Ready4Work:
Final Research Report

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the 1970s, the incarceration rate in the United States began rising after a 70-year period of stability (Western et al., 2001). From 1970 to 2004, the number of people under the jurisdiction of federal and state prisons surged from 96 to 486 per 100,000—and to 724 per 100,000 if we include people in jails. More than 2.1 million US residents are now behind bars (Harrison & Beck, 2005).

This steep rise in the incarceration rate has disproportionately affected minorities. Between 1986 and 1997, the number of incarcerated non-Hispanic whites rose by two thirds—but the number of incarcerated African Americans almost doubled (Chaiken, 2000). The Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 8.4 percent of all African American males between the ages of 25 and 29 were in prison in 2004 (Harrison & Beck, 2005). Even more striking, of African American men between the ages of 20 and 35 who had dropped out of high school, more were in prison or jail than were employed on an average day in the late 1990s (Western & Pettitt, 2000).

As the incarceration rate has skyrocketed, the challenges surrounding the steady stream of people returning from custody to the community have grown. Nearly 650,000 adults are released from prison each year—three and a half times the number 20 years ago (Serious and Violent Offender Reentry website; Lynch & Sabol, 2001). Many of these individuals find transitioning back into their communities and the larger society difficult, and recidivism rates are high. In the most recent comprehensive study, Langan and Levin found that a new offense had put more than 25 percent of released prisoners behind bars within three years—and that more than 50 percent had returned to prison, if the count includes those jailed for violating probation or parole (2002).

Research has also shown that ex-offenders who find stable employment and develop social bonds have significantly lower recidivism rates (Sampson & Laub, 1990 & 1993; Laub & Sampson, 2001; Horney et al., 1995). A stable job not only provides a source of income but also gives ex-offenders constructive ways to use their time. Positive ties with prosocial coworkers may also raise the personal costs of returning to prison.

However, ex-offenders find obtaining stable employment and establishing positive relationships difficult, as they must typically overcome both supply-side and demand-side barriers. On the supply side, individuals released from prison often lack even a high school education, and many have weak work

histories. On the demand side, individuals with a prison record are barred from obtaining work licenses in many industries. In addition, employers often refuse to hire convicted felons. According to one recent estimate, a criminal record reduced the likelihood by 50 percent that whites would be called back[1] post-application by an employerfor a job—and cut the likelihood for African Americans by more than 60 percent (Pager, 2003).

Ready4Work

People returning from prison face many challenges, and no single type of program can address them all. Ambitious reentry programs that try to tackle every obstacle can spread themselves too thin and fail to provide high-quality services. Aiming for a balance, P/PV conjectured that a strong reentry program should include employment-readiness and job-placement services, facilitated by case managers who would also refer participants to other needed programs such as drug treatment and housing.

In addition, as a particularly innovative component, Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) hypothesized that mentors could help ease the reentry of adult ex-offenders by providing both practical and emotional support. For example, mentors could help people returning from prison navigate everyday barriers such as finding a place to live, getting a driver's license and figuring out how to commute to work. Mentors could also serve as "big brothers" and "big sisters"—actively talking through difficulties faced by newly released prisoners.

With this model, P/PV decided to examine the idea that a combination of mentoring, employment-related services and case management could smooth the transition for ex-prisoners—and in the process cut the rate at which they return to prison. To evaluate whether this approach holds promise, P/PV developed the three-year Ready4Work demonstration program, relying on funding from the US Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration, the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Ford Foundation.[2]

In 2003, sites in 10 cities initiated Ready4Work, and a site in another city joined the program in 2004 (see Table 1).[3] Faith-based organizations are the

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[1] The authors use this term to indicate an employer finding an individual's application interesting enough to move forward with the application process.
[2] See Good and Sherrid 2005 for more on how the Ready4Work demonstration developed.
[3] Ready4Work also includes a juvenile component operating at six sites; however, the adult sites are the focus of this report.

lead agencies at seven of the sites, while two secular nonprofits, the mayor's office and a for-profit entity head the remaining four.

Table 1: Ready4Work Adult Sites

Location	Lead Agency	Type
Chicago, IL	The Safer Foundation	Secular nonprofit
Detroit, MI	America Works	For-profit, in collaboration with Hartford Memorial Church
Houston, TX	Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church and InnerChange Freedom Initiative	Faith-based nonprofit
Jacksonville, FL	Operation New Hope	Faith-based, nonprofit community-development corporation
Los Angeles, CA	Union Rescue Mission	Faith-based nonprofit
Memphis, TN	The City of Memphis, Second Chance Ex-Felon Program	City program
Milwaukee, WI	Holy Cathedral/Word of Hope Ministries	Faith-based nonprofit
New York, NY	Exodus Transitional Community	Faith-based nonprofit
Oakland, CA	Allen Temple Housing and Economic Development Corporation	Faith-based nonprofit
Philadelphia, PA	Search for Common Ground	Secular international nonprofit
Washington, DC	East of the River Clergy Police Community Partnership	Faith-based nonprofit

The Program

To ensure that the R4W sites focused their efforts on individuals with the greatest needs and highest rates of recidivism, P/PV and DOL established program eligibility criteria. To enroll in R4W, ex-prisoners need to be between the ages of 18 and 34, have most recently been incarcerated for a

nonviolent felony offense[4] and can be no more than 90 days post-release. Research suggests that programs that begin working with people while they are still incarcerated may have more success in maintaining those relationships after participants are released (Johnson, 2003). Thus, Ready4Work sites could enroll up to 40 percent of participants as many as 90 days before their release from prison.

Once individuals enter the program, they are eligible for up to a year's worth of services. A typical program trajectory begins with a week or two of training in "soft skills," such as résumé writing and workplace etiquette, to prepare participants for their job search.[5] During this time, participants are also invited to attend group mentoring sessions or are matched with an individual mentor. Once initial employment training is complete, some participants continue with more job training related to a specific industry, while most begin searching for work. Case managers and job placement specialists help participants find jobs and support them while they are working. Participants with additional needs, such as substance abuse counseling, may follow an altered program trajectory but are still eligible for only a year of services.

Structure of the Report

This report offers an overall assessment of the Ready4Work demonstration. Chapter 2 provides a detailed portrait of the Ready4Work participants, noting, where possible, similarities and differences with the general population of ex-offenders. Chapters 3 and 4 document the extent of services R4W sites provided to participants, including an analysis of patterns in program participation and a focus on the mentoring component of the demonstration in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 examines program retention among the R4W participants. Finally, chapters 6 and 7 present the results around our key outcomes, employment and recidivism.

The analyses in this report are based on a variety of sources of information (see Appendix A for more detail about each source of data). Our portrait of the participants stems largely from a questionnaire individuals completed when they entered the program. Our analysis of services, program retention

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[4] Contrary to popular belief, people who have committed nonviolent offenses run a higher risk of recidivism than people who have committed violent offenses.

[5] For participants enrolled prerelease, the trajectory describes what happens once they are released, though they are still eligible for only a year's worth of services. While participants are still incarcerated, case managers meet with them and begin planning their transition back into the community, and in some cases, mentors begin meeting with participants.

and employment derives primarily from data the R4W sites provided on a monthly basis. Finally, our estimates of recidivism are based on publicly available criminal records.

The research on R4W was designed to understand its implementation: to see if a program that combined employment services, case management and mentoring for newly released ex-prisoners could be implemented by community-based organizations (CBOs) and faith-based organizations (FBOs). Hence data collection efforts did not include a comparison group. To make sense of the findings, when possible we draw comparisons between R4W findings and those on other ex-prisoner populations unrelated to R4W. Surely not all ex-prisoners are the same, and since we are unable to measure differences between groups, we have no way of knowing definitively if R4W participants are "better" or "worse" than other ex-prisoners, nor can we attribute any positive outcomes to the program. Nonetheless, these points of comparison provide one context for understanding the characteristics of participants and their outcomes.

