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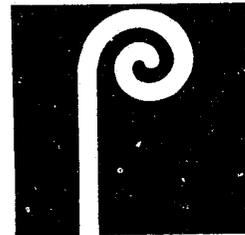
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EXIT

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FINAL REPORT
SEPTEMBER 1, 1973



Palmer Paulson Associates, Inc.

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ACQUISITIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As in any demonstration project, many independent variables bear directly on the performance of the project. This project was almost totally concerned with people, and consequently, the cooperation and support of the people working in the corrections field and the many other areas which relate to our work made the accomplishment of the task a realistic and even enjoyable undertaking. We are grateful to all of those people and especially want to thank these:

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FINAL REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This is a report on the operation of Project EXIT (Ex-offenders in Transition) in its second and final year of administration by Palmer/Paulson Associates. The first year of operation covered the period of September 14, 1971 to September 13, 1972, with the second year ending September 1, 1973. The project intended to demonstrate the need for, and importance of, meaningful employment for Maine's ex-offender population. It was anticipated that after the program was established by the contractor and a staff hired, trained, and operative, that the State would assume full responsibility for the operation of the project. This need has been demonstrated and it is the intention of the Bureau to continue operation of both the job-development and pre-release functions under the auspices of the Division of Probation and Parole, upon completion of Palmer/Paulson's contract.

As stated above, the project's purpose was to provide pre-release job preparation, meaningful job development, and post-employment counseling for Maine's ex-offender population. A more detailed description of these phases follows in the section entitled Project Operation.

The project's second year of operation was funded by a combination of LEAA block and discretionary grant money (no. 73-ED-01-005) in the combined amount of \$302,267, divided between the two money categories on an approximate 1:1 ratio.



In the Annual Report of the Project's first year of operation, considerable time was spent in a detailed description and chronology of the set-up and operation of the Project. The purpose of this report will be to present the data collected and analyzed as it relates and related to the operation, direction, and goals of the effort.



Operation of the Project

Project EXIT is an innovative approach to reducing repeated crime. It is a program of the Department of Mental Health and Corrections for the State of Maine and its purpose is to assist in the transition of an ex-offender back into free society.

EXIT, which stands for "Ex-offenders In Transition" is a state-wide job-development program for parolees, probationers and other individuals having had contact with the judicial system. Pre-release orientation to the outside world, a concentrated job-development effort, and an intensive follow-up counseling component work as an integral unit to make that transition successful.

All efforts are directed toward 1) placing ex-offenders in jobs they are qualified for and interested in, 2) providing follow-up counseling for the client and the employer, 3) providing whatever other social services, either directly or by referrals, that are needed to see that the individual meets with success.

In essence, the Project operates as follows: names of those inmates eligible for parole or discharge from the institution are made available to the EXIT training coordinator at the institution, who then interviews each person eligible for release and explains the services that EXIT can provide. Only those who indicate a desire to participate are taken into the voluntary program. While the men are in the EXIT orientation program at the institutions, inventories of their work experience, occupational interests and and personal background are prepared by the coordinators and



distributed to the appropriate field personnel who begin job-development activities. Once an appropriate job has been arranged, housing and other problems are explored and the proposed program is discussed with the parole officer. If acceptable, it is approved by him. As soon as the person is released his counselor establishes an informal counseling schedule with him. They work closely to help the client deal with the many problems of the transition from the institution to the community.

Insofar as counselor case loads permit, the Project accepts referrals of ex-offenders already in the community and provides job development and counseling services to them.

In scope, EXIT efforts are statewide, effectively serving clients throughout the state. Eighteen EXIT staff members work from offices located in Portland, Lewiston, Augusta, and Bangor serving males and females, adults, and juveniles.

Pre-Release Program

The initial concept of the pre-release program at the outset of EXIT was a job-preparatory course (30 days prior to his release), in which the inmate would review or be taught the mechanics of acquiring employment, of how to handle human relations problems on the job, and such necessary skills as budgeting and purchasing insurance.

In a short time, a re-evaluation of the program's syllables was in order. The first adjustment made was to lower the general academic level of its content from an eighth or ninth grade level



to a more appropriate fifth grade equivalency. Also, the orientation to a rural community from an urban was necessary in order to relate more specifically to the background of a majority of the inmates.

Although the program had only 30 days per group, it became increasingly obvious that the outstanding need in both institutions was for much greater emphasis on solving personal problems rather than exclusively the problems of employment.

The Director of the Pre-Release Program, in agreement with the two orientation counselors, felt that to teach a man to deal with only one specific area of his life such as his employment situation is not enough - no matter what the time limitations of the program may be. The goals of the program were redirected to provide the inmate with the tools to better understand and interact with people with the idea that he would apply these to the specific areas of his own life.

Because of the very limited time allotment for the program (30 days) this goal of providing increased awareness of self and others was, in fact, somewhat unrealistic. However, since the counseling process begun in the institution was continued by the field counselor upon the client's release, the pre-release program could realistically be viewed as the initial step in motivating the client to begin the process of better understanding himself and his own motivation. The second step in this process and likewise a goal of this program is to attempt to provide him with a functional means of understanding other people and thus to increase his know-



ledge of human nature to better understand his own interaction with society.

These rather "lofty" ideals have brought the program where it is to date. The subject matter, the syllabus of the program, concentrates on providing the man with the "tools" to gain greater self-knowledge. A practical means of problem-solving is presented to the clients with the intention of teaching him the necessity of greater objectivity in his decision-making process. Planning realistic personal objectives and a step-by-step implementation process formulated by the client is practiced to impress upon him the need for goal-setting in addition to a relevant time-frame for these goals. If the program could be expanded to possibly 90 days, it undoubtedly would have a greater impact. A pre-release program, ideally, should begin the day the inmate enters the institution. At present, the EXIT pre-release program is only an adjunct to the over-all process of preparing the client for his reintegration in the community.

The EXIT Job Developer

The Job Developer's role in the Project was to seek out prospective employers and develop meaningful employment situations for the ex-offenders being released from the institutions.

This was a demanding job, requiring an individual with a great deal of dedication to the concept of hiring the ex-offender, a high frustration threshold, and often infinite energy.



There were four job-developers working in the Project, and while initially, all were asked to use the same basic approach in developing jobs, it became apparent that while the same techniques would be used by all men, success was best achieved by incorporating these techniques into an individual approach. Job development has many aspects in common with direct sales, those of presenting an idea, overcoming objections, and eliciting a commitment; but at the same time, it went beyond the sales role to include coordination of related agencies, close cooperation in planning of activities with the particular counselor assigned to the case, functioning as a liason between the client and the local criminal justice system.

Job Development - The Exit Client

Before engaging in depth the heart of Job Development analysis, it seems appropriate at this time to begin with a basic description in general of the type of client that participated in the employment component of the EXIT program. The first area to be covered in this section is the type of jobs by skill level utilized by EXIT clients. Essentially, there are eight categories of skills ranging upward from laborer, service, operative, craftsman/foreman, white collar, farming, managerial, to professional. These skill levels will be used at this time to construct the overall employment picture of EXIT clients prior to project participation. The in-depth analysis will trace the levels of employment that emerged once the client became employed through EXIT to the disposition of his termination. By coding skill level according to the job longest held prior to EXIT contact, 49% of EXIT clients were



laborers, 19% in service occupations, 15% operatives, 6% craftsman/foreman, 7% white collar, 2% farming, 2% managerial, and 1% professional. The bulk of pre-EXIT clients, nearly 70%, fell in the laborer and services categories with a large majority of these people being unskilled.

