

**Is a Family-focused Program Effective in Helping Low-Income Parents
Enter the Workforce? Insights from a Multimethod Evaluation
of the Jobs for Youth/Chicago Full Family Partnership Demonstration**

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**Is a Family-focused Program Effective in Helping Low-Income Parents
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Historically, few programs have provided job training services with a family orientation, even with the more recent welfare reform law's clear goals of encouraging marriage and two-parent families. We present results of a multi-method evaluation of the Full Family Partnership (FFP) demonstration located at Jobs for Youth (JFY)/Chicago that assisted young couples in committed relationships in entering the workforce. Econometric analyses indicate that female FFP participants – who stayed in the program longer than their male partners and utilized more of the family-focused supportive services – had significantly higher employment rates and earnings levels following participation relative to both mothers receiving standard, individually-oriented services at JFY and mothers participating in JTPA. Young mothers who completed the core program components at JFY were also less likely to later receive TANF. Descriptive analyses also suggest that the program may have helped unmarried, noncohabiting couples stay together and increase their commitment to their relationship. Our qualitative evaluation pointed toward several program components that may have contributed to these effects, including: the motivation partners provide one another, intensive counseling offered in the couples program, and the increased provision of family-focused services to participants. These are key program elements that might be considered as policymakers and program developers seek to meet the needs of a diverse range of young couples who are raising children while entering the workforce.

Keywords: welfare-to-work, young parents, young couples

INTRODUCTION

In addition to the central aim of moving families from welfare to work, some clearly articulated goals of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 were to reduce non-marital childbearing and to encourage marriage and the formation and maintenance of two-parent families. Provisions of PRWORA designed to advance these goals include: family caps, liberalized program eligibility rules for two-parent families, and expanded child support enforcement (Peters, Plotnick & Jeong, forthcoming).

Studies of low-income families since the mid-1990s welfare reform initiatives report some significant changes in family structure. The proportion of children in low-income African-American families living with two married parents increased by 4.1 percent between 1995 and 2000 (Harden, 2001). At the same time, Census data show that the number of unmarried couples with children increased by 15 percent between 1995 and 1998 (Nelson, Clark and Acs, 2001), and the proportion of single parents on welfare who reported living with a partner doubled (Zedlewski and Alderson, 2001). Combined with longer term trends in the composition of American households throughout the latter half of the 20th century (Fields & Casper, 2001), these findings suggest that the ability to effectively deliver employment assistance and support services to young families in both nonmarital (cohabitating or non-cohabitating) and married-couple households will become increasingly important.

In this paper, we present results of an evaluation of a program aimed at assisting young, low-income couples enter the workforce. The program's design preceded the focus on marriage and two-parent families in PRWORA and reflects a grassroots recognition by program administrators and staff of the need to address the family situation of individuals receiving

employment assistance. Even so, the program has the potential to be a model for states and localities wishing to meet the family structure goals of PRWORA.

The program is a youth job-training demonstration, the Jobs for Youth/Chicago (JFY) Full Family Partnership (FFP) program, that aimed to help young, committed couples improve their economic situation and solidify their relationship as a family. For more than two decades, Jobs for Youth/Chicago has provided short-term (1-3 week) employment and training services to help young men and women (ages 17 to 24 years) from low income families enter the workforce. In serving young mothers and fathers among its youth participants, JFY learned that a number of them were in stable relationships with a partner. The FFP program was designed to extend JFY's core services (10- and 15-day job readiness workshops, GED instruction, and job placement) to help both parents or partners in a committed relationship find work and to provide a number of supplementary program services to meet the *family* needs of the participants. Some of these services include: aid and counseling in the transition from public transfer income to earned income; linking families to child care resources; assistance with establishing a shared household; and accessing other resources (e.g., parenting classes) and avoiding risks in the family and community (including issues of violence and drug abuse; see Barclay-McLaughlin, Gordon and Heinrich, 1999, for more details about JFY and the FFP program).

At the time of its inception in 1997, the FFP program was exceptional among job preparation and training programs not only in this aim to serve families, but also in working with families where the couple may be married or unmarried, cohabiting or non-cohabitating, and may or may not share a child in common, as long as they are committed to staying together as a family. In fact, it is relatively rare for a public policy or program to specifically address many of

these family types at all. Most of our social welfare policies have been aimed at families headed by custodial parents (e.g., AFDC) or at individuals (e.g., job training and employment assistance). In addition, before PRWORA, the stringent eligibility requirements of AFDC-UP (for two-parent families) contributed to low enrollments. Even now, the work participation requirements for two-parent families under the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program are very high in comparison to those for other families (90% versus 45% for FY 2001). While recent programs designed to promote “responsible fatherhood” and marriage have received a large influx of federal funding, publicly-funded programs that serve families led by a custodial parent and his/her partner (where the partner may not be the biological parent of the child[ren]) are scarce if not impossible for young families to access in an integrated setting or location.

The Jobs for Youth/Chicago program also focuses on critical groups among young women and men that have been shown to have particularly low probabilities of “ever holding a good job or of holding a good job steadily by their late 20s”: those with low levels of education, who are African-American, and women with children (Pavetti and Acs, 2001:728). In their study of young women using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, Pavetti and Acs (2001) found that a jobless young woman between the ages of 18 and 22 has a one in four chance of finding employment in the subsequent quarter. They estimate that if the woman is still jobless when she reaches her late twenties, the chance that she will make a transition to employment falls to just 15 percent. For those who are poorly educated and minorities, the odds of *ever* holding a good job (with at least 35 hours per week and at a wage that allows them to cover their basic living and work expenses) are even lower. Thus, innovative approaches to serving these groups are needed.

In considering the FFP program's relevance for programs and policy, it is important to note the ways in which it falls within the goals of PRWORA, and the current debate about marriage promotion. The FFP program was not designed to encourage the formation of couples, marital or non-marital. Rather, it was designed to work with couples already in committed relationships and assist them in entering the workforce. With two parents working, the program designers believed the family would be better able to earn enough money to become economically self-sufficient. And, through financial stability and the family support services of the program, it was expected the couple would be more likely to stay together. Thus, while the program does not directly promote the formation of couples, it may decrease the likelihood that married couples divorce, cohabiting couples move apart, or unmarried/non-cohabiting couples split up. It may also increase the likelihood that existing couples increase their commitment to one another (e.g., moving into a shared household, becoming engaged, marrying).

Ideally, the family structure and economic self-sufficiency goals of the program would be considered jointly, given their dual roles in the program and the intricate relationship between the two suggested by prior research (e.g., Johnson, 2000; London, 2000). However, our ability to directly measure the family-structure outcomes was limited, and thus we cannot simultaneously analyze the two kinds of outcomes in the quantitative models that form the core of this paper. The current paper focuses mainly on the program's fundamental goal of better helping young parents enter the workforce and achieve economic self-sufficiency by supporting their family-related needs. Although these analyses focus on mothers and fathers as individuals, we also explore with the available data changes in family relationships and the extent to which the families' economic situation improves.

The paper is organized as follows. We first discuss challenges presented by an evaluation of a family-focused program and discuss the research questions, samples, and data that inform the current paper. We then present the models and findings for three separate analyses, each of which provides a unique window into the results of the FFP program. We first consider whether mothers and fathers show greater earnings gains following participation in the couples-oriented FFP program relative to individually-oriented employment assistance. Next, we examine whether FFP participants look better on two alternative measures of economic self-sufficiency: TANF participation and being employed. These first two analyses use econometric techniques applied to large samples. In contrast, our final analysis is exploratory. We use a rich set of data collected for a small number of FFP participants to consider the extent to which FFP participants experience changes in family relationships and stability, gains in earnings at the couples level, and the degree to which couples are oriented as a single economic unit. We end by summarizing what we have learned about the successes and limitations of a family-focused program and relate our findings to issues that are central in the re-authorization of the 1996 welfare reform law.

EVALUATING A FAMILY-FOCUSED PROGRAM

Consistent with the growing emphasis on outcomes-based performance accountability in the public sector, funding for most publicly supported demonstration programs, like the Jobs for Youth/Chicago Full Family Partnership program, is now contingent on the development of formal, quantitative evaluations of program outcomes. A family-focused program presents some distinctive challenges for evaluation design.

An important issue that arose in the FFP program concerned how youth and their partners

selected into the program. Random assignment of participants into “treatment” (FFP) and control groups was proposed by the evaluators but rejected by the program’s developers. A primary concern was that in “randomizing out” some program applicants, it would be more difficult to achieve target numbers for FFP participation. Program records show that even in the absence of random assignment, JFY fell short of its FFP program enrollment goals, with only about half the number of couples enrolled in the program as originally planned (see Gordon and Heinrich, 2000, for a discussion of the reasons).