Chapter 2: The Participants

Introduction

Between October 2003 and August 2005, 4,482 formerly incarcerated individuals voluntarily enrolled in Ready4Work. Although all R4W participants have spent time in prison, they have different strengths on which to build and challenges to overcome. In this chapter, we provide a portrait of the R4W participants in eight key areas: sociodemographic characteristics, involvement with their children, households, education and work history, health, social support, criminal background, and their experiences with programs while in prison. Where possible, we highlight how R4W participants differ from the overall population of ex-offenders.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Predominantly African American males—with an average age of 26—have enrolled in Ready4Work (see Table 2). This represents a younger and more of a minority group than the overall population of people returning from prison. Eighty percent of participants in R4W are male, compared with 90 percent male among the general population of ex-offenders.[6]

Table 2: Comparison of Persons Entering Parole in 1999 with R4W Participants

	Persons Entering State Parole in 1999[1]	Ready4Work Participants
Average age	34 years old	26 years old
Race/ethnicity		
White non-Hispanic	35%	8%
African American non-Hispanic	47%	77%
Hispanic	16%	5%
Other	1%	10%
Gender		
Male	90%	80%

[6] Given the recent rise in the number of incarcerated females, it may be that more recent statistics on people returning from prison would more closely match the proportion of men and women who enrolled in R4W.

Female	10%	20%

Note: Columns may not total 100 due to rounding off.
[1] *Source:* Hughes et al. 2001.

Participants with Children

When they entered the program, only 15 percent of participants had ever been married, but almost 60 percent reported having at least one child (see Table 3). Women were more likely than men to report having children, and also more likely to live with their children, although just over 40 percent did. About one third of men with children indicated that they paid child support. A much higher percentage of male participants, however, were involved in the lives of their children. Among male participants who did not live with their children, a little over 70 percent reported seeing them at least once a week, and close to 80 percent reported talking with them on the phone at least once a week.

Table 3: Ready4Work Participants with Children

	Male Participants N = 3,435	Female Participants N = 861
Have child	56%	69%
Live with child[1]	23%	41%
Pay child support[1]	32%	23%

Notes:
[1] Calculated as a percentage of participants with children.

Household

Finding a place to live upon being released from prison is one of the first challenges returnees face. Many ex-offenders rely on friends and family to meet their initial housing needs. For those who enrolled after being released, by the time they entered the program only 9 percent of participants reported living alone, and an additional 18 percent reported living with a spouse or partner (see Table 4). The remaining 73 percent lived with some combination of friends and family. Although possibly optimistic, over 60 percent of the R4W participants reported that they could stay in their current location as long as they needed to. Over a quarter, however, indicated that they can stay only less than a few months.

Table 4: Household Members and Housing Stability

Household Members[1] N = 3,297		How Long Can Stay[1] N = 3,011	
Live alone	9%	One month or less	9%
Live with spouse/partner	18%	Several months	18%
Live with relatives	44%	About a year	10%
Live with friends	9%	As long as I need to	64%
Multiple categories	19%		

Notes:
[1] Only considering participants enrolled postrelease.

Education and Work History

One of the most significant challenges ex-offenders face is a lack of education and meaningful work history. Although most prisons offer some opportunities for obtaining a GED (Harlow, 2003), 51 percent of people returning from prison lack a GED or high school diploma (Hughes et al., 2001). R4W participants are no exception in confronting these barriers. However, they have somewhat more education than the overall population of returnees: Upon enrollment, 39 percent had not completed high school or obtained a GED (see Table 5). More than half had held a full-time job for a year or longer before entering prison, 31 percent had held a full-time job for less than a year and about 16 percent had never held a full-time job.

Table 5: Education and Work History of Ready4Work Participants

Education Level N = 4,358		Percentage Who Had Held Full-Time Jobs N = 3,763		Duration of Longest Full-Time Job N = 3,755	
< GED	39%	None	16%	Never	16%
GED or HSD	53%	1 to 3	47%	<1 year	31%
More than HSD	8%	4 or more	36%	1 year +	53%

Source: R4W sites' management information systems and participant questionnaires.

Health

Ex-prisoners can also face a multitude of health problems, such as physical, mental and drug/alcohol issues. For instance, at the end of 2004, 1.9 percent of state and 1.1 percent of federal inmates were known to be HIV positive. This statistic is particularly significant when compared to the estimated 0.4 percent of the general population in the United States living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2005 (Glynn & Rhodes 2005).

Over 70 percent of R4W participants reported themselves as in very good or excellent health when they enrolled in the program (see Table 6). Sizable minorities, however, reported having undergone drug or alcohol treatment and indicated signs of depression. Forty percent of the participants acknowledged receiving drug or alcohol treatment prior to enrollment, and almost a quarter of the participants showed signs of depression.

Table 6: Health Among Ready4Work Participants

Health		Received Drug or Alcohol Treatment		Signs of Depression	
N = 3,781		N = 3,787		N = 3,386	
Poor or fair	9%	No	60%	No	77%
Good	20%	Yes	40%	Yes	23%
Very good or excellent	71%				

Social Support

Prosocial relationships with family and friends are important for avoiding recidivism (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Research has also shown that individuals who have contact with their families while incarcerated tend to have an easier time transitioning back into their communities (Hairston, 1988). In addition to their friends and families, participants may find support from their faith and the faith community.

R4W participants generally reported good relationships with family members and friends. Almost 60 percent indicated they had a strong

relationship with their family. Furthermore, over 75 percent reported that most of their friends think they should have a regular job and stay out of trouble. Some 60 percent of R4W participants reported that they received a phone call, letter or visit from a family member about once a week while in prison. In fact, only 6 percent had no family contact while they were incarcerated. This degree of contact is similar to that reported in a study of returnees in Baltimore (Visher et al., 2004).

Table 7: Social Support

Relationship with Family N = 3,773		# Supportive Friends N = 3,774		Family Contact While in Prison N = 3,758	
Very weak	3%	None	3%	Never	6%
Weak	9%	A few	10%	1-2/year	4%
Strong	30%	About half	12%	1/month	10%
Very strong	58%	Most	76%	2-3/month	21%
				1/week	60%

Source: R4W sites' management information systems and participant questionnaires.

Among R4W participants, 75 percent identified themselves as religious, although only 40 percent said they were members of a congregation, and only 37 percent reported attending services at least once a week (see Table 8). As a point of comparison, 94 percent of prisoners in a study of a Mississippi penitentiary said they believe in a higher power, and 39 percent reported attending religious services at least once a week (Kerley et al., 2005). This suggests that even though R4W participants have voluntarily enrolled in a faith-based program, they do not appear any more—and perhaps they are less—religious than the other ex-prisoners.

Table 8: Religiosity of Ready4Work Participants

Identify as Religious N = 3,730		Congregation Member N = 2,739		How Often Attend N = 2,725	
Yes	75%	Yes	40%	< 1/Week	63%
No	25%	No	60%	1/Week +	37%

Source: Participant questionnaires.

Criminal History

Ready4Work aimed to enroll people returning from prison who have a high probability of recidivating. And indeed, people with extensive criminal backgrounds—who have substantial odds of returning to prison—have participated in the program. Half of R4W participants had been arrested five or more times, and less than 10 percent had been arrested only once (see Table 9). Almost 60 percent had most recently been incarcerated for a drug or property offense. Not surprisingly given these criminal records, a majority had spent more than two years in prison, and over 20 percent had spent five or more years behind bars. Participants averaged 17 years of age at first arrest.

Table 9: Criminal History of Ready4Work Participants

Most Serious Offense N = 3,143		Number of Arrests N = 2,838		Income from Crime[1] N = 2,904	
Drug	42%	1	9%	None	32%
Violent	18%	2	13%	Less than half	15%
Property	17%	3 or 4	28%	Half or more	53%
Other	24%	5 or more	50%		

Source: R4W sites' management information systems and participant questionnaires.
[1] Based on the year before a participant's most recent incarceration.