The average educational level of all EXIT clients was tenth grade with 87% falling between eight through twelve years of education, and 96% having twelve years or less. Only 5% had 13 or more years of formal education. The average age of EXIT clients was 24 years with 78% being 26 or under and 85% being 30 or under.

Drugs and alcohol did not present as much of a sample as was previously predicted. Out of all past and present EXIT clients, 15% were considered to have drug problems and 22% were believed to have an alcohol problem. The sample showed that of those who had a problem with drugs or alcohol, they usually had either one or the other and rarely both. A total of 35% had some form of drug or alcohol problem. This is not to say that crimes committed by EXIT clients, that may have been related to either drugs or alcohol, could not have been higher. The 35% figure refers to those clients who were believed to have or have had a serious problem with either drugs or alcohol.

Nearly 17% of all EXIT clients were involved with some form of Job Training programs. MDTA was patronized the most by EXIT clients with other programs such as Maine CEP, OJT, Institutional Training, etc., dispersing equally the remaining participants. Military Service accounted for very little of the formal job



training, although 26% of the clients had had prior military service. Lack of transportation was a problem shared by the majority of EXIT clients. Maine has a poor public transportation system, and only 35% of all EXIT clients had driver's licenses with 34% having access to vehicles. Licenses are needed not only to drive to and from work, but also many of the clients' employment situations require a certain amount of driving.

All these above mentioned characteristics and problems that relate to employment concerning the more personal history of the EXIT client will be covered more fully in the following in-depth study. Further analysis will attempt to bring together and examine all pertinent variables and factors that determine employment disposition.

EXIT - Related Variables in Job Development

The most important aspect of EXIT's program is finding a man or woman gainful employment, or under some circumstances, placing an individual into a training slot to increase job-preparedness and/or job skill. In addition, a few individuals have been placed in a college-level academic curriculum or in high school courses designed to complete a diploma.

Table I illustrates both the number of individuals placed in job or job-preparatory positions as well as the total number of job placements.



<u>Frequency Count of Exit Placements</u>		
<u>Number of EXIT Jobs Held</u>	<u>Number of Individuals</u>	<u>Number of Job Placements</u>
0	(364)	---
1	307	307
2	96	192
3	29	87
4	12	48
5	3	15
6	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>
	449	661

As of this writing, 449 individuals have been placed in a total of 661 job or job-preparatory positions. The discrepancy between the two figures results from the situation in which a single individual is placed in more than one EXIT job (either because the individual failed in his first job, held two jobs simultaneously, had several jobs, or was upgraded by EXIT to a better job). This represents at least one job or job-preparatory placement for 55% of all the clients with whom EXIT has ever had contact. These figures do not represent those clients who did not appear at the job site once having acquired the job (no shows). A total of 354 people have terminated one or more jobs that contributed to 510 employment terminations as of June 1, 1973.

Starting Salary - EXIT Jobs

Figures I, II, and III, on the following pages, illustrate the starting salary range of the first, second, and third EXIT job placements. The mean starting salary for individuals on their



first EXIT job is \$2.15/hr. For individuals on the second and third EXIT job placement, the mean starting salaries are \$2.25/hr. and \$2.52/hr. Clients on their second and third job placements demonstrated a considerable increase in earning. These increases may be caused by a number of factors, for example: job developers are encouraged to make explicit provisions with a prospective employer regarding the frequency and magnitude of potential increase, skill training, and upgrading in a single employment situation; the client may be upgraded by changing jobs (i.e., finding a situation more suitable to his interests and monetary desires). No matter what the different factors may be for the higher salary range, it is important to note that the percentage of those clients that successfully terminated EXIT while working, increased considerably from the first job placement to the third job placement.



DISTRIBUTION OF STARTING SALARIES

Mean \bar{x} = 2.15/hr.

FIRST PLACEMENT

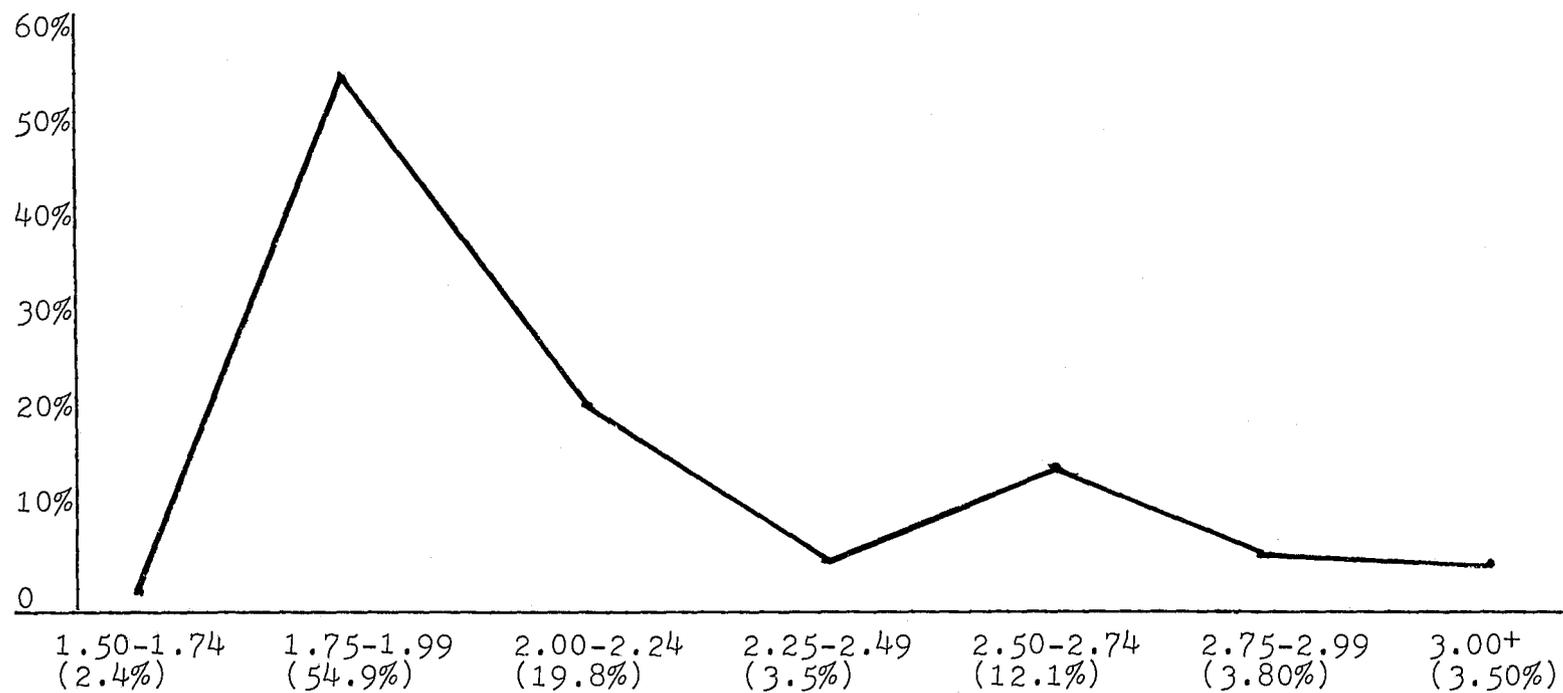


FIGURE 1.

