

## AN EVALUATION OF “READY, WILLING & ABLE”

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Each year, over 700,000 people are released from prison, often to low-income and under-resourced communities. Formerly incarcerated individuals who reenter society face an array of challenges, ranging from housing security to maintaining sobriety. The difficulties of reentry are reflected in recidivism statistics that show 44 percent of releases are re-arrested within one year (Langan and Levin 2002). Research indicates that factors such as transitional employment, substance abuse treatment, and positive community involvement can help formerly incarcerated people successfully transition into society and thus reduce rates of criminal recidivism (Visher et al. 2006).

This report evaluates The Doe Fund's "Ready, Willing & Able" (RWA) program, which assists recently-released individuals to successfully reenter society. The program, based in New York City and Philadelphia, provides transitional employment, housing, and other services, to help clients independently maintain employment, housing, and sobriety. Although RWA serves mostly homeless men, regardless of criminal history, many of its clients have recently been released from prison.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this report is to describe program participation and completion and to evaluate whether participating in RWA has a significant effect on reducing rates of criminal recidivism. The report contains five main sections: (1) a history and description of RWA; (2) an overview of characteristics and program participation of clients between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009; (3) a review of program completion, including a description of clients who maintain graduate criteria (employment, housing, and sobriety); (4) an analysis of the criminal justice impacts of RWA; and (5) a cost-benefit analysis, which compares RWA's costs to the economic and social benefits of the program.

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<sup>2</sup> RWA has also had a non-residential component in the past, RWA-Day, which serves formerly incarcerated people who are not homeless. We will discuss this component in further detail later in the report.

Our evaluation of criminal justice impacts indicates that both two and three years after their release from prison, RWA clients are less likely to be arrested than a matched group of non-RWA New York City parolees. Three years after prison release, RWA clients have 30 percent fewer arrests than a comparison group matched by demographics and criminal history. In addition, RWA clients are significantly less likely to be sentenced to jail three years after their release from prison than members of the control group. We also find some evidence for the decline in program impacts on recidivism after two years, however cost-benefit calculations show that the benefits of RWA participation exceed the program costs by about 20 percent.

## II. READY, WILLING & ABLE (RWA)

### Program History

In the 1980s, the number of single adults in the shelter system rose dramatically in New York City – from 2,155 people in 1980 to a peak of 9,675 in 1988 (NYC Department of Homeless Services). As a response to this crisis, businessman George McDonald began to try to tackle the issue of homelessness in New York. For 700 consecutive nights, Mr. McDonald provided food to homeless people in Grand Central Terminal. In 1985, when a homeless woman known as “Mama” froze to death, Mr. McDonald decided to start his own organization for homeless people in New York City. In remembrance of “Mama Doe” and all others facing the struggles of homelessness, he named the organization The Doe Fund.

In 1990, the first clients entered The Doe Fund’s transitional employment program, Ready, Willing & Able (RWA), which provided homeless men with an opportunity to work. RWA began at Gates Avenue in Brooklyn with 45 homeless men as “trainees:” they were given a job and shelter for a year as long as they remained sober. The program is currently operating in three additional facilities: Porter (Brooklyn), Harlem, and Philadelphia. At all of the present sites, a total of 669 people are active clients in RWA at any given time (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1** Ready, Willing & Able (RWA) Facilities in 2009

Facility	Slots
The Harlem Center for Opportunity, Harlem, NY	198
Porter Avenue, Brooklyn, NY	331
Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, NY	70
RWA-Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA	70
Total	669

Ready, Willing & Able was initially developed to help homeless men transition into employment, though the program has evolved to address the needs of those without housing who are newly released from prison. The increasing focus on prisoner reentry reflects a homeless population in which many are formerly incarcerated and about 80% of program participants have been under some form of criminal justice supervision. Many have lost touch with family and thus need somewhere to live when they are released from prison or jail. Also, many find it difficult to obtain a job when they have a criminal record. Recent research shows that employers are often unwilling to hire former offenders, even compared to other marginalized workers, such as welfare recipients or high school dropouts (Holzer et al. 2004). In addition, the majority of RWA's clients are black, and studies indicate that formerly incarcerated blacks are much less likely to be hired than individuals of other races (Pager 2003). To help surmount these challenges, RWA provides clients with transitional jobs and an array of social services, vocational training, and career development that can help participants maintain employment. In order to receive these services, RWA requires that participants do not use drugs and alcohol while in the program.

Recognizing RWA as a model program for those coming out of prison, The Doe Fund has tailored some of its services to the needs of those who are recently incarcerated. In 2001, RWA partnered with the Kings County District Attorney Office to create a day transitional employment program (RWA-Day) for people coming out of prison. This program was suspended in March 2009 due to lack of funding, but is scheduled to restart in 2010 with funding from the New York State Department of Criminal Justice Services. In addition, the Porter facility has several beds allocated specifically for homeless men with recent histories of incarceration, and the Gates facility receives many of its clients directly from Queensboro, a pre-

release correctional facility. Each month, RWA staff visit Queensboro to publicize the program and to interview potential trainees, encouraging participation in RWA once the men are released. The process by which men enter and participate in Ready, Willing & Able is described in further detail below.

## **Program Overview**

### *Program Admission*

A client's entry into RWA varies with the facility. Two RWA sites (Porter and Harlem) are shelters in New York's Department of Homeless Services (DHS), and about half of the beds at Gates are also a part of DHS. In New York City, men wanting a DHS bed must first go to the 30<sup>th</sup> Street Shelter in Manhattan.<sup>3</sup> From there, clients are sent to an assessment shelter to undergo an applicant interview, psychiatric assessment, brief medical history, and TB exam. Based on his needs, he is then assigned to a shelter, which is responsible for the client for a year. If a client leaves and reenters the DHS system within a year of first entering that shelter, he is returned to his originally-assigned shelter. At this stage, if there is an available bed, DHS sends the client to RWA's Porter or Harlem facilities. The client can also request to be sent to RWA. On presenting himself at RWA, the client is initially given a drug test. If the test is passed, staff members conduct an additional interview to assess mental stability, proper health and willingness to do the work required at RWA before admitting him.

Thirty of the beds at Gates operate through the Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). These beds are reserved for clients who come straight from a correctional facility. The Philadelphia RWA program is not in New York and thus does not operate through DHS or

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<sup>3</sup> This also applies to women, but since all of RWA's current clients are men, we will write this report in reference to men.

DCJS. The majority of Philadelphia's clients are referred from the city's emergency shelters or other area programs that are funded through the Office of Supportive Housing (OSH). RWA facilities actively strive to make the space feel like a home, not an institution. Clients live in dormitory-style rooms of between 2-10 people and are required to keep their space clean and show respect for their roommates.

### *The First 30 Days*

When clients first enter RWA, they are assigned a case manager, who meets with each client to create an individualized service plan based on the client's employment, educational, health and housing needs. Throughout the program, case managers meet with their clients twice a month to assess their participation in the program and the steps they are taking to transition to independent living. Case managers advocate for their clients when it is time for them to move on to a new stage of the program. The stages of RWA are described in more detail below.

The first 30 days in RWA consists of orientation. In this phase, clients receive a \$15 weekly stipend and can only leave the facility for certain reasons, such as appointments with health care providers and parole officers. New clients work within the facility and participate in an orientation session nearly every day which introduces them to different aspects of the program. This period is intended to inform participants about the larger aims of RWA – to provide them with work and foundational skills so that they can save money and lead independent lives – and also to develop commitment and identification with the program and its clients.

During the first 30 days, clients work within the facility and assist the building manager with various maintenance projects. They also take their Test of Adult Basic Education at this



time to determine their reading and math levels. These scores inform the services that they receive throughout the rest of their time in RWA. Along with all other clients, new admits are randomly drug tested twice a week. Random drug testing ensures that RWA trainees remain drug- and alcohol-free throughout their duration in the program. Because the majority of trainees have faced difficulties with substance abuse, RWA believes their sobriety is essential to maintaining a steady job and having a positive and productive life in society.

### *Transitional Employment*

After 30 days in the program, clients are moved into the field. For most RWA participants, this means employment in the Community Improvement Project (CIP), cleaning the streets in different areas throughout the city. Each day, over 50 crews of RWA trainees clean about 160 miles of New York City streets. Clients are initially paid a rate of \$7.40 an hour, which is increased to \$8.15 an hour after six months in the program. A standard 30-hour week initially pays \$222, from which \$100 pays for room and board and \$32 is placed in a savings account run by the program. RWA clients are encouraged to save additional earnings as well. Although many have never budgeted money before, their case managers help them with this process so that they can graduate from the program with a few thousand dollars in their bank account. Several men in the program have large child support arrears from when they were incarcerated or unemployed, and RWA's family and child support specialist assists the men in allocating some of their savings towards paying these off.

Participants in RWA progress through several different stages during their time in the program. After participating in their field assignment for three months, clients are eligible to apply for a vocational program that replaces the work program. RWA offers a number of

vocational programs in advanced building maintenance, culinary arts, security, office work, pest control, custodial training, computer teacher assistance, waste cooking oil collection and biodiesel conversion, and supervising field work. Not all clients participate in a vocational program, but those who do are able to obtain skill credentials, such as a food handler's certificate, to assist them in obtaining a job after leaving RWA. Trainees are also encouraged to participate in educational classes throughout their stay so that they can obtain a GED or become proficient in computer skills.

### *Transitioning to Independence*

RWA is designed so that participants are not only able to obtain housing and a job after program completion but are able to sustain those successes. Several programs promote life skills that can support independent housing and employment. All trainees are required to participate in a Relapse Prevention course, which instructs clients not only on how to stay clean during RWA (which is mandatory) but how to remain clean when they leave. Clients remain in Relapse Prevention for varying amounts of time depending on their substance abuse history. During their fourth month in the program, trainees participate in a month-long course, Career Development 101, which provides them with some of the necessary tools to maintain independence after RWA. These include obtaining important documentation, such as a driver's license and birth certificate, learning how to set goals for oneself, and understanding how to resolve conflicts in a productive manner. Clients are also instructed in a Financial Management course on how to save and budget their earnings.

At about their sixth or seventh month in the program, RWA participants begin Career Development 102 for six weeks. This stage is intended to prepare clients for their transition into

permanent employment. In Career Development 102, trainees are assisted by full-time career developers in such skills as how to create a resumé and how to conduct oneself in an interview. Participants also meet with the career developers individually to work on their personal resúés. Near the end of this job readiness course, professionals from throughout the city volunteer to conduct mock job interviews with the clients. In these interviews, the volunteers ask about criminal history so that clients can practice addressing employers' concerns.

After successful completion of Career Development 102, clients begin their paid job search, part-time for one month and then full-time until they find a job (but no longer than a month). During this time, RWA participants dress in professional attire and spend their days traveling throughout the city to distribute their resúés and participate in job interviews. They are paid the same wage by RWA as they would receive if they were still working in the field. Clients fill out daily tracking sheets to record what they have done to look for work. In addition, RWA's career developers have established a significant number of employee partners within the area. When these businesses or organizations have job openings, RWA is able to send clients directly there for interviews.

After going through this process, clients will normally graduate from the program within a year of being admitted. In order to graduate, RWA participants must obtain full-time employment. A housing specialist then helps the employed trainees find affordable housing in the city. Once housing is acquired, clients move out of the RWA facility and are considered graduates. However, their connection with The Doe Fund continues after graduation. Graduates remain in contact with the Graduate Services division of RWA and for five months are eligible for a \$1,000 gift (\$200 a month) if they maintain graduate criteria: full-time employment, independent housing, and sobriety. Each month, they must return to the RWA facility to take a

drug test, meet with a graduate services advisor, and present proof of employment and housing. After six months, graduates no longer have a financial incentive to keep in contact with RWA, but continuous support is available for whenever a graduate may need it.

In sum, RWA offers a year-long opportunity to men without housing to obtain work experience and transition to independence. The program's motto is "work works" – being provided with work is essential to help men with histories of substance abuse and incarceration become productive members of society. The program also places a strong emphasis on helping participants maintain sobriety through Relapse Prevention and regular drug testing. In addition, participants receive intensive services and support, such as career development courses and individualized attention from case managers, to best ensure that they are prepared for independent living when they leave RWA.

### **III. CLIENT PROFILE AND PROGRAM PARTICIPATION**

To provide an overview of RWA clients, program participation, and program completion, we compiled information from The Doe Fund's management information system (MIS). Most of the information in this database comes from self-reports by clients obtained at the admission interview. Changes in the interview questions over the last five years have produced some missing data, but we believe the reported figures accurately describe the RWA population. We also conducted in-depth interviews with 38 RWA clients (25 current clients and 13 graduates) in order to more deeply understand their participation in RWA and their past experiences that have led them to this program. An overview of interview subjects is provided in the appendix. We were not able to interview participants who have dropped out of the program but acknowledge that their perspectives and experiences are important to consider. For the qualitative interviews, current clients were first selected randomly from the database, and then chosen according to their demographic characteristics to ensure their similarity to the total population. We also interviewed program graduates when they visited to collect their monthly grant from Graduate Services. This selection was more biased than that of current clients but was necessary because we did not have regular contact with all graduates as we did with current clients. However, demographic characteristics of all interview subjects closely match those of the entire RWA population.

#### **Profile of RWA Clients**

Between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009, 8,262 clients were admitted to RWA. Currently, 722 clients are active in the program, and 7,540 are inactive clients, which means they

have either successfully completed the program as graduates or have been discharged from RWA. The following section contains information about these clients' demographics, criminal history, and other descriptive characteristics. To provide some context, we also compare characteristics of RWA clients to the New York state prison population and the New York City homeless population.

The demographic characteristics of all RWA participants between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 are recorded in Table 3.1. For about three years, RWA had a day program which provided transitional employment for both men and women. However, as shown in the table, only about 3.2 percent of all admissions in the past five years have been women, while the remaining 96.8 percent have been men. Since the day program is temporarily suspended, all of RWA's current clients are men.

The average age of all RWA clients is about 41 years old, with two-thirds aged between 30 and 50. The RWA population is older than the New York State prison population, in which the average age is 36.7 (New York State Department of Correctional Services 2008). RWA clients more accurately reflect the homeless population in New York City, in which the majority of single adults are between 35 and 50 years old (New York City Department of Homeless Services, 2002).

Most RWA clients are either black (72.6 percent) or Latino (20 percent), while only 6.3 percent are white (1.1 percent of clients are in another racial category). Perhaps because of the location of the RWA sites, African Americans comprise a larger proportion of the RWA population than either the population of NY prisons or the Department of Homeless Services (DHS). Among NY state prisoners, 51.3 percent is black, 25.9 percent is Latino, and 20.8 percent is white (NYS DOCS 2008). In the homeless population, 60 percent is black, 25 percent

is Latino, and 15 percent is white (NYC DHS 2002). All three organizations have significantly larger minority populations than NYC as a whole: 24 percent of New Yorkers are black, 27 percent are Latino, 35 percent are white, and about 14 percent fall into another racial category.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 3.1** Demographic characteristics of RWA admits between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 (N=8,262)

Characteristic at admission	Number of RWA clients	Percentage of RWA clients
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	7,914	96.8
Female	261	3.2
Total	8,175	100.0
<i>Age</i>		
18-30	1,458	17.8
31-40	2,030	24.8
41-50	3,285	40.2
Over 50	1,406	17.2
Total	8,179	100.0
<i>Race</i>		
Non-Latino Black	5,843	72.6
Non-Latino White	510	6.3
Latino	1,610	20.0
Other	87	1.1
Total	8,050	100.0
<i>Education</i>		
Less than high school	3,535	43.3
GED	1,816	22.2
High school diploma	1,744	21.4
Some college	785	9.6
College degree	287	3.5
Total	8,167	100.0
<i>Has children</i>		
Yes	4,678	58.7
No	3,296	41.3
Total	7,974	100.0

Note: Though the total number of admits during this time period was 8,262, there is some missing data for each characteristic. This is due to differences in reporting throughout all RWA facilities. In order to provide the most complete description of RWA clients, we report all of the information that we have for each descriptive characteristic. Due to missing data, however, the total number of clients for each characteristic varies and does not always add up to the total number of clients in our study (8,262).