Past research has noted that many individuals engage in criminal activities while also working (Kotloff, 2005; Fagan & Freeman, 1999). This appears to be the case for many R4W participants. Despite a work history including full-time jobs, over half of R4W participants reported earning half or more of their income from crime the year before they became incarcerated.

Services Received in Prison

Although prisons are often criticized for failing to provide needed services, most do provide something. The vast majority of R4W participants reported engaging in at least one prison program or receiving some prison services (see Table 10). About two thirds of the participants indicated they

participated in a religious program while in prison, which is roughly
consistent with the percentage who identify themselves as religious. Almost
two thirds also report participating in a work program of some kind, and
over half report participating in an education program. Less than half
received drug or alcohol treatment or counseling, though this also appears
consistent with the percentage of participants who reported a potential need
for these sorts of programs.

Table 10: Services Received While in Prison

Percent of R4W Participants Who Received… N = 3,700			
Work program	63%	Mentoring	28%
Job training	40%	Drug/alcohol treat.	45%
Classes on job searches	47%	Religious programs	67%
Education program	54%	Counseling	39%
Support group	37%	Any program	89%

Conclusion

Overall, sites were successful in enrolling participants from the target
population of 18- to 34-year-old felons with a high chance of rearrest. R4W
participants differ somewhat from the general population of ex-offenders.
They are younger, more likely to be African American, a bit more likely to
be male and on average have a higher level of education. Their extensive
criminal history indicates that they will not find it easy to obtain jobs.
However, they do bring some assets: Some appear to have supportive
relationships with their family, some may be able to draw on their religious
faith and the support of a congregation, and most have some experience
working full time.

Chapter 3: Services

Introduction

People coming out of prison face many challenges in the process of reentering their communities. Ready4Work was designed to address these challenges with several core services and then wrap-around services based on particular participant needs. Case management served as the central coordinating service. All participants were expected to meet with case managers at least once a month for assessment and to help address any issues that may have arisen. Employment related services assisted participants in the process of finding work. Many participants initially required basic skills and soft-skills training. In addition, site staff provided job placement and job retention assistance. It was assumed that the vast majority of participants would benefit from employment related services. Finally, the most innovative aspect of R4W was the mentoring component. In order to provide social support for returnees as they transitioned back to their communities, searched for jobs and began to work, R4W site staff sought to provide each participant with a mentor (some sites focused on individual mentoring, while others focused on group mentoring). Beyond these core services, sites offered or referred participants to additional programs on an as-needed basis. In the next two chapters we document the sites' efforts in providing core and wrap-around services.

Program Participation

Public/Private Ventures established a goal of maintaining 125 active participants per site,[7] or 1,350 participants across all sites. In an attempt to meet this goal, sites enrolled an average of 128 participants per month from October 2003 through August 2006. At this rate, it took approximately one year to reach full capacity in terms of the cumulative number of participants enrolled (see Figure 1). Due to participant attrition, sites continued to enroll at roughly the same rate through the demonstration in order to maintain their active caseloads (see next chapter for a discussion of program retention).

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[7] **In New York, the goal was to have 125 active adult participants per site, as well as 25 active juveniles per site**

Figure 1: Cumulative Enrollment by Month
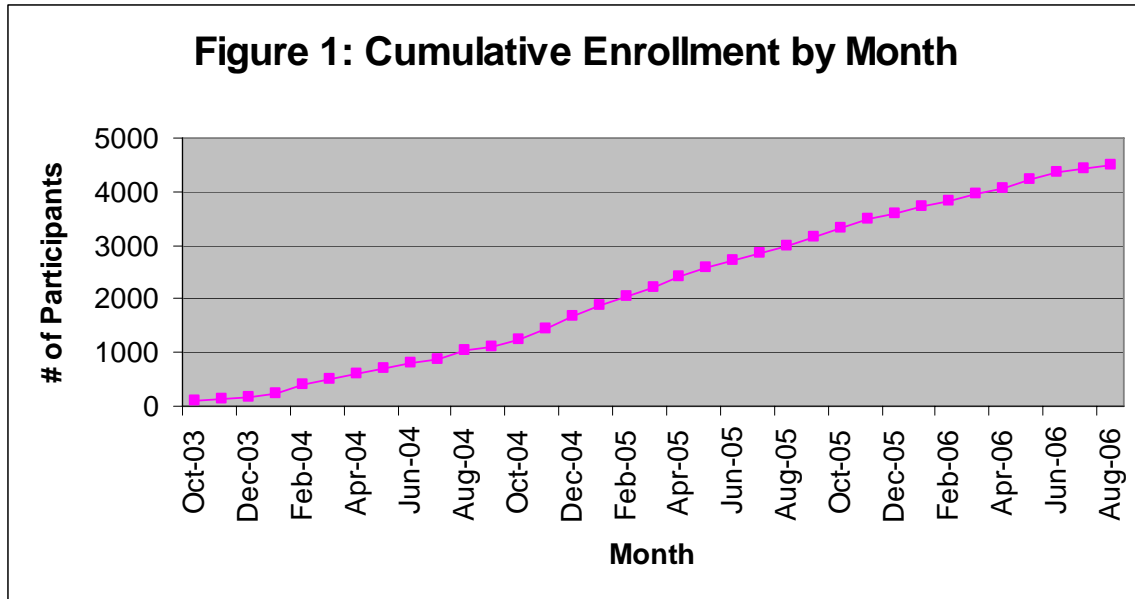
As we can see in Figure 2, the R4W sites never quite achieved the goal for active participants. Once they reached a steady state (around February 2005), they maintained a caseload at approximately 90 percent of the goal until the last couple months of the demonstration. In any given month, an average of 81 percent of the active participants received services from the R4W sites. As with any program, some participants were unable to be reached during the course of a month. If this happened two months in a row, the participant was considered to have left the program.

Figure 2: Active Participants by Month
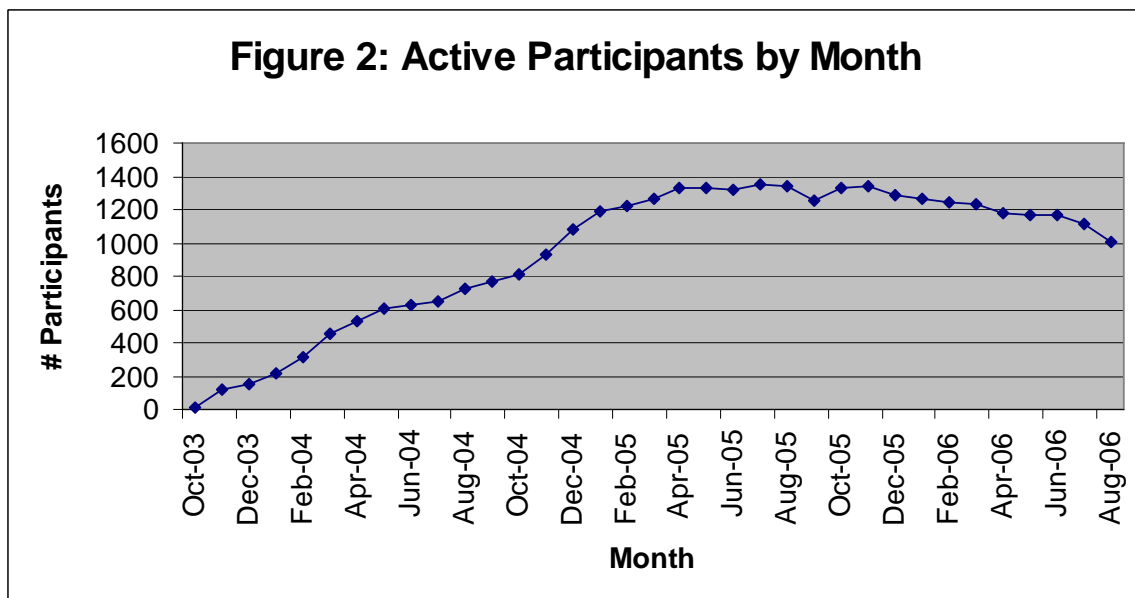
Case Management

Not surprisingly, since case managers functioned as the central coordinating arm of the program, virtually all R4W participants met with a case manager (97 percent) at least once. In addition to assessing the needs of participants and helping ensure that the participants took advantage of what the programs had to offer, many case managers also formed close personal bonds with the participants. Going beyond the typical role, R4W case managers in many respects acted as mentors to the participants.

