York State has seen a dramatic decline in its prison population over the past two decades, from more than 70,000 in 1999 to just over 50,000 in 2014.[2] According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2014, New York State's per-capita incarceration rate was 265 per 100,000 residents, compared with a national average of 471 per 100,000 residents.[3] The number of people incarcerated in New York City jails has also declined over the same time period, as has the number of felony arrests by the New York City Police Department.[4]

Despite the decline in incarceration, rates of recidivism remain high. Just over 40 percent of the people released from New York State prisons in 2010 returned to prison within three years. Only 9 percent were sent back to prison because of new felony convictions, but another 32 percent were reincarcerated because they violated the terms of their parole.[5]

Even if they are not reincarcerated, many former prisoners struggle to address basic needs such as employment and housing. A 2009 report found that only 35 percent of parolees

[1]New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (2016a); New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (2015a).
[2]New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (2016b).
[3]Carson (2015).
[4]Austin and Jacobson (2013); New York State Commission of Correction (2016).
[5]New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (2014).

were employed.[6] On a more positive note, the ETJD project occurred during a period of job growth in New York City's diverse economy. The city's unemployment rate dropped from 8.5 percent in late 2011, when enrollment into the ETJD evaluation began, to 6.3 percent in late 2014.[7]

Individuals returning from prison often struggle to find housing in New York City's high-priced housing market. Many end up living in "three-quarter houses": for-profit, unregulated housing facilities that rent beds to single adults. Virtually all three-quarter houses are "illegal" because they violate building codes and city housing laws. In addition, residents often report unsafe living conditions. Many three-quarter houses tailor their rents to public benefit amounts — $215 per month — and the majority end up being funded by government dollars.[8]

Unlike many other states, New York offers public assistance benefits to low-income single adults who are not living with children. In order to receive these benefits, all able-bodied beneficiaries must be engaged in an approved work program. However, as discussed further below, the local social service agency did not consider Pathways to be an approved work program.

It is important to note that New York City has many programs that offer assistance to people coming home from prison, including those operated by large, established organizations like the Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO), the Fortune Society, and the Osborne Association. Box 8.1 provides a description of some of the organizations serving formerly incarcerated individuals in New York City.

Intended Model

The Pathways program was designed as a staged model, in which participants would start with an in-house transitional job and then progress to a fully subsidized internship position with an outside employer. Figure 8.1 illustrates how participants were meant to move through the components of the program model. The program's theory of change is that by working in program jobs, participants would develop soft skills and good work habits in a somewhat sheltered environment, which would then be carried over to the internship stage. The internship would provide a "foot in the door" into a permanent position. The staged model was intended to address the fact that many employers are wary about hiring people with criminal records but may change their minds after interacting with a formerly incarcerated person. The paid

[6]New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (2010); Staley and Kim (2010).
[7]New York State Department of Labor (2016).
[8]Prisoner Reentry Institute (2013).

Box 8.1

Transitional Jobs Service Providers

The following programs provided services for formerly incarcerated individuals similar to those provided by Pathways.

The Center for Employment Opportunities is a comprehensive employment program for formerly incarcerated people. CEO provides temporary, paid jobs and other services to improve participants' employability and reduce the likelihood that they will return to prison. CEO also assists parolees and probationers in New York City in finding and keeping jobs. According to the organization's website, "The CEO Program includes [a] five-day pre-employment workshop, resume and interview help by job coaches, transitional employment, job search and job matching with job developers, and up to $1,000 in rewards after placement."*

The Osborne Association is the oldest organization in New York State serving men and women involved with the criminal justice system. Osborne operates in several locations, including the Bronx, Brooklyn, Poughkeepsie, and Rikers Island, as well as several state correctional facilities.† The Career Center at the Osborne Association offers career development and coaching, soft-skills and hard-skills training, environmental and financial literacy education, job-search help, and retention support. In addition, participants can gain skills in construction, computers, food service, and building maintenance and operations.‡

The Fortune Society was founded in 1967 to help incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people "become positive, contributing members of society," according to its website.§ The Employment Services program aims to help formerly incarcerated people gain the skills necessary to become employed and flourish in the workplace. Program participants complete a two-week job-readiness workshop that focuses on networking, doing well in interviews, solving problems, answering questions related to conviction history, and writing a résumé and cover letter. Career counseling, job-placement support, and job-retention services are available to those who complete the workshop. The program also offers skills training leading to certifications in culinary arts and green construction. Once participants complete the training, they are assisted with job placement.‖

Wildcat Service Corporation provides job opportunities and resources for people with little work experience. One of the groups served by the organization is formerly incarcerated people. Wildcat provides transitional employment opportunities to help participants "gain hands-on experience under close supervision," according to its website.# After completing and excelling in the transitional jobs, participants are connected with employers where they can obtain unsubsidized jobs. Additional help with industry-specific certifications and other forms of job training is available to participants who are looking to move up to more skilled and better-paid positions. Once customers are employed, they can continue to use the organization's career services.

(continued)

Box 8.1 (continued)

Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow provides a range of job-training and support services. The organization serves young adults, adults, and immigrants and does not specifically focus on formerly incarcerated individuals. The job-training program provides an opportunity to obtain a high school equivalency credential, as well as specific skills in basic computer literacy, retail customer service, and Microsoft Office. Participants can earn a National Retail Federation Customer Service Certification and the Microsoft Office Specialist Certification. In addition, program participants can work with a job counselor "to create and improve their resumes, practice interview skills, and secure a job interview," according to the organization's website.[**]

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[*]Center for Employment Opportunities (2016).
[†]Osborne Association (2012b).
[‡]Osborne Association (2012a).
[§]Fortune Society (2016).
[‖]Fortune Society (2016).
[#]Wildcat (2016).
[**]Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow (2016).

internships offered employers a way to "test out" participants at no financial cost to them. Those participants who did not become permanently employed at the internship stage would then continue into a paid job-search stage.

As originally designed, participants would enter the Pathways program in cohorts (groups of participants who join a program at the same time) and move together through four distinct stages:

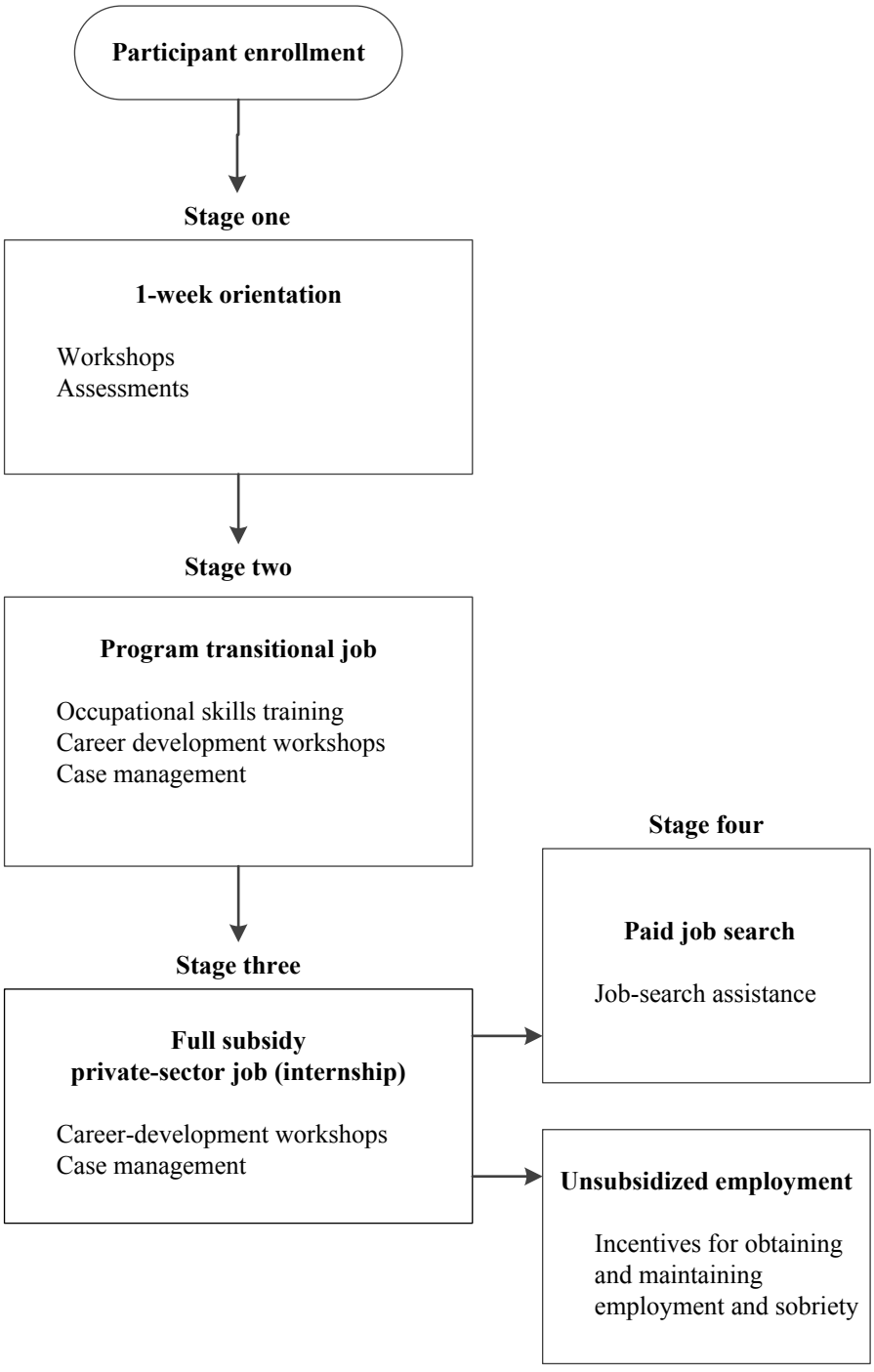
Stage 1: Orientation. Two weeks when participants would receive an overview of the program, meet program staff members, attend workshops, complete intake paperwork, and fill out assessments of their occupational skills and career interests.

Stage 2: "Ready, Willing and Able" (RWA) transitional job. An eight-week RWA transitional job in one of two tracks — street-cleaning crews (for the majority of participants), or in a Doe Fund kitchen if the participant wanted to pursue culinary arts. Participants were expected to work three days a week (a total of 21 hours) and spend two days (a total of 15 hours) in the classroom attending job-readiness training and other workshops, and meeting with case managers.

Stage 3: Internship. An eight-week internship with one of The Doe Fund's employer partners. Participants would remain on the Pathways payroll and would work three days a week.

Figure 8.1

Pathways Program Model



The internship was designed to expose participants to a more "real-world" work environment where they could work side by side with regular employees. Pathways managers hoped that about half of the internships would evolve into permanent, unsubsidized positions. Participants continued to spend two days a week attending classes and participating in other nonwork program activities during this stage.

Stage 4: Paid job search. If participants were not placed in unsubsidized jobs by the end of their internships, they would move into a six-week "job-search" stage, during which they would receive assistance from the career development staff and participate in office-based job-search activities. During this stage, participants continued to be paid for three full days a week.

Additional services. Pathways intended to provide participants with comprehensive job-readiness activities throughout the various stages of the program. These additional services included case management; classes in computer skills, financial management, wellness, parenting, anger management and conflict resolution, and high school equivalency preparation; child support guidance; soft-skills development; employment planning and counseling; and opportunities for occupational training and certifications in building maintenance, food handling, being a fireguard (a New York City occupation analogous to a security guard and charged with preventing fires), and Occupational Safety and Health. Once a participant got an unsubsidized job, he or she was eligible to receive a $100 bonus. In addition, Pathways graduates could receive retention bonuses of up to $1,000, given in $200-per-month increments, if they could provide proof of employment of at least 32 hours per week for five months.[9]

Recruitment and Study Enrollment

While the promise of a paid job was probably the main incentive drawing recently released former prisoners to the Pathways program, parolees also had other potential motivations, including keeping their parole officers happy (and thereby earning themselves some goodwill and leniency), staying busy in order to avoid getting into trouble, and, in general, receiving help getting back on their feet. The Pathways program recruited participants in cohorts. Once enrolled, a cohort of participants would stay together through the various program stages described earlier. Some Pathways staff members reported that the cohort structure was helpful because it built a sense of community, which may have helped participants stay in the program longer than they would have on their own. One staff member reported that age diversity in the cohorts was also beneficial, particularly in the classroom, because members of each generation had their own unique lessons to impart to their peers.

[9]Pathways did not require participants to be employed in consecutive months to receive bonus payments.

- **Pathways had special eligibility criteria to try to target the "middle group" of parolees: those who were able to work, but were not likely to find jobs on their own. Some eligibility criteria were relaxed over time to facilitate recruitment.**

In addition to the project-wide eligibility criteria described in Chapter 1, Pathways participants could not have an associate's degree or higher, could not possess a professional trade license or belong to a union, and could not have A+, Microsoft Certified Solutions Expert, Cisco Certified Network Associate, or Oracle certifications. Participants also had to be drug-free, be able to read at a fifth-grade level, be physically able to work, speak English, not have participated in another Doe Fund program in the previous five years, and not be receiving Social Security benefits that exceeded $700. An additional criterion, added early in the study enrollment process, was that participants could not be living in a shelter; program managers determined that individuals living in shelters lacked the stability needed to fully participate in and benefit from the program.