<sup>4</sup> These figures are taken from the United States Census (2000).

The educational attainment of RWA clients is fairly similar to the population of those who are incarcerated in New York state prison. The Department of Corrections in New York (2008) reports that 53.9 percent of people in prison have received a high school diploma or above, while 56.4 percent of RWA participants have achieved the same level of education. Specifically, 21.4 percent have earned a high school diploma, 22.2 percent have received GEDs, 9.6 percent have some college experience, and 3.5 percent of clients have graduated with a college degree. RWA clients have a significantly lower level of education compared to the entire population of New York City, of which 72.3 percent has achieved a high school diploma or greater (United States Census 2000).

The majority of RWA clients (58.7 percent) have children. This is very close to the 59.2 percent of incarcerated people in New York who are parents (NYS DOCS 2008). Each parent in RWA has an average of 2.2 children, and a total of 10,035 children have had a parent participate in RWA between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009.

Risk factors and social disadvantage among RWA clients is described in Table 3.2. Most RWA participants have been incarcerated during the past five years (80.2 percent). Clients who have been incarcerated have served an average of 6.2 years in prison or jail. Even though RWA is not specifically designed as a reentry program, the population that it serves is fairly representative of the population of people coming out of prison or jail.

RWA clients have also been weakly attached to the labor market. Nine out of ten report that they have previously been unemployed. It is unclear why 6.6 percent state that they have never been unemployed given that they are in a program precisely because they do not have a job. One possible reason is that these clients have come straight to RWA from prison; thus,



while they may not have a job, they may have never searched for one and thus do not consider themselves unemployed.

The rate of substance abuse among RWA clients is high – 83.7 percent of clients have struggled with drug or alcohol addiction. Around half of RWA participants have participated in a substance abuse treatment program at some point before entering RWA. For those who have used drugs, the average length of drug use is about 16 years. The high rate of substance abuse among the RWA population demonstrates the importance of maintaining sobriety as a condition for remaining in the program.

**Table 3.2** Other characteristics of RWA clients admitted between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 (N=8,262)

Characteristic at admission	Number of RWA clients	Percentage of RWA clients
Ever convicted of a crime	6,234	76.2
Ever incarcerated	5,726	80.2
Ever unemployed	7,621	93.4
Ever used drugs	6,847	83.7

Note: Because of recording differences across facilities, there is a lot of missing data for these characteristics, but we report the information that we do have for the entire 8,262-person sample. Due to missing data, the number of clients per characteristic does not equal the total sample size.

### **Program Participation**

In this section, we discuss how and why clients may decide to join RWA, their participation while in the program, and the factors that often contribute to their success. Much of the information from this section is drawn from the qualitative interviews that we conducted with 38 RWA participants.

An important issue to consider when evaluating a program such as RWA is client motivation. Since most clients volunteer to join the program, one could argue that it RWA

participants are a select group of people; they are more motivated to change and thus are more likely to be successful when compared to other parolees or homeless men in New York City, regardless of any effect of the program. We are not able to measure participants' level of motivation and other unobserved characteristics, but the client profile suggests that the demographic characteristics of RWA participants are quite similar to those of incarcerated or homeless people in New York. Despite these similarities, the average age of RWA clients is about five years older than the average of the incarcerated population. This could indicate that older individuals are more likely to join a program like RWA in order to make a positive change in their lives. Indeed, many clients do admit to this sentiment. One client, a 46-year-old named Kevin<sup>5</sup>, comments,

I got so fed up, tired of doing the same things and getting the same results, negative things anyway...and I just said it's time to change, I'm getting too old. I'm old now, and it's time to do something right.

However, many clients state that they would have joined RWA earlier in their lives if they had known that it existed. Several RWA participants who have been incarcerated multiple times claim that they wanted to make positive life changes the first time they came out of prison. Yet, they often report that they did not know how to change and did not have any structure in their lives to keep them focused. Often, they resorted to crime or drug abuse as a result and ended up back in prison. However, many clients believe that if they had known about RWA when returning from their first incarceration, they could have succeeded in the program then. Paul, an older interview subject at 54-years-old, states:

If I knew about this place 20 years ago, it would've been ideal. It would've been great because it's all here [referring to employment and vocational training].

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<sup>5</sup> Clients' names have been changed in order to protect privacy.

Consider also the comments of Michael, a 38-year-old man who went to prison three times, spending a total of 17 years behind bars. Here he speaks about the first time he returned from prison:

I thought I knew it all...I think at that moment in time, in my life, if I would have straightened up then, I would've been alright right now...if I would have stayed in a program, I could have pursued a career that had me off the streets.

When clients reflect retrospectively on their lives, it is difficult to know whether their assessment of themselves is accurate. However, comments such as these indicate that it may not solely be age which motivates people to join programs such as RWA. If a client has the desire to change and enters RWA the first time he is released from prison, it could prevent him from returning to incarceration multiple times.

Once clients are assigned to RWA, they can choose whether they want to participate in the program. Most choose to stay because of the housing and employment benefits provided by the program. They appreciate the unique opportunity to live in a positive environment after being released from prison or living in other shelters. RWA participants report that the environment in many homeless shelters is not much better than that of prison, and it can influence people to use drugs or commit crimes again. Donald comments on the environment at other shelters:

A typical day in [another shelter] was looking at a bunch of grown men wander aimlessly through the hallways...I would always be woken up in the middle of the evening by one of my roommates deciding he wants to smoke crack, and the other one's sticking a needle in his arm.

For those with a criminal record, it is very difficult to obtain employment. A large research literature indicates the poor job prospects of those formally involved in the criminal justice system. These poor prospects were also reflected in our qualitative interviews. Terrell, a

35-year-old man who spent five years in prison, remarks that he has tried to get a job but that many employers are not willing to take a chance on someone with a criminal record:

That's where we get stuck at...we scarred for life...sometimes that pushes us to go back to what we know.

He states that if it comes down to being starving and homeless or committing a crime to make money, he is going to commit a crime. This, however, is often a last resort. Therefore, those who truly change their lives, obtain housing, and receive help with getting a job quickly take advantage of the opportunity to come to RWA once they know it exists.

For many RWA clients, the only job that they have had before entering the program is selling drugs. Twenty-seven out of 38 interview participants report that they started using and/or selling drugs at an early age. The three main reasons clients provide for why they started selling or using drugs are 1) they did not have a male role model to give them an example of legitimate employment, 2) they needed support and found it from their peers in the streets, and 3) they were attracted to the money, an amount that most of them had never had before. Daniel, a 32-year-old client who recently spent six years in prison, reports all three motives:

You know there's things I wanted in the street. I didn't have my father around. I didn't have things. I was just misinformed, so much misinformed by the streets. I thought it was the cool thing to do because everybody was doing it, so I thought. And I guess I did it for whatever reason – that was what the norm was in my hood. Fast money. I thought it was the cool thing to do, you know? Like I said, I was misinformed.

### *Program Activities*

Many clients have never participated in long-term legal employment, and respondents said they found the transitional employment and structure provided by RWA extremely helpful. The work that RWA trainees perform is referred to as “pushing the [trash] bucket.” Many clients comment that street cleaning is a humbling and challenging experience, but that it can restore

their pride in themselves. Several trainees are improving the communities to which they once caused harm and feel especially good when local residents show appreciation for their work.

Keith comments:

[I love] when the old ladies come by and say thank you...when I started off, I started with my head down. After awhile, I started coming up cause I see I was doing a good service.

In addition to participating in the Community Improvement Project, several clients learn work skills in the vocational programs. Twenty-seven out of the 38 men we interviewed either had participated or planned on participating in a vocational program offered by RWA. They looked forward to gaining concrete skills that could be used to find a job upon graduating from the program. The Doe Fund does not currently record vocational training in its database<sup>6</sup>, but in 2008, 353 trainees were enrolled in a vocational program, which is about 50 percent of all clients. This is a substantial proportion, considering only about 4 percent of all New York City parolees participate in vocational programs.<sup>7</sup> About 50 percent of clients also completed some type of educational training in 2008, which includes pre-GED, GED, literacy, and computer skills courses.

The majority of interviewees stated that they find the foundation and structure that RWA provides to be the most helpful aspects of the program. Although they appreciate the chance to work and save money, most clients truly value the noncognitive skills that are taught in RWA. Noncognitive skills, or “soft” skills, are the more intangible skills required to successfully hold employment. These skills include keeping a schedule for oneself, showing up to work on time, and following directions (Carneiro and Heckman 2003). Clients recognize that these will not only help them obtain a job, but will also help maintain their employment and independent lifestyle after they leave the program. Many of RWA’s clients were never taught these skills,

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<sup>6</sup> Vocational training will be incorporated into RWA’s database in 2010.

<sup>7</sup> From Tim O’Brien, New York State Division of Parole, e-mail message to author, May 20, 2009.

though they are just as important for steady work as cognitive and vocational skills. The program teaches these skills to clients by requiring them to maintain a sober lifestyle, follow a clear schedule, work regular shifts, listen to the directions of a supervisor while working, and respectfully address any issues they may have while on the job, such as concerns with their coworkers or their assigned shift. Noncognitive skills are also taught in formal courses, such as Career Development 101 and 102. Gary, a 45-year-old man who has been incarcerated several times, remarks:

They [RWA] instilled in me responsibility. For many years, I didn't give two shits about responsibility. I just did what I wanted to do. Now I'm learning to do what I have to do, not what I want because everything I wanted to do got me in trouble.

While this structure is appreciated by many clients, especially those who have graduated, it also causes some participants to leave before successfully completing the program. If a client breaks a program rule, he is usually terminated from RWA. Staff members explain that this is to ensure that all participants respect the mission of the organization – it is designed for people who truly want to change their lives. We discuss program completion further in the next section.

## IV. PROGRAM COMPLETION

### Profile of Graduates

Table 4.1 describes the completion status of all clients who are no longer in the program. Twenty-five percent of clients admitted to RWA between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 are considered successful graduates of the program, which means that they have obtained employment and housing and maintained sobriety throughout their time in RWA. RWA records also show that a significant percentage of clients, 8.7 percent, leave before graduation for positive reasons (becoming employed or housed). They are not counted as RWA graduates because they do not fully complete the program, but they are most likely making positive contributions to society upon their departure from RWA. When this percentage is added to the percentage of people who graduate, about 34 percent of RWA participants leave the program for positive reasons.

These figures may under-estimate the graduation rate because graduation, but not early discharge, is under-observed among recent admits. Any under-estimate is likely to be small because graduation rates calculated for just the oldest cohort of admissions, from January 1, 2004 to June 30, 2007, are virtually identical to those reported here. Seventy-five percent of all admitted clients do not graduate from the program, and we discuss program attrition later in this section. The measure of graduation does not include current clients since they are not yet eligible to graduate.

**Table 4.1** Completion status of RWA admits between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 (N=7,540)

	Percentage of RWA clients	Number of RWA clients
<i>Graduated</i>	25.0	1,882
<i>Discharged</i>	75.0	5,658
Drug use	12.6	712
Non-compliance	43.1	2,436
Resigned	20.1	1,137
Employed	1.1	62
Housed	7.6	430
Other	5.5	312
Unknown	10.1	569

Note: The table does not include active clients since they have not completed the program. For clients who have participated in the program multiple times, the reason for their *last* discharge is recorded. As a result, 9 graduates who have currently re-entered RWA as active clients are not included in the table.

To examine the relationship between demography and program success, Table 4.2 shows the graduation rates of clients in different demographic groups and compares them to the overall graduation rate (25 percent). Women graduate at a much higher rate (31.6 percent) than average, but they are atypical, representing 3.2 percent of the entire client population and only participating in RWA’s day program. Age appears to be most strongly associated with graduation rates, with the highest graduation rates found among the older clients. Clients between 18 and 30 years old graduate at a much lower rate (15.4 percent) than average. RWA participants between 31 and 40 years old also graduate at a relatively low rate (23.4 percent), but only by a small margin. Clients over age 40 are about 5 percentage points more likely to successfully complete the program than average. Not only do clients over 40 make up over half of the program entrants, they are also significantly more likely to graduate.

Race is also significantly related to graduation rates. The differences in graduation rates between racial groups, however, are not as large as they are for age. Black clients and clients of the “other race” category are most likely to graduate, at about 26 percent, which is still only one



percentage point higher than the average rate. About 24 percent of Latino clients graduate, and white participants have the lowest graduation rate at 19.7 percent.

**Table 4.2** RWA graduation rates for selected demographic characteristics, clients admitted between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009.

Characteristic at admission	Number of inactive RWA clients	Percent graduating
<i>All</i>	7,540	25.0
<i>Gender***</i>		
Male	7,199	24.8
Female	256	31.6
<i>Age***</i>		
18-30	1,335	15.4
31-40	1,893	23.4
41-50	3,002	28.4
Over 50	1,229	29.9
<i>Race**</i>		
Non-Latino Black	5,329	26.1
Non-Latino White	471	19.7
Latino	1,470	23.7
Other	77	26.0
<i>Education***</i>		
Less than high school	3,242	22.8
GED	1,672	27.4
High school diploma	1,553	26.3
Some college	727	27.4
College degree	256	24.2
<i>Has children***</i>		
Yes	4,304	26.9
No	2,969	22.7

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* =10 percent

Note: All p-values are for a chi square test of independence.

Educational attainment is also significantly associated with whether one graduates, as clients with a high school diploma or higher are more likely to graduate. Clients who have less than a high school diploma graduate at a lower rate (22.8 percent) than other RWA participants. Men in the other educational categories all graduate at about 27 percent. The exception, surprisingly, is clients with a college degree who, at 24.2 percent, graduate at a lower rate than

the average RWA client. Only 3.5 percent of all clients have received a college degree, so we cannot draw any conclusions from this information.

RWA clients with children are more likely to graduate than those without children. About 27 percent of parents graduate from the program, compared to 22.7 percent of clients without children. We cannot determine whether fatherhood directly influences clients' likelihood to succeed from this data, but many men do cite their children as the main reason for committing to both the program and criminal desistance.

**Table 4.3** Other characteristics of RWA graduates between January 1,2004 and June 30, 2009 (N=1,882)

Characteristic at admission	Number of inactive RWA clients	Percent graduating
<i>All</i>	7,540	25.0
<i>Ever convicted of a crime**</i>		
Yes	5,748	25.5
No	1,711	23.6
<i>Ever incarcerated***</i>		
Yes	5,330	25.9
No	1,112	22.6
<i>Ever unemployed***</i>		
Yes	6,936	25.8
No	509	15.1
<i>Ever used drugs***</i>		
Yes	6,264	26.3
No	1,195	18.5

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* =10 percent

Note: All p-values are for a chi square test of independence.