On average, participants met with a case manager for five months for about two hours per month. Case managers spent a little more time with female participants (roughly 20 extra minutes per month) and a little less time with participants enrolled prerelease (also roughly 20 less minutes per month). This possibly reflects some of the unique needs of female ex-offenders and the relative difficulty of meeting with participants while they were incarcerated.

Employment Services

Although not as central as case management, employment services were a key component of Ready4Work. Eighty percent of the participants who enrolled received some form of employment services. Of these participants, over 75 percent received basic skills and/or soft-skills programming. In addition, 75 percent received assistance with job placement or job retention. The number of hours that participants received employment services varied widely depending on their needs and the amount of time they spent in the program, but on average participants received a total of 29 hours of employment services during their time in the program.

Other Services

Beyond the core services, R4W site staff, particularly case managers, referred participants to additional services based on their needs. The most common additional service was either individual, group or family counseling (52 percent of participants received some form of counseling services). Additionally, over 40 percent of participants attended a life skills program. Between 20 and 25 percent of participants received health services (including drug or alcohol treatment), education services (primarily GED classes) and various types of direct assistance (e.g., housing assistance, child

care, or emergency food and clothing). All told, just under 80 percent of R4W participants received some additional service beyond the core services.

Table 11: Other Services Provided

Percent of R4W Participants Who Received… N = 4,482			
Counseling	52%	Emergency services	26%
Life skills program	43%	Court advocacy	11%
Health services	21%		
Education services	26%	Any other service	79%

Conclusion

Overall, Ready4Work sites generally met their programmatic goals around case management and employment services. Almost all of the participants met with their assigned case managers, and a large majority took advantage of the employment services offered by the sites. Site staff was also cognizant of the additional needs of R4W participants—close to 80 percent of the participants received a non-core service. In the next chapter we turn to the mentoring component, the most unique aspect of R4W.

Chapter 4: Mentoring

Introduction

While emphasizing case management, linking participants with social services and providing employment guidance and training, R4W also provided mentoring as an additional source of social support. Mentoring has rarely been attempted in programs for adults and is virtually unknown among reentry programs. Mentors may offer emotional support as well as practical advice to ex-prisoners, helping them navigate everyday barriers such as finding a place to live and managing their transition to work.

Research shows that well-designed mentoring programs clearly benefit youth,[8] but little research exists about high-risk adults because so few programs have offered the component.[9] We wanted to test whether mentoring, in conjunction with case management and job training and placement, held promise as an intervention for ex-prisoners. In this chapter, we explore the following questions before turning in the following chapters to the relationship between mentoring and participant outcomes:

- How did the Ready4Work programs implement mentoring? What types of mentoring did they offer? What did mentoring adults look like?
- Who volunteered to be mentors?
- Who participated in mentoring and how much did they participate?

Implementation[10]

Because so little research about adult mentoring exists, P/PV allowed the 11 Ready4Work sites to decide whether to emphasize group sessions, one-on-one mentoring or a combination, letting the lead agencies pick the model that provided the best fit. We required all sites to follow guidelines in creating and managing their programs based on best practices in youth mentoring—for instance, mentors were asked to spend at least four hours a month in face-to-face contact with participants and to sign on for at least a year. P/PV program officers also offered the sites technical assistance

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[8] See Rhodes 2002 for an overview on mentoring and youth.

[9] One exception is the 12-step programs that pair alcoholics and drug addicts with "sponsors," essentially mentors who offer guidance, support and encouragement in one-on-one and group settings.

[10] We provide a brief overview of the implementation of the mentoring components at each of the sites here, but see chapters 2 and 3 of P/PV's forthcoming mentoring report for a more detailed discussion of the successes and challenges of the implementation.

regularly, and the sites set up and then modified their mentoring programs based on recommendations that took into account the agencies' structure and capacity and the availability of partners.

For the first two years of the demonstration, P/PV asked the sites to engage all active participants in mentoring within 90 days of enrollment; the time frame changed to 30 days during the last year of the demonstration to encourage engagement with the mentoring program sooner after the participants' enrollment in Ready4Work.

All of the sites but one operated their own mentoring programs, employing staff members to serve as mentor coordinators. The coordinators typically recruited, screened and trained new mentors as well as monitored all mentors and offered support. The sites in Chicago and Washington, DC, collaborated with congregations whose mentor coordinators worked closely with the Ready4Work staff. Most coordinators we interviewed had previous experiences with ex-offenders and indicated in interviews that they thought former prisoners would benefit from mentoring.

Types of Mentoring

In group mentoring, several participants and mentors met together. In individual—or one-on-one—mentoring, coordinators matched participants with one caring adult; the two talked on the phone and spent time together, usually on outings.

While most Ready4Work sites offered a combination of the two, the sites tended to focus on one type over the other. At sites emphasizing the group approach, mentors often talked individually with participants before or after a group meeting and talked to them on the phone but rarely saw them during private meetings or on outings. Sites that favored one-on-one mentoring held group meetings irregularly.

Table 12: Sites and Types of Mentoring Offered

	Group	One-on-One
Chicago	Primary	Secondary
Detroit	Secondary	Primary
Houston	Secondary	Primary
Jacksonville	Secondary	Primary
Los Angeles	Primary	Secondary
Memphis	Primary	Secondary
Milwaukee	Primary	Secondary
New York	Primary	Secondary
Oakland	Primary	Secondary
Philadelphia	Secondary	Primary
Washington, DC	Secondary	Primary

Regardless of their approach, Ready4Work sites shared two goals for their mentoring programs: to provide another layer of support and to offer positive role models. These interconnected goals were designed to help ex-offenders reestablish their lives and deal with the challenges of returning to their communities.

Group Mentoring Sessions

At sites emphasizing group mentoring, participants typically met weekly or biweekly for two hours at the program office or in a church's meeting room. Most sites offered refreshments and covered the participants' transportation costs. The meetings took two forms: structured, with the staff determining the topics and activities before the meetings started; and unstructured, with the participants and mentors deciding on the spot. Regardless of the approach, the meetings addressed topics of use to former prisoners, including goal setting, stress management, budgeting, persistence and responsibility.

Group leaders tried to allow time for spontaneous discussions, and some would start meetings with everyone sharing their "highlights of the week." Mentors took turns leading the meetings at some sites, while the responsibility belonged to coordinators at other sites. Generally, mentors contributed to discussions, shared their experiences and provided feedback and support to participants.

Several sites also arranged for guest speakers and took the groups on outings.

Mentors engaged participants in one-on-one conversations before and after the meetings and often checked in by phone between meetings.

One-on-One Mentoring

At the sites focusing on one-on-one mentoring, mentors and participants often spent their time in activities—eating a meal together, seeing a movie or sporting event or attending church. Conversations ranged from life in general, work and family to frustrations and concerns with readjusting to life outside of prison. Between their face-to-face meetings, participants and their mentors talked on the phone.

The Mentors

During the three-year project, the sites recruited 1,013 mentors, enough to provide one for roughly every two ex-inmates in the mentoring program. Because Ready4Work targeted congregations as partners,[11] we expected most of the mentors to come from churches, and a little more than half of the mentors reported learning of Ready4Work from their congregations (see Table 13). Our previous research has shown that only about 1 percent of any congregation is willing to mentor high-risk youth (Bauldry & Hartmann, 2004), so we were not surprised to see that sites also needed to recruit through direct outreach and word of mouth.