Once potential participants were referred to Pathways, they had to take two drug tests before random assignment took place, followed by routine drug tests throughout the program, usually about twice per week. Sobriety is a central part of The Doe Fund's organizational philosophy. In the early stages of study enrollment, many potential participants were determined to be ineligible due to failed drug tests. To address this issue, the program exercised some leniency with less serious drugs such as alcohol and marijuana: Positive toxicology results did not exclude these individuals from random assignment, though the sobriety component of the program remained in place after enrollment. Similarly, while Pathways was originally intended to serve men only, the program eventually began to accept women in order to increase enrollment.

Those who were randomly assigned to the control group were provided with a community resource sheet that listed 17 organizations, including the local American Job Centers.[10] CEO was not included on the list because its transitional jobs program was most similar to Pathways and because parole officers and others in the community were already familiar with this program. As discussed later, many control group members nevertheless ended up enrolling in CEO's transitional jobs program.

[10]Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor, American Job Centers are designed to provide a full range of services to job seekers, including training referrals, career counseling, job listings, and similar employment-related services.

- **Pathways had to strengthen relationships with parole offices and make structural changes in the program to reach its sample targets during the study enrollment period.**

Pathways relied heavily on referrals from parole officers. The Doe Fund had preexisting relationships with city and state criminal justice agencies, but Pathways nevertheless had to work hard throughout the entire enrollment period to persuade parole officers to make referrals to the program. Pathways managers made it a priority to meet with regional directors and bureau chiefs, explaining the evaluation process and emphasizing the benefits of the program and the study.

Staff members reported that some individual parole officers were reluctant to refer parolees because the random assignment process meant there was no guarantee that those parolees would get into the program. As noted earlier, there are several programs in New York City that serve people with criminal records, and some parole officers preferred to send parolees to those other programs — including some that provided subsidized jobs — because parolees had a greater chance of being served. In general, program managers cited competition from other programs as one of Pathways' greatest recruitment challenges.

When recruitment lagged behind projections, Pathways managers responded by enrolling more frequent, smaller cohorts. Enrollment in cohorts meant that some parolees referred to the program had to wait until a full cohort was recruited before they could start participation, and some of them went elsewhere during this time. The change to more frequent cohorts was designed to reduce this attrition. This change meant that the program structure had to be revised to allow multiple cohorts to be served at the same time (though in different stages of the program).

In addition, Pathways staff members increased the amount of time they spent on recruiting. During certain high-intensity periods, case managers estimated that recruitment took up to 60 percent of their time. Work-site supervisors, who were often former Doe Fund participants with histories of incarceration, were also heavily involved in the recruitment process. They were able to connect to potential participants on a personal level by discussing their own experiences and explaining how The Doe Fund had helped them. By the research team's second implementation site visit in early 2014, it appeared that staff members had figured out a somewhat manageable balance between recruitment and their other duties. A time study conducted in fall 2013 indicated that most case managers spent about a fifth of their time on recruitment, and a few work-site supervisors spent 50 to 70 percent of their time on recruitment. Pathways managers remained heavily involved in recruitment throughout the lifespan of the project. The program's associate director, in particular, played a vital role in the successful effort to reach the intended study sample size of 1,000.

Baseline Characteristics

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 and Appendix Table G.1 present the self-reported characteristics of study participants at the time of random assignment.[11] As Table 8.1 shows, almost all of the sample members in New York City are black or Hispanic men. The average age of study participants at random assignment was 35.

The New York City sample appears to have been somewhat less job-ready than the samples for the other ETJD programs targeting people recently released from prison. For example, 35 percent of New York study participants had neither a high school diploma nor the equivalent at the time of random assignment, compared with an average of 25 percent across all three of those programs. Similarly, 67 percent of the New York sample members had ever held a job, compared with the overall average of 81 percent.

More than half of sample members were living in someone else's home at the time of random assignment, while just under one-fourth rented or owned their own homes. Most of the others were living in halfway houses, transitional houses, or residential treatment centers. Overall, the New York City sample appears to be somewhat more stably housed than sample members for the other programs targeting former prisoners, though it is possible that the percentage renting their own homes includes some sample members who were living in the types of unstable three-quarter housing described earlier.

Forty-one percent of the sample members were noncustodial parents at random assignment, while 47 percent reported having minor-age children. However, fewer than 10 percent of sample members lived with minor-age children. Eleven percent reported having current child support orders.

As expected, all of the sample members had been incarcerated in prison, and nearly all were under parole supervision at the time of random assignment. The New York sample members had spent an average of 7.5 years in prison, compared with an average of 4.8 years in all of the ETJD programs targeting former prisoners.

[11] As expected (given the random assignment design), there were very few statistically significant differences between the program and control groups with respect to these characteristics. Therefore, for simplicity, Tables 8.1 and 8.2 and Appendix Table G.1 present numbers for the full New York City sample. For a detailed comparison of the baseline characteristics of program group members and control group members across the ETJD programs, see Appendix I.

Table 8.1

Characteristics and Employment Histories of Sample Members: *New York City*

Characteristic	NYC Program	ETJD Programs Targeting Formerly Incarcerated People
Male (%)	96.3	94.1
Age (%)		
18-24	19.1	17.0
25-34	37.4	34.9
35-44	22.7	25.2
45 or older	20.8	22.9
Average age	34.5	35.5
Race/ethnicity (%)		
Black, non-Hispanic	68.9	67.4
White, non-Hispanic	1.2	16.2
Hispanic	27.4	14.5
Asian, non-Hispanic	0.5	0.2
Other/multiracial	2.0	1.6
Educational attainment (%)		
No high school diploma or equivalent	34.9	24.7
High school diploma or equivalent	63.7	71.9
Associate's degree or equivalent	1.1	2.2
Bachelor's degree or higher	0.3	1.3
Marital status (%)		
Never married	75.7	70.2
Currently married	10.2	9.0
Separated, widowed, or divorced	14.1	20.8
Veteran (%)	2.4	3.7
Has a disability (%)	3.3	3.1
Housing (%)		
Rents or owns	22.8	11.8
Halfway house, transitional house, or residential treatment facility	22.7	25.6
Homeless	0.0	5.8
Staying in someone else's apartment, room, or house	54.5	56.9

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Characteristic	NYC Program	ETJD Programs Targeting Formerly Incarcerated People
Employment history		
Ever worked (%)	67.2	81.1
Among those who ever worked:		
Worked in the past year (%)	15.0	19.9
Average hourly wage in most recent job ($)	10.44	10.11
Ever worked for the same employer for 6 months or more (%)	72.8	72.9
Months worked in the previous 3 years (%)		
Did not work	62.3	46.6
Fewer than 6 months	20.8	30.5
6 to 12 months	9.1	12.9
13 to 24 months	5.2	6.7
More than 24 months	2.7	3.2
Sample size	1,005	3,002

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on baseline survey data and ETJD management information system data.

Program Implementation

This section draws from two formal implementation research visits to the Pathways program, plus an early on-site assessment of program operations. The research team interviewed several staff members, partners, employers, and participants during these visits. In addition, the research team reviewed program participation data and participant questionnaire results, and held ongoing telephone conversations with program managers about how the program implemented and adapted its various components.

Program Staffing and Structure

Pathways was a self-contained program that operated in a single location in Brooklyn, separate from all of the other Doe Fund facilities. There were three main teams of Pathways staff: **Career Pathways Advisors**, who served as case managers, working with participants throughout their time in the program; **career development staff members**, who were responsible for identifying internship sites and unsubsidized jobs for participants; and **work-site supervisors**, who provided on-site supervision for participants in street-cleaning crews. The

Table 8.2

Child Support and Criminal Justice Characteristics of Sample Members: *New York City*

Characteristic	NYC Program	ETJD Programs Targeting Formerly Incarcerated People
Parental and child support status		
Noncustodial parent (%)	40.8	42.1
Has any minor-age children (%)	47.1	51.5
Among those with minor-age children:		
Average number of minor-age children	1.9	2.1
Living with minor-age children (%)	9.8	14.0
Has a current child support order (%)	11.0	15.2
Has an order only for child support debt (%)	0.1	0.7
Criminal history		
Ever convicted of a crime[a] (%)	93.8	96.3
Ever convicted of a felony	91.0	91.0
Ever convicted of a misdemeanor	59.6	65.2
Ever incarcerated in prison (%)	100.0	100.0
Average years in jail and prison[b]	7.5	4.8
Average months since most recent release[c]	1.4	1.5
Status at program enrollment (%)		
Parole	96.1	75.5
Probation	3.4	11.9
Other criminal justice/court supervision	0.1	9.6
None of the above	0.4	2.9
Sample size	1,005	3,002

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on baseline survey data, ETJD management information system data, and criminal justice administrative records.

NOTES: Measures are self-reported unless otherwise noted.

[a]Includes convictions in the state of New York as recorded in administrative records. Does not include federal convictions or convictions from other states.

[b]Includes time spent in New York state prisons and New York City jails according to administrative records. Does not include time spent in federal prisons or prisons in other states.

[c]Most recent release can be from prison or jail.

teams were integrated and met formally on a weekly basis to discuss the progress of cases. Staff members from each team also reported regular informal communication throughout the week as needed, which they felt strengthened their efforts to support and guide participants.

All told, there were about 26 full-time staff members working on Pathways, including the program director and associate director, an evaluation coordinator, an administrative assistant, five to six Career Pathways Advisors, four career development specialists, a workforce development assistant, two education instructors, a training coordinator, a security guard, a dispatcher, two senior work-site supervisors, and six work-site supervisors. Most staff members were hired from other Doe Fund programs. Staff members who were hired externally typically had case management backgrounds and were trained in-house.

At the time of the second site visit in February 2014, the career development staff had reorganized to focus more attention on job development.

Implementation of Core Program Components

Table 8.3 shows that 98 percent of program group members participated in at least one Pathways activity, including early assessments as part of orientation and enrollment. Seventy-nine percent worked in subsidized jobs, and just over half worked in internships. Those who worked in subsidized jobs averaged about 29 days of work in all. Assuming three days of work per week, this average would constitute about 10 weeks of work, somewhat below the maximum number of days allowed. Figure 8.2 shows that, as intended, almost all program participants had left subsidized employment by around the sixth month after random assignment.

In fall 2012, Pathways managers shortened the orientation (from two weeks to one) and the first transitional job (from eight weeks to six) in an attempt to reduce attrition rates by moving participants into internships more quickly. The job-search stage was extended from six weeks to nine weeks to provide longer support for participants who had difficulty finding jobs.

Stage 1: Orientation. During orientation, a participant received an overview of the program and met the staff, including his or her assigned case manager. At this time the case managers began conducting an overall assessment, which was to be fully completed within a participant's first 30 days of enrollment. This assessment covered the participant's background, legal conflicts, mental health issues, available resources, and goals. The case manager used the assessment to develop an individual service plan for each participant. Pathways staff members also reviewed participants' rap sheets (so they would be aware of what potential employers might see) and began the sometimes complicated process of helping eligible participants sort out their public benefits with the city's social service agency, including housing assistance, food stamps, and Medicaid. In order to receive these benefits, and for

Table 8.3

One-Year Participation in ETJD Subsidized Jobs and Services Among Program Group Members: *New York City*

Measure	Program Group
Participated in any activity, including a subsidized job (%)	97.8
Worked in a subsidized job (%)	79.0
Worked in an RWA job	79.0
Worked in an internship	52.2
Among those who worked in a subsidized job:	
Average number of months in the program[a]	3.1
Average number of days from random assignment to first subsidized paycheck	20.9
Average number of days worked in a subsidized job[b]	28.8
Average number of days worked in an RWA job	15.3
Average number of days worked in an internship, among those who worked in internships	20.5
Received a service other than a subsidized job (%)	97.8
Formal assessment/testing[c]	85.9
Education and job training[d]	77.4
Workforce preparation[e]	75.8
Work-related support[f]	88.5
Child support assistance, among noncustodial parents	81.5
Parenting class, among noncustodial parents[g]	61.1
Incentive payment[h]	49.8
Other services[i]	96.6
Sample size	504

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other reasons, many participants also required help gathering documents such as prison release forms, birth certificates, and high school equivalency certificates. During orientation, participants were also informed about the assistance they could receive with managing their child support obligations.

One of the orientation sessions provided information about the two basic tracks offered at Pathways: the culinary arts track, where participants could learn to cook and bake while working in The Doe Fund's kitchen, and the street-cleaning track, where participants worked in

Table 8.3 (continued)

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on data from the ETJD management information system.