SECOND PLACEMENT

Mean X = 2.25/hr.

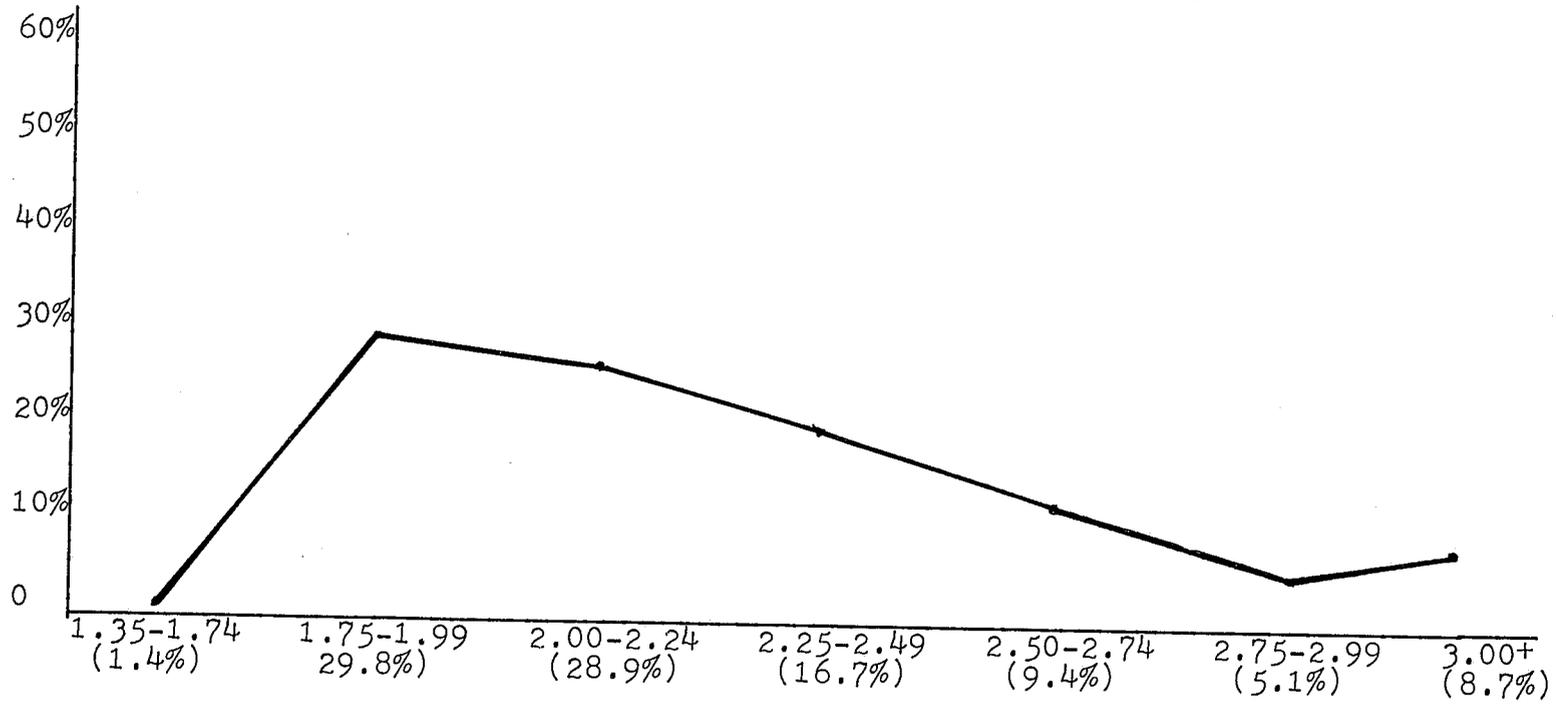


FIGURE 2.

THIRD PLACEMENT

Mean X = 2.52/hr.

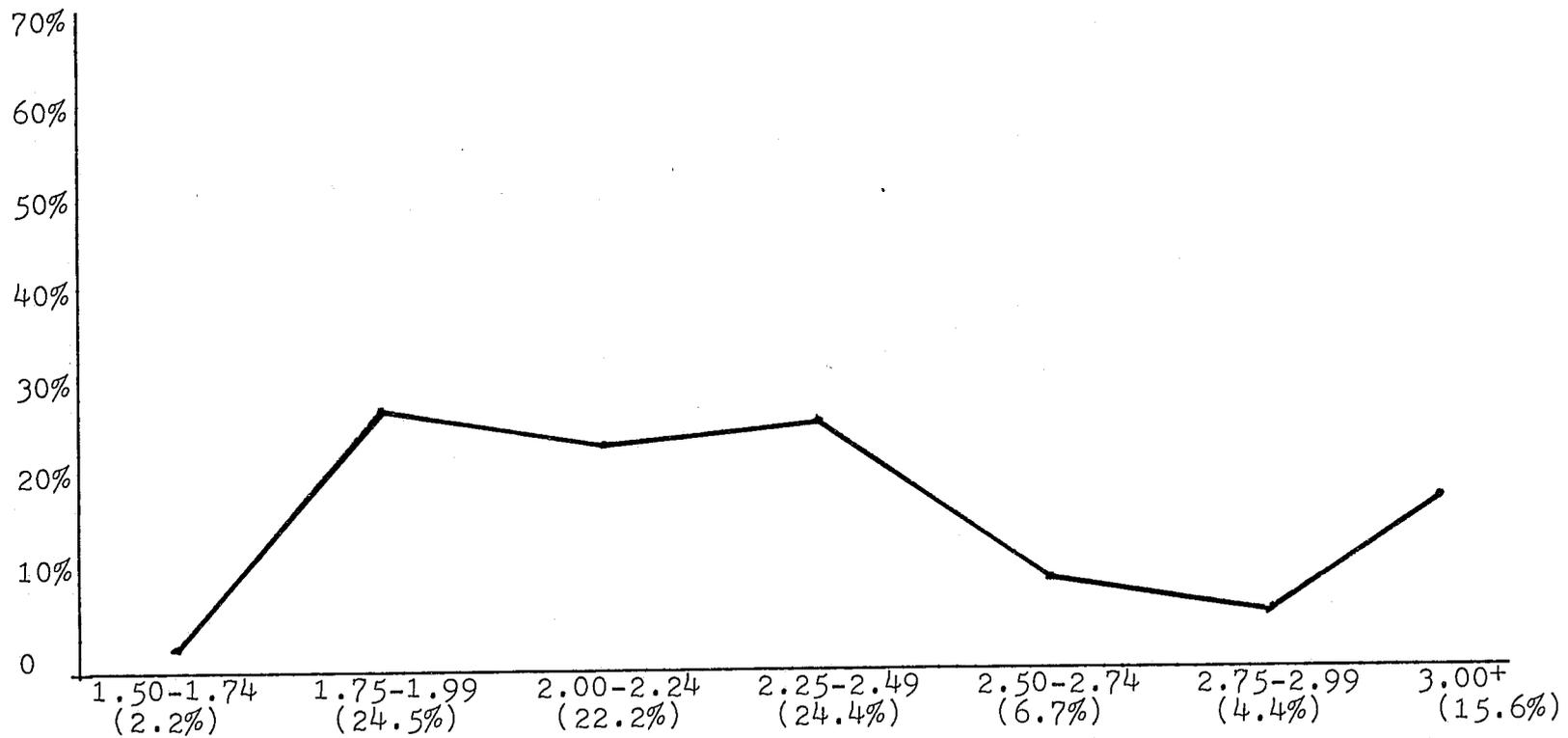


FIGURE 3.