The R4W sites recruited a diverse group of volunteers. The ages ranged from 18 to 80, with the average being 45. Just less than 60 percent were male. Despite the challenges to recruiting minorities (Bauldry & Hartmann, 2004), more than 85 percent of the Ready4Work mentors were African American, and about half were African American males, a particularly difficult demographic to recruit. As we noted in previous work on faith-based mentoring programs (Bauldry & Hartmann, 2004), the success with recruiting minorities probably stems from drawing on African American congregations as a primary source of volunteers. The sites also were successful recruiting volunteers who had never before been a mentor: Almost two thirds of those who came forward were first-time mentors.

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[11] Faith-based organizations served as the lead agencies at seven of the 11 sites; two community-based organizations, a mayor's office and a for-profit entity led the other four.

Table 13: How Mentors Learned of the Ready4Work Program

	Number	Percentage
Congregation	526	54%
Direct outreach	192	20%
Acquaintance	172	18%
Other outreach	43	4%
Advertisement	8	1%
Other	63	7%
Missing	45	
Total mentors	1,013	

Source: R4W sites' management information system data from October 2003 through July 2007, mentor intake.
Notes: Mentors could indicate more than one category, so percentages total more than 100.

Given the unique challenges that former prisoners face, sites deviated from usual practice and recruited ex-offenders, believing they may be better able to support participants. Almost a third of the mentors had spent time behind bars.[12] These ex-offenders, more frequently than the others, expressed a strong desire to serve as role models.

Many of the mentors never imprisoned said their compassion stemmed from the incarceration of relatives or friends. Mentors who were ex-offenders said their compassion came from experiencing life on both sides of the prison gates. Compared with the others, mentors who had served time less frequently mentioned they struggled with getting the participants to open up and be responsive to attempts to help them.

Participation in Mentoring

Who Participates in Mentoring?

Of the 4,482 participants who enrolled in Ready4Work, 2,473 (55 percent) met with a mentor at least once.[13] Given that R4W programs have managed to engage only a little over half of the participants in mentoring, further

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[12] The sites chose only ex-offenders who had been out of prison for more than five years.

[13] If we limit our consideration to participants expected to meet with a mentor based on PPV's requirements for the sites, then 63 percent of this group met with a mentor at least once.

analysis can shed light on who is and is not mentored.[14] (See Appendix C for the models we used to perform this analysis.) We found that:

- Older participants were *more* likely to engage in mentoring.
- Female participants were 86 percent *more* likely to engage in mentoring; however, mothers were *less* likely to meet with a mentor than their childless counterparts.
- Participants with higher levels of religiosity were *more* likely to participate in mentoring.

Time to First Meeting with Mentor

Matching participants with mentors often takes time. During the National Faith-Based Initiative, many participants lost interest while waiting for a match (Bauldry & Hartmann, 2004). To help remedy this, P/PV required sites to match participants with mentors within their first 90 days in the program. The sites generally succeeded in meeting that goal for participants who met with either type of mentor. On average, the sites required about two and a half months to engage participants in mentoring, and 79 percent of participants who ultimately received mentors became involved within three months of entering the program.

Frequency of Meetings

Based on P/PV's experience with youth mentoring, we expected that adult participants would meet with their mentors about once a month. However, we found that even once engaged in mentoring, participants' active involvement was sporadic. On average, participants met with their mentors during less than half—45 percent—of the months that they remained in the program. However, during the months that they met with their mentors, participants did so for an average of 3.5 hours.

Conclusion

The Ready4Work sites experienced more challenges implementing their mentoring components than the other components of their programs. Although the sites managed to recruit a sufficient number of mentors to

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[14] If we consider only participants who were expected to receive mentoring based on the Memorandum of Agreement criteria (i.e., in the program for 90 or more days in years 1 and 2, in the program for 30 days in year 3), then 59 percent of the participants expected to receive mentoring did so.

match every four participants with a mentor (a common ratio for group mentoring), only a little over half of the participants ever met with a mentor.

Mentoring adults in Ready4Work followed a different pattern from mentoring youth. The participants did not meet with mentors or attend group sessions every month, as many youth programs require, possibly because of the other demands on the adults' lives and the ambivalence they felt. The adults also spent fewer hours than youth with mentors.

As we will see in the following chapters, however, participants who did meet with a mentor had better outcomes.

Chapter 5: Program Retention

The longer participants remain engaged in a program, the more likely they are to benefit from the services it provides. However, adults returning from prison face competing demands on their time. Besides the need to find a job—often more than one—they may have family obligations and other commitments and interests. This section examines several questions related to participant retention in Ready4Work:

- How many months do participants remain in the program?
- Does mentoring play a role in program retention?
- Are the sites more or less successful in keeping different subgroups actively involved?

Overall Program Retention

Adjusting for participants who were still active when the demonstration ended, R4W participants spent an average of eight months in the program. Roughly 20 percent of the participants left the program within the first three months. Thirty percent of the participants, however, took advantage of their full 12 months of eligibility for services.

The Role of Mentoring in Participant Retention

One way of assessing whether mentoring matters in retaining participants is to compare the odds of leaving the program in a given month for participants who were mentored in the previous month versus those who were not mentored in the previous month. Participants who received mentoring of any kind were 60 percent less likely to leave the program during the following month than participants who were not mentored. Over time, this difference translated into an additional three months of time in the program for participants who met with a mentor—participants who never met with a mentor spent an average of seven months in the program while participants who met with a mentor spent an average of 10 months in the program.

However, because the mentoring component is voluntary, some of the observed relationship is most certainly due to participant motivation. In other words, participants who are more motivated are both more likely to be involved in mentoring and more likely to remain in the program. Without a comparison group, we are unable to determine precisely how much of the

observed effect is due to participant motivation and how much is due to the mentoring component itself. Nevertheless, mentoring is clearly associated with more time in the program.

Patterns in Program Retention

We also looked for any indication that certain subgroups of participants spent more or less time in the program. Adopting the same approach, we found a number of differences:

- Black participants and participants with more than a high school degree were *less* likely to leave the program in a given month (by 11 and 22 percent, respectively).
- Participants with a higher number of arrests and who enrolled prerelease were *more* likely to leave the program in a given month (6 percent for each additional arrest, 29 percent for those enrolled prerelease).

Conclusion

Given the many competing demands on participants' time and the propensity for recidivism, R4W sites were quite successful in keeping participants engaged for an average of eight months. Furthermore, those participants who met with mentors remained active even longer, which suggests that the participants found value in the mentoring component of the program.

Chapter 6: Employment Outcomes

A key assumption of the Ready4Work demonstration is that the high rates of recidivism among ex-prisoners can be at least partially attributed to the difficulties they face finding and holding jobs. As such, employment outcomes are one of the two primary outcomes of interest. In this chapter, we document how R4W participants fared on three key job-related outcomes: 1) finding a job, 2) how long it took to find their first job, and 3) remaining employed for three and six months. In addition, we examine whether mentoring may have played a role in this process.

Employment Outcomes

R4W participants have been successful in both finding employment and remaining employed. Over 55 percent held a job for at least one month while they remained in the program (see Table 14). Moreover, about a third of the participants—and more than 60 percent of those who have ever been employed—remained employed for at least three consecutive months during the program. What's more, over half of the participants who were employed three consecutive months managed to remain employed for six consecutive months—an impressive accomplishment given the many barriers they faced.

Table 14: Employment Outcomes for Ready4Work Participants

	Ever Employed	Ever Employed Three Consecutive Months	Ever Employed Six Consecutive Months
Percentage of participants[1]	56%	33%	15%
Percentage of participants who ever found a job[1]	-	62%	36%
Percentage of participants who held a job for three consecutive months[1]	-	-	52%

Source: R4W sites' management information systems and participant questionnaires.
[1] Percentages are based on the number of participants who could have met the employment outcome. The percentages of ever employed, employed three months and employed six consecutive months are based on participants active at least one, three and six months in the program, respectively.