Program graduation may also be associated with other risk factors such as criminal history and economic status. Surprisingly perhaps, a serious criminal record is not negatively associated with graduation (Table 4.3). Clients who have been incarcerated have a graduation rate of nearly 26 percent, compared to 22.6 percent for clients who have not been incarcerated. Clients who have considered themselves unemployed in the past are significantly more likely to

graduate, at a rate of 25.8 percent, while clients who have not considered themselves unemployed graduate at a rate of 15.1 percent. Just over 26 percent of RWA participants who have used drugs graduate, while 18.5 percent of clients who have not used drugs successfully complete the program.

### **Measuring Graduation Rates According to Program Capacity**

While we have measured the percentage of all admitted clients who graduate, graduation rates can also be related to the caseload capacity of the program. RWA can only serve a certain number of individuals at any given time due to limited housing space and other resources. The number of available slots changes each year depending on which facilities are open and how many beds are available at each facility. The program's goal is for each available slot to produce a successful client, or graduate, each year. This model allows RWA to evaluate its available resources rather than how many admitted clients become successful graduates. During the time period covered in this report, from 2004 to 2009, RWA had a total of 3,639 available slots. As shown in Table 4.1, 1,882 people graduated from RWA during this time. Thus, according to the capacity model, RWA's graduation rate was **51.7** percent (1,882 graduates per 3,639 slots) between 2004 and 2009. This is about double the graduation rate that results when we evaluate how many total admits have successfully graduated in the same time period (25 percent). The capacity model graduation rate can be interpreted to show that over half of all program slots yield a graduate each year.

## **Maintaining Graduation Criteria**

In order to graduate from RWA, clients must obtain employment on the open labor market with the help of Career Development and must find independent housing with the assistance of their case manager or, at Harlem and Porter, the on-site housing specialist. To help ensure success after graduation, clients are paid a monthly graduate grant of \$200 (a total of \$1,000) if they meet with their Graduate Services advisor once a month and show proof of employment and housing. Graduates must also pass a drug test to show that they have maintained sobriety.

RWA measures the retention of these graduation criteria at three and six months. Successful retention of graduation criteria is indicated by a recorded date of the 3-month and 6-month interviews. A missing date in RWA records provides evidence that the client failed to retain graduation criteria. By this measure, RWA records indicate that out of all clients who graduated between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009, 67.6 percent retained graduation criteria for three months and 42 percent retained graduate status for six months (Table 4.4). Records of 3- and 6-month interviews may be incomplete not because of failure by the client, but because interview dates are incompletely recorded by program staff. In this case, the recorded retention rates provide a lower-bound estimate of the true retention rate. An upper bound estimate can be obtained by considering whether post-graduation interviews indicate losing criteria. In this case, missing interviews may indicate retention of graduation criteria. These alternative estimates indicate that the actual six-month retention rate is most likely between what RWA records as six-month retention (42 percent) and whether someone did not clearly lose graduate criteria (60.9 percent). These figures indicate that about 50 percent of graduates are still considered successful graduates six months after leaving RWA.

**Table 4.4** Retention of RWA graduates between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 who have graduated (N=1,882).

	Number of inactive RWA grads	Percentage of inactive RWA grads
<i>3 Month Retention</i>		
Yes	1,272	67.6
No	610	32.4
Total	1,882	100.0
<i>6 Month Retention</i>		
Yes	791	42.0
No	1,091	58.0
Total	1,882	100.0
<i>Lost graduate criteria</i>		
Yes	736	39.1
No	1,146	60.9
Total	1,882	100.0
<i>Reason lost criteria</i>		
	736	39.1
Drug use	203	27.5
Lost housing	18	2.4
Lost job	274	37.2
Incarceration	18	2.4
Lost contact	223	30.2

### *Employment*

RWA graduates obtain a number of different jobs, including maintenance jobs, positions as security guards, and employment in the service sector. For many graduates, this is the first legitimate job that they have acquired. In our interview, many graduates commented that employers often appreciate their work ethic. This qualitative evidence supports the claim that RWA does not just teach participants tangible skills, but also non-cognitive skills such as responsibility and motivation in the workplace. Graduates are able to use these skills to successfully maintain employment. However, the employment problems of RWA clients are acute, and 37.2 percent of graduates who lose graduate criteria do so as a result of failing to maintain employment (Table 4.4).

### *Housing*

Though clients may lose their jobs, they may still maintain some personal independence by retaining housing. Only 2.4 percent of graduates lose graduate status because they have lost their housing (Table 4.4). Even if graduates become unemployed, it appears they are often able to continue pay rent, perhaps with savings, while they look for another job. RWA also allows clients to come back to Career Development and get assistance with their job search. Many clients that we interviewed cite housing independence as essential to feeling successful after graduating from RWA. After being dependent on others for most of their lives, including family members, social services, homeless shelters, and even the prison system, graduates comment that having their own place instills an incredible sense of pride in them.

### *Substance Abuse*

After leaving RWA, substance abuse poses a significant obstacle to success for some graduates. Over 27 percent lose graduate criteria because of testing positive for drugs or alcohol (Table 4.4). However, Graduate Services still provides support for these clients and refers them to substance abuse treatment programs if necessary.

### **Program Attrition**

The 25 percent graduation rate for clients admitted to RWA between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 indicates that 75 percent have been discharged from the program before completion. Discharge most often occurs because clients fail to follow the RWA rules. In Table 4.1 above, we report the reasons for discharge from the program. About 43 percent of all failed

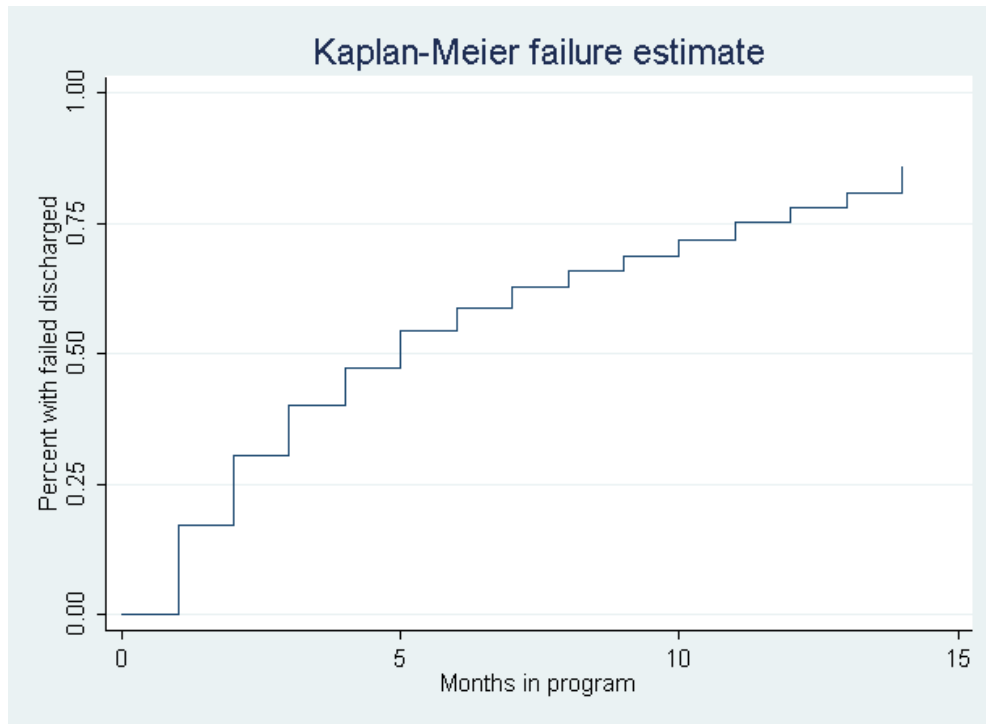
discharges are for general non-compliance with RWA rules and an additional 12.6 percent are for using drugs or alcohol while in the program. However, due to reporting uncertainty, a majority of discharges for non-compliance are most likely due to drug use and are misreported. Thus, at least one third of failed discharges may be due to drug use. In total, just over 20 percent of clients resign from the program.

Interview participants report that the main reasons clients leave the program are because they want to use drugs, they get involved in romantic relationships, or they find RWA too challenging and are therefore unwilling to follow its rules.

On average, each RWA client spends about five months in the program. Graduates are in the program for about a year, but a number of clients leave soon after arriving. Figure 1 shows the failure rate among clients from the time of admission to the program. In a client's first few months in the program, the probability of early discharge is very high. After about five or six months, the likelihood of early discharge greatly declines. In the first six months, over 50 percent of clients unsuccessfully left the program. Over the following six months, the discharge rate only rises by another 25 percentage points. In other words, the majority of failed discharges occur in the first few months. This could mean that clients who make it to the later stage of the program are likely to succeed from the beginning – they are highly motivated and not likely to break rules. One could also attribute the slowdown in the failure rate to the fact that clients become more invested in the program over time. After participating for a few months, RWA clients may begin to realize the benefits of the program, gain a sense of progress, and become less likely to jeopardize their opportunity by violating program rules.

**Figure 1.** Proportion of RWA clients admitted between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009 with a failed discharge

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Clients who leave unsuccessfully may also return later to RWA. Between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2009, 20.9 percent of clients in RWA were readmitted to the program at least once. A fundamental mission of The Doe Fund is to provide opportunity to those who are motivated to take advantage. Consistent with this mission, the program readily re-admits clients that have been discharged at some point in the past.

### **Perspectives on Program Completion: Qualitative Interviews**

Our analysis of program completion rates indicates that graduating from RWA and successfully maintaining graduate criteria can be very challenging, especially for someone who has been homeless or incarcerated for a significant amount of time. However, the rewards that come from successfully completing the program can be immense. Consider the case of



Malcolm, a 58-year-old graduate who was in prison for much of his life. Malcolm started to sell drugs when he was about 15 years old to raise money for his family. He was arrested for the first time when he was 20 years old and spent the next 35 years cycling in and out of prison (spending a total of 20 years incarcerated). Malcolm remarks:

It was not a matter of *if* I went back to prison, it was only a matter of when...I was using drugs, using the shelter system, going from one shelter to another. Life was nowhere, and eventually I went back to prison – another violent act.

During his final court trial, the District Attorney told the judge that Malcolm was a “career criminal.” When Malcolm heard those words used to describe him, he truly wanted to change. However, when he was released from prison, he had nowhere to go. He says, “all I saw ahead of me was life in a shelter, or life on the street, or life in prison.” Malcolm had heard about RWA at an orientation meeting in prison and decided to join the program. He speaks very positively of his time in the program and lists a number of skills and benefits that he was able to obtain. Malcolm claims that RWA helped him to see the benefits of staying clean and it taught him job skills such as how to make a résumé and prepare for an interview. He comments that it was particularly helpful to learn how to address the question of his criminal record in job interviews. Malcolm was also able to obtain a housing voucher to help him pay for his rent and has reconnected with his two sons since graduating from RWA. Most importantly, Malcolm tells us that participating in RWA made him feel good about himself – it made him feel like he was valued as a person. As he says, “One, I’m not a sociopath, and two, I’m not a career criminal. But I *am* a guy who wants to do better in life.”

Though not everyone graduates from the program or has such positive outcomes as Malcolm had, our next section demonstrates that even if clients do not graduate from the program, they may still benefit from their participation in RWA. As Daniel states, because many program participants have never worked before, holding a job, even temporarily, can positively

impact clients' attitudes about themselves: "I tried working, and it worked for me. It kept me out of jail. It kept me out of the street." Victor, a 39-year-old graduate who was incarcerated for four years, comments on the benefits that can come from participation in RWA:

You got people who were homeless who are now sticking the keys into their own apartment. They have a job. They're clean cut, and [their] family's back in their life. They're crime free, drug free, alcohol free. That may be minute to somebody else, but that's a big thing – a huge change.

Victor graduated from the Jersey City RWA that recently closed, and he remarks that without this program, many people who are homeless or coming out of prison have nowhere to go. In section VI, we compare the costs of running these facilities to the benefits that result.

Statistics and interview data indicate that about a quarter of all clients graduate from RWA. Calculated as a proportion of program capacity, RWA successfully graduates a client each year for every two program slots. About half of all graduates successfully maintain employment, stay drug-free, and retain housing independence for at least 6 months after graduation. Among those who drop out of the program, about a third likely fail because of drug use. Beyond these quantitative indicators, qualitative data indicate that program participation provides clients with a strong sense of the meaningfulness of reentry and reintegration. These data suggest the program can be an important source of motivation in the process of criminal desistance.

## V. CRIMINAL JUSTICE IMPACTS

In the previous section, we described how participation in Ready, Willing & Able might influence one's employment, housing, and drug use. RWA also provides several services that can promote desistance from crime for those with a history of involvement in the criminal justice system. In this section, we conduct a quantitative analysis of the criminal justice impacts of RWA. We describe the data and methods used in the analysis and the research sample. The section concludes with an analysis of the effects of RWA participation on arrest, conviction, and incarceration rates.

### **Background on Data Sources and Data Processing**

#### *Criminal Justice Data*

The criminal justice impact analysis uses data from three sources: prison release information from the New York State Division of Parole, criminal justice data from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS), and participation data from the Doe Fund's management information system (MIS). The Division of Parole provided DCJS with a file containing the NYSID numbers and release dates for all individuals released to Parole in New York City from January 1, 2004 to September 30, 2009.<sup>8</sup> Parole provided only one release date per person. DCJS then extracted the criminal justice history data for these individuals, selected using the NYSIDs provided by Parole, merged them with the Parole file, and sent the merged file to the Doe Fund for analysis.

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<sup>8</sup> These data do not include individuals who were released from New York State prison during this time, but who were not paroled, individuals released from other state prisons, or individuals released from federal prison.

The criminal justice data provided by DCJS include demographic characteristics and unsealed arrest, conviction, and sentencing events for all individuals from January 1, 1970 to September 9, 2009.<sup>9</sup> The demographic characteristics include date of birth, race, ethnicity, and gender. For each arrest event, the data include arrest date, arrest charge (felony, misdemeanor, etc.), arrest UCR charge code (indicates specific charge, e.g. assault, weapon possession), disposition date, disposition (e.g. convicted, acquitted), sentence type (prison, jail, etc.), and sentence length. Only one observation, for the “top” charge, was included for each arrest.

Prison release date was used to measure date of entry into the study, or baseline, and data were divided into pre- and post-release events. Pre-release data were used to create baseline criminal justice and demographic characteristics, while post-release data were used to create outcome variables for the impact analysis.

### *Program Participation Data*

The Doe Fund provided a participation file with self-reported criminal justice information and basic participation information for Doe Fund participants with a criminal history admitted since 2006. Our criminal justice impact analysis is limited to clients who were admitted since 2006 (as opposed to 2004) because criminal history was not completely recorded until 2006. The RWA program participation data include NYSID numbers, RWA admission and release dates, an indicator of whether the individual graduated from the program, and self-reported criminal justice information. The data were merged with a more detailed participation file, which included RWA facility. Individuals in the Philadelphia and Jersey City facilities were deleted from the analysis sample since they were not New York observations. In addition, individuals with no self-reported criminal conviction were deleted from the sample. Thus, this

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<sup>9</sup> Sealed data, including juvenile data or criminal justice events that have been expunged, were not included.

analysis pertains only to participants in the Doe Fund's New York facilities who had a criminal history and who were admitted from 2006 to 2009. This RWA sample included 3,810 individuals.