Skill Level - Exit Jobs

Following the U. S. Census Bureau definition of skill levels, Tables 2, 3, and 4 present data on the frequency of the several skill levels for individuals on three Exit job placements.

TABLE 2

Frequency Distribution of Skill Levels -
First Exit Placements

	<u>Percent</u>
Professional	0.9%
Managerial	0.7%
Farming	0.9%
White Collar	4.5%
Craft/Foreman	5.4%
Operative	20.1%
Service	18.8%
Labor	<u>48.9%</u>
	100%

TABLE 3

Second Exit Placements

	<u>Percent</u>
Professional	.0%
Managerial	0.7%
Farming	0.7%
White Collar	5.1%
Craft/Foreman	5.8%
Operative	21.0%
Service	15.9%
Labor	<u>50.7%</u>
	100%



Table 4Third Exit Placements

	<u>Percent</u>
Professional	0.0%
Managerial	2.1%
Farming	0.0%
White Collar	4.2%
Craft/Foreman	2.1%
Operative	16.7%
Service	22.9%
Labor	<u>52.1%</u>
	100%

At the aggregate level, the types of jobs which EXIT secured for its clients do not differ substantially from the types of jobs which clients report they were holding down prior to their contact with EXIT. Laboring jobs were predominate, accounting for nearly half of all job placements, and demonstrated a gradual increase through all three jobs. Service and Operative, the next two largest skill levels, fluctuated somewhat between the first two placements; but on the third placement, Service showed a marked increase and Operative decreased. It may be important to note here that the percentage of those clients who successfully terminated EXIT while working on their third placement was much higher than the other two jobs. This might indicate a small but important factor supporting the belief that over-employment on the first and second job placements could contribute to the job failure pattern of some individuals. This factor and other related positive and negative variables on this subject will be discussed at more length in the analysis of job development as it relates to success/failure. Craftsman/Foreman, White Collar, Farming, and Professional skill levels follows in



rapidly descending frequency.

Skill level is not always correlated highly with salary level. In fact, there is little beginning salary differential in labor, service, and operative positions; only with craft or foreman positions do starting salaries jump considerably above the lower three skill levels. In the highest levels, our numbers are too small to make meaningful statements about typical starting salaries.

Counseling Component

Before examining the dimensions of the EXIT counseling component, it is important to grasp an accurate picture of the client for whom these services and efforts are expended. To accomplish this task more vividly, we will incorporate the most significant variables into one hypothetical client character and follow with the supportive statistics which warranted his creation.

Smitty is 24 years old, unmarried, unemployed, and a parolee of four months from Maine State Prison. His initial contact with EXIT came through the orientation program at the prison where he was able to obtain employment to fulfill his parole-to-placement status, and consequently, was released to live in the Portland area. He knew this area well because he had been practically self-sufficient since 14 when his parents were divorced. He had some minor "run-ins" with the police as a juvenile, but was not convicted until he was eighteen. This first breaking and entering charge earned him a two-year probation. Although he confided to friends the actual number of "jobs" in which he participated, he was not convicted



until three years after the first offense, entering the Maine State Prison after his 22nd birthday.

At 24, Smitty has virtually no skill or specialized training. His one-year commitment to the State Prison for breaking, entering, and larceny enabled him to obtain his high school equivalency or GED, although, academically, he did not complete the eighth grade. With no other assets, no military training or experience, it was a difficult job attempting to find him employment with some upward mobility.

His placement at a large paper factory was an appropriate one, or so it seemed, since it provided him with a better than average wage for his labor with some opportunity for training. After six weeks, Smitty's discontent or inability to deal with his immediate supervisor caused him to quit. Subsequently, with his obvious need for job training, he was placed with a small engine repair business. Since the firm had only four employees, the training and personal relationships provided a more conducive environment for Smitty's reintegration into the community. It also provided a more solid problem-solving base in hurdling obstacles such as transportation to the job. Smitty had no driver's license when released from prison and had been late to his first job on several occasions since he was forced to use an antiquated public transit system. In the second job, his transportation problem rapidly surfaced and was resolved by a ride with a co-worker.

To attempt to dissolve all the significant variables from 826 cases into a single hypothetical example is, of course, an



impossibility. But the profile of Smitty as a typical client provides us with an opportunity to review the statistics which elaborate on the definition of an EXIT client.

Eighty-four percent of the EXIT clientele are male, and 77% are 26 years of age or younger. Not unlike Smitty, 51% have committed two or more offenses, and the average age at first offense is 18. Although the median educational level of EXIT clients is tenth grade, we feel, as was Smitty's case, that the number of academic years completed is probably lower. When a man obtains his GED he often uses the term interchangeably with "12th grade" or "high school diploma".

Eighty-five percent of our clients are single; 56% are on parole, and 72% have been convicted of a felony. Likewise, 70% have served one year or less for their last offense, and 82% have at some time been incarcerated.

Of the 826 clients and their related offenses which brought them to EXIT, 60% of these violations were crimes against property, 20% against person, 13% drug offenses, and the remaining 7% juvenile or unclassified crimes.

Also similar to Smitty's situation is the lack of marketable skill or training. Forty-nine percent of our clients can only be classified as laborers. One significant loss of training opportunity is the additional fact that 74% had no military service. A further complication preventing needed stability in employment for the ex-offender is his inability to obtain private transportation - specifically, not having a valid driver's license. Sixty-five percent of EXIT clients were plagued with this problem.



Smitty's dissimilarity with the total population occurs with his second job placement, since only 21% of all EXIT clients had two placements. The other missing elements from his experience which we need to mention in light of an accurate over-all view of EXIT clients, is the involvement with drugs or alcohol or both. Fifteen percent of EXIT clients were recognized as having a drug addiction in the legal sense. Twenty-three percent were alcoholics. Because it would be relatively impossible to obtain completely accurate data in these areas, the figures are subject to some interpretation. The percentage of alcoholics does in no way reflect the number of alcohol-related offenses; nor does the percentage of drug addicts include an accurate count of those offenders who did not feel they could confide in their EXIT counselor the nature of, or even admission of, their drug use.

Additional examples or facts about the EXIT clients will be discussed in relation to the type of counselor working with the ex-offender, his particular approach to the individual's problem, and the counseling techniques emphasized on a project basis.

Individual Techniques of Counselors

Initially, at the inception of EXIT two years ago, it was felt that the emphasis of the field counselor would be primarily, if not exclusively, in the employment area of the client's activities. Since the original conception of the program was to facilitate successful adjustment to an employment situation, the counselor's activities were directed toward and concentrated on assisting the client in



his interview, in getting to the job, and with any human relations problem which might occur in his job environment.