NOTES: [a]Measured as the duration between random assignment and last subsidized paycheck.
[b]Calculated using net hours worked, assuming a seven-hour workday.
[c]Includes Tests of Adult Basic Education.
[d]Includes computer literacy, food handler license, and Occupational Safety and Health Administration training.
[e]Includes Onward and Upward, labor-market information, and financial management education.
[f]Includes van rides, subway cards, certification/license fees, and clothing.
[g]Includes 24/7 Dad curriculum.
[h]Includes job-search payment and payment for obtaining or maintaining unsubsidized employment.
[i]Includes case management, follow-up services, and rap-sheet requests.

street-cleaning crews. Street-cleaning tasks included picking up trash, sweeping sidewalks, emptying trash cans, shoveling snow, sweeping water out of drains, and pulling down flyers. Other orientation workshops focused on topics such as team building, anger management, and conflict resolution.

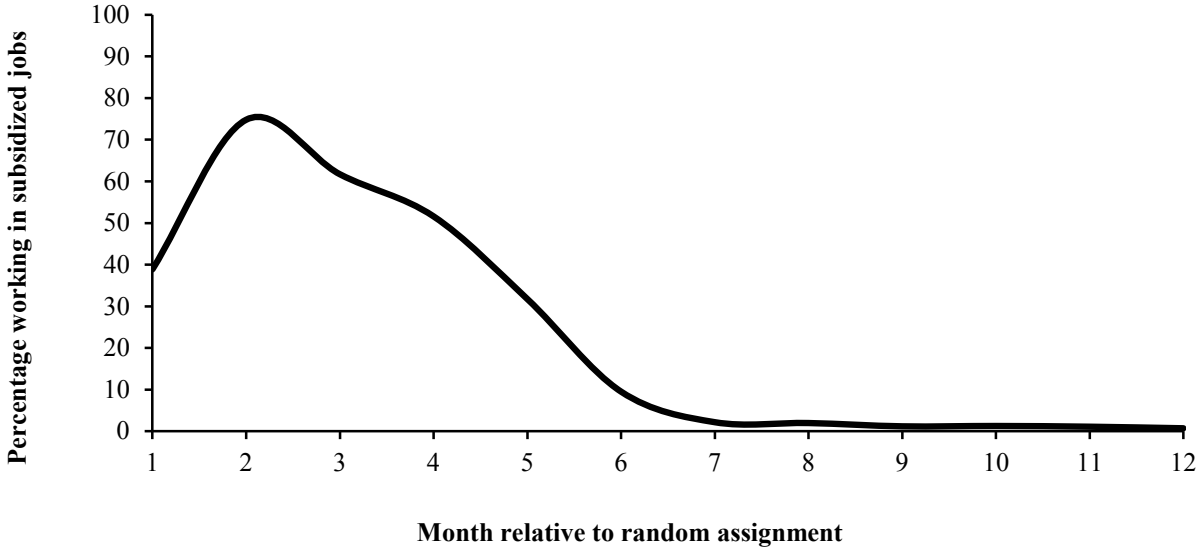
Another task participants completed during orientation was intake paperwork and assessments. About 86 percent of program group members received a formal assessment, the Test of Adult Basic Education — a math and reading aptitude test. Participants also completed a test of computer skills. Additionally, the career development staff administered a vocational assessment and gathered information from participants about their career interests, employment histories, and geographical preferences for work.

Pathways participants were paid a total of $30 (originally $15) for orientation and orientation lasted from 9 a.m. until as late as 5 p.m. Most people finished at 3 p.m., however. In addition, program participants received MetroCards to cover the cost of public transportation to and from the orientation. At the end of orientation, participants signed up for one of the two transitional job tracks and were also invited to attend classes in building maintenance or other classes leading to certifications.

Stage 2: RWA transitional job. Participants worked in the RWA transitional job three days a week. Participants were initially paid $7.40 per hour, slightly above the New York State minimum wage at the time of $7.25. The minimum wage increased to $8.00 as of December 2013, at which time Pathways participants began receiving $8.20 per

Figure 8.2

Subsidized Employment Over Time: *New York City*



SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on data from the ETJD management information system.

NOTE: Month 1 in this figure is the month in which random assignment occurred.

hour.[12] Participants were paid weekly using a debit card. They were not paid for the two days per week they spent participating in nonwork program activities. Pathways considered the pay for subsidized work a stipend, and therefore earnings were not subject to unemployment insurance or income tax. In addition to weekly pay, participants received weekly MetroCards until they received their first checks and brown-bag lunches throughout the RWA transitional job stage, and had the option of eating breakfast or dinner or both at the program site.

- **The RWA transitional jobs component operated largely as planned, though there was significant attrition from the program during this stage.**

As shown in Table 8.3, participants who started transitional jobs received their first paychecks about 21 days after random assignment, on average. Participants worked in RWA transitional jobs for approximately 15 days, or about five weeks, which suggests that there was

[12]Beginning December 31, 2013, New York State's minimum wage increased in a series of three annual changes as follows: $8.00 on December 31, 2013; $8.75 on December 31, 2014; and $9.00 on December 31, 2015.

some attrition during this stage of the program; as noted earlier, managers shortened the RWA transitional jobs from eight weeks to six weeks to allow participants to reach the internship stage more quickly. In interviews, participants and staff members noted that some participants disliked working in the street crews, especially in inclement weather. In addition, participants who did not yet have access to benefits like food stamps or Medicaid had difficulty focusing on their work, especially when they had to travel around New York City to obtain these benefits. Since the program recruited citywide but operated in Brooklyn, long commutes became a challenge for some participants. Also, some participants said family or personal issues got in the way of their Pathways work schedules.

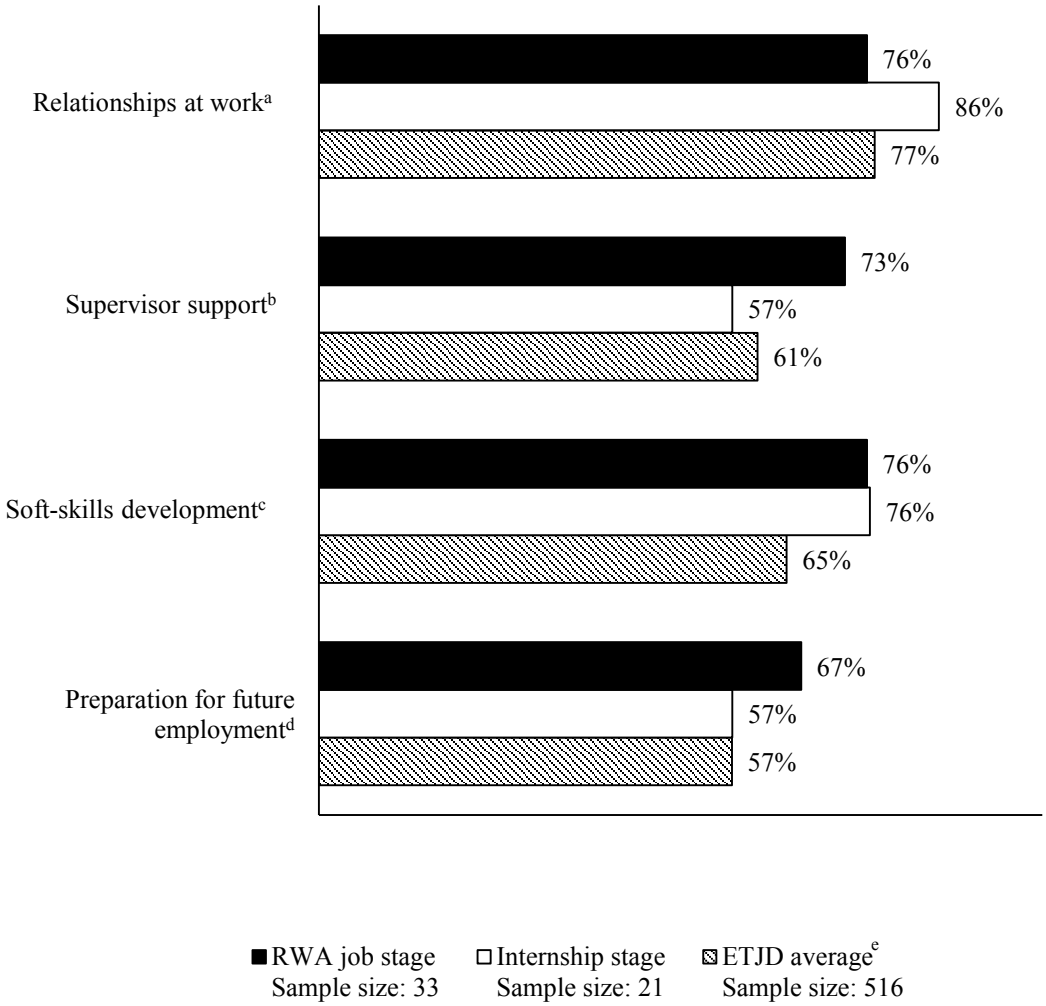
While some participants reported dissatisfaction with working in the street crews, others had more positive reactions. In a focus group that included all participants working in RWA transitional jobs at the time of the research team's first implementation visit (except those absent from work on the day the focus group was held), several participants described feeling a sense of pride at wearing their uniforms, improving the community, and receiving thanks for their efforts from civilians on the street. For some participants, another positive feature of working in the street crews was the camaraderie they created. These participants felt that working together bonded members of the cohort and allowed them to begin supporting one another.

In the field, each participant had a site supervisor who supervised up to 10 participants. Work-site supervisors, who were often former Doe Fund participants, enforced work-site rules, monitored job performance, and provided positive reinforcement and informal mentoring to participants. They were also responsible for providing written evaluations of their supervisees' performance to the supervisees' case managers, and met regularly with case managers to discuss participants' progress. In interviews, work-site supervisors said that one of their main responsibilities was to prepare participants for the internship stage. Specifically, work-site supervisors believed participants needed to learn to accept direct supervision, develop a strong work ethic, resolve conflicts, and be punctual.

As shown in Figure 8.3, the vast majority of participants who completed questionnaires while they were working in RWA transitional jobs strongly agreed that during this stage they were improving their soft skills by, for example, learning to cooperate better with coworkers and supervisors and to present themselves better at work. Similarly, about three-fourths of questionnaire respondents strongly agreed that they enjoyed positive relationships at work; they felt supported by their coworkers, understood what was expected of them, and knew whom to ask for help when they needed it. However, it is important to note that the questionnaire results are based on a small sample and may not be representative of the views of all participants. More specifically, the results may not reflect the views of participants who left the program before completing questionnaires because they were not satisfied with their experiences in street-cleaning crews.

Figure 8.3

Favorable Impression of the Value of Transitional Job Support and Preparation for Future Employment: *New York City*



(continued)

Figure 8.3 (continued)

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on the ETJD participant questionnaire.

NOTES: The measures presented in this figure, *relationships at work*, *supervisor support*, *soft-skills development,* and *preparation for future employment* were created based on an exploratory factor analysis of a pool of questions. These questions asked participants about their level of agreement with a particular statement on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates strong disagreement and 7 indicates strong agreement. Based on the results of the factor analysis, questions were grouped into factors and a mean score was calculated across the questions included in a particular factor; the percentages presented above represent the proportion of questionnaire respondents who averaged a score of 6 or higher on the questions in that factor, indicating a high level of satisfaction with their program experiences in that area.

With a few exceptions, questionnaires were administered to participants by the research team during site visits at events and activities when many participants would be available at once. Consequently, the responses obtained are from participants who attended program activities and were therefore likely to be more motivated and engaged than the full sample of program participants. For this reason, the results presented in this figure are not necessarily representative of all participant experiences and should be interpreted with caution; they are likely to be more positive.

[a]Based on agreement with the following statements: *I understand what is expected of me on the job*; *I know whom at work to ask for help when I need it*; *My relationships with coworkers are positive and supportive*; and *My coworkers understand me and want me to succeed*.

[b]Based on agreement with the following statements: *I get the support or guidance that I need from my supervisor*; *My supervisor gives me advice about how to handle situations at work*; and *My supervisor helps me if personal issues come up that get in the way of working*.

[c]Based on agreement with the following statements: *I am learning how to work better with coworkers*; *I am learning how to cooperate better with supervisors*; and *This job has helped me learn to present myself better at work*.

[d]Based on agreement with the following statements: *The kind of work I am doing will help me get a decent-paying job later*; *I am learning specific job skills that I will use in the future*; and *I have met people through this job who may help me find a job in the future*.

[e]To account for varying questionnaire sample sizes across ETJD programs, the "ETJD average" is a weighted average of all programs such that each program is equally represented.

Some focus group participants expressed negative views about their work-site supervisors, believing that their supervisors, who themselves had been formerly incarcerated, were enjoying their newfound authority a bit too much. They reported that supervisors were looking for something to criticize and intended to intimidate the participants. It is important to note that only about 15 program group members attended focus groups, so it is difficult to know whether this perception was widespread. Additionally, this discussion was held fairly early in focus group participants' time in their RWA transitional jobs; it may be that supervisors were being particularly tough at the outset in order to get new participants "in line" and expose them to the type of supervision they might experience in future, "real-world" positions.