### *NYSID Number Sample*

In order to identify RWA participants in the DCJS file, RWA participation data were merged by NYSID number to the criminal justice data. Unfortunately, as NYSID numbers were not consistently recorded in the Doe Fund data until recently, a large number of individuals did not have a NYSID number in the file. Only 44.6 percent, or 1,700 individuals, had a NYSID number recorded in the participation file. Only these individuals could potentially be merged with (or identified in) the DCJS data.

Because such a large number of Doe Fund participants are missing NYSID numbers, it is important to determine whether there are systematic differences between those with a recorded NYSID number and those missing their NYSID number in the Doe Fund data. Such differences would indicate that those individuals with NYSID numbers recorded in the file are not representative of Doe Fund participants with criminal histories.

Table 5.1 uses Doe Fund MIS data to compare the demographic, participation, and self-reported criminal justice characteristics of RWA participants with a recorded NYSID number and participants missing the NYSID. The table shows that the two groups are substantially different. The top panel of the table shows demographic characteristics. Those with a recorded NYSID number are somewhat younger and less likely to be male than those without a recorded NYSID. However, aside from a difference in percent white, the two groups do not differ substantially by race. The NYSID group has lower education attainment, on average, than the

non-NYSID group. The NYSID group is less likely to have a high school degree, but more likely to have a GED certificate. They are also less likely to have any education beyond high school. According to self-reported employment information, the NYSID group is less likely to have been unemployed, but also has a shorter work history, on average, than the non-NYSID group.

Participation information indicates that the NYSID and non-NYSID groups differ by when they entered RWA and by the facility they entered. It appears that NYSID numbers were more consistently recorded among individuals who entered in 2007 and 2008. While the NYSID group is primarily from the Gates and RWA Day programs, the non-NYSID group is primarily from the Harlem and Porter facilities. This may reflect differences in recording across facilities. The NYSID group is somewhat more likely to have graduated, at 24 percent compared with 21 percent. This may simply reflect the smaller numbers admitted in 2009, which would not give enough time to graduate, among the NYSID group.

The NYSID group has more of a criminal history than the non-NYSID group, with more total convictions and more felony convictions. They are also 10 percentage points more likely to have been incarcerated. The largest difference between groups is in the percentage on parole, as recorded by RWA data (90 percent among the NYSID group and 28 percent among the non-NYSID group). This suggests that the NYSID numbers of those on parole were recorded more consistently than those of others who were not on parole. Overall, Table 5.1 shows some substantial differences between those with a recorded NYSID and those individuals with no NYSID in the Doe Fund MIS data. Therefore, this analysis examines the impacts of RWA participation on recidivism among a subgroup that is not fully representative of all RWA participants.

**Table 5.1** Pre-Release Characteristics: NYSID Group versus NYSID Missing Group

Pre-Release Characteristic	NYSID Available	NYSID Missing	Total Sample	P-Value	
<u>Demographic Information</u>					
Age (years)	39.5	40.9	40.2	0.000	***
Male (%)	96.1	98.8	97.5	0.000	***
Race (%)					
Non-Latino Black	73.7	73.3	73.5	0.779	
Non-Latino White	2.7	4.6	3.7	0.005	**
Latino	22.7	21.1	21.9	0.250	
Other	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.487	
Education (%)					
Less than high school	48.5	44.9	46.6	0.035	**
GED certificate	32.1	23.6	27.6	0.000	***
High school degree	10.9	20.2	15.9	0.000	***
More than high school	8.5	11.3	10.0	0.006	***
Employment history					
Ever unemployed (%)	91.2	95.5	93.5	0.000	***
Work experience (months)	97.2	143.3	121.8	0.000	***
Has children (%)	60.0	58.9	59.4	0.501	
<u>RWA Participation</u>					
Admission year (%)					
2006	24.3	35.9	30.7	0.000	***
2007	32.0	25.3	28.3	0.000	***
2008	34.1	21.0	26.8	0.000	***
2009	9.6	17.9	14.2	0.000	***
RWA facility					
Harlem	10.2	33.0	22.4	0.000	***
Gates	25.3	9.4	16.8	0.000	***
Porter	15.5	44.9	31.2	0.000	***
RWA Day	37.6	9.6	22.6	0.000	***
Stuyvesant	10.5	0.7	5.3	0.000	***
Porter VA	0.9	2.4	1.7	0.000	***
Graduated (%)	24.4	21.1	22.6	0.017	**
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>					
Convictions					
Number of convictions	7.5	5.4	6.4	0.000	***
Number of felony convictions	2.6	1.8	2.1	0.000	***
Ever incarcerated (%)	93.3	83.9	88.1	0.000	***
On parole (%)	90.1	28.1	57.0	0.000	***
Sample Size	1,697	2,110	3,807		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

### *RWA Sample Identified in DCJS Data*

Among those with NYSID numbers, 1,404 (82.6%) were successfully merged with the DCJS file. The other individuals may not have merged because their NYSID number was incorrect, because they were released prior to 2004, because they had a criminal history but had not been to prison or been paroled, or because their criminal history data had been expunged from the DCJS data. In addition, 387 of the individuals identified in the DCJS data had a release date *after* their RWA admission date. These individuals could not be used in the analysis as the purpose of the analysis is to measure the effects of RWA participation on recidivism *after* prison release. Only those individuals who were identified in the DCJS data and who had entered RWA after being released from prison could be used in the analysis. This sample includes 1,234 individuals. After merging the DCJS and participation files, the base pool from which matched samples could be drawn included all non-RWA New York City parolees released since January 1, 2004 (N=55,329) and RWA participants identified in the DCJS file (N=1,234). In cases where an individual entered RWA more than once, the analysis uses participation information for the first RWA admission after their prison release.

### **Characteristics of RWA Clients versus all New York City Parolees**

This section compares RWA participants with other releasees to New York City, based on the baseline criminal history and demographic characteristics available from the DCJS file. This analysis includes all individuals in the base pool from which matched samples could be drawn (see below for a discussion of the matched samples). Therefore, these are not matched samples. As described above, the RWA participants included in this analysis are a small sample



of all participants and are not representative of all RWA participants, since they include only those identified in the DCJS data who entered RWA after release from prison.

Table 5.2 compares the background characteristics of identified Ready, Willing & Able participants to those of all other New York City parolees. The table shows that RWA clients, at least those matched to the DCJS data, are substantially different from the average New York City parolee. RWA participants are about two years older and are more likely to be male. There are also significant differences by race. RWA participants are 21 percentage points more likely to be black, and less likely to be Latino, white, or another race than the average New York City parolee.

The second panel of Table 5.2 shows criminal history characteristics. These suggest that RWA participants have more substantial criminal histories than the average New York City parolees. RWA participants were younger, on average, at first arrest and have had more arrests. They are also more likely to have been convicted of crimes in the violent, property, and drug categories, and have averaged more felony convictions and more misdemeanor convictions than other New York City parolees. RWA participants also spent more time in prison prior to release. Finally, probably because of the location of RWA facilities, the two groups differ substantially on the county of their last conviction, with RWA participants more likely to be convicted in Manhattan or Brooklyn compared with other parolees.

These results indicate that RWA participants (those identified in the DCJS data) are substantially different than other NYC parolees. Therefore, differences in the recidivism outcomes of these two groups would very likely be due to characteristics, like race, age, and criminal history, besides participation in the RWA program. Therefore, it is necessary to construct a matched sample, where the two groups are as similar as possible on measured

characteristics. This will lessen, though not eliminate, the possibility that differences in recidivism outcomes are driven by characteristics other than RWA participation.

**Table 5.2** Pre-Release Characteristics: All Identified RWA versus All NYC Parolees

Pre-Release Characteristic	RWA Group	All NYC Parolees	Total Sample	P-Value	
<u>Demographic Information</u>					
Age (years)	38.4	36.1	36.2	0.000	***
Male (%)	93.9	91.0	91.0	0.000	***
Race (%)					
Non-Latino Black	76.3	54.4	54.8	0.000	***
Non-Latino White	3.9	8.0	7.9	0.000	***
Latino	20.0	37.9	37.5	0.000	***
Other	0.1	1.1	1.0	0.000	***
Birthplace (%)					
Born in the US	93.1	79.7	80.0	0.000	***
Born in New York State	82.3	69.4	69.7	0.000	***
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>					
Arrests					
Age at first arrest (years)	20.8	22.2	22.1	0.000	***
Number of arrests	10.4	7.3	7.4	0.000	***
Convictions					
Ever convicted of violent crime (%)	64.5	52.4	52.6	0.000	***
Ever convicted of property crime (%)	53.2	40.2	40.5	0.000	***
Ever convicted of drug crime (%)	70.0	65.8	65.9	0.000	***
Number of felony convictions	2.7	2.2	2.2	0.000	***
Number of misdemeanor convictions	5.4	3.4	3.5	0.000	***
Last prison release					
Estimated months of last prison spell	49.9	45.5	45.6	0.002	***
Last conviction					
Last conviction was a felony (%)	76.9	77.3	77.3	0.740	
County of last conviction (%)					
New York	42.2	35.5	35.7	0.000	***
Kings	24.7	19.6	19.8	0.000	***
Bronx	14.8	20.4	20.3	0.000	***
Queens	9.9	13.2	13.1	0.001	***
Richmond	1.2	2.1	2.0	0.040	**
Sample Size	1,234	55,329	56,523		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

## **Creating a Matched Control Group**

In order to estimate the effects of RWA on recidivism outcomes, the outcomes of RWA participants must be compared to those of other parolees who are similar to RWA participants, but who did not receive RWA services. Given that RWA participants are not representative of all New York City parolees, differences in recidivism between RWA clients and all New York City parolees may result from differences in characteristics other than the program that affect recidivism. Therefore, a comparison of RWA client outcomes to all New York City parolees is not ideal for estimating the treatment effects of RWA. Instead, a comparison group must be constructed that matches the RWA group as closely as possible, though this does not eliminate the possibility that the groups differ on unmeasured characteristics, and the results of the analysis should be taken with caution. This section discusses the methods used to create a matched group of New York City parolees for such a comparison.

We used propensity score matching to construct a matched comparison group based on pre-release demographic and criminal justice variables. The matching was done by first estimating a logit regression model predicting participation in the RWA program. This model included several demographic and criminal history variables, including prison discharge date, age at discharge, age at discharge squared, sex, race, a binary variable indicating whether the person was born in the US, a binary variable indicating whether the person was born in NY state, a binary variable indicating whether the person was born in Puerto Rico, age at first arrest, whether the person had ever had a violent conviction, whether the person had ever been convicted of a drug offense, number of felony convictions, number of misdemeanor convictions, number of drug convictions, number of arrests, months in prison on last stay, a binary variable indicating whether the last conviction was a felony, county of last conviction, and a binary

variable indicating whether the person ever had a juvenile conviction. All of those are strictly pre-release measures.

Using this logit model, a propensity score, ranging from 0 to 1, which represents the probability that the individual participated in RWA, was calculated for each observation. Using the PSMATCH command in Stata, for each RWA observation, the non-RWA observation with the most closely matching propensity score was selected, as long as the closest observation was within .001 (out of 1) of the RWA observation. Since the propensity score is based on the coefficients of the parameters in the logit model, observations with close propensity scores should have similar values on these parameters. Thus, the two groups should be closely matched. In this analysis, 1,177 of the 1,234 RWA participants (95.4%) were matched to a non-RWA individual. This matched sample is the *full sample* used in this analysis. The quality of that match is examined in the following section.

The graduates from the RWA program, who are included in the full sample match described above, were separated from the other RWA observations, and a second match was conducted to create a matched graduate sample. This was done using the same matching process and matching model described above. 346 RWA graduates were matched to a non-RWA observation. This matched sample is the *graduate sample* used in this analysis.

In addition, we divided the full sample between clients who participated in the day program and clients who participated in the residential program. Because these two groups of people receive different services from RWA, it is possible that program participation will have a significantly different effect on their recidivism once they leave the program. The matched control groups for both the day clients and residential clients were created using the same process and model as above. We were able to match 397 RWA-Day clients to a non-RWA

observation. This matched sample is the *day program sample* used in this analysis. In addition, 782 residential clients were matched to a non-RWA observation. This matched sample is the *residential program sample* used in this analysis.

## **Quality of Match: Sample Baseline Characteristics**

### *Full Sample Characteristics and Match*

Table 5.3 shows baseline characteristics of the RWA and non-RWA parolees in the matched sample that will be used for the recidivism analysis. As the table shows, the match between the two groups is very close. The average age of sample members at prison release is about 39 years old and the sample is 94 percent male. Just over three quarters of the sample are black, while 20 percent is Latino, and about four percent is white. About 93 percent of sample members were born in the United States and about 83 percent were born in New York State. The sample members were 21 years old at their first arrest, on average, and have had 11 arrests. Sixty-five percent were convicted of a violent crime, 54 percent of a property crime, and 70 percent of a drug crime. They average three total felony convictions and five misdemeanor convictions. RWA clients in the full sample spent about 50 months in prison on their last spell, on average, as estimated based on conviction and release date information. Finally, the county of their last convictions was: New York (Manhattan): 42 percent, Kings (Brooklyn): 25 percent, Bronx: 15 percent, Queens: 10 percent, and Richmond (Staten Island): 1 percent.

There are no statistically significant differences between the RWA sample and the matched comparison group on any of the characteristics. Therefore, the only difference between the two groups on measurable characteristics is the participation in RWA. Note, however, that the two groups may still differ on other characteristics, such as motivation or family support, that

**Table 5.3** Pre-Release Characteristics: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group

Pre-Release Characteristic	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Total Sample	P-Value
<u>Demographic Information</u>				
Age (years)	38.8	38.9	38.9	0.740
Male (%)	94.1	93.8	93.9	0.796
Race (%)				
Non-Latino Black	76.1	75.6	75.9	0.773
Non-Latino White	3.7	3.5	3.6	0.740
Latino	19.7	20.6	20.2	0.572
Birthplace (%)				
Born in the US	93.1	93.3	93.2	0.870
Born in New York State	82.2	82.1	82.2	0.914
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>				
Arrests				
Age at first arrest (years)	20.7	20.9	20.8	0.260
Number of arrests	10.6	10.1	10.3	0.249
Convictions				
Ever convicted of violent crime (%)	65.3	65.1	65.2	0.897
Ever convicted of property crime (%)	54.5	54.3	54.4	0.901
Ever convicted of drug crime (%)	70.3	70.2	70.3	0.928
Number of felony convictions	2.8	2.8	2.8	0.437
Number of misdemeanor convictions	5.5	5.1	5.3	0.227
Last prison release				
Estimated months of last prison spell	50.7	48.6	49.6	0.338
Last conviction				
Last conviction was a felony (%)	76.6	76.7	76.7	0.961
County of last conviction (%)				
New York	42.5	41.0	41.8	0.478
Kings	24.3	24.6	24.5	0.848
Bronx	15.1	14.9	15.0	0.863
Queens	9.7	11.0	10.4	0.280
Richmond	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.000
Sample Size	1,777	1,777	2,354	

Note: There are no statistically significant differences between RWA and control groups on the characteristics included in this table.

cannot be matched and which may affect outcomes. Though, in the case of RWA, positive selection into the program (where program clients are less likely to recidivate than controls) may also be balanced by negative selection. RWA clients, except for those in the day program, are in

New York's homeless shelter system and face acute housing insecurity. In this respect, RWA clients may be worse off, and consequently at greater risk of recidivism, than parolees in the control group.