It was soon determined that the counselor had to expand not only his perspective of the client but also of the type of services rendered to the client. For instance, the counselor began to feel pressure from his clients to provide personal counseling for the gamut of human problems. Clients, at first, saw EXIT or the EXIT counselor as a panacea for their particular plight. The resulting problem, of course, was that an inordinate amount of pressure was placed on the counselor, demanding that they produce solutions to problems and client predicaments that they simply did not have.

The ex-offender posed a particularly difficult counseling problem even for our most experienced and professional people. One of the staff counselors capsulized this problem well.

"My own experiences with the ex-inmate quickly established that while the client was amenable to receiving supportive services from the project, this was not always true for direct counseling. The inmate, it seemed, excited over the prospect of parole and freedom as he viewed it, frequently denied the existence of any problem areas and instead focused his attention on resuming his previous lifestyle. Formal counseling for this particular inmate was, therefore, resisted, simply because he dismissed the need for it... The conclusion I reached, therefore, was that one-to-one counseling, as traditionally practiced, was ineffective in working with most, but not all, EXIT clients."

If these traditional methods of counseling were not effective for the ex-offender, what, then, were the alternatives? Often the



counselor became deeply involved in all aspects of the client's life - his home situation, his job environment, and his personal relationships in order to reduce the pressure on the client from these charged situations.

Also, the fact that our counselors simply made themselves available to the client enabled the ex-inmate to cope with personal problems that previously had no means of ventilation.

Although termed by some counselors "the last alternative in counseling" and by others "the first and foremost element" of an effective counseling situation, it is agreed that the relationship between the client and the counselor is often the most effective implement of behavioral change. Again, in the words of an EXIT counselor, "I observed where a mutual state of trust existed, the client used his relationship with the counselor to observe, sometimes quite unconsciously, the counselor's own coping patterns and behavior and often took these for his own model".

Thus, the specific problem in counseling ex-offenders we found to be how to provide them with the insight to recognize their own problem areas and anti-social behavior modes in order that they might be motivated toward the solving of these problems in their own self-interest. Indeed, by any standards, this is a large order; but interestingly enough, the goal was accomplished in some cases by counselors regardless of their professional background. The people with professional counselor training tended to be more consistent, but sometimes unsuccessful with clients who did extremely well with the para-professional.



One final brief comment is reserved for the effect dealing with ex-offenders had on the counselors themselves. Initially, most were very compassionate toward the problem-ridden life of their clients. However, as time progressed, and they found themselves often used or their good intentions exploited, they became somewhat hardened, if only for their own self-preservation, and not so willing to extend the supreme effort unless the client showed some motivation of his own.

One counselor stated after 14 months with EXIT, "Generally speaking I have found my clients to be disloyal, dishonest, and deceitful". He later explained he was forced to establish more realistic goals for his clients, and that in doing this he became more effective in his counseling efforts.

Many of the changes and re-evaluations of the counseling component were paralleled by the evolutionary changes made in the Pre-Release Counseling Programs in both Maine State Prison and Men's Correctional Center.

Public Information

Project EXIT is an example of a community-based correctional program. The success of the program and, in turn, of its clients is directly dependent upon the involvement of the community, its civic organizations, its volunteer groups, and its employers.

Similarly, because the concept of community correctional programs is a relatively new one, there is some difficulty communicating to the public the importance of the role it can play in solving the



crime problem. For many years the entire correctional process has been relegated to a department or an institution, when the most effective arena of rehabilitation is actually in the community itself. The public, however, is somewhat reluctant to accept this role in its entirety at the present time.

It was for this reason that we attempted to maintain a consistent public information campaign on not only the operations of Project EXIT but also of correctional activities throughout the State of Maine. The thrust of this public information effort came primarily through newspaper articles covering the efforts of Project EXIT, as well as those of the Bureau of Corrections. Television coverage in the form of community affairs, talk shows, and local news releases assisted in presenting to the public the goals of the Bureau in implementing programs such as EXIT. Several radio discussions as well as "open line" public participation programs were aired to stimulate local response to the concept of increased responsibility for the community in supporting correctional or rehabilitation programs.

Additionally, the efforts of this public information campaign were not confined to the media of the State of Maine. The successful response to the activities of Project EXIT were publicized nationally, including an informative interview on the NBC Today Show.

The role that public awareness plays in the implementation of community correctional programs is obviously a significant one. The better the local neighborhood understands the goal of volunteer parole officer programs, or a halfway house, the more successful these efforts will be. It is for this reason we feel it absolutely necessary that such efforts to familiarize the public with these correctional activities be maintained.



Methodology and Interpretation of Statistics

Much of this report makes reference to data collected about EXIT clients. The collection, processing and interpretation of data has been no small part of the EXIT experience in Maine. Data collection, processing and analysis has functioned not only to evaluate the EXIT impact, in Maine, but also as an aid to EXIT activities and impact. All too often projects of this sort do not see the need for, or dismiss as a luxury, the data collection and research function.

For this report, data has been collected from clients, institutional data about clients, and up-to-date client activity in the EXIT process has been recorded.

All of the empirical information discussed in the report is as of June 1, 1973, unless otherwise stated. At that date, 59 categories of client information represented the three areas of activity (personal, institutional and EXIT) for 826 clients. These categories or variables form the major part of the data base used for this evaluation of client and EXIT performance. Other data has also been collected for comparative purposes and has been referred to in the text.

Data was processed by the use of the SPSS packaged program housed in the University of Maine's IBM 360 computer.¹ This program allowed the user evaluative statistical procedures such as basic summary tabulations and percentages about the 59 specific categories

¹ Formally called Statistical Package For The Social Sciences, (Norman Nie, Dale H. Bent, C. Hadlai Hull), Version of 02/01/72.



to more complex breakdowns of the population, including correlational and regression analysis.

Since some of the statistics generated from these programs are used in the text, a brief explanation of those statistics is in order.

Most common is the use of frequency distributions of individual variables and of one variable in relation to another. This will take the form of raw frequency scores (number of cases) and percentages of these raw scores. For example, as of June 1, 1973, 694 or 84% of our clients were male and 132 or 16% were female.

Correlation analysis is employed to indicate a relationship or lack of relationship of one variable to another. Correlation analysis attempts to uncover the extent to which the presence of one variable is associated with the presence of another. It does not speak of causes or cause and effect. With this procedure the chi square (X^2) refers to a measure of association; a significant chi square (at or beyond the .05 level) indicates that a relationship exists (technically that a relationship has not been shown not to exist).² The gamma coefficient is a measure of the strength of the relationship between two variables. In other words, how likely are we to see one variable with another? Gamma scores beyond the .30 indicates a relationship of some strength. Of course, the

² For further description of the chi square statistic see: Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), p. 212-221; or Paul G. Hoel, Elementary Statistics, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), Chapter 10.



higher the gamma score, the stronger the relationship.³

Multiple regression (stepwise) has also been used. This is a powerful statistical technique which measures the "causal" impact of one variable on another by controlling for the relationship among all (measured) variables.⁴ In SPSS, the method of least squares is used in a linear model. This means that after designating all possible independent variables and one dependent variable, the computer will select in stepwise fashion those independent variables which have a significant effect upon the dependent variable starting with the one which has the most effect. The relationship assumed is a linear one, and an interval scale of measurement must be assumed for the dependent variable.