During the two days a week that participants were not working at their transitional job sites, they attended classes at the Pathways office. As discussed in more detail later in this section, participants received instruction in job readiness and basic computer skills, among other

topics. This time was unpaid, and classes took place from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m., leaving time for participants to meet with case managers.

As intended, a large majority of participants worked in street-cleaning crew jobs during this stage. However, about six participants per cohort worked in The Doe Fund kitchen, learning to cook and bake while preparing food for both The Doe Fund shelter that shared the building and a local Boys and Girls Club. The small number of participants who worked in the kitchen learned basic kitchen skills and sanitation. Culinary training at The Doe Fund lasted for five weeks. Participants dedicated their sixth week in this stage to acquiring a food handler's certificate by attending a five-day class at the New York City Health Academy and passing a test. Pathways reimbursed the $114 test fee if the participant passed. In most cases, participants from the culinary arts track continued on to culinary internship placements.

Stage 3: Internship transitional job. After completing the RWA transitional job, participants were placed in an eight-week internship at one of Pathways' employer partners. In this stage, Pathways continued to pay participants' wages for three days of work per week (at the same hourly rates they had received in the RWA transitional job stage). The internship stage was designed to build soft skills and, in some cases, job-specific skills.

- **Pathways was able to develop a large, stable group of employer partners to host program interns. Overall, about half of the program group worked in internships.**

Table 8.3 shows that 52 percent of the full program group — about two-thirds of those who worked in first-stage transitional jobs — worked in internships. Among this group, the average number of days worked in internships was 21, or about seven weeks at three days per week — close to the eight weeks required by the program model.

Pathways began the project with 6 employer partners for internships and ended up with more than 40. Career development staff members matched participants to internship openings. Staff members reported that the most important factor in matching a participant to an internship was whether the participant had the skills and background necessary to move into unsubsidized employment with that employer. The possibility of moving into unsubsidized employment often depended on whether the participant had a high school diploma or equivalent, on whether the participant had a driver's license, and, to a lesser extent, on the particulars of the participant's criminal history. Career development staff members tried to take participants' career interests and geographical preferences into account as well.

About 25 of the internship partners were nonprofit organizations, including many social service organizations. Thirteen were private companies, including several in the food-service industry (mostly companies with large, industrial kitchens), and 3 were public agencies. In

general, staff members reported that smaller businesses were most open to working with Pathways as a way to give back to the community and that most of the internships were in the building maintenance and culinary fields, in line with the training that participants had received. Other reasons cited by employers for working with the program included the obvious free labor, but also the opportunity for a "test run" with trained, prescreened workers before deciding whether to hire them into full-time, unsubsidized positions. Additionally, the certificates participants earned in food handling, building maintenance, and other areas were often a major selling point for prospective employer partners.

Career development staff members noted that many participants were interested in construction, but it was challenging to collaborate with this industry due to union rules and the seasonal nature of the work. Clerical positions and counseling/social work were also fields of interest, but they were difficult to enter because of educational requirements and restrictions related to having a criminal background. Participants' criminal histories also prevented them from moving into security guard positions, another job track that many participants wished to pursue.

In general, career development staff members acknowledged that they were not able to break into as many employment sectors as they would have liked, in large part due to many employers' resistance to taking on interns with criminal records. As a result, staff members had to rely more on personal contacts and "what was possible and available." Career development staff members also noted feeling hemmed in by the training Pathways could provide, which was limited to building maintenance and culinary arts; they wished a broader range of training options were available to participants, which would in turn give them a way to "sell" participants to different types of employers. Notably, this same wish was echoed by both participants themselves and Pathways managers. In particular, Pathways managers said that they would have liked to offer commercial driver's license and pest-control training, both offered through The Doe Fund's residential programs. Unfortunately, logistical problems prevented Pathways from offering training in these areas.

Interestingly, the career development staff originally appealed to potential internship providers by emphasizing the opportunity to give back to the community and do good. In the last several months of the program, however, the Pathways staff turned away from this approach, instead choosing to market the internship from a business perspective. They felt their appeals should focus on benefits to employers' bottom lines, and began to stress that taking on a trained intern for a no-cost trial was simply a good business decision. Program managers said that pitching the participants as "charity cases" was doing a disservice to their level of skill and what they had to offer.

Career development staff members followed up with participants regularly while they were in internship positions. They called or e-mailed the employer once a week and visited

work sites frequently. Employers were asked to call the career development staff if issues arose. During an interview with one employer partner, the employer noted that Pathways was very good at addressing concerns with their participants — the Pathways staff took immediate action and met with the participant to discuss the issue. This approach effectively resolved any problems the employer encountered with Pathways interns. Career development staff members said they took this responsibility very seriously, as they did not want to jeopardize their relationships with employers and risk losing them as partners.

Some of the employer partners were more likely than others to hire Pathways participants into unsubsidized positions. Career development staff members noted that they were always looking for new partners, as many employers they used in the past had already hired participants into unsubsidized positions, and therefore no longer had vacancies. The research team unfortunately does not have data on the number of internships that turned into unsubsidized positions with the same employer. Career development staff members followed up with participants who were hired by employer partners, many of whom were also still providing internships. When visiting work sites, career development staff members checked in with participants who were in the internship stage and former participants now working in unsubsidized positions.

Consistent with the model, the "real job" of the internship stage was meant to be a less sheltered environment than the RWA transitional job in street cleaning or culinary arts. Thus, as shown in Figure 8.3, it is to be expected that program group members who completed questionnaires during the internship stage were less likely to report receiving strong support from their supervisors than those who completed the questionnaire during the RWA transitional job stage. Surprisingly, respondents in internships were somewhat less likely than those in RWA jobs to report that they were receiving strong preparation for future employment. This result could be because internship participants observed their own skills in "real jobs" relative to other workers' more advanced skills and felt less prepared for unsubsidized jobs in this context. Notably, internship workers were more likely to report strong relationships at work. As noted earlier, these differences may reflect the views of the relatively small group of participants who completed the questionnaires rather than the full sample of Pathways participants.

Stage 4: Paid job search. Participants who completed an internship without finding a job entered the job-search stage of the program. The job search was structured into course modules that helped participants learn where and how to look and apply for jobs, as well as how to present their criminal histories in the most honest and professional way possible. There was also a weekly job club intended to allow participants the opportunity to learn from and support one another during what is often a frustrating process. Program records show that 38 percent of the full program group — about 72 percent of those who worked in internships — participated in paid job searches.

During this time, participants received the same weekly pay that they received in their transitional jobs until the final week, when they were paid $15. They were required to fill out job-search tracking sheets with the names of the contacts they made with various employers and submit them every Friday. The expectation was that they would complete 5 or more in-person applications and 8 or more online applications, though participants rarely hit the required 13 applications. The staff did not penalize participants who failed to meet this goal as long as they showed up and were making a sincere effort. Career development staff members verified that participants were in fact searching for jobs by calling the contacts listed on the tracking sheet. At a certain point, realizing the participants needed more help, career development staff members began sending job leads to all participants in the paid job-search stage once a week. As noted earlier, the job-search stage was extended from six weeks to nine weeks to allow participants more supported time to find employment. The staff was willing to continue to work with participants after the nine weeks had elapsed, though participants could no longer be paid for their time. For an in-depth look at one participant's experience moving through the four stages of the Pathways program, see Box 8.2.

Additional services. As shown in Table 8.3, 98 percent of program group members received services other than subsidized employment, including formal assessments/testing, education and job training, workforce preparation, work-related support, and other services, including case management, follow-up services, and rap-sheet requests. While many of these services have already been mentioned, more information about these additional forms of support is provided in this section.

Education. Pathways taught a two-part job readiness sequence. Career Pathways 101 was offered during the RWA transitional job stages and focused on résumé writing, soft skills, time management, and conflict resolution in the workplace. Career Pathways 102 was offered during the internship stage and focused on the unsubsidized job search, including topics such as interviewing (especially how to handle questions about one's criminal history), references (for example, whom to list as a reference), and what happens when one receives a job offer (reviewing a hiring letter and completing legal-work-status and tax forms). Career development staff members conducted mock interviews during Career Pathways 102, requiring participants to come dressed for an interview. Help was available for those in need of appropriate interview attire. Additionally, Career Pathways 102 focused on issues that participants faced in their internship placements.

The education coordinator taught a computer-skills class called "Cultivating Literacy in Computers." This class was provided twice a week for six weeks during the early part of the program and focused on the computer skills needed to conduct a job search. The curriculum included the following topics: introduction to e-mails, e-mail etiquette, introduction to

Box 8.2

Pathways Participant Profile

"JT" is a 44-year-old black man who was born and raised in Manhattan. He is divorced and has two adult children with whom he has no contact. JT's last charge was for violating a protective order with criminal intent because he called his ex-girlfriend, and he was sentenced to two years. JT has four other felonies — two robberies in the second degree and two robberies in the third degree — as well as an attempted assault and a misdemeanor. He also has a history of domestic violence. JT served 14 years in total.

JT completed 11 grades and has a high school equivalency credential. He attended the Institute of Audio Research for a year and wants to be a music producer. JT participated in VESID (Vocational and Educational Services for Individuals with Disabilities) because he wanted to finish his degree. JT's work experience encompasses temporary work in culinary and mechanical industries through temp agencies. He only has two years of work experience.

JT's case manager recruited him for the program at the Manhattan parole office. He was initially interested in another program, but after he learned about the internship and opportunities to become certified in a trade, he chose Pathways. During the program, JT had excellent attendance, was committed and independent, took initiative, and was very motivated. He did what he was supposed to do despite having to attend outpatient services three times a week and anger management counseling, and despite living in a three-quarter house. Although JT had used cocaine in the past, all of his drug tests were clean, and his case manager did not think he needed to attend outpatient services. However, outpatient services were required as part of his living arrangement at the three-quarter house.

JT wanted to complete building-maintenance training, but could not do so due to his schedule. He completed his building-maintenance internship, but there were no positions open when he finished, so he did not get an unsubsidized job with that company. When he didn't get hired by the organization where he interned, he was convinced that it was because of his criminal background, and he found that experience to be incredibly frustrating. His case manager explained that JT is very sensitive about his background and ashamed of it. He does not want to be defined by his criminal past, and he felt that his supervisor did not want to leave him alone in the building. To reassure him that this was not the case, a career development staff member at Pathways called JT's supervisor to solicit the supervisor's opinion about him. The supervisor had only positive things to say about JT.

JT completed all nine weeks of paid job searching at Pathways. He is now employed full time (40 hours per week) and making $9 per hour in a permanent job.

Microsoft Word and résumé building, cover letters, and introduction to the Internet and online job applications. The education coordinator helped participants create free e-mail accounts if they did not already have them or if they needed more professional e-mail addresses.

All participants with children under the age of 18 were required to attend a parenting class twice a week for six weeks; as shown in Table 8.3, about 60 percent of parents attended the class. Topics covered in this class included family history, a father's role, communication with the custodial parent, children's growth, discipline, and being a good role model. Pathways also tried to coordinate events for parents, including a Family Day picnic at a local city park and toy drives during the holiday season.

Various other classes covered topics such as financial management, anger management, conflict resolution, and wellness. The wellness class, a later addition, focused on communication, body language, relationships, and stress management. This class was particularly popular among participants.

Attendance at classes was mandatory, though the staff reported that attendance was frequently an issue. The staff balanced the need to be flexible with the importance of preparing participants for a less forgiving job environment. In general, if participants did not go to class, they were not allowed to go to work.

Case management. Case managers were responsible for developing participants' service plans and providing overall support to participants throughout the program. Once a week, case managers met with other staff members and discussed any individual cases in need of specific help. These meetings focused on issues that needed to be addressed immediately, for example poor attendance and positive drug test results.

Case managers developed relationships with the parole officers of participants on their caseloads. They would work with parole officers to adjust court dates or reporting schedules in the event that these obligations prevented participants from attending important program activities. They would also report to a participant's parole officer if something bad happened — for example, if that participant failed a drug test or stopped attending Pathways. Case managers would recommend a course of action to parole officers based on the incident, for example, drug treatment, continued monitoring, etc.

Case managers also noted that part of their role was to help participants coordinate their busy schedules. Participants had many appointments and programs to attend and curfews to obey, which often conflicted with training events and other opportunities. Only recently released from prison, participants were used to being told where to be at all times, and many had forgotten how to manage their own schedules. One case manager said she made color-

coded calendars for her participants. Case managers also screened participants for mental health and substance-abuse issues and referred them to outside services as needed.

Overall, case managers believed their role was to assist participants with the transition back into society and help them gain stability, which they viewed as essential to finding and maintaining employment. Each case manager carried a caseload of 15 to 22 participants, all at different stages of the program and in need of different forms of support. Case managers reported that participants often required a lot of their time and attention during the early stages of the program, but by the time they moved into their internship placements, they were usually functioning much more independently and needed only brief, weekly check-ins. Their growing independence helped balance case managers' workloads, as they had a new cohort to assist by the time an earlier cohort entered the internship stage. In addition to their weekly check-ins, however, case managers continued to have contact with participants in internship placements through an internship support group they facilitated once a week.