#### *Graduate Sample and Match*

Table 5.4 shows the baseline characteristics of the RWA graduates and non-RWA parolees in the matched graduate sample. As the table shows, the match between the two groups is very close. There are no statistically significant differences between the two groups on any of the characteristics. Therefore, the only difference between the two groups on measurable characteristics is the participation in RWA. As with the full sample, it is important to note, however, that the two groups may still differ on other characteristics, like motivation, housing insecurity, or family support that cannot be matched and may affect outcomes. With the graduate sample, since it is more select, it is especially likely that the two groups differ on unmeasured characteristics, like motivation. Therefore, the results of the graduate impact analysis should be taken with caution. The baseline characteristics of the graduate sample do not look substantially different from those of the full sample.

#### *Day Program Sample and Match*

Table 5.5 shows the baseline characteristics of clients from RWA-Day and a matched group of non-RWA parolees. The match is very close as there are no statistically significant differences between the two groups. The only measurable difference between the two groups is thus participation in RWA, but again, it is important to consider that there may be other differences between the two groups, such as family support or housing insecurity, which cannot

**Table 5.4** Pre-Release Characteristics: RWA Graduate Group versus Graduate Matched Control Group

Pre-Release Characteristic	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Total Sample	P-Value
<u>Demographic Information</u>				
Age (years)	40.4	39.7	40.1	0.294
Male (%)	93.1	95.4	94.2	0.193
Race (%)				
Non-Latino Black	78.3	78.3	78.3	1.000
Non-Latino White	4.6	3.5	4.0	0.441
Latino	15.9	17.6	16.8	0.542
Birthplace (%)				
Born in the US	93.1	95.4	94.2	0.193
Born in New York State	79.5	79.8	79.6	0.925
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>				
Arrests				
Age at first arrest (years)	21.1	21.7	21.4	0.205
Number of arrests	11.0	10.1	10.6	0.250
Convictions				
Ever convicted of violent crime (%)	64.5	67.1	65.8	0.472
Ever convicted of property crime (%)	56.1	54.6	55.3	0.703
Ever convicted of drug crime (%)	69.7	69.9	69.8	0.934
Number of felony convictions	2.8	2.8	2.8	0.980
Number of misdemeanor convictions	5.8	5.0	5.4	0.183
Last prison release				
Estimated months of last prison spell	53.1	50.4	51.8	0.475
Last conviction				
Last conviction was a felony (%)	79.2	82.7	80.9	0.246
County of last conviction (%)				
New York	42.8	40.8	41.8	0.590
Kings	24.0	27.5	25.7	0.297
Bronx	14.5	13.3	13.9	0.661
Queens	9.0	8.1	8.5	0.684
Richmond	0.9	1.2	1.0	0.705
Sample Size	346	346	692	

Note: There are no statistically significant differences between RWA and control groups on the characteristics included in this table.

be measured and which may affect the clients' recidivism. Family support may be especially important for day program clients as they do not receive housing from RWA and might live with



family members. It is important to take note of these immeasurable group differences as we assess the criminal justice impacts of the program.

**Table 5.5** Pre-Release Characteristics: RWA Day Program Participants versus Matched Control Group

Pre-Release Characteristic	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Total Sample	P-Value
<u>Demographic Information</u>				
Age (years)	35.1	34.9	35.0	0.783
Male (%)	89.2	91.7	90.4	0.228
Race (%)				
Non-Latino Black	81.9	83.4	82.6	0.575
Non-Latino White	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.317
Latino	17.1	15.4	16.2	0.501
Birthplace (%)				
Born in the US	94.0	94.0	94.0	1.000
Born in New York State	85.6	84.4	85.0	0.620
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>				
Arrests				
Age at first arrest (years)	20.3	20.1	20.2	0.709
Number of arrests	7.5	7.2	7.4	0.684
Convictions				
Ever convicted of violent crime (%)	64.7	67.5	66.1	0.410
Ever convicted of property crime (%)	42.6	43.8	43.2	0.721
Ever convicted of drug crime (%)	62.5	66.5	64.5	0.236
Number of felony convictions	2.4	2.4	2.4	0.959
Number of misdemeanor convictions	3.5	3.2	3.3	0.419
Last prison release				
Estimated months of last prison spell	52.1	52.7	52.4	0.880
Last conviction				
Last conviction was a felony (%)	81.1	80.4	80.7	0.788
County of last conviction (%)				
New York	31.7	35.8	33.8	0.230
Kings	29.0	26.2	27.6	0.383
Bronx	14.1	10.6	12.3	0.131
Queens	13.9	14.9	14.4	0.686
Richmond	0.8	1.3	1.0	0.478
Sample Size	397	397	794	

Note: There are no statistically significant differences between RWA and control groups on the characteristics included in this table.

The baseline characteristics of the day program sample are fairly similar to those of the full sample. However, there are two important differences. The clients in the day program sample are younger than the full sample (the average age is 35 compared to 39). In addition, these clients, on average, have less of a criminal history. They have about three fewer total arrests and two fewer misdemeanor convictions than clients in the full sample.

### *Residential Program Sample and Match*

Table 5.6 shows the baseline characteristics of the RWA residential clients and the non-RWA parolees in the matched residential program sample. There are no statistically significant differences between the two groups, so we can infer that the only measurable difference is participation in RWA. However, once again it is important to note that there could potentially be other differences between the two groups that cannot be measured, such as family support, housing insecurity, and motivation. The baseline characteristics of the residential program sample do not look substantially different from those of the full sample.

### **Impact Analysis**

The impacts of the RWA program are calculated using a separate regression analysis predicting each outcome. The regression models control pre-release characteristics, including age, race, gender, birthplace, number of arrests, a dummy variable each indicating whether the person had a violent felony, property, drug, and public order conviction, number of felony convictions, estimated length of last prison stay, and total number of months sentenced to prison. For each outcome, the tables report the adjusted means, resulting from this analysis, for the RWA group and the control group; the difference between the two means; and the p-value. The

p-value indicates the probability that one would be making an error by concluding that there is a difference in means between the two groups.

**Table 5.6** Pre-Release Characteristics: RWA Residential Program Participants versus Matched Control Group

Pre-Release Characteristic	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Total Sample	P-Value
<u>Demographic Information</u>				
Age (years)	40.7	41.0	40.8	0.541
Male (%)	96.5	96.5	96.5	1.000
Race (%)				
Non-Latino Black	73.3	72.5	72.9	0.733
Non-Latino White	5.2	6.4	5.8	0.331
Latino	21.0	20.7	20.8	0.901
Birthplace (%)				
Born in the US	92.7	93.1	92.9	0.768
Born in New York State	80.6	82.1	81.3	0.437
<u>Criminal Justice History</u>				
Arrests				
Age at first arrest (years)	20.9	21.1	21.0	0.409
Number of arrests	12.2	11.7	12.0	0.364
Convictions				
Ever convicted of violent crime (%)	65.7	66.2	66.0	0.831
Ever convicted of property crime (%)	60.7	61.6	61.2	0.717
Ever convicted of drug crime (%)	74.4	74.3	74.4	0.954
Number of felony convictions	3.0	2.9	2.9	0.843
Number of misdemeanor convictions	6.6	6.0	6.3	0.247
Last prison release				
Estimated months of last prison spell	50.1	53.2	51.6	0.287
Last conviction				
Last conviction was a felony (%)	74.4	72.6	73.5	0.423
County of last conviction (%)				
New York	48.1	45.5	46.8	0.311
Kings	21.9	22.0	21.9	0.951
Bronx	15.6	17.0	16.3	0.452
Queens	7.5	8.6	8.1	0.458
Richmond	1.5	1.3	1.4	0.668
Sample Size	782	782	1564	

Note: There are no statistically significant differences between RWA and control groups on the characteristics included in this table.

The analysis measures three sets of impacts – arrests, convictions, and incarceration sentencing – at six months, one year, two years, and three years following prison release. All outcomes are cumulative. The data do not include actual prison and jail admission dates. Therefore, the sentencing information is used as a proxy for stays in prison and jail. However, since the data show sentencing information only, these are not ideal measures; there is no way to know whether these individuals actually went to prison or jail for a given sentence.

### **Full Sample Results**

This section presents arrest, conviction, and sentencing results for the full sample. This sample includes all RWA participants matched to non-RWA individuals, and their matched control group counterparts. Overall, there are significant differences between the two groups on several criminal justice measures within two years of prison release, with RWA participants being less likely to experience involvement with the criminal justice system in the first two years after prison release.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Arrest*

Table 5.7 shows the estimated impacts of RWA participation on arrest outcomes at six months, one year, two years, and three years. Overall, the table shows that RWA participants were significantly less likely to be arrested across several categories of arrest, especially during the first year following prison release. However, the difference between the RWA group and the participant group decreases over time.

The top panel shows estimated impacts on all arrests during these time periods. RWA participation is associated with a significantly lower probability of arrest starting in the first six months and lasting through two years. In the first six months, the control group members were

**Table 5.7** Arrest Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Full Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Arrested (%)					
6 months	7.9	15.1	-7.2	0.000	***
1 year	16.7	26.7	-10.0	0.000	***
2 years	32.9	37.3	-4.4	0.056	*
3 years	48.1	50.4	-2.3	0.507	
Number of arrests					
6 months	0.1	0.2	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.2	0.4	-0.2	0.000	***
2 years	0.6	0.8	-0.2	0.000	***
3 years	1.0	1.3	-0.4	0.000	***
Arrested for a felony (%)					
6 months	4.9	7.4	-2.5	0.009	***
1 year	9.7	14.3	-4.6	0.001	***
2 years	19.3	23.3	-4.1	0.063	*
3 years	30.0	32.9	-3.0	0.389	
Arrested for a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	3.4	8.7	-5.2	0.000	***
1 year	8.9	15.8	-6.9	0.000	***
2 years	18.7	23.5	-4.8	0.018	**
3 years	29.3	35.4	-6.1	0.088	*
Arrested for a violent crime (%)					
6 months	1.2	2.6	-1.3	0.020	**
1 year	2.8	4.9	-2.2	0.011	**
2 years	6.4	7.1	-0.7	0.559	
3 years	9.1	10.5	-1.4	0.545	
Arrested for a drug crime (%)					
6 months	3.5	6.7	-3.3	0.000	***
1 year	8.7	13.3	-4.6	0.001	***
2 years	17.8	22.3	-4.6	0.027	**
3 years	31.5	33.6	-2.0	0.537	
Arrested for a property crime (%)					
6 months	1.5	3.5	-2.0	0.002	***
1 year	3.3	6.3	-2.9	0.002	***
2 years	9.0	9.0	-0.3	0.785	
3 years	12.4	11.5	0.9	0.741	
Arrested for a public order crime (%)					
6 months	1.9	3.9	-2.0	0.005	**
1 year	4.4	7.3	-2.9	0.005	***
2 years	8.9	10.8	-1.9	0.160	
3 years	17.3	16.5	0.8	0.840	
Sample Size	1,126	1,134	2,354		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

nearly twice as likely to be arrested as RWA participants. In the first year, RWA participants were 10 percentage points less likely to be arrested than control group members. However, the difference between groups begins to decline to a 4 percentage point difference after two years, and it declines further into the third year after release.

The second panel of Table 5.7 shows estimated impacts on numbers of arrests over the three-year follow-up period. The number of arrests was low for both groups, which averaged about one arrest each per person. However, RWA participants were arrested a significantly fewer number of times at each of the time periods through year three. Over the three years, the RWA participant group averaged 0.4 fewer arrests than the control group, a thirty percent reduction in the number of arrests over three years.

The third and fourth panels of the table show estimated impacts on misdemeanor and felony arrests. The results show that RWA participants were less likely to be arrested for a felony charge by six months, one year, and two years following prison release, resulting in a 4 percentage point difference after two years. With misdemeanor arrests, the estimated impacts last longer, through the end of the three-year follow-up, with RWA participants being six percentage points less likely to be arrested for a misdemeanor over the three-year period.

Finally, the bottom four panels of Table 5.7 show estimated impacts on arrests by charge category, including violent, drug, property, and public order arrests. The results suggest that the impact on arrests through year two is driven primarily by a reduction in drug arrests. RWA participants were five percentage points less likely than control group members to be arrested for a drug crime two years following prison release.

**Table 5.8** Conviction Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Full Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Convicted (%)					
6 months	3.1	8.0	-4.9	0.000	***
1 year	11.5	19.1	-7.6	0.000	***
2 years	26.9	32.6	-5.7	0.012	**
3 years	42.9	47.5	-4.6	0.219	
Number of convictions					
6 months	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.1	0.3	-0.1	0.000	***
2 years	0.5	0.6	-0.2	0.000	***
3 years	0.8	1.1	-0.3	0.000	***
Convicted of a felony (%)					
6 months	0.2	0.5	-0.4	0.120	
1 year	2.7	3.2	-0.4	0.628	
2 years	7.5	7.8	-0.3	0.814	
3 years	14.0	12.2	1.8	0.543	
Convicted of a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	2.7	6.2	-3.5	0.000	***
1 year	8.3	13.9	-5.6	0.000	***
2 years	19.2	24.1	-4.8	0.017	**
3 years	30.5	36.7	-6.2	0.083	*
Convicted of a violent crime (%)					
6 months	0.1	0.8	-0.7	0.031	**
1 year	1.1	2.4	-1.3	0.035	**
2 years	2.1	4.7	-2.5	0.013	**
3 years	3.1	7.0	-3.9	0.024	**
Convicted of a drug crime (%)					
6 months	1.7	3.0	-1.3	0.025	**
1 year	6.0	8.1	-2.1	0.035	**
2 years	14.5	17.3	-2.8	0.123	
3 years	28.9	29.8	-0.9	0.772	
Convicted of a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.4	2.1	-1.7	0.000	***
1 year	2.2	4.6	-2.4	0.003	***
2 years	7.5	7.9	-0.4	0.701	
3 years	11.3	11.2	0.1	0.930	
Convicted of a public order crime (%)					
6 months	1.2	2.6	-1.4	0.015	**
1 year	3.7	6.3	-2.7	0.006	***
2 years	9.5	12.4	-2.9	0.060	*
3 years	15.7	17.7	-2.0	0.474	
Sample Size	1,126	1,134	2,354		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

### *Estimated Impacts on Conviction*

Table 5.8 shows the estimated impacts of RWA participation on conviction outcomes. Overall, as with arrests, RWA participants were significantly less likely to be convicted of a crime and these effects are largest in the first two years following prison release. After two years from release, 27 percent of the RWA participant group was convicted of a crime, compared with 33 percent of the control group.

Similar to the results for the number of arrests, we also find a significant decrease in the number of convictions over the three-year follow-up period. Over three years, RWA participant group members were convicted 0.8 times, on average, compared with 1.1 times among matched control group members, a three-year reduction in convictions of 27 percent.

The third and fourth panels of the table show estimated impacts on felony convictions and misdemeanor convictions, respectively. These results suggest that the overall impacts on convictions are driven primarily by impacts on misdemeanors, the more numerous conviction category. The felony conviction rates are fairly low for both groups, with about 8 percent convicted of a felony within two years of prison release. At this low conviction rate, differences between the client and control group are quite small. However, there are significant estimated impacts on misdemeanor convictions throughout the three-year follow-up period. Within three years of prison release, RWA participant group members were 6 percentage points less likely to be convicted of a misdemeanor.