The Role of Mentoring in Employment

As with program retention, we looked for differences in the odds that participants would become and remain employed based on whether they had participated in mentoring.[15] We found that participants who had received at least one month of any type of mentoring were almost two times more likely to obtain a job than participants who had not been mentored (see Appendix C).[16]

Participants who met with mentors also needed less time to find their first jobs than the others. As with program retention, one way of analyzing how long it takes for participants to obtain their first jobs is to estimate the odds of finding a job in any given month. An increased likelihood of obtaining a job in a given month translates into finding a first job more quickly. In our analysis, we found that meeting with a mentor increased a participant's odds of getting a job the next month by 73 percent over ex-prisoners not taking advantage of the mentoring component of the program.[17] We also found that among those who met a mentor at least one month, an additional month of meetings increased a participant's odds of finding a job in any given month by 7 percent. As with ever finding a job, however, the average hours a participant met with a mentor did not have an effect on his/her probability of finding work the next month.

To further understand the role of mentoring in helping people remain employed, we limited our analysis to participants who had ever obtained a job. We found that participants who had received any type of mentoring were 56 percent more likely to remain employed for three consecutive months than participants who had not engaged in mentoring.

Patterns in Employment Outcomes

As with mentoring and program retention, we examined whether subgroups of participants were more or less likely to find jobs and remain employed while in R4W. We found the following differences:

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[15] A few participants engaged in mentoring after obtaining their first job. We removed those participants from the analysis, as mentoring was obviously not related to their employment.

[16] As with the relationship between mentoring and program retention, without a comparison group we do not know how much of this effect to attribute to participant "motivation" influencing both mentoring and employment outcomes, and how much to attribute to the effect of mentoring on employment outcomes.

[17] By measuring employment only in the month after a mentoring session, we were forced to exclude all participants who found a job in the first month, 22 percent. Our data were not detailed enough to determine if participants met with a mentor before obtaining a job in a given month.

Ever Employed
- Older participants, participants with a GED or high school degree and participants with more than a high school degree were *more* likely to ever become employed (by 3 percent for each additional year, 28 and 87 percent, respectively).
- Participants with a higher number of past arrests and who enrolled prerelease were *less* likely to ever become employed (11 percent for each additional arrest, 47 percent for prerelease).

Time to First Job
- Older participants, participants with a GED or high school degree, participants with more than a high school degree and participants who had held full-time jobs for longer periods of time were *more* likely to find a job in a given month (by 2 percent, 14 percent, 41 percent , and 10 percent, respectively).
- Participants with a child, participants with a higher number of past arrests and participants who enrolled prerelease were *less* likely to find a job in a given month (by 15 percent, 6 percent for each additional arrest and 38 percent, respectively).

Remained Employed Three Consecutive Months
- Participants with more than a high school degree, participants who had held full-time jobs for longer periods of time and participants who were more religious were *more* likely to retain a job for three consecutive months (by 6 percent, 16 percent and 14 percent, respectively).
- African American participants and those with a higher number of past arrests were *less* likely to remain employed for three consecutive months (by 27 and 9 percent, respectively).

Characteristics of the Jobs Participants Obtained

Of the 2,497 participants who ever obtained a job while in Ready4Work, we have additional information about the jobs they obtained for 1,978 of them. Furthermore, for 538 participants we have information for more than one job. Based on this, we have data on 2,869 jobs that Ready4Work participants obtained. The average wage of the jobs obtained was $8.14, or, on average, 41 percent greater than the minimum wage in the state the participants lived. Seventy-five percent of the jobs participants received were full-time

positions. The jobs ranged across a variety of industries (see Table 15), but manufacturing and hospitality services were the most common.

Table 15: Jobs of R4W Participants by Industry (N=2,608)

	% Jobs
Manufacturing	18%
Hospitality services	18%
Construction	12%
Wholesale and warehouse	8%
Marketing and customer services; grounds, cleaning, custodial; administrative and clerical; retail; automotive; trades; other category	2% to 5%
Health services; government; communication; agriculture; finance, insurance; social services; security; education; information technology; military	< 2%

Over 1,500 employers hired at least one R4W participant. The vast majority of employers hired a single R4W participant (81 percent), which suggests the sites were quite successful in their outreach to employers. A few employers, particularly temp agencies and fast-food restaurants, hired a large number of participants (up to 57 participants for one employer).

Conclusion

It is difficult to find comparable data on other programs to give an assessment of how successful R4W was in finding work for participants vis-à-vis alternative programs. However, given the barriers ex-prisoners are known to face (Pager, 2003), the fact that over half of the participants found work and over 60 percent of them remained employed for at least three months suggests the program holds promise. In addition, the fact that the participants who met with mentors were more likely to achieve each employment outcome suggests that this component of the program also holds particular promise.

Chapter 7: Recidivism

The most important outcome from Ready4Work is its ability to help ex-offenders stay out of prison. This section compares recidivism among R4W participants with recidivism among the national population of returnees. The section also compares recidivism among R4W participants with a subsample of the national population that resembles the R4W population in terms of age, ethnicity and type of offense (Langan & Levin, 2002).

Defining Recidivism

We used multiple definitions of recidivism for this analysis, including: rearrest for a new crime, rearrest for a new violent crime, reconviction, reconviction for a violent crime and reincarceration with a new sentence. In order to provide context for R4W recidivism rates, we compare them with recidivism rates reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS; Langan & Levin, 2002). Some of the distinctions (and similarities) between the BJS data and R4W criminal histories include:

- BJS data were collected in 1994, almost a decade and a half ago.
- BJS collected information on recidivism that occurred in states other than the one where the offender lived. R4W criminal records do not include this information. BJS found that 7.5 percent of all released prisoners were rearrested for a new crime in a state other than the one that released them.
- BJS data include information from some, but not all, states where R4W was operational.
- BJS data reflect recidivism for approximately equal proportions of African American and Caucasian ex-prisoners; R4W was a convenience sample and therefore included many more African Americans. Similarly, R4W participants resided in mainly urban areas while BJS data were more representative of entire states.
- BJS and R4W datasets both exclude people who are arrested or return to prison or jail because they violate probation or parole.

Recidivism Rates Among R4W Participants

In order to assess recidivism rates among R4W participants, we collected criminal records from criminal justice agencies in each of the 11 cities or

states where R4W operated. Complete records were available for 79.53 percent of R4W participants.[18]

As Table 16 demonstrates, a little more than half of R4W participants were rearrested within three years of their release from prison, and one in three returned to jail or prison with a new sentence.[19]

Table 16: Recidivism Among R4W Participants					
	Total Percent of Participants Who Recidivated (Cumulative)				
	Rearrested for a new crime	Percent rearrested for a violent crime	Percent reconvicted of a crime	Percent reconvicted of a violent crime	Percent who returned to prison or jail with a new sentence
6 months post-incarceration	21.6%	5.1%	10.4%	2.5%	7.8%
1 year post-incarceration	38.3%	11.9%	21.4%	5.8%	17.5%
2 years post-incarceration	52.4%	19.6%	34.0%	11.0%	28.4%
3 years post-incarceration	57.0%	23.2%	39.0%	14.2%	33.23%
Source: Criminal rap sheets provided by local or state authorities.					