Case managers managed conflicts at Pathways using a process called a "sit-down." When a conflict arose between two participants or between a participant and a staff member, a meeting would be called bringing together all relevant parties. During this meeting, everyone was given an opportunity to present his or her side of the story and be heard on equal footing. This approach was central to building trust with participants. While some participants may still have been upset following the sit-down, they at least got to have their grievances aired and be part of the conversation concerning how to move forward from the incident. The goal of the sit-down process was to calm participants' emotions and get to the root of a problem in order to reach a solution. More broadly, the process demonstrated to participants how to communicate openly and seek solutions to resolve conflicts, helping them learn to resolve conflicts in a socially acceptable way.

Additional training opportunities. Pathways also offered additional training opportunities. A four-week building-maintenance program met two evenings per week from 5:30 to 9 p.m. and on Saturdays. It could lead to boiler and fireguard certifications (city-sponsored tests) as well as an Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) certification in construction safety. Participants were not paid to participate in building-maintenance classes, but they could be reimbursed by the program for testing costs associated with earning these certifications. The program also offered driver's license training (not commercial driver's license but regular driver's license training, since a driver's license is often required for jobs), and paid for road tests.

Child support assistance. During orientation, all Pathways participants were required to sign a waiver granting The Doe Fund's parenting coordinator permission to check with the Office of Child Support Enforcement (OCSE) whether they had any open child support cases

and to gather information about their cases, including the number of children on the case, the required monthly payment amount, debt amounts, and whether a driver's license had been suspended due to nonpayment. If a participant owed child support to either the custodial parent or the state, Pathways set up a payment plan for the participant. This plan required participants to pay $25 of their wages per month toward child support; these payments were deducted from their transitional job wages. This monthly deduction was meant as a "good-faith" payment to indicate that the parent realized that he or she had a responsibility for the child but could not make larger payments at the moment. (This payment plan option was also available to control group members, thought they would have had to establish the arrangement without Pathways' help.) Pathways staff members also worked with OCSE to lift the suspension of participants' driver's licenses when possible.

It was a more complicated process to actually modify child support orders. For money owed to the state the participant had to undertake an administrative process that involved gathering documents and filing an affidavit. Once the appropriate documents had been collected, the process generally took about eight weeks. Modifying payments or debt owed to a custodial parent required a judicial process that could take six months to a year and that required the noncustodial parent to gather a number of documents. The parenting coordinator helped interested participants to navigate the modification process and provided them with a letter that summarized the Pathways program and described how long the participant had been in it, the amount the participant made per week, and the amount he or she was paying toward child support. Pathways hoped that the "good-faith" payments would help participants when they applied for modifications. However, as of the first implementation site visit by the research team, Pathways reported that few participants had sought modifications.

Follow-up and graduate services. Pathways held a graduation night once a month, giving the staff an opportunity to check in with past participants to see how they were faring and whether they needed any assistance. Additionally, in the fall of 2013, the staff began to reach out to past participants in the hopes of reengaging in Pathways' job-search services those who did not have jobs. If reengaged participants had not previously exhausted their nine weeks of paid job searching, they could even be paid for their time. In general, the graduate services department at The Doe Fund provides former participants from any program with lifetime case management, including help with housing, employment, and other needs.

Other challenges. Since three-quarter houses were one of the few housing options that participants could afford (in many cases, the only option they could afford), many faced difficulties with their living arrangements during their time in the program. Pathways staff members explained that three-quarter housing was a "quick fix" type of housing that was approved by parole officers because it was linked with outpatient drug-treatment services. However, program staff members reported that these housing facilities were often severely

overcrowded and in "deplorable condition." Most three-quarter houses had poor reputations due to the prevalence of unsafe and unstable conditions like drug use, theft, and violence. These circumstances pose high risks for parolees who are struggling to get their lives on track. Many Pathways participants had substance-abuse problems, anger-management issues, or both, and those could easily be aggravated in this type of environment. Additionally, being near drugs, even involuntarily, put them at risk of violating their parole. Case managers reported that participants living in three-quarter housing were often anxious and tired because of the instability in their living situations and the fear of violating the terms of their parole or having their belongings stolen.

Drug treatment was a requirement of residing in three-quarter housing, whether or not a parolee had a substance-abuse problem. Some Pathways participants who had no such problem, or who had already completed treatment, were forced to attend treatment services in order to remain in three-quarter housing. This often interfered with their ability to attend training events and participate in other gainful activities. The Pathways staff kept a record of participants who lived in three-quarter housing and were sometimes able to advocate to parole officers on their behalf in order to move them to better living conditions. Pathways managers stated that more affordable housing options in New York City would do a great deal to help this population.

Navigating the city's social service agency also posed challenges. Case managers reported frequent and confusing changes to agency rules and long waits for participants, who had to shuttle among various offices to obtain the benefits they qualified for and greatly needed. In addition to food stamps, many participants urgently needed Medicaid because they were required under the terms of their parole to attend drug-treatment or anger-management programs. Medicaid paid for these programs, but without benefits in place, participants could not attend and were therefore at risk of violating parole. Additionally, according to agency rules, participation in a work program was required for a person to receive housing assistance, but Pathways did not qualify as a work program because it was not open to everyone on public assistance. Some participants who required housing assistance were able to continue in Pathways, but others were told they would lose this support if they did not participate in an approved work program, and as a result were forced to leave Pathways. During the recruitment period, Pathways staff members were careful to explain these restrictions to potential participants so that they were aware that participating in Pathways could cause them to lose their benefits.

Impacts on Participant Outcomes

Participation and Service Receipt Outcomes

Both program and control group members in New York City received services of varying types from a number of sources. However, only those in the program group were eligible to

receive Pathways services. This section compares the services received by the two research groups in the areas of employment, education and training, and other support and services (including help related to past criminal convictions, help related to noncustodial parenting, advice and mentorship, and mental health assistance). Any differences in service receipt between the two research groups represents the service differential — the increase in services over what the control group received that is associated with access to the Pathways program. Without a meaningful service differential, significant impacts on participant outcomes in other domains are very unlikely.

This section presents impacts on participation and service receipt based on data from a survey administered about a year after random assignment. These data capture study members' reports of activities they participated in and help they received since random assignment. Unless otherwise indicated, all impact results discussed in this report are statistically significant, with $p < 0.10$. Overall, program group members reported higher levels of participation and service receipt than control group members in almost every area. However, control group members also received a substantial amount of support. As a result the service contrast is relatively modest in some areas, most importantly in the area of employment support, the primary focus of the Pathways program.

- **The program group was significantly more likely than the control group to receive employment help, education and training, and other services. However, the control group also received a considerable amount of support, resulting in a modest service differential.**

As shown in Table 8.4, about 80 percent of the control group reported receiving help related to finding or keeping a job. Although the program group figure was higher, 93 percent, the difference between the two groups is relatively modest. It is particularly notable that 36 percent of the control group participated in the transitional jobs program at the Center for Employment Opportunities, which offered services comparable to those provided by Pathways (not shown in the table).[13]

Table 8.4 also shows that 59 percent of the program group participated in education and training, compared with 36 percent of the control group. This 22 percentage point difference is

[13]An earlier evaluation by MDRC showed that CEO's program generated sustained decreases in recidivism for individuals who had been recently released from prison. See Redcross, Millenky, Rudd, and Levshin (2012). Although it was not an ETJD grantee, CEO assisted the evaluation by checking for ETJD sample members in its management information system.

Table 8.4

One-Year Impacts on Participation and Service Receipt: *New York City*

Outcome (%)	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Employment support				
Received help related to finding or keeping a job	93.2	79.6	13.6***	[9.4, 17.8]
Job search, job readiness, and career planning[a]	92.1	78.8	13.4***	[9.1, 17.6]
Paying for job-related transportation or equipment costs	69.1	43.5	25.6***	[19.6, 31.6]
Education and training				
Participated in education and training	58.7	36.3	22.4***	[16.4, 28.5]
ESL, ABE, or high school diploma or equivalent[b]	15.3	10.5	4.8*	[0.7, 8.9]
Postsecondary education leading to a degree	3.9	3.3	0.6	[-1.7, 2.9]
Vocational training	50.4	27.5	22.9***	[17.0, 28.8]
Received high school diploma or equivalent	4.3	5.4	-1.1	[-3.7, 1.5]
Earned professional license or certification (not including OSHA or forklift)[c]	28.4	16.4	12.0***	[6.8, 17.1]
Earned OSHA or forklift certification	20.5	10.4	10.1***	[5.6, 14.6]
Other support and services				
Received help related to past criminal convictions	90.1	67.6	22.5***	[17.6, 27.3]
Handling employer questions about criminal history	88.0	64.9	23.1***	[18.0, 28.2]
Legal issues related to convictions	65.9	35.1	30.8***	[24.9, 36.8]
Among those identified as noncustodial parents at enrollment:[d]				
Received help related to child support, visitation, parenting, or other family issues	71.4	34.9	36.4***	[27.4, 45.4]
Modifying child support debts or orders	48.8	24.8	24.0***	[14.8, 33.1]
Setting up visitation with child(ren)	28.7	14.8	14.0***	[5.9, 22.0]
Parenting or other family-related issues	66.2	26.4	39.7***	[30.8, 48.7]
Received advice or support from a staff member at an agency or organization	73.3	54.7	18.6***	[12.9, 24.4]

(continued)

Table 8.4 (continued)

Outcome (%)	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Received mentoring from a staff member at an agency or organization	62.1	46.6	15.5***	[9.4, 21.5]
Received mental health assistance	34.2	37.1	-2.9	[-8.8, 3.0]
Sample size	371	353		

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on responses to the ETJD 12-month survey.

NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
[a]Includes help with job searching, job referrals, developing a résumé, filling out job applications, preparing for job interviews, job-readiness training, and planning for future career or educational goals.
[b] ESL = English as a second language, ABE = adult basic education.
[c]OSHA stands for Occupational Safety and Health Administration. In an effort to separate receipt of professional licenses or certifications that require more intensive and lengthy training (for example, a Certified Medical Assistant certificate or a commercial driver's license) from those that can be earned following more cursory, one-day training, receipt of OSHA and forklift certifications, which fall into the latter group, is presented separately from receipt of other types of licenses or certifications. A review of all reported types of licenses or certifications revealed that OSHA and forklift certifications account for a large majority of the shorter-term, less intensive licenses and certifications received by sample members.
[d]These measures include only those who were identified as noncustodial parents at study enrollment (program group = 157; control group = 144; total = 301).

statistically significant.[14] It can be attributed to a modest difference between the groups in participation in educational classes (15 percent versus 10 percent) and a relatively large difference in participation in vocational training (50 percent versus 28 percent). While education was not a major part of the Pathways model, interested participants could take high school equivalency or pre-equivalency classes through The Doe Fund; additionally, Pathways referred some participants to Literacy Partners, an external provider, for these types of classes. Pathways offered two main vocational training opportunities (in building maintenance and culinary arts), which probably account for much of the difference between the research groups in this area.

Pathways also increased participants' receipt of professional licenses or certifications. As discussed above, Pathways participants who completed building-maintenance training were

[14]As a result of rounding, the difference between the program and control groups for the percentages who participated in education and training appears to be 23 percentage points. However, the difference in unrounded means is actually 22.4 percentage points.

encouraged to obtain OSHA, boiler, and fireguard certifications, while those who went through culinary arts training often pursued food handlers' certificates. These program connections probably explain the statistically significant impact on these outcomes. The program did not result in statistically significant impacts on engagement in postsecondary education or receipt of a high school diploma or equivalent. These findings are not surprising, given the program's emphasis on work as well as the relatively low percentage of participants pursuing high school diploma or high school equivalency classes.

Finally, the bottom panel of Table 8.4 shows impacts on various other support services. Pathways produced a statistically significant impact on help related to past criminal convictions: 90 percent of program group members reported receiving this type of help compared with 68 percent of control group members. Help related to past criminal convictions includes help handling employer questions about criminal histories and help dealing with legal issues related to convictions. Both of these types of help were offered to Pathways participants via their case managers and job-readiness classes. Additionally, Pathways sometimes referred participants to MFY Legal Services, a partner organization that offers free legal assistance to New York City residents.

Only about 40 percent of the sample were noncustodial parents, but within that subgroup the program had a statistically significant impact of 36 percentage points on help related to child support, parenting, or other family issues: 71 percent of noncustodial parents in the program group reported receiving this type of help compared with 35 percent of noncustodial parents in the control group. Pathways offered parenting classes and counseling from case managers, and also helped noncustodial parents to establish payment plans and, in a small number of cases, to modify their child support debt or orders.

The program also produced positive, significant impacts on receiving advice, support, or mentorship from program or agency staff members. This finding probably reflects participants' relationships with case managers and other Pathways staff members. However, control group members also reported receiving relatively high levels of this type of service, resulting in differences between the two research groups of less than 20 percentage points. Lastly, Pathways did not have a statistically significant effect on mental health assistance; about one-third of both program and control group members reported that they had received this type of help.