The last four panels of Table 5.8 show significant differences in convictions across all four charge categories in the first year following prison release. For the most part, these differences decline over the follow-up period. The effects of RWA on reductions in violent crime, however, are significantly large and long-lasting. Within three years of prison release,



RWA participants were only 3 percent likely to be convicted of a violent crime, compared with 7 percent in the matched control group, a sustained reduction in violence of over 50 percent.

*Estimated Impacts on Sentences to Prison and Jail*

Table 5.9 shows full sample estimated impacts on sentences to prison and jail. The results show no differences between the two groups in sentences to prison. Just over 10 percent of

**Table 5.9** Incarceration Sentence Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Full Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
<b>Sentenced to prison (%)</b>					
6 months	0.2	0.5	-0.4	0.120	
1 year	2.6	2.7	-0.0	0.974	
2 years	7.2	7.3	-0.1	0.846	
3 years	12.8	11.6	1.2	0.703	
<b>Length of prison sentence (months)</b>					
6 months	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.461	
1 year	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.912	
2 years	1.4	1.8	-0.4	0.581	
3 years	2.2	1.5	0.7	0.513	
<b>Sentences to jail (%)</b>					
6 months	1.4	4.1	-2.7	0.000	***
1 year	4.7	9.5	-4.8	0.000	***
2 years	12.0	16.0	-4.0	0.024	**
3 years	16.8	26.0	-9.2	0.004	***
<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>1,126</b>	<b>1,134</b>	<b>2,354</b>		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

members in both groups were re-sentenced to prison within three years of release. Similarly, there are no differences in total months of prison sentences.<sup>10</sup> However, perhaps reflective of the estimated impacts on misdemeanor convictions, there are large significant differences in the

<sup>10</sup> The analysis includes zeroes where there was no prison sentence.

more common occurrence of jail incarceration throughout the three-year follow-up period. Within three years of release, 17 percent of RWA participant group members were sentenced to jail, compared with 26 percent of control group members.

### **RWA Graduate Results**

This section compares the outcomes of RWA graduates with the outcomes of the non-RWA New York City parolees to which they were matched. Overall, the results for graduates show generally larger impacts than those for the full sample, but the patterns are very similar. Generally, there are significant differences between graduates and the matched control group though these effects tend to be strongest in the first years after release when the risks of recidivism are highest.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Arrest*

Table 5.10 shows estimated impacts on arrests. There are large differences in arrests across several arrest measures through the two years following prison release. While 37 percent of other matched control group parolees were arrested within two years, only 21 percent of RWA participants were arrested in that time. This 16-point reduction in arrest rates for RWA graduates is larger than the estimated impact for the full sample, and represents a 40 percent reduction in arrest rates over two years.

The second panel of Table 5.10 shows the adjusted mean number of arrests over the follow-up period. RWA graduates had significantly fewer arrests than the matched control group members after six months, one year, and two years following prison release. After two years,

**Table 5.10** Arrest Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Graduate Group versus Graduate Matched Control Group (Graduate Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Arrested (%)					
6 months	3.2	13.9	-10.7	0.000	***
1 year	6.2	26.0	-19.8	0.000	***
2 years	21.2	36.7	-15.5	0.000	***
3 years	42.3	43.1	-0.8	0.740	
Number of arrests					
6 months	0.0	0.2	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.1	0.4	-0.3	0.000	***
2 years	0.3	0.8	-0.4	0.000	***
3 years	0.8	0.9	-0.1	0.252	
Arrested for a felony (%)					
6 months	2.0	9.5	-7.5	0.000	***
1 year	3.5	15.2	-11.7	0.000	***
2 years	12.2	24.6	-12.3	0.001	***
3 years	25.9	24.8	1.2	0.993	
Arrested for a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	1.7	6.1	-4.3	0.004	***
1 year	3.3	15.2	-11.9	0.000	***
2 years	11.7	22.4	-10.7	0.002	***
3 years	25.6	26.3	-0.8	0.787	
Arrested for a violent crime (%)					
6 months	0.3	2.3	-2.0	0.029	**
1 year	0.6	4.4	-3.8	0.004	***
2 years	4.6	9.3	-4.7	0.047	**
3 years	11.2	10.9	0.3	0.974	
Arrested for a drug crime (%)					
6 months	1.4	6.9	-5.5	0.002	***
1 year	2.4	13.4	-11.0	0.000	***
2 years	9.6	20.9	-11.4	0.001	***
3 years	25.1	30.5	-5.4	0.320	
Arrested for a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.9	4.3	-3.5	0.007	***
1 year	1.8	8.4	-6.6	0.000	***
2 years	5.2	11.6	-6.4	0.018	**
3 years	12.1	9.2	2.9	0.492	
Arrested for a public order crime (%)					
6 months	0.6	2.0	-1.4	0.147	
1 year	1.5	5.3	-3.8	0.006	***
2 years	6.5	8.6	-2.1	0.384	
3 years	15.0	9.7	5.3	0.328	
Sample Size	345	346	690		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

RWA graduates averaged 0.3 arrests, compared with 0.8 arrests among the matched New York City parolees, though this effect declines by year three. Estimated impacts on felony arrests and misdemeanor arrests follow a similar pattern. As with other arrest measures, RWA graduates were less likely to be arrested for felonies and for misdemeanors in the first two years following prison release, with RWA participants about half as likely to be arrested during that time period.

The last four panels of Table 5.10 show estimated impacts of RWA graduation on arrests by type of crime. The results suggest the differences in arrests for this sample may be driven largely by differences in drug arrests, as there are particularly large differences in arrest rates for drug crimes; about 10 percent of RWA graduates are arrested within two years of prison release compared with 21 percent for matched control group members.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Conviction*

Table 5.11 shows differences in conviction rates between RWA graduates and matched control group members. These estimated impacts are similar to those for arrests. Overall, RWA graduates were less likely to be convicted through two years following prison release; 16 percent of RWA graduates were convicted of a crime compared with 31 percent of matched control group members.

For felony convictions, the significant differences among graduates are more lasting. RWA graduates are significantly less likely than matched control group members to be convicted of a crime within three years of release from prison (5.3 percent compared with 13.5 percent). There are also significant differences in misdemeanor convictions through two years following prison release (13.7 percent compared with 21.0 percent).

**Table 5.11** Conviction Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Graduate Group versus Graduate Matched Control Group (Graduate Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Convicted (%)					
6 months	1.5	7.8	-6.4	0.000	***
1 year	4.7	18.7	-14.0	0.000	***
2 years	15.9	31.1	-15.1	0.000	***
3 years	37.1	38.9	-1.8	0.695	
Number of convictions					
6 months	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.1	0.3	-0.2	0.000	***
2 years	0.2	0.6	-0.3	0.000	***
3 years	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.644	
Convicted of a felony (%)					
6 months	0.3	1.7	-1.4	0.063	*
1 year	0.9	5.5	-4.7	0.002	***
2 years	2.7	10.8	-8.1	0.001	***
3 years	5.3	13.5	-8.2	0.038	**
Convicted of a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	1.5	5.5	-4.0	0.004	***
1 year	3.5	12.5	-9.0	0.000	***
2 years	13.7	21.0	-7.3	0.019	**
3 years	32.2	23.4	8.9	0.202	
Convicted of a violent crime (%)					
6 months	NA	NA	NA	NA	
1 year	0.6	2.3	-1.8	0.093	*
2 years	1.3	4.6	-3.4	0.054	*
3 years	4.6	8.4	-3.7	0.351	*
Convicted of a drug crime (%)					
6 months	1.2	3.5	-2.3	0.038	**
1 year	1.8	9.6	-7.8	0.000	***
2 years	7.7	16.1	-8.4	0.003	***
3 years	19.3	22.9	-3.6	0.486	
Convicted of a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.3	2.0	-1.7	0.066	*
1 year	0.9	6.1	-5.2	0.001	***
2 years	4.1	9.9	-5.7	0.030	**
3 years	13.1	8.0	5.1	0.260	
Convicted of a public order crime (%)					
6 months	0.3	1.2	-0.9	0.223	
1 year	1.8	3.5	-1.8	0.162	
2 years	6.5	9.3	-2.9	0.205	
3 years	16.8	11.2	5.6	0.316	
Sample Size	345	346	691		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

The final four panels of Table 5.11 show conviction results by type of crime. The most striking effects are for violent crimes, where conviction rates for violence are persistently lower among RWA graduates than for the comparison, a reduction over three years of over 40 percent.

*Estimated Impacts on Sentences to Prison and Jail*

Finally, Table 5.12 shows estimated impacts for graduates on sentences to prison and jail. Unlike the results for the full sample, there are significant differences in prison sentences across the entire three-year follow-up period. Within three years of release from prison, about 5 percent of RWA graduates were sentenced to prison, compared with 13 percent of matched control group

**Table 5.12** Incarceration Sentence Impacts Years 1 to 3: Graduate RWA Group versus Graduate Matched Control Group (Graduate Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
<b>Sentenced to prison (%)</b>					
6 months	0.3	1.5	-1.2	0.094	*
1 year	0.9	5.4	-4.5	0.002	***
2 years	2.6	9.9	-7.2	0.002	***
3 years	5.4	12.9	-7.5	0.053	*
<b>Length of prison sentence (months)</b>					
6 months	0.0	0.3	-0.3	0.026	**
1 year	0.1	0.8	-0.8	0.013	**
2 years	0.5	1.8	-1.4	0.068	*
3 years	1.0	2.7	-1.8	0.263	
<b>Sentences to jail (%)</b>					
6 months	0.6	4.1	-3.5	0.003	***
1 year	2.4	8.4	-6.1	0.000	***
2 years	6.9	13.5	-6.6	0.012	**
3 years	17.2	13.4	3.8	0.553	
<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>346</b>	<b>691</b>		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* =10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

members. Through two years following prison release, RWA graduate group members were less likely to be sentenced to jail than were matched control group members.

### **RWA Day Program Results**

This section compares the criminal justice outcomes of participants in RWA's day program to the outcomes of their matched counterparts, non-RWA New York City parolees. The impacts for the day program clients are smaller than those of the full sample. However, the statistically significant results for the day program participants follow a similar pattern to those in the full sample and graduate sample. Day program clients are frequently less involved in crime, on average, than the comparison group, but in part because of the small sample sizes, the differences are frequently statistically insignificant.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Arrest*

Table 5.13 provides estimated arrest impacts for RWA day program clients and their matched control group at six months, one year, two years, and three years. On most measures of arrest, RWA day program participants were significantly less likely to be arrested in the first six months or year after being released from prison. The top panel indicates that within one year of release, about 14 percent of RWA day program clients are arrested compared to 20 percent of control group members. While this is a significant difference, it is a smaller estimated impact than the full sample of RWA participants, and after one year, the two groups are no longer significantly different.

The second panel of Table 5.13 shows the mean number of arrests for both RWA day program participants and their matched counterparts for the follow-up period. Both groups averaged less than one arrest for the entire period. For the first two years, RWA day program

**Table 5.13** Arrest Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Day Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Arrested (%)					
6 months	5.3	11.6	-6.3	0.001	***
1 year	14.2	20.1	-5.9	0.068	*
2 years	25.9	31.4	-5.4	0.260	
3 years	41.0	43.4	-2.5	0.879	
Number of arrests					
6 months	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.2	0.3	-0.1	0.001	***
2 years	0.4	0.7	-0.2	0.002	***
3 years	0.7	0.9	-0.2	0.104	
Arrested for a felony (%)					
6 months	4.0	7.1	-3.1	0.050	**
1 year	8.1	11.3	-3.2	0.196	
2 years	14.9	20.3	-5.4	0.229	
3 years	25.7	29.4	-3.6	0.655	
Arrested for a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	1.3	5.6	-4.3	0.001	***
1 year	7.4	11.6	-4.3	0.079	*
2 years	13.4	18.1	-4.8	0.158	
3 years	20.3	26.6	-6.3	0.164	
Arrested for a violent crime (%)					
6 months	1.5	2.0	-0.5	0.787	
1 year	3.5	3.9	-0.3	0.883	
2 years	6.4	7.5	-1.1	0.917	
3 years	9.4	11.9	-2.5	0.627	
Arrested for a drug crime (%)					
6 months	2.5	6.0	-3.4	0.014	**
1 year	7.8	10.1	-2.2	0.368	
2 years	14.7	15.8	-1.0	0.970	
3 years	23.8	24.2	-0.4	0.877	
Arrested for a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.8	1.9	-1.2	0.155	
1 year	1.5	3.9	-2.4	0.052	*
2 years	5.0	7.8	-2.7	0.236	
3 years	9.2	7.1	2.1	0.472	
Arrested for a public order crime (%)					
6 months	0.5	2.2	-1.7	0.020	**
1 year	2.3	4.9	-2.6	0.060	*
2 years	4.9	9.3	-4.4	0.065	*
3 years	12.3	14.5	-2.1	0.613	
Sample Size	354	397	751		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.



participants were arrested significantly fewer times than members of the control group. At year two, they averaged 0.3 arrests fewer than matched NYC parolees. At year three, the difference between the two groups on number of arrests was no longer significant.

The third and fourth panels show estimated impacts on felony and misdemeanor arrests. As with the full sample, the impacts for misdemeanor arrests last longer for RWA day program participants than the impacts for felony arrests. Six months after prison release, RWA participants were 3 percentage points less likely than members of the control group to be arrested on a felony charge. This impact disappears after six months. For misdemeanor arrests, the effect lasts a bit longer, as RWA day program participants were 4.3 percentage points less likely to be arrested after one year, though this effect also decays in the following year.

The last four panels of Table 5.13 differentiate arrests by the type of charge. Similar to the full sample and graduate sample, RWA day program participants were less likely than their matched counterparts to be arrested for a drug crime six months after prison release. Our analysis indicates that 2.5 percent of RWA participants were arrested for a drug crime, compared to 6 percent of the control group. However, this effect is no longer statistically significant after six months. RWA day program clients are also significantly less likely to be arrested for a public order crime in the two years following prison release.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Conviction*

Table 5.14 provides the estimated impacts on conviction outcomes for RWA day program participants and their matched counterparts. These results follow a similar pattern as the results for arrest outcomes. Within one year after prison release, 8.6 percent of RWA day program participants were convicted of a crime, compared to 14.4 percent of the control group.

**Table 5.14** Conviction Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Graduate Control Group (Day Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Convicted (%)					
6 months	0.8	7.1	-6.3	0.000	***
1 year	8.6	14.4	-5.8	0.020	**
2 years	21.7	25.5	-3.8	0.471	
3 years	35.5	36.3	-0.8	0.864	
Number of convictions					
6 months	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.1	0.2	-0.1	0.001	***
2 years	0.3	0.5	-0.2	0.009	***
3 years	0.6	0.7	-0.1	0.433	
Convicted of a felony (%)					
6 months	0.0	1.1	-1.1	0.028	**
1 year	2.0	3.3	-1.3	0.269	
2 years	6.6	9.7	-3.1	0.226	
3 years	10.1	11.8	-1.7	0.841	
Convicted of a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	0.8	4.5	-3.8	0.003	***
1 year	5.8	10.5	-4.7	0.038	**
2 years	14.6	17.6	-3.0	0.547	
3 years	24.2	28.1	-3.9	0.575	
Convicted of a violent crime (%)					
6 months	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.000	
1 year	1.5	2.9	-1.4	0.238	
2 years	2.2	5.8	-3.6	0.078	*
3 years	3.3	10.6	-7.3	0.020	**
Convicted of a drug crime (%)					
6 months	0.8	3.9	-3.2	0.006	***
1 year	4.3	6.0	-1.7	0.334	
2 years	10.1	14.3	-4.2	0.202	
3 years	21.4	20.1	1.2	0.619	
Convicted of a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.0	1.1	-1.1	0.027	**
1 year	0.8	3.7	-2.9	0.019	**
2 years	4.7	6.2	-1.4	0.606	
3 years	6.2	6.3	-0.1	0.841	
Convicted of a public order crime (%)					
6 months	0.0	1.7	-1.7	0.010	***
1 year	3.0	3.6	-0.6	0.602	
2 years	7.9	6.8	1.1	0.461	
3 years	13.7	11.7	2.0	0.534	
Sample Size	354	397	751		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

However, after one year, there are no significant differences between the two groups. The second panel shows that both groups averaged less than one conviction within three years of release from prison. Within two years, the RWA day program participants averaged 0.2 fewer convictions than those in the control group.