Evaluation was further complicated because attempts to institute systematic procedures for identifying all young parents with partners at the time of their application to JFY (including those not participating in the FFP program) were not successful. Key challenges included the fact that most applicants were not married nor cohabiting, and program staff were reluctant to probe too deeply about partnership relationships during the application process, before rapport had been established with clients. Instead, males and females who applied for JFY services were informed about the FFP program at the time of their initial inquiry, during the assessment process, and in the first days of workshop training. If they were in a committed relationship with a partner who might be willing to participate in the program, they could then choose to: (1) self-identify and enroll in the FFP program, (2) self-identify but remain in the basic individually-oriented JFY program, or (3) not self-identify.

The lack of random assignment presents challenges to evaluation since we know that young parents with committed partners may differ in important ways (observable and unobservable) from those not in committed relationships. It is also possible that some young parents may not be forthcoming about the fact that they have a partner for particular reasons that

may or may not influence their participation decisions and program outcomes. For example, in revealing a parent who did not pay child support through the formal collection system, a young mother might fear the loss of informal financial support from her partner that might indirectly affect her likelihood of working or her ability to pay costs associated with work outside the home. Through a process evaluation, we also learned that some parents might fear sanctions due to perceptions of public housing rules that prohibit cohabitation of individuals receiving benefits or other potentially disruptive effects of participation on their family/partner relationships. These selection issues fundamentally influenced our choice of nonexperimental comparison groups and statistical estimators of program outcomes.

Our inability to identify all applicants who are in committed relationships also limits our ability to measure family-level outcomes of the intervention. Recent welfare-to-work/welfare reform evaluations have primarily focused on the employment and earnings outcomes of welfare recipients, consistent with the elemental legislative goal of promoting work and self-sufficiency (Meyer and Rosenbaum, 1999; Card and Blank [eds.], 2000; Kaushal and Kaestner, 2001). FFP program funders were likewise interested in determining whether the program was effective in helping female or male youth with partners to obtain employment at higher earnings levels that would help them to better support their families. We also noted, however, that the primary rationale for developing the FFP program was based on the belief that if parents and their partners could be helped to stay together, with combined earnings and household support, they would be more likely to stay off of welfare and retain employment. Because partners were identified only among the FFP participants, we have only partial information about this outcome. In analyses limited to the FFP participants, we do explore *if* and *how* young, primarily unmarried

couples were pooling their earnings and other resources to support their families and achieve family goals.

Research questions and comparison groups

The quantitative component of the FFP evaluation centers on estimating the parameter “the effect of treatment on the treated,” where the treatment in this case is the FFP program and the treated are the FFP participants (or couples). Following the decision to forego random assignment, two comparison groups were selected for the evaluation: JFY parents receiving the standard, core program services (JFY non-FFP parents), and young parents receiving Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)/Workforce Investment Act (WIA) services in the same local labor market area (Chicago and suburban Cook County)¹. The effect of the FFP program is therefore evaluated in comparison to two closely related alternative treatments: (1) JFY services *without* the couples focus and enhanced menu of FFP supportive services for families, and (2) publicly funded employment and training services (for which JFY has been a contracted provider.) These two comparison groups imply not only different models of selection into treatment but also distinctive evaluation questions.

Using the first comparison group of JFY parents receiving standard program services, the following research question is addressed:

Q-1: What value do the FFP services add to JFY’s standard services for young parents, as measured in terms of their employment, earnings and welfare participation outcomes?

¹Since the Workforce Investment Act officially replaced the JTPA program on July 1, 2000, the month after we stopped selecting participants for the evaluation, we appropriately refer to this comparison group as JTPA participants.

The estimators of outcomes using this comparison group approximate the *differential* effects of the FFP program relative to standard JFY program services, not the effects relative to the no treatment state. In other words, the comparison group of JFY non-FFP parents is intended to approximate the counterfactual in which one of the two participating FFP partners would likely have been the sole participant in the JFY (standard) program. In general, the results from these analyses should indicate whether the FFP program as a treatment improves program outcomes for JFY participants who are parents.

One limitation of using the comparison group of JFY non-FFP parents is that it does not provide a reference for how Jobs for Youth/Chicago program participants fare compared to participants in other kinds of employment and training programs. We therefore constructed a second comparison group of JTPA program participants who were young parents and in the same local labor market area to estimate how Jobs for Youth/Chicago programs perform relative to a widely available program alternative. Using this second comparison group of JTPA participants, we attempt to produce an answer to the research question:

Q-2: What are the differential effects of the FFP program on the employment, earnings and welfare participation of young mothers or fathers relative to the largest, publicly funded employment and training program alternative, JTPA/WIA?

In general, the fact that we are comparing very closely related program alternatives – with participants and comparison group members from the same local labor market and administrative data that provide comparable information for these three groups – should eliminate some common sources of bias in the statistical modeling of program outcomes (Heckman, Ichimura, Smith and Todd, 1998). However, it also implies that we will not know how the JFY FFP

program compares to the alternative of *no services* at all, that is, how these individuals would have fared had they not received any assistance in finding a job or improving their family lives.

Evaluation data and data sources

A rich array of data were collected from JFY participants and program staff and from the management information systems of JFY and state agencies in support of the FFP program evaluation. Data from the JFY management information system provided information about participant characteristics, their progression through the core program activities (classroom training, GED classes and job preparation and placement services), and jobs in which they were placed. Quarterly earnings data from the Illinois Department of Employment Security covered the pre-program, participation, and post-program periods of individual participants and comparison group members.² Information from the Illinois Department of Human Services included monthly measures of participation in Aid to Families with Dependent Children or Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (AFDC/TANF), receipt of Food Stamps, and Medicaid spells of participants and comparison group members during these same periods.

A process evaluation produced or aided in the collection of a number of supplementary data sources. For example, independent of the evaluation activities, the applicant assessment procedures, staff training procedures, and JFY application form were being revised as we designed our data collection procedures. JFY staff consulted with our evaluation staff during this

²In their study comparing employment security wage records and retrospective survey data for a sample of more than 12,000 low-income adults and out-of-school youths, Kornfeld and Bloom (1997) found that both sources of data produced valid measures of program earnings impacts (estimated for the JTPA program) for most subgroups of low-income persons, the exception being male youth with arrest records.

process, offering us the opportunity to incorporate questions relevant to the evaluation and to improve the reliability of data collected from participants. We also introduced an additional (baseline) questionnaire for FFP program participants to evaluate their relationship with and level of commitment to their partners, household finances and sharing of responsibilities, and child care and other needs at the time they enrolled in the program. A follow-up survey of FFP program participants addressed many of the same topics and provided key information about whether or not the couples or partners stayed together following program participation.

Interviews with JFY staff members and a survey administered to JFY staff and directors generated data about staff members' understanding of the FFP program goals, program operations, and their roles in implementing the FFP program. Interviews conducted with FFP program participants yielded early insights about how the program was helping (or not helping) them and their partners and families to improve their lives at home and at work. In addition, electronic records and paper files on the FFP program participants, maintained by the FFP program coordinator, were made available to provide more detailed information on the types of services FFP participants were receiving and the timing of their receipt. Throughout this paper, we draw insights from the process evaluation into our discussion.

Sample sizes and descriptive statistics

The fundamental objective of the FFP program to serve male and female partners together is reflected in the gender of the FFP participants. In the first nine quarters of the demonstration program, 116 females and 112 males participated in the FFP program.³ Gender is substantially

³In several of the FFP couples, the male partner did not or was unable to participate fully in the program (in a few cases as a result of incarceration.) In addition, during the final program

less balanced in the comparison groups. Among the 1,308 JFY parents who were not FFP participants, approximately 86 percent of the group were females, with only 185 fathers. The sample of Chicago-area JTPA participants that form the second comparison group include only JTPA *parents* who enrolled between July 1, 1997 and September 30, 1999 (n=1118), the dates used to select FFP participants for these evaluation analyses. In this comparison group, we have 949 females (age 18-24 years) and 169 males (age 18-30 years.)

A comparison of the characteristics of female FFP participants with those of non-FFP mothers in JFY and mothers in the JTPA comparison group is presented in Table 1. The same comparison is shown in Table 2 for males. There are some appreciable differences in observable characteristics between these three groups (for females and males), suggesting that: (i) young parents with committed partners differ in significant ways from those not in committed relationships, or (ii) JFY staff were selecting young parents to participate in the FFP program based on observable characteristics other than their involvement in a committed relationship. Based on information collected during the process evaluation from JFY staff, including the fact that JFY was struggling to achieve the demonstration program recruitment goals, we believe it is unlikely that staff were imposing additional selection criteria on the JFY parents who revealed themselves to be in committed relationships.