Employment and Earnings Outcomes

Former prisoners are at a severe disadvantage when seeking employment. They often have low levels of education and skills and no recent work experience, and employers are

reluctant to hire them.[15] As discussed in Chapter 1, transitional jobs programs such as Pathways provide work-based income support to help hard-to-employ populations like former prisoners. However, such programs also generally intend for subsidized employment in a supportive setting to serve as a training tool to improve participants' outcomes in the regular labor market. Pathways served former prisoners and provided subsidized employment both in a supportive setting (street cleaning and culinary work at The Doe Fund) and in a "real-world" setting intended to more closely mirror the regular labor market (internships at private employers), in the hope of increasing employment and earnings among participants even after the end of the program. Overall, the interim findings discussed in this section indicate that Pathways succeeded in providing work-based income support to participants. It is less clear whether the program was effective at improving participants' employment outcomes in the regular labor market after the subsidy period ended; making that determination will require longer-term follow-up.

- **Largely due to the program's subsidized employment, Pathways produced statistically significant impacts on employment and earnings. Early results suggest that while the program's effect on employment was no longer statistically significant after the subsidy period ended, the program did maintain a positive, statistically significant impact on earnings.**

Table 8.5 and Figure 8.4 present one-year impacts on employment and earnings using data from the National Directory of New Hires, payroll data, and data from the 12-month survey.[16] Largely due to the subsidized employment available to Pathways participants (about 78 percent of program group members participated in subsidized employment, according to payroll data),[17] the program produced a statistically significant impact on employment: 89 percent of program group members ever worked during the follow-up period compared with 69 percent of control group members. Pathways also produced a statistically significant impact on earnings: Program group members earned an average of $5,469 during the follow-up period compared with an average of $4,208 among control group members. This estimated impact of $1,260 is largely accounted for by the program group's subsidized earnings (about $1,191 during the follow-up period).

[15]Pager (2003); Holzer, Raphael, and Stoll (2004); Uggen, Wakefield, and Western (2005).

[16]Pathways treated participants' subsidized wages as a stipend and therefore did not report these wages to unemployment insurance. The research team therefore had to include payroll data to capture program group members' employment and earnings during the follow-up period. The Center for Employment Opportunities — the organization that served many control group members in its transitional jobs program — does report subsidized wages to the unemployment insurance system, so those employment and earnings data for the control group are accounted for in the impact estimates.

[17]The 1 percentage point difference between this figure and the reported percentage of program group members who participated in subsidized employment according to management information system data is due to a minor difference in the time frames covered by these two data sources.

Table 8.5

One-Year Impacts on Employment and Earnings: *New York City*

Outcome	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Primary outcomes *(based on administrative data)*				
Employment[a] (%)	88.7	68.6	20.2***	[16.0, 24.3]
ETJD subsidized employment (%)	78.3	--		
Number of quarters employed	2.5	1.7	0.7***	[0.6, 0.9]
Average quarterly employment (%)	61.4	43.4	18.0***	[14.3, 21.6]
Employment in all quarters (%)	32.5	17.8	14.7***	[10.3, 19.1]
Total earnings ($)	5,469	4,208	1,260***	[676, 1,844]
ETJD subsidized earnings ($)	1,191	--		
Total earnings (%)				
$5,000 or more	32.9	25.5	7.4***	[2.7, 12.0]
$7,500 or more	25.1	17.7	7.3***	[3.3, 11.4]
$10,000 or more	17.9	12.7	5.1**	[1.6, 8.7]
Employment in the first quarter of Year 2 (%)	42.0	38.0	4.1	[-0.8, 9.1]
ETJD subsidized employment in the first quarter of Year 2 (%)	0.8	--		
Sample size [b]	502	498		
Self-reported outcomes *(based on survey data)*				
Ever employed in Year 1 (%)	76.1	74.0	2.1	[-3.3, 7.5]
Currently employed (%)	56.2	45.5	10.6***	[4.6, 16.7]
Currently employed in a transitional job program (%)	3.6	4.2	-0.6	[-3.1, 1.8]
Type of employment (%)				
Not currently employed	45.5	56.0	-10.4***	[-16.6, -4.3]
Permanent	42.7	30.2	12.5***	[6.5, 18.5]
Temporary, including day labor and odd jobs	10.6	13.6	-3.0	[-7.0, 1.1]
Other	1.2	0.2	0.9	[-0.1, 2.0]

(continued)

Table 8.5 (continued)

Outcome	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Among those currently employed:[c]				
Hours worked per week	37.7	35.5	2.2	
Hourly wage ($)	11.6	10.8	0.8	
Hours worked per week (%)				
More than 20 hours	48.8	39.1	9.8***	[3.7, 15.9]
More than 34 hours	42.7	28.1	14.7***	[8.8, 20.6]
Hourly wage (%)				
More than $8.00	43.3	30.5	12.8***	[6.8, 18.8]
More than $10.00	23.3	13.6	9.7***	[4.8, 14.7]
Sample size	371	353		

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on quarterly wage data frm the National Directory of New Hires and responses to the ETJD 12-month survey.

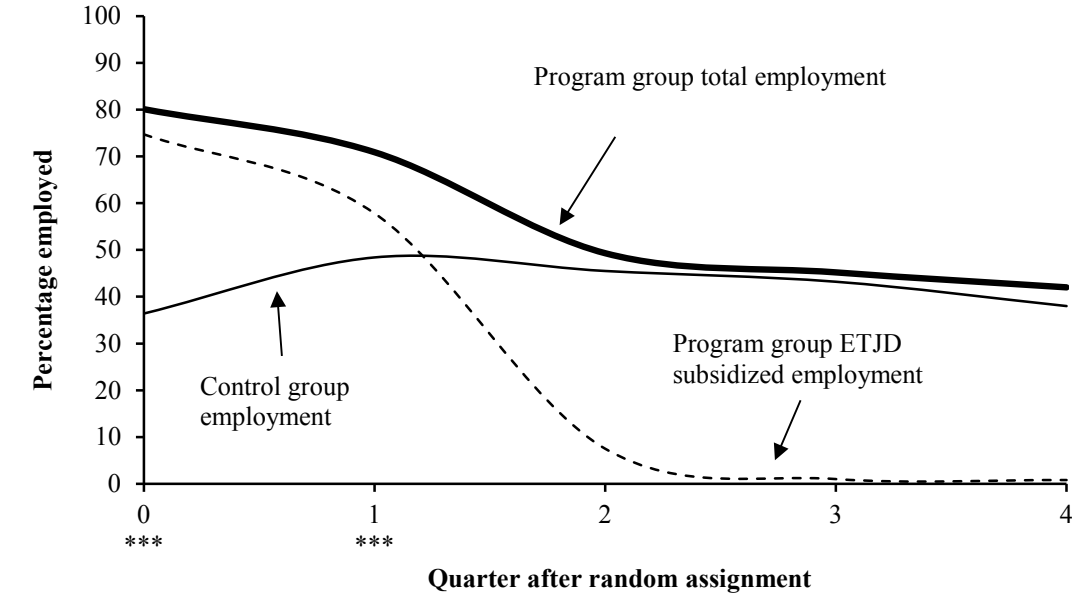
NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
[a]Employment rates and earnings include both ETJD subsidized jobs and all other jobs covered by unemployment insurance.
[b]Five sample members are missing Social Security numbers and therefore could not be matched to employment data.
[c]These measures are calculated among those employed at the time of the survey; they are therefore considered nonexperimental and are not tested for statistical significance.

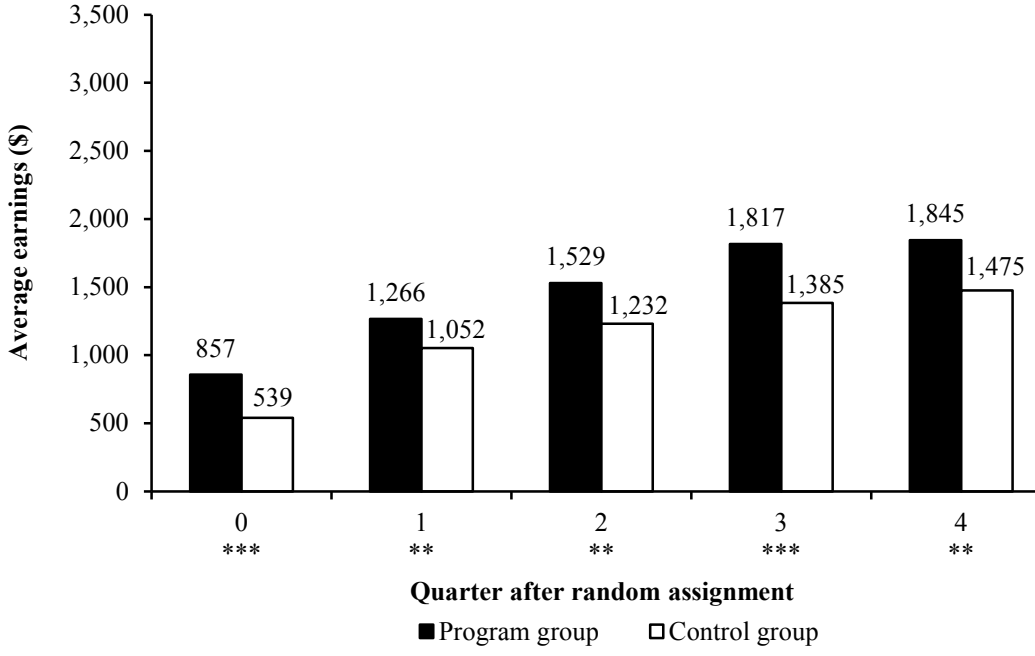
As shown in Figure 8.4, subsidized jobs boosted employment during the early part of the follow-up period. However, employment began to decrease following Quarter 1 as these jobs ended. By the fourth quarter after random assignment (when fewer than 1 percent of program group members remained in subsidized jobs), the program group was 4 percentage points more likely than the control group to be employed (42 percent versus 38 percent), a difference which is not statistically significant.

While the program's significant impact on employment faded quickly, a significant impact on earnings persisted throughout the follow-up period. In the last quarter of follow-up, the program group earned an average of $1,845 compared with an average of $1,475 for the control group, an estimated impact of about $370. There are a few possible explanations for the continued significant impact on earnings after statistically significant differences in employment

Figure 8.4

Employment and Earnings Over Time: *New York City*





(continued)

Figure 8.4 (continued)

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on quarterly wage data from the National Directory of New Hires.

NOTES: Results in this figure are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.

Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.

Employment rates and earnings include both ETJD subsidized jobs and all other jobs covered by unemployment insurance.

had dissipated: The program group may have worked more hours per week, maintained employment for longer, earned more per hour, or some combination of these factors. Based on survey data, it appears that employed program group members worked about 2.2 more hours per week and earned about 80 cents more per hour than employed control group members.

The survey-based outcomes are somewhat inconsistent with the results derived from unemployment insurance and payroll data. The survey results tend to show larger impacts. This discrepancy can be seen most clearly in the impacts on employment in the first quarter of Year 2. Unemployment insurance data show that Pathways did not have a statistically significant impact on employment, while the survey shows a statistically significant, 11 percentage point impact on reports of "current employment" (56 percent of program group members reported current employment compared with 46 percent of control group members).[18] An analysis of survey-response bias suggests that survey respondents fared better in employment and earnings than is true of the full New York sample (see Appendix Table H.4). However, this trend occurs among both the program and control groups, which indicates that the differences in impacts between the outcomes calculated using unemployment insurance and payroll data and the outcomes calculated using survey results are most likely explained by employment detected by the survey, but not covered by unemployment insurance. Such employment would include jobs in the informal economy or jobs where the worker is classified as an independent contractor. Overall, this analysis suggests that Pathways increased employment in these types of jobs.

The bottom panel of Table 8.5, which presents survey-based outcomes, provides some information about participants' current employment that is not available in the unemployment insurance data, including measures of hours worked per week, hourly wages, and type of employment (that is, whether employment is permanent or temporary). Pathways had a statistically significant impact on full-time employment, increasing the percentage of those working more than 24 hours per week in the program group by 15 percentage points compared with the control group (43 percent versus 28 percent). Pathways also significantly increased the percent-

[18]"Current employment" was measured at a point in time roughly coinciding with the first quarter of Year 2 for a large proportion of survey respondents.

age of participants receiving hourly wages of more than $8 per hour in their primary current jobs (43 percent of program group members versus 31 percent of control group members), as well as the percentage of participants receiving more than $10 per hour in their primary current jobs (23 percent of program group members versus 14 percent of control group members). Additionally, Pathways appears to have increased permanent employment, which was reported by 43 percent of the program group compared with 30 percent of the control group. All of these differences are driven in large part by the overarching statistically significant impact on current employment.