Similar to arrest impacts, the estimated impacts of RWA day program participation last slightly longer for misdemeanor convictions than for felony convictions. Within one year of prison release, RWA day program participants were nearly 5 percentage points less likely to be convicted of a misdemeanor than members of the control group. For felony convictions, the significant difference between the two groups is short-lived, lasting only for the first six months following prison release.

The last four panels of Table 5.14 provide conviction results by type of crime. For drug crimes, property crimes, and public order crimes, RWA day program participants were less likely to be convicted than their matched counterparts for the first six months after prison release. For property crimes, the significant difference between the two groups extends to one year. Within one year of prison release, only 0.8 percent of day program clients were convicted of a property crime, compared to 3.7 percent of the control group.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Sentences to Prison and Jail*

Table 5.15 provides the estimated impacts on sentences to prison and jail for the RWA day program sample. There is a slight significant difference between day program participants and members of the control group on prison sentences within six months of release – no day program participants were sentenced to prison after six months, while just under 1 percent of the control group received a prison sentence. The significant effect is slightly larger for jail

sentences. Within one year, RWA day program clients were 3.4 percentage points less likely to be sentenced to jail than their matched counterparts. Yet, as with measures of arrests and conviction for the day program clients, the significant effect of program participation dissipates after one year following prison release.

**Table 5.15** Incarceration Sentence Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Day Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Sentenced to prison (%)					
6 months	0.0	0.9	-0.9	0.081	*
1 year	2.0	2.9	-0.9	0.457	
2 years	5.6	8.8	-3.2	0.205	
3 years	8.7	11.9	-3.2	0.427	
Length of prison sentence (months)					
6 months	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.309	
1 year	0.2	0.5	-0.3	0.204	
2 years	0.6	1.9	-1.3	0.113	
3 years	0.1	4.1	-3.9	0.110	
Sentences to jail (%)					
6 months	0.5	2.8	-2.3	0.009	***
1 year	4.1	7.5	-3.4	0.056	*
2 years	9.0	12.6	-3.6	0.197	
3 years	13.4	15.1	-1.7	0.817	
Sample Size	354	397	751		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* =10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

### RWA Residential Program Results

This section provides criminal justice outcomes for RWA residential program participants compared to the matched control group of non-RWA New York City parolees. The absolute outcomes for residential program participants are smaller than those of the day program participants, but participation in the residential program leads to significantly larger impacts on nearly all measures compared to participation in the day program. This indicates that residential

program participants are a higher risk group, but that RWA has a larger effect on their criminal recidivism.

### *Estimated Impacts on Arrest*

Table 5.16 shows estimated impacts on arrests. On most measures of arrest, residential program participants are significantly different than members of the control group two years following prison release. The first panel shows that the difference between the two groups is fairly large in the first six months. RWA residential program participants were 10 percentage points less likely to be arrested than their matched counterparts. Within two years, 43.4 percent of the control group was arrested compared to 38 percent of the RWA group, a five percentage point difference. The difference in arrest rates between the two groups is no longer significant three years after prison release.

The second panel provides the mean number of arrests for both groups within the follow-up period. Though the number of arrests is low for both groups, participants in the RWA residential program have significantly fewer arrests for all three years following release from prison. At the three year mark, the RWA group averaged 1.3 arrests per person, while the control group averaged 1.5 arrests per person, a long-lasting arrest reduction of 13 percent.

As shown in the third and fourth panels, RWA residential program participants are significantly less likely than members of the control group to be arrested for a felony within one year of release from prison. The effects last slightly longer for misdemeanor arrests, a trend seen among the full sample and day program participants. Within two years of release from prison, about 30 percent of the control group is arrested on a misdemeanor charge compared to only 22 percent of RWA residential program participants.

**Table 5.16** Arrest Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Residential Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Arrested (%)					
6 months	9.5	19.5	-10.0	0.000	***
1 year	18.3	27.6	-9.3	0.000	***
2 years	38.0	43.4	-5.5	0.079	*
3 years	57.2	53.5	3.7	0.510	
Number of arrests					
6 months	0.1	0.3	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.3	0.4	-0.2	0.000	***
2 years	0.7	1.1	-0.3	0.000	***
3 years	1.3	1.5	-0.3	0.030	**
Arrested for a felony (%)					
6 months	5.5	9.2	-3.8	0.005	***
1 year	10.7	15.6	-4.9	0.009	***
2 years	23.0	27.4	-4.4	0.133	
3 years	35.1	31.8	3.4	0.582	
Arrested for a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	4.6	11.2	-6.6	0.000	***
1 year	9.6	16.3	-6.7	0.000	***
2 years	21.8	29.5	-7.7	0.007	***
3 years	38.9	40.9	-2.1	0.635	
Arrested for a violent crime (%)					
6 months	1.2	3.8	-2.6	0.002	***
1 year	2.4	4.7	-2.3	0.028	**
2 years	6.8	8.2	-1.4	0.440	
3 years	10.2	14.4	-4.2	0.213	
Arrested for a drug crime (%)					
6 months	4.0	8.3	-4.3	0.001	***
1 year	9.1	15.4	-6.2	0.001	***
2 years	19.5	27.2	-7.7	0.009	***
3 years	38.1	33.5	4.6	0.431	
Arrested for a property crime (%)					
6 months	1.9	3.4	-1.5	0.067	*
1 year	4.6	6.2	-1.6	0.157	
2 years	11.6	12.0	-0.4	0.870	
3 years	16.6	17.7	-1.1	0.889	
Arrested for a public order crime (%)					
6 months	2.7	5.5	-2.8	0.004	***
1 year	5.3	7.9	-2.6	0.036	**
2 years	11.4	15.2	-3.8	0.055	*
3 years	23.6	23.0	0.6	0.991	
Sample Size	731	655	1,386		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

The last four panels of Table 5.16 differentiate arrest outcomes by the type of crime. The largest difference in arrest rates between RWA residential program participants and their matched counterparts again appear to be for drug-related crimes. Within two years following release from prison, the RWA group was 7.7 percentage points less likely to be arrested for a drug crime. The arrest impact is also significant within two years for public order crimes. However, the difference is not as large, as RWA residential program participants were only 3.9 percentage points less likely to be arrested for a public order crime than members of the control group.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Conviction*

Table 5.17 shows the differences in conviction rates between RWA residential program participants and matched control group members. Within two years of prison release, members of the RWA group were less likely to be convicted – about 31 percent of the RWA residential program clients were convicted of a crime compared to about 38 percent of their matched counterparts. If we count the number of convictions, the program effect for the residential is persistently significant, reducing convictions over three years by over 20 percent (1.0 compared to 1.3 average convictions).

The third and fourth panels show that significant impacts last slightly longer for misdemeanor convictions than for felony convictions, which is similar to the day program participants. For felony convictions, RWA residential program participants and their matched counterparts are only significantly different within six months of their prison release. However, for misdemeanor convictions, this effect lasts for a year. Within one year of prison release, over 15 percent of the control group was convicted of a misdemeanor, while only 9.7 percent of the

**Table 5.17** Conviction Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Graduate Control Group (Residential Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Convicted (%)					
6 months	4.3	13.0	-8.7	0.000	***
1 year	13.2	21.1	-7.9	0.000	***
2 years	30.8	37.5	-6.7	0.027	**
3 years	53.4	49.0	4.4	0.454	
Number of convictions					
6 months	0.1	0.2	-0.1	0.000	***
1 year	0.2	0.3	-0.1	0.000	***
2 years	0.5	0.9	-0.3	0.000	***
3 years	1.0	1.3	-0.3	0.019	**
Convicted of a felony (%)					
6 months	0.3	2.4	-2.1	0.002	***
1 year	3.2	4.5	-1.3	0.250	
2 years	8.9	10.2	-1.3	0.505	
3 years	19.1	12.2	6.9	0.104	
Convicted of a misdemeanor (%)					
6 months	3.7	9.8	-6.1	0.000	***
1 year	9.7	15.3	-5.6	0.002	***
2 years	22.4	26.6	-4.2	0.111	
3 years	38.8	40.4	-1.5	0.742	
Convicted of a violent crime (%)					
6 months	0.1	1.2	-1.0	0.039	**
1 year	0.8	3.1	-2.3	0.007	***
2 years	2.4	6.0	-3.6	0.018	**
3 years	4.1	9.9	-5.8	0.047	**
Convicted of a drug crime (%)					
6 months	2.2	4.5	-2.3	0.011	**
1 year	6.9	9.1	-2.2	0.132	
2 years	17.1	20.8	-3.7	0.150	
3 years	36.7	30.7	6.0	0.261	
Convicted of a property crime (%)					
6 months	0.5	2.7	-2.2	0.002	***
1 year	3.1	3.9	-0.8	0.370	
2 years	9.6	9.4	0.2	0.958	
3 years	16.1	16.1	0.0	0.947	
Convicted of a public order crime (%)					
6 months	1.8	5.1	-3.3	0.001	***
1 year	4.0	8.8	-4.8	0.001	***
2 years	10.4	15.4	-5.0	0.026	**
3 years	18.1	22.1	-3.9	0.268	
Sample Size	731	655	1,386		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* = 10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.



RWA group was convicted of a misdemeanor. After one year, however, the significant difference between the two groups is no longer present.

In the last four panels of Table 5.17, convictions results are shown by type of crime. The largest impacts are among convictions for violent crimes. RWA residential program participants are significantly less likely than members of the control group to be convicted of a violent crime over the entire three-year follow-up period (4.1 percent compared to 9.9 percent). The difference between the two groups is also significant for public order crimes within two years. For property crimes and drug crimes, RWA residential program participants are less likely to be convicted than their matched counterparts within the first six months of their release from prison.

#### *Estimated Impacts on Sentences to Prison and Jail*

Finally, Table 5.18 provides estimated impacts on sentences to prison and jail for RWA residential program participants. The results are very similar to those of the day program participants. RWA residential program participants were 1.7 percentage points less likely to receive a new prison sentence within six months of release compared to members of the control group. Yet, the two groups do not significantly differ on prison sentences for the remainder of the follow-up period. The impact is larger for jail sentences. Within one year of release from prison, 5 percent of RWA residential program participants were sentenced to jail compared to almost 10 percent of their matched counterparts. This reduction in jail incarceration becomes larger in the follow-up period, as RWA residential program participants were nearly 11 percentage points less likely to be sentenced to jail after three years than members of the control group.

**Table 5.18** Incarceration Sentence Impacts Years 1 to 3: RWA Group versus Matched Control Group (Residential Program Sample)

Outcome	RWA Group	Matched Control Group	Difference	P-Value	
Sentenced to prison (%)					
6 months	0.3	2.0	-1.7	0.002	*
1 year	3.0	4.1	-1.0	0.333	
2 years	8.8	8.8	0.0	0.971	
3 years	18.1	11.3	6.8	0.100	
Length of prison sentence (months)					
6 months	0.0	0.2	-0.2	0.090	*
1 year	0.4	0.5	-0.2	0.365	
2 years	2.6	2.2	0.4	0.661	
3 years	4.2	2.0	2.2	0.181	
Sentences to jail (%)					
6 months	1.9	5.8	-4.0	0.000	***
1 year	5.0	9.9	-4.9	0.001	*
2 years	13.7	19.0	-5.2	0.030	**
3 years	20.2	30.9	-10.7	0.012	**
Sample Size	731	655	1,386		

Statistical significance levels: \*\*\* = 1 percent, \*\* = 5 percent, \* =10 percent

Note: The difference between client and comparison group means may not equal the reported difference due to rounding.

## Summary and Discussion of Criminal Justice Impacts

In sum, RWA participants are 4 percentage points less likely than their matched counterparts to be arrested within two years of release from prison. Clients who graduate from the program are 16 percentage points less likely to be arrested within two years. The most persistent effects can be found for the number of arrests and jail incarceration. Over three years RWA clients record 30 percent fewer arrests than the comparison group. Both RWA participants and RWA graduates are significantly less likely to be sentenced to jail than their matched counterparts. When we examine participants in the RWA day program and RWA residential program, the absolute outcomes of program participation are larger for RWA day clients. Fourteen percent of day participants are re-arrested within one year of release from prison compared to 18 percent of residential participants. Though day program clients have lower re-

arrest rates, residential clients experience the largest program impacts as they are significantly less likely to be re-arrested than their matched counterparts within two years of release from prison. The program effects for day program participants, when measuring arrest rates, are no longer present after one year. While these results are impressive, there is also evidence that program effects on some outcomes decay over time. In particular, weaker evidence for program effects in year three may suggest the need for continuing assistance with housing and employment for some clients.

## VI. COSTS AND BENEFITS

RWA provides an array of intensive services -- including housing, employment, vocational training, and social services -- to help men transition out of homelessness. In this section we weigh the costs of these activities against the quantifiable benefits both to the clients and society more broadly. Because of the focus of our evaluation on criminal justice impacts, our cost and benefit analysis is limited to clients who were released from prison between 2006 and 2009 and who participated in RWA soon after their release.

### Program Costs

Table 6.1 summarizes the costs of RWA, broken down by program areas compiled from The Doe Fund's 2009 financial audit. The total costs are based on a capacity of 842 slots, the total number of program places available for the duration of this particular year. The annual program cost per slot describes the expenses incurred by one client for a full year. However, because of early graduation or attrition, each client spends an average of 5.2 months in the program. The costs of RWA per client are obtained by multiplying per-slot costs by 5.2/12. Based on the 2009 total RWA cost of \$28,237,725, the program cost per annual slot is \$33,357 and the cost per client is \$14,533.

We disaggregate these total costs into six main areas. Staff salaries comprise the largest spending area, half of total costs. Program personnel include residential staff, such as maintenance workers; social service staff, such as case managers; and work and training staff who supervise the clients in their transitional employment. Staff salaries average out to \$9,435 per slot and \$4,088 per client. The yearly wages paid to the trainees for this transitional employment total over \$5 million after the room and board fee that the trainees pay is subtracted

from their wages. When divided among the entire program, wages for transitional employment cost \$6,676 per slot and \$2,893 per client.

**Table 6.1. Program Costs of Ready, Willing & Able**

Description of Cost	2009 Total (\$)	Per Slot (\$)	Per Client (\$)
Residential and Social Service Salaries	7,859,762	9,335	4,045
Work and Training Staff Salaries	7,944,108	9,435	4,088
Wages Paid to Trainees	5,621,169 <sup>1</sup>	6,676	2,893
Client Services <sup>2</sup>	3,805,954	4,520	1,959
Occupancy Costs <sup>3</sup>	2,286,061	2,715	1,177
Aid to Clients <sup>4</sup>	720,671	856	371
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,237,725</b>	<b>33,537</b>	<b>14,533</b>

<sup>1</sup> This calculation is the total cost of trainee wages less room and board paid by the trainees.