Looking to Tables 1 and 2, it is apparent that both among females and males, the FFP

year (July 1, 1999-June 30, 2000), JFY experienced a number of organizational changes, including the departure of the full-time FFP coordinator in September, 1999. During this time, program enrollments declined sharply and discussions with JFY staff suggested that the delivery of the FFP supportive services was also disrupted. The econometric analyses presented in this paper do not include data from participants who enrolled during the final three quarters of the demonstration program year (i.e., the last quarter of 1999 and first two quarters of 2000).

participants were significantly more likely to be married, reflecting the program's intent to recruit couples in committed relationships. The male FFP partners were slightly older (mean age=22 years) than the JFY non-FFP males, which is also consistent with the eligibility criterion that extended the upper age limit to accommodate young women with older partners. JTPA males and females were significantly older than their JFY/FFP counterparts, although the average difference is only a few years. In addition, the JTPA males and females had higher reading and math scores (on the same tests of adult basic education), and significantly fewer were African Americans compared to the JFY/FFP males and females. Similar proportions of JFY/FFP and JTPA females were receiving welfare at the time they entered the programs, and only a very small proportion of males were welfare recipients (2.68-8.88%).

In terms of the simple measures of employment histories (pre-program hourly wage, earnings and employment in the quarter before enrollment), there are no significant differences between FFP females and JFY non-FFP females. JTPA females, on the other hand, have significantly higher pre-program wages, earnings, and employment than the JFY/FFP females. Most prominent, however, are the substantial differences in earnings and employment among the male FFP, JFY non-FFP, and JTPA participants. It is clear that the male FFP partners and JTPA fathers are more likely to be employed and earning more in the quarter prior to their enrollment than the JFY non-FFP group, which may be correlated in part with their age.

The differences evident in the demographic characteristics and earnings histories of FFP participants and the JFY non-FFP and JTPA comparison group members underscore the importance of using multivariate statistical analysis to control for these observed differences in estimating program effects. These individuals may also differ in unobservable ways, however,

which compels us to make additional assumptions about the selection process into the JFY, FFP and JTPA programs. We address some of these selection and model specification issues in the discussion of evaluation findings in the next section.

FINDINGS ON THE EFFECTS OF THE FULL FAMILY PARTNERSHIP DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

Before presenting the findings of econometric models of earnings and welfare outcomes, it is important to discuss two intermediate outcomes of FFP program participation – the percentages of females and males who completed the workshop (classroom) instruction, and the percentage who were placed in a job with the assistance of JFY staff. Since these outcomes are directly comparable only for the JFY FFP and non-FFP participations, we focus only on these two groups in this descriptive analysis.

A major finding is that over 40 percent *more* of the female FFP participants (84%) compared to the JFY non-FFP females (43%) completed the workshop training. The same differential was observed for females in job placements: 77 percent of FFP females compared to 33 percent of JFY non-FFP females were placed in jobs by the JFY staff. In addition, among the male participants, over 20 percent more of the male FFP participants (54%) completed the workshop compared to JFY non-FFP males (33%), and nearly 30% more FFP males were placed in jobs (54% compared to 26%). These comparisons clearly show that the FFP participants were more likely to complete the core activities of the JFY program and to successfully progress to the final stage of participation where they secured employment. Comparisons between males and females also show that females were more likely than males to complete the core program activities.

The differentials between FFP and non-FFP participants likely reflect, in part, a lower rate of workshop “no-shows” (those who came to Jobs for Youth/Chicago and filled out an application but did not show up for the workshop) among the FFP participants because FFP clients were almost always recruited after they had begun the workshop. Some of the effects may also be attributable to the FFP program services. In an interview during the early 1998 process evaluation, one JFY workshop teacher suggested that for the FFP participants, just being in the program together made a difference in the partners’ participation “because the partners tend to motivate each other. There’s a kind of synergy that begins to happen there. And one doesn’t want to be the one to fall by the wayside, so to speak. So there’s a little additional effort made in some cases as a result of having partners in class.” In other words, above and beyond the possible effects of family-focused supportive services made available in the FFP program, partners may have benefitted by just going through the program at the same time and increasing each other’s motivation to complete the program. In addition, the fact that the FFP program coordinator had a more focused caseload and a high degree of commitment toward building a successful program (and making sure the participants made it through the program) might also explain the higher completion rates for FFP participants.

In the econometric analyses that compare the earnings and welfare outcomes of JFY FFP and non-FFP participants, we first perform the analyses using all members of these two groups (separately for females and males). We also estimate the models separately (and/or controlling for) those participants that completed the core program activities. Theoretically and practically, seeing the participants through completion of the core program activities is an important component of the JFY/FFP program treatment. However, we emphasize that these findings may

be biased by selection issues related to completion rates (e.g., if the non-FFP participants who do not show for the workshop have fewer human capital skills than those who do show, then separate analyses with program completers will produce a lower bound for the estimated FFP program effects on participants' earnings and welfare receipt).

Findings from the quantitative evaluation of earnings outcomes

A primary question for the evaluation is whether the FFP program leads participants to earn more than they would have without the FFP program services. The well-known evaluation problem in addressing this question is that we do not observe what FFP participants would have earned had they not participated. We utilized a number of statistical approaches to deal with this problem, including linear selection on observables, fixed-effect, differences-in-differences, and multi-level models. In addition, model specification tests performed using data on FFP participants and comparison group members' pre-program earnings allowed us to test the plausibility of restrictive assumptions associated with these alternative types of models. The results of model estimation and the specification tests indicated that the former three approaches were sensitive to the period selected for comparison. The multi-level models produced the most robust results, and thus, we focus on the multi-level models in this paper. (See Heinrich and Gordon, 2002, for a more detailed discussion of these alternative approaches and results).

As we show below, the average earnings of participants were changing before, during and after program participation. An important advantage of multilevel modeling techniques is that they allow us to capture earnings trajectories or growth rates in earnings, before, during and after program participation, as well as jumps (or falls) in earnings at the time of entry into the program

and at the time of exit from the program. These models make full use of the quarterly earnings information available to model individual-level earnings patterns at one level (where time-trend variables identify pre-program, during program, and post-program periods and the time of entry and exit from the program), and at another level, the influence of time-constant individual characteristics on earnings patterns. Controlling for observed characteristics and pre-program differences in earnings patterns, these models compare the earnings patterns of the FFP participants and JFY non-FFP and JTPA parent comparison groups to identify effects of the program (and other individual characteristics) on earnings both during and following participation. Therefore, we gain a precise understanding of what type(s) of effect(s) the program has on earnings (growth and/or jumps or falls) and when the effect(s) occur during the period of observation.

The basic multilevel model is shown below:

$$Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10}G1_{ij} + \gamma_{20}G2_{ij} + \gamma_{30}G3_{ij} + \gamma_{40}J2_{ij} + \gamma_{50}J3_{ij} + \gamma_{01}d_j + \beta'X + \gamma_{11}G1_{ij}*d_j + \gamma_{21}G2_{ij}*d_j + \gamma_{31}G3_{ij}*d_j + \gamma_{41}J2_{ij}*d_j + \gamma_{51}J3_{ij}*d_j + e_{ij} \quad [4]$$

where i indicates time and j participants. The earnings growth rate before program entry is $G1$, the growth rate during participation is $G2$, and the growth rate following program exit is $G3$. These earnings variables are centered such that the intercept, γ_{00} , captures earnings in the first quarter before program entry. The $J2$ and $J3$ indicators represent jumps or falls in earnings upon program entry and at the time of program exit, respectively. X is a vector of participant characteristics and d_j is a program participation indicator that identifies the differential effect(s) of the FFP program on earnings. In the multilevel models we estimated, we also tested interactions between participant characteristics and the earnings growth rate and jump indicators.

Figures 1 and 2 depict the quarterly earnings of JFY FFP participants, non-FFP parents and JTPA parent participants for four pre-program quarters, two quarters during the period of program participation, and five quarters of post-program earnings. Duration in the programs differs across participants for two main reasons: (1) variation in program length between the JFY standard and FFP programs and the JTPA program, and (2) because some participants left the programs prior to completion. Thus, while we show earnings for two program participation quarters on the graphs, not all participants were enrolled in these programs for a full six months. About three-fourths of FFP participants and JTPA participants were enrolled in the programs for at least part of the time in two program participation quarters; the proportion of JFY non-FFP parents with some time in the program during two quarters was closer to one half.

In addition, after accounting for the quarters during which individuals spent some time in the programs, the number of individuals with post-program quarterly earnings records began to drop off slowly after the fifth quarter. Thus, we present findings with larger samples (and fewer post-program quarters.) In the econometric analyses, we used data for all during program quarters and up to eight post-program quarters of earnings, and the substantive findings of the analyses were the same with more data. Figures 1 and 2 show that earnings for female and male youth are generally declining in the quarters before enrollment (as is typically observed for adult training program participants), and increasing during the first quarter of program participation and in most post-program quarters.