Table 17 shows how select measures of recidivism compare with the statistics on recidivism of prisoners that the Bureau of Justice Statistics presents (Langan & Levin, 2002). In all cases, recidivism among R4W participants is lower than that reported by BJS.[20]

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[18] This analysis considers all 4,602 participants who ever participated in R4W. Because of grant extensions, two sites operated R4W with R4W funds beyond the August cutoff date and served an additional 120 participants. 3,660 of these participants had complete criminal records; 942 were not included because of incomplete or missing records (We were not able to obtain criminal records for 466 participants, and all 473 participants from the DC site were excluded because no sentencing data were provided by the locality).
[19] From their incarceration that immediately preceded their involvement in R4W.
[20] As described in footnote 21 and the caveats listed at the start of this section, these figures are not directly comparable. They do, however, provide the best point of comparison under which R4W recidivism levels can be interpreted. It is important to note that rearrests under BJS include out-of-state arrests, which are not included in R4W figures. On average, over three years, 7.6 percent of BJS study participants were rearrested in a state other than the one where they served time as prisoners. Similarly, R4W participants may have been a higher risk population than BJS participants, and our estimate of returning to prison with a new crime may be overestimated.

Table 17: Recidivism of R4W Participants Compared with BJS Benchmark						
	Total Percent of Sample Who Recidivated					
	Rearrested for a new crime		Reconvicted		Returned to prison with a new sentence[21]	
	R4W	BJS	R4W	BJS	R4W	BJS
6 months post-incarceration	21.6%	29.9%	10.4%	10.6%	3.7%	5.0%
1 year post-incarceration	38.3%	44.1%	21.4%	21.5%	8.7%	10.4%
2 years post-incarceration	52.4%	59.2%	34.0%	36.4%	14.1%	18.8%
3 years post-incarceration	57.0%	67.5%	39.0%	46.9%	16.3%	25.4%
Source: Criminal rap sheets provided by local or state authorities. BJS=Bureau of Justice Statistics.						

Conclusion

Using the BJS numbers as a rough point of comparison, R4W participants appear to recidivate at a lower rate than a similar population of ex-prisoners. At this point, however, lacking a comparison group, we do not know why. As R4W is a voluntary program, ex-prisoners who opt to enroll in R4W may be more motivated to make a change in their lives and they may be better off than the average person coming out of prison. The fact that R4W recidivism rates are not higher than the BJS rate suggests the program shows promise, but we will need more research involving a comparison group to know to what extent the R4W program is making a difference.

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[21] Includes only state prison sentences, which were estimated as follows: our data did not indicate which sentences were jail versus prison sentences. In 6 of our 11 sites, criminal justice officials reported that sentences under one year were considered jail sentences. In one locality, sentences up to two years could be spent in local jails. Sentencing rules of thumb were not available in the remaining three sites. For the purposes of this analysis, we counted any sentence one year or less as a jail sentence and any longer sentence as a prison sentence. This likely results in a conservative comparison of R4W with the BJS data. Additionally, 13 of our 3,660 cases did not have a length of sentence assigned. We assumed all 13 of these individuals were sentenced to a state prison.

Chapter 8: Concluding Thoughts

Promoting successful reentry among recently released inmates is a critical issue facing individuals, families, communities and government organizations. P/PV designed Ready4Work to test whether a reentry program could be successfully implemented through a partnership of local community- and/or faith-based organizations to provide ex-prisoners with targeted case management, employment services and mentoring. Our analysis of the initiative demonstrates that this model is extremely promising: Participants stayed in the program and many found jobs and avoided recidivism.

P/PV has learned tremendously from this demonstration project. We have learned about new employment strategies for ex-prisoners and other hard-to-employ populations, and about the promise and difficulties of mentoring former prisoners, a subject about which little is known. Through Ready4Work, we believe P/PV has demonstrated the power of social capital, and more specifically relationships, in ex-prisoners' lives. Our operational and research efforts have provided confirmation of the idea that building a network of caring, strategic relationships that surround an individual is the key to keeping people out of prison and on a productive path.

Furthermore, based on the findings herein, we believe faith- and community-based organizations can build substantial capacity, programmatically, organizationally and financially. The provision of programmatic and organizational technical assistance by a skilled intermediary and by experts in programmatic focus areas (e.g., employment) is key in supporting these goals. The result is more accountable organizations that rely on solid program designs, well-structured partnerships and measurable results to effectively impact social issues and an increased ability of those organizations to sustain their efforts.

P/PV feels strongly that prisoner reentry is a crucial factor in many of the social and public health issues affecting our most vulnerable communities, and as such, it is an area that requires continued research, programmatic, and policy focus. Our work has begun to inform policy, with new federal initiatives for prisoner reentry modeled largely on Ready4Work currently being implemented and the passage of the Second Chance Act. Yet, there is much more work that needs to be done; without more research and high quality programming, the financial and social costs of incarceration seem destined to mount.

Appendix A: Sources of Data

The data in this report stem from three sources: a management information system (MIS) used by the sites, a questionnaire administered to participants when they enroll in the programs and publicly available incarceration records.[22]

Ready4Work Management Information System

The MIS data used here come from a participant intake form and a monthly update form. A staff member at each site completes the intake form for each participant when they enroll in the program. The form captures basic demographic data and information on the participant's education, employment history and criminal background.

At the end of the month, a staff member at each site completes the update form for every active participant. This form has three sections: The first section captures whether the participant left the program in the last month; the second documents the services the participant received during the month; and the third records information related to key outcomes. This information includes the participant's employment status at the end of the month, whether he or she achieved any educational goals, such as obtaining a GED or attending college, and whether the participant was arrested, convicted or incarcerated during the month.

Staff members program the forms into an Access database distributed to each Ready4Work site. On the fifth day of each month, the sites send a copy of the database along with any consent forms and questionnaires to researchers at Public/Private Ventures. We combine all these databases into a single database for analysis.

We began collecting MIS data from the sites in October 2003, using a preliminary database that included only portions of the intake and monthly update forms. In January 2004 we trained the sites on use of the full database, except for the job form. In January 2005 we added the job form and began collecting that information as well.

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[22] We collect data only for individuals who sign a consent form agreeing to participate in our study. The vast majority of individuals agreed to participate in the research; those who did not, however, were still eligible for Ready4Work services.

Participant Questionnaires

When R4W participants enroll, they are asked to complete a 14-page questionnaire with five sections. The first section asks for detailed information, such as the participant's living arrangements and marital status, and whether the participant has children and pays child support. The second section asks for the participant's educational background. The third asks for extensive information on the participant's past and current employment. This section also gathers information on the participant's attitudes toward work and whether the participant earned illegal income before being incarcerated. Finally, this section asks about the participant's health status and social supports as they relate to work. The fourth section asks about the participant's faith and religious orientation, and who the participant turns to when facing problems. The final section focuses on the participant's criminal history and experiences while in prison.

A few sites began administering the questionnaire to new participants in February 2004, and by April 2004 all the sites were using it. We received 3,827 questionnaires from participants—out of 4,291 enrolled in the program since sites began administering them. This yields a response rate of 89 percent.

Recidivism Records

Our recidivism data are based on records obtained from criminal justice authorities. In examining those records, we sought information on rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration with a new sentence after the release that immediately preceded the participant's involvement in R4W. More information on recidivism records is included in the footnotes in the recidivism section of this report.

Appendix B: Key Program Benchmarks by Site

The following tables document how each site performed in providing key services, meeting key employment outcomes and with respect to recidivism. For the services, the percentages are based on the total number of participants who were expected to receive the service given the criteria laid out in their MoAs. For the employment outcomes, only participants who could have achieved the outcome were included (i.e., at least one month postrelease for ever employed and at least three month postrelease and had ever found a job for employed three months).