<sup>2</sup> Client services include recreational activities, client supplies, medical supplies, contracted medical services, client transportation, laundry services, adult education, outreach services, program supplies, and client furniture.

<sup>3</sup> Occupancy costs include rental expense, real estate taxes, property and casualty insurance, facility and building maintenance services, and utilities expenses.

<sup>4</sup> Aid to Clients includes direct financial aid, grants and allocations, and the trainee matching grant.

Note: The 2009 total costs are compiled from The Doe Fund's 2009 financial audit. The costs are based on a capacity of 842 slots. Since each client spends an average of 5.2 months in the program, we multiplied the per slot costs by (5.2/12) to obtain the per client costs. By this calculation, 842 slots annually yield 1,943 participants in RWA. All figures are in 2009 dollars.

In addition to an opportunity to work, RWA provides a number of other services to clients. Some of the costs included under Client Services are medical supplies, laundry services, transportation, and educational programming. These total almost \$4 million dollars a year, with a per slot cost of \$4,520 and a per client cost of \$1,959. An important part of RWA is its ability to occupy entire buildings and provide a clean and welcoming living environment for its clients. Occupancy costs include the rent that RWA pays for its facilities, along with taxes, insurance, building maintenance, and utilities. Occupancy costs add up to just over \$2 million, averaging \$2,715 per slot and \$1,177 per client. Finally, besides paying wages to clients, RWA provides additional financial aid, recorded as Aid to Clients. Financial aid to clients includes grants given to program graduates, described in Section IV. The yearly total Aid to Clients is \$720,671,

which averages to \$856 per slot and \$371 per client. Combining the six categories of programs yields a year cost of **\$33,537** per slot and **\$14,533** per client.

## **Social Benefits**

Our data allow us to compare program costs to two main social benefits of the program. First, we consider the direct value of the program to the cities that contract for RWA services. In Table 6.2, we evaluate the social benefits of RWA to determine whether the benefits offset the high costs of running such an intensive program. We focus on two main types of quantifiable benefits: the value of the program and the monetary benefits of reduced crime and incarceration, calculated from the results of our criminal justice impact analysis in Section V. First, we consider the direct value of the program to the cities that contract for RWA services. RWA provides transitional employment to its participants, and the focus of that employment is on improving the infrastructure and streets of New York City and Philadelphia. Local governments provide RWA with contracts to pay for their clients' services to the city. We estimate the value of these maintenance services at the dollar amount of the contracts, reported in The Doe Fund's 2009 financial audit. When we divided the total amount of contracts given to RWA by slots and clients, the social benefit of RWA's transitional employment is \$16,911 per slot and \$7,328 per client.

Second, using the results of our criminal justice impact analysis, we estimate the one-, two-, and three-year social benefits of reduced crime, reduced jail incarceration, and reduced imprisonment that result from participation in RWA. These benefits are cumulative, reflecting the reduced costs of victimization and corrections through the end of the first, second, and third years from program enrollment. The program benefit of reduced crime is based on stances of

program effects reported in Table 5.5. Our analysis demonstrates that the program effect of participation in RWA is 0.2 fewer arrests after one year compared to a matched control group, 0.2 fewer arrests after two years, and 0.4 fewer arrests after three years. Research on the relationship between arrests and crime indicate that only 1 out of 10 offenses results in an arrest. Under this assumption, we calculate that participation in RWA prevents 2 crimes per client after one year, 2 crimes per client after two years, and 4 crimes per client after three years.

**Table 6.2. Social Benefits of Ready, Willing & Able**

Quantifiable Benefit	Program Effect	Per Slot (\$)	Per Client (\$)
Program Value		16,911	7,328
<i>One-Year Benefit</i>			
Reduced Crime (no. of arrests)	-0.2*	10,892	4,720
Reduced Jail Incarceration (%)	-4.8*	1,011	438
Reduced Imprisonment (%)	-0.0	0	0
<b>Total One-Year Benefit</b>		<b>28,814</b>	<b>12,486</b>
<i>Two-Year Benefit</i>			
Reduced Crime (no. of arrests)	-0.2*	10,892	4,720
Reduced Jail Incarceration (%)	-4.0*	842	365
Reduced Imprisonment (%)	-0.1	0	0
<b>Total Two-Year Benefit</b>		<b>28,645</b>	<b>12,413</b>
<i>Three-Year Benefit</i>			
Reduced Crime (no. of arrests)	-0.4*	21,785	9,440
Reduced Jail Incarceration (%)	-9.2*	1,937	840
Reduced Imprisonment (%)	+1.2	0	0
<b>Total Three-Year Benefit</b>		<b>40,633</b>	<b>17,608</b>

\*Denotes statistically significant effect. The dollar benefits of insignificant effects are set to 0.

Note: The program value is calculated from The Doe Fund's 2009 financial audit. We assume that the dollar amount of contracts given to RWA is the value placed on the participants' street cleaning efforts by the city. The program effects are taken from Table 5.5 and Table 5.7 from the criminal justice impacts section of this report. The program effect for reduced crime is the reduced number of arrests of RWA participants compared to the matched control group, and the program effects for reduced jail and prison incarceration are the reductions in percentage of RWA participants incarcerated when compared to the matched control group. Previous research estimates that each arrest reflects between 7 and 15 crimes (Levitt 1996, Western 2008). For our calculations, we assume that 1 in every 10 crimes results in an arrest. Our estimate that each crime costs \$2,360 is based on previous estimates that account for factors such as medical costs and pain and suffering of victims (Cohen 1988; Miller et al. 1993; Levitt 1996; Western 2008; McCollister et al. 2010). To calculate the social benefit of reduced jail incarceration, we estimate that each person sent to jail spends an average of 1.5 months incarcerated (NYC Department of Correction 2009). Thus, we multiplied the program effects by (1.5/12). The yearly average cost of jail in New York City is based on an estimate of \$73,000 (NYC Council Committee on Fire & Criminal Justice Services 2003). Since the program effects for prison incarceration were not significant, we set the dollar benefits to 0. All figures are in 2009 dollars.

What is the dollar value of each crime prevented? Given the wide range of estimates in previous research, this figure is highly uncertain. Not only is there variance in the estimates of costs of crime, but there is variance in costs depending on the type and seriousness of the offense. Considering our analysis of program impacts on arrests, reported in Table 5.5, we estimate that about one-third of arrests prevented by RWA are for felonies, and two-thirds are for misdemeanors. As such, we chose a non-serious felony offense for our baseline crime valuation. Using the most recent research on the cost of crime, we use the cost to society of a household burglary, \$2,360, as our average cost of a crime to society (McCollister et al. 2010). This estimate includes costs to the victim, the loss of productivity to society due to someone's participation in crime, pain and suffering, and medical costs (McCollister et al. 2010). The estimate of \$2,360 does not include criminal justice system costs because we consider those using our estimates of program impacts on reduced incarceration.

We multiplied the cost of an average crime (\$2,360) by the yearly number of reduced arrests for participants in RWA. We obtained a one-year social benefit of reduced crime of \$4,720 per client, a two-year benefit of \$4,720 per client, and a three-year cumulative benefit of \$9,440 per client. We scaled up these per client figures by a multiplier of (12/5.2) to obtain the benefit per slot.

The results of our criminal justice impact analysis also indicate that participation in RWA reduces rates of jail incarceration when compared to a matched control group (Table 5.7). We include the program effects in Table 6.2. After one year, RWA participants are 4.8 percentage points less likely to be sent to jail; after two years, jail incarceration is 4 percentage points less than that of the matched control group; and after three years, the difference between the two groups is 9.2 percentage points. Cost estimates of jail incarceration also vary, but we estimate



that the cost of one year in a New York City jail is about \$73,000 in 2009 dollars (NYC Council Committee on Fire & Criminal Justice Services 2003). If each jail incarceration is for one year, the program benefit equals the program effect multiplied by the annual cost. The New York City Department of Corrections (2009) reports that the average length of jail stay is 45 days. Assuming the study subjects serve this average spell, the benefit of reduced jail incarceration is 1.5/12 times the annualized benefit. This implies that RWA reduces the cost of jail incarceration for each client by \$438 after one year, \$365 after two years, and \$840 after three years. Because our results indicate that there were no significant differences between RWA participants and their matched control group on measures of prison incarceration (Table 5.7), we set these figures to 0 so that they are not included in our calculation of social benefits. However, reduced imprisonment can potentially yield large financial benefits, and thus, these figures should be closely examined in future evaluations.

Based on our calculations of program value, reduced crime, and reduced jail incarceration, we estimate that the three-year per client social benefit of participation in Ready, Willing & Able is **\$17,608**. The three-year per slot social benefit is **\$40,633**. When we compare these figures to the costs that we calculated in Table 6.1, the social benefits do appear to offset the costs of running the program. The social benefit gained from participation in RWA is **21 percent** greater than the cost of the program.

It is important to note that there are many potential social benefits of participation in RWA that are not included in our analysis, due to either lack of data or because some benefits resist quantification. Because our analysis only examines the benefits of program value and reduced costs of the criminal justice system, we believe it is a lower-bound estimate of the social benefits of RWA participation. Because many RWA clients obtain employment due to

participation in the program, their increased annual earnings could be counted as a program benefit as well. While we were not able to obtain data on employment earnings of RWA participants once they leave the program, this is an important benefit to consider in the future.

In addition, there are several potential benefits of programs such as RWA that are difficult to measure (Western 2008). As discussed earlier in the report, a key focus of the program is on the sobriety of program participants. There are surely benefits that result from reductions in substance abuse, but we are not able to quantify them in our evaluation. We also do not consider children and families in our analysis, but they could benefit from clients' increased financial support and possibly from improved parenting. Finally, our analysis only extends three years past clients' release from prison, but it is important to track participants' lifetime earnings and lifetime reductions in crime. The cost of participation in RWA per client is incurred once, but the benefits of the program could extend to some degree over the life cycle.

## VII. CONCLUSION

The RWA program makes an important contribution to the social and economic reintegration of men coming out of prison. The program offers an important case study in the value of a comprehensive package of services aimed at promoting economic independence, housing security, and sobriety. We find evidence that these efforts have improved public safety and reduced correctional costs in a cost-effective way.

Three main findings emerge from our evaluation of RWA. First, about 25 percent of all admitted clients graduate from the program, which means that they have achieved employment, housing, and sobriety within about a year of program participation. When the capacity of the program is considered, the graduation rate is one client for every two available program slots each year. Second, participation in RWA reduces criminal recidivism within two years of release from prison. Program effects are larger for clients who graduate from the program, as they are 16 percentage points less likely to be rearrested than their matched counterparts within two years. However, program participation, even if one does not graduate, still reduces recidivism, as all program participants are 4 percentage points less likely to be rearrested than members of the control group within two years. Finally, we find that the estimated three-year social benefit that results from participation in RWA, calculated based on program value and criminal justice impacts, is \$17,608 per client, exceeding the average cost of the program of \$14,533 per client. Program benefits thus exceed costs by 21 percent.

Though we find strong evidence for the crime-reducing effects of RWA, particularly in the first two years of the program, this evaluation is subject to three significant limitations. First, as with all evaluations based only on observational data, estimates of program effects will be biased if unobserved factors, such as motivation or behavioral problems, influence both the

likelihood of program participation and post-program success. With our matching approach to calculating program effects, we can be confident that RWA participants are compared to observably similar non-participants. We cannot be confident, however, that participants are similar to non-participants in all relevant respects. A stronger research design which overcomes this limitation would randomly assign subjects to program participation. We investigated several approximations to a randomized design, such as following those who applied to the program but decided not to participate, but these alternative approaches were infeasible with the available data. In short, we regard the estimates as the best available given the available data, yet acknowledge that sample selectivity remains a significant potential bias.

Second, a strong test of program effectiveness should extend the follow-up period as far as possible. Our evaluation examines a three-year follow-up period after initial enrollment in the program. A three-year follow-up is relatively long by the standards in this area of program evaluation and provides valuable information on the decay of program effects over time. To include this relatively long follow-up period, our third-year sample in the DCJS data was somewhat smaller than in years 1 and 2. Close analysis of the year 3 sample revealed them to be observably similar to the subjects in years 1 and 2. Still, weaker evidence for program effects on reducing recidivism in year 3 may partly be due to reduced statistical power resulting from these smaller samples.

Third, we focused our analysis on the effects of incarceration on re-arrest and re-incarceration, but RWA is likely to have a variety of positive effects beyond criminal desistance. In particular, program participation may improve employment and reduce substance abuse. We were unable to study these outcomes but we regard them as critically important for desisting from crime. Our cost-benefit calculations neglect these social and economic benefits of the

program and should be regarded as a lower-bound on the economic benefits of program participation. Any follow-up research could usefully pursue the labor market experience and drug and alcohol use of RWA clients after leaving the program.

This evaluation adds to a growing body of evidence that transitional employment, particularly when coupled with other services, can contribute significantly to criminal desistance among men recently released from incarceration. Our evidence, though incomplete, indicates that such interventions are cost-effective. In the broader debate about criminal justice reform, RWA's strategy for reintegrating those returning from incarceration deserves close attention from elected officials and other policymakers.

**APPENDIX: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW**

<b>Name<sup>11</sup></b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Race<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>Education Level</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Graduate</b>
Luis	53	Latino	Less than HS	Single	No
Thomas	40	Black	High School	Separated	No
Robert	40	White	Less than HS	Single	No
Daniel	32	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Allen	50	Black	Some college	Single	No
Kevin	46	Black	GED	Single	No
Michael	38	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Carlos	45	Latino	Less than HS	Single	No
Paul	54	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Edward	46	Black	GED	Single	No
Andre	24	Black	High School	Single	No
Jesse	26	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Richard	48	Latino	GED	Single	Yes
Steven	34	Black	Less than HS	Married	No
Keith	30	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Doug	43	White	Some college	Divorced	No
Harry	54	Black	High School	Single	No
Roger	46	White	Less than HS	Single	No
Rasheem	51	Black	Less than HS	Separated	No
Ben	23	Black	High School	Single	No
Jose	33	Latino	GED	Single	No
Donald	42	Black	GED	Separated	No
Tyrone	27	Black	GED	Single	No
Maurice	44	Black	GED	Separated	No
Glen	45	Black	Less than HS	Divorced	No
Mark	47	Black	Less than HS	Single	No
Malcolm	58	Black	GED	Single	Yes
Curtis	48	Black	GED	Single	Yes
Nathan	28	Black	GED	Married	Yes
Troy	50	Black	GED	Married	Yes
Gary	45	Black	High School	Separated	Yes
Reggie	57	Black	GED	Single	Yes
Russell	52	Black	College degree	Separated	Yes
Damon	46	Black	Some college	Divorced	Yes
Terrell	35	Black	GED	Single	Yes
Gregory	58	Black	High School	Single	Yes
Victor	39	Black	High School	Separated	Yes
Roy	45	Black	College degree	Single	Yes

<sup>11</sup> Names have been changed for confidentiality purposes.

<sup>12</sup> Black refers to “Non-Latino black” and white refers to “Non-Latino white.”

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