Comparison of mothers in the JFY FFP and standard (non-FFP) programs

The results from the earnings outcome models are shown in Tables 3 and 4. Looking at Figure 1 and the multilevel model results in Table 3, it appears that female participants' earnings

grow significantly during the program period before leveling off somewhat following participation. Two statistically significant effects on the earnings of FFP females emerge in the multilevel models: a larger jump in quarterly earnings at program exit than their JFY non-FFP counterparts (an adjusted average of \$750 more), but a slower post-program growth rate, likely the result of the small dip in earnings observed between post-program quarters two and three. The small dip might reflect transitions into and out of employment for these women in the post-program period, which are not uncommon for young women with children (Pavetti and Acs, 2001; Heinrich, 1998; Pawasarat, 1997; Berg et al., 1991); these studies found that approximately 70-75 percent of welfare recipients make a transition *out* of employment within a year following a job entry. Based on the Figure 1, it appears that female FFP earnings recover immediately following this dip and begin to grow again.

Other findings of interest in the multilevel model shown in Table 3 are the strong, positive and statistically significant effects of higher education levels and reading skills on females' earnings, consistent with human capital theory. The average age for these females was 20 years, and those females over age 20 (up to 24 years) earned significantly more than their younger counterparts. Young women receiving welfare at the time of program entry have significantly lower earnings over the observation period. Not shown in these models are tests of interactions between the welfare receipt indicator and the earnings growth rate and jump variables, which were not found to be statistically significant, suggesting that females receiving welfare at program entry did not have significantly lower growth rates or jumps following their exit from training programs. The interactions between highest grade attained and the earnings growth rate and jump variables, (as well as interactions between the age indicator and these

variables that are not shown in the table), were likewise not statistically significant.

Comparison of mothers in the FFP and JTPA programs

Similar results emerge in comparing the JFY FFP females to the comparison group of female JTPA participants from the same local labor market area who are also parents and in the age range of 18-24 years (see Table 4). Table 4 and Figure 1 show that earnings growth during the program does not differ significantly between these two groups (for both, the growth is positive and statistically significant); but, similar to the contrast between FFP and JFY non-FFP participants, the average jump in earnings at program exit is significantly higher for FFP participants (\$598.76), controlling for individual characteristics. The average earnings growth rate for FFP participants in the post-program period is significantly lower, however, in comparison with JTPA participants.

Comparison of fathers in the JFY FFP and standard (non-FFP) programs

For male JFY FFP participants, the effects of the FFP program are a little more difficult to discern. Figure 2 clearly shows that pre- and post-program earnings levels of FFP participants are above those of the JFY non-FFP fathers, and earnings for FFP fathers during the program seem to grow at a slightly faster rate. The multilevel models show that controlling for individual characteristics, the growth rate of FFP participants' earnings following program exit is significantly higher than that of JFY non-FFP fathers, but the jump at the time of exit is significantly lower (see Table 3). Information from the process evaluation and follow-up surveys suggests that the FFP males may have been unofficially leaving the program sooner than their program end dates indicate, and what appears in Figure 2 to be a jump between program quarters 1 and 2 might actually reflect a program exit jump. We cannot confirm this empirically. The

positive and statistically significant coefficient for the FFP participation indicator (\$494.04) reflects the higher earnings of FFP males compared to JFY non-FFP males in the first quarter before program entry.

Comparison of fathers in the FFP and JTPA programs

Table 4 shows the multilevel model results for JFY FFP males versus JTPA fathers from the same local labor market area and of the same age range and shows no statistically significant differences in earnings patterns, except for the significantly lower jump in earnings at program exit for the FFP males. This suggests that controlling for individual characteristics, FFP males do not fare better than their JTPA counterparts through program participation.

It is possible that the less consistent set of findings for fathers than mothers may reflect the smaller sample sizes of male than female participants in our data. However, in general, the finding of no statistically significant FFP program effect on male participants' earnings seems consistent with what we learned about FFP males' participation from the process evaluation and follow-up surveys. In response to open-ended questions about their participation in the FFP program at the beginning of the follow-up survey, 8 of the 42 male respondents indicated that they did not participate in the FFP program activities or that they did not participate for very long. Their comments were consistent with records on supplementary/supportive service provision in the FFP program (e.g., child care referrals, health care, home seminar referral, counseling, etc.) maintained by the FFP program coordinator. Of 114 couples for whom service records were complete, both partners of 68 couples received some supportive services. In 42 of these 114 couples, only the female partner received FFP supportive services, and in just 4 couples, only the male partner received some services. Overall, males in the FFP program

participated for a shorter duration and were less likely to receive the services that distinguished the family-focused approach of the FFP program than their female counterparts.

Analyses of earnings outcomes for those completing the JFY workshop instruction

Two approaches to assessing the contributions of program completion to females' and males' earnings outcomes were used. First, an indicator variable for program completion was added to the multilevel models to explain earnings outcomes. Second, participants who completed the core program activities were separated from those who did not, and the same multilevel model was estimated for program completers only. Both approaches produced approximately similar results.

When the program completion indicator was added to the multilevel model for females, the statistical and substantive significance of the findings shown in Table 3 did not change. For example, the coefficient in Table 3 showing a \$750 higher jump in earnings at program exit for FFP participants (compared to JFY non-FFP participants) was the same in the model with the program completion indicator. Yet the coefficient on the program completion indicator was also statistically significant ($p < .0001$), showing that females who completed the program gained about \$310 more per quarter in earnings.⁴ The model estimated separately for program completers still showed statistically significant effects of participation in the FFP program compared to JFY's standard services, although the size of the coefficient on the variable indicating a jump in earnings at program exit was smaller (\$480), and the size of the coefficient on the variable indicating a jump in earnings at program entry increased. For males, we observed no statistically significant effect of program completion on earnings by either approach to this

⁴The size of the intercept did change in this model.

analysis, which is consistent with other findings describing their limited participation in the JFY core and FFP program services.

In general, these findings confirm the important contributions to females' earnings outcomes of completing the core JFY program activities. However, they also suggest that the effects of the FFP program on earnings cannot be attributed solely to completion of the core (standard JFY) activities.

Findings from the analysis of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) participation and employment

In the analysis of TANF receipt by FFP participants and the JFY non-FFP comparison group members, we focus on females, since very few males were receiving TANF at the time they enrolled in the JFY program (see again Table 2) and in the post-program period. We use the monthly IDHS data on AFDC/TANF receipt to follow participants for the first six months after exiting the program. We also include in the analyses information about TANF receipt at program enrollment and in the month prior to program enrollment. In these analyses, TANF receipt indicates that the parent was coded as the grantee on a single-parent AFDC or TANF grant. Paralleling the time periods considered for TANF receipt, we also examine whether these female participants had any IDES reported earnings in the quarter of their application to the JFY program as well as in the first two quarters after their exit from the program.

In these analyses, we observe that the significant differences in program completion rates for FFP and JFY non-FFP participants appear to have important implications for their TANF receipt. Because completion status is known only for the JFY participants, we focus on them in

the presented analyses but comment below on results for JTPA participants.

In particular, Figures 3 and 4 present descriptive statistics on TANF receipt for mothers who completed the JFY program (graduated from the workshop and were placed in a job by JFY) and for mothers who did not complete the JFY program. Although both FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers *as a whole* began the program with similar percentages (close to 60%) receiving TANF as a single-parent grantee (see Table 1), Figures 3 and 4 show that those who completed the JFY program had slightly higher rates of TANF receipt at application than those who dropped out for both the FFP and JFY non-FFP groups (about 10% and 6% higher, respectively). Immediately following their exit from the program, for both FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers, the percentage receiving TANF fell relatively steeply for those who were program completers. At the end of the six months time period, the difference in rates of TANF receipt between FFP dropouts and FFP completers is about 22 percent; that is, half of the dropouts were still receiving TANF whereas less than 30 percent of the FFP completers received TANF. Similarly, at the end of six months, about half of the JFY non-FFP dropouts were still receiving TANF, compared to about 30 percent of the JFY non-FFP completers. We also see that the percentages of FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers who had any IDES earnings in the two quarters after exiting the program were substantially higher for program completers compared to non-completers.

Superimposing Figures 3 and 4 (not shown) reveals that when we look at patterns of TANF receipt over this period for the program completers only, the trend of declining TANF receipt over time appears very similar for both the FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers. The percentage receiving TANF is also similar for both groups across the time points; and, at the end of the period, the percentage is about 30 percent for both, (27.9% for FFP mothers, 31.6% for

JFY non-FFP mothers). In contrast, while both mothers who complete the FFP and standard programs at JFY show a pattern of increasing employment over the period, there is a change from about 6% fewer FFP mothers than non-FFP mothers being employed in the quarter of program enrollment to over 10% more FFP mothers being employed in the second quarter after program completion.

Probit models estimated to predict TANF receipt and IDES employment tell a similar story. Three model specifications were used to estimate whether significant differences exist between FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers in their TANF receipt and IDES employment. The first model includes all FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers in the sample. The second model restricts the analysis to only those mothers who made it through the program to job placement (i.e., the completers among FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers).⁵ The third model is also restricted to completers and adds a random error term to indicate the presence of time-constant, mother-specific omitted factors that might influence the likelihood of TANF receipt and IDES employment (and that allows errors to correlate between the equations.) The results from these models are shown in Table 5.