Regression analysis was used for two types of phenomena; job failure and incarceration post-EXIT contact. In the former case, the job disposition of the first and second placement was designed to fit a linear scale of failure to success. Each became a dependent variable. Using regression for latter phenomenon presented some problems because the dependent variable (recidivism) was dichotomous (yes-no). Because it lacks linear qualities, as a rule this type of variable should not be used as a dependent one. For lack of a better variable to measure success-failure for this phenomenon, we went ahead and used it. However, we used it more

³ Linton Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 82.

⁴ See Blalock, op. cit., Chapters 17-19.



for the correlation coefficients (measures of correlation strength) that the regression program produced than for the results of the actual regression run. While we offer an explanation of the results for the regression run, we have not treated it as definitive.⁵

Care has been exercised that the correct scales for statistical procedures be used. It should be pointed out that strict adherence to technical procedure can minimize this common pitfall. That does not have to be a problem. The problem often lies not in the use of procedures but in the interpretation of results.

⁵ There is a small controversy here, Howard Alker, Jr., Mathematics and Politics, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), Chapter 5 argues for use of regression with a dichotomous dependent variable. However, others contend that because dichotomous variables lack linear qualities, do not have normal distribution and because the results are difficult to interpret, it is best not to use them as dependent variables.



Job Disposition and Success

It has been noted that most EXIT clients do not stay on their first placement very long. Moreover, in the first two placements, the first month on the job was very crucial. The turnover rate is highest for the first month. After that, the turnover rate levels off.

Our concern here is not with the length of time on any placement, but how one terminates a placement. Job success is attested to not by time on the job, but by job outcome or disposition. For the purpose of this evaluation, seven categories of job outcome were devised. All are terminal classifications, except two, "presently working" at that placement or "terminated the EXIT program while working" at that placement. Table I depicts the breakdown of those clients we had disposition information on.

Table I

Termination Disposition First EXIT Placement

	<u>Fired</u>	<u>Quit</u>	<u>Reincar- cerated</u>	<u>Laid Off</u>	<u>Upgraded</u>	<u>Working</u>	<u>Term. EXIT Working</u>
First Placement N= 420	15%	37%	6%	12%	8%	10%	12%
Second Placement N= 128	14%	43%	5%	10%	8%	9%	11%
Third Placement N= 48	15%	32%	13%	10%	10%	10%	20%



Turnover, as is evident, is very high. Over 75% of those placed in the first job are no longer there. Eighty percent are no longer on the second placement, and 70% are no longer at the third placement. Part of the high turnover is attributed to the fact that many clients, especially those right out of the institutions, view their first placement as a temporary juncture to a better position, and to the fact that these variables encompass all placements from the beginning of the EXIT program to June 1, 1973. The high volume of those that quit their jobs is of concern and leads one to speculate as to why so many clients terminated in this manner. By means of correlation and regression analysis, we have attempted to analyze factors related to job disposition and to success-failure based on job outcome.*

We found no significant relationships with variables classified as personal background factors and first job outcome. Contingency table correlations with variables such as children yes-no, military service, type of last offense, length of time incarcerated for last offense, having a driver's license, and access to automobile were not important in how a client disposed of the first placement. Moreover, there was no particular difference between skill level or salary of first placement and job outcome. It should be noted that finding insignificant relationships can be as meaningful as finding significant ones.

We found that clients with a training program were more likely to terminate their first placement earlier than those who did not have a training program. But, those with a training program were

* For explanation of these procedures, see section on Methodology.



also more likely to stay on the second placement longer. The effect of a training program was at no time significant to actual job outcome.

This may indicate that for individuals with a training program the first placement was not particularly appropriate. Either clients took jobs which did not fit their training or their training did not suffice for the job. The fact that 32% of all those fired on the first placement had a training program lends some weight to the latter.

We also found that those whose lag time between EXIT contact and first placement was two weeks or less were more likely to be fired, quit, or be laid off than those whose lag time was longer. This was a percentage breakdown which was not statistically significant. While it is not as strong a finding as that of last year, it does indicate that haste in job development may be detrimental to job outcome.

In an effort to explain success or failure of EXIT clients in terms of job outcome, an interval scale was devised for the first two job outcome variables. These variables, success-failure of first placement and success-failure of second placement, were used in two separate regression runs. The resultant differences between the first and second placements were both interesting and informative.

Of the more than thirty variables designated as independent variables, only one had any significance for first job success or failure, type of military discharge with the beta weight was $-.171$. This alone was not very significant and only explained



3% of the variance. As a rule of thumb, to be meaningful, an independent variable must account for at least 10% of outcome of the dependent variable. The result, however weak, did point out that a less than honorable discharge is a predictor of job failure. This would point more to a client character trait than to an institutional or EXIT-related problem.

In the regression run with second job failure-success as the dependent variable, we had very different results. Of the thirty plus independent variables, we found two which together explained 12% of the variance. These were the variables "access to automobile" and "occupational classification of second EXIT placement".

The beta weights here were $-.282$ and $-.179$ respectively, and access to an automobile explained 9% of the variance and occupational classification explained 3% of the variance, or a total of 12% for the two variables.

We interpret this to mean that the lack of automobile access to ex-offenders is a prime reason for their second job failure. Maine is a state with very little public transportation. Unless one has access to an automobile, it can be very difficult to get to and from work. Since most of those people who did not have access to an automobile did not have drivers' licenses (the correlation coefficient between these two variables is $.53$ and significant at the $.01$ level), the two indicate the problem the ex-offender has both getting a driver's license and/or getting to work.

While occupational classification only explained 3% of the variance, it is still a factor to be considered. In essence, it



says that the lower the skill level classification, the more likelihood of job failure in the second placement. This is different from the first regression run when this was not a factor. Quite likely, those who do not obtain a second job on their own and rely on EXIT assistance, are not disposed to succeeding in that job if it does not live up to their expectations.

In concluding, we must note that job outcome and success in EXIT placements are not necessarily indicators of client success. Real success comes with the individual client functioning on his own. In a small but valid sample of those who were terminated from EXIT, we found that 61% of them were either working or in school at time of EXIT termination. This means that many clients have found jobs on their own regardless of EXIT placements and that the counseling along with the placements have served as integrating factors to successful community integration.

Recidivism

Certainly, one major criterion of evaluation of EXIT performance is the reincarceration rate of EXIT clients. To have an impact, the EXIT return rate not only ought to be lower than a similarly derived state statistic, but also ought to lower the state statistic during its period of existence. It is essential for similar definitions and procedures to be used in arriving at comparable statistics; otherwise, comparison is not possible and if attempted is grossly misleading. Thus, one cannot compare these rates with any other



state or national statistics not derived from similar definition and procedures.

Recidivism in this study received three treatments. First, was a follow-up of the control groups devised last year for the First Annual Report. Second was a study undertaken which used all parolees and discharges from MSP and MCC for a two-year period. This attempt is somewhat similar to the first but does two things differently. It establishes in effect a state recidivism rate for the adult male penal institutions and then attempts to assess EXIT impact on the combined and annual rates. Finally, there is a treatment of recidivism for all EXIT clients (except women) which attempts to uncover factors related to recidivism in terms of personal, institutional and EXIT-related variables.