Among those currently employed, program group members worked 38 hours per week and earned $11.60 per hour, on average, compared with control group members, who worked about 36 hours per week and earned an average of $10.80 per hour. Because these measures are calculated only among those employed at the time of the survey, they do not provide direct evidence of the effects of the program and are not tested for statistical significance. However, they may be helpful in illustrating what current employment looked like for those who were working at the time of the follow-up survey.

Criminal Justice Outcomes

As discussed throughout this chapter, Pathways served people who were recently released from prison. Past research has shown that the risk of recidivism for this group is high: Within three years of being released, about two-thirds of prisoners are rearrested. Among those ultimately rearrested, 57 percent are rearrested within the first year.[19] There are several ways Pathways could have affected participants' criminal behavior and disrupted these trends, including engagement in productive activities (employment, education, and vocational training), increasing their positive behavior (by helping them learn to cooperate with others in job placements and helping them form relationships with Pathways staff members and other participants), and improved economic well-being (resulting from increased earnings). Overall, however, the findings indicate that Pathways did not have a statistically significant effect on participants' criminal involvement.

- **Pathways had no positive, statistically significant impacts on criminal justice outcomes.**

Table 8.6 shows Pathways' impacts on criminal justice outcomes based on administrative data from criminal justice agencies and the 12-month survey. There were no statistically significant differences between the program and control groups in their rates of arrest (about

[19]Durose, Cooper, and Snyder (2014).

Table 8.6

One-Year Impacts on Criminal Justice Outcomes: *New York City*

Outcome	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Primary outcomes *(based on administrative data)*				
Arrested (%)	18.8	21.6	-2.7	[-6.7, 1.2]
Convicted of a crime (%)	12.6	13.2	-0.6	[-3.9, 2.7]
Convicted of a felony	1.7	2.9	-1.1	[-2.7, 0.4]
Convicted of a misdemeanor	9.4	8.2	1.2	[-1.6, 4.0]
Convicted of a violent crime (%)	2.0	2.2	-0.2	[-1.7, 1.3]
Incarcerated (%)	28.6	27.1	1.6	[-2.9, 6.0]
Incarcerated in jail	28.4	26.5	2.0	[-2.5, 6.4]
Incarcerated in prison	11.4	9.5	2.0	[-1.2, 5.1]
Prison admission reason (%)				
Admitted to prison for a new crime	0.2	0.6	-0.4	[-1.0, 0.3]
Admitted to prison for a parole or probation violation	11.2	8.9	2.3	[-0.8, 5.4]
Total days incarcerated	29.4	30.7	-1.3	[-8.1, 5.4]
Jail	18.1	21.5	-3.5	[-8.3, 1.4]
Prison	11.3	9.2	2.1	[-1.6, 5.9]
Arrested, convicted, or admitted to jail or prison (%)	34.0	32.6	1.4	[-3.3, 6.0]
Months 1 to 6	18.9	18.1	0.9	[-3.1, 4.9]
Months 7 to 12	24.1	22.7	1.5	[-2.8, 5.7]
Sample size	504	501		
Self-reported outcomes *(based on survey data)*				
On parole or probation (%)	92.6	93.6	-1.0	[-4.1, 2.1]
Received a technical violation of parole or probation (%)	17.4	14.6	2.8	[-1.6, 7.2]
Received a sanction for a technical parole violation (%)	14.8	10.6	4.2*	[0.2, 8.2]
Score on personal irresponsibility scale[a] *(range of 10 to 50, where higher scores indicate higher levels of personal irresponsibility)*	22.9	22.9	-0.1	[-0.9, 0.7]
Sample size	371	353		

(continued)

Table 8.6 (continued)

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on criminal justice data and responses to the ETJD 12-month survey.

NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
[a]This scale is based on responses to six scale questions in the Texas Christian University Criminal Thinking Scales, which assess how strongly a respondent agrees or disagrees with statements about having been in jail or prison (*You were locked up because you had a run of bad luck*; *The real reason you were locked up is because of your race*; *Nothing you do is going to make a difference in the way you are treated*; *You are not to blame for everything you have done*; *Laws are just a way to keep poor people down*; and *You may have committed crimes, but your environment is to blame*). Responses of "strongly disagree" were coded as 1, "disagree" as 2, "neither agree nor disagree" as 3, "agree" as 4, and "strongly agree" as 5. If a respondent answered at least three questions, a sum was then produced using the values of all nonmissing items. The sum was divided by the number of items included, and this average was multiplied by 10.

one-fifth of both groups) or conviction (13 percent of both groups); both of these rates are relatively low across the two research groups. Nor did Pathways have a statistically significant impact on incarceration in jail or prison: Slightly under 30 percent of both program and control group members were reincarcerated during the follow-up period.

Appendix Table G.2 presents impacts on arrests, convictions, and incarceration for the first six months after participants were enrolled in the study. Rates of program participation and employment were very high among the program group during this time period, therefore one might expect differences in criminal justice outcomes to be concentrated in these six months, when participants were the most engaged and supported. However, there is no evidence that Pathways had a statistically significant effect on contact with the criminal justice system even during this "in-program" period.

Secondary outcomes based on survey data also indicate few statistically significant differences between program and control group members. Over 90 percent of both research groups were on parole or probation as of the time of the survey; this high percentage is to be expected given the ETJD eligibility criteria for programs serving former prisoners. Seventeen percent of program group members and 15 percent of control group members reported receiving a technical violation, a difference that is not statistically significant. In one statistically significant finding, 15 percent of program group members reported having been sanctioned by their parole officers compared with 11 percent of control group members. One possible explanation is that Pathways participants may have received greater scrutiny from parole officers (many of whom were in regular contact with their parolees' Pathways case managers); as a result, parole officers may have penalized Pathways participants more heavily for technical violations, viewing their behaviors as more egregious in light of all of the support they were receiving. Alternatively, given the number of significance tests conducted, this finding may simply be spurious.

Both program and control group members averaged scores of about 23 points on a personal irresponsibility scale meant to measure participants' attitudes toward their time in prison, their sense of personal agency, and their perspectives on society more broadly. Twenty-three is a relatively low score on this scale (that is, a score toward the less irresponsible end).

Finally, the research team conducted a subgroup analysis to assess whether Pathways had different effects on criminal justice outcomes for participants at higher and lower levels of risk for reoffending. As shown in Table 8.7, the general direction of the results suggests that reductions in recidivism may have been larger for higher-risk participants, but there were no statistically significant differences in impacts between recidivism risk groups, possibly because the sample sizes are quite small.

Child Support and Family Relations Outcomes

About 40 percent of the Pathways sample members were noncustodial parents at study enrollment, while just 11 percent reported having current child support orders. As discussed earlier in this section, there were statistically significant impacts on the receipt of services related to child support, parenting, and visitation among noncustodial parents; some of these services may have contributed to improvements in participant outcomes in this domain. However, the main way Pathways is likely to have increased child support payments is via increased earnings.

- **Program group members were significantly more likely than control group members to have paid child support, probably due to their earnings from subsidized employment. Overall, the percentage of sample members who paid child support was low for both research groups.**

The top panel of Table 8.8 and Figure 8.5 present impacts on formal child support payments by noncustodial parents. These impacts were based on child support agency administrative data. Data were only available for those enrolled into the study through December 2012, which accounts for about half of the noncustodial parents in the New York City sample.

As shown in the first row of Table 8.8, about 16 percent of noncustodial parents in the program group paid any formal child support during the follow-up period, compared with about 8 percent in the control group. This 8 percentage point difference is statistically significant. Among those who paid any formal child support, noncustodial parents in the program group made their first payments about three months earlier, on average, than noncustodial parents in the control group. The Pathways program also produced a statistically significant impact on number of months of child support paid, with program group members paying 0.6 months of child support compared with 0.3 months among the control group. Program group members

Table 8.7

One-Year Impacts on Criminal Justice Outcomes, by Recidivism Risk: *New York City*

Outcome	Lower Risk				Higher Risk				Difference Between Subgroup Impacts[a]
	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval	
Criminal justice (%)									
Arrested	14.5	15.1	-0.7	[-4.9, 3.5]	31.7	41.6	-9.9	[-19.7, 0.0]	
Convicted of a crime	8.4	7.9	0.5	[-2.8, 3.8]	25.0	29.9	-4.9	[-14.0, 4.2]	
Convicted of a violent crime	1.4	2.0	-0.6	[-2.2, 0.9]	3.9	2.6	1.3	[-2.5, 5.1]	
Incarcerated	22.2	19.3	2.9	[-1.9, 7.7]	49.9	49.3	0.5	[-10.1, 11.1]	
Arrested, convicted, or admitted to jail or prison	28.0	24.1	3.9	[-1.3, 9.0]	53.9	57.4	-3.5	[-14.1, 7.0]	
Months 1 to 6	15.8	12.7	3.1	[-1.1, 7.2]	29.2	33.7	-4.5	[-14.5, 5.5]	
Months 7 to 12	18.2	16.9	1.3	[-3.3, 5.8]	42.8	39.4	3.4	[-7.0, 13.8]	
Employment and earnings									
Employment[b] (%)	88.0	70.4	17.6***	[12.8, 22.3]	90.9	63.1	27.8***	[19.2, 36.4]	†
ETJD subsidized employment (%)	78.2	--	--		78.0	--	--		
Total earnings ($)	5,787	4,475	1,313***	[604, 2,021]	4,550	3,344	1,206**	[213, 2,200]	
Average quarterly employment (%)	62.7	45.0	17.7***	[13.4, 22.0]	57.2	38.3	18.9***	[11.6, 26.2]	
Employment in the first quarter of Year 2 (%)	44.9	41.5	3.4	[-2.4, 9.2]	33.2	27.6	5.6	[-4.0, 15.3]	
Sample size	381	376			123	125			

(continued)

Table 8.7 (continued)

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on criminal justice data.

NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
See Appendix J for details on how the recidivism risk subgroups were defined.
[a]When comparing impacts between two subgroups, an H-statistic is generated. The H-statistic is used to assess whether the difference in impacts between the subgroups is statistically significant. Statistically significant differences across subgroups are indicated as: ††† = 1 percent; †† = 5 percent; † = 10 percent.

averaged $101 in total payments over the follow-up period, compared with $82 among control group members; this difference is not statistically significant.

As illustrated in Figure 8.5, which depicts child support payments over time, statistically significant differences between the program and control groups are largest in the first quarter after random assignment, fade substantially by the second quarter, and are no longer statistically significant by the third quarter. A likely explanation for this pattern is that the first quarter after the quarter of random assignment is when many program group members were working in Pathways subsidized jobs, and, as discussed earlier in this chapter, all noncustodial parents who owed child support were required by the program to pay $25 per month toward their child support obligations. By the second quarter after random assignment, the program's impact on employment began to fade, which probably explains the declining impacts on child support payments at around the same time.

The bottom panel of Table 8.8 shows impacts on child support and family relations from the 12-month survey. According to the survey results, the program did not have a statistically significant impact on informal cash support (that is, cash payments not required by the state) or noncash support (which includes things like providing food, clothing, or child care). About two-thirds of both program and control group members provided either informal cash support or noncash support in the month before the survey. Among those required to pay child support at the time of the survey, 25 percent of program group members reported that owing child support affected their willingness to take jobs, compared with 18 percent of control group members. (This difference is considered a nonexperimental outcome and was not tested for statistical significance.) Incarceration for failure to pay child support was nearly nonexistent among both research groups.

Finally, among noncustodial parents with minor-age children at the time of the survey, program group members reported less frequent contact with their "focal children" than control group members (this result is also considered nonexperimental and is not tested for statistical

Table 8.8

One-Year Impacts on Child Support and Family Relations Among Those Identified as Noncustodial Parents at Enrollment: *New York City*

Outcome	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Primary outcomes *(based on administrative data)*[a]				
Paid any formal child support[b] (%)	16.4	8.4	8.0*	[1.3, 14.7]
Among those who paid formal child support:				
Months from random assignment to first payment	3.9	7.0	-3.1	
Months of formal child support paid	0.6	0.3	0.3*	[0.0, 0.6]
Amount of formal child support paid ($)	101	82	19	[-90, 128]
Sample size	106	102		
Self-reported outcomes (%) *(based on survey data)*				
Currently a noncustodial parent of a minor-age child	76.8	80.0	-3.3	[-11.3, 4.8]
Provided informal cash support or noncash support in the past month	64.2	64.5	-0.3	[-9.5, 8.9]
Informal cash support	53.3	54.8	-1.6	[-11.2, 8.0]
Noncash support	60.7	60.5	0.2	[-9.2, 9.7]
Owing child support affects willingness to take jobs, among those required to pay child support[c]	24.5	17.5	7.0	
Incarcerated for not paying child support	0.7	-0.1	0.8	[-0.4, 1.9]
Among those with minor-age children:[d]				
Frequency of contact with focal child in the past 3 months				
Every day or nearly every day	26.3	36.4	-10.1	
A few times per week	24.9	21.4	3.5	
A few times per month	14.0	14.8	-0.9	
Once or twice	3.6	0.3	3.4	
Not at all	31.2	27.1	4.2	
Sample size	157	144		

(continued)

Table 8.8 (continued)

SOURCES: MDRC calculations based on child support agency data and responses to the ETJD 12-month survey.

NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
[a]Due to incomplete data, child support measures based on administrative sources only include sample members who were randomly assigned during the first year of the program (by December 31, 2012).
[b]Measures of formal child support include all payments made through the state's child support collection and disbursement unit, including funds from employer withholding and other sources (for example, tax intercepts).
[c]This measure is calculated among those required to pay child support; it is therefore considered nonexperimental and is not tested for statistical significance.
[d]This measure is calculated among those who reported having a minor-age child at the time of the survey; it is therefore considered nonexperimental and is not tested for statistical significance. The focal child is defined as the youngest minor-age child living outside of the sample member's household; if the sample member reports no minor-age children living outside of his or her household, the focal child is the youngest minor-age child residing within the household.

significance).[20] This result is surprising in light of the parenting classes and other forms of parenting support provided by Pathways, though the nonexperimental nature of the estimate suggests that caution should be used in interpreting it.

Economic and Personal Well-Being Outcomes

A couple of recent studies have shown, perhaps unsurprisingly, that former prisoners are at high risk of experiencing economic hardship and of suffering from health problems, including both mental and physical conditions.[21] While Pathways primarily focused on providing employment services and subsidized jobs to help participants improve their chances in the regular labor market, increases in employment and earnings could also result in positive effects on measures of economic and personal well-being, both directly and indirectly. Overall, however, there is little evidence that Pathways improved participants' economic and personal well-being in the short term.

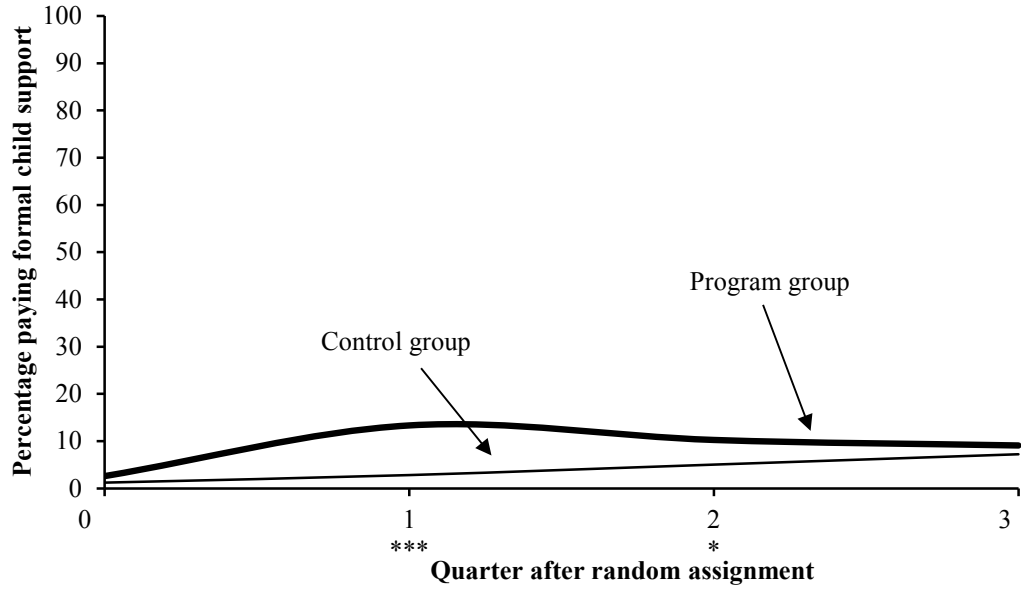
- **There is little evidence that the Pathways program significantly improved economic and personal well-being.**

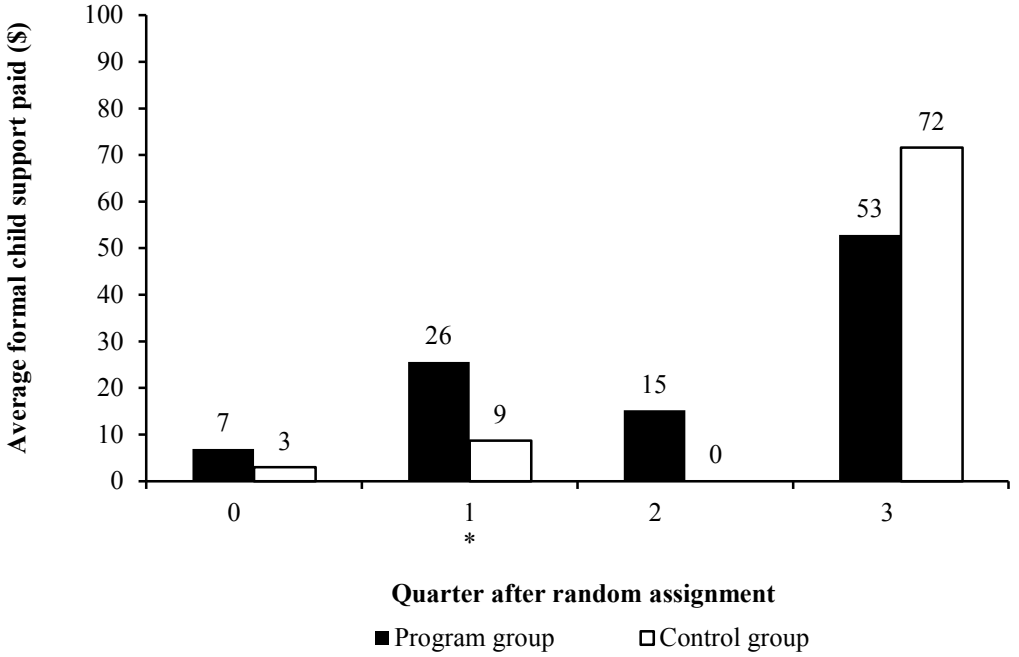
Table 8.9 presents Pathways' impacts on self-reported measures of financial shortfalls, food insufficiency, housing instability, and physical and mental health. Almost no statistically significant differences between the program and control groups were found for the outcomes

[20]See the table notes for the definition of "focal child."
[21]Wester and Pettit (2010); Mallik-Kane and Visher (2008).

Figure 8.5

Formal Child Support Payments Over Time: *New York City*





(continued)

Figure 8.5 (continued)

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on child support agency data.

NOTES: Results in this figure are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
Due to incomplete data, child support measures based on administrative data only include sample members who were randomly assigned during the first year of the program (by December 31, 2012).
Measures of formal child support include all payments made through the state's child support collection and disbursement unit, including funds from employer withholding and other sources (for example, tax intercepts).

measured in this domain. During the follow-up period, about half of both program and control group members experienced at least one financial shortfall among the four different types that were measured. The most common type of financial shortfall sample members experienced was the inability to pay rent or mortgage, which affected about one-third of both the program and control groups. It is of note that Pathways did not significantly increase participants' inability to pay rent, in light of the New York City social service agency's rules mentioned earlier that led some participants to lose their housing assistance. Another financial shortfall experienced by a relatively large portion of both program and control group members was the disconnection of utility or phone services (31 percent of both research groups).

Meanwhile, fewer than one-fourth of both program and control group members had insufficient food and fewer than 7 percent of each research group were homeless or lived in emergency or temporary housing in the month before the survey. Eighty-two percent of both research groups reported that they were in good, very good, or excellent health; around two-thirds had health insurance coverage in the month before the survey. Interestingly, Pathways did produce a statistically significant, 8 percentage point impact on participants' receipt of health insurance from an employer, suggesting that program group members may have been working in somewhat higher-quality jobs with better benefits than their control group counterparts. This difference could also simply reflect the fact that a larger percentage of program group members reported current employment on the follow-up survey than control group members, meaning more of the program group was eligible to receive employer-based health coverage.

Finally, about 9 percent of program group members and 11 percent of control group members experienced psychological distress in the month before the survey. This difference is not statistically significant.

Table 8.9

One-Year Impacts on Economic and Personal Well-Being: *New York City*

Outcome (%)	Program Group	Control Group	Difference (Impact)	Ninety Percent Confidence Interval
Experienced a financial shortfall in the past 12 months	49.6	51.9	-2.3	[-8.5, 3.9]
Could not pay rent or mortgage	33.0	37.1	-4.1	[-9.9, 1.8]
Evicted from home or apartment	4.6	6.8	-2.2	[-5.1, 0.6]
Utility or phone service disconnected	30.8	31.3	-0.5	[-6.3, 5.3]
Could not afford prescription medicine	16.6	17.2	-0.6	[-5.2, 4.1]
Had insufficient food in the past month	20.9	24.2	-3.3	[-8.5, 1.9]
Housing in the past month				
Rented or owned own apartment or room	19.8	17.0	2.7	[-2.0, 7.5]
Lived with family or friends[a]	64.4	68.0	-3.6	[-9.3, 2.2]
Homeless or lived in emergency or temporary housing	6.1	6.7	-0.6	[-3.6, 2.3]
Incarcerated, on work release, or living in a halfway house	8.3	7.7	0.6	[-2.8, 3.9]
Other	1.4	0.5	0.9	[-0.4, 2.1]
Is currently in good, very good, or excellent health	82.0	81.3	0.8	[-3.9, 5.4]
Had health insurance coverage in the past month	64.9	69.3	-4.4	[-10.2, 1.4]
Health insurance was employer-based	14.4	6.1	8.4***	[4.6, 12.1]
Experienced serious psychological distress in the past month[b]	8.5	11.2	-2.6	[-6.3, 1.0]
Sample size	371	353		

SOURCE: MDRC calculations based on responses to the ETJD 12-month survey.

NOTES: Results in this table are regression-adjusted, controlling for pre-random assignment characteristics.
Statistical significance levels are indicated as: *** = 1 percent; ** = 5 percent; * = 10 percent.
[a]Includes those who lived with friends or family and paid rent and those who lived with friends or family without paying rent.
[b]A score of 13 or higher on the Kessler-6 (K-6) scale is used here to define serious psychological distress. The K-6 assesses how often during the past month a respondent felt so sad that nothing could cheer him or her up; nervous; restless or fidgety; hopeless; that everything was an effort; or worthless. As a result of minor differences between the scale used to administer the K-6 in the ETJD 12-month survey and the standard K-6 scale, the percentages presented in this table may slightly underestimate the incidence of serious psychological distress among the ETJD sample.

Conclusion

The Doe Fund's Pathways program served a highly disadvantaged group of (mostly) men who had recently been released from state prison to New York City. The program's innovative staged model represented a structural enhancement to the traditional transitional jobs approaches that have been tested in the past. After one to two weeks of preemployment services, participants were placed in an in-house transitional job, usually with a Doe Fund street-cleaning crew, where they were supervised by a Pathways staff member. Those who performed satisfactorily in the first transitional job were placed into internships with local employers. While in internships, participants worked alongside other employees and were supervised by staff members from the host employer, but they remained on the Pathways payroll and their wages were fully subsidized; there was an expectation that about half of the internships would evolve into permanent, unsubsidized jobs.

The Pathways program generally operated as designed. The program struggled with recruitment, but ultimately met its goal of enrolling 1,000 people into the study, mostly via referrals from parole officers. Some program group members dropped out during the preemployment stage (which was shortened from two weeks to one week partway through the project period), but almost 80 percent were successfully placed in a first-stage transitional job. There was some attrition during the first-stage job; about half of the full program group worked in an internship.

Pathways provided jobs to many people who would not otherwise have worked and, as a result, the program produced large increases in employment and earnings in the first year of the evaluation's follow-up period. The gains could largely be attributed to the transitional jobs and appeared to decline over time as people left their Pathways jobs, but the program group still earned significantly more than the control group in the first quarter of Year 2 (the end of the follow-up period for this report), when almost no one was still working for Pathways. It is too early to draw any firm conclusions about whether the program will improve employment outcomes in the longer term. There is no evidence that Pathways has decreased recidivism for its participants, even during the period when many program group members were working in subsidized jobs.[22]

[22]The research team conducted a subgroup analysis to assess whether Pathways had differential effects on employment and earnings, criminal justice, and child support outcomes based on participants' time of entry into the ETJD study — that is, whether participants who enrolled in the first or second year of study recruitment had different results. The results of this analysis are presented in Appendix Table G.3. There is no pattern of statistically significant differences in impacts between participants enrolled in the first and second years, indicating that the program's effects were consistent across these two groups.

Pathways is one of several transitional jobs programs that have been found not to reduce recidivism despite substantially increasing employment. This finding shows quite clearly that the link between crime and employment is not straightforward. At the same time, it is important to note that Pathways operated in an environment where many control group members received employment services from other organizations. Most striking is the fact that more than a third of the control group enrolled at the Center for Employment Opportunities, a large transitional jobs program that was tested several years ago and found to reduce recidivism for individuals recently released from prison. It is extremely difficult for a program to generate impacts in a random assignment study if a significant portion of the individuals assigned to the control group receive similar services.

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