The time indicators in these models show the general trends in TANF receipt (and IDES employment) for the FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers, and the interaction terms between the time indicators and the FFP participant indicator show the differential rates of TANF receipt (and IDES employment) for the FFP mothers (compared to the JFY non-FFP mothers) during this

⁵Among the 104 FFP mothers included in the probit analyses, 86 completed the program and 18 did not. Because of the small sample size of dropouts, we estimated the probit models restricted to program completers, rather than adding interactions by program completion status and/or estimating a model restricted to program dropouts.

period. The first model, which does not distinguish between those who completed the JFY core program services and those who did not, shows significant declines in TANF receipt for mothers overall (months 3-6), and significantly higher rates of decline for FFP mothers in all post-program months. The models for IDES employment show large increases in employment for all mothers in the two quarters following their exit from the program, and significantly higher employment rates for the FFP mothers compared to the JFY non-FFP mothers in these quarters.

When the analysis is restricted to those mothers who completed the program, the second model shows that there is no longer a statistically significant differential in TANF receipt between the FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers in any of the months. However, models of IDES employment show that there is still a statistically significant difference in the employment rates of FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers in the second post-program quarter, and the magnitude of the coefficient on the interaction term has actually increased. This suggests that even among those who completed the program, the FFP mothers were employed at significantly higher rates than JFY non-FFP mothers in the second quarter following exit from the program.

The results generated by model three, which includes random effects, tell the same story as those from the second model. While the coefficients suggest larger effects on TANF receipt and employment compared to those in the second model, the standard errors are also larger, which is common for these types of models. The random effects are statistically significant, and the modest negative correlation in the errors between equations suggests that the omitted factors that increase the likelihood of TANF receipt also decrease the likelihood of IDES employment. In general, the results of these models confirm what we observe in the graphs of TANF receipt and employment: Mothers who complete the JFY (FFP or standard) program and become

employed are driving the observed decreases in TANF receipt, while TANF receipt remains at a fairly constant, higher level for those who do not complete the program. We also see a similar boost in employment for those who complete the JFY (FFP or standard) program in contrast to dropouts; however, unlike the results for TANF, there still is an added benefit of the FFP program for employment outcomes beyond FFP mothers greater likelihood than non-FFP mothers to complete the program.

We replicated the above models contrasting FFP mothers to JTPA mothers. In these analyses, both groups showed significant declines in TANF receipt and increases in employment across the pre-post program timeline. Although there were no significant differences between the FFP and JTPA mothers in the time trend for TANF, FFP mothers did show significantly larger increases in employment in both quarters after program exit than did JTPA mothers. These findings were evident for the full sample of FFP mothers, the sample restricted to FFP mothers who completed the JFY program, and when random effects were added to the models.

A possible explanation for the larger earnings and employment effects of the FFP program relative to the program's effects on TANF receipt (after adjusting for program completion) might relate to the State of Illinois' Work Pays program. This program reduces cash grants by just \$1 for every \$3 earned while on TANF. It is possible that some of the participants who are earning more following their participation in the FFP program might still be making their transition off of TANF at the time of our follow-up study. Until these families earn enough to leave TANF completely, their combined earnings and cash grant should make the family better off financially.

Some exploratory findings on relationship stability, family earnings and financial responsibilities from surveys of Full Family Partnership participants

We examined the outcome of relationship stability (whether the couple stayed together) using baseline and one-year follow-up questionnaires collected from FFP participants. Although the sample size is small, these questionnaires represent a substantial percentage of program participants who enrolled between July 1998 and June 2000. Namely, 43 of the 69 couples enrolled in this period (62%) have information from at least one partner at both baseline and follow-up.⁶

Although we do not have information about how many couples stayed together in our comparison groups, the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study – which is following cohorts of married and unmarried couples from the time they parent a child together – provides a benchmark (Carlson, McLanahan & England, 2001). In comparing results between the Fragile Families and FFP samples, it is evident that relationship stability varies by the partners' relationships at baseline (see Table 6). Married couples are markedly less stable and cohabiting couples somewhat less stable in the FFP program than in Fragile Families. However, among unmarried, noncohabiting couples – the largest group in the FFP program – fully 10% more FFP couples than Fragile Families couples were still together at the one year follow-up. Although various differences between the two samples may explain these results (including the fact that the FFP couples are young, economically disadvantaged, job training participants whereas the Fragile Families couples represent all nonmarital births in large U.S. cities), it suggests that the

⁶Response rates are higher at each time point: 74% of couples at baseline and 79% of couples at follow-up have information reported from at least one partner. Respondents are nearly evenly split by gender: 54% of responses are from female partners and 46% from male partners.

FFP program may promote relationship stability among couples who are initially in the least formal relationships.

Consistent with the FFP program goals, we also see that among the couples that remained together, there was a tendency toward increased commitment, including a shift toward engagement or marriage, an increase in cohabitation, and an increase in shared finances (see Table 7). Furthermore, the data suggest that the relationship goals of the program may be more likely to be reached if program staff can target those partners who see problems in their relationships initially. In particular, we find that the strongest predictor of relationship stability is the respondents' reports of their happiness with their relationships with their partner, and particularly their partner supporting their goals and providing needed assistance (see Table 8). Still, straightforward questions about the couples' current relationship and their expectations for the future did not predict relationship stability, including marital and cohabitation status at baseline, whether the couple pooled their finances at baseline, and baseline expectations about marriage, cohabitation, and the relationship. This suggests that strategies to identify and support couples with weaker relationships would require careful planning, especially given that our interviews with program staff indicated that they were reluctant to pry into couples' relationships until rapport had been established.

As indicated earlier, the FFP program developers also believed that if the young couples could be helped to stay together, with combined earnings and household support, they would be more likely to make a successful transition to economic self-sufficiency. From the follow-up survey, we have earnings information from at least one partner of 59 of the 69 couples (86%) enrolled during the study period. Among the 43 couples (73%) who were still together, the

earnings of the two partners in the first post-program year (obtained from the Illinois Department of Employment Security data) were combined to develop a measure of their “family earnings,” regardless of their marital status or living arrangements. The mean combined earnings of the couples was compared to the earnings of the other 32 FFP participants who responded to the follow-up survey and reported that they were no longer with their partners. The average combined earnings of the couples still together was \$17,264, which was almost \$10,000 more than the average earnings of those FFP participants who were not with their partners at the time of follow-up (\$7,944). This difference in family earnings was statistically significant at $p < 0.01$.

The comparison of the FFP couples’ combined earnings with the earnings of individual participants who were not with their partners at follow-up should be interpreted with special care, however. A comparison of the earnings of the FFP participants in the year before they entered the program by the status of their relationship one year later (for males and females) shows that those participants who were still together with their partners one year later also had significantly higher earnings ($p < 0.01$) in the year before they entered the FFP program (see Table 9). A comparison of the *change* in annual earnings for individual partners between the pre-program and post-program periods shows that females who stayed together with their partners had larger earnings increases between these periods, although the average difference between the groups was not statistically significant. The fact that we observe higher earnings in the pre-program period for FFP participants who stay together with their partners might suggest that those couples who were able to stay together were better at managing their family and household relationships and resources even before entering the program. It is also interesting to note in this comparison that FFP females have higher pre- to post-program average earnings increases than males,

regardless of whether or not they stayed with their partners. This may again reflect the lower intensity of participation in the FFP program activities by male partners.

CONCLUSION

The family formation goals of PRWORA have been at the center of debates regarding the transformation of the welfare system and re-authorization of the welfare reform law (see JCPR Poverty Research News, Vol. 5, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 2001). Program provisions have sought to promote the financial responsibility of non-custodial parents for their families (paternity establishment, child support enforcement) and to reward states that reduce out-of-wedlock births and promote two-parent families (with performance bonuses). Absent from the legislation and a majority of programs are provisions to support families in their efforts to procure shared living arrangements and to effectively manage family and financial responsibilities.

The Jobs for Youth/Chicago Full Family Partnership program was specifically designed to assist committed couples with diverse marital, housing and biological parenting relationships in achieving stability in their family and financial situations. Analysis of qualitative and quantitative data in the FFP program evaluation showed that female FFP participants – who stayed in the program longer than their male partners and utilized more of the family-focused supportive services – had significantly higher earnings following participation relative to both mothers receiving standard, individually-oriented services at JFY and mothers participating in JTPA, primarily as a result of higher rates of employment and a larger increase in earnings at program exit. Although the FFP program did not have a similar effect on welfare outcomes, analyses of young mothers' TANF receipt does reveal a critical relationship between completion

of the core employment and training and job placement program components at JFY and declining rates of TANF receipt. For welfare outcomes, the benefits of the FFP program operated through enrolled participants being more likely to complete the program than those who received standard services. These findings relate to a second important welfare reform issue — the role of job-training and employment preparation services — and suggest that short-term services may contribute positively to welfare outcomes.