In an attempt to assess EXIT impact on recidivism in Maine, the 1972 Annual Report devised two control groups and compared the results. One group, Group I, consisted of parolees released from Maine State Prison prior to EXIT in Maine, Jan.-March, 1971. The other group, Group II, consisted of parolees released during EXIT's first year in Maine, Jan.-March 1972. The re-entry rate for both groups was calculated from time of release through August of their release year. The results were as follows:

	Reincarcerated	Not Reincarcerated
Group I N= 41	38% (15)	62% (26)
Group II N= 38	32% (12)	69% (26)

The two groups were then followed up for ten months longer, or through June of the year following their release. This meant a total



follow-up of up to 18 months. The results of this study are below.

	Reincarcerated	Not Reincarcerated
Group I N= 41	44% (18)	56% (23)
Group II N= 38	37% (14)	63% (24)

As can be seen, the 6% difference in Table I jumps to 7% for the longer follow-up period. Other things being equal, the 7% difference in the two years could be the result of EXIT impact.

The results are not significant in a statistical sense. While it is difficult to comment much further because of the small sample size and the fact that Group II included more than EXIT clients, it is noticeable that the extra ten-month follow-up did not produce many more returnees in either group. There were three more returnees to Group I and two more to Group II. In effect, this means that the bulk of those recidivating did so within the first seven months after release.

The second treatment of recidivism attempted three things: (1) to calculate a two-year recidivism rate for the State's adult male penal institutions (with and without those who became EXIT clients); (2) to analyze the EXIT subsample for EXIT process variables; and, (3) to separate the total sample into yearly periods and assess the variation if any between the predominantly EXIT year with the predominantly non-EXIT year.

During the two-year period, January 1971 through December 1972, 945 men met the criteria of parole or discharge for the sample. To be eligible for the sample, an inmate of either institution



had to have left either institutional setting and returned to the community during the two-year period. Of this number, 255 or 26% of the ex-inmates returned to either institution during the same period. This 26% takes into account those ex-inmates who may have had paroled from MCC but returned via a parole violation or new violation to MSP.

If you factor out those who became EXIT clients after their release during this period, we are left with a sample of 576. Of the 576, 181 or 31% returned during the period under consideration. In other words, reincarceration for the ex-inmate population after EXIT clients are factored out is 6% higher. This is not statistically significant but does, as with the previous treatment, indicate a trend.

A look at those who became EXIT clients is even more interesting. Table III (next page) depicts what happened to the EXIT clients. Of those 369 ex-inmates who became EXIT clients, 74 or 20% returned to either institution during the same period. That accounts, in an esoteric sense, for the 6% higher rate at the two institutions without the EXIT clients.

There are two ways upon release to become an EXIT client. One is by voluntarily entering the Orientation Program at either institution prior to release. The other is by contacting the EXIT office nearest one's home after release. Of the 275 ex-offenders who entered the Orientation Program prior to release, only 48 or 17% returned during this period. However, of the 94 who passed up the Orientation Program and found their way to the EXIT office during this period, 25 or 28% returned.



This shows a 9% difference in those who entered the Orientation Program and those who did not. The X^2 for these two groups is significant at the .01 level and a Q-test indicates some strength. While various interpretations may be offered to explain this outcome, it does indicate that those who entered the Orientation were more motivated, and thus less likely to recidivate, and/or that the Orientation Program offered them some assistance in their social readjustment process.

Table III

EXIT Subsample of MSP & MCC Releases

	Reincarcerated	Not Reincarcerated	
Total Exit Sample	20% (74)	80% (295)	369
Exit Non-Orientation Program Sample	28% (26)	72% (68)	94
Exit Orientation Program Sample	17% (48)	83% (227)	275

A further breakdown among the EXIT subsample clientele also bore out the relationship between orientation program clients and the likelihood of reincarceration. When the subsample was correlated with EXIT job placement, no difference in variation occurred. In other words, those who had EXIT placements did no better for return rates than those who did not. Again, when we controlled placement versus reincarceration for orientation program, there still was no effect for placement. The effect of orientation program remained. Orientation Program people were still less likely to return to prison regardless of having an EXIT job placement.

It is true that the majority of those who became EXIT clients did so in the period of Jan.-Dec. 1972. If we divide the combined



two-year sample in annual periods and look at reincarceration from this perspective, again we have an indication of EXIT impact. In this sample, we are looking at the releases during the year period and the reincarceration during that same period. In other words, we will not count those who were released during 1971 but re-entered prison during 1972.

This breakdown shows that of the 489 released in 1971, 83 or 18% returned in 1971, and of the 486 released in 1972, 74 or 15% returned in 1972. This is a 3% difference for the two periods. When we divided the 1972 subsample into EXIT and non-EXIT clients, we got an insight not only of recidivism rates but also the type of clientele who solicit EXIT assistance. Of the 218 men paroled or discharged in 1972 and did not seek EXIT assistance, only 18 or 8% returned during 1972. Yet, of the 256 men that did seek assistance, 56 or 20% were reincarcerated during 1972. Furthermore, of the 256 clients, 230 were Orientation Program clients and 43 or 18% returned. Of the 38 who were not Orientation Program clients, 13 or 34% returned.

Does this suggest that ex-offenders who do not become involved with EXIT at all are less likely to be reincarcerated? Some of those 218 non-EXIT ex-offenders leave the state and therefore have a tendency to lower the percentage returned. The point is that many of those 218 do not need EXIT services. They may have their own jobs to go to or some other opportunity awaiting them. Since EXIT is voluntary, at the prisons, we pick up those who need assistance and are motivated to obtain it. Outside the prison, those ex-MSP or MCC inmates who were not motivated to seek assistance at the prison



but may have needed it, can become EXIT clients. This is the group which had the highest return rate.

Our answer to the question posed above is twofold. The comparative statistics generated show that in the year 1972, there were lower, over-all return rates. The lower return rates and EXIT existence during this period demonstrates a real relationship or a spurious one. Based on the number of comparisons where the trend is demonstrated, we feel there is a real relationship. Secondly, the process of recruitment indicates at least three types of prison population. First there are those who don't want or seek EXIT assistance, either at the institution or after release. Second, there are those who spurn or don't see the need for EXIT involvement during their pre-release days, but do need assistance of some sort. This second type turn to EXIT for assistance in the post-release stage. Finally, there are those who need assistance, are motivated to seek it, and while not doing as well as those who don't need it, in terms of reincarceration, do use the assistance to some advantage.

It must be re-emphasized only a longitudinal study done two or three years hence, will yield any definitive results of EXIT impact on recidivism. The figures presented are suggestive trends which we feel emphasize a positive impact.