Table B1: Key Services

	Case Management	Employment	Mentoring
Chicago	97%	97%	95%
Detroit	100%	98%	45%
Houston	100%	89%	60%
Jacksonville	99%	80%	53%
Los Angeles	84%	73%	50%
Memphis	100%	70%	70%
Milwaukee	98%	91%	69%
New York	99%	85%	76%
Oakland	92%	95%	55%
Philadelphia	97%	93%	47%
Washington, DC	98%	87%	65%

Table B2: Key Employment Outcomes

	Ever Employed	Employed 3 Months
Chicago	64%	61%
Detroit	76%	55%
Houston	64%	72%
Jacksonville	58%	72%
Los Angeles	36%	61%
Memphis	58%	72%
Milwaukee	49%	53%
New York	62%	63%
Oakland	52%	49%
Philadelphia	60%	56%
Washington, DC	60%	57%

Appendix C: Analyses

Variables Examined

Although we focused our analysis on estimating the effect of mentoring, we included a number of participant characteristics in our models in order to help isolate the effect of mentoring and to partially address our issue with selection bias. In broad categories, we controlled for sociodemographic characteristics (gender, race/ethnicity and age), family composition (whether the participant was ever married and whether the participant had a child), education and work history (level of education, number of full-time jobs held and duration of longest full-time job), criminal background (number of arrests and time spent in prison), drug use (self-reported recent drug use), social support (extent of family contact while in prison and relationship with friends), and religiosity (religiosity index). We also included an interaction term for being female and having a child and a dummy variable for whether the participant enrolled prerelease. In addition, we included the unemployment rate for each given month in our model of time to first job.

Multilevel Data Structure

In order to account for the nesting of participants within sites, all models are estimated in a multilevel framework allowing for clustering within sites.

Missing Data

Other than the sociodemographic characteristics, the variables included in our models were derived from the participant questionnaires. As such, we had the potential for complete data for only 89 percent of the participants. Furthermore, with the exception of self-reported recent drug use, which was missing for a little over 20 percent of the cases, none of the variables we included were missing for more than 5 percent of the cases. The cumulative effect of the missing data, however, substantially reduced the sample we were able to analyze.

In order to assess whether missing data may have affected our results, we employed a multiple imputation procedure (see Little & Rubin, 2003 for a discussion) that involved generating 10 complete sets of the data with imputed values for the missing data. We then ran all of our models on each of these data sets and averaged the results. In all cases we obtained

substantively similar results. Furthermore, given that the inclusion of recent drug use never had an impact on our results related to mentoring, we dropped it from the models presented below.

Mentoring

For our analysis of who received mentoring services we estimated logistic regression models with random effects across sites that take the following form:

$$
\log\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) = \mu_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}\mathbf{x}_{ij} + \alpha_j
\tag{1}
$$

where p_{ij} is the probability that participant i in site j was ever mentored, $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$ is a vector of participant-level explanatory variables, α_j represents the site random effects and μ_i is an intercept that varies across individuals.

Table C1: Model Predicting Ever Mentored

	Ever Mentored
Age	1.02**
Black	1.04
Female	1.86***
Have child	1.02
Female–child interaction	0.72*
Ever married	0.88
GED or high school degree	1.13
More than high school degree	1.30
Number full-time jobs	0.93
Longest full-time job	1.09
Number of arrests	0.96
Time spent in prison	0.96
Family contact in prison	0.97
Supportive friends	0.99
Religiosity	1.13*
Enrolled prerelease	0.83
N	3,325

Notes: Odds ratios in table.
* p <= 0.05, ** p <= 0.01, *** p <= 0.001

Participant Retention

We based our analysis of participant retention on techniques developed for survival analysis. In particular, we estimated a survival distribution function (SDF) based on cumulative data from sites' management information systems, treating participants who remain active in the program as censored cases (see Allison, 1995). We transformed the data so that the program history for each participant could range between 1 and 13 months. We estimated the SDF using the product-limit method, which takes the following form:

$$S(t_i) = \prod_{j=1}^{13} \left(1 - \frac{d_j}{n_j}\right) \tag{2}$$

where d_j is the number of participants who leave the program in month j and n_j is the number of participants who remain in the program at month j.

To assess whether any participant characteristics or program variables affected how long people remained in the program, we estimated Cox regression models with both time-independent and time-varying covariates. We also included random effects for sites (see Allison 1995 for a general discussion). The models take the following form:

$$h_{ji}(t) = h_0(t)\mu_j \exp(\beta \mathbf{x}_{ij}) \tag{3}$$

where $h_{ij}(t)$ is the hazard function for individual i in site j, $\mu_j(t - t_j)$ is an unspecified baseline hazard function for all individuals at site j with the site fixed effects absorbed into the function and $\mathbf{x_i}$ is a vector of predictor variables.

We estimated the model using partial likelihood and the Efron method for handling ties.

Table C2: Models Predicting Time to First Job

	Model 1
Age	0.99
Black	0.89**
Female	1.02
Have child	1.06
Female–child interaction	1.09
Ever married	0.99
GED or high school degree	0.93
More than high school degree	0.78***
Number full-time jobs	0.98
Longest full-time job	0.96
Number of arrests	1.06***
Time spent in prison	0.99
Family contact in prison	1.01
Supportive friends	0.97
Religiosity	0.98
Enrolled prerelease	1.29***
Unemployment rate for month	0.40***
Mentored in previous month	-
N	3,217

Notes: Hazard ratios in table.

Model 1: In order to accommodate the lagged mentoring, participants who found a job their first month in the program were excluded.

* p <= 0.05, ** p <= 0.01, *** p <= 0.001

Employment Outcomes

Our analysis of employment outcomes is based on the number of participants who ever held a job and the number of participants who held a job for three consecutive months. For each outcome, we estimated logistic regression models with site fixed effects that take the following form (see Allison 2005 for a discussion of fixed effects logistic regression):

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) = \mu_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}\mathbf{x_i} + \alpha_j \qquad\qquad (4)$$

where p_{ij} is the probability that participant i in site j was ever employed or ever employed for three consecutive months, $\mathbf{x_i}$ is a vector of participant-level explanatory variables, α_j represents the site random effects and μ_i is an intercept that varies across individuals.

Table C3: Models Predicting Employment

	Ever	3 Months
Age	1.03**	1.03
Black	1.02	0.73*
Female	0.83	0.94
Have child	0.87	0.88
Female–child interaction	0.79	0.90
Ever married	0.91	1.11
GED or high school degree	1.28**	0.98
More than high school degree	1.87***	1.06*
Number full-time jobs	1.13*	1.03
Longest full-time job	1.09	1.16*
Number of arrests	0.89***	0.91*
Time spent in prison	1.06*	1.06
Family contact in prison	0.99	1.08
Supportive friends	1.04	1.06
Religiosity	1.01	1.14*
Enrolled prerelease	0.53***	0.78
Mentored in previous month	2.14***	1.56***
N	2,836	1,640

Notes: Odds ratios in table.
* $p \le 0.05$, ** $p \le 0.01$, *** $p \le 0.001$
Model 1: All models exclude participants employed at enrollment, participants who found a job prior to meeting with a mentor and participants who were active in the program for less than three months. Only participants who ever found a job are included.
Model 2: Excludes participants employed at enrollment, participants who found a job prior to meeting with a mentor and participants who were active in the program for less than three months. Only participants who ever found a job are included.

Employment Process

We used survival-analysis techniques to analyze the first step in the employment process: obtaining a first job. In modeling the number of months participants take to find their first job, we consider only those who could possibly have been employed. We transform the data such that each participant's time series begins with the first month he or she is both enrolled in the program and out of prison.

Table C4: Model Predicting Time to First Job

	Model 1
Age	1.02**
Black	0.96
Female	0.81
Have child	0.85**
Female–child interaction	1.11
Ever married	0.91
GED or high school degree	1.14*
More than high school degree	1.41***
Number full-time jobs	1.04
Longest full-time job	1.10**
Number of arrests	0.94***
Time spent in prison	1.03
Family contact in prison	0.98
Supportive friends	0.99
Religiosity	1.07*
Enrolled prerelease	0.62***
Unemployment rate for month	1.01
Mentored in previous month	1.73***
N	2,525

Notes: Hazard ratios in table.
* $p <= 0.05$, ** $p <= 0.01$, *** $p <= 0.001$

Model 1: In order to accommodate the lagged mentoring, participants who found a job their first month in the program were excluded.

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