Identifying young, committed couples and encouraging their full participation in a family-focused program was a continuing challenge for JFY. Process evaluation and interim analyses (Barclay-McLaughlin, Gordon and Heinrich, 1999; Gordon and Heinrich, 2000) suggested a number of internal and external factors that might have affected JFY's enrollment efforts, including changes in welfare programs and labor market opportunities for youth that coincided with reduced program applications, child support enforcement and other public policies affecting couples' decisions about living arrangements and program participation, changes in program eligibility criteria related to changes in program funding sources, and internal organization issues. The FFP males in particular were less likely to fully engage in the program and were more likely to exit the program early, making it difficult to define what the average experience was for them or to identify and interpret an average program effect for males in the quantitative analyses. Yet even when males reported receiving few or none of the family-focused services, nearly all indicated in follow-up surveys that involvement in the FFP program had beneficial effects for their family.

Overall, the results of our evaluation indicate that a program targeted at couples is more effective than standard individually-focused job preparation and placement services in

connecting young mothers with jobs and raising their earnings levels. Although we cannot definitely isolate the effects of particular program services that might contribute to these benefits, the qualitative components of our evaluation point toward several possibilities, including: the motivation partners may provide one another, the intensive counseling offered in the couples' program, and the increased provision of family-focused services to participants. These program components are key elements that might be considered as policymakers and program developers seek to meet the needs of a diverse range of young couples who are raising children while entering the workforce.

Table 1: Characteristics of Female Jobs for Youth/Chicago (JFY) Full Family Partnership (FFP) participants, Female JFY parents who were not FFP participants, and Female JTPA parents

Female participant characteristics	<i>FFP demonstration participants (n=116)</i>	<i>JFY parents who were not FFP participants (n=1123)</i>	<i>JTPA parents (n=949)</i>
age (mean in years)	20.24	19.94	21.99*
number of children (mean)	1.39	1.43	1.73*
single head of household (%)	81.03	95.37*	95.36*
married (%)	12.93	2.58*	n.a.
African-American (%)	94.83	92.34	72.60*
highest grade completed (mean)	11.94	11.57*	11.64
pre-program TABE ¹ math score (mean)	8.68	8.02*	9.43*
pre-program TABE reading score (mean)	10.06	9.48*	10.31
most recent hourly wage (mean for the employed)	7.55	7.32	9.71*
not employed in quarter before enrollment (%)	65.52	65.18	52.90*
earnings in quarter before enrollment (mean)	400.94	361.98	554.90*
receiving welfare (AFDC/TANF) ² at enrollment (%)	60.92	57.06	59.90
length of most recent welfare (AFDC/TANF) grant spell (mean)	26.93	30.23	27.77
receiving Food Stamps at enrollment (%)	52.59	49.24	59.64
receiving Medicaid at enrollment (%)	68.97	64.38	71.13

Notes: * Statistically significant at $p < .05$ compared to FFP demonstration participants.

¹Tests of Adult Basic Education

²Aid to Families with Dependent Children/Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

Table 2: Characteristics of Male Jobs for Youth/Chicago (JFY) Full Family Partnership (FFP) participants, Male JFY parents who were not FFP participants, and Male JTPA parents

Male participant characteristics	<i>FFP demonstration participants (n=112)</i>	<i>JFY parents who were not FFP participants (n=185)</i>	<i>JTPA parents (n=169)</i>
age (mean in years)	22.01	20.39*	24.81*
number of children (mean)	1.54	1.35	1.62*
single head of household (%)	75.00	89.19*	46.15*
married (%)	16.07	4.86*	n.a.
African-American (%)	94.64	91.89	60.36*
highest grade completed (mean)	11.71	11.60	12.08
pre-program TABE ¹ math score (mean)	8.68	8.43	9.91*
pre-program TABE reading score (mean)	10.02	9.69	10.66*
most recent hourly wage (mean for the employed)	8.31	7.68	8.11
not employed in quarter before enrollment (%)	39.29	56.76*	27.20*
earnings in quarter before enrollment (mean)	1069.95	424.93*	1399.75
receiving welfare (AFDC/TANF) ² at enrollment (%)	2.68	5.41	8.88*
length of most recent welfare (AFDC/TANF) grant spell (mean)	12.88	17.84	8.74
receiving Food Stamps at enrollment (%)	13.39	14.59	13.61
receiving Medicaid at enrollment (%)	7.14	6.49	17.16*

Notes: * Statistically significant at $p < .05$ compared to FFP demonstration participants.

¹Tests of Adult Basic Education

²Aid to Families with Dependent Children/Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

Table 3: Multilevel models of JFY FFP participant quarterly earnings compared to JFY non-FFP parent participants' earnings (before, during and after program participation)

Parameters	Females Coefficient (std. error)	Males Coefficient (std. error)
Intercept (earnings in quarter before program entry)	-1305.80* (519.48)	-2451.47* (1137.61)
G1 (pre-program earnings growth rate)	41.77* (8.86)	9.33 (56.27)
G2 (during program earnings growth rate)	111.55* (13.70)	-8.45 (41.59)
G3 (post-program earnings growth rate)	-16.81 (9.90)	-16.77 (26.82)
J2 (jump/fall in earnings at program entry)	-989.53 (524.18)	418.47 (1042.49)
J3 (jump/fall in earnings at program exit)	-234.61 (519.86)	-1350.88 (1029.52)
FFP participant	27.20 (146.48)	494.04* (212.04)
G1*FFP participant	-35.59 (66.30)	72.39 (93.32)
G2*FFP participant	52.80 (35.77)	57.27 (60.11)
G3*FFP participant	-114.95* (34.27)	104.05* (54.05)
J2*FFP participant	7.30 (127.93)	102.67 (190.90)
J3*FFP participant	750.03* (128.08)	-425.09* (195.56)
Age greater than 20 years	228.23* (65.59)	221.61 (146.39)
Highest grade	135.17* (42.62)	189.03* (92.39)
J2*Highest grade	72.40 (45.03)	-48.30 (89.13)
J3*Highest grade	76.64 (44.62)	180.32* (87.94)
TABE reading score (pre-program)	29.42* (13.75)	63.89 (37.19)
TABE math score (pre-program)	12.86 (13.15)	28.69 (34.56)
Married	-22.41 (151.37)	293.50 (238.24)
Number of children	7.70 (38.69)	97.54 (78.71)
Receiving welfare at program entry	-139.23* (60.49)	61.23 (346.50)
Number of months of most recent TANF grant spell	-0.96 (0.84)	-5.01* (2.51)
Chi-square	8111.17	1877.34
AIC	-106763	-25928

Notes: * Statistically significant at p<.05.

Table 4: Multilevel models of JFY FFP participant quarterly earnings compared to JTPA parent participants' earnings (before, during and after program participation)

Parameters	Females	Males
	Coefficient (std. error)	Coefficient (std. error)
Intercept (earnings in qtr. before program entry)	9.49 (222.77)	-1451.65* (699.51)
G1 (pre-program earnings growth rate)	42.86 (29.88)	62.87 (86.80)
G2 (during program earnings growth rate)	169.81* (26.06)	270.46* (83.85)
G3 (post-program earnings growth rate)	25.64 (19.58)	26.19 (62.39)
J2 (jump/fall in earnings at program entry)	-147.50 (120.44)	-39.98 (310.59)
J3 (jump/fall in earnings at program exit)	675.09* (119.44)	435.45 (307.09)
FFP participant	10.60 (235.68)	-69.10 (347.09)
G1*FFP participant	-9.25 (114.14)	-1.65 (133.13)
G2*FFP participant	-22.30 (55.44)	-197.78 (103.19)
G3*FFP participant	-155.75* (59.24)	93.75 (94.31)
J2*FFP participant	128.80 (235.02)	316.83 (290.75)
J3*FFP participant	598.76* (235.08)	-865.69* (298.49)
Age greater than 20 years	459.06* (98.45)	542.18* (255.97)
Completed 12 years education	170.79 (123.38)	483.65 (314.34)
Education greater than 12 years	230.36 (196.39)	86.59 (565.95)
J2*Completed 12 years education	-31.74 (137.73)	-530.23 (292.46)
J3*Completed 12 years education	271.58* (135.90)	845.30* (289.57)
J2*Education greater than 12 years	-62.04 (222.33)	989.91 (538.18)
J3*Education greater than 12 years	426.37* (220.52)	712.21 (534.91)
TABE reading score (pre-program)	39.34* (19.32)	169.54* (56.54)
TABE math score (pre-program)	30.52 (17.40)	41.08 (53.79)
Number of children	-48.38 (49.03)	123.49 (150.38)
Receiving welfare at program entry	-427.68* (85.56)	286.74 (427.89)
Number of mos. most recent TANF grant spell	1.10 (1.41)	-8.98 (4.71)
Chi-square	5673.87	1228.42
AIC	-114101	-17257

Notes: * Statistically significant at p<.05.