Finally, how many EXIT clients were reincarcerated post-EXIT and were there any factors significantly related to this? This treatment of recidivism considered all EXIT clients (parolees, probationers, discharges, etc.), except women. Recidivism was defined as reincarceration into one of the two state adult-male

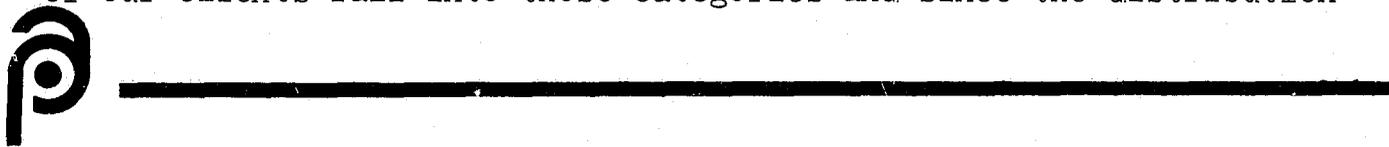


penal institutions post-EXIT contact. Reincarceration at the county or city level was not included. This selectivity of data was for purely manpower considerations. Sample size and figures are based on all EXIT clients from the start of the program, September 14, 1971 until June 1, 1973.

Of 698 male clients during this period, 111 or 16% were incarcerated post-EXIT contact. Of that 16% who were incarcerated, 68% did so as parole violators and 32% as new violators. This indicates the number of clients who are both on parole and recidivate. In fact, in an analysis of the factors associated with recidivism, it is evident that parole and the personal, institutional, and EXIT procedure variables associated with clients on parole is related to reincarceration post-EXIT contact.

About the only personal background factor found relating to recidivism is the type of violation. Past property violators are slightly more likely to recidivate than persons whose dominant pattern of offenses are person, drug, or juvenile. In fact, drug offenders were less likely to recidivate than all the other types.

On the other hand, contrary to some theories about recidivism, the number of years since last conviction and the number of years served for last offense had no relation to reincarceration. In other words, while most of the clients who recidivated were both recent offenders and had served only for a year or less, there was no relation between either variable and reincarceration. Put another way, 66% of those reincarcerated had committed their most recent offense within one year and had served a year or less. Since most of our clients fall into those categories and since the distribution



of those clients who recidivated and did not fall within those categories was the same as those who did; the high percentage did not indicate any relationship among the variables.

Another observation from the data on those reincarcerated post-EXIT contact was found in the time span from first EXIT contact to the time reincarcerated. It has been stated elsewhere that the first ninety days after release is the critical time period in terms of reincarceration. While our data is not altogether comparable because only about half of our clients are directly out of prison, we found an even distribution between EXIT contact and reincarceration over an eighteen-month period. In other words, there was no critical time period between EXIT contact and return to state institution. Only 23% of those who returned did so in the first three months. Only 58% did so after seven months.

From an institutional point of view, being on parole remains as the only factor we found that correlated with recidivism post-EXIT contact. The regression run with recidivism (post-EXIT contact) as the dependent variable, found that parole was the only indicator of recidivism of any consequence.

With correlation analysis prior to our regression run, we found reincarceration to be highly related to having been previously incarcerated (X^2 is significant beyond the .001 level and $\gamma = .81$). However, the regression run produced a correlation coefficient for this variable of only .148, not significant at all. Thus, when parole and other variables are introduced as controls, the relationship between post-EXIT incarceration and pre-EXIT incarceration was not meaningful.

The same was true for type military discharge and for Vocational Rehabilitation clients. These rated X^2 scores significant at the .05 level and .01 level respectively, and gamma scores at .29 and .34 respectively. But in the regression run the correlation coefficients of both were not significant. We found the same pattern in the correlation of reincarceration to EXIT procedure variables, such as having been in the Orientation Program, (gamma= .42 and X^2 significant beyond the .001 level).

This leads to the following conclusion. Among our clients, parole is the most significant factor in being reincarcerated post-EXIT contact. However, while the beta score is significant at the .05 level, the variance explained is only 5%. This means that other variables explain 95% of the reincarceration variable. In statistical terms, to have found significance, one variable must explain at least 10% of the variance. Parole does not. Factors related to parole correlate highly with reincarceration before parole is introduced as a control variable. In these cases, parole proceeds to "wash out" the relationship.

Is it then the institutionalized arrangement of being on parole which leads to reincarceration, or are there other factors which we have not located and would explain reincarceration better? Based on the empirical evidence presented (particularly on the fact that parole only explains 5% of the variance), and based on dubious use of regression analysis for this dependent variable, parole and the institutional setting it represents is, at best, a small contributing factor to reincarceration. Indeed, we have not uncovered any genuinely significant factors for the sample of EXIT clients



who recidivated. Thus, our quest to find significant factors to reincarceration post-EXIT contact has not been fruitful.

Even with other EXIT variables, the question of reincarceration remains unanswered. For example, having an EXIT placement did not have any meaningful relationship with reincarceration. Nor did such variables as length of time on EXIT job, salary of first EXIT job, or how one terminated an EXIT job.

Our analysis of recidivism thus far has avoided a discussion of the procedures of returning parolees to prison. This was done so purposely. Of the correlations run, we found no significant factors related to method of return. We know that parolees who commit new offenses will often be returned as a parole violator instead of being tried for a new offense for one of two reasons. Either the new offense will take time and money to prosecute or the new offense carries a substantially lighter sentence than the original offense for which the man was paroled. In the former case, the man may either be returned to prison as a parole violator and then prosecuted or not for his new violation. In the latter case, the new offense will be dropped because the State would result in less time supervision over the man than the offense he is on parole for. This speaks to the larger number of men in our sample who returned as parole violators.



EPILOGUE

Some editorial comment is in order at the close of this two-year project. As an outside contractor, we have enjoyed a somewhat unique position in implementing this program. Not officially a government unit, but authorized and closely related; not a native of the private sector in the state, but historically well-versed in all phases of business activities - we were able to effect a melding of government and private sector toward the end of providing a more effective corrective process for Maine's contingent of ex-offenders.

As a whole, correctional professionals are shifting toward greater community involvement as a better answer to traditionally high rates of recidivism. This community participation can only be effective when the community is prepared to accept and participate in its share of the process. We have attempted to fulfill this need through extensive contacts with local businesses throughout the State ^{W.P.} media coverage of the needs, problems and circumstances of ex-offenders in their transition from confinement to freedom. The somewhat ambiguous role of a contractor worked to our advantage in acting as a catalyst in the community.

We initially set out to prove that meaningful employment was the most important aspect of criminal rehabilitation. Our work in this two-year period has shown that it is certainly a significant rehabilitative factor, but probably one of several which bear most heavily on genuinely successful community reintegration.



More than this single task, the program has had a considerable effect on Maine's criminal justice system. There is no empirical evidence to support this contention, but nevertheless, this feeling exists; perhaps our involvement came after the change in thought had already begun; We would like to think that the operation of the project has helped in that leavening process. We see a diminution of punitive posture and honest attempts at solving the long-standing problems of dealing with unlawful behavior.

The original intent in getting this contract was that after Palmer/Paulson's set-up, hiring, training, and operation of the Project, the State would assume responsibility for its operation and assimilate it into the Bureau of Corrections. The 106th Legislature, recently adjourned, did not see fit to accomplish this through adequate appropriation. However, special funding has become available to continue the pre-release and job-development functions of the Project for another year, and we are told that when the Legislature reconvenes in January, 1974, that this appropriation topic will again be on the agenda and favorable action is anticipated.

Persons seeking additional information on this project may obtain it by writing to:

John H. Palmer, President
Palmer/Paulson Associates, Inc.
7205 Pratt Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60631



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