Table 5: Probit models predicting the likelihood of welfare receipt and employment in the six months following program application for FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers

Predicting TANF Receipt	All FFP and JFY non-FFP mothers	FFP/JFY non-FFP program completers	Completers with random effects
Constant	0.150* (0.036)	0.248* (0.062)	0.810* (0.138)
FFP participant	0.044 (0.129)	0.017 (0.150)	0.132 (0.292)
Time: Enrollment	0.018 (0.014)	0.025 (0.025)	0.062 (0.050)
Time: Post Month 1	-0.016 (0.032)	-0.327* (0.066)	-0.599* (0.142)
Time: Post Month 2	-0.065 (0.035)	-0.448* (0.070)	-0.900* (0.155)
Time: Post Month 3	-0.158* (0.036)	-0.553* (0.072)	-1.180* (0.166)
Time: Post Month 4	-0.205* (0.037)	-0.610* (0.073)	-1.323* (0.174)
Time: Post Month 5	-0.260* (0.038)	-0.721* (0.075)	-1.602* (0.185)
Time: Post Month 6	-0.290* (0.039)	-0.728* (0.077)	-1.601* (0.191)
Time: Enrollment*FFP participant	0.006 (0.045)	-0.025 (0.049)	-0.064 (0.095)
Time: Post Month 1*FFP participant	-0.323* (0.129)	-0.085 (0.165)	-0.217 (0.368)
Time: Post Month 2*FFP participant	-0.373* (0.137)	-0.144 (0.169)	-0.441 (0.396)
Time: Post Month 3*FFP participant	-0.380* (0.141)	-0.133 (0.170)	-0.462 (0.414)
Time: Post Month 4*FFP participant	-0.385* (0.144)	-0.141 (0.176)	-0.511 (0.445)
Time: Post Month 5*FFP participant	-0.357* (0.142)	-0.062 (0.173)	-0.339 (0.434)
Time: Post Month 6*FFP participant	-0.379* (0.146)	-0.123 (0.178)	-0.510 (0.471)
Predicting IDES employment			
Constant	-0.309* (0.036)	-0.166* (0.062)	-0.233* (0.080)
FFP participant	-0.010 (0.130)	-0.130 (0.151)	-0.165 (0.191)
Time: Post Quarter 1	0.427* (0.035)	1.282* (0.091)	1.650* (0.131)
Time: Post Quarter 2	0.573* (0.043)	0.997* (0.086)	1.273* (0.121)
Time: Post Quarter 1*FFP participant	0.761* (0.170)	0.269 (0.234)	0.341 (0.300)
Time: Post Quarter 2*FFP participant	0.681* (0.178)	0.614* (0.231)	0.792* (0.298)
Random effects: u1, u2, correlation u1,u2			1.874* (0.071) 0.799* (0.092) -0.222* (0.070)
Log likelihood	-10050.61	-3420.32	-2372.36

Notes: * p<.05

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics for Relationship Stability: Fragile Families and the FFP Program				
Fragile Families Relationship Categories	Percentage of Sample in Each Relationship Category at Baseline		Percentage within Relationship Categories That Stayed Together Through One Year Follow-up	
	Fragile Families ^a	Full Family Partnership	Fragile Families	Full Family Partnership
Married	25.00	16.25	95.80	46.15
Cohabiting	40.00	20.00	91.30	81.25
“Visiting” (romantically involved but living apart)	20.87	41.25	73.30	84.85

Notes. Fragile Families statistics are from Carlson, McLanahan, & England, 2001, Table 2. Note that at the time the paper was written data were available for only 2 of the 20 cities in the Fragile Families sample and the statistics will be updated when follow up data are available for all the cities. To draw on all available data about FFP participants we conduct weighted analyses (when both partners have data, the weight for each is 0.5; when one partner has data, the weight is 1).

^a Total does not add to 100% because two Fragile Families categories in which couples are not romantically involved are excluded from our table.

Table 7: Measures of Commitment to Relationship at Baseline and Follow-up Among FFP Couples Who Stayed Together			
	Engaged or Married?	Coresiding?	Pooling Most of Their Finances?
Baseline	32%	37%	37%
Follow-up	49%	54%	58%

Notes. To draw on all available data we conduct weighted analyses (when both partners have data, the weight for each is 0.5; when one partner has data, the weight is 1).

Table 8: Average Happiness with Four Aspects of the Partner Relationship at Baseline: By Relationship Status at Follow-up

Still Together at Follow-Up?	Your Partner's Efforts to Help You Achieve Your Goals	Your Partner Being There for You When You Need Help	The Love and Affection You Get from Your Partner	Your Partner as a Parent
No	3.93	4.03	3.83	4.45
Yes	4.53	4.68	4.63	4.70
T-statistic (p-value)	1.82 (0.04)	2.08 (0.02)	2.18 (0.02)	1.32 (0.10)

Notes. Response structures for each happiness question ranged from 1=unhappy to 5=happy. All p-values are one-sided, reflecting the hypothesis that couples who broke up would have lower scores on baseline relationship happiness than those who stayed together. To draw on all available data we conduct weighted analyses (when both partners have data, the weight for each is 0.5; when one partner has data, the weight is 1).

Table 9: Average earnings of partners who stay together and those who separate before and after their participation in the Full Family Partnership (FFP) program

FFP participants' relationship status at time of follow-up and average annual earnings*	Average earnings in year before participation	Average earnings in year following participation	Average change in annual earnings from pre- to post-program years
Still together - Males (n=32)	\$4064.40	\$7243.72	\$2984.71
Still together - Females (n=38)	3752.66	9643.77	5550.79
Separated - Males (n=13)	1644.90	7098.08	3996.33
Separated - Females (n=19)	1000.19	8739.69	4854.48

*For some of the FFP participants, complete earnings data were not available in both the periods before and after program participation.

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Figure 1: Average quarterly earnings of females before, during and after program participation

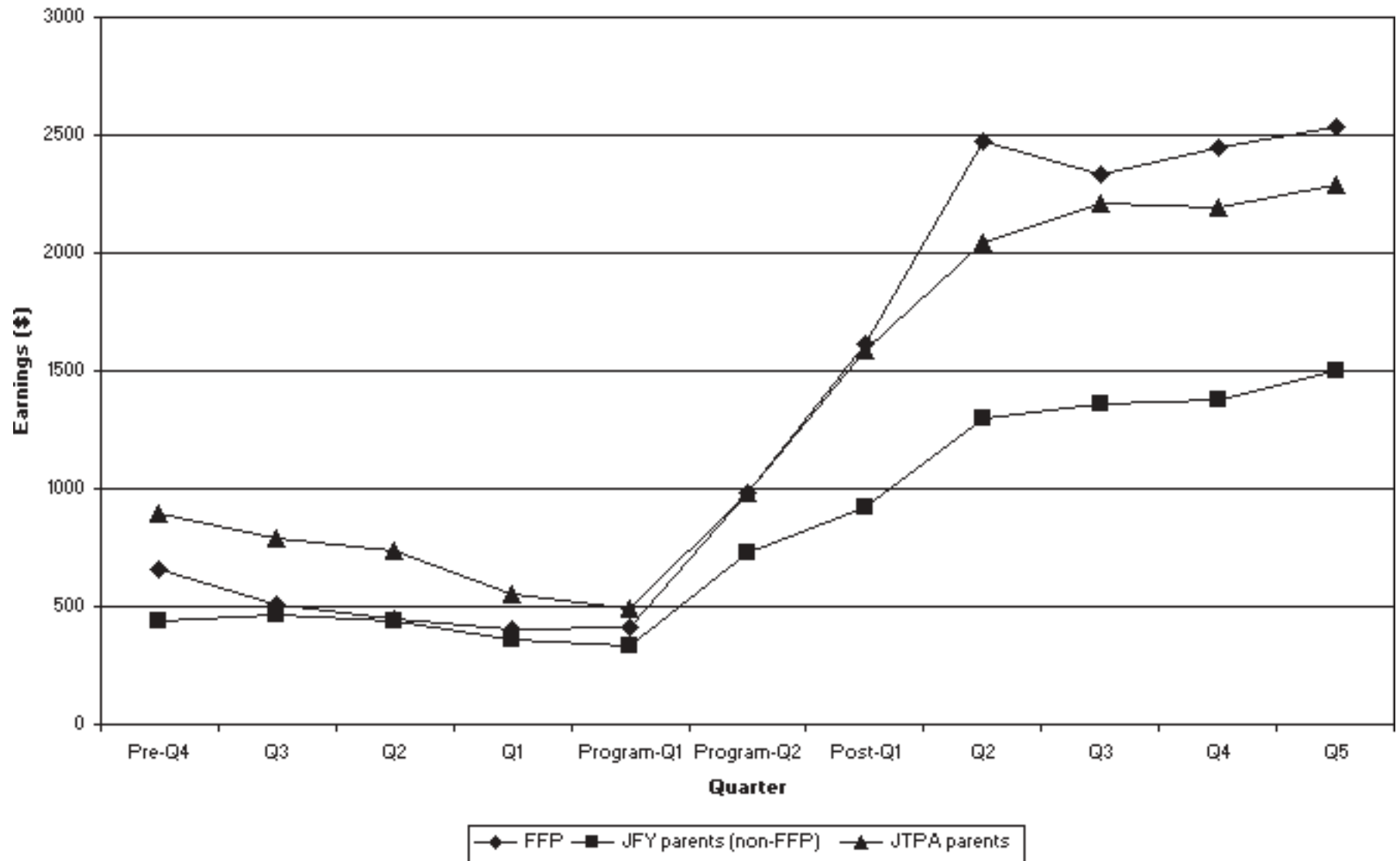


Figure 2: Average quarterly earnings of males before, during and after program participation

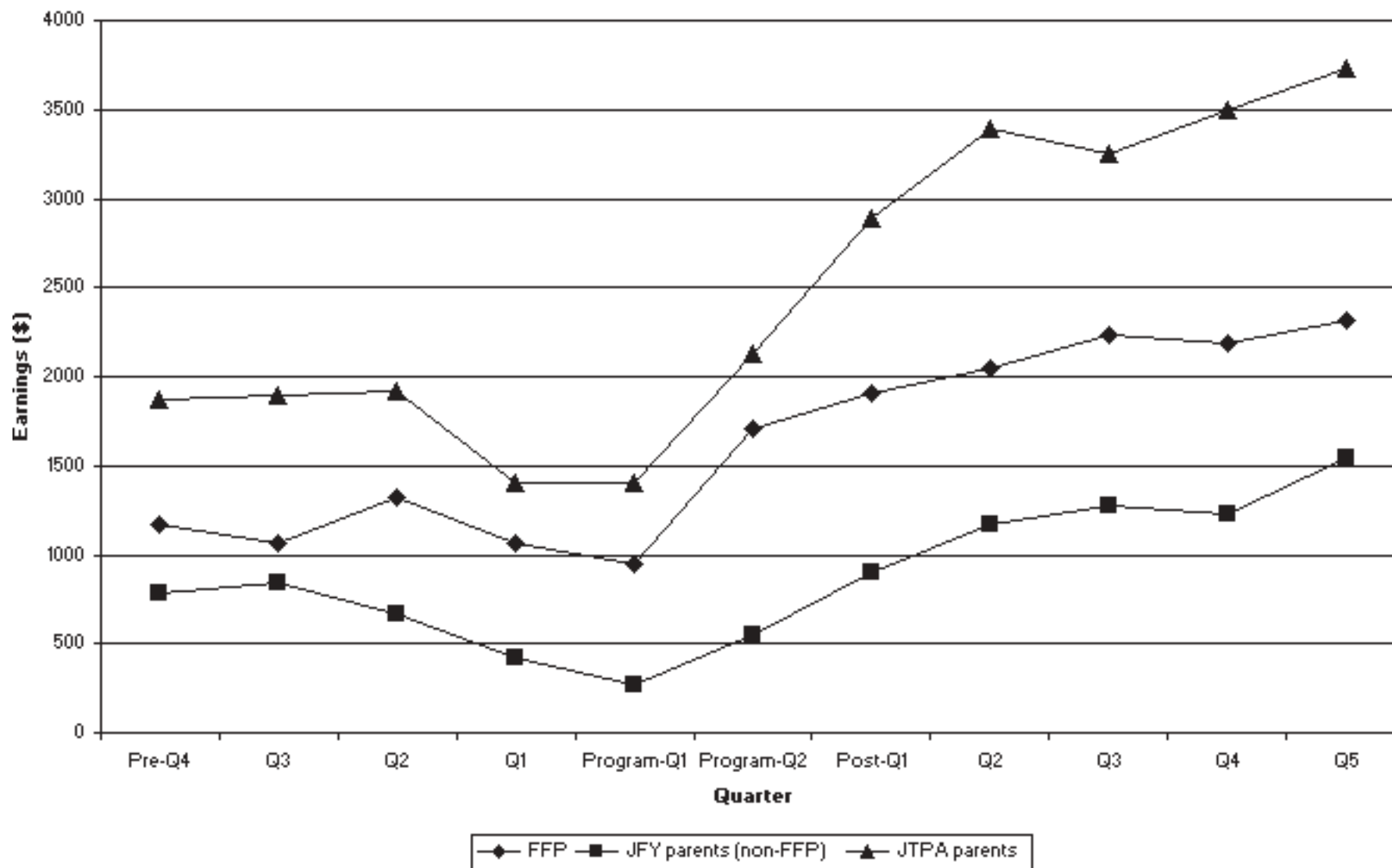


Figure 3. Percentage of FFP Mothers Receiving TANF and Showing Some IDES Earnings by JFY Program Participation Timeline and JFY Program Completion Status.

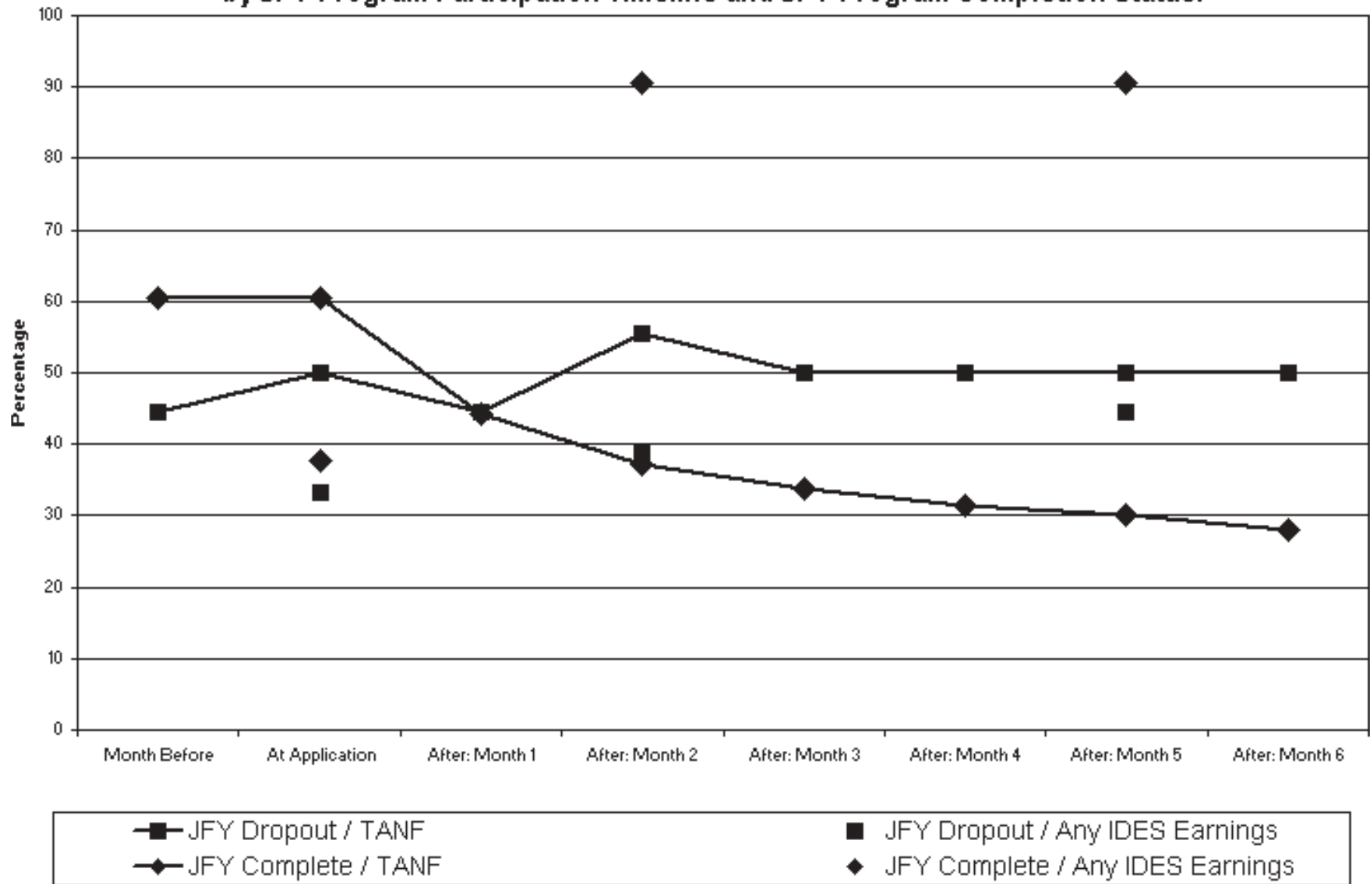


Figure 4. Percentage of non-FFP Mothers Receiving TANF and Showing Some IDES Earnings by JFY Program Participation Timeline and JFY Program Completion Status.

